

The Romanesque doorway at St Padarn's church, Llanbadarn Fawr, Radnorshire

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SUMMARY. The Victorian building retains the early twelfth-century doorway from a medieval church on this site. The doorway is very like those seen at churches across the English midlands, yet one capital has figures which, arguably, represent an episode from the life of St Padarn, the Celtic saint of mid Wales. The circumstances that might have enabled such a combination are examined.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Llanbadarn Fawr, Radnorshire, is little more than a farm, a church and a detached house beside the river Ithon half a mile south of Crossgates: the hamlet is not even named on some Ordnance Survey maps.¹ Emrys Bowen notes that this is one of three churches in Radnorshire dedicated to St Padarn, and that these are aligned close to a major north to south route.² Additionally, this St Padarn's is about 30 miles south-east of the more famous Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion, the early ecclesiastical settlement a mile or two inland from Aberystwyth.³ The Radnorshire church is just off the east-west route from Llanbadarn Fawr through Rhayader to Kington and Leominster or Hereford.

The present church was constructed in 1878–79 on the site of what seems to have been a simple medieval church of nave and continuous chancel.⁴ Reused fabric can be seen in the walls around the lower parts of the doorway, and may exist elsewhere: no stones of the pre-existing British church have been identified. A Roman centurial stone found during demolition in 1878, now reset in the west wall of the porch inside, may have been brought here from a Roman building in medieval times. At nearby Capel Maelog, stone from the Roman site at Castell Collen is thought to have been reused for the medieval church: Llanbadarn itself is less than three miles from Castell Collen.⁵ The elaborate doorway is thus almost the only recognisable remnant of a entire twelfth-century church on this site.⁶ Its sculptured tympanum is one of only two that survive from this period in Wales (Fig. 1).⁷ The main part of the tympanum is in a light pinkish sandstone whereas the capitals are yellowish: these were both sourced from the Old Red Sandstone.⁸

The doorway is of three orders; the tympanum is pieced and the main stone is carved in low relief with two animals and a tree; a pattern is incised along the lower edge of the same stone where a lintel might be expected. Above the tympanum there are two semicircular arches with chevron mouldings and then a modern hoodmould, while below it are decorated impostos with domes, a star pattern and snakes of some kind. At the top of the plain inner jambs, the tympanum would have been carried by two head-corbels, but the head on the left, probably damaged early on, has been completely rubbed out by the restorers; on the right a male head survives. Capitals of the second order have been given individual and non-standard subjects; the base of the shaft on the left survives, it is reeded. The outer order is plain in the jambs and flush with the wall. The doorway is comparable in size and in the amount of its sculpture to doorways at village churches in neighbouring parts of England, and with those



Fig. 1. Head of the doorway. All photographs are of the doorway at Llanbadarn Fawr, Radnorshire, unless otherwise stated.

in mind a date in the first half of the century is reasonable—but dating is a matter to be returned to later.

There are a few areas where the original fabric is lost, the left head-corbel being one already mentioned. Another place is above and at the sides of the main stone in the tympanum, these areas have been made up with new stone to fill the semicircle. An engraving made shortly before the restoration (Fig. 2) shows the relative placement of the parts as now, except that the arch is parabolic, abutting the sides of the tympanum and rising at least as high as at present. The engraving suggests that the main stone itself once extended higher with an area that was unworked—though to expect this detail to be reliable is unwise considering the way the capitals are represented.⁹ Peter Lord may well be right that there was once an inner arch in the form of a roll moulding, as at Moccas, Herefordshire.¹⁰ The south doorway at Beckford, Worcestershire, has a roll moulding as the inner order of the arch, and also head corbels which support the tympanum in line with the impost.¹¹ Before the late-Victorian restoration, therefore, there seems to have been a previous rebuilding of the doorway, during which an inner order of the arch may have been removed, and the doorhead rebuilt using all the voussoirs from the (larger) outer arches.

A third area where there has been loss of stone is the left impost and capital, where the angle of both has been broken off at some time: this loss is slight in extent but even so makes the interpretation of the affected motifs uncertain. The right impost has also lost its angle but here, of course, the patterns can be assumed to have continued uniformly. The right capital has suffered abrasion and there is a fault in the stone on the south face. The most interesting parts of the doorway, though not spectacular like the arches and tympanum, are the two capitals. On the left capital are two standing figures with a head on the ground between them, while the right capital has an unusual composition of 'dragons' and foliage.

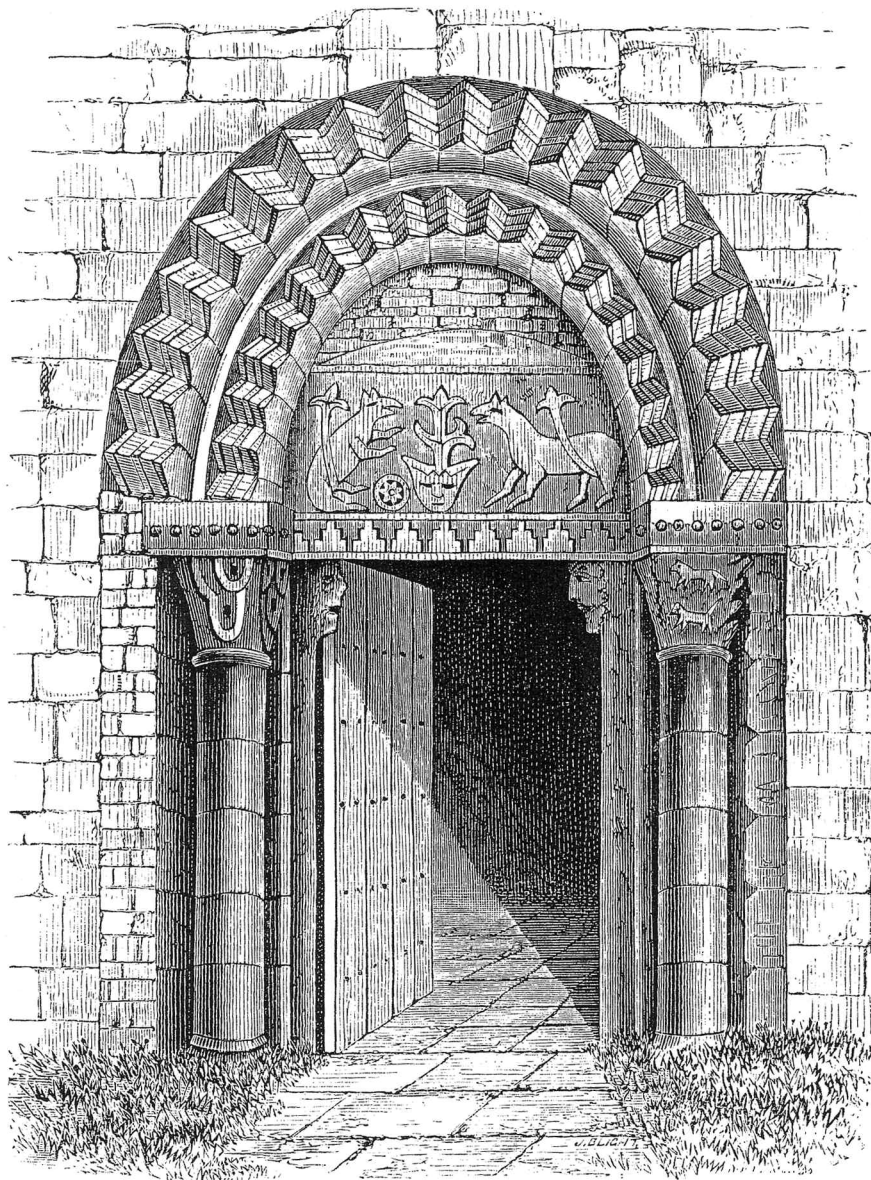


Fig. 2. The doorway shortly before the late Victorian restoration, from S. W. Williams, 'Radnorshire Churches: Llanbadarn Fawr', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 5 (1874), plate opposite page 51.

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SCULPTURE

To begin with the tympanum (Fig. 3), this is usually and reasonably said to show the Tree of Life (Genesis 2:8,9) and two animals. The tree and animals are within a shallowly dished area of the main stone. The depression continues along the upper edge but with a narrow strip of the original surface remaining



Fig. 3. Tympanum, the main stone.

between it and the joint, so that it is unlikely that the tree continued into the upper segment now filled by new stone. This area would have been less extensive if an inner order has indeed been lost.

The same composition, two animals flanking a tree, occurs seven times on contemporary tympana in England (Fig. 4).¹² Most examples are broadly similar to the tympanum at Llanbadarn in that the tree has a more or less naturalistic trunk with a few large leaves and perhaps fruit, while two tympana, at Wordwell (Suffolk) and Knook (Wiltshire), have formalised trees which surround the animals in scrolling foliage of the kind seen in illuminated manuscripts. The most lavish example, the doorway at Dinton (Bucks.),¹³ includes an inscription which Charles Keyser translated as ‘If anyone should despair of obtaining reward for his deserts, let him attend to the doctrines here preached, and take care to keep them in mind’.¹⁴ The ‘reward’ is given at the Second Coming ‘to each man according as his work is’ (Revelation 22:12) and, for those who have overcome evil and done good work, their reward is ‘to eat of the tree of life . . . in the Paradise of God’ (Revelation 2:7). We may safely assume that the animals flanking the Tree in all eight tympana, whatever their various species, have this significance, that they represent the blessed in heaven enjoying their reward.

Additionally, the Llanbadarn tympanum has two features peculiar to it, these are the animal head from which the tree arises, and the nine-pointed star beside it (Fig. 5). The full scene, we know from Dinton, symbolises the life in Paradise after death. It was the work of the incarnate Christ that was the source of this new life for man, so the ‘cat’s head’ at the root of the tree could reasonably be interpreted as the face of the ascended and triumphant Christ.¹⁵ Like other Romanesque lions representing Christ as king, this lion has a human face: it has a handlebar moustache like the head corbel (Fig. 6), and smiles at those who approach him.¹⁶ The animals either side of the tree at Llanbadarn could well be lions too, but lesser ones, and the point might have been made that the blessed are the ‘younger brothers’ of Christ (John 20:17; Romans 8:19–23), and perhaps, since they appear to be a lion and a lioness,¹⁷ both men and women would have been encouraged to imagine themselves in heaven.

The large nine-pointed star immediately to the left of the Christ-lion probably refers to Revelation 22:5, which explains that there is no need of either sun or lamp in heaven because God himself lights it. The thrice-three rays and the central circle that make up the star could thus be references to God the One and Three. The patterns that surround the tympanum (Fig. 1) support the idea of divine Light flooding Paradise: chevron or zigzagging patterns are associated with the depiction of God’s power and glory, and

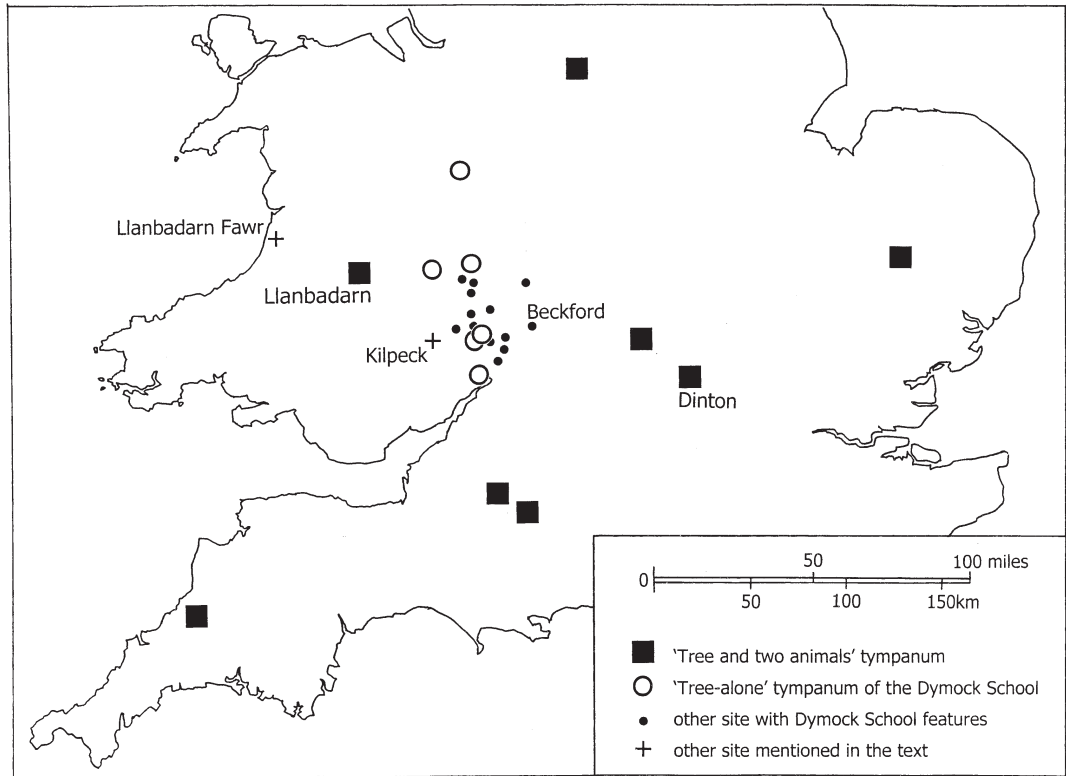


Fig. 4. Llanbadarn, the Dymock School and the 'Tree and two animals' tympana. These tympana are, clockwise from the top, at Ashford-in-the-Water (Derbys.), Wordwell (Suffolk), Dinton (Bucks.), Fritwell (Oxon.), Knook (Wilts), Lullington (Som.) and Treneglos (Cornwall). The subject may also have been displayed on tympana at Swarkeston (Derbys., destroyed) and Stratton (Gloucs., worn). In those two examples the animals trampled snakes; the Stratton tympanum has no definite tree but apparently random foliage. The 'Tree-alone' tympana are, from north to south, at High Ercall (Shrops.); Rochford and Yatton (Herefords.); Dymock, Kempley and Newnham (Gloucs.).

the step pattern incised in the pseudo-lintel sometimes seems to be used in the same way as chevron.¹⁸ In the impost, domes and a star pattern on the right side can both be read as stars, and are again consistent with the evocation of heaven.¹⁹ The doorway at Beckford not only has head-corbels, but some step-pattern, and a similar chevron moulding is used as at Llanbadarn.²⁰ The scene in the tympanum at Beckford can be interpreted as a picture of heaven with two harts worshipping the Trinity (Psalm 42:1, 2, 11). The bird perched on the right side of the Cross represents God the Holy Spirit, and hence the ring on the left represents God the Father, presumably referring to 'the Father of lights' as described in James 1:17, and a similar ring is the basis of the star on the tympanum at Llanbadarn (Fig. 5).

The left impost and the right capital contain four creatures that would all have been termed snakes in the twelfth century (Figs 7–9).²¹ Unfortunately, the physical relationships of the creatures carved are not quite clear due to damage and wear, but probably the imagery was broadly the same on the impost as on the capital: in both cases a winged snake or wyvern seems to emit another, smaller, plain, snake.²² It is common in Romanesque sculpture to have one motif in the mouth of another, but not always obvious



Fig. 5. Tympanum, detail of the lion's head and the star.

what is happening. There are several possibilities: the mouth may be either emitting or disgorging the smaller motif; the mouth may be swallowing it, or the two may have no relative motion but are to be considered as one entity, as if to say the larger body contains the smaller.²³ In the case of the Llanbadarn carvings, as will be discussed further below, it seems likely that no relative movement is implied, but that the two snakes in sequence imply that one inhabits the other.

On the east face of the left impost (Fig. 7) are the remains of a snake with a winged foreleg and facing left. On the south face (Fig. 8) is most of a smaller plain snake, together with a small dome, which, as previously mentioned, is probably intended as a star, thus placing the snakes in heaven. The right capital is worn so that its complex details are somewhat uncertain. Starting on the south face (Fig. 1 and Fig. 9, lower right), a small quadruped with no identifiable head somehow turns into the large winged snake on the west face (Fig. 9, left), which in turn seems to emit the head of a second snake on the south face (Fig. 9, upper right). This smaller snake has a trefoil of foliage in what ought to be its mouth; it has two dissimilar ears and only one eye: these particular oddities of the creature's face are more likely to be due to the inadequacies of the craftsman rather than to the requirements of any symbolism. The sustained series of metamorphoses on this capital, building up an almost narrative sequence, is unusual.

While a few snakes in Romanesque sculpture can easily be identified as evil because they are shown in a context of, for example, the Garden of Eden or the Crucifixion, the nature of most snakes is not so obviously evil. There are several reasons why it is not easy to establish a precise interpretation for the



Fig. 6. The head-carbel, right side of the doorway.

majority of snakes. Firstly, snakes are not carved frequently, and even less often is the motif developed in a larger context, though it is at Llanbadarn. Secondly, the arrangement of the snakes varies, and that the various compositions that include snakes might be linked by a common theme is not immediately apparent. Thirdly, the snake has not one stable meaning but a range of associated meanings, all related to the soul and the afterlife. To understand such carvings, a brief theological background to the resurrection of man must be given.

The theology of soul and body was worked out by Augustine of Hippo and Gregory the Great,²⁴ following St Paul, other biblical writers and Plato. Briefly, at death the soul leaves the earthly body and, being immortal, goes to some heavenly place to wait for the general resurrection at the end of time, when

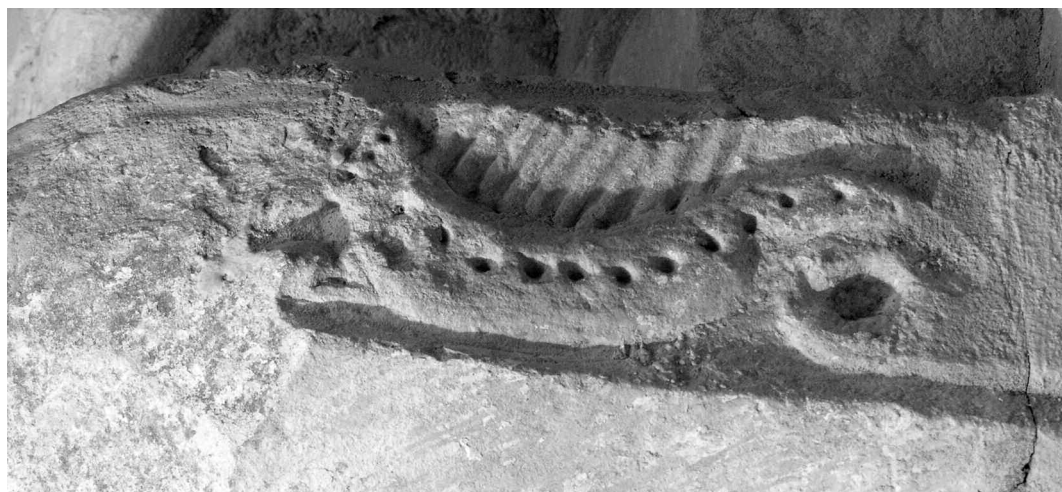


Fig. 7. Left impost, the winged snake on the east face.

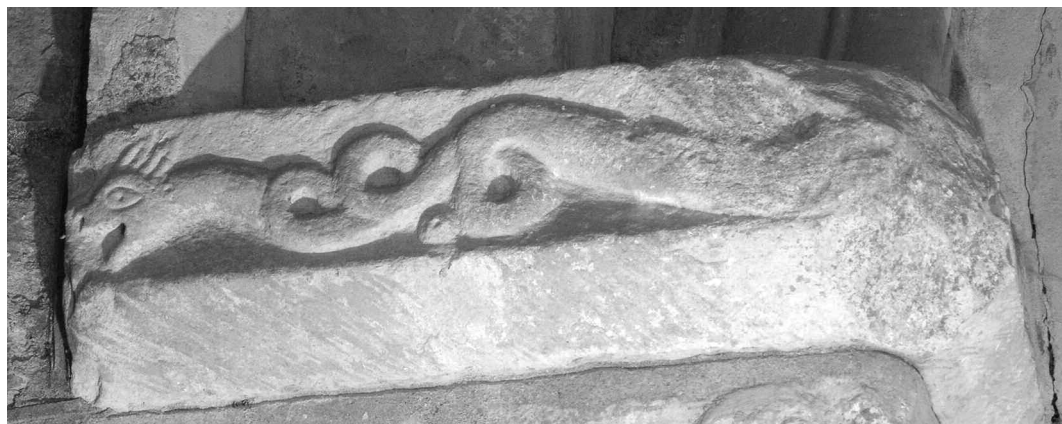


Fig. 8. Left impost, the smaller snake on the south face.

the old physical body will be changed for a new spiritual body which the soul will enter and reanimate. This process is speculative and complex—and the difficulties inherent in describing the mechanism of resurrection in words were magnified when it came to providing concrete imagery. Snakes can represent man's resurrection body by comparison with their observed habit of shedding the old skin and emerging shiny and 'new';²⁵ they well express the change envisaged by St Paul in Colossians 3:9–10. Further, it seems the snake was sometimes used to represent the soul itself, presenting the otherness and fluidity of the soul and taking up biblical references to wisdom.²⁶ Nevertheless, despite its efficiency as a symbol, the use of the snake in sculpture is localised, very likely because the instinctive reaction to the sight of a real one is fear and aversion. However, in those carvings which contain snakes with no obvious evil connotations, as at Llanbadarn, some reference to the soul and eternal life should be expected.

With these positive interpretations in mind, the zigzag part of the winged snake at the bottom of the west face (Fig. 9, bottom left) could represent the wrinkled shed skin of the old earthly body, to which



Fig. 9. Right capital from south-west.



Fig. 10. A capital of the chancel arch at Appleton Wiske, Yorkshire, North Riding.

also must belong to the four legs and the tail on the south face of the capital. The large winged snake is thus the spiritual body rising from the dead. It is appropriate that the earthly body has feet, and the spiritual body has wings (1 Corinthians 15:47). The smaller snake in the mouth of the spiritual body would represent the soul, so that the two snakes together represent a person reunited at the general resurrection. The sprig of foliage represents the breath of heavenly life which the soul brings, literally to reanimate the body.²⁷

Elsewhere, snakes are more likely to be carved in symmetrical or other regular compositions,²⁸ regularity being thought appropriate to depict the harmony and order of heavenly life. At Kilpeck, Herefordshire, the jambs of the doorway on each side have a pair of snakes, one in the mouth of the other, but also there are corbels with snakes in symmetrical and woven patterns.²⁹ Apart from a few works of the Herefordshire School, snakes are not common in English Romanesque sculpture and comparisons for the sequential arrangement on the Llanbadarn doorway are few, but one damaged and whitewashed capital at Appleton Wiske in Yorkshire has various snakes, the largest with its tail in the mouth of another creature (snake or animal?) on the right (Fig. 10); nearby, a separate snake has foliage in its mouth. If the positive meanings for snakes are applicable at Llanbadarn, the right capital and the left impost evoke the reunion of soul and body at the resurrection, which—for the just—is the prelude to partaking of the Tree, as in the tympanum.

The remaining capital has the two standing figures with a head on the ground between them (Figs 11–13). These have been supposed to represent Adam, Eve and the tempter,³⁰ but this can hardly be so since both figures are wearing short tunics, male dress, and the figure facing south certainly has long sleeves and shoes as well. The sleeve (Fig. 12) is not tight to the arm, but widens towards the cuff in the manner of an overgarment. Both figures have their mouths open as if speaking: while the figure on the south face stands frontally in a bold and open manner, the figure on the east face is shown in profile and active, strongly resembling those who mock Christ in a psalter of *c.* 1150.³¹ The head between them cannot refer to the commonly-illustrated stories with a head on the ground such as David's victory over Goliath or the Crucifixion with Adam's skull below. Further, it can safely be said that there are no parallels for this grouping of figures in English Romanesque sculpture.

Anyone curious about the dedication of this church, or its namesake near Aberystwyth, might read the *Life of St Padarn*.³² Charles Thomas and David Howlett have demonstrated that it is a highly-wrought work with an impressive construction focusing on the episcopal ordination of saints Padarn, Teilo and David in Jerusalem (lines 220–5). It is now suggested that the sculpture on the left capital illustrates another event at the centre of the *Vita*, that is, the immediate sequel to the visit to Jerusalem, in which the newly-made bishop Padarn confounds the rapacious tyrant Arthur (lines 226–47).³³ Arthur covets the precious tunic which Padarn had been given at his consecration, and, when he is rebuffed by the bishop, he leaves the monastery in a rage. Then he returns, 'trampling, grinding . . . beating the earth'—this could be the action of the profile figure on the east face of the capital (Fig. 13). Padarn's shaven head is a contrast to the long hair of Arthur: the holy man is contrasted with the arrogant, vain, or wild intruder. The two figures, as all the rest of the carvings, are in an English idiom, and it is probably safe to say the hairstyles follow English conventions rather than those of Wales.³⁴ The hair of the supposed Arthur seems to be bound as a woman's would be, or the ridging may represent wavy hair.³⁵ The *Vita* contains a second possible source for the event carved, the raising of Padarn's servant Reaus (lines 385–405), but the profile figure in the carving hardly pictures someone giving thanks for his return to life.

On the south face of the capital (Fig. 11), the presumed St Padarn is seen with his right hand raised to heaven: the fingers are not folded as if making a blessing, but the hand is open. In terms of the narrative in the *Vita*, he is invoking God's power against Arthur, and speaking the words 'let the earth swallow him', at which the earth opens up '*sinum suae profunditatis*' to swallow Arthur up to his chin (lines



Fig. 11. Left capital, south face.

240–2). The *sinus*, cleft or chasm could be represented by the narrow ridges either side of the face on the ground (Fig. 12): a beard is not shown like this, and although the chin of the lion at the base of the tree has some similarities, the triangular form there is clearly all within the lion's face. It appears now as though Padarn's left hand, on the angle, was warding off the threat from the lost raised arm of Arthur, but the surface is damaged and may be misleading: Padarn's hand is more likely to have been spread with the palm open, that is, with the thumb at the top, to demonstrate that he made no physical defence of himself but relied on heaven. The *Vita* relates that when Arthur repents he is released and, on bended knees, is forgiven by the saint (lines 243–7). Arthur submits to holy Padarn as his protector, *patronus*, or as we would say, his patron-saint. The authoritative figure of Padarn faces those who enter his church, and the raised right hand connects him with the eternity in the tympanum: a poem written by Ieuan ap Sulien of Llanbadarn Fawr says that Padarn 'deserved to ascend the light-flowing realm where all are blessed with a wondrous light'.³⁶



Fig. 12. Left capital, angle.

POSSIBLE DATE AND ORIGIN: ARCHITECTURAL AND SCULPTURAL COMPARISONS

Dating of the doorway can be approached in two stages: firstly, through its architectural and sculptural comparisons and, secondly, by considering the political situation in the period defined by those features. The architectural comparisons are English ones. The forms of chevron mouldings in the arches are associated by Malcolm Thurlby with the Dymock School, which is ‘a homogenous group of sculpture’ pre-dating the technically and artistically more advanced Herefordshire School.³⁷ Pieced tympana were made by the Dymock School, and the step pattern incised in the pseudo-lintel appears in both sculpture and painting in their work.³⁸ Building was taking place at the great churches in Hereford, Gloucester and Llanthony in the 1100s, and presumably that would arouse interest among clergy and patrons of village churches, and, just as important, it would have increased the practical experience of local craftsmen. Eric Gethyn-Jones proposes that the earliest structures of the Dymock School date from the 1080s, but that the carved tympana with the ‘tree-alone’ design (Fig. 4), for example, at High Ercall (Shropshire) and at



Fig. 13. Left capital, east face.

Dymock and Kempsey (both Gloucestershire), belong to the first three decades of the twelfth century. As usual, such dating is an educated guess and lacks direct documentary evidence.

Several details of the sculpture at Llanbadarn confirm that the work belongs to an early period in the twelfth century. One of these details is the narrow, forked goatee beard of the man's head corbel (Fig. 6), this is a fashion seen in eleventh- and early twelfth-century work.³⁹ The large star on the tympanum (Figs 1, 3, 5), a geometric pattern, has a significance equal to the figurative motifs alongside it, it is not

decorative. Geometric patterns were used on the earliest elaborated buildings after the Norman Conquest, to be superseded as skills increased by figures and foliage.⁴⁰ The symbol may not have been in the forefront of fashion, but it was deliberately used here alongside the naturalistic lions and tree in order to evoke the abstract quality of God as Light. The snakes on the left impost and right capital (Figs 7–9) picture rebirth but do not have the symmetry that became desirable later in the twelfth century: wriggling snakes were superseded by orderly patterns. As has been mentioned, the sculpture at Kilpeck, perhaps to be dated to ‘the mid 1130s’,⁴¹ has snakes in both sequential and in regular arrangements.

Malcolm Thurlby illustrates the similarity of the Llanbadarn lions to one at Kilpeck, but in his later work on Wales no longer suggests Llanbadarn was a derivative of the Herefordshire School.⁴² It is the earlier Dymock School that seems to be close in time as well as space to the sculpture at Llanbadarn, and workmen of the Dymock School would have been the obvious ones to use at Llanbadarn. Yet one major feature of the Llanbadarn doorway is not found in Dymock School work and is more widespread than could possibly have been due to the influence of one patron or to any travelling team of craftsmen. This is the ‘Tree with two animals’ design itself (Fig. 4). The scatter of the motif—right across England from Derbyshire to Cornwall and as far east at Suffolk—suggests there was a broad measure of agreement among clergy about the message to be taught at the doorway of a village church, and on the terms in which to illustrate it. The example at Dinton is a great rarity in having a text associated with the sculpture, it is a witness to the teaching that went on at all doorways, and the learning behind that. Secular patrons desired to build a church—for reasons laudable and less so; and they paid for the work. But what was to be carved was not in their power: that relied on clerical authority. In other words, the design on the tympanum must have been acquired through some form of contact between ecclesiastics.

The variations in the eight tympana with a tree and two animals are due to the particular model used, the capabilities of the craftsman available and to local additions. In several tympana secondary details and emphases in the teaching are introduced, like the star and the lion’s head at Llanbadarn. In contrast, the ‘Tree-alone’ tympana of the Dymock School have the uniform appearance which results from a proficient group of craftsmen repeating an approved motif.⁴³ Local repetition of this kind hardly happened with the ‘Tree with two animals’ design, probably because drawing the animals was too demanding on the average craftsman—the tympanum at Fritwell, Oxfordshire, is within 20 miles of Dinton and close enough to have been influenced by it, but is a far inferior product. The Dymock craftsmen themselves are unlikely have been able to achieve the quality of carving we see at Llanbadarn: that another specialist was employed is indicated by the fact that the tree at Llanbadarn bears no resemblance to the Dymock School tree, and certainly the capitals at Llanbadarn are unique. The figures of Padarn and Arthur, though still fairly elementary, have no close parallels in the Dymock or Herefordshire Schools,⁴⁴ nor with the flat figures at Churcham or Linley,⁴⁵ again suggesting that a sculptor other than a member of the Dymock School had to be brought in from England for anything more than the masonry of construction or for carving routine mouldings and patterns.

However, it is not customary in England to feature the saint of the dedication in a sculptural scheme, and to picture the miracle from the *Life of St Padarn* could have been understood as affirming the independence of the Welsh church. The doorway, therefore, despite the direction from which all its other motifs, its structural work, its craftsmen and most of its stone have travelled, must have had native clergy involved in the designing. In further enquiring after its date, we have to consider the fluctuating conditions of life in the region in the first decades of the twelfth century, as the Normans sought to extend their military and ecclesiastical power over Wales as well as England.

POSSIBLE DATE AND ORIGIN: THE 'POLITICAL' CONTEXT

In the attempt to shed light on the circumstances in which the Llanbadarn doorway was fashioned, it may be helpful to place it in the context of developments in both ecclesiastical and secular governance in Maelienydd in the early twelfth century. The *cantref* lay within the diocese of St David's, and from *c.* 1115 onwards within the archdeaconry of Brecon.⁴⁶ It formed part of the territory known as Rhwng Gwy a Hafren, whose native rulers traced their descent from the (elusive) eleventh-century figure Elystan Glodrydd.⁴⁷ By the early twelfth century, however, Maelienydd, or at least a large part of it, had fallen into the hands of the Mortimers of Wigmore. Subsequently Hugh (I) Mortimer lost control of the *cantref*—possibly in 1136 when the native ruler Madog ab Idnerth was prominent in Welsh attacks on Anglo-Norman territories.⁴⁸ The situation in Maelienydd deteriorated after the death of Madog in 1140, and Hugh had regained the *cantref* by 1144⁴⁹ but his hold was not secure. He was still fighting with, and killing, figures associated with the native dynasty in 1146.⁵⁰ By 1160 Cadwallon ap Madog ab Idnerth apparently had control of the territory.⁵¹ It has been suggested by the present writer that Madog ap Maredudd of Powys had secured an overlordship in Maelienydd before his death in 1160. The most credible time for him to have done this is *c.* 1155 when Hugh (II) Mortimer came into conflict with Henry II and was humbled as a consequence.⁵² But when Madog ap Maredudd died—and the conjunction of events is probably significant—fighting broke out within the local dynasty. Cadwallon seized his brother, Einion Clud, and sent him to Owain Gwynedd, the great enemy of Powys.⁵³ The second Mortimer occupation of Maelienydd, in the mid-twelfth century therefore seems to have been relatively brief and troubled, and any Powysian ascendancy was short-lived.

With reference to the pattern of ecclesiastical control, Gerald of Wales, who became archdeacon of Brecon in the mid-1170s records a particularly illuminating incident.⁵⁴ Shortly after his appointment, perhaps seeking to establish his authority, he journeyed through Elfael and Maelienydd to Llanbadarn, 'where he had resolved to hold a chapter'. He had, however, been warned, on behalf of the dean and chapter of the region, that he ought not to visit their churches in person. Instead he should take care to act 'in accordance with the custom of his predecessors, namely through his messengers and officers, and above all through the dean, of whom they spoke amongst themselves as their archdeacon'. He was also told that an ancient feud between his family and 'certain nobles of those parts' had been remembered, and that an ambush was being prepared for him. The story of the feud was dismissed by Gerald, who believed that it had been 'devised by the cunning motive of those clerks who feared his coming'.

As they approached Llanbadarn, Gerald and his party were indeed attacked, and he was obliged to seek refuge in the church. He was able to get a message to the ruler of Maelienydd, Cadwallon ap Madog ab Idnerth, and this resulted in the retreat of his attackers, whereupon six or seven clerks 'who after the Welsh fashion shared the church between them' submitted to his authority. It is probable therefore that Llanbadarn was a *clas*, in which members of a community of clergy—and sometimes laymen—had hereditary shares in the revenues of their church.⁵⁵ Certainly Llanbadarn's significance is indicated by Gerald's decision to hold a 'chapter' there. It is particularly noteworthy that the clergy of Llanbadarn, in common with others in Elfael and Maelienydd—places referred to by Gerald as 'certain remote parts on the borders of his archdeaconry'—were apparently traditionally hostile to the interference in their affairs of representatives of (Anglo-Norman) episcopal authority.

And yet in most of its aspects the Llanbadarn doorway hardly suggests that it was constructed in an insular backwater. Its apparently English workmanship, what seems to be its mostly English stonework, and the appearance of motifs that can be paralleled in many parts of England in the early twelfth century can perhaps best be explained in terms of the pattern of secular lordship.

It seems likely that Ralph Mortimer, who died sometime after 1103,⁵⁶ had imposed his lordship upon part at least of Maelienydd by the end of the eleventh century. Certainly many nearby territories had fallen into Anglo-Norman hands by that date. Thus, Philip de Braose seems to have secured Radnor and Buellt in the mid-1090s.⁵⁷ To the north, the Montgomery family, earls of Shrewsbury, had seized much of the Severn Valley even before that date,⁵⁸ whilst Bernard de Neufmarché was established in Brycheiniog by the mid-1090s,⁵⁹ even though he seems to have been temporarily dislodged in the later part of the decade.⁶⁰ Ralph Mortimer's presence in Maelienydd is strongly suggested by the appearance of his name—along with those of Robert, earl of Shrewsbury, Robert's brother Arnulf, Philip de Braose and Bernard de Neufmarché as addressees of a request by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury that they should show obedience and respect to Wilfrid, bishop of St David's.⁶¹ The letter is to be dated near the turn of the century.⁶²

Certainly the so-called Mortimer 'History' claims that Ralph (I) Mortimer was the first of his line to conquer Maelienydd. The 'History' is a notoriously problematic source, dating predominantly from the fourteenth century, but its often wayward accounts of events usually contain an ascertainable core of fact.⁶³ Ralph (I) is credited in the Mortimer 'History' with the construction of two castles in Maelienydd—those of Cymaron and of Dinieithon.⁶⁴ The former is located near to the border with Radnor lordship; the latter is surely to be identified as the fortification listed by David Cathcart King as Cefn Llys II, to distinguish it from the later Mortimer castle of Cefn Llys.⁶⁵ Cefn Llys II/Dinieithon lies about one mile from Cefn Llys itself.⁶⁶ It consists of a steep motte surmounted by an earthen rampart for much of its circumference. The site has considerable natural strength. There are traces of a possible bailey and outworks. The whole complex is set close to the often precipitous banks of the river Ithon, and commands a ford across it. It has every appearance of an Anglo-Norman fortification of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Of significance in the present context is the fact that Cefn Llys II/Dinieithon lies within a mile of the church of Llanbadarn, which is on the same bank of the Ithon. A very clear view of the church is obtained from the motte. The proximity of one of two early Mortimer fortifications in Maelienydd to one of the major ecclesiastical centres of the *cantref*, is striking. It suggests at least a possible Mortimer protection and patronage of the church. The Mortimers, as significant lords in Herefordshire, certainly had the resources and the contacts to assemble materials and craftsmen for a rebuilding programme at Llanbadarn. They also had the motivation to order the re-fashioning of a church in a way that would proclaim the permanence of their occupation of the area—though in fact it would be several generations before the Mortimer hold on Maelienydd was finally established. The form taken by the re-fashioning, as Rita Wood has made clear, was in significant measure a matter for ecclesiastical decisions rather than those of a secular patron. Clerics associated with the Mortimer household and even those brought in by a Mortimer lord to give advice, may have been in part responsible for settling on themes and motifs that are familiar from English churches but not known in Wales.

Thus far, 'political' contextual analysis serves simply to confirm the broad conclusions drawn from stylistic analysis of the Llanbadarn doorway. Periods of considerable instability before *c.* 1100 and after 1140 make it likely that the work was carried out within those dates. It is perhaps possible to narrow the time-frame further. It is unlikely that the construction took place during the ascendancy in Maelienydd of Madog ab Idnerth, which can be dated with any confidence only to the years 1136–40. Given his apparent prominence in the attacks on Anglo-Norman strongholds in west Wales in 1136, Madog may have taken possession of parts of Maelienydd some time before those events.⁶⁷ Indeed, it is possible that the Mortimer hold on northern and western Maelienydd had never been secure.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Madog is unlikely to have had either the resources or the access to craftsmen and materials to carry through such an undertaking.

It remains to consider the clues presented by the left capital: the narrative of St Padarn overcoming, with divine help, the tyrant Arthur. The argument made above, that there is a close relationship between the incident depicted on that capital and the Life of St Padarn produced at Llanbadarn Fawr in Ceredigion, is central to the construction of a possible 'political' context for the left capital. The *Vita Sancti Paterni* has been plausibly argued to be the work of Ieuan ap Sulien, a member of the eminent family associated with Llanbadarn Fawr.⁶⁹ In 1116 the *clas* of Llanbadarn Fawr was effectively suppressed and the church there, with its endowments, was handed over to monks from St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester.⁷⁰ It seems probable that there was, in Sir John Lloyd's phrase 'some disturbance of the clergy of the old order'.⁷¹ Bernard, the recently appointed bishop of St David's, whose promotion had been a significant disappointment to the clergy of west Wales, was certainly associated with the changes at Llanbadarn Fawr. Not only was that church within his diocese, but he was also one of the witnesses to the establishment of the cell of St Peter's there.⁷² He may have found a way of dealing with part of the resultant problem by appointing one very distinguished member of Sulien's family, his son Daniel, as archdeacon of Powys—an area that subsequently formed part of the see of St Asaph when that diocese was formed in 1141.⁷³ This would have the effect of placing Daniel in a remote and possibly contentious area of the diocese, but also giving him an important if onerous position. It has been argued by the present writer that Daniel is to be identified as the author of the chronicle that lies behind the text of *Brut y Tywysogion* for 1100–26.⁷⁴ Certainly there seems to have been some disruption in his life after 1116 when, as Lloyd noted, the very full Llanbadarn-orientated section of the chronicle comes to an end.⁷⁵ The displacement of native clergy by monks of St Peter's is never mentioned in the *Brut*, but a vital clue to Daniel's feelings, and possibly to the fate of the *claswyr* is given at the close of the annal for 1116: 'meanwhile, the year came to a close, irksome and hateful to everyone'.⁷⁶ And that there had been a major displacement of the *claswyr* is strongly suggested by Gerald's comment on the history of Llanbadarn Fawr in the early decades of the century:

In the reign of King Henry I, when the English were still in control of Wales, St Peter's monastery in Gloucester administered this church in peace and tranquility. After Henry's death [1135] the English were driven out and the monks expelled. As I have explained, laymen took forcible possession of the church and brought in their own clergy.⁷⁷

It is of course possible that some of the *claswyr* stayed at Llanbadarn Fawr after 1116. This may have been the case with another of Sulien's sons, Arthen, who is known to have had a son named Henri.⁷⁸ That he was given an Anglo-Norman name suggests that Henri was born during the period of Anglo-Norman occupation of Ceredigion, and in an environment in which cooperation with the occupiers was to his father's advantage.

If Daniel moved to Powys in 1116, and Arthen remained at Llanbadarn Fawr, what of their brother Ieuan? When he died in 1137, Ieuan was recorded in the *Brutiau* as the 'archpriest' of Llanbadarn Fawr, but this need not imply that he had been resident there throughout the period of occupation by St Peter's. If he was already a senior figure in the *clas* in 1116 he may well have found the establishment of control by monks from Gloucester to be insupportable. It is tempting to conjecture that he may have sought refuge from the events at Llanbadarn Fawr, for a time at least, in another important church associated with the cult of Padarn. Ieuan was of course a literary figure, whose work reveals a great concern with the importance of Padarn. As well as the *Vita Sancti Paterni* Ieuan produced a Latin poem, primarily about his own family, but which included twenty-five lines about Padarn. Additionally, at the top of one of the pages of Augustine's *De Trinitate*, which Ieuan copied and illustrated, he wrote a two-line prayer addressed to Padarn, and at the top of another a Welsh quatrain in praise of Padarn's staff, Cyrrwen.⁷⁹ But

he was also deeply conscious of the importance of the visual arts, for he is well attested as a major illuminator.⁸⁰ If Ieuan was indeed the source of the suggestions that produced the scene depicted on the left capital, then the Llanbadarn doorway might well be dated to some point in the years after the traumatic events at Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion, in 1116.

D.S.

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NOTES

1. Grid reference SO 087 642.
2. E. G. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff, 1956), 53–4, 146, 148. The three Radnorshire sites are, north to south, Llanbadarn Fynydd, Llanbadarn Fawr itself and Llanbadarn Garreg.
3. Llanbadarn Fawr, Ceredigion, in the late eleventh century had a community that is described by Nora Chadwick as ‘a centre of clerical activity wholly monastic in character . . . neither Benedictine nor Cistercian, but . . . of the early Welsh *clas*, with its hereditary succession to the abbacy, its married clerks and its fully developed family life . . . [its culture] both Celtic and Latin’; see N. K. Chadwick, ‘Intellectual life in West Wales in the last days of the Celtic Church’, in *Studies in the Early British Church*, N. K. Chadwick, *et al.* (Cambridge, 1958), 8. See also M. Lapidge, ‘The Welsh-Latin poetry of Sulien’s family’, *Studia Celtica* 8–9 (1973–74), 68–106. To avoid confusion, the place in Radnorshire/Powys will be called simply ‘Llanbadarn’ in what follows.
4. A. Jordan, *History of the church and parish of Llanbadarn-Fawr* (Brecon, 1926), illus. 2. See also web-site www.cpat.demon.co.uk/projects/longer/churches/radnor/16810
5. R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright, *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1965), 139, item 416; W. J. Britnell, ‘Capel Maelog, Llandrindod Wells, Powys: excavations 1984–87’, *Medieval Archaeology* 34 (1990), 46–6, 86–7. The structures were twelfth- to thirteenth-century. Jordan *op. cit.* (note 4) 6, optimistically suggests the Roman stone came from a bridge over the Ithon.
6. M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), 269, describes two corbels reset in the porch at Llanbadarn, a ‘sheila-na-gig and a janus’. These are common types in England, and are both illustrated on the web-site www.sheelanagig.org. They could have been carved by the same sculptor as the remainder.
7. The other is at Penmon priory, Anglesey, see Thurlby *op. cit.* (note 6), 267–9, 204.
8. Information kindly supplied by Dr John H. Davies. For stone used in the restoration, see Jordan *op. cit.* (note 4), 3.
9. S. W. Williams, ‘Radnorshire churches: Llanbadarn Fawr’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 4th ser., 5 (1874), 51–2 and pl. opp. 51.
10. P. Lord, *The Visual Culture of Wales: Medieval Vision* (Cardiff, 2003), 73.

11. For the sculpture at Beckford (Worcs.) see www.crsbi.ac.uk, the web-site of the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*. The structure of a doorway with tympanum seems variable: consider, for example, the skilfully-carved Prior's doorway at Ely Cathedral (Cambs.) on the same web-site. This resembles Llanbadarn, not Beckford, in the way the 'lintel' relates to the imposts.
12. Illustrated in C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolic Sculpture still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain* (2nd edn, London, 1927) figs 34–41, 43.
13. L. Musset, *Angleterre Romane* 1, (La Pierre qui Vire, 1967), pl. 116.
14. The inscription runs along the bottom face edge of the tympanum and on the lintel: '+premia pro meritis si q[u]is desp[er]et habenda / audiat hic prec[e]pta sibi que si[n]t retinenda+'. See *A History of the County of Buckingham. Volume 2*, Victoria County History (1908), 279; Keyser op. cit. (note 12), xxx.
15. A voussoir on the doorway at Foston, North Riding has a similar head of a lion, there it is the source of the four rivers of Paradise. The motif might be based on the lion waterspout common on ornamental fountains, as in Islamic gardens. Both uses picture Christ as the source of Life.
16. Compare, for example, R. Wood, 'The Romanesque tomb-slab at Bridlington priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 75 (2003), 73–4, figs 1, 9.
17. Thurlby op. cit. (note 6), 269.
18. R. Wood, 'Geometric patterns in English Romanesque sculpture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 154 (2001), 22–3; E. Gethyn-Jones, *The Dymock School of Sculpture* (London, 1979), fig. 37.b (Kempley chancel arch wall-painting). Step pattern is used, for example, in the Lindisfarne Gospels.
19. Wood op. cit. (note 18), 7–9.
20. For Beckford, see above, note 11. The representation of God or one of the Trinity by a distinctive large star is not common but occurs also on a tympanum at Great Rollright (Gloucs.), where it represents God lighting heaven, with resurrecting men below, see Keyser op. cit. (note 12), fig. 53; also Wood op. cit. (note 18), fig. 12. At Ridlington (Rutland), the star probably represents the Holy Spirit in a Trinity, the other two persons being represented by animal symbols, see Keyser op. cit. (note 12), fig. 48. A plaque at Churcham (Gloucs.), Gethyn-Jones op. cit. (note 18), pl. 1c, has a human figure clutching a trefoil spray of foliage in each hand, and to the sides, a large ring enclosing a cross. The elements recur in the tympanum at Linley (Shrops.): both show a man in Paradise surrounded by foliage-life and light.
21. Snakes in many varieties take up a large section of most bestiaries, the creatures are simple or winged, with no, two or four legs.
22. The wyvern is a snake with one pair of winged legs. Snakes usually have ears, an exception being those on some Cornish fonts.
23. This third option, comparable to the engineer's 'exploded diagram', is rare, but is used, for example, in an illustration of the Fall in the St Albans Psalter, p. 17: the serpent visible to Eve is in reality part of the Devil higher up the tree.
24. Summarised in Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, 4.5, 4.26.
25. T. H. White, *Book of Beasts* (Stroud, 1984), 187; J. H. Wheatcroft, 'Classical ideology in the medieval bestiary', in D. Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast* (New York, 1999), 141–59. The bestiary snake is a metaphor for the change from an earthly body to a spiritual body, not mentioning the soul.
26. Since this form for the soul is only used in the context of resurrection it probably derived from

- the first usage. The soul leaving the body at death is usually shown as a small naked figure. And see note 24.
27. Augustine of Hippo, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, ch. v.
 28. See, Wood, op. cit. (note 16), 68–9. At Rock, Worcs., two symmetrical snakes represent the soul (or spiritual counsellor) of a living man, see R. Wood, ‘The Romanesque tympanum at Fownhope, Herefordshire, and the functioning of the Herefordshire School of Romanesque sculpture’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalist’s Field Club* 53 (2005), 70–1.
 29. M. Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture*, (Logaston, 1999), figs 36, 57. Figs 32, 64, 225, for example, illustrate snakes in regular patterns. A voussoir of the Kilpeck doorway has a sequence of five snakes forming a closed ring, with some unknown, but perhaps related, significance.
 30. A. Jordan, ‘Norman doorway, Llanbadarn Fawr, Radnorshire’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6th ser., 11 (1911), 250–1.
 31. Winchester Psalter, see C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (London, 1975), ill. 94, 223.
 32. The *Vita Sancti Paterni* survives in one manuscript only, a copy made about 1200, London, B. Lib. MS Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, fos 80^v–84^v. For text and translation, see A. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), 252–69; also C. Thomas and D. Howlett, ‘“Vita Sancti Paterni”: the Life of Saint Padarn and the original “Miniū”’, *Trivium* 33 (2003). Wade-Evans suggests a date c. 1120, Thomas and Howlett, c. 1080. Line numbers quoted in the text follow the edition of Thomas and Howlett.
 33. The names of historic or legendary kings are used (Arthur, Maelgwn, Caradog) but their proper characters seem to be disregarded—unless some allusions remain to be discovered.
 34. For Gerald of Wales on how the Welsh wore their hair, see his *Description of Wales*, book. 1, chapter xi. The Welsh would in all cases shave the beard, but otherwise his description is not precise enough for the present purpose. The human figure, perhaps an evangelist, on the Llanbadarn Fawr high cross has long curling hair after an Irish model, see N. Edwards, *A Corpus of early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales, Volume II, South-West Wales* (Cardiff, 2007), 136.
 35. Individuals in twelfth-century art definitely characterised as ‘bad’ by their hair are few, but Superbia has wild locks in a *Psychomachia*, and a luxuriating youth on a capital at Melbourne, Derbys, has long hair in one ridged mass (both 1120s).
 36. St Peter, holding a crozier and blessing, similarly faces outward on sculpture at many English churches. Quotation from the *Carmen de vita et familia Sulgeni* in E. G. Bowen, *A History of Llanbadarn Fawr* (Llandysul, 1979), 37. For full text of the poem see Lapidge op. cit. (note 3), 80–9. Lapidge, 100, observes that the Padarn portrayed by Ieuan in the *Carmen* ‘prayed incessantly’, but ‘the author of the *Vita S. Paterni* . . . wished to portray a militant and active saint.’
 37. Quoting George Zarnecki in his foreword to Gethyn-Jones op. cit. (note 18), xiii; see also Thurlby op. cit. (note 29), 20–3, 152, and op. cit. (note 6), 267; also J. Hunt, ‘Sculpture, dates and patrons: dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture’, *Antiquaries Journal* 84 (2004), 185–222. The term ‘School’ serves a purpose recognised by all, but can give a misleading impression of the historical reality.
 38. Gethyn-Jones op. cit. (note 18), pls 37–9, also 8, n. 13.
 39. An early post-Conquest cylindrical font at Cleckheaton, West Riding, has two heads with very long beards of this kind; also, M. F. Hearn, *Romanesque Sculpture: the revival of monumental stone sculpture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Oxford, 1981), fig. 25, sculpture c. 1080 at St Benoit-sur-Loire.

40. Wood op. cit. (note 18), 31.
41. Hunt op. cit. (note 37), 191–9, 204.
42. Thurlby op. cit. (note 29), fig. 54, a panel at Kilpeck; Thurlby op. cit (note 6), 269.
43. See Gethyn-Jones op. cit. (note 18), pls 19–21a, 78–9, pl. 22b; Keyser op. cit (note 12), pls 29A, 29D, 29, 30. They seldom used any other design, although the tympana at Moccas, Herefs, can be linked to the School by carvings on the Bromyard font. The animals at Moccas and Llanbadarn are not by the same craftsman, nor symbolically equivalent.
44. Allowing for development of skills over time, the head corbel and the figure of Padarn at Llanbadarn might perhaps be linked to corbels at Kilpeck, specifically no. 31 a bearded head and no. 47, a falling figure, see Thurlby op. cit (note 29), fig. 94; and compare lions, note 42.
45. See note 20.
46. For the archdeacons of Brecon before Gerald of Wales (Elias and Jordan) see Matthew J. Pearson, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300, Volume 9: The Welsh Cathedrals* (London, 2003), 54–6. For the location of Maelienydd within the archdeaconry see H. E. Butler (ed. and trans.), *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales* (new edn, Woodbridge, 2005), 46. William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (London 1967), pl. 33, provides a map of the dioceses and archdeaconries as they had developed by the mid-twelfth century.
47. See P. C. Bartrum (ed.), *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966), 104 and for discussion K. L. Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England in the Eleventh Century* (Woodbridge, 1991), 45–8.
48. Thomas Jones (ed. and trans.), *Brut y Tywysogyon . . . Red Book of Hergest Version* (Cardiff, 1955), 114–15.
49. *Ibid.*, 118–19 for the killing of two of Madog's sons, Hywel and Cadwgan in 1142 and Hugh Mortimer's repair of Cymaron castle and re-conquest of Maelienydd (*gweresgynnawd eilweith Uaelenyd*) in 1144. J Williams ab Ithel (ed.), *Annales Cambriae* (London, 1860), 42 [the C-text] claims that Helias de Say, (for so we should read the otherwise nonsensical *de se*) lord of Clun, adjacent to northern Maelienydd, was behind the killings of Hywel and Cadwgan.
50. Jones, op. cit. (note 48), 120–1.
51. *Ibid.*, 140–1.
52. David Stephenson, 'Madog ap Maredudd *Rex Powissensium*', *Welsh History Review* 24 (2008), 16–17. For Hugh's conflict with Henry II see Charles Hopkinson and Martin Speight, *The Mortimers, Lords of the March* (Logaston, 2002), 34–5.
53. For the seizure of Einion Clud see Jones, op. cit. (note 48), 140–1, where the entry follows immediately the notice of the deaths of Madog ap Maredudd and his son Llywelyn. The 1160 conflict between Gwynedd and Powys is discussed in Stephenson, 'Madog ap Maredudd', 22–4.
54. Butler, op. cit. (note 46), 46–8.
55. For discussion of the institution of *clas* see Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales* (Oxford, 1993), 186–7.
56. 1104 is the date accepted by J. F. A. Mason in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), s.n. Mortimer, Hugh (II) de. C. P. Lewis's article, *ibid.*, s.n. Mortimer, Ralph (I) de, notes that Ralph died at some point after 1104, but that the date of his death is not known. J. C. Dickinson and P. T. Ricketts, 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Club* 39 (1969), 415, comment that Ralph died at an unknown date in the period 1104–28, though it is difficult to establish the grounds for their *terminus ante quem*.
57. J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest*, vol. 2 (London, 1939), 402–3.
58. *Ibid.*, 389–90.

59. Ibid., 397, 402.
60. For a reassessment of events in Brycheiniog at this period see David Stephenson, 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy: dating and significance', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (forthcoming).
61. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (eds.), 1, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869), 300–1.
62. The letter is assigned, *ibid.*, to 1095; Lloyd, *History of Wales* 403, n.13 argues for some point in the period 1098–1102. In the light of the argument advanced in 'Mawl Hywel ap Goronwy', (note 60) a date in 1102 seems probable.
63. See the account in the entry on Wigmore Priory in J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (eds) William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* 6 (London, 1830), 348–50. The 'History' is there styled *Fundationis et Fundatorum Historia*. The original manuscript is in the University of Chicago Library: see the important paper by Mary E. Giffin, 'A Wigmore manuscript at the University of Chicago', *The National Library of Wales Journal* 7 (1952), 316–25.
64. *Monasticon* (note 63), 349.
65. David J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, vol. 2 (New York and London, 1983), 406–7, 412, (and 416, n.74 for a jaundiced view of the Mortimer 'History'). See also the careful description of the site in Paul Remfry, *Castles of Radnorshire* (Logaston, 1996), 90–91—though there are no grounds for the confident placing of the castle's construction in 1093/5.
66. Cefn Lllys II/Dinieithon is located at SO 092630; Cefn Lllys at SO 089613.
67. Jones, *op. cit.* (note 48), 114–15.
68. See *ibid.*, 58–9: some of the Welsh who were fleeing from Ceredigion in 1109 made for Arwystli, but 'the men of Maelienydd met them and killed them'. This does not seem to be a reference to an action by 'French' forces, which are usually named as such.
69. For the attribution of the *Vita Sancti Paterni* to Ieuan see Thomas and Howlett, *op. cit.* (note 32), 65–7. On the family of Sulien see, as well as the works cited in note 3, J. E. Lloyd, 'Bishop Sulien and his Family', *The National Library of Wales Journal* 2 (1941–42), 1–6; A. Peden, 'Science and Philosophy in Wales at the time of the Norman Conquest: A Macrobius manuscript from Llanbadarn', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 2 (1981), 21–46; Gillian L. Conway, 'Towards a cultural context for the eleventh-century Llanbadarn Manuscripts', *Ceredigion* 13 (1997), 9–28.
70. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, 432.
71. *Ibid.*, 433.
72. For the assumption by the new priory of the rights and lands of the *clas*, Bernard's attestation of the foundation charter, and the date thereof, see *ibid.*, 432 and n.111.
73. Pearson, *op. cit.*, (note 46), 39; *idem.*, 'The Creation and Development of the St Asaph Cathedral Chapter, 1141–1293', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 40 (2000), 35–56. David Stephenson proposes to deal with the politics of Daniel's archdeaconry elsewhere.
74. David Stephenson, 'The "Resurgence" of Powys in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (Woodbridge, 2008), 184–8.
75. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, 433.
76. Jones, *op. cit.*, (note 48), 100–1.
77. Lewis Thorpe, (trans.) *Gerald of Wales. The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 180.
78. Jones, *op. cit.*, (note 48), 144–5.
79. See Conway, *op. cit.*, (note 69), 11.
80. *Ibid.*, *passim*.