

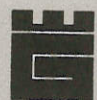
Hanes y Cymry

A history of the Welsh

The Dragon Has Two Tongues



OES Y TYWYSOGION
THE AGE OF THE PRINCES



CHANNEL FOUR TELEVISION

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Wynford Vaughan Thomas Gwyn A Williams

"... everything that has happened in the past is still influencing us about what we feel about the present, and indeed what we feel about the future." "But the past is something we construct from the present. You called me a magpie. Every historian is a magpie including yourself, and the facts you choose invariably seem to me to turn Welsh history into something cosy, smug, and invariably support whatever status quo exists."

"I called you a Marxist magpie. The Marxist picks out certain facts in history to create a pattern for the pre-destined future." "That is rubbish. What the Marxist does is see history as a process advancing through contradiction and you route yourself in whole peoples, not in tiny elites."

OES Y TYWYSOGION THE AGE OF THE PRINCES

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Dechreu hanes Cymru gyda Maccsen Wledig

Welsh History begins with Maccsen Wledig

Dechreu hanes Cymru â Maccsen o leiaf yng ngolwg ysgrifenywyr cyntaf hanes Cymru. Yn 383OC datganwyd Maccsen Wledig yn ymherodr gan y fyddin Rufeinig ym Mhrydain. Brodor o Hispania, gwasanaethodd y trawsfeddianwr hwn o gadfridog gyda Theodosius ac fe roddwyd Gymraes yn wraig iddo mewn chwedloniaeth. Yn dilyn buddugoliaeth dros y Pictiaid a'r Sgotiaid, fe aeth â'r llengoedd o Brydain i ymgyrchu yng Nghâl. Fe'i lladdwyd wrth ymosod ar Milan yn 387 OC. Daeth Maccsen yn ffigur canolog yn nhraddodiadau hanesyddol Cymru. Yn y traddodiadau hynny dyddir cwmp Prydain Rufeinig o'r amser yr aeth Maccsen â'r llengoedd o Brydain. Mynnodd y traddodiad hefyd iddo drosglwyddo awdurdod cyfreithlon i lywodraethu i arweinwyr Celtaidd lleol cyn iddo ymadael.

Oherwydd prinder ffynonellau ysgrifenedig gorfodir yr hanesydd i droi at ffynonellau llenyddol a chwedlonol. O fewn y chwedl a'i haddurn ceir yn aml ronyn o wirionedd. Y mae chwedlau'n bwysig hefyd am fod yr hyn y crëdder yn llawn mor dyr a gorffennol yn llawn ydyddylanwadol yn aml â'r hyn a ddigwyddodd mewn gwirionedd. Yma ymddengys Maccsen yn nhestun yr oesoedd tywyll, Y Mabinogi (2,3) fel Maccsen Wledig. Enghraifft wych ydyw o sut y mae chwedloniaeth yn gweithio gan gyfuno digwyddiadau wasgaredig i lunio cyfanwaith.

Ymddengys ar un waith fel Maccsen, Ymherodr Rhufain, ac fel Iwl Cesar. Priodolir goresgyniad Prydain i'w freuddwyd am Helen deg o Segontium (Seiont). Hefyd y mae'r chwedl yn cynnig eglurhad ar y rhwydwaith hynod o ffyrdd Rhufeinig yng Nghymru'r oesoedd tywyll a fuasai mor amlwg ar y pryd.

Welsh history begins with Maximus – at least in the view of the first writers of Welsh history. In 383AD the Roman army in Britain proclaimed Magnus Maximus as Emperor (1). A native of Hispania, this usurping general served in Britain with Theodosius and was endowed in legend with a Welsh wife. Following a victory over the Picts and Scots he 'withdrew the legions' from Britain to campaign in Gaul. During a march on Milan in 387 he was killed in action. Maximus became a central figure in Welsh historical traditions. In those traditions, the fall of Roman Britain is dated from his withdrawal of the legions. From this tradition it follows that before he left he had delegated legitimate authority to govern to local Celtic rulers.

Because of the paucity of written sources the historian is sometimes forced to turn to literary sources and legend. Inside the legend and embellishment are often a few grains of truth. Legends are important in another sense because what people believe to have happened is often just as influential as what actually did happen. Here Maximus appears in the Dark Ages text *The Mabinogion* (2,3) as Maccsen Wledig. It is an illuminating example of the way legend often works by rolling the disparate events into an entity. He appears as Maccsen, Roman Emperor and Julius Caesar in one, and the invasion of Britain is attributed to his dream of the fair Helen of Segontium. The legend also offers an explanation of a feature which must still have been very much in evidence in Dark Age Wales, the impressive Roman road network.



1

THE DREAM OF MACCSEN WLEDIG

... And straightaway the emperor set out with his host, and those men as their guide. Towards the Island of Britain they came, over sea and ocean, and he conquered the Island from Beli son of Manogan and his sons, and drove them into the sea. And he came straight on to Arfon; and the emperor recognized the land the moment he saw it. And the moment he saw the castle of Aber Seint, 'See yonder,' said he, 'the castle wherein I saw the lady I love best.' And he came straight to the castle and into the hall, and there he saw Cynan son of Eudaf and Gadeon son of Eudaf playing at gwyddbwyll. And he saw Eudaf son of Caradawg sitting in a chair of ivory, carving pieces for the gwyddbwyll. The maiden he had seen in his sleep he saw sitting in the chair of red gold. 'Empress of Rome,' said he, 'all hail!' And the emperor threw his arms around her neck. And that night he slept with her.

And on the morrow early the maiden asked for her maiden fee, because she had been found a maid; and he asked her to name her maiden fee. And she named for her father the Island of Britain from the North Sea to the Irish Sea, and the three adjacent islands, to be held under the empress of Rome, and that three chief strongholds be made for her in the three places she might choose in the Island of Britain. And then she chose that the most exalted stronghold should be made for her in Arfon, and soil from Rome was brought there so that it might be healthier for the emperor to sleep and sit and move about. Later the other two strongholds were made for her, none other than Caer Llion and Caer Fyrddin.

And one day the emperor went to Caer Fyrddin to hunt, and he went as far as the top of Y Frenni Fawr, and there the emperor pitched his tent. And that camping-ground is called Cadeir Faccsen from that day to this. Caer Fyrddin, on the other hand, was so named because the stronghold was built by a myriad men.

Thereafter Elen thought to make high roads from one stronghold to another across the Island of Britain. And the roads were made. And for that reason they are called the Roads of Elen of the Hosts, because she was sprung from the Island of Britain, and the men of the Island of Britain would not have made those great hostings for any save her.

*I 560 E. I have
been a chieftain of
Beli son of Manogan. My
name is Beli. I was
killed by the Romans
in the year 387. My
wife was a Welsh woman.
I was killed in the
year 387. My wife was
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killed in the year 387.
My wife was a Welsh
woman. I was killed in
the year 387. My wife
was a Welsh woman.*

Goresgyniad Prydain gan y Rhufeiniaid

The Roman Conquest of Britain

Ar yr olwg gyntaf ymddengys gweithiau'r awduron clasurol yn ffynhonnell addawol. Eu fersiynau hwy o oresgyniad Prydain gan y Rhufeiniaid yw'r cyfeiriadau ysgrifenedig cyntaf sydd gennym; y trobwynt o gyn-hanes i hanes. Fodd bynnag, nid gwyddonwyr gwrthrychol mohonynt. Ysgrifennent ar gyfer cynulleidfa a chanddi ragdybiaethau ynghylch brodorion barbaraid a sut y disgwyliid iddynt ymddwyn. Cofier hefyd fod Tacitus (Tegid), yn y darn detholedig, yn ysgrifennu am bethau a ddisgrifir gan ymddwyddedd cyn ei eni; digwyddiadau yr oedd aelod o'i deulu ei hun wedi chwarae rhan flaenllaw ynddynt. Fodd bynnag, yma ceir y disgrifiadau cyfoesol llawnaf o Brydain Oes yr Haearn ar adeg y goresgyniad. Daw'r darnau yma o'r awdur Rhufeinig Tacitus (Tegid). Y mae'r cerflun yn dod o golofn Trajan.

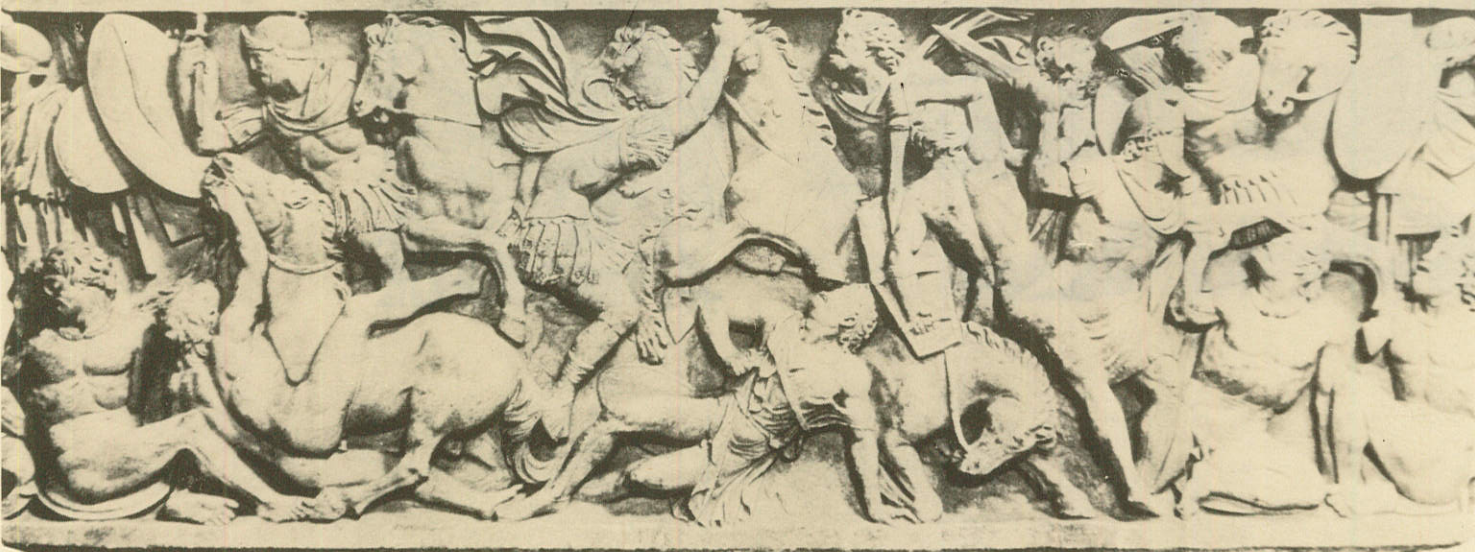
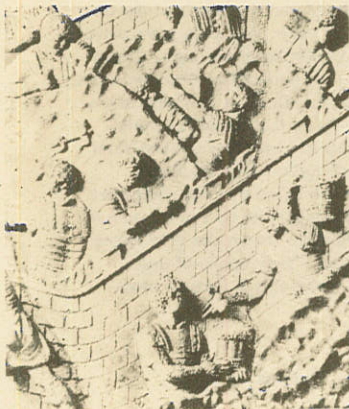
The writings of classical authors appear to be a promising source of information at first sight. Their accounts of the Roman conquest of Britain are the first written references we have and mark the transition from prehistory into history.

They were not detached scientific observers, however, and were writing for an audience with preconceived ideas about barbarian natives and how they would behave. Furthermore, in the account selected, Tacitus was writing about events which had occurred some years before his birth in which a member of his own family had played a prominent part. None the less, the accounts do offer the fullest contemporary description we have of the state of Iron Age Britain at the time of the conquest. The extracts here are from the Roman author Tacitus. The sculpture is from Trajan's Column.

Their strength is in their infantry. Some tribes also fight from chariots. The nobleman drives, his dependants fight in his defence. Once they owed obedience to kings; now they are distracted between the jarring factions of rival chiefs. Indeed, nothing has helped us more in war with their strongest nations than their inability to co-operate. It is but seldom that two or three states unite to repel a common danger; fighting in detail they are conquered wholesale. The climate is objectionable, with its frequent rains and mists, but there is no extreme cold. Their day is longer than is normal in the Roman world. The night is bright and, in the extreme North, short, with only a brief interval between evening and morning twilight. If no clouds block the view, the sun's glow, it is said, can be seen all night long. It does not set and rise, but simply passes along the horizon. The reason must be that the ends of the earth, being flat, cast low shadows and cannot raise the darkness to any height; night therefore fails to reach the sky and its stars. The soil can bear all produce, except the olive, and vine, and other natives of warmer climes, and it is fertile. Crops are slow to ripen but quick to grow - both facts due to one and the same cause, the extreme moistness of land and sky. Britain yields gold, silver and other metals, to make it worth conquering. Ocean, too, has its pearls, but they are dusky and mottled. Some think that the natives are unskilful in gathering them. Whereas in the Red Sea the oysters are torn alive and breathing from the rocks, in Britain, they are collected as the sea throws them up. . . .

The Britons themselves submit to the levy, the tribute and other charges of the Empire with cheerful readiness provided there is no abuse. That they bitterly resent for they are broken to obedience not to slavery . . .

. . . Such was the state of Britain, such the vicissitudes of war that Agricola found waiting for him when he crossed the Channel with the summer half spent, a season when campaigning seems to be over and our troops tend to relax, while our enemies seek to profit thereby. Shortly before his arrival the tribe of the Ordovices had almost wiped out a squadron of cavalry stationed in their territory, and this initial stroke had excited the province. The war-party welcomed the lead, and only waited to test the temper of the new legate. The summer was far spent, the irregulars were scattered over the province, the legionaries were assuming that there would be no more fighting that year. Everything, in fact, combined to hamper or thwart a new campaign, and many were in favour of simply watching where the danger lay. In spite of all Agricola decided to go and meet the threat. He drew together detachments of the legions and a small force of auxiliaries. As the Ordovices did not venture to meet him in the plain, he marched his men into the hills, himself in the van, to lend his own courage to the rest by sharing their peril. Thus he cut to pieces almost the whole fighting force of the nation. But he realized that he must not lag behind his reputation and that the success of his first enterprises would decide how much his other enemies would fear him. He decided, therefore, to reduce the island of Anglesey, from the occupation of which Paulinus had been recalled by the revolt of all Britain, as I described in an earlier chapter. The plan was hastily conceived, and there was no fleet at hand; the resource and resolution of the general had to take the troops across. Agricola picked out the best of his auxiliaries, who had experience of fords and had been trained at home to swim and arms and horses under control beside them, and made them discard their whole equipment. He then launched them on a surprise attack, and the enemy, who had been thinking in terms of fleet, ships and naval warfare, completely lost their heads. What could embarrass or defeat a foe who attacked like that? They sued for peace and surrendered the island; and Agricola, in a flash, found himself enjoying reputation and respect. Had he not, at his very first entrance to the province, deliberately chosen a difficult and dangerous enterprise, at a time usually devoted to pageantry and ceremonial visits? Yet Agricola would not let success tickle his vanity. He had kept under control a conquered people; he would not represent that as a campaign of conquest . . .





ROMANISATION

The following winter was spent on schemes of the most salutary kind. To induce a people, hitherto scattered, uncivilized and therefore prone to fight, to grow pleasantly inured to peace and ease, Agricola gave private encouragement and official assistance to the building of temples, public squares and private mansions. He praised the keen and scolded the slack, and competition to gain honour from him was as effective as compulsion. Furthermore, he trained the sons of the chiefs in the liberal arts and expressed a preference for British natural ability over the trained skill of the Gauls. The result was that in place of distaste for the Latin language came a passion to command it. In the same way, our national dress came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. And so the Britons were gradually led on to the amenities that make vice agreeable - arcades, baths and sumptuous banquets. They spoke of such novelties as 'civilization', when really they were only a feature of enslavement.

Tacitus

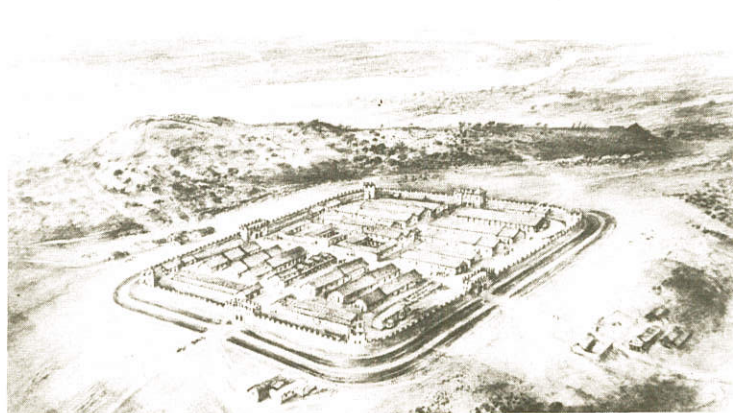


Cyfanheddu yng Nghymru cyn ac ar ôl y Rhufeiniaid

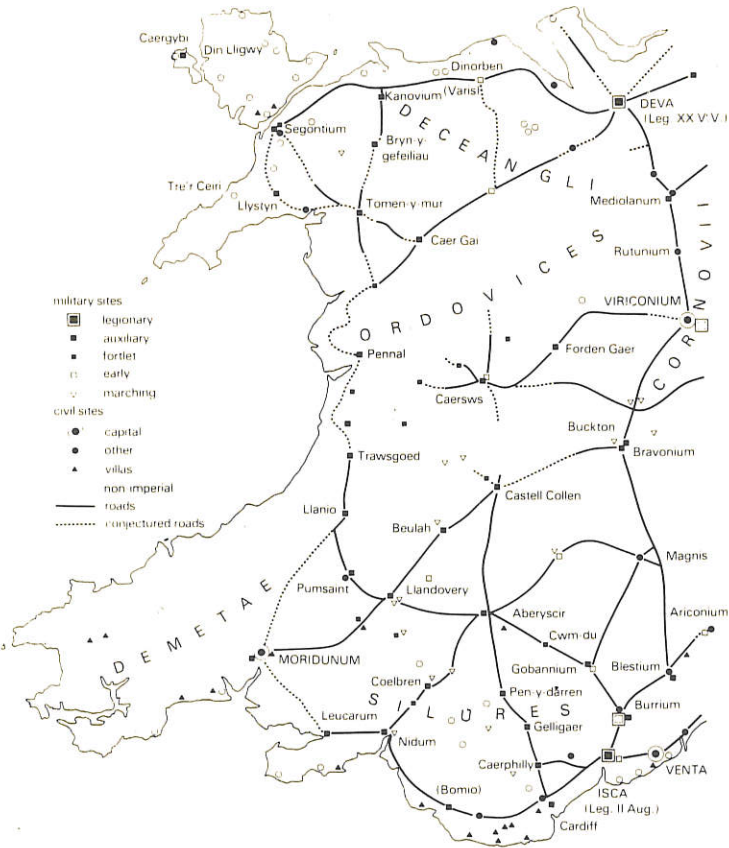
Roman and Post Roman Settlement in Wales

Sicrhawyd rheolaeth Rufeinig dros Gymru drwy adeiladu cyfres o gaerau a gysylltwyd gan rwydwaith godidog o ffyrdd (1). Nid tan Nid tan blynnyddoedd olaf y ddeunawfed ganrif y mwynhâi Cymru gyfundrefn gysylltiadau debyg i eiddo soffistigedig y Rhufeiniaid. Deva (Caer), Segontium (Caernarfon) (2,3), Isca (Caerllion) (4-6) a Moridunum (Caerfyrddin) oedd y prif ganolfannau o lywodraeth. Tyfodd anheddau o gwmpas rhai

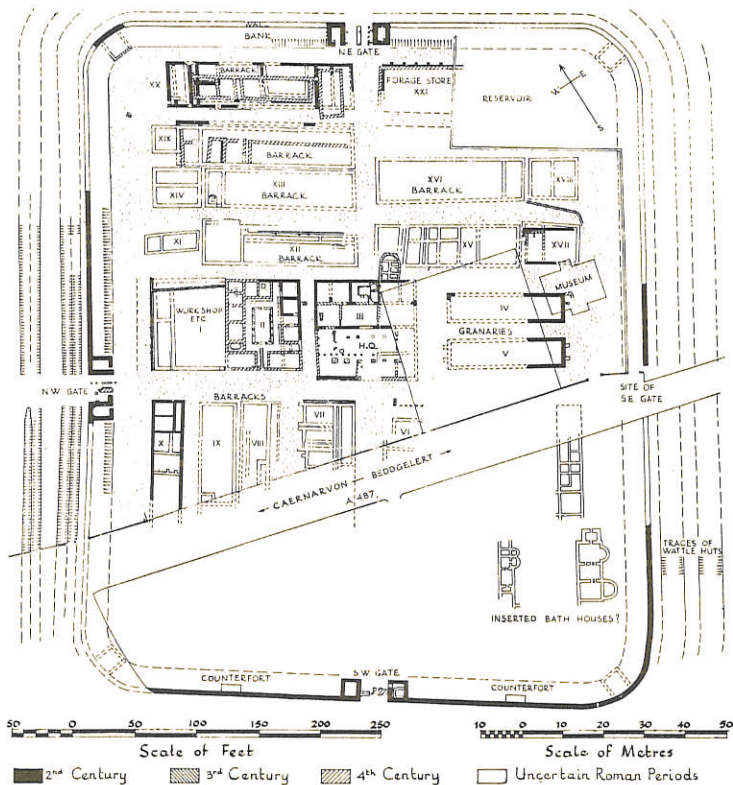
Roman control over Wales was secured by the construction of a chain of forts and fortlets throughout Wales connected by an impressive road network (1). Not until the late eighteenth century did Wales again enjoy a communications system approaching the sophistication of the Roman road system. The principal centres of control were Deva (Chester), Segontium (Caernarfon) (2-3), Isca (Caerleon) (4-6) and Moridunum (Carmarthen). Some of the forts



2



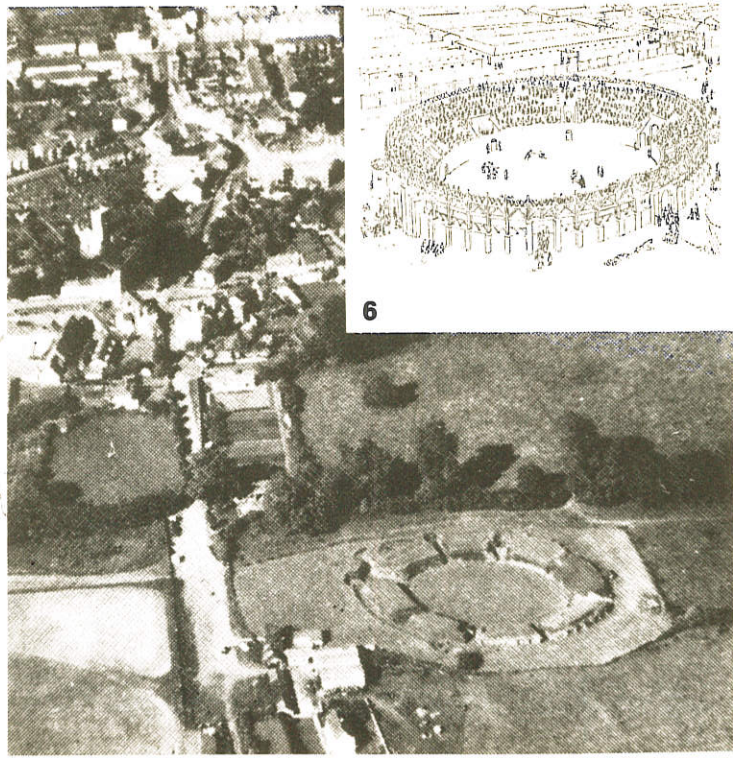
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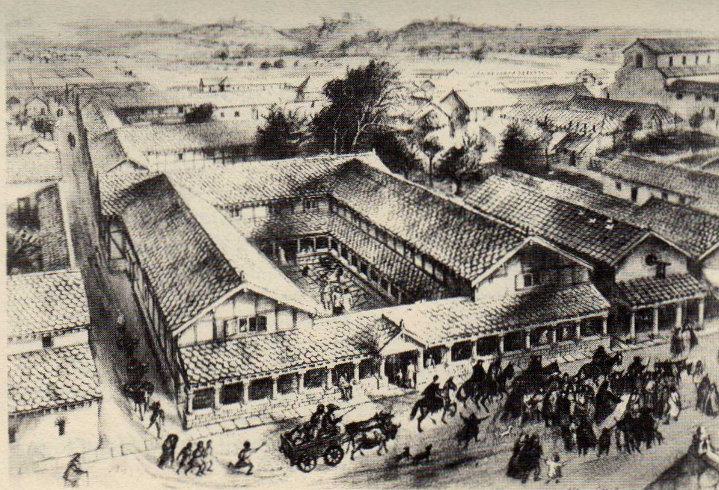


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o'r caerau hyn; anheddau wedi'u seilio ar ddiwydiant a masnach. Y mae Caerwent (7) yn enghraifft llai cyffredin o dref sifil. Trefnwyd y tri llwyth: y Silures, y Demetae a'r Cornovii yn gyman-wledydd Prydain-Rufeinig. Y mae Caerwent y Silures (Venta Silurum) yn enghraifft wych o bfr ddinas fechan, ond llewyrchus (8). Yr oedd canolfan debyg yng Nghaerfyrddin (Moridunum) ar gyfer y Demetae ac un fawr yn Wroxeter (Viriconium) ar gyfer y Cornovii. Amgylchynid y filas â stadau gwledig (9). Cadwodd y llwythau eraill at eu ffordd eu hunain o fyw i raddau helaeth. Tua diwedd y cyfnod Rhufeinig ail-feddiannwyd a moderneiddwyd eu bryngaerau. Yr oedd pobl yn byw yn Nhre'r Ceiri, Gwynedd (10) hyd ganol y drydedd ganrif bron ac fe'i hail-feddiannwyd ar ddiwedd y goresgyniad Rhufeinig. Gellir dadlau mai hon yw'r fryngaer hynotaf yng Nghymru, gyda thros 150 o breswylfeydd o fewn ei muriau. Trigfan fagwyredig o'r bumed ganrif yw Din Lligwy ym Môn gyda chytiau i'r gweithwyr haearn yn ogystal â phreswylfeydd. Edrychai llawer o dai carreg y cyfnod, a'u lloriau wedi'u palmantu, a'u carthffosiaeth, yn bur debyg i fersiynau brodorol y filas Rhufeinig. Daeth y cyfannedd yn Aberffraw, Sir Fôn, yntau yn sedd frenhinol i'r deyrnas Brydeinig yng Ngwynedd a ddaeth ar ôl ymadawiad y Rhufeiniaid. (Adluniadau gan Alan Sorrel, artist.)

became a nucleus for settlement and industrial and trading activities. Caerwent (7) is a more unusual example of a civilian town. The three tribes of the Silures, the Demetae and the Cornovii were organised into Romano-British commonwealths. Caerwent of the Silures (Venta Silurum) is a striking example of a small but long prosperous commonwealth capital (8). There was a similar centre at Moridunum (Carmarthen) for the Demetae and a large one at Viriconium (Wroxeter) for the Cornovii. They were ringed with country estates around the villas. (9)

The other tribes seem to have retained much of their lifestyle and their hillforts were, towards the end, re-occupied and modernised. Tre'r Ceiri in Gwynedd (10) remained occupied well into the third century and was re-occupied at the end of Roman rule. It is arguably the most impressive hill-fort township in Wales, with well over 150 huts inside the walls. Din Lligwy in Anglesey (11) is a walled residence of the fifth century with iron workers' huts as well as living accommodation. Many of the stone huts of the period were paved and drained and look like native versions of villas. The settlement at Aberffraw in Anglesey itself became the royal domain of the successor British kingdom of Gwynedd. Reconstructions are by the artist Alan Sorrel.

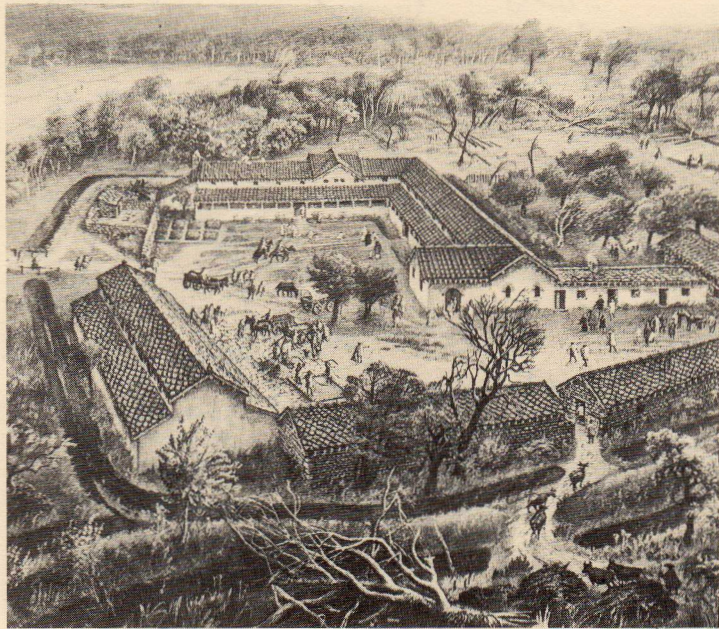


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Caerwent in Base Venteland is liii [miles] from Chepstow in the way to Cairlion. It was sumtyme a fair and a large cyte. The places where the liii. gates was yet appere, and the most part of the wal yet standeth, but al to minis chyd and to rne; in the lower part of the walle toward a lytle valey standeth yet the ruine of a stronge . . . within and about the walle now be a xvi. or xvii. smaull howses for husbandmen, of a new making, and a parochie church of S. Stephyn. In the towne yet appere paviments of the old streates, and yn digging they finde fundacions of greate brykes, tessellata pavimenta, & numismata argentea simul & aerea.

8

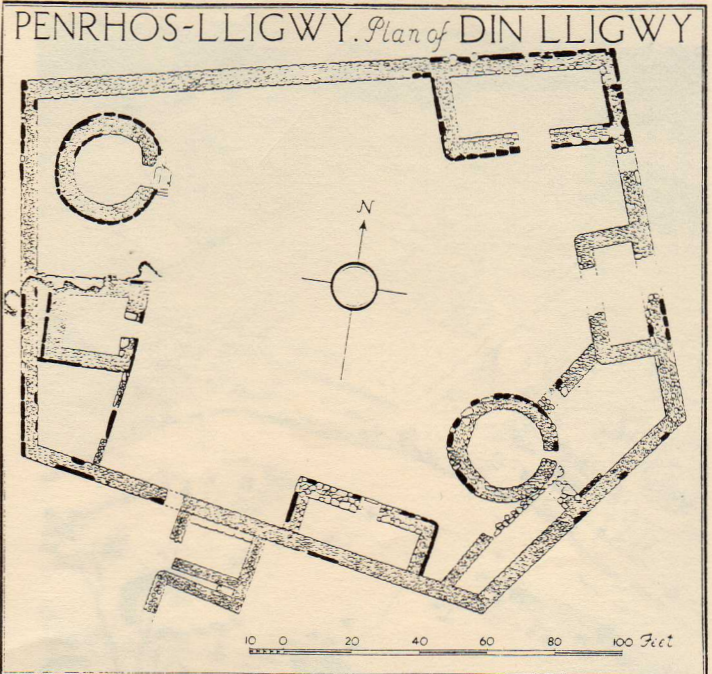
Leland, 1536



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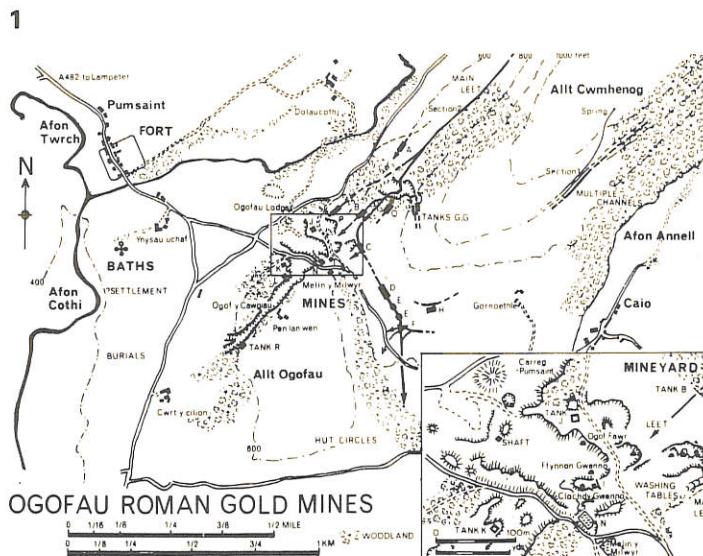
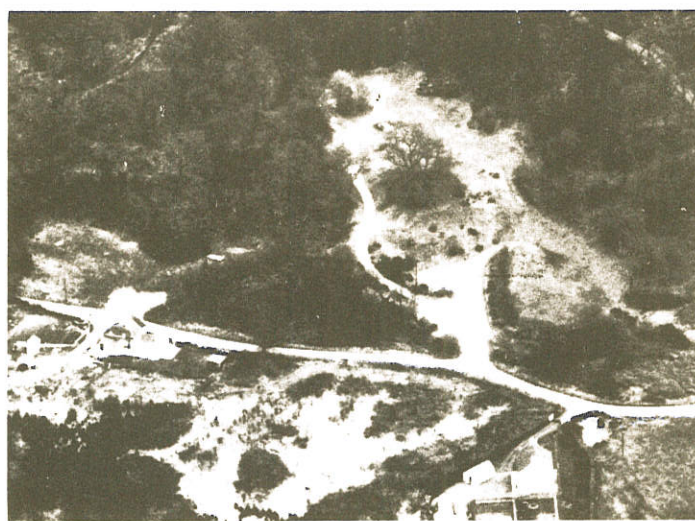
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Mwynglodd Dolau Cothi

Dolau Cothi Gold Mine

Mwynglodd Dolau Cothi Gweithiwyd mwyngloddiau Dolau Cothi (1) â chreffft a chynllun milwrol. Bu aur Cymru yn gymhellid bu cryf i'r goresgyniad Rhufeinig a'r fyddin a gychwynnodd yn drefnus i weithio'r mwyngloddiau. Gan ddefnyddio llafur carcharorion, trefnasant dwfau dwfn, gwnaethant gronffydd anferth, adeilasant ddyfnffos saith milltir ei hyd, torasant erwau o goedwig a boddasant yr ardal mewnol glaw asid (2). Ond yng nghanol yr ail ganrif OC cymerwyd y gweithiau drosodd gan lafur sifil. Dyma un o'r enghreifftiau cynharaf o reoli pwr dŵr (3-5) i garthu'r uwchbridd gan ddinoethi'r graig, ac, o bosibl, i ddiffodd tân a gynheuid er mwyn torri'r graig drwy ei gwresogi. Dywedir mai Dolau Cothi yw'r safle mwyaf datblygedig yn dechnegol a ddarganfuwyd hyd yn hyn ym Mhrydain Rufeinig. Dangosir hefyd stamp Rhufeinig ar gyfer ingots (6) a cherflun Rhufeinig o fwynwyr Iberaidd (7).

The Dolau Cothi mines (1) were executed with military precision and planning. Welsh gold was a major incentive for the Roman conquest and it was the military forces who began the methodical exploitation of the gold mines. Using convict labour they drove deep adits, trenched massive reservoirs, built a seven miles long aqueduct, cut down acres of forest and drenched the district in acid rain (2). Only in the middle of the second century AD did civilian labour take over. The mines offer one of the earliest examples of the large-scale, controlled use of water power for industrial purposes (3-5). Water was used for 'hushing' (scouring away the overlying topsoil to expose the rock), and possibly for fire setting (the rock surface being broken up by heating and subsequent quenching with water). Dolau Cothi is said to be the most technologically advanced site yet discovered in a Roman stamp for ingots (6) and a Roman stone carving of Iberian miners (7).



Map of the Ogofau Roman Gold Mines.

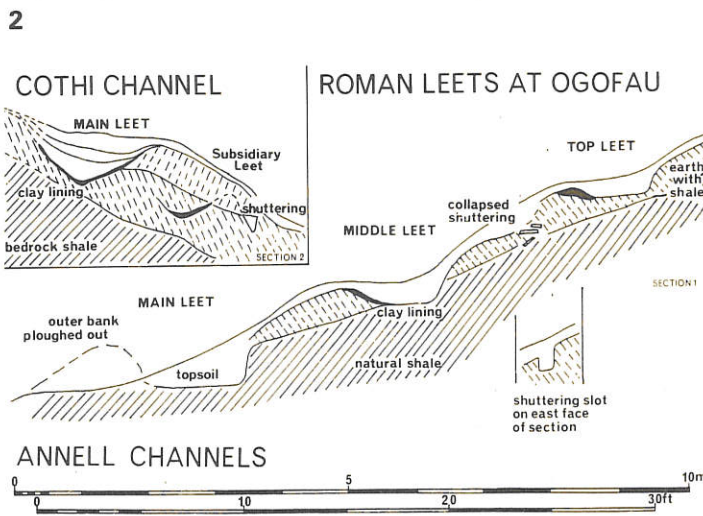


Diagram of the Roman leets at Ogofau.

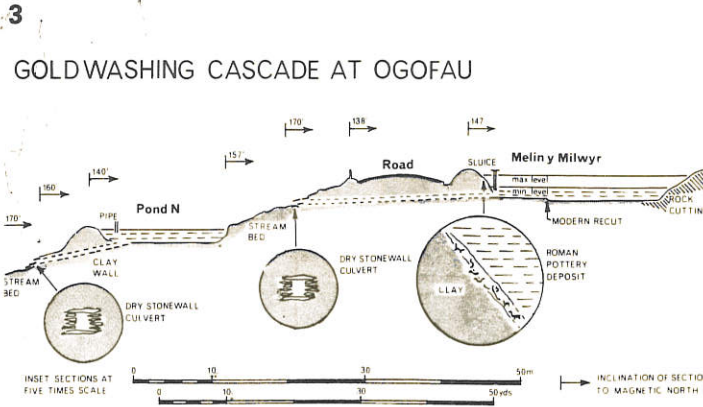


Diagram showing the operation of the gold-washing cascade at Ogofau.

It is significant that the closest resemblances are to Dacia, where gold-mining flourished in the middle second century, a date not far removed from that given by the finds at Dolaucothy villa. ... The upper adit is now closed, but the lower is level so far as can be judged by the eye, and the water seems to flow slowly outwards. A long the left side it is paved with large roughly-set slabs, to afford a dry walk. This is a variation of the combination of drainage and haulage adit, found at Rio Tinto, where the water flowed along a drain cut in the middle of the floor and boarded over. There is a narrower parallel to Dolaucothy at Ruda, where the stairway was not carried across, but a ditch was left on the right side. Thus the suggestion of a Norman date for Dolaucothy is untenable. The workings, in fact, show the highest level of Roman mining skill, and were probably a state enterprise; whereas the only mining operations in Britain under the Normans were shallow grubblings with no scientific technique.

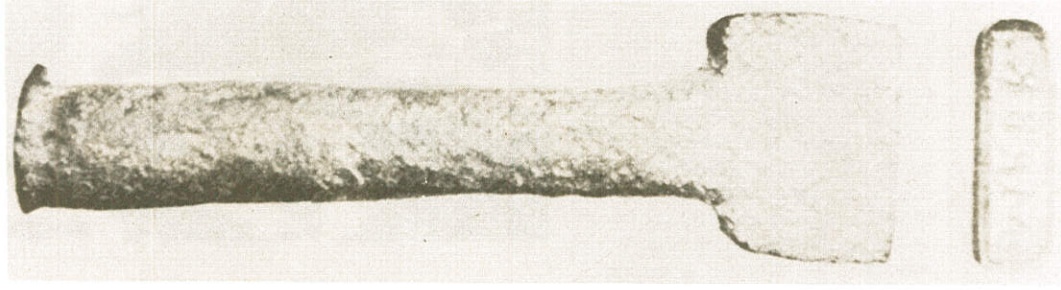
The ancients mainly worked free gold at the oxidised outcrops, but they probably also obtained silver in places. As slag has not been found, they cannot have descended far into the pyrites zone. They presumably pounded and milled the ore and then washed it with water from the aqueduct, though pits sunk by the river show a layer of probably pond-deposited silt overlaid by fragments of auriferous quartz, perhaps originally unoxidised rejects, which suggest ore-dressing there at a time when the aqueduct had not yet been constructed.

When attacking quartz or slate with many small veins, the Romans used fire-setting, which has left smooth concave surfaces. Elsewhere they drove with a gad, whose striations are visible on the gallery walls. Their adits are large, and in section rectangular or slightly arched, usually widest at the shoulder, like those at Skuriotissa and Rio Tinto. They were driven by splitting out the roof in stages of about 4 in., and then cutting back the face, as at Linares. One gallery turns at right angles along a vein, having first started to cross it, but without completing the lowest 1ft. of the next stage. The change of direction was probably decided after an assay, and the 4 1/2 ft. of rock cut out beyond the vein indicates the time-lag in completing the assay-test, probably by crushing and panning. No lamp-niches are known and the Mediterranean type of oil-lamp was probably not used in mines so far north.

Archaeologists' Report in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1936.

It is said to have been 'the only recognisable justification of the claim of Tacitus that gold was amongst the rewards of victory of the Roman conquest of Britain'. Some excavations in 1831 revealed tessellated pavements and hypocausts for heating - quite possibly the relics of the pit-head baths of the miners and officials. No other buildings have been observed, but excavation has been sporadic. The open-cast workings are numerous and obvious, but perhaps the most impressive memorial is the water conduit no less than 7 miles long, for the most part excavated in the solid rock and presumably completed by wooden troughs carried on trestle bridges. The hoard of gold objects said to have been found at the end of the eighteenth century is one of the finest from any Romano-British site and is deposited in the British and Carmarthen Museums. The works are impressive from their size and extent, but perhaps even more so from the evidence that they afford of peaceful conditions. The objects can be dated to the early second century.

Archaeologists' Report in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1949.



6



7

Celf Geltaidd, milwrol
a chartrefolCeltic Art, domestic and
military

5

Yn aml y mae gwybodaeth archaeolegol yn ymdrin ag agweddau ar fywyd sydd yn bur wahanol i'r rhai a geir yn y ffynonellau sgrifenedig. Fel arfer rhydd technoleg oleuni ar fanylion technegol, economaidd a chartrefol bywyd cymdeithas a'i gampau celfyddydol, er y dylid cofio mai ond y pethau caled sydd yn goroesi, gan fod pren, brethyn a lleidr yn fwy darfodus. Eironig ydyw mai gwrthrychau pres yn hytrach na haearn a dueddodd i oroesi o'r Oes Haearn hon (2,3,6,9). Cymdeithas frwydro oedd cymdeithas Geltaidd Oes yr Haearn a gynrychiolir gan arfbeisiau o ben ymladdwr ar ddolennau bwced pren wedi'i orchuddio â phres (1) a ddarganfuwyd yn Aylesford, Swydd Gaint. Yr oedd yn gymdeithas o safonau celf uchel ganddi, yn tynnu ar ddylanwadau o Ewrop a thu hwnt. Darganfuwyd yr helm bres (2) yn ardal Pont Llundain ac fe'i dyddir i'r ganrif gyntaf OC.

Fel y darian bres a gwydr arni o Battersea tua'r un dyddiad, fe'i bwriadwyd, yn ôl pob tebyg, at ddefnydd defodol yn hytrach nag at frwydro (3). Darganfuwyd dolen y cleddyf ynghyd â'i garn yn Aylesford, Swydd Gaint (4). Bu i'r gof le arbennig yn y gymdeithas Geltaidd. Ef a wnaeth yr arfau (5) ac offer y cartref. Oherwydd offer gwell o haearn, ceid gwelliannau mewn amaethu, a chlririo coedwigoedd ar raddfa eang. Gwneid nifer fawr o offer y cartref o haearn a phres. Daw'r tancr pres o Drawsfynydd, Gwynedd (ganrif gyntaf OC) (6). Daethpwyd o hyd i'r pentanau haearn gyr yng Nghapel Garmon, Gwynedd (7). Y mae'r cerbyd a adluniwyd o ddarnau a gafwyd yn Llyn Cerrigbach, Môn (8) yn un o gasgliad o dros 150 o wrthrychau. Cafwyd hyd i'r casgliad o nwyddau bedd menyw (9) gyda drych, mwclis, powlenni a thylsau yn Birdlip, Swydd Gaerloyw ac fe'i dyddir i'r ganrif gyntaf OC.

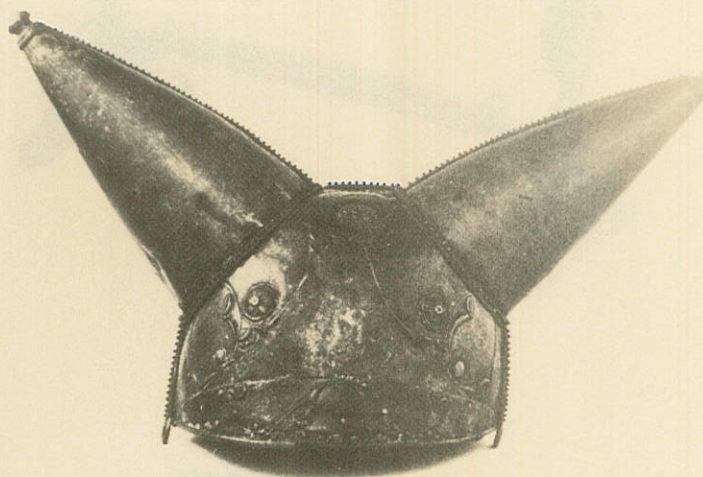
Archaeological information frequently deals with different areas of life from those covered by the written sources. Usually archaeology offers us detailed insights into the technology, economy, and domestic life of a society and its artistic achievements, though we must remember that it is only the most durable materials which have survived, wood textiles and leather being far more perishable.

It is ironic that it is bronze objects rather than iron which have tended to survive from this Iron Age period (2,3,6,9). Celtic Iron Age society was a fighting society epitomised by the warrior head escutcheons on the handles of the bronze covered wooden bucket (1) found at Aylesford Kent. It was also a society with a high degree of artistic achievement, drawing on influences from Europe and beyond. The bronze helmet (2) was found at London Bridge and dates from the 1st century AD. Like the Battersea shield of bronze inlaid with glass of similar date, it was probably intended for ceremonial use rather than for combat (3). The hilted sword handle was found at Aylesford, Kent (4). The metal worker had an important place in Celtic society. He forged its weapons (5) and domestic implements. Better iron tools made possible an improved agriculture and extensive forest clearance.

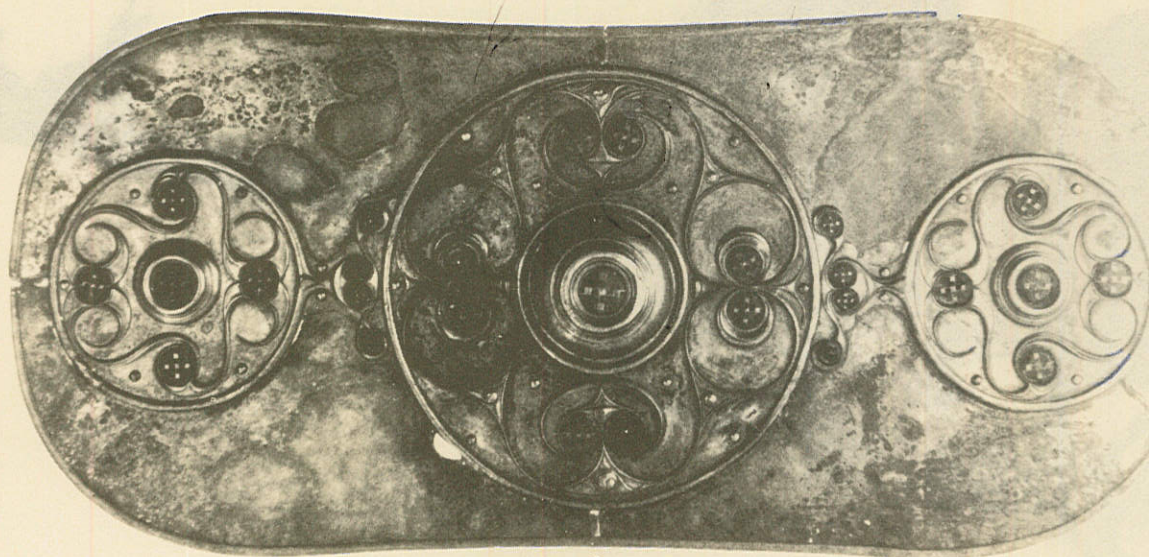
Out of iron or bronze were fabricated a wide range of domestic implements. The bronze tankard comes from Trawsfynydd, Gwynedd, dated first century AD (6), the wrought iron fire dogs were found at Capel Garmon, Gwynedd (7). The chariot reconstructed from finds made at Llyn Cerrigbach, Anglesey (8) is one of a collection of over 150 objects. The collection of grave goods of a woman (9) with mirror, necklace, bowls and brooches was found at Birdlip, Gloucestershire and is dated first century AD.



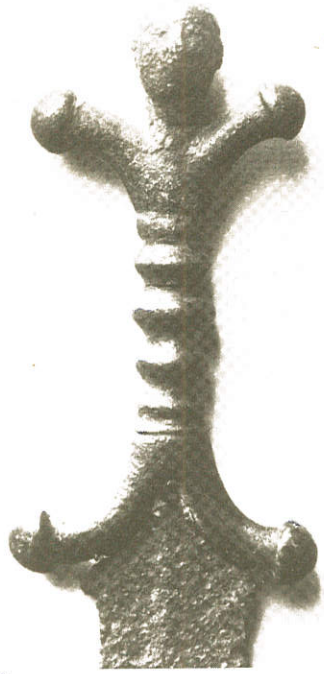
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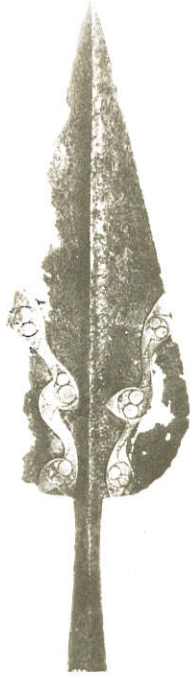
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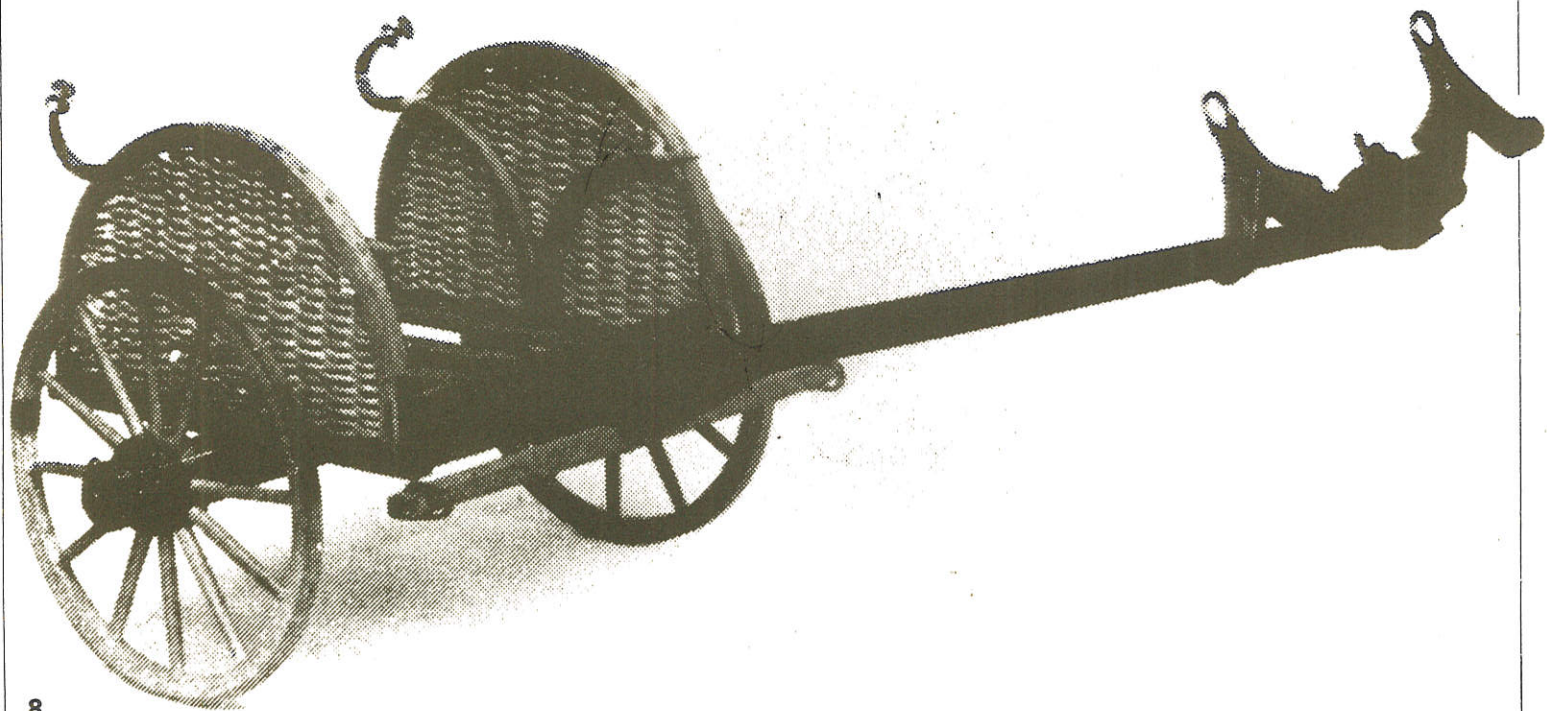
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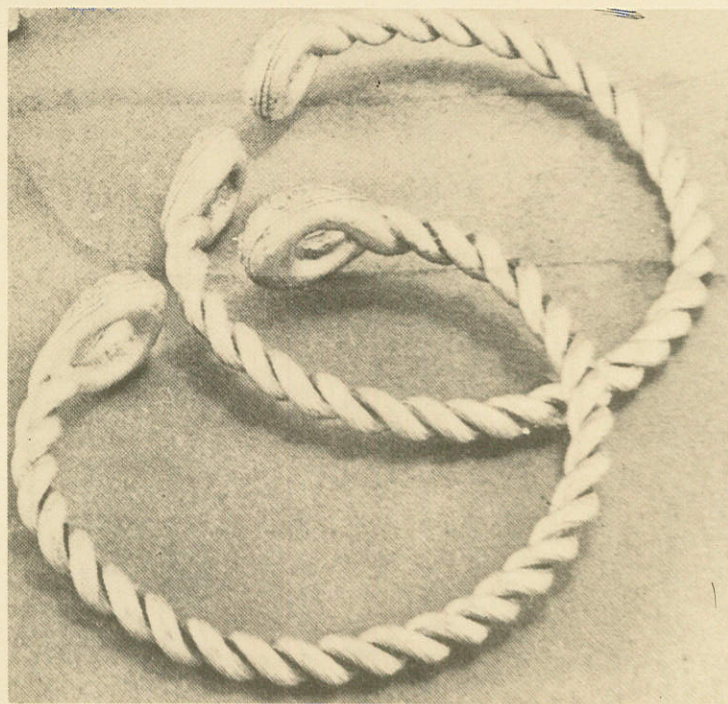
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Statws a Chaethiwed yn y Gymdeithas Geltaidd

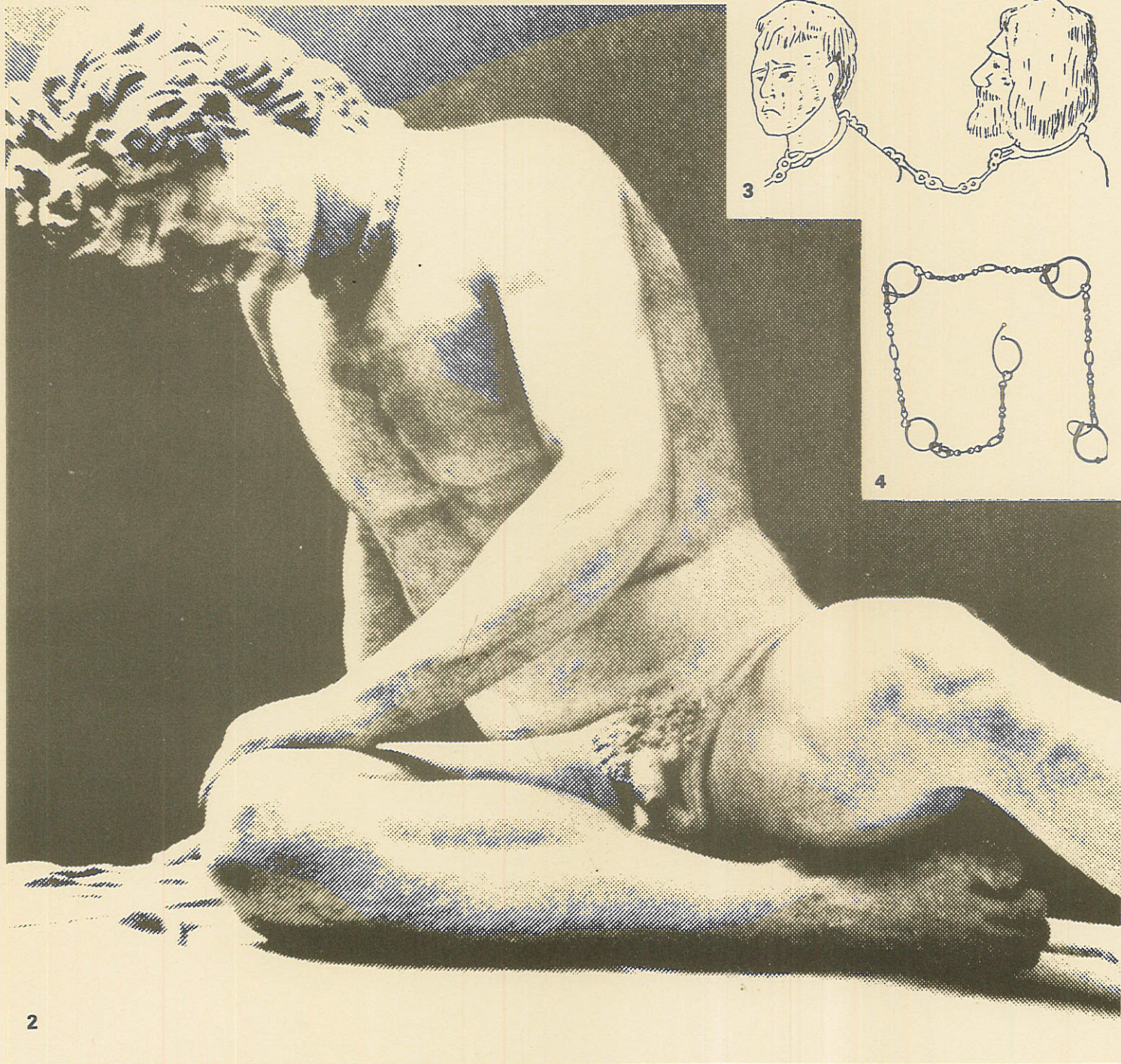
Status and Slavery in Celtic Society

Yr oedd i'r gymdeithas Geltaidd haenau clir. Ar y pen yr oedd y Celtiaid rhydd, a'u statws yn cael ei ddynodi gan dorch aur neu bres am y gwddf. Daethpwyd o hyd i'r torchau aur yn Ipswich (1) a gellir eu dyddio i'r ganrif gyntaf CC. Y mae'r milwr Galaidd yn marw (2) yn gwisgo torch. Yr oedd caethweision (3) yn nodwedd amlwg yn y gymdeithas Geltaidd gyn-Rufeinig. Gweler yr wddf-gadwyn (4) i gaethweision - rhan o gasgliad Llyn Cerrigbach, Môn. Bu'r niferoedd mawr o gaethweision ar gael ym Mhrydain, yn ogystal â'r cyfoeth o fwynau, yn gryn atyniad i'r Rhufeiniaid. Parhaodd caethiwed ymhell i'r Oesoedd Tywyll, a'r dosbarth reoli o ddynton rhydd yn berchen ar stadau wedi'u canoli o gwmpas y bryngaerau neu weddillion y filas Rufeinig. Yma gweithiai'r caethion. Pwysleisia cyfreithiau Cymreig y ddegfed ganrif amodau caled bywyd y bobl gaeth.

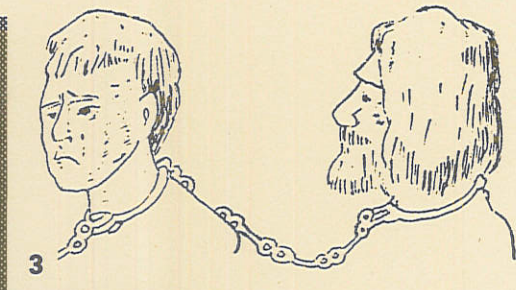
Celtic Society was strictly stratified. At its head were free born Celts, their status designated by the wearing of gold or bronze torques. The gold torques or neck rings were found at Ipswich (1) and can be dated to the first century BC. The statue of the dying Gaul shows a Celt wearing a torque (2). Slavery (3), evidenced by the slave gang neckchain (4), part of the hoard from Llyn Cerrigbach, Anglesey, was a prominent feature of pre-Roman Celtic Society. In addition to Britain's mineral wealth another of its attractions to the Romans was the availability of large numbers of slaves. Slavery persisted long into the Dark Ages with the ruling freeborn class owning estates centred round the hill forts or the remains of Roman villas and worked by the unfree. The Welsh laws of the tenth century stress the harsh conditions surrounding the unfree.



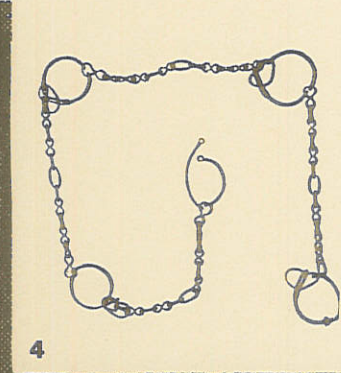
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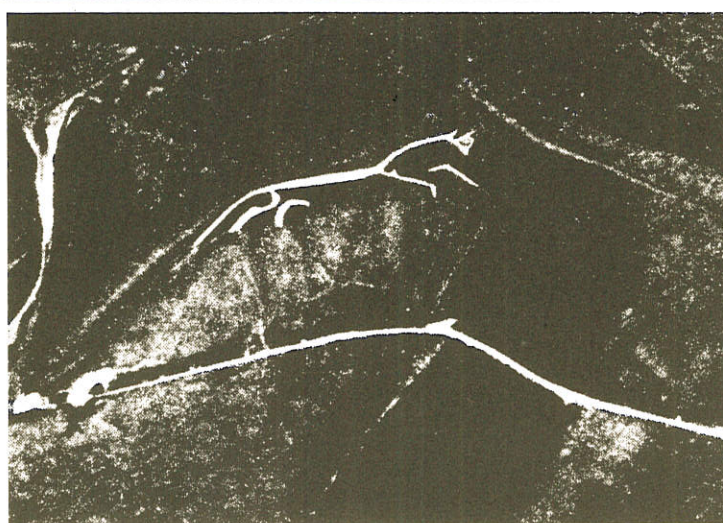
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Arian Bath Celtaidd

Celtic coinage

Digwydd y ceffyl dro ar ôl tro yn fotiff mewn celf Geltaidd. Fe'i darganfuwyd gyntaf yng Ngheffyl Gwyn Uffington (1) a gerfiwyd yn sialc un o fryniau'r hen Berkshire; fe ddigwydd droeon ar arian bath yn ystod y cyfnod Rhufeinig. Darn aur yw'r cyntaf o Tasciovanus (42CC - 100C), a'r ail yn ddarn aur o Epilus (50C - 100C). Y trydydd (2) yw darn aur o Verica (100C - 400C). Y maent i gyd yn tystio i farchogaeth ardderchog y Celtaid ar eu merlod brodorol. Y mae rhai yn dangos Celtaid yn marchogaeth yn gefn-noeth a heb afwynau. Defnyddid barrau haearn (3) fel arian parod hefyd.

The Celtic horse is a recurrent motif in Celtic art. First found in the Uffington White Horse (1) carved in the chalk of a hillside in what used to be Berkshire, it recurs on coinage in use during the Roman era. The first coin is a gold piece of Tasciovanus (42 BC - AD 10), the second is a gold coin of Epilus (AD 5-10), the third is a gold coin of Verica (AD 10-40) (2). All attest to the superb horsemanship of the Celts on their sturdy native ponies. Some show the Celts riding bareback and without reins. Iron currency bars (3) were also in use.



1



2



3

Un o'r ffynonellau ysgrifenedig mwyaf am hanes Prydain yr Oesoedd Tywyll yw gwaith diweddaraf y mynach Gildas (y lleill yw: awdur *Historia Brittonum* a gredid yn gynt i fod yn fynach o'r enw Nennius yn y nawfed ganrif, a hefyd gwaith Beda, o'r seithfed ganrif). Mynach o Orllewin Prydain a fu farw tua 572 oedd Beda a'r gwaith y cyfeiriwyd ato yw *De Excidio Brittaniae*. O safbwynt gwaithydd, yn anffodus, y mae'r gwaith hwn yn fwy o draethawd moesol nag o ddadansoddiad hanesyddol. Y mae'r darnau detholedig yn darddu i Brythoniaid am iddynt wadu gwerthoedd gwaredid-dra. Gydag ymadawiad y llengoedd Rhufeinig fe ddilynwyd llewyrch gan wrthdrawiad mewnol, plâu a phwysedd o'r newydd o du'r Pictiaid a'r Sacsoniaid. Yma cytuna hanes ac archaeoleg, gan awgrymu i gyfres o gyfanheddau Tivtonaidd fod o amgylch Llundain a Chaint erbyn canol y bumed ganrif.

One of the chief written sources for Dark Age British History is the later work of a British monk Gildas (the others are the Anglo Saxon Bede, writing in the seventh century and the author of the *Historia Brittonum* the work formerly attributed to the Welsh monk Nennius writing in the ninth century). Gildas was a monk of West Britain who died about 572 and the passage cited is from *De Excidio Brittaniae*. From a historian's viewpoint this account is unfortunately more of a moralist's tract than a historical analysis – the chosen excerpts denounce the Britons for their betrayal of civilised values. Following the withdrawal of the Roman legions, prosperity was ended by internal conflict, plagues and the renewed pressures of Picts and Saxons. History and archaeology concur here in suggesting that by the mid fifth century there was a string of Germanic settlements around London and Kent.

They first landed on the eastern side of the island, by the invitation of the unlucky king, and there fixed their sharp talons, apparently to fight in favour of the island, but alas! more truly against it. Their mother-land, finding her first brook thus successful, sends forth a larger company of her wolfish offspring, which sailing over, join themselves to their bastard-born comrades. From that time, the germ of iniquity and the root of contention planted their poison amongst us, as we deserved, and shot forth into leaves and branches. The barbarians being thus introduced as soldiers into the island, to encounter, as they falsely said, any dangers in defence of their hospitable entertainers, obtain an allowance of provisions, which, for some time being plentifully bestowed, stopped their doggish mouths. Yet they complain that their monthly supplies are not furnished in sufficient abundance, and they industriously aggravate each occasion of quarrel, saying that unless more liberality is shown them, they will break the treaty and plunder the whole island. In a short time, they follow up their threats with deeds.

For the fire of vengeance, justly kindled by former crimes, spread from sea to sea, fed by the hands of our foes in the east, and did not cease, until destroying the neighbouring towns and lands, it reached the other side of the island, and dipped its red and savage tongue in the western ocean. In these assaults therefore, not unlike that of the Assyrian upon Judaea, was fulfilled in our case what the prophet describes in words of Lamentation: "They have burned with fire the sanctuary; they have polluted on earth the tabernacle of thy name". And again, "O God, the Gentiles have come into thine inheritance; they holy temple have they defiled", &c. So that all the columns were levelled with the ground by the frequent strokes of the battering-ram, all the husbandmen routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed, and the flames crackled around them on every side. Lamentable to behold, in the midst of the streets lay the tops of lofty towers, tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies, covered with livid clots of coagulated blood, looking as if they had been squeezed together in a press; and with no chance of being buried, save in the ruins of the houses, or in the ravens' bellies of wild beasts and birds; with reverence be it spoken for their blessed souls, if, indeed, there were many found who were carried, at that time, into the high heaven by the holy angels. So entirely had the vintage, once so fine, degenerated and become bitter, that, in the words of the prophet, there was hardly a grape or ear of corn to be seen where the husbandman had turned his back.

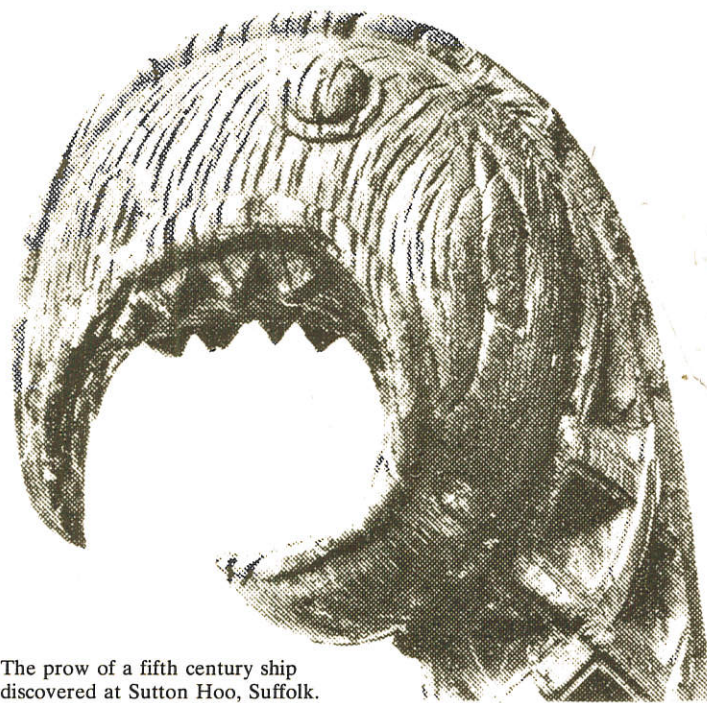
Some, therefore, of the miserable remnant, being taken in the mountains, were murdered in great numbers; others, constrained by famine, came and yielded themselves to be slaves for ever to their foes, running the risk of being instantly slain, which truly was the greatest favour that could be offered them: some others passed beyond the seas with loud lamentations instead of the voice of exhortation. "Thou hast given us as sheep to be slaughtered, and among the Gentiles hast thou dispersed us". Others, committing the safeguard of their lives, which were in continual jeopardy, to the mountains, precipices, thickly wooded forests, and to the rocks of the seas (albeit with trembling hearts), remained still in their country. But in the meanwhile, an opportunity happening, when these most cruel robbers were returned home, the poor remnants of our nation (to whom flocked from divers places round about our most miserable countrymen as fast as bees to their hives, for fear of an ensuing storm), being strengthened by God, calling upon him with all their hearts, as the poet says, -

"with their unnumbered vows they burden heaven",

that they might not be brought to utter destruction, took arms under the conduct of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a modest man, who of all the Roman nation was then alone in the confusion of this troubled period by chance left a live. His parents, who for their merit were adorned with the purple, had been slain in these same broils, and now his progeny in these our days, although shamefully degenerated from the worthiness of their ancestors, provoke to battle their cruel conquerors, and by the goodness of our Lord obtain the victory.

After this, sometimes our countrymen, sometimes the enemy, won the field, to the end that our Lord might in this land try after his accustomed manner these his Israelites, whether they loved him or not, until the year of the siege of Bath-hill, when took place also the last almost, though not the least slaughter of our cruel foes, which was (as I am sure) forty-four years and one month after the landing of the Saxons, and also the time of my own nativity. And yet neither to this day are the cities of our country inhabited as before, but being forsaken and overthrown, still like desolate ...

Gildas - Invasions of Saxons - repulsion by Ambrosius Aurelianus



The prow of a fifth century ship discovered at Sutton Hoo, Suffolk.

Oherwydd prinder ffynonellau mae'n rhaid i haneswyr weithiau loffa goleuni am ddiwyddiadau'r Oesoedd Tywyll o ffynonellau llenyddol. Y mae'r darn hwn (allan o Ganu Heledd a fu'n rhan o gasgliad o farddoniaeth y nawfed ganrif a briodolir ar un adeg i Lywarch Hen) yn cwyno cwmp teyrnas Powys yn y seithfed ganrif; Heledd, y dywysoges, yn galaru am ei brawd ac arglwydd, Cynddylan. Y mae'r gerdd yn anghyffredin o fanwl ei daearyddiaeth. Yr oedd teyrnas golledig Powys ar lan afon Tern yn Sir Amwythig. Cysylltwyd tref Pengwern ag Amwythig, gyda Chynddylan yn llywodraethu dros Wrekin, Erccall, Baschurch (yn Lloegr heddiw), Manafon a'r Drenewydd (yng Nghymru heddiw). Hwyrach y datblygodd hen deyrnas Powys o'r gymanwlad Rufeinig-Brydeinig a fu ym meddiant y Cornovii gyda'i chanolfan yn Viriconium (Wroxeter), un o'r pedair tref fwyaf ym Mhrydain.

Because of the dearth of sources, historians sometimes have to glean insights from allusions in literary sources into Dark Age events. This extract from the *Canu Heledd*, part of a wider ninth century collection of verse once attributed to Llywarch Hen, laments the fall of the great kingdom of Powys in the seventh century. The speaker, a princess, mourns the death of her brother and ruler, Cynddylan. The poem is unusually precise in its topography. The lost kingdom was by the river Tern in Shropshire, the town Pengwern has been associated with Shrewsbury and Cynddylan rules over the Wrekin, Erccall, Baschurch (in present day England), Manafon and Newtown (in what is today Wales). It may have evolved out of the Romano-British commonwealth of the Cornovii, with its centre at Viriconium (Wroxeter), the fourth largest town in Roman Britain.

Stafell Gynddylan

Stafell Gynddylan ys tywyll heno,
Heb dân, heb wely;
Wylaf wers, tawaf wedy.

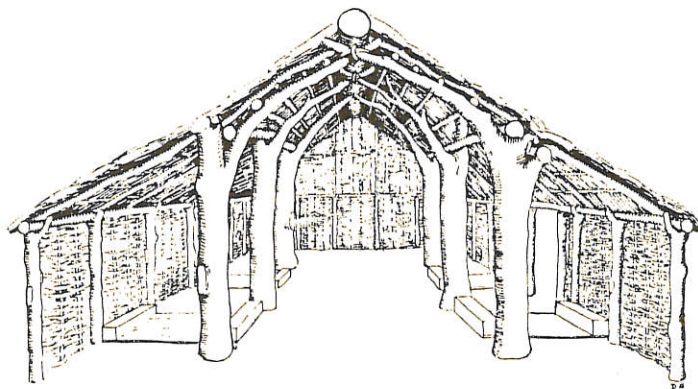
Stafell Gynddylan ys tywyll heno,
Heb dân, heb gannwyll;
Namyn Duw pwy a'm dyry pwyll?

Stafell Gynddylan, neud athwyd heb wedd,
Mae ym medd dy ysgwyd;
Hyd tra fu ni bu dollglwyd.

Stafell Gynddylan ys tywyll heno,
Heb dân, heb gerddau;
Dygystudd deurudd dagrau.

Stafell Gynddylan, a'm gwân ei gweled
Heb doed, heb dân;
Marw fy nglyw, byw fy hunan.

Stafell Gynddylan, a'm erwan pob awr
Gwedi mawr ymgyfrdan
A welais ar dy bentan.



Cynddylan's Hall

Dark is Cynddylan's hall tonight
With no fire, no bed.
I weep awhile, then am silent.

Dark is Cynddylan's hall tonight
With no fire, no candle.
Save for God, who'll keep me sane?

Cynddylan's hall, you've gone uncomely,
Your shield is in the grave.
While he lived, doors needed no bar.

Dark is Cynddylan's hall tonight
With no fire, no songs.
My cheek's worn out with tears.

It wounds me to see Cynddylan's hall
With no roof, no fire,
Dead is my lord; I yet live.

Hour upon hour, Cynddylan's hall wounds me
After the great conversing
That I watched on your hearth.

Y Chwedl Arthuraidd

The Arthur Legend

Y ffynhonnell bwysicaf am hanes Prydain ar ôl y cyfnod Rhufeinig yw casgliad o ysgrifau a roddwyd ar femrwn yn y ddegfed ganrif, sef *Historia Brittonum*. Priodolwyd y rhain i Nennius, mynach o'r nawfed ganrif, yn wreiddiol. Cais gyntaf ydynt i ysgrifennu hanes Prydain gan dynnu ar ddetholiad cynharach: 'Gwneuthum bentwr o bopeth y cefais hyd iddo o flwyddnodau'r Rhufeiniaid, ysgrifau'r aint, blwyddnodau'r Gwyddelod a'r Sacsoniaid a thraddodiadau ein hen wŷr ein hunain'. Yma portreadir Arthur fel gwaredwr chwedlonol a taliodd am beth amser gynydd y Sacsoniaid; fel arweinydd Brythonig a fabwysiadodd agwedd Rufeinig, werthoedd Cristnogol gwaraidd ac, o bosibl, a gofiai ddulliau ymladd y Rhufeiniaid a sicraodd fuddugoliaeth mewn brwydr bwysig ar Fynydd Baddon ryw bryd rhwng 490 a 520 O.C. Lladdwyd Arthur ym Mrwydr Camlann tua 539, yn ôl testun yn yr Amgueddfa Brydeinig a ddefnyddiwyd i gyfrif dyddiad y Pasg. Hanes Prydain a roddwyd at ei gilydd yn yr *Historia Brittonum* yw hanes Macsen, Gwrtheyrn, Emrys ac Aurelianus ac, yn anad dim, Arthur.

A most important source for post Roman British history is a collection of writings set down in the tenth century known as the *Historia Brittonum*. These were originally ascribed to the ninth century Welsh monk Nennius and are in effect a first attempt to write a British history drawing on a range of earlier traditions: 'I have made a heap of all that I have found from the annals of the Romans, the writings of the Saints, the annals of the Irish and Saxons and the traditions of our own old men'. The account here portrays Arthur as a legendary saviour figure who for some time halted the Saxon advance, a British leader who adopted a Romanised outlook, civilised Christian values and possibly remembered Roman fighting tactics which secured victory in an important battle at Mount Badon some time between 490 and 520. Arthur is reputed to have been killed in a battle at Camlann circa 539 according to a text in the British Museum used to calculate the date of Easter. The British history put together in the *Historia Brittonum* was the history of Maximus, Vortigern, Ambrosius Aurelianus and above all Arthur.

At that time, the Saxons greatly increased in Britain, both in strength and numbers. And Oetha, after the death of his father Hengist, came from the sinistral part of the island to the kingdom of Kent, and from him have proceeded all the kings of that province, to the present period.

Then it was, that the magnanimous Arthur, with all the kings and military force of Britain, fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more noble than himself, yet he was twelve times chosen this commander, and was as often conqueror. The first battle in which he was engaged, was the mouth of the river Glein. The second, third, fourth, and fifth, were on another river, by the Britons called Duglas, in the region Linnuis. The sixth, on the river Lussas. The seventh in the wood Celidon, which the Britons call Cacoit Celidon. The eighth was near Guinnion castle, where Arthur bore the image of the Holy Virgin, mother of God, upon his shoulders, and through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Mary, put the Saxons to flight, and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter. The ninth was at the city of Leogis, which is called Cair Lion. The tenth was on the banks of the river Trat Treuroit. The eleventh was on the mountain Breguoin, which we call Cat Bregion. The twelfth was a most severe contest, when Arthur penetrated to the hill of Badon. In this engagement, nine hundred and forty fell by his hand alone, no one but the Lord affording him assistance. In all these engagements the Britons were successful. For no strength can avail against the will of the Almighty.



'Arthur of the Britains', HTV

Colli rhai o'r tiroedd Prydeinig

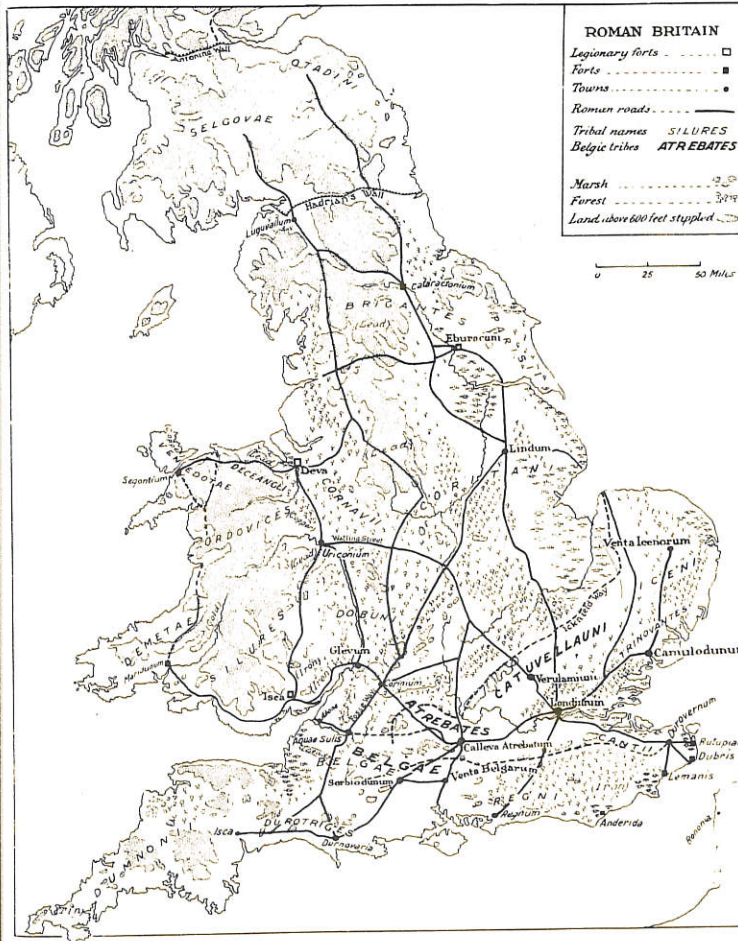
The Contraction of British territory

Ar adeg ymadawiad y Rhufeiniaid yr oedd y Brythoniaid yn byw ar draws ardal eang o Brydain (1) a'r iaith Frythoneg, mamiaith y Gymraeg, yn cael ei siarad trwy gydol yr ardaloedd hynny a adnabyddir heddiw fel Cymru, Lloegr a De'r Alban. Erbyn 410 O.C. tynnwyd llywodraeth gref Rufeinig i ffwrdd. Priodolwyd dyfodiad cyntaf y Sacsoniaid, yn ôl traddodiad, i weithredoedd Gwrtheyrn, arweinydd milwrol y gymanwlad Brydeinig a wnaeth wahodd Hengist a Horsa i Brydain fel milwyr cyflogedig yn y bumed ganrif. Erbyn marwolaeth Gwrtheyrn, tua 460, meddiannwyd llawer o Dde Prydain gan y Tiwtoniaid (2). Ataliodd Brwydr Baddon gynnydd cyntaf y Sacsoniaid, eithr, yn fuan ar ôl 550, gwrthiodd y Sacsoniaid i'r gorllewin eto, gan faeddu'r Brythoniaid yn Dyrham pan gollwyd Caerfaddon, Caerloyw a Cirencester (3). Ar yr un pryd ymddengys fod Goedoliaid (o Iwerddon) hefyd wedi meddiannu rhannau o'r ardaloedd a adnabyddir heddiw fel Dyfed a Gwynedd (4). Yn 614 cyrhaeddodd y Sacsoniaid Ddyfnaint lle yr enillasai reolaeth effeithiol erbyn 682.

Bellach yn y gogledd yr oedd yr Einglau yn rheoli Northumbria, teyrnas a ddaethai o gyfuniad y ddwy deyrnas o Bernicia a Deira, ac erbyn cyfnod Beda estynnai'r deyrnas hon o ardal Swydd Efrog (heddiw) i'r Lothian yn yr Alban. Yn yr wythfed ganrif cysgodwyd north Northumbria gan deyrnas Mercia, yng nghanol Lloegr, a'i arweinydd, Offa. Gyda'i glawdd lluniodd ffin orllewinol ei diroedd

The British people, on the withdrawal of the Roman legions, covered a large area of Britain (1) and the Brittonic language (forerunner of Welsh) was once spoken in England and Southern Scotland as well as in Wales. By 410 strong centralised Roman government was withdrawn. The first Saxon encroachments were attributed, in tradition, to the actions of Vortigern, military leader of the British commonwealths, who invited Hengist and Horsa to Britain as Saxon mercenaries in the fifth century.

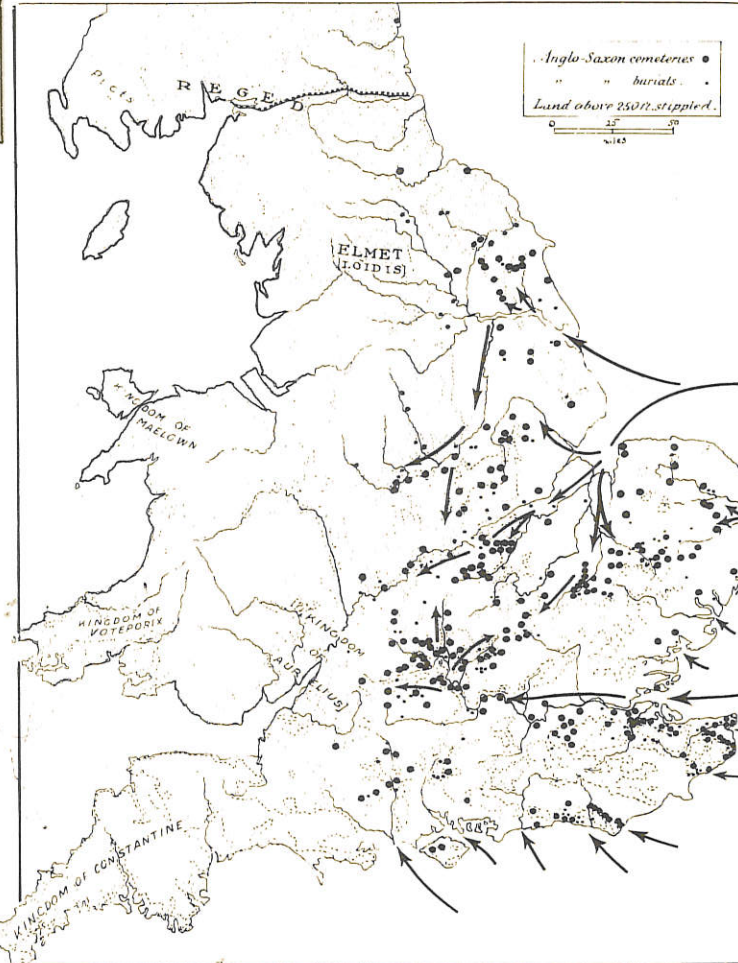
By the time of Vortigern's death, circa 460, much of southern Britain was under German control (2). The Battle of Mount Badon in the early sixth century seems for a time to have halted the initial Saxon advance. Soon after 550 the Saxons pushed westwards again defeating the British at Dyrham when Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester were lost (3). At the same time Irish settlers also seem to have been pushing into present day Dyfed and possibly Gwynedd (4). In 614 the Saxons moved into Devon where they were in effective control by 682. Further north the Angles dominated Northumbria which emerged out of two former kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira and, by the time of Bede, extended from Yorkshire to the Lothian. In the eighth century Northumbria was eclipsed by the central English kingdom of Mercia under its leader Offa. With his dyke, he delineated the western boundary of his kingdom and incidentally defined the boundaries of the remaining



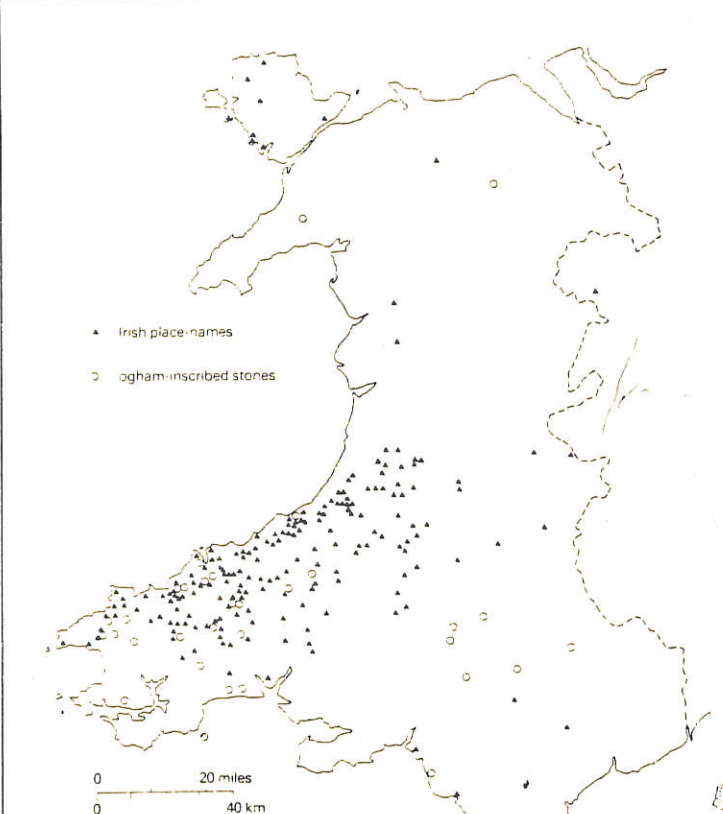
1

'The barbarians drive us into the sea and the sea casts us up again into their hands. Between these two kinds of death we shall be either slaughtered or drowned' (446 - appeal to Agitus).

2



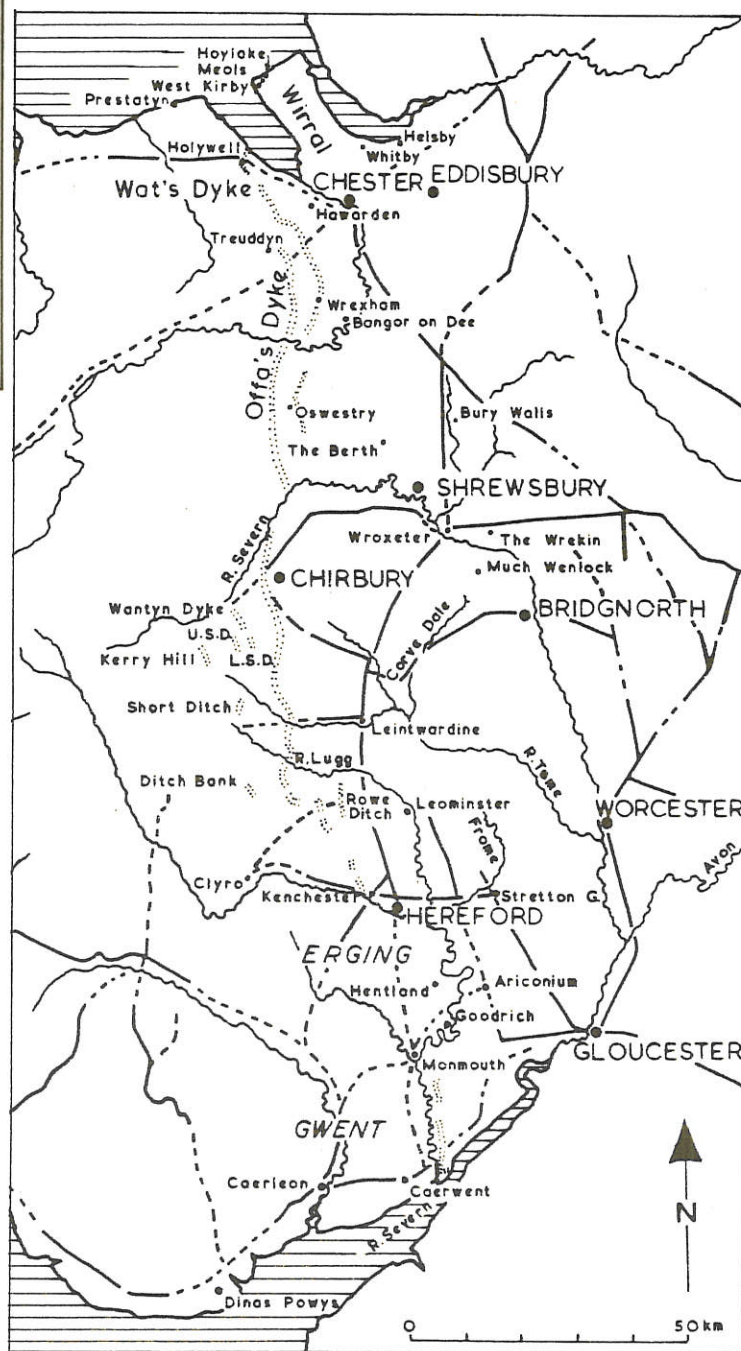
3 EARLY ANGLO-SAXON SETTLEMENT (AS INDICATED BY CEMETERIES AND BURIALS)



4

ei hun a hefyd ffin y tiroedd Prydeinig a adnabyddir heddiw fel Cymru (5,6). Caeodd Clawdd Offa y Brythoniaid annibynnol allan o'r tiroedd a fuasai'n perthyn iddynt. Ganwyd rhyw ymwybyddiaeth genedlaethol Gymreig allan o'r profiad hwn o gollu tiroedd a chilio i'r gorllewin, er na fu amlygiad gwleidyddol, na gwladwriaeth Gymreig; ond casgliad o freniniaethau bychain yn unig.

British territory later to be known as Wales (5,6). After this the independent British people were effectively shut out from the territory which had once been theirs. Out of the shrinking of the boundaries of an independent British territory into the west some form of Welsh national consciousness was born, though there was no political manifestation, no unified Welsh state, merely a collection of independent kingdoms.



5

... In the summer the Welsh devastated the territory of Offa, and then Offa caused a dyke to be made as a boundary between him and Wales, to enable him the more easily to withstand the attack of his enemies, and that is called Offa's Dyke from that time to this day. It extends from the one sea to the other, from the south near Bristol to the north above Flint, between the monastery of Basingwerk and Coleshill. ...

Brut y Tywysogion

Armes Prydain Fawr

Armes Prydein Fawr

Ysgrifennwyd y gerdd hon tua 930 OC pan oedd buddugoliaeth yr Eingl-Sacsoniaid bron yn llwyr ym Mhrydain. Cerdd ddig a chwerw ydyw sydd yn lleisio'r ymwybyddiaeth newydd o'r genedl Gymreig a'i hanes o golli tiroedd. Ganwyd y Cymry wedi'u difeddiannu. Credir i'r gerdd gael ei hysgrifennu yn Ne Cymru gan glerigwr a ddigiasai wrth y brenhinoedd Cymreig am iddynt ufuddhau gwys Athelstan, brenin Wessex i dalu gwrogaeth iddo mewn oed ar Afon Gwy pan benodwyd y ffiniau yn swyddogol. Fel y cyfryw, propaganda anghytún ydy oherwydd, ar yr adeg honno, yr oedd Hywel, brenin y bardd ei hun, yn trefnu cytundeb ag Athelstan yn erbyn yr ysbeilwyr o Lychlyn.

Written around 930 AD when the take over of large areas of Britain by the Angles and Saxons was a fait accompli, *Armes Prydein* is a bitter and angry poem voicing the new found consciousness of the Welsh as a people with a history of dispossession. The Welsh were born disinherited. The poem is believed to have been written in South Wales by a cleric angry at the action of the Welsh kings who obeyed the summons of the Wessex ruler Athelstan to pay tribute to him at a meeting appointed on the Wye, when the frontiers of the Welsh kingdoms were effectively fixed. As such it is dissident propaganda, for at that time Hywel, his own king, was negotiating a treaty with Athelstan against the Viking raiders.

THE GREAT PROPHECY OF BRITAIN

The Awen foretells, they will hasten:
we shall have wealth and property and peace,
and wide dominion, and ready leaders;
after commotion, settlement in every place.
Brave men in battle - tumult, mighty warriors,
swift in attack, very stubborn in defence.
The warriors will scatter the foreigners as far as Caer Weir -
and there will be reconciliation between the Cymry and the men of Dublin,
the Irish of Ireland and Anglesey and Scotland,
the men of Cornwall and of Strathclyde will be made welcome among us.
The Britons will rise again when they prevail,
for long was prophesied the time when they will come,
as rulers whose possession is by right of descent.
The Men of the North in the place of honour about them,
they will advance in the centre of their van of battle.

Myrddin foretells that they will meet
in Aber Peryddon, the stewards of the Great King.

.....

Dygogan awen dygobryssyn.
maraned a meued a hed genhyn.
A phennaeth ehelaeth a ffraeth vnbyn
A gwedy dyhed anhed ym pop mehyn
Gwyr gwychyr yn trydar kasnar degyn
escut yg gofut ryhyt diffyn
Gwaethyl gwyr hyt Gaer Weir gwasgarawt allmyn
gwnahawnt goruoled gwedy gwehyn.
A chymot Kymry a gwyr Dulyn.
Gwydyl Iwerddon Mon a Phrydyn.
Cornyw a Chludwys eu kynnwys genhyn.
Atporyon uyd Brython pan dyorfyn
Pell dygoganher amser dybydyn
Teyrned a bonhed eu gorescyn
Gwyr Gogled yg kynted yn eu kylchyn.
ymperued eu racwed y discynnyn.

Son of Mary (great the Word), how is it that they do not burst forth
because of the dominion of the Saxons and their boasting
Far off be those scavengers of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd!
The foreigners will be driven into exile:
no one will receive them, they have no land.
They do not know why they wander in every estuary,
when they bought Thanet through false cunning,
with Hors and Hengist, their power was straitened;
their gain was ignoble, and at our cost:
after the secret slaughter, churls now wear a crown.
Much mead-drinking means drunkenness,
many deaths mean want,
women's tears mean affliction,
oppressive rule will give rise to sorrow,
a world which is overturned means grief.
When the scavengers of Thanet become our princes
let the Trinity ward off the blow that is intended!
to destroy the land of the Britons, and the Saxons occupying it.
Sooner may they retreat into exile
than that the Cymry should become homeless

.....

Dysgogan Myrdin kyueruyd hyn.
yn Aber Perydon meiryon mechteyrn.

on the bank, destroying and charging;
with immense armies they will test each other
and about the hill blades and cries and thrusting -
and about the Wye, shout answering shout across the shining water,
and leaving behind their banners and fierce attacking;
and like wild beasts the Saxons will fall.
The supporters of the Cymru will form orderly ranks,
their van to their enemy's rear, the 'pale-faces' will be hard-pressed,
the stewards in payment for their lies will wallow in their own blood
their army all blood-stained about them.
Others on foot will flee through the forest;
through ramparts of the fortress the 'foxes' will flee;
war will not return to the land of Britain;
they will slip back in sad counsel like the ebb of the sea.
Through the intercession of Dewi and the saints of Britain
the foreigners will be put to flight as far as the river Ailego.

.....

Mab Meir mawr a eir pryt na tharde[t]
rac pennaeth Saesson ac eu hoffed.
Pell bwynt kychmyn y Wrtheyrn Gwyned.
ef gyrhawt allmyn y alltuded.
nys arhaedwy neb nys dioes dayar.
ny wydynt py treiglynt ym pop aber.
pan prynasant Danet trwy fflet called.
gan Hors a Hegys oed yng eu ryssed,
eu kynnyd bu y wrthym yn anuonhed.
gwedy rin dilein keith y mynuer.
dechymyd meddaw[t] mawr wirawt o ved.
dechymyd anghen agheu llawer
dec[h]ymyd anaeleu dagreu gwraged
dychyfroy etgyllaeth pennaeth lletfer.
dechymyd tristit byt a ryher.
Pan uyd kechmyn Danet an teyrned.
Gwrthottit trindawt dyrnawt a bwyller.
y dilein gwlat Vrython a Saesson yn anhed.
poet kynt eu reges yn alltuded.
no mynet Kymry yn diffroed.

there will be spear-thrusts in a ceaseless flood,
no friend will have pity for the body of his opponent.
There will be heads split open without brains,
women will be widowed, and horses riderless,
there will be terrible wailing before the rush of warriors,
many wounded by hand; before the hosts separate
the messengers of death will meet
when corpses stand up, supporting each other.
The tribute and the daily payments will be avenged -
and the frequent expeditions and the wicked hosts.
The Cymry will prevail through battle,
well-equipped, unanimous; one in word and faith.

y am lan ymtreulaw ac ymwrthryn.
o diruawr vydinawr pan ymprofyn
Ac am allt lafnawr a gawr a gryn.
Ac am Gwy geir kyfyргеір y am peurllyn.
A lluman adaw agarw disgyn.
A mal [bwyt] balaon Saesson syrthyn.
Kymry kynyrcheit kyfun dullyn.
blaen wrth von granwynyon kyfyng oedyn.
meiryon yg werth eu geu yn eu creinhyn.
Eu bydin ygwaetlin yn eu kylchyn.
Ereill ar eu traet trwy goet kilhyn.
Trwy uwrch y dinas ffoxas ffohyn.
ryfel heb dychwel y tir Prydyn.
Attor trwy law gynghor mal mor llithryn.
trwy eiryawl Dewi a seint Prydeyn.
hyt ffrwt Ailego ffohawr all[myn]
Atvi peleitral dyfal dillyd.
nyt arbettwy car corff y gilyd.
Atui pen gaflaw heb amennyd.
Atui gwagedd gwedw a meirch gweilyd.
Atui obein vthyr rac ruthor ketwyr.
A lliaws llaw amhar kyn gwasgar lluyd.
Kennadeu agheu dychyferwyd.
pan safhwynt galaned wrth eu hennyd.
Ef dialawr y treth ar gwerth beunydyd.
ar mynych gennadeu ar geu luyd.
Dygorfu Kymry trwy kyfergyr.
yn gyweir gyteir gytson gyttffyd.

Dygorfu Kymry y peri kat.
a llwyth lliaws gwlat a gynnullant.
A lluman glan Dewi a drychafant.
y tywyssaw Gwydyl trwy lieingant.
A gynhon Dulyn genhyn a safant.
pan dyffont yr gat nyt ymwadant.
gofynnant yr Saesson py geissyssant.
pwy meint eu dilyet or wlat a dalyant.
cw mae eu herw pan seilyassant.
cw mae eu kenedloed py vro pan doethant.
yr amser Gwrtheyrn genhyn y sathrant.
ny cheffir o wir rantir an karant.
Neu vreint an seint pyr y saghyssant.
neu teitheu Dewi pyr y torrassant.
ymgetwynt Gymry pan ymwelant.
nyt ahont allmyn or nen y safant.
hyt pan talhont seithweith gwerth digonsant.
Ac agheu diheu yg werth eu cam.

Saesson o pop parth y gwarth ac deubyd.
ry treghis eu hoes nys dioes eluyd.
dyderpi agheu yr du gyweithyd.
clefyt a dyllid ac angweryt.
Gwedy eur ac aryant a chanhwyndyd.
boet perth eu disserth ygwerth eu drycddyd.
boet mor boet agor eu kussulwyr
boet creu boet agheu eu kyweithyd.

The Cymry will survive to order battle
and they will assemble the people of many lands;
they will raise on high the holy standard of Dewi,
to lead the Irish by means of a linen banner
The foreigners of Dublin will stand with us -
when they come to battle, they will not deny us.
They will ask the Saxons what it was they had been seeking,
how much of the country do they hold by right?
where are their lands, from whence they set forth?
where are their peoples? from what country do they come?
Since the time of Gwrtheyrn they have oppressed us:
not rightfully will the inheritance of our kinsmen be won.
- On why have they trampled upon the privileges of our saints?
Why have they destroyed the rights of Dewi?
When they come face to face with each other, the Cymry will take care
that the foreigners shall not go from the place where they stand
until they repay sevenfold the value of what they have done,
with certain death in return for their wrong.

.....

Shame will befall the Saxons on all sides:
their time has passed, they have no country.
Death will come to the black host,
sickness and flux and shame
After gold and silver adornments
let a bush be their refuge in return for their bad faith,
Let sea and anchor be their counsellors -
Let blood and death be their companions.

Er i Gristnogaeth ddylanwadu ar Brydain-Rufeinig, digwyddodd ail fudiad yn y bumed a chweched ganrif a barhaodd yn hwy. Daeth yr ail fudiad hwn trwy'r morffyrdd gorllewinol o Lydaw ac Iwerddon, gan sefydlu rhwydwaith o eglwysi Celtaidd. Gellir olrhain lledaeniad sant neilltuol trwy olrhain cysegriadau o eglwysi a wnaed i'r sant hwnnw mewn gwahanol ardaloedd (1,2). Nid yw'r techneg hwn mor ddibynadwy gyda'r sant diweddarach, Dewi (3), oherwydd, wrth i'w gwlt ledaenu, fe ad-gysegrwyd eglwysi cynharach iddo yntau. Daw'r darn am Ddewi Sant o *Fuchedd Dewi* gan Rhygyfarch. Fe'i hysgrifennwyd tua'r unfed ganrif ar ddeg (4). Sefydlodd Dewi eglwys yn Nhyddewi yn Nyfed, nid nepell, yn y chweched ganrif, o fwrllwm y morffyrdd Gwyddelig.

Although the Christian religion influenced Roman Britain, a second and longer-lasting movement occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries by means of missionaries or 'saints' who spread into Wales via the western seaways from Brittany and Ireland, establishing a network of Celtic churches. The spread of the influence of a particular saint can be traced through the cult of that saint shown in the dedications of churches (1,2) – a technique that is more reliable with the earlier missionaries than with the more popular St. David (3) since, as his cult spread, earlier churches were sometimes rededicated to him. The account of St. David is from Rhygyfarch's *Life of David* written in the eleventh century (4). St. David established a church at Tŷ Dewi in Dyfed – a place not at all remote in the sixth century but at the hub of the Irish seaway routes.



THE CULT OF ST. CADOG



1

THE CULT OF ST. DAVID

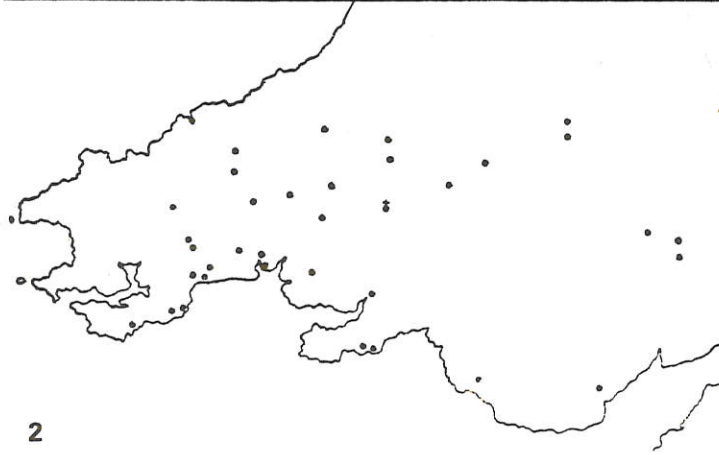
(DEWI SANT)



All known ancient dedications are shown.

3

THE CULT OF ST TEILO IN SOUTH WALES



2

Now that by the favour of God the malice of enemies had been banished, the monastic community in the Lord's name built a noble monastery on the site which the angel had previously shown them. All this completed, such an austerity did the holy father decree in his zeal for the monastic system, that every monk toiled at daily labour, and spend his life working with his hands for the community. 'For who does not work', says the apostle, 'let him not eat'. Knowing that carefree rest was the source and the mother of vices he bowed down the shoulders of the monks with pious labours, for those who bow heads and minds in leisurely repose develop a spirit of instability and apathy with restless promptings to lust. Thus they work with feet and hands with more eager fervour. They place the yoke upon their shoulders; they dig the ground unweariedly with mattocks and spades; they carry in their holy hands hoes and saws for cutting, and provide with their own efforts for all the necessities of the community. Possessions they scorn, the gifts of the wicked they reject, and riches they abhor. There is no bringing in of oxen to have the ploughing done, rather is every one both riches and ox unto himself and the brethren. The work completed, no complaint was heard: no conversation was held beyond that which was necessary, but each one performed the task enjoined with prayer and appropriate meditation. Labour in the fields once ended they would return to the cloisters of the monastery, and they spent the whole of the day until the evening in reading, writing, or praying. When evening was come, and the stroke of the bell was heard, every one forsook what he was doing. Even if the bell sounded in the ear of any one, when only the tip of a letter or even half the form of the same letter was written, they would rise quickly and leave what they were doing; and so, in silence, without any empty talk or chatter they repair to the church. When they had finished chanting the psalms, during which the voice and heart were in complete accord, they humble themselves on bended knees until the appearance of the stars in the heavens should bring the day to a close. After all had gone out, the father remained alone to pour forth his prayer to God in secret for the condition of the Church. At length they assemble at table. Every one restores and refreshes his weary limbs by partaking of supper, not, however, to excess, for too much, though it be of bread alone, engenders self-indulgence: but at that meal, all take supper according to the varying condition of their bodies or age. They do not serve courses of different savours, nor richer kinds of food: their food is, in fact, bread and herbs seasoned with salt whilst they quench a burning thirst with a temperate kind of drink. Moreover, for either the sick, those advanced in age, or likewise those wearied by a long journey, they provide some dishes of tastier food, since it is not proper to apportion to all in equal measure. When thanks has been returned to God, they go to the church in accordance with canonical rule, and there they give themselves up to watchings, prayers, and genuflexions for about three hours. Whilst they were praying in the church, no one unrestrainedly dared to yawn, no one to sneeze, no one to spit. This done they compose their limbs for sleep. Waking up at cock-crow, they apply themselves to prayer on bended knees, and spend the remainder of the night till morning without sleep. In the manner they serve throughout the other nights. From Saturday evening until daybreak at the first hour of Sunday, they give themselves to watchings, prayers, and genuflexions, except for one hour after matins on Saturday. They reveal their thoughts to the father, and obtain his permission even for the requirements of nature. All things are in common; there is no 'mine' or 'thine', for whosoever should say 'my book', or 'my anything else' would be straightway subjected to a severe penance. They wore clothes of mean quality, mainly skins. There was unfailing obedience to the father's command, great was their perserverance in the performance of duties, great was their uprightness in all things. For he who would long for this manner of saintly life, and should ask to enter the company of the brethren, had first to remain for ten days at the door of the monastery, as one rejected, and also silenced by words of abuse. If he put his patience to good use, and should stand there until the tenth day, he was first admitted and was put to serve under the elder who had charge of the gate. When he had for a long time toiled there, and many oppositions within his soul had been broken down, he was at length thought fit to enter the brethren's society. There was no superfloucy, voluntary poverty was loved: for whosoever desired their manner of life, nothing of his property, which he had forsaken in the world when he renounced it, would the holy father accept for the use of the monastery, not even one penny, so to speak: but naked, as though escaping from a shipwreck, was he received, so that he should not by any means extol himself, or esteem himself above the brethren, or, on grounds of his wealth, refuse his equal share of toil with the brethren, nor, if he should throw off his monk's robes, might he by force extort what he had left to the monastery, and drive the patience of the brethren into anger.

Celf Gristnogol Gynnar

Early Christian Art

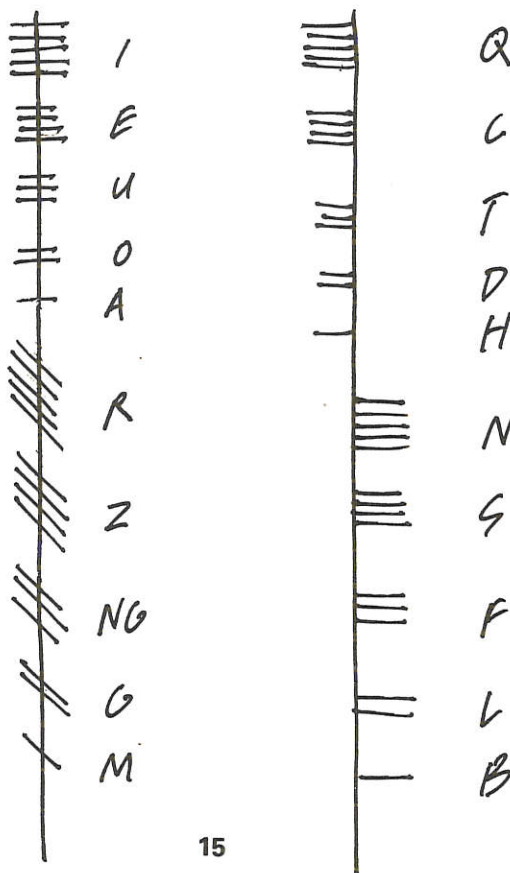
Mewn gwrthgyferbyniad â phrinder cyffredinol tystiolaeth ysgrifenedig ac archaeolegol am Gymru'r Oesoedd Tywyll, ceir digonedd o un math o gofgolofn yng Nghymru - y gromlech arysgrifedig.

Rhydd cromlechi'r bumed a'r chweched ganrif dystiolaeth am oroesiad y ffordd Rufeinig o fyw yn eu defnydd o'r iaith Ladin ac yn eu helaethrwydd o enwau wedi'u lladineiddio (1,4). Yn Nyfed tystia'r argysgrifau Ogam niferus i ddylanwad Gwyddelig ar raddfa bur eang yn Sir Benfro (3,6). Gan ddilyn yr heol Rufeinig ceir hyd i grŵp arall o gromlechi ag arysgrifau Ogam arnynt (1). Y mae cromlechi yn goroesi o'r bumed ganrif a'r unfed ganrif ar ddeg. Cerrig amrwd yw'r rhai cynnar neu, ambell waith, gobebion neu gerrig milltir Rhufeinig wedi'u defnyddio eildro (5). Ond dengys cromlechi a chroesau Celtaidd diweddarach flodeuo'r gelf Gristnogol gynnar (9,10,13,14). Y mae rhai o'r croesau Celtaidd tra-arddunedig yn awgrymu dylanwad Gwyddelig yn eu defnydd o fotifau megis yr olwyn (7,8,9,12) y blethen (9,10,11,13) ac yn y blaen. Cymharer y rhain â Llyfr Kells (16).

In contrast to the general scarcity of evidence, both written and archaeological, on Dark Age Wales there is a profusion of one kind of monument in Wales - the inscribed standing stone.

The memorial stones of the fifth and sixth centuries provide evidence of the survival of a Romanised way of life in their use of the Latin language and a profusion of Latinised names (4,5). In Dyfed the Irish influence is attested by use of the Ogam script (15) on stones occurring in great numbers in Pembrokeshire (3,6). Following the route of Roman roads there is another cluster in Breconshire with Ogam inscriptions (1).

Standing stones survive from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. The initial ones are rough stones or even, occasionally, Roman memorials or milestones reused (5) - but later stones and Celtic crosses show a flowering of early Christian art (9,10,13,14). Some of the highly decorated Celtic crosses suggest an Irish influence in the use of motifs such as the wheel, (7,8,9,12) the interlace, (9,10,11,13), etc. Compare these with the book of Kells (16).



15



1 Trecastle Brecknockshire



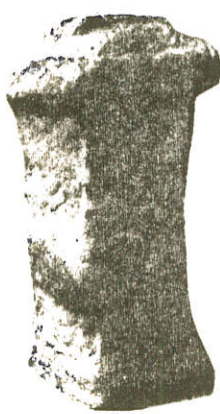
2 Castell Dwyran Carmarthenshire



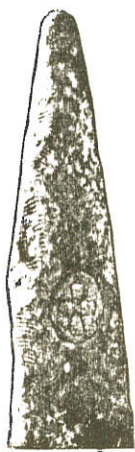
3 Eglwys Cymyn Carmarthenshire



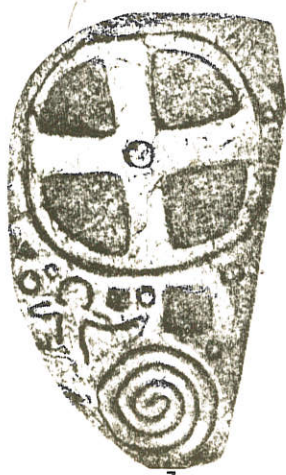
4 Penmachno Caernarvonshire



5 Loughor Glamorganshire



6 Bridell Pembrokeshire



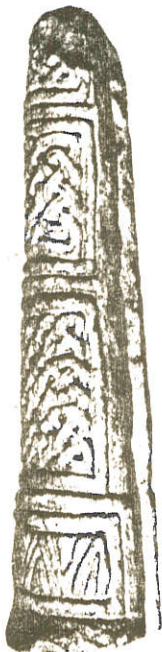
7 Llangamarch Brecknockshire



8 Llanwrtyd Brecknockshire



9 Whitford Flintshire



10
Llantwit Major
Glamorganshire



11
Penally
Pembrokeshire



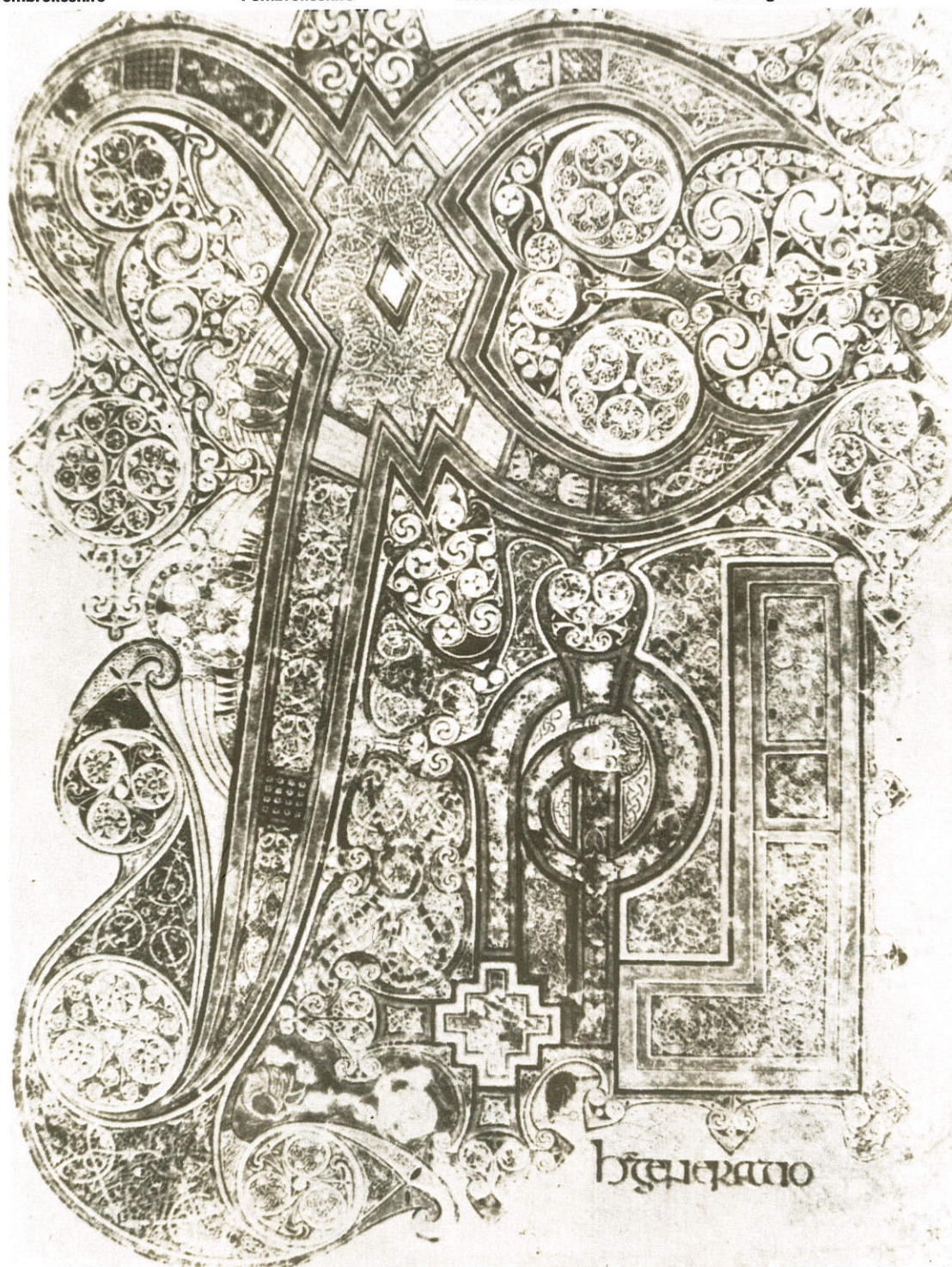
12
St Davids
Pembrokeshire



13
Llandyfaelog-fach
Brecknockshire



14
Eglwysilan
Glamorganshire



Y Llychlynwyr

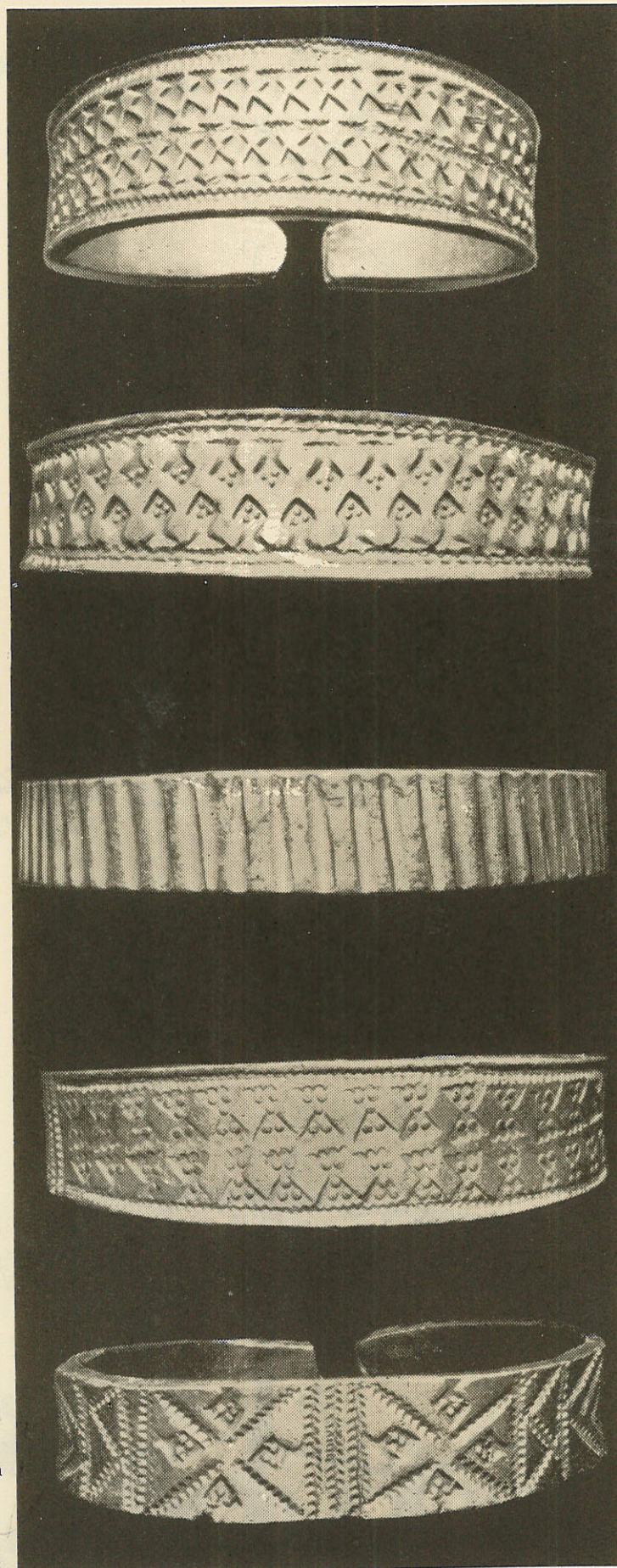
The Vikings

Ymddangosodd ysbeilwyr o Norwy, Denmarc a Sweden gyntaf, yn ôl cofnodion hanesyddol, yn 787 pan ddisgrifir ymosodiad ar Northumberland yn y Cronigl Eingl-Sacsonaidd. Erbyn y ddegfed ganrif ymsefydlasai'r Llychlynwyr yn Sgotland a'r Ynysoedd Gogleddol a Gorllewinol a goresgynasant Ynys Manaw o ble'r ymosodent ar arfordiroedd Môr Iwerddon (1). Darganfuwyd gweddillion y Llychlynwyr ym Môn yn Nin Silwy (2) a dangosir y dylanwad Norsege yn eglur mewn enwau lleoedd ar arfordir Cymru e.e. (3) Swansea, Anglesey. Daeth cyfresi o Lychlynwyr (4) i Gymru ar ddiwedd y nawfed ganrif gan yrru'r Cymry i erfyn nawdd brenin Wessex. Prin iawn yw'r dystiolaeth archaeolegol o gyfanheddu helaeth, er y ceir peth tystiolaeth i Fôn gael ei rheoli gan y Norswyr yn y ddegfed ganrif neu'r unfed ganrif ar ddeg. Yn yr unfed ganrif ar ddeg yr oedd y Llychlynwyr o gwmpas o hyd pan ymosodwyd ar Gymru gan Lychlynwyr eraill o ymsefydliadau yng ngogledd Ffrainc.

Seaborne raiding parties from Norway, Denmark and Sweden made their first appearance in historical record in 787 when an attack on Northumberland is described in the Anglo Saxon Chronicle.

By the tenth century the Vikings had established settlements in Scotland and the Northern and Western Isles and taken over the Isle of Man from which raids on the coastal areas bordering the Irish Sea took place (1). Viking remains have been found in Anglesey at Din Silwy (2) and the Norse influence is clearly shown in the distribution of place names for the coastal areas of Wales (3) - 'Swansea' and 'Anglesey' are Norse names. Waves of Vikings (4) hit Wales at the end of the ninth century driving the Welsh to seek the protection of the king of Wessex. There is little archaeological evidence of extensive settlement though there is some evidence that in the late tenth or eleventh centuries Anglesey was actually taken over by the Norsemen. The Norsemen were still involved in the eleventh century at the time of the Norman attacks on Wales by Vikings in another guise, (5) from the Viking settlements of northern France.

- [823-823] Eight hundred and twenty-three was the year of Christ when the Saxons destroyed the arch of Degannwy and took the kingdom of Powys for their own ...
- [849-849] A year after that Saxons slew Meurig.
- [850-852] Eight hundred and fifty was the year of Christ when the Pagans slew Cyngen.
- [853-855] Three years after that, Anglesey was ravaged by the Black Host ...
- [866-867] A year after that, York was ravaged by a host of Black Gentiles ...
- [873-874] Two years after that, the battle of Banolau, and the battle of Ynegydd in Anglesey took place. And Einion Foheddig, bishop of Menevia, died ...
- [876-877] A year after that, the Sunday battle took place in Anglesey.
- [877-878] A year after that, Rhodri and Gwriad, his brother, were slain by the Saxons.
- [878-879] A year after that, died Aedd, son of Mell.
- [880-881] Eight hundred and eight was the year of Christ when the battle of the Conway, which was called 'the avenging of Rhodri' took place ...
- [890-892] Eight hundred and ninety was the year of Christ when the Black Norsemen came to Gwynedd.
- [891-893] A year after that, died Hyfaidd ap Bleddri.
- [893-895] Two years after that, Anarawd came, along with the Saxons, to harry Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi.
- [894-896] A year after that, the Norsemen ravaged England and Brycheiniog and Gwent and Gwynllwg ...

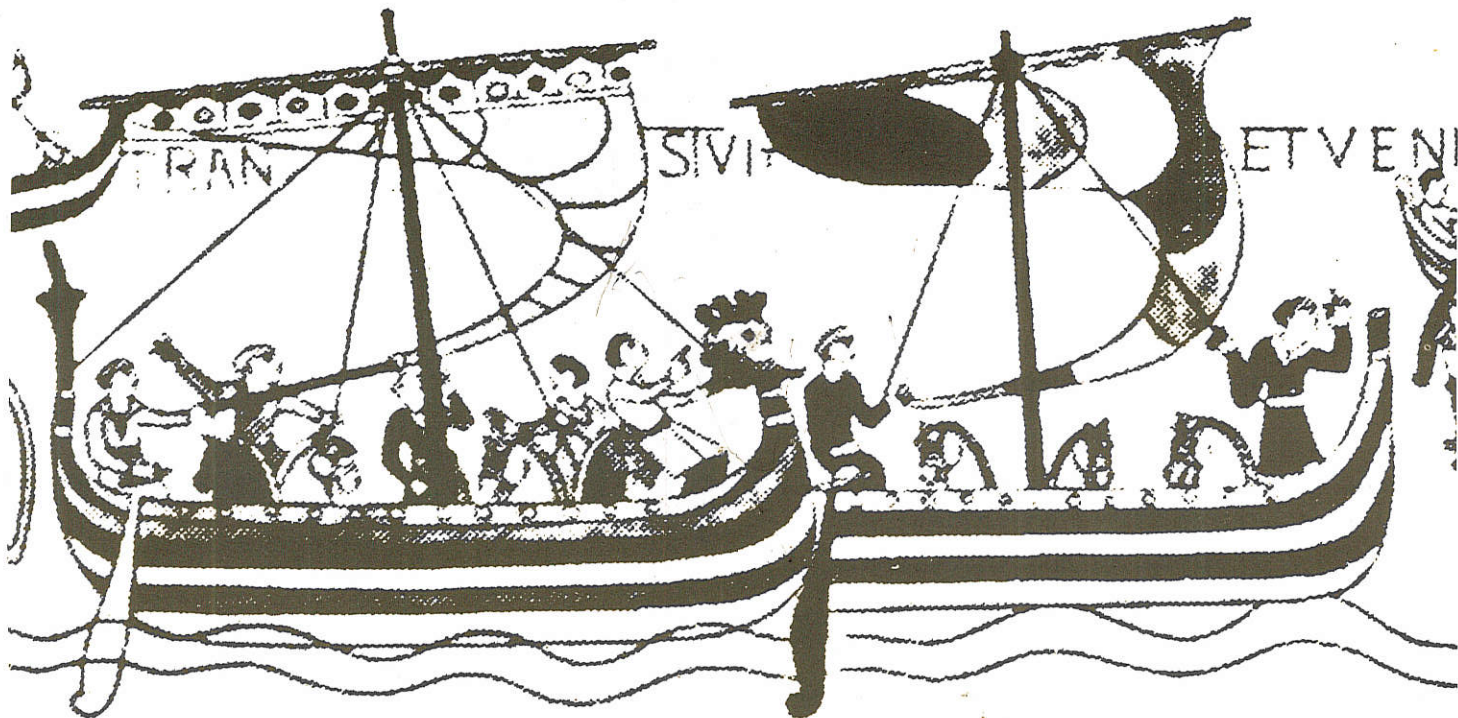




3



4



5

Llywodraethai Hywel, ŵyr i Rodri Mawr dros deyrnasoedd Gwynedd, Powys a Deheubarth. Gwnaeth gytundeb â brenin y Sacsoniaid yn Wessex a enillodd ysbaid i Gymru oddi wrth ymosodiadau'r Llychlynwyr. Hywel oedd y brenin Cymreig cyntaf i fathu arian (1) â'r teitl 'Rex' arno. Ei gamp fwyaf cofiadwy, hwyrach, oedd trefnu'r cyfreithiau Cymreig. Rhydd llyfrau'r cyfreithiau Cymreig oleuni pwysig ar fywyd cymdeithasol Cymru'r Oesoedd Tywyll. Er bod cynnwys y testunau yn perthyn i'r ddegfed ganrif fe'u rhoddwyd ar ferwrn mewn cyfnod diweddarach o dipyn. Y mae'r darn detholedig yn ymdrin â rhannu nwyddau rhwng gŵr a gwraig ar ôl ysgariad. Er bod gwragedd yn is eu statws, gall gwraig briod, sef gwraig o saith mlynedd neu fwy, hawlio hanner eiddo ei gŵr; hawl nas enillwyd dan gyfraith Lloegr tan y bedwaredd ganrif ar bymtheg.

Hywel, grandson of Rhodri Mawr, controlled the kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth. He made an alliance with the Saxon ruler in Wessex which won Wales a respite from Viking attacks. Hywel was the first Welsh King to have coins (1) struck with the title 'Hywel Rex'.

Perhaps his most memorable achievement was the codification of the Welsh laws. The Welsh law books give important insights into the social life of Dark Age Wales. The actual texts date from a later period but their content relates to the tenth century. The extract selected (2) deals with the division of goods between husband and wife following divorce. Although Welsh women were inferior in status the woman, after seven years, could claim half her husband's property (a right which English women did not gain until the nineteenth century).



1

Concerning the separation of husband and wife

If anyone send away his wife without lawful cause, and take another in her place, by judgement the woman who has been put out is entitled to come to her home, and be in her own home until the ninth day. And if on that day she is sent away, first let all the things which are hers go out from the house, and after the last of the number, let her herself go out from the house.

The husband shall have all the pigs, the wife the sheep. The husband shall have all the horses and mares, the oxen, and cows, bullocks and heifers: the wife shall have the goats. Next the household equipment shall be divided as follows: All the vessels of milk, except one baeol are the wife's and all the dishes, except one meat dish, that is cigddysgl are the husband's. One car and yoke are the wife's. All the jars and all the drinking vessels are the husband's. Of the bedding, the husband shall have all the bedclothes which are beneath; the wife those which are above. After he has taken another wife, the husband is obliged to send the bedding to the wife whom he has repudiated.

The husband shall have the cauldron, the brycan, and the pillow and nithlen, and the coulter, and the wood-aze, and the gimlet, and the fire-dog, and all the sickles except one, and the gridiron. The wife shall have the pan and the tripod, the broad axe and the sieve, the ploughshare and the one sickle, the flax and the linseed, and the trythgwd except gold and silver. If there has been anything of these two that is, tlysau, they shall be divided into two equal parts, both as to linen things and as to woollen things.

The husband shall have the barn and the grain and whatever there is above ground and in the ground, and the hens and all the geese and one cat; and if there are several [cats] all are the wife's except the one, as stated above. The wife shall have the meat which is salted and lying on the ground, and the cheese that is fresh on the ground, but after the meats and cheeses are hung up, the wife shall have none of them by right. The vessel of butter, if it be not full, the wife shall have, and the ham likewise unless it be unbroached, and the cheese unless it be unbroached, and so much of the flour as she herself can manage to bring in her own hands from the granary into the house with the strength of her knees. Each one of them shall have his personal clothing, except the cloaks, which should be divided.

Fel y goresgynnai'r Normaniaid Loegr, crwydrai'r barwniaid Normanaidd dros Gymru gyfan fel anturiaethwyr annibynnol, yn goresgyn un frenhiniaeth fach Gymreig ar ôl y llall (1-3). Ymgryfhaodd y Cymry a'u gyrru hwy o'r gogledd a'r gorllewin (4), ond gwreiddiasai eu grym yn ddyfnach yn arglwyddiaethau'r gororau a rychwantai'r ffîn yn fwa mawr gan gynnwys dros hanner y boblogaeth. Ymdrinia *Brut y Tywysogion* (5) (seiliedig ar Lyfr Coch Hergest) â rhai o'r ymrysonau hyn.

Eu cestyll yw eu cofebion mwyaf gweladwy. Byddent yn sicrhau ardal gan adeiladu caerau dros dro o fryncyn wedi'i amgylchynu â ffens goed (6), yna eu hadnewyddu â tyrrau sgwâr (7) ac, yn ddiweddarach, tyrrau crwn, mwy soffistigedig, i rwystro tansellio'r corneli gan gadgloddwyr. Aeth adeiladu cestyll ymlaen ar raddfa fyth-gynyddol drwy gydol yr unfed ganrif ar ddeg, y ddeuddegfed a'r drydedd ganrif ar ddeg i ddiweddu yn y gaer enfawr a soffistigedig yng Nghaerffili o eiddo teulu De Clare.

Gyda'r cestyll daeth y trefi bychain megis Cydeweli (8), mynachlogydd Benedictaidd, amaethyddiaeth ar raddfa fawr ac economi ariannol o fyd Ewropëaidd y Normaniaid. Bu'r Cymry'n barod iawn i'w hefelychu. Cododd y tywysogion Cymreig eu cestyll eu hunain a ddaeth i'w huchafbwynt efo cynlluniau mawr tywysogion Gwynedd.

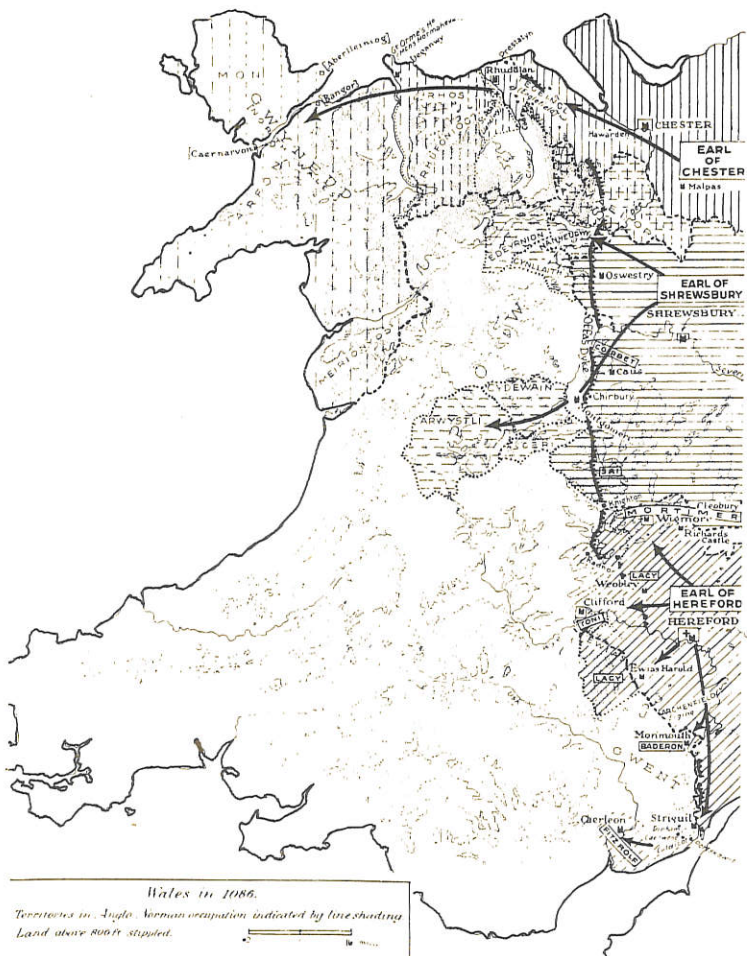
As the Normans conquered England, Norman lords, as independent adventurers, swarmed all over Wales, taking over one petty Welsh kingdom after another in piecemeal fashion (1-3). Welsh recovery drove them out of the north and west (4) but their power was rooted in a great arc of Marcher lordships embracing eastern and much of southern Wales and over half of the population. The extracts from the *Chronicles of the Princes* (5), based on the Red Book of Hergest, cover some of these struggles. Their castles are their most visible memorial. They secured an area by throwing up motte and bailey forts (6). These were replaced by square towers (7) and, later, more sophisticated round towers to prevent the undermining of corners by sappers.

Castle-building on an ever-extending scale went on throughout the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to culminate in the massive and sophisticated fortress of Caerphilly of the Clare family. With the castles came the little walled townships such as Kidwelly (8), the Benedictine monasteries, the large-scale agriculture and the money economy of the Normans' European world.

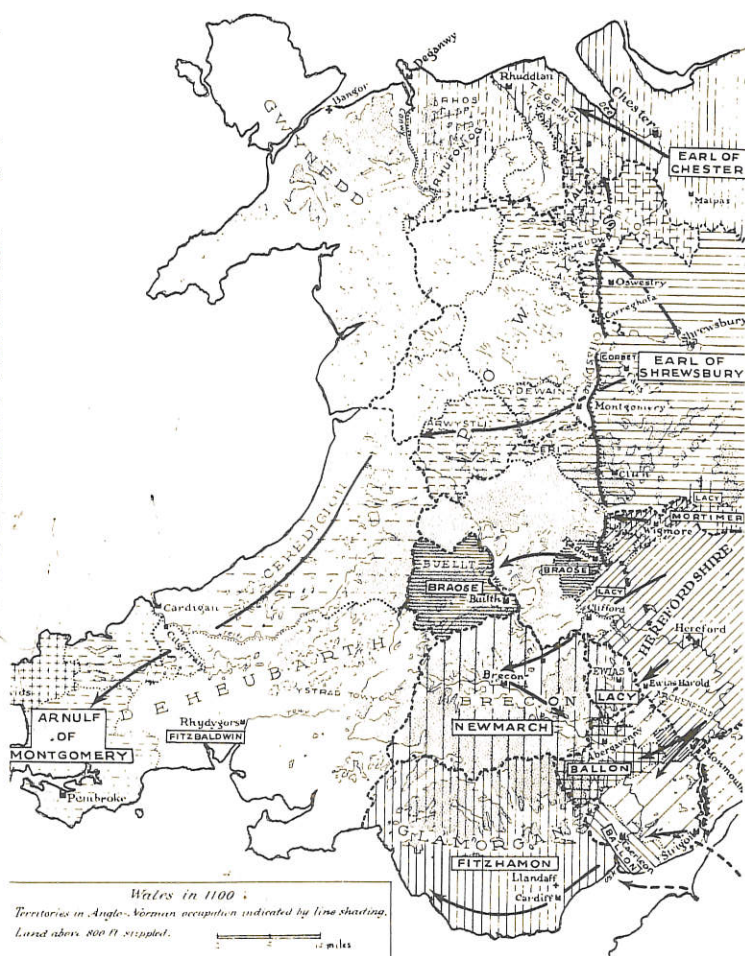
The Welsh swiftly copied them. Welsh lords raised their own castles, to climax in the major enterprises of the princes of Gwynedd.



1



2 NORMAN CONQUEST: WALES IN THE YEAR 1086.



3 NORMAN CONQUEST: WALES IN THE YEAR 1100.

To Owain Gwynedd

I exalt the generous descendant of Rhodri,
Ward of the Marches, his quality kingly,
Right master of Britain, doom-buoyant Owain,
His princes nor grovel, nor hoard their wealth.

Three legions came, ships of the deep sea,
Three prime stout fleets avid to spoil him:
One was of Ireland, another was war-manned
With Norsemen of Lochlyn, lank steeds of the flood;

A third over seas sailed here from Normandy,
And, for their pains, vast trouble it cost them –
The dragon of Môn, how fierce he bore battle,
Desperate riot, their trial of war!

And before him ran a miserable confusion,
Ruin and battle and a grievous end –
On struggle, blood and struggle; on terror, dire terror;
And a thousand war-shouts about Tal y Moelfre.

On spear flashed spear, shaft upon shafts,
On panic woe and panic, drowned with the drowning,
And Menai without ebb from the tide of their bleeding,
And colour of warriors' blood in the brine.

And the blue chain-mail, and the ache of disaster,
and the wounded heaped from that lord's red spear,
And the musters of England, and combat against them,
And their destruction in wild disarray.

And the raising to fame of that bitter sword
In seven score languages, long in his praise.

4

WALES AND THE NORMANS from the Chronicle of the Prince s

[1073]. And then the French ravaged Ceredigion and Dyfed. And Menevia and Bangor were ravaged by the Gentiles.

[1074]. Then for the second time the French ravaged Ceredigion.

[1090-1093]. One thousand and ninety was the year of Christ when Rhys ap Twdwr, king of Deuheubarth, was slain by the French who were inhabiting Brycheiniog. And then fell the kingdom of the Britons. And then Cadwgan ap Bleddyn ravaged Dyfed on the second day of May. And then, two months after that, about the Calends of July, the French came to Dyfed and Ceredigion, which they have held to this day, and they fortified them with castles; and they seized all the land of the Britons ...

[1094]. And then William Rufus ... Whilst William stayed in Normandy, the Britons threw off the rule of the French, being unable to suffer their tyranny, and they destroyed their castles in Gwynedd and devised plunderings and slaughters against them. And then the French led hosts into Gwynedd; and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn met them and attacked and defeated them, and drove them to flight and slew them, and overthrew and subdued them with great slaughter. And that battle was fought in Coedysbwys. And at the close of that year the Britons destroyed all the castles of Ceredigion and Dyfed except two, that is, Pembroke and Rhyd-y-gors, and they took with them the people and all the cattle of Dyfed, and they left Dyfed and Ceredigion waste.

[1091-1095]. The following year the French ravaged Gower and Cydweli and Ystrad Tywi, and the lands remained waste. And in the middle of autumn king William moved a host against the Britons. And after the Britons had taken their refuge in the woods and valleys, William returned home empty-handed, having gained naught.

Ardwyreaf hael o hil Rodri
Ardwyad gorwlad gwerlin teithi
Teithiawg Prydain
Twyth afyrdwyth Owain
Teyrnain ni grain
Ni grawn rei

Teir lleng y daethant liant lestri
Teir praf prif lynges wy bres brofi
Un o Iwerdon
Arall arfogion
O'r Llychlynigion
Llwrw hirion lli

A'r dryded dros for o Nordmandi
A'r drapherth anferth anfad idi
A draig Mon mor drud ei eissillud yn aer
A bu terfysg taer i haer holi
A ragdaw rewys dwys dyfysgi
A rewin a thrin a thranc cymri
Ar gad gad greude
Ar gryd gryd graende
Ac am dal Moelfre
Mil fanieri

Ar lad lad lachar ar bar beri
A fwyr fwyr fyrgawd ar fawd fodi
A menai heb drai o drallanw gwaedryar
A lliw gwyar gwyr yn heli
A llurygawr glas a gloes trychni
A thrychion yn dud rag reidrud ri
A dygyfor Lloegr a dygyfrang a hi
Ac eu dygyfwrw yn astrussi
A dygyfod clod cledyf difri
Yn seith ugein ieith wy feith foli

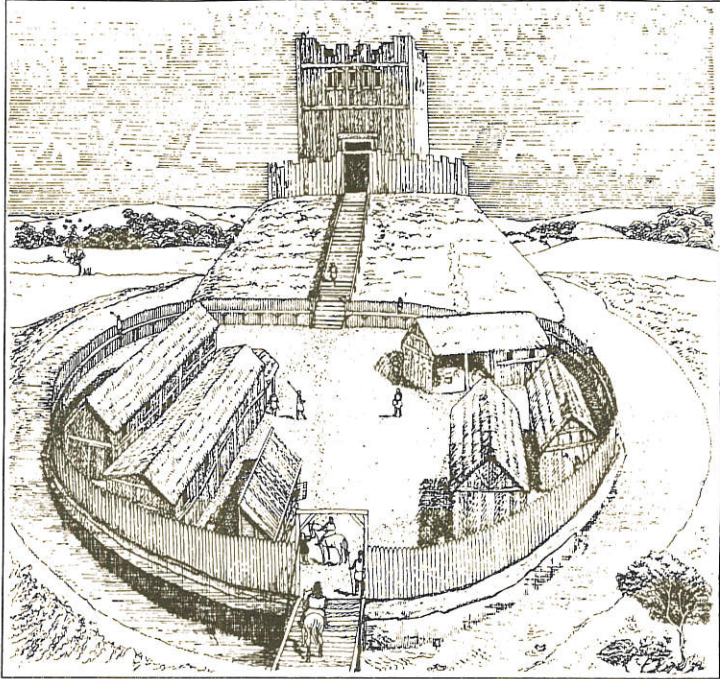
[1092-1096]. The following year died William fitz Baldwin, who had established the castle of Rhyd-y-gors by command of the king. And after his death the keepers left the castle empty. And then the Britons of Brycheiniog and Gwent and Gwynllwg threw off the rule of the French. And the French moved a host to Gwent; but they returned empty-handed having gained naught. And as they were returning, they were slain by the Britons at the place called Celli Carnant. After that the French moved a host to Brycheiniog and thought to ravage the whole land, but, having failed to accomplish their thoughts, as they were returning they were slain by the sons of Idnerth ap Cadwgan, Gruffudd and Ifor, in the place called Aber-llech. And the inhabitants stayed in their houses unafraid although the castles were still intact and the garrisons in them.

In that year Uchdryd ab Edwin and Hywel ap Goronwy, and many other chieftains along with them, and several of the war-band of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, made for the castle of Pembroke and plundered it of all its cattle and ravaged the whole land; and they returned home with vast spoil.

[1093-1097]. The following year Gerald the steward, to whom the stewardship of Pembroke castle had been entrusted, ravaged the bounds of Menevia. And then a second time William, King of England, moved innumerable hosts and immense power and strength against the Britons. And then the Britons avoided their attack, hoping not in themselves but placing their hope in God, Creator of all things, by fasting and praying and giving alms and take severe penance on their bodies; for the French did not dare to approach the rocks and the woods but foraged about and encompassed the level open fields. In the end they returned home empty-handed, having gained naught, and the Britons, happy and unafraid, defended their land.

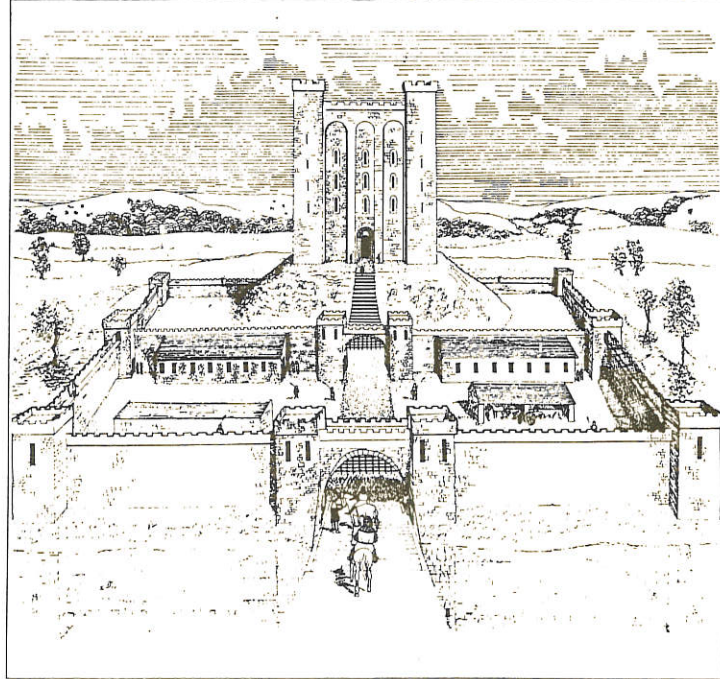
[1094-1098]. The following year the French moved hosts, for the third time, against Gwynedd, with two leaders in the van and with Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury, as chief over them. And they encamped opposite the island of Anglesey. And the Britons, after they had retreated to their strongest fastnesses according to their usual custom, resolved in council to occupy Anglesey and to call in to them to defend them a fleet from Ireland which was at sea. But the men who had been called in, taking their gifts and their rewards from the French, brought the French to Anglesey. And then Cadwgan ap Bleddyn and Gruffudd ap Cynan left the island of Anglesey and fled to Ireland for fear of the treachery of their own men. And then the French came into the island and killed some of the men of the island. And as they were staying there, Magnus, king of Germany, and some ships with him came to Anglesey, hoping to overrun all the lands of the Britons. And when king Magnus had heard the French were often minded to ravage the whole land and to reduce it to naught, he hastened to attack them. And as they were shooting at one another, the one side from the sea and the other from the land, earl Hugh was wounded in the face, and by the hand of the king himself he fell in the battle. And then by a sudden resolve king Magnus withdrew from the bounds of the land. And he took all the French, both great and small, to the Saxons. And since the men of Gwynedd could not suffer the laws and judgements and violence of the French upon them, they rose up against them a second time, with Owain ab Edwin as leader over them, the man who had previously brought the French to Anglesey.

LLUN 4 CASTELL MWNT A BELLI GYNNAR O BREN

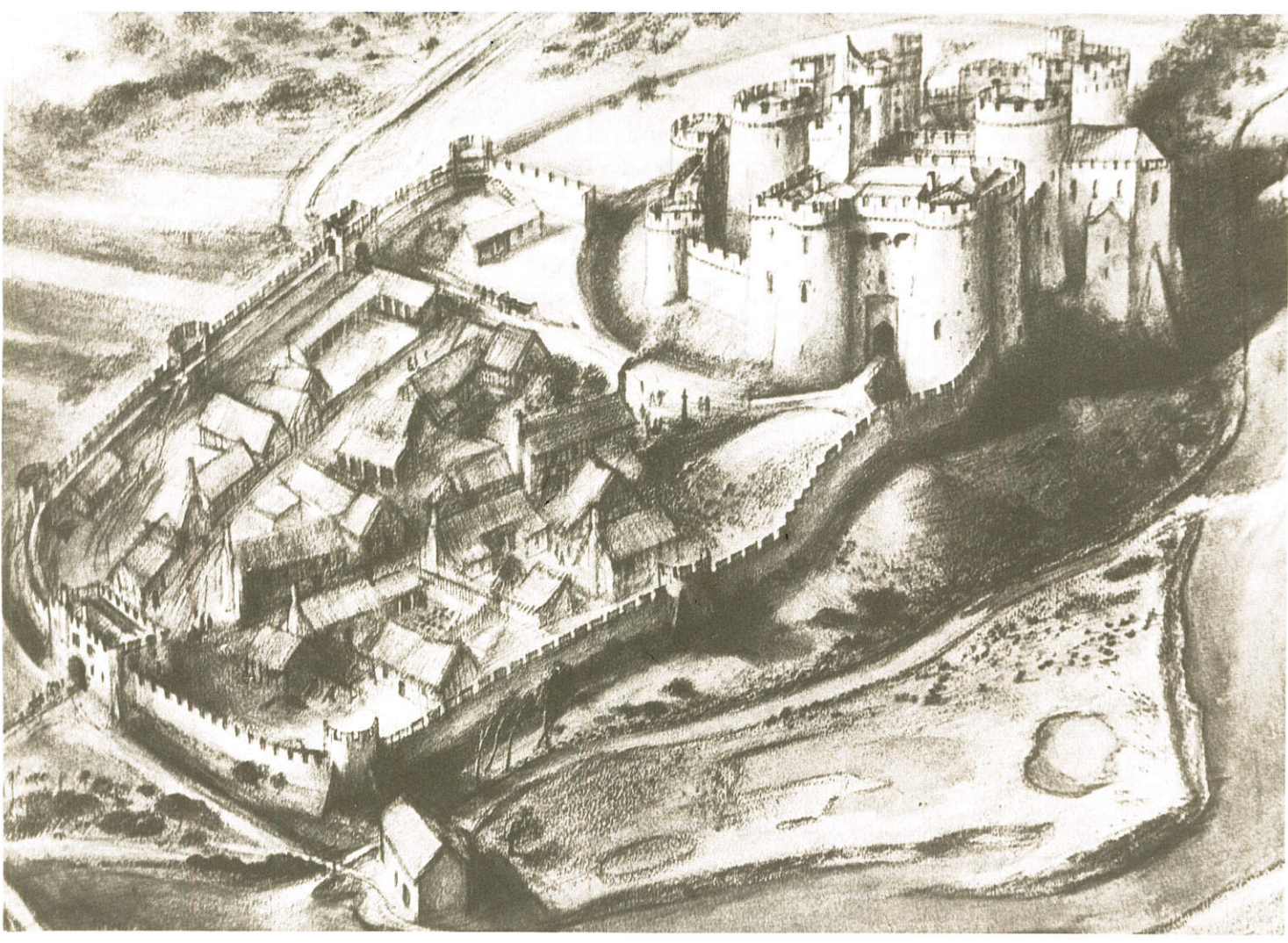


6

LLUN 5 CASTELL MWNT A BELLI GARREG



7



8

O dan effaith y Normaniaid dirywiodd teyrnasoedd traddodiadol Cymru. Diflannodd Morgannwg a throes yn Went a Glamorgan yn nwylo'r Normaniaid. Holltodd Powys yn nau ac yr oedd disgynyddion brenhinoedd y Deheubarth yn rheoli ond cyfran fechan o'r deyrnas a fu gynt. O'r hen frenhinaethau i gyd, ond Gwynedd a arhosodd yn gyfan.

Goroedd drwy ddefnydd celfydd o'i adnoddau naturiol. Gwlad o fynyddoedd yw Cymru. Cyn dyfodiad diwydiant ni allai ategu ond poblogaeth fechan wasgaredig. Ynyswyd cymunedau yn fynyddoedd ac felly magwyd y teyrngarwch cryf hwnnw i'r Fro, y famwlad fechan leol sydd wedi bod mor allweddol i'r ffordd Gymreig o fyw.

Yr oedd mynyddoedd yn amddiffyniad hefyd yn erbyn gelynnion o'r tu allan (1), yn arbennig gyda'r coedwigoedd helaeth a orchuddiai'r rhan wryaf o Gymru yn yr amser a fu. Manteisiodd arweinwyr Gwynedd ar y tri chylch o fynyddoedd yn Eryri (2). Profai'r rhain i fod yn rhwystr anorchfygol i'r gelyn am ddau gan mlynedd. Y mae'r gadwyn enfawr o gestyll Edwardaidd ynddi'i hun yn awgrymu maint yr anawsterau a achoswyd i'r gelyn gan y 'Gaer Fynyddig'. Ac, ar ben hynny, ategid amddiffynfeydd Gwynedd gan Fôn a'i throedd ffrwythlon lle tyfai yd - 'Môn Mam Cymru' (3). Anfonodd Edward I ei filwyr i Wynedd i gynaeafu'r yd a dyfai yng nghaeau Gwynedd a bu'r strategaeth hon yn hanfodol i gyfnod olaf y goresgyniad. O'r cadarnle hwn yr oedd arweinwyr Gwynedd y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg wedi adeiladu eu grym dros Gymru gyfan.

Under the Norman impact the traditional kingdoms of Wales disintegrated. Morgannwg disappeared into the Gwent and Glamorgan of the Normans; Powys split in two; descendants of the kings of Deheubarth ruled only a fraction of what had been their kingdom. Only Gwynedd, of the ancient kingdoms, survived virtually intact.

It survived by a skilful use of its natural resources. Wales is a land of mountains. Before industrialisation, such a land could support only a small, scattered population. Communities were isolated by mountains and cultivated that strong attachment to the Bro, the little local homeland, which has been such a power in Welsh life. Mountains were also a protection against invaders (1), particularly at a time when the tree cover was far more extensive than it is today. The rulers of Gwynedd exploited the three great concentric circles of mountains of Snowdonia (2). These presented obstacles to an enemy which for two hundred years proved insurmountable. The scale of the problem is indicated by the sheer scale of the final military solution – the great chain of Edwardian castles which ultimately ringed the interior. Moreover the defences of Gwynedd were backed by the fertile grain-growing island of Anglesey – 'Môn Mam Cymru' (3). Essential to the final phase of conquest by Edward I was the harvesting of the growing corn in the granary of Gwynedd.

From this base, the rulers of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century struck for power over all Wales.



1 MURIAU MYNYDDIG GWYNEDD GWYNEDD'S MOUNTAIN WALLS



2

Concerning the Pleasantness and Fertility of Wales

As the southern part of Wales near Cardiganshire, but particularly Pembrokeshire is much pleasanter, on account of its plains and sea-coast, so North Wales is better defended by nature, is more productive of men distinguished for bodily strength, and more fertile in the nature of its soil; for, as the mountains of Eryri (Snowdon) could supply pasturage for all the herds of cattle in Wales, if collected together, so could the Isle of Mona (Anglesey) provide a requisite quantity of corn for all the inhabitants: on which account there is an old British proverb, "Mon mam Cymbry", that is, "Mona is the mother of Wales". Merionyth, and the land of Conan is the crudest and least cultivated region, and the least accessible. The natives of that part of Wales excel in the use of long lances, as those of Monmouthshire are distinguished for their management of the bow. It is to be observed, that the British language is more delicate and richer in North Wales, that country being less intermixed with foreigners. Many, however, assert that the language of Cardiganshire in South Wales, placed as it were in the middle of the heart of Cambria, is the most refined.

3

Giraldus Cambrensis - The Itinerary Through Wales.

Tylwyth Gwynedd

The House of Gwynedd

Gwlad o frenhinoedd buasai Cymru; o deyrnasoedd bychain a ffurfiasai'n raddol i'r pedair teyrnas 'draddodiadol', sef Morgannwg, Deheubarth, Powys a Gwynedd. Erbyn y ddeuddegfed ganrif rhennid y wlad gan y gororau i'r dwyrain ac i'r de ac arglwyddi'r gororau yn cymryd arnynt bweru'r brenhinoedd Cymreig. Yr oeddynt yn fwy annibynnol o lawer o Goron Lloegr na'r arglwyddi Seisnig. I'r gogledd, ac i'r gorllewin yr oedd 'Pura Wallia', neu Gymru Gymreig.

Diflanasai brenhinoedd; arglwydd a dalai wrogaeth am ei dir i frenin Lloegr oedd pob tywysog Cymreig. Daliai pob un ei diroedd drwy'r brenin a'r arweinwyr pwysicaf 'yn ben-ddeiliaid' i'r brenin. Yn hwyr yn y ddeuddegfed ganrif, diolch i'w berthynas bersonol â Henry II, gweithredai'r Arglwydd Rhys o Ddeheubarth, un o'r tywysogion Cymreig, fel ynad y brenin a phenarglwydd Cymru. Y gwir eithriad, fodd bynnag, oedd tylwyth Aberffraw yng Ngwynedd.

Diolch i'w ddefnydd celfydd o'u hadnoddau dynol a daearyddol ac i waith Owain Gwynedd yng nghanol y ddeuddegfed ganrif, mynnodd arweinwyr Gwynedd statws mwy annibynnol. Gwrthodant fod yn 'ben-ddeiliaid' i'r brenin. Ceisiasant gysegru eu hesgobion eu hunain, gan herio Caer-gaint. Cymerasant y teitl 'tywysog', term niwlog y rhoddasant ystyr bendant iddo. Eu gobaith oedd ennill gwrogaethau'r arglwyddi yng Nghymru Gymreig, ac, o bosibl, eiddo'r arglwyddi bychain yn y gororau iddynt eu hunain, fel y byddent hwythau'n unig yn talu gwrogaeth i'r brenin am eu 'Cymru' hwy. Ystyriai hyn annibyniaeth i bob pwrpas.

Yn gynnar yn y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg, sefydlodd Llewelyn Fawr ab Iorwerth (1173-1240) Wunedd fel y grym mwyaf yng Nghymru. Ei olynydd, Dafydd (tua 1208-1246) oedd y cyntaf i'w alw ei hun yn 'Dywysog Cymru' yn swyddogol ac ef a addasodd y cyfreithiau Cymreig i weddu i'r wladwriaeth ffiwdal yr oedd y tywysogion yn ei chreu. Ei olynydd yntau, sef Llywelyn ap Gruffydd y Llyw Olaf (m. 1282), a wireddodd y Dywysogaeth hon am ysbaid fechan.

Wales had been a land of kings, of petty kingdoms gradually forming into the four 'traditional' kingdoms of Morgannwg, Deheubarth, Powys and Gwynedd. By the twelfth century the country was divided between the March, to east and south, whose lords took over the powers of Welsh kings and were much more independent of the Crown than English lords, and to north and west, 'Pura Wallia', or Welsh Wales.

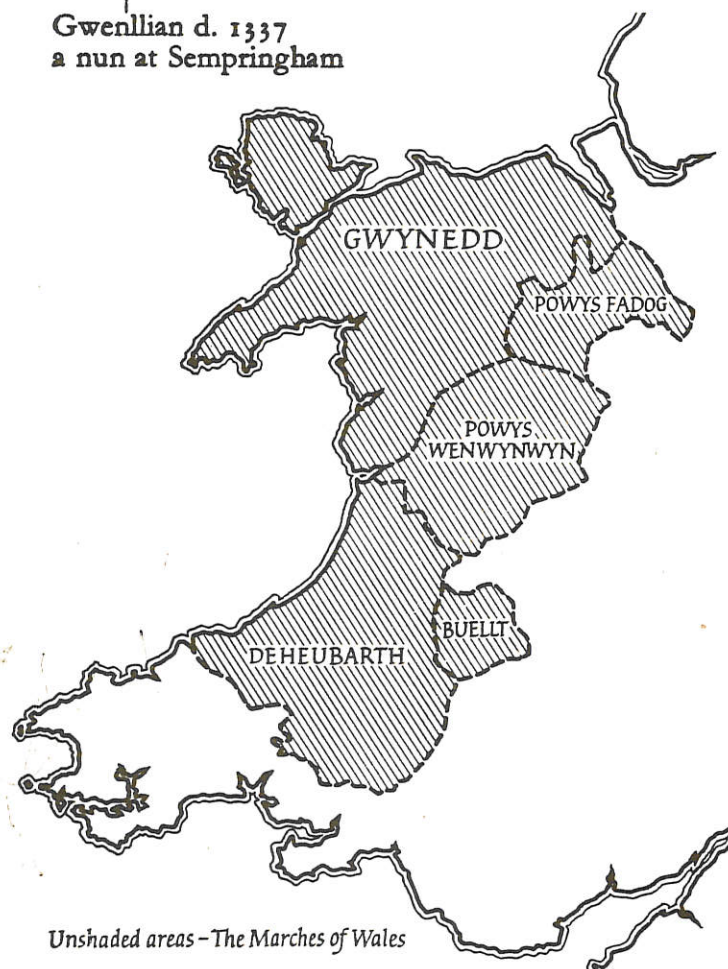
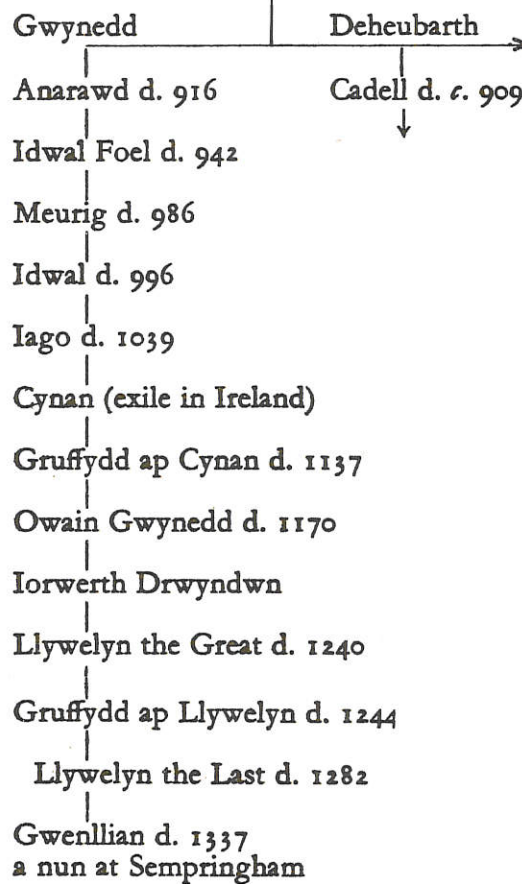
Kings had disappeared; every ruler in Wales was a lord, owing allegiance to the king of England and, more importantly, doing homage to him for their lands. Every one, technically, held his lands from the king; the greater men were 'tenants-in-chief' of the king. In the late twelfth century, thanks to his personal relationship with Henry II, one of the Welsh lords, the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, ranked, in theory, as the king's justiciar and overlord of Wales. The real exception, however, was the house of Aberffraw in Gwynedd. Thanks to the skilful use of their human and natural resources, and to the achievement of Owain Gwynedd in the mid-twelfth century, the rulers of Gwynedd held out for a more independent status. They refused to be tenants-in-chief of the king, they tried to consecrate their own bishops, in defiance of Canterbury. They cultivated the title 'prince', a vague term which they invested with precise meaning. Their aim was to divert all the homages of Welsh lords in Welsh Wales and, if they could, those of the petty lords of the Welshries within the March, to themselves, so that they alone would then do homage to the king for their 'Wales'. This would have meant virtual independence.

In the early thirteenth century, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (the Great) (1173-1240) established Gwynedd as the dominant power in Wales. His successor David (c.1208-1246) who radically adjusted Welsh law to the feudal state the princes were creating, was the first formally to call himself Prince of Wales. It was his successor Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (the Last) (died 1282) who made this Principality briefly a reality.

The Dynasty of Gwynedd

(Main line only)

Rhodri Mawr
King of Gwynedd, Powys, and Ceredigion
d. 878



Wales under the rule of Llywelyn the Great at the height of his power, 1234

Yn nyddiadau'r Arglwydd Rhys pan sefydlasai'r ffin rhwng y gororau a Chymru Gymreig aeth Gerallt Gymro (1) efo Archesgob Baldwin ar daith drwy Gymru dan bregethu'r groesgad. Wyr i'r Dywysoges Nest o'r Deheubarth ac i'w gŵr Normanaidd Gerallt Windsor oedd Gerallt Gymro. Ysgolhaig, gweinyddwr, awdur, gwyddonydd o ryw fath ac yn gydwladol enwog, gadawodd Gerallt o'r flwyddyn honno (1188) beth o'r dystiolaeth fwyaf byw a ysgrifennwyd erioed am bobl y canoloesoedd (2).

Wrth reswm, rhaid bod yn ofalus ar unrhyw darlenn. Darluniai Gerallt Gymro'r ddeuddegfed ganrif fel gwlad goediog heb na threfi na phentrefi na masnach, gydag afonydd na ellid mo'u croesi bron, a'i phobl yn byw bywyd gwledig, bugeiliol. Rhydd ddisgrifiad hynod o ddiddorol o fywyd cartrefol Cymreig ac y mae'n eglur bod y Cymry eisoes wedi ennill bri fel cenedl gerddorol. Eithr, yn ystod cyfnod Gerallt, âi marchnatwyr Cymreig â'u llongau i Bordeaux yn ogystal ag i Fryste. Aeth un ohonynt, Henry le Waleys, o Gas-gwent yn faer Llundain; ac, ym Mharis a Rhydychen fel ei gilydd, yr oedd ysgolheigion o Gymry yn ennill bri iddynt eu hunain.

Rhai blynyddoedd yn gynt, yn ôl y croniglau, cynhaliwyd yr ymgynulliad cyntaf a ellir o bosibl ei alw yn eisteddfod, yn Abersteifi ym 1176 dan nawdd yr Arglwydd Rhys. Enillwyd y wobwr am farddoniaeth gan ŵr o'r gogledd a honno am gerddoriaeth gan ŵr o'r de (3). Dyma oes aur beirdd llys y tywysogion ac nid oedd ffin i'w diwylliant. Ffynnai ysgolion cyfan o gyfieithwyr yn y gororau fel y trosglwyddai storiâu'r Mabinogi ac Arthur i Ewrop. Sieffre o Fynwy, gŵr o Lydaw a ysgrifennai yng Ngwent, a drawsffurfiodd 'hanes' Arthuraidd y Brythoniaid a'r Cymry i'w wedd sifalrig, Ewropeaidd yn ei 'Brut'. Y mae Gerallt ei hunan yn dyst i'r gwareiddiad newydd cymysgryw a ddaethai'n amlwg yng Nghymru.

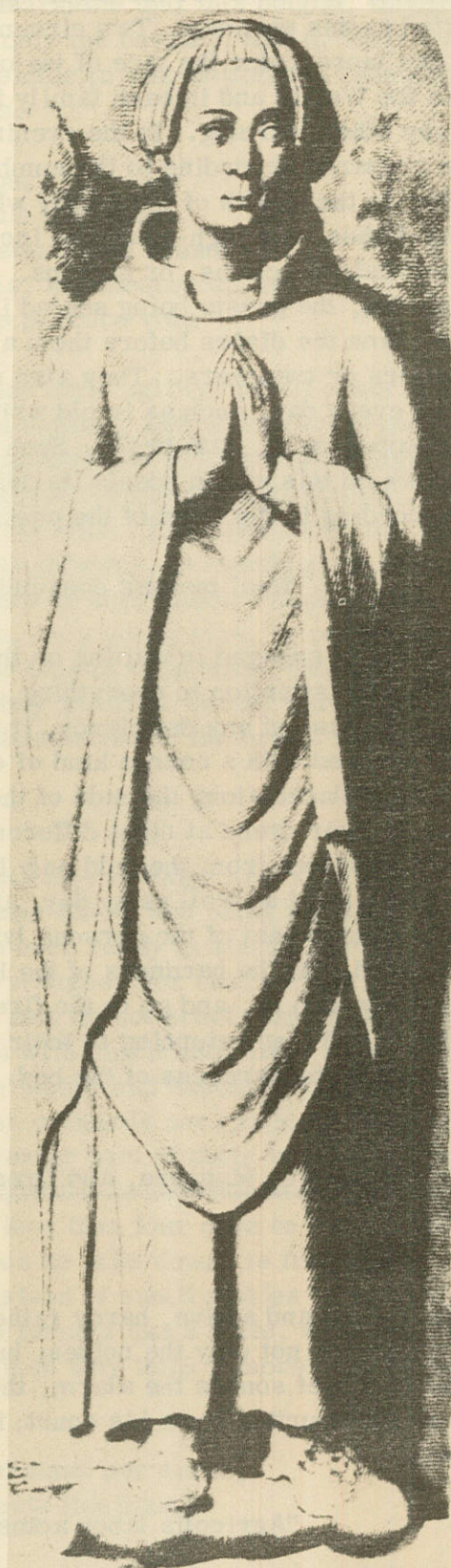
In the days of the Lord Rhys, when the frontier between Marcher and Welsh Wales had settled, Gerald of Wales (1) went with Archbishop Baldwin on a tour throughout Wales, preaching the crusade. A scholar, administrator, author, something of a scientist, and internationally famous, Gerald, from that year 1188, has left us some of the most vivid testimony ever written on a medieval people (2).

Of course, one man's view of a country needs to be treated with circumspection. Gerald pictures twelfth century Wales as a tensely wooded land without towns or villages or commerce, with almost impassable rivers, its people enjoying a mainly pastoral existence. He gives a fascinating description of Welsh domestic life and it is clear that the Welsh were already renowned as a musical nation.

But even as he wrote, Welsh merchants were taking their ships into Bordeaux as well as Bristol; one of them, Henry le Waleys of Chepstow was to serve as mayor of London. Welsh students and scholars were making names for themselves in Paris and Oxford.

Some years earlier, according to the Chronicles, was held the first recorded gathering in Wales which looks like an eisteddfod, at Cardigan in 1176, under the auspices of the Lord Rhys, when a man from the north won the prize for poetry, a man from the south for music (3). This was the great age of the court poets of the princes and their culture stopped at no border. Whole schools of translators flourished in the March as the stories of the Mabinogion and of Arthur were transmitted into Europe. It was Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Breton writing in Gwent, who, in his *History of the Kings of Britain*, transformed the Arthurian 'history' of the British and Welsh into a European best-seller.

Gerald himself, grandson of a Welsh princess Nest (and thus descendant of the last legitimate king of Deheubarth) and her Norman husband Gerald of Windsor, is a witness to the new and hybrid civilisation which had emerged in Wales.



1

Of Their Hospitality and Liberality

No one of this nation ever begs, for the houses of all are common to all: and they consider liberality and hospitality amongst the first virtues. So much does hospitality here rejoice in communication, that it is neither offered nor requested by travellers, who, on entering any house, only deliver up their arms. When water is offered to them, if they suffer their feet to be washed, they are received as guests; for the offer of water to wash the feet is with this nation an hospitable invitation. But if they refuse the proffered service, they only wish for morning refreshment, not lodging. The young men move about in troops and families under the direction of a chosen leader. Attached only to arms and ease, and ever ready to stand forth in defence of their country, they have free admittance into every house as if it were their own.

Those who arrive in the morning are entertained till evening with the conversation of young women, and the music of the harp; for each house has its young women and harps allotted to this purpose. Two circumstances here deserve notice: that as no nation labours more under the vice of jealousy than the Irish, so none is more free from it than the Welsh: and in each family the art of playing the harp is held preferable to any other learning. In the evening, when no more guests are expected, the meal is prepared according to the number and dignity of the persons assembled, and according to the wealth of the family who entertains. The kitchen does not supply many dishes, nor high-seasoned incitements to eating. The house is not furnished with tables, cloths, or napkins. They study nature more than splendour, for which reason, the guests being seated in threes, instead of couples as elsewhere, they place the dishes before them all at once upon rushes and fresh grass, in large platters or trenchers. They also make use of a thin and broad cake of bread, baked every day, such as in old writings was called lagana; and they sometimes add chopped meat, with broth. Such a repast was formerly used by the noble youth, from whom this nation boasts its descent, and whose manners it still partly imitates, according to the word of the poet:

"Heu! mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus".

While the family is engaged in waiting on the guests, the host and hostess stand up, paying unremitting attention to everything, and take no food till all the company are satisfied; that in case of any deficiency, it may fall upon them. A bed made of rushes, and covered with a coarse kind of cloth manufactured in the country, called brychan, is then placed along the side of the room, and they all in common lie down to sleep; nor is their dress at night different from that by day, for at all seasons they defend themselves from the cold only by a thin cloak and tunic. The fire continues to burn by night as well as by day, at their feet, and they receive much comfort from the natural heat of the persons lying near them; but when the under side begins to be tired with the hardness of the bed, or the upper one to suffer from cold, they immediately leap up, and go to the fire, which soon relieves them from both inconveniences; and then returning to their couch, they expose alternately their sides to the cold, and to the hardness of the bed.

Concerning the Nature, Manners, and Dress, the Boldness, Agility, and Courage, of this Nation

This people is light and active, hardy rather than strong, and entirely bred up to the use of arms; for not only the nobles, but all the people are trained to war, and when the trumpet sounds the alarm, the husbandman rushes as eagerly from his plough as the courtier from his court; for here it is not found that, as in other places,

"Agricolis labor actus in orbem".

returns; for in the months of March and April only the soil is once ploughed for oats, and again in the summer for a third time, and in winter for wheat. Almost all the people live upon the produce of their herds, with oats, milk, cheese, and butter; eating flesh in larger proportions than bread. They pay no attention to commerce, shipping or manufactures, and suffer no interruption but by martial exercises. They anxiously study the defence of their country and their liberty; for these they fight, for these they undergo hardships, and for these willingly sacrifice their lives; they esteem it a disgrace to die in bed, an honour to die in the field of battle; using the poet's expression:

"Procul hinc avertite pacem,
Nobilitas cum pace perit".

Nor is it wonderful if it degenerates, for the ancestors of these men, the *Æneadae*, rushed to arms in the cause of liberty. It is remarkable that this people, though unarmed, dares attack an armed foe; the infantry defy the cavalry, and by their activity and courage generally prove victors. They resemble in disposition and situation those conquerors whom the poet Lucan mentions:

"Populi quos despicit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos ille timorum,
Maximus haud urget leti metus, inde reundi
In ferrum, mens prona viris, animæque capaces,
Mortis et ignavum rediturae parcere vitæ".

They made use of light arms, which do not impede their agility, small coats of mail, bundles of arrows, and long lances, helmets and shields, and more rarely greaves planted with iron. The higher class go to battle mounted on swift and generous steeds, which their country produces; but the greater part of the people fight on foot, on account of the marshy nature and unevenness of the soil. The horsemen, as their situation or occasion requires, willingly serve as infantry, in attacking or retreating; and they either walk bare-footed, or make use of high shoes, roughly constructed with untanned leather. In time of peace, they young men, by penetrating the deep recesses of the woods, and climbing the tops of mountains, learn by practice to endure fatigue through day and night; and as they meditate on war during peace, they acquire the art of fighting by accustoming themselves to the use of the lance, and by inuring themselves to hard exercise.

... Being particularly attached to family descent, they revenge with vehemence the injuries which may tend to the disgrace of their blood; and being naturally of a vindictive and passionate disposition, they are ever ready to avenge not only recent but ancient affronts; they neither inhabit towns, villages, nor castles, but lead a solitary life in the woods, on the borders of which they do not erect sumptuous palaces, nor lofty stone buildings, but content themselves with small huts made of the boughs of trees twisted together, constructed with little labour and expense, and sufficient to endure throughout the year. They have neither orchards nor gardens, but gladly eat the fruit of both when given to them. The greater part of their land is laid down to pasturage; little is cultivated, a very small quantity is ornamented with flowers, and a still smaller is sown. They seldom yoke less than four oxen to their poughs; the driver walks before, but backwards, and when he falls down, is frequently exposed to danger from the refractory oxen. Instead of small sickles in mowing, they made use of a moderate-sized piece of iron formed like a knife, with two pieces of wood fixed loosely and flexibly to the head, which they think a more expeditious instrument; but since

"Segnius irritant animos dernissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus"

their mode of using it will be better known by inspection than by any description. The boats which they employ in fishing or in crossing the rivers are made of twigs, not oblong nor pointed, but almost round, or rather triangular, covered both within and without with raw hides. When a salmon thrown into one of these boats strikes it very hard with his tail, he often oversets it, and endangers both the vessel and its navigator. The fishermen, according to the custom of the country, in going to and from the rivers, carry these boats on their shoulders; on which occasion that famous dealer in fables, *Bleddercus*, who lived a little before our time, thus mysteriously said: "There is amongst us a people who, when they go out in search of prey, carry their horses on their backs to the place of plunder; in order to catch their prey, they leap upon their horses, and when it is taken, carry their horses home again upon their shoulders".

The Warlike Welsh

It seems worthy of remark, that the people of what is called Venta are more accustomed to war, more famous for valour and more expert in archery, than those of any other part of Wales. The following examples prove the truth of this assertion. In the last capture of the aforesaid castle, which happened in our days, two soldiers passing over a bridge to take refuge in a tower built on a mound of earth, the Welsh, taking them in the rear, penetrated with their arrows the oaken portal of the tower, which was four fingers thick; in memory of which circumstance, the arrows were preserved in the gate. William de Braose also testifies that one of his soldiers, in a conflict with the Welsh, was wounded by an arrow, which passed through his thigh, and the armour with which it was cased on both sides, and, through that part of the saddle which is called the alva, mortally wounded the horse. Another soldier had his hip, equally sheathed in armour, penetrated by an arrow quite to the saddle, and on turning his horse round, received a similar wound on the opposite hip, which fixed him on both sides of his seat. What more could be expected from a balista? Yet the bows used by this people are not made of horn, ivory, or yew, but of wild elm; unpolished, rude, and uncouth, but stout; not calculated to shoot an arrow to a great distance, but to inflict very severe wounds in close fight.

[1176-1176]. The following year died Cynan, abbot of Whitland, and David, bishop of Menevia. And after him Peter succeeded as bishop.

And then the Lord Rhys held a special feast at Cardigan, and he set two kinds of contests: one between the bards and the poets, and another between the harpists and the crowders and the pipers and various classes of string-music. And he set two chairs for the victors in the contests. And those he enriched with great gifts. And then a young man from his own court won the victory for string-music. And the men of Gwynedd won the victory for poetry. And all the other minstrelst received from the Lord Rhys as much as they asked, so that no one was refused. And that feast was proclaimed a year before it was held throughout Wales and England and Scotland and Ireland and many other lands.

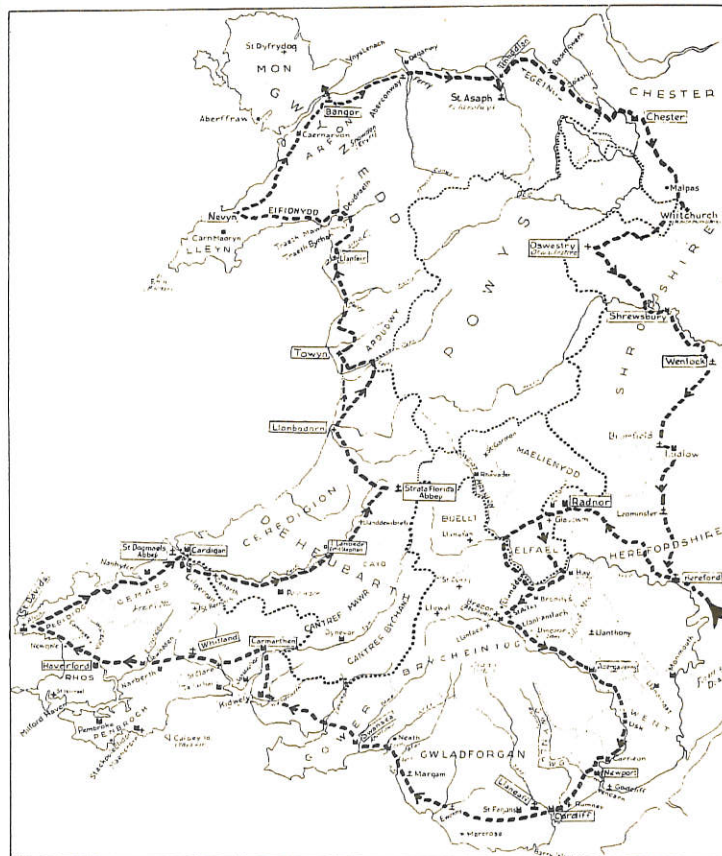
Chronicles of the Princes

Rhai blynyddoedd ar ôl ei daith gyda'r Archesgob Baldwin (1), arweiniodd Gerallt y frwydr fawr i sefydlu Eglwys Gymreig annibynnol, yn rhydd oddi wrth Gaer-gaint, a than nawdd ei harchesgob ei hun yn Nhyddewi.

Dileuasai'r Normaniaid yr Eglwys Geltaidd a chyflwyno plwyfi, degymau a threfn gyffredinol yr Eglwys Rufeinig. Gorfu i bob esgob yng Nghymru, hyd yn oed Esgob Bangor, gymryd llw i Archesgob Caer-gaint a oedd law yn llaw â brenin Lloegr. Yr oedd hyn yn gryn lestar i ymdrechion tywysogion Gwynedd i adeiladu gwladwriaeth ffiwdal yng Nghymru, obelgid y gwŷr eglwysig â'u gwybodaeth o'r iaith Ladin oedd hefyd y gwŷr a llenwai swyddogaethau llywodraethol, diplomyddol a gweinyddol. Yr oedd hwnn yn un o'r rhesymau dros gynydd buan urdd y mynaich gwyn, Sisteraidd yng Nghymru. Bugeiliaid a allai symbylu'r economi Cymreig, yr oeddnt yn rhydd oddi wrth reolaeth Caer-gaint. Hon oedd yr urdd fwyaf poblogaidd, fwyaf annwyl i'r Cymry, ac, ynghyd â'r Awstiniad, yr urdd fwyaf Cymreig (2-4). Gwnaeth methiant Gerallt broblemau tywysogion Gwynedd yn anos fyth. Yn y darnau hyn galler weld beth y meddyliai Gerallt am yr eglwys a geisiai ei harwain (5).

Some years after his tour with Archbishop Baldwin (1), Gerald led the great struggle to establish an independent Welsh Church under its own Archbishop at St. David's, free of Canterbury. The Normans had wiped out the Celtic Church, imposed parishes, tithes, the whole organisation of the Roman church. Every Welsh bishop, even the Bishop of Bangor, was compelled to take the oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury, right hand man of the king of England. This severely handicapped the princes of Gwynedd in their effort to build a feudal state in Wales, for it was the literate men of the Church with their command of the universal language of Latin, who provided rulers with their bureaucrats, officials, and diplomats. This was one reason for the rapid rise of the Cistercian order of white monks in Wales; sheep raisers who could stimulate the Welsh economy, they were free of Canterbury's control. They became the most popular and most cherished of the orders in Wales and along with the Augustinians, the most Welsh (2-4).

It was the failure of Gerald's struggle which made the problem so difficult. In these extracts we can see what he thought of the Church he was trying to lead (5).



1 THE ITINERARY OF ARCHBISHOP BALDWIN THROUGH WALES (1188).

On the Monasteries

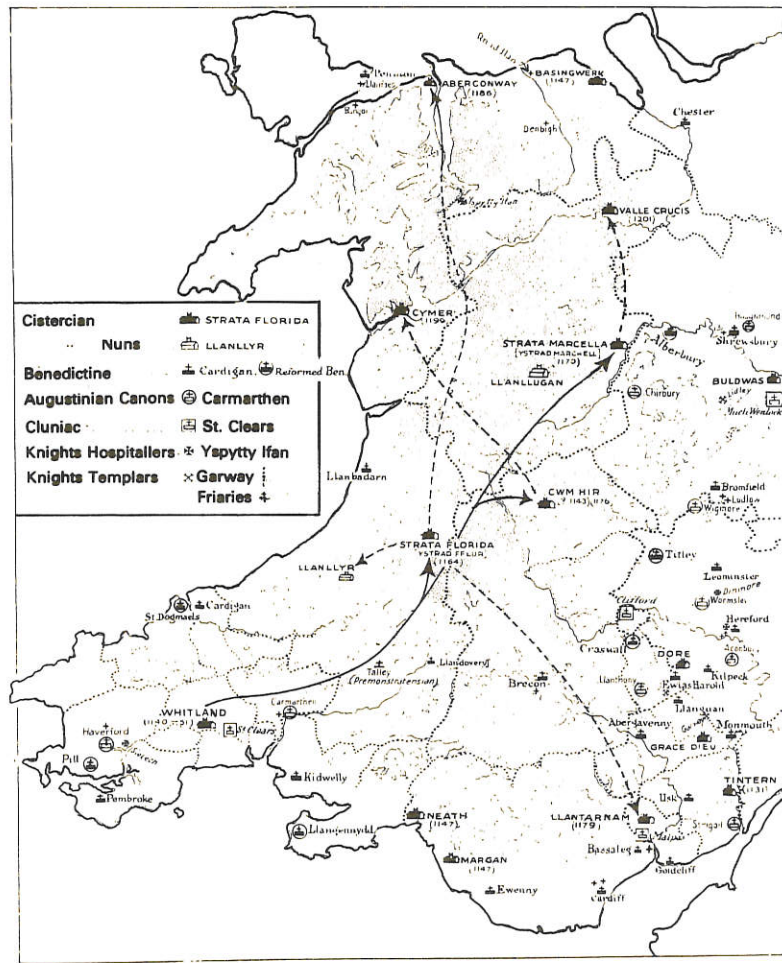
With respect to the two Orders, the Cluniac and the Cistercian, this may be relied upon; although the latter are possessed of fine buildings, with ample revenues and estates, they will soon be reduced to poverty and destruction. To the former, on the contrary, you would allot a barren desert and a solitary wood; yet in a few years you will find them in possession of sumptuous churches and houses, and encircled with an extensive property. The difference of manners (as it appear to me) causes this contrast. For as without meaning offence to either party, I shall speak the truth, the one feels the benefits of sobriety, parsimony, and prudence, whilst the other suffers from the bad effects of gluttony and intemperance; the one, like bees, collect their stores into a heap, and unanimously agree in the disposal of one well-regulated purse; the other pillage and divert to improper uses the largesses which have been collected by divine assistance, and by the bounties of the faithful; and whilst each individual consults solely his own interest, the welfare of the community suffers; since, as Sallust observes, "Small things increase by concord, and the greatest are wasted by discord". Besides, sooner than lessen the number of one of the thirteen or fourteen dishes which they claim by right of custom, or even in a time of scarcity or famine recede in the smallest degree from their accustomed good fare, they would suffer the richest lands and the best buildings of the monastery to become a prey to usury, and the numerous poor to perish before their gates.

The first of these Orders, at a time when there was a deficiency in grain, with a laudable charity, not only gave away their flocks and herds, but resigned to the poor one of the two dishes with which they were always con-

tented. But in these our days, in order to remove this stain, it is ordained by the Cistercians, "That in future neither farms nor pastures shall be purchased; and that they shall be satisfied with those alone which have been freely and unconditionally bestowed upon them". This Order, therefore, being satisfied more than any other with humble mediocrity, and, if not wholly, yet in a great degree checking their ambition; and though placed in a worldly situation, yet avoiding, as much as possible, its contagion; neither notorious for gluttony or drunkennes, for luxury or lust; is fearful and ashamed of incurring public scandal, as will be more fully explained in the book we mean (by the grace of God) to write concerning the ecclesiastical Orders.

2

Giraldus Cambrensis - The Itinerary Through Wales.



THE WELSH MONASTIC HOUSES.

3



Margam (1525)

4

... In the year 1188 from the incarnation of our Lord, Urban III being the head of the apostolic see, Frederick, Emperor and King of the Romans ... Philip, the son of Louis reigning in France, Henry II in England, ... 'in that very year, when Saladin, Prince of the Egyptians and Damascenes, by a signal victory gained the possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem, Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, a venerable man, distinguished for his learning and sanctity, journeying from England for the service of the holy cross, entered Wales near the borders of Herefordshire.

The archbishop proceeded to Radnor on Ash Wednesday, accompanied by Ranulph de Glanville, privy councillor and justiciary of the whole kingdom, and there met Rhys ap Gruffydd, Prince of South Wales, and many other noble personages of these parts, where a sermon being preached by the archbishop, upon the subjects of the Crusades, and explained to the Welsh by interpretation, the author of this itinerary, impelled by the urgent importunity and promises of the king and the

persuasions of the archbishop and the justiciary, arose the first, and falling down at the feet of the holy man, devoutly took the sign of the cross. His example was instantly followed by Peter, Bishop of St. Davids, a monk of the abbey of Cluny, and then by Eineon, son of Eineon Clud, Prince of Elvenia, and many other persons...

... Having crossed the river Wye we proceeded towards Brecknock, and on preaching a sermon at Hay we observed some amongst the multitude who were to be signed with the cross (leaving their garments in the hands of their friends or wives, who endeavoured to keep them back), fly for refuge to the archbishop in the castle ...

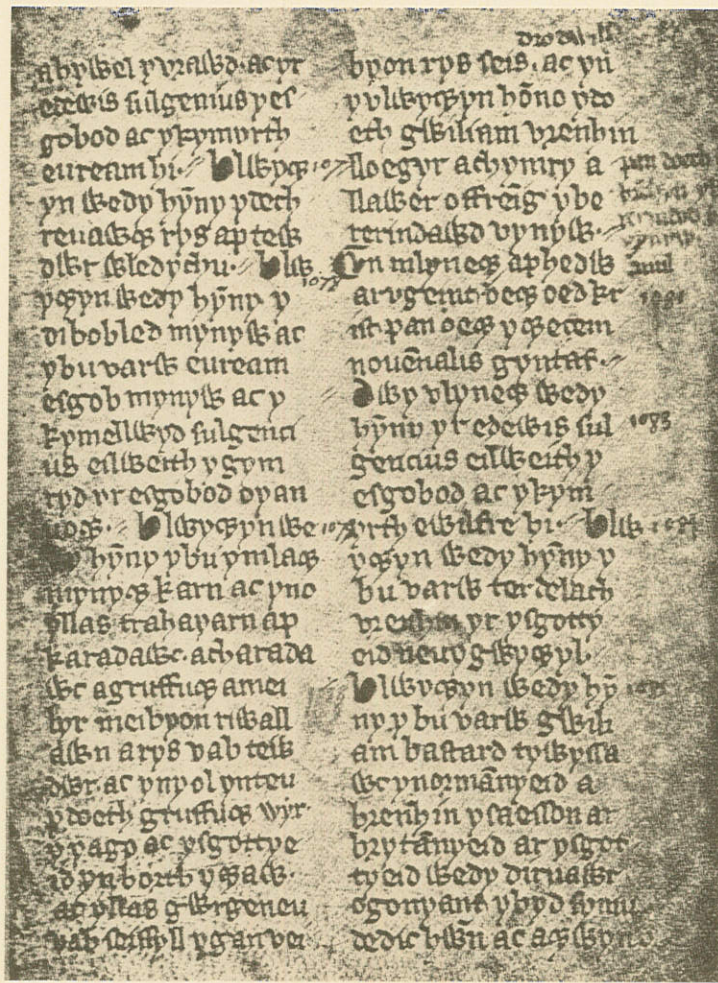
... A sermon having been delivered at Abergavenny, and many persons converted to the cross, a certain nobleman of these parts, named Arthenus, came to the archbishop ... and humbly begged pardon for having neglected to meet him sooner. Being questioned whether he would take the cross, he replied, 'That ought not to be done without the advice of his friends'. The archbishop then asked him 'Are you not going to consult your wife?' to which, he modestly answered with a downcast look, 'When the work of a man is to be undertaken, the counsel of a woman ought not to be asked', and at once received the cross from the archbishop ...

... On the following morning the business of the cross being publicly proclaimed at Llandaff, the English standing on one side, and the Welsh on the other, many persons of each nation took the cross, and we remained there that night with William, bishop of that place, a discreet and good man ...

... Continuing our journey, not far from Margam, where the alternative vicissitudes of a sandy shore and the tide commence, we forded the river Avan, having been considerably delayed by the ebbing of the sea, and under the guidance of Morgan, eldest son of Caradoc, proceeded along the sea-shore towards the river Neath, which, on account of its quicksands, is the most dangerous and inaccessible river in South Wales. A pack-horse belonging to the author, which had proceeded by the lower way near the sea, although in the midst of others, was the only one which sank down into the abyss, but he was, at last, with great difficulty extricated, and not without some damage done to the baggage and the books. Yet, although we had Morgan, the prince of that country, as our conductor, we did not reach the river without great peril and some severe falls, for the alarm caused by this unusual kind of road made us hasten our steps over the quicksands, in opposition to the advice of our guide, and fear quickened our pace, whereas, through these difficult passages, as we there learned, the mode of proceeding should be with moderate speed. But as the fords of that river experience a change by every monthly tide, and cannot be found after violent rains and floods, we did not attempt the fords, but passed the river in a boat leaving the monastery of Neath on our right hand ... Entering the province of Gower, we spent the night at the castle of Swansea, which in Welsh is called Abertawe, or the fall of the river Tawe into the sea. The next morning, the people being assembled after Mass, and many having been induced to take the cross, an aged man of that district, named Cador, thus addressed the archbishop: 'My Lord, if I now enjoyed my former strength, and the vigour of youth, no alms should ransom me, no desire of inactivity restrain me, from engaging in the laudable undertaking you preach; but since my weak age and the injuries of time deprive me of this desirable benefit (for approaching years bring with them many comforts which those that are passed take away), if I cannot, owing to the infirmity of my body, attain a full merit, yet suffer me, by giving a tenth of all I possess, to attain a half'. Then falling down at the feet of the archbishop, he deposited in his hands, for the service of the cross, the tenth of his estate ...

Yn y drydedd ganrif ar ddeg y bu brwydr tywysogion Gwynedd i greu Tywysogaeth Cymru. Dengys y darn detholedig eu hymdrechion. Cymerodd llawysgrif *Brut y Tywysogion* (1,2) (sef parhad cronigl gynharach o'r brenhinoedd) ei ffurf adnabyddus yn y ganrif ddramatig honno mewn casgliad a wnaed yn Abaty Ystrad Fflur; abaty a allai dynnu ar ei chwaer dai trwy Gymru gyfan. Cynigia hanes y flwyddyn argyfyngol, 1267, pan orfodwyd Brenin Henry III i gydnabod teitl swyddogol Llywelyn ap Gruffydd 'Tywysog Cymru', yng nghytundeb Trefaldwyn. Yn y flwyddyn honno buasai Llywelyn yn fuddugol mewn cyfres o frwydrau. Gwnaethai gytundeb â Simon de Montfort, arweinydd y gwrthryfelwyr yn Lloegr a nifer o gytundebau â phŵerau Ewropëaidd ac anghytunwyr Seisnig. Parhai ei dywysogaeth am ddeng mlynedd. Y mae'r llun allan o archifau Eglwys Gadeiriol Lincoln (3) yn ddarlun ffug, diweddarach, o 1534 sydd yn dangos Edward I a Llywelyn ap Gruffydd yn y Senedd.

It was the thirteenth century which witnessed the struggle of the princes of Gwynedd to create their Principality of Wales. This extract illustrates their achievement. The manuscript chronicle *Brut y Tywysogion* (1,2) (the *Chronicles of the Princes*), a continuation of an earlier chronicle of the kings, took its characteristic form in that dramatic thirteenth century, in a compilation at the Cistercian house of Strata Florida which could draw on its sister houses all over Wales. It offers an account of the critical year of 1267, when Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, after a series of military victories, an alliance with Simon de Montfort, leader of the rebels in England, and a series of pacts with European powers and English dissidents, forced King Henry III to recognise his formal title as Prince of Wales, by the Treaty of Montgomery. His principality was to last for ten years. The illustration from the Lincoln Cathedral Archives (3) is a later fictitious drawing of 1534 showing Edward I and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in Parliament.



1



3

[1267] A year after that, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd made a pact with the earl of Clare. And after that, the earl gathered a mighty host and made for the city of London; and forthwith through the deceit and treachery of the burgesses of the town he took the city. And when king Henry and Edward his eldest son, heard of that, they gathered a host and laid siege to the city, and forced the earl and his men to submit to them upon certain conditions. After that, on the feast-day of Pope Calixtus, peace and concord were arranged between Henry, King of England, and the Lord Llywelyn, prince of Wales, with Ottobon, the Pope's legate, as mediator between them, at Baldwin's Castle. And for that peace and agreement he promised to the king thirty thousand marks of the king's sterling. And the king granted that the prince should receive the homage of the barons of Wales, and that the barons should maintain themselves, and their followers wholly under the prince, and that there should be so named. And to testify to that for ever, the king, with the consent of his heirs, granted his charter thereto under his seal and also the legate's seal to the prince. And that was also ratified by the authority of the Pope.

2

Aneglur iawn ydyw rhesymau dros gwmp tywysogaeth Llywelyn. Yn ystod rhyfel 1276-77 goresgynnwyd Môn gan Edward, ymosododd ef ar y ffrynt mynyddig a dechreuodd ar raglen enfawr o glirio coedwigoedd ac o adeiladu caerâu. Bu straen eithafol ar adnoddau'r ddwy ochr, ond o'r diwedd torrwyd Llywelyn a'i ymddihatu o'i rym dros Gwynedd, o dan arweiniad teulu grymus Ednyfed Fychan, yn erbyn Llywelyn i ymladd ar ochr Edward. Lladdwyd Llywelyn ym 1283 ar ôl brwydr yn Ne Cymru ac fe arddangoswyd ei ben ar Dŵr Llundain (2). Dileuwyd Gwynedd annibynnol.

The full reasons for the fall of Llywelyn's principality are far from clear. Edward in the war of 1276-77 invaded Anglesey, attacked the mountain front, and undertook a massive programme of forest clearance and fort building. Both sides strained resources to a maximum but Llywelyn was finally broken, stripped of his power over Wales and reduced in status in 1277 (1). In 1282 his hand seems to have been forced by his brother's actions. In this second war there were defections from Llywelyn and much of the official aristocracy of Gwynedd led by the powerful landed family of Ednyfed Fychan ultimately went over to Edward. Llywelyn was killed in 1283 after a battle in south Wales and his head was displayed on the Tower of London (2). Independent Gwynedd was obliterated.



2

[1277]

And about the beginning of autumn the king sent many of his host in ships to burn Anglesey and to carry off much of its corn. After that the prince came, about the Calends of Winter, to Rhuddlan to the king and make peace with him. And the king invited him to London at Christmas; and he went at the invitation. And in London he tendered his homage to the king on Christmas day. And after staying there a fortnight he returned again. Thereupon, about the feast of Andrew, the king had Owain Goch, the prince's brother, and Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn released from the prince's prison. And then Owain Goch received the cantref of Llŷn from the prince.

[1278] A year after that, King Edward and Edmund, his brother, gave Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, their kinswoman, as wedded wife to the prince. And they were married on the feast-day of Edward the king in the cathedral church of Worcester. And that night their wedding-banquet was held. And on the following day the prince, and his wife with him, returned to Wales.

[1279] A year after that, king Edward had his money changed and the half-penny and the farthing were made round. And then was verified the soothsaying of Myrddin when he said, 'The form of exchange shall be split, and its half shall be round' ...

[1282] On Palm Sunday took place the breach between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and Edward, king of England. And the autumn after that, the king and his host came to Rhuddlan. And he sent a fleet of ships to Anglesey, with Hywel ap Gruffudd ab Ednyfed as leader at their head; and they gained possession of Anglesey. And they desired to gain possession of Arfon. And then was made the bridge over the Menai, but the bridge broke under an excessive load, and countless numbers of the English were drowned, and others were slain. And then was effected the betrayal of Llywelyn in the belfry at Bangor by his own men.

And then Llywelyn ap Gruffudd left Dafydd, his brother, guarding Gwynedd; and he himself and his host went to gain possession of Powys and Builth. And he gained possession as far as Llangaen. And thereupon he sent his men and his steward to receive the homage of the men of Brycheiniog, and the prince was left with but a few men with him. And then Roger Mortimer and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn, and with them the king's host, came from them without warning; and then Llywelyn and his foremost men were slain on the day of Damasus the Pope a fortnight to a day from Christmas day; and that day was a Friday.

[1283] The year next to that was commenced the castle of Aberconwy, and Beaumaris and Caernarvon and Harlech. And on the fifth day from the end of the month of April Edward of Caernarvon was born. And that summer the king gained possession of all Gwynedd. And the autumn after that, Dafydd ap Gruffudd and Owain his son, were seized, and they were taken to Rhuddlan as prisoners; and thereupon they were taken to Shrewsbury. And then Dafydd ap Gruffudd was executed, and Owain was taken to prison to Bristol.

[1284] A year after that, the king held a fair at Moel-yr-Wyddfa. And he had a tournament held at Nefyn in Llŷn. And thereupon the king went towards England exultantly happy with victory.

1

Peniarth MS 20

Galarnad am Lywelyn ap
Gruffudd, y Llyw OlafLament for Llywelyn ap Gruffydd,
last Prince of Wales

Marwnad addas vw'r gerdd
huawdl hon. Adluniad yw'r
darlun yn seiliedig ar ddarn o
gerflun o'r drydedd ganrif ar ddeg
a ddarganfuwyd yn Aberffraw,
llys Tywysogion Gwynedd.

This eloquent poem by Gruffydd
ap yr Ynad Goch is a fitting
epitaph. The sketch is a
reconstruction by Leslie Brooke
based on a fragment of a stone
carving of the thirteenth century
found at Aberffraw, the court of
the princes of Gwynedd.



GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH
fl c. 1280

Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd

Oer calon dan fron o fraw - allwynin
Am frenin, dderwin ddôr, Aberffraw.
Aur dilyfn a dalai o'i law,
Aur dalai oedd deilwng iddaw.

Eurgyrn eurdëyrn ni'm daw, - llewenydd
Llywelyn; nid rhydd im rwydd wisgaw.
Gwae fi am arglwydd, gwalch diwaradwydd;
Gwae fi o'r aflwydd ei dramgwyddaw.
Gwae fi o'r golled, gwae fi o'r dynged,
Gwae fi o'r clywed fod clwyf arnaw.
Gwersyll Cadwaladr, gwaesaf llif daradr,
Gwas rhudd ei baladr, balawg eurllaw.
Gwasgarawdd alaf, gwisgawdd bob gaeaf
Gwisgoedd amdanaf i amdanaw.
Buches lawn arglwydd ni'n llwyd yn llaw,
Buchedd dragywydd a drig iddaw.
Ys mau lid wrth Sais am fy nhreisiaw,
Ys mau rhag angau angen gwynaw.
Ys mau gan deunydd ymddifanw - â Duw,
A'm edewis hebddaw.
Ys mau ei ganmawl heb daw, heb daw,
Ys mau fyth bellach ei faith bwyllaw.
Ys mau i'm dynoedl amdanaw - afar;
Canys mau alar, ys mau wylaw
Arglwydd a gollais, gallaf hirfraw;
Arglwydd tēyrnblas o las o law.
Arglwydd cywir gwir, gwarandaw - arnaf
Uched y cwynaf; och o'r cwynaw!
Arglwydd llwydd cyn llaw y deunaw,
Arglwydd llary, neu llawr ei ystaw.
Arglwydd glew fal llew yn llywiaw - elfydd,
Arglwydd aflonydd i afluniaw.
Arglwydd canadlwydd, cyn adaw - Emrais
Ni lyfasai Sais ei ogleisiaw.
Arglwydd, neu maendo ymandaw - Cymry,
O'r llin a ddyly ddaly Aberffraw
Arglwydd Grist, mor wyf drist drostaw,
Arglwydd gwir gwared i ganthaw:
O gleddyfawd trwm tramgwydd arnaw,
O gleddyfau hir yn ei ddiraw,
O glwyf am fy rhwyf y sy'm rhwyfaw,
O glywed lludded llyw Bodfaeaw,
Cwbl o was o las o law - ysgeraint,
Cwbl frant ei hynaint oedd ohonaw
Cannwyll tēyrnedd, cadarnllew Gwynedd,

GRUFFUDD AB YR YNAD COCH
(son of the Red Judge)
fl. 1280

Lament for Llywelyn ap Gruffudd

Heart cold in the breast with terror, grieving
For a king, oak door, of Aberffraw
Bright gold was bestowed by his hand,
a gold chaplet befitted him.

A gold king's gold cups come not to me, mirth
of Llywelyn; not for me free rainment.
I grieve for a prince, hawk free of reproach,
I grieve for the ill that befell him.
I grieve for the loss, I grieve for the lot,
I grieve to hear how he was wounded.
Cadwaladr's stronghold, sharp-drilling safeguard,
Lord of the red lance, gold-handed lord,
He showered riches, arrayed each winter
Around me the rainment around him.
Lord rich in herds, he aids us no more,
Life everlasting is left for him.
Mine, rage at the Saxon who robbed me,
Mine, before death, the need to lament,
Mine, with good reason, to rave against God
Who has left me without him,
Mine to praise him, unstinting, unstilled,
Mine to be ever mindful of him.
Mine all my lifetime sorrowing for him,
Since mine is the woe, mine the weeping
A lord I have lost, long will I fear,
A lord, high court's, was killed by a hand,
A lord, constant and true, listen to me -
How loudly I keen, wretched keening!
A lord thriving till eighteen died,
A lord of gifts, low is he laid,
A lord like a lion leading his land,
A lord chafing for devastation
A lord who prospered, till he left Emrais
No Saxon would venture to strike him,
A lord, stone is his roof, Welshmen's monarch,
Of the right line to rule Aberffraw
Lord Christ, how I sorrow for him;
Lord who is faithful, redeem him.
From a heavy sword-stroke his downfall,
From long sword-blaes came his suppression:
From my ruler's wound comes my distress,
From word of Bodfaeo's lord's collapse.
Perfect the lad killed by hostile men's hands,
Perfect his forehears' honour in him.
Candle of kings, strong lion of Gwynedd,

Cadair anrhydedd, rhaid oedd wrthaw.
 O aith Prydain faith, Gynllaith ganllaw,
 O ladd llew Nancoel, llurig Nancaw,
 Llawer deigr hylithr yn hwyliaw - ar rudd,
 Llawer ystylys rhudd â rhwyg arnaw;
 Llawer gwaed am draed wedi ymdreiddiaw;
 Llawer gweddw â gwaedd i amdanaw;
 Llawer meddwl trwm yn tonwyaw;
 Llawer mab heb dad gwedi'i adaw;
 Llawer hendref fraith gwedi llwybr goddaith,
 A llawer diffaith drwy anrhaid draw.
 Llawer llef druan fal ban fu Gamlan,
 Llawer deigr dros ran gwedi r'greiniaw.
 O leas gwanas, gwanar eurllaw,
 O laith Llywelyn cof dyn ni'm daw,
 Oerfelawg calon dan fron o fraw,
 Rhewydd fal crinwydd y sy'n crinaw.
 Poni welwch-chwi hynt y gwynt a'r glaw?
 Poni welwch - chwi'r deri'n ymdaraw?
 Poni welwch-chwi'r môr yn merwinaw - 'r tir?
 Poni welwch-chwi'r gwir yn ymgyweiriaw?
 Poni welwch-chwi'r haul yn hwyllaw - 'r awyr?
 Poni welwch-chwi'r sŷr wedi r'syrthiaw?
 Poni chredwch-chwi i Dduw, ddyniadon ynfyd?
 Poni welwch-chwi'r byd wedi r'bydiaw.
 Och hyd atat-ti, Dduw, na ddaw - môr dros dir!
 Pa beth y'n gedir i ohiriaw?
 Nid oes le y cyrcher rhag carchar braw;
 Nid oes le y triger; och o'r trigaw!
 Nid oes na chyingor na chlo nac agor,
 Unffordd i esgor brwyn gyngor braw.
 Pob teulu, teilwng oedd iddaw;
 Pob cedwyr, cedwynt adanaw;
 Pob dengyn a dyngynt o'i law;
 Pob gwledig, pob gwlad oedd eiddaw.
 Pob cantref, pob tref ŷnt yn treiddiaw;
 Pob tylwyth, pob llwyth y sy'n llithraw;
 Pob gwan, pob cadarn cadwed o'i law;
 Pob mab yn ei grud y sy'n udaw.
 Bychan lles oedd im, am fy nhwyllaw.
 Gadael pen arnaf heb ben arnaw.
 Pen pan las, ni bu gas gymraw;
 Pen pan las, oedd lesach peidiaw.
 Pen milwr, pen moliant rhag llaw,
 Pen dragon, pen draig oedd arnaw.
 Pen Llywelyn de, dygn o fraw - i'r byd
 Bod pawl haearn trwyddaw.
 Pen f'arglwydd, poen dygngwydd a'm daw;
 Pen f'enaid heb fanag arnaw.
 Pen a fu berchen ar barch naw - canwlad,
 A naw canwledd iddaw.
 Pen tēyrn, hēyrn heaid o'i law,
 Pen tēyrnwalch balch, bwlech ei ddeifnaw.
 Pen tēyrnaidd flaidd flaengar ganthaw.
 Pen tēyrnedd nef, Ei nawdd arnaw.
 Gwyndēyrn orthyrn wrthaw, - gwendorf gorf,
 Gorfynt hynt hyd Lydaw.
 Gwir freiniawl frenin Aberffraw,
 Gwenwlad nef boed addef iddaw.

Throne of honour, there was need of him.
 From Britain's death, Cyn llaith's defender,
 From Nancoed's lion slain, Nanco's mail,
 Many a tear sliding swift down a cheek
 Many a side made red with slashes.
 Many a foot in a pool of blood.
 Many a widow wailing for him,
 Many a heavy heart in pieces,
 Many a son reft of his father,
 Many a home black in the firebrand's track,
 And many a place pillage lays waste,
 Many a wretched cry as at Camlan
 Many a tear rolling down a cheek
 With my prop cut down, gold-handed prince
 With Llywelyn's death, gone is my mind
 Heart frozen in the breast with terror,
 Desire decays like dried-up branches,
 See you not the rush of wind and rain?
 See you not the oaks lash each other?
 See you not the ocean scourging the shore?
 See you not the truth is portending?
 See you not the sun hurtling the sky?
 See you not that the stars have fallen?
 Have you no belief in God, foolish men?
 See you not that the world is ending?
 Ah God, that the sea would cover the land!
 What is left us that we should linger?
 No place to flee from terror's prison,
 No place to live; wretched is living!
 No counsel, no clasp, no path left open
 One way to be freed from fear's sad strife.
 All retainers were true to his trust,
 All warriors were his defenders,
 All stern men would swear by his hand.
 All leaders, all lands were his own.
 All counties, all towns are now troubled,
 All households, all clans are collapsing
 All the weak, all the strong he kept safe:
 All the children now cry in their cradles.
 Little good it did me to dupe me
 Leaving me a head, with him headless.
 Head that slain made fear unhateful,
 Head that slain made surrender best,
 Head of a soldier, head of praise,
 Head of a duke, a dragon's head,
 Head of fair Llywelyn, sharp of the world's fear,
 An iron spike through it,
 Head of my lord, harsh pain is mine,
 Head of my spirit left speechless,
 Head that had honour in nine hundred lands,
 Nine hundred feasts for him,
 Head of a king, his hand hurled iron,
 Head of a proud hawk, he forced a breach,
 Head of a kingly wolf thrust foremost,
 Head of kings, heaven be his haven!
 Blest king, great deeds were his, blest company,
 Who longed to reach Llydaw.
 King right royal of Aberffraw,
 May heaven's fair land be his home.

Gyda chwymp Llywelyn ap Gruffydd cymerwyd Cymru gyfan dan reolaeth wladfaol Edward I, sefyllfa a gadarnhawyd gan Ystatud Rhuddlan ym 1284 (1). Ymddengys i'r teuluoedd Cymreig blaenllaw gydsynio â'r sefyllfa newydd hon. Yn wir, troesai rhai i ochr Edward cyn marwolaeth Llywelyn. Ym 1283 cyflwynwyd i Edward ddarn o'r Groes Naid (2) wedi'i osod yn foethus gan ddeg teulu Cymreig blaenllaw; darn a fu gynt yn un o hoff greiriau Llywelyn. Ceir gweld cerflun Edward I yn Eglwys Gadeiriol Lincoln (3).

With the fall of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd the whole of Wales was at last under the colonial rule of Edward I, a situation confirmed by the passing of the statute of Rhuddlan in 1284 (1). The leading Welsh families seem to have acquiesced in this new state of affairs. Some indeed had already defected to Edward before the death of Llywelyn. In 1283 ten leading Welsh families presented Edward with a richly mounted piece of the True Cross (2) which had formerly been one of Llywelyn's cherished relics. The statue of Edward I can be seen in Lincoln Cathedral (3).



2



3

1

THE STATUTE OF WALES

I. Wales annexed to Crown of England

EDWARD, by the Grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitain, to all Subjects of his Land of Snowdon, and of other his Lands in Wales, Greeting in the Lord. The Divine Providence, which is unerring in its own Government, among other gifts of its Dispensation, wherewith it hath vouchsafed to distinguish Us and our Realm of England, hath now of its favour, wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominion, the Land of Wales with its Inhabitants, heretofore subject unto us, in Feudal Right, all obstacles whatsoever ceasing; and hath annexed and united the same unto the Crown of the aforesaid Realm, as a Member of the same Body. We therefore, under the Divine Will, being desirous that our aforesaid Land of Snowdon and our other Lands in those parts, like as all those which are subject unto our Power, should be governed with due Order to the Honour and Praise of God and of Holy Church, and the Advancement of Justice, and that the People or Inhabitants of those Lands who have submitted themselves absolutely unto our will, and whom We have thereunto so accepted, should be protected in security within our peace under fixed Laws and Customs, have caused to be rehearsed before Us and the Nobles of our Realm, the Laws and Customs of those parts hitherto in use: Which being diligently heard and fully understood, We have, by the advice of the aforesaid Nobles, abolished certain of them, some thereof We have allowed, and some We have corrected; and We have likewise commanded certain others to be ordained and added thereto; and these We Will shall be from henceforth for ever steadfastly kept and observed in our Lands in those parts according to the Form underwritten.

II. Regulations of the Jurisdiction, and its Division into Counties, and Appointment of Officers

WE have Provided and by our command ordained, That the Justices of Snowdon shall have the Custody and Government of the Peace of Us the King in Snowdon, and our Lands of Wales adjoining; and shall administer Justice to all Persons whatsoever, according to the original Writs of Us the King, and also the Laws and Customs underwritten. We likewise will and ordain that there be Sheriffs, Coroners, and Bailiffs of Commotes in Snowdon, and our Lands of those parts. A Sheriff of Anglesea, under whom shall be the whole Land of Anglesea, with its Cantreds, Metes, and Bounds. A Sheriff of Caernarvan, under whom shall be the Cantred of Arvan, the Cantred of Arthlencoyth, the Commote of Cruthin, the Cantred of Thleen, and the Commote of Yvionith. A Sheriff of Meirioneth, under whom shall be the Cantred of Meirioneth, the Commote of Ardovey, and the Commote of Penthlin, and the Commote of Deyrinon, with their Metes and Bounds. A Sheriff of Flint, under whom shall be the Cantred of Englefeud, the Land of Maillor Sexeneyth, and the Land of Hope, and of the Land adjoining to our Castle and Town of Rothelan unto the Town of Chester, shall from henceforth be obedient under Us to our Justice of Chester, and shall answer for the Issues of the same Commote at our Exchequer of Chester. There shall be Coroners in the same Counties, to be chosen by the King's Writ, the tenor whereof is to be found among the original Writs of the Chancery. There shall likewise be Bailiffs of Commotes who shall faithfully do and discharge their Offices and diligently attend thereto, according to what shall be given them in charge by the Justices and Sheriffs. A Sheriff of Carmarthen, with its Cantreds and Commotes and antient Metes and Bounds. A Sheriff of Cardigan and Llanbadarn, with its Cantreds and Commotes, and Metes and Bounds. There shall be Coroners in these Counties, and Bailiffs of Commotes, as before.

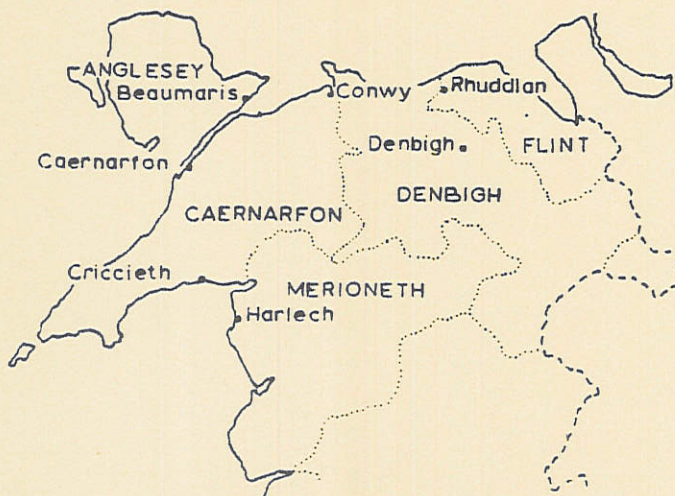
Rhaglen adeiladu cestyll Edwardaidd

Edward's castle building programme

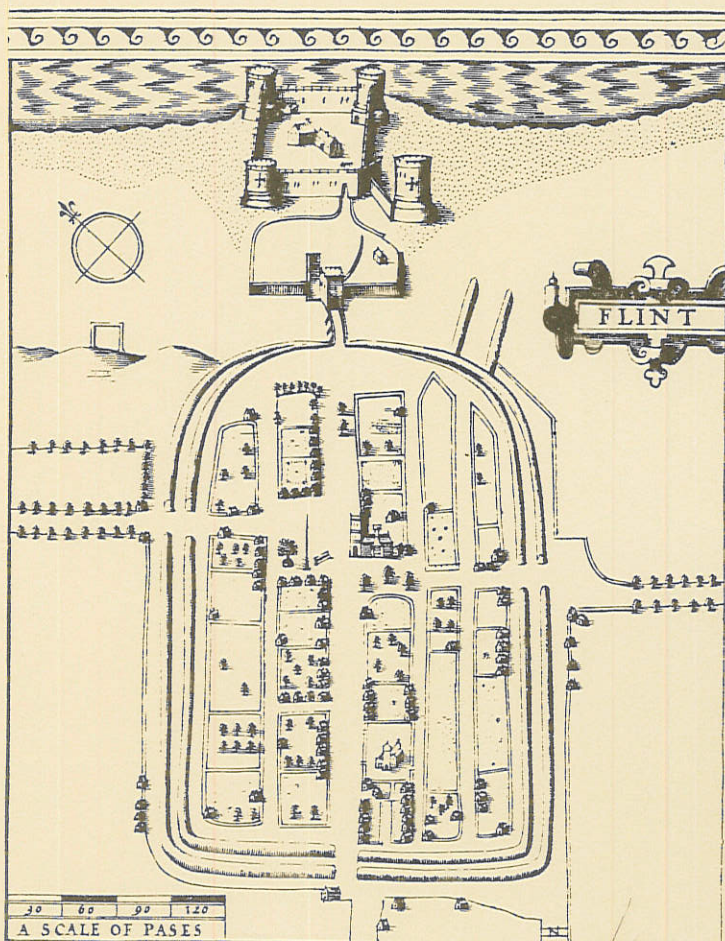
Sicrhodd Edward I ei rym dros Gymru, fel y Rhufeiniaid gynt, drwy raglen gynhwysfawr o adeiladu cestyll. Sicrhawyd yr ardal fynyddig fewnol gan gyfres o gaearau trwy Ogledd Cymru (1). Cynlluniwyd y rhan fwyaf o'r cestyll yng Nghymru mewn safleoedd strategol er mwyn eu cyflenwi â bwyd a diod o'r môr. Er enghraifft: Castell y Flint (2), Biwmares (3) a Rhuddlan (4). Yn anaml adeiladwyd castell yn y wlad, ond mae Castell y Bere yn enghraifft o hyn (5). Weithiau cymerai Edward hen amddiffynfeydd, megis Criccieth, a'u haddasu. Tro arall adeiladai gastell o'r newydd megis Caernarfon, Biwmares a Chonwy. Dyma'r uchafbwynt mewn adeiladu cestyll canoloesol. (Adluniadau gan Alan Sorrel.)

Edward I secured his hold over Wales as the Romans had done before him by a massive castle building programme. The mountainous hinterland was secured by a chain of fortresses throughout North Wales (1). The majority of the Welsh castles were sited in strategically important positions on or near the coast so that they could be provisioned from the sea as at Flint (2), Beaumaris (3) and Rhuddlan (4). In rare cases as at Castell y Bere (5) he built inland. In some cases he took over and adapted existing strongholds, as at Criccieth. In other cases, Caernarfon (6), Beaumaris and Conwy for instance, he built a totally new stronghold. These Edwardian castles represented the summit of medieval castle building. (Reconstructions are by the artist Alan Sorrel.)

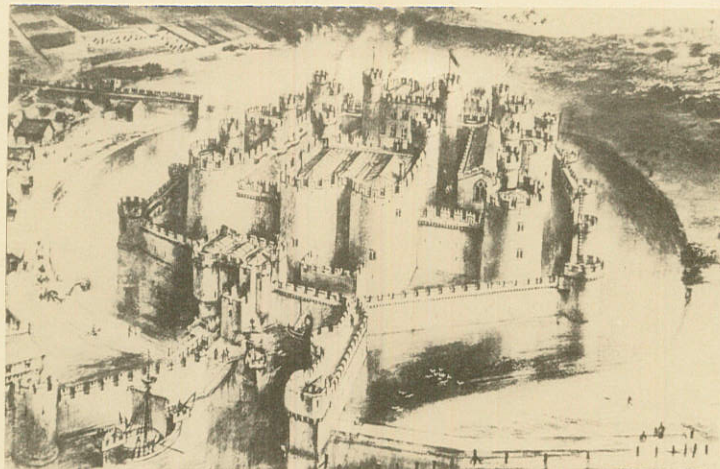
THE NORMAN CASTLES IN NORTH WALES



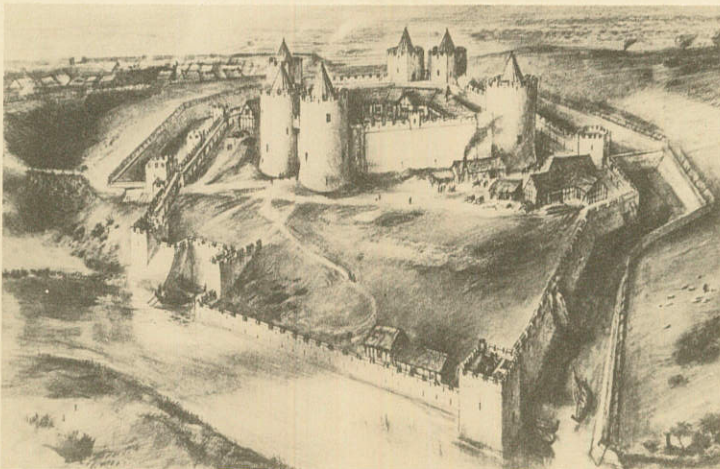
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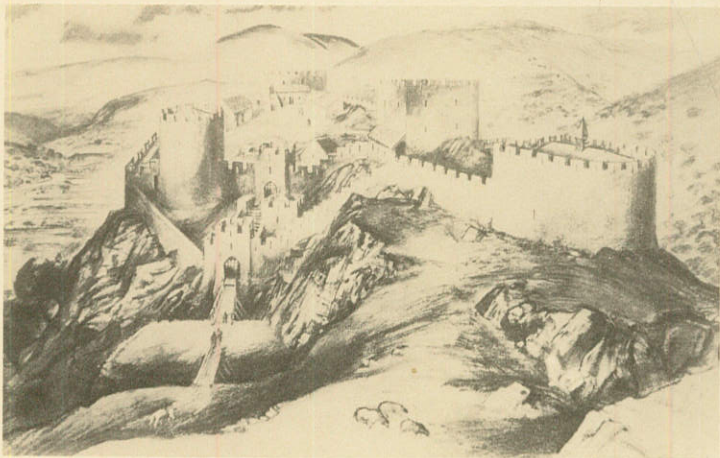
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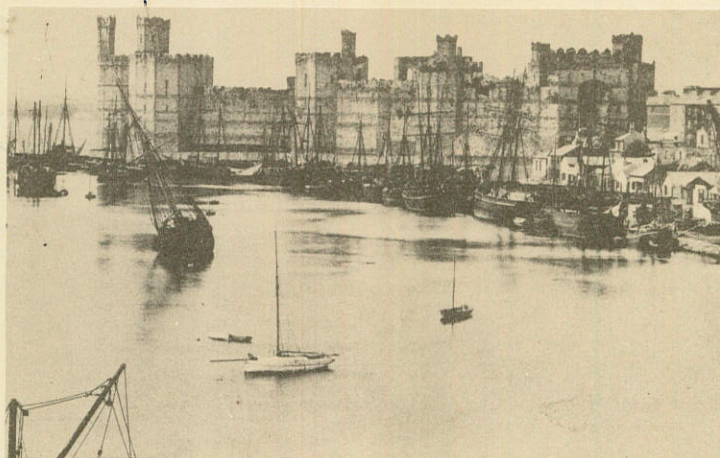
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4



5



6

Y Fwrdeistref Edwardaidd

The Edwardian Borough

I lychwanegu at y rhaglen adeiladu cestyll, ac i gryfhau ei rym dros Gymru, dechreuodd Edward greu bwrdeistrefi newydd. Weithiau ffurfiar muriau'r dref ran o amddiffynfeydd y castell. Cyn y dyddiad hwn buasai cyfanheddau bychain, trefol yn y gororau ac hyd yn oed yng Ngwynedd. Dengys Llanfaes, Môn, tref o drod 400 o dai, y duedd i ddatblygu canolfannau masnachol ac economi ariannol. Ond yr oedd bwrdeistrefi newydd yn fwy nag a welwyd erioed o'r blaen yng Nghymru. Atafaelwyd yn rhyw 5000 o erwau yng Ngwynedd yn unig er mwyn adeiladu'r bwrdeistrefi, a'u trosglwyddo fel cymhelliad i ymfudwyr o Saeson y cynigid tiroedd a breintiau masnach iddynt (1). Fel y dengys cynllun Speed o Gaernarfon, 1610 (2), gosodwyd yr ardal mewn darnau cyson, bwrdeistrefol (1). I ddechrau, lleoedd Saesneg eu hiaith yn llawn ymfudwyr wedi'u trawsblannu o Loegr oedd y bwrdeistrefi, a'r Cymry wedi'u cau allan ohonynt yn llwyr. Eithr, yn raddol, enillodd y Cymry droedle yn y rhan fwyaf ohonynt. Ni fu pob bwrdeistref yn llwyddiant. Ni ffynnodd Harlech a Chriccieth (3), er enghraifft, fel bwrdeistrefi. Mewn rhai achosion, megis Dinbych (4), datguddiwyd anfanteision safle strategol. Ym 1536 datganodd Leland fod Dinbych wedi'i symud i safle gwell, islaw i'r bryn (5) a chadarnheir hyn gan gynllun Speed, 1610 (6).

To supplement the castle building programme and further consolidate his hold over Wales Edward I embarked upon the creation of new boroughs. In some cases the town walls formed part of the defences of the castle. Before this date there had been small urban settlements in the Marches and even in Gwynedd. Llanfaes, on Anglesey, a town of over 400 houses shows the move towards trading centres and a money economy. But the new bastide towns brought urbanisation to 'Pura Wallia' on a large scale. To build the new boroughs, some 5000 acres of land in Gwynedd alone was confiscated and handed over as an incentive to English settlers who were offered lands and trading privileges (1). As Speed's plan of Caernarfon of 1610 (2) reveals, the area was laid out in regular burgage plots. The boroughs were at first English speaking enclaves of transplanted settlers with the Welsh firmly excluded, but gradually Welshmen gained a foothold in the majority of these new boroughs. Not all the borough plantations were successful. Harlech and Criccieth (3) for instance never really flourished as boroughs. In some cases, as at Denbigh (4), the drawbacks of a strategic site were revealed. Leland in 1536 reported that the town of Denbigh had moved to a better site below the hill (5) and this is confirmed in Speed's plan of 1610 (6).

passes there, except in cases of life and limb, in all which cases all men, as well burgesses as others, shall be imprisoned in our castle there. Nevertheless if any of our said burgesses shall be sued, accused, or indicted upon any trespass in any of those cases, We will that on that account they be imprisoned, until they shall find good and sufficient bail to abide the right thereof before our chief justice, or other our justices assigned in this behalf. Moreover we grant to the same burgesses, that all land, to the same borough now assigned, be altogether diswarrened and deafforested. And that Jews dwell not in the same borough at any time. We grant also for us and our heirs to the said burgesses the underwritten liberties, to wit,—That no one of our sheriffs on any occasion intrudes himself upon them in any plea or quarrel or cause or any other matter to the said town belonging, (saving always to us and our heirs pleas of our crown as is before mentioned) and that they have a merchant's guild with a hanse,⁴ and other customs, and liberties, to that guild belonging. Also, that no one, who be not of the guild, shall traffic in the same town, unless from the permission of the aforesaid burgesses. We also grant to them, if any native⁵ of any one shall tarry in the aforesaid town and hold land in the same, and shall be in the aforesaid guild and hanse and lot and scot with our same men for a year and a day without challenge, then he cannot be recovered by his lord, but in the same town he shall remain free. Moreover we grant to our same burgesses, that they have sok,⁶ and salc,⁷ tol⁸ and team,⁹ and infangene thof.¹⁰ And that they be quit through all our land of toll, lestage, passage, menage, pontage, and stallage. And of lene danegeld, and gaywite, and all other customs and exactions through all our dominions as well in England as in all other our lands. And that they, or their

1 "THE KING—To archbishops, &c. greeting, —Know ye, That we will and grant for us and our heirs, that our town of Aberconwey become a free borough, and our men of the same town free burgesses; and that the constable of our castle of Aberconwey for the time being be mayor of the same borough, sworn as well to us as to the same burgesses, who first having taken the oath to preserve our rights shall swear to the said burgesses upon the holy evangelists of God, that he will preserve the same liberties to the said burgesses by us granted, and faithfully perform that, which to the office of mayor may belong in the same borough. Also we grant that the said burgesses yearly choose from amongst themselves on the feast of Saint Michael, two fit and sufficient bailiffs, and to such their constable as well as mayor present, who, in the presence of the said mayor and burgesses, shall swear, That the office of bailiff they will faithfully do, and execute. Also, we will and grant that the said Burgesses have their persons free in the borough aforesaid of all tres-

¹ *Hanse*, An association to insure the safe passage of goods, &c.

⁵ *Native*, A person born a servant.

⁶ *Sok*, Suit of Court within a manor or borough.

⁷ *Salc*, Liberty of holding pleas, and enjoying the forfeiture of offenders.

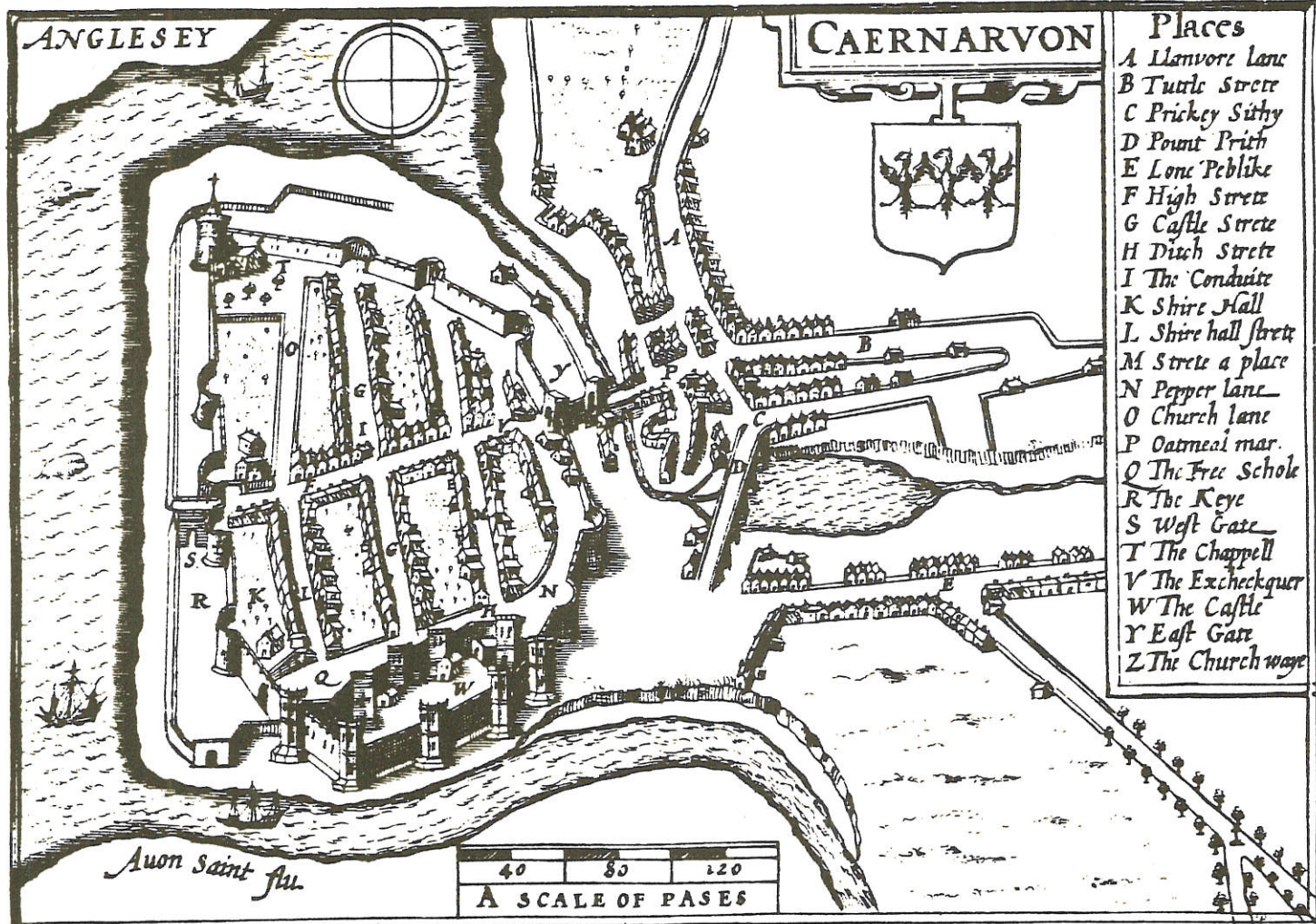
⁸ *Tol*, Liberty to buy and sell within a borough: also exemption from custom.

⁹ *Team*, The right conferred of judging, restraining, and having bondmen, natives, and villeins, with their issue, goods, and chattels.

¹⁰ *Infangene thof*, The right of judging thieves taken in the borough.

goods be not arrested for any debt, of which they be not the sureties, or principal debtors, unless it happen that the said debtors be of their commonalty and having in their power, whereof they can satisfy their debts in whole or in part, and our said burgesses being deficient in justice to the creditors of the same debtors, and of this reasonable proof shall be made. And that our same burgesses for the trespass, or forfeiture of their servants, do not lose their goods and chattels found in the hands of them, or in any place deposited by their said servants, so far forth as they can sufficiently prove them to be theirs. And also that if the same burgesses or any of them die within our kingdom or dominion testate or intestate, We or our heirs will not cause the goods of such persons to be confiscated; but their heirs shall wholly enjoy the same so far as they may consist of the said chattels of the said deceased persons, provided that nevertheless sufficient notice, or assurance be had of the same heirs. And that our burgesses aforesaid be not convicted by any persons residing out of the said borough, upon any appeal, right, injury, trespass, crimes, damages, demands, imposed, or to be imposed upon them from Kaernarvon unto the water of Cloyt, but only by our aforesaid burgesses; unless concerning any thing touching the commonalty of the aforesaid borough, and then in that case they be dealt with according to the liberties approved, and theretofore reasonably used in our city of Hereford. Wherefore we will, and firmly command for us, and our heirs, that our town of Aberconwey henceforth be a free borough, and our men of the same town be free burgesses, and the constable of our castle of Aberconwey for the time being be mayor of the same borough, sworn as well to us as to the same burgesses, who, first taking the said oath to preserve our rights, shall then swear upon the holy evangelists of God, that he will preserve the liberties granted by us to the same burgesses, and faithfully perform that, which to the office of mayor belongs in the same borough. And that the said burgesses every year on the feast of St. Michael, choose from amongst themselves two fit and sufficient bailiffs, and to the same constable as well as their mayor shall present, who in the presence of the said mayor shall be sworn that they faithfully perform and execute their office of bailiff. Also, we will and grant that the said burgesses

have their persons free in the borough aforesaid, from all trespasses there (except in cases of life and limb) and in which cases all persons as well burgesses as others shall be imprisoned in our castle there. Nevertheless if any of our said burgesses be sued, accused, or indicted upon any trespasses, in those cases we will that on that account they be imprisoned, until they find good, and sufficient sureties to abide the right thereof before our chief justice, or other justices assigned in that behalf. Moreover we grant to the same burgesses that all land to the same borough now assigned shall be altogether diswarrened and deafforested. And that the Jews dwell not at any time in the same borough. Also we will and grant for us and our heirs that the aforesaid burgesses have all other liberties and free customs above expressed well and peaceably, without let, or impediment of us, our heirs, justices, sheriffs, and others our bailiffs, and ministers whatsoever for ever, as is above expressed. Witness the venerable father R. bishop of Bath and Wells, our chancellor, Richd. de Burg Com. Ulton, Thomas de Clare, Richd. de Brus, Reginald de Grey, Nicholas de Segraue, Peter de Champnent, John de Monte Alto, and others.—Given under our hand at Flynt 8th day of September, in the twelfth year of our reign.”



2



3



4

Denbigh Toune

There hath beene diverse rowes of streates within the wald towne, of the which the most part be now doone in maner, and at this tyme there be scant 80. howsolders. There is a goodly and large chapel of ease in the old toune, of S. Hilarie, wither yet moste of the new toun yet cumme.

I have not yet lernid the certente how this wallid toune decayed w ithyn wither it were by fier or for lak of water, wherof there is litle or none, or for lak of good caryage into the toun standing sumwhat high and on rokky ground, I cannot surely telle.

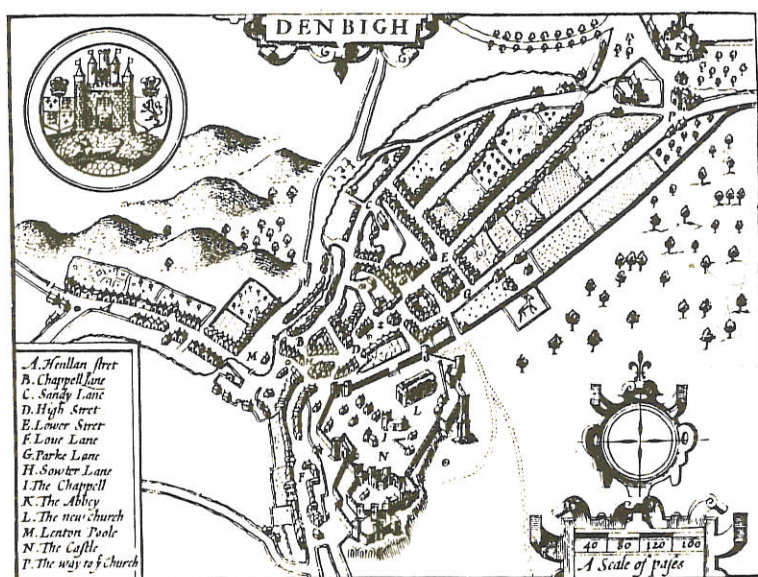
But the towne of Denbigh now occupied and yoining neere to the old toun hath beene totally made of later tyme, and set much more to commodite of cariage and water by many welles in it. And the encrease of this was the decaye of the other. At this present tyme the newe is 3. times as bigge as the oulde, and is a mile ... and it lyeth all in one streete ... and in the market place well builded, which is fayre, and large, and paved of late yeares, the confluence to the market on Tewesday is exceding great. St. Marcelles a mile of was parochie chirche to the ould towne, and so it is to the newe.

There is a chapelle of ease in the midle of the new towne, of S. Anne. One Fleming was the builder of this, and yet it is caullid Cappelle Fleming, and is of a good largenes. Ther was an almose house hard by this chapelle ex saxo quadrato made by the same Fleming. But now it is desolate.

The new towne of Denbigh was clere defacid with fier by hostile, a^o, D 1468. Sum say that this was doone by the Erle of Penbroke.

5

Leyland, 1536



6

Cymer hanes droeon annisgwyl iawn ar brydiau. Ar ôl y cwmp ym 1282 cafwyd datblygiad sylweddol yn yr iaith Gymraeg a'i diwylliant yn hytrach na'r gwanychiad a ddisgwylid. Trefnodd Einion Offeiriad y rheolau ar gyfer y mesurau barddonol Cymreig. Yn y cyfnod hwn hefyd rhoddwyd cryn lawer o farddoniaeth Gymraeg draddodiadol ar femrwn, ond nodwedd fwyaf trawiadol y cyfnod yn ddiaid yw datblygiad mesur y cywydd gyda'i holl bosibiliadau ar gyfer themâu newydd. Perthyn Dafydd ap Gwilym i'r cyfnod hwn. Defnyddiodd Dafydd y mesur newydd i gyflwyno themâu serch a natur mewn dull hollol newydd ac unigryw ar y pryd, a hynny sydd yn ennill iddo ei le ymysg y beirdd Cymraeg mwyaf erioed (1). Cymerodd yr 'uchelwyr' newydd gyfrifoldeb am noddi'r beirdd yn lle'r tywysogion gynt ac fe ddaeth plas yr uchelwr yn ganolbwynt cymdeithas yn lle llys y tywysogion, oherwydd creodd y gyfundrefn newydd ei swyddogion newydd a'i biwrocratiaeth newydd a llanwyd tipyn o'r swyddi newydd hyn gan aelodau o deuluoedd Cymreig blaenllaw.

Fodd bynnag, erbyn cyfnod y Tuduriaid, a'i gyfleoedd newydd i uchelwyr Cymru gael dyrchafiad yn y Llys, ysgrifennodd Siôn Tudur, bardd yr unfed ganrif ar bymtheg, gywydd yn rhybuddio'r beirdd hynny a wasanaethai'r uchelwyr Cymreig (2).

The course of history does not always follow the expected pattern. After the Edwardian takeover in 1282 instead of a decline in the Welsh language and culture Welsh poetry experienced considerable development. Einion Offeiriad was responsible for setting out the rules for Welsh poetic measures. During this period too, much of traditional Welsh poetry was committed to writing, but the most striking literary feature of the period is undoubtedly the development of the cywydd measure, with all its accompanying opportunities for thematic innovation. Dafydd ap Gwilym belongs to this era and he used the new metre to introduce themes of nature and love in a quite revolutionary style which earns him his place amongst the greatest of all Welsh poets (1).

The new gentry took over patronage of the poets where the princes left off and the 'plas' or seat of a gentleman was now the focus of society rather than the 'llys' or court of the princes, for the new regime ultimately created a new bureaucracy and a new class of officials throughout Wales and some of these posts were filled by members of the leading Welsh families. By the time of the Tudors, with new opportunities for the advancement of the Welsh gentry at Court, the sixteenth century poet Siôn Tudur could write a warning cywydd to those poets who served the Welsh gentry (2).

DAFYDD AP GWILYM

Trafferth mewn Tafarn

DEUTHUM i ddinas dethol,
A'm hardd wreangyn i'm hôl.
Cain hoywdraul, lle' cwyn hydrum,
Cymryd, balch o febyd fîm,
Llety urddedig ddigawn
Cyffredin, a gwin a gawn.

Canfod rhaiin addfeinddeg
Yn y tŷ, mau enaid teg.
Bwrw yn llwyr, liw haul dwyrain,
Fy mryd ar wyn fy myd main.
Prynu rhost, nid er bostiaw,
A gwin drud, mi a gwen draw.
Gwarwy a gâr gwŷr ieuainc —
Galw ar fun, ddyn gwŷl, i'r fainc.
Hustying, bŷm ŵr hy astud,
Dioer yw hyn, deuair o hud;
Gwneuthur, ni bu segur serch,
Amod dyfod at hoywferch
Pan elai y minteioedd
I gysgu; bun aelddu oedd.

Wedi cysgu, tru tremyn,
O bawb eithr myfi a bun,
Profais yn hyfedr fedru
Ar wely'r ferch; alar fu.
Cefais, pan soniais yna,
Gwypm dig, nid oedd gampau da;
Haws codi, drygioni drud,
Yn drwsogl nog yn dra esgud.
Trewais, ni neidiais yn iach,
Y grimog, a gwae'r omach,
Wrth ystlys, ar waith ostler,
Ystôl groch ffôl, goruwch ffêr.
Dyfod, bu chwedl eddfar,
I fyny, Cymry a'm câr,
Trewais, drwg fydd tra awydd,
Lle y'm rhoed, heb un llam rhwydd,
Mynych dwyll amwyll ymwrdd,
Fy nhalcen wrth ben y bwrdd,
Lle'dd oedd gawg yrhawg yn rhydd
A llafar badell efydd.
Syrthio o'r bwrdd, dragwrdd drefn,
A'r ddeudrestl a'r holl ddodrefn;
Rhoi diasbad o'r badell
I'm hôl, fo'i clywid ymhell;
Gweiddi, gwŷr gorwag oeddwn,
O'r cawg, a'm cyfarth o'r cŵn.

Yr oedd gerllaw muroedd mawr
Drisais mewn gwely drewsawr,
Yn trafferth am eu triphac —
Hicin a Siencin a Siac.
Syganai'r gwas soeg enau,
Araith oedd ddig, wrth y ddau:

'Mae Cymro, taer gyffro twyll,
Yn rhodio yma'n rhydwyll;
Lleidr yw ef, os goddefwn,
'Mogelwch, cedwch rhag hwn.'

Codi o'r ostler niferoedd
I gyd, a chwedl dybryd oedd.
Gygus oeddynt i'm gogylch
Yn chwilio i'm ceisio i'm cylch;
A minnau, hagr wyniau hŷl,
Yn tewi yn y tywyll.
Gweddfais, nid gwedd cofn,
Dan gél, megis dyn ag ofn;
Ac o nerth gweddi gerth gu,
Ac o ras y gwir Iesu,
Cael i minnau, cwlm anhun,
Heb sâl, fy henwal fy hun.
Dihengais i, da wng saint,
I Dduw'r archaf faddeuaint.

DAFYDD AP GWILYM

Trouble in a Tavern

I came to a choice city
with my fine page at my heels.
At great cost, cause of free complaint,
since I've been proud from birth,
a respected, much-used lodging
I took, where I could call for wine.
I saw a fine slim girl
in the house, my pretty soul,
and fell completely for her,
my blessing, coloured like the eastern sun.
I bought a roast, not boasting,
for me and the girl over there.
The young like to be playful:
I called the shy girl to the bench.
There's no doubt I was bold and clever,
whispering two magical words.
I made, love wasted no time,
a covenant to come to the lively girl
when the mob had gone to sleep
She was a black-browed girl.
When everyone, far travelling,
had gone to sleep but me and the wench
I tried with all my skill to get
to the girl's bed: it came to grief
When I made a sound there
I took a spiteful, clumsy fall.
It was easier to get up, o costly evil,
clumsily rather than nimbly
I didn't jump clear, I struck
my shin, bad luck for my leg, above
the ankle, against a strident, stupid stool,
just like an ostler might.
Getting up, a tale for repentance
(may the Welsh love me!) I struck,
too much desire is bad,

'To Look for a Word' by Gwyn Williams.

SIÔN TUDUR

d. 1602

Warning to the Poets

Alas for our art, scandal
Is rampant about us all!
Credit of our calling's gone,
Prized once without aspersion.
First, we praised God; for mostways
Melts away unworthy praise.
Praised then a breed of strong men,
Princes, and rapid horsemen;
Lords redolent of learning,
Bishops in our midst we'd sing;
Barons to fulfil our blessings,
Barons of the blood of kings;
Fine-tempered chiefs and fruitful,
From an old stock sprouting tall;
Faith's elders, priests and worthies,
Prelates, fortunate their sees.
Because they'd learning, these men
Were called to rule, were chosen;
Right was respect for learning,
Honouring God, learning's spring.
Right too for a bard to pour
His praise upon a warrior
Insofar's a wretch would not
Hazard his life in combat.

But base-born ploughman, now, we
Poets turn into gentry,
Give pedigrees to blazon
Jack with praise the same as John.
Every turncoat filches bits
From verses of good poets
To flatter some low fellow.
This painful bribe paints the crow.
Plumage from each brilliant bird
Makes even a crow be-glittered.
A bare churl, a false rascal –
Crowns make conquerors of all!
If we're paid by a tinsmith
He gets pedigree forthwith.
If he's preferred to office,
With ease, nobility's his.
These two signs, prudently won
Through usury and extortion:
A mansion of great splendour,
And a barred and bolted door.
It's easier, where he's hidden,
And his bailiff guards the den,
To break your neck than breakfast
Or cure hunger at his feast.
Without pride, he'll skimp and stint
To heap gold like a skinflint.
Hard of hearing, reared on bare
Buttermilk, bread and water,
Though he'd not feed a beggar
Or proffer alms to the poor
– Even to elude the scaffold –
Yet for lineage he'll give gold.
No lack, but what's ancestral,
Pains or troubles him at all.
Furtive the gift he granted,
A gold piece to patch his breed,
A chart by a poet written –
Poets' hands do many a sin,
Take pedigrees in dozens
Off the well-born for the dunce.
It's tiresome, to the uplands
Boosting his crest, line and lands:
A scab-patch of a satchel
Holds the dusty lineage-roll.
A shovel of dung, in earnest,
His good father had for crest –
We gave him (if truth were known)
A more dubious escutcheon.
Over the round earth, these men
From base estate have risen:
They risk a speedy downfall,
Who from lewdness grow too tall.
Soareth beetle over street –
He's back in dung by sunset!

Every ruffian would hire us –
Let's stop, confess our trespass:
Our reputation's forfeit
If we'll not forgo deceit.
God forfend that we waste craft
On men not fit for songcraft!
From our famed seat, let's always
Sing to those that merit praise,
Studying how to praise aright
Men worshipful and upright.
Let's leave (as that's what's lawful)
A wretched churl still a churl:
A chieftain is yet a chieftain
And chieftain he shall remain;
Ninth grade will be the eagle
And the crow no grade at all;
Generous the hawk shall stay
But a kite's a kite alway!
Whoever else does commerce,
No more churl's gold find Siôn's purse.

SIÔN TUDUR

d. 1602

Cywydd i'r Beirdd

Gwae ni'r beirdd gan air y byd!
Gwae ail fodd y gelfyddyd!
Swydd y bardd sydd heb urddas,
Oedd enwog gynt heb ddwyn cas.
Moliannu Duw ymlaen dim,
Aml iawn tawdd moliant diddim.
Moli gwaged mil o gedyrn,
Twysogion, marchogion chwyrn;
Arglwyddi arogl addysg,
Esgobion mawrion i'n mysg;
Ieirll i'n mysg er llenwi mawl,
A barwniaid waed breiniawl;
Pendefigion ffurwythlon, ffraeth,
Yn dal o hen waedoliaeth;
Penaethiaid, offeiriaid ffydd,
Preladiaid, hap ar wledydd.
Rhai a alwyd yn rhuwlywyr,
Wrth ddysg oll, wrth ddewis gwŷr,
Ac iawn oedd, eigiawn addysg,
O barch ar Dduw berchi'r ddysg.
Iawn i fardd, ddianardd ŵr,
Wario'i fawl ar ryfelwr,
Herwydd nas gwnâi ddihiryn
Fentro ei oes o fewn trin.

Ninnau'r beirdd a wnawn, rai bas,
O'r arddwyr wŷr o urddas,
A rhoi achau rhy wychion,
A mawl i Siac mal i Siôn.
Pawb chwit chwyt yn lladrata
Penillion prydyddion da,
A'u troi i iangwr truan,
Poen trwy freib, fal peintio'r frân.
Asgell o bob edn gwisgwych
Ar fryn a wnâi'r frân yn wyr.
Carl noeth, nid cywirlan ŵr,
Coron a'i gwnâi'n goncwerwr.
O cawn arian can eurych
Ach wrda gaiff, a chard gwych.
O chaiff swydd, dau arwydd dig,
Ef â'n hawdd yn fonheddig.
Trwy ystoriaiwn, cwestiwn call,
A chodi plas cwmpaswych,
A chau'n dynn ei dŷ gwyn gwych.
Haws mewn ei dai, hwsmon da,
Torri gwddw lle taer guddia
Nag a fydd ryw ddydd i ddyn
Drwy'i neuadd dorri'i newyn.
Ysbario heb syberwyd
A wna'r gŵr yn aur i gyd.
Byr ei glust, bara a glastwr
Ac enwyn noeth a'i gwnâ'n ŵr.
Os i'r gwan ni rôi giniaw,
Na chardawd i dlawd o'i law,
Na cheiniog dros ei grogi,
Fo rydd am ach fawrdda i mi.
Nis dôi boen eisiau da byd,
Eisiau bonedd sy benyd.
Coelfain oedd roi mewn cilfach
Clwt o aur er clytio ach.
Card o law'r bardd a'i harddai,
Llaw'r bardd a wnaeth llawer bai –
Dwyn achau ac arfau gant
Oddi ar rywiog i ddrewiant.
Blin ydyw, hyd blaeneudir,
Bostio'i ach a'i bais a'i dir,
A rhol achau rhy lychwin,
A'i baits crach yn ei bwyts crin.
Ar frys arfau'a roesom,
Arfau ei dad fu raw dom.
Os chwilir y gwir, nid gau,
Serfyll fydd ei bais arfau.
Dros y byd ar draws y bêl
Dringasant o wreng isel.
A 'mgoto er a 'mgytiawdd,
Swrth iawn hap, a syrth yn hawdd.
Chwilen hed uwch heolydd,
Ac yn y dom cyn y dydd.

Pob tacog a'n cyflogai;
Peidiwn, gwybyddwn ein bai.
Onis trown ystryw ennyd,
Ni chawn ni barch yn y byd.
Nawdd Dduw gwyn rhag naddu gwawd
I'r rhai ni weddai naddawd.
Canwn ar y fainc hynod
I'r rhai a ryglyddai glod.
Canwn, a myfyriwn fawl,
I wŷr syber, wrsibawl,
A gadael, gafael gyfiawn,
Iangwr yn iangwr a wnawn;
Pennaeth yn bennaeth beunydd,
Pennaeth yn bennaeth y bydd;
Eryr yn eryr nawradd,
A brân yn frân heb fwy radd;
Gwalch yn haelwalch gwehelyth,
A barcud yn farcud fyth.
Ni welir, er a wnelon,
Mwy o aur siwrl ym mhwsr Siôn.

Y Pla Du

The Black Death

Cafodd y Pla Du a drawodd Cymru gyntaf yn ystod 1348-50 ac a ddychwelodd dro ar ôl tro effeithiau dwys ar y gymdeithas a'r economi. Dengys y llun (1) losgi dillad heintus ac fe'i cymerir o lawysgrif o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg. Er ei bod yn anodd cyfrif effaith y pla mewn rhai ardaloedd, aeth traean o'r tir heb ei drin oherwydd prinder eithafol o lafurwyr (2). Dengys cofnodol o gasgliadau treth ostyngiad difrifol (3,4). Achosodd yr argyfwng newid sylfaenol yn y gyfundrefn amaethyddol ac arweiniodd at gynnydd yr uchelwyr a dechrau'r gyfundrefn o ystadau trwy roddi i unigolion neilltuol gyfleoedd i brynu tiroedd gwag. Dioddefodd y tiroedd isel yn fwy na'r uchel-dir. Mewn manau, bu marwoldeb mor uchel â 40% (5).

The Black Death, which first struck Wales during the years 1348-50 and returned repeatedly, had far reaching social and economic effects. The illustration (1) shows the burning of infested clothing and is from a fourteenth century manuscript. Although it is difficult to quantify its impact in some areas, one third of the land went out of cultivation (2) through acute labour shortage. Records of government revenue collection reveal a severe drop (3,4). The crisis caused the demise of the medieval agrarian system and led to the rise of the gentry and the beginnings of an estate system by allowing certain individuals opportunities to buy up vacant lands. The lowland areas suffered more than the uplands. In some cases mortality was as high as 40% (5).



1

CHWAEN. In this township there are two free gwelys namely Gwely Wyrion Iago and Gwely Gwas Deiniol. And Dafydd ap Meurig ap Einion, Ieuan Ddu Frych and others are the heirs of the said gwely of Gwely Wyrion Iago. And they render thence at each of the four above mentioned terms 5s. 4½d.

Annual total: 21s. 6d. [sic]

And they own suit thence to the county and the hundred. And they pay relief, gobrestyn and amobr, 10s., when, etc.. And they have their own mill called Melin Einion. And if they brew they pay each time as above. And in the gwely there are by reckoning three bovates of escheat land which were of Crachgoeth and they lie ffridd in the lord's hand. And they used to render annually at each of the four above mentioned terms, 4d.

Annual total: 16d.

And they used to render annually beyond the extent at the feasts of Easter and St. Michael equally, 7d. Annual total: 7d.

And Adda ap Cadwgan, Dafydd ap Gruffydd ap Einion and others are the heirs of the said gwely of Gwely Gwas Deiniol. And they render thence annually at each of the said four above mentioned terms, 8s. 3½d..

Annual total: 33s. 2d.

And they owe suit thence to the county and the hundred. And relief, gobrestyn and amobr, 10s., when, etc.. And they owe thence cylch stalwyn and cylch rhaglawn and cylch hebogyddion. And they have their own mill called Melin Hywel ap Rhys. And they make part of the lord prince's hall

and chamber at Aberffraw. And each time they brew as above. And in this gwely of Gwely Gwas Deiniol there are five bovates of escheat land which were of Adda Goch and they lie ffridd in the lord's hand for lack of tenants. Whereupon a certain Gruffydd ap Rhys came before John de Delves, the deputy justice of North Wales on the completion of this extent and took that land to hold to himself and his heirs, rendering thence annually at the said four terms, 40d.

Annual total: 13s.4d. because the land lay ffridd from the time of the pestilence until this day. And the rent thereof at each of the said four above mentioned terms used to be 7d.. And beyond the extent annually at the feasts of Easter and St. Michael in equal portions, 37s.8d.

Annual total: 69s.11d.

2

"Commote Geneu'r glyn: 2s from the chensers in the hamlet of Castle Walter who used to render 4s. No more because of the Pestilence".
[Ministers Accounts 23 EIII 1221/8].

THE REVENUES OF ASSISE IN THE LORDSHIP OF ABERGAVENNY BEFORE AND AFTER THE PESTILENCE OF 1349

"Commote Mabelview : Nothing from the chensers who used to remain in the vill of Llanybyther because they are dead by the pestilence".
[Ministers Accounts 23 Ed III 1221/8].

"Decay of rents of 97 men holding of Jeuan ap Madoc. There are now only seven, and there used to be 104 tenants called gabularii who withdrew this year because of the pestilence".
[Ministers Accounts 23 Ed III 1221/8].

"Reaping works - And for 3 reaping works at Brentes which used to reap the lords corn for 3 days without food; nothing because the said tenants are dead and their tenements lie waste between the lord's hands for lack of tenants".
[Ministers Accounts 1372 1156/13].

"Issues of the Columbarium - Nothing this year because the doves nest in the hall and other rooms of the manor"
[Ministers Accounts 45 Ed III 1156/12 Llanfairstrigoil].

3

Western Half	Total Revenues					
	at the death of the Earl, 1348			in 1352		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Abergavenny Burgh	155	3	0	108	3	4
Englishton	66	0	6	61	7	6 ³ / ₄
Michael's Town	30	13	8	22	6	9
Llangattock	11	2	8	12	19	4
Park of Lingoed			(not extended)	2	10	0
Capella (Chapel)	10	1	3 ¹ / ₄	5	5	4 ¹ / ₂
Clytha	10	6	6 ¹ / ₄	8	1	2
Bloreys	14	12	1 ¹ / ₄	11	17	0 ¹ / ₂
Perlleni	9	14	4 ¹ / ₄	7	9	6 ¹ / ₄
Culgudyn	10	8	0	8	19	2 ¹ / ₄
Mamhilad	2	9	8 ³ / ₄	1	6	0 ¹ / ₄
Cregrien	1	2	11 ¹ / ₄	1	10	4
The Forest	4	0	0	6	0	0
The Forestry of the Mountains	41	3	0	3	0	0
Beadlery of the Castle, the Burgh and Members	103	8	3 ¹ / ₂	78	11	6 ¹ / ₄
Two Mills	3	0	0	3	6	8

Eastern Half	Total Revenues					
	at the death of the Earl, 1348			after the death of Wm. de Hastings. in April 1349		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Penrhos	31	9	9 ³ / ₄	7	16	11
Tregare	12	12	8 ³ / ₄	4	0	8
Bryngwyn	11	10	9			8
Henllys	14	17	0	5	17	9 ¹ / ₂
Coed Morgan	14	13	0	4	13	0
Tregoythel	6	0	0	0	6	0
Llanvetherine	8	17	4 ¹ / ₂	3	10	7
Llanover	25	9	9	5	6	8
Werneuthrig	7	0	0	2	19	1
Ebbw Fawhr)	29	7	9	2	13	4
Ebbw Fechan)						
Wernridith	32	0	0			20

4

Tenant Mortality in the commotes of Llannerch and Coelion in Dyffryn Clwyd

1340 - 1348	12 (average)
1349	173 (plague year)
1350	34
1362	83 (plague year)

figures calculated by R.R. Rees

5

Dyma gerdd o'r bedwaredd ganrif ar ddeg gan Iolo Goch. Y mae'n moli haelioni Owain Glyn Dŵr a cheinder a moethusrwydd ei lys yn y dull traddodiadol a, thrwy hyn, rhydd inni gipolwg manwl i mewn i blas uchelwr Cymreig. Arglwydd dros Lyndyfrdwy a Chynllaith wrth ymyl Afon Dyfrdwy, yr oedd Owain. Dalai ei dir fel *pennaeth* gan y brenin yn uniongyrchol a châi incwm ohono o ryw £200 y flwyddyn. Yr oedd ganddo blasty teg yn Sycharth ef to teils a simneiau arno a ffos o'i amgylch. Yr oedd yno barc ceirw, crychdydfa, pwll pysgod a melin. Dyn dysgedig ydoedd. Treuliasai amser yn Ysbytai'r Frawdlys yn Llundain a phriodasai â menyw o deulu dylanwadol y Hanmeriaid, o Sir Fflint.

A fourteenth century poem of Iolo Goch. In standard bardic tradition he praises the generosity of Owain Glyn Dŵr and the elegance and comfort of his house. In doing so he gives us a detailed insight into a Welsh gentleman's 'plas'. Glyn Dŵr held the lordships of Glyndyfrdwy and Cynllaith Owain near the Dee directly from the king by a Welsh barony. His income was some £200 p.a. He had a fine moated mansion at Sycharth with tiled and chimneyed roofs, a deer park, a heronry, fishpond and mill. He was an educated man, had spent time at the Inns of Court and had married into the influential Hanmer family of Flintshire.

IOLO GOCH
c.1320-1398

Llys Owain Glyndŵr yn Sycharth

Addewais yt hyn ddwywaith,
Addewid teg, addaw taith.
Taled bawb, tâl hyd y bo,
Ei addewid a addawo.
Pererindawd, ffawd ffydlawn,
Perwyl mor annwyl mawr iawn,
Myned, mau adduned ddain,
Lles yw, tua llys Owain.
Yno yn ddidro ydd af,
Nid drwg, ac yno trigaf
I gymryd i'm bywyd barch
Gydag ef o gydgyfarch.

Fo all fy naf uchaf ach,
Aur ben clêr, dderbyn cleiriach.
Clywed bod, nis cêl awen,
Ddiwarth hwyl, yn dda wrth hen.
I'w lys ar ddyfrys ydd af,
O'r deucant odidocaf.
Llys barwn, lle syberwyd,
Lle daw beirdd aml, lle da byd.
Gwawr Bowys fawr, beues Faig,
Gofuned gwiw ofyaig.
Llyna y modd a'r llun y mae:
Mewn eugylch dwfr mewn argae.
Pand da'r llys, pont ar y llyn,
Ac unporth lle'r âi panpyn?
Cyplau sydd, gwaith cwplws ŷnt,
Cwpledig bob cwpl ydynt.
Clochdy Padrig, Ffrengig ffrwyth,
Cloystr Wesmestr, cloau ystwyth.
Cenglynrhwym bob congl unrhyw,
Cafell aur, cyfa oll yw.
Cenglynion yn y fron fry
Dordor megis daeardy,
A phob un fal llun llyngwlm

IOLO GOCH
c.1320-1398

The Court of Owain Glyndŵr at Sycharth

Twice have I promised you this
A journey, a fair promise
(And man should not be backward,
If he can, to keep his word)
To go - so dear my purpose,
My pure vow and profit was -
On pilgrimage, a comfort
Full of faith, to Owain's court.
As is good, thither straightway
I shall go, and there shall stay
To have my life honoured where
He and I greet each other.

My lord of lineage sovran
Can well receive an old man.
Poets make common knowledge
He delights to gratify age
To his court I hurry ahead,
Most splendid of two hundred,
Court of a baron, courteous home,
Where many a poet's welcome,
Lo, the form of it - a gold cirque
of Water held by earthwork;
A court with one gate and bridge
Where a hundred packs have passage.
There are rafters coupled there.
Joined two and two together
It's French, this Patrick's belfry,
Westminster cloister, easy of key.
Corners match, are bound together,
A gold chancel, all entire.
There are joists upon the hillside
As in a vault, side by side,
And each one, in a tightknit
Pattern, to the next is knit.
Twice nine dwellings to look up
To a wood fort on a hilltop.
Next to heaven his court towers
On four marvellous pillars.
On each thick wooden pillar
A loft tops all, built with care,
With all four lofts for friendship
Joined as one, where minstrels sleep.
These four well-lighted lofts,
Fine nestful, make eight cocklofts,
The roof's tiled on each gable,
There's a chimney that draws well.
Nine halls in true proportion
And nine wardrobes in each one.
Elegant shops, comely inside.
And stocked as full as Cheapside
A church cross, lovely limewhite

Sydd yn ei gilydd yn gwlm.
Tai nawplad fod deunawplas,
Tŷ pren glân mewn top bryn glas
Ar bedwar piler eres
Mae'i lys ef i nef y nes.
Ar ben pob piler pren praff,
Llofft ar dalgrofft adeilgraff,
A'r pedair llofft, a hoffter,
Yn gydgwplws lle cwsg clêr.
Aeth y pedair disgleirlofft,
Nyth lwyth teg iawn, yn wyth lofft.
To teils ar bob tŷ talwg,
A simnai ni fagai fwg.
Naw neuadd gyfladd gyflun,
A naw wardrob ar bob un,
Sipau glân, glwys gynnwys gain,
Siop lawndeg fal Siêp Lundain.
Croes eglwys gylchlwys galchliw,
Capelau a gwydrau gwiw.

Pob tu'n llawn, pob tŷ'n y llys,
Perllan, gwinllan, gaer wenllys.
Parc cwning meistr pŵr cenedl,
Erydr a meirch hydr mawr chwedl.
Garllaw'r llys, gorlliwio'r llall,
Y pawr ceirw mewn parc arall.
Dolydd glân gwyran a gwair,
Ydau mewn caeau cywair.
Melin deg ar ddifreg ddŵr
A'i glomendy gloyw maendwr.
Pysgo dlyn, cudduglyn cau,
A fo rhaid i fwrw rhwydau;
Amlaf lle, nid er ymliw,
Penhwyaid a gwyniaid gwiw.
A'i dir bwrdd a'i adar byw,
Peunod, crehyrod hoywryw.
A'i gaith a wna bob gwaith gwiw,
Cyfreidiau cyfair ydyw,
Dwyn blaenffrwyth cwrw Amwythig,
Gwirodau, bragodau brig,
Pob llyn, bara gwyn a gwin,
A'i gig, a'i dân i'w gegin.

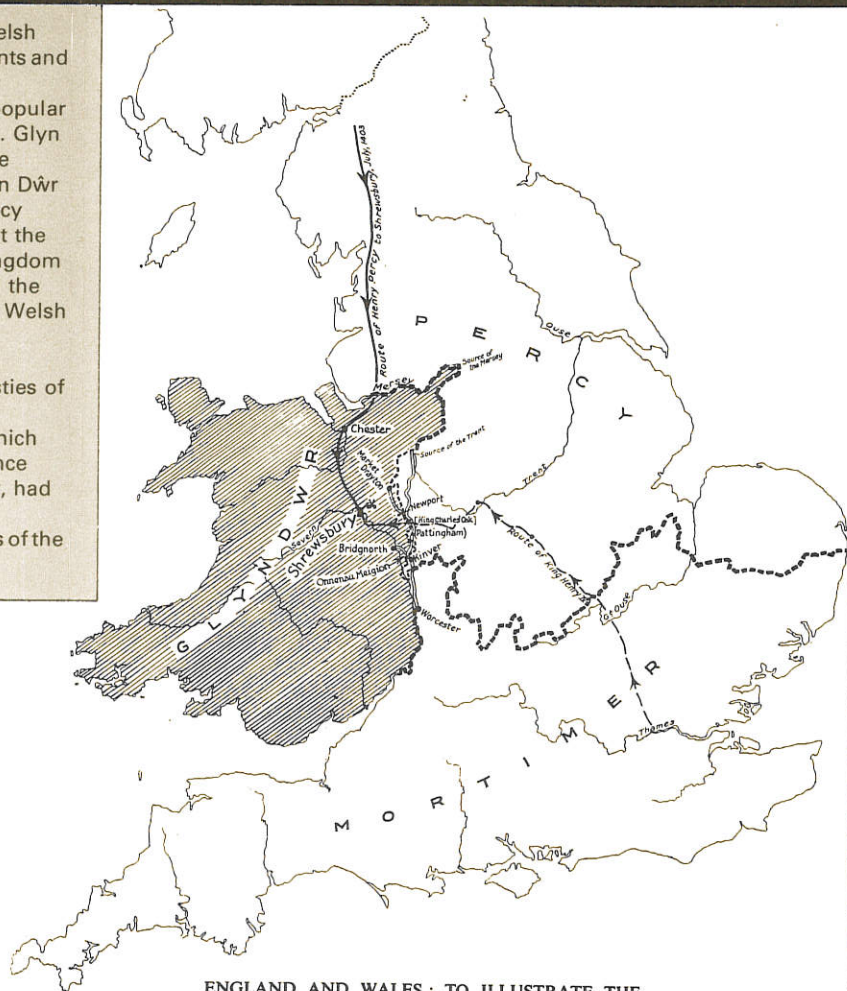
Pebyll y beirdd pawb lle bo,
Pe beunydd caiff pawb yno.
A gwraig orau o'r gwragedd,
Gwyn 'y myd o'i gwin a'i medd!
Merch eglur llin marchoglyw,
Urddol hael o reiol ryw.
A'i blant a ddeuant bob ddau,
Nytaid teg o benaethau.

Anfynych iawn fu yno
Weled na chlicied na chlo,
Na phorthoriaeth ni wnaeth neb,
Ni bydd eisiau budd oseb,
Na gwall, na newyn, a na gwarth,
Na syched fyth yn Sycharth.
Gorau Cymro tro tyrlew
Biau'r wlad, lin Bywer Lew,
Gŵr meingyrf, gorau mangre,
A phiau'r llys; hoff yw'r lle.

Chapels and the windows bright.
Each part full, each house in the court,
Orchard, vineyard and whitefort.
The famed hero's rabbit park,
Ploughs and steeds of a monarch.
And in another, even more
Vivid park, the deer pasture.
Fresh grazing land and hayfields.
And corn growing in fenced fields.
A fine mill on strong water,
A stone dovecot on a tower
A fishpond, walled and private,
Into which you cast your net
And (no question of it) bring
To land fine pike and whiting.
A lawn with birds for food on,
Peacocks and sprightly heron.
Servants to get each job done,
Supplying all the region,
Bringing best Shrewsbury beer,
Bragget, and choicest liquor,
Every drink, white bread and wine,
Meat and fire for his kitchen.
Poets from everywhere gather
Everyday together there.
The best wife among women,
I'm blest by her mead and wine.
Daughter from knights descended,
Noble, generous, royally bred.
And his children come in pairs,
A fine nestful of rulers.
Lock or latch very seldom
Has been seen about his home.
No one need act as gateman,
Here are gifts for every one -
No hunger, disgrace or dearth,
Or ever thirst at Sycharth!
Haply the best of Welshmen
Owns the land, of Pywer's kin;
It's a strong, lean warrior owns
This most lovable of mansions.

Ysgrifennodd Owain Glyn Dŵr ddarogan Gymreig i mewn i'w gytundebau a'i gyfamodau heddwch a thrwy Gymru gyfan yr oedd ganddo gefnogaeth y werin bobl ar raddfa go eang. Byddai llwyddiant y cytundeb tair-ochrog (1) rhwng Mortimer, Percy a Glyn Dŵr yntau fod wedi golygu rhannu teyrnasoedd Lloegr a Chymru a chreu gwladwriaeth Gymreig annibynnol (2). Deilliai Owain o linachau gogledd Powys ac o Ddeheubarth. Trosglwyddasai ei deulu deyrngarwch o'r gyfraith Gymreig i gyfraith Lloegr. Yr oeddynt wedi priodi â theuluoedd y Gororau ac fe'u cyfrifid ymhlith yr uchelwyr bychain.

Owain Glyn Dŵr wrote Welsh prophecy into his agreements and peace treaties. He also commanded widespread popular support throughout Wales. Glyn Dŵr's goal, as the tripartite indenture (1) between Glyn Dŵr himself, Mortimer and Percy reveals, would have meant the dismemberment of the kingdom of England and Wales and the creation of an independent Welsh state (2). Owain Glyn Dŵr was descended from the dynasties of Northern Powys and of Deheubarth. His family, which had transferred its allegiance from Welsh to English law, had intermarried with Marcher families and were members of the lesser aristocracy.



2 ENGLAND AND WALES: TO ILLUSTRATE THE AGREEMENT UNDER THE TRIPARTITE INDENTURE, 1405.

Handwritten Latin text from the Tripartite Indenture, 1405. The text is written in a medieval Gothic script and is partially obscured by a large blacked-out area. It begins with 'Eratissimus princeps...' and ends with 'Deo in pace'.

Handwritten signature or name at the bottom right of the page.

Ym 1400 cododd Glyn Dŵr ei faner y tu allan i Ruthun ac fe'i datganwyd yn Dywysog Cymru. Yn ystod yr ysbeilio a ddilynodd yn nhrefi gogledd Cymru, heidiodd miloedd i'w gefnogi. Adweithiodd Henry IV yn llym a thros y gaeaf ffoes Glyn Dŵr i'r mynyddoedd gyda dyrnaid o ddynion, eithr ym 1401 troes ffawd unwaith eto i'w blaidd ef. Parhaodd y rhyfel am y ddeuddeng mlynedd nesaf fel rhyfel herw-filol yn erbyn byddinoedd Lloegr a ddaeth i Gymru i atgyfnerthu eu cestyll ynysiedig. Unwaith y treuliasai'r gwrthryfel, a'r brenin Seisnig wedi adennill rheolaeth, diflannodd Glyn dŵr gan anwybyddu pob cynnig o faddeuant. Fel y dywed un hanesydd, camodd allan o hanes ac i mewn i chwedloniaeth. Daw'r darnau detholedig o groniglau amrywiol.

In 1400 Glyn Dŵr raised his standard outside Ruthin and was proclaimed Prince of Wales. In the ravaging of the towns of north Wales which followed, thousands flocked to his support. Henry IV reacted severely and over the winter Glyn Dŵr took to the hills with a handful of men, but in 1401 the fortunes of war turned again in his favour. The war continued for the next 12 years as a guerilla war against the English armies who came into Wales to relieve their isolated castles. Once the rebellion had worn itself out and the English king had regained control, Owain Glyn Dŵr vanished, ignoring all offers of pardon. As one historian has put it he stepped out of history and into legend. The extracts selected are from accounts by various chronicles.



... Meanwhile the Welsh, seizing the fortunate opportunity of the king's absence, began to rebel, their leader being a certain Owain Glyndwr. This man was at first an apprentice of the law at Westminster; then as a squire of some renown he fought for Henry when he was striving to attain the throne. The beginning of the trouble was the taking possession by Lord Reginald Grey of Ruthin of lands which Owain claimed to be his by hereditary right. Seeing his arguments and his dispatches despised, he raised a force and led an expedition against Lord Grey, laying waste his estates with fire, and putting many of his household to the sword cruelly and inhumanly.

When the king heard of this he immediately determined to attack such a disturber of his country's peace. Having collected a multitude of men-at-arms and archers he invaded Wales. But the Welsh with their leader, occupying the mountains of Snowdonia, continually withdrew before him without fighting. At length the king, having burnt the land and killed such stragglers as fell into his hands, returned to England with a fair booty of carts, cattle and beasts of burden ... (1400)

(Annales Henrici Quarti)

... All this summer, Owain Glyndwr, with many Welsh chiefs who were considered outlaws and traitors to the king, hiding in the mountains and woods, now looting, now killing their enemies who laid traps and attacked them, greatly harassed the districts of West and North Wales, and took prisoner the Lord de Grey ... (1401)

(Adam of Usk)

... That autumn, Owain Glyndwr, with all North Wales, Cardigan and Powys supporting him, greatly harassed with fire and sword the English living in those parts and their towns, and especially the town of Welshpool. So the English invaded those parts in great force, utterly depopulated them, laying them waste with fire, famine, and sword, not sparing even children or churches, nor the monastery of Strata Florida, in which the king himself was received as a guest. For its church and choir, right up to the high altar, they used as a stable, despoiling it even of its patens. They carried away with them into England over a thousand children of both sexes to be their servants, and left the whole place desolate.

But the said Owain harmed the English to no small extent, slaying many of them and carrying off the arms, horses, and tents of the king's eldest son, the Prince of Wales, and of other lords, transporting them for his own use to his mountain strongholds of Snowdon.

In those days, West Wales, and particularly the whole diocese of Llandaff, remained at peace and free from all trouble of invasion or defence.

Among those slain during the aforesaid English invasion was Llywelyn ap Gruffydd Vychan of Caio in the county of Cardigan, a man of noble birth and very generous, using each year sixteen barrels of wine in his household. This man, because he favoured the said Owain, was, on the feast of St. Dionysius, the king, hanged, beheaded, and quartered at Llandovery, at the command of the king and in his presence and that of his eldest son ... (1401)

(Adam of Usk)

... Meanwhile, Owain Glyndwr, having gathered together his Welshmen, laid waste the lands of Lord Reginald Grey who was then staying in the castle of Ruthin. This lord, supposing the said Owain to be near, set out with a very moderate number of followers, hoping to capture or kill him easily. But the event proved far different from his hopes, for when the parties engaged in battle, Lord Grey himself was captured and many of his party were killed. Which misfortune filled the Welsh with pride and increased their folly - as will appear later ... (1402)

(Annales Henrici Quarti)

... On the day of the feast of St. Alban, near Knighton, in Wales, was a fierce battle fought between the English under Sir Edmund Mortimer and the Welsh under Owain Glyndwr, with miserable slaughter, as many as eight thousand being killed, victory falling to the said Owain. And woe is me, my lord, the said Edmund, whose father, the lord of Usk, gave me an exhibition at the university, was by the fortune of war led away captive. And being by those in England who were envious of him deprived of all his goods and prevented from ransoming himself, in order to escape more easily the penalties of captivity, he married the daughter of the said Owain, as is common knowledge ... (1402)

(Adam of Usk)

... In this year the king, with more than a hundred thousand men, divided into three armies, invaded Wales to make war on Owain. But as he and his wretched followers hid in caves and woods, the king, having laid waste the country, returned to his own lands with glory and an unlimited spoil of cattle ... (1402)

(Adam of Usk)

... About the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the King of England, having collected a great force, advanced into Wales, entrusting one army to his son the prince, another to the Earl of Arundel, and keeping the third himself. But so great a force availed him nothing, for the Welshman betook him to new hiding-places. Nay, rather, he almost destroyed the king and his armies, by magic as was thought, for from the time when they entered Wales to the time when they left, never did a gentle air breathe upon them, but throughout whole days and nights, rain mixed with snow and hail afflicted them with cold beyond endurance.

On the Vigil of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary the king pitched his tents in a very pleasant meadow, where everything seemed to betoken a calm and comfortable night. In the first watch, however, there was such a flood of rain that the Englishmen almost thought they would be drowned. To make things worse there came a hurricane, which overthrew and scattered the king's own tent, beneath the ruins of which he would have perished had not his soldiers rescued him. Great as was their experience of wars, the English never remembered being exposed to such dangers, and so ascribed the evil to the Brothers Minor [the Franciscans], who were thought to favour the Welsh. But far be it from us to believe that men belonging to so holy an order should have dealings with demons, and besmirch the glory of their order with a stain which no future age could wipe away.

The king, driven by necessity, returned to his own country ... (1402)

(Annales Henrici Quarti)

... At Machynlleth, Owain and his mountaineers, even in their miserable plight, usurping the methods of conquerors and the rights of kings, although to his own confusion, held, or simulated or pretended, to hold parliaments. ... (1404)

(Adam of Usk)

... On Ash-Wednesday of that year there was a great slaughter of the Welsh, and on the 5th day of the month of May there was near Usk another great fight between the Welsh and the English - the followers of the lord prince. The son of Owain Glyndwr was then taken, and with him were taken or killed fifteen hundred of the rebels. Afterwards, about the Feast of St. Dunstan, Owain's chancellor was taken in battle, and many Welshmen were killed.

And that same year John Hanmer, Owain's son-in-law, was taken. The captives were all led to London, and there imprisoned in the Tower ... (1405)

... On St. George's Day the English fought with the Welsh, of whom they slew a thousand - among them a son of Owain Glyndwr. ... (1406)

(Annales Henrici Quarti)

Teifl dramâu William Shakespeare (1) oleuni ar agweddau Tuduraidd cyfoesol ar y Cymry ac ar hanes Cymru, ond, oherwydd iddynt gael eu llywodraethu gan ofynion artistaidd, y mae'n dra-phwysig i'w trafod yn ofalus iawn wrth eu defnyddio fel tystiolaeth hanesyddol. Erbyn cyfnod y ddrama hon, yr oedd brenhines Duduraidd o dras Gymreig ar orsedd Lloegr ac yr oedd Cymry yn amlwg iawn yn y Llys ac ymhob galwedigaeth. Portreadir Glyn Dŵr (Owen Glendower) gan Shakespeare fel cymeriad tanlyd, arwrol, lliwgar, ond braidd yn hen ffasiwn a chaniateir i Hotspur gael hwyl am ben rhethreg ddramatig Glendower yn ei ddull realistaidd, traed-ar-y-ddaear. Seilir fersiwn Shakespeare ar Groniglau Holinshed (2) a buddiol yw cymharu'r ddwy fersiwn hyn.

The plays of William Shakespeare (1), although governed by artistic requirements and therefore to be treated carefully when used as historical evidence, do offer insights and reflect current Tudor attitudes to the Welsh and to Welsh history. By the time this play was written a queen of Welsh descent and the Tudor dynasty were in control of the English throne and Welshmen were prominent at Court and in many walks of life. Shakespeare portrays Glyn Dŵr (Owen Glendower) as a fiery, heroic, colourful, but rather old fashioned character and allows debunking of his rhetoric through the realism of Hotspur. Shakespeare based his account on Holinshed's Chronicles (2) and it is instructive to compare the two.

Glendower: Sir, cousin Percy, sit, good cousin Hotspur, for by that name as oft as Lancaster doth speak of you, his cheek looks pale and with a rising sigh he wisheth you in heaven.

Hotspur: And you in hell, as oft as he hears Owen Glendower spoke of.

Glendower: I cannot blame him. At my nativity
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes
Of burning cressets, and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shakèd like a coward.

Hotspur: Why, so it would have done at the same season if your mother's cat had but kittened, though yourself had never been born.

Glendower: I say the earth did shake when I was born.

Hotspur: And I say the earth was not of my mind,
If you suppose as fearing you it shook.

Glendower: The heavens were all on fire, the earth did tremble.

Hotspur: O, then the earth shook to see the heavens on fire,
And not in fear of your nativity.
Diseasèd nature oftentimes breaks forth
In strange eruptions; oft the teeming earth
Is with a kind of colic pinched and vexed
By the imprisoning of unruly wind
Within her womb, which for enlargement striving,
Shakes the old beldame earth and topples down
Steeple and mossgrown towers. At your birth
Our grandam earth, having this distemp'rature,
In passion shook.

Glendower: Cousin, of many men
I do not bear these crossings. Give me leave
To tell you once again that at my birth
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous to the frightened fields.
These signs have marked me extraordinary,
And all the courses of my life do show
I am not in the roll of common men.
Where is he living, clipped in with the sea
That chides the banks of England, Scotland, Wales,
Which calls me pupil or hath roan to me?
And bring him out that is but woman's son
Can trace me in the tedious ways of art
And hold me pace in deep experiments.

Hotspur: I think there's no man speaks better Welsh.
I'll to dinner.

Mortimer: Peace, cousin Percy; you will make him mad.

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man;
But will they come when you do call for them?

Glendower: Why, I can teach you, cousin, to command the devil.

Hotspur: And I can teach thee, coz, to shame the devil -
By telling truth. Tell truth and shame the devil.
If thou have power to raise him, bring him hither,
And I'll be sworn I have power to shame him hence.
O, while you live, tell truth and shame the devil!

Mortimer: Come, come, no more of this unprofitable chat.

Glendower: Three times hath Henry Bolingbroke made head
Against my power; thrice from the banks of Wye
And sandy-bottomed Severn have I sent him
Booteless home and weather-beaten back.

Hotspur: Home without boots, and in foul weather too?
How scapes he agues, in the devil's name?

Glendower: Come, here is the map. Shall we divide our right
According to our threefold order ta'en?

Mortimer: The Archdeacon hath divided it
Into three limits very equally.
England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
By South and East is to my part assigned;
All Westward, Wales beyond the Severn shore,
And all the fertile land within that bound,
To Owen Glendower; and, dear coz, to you
The remnant northward lying off from Trent.
And our indentures tripartite are drawn,
Which being sealed interchangeably
(A business that this night may execute), ...

... Owen Glendower, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble together against them, under the conduct of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. But coming to try the matter by battle, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortune that the English power was discomfited, the Earl taken prisoner, and above a thousand of his people slain in the place. The shameful villainy used by the Welsh-women towards the dead carcasses was such as honest ears would be ashamed to hear and continent tongues to speak thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried without great sums of money given for liberty to convey them away ...

... About mid of August, the King, to chastise the presumptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales to pursue the captain of the Welsh rebel Owen Glendower, but in effect he lost his labor; for Owen conveyed himself out of the way into his known lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magic[al], he caused such foul weather of winds, tempest, rain, snow, and hail to be raised for the annoyance of the King's army that the like had not been heard of; in such sort, that the King was constrained to return home, having caused his people yet to spoil and burn first a great part of the country ...

... Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, prisoner with Owen Glendower, whether for irksomeness of cruel captivity or fear of death or for what other cause, it is uncertain, agreed to take part with Owen against the King of England and took to wife the daughter of the said Owen.

Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the nativity of this man, for the same night he was born, all his father's horses in the stable were found to stand in blood up to the bellies ...

... So in this fury the Percys departed, minding nothing more than to depose King Henry from the high type of his royalty and to place in his seat their cousin Edmund, Earl of March, whom they did not only deliver out of captivity but also (to the high displeasure of King Henry) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendower. Herewith they, by their deputies in the house of the Archdeacon of Bangor, divided the realm amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seals, by the covenants whereof: all England from Severn and Trent south and eastward and assigned to the Earl of March; all Wales and the lands beyond Severn westward were appointed to Owen Glendower; and all the remnant from Trent northward to the Lord Percy.

This was done (as some have said) through a foolish credit given to a vain prophecy as though King Henry was the moldwarp, cursed of God's own mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the wolf, which should divide this realm between them. Such is the deviation (saith Hall [an earlier chronicler]) and not divination of those blind and fantastical dreams of the Welsh prophesiers. King Henry, not knowing of this new confederacy, and nothing less minding than that which after happened gathered a great army to go again into Wales ...

(Chronicles of Raphael Holinshed)

Symbylwyd llif o ddeddfau gormesol yn erbyn Cymru a'r Cymry gan wrthryfel Glyn Dŵr. Unwaith eto caewyd y Cymry allan o'r bwrdeistrefi, a'u gwahardd rhag cario arfau a rhag unrhyw swydd lywodraethol.

The Glyn Dŵr rebellion precipitated a stream of repressive legislation against Wales and the Welsh. Once again the Welsh were carefully excluded from the boroughs, forbidden to carry arms or to participate in government office.

THE STATUTES OF WALES

2 Henry 4, c.12

Certain Restraints laid on persons wholly born Welshmen

It is ordained and established that from henceforth no Welshman wholly born in Wales and having father and mother born in Wales, shall purchase lands and tenements within the Towns of Chester, Salop, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester nor other Merchant towns joining to the Marches of Wales, nor in the suburbs of the same upon pain of forfeiture of the same lands and tenements to the Lords of whom such Welshmen be from henceforth chosen or received to be citizen or burgess in any City Borough or Merchant Town; and that such Welshmen which now be in any such said City Borough or Franchise Town, being citizens or burgesses, shall find sufficient surety and put a good caution of their good bearing as well towards our Sovereign Lord the King and his Heirs of his Realm of England as for to hold their loyalty to the governance of such Cities Boroughs or towns for the time being in salvation of the same cities Boroughs or towns if the same Welshmen will dwell therein: So that none of them from henceforth be received or accepted to no Office of Mayor, Bailiff, Chamberlain, Constable, or Warden of the ports or of the Gaol, nor to the Common Council of such cities boroughs or towns, nor that he be is no wise made other Occupier or Officer in the same; nor that none of the said Welshmen from henceforth bear any manner armour within such City Borough or Merchant Town, upon pain of forfeiture of the same armour and imprisonment until they have made fine in his behalf.

2 Henry 4, c.20

Welshmen shall not purchase lands in England nor in the English Towns of Wales

It is accorded and assented that from henceforth no Welshman be received to purchase lands nor tenements within England, nor within the Boroughs nor English Towns of Wales upon pain to forfeit the same purchases to the Lords of whom the same lands and tenements be holden as such estate which the said purchaser had in the same; nor that no Welshman shall be accepted Burgess, nor to have any other liberty within the Realm, nor within the Boroughs and Towns aforesaid.

4 Henry 4, c.26

Englishmen shall not be convicted by Welshmen in Wales

It is ordained and established that no Englishman lieged to our Sovereign Lord the King be convict by any Welshman within Franchises or without in any County Hundred or Court within the lands of Wales, of whatsoever Estate, but by Englishmen, and of the next venue, and people of good fame and not procured, nor that the English Burgesses which have married Welsh women have franchises with the English Burgesses.

4 Henry 4, c.27

Against Wasters, Minstrels, &c. in Wales

Item, to eschew many diseases and mischiefs which have happened before this time in the Land of Wales by many Wasters, Rhymers, Minstrels and other Vagabonds; It is ordained and established that no Waster, Rhymer, Minstrel nor Vagabond be in any wise sustained in the Land of Wales to make Commorthies or gathering upon the Common people there.

4 Henry 4, c.28

Against congregations in Wales

Item, it is ordained and established that no congregations be made nor suffered to be made by the Welshmen in any place of Wales, for to make or take any Council, unless it be for an evident and necessary cause, and by license of the chief officers and ministers of the same Seigniorie where such thing shall be done and in the presence of the same officers and ministers, upon pain of imprisonment, and to make fine and ransom at the King's Will.

4 Henry 4, c. 29
Welshmen shall not be armed

It is ordained and established that from henceforth no Welshman be armed, nor bear defensible armour to Merchant Towns, Churches, nor Congregations in the same, nor in the highways, in a fray of the Peace, or of the King's liege people, upon pain of imprisonment, and to make fine and ransom at the King's Will; except those which be lawful liege people to our Sovereign Lord the King.

4 Henry 4, c. 31
Welshmen shall not have castles

It is ordained and established that no Welshman shall have Castle fortress nor house defensive of his own nor of other to keep, otherwise than was used in the time of King Edward, Conqueror of Wales, upon pain of forfeiture of the same, except Bishops and other Temporals Lord for their own bodies.

4 Henry 4, c. 32
No Welshman shall bear office

It is ordained and established that no Welshman be made Justice Chamberlain, Chancellor, Treasurer, Sheriff, Steward, Constable of Castle, Receiver, Escheatour, Coroner, nor Chief Foresters nor other officer, nor Keeper of the Records nor Lieutenant in any of the said offices in no part of Wales, nor of the Council of any English Lords, notwithstanding any patent made to the contrary with this clause (non obstante quot sit Wallicus natus) except Bishops in Wales; and of those and other whom the King our Sovereign Lord hath bound his good and lawful liege people he will to be advised by his Council.

4 Henry 4, c. 33
Castles and Walled Towns of Wales shall be kept by Englishmen

For the more sufficient custody of the Land of Wales, and to the intent that a man may have the better knowledge of the condition of the people there, it is ordained and established that the Garrisons of the Castles and Walled Towns there be purveyed and stored sufficiently of valiant English persons, strangers to the Seignories where the said Castles and Towns be set, and not of any man mixed of the said parties of Seignories in Wales or the Marches of the same; until the said Land of Wales be otherwise justified and appeased for the time to come.

4 Henry 4, c. 34
Englishmen married to Welsh women shall not bear office in Wales

It is ordained and established that no Englishman married to any Welsh woman of the amity or alliance of Owain ap Glendour, Traitor to our Sovereign Lord, or to any other Welsh woman, after the rebellion of the said Owain; or that in time to come marrieth himself to any Welsh woman, but put in any office in Wales, or in the Marches of the same.

25 Henry 6
All Statutes against Welshmen confirmed

Our Sovereign Lord the King, at his Parliament holden at Saint Edmundsbury, in the Feast of Saint Scolast; that is to say the tenth day of February, the twenty-fifth year of his reign, by the advice and assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons of his Realm in the said Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same Parliament, hath approved, ratified and affirmed all manner of Statutes made in any Parliament against Welshmen before this time, not repealed: And moreover hath ordained by the authority aforesaid, That all grants of franchises, markets, fairs and other liberties to buy or to sell (to bake, or to brew, and to sell), within the towns of North Wales, made to any Welshman before this time shall be voided and of no value. And that all the villains of our Sovereign Lord the King within North Wales shall be bound and constrained to do such labour and services as they of right have used to do of old time, notwithstanding any grant made to them or any usage used by them of a later time to the contrary; and that such officers shall have power to compel them to do such labours and services as they have used to compel them before this time lawfully.

Ymddengys i wrthryfel Glyn Dŵr greu rhyfel cartref bron yng Nghymru ac, er i'r rhyfel ddod i ben, nid oedd diwedd ar yr elyniaeth a'r chwerwder. Bu'n rhaid deddfu i atal erlidigaeth yn erbyn cefnogwyr y brenin yn ystod y rhyfel. Mynnai cefnogwyr Glyn Dŵr y profion llymaf ar gael gan y cyfreithiau Cymreig, sef llŵon 300 o ddyinion.

The Glyn Dŵr rebellion seems to have created virtually a civil war in Wales and, though the war ended, the bitterness and hostility it had engendered did not. Legislation had to be passed by the English crown to prevent victimisation of those who had fought on the English side against Glyn Dŵr. The supporters of Glyn Dŵr in legal actions were demanding the severest tests known in Welsh law, the oaths of 300 men.

A.D. 1413]

1 Henry 5, c. 6.

NO ACTIONS SHALL BE BROUGHT BY WELSHMEN IN RESPECT OF INJURIES SUSTAINED IN THE LATE REBELLION.

Whereas in the time of this rebellion of WALES many of the King's lawful liege people as well Englishmen as Welshmen have been in divers parts of WALES upon the correction of rebels there by the commandant of the same our Sovereign Lord the King and his Council, at the which time some of the said rebels, as well on horseback as on foot, found armed in making of war against their faith and ligeance, were slain, and some maimed, beaten, wounded, taken and imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away by the said liege people for the cause aforesaid as it was well lawfull, according as by our said Sovereign Lord the King and his Council afore this time hath been ordained in this behalf: And notwithstanding many of the said rebels being yet alive, and other next of blood to those rebels so dead with their friends, now daily make quarrels and great pursuit against the said faithful liege people dwelling or resiant in those parts and in the Shires being next to WALES surmising in them that they such things as is aforesaid to themselves or to their cousins or friends falsely have done by the which they demand of the said faithful liege people high amends, threatening that they otherwise would be thereupon avenged, whereby the said faithful liege people be many times sore and grievously vexed in many parts and Lordships of WALES some of them by indictments accusations or impeachments, and some by menaces distresses taken, and some by their body taken and imprisoned until that they have made *gree* to them in this behalf; or that they would them excuse of the death of such rebels so slain by one assache, after the custom of WALES, that is to say, by the oath of 300 men, and of all such other trespasses before specified acquit themselves; to the great damage and destruction of the said faithful liege people and evil example in time to come: It is ordained and stablished that such quarrel action or demand be not made from henceforth by art nor by engine to any of the faithful liege people by any of them which have been rebels nor by their adherents, be he cousin, ally or friend, nor by any other, upon pain to pay to the party grieved his treble damages, and to be imprisoned by two years after that he be convict, and moreover to make fine and ransom in this behalf before that he be delivered out of prison.

A.D. 1414]

2 Henry 5, Statute 2, c. 5.

OUTRAGES COMMITTED BY THE WELSH.

Forasmuch as since the rebellion of the Welshmen now late reformed many of the rebels of WALES, with other their adherents with force and arms in the manner of war, sometimes by day and sometimes by night, have come into the Counties of Salop Hereford and Gloucester and in other places bordering upon the same countries and in divers woods and other places there hid and lodged have traitorously and feloniously taken many of the King's faithful liege people, some in riding about their merchandises and doing their own businesses, and some in their houses where they were abiding doing their works in their husbandry, in God's place and the King's and those the King's liege people so taken have carried out of their country to divers parts of WALES, and them have kept and withholden with them in the mountains of those parts of WALES by half a year, sometime more and sometime less until they have ransomed some of the said liege people at an C. li., and some more after their rate, in like manner as is used in time of war to the great damage and mischief of the people of the said counties and countries and to an evil example if it be not the sooner remedied as the King by the grievous complaint of the Commons hath perceived: Our Sovereign Lord the King, willing against all such offenders to ordain a due punishment hath ordained and stablished, that the Justices of Peace within the Counties of England assigned for the same, shall have power to inquire, hear and determine all manner of such treasons, and felonies as well at the King's Suit as at the party's; so that in case that such offenders will not appear before the said Justices to answer as the law requireth in this behalf until they be according to the custom of the Realm outlawed, then the same Justices shall certify by their letters under their seals the [officers of the Seignories in which such outlaws be withdrawn, abiding or resiant of the outlawry upon them so pronounced; and that the same officers upon that certification, take the bodies of those outlaws and do execution upon them in the same Seignory as the law demandeth without fine or ransom in this behalf to be made.

Bu cryn anhrefn yng nghefn gwlad Cymru yn ystod ac ar ôl gwrthryfel Glyn Dŵr. Llosgesid nifer o drefi ac aethai rhai uchel fannau yng Nghymru yn lleoedd gwyllt y tu hwnt i gyfraith y brenin. Rhydd yr hanes hwn lun byw o anhrefn y cefn gwlad yn ystod Rhyfeloedd y Rhosynnau a ddilynodd genhedlaeth ar ôl gwrthryfel Glyn Dŵr.

There was considerable disruption in the Welsh countryside during and after the Glyn Dŵr rebellion. Many towns were burnt to the ground. Certain areas of the uplands of Wales appear to have become almost no-go areas where the king's writ did not run. This account from Sir John Wynne's *History of the Gwydir Family* gives a vivid picture of the disorder of the countryside during the Wars of the Roses, which followed a generation after the Glyn Dŵr rebellion.

All the whole countrey then was but a forest, rough and spacious, as it is still, but then waste of inhabitants, and all overgrowne with woods; for Owen Glyndwr's warres beginning in 1400, continued fifteen yeares, which brought such a desolation that greene grasse grew on the market place in Llanrwst, called Bryn y botten, and the deere fed in the church-yard, as it is reported. This desolation arose from Owen Glyndwr's policie, to bring all things to waste, that the English should find no strength, nor resting place. The countrey being brought to such a desolation, could not be replanted in haste; and the warres of York and Lancaster happening some fifteen yeares after, this countrey being the chiefest fastness of North Wales, was kept by David ap Jenkin, a captaine of the Lancastrian faction, fifteen yeares in Edward the Fourth his time, who sent diverse captaines to besiege him, who wasted the countrey while he kept his rocke at Carreg y Walch; and, lastly, by the Earle Herbert, who brought it to utter desolation. Now you are to understand, that in those dayes, the countrey of Nantconway was not onely wooded, but alsoe all Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Denbigh shires seemed to be but one forrest haveing few inhabitants, though of all other Nantconway had the fewest, being the worst then, and the seat of the warres, to whome the countrey about paid contribution. From the towne of Conway to Bala, and from Nantconway to Denbigh, (When warres did happen to cease in Hiraethog, the countrey adjoining Nantconway), there was continually fostered a wasp's nest, which troubled the whole countrey, I mean a lordship belonging to St. Johns of Jerusalem, called Spytty Jevan, a large thing, which had privilege of sanctuary. This peculiar jurisdiction, not goverend by the King's lawes, became a receptacle of thieves and murtherers, who safely being warranted there by law, made the place thoroughly peopled. Noe spot within twenty miles was safe from their incursions and roberies, and what they got within their limits was their owne. They had to their backstay friends and receptors in all the county of Merioneth and Powisland. These helping the former desolations of Nantconway, and preying upon that countrey, as their next neighbours, kept most part of that countrey all waste and without inhabitants. In this estate stood the hundred of Nantconway, when Meredith removed his dwelling thither, being (as I guesse) about the four and twentieth yeare of his age, and in the beginning of king Henry the Seventh his time. Being questioned by his friends, why he meant to leave his ancient house and habitation, and to dwell in Nantconway, swarming with thieves and bondmen, whereof there are many in the kinge's lordship and townes in that hundred; he answered, "that he should find elbowe roome in that vast countrey among the bondmen, and that he had rather fight with outlawes and thieves, than with his own blood and kindred; for if I live in mine own house in Evioneth, I must either kill mine owne kinsmen or be killed by them". Wherein he said very truly, as the people were such in those dayes there; for John Owen ap John ap Meredith, in his father's time, killed Howell ap Madoc Vaughan of Berkin, for noe other quarrell, but for the mastery of the countrey, and for the first good-morrow; in which tragedie Meredith had likely beene an actor, if he lived there, for the reasons aforesaid. He and his cosen the heir of Bron y foel, were both out of the ccuntrey, Morys ap John ap Meredith and Owen ap John ap Meredith were alsoe growne old men, soe as there was none in the countrey that durst strive with John Owen ap John Meredith, but Howell ap Madoc Vaughan of Berkin, which cost him his life.