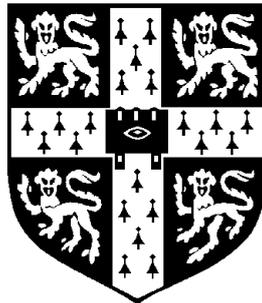


KATHLEEN HUGHES MEMORIAL LECTURES  
ON MEDIAEVAL WELSH HISTORY

2

The  
Aberconwy  
Chronicle

DAVID STEPHENSON



HUGHES HALL  
AND  
DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC  
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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Kathleen Winifred Hughes (1926-77) was the first and only Nora Chadwick Reader in Celtic Studies in the University of Cambridge. Previously (1958-76) she had held the Lectureship in the Early History and Culture of the British Isles which had been created for Nora Chadwick in 1950. She was a Fellow of Newnham College (and Director of Studies in both History and Anglo-Saxon), 1955-77. Her responsibilities in the Department of Anglo-Saxon & Kindred Studies, subsequently the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic, were in the fields of Irish, Scottish, and Welsh history of the early and central middle ages. Her achievements in respect of Gaelic history have been widely celebrated, notably in the memorial volume *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe*, published in 1982. The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures both acknowledge her achievement in respect of Welsh history and seek to provide an annual forum for advancing the subject. Each year's lecture will be published as a pamphlet by the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic on behalf of Hughes Hall.

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The Aberconwy Chronicle

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## PREFACE

The Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture in Mediaeval Welsh History was initiated as an annual event by Hughes Hall as the result of an anonymous benefaction in her memory and to mark the establishment of the Welsh Assembly. This benefaction came to the College as a result of an initiative taken by our Fellow, Dr Michael J. Franklin, Director of Studies in History and in Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic.

Each lecture will be published, both on the College's web-site (<http://www.hughes.cam.ac.uk/>) and as a printed pamphlet, to coincide with the following year's lecture. Hughes Hall is grateful to the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic for acting as hard-copy publisher.

On 29 April, 2002, our Lecturer will be Professor Rees Davies of All Souls' College, Oxford, speaking on 'Law, Politics and Power. The King of England and the Prince of Wales'.

As President, I am most grateful to our Hughes Memorial Lecture Advisory Committee – consisting of Dr Franklin, Professor Dumville, and Professor Patrick Sims-Williams (University of Wales, Aberystwyth) – for nominating distinguished scholars to be asked to be our Lecturers.

Hughes Hall hopes that this new academic initiative will make a significant scholarly contribution to the study of Welsh history and that the series will continue for many years. I am pleased to have been able to welcome it to the College's calendar.

Peter Richards  
President  
Hughes Hall

The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic offers programmes of study, at both undergraduate and graduate level, on the pre-Norman culture of the British Isles in its various aspects: historical, literary, linguistic, palaeographical, archaeological. The Department also serves as a focal point for scholars visiting Cambridge from various parts of the world, who are attracted to Cambridge by the University Library (one of the largest anywhere), the collections of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic manuscripts in the University Library and various college-libraries, the Fitzwilliam Museum, or the rich collection of Anglo-Saxon artefacts in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. It is possible for the Department to host a small number of Visiting Scholars each year.

Information on any aspect of the Department's activities can be obtained by writing to: The Head, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic, University of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge, GB-CB3 9DP.

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## THE ABERCONWY CHRONICLE

The so-called Aberconwy Chronicle has attracted little but scorn from historians. Thomas Duffus Hardy described it as worthless;<sup>1</sup> Rhys Hays, who dealt with this text sympathetically and at some length in his history of Aberconwy Abbey, nevertheless concluded that it was of slight value historically.<sup>2</sup> David Williams, the historian of the Welsh Cistercians, has linked the Aberconwy and Tintern chronicles as sources which are not as revealing as their names suggest.<sup>3</sup> It was spared the verdict of Kathleen Hughes in her study of the Welsh Latin chronicles,<sup>4</sup> for it stands outside that group of texts relating to *Annales Cambriae* with which she was principally concerned. The information incorporated in the Chronicle is frequently incorrect, sometimes risibly so. And yet it is worthy of more serious study than it has yet received, if for no other reason than that it appears to be, and has been accepted as, the only chronicle connected with the most prestigious religious house in north Wales, the Westminster Abbey of Gwynedd, and that its most significant sections relate to the later twelfth century and the thirteenth, the age of the supremacy and final eclipse of the Venedotian dynasty, whose members aspired to be princes of all Wales and one of whom, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, was accepted as such by King Henry III and King Edward I.<sup>5</sup>

As a preliminary to an assessment of the chronicle, it is necessary to analyse its structure in some detail. 'The Register and Chronicle of Aberconway', the title under which it was published by

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<sup>1</sup> *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII* (3 vols in 4, London 1862-71), III.352-3 (no. 581).

<sup>2</sup> Rhys W. Hays, *The History of the Abbey of Aberconway, 1186-1537* (Cardiff 1963), p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (2 vols, Tenby 1984), I.163, and *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster 2001), pp. 135-6.

<sup>4</sup> 'The Welsh Latin chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and related texts', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 59 (1973) 233-58, reprinted with revisions in her book *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources* (Woodbridge 1980), chapter V.

<sup>5</sup> See K. L. Maund, *Handlist of the Acts of Native Welsh Rulers, 1132-1283* (Cardiff 1996), p. 99, no. 329 (for Owain Gwynedd as *Walliarum princeps*), and pp. 110-11, no. 372 (for Dafydd ap Llywelyn as *princeps Wallie*). For Llywelyn ap Gruffudd see D. Stephenson, 'Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and the struggle for the Principality of Wales, 1258-1282', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1983) 36-47, and J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales* (Cardiff 1998), pp. 109-10, 145-6.

Henry Ellis in 1847,<sup>6</sup> occupies part of British Library MS. Harley 3725, specifically folios 40v-65v. It is written in a fifteenth-century hand. The preceding section of the manuscript, folios 1-37, is taken up with a chronicle apparently emanating from Hailes Abbey, a Cistercian house in Gloucestershire. Rhÿs Hays was of the opinion that the Hailes and Aberconwy texts were written in their present form by the same person, but this idea has been demolished by Daniel Huws. Huws has pointed out that the Hailes Chronicle is on quires of twelve leaves and the Aberconwy texts on quires of eight; he has commented further that ‘the two parts of the codex have neither signatures, early foliation, script, annotation nor indeed anything in common to suggest that their association is medieval in origin’.<sup>7</sup> It seems clear therefore that the juxtaposition of Hailes and Aberconwy texts in MS. Harley 3725 should not lead us to assume a common origin for the two texts. This is not quite the same as proving that there is accordingly no link between the two.

The Aberconwy-text has been divided, in Hays’s analysis, into twelve distinct sections – but in the present survey I shall suggest that we should perhaps recognise rather more elements. Hays’s first segment was a section of chronicle running from the seventh century to the foundation of Aberconwy Abbey in 1186. In fact this section consists of three quite distinct elements. The first of these, extending from the reign of Cadfan to the death of Cadwaladr, follows closely, and in several places verbatim, the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>8</sup> The second element describes the ninth-century division of Wales among the sons of Rhodri Mawr, the emergence of three principalities, Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, the loss by the last two of the status of principality and the assumption by the rulers of Gwynedd of the title of Prince of Wales, until the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, since when they, the Welsh, have had no prince of their

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<sup>6</sup> *Register and Chronicle of the Abbey of Aberconway from the Harleian MS. 3725*, ed. Henry Ellis (*The Camden Miscellany*, I, Part I) (The Camden Society, [London] 1847).

<sup>7</sup> Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff 2000), p. 277, n. 29.

<sup>8</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, pp. 5-6: compare for example *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, I, ed. Neil Wright (Cambridge 1985), p. 146 (§205); *Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain*, transl. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth 1966), pp. 282-3 (XII.17).

own people.<sup>9</sup> As a summary of Welsh political history to the late thirteenth century this account would hardly satisfy a modern commentator, but it is not altogether lacking in substance. Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth were indeed the major divisions of Wales in the mid- and later twelfth century – the age of Owain Gwynedd, Madog ap Maredudd, and Rhys ap Gruffudd (Yr Arglwydd Rhys) – and were recognised as such in the Welsh lawbooks.<sup>10</sup> In the late twelfth and very early thirteenth centuries rulers in Powys and Deheubarth sometimes used the title of prince;<sup>11</sup> but after that time the title seems to have been used only by the rulers of Gwynedd, who did indeed develop their designation from ‘prince of North Wales’ to ‘prince of Wales’.<sup>12</sup> This second segment of the Aberconwy-text may be based in part on the work of Giraldus Cambrensis, as it repeats a significant mistake which he made regarding the sons of Rhodri Mawr. In his ‘Description of Wales’ Giraldus remarked that Rhodri divided Wales between three sons: he gave north Wales to Merfyn, Powys to Anarawd, and south Wales to Cadell.<sup>13</sup> In fact later rulers of the North traced their ancestry back to Anarawd.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand the Aberconwy-text does not simply follow Giraldus, as it is

<sup>9</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Llyfr Iorwerth*, ed. Aled Rhys Wiliam (Cardiff 1960), p. 57 (§86) and p. xxv; *The Law of Hywel Dda. Law Texts from Medieval Wales*, transl. Dafydd Jenkins (Llandysul 1986), pp. 108, 141. See also T. M. Charles-Edwards, *The Welsh Laws* (Cardiff 1989), pp. 40-3 (cf. 23-4), and D. Stephenson, ‘The Laws of Court: past reality or present ideal?’, in *The Welsh King and His Court*, edd. T. M. Charles-Edwards et al. (Cardiff 2000), pp. 400-14, especially 400-1.

<sup>11</sup> Maund, *Handlist*, pp. 7 (nos 18-19: Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth), 8-9 (no. 22: Maelgwn ap Rhys), 75 (no. 254: Gwenwynwyn). (*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, nos 30-1, texts originating in or before 1271 containing grants by Rhys Fychan ap Rhys Mechyll, prince of South Wales, require further study.)

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-49, for references to texts which show a broad line of development from ‘prince of North Wales’, to ‘prince of Aberffraw’ in the period 1230-40, to ‘prince of Wales’ in the 1240s, 1258, and after 1262.

<sup>13</sup> *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, edd. J. S. Brewer et al. (8 vols, London 1861-91), VI.166-8 (*Descriptio Kambriae*, I.2-3). For important discussion see David N. Dumville, ‘The “six” sons of Rhodri Mawr: a problem in Asser’s *Life of King Alfred*’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 4 (1982) 5-18, especially p. 11, reprinted in his *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1993), essay XV.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. P. C. Bartrum (Cardiff 1966), p. 95, where *Achau Brenhinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru* (§1[a]) has the following line: ‘Llywelyn ab Iorwerth drwyndwn m. Owain Gwynedd m. Gruffudd m. Kynan m. Iago m. Idwal m. Meirig m. Idwal voel m. Anarawd m. Rodri mawr’.

completely at variance with his insistence on the primacy, down to the late twelfth century, of the rulers of Deheubarth.<sup>15</sup>

The third segment of the text comprises references to specific events in the later twelfth century: a first annal concerns the foundation of Strata Marcella Abbey in 1170 by Owain ap Gruffudd, designated as ‘prince of Powys’ and ‘lord of Cyfeiliog’, and the death of Archbishop Thomas Becket in the same year; and a second annal reports the foundation of Aberconwy Abbey – no founder being mentioned – in 1186.<sup>16</sup> These are in annalistic form but were clearly not written as they now appear, as a summary of the year’s events: a reference under 1170 to Owain Cyfeiliog’s burial place at Strata Marcella puts that part, at least, of the annal after his death in 1197; again, the foundation of Aberconwy in 1186 is noted as being in the sixtieth year of the reign of Henry II (Henry fitz Empress)<sup>17</sup> – a mistake so spectacular that it could hardly have been made by a contemporary annalist.

The fourth major section of the text is a charter of Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd to Aberconwy.<sup>18</sup> Gruffudd’s given name is not, in fact, included in the text, only the patronymic being recorded in two instances. It is possible that the writer responsible for producing the ‘Aberconwy’ section of MS. Harley 3725 could not read Gruffudd’s name or its initial *G* in the original, as Hays suggested,<sup>19</sup> although it should be pointed out that he had no difficulty with that name elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> This may indicate that he was not copying from a single text but from a diversity of documents some of which he could read and one at least of which, in part, he could not. In short, we have the important possibility that the person responsible for the present form of the ‘Register and Chronicle’ was not a copyist but a compiler.

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<sup>15</sup> This insistence appears fully in *Descriptio Kambriae*, I.2 (*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, edd. Brewer *et al.*, VI.166-7), where Giraldus described Rhys ap Tewdwr, Gruffudd ap Rhys, and Rhys ap Gruffudd (the Lord Rhys) as rulers of the whole of Wales.

<sup>16</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*: ‘regnante super Angliam domino Henrico filio Matildis imperatricis Anno regni eius lx’.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>19</sup> Hays, *The History*, p. 185.

<sup>20</sup> See, for examples, *Register*, ed. Ellis, pp. 11, 12, and 15.

Fifth comes a list of the possessions of Aberconwy Abbey with values attached: Hays argued convincingly that this list relates to the 1350s.<sup>21</sup> The sixth element is, perhaps rather curiously, a similar list of possessions for Strata Florida, another of the Welsh Cistercian abbeys and the mother-house of Aberconwy.<sup>22</sup> This is followed by another series of annals (1190-1241), dealing mainly with military events involving the princes of Gwynedd: the killing by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Dafydd ab Owain, his uncle, in 1190; the invasion of Gwynedd, apparently soon after 1199, by King John; the marriage of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to Isabella, daughter of King John, in 1206; a major campaign in the middle March by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in 1230; and the war between Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Henry III in 1241.<sup>23</sup> As will be seen, every one of these annals contains errors, of dating, of identification, or of emphasis – sometimes of all three. This seventh section of the Aberconwy-text is, in fact, interrupted by an eighth – a charter to Aberconwy issued by King John, which was inserted before the annal for 1206.<sup>24</sup>

The ninth section which it is possible to identify is a further series of annals (1277-83) covering the wars between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and latterly his brother Dafydd, and Edward I of England.<sup>25</sup> These annals seem to constitute a quite distinct section in that they represent the only sustained chronicling, giving almost a year-by-year account of events relating to north Wales, and because they are unusually detailed and largely free of the elementary errors which characterise the preceding annals.

The texts of three grants by Edward I constitute the next three segments (the tenth to the twelfth) of the text. The first grant is of Conwy church to the abbey;<sup>26</sup> the second is of the church of Rhuddlan to Anian, bishop of St Asaph, in exchange for his grant to Aberconwy Abbey of the church of Eglwys-bach (Denbighshire);<sup>27</sup> the third is of land to Tudur ap Carwed in exchange for land which he had granted

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<sup>21</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, pp. 8-9; Hays, *The History*, pp. 105, 111.

<sup>22</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

to the abbey.<sup>28</sup> The penultimate, thirteenth, section of the text is a list of lands described by Rhÿs Hays as ‘assigned to various persons and, apparently, local landmarks, and seemingly having nothing to do with Aberconway’.<sup>29</sup> The list appears to record plots of land in the possession of some person or institution and, although identification is difficult, a good case can be made for locating the lands on the Clun/Maelienydd border in an area where the Cistercian abbey of Cwmhir held properties.<sup>30</sup> The final, and fourteenth, section of the ‘Register and Chronicle’ is a partial version of the *Quo Warranto* proceedings relating to Aberconwy Abbey in 1348.<sup>31</sup>

The whole compilation, as described above, was clearly put together by someone with an interest in the Cistercian order in Wales. References to Cistercian foundations routinely mention that they are precisely that;<sup>32</sup> non-Cistercian religious houses in Wales are not mentioned. As well as the several documents and chronicle-entries relating to Aberconwy, there are references to the foundation of Strata Marcella, the valuation of lands belonging to Strata Florida, and a list of lands which may have been associated with Cwmhir. We may even point to the report of the surrender of a fragment of the True Cross, *Y Groes Naid*, to Edward I in 1282, in which the relic is noticed as the *Cros de Neth*:<sup>33</sup> it may not be altogether fanciful to see here a mistaken reference to the Cistercian abbey of Neath in south Wales. The fact that all this material does not relate exclusively to Aberconwy may be of no little significance; it may, in particular, cast doubt on Rhÿs Hays’s confident assertion that ‘there can be no doubt that it [the ‘Register and Chronicle’] was originally compiled at Aberconway’.<sup>34</sup> It might indeed be argued that a compiler at Aberconwy would know and would draw attention to the fact that the

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>29</sup> Hays, *The History*, p. 146; *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Cefncelynnog is to be located in Betws y Crwyn in the western part of Clun lordship. There was a Pennant in Bugeildy just over the border from Clun in Maelienydd. For holdings of Cwmhir, see the map given by Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (2001), p. 180 and associated text; see also his map vii between pp. 212 and 213.

<sup>31</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, pp. 15-23.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7 (Strata Marcella and Aberconwy), and 10 (twice), 11, 13 (all to Aberconwy).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Hays, *A History*, p. 145.

Strata Florida and the putative Cwmhir documents were out of place in a collection relating to his own house.

A highly significant point, which I have already mentioned in my analysis of the text, is that almost all of the Chronicle's references to events concerning Gwynedd between 1190 and 1241 contain very serious errors. The date of the overthrow of Dafydd ab Owain by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is given as 1190, whereas this in fact took place in stages from 1194 to 1197.<sup>35</sup> Llywelyn is recorded in the Chronicle as having killed Dafydd in 1190, whereas in fact Dafydd died in exile in England some years after his expulsion from Gwynedd.<sup>36</sup> The killing is reported as having taken place at Aber whereas the encounter of 1194 in which Dafydd was signally defeated by Llywelyn apparently took place, significantly for our purpose, at or near Aberconwy.<sup>37</sup> The number of cattle given by Llywelyn as tribute to King John is stated in the Chronicle as 10,000 – a figure not supported by other sources.<sup>38</sup> The Chronicle implies that John's invasion of Gwynedd took place soon after his accession in 1199, for the episode is recorded in an entry which precedes an annal for 1206: the date of the invasion is in fact 1211.<sup>39</sup> The Chronicler noted that Llywelyn ab Iorwerth married a daughter of John but confused both

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<sup>35</sup> John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (3rd edn, 2 vols, London 1939), II.588-9 (for Dafydd's initial defeat at the hands of Llywelyn and his allies) and 589-90 (for Dafydd's final expulsion from Gwynedd in 1197/8). The relevant entries in Welsh-language chronicling are to be found in *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20*, ed. Thomas Jones (Cardiff 1941), p. 135, col. 2, 'yny vlwydyn honno [1194] y duhunassant ygyt llywelyn vab iorwerth a deuvab kynan vab ywein arodri vab ywein yn erbyn dauyd vab ywein ac y gyrrasant ef ar ffo ac ydugant y gyfoeth yarnaw oll eithyr trichastell'; and p. 142, col. 1 (1197), 'ac yna y delis llywelyn vab iorwerth dauyd vab ywein' (abbreviations in the manuscript-text have been expanded).

<sup>36</sup> The text in *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth 20* version, *ibid.*, p. 149, col. 1 (1203), seems to rest on a confusion: 'yny vlwydyn honno y gwrthladawd llywelyn vab iorwerth dauyd ap ywein o wyned ac y bu varw yn lloegyr'. The reading in the Red Book of Hergest version makes much better sense. See *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. & transl. Thomas Jones (2nd edn, Cardiff 1973), pp. 184-6 (1203): 'Ac yna y bu varw Daid ap Ywein yn Lloeger, wedy y dehol o Lywelyn ap Iorwerth o Gymry'; 'And then Dafydd ab Owain died in England, after being banished from Wales by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth'.

<sup>37</sup> Lloyd, *A History*, II.588, n. 72. I propose to deal in detail with events in Gwynedd in the 1190s, elsewhere.

<sup>38</sup> See below, n. 59.

<sup>39</sup> Lloyd, *A History*, II.631-6, especially pp. 634-6.

the date, giving 1206 rather than 1204/5, and the name of the daughter, giving Isabella rather than Joan.<sup>40</sup> Llywelyn's major assault on the March is given as taking place in 1230 rather than the correct date of 1231,<sup>41</sup> and as we shall see the account of the campaign contains serious distortions. Finally, the Chronicle records the death of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth a few days after he was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1241 whereas, in fact, Gruffudd's fatal fall from the Tower took place in 1244.<sup>42</sup> It is noteworthy that all of these errors relate to the seventh section of the 'Register and Chronicle'. In the subsequent, final, section of the Chronicle itself, that running from 1277 to 1284, there are but two obvious errors and these look like simple lapses of concentration: the attack on the castles of north-east Wales is given as 1279 rather than 1281, an apparent transposition of *x* and *i* in the final section of the date;<sup>43</sup> and the death of Llywelyn is given as occurring in September rather than December.<sup>44</sup> There is, we can see, a significant contrast between the matter relating to the half-century or so before the 1240s and that relating to the period 1277 to 1284.

It can be argued that much of the material in the Chronicle, for both these periods, has an English and even a pro-English orientation. The foundation of Aberconwy is dated by reference to the reign of Henry II rather than that of any Welsh ruler. The (fictitious) killing of Dafydd ab Owain is dated by reference to the reign of Richard I.<sup>45</sup> John is the son of the 'illustrious' Henry II, and John himself is the 'illustrious' king of England.<sup>46</sup> The English perspective becomes even more pronounced in section nine of the text: when describing Llywelyn's marriage to Eleanor de Montfort at Worcester the

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, II.616 and n. 27. It may be of significance that, as noted by Lloyd, the Annals of Worcester also assigned the marriage to 1206, although the phraseology of the Aberconwy and Worcester accounts is quite different: for the latter text see *Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (5 vols, London 1864-9), IV.394.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, IV.422.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, I.257; cf. I.133 (*s.a.* 1243).

<sup>43</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9 (*s.a.* 1190): 'Regnante Ricardo vocato Cor de lyon rege super Angliam ...'.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

Chronicler dwelt on the English magnates present.<sup>47</sup> 1278 is marked by a specific reference to the drawing up of the Statute of Gloucester in the castle of that town.<sup>48</sup> The description of the handing over of the crown of Arthur to Edward I in 1283 is an item not found in Welsh sources, although it does appear in fairly similar language in some English chronicles.<sup>49</sup> In the annal for 1283 it is assumed that Dafydd ap Gruffudd is entirely culpable, a traitor, an enemy of the Church and the catholic faith, and a killer of the just, and that Edward I, in contrast, is a just ruler, an exterminator of traitors.<sup>50</sup> In entries relating to 1284 the King's great generosity to the monks of Aberconwy in the matter of the transfer of the house to Maenan is emphasised: specifically, Edward is said to have granted the monks both a large amount of money for their new buildings and unheard-of liberties.<sup>51</sup> All in all, this does not read at any point like a chronicle reflecting the historical traditions of Aberconwy Abbey as a crucial element in the governance exercised by the princes of Gwynedd. The frequent references to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd as 'prince of North Wales'<sup>52</sup> read like the work of someone ignorant or contemptuous of that ruler's title and ambitions: in 1258 and from 1262 onwards he styled himself 'prince of Wales'.<sup>53</sup>

Arguments from silence are notoriously dangerous, yet it may be significant and it is certainly intriguing that some important episodes in the known history of Aberconwy Abbey and its immediate neighbourhood are not recorded in the Chronicle. The burials at the abbey of Venedotian rulers – Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain, one of its early benefactors, of his son Hywel, of Dafydd ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and of his half-brother Gruffudd (a re-burial) –

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11 (*s.a.* 1278): 'presente ... Edmundo comite Cornubiæ et aliis quam pluribus regni Angliæ magnatibus'.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> See below, n. 63.

<sup>50</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, pp. 12-13.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13 (*s.a.* 1283).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12. In the entries for 1277-82 Llywelyn is designated 'prince of North Wales' three times and 'prince of Wales' once.

<sup>53</sup> See above, n. 5.

all go unnoticed.<sup>54</sup> There is no mention of the signing of the Treaty of Aberconwy which ended the war of 1277 or of the fact that *Y Groes Naid* was handed over to Edward I at Aberconwy.<sup>55</sup>

There are, indeed, few signs of the influence of north-Welsh sources on the Chronicle. The references to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ab Iorwerth Drwyndwn may suggest that a Welsh genealogical source was available to the compiler. At the same time it should be stressed that the compiler's error in the identification of the later twelfth-century ruler of part of Gwynedd, Gruffudd ap Cynan, who is found confused with his more celebrated great-grandfather,<sup>56</sup> suggests that if he possessed some genealogical material he was by no means expert in Welsh genealogy. The designation of the father of Llywelyn the Great as Iorwerth Drwyndwn is noteworthy: while it may stem from a genealogical source, it may simply reveal the influence of Giraldus Cambrensis who drew attention to the epithet in his 'Journey through Wales'.<sup>57</sup> We have, of course, already noticed Giraldus as a possible source for some of the earlier material in the Chronicle. It may also be worth pointing out that although Iorwerth Drwyndwn does not appear thus in the chronicles in the tradition of *Annales Cambriae*, he was apparently well known in the history and traditions of the March in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He appears, apparently in confusion with Iorwerth Goch ap Maredudd of Powys, in the fourteenth-century romance of Fulk fitz Warin, itself based on a thirteenth-century verse original.<sup>58</sup> In other words, we are by no means obliged to suppose that Welsh pedigrees lie behind or

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<sup>54</sup> *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes*, ed. & transl. Jones, pp. 182 (for Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1200), 210 (for Hywel ap Gruffudd in 1216), 238-40 (for Dafydd ap Llywelyn in 1246), 242 (for Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in 1248).

<sup>55</sup> For the Treaty of Aberconwy see *Littere Wallie preserved in Liber A in the Public Record Office*, ed. J. Goronwy Edwards (Cardiff 1940), pp. 118-22; for the handing over of *Y Groes Naid*, see Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 580 and n. 244.

<sup>56</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 8, and Hays, *The History*, p. 185.

<sup>57</sup> *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, edd. Brewer *et al.*, VI.134 (*Itinerarium Kambriae*, II.8); *Gerald of Wales, The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, transl. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth 1978), p. 193.

<sup>58</sup> *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, edd. E. J. Hathaway *et al.* (Oxford 1975), pp. xiii-xiv and n. 5; see also p. 72. On the identification of the Prince Iorwerth of this text and the date of the verse original see D. Stephenson, 'Fouke le Fitz Waryn and Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's claim to Whittington' (forthcoming).

were the immediate sources of the apparently genealogical aspects of the Chronicle.

But if north-Welsh influences are hardly evident, there are several points in the text at which the impact of English sources may be detected. In the cases of John's invasion of Gwynedd and of the campaign of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in the March in 1231, the influence of the Tewkesbury Chronicle is evident. In the case of the conflict of 1211 the Aberconwy and Tewkesbury texts have very similar descriptions of Llywelyn's coming to terms with the King and handing over to him hostages and lands.<sup>59</sup> It may indeed be suggested that the Aberconwy-text's assertion that Llywelyn also handed over 10,000 cattle (*cum decem milibus uaccis*) rests on a misunderstanding or misreading of the statement of the Tewkesbury Chronicle or a closely related text that the hostages and lands were surrendered *cum decima uaccarum*. As for Llywelyn's campaign of 1231, the Aberconwy-text follows the Tewkesbury Chronicle very closely in its accounts of Llywelyn's attacks on Wales beyond Gwynedd (but has a completely changed sense in one section because of a clumsy omission of *neque*), of King Henry's gathering of an army to oppose the Prince, and of the strengthening of Painscastle by the King.<sup>60</sup> The Aberconwy-text then continues with a passage about Henry's withdrawal from Painscastle, reflecting a fragment of the account in the Tewkesbury Chronicle which appears some 400 words after the initial parallel passage.<sup>61</sup> In the course of inserting this 'detached'

<sup>59</sup> The Aberconwy-text (*Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 10) reads: 'ipse Lewellinus cum dicto rege Angliæ pacificatur, factoque ei homagio et datis obsidibus, et terris multis, cum decem milibus uaccis'. The Tewkesbury Chronicle, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, I.60, reads: 'Lewelinus cum rege pacificatur, datis obsidibus et terris multis cum decima uaccarum'.

<sup>60</sup> For the Aberconwy-text see *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 11 (*s.a.* 1230): 'Lewellinus Princeps Northwallie multum infestauit totam Walliam extra fines suos, ita quod ecclesiis parceret. Contra quem Henricus rex Angliæ cum grande exercitu iuit et firmauit Castrum Maud.' The Tewkesbury Chronicle, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, I.79, reads: 'Lewelinus princeps Norwalliæ multum infestauit totam Walliam extra fines suos, ita quod neque ecclesiis parceret, contra quem dominus Henricus rex obuiam iuit cum magno exercitu, circa festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, et firmauit castellum Maud'.

<sup>61</sup> Tewkesbury Chronicle (*Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, I.80): 'Lewelinus princeps Norwalliæ circa festum Sancti Michaelis, rege recedente et aliis magnatibus Angliæ a munitione castelli Maud, relictis illic tamen qui custodirent illud multis tam militibus quam seruiantibus, omnes finitimas partes quas potuit incedit atque prædauit'. This is reflected in *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 11 (*s.a.* 1230): 'relictis tamen illic qui custodirent illud multis, tam

element of the Tewkesbury-material into his narrative, the compiler of the Aberconwy Chronicle again changed the sense of the passage: in the Tewkesbury Chronicle the passage about the destruction of territories around Painscastle clearly refers to the activity of Llywelyn, whereas in the Aberconwy-text it appears to refer to that of Henry III. It is noteworthy that much of the material found in the Tewkesbury Chronicle but omitted from the Aberconwy-text concerns events specifically relating to Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire), which would presumably have been of only limited interest to the compiler of the Aberconwy Chronicle; but one part of the omitted material describes the destruction of an English force by the Welsh not far from Hay – the army had, it seems, been led into a trap by a Welsh Cistercian, an act which brought great trouble to the Cistercians of those parts.<sup>62</sup> If, as has been suggested, the compiler of the Aberconwy-text was a Cistercian, then the omission of this aspect of the fighting in 1231 may have been an attempt to suppress the memory of a somewhat discreditable deed by a member of his own Order.

Correspondence with the Tewkesbury Chronicle in other parts of the Aberconwy-text is not apparent. There does seem to be some reflection of passages in the Annals of Worcester, however, particularly with reference to events in 1282/3. The reference to the handing over to Edward of the castles of north Wales by the Welsh, who were shocked and frightened by the death of their prince, corresponds very closely with a passage in the Annals of Worcester, as does the description of the handing over of the fragment of the True Cross and the crown of Arthur and other relics – although here the correspondence is rather less literal.<sup>63</sup> The material relating to

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militibus quam seruiantibus, omnes finitimas partes quas potuit accendit'; this is a continuation of the passage cited in my previous note.

<sup>62</sup> *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, I.79: 'Multi tam milites quam seruiantes probæ iuuen<tu>tis occisi sunt non longe ab Haya, per conductum, ut dicitur, cuiusdam fratris Wellensis, ordinis Cisterciensis, unde multum damnum incurrerunt dicti Cistercienses in partibus illis'.

<sup>63</sup> Compare the Aberconwy-text (*Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 12), 'Igitur Wallenses territi sunt et turbati ultra modum de morte prædicti Principis, reddiderunt domino Edwardo Regi Angliæ omnia Castra Northwalliæ, una cum portiuncula pretiosæ Crucis Dominicæ, Cambriæ uero, dicta Cros de Neth, cum multis aliis famosis reliquiis. Reddiderunt etiam Coronam famosissimi Arthuri quondam regis Britanniæ; et sic gloria Walliæ et etiam Wallencium regibus et magnatibus Angliæ translata est', with the following passages from the Annals of

these last events also appears with some significant verbal similarities in the Annals of Waverley and the Chronicle of William Rishanger, as Rhÿs Hays noted.<sup>64</sup> Although the precise relationship between the chronicles of Aberconwy, Worcester, Waverley, and William Rishanger is still obscure, the main point is that there are very clear affinities of the Aberconwy-text with English rather than Welsh sources. Indeed, J. Beverley Smith has noted that descriptions of the handing over of the crown of Arthur are specific to English texts.<sup>65</sup>

For the years 1277 to 1284, however, by far the most important source for the Aberconwy Chronicle is a chronicle compiled in the Cistercian abbey of Hailes (Gloucestershire) which had been founded in the late 1240s.<sup>66</sup> The importance of Hailes as a centre for the writing of history in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries has been somewhat neglected. Several examples of writing of this type survive, including the material in the first part of MS. Harley 3725 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud misc. 529 (S. C. 1510). We are most particularly concerned, however, with a Hailes Chronicle preserved in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Cleopatra D.iii, folios 1-72, apparently written in the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>67</sup> It seems clear, both from the likely dates of the texts and from the 'English' emphasis of the Aberconwy Chronicle, that the latter was copied from the Hailes Chronicle for these years rather than vice versa. And the extent of the copying is considerable: the Aberconwy-text is remarkably close to the Hailes Chronicle with respect to the war of 1277, the subsequent peace, the marriage of

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Worcester (*Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, IV.486), 'Wallenses uero pro morte sui principis territi et turbati, regi Angliæ omnia castra de Snoudone reddiderunt', and (*ibid.*, p. 489) 'Portio Dominicæ crucis magna, quæ lingua Wallensium dicebatur Croizneth, domino Edwardo regi Angliæ cum multis famosis reliquiis tradebatur ... Corona quondam famosi regis Britonum Arturi regi Angliæ cum aliis iocalibus reddebatur.'

<sup>64</sup> Hays, *The History*, pp. 151-2.

<sup>65</sup> Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 584, n. 10.

<sup>66</sup> N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford 1947), p. 76. Hailes was partially destroyed by fire in 1271. It was then rebuilt by Richard's son, Edmund of Cornwall. The new house is likely to have acquired a number of historical as well as liturgical texts between its foundation and 1271, and it is unknown how many of these might have been destroyed in the fire.

<sup>67</sup> See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books* (2nd edn, London 1964), pp. 94-5.

Llywelyn to Eleanor de Montfort, the outbreak of the war of 1282, the death of Llywelyn, the capture of Dafydd, his trial and execution, the removal of Aberconwy Abbey to Maenan, and the building of the castle of Caernarfon. The copying is not slavish: there are some passages in the Hailes Chronicle which do not appear in the Aberconwy Chronicle, and there are a few slight embellishments which the compiler of the latter text incorporated into the borrowed material. There is, in addition, one significant element, the handing over of *Y Groes Naid* and the crown of Arthur to Edward, which is reported in the Aberconwy-text but is not found in the Hailes Chronicle.<sup>68</sup>

The correspondence of the Hailes and Aberconwy material is particularly apparent in the following sections, relating to 1281/2 (1282 by modern reckoning).

**Aberconwy** (*Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 12)

‘Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxix. Orta est gwerra inopinata in Wallia. Nam Daudid ap Gruffud frater Lewelini principis Walliæ, undecimo kall. Aprilis qui tunc erat dies Palmarum, Rogerum Clifford cepit, et cæteros quamplures interfecit, et Castrum de Flynt et Ruthland obsedit. Iste Daudid domino Regi Edwardo ante hoc factum specialissimus fuit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxxij. Dominus Edwardus Longescankes Rex Angliæ duxit exercitum in Walliam et obsessores castrorum de Flynt uiriliter ammouit, et ipse ibidem cum suis aliquamdiu permansit.

Anno domini Millesimo .CC.lxxxij. Lewellinus ap Gruffud ap Ll. ap Ierwarth Droyndun Princeps Northwal’ tercio idus Septembris, nocte, per Eadmundum de Mortuo mari, imaginata fraude, captus et interfectus, atque decollatus est apud Beelte. Cuius caput Londonias fuit missum, et super turrem affixum.’

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<sup>68</sup> The Hailes Chronicle is the subject of an unpublished M.A. thesis: M. N. Blount, ‘A Critical Edition of the Annals of Hailes (MS Cotton Cleopatra D.iii, ff. 33-59v) with an Examination of Their Sources’ (University of Manchester 1974). The Hailes Chronicle has been used by Smith, *Llywelyn*, pp. 466-7.

**Hailes** (BL MS. Cotton Cleopatra D.iii, folio 45v)

‘Anno m<sup>o</sup>cclxxxii<sup>o</sup>. Orta est [secunda *in margin*] gwerra in Wallia inopinata. Nam Daudid ab Griffin frater Lewelini principis Wallie xi kal. Aprilis que tunc erat dies palmarum Rogerum de Clifford cepit et ceteros quamplures interfecit, et castra de Flint et de Rothelan obsedit. Iste Daudid regi Edwardo ante hoc factum specialissimus fuit.

Anno m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>lxxxii<sup>o</sup>. Rex duxit exercitum in Walliam et obsessores castrorum de Flint et de Rothelan amouit et cum suis ibidem aliquamdiu permansit. ... Eodem anno Lewelinus princeps Wallie iii<sup>o</sup> Idus Septembris occisus fuit per exercitum domini Edmundi de mortuo mari et decollatus in Beolt. Cuius capud Londoniis per regem fuit missum et super turrin affixum.’

Direct copying by the Aberconwy-compiler rather than derivation through intermediate texts is suggested by the repetition of *Septembris* (rather than the correct *Decembris*). It is particularly noteworthy that the Aberconwy-text raises the suspicion of trickery in relation to the death of Llywelyn. Whether this reflects the influence of other chronicles or whether it echoes legends about the circumstances of Llywelyn’s death cannot at present be more than a matter for conjecture.

That the Aberconwy-text appears to have been based in part on material from Tewkesbury and Worcester, two houses in reasonable proximity to Hailes, and that it is found in a codex which also includes a chronicle derived from Hailes, all begins to point to a possible origin for the so-called ‘Register and Chronicle of Aberconwy’ in the Gloucestershire house. It is therefore of possible significance that there was a period in the later fifteenth century when the affairs of Hailes Abbey and of the Welsh Cistercian houses, particularly Aberconwy, became closely intertwined. In 1480 the abbots of Louth Park (Lincolnshire), Woburn (Bedfordshire), and Hailes were ordered by the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order to undertake a visitation of the Cistercian houses in Wales with a view to reforming them.<sup>69</sup> In the course of such a visitation the documentary material which found its way into ‘The Register and Chronicle of

<sup>69</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (1984), I.81.

Aberconwy' might have been fairly easily collected: a tour of this sort would explain the presence in the text of matter relating to Strata Marcella, Strata Florida, and Cwmhir as well as Aberconwy. That there was an Aberconwy-focus to the whole compilation may easily be explained: in 1482 the General Chapter sent the abbots of Hailes and Sawley in Craven to investigate reports of new abuses at Aberconwy,<sup>70</sup> and in the same year a monk of Hailes, David Winchcombe, became abbot of Aberconwy – presumably as part of the drive for reform.<sup>71</sup> It is tempting to speculate that the collection of a set of documents and other texts relating to Aberconwy and to the history of Wales, into which some materials relating to other Welsh Cistercian houses but lately visited by the abbot of Hailes were perhaps inadvertently inserted, was connected with the process by which a monk of Hailes was elevated to the headship of Aberconwy. The whole compilation may represent a collection of information useful for an English monk (and it seems possible that David Winchcombe was one of only two abbots of Aberconwy of English origin)<sup>72</sup> about to embark on the task of grappling with the problems of a Welsh abbey. It was perhaps drawn up by someone who had at least some acquaintance with Welsh, as the reference to Shrewsbury by its Welsh name Amwythig may suggest.<sup>73</sup> This reference under 1283 is one of those embellishments in the Aberconwy-text which are not to be found in the Hailes-material from which that text appears to be derived.

The Aberconwy-text seems, on this view, to have been assembled in large part from texts in or brought to the library at Hailes – including the chronicle in MS. Cotton Cleopatra D.iii (produced in Hailes Abbey itself), works of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Giraldus Cambrensis, and chronicles from Tewkesbury and Worcester, as well as material collected from or relating to other

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, I.86.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* This and the previous reference therefore modify the comment by Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 276, that 'the last recorded contact between the two Cistercian houses seems to have been in 1480 when the abbot of Hayles shared the task of looking into irregularities at Aberconwy'.

<sup>72</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (1984), I.150.

<sup>73</sup> *Register*, ed. Ellis, p. 12 (*s.a.* 1283): *Amoythic id est Salopiam*.

Welsh Cistercian houses, Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, and possibly Cwmhir.

It is just possible that all this material was collated at Aberconwy and that texts were brought from Hailes itself – for example, David Winchcombe may have organised the construction of the ‘Register and Chronicle’ in order to make good deficiencies in the records at Aberconwy when he became abbot. But this is a much less satisfactory scenario: it is unlikely that information about Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, and possibly Cwmhir would be mixed up with matter relating to Aberconwy if the compilation had been made at the latter house.

‘The Register and Chronicle of Aberconwy’ was therefore arguably constructed at Hailes Abbey in the later fifteenth century, and we may have identified the context of its compilation. It seems tolerably certain that we should remove the Chronicle from the canon of mediaeval historical writing in Wales. But this leaves a curious void: the only chronicle which has been associated with the heartland of the principality of Gwynedd (and subsequently of Wales at large) under the native rulers seems not in the event to have been so linked. As Kathleen Hughes showed, the texts of the family of *Annales Cambriae* are to be associated with centres in south and mid-Wales,<sup>74</sup> as are those of the Welsh chronicle *Brut y Tywysogyon*, with the exception of a fourteenth-century addition to the version in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. Peniarth 20, produced at Valle Crucis in Powys Fadog.<sup>75</sup>

Does this mean that there was no writing or compilation of chronicles in Gwynedd in the thirteenth century? It may be that the more worldly energies of the religious houses of that principality were so completely given over to the task of helping in the administration of a growing dominion in Wales that there was no time for the writing of history.<sup>76</sup> And yet that does not quite ring true, since Cistercians

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<sup>74</sup> Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, chapter V.

<sup>75</sup> See G. Charles-Edwards & T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘The continuation of *Brut y Tywysogyon* in Peniarth MS 20’, in *Essays and Poems presented to Daniel Huws*, edd. Tecwyn Jones and E. B. Fryde (Aberystwyth 1994), pp. 293-305; also Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, p. 47.

<sup>76</sup> David Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd* (Cardiff 1984), pp. 32-4 and 181-2.

were encouraged to maintain historical records and there was a tradition of history-writing in Gwynedd, as witnessed by ‘The History of Gruffudd ap Cynan’ whose Latin original appears to belong to the twelfth century and whose Welsh version is of thirteenth-century date.<sup>77</sup> We are perhaps obliged to recall a seventeenth-century reference to the existence of lives of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Dafydd his son ‘at St. Bennet’s College, Cambridge’.<sup>78</sup> It is hard to resist the suspicion that there may have been a deliberate removal from Gwynedd of such books and materials for books by an anxious English administration in the aftermath of conquest.<sup>79</sup> After all, Aberconwy Abbey, which had produced servants and partisans of the thirteenth-century princes, was moved to Maenan in 1284 under English royal supervision. It was an obvious opportunity to weed out materials which might fuel ‘unhelpful’ political aspirations among those who had been subjects of the former princes.<sup>80</sup>

When Kathleen Hughes gave her Sir John Rhys lecture on the Welsh Latin chronicles to the British Academy, she described her analysis as ‘the dry bones of history’ and went on to say that ‘before

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<sup>77</sup> See *A Mediaeval Prince of Wales: The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. & transl. D. Simon Evans (Felinfach 1990), pp. 17-21, and *Gruffudd ap Cynan. A Collaborative Biography*, ed. K. L. Maund (Woodbridge 1996). The Latin text has been rediscovered by Paul Russell (Radley College, Abingdon) who is preparing an edition and translation.

<sup>78</sup> Smith, *Llywelyn*, p. 587, n. 23; cf. Ll. B. Smith, ‘Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and the Welsh historical consciousness,’ *Welsh History Review* 12 (1984/5) 1-28, at p. 3 and n. 9. Would that these could now be found in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College!

<sup>79</sup> There was undoubtedly a significant removal of records from the conquered territories in Wales – and it is almost certain that Cistercian abbeys in the north had been repositories of documents. Much of the material in the collection of documents constructed for the use of the English royal government (and known as *Littere Wallie* and *Scripta Wallie*) seems to have come from Welsh, particularly Venedotian, repositories. See *Littere Wallie*, ed. Edwards, nos 15, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 85, 139, 144, 147, 168, 184, 192, 193, 194, 199, 203, 216, 233, 235, 261, 284, 302. For the subsequent situation in Scotland see Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, chapter I; cf. *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland, 1290-1296. An Edition of the Record Sources for the Great Cause*, edd. E. L. G. Stones & G. G. Simpson (2 vols, Oxford 1978).

<sup>80</sup> I am most grateful to Daniel Huws for drawing my attention to two early modern references to a chronicle associated with Aberconwy, probably *Brut y Tywysogyon*. David Powel, *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* (London 1584), folio ¶.v. recto, wrote of a text continued at Strata Florida and Aberconwy from 1156 to 1270. We find the same in *Llyfr Baglan or The Book of Baglan compiled between the Years 1600 and 1607 by John Williams*, ed. Joseph Alfred Bradney (London 1910), pp. 27-8.

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dry bones can live, someone must collect the pieces and put together the skeleton'.<sup>81</sup> In examining the Aberconwy Chronicle we have seen dry bones dissolve into dust.<sup>82</sup> But perhaps even the dust of history is not without its significance and its interest.

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<sup>81</sup> Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, p. 84.

<sup>82</sup> I should like to record my thanks to the President and Fellows of Hughes Hall, Cambridge, for inviting me to deliver this lecture and for braving the perils of desiccation.