

# **Historical Memoranda in Norman French and a Calendar Chronicle Concerning Gower and Wales**

**From London, The National Archives,  
MS E164/1, ff. 237v and 238r**

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First edition (December 2023)

Published online by the Welsh Chronicles Research Group:  
<http://croniclau.bangor.ac.uk>

## Introduction

This text from the Neath Abbey Breviate of Domesday<sup>1</sup> is written in two hands of about AD 1300 (Huws 2011, 49). The first (H) wrote the five memoranda in Norman French concerning the history of the lordships of Gower and Carmarthen from the first third of the eleventh century to about AD 1200; the second (F) added the Welsh Latin annals, 1095–1287, which follow on immediately after the last item of the preceding memoranda.

The memoranda leading into the calendar chronicle are of a similar character to the notes on folio 233v of the Neath Breviate of Domesday but have here been compiled into a coherent sequence, combining the history of the lordship of Gower with that of the successive Welsh lords of Carmarthen. The notes on f. 233v commence with Rhys ap Tewdwr (c. 1040–93), lord of Carmarthen, but the punctuation suggests that this was *en le tens de le Roi Henri le viel ael alael nostre seynour le roy Henri qe ore est* ('in the time of King Henry, the grandfather of the grandfather of our present lord King Henry', i.e. in the time of Henry I).<sup>2</sup> This should read *after* Rhys, in the time of Henry I (reigned 1100–35), Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr was lord of Carmarthen.

The memoranda on f. 237v also bear some similarities to the memorandum and catalogue of the lords of Gower preserved in Oxford, Bodley MS. Dodsworth 20 (henceforth NCS), copied by Sir John Stradling (1563–1637) from the now-lost cartulary of Neath Abbey (Lewis 1938). In particular, *Sciendum igitur quod primi conquistores de Goer de Normanis et Anglis (fuerunt) comites de Warwick et eorum successores. Primus eorum vocatus fuit (Rogerus)<sup>3</sup> comes qui terram illam pacifice possedit multis annis multis* ('Know, therefore, that the first conquerors of Gower, Norman and English, were the Earls of Warwick and their successors. The first of them was called Earl (Roger) who possessed that land in peace for many years'; NCS, folio 76r) is a close Latin parallel of the opening statement of the first of the Norman French memoranda on folio 237v of the Neath Breviate of Domesday. However, NCS includes none of the statements about the Welsh lords of Carmarthen noted in the Breviate memoranda and gives a more detailed account of the history of the de Braose family down to the partition of lands between Reginald de Braose and his nephew John c. 1220, *Et ob hoc possessiones de Goher minus caras habebant monachi de Neth*. In contrast, the memoranda and annals in ff. 237v and 238r of the Neath Breviate of Domesday contain no mention of Neath Abbey. In fact, although serving a similar purpose, a history of the Lordship of Gower from the time of its first conquest by the Anglo-Normans, the two texts follow quite different paths.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> London, The National Archives, MS E164/1.

<sup>2</sup> This note is stated as having been written *en tens le Roi Henr(i) fiz le Roi Johannes l'an de sun Regnum .L.*; i.e. 1265–6). The scribe has misconstrued the sequence of notes here, putting the *punctus* in the wrong place. The note should say that Rhys ap Tewdwr was lord of Carmarthen; *and then*, after him, in the time of Henry I, Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr succeeded him; and after Gruffudd his son, Cadell ap Gruffudd.

<sup>3</sup> That the missing name is *Rogerus* is shown by the next sentence which refers to . . . *eodem Rogero mortuo* . . .

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the memoranda are in Norman French suggests an origin in a lay context, the latest of them referring to 1200, shortly before the grant of the lordship of Gower to William de Braose, and to the sale of Carmarthen to the English Crown. This might tip the balance slightly in favour of an origin as a chancery or judicial court record. The emphasis on Gower not being part of Carmarthen (*per quey Gouer ne proet estre membre ne du cors de*

The first of the memoranda in the Neath Breviate of Domesday states that the first conqueror of Gower was Roger, earl of Warwick, who conquered Gower in the time of Henry the First, son of King William the Bastard, making no mention of Roger's father, Henry de Beaumont (*alias* de Newburgh), first earl of Warwick, (c. 1048–1119), who is elsewhere accounted the first Anglo-Norman lord of Gower (Lloyd 1912, ii, 430; Crouch 2004). The memorandum also states that, at that time, Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr was the lord of Carmarthen. Gruffudd ap Rhys was probably born in the last quarter of the eleventh century, exiled to Ireland in 1116, acceded to Cantref Mawr in 1135, and died in 1137 (HBC).

The second of the memoranda recounts that after Roger's death his 'sister' Margerie, Countess of Warwick (*Margarie sa soer*; in fact, his mother, widow of Henry de Beaumont), held Gower in the time of King Stephen, and gave the church of Llanmadog to the Knights Templar, Cadell ap Gruffudd being the lord of Carmarthen.<sup>5</sup> Copies of an inspeximus of William de Braose, dated 13 May 1300, of Margerie's grant of Llanmadog appears on f. 240v of the Neath Breviate, with an undated confirmation by Marjorie herself. There are also copies of these in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius F. i, printed in Dugdale 1846, 841 (nos. xxxi and xxxii). Marjorie, dowager Countess of Warwick, made the grant with the assent of her son Henry de Newburgh, and two of the witnesses were her sons Robert and Geoffrey de Newburgh.<sup>6</sup>

The third of the memoranda states that, after Margerie's death, Gower was occupied by the Welsh (*de Galeys*) and by Henry of Newburgh, her son and heir, who reconquered it in the time of King Stephen.<sup>7</sup> At this time, says the memorandum, *Conte Arnaud de Mongoun* conquered Carmarthen from Cadell ap Gruffudd (q.v.), and this same Henry of Newburgh founded the *meson* (i.e. the house) of Llangenydd. These last two statements are problematic. Arnaud or Arnold *de Mongoun* appears on f. 233v as *le counte Arnald de Mungoun* where he is credited with ejecting Cadell ap Gruffudd from Carmarthen. However, a confirmation charter of Richard I (15 January 1195) addressed to the abbey of St Taurin at Évreux in Normandy attributes the grant of Llangenydd to the abbey to Henry, earl of Warwick 'for the souls of his lord king William and queen Matildis and himself' (Round 1899, 106, no. 316; Crouch 1984, 141); evidently, the Neath memorandum has confused Henry de Newburgh

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*Kermerdyn*) certainly points to the dispute over the liberties of Gower between the Crown and de Braose between about 1299 and 1304 (Otway-Ruthven 1957, 18f.).

<sup>5</sup> NCS states that after Roger died or was killed – *mortuo vel (inter)fecto* – the land was devastated and depopulated.

<sup>6</sup> NCS makes no mention of Margaret at all, and is silent on the lordship of Carmarthen, noting only that after many years Henry de Newburgh, Roger's nephew by his sister (*nepos eius ex sorore*), reacquired the land (of Gower) and held it for the rest of his days.

<sup>7</sup> Both the Neath Breviate memorandum and NCS seem to be saying that Roger had a sister (*Margerie*) whose son, Henry, gained possession of Gower, and that only after this Henry's death did William, earl of Warwick (c. 1137–84), enter into the lordship of Gower. There is therefore in both the memorandum and NCS an *interregnum* proposed between the death of Earl Roger in 1153 and the entry into the lordship of his son, Earl William (d. 1184), filled by a 'sister', (*Margerie*, countess of Warwick) and her son, Henry de Newburgh. David Crouch (Crouch 1984, 138f.) has argued that Margaret, the mother of both Roger, Earl of Warwick and the younger Henry de Newburgh, held Gower as a dower-land after her husband's death.

with his father, Henry de Beaumont (a.k.a. de Newburgh).<sup>8</sup> This has led to the suggestion that *Arnaud de Mongoun* should be identified with Arnulf de Montgomery who conquered Pembroke in the late eleventh century and who was a contemporary of Henry de Beaumont. Cadell ap Gruffudd's control of Carmarthen came to an abrupt end in 1151, when he was attacked and left for dead by knights from Tenby (Jones 1952, 57), but his ambushers are unnamed. Immediately after that, the *Brutiau* say, his brothers Maredudd and Rhys attacked Loughor Castle (*castellum lychur*, AC B, b1176.4; *gastell llychwr*, Jones 1941, 99, from Peniarth MS 20; cf. Jones 1952, 178) and burnt it.<sup>9</sup> The territorial name, *Mongoun* or *Mungoun* is possibly from Montgon in the Ardennes; as has been observed, (*le nom est écrit Mongon au xiie siècle, puis devient Montgon deux siècles plus tard* (Guelliot 2002, 112), and so this may be a unique reference to an otherwise unknown French knight who held Carmarthen briefly in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>10</sup>

The fourth of the memoranda relates that, after the death of Henry of Newburgh, Gower reverted to William, earl of Warwick. This William was the son of the late Roger, and Henry of Newburgh's nephew (Crouch 1984, 138). The memorandum refers to William's charter to the burgers of Swansea (copied into the Neath Breviate of Domesday, f. 236r), and states that, because of the debt he owed to the Jews, and could not pay, he had to sell Gower to King Henry II of England.<sup>11</sup> After that time, it says, William Marshal the Elder (*le veu*; 1146–1219) took possession of Carmarthen until *Iouerth Droyndon* expelled him. This is a reference to Iorwerth ab Owain Gwynedd (*Drwyndwn* meaning 'the flat-nosed'; c. 1130–74). Iorwerth (*Ieruerd*) then made *Mailgon Hen* (Maelgwn ap Rhys) bailiff of Carmarthen, and he held it until *Faukes* (Falkes de Bréauté) expelled him in the time of John, king of England (i.e. 1199 × 1216).<sup>12</sup> After this, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth came again and expelled Falkes (1215; Jones 1952, 91), and enfeoffed Maelgwn (Maelgwn ap Rhys, 1216; Jones 1952, 92), who

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<sup>8</sup> Neath Abbey (in Glamorgan, not Gower) was founded in 1129 (AC B s.a. 1130, b1152.5), so the grant of Llangenydd to St Evreux was made before the abbey was founded; the grant of Llanmadog to the Templars, afterwards. The grants of Llanmadog and Llangenydd are not noted in NCS. This suggests that the Norman French memoranda in the Neath Breviate of Domesday are focused on the Gower peninsular and may well have been compiled there. Of the annals that follow on from the memoranda in the manuscript, the last concerns an attack on Swansea and then Oystermouth Castle. Furthermore, as noted above, the memoranda in the Neath Breviate of Domesday do not mention Neath Abbey, whereas NCS concludes with a statement on the rights of the Abbey in the context of the changing lordship 'in the hundred years or more' (*per centum annos vel amplius*) before the time of John de Braose (c. 1198–1232).

<sup>9</sup> This sounds like a retaliation for the wounding of Cadell, but Loughor was one of Henry of Newburgh's castles in Gower and there is no immediate connection made between the two events in the Welsh Latin chronicle, except inasmuch as they appear there as consecutive items, and so this may be an inference made by the compiler of the *Brut*.

<sup>10</sup> In 1229, Aubry de Montgon rendered homage to Hugues III de Rethel (Guelliot 2002, 112).

<sup>11</sup> NCS describes in similar terms the circumstances of the acquisition of Gower by the Crown for settling William's debt to the Jews, but then recounts in some detail how it was granted by King John to William de Braose in 1203 in gratitude for his capture of Arthur of Brittany. The remainder of NCS then traces the history of the de Braose family down to Reginald (1182–1228) and his nephew, John (c. 1198–1232).

<sup>12</sup> It is unlikely that Iorwerth ab Owain ever held Carmarthen, the memorandum here apparently confusing him with his son, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth.

held Carmarthen until expelled by William ‘the enfeoffed’ Marshal, *Willieme le feofne mareshal*.<sup>13</sup> In summing up, the memorandum recapitulates that Roger, earl of Warwick, and his heirs held Gower from the time of King Henry I of England until it was sold by William, earl of Warwick to King Henry, son of the Empress (Henry II), ‘and thus’, this penultimate memorandum concludes, ‘Gower cannot have been a member of the body of the County of Carmarthen’.

The fifth and final memorandum is dated AD 1200, when Hywel Sais ap Rhys ap Gruffudd ‘spent Easter at the court of King John, and on his return fell ill at Striguil and died (some say he was killed by the English)’. This is largely in agreement with the account given by AC B, s.a. 1199, b1221.2, where instead of *Engleys* we find *Francis*, the French. In the following year, Maelgwn ap Rhys, Hywel’s brother, perceiving that he could not hold his patrimony without sharing it with the English (again, *Francis* in AC B) or his brother, Gruffudd, sold the castle of Carmarthen to King John, ‘incurring the displeasure of the people and the clergy of all Wales’ (as in AC B, s.a. 1200, b1222.1).

The last of the memoranda in the Neath Breviate leads into a series of extracts in Latin parallel to annals in AC B, but which start by jumping back to the year 1095 (= b1117) and the devastation of Gower and other regions of south-west Wales by the French prior to the invasion by William Rufus that autumn.<sup>14</sup> This series of annals, close parallels of those in AC B, focuses on a number of topics besides the history of the conquest of South Wales (s. aa. 1095 and 1097): successive English rulers from William II to Edward I (1100, 1120, 1135, 1155, 1189, 1199, 1216 and 1274), who provide an historical framework, and the actions of Welsh rulers (1116, 1146, 1160, 1175, 1189, 1192, 1196, 1211, 1225, 1226 and 1287), particularly Rhys ap Gruffudd (‘the Lord Rhys’; 1160, 1189, 1192 and 1196) and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (1225, 1226 and 1227), mostly as they affect South Wales. Events affecting Carmarthen feature prominently (1116, 1145, 1146, 1160, 1189, 1196, 1211 and 1287), as do the de Braose family from William, 4<sup>th</sup> Lord of Bramber (1175, 1189, 1192, 1195 and 1196), and his son Giles, bishop of Hereford (1199 and 1211), and William’s grandson, William, son of Reginald de Braose (1225, 1226 and 1227), down to William, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Braose, Lord of Gower and Bramber (1287). Of the last two annals, for 1274 and 1287, the first (a simple note of the death of King Henry of England, and the succession of Edward and his coronation in the following year) is not parallel to notices of the same in AC B (b1295.1 and b1296.1); the annal for 1287 has no parallel in AC B, as the last annal in the Welsh Latin chronicle is for 1286.<sup>15</sup> The last annal in the Gower chronicle, for 1287, is of particular interest in giving an account of Rhys ap Maredudd’s invasion of Gower unparalleled elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> William Marshal was made earl of Pembroke in 1199 (HBC; AC B, b1221.3).

<sup>14</sup> The first annal given an AD date in AC B is b1119, but the numeral is unreadable. The next annal, b1120 is dated *mxcviii*, 1098. AC B, b1117 can therefore be deduced as for the year 1095. The first of the annals in the Neath Breviate calendar chronicle is specified as ‘1095’, *Anno gratie m<sup>o</sup> nonaginta quinto*.

<sup>15</sup> *.m.cc.lxxxvi*. in the MS but possibly an error for *.m.cc.lxxxiv* (see Smith 2008 74, fn. 114).

<sup>16</sup> In the annal for 1287, Abertawe is given its English name, Swansea (*Sweynese*), whereas in the annal extracted from AC B (s.a. 1192) the place appears in its Welsh form, *Abertawy*.

## Abbreviations:

AC B: Gough-Cooper 2015.

DPNW: Owen and Morgan 2007.

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## Editorial principles

Everything in brackets is editorial.

[f. 237v] indicates the folio of the original manuscript.

Text within round brackets, i.e. (text), indicates an editorial insertion where letters have been accidentally or deliberately omitted by the scribe, e.g. eiusde(m), Anastas(i)us, conflag(r)a(n)tur. Some missing punctuation has also been supplied, e.g. (·).

Text within ornate brackets, i.e. {text}, indicates a conjectural reading where the manuscript is damaged or otherwise difficult or impossible to read.

Contractions have been expanded throughout; in the transcriptions, these expansions are indicated by text in italics.

All *J* and *j* (if any) are rendered as *I* and *i*, but the distinction between *U* and *V*, and *u* and *v*, when clearly differentiated in the manuscript, has been retained in the transcriptions. Long *s* and reverse *r* (2) have been regularised to normal *s* and *r*.

Use of capitals has been restricted to those instances where a capital was clearly intended.

Punctuation has not been modernised, and *puncti* are shown only where they are clearly present in the manuscript, and in brackets where they are wanted.

Deletions and corrections in the original manuscripts are shown by strike-throughs and expunction, reflecting the forms found in the manuscript.



**Historical memoranda in Norman French and a calendar chronicle concerning Gower and Wales, from London, The National Archives, MS E164/1, ff. 237v and 238r**

[f. 237v]<sup>1</sup>

¶. F[a]let<sup>2</sup> aremembrer que les *primers seýgnurs et conquerrours* de Gouer de noremans ou de Engleýs fut Roger le Cont[e] de Warewýk<sup>3</sup> que la tere de Gouer conquist en tens le Roý Henri le *primer* fiz au Roý Willièm le Bastard . que son tens la *terre* týnt com son conquest oue tote maneres de *Franchises* . En quel tens Gruffud ap Res ap Tudur<sup>4</sup> fu Seýgn[ur] de *Kermerdýn*.

¶ Apres la mort leuandit Roger . Margerie sa soer Contesse de Warr<sup>5</sup> týnt lauandite *terre* de Gouer oue tote maneres de *Franchises* en tens le Roý Esteuene fiz de la soer lauandit Roý Henri *et* dona en cel tens a deu *et* a nostre Dame *et* a cheualers du temple son maner de Lanmadock *per* sa chartre en quel tens. Cadelch ap Gruffud fu *Seygnur* de *Kermerdýn*.

¶ Apres la mort lauandite Margerie la dite *terre* de Gouer fuýst octupe<sup>6</sup> de Galeýs *et per* Henri de Neubork<sup>7</sup> son fiz *et* son heir fust reconquise en tens du dist Roý Esteuene com son droýt *et* son heritage . le quel Henri la *terre* týnt tot son tens enterementes oue tote maneres de *Franchises* come ses anncestres le fyrent . en quel tens le Conte Arnaud de Mongoun conquist *Kermerdýn* sur Cadel ap Gruffith auantdist . E meme cel Henri de Neubork founda la meson de Langenyth.

¶. Apres la mort Henri de Neuborgh . entra Willièm Conte de Warr<sup>8</sup> en lauandite tere<sup>9</sup> de Gouer *et* týnt oue tote maneres de *Franchises et per* sa chartre dona as Burgeýs de Sweýneseýe la *Franchise que* ýl ount le quel Conte Willièm *par* dette que il deuoit as jeuws *et* nauoýt dount paýer ne de fere si poý de meschef<sup>10</sup> come de vendre sa *terre* de Gouer en Gales que luý fuý loýnteýne aprocha le Roý Henri fiz a Maud lemprice *et* luý vendý sa *terre* de Gouer enterementes com il la týnt. E apres ceo en tens le Roý Richard son fiz Willièm le veu mareschal entra en *Kermerdýn et* týnt taunt que Ioruerth Droýndon leu iecta. le quel Ieruerd bailla *Kermerdýn* a

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<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Dr Matthew Lampitt for checking through the French portion of this text and suggesting some corrections to the transcription.

<sup>2</sup> The second letter of this word is blotched but is almost certainly an ‘a’, according to the memorandum formula *Faet a remembrer que*.

<sup>3</sup> Roger, second earl of Warwick (d. 1153); but Gower had been granted to his father, Henry de Beaumont [Newburgh], first earl of Warwick (d. 1119), by Henry I of England.

<sup>4</sup> Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdwr (d. 1137).

<sup>5</sup> Apparently referring to Margaret, dowager countess of Warwick (d. after 1156), widow of Earl Henry and mother of Earl Roger and Henry of Gower.

<sup>6</sup> Read *occupe*.

<sup>7</sup> Henry de Newburgh, otherwise known as Henry of Gower, youngest son of Earl Henry, who reconquered Gower *c.* 1136.

<sup>8</sup> William, third earl of Warwick, son and heir of Earl Roger (d. 1184).

<sup>9</sup> Superscript note in a similar hand but different ink, *come fieuze Eír*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *de mesthef* for (?) *meschef* (<https://anglo-norman.net/entry/meschief>).

mailgon hen . q(u)e tÿnt Kermerdyn iekes tant que Faukes leu iecta en tens le Roÿ Johan . E apres vÿnt Lewelÿn ap Ieruerd *et* en iecta Faukes . *et* Lewelÿn bailla Kermerdyn al feofue Mailgon . *et* il tÿnt Kermerdyn ieskes aÿtant *que* Willieme le feofue mareschal leu ietta . E issi vÿnt la *terre* de Gouer en les meÿns Roger Conte de Warr' auantdit en tens le Roÿ Henri le *premer* fiz au Roÿ Williem le Bastard que en son tens ren en Kermerdyn . nouoÿt . *et* puÿs tenns *per* ces heirs dekes tant que Williem Conte de Warr' le vendÿ au Roÿ Henri fiz lemperice . *per* queÿ Gouer ne proet estre membre ne du cors du Conte de Kermerdÿn .

[1200] ¶. Le an de la incarnation *nostre* Seygnur . m . cc . Howel Seys fiz Res ab Gruffuth deuer la Paské ala ala<sup>11</sup> Court le Roÿ Johann . E a son retourner a Strogoÿl en maldist . *et* moruth . mes les uns dient ke il fut ocÿs des Engleÿs . le an siwant Maÿlgon son frere entendist ke il ne pout soul tenÿr la tere son pere sanz partir as Engleÿs on a Gruffud son frere menz voleÿt partir a ses enemÿs . Ke a son frere donc vendÿ le chastel de Kermerdÿn . au Roÿ Jon pur vne somme de argent . e auoeÿt la maleszon du peuple . e de la clergÿe de tote Wales . le an secunde du Regne le Roÿ Jon fiz Henri le *secund* ke fu fiz Lemperice . . –

[1095] ¶ Anno . *gratie* . m<sup>o</sup> . nonaginta quinto .  
 ¶ Francí deuastauerunt Gouher *et* kedwely *et* stratewy *et* demetía . ceretíca *et* stratewy deserte manent .<sup>12</sup> mediante autumpno rex anglorum *Willelmus rufus dictus contra britones* {mouet} *excercitu quibus deo tutatís vacuus ad sua redíit*<sup>13</sup>

[1097] ¶ Anno . m.xcvíí . *Geraldus prefectus meneuie fines deuastauit . Willelmus rex anglie secundo ín britones excitata*<sup>14</sup> *eorum omní imitans excídium . britones vero díuíno protectí munímíne ín sua remanent illesí rege vacuo redeunte* .<sup>15</sup>

[1100] ¶ Anno . m.c .  
 ¶ *Willelmus rex anglie a quodam milíte suo ceruum petente sagitta percussus ínteríit . cuí frater suís Iuníor . scilicet . Henricus ín regnum successít neque*<sup>16</sup> *Willelmus frater suis concubínís vsus est abque liberís ínteríit Robertus curthose eorum frater gÿÿs seníor ab híerosolímís redíens et regnum anglie sibi vendicans a fratre suo henríco captus est* .<sup>17</sup>

### [f. 238r]

[1116] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxvi .<sup>18</sup> *Grufinus resí filíus owynum filium cadugan ín kermerdín villa conbusta occidit* .<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Sic*, dittograph.

<sup>12</sup> = b1117.1.

<sup>13</sup> = b1117.2.

<sup>14</sup> b1119.2 *excitatur* .

<sup>15</sup> = b1119.2.

<sup>16</sup> read *namque*?

<sup>17</sup> = b1122.1.

<sup>18</sup> The scribe ceases putting *Anno* before the number of the year.

<sup>19</sup> = b1138.1.

[1120] . m<sup>o</sup>.cxx .<sup>20</sup> *Willelmus filius primí henrici regis anglie marís periculo cum fratribus et sororibus mersus est*<sup>21</sup>

[1135] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxxxv . *Henricus rex anglie . obiit . Stephanus eiusdem nepos anglie regnum adeptus est .*

[1145] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxlv . *Hugo de mortuo marí resum filium hoelí cepit et încarcerauit .<sup>22</sup> Gilbertus comes filius Willelmi demeciam sibi subúgavit<sup>23</sup> castellum kermerdyn et castellum mabudrít edíficauit<sup>24</sup>*

[1146] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxlví . *Cathel<sup>25</sup> filius grufíni cum fratribus suís reso et meredut castella dínwileír ví adquisierunt francis maiorí parte occisus qui ín eo erant . non multo post hoelo filio h̄oeli owení eis auxiliante castellum kermerdín adquisierunt nec non lanstephan ceperunt illís qui íntus erant occisus<sup>26</sup>*

[1155] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.clv . *Stephanus rex anglorum obiit . cui henricus secundus ímperatricis filius ín regnum successít*

[1160] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.clx . *Resus filius Grufíní combussit castella per demeciam a francis facta . Ad kermerdín excercitum duxit et obsedít sed adueníente Reginalde comíte cornubie obsidíonem dímísít<sup>27</sup>*

[1175] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.clxxv . *Seysil filius downawal et Galfridus filius eius a Willelmo de Breusa in abergeueny occisí sunt*

[1189] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.clxxxíx . *Henricus rex . ii<sup>28</sup> . anglie . vir illistris<sup>29</sup> ín octabo apostolorum petri et paulí huius víte diem clausít vltimum cui successit in regem Ricardum filium eius pictanorum dux . Resus filius Grufíní ín Swdwallía bellum mouít ín ros et ín penbroc et combustiones fecit . Gouher . predatus est (.) castellum kermerdín obsedit (.) sed adueníente Iohanne comíte filio henrici Regis cum excercitu tocius anglie relicta est obsidio . facta tamen<sup>30</sup> ínter ipsum et resum pace sed príuata . redíítque Iohannes ín sua . Resus filius Grufini circa natale domini . clari obsedit . quod et habuit deditque hoelo seís . Mailgonís resí filius a patrie suo captus est et apud*

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<sup>20</sup> This year number inserted above the line and with no leading pilcrow.

<sup>21</sup> Shortened parallel of ng14.1: *Willelmus filius primí Henríci regis anglie maris periculo cum fratribus sororibus et omnibus quí cum eo erant ín nauí períit apud Barbefleot.*

<sup>22</sup> = b1167.1.

<sup>23</sup> = b1167.2.

<sup>24</sup> = b1167.3.

<sup>25</sup> b1169.1 *Catel.*

<sup>26</sup> = b1169.1.

<sup>27</sup> = b1182.1.

<sup>28</sup> *Sic in MS.*

<sup>29</sup> Read *illustris*

<sup>30</sup> b1211.2 *est.*

dínewor *incarceratus* . *deínde patrie nesciente Grufinus frater suis eum a carcere duxit . Willelmoque de Breusa socero suo custodiendum tradidit* .<sup>31</sup>

[1192] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxcíí . *Resus filius Grufíní mailgonum filium suum a carcere Willelmi de Breusa liberauít Willelmo ínuito* .<sup>32</sup> *Resus Grifinus*<sup>33</sup> *filius post liberacionem mailgoní filíí suí ad obsidionem abertawy potenter diuertit . cumque per decem ebdomadas oppedum*<sup>34</sup> *obsedisset et oppidanos fere fame dedícioní coegisset quodam ín fortunio et quadam ínuidiam ínter filios suos Grufínun et Mailgonum latenter habita . obsidíonem deseruít* .<sup>35</sup>

[1195] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxcv . *Willelmus de Breusa castellum valida manu cepít sancti clarí . captis ín eo hoelí familiaribus . lx . hoc audiens hoelus castellum newer díruít terram tamen francis ínuitís sibi retínuít* (.)<sup>36</sup>

[1196] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxcvi . *Resus filius grifíní kermerdín combussit inde excercitum ad herefordíe partes ducens redenower*<sup>37</sup> *combussít . milítesque rogerí de mortuo marí círciter quatragínta cecidít cum innumerabile reditum*<sup>38</sup> *multítudinem eo in hunc modum agente* .<sup>39</sup> *Willelmus de Breusa excercítum ad abertawy mouít partemque ville combussit et sic ín sua redít*<sup>40</sup>

[1199] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.cxcíx . *Ricardus rex anglie ínterfícitur transmarínís quodam quadrello . cuí successít Iohannes frater eius* (.)<sup>41</sup> *Willelmus de Wer herefordensis episcopus obít ín christo . cuí successít ín episcopatum filius Willelmi de Breusa Egidius de Breusa .*

[1207] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.ccvii . *Rex Iohannes expulit matildam de sancto walleríco de regno suo que fugít ín hiberniam et de hibernia ad man et ibi capta fuít . quam secutus fuerat filius suís . Willelmus de Breusa miles et heres et abínde ducta fuít predícata matillis ad wyndilhíore qua rexprehendínauit et abínde ducta fuít ad Corf . quam semper filius secutus est . et ibi obít predicta matilda . prius cuius obiit dicessum Willelmus filius suus ín Suthsex . ad castrum de Brember quo egrotauit et in viam vni(u)erse carnís decessít et sepultus fuít in prioratu de la Sele .*

[1211] ¶ . m<sup>o</sup>.ccxi . *Egidius de Breusa herefordensis episcopus facto cum ducibus wallíe et baronibus anglie federe terram suí patris cum castellis vi adquisit familiaribus regís vndíque expulsis* .<sup>42</sup> *Resus filius grufinus*<sup>43</sup> *cum auxilió mailgoní*

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<sup>31</sup> From *Resus filius Grufini in Swdwallia* to the end, a close parallel, with some omissions, of b1211.1–4.

<sup>32</sup> = b1214.2.

<sup>33</sup> Here 'Grifinus' rather than 'Grufinus' as otherwise in these extracts.

<sup>34</sup> *Sic* in MS. Read *oppidum*.

<sup>35</sup> Slightly abridged parallel of b1214.3.

<sup>36</sup> = b1217.5.

<sup>37</sup> I.e. Radnor.

<sup>38</sup> Read *peditum*.

<sup>39</sup> = b1218.1.

<sup>40</sup> Truncated parallel of b1218.2.

<sup>41</sup> = ng75.1, abbreviated and truncated.

<sup>42</sup> = second half of b1236.2.

<sup>43</sup> *sic*.

patruí suí Kedwely *et* Karnwallan *conquisiuit* Inde ad Gouer *potenter d(i)uertit et in ea preda et combustiones fecit et castella combussit non sine hominum detrimento pro qua re balliuit et burgenses de Kermerdín villam suam combusserunt* .<sup>44</sup>

[1216] ¶ .m<sup>o</sup>.ccxvi. Rex anglie Iohannes diem clausit extremum . cui successit henricus . ííí . in regno patris suí .

[1225] ¶ .m<sup>o</sup>.ccxxv. Henricus rex<sup>45</sup> cum tocius anglie excercitu *et maxime armorum apparatu prouinciam de Kery intrauit et caste{ll}-llum*<sup>46</sup> *ibidem formauit . cui lewelinus norwallie princeps viriliter resistens conuocatis ducibus Sudwallie stragem non mínimam excercitui regis intulit et Willelmum de breusa cepit videns que rex quod propositum suum parum ei proficeret accepta quadam summa pecunie dedit principi*<sup>47</sup> . eo pacificato castellum inceptum fregit *et vacuus domum rediit* .<sup>48</sup>

[1226] ¶ .m<sup>o</sup>.ccxxvi.<sup>49</sup> Lewelinus princeps norwallie . Willelmum de breusa pro magna summa pecunie *et pro castello de Buelth de carcere liberauit . ad augmentum etiam federis . W(illielmo) . de Breusa filiam suam cum prouincia*<sup>50</sup> *et castello de b{uelth} dedit in vxorem* .<sup>51</sup>

[1227] ¶ .m<sup>o</sup>.ccxxvii.<sup>52</sup> Lewelinus princeps norwallie {W. d}e breusa pro nimia *presumpcione sua et infamia denudauit*<sup>53</sup> *et postmodum morti tradidit* .<sup>54</sup>

[1274] ¶ .m<sup>o</sup>. cclxxííí. henricus rex anglie obiit . cui successit {Edw}ardus *et coronatur anno sequenti*.

[1287] ¶ .m<sup>o</sup>. cclxxxvíí. mota est contencio ínter dominum Robertum típetot *et resum*<sup>55</sup> *senescallum de Kermerdín et resum filium meredut*<sup>56</sup> *dominum de bruslond*<sup>57</sup> *qui erat ínter omnes walenses westwallie maior et potencior in díuiciis et possessione. vtpote quem dominus rex Edwardus paulo ante dítauerat multum et honorauerat. Iste conuertit gaudium suum in luctum et leticiam in dolorem dominí Regis beneficiis oblitus mouens gverram contra eam*<sup>58</sup> *ipsum et suos descendebat cum magno excercitu in Goeríam mense Iuní et homines Walenses eiusdam patrie habentes in*

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<sup>44</sup> = b1236.4.

<sup>45</sup> b1247 inserts *iunior*.

<sup>46</sup> The scribe had already written *castell* at the end of the line, but then wrote *llum* at the start of the next line.

<sup>47</sup> b1247.1 *pecunie ad conprincipe*.

<sup>48</sup> = b1247.1.

<sup>49</sup> The date written later above *Lewelinus*.

<sup>50</sup> b1248.1 *prouincialibus*.

<sup>51</sup> = b1248.1.

<sup>52</sup> Date inserted later above the line.

<sup>53</sup> b1249.1 *deuicit*.

<sup>54</sup> = b1249.1.

<sup>55</sup> Underlined for deletion in MS, an anticipation of *et resum* later in the sentence.

<sup>56</sup> Or *mereduc*?

<sup>57</sup> i.e. Dryslwyn (c. 1287 *Drouslant*; DPNW).

<sup>58</sup> Subpuncted for deletion.

superiori parte memoris sibi copulauit<sup>59</sup> et per consilium istorum hominum maxime per consilium vnius vt dicebatur qui vocabatur heynon filius howely . iii . idus predicti mensis villam de Sweynese combussit subito et inopinanter invasit miseros nil<sup>60</sup> mali suspicantes pa{r . . .}<sup>61</sup> occidit multa spolia et magnam predam abduxit transactis postea paucis diebus descendit predictus meredut ad illud nobile manerium de hostrem<sup>62</sup> quod strenue ille miles dominus .W(illielmus). de Breusa sibi edificauerat et castellum quod erat ibi nescio vtrum vi vel fraude cepit . de hominibus uero quosdam captos in sui presencia iugulari precepit quosdam secum duxit captiuos . Inauditam tandem illam crudelitatem quis sine fletu referre poterit spoliando violauerunt ecclesiam mulieres et infantes occiderunt . viri et mulieres et infantes vtriusque vniuersaliter {p}lusquam soperierunt<sup>63</sup> . .<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Sic in MS. A dittograph in *copulauit*.

<sup>60</sup> Or read *nihil*.

<sup>61</sup> There is another letter just visible with a vertical contraction mark over it before *occidit*. Possibly an adverb, perhaps *pariter*.

<sup>62</sup> c608.1 *manerium de Osterlof*; perhaps Ystlwyf, a commote in Cantref Gwarthaf. See Griffiths 1966. But here perhaps referring to Oystermouth; *ostremue* and *ostermue* are both attested thirteenth-century forms (see the ‘List of Historic Place Names’ from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, s.n. Oystermouth: <https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/>).

<sup>63</sup> read *sopierunt*?

<sup>64</sup> Line ends with two bold puncti.