

## Notes to be[e] observed before you lett your survay passe your handes.

LYELIG [Helig] ap Glomnog [Glannog] ap Gwgan gledde Hyfryd [hyfryd] ap Caradog Vreichfras [,] earle [Earle] of Hereford [,] ap llyr [Llyr] Mereini ap Einion yr[t]h ap Cunedda wyledig, &c.<sup>1</sup>

The sonnes of Cunedda [Cunedda], beyng arived in Northwales [North Wales], divided the countrey amongst them for there inhoeritance [inheritance]. Meireaon[,] the sonn of Tibirion [Tibicion] the sonn of Cunedda had Cantref [cantref] Meireaon to his parte. Arustell[,] the sonn of Cunedda had Cantref [cantref] Arustly.[:] Caredig ap Cunedda hadd Caerdigion[,] now Cardiganshire.[:] Dunod hadd [had] Cantref Dunodig.[:]. Edeyrn hadd Edeyrnion.[:] Mael hadd [had] Dinmael.[:] Coel hadd [had] Coleyon.[:] Dogvael hadd Dogveilyn.[:] Rhyvaon hadd Rhyveiniog, now Denhigh land.[:] Einion yrh [Einionyrrh] hadd Caereinion in Powis.[:] Ussa hadd Maesuswallt [Maesoswallt], nowe Oswester [Oswestre].<sup>2</sup>

Cunedda had his right to the Principality or kingdome of Northwales [North Wales,] as to his owne inheritance descended unto hym from his mother Gavawl, second daughter to Codl [Coel] Godebog<sup>3</sup> and sister to Elen Lueddog, the mother of Constantyne [Constantyne] the greate [Greate], begotten uppon the body of Stradwen [Gladwen] or Seradwen [Geradwen,] his wief [wife], daughter unto Cadnan [Cadvan] sonn unto Conan sonn unto Endorf [Eudaf], &c.

Einion ap Cunedda[,] who was lord [Lord] of Caereinion [Caer-einion,] hadd issue Llyr Mereini, who hadd issue Caradog[,] surnamed Vreichfras[,] earle [Earle] of Hereford, called by the Saxons Caradog the [Stronge, or Caradog the Valiant; who, in right of his wife Gwinever, was afterwards]<sup>4</sup> kinge of Northwales [North Wales], who hadd many greate conflictes with the Romanes. Caradog hadd [had]

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20 &c. absent in C.A; North *op.cit.* p 26 explains that *Lyelig* arises from the original H in MS 820D being written 'with a flourish'. This pseudo-genealogy is almost certainly taken from a 15th century or later copy of *Bonedd y Saint*, but the source MS was not located by either North or, much more significantly, by Dr Rachel Bromwich when preparing the notes on the name *Gwgawn Gledyfrud* for her *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* Cardiff 1961 p. 389. The pedigree agrees with one copied, not forged, by Iolo Morgannwg *Iolo MSS* p.124, but MS 820D was not his source. Iolo may have seen the same version of the *Bonedd*. Attested pedigrees give a quite different line, eg *The fifteen tribes of N.Wales* NLW 1599 'Brain hir uwch Aled ap Nefydd ap Geraint ap Granawc ap Degor ap Cwnws ap Rychwinfarchog o fodrychion yn rhos ap Gwgawn Gleddf Rudd ap Einion Yrth ap Cynnedda Wledig'.

21 *Oswald's Tree* is now called Oswestry. Sir Ifor Williams *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies (B.B.C.S)* 1926 p.59-62 has shown that it is almost certainly the site of 'Bellum Cocboy', the battle of *Cogfwy*, mentioned by Nennius in the *Historia Brittonum* (supposed to have been written c.AD 830); the battle is dated in the *Annales Cambriae* in British Museum Harleian MS 3859 to AD 644, and by Bede to AD 642, who calls it *Maserfelth*; Sir Ifor has also pointed out that, according to Thomas Pennant, the earliest name for the nearby Iron Age hillfort of Old Oswestry is *Caer Ogyrfan* and has indicated the way in which the Welsh *Maes Cogfwy* = 'the Field of Cogfwy' may relate to the hillfort name.

22 M.W. *Godebog*, -awg means 'protector'; see Proinsias McCanna *B.B.C.S* 1960 p.116

23 The bracketed text does not occur in *H.BL*

issue Gwgan Gledde hyfryd [Gledde hyfryd], who hadd issue Glannog[,] father to this sonne Helig ap Glannog.

This Helig ap Glannog was lord [Lord] of Abergele[,] Rhos, Arllechwedd[,] Llyn, Cantregwaylod [Cantred Gwaylod]<sup>5</sup> and Earle of Hereford [Hereford]. In his tyme happened the greate inundacion [inundacōn] which surrounded Cantred Gwayloi [Gwaylod] and the moste delicate[,] fruytfulle and pleasant vale leyng [lyinge] from Bangor vawr [Vawr] yn gwynedd [Gwynedd] to Gogarth and soe [so] to Tyganwy [Tiganwy,] or Gannog Castle,<sup>6</sup> in leangth and in breadth from Dwygyfylchi to the poynte [point] of Flyntshire, [Flintshire] which came upp [up] from Ruthlan to Priestholme,[:]<sup>7</sup> and in the upper end therof did extend in breadth from Aber and Llanvair unto the ryver [river] Ell,<sup>8</sup> which did devide Carnarvonshire from Anglesey, and did liekwiese [likewise] devide Anglesey from Flyntshire [Flintshire], runnyng betweene Penmon [Penmaen]<sup>9</sup> and Priestholme, and soe dischardgyng [dischardgyng] yttsealf [ytt sealf] into the sea a greate way beyond Priestholme,[:] and did surround many other riche and fruytfulle bottomes [bottoms] and vales within the countyes of Carnarvon, Flynt [Fflint], Anglesey, and Merionudd [Merionedd],[:] most of them beyng [beinge] the land[es] of Helig ap Clannog [Glannog],<sup>10</sup> whose chieffest [chiefest] pallace<sup>11</sup> stood in this vale[,]

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24 *Cantref Gwaelod* literally the 'lowland hundred'; the archetypal lost land of Wales, which legend has it lay in Cardigan Bay and was protected by dykes; references to its supposed inundation occur in very ancient sources, such as the *Triads* and *Englynion y Beddau* (C10th ?); a vast literature has accreted around the story, notably the 19th century *Misfortunes of Elphin* by Thomas Love Peacock (Llanerch Publishers 1991). It has no connection with Helig ap Glannawg even in legend.

25 Archaeological evidence emerged in the 1960s, in the form of amphora sherds of Mediterranean-style pottery, for a high-status site at Deganwy as early as C6th. It is associated with *Maelgwn Gwynedd* obit. A.D. 547. Fortifications, presumably of timber, are recorded in *Annales Cambriae* as being destroyed by fire s.a. A.D. 812 'the fortress of Degannwy [ Lat. *Decantorum arx* ] is struck by lightning and burnt' and A.D. 822 'the fortress of D. is destroyed by the Saxons etc'.

26 *Ynys Seiriol*, formerly *Ynys Glanawg*, now popularly called Puffin Island. The name *Priestholm* is, like *Anglesey* itself, the *Skerries* islands, *Osmund's Air* at Beaumaris and *Maen Piskar* at Rhosneigr, of Norse origin; see Bedwyr Lewis Jones and Tomos Roberts *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1980 p.602

27 Both *H.BL* and *C.A* have 'Ell' though North *Sunken Cities* p.28 has 'ell', presumably copied from MS 820D. There is no such river; North surmises that the spurious name arose from a misunderstanding of the attested word *traethell*= 'strand' which appears on early maps eg. Lewis Morris *Cambria's Coasting Pilot* 1737-41 chart No.10 shows *Traethell Coch* near Aberdyfi

28 This is much more than a mere copying error; there is a vital topographical difference between the two courses thus defined, essentially that between courses to the NW and the NE of *Ynys Seiriol*.

29 The name *Helig ap Glanawg* is attested in glosses in the *Cronica de Wallia* Exeter Cathedral MS 3514 of the late C13th (c. 1280). However, he is not there associated with North Wales but with Dyfed. '*Hec sunt regna que mare deleuit ..... secundum regnum fuit Helic mab Glannauc, quod fuit inter Keredygiaum et insulam Henly et usque ad Meneuiam. Et erat terra illa ualde bona, fertilis et plana; et vocabatur Mays Maichgen qui erat ab ostio [word missing] usque ad Tehelin et sursum usque ad Aberdeuy*'. See Thomas Jones *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* vol.xii part iv.1948 pp. 12,79

muche about the mydle way from [ffrom] Penmen Mawer [Mawr] to Gogarth (in Englishe[,] Armes Head) [,] the ruynes wherof is nowe to bee seene[,] uppon [upon] a grownd [ground] ebbe[,] some two myles within the sea[,] directly over against Trevyn [Trwyn]<sup>12</sup> yr Wylva,[:] which is a hill leyng [beyng]<sup>13</sup> in the myddyst [myddest] of the parishe of Dwygyfylchi[,] within the landes of Sir John Bodnel<sup>14</sup> [Bodvil] knight [, Knighte],[:] unto which hyll [hill] Helyg [Helig] ap Glannog and his people did runn [run] upp to save themsealves [themselves], beyng endaugered with the sudden breakyng in of the sea uppon them, and there saved there<sup>15</sup> lyves; and [.And] beyng come upp to the poynte of that hill, and lookynge backe and behouldyng that dreadfull and ruthfull spectacle which they hadd to survay [survey] and looke uppon<sup>16</sup>, insteade of there incomparable vale which did abound in fruytfullnes and excell all other vales in this parte<sup>17</sup> of England in all fertility and plentifulnes,[:] Helig ap Glannog and all his people, wryngyng [wringing] there handes togyther<sup>18</sup> [together], made a greate outcry bewaylinge there misfortune and callyng<sup>19</sup> [calling] unto God for mercy,[:] the poynt [point] of which hill [,] to this day is called Trwyn (r) [yr] Wylfa, [-] that is to say the poynt [point]<sup>20</sup> of the dolefull hill or the mowrnyng [mournyng] hill.

Helig ap Glannog hadd an [ ]other manor house att Pullheli [Pwllheli], the ruyns [ruynes] wherof is to bee seene neere [near] unto the house of Owen Madryn[,] on the right hand as you goe out of the towne towards Aberech;<sup>21</sup> this [. This] towne was called Pullhelig [Pwllhelig], and of late Pullheli [Pwllheli,] by takyng [taking] away the letter g from thend [thende] of the worde.

Hee lyved [He lived] for the moste parte att either of both these houses, beyng absolute lord of the sweetest vales [vale] in all Northwales [North Wales], Rhos and Arllechwedd then mearyng[,] North [north] and West [west] uppon [upon] Flyntshire [Fflintshire] and Anglesey, and [. And] sithence [sythence] this

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30 Both *H.BL* and *C.A* agree on ‘ll’ although North *op. cit* p. 28, has ‘palace’ presumably accurately reproduced from MS 820D

31 North *op. cit* p.26 states that the *C.A* form is that of MS 820D, but excuses *H.BL* because of the difficult paleography of the original

32 The *H.BL*. form agrees with MS 820D

33 Ditto

34 North reads ‘their’ presumably from MS 820D

35 North read ‘upon’ etc

36 Ditto ‘part’ etc

37 Ditto ‘together’ etc

38 Ditto ‘callyng’ etc

39 North agrees with *C.A*. ‘point’

40 It is possible that the ruins referred to formed part of the mediaeval *Ilys* complex known to have existed at Pwllheli prior to the Edwardian conquest. Leland, writing around 1537 refers to traces still being visible. A substantial ruin called *Yr Hendre Gadredd* was visible in the Gadlys area of Pwllheli until about 1830. The name Pwllheli means ‘brine pool’ and is nothing to do with Helig. See D.G. Lloyd Hughes *Pwllheli: An Old Welsh Town and its History* Llandysul 1991

innundacion [inundacŷn], the commotte of Cruthyn, which is in Rhos[,] and nowe [now] parte of Car[Caer-]narvonshire, meareth north and west uppon the mayne sea[,] which surrounded that upper parte [pointe] of Flynt[Fflint-]shire, and Arllechweth[,] beyng subdivided into three commottes, that is, Nanconwey [Nanconwy], Llechwedd Issa and Llechwedd Ucha; Llechweth Ucha doth meare northwest uppon the mayne sea that surrounded the delicate vale aforesaid, [aforesd;] and in the upper end of the sayd commotte, vidzt from Penmen Mawr to Bangor, doth meare North [north] and West [west] uppon the greate washe called Traeth Ell,<sup>22</sup> soe [so] called from the ryver Ell (formerly the meare betweene Carnarvonshire and Anglesey) [,] as Traeth Mawr hath his denomination from the ryver Mawr which dischardgeth ytt sealf [itself] through that washe into the mayne sea. And [: and] ytt is allsoe [alsoe] called Traeth yr laven [Laven],<sup>23</sup> [-] as much [as] to say as<sup>24</sup> [,]Traeth aflawen [Aflawen], that is an unpleasant wharffe, because ytt is an unpleasant sight [sygt] unto the spectators, and a fearefull and dismale [dismal] objecte unto the eyes of thinhabitantes [inhabitants], bryngyng [brynginge] them dayly in mynde [minde] howe [how] unhappy they weare to loose soe fayre [,]soe fruytfull [ffruitful] and soe feartill a countrey, beyng [beyng] beaten backe with unpleasant overwhelmyng waves to inhabytt [inhabit] and dwell in higher growndes<sup>25</sup> [groundes] uppon the edges and skyrtes of the hills and mountaynes [mountaignes].

From this sonne [same] Helig ap Glannog are descended moste of the pryme men within the county of Caernarvon; in [.In] Llechwedd Ucha, Jarddur [Iarddur]<sup>26</sup> the pryme [prime] tribe of that commotte [,]did descend lineally from hym, [him;] and soe did Maelog Crwm [Crwn]who was the tribe of Llechwedd Issa, [;] and Cruthyn. Jarddur [Cruthyn Iarddur] was the sonn of Kynddelw ap Trahayarne ap Bod ap Kysgen ap Helig ap Glannog; and Maelog Crwm [Crwn]<sup>27</sup> was the sonn of

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41 See earlier note on the name *Ell*

42 Theorigin of the second element in *Traeth Lafan* is obscure. Sir Ifor Williams is inclined to see a link to *lafwr*, *lawr*, the edible seaweed. He points to an early form \**Efelafen* > *Y felafen*, in Penrhyn MSS 239-41 relating to a dispute ‘over the fish weir at the wharf of Evelaven in Llanllechid’. (*Enwau Lleoedd* 1945 p. 42-3) The popular explanation in terms of *wylofain* = ‘wailing, lamentation’ has been rejected by all scholars since Egerton Phillimore. Lewis Morris refers to *traeth oerlefain* (Hugh Owen *Life and Works of L.M.* A.A.S 1951 p. 147 ) but is uncertain of the etymology implied. The present writer would be interested in a scholarly view as to the possible relation to *llawn*, *gorllawn* = ‘overflowing’.

43 ‘as’ absent in *C.A*.

44 North reads ‘growndds’ etc

45 *Iarddur* must be *Iarddur ap Cynndelw* b.circa AD 1180; his pedigree as given in NLW *Peniarth* 131 pp. 92,93, probably the work of Ieuan Brechfa around 1500, is ‘Iarddur ap Kynddelw ap Trahaiarn ap Bod ap Kysgyn ap Helic ap Glynawc’. Other versions have *Pasgen* instead of *Kysgen*. See note 48 below.

46 From the descendants of *Maelog Crwm* given in the same sources as for notes 45 and 48, a d.o.b of circa AD 1100 is indicated. According to P.C.Bartrum, ‘no credible ancestry is given to him’ in attested genealogies.

Eyfuert the sonn of Eyhelyn the sonn of Powarch Vychan<sup>28</sup> the sonn [son] of Powarch [Llowarch] Goch[,] the sonn of Powarch Holbouch [Holback,]<sup>29</sup> the sonn of Pill [? ,] the sonn of Eynan[,] the sonn of Einigan [Einiga,] the sonn of Gwrida [?] Goch [,]the sonn [son] of Helig ap Glannog. From Jarddur are descended all the gentlemen[,] esqrs[.], knightes [knyghtes] and lordes as doe clayme or pretende themsealves to bee [be] aunciently desceuded [descended], or doe aunciently houlde any londes within the commotte of Uchaphe, [Ucharfe;] for [ffor] Jarddur [Iarddur] was owner of all the landes in that commotte (amongst [amongest] many other thinges) savyng Aber and Wieg, which did belonge to the Prince, which his posterity have sythence healde by pattent for many yeeres. Jarddur healde his landes in capite from the prince, and died havynge issue two sonnes, Madog and Yerwarth. Madog,<sup>30</sup> beyng thereunto requyred, did attend and searve the Prince in person in the warres [,] as by the tenure of his landes hee was bound to doe, but [.But] Yerwarth denyed his service, [;] wherfore [therefore] the Prince seased uppon all his landes, and granted [graunted] the same, togyther with the whole armes of Jarddur [Iarddur], unto Madog ap Jarddur [Iarddur], the eldest brother, [;] which Madog enjoyed accordyngly [accordingly], and did beare armes.

Madog [,]afterwardes enjoyng [enjoyng] the whole landes and armes, out of his affection towards his brother Yerwarth[,] gave unto his sayd brother parte of the landes and parte of the armes.

From Madog ap Jarddur did lineally descend Rees Vauchan, who was his heyre male:[.] Rees Vauchan was sonn to Roberte [Robte] Vauchan [,]sonn to Jeem: [Ieuan] Vauchan [,]sonn to Madog[,] sonn to Howell[,] sonne [sonn] to Gruffyth[,] sonne [sonn] to David[,] sonne [sonn] to Tudyr[,] sonn to Madog ap Jarddur [Iarddur]. Rees Vauchan, notwithstandinge [-inge] our gavelkynd tenure, was owner of greate landes and possessions [possions] in Anglese [y], Ca[e]rmarvonshire and Flyntshire [Fflintshire]; he [.Hee] was Esquier [f]for the body unto Richard the thyrd [Thyrd], and did attend hym [him] in his Privy Chamber, and by pattent was free denizen within England; he [.Hee] hadd

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47 In *C.A. Llowarch Goch* is said to be the son of *Maelog Crwn* and no mention is made of *Eyfuert*, *Eyhelyn* or *Powarch Vychan*

48 P. C. Bartrum has studied the pedigrees of *Iarddur ap Cynddelw* and *Llywarch Howlbwrch of Arfon and Rhos* contained in the NLW MS *Pymtheg Llwyth Gwynedd* (Fifteen Tribes of Gwynedd). *Helig ap Glannog* was indeed claimed as ancestor by both tribes. Llywarch Howlbwrch is said by some genealogies to be the ancestor of one of the 15 tribes of Gwynedd, eg Lewis Dwnn *Visitation* i. 279, ii. 178,302. *Tangwystl ferch Llywarch Goch ap Llywarch Howlbwrch*, his grand-daughter, was Llewelyn Fawr's mistress, and the mother of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn, according to NLW *Peniarth* MS 127 p.73, and also Lewis Dwnn i. 329, ii. 107. He may have been born around AD 1120. NLW *Peniarth* 127 pp.17, 26,42, 68, 73 gives a descent thus 'Llywarch Howlbwrch ap Pill ap Cynin ap Gwrydr Goch ap Helic ap Glannoc'. Other pedigrees claiming descent from H. ap. G are *Peniarth* 127, p.164 and Pen. 129, p. 86 *National Library of Wales Journal* vol.xii 1961-2 p.234, and vol.xiii p.129

49 comma absent in C.A.

purchased [f]from the kinge three goodly manors neere [near] Whitchurche [-church], and hadd purchased Aber and Kemmeis [Cemmaes] and Wieg [,] and diverse other thinges, which weare all taken from hym when Henry the seaventh [Seaventh] came in. To this Rees Vauchan [,]Kynge Richard the thyrd [Thirde] did drinke the laste wyne hee dranke; when [.When] the kinge sawe that Stanley was become a turnecote, and that all the Welshmen hadd revoulted from hym, hee called [f]for a bowle of wyne [,]sittyng one [on] horsebacke [-back] in his compleate armour, [;] and, when the wyne was brought hym, he called unto Rees Vauchan [,] and dranke unto hym in these wordes,[:] Heere [Here], Vauchan, I will drinke to thee, the truest Welshman that ever I [f]found in Wales, [;] and havynge drunke threwe the bowle over his head and made towards his enemyes [enemies], where hee was ymmediatly [immediately] slayne; h[.H]eeruppon Rees Vauchan loste all his landes,[( which was all begged by newe courtiers )]before hee could obteyne his pardonn [p'don], savyng that lit[t]le which hee [he] left to his two sonnes [sons,] Piers ap Rees and Edmond ap Rees; and soe Piers hadd issue William [Will'm] Coytmor, and Edmond ap Rees hadd [had] issue Thomas Wynn ap Edmond. From the body of Madog ap Jarddur [Iarddur] you shall fynd [ffind] non that healde landes lineally in the paternall lyne[,] within this commotte or ells[else]where, but William [Will'm] Coytmor, and Thomas Wynn ap Edmond.[:] B[b]ut from a daughter you shall fy[ffi]nd that the r[R]ight Reverend [(and Ry[i]ght ho: [Hon.]) John bishopp [Bu<sup>pp</sup>e] of Lincolne, l[L]ord keeper of his Majesties [Ma<sup>ties</sup>] greate seale of England[,] and one of his Majesties [Ma<sup>ties</sup>] most honorable Privy Councell, is descended from Madog ap J[I]arddur, and houldeth the f[f]yrst landes which his ancestors hadd in Penrhyn from that graundmother[:]; and soe from Madog ap J[I]arddur,[:] vitz. hee is John Bushoppe [Bu<sup>pp</sup>e] of Lincolne[,] sonne [sonn] to Edmond[,] sonne [sonn] to Dorothy[,] daughter to Sir William[,] sonn to Sir William[Will'm], sonne to William[Will'm] Vauchan, sonne[sonn] to Gwylliam[ym], sonne [sonn] to Gruffyth, sonne[sonn] to Angharad, daughter to Gruffyth, sonn to Davidd [David] sonn to Tuder[,] sonn to Madog ap J[I]arddur. And next unto Penrhyn[,] the best f[f]reeholder that heald landes from Madog ap J[I]arddy[u]r was John ap W[']m ap Reignald, of G[T]wddw[u]glase in the commotte of Upchaphe [Ucharfe], who healde three hundred powndes a yeere[,] and more[,] from Madog ap Y[I]arddur,[:] for hee was John[,] the sonn of William the sonne [sonn] of Gwenllian[,] daughter and heyre unto Gruffyth[,] sonne[sonn] unto Hulkyn[,] sonne[sonn] unto Jeem[Ieuan,] sonne[sonn] unto Howell[,] sonne[sonn] unto Madog ap Y[I]arddur. Soe that I can[cann] fynd non ells that houldeth landes from Madog ap Y[I]arddur[,] in this commotte[,] but these f[f]oure f[f]yrst above mentioned; [mencoed:] the two f[f]yrst by paternall discent[,] and the two laste, [(though within these f[f]ew later ages exceedyng them in meanes and possessions[poss'ons]),<sup>31</sup> by maternall discent.

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50 No comma in C.A.

In the commotte of Uchaph[e] there are liekwiese [likewise] two masculynes that are lineally descended from the yo[u]nger brother Yerwarth ap J[I]arddur, vidzt. Thomas Wynn ap Mores[,] of Gorddmog[;] and Roberte ap Richard of Llanvair Vechan[;.] Thomas Wynn ap Mores,<sup>32</sup> beyng[e] hey[i]re male of the body of Yerwarth ap Y[I]arddur, heald the chieffest seate Gorddinog[;] hee[he] beyng[e] [being] Thomas[,] sonn unto Mores[,] sonne[sonn] unto John[,] sonne[son] unto Rees, sonne[sonn] unto Gwilliam[Gwillm,] sonne[sonn] unto Jem:[Ieuan] Lloyd, son[n] unto Gruffyth, sonn unto Groun[Gronw], sonne[sonn] unto Hoell[Hoel,] sonne[sonn] unto Kynurig [Kynfrig], sonne[sonn] unto Yerwarth ap J[I]arddur[.] a[A]nd the pryme and chieffest habitaci[c']on and dwelly[i]nge house which Yerwarth hadd[,] and wherein Jem:[Ieuan] Lloyd did li[e]kew[e]ise dwell, although the[e]re landes and possess[=]ions weare then very greate, was the house of Gorddinog[;] from which house (sythence Jem:[Ieuan] Lloyd[es] [Lloyds] tyme)[,] there bee very many co-partners[;] and Jem:[Ieuan] Lloyd[es] landes (which yff itt weare nowe[now] entier belongyng[e] to Gorddinog, as in his tyme ytt was[)], woulde bee worth above 2000 li[l,] )<sup>33</sup> is nowe parted [pted (parted)] and devided att leaste amongst a hundred persons [psors].

Roberte ap Richard[,] of Llanvair Vechan[,] beyng[e] descended from a brother out of Gorddinog house[,] healde his landes liekwiese from Yerwarth ap J[I]arddur; hee[he] beyng[e] [being] thus descended, vidzt. Roberte[,] the sonn of Richard[,] the sonne[sonn] of Roberte[,] the sonne[sonn] of William[Will'm,] the sonne[sonn] of Ar[Me]redydd[,] the sonn of Rees[,] the sonne of Jem:[Ieuan] Lloyd[,] the sonne[sonn] of Gronwe[Gronw,] the sonne[sonn] of Ho[w]ell[,] the sonn of Kinurig [Kynvrig,] the sonn of Yerwarth[,] the sonn of Y[I]arddur. All his landes were the landes of Jem:[Ieuan] Lloyd, and belongyng[e] [-ging] to Gorddinog, and formerly the landes of Yerwarth ap J[I]arddur, savyng[e] certeyne concealeed[-ed]<sup>34</sup> landes which lay intermixt with and amongst his f[f]reehould, which heer[here-]tofore weare the landes of Bleddyn Rwth and f[f]orffeited[;], which concealed landes are now the landes of Thomas Bulkley.

The chieffest and pryme braunch[branch] which descendeth[,] and houldeth most landes[,] from Yerwerth ap J[I]arddy[u]r[,] this day in the commott of Uchaph[-arfe,] is Cochwillan house[;] for there my lord[Lo.] k[K]eeper[;] hee[he] is John Bushoppe[Bu<sup>ppc</sup>] of Lincolne[Lincoln,] sonn unto Edmond[,] sonne[sonn] unto William[Will'm,] sonne[sonn] unto William[Will'm], sonn unto William[Will'm], sonn unto Gruffyth, sonn unto Angharad, daughter and heyr[heire] to Rees, sonn to Gruffyth, sonne[sonn] to Grouw[Gronw,] sonne[sonn] to Ho[w]ell, sonn to Kynurig[Kynfrig,] sonne[sonn] [un]to Yerwerth ap J[I]arddur. The number of such esquiers and gentlemen as houlde landes lineally from

51 Ditto

52 Parentheses close here in *H.BL* text

53 Almost certainly a modern typesetting error by Bezant Lowe's printer

J[I]arddur in right of there mothers and graundmothers, within the county[i]es of Anglesea[Angle's], Ca[e]rmarvon, Merionudd[-eth], and Flynte[-int], are infynitt. I expresse non heere but such as offer themsealves unto us in this provynce. F[As] f]or Robert Owen Bodsilin[Bodscalyn], hee[he] was a straunger by byrth[e] in this commotte, and healde but very litle landes from Evan Lloyd[;] and that hee heald hee hadd from Mali[e?], the daughter of Jeem: [Ieuan] Lloyd, who was married to Lywelyn ap Hulkyn[Hulkin], who hadd issue Meirig, who hadd issue John[,] who hadd issue Robert[,] who hadd Issue [issue] Owen[,] who hadd issue Roberte Owen, that last was who did dwell att Bodsilyn[Bodscalyn,] by reason his mother hadd Trergoe[c] for tearme of lyeffe, and by reason hee[he] was secondly mar[r]ied to Lowry Coytmor, who, [(]bey[i]nge once set[t]led att Bodsilin[-scalyn] beyng[e] but a smale[small] tenement[ten'nt], and an uncouth habitation[-~~C~~n]),<sup>35</sup> woulde[would] not remove from thence to Trergoe[c] soe farr from her friendes, thoughte ytt was a better dwellyng[e];.] b[B]ut the moste landes that Robert Owen hadd in the commott of Upchaph[Ucharfe] was the thyrd[e] parte of the landes of David ap William[Will'm] ap Gruffyth[,] ap Robyn, which came unto hym from his mother Angharad u[V]ch D[d]avid ap William[Will'm], who was co-partner with her sister Jane[,] and her sister Agnes, of which land[e] Sir John Bodvil k[K]night hadd the purparte belongyng[e] unto Jane[,] Roberte[Robte] Owen the purparte of Angharad, and David Lloyd ap Rees the purparte of Agnes.

By these braunches above mencioned[menco'ed] every understandyng[e] man may knowe how many honorable wor<sup>ll</sup> [(worshipful)] and worthy personages ellswere (out of this commott[e]) both in the county of Ca[e]rmarvon[,] and in the countyes adjoyntyng[e] are descended f[f]rom Y[I]arddur, and soe from Helig ap Glannog, and nowe eminent men. And all the pette[y]grees derived from Maelog Crwm, the [.The] try[i]be of Llechweth Issa and Cruthyn,<sup>36</sup> are descended from this worthy stocke[.] Helig ap Glannog which wee treat[e] of.[,]<sup>37</sup>

Helig ap Glannog hadd three sonnes[sonns] that weare holy men[,] and canonis[z]ed for saintes[saints],<sup>38</sup> vidzt. Beda[Boda] and Gwynn[Gwyn], who weare[were] both saint[t]es in Dwygyfylchi, and doe lye buried att the end of the Churche in a lit[t]le C[c]happell annexed to the west end of the Churche[church], and an other sonn called Brothen, who did searve God, and lyeth buried in Llanvrothen in Merionu[e]ddshire.

Seiria[o]l, brother to Hoelig ap Glannog, was tearmed[termed] the holy priest, and was head of the religious house in Priestholme[,]<sup>39</sup> in Flynt[Fflint]-shire, which

54 No comma in *H.BL*

55 No comma in *H.BL*

56 No new paragraph in *C.A*

57 North *op.cit.* p.26 claims that Halliwell misread 'saintes' as 'Churches'; if so, then this is a rare example of Bezant Lowe correcting him

58 The origins of the monastic settlement of Priestholm are unknown. The supposed C6th or C7th date is supported by evidence of early stone foundations reported by Harold Hughes around the turn

house was called Priestholme[,] from Seiria[o]l[,] who was the holy priest, and in Welshe sythens[c]e the inundacion[-con] is called Ynys Seiria[o]l. This Seiria[o]l hadd allso an hermitage att Penmen Mawr, and there hadd a chappell where hee did bestowe much of his tyme in prayers, the place beyng then an uncouth desarte and unfrequented rocke, and unaccessible both in regard of the steepnes[s] of the rocke and of the dese[a]rtnes[s] of the wildernes t[.T]here,<sup>40</sup> beyng soe thicke of wood that a man havynge once entred[entered] therinto coude hardly behoulde or see skye or fy[ffi]-rmament. From Priestholme to Penmen Mawr did Seiria[o]l cause a pavement to bee made,<sup>41</sup> wheruppon hee might walke drye from his church att Priestholme to his chappell att Penmen Mawre, the vale beyng very lowe grow[un]d[,] and wette, which pavem<sup>t</sup> [pavement] may att [all]<sup>42</sup> this day bee discerned from Penmen Mawr to Priestholme when the sea is clee[a]re, y[i]f a man li[y]ste to goe in a bote[boat] to see ytt.<sup>43</sup> Sythence this greate and lamentable innundacion[-con], the waye and passage bey[i]nge stopped in this straight in regard the sea was come in, and did beate uppon the rockes att Penmen Mawre,[Mawr:] this<sup>44</sup> holy man Seiria[o]l, lieke a good here[her-]mite, did cause a way to bee beaten and cutte[cutt] through the mayne rocke, which is the onely passage that is to passe that straight. This way leadeth from Dwygyfylchi to Llanvair Vechan, and is the kinge[']s highway from Conewey[Conwey] to Bewmares[-is], Bangor and Ca[e]rnarvon, and the onely passage that the kynges[kinge's]poste hath to ryde to and from Ireland.<sup>45</sup> This rocke is a myle and a haulf in hight[,] and very [per-] pendicular, especially beneath this way; the way

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of the 20th century and cursorily re-examined by Royal Commission surveyors in the 1930s. A Celtic *clas* community on the island, part of the establishment at Penmon, is described by Gerald of Wales in his *Itinerary through Wales* c.1188

59 No comma in C.A

60 Ditto

61 Probably a modern printer's error

62 *St. Seiriol's Causeway* is thought likely to be a remanent glacial morainic feature rather than the product of long-shore pebble transport as with the Chesil Bank. The curious association of *Ynys Seiriol* with Flintshire is dealt with in North *op.cit.* p.43; a tradition seems to have been extant in the past that inhabitants of *Ynys Seiriol*, whoever they might be, once voted with Flintshire. This fable has no foundation in fact, as North ascertained from J.Harvey Davies, former Clerk to Flints. C.C.

63 'his' in C.A, probably a modern printer's error

64 The history of the successive roads across the face of Penmaenmawr has been much discussed. The present account of a trackway is the earliest known, a supposed reference in Camden's *Britannia* of 1586 being no more than a comment on the narrowness of the shore passage below the mountain. This ancient horsepath was widened and improved before 1720, at the instigation of Viscount Bulkeley; a completely new road at a much lower level, approximately that of the present dual carriageway, was constructed under Act of Parliament by the engineer Sylvester, and completed by 1775. Thomas Telford made further improvements around 1820, and a completely new route incorporating tunnels was completed in the 1930s. This now forms the eastward carriageway of the North Wales expressway. See H. L. North *The Seven Roads across Penmaenmawr* published by Caernarvon County Council in 1937

begyn[n]inge att[at] the sea shore within the parishe[p'ishe] of Dwygyfylchi is cutt through the syd of a rocke[,] still ascendynge untill you come to a cricke uppon the rocke called Clippyn Seirioll[-ol], and thence is cutt directly forward[s] through[e] the syde of a steepe hard rocke[,] neither descendyng[e] nor ascendynge untill you come to Seiria[o]lls C[c]happell,<sup>46</sup> beyng aboutes[aboute] a quarter of [a] myle from Clippyn Seirioll[-ol], and all that way is 200 yardes above the sea, over which yf either man or beast[e] shoulde fall, both sea and rocke, rocke and sea,<sup>47</sup> woulde strive and contend whether of both shoulde doe hym the greatest mischief;<sup>48</sup> and from the C[c]happell aforesay[i]d forward the way is cutt through the si[y]de of a gravel[l]y,<sup>49</sup> rocky hill, still descendynge untill you come agayne to the sea shore within the parish[p'ishe] of Llanv[f]air; t[.T]his way in leangth is [about] a myle and somewhat better, and in breadth two yardes, but in some places scarce a yard and a quarter,<sup>50</sup> or a yarde. A[, a]nd this way is ever sythence kepte and repayed by a heremy[i]te,<sup>51</sup> who hath nothings f[f]or his labour[,] and service therein[,] but the charity of well disposed people and passengers, and a gatheri[y]nge once every[ev'ry] yeere in the parishes[p'ishes] and towne churches adjoynge, and the benevolence of the J[j]ustices of peace[,] and such as bee[be] ympanelled of the graund e[i]nquests<sup>52</sup> in every sessions within the three shires of Northwales [North Wales],<sup>53</sup> a[.A]nd f[f]or all this the way woulde soone[sone] perishe[p'isse],<sup>54</sup> [(I)weare[were] ytt not for the fyrmenes of the rocks[rocke]),<sup>55</sup> by reason of greate stoness and rubell that often fall from the hill,<sup>56</sup> [(I) beyng dissolved uppon[upon] the thawy[i]nge of every[ev'ry] greate snowe and froste,<sup>57</sup> (I)]and sometymes either

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65 No comma in C.A

66 Ditto

67 Two C17th stories of accidents on the old road are typical; in the first, a Rev. Mr Jones of Llaneilian in Anglesey, was riding the path on horseback, with a midwife mounted behind him. On the steepest stretch, disaster struck; horse and riders fell. With droll callousness, the storyteller relates how ~~the~~ *sage femme* perished, as did the nag. The divine, with great philosophy, unsaddled the steed, and marched off with the trappings, exulting at his preservation! Another time Sion Humphries of Aber had arranged to meet Anne Thomas of Creuddyn at Conwy; on his way he fell over Penmaenmawr but survived; at that very hour Anne was in the Conwy ferry boat which sunk with loss of 80 lives, she alone surviving. They duly married and lived long, she dying in 1744 and he in 1749; as legend has it, Anne was 116 years old. Pennant *Tours* p. 319

68 No comma in C.A

69 Ditto

70 Ditto

71 'inquest' is singular in C.A

72 In C.A, Wright has a footnote '6s. 8d [34p] paid by the king towards the repairs for this way per Receiver General'.

73 No comma in C.A

74 Ditto

75 Ditto

76 Ditto

choake and [f]fill upp the passage,<sup>58</sup> or ells breake downe great gappes in the way,<sup>59</sup> which are repayred by the said heremy[i]te with the healpe of thinhabitantes [the inhabitants] of the parishes [p'isshe]s] adjoyninge, and newe foundacions[ac'ons] wrought in such gappes upon poles and thornes.

In this greate washe uppon a lowe grownd ebbe,<sup>60</sup> in every March and June, when ytt [it] ebbes farthest [ffurthest], are to be seene [scene] the rootes of greate oake and ash[e] att the f[f]urthest ebbe, where att other tymes in the yeere ytt doth nott ebbe att all but onely uppon[upon] springe tydes in March and August;<sup>61</sup> t[.T]his I speake as an eye wittness[witness], havynge seene the rootes my sealf[,] and taken them upp, soe that ytt [it] shoulde seeme that this vale before the inundacion[-con] was a woodland countrye.<sup>62</sup>

On the toppe of Penm[a]en Mawr standes a high[,] stronge[strong.] rocky hill called Bray[i]ch y Dinas[,] wheruppon is to bee seene the ruynous walles of a stronge and invincible f[f]ortificacion[-con.] compassed with a treble walle[,] and within every walle there are to bee seene the ffoundacion[-con] of att[at] leaste a hundreth[-ed] tow[u]res all round and of aequall bignes[s], in breadth, some sixe yardes every[ev'y] way within thewalles; t[.T]he walles of this same Dinas weare in moste places two yardes thicke, and in some places aboutes three yardes thicke. This castle when ytt stood[,] was ym[im-]pregnable, and noe way to offer any assaulte unto ytt,[:] the hill beyng high, rocky, and p<sup>63</sup>endicular, and the wales very stronge.<sup>64</sup> The way or entrance unto ytt is ascendynge with many turnynges, sometymes one way, sometymes an other way, soe that a hundreth[-ed] men might defend themselves in this castle agaynst a whole legion that should assayle them,

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77 Ditto

78 Ditto

79 Ditto

80 Thomas Wright comments that in the MS copied by him, June has been obliterated and August written above it. North states *op. cit.* p.26 that this refers to MS 820D

81 These so-called 'forest beds' occur at many places around the coast of Wales; they date typically to the Flandrian period c.7000-5000 years before present, when sea-level, having been many metres lower than at present, was rapidly rising. Exposures in the immediate vicinity of Penmaenmawr are not recorded, but there are extensive areas nearby at Conwy Morfa, at Llandudno North Shore, and they have been seen in roadwork excavations at Abergwyngregyn. On Anglesey, opposite, they occur at Aberlleiniog. In 1995 radiocarbon dates were obtained from forest bed exposures at Llandudno and Llanddwyn, Anglesey, confirming the above age; see J. L. Williams *Studia Celtica* XXX 1996 pp.277-98.

82 *C.A* uses a diacritic above 'p' to indicate 'per'

83 See cover illustration. *Braich y Dinas* was the name given to this Iron-age and Romano-British hillfort on the summit of Penmaenmawr. Now completely destroyed by quarry works, it was excavated by Harold Hughes et al from 1910 to 1924; these researches are documented in *Arch. Camb* and in W.Bezant Lowe *The Heart of Northern Wales* 1912. In 1845 a group of antiquarians including Henry Longueville Jones, the leading spirit of the soon-to-be-formed *Cambrian Archaeological Association*, visited it and recorded the presence of at least one dry-stone round hut still with its corbelled stone roof in situ. *Arch.Camb.* Vol.1 1846 p.70-75

and yett ytt should seeme that there weare lodgynges within these walles f[f]or twenty thousand men. I[i]n the highest toppe of the rocke,[.W]<sup>65</sup> within the innermost wall[e] of this Dinas, there is a fyne delicate well wher[e]in there is plentye of sweate[,] wholesome springe water att all tymes[,] and in the driest summer,[:] which is a wonderfull guifte of God, that[,] for the use of man[,] water should[e] springe uppe[upp] in the very uppermost toppe of soe[so] highe and soe[so] hard a rocke, beyng att[at] leaste a myle and a haulf[,] or a myle and a quarter in hight from the f[f]oote of Penmen Mawre:[Mawr.] b[B]y tradic[t]ion wee[we] doe recea[i]ve ytt from our forefathers[,] that this was the ultimium refugium, the strongest, surest, and saf[f]est refuge and place of defence that the auncient Brittaines had[d] in all Snowden to defende[defend] themsealves from the incursions and inrodes of there enemyes,[:] for the lieke place[,] soe stronge, soe y[i]mpregnable, soe deffensive, is not to bee f[f]ound in all Snowden; [.A]and besydes, the greatenes and lardgenes of the worke sheweth that ytt was a princlye and royall f[f]ortificacion, streanghtened[strengthened] both by nature and workmanshippe, seated in the toppe of one of the highest mountaynes in Snowden neare the sea, and in the myddest of the best and f[f]ertilest soyle in all Ca[e]rnarvonshire. The mounteynes[mountayngnes] adjoyninge to this place is f[f]yne[,] delicate[,] dry pasture, and hath beene[been] aunciently inclosed and inhabited, as appereth[appæth] by the f[f]oundacions[-cons] of stone wales which are every where to bee discerned, and by ridges which are in very many places soe apparant as yf itt hadd beene plowed within this sixe yeeres; b[B]ut nowe ytt lyeth waste, and is occupied in common by the inhabitantes[-tants] of the parishes[p'isshe]s] adjoyninge, wheruppon they have pasture f[f]or all maner of beastes sans number[s], and have greate store of very good turffe and gorse for there fyinge.

Aboutes[-out] a myle from this f[f]ortif[f]ication standeth the rarest monument that is to bee found in all Snowden, called y Meini Hirion;[:] ytt standes within the parishe of Dwygyfylchi above G[T]wddw[u]glas[s]e, uppon the playne mownteyne[-aygne]. This monumente[monum<sup>te</sup>] standes row[u]nd as a circle[,] compassed about with a stone wal[l]e, [;]and within the wal[l]e[,] close unto the wal[l]e, are longe greate stones row[u]nd aboutes[about] the circle[,] standynge uppon there endes in the grounde, that a man woulde[would] wonder where in these partes such stones weare to bee[be] found, and howe they weare soe sett uppon there endes in the grow[u]nd. There are of these stones nowe standynge in this circle, as I take ytt, twelve,[:] wherof some of them are ij.[ii] yardes and three quarters, some two yardes, some a yarde and three quarters above grownd, besydes what is within the grow[u]nd; t[.T]he cyrcle[circle] within these longe stones,

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84 As the punctuation completely alters the senses of the two versions, it is worth remarking that Joseph Hucks et al saw no sign of any source of water at the summit on the occasion of their visit in 1795; see *A Pedestrian Tour through North Wales etc* Ed. A..R.Jones and W.Tydeman Cardiff University of Wales Press 1979

which wee call Meini Hirion,<sup>66</sup> is every way in breadth some sixe and twenty yardes; this standes uppon the playne mownteyne[mountayne] as soone as you come to the height, and hath much playne even grow[un]d aboutes[about] ytt. Ytt shoulde seeme that this was a place wherunto the auncient Brittaines came from the Dinas aforesayd to encampe themsealves and trayne there souldiers; ytt standes[stands] in a place f[f]y[i]tte f[f]or justes and t[o]urnamentes,<sup>67</sup> and this c[i]rcl thus rounded with these longe stones might bee the place where the kinge[']s tente was pitched: and neere[neer] to this circle there are three pretty bigg stones uppon there endes standynge triangle wiese[,] lieke a tribbett,<sup>68</sup> wheruppon as they say was sett a greate cau[l]dron to boyle meate[meale] in, and suerly[surely] the three stones doe looke: as yf they hadd beene longe in a greate f[f]yre.<sup>69</sup>

Some two or three flightes shootes[shoots] from this place are diverse greate heapes of smale stones, which wee call C[c]arneddi.<sup>70</sup> And in this place there was a greate battayle f[f]ought betweene the Romaines,<sup>71</sup> and the Brittaines, where the Roma[y]nes were overthrowne,<sup>72</sup> and a greate one uppon an other [another], and these stones caste uppon them,<sup>73</sup> least the wilde bores and swyne should digge upp there bodyes, and withall f[f]or a memorial unto future ages that the bodyes of men lay there buried. And aboutes[about] these greate heapes of stones there are diverse[divers] graves with stones lay[i]d [upon them<sup>74</sup>] uppon there endes aboute them, and one or two stones uppon the sayd graves, where, as they say, the pryme men that weare there slayne weare buried.[:] Y[y]tt is greate pittie that our Brittische histories are soe[so] ymbeseled [ymbelished]<sup>75</sup> that wee[we] have noe[no] certteynty[certainty] f[f]or these thinges, but must onely[only] rely uppon tradicion.

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85 No comma in C.A

86 Ditto

87 C.A has a comment 'tripod?'

88 The *Meini Hirion* or Druid's Circle at Penmaenmawr is an early-to-middle Bronze Age Sanctuary (2200-1000 BC), a near-perfect example of the class of ritual monument known as an embanked stone circle, some 75ft [23m] in diameter, with its entrance to the west side. Excavation resulted in discovery of cremation burials of juveniles at the centre of the ring of stones. There are at least 4 other ritual monuments of the same period in the immediate area, of differing types. F. Lynch *A Guide to Ancient and Historic Wales: Gwynedd* CADW, London HMSO 1995 p.40

89 While it is not possible to be certain, there is every likelihood that the *carneddi* referred to include those in the group located on the col 660 yds [600m] west of the *Meini Hirion*. These 3 cairns, the largest being some 66ft [20m] in diameter and 8ft [2.4m] in height, together with part of a stone circle, have been much damaged by removal of stone in the 19th century for wall-building. Lynch *op. cit.* p.42

90 No comma in C.A

91 Ditto

92 Ditto

93 The phrase 'upon them' is not found in *H.B.L.* It may be an example of the scribal error *homeoteleuton* by Thomas Wright or the author of his exemplar.

94 It would seem that 'embezzled' and not 'embellished' is the word intended

Neare unto this place there is a ffyne[fyne] delicate hill called Moelvre, row[un]d by nature and mow[un]ted very highe; and in the toppe very playne and pleasant[,] uppon this hill there is a cy[i]rcl marked,<sup>76</sup> wheruppon stood three stones aboutes[about] a yard and a quarter above grow[un]d[e], the one redd as blood[,] the other white, and the thyrd a lit[t]le bluer then the white stone, standynge in triangle wiese: w[W]hat shoulde bee the reason of placynge such three stones in such a place uppon soe highe and soe pleasant a mounte, and to place there[these] stones of such colloures, I cannott [cannot] expresse otherwiese[-wise] then wee have ytt[yt] by tradic[t]ion. The tradic[t]ion is this,<sup>77</sup> that God Almighty[almighty] hath wrought in this place a miracle f[f]or increasynge of our f[f]ayth. And that was thus.[-] Three women, aboutes[about] such tyme as Christianity began to creepe in amongst us, uppon a Sabaoth[-ath] day in the mornynge went to the toppe of this hill to wynowe there corne, and havynge spread there wynowng sheete uppon the grow[un]d[e] and begunn there worke, some of there neighbours came unto them[,] and did reprehend [rep'hend] them f[f]or violatyng and breakynge the Lorde[']s commaunde [command-]ment by workynge uppon the Saboathe [Sabath] day. These faythles [ffaithless] women, regardynge there profytt [p'ffit] more the[a]n the obsearvynge of God's commandements[-em<sup>te</sup>],<sup>78</sup> made slight of there neighbours['] admonition, and healde on in there worke, wheruppon ytt pleased God instantly to transfourme[-fforme] them into three pillars [pillows]<sup>79</sup> of stones, and to f[f]rame these stones of the same collour as the womens clothes weare, one read, thother white, and the thyrd bluishe, and to transfourme[-fforme] there winowyng[e] sheet[l]e<sup>80</sup> and come into earth, and soe to leave them,<sup>81</sup> there in example unto others. This is a tradic[t]ion wee have and beleved by the oulde people in that neightbourhood [neighbourhood], and housever, whether ytt was soe or noe,<sup>82</sup> the tradic[t]ion is wholesome, and will deterr[deter] others from workynge uppon the Sabaoth[-ooth] day. These stones,<sup>83</sup> beyng worth the sey[i]ng as they weare there placed,<sup>84</sup> have beene digged uppe by some idle headed youthes[youths] within this sixe[six]

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95 No comma in C.A

96 Ditto

97 Ditto

98 This mistake in C.A is difficult to understand, as the context of the story makes 'pillars' quite obviously the required word

99 Obviously a printer's error by the *Arch. Camb* typesetter

100 No comma in C.A

101 Ditto

102 Ditto

103 Ditto

yeeres,<sup>85</sup> and weare row[u]led downe the hill, and doe nowe lye togyther att the f[f]oote of the hill.<sup>86</sup>

As f[f]or Ty[i]ganwy[,] or Gannocke Castle, ytt was from the begynninge the chieff[f]e seat of the King[kynges] of Northwales[North Wales], and not originally founded by any of the E[e]les of Chester,[:] f[f]or Hugh Lupus was by William[Will'm] Conqueror created Earle of Chester and sworde-bearer of England, with these wordes vizdt. [“h[H]abendum et tenendum dictum comitatum Caestriae sibi et h[a]eredibus suis ita libere ad gladium sicut ipse rex totam tenebat Angliam ad C[c]oronam;” but hadd not Tegengl[Tyngangle] and Rhyn[v]oniog untill aboutes[aboute] anno 1092[,] by the graunte of William[Will'm] Ruffus, unto whome hee did homage for the same. And anno 1096 wee[we] read that Hugh Goch earle of Arundell [Arundel] and Salopshury, and Hugh Lupus alias[also] surnamed Fras[Gras], that is, the f[f]atte earle[earl] of Chester, and a number of nobles more, did gather a huge army,<sup>87</sup> and entred[entered] into Northwales[North Wales] agaynst Gru[y]ffyth ap Conan and Cadw[o]gan ap Bleddyn, who weare fayne to betake themsealves unto the hills and mounthey[g]nes for there[their] deffence, because they weare not able to meete with [encounter] the .....les<sup>88</sup> [earles]. And then the earles came over against the Isle[Ile] of Mon<sup>89</sup> or Anglesey, where they did buylde[build] the C[c]astle of Aberlhyennaw[-enan]. The earles made this inrode[onroade] into Northwales[North Wales] by the procurement[p'curem<sup>t</sup>] of Owen ap Edwyn, who was the prince[']s chieffe counselle[o]r, and his father[-]in[-]lawe whose daughter Gruffyth had mar[r]ied[d], havynge hymself allso<sup>90</sup> mar[r]ied the daughter of Cynwyn, vidzt., Everyth, aunte to Cadw[o]gan, who openly went with all his power unto them, and did leade[lead] them into the Isle of Anglesey, which thinge when Gruffyth and Cadw[o]gan perceaved[p'ceaved], they sayled over into Ireland, mistrustyng [the treason of] there [owne people].<sup>91</sup> [Then the earles spoyled the Ile and slew all that they ffound there.]<sup>92</sup> And Hugh earle of Salope[Salop] was there stroke with an arrowe[arrow] in the face by Magnus the sonne of Haroulde[Harolde], and therof died.[:] A[, a]nd

104 Ditto

105 *Moelfre*, probably ‘rounded, bare hill’ is slightly S.W of the *Meini Hirion*; a cairn is shown on early O.S sheets near its western end. ‘Clara P.’ mentions ‘low mounds’, supposedly burials, at *Bryniau* just to the south; she is aware of the story of the three stones but says they were standing around 1800 ! *Y Cymmrodor* 1889 p.156; Longueville Jones *Arch.Camb.* 1846 describes the cairn as ‘a carnedd covered with turf about 17 ft [ 5m] in diameter. It had been opened in former days by a passage made from the east’.

106 No comma in *C.A*

107 Text illegible to the copyist of *H.BL*s exemplar

108 In *C.A* an unnecessary diacritic is placed over the ‘n’ of Mon, but none where needed, i.e. over the ‘o’.

109 The word ‘allso’ is absent in *C.A*

110 *H.BL* lacks the words ‘the treason of’ and ‘owne people’ and thus makes little sense

111 Entire sentence missing from *H.BL*.

soe suddenly either pertye[party] forsooke[-soke] the i[I]le, and lefte[left] Owen ap Edwyn prince in the land, who hadd[had] allured them thy[i]ther.<sup>93</sup>

Wee[We] read allso[also,] that the say[i]d Hugh Lupus[,] alias[also] surnamed F[G]ras earle of Chester, anno 1113, did incense kinge[king] Henry the f[Ff]yrst to invade North-<sup>94</sup>Wales, who came hymself in person[p'son] to Murcastell[ .....<sup>95</sup>], but then there was a peace politikly concluded betweene the kinge and Gruffyth ap Conan and Owen ap Cadw[o]gan, by the su[b]tlety of M[e]red[d]ydd ap Bleddyn and the s<sup>d[isaid]</sup> earle of Chester.

In anno 1148 [1248]<sup>96</sup> Randel earle of Chester[,] gathered a greate power of his friendes and hyred souldiers from all partes[p'tes] of England, unto whome Madog ap M[e]red[d]ydd prince of Powy[i]s, disdayninge to houlde his lands of Owen Gwynedd, joynd all his power, a[.A]nd they both togy[e]ther entred[entered] prince Owen[']s lande[s], who, lieke[like] a worthy prince, not sufferyng[e] the spoyle of his subjectes[-ects], mett them att Connsyllt<sup>o</sup> [Caunsyllt,] and bouldly bad them battel[I], in which battell Madog ap M[e]red[d]ydd and the earle of Chester weare[were] fayne to truste to there[their] heeles, whome the Northwales[North Wales] men did soe pursue that f[f]ew escaped.

Wee[We] read that anno 1210, in K[k]inge John[']s ty[i]me, the E[e]arle of Chester leade[dd] an army into Rhos by the K[k]inge[']s appoyntement, and there did reediffye the castell[castle] of Tyganwy which prince Lly[e]wel[l]yn ap Yerwerth hadd[had] before destroyed. And theruppon[thereupon] the prince entred[entered] the earle[']s landes,<sup>97</sup> and destroyed a greate parte thereof, and retourned home with greate[great] bootye.

Anno 1211 Kinge John came to Ty[i]ganwy, and f[f]ortified the castle, but was fayne to withdraw his f[f]orces for want of victuals.<sup>98</sup>

112 Curiously, the author makes no mention of the gruesome torture inflicted by the Normans on the priest Cenred, who was castrated, half blinded and had his tongue cut out; but such was this man's holiness that, as John of Worcester writes in his *Chronicle* ‘sed die tertia, miseracione divina illi reddita est loquela’; his speech was miraculously restored within three days. The *Chronicle* was formerly ascribed to the monk Florence of Worcester but now to John of that house. If the former attribution were correct, it would have to have been written before AD1118, as Florence's death is recorded in that year.

113 No hyphen in *C.A*.

114 This word was illegible in the source document used by Thomas Wright to produce *C.A*. Murcastell is the Roman auxilliary fort of Tomen-y-Mur in Meirionedd; it is possible that the name *Murcastell* ‘the fortress walls’ records a time before the Norman motte now seen on the site was constructed, around the end C11th by the Norman Earls, or early in C12th either by William 2nd or Henry 1st. The *Mabinogi* of *Math mab Mathonwy*, usually dated to the 1060s, refers to the site by the earlier name; see *The Mabinogion* Trans. Thomas Jones and Gwyn Jones *Everyman Library* 1991

115 Clearly 1148 is the correct date

116 No comma in *C.A*

117 This and the other historical material making up the latter part of the MS is taken from the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, or *Chronicles of the Princes*; thus in NLW Peniarth MS20 s.a. 1211-12 we have ‘Llywelyn ap Iorwerth ... rose up against the king [John] and by the end of two months he laid seige

Anno 1213 Prince Llewel[l]yn layd siege to the castell of Ty[i]ganwy, and Ruthlan, and wa[o]nn them both, soe that hee leafte the kinge neither houlde nor castell within his land.

Anno 1260[,] Prince Llewel[l]yn ap Gruffyth ra[i]sed<sup>99</sup> the castells[castell] of Ty[i]ganwy and Dy[i]serth, and destroyed the earldome[earldom] of Chester, si[y]thence which[w<sup>h</sup>] time Tyganwy was never reedified. This I have expressed to make ytt[it] appeare[app<sup>r</sup>] that Tyganwy al's[als] Gannocke[-che] Castell[,] was an ancient Brittishe fortifficac[t]ion in the tyme of the K[k]inges of Brittainy[,:] for Maelgwn ly ...<sup>100</sup> [lyved] there, and lyeth buried at Priestholme<sup>101</sup>, where hee dyed, havynge taken uppon hym the habitt[habit] of a monke[monk], and all the K[k]inges after Maelgwn untill ...<sup>102</sup> [Cad ... ] lyved there, and after ytt continued to bee the seate of the K[k]inges of Northwales [North Wales] until [ ... <sup>103</sup>] the Conquest, that the kinges of England began to invade Northwales [North Wales], and sometymes to gayne[gain] that and other castells in Rhos[,] Rhyn[v]oniog[,] and Te[y]ge[a]ngle. Once you may see ytt [was] reediffi[y]ed in K[k]inge John[']s tyme to the K[k]inge[']s use by the earle of Chester, but the castell[castle] was not originally buylte[built] by any one of the earles of Chester.

Wheras you say that Bangor Vaw[u]r was destroyed by Owen Glynddwr[Glyn Dwr] in revenge of Bushoppe[Bu<sup>pp</sup>e] Madog[']s treason, t[.T]rue ytt y[i]s that the Cathedrall[-al] churche, and Bangor house[,] [together] with the relickes of Bangor fyred by Glyndwr, and the church and house, weare repayed by Bu<sup>pp</sup>e St[c]evington in his tyme, but Bangor Vawr was formerly[,] in anno 1212[,] burned by K[k]inge John, and Bu<sup>pp</sup>e Rotbert[Robert] taken perforce [prisoner]<sup>104</sup>, who was afterwarde ransomed for 200 hawkes.<sup>105</sup>

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to all castles which the king had built in Gwynedd and took them all except two, Degannwy and Rhuddlan' and s.a 1213 'in that year Llywelyn ap Iorwerth took the castle of Degannwy and the castle of Rhuddlan and he gained possession of them' Thomas Jones *B.y T. Pen. MS 20 ver.* Cardiff 1952

118 The word 'razed' is intended

119 Word illegible in *H.BL*'s exemplar.

120 In contradiction to the statement in *Annales Cambriae* in BM Harleian MS 3859 where sub anno AD 547, *Maelgwn* is said to have his 'long sleep' in *Eglwys Rhos* in *Creuddyn* (Llandudno).

121 Word illegible in *H.BL*'s exemplar, partly so in that of *C.A.* Most probably, *Cadwaladr* or *Cadwallon* is intended.

122 *H.BL* indicates no missing word here.

123 It is probable though not certain that 'prisoner' was originally intended

124 What a 'hawke' was, if not the obvious, is unclear