

## New light on a dark deed: the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales

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Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Llywelyn the Last), Lord of Snowdon and Prince of Wales, was killed by forces loyal to Edward I in the land of Builth on 11 December 1282.<sup>1</sup> The force which he had led out of his heartland of Gwynedd into the Middle March was defeated.<sup>2</sup> His brother Dafydd maintained resistance into 1283 but it proved a fruitless effort; he was captured in June and executed at Shrewsbury in October. Though there were subsequent risings and plots involving members of the dynasty of Gwynedd the death of Llywelyn proved crucial in bringing about the collapse of the principality which he and his forebears had constructed. A principality of Wales was indeed revived by Edward I, but it was to be an English dominion, held by the eldest sons of the English monarchs.

The killing of Llywelyn has been the subject of numerous conspiracy theories. The first of these can be traced to the period immediately after his death. It involves the Mortimer brothers, Roger and Edmund, sons of Roger Mortimer who died in October 1282, and who had been lord of Wigmore and of much territory in the Middle March of Wales, including Gwrtheyrnion, Maelienydd, Ceri and Cedewain.<sup>3</sup> The Hagnaby chronicle contains the information that Roger Mortimer had contacted Llywelyn with a plea that he should come and take the homage of himself and his men, and suggested a place where this was to take place.<sup>4</sup> Lord Roger and other magnates of England arranged that they should capture and kill Lord Llywelyn by a trick (or a trap).<sup>5</sup> The Dunstable annalist records that Llywelyn came from Snowdon to the lands which had belonged to Roger Mortimer to take the homage of the men of those parts as he had been deceitfully summoned by Roger's sons (i.e. by Edmund and Roger).<sup>6</sup> This reference to the Roger Mortimer who had died in October 1282 may provide a clue to an apparent mistake by the Hagnaby chronicler, who seems to have confused Roger junior with his brother Edmund, who was the lord of the nearby lands of Maelienydd and Gwrtheyrnion. Beverley Smith notes that the Hagnaby chronicler's reference to Roger Mortimer should 'more correctly' be to his brother Edmund.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the Hagnaby chronicler was confused by the fact that until some two months before the death of the prince the Mortimer who controlled the adjacent lands to Builth was indeed Roger—the father of Edmund and Roger. Other chronicles, such as the Hailes chronicle, and the so-called chronicle of Aberconwy abbey, attribute the leading role in the destruction of the prince to Roger's older brother Edmund.<sup>8</sup>

As well as the fairly clear evidence of the chronicles, the involvement of the Mortimer brothers in Llywelyn's death is strongly suggested by record sources. Archbishop Peckham heard from Edmund that the prince had asked for a priest when he fell wounded.<sup>9</sup> And the archbishop was also able to report that Edmund Mortimer had taken possession of two items found on Llywelyn's body at the time of his death: his privy seal and a letter disguised by false names of treason.<sup>10</sup> This letter concerned Peckham considerably, and when he sent it to Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells and the king's chancellor, he was keen to stress that no-one was to be implicated by the contents.<sup>11</sup> Not all chroniclers report duplicity by the Mortimers in the matter of Llywelyn's death, but enough do to justify Beverley Smith's cautious conclusion that 'deception on the part of magnates . . . has clearly to be postulated in seeking an elucidation of the circumstances in which Llywelyn died.'<sup>12</sup>

Professor Smith goes on to consider a second possible element of treacherous dealing that may have lain behind the prince's death: the notice in *Brut y Tywysogion* of a betrayal of Llywelyn in the belfry of

Bangor by his own men'.<sup>13</sup> The reference remains enigmatic, though it is quite possible that the clergy of Bangor included men who, like others in Gwynedd, had reason to want to see the end of Llywelyn.<sup>14</sup> But as Beverley Smith has amply demonstrated, we can only speculate as to the nature of the betrayal in the belfry, and on its possible relevance to the prince's decision to leave Gwynedd and head for the Middle March.<sup>15</sup>

A third account of a conspiracy behind Llywelyn's death is even vaguer, and can be traced back only as far as the sixteenth century. This ascribes the killing of the prince to some form of treachery on the part of the men of Builth. No further details survive, and the theory has been discussed, and dismissed, by Beverley Smith.<sup>16</sup> The notion that Llywelyn was betrayed by the men of Builth is to be found in sixteenth-century and later sources,<sup>17</sup> but as Smith points out 'men of Builth are not charged with betrayal in any medieval chronicle.'<sup>18</sup> We can add to these sources a report in a (defective) text of the Peniarth MS 20 version of *Brut y Tywysogion* copied by John Jones, Gellilyfdi (d. c. 1658), that Llywelyn had been betrayed by the men of Brycheiniog. Brycheiniog, of course, is adjacent to the lordship of Builth, but there is at present no way of estimating the age of the manuscript that Jones was copying, or the antiquity of the account that it preserves.<sup>19</sup>

And there it is tempting to leave the whole elusive matter of conspiracies and betrayals which may or may not have formed part of the circumstances in which Prince Llywelyn met his end in 1282. But there is one line of enquiry that has hitherto gone unexplored, and which may add something to our understanding. It is becoming increasingly clear that by the early 1270s Llywelyn was beginning to experience serious difficulty in securing or retaining the loyalty of leading figures in the Welsh communities of the Middle March, including the lordships of Brecon, Elfael, Builth and Gwerthryniow over which he had extended his control in the years before he was recognized as Prince of Wales in the Treaty of Montgomery of 1267.<sup>20</sup> These lands lay far beyond Llywelyn's heartland of Gwynedd, over which his grandfather, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, had enjoyed a near-complete mastery for over four decades before his death in 1240. He had in addition exercised a somewhat fitful control over some of the territories of the Middle March, as in Maelienydd in the years after 1215, and in Builth after 1230.<sup>21</sup> But there had been no great tradition of Gwynedd ascendancy in that region. Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's younger son, Dafydd, had succeeded his father as ruler of Gwynedd, to the exclusion of the older, but illegitimate, son Gruffudd. But when Dafydd died in 1246, in the course of a war against the forces of Henry III of England, western Gwynedd—the only part which had escaped occupation by the English—was divided between two of Gruffudd's sons, Owain and Llywelyn.<sup>22</sup> They were joined by 1252 by a third brother, Dafydd, and in 1255 Owain and Dafydd attempted to oust Llywelyn, but were defeated and imprisoned.<sup>23</sup> Llywelyn was thus left as master of western Gwynedd, and in 1256 began to extend his power—first into eastern Gwynedd, where he expelled English forces, and then into other regions of Wales.<sup>24</sup>

In the years which followed, Llywelyn became the dominant force in Wales, including the lordships of the Middle March, and that supremacy was recognized in his acknowledgement by the English government as Prince of Wales in 1267.<sup>25</sup> For some years there are few signs of tensions between the prince and the notable figures amongst the Welsh communities of the March. But it may have seemed to many of them, whose families had learned to prosper under the rule of Anglo-Norman and subsequently English, Marcher lords, that the rule of a prince from Gwynedd posed a threat to their local eminence. That threat appears to have become more real in the early 1270s, when the financial obligations which Llywelyn had incurred at Montgomery became more difficult to fulfil, and when the prince began to withhold payments, ostensibly because the conditions of the treaty of 1267 were not being met.<sup>26</sup> There are signs of increased fiscal pressure exerted by the prince, and signs that that pressure was having an effect on the loyalty of prominent Welsh figures. Many of these were obliged to find financial sureties for their own good conduct towards the prince, and to surrender hostages to guarantee their fidelity, which

was evidently believed to be fragile.<sup>27</sup> And in the course of the 1270s it becomes clear that the prince's grip on the lordships of the Middle March was becoming weaker. In Cantref Selyf in the northern part of Brecon lordship territory was withdrawn from the prince and restored to the control of John Giffard, who had succeeded the Clifford lords as a result of his marriage to the Clifford heiress.<sup>28</sup> As will be made clear below Giffard was evidently supported by leading members of the Welsh community of the region.

But this is not the only case in which we can see prominent figures of the Middle March apparently turning to lords other than Llywelyn. Elsewhere, groups of notables whose loyalty to the prince was in question can be discovered gathered in what look like networks of resistance to the prince's governance. Thus in August of 1271 a charter was issued to Dore abbey granting rights in lands in Cantref Selyf;<sup>29</sup> the grantor was Meurig ap Gruffudd, who, very significantly, had to give sureties of 100 marks in December 1271 for his release from Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's prison and as a guarantee of future loyalty.<sup>30</sup> The witnesses to Meurig's grant to Dore included Hywel ap Meurig, well-known as an administrator and castellan serving the English king, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and Roger Mortimer.<sup>31</sup> In the years after 1277 Hywel acted as the custodian of the castle and lordship of Builth, and by the time of his death in 1281 he had been knighted by Edward I.<sup>32</sup> A second witness was Rhys ap Meurig, possibly Hywel's brother, a former constable of Bronllys in the time of Clifford lordship over Cantref Selyf.<sup>33</sup> The witness list of August 1271 was headed by Walter de Traveley, then described as the constable and steward of Bronllys; his family was associated with Gwent and Brecon. It is clear that he had no association with Prince Llywelyn, but was acting as an important official of the lordship of Bronllys, held by the late summer of 1271 by John Giffard.<sup>34</sup> Of other witnesses to the August 1271 charter Llywelyn ap Caradog is noteworthy, for he also witnessed a charter of March 1276 which I have suggested reveals another group of dissidents from the prince's rule.<sup>35</sup> That charter was also issued to Dore abbey and the lands concerned lay in the lordship of the Three Castles in Gwent; that lordship was held by Edmund of Lancaster, brother of Edward I.<sup>36</sup> The grantor was Walerand ab Adam—a man surely named after Walerand Teutonicus, a man who had served Henry III in a wide variety of important offices, and who was a former royal steward.<sup>37</sup> The witnesses to Walerand's charter included Owain ap Meurig, a man of Builth, a former negotiator who had acted for Henry III in talks with Llywelyn.<sup>38</sup> With others Owain ap Meurig put up money in May 1276 to secure the release by Llywelyn of a prisoner, and to guarantee the released man's future good conduct towards the prince.<sup>39</sup> The prisoner in question was John, son of Hywel ap Meurig discussed above. Another of those who stood surety for him raises deep suspicions about some of the men on whose reliability the prince relied for his control of the lands of the Middle March. The surety in question, Einion ap Madog, acted as Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's bailiff of nearby Gwerthrynion.<sup>40</sup>

Other witnesses to Walerand ab Adam's March 1276 charter included Llywelyn ap Madog and Moelwyn the *maer*. These two men, together with the ubiquitous Llywelyn ap Caradog, had been amongst a group gathered at Builth in November 1271 to stand surety in the sum of £40 for the future loyalty to the prince of Iorwerth ap Llywelyn, another of those men of the Middle March whom Llywelyn ap Gruffudd had imprisoned.<sup>41</sup> Moelwyn had helped to organize the sureties, and it was as two of these that Llywelyn ap Madog and Llywelyn ap Caradog appeared. It is important in this context that Moelwyn's son Ieuan was to become a very prominent member of the official class which served Edward I and Edward of Caernarvon in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century, first as custodian of Builth, and then as a senior and very successful royal official in Ceredigion.<sup>42</sup> Most significantly, Walerand ab Adam had ensured that his charter of March 1276 was authenticated not only by his own seal, but also by the seals of Owain ap Meurig, the prominent man of Builth discussed above, and of the dean of Builth—who was accompanied, according to the text of the document, by 'the whole chapter of Builth'.<sup>43</sup> The gathering

that assembled to witness Walerand's grant thus included several persons of importance in the land of Builth.

There are other members of the Welsh elite of the Middle March who can confidently be identified as opponents of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. Perhaps the principal person amongst these was Einion Sais ap Rhys. Einion was possibly the owner of a castle at Penpont near Capel Betws on the Usk; by 1271 he like others had become the target of the prince's anger, and was forced to present himself before Llywelyn at the prince's castle of Rhyd y Briw, Sennybridge, where he was obliged to provide sureties for his loyalty to the value of two hundred marks.<sup>44</sup> That large amount, and the identity of Einion's sureties, is testimony both to his prominence and to the depth of the prince's hostility. That there was something 'English' in Einion's background is suggested by his sobriquet *Sais*, 'the Englishman'. And we must also consider the case of Meurig ap Llywelyn, who in 1271 was obliged to provide sureties of one hundred marks for the release of a hostage held by the prince.<sup>45</sup> It is clear that numerous magnates in the Middle March were under deep suspicion of disloyalty to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in the 1270s. Exactly how widespread that current of disloyalty was must remain uncertain; it is easy and tempting to assume guilt by association. Regarded in isolation, some of the assemblies that featured men of that region in the same period may appear innocuous enough. But when considered carefully they reveal a network of interlocking relationships in which opposition to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's lordship in the region was an important, even central, feature. That opposition was in many cases made manifest in the war between Edward I and prince Llywelyn in 1277. A document of crucial importance in this context is a roll of wages paid to named commanders of detachments of mainly Welsh troops from the lordships of the Middle March who led their men against Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in that war.<sup>46</sup> The identity of many of those commanders can be established, and it is remarkable how many of them had appeared in the politics of the Middle March over the previous six years—either clearly under Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's suspicion, or associated with those who were suspected of disloyalty.

One of the sureties of 1271 for the loyalty of Iorwerth ap Llywelyn, Llywelyn ap Madog, mounted on a barded steed, led against Prince Llywelyn in 1277 a force of one hundred men from the lordship of Builth. So did the similarly mounted Einion ap Madog, the prince's former bailiff of Gwerthrynion, but who had been amongst the sureties of May 1276 for the release of John son of Hywel ap Meurig. Another of those sureties, Ifor ap Gruffudd formerly the prince's bailiff of Elfael is Mynydd, now led one hundred men from the land where he had once served the prince. Meurig ap Llywelyn, one of the sureties for the release and future loyalty of a hostage held by Llywelyn in November 1271, commanded one hundred men from Brycheiniog. And the man in command of the whole force drawn from the Middle March, some two thousand seven hundred strong, was Hywel ap Meurig, the great partisan of the Mortimers, of Humphrey de Bohun, and of the English king.<sup>47</sup> It seems clear, therefore, that men of the Middle March had been far from happy with Llywelyn's rule before 1277, and that some had actively assisted in his defeat in that year. But the story of the 1270s may well provide a context for the events of the later war of 1282, and it is to that conflict, which was to prove fatal to Prince Llywelyn, that we must now turn.

As noted above, it is evident from both chronicle and record sources that Llywelyn was killed in, or very near to, the land (or lordship) of Builth. The precise circumstances of his death, and the exact place at which it took place, are uncertain. But it seems likely that when he met his end he was accompanied by only a few men, and that he died some distance from the battle in which his army was destroyed. Several sources state or imply that Llywelyn was killed with only a few of his men present: several of the chronicles imply this, including the important continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* found in its Peniarth MS 20 version, while the prince's elegy by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch makes specific reference to 'the killing of the eighteen'.<sup>48</sup> As to the specific place of the prince's death, there can be no certainty, for the contemporary sources are too imprecise. A tradition that can be found in the sixteenth century suggests

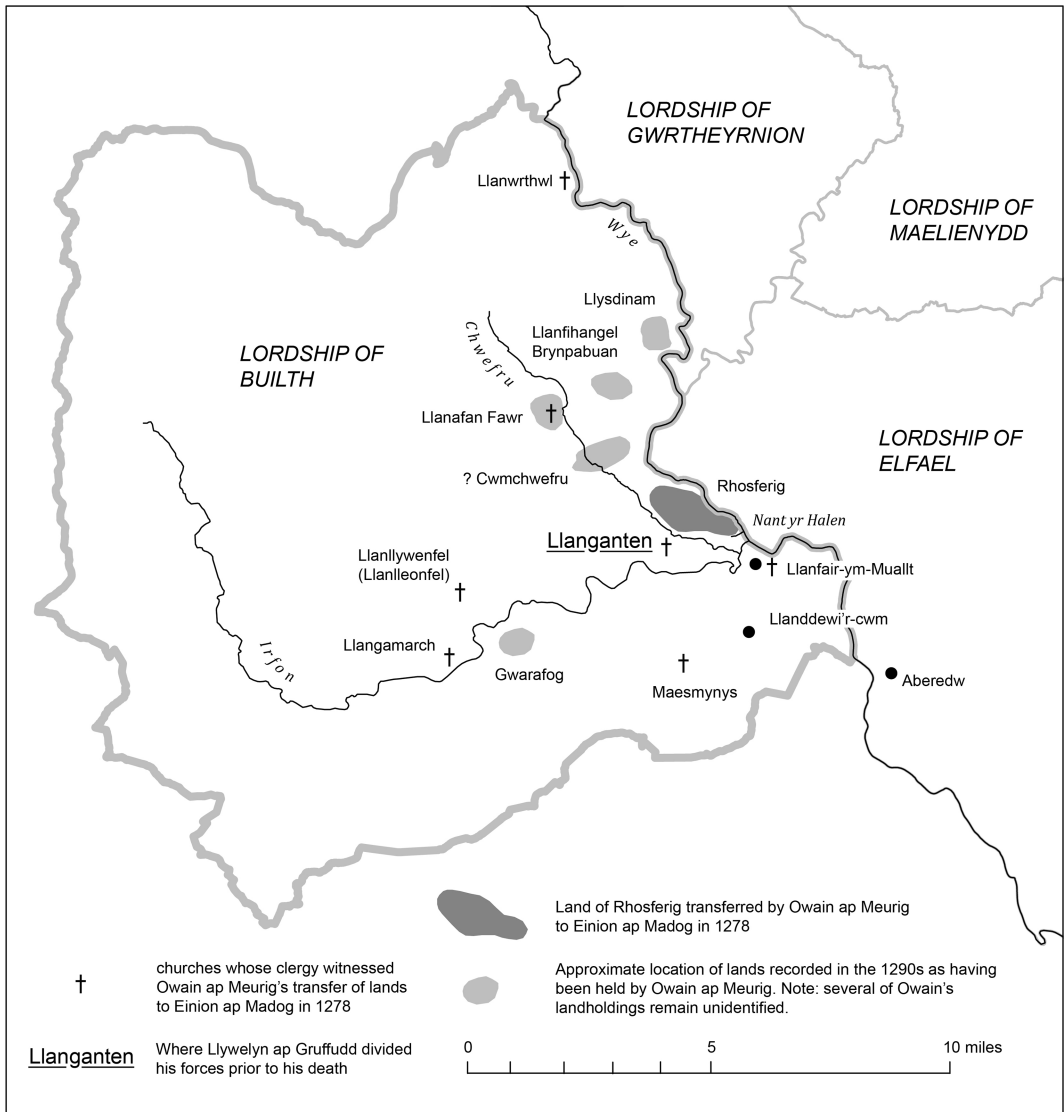


Fig. 1. Key places in the area of Llywelyn's death.

that Llywelyn was lured to, and killed at, Aberedw, about three miles to the south-east of Llanfair-ym-Muallt (Builth Wells), though there is no evidence in contemporary records or chronicle sources to support such a notion. We must suspect that that this was no more than an *ex post facto* identification of the place of the prince's death.<sup>49</sup> The verdict of Beverley Smith, that Llywelyn's killing took place somewhere close to Llanganten, as is implied in *Brut y Tywysogion*, seems the most probable assessment of the location.<sup>50</sup> Now, it is particularly interesting, and potentially very significant, that lands in this area feature in several records of the final quarter of the thirteenth century.

The first document to be considered is one found on the Welsh Assize Roll of Edward I, in which it is recorded that in 1278 Owain ap Meurig had made over to Einion ap Madog and his sons by his wife Lleucu ferch Hywel, together with their heirs, all his land in Cefn Rhosferig, for a term of one hundred and twenty years, in return for twelve and a half marks of silver.<sup>51</sup> The latter sum was to be returned to Einion's heirs by Owain's heirs at the end of the term, as well as payment for any improvements which Einion's heirs had made in the lands in question. Those lands were defined as lying between four watercourses, the Wye, Nant yr Halen, the Chwefru, and *ffosoludak*.<sup>52</sup> The agreement was sealed by Hywel ap Meurig, the king's steward of Builth, and by Philip, the dean of Builth. The witnesses were the chaplain of Llanlleonfel, the vicar of Llangamarch, the parsons of Llanwrthwl, Llanganten, and Maesmynis, as well as a large group of laymen.

It will at once be noticed that many of the people concerned in this transaction, as principals or as witnesses, are known to have been involved in the charters which it has been argued reveal a network of persons opposed to the rule in the Middle March of Prince Llywelyn in the years before 1277. They include several of the clerics who formed the 'chapter of Builth', Owain ap Meurig himself, Einion ap Madog, the prince's bailiff of Gwerthrynion who nevertheless had stood surety for John ap Hywel ap Meurig, and John's father, Hywel ap Meurig, the stalwart supporter of royal, Mortimer and de Bohun interests in central Wales. The group involved in the agreement of 1278 appear to represent something of a clique. It is clear, for instance, that Owain ap Meurig and Einion ap Madog were not unknown to each other: they were close enough for Owain to turn to Einion in a time of need, and exchange some of his lands for money which was urgently needed, though we do not know for what purpose. In 1290, furthermore, it was recorded on the Patent Roll that a dispute had arisen between Einion ap Madog and his coparceners on the one hand, and the co-heirs of Owain ap Meurig on the other. The dispute concerned lands that had been Owain ap Meurig's and were noted as Lanavan (Llanafan), Lystynan (Llysdinam) Cumwheury (Cwm Chwefru), Trevan (unknown), Kylewrah (unknown), Maysely (unknown), Lanvyhangel (Llanfihangel Brynpabuan), Goeravauk (Gwarafog).<sup>53</sup> Records of enquiries relating to this dispute reveal that Owain ap Meurig's nearest heirs were three women, his illegitimate daughters Angharad, Efa and Tangwystl.<sup>54</sup> This perhaps raises the possibility that the absence of a son in 1278 may have facilitated Owain's decision to make over the Rhosferig lands to Einion ap Madog.

We are thus now able to establish, at least in part, lands which had been held by Owain ap Meurig and his associates. Those lands extended through much of the eastern part of the lordship of Builth—with a distinct concentration in the area to the north and north-west of Llanfair-ym-Muallt itself.<sup>55</sup> The lands made over to Einion ap Madog lay exactly to the north-west of that castle and town, and constituted the promontory which was bounded by the rivers Chwefru and Wye. Apart from Gwarafog, located south of the Irfon, the lands in question appear to cover an area very close to that through which Llywelyn's forces must have travelled if they did indeed enter the lordship of Builth from the north, and if they divided at Llanganten.<sup>56</sup> That is to say that Llywelyn had made his way to an area where the lands were held by men who had opposed him before and during 1277. The Mortimers may have had contacts in Builth, but Builth was a royal lordship, not in the hands of the Mortimers or of any other Marcher lord. Llywelyn may have been seeking some form of neutral ground if he was making a rendezvous with the Mortimers and their allies. The eastern region of Builth lordship would have been an ideal place, for it offered territory possessed by at least one man who had been one of the prince's officials—Einion ap Madog.<sup>57</sup> But if the Mortimers were intent on springing a trap, it would be of great help if the trap could be set in territory where they had allies—such as a former royal negotiator and a former official of the prince—who knew the terrain intimately. The *Brut* is clear that Llywelyn sent his forces on towards Brycheiniog at Llanganten—though they may very well have been confronted almost

immediately by royal troops moving out of Llanfair-ym-Muallt.<sup>58</sup> If, as seems likely, Llywelyn then moved to a pre-arranged meeting-place, he is most likely to have headed in the direction of Mortimer territory or territory close to Roger Lestrangle's line of approach to Builth from Montgomery. In other words, Llywelyn is likely to have moved into the area east or north-east of Llanganten, to lands which had belonged to his old opponent Owain ap Meurig, and were then in the possession of his former official and subsequent adversary, Einion ap Madog. It seems, therefore, that Llywelyn may well have been lured into a land occupied by men—clerics and laymen—who had been involved with opposition to him when he was the lord of much of the Middle March, and who had strong associations with royal and Marcher governance. He may have been convinced that exposure to renewed Marcher and royal rule had made them turn once more to him as a potential lord. He may equally have believed that the Mortimer brothers, and perhaps others, were sufficiently disenchanted with Edward I to want to make a deal with a prince whose forces and allies were capable of inflicting defeats on the king's armies.<sup>59</sup> The probability appears to be that the territories of which Owain ap Meurig and Einion ap Madog were possessed turned out to be a killing ground, with the prince as the victim.

We must be careful not to make too much of the material discussed here; there is no smoking gun to enable us to point conclusively to men responsible for the luring of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd to a place where a deadly trap might easily be sprung. But consideration of the identities and the histories of men who held the lands where it is probable that Llywelyn was killed, and who knew intimately the terrain, is enough to introduce more than a whiff of smoke. Perhaps there is, after all, an element of truth in the story of a sort of betrayal—or involvement in a plot—by some at least of the men of Builth.

#### APPENDIX: NOTES ON THE DATE OF LLYWELYN'S DEATH

11 December 1282 is the conventionally accepted date. A recent attempt has been made to assign the killing of the prince to the previous day.<sup>60</sup> While uncertainty over the precise date does not materially affect the present analysis it seems sensible to include here a few preliminary observations which may help to clarify matters.

Roger Lestrangle reported to Edward I that his men had fought with, and killed, Llywelyn on Friday after the feast of St Nicholas—that is 11 December<sup>61</sup> *Brut y Tywysogion* is quite definite that the killing of Llywelyn and his foremost men took place on Friday 11 December, 'the day of Damasus the Pope', after he had sent the bulk of his force on towards Brycheiniog.<sup>62</sup> 11 December 1282 did indeed fall on a Friday. As noted below, the Latin chronicle underlying the *Brut* for this period was constructed at Strata Florida, thus making it the account which was geographically closest to the location of Llywelyn's death. I have suggested that monastic granges of Cistercian houses were employed by chroniclers connected with those houses as 'listening posts', and it may therefore be significant that Strata Florida had a grange at Llanddewi'r-cwm just south of Llanfair-ym-Muallt<sup>63</sup> The 'Strata Florida phase' of the Continuation of the *Brut* from 1282 to 1332 contains a detailed section covering 1282–83, followed by a gap of four years when chronicling seems to have been abandoned, while entries with a clear Strata Florida focus begin again in 1287, and continue until 1290. It thus appears that the Latin chronicle which underlies the Welsh text was compiled in bursts, very close in time to the events which were being recorded.<sup>64</sup> We should therefore pay special attention to the *Brut*, both because it appears to have information derived from sources close to Llywelyn and because of its proximity in place and time to the events of December 1282. Roger Lestrangle's unambiguous report to the king also deserves to be treated entirely seriously, as it is the earliest record source relating to Llywelyn's death, an event with which men close to Lestrangle were closely associated by some chroniclers.<sup>65</sup>

## NOTES

1. For brief discussion of the date of Llywelyn's death see the Appendix (above).
2. LeStrange noted that Llywelyn's army was defeated and all the flower of his men were dead: J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales* (Cardiff: University Press Board, 1935), 84.
3. The role of the Mortimer brothers is considered by J. Beverley Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales*, 2nd edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), 551–2.
4. Noticed *ibid.* 551. The Hagnaby text (British Library Cotton MS Vespasian B xi, fo. 28) records that Roger Mortimer had urged Llywelyn *ut veniret et acciperet homagium de se et hominibus suis et assignavit locum*. The last phrase is of great interest in the context of the argument of the present paper.
5. *Ibid.*
6. H. R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia*, in *Annales Monastici* iii (Rolls Series, London, 1866), 292, recording that *per filios dicti Rogeri fraudeliter fuerat evocatus*.
7. Smith op. cit. (note 3), 551.
8. For the Hailes chronicle see British Library Cotton MS Cleopatra D iii, fo. 48; for the 'Aberconwy chronicle' see H. Ellis (ed.), 'Register and Chronicle of the abbey of Aberconway', in *Camden Miscellany*, vol. 1 (London: Camden Society, 39, 1846), 12. For analysis of the latter see David Stephenson, *The Aberconwy Chronicle*, Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lecture II (Cambridge: Hughes Hall and Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2002).
9. C. T. Martin (ed.), *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, Rolls Series, vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1884), 490.
10. *Ibid.* 489, 491.
11. *Ibid.* 490–2.
12. Smith op. cit. (note 3), 552.
13. Thomas Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS. 20 Version* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1952), 120.
14. See for discussion Smith op. cit. (note 3), 552–5.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.* 550–2.
17. *Ibid.* 551, n. 144 (citing T. Twyne, *The Breviary of Britayne* (London, 1573), 59, and D. Powel *History of Cambria* (1584), 374).
18. *Ibid.*
19. Under 1240 (Jones op. cit. (note 13), 105), the year of the death of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, the copy of the chronicle made by John Jones notes that 'others said that Llywelyn was seized in Brycheiniog, through the treachery of the men of the land, by Lord Mortimer. . . . but that Llywelyn was Llywelyn ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.'
20. David Stephenson, 'Empires in Wales: from Gruffudd ap Llywelyn to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd', *Welsh History Review* 28.1 (2016), 49–53; *idem*, 'Conquerors, Courtiers and Careerists: the struggle for Brycheiniog, 1093–1282', *Brycheiniog* 44 (2013), 27–51.
21. For Maelienydd see Huw Pryce (ed.), *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), 17 and nos 238 and 247. For Builth see *ibid.* nos 261n and 265n.
22. Smith op. cit. (note 3), 65–7; David Stephenson, *Political Power in Medieval Gwynedd* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), 156–8.
23. Smith op. cit. (note 3), 73–6.



24. Ibid. 77–108.
25. Pryce op. cit. (note 21), no. 363.
26. For discussion of the main arguments relating to Llywelyn’s withholding payments see David Stephenson, ‘From Llywelyn ap Gruffudd to Edward I: expansionist rulers and Welsh society in thirteenth-century Gwynedd’, in Diane M. Williams and John R. Kenyon (eds), *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 13.
27. See for examples J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Littere Wallie* (Cardiff: University Press Board, 1940), 23–4, 26, 28, 30, 32–3, 35, 40–4, 126.
28. Stephenson 2013 op. cit. (note 20), 43, 49, n. 113.
29. Stephenson 2016 op. cit. (note 20), 50–1.
30. Ibid. 49.
31. Ibid.
32. Stephenson 2013 op. cit. (note 20), 41.
33. Ibid. 38–40.
34. Ibid. 43, 49, n. 112.
35. Stephenson 2016 op. cit. (note 20), 50–1.
36. Ibid. The suggestion made there that the men of Builth who appear in the witness-list had travelled to Gwent may need to be modified. The fact that all of the witnesses appear to have been connected with Builth may indicate that Walerand had travelled to the latter territory. If that was indeed the case it may raise the suspicion that the grant may not have been the main reason for the presence in Builth of a man from a lordship of Edmund of Lancaster. Making contact with men unfavourable to Llywelyn at a time of rapidly worsening relations between the king and the prince may have been an important motive behind the proceedings.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Edwards op. cit. (note 27), 41–2.
40. Ibid. 40–1.
41. Ibid.
42. Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the later Middle Ages, I: South Wales, 1277–1536* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972), 283–4.
43. Stephenson 2016 op. cit. (note 20), 50–1 and n. 121.
44. Stephenson 2013 op. cit. (note 20), 42.
45. Ibid.
46. London, The National Archives, E 101/3/11.
47. The payments are all recorded on a membrane pencil-marked ‘3’.
48. Jones op. cit. (note 13), 120; the Welsh text is quite clear: the prince, having divided his forces, was left with *bychydic o wyr gyd ac ef*; Thomas Jones (gol.), *Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS 20* (Caerdydd, 1941), 228. Amongst other accounts, the Chester annals note that Llywelyn was killed *cum paucis*: R. C. Christie (ed.), *Annales Cestrienses*, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire 14 (London, 1887), 108. For the reference to the killing of the eighteen (*lladd y deunaw*) by Gruffudd ab yr Ynad Coch see Rhian M. Andrews (gol.), ‘Marwnad Llywelyn ap Gruffudd’, in R. M. Andrews et al. (goln), *Gwaith Bleddyn Fardd a Beirdd Eraill ail hanner y Drydedd Ganrif ar Ddeg* (Caerdydd, 1996), 36.29 (p. 423).
49. See Anthony Edwards, *Appointment at Aberedwy: the Death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales* (Pen-y-Groes, 1992). The form Aberedwy is sometimes used, as in the publication noticed here, but the more usual form is Aberedw; both forms are found in the thirteenth century: see

- for example Richard Morgan, *A Study of Radnorshire Place-Names* (Llanrwst, 1998), 29. See Smith op. cit. (note 3), 562, n. 175, for the verdict that ‘there is nothing in the material of the late thirteenth century which lends credence to it’ (i.e. to the Aberedw tradition).
50. Smith op. cit. (note 3), 567. The (modern) monument commemorating Llywelyn’s death is at Cilmeri, a short distance to the south-west of Llanganten.
  51. J. C. Davies (ed.), *The Welsh Assize Roll, 1277–84* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1940), 299.
  52. *Ffosoludak* has not yet been identified; it was clearly located at the north-western end of Rhosferig. The courses of the Chwefru and the Wye are clear. Nant yr Halen was recorded in the nineteenth century as running close to the Pump House at Park Wells, and represents the south-eastern limit of Rhosferig; see Revd D. P. Davies, *Builth Wells and its Vicinity* (Builth Wells: C. Sirett, 1867), 42. It appears to be the stream which flows into the Wye just south of the Pen-ddôl Rocks.
  53. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1281–92*, 401.
  54. *Original documents printed as a Supplement to the Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 1 (1877) cxlv–cxlviii.
  55. See the accompanying map.
  56. *Brut y Tywysogyon Peniarth MS 20 Version* (Jones op. cit. (note 13), 120) is quite definite that Llanganten was the point of division.
  57. It should be noted that in 1343 it was recorded that Llywelyn had given to Einion ap Madog territory by the name of Hafod Fraich within Builth lordship: *Original documents printed as a Supplement to the Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 1 (1887), clxxv.
  58. Ibid.
  59. Llywelyn’s last campaign was preceded by the disaster which overtook Edward’s men at the crossing of the Menai; earlier in the year there had been a significant reverse for the forces of the earl of Gloucester near Llandeilo: see Smith op. cit. (note 3), 521, 536–42.
  60. P. M. Remfry, *The Killing of Prince Llywelyn of Wales, 10 December 1282* (Ceidio: Castle Studies Research and Publishing, 2014).
  61. Edwards op. cit. (note 2), 83–4.
  62. Jones op. cit. (note 13), 120–1.
  63. See David Stephenson, ‘The chronicler at Cwm-hir abbey, 1257–63: the construction of a Welsh chronicle’, in R. A. Griffiths and P. R. Schofield (eds), *Wales and the Welsh in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 34–5; for the grange at Llanddewi’r-cwm see David H. Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1990), 58.
  64. See G. and T. M. Charles-Edwards, ‘The Continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Peniarth MS 20’, in Tegwyn Jones and E. B. Fryde (eds), *Essays and Poems presented to Daniel Huws* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1994), 302. I propose to examine the construction of the continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in detail elsewhere.
  65. For a discussion of some of the evidence relating to the possible involvement of Robert Body and Stephen de Frankton see Smith op. cit. (note 3) 566–7.