

MEYSYDD BRWYDRO HANESYDDOL YNG NGHYMRU

Mae'r adroddiad canlynol, a gomisiynwyd gan Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro Cymru ac a ariennir gan Lywodraeth Cymru, yn ffurfio rhan o raglen archwilio fesul cam i daflu goleuni ar yr ystyriaeth o Gofrestr neu Restr o Feysydd Brwydro Hanesyddol yng Nghymru. Dechreuwyd gweithio ar hyn ym mis Rhagfyr 2007 dan gyfarwyddyd Cadw, gwasanaeth amgylchedd hanesyddol Llywodraeth Cymru, ac yr oedd yn dilyn cwblhau prosiect gan Gomisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru (RCAHMW) i bennu pa feysydd brwydro yng Nghymru a allai fod yn addas i'w nodi ar fapiau'r Arolwg Ordnans. Sefydlwyd y Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, yn cynnwys aelodau o Cadw, Comisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru ac Amgueddfa Genedlaethol Cymru, a rhwng 2009 a 2014 comisiynwyd ymchwil ar 47 o frwydrau a gwarchaeau. Mae hyn yn bennaf yn cynnwys ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol, ac mewn 10 achos, gwaith maes heb fod yn ymyrryd a gwaith a oedd yn ymyrryd.

O ganlyniad i'r gwaith hwn mae **Rhestr o Feysydd Brwydro Hanesyddol yng Nghymru** (<http://meysyddbrwydro.cbhc.gov.uk/>) yn cael ei datblygu, dan arweiniad Comisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru ar ran Cadw. Bydd yn adnodd deongliadol, addysgol ac ymchwil ar-lein, yn anelu at gynyddu gwybodaeth a chodi ymwybyddiaeth o feysydd brwydro yng Nghymru, yn ogystal ag ysgogi ymchwil bellach. Gobeithir ei lansio yn ystod gwanwyn 2017.

HISTORIC BATTLEFIELDS IN WALES

The following report, commissioned by the Welsh Battlefields Steering Group and funded by Welsh Government, forms part of a phased programme of investigation undertaken to inform the consideration of a Register or Inventory of Historic Battlefields in Wales. Work on this began in December 2007 under the direction of the Welsh Government's Historic Environment Service (Cadw), and followed the completion of a Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) project to determine which battlefields in Wales might be suitable for depiction on Ordnance Survey mapping. The Battlefields Steering Group was established, drawing its membership from Cadw, RCAHMW and National Museum Wales, and between 2009 and 2014 research on 47 battles and sieges was commissioned. This principally comprised documentary and historical research, and in 10 cases both non-invasive and invasive fieldwork.

As a result of this work **The Inventory of Historic Battlefields in Wales** (<http://battlefields.rcahmw.gov.uk/>) is in development, led by the RCAHMW on behalf of Cadw. This will be an online interpretative, educational and research resource aimed at increasing knowledge and raising awareness of battlefields in Wales, as well as a prompt for further research. It is due to be launched in spring 2017.

Mae'r tabl isod yn rhestru'r brwydrau a'r gwarchaeau a ymchwiliwyd. Bydd adroddiadau ar gael i'w llwytho i lawr o'r Rhestr ar-ein yn ogystal ag o Coflein (<http://www.coflein.gov.uk/>), y gronfa ddata ar-lein ar gyfer Cofnod Henebion Cenedlaethol Cymru (NMRW).

The table below lists the battles and sieges researched. Reports will be available to download from the online Inventory as well as from Coflein (<http://www.coflein.gov.uk/>), the online database for the National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW).

ENW/NAME	DYDDIAD/ DATE	SIR HANESYDDOL/HI STORIC COUNTY	NPRN	YMCHWIL/RESEARCH
Aberllech	1096	Sir Frycheiniog Brecknockshire	404446	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pont Cychod (Menai ac Ynys Môn) Bridge of Boats (Menai and Anglesey)	1282	Ynys Môn Anglesey	404319	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Bryn Derwin	1255	Sir Gaernarfon Caernarfonshire	402322	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Bryn Glas (Pillth)	1402	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	306352	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013)

				<p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)</p> <p>Excavation (Archaeology Wales, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Campston Hill	1404	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402328	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>
Cilgerran	1258	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	405201	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Coed Llathan	1257	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	403587	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive fieldwork</p>

				(Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Castell Coety (gwarchae) /Coity Castle (siege)	1404-05	Morgannwg Glamorgan	545701	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Coleshill	1157	Sir y Fflint Flintshire	402325	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (2009) Documentary and historical research (2009)
Craig y Dorth	1404	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402327	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Crug Mawr	1136	Sir Aberteifi Cardiganshire	402323	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Castell Cymaron (gwarchaeau) / Cymaron Castle (sieges)	1144 1179 1195	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	545328	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)

	1215			
Cymerau	1257	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	404717	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013) Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1282	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545687	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1294-5	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545613	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1460	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545718	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh Castle (siege)	1468	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545720	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dinbych (gwarchae)/ Denbigh	1646	Sir Ddinbych	545789	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)

Castle (siege)		Denbighshire		Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Dryslwyn (gwarchae) / Dryslwyn Castle (siege)	1287	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545605	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Carregwastad - Abergwaun (ymosodiad) / Carregwastad Point – Fishguard (invasion)	1797	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	308824	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Gŵyr/ Gower	1136	Morgannwg Glamorgan	404856	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Grosmont	1405	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402333	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)
Hyddgen	1401	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	402310	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical

				research (Chapman, 2013)
Pont Irfon (Llanganten) / Irfon Bridge /	1282	Sir Frycheiniog Brecknockshire	403411	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Cydweli / Kidwelly	1258	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	404729	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Castell Talacharn (gwarchae) / Laugharne Castle (sieges)	1189 1215 1257-8 1644	Sir Gaerfyrddin	545245 545341 545436 545746	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Maes Gwenllian	1136	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	402324	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)
Maes Moydog	1295	Sir Drefaldwyn	403416	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)

		Montgomeryshire		<p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Trefaldwyn / Montgomery	1644	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	405168	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Mynydd Carn	1081	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	300319	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn (siege)	1287-8	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545606	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p>
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn	1645	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545768	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)</p>
Gwrthryfel y Siartwyr, Casnewydd / Newport Chartist Uprising	1839	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	405003	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>

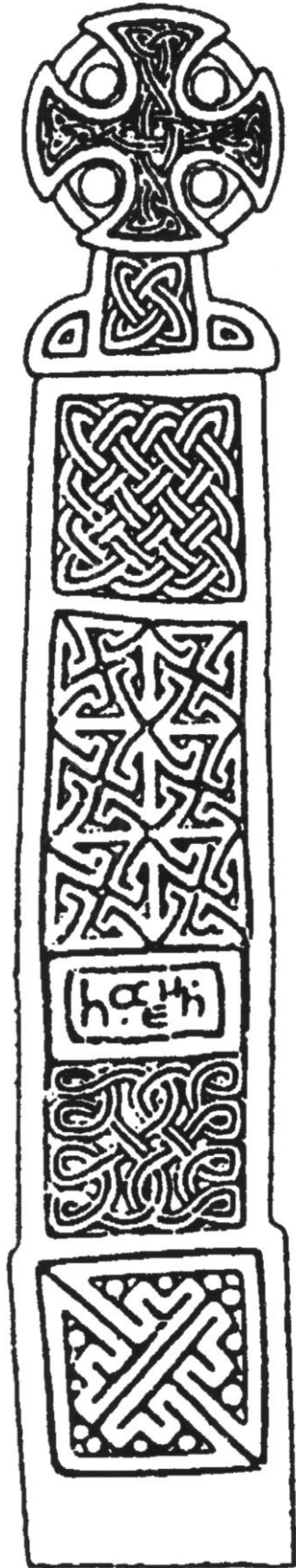
Paincastle	1198	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	402326	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012) Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009) Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012) Excavation (Archaeology Wales, 2013)
Pennal	1472/4	Meirionnydd Merioneth	403495	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Pentraeth	1170	Ynys Môn Anglesey	404315	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pwllgwdig	1078	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	405188	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Pwll Melyn	1405	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	402320	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd

				<p>(Archaeoleg Cymru, 2014)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Castell Rhaglan (gwarchae) / Raglan Castle (siege)	1646	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	545797	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)</p>
Sain Ffagan / St Fagans	1648	Morgannwg Glamorgan	307776	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2012)</p> <p>Gwaith ymchwil heb fod yn ymyrryd ac a oedd yn ymyrryd (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2012)</p> <p>Non-invasive and invasive fieldwork (Archaeology Wales, 2013)</p>
Twthill	1461	Sir Gaernarfon Caernarfonshire	403421	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p> <p>Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)</p>

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Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, Hydref 2016

Battlefields Steering Group, October 2016



Welsh Battlefields Historical Research:

Crug Mawr (1136)

(Order Number IJ/017430: November 2009)

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Battle Name: Crug Mawr (10 October 1136)

1. Summary

Site of Battle

Traditionally reputed to be situated at Banc y Warren (NGR SN 207472), a conical hill situated approximately 200m NE of Crug Mawr Farm and 3km NE of Cardigan; however another suggested location for the battle is located close to Cardigan Castle (NGR SN 1778 4590).

Historical Context

The battle of Crug Mawr represented the third major military success gained by the Welsh in 1136, the first being Hywel ap Maredudd of Brycheiniog's victory at Gower in January of that year, the second being the death of the powerful Marcher lord Richard de Clare in an ambush at Coed Gwryne near Abergavenny some three months later.¹

In many respects, this battle may be viewed as the culmination of a series of separate revolts by the Welsh against Anglo-Norman rule immediately following the death of Henry I, resulting in the re-establishment of Welsh lordship over a significant proportion of southern and central West Wales at the expense of the Anglo-Norman and Flemish lords (in particular the de Clare family) who had gradually asserted control over much of this territory during the preceding forty years.

In military terms, however, the battle was also of exceptional significance as representing the first major engagement between substantial Welsh and Anglo-Norman forces in which the Welsh emerged victorious since Cadwgan ap Bleddyn's victory at Coed Yspwys in 1093. The importance of the battle is also attested by the fact that it was commented upon by several contemporary English annalists, who were evidently alarmed by the scale of the defeat and the grave losses sustained by the Anglo-Norman and Flemish forces.²

2. Narrative of Battle

Prelude to the Battle

The date of the battle appears to be established by a marginal gloss 'y Sadwrn Du' (literally translated as 'Black Saturday') which appears opposite the account of the

¹ A contemporary chronicle account of the Welsh victory in Gower (dated to 1 January 1136) and the ambush and death of Richard de Clare is contained in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. P. McGurk (Oxford 1998) III, 219-221.

² In particular see the accounts given in *Gesta Stephani*, ed. & trans. K. R. Potter & R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. P. McGurk (Oxford 1998) III, 221-223 and R.R. Darlington (ed.), 'Winchcombe Annals, 1049-1181', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P. M Barnes & C.F. Slade, Pipe Rolls Society Vol. 36 (London, 1960), 118.

engagement contained in the Peniarth MS 20 text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the Anglicised version 'Blake Saterndey' appears as a footnote to account of the battle given in the 'C' text of the *Annales Cambriae*. This, taken together with the statement by the Gloucester continuator of the Chronicle of John of Worcester that the battle took place 'in the second week of the month of October (1136)', seems to indicate that the probable date of the battle was Saturday 10th October.³

The fullest accounts of movements of the Welsh forces prior to the battle are contained in the Peniarth MS 20 and Red Book of Hergest texts of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae*, which share close similarities and are very likely derived from a single source.⁴ They refer to two campaigns in Ceredigion led by Owain and Cadwaladr, sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan lord of Gwynedd, the first of which resulted in the destruction of 'the castle of Walter de Bec, Aberystwyth Castle, the castle of Richard de la Mar and Castell Dinerth (SN 4949 6237), as well as burning down the castle of Caerwedros (SN 3761 5577).⁵

Towards the end of 1136, Owain and Cadwaladr mounted another, more substantial campaign in Ceredigion, this time with the support of other Welsh nobles including Gruffydd ap Rhys lord of Cantref Mawr, Madog ap Idnerth, lord of Cynllibwg and the Hywel ap Maredudd of Cantred Bychan and his two sons (Maredudd and Rhys ap Hywel) who are described in the *Annales* and *Brut* as coming in strength (*potenter*) to 'Abertewy (Aberteifi)', which presumably refers to the town of Cardigan itself.⁶ Curiously, both the 'C' text of the *Annales Cambriae* and Gerald of Wales in his brief account of the battle place Gruffydd ap Rhys in overall command of the Welsh army.⁷

Opposing this combined Welsh force was a substantial Anglo-Norman and Flemish army. The account contained in the *Gesta Stephani*, which was compiled shortly after the events described, mentions that the Anglo-Norman contingent consisted of 'Richard (de Clare's) own knights with the addition of some others who to the

³ See discussion of dating of the battle in *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952), 173n and *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, III, 222n. For further comment see J.R. Lloyd, *The Story of Ceredigion* (Cardiff, 1937), 54n.

⁴ *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952), 51-2 *Brut y Tywysogion: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1973), 114-5; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1971), 145-7. *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860). For a translation of the *Annales* with useful notes see P.M. Remfry, *Annales Cambriae: A Translation of Harleian MS 3859, PRO E 164/1, Cottonian Domitian A.1 Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3514 and MS Exchequer DB Neath PRO E164/1* (Shrewsbury 2007), a full diplomatic edition of these chronicles is urgently needed.

⁵ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40, 'Owinus et Catwaladrus filii Grifini exercitum in Cardigaun moveat, et castello Walter de Bek; et castello Aberystuit, et Castello Ricardi de la Mar et Dinierth destructis, Kairwedros quoque combusserunt et sic ad propria reversi sunt'.

⁶ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40, 'Owinus et Catwaladrus iterum ad Keredigeau venerunt, quibus in adiutorium Grifinus filius Resi, et Resus filius Hoeli et Madocus filius Idnerth et filii Hoeli ad Abertewy potenter venerunt'.

⁷ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40n.

number of three thousand, including footsoldiers, has assembled to help them from the neighbouring towns and castles'.⁸

The leaders of the Anglo-Norman/Flemish contingent are specified in greater detail in the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae* and the Peniarth, RBH and Brenhinedd texts of the Brut. The Annales text states that 'resisting them (the Welsh) on the other part came Stephen the Constable, the sons of Gerald (meaning Maurice and William Fitz Gerald the sons of Gerald of Windsor constable of Pembroke) and all the French from the Severn to St David's and the Flemings of Rhos'.⁹

The description given in the Peniarth, RBH and Brenhinedd texts is largely similar to that in the *Annales* although some additional names are given, specifically Robert fitz Martin (lord of Cemais) and William fitz Odo (presumably William fitz Odo de Barri of Manorbier) and the remaining forces are described in the Peniarth and RBH texts as consisting of 'all the Flemings and all the knights (and all the French) from the estuary of the Neath to the estuary of the Dyfi.'¹⁰

The Battle and its Aftermath

The actual events of the battle are somewhat variably documented in the available documentary sources. The most detailed account from the Anglo-Norman perspective is that contained in the *Gesta Stephani*, which describes how 'the Welsh 'divided themselves into three bands methodically and with a view to war, and surrounded on three sides and routed Richard's own knights with the addition of some others who to the number of three thousand, including footsoldiers, had assembled to help them from the neighbouring towns and castles'.¹¹

The *Gesta* then describes in some detail the subsequent rout of the Anglo-Norman forces and their pursuit and slaughter by the Welsh, stating that the Welsh 'pursuing them in energetic and spirited fashion with shouts and arrows they pitifully slaughtered some, others they massacred by driving them violently into a river (presumably the Teifi) a good number they put in houses and churches to which they set fire and burnt them'.¹² The latter reference to the burning of houses and churches has been taken by scholars to refer to the ransacking by the Welsh of the

⁸ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. & trans. Potter & Davis (Oxford, 1976) 16-17, 'ipsosque Ricardi milites, sed et alios nonnullos, qui usque ad tria milia cum peditum agmine ex vicinis urbibus et castellis ad auxillium eorum convenerant'.

⁹ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40.

¹⁰ *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952) *Brut y Tywysogion: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1973); *Brenhinedd y Saeson*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1971).

¹¹ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. & trans. Potter & Davis (Oxford, 1976) 16-17, 'ex diversis provinciis in immensum se coadunantes exercitum, terram illus ingressi, in tres se terribiles turmas ordinate et bellicose diviserunt, ipsosque Ricardi milites, sed et alios nonnullos, qui usque ad tria milia cum peditum agmine ex vicinis urbibus et castellis ad auxillium eorum convenerant, ex tribus partibus perlustrantes in fugam miserunt'.

¹² *Gesta Stephani*, ed. & trans. Potter & Davis (Oxford, 1976) 16-17, 'eosque cum clamore sagittarumque emissionem viriliter et animose insequentes, alios miseranda modis occiserunt, alios in flumine viriliter impulsos enecuerunt, nonnullos domibus et templis ignibus impositis cremandos tradiderunt'.

town of Cardigan in the aftermath of the battle; the allusion to churches (templa) was assumed by Lloyd to refer specifically to the Benedictine priory of Holy Trinity which had been founded c.1110 by Gilbert de Clare.¹³

However it is possible that the *Gesta* may be referring to a general plundering not only of Cardigan but also the surrounding district. Significantly the author of the *Gesta* adds that the widow of Richard de Clare, had taken refuge in an 'impregnable fortified castle' (*quoddam castellum...inexpugnabili munitione vallatum*) which was closely besieged by the Welsh and was eventually relieved by an expedition led by Miles of Gloucester lord of Brecon; this stronghold may be identified with Cardigan Castle.¹⁴

The description in the *Gesta* of the slaughter of the Anglo-Norman and Flemish troops at the river after the battle appears to be corroborated by the account given in the Gloucester continuator of the Chronicle of John of Worcester. The latter account although briefer than that in the *Gesta*, provides a more specific *locale* for the massacre, placing it in the vicinity of the bridge crossing the Teifi, which apparently collapsed either as a result of the flight or as a result of its destruction by the Welsh. The chronicler vividly describes how 'when the bridge over the River Teifi was broken it was piteous to see crowds passing backwards and forwards across a bridge formed by a horrible mass of human corpses and horses drowned in the river'.¹⁵

The main accounts of the battle in the Welsh sources, namely the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae* (NA E164/1) and the various texts of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, show close similarities suggesting that they derived their information from a common source although there are some important differences to be noted. The account in the Peniarth and Red Book of Hergest versions of the *Brut* state that 'after joining battle and fighting fiercely on both sides, the Flemings and the Normans took to flight according to their usual custom'.¹⁶ The account contained in the *Brenhinedd* differs slightly from that given in the Peniarth and RBH texts of the *Brut*, specifically stating that 'all at once the Flemings fled' which might suggest that it was the flight of one part of the army which resulted in a general rout.¹⁷

The account in the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae* appears to generally agree with that given in the various texts of the *Brut*, although it is much more terse and includes two statements of particular importance 1/ it specifically refers to 'the battle having commenced in front of the castle' (*proelio coram castellum initio*) and 2/ it mentions that Cardigan Castle remained in the possession of the Anglo-Norman forces after the battle, which corroborates the account given in the *Gesta Stephani*

¹³ J.E. Lloyd, *History of Wales* (London 1939), II, 173.

¹⁴ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. & trans. Potter & Davis (Oxford, 1976) 18-19

¹⁵ *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, III, 220-1 'Eratque ibi magnam videre miseriam, cum fracto ponte super fluvium Teuwi, fieret huc illucque discursantibus pons humanorum corporum sive equorum inibi dimensorum horrenda congeries'.

¹⁶ *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952) *Brut y*

Tywysogion: Red Book of Hergest Version, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1973)

¹⁷ *Brenhinedd y Saeson*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1971)

of the widow of Richard de Clare remaining under siege in the castle until its relief by Miles of Gloucester.¹⁸

Significantly the accounts given in the *Annales Cambriae* and the various texts of the *Brut* corroborate the evidence of the English chronicle sources for a general slaughter of the fleeing Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces in the vicinity of the river crossing at Cardigan; the *Annales* describes how 'the French and Flemings were put to flight, some captured, some killed and others burnt and trampled by horses feet and drowned in the River Teifi.'¹⁹

In addition to the accounts given in the English and Welsh chronicle sources, it is important to note the independent account given by the Welsh bard Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (fl. c. 1155-1200) in his poem entitled 'In praise of Owain Gwynedd' (*Arwyrain Owain Gwynedd*), probably composed at some time between 1157 and 1167, which contains a lengthy and vivid description of the battle that, although somewhat impressionistic, is worth quoting at length:²⁰

*At Aberteifi fallen spears shattered
As at Badon clamorous onslaught
I saw savage troops and stiff red corpses
It was left to the wolves, their burial;
I saw them abandoned, defenceless
Beneath birds' feet, strong men slain
I saw their ruin, three hundred corpses
I saw after battle, intestines on thorns,
I saw dreadful tumult in turmoil
Troops contending, a rout collapsing.*

Having considered the testimony of the available sources, it is possible to establish in broad terms the narrative of the battle as follows:

1/ A fierce initial engagement between the Welsh and Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces. The location of this initial engagement remains uncertain (see below for further detailed discussion) Gerald of Wales's testimony places the field of battle at Crug Mawr, some 3km to the NE of Cardigan, while the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae* specifically refers to battle 'having commenced in front of the castle'. The accounts contained in the other Welsh chronicle sources, namely the Peniarth, RBH and Brenhinedd texts of the *Brut*, as well as in Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr's poem 'In Praise of Owain Gwynedd', all vaguely locate the battle at 'Aberteifi', which presumably refers to somewhere in the vicinity of Cardigan.

¹⁸ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40, 'castello Francis remanente'.

¹⁹ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40, 'Franci et Flandrenses in fugam versi capti sunt, occisi sunt, combusti et equorum pedibus conculati et in fluvio Tewy submersi sunt'.

²⁰ R. Andrews (ed.), *Welsh Court Poems* (Cardiff, 2008); the text of the poem is given on pp. 3-4 (the section describing the battle is contained in l. 39-52) with commentary on pp. 51-5.

The *Gesta Stephani* is the only chronicle source to describe manoeuvres undertaken during the battle, describing how the Welsh surrounded the enemy forces on three sides, which might imply that 1/ the Welsh outflanked the Anglo-Norman forces or 2/ the Anglo-Norman forces might have been holding a defensive position surrounded on three sides by the Welsh although this cannot be confirmed from the available evidence. Cynddelw Brydydd's poem refers to 'shattered spears' amid a 'clamorous onslaught' which, it has been suggested, might refer to a Welsh charge that broke an infantry line of spears, although it is difficult to say whether this is based on first hand information from a participant in the battle or literary embellishment.²¹

2/ The Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces were eventually broken and routed by the Welsh. The subsequent flight of the defeated army and their pursuit by the victorious Welsh is well documented in all the available chronicle sources, the majority of which refer to how the routed army attempted to flee in great numbers across the River Teifi at Cardigan, resulting in considerable losses. The English chronicle sources emphasize the extent to which the town of Cardigan and the surrounding area were severely ravaged by the victorious Welsh army. However, at least some of the Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces, managed to retreat to the relative safety of Cardigan Castle, which, under to the command of Richard de Clare's widow, Adeliza, continued to hold out until relieved by an expedition led by Miles of Gloucester from Brecon.

Troops and Casualties

The annalists provide some information on the size of the Welsh contingent, although their estimates of the numbers of combatants involved must inevitably be treated with a healthy dose of scepticism. According to the Peniarth MS 20 and RBH versions of the *Brut*, Owain and Cadwaladr's forces alone consisted of 'a numerous army of picked warriors, about 6000 fine infantry and 2000 mailed horsemen most brave and ready for battle', while the size of the other Welsh contingents is not specified.²² The *Gesta Stephani* is the only authority to provide specific information on the size and composition of the Anglo-Norman/Flemish contingent at the battle, estimating the size of their host 'at three thousand, including footsoldiers' (*ad tria milia cum peditum*).²³

Little specific information is available on the numbers of casualties resulting from the battle and its aftermath, although it is clear from both the English and Welsh chronicle sources that the Anglo-Norman/Flemish sources suffered heavy losses. The *Gesta Stephani* and the Gloucester continuator of the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* both allude to a heavy slaughter of not only the combatants but the inhabitants of the town of Cardigan and its hinterland following the battle, according to the latter source 'there was such slaughter that besides those men taken into

²¹ S. Davies, *Welsh Military Institutions 633-1283* (Cardiff, 2004), 129n.

²² *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952) *Brut y Tywysogion: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1973)

²³ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. & trans. Potter & Davis (Oxford, 1976) 18-19

captivity there remained 10,000 captive women whose husbands with numberless children were drowned, consumed by flames or put to the sword'.²⁴

The Peniarth MS 20 and RBH versions of the *Brut* both state that the Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces 'after losing about three thousand (*amglych teir mil*) of their men, sadly despondent returned to their own land'. In contrast to the somewhat exaggerated totals given in the chronicle sources, the estimate in Cynddelw's 'Arwyrain Owain Gwynedd' is perhaps more realistic, giving a number of 'three hundred dead' (*trychant celain*).

3. Assessment

Battle Location:

The evidence for the site of the battlefield is sketchy and difficult to interpret; the majority of the chronicle sources are somewhat vague in their location of the battle, with the exception of two sources, namely Gerald of Wales's *Itinerary* and the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae*.

The traditional location of the battle site at Crug Mawr, located approximately 3km NE of Cardigan is based on a passage in Gerald of Wales's *Itinerary*, in which he specifically states that from Cardigan Castle 'we made our way towards Lampeter (*Pons Stephani*) leaving Crug Mawr, that is the Big Hill, on our left soon after riding out of Cardigan. It was on this spot that, a short time after the death of Henry I, King of the English, Gruffydd son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, gained a great victory in a pitched battle' over the English, which by the murder of Richard de Clare near Abergavenny, had lost their illustrious leader and chief.²⁵

Significantly, Gerald provides other topographical details concerning 'Crug Mawr' (largely based on an earlier description in Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*) stating that 'a tumulus is to be seen on the summit of the aforesaid hill, and the inhabitants affirm that it will adapt itself to persons of all stature and that if any armour is left there entire in the evening it will be found, according to vulgar tradition, broken to pieces in the morning'.²⁶

The precise location of the 'Crug Mawr' referred to by Gerald, however, is not altogether clear; it has usually been assumed to refer not to the existing site of Crug Mawr farm but to the steep conical hill lying approximately 200m NW of the farm, referred to variously as 'Crigmore Hill' or Banc y Warren. Crug Mawr is first

²⁴ *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, III, 220-1

²⁵ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. J. Dymock, 8 vols (London 1861-77) VI, 118, Transivimus autem a castro predicto versus Pontem Stephani; Crugmawr, id est, colle magno, juxta Aberteivi a sinistro latere relicto. Ubi Grifinus filius Resi filii Theodori, post obitum Anglorum Regis Henrici Primi, in bello publico, per necem nobilis viri Ricardi Clarenensis juxta Abergeveni, ut dictum est, paulo ante interempti, sine capite relicto, et ob hoc in impetu primo statim confecto, stragem non modicum fecit'.

²⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Dimock, VI, 118 'In summitate collis eiusdem tumulus reperitur, quem se cuilibet staturae praestare conformem incolae testantur. Et si arma quaecunque vespere ibidem integra reliquantur, mane confracta vulgari assertionem reperientur'.

referred to by name in the 'De Mirabilis' section of the *Historia Brittonum* compiled by the monk Nennius in about 829 AD, in which he describes 'the grave on the summit of the mountain which is given the name Crucmaur'.²⁷

The place name Banc-y-warren appears to be of English origin, derived from the OE *weargtreow* meaning 'gallows tree', and is first recorded in a survey of the royal manor of Cardigan in 1268.²⁸ The hill was evidently a long established boundary marker, defining the northern boundary of the manor of Cardigan and the respective boundaries of the parishes of Cardigan and Llangoedmor

The antiquarian Samuel Meyrick, writing in 1810, mentions that the tumulus referred to by Gerald of Wales 'still remains and there is some appearance of an intrenchment', which still appears to have been visible until the middle of the 19th century.²⁹

The OS surveyors drawing of 1810 appears to depict a cairn on the summit of Banc y Warren, but it is not visible on the OS 1st edition 25 inch map of 1888 or on later OS mapping of the area, which perhaps suggests that it had been destroyed by ploughing or quarrying activity. However evidence of the 'intrenchment' referred to by Meyrick appears to have been identified from aerial reconnaissance in 2004, which revealed two sets of parchmarks enclosing the summit of Banc y Warren, which could represent evidence of a defended enclosure.³⁰ Gerald of Wales's statement regarding the site of the battle cannot be dismissed lightly, particularly as his father, William fitz Odo de Barri and two of his uncles, Maurice and William fitz Gerald, were present at the battle and would presumably have been able to provide first-hand information concerning its location.

However another possibility which should be considered is that Crug Mawr may not simply refer to Banc-y-Warren but to the massif of which Banc-y-warren forms a part, extending NE from Cardigan towards Aberporth. In connection with this, it is worth noting that the hill approximately 300m N of Banc-y-Warren (forming part of the same range of hills) is called 'Cnwck y Saeson', literally translated as 'hillock of the English'. The earliest reference to this place name (as Knwck y Saeson) occurs in a deed of 1697 and no direct link can be established with the 1136 battle, but it certainly is suggestive of a possible association with the events of the battle.³¹ Examination of the field names contained in the Llangoedmor and Cardigan tithe apportionments (dated 1838 and 1839 respectively) revealed no further references to place names with an obvious military association in the vicinity of Crug Mawr/Banc-y-Warren.

²⁷ J. Morris (ed.) *Nennius, British History and the Welsh Annals* (Chichester 1980)

²⁸ I. Wmffre, *The Place Names of Cardiganshire*, BAR British Series 379, 3 vols (Oxford, 2004), I, 16. Several references to the name occur in late 13th century accounts of the manor of Cardigan, see M. Rhys (ed.), *Ministers' Accounts for West Wales 1277-1306, Pt. 1*, Cymmrodorion Record Series Vol. 13 (London 1936)

²⁹ S.R. Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of Cardiganshire* (London, 1810), 176

³⁰ RCAHMW NPRN 405227 (Banc-y-Warren); RCAHMW AP Refs. AP_2004_065-6

³¹ I. Wmffre, *The Place Names of Cardiganshire*, BAR British Series 379, 3 vols (Oxford, 2004), I, 4

The account of the battle contained in the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae* offers a radically different location from that given by Gerald, specifically referring to 'the battle being joined in front of the castle' (*proelio coram castellum initio*).³² This must almost certainly refer to Cardigan Castle and consequently this would necessitate relocating the scene of the main battle from NE of Cardigan to somewhere close to the castle. Assuming the statement in the *Annales* is correct, the most likely location for the battle would presumably have been to the E or NE of the castle and the medieval town of Cardigan.³³

However it is difficult to determine precisely to where the phrase '*coram castellum*' actually refers; it could denote the shoreline of the Afon Teifi immediately in front of the castle, or it could refer to somewhere further inland to the NE, but nevertheless within sight of the castle. None of the other chronicle sources explicitly corroborate the location of the battle given in the 'B' text of the *Annales*, however the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* does refer to the flight of the defeated Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces across a bridge traversing the Afon Teifi.³⁴

The location of the bridge referred to in the chronicle sources is unclear, Speed's map of 1610 shows a bridge located approximately on the site of the present structure immediately S of the Castle, although there appears to have been a ferry crossing further to the E which was reputedly the site of an earlier bridge.³⁵

It is difficult to reconcile the divergent battle locations given in Gerald's *Itinerary* and the *Annales Cambriae* since both appear to reflect authentic traditions regarding the battle. Gerald's reference to Crug Mawr, though not repeated by the English or Welsh chronicle sources, is lent weight by the fact that his family were leading participants in the battle. The reference in the *Annales* to the battle 'commencing in front of the castle' is again not specifically corroborated by any of the chronicle sources, however they do indicate that fighting probably took place at some point close to the castle and the nearby crossing of the Teifi, which could perhaps represent a rearguard action following the main engagement further to the NE.

Discussion of Primary Sources:

The battle is mentioned in several English and Welsh monastic annals, the descriptions of which vary in detail and emphasis. The earliest accounts which appear to have been written roughly contemporary with or shortly after the events described are those contained in the Gloucester continuation to the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* and the *Gesta Stephani*, both of which appear to have been compiled in the mid to late 1140s. The main accounts of the battle in the Welsh chronicle sources consist of the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae*, the majority of

³² *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 40

³³ See R.A. Griffiths, 'The Making of Medieval Cardigan' in *Conquerors & Conquered in Medieval Wales*, (New York 1994) 277-302 for a detailed account of the origins and development of medieval Cardigan.

³⁴ *Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. McGurk, III, 220-1

³⁵ E.M. Pritchard, *Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days* (London 1904), 35

which appears to have been compiled at Strata Florida at some point between 1255 and 1264,³⁶ and the Penarth MS 20, Red Book of Hergest and Breinhenedd y Saeson texts of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, the existing manuscripts of which are 14th-15th century date but appear to be derived from an original Latin chronicle, also probably compiled at Strata Florida in the mid to late 13th century.

There are close similarities between the account of the battle given in the 'B' text of the *Annales* and those given in the various texts of the *Brut* which further suggests that they obtained their information from a single source, although there are also notable differences; in particular the statements in the *Annales* concerning the battle taking place before the castle (of Cardigan) and the fact that the castle was not taken by the Welsh, which do not appear in the *Brut*. However, the accounts given in the *Brut* provide fuller lists of the respective leaders of the Welsh and Anglo-Norman/Flemish armies, compared to those given in the *Annales*.

Apart from the annalistic sources, there are two other accounts of the battle that are of particular importance. The poem 'In Praise of Owain Gwynedd' compiled by Cynddelw Brydydd Mawr (fl. c. 1155-1200) who served as a bard in the court of Madog ap Maredudd prince of Powys (d.1160), contains a vivid description of the battle which was probably composed at some time between 1157 and 1167.

Gerald of Wales's *Itinerarium Cambriae*, written in about 1191, also contains a description of the battle, which is of particular importance as it is the sole authority to specifically locate the site of the engagement at Crug Mawr. Its particular value is based on the fact that it was presumably based on reliable, first hand information as Gerald's father, William fitz Odo de Barri and his two uncles (Maurice and William fitz Gerald) apparently participated in the battle.

Discussion of Secondary Sources:

Somewhat surprisingly, in view of the considerable historic importance of the battle, which resulted in a significant reassertion of Welsh lordship over much of W and SW Wales, it has received only moderate attention in antiquarian and modern scholarly accounts. David Powel's account of the battle in his *Historie of Cambria* (written in 1584) is largely derived from the *Brut* and the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* and does not mention the traditional location of Crug Mawr referred to by Gerald of Wales.³⁷ Samuel Meyrick, in his 'History of Cardiganshire' (1810) quotes Gerald's account at length, placing the scene of the battle at Crug Mawr and this tradition is repeated in Lewis's 'Topographical Dictionary of Wales' (1833) and other 19th century antiquarian accounts.³⁸

³⁶ The original manuscript of the 'B' text is contained in NA E164/1. P.M. Remfry, *Annales Cambriae* (Shrewsbury 2007), 16-26 contains a useful discussion of the origins of the 'B' chronicle.

³⁷ D. Powel, *Historie of Cambria* (1811 ed.), 118

³⁸ S.R. Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of Cardiganshire* (London, 1810), 176

The fullest modern scholarly account of the battle remains that given in Lloyd's 'History of Wales', which extensively utilised both the English and Welsh chronicle sources for the battle.³⁹ Lloyd also appears to have accepted Gerald of Wales's location of the battle site at Crug Mawr without qualification, which is somewhat puzzling in view of his extensive knowledge of the various texts of the *Annales*; however he also contributed some important observations regarding the precise dating of the battle in a series of lectures on the history of Ceredigion.⁴⁰ The battle has received relatively little attention in more recent general histories or scholarly monographs would certainly merit detailed reassessment.

Archaeology and Historic Terrain Assessment:

The two possible battle locations indicated by the documentary evidence represent two quite different areas, both in terms of topography and geomorphology.

The site described by Gerald of Wales at Crug Mawr is traditionally presumed to refer to Banc-y-Warren, which represents the southernmost of a series of conical hills forming a glacial massif extending N of Cardigan, although the possibility that it could refer to one of the other hills forming part of this massif cannot be discounted. The predominant soil type in this area has been identified as consisting of the typical brown sands (non-calcareous sandy soils) of the NEWPORT 1 series (551d) comprising deep well-drained sandy and coarse loamy soils over glaciofluvial drift which generally have a slightly acidic pH.⁴¹

Both Banc y Warren and, to a much greater extent, the hill further to the N at Banc Cwm-llwyd/Cnwc y Saeson have been impacted by 19th-20th century sand quarrying activity. Banc-y-Warren is currently laid out to pasture although traces of earlier quarrying activity (marked on the OS 1st-3rd edition maps) are still plainly visible while the latter site at Banc Cwm-llwyd/Cnwc y Saeson is currently occupied by an extensive modern sand and gravel quarry. It is likely that any significant archaeological deposits which might exist in this area will have been heavily disturbed by quarrying activity and in view of the slightly acidic nature of the soils in this area, the potential for the preservation of human bone and artefactual evidence relating to the battle is limited.

The other possible battle site, located in the vicinity of Cardigan Castle, now presumably lies within the urban area of Cardigan, possibly extending to the E of the Castle and the river crossing. In this connection, it is worth noting a statement in E.M. Pritchard's history of Cardigan Priory, referring to 'some skulls which were dug up some years ago (in the vicinity of Cardigan Bridge) when rebuilding a house, which skulls had been cleft by battle axes'.⁴²

³⁹ S. Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (London 1833).

⁴⁰ J.E. Lloyd, *The Story of Ceredigion* (Cardiff, 1937), 54n

⁴¹ SSEW, *Soil Survey of England and Wales* (Silsoe, 1983)

⁴² E.M. Pritchard, *Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days* (London 1904), 35

Pritchard interpreted these skulls as evidence of victims of one or several Danish raids on Cardigan; however it is equally possible that they could represent victims of the 1136 battle, particularly in view of the testimony of several of the chronicle sources to the slaughter of the defeated Anglo-Norman/Flemish troops in the vicinity of the river crossing.

Assessment of the Historic Significance of the Battle

The battle of Crug Mawr was aptly described by Lloyd as a 'signal victory for the Welsh', largely reversing the territorial gains made by the Anglo-Norman and Flemish lords in Ceredigion which had been made during the reign of Henry I.⁴³ Taken together with the defeat of the Norman lords of Gower by Hywel of Brycheiniog in January 1136 and the death of the powerful Marcher lord Richard de Clare, they represented a significant revival of native Welsh lordship in South and West Wales, a fact which was commented on in several of the Welsh chronicle sources.⁴⁴

The battle of Crug Mawr was also of importance in that it represented the first occasion when the Welsh inflicted a significant defeat on a substantial Anglo-Norman/Flemish force in a pitched battle. The significance of this victory and the considerable losses sustained by the Anglo-Norman/Flemish forces were not lost on contemporary annalists with a particular interest in affairs on the Welsh Marches, who uniformly appear to have viewed this defeat with considerable alarm. The *Gesta Stephani*, the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* and the *Winchcombe Annals* all agree in their estimation of the battle as a serious reverse and emphasize the heavy losses sustained by the Anglo-Norman/Flemish troops.

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⁴³ J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 2 vols (London 1939), II, 473

⁴⁴ *Brut y Tywysogion: Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952) *Brut y Tywysogion: Red Book of Hergest Version*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1973)

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Cartography

(All maps were obtained from the National Library of Wales unless otherwise stated)

Map of Cardigan by John Speed - 1610

Plan of Crigmawr lying in the parishes of Cardigan and Llangoedmor – 1800 (Plas Llangoedmor Schedule No. 86)

OS Surveyors Drawing of Cardigan (Scale: 2 in. to the mile) - 1810

Tithe Map of the Parish of St Mary Cardigan - 1839

Tithe Map of the Parish of Llangoedmor - 1838

OS 1st edition 25 inch map (Cardiganshire 38.1, 38.5) - 1888

OS 1st edition 6 inch map (Cardiganshire 38 NW)- 1891

OS 2nd edition 25 inch map (Cardiganshire 38.1, 38.5)- 1906

OS 2nd edition 6 inch map (Cardiganshire 38 NW)- 1907

OS provisional edition map (Cardiganshire 38 NW)- 1953

Battle of Crug Mawr
10 October 1136

1/Crwc-y-Saeson: Possible location of battlefield site

2/Banc-y-Warren: Probable location of Crug Mawr referred to by Gerald of Wales as the site of the battle

3/Crugmore (Crug Mawr) Farm

4/Holy Trinity Church Cardigan: Site of Benedictine Priory founded c.1115-30, possibly burnt by Welsh forces following the battle

5/Possible location of battle site in vicinity of Cardigan Castle referred to by the Annales Cambriae

6/Cardigan Castle: Mentioned as refuge for Anglo-Norman forces after the battle, under siege by Welsh until relieved by Miles of Gloucester

7/Cardigan Bridge: Possible site of massacre of retreating Anglo-Norman forces crossing the Afon Teifi mentioned by John of Worcester

Scale 1:25000

