

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)

				<p>Cloddfa (Archaeoleg Cymru, 2013)</p> <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 (Archaeology Wales, 2014)</p>
Castell Coety (gwarchae) /Coity	1404-05	Morgannwg	545701	<p>Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013)</p>

Castle (siege)		Glamorgan		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 1215	Sir Faesyfed Radnorshire	545328	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
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 Castle (siege)	1646	Sir Ddinbych Denbighshire	545789	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) 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 Montgomeryshire	403416	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)
Trefaldwyn / Montgomery	1644	Sir Drefaldwyn Montgomeryshire	405168	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Gildas Research, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Gildas Research, 2013)
Mynydd Carn	1081	Sir Benfro Pembrokeshire	300319	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn (siege)	1287-8	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545606	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical

				research (Chapman, 2013)
Castell Newydd Emlyn (gwarchae) / Newcastle Emlyn	1645	Sir Gaerfyrddin Carmarthenshire	545768	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Chapman, 2013) Documentary and historical research (Chapman, 2013)
Gwrthryfel y Siartwyr, Casnewydd / Newport Chartist Uprising	1839	Sir Fynwy Monmouthshire	405003	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol (Border Archaeology, 2009) Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
Painscastle	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	405188	Ymchwil ddogfennol a hanesyddol

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

		Caernarfonshire		Documentary and historical research (Border Archaeology, 2009)
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Grŵp Llywio Meysydd Brwydro, Hydref 2016

Battlefields Steering Group, October 2016



Welsh Battlefields Historical Research:

Painscastle (1198)

(Order Number IJ/017430: November 2009)

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Battle Name - Painscastle (13 August 1198)

1. Summary

Site of Battle

The precise site of the battle of Painscastle is unclear but it is presumed to have been situated somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the castle of Painscastle (NGR SO 166 462). The OS 1:25000 map marks the site of the battle in a field situated immediately to the SW of the scheduled earthworks of the castle, while the historian P. Remfry mentions that 'even today bones of the fallen are uncovered during ploughing or road widening operations to the south of the castle'.¹

Historical Context of Battle

The battle of Painscastle should be viewed in the context of the protracted struggle for control over the Central Marches (comprising the cantrefs of Elfael, Cedewain and Maelienydd) between the Anglo Norman Marcher lords (in particular the families of Mortimer and de Braose) and the native Welsh princes, which appears to have intensified significantly following the death of the powerful Welsh lord of Deheubarth, Rhys ap Gruffydd, in April 1197.²

The previous year, the lord Rhys had led a successful campaign in Elfael in response to the capture of Cymaron Castle by Roger Mortimer in 1195, defeating the Mortimers in a pitched battle near New Radnor and sacking the town and castle, as well as briefly capturing the castle of Painscastle. The death of the lord Rhys resulted in a political vacuum and absence of strong leadership among the Welsh of the central Marches, a situation that was exploited not only by the Marcher lords, but also by other Welsh princes, in particular Gwenwynwyn, who had succeeded his father Owain Cyfeiliog as ruler of southern Powys.³

From the outset, Gwenwynwyn (d. 1216) appears to have pursued a policy of territorial aggrandisement; his raids along the English border were serious enough to warrant Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury and justiciar of England to launch a punitive expedition against him in September 1196, capturing Gwenwynwyn's castle at Welshpool (Trallwng) after a long siege.⁴ However Gwenwynwyn appears to have swiftly come to terms with the English and, apparently undeterred, continued to acquire further territory in the central Marches, seizing the cantref of Arwystli after the death of its ruler Owain o'r Brithdir in 1197, at which point the

¹ P.M. Remfry, *A Guide to Castles in Radnorshire* (Logaston, 1996), 31-32.

² For accounts of the conflict see J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols (London 1939); R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 2000); P.M. Remfry, *A Guide to Castles in Radnorshire* (Logaston, 1996) and P.M. Remfry, *The Castles and History of Radnorshire* (Shrewsbury, 2008)

³ The fullest accounts of Gwenwynwyn's career remain those in Lloyd, *History of Wales* (London, 1939), II, 582-7, and Davies, *The Age of Conquest* (Oxford 2000), 227-30

⁴ For a useful account of the siege cf. Lloyd, *History of Wales* (London, 1939), II, 583n

kingdom of southern Powys encompassed almost the entire territory lying between the Tanat and the Severn. Gwenwynwyn also intervened in the affairs of the neighbouring kingdom of Deheubarth after the death of the lord Rhys, supporting Maelgwn ap Rhys against his brother Gruffydd, whom he captured and delivered into English custody.⁵

In view of Gwenwynwyn's aggressive policy of territorial expansion, it was probably inevitable that he would attempt to assert his authority over the *cantrefs* of the central Marches, particularly as their ruling dynasties were seemingly weak and engulfed in internecine conflicts, particularly following the death not only of the lord Rhys but also Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, lord of Maelienydd in the same year.

2.Narrative of Battle

Prelude to the Battle

Several accounts of the events prior to the battle are contained in the 'D' text of the *Annales Cambriae* and the Peniarth MS. 20 and Red Book of Hergest texts of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, which all appear to be derived from a common source.⁶ The earliest and fullest account is contained in the 'D' text of the *Annales*, a Latin chronicle probably compiled at some time between 1277 and 1283 by a monk of Strata Florida Abbey.⁷

The entry *sub anno* 1198 describes how 'during this year Gwenwynwyn proposed to restore the Welsh to their former dignity and restore their boundaries to their rightful owners, which had been lost by them through the multitude of their sins; and around the feast of St Mary Magdalene assembled a great army, in undertaking this task supported by all the princes of Wales. And having assembled together, they laid siege to Pain's Castle for three weeks with great exhortations of wrath, although in their struggle not having recourse to their machines of war (ie. siege engines).⁸ The late medieval annals of St Werburgh's Abbey at Chester make reference to a large number of nobles apparently sent by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth prince of Gwynedd who were killed in a battle at 'castellum Pani' (presumably identifiable with

⁵ Lloyd, *History of Wales* (London 1939), II, 584-5

⁶ The Latin text of the 'D' text of the *Annales Cambriae* (Exeter Cathedral MS 3514) is printed in 'Cronica de Wallia' ed. T. Jones, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol. 12 (1948), 27-44; *Brut y Tywysogion*: Peniarth MS. 20 Version, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1952), 79, *Brut y Tywysogion*: Red Book of Hergest Version, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1973), 183. A recent English translation of the *Annales* with useful notes is contained in 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 E 164/1* (Shrewsbury 2007),

⁷ Jones dates the composition of the 'D' text to c. 1280; for more recent discussion of the dating of the 'Cronica de Wallia' see P.M. Remfry, *Annales Cambriae* (Shrewsbury, 2007)

⁸ 'Cronica de Wallia' ed. T. Jones, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol. 12 (1948) 31 'Hoc etiam anno Wenoinun proponens pristinam dignitatem Wallensibus restituere et fines ac terminus sibi quondam exigente peccatorum multitudine subtractos, ad proprios volens revocare heredes, circa festivitatem Beate Marie Magdalene faventibus sibi tocius Wallie principibus opemque ferentibus, grandem collegit exercitum. Quibus coadunatis castellum Paen obsederunt per tres fere ebdomadas cum magna et magna animi exultacione licet minus cauta suis iugiter bellicis oppugnantes machinamentis'.

Painscastle) in 1198, which may refer to a contingent sent to assist Gwenwynwyn's army.⁹

From the account given in the 'D' text of the *Annales* (which is largely repeated in both the Peniarth MS 20 and RBH versions of the Brut) it would appear that Gwenwynwyn assembled a substantial army around 22 July 1198 and then marched directly on the castle of Painscastle (*Castellum Paen*) which he then proceeded to besiege for three weeks. The castle was of key importance, controlling the strategically important Bachawy valley, one of the principal gateways between England and central Wales, and functioned as the *caput* or administrative centre of a lordship encompassing the native Welsh *commote* of Elfael Is Mynydd (Lower Elfael).¹⁰

It was originally built either by the de Tosny family, who had conquered Elfael in the early 1090s, or by the Norman lord Pain Fitz John, a prominent official in the administration of King Henry I who had acquired the estates of Ralph de Tosny following his forfeiture for rebellion, in addition to other lands in Herefordshire and the Welsh March.¹¹ After Pain's death in July 1137 it appears that the castle and lordship were regained by the Welsh, who remained in possession until the death of Einion o'r Porth, the last Welsh prince of Elfael, in 1191, shortly after which William de Braose, lord of Radnor seized the castle and apparently rebuilt it.¹² Some late 12th-13th century records refer to Painscastle as 'Matilda's Castle', so named after Matilda de St Valery, wife of William de Braose who defended the castle against a Welsh attack in 1195.¹³ The castle was taken by Rhys ap Gruffydd of Deheubarth during his campaign in the central Marches in 1196, who shortly afterwards returned it to the possession of William de Braose.

The Welsh chronicle sources all draw attention to the size of Gwenwynwyn's forces and, significantly, emphasize his poor preparations and in particular his failure to bring the necessary siege engines to besiege the castle. The 'D' text of the *Annales* is particularly sharp in its criticism of Gwenwynwyn's preparations in this respect, remarking acidly that 'in fact they were ignorant and not prepared for the wretched outcome of their undertaking'.¹⁴

⁹ *Annales Cestrienses or Chronicle of the Abbey of St Werburg at Chester*, Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society Vol. 17 (Manchester 1887)

¹⁰ H.M. Colvin et al. (eds.) *History of the Kings Works Vol. II: The Middle Ages* (London 1963), 774; P.M. Remfry, *Painscastle 1066-1405* (Worcester, 1999).

¹¹ For discussion of the castle's early history see P.M. Remfry, *Painscastle 1066-1405* (Worcester, 1999). For Pain fitz John's role in Henry I's administration see *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* Vol. 2, ed. C. Johnson & H.A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956) xiii-xv.

¹² Payn fitz John's death is recorded on 10 July 1137 in the Chronicle of John of Worcester (*Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. P. McGurk, 3 vols (Oxford 1998), II, 229); Lloyd, *History of Wales* (London 1939), II, 585

¹³ Lloyd, *History of Wales* (London 1939), II, 585-6. Painscastle is referred to as 'Matilda's Castle' in the contemporary accounts of the 1198 battle by the English chroniclers Ralph de Diceto and Roger of Howden.

¹⁴ 'Ignorant namque quid sibi prepararent miserabiles rei eventus'. For further commentary on Gwenwynwyn's tactics during the siege of Painscastle, see S. Murray, *Welsh Military Institutions 633-1283* (Cardiff, 2003), 132-3.

Information concerning the preparations of the English prior to the battle is chiefly contained in the Welsh and English annalistic sources, together with an important statement in the autobiographical work *De Rebus et se Gestis* of Gerald of Wales and some incidental references in the Pipe Roll accounts for 1197-98.¹⁵

According to the 'D' text of the *Annales Cambriae*, the English were initially 'struck with terror' on learning of Gwenwynwyn's attack and promptly released Gruffydd ap Rhys (son of the lord Rhys) whom Gwenwynwyn had surrendered into English hands a year earlier, apparently to persuade Gwenwynwyn or his allies to make peace and abandon the siege, although it may simply have been a delaying tactic in order to enable a sufficiently large army to be raised to relieve Painscastle.¹⁶ The Pipe Roll for 1198 records expenditure for the transportation by boat (*navicule*) of Gruffydd's wife, Matilda de Braose from Bridgnorth (Salop) to Gloucester and for the custody of his son Rhys (a prisoner in the Tower of London) both of whom are explicitly referred to as hostages (*obses*) evidently being held to ensure Gruffydd's good conduct.¹⁷

This apparent attempt at a peaceful resolution to the conflict evidently failed, for, according to the *Annales Cambriae*, the Welsh defiantly 'declared that after the castle had been taken they intended to burn everything and take all the possessions of the English'.¹⁸ The military preparations of the English are briefly described by the contemporary English annalist Roger of Howden, who relates how Geoffrey fitz Peter, Hubert Walter's successor as Justiciar of England 'on assembling a large army proceeded to Wales to succour the people of William de Braose, whom Gwenwynwyn, the brother of Cadwallon, had besieged in Matilda's Castle (ie. Painscastle)'.¹⁹

Important evidence as to the progress of the English forces to Painscastle is supplied in a curious anecdotal account contained in Gerald of Wales' autobiographical work *De Rebus a se Gestis*, in which he relates how a nun, purporting to have been sent by one Wechelen, a hermit whose cell was located at Llowes, apparently persuaded the English army to attack the Welsh, predicting a great victory.²⁰ Of particular significance is Gerald's description of the *locale*, relating how 'it happened that the Welsh had besieged Painscastle (*Castellum Pagani*) recently built in Elfael, a great multitude of the English army had been assembled at Hay and from around those

¹⁵ *The Rolls of the Great Pipe for the 10th year of the reign of King Richard I, Michelmas 1198*, ed. D.M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society Vol. 44 (London 1932)

¹⁶ 'Cronica de Wallia' ed. T. Jones, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol. 12 (1948) 31; Remfry, *Annales Cambriae* (Shrewsbury, 2007), 103

¹⁷ *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, ed. Stenton,

¹⁸ 'Cronica de Wallia', ed. T. Jones *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol. 12 (1948), 31 'verum etiam post predicti castelli dedicionem suas civitates se combussuros et possessions devastaturos asserebant'.

¹⁹ *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1868-71) III, 53. 'Eodem anno Gaufridus filius Petri, justitiarius Angliae, profectus est in Gualliam ad succurrendum hominibus Willelmi de Brause, quos Wenhunwin frater Chadwalani obsederat in castello Matillis'.

²⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Dimock, I, 91-2

parts'.²¹ From Gerald's account several key points can be gleaned, firstly that Geoffrey fitz Peter mustered his forces at Hay (probably advancing along the Wye valley westwards from Hereford) and that a significant proportion of the army was recruited from the locality.

The Pipe Roll for 1198 contains a series of references to military expenditure 'in the King's service in the Marches of Wales' which may be connected with Geoffrey fitz Peter's expedition to relieve Painscastle. Geoffrey fitz Peter himself accounted for a payment of 8 marks from the farm of Worcestershire 'for the keeping of one petrary (catapult) and two mangonels which were carried in the King's service in the Marches of Wales',²² while in the account of the Sheriff of Shropshire there are payments to William fitz Warin, lord of Whittington, for 120 men at arms on foot (*servientes pedites*) and 10 mounted sergeants (*servientes equites*) and a payment to one Osbert Rieboef for the sustenance of 300 men at arms on foot (*servientes*).²³

The Battle and Its Aftermath

The fullest accounts of the battle at Painscastle are contained in two English chronicle sources, contemporaneous with the events described, namely the *Ymagines Historiarum* (Images of History) by Ralph de Diceto, dean of St Paul's (fl. c.1152-1202) and the *Chronica* of Roger of Howden (fl. 1174-1201).

Ralph de Diceto's account provides a specific date for the battle, namely 13th October 1198 (the feast of St Hippolytus) and is the only source to describe the respective order of battle for the English and Welsh forces.²⁴ He describes how 'in the first battalion (*caterva*) of the Welsh only infantry were assembled, in the second, infantry and cavalry, in the third only cavalry. The first battalion of the French solely consisted of infantry, in the second only cavalry while the third battalion comprised the remaining strength of the army (*totum robur exercitus*)'.

It is unclear whether this represents an accurate depiction of the respective formations of the English and Welsh forces, however Ralph had close contacts with the royal administration (including Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury), which could have provided him with reasonably reliable information on the engagement. Ralph then describes how 'at the first onslaught the Welsh turned tail, their camp

²¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, ed. Dimock, I, 91-2 'Contigit autem Walenses castellum Pagani in Elevein Paulo ante constructum obsedis; et cum multitudine Anglicani exercitus apud Haiam et circa partes illas collecta fuisset'

²² *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, ed. Stenton, 76

²³ *Pipe Roll 10 Richard I*, ed. Stenton, 108-9. Rieboef was a member of a minor baronial family holding lands in Nottinghamshire of the honour of Peverel.

²⁴ *Radulfi de Diceto decani Londonienis opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London 1876), II, 163 'In prima caterva Walensium collocati sunt pedites tantum. In secunda pedites et equites. In tertia, tantum equites. In prima caterva Francorum collocati sunt pedites. Equites in secunda Totum robur exercitus in tertia fuit caterva'.

being plundered; many were captured and many more killed, it is said, even to the number of three thousand'.²⁵

Another contemporary account of the engagement, contained in Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, does not provide details of the order of battle but does indicate that the Welsh force remained numerically superior to the English forces. Roger states that 'although the Welsh in arms were very numerous, still not being able to make resistance to the forces of the English, they were put to flight, and throwing away their arms, that, being less burdened, they might move more swiftly, there were slain more than 3700 of them, besides those who were captured and those who being fatally wounded escaped from the field'.²⁶

The Welsh chronicle sources provide a somewhat terse description of the battle, although they supply particular details that do not appear in the contemporary English accounts. The 'D' text of the *Annales Cambriae* (which is largely followed *verbatim* by the Peniarth MS 20 and RBH texts of the *Brut*), states that the English forces 'in the first onslaught drove the miserable people into flight, capturing some and slitting the throats of others as sheep; and so this unheard of massacre and unaccustomed killing took place'.²⁷ The *Annales* and the *Brut* list the Welsh leaders killed during the battle, consisting of Anarawd ap Einion, Owain Cascob ap Cadwallon, Rhiryd ap Iestyn and Robert ap Hywel.²⁸

Troops and Casualties

No detailed information is available on the respective size of the English and Welsh forces. The *Annales Cambriae* and the Peniarth and RBH texts of the *Brut* all refer to Gwenwynwyn having assembled a 'great army', which probably included contingents from Deheubarth and Gwynedd. The entry relating to a battle at 'Castellum Pani' in the late 14th-15th century *Annales Cestriensis* appears to indicate that Gwenwynwyn's forces probably included a significant contingent sent by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth prince of Gwynedd.²⁹ From the list of Welsh leaders killed during the battle it is evident that a considerable part of Gwenwynwyn's host consisted of forces raised by the native Welsh lords of Cedewain, Elfael and Maelinydd.

²⁵ *Radulfi de Diceto decani Londonienis opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London 1876), II, 163 'Sub primo congressu terga verterunt Walenses, quorum spolia data sunt in rapinam. Multi capti sunt, interfecti quamplures, quorum numerus excrevit, sicut dicitur, ad tria milia pugnatorum'.

²⁶ *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1868-71), IV, 53 'quo cum venisset, commisit praelium campestre cum predicto Wenhuwin et suis; et licet plurimi Walanorum armati essent, tamen non valentes resistere exercitui Anglorum, versi sunt in fugam, et projicientes arma sua, ut levius citiusque fugerunt, occisi sunt ex illis plusquam tria milia et septingenti, exceptis retentis et illis qui lethaliter vulnerati evaserunt a campo'.

²⁷ 'Cronica de Wallia' ed. T. Jones, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol. 12 (1948) 31; 'in primo congressu miseram gentem in fugam cogentes innumerabiliter ut oves iugulaverunt; dumque hec inaudita strages et insolita cedes agitur'. *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).

²⁸ See notes in P.M. Remfry, *Annales Cambriae* (Shrewsbury, 2007) 104n.

²⁹ *Annales Cestrienses or Chronicle of the Abbey of St Werburg at Chester*, ed. R.C. Christie, *Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society* Vol. 17 (Manchester 1887), 44

The English forces are described by the contemporary chronicler Roger of Howden as a 'great army' and this appears to be confirmed by the account in Gerald of Wales's Autobiography referring to 'a great number of the English army having been assembled at Hay and from around those parts'.³⁰ The latter statement is of particular importance as it confirms that there was a substantial Marcher contingent within the royal army (possibly forming the bulk of the English army), a significant proportion of which were William de Braose's own followers from his lordship of Hay.

The Pipe Roll for 1198 includes several payments for soldiers employed 'in the King's service in the Marches of Wales', who probably formed part of Geoffrey fitz Peter's army, including a payment to William fitz Warin, lord of Whittington, for 120 men at arms on foot and 10 mounted sergeants and a payment to Osbert Rieboef for the sustenance of 300 men at arms on foot.

The contemporary English chronicle accounts by Ralph de Diceto and Roger of Howden emphasize the extent of the Welsh casualties, although these must be viewed with a certain degree of scepticism. Diceto states that 'many were captured and many more were killed, even to the number of three thousand', while Howden comments that 'there were slain more than 3700 of them'. While these totals may well be grossly exaggerated, it is noticeable that the total of three thousand slain at Painscastle is also repeated by Gerald of Wales on several occasions in his autobiographical work *De Rebus a se Gestis*. The *Annales Cambriae* and the *Brut*, while not giving a specific number, similarly emphasise the heavy losses inflicted upon the Welsh forces.

The casualties suffered by the English forces appear to have been remarkably light, in view of the substantial size of the armies involved. The account of Ralph of Howden relates how 'on the side of the English, only one person was killed, being accidentally wounded by an arrow incautiously aimed by one of his companions'.³¹ This might well be regarded as a slightly absurd exaggeration of the limited casualties suffered by the English forces, however a similar statement occurs in a letter written by Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury to Gerald of Wales shortly after the battle, in which he remarks that 'in the encounter at that place neither spear nor bow had power to wound to death one man of all our host'.³²

3. Assessment

Battle Location:

The site of the battle is placed by both the English and Welsh chronicle sources in the vicinity the castle of Painscastle, although they do not state precisely where the engagement took place in relation to the castle itself. Later evidence of place names

³⁰ *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1868-71), IV, 53

³¹ *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (London, 1868-71), IV, 53

³² *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed & trans. H.E. Butler (Woodbridge, 2005), 136-7

near to the castle, derived from deeds, manorial records and historic mapping is extremely limited in scope.

A number of place names in the vicinity of the castle are listed in a lease of the castle site and the surrounding fields (then in the hands of the Crown) to one Roger Vaughan dated 5 May 1588, which makes reference to '30 acres on the W side of the castle of Paynes castell, another field of arable called Castellfeild, 17 acres on the S of the Park of the Castle of Paynes castell; parcel of land called the Castell yarde and the Castell diche', however no reference is made to field names specifically connected with the battle.³³ Only a small number of manorial accounts for Painscastle appear to have survived (covering the years 1507-8, 1514-18 and 1529-44) and these again make no reference to place names that can be directly connected with the battle.³⁴ The Llanbedr Painscastle tithe apportionment, dated 1847 unfortunately does not list any of the field names in the immediate vicinity of the castle.

Later antiquarian accounts, such as Leland's *Itinerary*, Powel's *Historie of Kambria* and William's *History of Radnorshire*, are noticeably silent concerning the exact site of the battlefield.³⁵ The site of the battle is not marked on the OS 1st, 2nd and 3rd edition maps, however the modern OS 1:25000 map specifically locates the battle in the field lying immediately SW of the castle earthworks, although on what authority is uncertain.

The only authority to indicate a probable location for the main scene of battle is P.Remfry, who states that 'even today bones of the fallen are uncovered during ploughing or road widening operations to the south of the castle', although unfortunately there appears to be no archaeological record of these finds.³⁶ In view of Gerald of Wales's testimony that the English forces mustered at Hay, it would certainly appear logical to assume that the English approached from the SE, from Hay via Clyro and crossing the Afon Bachawy at Rhyd-lydan.

The ford at Rhyd-lydan was suggested by Dawson as a possible battle site, referring to the previous discovery of 'an ancient sword and cannon ball' at the ford, which he interpreted as 'relics of some of the great battles that raged round Painscastle'.³⁷ The possibility that part of the 1198 battle may have taken place at Rhydlydan should certainly be considered, the English army, approaching from Hay, are likely to have crossed the Bachawy at this ford on their approach to the castle.

Discussion of Primary Sources:

³³ Printed in E.A. Lewis (ed.) *Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff 1954), 518

³⁴ NA SC6/HenVII/1662; SC6/HenVIII/5296-5299; SC6/HenVIII/5300-5311

³⁵ J. Williams, *History of Radnorshire* (London 1859), 219-220

³⁶ P.M. Remfry, *A Guide to Castles in Radnorshire* (Logaston, 1996), 31-32. A consultation of the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record identified no references either to the discovery of buried remains or artefacts associated with the battle.

³⁷ M.L. Dawson, 'Painscastle and its Story' *Archaeologia Cambrensis* Vol. 78 (1923), 51

The primary written documentation relating to this battle chiefly consists of entries in various English and Welsh monastic annals, supplemented by some important incidental references in the autobiographical work *De Rebus a se Gestis* of Gerald of Wales, compiled between 1208 and 1216.

The earliest contemporary accounts of the battle are contained in the *Ymagine Historiarum* of Ralph de Diceto, dean of St Paul's (d.1202) and the *Chronica* of Roger of Howden (d.1201). Although neither chronicler appears to have personally witnessed the battle, both of them appear to have had close links with the royal government and would therefore have been in a position to obtain first hand information regarding the battle. Ralph in particular is known to have had important contacts in the royal administration; he was a friend of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury and Geoffrey fitz Peter's predecessor as Chief Justiciar.³⁸ Roger of Howden has been tentatively identified with a royal clerk of the same name who appears during the latter years of Henry II's reign and subsequently accompanied Richard I on the First Crusade, returning to England in 1192.³⁹ Howden's description of the battle does not provide as much detail about the deployment of the English and Welsh troops as does Diceto's account, however it is nevertheless of significance as the only chronicle source which specifically states that Geoffrey fitz Peter was in command of the English forces at Painscastle.⁴⁰ Howden's account of the battle was reproduced almost *verbatim* by the St Alban's chronicler, Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica Majora* (compiled between c.1240-53).⁴¹

Gerald of Wales's autobiographical work *De Rebus et se Gestis*, compiled between 1208 and 1216, contains several references to the battle at Painscastle, which he appears to have viewed as an event of national significance. He was evidently well acquainted with Hay and the surrounding area and his curious account of a visit made by a nun purporting to have been sent by one Wechelen, a hermit of Llowes and a friend of Gerald's, is of critical importance as it reveals that Geoffrey fitz Peter mustered his forces at Hay before proceeding against the Welsh at Painscastle. Gerald's work also includes correspondence between himself and Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury containing several important incidental references to the battle.⁴²

The Welsh chronicle sources primarily consist of the 'D' text of the *Annales Cambriae* (the fullest account from the Welsh perspective), compiled by a monk of Strata Florida at some time between 1277 and 1283 and the Peniarth MS 20 and Red Book of Hergest versions of the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, compiled in the 14th century.⁴³ Two

³⁸ For biographical details on Ralph de Diceto, see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England Vol. 1: c.550 to c.1307* (London 1996), 230-4

³⁹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England Vol. 1: c.550 to c.1307* (London 1996), 222-9

⁴⁰ *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed & trans. H.E. Butler (Woodbridge, 2005), 125.

⁴¹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, 7 vols. (London 1872-1881), II, 447.

⁴² *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed & trans. H.E. Butler (Woodbridge, 2005), 125, 130, 181, 271

⁴³ 'Cronica de Wallia' ed. T. Jones, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* Vol. 12 (1948) 31; *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).

brief accounts of the battle are also contained in the 'B' text of the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Brenhinedd y Saeson* text of the *Brut*.⁴⁴

The texts of the *Brut* agree very closely with the 'D' text of the *Annales*, which suggests that they may have been directly translated from this work or that the *Brut* and the 'D' text of the *Annales* were derived from a single common source. The Welsh sources provide information on Gwenwynwyn's assembling of his 'great army' prior to the battle and draw particular attention to his failure to bring siege engines to attack the castle; they also provide the only list of the Welsh leaders killed during the battle.

In addition to the chronicles and other literary sources, other information relating to the battle may be gleaned from the records of royal expenditure, in particular the Pipe Roll for 1197-98; the accounts of the sheriffs of Shropshire and Worcestershire contain records of expenditure on troops and other military equipment used 'in the service of the King in the Marches of Wales' which may well refer to preparations for the expedition led by the King's Justiciar, Geoffrey fitz Peter, to relieve Painscastle.

Discussion of Secondary Sources:

The secondary sources for this battle, somewhat surprisingly in view of its historic importance, are relatively limited in scope. The account in Powel's *Historie of Kambria* (1584) is largely based on that contained in the *Brut*, with additional details from Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* (which itself is a copy of the account given in the *Chronica* of Roger of Howden).⁴⁵ An extended account of the battle at the 'Garde Doloureuse' is given by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *The Betrothed* (published in 1832) however this is highly romanticised account with very little basis in historical fact.⁴⁶

The Victorian antiquarian J. Williams made a brief reference to the battle in his *History of Radnorshire* (1859) while W.H. Howse's subsequent account is likewise sparse in detail.⁴⁷ The fullest modern historical accounts of the battle are those given in Lloyd's *History of Wales* (with extensive references to both English and Welsh annalistic sources), M.L. Dawson's 1923 article on 'Painscastle and its story' (the latter based chiefly on information contained in the English chronicle sources and Gerald of Wales's *Autobiography*), and more recently, P. Remfry's recent publication on the history of the castle of Painscastle.⁴⁸

Archaeology and Historic Terrain:

⁴⁴ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel (London 1860), 61. *Brenhinedd y Saeson*, ed. & trans. T. Jones (Cardiff 1971)

⁴⁵ D. Powel, *Historie of Cambria* (London 1811), 182-3

⁴⁶ W. Scott, *The Betrothed* (London 1825, repr. 2004) 84-94 for a largely fictional account of the siege and battle at Painscastle

⁴⁷ J. Williams, *History of Radnorshire* (London 1859) 219-220; W.H. Howse, *Radnorshire* (Hereford, 1949), 319.

⁴⁸ M.L. Dawson, 'Painscastle and its Story', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* Vol. 78 (1923), 28-52

The documentary sources clearly place the *locale* of the battle in the immediate vicinity of the castle, however it is difficult to establish its precise location. Very little recent archaeological work has been undertaken either within the castle itself or the surrounding area.⁴⁹ The only authorities to indicate a specific location for the battle are the modern OS 1:25000 map and the castle historian P. Remfry, who refers to human remains previously uncovered 'during ploughing or road widening operations to the south of the castle'. Unfortunately no archaeological record of the discovery of these remains appears to have been made.

Clearly there is significant potential for further investigation of the fields immediately surrounding the castle earthworks, which could possibly contain evidence of human remains or artefactual evidence relating to the battle. The soils in this area consist of the typical brown earths of the DENBIGH 1 series (541j) comprising well-drained fine loamy and silty soils overlying Palaeozoic slaty mudstone and siltstone. In terms of acidity/alkalinity such soils are neutral to basic (pH 5.5-7) and being well-drained, the preservation of bone and charcoal and charred plant macrofossils may thus be anticipated, while inorganic material (including metal objects) may also have survived.

Assessment of the Historic Significance of the Battle:

The battle of Painscastle has been justly described by Lloyd as 'a decisive triumph for the English ascendancy in Mid Wales', a fact which appears to have been recognized by contemporary observers. The accounts by Ralph de Diceto and Roger of Howden (written contemporaneously with the events described) emphasize the overwhelming success of the English forces and the heavy losses sustained by the Welsh, while Gerald of Wales mentions that Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered public masses to be celebrated on hearing news of the victory while in residence at Bridgnorth.⁵⁰

The English victory at Painscastle had immediate political consequences; establishing the ascendancy of the Anglo-Norman Marcher lords in the central Marches for a generation at the expense of the native Welsh lords of Elfael, Cedewain and Maelienydd (several of whom were killed during the battle). However, the most important and far-reaching consequence of the battle was that it essentially signalled the beginning of the end for Gwenwynwyn's ambitious policy of territorial expansion in the Marches and his attempt to establish Powys as the predominant royal house in Wales. Subsequent raids by Gwenwynwyn on the lands of William de Braose in 1203 and 1208 ended in disaster and in October 1208 he was stripped of his lands by King John and only restored to them two years later, on promise of perpetual service and jurisdictional submission to the English Crown. Gwenwynwyn's power was effectively broken and although he subsequently changed allegiance to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of Gwynedd he was subsequently

⁴⁹ Based on information supplied by the CPAT Historic Environment Record for PRN 16186 (Painscastle Village) and PRN 381 (Castle Earthworks)

⁵⁰ *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed & trans. H.E. Butler (Woodbridge, 2005), 181

evicted from his kingdom by Llywelyn in 1216 and died soon after in exile in England.⁵¹

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Tithe Map of the Parish of Llanbedr Painscastle - 1847

OS 1st edition 25 inch map (Radnorshire 33.13, 33.14; 36.1, 36.2) - 1889

OS 1st edition 6 inch map (Radnorshire 33 SW; 36 NW)- 1891

OS 2nd edition 25 inch map (Radnorshire 33.13, 33.14; 36.1, 36.2) -1904

OS 2nd edition 6 inch map (Radnorshire 33 SW; 36 NW)- 1905

OS 3rd edition 25 inch map (Radnorshire 33.13, 33.14; 36.1, 36.2)- 1928

OS 3rd edition 6 inch map (Radnorshire 33 SW; 36 NW)- 1929

OS provisional edition 6 inch map (Radnorshire 33 SW; 36 NW)- 1952

Battle of Painscastle
13 August 1198

1/Painscastle Castle
Held by William de
Braose's forces under
siege by Welsh led by
Gwynwyn of Powys

2/Approximate Location
of possible battle site
suggested by P. Remfry
to S of Castle

3/Rhyd-lydan ford
crossing the Afon
Bachawy: Approximate
location of possible
battle site suggested by
Dawson

4/Probable route of
advance of English
army led by Geoffrey
fitz Peter from Hay

Scale 1:25000

