

- 'squint' was found, which seemed to point to the existence of a former chantry chapel in what is now the clergy vestry, see the church guide.
60. E. D. Jones, 'A survey of the South Wales chantries, 1546', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, LXXXIX (1934), 140.
 61. Public Record Office, E.315/492, pp.40-42.
 62. Jones, *Kidwelly*, pp.119-21.
 63. G. E. Evans, 'Churchwardens' presentments (Carmarthenshire)', *Transactions Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Soc.*, XI (1914-17), 1-5.
 64. Jones, *Kidwelly*, p.73.
 65. E. Gwynne Jones, *Exchequer Proceedings (Equity) concerning Wales* (Cardiff, 1939), pp.122-3.
 66. Evans, 'Churchwardens' presentments, 1671-2, 1678-9, 1684, 1705', *Trans. Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Soc.*, X-XI (1914-17), XI-XII (1916-17), XIV (1919-21).
 67. Jones, *Kidwelly*, p.72.
 68. A comparable instance of the same kind of persistent respect paid to St Mary in post-Reformation times was the practice reported from Llanilar, Cards., as late as 1911. There, the women of the parish curtsied to an oil painting of her when entering the church, Jones, *Holy Wells*, pp.66-7.
 69. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, I (1847), 320-1. *R.C.A.M. Carm. Inventory*, p.52.
 70. For his critical comments on the state of Kidwelly in 1851 — among the most severe passed anywhere in Wales at the time — see Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and David Williams (eds.), *The Religious Census of 1851. A Calendar of Returns relating to Wales*. Vol. I. South Wales (Cardiff, 1977), p.285.
 71. Gruffydd Evans, 'Carmarthenshire Gleanings (Kidwelly)', *Y Cymmrodor*, XXV (1915), 92-160, on p.102.
 72. H. C. Tierney. *Guide to Ferryside Carmarthenshire* (Carmarthen, 1900), p.17. I am indebted to Mrs Heather James for this reference.
 73. The niche was specially made for it by a local craftsman, Mr Eddie Wilkins of Cross Hands, in 1971.
 74. Evans, *Cymmrodor*, XXV, 101-23; cf. *Religious Census of 1851*, note 70 above.

A Tale of Two Towns: Llandeilo Fawr and Dinefwr in the Middle Ages

RALPH A. GRIFFITHS

On the broad ridge in the Vale of Tywi which forces the River Tywi to make one of its more leisurely meanders in its course towards Carmarthen and the sea lie the remains of a fascinating group of medieval settlements: the church and town of Llandeilo Fawr, the towns and castle of Dinefwr, and the little church of Llandyfeisant. Their histories are intimately connected, yet their origins and fortunes in the Middle Ages are not easily unravelled.¹ One reason for this is that the Dinefwr (or Dynevor) estate was in the private hands of the Rice family, Lords Dynevor, until the 1970s, and its chequered fortunes since then have continued to delay careful inspection of the spacious park in which the towns and castle of Dinefwr are located. Until very recently, the ruins of the fortress were obscured by thick vegetation; its environs are still densely overgrown; and from the seventeenth century the building of a new mansion, followed by the laying down of formal gardens and parkland, obliterated all trace of the borough of Dinefwr (or Newton) above ground. It is not surprising, therefore, that little has been written about Llandeilo Fawr.

The *genre* of Victorian guide-books designed to record urban, commercial and industrial achievement, and to attract visitors and businessmen, includes two small volumes on Llandeilo and Dinefwr and their neighbourhoods: W. Davies, *Llandeilo-Fawr and its Neighbourhood; Past and Present* (Llandeilo, 1858), and

W. Samuel, *Llandilo Present and Past* (Carmarthen, 1868). Their titles reflect the authors' priorities, and their historical sections were mainly based on tradition and Welsh chronicles, though occasional snippets of 'oral history', supplied by local inhabitants, are not without their interest for the medieval historian. Visits to the locality by the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1875, 1892, 1925 and 1948, for all the pleasure and instruction they gave to 'Cambrians' on the hoof, did not result in any authoritative studies of the district as it was in the Middle Ages.² The only reliable, but brief, account of Dinefwr to have appeared in our own generation is anonymous and bears neither date nor place of publication.³ One must, therefore, begin with first principles and content oneself with an interim report.

Of the several settlements on the ridge, chronological precedence goes to the religious community established at Llandeilo. The most explicit evidence that we have for the existence of this community in pre-Norman times comes from two of the most remarkable books to survive from medieval Wales: the Book of St. Teilo, more commonly, but almost certainly erroneously, known as the Book of St. Chad or the Lichfield Gospels because of its association since the early eleventh century with the church and patron of Lichfield (where it can still be seen in the cathedral library); and the Book of Llandaff, the complexities of whose collection of charters have been elucidated by Professor



Plate 1 — Dinefwr Castle viewed from the south.

(Photograph: T. A. James, Dyfed Archaeological Trust AP 89-126. 15)

Wendy Davies.⁴ The Book of St. Teilo was evidently kept at Llandeilo for some time, and Llandaff was the mother church of St. Teilo's cult from the early eleventh century onwards.⁵

According to tradition, St. Teilo, one of the most prominent of the 'Celtic saints', lived in the sixth century. The church of Llandeilo Fawr is closely identified with him and is dedicated to him, and there are reasonable grounds, based on entries in the Book of Llandaff, for believing that he was buried there.⁶ As Teilo's chief church — and Llandeilos are thick on the ground in southern Wales — it became a 'mother-church' of major significance, possibly

the headquarters of a bishop-abbot,⁷ and acquired a surprisingly large estate — perhaps as much as 6,000 acres in extent — as a result of benefactions from the faithful in Ystrad Tywi and its environs.⁸ By the early ninth century (c. 820) the finely executed and beautifully illuminated Book of St. Teilo was located at Llandeilo, even though it was probably composed elsewhere. According to a marginal entry in the Book, it was given to 'God on the altar of St. Teilo by Gelhi ab Arhtudd, who had bought it for the price of a valuable horse'.⁹

Llandeilo's age of distinction came to an end in the latter part of the ninth century. The cause

is not known: it may have been spiritual decay or else secular violence. One consequence was that the Book of St. Teilo found its way to Lichfield. By the early eleventh century at the latest, to judge by marginalia in the Book, Lichfield had become its home; hence the descriptions, Lichfield Gospels and Book of St. Chad, that were current until quite recently.¹⁰ The records of Llandeilo were also dispersed, probably (according to Wendy Davies's analysis of the Llandaff charters) after c. 862/72. This decline and dispersal enabled Llandaff eventually to press its claim to be the heir of Teilo's churches.¹¹ But a religious community appears to have survived at Llandeilo: the present church, whose tower dates from the later middle ages, houses fragments of two large Celtic crosses of ninth- or early-tenth-century date, one — probably both — unearthed in the chancel when the rest of the medieval church was demolished in 1848 to make way for the

present structure designed by Mr. (later Sir) Gilbert Scott. And to the east of the church are the remains of a holy well, Ffynnon Dewi.¹² Scarcely any other indication of Llandeilo's early ecclesiastical importance survives on the ground or in the record.

By the first quarter of the twelfth century, when diocesan and parish boundaries were still in process of delineation in Wales, the spiritual and temporal heritage of St. Teilo in the Tywi valley was disputed by the bishops of Llandaff and St. David's. Skill in argument and sheer persistence gave the edge to Urban of Llandaff (1107-34) in his petitions to the Pope and his assemblage of charters, including some from Llandeilo, in the Book of Llandaff. But in the event, by about 1130, it was Bernard of St. David's (1115-48) who finally established that the community of St. Teilo and at least part of its estate should lie in his diocese and not in that of Llandaff.¹³ Later in the century, some

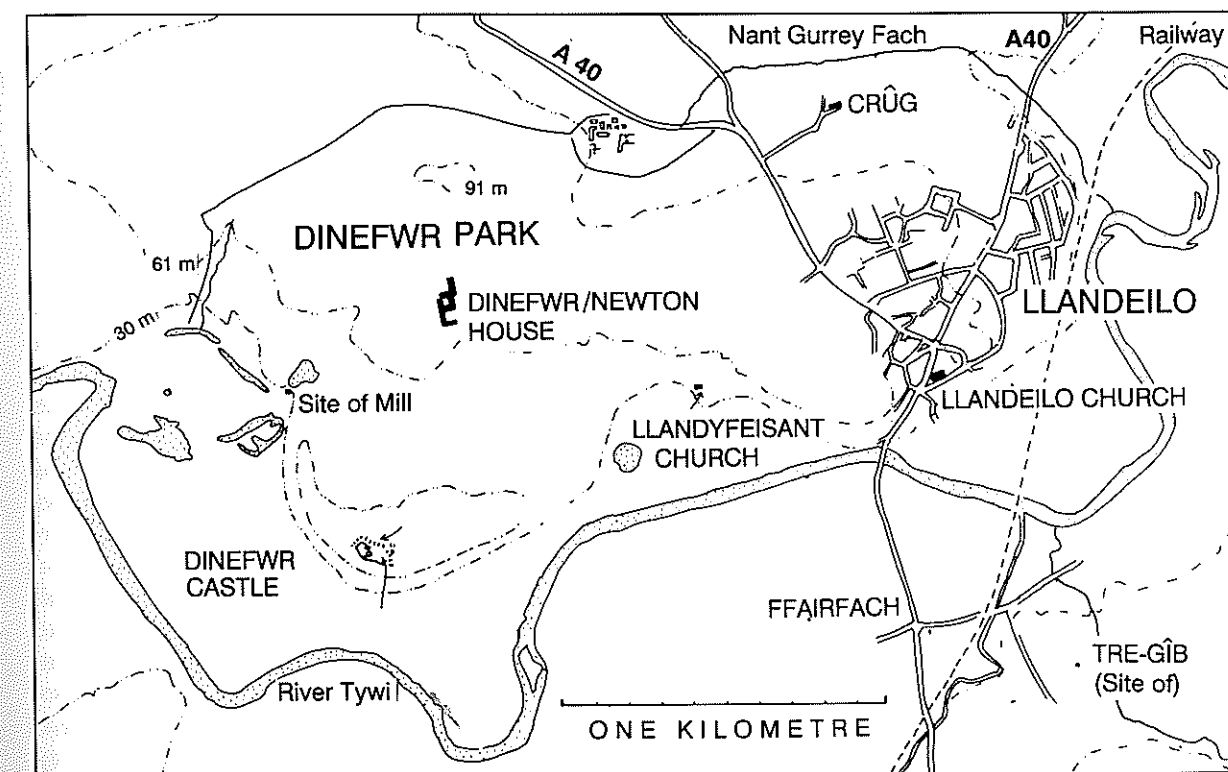


Fig. 1 — Location Map of the sites of Medieval Dinefwr and Llandeilo.

of these properties figured in the endowment of the Premonstratensian abbey of Talley, which was founded by Rhys ap Gruffydd, king of Deheubarth (the famed Lord Rhys), in the 1180s, some two decades after he had been recognized by King Henry II as lord of Cantref Mawr and Dinefwr; by then, his domain too probably included estates that had once belonged to St. Teilo's community.¹⁴

A mile and a half away, at the precipitous south-western edge of the ridge, stand the substantial ruins of Dinefwr castle. Suggestions are made from time to time that these ruins lie within an earlier fortification or hill-fort of Iron Age date, and by the end of the twelfth century it was believed that Dinefwr had once been an important residence of the kings of Deheubarth. This latter tradition has given Dinefwr a special place in the annals of Welsh history. Yet this is likely to be a myth. According to Gerald of Wales in *The Itinerary through Wales* (c. 1191), 'Dinefwr is held to be the royal seat of the princes of South Wales. In ancient times there were three royal castles in Wales: Dinefwr in South Wales, Aberffraw in North Wales, on the island of Anglesey, and Pengwern in Powys, now known as Shrewsbury.' And in *The Description of Wales* (c. 1194), he wrote that 'Dinefwr is where the royal palace of South Wales used to be: it is well protected by its site and surrounded by woods.' Gerald was no more precise.¹⁵

About the same time, the Welsh lawbook associated with southern Wales, and known as the Book of Blegywryd, was being compiled, perhaps for the court of Dinefwr. The passage on the king's privilege reads:

The privilege of the lord of Dinefwr is to have for his *sarhad* as many white cattle with red ears as shall extend one after the other between Argoel and the court of Dinefwr, with a bull of the same colour as them with each score of them. Gold is paid only to the king of Dinefwr or of Aberffraw.¹⁶

This three-fold division of Wales which Gerald and the contemporary lawbook implied was

appropriate to the late twelfth century, when kingship in native Wales had in effect resolved itself into the dominions of Deheubarth, Gwynedd and Powys. It was singularly inappropriate as a comment on Welsh kingship two and a half centuries earlier, in the time of Hywel Dda (d. 949/50), the reputed formulator of Welsh law.¹⁷ Moreover, it is now recognised that the prologues to the lawbooks, including those of the Book of Blegywryd with their references to Dinefwr, can no longer be securely dated much earlier than the compilation of the original of this text, towards the end of the twelfth century. Indeed, the Book of Blegywryd is considered by scholars to be a re-translation into Welsh of a Latin version, which perhaps was first compiled in southern Wales in the third quarter of the twelfth century when Rhys ap Gruffydd, lord of Dinefwr, was 'suzerain' (as the Book of Blegywryd describes him). The oldest surviving copy of this lawbook should be dated later still, round about 1300.¹⁸

Here, then, we may be presented with a tradition about Dinefwr's antiquity that was current at the end of the twelfth century and which may have been created and popularised in the preceding decades in the interest of Rhys ap Gruffydd and his overlordship of Deheubarth. Furthermore, no one has yet found evidence of a fortification earlier than the medieval castle on the rocky eminence at the edge of the ridge. It may be significant that Gerald of Wales offered no details of any earlier prominence for Dinefwr; and the Welsh chronicles based on *Brut y Tywysogyon* which was probably compiled not far away at the abbey of Strata Florida towards the end of the thirteenth century, say nothing about Dinefwr or its lords before Rhys's day.¹⁹ The *Din* (perhaps a natural defensive hill above slopes on which the herb known as cow parsnip, *efwr*, still grows) on the ridge high above the Tywi could itself have prompted such romantic notions in the twelfth century or earlier, as locations elsewhere in Wales seem to have done, not least at Cardigan (or *Dingereint*), another of Rhys ap Gruffydd's residences.²⁰

Myth and tradition crystallise into history

only in the twelfth century, as far as Dinefwr castle is concerned. It may be that some at least of the surviving curtain wall of the inner ward of the castle dates from the latter part of the century. The context in which the Chronicle of the Princes (*Brut y Tywysogyon*) first refers to Dinefwr is an instructive one. It relates how, in 1163, King Henry II arrived in Deheubarth and marched with a large army as far as Pencader, some fifteen miles north-west of Llandeilo. Rhys ap Gruffydd submitted to the king, and in return was allowed to take Cantref Mawr, 'which was a large district, along with *land* that was at Dinefwr' as his own.²¹ This lordship became a foundation of Rhys's subsequent power in South Wales, and Dinefwr one of his chief residences. The poet Gwynfardd Brycheiniog (fl. c. 1180), in an *awdl* composed for Rhys, speaks of 'the host of Rhys in the court of Dinefwr'.²² No evidence has so far come to light to suggest that there was a fortress on the site of Dinefwr castle before Rhys occupied the place. He may have done so shortly before Henry II arrived in the vicinity. A generation later, Gerald of Wales recalled that, having placed Rhys in custody, the king dispatched a Breton knight, guided by a local cleric,

with orders to examine the *site* of Dinefwr castle and to report back on how strongly the *terrain* was fortified. The priest was told to lead the knight to the castle by the easiest route and to make his journey as pleasant as possible. Instead he made a point of taking him along the most difficult and inaccessible trackways. Whenever they passed through lush woodlands, to the great astonishment of all present, he plucked a handful of grass and ate it, thus giving the impression that in time of need the local inhabitants lived on roots and grasses. The knight went back to the king and reported everything worth mentioning that he had seen and heard. The district was quite uninhabitable, he said, inaccessible and virtually without roads, providing sustenance only for a bestial race of people, who were content to live there like animals. Thereupon the king made Rhys swear an oath of fealty and hand over hostages. Then he sent him back to his own affairs.²³

During Rhys's later years, his sons quarrelled violently and not least over Dinefwr castle; two

of them, Rhys and Maredudd, seized it by treachery in 1195, though Rhys ap Gruffydd, who died two years later, managed to reassert himself, hunted them down at Ystrad Meurig, near the abbey of Strata Florida, and clapped them in prison.²⁴ After the Lord Rhys's death, the quarrelling turned to outright war. By that stage, there is no denying the importance of Dinefwr to Rhys and his heirs: to Maelgwn ap Rhys, it and Llandovery castle were 'the bolts and stays of all this territory and all else he had to his name' in 1204, when the sons of his brothers, Gruffydd ap Rhys, besieged and won them both.²⁵ One of the best known incidents in these fratricidal struggles, and the one most extensively reported by chroniclers, implies that the castle had walls by January 1213. In resisting the Lord Rhys's grandsons, Rhys Ieuanc and Owain ap Gruffydd, Rhys's youngest son, Rhys Fychan (or Rhys Gryg, 'the stammerer'),

went and fortified the castle of Dinefwr with men and arms, and he completely burned the town of Llandeilo-fawr and made off. But Rhys Ieuanc came before the castle. And on the following day he had ladders placed against the walls, and armed men to scale the walls. And on the first assault the whole castle was taken, except for the tower. And in that all the garrison gathered together and they defended strongly with missiles and stones and other engines. And from without archers and crossbow-men were shooting missiles and sappers digging, and armed knights making unbearable assaults, till they were forced before the afternoon to surrender the tower. And they gave three picked hostages that they would surrender the castle unless help came to them by the following day, upon their being allowed in safety their lives and their limbs and their arms. And so it happened.²⁶

The Lord Rhys used stone in his rebuilding work at Cardigan castle after 1171, and it is likely that he did so at other castles.²⁷ In view of Dinefwr's importance to him, it would not be surprising if future archaeologists were to conclude that some at least of the castle's stonework were to date from Rhys's lifetime.

The territorial settlement devised at Aberdyfi in 1216 in the presence of Llywelyn the Great, prince of Gwynedd, seems to have brought a

measure of stability to relations between the progeny of the Lord Rhys, though in renewed tension with Llywelyn late in August 1220, Rhys Gryg dismantled the fortress of Dinefwr lest it fall into Llywelyn's hands. The years that followed, prior to the death of Rhys Gryg at Llandeilo Fawr in 1233, may have provided a period of relative peace in which further building in stone could have been undertaken at his residence at Dinefwr. It seems likely that the round tower-keep was erected at about this time, to judge by the date of similar tower-keeps elsewhere. We cannot be certain because in the seventeenth century a pleasance, or gazebo, was placed on its summit and there are signs that the original top floor was removed.²⁸

The castle remained in the family's hands until Edward I's reign, and the broad cultural and religious patronage of the Lord Rhys was continued at Dinefwr by Rhys Gryg. Among the surviving Welsh manuscripts containing medical lore are a few with texts, dating from the later fourteenth century, that claim to be the work of Rhys Gryg's physicians, Rhiwallon and his sons, who inaugurated an hereditary line of physicians at Myddfai, six or seven miles further up the valley, from the early thirteenth century to the mid-eighteenth:

the most important and essential remedies for man's body written down by Rhiwallon the doctor and his sons, Cadwgan, Gruffydd, and Einion: for they were the best and leading doctors of their time and the time of Rhys Gryg, their lord and Lord of Dinefwr, the man who safeguarded their status and privilege completely and honourably as was their due.²⁹

At Dinefwr, in 1271, Rhys Ieuanc ap Rhys Mechyll ap Rhys Gryg died, to be taken for burial to the monastery at Talley which the Lord Rhys and his family patronized.³⁰ By that stage, Dinefwr was a formidable stone fortress, housing a seignorial court that was in every sense the centre of an important Welsh lordship in Ystrad Tywi.

The only Premonstratensian monastery in Wales, Talley abbey was founded by the Lord Rhys about 1184-9.³¹ It remained closely associated with his family, and its original

endowment, extended by Rhys Gryg, included some of the possessions of Teilo's earlier community notably the churches of Llandeilo Fawr and Llandyfeisant, and estates in the uplands of Ystrad Tywi. This endowment also included the chapel dedicated to St. David at Dinefwr, presumably inside the castle.³² Talley's connection with Llandeilo Fawr is recalled by the nineteenth-century tradition that a fragment of a building (or barn) there had once belonged to the abbey, inspiring such place-names as Abbey Terrace and Abbot's Barn Street.³³

Following the election of Iorwerth (or Gervase), abbot of Talley, as bishop of St. David's in 1215, Talley's rights at Llandeilo were consolidated. In 1222, Rhys Gryg and his son, Maredudd, acknowledged the cathedral's right to lands 'in the commote of Llandeilo Fawr' (that is, Maenordeilo), but among the exceptions made were the properties of the canons of Talley which Rhys Gryg had granted to either Llandeilo church or Talley abbey. About the same time, Bishop Iorwerth approved Talley's appropriation of the churches of Llandeilo Fawr and Llanegwad.³⁴ His successor, Bishop Anselm le Gras (1229-47), was far less indulgent towards Talley. On 1 April 1239 he won recognition of his claim that Llandeilo's church belonged to St. David's, and that henceforward the abbot of Talley should make a payment of six marks (£4) to the cathedral church for its use.³⁵ Anselm's sensitivity to Talley's pretensions, and to the monastery's link with the Lord Rhys's family, may explain why, when Rhys Gryg died at Llandeilo Fawr in 1233, the bishop took steps to secure the body for burial at St. David's, near the grave of the Lord Rhys, 'with direful sorrow and the greatest honour'.³⁶

During the following two centuries, the formal record conceded that the patron of Llandeilo's vicarage and Landyfeisant chapel was indeed the abbot and convent of Talley. In practice, however, they seem to have encountered difficulty in asserting their rights against the bishop, especially when hard times in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries forced

them to seek the king's protection.³⁷ As for the temporal estates of the ancient community, the town and *patria* of Llandeilo Fawr were part of the bishop's extensive lordship. The site of the old monastery had become a parish church, whilst a small, semi-urban settlement was nurtured at Llandeilo under episcopal control.

The impact on Dinefwr castle of relations between the descendants of Rhys Gryg, and also of the determination of the princes of Gwynedd and the kings of England to have dominance in Deheubarth, is recorded from time to time by Welsh chronicles. By contrast, little is known about life in the castle or about the settlements nearby. Only after Edward I seized Dinefwr in 1277, and royal clerks began to record details of the king's rights and profits in his new possession, is the veil lifted. Likewise, not until David Francis, chancellor of St. David's, compiled the so-called Black Book of St. David's in 1326, during the episcopate of David Martin (1296-1328), are details available of the town at Llandeilo Fawr.³⁸

In the meanwhile, following Rhys Gryg's death in 1233, Dinefwr remained in Welsh hands. Rhys Mechyll ap Rhys Gryg made it his residence, but after he died in 1244 the wider Anglo-Welsh conflict intensified the quarrels among his kinsmen. As a result of the efforts of Dafydd ap Llywelyn, prince of Gwynedd, to extend his power to Deheubarth, in alliance with Rhys Mechyll's son, Rhys Fychan, Dinefwr was seized by a royal army in October 1246; it was in the king's hands for about two years. Rhys Fychan regained possession only at the price of acknowledging his subordination to Henry III's agents at Carmarthen. This was the first step to establishing an English lordship at Dinefwr. A few years later, Rhys Fychan found himself vulnerable to external forces once again, this time when Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, prince of Gwynedd, invaded Deheubarth in 1256-7. Rhys Fychan was punished for his earlier accommodation with the English: Llywelyn deprived him of Dinefwr, despite the fact that he was married to the prince's sister,

and his uncle (and Llywelyn's ally), Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg, was installed in the castle in his place. Accordingly, in June 1257, when he was guiding an English army from Carmarthen to Llandeilo Fawr, where its encampment was harassed by Welshmen led by Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg, Rhys Fychan decided to leave his allies in the lurch and, with a small band of companions, hasten to Dinefwr castle. Rhys Fychan's defection caused the English to abandon their arms and equipment at Coed Llathen, and they were decisively defeated immediately afterwards at Cymerau, on the border of the commote of Catheiniog. Two thousand Englishmen (one writer says as many as 3,000) are reported to have perished.³⁹ Professor R. R. Davies has judged this battle to have been 'one of the most devastating defeats inflicted on an English army in Wales in the thirteenth century'.⁴⁰

Later in the year, a settlement imposed by Prince Llywelyn restored Rhys Fychan to Dinefwr. This was guaranteed to alienate Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg, who was required to give it up, and so the uneasy situation in Ystrad Tywi was perpetuated. A siege in which Rhys Fychan enlisted Llywelyn's aid was required before the terms of the settlement could be enforced (1258). This was followed by a hearing at Arwystli before Prince Llywelyn's council of nobles, at which Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg was pronounced a traitor and imprisoned in Cricieth castle, where he languished until Christmas.⁴¹ The decade that followed seems to have been comparatively trouble-free. Rhys Fychan and his uncle died within three weeks of one another in the summer of 1271, Rhys at Dinefwr castle and Maredudd at Dryslwyn. They were succeeded, respectively, by their sons, Rhys Wyndod and Rhys ap Maredudd.⁴²

The young cousins fared no better, as relations between Prince Llywelyn and the new king, Edward I, deteriorated: the consequences of war were disastrous for both Welshmen. King Edward's success in the first Welsh war (1276-7) persuaded Rhys ap Maredudd to come to terms with the king; in return, on 11 April 1277 he was promised that, in the event of Rhys

Wyndod's castle of Dinefwr and his commotes of Maenordeilo, Mallaen, Cao and Mabelfyw falling into the king's hands, he would be accorded full justice and, as right demanded, full restitution.⁴³ It was a significant and carefully worded undertaking. Yet two weeks later, on 24 April, no doubt prompted by news of this agreement, Rhys Wyndod deserted his ally Llywelyn and submitted to the king. He was reinstated in his castles and lands until Edward I should decide otherwise. On 5 June Dinefwr was seized by Pain de Chaworth in the king's name.⁴⁴ Thereafter, it was in the custody of the king's agents in West Wales, who realised its strategic value as the key to control of the Tywi valley, and appreciated that it was advisable to take it out of Welsh hands for good. To this end, £285 was immediately authorized to restock the fortress.⁴⁵

In the months that followed, Rhys ap Maredudd may have secured at least some of Rhys Wyndod's lands — perhaps the commotes of Maenordeilo and Mabelfyw — but the king's refusal to allow him to occupy Dinefwr castle rankled, and he sought compensation in accordance with the agreement of April 1277. This was authorized on 5 January 1280, 'for his portion of Dinefwr'; the compensation consisted of three uncultivated and practically deserted *gwestfas* called Maenor Meibion Seisyll, situated across the Tywi opposite Llandeilo Fawr.⁴⁶ On the following 10 June, the commote of Maenordeilo and a wood lying uncomfortably close to Dinefwr castle which belonged to Rhys ap Maredudd were also appropriated by the crown, though it was conceded that Rhys should be given further lands in exchange in order to preserve his loyalty.⁴⁷

During the second Welsh war (1282-3), Rhys Wyndod tried to recover his position by capitalizing on Prince Llywelyn's advance into Deheubarth. Despite the near-disaster inflicted at Llandeilo on an English army returning from Carreg Cennen, laden with booty, on 17 June 1282, Rhys failed to re-take Dinefwr; he was captured and died in an English prison.⁴⁸ For all his loyalty to the crown, Rhys ap Maredudd, the only descendant of the Lord Rhys left with

some semblance of power in Ystrad Tywi, was again denied Dinefwr castle. On 16 October, 1283, during the Parliament at Acton Burnell in Shropshire, he was induced to surrender to Edward all his claims to the fortress and its demesne lands. The king was evidently firmly resolved to keep 'the capital of all South Wales' permanently in his possession as part of his expanding lordship in West Wales. This was signalled by defensive and repair work at the castle. In March 1280 surveyors had established that repairs costing at least £200 were needed, and a new well inside the castle would cost a further £30. Much of this was attended to. During 1282-3 alone, the ditches round the castle and its outer ward were cleared, and a further ninety perches of ditch were dug round the tower-keep and garden (the latter costing £3 14s. 0d.).⁴⁹

In these circumstances, Rhys ap Maredudd's rebellion (1287-91) was well nigh inevitable. At the outset, he carried Dinefwr castle by siege, but it was soon recovered by a large English army and thereafter remained secure in the king's possession.⁵⁰ Further repairs may have been undertaken at this juncture (though they could be dated to earlier in the 1280s), notably to the bridge of the tower-keep, and to the walls and the 'little tower', and two or three large buildings were erected in the outer ward, along with a new gate, which may be connected with the strengthening of the barbican approach to the inner ward (the gate itself costing £12 13s. 4d.).⁵¹ The last obstacle to complete royal hegemony in the Tywi valley — indeed, in all West Wales — had been removed, and from its headquarters at Carmarthen, the military and administrative machinery of English domination and exploitation was fastened on the countryside. Within a few years, major changes to the settlements and communities at Llandeilo Fawr and Dinefwr would be underway.

We may reasonably suppose that during the century and a quarter when Dinefwr castle is known to have been the residence of Welsh lords, a supporting community developed, and

demesnes were exploited, as happened at seignorial courts elsewhere. The Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments suggested in 1917 that Llandeilo Fawr was the main settlement associated with the castle — the 'Trefscoleygyon', or 'vill of the clerks', mentioned in an enquiry of 1318.⁵² Yet, both Llandeilo Fawr and 'Trefscoleygyon' are noted in the record of that enquiry, implying that they were not one and the same. Where exactly the 'vill of the clerks' was situated is a puzzle. One possibility is that it was the settlement occupied by the priests attached to the court of Dinefwr, just as smiths and physicians who served Dinefwr's Welsh lords are known to have enjoyed their own lands in the vicinity. We may also identify it with the *villa de Scleygon* which Edward I's surveyors noted as part of the Dinefwr estate in 1280. It then produced an annual assessed rent of four marks (£2 13s. 4d.), and fourteen *firmarii* (or tenants) there held an acre of presumably cultivated land which was highly valued at 2s. 4d. per annum. In October 1283, Rhys ap Maredudd surrendered all claim to this *gwestfa* (an administrative unit of exploitation) *de Sclogans* which, along with certain demesnes, belonged to Dinefwr castle.⁵³ And after Rhys rebelled in 1287 and besieged Dinefwr castle, a detachment of 392 soldiers from Cardiganshire was detailed to receive into the king's peace local inhabitants who included 'les sclogans' and the men of Iscennen.⁵⁴ 'Trefscoleygyon' could not have been Llandeilo Fawr.

In support of the contention that Llandeilo Fawr was the chief settlement attached to Dinefwr castle, the Royal Commission suggested that an earlier castle was once situated on the hill immediately overlooking the town, though it was conceded that 'there are no indications of the existence there of an early encampment' — and that remains true today. There is, indeed, no evidence that a castle was built on any site in the vicinity other than on that occupied by the present stone ruins. Nor is there any sign of an earlier structure or earthwork thereabouts.⁵⁵ Rather did Llandeilo Fawr develop as an ecclesiastical settlement at a con-

venient river crossing where a distinguished community had existed, without the immediate protection of a fortress belonging to a secular lord. After the construction of Dinefwr castle by the Lord Rhys in the mid-twelfth century, adjacent land was exploited by its Welsh lords as demesne to serve their court, with settlements (or *trefi*) assigned to important members of their households, many of whom are listed in the Book of Blegywryd as meriting free tenancies. Among the more prominent of these were the priests of the household.

Furthermore, the lawbooks make it clear that a Welsh lord's household was also an organ of government and rulership on a pattern familiar the length and breadth of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. The Book of Blegywryd says of 'the priest of the court' that he had certain duties of this sort:

To expunge every cause that has been settled from the roll; secondly, to preserve in writing for judgement every cause until it be settled; thirdly, to be prepared and sober at the king's need to write letters and to read them.

To perform these duties adequately in the thirteenth century, an age of literate government, required the chief clerk and his staff to be in close attendance on their lord.⁵⁶ At Dinefwr, the 'vill of the clerks' might well have lain close to the castle itself, on the gently sloping ground immediately to the east of the castle, perhaps including buildings in the outer ward (as at Cefnlllys and Dolforwyn in Powys) and extending from the gate into the acreage that is now covered with dense vegetation.

According to the survey made on 24 March 1280, three years after the king acquired Dinefwr, there were thirty 'Welsh acres' of demesne worth 4d. per acre, and another eighteen which were valued rather more highly at 6d. per acre. These lands were the lord of Dinefwr's demesne, cultivated by his tenants. There was also an acre of meadowland, whose annual value was put at 8d. A water-mill, valued at 3s. 4d., may well have stood at or near the spot below the castle hill where the remains of a more modern mill can still be seen. Thus,

the single most valuable adjunct of Dinefwr castle was 'the vill of the clerks', whose assessed rent was four marks. This suggests that it was a distinctive community in the eyes of the Welsh jurors who testified before Henry de Bray, and in the perception of the English clerks who recorded their testimony.⁵⁷ But with only the most primitive of urban characteristics, it is scarcely possible to describe it as a town.

By 1298, when surviving records allow a glimpse of Dinefwr after the passage of eighteen years, things had manifestly changed. The strength of the castle and the security of its garrison depended on a reliable supply of food-stuffs. To rely indefinitely on the transport of corn, beans, honey, wine, cows and pigs from Carmarthen — sometimes from Brecon and Pembroke — was dangerous. As early as 4 December 1280, within months of the survey of the king's new estate, the justiciar of West Wales, Bogo de Knovil, was instructed to proclaim a weekly market and an annual fair at what the government called 'the town of Dinefwr'.⁵⁸ The rising of Rhys ap Iaredudd, followed by the creation of burgages at Dryslwyn in April 1294, and King Edward's own visit to Dinefwr in June 1295 seem to have quickened the pace of change, and by 1298 significant developments in the direction of urbanization were in train.

By this date, the town (or *villa*) contained twenty-six burgages, each rented at the usual rate in medieval towns and boroughs of 1s. per annum. The mill was set at farm for 8s. per annum, well above its value in 1280, and the new fair decreed by de Knovil was held on 7 September, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary; in the Michaelmas term of 1298-9 it raised tolls of 27s. 8d. The town had its own reeve, who enjoyed a rent-allowance of 1s. a year, and a hundred court dispensed justice to the townsmen.⁵⁹ A regular and flourishing market and fair implied a nucleated and prospering community. When Pain de Chaworth took Dinefwr castle and its demesne into the king's hands on 5 June 1277, he was authorized to allow 'the men of Rhys [Wyndod] to hold their lands and tenements as before until the

king shall have decided what further is to be done'.⁶⁰ It seems likely that the change of lordship did not mean wholesale displacement of the Welsh tenantry; rather were their ranks augmented by immigrants. Doubtless because of the limited space available on the castle hill for such an expansion, the town itself underwent certain topographical and organizational changes which eventually encompassed two related sites and had the aspect of twin-town development: the 'old town' of Dinefwr was joined by a 'new town' (soon to be known as Newton). These decisions were taken on behalf of the king by Walter de Pederton, justiciar of West Wales, perhaps as early as the autumn of 1298. But it was the introduction of a revived renting system, and the compilation of a new rental in 1302-3, that makes it possible to observe more clearly the social and administrative order at the old and new towns.

During 1298-9, the total burgage rent increased by 6s. to take account of new burgages (presumably six in number); these may have been laid out on part of the castle's garden, whose farm was accordingly reduced by two-thirds. By 1300, the garden was producing nothing at all, perhaps because some new curtilages, let for the first time at 6s. per annum, were carved out of it. A second fair was held on 24 June 1299, the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and it raised as much as 50s. 4d. in tolls.⁶¹ An enlarged town seemed in prospect, absorbing and transforming, rather than replacing or abandoning, the earlier settlement. Further developments occurred in 1301, after the king had conferred his principality of Wales on his eldest son, Edward of Caernarfon (later King Edward II). Under the new régime, the urban structure at Dinefwr was rationalized. The 'old' (or 'upper') town was held to consist of only eleven burgages, increased to thirteen in 1302-3, each rented to Welsh tenants (or *gabularii*) at 6d. per annum, which was only half the customary rate for burgage tenure. By contrast, in the 'new' (or 'lower') town, there were twelve Welsh tenants (*gabularii*), each leasing a messuage and some land for 12d. a year. The burgages of the new town were not

assessed for renting until 1302-3, when it emerged that thirty-five had been created, most of them attached to a Welsh acre of land to form an attractive, small estate for would-be immigrants.⁶² This rental reveals the social and tenurial structure of the twin towns of Dinefwr.

The tenantry of the old town was exclusively Welsh, and only one man, Dafydd Goch, is also described as a *gabularius* of the new town. By contrast, a good proportion of the burgesses of the new town were of immigrant origin. It is true that one of the *gabularii* of old Dinefwr, John Peny, had managed to secure a burgage and an acre of land in new Dinefwr; so did Gwilym Was Da ('the good servant'), a talented lawyer who was responsible for compiling copies of the Book of Blegywryd and may have resided at Dinefwr since the days of the Welsh lords.⁶³ Others, to judge by their names, were not Welsh at all, or else had been recruited in pacified parts of Wales, like Robert de Gower, Philip and Henry Scurlage, and John Basset. Regardless of nationality, their reliability and loyalty qualified them for burgess-ship and the accolade of being described as 'English Burgesses of the Lower Town, which is called Newe Town'. They were attracted to the Tywi valley by the prospect of holding burgages and lands rent-free for seven years, as from 2 November 1298, when the plans for the new town were formulated by the justiciar, Walter de Pederton.⁶⁴ The disposal of the remaining demesne reflects the same social diversity: two brothers, Gruffydd and Hywel ap Gwilym, who had secured a lease of six acres of demesne from Rhys Wyndod before 1277, were allowed to remain in possession of the land in return for an annual rent of 2s. On the other hand, eight situated near the castle were leased to the constable of Dinefwr castle, Henry Scurlage (for 13s. 4d.), and he also farmed the Tywi fishery (for 20s) and the ale tax imposed in Llandeilo Fawr (for 10s.). Scurlage and Robert de Gower were the effective rulers of Dinefwr at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but they lived cheek by jowl with a number of Welsh families which had accommodated themselves to the new order.⁶⁵ Such were the

racial distinctions at Dinefwr and, too, the realities of inter-communal life. The only surviving court roll of the hundred court of the new town in the first decade of its existence shows Welshmen and immigrants, men and women, tradesmen and traders, locked in combat at law and in the town.⁶⁶

There were two cases of forestalling in 1302-3, which suggests that trading was already being carefully regulated. The fair which was held in the new town on 7 September had presumably been transferred from old Dinefwr, whilst the June fair was abandoned. The commercial tax known as *tolcester*, which had been imposed on the ale-brewers of Llandeilo by the Welsh lords of Dinefwr, was farmed for 10s. — to Henry Scurlage. It proved an unreliable blessing, since in inclement weather (as in 1304-5) the brewers produced abominable ale which could not be sold; and in 1318, the justice of the custom was challenged by Llandeilo's townsmen in a petition to the king.⁶⁷ This creation of a 'new town' took place on the opposite side of the small vale north of the castle. But the burgages there were in full view of the castle walls, had easy access to the castle and the mill below it, and formed a joint community with the earlier settlement.

During the first decade of the fourteenth century, when these urban adjustments were taking place at Dinefwr, the king and the prince of Wales's advisers remained sanguine about the security of Ystrad Tywi. The constable of Dinefwr castle maintained a garrison of two dozen men until at least 1303, and later constables were allowed to farm the profits of the adjacent towns and, presumably, oversee their development as part of a royal strategy of defence. In 1310-1, Edmund Hakelut was accordingly granted the castle, town and demesnes of Dinefwr for life, and in 1338-9 he persuaded Edward III to allow his son, also named Edmund, to inherit the constableness and the town and demesnes after his death. For fifty years, therefore, the Hakeluts were, in effect, lords of Dinefwr, paying an annual farm to the crown.⁶⁸ One regrettable consequence for the historian is that the annual accounts of the

town's administration went into the Hakelut archives, never to be seen again.

Precautions were amply justified. In 1316, the revolt of Llywelyn Bren spread from Glamorgan to Carmarthenshire and the town and castle were badly damaged by fire, so much so that three years later the townsfolk were exempt from a tax in aid of the king's Scottish war.⁶⁹ There was further turbulence at Dinefwr after Edward II, in November 1317, cancelled his earlier grant to Hakelut and transferred the castle, town and demesnes to his unpopular favourite, Hugh Despenser the younger, for life. Not only was this an affront to Hakelut, but as part of a far more ambitious programme of territorial aggrandisement by Despenser, it helped rouse the opposition of many of the nobility, including John Giffard, lord of Cantref Bychan, and other marcher lords. Consequently, in 1321 Dinefwr was among the Despenser castles and towns that suffered attack from the forces of the marcher lords. Only in Decemer 1326, after the Despensers and their royal patron had fallen from power, was Hakelut restored to a position in the Tywi valley which his family held thereafter until 1360.⁷⁰

Despite these vicissitudes, the management and exploitation of the castle and town by the Hakeluts seems to have been reasonably successful. These may also be the years (1326-40) when the north front of the castle was reconstructed in the course of repair work ordered on several occasions after the attacks of 1316 and 1321. The curtain wall was removed and a range of residential buildings erected which, at the same time, strengthened the entire north side of the fortress.⁷¹ Furthermore, the towns appeared to recover well from the demographic crisis and economic dislocation precipitated by the plague of 1348-9: ten years later, in 1359-60, the reeve of (old) Dinefwr reported an income of £13 5s. 0d., and the reeve of 'Newton, near Dinefwr', £8 7s. 4d.⁷²

On the death of Sir Edmund Hakelut in the first week of February 1360, a survey was made of the towns and demesnes of Dinefwr.⁷³ It reveals their vitality in the age of plague. The

assessed rent of the old town was put at 25s. 4d., whilst in the more flourishing new town as many as forty-six burgages were available for renting at 1s. each. Non-burgesses were ready to pay a total of 10s. 5d. to secure privileges in the new town as burgesses *de vento*; others paid 3s. 4d. for protection while visiting the town, presumably on business. The demesne meadowland now formed one large and three small meadows: 'Kingsmede' (let for 24s.), 'Russhmede', perhaps in the low-lying area near the water mill (4s.), Llandyfeisant meadow (6s.) and Mynachlog, which was farmed for 6s. The water mill was farmed for 13s. 4d. and in addition to the Tywi fishery at 20s. per annum, there was a prise or levy of salmon caught in the river which was worth 11s. 8d. Despite renewed requests from Llandeilo Fawr, the ale prise in 1360 was levied on as many as 30 brewings by the inhabitants of the bishop's town and produced 12s. 6d. The courts of both old and new towns were held as usual, that at the new town three times as busy as the other. The fair on 7 September raised tolls amounting to £4. After half a century of Hakelut lordship, therefore, the fortunes of Dinefwr were buoyant enough.

Then, on 1 June 1363 Edward the Black Prince granted the first of Dinefwr's charters, formally creating the new town a chartered borough. At the same time, it was allowed to constitute a gild merchant, which enabled the so-called 'English' burgesses to monopolise the commercial as well as the administrative affairs of the new borough through their automatic membership of the gild. The prince further conceded to the burgesses the right to choose their own borough officials. They were exempted from paying tolls in towns elsewhere in the realm, and the weekly Wednesday market was confirmed. To the September fair the prince added another, also to be held around harvest time, on 18 October; each would henceforward last for three days. These grants fortified the role of the urban oligarchy in the town and district by conferring certain powers of self-regulation on them. Richard II extended these privileges on 13 May 1392 when he conceded a

degree of legal immunity to the burgesses: they should not be fined by Welshmen in any of the royal courts of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire. And two years later, on 24 September 1394, when he was waiting at Haverfordwest for passage to Ireland, Richard issued a general confirmation of his father's charter of incorporation twenty-one years before.⁷⁴ These grants suggest that on the eve of the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr the new town of Dinefwr was a flourishing community, and that it was the king's intention, no doubt for his own political and financial reasons, that it should remain so.

The number of burgages available for renting in 1394-5 had fallen slightly to forty, but a substantial number of burgesses *de vento* remained eager to acquire burghal privileges, in return for a total payment of 15s. 4d., presumably to facilitate their commercial operations and maintain their standing in the urban community. The assessed rent of the old town remained at 25s. 4d., and the four meadowlands continued to be leased. Other demesne lands brought in £9 13s. 6d. and the Tywi fishery could still be farmed for the 20s. it had raised at the beginning of the century.⁷⁵ Some of the townsfolk had begun to encroach on the demesne, suggesting that the town's population had increased, and in 1395-6 it was explained that whereas the castle garden used to be leased for 3s. 4d., recent enclosures had been removed by some of the tenantry and the rental accordingly reduced to 1s. 2d. a year.⁷⁶ Racial tensions remained too, and the stark language of discrimination in the charters of 1363 and the 1390s can hardly have moderated them. In retrospect, however, these charters of the Black Prince and his son seem to mark the high-point of Dinefwr's fortunes as a town.

In the earlier part of the fourteenth century, the town of Llandeilo Fawr seems to have been equally flourishing. Apart from the town, the bishop's lordship included an estate (or *patria*) of three *gwely*-lands, each of four acres of arable, with some meadow pasture, the whole doubtless a remnant of the large estate bestow-

ed on the ancient community of St. Teilo. It is true that Llandeilo was one of the smallest and least profitable of the bishop's towns in 1326, according to the Black Book of St. David's, and the urbanization of Dinefwr doubtless prejudiced its development somewhat. Yet as a market, it was attractive to tenants who lived outside Llandeilo for, unlike Dinefwr, it had the advantage of being at a convenient crossing-point on the Tywi. By 1326 the town had only fourteen fully-fledged burgesses, twelve men and two women, each holding a burgage with some land for which he or she paid the customary 1s. in rent. Master Madog, the chaplain, was one of the more prominent burgesses, and it was he who headed the list of jurors who testified to the bishop's rights before the enquiry in 1326. Yet Llandeilo's annual fair complemented, rather than rivalled, Dinefwr's because it was held earlier in the summer for three days from the feast of St. Barnabas (11 June), drawing most of its tolls from visitors. The weekly market, too, did not conflict with Dinefwr's Wednesday market, since it was held on Saturday. The town was administered for the bishop by a reeve who paid no burgage rent while in office; every three weeks, he presided over the town's hundred court. The burgesses naturally owed certain obligations to the bishop: they guarded prisoners arrested in the borough for up to three nights before escorting them to Llanegwad (unless, of course, they had already been executed in Llandeilo); they carried goods, and led beasts, belonging to the bishop to Llanegwad and Llangadog; and they had to use the bishop's mill. They paid an ale prise of four gallons from each brewing, and this was in addition to the ale prise paid reluctantly to the lord of Dinefwr since the mid-thirteenth century. The commercial importance of Llandeilo was such that in 1326 it was estimated that twelve men and women paid between them 12s. as burgesses *de vento*; another eight men and three women sought the bishop's protection while they visited Llandeilo, paying 4d. (sometimes 6d.) *per annum* for the privilege. Almost one-third of the 65s. 6d. which was the town's value to the bishop

accrued from these people — a strong indication of its vitality as a market. Moreover, their role in the town's affairs is demonstrated by the presence of some of them among the jurors who helped to survey the town and *patria* in 1326. By contrast, few of the jurors seem to have been tenants only of the traditional *gwely*-lands of the *patria*.⁷⁷

The Glyndŵr rebellion was a decisive phase in the history of both Dinefwr and Llandeilo. This was less because of the ten-day assault on the castle and borough of Dinefwr during July 1403, but rather a consequence of new circumstances created by the rebellion. Our knowledge of how the two towns fared is mainly based on a series of vivid letters, or reports of letters, sent by the constable of Dinefwr castle, Jenkin Havard, to his 'dear friend', John Fairford, receiver of the lordship of Brecon, in July 1403 when rebel forces, partly raised in Carmarthenshire, were swarming over the countryside and battering at his gate.⁷⁸ Glyndŵr himself appeared on 2 July and laid siege to the castle, while the bulk of his army prepared to march to Carmarthen and Kidwelly. On 4 July, Fairford reported Havard's desperate plight to the authorities of Herefordshire, imploring prompt assistance for his friend. That very morning, he had received dreadful news of the menace to Havard and Dinefwr. Another messenger had arrived from Lord Audley's lieutenant at Llandovery castle with equally grave news: on 3 July Glyndŵr and 300 rebels had surprised Llandovery's garrison, which offered little resistance; and that night they lodged at Llandeilo. Fairford's reports were also passed to Sir Hugh Waterton, an intimate servant and councillor of King Henry IV, and steward of Brecon, Monmouth and the duchy of Lancaster lands in Herefordshire. The messenger elaborated in person: the towns of Llandovery and Newton had been burned by the rebels, who were believed to be beating a path of destruction as far as Kidwelly; only severe flooding was temporarily hindering their progress. The chamberlain of South Wales had been driven into

Carmarthen, and some of his men had been killed.

On 7 July, the embattled Havard reported, 'in haste and in dread', that the castle at Newcastle Emlyn had surrendered, the rebel leaders had forced Carmarthen castle to capitulate, and they had burst into the borough of Carmarthen, set fire to its buildings and slain over fifty of its inhabitants. Yet, Dinefwr castle still held out, albeit in increasingly desperate straits: 'a siege is ordained at the castle that I keep and that is great peril for me, and all that be within; for they have made their vow that they will all yet have us dead therein'. His sense of isolation deepened when Glyndŵr was welcomed into Dryslwyn castle by its constable, Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Foethus; even John Scudamore, the Herefordshire squire who held Carreg Cennen castle for the king, felt it wise to visit the rebel leader to seek a safe-conduct for his wife and mother-in-law out of the danger zone — which was humiliatingly refused. If speedy aid were not forthcoming, Havard and his men would have to escape to Brecon under cover of darkness 'because that we fail victuals and men, and especially men'.

Havard was still defying the besiegers four days later, when he again lamented his position. The relief that he may have felt when Glyndŵr pressed on to southern Carmarthenshire to confront Lord Carew evaporated when the rebel leader made an agreement with Carew and returned to Carmarthen. Once again a desperate note entered the constable's communications: he pleaded for relief, for the rebels 'have goods and victuals plenty, for every house is full about us of its poultry, and yet wine and honey enough in the country, and wheat and beans, and all manner victuals'. At the same time, he was forced to parley daily with the rebels, who now numbered about 8,240 spears, 'and now will ordain for us to leave that castle for there casts to be encircled thence'. Both besiegers and besieged were well aware of the historical significance of Dinefwr castle for control of Ystrad Tywi, 'for that was the chief place in old time'. 'God of Heaven save you and us from all

enemies', he concluded on behalf of himself and John Fairford at Brecon.

Remarkably, Dinefwr does not seem to have fallen in the summer of 1403. The threat was suddenly lifted as a result partly of the ambush of a rebel band by Lord Carew to the north of Carmarthen during the night of 11-12 July, and partly of the receipt of news of the Percy uprising announced at Chester on 10 July. But the damage caused was considerable. By 1409 £89 was being spent on repairs to the castle and on the construction of new buildings there.⁷⁹ Details of the rebuilding needed at the towns of Llandeilo Fawr and Newton are lacking.

Once the revolt was ended, the government resumed its policy of placing the borough of Newton at farm, usually for the benefit of the castle's constable. On 1 April 1408, Prince Henry (later King Henry V) enlisted Hugh Standish, a trusty royal tenant in Lancashire who was also an experienced soldier, as constable of Dinefwr castle. His appointment marked the beginning of a Standish dominance at Dinefwr that lasted for thirty years.⁸⁰ On the surface, it seems comparable with the Hakelut régime a century earlier, but in reality the Standishes had more tenuous links with South Wales and they were usually preoccupied with the war in France. Hugh's brother Christopher, another soldier, took his place on 16 February 1411 with a life commission as constable, and he was confirmed in office by the council of the young Henry VI on 16 February 1423. When Christopher died in 1425, the local landowner, Gruffydd ap Nicholas ap Philip ap Syr Elidir Ddu, was engaged to survey (or 'approve') Dinefwr and Newton on behalf of the king; he concluded that their income belonged to the new constable, Roland Standish, Christopher's son, who received a formal appointment during the king's pleasure on 6 December 1425.⁸¹ An even more experienced soldier than his father, especially in France, Roland is unlikely to have devoted much time or attention to Dinefwr and its towns. In these circumstances, golden opportunities were presented to local grandees. Indeed, Gruffydd ap Nicholas and his kinsman, Rhys ap Gwilym ap Philip ap Syr Elidir Ddu,

served as Roland's deputy in the late 1420s.⁸² They represented a Welsh family settled in or near Newton for over a century. Elidir Ddu was fined in 1302-3 for withdrawing from a suit before the hundred court of the new town. A knight of the Holy Sepulchre, he is thought to have been the son of Elidir ap Rhys of Crug, who testified to the bishop's rights in the *patria* of Llandeilo in 1326. It was at Crug, a house a short distance to the north of Newton, that Nicholas ap Philip ap Syr Elidir Ddu was living when his son Gruffydd was born. John Nicholas, who may well have been Gruffydd's elder brother, was reeve of Newton in 1394-5 and still a burgess there twenty-five years later.⁸³

The fourth Standish to be entrusted with Dinefwr castle was James, another of Christopher's sons; he was granted the office during pleasure on 21 November 1436, about a year and a half after his brother's death in the battle of Gerberoy. He too had fought in France and was thrice captured; but his tenure of Dinefwr was short because, on 7 June 1438, he was superseded by one of the clerks of the king's signet office — and later a notable author — George Ashby, who treated the office as a sinecure for almost twenty-two years.⁸⁴

For much of the Standish era, the income from the towns and demesnes went into the pockets of the Standishes; local reeves were accountable to them or their agents. But as the military and political emergency receded, such an arrangement lost its force. Instead of restoring direct management, the government contented itself with farming the profits to local residents. This had the merit of ensuring a stable income and relieving the crown of routine administration. On the other hand, it had the disadvantage of reducing the government's ability to exploit local resources, and it benefited certain local landowners who became distant agents of an unconcerned crown.

After Christopher Standish's death about 13 May 1425, and before the appointment of Roland Standish as constable of the castle and farmer of the town and demesnes on 6 December, Rhys ap Gwilym ap Philip may have

farmed the town and estate for a few months.⁸⁵ Roland's continued absence in France, and perhaps too a degree of local, self-interested pressure, made such an arrangement a more long-term possibility. On 4 October 1433, responsibility for the castle was separated from responsibility for the towns and demesnes. The Pembroke squire, John Perrot, was granted Newton and 'the lordship of Dinefwr' for a period of twenty years, as from Christmas 1433, paying a mere £5 *per annum* to the king, which allowed him a substantial profit.⁸⁶ Perrot's role at Dinefwr may explain the marriage of his cousin to Gruffydd ap Nicholas, and the association of Gruffydd and his son, John ap Gruffydd, with Perrot in farming Dinefwr as from Michaelmas 1439 on an advantageous lease of sixty years.⁸⁷ Despite attempts during the Yorkist period to deprive Gruffydd's family of control of the castle, town and demesnes, his son Thomas, and especially his grandson Sir Rhys ap Thomas, could not be dislodged; after Bosworth, Sir Rhys secured control for life.⁸⁸

By the time Rhys ap Gruffydd was attainted of treason against Henry VIII in 1531, his family had built a substantial house 'within the town of Newton', presumably on the site of several of its burgages. Though said to have 'but small commoditez aperteynyng to the same', it consisted of a hall, 33 feet by 20 feet, paved with Flanders' tiles, roofed with slate, and entered by a flight of twelve steps. At its western end was a chamber paved with tiles and 'selyd with borde'. On the north side was a small chamber, 12 feet square, and two inner chambers including a study. At the east end was another chamber, paved with tiles, with a low chamber beneath. On the hall's south side was a stone tower containing a low vaulted chamber beneath a chapel also paved with Flanders' tiles. On this side of the hall were a kitchen, a

larder-house and a buttery, and beneath the hall a vaulted wine cellar. The house was approached on the north side past a single-storey building called 'the partery [i.e. parterre] lodge'; a 'backhouse' and a brew-house with a corn store above it stood close by. Among the out-buildings were a slate-covered stable, and two further stables and a barn that were dilapidated in 1532.⁸⁹ Indeed, Newton had long since ceased to be the family's chief residence; it certainly was not its largest.

Apart from Rhys ap Gruffydd's house, there was 'sumtime a long streat nowe ruinus', giving Dinefwr the air of a 'ghost town', according to John Leland in the mid-1530s.⁹⁰ When Richard Fenton, an acquaintance of the Rice family, visited the new mansion at Dinefwr in 1804 and again in 1809, he noted:

Behind the House to the West was the town called Trenwydd — and indeed the daily appearance of fragments of buildings dug up in almost every part confirms it.⁹¹

Having outlived its defensive function, Dinefwr lost its *raison d'être*. And as fifteenth-century governments gradually recoiled from direct exploitation of their rights in small Welsh towns, the grasping local gentry turned burgages, shops and streets into country houses and landed estates. After an interlude of some two centuries, Dinefwr reverted to Welsh lords. By contrast, the town of Llandeilo found an organic role independent of political change. It had always enjoyed the greater advantages as a market centre astride the river and the trackways up and down the valley, and it stood at the confluence of two streams with the Tywi, each draining the hills on either side of the river.⁹² As the earliest medieval settlement on the ridge, Llandeilo Fawr was also the most durable, inheriting the urbanity of old and new Dinefwr — and of Dryslwyn too.

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I am grateful to my former pupil, Christopher Dignam, for sight of his report on Dinefwr Park for The National Trust. Heather James and David Robinson also responded to my enquiries.

NOTES

1. There are brief descriptions of the towns in Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), pp. 540-4, and Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales* (Chichester, 1983), pp. 127-8, 160-2.
2. See *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 4th series, VI (1875), 413; 5th series, X (1893), 130-1; LXXX (1925), 445-503; C (1948-9), 136-41.
3. *Dynevor Castle: Guide Book* (c. 1970). This reticence is regrettable because the first part of the booklet is said to have been based on an essay by Professor J. B. Smith, and the description of Dinefwr castle is by M. R. Apter, formerly an inspector of ancient monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire.
4. Melville Richards, 'The "Lichfield Gospels" (Book of "Saint Chad")', *National Library of Wales Journal*, XVIII (1973-4), 135-46, though not all of Professor Richards's speculations are warranted; J. G. Evans (ed.), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dav* (Oxford, 1893), with commentary by Wendy Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London, 1978), and *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979).
5. In general, see idem, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982), chs. 6, 7.
6. A marginal note claims that Llandeilo was his burial place, and the life of Oudoceus in the Book of Llandaff records that Oudoceus on one occasion took relics of St. Teilo from there. The Life of St. Teilo is also included in the Book of Llandaff. *Book of Llan Dav*, pp. 135, 339; Sian Victory, *The Celtic Church in Wales* (London, 1977), p. 83. Edward I believed the tradition when, on 9 June 1295, he made an offering *ad tumulum sancti Thilawi* during his visit to Llandeilo Fawr: E. B. Fryde (ed.), *Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5* (Oxford, 1962), p. 200.
7. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 149; idem, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 34-5.
8. For the boundaries of the estate of Llandeilo Fawr, see *Book of Llan Dav*, pp. 78, 364.
9. Teilo's name appears as witness to a ninth-century transaction in a marginal note in the 'Lichfield Gospels'. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 174-6. For the Welsh marginalia, see Evans, *Book of Llan Dav*, pp. xlii-xlvii, and accompanying plates; G. R. J. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', in H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, I.ii (AD 43-1042) (Cambridge, 1972), p. 285; and Dafydd Jenkins and M. E. Owen, 'The Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, V (1983), 37-66; VII (1984), 91-120. A useful summary is in Meic Stephens (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Oxford, 1986), p. 47.
10. Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, pp. 153-4. Marginalia referring to Lichfield can be dated to the early eleventh century, but there is also a reference to Bishop Wynsi (or Wynsige) of Lichfield (963/4-75).
11. Ibid., pp. 155-8.
12. G. H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. D. S. Evans (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 54, 80 and (for the Life of St. Teilo) 162-206; *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Wales and Monmouthshire: V, County of Carmarthen* (London, 1917), p. 91; Davies, *Llandeilo-Fawr*, pp. 12, 20. These cross-heads are described and illustrated in V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 113-5, plates XXXVII and LIV.
13. See J. C. Davies (ed.), *Episcopal Acts relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272* (2 vols., Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946-8), I, 146-90, for the dispute.
14. Below p. 210.
15. Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales, and The Description of Wales*, transl. Lewis Thorpe (London, 1978), pp. 139, 223, 226. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, prince of Gwynedd, was no more specific when he wrote to King Henry III in September 1220 about Dinefwr: 'once famous, yet now in ruins, to which, as if to the capital of South Wales, once belonged the dignities of all South Wales'. W. W. Shirley (ed.), *Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, vol. 1 (Rolls Series, 1857), pp. 176-7 (misdated to July 1221); the letter is correctly dated in J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence concerning Wales* (Cardiff, 1935), p. 24. For the context of Llywelyn's campaign in South Wales in August-September 1220, see D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London, 1990), pp. 217-8.
16. Melville Richards (transl.) *The Laws of Hywel Dda* (Liverpool, 1954) p. 25; other references to Dinefwr in the Book of Blegywryd are noted on pp. 23, 95.
17. R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford, 1987), p. 217.
18. Dafydd Jenkins (ed.), *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Llandysul, 1986), pp. xxv-xxvi, 164; Dafydd Jenkins and Morfydd Owen, 'Welsh Law in Carmarthenshire', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, XVIII (1982), 20-1. See also J. G. Edwards, *Hywel Dda and the Welsh Lawbooks* (Bangor, 1929), reprinted in Dafydd Jenkins (ed.), *Celtic Law Papers* (Brussels, 1973), pp. 135-60; and H. D. Emanuel, 'The Book of Blegywryd and MS Rawlinson 821', in *ibid.*, p. 169.
19. For the composition of the *Brut*, see Kathleen Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and related texts', *Proc. British Academy*, LIX (1973), 233-58. 'Cronica de Wallia' may have been written at Whitland abbey, a house also patronized by the Lord Rhys, though it used material from Strata Florida, its daughter house, up to 1248.
20. R. A. Griffiths, 'The Making of Medieval Cardigan',

- Ceredigion*, XI, no. 2 (1990), forthcoming. It should be noted that the solitary reference to Dinefwr before the twelfth century occurs in one of the Book of Llandaff's charters (*Book of Llan Dav*, pp. 78, 364), which is dated to the tenth century; here 'gueithtineur' is used as a prominent landmark to help demarcate the boundary of the estate of St. Teilo's community. If, alternatively, 'Dinefwr' derives from the Gaulish personal name 'Eburonum' or 'Ebuos', later Yverdon or Embrun, this need not invalidate the suggestion of a medieval, rather than an earlier, origin; compare Dingereint for Cardigan. For the derivation of 'Dinefwr', see J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Carmarthenshire* (2 vols., Carmarthen, 1935-9), I, 147; *Arch. Camb.*, LXXX (1925), 457-8; D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Place Names* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 346-7. I am grateful for Professor Evans's advice on this matter.
21. Thomas Jones (ed. and transl.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 version* (Cardiff, 1952), p. 62 (my italics); compare idem (ed. and transl.), *Brenhinedd y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons* (Cardiff, 1971), p. 165. Only idem (ed. and transl.), *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest version* (Cardiff, 1955), p. 145, says that Rhys acquired 'the castle of Dinefwr', but then the chronicle was composed towards the end of the thirteenth century.
 22. Lloyd, *History of Carmarthenshire*, I, 152; *Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London, 1959), s.n.
 23. Thorpe, op. cit., p. 140 ('The Journey through Wales'), Book I, ch. 10 [c. 1191].
 24. *Brut, Peniarth*, p. 75; *Brut, Red Book*, p. 175; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, p. 195; Thomas Jones, 'Cronica de Wallia' and other documents from Exeter Library MS. 3514', *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, XII (1946-8), 30. This last chronicle records (p. 29) that the younger Rhys had also seized 'Dyneuore' in 1192.
 25. *Brut, Peniarth*, pp. 79, 82 (for the quotation); compare *Brut, Red Book*, pp. 181, 187 ('the keys to all his territory'); *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, p. 195; 'Cronica de Wallia', p. 32.
 26. *Brut, Peniarth*, pp. 87-8; compare *Brut, Red Book*, pp. 197-9 (which dates the siege to Saturday, 26 January 1213); *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, pp. 207-9; 'Cronica de Wallia', p. 35; Lloyd, *History of Carmarthenshire*, I, 172.
 27. Griffiths, *Ceredigion*, XI, no. 2 (1990), forthcoming; *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, pp. 107-9; P. R. Davis, *Castles of the Welsh Princes* (Swansea, 1988), pp. 57, 64, 68, 70. A. J. Richards (in Lloyd, *History of Carmarthenshire*, I, 280) is inclined to attribute the stone building to William Marshal, after the ravaging of Maelgwn ap Rhys's lands in 1204, though he notes that it was once again in ruins in 1220.
 28. *Brut, Peniarth*, p. 92; Shirley, *Letters of Henry III*, I, 176-7; Edwards, *Cal. Ancient Correspondence*, p. 24. In 1216 Rhys Gryg was assigned Dinefwr castle and Cantref Mawr, except for the commote of Mallaen. For Rhys Gryg's death, and his burial at St. David's, see *Brut, Peniarth*, p. 103; *Brut, Red Book*, p. 233; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, p. 231. There is general agreement that most of the masonry dates from the thirteenth century. P. R. Davis, *Castles of Dyfed* (Llandysul, 1987), pp. 50-3; idem, *Castles of the Welsh Princes*, II, 643-4; J. R. Kenyon, in his review of Robert Gittins, *Dinefwr Castle* (Llandysul, 1984), in *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, XX (1984), 101-3, notes that whereas few circular keeps are known to have been built by the Welsh, Dryslwyn, which is one, is only a few miles down river; another is Dolforwyn. Recent excavations at Dryslwyn suggest that the round tower there was an early feature of late-twelfth- or early-thirteenth-century date: Peter Webster, 'Dryslwyn Castle', *Archaeology in Wales*, XXII (1982), 30-3; XXIII (1983), 55-7.
 29. H. E. F. Davies and M. E. Owen, 'Meddygon Myddfai', in John Cule (ed.), *Wales in Medicine* (Llandysul, 1973), pp. 156-68 (with the quotation on p. 157). For one of the MSS. (c. 1400), see Pol Diverres (ed.), *Le Plus Ancien Texte des Meddygon Myddveu* (Paris, 1913); and for further comment, M. E. Owen, 'Meddygon Myddfai: a Preliminary Survey of some Medieval Medical Writing in Welsh', *Studia Celtica*, X/XI (1975-6), 210-33. The reference to status and privilege recalls the place of the physician among the officials of Welsh royal courts as recorded in the lawbooks, including the Book of Blegywryd: Richards, *Laws of Hywel Dda*, pp. 28, 41. Note, too, land of 'the smiths of the court of Dinefwr', who presumably also served the castle and its lord; their land was exempted from Rhys Gryg's acknowledgement of the bishop of St. David's rights in Maenordeilo in 1222. Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, I, 352. According to the Book of Blegywryd, physicians and smiths held their lands freely, presumably as tenants of the lord of Dinefwr. For a possible reference to the lands held nearby by the priests of the court of Dinefwr, see below p. 213.
 30. *Brut, Peniarth*, p. 116 (18 August); *Brut, Red Book*, p. 259 (end of August); *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, p. 249 (18 August).
 31. J. B. Smith and B. H. St. John O'Neill, *Talley Abbey, Carmarthenshire* (London, 1967), p. 4; *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, pp. 263-4.
 32. For Edward II's charter (24 March 1324) confirming grants made by the Lord Rhys, Rhys Gryg and Rhys Ieuanc ap Rhys Mechyll ap Rhys Gryg, see the charter of confirmation issued by King Edward III

- (20 November 1331), in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (new ed., 8 vols., London, 1846), IV, 162-4, and in J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal Charters and Historical Documents relating to the Town and County of Carmarthen*, ed. A. C. Evans (Carmarthen, 1878), pp. 60-1; it is translated by D. Long Price, 'Talley Abbey', *Arch. Camb.*, 4th series, X (1879), 167, and calendared in *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1330-4*, p. 232. See also Edward Owen, 'A Contribution to the History of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Talley', *Arch. Camb.*, 5th series, X (1893), 29-41, 120-8, 226-37, 309-25; XI (1894), 34-50, 92-107, 196-213; and Melville Richards, 'The Carmarthenshire Possessions of Talley Abbey', in Tudor Barnes and Nigel Yates (eds.), *Carmarthenshire Studies: Essays presented to Major Francis Jones* (Carmarthen, 1974), pp. 110-21.
33. *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, p. 92; Davies, *Llandeilo-Fawr*, p. 53. In the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas II (1291), the abbot of Talley is recorded as drawing modest rents from Llandeilo Fawr: Owen, *Arch. Camb.*, 5th series, X (1893), 263-4.
 34. Edward Owen, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum*, part 2 (London, 1903), p. 234, calendared in Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, I, 352-3, 357, from British Library, Harleian MSS. 6280 and 1249 (transcripts of the Statute Book of St. David's).
 35. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 161, 164; Owen, *MSS. in the British Museum*, II, 237, calendared in Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, I, 368-9.
 36. J. Williams ab Ithel (ed.), *Annales Cambriae*, (Rolls Series, 1860), p. 80.
 37. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, IV, 165-6 (where the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII's reign records the appropriation of Llandeilo Fawr and Llandyfeisant churches as being worth £25 and £4 *per annum*, respectively, to Talley abbey); Smith and O'Neill, *Talley Abbey*, p. 6. Yet the bishop is known to have collated to Llandeilo's vicarage in 1397, 1398 and 1497: R. F. Isaacson (ed.), *The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of St. David's, 1397-1518* (2 vols., London, 1917), I, 22, 64; II, 768. And for the record of a dispute over collation to another of Talley's churches, Penbryn, which lasted throughout the fifteenth century, see *ibid.*, II, 539-49.
 38. J. W. Willis-Bund (ed.), *The Black Book of St. David's* (London, 1902). This invaluable manuscript is now known from a transcript made by order of Bishop Edward Vaughan in 1516.
 39. For this paragraph, see anon., *Dynevor Castle*, pp. 8-11. The context of these events is given in J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (2 vols., 3rd ed., London, 1939), II, 710-1, 718-21, 724-6; idem, *History of Carmarthenshire*, I, 185; Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp. 226-7, 309-11, 315, 323. For Coed Llathen, see *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 93-5 (3,000 slain). *Brut, Peniarth*, p. 111 (3,000 slain); *Brut, Red Book*, p. 249; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, p. 243, give the impression that Rhys Fychan ap Rhys Mechyll was seized by the garrison of Dinefwr castle, rather than deserted his English allies, before the attack at Coed Llathen took place.
 40. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p. 310. J. E. Lloyd was only a trifle more restrained: 'No such disaster as this had befallen the royal authority in South Wales for a generation' (*History of Wales*, II, 721).
 41. *Annales Cambriae*, p. 97.
 42. Rhys Fychan was buried at Talley abbey, which his forebear, the Lord Rhys, had founded. *Brut, Peniarth*, p. 116; *Brut, Red Book*, p. 259; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, p. 249. The consensus appears to be that Rhys Fychan died on 18 August, three weeks after Maredudd's death.
 43. J. G. Edwards (ed.), *Littere Wallie* (Cardiff, 1940), pp. 36-7, with Rhys's undertaking, also made at Carmarthen, to abide by the agreement on p. 48. The agreement is also printed in Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedea, conventiones, literae* . . . (3rd ed., 10 vols., The Hague, 1739-45), I, 542. For comment, see R. A. Griffiths, 'The Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd, 1287-8', *Welsh History Rev.*, III, no. 2 (1966), 122-3. The agreement is somewhat misunderstood in J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 124-5, and in *King's Works*, II, 643.
 44. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1272-81*, p. 212. For the agreement, dated 24 April at Dinefwr, see Edwards, *Littere Wallie*, p. 49.
 45. Morris, *Welsh Wars*, pp. 124-5.
 46. Frederic Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales* (London, 1904), appendix p. 111. These *gwestfas* were valued at twelve marks (£8) *per annum*. The exchange was still pending when the survey of the Dinefwr estate was made on 24 March 1280.
 47. *Cal. Chancery Rolls, Various*, pp. 182, 185; William Rees (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1975), pp. 97-8 (probably mis-dated to 1284-7). For further commentary, see J. B. Smith, 'The "Cronica de Wallia" and the Dynasty of Dinefwr', *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, XX (1962-4), 273.
 48. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p. 361; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, pp. 165-6.
 49. Edwards, *Littere Wallie*, p. 212; along with the demesnes of Dinefwr, Rhys also surrendered his claim to the *gwestfa* of Slogans (or Scolegyon, i.e. Ysgolheigion), for which see below p. 213. For the repairs, see Seebohm, *Tribal System*, app. p. 109; *King's Works*, II, 643-4.
 50. For the rebellion, see Griffiths, *Welsh History Rev.*, III, no. 2 (1966), 121-43, and J. B. Smith, 'The Origins of the Revolt of Rhys ap Maredudd', *Bull.*

- Board of Celtic Studies, XXI (1964-6), 151-63.
51. PRO, Chancery, C47/2/4.
 52. *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, pp. 107-9; *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, 1307-49, pp. 85-6, with a detailed summary of this inquisition *ad quod damnum* in G. T. O. Bridgeman, *History of the Princes of South Wales* (Wigan, 1876), pp. 177-9.
 53. Seebohm, *Tribal System*, app. pp. 109-10 (where 'Gleygon' is a mis-reading); Edwards, *Littere Wallie*, p. 122; above p. 213.
 54. PRO, Exchequer, E101/4/21 m.1, enrolled on the Pipe Roll, E372/133 m. 28.
 55. *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, p. 108.
 56. Richards, *Laws of Hywel Dda*, p. 32, with comment by J. G. Edwards, 'The Royal Household and the Welsh Lawbooks', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 5th series, XIII (1963), 172-5. On the site of the thirteenth-century settlement, see Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, p. 540.
 57. For de Bray, one of the king's most trusted clerks, see M. C. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1989), pp. 250, 341. Among obligations which inhabitants of the entire estate customarily owed were suit of court, payment of heriot and leirwite, and, in the case of the free tenants, provision of seventy-three bushels of corn every year. The profits were transferred from the Welsh lords to the king in 1277: Seebohm, *Tribal System*, app. p. 110. A 'Welsh acre' was of variable size, but in the Welshry of Kidwelly, near the castle, it was eight times the size of an English acre: William Rees, *South Wales and the March, 1284-1415* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 7, 217.
 58. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1272-81*, p. 417; for the full text, see Daniel-Tyssen, *Royal Charters . . . Carmarthen*, p. 55. But supplies were still being conveyed from Carmarthen and Pembroke twenty years later: Myfanwy Rhys (ed.), *Ministers' Accounts for West Wales, 1277-1306*, part 1 (London, 1936), pp. 130-5, 146-9 (1298-1300), 218-9 (1300-1); PRO, E101/486/13 (1302-3). For Edward I's visit to Dinefwr and Llandeilo Fawr on 8-9 June 1295, see Fryde, *Book of Prests*, pp. 223-4.
 59. The castle's orchard or garden was farmed for 6s. *per annum*, and pleas of the hundred court in 1298-9 raised £4. 0s. 6d. In 1300-1 the garden produced nothing, and in the following year a similar situation was explained by the fact that it produced no fruit. See Rhys, *Ministers' Accounts*, pp. 194-5; William Rees, 'The Account Roll of the Chamberlain of West Wales from Michaelmas 1301 to Michaelmas 1302', *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, II (1923-5), 74.
 60. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1272-81*, p. 212.
 61. Rhys, *Ministers' Accounts*, pp. 88-9, 194-5.
 62. Rees, *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, II (1923-5), 73-4 (1301-2). The rental (1302-3) is PRO, SC11/773, calendared in E. A. Lewis, 'Materials illustrating the History of Dynevor and Newton from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Reign of Henry VIII', *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 180-3. By 1307-8, there were forty-four burgages in the new town: *ibid.*, p. 188.
 63. Dafydd Jenkins and M. E. Owen, 'Gwilym Was Da', *National Library of Wales Journal*, XXI (1979-80), 429-30; *idem*, 'Welsh Law in Carmarthenshire', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, XVIII (1982), 20-1. Gwilym is known to have written three versions of the Book of Blegywryd.
 64. Rhys, *Ministers' Accounts*, pp. 304-7. For de Pederton, who was also chamberlain of West Wales in 1298-9, see R. A. Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages* vol. 1, *South Wales, 1277-1536* (Cardiff, 1972), pp. 93-4, 167-8.
 65. *Ibid.*, p. 242, for Scurlage, who was constable in 1298-1302; he allowed Elias de Gower to escape from the castle in 1303-4. Robert de Gower was keeper of the castle stores in 1299-1301: *ibid.*, p. 242. Recruitment in Gower may be connected with the claim championed by Walter de Pederton against William de Braose, lord of Gower, that the lordship belonged to the royal county of Carmarthen: T. B. Pugh (ed.), *The Glamorgan County History, III: The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971), 232-8.
 66. PRO, SC2/215/17 m.2 (1302-3), calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 184-5. Among the litigants were Hiscok the cobbler, John the cook, Hugh the miller, Hugh the mercer and Esaer Coch ('the Red Carpenter'). Two wives, one Welsh and one probably English, went at each other hammer and tongs.
 67. Rhys, *Ministers' Accounts*, pp. 372-5; Rees, *Cal. Ancient Petitions*, p. 57; *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, II, 85-6. The jurors found that tolcester of seven gallons from each brewing without payment had not been demanded after Rhys Fychan ap Rhys Mechyll's death in 1271 until 1290; a protest then caused its suspension until c. 1296-7. In 1318 the levy was eight gallons of ale from each brewing, in return for a payment of 6d.
 68. Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 243-7. Edmund became constable of the castle for life on 4 December 1310; the town and demesnes were granted to him, also for life, on the following 9 April. His own landed interests were in Herefordshire, Worcestershire and the lordship of Blaenllynfi.
 69. Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 190 (from PRO, SC6/1219/5), 196. For the burning of part of Dinefwr castle, which still lay unrepaired in 1320, see Natalie Fryde (ed.), *List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls, 1282-1343* (Cardiff, 1974), p. 49, quoting PRO, E159/93, *recorda*, Hilary, m. 75.
 70. Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, pp. 243-7. Hakelut was compensated with a fifty-mark grant on 4 April 1318, but this did not stop him from joining the opponents of the king and Despenser. He was

- formally re-granted Dinefwr on 2 December 1326, and his son, Sir Edmund, appears to have occupied castle, town and demesnes from c. 1340 to his death in February 1360. In 1318, the bishop's townsmen at Llandeilo Fawr capitalised on Despenser rule by complaining about the imposition of tolcester on their brewing trade, largely on the grounds that John Giffard, the father of Despenser's enemy, had unjustly reimposed the levy c. 1296-7 when he was constable of Dinefwr castle: *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous*, II, 85-6; above n. 67. For the general context, see J. C. Davies 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', *Trans. Royal Historical Soc.*, 3rd series, IX (1915), 21-64.
71. In the absence of expert examination, opinions differ as to the date of these alterations, but the works after 1326 are certainly the best documented of the later Middle Ages: Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 203-7; *King's Works*, II, 643-4; Fryde, *Entries on the Memoranda Rolls*, pp. 71, 95, quoting PRO, E159/104 m. 234 (1328), /111 m. 114 (1335). For comment, see *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, pp. 107-9 (with a plan and sketch of the north façade, *temp.* Sir Rhys ap Thomas); Lloyd, *History of Carmarthenshire*, I, 281 294-5 (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century); *Arch. Camb.*, LXXX (1925), 456-61 (fourteenth century); *ibid.*, C (1948-9), 136-41 (early fourteenth century); *King's Works*, II, 643-4 (*temp.* Edward III).
 72. PRO, SC6/1221/12, calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 209. The reeves accounted to the Black Prince because Sir Edmund Hakelut had just died, early in February 1360.
 73. PRO, SC6/1158/10, calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 210-4.
 74. *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1391-6*, pp. 63, 505; Charles Gross, *The Gild Merchant* (2 vols., Oxford, 1890), II, 385-6. Our knowledge of the charter of incorporation comes from Richard's confirmation; see also Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 216-9. Richard II took 40s. for the confirmation. The burgesses of Dinefwr may have taken advantage of the king's visit to Carmarthen on 14-5 September 1394 *en route* for Haverfordwest, where he waited from 16 to 28 September for passage to Ireland: T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (6 vols., Manchester, 1920-33), III, 487-8.
 75. PRO, SC6/1165/5 m. 10; 1167/4 m. 10d.
 76. PRO, SC6/1165/6 m. 9. Despite the language of the charters, from 1360 the reeves of Dinefwr and Newton seem to have been Welsh, to judge by their names: Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 357-8.
 77. Willis-Bund, *Black Book of St. David's*, pp. 262-75. The annual fair had been authorized by Edward I on 20 September 1291: *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1257-1300*, p. 405.
 78. Sir Henry Ellis (ed.), *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, 2nd series, I (1827), 13-6 (also printed in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, II [1912], 107-33, and, in modernized English, in T. O. Morgan, 'Historical and Traditional Notices of Owain Glyndŵr, No. II', *Arch. Camb.*, new series, II [1851], 114-7), 17-20; F. C. Hingeston (ed.), *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry the Fourth*, Vol. I (Rolls Series, 1860), pp. 138-40, 149-50; Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, II (1912), 105-7. For the context, see J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), ch. VII. Jenkin (or John) Havard, the son of Thomas Havard of Carmarthenshire, was appointed constable of Dinefwr castle on 3 November 1399 for life, having custody also of the demesnes: Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 248-9. John Fairford (d. 1409), of Gloucestershire, was a long-time clerk in Lancastrian service, especially in Wales, being receiver of Brecon from 1397 and of Builth from 1403: *ibid.*, pp. 181-2. John Scudamore (d. 1435), of Ewyas Lacy and Kentchurch (Herefs.), constable of Carreg Cennen from November 1401 and steward of Kidwelly, was widely employed in the southern marches before and after 1399, and had a murky relationship with Glyndŵr, whose daughter he later married: *ibid.*, pp. 139-40. Rhys ap Gruffydd ap Llywelyn Foethus, constable of Dryslwyn castle from 2 March 1402, was a local landowner in Catheniog and Maenordeilo: *ibid.*, pp. 264, 372, 377, 386. For Waterton, see J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England* (London, 1970), pp. 15, 20-1, 169, 197, and Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, vol. I (London, 1953), pp. 171, 646-9.
 79. *King's Works*, II, 643-4.
 80. PRO, SC6/1158/10 m. 7; 1166/13 m. 10d.; *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1422-9*, p. 53. See Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 249-52, for the Standishes.
 81. Gruffydd ap Nicholas's account is in PRO, SC6/1166/13, calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, II (1912), 107-9. For his career, see R. A. Griffiths, 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the Rise of the House of Dinefwr', *National Library of Wales Journal*, XIII, No. 3 (1964), 256-68; 'Gruffydd ap Nicholas and the fall of the House of Lancaster', *Welsh History Rev.*, II (1965), 213-32.
 82. PRO, SC6/1288/2; Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 250-1. Rhys, who was deputy-constable in 1428-9, seems to have been the uncle of Gruffydd ap Nicholas, with whom he acted as deputy-constable in October 1429.
 83. PRO, SC2/215/17 m. 2, calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 184; Willis-Bund, *Black Book of St. David's*, p. 269; Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 358; Francis Jones, 'Knights of the Holy Sepulchre', *Journal of the Historical Soc. of the Church in Wales*, XXXI (1979), 23; *idem*, 'Sir Rhys ap Thomas: the Blood of the Raven', *Trans. Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Soc. and Field Club*,

- XXIX (1939), 29-30 (quoting NLW MS. 1602 D, early seventeenth-century). Crug seems to have been abandoned as a residence by the early seventeenth century: idem, 'Llechdwnni Revisited', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, XX (1984), 34-6.
84. Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 252, with references cited there.
85. This seems to be implied by PRO, SC6/1223/7, as noted in Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 250.
86. Ibid., p. 252, based on PRO, SC6/1167/7 m. 7.
87. Ibid., 1167/8 m. 7; Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 253. For the Perrot marriage, see *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, p. 313; R. K. Turvey, 'The Perrot Family and their Circle in South-West Wales during the later Middle Ages' (unpublished University of Wales Ph.D thesis, 1988), pp. 223-4. The farm demanded was only £5 6s. 8d., perhaps a quarter of the value of the towns and demesnes at the end of the fourteenth century: compare SC6/1167/8 (1439-40) with 1165/5, 6; 1222/9 (1394-9), calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, I (1910-1), 219-24; II (1912), 110-1. An obligation was imposed on the farmers to maintain the houses, closes and buildings of the town and lordship, build a new water mill and enclose the demesnes between the castle and Newton with hedges and ditches. This simply placed the future of the town effectively in the farmers' hands.
88. Griffiths, *Principality of Wales*, I, 253-4. It is quite possible that Sir Rhys's grandson, Rhys ap Gruffydd, succeeded him in 1525 until he was executed in 1531.
89. PRO, E315/151 (c. 1532), calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, II (1912), 115-7. For Rhys ap Gruffydd's other tenements and lands at Dinefwr, which brought him a total rent of £11 17s. 5d., see LR2/247, calendared in Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, II (1912), 116-7. At the same time, there was a serious lack of tenants there, so that £1 12s. 1d. of rent had decayed. In 1563, Rhys's son, Griffith Rice, retained eight acres and an enclosure in an area called 'Parc-y-Capel'; his brother David held five messuages nearby. PRO, SC12/17/83, calendared in *West Wales Historical Records*, II (1912), 120-1. Only about a dozen burgages, or parts of burgages, seemed to be occupied.
90. L. T. Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland* (London, 1906), p. 57. When the town and 'manor' were granted on a twenty-one-year lease in July 1546 to Hugh ap Hywel, the farm was set at only £5 3s. 4d.: Lewis, *West Wales Historical Records*, II (1912), 119-20, from E315/230 f. 181.
91. Richard Fenton, *Tours in Wales (1804-1813)*, ed. John Fisher (London, 1917), pp. 2, 62.
92. Yet it was noted at the beginning of the seventeenth century that the road from St. David's to London passed through 'Newtown' on the way to Llandovery: G. S. Thomson, 'Roads in England and Wales in 1603', *English Historical Rev.*, XXXIII (1918), 238. There is precious little evidence of Llandeilo's fortunes in the fifteenth century, but the tower of its church appears to have had a window inserted about this time, and two small windows in Llandyfeisant church may be of similar date. *Carmarthenshire Inventory*, p. 110.

Evan Andrews of Kidwelly (1803-1869)

SCHOLAR, SCHOOLMASTER & PLAYWRIGHT

THOMAS LLOYD

A hundred and twenty years divides the deaths of two sons of Kidwelly, who seem extraordinarily similar. Evan Andrews, died 1869, was a schoolmaster whose loves were Kidwelly and its past, and English literature. William Morris, died 1989, could scarce be otherwise described. Though their lives ran very different courses, the first of those, now long forgotten, is retraced here in honour of the second, still clearly and with admiration remembered.

Evan Andrews was baptised at Kidwelly on 21 August 1803, the eldest surviving son of William and Mary Andrews.¹ William Andrews was a farmer, as described in St Ishmael's church register on marrying Mary Humphreys on 25th April 1800. In the census of 1841, he is listed at Treforris, one of the principal farms in St Ishmael's, though probably as tenant only. He also had property in Kidwelly (see below) and he was churchwarden of St Mary's Kidwelly from 1805 to 1808² and Mayor of Kidwelly in 1815 and 1817.³ He was also a burgess of Carmarthen.⁴ In 1782 he or his father had taken a long lease from Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, Pembrokeshire of The Arlais, one of the principal houses in Kidwelly,⁵ where he lived at the end of his life, being listed there in Pigot & Co.'s 1844 Directory. His funeral, according to the *Carmarthen Journal* of 9 November 1849 was one of the largest known in Kidwelly for many years.

The family had long been resident in the area. Church registers show that William's father, also William, was baptised at Llangyndeyrn on 4 March 1744 and was son of another William Andrews of St Ishmael's, who had married Jane Lewis at Llangyndeyrn on 28 September

1743. By 1777, he was 'of Kidwelly' when marrying Jane Collins at St Mary's church⁶ and by 1786 when his daughter Mary was baptised there, he was proprietor of the well-known Pelican Inn. He died at the Pelican in 1793, having been churchwarden of St Mary's in 1772-3 and Mayor of Kidwelly in 1788.⁷

So the prospects for Evan Andrews in 1803, as the eldest son, were reasonably hopeful. Yet from the day his parents chose to call him Evan, in preference to the established first-son Andrews name of William, his life was to be far more closely connected with his mother's family of Humphreys. Evan was the name of his mother's father and a strong bond was to be formed between grandfather and grandson which the latter was publicly to acknowledge in his writings. What lay behind this is unknown, though (as mentioned below) Andrews presumably intended to explain it, in a work that never reached the press. Evan Humphreys had three grown up sons of his own,⁸ although a fourth, Evan, who died aged 18 in 1800 could also have influenced his sister Mary Andrews to give her son that name.

It looks furthermore as if relatives of Evan Humphreys, rather than the Andrews family,