'Mech harm upon þe borderes of Ynglond':

Imagining the Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in English Chronicle Narratives 1400 to *c*.1580

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ABSTRACT

'Mech harm upon þe borderes of Ynglond':

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This thesis is a study of the representation of the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in English chronicle narratives from 1400 to *c*.1580. It is concerned in particular with the narrative strategies employed in the representation of these events by sixteen chroniclers, including Adam Usk, Thomas Walsingham, John Capgrave, John Hardyng, Robert Fabyan and Edward Halle.

The first three chapters deal with narrative voices, time and chronology, and space. These three categories are primary determinants of any narrative and affect all other aspects of the text. Each of these has a profound effect on the revolt narratives. Despite the common claim that the chronicles employ entirely self-effacing and colourless narrative voices, and are structured by a rigid chronology, my analysis suggests that the reality of the chronicle narratives is more subtle. In the first chapter I argue that the chronicle narrators vary widely in the degree to which they are overt within their narratives, and consequently in the degree of interpretive room which they allow their readers. The second chapter is an analysis of the role of time and chronology in the structuring of the chronicle narrative. The treatment of time in the chronicles can at times be complex, employing significant reordering of events in order to extract a particular meaning. The range and implication of the approaches taken by the chroniclers are particularly apparent in the endings (or absence of endings) of the revolt narratives. The third chapter is an exploration of space in the chronicle narratives. Here I argue that there is an implicit sense of space in the chronicle tradition, closely related to the maps which sometimes accompany them. As with the treatment of time, this spatial sense informs the representation of events.

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In the case of the revolt narratives, this is especially apparent in the spaces in which Owain Glynd! r appears.

The second section examines the three main elements in the depiction of the revolt. Firstly, it considers the representation of individuals who are important in the events, then communities, and finally the places involved. These chapters build on the findings of the first section to discuss the ways in which the chronicles construct these three major elements. As is the case in much medieval historiography, the chronicles depict events in terms of prominent individuals. Consequently, the fourth chapter deals with the representation of individuals involved, in particular, Henry IV and Owain Glynd! r. The fifth chapter considers English perceptions of Welsh identity, and the sixth analyses depictions of Wales as a place, and ideas of Welsh landscape.

In approaching all the topics discussed in this thesis, it is important to bear in mind the chronological development of the chronicle genre, as well as shifts in perception of the people and events due to changes such as political circumstances. Throughout the thesis I employ a methodology that comes from literary theory and studies, rather than an empirical, historical methodology. My aim is to understand better the narrative form of the chronicles. Though these reading strategies are more usually applied to fictional texts, I argue that they are equally applicable to any type of narrative, and do not carry any implications regarding the factual or fictional nature of the material. This thesis concludes with an appendix containing translations of major passages concerning the Welsh revolt from previously untranslated Latin chronicles.

For

Mum and Dad, Angus and Graeme

λόγος δὲ ... τῶν πάντων ὁ Πόρος

(Fullness is the reason for everything)

Plotinus, *Enneads* III.5.8.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Most especially of all, my appreciation and love go to my parents, Denise and Neville Marchant. I was raised in an amazingly loving and nurturing environment, and everything that I am is because of this. You instilled in us a love of learning, language and adventure for which I am eternally grateful. The support that you gave me throughout my candidature, particularly in the latter stages in Hobart, was crucial. For this, and for many other things, I thank you with all my heart.

My final show of appreciation is reserved for my two best friends, my husband Graeme Miles and our son Angus Ossian (who appeared in the middle of chapter two). You are central to my being: Mitt hjarta er itt. And also, our little Podling, who although *in utero*, shared in this great (and towards the end, quite seasick!) adventure.

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Hobart, Tasmania

May 2011

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Imagining the Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in English Chronicle Narratives 1400 to *c*.1580.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

Adam Usk, *Chronicle*

The Chronicle of Adam of Usk 1377–1421, Chris Given–Wilson, ed. and trans., Clarendon, Oxford, 1997.

An English Chronicle

An English Chronicle, 1377-1461: Edited from Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34, William Marx, ed., Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press, 2003.

Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*

John Capgrave's Abbreuiacion of Cronicles, Peter J. Lucas, ed., Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983.

Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*

Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis, F.C. Hingeston, ed., Rolls Series, London, 1858.

Continuatio Eulogii

Eulogium (Historiaum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe Condito Usque ad Annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI., A Monacho Quodam Malmesburiensi Exaratum. Accedunt Continuationes duae, Quarum una ad annum M.CCCC.XIII. Altera ad Annum M.CCC.XC. Perducta Est, Volume III, Frank Scott Haydon, ed., Rolls Series, London, 1967.

Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*

R. R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995.

Dieulacres Chronicle

The Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381-1403, M.V. Clarke and V.H. Galbraith, eds, in 'The De-position of Richard II', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 14 (1930), pp.125-185.

English Reply to the French

English Reply to the French: Official 'acta' of the English Protest, 31st March, 1417 (31st

	Session) Unity, Heresy and Reform 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism, C.M.D. Crowder, ed., Edward Arnold, London, 1977.
Fabyan, *New Chronicles*	*The New Chronicles of England and France in Two Parts by Robert Fabyan, named by himself the Concordance of Histories*, Henry Ellis, ed., Longman, London, 1811.
Gransden, *Historical Writing*	Antonia*,* Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Vol. II, c.1007 to the Early Sixteenth Century,* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982.
Halle*, Chronicle*	*Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of those Periods; Carefully Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550*, J.Johnson, London, 1809.
Henken, *National Redeemer*	Elissa. R. Henken, *National Redeemer: Owain Glynd r in Welsh Tradition*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1996.
Historia Vitae	*Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, George Stow, ed., Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.
Holinshed, *Chronicles*	Raphaell Holinshed, *The Laste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande,* Iohn Hunne, London, 1577.
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary.*
Peverley*, John Hardyng*	Sarah L. Peverley, *John Hardyng's Chronicle: A Study of the Two Versions and a Critical Edition of Both for the Period 1327-1464*,

	Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2004.
Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*	John Rous, *Rossi Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*, Thomas Hearne, ed., Oxford, 1716.
Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*	*Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde, Monachorum S. Albani, Necnon Quorundam Anonymorum, Chronica et Annales, Regnantibus Henricio Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardi Secundo, et Henrico Quarto,* Henry Thomas Riley, ed., Rolls Series, London, 1866.
Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*	*Thomæ Walsingham, Quondam Monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana: De Tempore Regis Henrici, Post Conquestum Quarti*, Volume II, Henry Thomas Riley, ed., Rolls Series, 1863.
Thomas Walsingham, *The St. Albans Chronicle*	*The St. Albans Chronicle 1406-1420*, V. H. Galbraith, ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939.
Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*	Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica* (1555), Scolar Press, Mension, England, 1972.

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Introduction

Imagining Owain Glynd r and the Welsh Rebellion:

English Medieval Chronicles in Context

In "is ʒere Howeyn Glendor ded mech harm upon "e borderes of Ynglond.[1]

At the foot of a manuscript page of the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, a chronicle attributed to the Benedictine monk Thomas Walsingham (d. *c*.1422), is a jotting by an unknown scribbler under the year 1403 that reads:

> Christ, Splendour of God, I beseech you, destroy Glynd$ r.
>
> This verse was written in the choir of the Monks of St Alban.[2]

Although brief, this carefully composed jotting written in dactylic hexameter provides a privileged moment for the modern scholar;[3] it affords insight into the fears of an unknown individual for a rebellion that was currently unfolding in Wales under the leadership of Owain Glynd$ r. The prompt for this expression of anxiety was not a direct threat to the distant Abbey of St Albans in Hertfordshire by the Welsh rebels, rather it was a reaction to a narrative entry concerning clerical taxation imposed by the English King Henry IV in order to fund his ventures in Wales.

The focus of this study is the representation of the rebellion, commonly referred to as the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r, in English chronicle narratives from 1400 to 1580. Like the jotting in Thomas Walsingham's *Annales Henrici Quarti*, the sixteen chronicle narratives that form the basis of this study will be viewed as part of the discourse that constructs and reflects upon the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r. As the

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[1] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.218.

[2] 'Christe, Dei Splendor, tibi supplico, destrue Gleendor / Iste versus fuit scriptus in fine chori Monachorum Sancti Albani.' Corpus Christi College MS 7, fo.3.r; this is available in print under the title of the *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae* by Henry Thomas Riley, ed., *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series, London, 1866, p.374.

[3] The jotting is the work of one person as it was written in one hand. However, it should be noted that only the first line scans as a dactylic hexameter and even then the scansion is not entirely correct, in that the 'o' in *supplico* is treated as short when it should be long.

following comparison of three different accounts of the start of the revolt in 1400 illustrate, the narratives are rich and detailed, and offer diverse interpretations. The first example is from the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, composed by an unknown writer sometime before 1413 at Dieulacres Abbey in Staffordshire, which reports that,

> In the year 1400 a certain evil-doer and rebel with his Welsh companions of the race of the Britons whose name in fact was Owain Glynd$ r, setting himself up as the Prince of Wales by the law of his ancestors, plundered and burned English townships in Wales, more specifically, Conwy, Ruthin and Oswestry and others both walled and bare. The land of Wales, having been conquered in the time of Edward I, was recognised as distinct.[4]

The second example comes from John Hardyng, who began his career as an esquire attached to the Percy family of Northumbria, who wrote this version of his chronicle, between 1440 and 1457.[5] Hardyng records,

> Than came he [King Henry] home and tythandes new than hade
>
> How that Ewayn of Glendor was rebell,
>
> And made grete were of which he was vngladde,
>
> And to London hym sped as so byfell,
>
> Whar full tythandes he herde than sothly tell
>
> Of werre full grete betvix the sayde Ewayne
>
> And the lorde Gray Ryffyth, the soth to sayne.
>
> So longe it laste whils both Marches were brente
>
> By thaire discorde and felly wer distroyed
>
> For lytyll cause that myght haue bene content
>
> With mekyll lesse than oon of thaym had stroyed;
>
> So rose grete losse of England sore annoyed.[6]

A final example is taken from the chronicle of Edward Halle, writing sometime *c*.1532[7], who recounts,

> Owen Glendor, a squire of Wales, perceiuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the kyng not yet to be placed in a sure and vnmouable seate, ent#dyng to vsurpe and

---

[4] 'Anno domini millesimo CCCC^mo quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndouur erat, figens se iure progenitorum suorum principem Wallie fore villas angligenas in Wallia, scilicet, Conway, Ruthyn, Oswaldistr et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit. Quequidem terra Wallie tempore regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.' *Dieulacres Chronicle,* p.175. See Appendix One, Passage 4a.
[5] E.D. Kennedy, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500, Volume 8: Chronicles and other historical Writings*, A. Hartung (ed.), Archon, 1989, p.2646.
[6] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol. 204v; Peverley, *John Hardyng,* pp.305-306.
[7] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, Vol. II, p.470.

take vpon hym the principalitie of Wales, and the name and preheminence of the same, what with faire flattering wordes and with large promises, so enuegled entised and allured the wilde and vndiscrite Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym an othe of allegeance and subieccion. By whose supportacion, he beyng elated and set vp in aucthorite, to the intent to bee out of all doubte of his neighbors, made sharpe warre on Reignolde lorde Grey or Rithen and toke hym prisoner, promising hym libertee and discharging his raunsome, if he would espouse and marie his doughter, thynking by that affinitie, to haue great aide and muche power in Wales.[8]

Analysis of these three accounts of the same historical episode reveals a narrative that is organic and evolving; there are obvious differences in structure and form, particularly highlighted by John Hardyng's verse narrative, as well as marked differences in content. Within this sample group there are only two points of information on which the three chronicles agree: that Owain Glynd$␣r was at fault for the outbreak of the rebellion, and that his first move involved raiding and burning.[9] Each of these three chroniclers provides a distinctive interpretation of the beginning of the revolt; the *Dieulacres Chronicle* lists the towns that were the target of the Welsh rebels, and indeed suggests that they were selected primarily because they were English settlements. However, absent from the *Dieulacres Chronicle* is the involvement of Reginald Lord Grey, who is included in the narratives of the other two chroniclers. Of interest in John Hardyng's account is his identification of the Marches of Wales as the target of the first wave of the rebellion, a point which the other two do not make. Moreover, Hardyng's narrative is the only one that does not record that Owain Glynd$␣r had a community of supporters; the *Dieulacres* chronicler refers to them as Owain Glynd$␣r's 'Welsh companions'. Hardyng's narrative of the revolt is entirely centred on the actions of the main protagonist, Owain Glynd$␣r, and at no point in this version of his chronicle does he use the term

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[8] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.22-23.

[9] It should be noted that several of the chronicles do not present Owain Glynd$␣r as solely at fault for the initiation of the Revolt. For instance, the unknown chronicler of the *Historia Vitae*, writing contemporary to the events, records numerous factors leading up to the outbreak of the revolt. In particular the chronicler isolates one of the major catalysts to be Reginald Lord Grey's withholding of a letter from Henry IV to Owain Glynd$␣r requesting arms. Because of too short a notice, Owain Glynd$␣r was unable to fulfil his obligations and Henry IV was forced to take action against Owain. The *Historia Vitae,* pp.167-168. See Appendix One, Passage 3a.

'Welsh' or 'rebels' to refer to the broader community involved in the rebellion.[10] In Halle's chronicle, by contrast, the 'Welshmen' are central to the events of 1400 to *c*.1415, and indeed provide Owain Glynd$ r's authority to the title of the Prince of Wales. However, Halle makes it clear that the Welsh were seduced into rebelling by the 'flattering words' of Owain Glynd$ r. Halle provides great insight into the mechanisms of the revolt, providing details of its internal logic, such as the setting up of a system of oaths and allegiances, and marriage alliances. Halle's is the only chronicle amongst these three examples to record, albeit incorrectly, the marriage of Reginald Grey of Ruthin to Owain Glynd$ r's daughter.[11] Lastly, Halle's narrative of the revolt is framed by the notion of the rebellion as being connected to the fragile position of the new English King, Henry IV.

As such readings of the material demonstrate, the revolt narratives offer a wealth of information on the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r. The thesis seeks to explore the sorts of information concerning the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 that is recounted, and the methods used to communicate the events in a representative group of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English chronicles. The central question of the thesis is simple: how is the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r presented in English chronicle narratives 1400 to *c*.1580? Such a broad-ranging question allows for analysis of the content of the revolt narratives, as well as the structures and narrative strategies employed by the chroniclers. I approach the revolt narratives with a view to providing a detailed study of narrative. It is an approach that acknowledges the richness of the materials, and recognises the historical specificity of the examined fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chronicles.

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[10] Although, in the second version of his chronicle, Hardyng refers to Owain Glynd$ r as having a dedicated and loyal following, which he refers to as 'his men'. Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol.157r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.506.
[11] Halle is inaccurate here; Reginald Lord Grey was indeed captured by Owain Glynd$ r, although he did not marry Owain's daughter. Edmund Mortimer was captured and married Katrin, Owain Glynd$ r's daughter.

I

Literature Review and Background

The revolt of Owain Glynd$ r has long fascinated the popular imagination; this was no ordinary rebellion, particularly for the people of Wales.[12] The rebellion was remarkable both in its length and in what it sought to achieve. Lasting for around fifteen years from 1400 to *c.*1415,[13] the rebellion was not solely a military endeavour that aimed at the removal of a king, rather the primary intention was to establish a Wales independent of England and the strengthening of Welsh culture. Owain Glynd$ r set out his aims in letters that he wrote to foreign and domestic dignitaries:

> [we want to] deliver the Welsh race from the captivity of our English enemies, who for a long time now elapsed, have oppressed us and our ancestors … we hope that you will be sufficiently prepared to come with us with the greatest force possible, to the place, where you hear that we are, burning our enemies, destroying them.[14]

During the era of the revolt policies were implemented that fostered Welsh culture through the proposed establishment of universities in Wales and by ensuring that clerics could speak Welsh.[15] Owain Glynd$ r had a range of advisors, including a

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[12] To take a recent example, *The Guardian* newspaper covered a political rally at Conwy in North Wales in April 2011 at which politicians vying for upcoming elections to the Welsh assembly decorated the town with flags 'in honour of the legendary Owain Glyndwr'. The article reads: 'Patriotic yellow-and-orange flags festoon Conwy's narrow high street in honour of the legendary Owain Glyndwr. It is more than 600 years since Owain, Shakespeare's Owen Glendower, briefly captured Edward I's intimidating frontier fortress - just down the hill - during the long Welsh revolt against Henry IV. "Who'd have thought it? Glynd$ r's flag flying in an old garrison town like this," whispers a Plaid Cymru politician canvassing for votes in the 5 May elections to the fourth Welsh assembly to sit in distant Cardiff Bay. Even if few nationalists still pay lip-service to the revolt-and-independence agenda, Wales still nurses resentments against its large neighbour. But Wales is changing too, more cosmopolitan and outward-looking, its spruced-up capital competing for business with English cities like Leeds and Manchester.' *The Guardian*, Tuesday 19 April 2011. United Kingdom. Accessed 2 May 2011. http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/apr/19/wales-election-language-coalitions-cuts

[13] Although it should be noted that the rebellion lasted until 1415, Owain Glynd$ r was fairly ineffectual after 1409 because of constant military pressure from Henry, Prince of Wales (later Henry V). By 1409 Owain Glynd$ r had lost possession of the important centres of Harlech and Aberystwyth Castles and most of his immediate family and followers had been imprisoned or killed.

[14] 'Owain, Lord of Glyndyfrdwy to Henry Don' T. Matthews, ed., *Welsh Records in Paris,* Spurrell and Son, Carmarthen, 1910, pp.113-114. Owain Glynd$ r further sets out his aims in letters written to the Kings of France and Scotland, and the Lords of Ireland.

[15] In a letter to the French King Charles VI, Owain Glynd$ r writes of his desire to establish 'two universities or places of general study ... one in north Wales and one in south Wales, in cities, towns or places to be hereafter decided ...' in 'Owen, Prince of Wales, to Charles VI., King of France, Promising Obedience to Pope Benedict XII, March 1406', *Welsh Records in Paris*, T. Matthews, ed., p.98. For further discussion of Owain Glynd$ r's policies for strengthening Welsh culture, see Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, pp.169-172.

chancellor, Gruffydd Yonge (d. *c*.1437), and appears to have summoned representatives to parliaments held at Machynlleth in 1404 and Harlech in 1405.[16] Alliances with foreign powers were sought and successfully formulated; an alliance with the French king proved fruitful, with the arrival of soldiers and much-needed supplies to Wales in 1405.[17] Further alliances were formed in 1403 between Owain Glynd$ r and the English Percy and Mortimer families, which were forged with marriages and the signing of the Tripartite Indenture that sought, amongst other things, to establish a permanent national border for Wales. However, through these alliances Owain Glynd$ r and his followers came to be associated with a rebel movement in England that supported an alternative heir to the English throne in Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March (d.1425).

During the fifteen years of the revolt the regions that Owain Glynd$ r controlled fluctuated. As is shown by William Rees in *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (see Figure 0.1 and 0.2), the revolt began in the north-east of Wales, particularly around the home of Owain Glynd$ r at Glyndyfrdwy, and by 1405 covered a significant proportion of Wales, until its decline from 1406 onwards.[18] The expansion of the revolt involved launching military attacks against English landholders in Wales and the borderlands, such as the Mortimer family of the March, and the Grey family of Ruthin. Military engagements were predominantly guerrilla and siege warfare, with only a handful of field battles, including the battle of Bryn Glas (or Pilith) in June 1402. Castles and towns around Wales were a particular focus of attention for the rebels because these were the centres of English settlement and administration in Wales. The town and castle of Aberystwyth, for instance, was frequently besieged and changed hands between the Welsh and English forces many times.

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[16] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, pp.163-166.

[17] For example a treaty was signed between Owain Glynd$ r and the king of France, Charles VI, which states that 'The king and the prince ...[became] mutually joined, confederated, united and leagued by the bond of true covenant and real friendship and of a sure, full and most powerful union against Henry of Lancaster, an adversary and enemy of both parties ...', in 'The Ratification of the Treaty between Owen, of Wales, and Charles VI., King of France, January, 1405', *Welsh Records in Paris*, T. Matthews, ed., Spurrell, Carmarthen: 1910, p.76.

[18] While such representations of the phases of the revolt should be approached with caution because of the dangers of oversimplification that comes with ignoring the specificity of location, it is useful in illustrating the geographical spread of the revolt. According to Davies the revolt was 'highly localized' with various parts of Wales 'often had its own chronologies' of the revolt. *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, p.99.

Unsurprisingly the revolt of Owain Glynd$r has been the focus of much attention by modern scholars, particularly Welsh historians.[19] Amongst the most influential of these publications are J.E. Lloyd's 1931 publication *Owen Glendower (Owen Glyn Dŵr)*, and R.R. Davies' *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, which first appeared in 1996.[20] Both these works were extremely popular publications that stimulated much interest in the subject. Lloyd's study focuses on the leader of the rebellion and as a result his work is essentially a biography of Owain Glynd$r, whom Lloyd describes as 'the father of modern Welsh nationalism.'[21] While acknowledging Lloyd's important study, Davies' approach explores the revolt more widely, providing an extensive analysis of the social and political background in Wales as well as documenting the main events and particulars of the revolt.[22] While Owain Glynd$r is still an important figure for Davies, he believes that the role of Welsh society is central to understanding the revolt.

There is certainly much to be admired in the man whose name has been attached to the revolt. However, of Owain Glynd$r himself we know, according to Davies, 'desperately little.'[23] Born around the year 1359,[24] Owain Glynd$r's father was a descendant of the northern princely house of Powys, and his mother of the house of Deheubarth in southern Wales.[25] Thus Owain Glynd$r was a descendent of the two main houses of south and north Wales, a source of authority that he sought to promote. As a youth, Owain Glynd$r studied at the Inns of Court in London,[26] and served Richard II in Scotland in 1385.[27] It is likely that he then served Richard, Earl

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[19] For instance, Ian Skidmore, *Owain Glyndŵr: Prince of Wales*, Christopher Davies, Swansea, 1978; D. H. Allday, *Insurrection in Wales: The Rebellions of the Welsh Led by Owen Glyndwr Against the English Crown in 1400*, Terence Dalton, Suffolk, 1981; G. Williams, *Owain Glyndwr*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1993; Geoffrey Hodges, *Owain Glyndŵr: the War of Independence in the Welsh Borders*, Logaston Press, Herefordshire, 1995.

[20] R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995; J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower (Owain Glyndwr),* Oxford University Press, London, 1931.

[21] Lloyd, *Owen Glendower(Owain Glyndwr),* p.146.

[22] For instance, Davies begins his analysis with a chapter that describes Wales in the 1390s. Here Davies constructs travel narratives of two imaginary travellers who encounter Wales. Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp.5-34.

[23] Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p.129.

[24] Lloyd, *Owen Glendower (Owain Glyndwr)*, p.18.

[25] Elissa. R Henken, *National Redeemer: Owain Glyndwr in Welsh Tradition*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1996, p.3.

[26] Lloyd, *Owen Glendower(Owain Glyndwr)*, p.20.

[27] A. Goodman, 'Owain Glyndwr before 1400', *Welsh History Review*, 5 (1970-1971), p.67.

of Arundel.[28]   As a landowner, Owain Glynd$ r's estates placed him amongst the wealthiest in Wales. He established his residence at Sycharth in north Wales as a cultural centre, and was a generous patron to bards and poets, such as Iolo Goch (d. 1398), who in turn wrote about the beauty of Sycharth and the generosity of Owain Glynd$ r.[29]

It is clear from an analysis of the limited historical knowledge of Owain Glynd$ r that much of the popular imagery of him is imagined. While it is possible to envisage a charismatic and determined leader through studying his achievements and strategies, there are not sufficient materials with which to construct a portrait of the individual. And yet in popular culture the construction of Owain Glynd$ r is rich and lively. One of the most enduring images is that provided by Shakespeare, in *Henry IV Part One*.[30]   Here 'Owen Glendower' is wild and 'irregular' with magical abilities and a birth which was accompanied by portents. Owen Glendower tells us that 'At my nativity/ The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes. Of burning cressets; and at my birth/ The frame and huge foundation of the earth/ Shaked like a coward' (III, i. 12-16). Amongst Shakespeare's sources are two chronicles under examination, Edward Halle's and most famously that of Raphael Holinshed.[31]

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[28] According to A. Goodman, 'named eighth among Arundel's twenty-five esquires was 'Oweyn Glyndore'. The twentieth esquire was his brother, 'Tudour de Glyndore.' Goodman, 'Owain Glynd$ r before 1400', p.68.

[29] In his poem entitled 'The Court of Owain Glynd$ r at Sycharth', Iolo Goch makes reference to Owain Glyndwr's royal ancestry, his wealth, rich patronage, and influence throughout Wales:

> Twice have I promised you this ...
> To go- ... ,
> On pilgrimage a comfort
> Full of faith, to Owain's court ...
> My lord of lineage sovran
> Can well receive an old man
> Poets make common knowledge ...
> Court of a baron, courteous home,
> Where many a poet's welcome (Lines 1-11.)

The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse, A. Coran, ed. and trans., Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1967, p.153.

[30] *King Henry IV, Part One*, ed. David Scott Kastan, Arden Shakespeare, London, 2002.

[31] See my, 'Cosmos and History: Shakespeare's Representation of Nature and Rebellion in *Henry IV Part One*,' in *Renaissance Drama and Poetry in Context: Essays for Christopher Wortham*, Andrew Lynch and Anne Scott (eds.), Cambridge Scholars' Press, Newcastle, 2008, pp.41-61.

Figure 0.1: Phases of the Revolt of Owain Glynd r 1400 to 1403

(from William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales*, Plate 50[32])
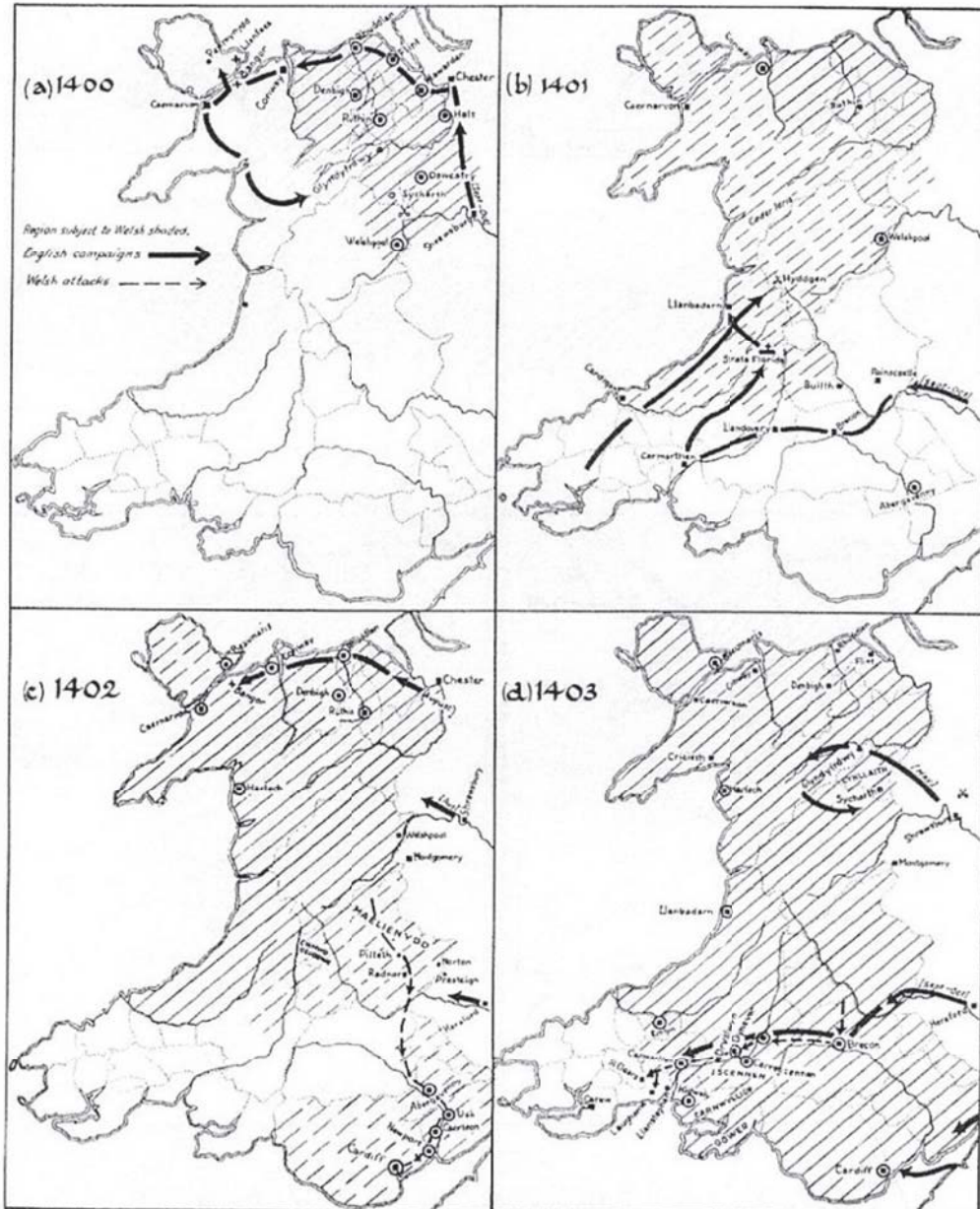
[32] William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales: from Early to Modern Times*, Faber and Faber, London, 1952, Plate 50.

Figure 0.2: Phases of the Revolt of Owain Glynd r 1404 to 1409

(from William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales*, Plate 51[33])
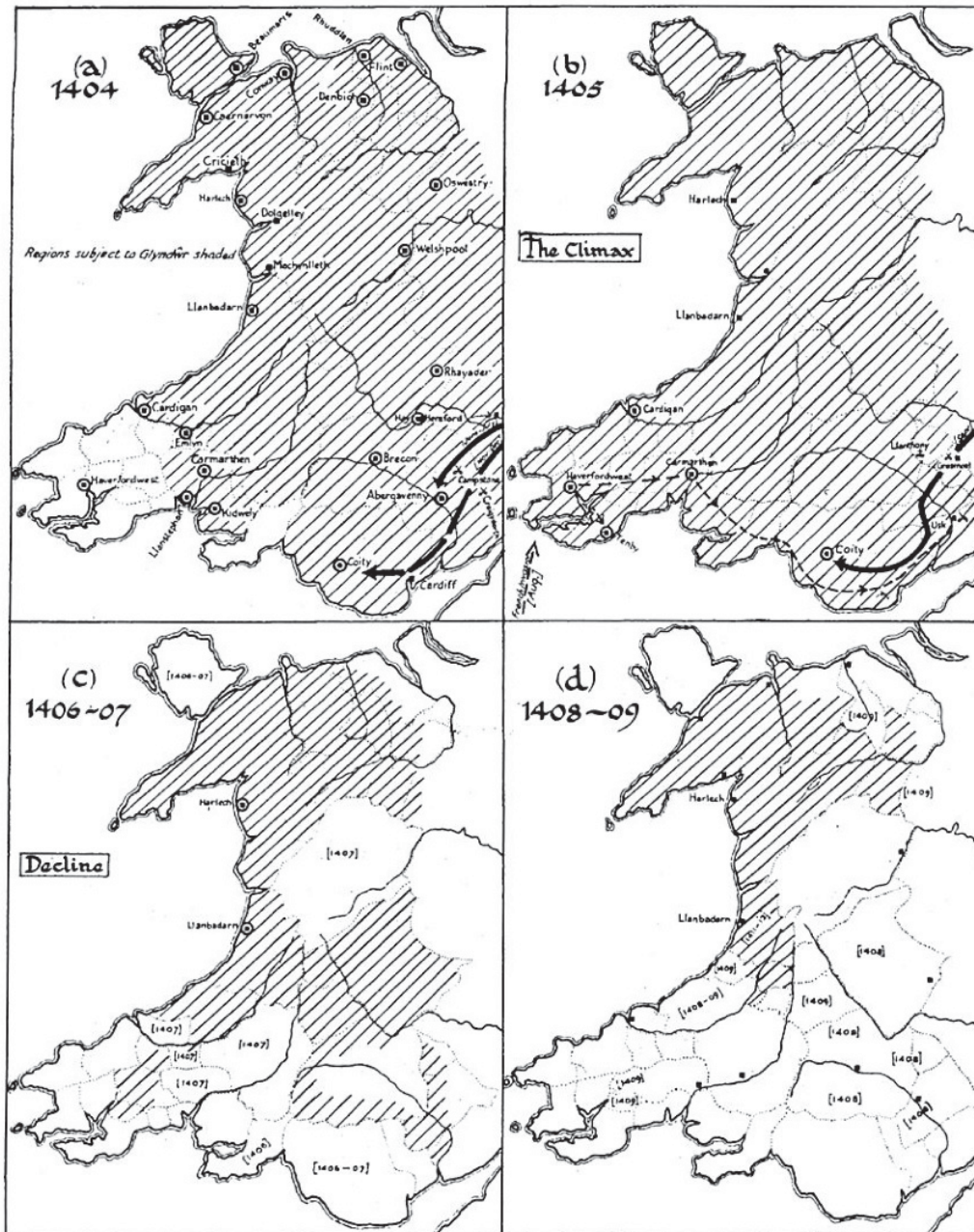
In her *National Redeemer: Owain Glynd r in Welsh Tradition* (1996) Elissa Henken analyses the various characteristics associated with the imagined Owain Glynd$ r;

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[33] Taken from William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales: from Early to Modern Times*, Faber and Faber, London, 1952, Plate 51.

for instance, she discusses him as a ' trickster' or as a 'master of magic arts'.[34] Where Henken's work is important to this thesis is in her recognition of the malleability of Owain Glynd$ r's persona and her identification of some of the forms in which it appears. Of further importance is Henken's analysis of Owain Glynd$ r as a redeemer-hero, one of several historical figures who would rise again and return Wales to its past glories.[35] After his death around the year 1415, Owain Glynd$ r remained a focal point for Welsh independence movements and nationalism.[36] In the nineteenth century, Owain Glynd$ r's popularity increased alongside calls for Welsh independence. As Henken has shown through her fieldwork in Wales in the 1980s, Owain Glynd$ r was still held in popular memory as one who would return to redeem Wales. Henken's studies provide a useful springboard with which to consider the importance of representations of Owain Glynd$ r's death. Depictions of Owain Glynd$ r's death vary considerably in the examined chronicles, and include him walking off into the mountains never to be seen again, or descriptions of a painful ending.

While previous studies such as those of Davies and Henken are important to this thesis, my methodology differs significantly both in source materials and in approach. I have limited my discussion to a representative selection of English chronicles composed in the era 1400 to 1580. It must be emphasised that this is only one branch of information concerning the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r, but one that offers insight not only into the revolt, but into the mechanisms of chronicle writing and English political thinking in the period in question. Davies comments in his preface that he has 'scoured the archives of every fragment of information to try to re-recreate as best [he] could the world of Owain Glyn D$ r and of his revolt.'[37] Davies provides a close study of the revolt that uses the full range of sources available to him, particularly manuscript sources, such as judicial records, exchequer documents and numerous other archival sources. While Henken also uses a range of

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[34] Elissa. R. Henken, *National Redeemer: Owain Glynd r in Welsh Tradition*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1996.
[35] Henken, *National Redeemer*, p.19.
[36] This point was also noted by Davies. In the last chapter of *The Revolt of Owain Glynd r*, called 'Epilogue: the Making of a Hero', Davies provides an assessment of Owain Glynd$ r in historiography and of his place within Welsh and English social frameworks to the modern era. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, p.325ff.
[37] Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, 'preface', p.vi.

sources including chronicles, letters, and Welsh and English administrative documents, her main source materials are oral histories and interviews.

The need for a close study of the chronicles and what messages they give as regards the revolt of Owain Glynd$r remains. This study does not aim to extend empirical knowledge of the revolt in the manner of R.R. Davies and J.E. Lloyd's studies of Owain Glynd$r, rather it contributes to knowledge of the functioning of the chronicles, and of the ways in which they represent events. In order to answer the questions this thesis poses I apply a methodology that comes from literary theory and studies, rather than an empirical, historical methodology. My aim is to understand better the chronicle narratives as narratives. Though this does have implications for the way in which historical events are understood, that is not the primary goal. In particular, I focus on the various modes of narration of the chronicle genre, the chronological and spatial structure of the chronicle genre, and the main elements represented in the revolt narratives, namely the individuals involved, and the Welsh and Wales.

The application to chronicles of narratological theory, which is more generally applied to fictional texts, requires comment. It must be stressed that there is no real correlation between the categories of narratological analysis (such as types of narrator and narratee or ways of handling time) and genre, nor is there any correlation between these features of narrative and a text's status as factual or fictional.[38] A narratological reading of chronicles, in other words, does not imply a view that the contents are necessarily fictionalised.

The wider political situation, while not the direct concern of this thesis, is an important consideration. The method by which Henry IV (1399-1413) secured the English throne, through the deposition of Richard II, created a stigma of non-legitimacy that Henry and his successors had to work very hard to suppress.[39] There

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[38] See for instance, Suzanne Fleischman, 'On the representation of History and Fiction in the Middle ages', *History and Theory,* Vol 22, issue 3, (Oct., 1983), pp.278-310.

[39] See for instance, Peter NcNiven, 'Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II's Survival in the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 76:1(1994), pp.93-117; A. Tuck, 'Henry IV and Europe: A Dynasty's Search for Recognition', *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, Alan Sutton, Gloucestersire, 1995, pp.107-123.

were numerous critics of Henry IV during the first years of his reign; many Franciscan friars for instance were outspoken in their disapproval, and Richard II had many supporters in Cheshire.[40] Testimony to the discontent felt towards Henry IV are the many revolts mounted by members of the upper nobility that plagued the first half of his reign. The so-called Earls' Revolt of 1400 (led by the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon and Salisbury), and the Percy family, which included the Earl of Worcester, his brother Northumberland and Northumberland's heir Henry, who rebelled in 1403, and from 1405 to 1408 Northumberland was outlawed.[41] These men were Henry's personal advisers and military commanders, the very people upon whom he relied for the maintenance of justice and administration of the realm.

Changing political circumstances in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had implications for representations of the Lancastrians, and in particular the reign of Henry IV in the chronicles. Accompanying each change of ruling dynasty was a revision of the Lancastrian right to the crown and a reframing of the events of the reign of Henry IV. For instance, there is an inaccuracy in Edward Halle's aforementioned account of the initiation of the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r; writing under the Tudor kings around the year 1532, Halle states that Reginald Lord Grey married Owain Glynd$ r's daughter; this is inaccurate as it was Edmund Mortimer (d.1409) who made the marriage. This shift signifies changes in the perceptions of Mortimer, most likely prompted by the relationship between the Mortimer and Tudor families, which Halle alludes to in his chronicle narrative when describing the genealogy of the Tudors.[42] Grey marries Owain Glynd$ r's daughter in Halle's

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[40] Cheshire had been particularly favoured by Richard; during the Percy rebellion in 1403 Hotspur apparently gained a great deal of support and soldiers in Cheshire by proclaiming that Richard was still alive and going to take back his rightful crown. See Peter NcNiven, 'Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II's Survival', p.104.

[41] A. Rogers, 'Henry IV and the Revolt of the Earls, 1400', *History Today*, 18 (1969), pp.277-283; J. M. W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', *History*, 44 (1959), 212-227; for a general overview of Henry IV's reign particularly on the problems that he faced, see A. L. Brown, 'The Reign of Henry IV', *Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509: Studies in Politics and Society,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1972, pp.1-26; and J. L. Kirby, *Henry IV of England*, Constable London, 1970.

[42] For instance, Halle provides the following geneaology that links Mortimer and Henry VII:
'kyng Richarde the seconde … died without issue, Lionell duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne of the saied kyng Edward the third, had issue Philippe his only doughter whiche was maried to Edmond Mortymer erle of Marche and had issue Roger Mortymer erle of Marche : whiche Roger had issue Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Elianor died without issue. And the saied Anne was maried to Richard erle of Cambrige sonne to Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fifth begotten sonne of the said kyng Edwarde the thirde whiche Richarde had issue thee famous prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke whiche had issue that noble prince kyng Edward

chronicle to avoid connecting Mortimer to the revolt. In the *Dieulacres Chronicle* tensions within the political arena are played out by two authors within the one chronicle text; the narrative was written in two parts and by two different authors, one author favoured the deposed Richard II and the other, the new king Henry IV.[43] Furthermore, several of the examined chronicles, including John Hardyng's chronicle, written during the Wars of the Roses, were completely or partly rewritten thus creating an entirely new production. An awareness of changing perceptions of dynasties and the individuals involved are thus fundamental to understanding the metamorphoses of the revolt narratives.

A further factor requiring consideration is the evolution of the genre of chronicles itself. While chronicles were a popular form of historical writing in the Middle Ages, the exact nature of what constitutes a chronicle has been the subject of much debate in modern and medieval scholarship, and has resulted in many publications and conferences devoted to this question.[44] As Antonia Gransden has pointed out, 'the term 'chronicle' has been used so loosely in medieval and modern times that it has lost any precise meaning.'[45] Gransden herself defines the chronicle genre as a dichotomy containing both 'chronicles' and 'histories', noting that histories 'observed chronology, but were not structured by it. Chronicles on the other hand, were dominated by their chronological structure.'[46] Such definitions are useful, but very generalised. In his useful and aptly named article 'What is a Chronicle?', David Dumville expands Gransden's definition, tracing the uses of the term chronicle, and

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the fourth father to Quene Elizabeth vnited in matrimony to the high and sage prince kyng Henry the. vij.' Halle, *Chronicle,* p.2.

[43] According to the editors of the printed edition, 'the chronicle turns out to be the composite product of two writers of strongly opposed views.' Author one appears to have composed the narrative 1381-1400 and author two 1400 to 1403. M.V. Clarke and V.H. Galbraith, 'The Deposition of Richard II', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 14 (1930), p.125.

[44] For instance, the Medieval Chronicles Society has held conferences at Utrecht in 1996, 1999 and 2002, Reading in 2005 and Belfast in 2008. Publications have resulted from these conferences, including *The Medieval Chronicle: proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Utrecht 13-16 July 1996,* Erik Kooper (ed.), Rodopi, Amsterdam, 1999; and *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Diebergen/ Utrecht 16-21 July 1999*, Erik Kooper (ed.), Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2002. According to the preface of *The Medieval Chronicle* (1999), five main themes were of central interest to the conferences: the chronicle: history or literature?; the function of the chronicle; the form of the chronicle; the chronicle and the reconstruction of the past; lastly, text and image in the chronicle (p.v).

[45] Antonia Gransden, 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland: Part 1', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), p.129.

[46] Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England*, Hambledon, London, 1992, p.200.

the historiography and development of the genre, both medieval and modern.[47] Dumville points out that the emphasis on acquiring a precise definition (through such avenues as terminology, history of the genre and form) is perhaps to the detriment of the study of other considerations, such as the purposes of composition.[48]

Much valuable work has been done on the individual chroniclers themselves, and on questions of chronicle authorship, the various versions and locations of manuscripts, and important aspects of their composition. General surveys of English historical literature, such as Antonia Gransden's *Historical Writing in England*[49] and the earlier published Charles L. Kingsford's *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*[50] have been of great use. More recently Chris Given-Wilson's study *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* provides useful discussion of some of the main features of chronicles and chronicle production in medieval England.[51] Studies of fifteenth-century chronicles, such Mary-Rose McLaren's study of the London Chronicles, provides several illuminating means by which to approach the examined texts.[52] Amongst the group of chronicles studied here are several London productions, including those of Robert Fabyan and Edward Halle;[53] furthermore, there are textual parallels between the London chronicles and, for instance, *An English Chronicle*. More broadly, of particular interest is McLaren's examination of chronicle authorship, notions of identity and senses of visuality and performance associated with pageantry in London. Furthermore, Chris Given-Wilson's examination of the chronicle of Adam Usk, James G. Clark's analysis of Thomas Walsingham and his colleagues at the Abbey of St Albans, and Sarah L.

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[47] For a discussion of the term 'chronicle', its meaning and the reasons behind the separation of chronicles, annals and other forms of chronicle histories, see David Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2ⁿᵈ International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Diebergen/ Utrecht 16-21 July 1999*, Erik Kooper (ed.), Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2002, pp.1-27, esp. p.4ff.

[48] David Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', p.24.

[49] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Volume One, c.550 To c.1307*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974 and *Volume Two, c.1307 To The Early Sixteenth Century*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982.

[50] Charles L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century,* Burt Franklin, New York, 1913.

[51] Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England*, Hambledon, London, 2004.

[52] Mary-Rose, McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing*, DS Brewer, Cambridge, 2002.

[53] Although Halle is outside McLaren's timeframe of study, he is discussed on several occasions.

Peverley's studies of John Hardyng provide invaluable aid in forming a proper appreciation of these authors and their works.[54]

English historiography changed markedly within the timeframe under analysis in this thesis. The transition to a 'humanist' approach to historical writing has been much documented, although the term humanist should be used with caution. In his important study published in 1967, *Tudor Historical Thought,* F.J. Levy offers a thorough and useful analysis of the main points of difference.[55] More recently, in his *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, Alistair Fox analyses the influence of the early Tudor monarchs on historiography in England, and particularly offers insights into the work of Polydore Vergil.[56] My approach acknowledges the different contexts and purposes to the sixteenth-century chronicles, as well as examining how the later compositions relate to the earlier fifteenth-century revolt narratives.

II

Terms and Concepts

Narratological readings of medieval chronicles have been scarce in modern scholarship, certainly in relation to chronicles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is perhaps because of the lingering suspicion that chronicles are such artless narratives that they would not repay such analysis. In the thesis I hope to exhibit the richness and variety of the revolt narratives, and to contribute to a better

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[54] *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk 1377-1421*, ed. and trans. Chris Given-Wilson, Clarendon, Oxford, 1997; Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Date and Structure of the Chronicle of Adam Usk', *Welsh History Review,* 17:4 (1995), pp.520-533; James G. Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St Albans', *Speculum*, 77:3 (2002), pp.832-860; James G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c.1350-1440,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004; Sarah L. Peverley, *John Hardyng's Chronicle: A Study of the two versions and a critical edition of both for the period 1327-1464*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2004; Sarah L. Peverley, 'Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's Chronicle', in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12 – 17 July 2002*, Erik Kooper, ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2004, pp.149-70.
[55] F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought,* Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1967.
[56] Alistair Fox, *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, esp. pp.110-113.

understanding of the narrative sophistication of which medieval chronicles were capable. It will be necessary at the outset to define the major terms that I will be using throughout the thesis, in particular those associated with the study of narrative. In method and in terminology I have drawn particularly on the work of Mieke Bal and Gérard Genette.[57] This body of narratological theory has the advantages that it is widely familiar in critical discourse, and allows for exact description of the narrative approaches of texts and for comparison with a wide range of other texts. A narrative is a text in which a narrator recounts events. Narrativity is simply the state of being a narrative, a term useful when discussing whether or not a particular text qualifies as a narrative one. Related to this are the terms narrator and narratee; the latter is the implied audience or reader of a narrative text.

A narrating voice can be characterised as overt (that is, drawing attention to itself in the act of narrating) or covert (not drawing attention to itself).[58] Moreover such voices can be characterised as homodiegetic (occupying the same textual world as the narrated events) or heterodiegetic (outside of the textual world). I will also on occasion remark on the focalisation of the narrative, that is, the way in which events are perceived through a particular individual (the focalisor).

I will also employ some terms for the discussion of time and space in narrative texts. With regards to time the most important terms will be analepsis (a 'flash-back') and prolepsis (a 'flash-forwards'). These techniques are of particular interest when they occur in chronicles, which are for the most part structured in a linear, chronological way. In general, the chronicles present their narratives *seriatim* (that is, simply placing one item after another) and paratactically (allowing adjacent items to reflect on each other without drawing explicit connections.)

Though I will only occasionally make reference to Mikhail Bakhtin's idea of the chronotope, that is, the implied construction of time and space in any text,[59] I will be

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[57] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, Christine van Boheemen. Trans., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1985; Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1980.
[58] Overt and covert are not entirely binary terms. There are degrees within these terms.
[59] See for instance, M. M. Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Towards a Historical Poetics', *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981, pp.84-258.

concerned with the ways in which the chronicles construct both spaces and places. While I will discuss the definitions of space and place in the relevant chapters, I should mention at the outset that when I speak of Wales' allochronism I refer to the tendency for chroniclers to treat it not just as a separate space, but as occupying a separate and especially earlier timeframe.

As this thesis examines the representations of the rebellion in chronicle narratives, the terminology used by the chroniclers to describe the rebellion, the people involved and their location, are important. The terms 'Welsh' and 'Wales' require some preliminary remarks; Wales for instance is a fluid and indeed problematic term. As Gwyn A. Williams argues in *When was Wales?,* 'a country called Wales exists only because the Welsh invented it. The Welsh exist only because they invented themselves. They had no choice.'[60] Central to Williams' examination are the ideas of Wales as a social concept, rather than as a state or geographical entity, and of the role of the English in formulating Welsh national identity. Historically Wales has never been a united nation state, but rather existed as a patchwork consisting of autonomous shires and lordships, most with a ruling family.[61] There was no administrative central point. While there have been native Welsh Princes of Wales, they held a ceremonial position, rather than practical power and authority.

Within English political frameworks Wales was considered a dominion of England; Henry IV considered Wales to be an integral part of the English crown's inheritance. English occupation of Wales had been legally established through the signing of the Treaty of Montgomery in September 1267, between the English king Henry III and the Prince of Gwynedd, Llywelyn ap Gryffudd. Llywelyn sought a treaty with the English king in order to confirm his position as the Prince of Wales; however it turned out not to be a treaty between equals, but a legal document in which Llywelyn received the Principality and title directly from the king, and in return the Welsh Prince became a vassal of the English crown.[62] Therefore when Llywelyn refused to perform homage to Edward I, and to pay the agreed 25,000 marks,[63] the English king

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[60] Gwyn A. Williams, *When Was Wales?: A History of the Welsh*, Black Raven Press, London, 1985, p.2.
[61] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp.256-257.
[62] D. Walker, *Medieval Wales,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1990, p.80.
[63] M, Prestwich, *Edward I*, Methuen, London, 1988, p.174.

took action against his recalcitrant vassal, and had conquered the Principality of Wales by 1283. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd was killed in December 1282. His brother Dafydd continued fighting and was eventually captured and killed in June 1283.[64] In 1283, Wales was confirmed as part of England and was annexed to the crown of England. The chronicler Adam Usk (b. *c*.1352) tells us that the day after his coronation, Henry IV conferred upon his son the title of Prince of Wales, a tradition that had been established in 1301 by Edward I.[65]

Late medieval Wales was characterised by a blurring of cultures; there existed side by side within Wales two very different peoples, each with their own set of cultural values and traditions, including legal practices.[66] English-speaking areas were centred on the richer townships, as English was the language of trade and commerce. The Welsh speakers inhabited the poorer areas, commonly known as the 'Welshry', away from the towns, and had limited privileges in the township. While the Welsh understood themselves as a social collective, as Williams points out they also held notions of themselves in terms of the 'other' to their English neighbours.[67] There was a long history of rebelling against the English; numerous risings between 1284 and 1400 are testament to the deep hostility of the Welsh towards their English overlords; the most significant rebellions were those of Rhys ap Maredudd (1287), Magog ap Llywelyn (1295), Llywelyn Bren (1316), and Owain Lawgoch (1378).[68] Predominantly these rebellions responded to the deterioration of law and order in Wales, as a result of neglect by corrupt English administrators.[69]

One of the main problems in discussing the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r is that there are two parallel traditions through which to view the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. Owain Glynd$ r's actions reveal a wider programme than just, according to Claire Valente's

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[64] Prestwich, *Edward I*, p.195.
[65] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.73; A. D. Carr, *Medieval Wales,* St. Martin's Press, New York, 1995, p.89.
[66] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, pp.65-70. For a general discussion, see David Walker, *Medieval Wales,* Cambridge University Press, London, 1990; Carr, *Medieval Wales*.
[67] For a further discussion see Glyn Roberts, 'Wales and England: Antipathy and Sympathy 1282-1485', *Aspects of Welsh History*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1969, pp.295-318; and Rees Davies, 'Race Relations in Post-Conquest Wales: Confrontation and Compromise', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1974-5), pp.32-56.
[68] G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales c.1415-1642*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987, p.3.
[69] M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards*, Methuen, London, 1980, p.14.

definition of rebellion, 'the deployment of armies in battle against the king.'[70] Owain Glynd⊠r's perspectives, as displayed in his letters to foreign dynasties cited above, reveal that he interpreted his actions not as a rebellion, but rather as a war against a foreign enemy.

Since this thesis explores the changing English perspective on the Welsh, the term 'revolt' is used, though with full knowledge that this is only one perspective on events. I have, however, avoided using the terms 'rebel' and 'Welshman' in general discussion wherever possible, unless paraphrasing a source. Such terms are, however, used in the chronicles to describe the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 and its participants. I use the term 'revolt narratives' to describe the body of work in the chronicles that seeks to construct the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 as a rebellion. This term, I believe, reflects the imagined and constructed element to these representations and distinguishes them from other chronicle narratives.

III

Sources

This thesis examines one branch of information that deals with the revolt of Owain Glynd⊠r, that of the English chronicles composed in the period 1400 to *c*.1580. The wide-ranging timeframe allows for analysis of chronicles produced in a range of political dynasties, including Lancaster, York and Tudor, allowing for exploration of patterns in narrative. The end date of 1580 has been selected as it was the year in which Raphael Holinshed, the latest of the selected chroniclers, died.

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[70] In *The Theory and Practice of Revolt in Medieval England*, Claire Valente analyses magnate resistance against the king between the years 1215 and 1415, with particular attention to the role of violence. Valente provides a useful discussion of the changing notions of rebellion over this period. Of particular interest is Valente's identification of patterns to which late medieval English revolts appear to adhere. This involves several main stages, which are 'peaceful pressures, armed demonstration (threats of demonstrations or armed power), targeted violence (attacks on favourites and royal partisans), and finally revolt (deployment of armies in battle against the king).' (p.42.) This is an important definition and framework in which to consider the Welsh revolt; while the revolt of Owain Glynd⊠r is not discussed by Valente (except when linked to the Percy and Mortimer rebellions), this definition allows for consideration of patterns of resistance depicted in the chronicle narratives of the Welsh revolt. See Claire Valente, *The Theory and Practice of Revolt in Medieval England*, Aldershot, Hampshire, Ashgate, 2003.

Sixteen chronicles form the basis of this study. These have been selected for a number of reasons. Firstly, they offer a good chronological spread within the timeframe 1400 to 1580 allowing one to analyse developments over time. I have not limited my selection to chronicles that were popular either within the era of their production or in modern scholarship. Furthermore, the types of chroniclers chosen come from a range of backgrounds, including both clerical and secular, and from a range of social positions, including monks, London-based lawyers, and an esquire. The places of composition or of narrative focus too are geographically diverse and include links with Northumbria, Staffordshire and London. However, the most important criterion for inclusion in this study is a discussion of the revolt of Owain Glynd$ r. Although not common, there are several chronicles composed in the timeframe 1400 to 1580 which are silent on the revolt. The chronicle of John Benet, for instance, has no mention of Owain Glynd$ r nor does the first continuation of the Crowland chronicle.[71] While these silences are important in themselves, these chronicles are not a central concern of this study.

Furthermore, I have limited this discussion to chronicles that were produced in England. Various French chronicles could have been included; for instance, the Flemish-born Jean de Waurin, *Recueil des Chroniques,*[72] the *Chronique du Religieux de Sait-Denys,*[73] and Enguerrand de Monstrelet[74] discuss the revolt. Indeed Enguerrand's narrative is informative when discussing the French expedition to Wales to aid Owain Glynd$ r.[75] Halle and Holinshed, for instance, list Monstrelet

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[71] *John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400 to 1462*, G. L. Harriss and M.A. Harriss, eds, Camden Miscellany, xxiv, 1972; The First Continuation of the *Crowland Chronicle* is printed in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum Tom.* 1 William Fulman, ed. Oxford Univeristy Press, Oxford, 1684, pp.451-546.

[72] *Anchiennes cronicques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Waurin*, E. Dupont, ed., 3 vols. (1858–63).

[73] *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys, contendant le règne de Charles VI. De 1380 à 1422*, 5 Tom., Collection de Documents Inédits, 1835. Volume iii contains interesting information concerning Owain Glynd$ r's ambassadors at the French court, and the French campaign to Wales.

[74] *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet en deux livres avec piéces justificatives, 1400-1444.* (vol 2 AD 1399-1422), L. Douet-D'Arcq, Soc. De l'Histoire de France, 1857-62. Enguerrand de Monstrelet's chronicle was printed together with Froissart's popular *Chronicle* by Denise Sauvage in Paris in 1572. William Par Greswell, *Annals of Parisian Topography*, Cadell and Davis, London, 1818, p.183.

[75] For instance, the 1402 expedition, pp.87-88 and the 1403 expedition, pp.102-106. *The chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet : containing an account of the cruel civil wars between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy,* Thomas Johnes, ed and trans., Volume One, London 1810.

amongst their sources.[76] It should be noted, however, that not all of the chroniclers examined in this thesis were English. Polydore Vergil was born around the year 1470, near the town of Urbino in Italy, and Adam Usk was born in Wales *c*.1352. I have included these two chronicles in this thesis based upon the circumstances of their composition. Vergil was encouraged by Henry VII to complete his history of England, and he produced the first version of his *Historia Anglica* sometime between 1512 and 1513.[77] Vergil's chronicle has been of particular interest in modern scholarship; he is considered among the most influential humanist scholars of his day.[78] Adam Usk's narratives of the revolt are by far the most complex of the chronicles under consideration in this thesis; his narratives are an intricate interweaving of his desire for English patronage and his disillusionment with the processes. His chronicle includes references to events of significance in England and is concerned, for the first part at least, with events surrounding the English king. His presence within the historical narrative too is unique; Adam has the most visible and well-developed authorial persona of those in the chronicles under investigation here. Moreover, there are many elements within his narrative that can be described as 'Welsh' in both their content and their framework, as will be discussed throughout this thesis.

Amongst the chronicles that were composed contemporaneously to the Welsh revolt I have chosen six for analysis; all of these chronicles were actively composed within the period 1400 to 1430. I have included two chronicles by Thomas Walsingham, the *Annales Henrici Quarti* [79] and the *Historia Anglicana*.[80] Thomas Walsingham (d. *c*.1422), a precentor and chronicler from the Abbey of St Albans, has been the focus

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[76] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 1, p.6.

[77] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* II, p.425. I have used the third version of this chronicle, which was first published in 1555.

[78] For a full discussion of Vergil and his importance in England, see Denys Hay, *Polydore Vergil, Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters*, Oxford university Press, Oxford, 1952**.**

[79] Walsingham was thought to have started this chronicle in the year 1376. See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, Vol. II, pp.124-126. The chronicle was published in the Rolls series, but unfortunately the text was dissected into three parts: the years 1376-7 are printed in the *Chronicon Angliae* pp.68-147; 1377 to 1392 are in the *Historia Anglicana*, Vol. 1, pp.329-484 and Vol. 2 pp.1-211; and 1393 to 1406 is printed as the *Annales Henrici Quarti, Regum Angliae* in the Rolls Series (1866); the remaining years 1406 to 1420 were not published by the Rolls Series, but appear as *The St Albans Chronicle 1406 to 1420*, ed. by V. H. Galbraith, Clarendon, Oxford, 1937.

[80] *Historia Anglicana* covers 1272 to 1422 and was written between 1400 and 1420; printed in *Thomae Walsingham, Quondam Monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, 2 Vols, Rolls Series, London, 1863.

of recent scholarly attention.[81] He was a prolific and learned writer, who has been associated with the composition of five chronicles at St Albans.[82] The second chronicle is that of Adam Usk (d.1430). Adam Usk's *Chronicle* has received significant attention from Chris Given-Wilson, who not only edited the chronicle but whose commentary and analysis have proved to be invaluable to this study.[83] In particular, Given-Wilson's identification of the piecemeal composition of the chronicle and of the years in which Adam wrote has allowed me to explore connections between Adam's life experiences and changes in historiography.[84] The third chronicle is the *Continuatio Eulogii*, which is a continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum*.[85] No one can say for certain who wrote the *Continuatio*, or even where it was produced. Several suggestions have been put forward, including John Trevor

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[81] Recently, two very different publications of Walsingham's chronicle have appeared; firstly, *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham, Volume One: 1376-1394*, ed. by John Taylor, Wendy Childs and Lesley Watkiss, Oxford University Press, Oxford: 2003. The first volume covers the years 1376 to 1394 and was uses the manuscript British Library Ms. Bodley 462 as the basis for this text. Volume Two covering the years 1394 to 1422 is forthcoming. Secondly, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422)*, trans. by David Preest; introduction and notes by James G. Clark, Boydell Press, New York, 2005. This publication relies solely on previous printed editions. Preest translates the Rolls Series edition of the *Historia Anglicana*, and post-1406 translates from Galbraith's edition of the *St Albans Chronicle*.

[82] See James G. Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St Albans', *Speculum*, 77:3 (2002), pp.832-860; and James G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle c.1350-1440,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004. The five chronicles that Thomas Walsingham has been associated with include the aforementioned *Annales Henrici Quarti* and the *Historia Anglicana*. The *Chronicon Angliae* covers the history of the years 1328 to 1388 and is printed as *Chronicon Angliae ab anno Domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388*, ed. by E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series, London, 1874; the *Ypodigma Neustriae* (The Symbol of Normandy) was thought to be Walsingham's last chronicle, it was written *c.*1420 and was dedicated to King Henry V; printed as *Ypodigma Neustriae a Thomae Walsingham*, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley, Rolls Series, London,1876. See Gransden, *Historical Writing*, Vol. II, p.126; finally the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani* (Deeds of the Abbots of the Monastery of St Albans) of Matthew Paris, which Walsingham extended up until the year 1393. Walsingham wrote the *Gesta* between 1390 and 1393. The editors of the Rolls Series decided to combine Matthew Paris' and Walsingham's texts into one publication; this is printed as *The Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. by H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, 3 Vols, London, 1867-9. It should be noted that there was a third and unknown continuer of the *Gesta* after Walsingham, who is also included in the same Rolls Series publication. This writer took the history up until the year 1411.

[83] *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk 1377-1421*, ed. and trans. Chris Given-Wilson, Clarendon, Oxford, 1997.

[84] Given-Wilson shows that Adam wrote his chronicle in four sections. Section one was completed in March 1401, and covered the period from June 1377 until the time of completion. Section Two April 1401-February 1402; Section Three February 1402-February 1414; Section Four April 1414-June 1421. Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Date and Structure of the Chronicle of Adam Usk', *Welsh History Review,* 17:4 (1995), p.524.

[85] This is printed in Volume Three of the *Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe Condito Usque ad Annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI., A Monacho Quodam Malmesburiensi Exaratum. Accedent Continuationes duae, Quarum una ad annum M.CCCC.XIII. Altera ad Annum M.CCC.XC. Perducta Est,* ed. by Frank Scott Haydon, Rolls Series, London, 1858, pp.333-421.

(Siôn Trefor) of St Asaph.[86]   Recent studies have shown that the author was most likely an unknown monk based at Canterbury, probably a Franciscan (Friars Minorite) connected to the Grey Friars.[87]   The remaining two chronicles do not have an identified chronicler, although the place and community that produced them are known.   The *Dieulacres Chronicle* is believed to have been produced at the abbey that gave the chronicle its name sometime around the year 1413.[88]   The *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*[89] (hereafter *Historia Vitae*) is thought to have been produced at the Abbey of Evesham sometime before 1413.[90]   These chronicles offer substantial and differing revolt narratives, many of which were used as sources by later chroniclers.

I have included five chronicles written 1450 to 1485 for analysis.   This includes two versions of John Hardyng's chronicle, both of which have been recently been extensively studied by Sarah L. Peverley.[91]   The first version exists in only one manuscript MS Landsdowne 204 and the second version exists in several, of which the Bodleian Library MS Arch. Selden is one.   Hardyng (d. *c*.1465) was an esquire closely associated with the Percy family of Northumberland.[92]   Hardyng's

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[86] Evan J. Jones, 'The Authorship of the *Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum*: A Suggestion', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, vol. XII: 2 (1937), pp.200-202.

[87] Arguments for the chronicle being written at Canterbury see Haydon, 'Preface' *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii, p.lii.; Arguments for the authorship of a Grey Friars' monk at Canterbury see S. N. Clifford, 'An edition of the Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum* 1361-1413', Unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1975; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, Vol II, p.158; John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987, p.106. Jeremy Catto suggests that the Franciscan chronicler may have been attached to the London Greyfriars. See J. I. Catto, 'An Alleged Great Council of 1374', *English Historical Review*, 82 (1967), p.766.

[88] *The Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381-1403*, ed. by M.V. Clarke and V.H. Galbraith, in 'The Deposition of Richard II', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 14 (1930), pp.125-185; date of composition, p.131.

[89] Printed as *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, ed. by George Stow, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania, 1977. Stow, bases his text on the two earliest known versions of the chronicle, BL MS Cotton Claudius B IX and BL Cotton Tiberius C IX, and is collated with a further ten manuscripts written before 1729.

[90] George Stow, 'Introduction', *Historia Vitae*, p.3.

[91] Sarah L. Peverley, *John Hardyng's Chronicle: A Study of the two versions and a critical edition of both for the period 1327-1464*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hull, 2004. This is shortly to appear in two publications: Sarah L. Peverley and James Simpson, *John Hardyng's Chronicle* (the first version), 2 vols, Middle English Text Series (Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan, forthcoming; Sarah L. Peverley, *John Hardyng's Chronicle* (the second version), Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge: forthcoming.

[92] Hardyng himself states, in a prose addition to MS Arch. Selden B.10 . fol. 192r: 'Truly I, the maker of this boke, was brought vp fro XII yere age in S*ir* Henry Percy hous to the bateile of Shrowesbury, that I was the*re* with hym armed of xxv^{ti} yer*e* age, as I had afore at Homyldon, Coklaw, and diuers rodes.' Peverley, *John Hardyng,* p.579.

relationship with the Percies ended with the death of Henry Percy (Hotspur) at Shrewsbury in 1403. Hardyng's two chronicles are the only ones amongst the selected sixteen that are in verse. The second chronicler whom I have included is John Capgrave (d. 1464) and his two works, the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*[93] and his *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*.[94] Capgrave was born in the town of Lynn in Norfolk, and it was there that he lived for a majority of his life as an Augustinian friar. Capgrave's literary output was astounding; it is believed that he produced around 41 texts of commentary on scripture and theology, hagiography, and several chronicles.[95] Composed in Middle English, Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion* was finished around the year 1461, but possibly started around the year 1438.[96] The *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* was an earlier composition written in Latin, around 1446 or 1447, and was dedicated to Henry VI.[97] The form that the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* takes is somewhat unusual; as will be discussed, the narrative is presented with the markings of a chronicle, but contains biographical reflections on various 'illustrious' Henries, including Henry IV. The *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* makes for interesting comparisons. The final chronicle in this group is the anonymous *An English Chronicle,* written between 1460 and 1470.[98] A new edition has recently been produced by William Marx.[99] These five chronicles offer rich narratives of the revolt, some of which rework material from the earlier chronicles under examination.

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[93] Manuscripts BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A viii (1459-1500) and CCCC, MS 408 (1446-7); printed in *Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, F.C. Hingeston (ed.), Rolls Series, London, 1858.

[94] Manuscripts CUL, MS Gg.4.12 (*c*.1462-3), CCCC MS 167 (*c*.1500) and CUL, MS Mm.1.44 (Baker33), art2, pp.23-5 (1728-32); printed in *John Capgrave's Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, Peter J. Lucas (ed.), Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983. This chronicle is also known as *The Chronicle of England* and was printed by the Rolls Series, London, 1858, edited by F.C. Hingeston. I will be using the edition by Lucas because, as the editor points out, the edition produced by Hingeston is inaccurate, its production plagued by internal politics within the committee of the Rolls Series (p.vii).

[95] Peter Lucas, 'John Capgrave, Friar of Lynn', *Historian: the Magazine for Members of the Historical Association*, 44 (1994), p.23; Peter J. Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 1997, pp.310-314; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, Vol. 2, p.390

[96] Lucas 'Introduction', *John Capgrave's Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, Early English Text Society, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983, p.xliii.

[97] Peter J. Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 1997, p.310.

[98] *An English chronicle, 1377-1461: edited from Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 21068 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34*, William Marx, ed., Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003. In his Introduction Marx argues that there were several stages in composition. See pp.lxxxvii-civ.

[99] Marx uses two manuscripts as the basis for this edition; Aberystwyth MS 21608 from the National Library of Wales and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lyell 34. Previously an edition had been produced by John S. Davies, *An English chronicle of the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI written before the year 1471*, Camden Society, London, 1856.

For instance, there are many parallels between the narratives of the revolt in *An English Chronicle* and the *Continuatio Eulogii*, and between Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* and Thomas Walsingham's two chronicles.

Amongst the Tudor chronicles, composed within the period 1485 to *c*.1580, I have selected five. These include John Rous' *Historia Regum Anglie*.[100] Rous (d. *c*.1492) was an antiquarian and dedicated this work to Henry VII.[101] Although not long, Rous's narrative of the revolt offers rich detail that focuses on material objects in defined material settings. The second chronicle is a London chronicle by Robert Fabyan (d.1513), *New Chronicles of England and France*.[102] Fabyan's chronicle exists in two manuscripts,[103] although the author's name was not attached to the history until the second printed edition appeared in 1533.[104] In this group, I have also included Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica*.[105] Born in Italy, Polydore (d.1555) was, as mentioned previously, an important figure in the English humanist movement. The fourth chronicle to be included is that of Edward Halle (d.1547). Halle was a London-based lawyer and politician for successive kings of England, Henry VII and Henry VIII.[106] Previously entitled *The Union of the Two Nobel and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York*, it is generally known today as Halle's *Chronicle*.[107] Halle's chronicle was unfinished when he died in 1547. In his will

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[100] John Rous, *Rossi Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*, ed Thomas Hearne, Oxford, 1716.

[101] See Gransden, *Historical writing in England, Volume 2* (1982), pp.313-27.

[102] Robert Fabyan, *The New Chronicles of England and France*, Henry Ellis, ed., Rivington, London, 1811. Ellis' edition is primarily taken from the 1516 printed chronicle.

[103] Holkham Hall, MS 671 and BL, Cotton MS Nero C.xi.

[104] The first printed edition of 1513 under the title of *The Newe Cronycles of England and of Fraunce* had no named author attached to it; the second edition, which appeared first in 1533 and then again (twice) in 1542 and 1559 had the altered title of *Fabyan's Cronycle Newly Printed*.

[105] Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica* (1555), Scolar Press, Mension, England, 1972. Polydore completed the first version of the *Historia Anglica* in 1512-1513; he then revised this substantially, producing a second version which was published in 1546. A third edition was produced in 1555; I have used this edition. The narrative of the third edition was extended to the year 1538 from the 1509 ending of the first version. Denys Hay produced an edition of the *Historia Anglica* in 1950, this, however, does not cover the earlier material included in the Scolar Press publication. Hay's version starts in 1485 and ends in 1537. In Hay's edition, the three versions are collated. The *Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil, AD 1485-1537*, Denys Hay, trans, Camden Series, London, 1950.

[106] Janette Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle*, The Society for Theatre Research, London, 2002, p.1.

[107] Edward Halle, *Hall's Chronicle: containing the history of England, during the reign of Henry the Fourth, and the succeeding monarchs, to the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, in which are particularly described the manners and customs of those periods; carefully collated with the editions of 1548 and 1550*, J.Johnson et al, London, 1809.

Halle left his chronicle to the printer Richard Grafton.[108] It first appeared in print in 1548 and a second edition appeared in 1550, with some amendments.[109] The last chronicle is *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* of Raphael Holinshed (d. *c*.1580).[110] Holinshed's chronicles have appeared in two versions; the first edition appeared in 1577, the second in 1587. I have limited my discussion to the 1577 version; the second version appeared around seven years following the death of Holinshed; these two versions are quite different in content.[111] Each of these five chronicles offers diverse narratives of the revolt, as well as interesting uses of the earlier chronicles as source materials. Furthermore, the narrative styles of these sixteenth-century chronicles are quite different from the chronicles of the early fifteenth century, and provide illuminating contrasts.

Questions of authorship are important to this thesis. However, this thesis seeks to break away from a conservative approach to chronicle studies and therefore known biographical information regarding the chroniclers, their communities and patronage networks will be analysed when appropriate. Moreover, questions of authorship are not limited to the identification of the chroniclers and their communities, but also to questions concerning the role of the chroniclers in the composition, and the chroniclers' participation in a larger tradition. Although I may frequently refer to a single chronicler, such as Thomas Walsingham, as the author of a particular named chronicle, I recognise that there may be more than one individual contributing to the production of the narrative. Though all of these chronicles draw on material from elsewhere, nonetheless, this material is made to signify in new ways in its new contexts.

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[108] Hall's will states: 'I give to Richard Grafton' printer my Cronycle late made trusting that he will sett it forward.' From National Archives, PROB 11/31, sig. 36; Printed in A.F. Pollard, 'Edward Hall's will and chronicle', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 9 (1931–2), p.177.

[109] For instance, the title was reverted back to its original title, *The Union of the Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York* with a title page that included a genealogical tree. A new note to the reader was also added. See Janette Dillon, *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle*, The Society for Theatre Research, London, 2002, p.3.

[110] Raphael Holinshed, *The firste [laste] volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande conteyning the description and chronicles of England, from the first inhabiting vnto the conquest : the description and chronicles of Scotland, from the first original of the Scottes nation till the yeare of our Lorde 1571: the description and chronicles of Yrelande, likewise from the first originall of that nation untill the yeare 1571*, Iohn Hunne, London, 1577.

[111] Both versions have received attention lately from the Oxford-based Holinshed project; one outcome of this project has been the production of the chronicles on-line with parallel texts. Accessed 2 May 2011. http://www.cems.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/

The sixteen chosen chronicles were composed in Latin or Middle English. At the beginning of the fifteenth-century, the dominant language in which chronicles, as well as other didactic works, were written was Latin. Many of the Latin chronicles, such as the *Dieulacres Chronicle* and the *Continuatio Eulogii*, have not been translated into modern languages. Unless stated otherwise, all translations from the Latin are my own. Some of the later chroniclers returned to the use of Latin; the Italian-born Polydore Vergil and the Antiquarian John Rous (d.c. 1492) are two examples. John Capgrave (d. 1464) wrote two chronicles, one in Latin and the other in English, although his more popular chronicle is in English. The remainder wrote in Middle or Early Modern English.

Various versions of the chronicle manuscripts and printed editions will be noted, as will manuscript studies of the various compositions. Due to the number of sources and the logistics involved in studying manuscripts located in all parts of the world, I have for the most part relied on the current printed editions of the chronicle. However, I have approached the printed sources critically; where possible I have verified the accuracy of scholarly editions by consulting the original texts. This has enabled me to explore some of the material aspects of the chronicles. On a few occasions I have ventured a possible correction of the printed text.

IV

Chapter Structure

This thesis consists of six chapters and is divided into two broad themes. Theme One, entitled 'Narrative Strategies and Literary Traditions', investigates how various devices and strategies are employed within the chronicle narratives to represent the revolt. This theme consists of three chapters, which deal with three important narrative and structural devices. These three categories of narrative voices, time and chronology, and space have been isolated for study because they are critical to any study of narrative; narration, time and space are primary determinants of any narrative and affect all other aspects of the text. These three determinants have had

only limited analysis with regards to chronicle narratives; while the importance of time and chronology in structuring the narrative has been recognised and documented since the early middle ages, the significance of chronological structure in determining what is recorded and how particular narrative subjects are constructed has not received sufficient attention. The same applies to the other two determinants; while there is notable interest in spatiality in the chronicles, particularly with regards to the links between cartography and history, the importance of space and spatiality in determining what is recorded and how requires further investigation. An analysis of narrative voices in chronicles and of the various modes of narration in fifteenth-century chronicles has not, to my knowledge, received independent analysis.

Chapter One focuses on the narrator and narrative voices used in the chronicles. This chapter explores the different modes of narration used in the chronicle narratives and the implications for the representations of the revolt. Chapter Two analyses the role of time and chronology in the structuring of the chronicle narrative. Chronological sequencing of the chronicle narrative may appear to be rudimentary and obvious but is in fact part of a larger and complex narrative strategy that has implications for the ways in which information is presented. In Chapter Three I further explore the organising principles that underlie chronicle narrative, this time focusing on space. Here I argue that the chronicle genre has in-built spatial structure that has implications for how information is presented in the revolt narratives, and for what is presented.

Theme Two, entitled 'Imagining the Rebellion', investigates the subject matter of the chronicles, analysing what is presented and how the revolt is described. These three chapters each analyse one element of the rebellion as presented in the revolt narratives of the chronicles. In Chapter Four I investigate the representation of individuals in the revolt narratives and analyse the characteristics attached to the central protagonists, and consider the purposes behind these depictions. Chapter Five focuses on communities and asks how the 'Welsh' are represented in the narratives of the revolt. Here I explore the terminology used to describe the communities involved in the revolt and consider the chronicles as part of a wider discourse that constructs and reflects upon national identity in this period. Chapter Six focuses on representations of Wales, asking the question: how do the chroniclers

construct a landscape that is meaningful for the imagined individuals and communities who encounter and inhabit it? Finally, the thesis concludes with an appendix containing translations of major passages concerning the Welsh revolt from previously untranslated Latin chronicles.

The chapter structure outlined here allows, firstly, for analysis of the ways in which the narratives are formulated, and then turns to what is said with a better understanding of the mechanisms of the chronicles. This thesis is both a diachronic and synchronic study; the chosen structure allows for discussion of the particulars of the narratives and of the people and communities who produced them within their historical contexts, while the long timeframe allows for the exploration of developing patterns; being able to see where things change and how things change is fundamental to understanding representations of the revolt. It is to be hoped that approaching these texts with new questions will produce a new understanding both of what the revolt narratives describe, and their means of narration.

Theme One

Narrative Strategies and Literary Traditions

Chapter One

'As you shalle heare': the Role of the Narrator

This chapter is an analysis of the different modes of narration used in the revolt narratives. Here I will articulate the range of narrative modes, along with why and where the different voices occur and the implications of them for the narratives of the revolt. For example, these three chronicle accounts, concerning the arrival of French ships in 1404 at Milford Haven to supply much-needed aid to Owain Glynd(r, raise several points of interest concerning modes of narration used by the chroniclers. Firstly, Thomas Walsingham, writing sometime before the year 1420, states that:

> Meanwhile, the French came to the help of the Welshman, that is, to Owain Glynd(r, and with 140 ships arrived at the harbour of Milford, almost all of their horses being lost due to a lack of fresh water.[1]

John Capgrave's narrative composed in the early 1460s records:

> In $is tyme a hundred schippis and xl sailed oute of Frauns into Wales, for to help Howen Glendor. They cam into Mylforth Haue; but al her hors were ded or $ei cam $ere for defaute of fresch water.[2]

Lastly, Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* published in 1577, says:

> In the meane time, the Frenche king had appointed one of the Mar)hals of Fraunce called Montmerancie, & the ma)ter of his Cro)bowes, with .xij.M. men to)aile into Wales to ayd Owen Glendouer. They tooke)hipping at Bre)t, and hauing the wind pro)perous, landed at Milford hauen, with an. Cxl)hips, as Tho. Wal). hath, though Engnerant de Mon)trellet maketh mention but of 120.[3]

All three employ a third person mode of narration, in which the narrator's position is covert. This is the usual mode of chronicle narration and establishes an authoritative narrative voice, though one without obvious personal characteristics. However, for a privileged moment in Holinshed's chronicle the narrator is overtly displayed; by

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[1] 'Medio tempore, Gallici venientes in succursum Wallici, id est, Howeni Gleyndor, cum centrum quadraginta navibus applicuerunt in portum de Mylleford, amissis primo, prae penuria recentus aquae, pene omnibus equis suis.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.272. See Appendix One, Passage 1m.
[2] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.230.
[3] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1149.

including two conflicting accounts of the number of ships provided by Thomas Walsingham and the French chronicler Enguerrand de Monstrelet (d.1453) the narrator purposefully places himself in neutral middle ground and is thus revealed. In contrast, Capgrave retains a covert, third-person narrative voice at all times despite his obvious dependence on Thomas Walsingham's narrative, which is translated literally into Capgrave's account. The different modes of narration used by the chroniclers have profound implications on the representation of the revolt of Owain Glynd(r, and in particular how the reader is guided through the materials that are presented.

In the chapter, examples will be taken from the chronicle narratives for the entire reign of Henry IV, from his accession in 1399 to his death in 1413. This allows for a greater understanding of the narrative frame in which the revolt is set. The chapter is divided into three sections; the first section articulates the various modes of narration used by the chroniclers in their narratives of the reign of Henry IV. In the second section, I investigate the devices used by the chroniclers in order to construct themselves as present at the historical event that they are narrating. In particular I am interested in the ways in which the chroniclers use visual and auditory means. In the third section I focus on the connection between modes of narration, notions of witnessing and methods of interpretation; taking the example of a comet that was observed in *c*.1402 and construed as a sign concerning the Welsh revolt. I investigate how the various chroniclers ensure that the comet is 'correctly' interpreted. Within the broader framework of this thesis the aim of this chapter is to explore the literary devices used in the narration of chronicle history, and ultimately to examine how these devices contributed to the ways in which the Welsh revolt was interpreted. These choices establish the narrator's relationship to the events he is narrating and subtly influence the reader's reception of them.

In this chapter (and indeed thesis) I will use the term 'narrator' to refer to narrative voice. However, in doing so I recognise that this could be seen as a problematic term with regards to chronicles. Here discussion will revolve around the nature of the imagined voice in the text, but we must recognise that there is a difference between the narrator in the text and the chronicler who existed in the extratextual world. As has been much discussed in narratology, the narrator and the empirical author are not

one and the same; one must be aware, for instance, of the possibility that the narrative voice may express opinions that are not those of the chronicler. The views of the chroniclers themselves are in any case unknowable, and the question of 'sincerity' is not one which can ever be answered. It is equally important to recognise multiple authorship in any given text. This is especially the case with chronicles; to consider the chronicle as the work of only one individual in every case would be reductive. The author of the chronicle may be a community, a known individual, or an unknown individual from a roughly known location or community. It is for this reason that I will refer to 'narrative voices', rather than the more common singular usage.

I

Modes of Narration

Polydore Vergil's account of the initiation of the Welsh revolt, written sometime between 1512 and 1513, is narrated through a covert and heterodiegetic voice:

> Meanwhile, so there would be no hope for quiet, Wales, ever prone to new risings, was troubled by the mutual bickering of certain nobles and seemed almost to look towards rebellion. When the king found this out, he hastened there with an army, and was scarce two days away when the terrified Welsh swiftly stole away to their forests and marshes, no doubt despairing that they could resist the royal forces. But this flight was not the salvation of them all, since some were captured there and suffered their deserved comeuppance.[4]

Covert forms of narration are marked by an absence of a narrating ego; rather, an effaced and impersonal narrator tells the narrative. Vergil thus constructs a narrative that adheres to the generic conventions of chronicles, in which the narrative was objective (rather than subjective), observed (rather than engaged in), and formulaic (rather than free). Chronicles and chronicle writing were considered in the medieval

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[4] 'Interea ut)pes nulla requietis e))et, Vallia quæ)emper ad novos motus intenta erat, mutuis quorundam nobilium di)sidijs exagitata, ad defection%propemodum)pectare uidebatur. Quod ubi rex cognouit, eo celeriter cum exercitu profici)citur, qui uix aberat bidui, cum Valli perterriti)e)e raptim in)yluas atq[ue] paludes abdiderunt, copijs regijs po))e)e re)i)tere, non dubitanter de)perantes: n' omnibus tamen fuga)aluti fuit, quippe aliquot in ea capti merita poena afficiuntur.' Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432. See Appendix One, Passage 7a.

era to be a record of humanity's progress towards divine salvation in the light of the fall of humankind in the Garden of Eden.[5] For this reason, the chronicler's main purpose was to observe the world and to record events that were deemed important to this progress. Events of national and universal importance as well as natural and supernatural phenomena, such as the sightings of comets and devils, were considered key to understanding the world and humanity's place within it. The use of third-person narration and of imperfect or other past tenses allowed the narrators to construct distance between themselves and the material that they recorded. Walsingham, Capgrave and Holinshed, cited above, state in simple terms exactly what occurred, that French ships arrived, using covert narration and a combination of past tenses.[6] The resultant narrative is empirical and impersonal, except, as noted, when Holinshed provides historiographical comment. The moment of overt narration in Holinshed has, paradoxically, a similar effect to the relentless covertness of the other chronicles. While they imply that these are the facts, of which no contradiction is even imagined, Holinshed's narrator claims the position of judge between accounts, explicitly dismissing the competing version. Both narratorial modes, in other words, establish the authority of the narrator and the reliability of his material.

There are many instances in the narratives of the Welsh revolt in which the narrators reinforce the constructed authorial distance between themselves and their narrative. The use of impersonal constructions, both passive and active, is one device employed; Thomas Walsingham uses the impersonal passive constructions 'ut fertur' ('as it is said'), 'ut putatur' ('as it is supposed'), and 'ut creditur' ('as it is believed'). When reporting, for instance, Owain Glynd(r's use of magic against the English, we are told that: 'it is supposed that he [Owain Glynd(r] almost destroyed the king by the art of magic.'[7] Walsingham uses 'ut fertur' on two separate occasions within his narratives of the Welsh revolt, firstly when describing the miraculous events at the

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[5] The idea of salvation history will be further discussed in Chapter Two, with particular reference to links between the concepts of chronology and salvation history. For further discussion see Marjorie Reeves, 'The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore', *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion*, 36 (1980), esp. pp.269-287.

[6] Indeed Capgrave follows Walsingham's sentence structure and its word order as closely as possible in English.

[7] 'Quin potius, ut putatus, arte magica Regem pene perdidit, cum exercitu quem ducebat, per pluvias, nives, et grandines, ut creditus, arte diabolica concitatas.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.251. See Appendix One, Passage 1f.

birth of Edmund Mortimer, and secondly when describing Lady Constance Despenser's flight from imprisonment in 1405 with her eight-year-old son Richard towards Wales and the safety of Owain Glynd(r.[8]   Likewise the *Dieulacres* chronicler uses 'ut dicitur' when referring to the capture and marriage of Edmund Mortimer to Owain Glynd(r's daughter.[9] In his compact description of the Welsh revolt, John Rous uses 'ut dicitur' and 'ut asseritur' to describe how the Earl of Arundel acquired a stone of invisibility which later came into the possession of Owain Glynd(r. [10] The ostensible purpose of these disclaimers is to keep from asserting things which are doubtful or difficult to believe. While maintaining this distance they do, however, allow this material to be included. They also have the further effect of stressing the reliability of the things for which the narrating voice is prepared to vouch.

Impersonal passive and active constructions are used in the narratives of the Welsh revolt to comment on hearsay, on reports that cannot be confirmed or things of a sensitive nature. The positioning of 'ut fertur' in Walsingham's narrative of Lady Despenser's (d.1416) attempted escape reveals that it was specifically her intended destination (to Owain Glynd(r) that Walsingham was not entirely sure about. The full passage reads (I have kept the Latin sentence structure at the expense of elegance in translation):

> Lady de Spencer, the widow of Lord Thomas de Spencer who had recently been killed in Bristol, while she was fleeing, it is said, to Owain Glynd(r, with her eight year old son, was captured and was despoiled of all of her treasure; having been led to the king by the king's men, she went under the hardships of closer custody.[11]

The use of impersonal passive constructions creates a further and more defined distance between the author and his narrative than that constructed via the usual

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[8] Edmund Mortimer's birth: *Historia Anglicana*, p.254; Lady de Spenser: *Historia Anglicana*, p.268.

[9] ' Eodem anno in die sancti Albani in loco qui dicitur Pilale Wallici fraude circumvenerunt Anglicos interficientes ex eis mille quingentos captoque Edmundo le Mortimere a sua familia, ut dictitur, decepto et cum Owyno converso eius filiam desponsavit et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit.' *Dieulacres Chronicle,* pp.176-177. See Appendix One, Passage 4g.

[10] 'Dictum erat tunc commune quod lapidem habuit eum reddentem invi)ibilem, qui lapis, ut dicitur, quondam erat Ricardi comitis Arundeliiæ per regem Ricardum crudeliter decapitati.   Comes Arundelliæ prædictus, ut a))eritur, habuit corvum de majori corum genere autonomatice a Ravyn.' John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, p.206. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

[11] 'Domina de Spencer, relicta Domini Thomæ de Spencer nuper occisi Bristolliae, dum fugit, ut fertur, ad Howenum Glendor, cum filio octenni, capta est, et cunctis thesauris spoliata; perque regios ad Regem reducta, custodiæ artioris subiit nocumenta.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.268. See Appendix One, Passage 1k.

covert mode of narration. Here an outside narrator is created who functions simultaneously as the source of the information and vouches for its authenticity. In each case the external narrator remains unidentified; Walsingham for instance, does not tell the reader who 'supposed' or who 'said'. As a narrative strategy this allowed Thomas Walsingham to distance himself from controversial material; what Thomas Walsingham does not mention is that when Lady de Spencer, who was the daughter of the Duke of York, escaped from the castle she took with her the Earl of March, Edmund Mortimer (d. 1425), who was a contender to the throne. John Capgrave, who used Walsingham as a source, provides a very different account of the events; he says that,

> Certeyn men let make keyis of many dores in $e castel of Wyndesore, $ere entred $ei be nyte, and took $e eyres of March, and led them owte. Summe sey her purpose was to lede hem into Wales, and $at be $e power of Glendor, thei myte rejoyse $e crowne as $e rite eyeres of Ynglond. But $ei were pursewed, and summe were slayn, and summe fled; $e smyth $at mad $e keyes lost his hed.[12]

Both Walsingham and Capgrave's narratives contain controversial material, and both use an impersonal construction, although Capgrave's has shifted to active (Summe sey) from Walsingham's passive (it is said). It would appear then that content drives the use of this construction; for Walsingham the device provides much-needed distance from an incomplete and controversial narrative in which he has avoided having to state that there currently existed an alternative to the throne of England other than the Lancastrian line. For Capgrave, the use of the impersonal construction allows him to report that the unnamed men who took the Earl of March might have been going to Wales. He can thus distance himself from having explicitly to connect the Earl of March to the Welsh revolt. Furthermore, there is a notable absence of Lady de Spencer in Capgrave's narrative, which was completed around 1462 and dedicated to the newly crowned Edward IV.[13] Given that Lady de Spenser was Edward IV's great aunt, the transformation of the information is not surprising. Deference to an external narrator allows for sensitive information to be included in the historical narrative, while preserving the integrity of the chronicler.

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[12] John Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.227.
[13] Sarah L. Peverley**,** 'Capgrave, John', *Encyclopaedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Graeme Dunphy, general ed., Brill, Leiden, 2010, pp.245-246.

Integrated throughout the chronicle narratives are the voices of other external narrators. The impersonal construction in Capgrave's narrative, for instance, is a remnant of Thomas Walsingham's earlier narrative that has been transposed;[14] however, as noted earlier, the transposed sentences, although translated from the Latin, are not signposted but exist silently in the narrative. Walsingham is not named once in the ten narrative entries concerning the revolt from a possible fourteen taken from Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*; one has to read both chronicles in order to recognise the similarities. This was not unusual; in medieval historiography chroniclers frequently consulted, replicated and reworked existing chronicle compositions; changes could involve a slight or substantial re-orientation or interpolation of material.[15]

Several of the chronicles under examination here, written in the sixteenth century, do explicitly name their source materials within their historical narrative. For instance, Holinshed, frequently records, ')ayth Hall' and 'Tho. Wal)' and 'Harding' as well as more general references to 'as)ome write.'[16] Edward Halle too makes reference to his source material within his narratives. For instance, in his account of the French ships landing at Milford Haven, Halle adds that,

> There wer many fearce skirmishes and many proper feates of armes daily done, whiche the French croniclers more then the Englishe writers can reporte.[17]

Here Halle defers to other better placed, and yet unnamed, French chroniclers. The differences between the fifteenth-century (Walsingham and Capgrave) and the sixteenth-century chronicles (Holinshed and Halle) suggest that a shift in notions of named authorship had taken place. Impersonal passive constructions, such as 'it is said' and 'it is supposed', are not a feature of Edward Halle's narrative, nor of Holinshed's; rather Halle defers to named and unnamed chronicles writing before

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[14] Indeed, Capgrave followed Walsingham's narratives so closely that it led modern scholar Antonia Gransden to describe Capgrave's chronicle as 'a compilation almost entirely from Walsingham, [which] has no value as a source to the historian today.' Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, Vol. 2, p.390.

[15] For a further discussion, see Giles Constable, 'Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 29 (1983), pp.1-41; Neil Hathaway, '*Compilatio*: from Plagiarism to Compiling', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1989), pp.19-44; Alastair J. Minnis, 'Late-Medieval Discussions of *Compilatio* and the role of the *Compilator*', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Vol 101 (1979), pp.385-421.

[16] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4: ')ayth Hall' p.1137; 'Tho. Wal)' and 'Harding', p.1151; 'as)ome write' p.1139.

[17] Hall, *Chronicle*, p.26.

him. While the act of naming sources is indicative of changes in naming and authorship, there appears to be little impact on the modes of narration used; the uses of impersonal constructions and of naming sources both result is similar degrees of narratorial overtness. What is different between these two approaches is the kind of narratorial voice which is regarded as authoritative. While in the earlier chroniclers the narrator appears as the master of a relatively diffuse and anonymous tradition, the narrating voice of the sixteenth-century chroniclers tends to be more overtly connected to a written culture.

While the use of passive constructions and the voices of external narrators are in line with notions of a covert narrator, the use of first and second person is overt. While the primary effect of second person is to make the narratee overt; that is, it draws attention to 'us' as readers, it also emphasises the presence of the narrator who is speaking to 'us.' Terms such as we, our, you (in both singular and plural forms) occur throughout the chronicle narratives. Walsingham uses the term 'we' within his chronicle narrative, for instance:

> At that time, Edmund Mortimer died, a youth whom we mentioned previously, captured by Owain Glynd(r, either by the tedium of grim captivity or by fear of death, or from another cause which is not known.[18]

Using the statement 'whom we mentioned previously' ('quem retulimus ante'), Walsingham refers his imagined audience to an earlier narrative entry. The use of the 'inclusive we' formulates a collective group, consisting of the imagined narrator and the implied audience. The 'inclusive we' generates the impression that the history being narrated is the history of the imagined audience and the narrator together; presented as a collection of narrative voices, the use of 'we' implies a shared understanding. The imagined audience's role helped validate the information put forward; 'we together' are the sources of authenticity for the narrated material. This imagined audience shares the narrator's geographical and cultural position, and consequently can be assumed to accept the narrator's presentation of an event such as the revolt.

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[18] 'Eo tempore, Edmundus Mortymer obiit, juvenis quem retulimus ante captum ab Oweno Glendor, vel taedio dirae captivitatis, vel metu mortis, vel ex alia qua nescitur causa.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.253-254. See Appendix One, Passage 1g.

Likewise the use of the second person, particularly in the plural, has a similar effect to the uses of 'we'; Edward Halle uses 'you' on several occasions, for instance when discussing the impact of the death of the Earl of March, which for Henry IV effectively removed a rival line to the throne but 'vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.'[19] Halle ends Richard II's reign with 'he departed out this miserable life, as you shall heare herafter', and indeed in his introduction to the reign of Henry IV, Halle provides information on the ancestors of Edmund Mortimer, saying that he was the third son of Edmund duke of York, 'as you before haue heard.' It would appear then that Halle uses 'you' as a device in order to jump between chronological events. Here he uses the second person plural 'you' rather than the singular 'thou' imagining his readers as a collective. Furthermore, it assumes that the imagined audience will read the whole chronicle; such phraseology encourages this and is another example of inclusivity in which the audience is complicit in the construction of the narrative, and follows the narrator.

While the use of first person singular 'I' does occur in the chronicle tradition, it is not commonplace; in the chronicle of Polydore Vergil, the *Historia Vitae* and the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, for instance, first person singular narration is not used in the narratives of the reign of Henry IV. John Hardyng, in contrast, uses the expressions 'I vndyrstonde' on many occasions, for instance he tells us:

> The erle Henry than, of Northumbyrlonde,
>
> His prisoners vnto the kyng so brought,
>
> Of whiche the erle of Fyfe, I vndyrstonde,
>
> Was chief of thaym as euery man than thought.[20]

He also uses 'I say' on multiple occasions as well as 'I wene', 'I fele', 'I se'.[21] Hardyng's use of such constructions can be considered an instance of narratorial overtness. While Hardyng is obliged by his chosen form to construct metre and rhymes, and certainly 'I se' and 'I vndyrstonde' were useful as rhyme-endings in

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[19] Hall, *Chronicle*, p.23. It should be noted that Halle has conflated the two Edmund Mortimers. This will be further discussed in Chapter Four, Section II.

[20] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol. 205r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.307.

[21] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204: 'I say' (fol, 207v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.312); 'I wene' (fol. 205v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.308.); 'I fele' (fol. 206r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.208; 'I se' (fol. 204f; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.305).

fifteenth-century English,[22] this fact need not rob these phrases of all significance as it would have been relatively easy to find another rhyme. Moreover, Hardyng refers to himself much more commonly in his narratives of the reign of Henry IV in the first version of his chronicle than his second.[23] It appears to have been Hardyng's intention that the second version be presented to Edward IV, although it was still being revised when Hardyng died *c*. 1464-1465.[24] The second version was much more favourable to York, whereas the first version favoured Lancaster. It is possible then that the narrator sought to dissociate himself from the old Lancastrian regime in his new Yorkist narrative, and thereby limits reference to himself.

First-person narration is a well-used narrative strategy in the chronicle of Adam Usk, who composed his text in four different narrative sections between 1401 and 1421. References to 'I' are scattered throughout the chronicle and occur between his uses of the covert, third person style of narration. For instance, Adam records,

> I knew a monk from the Charterhouse near London who, despite voluntarily abstaining from all kinds of sustenance for an entire fortnight, was perfectly fit and strong. Whereupon the prior of the house, for which I acted as counsel, consulted me as to whether, should he die as a result of this, he would be entitled to the benefit of a church burial.[25]

This passage reveals the overt presence of the narrator and the notable lack of distance constructed between the narrator and the event narrated. It is clear that a personal experience of Adam has made its way into the historical narrative, and this is one of many in Adam's chronicle. Adam makes no attempt to hide his inclusion of personal events, but rather he explains,

> Be tolerant, reader, of the sequence of years in which I have narrated events up to this point, for I have simply set down from memory what I saw and what I heard,

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[22] For instance, Hardyng rhymes 'I vndyrstonde' with 'honde' (hand) and with 'londe' (land); Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.510 and Hardyng Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 159r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.511.

[23] In the first version 'I' is used sixteen times in the narratives of the reign of Henry IV (Lansdowne fols 203r to 209v). In the second version (Arch. Selden B. 10, fols 155r-162v) 'I' is used 6 times. In the second version only the phrase 'I vnderstonde' is used.

[24] Hardyng addresses Edward IV and his queen in the epilogue of the second version, although it is unclear whether or not the chronicle ever reached the king. For a detailed analysis see Sarah L. Peverley, 'Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's Chronicle', in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002*, ed. by Erik Kooper, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2004, pp.149-70.

[25] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.127.

> with more thought for the truth of what happened than for the order in which it
> happened.[26]

In this extract, which includes a direct invocation to the reader, Adam apologises that some of his narrative is chronologically out of place, but excuses this apparent lapse on the grounds that he himself can vouch for the 'truth of what happened.'

As a whole, the narrative voice of Adam Usk's chronicle is extremely complex. At times he employs the normal covert modes of narration, although these occur between moments of overt narration in which the narrative is focalised through Adam. Rather than recording larger national or world events, considered to be the fundamental role of the chronicler, Adam records events that occurred around him. For instance, when he records the capture of Edmund Mortimer by Owain Glynd(r in 1402 we are told that:

> It grieves me to relate that this Edmund, my lord, by whose father, the lord of Usk I
> was supported at the schools was by the fortunes of war taken captive.[27]

This event is narrated from Adam's personal perspective. Indeed, Adam's narrative objectivity has completely collapsed and Adam Usk becomes the central character in his chronicle history. The revolt narrative becomes, in part at least, concerned with the ways in which events have impinged on the lives of Adam and those he knows.

Frequently Adam's thoughts and feelings about a particular event are provided. For instance, the narrator relates his own thoughts concerning a visit from the Byzantine Emperor who was requesting aid against the 'Saracens',

> I thought to myself how sad it was that this great Christian leader from the remote
> east had been driven by the power of the infidels to visit distant islands in the west in
> order to seek help against them.[28]

Here, the level of intervention into the historical narrative is high, and we are provided with a personal commentary on events unfolding. There are several examples of internal focalisation in Adam's chronicle, in which events are narrated through internal monologue. For instance, the Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, who was exiled in Scotland, offers Adam a promotion:

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[26] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.18.
[27] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.159-161
[28] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.121.

> He promised me promotion to high office if I went with him. But God visited my
> heart, and I thought, 'Adam you are in a labyrinth. Put your trust in God'.[29]

Here, Adam quotes his own inner thoughts as he would the speech of another.
Furthermore, Adam records the contents of four dreams, two of which concern the
death of the pope Boniface IX in 1404.[30] In another dream, Adam predicts the death
of Archbishop Arundel:

> I had a vision of his death … whereupon, awakening, I realised that we would
> henceforth be parted from one another, and with sadness in my heart, I said a mass
> for his soul. I was later informed of his death.[31]

This particular dream concerns a very personal event, as Archbishop Arundel was
Adam's patron. The last dream likewise deals with materials that were important to
Adam; in 1401, at a time when Owain Glynd(r was causing considerable concern
for the English government, a series of decrees were suggested that were anti-Welsh
in nature, and included limiting Welsh residency in England. These were, naturally,
a source of anxiety to the Welsh-born Adam, who explains,

> As God is my witness, the previous night I was roused from my sleep by a voice
> ringing in my ears saying 'The plowers plowed upon my back' etc., 'The righteous
> lord' etc., as in the psalm, 'Oft did they vex me'. As a result of which I awoke with
> a sense of foreboding that some disaster might occur that day, and in my fear I
> committed myself to the protection of the Holy Spirit.[32]

Such is the degree of overt narration that insight is provided into Adam's
unconsciousness. The narrative becomes more a record of personal salvation than
the larger picture of human salvation. It is centred upon himself, his actions and his
salvation. The fact that Adam dreams about important events makes a claim for
Adam's own centrality and importance. The revolt is represented as an event which
affects the narrator personally.

The importance of Adam's internal focus within medieval concepts of historiography
cannot be stressed enough; it is extremely unusual for the internal thoughts of an
individual to be recorded in chronicle history. Adam's self-consciousness is overtly
displayed within a generic format in which narratorial effacement and selflessness

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[29] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.215.
[30] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.181. For discussion of medieval dream interpretation, see Given-Wilson,
'Introduction', *The Chronicle of Adam Usk*, pp.lxxi-lxxiv.
[31] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.249.
[32] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.127.

were cultivated; yet Adam frequently uses first person singular, referring to himself as 'I', and distinguishes between himself and his audience. It would appear that Adam Usk was very consciously setting out not to write a traditional chronicle in the expected narrative voice; if this is the case, then the question remains, what sorts of genres he might have been imitating. Chris Given-Wilson has remarked that Adam's writing was 'close to a diary, and like a diary it records the author's hopes and fears as well as the events which he found noteworthy.'[33] While this is a useful comparison with modern day ideas of autobiography, diaries do not seem to have been a genre that existed in the fifteenth century. Narratives written primarily in the first-person are, interestingly enough, not so easy a mode to find in the fifteenth century in England; Adam was writing in an era in which there was a general absence of the sorts of writing, like letters and memoirs, that document intimate insights into the private lives and thought of individuals.[34] While letters and wills (documents with which Adam, as a lawyer, would have come into frequent contact) do use the first person a great deal, they do not often tell of the writer's inner thoughts. It is possible, for instance, that Adam might have looked to romance and epic as a generic guide. Given Adam's construction of a narrative that focused on his personal quest for salvation and musings on his loss of position and exile, it is possible that he turned to antique sources such as Augustine's *Confessions* and Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*.[35]

The impersonal, hidden narrator, which is most characteristic in the chronicle form, presents the facts with an implicit authority. When chronicle narrators become overt, it is in general to establish this same authority by a different means, that is, by demonstrating the narrator's insight and authority in selecting between the different versions. Adam Usk's narratorial presence is unusual, in that here we find a narrator

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[33] Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Date and Structure of the *Chronicle* of Adam Usk', *Welsh History Review,* 17:4 (1995), p.527.

[34] For a further discussion see, Nancy Partner, 'The Hidden Self: Psychoanalysis and the Textual Unconscious', in *Writing Medieval History*, Nancy Partner, ed., Hodder Arnold, London, 2005, pp.42-64.

[35] *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, Edward B. Pusey, trans., The Modern Library, New York, 1949; For a discussion of Augustine see Jay Rubenstein, 'Biography and Autobiography in the Middle Ages', *Writing Medieval History*, Nancy Partner, ed., Hodder Arnold, London, 2005, pp.22-41; Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, David R. Slavitt, trans., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 2008; There are several parallels between Boetheius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, which was considered to be a model for later confessio, and Adam's chronicle. See Tony Davenport, *Medieval Narrative: An Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p.43.

with personal characteristics beyond those which are required for the narrating role. Each narrative mode colours the representation of the revolt. While the covert narrators present an apparently unitary and reliable account, the overt narrators weigh up sources and present multiple possibilities while strongly guiding the reader towards a particular account. Adam Usk, in this as in much else, is unique in his explicit connection of events of the revolt to himself.

II

The Narrator as Spectator and Auditor

At once, a certain Welshman called Owain Glynd(r rose up in a great rebellion, who much disquieted the whole of England. He never dared to meet in battle the king's army, and he was often besieged in a stronghold. The castle having been captured, he could not be found. It was a common rumour at that time that he had a stone which rendered him invisible, which stone, as it is said, once belonged to Richard, Earl of Arundel, who was cruelly beheaded by King Richard. The aforesaid Earl of Arundel, so it is reported, had a crow of the greater sort of them, which are called ravens. This crow was raised in his court and when on a certain occasion he was playing chess in a certain garden, the so called crow or spirit in the form of a crow, in the presence of the earl, noisily spat out a stone which had the virtue of invisibility. The earl did not use it, contrary to the advice of his nobles, and soon after the said earl was forcibly arrested, sent off to prison and finally decapitated.[36]

In his *Historia Regum Angliae* written between 1480 and 1486, John Rous provides a complex account of the Welsh revolt; Rous's narrative weaves between two striking images that revolve around Owain Glynd(r's escapes from numerous castles of

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[36] 'Statim)urrexit magna rebellione quidam Wallicus dictus Owen de Glendour, qui totam Angliam multum inquietavit. Regio exercitui nunquam obviare au)us in certis ca)tris erat)æpius ob)e))us, ca)tris ip)is captis inveniri non potuit. Dictum erat tunc commune quod lapidem habuit eum reddentem invi)ibilem, qui lapis, ut dicitur, quondam erat Ricardi comitis Arundeliiæ per regem Ricardum crudeliter decapitati. Comes Arundelliæ prædictus, ut a))eritur, habuit corvum de majori corum genere autonomatice a Ravyn. Qui corvus erat nutritus in curia)ua, & dum quadam vice luderet ad)caccarium in quodam orto, dictus corvus vel)piritus in)pecie corvina coram comite lapidem eructavit invi)ibilitatis habentem virtutem. Comes lapidem non appreciavit contra con)ilium nobilium)uorum, & cito po)t dictus comes manu potenti are)tatus ad carceres deputatus finaliter decapitatus e)t.' John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

Wales during his revolt of 1400 to *c*.1415, and of Arundel (d.1397) playing chess in a garden. It is a visual feast that includes images of a range of unnamed castles, a disappearing rebel, a crow, a stone, a garden and a man playing chess. The imagery is constructed via aural means too, with references to the crow noisily spitting the stone from its mouth. Moreover the sound of the crow is also conveyed by alliterations of 'c' in the phrase 'corvina coram comite lapidem eructavit'. These two interwoven images are presented in the narrative as if they had been seen by the narrator. This section is an analysis of the devices used to position the narrators as witnesses to the events that they are relating. In particular, I would like to focus on the importance of visuality and aurality in the narratives of the Welsh revolt. These qualities offer insights into the rhetorical presentation of the revolt narratives.

Visuality was an important element within the chronicle narratives. For instance, the birth of Edmund Mortimer (d. 1409) described by *An English Chronicle* provides intricate and personal details with a series of domestic settings:

> In the birthe off this Edmunde fell mony wondur [to]kenes, for oute off the flore off his fadurs stable welled [b]loode so high $at yt couered the hors feete, & all the she[t]hes off swerdes and daggares in the house were full off [b]loode, and all the axez were reede off bloode. And when [t]he seide Edmunde lay in his cradell, he myghte not slepe [n]e sese off crynge till he sawe a sworde or sum instrumente [of]f batayll. And when he sate in his nurse lappe he wolde [n]ot be still till he hadd sum instrumente off warre to play [w]ith.[37]

Rich and detailed imagery was one narrative strategy by which the narrators formulated their authoritative telling of the events, which they then construct themselves as witnessing. Here the covert narrator provides an image of a horse stable, the interior of a house, and finally two very personal images of Edmund in his cradle and sitting on his nurse's lap. These images are carefully constructed and are rich with symbolism that draws upon popular visual motifs; Mortimer seated on his nurse's lap can be likened to the image of the seated Virgin and child, which was arguably one of the most recognisable images in Western Europe.[38] However, this image, while still one of nurturing, has been reversed by the child's desire for

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[37] *An English Chronicle*, p.32.
[38] See for instance, Cynthia Hahn, 'Visio Dei: Changes in Medieval Visuality', *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, Robert S. Nelson, ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp.169-196.

weapons, foretelling a life of violence and war. In Rous's extract too the wealth of imagery is such as to encourage a belief in the narrator's presence. However, within his paragraph, which is the entirety of Rous's discussion of the Welsh revolt, the revolt itself is a sideline event; central to this image is a discussion of the nature of rebellions. Arundel, for instance, shows his understanding of what rebellion entails by playing chess, the objective of which is to catch the opposing king. It would appear that in Rous's chronicle that the chess game replaces a more elaborate revolt narrative. Moreover, the characteristics of Arundel and Owain Glynd(r are juxtaposed via the main protagonist's use of or rejection of the magical stone.[39]

Both of these examples utilise visual means in order to discuss the Welsh revolt and in both the narrative is focalised through the eyes of the imagined narrator. And yet, we can be fairly sure that the chroniclers did not personally witness many of the events. For instance, Thomas Walsingham describes the aftermath of the Battle of Bryn Glas, fought between the armies of Owain Glynd(r and Edmund Mortimer in 1402, through the eyes of an eyewitness narrator. Walsingham records,

> When more than a thousand men had been killed from our countries, this crime had been perpetrated; unheard of in all the ages, for the women of the Welsh, after the conflict, cut off the genitalia of the slain. They placed the genitals, in the mouths of some slain one. And they made the testicles hang down from the chin, and they pressed the noses into the bottoms of the same men; and they did not allow the bodies of the slain to be given their last rites without a great price.[40]

The narrative relates with horror the events that unfold on the battlefield, using emotive words that construct a notion of the chronicler's personal presence at the event. Yet we can be quite certain that Thomas Walsingham was nowhere near the battlefield. Walsingham was a monk at the Abbey of St Albans in Hertfordshire, and other than a short absence at a priory near Norwich, he appears not to have made any significant travels away from the abbey.[41] Likewise, it is not possible for Rous to

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[39] See Chapter Four.

[40] 'Occisis de nostratibus amplius quam mille viris: ubi perpetratum est facinus sæculis inauditum, nam fœminae Wallencium, post conflictum, genitalia peremptorum absciderunt, et membrum pudendum in ore cujuslibet mortui posuerunt, testiculosque a mento dependere fecerunt ; nasosque praecisos in culis presserunt eorundem ; nec patiebantur corpora peremptorum sine grandi petio supremis exequiis commendari.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.250. See Appendix One, Passage 1e.

[41] Thomas Walsingham attended Oxford University, finishing around the year 1376. After University, Thomas devoted himself to the scriptorium at St Albans. He served at Wymondham, a priory of St Albans near Norwich from 1394 to 1400, which is recorded in the *Gesta Abbatum*, an account of the

have witnessed either Arundel (who died in 1397) playing chess or for that matter the Welsh revolt; he was born near Warwick sometime between the year 1411 and 1420.[42] It would be highly unlikely too that the unknown writer of *An English Chronicle*, a composition written around 1460, would have witnessed the birth of Mortimer nearly eighty years previously.[43] Despite the distance between composition and the event described, the narrator's presence at the event is constructed in the narrative. The vividness of the resulting image is in itself convincing for a reader.

One narrative strategy used by the chroniclers in order to construct the centrality of their narrative voices and to provide authenticity to the materials was via the use of internal viewers and internal speakers. We even have several examples in which a viewing subject speaks directly in the narrative. For instance *An English Chronicle*, using the earlier *Continuatio Eulogii* as a source, provides an image of the Earl of Kent, who was currently rebelling against Henry IV, looking out of a window,

> And on of the archebishoppez men rode be Kyngeston, and the Erle off Kente, $at wasse Duke of Excestre, wasse their and loked oute ate a wyndowe, and sawe hym and commaunded his men forto brynge hym vnto hym. And when he wasse commyn, he seide, 'Where ys thi maister?' Ans he seide 'in the castel of Reigate'
> …[44]

In this image, provided by a covert narrator, we have described in the very words and through the eyes of the Earl of Kent events he considered important, which indeed they were as they signified the end of his rebellion and his imminent death.

There are numerous examples of viewing subjects in the chronicle narratives of the reign of Henry IV. For instance, in Halle's chronicle, Henry IV is reported to have seen the French army who had landed in southern England on their way to help Owain Glynd(r,

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history of the Abbey, in the production of which Thomas himself was involved. See James G. Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St Albans', *Speculum*, 77, 3 (2002), pp.836-838. *The Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, Vol. 3, p.436.

[42] Antonia Gransden suggests that the date of Rous's birth was 1411. However, Nicholas Orme suggests Rous's birth to be closer to 1420 based on his commencement of his degree at Oxford in the year 1437.

[43] Edmund Mortimer was born at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire in 1376.

[44] *An English Chronicle*, p.27. It should be noted that *An English Chronicle* is incorrect here; the Earl of Kent was not the earl of Exeter; John Holland, who rebelled alongside Kent, was the Earl of Huntingdon and of Exeter.

> the kyng seyng them [the French army] departed, followed th%into Wales, and chasing them from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes…[45]

The viewing subject watches and observes the historical events unfolding and what was seen by the viewing subject is important for the narrative, marking particular events as literally 'worth looking at.' For instance, Adam Usk provides an account of the siege of Conwy Castle in 1401 in which the leaders William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor refuse to surrender, and as a result the captured Welsh prisoners are executed by the English. According to Adam, the Tudor brothers,

> promptly stood and watched while these nine, still bound, were handed over to the prince, and firstly drawn, and then disembowelled, hanged, beheaded and quartered.[46]

For Adam the treachery lies in the Tudor brothers' viewing of the event and in their lack of action. While the narrative is not focalised through the eyes of the viewer, the narrator provides a detailed account of what this character sees; events are quite literally placed within the eyes of a chosen individual. For instance, Adam Usk records of the accession of Henry IV that,

> Henry, seeing the Kingdom of England to be vacant, by lawful right of succession by descent from the body of king Henry the Third, did claim and take upon himself the crown by his right.[47]

As Paul Strohm has discussed, the notion that the throne was empty after the deposition of Richard II was prominent in Lancastrian narratives.[48] Here it is constructed through Henry's eyes. The modes of narration used are significant; while in the example of the Tudor brothers, Adam uses a covert narratorial stance combined with the past tense, in the image of the empty throne, the present participle 'seeing' is used to describe the act of viewing, followed by the past tense to discuss the significance of what is viewed. Emphasis is thus placed on the act of viewing.

There are many examples of internal speakers in the narratives of the reign of Henry IV. The *Historia Vitae* contains several examples of direct speech, including an address by the English king to the lords and commons after he is nearly killed by a falling weapon (perhaps a lance). We are told,

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[45] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[46] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.129.
[47] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.69-71.
[48] Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation 1399-1422*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998.

> For when that thing [the weapon] was shown publicly to many people, the king said: 'Behold, my lords and companions, how much I am defended by my God. For my God does not wish, that I should die by such a death.' So by command of the king, the craftsman was sought, who had made this thing.[49]

Here the protagonist supposedly speaks and the narrator merely records what is said. As a narrative device, direct speech allowed the narrator to put words into the mouths of historical figures, whilst maintaining covert narration. One of the purposes of direct speech was to render the events vivid and to present them to the imagined reader as if they had occurred within direct sight and hearing of the narrator. The use of first person too reinforces the veracity of what is said, thus creating an appearance of verisimilitude. For instance, Halle records a conversation between John Holland, the Earl of Huntingdon and Exeter (d.1400) and his wife Elizabeth of Lancaster (d.1426), the sister of Henry IV, in which he outlines the reasons for his rebellion against her brother, which occurred in January 1400. He states,

> The duke of Exeter came to his house & raised men on euery side and prepared horse and harneis … When the Duches his wife which was sister to kyng Henry perceiued this … she wept & made great lamentacion. When the duke perceued her dolour, he said, what Besse, how chaunseth this, when my brother king Richard was deposed of his dignitie, and commotted to harde and sharpe prison … wherefore I pray you be contente that I may aswell reioyce and haue pleasure at the deliueryng and restoryng of my brother iustly to his dignite …[50]

The covert narrator defers to a narrating character who is better placed to comment on such things. Here the narrating character can provide specific and unmediated information within the format of an intimate conversation between a husband and wife; Huntingdon addresses her as 'Besse'. The narrative is focalised through the eyes of the narrating character; the unfolding historical events are frequently

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[49] The whole passage reads: 'A certain horrible iron instrument was unexpectedly found, the length of half a branch, newly made, the instrument standing straight, with a round foot, and with three long spikes attached in order that the king be killed, when he hurried into bed. But, by the glory of God, he escaped unharmed. For when that thing was shown publicly to many people, the king said: "Behold, my lords and companions, how much I am defended by my God. For my God does not wish, that I should die by such a death." So by command of the king, the craftsman was sought, who had made this thing.' (Inopinate inuentum est quoddam horribile instrumentum ferreum ad longitudinem dimidie uirge, nouiter fabricatum, stans directe instrumentum, pede rotundo et tribus longis illimatisque aculeis, cum quo rex occideretur, cum ad lectum properaret. Sed, per Dei graciam, illesus euasit. Nam cum illud incontinenti coram multis osetenderetur, ait rex: "Ecce! Domini et socii mei, quantum teneor Deo meo. Non enim uult Deus meus, ut tali morte occumbar." Iussu igitur regis, inquiritur faber qui hoc fecit.) *Historia Vitae*, p.171. See Appendix One, Passage 3e.

[50] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.17.

accompanied by expressions of emotion; for instance, in Fabyan's *New Chronicles*, Piers of Exton, one of several men involved in the murder of Richard II at Pontefract Castle, expresses remorse:

> Lamentably he sayd, 'Alas! What haue we done, we haue now put to deth hym that hath bene ouer soueraygne and drad lorde by the space of. xxii. yeres, by reason whereof I shall be reprochyd of all honoure whereso I after this daye become, and all men shall redounde this dede to my dyshonour and shame.'[51]

Reports of direct speech of this sort render the chronicle narrative more vivid and hence more persuasive.

Significantly, Owain Glynd(r speaks only once in all the narratives of the revolt examined here, and this occurs in the *Continuatio Eulogii* under the year 1403,

> Owain captured the town (of Cardiff), and he burnt it except for one area in which the Minorite Frairs were living, which he allowed to stand along with their monastery out of love of the brothers. Moreover, he took the castle and destroyed it and took away a great deal of wealth that was deposited there. And when the Minorite Friars asked him for their books and chalices which they had deposited in the castle, he responded: 'why have you placed your belongings in the castle? If you had retained them with you they would have been safe with you.' [52]

Owain Glynd(r's is the only Welsh voice heard in the narratives of the revolt, although there is no reference to the language in which this conversation took place. The purpose of Owain Glynd(r's speech appears to be to express his admiration of the Minorite Friars, of which in all likelihood the writer of the *Continuatio Eulogii* was himself a member. Owain Glynd(r himself is represented in a sympathetic manner, and he only implicitly reproaches the Minorite Friars for not trusting that he would preserve their belongings. Furthermore, the rebellion is depicted as a series of controlled events, rather than random and chaotic, as is frequently the case in other sources. Although *An English Chronicle* used the *Continuatio Eulogii* as a source, significantly Owain Glynd(r's speech is not included.

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[51] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, p.568.

[52] 'Audoenus villam [Cardiff] cepit, et incendit præter unum vicum in quo Fratres Minores habitabant, quem amore fratrum cum conventu stare permisit. Cepit insuper castrum et destruxit, multasque divitias ibi repositas abstulit. Et cum Fratres Minores peterent ab eo libros suos et calices quos in castro deposuerant, respondit: "Quare posuistis bona vestra in castro? Si ea retinuissetis apud vos salva vobis fuissent."' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.401. See Appendix One, Passage 2i.

While Welsh voices are absent from Edward Halle's chronicle he apparently considered them amongst his imagined audience; Halle addresses the Welsh people directly,

> O ye waueryng Welshmen, call you these prophesies? Nay call theim vnprofitable practises. Name you them diuinacions? Nay name them diabolicall deuises, say you they be prognosticacions? Nay they be pestiferous publishinges. For by declaring & credite geuing to their subtil & obscure meanings, princes haue been deceiued, many a noble manne hath suffred, and many an honest man hath been begyled & destroyed.[53]

The notion of Halle's narrative voices speaking directly to the 'Welshmen' in the second person is truly fascinating. While this address seeks to educate the Welsh in the error of their ways, it is puzzling to whom exactly Halle was aiming this barrage, the 'Welshmen' of history or his current day. In addition to the Welsh as the primary imagined audience, a second and perhaps more important audience are non-Welsh readers of the chronicle, whose impressions of Welsh ignorance could be reinforced by such a barrage.

There are multiple levels of viewing and speaking in the chronicle narratives. The viewing and speaking subjects are themselves viewed and heard by a narrator who is omniscient. At a metaliterary level, the omniscient narrator is able to comment upon the narrative and methods of composition. For instance, Thomas Walsingham's account of the atrocities of the Welsh women on the battlefield, cited above, was a source of discomfort for the chroniclers writing after Walsingham who used his narrative. Holinshed opted not to recount the incident and instead records,

> The)hameful villanie v)ed by the Welchwomen towardes the dead carca)es, was)uche, as hone)t eares woulde be a)hamed to heare, and therefore we omitte to)peake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great)ummes of money giuen for libertie to conuey them away.[54]

It is an overt display of the narrator's power and authority over the narrative. While Walsingham frames his narrative with 'unheard of in the ages', Holinshed leaves it unheard altogether and the offending image is hidden. There are several examples in which the chroniclers construct themselves as having the power to look forward and backwards from a particular point in the narrative; the image of Edmund Mortimer's

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[53] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.28.
[54] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1134.

birth, for instance, was a dramatic spectacle, the purpose of which was to foreshadow events that were to follow in the narrative, namely, his rebellion against king Henry. In many instances, the omniscient narrator speaks directly to external hearers and viewers, us the audience. As discussed, Edward Halle frequently uses phrases that imply the omniscience of the narrator, including phrases looking forward to events in the narrative 'as you shall heare' and 'as you shall perceiue', and look backward, 'as you before haue heard' and 'as you haue heard', as well as some phrases that are set within a present timeframe, such as 'as you heare' and 'as you may well perceiue.'[55] The use of all of these phrases gives the impression of the narrator's omniscience concerning both the historical events and their arrangement and interpretation.

Direct speech was one narrative strategy used by the chroniclers in order to convey veracity to the images that they presented.[56] Once again then, the primary purpose of these narrative techniques is the establishment of authority and persuasion. For instance, direct speech is frequently used to recount treason trials. In *An English Chronicle*, direct speech dominates the record of the 1402 to 1403 trials of Franciscan monks (Minorite friars). The narrator of *An English Chronicle* records the trial as a series of conversations; a judge at Westminster, in summing up the case against the monks, accuses them of reporting that King Richard was alive and living in Scotland, and further accuses the monks in these words:

> also, ye with your flaterynge and ypocrise haue gedred a grete sum off money with beggynge and sende yt to Owen Glyndore, a traytour, $at he shulde comme and destroye Engelonde.[57]

The chronicler uses direct speech when the judge is handing out the Minorites' judgement:

> Then the iustices gaue iugemente and seide, 'Ye shall be drawn ffrom the Tour of London vnto Tiburne, and their ye shall be honged, and honge an hoole day and afterwarde be taken dovn and your hedes be smyton off and sette on London Bri[gge].' And so yt was don.[58]

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[55] For instance, Halle uses 'as you shall heare' p.13; 'as you before haue heard' (p13, p.27); 'as you heare' (p.23); 'as you haue heard' p.24; 'as you may well perceiue' p.27; 'as you shall perceiue' p.27, Halle's *Chronicle*.

[56] It should be noted however, that direct speech is not used consistently in the English chronicle tradition. For instance, John Rous and Polydore Vergil do not use it at all in their accounts of the reign of Henry IV and most of the chronicles have only a few examples.

[57] *An English Chronicle*, p.31.

[58] *An English Chronicle*, pp.31-32.

Likewise, direct speech is prominent in the narration of Henry IV's accusation of treason against Henry 'Hotspur' Percy. This is recorded in the form of a conversation and ends with the dramatic drawing of daggers.[59] The setting in which this conversation takes place is not disclosed, and we are not told whether it is in a formal court setting. This conversation occurs immediately after the conclusion of the Minorite trials and is thus linked; the previous uses of direct speech in the trial situations are a frame by which to understand the conversation. Historical evidence provided word for word appears irrefutable, authoritative and true. The use of direct speech allows for the careful reconstruction of the event, but also is a source of authority for the narrative. The information is presented here in such a way as to encourage a belief that it was not debatable and was undeniably true because it is quoted word for word from the individual who said it.

Direct speech was used by the chroniclers as a source of historical verisimilitude for a variety of reasons. Sometimes the information that was being reported was contested and therefore required extra justification that the device of direct speech could provide. The above example from Fabyan's chronicle of Piers of Exton's speech after the murder of Richard II is one good example. The deposition and death of Richard remained contentious throughout the period examined in this thesis. Fabyan uses direct speech three times within his narrative of the reign of Henry IV[60] and in each instance the words quoted deal with controversial materials surrounding the deposition and death of Richard II, as well as the death of Henry IV. Fabyan's ability to defer authority to Piers of Exton is important given that the circumstances regarding the death of Richard were contentious. Richard probably starved to death but this was never formally admitted.[61] Halle too points the finger at Piers of Exton; in Halle's narrative Richard is killed after he attacks a group of men, including Piers, whilst they were serving him a meal. Halle quotes directly from Piers of Exton, who

> sobbed, wept, and rent his heare crying, oh Lord, what haue we done, we haue
> murthered hym whom by the space of. xxii. Yeres we haue obeyed as king and

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[59] *An English Chronicle*, p.33.

[60] The first use of direct speech occurs at Henry's first parliament in London, held directly following his coronation in 1399; here a number of petitions and bills are deliberated which decide what to do with past supporters of Richard II. Fabyan, *New Chronicles,* p.566. The second use of direct speech occurs when Sir William Bagot accuses a yeoman in Newgate named Hall to which Lord Fitzwalter responds on the behalf of the accused: Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, p.566.

[61] See Nigel Saul, *Richard II*, Yale University Press. New Haven, 1997, pp.424-429.

> honoured as our soueraigne lord, now all noble men will abhore vs, all honest
> persons will disdaine vs, and all pore people will rayle and crie out vpon vs, so that
> during our naturall liues, we shall be pointed with the finger …[62]

After having heard from one of the people responsible for the death of Richard, all other theories can justifiably be sidelined. Previous to this Halle had spent considerable time outlining why Richard had not starved to death; he then states immediately after Piers has finished speaking:

> Thus have I declared to you the diuersities of opinions concerning the deathe of this
> infortunate prince, remittying to your iudgement whiche you thinke most trewe, but
> the very trouthe is that he died of a violent death, and not by the darte of naturalle
> infirmitie.[63]

Halle was a trained lawyer, and here his skills are on display; evidence from Piers of Exton himself forms part of Halle's summing up of the argument. Once again this kind of vividness in the narrative aims to persuade its readers by means other than simply bald statement of fact or reasoned argument.

In many instances direct speech was used in a chronicle narrative because it appeared in the earlier materials used as sources for the reign of Henry IV. For instance, *An English Chronicle*, written sometime around 1460 relied heavily on the *Continuatio Eulogii*, written sometime before 1428. *An English Chronicle* retains the exact order of the uses of direct speech from the *Continuatio Eulogii* up until 1403.[64] In both of these chronicles we hear directly from a range of individuals; for example, King Henry himself takes part in six different conversations over the course of his reign, with multiple speeches in each one.[65] We also hear from a 'comyn women in London', the Earl of Kent, one of the archbishop of Canterbury's men, a selection of Minorite friars, an unidentified knight who offers the king counsel on the matter of the Friars, judges in the case of the Minorite friars, the Earl of Northumberland,

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[62] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.20

[63] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.20.

[64] In 1403, *An English Chronicle* stops using direct speech whereas the *Continuatio Eulogii* continues on. The *Continuatio Eulogii* has a further ten uses of direct speech that are not included in *An English Chronicle*. Two Minorite friars of Leicester, p.394; Duke of Orleans p.395; Discussion in Parliament p.399; Owain Glynd(r, p.401; Family of the Duke of Orleans, p.410; Duke of Burgundy, p.410; King, p.411; Abbott of Hayles reports the death of Northumberland and Bardolf, p.411; the visiting Archbishop of Bordeaux calls a council, p.413; numerous speeches between the Pope and a council pp.413-417; Thomas Badby, accused of heresy, p.417.

[65] In *An English Chronicle* direct speech is used by Henry IV on p.27, p.30 (there are two separate conversations, the second of which lasts until p.31), p.32, p.33 and p.37.

Hotspur, the archbishop of York, and the archbishop of Canterbury.[66]   The list is impressive and presumably meant to be so. For instance, a comparison of the first part of a conversation between a 'common woman of London' and 'a man of the kings' house in the *Continuatio Eulogii* and *An English Chronicle* is illustrative of the importance of this device. The *Continuatio Eulogii* begins,

> Meanwhile, a certain man of the household of the king was lying one night with a prostitute in London, who said to him in the morning 'farewell friend, because I will not see you anymore.' And he asked why. And she said 'the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent and Salisbury and many other soldiers are lying in wait in the area of Kingston; in order to kill the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury and all of you coming from Windsor, and to restore King Richard.'[67]

An English Chronicle cites the *Continuatio Eulogii* verbatim,

> And in the meynetyme, a mon of $e kynges house ley all nyght with a comyn woman in London, & on the morwe sho seide vnto hym, 'Farewell friend', seid sho, 'for I shall neuer se the more'. 'Whi so?' seyde he. 'Forsothe', seid sho, 'for $e Erle off Huntyngton, $e Erle of Salesbury, and the Duke off Surrey, and mony other lien in wayte about Kyngeston forto sle the kynge and the archebisshoppe as the[y] comme fro Wyndesore, and the purpose forto restore Kynge Richarde agayne to his kyngedom.'[68]

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[66] In order of appearance in *An English Chronicle* (minus the King's statements): 'A Comyn woman in London' p.27; the Earl of Kent, p.27; one of the Archbishop of Canterbury's men p.27; there are multiple Minorite friars, most of some of whom are unidentified; a Minorite Friar of Aylesbury, p.30; an unidentified Minorite friar who accuses others, p.30; an accused Master of Divinity of Oxford, pp.30-31; unidentified accused friars (who speak as a group) p.31 and p.32; a friar quoted as saying that the execution of his fellow minorities was justified, p.32; Knight of the council, p.31; judges in the case of the Minorite friars (not individually identified), pp.31-32; the Earl of Northumberland, p.32; Hotspur, p.33; knight of the Archbishop of York, p.36; the Archbishop of Canterbury, pp.36-37; the Archbishop of York p.37. In order of appearance in *Continuatio Eulogii*: 'a prostitute of London' (una meretrice London), p.385; Henry IV on pp.385-386, the Earl of Kent, p.386; one of the Archbishop of Canterbury's men p.386; conversations between the Minorite friars and the king pp.390-293; a Minorite Friar of Aylesbury, p.390; an unidentified Minorite friar who accuses others, p.391; an accused Master of Divinity of Oxford, pp.391-392; unidentified accused friars (who speak as a group) pp.392-393; a friar quoted as saying that the execution of his fellow minorities was justified, p.392; knight of the council, p.392; judges in the case of the Minorite friars (not individually identified) pp.392-393; the Earl of Northumberland, p.396; the King, p.396; Hotspur, p.397; knight of the Earl of Westmoreland p.406; the Archbishop of Canterbury, p.407; king responds, p.407; the Archbishop of York, p.408.

[67] 'Quidam de familia Regis interim jacebat una nocte cum una meretrice London', quæ mane dixit sibi: "Vale, amice, quia amplius te non videbo." Et ille quæsivit quare. Quæ et dixit: "Comites Huntyngfoneiæ et Canciæ ac Sarum et multi alii milites jacent in insidiis in partibus de Kyngeston, ut regem, archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, et omnes vos venientes de Wyndesor' occident, et regem Ricardum restituant."' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.385. There may be a grim joke here on the repetition of parts of jaceo 'jacebat una nocte cum una meretrice … multi alii milites jacent in insidiis.' The soft and dissolute lying of one of the king's household is answered by the rather more aggressive lying in wait of the soldiers. *An English Chronicle* reproduces the same range of meanings of 'lie'.

[68] *An English Chronicle*, p.27.

The transmission of whole portions of direct speech from the *Continuatio Eulogii* to *An English Chronicle* points to the importance of this narrative technique as a method of creating an appearance of truth. The material is treated as if it were evidence.

For the later narrators the use of direct speech provided much-needed immediacy to the materials. Fabyan for instance, records King Henry's dying words:

> Than sayd the kynge, 'Louynge be to the fader of heuen, for nowe I knowe I shall dye in this chamber, according to ye prophecye of me beforesayd, that I shulde dye & Ierusalem' and so after he made hymself redy and dyed shortly after …[69]

Here we are provided with very personal insight into the life (and death) of the king. Halle too constructs a deathbed conversation between Henry IV and his son. For Edward Halle, who wrote his chronicle in the 1530s and 40s, the use of direct speech could provide authenticity to events that he was narrating that occurred more than one hundred years previously. It was very important for the chroniclers writing after the event to be able to quote directly from historical characters. Direct speech then gives the impression of the event unfolding in real time. The narrator has seen and heard these things unfolding, and replicates the scene.

In many instances, direct speech is used because of the personal interest of the chronicler in the information. This goes some way to explaining the detailed accounts of the trials of the Minorite Friars by the unknown writer of the *Continuatio Eulogii,* who was most likely himself a Franciscan friar based at Canterbury.[70] Direct speech was sometimes used to win favour with a patron, as is the case with John Harydng's quotation from Sir Robert Umfraville, who, we are told, saves Henry IV from bad counsel:

> Than had the kynge tythandes of mekyll bale
> That Ewayne wrought within the south cuntre,
> Brent and stroyed with grete fortuiyte.
>
> All was vntrewe and sayde to that intent
> To make the kynge than to retorne agayne,

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[69] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, pp.576-577.
[70] As discussed in my introduction, the writer of the *Continuatio Eulogii* was probably a Franciscan monk based at Canterbury.

> To whom than sayde the Vmframvyle present,
>
> 'Go to youre fo, than next yow is certayne,
>
> And Gette the north than wyrke ye noght in vayne,
>
> For if ʒe turne ʒour*e* bakke thay wylle yow seke
>
> And in ʒour*e* reme wylle make ʒow mykill reke'.[71]

This extract is taken from the first version of Hardyng's chronicle, which was written sometime between 1440 and 1457 while Hardyng was under the patronage of Umfraville.[72]   In this instance it is possible that this was something Hardyng witnessed himself, or perhaps was directly told about.   In the second version of Hardyng's chronicle, which was presented to Edward IV in 1463, Umfraville does not speak.   Here, the silence can be explained, in part at least, by Hardyng's reconfiguration of the reign of Henry IV from Yorkist perspectives; he thus would not have wanted to align his patron with the past regime.

As a narrative strategy, the use of auditory and visual devices allowed the chroniclers to discuss a range of events, some of which were controversial.   These devices were an important narrative strategy that sought to present the narratives of each chronicler as a true account of events.   They also, by contributing to the vividness of the chronicle narrative, increased their power to persuade.

III

Gazing at the Stars: Modes of Narration and the Interpretation of the Comet of *c*.1402

The year of grace 1402, a comet appeared in the month of March, at first between the northwest (Corum) and the north (Sepentrionem), evidently, in the west-north-west (Circio), emitting terrible flames, stretching out at a great height, next

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[71] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol. 207r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.311.

[72] Hardyng entered the service of the Northumbrian magnate and knight Sir Robert Umfraville after the death of his first patron Henry Percy (Hotspur) at Shrewsbury in 1403.   Hardyng fought with Umfraville in France in 1415 and 1416, seeing battle at Agincourt and Harfleur. Umfraville made Hardyng the constable of Warkworth Castle, and later at the Castle of Kyme. Hardyng remained in Umfraville's service until the magnate's death in 1437. *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, Henry Ellis, ed., F.C and J. Rivington, London, 1812, p.351 (prose addition), pp.373, 375, 361.

transferring its tail into the north, in this region finally ceasing to be seen. It signaled, as I suppose, that human blood had to be spilled around the regions in which it appeared, Wales, namely, and Northumbria, as we will say.[73]

In his account of the appearance of a comet in 1402, Thomas Walsingham uses several narrative strategies that place him firmly in the role of eyewitness. The first involves the level of detail Walsingham provides. The precise coordinates suggest that the narrator saw and plotted the comet's movement himself. Furthermore, this precision implies a narrator who observed and engaged with the world around him, drawing on his knowledge of constellations and the origins of winds for his orientation points and directions.[74] Walsingham is thus set up as an authoritative observer of nature. There is an emotional element too; there is an expression of fear in the viewing of such a terrible, fiery, comet indicating that the chronicler felt such emotions when observing it. Lastly, he offers the exact month in which this viewing occurred, in March, thus pinpointing the time at which the comet was observed.

Eleven of the sixteen chronicles under examination record the appearance of a comet around the year 1402 and state or imply that this was meaningful for the progress of the revolt.[75] Indeed, the *Continuatio Eulogii* records the appearance of two comets within this period, one in 1402 and another in 1403.[76] In each of these examples the

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[73] 'Cometa apparuit mense Martio, primo inter Corum et Septentrionem, videlicet in Circio, flammas emittens terribiles, in altitudine magna porrecta, postremo comas in Boream transferens, in qua plaga ultimo videri desiit; designans, ut opinor, humanum sanguinem effundendum circa partes in quibus apparuit, Walliae, videlicet, et Northumbriae, ut dicemus.' Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.338. The *Historia Anglicana* offers similar information, although there are several differences of terminology and the grammar is simplified. See Appendix One, Passage 1c. The *Historia Anglicana* omits the line 'terribiles, in altitudine magna porrecta' and also omits 'in qua plaga ultimo videri desiit'. The final line reads 'presaesignans fortassis effusionem humani sanguinis circa partes Walliae et Northumbriae expost futuram'. *Historia Anglicana*, p.248. I have translated *Circio*, which is a north-northwest wind, according to the direction it denotes. Corus is a northwest wind, and the Septentriones (usually plural, not singular as here) are a northern constellation. It should be noted that David Preest in his *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham* translates *Corus* as 'the Great Bear', *Sepentrio* as 'The Maiden' and *Circius* as Circinus.

[74] The precise positioning of the comet in the sky here is quite extraordinary. Isidore of Seville uses these terms in his *Etymologiae*, XIII De Mundo et Partibus, (XI De ventis): 'Subsolanus a latere dextro Vulturnum habet, a laevo Eurum: Auster a dextris Euroaustrum, a sinistris Austroafricum: Favonius a parte dextra Africum, a laeva Corum: porro Septentrio a dextris Circium, a sinistris Aquilonem. Hi duodecim venti mundi globum flatibus circumagunt.'

[75] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica* and both versions of John Hardyng's chronicle do not report a comet in the years 1402/ 1403.

[76] The first comet: 'Hoc insuper anno post Natale Domini apparuit quaedam stella comata aspectu terribilis in Occidente, eujus flamma magna sursum ascendebat.' (Moreover in this year, after Christmas, appeared a certain comet-star, horrible to look upon, in the west, whose great flame rose on high.) *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389. See Appendix One, Passage 2d. The second comet in 1403:

chronicle narrator is positioned as an authoritative eyewitness to the comet, although there are significant differences between the chronicles as to what is observed. For instance, seven different alternatives are provided as to the position and movement of the comet in the sky, north to west (Capgrave), north to Wales (*Dieulacres Chronicle)*, west to northwest then to the north (Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* and *Annales Henrici Quarti*), between the east and north (Holinshed), and west (*Historia Vitae*, *An English Chronicle*, *Continuatio Eulogii-* comet one). Other alternatives include the comet following the movement of the sun (Adam Usk), or being located above Henry Percy's head (*Continuatio Eulogii-* comet two). A further two chroniclers do not record the comet's direction at all (John Rous, Edward Halle).

Accounts of the observation of the comet of 1402 or 1403 within the chronicles provide an excellent opportunity to investigate connections between the various modes of narration and methods by which the chroniclers construct themselves as eyewitnesses. As Thomas Walsingham's observation of the comet illustrates, comets are not merely neutral objects to be observed and recorded, but were loaded with significance. Comets were frequently connected to rebellions and had long been considered signs of impending war, famine and plague.[77] They were signs of imbalance and disturbance in the natural equilibrium of the cosmos.[78] Certainly, the

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'Super caput Henrici Percy apparuit stella comata, malum significans eventum.' (Above the head of Henry Percy there appeared a comet signifying a bad event.) *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398. See Appendix One, Passage 2g.

[77] Comets, meteorites, shooting stars and the like were considered to be natural phenomena that were in the wrong place. As is described in the chapter 'Of the fyre and of the sterres that seme to falle' (Chapter 30) in Caxton's *Mirrour of the World*, 'sparkles of fyre' were created when there was a movement from the region of fire into the earthly sphere. 'This ayer in which is no maner moisture, it stratcheth unto the mone. And ther is seene ofte under this ayer somme sparkles of fyre, and seme that they were sterres. Of which men say they be sterres which goone rennyng, and that they remeue fro their places. But they be none; but it is a maner of fyre that groweth by the sonne which draweth it on hye; and whan it is ouer hye, it falleth and is sette a fyre like as a candel brennyng as us semeth; and after falleth in thayer moyste, and there is quenchid by the moistnes of theyer. And when it is grete and the ayer drye, it cometh al brennyng unto therth. Whereof it happeth ofte that they that saylle by the see of they that goone by londe haue many times founden and seen them al shynyng and brenning fall unto therthe, and when they come where it is fallen, they finde none other thing but a litil asshes or like thing, or like som leef of a tree rotten, that were weet.' Despite taking a more rationalizing line, Caxton still regards comets as out of place phenomena. *Caxton's Mirrour of the World*, Ed. Oliver H. Prior, Early English Text Society, London, 1913, p.122.

[78] For example, in his Seventh Century text *De Natura Rerum* or *On the Nature of Things*, Isidore of Seville (d. 636) in Chapter 71 'On the names of Stars' gives the correct Greek etymology that 'a comet is so called because it spreads light from itself as if it were hair. And when this kind of star appears it indicates pestilence, famine or war.' From Edward Grant, ed., *A Source Book in Medieval Science*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1974, p.16.

significance of this was not lost on the chroniclers of the Welsh revolt; many of them, such as the Dieulacres Chronicler, connected the comet to events in Wales. However, interpreting what a comet signified or the event that it forewarned was subjective; portents are by their nature ambiguous and interpretation is the key to understanding them. While there were established modes of interpretation in which the comet served as a forewarning, the event to which the comet was to be connected was open to interpretation.

So what methods of narration did the chroniclers use in order to ensure that the correct interpretation and viewpoint was received? Thomas Walsingham's strategy involved specifically stating the comet's significance and by an instance of overt narration, explaining that 'it signaled, as I suppose, that human blood had to be spilled around the regions in which it appeared, Wales, namely, and Northumbria, as we will say.'[79] In this section I would like to explore three methods by which the chronicler encouraged particular interpretations of the significance of the comet; these are: the implication of meaning through the surrounding narrative; the association of the comet with meaningful directional points; and lastly, the explicit statement of the comet's significance. As will be discussed, each of these methods utilises various modes of narration; sometimes there is a high level of intrusion in the narrative, and at other times the narrator is covert. The three methods that I am discussing are not exclusive, but rather are often used in conjunction with each other.

The first method by which the chroniclers encouraged particular interpretations was through the specific placement of the comet within the chronicle narrative, allowing for the structural arrangement of the narrative to provide meaning. In many instances the significance of the comet is gained through a reading of the material that surrounds it. *An English Chronicle*, for instance, does not make any direct announcement of the connection between the appearance of the comet and events that it signified. The chronicle narrative runs sequentially:

> And this same yere Ser Roger off Caryngton, knight, and the priour off Launde and viij Freres Menours & other to $e novmbur off xij persons were drawe and honged for treson ate Tiburn.

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[79] 'Designans, ut opinor, humanum sanguinem effundendum circa partes in quibus apparuit, Walliae, videlicet, et Northumbriae, ut dicemus.' Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.338.

> Also a women accused a Grey Frere [of Cambrigge], an olde man, of certeyn wordez
> that he shulde haue seide agaynes the kynge. And his iudemente wasse that he shuld
> feghte with the woman and on off his hondes bounde behynge hym. But the
> Archebisshoppe off Caunturbury wasse the freres frende and sesed $e matter.
>
> **[Anno Tertio]**
>
> The iij^de yere off Kynge Henry, anon after Cristemasse wasse seen and appered a
> sterre in the weste whoos flames & bemes ascended vpwarde, that wasse called the
> blasynge sterre, and be clerkes yt wasse called stella commata.
>
> And about this tyme the peple off $is londe began forto groche agaynes Kynge
> Henry and bere hym hevy because he toke $eire godez and payed not therfor …… [80]

The chronicler conveys the significance paratactically, according to the arrangement
the material. The entry on the comet is completely surrounded by expressions of
discontent against King Henry, and it is not a great interpretive stretch to assume that
this comet is related to future rebellions, most likely to occur in the west. This form
of narrative implication is in line with covert forms of narration; the narrator is
'hiding' in the narrative, so as to give the impression of a completely objective truth
being told. The narrator is positioned as eyewitness (whether or not spectatorship
actually occurred) and meaning is implicit in the chronicle structure. Here, structure
plays an important role in narration, a point I wish to analyse briefly here and return
to develop further in the two chapters that follow.[81]

The method of articulating the significance of the comet through sequential
placement is used in four of the twelve recorded chronicle appearances of the comet.
The *Historia Vitae, An English Chronicle*, *Continuatio Eulogii* (comet one) and John
Rous do not state explicitly the meaning of the comet; however, three of these
chronicles use this method of narration in conjunction with a directional point. *An
English Chronicle*, the *Historia Vitae* and comet one of the *Continuatio Eulogii* also
describe the appearance of the comet in the west. Rous is the only chronicler
amongst the entire group of eleven who does not provide a directional point or an
explicit statement of the comet's significance. According to Rous,

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[80] *An English Chronicle*, p.29
[81] Chapter Two analyses chronology and time as structuring principles to the narrative, and Chapter
Three investigates space and spatiality as a structuring principle.

> Around the beginning of his [Henry's] reign appeared a comet, red, according to the astronomers said to be of the nature of the sun. It was round and of an extraordinary size.[82]

The significance of Rous' comet is gained only by a seriatim reading of the narrative; the comet is wedged between Rous's discussion of the death of the deposed and incarcerated Richard II by starvation, and the start of the rebellion of Owain Glynd(r, which, although rich in imagery, is small in length.[83] The contextual material in the *Historia Vitae* and the first comet of the *Continuatio Eulogii* likewise concern revolts against Henry IV; in the *Historia Vitae* this includes descriptions of the king's lack of resources to help English custodians protect the castles of Wales from the Welsh rebels, and the capture of Reginald Lord Grey by Owain Glynd(r.[84] The *Continuatio Eulogii* also refers to the capture of Reginald Lord Grey by Owain Glynd(r, as well as Franciscan opposition to Henry IV, including an account of the execution of eight friars.[85]

Secondly, the comet receives meaning from the direction in which it is seen in the sky. As discussed, the chroniclers offer a range of directional points in which they first observe the comet and chart its movement. Like the comet that hovers above Hotspur's head described in the *Continuatio Eulogii*, the significance of what is in the sky above is connected to the events beneath; thus celestial and terrestrial events

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[82] 'Circa initium regni sui apparuit stella comata, Rosa, secundum astronomos, dicta, de natura solis. Rotunda erat & mirae magnitudinis.' John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, p.206. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

[83] Rous's narrative runs without any paragraph breaks: 'Tunc rex Ricardus amotus e)t de carcere in carcerem. Tandem apud Pontem factum in carcere pro fame obiit, ut dicitur. Noluerunt mittere manum in unctum Domini, major)ibi pœna fuit. Erat i)te rex Henricus miles laudati))imus Chri)tiani)mo & Pagani)mo peroptime probatus. Circa initium regni sui apparuit stella comata, Rosa, secundum astronomos, dicta, de natura solis. Rotunda erat & mirae magnitudinis. Statim)urrexit magna rebellione quidam Wallicus dictus Owen de Glendour … John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, p.206.

[84] For instance the comet follows directly the passage: 'In this year, when the king was at Wigorn, he was discussing with his council what should be done against the aforementioned Owyn Glyndor and those who attached themselves to him, and whether the king himself in his own person ought to set out into Wales for that reason. At length it was decided that the king should first appoint sufficient guards in the castles and other fortified places of Wales, and return to London.' (Hoc anno, dum esset rex apud Wigorn, pertractabat cum suo consilio, quid contra predictum Owynum <Glyndor> sibique adherentes agendum sit, et an ipse rex in propria persona ea uice in Walliam proficissi deberet. Tandem ad id uentum est, ut rex, ordinatis prius custodibus sufficientibus in castellis et aliis fortitudinibus Wallie, London rediret.) *Historia Vitae*, pp.171-172. See Appendix One, Passage 3g.

[85] The comet is preceded by a passage that describes the capture Lord Grey by Owain Glynd(r in battle, along with the decision taken by the Franciscans at General Chapter in Leicester to prohibit the discussion of anything prejudicial against the king. The comet is then followed by an account of the execution of eight Franciscan friars, along with Roger Clarendon and the Prior of Laund. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389.

are connected. John Capgrave records that the comet was seen 'betwixt $e west and $e north, in $e monthe of March, with a hie bem, whech bem bowed into $e north'.[86] Capgrave places emphasis on the north, even though in practice he records that the comet was positioned in the north-west; it is clear that Capgrave is referring to events in the north of England, and in particular to the Percy family of Northumbria, who rebelled against King Henry several times between 1403 and 1408.[87] The first wave of the rebellion ended with the death of Henry Percy (Hotspur) and the capture and eventual execution of his uncle Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. Following Shrewsbury, Hotspur's father, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, was ostracised and his estates eventually confiscated by the king. Northumberland fled to Scotland, and was eventually killed at the Battle of Bramham Moor in 1408. The appearance of the comet in the west then is a reference to the Battle of Shrewsbury, which is located in Shropshire in the west of England near the Welsh border. West could equally be a reference to the revolt in Wales, although it is more likely that the chroniclers had Shrewsbury in mind given that all of the chroniclers who provide an explicit interpretation of the significance of the comet link it directly to this battle. While the Welsh revolt and the Percy revolt were intertwined, as Thomas Walsingham noted, it is only the *Dieulacres* chronicler who provides 'Wales' as a point of direction.[88]

In providing the directional points the narrator maintains a covert narratorial position in line with the concept of the narrator as the authoritative observer of nature; there is no forced interpretation. It is the act of viewing itself that provides meaning to the comet; here the comet is reported by a constructed narratorial eyewitness who in turn records its directional points. The meaning of the comet is taken from the point at which the notional eyewitness is imagined facing towards and gazing at it; looking towards the west, the north, for example. The significance of the comet lies in the viewed point, relative to the point at which the viewer is located. Identifying the comet as appearing in the west-north-west, and inferring that this signified events in

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[86] John Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.218.
[87] J.M.W. Bean, 'Henry IV and the Percies', History, new ser., 44 (1959), pp.212–27; Peter McNiven, 'The Scottish policy of the Percies and the strategy of the rebellion of 1403', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, 62 (1979–80), pp.498-530.
[88] 'Circa idem tempus stella comata apparuit in borialibus partibus Anglie. Que comata scintillas vertebat versus Walliam; et quidam estimant dictam cometam pronosticare bellum Salopie.' *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175. See Appendix One, Passage 4b.

Wales and Northumbria, comfortably positions the narrator in the heartland of England, the south and east.

While, as I have argued, north in the sky equates to north on the map, the use of directional points means that the location of the viewer does matter. Naturally directional points are relative depending on location. For chroniclers in England, north very easily equated to events in the north of England, and west for the west of England. Holinshed provides the arguably more correct east for the area of Northumberland in north-east England.[89] Adam Usk, however, was not in England when the comet appeared, and his record of the comet is markedly different from that of the other chronicles. He says,

> During this journey, firstly at Cologne and then all the way as far as Pisa, I could see both at night and during the daytime a fearsome comet, which moved ahead of the sun, spreading terror throughout the world, among both the clergy, who are the sun, and the knighthood, who are the moon, and foreshadowing the death of the above mentioned Duke [of Milan]- who did in fact die soon after this.[90]

Adam Usk was travelling towards Italy at the time of the comet.[91] While this is another example of the centrality of Adam's narrative voice, Adam's interpretation of the comet is linked to his own position as a traveller.

In several of the chronicles the event that the comet forewarns is left in no doubt. The chroniclers state explicitly that there was a connection between the comet and the revolt of the Percies, the Battle of Shrewsbury or the rebellion of Owain Glynd(r and Wales. For instance, the second comet of the *Continuatio Eulogii* is connected directly to one individual rather to any specific directional point: we are told, 'above

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[89] 'In the moneth of Marche, appeared a bla)ing)tarre, fir)t betwene the Ea)t part of the firmament, and the North, fla))hing forth fier and flames round about it, and la)tly,)hooting foorth fierie beames towardes the North, fore)hewing as was thought, the great effu)ion of bloud that followed, about the parties of Wales and Northumberland: for much what about ye)ame time, Owen Glendouer with his Welchmen, fought with the Lord Grey of Ruthin, cõming forth to defende his po))e))ions, whiche the)ame Owen wa)ted and de)troyed …' Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1577) Volume 4, pp.1133-1134.

[90] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.155.

[91] Adam tells us that he departed London on February 19, 1402 and travelled to the Brabant, through to Aachen and Koblenz, then southwards towards Lucerne and finally arrived on Palm Sunday at Bellinzona in Lombardy. Adam tells us that he arrived in Italy on the eve of Palm Sunday, which fell on the 18th March in 1402 and therefore we can assume that he viewed the comet on his travels between Cologne and Pisa in March. Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.153-155.

the head of Henry Percy there appeared a comet signifying a bad event.'[92]   This comet is intimately linked to Hotspur and to his rebellion. Likewise, the *Dieulacres Chronicle* states simply that 'the comet forewarns of the battle at Shrewsbury.'[93] Walsingham's record of the comet too (cited above) 'signifies' the shedding of human blood in Wales and also in Northumbria. Here Walsingham uses a gerundive construction.[94]   The appearance of the comet meant that blood 'had to be spilled' ('sanguinem effundendum'). Gerundives indicate necessity rather than merely future action, and thus the reader is left with a notion of the comet and the Battle of Shrewsbury as indisputably interconnected.

While the position of narrator as covert observer is maintained, the explicit statement of the significance is more overt than both the paratactic method and the use of meaningful directional points. Here the narrator's presence is strong, with little room left for independent interpretation of the event. The explicit statement of a comet's significance reflects an underlying anxiety that the usual modes of chronicle narration could be read in ways contrary to that which the author intended. As cited in section one, Adam Usk's fear of being misread led him to interrupt his narrative to address the reader. Adam states that

> I have simply set down from memory what I saw and what I heard, with more thought for the truth of what happened than for the order in which it happened.[95]

Adam comments on the notion of sequential formulation of meaning and decides that for him this was not enough.

Like most events in chronicle narratives, the appearance of the comet is narrated mostly in a covert narrative mode. Nonetheless, readers' interpretations of this event are guided by several devices. The sequential nature of the chronicle narrative can itself be used to convey relationships between events simply by their placement. Moreover, significant directional points, relative to an imagined viewer, convey further meaning without the necessity for overt statement. There are additionally overt interpretative statements made by some chroniclers, who more directly guide

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[92] 'Super caput Henrici Percy apparuit stella comata, malum significans eventum.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398.
[93] ' … cometam pronosticare bellum Salopie.' *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175.
[94] 'Designans, ut opinor, humanum sanguinem effundendum circa partes in quibus apparuit.' Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.338.
[95] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.18.

readers' responses. Adam Usk once again is an intriguing outlier. Though he presumably was aware of the more common interpretations of the comet, such as we find in the other chronicles, he presents a interpretation related to his own position at the time of the comet's occurrence. Despite their appearance of neutrality, the chronicles invariably have designs on their readers and use quite varied means to achieve them.

IV

Conclusions

This chapter has investigated how the different modes of narration are used in the chronicle narratives and how this impacts upon representations of the revolt. What becomes clear is that the chroniclers utilised the full variety of modes of narration available to them, and used different voices in a number of different circumstances for particular narrative ends. The application of the various modes has identifiable effects not only on how information is presented, but on what is presented. While limited authorial intervention in the chronicle narrative is a generic characteristic, there were various situations in the narratives of the Welsh revolt in which the narrator comments overtly. Given the tradition of covert narration in chronicles, these instances of overt narration are always worthy of comment. The example of the comet illustrates some of the possible interpretive stances which chronicle narrators could take, allowing varying degrees of interpretive space to their implied audiences. Even when speaking from their more usual covert position, the narrators, in their role as viewers and hearers, employ devices such as direct speech and internal viewers to increase the vividness and persuasiveness of the chronicle narrative.

Chapter Two

'Eo tempore': Chronological Structure and Representations of Time

At that time, Edmund Mortimer died, a youth whom we mentioned previously, captured by Owain Glynd٭r, either by the tedium of grim captivity or by fear of death, or from another cause which is not known. Having changed his allegiances, he professed that he sympathised with Owain against the king of England, since he celebrated a wedding with the daughter of the said Owain, which was humble enough and unequal to his noble birth.

So it is said prodigies accompanied the dire beginnings of this man's birth, because on the night on which he came forth into the light, in his father's stable, all of his father's horses were found standing in deep blood up to the shin bones. Very many people then interpreted this as sinister. [1]

This extract from Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, recording the death, marriage and then birth of Edmund Mortimer (d.1409) includes several examples of overt and subtle references to time. The entire series of narrated events is framed by the notion of them occurring 'at that time' (Eo tempore). While we are not provided with the exact date, the events are placed at the end of the entries for the year 1402, which had been signalled earlier in the narrative by the temporal phase 'Anno gratiæ millesimo quadringentesimo secundo'.[2]   Here 'eo tempore' functions as a stable marker of time for these two entries on Mortimer, yet the narrative that follows jumps around chronologically; Walsingham looks backwards to events of the past, as

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[1] 'Eo tempore, Edmundus Mortymer obiit, juvenis quem retulimus ante captum ab Oweno Glendor, vel taedio dirae captivitatis, vel metu mortis, vel ex alia qua nescitur causa; conversus retrorsum, cum Owennio contra Regem Angliae se sentire professus est, dum nuptias satis humiles, et suae generositati impares, contrabit cum filia dicti Oweni.
Hujus, ut fertur, nativitatis exordia dira comitata sunt prodigia; quia nocte qua in lucem profusus est, in hippodromo paterno omnes equi patris sui reperti sunt in alto cruore stetisse, usque ad tibiarum demersionem; quod tunc interpretati sunt plurimi sinistrorsum.' Walsingham*, Historia Anglicana*, pp.253-254.   See Appendix One, Passage 1g.   See Chapter Four for a further discussion the ambiguitities of this birth narrative.
[2] Walsingham*, Historia Anglicana*, p.248.

is signalled by the terms 'we mentioned previously' ('quem retulimus ante') and 'then' ('tunc'), as well as references to present time, as is signalled by 'since' ('dum') and 'so it is said' ('ut fertur').[3]

The treatment of time and chronology in the chronicles is, in fact, far from simple or naïve, and it is the range of effects that such choices have on the presentation of the revolt of Owain Glynd* r, with which this chapter is concerned. To return to the example of Thomas Walsingham: the stable underlying chronological structure which is signalled by overt markers of time allows Walsingham to reorder historical events to construct a narrative that is multifaceted and meaningful. For instance, in Walsingham's extracts there are two examples of analepses (flash-backs). In the first example, Walsingham makes reference to an earlier entry within his chronicle narrative, using the statement 'we mentioned previously', thus formulating a connection between a past event and the event that was presently narrated. The previous entry that is referred to in this instance occurred in the middle of 1402 where Edmund Mortimer was captured at the Battle of Bryn Glas.[4] It is here, described via vivid imagery as discussed in Chapter One, that the Welsh women mutilated dead English soldiers.[5] Walsingham directs the reader to look back at this narrative entry in order to juxtapose those events with Mortimer's *volte face*, which sees Mortimer not only joining the opposition but marrying a Welsh woman. The second analepsis in Walsingham's extract is coupled with a prolepsis (a flash forwards). Here Walsingham places Mortimer's birth and death in the wrong chronological position; Mortimer was born in 1376 and died in 1409, although Walsingham narrates these events under the year 1402. Indeed, Mortimer makes another appearance after this entry. In 1403 Walsingham notes that Mortimer was prevented from aiding Henry Percy (Hotspur) at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403.[6] It would appear that the central point of Walsingham's Mortimer sequence is his marriage to Owain Glynd* r's daughter in December 1402 which was the only chronologically placed event.[7] This marriage sealed Mortimer's rebellion. It is important that this marriage alliance is framed by an inverted lifecycle, in which

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[3] See Chapter One.
[4] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.250. See Appendix One, Passage 1e.
[5] See Chapter One, Section II.
[6] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.256. See Appendix One, Passage 1h.
[7] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glynd r*, pp.179-180.

Mortimer's death is recorded before his birth. This positioning creates a sense of inevitable doom and bloodshed. Although it is literally recorded, Mortimer's death was anticipated by the omens at his birth. The omens function as proleptic metaphors, although the image is presented within an analepsis; these 'dire beginnings' ('exordia dira') establish the nature of the life to follow. Walsingham's use of 'exordia' rather than the more neutral 'initium' is significant within the context of describing portents. In its original sense 'exordium' referred to the 'warp set up on a loom before the web is started', which was transferred to mean 'events "woven" by fate.'[8] In the context of omens attending a birth, this is surely a purposeful choice in so educated a writer as Walsingham.

This arrangement of events by Thomas Walsingham reveals a complex understanding of the role of time and chronology within a chronicle narrative. The importance of time and chronology in structuring chronicle narrative was recognised and documented throughout the middle ages.[9] For instance, as Gervase of Canterbury (d. *c*. 1210) explains,

> A chronicle … reckons the years, months and Kalends from the Incarnation of our Lord, briefly tells of the deeds of kings, and princes which happened at those times, besides recording any portents, miracles or other events.[10]

Adherence to a chronological organisation was a fundamental generic marker, as is acknowledged by the term 'chronicle' itself, taken from the Greek '0.1,-/ ' (khronos) meaning time. The arrangement of the narrative in chronological fashion conveyed the historicity of the narrative. The need to relate historical information in a way which reflected the historical reality meant that the events were narrated sequentially with time and chronology as the principal organisational frame.

The chronological arrangement of the narrative has been the centre of some criticism from modern scholars. Chronicles, and more so annals, have been viewed as rudimentary, unsophisticated and dubious forms of narrative.[11] This has contributed

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[8] See *OLD sv* 1.

[9] For instance, see the discussion by Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: the Writing of History in Medieval England*, pp.113-127.

[10] *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1879-1880, Vol. 1, p.87.

[11] For a full discussion of these issues see Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', *Writing Medieval History*, Nancy Partner, ed., Hodder Arnold, London,

to a perception of them as sub-literary, and only marginally narrative texts. For instance, one particular source of criticism is the lack of closure for specific narrative strands, as will be explored below in the case of the revolt. While other literary forms of the Middle Ages employed a narrative that focused upon plot and rhetoric, the chronicle has been dismissed as a form which recites events one after the other, connected only by their proximity in time. The result is a narrative characterised by short, staccato entries, interspersed between other seemingly unconnected events. In her exploration of the form of annals and chronicles, Sarah Foot comments that,

> In outward form annals and chronicles look quite unlike narratives. They seem to provide only random assemblages of date, the raw record of events in sequence from which a historically more sophisticated mind might confect a story in the future, although that literary construction is not yet achieved.[12]

Rather, my analysis, like Foot's, reads more in the chronicles than a simple iteration of events. Although the organisation of the narrative may appear to be rudimentary and obvious because events are recorded according to the order in which they occurred, as opposed to an arrangement more conducive to storytelling and analysis, this structure was part of a sophisticated metanarrative that had implications for how information was presented and what was presented. Moreover, the chronicle narratives are not, in fact, strictly chronological, rather there is a tension between on the one hand, the strict chronological form which paradoxically disrupts narrative continuity because of the plurality of simultaneous events, and on the other, a resurgent narrative impulse which finds expression to varying degrees. The interplay of these tensions can be explored through accounts of the revolt of Owain Glynd* r.

This chapter is divided into two sections, each of which explores the impact of time and chronology on the narratives of the revolt. The first section explores the complex chronological structures that underlie the chronicle narratives, as well as the purpose of this sequential arrangement and its implications for the narratives of the revolt. Of particular importance for the overall significance of the revolt narratives is the effect upon them of the tendency for narratives within chronicles to lack endings. The structural imperatives of the chronicle form are directed to ends other than

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2005, pp.88-108. Foot cites R.L. Poole as one example of a modern scholar who viewed annals as a dubious literary form. R.L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals: A Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1926.

[12] Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form', p.90.

giving a beginning, middle and end to each narrative in the chronicle. The ways in which particular chronicles make or refuse to provide a conclusion to the revolt narrative have profound effects on the overall presentations of the revolt and its meaning. The second section explores more closely the techniques used by the chroniclers to reorder the historical events, such as the uses of analepsis and prolepsis, and in particular the use of prophecy. Such strategies have a substantial impact on representations of Owain Glynd*r and his 'revolt', particularly in providing a historical background, and for explorations of character.

I

Structure and Chronology

The sixteen chronicles that form the basis of this study implement a range of strategies for the temporal arrangement of events. In this section I will firstly articulate the range of ways in which chronology was treated within the chronicle narratives, and then assess the implications for the revolt of Owain Glynd*r. I have identified three groups for the purposes of analysis: chronicles that are temporally overt, those that are covert, and those that fall within the middle of this overt/covert spectrum. The overtness or covertness of a chronicle's temporality is, however, a matter of degree. These three groups are best regarded as sections of a sliding scale, rather than discrete categories. Chronicles' treatment of temporality affects the degree of narrative continuity, of closure, and of integration with surrounding events. This is true in all cases and produces a range of effects upon the narratives of the revolt.

The temporal strategies implemented by the sixteen chronicles vary in their level of overtness. For instance, the *Continuatio Eulogii* is at the overt end of the spectrum, as are the chronicles of Thomas Walsingham, John Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion, An English Chronicle*, Fabyan's *New Chronicles* and the *Dieulacres Chronicle*. In each of these chronicles the temporal structure is apparent and indeed dominates the narrative. There are a number of strategies used to reckon time. In the *Continuatio Eulogii*, each new year is signalled in the narrative by the phrase 'Anno Domini

14[..] et regni Henrici iiij[ti] [..]'.[13] In his *Abbreuiacion,* John Capgrave occasionally provides the dates *Anno Mundi* along with his more frequent use of *Anno Domini*. 'The first man Adam was mad on a Friday'[14] in *Anno Mundi* 1. Capgrave converts dates, such as Henry IV's reign which he states was from 'Anno 6597-6610; 1399-1412.'[15] In Capgrave and the *Continuatio Eulogii*, events of the year are then narrated sequentially in order of their occurrence and are arranged into discrete paragraph entries. In most cases, new events are introduced via a temporal expression, such as 'meanwhile', 'at the same time', 'this year'. The *Continuatio* chronicler commonly uses such phrases as 'hoc anno', 'hoc insuper anno' and 'hoc autem anno.' In *An English Chronicle*, of the seven narrative entries for the year 1400-1401, the first begins by stating the year, and the following five narrative entries begin with the phrase 'this same year' or 'and this same year.'[16] More precise dates were primarily provided by reference to the feast days of various saints. The *Continuatio Eulogii* for instance, refers within the section on the year 1401 to the feasts of the Assumption (August 15) and Christmas.[17] By the later sixteenth century, however, a more secular method of time reckoning was employed. Robert Fabyan's *New Chronicles* is the only sixteenth-century chronicle to maintain the chronological format. Fabyan's structure can be classified as overt, although he converts many of the feast days into precise monthly dating. For instance, Fabyan records 'vpon the daye of saynt Paraxede the virgyne, or the xxi. Daye of Iuly.'[18] The chronicles that adhere to an overt mode of temporality could utilise all of these methods of reckoning time, or a combination of them. When presented together in a chronicle narrative, these temporal elements have significant implications for how the historical material is arranged and how meaning and significance are conveyed.

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[13] For example, 'Anno Domini 1402, et anno hujus Regis 3', *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389.

[14] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.11.

[15] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.214. Capgrave uses dates *Anno Mundi* as his main means of referencing time when narrating events B.C.E.

[16] Each narrative entry starts with the following temporal introduction:

> The secunde yere of his reigne …
> This same yere …
> And this same yere …
> This same yere …
> This same yere …
> And this same yere …
> Also a women … *An English Chronicle*, pp.28-29.

[17] *Continuatio Eulogii*: 'festo Assumptionis' p.389; 'Natale Domini' p.389.

[18] Fabyan, *New Chronicles,* p.570.

Comparisons between the temporally overt *Historia Anglicana* of Thomas Walsingham and the covert style of Edward Halle's *Chronicle* reveal multiple implications for the revolt narratives. Both of the examples that follow cover the same period from the initiation of the Welsh revolt in September 1400 to the capture of Edmund Mortimer at the Battle of Bryn Glas in June 1402. In this first example from Thomas Walsingham, I have included the revolt narratives in their entirety, as well as the overt chronological references, but have paraphrased all other events. Walsingham narrates,

> In the meantime, there happened to be an occasion that the king was absent, the Welsh, with a certain leader Owain Glynd* r, began to rebel. This man was first an apprentice near Westminster and later the shield-bearer of the current king; but discord arose between him and Reginald Lord Grey on account of lands which he claimed belonged to him by right of inheritance, when he discerned that his reasoning and claims were of little weight, he began hostilities against the said Lord de Grey, laying waste his possessions with fires and slaying many of his household with excessive cruelty and inhumanity. Then the king, deciding to pursue him as one of those who disturbed the peace of the land, attacked Wales with an armed band of men; but the Welsh, with their leader occupying the mountains of Snowdon, withdrew at once from impending vengeance. Indeed the king, when the region had been burned and some people destroyed, whomever luck had brought before their swords, returned with booty made up of beasts and animals.
>
> This year [the bishop of Bath died and was replaced]
>
> At the same time [Emperor of Constantinople visited London to ask for aid against the Turks]
>
> [The bishop of Carlisle was removed to another bishopric]
>
> The year of our lord one thousand four hundred and one, after the feast of the Epiphany a parliament was held in London. [A statute against the Lollards was passed; a pseudo-priest was executed near Smithfield]
>
> [King of Letto killed in battle]
>
> This year, on the 8th April [Death of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick]
>
> In the same year [John Bottlesham, bishop of Bethlehem and Rochester died]
>
> During this time [Queen Isabella, is returned to France]
>
> At this time Owain Glynd* r with his Welsh followers caused great damage to the English.
>
> [Henry IV is nearly killed by a metal instrument placed in his bed.]

> The year of grace one thousand four hundred and two [a comet appeared] in the month of March.
>
> At that time Owain Glynd* r laid waste the lands of lord Reginald de Grey. The same lord ran to meet him, supposing that he would be overcome with light work, however, the dice of Mars came out unexpectedly and he [Grey] was captured and a great many of his people were killed. This misfortune carried away the Welsh into arrogance, and it increased their insolence.
>
> Around the feast of Pentecost [a plot to kill Henry IV is discovered and a priest is executed for his role]
>
> Not long after [the prior of Launde executed]
>
> At this time [a Franciscan monk is executed for treason]
>
> Also hanged at this time [was Roger Clarendon, his squire and valet are executed for treason]
>
> [A devil appeared in a church at Dunbury in Essex] on the feast of Corpus Christi at the hour of Vespers [that looked like a Franciscan friar]. At the same hour [there was a terrible storm and the church was destroyed]
>
> At that time Owain Glynd* r with a band of Welsh, advancing with their customary incursions, provoked to arms the entire militia of Herefordshire. When the men of the county gathered together, Edmund Mortimer, offered himself to be their leader. But when it came to the battle, Edmund was captured through treachery and the rest were overcome.[19]

This extract well illustrates the narrative impact of the overt temporal anchoring. It is clear from this example that chronicles that overtly calculate time place limitations on the narratives they contain. Regardless of whether the entry is comprised of a pithy one line or of multiple sentences that contain rich imagery, all entries are arranged in piecemeal fragments. This has significant implications for the ways in which the events of the revolt are narrated. Walsingham's narratives of the revolt are disjointed and continually interrupted by both the need to reckon time and by other seeming unrelated events. Walsingham's narrative is typical of the overtly temporal chronicles under consideration in this thesis; for instance, the writer of the *Continuatio Eulogii* provides a total of twelve passages on the revolt of Owain Glynd* r, distributed over twenty pages in the Rolls Series edition.[20] While this is

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[19] Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.246-250.
[20] These passages contain reference to the revolt, Owain Glynd* r, individual rebels, or Wales and the Welsh during the revolt.

common to Walsingham's style in general, it nonetheless affects his presentation of the revolt as it does in the case of other recorded events.

In contrast, an examination of the narrative for the same timeframe in Edward Halle's *Chronicle* reveals a very different structural arrangement.[21]   Halle, who is arguably the most temporally covert of the chronicles examined here, records in one paragraph the information covered in nineteen separate entries in Thomas Walsingham's chronicle.[22] Halle records,

> Owen Glendore a squire of Wales, perceiuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the kyng not yet to be placed in a sure and vnmouable seate, ent(dyng to vsurpe and take vpon hym the principalitie of Wales, and the name and preheminence of the same, what with faire flatteryng wordes and with large promises, so enuegled entised and allured the wilde and vndiscrite Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym an othe of allegeance and subieccion. By whose supportacion, he beyng elated and set vp in aucthorite, to the intent to bee out of all doubte of his neighbors, made sharpe warre on Reignolde lorde Grey of Rithen and toke hym prisoner, promisyng hym libertee and dischargyng his raunsome, if he would espouse and marie his doughter, thynkyng by that affinitie, to haue great aide and muche power in Wales. The lorde Grey beeyng not very riche nether of substance nor of frendes, consideryng this offer to be the onely waie of his releffe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and maried the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vnhonest and periured persone, kept hym with his wife still in captiuitee till he died. And not content with this heynous offence, made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym prisoner, and feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was required to purchase his deliuerance by diuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that side, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.[23]

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[21] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.22-23.

[22] There are, however, a few small variations. In Halle's chronicle it is not Edmund Mortimer who marries Owain Glynd*r's daughter, but rather, Reginald Lord Grey. Furthermore, in Halle's chronicle Edmund Mortimer has been conflated with his nephew the Earl of March, who was also called Edmund Mortimer. For a further discussion of the significance of these shifts see Chapter Four, section II.

[23] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.22-23.

Chronology, representations of time and establishing a sense of duration were not such important aspects to Halle's structural arrangement as they were for Walsingham. While Thomas Walsingham's narrative leaves no doubt that the timeframe covered in this extract includes the years 1400, 1401 and 1402, Edward Halle's narrative does not contain any temporal markers within this section. Halle's chronicle is broadly arranged into regnal years. This episode is narrated entirely under the first year of Henry's reign, which lasted from September 1399 to September 1400. Other covertly temporal chronicles, such as the *Historia Regum Anglie* of John Rous (d. *c*.1492), John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, and Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica*, written sometime between 1512 and 1513, acknowledge chronology and time within their narratives, but their narratives were not dominated by it. By contrast with Walsingham, Polydore Vergil, for instance, provides only four dates, 1400, 1401, 1407 and 1413, within his entire narrative for the reign of Henry IV.[24] Furthermore, these four temporal anchors are positioned by Vergil in the middle or at the end of a paragraph. Likewise, Vergil uses conjunctions such as 'meanwhile' ('Interea') and 'during these same times' ('Isdem temporibus') frequently in the middle of a paragraph or at the end. What this means is that the narrative does not have the same rigidity as the overtly temporal narratives, but rather allows for the discussion of the revolt within one narrative block, whilst still maintaining a sequential chronological narrative, albeit via covert means.

In the middle of the overt/covert spectrum are many chronicles that employ one or more method of reckoning time, but these time-marking strategies do not dominate the narratives. Within this category are the chronicles of Adam Usk, the *Historia Vitae*, John Hardyng, and Holinshed. These chronicles all display modes of temporality that are somewhat unusual. Holinshed's chronicle contains numerous references to days ('Saterday'), seasons ('all this Sommer'), months ('the ende of September'), feast days ('About the feast of all Saincts') as well as more specific and

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[24] Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, 'Fuit is annus MCCCC humanae salutis.' p.432; 'Incidit haec comitum conspiratio in eum annum qui fuit humanae salutis MCCCCI, et cum Henricus regnare coepit iij.' p.434; 'Fuit ille annus salutis MCCCCVII, et cum regnare coepit Henricus viij, insignis morte Roberti Canoli.' p.435; 'Mortuus est apud Westmonasterium anno agens xlvj, qui fuit annus salutus humanae MCCCCXIII. Regnavit annos xiiij plusque menses vj ac dies duos.' p.438.

immediate timeframes ('the next day in the morning earely').[25] While Holinshed begins some narrative entries with such phrases as 'whilst', 'shortly after', this does not overwhelm the narrative arrangement of the chronicle history.

To focus on just one example, the *Historia Vitae*, written sometime before 1413, exhibits a covert temporality in that it barely mentions when a New Year has passed. There are no references to dates in *Anno Domini* form, nor referential dates in the margins. However, a majority of the narrative entries start with slightly vague temporal markers such as 'hoc anno', 'in fine huius anni rex …' 'item eodem anno'. The dominant mode of signifying chronology in the *Historia* is through the use of feast days. For instance, the start of the historical narrative for the year 1401 is marked only by reference to a parliament held after Christmas, and the chronicler then provides a further seven references to feast days in chronological order including Good Friday, John the Baptist (24th June) and Saint Michael (29th September).[26] While the use of 'hoc anno' at the start of narrative entries was a restrictive element, as a whole the *Historia Vitae*'s narrative is not dominated by its chronological structure, thus placing it within the middle covert end of the temporal spectrum. Historical events flow in sequential chronological order, although the methods of time reckoning are cyclical rather than linear. The more important feast days in the church calendar, such as Christmas and Easter, as well as popular feast days such as that of St Alban, the protomartyr of England, recur frequently in this chronicle.

It is clear then from this analysis of the range of different temporal strategies employed by the sixteen chronicles under examination that the overt attitude to time which characterises the chronicle form disrupts the narrative flow. The narrative implications of more or less strict adhesion to chronology are most evident in the

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[25] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4: 'Saterday, p.1140; 'all this Sommer', p.1142; 'the ende of September' p.1131; 'About the feast of all Saincts', p.1140; 'The next day in the morning earely' p.1138.
[26] *Historia Vitae*: 'festum Natalis Domini' (Christmas, 25th December) p.169 'Sancta Parasceue' (Good Friday) p.169; 'festum annunciacionis beate marie' (Annunciation, 25th March) p.170; 'Uirilia Corporis Christi' (Corpus Christi, 2nd June) p.170; 'Festum Sanctorium Dionisii' (Feast of Saint Denis, 9th October) p.170; 'Festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste' (Feast of John the Baptist, 24th June) p.170; 'Festum Natiuitatis beate Marie' (Feast of the birth of Mary, 8th September) p.171; 'Die Sancti Michaelis' (Feast of Saint Michael, 29th September) p.171. These entries are in chronological order except for one, which occurs with a reference to the Feast of Saint Denis in October: the Bishop of Worcester dies in June, and his replacement, Richard Clifford is consecrated in October.

ending of the revolt. Of the sixteen chronicles that form the basis of this study, seven chronicles provide an ending to the revolt, seven chronicles do not provide an ending but conclude their narratives *in mediis rebus*, and a further two chronicles do not carry their narratives beyond 1403, and so do not have the opportunity to conclude their revolt narratives.[27]   The ending or lack of an ending for a given narrative profoundly affects that narrative's impact as a whole.

Narrative endings are connected with the forms of temporality displayed in the chronicles; all of the chronicles that do not provide resolution to their narrative of the revolt are overtly time-referenced. For instance, the *Continuatio Eulogii* leaves its narrative of the revolt in 1405 with an entry that firstly describes how Henry IV freed Coity Castle in south Wales, and then records that the king had his baggage and jewels stolen from him by the Welsh.[28]   The loss of the king's personal possessions to his enemies is an intriguing place to cease the *Continuatio*'s revolt narratives; not only would this have been a potential source of embarrassment for Henry IV, but it also leaves the narrative with the Welsh holding the upper hand. Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* and Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion* also conclude their revolt narratives with Owain Glynd*r in control of Wales. Both abruptly end their narrative with an account of the siege of Aberystwyth Castle in 1407.   As Walsingham explains,

> In this summer the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales, took by siege the castle of Aberystwyth; but not long after, Owain Glynd*r deceitfully entered it, and placed new guardians.[29]

Although Owain Glynd*r regains the castle, Walsingham notes the underhanded method of recapture, and was thus able to extract a small moral victory for the English. Nevertheless, the revolt narratives leave Owain Glynd*r in a solid position in Wales. In his *Annales Henrici Quarti* Walsingham extends his narrative of the revolt further than the siege of Aberystwyth, with his last entry occurring in the year

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[27] A total of sixteen chronicles form the basis of this study, however two of these chronicles, *Dieulacres Chronicle* and the *Historia Vitae* end their narratives well before the others.   The *Dieulacres Chronicle* ends in mid-1403 and the *Historia Vitae* narrative stops in 1402.

[28] The complete passage reads 'Et reversus transiit in Walliam Australem, et castrum de Coyfy, diu a Wallicis obsessum, liberavit. Et in redeundo cariagium suum et jocalia sua Wallenses spoliabant.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.408. See Appendix One, Passage 2k.

[29] 'Hac aestate Dominus Henricus, Princeps Walliae, cepit per obsidionem castrum de Abrustwythe; sed non multo post Howenus Glendor fraudulenter illud intravit, et novos custodes imposuit.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.277. See Appendix One, Passage 1o.

1412. Here Walsingham records Owain Glynd* r's capture of David Gam (Dafydd Gan), who had been a supporter of Henry IV against Owain Glynd* r in the border regions of Brecon.[30] Only two of the chronicles that do not provide a conclusion to the revolt leave their narratives in a place in which Henry IV is in control of the revolt; both *An English Chronicle* and Robert Fabyan end their revolt narratives with the execution of a Welshman called Rhys ap Ddu.[31] As *An English Chronicle* records,

> The xij yer off Kynge Henry, a squire off Wales called Ris ap Dye, &at wasse supporter off Owyn off Glyndore, &at didde moche destruccion to the kynges peple in Wales, wasse take and brogte to London, and drawen and honged and quartered.[32]

Here, as in Fabyan's description of the execution of 'Rize ap Dee' in 1410, Henry IV takes decisive action and extracts punishment for rebelling.[33] The only real pattern to emerge regarding the exact points at which the narratives ceased is a pattern of sources. Capgrave's reliance on Thomas Walsingham resulted in the ceasing of the narrative in the same chronological positions, as does *An English Chronicle* and Fabyan's use of a similar source, possibly the *Brut*, for these years.[34] However, it remains unclear as to why these particular places were chosen to leave the narrative. Nonetheless, this fact of incompleteness is more important than the exact point at which they cease.

While these chronicles which do not give an ending are all overtly time-referenced, there is one further chronicle, John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, completed around the year 1446 and presented to Henry VI, that does not provide a narrative ending and displays covert modes of temporality. Capgrave, in his only entry on the revolt in the *Liber*, records

> And after these things the same king [Henry IV] had certain worries of his mind with one squire of Richard, the Earl of Arundel, called Glynd* r whom the king

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[30] 'Owain Glynd* r, experienced in evil days, if not by virtue by a deception at least, captured David Gam.' (Owenus Gleyndor inveteratus dierum malorum, etsi non virtute, dolo cepit David Gamme) Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti* in the *St Albans Chronicle*, ed. Galbraith, p.22. Interestingly the discussion of the siege of Aberystwyth Castle is also significantly expanded in the *Annales*. See *St Albans Chronicle*, ed. Galbraith, pp.22-27.

[31] Rhys Ddu's full Welsh name was Rhys ap Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ab Ieuan.

[32] *An English Chronicle*, p.39. The twelfth year of the reign of Henry IV falls between September 1410 and September 1411.

[33] Robert Fayban, *The Newe Cronycles*, p.576.

[34] According to Marx's commentary (p.126), this passage has parallels with a passage in *the Brut*. See W.D. Brie, ed., *The Brut or The Chronicles of England,* Early English Texts Society, 1908, p.370.

rather often sought, and never found. For wandering about in the mountains and caverns of Wales, he never had a certain location nor could he be captured by anyone.[35]

It is the lack of conclusion to the revolt that dominates the entire entry. While the other six chronicles simply stop reporting the Welsh revolt, Capgrave actively constructs an open-endedness to his narrative. The resultant image is one of Owain Glynd*r still 'wandering about' ('circumvagans') in a landscape of timeless mountains and caverns.[36] In Capgrave's case, as with the other chronicles, the time of composition does not contribute to the absence of an ending. The Welsh rebellion lasted until *c*.1415, although by 1409 Owain Glynd*r's position was quite ineffectual, and most of his immediate family and followers had been imprisoned or killed. With the exception of the *Dieulacres* and the *Historia Vitae*, all of the chronicles under examination in this thesis had the means to provide a conclusion to the revolt as they were either actively composing at the time the revolt ceased, or were yet to begin composition.[37] Capgrave's denial of narrative closure invites readers to imagine Owain Glynd*r's continued presence in the wild, beyond the end of his narrative.

All seven chronicles that provide narrative closure present either a covert mode of temporality or fall within the middle of the overt/ covert spectrum. In each instance the revolt is concluded with the death of Owain Glynd*r. Polydore Vergil, for instance, resolves his narrative by stating that Owain Glynd*r's 'life had an ending worthy of his deeds. Reduced to extreme poverty, he died a wretched death.'[38] In Hardyng's narrative, Owain Glynd*r's death is narrated alongside the death of his son. In the second version of his chronicle, which was presented to Edward IV in the year 1463, Hardyng records in his narrative for the year 1408-09 that,

> The tenth yere &an of the kinges date,
>
> The kinge of Scotland and Ewayn of Glendore

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[35] 'Et post haec quasdam animi perturbationes habuit idem rex cum uno armigero Ricardi, comitis Arundell, qui armiger dictus est Glendore, quem rex saepius quaesivit et nunquam invenit. Nam in montibus et cavernis Walliae circumvagans, nunquam certum locum habuit, nec a quoquam capi potuit.' Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p.110. See Appendix One, Passage 5a.

[36] See Chapter Six.

[37] Similarly, Robert Fabyan's lack of narrative closure was a deliberate one. Fabyan wrote his *New Chronicles* around the year 1504, which was a full ninety years after the rebellion had ceased and Owain Glynd*r was long dead, yet he still leaves the story of Owain Glynd*r's revolt open.

[38] Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.434.

> His son also, &e worlde forsoke &an algate,
>
> And died away, of hem &an was no more;
>
> The prince of Scotland &an was kinge &erfore,
>
> And Wales all became the kinges men,
>
> In Rest and pese without rebellion &en.[39]

In both versions of his chronicle Hardyng links the deaths of Owain Glynd*r and his son with the establishment of peace in Wales. In the second version quoted here, Hardyng juxtaposes the deaths of Owain Glynd*r and the king of Scotland and comments on the continuation of the various genealogical lines. In the king of Scotland's case his son inherits his father's position, while the deaths of Owain Glynd*r and his unnamed son together effectively conclude the possibility of Owain Glynd*r's line continuing.[40] Hardyng thus concludes the rebellion, and explicitly states that a long-lasting peace followed.

In contrast, in his narrative on the death of Owain Glynd*r, Adam Usk incorporates a degree of uncertainty surrounding the rebel leader's death. Adam records under the year 1415 that,

> After four years in hiding from the king and kingdom, Owain Glynd*r died, and was buried by his followers in the darkness of night. His grave was discovered by his enemies, however, so he had to be re-buried, though it is impossible to discover where it was laid.[41]

After a period of lying low, the rebel leader is dead. However, this certainty is undercut somewhat by Adam's account of the movement of his burial site to an unspecified location; this lack of solid and tangible evidence that Owain Glynd*r was actually dead generates a degree of open-endedness.[42] It was also, as Elisa Henken has documented, a factor that contributed to the casting of Owain Glynd*r into the role of the redeemer hero within the Welsh tradition.[43] As Henken comments 'the unknown grave leaves open possibilities for the hero. If the grave

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[39] Hardyng, Arch. Selden. B.10. fol. 158v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.513.

[40] It should be noted that in the first version Hardyng inaccurately calls Owain Glynd*r's son 'Owain.' It is not known how many sons Owain Glynd*r had, however according to J.E. Lloyd it is probable that he had six sons, named Gruffydd, Madog, Maredudd, Thomas, John and David, *Owen Glendower (Owen Glyn d r)*, p.27.

[41] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.263.

[42] Indeed, Owain Glynd*r's final burial place is still the source of endless fascination and debate. See Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, p.327; J.R.S. Phillips, 'When did Owain Glyn D*r die?', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 (1970-2), pp.59-77.

[43] Henken, *National Redeemer*, pp.64-70.

cannot be found, perhaps the hero does not need one.'[44] It is possible to read Adam's conclusion as the product of a tension he felt between his desire to construct a chronicle that adhered to the inherent conventions of the genre, but also to acknowledge his Welsh origins.[45]

Adam Usk's chronicle is exceptional in many regards, as has already been discussed in relation to Adam's narrative voices.[46] As Given-Wilson has shown, Adam's style changes in each of the four sections composed at different intervals.[47] On the whole, while there are numerous references to time throughout his chronicle, Adam Usk does not let the need to mark time dominate his narrative; indeed, as commented in Chapter One, Adam himself feels uncomfortable with the arrangement of his chronicle, which he comments in his narrative was based more upon his memories, and which he believes to be more reflective of truth than simply sequential narrative.[48]

While Adam Usk's narrative sows uncertainty, the other chronicles which conclude the narrative ensure that it be known that Owain Glynd*r was deceased by describing in detail the manner of his death. These narratives focus on physical details, which included bodily suffering and starvation.[49] For instance, Holinshed records that Owain Glynd*r, 'lacking meate to ſuſtayne nature, for pure hunger and lacke of foode, miſerably pyned away and dyed.'[50] In the first version of his chronicle, written sometime between 1440 and 1457, Hardyng states of Owain Glynd*r, his son 'Owain' and King Robert of Scotland,

> And grete feblesse also that made hem fayne,

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[44] Henken, *National Redeemer*, p.69.

[45] For instance, in the Welsh 'Annals of Owain Glynd*r', written soon after Owain's death, it is suggested that he was going to return to save Wales: 'In 1415, Owen went into hiding on St Matthew's day in Harvest [21st September], and thereafter his hiding-place was unknown. Very many say that he died; the seers maintain that he did not.' 'Annals of Owain Glynd*r', extracted from Peniarth MS 135, in J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower(Owain Glyndwr),* Oxford University Press, London, 1931, p.154.

[46] See Chapter One.

[47] Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Dating and Structure of the *Chronicle* of Adam Usk' *Welsh History Review,* 17:4 (1995), pp.520-533.

[48] Adam comments, 'Be tolerant, reader, of the sequence of years in which I have narrated events up to this point, for I have simply set down from memory what I saw and what I heard, with more thought for the truth of what happened than for the order in which it happened.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.18.

[49] The connection between rebellion, landscape and the bodily suffering of the rebels will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

[50] Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1577) Volume 4, p.1155.

> That thay forsoke thayre domynacion
>
> And putte thayme hole to Cristes propiciacion.[51]

Here Hardyng records that these three men all suffered great discomfort to the point that they all decided to relinquish their lordship and give themselves entirely to Christ for forgiveness. Hardyng's portrayal of a contrite rebel is unique amongst the chronicle narratives; it was much more common for the chroniclers to depict Owain Glynd*r's uncomfortable ending as a deserved fate for the act of rebellion. Polydore Vergil, Edward Halle and Ralph Holinshed all cast Owain Glynd*r's ending as divine retribution for his guilty actions. Edward Halle, writing *c*.1532, provides the most conclusive ending to the revolt,

> [the king] sent into Wales with a great army prince Henry his eldest sonne against thesaid Owen and his sedicious fautors, which being dismayed and in manner desperate for all comfort by the reason of the kynges late victory, fled into desert places and solitary caues, where he received afinall reward mete and prepared by Goddes prouidence for suche a rebel and sedicious seducer. For being destitute of all comforte, dreading to shewe his face to any creature, lacking meate to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke of fode miserably ended his wretched life.[52]

Halle provides a narrative ending to the revolt that leaves no room for uncertainty: both Owain Glynd*r and the rebellion have ceased. However, it is the teleological framework of Halle's closing narrative of the Welsh revolt that is of great significance. For Halle, Owain Glynd*r's miserable death was a specific and predetermined end that was sealed at the commencement of his rebellion. In this passage the teleological aspects of Halle's narrative are evident: Owain Glynd*r 'mete' his fate. Halle, like Holinshed and Vergil, displays a chronological vision in which the past, present and future are sequential, and events tend towards a just and inevitable outcome.

The seeming inability of many chronicles to narrate fully an event in its logical sequence, from its beginning, through to a middle and finally to an end has been the source of some discomfort for many modern scholars of narrative.[53] As Hayden White points out,

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[51] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol.208r; Peverley, *John Hardyng,* p.313.
[52] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.31-32.
[53] For instance, see Arthur Danto, *Narration and Knowledge,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1985, pp.117-119 and p.356.

> The chronicle usually is marked by a failure to achieve narrative *closure.* It does not
> so much conclude as simply terminate. It starts out to tell a story but breaks off *in
> medias res*, in the chronicler's own present; it leaves things unresolved or, rather,
> leaves them unresolved in a story-like way.[54]

While White does not altogether dismiss chronicles as narrative entities, he does argue that chronicles fall short of achieving narrativity because of this deficiency in their story-telling capability. This lack of a narrative ending and thus of a coherent story, coupled with the view of the chronicle as a multitude of seemingly unrelated events arranged one after the other, has contributed to the notion of the chronicles (and more so annals) as 'random assemblages of data' and not full and complete narratives.[55] However, I argue that it is mistaken to assume that the chroniclers' primary goal was to achieve chronological accuracy, narrative cohesion and narrative closure; instead the chroniclers' primary goal appears to have been to construct a narrative that was capable of sustaining significance and was meaningful for their readers.

What has not been taken into consideration by many modern critics of overtly chronological narrative is that the structure and its temporal anchors were not random but rather were purposeful, meaningful and culturally significant. The chronological sequencing of the historical materials and reference to yearly dates *Anno Domini* within the chronicle narratives provided a measurement of the distance between the narrated historical event and 'the Incarnation of our Lord'. Indeed, the type of chronicle form under discussion here has its roots as a specifically Christian form.[56] The life of Christ was central to salvation history, and the application of a chronological sequence, coupled with temporal markers, provided a clear link between events of the bible and individuals of the contemporary era. Since the

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[54] Hayden White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *Critical Inquiry*, Volume 7, no. 1, 1980, p.9.

[55] For a full discussion of these issues see Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form', pp.88-108; David Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Diebergen/ Utrecht 16-21 July 1999*, Erik Kooper (ed.), Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2002, p.18-19; Suzanne Fleichman, 'On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages', *History and Theory*, 22:3 (1983), esp. pp.284-285.

[56] The first specifically world history was that of the bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (d.339), which was subsequently translated into Latin and adapted by Jerome laying the foundation for subsequent western chronicle writing. Timothy D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981, pp.106-125.

beginning of the fourth century, Christian authors such as Augustine (d. 430)[57] applied a further classification of the events of the past into six epochs, all of them based around major events outlined in biblical history; the first age was from Adam to Noah, second from Noah to Abraham, third from Abraham to David, fourth from David to the Babylonian captivity, fifth from the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ, and finally the sixth age from the birth of Christ to the contemporary age.[58] Chroniclers, both medieval and humanist, viewed their position as at the end of a long history, but also saw themselves as the custodians of religious and future events, none greater than the second coming of Christ, and judgement day.

Sixteenth-century humanist notions of historiography continued to view the purposes of historical writing in a manner similar to that of their medieval predecessors: as centred around recording humanities progress towards judgement and notions of god's providence.[59] For instance the four dates that Polydore Vergil provides all have attached the phrase 'in that year which was of human salvation' ('in eum annum qui fuit humanae salutis'). The titles of the chronicles of the sixteenth century too, such as Robert Fabyan's *New Chronicles*, signal an intention to continue within the tradition of the chronicle, albeit with 'new' perspectives on the past. Portents continued to be central and meaningful concerns. As discussed in Chapter One, the comet of *c*.1402 remained a significant entity across the whole timeframe under discussion here up to *c*.1580.[60] However, differences occurred in how the meaning of the comet was related; the internal function of the chronicle, in particular changes in ideas of narrative and structural arrangements of the chronicles in the sixteenth century, prompted alternative sources of significance.

While in overtly temporal chronicles the chronological sequencing of the narrative may appear to be superficially obvious, it resulted in a number of consequences for

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[57] See for instance, Augustine, *De Catechizandis Rudibus* (On the Catechising of the Uninstructed), Chapter 22.
[58] For a further discussion of the epochs of universal history see John Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966, p.33-36 and Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space:How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World,* The British Library, London, 1997, pp.97-102.
[59] For a general overview of the issues and for Polydore Vergil see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, Vol. 2., pp.425-453; and Denis Hays, *Polydore Vergil: Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1952, esp. pp.29-31.
[60] See Chapter One, Section III.

the narrative and was capable of sustaining complex narrative strategies. For instance, the appearance that the chronicles were made up of a multitude of seemingly unrelated events arranged one after the other was in fact the product of the narrative strategy of interlacing. The interweaving of multiple narratives concerning various historical events by regular switches between them creates a plaiting effect, in which new strands are introduced into the chronicle's narrative, old ones return and continue, and some narratives simply cease.

Such narrative strategies had multiple implications for depictions of the Welsh revolt and other individual narratives. Firstly, it meant that the revolt narratives were far greater than just those entries that dealt directly with the events of the revolt; all of the surrounding materials are potentially relevant and significant. Secondly, it meant that individual narrative endings were of little consequence to chronicles that adhered to overt temporality; rather the overall structure of the chronicle stands in for the ending of the narrative. As was signalled by dates and time references, the chronicle narrative was in fact geared towards the ultimate end: the second coming of Christ and judgement day. The narratives of the revolt therefore were one thread in a larger tapestry.

The fact that chroniclers did not all use the same way of structuring their works suggests that temporal ordering did matter. At stake in these choices were the messages conveyed to readers, and specifically the interpretations to which they were guided. In the narratives of the revolt of Owain Glynd* r this is especially evident in the chroniclers' treatment of the ending. While most of the chronicles placed strong emphasis on Owain Glynd* r's violent death, some included nothing at all, and Capgrave and Adam Usk leave his fate to some degree open. Those which do not provide an account of Owain Glynd* r's death, whether wittingly or not, leave space for the tradition of Owain Glynd* r as a hero who will return at a later time. The treatment of time and closure becomes not merely a narrative matter, but a political one.

II

Looking Backwards, Looking Forwards: Distortions of Time in the Revolt Narratives

> The spring near Builth in which the head of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, last prince of the Welsh, was washed after it had been cut off, flowed with pure blood throughout one whole day.[61]

Adam Usk's description of the appearance of Llywelyn the Last's blood in a stream in mid-Wales is one of several examples in the narratives of the Welsh revolt in which time has collapsed. Here past, present and future events are intertwined: Llywelyn the Last (d.1282) was killed fighting for Welsh independence against the English King Edward I over one hundred years previously and this reappearance of his blood is narrated within Adam's narrative for the year 1400. The connection between past Welsh rebellions and the one currently narrated is clearly made; Llywelyn's blood appears soon after the initiation of Owain Glynd* r's revolt. Here the past serves as a lesson for the present and the future, predicting further blood and execution. In the following section, I look at the ways in which chronicles and the characters within them look forwards and backwards in time, that is, in narratological terms, the analysis of analepses and prolepses. It is in this broad group of narrative techniques that much of the chroniclers' most sophisticated engagement with time is found.

Like Adam Usk, John Rous provides an example in which the past has been merged with the present to serve as a forewarning to the future. Writing between 1480 and 1486, Rous records,

> At once, a certain Welshman called Owain Glynd* r rose up in a great rebellion … It was a common rumour at that time that he had a stone which rendered him invisible, which stone, as it is said, once belonged to Richard, Earl of Arundel, who was cruelly beheaded by King Richard. The aforesaid Earl of Arundel, so it is reported, had a crow from the greater sort of them, which are called ravens. This crow was

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[61] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.117.

> raised in his court and when on a certain occasion he was playing chess in a certain place, the so called crow or spirit in the form of a crow, in the presence of the earl, noisily spat out a stone which had a virtue (power) of invisibility. The earl did not use it contrary to the advice of his nobles, and soon after the said earl was forcibly arrested, sent off to prison and finally decapitated. [62]

In this rich image Rous intertwines events of the past with those of the present, providing equal attention to both Owain Glynd*r and Arundel. Rous places this event within his discussion of the reign of Henry IV, although, arguably, this extract could equally have been placed earlier in his narrative in order to describe the execution of Arundel by Richard II in 1397. As it stands, Rous's narrative of the revolt is placed between the appearance of a comet and the Battle of Shrewsbury; the absence of specific time-markers further contributes to the overall sense of collapsed time within this image. Furthermore, it is significant that a material object is used to link together the two different timeframes. In Adam Usk's narrative, blood has transcended time and reappears. Furthermore its appearance in a specific historical place, a spring, contributes to its significance.[63] Rous's magical stone likewise provides the link between present and past; Owain Glynd*r's possession of the magical stone foretells problems ahead for the English king: Owain Glynd*r will be difficult to capture. These two material items create an important sense of immediacy to the narrative; blood and stones are everyday, familiar materials, easily imagined, and their reappearance generates a sense of possible recurrence in the future.

Both of these examples display a complex understanding of time, in which the apparently distinct and neatly chronological categories of 'past', 'present' and 'future' are, in fact, not absolute. The concepts of time that led to the division of past, present and future were the source of some anxiety in the middle ages; writing in the late twelfth century, Walter Map reflects that the 'last one hundred years' in which 'memory is fresh and clear' can be narrated and that individuals can confidently know about 'things which they did not see.' However, such confidence does not apply to 'that which is to come', the one hundred years that was to follow in

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[62] John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.
[63] This is discussed further in Chapter Six.

the future; Map concludes by stating that 'the past belongs to narration and the future to divination.'[64]

Adam Usk and Rous interweave two very different timeframes into their narratives of the Welsh revolt in order to highlight particular aspects of rebellion, including violence (blood and execution) and heroic leadership (Arundel *vs* Owain Glynd* r). In each instance, the prior rebellion is instructive to the present rebellion. When considered within larger understandings of the purposes of recording history, chronicles served to document humanity's path to salvation and therefore the past served to educate. Certainly the modes of narration used by the chronicles reflect the didactic nature of chronicle history, with an emphasis on conformity to a third-person, observational stance.[65] History provided the blueprint to understanding the world and humanity's place within it. For instance, in his entry on the Welsh revolt in his *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, which has been cited above, Capgrave does not provide a narrative ending. He records that:

> After these things the same king [Henry IV] had certain worries of his mind with one squire of Richard, the Earl of Arundel, called Glynd* r whom the king rather often sought, and never found. For wandering about in the mountains and caverns of Wales, he never had a certain location nor could he be captured by anyone.[66]

The positioning of this entry within Capgrave's narrative is significant; placed between the revolts of the Percy family of 1405 and 1407 and the death of Henry IV in 1413; these rebellions are chronologically out of sequence. In Capgrave's later chronicle, the *Abbreviacion*, the revolt of Owain Glynd* r precedes the Percy revolts. Here the lack of closure, coupled with the linking of numerous rebellions out of chronological sequence appears to function as a lesson in the perils of rebellion. Henry IV dies before Owain Glynd* r's revolt is properly dealt with.

None of the sixteen chronicles examined here is devoid of anachronisms; events are sometimes recorded under the wrong year, and frequently out of chronological

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[64] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers Trifles*, M.R. James, ed.and trans., revised C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983, pp.123-125.
[65] See Chapter One.
[66] 'Et post haec quasdam animi perturbationes habuit idem rex cum uno armigero Ricardi, comitis Arundell, qui armiger dictus est Glendore, quem rex saepius quaesivit et nunquam invenit. Nam in montibus et cavernis Walliae circumvagans, nunquam certum locum habuit, nec a quoquam capi potuit.' Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p.110. See Appendix One, Passage 5a.

sequence. For instance, the *Dieulacres Chronicle* misplaces the capture of Reginald Lord Grey by Owain Glynd* r; the chronicler has placed this event within the year 1400, at the start of the Welsh rebellion.[67] Comparisons to other contemporary chroniclers and historical records suggest that this occurred later;[68] Adam Usk, for instance, has this occurring in 1402[69] as does the *Continuatio Eulogii*.[70] The diversity of years in which the comet of *c*.1402 is narrated further illustrates this point; as discussed in Chapter One, of the fourteen recorded appearances of the comet, one chronicler records the appearance of the comet in the year 1400, one places it in 1401, eight place the comet under 1402, one in 1403 and one vaguely places it somewhere between 1399 and 1400. It would appear that comets were somewhat moveable in the chronicle text. The seeming inaccuracy of the chronicles has often been a point of criticism; as Gabriel Spiegel observes, there is a trend to view medieval historical writing as 'unauthentic, unscientific, unreliable, ahistorical, occasionally irrational, often illiterate and wholly unprofessional.'[71] The sidelining of chronicles based upon their so-called 'inaccuracies' ignores their most important internal feature: the construction of a meaningful and significant interweaving of narratives. Indeed, I would argue that the purposeful reshuffling of chronology was a means of bringing significance to the chronicle narratives, and to place emphasis upon particular events. In *An English Chronicle*, for instance, the chronicler misplaces the Battle of Shrewsbury, placing it in 1401-1402, when it should be 1403.[72] However, it is entirely possible that the chronicler intentionally moved the Battle of Shrewsbury to be closer to the comet that predicted the battle. If this is the case, then rather than reshuffling the chronological position of the omen, the chronicle has moved what is predicted. This suggests that the accuracy of chronology was only a secondary concern to the cohesion of significance.

As with the reordering of chronology, the uses of analepsis and prolepsis create meaning. The most frequent use of analepsis occurs at the start of the revolt narratives to narrate background to the event. A range of information is provided,

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[67] *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175. See Appendix One, Passage 4c.
[68] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glynd r*, p.107.
[69] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.161.
[70] *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389. See Appendix One, Passage 2c.
[71] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'Historical Thought in Medieval Europe', in Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza, eds, A *Companion to Western Historical Thought*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2002, p.78.
[72] *An English Chronicle*, p.33.

some concerning the distant past, particularly Owain Glynd*r's life prior to the start of his rebellion. Holinshed provides the most thorough analysis,

> This Owen Glendouer was ſon to an eſquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the pariſh of Conway, within the Countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place ye hight Glindourwy, which is as muche to ſay in Engliſh, as the valley, by the ſide of the water of Dee, by occaſion whereof, he was ſurnamed Glindour Dewe, he was firſte ſet to ſtudie the lawes of the Realme, & became an vtter barreſter, or an apprentice of the lawe (as they terme him) and ſerued K. Richard at Flint Caſtel, when he was taken by Henry Duke of Lãcaſter, though other haue written, that hee ſerued this K. Henry the fourth, before he came to atteine the Crowne, in roome of an Eſquier, and after, by reaſon of variãce that roſe betwixt him, and the L. Reginold Grey of Ruthin, aboute landes which he claymed to be his by righte of inheritance.[73]

Although Holinshed's material is greatly expanded, he drew upon earlier information provided by Thomas Walsingham and Capgrave, who both record that Owain Glynd*r was 'first an apprentice near Westminster and later the shield-bearer of the current king.'[74] Other chronicles, such as the *Continuatio Eulogii*, the *Historia Vitae* and the second version of Hardyng's chronicle,[75] offer information concerning the revolt that is concerned with the nearer past. For instance, the *Historia Vitae*

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[73] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1132.

[74] 'Hic primo apprenticuis fuit apud Westmonasterium, deinde scutifer Regis moderni.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana,* p . 246; See Appendix One, Passage 1a. 'Hic primo juris apprenticuis fuit apud Westmonasterium, deinde armiger non ignoblis Regi moderni.' Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, pp.333-334; 'In this ȝere began þe rebellion of Walis ageyn þe Kyng, vndir a capteyn cleped Howeyn Glendor, whech Howeyn was first a prentise of cort, and þen a swyere in þe Kingis hous, but for a discord þat fel betwix him and Ser Reynald Grey Riffyn for certeyn lond.' John Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.217; 'Et post haec quasdam animi perturbationes habuit idem rex cum uno armigero Ricardi, comitis Arundell, qui armiger dictus est Glendore, quem rex saepius quaesivit et nunquam invenit.' Capgrave*, Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p.110. See Appendix One, Passage 5a.

[75] In the first version Hardyng does not go into the background to the revolt. He states,

> Than came he home and tythandes new than hade
> How that Ewayn of Glendor was rebell,
> And made grete were of which he was vngladde,
> And to London hym sped as so byfell,
> Whar full tythandes he herde than sothly tell
> Of werre full grete betvix the sayde Ewayne
> And the lorde Gray Ryffyth, the soth to sayne.

Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol. 204v; Peverley, *John Hardyng,* pp.305-306. In the second version of his chronicle, Hardyng alters his narrative to now include the lines:

> The kinge came home and to London went
> At Mighelmesse, where þan he had message,
> That Ewayn Glendore þen felly brent
> In Englond so, and did ful grete outrage,
> For cause that lord Gray held his heritage,
> And to the kinge of it ful sore had playned,
> No remedy gat, so was he þen demayned.

Hardyng, Arch. Selden. B.10. fol. 157r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.506.

provides a detailed examination of the events leading up to the revolt, suggesting that the purposeful withholding of a letter by Reginald Lord Grey contributed decisively.[76]   Here the material provided is from a narrower temporal range. However, in each case an analepsis is used to illustrate the present. The background information provided is purposefully selected in order to emphasise aspects of the revolt. For instance, Owain Glynd*r rebels in full knowledge of the law, which he gained through his training in England. In contrast, several chronicles do not use an analepsis in their introduction to the revolt, but rather narrate only what occurred within the present time. This strategy was employed by Adam Usk, *Dieulacres*, the first version of Hardyng's chronicle, and Robert Fabyan, who in his *New Chronicles*, states,

> And in this yere began a great discencion in Walys atwene the lorde Gray Ryffyn, & a Welsheman named Howen of Glendore, which Howen gatheryd to hym great strength of Welshemen, and dyd moche harme to that countrey, not sparynge the kynges lordshyppes nor his people...[77]

Here, Fabyan does not provide any background information and instead adheres to events that occurred within that chronologically specific moment.

What is significant with regards to the uses of analepsis in the introduction to the rebellion, is that there is no real notion of Owain Glynd*r's past leading to the act of rebellion; there is no foreshadowing of his violent death. This is in stark contrast to Edmund Mortimer, whose birth, as analysed in the introduction to this chapter, forewarned of a violent life that was to follow. It is not just Thomas Walsingham who uses prolepsis in regards to Mortimer: it also occurs in the *Continuatio Eulogii* and *An English Chronicle*.[78] Chronicles of the sixteenth century do not use prolepsis with regards to Owain Glynd*r's revolt, although in Vergil there is a sense that the rebellion was anticipated; Vergil starts his narratives of the Welsh revolt by stating that,

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[76] *Historia Vitae,* pp.167-168.
[77] Robert Fayban, *The Newe Cronycles*, pp.569-570.
[78] *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398; *An English Chronicle*, p.32.

> Meanwhile, so there would be no hope for quiet, Wales, ever prone to new risings,
> was troubled by the mutual bickering of certain nobles and seemed almost to look
> towards rebellion. When the king found this out, he hastened there with an army, [79]

Vergil frames his narratives of the revolt with a sense of the inevitable, although this
is not linked to Owain Glynd*r's personal past. 'Wales' had proved an issue in the
past with regards to rebellion, and therefore this revolt was foreseeable. This
rebellion was merely one in a predictable series. Vergil continues his narrative,
describing Henry IV's campaigns into Wales as delivering to the Welsh rebels their
'deserved comeuppance' ('merita poena').[80] Vergil constructs the end for these
particular individuals as that which befits their actions.

The sixteenth-century chronicles that provide narrative closure to the Welsh revolt
all construct its conclusion, and most particularly Owain Glynd*r's death, as
inevitable. While there are subtle foreshadowings, it is at the point of closure that
these are thoroughly narrated. For instance, Vergil records,

> After this victory Prince Henry led the army into Wales, and, since it was terrified
> by his father's good fortune in war, he subdued it with next to no effort. Owain, the
> leader of the faction, a man seditious and riotous by nature, was forced to go into
> voluntary exile, where his life had an ending worthy of his deeds. Reduced to
> extreme poverty, he died a wretched death.[81]

For Vergil, Owain Glynd*r's innate character contributed to his rebellion, and in the
end was the reason for its collapse and for his miserable death. Like Vergil, Halle
and Holinshed only provide the reasons for the revolt at its conclusion: Owain
Glynd*r's pain and suffering befit his rebellion. However, in Halle's chronicle, the
idea of fate comes through very strongly. After describing Owain Glynd*r's death,
Halle continues,

> For being destitute of all comforte, dreading to shewe his face to any creature,
> lacking meate to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke of fode miserably ended

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[79] 'Interea ut ∫pes nulla requietis e∫∫et, Vallia quæ ∫emper ad novos motus intenta erat, mutuis
quorundam nobilium di∫sidijs exagitata, ad defection(propemodum ∫pectare uidebatur. Quod ubi rex
cognouit, eo celeriter cum exercitu profici∫citur.' Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432. See Appendix
One, Passage 7a.
[80] Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432.
[81] 'Princeps Henricus ∫ecund) hanc victori' , in Vuallum exercit) duxit, qu(patris belli fortuna
∫ecunda perterritum, nullo fere labore domuit, Ouino viro natura ∫editio∫o tumultuo∫oque, qui faction)
caput fuerat, exili) ultro adire coacto, ubi vitæ exitum ∫uis factis dign) habuit: nam rerum omni)
egens mi∫errime mortem obiit.' Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.434. See Appendix One,
Passage 7c.

> his wretched life. This ende was prouided for suche as gaue credence to false prophesies. This ende had they that by diabolical deuinacions were promised great possessions and seigniories. This ende happeneth to suche as beleuyng such fantasticall folies, aspire and gape for honor and high promocions. When the prince with litle labor and lesse losse, had tamed & bridled the furious rage of the wild and sauage Welshemen, and lefte gouernors to rule and gouerne the countree, he returned to his father with great honour & no small praise.[82]

Halle dismisses any notion of alternative lines of fate, by suggesting that although Owain Glynd*r was seduced into believing himself to be at the centre of various prophecies, these were most certainly false. Owain Glynd*r's fate had been sealed.

There are several references to the uses of prophecy within the examined chronicles, particularly associated with the method of Henry IV's accession.[83] Adam Usk refers to numerous prophecies, and, for instance, connects the prophecies of John of Bridlington (*c*.1320-1379) to the deposition of Richard II.[84] Particular aspects of Henry's reign too were connected to various prophecies; Thomas Walsingham connects the Bridlington prophecy to the execution of Archbishop Scrope in 1405,[85] and a further prophecy of unknown origin to Henry 'Hotspur' Percy's death at the Battle of Shrewsbury.[86] Capgrave applies the same prophecy to the death of Henry IV at Shrewsbury.[87] Many chronicles refer to a prophecy concerning Henry IV's death, which was predicted to occur in the Holy Land. Henry IV's death in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster was seen to be the fulfilment of this prophecy,

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[82] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.31-32.

[83] As Paul Strohm has argued, 'Henry IV's accession was accompanied by a blizzard of prophecy, most newly generated, but all presented as matter already known, the pertinence of which is suddenly recollected under incentive of emergent events.' *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation 1399-1422*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998, p.7. See also Helen Fulton, 'Arthurian Prophecy and the Deposition of Richard II', *Arthurian Literature*, 22 (2005), pp.64-83.

[84] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.51-53. Given-Wilson provides a detailed list of Adam's uses of prophecy, p.279. For more further analysis of Bridlington's prophecies, see A.G. Rigg, 'John of Bridlington's Prophecy: A New Look', *Speculum*, 63 (1988), pp.596-613.

[85] Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.407.

[86] Walsingham narrates this prophecy through the use of direct speech, describing Hotspur's recollection of a prophecy in which he will die in a place called 'Berwick'. Unfortunately for Hotspur, this recollection was prompted by his sighting of a town of that name whilst travelling towards the Battle of Shrewsbury. Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti,* p.365

[87] Capgrave, who used Walsingham as a source, also refers to prophecy in relation to 'Berwick', although there has been a shift from Hotspur to Henry IV, who is now 'in grete perel', although this prophecy was not fulfilled. It is entirely possible that Capgrave was confused as to which of the two 'Henries' (Henry Percy or Henry IV) Thomas Walsingham, upon whom Capgrave relied, was referring to. Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.222.

and is recorded by the *Continuatio Eulogii,* Adam Usk, *An English Chronicle*, Robert Fabyan, Edward Halle and Holinshed.[88] It is clear from these samples that numerous prophecies were associated with a range of different events that occurred in the reign of Henry IV.

Prophecy is directly connected to Owain Glynd*r and the revolt only in the chronicles of Holinshed and Halle. In an image that captured the imagination of Shakespeare, Holinshed describes the dividing up of England and Wales between Owain Glynd*r, Hotspur (Henry Percy) and Edmund Mortimer (here wrongly merged with his nephew the Earl of March) via the Tripartite Indenture.[89] The motivation for this division, Holinshed narrates under the year 1403:

> This was done (as ſome haue ſayd) through a fooliſhe credite giuen to a vayne prophecie, as though King Henry was the Moldewarp, cured of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the Dragon, the Lion, and the Wolfe, whyche ſhould deuide this Realme betwene them. Such is the deuiation (ſayth Hall) and not diuination of thoſe blinde and fantaſticall dreames of the Welch propheſiers.[90]

The prophecy itself, known as 'The Prophecy of the Six Kings', was widely known and existed in several different versions.[91] As Holinshed comments, Halle too makes references to this particular prophecy and links it with the Tripartite Indenture.[92] Indeed, both Halle and Holinshed reorder chronology in order to ensure a dramatic conclusion to the Indenture: Henry (Hotspur) Percy's dramatic death at the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403.[93] Both move the Tripartite Indenture forward by two years from 1405 and in so doing, change the people involved.[94] However, here it is important that both Halle and Holinshed discredit the rebels' reading of the prophecy, and in particular Welsh involvement. Halle continues immediately after

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[88] *Continuatio Eulogii,* p.421; Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.243; *An English Chronicle*, p.41; Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, pp.576-577; Edward Halle, *Chronicle*, p.45; Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, pp.1161-1162. For a further discussion of this, see Chapter Three.

[89] See Chapter Three and also my 'Cosmos and History: Shakespeare's Representation of Nature and Rebellion in *Henry IV Part One*,' in *Renaissance Drama and Poetry in Context: Essays for Christopher Wortham*, Andrew Lynch and Anne Scott (eds.), Cambridge Scholars' Press, Newcastle, 2008, pp.41-61.

[90] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1137.

[91] For a full discussion of the various versions of this prophecy, see, T. M. Smallwood, 'The Prophecy of the Six Kings', *Speculum*, Vol. 60, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), pp.571-592.

[92] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.28.

[93] 'Then ſuddaynely blewe the trumpettes, the Kings part cried Saint George vpon them, the aduerſaries cried Eſperance Percy, and ſo the two armies furiouſly ioyned.' Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1139.

[94] Davies suggests that the Indenture was signed in February 1405 between Edmund Mortimer, Owain Glynd*r and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dr*, p.166.

his account of the Tripartite Indenture, telling the 'Welshmen' off for their role:

> O ye waueryng Welshmen, call you these prophesies? Nay call theim vnprofitable practises. Name you them diuinacions? Nay name them diabolicall deuises, say you they be prognosticacions? Nay they be pestiferous publishinges. For by declaring & credite geuing to their subtil & obscure meanings, princes haue been deceiued, many a noble manne hath suffred, and many an honest man hath been begyled & destroyed.[95]

It would appear then that one of the reasons Halle provided his narrative with such determined narrative closure was as a lesson to the Welsh; the future that had been foreseen through prophecies and that many 'Welshmen' had been seduced into believing, never had any possibility of actually occurring. Moreover, such a lesson contributes to a wider discourse regarding the alterity of the Welsh.[96] The alternative notion of chronology that prophecy implies, by its drawing of the future into the realm of the knowable, was here used to discredit and to marginalise the Welsh.[97]

It is evident that chronicles employ a variety of analeptic and proleptic strategies. Frequently these convey the continued presence or recurrence in the present of things from the past. In the case of the Welsh revolt, this has meant, for instance, the entanglement of past rebellions with that of Owain Glynd* r. Furthermore, it allows for explorations of character, and more specifically of the expression of an innate character over time.

III

Conclusions

Contrary to the perception that chronicles are simple and serial in their recounting of events, they do in fact display a complex array of temporal strategies. A given of the genre is a tendency towards such serial recounting, however, the chronicles studied here all exhibit a contrary tendency towards continuity of narrative. In the case of the revolt of Owain Glynd* r, there are important moves away from plain

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[95] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.28.
[96] This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.
[97] Helen Fulton, 'Owain Glyn Dwr and the Uses of Prophecy', *Studia Celtica* 39 (2005), pp.105-21.

chronological narration, with the chronicles exhibiting a range of analeptic and proleptic devices, including prophecy. The contest of prophetic discourses is essential to the chronicles' framing of the revolt as illegitimate and peripheral. Also important are the ways in which the chronicles provide or refuse to provide an ending. It is in the ending of the narrative that the possibility of further rebellion can be left open, or emphatically closed off. In all cases revolt was wedged into the broader narratives of English history, and the assumed but essential narrative of salvation history.

Chapter Three

'Ay in hilles and in mounteynes': Spatial Structure and Representations of Space

> Heerewith, they [the Percies, Edmund Mortimer and Owain Glynd' r] by their deputies in the hou(e of the Archedeacon of Bangor, deuided the Realme among(t them, cau(ing a tripartite Indenture to be made and (ealed with their (eales, by the couenauntes wherof, al England from Seuerne and Trent, South, & Ea(tward, was a((igned to the Earle of Marche. All Wales, and the landes beyond Seuerne We(tward, were appoynted to Owen Glendor: and all the remnaunt from Trent Northewarde, to the Lorde Percy.[1]

Published in 1577, Holinshed's account of the tripartite dissection of England and Wales into spatially distinct units by individuals acting on behalf of the rebel leaders foregrounds issues of representation of space and spatiality in the narratives of the revolt. Holinshed's narrative description of the carving up of England and Wales is explicitly spatial and the end product is map-like in its division of space. Certainly Shakespeare, who used Holinshed as a source, imagined the use of a map in *Henry IV Part One*; Glendower announcing 'Come, here's the map: shall we divide our right …?'[2] In the Tripartite Indenture, the division of England and Wales was

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[1] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, pp.1136-1137.
[2] Glendower: Come, here's the map: shall we divide our right
                          According to our threefold order ta'en?
Mortimer: The Archdeacon hath divided it
                    Into three limits very equally:
                    England, from Trent and Severn hitherto,
                    By south and east is to my part assigned;
                    All westward, Wales beyond the Severn shore
                    And all the fertile land within that bound,
                    To Owen Glendower; and dear coz, to you
                    The remnant northward laying off from Trent' *Henry IV, Part I.* (III.i.68-77)
This is not the only map referred to in Shakespeare's plays. Maps are found most notably in *Henry V*: 'if you look in the maps of the world' (IV. vii. 22); *King Lear* in which England is divided in three: 'Give me the map there. Know that we have divided/ In three our kingdom' (I.i.37-38). There are also references to maps in *The Tempest*, *Twelfth Night* and others. For a discussion of this see John

symbolic only, and part of a plan that first required that the king of England be overthrown. It was a plan that was never accomplished; Holinshed provides a lengthy account of the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403 soon afterwards, at which Henry (Hotspur) Percy is dramatically killed, after shouts of 'E(perance Percy!'[3] Immediately following his account of the Tripartite Indenture, Holinshed continues his narrative, providing reasons as to why the indenture did not come to fruition:

> [The indenture] was done (as (ome haue (ayd) through a fooli(he credite giuen to a vayne prophecie, as though King Henry was the Moldewarp, cured of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the Dragon, the Lion, and the Wolfe, whyche (hould deuide this Realme betwene them. Such is the deuiation ((ayth Hall) and not diuination of tho(e blinde and fanta(ticall dreames of the Welch prophe(iers.[4]

The linking of future-time (prophecy) and future-space (a tripartite England and Wales) here was important and something Halle also included in his account of the Tripartite Indenture.[5] It was a lesson in not getting too far ahead of oneself in reconfiguring space. Furthermore, the connection of prophecy and the Tripartite Indenture was treated as evidence of alterity; as discussed in Chapter Two, a supposed dependence on prophecy was one means by which to discredit and malign the Welsh.[6] Here, Holinshed labels those involved in the Tripartite Indenture as 'foolish', and particularly singles out the Welsh prophesiers as the origins of such 'vayne prophecies'. In Holinshed's Tripartite narrative the rebels seek to establish physical boundaries between England (although dissected in two) and Wales, based upon landscape features, particularly river systems. The narratives of Holinshed and Halle seek to create boundaries based upon concepts of otherness and allochronism.

A study of space and spatiality is critical to understanding fully the narratives of the revolt. In narratology, space, time and narration are all primary determinants of any narrative and affect all other aspects of the text. As Mikhail Bakhtin has argued, time and space (as constituents of the chronotope) are interdependent; he defines the chronotope as 'the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that

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Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp.45-69.

[3] 'Then (uddaynely blewe the trumpettes, the Kings part cried Saint George vpon them, the aduer(aries cried **E(perance Percy,** and (o the two armies furiou(ly ioyned.' Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1139.

[4] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1137.

[5] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.28.

[6] See Chapter Two.

are artistically expressed in literature.'[7] In the chronicle narrative, as in any other kind, time and space are fundamental as parameters within which the narrative unfolds. It is characteristic of chronicles to organise events into discrete spatio-temporal units, and to arrange these units paratactically. For instance, writing in the early 1460s, John Capgrave records the following three entries one after the other in his *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* for the year 1401,

> In $is ʒere Qween Ysabell was sent hom onto hir fader into Frauns, not fully xii ʒere of age.
>
> In $is same ʒere Howeyn Glendor ded mech harm upon $e borderes of Ynglond.
>
> And in $e same tyme was layd in $e kyngis bed a hirum with iii braunchis, mad so scharp $at, where-euyr $e kyng had turned hum, it schuld sle him, but as God wold, it was aspired, and so he skaped $at perel.[8]

Although these entries are juxtaposed, each entry is an autonomous spatio-temporal pocket. The timeframe for these three events is not specified, but is acknowledged ('in this year'), nor does Capgrave provide a specific duration to these events; from the surrounding temporal material one can assume that they occurred sometime between January and March, which are the two overt chronological markers provided in the narrative.[9] While these three events are closely related in time, three different spaces are provided. This is the most frequent chronotopic arrangement in the chronicles: events which are distinct in space are arranged within defined chronological bands. However, these spaces provide more to the narrative than simply a setting or a location; rather they are meaningful for each of the three individuals. Capgrave describes Queen Isabel's journey from England to France, not in terms of an ex-queen being removed from the country in which her husband was deposed, but rather, in terms of a family reunion in France. Owain Glynd' r inflicts great damage on a space that is outside of his own, the borders of England, which could equally be described as the borders of Wales. Nonetheless Owain Glynd' r's raids go unchallenged. Lastly, Henry IV faces a threat to his life that occurs within a private and personal space, namely his bed. Undoubtedly the threat against Henry's life was related to the previous two entries; the many rebellions that Henry faced in

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[7] M.M. Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Towards a Historical Poetics', *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981, p.84.

[8] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.218.

[9] Three entries before this one, Capgrave indicates the year: 'In $e $ird ʒere of $is Herry', and two entries afterwards he refers to the month of March. Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.218.

the years following the deposition of Richard II were a source of numerous problems, which are here emphasised by the positioning of a pronged iron instrument in a space of comfort and rest. Often proximity alone is allowed to signify; readers were apparently expected to draw connections between discrete events. Sometimes other implicit or explicit connections are drawn, as was evident, for instance, in the episode of the comet discussed in Chapter One.[10] Indeed, it is often the variations from the more usual chronotopic arrangements which carry the most significance.

This chapter explores the role of space in the narratives of the revolt. As the examples from Capgrave and Holinshed illustrate, representations of space are diverse, and include representations of small-scale spaces as well as larger, more abstract ones. French theorist Henri Lefebvre in his *The Production of Space* differentiated between 'social spaces' and 'absolute space.'[11] Social spaces are spaces that are physical, and that can be engaged with; in the narratives of the revolt, social spaces include churches and castles, as well as mountains and forests. Absolute spaces are more abstract and conceptual.[12] As I will argue, absolute spaces are implicit in the temporal-spatial arrangement of the chronicle narrative, and have parallels in the *mappae mundi* that frequently accompany medieval chronicles. The positioning of people and things relative to each other, and the establishment of centres and peripheries, are vital to the conceptual and political ordering of the world.

This chapter is divided into three sections, each of which analyses one particular representation of space within the narratives of the revolt. The first section examines the role of space as a structuring principle within the chronicle narrative, in particular the concepts of macrospace inherent in its structure. This section explores connections between time, space and the arrangement of the materials through a

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[10] See Chapter One.

[11] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (1974), Donald Nicholson-Smith trans., Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1991.

[12] Dick Harrison uses the terms macro- and microspaces, rather than absolute and social spaces. He explains, 'To put it simply, microspatial attitudes refer to the empirically known world, while macrospatial attitudes refer to the geographically conceptualised cosmological framework', *Medieval Space: The Extent of Microspatial Knowledge in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, Lund University Press, Lund, 1996, p.2. For further discussions of space in medieval contexts see Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, eds, *Medieval Practices of Space*, (Medieval Cultures, Volume 23), University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2000, particularly the 'Introduction', pp.ix-xviii.

comparative analysis of the *mappae mundi* that were frequently included in medieval chronicles. Here I argue that the *mappae mundi* were visual representations of the embedded spatiality of the chronicle narrative. There has been much scholarly interest in representations of space in the medieval *mappae mundi* tradition in recent years,[13] and in documenting the connection between maps and chronicles, particularly the connection between text and image.[14] However, parallels have not been drawn between the embedded spatiality within the *mappae mundi* and chronicle narrative, nor the implications of space and spatiality in determining how information is presented and what is presented. This discussion will require a departure from Wales and the revolt into the *mappae mundi*. This will be necessary in order to position properly the chronicle narratives relative to wider discourses of alterity. Such an understanding makes clearer the meaningful division of space in the chronicles.

The second section examines the representations of social spaces within Wales, more specifically it analyses the types of spaces connected to the rebels in Wales, and in which the revolt is played out. The sorts of spaces in which the actions of the rebellion of Owain Glynd' r are reported to take place are diverse. Although there are numerous social spaces identified in Wales, such as Aberystwyth and Usk,[15] for the most part rebel actions occur in unspecified spaces, such as wilderness, as well as castles and churches. The second section of this chapter aims at exploring the significance of these social spaces. Social spaces are close in definition to concepts

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[13] Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World,* The British Library, London, 1997; Berthold Kupisch, 'Medieval World Maps: Embedded Images, Interpretive Frames', *Word and Image*, 10 (1994), pp.262-288; Margriet Hoogvliet, '*Mappae Mundi* and the Medieval Hermeneutics of Cartographical Space', in Peter Ainsworth and Tom Scott, eds, *Regions and Landscapes: Reality and Imagination in Late Medieval and Early modern Europe*, Peter Lang, Oxford, 1998 pp.25-46; David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time and Space in Medieval World Maps', *Annals of the association of American Geographers*, vol 75, no. 4 (Dec., 1985), pp.510-521.

[14] For instance, David Woodward argues that 'the primary function of these maps was to provide illustrated histories.' David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time and Space', p.510; Margriet Hoogvliet, 'Mappae Mundi and Medieval Enclyclopaedias: Image versus Text', in Brinkley, Peter, ed., *Pre-modern Encyclopaedic texts, Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress, Groningen*, Leiden, Brill, 1997, pp.63-74. See also Patrick Gautier Dalaché, 'L'éspace de l'histoire : le Rôle de la Géographie dans les Chroniques Universelles', in Genet, Jean-Philippe, ed., *L'historiographie Médievale en Europe: Acte du colloque organisé par la fondation Européenne de la science au Centre de Recherches Historiques et Juridiques de l'Université Paris I du 29 Mars au 1er Avril 1989*, éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1991, pp.287-300.

[15] For a full discussion of the places around Wales that are mentioned in the revolt narratives, see Chapter Six.

of place, which are the focus of Chapter Six. I distinguish between space and place based upon notions of dynamism of these spaces; I argue that the space of Wales and indeed the social spaces within Wales are contested spaces that are described by the chroniclers as continually changing hands between the English and the followers of Owain Glynd' r. As Michel de Certeau explores, spaces are dynamic and 'actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within [them].'[16] Spaces, therefore, are characterised by an ability to transform through actions; as will be defined further in Chapter Six, place on the other hand is characterised by notions of stability.[17] The third and final section of this chapter examines ideas of centre and periphery in the chronicle narratives, and the associated concepts of the centripetal and the centrifugal. It analyses the types of movement to and from the periphery and some of the ways in which the periphery challenges the centre, arguing that the marginal and monstrous qualities of Wales in the chronicles are pronounced, making the revolt appear as an incursion of primordial disorder rather than a political movement.

I

Chronicle Structure and *Mappae Mundi*

This section is an analysis of the embedded spatiality of the chronicle narratives through a comparison with the related sense of space in the *mappae mundi*. The ways in which abstract spaces or macrospaces were conceptualised, such as those presented in the *mappae mundi*, are significant to understanding chronicle narratives. Chronicles were centred around the notion of recording the history of humanity's path towards judgement and therefore spatially encompassed all of the known world. There is a strong connection between cartography and history in the Middle Ages; as Evelyn Edson has documented, there was a long tradition of cartography in medieval Western Europe and of chroniclers utilising maps.[18] Chroniclers such as Otto of Friesing (d. 1158), Matthew Paris (d. 1259), and Ranulf Higden (d. *c*.1363; Figure

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[16] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. University of California Press. 1984, p.117.
[17] For a further definition of place, see Chapter Six.
[18] Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space,* esp. 'Maps in Medieval Histories', pp.97-131.

3.1) included *mappae mundi* in their historical texts, which served as visual accompaniments to the chronicle narrative.

What is displayed on the *mappae mundi*, and likewise in chronicles, is the collective history of Christian humankind; excluded are non-Christian histories and regions, other than some classical history. Non-Christian events and peoples are included only when they are relevant within the context of salvation history. There are many references to events of history, both biblical and secular, on maps such as Ranulf Higden's *mappa mundi* of the fourteenth century.[19] Higden, a monk from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburgh's in Chester, illustrates on his map the Mount of Olives, Noah's Ark (Figure 3.2) and the crossing of the Red Sea: this is literally coloured red and marked with a gap where Moses and the Israelites crossed. Alexander the Great is mentioned on the top corner of the map, and the old empires of Parthia and Assyria are labelled in the Middle East. Places of religious importance to Higden's contemporary era, such as Rome, are represented via pictures of large churches. Landscape features such as mountains, rivers and coastlines are depicted; for instance, the Nile, the Euphrates and Alps are represented. In the *mappae mundi*, events of human history, such as the crossing of the Red Sea, are represented visually alongside natural features within a meaningful geo-spatial frame. The maps did not aim to represent geographical reality, but rather a view that reflected a belief in the world as a place infused with spirituality, a reflection of God, and a place of salvific significance. *Mappae mundi* and chronicles were spiritual endeavours, informed in all respects by their creators' interest in the divine plan.

It is important that a majority of chroniclers examined in this thesis, writing contemporaneously to the events of the revolt, mimicked, or indeed considered their work to be continuations of, Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*.[20] In his study of the

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[19] For a further discussion of Higden's map, see John Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden*, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966, esp. pp.63-71.

[20] The *Polychronicon* was extremely popular throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, resulting in several translations from the Latin original, and many continuations. Antonia Gransden records that 'over 120 manuscripts survive, dating from the fourteenth- and fifteenth- centuries, and the early date of some shows that the fame of the work spread during Higden's lifetime.' Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, Vol. II*, p.43; For more information concerning ownership and various translations of the *Polychronicon* see A.S.G. Edwards, 'The Influence and Audience of the *Polychronicon*: Some Observations', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 17

Polychronicon, John Taylor has identified the *Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi*, and the *Chronicle* of Adam Usk as continuations. Thomas Walsingham consulted the *Polychronicon*, using it as the main source for his *Chronicon Angliae* for the years 1340 to 1377.[21] Furthermore, the *Eulogium Historiarum*, written *c.*1362 at Malmesbury Abbey, has also been identified as a continuation;[22] the *Continuatio Eulogii* is (as the name would suggest) a continuation of the *Eulogium*, written contemporaneously with the events that it describes (1361-1413), possibly by a monk at Canterbury.[23] These chroniclers are thereby engaging with and aligning their own compositions to Higden's chronicle, a work that was particularly concerned with geography and topography.[24] Indeed, Adam Usk's intention to continue Higden's work was made explicit through the composition of his own chronicle directly into his personal copy of the *Polychronicon*. It is in this form that the sole manuscript continues to exist today; the *Polychronicon* occupies folio 9r-154v (see figure 3.3) and Adam's Chronicle follows directly at 155r.[25] Included within Adam's copy of the *Polychronicon* was a *mappa mundi* (Figure 3.4), located at folio 8r. Adam's chronicle was thus framed by Higden's visual representation of the world which his text described.

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(6), 1980, pp.113-119; A.S.G. Edwards 'A Sixteenth-Century Version of Trevisa's *Polychronicon', English Language Notes*, 11, (1973), pp.34-38; Ronald Waldron, 'Caxton and the *Polychronicon*', *Chaucer in Perspective: Middle English Essays in Honour of Norman Blake*, ed by Geoffrey Lester, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1999, pp.375-394; Lister M. Matheson, 'Printer and Scribe: Caxton, the *Polychronicon*, and the *Brut*', *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 60:3 (1985), pp.593-614.

[21] Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle*, pp.123 and 132; John Taylor, 'The Development of the *Polychronicon* Continuation', *English Historical Review*, vol 76 (1961), pp.29-31.

[22] Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle*, p.143; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, Vol. II, pp.103-104.

[23] In his analysis of the oldest surviving manuscript Cotton. Galba E vii (held in the British Museum) S.N. Clifford concluded that the continuation was intended to follow on directly from the *Eulogium*. Clifford argues that 'it may have been composed with such a role in mind, or it may have seemed a suitable continuation when completed', 'An edition of the Continuation of the *Eulogium Historiarum* 1361-1413', Unpublished M. Phil thesis, University of Leeds, 1975, p.20.

[24] A.S.G. Edwards, 'Geography and Illustration in Higden's *Polychronicon,' Art Into Life: Collected Papers from the Kresge Art Museum Medieval Symposia*, Carol Garrett Fisher and Kathleeen L. Scott (eds), Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 1995, esp. pp.96-100.

[25] BL Additional Manuscript 10104. Adam's chronicle continues until 176v. The second section was separated at an unknown point between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. It was rediscovered at Belvoir Castle in 1885. Given-Wilson, 'Introduction', *The Chronicle of Adam Usk,* pp.xxxviii-xlii.

Figure 3.1

Ranulf Higden's *Mappa Mundi*

(*Polychronicon*, B.M. MS. Royal 14.C.ix. ff.)
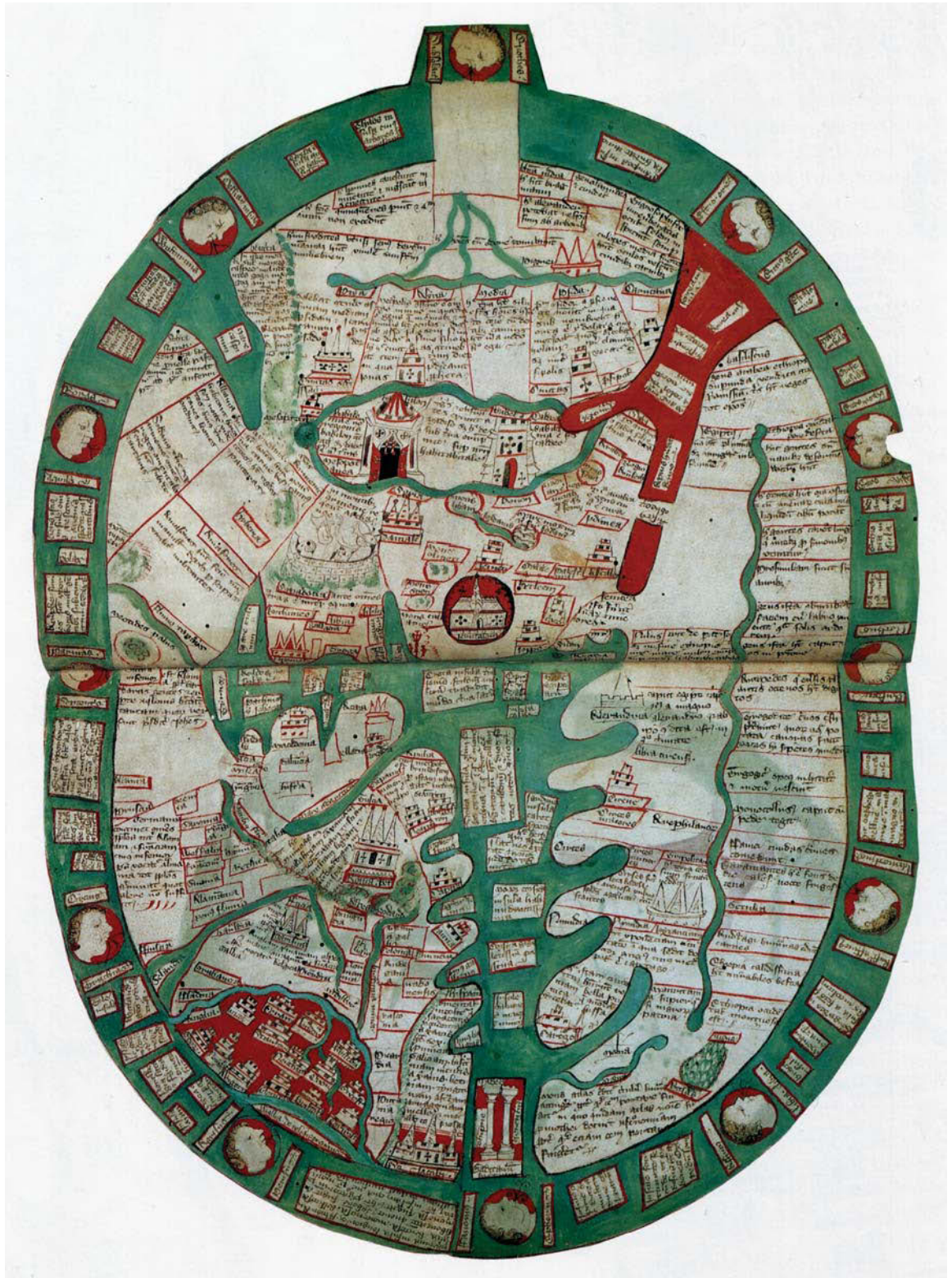
Figure 3.2

Ranulf Higden's *Mappa Mundi*: Detail the Holy Land

(including Noah's Ark on left)
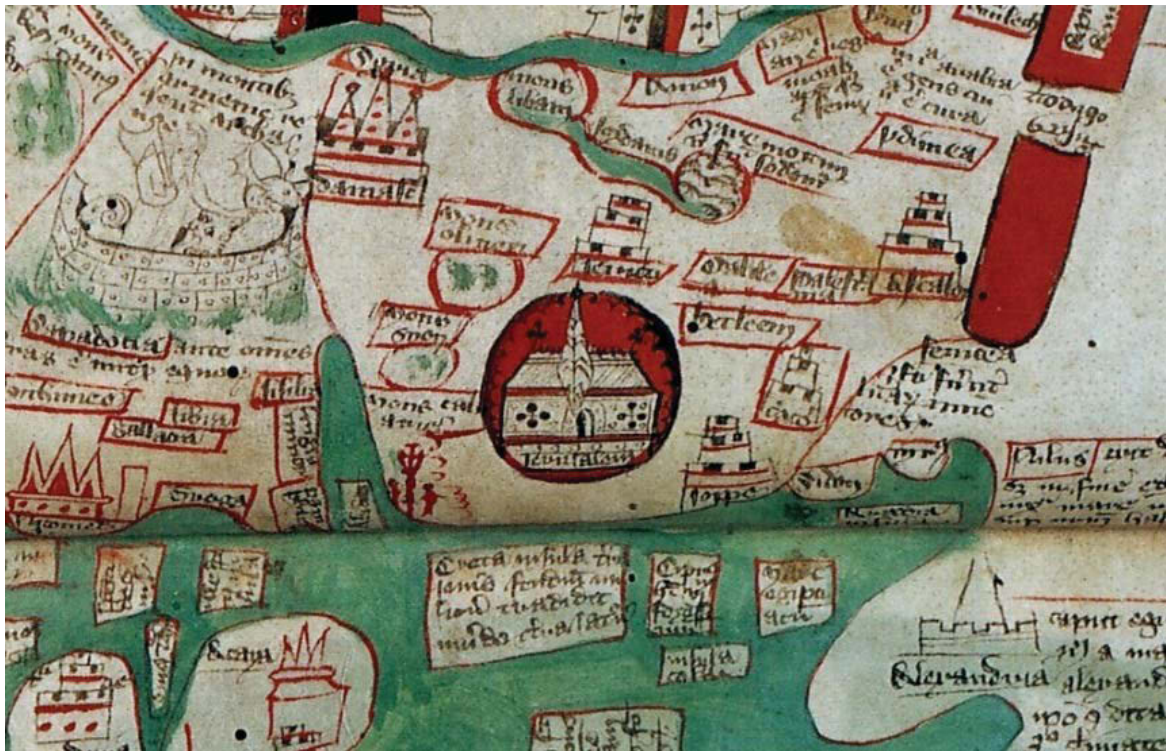
Figure 3.3

The first page of Adam's copy of Hidgen's *Polychronicon*

(British Library, Additional Manuscript 10, 104, Folio 9r)

Figure 3.4

Adam Usk's copy of Higden's *Mappa Mundi*

(British Library, Additional Manuscript 10, 104, Folio 8r.)
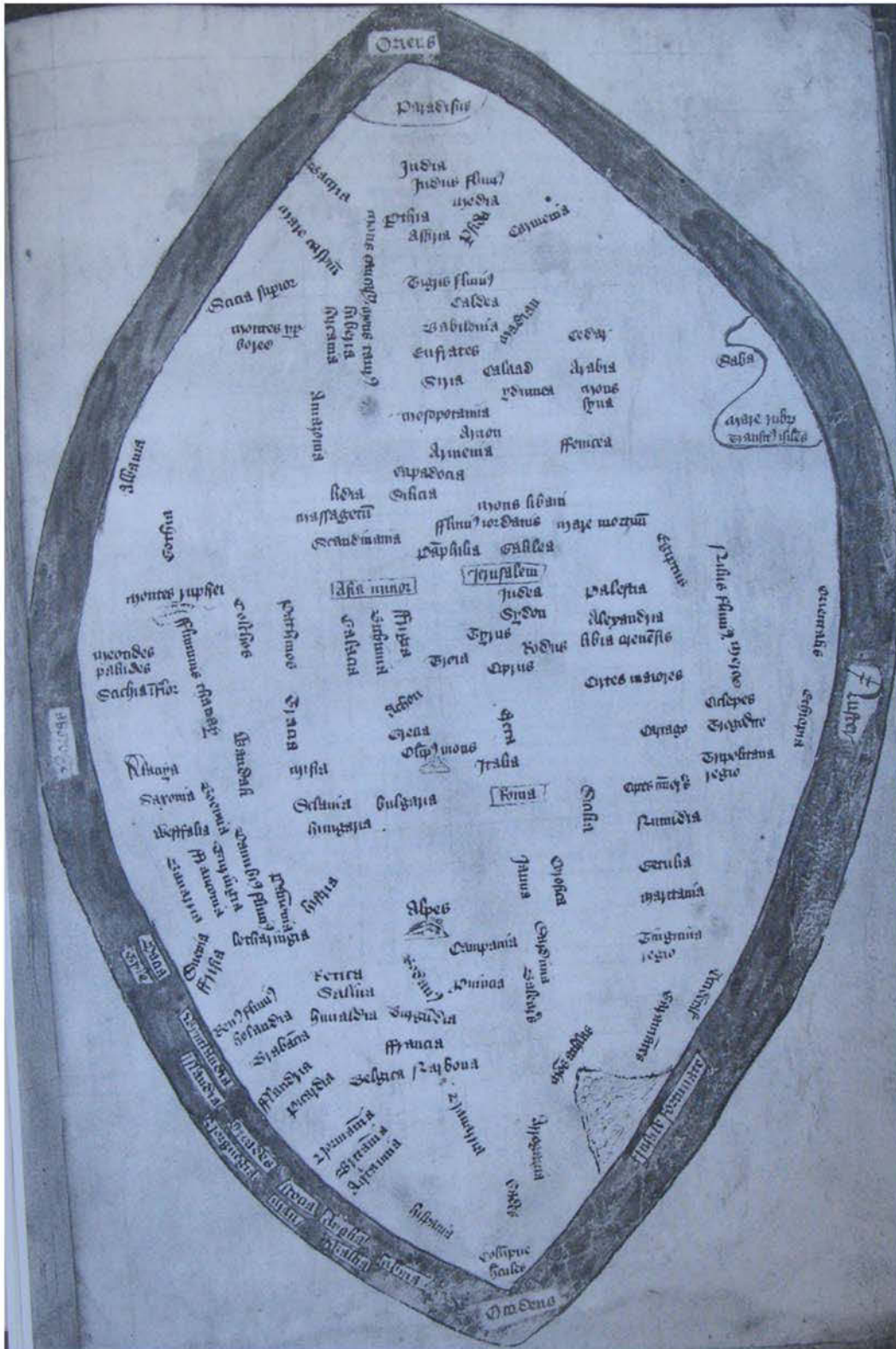
Figure 3.5

Hardyng's Map of Scotland

(Lansdowne 204 ff.226v-227r)
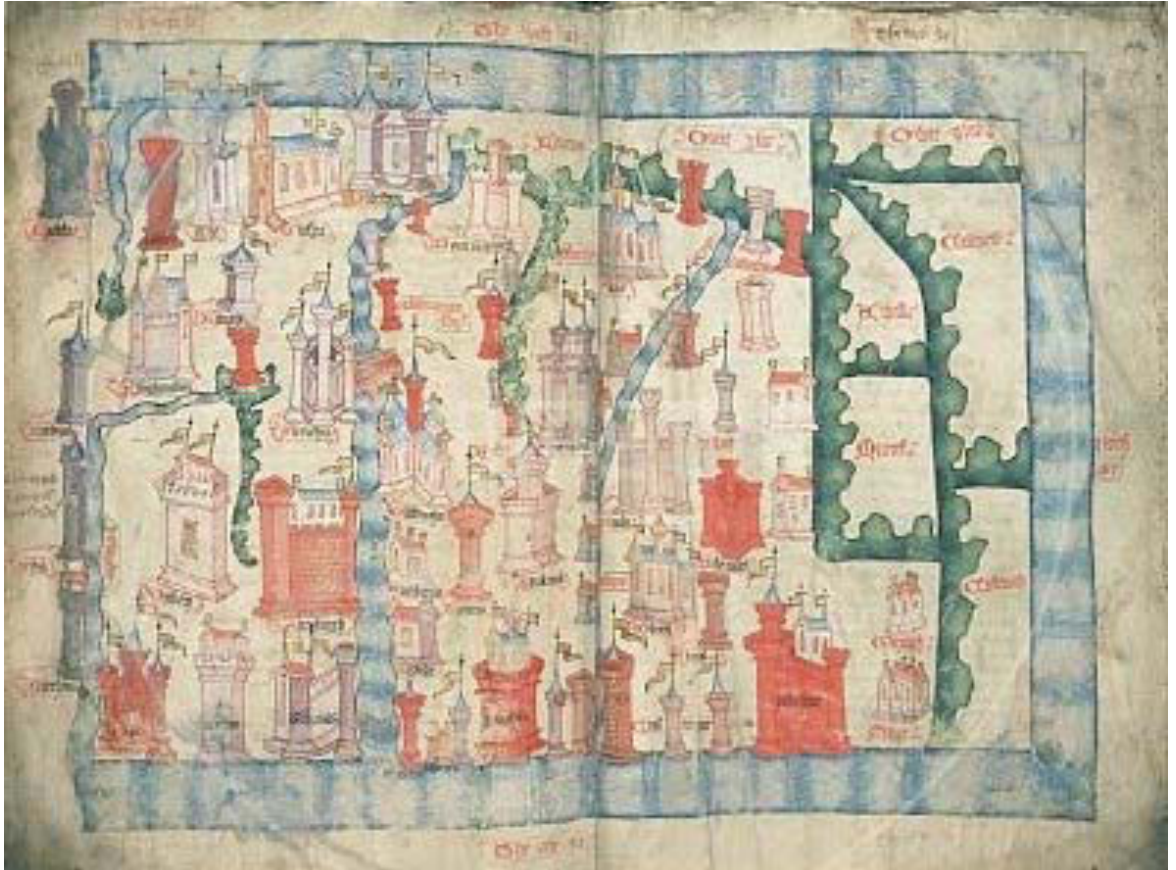
Figure 3.6

Isidore of Seville's T-O Map

(*De Natura Rerum*, Burgerbibliothek Bern, cod. 417, f.88v; 9th Century copy)
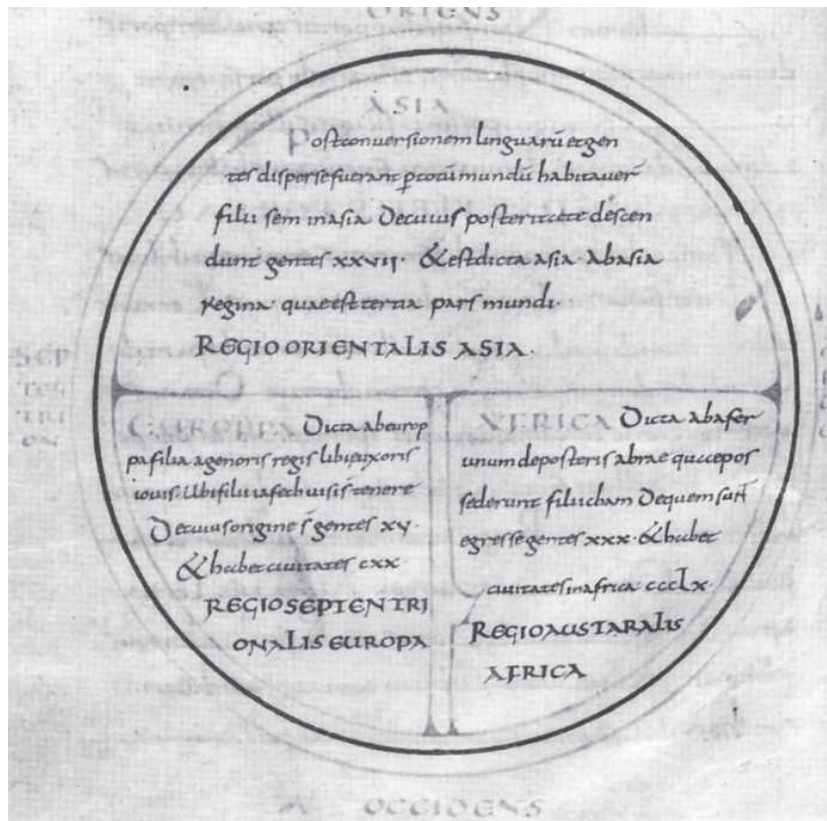
Figure 3.7

Hereford *Mappa Mundi* of *c*.1290

Figure 3.8

Hereford *Mappa Mundi*, detail of Africa

Figure 3.9

Higden's *Mappa mundi*, detail of North- West Europe
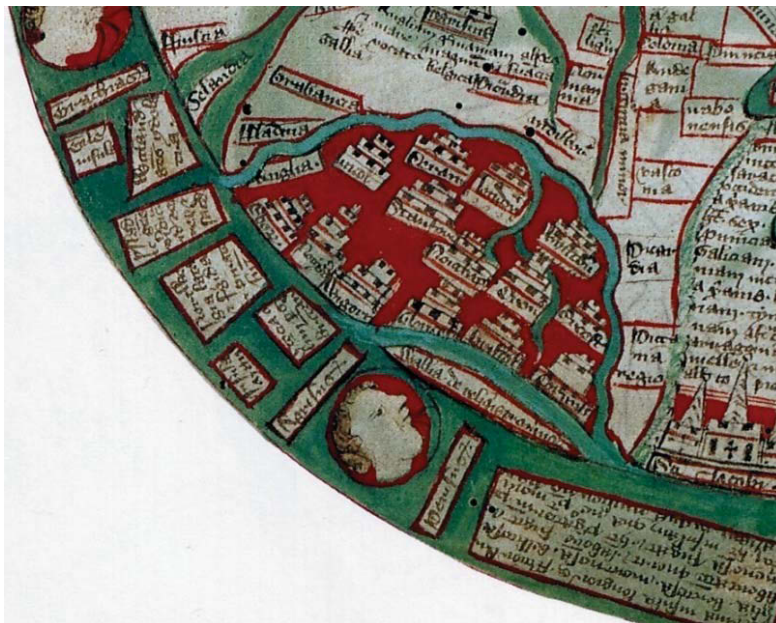
Both versions of John Hardyng's chronicle contain maps, although these are not *mappae mundi*, but rather regional studies of Scotland.[26] (Figure 3.5) Here Hardyng depicts the main towns of Scotland, along with forests and major bodies of water. Several scholars have suggested that the maps and indeed Hardyng's chronicles were part of the chronicler's longstanding obsession with English rights over Scotland.[27] It would appear that Hardyng went to considerable effort to convince successive English kings (Henry V, Henry VI and Edward IV) to take Scotland by force. These attempts included a number of forgeries of documentary evidence.[28] Hardyng's map highlights the potential uses of maps within chronicle narratives; in the Lansdowne version the map of Scotland is placed centrally within the narrative, at folio 226v-227r and is clearly designed to be used in conjunction with the narrative. Hardyng states several pages earlier,

> I have her*e* drawe, whils that this boke remaynte
>
> To byde with yow and with yow hayres wyse,
>
> By which ye may it hostay and supprise
>
> And conquerr it as your*e* priorite,
>
> Or by concorde reioyse your souerente.[29]

Studies of the connection between Hardyng's maps and his chronicle narrative have wider application for the chronicles examined in this thesis. As Alfred Hiatt has suggested, Hardyng's map was an 'invasion plan' which provided a visual representation of a space 'barely charted.'[30] Hardyng's map was therefore a tool for imagining an unknown space, but also (unlike the *mappae mundi*) the map had a

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[26] The map survives in four copies; one copy of the map is found in the first version of the chronicle Lansdowne MS. 204 fol. 226v-227r. Three other copies are found in the second version of the chronicle, Harley MS. 661, fol. 187-8, and Selden MS. B 10 fol. 184-5, and lastly Cambridge Massachusetts MS, Harvard 1054. For a discussion of the difference between the two versions of Hardyng's map of Scotland, see Alfred Hiatt, 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland in John Hardyng's Chronicle', in *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001Harlaxton Symposium*, Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2003, pp.82-88.

[27] C.L. Kingsford, 'The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle', *English Historical Review*, xxvii (1912), pp.462-482; E.D. Kennedy, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500, Volume 8: Chronicles and other historical Writings*, A. Hartung (ed.), Archon, 1989, pp.2645-2647. Alistair J. Macdonald, 'John Hardyng, Northumbrian Identity and the Scots', *North-East England in the Later Middle Ages,* Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnell, eds, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005, pp.29-42.

[28] Hiatt has argued that Hardyng forged all but two of nineteen documents which he presented to the English kings Henries V and VI and Edward IV. See Alfred Hiatt, 'The Forgeries of John Hardyng: The evidence of Oxford, Bodleian MS Ashmole 789', *Notes and Queries*, 46:1 (1999), pp.7-12; Gransden, *Historical Writing In England*, Vol II, p.275; see also Alfred Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False documents in fifteenth-century England*, British Library, 2004, pp.102-135.

[29] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204 folio 223r; Peverley, *John Hardyng,* p.307.

[30] Alfred Hiatt, 'Beyond a Border: The Maps of Scotland', p.78.

definite practical application: it illustrated the most efficient routes for invading armies in Scotland. Spatially, Hardyng's map was arranged so as to facilitate the imagining of movement between represented towns in a sequential manner.[31] As in Hardyng's maps of Scotland, in chronicle narratives and in the *mappae mundi,* significance and meaning are conveyed through the sequential spatial placement of the events. The compositional elements of the *mappae mundi* revolved around an embedded schema in which illustrated events are placed within sequential proximity to each other; this proximity was determined by a complex understanding of centre and periphery.

The underlying schema in which events of the *mappae mundi* were placed is historically meaningful; Isidore of Seville's (b. *c*.560) T-O Map (Figure 3.6) exhibits clearly the structure of medieval cartography that underlies maps such as that of Ranulf Higden. Asia is oriented at the top, to emphasise the importance of that region for human history; it was here that the histories recorded in the Old and New Testaments were played out. Higden's *mappa mundi* depicts Jerusalem in the middle of the cosmos, and the city is emphasised by the use of bright colours. On Isidore's image there is recorded under each of the three continents (Asia, Europe and Africa) the name of one of Noah's sons, who were thought to have populated these three zones after the Great Flood in *Genesis* 10; so, for example, Asia was populated by Shem, Europe by Japheth (spelt Jafeth on the map) and Africa by Ham.[32] This tripartite division of the world underlies chronicle geography in general, and is indeed recalled by the presence of tripartite T-O maps included in many early chronicles.[33] It is within this tripartite division of the world that the importance of Halle's and Holinshed's Tripartite Indenture narratives can be read; while neither Holinshed nor Halle record the use of maps in their narrative, the description of the

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[31] Finke and Shichtman, argue that the map was designed to enable to viewer 'to move sequentially from marker to marker, from town to town', 'Mapping Ambition: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Logic of Seriality in the Chronicle of John Hardyng,' *King Arthur and the Myth of History*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2004, p.142.

[32] On Isidore's map the texts reads, as an example 'Asia. Post conuersionem linguarum et gentes disperse fuerant per totum mundi habitauerant filii Sem in Asia. De cuius posteritate descendunt gentes xxvii. & est dicta Asia ab Asia regina. quae est tertia pars mundi. Regio Orientalis Asia.' This translates to 'Asia. After the alteration of tongues and [when] the races had dispersed through the whole of the world the sons of Sem lived in Asia. From his posterity descended twenty seven races. And it is called Asia from queen Asia. It is a third of the world. The Eastern region Asia.'

[33] David Woodward, 'Reality, Symbolism, Time and Space', p. 511 and pp.515-517.

division was an acknowledgement of this historically important schematic division of the world.

In both the *mappae mundi* and the chronicles time is a central organising principle. Jerusalem and the Holy Land are central points, both spatially (they are in the middle of a defined world) and chronologically. In the *mappae mundi*, the Holy Land is meaningfully placed in the spatial centre of the map. It was here that Christ was born in (supposedly) AD 1, and it is therefore the central locus from which time itself was measured. The teleological flow of time from the birth of Christ to the contemporary era via dates *Anno Domini* acknowledged the centrality of the Holy Land. However, while the events of the chronicle narrative unfolded one after the other in sequential chronological order, in the *mappae mundi* time has collapsed and events are presented in one temporal plane. For example Noah from the Old Testament (whose ark is depicted on Mount Ararat to the left of Jerusalem) appears in the lower part of the same image as monasteries in England of much more recent foundation. Jerusalem is both chronologically and spatially central.

Images within the *mappae mundi* were to be read according to their placement in the interior or the exterior of the map. While Jerusalem forms the centre and is a focal point of history and cosmology, the frontier regions of Christendom occupy the periphery and are allochronic, existing in another time and space. Pockets of strange beings are frequently represented on the edges of maps, particularly in the region of Africa. The Hereford *Mappa Mundi* of *c*.1290 provides several good illustrations (Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8).[34] Dragons, giants and blemmyes (people with their faces on their chests and no heads) are illustrated in the peripheral regions; they are deviant human forms, not made in God's image.[35] This placed them outside the scope of the central, linear narrative of human salvation, in a space of timeless primitivism.

In Higden's map, England (labelled 'Anglia') is located at the bottom left of the map and is emphasised through the use of bright red colouring (Figure 3.9). Higden

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[34] For further discussion on the Psalter and the Hereford maps, see Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm*, Boydell Press, Suffolk, 2001.
[35] Men and women are made in god's image in *Genesis* 1: 26-27.

depicted Anglia as dominated by castles and cathedrals, much more so than other places on the map.[36] The emphasis by colour, its large size in comparison to other nations in Europe, and its number of buildings, were deliberate strategies on Higden's part to centralise Anglia. Anglia's position was unfortunately far from Jerusalem; here Higden can emphasise Anglia's civilisation and through the use of colours connect it to the Holy Land. The Red Sea, which is a dominant visual feature of the map is paired in colour with England, forming a diagonal compositional line. In comparison, Wales (labelled Wallia) exists as a long and thin landmass below England. Interestingly, Higden represents Wales as an island, which reduces its visibility on the map and also constructs a dislocation between Anglia and Wallia. Equally importantly, Wallia is located in the periphery.

In the chronicles examined, representations of the space of Wales and the people that inhabit it reflect these liminal and peripheral spaces in the outer regions of the maps. Wales is constructed as an allochronic space, and the Welsh are marginalised via a series of images in which they are depicted as barbaric, disorganised and rude. While I will be studying images associated with Wales and the Welsh in more depth in the chapters that follow, here I explore briefly the prominence of temporal-spatial devices as a strategy to construct Wales and the Welsh as marginal.

Both Holinshed and Halle link the collapse of the Tripartite Indenture to the rebel leaders' belief in Welsh prophecy. The references to Welsh uses of prophecy seek to discredit the Welsh and to cement their position in the periphery. Such local prophecy runs counter, and is external to, the central Christian narrative with its origins in the Holy Land.[37] By its very local nature it is an implicit challenge to the grand narratives of sanctioned Christian prophecy and English history. This has possible implications for the salvation of people who occupy this space; it is an allochronic space that has not progressed with the rest of humanity. While Halle and Holinshed are the only chroniclers under examination who malign the Welsh via uses of prophecy, the wider repertoire of maligning the other through allegations of black

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[36] Anglia includes fourteen cities, including Exeter, Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, London, Worcester, and York at the most northerly point.
[37] See Chapter Two.

magic is used in many of the chronicles.[38]   There are multiple depictions of Welsh uses of magic, such as their ability to control weather and to use it against their English adversaries. Capgrave explains after Henry IV was nearly killed by a spear 'cast so violently' by a strong wind, that if:

> #e king had not be armed, he had be ded of $e stoke. There were many $at supposed $is was do by nigromancy, and be compelling of spirites.[39]

Similar depictions are found in Holinshed,[40] and Walsingham likewise describes Owain Glynd' r's use of the 'art of magic' and of the Welsh control of weather, 'by means of rains, snows, and hails, called up, as it is supposed, by diabolic art.'[41]   In the second version of his chronicle, Hardyng records that people believed the bad weather in Wales to be the work of witches[42] and in John Rous's chronicle Owain Glynd' r uses a magic stone of invisibility to escape from numerous castles.[43] Images of magic and savagery implicitly link the Welsh to the traditional cultural repertoire for imagining the wonders and dangers at the edge of the known world. Furthermore, images such as the descriptions of Walsingham, Capgrave and Holinshed of the Welsh women mutilating the dead bodies of English soldiers after the Battle of Bryn Glas can also be read within a larger framework of alterity. The English bodies themselves have become monstrous via their exposure to the periphery.[44]   Accounts of the rearrangement of the bodies of the soldiers, most particular of the severing of the men's penises, align the Welsh women with the discourse of witches; there is, for instance, an entire chapter devoted to how witches 'Deprive man of his virile member' in the late fifteenth-century *Malleus Maleficarum*.[45]   The linking of the Welsh to a system of diabolical magic in which

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[38] For a further discussion see Chapter Six.

[39] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.219.

[40] 'Through arte magike, he cau(ed (uch foule weather of windes, tempe(t, raine, (nowe, and haile to be ray(ed, for the annoyance of the Kings army, that the lyke had not bin heard of, in (uch (ort, that the Kyng was con [...]ned to returne home.' Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, pp.1134-1135.

[41] 'Quin potius, ut putatus, arte magica Regem pene perdidit, cum exercitu quem ducebat, per pluvias, nives, et grandines, ut creditus, arte diabolica concitatas.' *Historia Anglicana,* p.251. See Appendix One, Passage 1f.

[42]   'Rokes and mystes, wyndes and stromes eu*er* certeyne,
            All men trowed wiches it made that stounde.'
Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.

[43] John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

[44] This will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

[45] *Malleus Maleficarum*, ed. Motague Summers, John Rodker, London, 1928. Part 2 Chapter VII is entitled 'How, as it were, they Deprive Man of his Virile Member' and tells of witches who 'sometimes collect male organs in great numbers, as many as twenty or thirty members together, and put them in a bird's nest, or shut them up in a box'(p.121). For further discussion see Moira Smith, 'The Flying Phallus and the Laughing Inquisitor: Penis Theft in the *Malleus Maleficarum*', *Journal of*

the laws of nature were perverted, placed them within the category of unorthodox and condemned.[46]

These temporal-spatial methods of distancing the Welsh are also prevalent in the chroniclers' depictions of the Welsh as socially backward. Halle is explicit in his labelling of the Welsh as 'wild and sauage welshemen'[47] and the *Contiuatio Eulogii* quotes the English parliament's description of Owain Glynd' r and the Welsh as 'barefooted buffoons.'[48] The image revolves around notions of incivility and a lack of progression; of a savage community without shoes.[49] The types of social spaces that the Welsh are constructed as occupying too are a product of the allochonic space of Wales. As will be discussed in the next section, rather than occupying towns and castles, the Welsh rebels live in mountains, forests and caves; in other words in spaces away from centres of civilisation.

An analysis of the *mappae mundi* reveals an internal spatial schema that has close parallels in and relationship to the chronicle tradition. The notions of centre and of periphery found in these maps are essentially the same as those applied to the revolt of Owain Glynd' r. Despite its relative proximity to England, Wales is depicted as a remote space, characterised by the traditional marks of otherness associated with the edges of the earth.

Folklore Research, 39:11 (Jan. 2002), pp.85-117; Lyndal Roper, 'Witchcraft and the Western Imagination' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 16 (2006), pp.117-141.

[46] Valerie I.J. Flint, 'A Magic Universe', *A Social History of England 1200-1500*, Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod, eds, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp.340-355.

[47] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.31-32.

[48] 'Et illi de parliamento dixerunt se de scurris nudipedibus non curare.' *Continuatio Eulogii,* p.388. See Appendix One, Passage 2a. The image of the barefoot Welshman draws on a tradition of depicting the Welsh as barefoot and barelegged, commonly as archers. According to Rees Davies, 'the figure of a barefoot archer and a spearman were used in the English Exchequer to identity the receptacles, or files as we would call them, in which documents relating to Wales were kept.' 'Race Relations in Post-Conquest Wales', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1974-5), pp.36-37. For further information and images of the Welsh figures, see *Littere Wallie*, J.G. Edwards (ed.) 1940, pp.xxviii-xxix.

[49] For a further discussion of this image, see below Chapter Five.

II

Contested Spaces: Representations of Social Spaces in Wales

The analysis that follows draws further upon concepts of spatiality as depicted in the *mappae mundi* in order to identify and demonstrate the significance of some social spaces that are described within the narratives of the Welsh revolt. The sorts of spaces in which the action of the revolt are played out include built spaces (such as castles, churches and towns) as well as wilderness spaces (mountains and forests). This section analyses the significance of social spaces in the narratives of the revolt.

There are numerous images of social spaces in Wales being overrun by one party and then the other in a series that involves spaces being destroyed, reclaimed, lost and repossessed. Castles and towns, as well as monasteries and churches, continually change hands between the followers of Owain Glynd' r and the English forces. For example, Adam Usk describes:

> Owain Glynd' r, supported by the whole of North Wales, Cardigan and Powis, continually assailed with fire and sword the English living in those regions and the towns they lived in, especially the town of Welshpool. A great host of English therefore invaded the area, ravaging and utterly destroying it with fire, sword and famine, sparing neither children, nor churches.[50]

It is within these spaces that exchanges between the English forces and the followers of Owain Glynd' r take place. Pitched battle was not the primary form of engagement between the forces, rather the revolt was characterised by guerrilla warfare, the besieging of castles, raids and skirmishes. The chroniclers describe only one engagement between the rebels and the English on the battlefield, and that is the Battle of Bryn Glas in June 1402, although there were several others, including the Battle of Hyddgen in the summer of 1401.[51]

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[50] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.145.
[51] The Battle of Hyddgen took place between an English and Flemish force led by John Charlton and Owain Glynd' r and his followers. This battle was recorded in the Welsh 'Annals of Owen Glyn D' r': 'The following summer Owen rose with 120 reckless men and robbers and he brought them in warlike fashion up the uplands of Ceredigion; and 1,500 men of the lowlands of Ceredigion and of Rhos and Penfro assembled there and came to the mountain with the intent to seize Owen. The

There are several examples of churches and monasteries in Wales as contested spaces. For instance the unknown writer of the *Continuatio Eulogii*, writing contemporaneously to the events, describes the despoiling of a sacred space followed by its re-colonisation by another community of monks more favourable to the English king:

> Moreover, the king crossed into Northern Wales and the Isle of Anglesey, where the Minorite Friars from the convent of Llanfaes and the Welsh with others were resisting the king and for that reason the army of the king began to kill and capture the friars and loot the convent … The King however handed over to the ministry the captured brothers of the Order and commanded that everything be returned to the convent and wanted the convent to be occupied by English Brothers.[52]

The space of the monastery is contested; the removal of the offending monks of the monastery of Llanfaes on the Isle of Anglesey and their replacement with 'Anglicis fratribus' creates a pocket of English colonisation within a contested region in Wales.[53] Many of the chroniclers writing contemporaneously to the revolt emphasise the importance of the monastic and church spaces in the reestablishment of Henry IV's authority in Wales.[54] The writer of the *Historia Vitae* also mentions the destruction of the Abbey of Strata Florida, the most prominent of the Welsh Cistercian abbeys, commenting that:

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encounter between them was on Hyddgant Mountain, and no sooner did the English troops turn their backs in flight than 200 of them were slain. Owen now won great fame, and a great number of youths and flighting men from every part of Wales rose and joined him, until he had a great host at his back.' 'Annals of Owen Glyn Dŵr', Peniarth MS. 135. In J.E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower (Owen Glyn Dŵr)*, pp.150-151. For analysis of the Battle of Hyddgan see Geoffrey Hodges, *Owain Glyn Dŵr and the War of Independence in the Welsh Borders*, Logaston Press, Chippenham, Wiltshire, 1995, pp.51-55.

[52] 'Rex autem transivit in Walliam Borealem et Insulam de Anglesey, ubi Fratres Minores de conventu Lamasiae et Wallici cum aliis Regi resistebant, et ideo exercitus regis fratres occidebant et captivabant ac conventum spoliabant … Rex vero tradidit ministerio Ordinis fratres captivatos, et jussit omnia restitui conventui, et voluit quod conventus ille inhabitaretur ab Anglicis fratribus.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, pp.388-389. See Appendix One, Passage 2b.

[53] The monks of Llanfaes on the Isle of Anglesey were one of the first groups to pledge their support to the Welsh revolt and were subsequently one of the first targets of the English expedition into Wales in 1401. However, the destruction of Llanfaes was also part of a more general Franciscan opposition to Henry IV. See Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1961, p.219.

[54] Certainly, the period from 1400 to 1410 saw the destruction of many of Wales' churches by both the English and the Welsh; numerous monasteries and churches around Wales were destroyed or damaged, including St. Asaph, St. Clears, Llanthony, Conwy and Tintern Abbey. It should be noted, however, that only Strata Florida and Llanfaes are recorded in the chronicles examined. For a discussion of the destruction of monasteries and churches in Wales, see Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, pp.227-229.

> Then the king even rendered destitute the abbey of Strata Florida to such an extent that he left no monk in it. One of these monks, who was bearing arms against the king and the peace, was decapitated.[55]

Adam Usk expands upon the *Historia Vitae*'s account, narrating with particular dismay the desecration of the Abbey of Strata Florida:

> The Abbey of Strata Florida, in which the king himself stayed, along with its church and choir, right up to the high altar, was converted into a stable, and was completely stripped of its plate.[56]

Adam describes the abbey's transformation from a sacred and consecrated space into a stable for warhorses by Henry IV's troops, paying particular attention to its impact on the internal spaces within Strata Florida: the church and choir, and more specifically the high altar, the most sacred area in the interior of a medieval church. Adam mentions the stripping of the 'plate', the liturgical vessels, which further emphasises the notion that this important Abbey church could no longer function.

The castles of Wales were social spaces consistently mentioned by the chroniclers. John Rous describes Henry IV's multiple attempts at locating Owain Glynd' r, who kept disappearing from various unnamed strongholds and castles.[57] Often engagement with the social space of the castle is used to comment upon the character of Owain Glynd' r and his followers. When castles are successfully taken from the English, chroniclers invariably comment upon the use of violence and frequently on the use of trickery. For instance, the *Dieulacres* chronicler describes the capture of Conwy Castle from the English on the weekend of Easter in 1401:

> In this year on the day of Good Friday, at the hour of Tenebrae a certain Welshman, William ap Tudor, captured the castle of Conwy by fraud and treachery while the guardian John Massey of Podyngton, military captain, was absent.
>
> It is said that in the castle at the hour mentioned above three Welsh servants and two English guards remained while the others were occupied in divine service (mass) in the church of the parish; and so when the English had treacherously been killed by them they claimed the castle; in a short time worn out by a siege, when a truce was

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[55] 'Depauperauit etiam tunc abbathiam rex de Stretflur ita ut nullum monachum in ea relinqueret. De quibus unus, qui contra regem et pacem arma portabat, iam tunc decollatus est.'
Historia Vitae, p.170. See Appendix One, Passage 3d.
[56] Adam Usk, *Chronicle* p.145.
[57] '[Owain Glynd' r] never dared to meet in battle the king's army, and he was often besieged in a stronghold. The castle having been captured, he could not be found.' John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

made on the feast of John the Baptist, and peace conceded to all except eight of them, they returned it into the hands of their ruler.[58]

Here the chronicler uses a very particular temporal-spatial strategy in order to emphasise the trickery of the Welsh. While the custodians of the castle observe the most significant day in the church calendar, the Welshmen overrun the castle, killing as they go. Adam Usk provides a similar account of the venture, agreeing with respect to the fraudulent and underhanded capture of Conwy Castle.[59] In his account Adam stresses the treachery of the leaders, whom he names as William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor, who fail to save their own men. The siege of Aberystwyth Castle too features in several chronicles, and all describe an underhanded method of capture by Owain Glynd' r. Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* states that 'Owain Glynd' r deceitfully entered that castle and placed new custodians' soon after Henry, Prince of Wales had successfully besieged it.[60] Capgrave follows this version closely as does Holinshed who says that 'by (ubtill craft entred the castle.'[61] In the *Annales Henrici* Walsingham extends his account significantly, and includes sections of a treaty in which Owain Glynd' r was to give Aberystwyth Castle back to the English; this concludes that the castle was 'wrenched from the hands of the

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[58] 'Eodem anno quidam Wallencium, Willelmus ap Tuder in die Parasceves hora tenebrarum dolo et fraude, custode absente, Iohanne Massey de Podyngton milite capitaneo castellum de Conway cepit. Fertur siquidem in dicto castello hora supradicta tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servicio divinio in ecclesia parochiali occupatis remansisse; sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis, castellum vendicarunt; parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste treugis factis et pace concessa omnibus octo exceptis in manum principis reddiderunt.' *Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey*, pp.175-176. See Appendix One, Passage 4d.

[59] The whole account reads: 'On this same day, Good Friday, the brothers William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor, who came from the island of Anglesey or Mon, since they failed to obtain the king's pardon for their part in the rising led by the aforesaid Owen, along with another forty men entered Conwy Castle, which was most securely fortified with arms and provisions, and seized it as their stronghold, two of the watch having been killed after being tricked by one of the carpenters claiming that he was simply coming to do his usual work. Being immediately besieged by the prince and the people of the surrounding area, however, on 28 May following having deceitfully bound from behind nine of their fellows whom the prince particularly loathed, while they were sleeping following the night watch, they surrendered the castle on condition that their lives and the lives of others would be spared-a most shameful thing for them to have done, and an act of treachery against their fellows. They then promptly stood and watched while these nine, still bound, were handed over to the prince, and firstly drawn, and then disembowelled, hanged, beheaded and quartered.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.129.

[60] 'Hac aestate Dominus Henricus, Princeps Walliae, cepit per obsidionem castrum de Abrustwythe; sed non multo post Howenus Glendor fraudulenter illud intravit, et novos custodes imposuit.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.277. See Appendix One, Passage 1o.

[61] 'In $is ʒere $e prince leide a sege to $e castell of Abrustwith, in Wales, and streytid hem so, $at were in $e castel, $at $ei promised him to ʒelde $e castel at a certeyn day. But it avayled not; for Glendor cam, and put new men in $e castell, and avoided al hem $at consented by ony menis onto $e prince.' Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.232.

aforementioned people, not without a note of trickery.'[62] The account emphasises that Owain Glynd'r ignored a legal document, depicting him as not only morally, but also legally, deceptive. His improper uses of the space allows for telling characterisation of Owain Glynd'r and his methods.

Owain Glynd'r's engagement with towns around Wales, like castles, results in the emphasis on violence. For instance, the *Historia Vitae* describes the destruction of Ruthin in 1400:

> In this same year, shortly after the return of the king, Owain Glynd'r rose up with
> his people, and attacked and plundered then entirely burned a certain town in Wales,
> by the name of Rithyn, which was under the dominion of the said Lord de Grey.[63]

Thomas Walsingham's description of the destruction of Ruthin includes a description of Owain Glynd'r's actions as being performed 'with excessive cruelty and inhumanity.'[64] While the *Continuatio Eulogii*'s account of the destruction of Cardiff narrated under the year 1403 starts off with a description of violence, it ends with an unusual encounter:

> Owain captured the town (of Cardiff), and he burnt it except for one area in which
> the Minorite Frairs were living, which he allowed to stand along with their
> monastery out of love of the brothers. Moreover, he took the castle and destroyed it
> and took away a great deal of wealth that was deposited there. And when the
> Minorite Friars asked him for their books and chalices, which they had deposited in
> the castle, he responded: 'why have you placed your belongings in the castle? If you
> had retained them with you they would have been safe with you.'[65]

This is an intriguing entry; the encounter between Owain Glynd'r and unnamed Franciscan Friars is of note because it is the only example of direct speech from

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[62] 'Nam Oweynus Gleyndor mox castrum de premissorum manibus extorsit astu, et eos, qui hec pacta pepigerant, non sine nota prodicionis expulit', Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, Galbraith, *St Albans* p.27.

[63] ' Hoc eodem anno, cito post recessum regis, surrexit Owynus Glyndor cum suis, et quandam uillam in Wallia, nomine Rithyn, que erat de dominio predicti domini de Grey, primitus spoliatam igne penitus consumpsit.' *Historia Vitae*, p.168. See Appendix One, Passage 3b.

[64] 'Vastans possessiones ejus per incendia, et ferro peromens plures de sua familia nimis crudeliter et inhumane.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.246. See Appendix One, Passage 1a.

[65] 'Anno Domini 1404, et anno 4 Regis, Audoenus Glendor partes Australes Walliæ incendit et villam de Kaierdief et castrum obsedit. Qui vero intus erant miserunt ad regem petentes auxilium, sed ipse nec venit neque succursum misit. Audoenus villam [Cardiff] cepit, et incendit præter unum vicum in quo Fratres Minores habitabant, quem amore fratrum cum conventu stare permisit. Cepit insuper castrum et destruxit, multasque divitias ibi repositas abstulit. Et cum Fratres Minores peterent ab eo libros suos et calices quos in castro deposuerant, respondit: "Quare posuistis bona vestra in castro? Si ea retinuissetis apud vos salva vobis fuissent."' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.401. See Appendix One, Passage 2i.

Owain Glynd' r in all the chronicles examined.[66]   However, within the context of studying social spaces, the Friars' decision to place their books and chalices outside of the monastic space and within the space of a castle results in either the destruction of their possessions, or their removal as part of the loot. This narrative entry is most likely to be read in association with the earlier narrative that describes Henry IV's destruction of the Abbey of Llanfaes which was also a Minorite Friar monastery. Here Owain Glynd' r is fairly sympathetically characterised, although it should be noted that he has destroyed the urban space that provides the location for this event.

None of the chronicles examined suggest that Owain Glynd' r or his followers live or base themselves in the towns or the castles that they hold. Although it is assumed that they must occupy them in order to retain them, the chroniclers never describe Owain Glynd' r and his followers emerging from these urban centres in order to fight the English forces or indeed to hide from the English.   Rather, they are described as living in forests, caves and mountains. As Hardyng comments,

> And Ewayn ay in hilles and in mounteynes
>
> Kept ful strong, the kyne ay wroght in vayne[67]

Hardyng portrays the mountains as a permanent base for Owain Glynd' r. As Adam Usk narrates under the year 1402, the mountains proved a place to hide from the English soldiers:

> This year the king led a force of a hundred thousand men and more, in three divisions, to attack Owain in Wales, but Owain and his wretches remained in hiding in the caves and forests, so the king devastated the land and returned home in great pomp, taking with him an enormous booty in animals.[68]

The caves and forests provide a haven for the rebels, and while they continue to hide in the wilderness spaces, there is no possibility of arrest or capture. Even, as Adam records, one hundred thousand soldiers could not reach them. There is a magical quality attached to the wilderness spaces that allows Owain Glynd' r and his followers to enter where the English soldiers cannot. While the impassibility of the forest for the English is not in itself magical, it readily takes on this quality given the

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[66] See Chapter One, Section II.
[67] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.
[68] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.161-163.   There are numerous other examples of the Welsh hiding in the mountains described by Adam Usk; for instance, 'Owen in his misery hid himself away with his only son, called Meredith, in remote caves and wooded mountainsides. In order to prevent any fresh outbreaks of rebellion, the king for better security paid his soldiers to guard the valleys and passes of Snowdon and the other mountains and forests of North Wales.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.243.

prominence of the discourse of magic associated with Owain Glynd' r and Wales more generally.[69]   In the *Historia Vitae*, Owain Glynd' r 'concealed himself' ('abscondebat se') in the caves and mountains of Wales.[70]   In Walsingham, Snowdonia and forests of Wales are described as a space where the Welsh can '[withdraw] at once from impending vengeance'[71] to their 'known lurking places.'[72] While churches, monasteries, towns and castles are constructed as contested spaces in the narratives of the revolt, the wilderness spaces are not contested but rather are occupied solely by the Welsh.

It is clear that the various spaces in which Owain Glynd' r is depicted are all symbolic spaces that serve to marginalise him and his followers.   Interaction with built spaces, such as castles and towns, and with wilderness spaces, contribute to the image of Owain Glynd' r and his followers as primitive and savage.   Owain Glynd' r's centre of authority is constructed as being located away from the castles and towns, and in uncivilised spaces; indeed, Adam Usk reports that Owain Glynd' r held a parliament 'in the mountains.'[73]

The sorts of spaces that the Welsh occupy are quite uninhabitable; swamps and marshes for instance appear in the chronicles of Halle, Holinshed[74] and Vergil, who tells us that the 'Welsh ran away to hide in woods and swamps.[75]'   The only interior spaces that Owain Glynd' r and his followers are explicitly described as inhabiting are caves, which feature in the chronicles of Adam Usk, the *Historia Vitae*, the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, Halle and Holinshed.   Furthermore, both Halle and following him Holinshed attach the epithet 'solitary' when discussing caves; both record that Owain Glynd' r and his followers 'fled into desert places and solitary caues.'[76]   These caves are isolated not only in terms of being on a secluded mountain, but are isolated from centres of civilisation.

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[69] For a further discussion of magic see Chapter Six.
[70] 'Ipse autem Owynus G<lyndor> in speluncis et montibus Wallie a facie regis se abscondebat', *Historia Vitae*, p.168. See Appendix One, Passage 3a.
[71] 'Intentatae vindictae se protinus subtraxerunt', Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana,* p.246.
[72] 'Wallicus in nota latibula se recepit', Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.250.
[73] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.177.
[74] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.31; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1139.
[75] 'Valli perterriti (e(e raptim in (yluas atq[ue] paludes abdiderunt', Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432. See Appendix One, Passage 7a.
[76] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.31; Holinshed, 'de(art places and (olitarie Caues', *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1155.

Remote from human life and events, the caves are unaffected by the passage of time and hence constitute a separate, allochronic space. The wilderness spaces are constructed as temporally and spatially disconnected, a point particularly emphasised by the English inability to enter them.

Owain Glynd' r's character as marginal and rebellious is expressed through his association with a very particular range of spaces. He appears only in desolate, uninhabited landscapes, or else in urban spaces which have recently been the site of his violence. These social spaces are related to the broader schema of spatial understanding that is implicit in the structure of the chronicle and in the *mappae mundi.* The construction of Owain Glynd' r as a figure on the periphery characterises his actions not as a politically coherent challenge to English authority, but as a straightforward incursion of violent disorder.

III

Embedded Spatialities: Narrative Centres and Peripheries

This section is an analysis of the internal spatial arrangement of the chronicle narrative through analysis of Henry IV's and Owain Glynd' r's engagement with social spaces. The interaction of these two individuals within the same spaces reveals different internal spatial structures. Here I argue that in the examined chronicles Henry IV and Owain Glynd' r are described via a complex spatial dichotomy of interior and exterior, of centre and periphery. While Henry is himself an unstable centre, Owain represents one of the most fully developed challenges to that questionable stability.

The king was a central narrative point in the structuring of chronicles. While the narrative was arranged in meaningful sequential order, one of the main foci of the narrative was the activity of the king. Accompanying the chronological framework was the division of the chronicle into narrative blocks connected to the regnal year of the king. So, for instance, the *Continuatio Eulogii* provides the date *Anno Domini* and then cites the reigning monarch and the number of years since his coronation; the

year 1402 begins with '[i]n the year of our lord 1402, and the third year of the king …'[77]   Frequently, as is the case with *An English Chronicle*, Fabyan and Halle, the regnal years were explicitly signalled by sub-headings. The king is a major character and his movements around England, Scotland and Wales (and beyond) are a central structuring point in the narrative; for instance, where the king spends Christmas each year is also recorded in the *Continuatio*, as it is in Thomas Walsingham's chronicles.[78]   Furthermore, King Henry speaks directly the most out of all of the individuals narrated in the chronicles.[79]   Indeed there are multiple times in *An English Chronicle* that the king's name is substituted with demonstrative pronouns, with the assumption that the reader will identify him as the protagonist. For instance,

> **Anno Secundo**
>
> The secunde yere of his regne, he went into Scottelaunde & the Scottes wolde not mete with hym. & their there Erle of Dunbar became his mon, & the kynge gaue hym the [C]ounte of [Richmonde].[80]

The placement of 'his', 'he' and 'hym' at the start of the entry forms a connection to the regnal date, but also assumes knowledge of who the subject of this entry was and indeed of the history itself. The chronicle narrative was centred largely upon the king's spatial-temporal framework.

Henry's centrality is achieved not only through the numerous accounts of his temporal-spatial framework, but also through the use of centripetal and centrifugal imagery.[81]   For instance, Adam Usk describes the following events leading up to the deposition of Richard II in 1399:

> A greyhound of wonderful nature ... found its way by its own instinct to king Richard, ... and whithersoever the king went [it]... was by his side, with grim and lion-like face, ... and then deserting [Richard] and led by instinct and by itself and with no guide, it came straight from Caermarthen to Shrewsbury to the duke of

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[77] *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389: 'Anno Domini 1402, et anno hujus Regis 3…'
[78] For example, Henry IV's first Christmas as king in 1399 was spent at Windsor Castle. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.385.
[79] See Chapter One.
[80] *An English Chronicle*, p.28.
[81] M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981, pp.272-273. As Emerson and Holquist define centripetal and centrifugal in their glossary to Bakhtin's work: 'These are respectively the centralizing and decentralising (or decentering) forces in any language or culture. The rulers and the high poetic genres of any era exercise a centripetal—a homogenizing and hierarchicizing-influence; the centrifugal (decrowning, dispersing) forces of the clown, mimic and rogue create alternative 'degraded' genres down below. The novel, Bakhtin argues, is a de-normatizing and therefore centrifugal force.' (p.425)

> Lancaster [Henry IV], now king, who lay at that time in the monastery with his army.[82]

The movement of the animal from Richard II to Henry IV is symbolic of a transition of power and authority. The animal represents nature in its exemplary form, is guided a large distance by instinct and resembles a lion, an animal closely associated within kingship.[83] From the point at which the greyhound reaches Henry IV, Adam Usk constructs Henry IV as the rightful king of England. It is also a symbolic transferral of centrality in the chronicle narrative: the greyhound moves towards Henry IV in a centripetal motion, establishing Henry as a narrative centre in the chronicle. The animal is drawn towards him. From the point of contact onwards in Adam's narrative, Henry IV's spatio-temporal framework provides the main subject matter of the historical narrative.

Henry's kingship was, however, not without its problems; the chroniclers record many threats to the stability of Henry's kingship, particularly in the forms of rebellions, and threats to his life. Capgrave's account of the king finding a sharp-pronged iron instrument in his bed, as described above, also appears in the chronicles of Thomas Walsingham, and Holinshed.[84] Many chroniclers connect these threats to the way in which Henry IV gained the crown of England, which involved the deposition and probable murder of Richard II. Underlying many narrative entries of the reign of Henry IV is the stigma of Richard's deposition.[85] As *An English Chronicle* explicitly states,

> about this tyme the peple off $is londe began forto groche agaynes Kynge Henry and bere hym hevy because he toke $eire godez and payed not therfor, and desired to haue agayne Kynge Richard. Also letters camme to certeyn friendes off Kynge

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[82] Adam Usk, *Chronicle* p.87.

[83] Lions were believed to have an innate sense that allowed them to recognise a king. See for instance Daniel: 6 from the Old Testament. Within early fifteenth-century contexts the image of the lion drew on the divine right of kings and as a result was often incorporated within shields and crests. The lion then, as now, was proverbially the king of the beast, thus its position at the beginning of most bestiaries following the example of the *Physiologus*. See, for instance, Richard Barber, *Bestiary: being an English version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 1993.

[84] Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.248; *Annals Henrici Quarti*, pp.337-338; Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1133.

[85] The problems that Henry IV faced and how these were constructed in the chronicle narratives are further discussed in Chapter Four.

> Richarde as $ey hadde be sende fro hymselfe, and seide $at he wasse alive, whereof
>
> moche people wasse gladde and desired to haue hym kynge agayne.[86]

Richard II became a focal point for discontent during the reign of Henry IV,[87] and indeed, the issue of his deposition is raised again by many chroniclers when describing Henry's death.

It is significant that a majority of the examined chronicles connect Henry IV with Jerusalem at the close of the narratives of his reign.   The *Continuatio Eulogii,* Adam Usk, *An English Chronicle*, Edward Halle and Holinshed all narrate that Henry IV wished to travel to Jerusalem towards the end of his reign.[88]   However, it is Fabyan's description that is by far the most dramatic; Fabyan first describes Henry IV's desire to go to the Holy Land, calling it the 'kinges great iournaye'.   However, suddenly Henry becomes gravely ill and is placed within the chamber of the abbot of Westminster.   Fabyan then narrates that,

> he felte hymselfe so syke, he c&maunded to aske if that chamber had any specyall
>
> name; whereunto it was answeryd, that it was named Iherusalem.   Than sayd the
>
> kynge, "louynge be to the Fader of heuen, for now I knowe I shall dye in this
>
> chamber, accordyng to ye prophecye of me beforesayd, that I shulde dye %
>
> Ierusalem", and so after he made himself redy, & dyed shortly after.[89]

Fabyan strategically underplays the duration of these events in order to stress Henry's death in a meaningful space.   Fabyan records that Henry expressed his desire to go to Jerusalem at a council held on the 20th November at the White Friars of London; Henry became violently ill at Christmas, drifted in and out of consciousness, found out that he was in the Jerusalem chamber and according to Fabyan, 'made humself redy, & dyed shortly after, vpon ye day of seynt Cuthbert, or y^e. xx. day of March.'   It would seem that it took Henry around three months to realise the significance of the space in which he lay, and with such knowledge, he quickly died thereafter.   The sense of duration expressed in Fabyan's narrative does not reflect this three-month period, rather the sequence of events are placed one after the other in quick succession and are presented as components within a short

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[86] *An English Chronicle*, p.29.
[87] See for instance, Peter McNiven, 'Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II's Survival in the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V*', Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 76:1(1994), pp.93-117.
[88] *Continuatio Eulogii,* p.421; Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.243; *An English Chronicle*, p.41; Edward Halle, *Chronicle*, p.45; Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, pp.1161-1162.
[89] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, pp.576-577.

narrative series. Time is deliberately telescoped in order to emphasise the symbolism of the space.

Henry's deathbed scene is meaningful in its joining together of two important narrative centres, the king and Jerusalem. For Henry personally, Jerusalem is central to his act of contrition for his role in the deposition and eventual death of Richard II. Many of the chroniclers record that Henry suffered illness throughout his reign and that this was directly related to both the way in which Henry took the throne and his subsequent kingship.[90] In the conjunction of these two narrative centres, tensions which had existed up to this point in the reign of Henry IV are symbolically resolved. The resolution is brought about by symbolic use of space.

Wales was one space frequently used in the chronicle narratives to discuss problems with Henry IV's kingship, and these are frequently accompanied by centrifugal imagery. It is within the space of Wales that Henry IV's life is continuously threatened, and his possessions are stolen from him. As Thomas Walsingham describes,

> Elated by these successes [in Scotland], the king returned to Wales immediately; where, on the contrary, he achieved no success, but rather everything he did was dogged by misfortune. Wherefore he was driven to return without completing any task worth writing about, except that he lost his chariots and wagons, while he was returning, up to forty in number, along with priceless treasures and his crowns, when the waters suddenly came to the aid [of the Welsh]. [91]

The loss of his crowns is symbolic of the greater threats to Henry's position as king. What Henry experiences in Wales is a landscape of fear and of the unknown, and it is consideration of this that forms the central theme of Chapter Six. Henry is unable to read the landscape of Wales. As discussed above, Walsingham, Capgrave and Holinshed describe how Henry IV is nearly killed by a falling spear pushed towards him in a dreadful storm that appeared suddenly, after he had chosen to 'set up camp

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[90] This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

[91] 'Quibus successibus Rex mente elevatus, redivit incunctanter in Walliam; ubi, e contrario, nil sibi omnino cessit prosperum, sed infortunitate omnia gerebantur. Quapropter redire coactus est, nullo perfecto negotio scriptura digno, præter id, quod perdidit currus, carectas, et plaustra, redeundo, ad numerum quadraginta, cum thesauro impretiabili et coronis suis, subvenientibus repente aquis.' Walsingham, *Annals Henrici Quarti*, p.414; also, although here it is fifty lost chariots, rather than forty, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.271-272. See Appendix One, Passage 1*l*.

in a most idyllic place.'[92]   Henry and his army were continually forced to retreat into England. Terms of retreat and reversal such as 'remeavit'[93] and 'reversus'[94] appear frequently. It is the movement back towards a point of origin, a point which is safe (or at least safer than Wales) which is significant. Indeed the author of the *Historia Vitae* goes to far as to label the retreat of 1402 as 'ignominious' ('Vnde idem inglorious reuersus est.')[95], thus emphasising the king's humiliation. As *An English Chronicle* points out, the safe place to retreat to is 'home' and not Wales:

> when the kynge might not spede off his purpose, he returned home agayne and the Lorde Grey vndurtoke forto keppe the cuntre.[96]

Here there is a very simple spatial dichotomy of 'home' and 'not-home', and of 'safe' and 'not safe'.   It is clear that in Wales, Henry is outside of his normal spatial framework, venturing into one in which he is uncomfortable and in which his life is continually threatened.

Owain Glynd' r and the social spaces that he and his followers occupy are constructed as peripheral and marginal, and are also characterised by a prominence of centrifugal imagery. Henry IV continually retreats back into England to avoid both the guerrilla tactics used by the Welsh rebels and extreme weather conditions that appear from nowhere. He retreats back to the physical and ideological centre in the face of threats from the periphery. Such imagery depicts the wilderness spaces, as disruptive, decentring and chaotic. Notions of rebellion are connected with notions of disruption; Walsingham, the *Continuatio Eulogii*, and the *Historia Vitae* all record a ripple of magical activity and supernatural events occurring as a result of the Welsh revolt, as well as of the Percy and the Mortimer rebellions. For example, from the initiation of the Welsh revolt in September 1400 to the death of Hotspur in 1403 the *Continuatio Eulogii* records a comet, storms and thunder, and an eclipse interspersed

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[92] 'Cum rex in loco amoenissimo fixisset tentoria, ibi nihil formidabile, sed summa requies, sperabatur, repente in ipsius noctis prima vigilia flaverunt venti, et descendit pluvia tam excessiva, ut ipsum Regis tentorium dejicerent, et ejusdem lanceam everterent impetu vehementi, et in Regis armatura defigerent. Fuisset ipsa Regi nox ultima, si non quievisset armatus ; nec meminerunt Anglici, licet assuenti rebus bellicis, se unquam tantum vexatos, periculis tantis expositos, in ulla expeditione fuisse', *Historia Anglicana,* p.251. See Appendix One, Passage 1f.
[93] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.246.
[94] 'reuersys est per Salopiam', *Historia Vitae,* p.168
[95] 'So the same man returned from there ignominiously,' *Historia Vitae,* p.174. See Appendix One, Passage 3n.
[96] *An English Chronicle*, p.29.

with the record of the revolt.[97]   For the same time-frame, Walsingham records a comet, an appearance of the devil in Danbury, Essex, and monsters of dark appearance in the woods near Bedford and Biggleswade.[98] Rebellion is depicted as against the laws of nature, and so movements in nature and strange natural and supernatural phenomena are signs or evidence of a shift in the natural balance of the cosmos. Rebellion is represented as a disturbance not just of the political but of the natural order. Wales is constructed as a diabolical, magical and unbalanced space, a place of rebellion where nature has been transgressed.

It is clear that in the chronicles Henry, kingship and England are narrative centres whereas Owain Glynd' r, rebellion and Wales are peripheral. The king forms a central and regular structuring principle in the narrative, although arguably problematic, Owain Glynd' r and his followers are, by contrast, disjoined and peripheral. Owain Glynd' r is linked specifically to wilderness spaces, which I argue were allochronic and are spaces that Henry IV is unable to enter.

IV

Conclusions

For the historical narrative, spatiality was an important component in the creation and communication of meaning; like the temporal structure, the spatial structure of the chronicles was vital to the construction of power and authority. Temporal and spatial factors in the chronicles, in addition to providing the basic framework as they would in any narrative text, function in unison for the articulation of meaning. The alterity of Wales is very clearly constructed, drawing on a rich tradition of otherness, found both in written texts such as the chronicles and visual texts like the *mappae mundi*. Space then impacts the structure of the narrative and also impacts upon the ways in which spaces are described within the chronicles themselves; the microspaces, such as wilderness, castles and forests reflect the macrospaces as constituted by the larger framework of chronicle narrative. The depictions of the

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[97] *Continuatio Eulogii*: comet p.389; storms and thunder p.392; eclipse p.397.
[98] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*: comet p.248; devil p.249; monsters p.254.

revolt signify, in other words, both within the traditions and limitations of the chronicle form, and within the wider discourses of which the chronicles are a part.

Theme Two

Imagining the Rebellion

Chapter Four

'With praies and bloudy handes returned again to Wales ': Imagining Individuals in the Narratives of the Revolt

> Thus Owen Glendor glorifying himself in these twoo victories, inuaded the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne, robbed villages, brent tounes and slewe the people, and laden with praies and bloudy handes returned again to Wales, neuer desisting to do euil till the next yere.[1]

Edward Halle's depiction of Owain Glynd(r's bloody hands, heavy with the prizes of war, is one of the most striking uses of imagery in the revolt narratives.[2] Here, Owain Glynd(r's marked and laden hands are an important focal point through which Halle explores notions of personal responsibility for the events depicted. Although bloody hands are traditionally a sign of guilt and wrongdoing, here Owain Glynd(r shows no remorse, but rather continues to act in a similar and 'evil' manner 'till the next yere.' While this is certainly an unfavourable image, it is nevertheless a considered depiction of an individual. The absence of anyone else in the events depicted by Halle further strengthens the sense that the impetus for these raids, and indeed more broadly the events of 1400 to *c*.1415, as centred entirely around Owain Glynd(r.

This chapter is an analysis of the characteristics attached to the central protagonists of the revolt narratives, and a consideration of the purposes behind these depictions. Central to this discussion are the representations of two individuals, Henry IV and Owain Glynd(r, although numerous other individuals who feature in the revolt narratives, such as Reginald Lord Grey and Edmund Mortimer, will also be discussed. Although characterisation is an important element in any narrative, studies

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[1] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.23.
[2] Although I have translated 'praies' as 'prizes', Halle conceivably might have meant 'praise'; or indeed wanted to imply the double meaning.

of the methods through which individuals (and indeed communities) are represented in chronicles has not previously been the subject of analysis.[3] In this chapter I argue that the chroniclers present complex depictions of the central characters in their revolt narratives. The protagonists have depth of character and meaning, and are depicted as emotional beings, with agency and personal traits.

This chapter is divided into two sections, each an analysis of a subtle method by which the chroniclers individualise and characterise the central protagonists of the revolt narratives. The first section analyses an oblique form of character construction, the representation of individuality through juxtaposition and comparisons with other characters. Several historical figures, such as Richard Earl of Arundel, who was executed by Richard II in 1397, appear in the revolt narratives to emphasise particular character traits. Arundel's role in several chronicles across the entire timeframe in question, for instance, is a paradigm of 'the good rebel' and of chivalry, and his role in the revolt narratives, as will be explored, was essentially in order to construct Owain Glynd(r in opposite terms. Arundel is, along with several others, a type character. The second section explores three important life-events of three individuals. Occasions such as marriages, deaths and births provided a moment at which the narrative could focus upon individuals and aspects of their personal lives, more so than at other points in the chronicle history. Under discussion in this section are, firstly, representations of the death of Henry IV in 1413 and reflections on the place of the Welsh revolt in analyses of his reign by the chroniclers. The remaining two sub-sections analyse events that occurred in the revolt narratives themselves, exploring representations of the marriage of Owain Glynd(r's daughter to either Edmund Mortimer or Reginald Lord Grey, and representations of either Owain Glynd(r or Edmund Mortimer's birth. This final analysis is a historiographical study.

Analysis of the representations of individuals is paramount to understanding the revolt narratives for a number of reasons. Firstly, all sixteen of the examined chronicles depict Owain Glynd(r as the central figure of the events of 1400 to

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[3] One example is Peter Damian-Grint, 'Propaganda and *essample* in Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Chroniques des ducs de Normandie*', *The Medieval Chronicle IV*, Erik Kooper, ed., Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2006, pp.39-52, sp. pp.46-49.

c.1415. Analysis of the revolt narratives reveals that many of the chroniclers considered Owain Glynd(r to exemplify and indeed to embody the rebellion. Halle's image of Owain Glynd(r's bloody hands, for instance, connects the rebellion and responsibility directly to him. Furthermore, Owain Glynd(r is represented as central to the actions that take place. For example, John Capgave, in his *Abbreuacion* states under the year 1401, 'In $is ʒere Howeyn Glendor ded mech harm upon $e borderes of Ynglond.'[4] One can assume that he did not act alone in these ventures; nevertheless it is in this manner that the events are frequently presented in the examined chronicles. In addition, Owain Glynd(r's name is one of the primary means by which the chroniclers discuss the events. Alongside the more usual use of the term 'Welsh' or 'Welshmen' to describe the supporters of Owain Glynd(r, the significance of which will be explored in the chapter that follows, is an associated terminology that reflects Owain Glynd(r's perceived centrality. For instance, Adam Usk refers to his supporters as 'the Welsh under Owain Glynd(r' ('Wallicos sub Oueno Glyndour')[5] and 'Owain Glynd(r and several of the Welsh chieftains'('Oweyn Klyndor cum pluribus Wallie proceribus').[6] The sixteenth-century chronicles use colourful labels such as Fabyan's 'Howan and his adherentes', Holinshed's 'Owen, and his vnruly complices' and Halle's 'Owen and his sedicious fautors'.[7] The reduction of Owain Glynd(r's name to only the first part is notable in its construction of a personal relationship between Owain Glynd(r and his supporters. Such constructions, which are used alongside the more common 'Welshmen', signal a relationship based upon loyalty to an individual as well as to a broader movement that was Welsh and national in character.

Henry IV's role in the examined chronicle narratives is complex and requires close consideration. While Henry IV is represented in the chronicles as an individual with specific character traits, he is also, as discussed in Chapter Three, a pivotal centre around which the chronicle narratives of his reign were arranged. Henry IV is important structurally, with a significant portion of the historical narrative centred

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[4] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.218.
[5] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.159.
[6] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.135.
[7] Fabyan, 'Howan and his adherentes', *New Chronicles*, p.570; Holinshed, 'Owen, and his vnruly complices', *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1132; Halle, 'Owen and his sedicious fautors' *Chronicle*, p.31. Other examples from Halle, for instance, include 'Owen and his complices' p.27, 'frendes and fautours' p.28.

upon his temporal-spatial frame. Indicative of this is the prominence of Henry IV's voice in the narrative via the mechanism of direct speech, a privilege Owain Glynd(r is afforded only once in the examined chronicles.[8] However, changing perceptions of Henry IV, and of the Lancastrian dynasty more generally, result in the reinterpretation and re-evaluation of his reign and of his personality. Analysis of these changes provides an opportunity to assess the extent to which representation of Owain Glynd(r, and more broadly the events of 1400 to *c*.1415, were connected to changing notions of Henry IV and the Lancastrians in the chronicles written under York and Tudor monarchs. Of particular interest is how representations of Henry IV and Owain Glynd(r relate to one another, and whether or not Owain Glynd(r acted as a counterbalance to Henry IV in the chronicle narratives. For instance, does a favourable depiction of Henry IV results in an unfavourable depiction of Owain Glynd(r? It is for these reasons that a study of characterisation in the chronicles contributes to the broader understanding of the revolt narratives.

I

Paradigms: Characterisation Through Comparison

On several occasions in the revolt narratives, particular individuals are defined by reference to others to whom they are supposed to bear some relationship or resemblance. For instance, many chroniclers begin their descriptions of the initiation of the revolt by stating through means of an analepsis in the narrative that Owain Glynd(r had been a squire of Richard, the Earl of Arundel.[9] Such is the case of the *Continuatio Eulogii, An English Chronicle,* John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* and John Rous's *Historia Regum Angliae*.[10] The Earl of Arundel, Richard Fitzalan, was one of the Lords Appellant and spoke openly against Richard II's

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[8] See especially Chapter One, Section II. Owain Glynd(r speaks in the *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.401.
[9] See Chapter Two.
[10]*Continuatio Eulogii*, 'comitis Arundell', p.388; *An English Chronicle,* 'Erle of Arundell', p.28; Capgrave, 'Ricardi, comitis Arundell', *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p.110; Rous, 'Ricardi comitis Arundeliiae', *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207.

tyrannical style of kingship.[11]   Arundel was executed by Richard II in 1397.
Evidence suggests that Owain Glynd(r trained as a boy in the household of Richard
Fitzalan, whose Marcher landholdings bordered Owain Glynd(r's family estate at
Glyndyfrdwy in Northern Wales.[12]   As an adult, Owain served in Scotland in the
retinue of Arundel in 1387 and is listed as a squire in exchequer accounts.[13]   It is
possible that Owain Glynd(r was still in his service at the time of Arundel's
execution.

In the chronicles of Rous and Capgrave, the relationship between Owain Glynd(r
and Arundel is the central theme of the revolt narratives. In his *Liber de Illustribus
Henricis*, completed around the year 1446 and presented to Henry VI, Capgrave
records,

> And after these things the same king [Henry IV] had certain worries of his mind
> with one squire of Richard, the Earl of Arundel, called Glynd(r whom the king
> rather often sought, and never found. For wandering about in the mountains and
> caverns of Wales, he never had a certain location nor could he be captured by
> anyone.[14]

Capgrave's entire entry in the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* on the Welsh revolt is
framed by Owain Glynd(r's connection to Arundel. Arundel is an important figure,
and the key to his placement in the revolt narratives lies in what he represents.
While Arundel no doubt had a distinguished military career, for instance serving as
Admiral, it is his outspoken criticism of Richard II, and indeed the manner of his
death that are of central importance in this context: Arundel was viewed as a martyr.
Although Arundel was not formally put forward for canonisation, he is frequently
constructed as a political saint in many of the chronicles.[15]   For instance, Capgrave,

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[11] Anthony Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility*, Edward Arnold, London, 1973.

[12] Ian Skidmore, *Owain Glynd r: Prince of Wales*, Christopher Davies, Swansea, 1978, p.17.

[13] 'Oweyn Glyndouredy' and his brother 'Tudour de Glyndore' are listed as being one of 25 squires in Arundel's retinue for the Scottish campaign in March 1387 in P.R.O, Exchequer, Various Accounts, 40/33. Anthony Goodman, 'Owain Glynd(r before 1400', *Welsh History Review*, vol 5 (1970-71), p.68.

[14] 'Et post haec quasdam animi perturbationes habuit idem rex cum uno armigero Ricardi, comitis Arundell, qui armiger dictus est Glendore, quem rex saepius quaesivit et nunquam invenit. Nam in montibus et cavernis Walliae circumvagans, nunquam certum locum habuit, nec a quoquam capi potuit.' Capgrave*, Liber de Illustribus Henricis,* p.110. See Appendix One, Passage 5a.

[15] Mary-Ann Stouck, 'Saints and Rebels: Hagiography and Opposition to the King in Late Fourteenth-Century England', *Medievalia et Humanistica: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, 24 (1997), p.77. See also Simon Walker, 'Political Saints in Later Medieval England,' *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard, eds, Alan Sutton, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1995, pp.77-106.

following Walsingham, states in his *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* that after Arundel's execution '$e comoun puple talked $at he was a martir, and $at his hed was growe ageyn to his bodi.'[16] Arundel's popularity, particularly as a figure of opposition to bad kingship, remained throughout the fifteenth century. John Rous, writing in the 1480s, frames his revolt narratives through establishing a connection between Arundel and Owain Glynd(r. Rous records,

> At once, a certain Welshman called Owain Glynd(r rose up in a great rebellion, who much disquieted the whole of England. He never dared to meet in battle the king's army, and he was often besieged in a stronghold. The castle having been captured, he could not be found. It was a common rumour at that time that he had a stone which rendered him invisible, which stone, as it is said, once belonged to Richard, Earl of Arundel, who was cruelly beheaded by King Richard. The aforesaid Earl of Arundel, so it is reported, had a crow of the greater sort of them, which are called ravens. This crow was raised in his court and when on a certain occasion he was playing chess in a certain garden, the so called crow or spirit in the form of a crow, in the presence of the earl, noisily spat out a stone which had the virtue of invisibility. The earl did not use it, contrary to the advice of his nobles, and soon after the said earl was forcibly arrested, sent off to prison and finally decapitated.[17]

One would be forgiven for thinking that this extract concerned the execution of Richard, Earl of Arundel, rather than the revolt of Owain Glynd(r. It is a two-way characterisation. What is significant here is that the figure of Owain Glynd(r is used to develop sympathy for Arundel. According to Rous, not only is Arundel executed under the authority of the cruel and tyrannical King Richard, but then his squire rebels against the new king that he fought and died for. Central to Rous's characterisation is the use or rejection of the magical stone. Owain Glynd(r's use of the magical stone shows him to be a man who will use any means, including unorthodox methods, to gain an advantage. Arundel, on the other hand, accepts his fate and refuses to use the stone of invisibility.

While Rous does not present an entirely negative portrayal of Owain Glynd(r, he is overshadowed by the character of Arundel, who is depicted as the epitome of a good

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[16] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.208; Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, pp.218-219.
[17] Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

and civil knight. In addition to using the stone of invisibility, according to Rous, Owain Glynd(r refuses to face the king in battle, a quality that is unchivalrous. Indeed, Owain Glynd(r's strategy of hiding in castles forces him to rely upon the stone of invisibility as a means of escape. The use of the stone is one in a series of binary points of comparison through which character is explored. The spaces that these two individuals occupy are important in establishing character. Arundel, as far as this chronicle is concerned, solely occupies a garden and is described as playing chess. Arundel is depicted as a cultivated individual. In comparison, Owain Glynd(r occupies a castle, although his presence (or indeed absence) is never entirely certain as he uses the stone of invisibility. Owain Glynd(r shows himself to be deceptive; as discussed in Chapter Three, castles in the revolt narratives were the spaces of disruption, and as such reflected on the characters of Owain Glynd(r and his followers, who were so often seen engaging with them.[18] Characterisations predominantly revolved around notions of fraudulence, trickery and underhanded methods of capture. In Rous's narrative, the use of a magical stone of invisibility constructs Owain Glynd(r solidly within such parameters, as well as emphasising a degree of unorthodoxy in his use of magic.

In a manner similar to the presence of the Earl of Arundel, several Welsh historical figures appear in the revolt narratives. For instance, Adam Usk subtly crafts connections between the revolt of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (d.1282) and Owain Glynd(r. Adam narrates,

> The spring near Builth in which the head of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, last prince of the Welsh, was washed after it had been cut off, flowed with pure blood throughout one whole day.[19]

The significance of this passage is derived from a paratactical reading, and occurs soon after his record of the initiation of the revolt in 1400. Significantly, as has been discussed with regards to representations of time and duration, this passage interweaves past and present events, with blood and the spring a material link between the two eras.[20] Llywelyn was a pivotal figure within Welsh culture and history, and the reappearance of his blood has several implications. On the one hand, it generates respectability and legitimacy for Owain Glynd(r and the events of 1400

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[18] See Chapter Three.
[19] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.117.
[20] See Chapter Two.

to *c*.1415 by placing them within a longer history of Welsh actions of independence. The focus is, however, on the ending of Llywelyn's rebellion, and as such this comparison serves as a warning to Owain Glynd(r of one possible outcome: that he too could be captured and executed. However, Adam's comparison is multifaceted. Adam clearly states that Llywelyn was the 'last prince of the Welsh' ('principis ultimi'), even though he records seven entries earlier in his chronicle that Owain Glynd(r had been 'put forward by the men of North Wales to be their prince.'[21] While Llywelyn is commonly known as 'Llywelyn the Last', Adam does not use this construction, rather referring to him as 'Llywelyn ap Gruffydd'. Thus Adam skilfully comments on the legitimacy of Owain Glynd(r's title as 'Prince of Wales' through juxtaposition with Llywelyn. Adam creates a safely ambiguous characterisation of Owain Glynd(r. On the one hand, royalists could read it as showing that Llywelyn was the last prince and hence that Owain Glynd(r could not have been the Prince of Wales. On the other, Welsh loyalists might read Owain Glynd(r as the rightful heir to the previous Welsh princes.

Adam Usk documents several further links between Owain Glynd(r and past figures of importance in Welsh history and literature, and is the only chronicler to do so. For instance, Adam records that Owain Glynd(r used a standard during a battle which had 'a golden dragon on a white field.'[22] This standard is traditionally associated with Uther Pendragon and appears in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (History of the Kings of Britain).[23] Furthermore, Adam Usk also includes two letters composed on behalf of Owain Glynd(r and sent to the King of Scotland and Lords of Ireland.[24] In these letters Owain Glynd(r refers to himself as a descendant of both 'Kamber' and of 'Cadwaladr.'[25] The inclusion of such comparisons and connections in Adam Usk's revolt narratives is significant as it

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[21] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.101.
[22] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.147.
[23] See *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, N. Wright, ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, p.95.
[24] 'Letter to the King of Scotland', in Adam Usk, *Chronicle* pp.149-151; 'Letter to the Lords of Ireland'. in Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.151-153.
[25] For instance, the 'Letter to the King of Scotland' states that: 'Brutus fathered three sons, namely Albanactus and Locrinus and Kamber; you are descended from the direct line of this Albanactus, while the descendants of this Kamber ruled as kings under the time of Cadwaladr, who was the last crowned king of my people, and from whose direct line I, your humble cousin am descended.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.149. The two letters and in particular the notion of descent presented within them will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

provides insight into the strategies employed by Owain Glynd(r and his followers. Connections to important figures were established through such means as iconography and poetry in order to generate legitimacy.[26] However, Adam Usk, in detailing such connections, provides Owain Glynd(r with reputation and status of a sort which Owain Glynd(r himself sought to promote. While Adam Usk's approach to Owain Glynd(r is not altogether sympathetic, he is certainly interested in the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 and his methods of characterisation reflect a deep awareness of the place of the revolt within Welsh history and culture.

In many of the examined revolt narratives the perceived relationship between Owain Glynd(r and Henry IV is of fundamental importance to establishing the framework through which the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 can be understood. Although Henry IV appears frequently in the revolt narratives, particularly on various campaigns into Wales, direct personal engagement between Owain Glynd(r and Henry IV is surprisingly limited.[27] There is no recorded meeting of these two characters in a battle or at any other point for negotiations. However, the initiation of the revolt does offer an opportunity to analyse the nuances in the representations of Henry IV and Owain Glynd(r, and indeed their perceived relationship to one other. The initiation narratives reveal a complex and disjoined affiliation, with blame pointed at Owain Glynd(r as often as at Henry IV.

In each of the examined chronicles, in the account of the beginning of the revolt Henry IV and Owain Glyndwr are characterised in a rich and considered manner. Points of characterisation are established through analysis of conduct, deeds and agency, as well as notions of violence, blame and guilt associated with the initiation of the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. There is a diversity of recorded events to explain the start of the revolt. For instance, Thomas Walsingham, writing in the early fifteenth century, offers a comprehensive account of the commencement of the revolt, in which he makes clear that Owain Glynd(r is completely at fault. Walsingham narrates,

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[26] For instance, Owain Glynd(r chose the arms of the House of Gwynedd as oppose to the House of Powys used by his family, predominantly because it had been that used by Llywelyn ap Gruffydd. See Davis, *The Revolt of Owain Glynd(r*, pp.160-161.

[27] For a discussion of the nature of engagement between Owain Glynd(r and Henry IV in specific landscapes see Chapter Six.

> In the meantime, there happened to be an occasion that the king was absent, and the Welsh, with a certain leader, Owain Glynd(r began to rebel. This man was first an apprentice near Westminster and later the shield-bearer of the current king; but discord arose between him and Reginald Lord Grey on account of lands which he claimed belonged to him by right of inheritance, and when he discerned that his reasoning and claims were of little weight, he began hostilities against the said Lord de Grey, laying waste his possessions with fires and slaying many of his household too cruelly and savagely. Then the king, deciding to pursue him as one of those who disturbed the peace of the land, attacked Wales with an armed band of men; but the 'Cambri', with their leader occupying the mountains of Snowdon, withdrew at once from impending vengeance. Indeed the king, when the region had been burned and some people destroyed, whomever luck had brought onto their unsheathed swords, returned with booty made up of beasts and animals.[28]

Owain Glynd(r's guilt is not only conveyed through the use of the term 'rebel' associated with the actions of Owain Glynd(r, but is also reiterated through several other means. Firstly, by noting that Henry IV was absent from England when the rebellion first commenced Walsingham emphasises the notion of Owain Glynd(r's actions as calculated and underhanded. The king is at a significant disadvantage and furthermore, the revolt could hardly have been his fault if he was not there when it began. Secondly, the personal information concerning Owain Glynd(r further emphasises the notion of the rebellion as based upon claims that were of 'little weight'. Walsingham records that Owain Glynd(r had studied law at the Inns of Court, and thus is fully aware of the implications of his actions within a legal context. Furthermore, when Walsingham states that Owain Glynd(r launched a raid on the property of Reginald Lord Grey, the incident is described using terms such as 'cruelly and savagely.' The Latin here is 'inhumane' which denotes not simply savagery, but of actions that are outside the realm of normal human beings. Importantly, Owain Glynd(r's 'savage' actions are unprovoked by Grey. Through these constructions Owain Glynd(r emerges as a violent and calculating individual,

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[28] 'Interia Wallici, nacta occasione de regis absentia, duce quodam Oweyno de Glendour, rebellare coeperunt. Hic primo apprenticuis fuit apud Westmonasterium, deinde scutifer Regis moderni; sed orta discordia inter eum et dominum Reginaldum Grey de Ruthyn, pro terris quas asseruit sibi jure haereditario pertinere, cum rationes suas et allegationes parvipensas cerneret, primo in dictum Dominum de Grey hostilia commovit arma, vastans possessiones ejus per incendia, et ferro peromens plures de sua familia nimis crudeliter et inhumane. Quem proinde Rex prosequi statuens, tanquam pacis patriae turbatorum, cum armata manu Walliam est ingressus; sed Cambri, cum duce suo, montes Snowdoune occupantes, intentatae vindictae se protinus subtraxerunt. Rex vero, combusta regione et quibusdam peremptis, quos sors pro tunc gladiis evaginatis obtulerat, cum praeda jumentorum et animalium remeavit.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana,* p.246. See Appendix One, Passage 1a.

who has agency to act in a harmful manner, with far reaching implications for the peace of England.   Henry IV's actions are legitimate and necessary against an individual whose conduct was threatening, expansionist and premeditated.

Importantly, Thomas Walsingham's revolt narratives were adapted by several chroniclers writing after him. There are parallel depictions of the initiation present in John Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*[29] and also in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Holinshed, though reliant on Walsingham's depiction of the revolt's beginning, included significant departures and new perspectives, on both the events and characterisation of the individuals. Holinshed records,

> In the kings ab)ence, while)t he was forth of the realme in Scotland again)t his enemies, the Welchmen tooke occa)ion to rebell, vnder ye   conduct of their Captaine, Owen Glendouer, doing what mi)chiefe they could deui)e, vnto their engli)h neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was)on to an e)quier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the pari)h of Conway, within the Countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place ye hight Glindourwy, which is as muche to)ay in Engli)h, as the valley, by the)ide of the water of Dee, by occa)ion whereof, he was)urnamed Glindour Dewe, he was fir)te)et to)tudie the lawes of the Realme, & became an vtter barre)ter, or an apprentice of the lawe (as they terme him) and)erued K. Richard at Flint Ca)tel, when he was taken by Henry Duke of Lãca)ter, though other haue written, that hee)erued this K. Henry the fourth, before he came to atteine the Crowne, in roome of an E)quier, and after, by rea)on of variãce that ro)e betwixt him, and the L. Reginold Grey of Ruthin, aboute landes which he claymed to be his by righte of inheritance: when he)aw that he might not preuaile, finding no)uche fauour in his)ute, as hee looked for, he fir)te made warre again)t the)ayde L. Grey, wa)ting his lands and po))e))iõs with fire and)word, cruelly killing his)eruauntes and tenauntes.[30]

The level of personal information on Owain Glynd(r's family background provided by Holinshed is unparalleled amongst the examined chronicles. Where Owain Glynd(r lived is described in detail including the name of the parish, Owain Glynd(r's father is accurately named, although Anglicised (Gruffydd Fychan), and

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[29] 'In this [y]ere began $e rebellion of Walis ageyn $e Kyng, vndir a capteyn cleped Howeyn Glendor, whech Howeyn was first a prentise of cort, and $en a swyere in $e Kingis hous, but for a discord $at fel betwix him and Ser Reynald Grey Riffyn for certeyn lond, first he faut with $e tenauntis of $e same lord, and because the kyng pursewid him for brekyng of $e pes, he fled into Walis, and whan $e kyng folowid him $idir, he fled into $e hillis of Snowdon; and $e kyngis labour was frustrate.' Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.217.
[30] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1132.

the history behind Owain Glynd(r's own name is explored. Holinshed situates Owain Glynd(r in terms of his heritage and place, whilst still providing the details such as his legal training in England. This is a significant departure from many earlier and even contemporaneous chroniclers who depict Owain Glynd(r only within English terms. There are notable implications for the revolt narratives; although Holinshed clearly depicts the events as a 'revolt' along the same lines as Walsingham, knowledge of Owain Glynd(r's personal history lessens the overall negative construction of him. Reliance on Walsingham leads Holinshed to refer to Owain Glynd(r's actions as 'cruel'; however, there is a degree of familiarity and a greater understanding of Owain Glyndwr as an individual and the reasons for the events described. Holinshed's Owain Glynd(r is more sympathetically portrayed as an individual, rather than simply as the paradigm of a villain.

The early fifteenth-century *Historia Vitae* provides a unique perspective on the initiation of the revolt and characterisation of the people involved. In this account blame is no longer on the shoulders of either Owain Glynd(r or Henry IV, but rather on Reginald Lord Grey. It records:

> Regarding the hateful insurrection of the Welsh, who raised up into their ruler a certain armour-bearer, by the name of Owain Glynd(r and their captain against the peace. The cause of this insurrection follows, as we have it related.
>
> When the king made arrangements to hasten into Scotland he sent a letter sealed with his signet ring to the aforesaid Owain, amongst other people, because in those days he [Owain] was held to be a handsome squire, so that in no manner could he refuse to come with him. Lord de Grey de Ruthin had been appointed as the carrier of this letter, who postponed delivering the accepted letter to him [Owain] up until the time of the setting out of the king. Therefore at Terce on the day before setting out the aforesaid letter of the king was freed by him. He [Owain] was deeply astonished by these happenings, and replied that he had been alerted too late, suddenly and unexpectedly for such a voyage, briefly excusing himself because he was not willing, just as he had not been able, to go into Scotland at that time. In fact lord de Grey, having left that man [Owain] in Wales, told the king, who had advanced thus far into Scotland, in an incriminating fashion, that the aforesaid Owain scorned the king's letters and considered the king of no value, vehemently condemning his commands.

> Truly the king himself considered these things in silence for a time afterwards.
> Setting out with his army from Leicester he entered Wales with all haste to vanquish
> or to destroy utterly those same men if fortune were favourable to him.[31]

The unknown writer of *Historia Vitae* provides a most colourful description, isolating Reginald Grey as the sole cause of the troubles. Grey is portrayed as a trickster and troublemaker, who purposefully sows the seeds of discord via several calculating plots. Henry IV and Owain Glynd(r both emerge as innocent victims, and the events that follow are a 'hateful' product of Grey's plot. In the *Historia Vitae*, Owain Glynd(r is an extremely well regarded individual, indeed he is referred to as a 'handsome squire' ('armiger formosus'). The expectation for Owain Glynd(r to supply arms places him within a larger body of support surrounding the king. Owain Glynd(r's status is recognised, and indeed his contribution so valued that pursuing him was considered worthwhile. Henry IV's consideration of what to do with his recalcitrant vassal is carefully crafted. The image of the king 'considering these things in silence for a time afterwards', creates a moment of quiet before the narrative of the violence in Wales, and a humanising image of a strong and prudent king faced with a tough decision. Although the fourteen surviving manuscripts of the *Historia Vitae* point to a degree of popularity,[32] this chronicler's account of the origin of the revolt remains unique among the examined chronicles. Indeed, the *Historia Vitae*, the narrative of which ceases in 1402, appears to have had no influence on the later revolt narratives.

The final example comes from John Hardyng's chronicles. There are some notable shifts in the representation of Henry IV and Owain Glynd(r in the initiation of the

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[31] 'De execrabili scilicet insurreccione Walens, qui quendam armigerum, nomine Owyn Glendor, in suum principem, et capitaneum eorum contra pacem erexerunt. Cuius insurreccionis causa subsequitur, ut eam relatu habemus.
Cum rex in Scociam properare disponeret, inter alios misit litteras, anulo suo signatas, ad predictum Owyn, pro eo quod ipse illis diebus armiger formosus habebatur, ut illuc secum nullo modo uenire recusaret. Quarum litterarum baiulus dominus de Grey de Rythynn tunc constitutus erat, qui acceptas litteras usque ad profeccionem regis ad eum ferre differebat. Pridie igitur tercione die ante mocionem pre-dicte regis littere sibi liberabantur. Qui de hiis ualde attonitus, respondit, quod nimis tarde, subito et inopinate pro tanto uiagio premunitus erat, breuiter se excusans, quod nollet, sicut nec potuisset, ea uice in Scociam ire. Dominus uero le Grey, relicto eo in Wallia, ad regem in Scociam quamtociens excessum, narrans ei modo peiori, quod predictus Owen spretis litteris suis, eum uilipendisset, eius precepta ualde contempnendo.
Ipse uero rex tacitus pro tempore considerabat. Postea cum suo exercitu de Leycestr' egressus, Walliam intrauit cum omni festinacione, ad debellandum uel penitus eosdem destruendum, si fortuna sibi faueret.' *Historia Vitae,* pp.167-168. See Appendix One, Passage 3a.
[32] George Stow, 'Introduction', *Historia Vitae*, pp.22-29.

revolt in the two versions of Hardyng's chronicle. Analysis of the differences between these two versions allows for direct analysis of the implications of changes in dynasty on the revolt narratives. Hardyng was writing at a time of political uncertainty. The first version of his narrative was written between 1440 and was presented to Henry VI in 1457, the grandson of Henry IV;[33] this version is predominantly favourable in its depiction of the Lancastrian regime.[34] Starting from the sub-heading 'How Ewayn of Glendore rebelde agayne $e kynge thurgh stryfe bitwix hym and the lorde Grayriffes', Hardyng's narrative on the origins of the revolt follows:

> Than came he [King Henry] home and tythandes new than hade
>
> How that Ewayn of Glendor was rebell,
>
> And made grete were of which he was vngladde,
>
> And to London hym sped as so byfell,
>
> Whar full tythandes he herde than sothly tell
>
> Of werre full grete betvix the sayde Ewayne
>
> And the lorde Gray Ryffyth, the soth to sayne.
>
>
> So longe it laste whils both Marches wer*e* brente
>
> By thaire discorde and felly wer distroyed
>
> For lytyll cause that myght haue bene content
>
> With mekyll lesse than oon of thaym had stroyed;
>
> So rose grete losse of England sore annoyed.[35]

There are some noteworthy points in this first version. Firstly, the notion of Henry IV first hearing of the rebellion while away has been previously noted with regard to Walsingham's and Holinshed's narratives. However, here Hardyng notes that Henry rushed back to London. Secondly, Hardyng records that significantly more land was destroyed in the process than was originally in dispute. This frames the initiation of the revolt with a sense of triviality and wastefulness at the destruction, a point further emphasised by use of the terms 'lytyll' and 'mekyll', and 'lesse' and 'losse'. It is intriguing too that this version can be read as laying equal blame on Reginald Grey of Ruthin: it is 'thaire discorde', not Owain Glynd(r's alone that causes the problem.

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[33] E.D. Kennedy, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500, Volume 8: Chronicles and other Historical Writings*, A. Hartung (ed.), Archon, 1989, p.2646.
[34] For an in-depth discussion see Sarah L. Peverley, 'Dynasty and Division: The Depiction of King and Kingdom in John Hardyng's Chronicle', in *The Medieval Chronicle III,* Erik Kooper, ed., Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2004, pp.149-70.
[35] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol. 204v; Peverley, *John Hardyng,* pp.305-306.

Hardyng produced a second version, which he intended to present to Richard Duke of York. However the latter died in 1460 before it was finished and subsequently Hardyng presented his completed chronicle to the Duke of York's son Edward IV in 1463.[36] The revolt narrative in this versions starts:

> **How Owayn of Glendore rose in Wales agayne the kinge, and made werre on the lord Gray Riffith, and toke Āe lord Gray and Sir Edmond Mortymere.**
>
> The kinge came home and to London went
>
> At Mighelmesse, where $an he had message,
>
> That Ewayn Glendore $en felly brent
>
> In Englond so, and did ful grete outrage,
>
> For cause that lord Gray held his heritage,
>
> And to the kinge of it ful sore had playned,
>
> No remedy gat, so was he $en demayned.
>
>
> The lord Gray Riffith did him grete wronge,
>
> Destroyed his lond, and he did him the same,
>
> So both Marches destroyed were ful longe;
>
> But Ewayn wan himselfe eche day grete name
>
> Of Wallysshry, for gentilnesse and fame
>
> That he hem did, for whiche to him $ey drewe,
>
> And came his men and to him were ful trewe.[37]

There are marked transitions between Hardyng's two narratives. The element of triviality associated with the initiation of the revolt is no longer present. It has a 'cause': Grey's attack on Owain Glynd(r's land and the king's failure to deal with the complaint.[38] The shift between Hardyng's two narratives is important in the representations of guilt and blame. Hardyng states first that Grey 'destroyed his lond' and then Owain Glynd(r 'did him the same' and in so doing, presents Owain Glynd(r's actions as defensive rather than aggressive. Moreover, the whole episode could have been avoided had Henry IV acknowledged and dealt with Owain Glynd(r's complaint. Changes in politics, and in particular between Lancaster and York, contributed to the shape of the characters depicted. In the second version,

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[36] E.D. Kennedy, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English,* p.2647.
[37] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol.157r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.506.
[38] There are similar accounts in the *Continuatio Eulogii* and *An English Chronicle*. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.388; *An English Chronicle*, pp.28-29.

Henry IV is represented as an unable and inept king. The change in Henry IV's role in initiating the revolt in the second version allows Hardyng to depict Owain Glynd(r in a positive light. Owain Glynd(r is noble, chivalrous and surrounded by loyal men, who are drawn to him and his cause. It is an extremely important depiction, and notable in its proclamation of Owain Glynd(r's fame. In Thomas Walsingham's chronicle by contrast, Owain Glynd(r is remembered for his notoriety, rather than his fame and great name.

The use of comparisons was one subtle and yet effective method used by the chroniclers by which to achieve characterisation in the revolt narratives. Each of the three examples provides different avenues for exploring notions of character. The impetus for these characterisations are various and multifaceted, and include the circumstances of the individual chronicler, as well as changing political contexts. The presence of the Earl of Arundel for instance, provided a means by which to consider notions of chivalry and good leadership. This comparison was favoured by the chroniclers of the earlier fifteenth century, but appears most prominently in the later fifteenth-century chronicles of Rous and Capgrave. Comparisons with Llywelyn and other historical figures of importance within Welsh contexts provides a springboard for Adam Usk to comment upon the legitimacy of Owain Glynd(r's actions within the context of Welsh independence, and the title of the Prince of Wales. It is, however, a comparison that appears only in the work of Adam Usk. Lastly, analysis of the initiation of the revolt reveals the relationship between Owain Glynd(r and Henry IV to be complex. The chronicles offer a myriad of perceptions concerning the king and Owain Glynd(r. However, their association to one another was used as a means through which to comment on their characteristics, and more broadly upon aspects of their qualities as leaders and the legitimacy of their position.

II

Representing Birth, Death and Marriage in the Revolt Narratives

The following section analyses representations of three different events in the lives of three individuals within the examined chronicles, the death of Henry IV, the marriage of Owain Glynd(r's daughter to either Edmund Mortimer or Reginald lord Grey, and lastly analysis of portents that occurred at a birth which have been attributed to either Edmund Mortimer or Owain Glynd(r. These three occasions are important moments whereby a broader chronicle narrative could focus on aspects of the personal lives of these individuals. Such moments are privileged within a genre of writing largely characterised, in theory at least, by didactic and impersonal narration, centred on national and world affairs. Birth, deaths and marriages provide an opportunity for reflection on a protagonist's personal life in more specific terms than the chronological format of chronicles allow.

Death

Use of the moment of death as a means of reflecting on character occurs frequently and in a variety of medieval literary genres. Accounts of the death of Henry IV in 1413 provided a point in the historical narrative at which the chronicler could comment upon the king's character, and provide general reflections upon the reign as a whole. In particular the death narratives provide an overview of the importance of the various rebellions that were faced during what Halle, for instance, describes as 'the vnquiet tyme of kyng H&ry the Fowerth.'[39] The narratives of Henry's death are placed in a private setting and attended by an intimate circle, and yet the significance of such moments within the national sphere is not lost. For instance, in the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, Capgrave details Henry's last speech, in which he provides advice to the Prince of Wales regarding how to be a good leader and person.[40] Capgrave, although not present, narrates a personal moment between father and son,

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[39] Halle, *Chronicle*, preface.
[40] Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p.110.

and yet it has political significance.[41]   The space too in which Henry dies, as explored in the previous chapter, has significance for him as an individual; the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster provides a satisfactory substitute for the Holy Land, where Henry had longed to venture and most likely intended to die.[42]   In this space, the national and kingly sphere intersects with the personal and private world of Henry.   The importance of this space is linked to the idea of personal contrition, and likewise the overwhelming character trait attached to the dying Henry IV by the chroniclers is repentance.   For instance, John Hardyng, who wrote the first version of his chronicle between 1440 and 1457, records Henry's deathbed scene as follows:

> With coutrite hert and humble yolden chere,
> And of his grace and mercy dyd requere.
>
> 'O Lorde,' he sayde, 'O God omnipotent,
> now se I wele thy godhed lyketh me,
> That suffred neuer*e* my fos haue thair intent
> Of my p*er*sone in myne aduersyte;
> Bot euermore Lord, of they benygnyte
> Thou haste me kepte from thair malyvolence,
> Me castysynge oonly by thy sentence.
>
> Lorde, I thonke the now with all myne herte,
> With all my soule, and all my spiritz clere;
> This wormes mete, this carion foule vnquarte,
> That some tyme thought in worlde it had no pere,
> This face so foule that leprouse dothe appere,
> That here afore I haue hadde such a pryde
> To protray ofte in money place full wyde,
> Of which right now the porest of his londe,
> Sauf oonly of their own beygnyte,
> Wolde lothe to looke vpon, I vnderstande,[43]

It is important that Hardyng's narrative is framed by the notion of contrition, humility and sadness.   Henry's mood sets the scene and indeed it is Henry's own words, narrated via the mechanism of direct speech, which most overtly characterise

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[41] For a discussion of eyewitnessing and uses of direct speech see Chapter One, Section II.
[42] See Chapter Three.
[43] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fols 209r-209v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, pp.315-316.

him. Henry IV presents himself as a vulnerable individual, particularly with regards to his corporeality. Henry's leprosy, while not directly linked, is implied by Hardyng to be the punishment for his vanity concerning his physical appearance, and is thus a part of his 'sentence'. Furthermore, Henry presents a degree of arrogance at being, as he sees it, favoured by god, evidence of which is the numerous rebellions and other problems that he managed to overcome. Hardyng comments after Henry's death 'O verry God, what tournment had this kynge!'[44] and documents the many threats on Henry's life. Significantly, the account of Henry's death in the second version of his chronicle finished in 1463, is not greatly altered although as a whole the second version is not as favourable to Henry IV.[45] Only one stanza is added, which records that this king

> Of whome the reme grete ioy at first had ay,
>
> But afterward they loued not his array.
>
> At his beginynge ful high he was comende
>
> With commons $an, and als litil at ende.[46]

It is perplexing as to why Hardyng did not alter the entire death scene and review of Henry IV's reign to reflect the larger body of work. The result is a sympathetic portrayal of an individual faced with numerous problems and threats on his life, until the last six lines which reveal that all support for him had been lost.

Polydore Vergil, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, provides an image of Henry as a physically strong individual, whose strength remained despite continual problems:

> [Henry] was a man of honest and just stature, slender in limbs, and of a great spirit. After civil wars and the various seditions of his subjects had been put down, he treated all men very kindly.

Vergil comments that Henry IV was forced to act in an unsympathetic way in order to deal with the 'various seditions' he faced, but then goes on at great length to show that Henry had the kingly qualities of mercy and graciousness, especially after a victory. Vergil then provides a detailed example exhibiting Henry's kindness in which he describes Henry's treatment of the captured twelve-year-old James Stuart,

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[44] Hardyng, Lansdowne 204, fol. 209v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.316.
[45] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B.10. fols. 162r-162v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, pp.519-520. See also Peverley's commentary, p.433 and pp.620-621.
[46] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B.10. fol. 162v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.520.

the only son of Robert King of the Scots (d.1406). Vergil states that 'Henry not only did not neglect this royal youth, but also took great pains that he train [the boy] in military and civil matters.'[47] This example served to show that Henry's kindness extended to everyone, including his enemy's children. Furthermore, Vergil concludes his description by stating that James' father, Robert, a man of tender spirit ('vir teneriore animo'), did not understand Henry's good intentions for the boy, and died soon afterwards a broken man. Here Vergil cleverly turns what can only be described as a tragedy in the eyes of the Scottish king into an example of Henry's misunderstood character.

Henry's guilt at the way in which he gained the crown, through the deposition of Richard II, is echoed in many narratives about his death. Adam Usk, writing contemporaneously, offered some reflections on the reign:

> On the twentieth day of March in the year of our Lord [1412], after fourteen years of powerful rule during which he had crushed all those who rebelled against him, the infection which for five years had cruelly tormented Henry IV with festering of the flesh, dehydration of the eyes, and rupture of the internal organs, caused him to end his days, dying in the sanctuary of the abbot's chamber at Westminster, whereby he fulfilled his horoscope that he would die in the Holy Land; and he was taken away by water to be buried at Canterbury. This festering was foreshadowed at his coronation, for as a result of his anointing then, his head was so infected with lice that his hair fell out, and for several months he had to keep his head covered.[48]

Adam singles out four main points for comment. Firstly, he mentions the numerous rebellions that Henry faced, which Adam reports were dealt with effectively. Secondly, Adam recounts in gruesome detail the nature of the illness that Henry faced in the later stages of his reign, suggesting that he suffered greatly. Thirdly, Henry's desire to travel to the Holy Land is narrated by Adam, thus implying spiritual characteristics. And lastly, Adam suggests, through the use of an analepsis, that at Henry's coronation in 1399, an outward and visual sign had presented itself: in the exact place where the anointing oil touched his head, and indeed where the

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[47] 'Henricus regium adole)centem non modo non neglexit,)ed magnopere curauit, ut ille)e in bellicis ac ciuilibus rebus exerceret.' Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*, p.438.
[48] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.243.

crown was placed, Henry suffered from an infection of lice and lost his hair.[49] Adam presents these four points as a series of interconnected events: the rebellions, Henry's illnesses, his desire for the Holy Land as an act of contrition, and finally the lice and hair loss were all a direct result of the way in which Henry IV gained the crown. Henry's reign was tainted by the deposition of Richard II.

Like Adam Usk, Capgrave considered Henry's reign to be riddled with problems. In the *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles* Capgrave provides an account of Henry's guilt and repentance through direct speech from Henry at his death. He records,

> At his deth, as was reported of ful sad men, certeyn lordes stered his confessour, Frere Jon Tille, and do penauns, in special for iii $ingis: one, for $e deth of Kyng Richard; the o$ir, for $e deth of $e Archbischop Scrop; $e $ird, for $e wrong titil of $e crowne. And his answere was $is:- "For $e first poyntis, I wrote onto $e pope $e veri treuth of my consciens, and he sent me a bulle with absolucion and penauns assigned, which I haue fulfilled. And as for $e $ird pynt, it is hard to sette remedy, for my childirn wil not suffir $at regalie go owte of oure lynage."[50]

Here, Henry IV admits that he had feelings of guilt and had sought absolution for his part in the deaths of Richard II and the Archbishop of York, Richard Scrope, in 1405. Capgrave presents Henry's problems as a series of interconnected events stemming from his illegitimacy as king, making an explicit connection between the execution of Scrope and his illnesses. Immediately following his narrative of the death of the archbishop in 1405, Capgrave continues,

> The kyng aftir $at tyme lost $e beauté of his face, for, as $e comoun opnion when, for $at tyme onto his deth he was a lepir, and euyr fowler and fowler; for in his deth, as $ei recorded $at sey him, he was so contracte $at his body was scarse a cubite of length.[51]

Henry's leprosy was the outward product of bad kingship, and indeed of god's displeasure with the king. However, unlike Adam Usk, Capgrave does not present the numerous rebellions as a product of wrongful kingship. Rather Capgrave's revolt narratives, following Thomas Walsingham's chronicles closely, present overall quite a negative view of Owain Glynd(r and of the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. Capgrave's

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[49] Significantly, when he recorded Henry IV's coronation in 1399 Adam Usk did not record any such problems. Indeed, he records that the coronation proceeded smoothly. Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.71-77.

[50] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.238.

[51] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.229.

Abbreuiacion of Cronicles is markedly different to that in his earlier work, the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*. The *Liber* was composed in 1446 or 1447 and dedicated to Henry VI, the grandson of Henry IV.[52] The purpose of this composition was to present biographical reflections in a chronicle-like arrangement on several famous Henries, of which Henry IV was one. Not surprisingly, left out of the *Liber* are many of the problems Henry IV faced during his reign; Scrope's execution and Henry's leprosy are not mentioned. Such a shift is certainly the product of writing under successive dynasties and the need to construct narratives favourable to either the Lancastrian kings (to whom the *Liber* was dedicated) or the *Abbreuiacion* (which was dedicated to the first York king, Edward IV).

The death of an individual, in this instance the death of a king, provided an opportunity to comment explicitly on character. Although there are several representations of Henry IV's character, and indeed perceptions of his reign both as a whole or concerning particular events, in each of the examined chronicles his death provided a moment of consideration and reflection. On the whole the narratives of the death of Henry IV present a more favourable portrayal than that presented in the narratives of his reign. Although Hardyng, for instance, is more critical in the second version of his chronicle, the death narrative remains largely unaltered, still presenting a repentant Henry with whom we are invited to sympathise. The death narratives of Henry IV are used to reconcile some to the tensions which characterised his reign, such as his accession as king through the deposition of Richard II. Henry IV's repentance and reconciliation are central to his characterisation at his death. Comparisons with the 'rebel' Owain Glynd(r's death, as discussed in Chapter Two, reveal the importance of atonement in Henry's death narratives.[53] Owain Glynd(r's death, and sometimes that of his son, marked the conclusion of the revolt narratives. Chroniclers focus on the manner of death, and in particular on the bodily discomfort that Owain Glynd(r suffered through starvation. Halle for instance narrates that Owain Glynd(r:

> received afinall reward mete and prepared by Goddes prouidence for suche a rebel
> and sedicious seducer. For being destitute of all comforte, dreading to shewe his

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[52] Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, pp.1-4. For a further discussion of the *Liber*, see Peter J. Lucas, *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication*, University College Dublin Press, Dublin, 1997, p.310.
[53] See Chapter Two, Section I.

face to any creature, lacking meate to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke of fode miserably ended his wretched life.[54]

There is no reconciliation for the rebel Owain Glynd(r, rather he suffers in an appropriate manner as befitting his actions. Significantly, there is no account of Owain Glynd(r either seeking nor receiving atonement.

Marriage

Although a majority of chroniclers record the marriage of Owain Glynd(r's daughter, there are differing opinions expressed in the revolt narratives as to whom it was that she married. Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* and *Annales Henrici Quarti*, the *Continuatio Eulogii*, the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, the *Historia Vitae*, Adam Usk and Holinshed record that it was Edmund Mortimer who married Owain Glynd(r's daughter,[55] while Robert Fabyan and Edward Halle record the groom to be Reginald Lord Grey.[56] *An English Chronicle* has both Mortimer and Grey marrying Owain Glynd(r's daughters, and a further six chronicles do not report a marriage at all.[57] The main question of this section is why the later fifteenth-century English chronicles apparently amalgamated the stories of two noblemen (Edmund Mortimer and Reginald Lord Grey) both captured by Owain Glynd(r, and attributed the marriage of Owain Glynd(r's daughter to Grey? The transition between these two individuals, as well as the silences on the marriage, offer an opportunity to explore points of characterisation of the individuals involved, as well as the reasons for these transitions.

Before turning to an analysis of the significance of this shift from Mortimer to Grey, it is important first to consider the role of the only Welsh woman who appears singularly in the revolt narratives. Owain Glynd(r's unnamed daughter is, along with Owain Glynd(r, the only constant figure in each narrative of the marriage and it is her lack of represented identity that is a key aspect. The chroniclers refer to her as the 'daughter of Owain'; for instance, 'filiam Audoeni' in the *Continuatio Eulogii*,

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[54] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.31-32.
[55] Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.253-254; *Continuatio Eulogii,* p.398; *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.177; *Historia Vitae*, p. 175. Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.161; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1135.
[56] *An English Chronicle*, p.29; Fabyan, *New Chronicles,* pp.569-570; Edward Halle, *Chronicle*, p.23.
[57] These are Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, Capgave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, Polydore Vergil, John Rous, and the two versions of Hardyng's chronicle.

and 'the daughter of the)aid Owen' in Holinshed. Indeed, it is only in Halle's chronicle that she is referred to as something other than within terms of her father; Halle first refers to her as the 'doughter' of Owain Glynd(r, and then as a 'damosell'. Halle's reference to her unmarried status is important, and reflects a shift in the sources of her identity as formulated through her father ('doughter') to her future husband ('damosell'). Furthermore, her lack of personal identity emphasises that this was a marriage alliance; she is merely the pawn in a transaction between her father, Owain Glynd(r, and the groom. Adam Usk does provide some personal information when narrating the marriage:

> In order to mitigate the rigours of his captivity, [Mortimer] married Owain's daughter, which occasioned a great deal of murmuring amongst the people; he fathered three daughters by her, as well as a son called Lionel, although all of them, including their mother, are now dead, apart from one daughter. He eventually ended his unhappy life in Harlech Castle, besieged by an English army, and these remarkable events are still to this day sung about at feasts.[58]

It is significant that Owain Glynd(r's daughter remains unnamed by Adam, despite his knowledge of her circumstances, including the name of her son. For the record, her name was Catrin. She, along with her three daughters, was captured at the siege of Harlech Castle in 1409, where Mortimer was killed, and she died in the Tower of London before the year 1413.[59]

Notions of the marriage of either Grey or Mortimer to Owain Glynd(r's daughter taking place contrary to the captive's will is a common theme amongst the revolt narratives. For instance, Thomas Walsingham records,

> At that time, Edmund Mortimer died, a youth whom we mentioned previously, captured by Owain Glynd(r, either by the tedium of grim captivity or by fear of death, or from another cause which is not known. Having changed his allegiances, he professed that he sympathised with Owain against the king of England, since he celebrated a wedding with the daughter of the said Owain, which was humble enough and unequal to his [Mortimer's] noble birth.[60]

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[58] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.161.
[59] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glynd r*, p.326.
[60] 'Eo tempore, Edmundus Mortymer obiit, juvenis quem retulimus ante captum ab Oweno Glendor, vel taedio dirae captivitatis, vel metu mortis, vel ex alia qua nescitur causa; conversus retrorsum, cum Owennio contra Regem Angliae se sentire professus est, dum nuptias satis humiles, et suae generositati impares, contrabit cum filia dicti Oweni.' Walsingham*, Historia Anglicana*, pp.253-254. See Appendix One, Passage 1g.

Notions of the marriage taking place because of the monotony associated with captivity are found primarily in those chronicles that depict Edmund Mortimer's marriage. Various terms are used to express the 'tedium' that compelled him to marry; Adam Usk states that the marriage was to 'mitigate the rigours of his captivity', while Holinshed narrates that it relieved the 'irke)omne))e of cruell captiuitie.' However, the idea of the marriage occurring because of threats of death is common to both narratives of Mortimer and Grey. For instance, Fabyan states that Owain Glynd(r 'helde hym [Grey] prisoner tyll, contrarye his wyll, he hadde maryed the sayde Howens daugher' and *An English Chronicle* records that 'Owen made the seide Lorde Grey to wedde one off his doughtres.' The result is the image of a cruel and manipulative captor, and a groom left with no alternatives.

Several chronicles record that the marriage took place because of the lack of a proper response to the situation from Henry IV. The *Continuatio Eulogii* states that,

> Edmund Mortimer, in Wales, not being able to redeem himself, said that he would never be able to submit to King Henry, but he took, with great solemnity, the daughter of Audoen as his wife.[61]

Henry IV's refusal to pay Edmund Mortimer's ransom was no doubt a catalyst for the latter's alliance with Owain Glynd(r. Mortimer's marriage in *An English Chronicle* (which is the second marriage in the narrative) likewise records the ransom as an important factor:

> And this same [y]ere Owey[n] off Glendour toke Ser Edmunde Mortymer prisouner [in] Wales, and because $e kynge wolde not pay his raunson, [h]e wolde neuer by vndir hym, but wedded on off Oweyn [d]oghtres.[62]

In both the *Continuatio Eulogii* and *An English Chronicle* Mortimer is empowered, and the marriage is depicted as the product of his individual choice, although Henry IV's refusal to pay the random undoubtedly contributed. This is in contrast to many of the other chronicles that record the marriage to be a product of death threats or the 'tedium of grim captivity,' thus denoting a decision forced upon him. Furthermore, the *Continuatio Eulogii* describes the serious way ('solemnitate') in which the

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[61] 'Edmundus de Mortuo Mari in Wallia, non valens se redimere, dixit se nunquam velle subesse sub Henrico rege, sed filam Audoeni cum magna solemnitate duxit in uxorem.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398. See Appendix One, Passage 2h.
[62] *An English Chronicle*, p.32.

marriage was conducted, suggesting that this was a marriage not taken lightly by those involved.

The chroniclers who name Edmund Mortimer as the groom all use the marriage as an opportunity to comment upon the characters of the individuals involved. Adam Usk refers to Mortimer's 'unhappy life', while Thomas Walsingham comments upon the wedding celebration itself as 'humble' ('humiles'), and not befitting the status of the groom. Here, Walsingham juxtaposes the status of Mortimer against the family which he married into, and the result is the portrayal of Owain Glynd(r as lower in rank and without material wealth. The *Dieulacres Chronicle* emphasises the fraudulent ('fraude') manner in which Edmund Mortimer was captured, and then deceived ('decepto') into marrying Owain Glynd(r's daughter:

> In that same year on the day of the feast of St Alban in the place which is called Pilale, the Welsh deceptively surrounded the English, killing one thousand five hundred of them, and when Edmund Mortimer had been captured, deceived, so it is said, by his own family, and having been converted to Owain's cause, he married his [i.e. Owain's] daughter and continued for a long time in the same error in working with that man.[63]

The *Dieulacres* chronicler constructs Owain Glynd(r's actions (both the capture and the marriage of Mortimer) as the product of a calculating and purposefully misleading individual.

The shift of the marriage from Mortimer to Lord Grey is a fascinating one. Fabyan, writing *c*.1504 and following *An English Chronicle*, records the marriage at the beginning of his revolt narrative:

> And in this yere began a great discencion in Walys atwene the lorde Grey Ryffyn, & a Welsheman named Howen of Glendore, which Howen gatheryd to hym great strength of Welshemen, and dyd moche harme to that countrey, not sparyng the kynges lordshyppes nor his people, and lastlye toke the sayde lorde Grey prisoner, and helde hym prisoner tyll, contrarye his wyll, he hadde maryed the sayde Howens

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[63] 'Eodem anno in die sancti Albani in loco qui dicitur Pilale Wallici fraude circumvenerunt Anglicos interficientes ex eis mille quingentos captoque Edmundo le Mortimere a sua familia, ut dictitur, decepto et cum Owyno converso eius filiam desponsavit et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit.' *Dieulacres Chronicle*, pp.176-177. See Appendix One, Passage 4g.

> daugher, after whiche matrimony fynysshed, he helde the said lorde stylle in Walyes, tyll he dyed, to the kynges great displeasure.[64]

Given the position of the marriage at the start of his revolt narrative, Fabyan obviously considered it to be an important event. Furthermore, Henry IV's displeasure is described as revolving around Owain Glynd(r's capture, imprisonment and forced marriage of Grey rather than directed at the events of the revolt itself. Fabyan does not explicitly term the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 as a rising or insurrection, as is evident in other chronicles. Rather Fabyan's terminology is quite neutral. The representation of time and duration is a further point of interest. Here Fabyan relates in one compact narrative events that occurred over a period of forty years: Grey died *c*.1440. However, it also raises a curious historical anomaly, because Owain Glynd(r was certainly dead before 1415.[65] The first wedding recorded in *An English Chronicle*, that of Lord Grey, presents a similar account,

> And sone after $e seide owen toke $e seide Lorde Grey prisoner. And he wasse raunsoned for prisoners of $e Marche. And ate the laste, Owen made the seide Lorde Grey to wedde one off his doughtres, and kepte hym their with his wife, and sone after he died.[66]

The addition of 'sone' to denote a smaller timeframe between Grey's capture and his death certainly limited the irregularity in the narrative, but also reveals that the chronicler realised the anomaly. Furthermore, the editor of *An English Chronicle*, William Marx, found that one of the *Brut* manuscripts (Dublin, Trinity College MS 505) contains an interpolation with Edmund Mortimer's name, suggesting that at least one reader realised that this was an inaccuracy in the chronicle.[67] All of these pieces of evidence suggest that Reginald Grey was a substitute, and indeed that the significance of narratives concerning the marriage of Reginald Lord Grey and Owain Glynd(r's daughter lies not with these individuals, but rather in the fact that the marriage was not that of Edmund Mortimer. Grey was a plausible substitute as he, like Mortimer, was captured and held prisoner by Owain Glynd(r, and thus their identities could easily be combined without too much manipulation of the revolt narrative.

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[64] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, pp.569-570.
[65] See Chapter Two, Section I.
[66] *An English Chronicle*, p.29.
[67] Marx's commentary states 'both the Brut and the Chronicle are in error that Reginald Grey, the lord Grey, married Owain's daughter. Dublin, Trinity College MS 505 has an interpolation at this point which correctly states that Edmund Mortimer married Owain's daughter. *An English Chronicle*, p.121. See Marx, 'Introduction' *An English Chronicle*, pp.lxxxiv-v.

The *Chronicle* of Edward Halle, writing in the 1530s and 40s, offers an opportunity to explore the notion of Grey as a substitute for Mortimer more closely.   He narrates:

> The lorde Grey beeyng not very riche nether of substance nor of frendes, consideryng this offer to be the onely waie of his releffe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and maried the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vnhonest and periured persone, kept hym with his wife still in captiuitee till he died.[68]

Here, Halle characterises the individuals using themes appropriate to the event as a basis for discussion, namely notions of marriage and family. Reginald Lord Grey is depicted as an individual lacking in both judgement and close relationships, and his marriage to Owain Glynd(r's daughter does not appear to do anything to change his situation. Halle's characterisation of Owain Glynd(r revolves around the notion of him as untrustworthy even amongst his family group, of which Reginald Lord Grey, according to Halle, was now a part. Halle's labelling of Owain Glynd(r within familial terms, as a 'father in law', albeit a false one, is significant, and is not done elsewhere in the examined chronicles. The presentation of Owain Glynd(r in such personal terms emphasises more broadly his unsavoury character, which Halle here makes evident in his private as well as his public life. Reginald Lord Grey and Owain Glynd(r together are characterised in a manner that is unflattering to both of these individuals. Halle continues immediately after his discussion of the marriage with:

> And not content with this heynous offence, [Owain] made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym prisoner, and feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was required to purchase his deliuerance by diuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that side, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.[69]

There are multiple points of interest in Halle's narrative; firstly, its positioning directly after Grey's marriage to Owain Glynd(r's daughter emphasises the notion

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[68] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.23.
[69] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.23.

that Mortimer was in no way involved; indeed he was in an entirely different space, 'in a depe and miserable dongeon', a point reiterated several times by Halle.[70]

The second point of interest in Halle's chronicle involves the titles that are attached to Mortimer, which are incorrect; he was not the Earl of March. Halle records on multiple occasions in his revolt narratives, 'Edm'd Mortimer erle of Marche and Ulster.'[71] Indeed, these titles are the product of a merger between Edmund Mortimer and his nephew, who was the earl of March. Uncle and nephew shared the same name. While the elder Edmund Mortimer (d. 1409) joined Owain Glynd(r, the younger Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March (d.1425) along with his brother Roger, was kept as a royal ward in Windsor Castle for much of his youth. Though this merger can in part be explained by confusion surrounding two individuals with the same name, for Halle there were significant benefits. Halle was able to swap between the two Edmund Mortimers when needed, and was thus provided with an important strategy to deal with the issue of how to negotiate the role of the Mortimer family in the revolt narratives. On his death in 1425 Edmund the Earl of March's title and estates passed onto his sister Anne Mortimer's son, Richard, Duke of York, who was the father of Edward IV and grandfather of Elizabeth of York, the wife of Henry VII. At the start of his narrative of Henry IV's reign, Halle provides the genealogical line from Edward the Third, via the Mortimer family, to Henry VII.[72] Halle makes it clear that John of Gaunt, Henry IV's father, was the younger brother of Lionel duke of Clarence, through whom the Mortimer family were descended.[73] Halle states that the Mortimer family, and Edmund earl of March (d.1425) in particular, had a better claim to the English crown. Halle records that Henry IV

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[70] For instance, Halle states: 'Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche … who Owen Glendor kept in filthy prison shakeled with yrons.' *Chronicle*, p.27.

[71] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.30.

[72] 'Edward had issue Edwarde his first begotten s'ne prince of Wales, Willy‰of Hatfeld the second beotten sonne, Lionell duke of Clarence the. iij. begotten sonne, Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the. iiij. begotten sonne, Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the. v. begotten sonne, Thomas of Wodstocke duke of Glocestre the. vj. begotten sonne, and Willyam of Wynsor the. vij begotten sonne … king Richarde the seconde and died without issue, Lionell duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne of the saied kyng of Edward the third, had issue Philippe his only doughter whiche was married to Edmond Mortymer erle of Marche and had issue Roger Mortymer erle of Marche: which Roger had issue Edmond Mortimer, erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Elienor died without issue. And the saied Anne was married to Richard erle of Cambrige sonne to Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fifth begotten sonne of the said kyne Edwarde the thirde which Richarde had issue thee famous prince Richard Plantagenet duke of York which had issue that noble prince kyng Edward the fourth father to Queene Elizabeth vnited in matrimony to the high and sage prince kyng Henry the.vij.' Halle, *Chronicle*, p.2.

[73] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.2-3.

knew this, 'and wished al his linage in heuen', thus cleverly blackening even further the name of the usurper of Edward III's lineage, and furthering the impression that the fifteenth century as a whole was a time of constant treachery and warfare between usurping kings and over-mighty magnates, only corrected by the Tudors.

The merging together of the two Mortimers has numerous implications for Halle's narratives of the revolt. Halle confirms that Owain Glynd(r captured Mortimer. However, after Henry IV refused to pay his ransom, Mortimer was 'deliured oute of the captiuitie of Owen Glendor' by the Percy family, who sought to depose Henry IV and crown Edmund Mortimer.[74] Halle adamantly rejects the notion that Mortimer was involved in the Tripartite Indenture, and hence formed any alliance with Owain Glynd(r or the Percy families. Halle's reasons for this was,

> for the erle of Marche was euuer kepte in the courte vnder suche a keeper that he could nether doo nor attempte any thing againste the kyng without his knowledge, and died without issue, leuyyng his righte title and interest to Anne his sister and heire, maried to Rycharde erle of Cambrige father to the duke of York, whose ofspryng in continuaunce of tyme, obteigned the game and gat the garland.[75]

Halle intentionally switches between the two Edmund Mortimers freely, giving him greater licence to provide a favourable depiction. However, significantly, the result is the creation of a new character, formed out of the best elements of the two Edmund Mortimers. The result is sympathetically portrayed character, who is noble, wronged and long-suffering.

While Halle's strategy involved the creation of a new character and also the placement of substitutes for Edmund Mortimer, such as Reginald Lord Grey, other chronicles (except that by Fabyan) writing under the York and Tudor monarchs favoured complete silence on the matter of the marriage. Such silences are a significant disengagement with the earlier narratives. However, amongst the examined chronicles it is Holinshed's depiction of Edmund Mortimer that is an outlying case. Published in 1577, Holinshed's Edmund Mortimer is an uneasy mix of both Thomas Walsingham and Edward Halle's earlier compositions. For instance, of the marriage narratives, Holinshed records,

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[74] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.22-23.
[75] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.23.

> Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, pri)oner with Owen Glendouer, whether for
> irke)omne))e of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cau)e, it is
> vncertaine, agreed to take parte with Owen, again)te the King of Englande, and
> tooke to wife the daughter of the)aid Owen.[76]

Here, and indeed throughout the revolt narratives, Holinshed's depiction of Edmund Mortimer is much more like that of the fifteenth-century chronicles, although the title of Earl of March is a notable addition.[77]   Yet, there are several points where Holinshed follows Halle rather than Walsingham's revolt narrative. For instance, Holinshed states that the Percies managed to 'deliuer out of Captiuitue'[78] Edmund Mortimer from Owain Glynd(r and he does record the Tripartite Indenture, unlike Walsingham. However, Holinshed does not state explicitly that Mortimer could not have known about the Tripartite Indenture because he was imprisoned by Henry IV as Halle does. Nevertheless, Holinshed is quite neutral in his language, and is careful not to record Mortimer's presence at the signing of the Indenture, or any agreement to the plan. Holinshed's Edmund Mortimer is the product of the traditional nature of chronicle writing, in which earlier sources are used, in many cases word-for-word as authorities on the subject. Holinshed's apparent reluctance to deviate too far from Walsingham, while adding several important new interpretations from Halle's narratives, makes Holinshed's narrative one of ingeniously balanced tensions which was to exert a subtle, but important influence on popular depictions of these individuals.

The marriage of either Edmund Mortimer or Reginald Lord Grey was used as a means to explore the characteristics of these two individuals, as well as that of Owain Glynd(r, the bride's father and indeed Henry IV. Indeed, in several instances, an entirely new character is created, one which suited political circumstances. While these depictions were not always flattering, the marriage nonetheless provided an

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[76] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1135.

[77] It was via Holinshed that the merged character of Edmund Mortimer, rebel and Earl of March, made its way into more popular forms of literature. In Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part One* he is referred to as the 'Earl of March' and as the heir apparent to King Richard.

> Hotspur: But soft, I pray you; did King Richard then
> Proclaim my brother, Edmund Mortimer,
> Heir to the crown?
> Northumberland: He did; myself did hear it. *Henry IV Part One*, Act I, iii, 154-157.

[78] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577), Volume 4, p.1137.

important moment in the chronicle narrative at which to provide considered depictions.

Birth

In the chronicles of Thomas Walsingham there is a rather ambiguous passage in the narrative for the year 1402, which describes the dramatic portents that appeared at an unspecified birth. This birth narrative directly follows Walsingham's account of Edmund Mortimer's marriage to Owain Glynd(r's daughter. Taking the entire sequence of narrative, it says,

> At that time, Edmund Mortimer died, a youth whom we mentioned previously, captured by Owain Glynd(r, either by the tedium of grim captivity or by fear of death, or from another cause which is not known. Having changed his allegiances, he professed that he sympathised with Owain against the king of England, since he celebrated a wedding with the daughter of the said Owain, which was humble enough and unequal to his [Mortimer's] noble birth.
>
> So it is said prodigies accompanied the dire beginnings of this man's birth, because on the night on which he came forth into the light, in his father's stable, all of his father's horses were found standing in deep blood up to the shin bones. Very many people then interpreted this as sinister.[79]

This extract is important because it can be identified as the point from which originates subsequent confusion surrounding exactly whose birth it was. It is not immediately clear whether it is Edmund Mortimer's or Owain Glynd(r's birth that is being described. Syntactically it could be either Owain Glynd(r or Mortimer because 'hujus' could refer back to Owain Glynd(r (the nearest named) or to Mortimer, with whom the preceding sentences are primarily concerned. However, it would appear from a paratactic reading of this narrative, that this is a discussion of the death, marriage and then birth of one individual, and that this narrative does refer to Edmund Mortimer. Indeed, in Chapter Two I argued for such a reading.[80] However, this ambiguity raises doubts. Holinshed for instance, who utilized

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[79] 'Eo tempore, Edmundus Mortymer obiit, juvenis quem retulimus ante captum ab Oweno Glendor, vel taedio dirae captivitatis, vel metu mortis, vel ex alia qua nescitur causa; conversus retrorsum, cum Owennio contra Regem Angliae se sentire professus est, dum nuptias satis humiles, et suae generositati impares, contrabit cum filia dicti Oweni.
Hujus, ut fertur, nativitatis exordia dira comitata sunt prodigia; quia nocte qua in lucem profusus est, in hippodromo paterno omnes equi patris sui reperti sunt in alto cruore stetisse, usque ad tibiarum demersionem; quod tunc interpretati sunt plurimi sinistrorsum.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.253-253. See Appendix One, Passage 1g.
[80] See the introduction to Chapter Two.

Walsingham's chronicle, also presents the birth in ambiguous terms. He states directly after Edmund Mortimer's marriage to Owain Glynd(r's daughter that

> Straunge wonders happened as men reported at the natiuitie of this man, for the)ame night hee was borne, all his fathers hor)es in the)table were founde to)tand in bloud vp to the belyes.[81]

There are, however, many chronicles where the birth is explicitly that of Edmund Mortimer. The unknown authors of the *Continuatio Eulogii*[82], *An English Chronicle*[83] and the *Historia Vitae*[84] all attribute the sinister birth to Mortimer. For instance, the *Continuatio Eulogii* records,

> Moreover at the birth of this Edmund a remarkable portent occurred. In the area of the sand in the stables of his father blood flowed so deeply that it covered the feet of the horses. All the sheaths of the swords and daggers were filled with blood. The axes were red with blood. The prince lying in his cradle could not sleep nor cease from moving about unless a sword was shown to him. And placed in the breast of his nurse he was not able to be quiet unless some instrument of war was given to him.[85]

The *Continuatio Eulogii*'s reference to Mortimer as a 'Prince' ('Princeps') here is of further significant in recognising the Mortimer line of inheritance. Furthermore, the birth narrative is absent from the chronicles of John Hardyng and John Capgrave, despite the availability of the information. Capgrave, relying on Thomas Walsingham' work, clearly could have used it. It would seem likely then that this was a strategy of deliberate avoidance, along the same lines as the silences and shifts in Mortimer's marriage to Owain Glynd(r's daughter. Mortimer was, due to political circumstances, now an important historical figure.

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[81] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1135.
[82] *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398
[83] *An English Chronicle*, p.32.
[84] *Historia Vitae*, p.173. See Appendix One, Passage 3o.
[85] 'In nativitate autem hujus Edmundi mirabile accidit portentum. In arena[85] stabuli sui patris sanguis manabat ita alte ut pedes equorum co-operiret. Vaginae omnes gladiorum et pugionum sanguine plenæ erant. Secures sanguine rubuerunt. Princeps jacens in cunis dormire non poterat nec a vagitu cessare nisi gladius sibi ostenderetur. Et in sinu nutricis positus non poterat quietari nisi aliquod instrumentum bellicum sibi traderetur.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398. See Appendix One, Passage 2h.

In Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part One,* written sometime before 1597, Owain Glynd(r's birth is explicitly connected to various 'extraordinary' portents. [86] Here, the character Owen Glendower states that,

> … at my birth
>
> The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
>
> The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
>
> Were strangely clamorous to the frighted fields.
>
> These signs have marked me extraordinary,
>
> And all the courses of my life do show
>
> I am not in the roll of common men. (*Henry IV, Part One*, III.i.36-42).

Significantly, modern commentary cites Holinshed as the source for Owain Glynd(r's birth, although as noted there is no foundation for this as the birth is certainly ambiguously narrated in Holinshed also.[87] While certainly Shakespeare utilised Holinshed, in this instance, Shakespeare appears to be the first explicitly to connect a marvellous birth to Owain Glynd(r. While Shakespeare's depiction of Owain Glynd(r is not only a significant and enduring representation, it has implications for the revolt narratives. The editor of the 1864 Rolls Series version of Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, Henry Thomas Riley, comments in the marginal note next to the narrative describing the blood in the stables: 'Sinister event at the birth of Glendower.'[88] While the ambiguity of Walsingham's phrasing is not altered within the text, in the latest edition, translated by David Preest, the name of Owain Glynd(r is inserted into the chronicle narrative. Translated directly from the Rolls Series version of the *Historia Anglicana*,[89] the birth narrative in Preest's version reads,

> As for Owain, the beginning of his birth, so the story goes, had been accompanied
> by dreadful omens. For on the night in which he was brought into the light, all the
> horses in his father's stable were found to be standing sunk in deep pools of blood

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[86] See my 'Cosmos and History: Shakespeare's Representation of Nature and Rebellion in *Henry IV Part One*,' in *Renaissance Drama and Poetry in Context: Essays for Christopher Wortham*, Andrew Lynch and Anne Scott (eds.), Cambridge Scholars' Press, Newcastle, 2008, pp.41-61.

[87] See for instance the commentary in *King Henry IV, Part One*, ed. David Scott Kastan, Arden Shakespeare, London, 2002, p.240.

[88] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.254.

[89] 'The translation has been made from the text printed by Riley as the *Historia Anglicana* and transcribed by him from the Royal and College of Arms manuscript, collated together with the chronicle from 1406-1420 printed by Galbraith as the St Albans Chronicle, in turn transcribed from the manuscript Oxford, Bodl., Bodley MS 462.', 'Introduction', *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422)*, trans. by David Preest; introduction and notes by James G. Clark, Boydell Press, New York, 2005, p.22.

right up to their shins. Many people at the time gave the omen a sinister interpretation.[90]

The shift is significant and illustrates how crucial particulars of the representation of individuals are to the revolt narrative. It is unclear on what Preest was basing his interpretation, as there is, as has been shown, no specific reference to this being Owain Glynd(r's birth in any of the examined chronicles. Furthermore, there is no manuscript evidence. This is a point confirmed by the soon to be released *The St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham: Volume II 1394-1422,* edited by John Taylor, Wendy R. Childs and Leslie Watkiss, in which the ambiguity of the birth narrative remains.[91] One must consider the notion that such interpolations in the narrative are due to the continuing popularity of Shakespeare's image of Owain Glynd(r's and his dramatic birth.

Such determined readings of the birth portents have significant historiographical implications, and the possibility of influencing modern scholarship. However, from the point of view of characterisation, the portents are significant in the broader representation of the individual. In particular, portents at a birth were an important sign of the characteristics of the life to follow. Blood in a stable signals an individual who was destined to incite war and bloodshed, and of an individual with characteristics suited to such a life.

III

Conclusions

The methods of characterisation examined here illustrate that the chroniclers carefully considered the ways in which individuals were represented in their revolt narratives. The representations are complex and diverse, and convey a range of meanings associated with the events of 1400 to *c.*1415. There are many factors contributing to this diversity, including changing political circumstances, individual

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[90] Preest, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham* (1376-1422), p.325.
[91] I am grateful to Professor Wendy Childs for her correspondence with regards to this matter. The second volume of *The St Albans Chronicle*, covering the years 1394 to 1422, is due for release by Oxford University Press in 2011.

interpretations of the events and prior literary traditions. The presence of several figures of the past in the revolt narrative provided points of comparison, and often points of departure, when connected to individuals of the revolt narrative. The chroniclers skilfully and yet subtly constructed points of character through these comparisons. The presence of the Earl of Arundel for instance provided an example of leadership and of good dissent, which when connected to Owain Glynd(r resulted in his portrayal in opposite terms. Furthermore, central points in the lives of individuals, such as births, deaths and marriages provides a unique opportunity for giving insight and characterisation of the individual. Such moments allowed for reflection on the characters' lives in broader terms than the year-by-year format of chronicles normally allowed. Moreover, changes and shifts in perceptions of the individual and in the ways in which they are characterised, such as the discussion of the marriage and birth narratives, has implications both within fifteenth- and sixteenth-century historiography, and in current scholarship.

Chapter Five

'Barefooted Buffoons': Imagining the Welsh in the Narratives of the Revolt

To this parliament came the Welshman Owain Glynd) r who had been the armsbearer of the Earl Arundel, complaining that the Lord Grey of Ruthin, had forcably taken some of his lands in Wales, but he had no advance against the Lord de Grey. In parliament the bishop of St Asaph advised that they should not altogether dismiss the comander Owain, lest by chance the Welsh might rise. And concerning this the members of the parliament said that they did not care about barefooted buffons.[1]

As this extract from the early fifteenth-century *Continuatio Eulogii* suggests, Owain Glynd) r's complaint was not taken seriously by the members of the English parliament because of the petitioner's ethnic origins; he is, we are told, one of a broader community of barefooted buffoons, a communal group that is ridiculous, laughable, silly and backward. The image is one of a savage standing before a superior establishment in bare feet, a sign of the society under scrutiny not having progressed to the point where shoes, a marker of civility, status and advancement, are commonplace. As a result there is no engagement with the individual or desire to remedy the problems that he faced. Instead the petition is mocked, the petitioner insulted and the society to which he belongs is socially and legally marginalised.

This chapter is an analysis of representations of the 'Welsh' in the revolt narratives. This is an important consideration for several reasons. While chroniclers commonly refer to the events of 1400 to *c.*1415 in Wales using the terms 'rising', 'insurrection' or 'rebellion', such terminology was not often applied to the group of people

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[1] 'Ad hoc parliamentum venit Audoenus de Glendour Wallicus qui fuerat armiger comitis Arundell', conquerens quod dominus de Grey Ruthyn quasdam terras suas in Wallia usurpavit, sed contra dominum de Grey nihil profecit. Episcopus de santo Assaf consuluit in parliamento quod non omnino contemnerent praefatum Audoenum ne forte Wallici insurgerent. Et illi de parliamento dixerunt se de scurris nudipedibus non curare.' *Continuatio Eulogii,* p.388. See Appendix One, Passage 2a.

involved. There are only a handful of instances in which the term 'rebels' is used in the examined chronicles: Holinshed refers to the 'Welche Rebels' on three occasions, while the *Dieulacres* chronicler uses the term once.[2] Instead it was the terms 'Welsh' and 'Welshmen' which were the main terms used, or indeed, as discussed in Chapter Four, they were defined through a relationship with Owain Glynd) r.[3] It is therefore crucial to consider what was meant by the terms 'Welsh' and indeed 'English' within fifteenth- and sixteenth-century contexts. Furthermore, questions concerning notions of 'Welsh' and 'English' are important because the revolt narratives document a relationship between these two peoples; the application of terms such as 'rebellion' by the chroniclers to the events of 1400 to *c*.1415, rather than alternatives such as the term 'war', confirm that there was perceived association between the 'Welsh' and the 'English'. This chapter is a study of how and through what means the English chroniclers constructed a relationship between the English and the Welsh, who were included in such groups, and the elements of cohesion used to describe the Welsh as an imagined community.

The chapter is divided into three sections; the first section is an introductory exploration of the term 'Welsh' and how it is used within the revolt narratives. In particular, it is an analysis of the range of imagery and nationalising characteristics associated with the Welsh in the revolt narratives. The second section explores connections between the imagined Welsh of the revolt narratives and contemporary concepts of national identity. The basis for this discussion is a debate between delegates from England and France at the Council of Constance in 1417; debate at Constance centred on concepts of national identity and how these relate to the categories of 'English' and 'Welsh'. The debate is both useful and relevant to studies of the revolt narratives because Owain Glynd) r's chancellor, Gruffudd Yonge (d. *c*.1437), was part of the French delegation. At Constance the delegates presented two alternative viewpoints and as such, provided a useful framework with which to understand the revolt narratives. The third and final section analyses shifts in the conceptualisation of the Welsh in the revolt narratives written under the Tudor monarchs. Henry VII (reigned 1485-1509) was born at Pembroke Castle in south

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[2] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4: 'Welch Rebels' p.1134; 'Welche Rebels', p.1147; 'Welch rebelles', p.1150; The *Dieulacres Chronicle*: 'rebelles' p.176.
[3] See Chapter Four.

Wales in 1457. Successive Tudor monarchs employed a strategy that laid claim to descent from an ancient, British, ruling family. This section explores the implications for the revolt narratives, and in particular the ways in which the sixteenth-century chroniclers writing under successive monarchs negotiated the role of the Tudors' ancestors, who were cousins to Owain Glynd) r, and who acted alongside him.

I

The Language of Community in the Revolt Narratives

In the revolt narratives it was the various terms for 'Welsh' that were predominantly used to denote the broader community who participated in the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. The chroniclers use fairly standard Latin and English idiom; the Latin chroniclers employ variations of the term 'Walli-'; Walsingham for instance uses 'Wallici'[4], as does the *Dieulacres* chronicler.[5] Other Latin chronicles contain versions of 'Walens.' The chronicler of the *Vita Ricardi Secundi* uses 'Walens'/ 'Wallenses'[6] plus the Walli- forms. Polydore Vergil, who was influenced by the Italian Renaissance, and whose Latin is classicising in style, utilises 'Vualli.'[7] The chronicles composed in Middle English employ variations of 'Welshe'. For instance, Edward Halle uses 'Welshemen' and 'Welch'[8], Robert Fabyan in his *New Chronicles* utilises 'Welsheman', 'Welshemen', and 'Walshe'.[9] The other chronicles written in English contain similar terminology.[10]

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[4] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana:* 'Wallici' (p.246, p.251, p.262, p.272), 'Wallencibus' (p.248) 'Wallicos' (p.248), 'foeminae Wallencium' (p.250), 'Wallicorum' (p.256, p.259), 'Wallicis (p.262, p.265).

[5] *Dieulacres Chronicle*, 'Wallencium' (x2 p.175), 'Wallicos' (p.175), 'Wallici' (p.176)

[6] *Historia Vitae*, 'Walens' (p.167); 'Wallenses' (p.169; 2x p.173; p.175); 'Wallen-' (p.170; p.172); 'Wallicum' (p.170); 'Wallicus' (p.173); 'Wallicos' (p.175).

[7] Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, 'Vuallico' (2x p.433); 'Vualli' (p.432, p.433); 'Vuallorum' (p.434); 'Vuallis' (p.434).

[8] Halle *Chronicle*, 'Welshmen' (p.22); 'Welshemen' (p.23; 2 x p.26; p.28; 3 x p.31); 'Welshe men' (p.26); 'Welch' (p.28); 'Welshm&' (p.29).

[9] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, 'Welsheman' (p.569); 'Welshemen' (p.569); 'Walshe'(p.573).

[10] For instance, *An English Chronicle* uses 'Walshmen' (4 x p.29); 'Walshe' (p.29); 'Welshemen' (p.33); 'Walsshe' (p.38). John Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, 'Walschmen' (p.219); 'Walsch women' (p.219).

Thomas Walsingham's use of the term 'Cambri' is a notable exception to the more common use of the Walli-/Welshe types within the revolt narratives. For instance,

> At that time Owain Glynd)r with a band of 'Cambri', advancing in their accustomed manner, provoked to arms the entire militia of Herefordshire.[11]

Walsingham uses the terms 'Cambri', as well as the related adjective 'Cambrensis' ('cum comitiva Cambrensium') to refer to the Welsh,[12] and indeed does so alongside the more common terms of the Walli- type, using the two interchangeably.[13] Written contemporaneously to Thomas Walsingham, the *Dieulacres Chronicle* also contains a significant departure from the use of the term 'Welsh'; in the introduction to the revolt narratives there is a reference to the Welsh as 'the Welsh of the race of the Britons' ('Wallencium de genere Britonum').[14] These two examples, while not the usual terms applied to the 'Welsh' in the revolt narratives, nevertheless show that there were alternatives. As will be explored further in the second section of the chapter, the terms 'Welsh', 'English', 'Cambri' and 'Briton' were not neutral terms, but rather encompassed a range of cultural and historical meanings. The term 'Welsh', for instance, was itself derived from the Anglo-Saxon word for 'foreigner' (*Wealh*), and although it came to be largely adopted by the people of Wales, the origins of this term embodied a sense of otherness.[15] From the twelfth century the Welsh more commonly referred to themselves as 'Britons' (*Brytaniaid*) and *Cymry* (meaning 'compatriots'), terms which express a sense of self, as well as notions of community and a shared ancestry.[16]

John Hardyng is one of only several chroniclers who does not use the term 'Welsh' or 'Welshman' to refer to the community of the revolt. In the second version of his

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[11] 'Eo tempore Owenus de Glendore, cum comitiva Cambrensium, assuetis intendens irruptionibus, pene totam militiam Herefordensis Comitatus provocavit ad arma.' Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.250. See Appendix One, Passage 1e.

[12] In his *Historia Anglicana* Thomas Walsingham uses the terms 'Cambri' (p.246) and 'Cambrensium', p.250). In the parallel passages in his *Annales Henrici Quarti*, 'Cambri' has been substituted for 'Wallici' (p.334), however 'Cambrensium' (p.341) is retained and indeed there are further uses of 'Cambrorum' (p.341) and 'Cambrensium' (p.343).

[13] For instance, in his *Historia Anglicana,* Walsingham applies the terms in the following order for his narrative of the year 1402: 'Wallicos' (p.248); 'Cambrensium' (p.250); 'Foeminae Wallencium' (p.250); 'Wallici' (p.251).

[14] *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175

[15] See for instance, Alfred P. Smyth, 'The Emergence of English Identity, 700-1000', *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in medieval Europe*, Alfred P. Smyth, ed., MacMillian, London, 1998, p.28.

[16] R.R. Davies suggests that use of the term *Cymry* started began around the Seventh Century, and overtook the use of the word Brytaniaid around the Twelfth Century. *Conquest, Coexistence and Change 1063-1415*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987, p.19.

chronicle Hardyng uses the term 'his men', although this is the only reference to Owain Glynd) r's supporters across both versions of his chronicle. Hardyng states:

> But Ewayn wan himselfe eche day grete name
>
> Of Wallysshry, for gentilnesse and fame
>
> That he hem did, for whiche to him ꝥey drewe,
>
> And came his men and to him were ful trewe.[17]

Importantly, Hardyng constructs a relationship between Owain Glynd) r and his supporters based upon concepts of loyalty to an individual, rather than to a wider 'Welsh' moment.[18] Owain Glynd) r's fame and skills in leadership draw 'his men' together, forming a dedicated and loyal following.

There are, however, several chroniclers that do not use the term 'Welsh' nor do they document any broader community involvement. Neither John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* nor John Rous's *Historia Regum Anglie* use the term Welsh in any form. Capgrave mentions the involvement of Owain Glynd) r and refers to 'Wales' and several features of landscape,[19] while Rous only labels Owain Glynd) r 'a Welshman'[20] but does not provide any other details, such as the place that the 'rebellion' occurred.[21]

Analysis of the language and terms used at the beginning of the revolt narratives reveals that a majority of the chroniclers held a concept of the rebellion as having community foundation, and furthermore refer to this community as 'Welsh'. For instance, in his account of the initiation of the revolt in his *Annales Henrici Quarti* Thomas Walsingham says that:

> In the meantime, there happened to be an occasion that the king was absent, the Welsh, with a certain leader Owain Glynd) r, began to rebel.[22]

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[17] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol.157r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.506.

[18] See Chapter Four.

[19] In the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis* Capgrave tells us that Owain Glynd) r was 'wandering about in the mountains and caverns of Wales, he never had a certain location nor could he be captured by anyone.' (Nam in montibus et cavernis Walliae circumvagans, nunquam certum locum habuit, nec a quoquam capi potuit.) Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, p.110. See Appendix One, Passage 5a.

[20] John Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

[21] As discussed in Chapter Four, Rous constructs Owain Glynd) r as the sole person involved in the rebellion.

[22] 'Interea Wallici, nacta occasione de Regis absentia, rebellare coeperunt, duce quodam Howeno de Glendore.' Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.333.

Here the 'Welsh' are the subject of the sentence; they appear in the nominative and the placement of 'Wallici' at the beginning of the sentence further stresses their importance. It is a point echoed in *An English Chronicle*, 'the Walshmen began to arise agaynes Kynge Henry'[23] and also in the *Historia Vitae*,[24] the *Continuatio Eulogii*[25] and lastly, in Holinshed's chronicle, which records:

> In the kings ab*ence, while*t he was forth of the realme in Scotland again*t his enemies, the Welchmen tooke occa*ion to rebell, vnder ye conduct of their Captaine, Owen Glendouer, doing what mi*chiefe they could deui*e, vnto their engli*h neighbours.[26]

For many of the chroniclers, the communal base was the driving force behind the initiation of the revolt, and indeed its continuation. However, in most instances Owain Glyndwr is present with the 'Welsh', and is plainly depicted as the leader. Indeed, there are only a handful of occasions in which the Welsh act independently; *An English Chronicle*, Edward Halle and Raphael Holinshed all comment that the Welsh fought at the Battle of Shrewsbury despite Owain Glynd)r's absence.[27] In the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, the Welsh put the English to flight at Pilleth (Bryn Glas) and capture Edmund Mortimer.[28] These examples reveal that the term 'Welsh' was not a term used randomly, but a critical and integral part of the narratives of the revolt.

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[23] *An English Chronicle*, p.29.

[24] 'When he [King Henry] had come here at Leicester, there came to his ears troublesome news of internal war. Regarding that hateful insurrection of the Welsh who set up a certain shield bearer, named Owyn Glendor as their leader, and their captain contrary to the peace.' (Quo cum peruenisset, apud Leycestr' ad aures eius noua tediosa de bello intestino peruenerunt. De execrabili scilicet insurreccione Walens, qui quendam armigerum, nomine Owyn Glendor, in suum principem, et capitaneum eorum contra pacem erexerunt.) *Historia Vitae*, pp.167-168. See Appendix One, Passage 3a.

[25] 'In the year of our Lord, 1401, the Welsh rebelled against King Henry and snatched away the goods of English everywhere.' (Anno Domini 1401, Wallici contra regem Henricum Quartum rebellant et bona Anglicorum undique diripiunt.) *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.388. See Appendix One, Pasage 2b.

[26] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), Volume 4, p.1132.

[27] *An English Chronicle*: 'But Owen wasse aferde off treson and camme not, but mony off the Welshemen camme vnto thaym, & so they camme to Lichefelde.', p.33; Halle: 'The Welshemen also which sithe the kynges departure out of Wales, had lurked and lien in woodes, mountaignes and marishes, heryng of this battail towarde, came to the aide of the erles, and refreshed the wery people with new succurs.' *Chronicle*, p.31; Holinshed, 'The Welchmen al*o which before had laine, lurking in the woddes, mountaines, and mari*hes, hearing of this battell towarde, came to the ayde of the Percies, and refre*hed the weery people with new *uccours.' *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, p.1139.

[28] 'Eodem anno in die sancti Albani in loco qui dicitur Pilale Wallici fraude circumvenerunt Anglicos interficientes ex eis mille quingentos captoque Edmundo le Mortimere a sua familia, ut dictitur, decepto et cum Owyno converso eius filiam desponsavit et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit.' *Dieulacres Chronicle,* pp.176-177. See Appendix One, Passage 4g.

In the revolt narratives the term 'Welsh' was synonymous with 'rebel'. A majority of chroniclers do not differentiate between the participants of the revolt and those who did not take part; rather they are grouped together under the one collective term of 'Welsh'. The only chronicler to recognise that there were people who lived in Wales who did not support Owain Glynd)r or the rebellion more generally is the Welsh-born Adam Usk. For instance, Adam records that Owain Glynd)r:

> Marched with a great host right across Wales as far as the Severn sea; those who resisted him he either drove across the sea- where, being Welsh ('Wallici'), they were persecuted by the local people- or forced with fire and sword into surrender.[29]

Other than as cited above, Adam uses the term 'Welsh' on two occasions, and in each instance, he is careful to link the group to Owain Glynd)r, referring to the 'Welsh under Owain Glynd)r' ('Wallicos sub Oueno Glyndour.')[30] and 'Owain Glynd)r and several of the Welsh chieftains'('Oweyn Klyndor cum pluribus Wallie proceribus').[31] Furthermore, Adam distances himself from a narrative that connects notions of 'rebellion' and 'treason' to the term 'Welsh', but refers to Owain Glynd)r and the Welsh chieftains as those 'whom the king regarded as traitors and outlaws.'[32] Here Adam Usk employs a strategy which allows him to comment upon the events in terms of a 'rebellion', without conflating the terms 'Welsh' and 'rebel'.

Adam Usk is the only chronicler who separates the concepts underlying the notions 'Welsh' and 'rebel', although 'rebel' is not a term that he uses. Adam utilises two main strategies to refer to the participants. Firstly, rather than providing generalised and blanketed terms for the rebelling community such as 'Welsh', he uses specific constructs that revolve around Owain Glynd)r. For instance, he uses 'Owain and his men' ('Oenus cum suis')[33], 'the faction of the said Owain' ('partem dicti Oweni),[34] and 'gentlemen who supported Owain' ('generosos de parte Oweni').[35] Secondly, Adam Usk emphasises that the participants were from the north of Wales, and thus constructs distance between the north and the south, whence he himself derived. For instance, Adam's description of the initiation of the revolt begins:

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[29] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.173.
[30] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.159.
[31] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.135.
[32] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.135.
[33] 'On 30 January Owen and his men brutally ravaged with fire and sword the lordship of Ruthin in North Wales and the surrounding area …', Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.147.
[34] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.239.
[35] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.241.

Owain, lord of Glendower, being put forward by the men of North Wales ('Northewalen') to be their prince, had risen up with them in armed rebellion.[36]

Adam Usk reiterates on several occasions that Owain Glynd) r's supporters came from the north, and then lists the names of other regions in Wales where further support came; for instance, Adam records in his narrative for 1401 that 'Owain Glynd) r [was] supported by the whole of North Wales, Cardigan and Powis.'[37] Adam is very specific in documenting who was involved and where the revolt occurred. Undoubtedly, personal reasons contributed to his selective terminology; he records in his narrative his misery at being overlooked for promotion within his career, because of his Welsh birth. For instance, Adam states that the Pope granted him 'the archdeaconry of Buckingham with the churches of Knoyle, Tisbury and Deverill in England; the Welsh war thwarted this.'[38] As a 'Welshman', Adam too was categorised as 'rebel.'

Associated with the other chroniclers' terminology used to describe the 'Welsh' of the revolt narratives are numerous comments upon the characteristics of the group. To take one example, amongst the most vivid images in the narratives of the revolt is the mutilation of dead English soldiers described first by Walsingham, and then later by Capgrave and Holinshed.[39] In this image, as has been discussed previously in Chapter One with regards to notions of viewing, the Welsh women ('feminae Wallencium') commit atrocities following the Battle of Bryn Glas in 1402. Thomas Walsingham narrates,

> When more than a thousand men had been killed from our countries, this crime had been perpetrated; unheard of in all the ages, for the women of the Welsh, after the conflict, cut off the genitalia of the slain. They placed the genitals, in the mouths of some slain one. And they made the testicles hang down from the chin, and they pressed the noses into the bottoms of the same men; and they did not allow the bodies of the slain to be given their last rites without a great price.[40]

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[36] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.101.

[37] 'During the autumn Owain Glynd) r, supported by the whole of North Wales, Cardigan and Powis, continually assailed with fire and sword the English living in those regions and the towns they live in, especially the town of Welshpool.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.145.

[38] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.159.

[39] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.219 and Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1134.

[40] 'Occisis de nostratibus amplius quam mille viris: ubi perpetratum est facinus sæculis inauditum, nam fœminae Wallencium, post conflictum, genitalia peremptorum absciderunt, et membrum pudendum in ore cujuslibet mortui posuerunt, testiculosque a mento dependere fecerunt; nasosque

This image is a careful study of the character of the Welsh in these revolt narratives, constructed through a sub-group, the women. While Capgrave's account follows that of Walsingham without embellishment,[41] Holinshed refuses to include the material, instead stating,

> The shameful villanie vsed by the Welchwomen towardes the dead carcases, was suche, as honest eares woulde be ashamed to heare, and therefore we omitte to speake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great summes of money giuen for libertie to conuey them away.[42]

The Welsh women's 'shameful villainy' juxtaposed against the 'honest ears' of the reader serves as a useful substitute for the image Holinshed has hidden. The image of the women in these three chronicles seeks to illustrate the savagery and barbarity of the Welsh community which produced such women.

There are several important aspects to this image, all of which contribute to the representation of the Welsh as barbaric. Firstly, the bodies of the dead soldiers are dissected though an act of extreme violence and are reassembled to form a new grotesque figure. This dissection and rearrangement are undertaken in a purposeful and considered manner; the cut-off body parts are relocated in significant places, their mouths and bottoms, which were considered to be liminal and hazardous zones of the body.[43] Both are openings or passages to the interior regions of the body, which were associated with wastes, and the entry and exit points of humours. The placement of the body parts reveals the actions of the Welsh women to be meaningful, purposeful and calculated.

The second point revolves around concepts of gender; underlying this image is the notion that the women were acting outside the expectations of their gender. The event itself takes place on the battlefield, a place considered to be the zone of men.

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praecisos in culis presserunt eorundem ; nec patiebantur corpora peremptorum sine grandi petio supremis exequiis commendari.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.250. See Appendix One, Passage 1e.

[41] 'And aftir þe batayle ful schamefully þe walsche women cutte of mennes membris and put hem in her mouthis, þat were ded; and many oþir inconvenientis ded þei þat tyme.' Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.219.

[42] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1134.

[43] Michael Camille, 'The image and the Self: Unwriting Late Medieval Bodies', *Framing Medieval Bodies*, Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, eds, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1994, p.70.

Masculinity was linked to the public sphere and femininity to the private.[44] While the women do not contribute to the outcome of the battle as it has already ceased, they are acting with purpose on the battlefield. Women's association with the battlefield was most commonly to tend the wounded rather than to create further injuries. The reversal of the women's roles from carer to mutilators is also accompanied by the reversal of the male's domination of the space, as is symbolically expressed by the reversal of the male body, faces into bottoms and vice versa. The choice of the body parts that are removed further disguises the already unidentified soldiers; the female perpetrators, through a sexualised action, emasculate the male soldiers by castrating them. Furthermore, it would appear that the people who reported this alleged incident in such detail felt powerless to stop the actions of the women.[45] Walsingham portrays a total and monstrous inversion of any normal order here: women take over male space, bodies are literally reassembled upside down, and also there is the implication of anal sex; the 'Welsh', particularly as rebels, are the architects and perpetrators of this world turned-upside-down.

The image of the women is important in highlighting the connection between the community of the Welsh of the revolt narratives and broader ideas of nation and national identity. It is an example in the revolt narratives of the construction of the Welsh as an 'other' to the English.[46] This image relies upon a series of gross generalisations and simplifications, particularly concerning the dichotomies of male and female, perpetrators and victims, innocent and culpable, deceased and living, monstrosity and normality, and most obviously English and Welsh. In this image the points of contrast are simple. However, more broadly, the importance of the Welsh women lie in what they represent; the women embody the Welsh nation and the soldiers the English nation. Naked, vulnerable and unable to defend themselves, the

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[44] For instance Corinne Saunders argues that '[t]he world of medieval warfare- battle, arms, the tournament, jousting- was undoubtedly a world of men, one of the interconnected public spheres of medieval society, which found their opposites in the private and domestic spheres inhabited by the lady- the bedroom, the castle, the garden. Such contrasts between male and female, public and private, domestic and worldly lie at the heart of the medieval understanding and presentation of gender.' (pp.187-188); 'Women and Warfare in Medieval English Writing', *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare,* Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux and Neil Thomas, Brewer, eds, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp.187-212.

[45] See Chapter One.

[46] The English sense of self in this period was formed by contrast with a number of 'Others' in addition to the Welsh, for instance, the Scots and the Irish, but a consideration of these lies outside the concerns of this thesis. See Edward Said, *Orientalism*, Pantheon, New York, 1978.

mutilated English bodies represent the body-politic of England that is under attack by rebellion; it is a metaphoric invasion of the body-politic through imagery of the dismemberment of the body-natural.[47] As has previously been noted by Miri Rubin and Sarah Kay in their discussion of the body in medieval thought, 'the body was a privileged site, vehicle and metaphor of political struggle.'[48] In this instance the dismembered and de-masculinised body is a metaphor for a government facing numerous rebellions which has resulted in an inability to act effectively against the Welsh. The very savagery of the Welsh women is also a justification for extreme actions against Wales: if 'we' are vulnerable to attack, then violent action is easily justifiable in 'our' defence.

Examples such as that of the women illustrate a broader propensity amongst the examined English chronicles not only to apply the term 'Welsh' to the participants of the rebellion, but also to present generalised and unfavourable depictions of the Welsh. The presentation of various nationalising characteristics, some of which have been discussed, with several more to be introduced in the following section, reduced the 'Welsh' into one homogenous grouping and at the same time marginalised the community. For all the historical complexity of what it meant to be 'Welsh' in this period, the chronicles reduce it to an apparent simplicity. The conflation of Welsh and rebel was all too easy, and stereotyping of this group as savage allowed for the reduction of a politically complex situation to an incursion of savagery and violence.

II

The Council of Constance: A Study of Ideas of National Identity Contemporary to the Welsh Revolt

In this section I propose to explore the constructions of the Welsh in the revolt narratives within the context of notions of national identity prominent in the fifteenth

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[47] The terms 'body-natural' and 'body-politic' were coined by E. H. Kantorowicz in *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957, p.13. Kantorowicz used the terms to explore kingship and in particular, the idea of the king as having two bodies, the natural body that was human and subject to nature and human frailty, and the divine body.
[48] Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin, 'Introduction', *Framing Medieval Bodies*, p.5.

century. Such concepts provide a useful framework for analysing the points by which difference was constructed between the English and the Welsh in the revolt narratives, and the elements of cohesion with which the chroniclers constructed the Welsh.

In March 1417 at the Council of Constance, there was vigorous debate between the delegates over the nature of nationhood and the relationship between the Welsh and English. The council had been called in 1414 to put an end to the Great Schism, which had divided the allegiance of Western Christendom between rival popes based at Avignon, Rome and Pisa.[49] Under particular scrutiny in the debate was the nation of England, and whether or not England had a right to independent representation as a *natio principalis* (principal nation) at the council, and could legitimately include what the delegates referred to as the *nationes particulares* or lesser nations of Scotland, Wales and Ireland within the English delegation. These national groupings were for the purposes of voting at the council.[50] As had been the tradition since 1280 under a degree by Pope Benedict XII[51] representatives were grouped into one of the 'four broad groups or nations, that is France, Germany, Castile and Italy.'[52] Thus traditionally represented within the German nation were delegates from the regions of 'England, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Norway, Scotland, Denmark and Sweden and their adjacent lands and territories.'[53] However, debate began because Castile did not attend the Council until October 1416, and England had taken their place. After the arrival of the Castilian contingent England continued to be a *natio principalis*, thus forming a fifth nation.[54] The French delegation openly disliked England's new independent representation and so raised their concerns, to which the English delegation replied at length.[55] The ensuing debate offers a unique opportunity to

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[49] G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1962, p.114.
[50] This is not unlike the 'nations' found at universities in the middle ages.
[51] *English Reply to the French: Official 'acta' of the English Protest , 31st March, 1417 (31st Session)* in C.M.D. Crowder, ed., *Unity, Heresy and Reform 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism,* Edward Arnold, London, 1977, p.112.
[52] *English Reply to the French*, p.112.
[53] *English Reply to the French*, p.113.
[54] For further information regarding the events leading up to the debate, see Louise R. Loomis, *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1961, pp.21-28.
[55] Certainly there was a political element to the initiation of this debate; the Anglo-French relationship had once more turned sour and the English king Henry V was once more campaigning in France. Debate was instigated under the direction of the King of France, Charles VI (reigned 1380-1422).

explore the categories of 'England' and 'Wales', and 'English' and 'Welsh', and their significance.

Furthermore, there are important connections between the debate at the Council of Constance and the Welsh actions of 1400 to *c*.1415. The French contingent was made up of several clerics, including some from Scotland and Wales, and prominent within the French delegation was a Welshman named Gruffudd Yonge (d. *c*.1437). Yonge was of considerable standing and renown in Wales, having been Owain Glyndwr's chancellor and leading adviser on ecclesiastical matters.[56] The French argument thereby incorporates Welsh perspectives, and indeed, can be viewed within the context of the policies of independence initiated by Owain Glynd) r.

In their reply to the French query the English delegates provided a clear and concise definition of 'nation':

> … the nation understood as a people (*gens*), distinct from another by blood relationship (*cognationem*) and association (*collectionem*) or by difference of language, -which is the chief and surest proof of being a nation.[57]

This definition has parallels with earlier reflections on ideas of nationhood, such as that presented by Regino of Prum, who in the tenth century proposed that the criteria for distinguishing between different nations were 'descent, custom, language, and law.'[58] These two definitions raise several important points. Firstly, it is clear that nations were defined based upon social constructions. Each of these categories was culturally based, and revolved around the community having, or imagining that it had, a common ancestry (*cognatio*) and language, as well as cultural traditions and values. While the English delegates did not include 'law' and 'customs' explicitly in their definition, they did discuss these at length in their debate, arguing that a common ancestry assumes that there is a common cultural basis. Laws and customs were viewed by the delegates as a means by which people of a nation engage with each other, and how such an engagement was regulated. Secondly, the English delegates stated that association (*collectio*) was an important point in defining a

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[56] A.O.H. Jarman, 'Wales and the Council of Constance', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. XIV(1951), p.220.
[57] *English Reply to the French*, p.120.
[58] 'Diversae nationes populorum inter se discrepant genere, moribus, lingua, legibus.' Regino of Prum, Epistula Ad Hathonem Archiepiscopum Missa, in Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest Colonisation and Cultural Change 950-1350,* Penguin, London, 1994, p.197.

nation, although this was not incorporated into Regino of Prum's definition. The term itself denotes an assembling together of people. Such notions of proximity associated with *collectio* suggest that the term had attached ideas of space; the assembled people occupy a common space. It is a space defined according to social considerations, rather than in strict geographical or political terms. *Collectio* is an interesting notion, and one which is particularly evident in the spaces which the English chroniclers link with the rebellion; as discussed in Chapter Three, the 'Welsh' occupy predominantly wilderness spaces. Notions of *collectio* will be also discussed in the chapter on ideas of place and landscape that follows.[59]

It was through reference to these concepts of nationhood that the English delegates at the Council of Constance sought to prove the existence of a nation, which was comprised of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and through the same set of criteria that the Franco-Welsh delegates sought to dismiss English overlordship over the lesser nations, and indeed to suggest that the English had Germanic origins and thus should be placed within the German contingent. For analysis of the revolt narratives, such discussion is both interesting and useful in highlighting the importance of concepts of descent, customs and law that underpinned such terminology as 'Welsh' and 'English'.

What becomes clear from an analysis of the Constance debate is that the notion of descent or blood relationship (*cognatio*) was considered crucial; a significant portion of the debate focused on this element, even though the definition provided suggests that language was the 'chief and surest proof.' However, what the two delegations did not agree upon was how the English and the Welsh were related to one another through ancestry. The two sides put forward two alternative concepts: favoured by the English delegation was the idea that contemporary English people were the direct descendants of one branch of the three original inhabitants of Britain, the sons of Brutus. Favoured by the Franco-Welsh delegation, was the notion that the contemporary English were the descendants of Germanic invaders, and only the Scots and the Welsh were the descendants of the original inhabitants.

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[59] See Chapter Six.

Such a divergent view of the nature of the ethnic relationship between the 'English' and 'Welsh' is found in the revolt narratives, in which there are several direct comments concerning Welsh descent. Thomas Walsingham's aforementioned use of the word 'Cambri' is one such example. While Walsingham is the only chronicler amongst those examined that use 'Cambri' in his revolt narratives, the term does appear in other chroniclers' descriptions of the founding of 'Britain'. For instance, in Capgrave's account, which he places in *Anno Mundi* 4084 (which equates to roughly the year 1100 BCE), he states:

> In ‰s same Hely tyme Brute, ‰t was of Eneas kyn, cam into ‰s lond and called it
> Britayn aftir his name. Whan he deyod, he departed his kyngdam to his thre sones:
> the first hite Loegrius, and to him he gaf ‰e lond fro Douyr onto Humbyr; the secund
> son hite Albanactus, and to him gaue he al Scotland onto Humbir; the ‰rd hit
> Camber, and to him gaue all Walis. The first cuntré was called in ‰o dayes
> Loegria; the secunde Albania; the ‰rd Cambria.[60]

Such notions were popularised by Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the founding of Britain, written around the year 1136, in which Brutus, a descendant of the Trojans, landed in Britain, an island without any inhabitants other than several giants. Here Capgrave narrates the founding of Britain, identifies a common ancestral point between the Scots, English, and Welsh, and simultaneously explains the existence of these three different nations. Several of the examined chronicles likewise refer to the founding of Britain by Brutus and his sons, including John Rous's *Historia Regum Angliae* and Holinshed's *Chronicles*.[61] John Hardyng presents a detailed narrative of the founding of Britain by Brutus.[62] For instance, Hardyng argues that Camber,

> And o[f] Locryne it should euer be homage,
> And of his heyres euermore in heritage.[63]

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[60] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.31.

[61] Although it should be noted that the Brutus myths have a variety of purposes behind their inclusions in these chronicles, and in several instances are not the only foundation myth referred to. Rous's *Historia Regum Angliae*, p.18 and p.26; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 1, p.39.

[62] In the second version of his chronicle, Hardyng refers to events leading up to the founding of Britain and Brutus' genealogy in Hardyng, *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, Henry Ellis, ed., London, 1812 pp.31-40. For a full discussion of notions of genealogy in the second version of Hardyng's chronicle, see Sarah L. Peverley, 'Genealogy and John Hardyng's Verse Chronicle', *in Broken Lines: Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France*, edited by Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy, Brepols, Turnhout, 2008, pp.259-82. Of the founding itself, Brutus 'slewe these giauntes stra(ge, And wanne this Isle, by his magnificence.'(p.41)

[63] For instance, Hardyng states in the second version of his chronicle that:
> This kyng Brutus this ysle deuided in. iii
> A lytell afore out of this ysle he dyed:

Through the Brutus myth Hardyng demonstrates the English king's right of sovereignty over Scotland and Wales, by establishing an ancient connection. Hardyng makes it clear that Camber should be subservient to Locryne because of birth order, with Camber being the youngest son.[64]

This foundation myth, like many in medieval Europe, is based on the story of the foundation of Rome by Aeneas, fleeing from the fallen city of Troy.[65] The continued importance of the *Aeneid* in the shared canon of Latin literature no doubt helped to keep vibrant this kind of political use of mythic history. One of the functions of the Brutus story was evidently to claim a place for Britain in wider Europe by reference to the shared Latin inheritance. Internally to Britain though, its possible meanings were less stable. The origins of the relationships between the peoples of Britain were 'explained' by the story of the three sons dividing the island between themselves, much as the three sons of Noah had divided the world into Asia, Europe and Africa.[66] The common origin of all three peoples from Brutus emphasised the notion that they ultimately formed one people, but the division into three simultaneously defined the Welsh and Scots as 'others'. This instability could be politically useful, as the story positioned the Welsh and Scots as both 'other' and 'ours' at the same time.

Thomas Walsingham's use of the term 'Cambri' has a different significance for each party. On the one hand, it is a comment that confirms the existence of an ethnic

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> To his thre sonnes y[t] were full faire to se
> After his dayes to ioyse he signified,
> And when he had the Isle all tripertyed,
> He called the chyefe Logres after Locryne,
> That doth extende fro Monsehole to H(ber fine.

The Chronicle of John Hardyng, Henry Ellis, ed., pp.42-43. For a further discussion, see Peverley, 'Introduction', *John Hardyng*, pp.163-164.

[64]
> This eldest s' ne was king y[e] high Locrine,
> Of all Britayne hauing y[e] souerante,
> Hauing Logres as Brute dyd determine,
> To whome Cambre, and Albanacte the free,
> Obeying both vnto his royalte,
> There homage made as to y[e] lorde souerayne,
> And emperoure of that lande of Britayne.

The Chronicle of John Hardyng, Henry Ellis, ed., p.44.

[65] For instance, see Anke Bernau, 'Myths of Origin and the Struggle Over Nationhood in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, Gordon McMullan and David Matthews, eds, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007, pp.106-118.

[66] See Chapter Three.

relationship between the English and the Welsh of the revolt narratives, which is in line with ideas of ancestry presented by the English delegation at the council. Having described the categories of nationhood, the English delegates then proceeded to document the composition of their nation, as follows:

> Several kingdoms have been part of the English nation from ancient times … there are essentially eight kingdoms, let alone numerous duchies, lands, islands and lordships; that is England, Scotland, and Wales the three which make up greater Britain; also the Kingdom of Man; and in Ireland, next to England, four great and notable kingdoms which are Connaught, Galway, Munster and Meath …[67]

Of significance here is the notion that these kingdoms had ancient connections. Throughout their response the English delegates use the terms 'English' and British' interchangeably, frequently using the phrase 'English or British nation.'[68] Here the term 'British' is multifaceted, and is not only used to denote geographically the area of the 'British Isles', but is also a reference to the 'Britons.'[69] However, on the other hand, the use of 'Cambri', when read within Welsh historical contexts, embodied ideas of independence from England, which are particularly relevant within narratives of Owain Glynd) r's revolt. 'Camber'/ 'Kamber' is clearly an eponym used to explain *Cymru* and *Cymry,* terms by which the Welsh refer to their land and themselves. Geoffrey of Monmouth's history of the founding of Britain was an important part of Welsh perceptions of their early history.[70] Many modern scholars of Welsh history begin their narratives by referring to the importance of Geoffrey's work; as Antony Carr suggests, 'for the Welsh, Geoffrey provided an explanation of who they were and whence they had come.'[71] For the Welsh, the story of Brutus explained their origins, but they denied that the English could also claim this line of descent. The term 'Cambri' thus carried political implications for both parties. It is impossible to say what Walsingham himself intended by his use of the term, and his

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[67]*English Reply to the French,* p.116.

[68] The first example states: 'the English nation, also referred to as the British nation ...' p.111. All that follow state 'the English or British nation', *English Reply to the French,* pp.115, 116, 120, 121, 122, 125.

[69] For a further discussion of the people of the British Isles, see Ralph Griffiths, 'The Island of England in the Fifteenth Century: Perceptions of the Peoples of the British Isles, *Journal of Medieval History*, 29 (2003), pp.177-200.

[70] For a further discussion see Helen Fulton, 'History and Myth: Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae'*, in Helen Fulton, ed., *Companion to Arthurian Literature,* Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2009, pp.44-57.

[71] A.D. Carr, *Medieval Wales*, St Martin's press, New York, 1995, p.4. Likewise, John Davies suggests, 'Once upon a time, the Welsh knew when their history began. It began about 1170BC. That was when the Ark of the Covenant was captured by the Philistines and when Brutus, a descendant of the Trojans, landed on the shores of Britain.' *A History of Wales*, Penguin, London, 1990, p.1.

fondness for unusual and archaic names is a partial explanation in itself; for instance he refers to the people of Brittany as 'Bretones Armorici.'[72] However, the use of this term carries with it the inherent ambiguities of the Brutus story. Certainly, it is possible that Walsingham uses the term as Hardyng does, to emphasise the inferior status of the original Welsh founding father to the English one, although Walsingham is not explicit in constructing such a hierarchy as Hardyng.

An alternative view concerning notions of English and Welsh descent from Brutus, and one which incorporates ideas of independence, is found in the narratives of the revolt. In his chronicle, Adam Usk includes two letters from Owain Glynd) r that were intercepted on their way to the king of Scotland and to the Lords of Ireland. In the letter to Scotland, written in French, Owain Glynd) r appeals for aid against the English by citing the relationship between the Scots and the Welsh based upon their common descent from Brutus:

> Brutus fathered three sons, namely Albanactus and Locrinus and Kamber; you are descended from the direct line of this Albanactus, while the descendants of this Kamber ruled as kings under the time of Cadwaladr, who was the last crowned king of my people, and from whose direct line I, your humble cousin am descended.[73]

Significantly, the term 'cousins' is used on seven occasions thus establishing a close and familial relationship.[74] It is important that Owain Glynd) r defines his ethnic identity in such specific terms in the letters, and does not apply the term 'Welsh' or 'Cymry'; although in the letter to Scotland, the French word for 'Wales' is retained, as 'Gales'.[75] When discussing the 'English' in letters to Scotland and Ireland, it is made clear that a transition has taken place, and that 'this kingdom of England *used to be* known as 'Great Britain'[76], thus denying a common ancestry, and indeed notions of sovereignty, from the Britons. Instead the people of England are referred to as 'my and your mortal enemies the Saxons.'[77]

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[72] Walsingham calls the people of the peninsula of Brittany in France 'Bretones Armorici' which was the name for Brittany when it was part of Gaul. It is thus archaic. See Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.275.

[73] 'Letter to the King of Scotland', in Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.149.

[74] In fifteenth-century English usage, the word 'cousins' was used to translate the Latin 'consanguinesus' literally 'of the same blood', from which the word was believed to come. This is in fact a false etymology. See *OED. s.v.*

[75] 'Letter to the King of Scotland', in Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.150.

[76] My italics. 'Letter to the King of Scotland', in Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.149.

[77] 'Letter to the King of Scotland', in Adam Usk, *Chronicle* p.149; and 'our, and your, mortal enemies, the Saxons'; 'Letter to the Lords of Ireland', in Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.151.

While Adam Usk did not compose the letters, their inclusion in his chronicle narrative is surprising and certainly purposeful, particularly given that they were copied in full. No other chronicler includes the letters. Indeed, the positioning of the letters in Adam's chronicle narrative is significant; three paragraphs previously Adam records a degree issued by Henry IV, which suppressed the use of the Welsh language.[78] Furthermore, several pages following these letters Adam uses the term 'Saxon', with the possible implication that the English are descendants of invaders. In a conversation with ambassadors from Constantinople, Adam records that:

> They told me too that their empire was on the brink of being overrun by Tartars and Turks, just as their homeland, the kingdom of Britain was, as everyone knows, once laid waste by the Saxons.[79]

While Adam does not explicitly call the English 'Saxons', it would appear that he was hinting that there was an alternative view of the descent of the English, one which emphasises a Germanic background. This passage can be read as a very clever and subtle way for Adam to introduce a pro-Owain Glynd) r argument into his chronicle narrative.

Connected to Adam's use of the term 'Saxon' is the *Dieulacres* chronicler's reference to the followers of Owain Glyndwr as 'of the race of the Welsh Britons' ('Wallencium de genere Britonum').[80] This appears in the very first line outlining the initiation of the revolt and is the only instance in the chronicle in which 'Britonum' appears; significantly, the term is not used in connection with the Scots or the English. To isolate the Welsh as 'Britons' suggests that this *gens* alone are the descendants of the aforementioned Britons. Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, the *Dieulacres* chronicler suggests that the English did not have a just title to rule the Welsh.[81] Reference to the Welsh as Britons within the revolt narratives is important in providing the community with an ancient ethnicity.

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[78] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.147.

[79] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, pp.199-201.

[80] 'In the year 1400 a certain evil-doer and rebel with his Welsh companions of the race of the Britons whose name in fact was Owain Glynd) r …' (Anno domini millesimo CCCC[mo] quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndouur erat …) *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175. See Appendix One, Passage 4a.

[81] 'But to many more discerning people it seemed that the cause of the said tempest was principally because the aforesaid people had no just title against them: thus they almost always failed in their plans and too often laboured in vain.' (Sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum

Parallel views of English ancestry to those depicted in the letters and in the *Dieulacres*' reference to 'Britons' can be found in the *Descriptio Kambriae* (Description of Wales) by the Welsh historian, Gerald of Wales (*c*.1147-1223). The *Descriptio Kambriae*, written in the mid-1190s, was a very popular text in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[82] While Gerald agrees that 'Brutus, descending from the Trojans ... led the remnant of the Trojans ... into this Western Isle'[83] and founded Britain, he disputes that the people of England were the direct descendants of Brutus. Instead Gerald suggests that it was not 'the kingdom of Britain'[84], but 'the kingdom of Wales'[85] which Brutus had divided between his three sons. The area ruled by Brutus's ancestors had been reduced and the people displaced by foreign invaders who 'fight in order to expel the natural inhabitants from the Island, and secure for themselves the possession of the whole [of the British Isles].'[86] Hence the Welsh and their Scottish cousins were the 'natural inhabitants'[87] of Britain, but were forced to live 'in the worst corner ..., amongst woods and marshes; and banished, as it were.'[88] Certainly, there are parallels between Gerald's description and the spaces in which the Welsh dwell in the narratives of the revolt, in woods, on mountains and in caves.[89]

The notion of descent put forward at the Council of Constance was multifaceted; connected to the idea of a descent is the notion of the contemporary nation having shared culture and values, because of a common ancestral basis. The English delegates particularly stressed that the current religious situation in England is evidence that they are not the descendants of the Saxons. They explain that:

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tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt: ideo proposito pene semper caruerunt et in vanum sepius laboraverunt etc.) *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p. 176. See Appendix One, Passage 4f.
[82] Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982, pp.213-21.
[83] Geraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wale*s, in Llywelyn Williams (ed.), *The Itinerary Through Wales: Description of Wales*, Everyman, London, 1908, p.164.
[84] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain,* (ed.) Lewis Thorpe, Penguin, Middlesex, England, 1966, p.75.
[85] Geraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wale*s, p.165.
[86] Geraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wale*s, p.205.
[87] Geraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wale*s, p.205.
[88] Geraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wale*s, p.205.
[89] See Chapter Three.

> Christ's faith has persisted continuously in England up till now, despite the fact that for periods, a great wave of unbelieving savages stormed into the kingdom in a partial attempt to eradicate the Christian faith.[90]

The delegations view the presence of a strong and centralised church as a consistent thread between the past and the present. For the English delegates religion provided evidence with which to refute accusations of Germanic ethnicity and hence strengthen ties with the neighbouring dominions of Scotland and Wales; it allowed them to bypass the invasion and settlement periods of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons, as well as the later Scandinavians.

It is significant therefore, within these understandings of the importance of religious descent, that in the *Historia Vitae* a link between descent and contemporary religion is made in order to comment upon the character of a group of Welsh. We are told that the Welsh of Maelienydd are 'not of the tribe of Juda, but indeed are descendants of the traitor Judas, turned against their own lord.'[91] While the immediate purpose of the reference is to describe colourfully the defection of Mortimer's Welsh tenants to Owain Glynd)r, the significance of the comment on the descent of this Welsh community is not lost; not only are they traitors to their immediate overlord, but more broadly, they are constructed as an isolated pocket that is detached ethnically, religiously and culturally. As the descendants of Judas this community is destined for damnation; Judas was held to have committed the mortal and unforgivable sin not only of betraying Christ, but of despairing of god's mercy (hence his suicide).

Throughout their argument, the English delegates at Constance provide evidence of a shared descent, religious culture and customs, as well as a shared system of values. However, representations of the Welsh in the revolt narratives are characterised by a duality that is not present in the Constance debate; there is a simultaneous embracing and distancing of the Welsh by the English chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The terminology of 'rebellion' or 'insurrection' applied to the actions of the group of Welsh declares that there is a relationship, and that the Welsh were considered part of the English nation, otherwise the actions would not be termed a

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[90] *English Reply to the French*, p.119.
[91] 'Wallenses de Melenyth non de tribu Iuda, ymmo Iude prodictoris procreati, contra dominum proprium faciem et aciem proditorie uertebant.' *Historia Vitae*, p.173. See Appendix One, Passage 3l.

rebellion, but rather a war against a foreign nation. However, the Welsh are clearly socially marginalised in the revolt narratives, and indeed are discussed in derogatory and generalised forms. This is the same duality which appeared in the foundation story of Brutus, positioning the Welsh as both part of a wider 'us' (the descendants of Brutus) and as 'them'. As the letters sent to the king of Scotland and Lords of Ireland illustrate, Owain Glynd) r believed that the Welsh, and possibly the Scots, were the true descendants of Brutus, and that the English were of a different ethnicity, namely Saxon.

Law was one framework which the chroniclers used in their revolt narratives to establish an Anglo-Welsh relationship. While a common legal system is not cited by the English delegates at the Council of Constance within their definition of nation, they do discuss the importance of law and regulation throughout their reply to the French. Regino of Prum, writing in the tenth century, does cite a common legal system as one of four criteria for the proof of nationhood: 'descent, custom, language, and law.' As discussed in Chapter Four, the legal relationship between the English and the Welsh frame many accounts of the beginning of the revolt.[92] There were numerous methods by which this relationship was established, such as applying the term 'rebellion' to the events or by employing a range of images that sought to represent the actions of Owain Glynd) r and his followers in violent and illegal terms. Several chroniclers opted for a range of other strategies to present the legal relationship between the English and the Welsh. For instance, some chroniclers, including Thomas Walsingham, John Capgrave's *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, and Holinshed, emphasise that Owain Glynd) r studied law at the Inns of Court in his youth, and thus was fully aware of his actions within an English legal context.[93]

While a majority of chroniclers present the legal relationship between the English and the Welsh in fairly straightforward terms, there were several chroniclers who acknowledged various legal disparities. For instance, in their introductions to the revolt narratives, the *Continuatio Eulogii*, *An English Chronicle* and the second version of Hardyng's chronicle document a legal process whereby Owain Glynd) r

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[92] See Chapter Four.
[93] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana,* p.246; Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.388; Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.217; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1132.

approached Henry IV to act between himself and Reginald Lord Grey.[94]   However, in each instance Owain Glynd) r is ignored, and as a direct result, he rebels. Hardyng, for instance, records:

> That Ewayn Glendore ‰en felly brent
>
> In Englond so, and did ful grete outrage,
>
> For cause that lord Gray held his heritage,
>
> And to the kinge of it ful sore had playned,
>
> No remedy gat, so was he ‰en demayned.[95]

In the *Continuatio Eulogii* and *An English Chronicle* Owain Glynd) r approaches parliament, and his complaint is rejected.   In the *Continuatio Eulogii*, the parliamentarians insult Owain Glynd) r personally by referring to him as part of a group of 'barefoot buffoons'. While these representations of a legal process were a means by which to discuss inadequacies in the kingship of Henry IV, these three narratives, nonetheless, highlight the difficulties faced by Welsh people in general within the English legal system.

Legal processes in Wales between 1284 and 1536 were complex; following the conquest of Wales by Edward I and the resulting Statute of Wales of 1284, English and Welsh laws existed side by side, although English law was followed in matters of criminal law.[96]   This legal duality was abolished in the Act of Union in 1536, when English law was formally introduced into Wales.   However, in Owain Glynd) r's day, there were two separate court systems that dealt with either Welsh law or English law.   Within this system, being 'Welsh' was legally defined.[97] Certainly, as exhibited in the *Continuatio Eulogii* and *An English Chronicle*, Owain Glynd) r's ethnic origins as a 'Welshman' was a significant factor in the rejection of his complaint to parliament.   The complexity of the legal system in Wales is reflected in the *Dieulacres Chronicle's* introduction to the revolt narratives. Writing sometime before 1413, the *Dieulacres* chronicler records that:

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[94] *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.388; *An English Chronicle*, pp.28-29.
[95] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 157r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.506.
[96]   For a substantial discussion of Welsh legal process, see R.R. Davies, 'The Twilight of Welsh law, 1284-1326', *History*, 51 (1966,) pp.143-164.   See also, G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales c1415-1642*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987, p.35; M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, Methuen, London, 1988, p.206ff.
[97]   Rees Davies, 'Race Relations in Post-Conquest Wales: Confrontation and Compromise', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1974-5), esp. pp.39-44.

> In the year 1400 a certain evil-doer and rebel with his Welsh companions of the race of the Britons whose name in fact was Owain Glynd) r, setting himself up as the Prince of Wales by the law of his ancestors, plundered and burned English townships in Wales, more specifically, Conwy, Ruthin and Oswestry and others both walled and bare. The land of Wales, having been conquered in the time of Edward I, was recognised as distinct.[98]

The Dieulacres's account of Owain Glynd) r drawing upon 'the law of his ancestors' to cement his legitimacy as Prince is the only instance across all the revolt narratives examined in which the duality of the legal system in Wales is recognised. This, coupled with the reference to the 'Britons', is a significant display of the *Dieulacres* chronicler's recognition and understanding of the complex legal relationship between the Welsh and the English. On the whole, the revolt narrative of the *Dieulacres Chronicle* contains more sympathetic readings of the events than many of its contemporaries. Such a reading is difficult to account for, particularly as the author is unknown. However, the proximity of the Dieulacres Abbey to Wales could explain the level of detail and knowledge of these concepts; the abbey is located in Staffordshire, in the west midlands of England.

Adam Usk is, however, the only chronicler to record and discuss a body of legislation issued by Henry IV in 1401-1402, which had direct implications for the legal status of the Welsh within Wales. Adam Usk describes as 'harsh' English degrees against Anglo-Welsh intermarriage:

> This parliament ended on 10 March, on which day– a little before the present time– I heard it being urged that all sorts of rigorous measures ought to be decreed against the Welsh, namely that they should not be allowed to intermarry with the English, or make purchases or reside in England, and many other such harsh suggestions.[99]

Such legislation reinforced the divide between the English and the Welsh in legal terms, and with obvious social implications. Adam records a further two decrees;[100]

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[98] 'Anno domini millesimo CCCC^mo quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndouur erat, figens se iure progenitorum suorum principem Wallie fore villas angligenas in Wallia, scilicet, Conway, Ruthyn, Oswaldistr et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit. Quequidem terra Wallie tempore regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.' *Dieulacres Chronicle,* p.175. See Appendix One, Passage 4a.
[99] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.127.
[100] Adam also records another decree that was issued in the reign of Henry V in 1413. Adam states that it was a 'decree against the Welsh and Irish ordering them all to go back to their own countries, demanding large sums of money from them for licences to remain. According to Given-Wilson's

one which allowed men who lived in the March of Wales 'to launch reprisals against the Welshman in debt to them.'[101] The other was a decree that regulated the use of the Welsh language, although no such decree has survived.[102] Regardless, Adam Usk expresses his outrage:

> Having been pardoned their lives, the people of Cardigan deserted Owain and returned, though not without great suffering, to their homes; they were nevertheless-even though the English had decreed that it should be suppressed– allowed to use the Welsh tongue, for God the omnipotent, the king of kings and infallible judge of all things, had revoked this decree in response to the prayers and complaints of the afflicted.[103]

For Adam Usk, this body of legislation had personal implications; indeed, Chris Given-Wilson argues that the final line (from 'for God the omnipotent…') is possibly added in the hand of Adam Usk himself.[104] This is a strikingly personal account of the impact of such measures on an individual who considered himself to be amongst the 'afflicted'. If Adam was aware, as surely a man of his education must have been, that language was taken to be 'the surest proof' of nationhood, then this account of the English trying to suppress the Welsh language, must be read as implying that Adam believed the laws were an attempt at trying to prevent the Welsh being recognised as a separate nation. His comments on the decrees against intermarriage, furthermore, imply that these laws were aimed at preventing the Welsh and the English from becoming 'of one blood' (*cognationem*).

Concepts of national identity in the fifteenth century provide the framework of shifting oppositions within which the terms and imagery used in the revolt narratives signify. Apparently simple and straightforward terms such as 'Cambri' in fact encompass broader ideas of community and nation, and are historically and culturally significant, carrying the ambiguities of the claims of mythic history with them. Drawing on overlapping yet distinct discourses, the opposed perspectives on the Welsh revolt are articulated through notions of descent. In the chronicle

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commentary, Adam was provided with a licence without having to pay a fine.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.245.
[101] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.127.
[102] See Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, pp.458-9.
[103] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.147.
[104] Given-Wilson argues that scribal 'hand five' may have been that of Adam. For and further examples of where hand five appears in the chronicle manuscript, see Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Dating and Structure of the *Chronicle* of Adam Usk' *Welsh History Review,* 17:4 (1995), pp.529-531.

narratives the English perspective, unsurprisingly, predominates, though on a few remarkable occasions the Welsh perspective is allowed to emerge. In the debates of the Council of Constance we see contested, in more abstract form, the discourses which are more often assumed than directly stated in the depiction of the revolt.

III

The 'Welsh' of the Revolt Narratives and the Tudors

This section is an analysis of shifts in attitudes towards the Welsh in the revolt narratives composed in the period 1485 to *c*.1580. Chronicles written under, and indeed dedicated to, various Tudor monarchs provide an opportunity to analyse the implications of promoting their ancient Welsh descent for the revolt narratives. This section will focus upon the significant shifts in how the 'Welsh' are depicted as a community in the Tudor narratives of the revolt, and how the chroniclers negotiate the role of the ancestors of Henry Tudor, who not only participated in the events of 1400 to *c*.1415 but were, in fact, the first cousins of Owain Glynd) r.

The accession of Henry Tudor following the Battle of Bosworth in August 1485 meant that the ruling dynasty in England had a Welsh name, and indeed claimed Welsh descent. Henry was born in Wales at Pembroke Castle, and spent the first fourteen years of his life in Wales (1457-1471). His grandparents' ancestry meant that Henry VII was one quarter Welsh, one eighth French, one eighth Bavarian, and one half English.[105] There is no evidence to suggest that he spoke any Welsh.[106] Nevertheless, the early Tudor kings encouraged and promoted the notion that their ancestral line stemmed from Brutus, Cadwallader and Arthur, through such means as pageantry, livery and emblems.[107] The contemporary chronicles likewise record the ancient Welsh ethnicity of the Tudors; Halle, for instance, constructs Henry VII's ancestry as being of the 'a(cient lyne of Cadwaleder, the laste kyng of the

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[105] Peter Roberts, 'The Welshness of the Tudors', *History Today*, 36:1 (1986) p.10; and S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972, p.3.

[106] S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1972, p.3.

[107] See for instance Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1969.

Brytons.'[108] The Tudor's Welsh ancestry was cultivated and was used as part of a deliberate strategy that sought to construct an ancient ethnicity and sovereignty.

How then did the newly-proclaimed Welsh origins of the Tudor monarchy impact upon Tudor chroniclers' descriptions of the revolt of Owain Glynd) r? Firstly, the Tudor chroniclers comment more overtly than the earlier examined chronicles on the characteristics of the Welsh in the revolt narratives. For instance, Holinshed, whose *Chronicle* was published in 1577, tells us that:

> Lorde Grey was taken pri*oner, and many of his m+ were *layne. This happe lifted the Welchmen into high pride, and encrea*ed maruellou*ty their wicked & pre*umptuous attemptes.[109]

Such labels are derived from the earlier chronicle of Thomas Walsingham, whom Holinshed used as a source, in which the Welsh are referred to as 'arrogant'[110] and 'insolent' on two separate occasions.[111] Holinshed has intensified Walsingham's descriptions. However, these particular attributes have parallels within more popular social and cultural forms; in his analysis of ethnic jokes and stereotypes in the Tudor and Stuart eras, Christie Davies found that the Welsh were commonly depicted as 'proud, aggressive, boastful and quarrelsome.'[112] Likewise, James O. Bartley found that in plays of the same era, such as those of Shakespeare, Welsh characters were primarily depicted as 'impulsive, excitable, hot-headed and quick-tempered.'[113] The imagined characteristics of the Welsh in the revolt narratives were part of the discourse that both constructed and reflected upon such national characterisation. Certainly Holinshed's image of Owain Glynd) r was utilised by Shakespeare. While such characteristics frequently appeared within comical contexts, it is clear that in the usages of Thomas Walsingham and Holinshed they have negative connotations, and seek to marginalise. Furthermore, conflicts with the English are described as strengthening the cohesion of the Welsh in Holinshed's revolt narratives; after the

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[108] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.185.

[109] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577) Volume 4, pp.1133-1134.

[110] 'Quod infortunium Wallicos extulit in superbiam, et insolentiam auxit eisdem' [misfortune (of the English) led the Welsh to arrogance and it increased their insolence], Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.248. See Appendix One, Passage 1d.

[111] *Historia Anglicana,* 'Insolentiam Wallicorum', p.259; and 'quod infortunium Wallicos extulit in superbiam, et insolentiam auxit eisdem.', p.248.

[112] Christie Davies, 'Ethnic Jokes and Social Change: The Case of the Welsh', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4 (1985), p.47.

[113] James Orr Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney: Being a Historical Study of the Earliest Irish, Welsh and Scottish Characters in English Plays*, Cork University Press, Cork, 1954, p.69.

engagement the Welsh, it is reported, now have a stronger feeling of importance and of collective identity.

The Tudor chronicles provide the Welsh with various characteristics and attributes, which carry implications regarding the temperament of the community. For instance, Edward Halle provides some of the more colourful labels and characteristics. In describing the campaigns of Henry, Prince of Wales, Halle likens the Welsh in the revolt narratives to wild animals that need to be restrained:

> When the prince with little labor and lesse losse, had tamed & brideled the furious rage of the wild and sauage welshemen...[114]

Halle refers to the Welsh as 'wild and savage', 'wilde and vndiscrite'[115] and uses the alliterative 'waueryng Welshemen' on three separate occasions.[116] He describes how England is constantly 'inuaded and infested with the frantike waueryng Welshemen.'[117] Importantly, Holinshed provides only one example, referring to the 'vnruly Welchmen.'[118] Holinshed's single example can be explained by the inherently traditional nature of chronicle writing, in which each chronicle draws on material from older chronicles, sometimes word for word. Here, Holinshed's lack of explicit characterisation is a product of his reliance on early fifteenth-century chronicles of Thomas Walsingham. Halle, on the other hand, does not rely on previous chronicles and so presents a narrative that is frequently unique and not so constrained by the tradition nature of the genre.[119] Nonetheless, these constructions and images in Halle and Holinshed serve to portray the Welsh with the shared characteristics of inconsistency and recklessness. While nationalising characteristics such as inconsistency were a means by which to differentiate and indeed to marginalise the Welsh, such qualities are, by their nature, not conducive to the formation of community. Underlying such a paradoxical depiction of the 'waueryng Welshemen' is a notion of a communal group in which individuals are unpredictable, change their minds, and by extension, are unable to commit to achieve shared goals.

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[114] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.31-32.
[115] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.22.
[116] Halle. *Chronicle*, p.26 and p.28.
[117] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.23.
[118] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1140.
[119] For instance, Halle's uniqueness is evident in Chapter Four, Section II, when Halle creates a new character (Edmund Mortimer).

Such a paradoxical depiction of the Welsh in the revolt narratives is associated with notions of rebellion and of Wales as a disruptive, decentring and chaotic space.[120]

While such characteristics are the antithesis of ideas of community, for many of the Tudor chronicles this was the main reason for the initiation of the revolt. For instance, Halle suggests that the 'Welsh' were easily seduced into rebellion by Owain Glynd) r,

> With faire flattering wordes and with large promises, so enuegled enticed and allured the wilde and vndiscrite Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym an othe of allegeance and subieccion. By whose supportacion, he being elated and set vp in aucthorite, to the intent to bee out of all doubte of his neighbours, made sharpe warre on Reignolde lorde Grey of Rithen and toke hym prisoner.[121]

While it was Owain Glynd) r that tricked the 'Welshmen' into rebelling, it was their underlying 'vndiscrite' character that allowed for such possibilities; the Welsh are unable to discern right from wrong, lack judgement, lack morality and are, quite simply, savages. A community with such characteristics is one that incites and harbours rebellion. Indeed Polydore Vergil makes such an observation:

> Meanwhile, so there would be no hope for quiet, Wales, ever prone to new risings, was troubled by the mutual bickering of its nobles and seemed on the verge of rebellion.[122]

Vergil expresses a notion of the Welsh as 'quarrelsome' and prone to disputes with each other, and also with the English in the form of rebellion. Here, the characteristics of the community undercut any ambitions for unity and for independence.

The second shift to occur in the Tudor narratives of the revolt is the rise of notions of internal fracturing of the 'Welsh' community. While many of the fifteenth-century chronicles (with the exception of Adam Usk) present an image of the Welsh in the revolt narratives as though they were a homogenous community with identifiable

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[120] See Chapter Three. For a discussion of the connection between the people of Wales, landscape and rebellion see Chapter Six.
[121] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.22-23.
[122] 'Interea ut ⁕pes nulla requietis e⁕⁕t, Vallia quæ ⁕emper ad novos motus intenta erat, mutuis quorundam nobilium di⁕sidijs exagitata, ad defection& propemodum ⁕pectare uidebatur.' Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432. See Appendix One, Passage 7a.

shared characteristics, in the Tudor chronicles the Welsh are discussed with greater diversity. For instance, in Polydore Vergil's account of the initiation of the rebellion, cited above, he suggests that the revolt was caused by internal problems, namely, the 'mutual bickering of its nobles.' This is a significant shift away from the notion of the rebellion as initiated because of conflicts between Owain Glynd) r, and Lord Grey, or Henry IV which featured a formula of 'Welsh' against 'English'. In Vergil the cause of the rebellion was internal to Wales. Vergil's view of the initiation of the revolt is not found in the other examined chronicles. The anonymity of Vergil's bickering Welsh nobles is significant in isolating a sub-group within the 'Welsh', but it is also a comment concerning the social structure of Wales itself. The Welsh nobility of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was not unified under one ruler, but rather was a fragmented patchwork of lordships that existed alongside crown land and Marcher lordships held by members of the English nobility.[123] There is an implicit understanding here that all these lordships were really subject to the English crown; the argument over separate nationalities, so prominent in the early fifteenth century has been completely superseded and ignored by the early Tudor chroniclers. Here, Vergil points to this fragmentation as the major factor contributing to the outbreak of the revolt. Vergil continues his introduction to the revolt narrative by exploring the impact of the nobles' bickering upon the Welsh as a collective whole:

> When the king found this out, he hastened there with an army, and was scarce two days away when the terrified Welsh swiftly stole away to their forests and marshes, no doubt despairing that they could resist the royal forces. But this flight was not the salvation of them all, since some were captured there and suffered their deserved comeuppance.[124]

Vergil's account is significant in deflecting blame for the initiation of the rebellion away from Henry IV. Moreover, the apparent purpose of Vergil identifying and commenting upon various smaller communal groups (here the nobility of Wales) was not to discuss the Welsh in a complimentary way, but rather to construct an image of the Welsh as fractured and divided.

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[123] R.R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change 1063-1415*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987, pp.391-411. See also his appendix, which lists the major Anglo-Norman lordships in Wales and which families held them, pp.466-472.

[124] 'Quod ubi rex cognouit, eo celeriter cum exercitu profici✳citur, qui uix aberat bidui, cum Valli perterriti ✳e✳e raptim in ✳yluas atq[ue] paludes abdiderunt, copijs regijs po✳e✳ e re✳i✳tere, non dubitanter de✳perantes: n' omnibus tamen fuga ✳aluti fuit, quippe aliquot in ea capti merita poena afficiuntur.' Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432. See Appendix One, Passage 7a.

The depictions of the Welsh by Halle and Vergil in the revolt narratives as 'wilde and savage' and 'waueryng Welshemen' and as 'bickering nobles' are difficult to understand given that these narratives were written, and in Vergil's case dedicated to, successive Tudor monarchs.[125]   However, the fragmented and wavering 'Welsh' of the revolt narratives of Halle and Vergil can be understood within the context of two broader themes.   Firstly, such representations of the Welsh justified an official merger with England.[126]   The Act of Union was introduced between 1536 and 1543 in the reign of Henry VIII, and established the formal assimilation of England and Wales.   Such measures included, for instance, the abolition of Welsh law and the marcher lordships.[127]   The representation of the 'Welsh' pre-1485 as chaotic, disordered and unstructured, particularly in terms of centralised authority, highlighted the triumph that the reign of Henry VII brought to such a disorganised group of people.   Alistair Fox argues in his *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII* that Vergil's whole work figures fifteenth-century English history, historiography, and literature as chaotic, fragmentary and unstable, and the first two Tudor monarchs as rectifying the problems politically, and in historiography and literature.[128]   Both the Welsh and English are presented as being reformed and unified under the Tudors.

Both Halle and Vergil composed their chronicle narratives during or after the period of the Act of Union; Vergil wrote and re-edited his *Historia Anglica* over a thirty-year period, resulting in the publication of a third edition in 1555.   Halle's *Chronicle* was unfinished when he died in 1547, and it first appeared in print the following year.   Tudor chroniclers could justify the Union of Wales, and indeed celebrate the accession of the Tudor monarchs.   The second point concerns the implications for the Welsh depicted in Vergil's revolt narratives of his outright rejection of the role of

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[125] Polydore Vergil dedicated his *Historia Anglica* to Henry VIII, although it was Henry VII who initially encouraged Vergil to write a history of England.

[126] Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change*, p.392.

[127] See Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Act of Union*, Headstart History, Bangor, 1992. The effect of the Act of Union on elements of Welsh nation identity, such as language and law, has been the topic of much discussion in modern scholarship. Peter Roberts for instance, suggests that 'Wales and Welsh identity emerged from the imperial programme of the Tudors strengthened rather than undermined.' Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British inheritance', *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707*, Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds, University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge, 1998, p.8.

[128] Alistair Fox, *Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1989, esp. pp.110-113.

Brutus in the founding of Britain. Polydore Vergil's scepticism with regards to the authenticity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history has been well documented in modern scholarship.[129] Vergil is the only chronicler to document internal 'Welsh' sources of pressures leading to the revolt, as opposed to an external 'English' source. One reading of this shift is as a product of dislocation of the foundation myth, and hence of the ancient connection between the 'English' and the 'Welsh'.

Lastly, there is a shift in the documented role of the Tudor family in the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. On the 1st April, 1401, two brothers, Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudur captured Conwy Castle in North Wales, and manage to hold the castle until about May or June, despite the best efforts of the English soldiers.[130] The incident has captured the imagination of modern scholars of Welsh history, who comment on the daring shown and risk taken by a very small group of men who managed to successfully lay siege to what has been referred to as 'one of the mightiest strongholds in the whole of Europe.'[131] While the act of successfully taking and holding such a castle was itself significant, this siege is of interest for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is significant because of the people who were involved. The Tudur brothers Goronwy (d.1382), Ednyfed, Rhys (executed at Chester 1412), Gwilym, and Maredudd held extensive lands in the Isle of Anglesey and the brothers, particularly Rhys and Gwilym had won distinction for service to the Black Prince in Gascony, and Richard II in Ireland.[132] Furthermore, the Tudurs were first cousins to Owain Glynd)r[133] and Maredudd was the great-grandfather of the first Tudur/ Tudor king, Henry VII.

Secondly, this siege is noteworthy because it is recorded in only two of the sixteen chronicles examined, and both of these were written contemporaneously to the events. There is no record of this event in the examined Tudor chronicles. It is only

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[129] See Alan Lupack, 'The Arthurian Legend in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in Helen Fulton, ed., *Companion to Arthurian Literature,* Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2009, p.341; Grandsen, *Historical Writing in England*, Volume II, pp.436-437.

[130] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, pp.103-104.

[131] K. Williams-Jones, 'The Taking of Conwy Castle, 1401', *Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society*, Vol 39 (1978), p.7.

[132] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, p.52.

[133] The mothers of both Owain Glynd)r and the five Tudor brothers were sisters. For a genealogical table, see R.R. Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, table 3, p.209.

Adam Usk and the *Dieulacres* chronicler who record this event, and indeed provide detailed examinations of the siege. The *Dieulacres Chronicle* records:

> In this year on the day of Good Friday, at the hour of Tenebrae a certain Welshman, William ap Tudor, captured the castle of Conwy by fraud and treachery while the guardian John Massey of Podyngton, military captain, was absent.
>
> It is said that in the castle at the hour mentioned above three Welsh servants and two English guards remained while the others were occupied in divine service (mass) in the church of the parish; and so when the English had treacherously been killed by them they claimed the castle; in a short time worn out by a siege, when a truce was made on the feast of John the Baptist, and peace conceded to all except eight of them, they returned it into the hands of their ruler.[134]

Adam Usk provides a similar account, although he names the involvement of two brothers (rather than the one recorded in the *Dieulacres Chronicle*). Adam names them as 'Wyllylmus ap Tedur et Reys ap Tedur' and provides more information concerning their background, stating that they 'came from the island of Anglesey or Mon.'[135] Both chroniclers record that the castle was taken through fraudulent means and not by skill, and during Easter celebrations, emphasising the trickery and un-chivalric nature of the siege.[136] The result is an altogether negative depiction of the Tudor brothers within these two chronicles.

Silence on this event by the examined chronicles of later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is significant; however, there is a degree of speculation that comes with discussing such silences. It is difficult to know whether the absence of the siege of

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[134] 'Eodem anno quidam Wallencium, Willelmus ap Tuder in die Parasceves hora tenebrarum dolo et fraude, custode absente, Iohanne Massey de Podyngton milite capitaneo castellum de Conway cepit.
Fertur siquidem in dicto castello hora supradicta tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servicio divinio in ecclesia parochiali occupatis remansisse; sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis, castellum vendicarunt; parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste treugis factis et pace concessa omnibus octo exceptis in manum principis reddiderunt.' *Dieulacres Chronicle*, pp.175-176. See Appendix One, Passage 4d.

[135] 'On this same day, Good Friday, the brothers William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor, who came from the island of Angelsey or Mon, since they failed to obtain the king's pardon for their part in the rising led by the aforesaid Owen, along with another forty men entered Conway Castle, which was most securely fortified with arms and provisions, and seized it as their stronghold, two of the watch having been killed after being tricked by one of the carpenters claiming that he was simply coming to do his usual work. Being immediately besieged by the prince and the people of the surrounding area, however, on 28 May following having deceitfully bound from behind nine of their fellows whom the prince particularly loathed, while they were sleeping following the night watch, they surrendered the castle on condition that their lives and the lives of others would be spared- a most shameful thing for them to have done, and an act of treachery against their fellows. They then promptly stood and watched while these nine, still bound, were handed over to the prince, and firstly drawn, and then disembowelled, hanged, beheaded and quartered.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.129.

[136] See Chapter Three.

Conwy Castle and of the role of the Tudors in the revolt narratives was simply the product of transmission. Certainly, there is no evidence that the chronicle of Adam Usk, of which there was only one known manuscript, was circulated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[137] Although the circulation of the *Dieulacres Chronicle* has been relatively little studied, it would appear that it too did not have wide circulation. However, the *Dieulacres'* account of the siege of Conwy Castle appears verbatim in the *Chronique de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre*.[138] This is an early fifteenth-century French chronicle possibly written by a member of the entourage of Richard II's wife, Isabella, while in England.[139] It is possible that the later chroniclers could have known of the siege of Conwy Castle through this French chronicle.

The English antiquarian John Leland (d.1552), in his *Itinerary* provides a detailed genealogy for Henry VII which includes his Welsh ancestry. Furthermore, Leland records that Owain Glynd)r and Maredudd Tudor (referred to as 'Meredik' by Leland) were first cousins. These appear as part of his reflections on 'Merionethshire' in north-western Wales. He records:

> Merionethshire [in margin]
>
> Owen Glyndour dwellid yn this commot.
>
> Lluelin ap Irrwarth Droyndon Prince of al Wales, had Grifith. Grifith had Lluelin. Lluelin had Catarine his heire. Catarine had Eleanor. Eleanor had Hele and Catarine. This Helene was mother to Owain Glindoure. Catarine had Meredik. Meredik had Owen. Owen had Edmunde Erle of Richemonde, and Gasper Erle of Penbroke. Edmunde had Henry the VII. Henry was, as I hard, posthumus.[140]

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[137] See Given-Wilson, 'Introduction', *The Chronicle of Adam Usk,* pp.xxxviii-xlii.

[138] 'Eodem anno quidam Wallensium, Willielmus ap Tudor, in die Parasceves, hora Tenebrarum, dolo et fraude, custode absente Johanne Massy de Padington milite capitaneo, castellum de Conway cepit. Fertur siquidem in dicto castello, hora supradicta, tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servitio divino in ecclesia parochiali occupatis, remansisse; sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis castellum vendicarunt; parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptistae, treugis factis, et pace concessa omnibus, octo exceptis, in manum principis se reddiderunt.' *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre: Mise en Lumière d'après un Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale de Paris, autrefois Conservé dans l'Abbaye de S. Victor; avec les Variantes Fourniés par Dix Autres Manuscrits, des éclaircissements, et un Glossaire,* Benjamin Williams (ed.), Bentley, London, 1846, p.284.

[139] Peter S. Noble, 'Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richart Deux Roy d'Engleterre', *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Brill, Leiden, 2010, p.438.

[140] *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1536 to 1539 Part VI*, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith, Volume Three, London, Centaur Press, 1964, p.78.

While Leland does not mention the siege of the castle, the connection between Owain Glynd)r and Maredudd is important and indeed is reported accurately; Owain Glynd)r and Maredudd were first cousins through their mothers, who were sisters.

The Tudor chroniclers impose a whole new understanding of England and Wales, in which firstly, the question of a separate Welsh national identity was firmly, though implicitly, quashed, and the Welsh simply assumed to be part of a whole English nation. Secondly, especially in Polydore Vergil, a history was constructed of that (supposedly) unitary fifteenth century nation as in fact a lawless, fragmented, polity, riven by rebellious, arrogant, and mutually contending magnate rivalries, of which the Welsh rebellion was only an extreme example. Thirdly, therefore, a picture was developed of the Welsh as representing the extreme fringe of such 'wavering' and arrogant lordships, and fourthly, the Tudors could be figured as the heroes who fixed up all the shortcomings of their political forebears, whether English or Welsh.

IV

Conclusions

Representations of the Welsh in the revolt narratives are complex. The revolt narratives are part of a discourse that constructs and reflects upon national identity in this period; the term 'Welsh', for instance, may appear to be simple, however, it has attached to it wider notions of ethnicity and history. The use of specific terminology, as well as descriptions of nationalising traits, suggests a wider tendency to construct the 'Welsh' in the revolt narratives based upon concepts of national identity. However, there is a duality to these depictions, which simultaneously embraces and distances the Welsh. In particular, the claims made through the foundation story of Brutus and his sons play this double game. The coming of the Tudor monarchs does not mark a complete shift in the depiction of the Welsh in the chronicles, despite the Tudors' parading of Welshness. It would appear that in the Tudor chronicles, the same political imperatives, which had motivated the dual perception of the Welsh as

both same and other, continued to operate. Wales still had to be part of the Union, but a subordinate part.

Chapter Six

'That bareine, vnfertile and depopulate countrey': Imagining Wales in the Narratives of the Revolt

> The kinge had neu*er* but tempests foule and rayne,
>
> As longe as he was ay in Wales grounde,
>
> Rokes and mystes, wyndes and stormes eu*er* certeyne,
>
> All men trowed wiches it made that stounde.
>
> The commons all ⅞an of al Englong grounde,
>
> Waried his gate to Wales ev*er*y yere,
>
> For hay and corne were lorne bothe two in fere,
>
> Whiche made grete derth and of catayle morayn,
>
> And Ewayn ay in hilles and in mounteynes
>
> Kept ful stronge, the kynge ay wroght in vayne;[1]

Hardyng's description of Wales, taken from the second version of his chronicle, tells of an imagined terrain that is mountainous and prone to tempests and bad weather. It is an image of Wales that is typical amongst the examined chronicles. The verbose Halle and Holinshed favour broad sweeping statements that leave no doubts as to what the imagined terrain was like. Halle calls Wales a 'bareine vnfertile and depopulate countrey' and a few lines later a 'barraine and hilly countrey.'[2] Holinshed's account follows Halle almost verbatim (indeed he acknowledges Halle within his text) calling Wales a land of 'de∫art grounds and barren co(try.'[3] However, for the most part chroniclers report smaller details that when taken as a series of images generate a considered perception of Wales as a place dominated by mountains, thick wooded forest, soggy marshes and an undeveloped built landscape. These descriptions of Wales are created out of a repertoire of images. Analysis of

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[1] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.
[2] Hall, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[3] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1150.

the examined narratives of the reign of Henry IV reveals that no other place, such as Scotland or France, is provided with such detailed accounts of landscape, and indeed of the weather. This chapter explores the reasons behind the inclusion of various landscape features, both natural and human-made, in the narratives of the revolt and analyses what they contribute to the overall image of Wales. This analysis is crucial to an understanding of the revolt narratives because the environment provides meaning and significance to the events described and the people involved.

All the chroniclers except one, John Rous, use the term 'Wales' in their revolt narratives as an integral part of their overall construction of the places and landscapes associated with the revolt. Many refer to 'Wales' in their introductory statement in order to denote setting and location, before offering more specific examples of landscape features in later entries. Robert Fabyan, for instance, writing in the early sixteenth century, begins his revolt narrative with:

> And in this yere began a great dicension in Walys atwene the lorde Gray Ryffyn, & a Welsheman named Howen of Glendore, which Howen gatheryd to hym great strength of welshemen, and dyd moche harme to that countrey.[4]

These may seem trite observations: how were chroniclers to refer to a Welsh uprising without naming Wales as its location? Yet the term Wales was by no means as simple, or as value-free, as it may at first appear.

Fabyan's passage is emphatic in providing the setting for the 'great dicension' being in Wales, but also in connecting an individual (a Welsheman) and a community (Welshemen) to that locale. Like Fabyan, many of the chroniclers connect the nature of the place with the revolt, such as Polydore Vergil, whose introduction to the revolt states,

> Meanwhile, so there would be no hope for quiet, Wales, ever prone to new risings, was troubled by the mutual bickering of its nobles and seemed on the verge of rebellion.[5]

Likewise, the *Continuatio Eulogii*, Adam Usk (although as will be discussed, he specifies North Wales), *An English Chronicle* and Halle all refer to Wales from the

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[4] Fabyan, *New Chronicles*, p.569.
[5] 'Interea ut ſpes nulla requietis eſſet, Vallia quæ ſemper ad novos motus intenta erat, mutuis quorundam nobilium diſsidijs exagitata, ad defection& propemodum ſpectare uidebatur.' Poydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432. See Appendix One, Passage 7a.

outset and several other chroniclers, including Thomas Walsingham and the author of these *Historia Vitae*, take a few sentences or even paragraphs. John Rous, however, does not cite Wales in his narratives of the revolt; the only hint at location is provided by referring to Owain Glynd*r as 'a Welshman.'[6] Rous's revolt narrative is not long, and is primarily an exploration of the relationship between Owain Glynd*r and the Earl of Arundel through a series of vibrant images.[7] While the connection of specific spaces to individuals is an important part of Rous's narrative (for instance Arundel is connected to a garden[8]), 'Wales' and its landscape are not a feature.

While all of the chroniclers (except Rous) refer to 'Wales', to what extent does the use of the term 'Wales' encapsulate ideas of place? The term Wales is multifaceted and requires some preliminary remarks. Wales is, as suggested above, a geographical location. In terms of narrative, the term 'Wales' provides a name to the material setting and backdrop to the events of the revolt. However, as discussed in the Introduction, over the considered timeframe 'Wales' was not static.[9] Geographically, there were several landscape features, both natural and human-made, such as Offa's Dyke and the Severn Sea that were traditionally viewed as markers between England and Wales.[10] However, politically, and indeed culturally, the border between England and Wales has a complicated history. Wales was a blurring of peoples and of cultures, a point best demonstrated by the March of Wales, a series of lordships on the border between England and Wales held predominantly by English noble families.[11] In existence since the Norman period, and abolished as part of the 1536 Act of Union, the Marcher lordships essentially created a buffer zone between England and Wales. During the existence of the March, the border between England and Wales fluctuated depending on the circumstances of the Marcher Lords, as well as political circumstances in England and Wales.[12]

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[6] Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207.
[7] See Chapter Four, especially Section II.
[8] See Chapter Four, especially Section II.
[9] See the Introduction, especially Section II.
[10] R.R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987, pp.3-4.
[11] See Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales, 1067-1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain*, University of Wales Press, 2008.
[12] Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415*, p.7.

It is the associated notions of nationhood and national identity that are attached to the term 'Wales' which are arguably the most complex and significant for this chapter. As discussed in the previous chapter, ideas of nation were socially constructed and based primarily upon understandings of common descent, language, and customs.[13] Discussed was the concept of *collectio*, which denoted an assembling together of people. These people are not scattered over the world or in piecemeal groups, but rather they are pockets of socially grouped people within close proximity to one another, who occupy a specific and demarcated space. In their occupation this space becomes a place and will inevitably have a geographical context and develop into a political entity.

Terms such as landscape and place require some introductory remarks. Although these two terms often appear together, they have quite separate meanings. As Tim Cresswell writes in his *Place: A Short Introduction*:

> Landscape is an intensely visual idea. In most definitions of landscape the viewer is outside of it. This is the primary way in which it differs from place. Places are very much things to be inside of.[14]

Landscape is usually associated with description and observation; for the context of this thesis, landscape is a useful term for describing the imagined material reality of Wales as it is constructed in the narratives of the revolt by the chroniclers. A place, on the other hand, is a meaningful landscape and is commonly considered to be a space that has a degree of familiarity and attachment for an individual or a community. It requires people to define it, possibly inhabit it, and maybe even provide the locale with a name.[15] Recognition of concepts of place provides a constructive framework for analysis of the particulars of 'Wales' as it is represented in the revolt narratives. However, the revolt narratives are not an account of how a particular community views its own native place, but rather present notions of Wales from the perspective of outsiders. The examined chroniclers are all either English or at least, in the cases of Adam Usk and Polydore Vergil, present largely English perspectives on events in Wales. The 'Wales' of the revolt narratives is the product

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[13] See Chapter Five, especially Section II.

[14] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2004, p.10.

[15] For a further discussion, see my '"*In Loco Amoenissimo*": Fifteenth Century St Albans and the Role of Place in Thomas Walsingham's Description of Wales', *Place: an Interdisciplinary e-journal*, Volume 2, (April 2008), pp.1-18.

of how chroniclers imagine such a place and landscape, and, moreover, how the chroniclers imagine that individuals and communities engage with such a place.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the chroniclers' descriptions of the landscape of Wales, both natural and built. The second section explores Wales as a place. Under investigation here are the ways in which the imagined narrative subjects (that is, the individuals and communities involved with the revolt as discussed in Chapters Four and Five) experience the landscape of Wales. The main question put forward here is: how do the chroniclers construct a landscape that is meaningful for the imagined individuals and communities who encounter and inhabit it? The third and final section of this chapter explores connections between the chroniclers and their narrative descriptions of the imagined Wales. Taking two case studies of the chronicles of Adam Usk and Thomas Walsingham, this section explores connections between the chronicler and Wales, and an analysis of implications for the ways in which Wales is imagined in the narratives of the revolt.

I

Describing Wales

Place and landscape are important elements of the revolt narratives. The chroniclers skilfully and carefully describe Wales, and furthermore, utilise these landscapes as a means by which to explore broader notions, such as ideas of community and kingship. The following section seeks to articulate the range of features that appear in the revolt narratives, the significance of which will be analysed in the section that follows. Appearing throughout the narratives of the revolt are references to natural and built landscape features. Most commonly these features are recorded to describe the places in which the followers of Owain Glynd*r 'lurk' and from which they launch guerrilla warfare against Henry IV and his army. There are many variations as to exactly in what landscape features the 'Welsh' hide. For instance, the *Dieulacres Chronicle* tells us that it is 'in mountains, woods and the caverns of the

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earth'[16]; the *Historia Vitae* records that it was the 'mountains of Wales'[17], and then further refines this to be the 'caves and mountains of Wales'[18] on three other occasions. For Polydore Vergil the 'Welsh' lurk 'in woods and swamps.'[19] These landscape features, and particularly the variety displayed, are significant in providing a sense of place. In particular, the landscapes of Wales in the revolt narratives are described as strange and alien.

The mountains of Wales are the most common landscape feature in the narratives of the revolt, with twenty-eight individual references across the examined chronicles. For the most part these mountains remain unnamed, and are simply referred to as 'montes' or 'mounteynes.' However, Adam Usk, Thomas Walsingham (in both chronicles), the *Historia Vitae*, Capgrave in his *Abbreviation of Cronicles*, and Holinshed provide a specific name, Snowdonia, at least once in their narrative.[20] Significantly, and perhaps as a product of his knowledge of Wales, it is only Adam Usk who provides a precise location for Snowdonia, stating the mountains to be in the 'north of Wales' on two separate occasions.[21] Furthermore, there is a correlation between identification of Snowdonia and further detailing of geography in the revolt narratives. Chroniclers who name Snowdonia are more likely to include a range of other geographical features associated with events of the revolt, such as Milford Haven[22] and the Severn Sea.[23] This suggests that these chroniclers were

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[16] 'In montibus, boscis et cavernis terre', *Dieulacres Chronicle,* p.176.

[17] 'De montibus Wallie', *Historia Vitae,* p.172.

[18] *Historia Vitae*: 'speluncis et montibus Wallie' p.168; 'in montes de Snowdonn et speluncas Wallie' p.172; 'in montes et speluncas de Snodonn in Wallia' p.173.

[19] 'In sylvas atque paludes', Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432.

[20] Adam Usk, *Chronicle:* 'Snowdonia' p.101, 'mountain strongholds of Snowdonia' p.144, 'mountains of Snowdonia' p.147, 'mountains of Snowdonia' p.173, 'valleys and passes of Snowdon' p.242; Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*: 'Montes Snowdoune' p.246; Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*: 'Montes Snowdoniae' p.334; *Historia Vitae*, 'in montes de Snowdonn et speluncas Wallie' p.172, 'in montes et speluncas de Snodonn in Wallia' p.173; Capgrave*, Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, 'hillis of Snowdon', p.217; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, 'Mountaines of Snowdone', p.1132.

[21] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*: 'mountains and forests of North Wales' p.242 and 'mountains of Snowdonia in the north of Wales' p.173.

[22] Milford Haven: Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, 'portum de Mylleford', p.272; Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*: 'Milleford', p.415; Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, 'Mylforth Haue', p.230; Halle, *Chronicle,* 'Milford hauen', p.25; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4: 'Milford hauen' p.1149, 'Hauen of Milford' p.1150.

[23] Severn Sea: Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.173; Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.509:'Seuerne'; Halle, *Chronicle*, 'West side of Seuerne', p.23, 'Seuerne' twice on p.28; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, 'Severne' twice on p.1137.

geographically aware, and indeed, were interested in constructing a rich and detailed landscape.

The named and unnamed mountains of Wales have attached associations which contribute to the revolt narrative, invoking images of danger, magic and mystery. As R.R. Davies explains, there is a tradition, both English and Welsh, that views the mountains of Snowdonia (in Welsh: Eryri) as a powerful natural landscape feature. Notions of Snowdonia as wild and rugged, and impassable for travellers, whilst providing a place of sanctuary for the 'Welsh', have been long detailed. For instance, John of Salisbury wrote in the twelfth century that 'the king of England has set out on his journey to conquer the Welsh in their Alps and sub-Alps.'[24] Furthermore, Adam Usk records his views of Snowdonia, calling the mountains there 'the source of all the evils in Wales.'[25] While the unnamed mountains recorded in the examined revolt narratives could be identified as one of several ranges that sweep through the central corridor of Wales from the south to the north, the absence of a name for the mountains is in itself suggestive of otherness and strangeness. Lacking a locale or a name, the mountains of their revolt narratives become abstract places that are characterised by unknown mysteries, danger and deception. The use of abstract mountains creates an unknown quantity and constructed isolation, which in turn generates associated fear of the unknown.

Caves are frequently linked to the mountains, both unnamed and named, in the revolt narratives. The *Dieulacres Chronicle* and the *Historia Vitae* along with John Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, which tells us the rebels hid in 'mountains and caverns of Wales'[26], are several such examples. Adam Usk is the only chronicler to link caves with other landscape features, for instance, he links 'caves and wooded mountainsides'[27] and caves with forests and woods.[28] The image of a mountain dotted with deep caverns of unknown mysteries furthers the notion of these places as magical and dangerous. While on the one hand caves were traditionally places for bandits and outlaws to escape, on the other they are magical places that not

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[24] Davis, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, p.21; Letters of John of Salisbury, W.J. Millor et al, eds, 1955-79. i., p.52.
[25] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.173.
[26] 'montibus et cavernis Walliae', Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis,* p.110.
[27] Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, p.243.
[28] Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, 'caves and forests' p.163, 'caves and woods' p.173.

only provide seclusion, but are frequently presented as timeless and allochronic. As Henken has explored in her survey of folklore associated with Owain Glynd* r, there is a tradition still prominent in Wales in which Owain Glynd* r is considered not to be dead but to be asleep in a cave, from which he will one day emerge to lead an independent Wales.[29] Furthermore, caves have attached notions of primitiveness; located far away from civilisation, the communities that inhabit them are backward.[30] The multiple accounts of the rebels descending from the belly of the mountains to raid and kill the English of the area reinforce this notion. Halle and following him Holinshed, the only two of the sixteenth-century chroniclers to record caves in their revolt narratives, both refer to the caves as being 'solitary', recording that Owain Glynd* r and his followers 'fled into desert places and solitary caues.'[31] These caves are isolated not only in terms of being on a secluded mountain, but are constructed as far removed from centres of civilisation.

Swamps and marshes first appear in the examined revolt narratives from the sixteenth century. They appear in Vergil, Halle[32] and Holinshed, who for instance records that before fighting at the Battle of Shrewsbury, the 'Welchmen' were 'lurking in the woddes, mountaines, and mari∓hes.'[33] The appearance of the swamps in the revolt narratives can perhaps be accounted for by the rise in popularity of the work of Gerald of Wales, who says that the Welsh live 'in the worst corner ..., amongst woods and marshes; and banished, as it were.'[34] Holinshed certainly used Gerald's *Topographia Hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae*, which he refers to directly in the chronicle text and records Giraldus Cambren∓is in his list of authors cited at the front of his chronicle.[35] The addition of swamps into the revolt narratives emphasises the notion of Wales as an unliveable and unproductive place, and

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[29] Henken, *National Redeemer*, pp.80-87.

[30] See Chapter Five.

[31] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.31; Holinshed, 'de∓art places and ∓olitarie Caues', *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1155.

[32] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.31; 'Valli perterriti sese raptim in sylvas atque paludes abdiderunt', Vergil, *Historia Anglica* p.432.

[33] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1139.

[34] Geraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wale*s, in Llywelyn Williams, ed., *The Itinerary Through Wales: Description of Wales*, Everyman, London, 1908, p.205. On the popularity of Gerald's work, see Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146- 1223*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1982, pp.213-221.

[35] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 1, p.6.

furthermore projects a popular, and yet simplified, topography onto the 'Wales' of the revolt narratives.

While the overall image of Wales remains one dominated by wilderness landscape features, there are references to built landscapes throughout the narratives of the revolt. Many of these are passing references, recorded names of towns, castles and places that were affected by the revolt. For instance, the opening sentence on the revolt from the *Dieulacres Chronicle* reads,

> In the year 1400 a certain evil-doer and rebel with his Welsh companions of the race of the Britons whose name in fact was Owain Glynd*r, setting himself up as the Prince of Wales by the law of his ancestors, plundered and burned English townships in Wales, more specifically, Conwy, Ruthin and Oswestry and others both walled and bare. The land of Wales, having been conquered in the time of Edward I, was recognised as distinct.[36]

While there are differences in what is recorded between the chronicle narratives, there are some places that consistently appear. For instance, the towns of Usk[37], Welshpool[38], Ruthin[39], Denbigh[40] and Carmarthen[41] are recorded. The castles that commonly appear include Aberystwyth[42] and Conwy[43], as well as the Abbey of Strata Florida.[44] Analysis of the chroniclers' references to particular built landscapes reveals several patterns. For instance, the *Dieulacres Chronicle* illustrates the purposefulness with which the towns named in the narratives of the revolt are

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[36] 'Anno domini millesimo CCCC^mo quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndouur erat, figens se iure progenitorum suorum principem Wallie fore villas angligenas in Wallia, scilicet, Conway, Ruthyn, Oswaldistr et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit. Quequidem terra Wallie tempore regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.' *Dieulacres Chronicle,* p.175. See Appendix One, Passage 4a.

[37] 'Usk': Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, p.129 (twice), p.147, p.193, p.213; Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.399; Holinshed, 'Hu+ke' (Usk) *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1145.

[38] Welshpool: Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, 'villa de Pola', p.145, p.147; *Historia Vitae*, 'le pole' p.170; *Dieulacres Chronicle*, 'Le Pole', p.176.

[39] 'Ruthin': Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, p.147; *Historia Vitae*, 'Rythynn', p168, 'Rithyn', p.168 and p.172; *Dieulacres Chronicle*, 'Ruthyn' p.175.

[40] Denbigh: Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, 'Denbigh' p.149; Halle, *Chronicle*, 'Denbigh' p.25; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, 'Denhigh' p.1150.

[41] Carmarthen: Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Angliciana*, 'Urbem Kaermerdyn', p.272; Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, 'Kaermerdyn' p.415. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, 'Carmarden' p.1150

[42] Aberystwyth Castle: Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, 'castrum de Abrustwythe', p.277; Thomas Walsingham, *The St. Albans Chronicle*, 'castrum de Abrustewith' p.24; Capgrave *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, 'castell of Abrustwith', p.232; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, 'ca+tell of Abiru+ewith' p.1152.

[43] Conwy Castle: Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.129; *Dieulacres Chronicle*, 'Castellum de Conway', p.175.

[44] Abbey of Strata Florida: Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, 'Stratflur', p.145; Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, 'Stratflorida' p.25; *Historia Vitae*, ''Stretflur', p.170.

recorded. The chronicler records Ruthin, Oswestry and Conwy as centres that were attacked by the rebels in their first venture. While these three towns were significant trading centres for the English, making them extremely good targets for the rebels,[45] this particular selection of towns (which were chosen amongst several options) serves to illustrate the geographical extent of the revolt in Wales. These three towns cover a range of places; Oswestry was part of the Arundel family estate and is on the border with England, Ruthin was held by the Grey family and is in the March of Wales, and Conwy is in the Principality of Wales. Furthermore, it assumes that the reader was well acquainted with Welsh geography and able to recognise the significance of these selected towns. It would appear then that these three towns served to illustrate not only the geographical spread of the first events of the revolt, but furthermore, the listing of these towns invokes an image of the rebels' movement around Wales without the need for a more explicit description.

It is clear that the towns mentioned in the *Dieulacres Chronicle* are part of a strategy in which several built landscape features were purposefully selected. Furthermore, there are several places that are only mentioned in the contemporary chronicles and are not carried down to the next generation of chroniclers, suggesting that these were resolutely ignored by the later chroniclers, or were not of interest to them. For instance, the town of Ruthin and the Abbey of Strata Florida only appear in the contemporary chronicles. The absence of Ruthin is surprising given that four of the five contemporary chronicles refer to property held by Reginald Lord Grey in Ruthin as being the place the rebels first attacked.[46] This may well be the product of not wanting to draw attention to Grey by chroniclers who used him as a substitute for Edmund Mortimer.[47] The Abbey of Strata Florida too only appears in the contemporary chronicles. Its absence from the narratives of the revolt is curious, but can perhaps be linked to the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1540s and a general indifference to the plight of the abbeys of Wales. On the other hand, Pembroke Castle appears only in the sixteenth-century revolt narratives, and is recorded in both Halle and Holinshed. In his account of a French raiding party, who had come to Wales at the request of Owain Glynd* r, Holinshed records that,

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[45] Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn D r*, pp.6-10.
[46] Ruthin is missing from the *Continuatio Eulogii.*
[47] As noted in Chapter Four, Reginald Lord Grey was a useful substitute for Edmund Mortimer in narratives that deal with the marriage of Owain Glynd* r's daughter. See Chapter Four, Section II.

> The Ca∫tell of Penbrooke they attempted not, e∫teeming it to be ∫o wel manned, that
>
> he ∫huld but lo∫e their labor in attempting it.[48]

Halle tells us that the French left 'the castel of Penbroke vnassaulted, because it was well fortified, manned, and vitailed.'[49] The appearance of Pembroke Castle in Halle's and Holinshed's revolt narratives is interesting within the context of commemoration. It was at Pembroke Castle that Henry VII was born in 1457 and no doubt the reference to the castle as well looked after and fortified, one of the few such references across the examined revolt narratives, aimed at providing recognition and praise to the Tudor family. It is significant that this important reference to the past is constructed through an identified place. Pembroke Castle was in fact held by the crown during the revolt and was not in the possession of the Tudors until 1452.[50] Regardless, the sudden appearance of Pembroke Castle in sixteenth-century narratives of the revolt illustrates the purposeful inclusion of specific places within the revolt narratives for contemporary political purposes.

Adam Usk's revolt narrative is once more an idiosyncratic study. The number of named places that Adam Usk records is far greater than that provided by any other examined revolt narratives, although his account of the revolt is also proportionately larger than the others. Adam lists over forty named places, whereas all of the other chronicles have fewer than ten. Holinshed is the exception to this, with around twelve named places. Amongst the many places that are unique to Adam's narrative of the revolt are the towns of Builith[51], Abergavenny[52], Caerleon[53], Knighton[54], Barnmouth[55], 'Machynlleth'[56] and Caernarvon.[57] He alone mentions the castles of Harlech[58] and Newport[59], and that there were castles in the towns of Usk[60] and Welshpool.[61] Adam detailed knowledge of places around Wales; for instance, he

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[48] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1150.
[49] Pembroke Castle: Halle, *Chronicle*, 'castel of Penbroke', p.25
[50] Henry VII's uncle Jasper Tudor acquired Pembroke Castle in 1452.
[51] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.117.
[52] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, twice on p.129, once on p.131 and p.133.
[53] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.147.
[54] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.159.
[55] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.239.
[56] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.177.
[57] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.149
[58] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.161.
[59] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.161.
[60] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.161 and p.213.
[61] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.239.

refs to 'St Winefride's well in North Wales'.[62] Frequently, Adam elaborates on the exact location of the place that he names; for instance, he records 'Caeo in the county of Cardigan'[63] and 'Usk in the diocese of Llandaff.'[64] Adam provides the names of numerous counties within Wales that other chroniclers do not, such as the 'county of 'Merioneth.'[65] Furthermore, Adam uses the names of various towns and counties in Wales to identity various people involved with the rebellion, 'Rhys ap Tudor of Anglesey[66]' and 'David ap Ieuan Goz of the county of Cardigan'[67] are two such examples.

Adam's personal association with Wales, and more specifically with Usk in the south of Wales, accounts for this well-constructed landscape in his narrative. Indeed, Adam documents his attachment to Usk, referring in his chronicle to 'Usk, my birthplace.'[68] Furthermore he tells us of events he encountered as a child around the town of Usk, including a two-headed calf.[69] As discussed in Chapter Five, Adam intentionally associated himself with south Wales, and distances himself from the rebellious north.[70] However, the geographical scope of the places Adam Usk lists is by no means limited to the south of Wales or to places surrounding Usk. For instance, Adam's descriptions of events that take place at Conwy and Caernarvon in North Wales contain an extraordinary wealth of information. He records,

> On 30 January Owain and his men brutally ravaged with fire and sword the lordships
> of Ruthin in North Wales and the surrounding area, carrying the riches of the land,
> including the animals, away with him to the mountains of Snowdonia; for the most
> part, however, he spared the earl of March's lordships of Denbigh and others; he had
> at his disposal the two counties of Caernarvon and Merioneth, which supported him
> in both the war and the administration of justice. A certain knight called David ap
> Ieuan Goz of the county of Cardigan who had spent twenty years continually
> fighting alongside the king of Cyprus and other Christians against the Saracens, was

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[62] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.263.
[63] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.145.
[64] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.193.
[65] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.149.
[66] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.241.
[67] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.149.
[68] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.119.
[69] 'At about this time [in 1399], there was born at Usk a calf which had two necks, two heads, four eyes and four ears; I remember seeing a similar one, which had been aborted, in my youth, in the parish of Llancayo, in the house of a women called Llugu the daughter of Watkin.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* p.87.
[70] See Chapter Five, Section I.

sent by the king of France to the king of Scotland on Owain's behalf, but was captured by English ships and imprisoned in the tower of London.[71]

Geographically, Adam is very aware of the towns and places of North Wales, and indeed of the layout of the mountains in relation to these towns. Indeed, Adam records that he visited northern Wales and was amongst the party led by Henry IV (then Henry Bolingbroke) that landed in northern Wales to capture King Richard II at Flint Castle in 1399.[72] Adam's interest in recording landscape and place is unique amongst the examined chronicles, and furthermore is not limited to Wales but extends to his accounts of other regions too. The accounts of his travels from England to the Continent and finally to Rome from 1402 are filled with the names and detailed descriptions of numerous towns and castles which he encounters along the way. Adam Usk's chronicle is unique in this regard. The result for the revolt narrative is a rich and vibrant setting for the events of 1400 to *c*.1415.

Articulated in the revolt narratives is a range of landscape features, both named and unnamed, natural as well as built. All of these features are significant in themselves, but when taken as a whole they present a physical image of Wales dominated by harsh and difficult landscapes. The environments and places, Pembroke Castle for instance, are purposefully selected and included in the revolt narratives in order to suit particular purposes and needs. The impetus for such changes includes shifts in cultural and political circumstances in which the chronicles are written. What is significant is the extent to which the landscapes appear and are utilised by the chroniclers in their revolt narratives. Wales and its landscapes are an integral part of the revolt narratives, providing context and meaning to the events which unfold in and around them. However, as will be explored in the next section, these landscapes are not merely a backdrop to events of 1400 to *c*.1415, but rather actively determine the methods of engagement between the English and Welsh.

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[71] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* pp.147-149.
[72] Adam Usk, *Chronicle,* pp.58-60.

II

Experiencing Wales

> The Kyng … followed th& [the followers of Owain Glynd* r] into Wales, and chasing them from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to marishes, and yet could neuer haue them at any aduauntage. A world it was to see his quotidiane remouyng, his painfull and busy wandering, his troublesome and vncertaine abiding, his continual mocion, his daily peregrinacion in the deserts, felles and craggy mountains of that bareine vnfertile and depopulate countrey. And thus being tossed from countrey to countrey, from hill to vales, from marishe to wod, from mought to worse, without gaine or profite, without vitayle or succour, he was of necessitie c' pelled to retire his armie and retourne againe to Worcester … [73]

Edward Halle provides a striking visual image of Wales as a landscape dominated by hills and dales, woods and marshes; it is not a smooth terrain but rather is undulating and rough. The method by which this landscape is depicted by Halle is not simply through a narrative description, but rather through a dramatic account of the English king's experiences within this set of landscape features; we follow him up and down mountains and valleys, meandering through woods and sinking in marshes. It is not a comfortable landscape for those experiencing it. Halle's description includes imagery and terms associated with movement and time; the movement through this landscape is 'continual', 'quotidiane', and 'busy', terms that have associated feelings of great labour and heavy work attached to them.[74] Indeed Halle's language creates discomfort for the reader; the long sentences and repetition reflect the long drawn out nature of the campaign. The sentences are hard work, like the king's experiences of Wales.

In recent years modern scholarship has recognised experience as central to understanding concepts of place. As Jeff Malpas notes,

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[73] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[74] For a discussion of this image with regards to Halle's uses of time see Chapter Two.

> The crucial point about the connection between place and experience is not, however, that place is properly something only encountered 'in' experience, but rather that place is integral to the very structure and possibility of experience.[75]

The wealth of named and unnamed landscape features discussed in section one are a vital part of structuring recorded individuals and communities' experiences of Wales, and ultimately the reader's experiences of Wales. The selected landscape features create a place that is meaningful within the timeframe in which it was composed; the aforementioned reference to Pembroke Castle in the later narratives is one such example. While there are many differences between the chronicles in terms of the features that they list, they have a similar function within the narrative: to construct an imagined materiality that the narrative subjects then encounter. The 'English' and the 'Welsh' both operate within the same set of limitations imposed by the imagined landscape: they both have to cope with marshes, mountains, dales and various towns and castles. However, their resultant experiences with the same imagined place and landscape of Wales are markedly different.

The contrasting of Henry IV/English and Owain Glynd*r/Welsh experiences of Wales is one method used by the chroniclers as a means of discussing the rebellion and of constructing Wales as a place. The ease of movement around Wales is one such example; for instance, Hardyng (as cited in full at beginning of this chapter) tells us that,

> … [Henry] had neu*er* powere
> Glendor to noy, but ay his carriage clere
> Ewayne had at certain strates and passage,
> And to our*e* hoost ay ded ful grete outrage.[76]

Henry's movements around Wales are limited and confined. Here Hardyng juxtaposes the king's experiences of Wales directly against those of Owain Glynd*r. Henry experiences not only an inability to navigate the terrain but also an inability to defend himself or to launch offensives against the rebels. Holinshed (echoing Halle) makes it clear that the English army follows the exact path of the rebels, however, the English, in contrast, are restricted and forced to retreat:

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[75] Jeff Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical topography*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, pp.31-32.
[76] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 157v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.

> The Fr‚ch & Welchm‚ withdrew into Wales, and though the Engli∫he men followed,
> yet empeached with the de∫art grounds and barren co(try, through which they mu∫t
> pa∫∫e, as ouer felles and craggie mountaines, from hill to dale, from mari∫h to wood,
> from naught to wor∫e (as Hall ∫ayth) without vitailes or ∫uccor, the king was of force
> con∫trained to retire with his army, and returne againe to Worce∫ter.[77]

The English not only battle the rebels, but the landscape of Wales. Many chronicles
record on multiple occasions that Henry IV and his army were forced to retreat over
the border back into England; as described in *Continuatio Eulogii*'s narrative of the
campaign of 1403, 'the king crossed into Wales, and he had to retreat quickly
because the land was unfit for riding over.'[78] The experiences of Henry and his army
of Wales are such that they have to escape; it is a landscape that they are not
prepared for, and is isolating, unfamiliar, fearful and alarming, but it is also one that
reveals tensions.[79] Landscape and Wales as a place are themselves important
elements in the narratives of the revolt, and also provide a framework for exploring
larger issues, such as kingship, rebellion and community.

The followers of Owain Glynd*r on the other hand can move around Wales with
ease, and in particular can move quickly into and out of wilderness spaces that offer
protection and sanctuary from the English. It is not only within Wales that the rebels
can move comparatively easily, but indeed they can cross over the border into the
March and England. There are many accounts of raids in the borderlands. For
instance, Holinshed records that the 'Welshmen' were able to emerge from their
mountain hideouts and travel across the border into England to take part in the Battle
of Shrewsbury:

> The Welchmen al∫o which before had laine, lurking in the woddes, mountaines, and
> mari∫hes, hearing of this battell towarde, came to the ayde of the Percies, and
> refre∫hed the weery people with new ∫uccours.[80]

This passage expresses the ease with which the rebels were able to exit their
wilderness strongholds, and travel across the border into England and provide
'succour' to other rebel movements. That the 'Welchmen' are in such a good

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[77] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1150.
[78] 'Hoc anno Rex transit in Walliam, et quia terra est inequitabilis cito revertitur.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398.
[79] For a further discussion of the alienation of landscape see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear*, Pantheon, New York, 1979.
[80] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1139.

position, despite the uninhabitable places in which they 'lurk', reflects a hardy and versatile community, one adapted to its environment.

The level of comfort felt by both parties is an important expression of their encounters of and relationship with Wales. As the description provided by Halle at the start of this section illustrates, the king followed the followers of Owain Glynd*r up and down and around Wales to their great discomfort. Descriptions of the weather experienced by Henry IV and his army further serve to emphasise this point; the chroniclers are quite consistent in constructing Wales as a place of 'reyn and cold and snow'[81] according to Capgrave, of 'rains, snows, and hails'[82] according to Thomas Walsingham, and to the *Dieulacres* chronicler of 'thunder and hail.'[83] Holinshed's long list includes 'foule weather of windes, tempest, raine, snowe, and haile.'[84] The effect of the weather on Henry's army is devastating, the author of the *Continuatio Eulogii* tells us for instance,

> And the King assembled an army and crossed into Wales, where very great storms in September of thunder, heavy rains and hail prevented them from riding, many of the army even died of cold.[85]

By contrast there is no account that the followers of Owain Glynd*r experienced discomfort caused by the weather nor is there evidence to suggest that the rebels were hampered in their ventures. This is despite the rebels' 'known lurking spots' being predominantly outdoors in the mountains and forests. For Owain Glynd*r and his supporters, Wales is hospitable and homely, providing shelter. The examined chronicles are consistent in their representation of a connection between the people of Wales and their landscape, particularly of the 'Welsh' as knowing and adapted to their landscape.

Both parties actively seek to impact the other's level of comfort by stealing their possessions. As Halle explains,

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[81] Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.219.
[82] Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.251.
[83] *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.176.
[84] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1134.
[85] 'Et Rex congregato exercitu transivit in Walliam, ubi, prohibentibus maximis tempestatibus in Septembri tonitruorum, imbrium, et grandinis, equitare non poterunt, et multi de exercitu frigore mortui sunt.' *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.394. See Appendix One, Passage 2e.

> the Welshemen knowing the passages of the countrey, toke certaine carriages of his
> [king Henry] laden with vitayle to his great displeasure, and their great comforte.[86]

Here, a lack of knowledge of the terrain is a significant disadvantage to the king and
his party; they are already uncomfortable and this is further compounded. Adam Usk
goes to the trouble of listing some of the items stolen by the rebels:

> Owain inflicted considerable losses on the English, killing several of them, and
> seizing by force from the king's eldest son, the prince of Wales, and from a number
> of other lords, their arms, horses and tents, which he then carried off to his mountain
> strongholds of Snowdonia for his own use.[87]

The stolen items are not luxury items or money but rather items that are of great
value when at war: arms, horses for manoeuvrability, and tents for shelter and above
all else, comfort for the soldiers.

While Owain Glynd* r and his supporters are able to steal from Henry's party, there
is no account of the 'English' stealing from the 'Welsh' directly; the latter's isolation
in the mountains appear to prevent this from occurring. The strategy employed by
'English' in Wales is to burn the countryside, destroy towns and monasteries, and to
steal livestock. As the *Dieulacres* chronicler explains, the 'English' led away
significant numbers of livestock to England:

> At this time the English took away many goods and especially many of all all kinds
> of beasts, an almost unlimited multitude, so that one would suppose it almost
> impossible that so many goods especially animals, could be gathered in such a
> region.[88]

The chronicler notes with an air of surprise that the area raided by the 'English' in
Wales could be so rich with materials. Adam Usk too describes the movement of
animals over into England,[89] as does Thomas Walsingham who explains,

> Indeed the king, when the region had been burned and some people destroyed,
> whoever luck had brought before their swords, he returned with booty made up of
> beasts and animals.[90]

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[86] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[87] Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, p.145.
[88]'Hiis temporibus Anglici multa bona et precipue bestiarum omnium generum quasi infinitam multitudinem abduxerunt, ut putaretur quasi impossibile tanta bona in tam modica plaga principaliter bestiarum arceri.'*Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.176. See Appendix One, Passage 4f.
[89] '… so the king devastated the land and returned home in great pomp, taking with him an enormous booty in animals.' Adam Usk*, Chronicle*, p.163.

While the region where this occurred is unspecified by Walsingham beyond the fact that it is in Wales, it is clear that the landscape has been altered. The actions of the king can be read as an attempt at trying to establish some form of control over the Welsh landscape, and in the process serves to reinforce the image of Wales as a land that is barren and unfertile. While this strategy of burning possessions and pilfering animals does impact upon the rebels, it is not a direct attack on the body of the 'Welsh' party who elude them, lurking in the mountains and caves. Owain Glynd*r and his followers by contrast can attack the 'English' army directly and steal their possessions, as well as stealing cattle from the English lords of the borderlands and of Wales. [91]

Landscape dictates the way in which Henry IV and his army, and Owain Glynd*r and his followers engage with one another, particularly in combat situations; as the aforementioned *Continuatio Eulogii* quote illustrates, the land was unfit for riding over and as a result guerrilla and siege warfare were the main methods of engagement. Halle (and after him Holinshed) provides a wonderfully rich image of the French and English armies stationed on opposite hills in Wales with a large valley between them, each trying to work out how best to place themselves to engage in battle:

> The king with a great puissaunce folowed and founde them embattailed on a highe mountaine, and a gret valley between bothe the armies, so that eche armie plainely perceiued other, and euery hoste loked to be assaued of his adversary, and of the gro)d to take the most adua)tage: thus they c' tinued eight daies fr' morning to nyght ready to adbide but no to geue battaile.[92]

The engagement ends with 'many fearce skirmishes and many proper feates of armes daily done'[93] but without a pitched field battle. Henry's military actions in Wales are continually thwarted by the landscape; they are unable to rely on the actions of knights on horseback or on a pitched battle because the terrain, particularly in the north of Wales, is very mountainous. Walsingham records that the Welsh had the

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[90] 'Rex vero, combusta regione et quibusdam peremptis, quos sors pro tunc gladiis evaginatis obtulerat, cum praeda jumentorum et animalium remeavit.' *Historia Anglicana,* p.246. See Appendix One, Passage 1a. This is also recorded in the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.334.
[91] See for instance Adam Usk, who records that 'Owen and his men brutally ravaged with fire and sword the lordship of Ruthin in North Wales and the surrounding area, carrying the riches of the land, including the animals, away with him to the mountains of Snowdonia.' Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.147.
[92] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[93] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26.

upper hand at all times and were able to exert their dominance, employing a range of military tactics. He explains:

> … and now by tricks, now by traps, now by open warfare, [Owain Glynd* r and the Welsh] captured many, killed very many of the English, and he levelled some captured castles, and some he saved for safety.[94]

The repetition of now (nunc) is an important device that allows Walsingham to give a staccato list of what the English army had to endure in a short space of time.[95]

While the notion of unfamiliarity with the terrain certainly contributes strongly to the discomfort that Henry and the English feel within Wales, there is a deeper underlying dislocation between Henry IV and his army and the landscape of Wales; the English are unable to read or to anticipate the environment in which they find themselves. It is unknowable and alien. For instance Thomas Walsingham describes:

> When the King had set up camp in a most idyllic place, where nothing fearful but rather the most deep rest was expected, suddenly in the first watch of that very night winds blew and rains came down so heavily that they threw down the very tent of the king, and the wind overthrew the king's lance, and set it down into his armour. That very night would have been the last for the king, if he had not slept armed. And the English did not remember, although they were accustomed to war-like affairs, ever being so harassed or exposed to such dangers in any expedition.[96]

Having surveyed their surroundings, the king's party chose purposefully a 'most idyllic place' ('in loco amoenissimo') to pitch camp, only for it to turn suddenly and unpredictably against them. The key to this image is the notion of the king and his companions not being able to judge this place properly; Walsingham makes sure that we know that this was not a freak weather occurrence, but one episode in a series. The danger that this landscape poses for the English is a point stressed by Walsingham. The suddenness with which the event takes place emphasises the danger and unpredictability of this place. This impression is reinforced by the fact

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[94] 'Et nunc dolis, nunc insidiis, nunc aperto Marte, multos captivat, plurimos perimit Anglicorum, castellaque nonnulla capta complanat, quaedam sibi conservat integra pro tutela.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.262. See Appendix One, Passage 1j.

[95] Nunc is often used for emphasis or emotive effect, as it is here. See *OLD s.v.*1.b.

[96] 'Cum rex in loco amoenissimo fixisset tentoria, ibi nihil formidabile, sed summa requies, sperabatur, repente in ipsius noctis prima vigilia flaverunt venti, et descendit pluvia tam excessiva, ut ipsum Regis tentorium dejicerent, et ejusdem lanceam everterent impetu vehementi, et in Regis armatura defigerent. Fuisset ipsa Regi nox ultima, si non quievisset armatus ; nec meminerunt Anglici, licet assueti rebus bellicis, se unquam tantum vexatos, periculis tantis expositos, in ulla expeditione fuisse.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.251. See Appendix One, Passage 1f.

that the king is nearly killed inside his tent, which is a protective space of safety and refuge, rather than outside in the landscape itself. The threat is seemingly inescapable.

Selecting details of place and landscape is one means used by the chroniclers to explore aspects of Henry IV's kingship. The *Dieulacres* chronicler makes an explicit connection between the terrible weather experienced by the English and their right to rule Wales. We are told,

> But it was a miraculous thing, although the season was clear and tranquil they [the English] never had pleasant weather when they were there before going back, but there was an inundation of thunders, hail and especially in the summer season. But this does not seem difficult to understand from the art of prophecy, that it is supposed to have happened through the magicians of Owain, and it is not impossible that the air be moved through the power of unclean spirits; but when very many things had been judged it seemed that the cause of the said tempest was principally because the aforesaid people had no just title against them: thus they almost always failed in their plans and too often laboured in vain[97]

The *Dieulacres* chronicler dismisses the idea of the use of magic (although he concedes that this is sometimes the explanation), leaving no doubt as to the source of the bad weather or the reasons as to why the English army were subjected to it: the king was asserting authority over a space that was not his by right. The bad weather experienced by the English army only occurs in Wales and only to a specific group of people. Nature reacts to the English presence in Wales.

In the second version of his chronicle, Hardyng also uses landscape and place to explore aspects of Henry's kingship. Hardyng structures his narrative of the revolt by using an image of the harvest:

> The kinge Henry thrise to Wales went
>
> In the hay tyme and heruest divers yere,
>
> And euery tyme were mystes and tempest sent,

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[97] 'Sed mira res, licet tempus esset clarum et tranquillum nunquam habuerunt, cum ibi essent amenum tempus ante reversionem set inundacionem tonitruum, grandinem et precipue tempore estivali. Sed hoc non videtur difficile ex sortilegio contingere quod putatur fieri per magos Owini et non est impossible per potestatem immundorum spirituum aerem commoveri; sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt: ideo proposito pene semper caruerunt et in vanum sepius laboraverunt etc.' *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.176. See Appendix One, Passage 4f.

> Of weders foule ⅂at he had neu*er* powere
>
> Glendor to noy, but ay his carriage clere
>
> Ewayne had at certain strates and passage,
>
> And to our*e* hoost ay ded ful grete outrage.[98]

Hardyng's harvest image is a clever narrative strategy that incorporates notions of time, fertility and landscape. Like Walsingham, who moves from the 'loco amoenissimo' to a terrible storm, Hardyng constructs an initial image of tranquillity in which bad weather suddenly appears. Harvest is undertaken in mid to late summer, usually in July or August in Wales, therefore Henry campaigned in Wales when the weather was supposed to be at its most favourable. That Henry experienced the same conditions on three separate occasions during harvest confirms the notion that he is not supposed to set foot in Wales; Henry continues to misread the signs. For Hardyng, Henry's multiple visits to Wales are evidence of bad kingship. However, Hardyng's biggest concern was not that Henry did not have a right to rule Wales (although this is certainly implied), but rather that Henry is hurting England in the process. Hardyng tells us,

> The commons all ⅂an of al Englong grounde,
>
> Waried his gate to Wales ev*er*y yere,
>
> For hay and corne were lorne bothe two in fere,
>
>
>
> Whiche made grete derth and of catayle moraine,
>
> And Ewayn ay in hilles and in mounteynes
>
> Kept ful stronge, the kynge ay wroght in vayne;[99]

England is being depleted, the commons in England are having to foot the bill for fighting against the rebellion and it is wearing them out. England is being wasted and destroyed by the rebellion in Wales.[100] There is a shift from the image of the harvest and its attached notions of fertility and comfort, to an image of a lack of corn, cattle and pastures, invoking notions of infertility and discomfort.

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[98] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 157v; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.

[99] Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.

[100] As Peverley notes in her commentary to the second version of Hardyng's Chronicle (Arch. Selden B. 10): 'The reference here to the dearth of corn and loss of cattle complement Hardyng's observation about the futility of the king wasting his own lands; both emphasise the devastation and cost of human life that ensues when countries are at war. Although the dearth of corn and loss of cattle are events that occur naturally because of drought or plague, there is a sense of providence attached to the narrative, which results from Hardyng's earlier presentation of Henry IV's failure to help Glyn D* r in the first place.' *John Hardyng*, p.612.

For both the *Dieulacres* chronicler and Hardyng, in the second version of his chronicle, the English army's experiences within Wales are a direct result of a dislocation in Henry's kingship; something is amiss. In the *Dieulacres Chronicle* the mere presence of the king in Wales is enough to incite a reaction from nature; he and his party will suffer discomfort and disorientation in the landscape until they return to England. In Hardyng's chronicle the wrong decision made by the king to pursue the rebellion results in English discomfort not only in Wales but also, and significantly, in England; the landscape of England is altered by the rebellion. In both of these chronicles landscape and place are a central means through which to discuss Henry's kingship and it is significant that this is achieved via a discussion of the king's experiences and engagement with Wales. The expression of problems in kingship through reactions in nature, the creation of barren landscapes and the dislocation of a community from a particular landscape as expressed through discomfort are found in many narratives and genres of the late middle ages. In Arthurian literature, for instance, the idea of the Fisher King and the wasteland appears in narratives such as the twelfth-century *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes and Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, written in the 1460s.[101] Here the sick and injured king corresponds to a sick and barren land and embodies ideas of the microcosm of the body and the macrocosm of the nation. In Hardyng's chronicle, the whole community of England experiences bodily discomfort like that which the king is experiencing in Wales. Furthermore, Hardyng uses the language of sickness and healing to discuss aspects of Henry's kingship, including using the word 'remedy' to describe the desired outcome from Owain Glynd*r's petition to King Henry concerning his ancestral lands.[102]

The use of magic by the people of Wales and in particular by Owain Glyndwr is another alternative put forward to explain why Henry IV and his army were failing to make ground against the rebels. While the *Dieulacres* chronicler, cited above, dismisses the use of magic against the English in Wales, for several chroniclers it is the reason why the English experience such discomfort and the king cannot read the landscape. For instance, Thomas Walsingham records,

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[101] On the Fisher King see the classic study of Jessie L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance: History of the Holy Grail Legend*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1920, esp. pp.12-20.

[102] This was first brought to my attention by Peverley in her introduction to *John Hardyng*, esp. pp.146-147.

> [Owain Glynd* r] almost destroyed the king by the art of magic, along with the army
>
> he was leading, by means of rains, snows, and hails, called up, as it is believed, by
>
> diabolic art.[103]

The English have to negotiate a landscape that is diabolic. Here Walsingham emphasises that there is an unnatural connection between the 'Welsh' and their native place; Owain Glynd* r can conjure up nature to work in his favour. Such is the connection between the Welsh and their landscape that they have transcended it and can control it. Holinshed follows Walsingham in identifying Owain Glynd* r as the source of the magic,[104] while Capgrave leaves it ambiguous, implying that the Welsh community as a whole could practice 'nigromancy'.[105] Hardyng (in the second version of his chronicle) records that people believed the weather to be the work of witches.[106] John Rous presents a variation on the theme of magic, in which Owain Glynd* r does not control the weather, but rather, uses a magical stone of invisibility to escape from numerous castles.[107] While in Rous's narrative there is a shift from a natural landscape to a human landscape, the idea of Henry IV and his army not gaining ground because of magic remains a central feature. Wales emerges as a place with a landscape so infused with magic that for the English visitors it is unreadable, unpredictable and unknowable.

The close connection between the Welsh and their landscape is revealed and indeed constructed through an examination of their uses of magic, and also by making connections between the characteristics of the community and their landscape. As discussed in Chapter Five, the chroniclers offer a generalised description of the people of Wales that revolves around the image of the primitive savage- untamed, violent and unpredictable.[108] The landscape of Wales is wild, rugged, harsh, and

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[103] 'Quin potius, ut putatus, arte magica Regem pene perdidit, cum exercitu quem ducebat, per pluvias, nives, et grandines, ut creditus, arte diabolica concitatas.' Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana,* p.250. See Appendix One, Passage 1f.

[104] 'Through arte magike, he cau∫ed ∫uch foule weather of windes, tempe∫t, raine, ∫nowe, and haile to be ray∫ed, for the annoyance of the Kings army, that the lyke had not bin heard of, in ∫uch ∫ort, that the Kyng was con [...]ned to returne home.' Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, pp.1134-1135.

[105] As discussed in Chapter One Capgrave records the use of magic, but distances himself from it**:** 'There were many ⅜at supposed ⅜is was do be nigromancy, and be compelling of spirites.' Capgrave, *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*, p.219.

[106]   Rokes and mystes, wyndes and stromes eu*er* certeyne,
         All men trowed wiches it made that stounde.
Hardyng, Arch. Selden B. 10, fol. 158r; Peverley, *John Hardyng*, p.508.

[107] Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207. See Appendix One, Passage 6a.

[108] See Chapter Five.

brutal just like the people who inhabit it; nature and human nature are connected. Edward Halle, for instance, refers to the Welsh as 'wild and savage'[109], 'wilde and vndiscrite'[110], and by the alliterative 'waueryng Welshemen.'[111]   All of these adjectives attached to the Welsh community have points of comparison in descriptions of the landscape of Wales; the weather of Wales, for instance, much like the Welsh, is described as wild, unpredictable and savage. The Welsh are 'wavering' much like the English experiences of the undulating topography of Wales. The term 'indiscrete' has parallels with the English inability to judge their surrounding environment when in Wales. The Welsh and their landscape are represented as being well suited to each other, unlike the English and the Welsh landscape.

In several chronicles of the sixteenth century there is a marked shift in thinking about the connection between Owain Glynd*r and his followers and the landscape of Wales. Edward Halle provides several images of starving 'Welshe men' living in a land that can no longer support them or their venture. Halle records,

> The Frenche men and Welshe men were sore trobeled and afflicted with famine, that their hertes were appalled and their corages sore abated, for the kyng had so stopped the passages that nether vitayle nor succour could by any way be conveighed to th&[112]

Here the Welsh community as a whole (along with their French allies) are described as enduring physical and mental suffering within their own native place. Halle goes on to describe the bodily suffering and ultimate death of Owain Glyndwr from starvation:

> [the king] sent into Wales with a great army prince Henry his eldest sonne against thesaid Owen and his sedicious fautors, which being dismayed and in manner desperate for all comfort by the reason of the kynges late victory, fled into desert places and solitary caues, where he received afinall reward mete and prepared by Goddes prouidence for suche a rebel and sedicious seducer. For being destitute of all comforte, dreading to shewe his face to any creature, lacking meate to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke of fode miserably ended his wretched life.[113]

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[109] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.31.
[110] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.22.
[111] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26 and p.28.
[112] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.26.
[113] Halle, *Chronicle*, pp.31-32.

Within this new framework the mountains and caves that once provided a place of shelter for the rebels to hide from the English are now desolate and barren; this is a significant shift. The landscape that once harboured rebellion now repels the rebels, and indeed leads to their demise. Halle's account of the death of Owain Glynd*r is not simply that of a man dying by starvation; we are told that in the process Owain Glynd*r withdraws from society, and his nature is altered, before finally dying from a lack of food. Owain Glynd*r is physically changed by the landscape. Holinshed follows Halle's account very closely, describing how Owain Glynd*r 'lacking meate to ſuſtayne nature, for pure hunger and lacke of foode, miſerably pyned away and dyed.'[114] Polydore Vergil records that

> Owain, the leader of the Welsh factions, a man seditious and riotous by nature, was forced to go into voluntary exile, where his life had an ending worthy of his deeds. Reduced to extreme poverty, he died a wretched death.[115]

For these three sixteenth-century chroniclers Owain Glynd*r's death by starvation and extreme poverty was a deserved fate for rebelling; indeed it is divine retribution for his guilty actions. The bodies of Owain Glynd*r and the Welsh ('afflicted with famine and abated courage') are used as metaphors to comment upon the right and unjustness of the revolt; an unjust rebellion creates an unproductive landscape, and an unproductive landscape starves the rebel. There is a link between rebellion, productive landscape and bodily suffering. The experiences of the French, who sent an army to Wales to aid the rebels against the English also serve to reinforce this notion. Halle records that the French suffer 'muche paine and greate labour'[116] when their ships are hit with a tempest trying to navigate to Wales, but only reaching Plymouth. Furthermore after being pursued by the English army around the 'deſart grounds and barren coũtry' of Wales for eight days, Holinshed explains that the French returned home 'making ſmall bragges of their painfull iourney.'[117]

The events of 1400 to *c*.1415 and the experiences of those involved are played out within a rich and vibrant setting. Landscape is of fundamental importance to experiences of Wales as a place for both parties and indeed dictates interaction with each other. Analysis of the interaction of various groups within the landscapes of

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[114] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1155.
[115] Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, 1555, p.434.
[116] Halle, *Chronicle*, p.25.
[117] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1150.

Wales reveals disparities and tensions such as in perceptions of Henry IV's kingship. There are various explanations offered for the rejection and discomfort felt by the English by the landscape of Wales, including the Welsh mastery of their landscape, albeit by illicit magical means and the unjustness of English claim to Wales. More broadly, these explanations are central to the revolt narrative, and in particular, in providing reasons as to why Henry IV and his soldiers were not able to gain ground in Wales against Owain Glynd* r.

III

The Imagined Wales and the Chronicler: Exploring Points of Contact

This final section focuses on a comparative analysis between the senses of place constructed within the revolt narratives of two early fifteenth-century contemporaries, Adam Usk and Thomas Walsingham. Both were writing their chronicles contemporaneously to the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. A study of these two chroniclers provides an opportunity to investigate the implications of personal knowledge and experience of Wales on the revolt narratives. While Adam Usk was familiar with Wales, Thomas Walsingham was not, but rather composed his revolt narratives while based at the monastery of St Albans in Hertfordshire.

As described in section one, Adam Usk presents in his revolt narratives a significant number of named places around Wales. However, it is not just the quantity of features listed in Adam's narrative that is of note, but the level of detail with which he describes many of the places. One good illustration is his narrative of the capture of Owain Glynd* r's son in 1405:

> Griffith, the eldest son of Owain, attacked Usk Castle with a great host on the feast of St Gregory [12 March]- an evil hour for him; however, the defences there had been considerably strengthened, and Lord Grey of Codnor, Sir John Greyndour, and many more of the king's soldiers were there, and they made a sortie in force from the castle and captured him and his men, driving them relentlessly through the river Usk, where many of them- most notably the abbot of Llantarnam- were killed either

at the point of a sword or by drowning in the river, through Monkswood, where Griffith himself was captured, and on to the mountains of Upper Went. Of those whom they took alive, three hundred were beheaded in front of the castle, near Ponfald, although some of the nobler ones, including Griffith, were sent as prisoners to the king.[118]

Adam provides a detailed setting in which events unfold. Like Edward Halle's account of the king going up and down hills and dales in Wales cited at the beginning of section two, Adam's account here is rich in movement; however, in contrast to Halle, Adam provides specific place names and intimate knowledge of the landscape features. The same incident is reported by Holinshed[119] and also Thomas Walsingham, who records:

> In that year, on the Day of Ashes, a great slaughter of Welshmen occurred, and on the fifth day of the month of May, when another conflict occurred, at Usk, between the Welsh and the English, supporters of the Lord Prince, the son of Owain Glynd* r was captured, with him being captured, and indeed killed, one thousand five hundred of the rebel faction.[120]

The level of detail and sense of movement that is central to Adam's narrative is missing from Thomas Walsingham's account. In Adam's account we follow the action across a river, to a named woodland and then onto a named mountain range. It is a very specific terrain that Adam constructs and that is experienced by the described individuals.

Thomas Walsingham's description of the landscape and sense of Wales as a place in his revolt narratives is characterised by abstraction and generalisation. Walsingham presents several rich images which construct Wales as an inaccessible landscape with inhospitable mountains and bad weather. For instance, the image of the king nearly being killed by a falling lance after setting up camp in 'a most idyllic place', discussed above, is one good example. For Walsingham Wales is a place of alterity.

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[118] Adam Usk*, Chronicle,* p.213.
[119] Holinshed follows Thomas Walsingham verbatim except that he does not agree on the month in which it took place: 'In the meane time, to witte the .xv. of March at a place in Wales called Hu ke, in a conflicte fought betwixt the Welche men and certaine of the Princes companie, the onne of Owen Glendouer was tak, , and fiftene hundred Welch men taken and laine.' Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577) Volume 4, p.1145.
[120] 'Eo anno, Die Cinerum, facta est magna strages Wallensium, et quinto die mensis Maii, altero facto conflictu, apud Usk, inter Wallicos et Anglicos, familiares Domini Principis, captus est filius Oweni Glendor, captis cum eo, vel peremptis, mille quingentis de parte rebellium.' Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti,* pp.399-400.

The people who inhabit this place are barbaric and violent and their proclaimed leader, Owain Glynd* r, has demonic powers that allow him to transcend nature and use it against the English. Thomas Walsingham's sense of place regarding Wales is colourful, but it is constructed in generalised terms. Furthermore, Walsingham records only a handful of places within Wales, for instance in his *Historia Anglicana* only four named places are recorded, including Carmarthen and the castle of Aberystwyth.[121] However, significantly, Walsingham provides a historical reason as to why Caermathen was so named:

> The French having come to Owain, encouraged him to besiege the town of Merlin, that is now called 'Caermarthen.'[122]

This, along with Thomas Walsingham's use of the term 'Cambri' to refer to the Welsh,[123] points to an interest in the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. According to Geoffrey, Merlin was said to have spent his childhood in the region surrounding the town of Kaermerdin.[124] This is an intriguing reference, and is indicative of Walsingham's interest in history and literature.

There is no evidence to suggest that Thomas Walsingham ever visited Wales, or had any personal connection to Wales, a factor which may in part explain the generalised sense of place.[125] Indeed, after his university studies, Walsingham appears to have stayed at the Abbey of St Albans for the majority of his life, where he devoted himself to the scriptorium, except between 1394 and 1400 when, as he records in the *Gesta Abbatum,* he served at Wymondham, a priory of St Albans near Norwich.[126] However, the location of the Abbey of St Albans contributed significantly to the

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[121] Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana:* 'Montes Snowdoune' p.246, 'Portum de Mylleford' p.272, 'Urbem Kaermerdyn' p.272, 'Castrum de Abrustwythe' p.277.
[122] 'Gallici cum venissent ad Howenum, animaverunt eum ad obsidionem urbis Merlini, quae nunc 'Kaermerdyn' appellatur', Thomas Walsingham, *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p.414.
[123] See Chapter Five.
[124] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Kings of Britain*, Lewis Thorpe trans, Penguin, London, 1966, p.167. For discussion of the connection between Merlin and Camarthen, see Nikolai Tolstoy, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Merlin Legend', *Arthurian Literature XXV*, Elizabeth Archibald and David F. Johnson, eds, Brewer, Cambridge, 2008, esp. p.14ff.
[125] Certainly there is no archival evidence for this, and analysis of his writings does not reveal a direct knowledge of Wales.
[126] Thomas Walsingham may have been born in the town of Walsingham in Norfolk in the 1340s and was ordained as a priest in 1364, having been educated at the University of Oxford, finishing around the year 1376. However, these dates are not certain. For the debate on their validity see V.H. Galbraith, ed., *The St Albans Chronicle, 1406 to 1420*, pp.xxxvi-xli; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* Vol. II, p.123; and James G. Clark, 'Thomas Walsingham Reconsidered: Books and Learning at Late-Medieval St Albans', *Speculum*, 77:3 (2002), pp.836-838. For Walsingham's stay at Wymondham, see *The Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, Vol. 3, p.436.

uniqueness of Walsingham's narrative and evidence suggests that the chronicles were composed while events were unfolding in Wales.[127] Walsingham was in direct contact with people travelling to and from Wales; St Albans is in close proximity to London and is connected via a good road which runs from London and St Albans and then proceeds towards Worcester, via Leicestershire, finishing in northern Wales.[128] Eye-witness accounts and evidence from soldiers or high-ranking officials from Wales who stopped at St Albans on the way to London seems likely to have been a major source of information for Thomas Walsingham's narrative on the Welsh revolt. The result is a narrative that is rich in its description of the English experiences of a generalised and abstract landscape.

Adam Usk's narratives of the revolt are by far the most complex of the chronicles under consideration in this thesis; his narratives are marked by tensions between his Welsh identity, his desire for English royal patronage and his disillusionment with that process. A good portion of the places that Adam lists in Wales are benefices that he desired or that he was given:

> The Pope conferred on the compiler of this present work the archdeaconry of Buckingham with the churches of Knoyle, Tisbury and Deverill in England; the Welsh war thwarted this, however, so instead he granted me the archdeaconries of Llandaff and Carmarthen, with the church of Llandyfaelog together with the prebend of Llanbister.[129]

It is for this reason that smaller churches in Wales that would otherwise not have been recorded in the revolt narratives are mentioned. Here too Adam's displeasure with his situation has resulted in his use of the term 'Welsh war' (guerra Wallie) as opposed to rebellion, which is the common term used by the chroniclers. This reframes the actions of the rebels from being an insurgence to an engagement between equals.

Adam Usk's focus on his own interests and the recording of his own experiences has implications for the content and the locational descriptions of places in the narratives

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[127] See V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The St. Albans Chronicle 1406-1420*, p.lvii; and Gransden, *Historical Writing*, Vol. II, p.124.

[128] See Brian Paul Hindle, 'The Road Network of Medieval England and Wales', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 2, 3 (1976), pp.207-221.

[129] Adam Usk*, Chronicle,* p.159.

of the revolt. Adam travels to Wales after his trip to Rome, and describes in detail his experiences of the landscape of Wales as a fugitive:

> I hid away amongst the mountains and caves and woods and forests, hungry and thirsty, constantly afraid that I would be killed or captured or betrayed, and passing many sleepless nights in fear of attack from my enemies.[130]

Adam himself becomes the central figure of the narrative. Here, Adam positions himself as an outsider to the Welsh landscape, and he endures the same discomfort as that which is experienced by the English soldiers in his revolt narratives. Adam places himself directly in the mountains and caves and emerges uncomfortable and suffering; we are not told where these mountains are in Wales, but he lands 'at the port of Barmouth' and heads for Welshpool. This is one of the few occasions where Adam refers to mountains without geographical specificity. In these mountains Adam describes his feelings of disorientation; he is unsure whom to trust and uncertain who his enemies are. All that he knows is that he has to find his way to his new patron, Edward Charlton, the lord of Powis. Attached to his bodily suffering in the mountains of Wales, there is an element of contrition here too; Adam's suffering is a part of the process of forgiveness that he seeks from Henry IV. It has been suggested that the impetus for Adam's sudden departure to Rome and the continent in 1402 came from legal problems, in which he was accused of stealing a horse in Westminster valued at one hundred shillings.[131] Regardless of the cause, the king was furious and Adam did not manage to regain the level of patronage or prestige that he had previously enjoyed.

Many elements of Adam Usk's descriptions of Wales reflect the paradoxical nature of his narrative; on the one hand, Adam seeks patronage from sources in England, and it is for this reason that the way in which Adam describes Henry IV/ English and Owain Glynd*r/ northern Welsh experiences of the landscape of Wales is not notably different from the other chroniclers. He constructs a landscape that is fearful and alarming. On the other hand, Adam's construction of the imagined Wales contains many elements that can be described as 'Welsh' in both their content and their framework. For instance, Adam includes places that are important only to

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[130] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.239.
[131] This was first suggested by James Hamilton Wylie in his *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, 4 Volumes, Longmans, London, 1884-1898. The Pardon Rolls record that Adam was granted a pardon in 1403.

Owain Glynd*r and his followers; for instance, he refers to the town of Machynlleth where, as Adam explains, Owain Glynd*r 'held- or rather- aped, or mimicked parliaments.'[132] Although Adam disregards the legitimacy of these parliaments, he nonetheless records their existence and in this is unique. Unlike the other chroniclers, here Adam provides information that is related directly to the rebel movement and is not limited simply to locations that Henry IV and his army or Owain Glynd*r and his followers attacked. Rather, Machynlleth was an important place within the context of Owain Glynd*r's policy of Welsh independence and autonomy.

Adam expresses a multifaceted understanding of place and landscape that acknowledges a deeper history and attachment to it on the part of the followers of Owain Glynd*r, the 'Welsh'. Adam expresses knowledge of the hagiography of Wales and gives background to places under attack during the revolt. For instance:

> the men of Bristol, captained by the esquires James Clifford and William Rye, took an armed fleet and raided Glamorgan, plundering the church of Llandaff, but through a miracle of St Teilo they were defeated by the local people and driven off in confusion, with considerable loss.[133]

Llandaff cathedral is where Saint Teilo is buried. Furthermore, Adam provides alternative names for several places. For instance he provides the English and Welsh name ('Ynys Môn') for the Isle of Anglesey, stating

> the brothers William ap Tudor and Rhys ap Tudor, who came from the island of Anglesey or Mon …[134]

This is significant recognition of the differences between the two languages and cultures. Lastly, as has been discussed previously,[135] Adam Usk reports the appearance of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd's blood in his narrative for the year 1400,

> The spring near Builth in which the head of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, last prince of the Welsh, was washed after it had been cut off, flowed with pure blood throughout one whole day.[136]

Llywelyn ap Gruffydd died in 1282, over one hundred years previously; the connection between the initiation of the revolt currently underway and that of past

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[132] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.177.
[133] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.173.
[134] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.129.
[135] For instance, see Chapter Two.
[136] Adam Usk, *Chronicle*, p.117.

rebellion is unmistakable, and it is constructed through landscape. Here, Adam Usk recognises the historical significance of this particular place in Wales and formulates a connection between place, landscape and commemoration. The spring that once cleansed the head of Llywelyn now emits only blood: Wales is wounded and bleeding.

These two contemporary chroniclers, Walsingham and Usk, give markedly different pictures of the Welsh landscape. Walsingham's account is certainly not lacking in detail, but it is a generalised account, made from a cultural repertoire of the mysterious and alien. Adam Usk, on the other hand, writes with real local knowledge, and an awareness of Welsh history and culture. However, in both of Thomas Walsingham and Adam Usk's chronicles, as in the other studied chronicles, there are intimate links between the Welsh landscape and those who act within it.

IV

Conclusion

Place and landscape are an important element of the examined revolt narratives. The chronicles include a rich array of natural and built features, and use these features as a backdrop to narrating the events of the revolt. This repertoire of landscapes contributes to an overall sense of Wales as a place in the revolt narratives. Moreover, the methods used by the English chroniclers to understand and negotiate 'otherness' within Wales is achieved through the contrasting of experiences of the same imagined place and landscape of Wales. The divergent accounts of Henry IV/English and Owain Glynd* r/Welsh experiences within the same environment allows for commentary as to the character of the two communities, and reinforces social differences between the two. The English and the Welsh experience Wales differently; and the place itself is a divider and a marker between the two communities. While the English struggle in Wales, the Welsh are described inhabiting such harsh landscapes, a factor which gives the Welsh a great advantage over their adversaries. Additionally, there is a reciprocal reflection of the Welsh in their landscape and the landscape in the people of Wales. As Halle describes the

people and the environment of Wales are wild and savage. Furthermore, several chroniclers, such as the author of the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, use Wales' landscape as a means through which to discuss broader issues, such as kingship and the English right to rule Wales. Lastly, comparisons between Adam Usk and Thomas Walsingham, who were writing contemporaneously, provided two very different accounts of place in the revolt narratives; Adam Usk constructs thorough and precise descriptions of landscapes around Wales, while Thomas Walsingham's Wales is abstract and generalised. These comparisons reveal that knowledge of Wales does have an impact on the sense of place depicted in the revolt narratives.

Conclusions

A Multiplicity of Voices:

Reading the Narratives of the Welsh Revolt

Narratological studies of chronicles have been scarce in modern scholarship. Indeed, when chronicles are mentioned at all in a narratological context, it tends to be as negative examples, for instance, as exemplars of a lack of sophistication in narrative strategy. I hope that this thesis goes some way towards demonstrating that this is not the case: medieval chroniclers were in many cases capable of considerable sophistication in their construction of narrative. Although this thesis comprises in the first instance a study of the ways in which particular historical events are presented, it also contributes to the wider study of chronicles as narrative texts.

Although, as demonstrated in Chapter One, it is true that covert narration is the dominant mode for chronicles, there are frequent episodes in which the narrator is overt, self-referential and self-conscious. The examined chroniclers use a range of different narrative voices in different circumstances and for certain ends; these include such narrative modes as the impersonal, hidden narrator, plural first person to include the reader, and singular first person to draw attention to their own personae. Adam Usk is, however, an unusual case as he becomes overt to the extent of being a character in his own chronicle narrative. Moreover, the chroniclers employ various methods of producing vivid and persuasive narrative; amongst those discussed in Chapter One are detailed description and the uses of imagery, as well as direct speech and focalisation. These strategies, frequently used in conjunction with each other, were an important element in the recounting of events, providing authority and an impression of accuracy. Such methods were also important strategies through which the chroniclers could guide the reader's interpretations of the events in Wales from 1400 to *c*.1415.

Just as was the case in the construction of a narrator, the chronicles examined here display considerable self-consciousness and sophistication in their treatment of time. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, the chronicles exhibit a wide range of approaches to the handling of temporality, from very overt chronological marking to more covert forms. My comparison between Walsingham's and Halle's narratives, for instance, illustrates that the chronicles vary widely in their attempts to keep particular narrative units intact, and hence depart from strictly chronological progression. The treatment of the conclusion of the revolt in the chronicles is particularly revealing in this regard: those chronicles which give a definite end to the revolt narrative (usually the death of Owain Glynd r) are almost invariably those which display a covert chronological structure.

Also discussed in Chapter Two were departures from straight chronological narration in the chronicles, which appear in the forms of analepses and prolepses. Analepses and prolepses were used to make explicit or implicit comment on the events and characters depicted. The former tend to be used to comment on events of the revolt by reference to earlier events and characters, such as Owain Glynd r's connection to the Earl of Arundel, or the reappearance of Llywelyn ap Gryffudd's blood in a stream in Wales over one hundred years after his death. Prolepses serve, for instance, to emphasise the inevitable outcome of the revolt in the narration of its beginning. These re-orderings of chronology, subtly (or sometimes not so subtly) guide readers in their interpretation of the events of 1400 to *c.*1415. The chronological telling of events is, of course, a characteristic of the chronicles, as is generally known. However, the contrary tendency away from such chronological telling in order to comment on events, though the use of analepses and prolepses, is not so obvious and has been less well studied in modern scholarship. The tension between these two tendencies, and the resulting implications for the presentation of events 1400 to *c.*1415, can well be observed in the narratives of the revolt of Owain Glynd r.

In Chapter Three I argue that representations of space in the examined chronicles, like those of time, are far from simple. In the treatment of both macrospaces and social spaces (or microspaces) can be observed the articulation of political power. With regards to macrospaces: the overall cosmic structure of the chronicles, as

expressed in visual form in the *mappae mundi*, informs not only the geographical scope of the chronicles as a whole, but also informs the representation of particular events within them. As demonstrated in my discussion, the contestation of social spaces is a central concern of the examined revolt narratives. The castles and towns described are subjected to violent dispute. The other social spaces associated with Owain Glynd r are invariably wild: mountains, forests, and swamps. This treatment of space contributes to the negative portrayal of Owain Glynd r, not only as a figure of black magic and sedition, but one invariably seen against a backdrop of desolation and destruction. Finally, the chapter investigated the notions of centre and periphery articulated in the revolt narratives. Here I concluded that the use of the traditional repertoire of the marginal and monstrous in the depiction of the Welsh conceals the revolt's political character, rendering it instead an incursion of the uncivilised into the civilised centre.

On the basis of this narratological study, the second section of the thesis analysed the representation of individuals, peoples and places in the revolt narratives. These three categories– individuals such as Owain Glynd r, the 'Welsh' and 'Wales' are central in literary recreations of the revolt. My study shows that these elements are by no means as simple as they may at first appear.

Chapter Four demonstrated that the chronicles, not at all unusually for pre-modern historiography, tended to focus on individuals rather than on broader social forces. Consequently, the narratives of the revolt are concerned chiefly with a few leading protagonists, especially Owain Glynd r and Henry IV. In this light, the techniques of characterisation in the chronicles are of particular importance for their overall interpretation. One form of characterisation evident in the revolt narratives is what might be called characterisation through comparison, where paradigms from the past are used to characterise, by likeness or by contrast, the figures involved in the more recent events depicted. The Earl of Arundel, Richard Fitzalan, for instance, is used as an example of contrast. Arundel appears as a cultivated and chivalrous knight, who fully accepts his fate: that he will be executed by Richard II. Owain Glynd r, by comparison, shows himself to be deceptive and unorthodox in his methods of trying to avoid capture by Henry IV.

As concluded in Chapter Four, particularly important in the representation of individuals in the examined chronicles are the moments of birth, death and marriage. Each of these events provides opportunities for a wider reflection on character. The death of Henry IV is used to reconcile symbolically some of the tensions which characterised his reign; these depictions are on the whole fairly favourable and scenes of his death draw sympathy for the king as an individual. By way of comparison, the death of Owain Glyndŵr is in general treated as an appropriately unpleasant end to his life. The marriage of Owain Glyndŵr's daughter, which features in a majority of chronicles, plays a prominent role in the stories of a secondary but still important character in the revolt narratives. Whether this is Reginald Lord Grey or Edmund Mortimer (and whichever Edmund Mortimer) varies between the different accounts. In any case, this marriage, conducted in captivity, reflects on the rather desperate assertiveness of Owain Glyndŵr in forming a prospectively useful marriage alliance. The shift between Edmund Mortimer and Reginald Lord Grey, or indeed chroniclers' silences on the marriage, provides an example of how changes in politics can impact the representation of an individual; Grey provided a useful substitute so as to avoid connecting the Mortimer family, and hence the ancestors of the Yorkist monarchs, with a notable rebellion. In the chronicles of Halle, and to a lesser degree Holinshed, Edmund Mortimer appears as a composite character, conflating uncle and nephew, to deal with the same political issues. Finally, the chapter established the importance of the representations of individuals through an analysis of the prodigies at the birth of either Edmund Mortimer or Owain Glyndŵr. It is not always clear whose birth it was, and hence whose grim end is being foreshadowed, although there have been various, and sometimes perplexing, interpretations. Such interpretations have enormous implications for the character of these two individuals, and indeed for the narrative of the events of 1400 to *c*.1415. In all of these instances of characterisation detailed in Chapter Four, the chronicles give apt and vivid details rather than lengthy developments of character. Though the characters are largely exterior, depicted through words and actions rather than speculations about their motivations and inner consciousness, they are nonetheless vivid figures within their own terms.

The revolt narratives, not surprisingly, make frequent reference to the Welsh. My analysis in Chapter Five demonstrates that the manner in which the Welsh are

represented, however, is worthy of attention. While references to 'rebels' are relatively rare in the revolt narratives, the various terms for 'Welsh' (whether in Latin or English) appear recurrently. Though there is frequently a sense of community support for the revolt, the Welsh are not depicted as acting independently of Owain Glyndŵr. The strong focus on individuals, observed earlier in the thesis, remains. The Welsh, furthermore, are for the majority of chroniclers a unified mass, with no distinction being made between those who supported the rebellion and those who did not. The exception here, as in so many things, is Adam Usk. Adam not only differentiates between the notions of 'rebel' and 'Welsh', but identifies the 'northern Welsh' as the primary group involved. Furthermore, as appeared in my discussion of the macrospatial structures of the examined chronicles, the association of savagery with the Welsh is pervasive. Perhaps the most striking of this group of associations is the story of the Welsh women's mutilation of the bodies of English soldiers, which first appears in the work of Thomas Walsingham. However, key to an understanding of the representation of the relationship between the Welsh and the English in the chronicles is the background to ideas of nationhood in the fifteenth century. The Council of Constance, held between 1414 and 1418, gives insight into some of the ways in which claims to independence and of unity of nationhood could be made. Furthermore, genealogical claims with reference to the Brutus legend could be used from either a Welsh or an English perspective to advance a case either for an independent Wales or for a Wales which was a subordinate part of a wider Britain, led by England.

In Chapter Five I advanced the notion that despite a great deal of commonality in the depiction of the Welsh across the examined chronicles, there is also a remarkable diversity. This was demonstrated through a diachronic consideration of changes in the chronicles' representations of the revolt with the rise of the Tudor monarchy. Surprisingly, despite the parading of 'Welshness' by the Tudor monarchs, my analysis revealed that there was by no means a major shift in the representation of the Welsh as a whole. The same political imperative to maintain Wales as a subordinate part rather than an independent nation, led to similar representations of the Welsh to those that had appeared in earlier periods. In fact, overt comment on the unstable nature of the Welsh increases in this period, and much of the earlier negative representation continues. This is also partly due to the inherent

conservatism of the chronicle tradition, in which the work of earlier chroniclers is often reused with little change. However, a further change in the Tudor narratives of the revolt is the rise of notions of an internal fracturing of the Welsh community. Depictions of overbearing and quarrelsome Welsh magnates tend to make Wales part of a much larger English problem, which the advent of the Tudors, according to chroniclers such as Polydore Vergil, solved. Thus the Welsh revolt becomes something less than a true, well-organised rebellion and more just a state of chronic disorganisation. It also becomes less distinctly Welsh, so considerations of separate nationality are elided, and the role of the ancestors of the Tudors can be conveniently underemphasised.

In my final chapter I analysed the depiction of Wales as a place. While some chroniclers, such as Halle and Holinshed, take a broad brush approach to their description of Wales, most give a number of smaller details which, when combined, produce the impression of a wild place of marshes, forests and mountains, with an undeveloped built environment. This representation of Wales, more developed than that of other places such as France or Scotland in the examined narratives of the reign of Henry IV, is integral to the depiction of the people and events of the revolt. The descriptions of the Welsh landscape tend to be in the context of conveying the apparently impassable lurking places from which the Welsh were able to attack the English. Throughout these descriptions runs a close association of the landscape and the people, and the landscape and weather themselves seem to support the Welsh and resist the English. In part, the changing details reported of the landscape reflect the changing interests of the chroniclers and their implied readers. For instance, Pembroke Castle, the birthplace of King Henry VII, appears for the first time in the revolt narratives of several Tudor chronicles. Nonetheless, my analysis demonstrates that there is a consistent presentation of the harshness and difficulty of Wales.

In the experiences of place which are described in Chapter Six, there is a stark difference between those of the English and the Welsh: while for the English the landscape is resistant and inhospitable, for the Welsh it is welcoming and comfortable. The appearance of comfort or even beauty in the landscape for the English can only be deceptive: even a 'locus amoenissimus' (a 'most idyllic place') will suddenly turn into a place of potential danger to the life of the king. Beyond this

threatening and changeable character, the Welsh landscape becomes positively demonic through the suggestions that it and its weather are manipulated by Welsh magicians. Here too appears a further connection between the Welsh and their landscape, contributing to the presentation of both as uncanny and unpredictable. Once again, there is a shift in the sixteenth-century chronicles, where the new notion appears of the rebels starving in their own landscape. In this new interpretation, the Welsh landscape is used as a metaphor to comment on the unjustness of the revolt. An unjust rebellion creates an unproductive landscape, and an unproductive landscape starves the rebel. Finally, in exploring the diversity of chroniclers' imagining of Wales, I contrast two chroniclers writing contemporary to the revolt, Adam Usk and Thomas Walsingham. The contrasts between them reveal the implications of personal knowledge on descriptions of Wales. Though both give rich and detailed depictions of Wales as a place, Adam Usk draws on personal knowledge and familiarity with the various landscapes, while Walsingham bases his account primarily on a cultural repertoire of the monstrous and marginal; the result is a generalised depiction of Wales.

Throughout the thesis numerous implications for modern historiographical studies of chronicle narratives, and more specifically for the study of the revolt of Owain Glynd r, have been noted. Analysis of the terminology that the chroniclers use to discuss the revolt points to a need for greater reflection and consideration of these terms within modern historiography; for instance, the use of blanketed terms such as the 'Welsh' to denote the 'rebels' is problematic. Furthermore, it is of vital importance to recognise the 'imagined' within the revolt narratives; scholars wishing to approach the English chronicles to construct empirical accounts of Owain Glynd r and the events of 1400 to *c.*1415 must acknowledge that the revolt narratives contain a multiplicity of voices, although for the most part Owain Glynd r's voice is not one of them. The revolt narratives were informed by various factors, both literary and extraliterary, such as the inherent conservatism of the chronicle tradition and the political circumstances in which the work was produced.

Finally, I hope to have demonstrated in the thesis the richness and variety of the revolt narratives contained in the examined chronicles, and to have contributed to a better understanding of the narrative sophistication of which medieval chronicles

were capable. Far from being bald and colourless accounts, the very restraint of these texts makes their vivid flashes of imagery and often subtle manipulations of time, space and narrative voice all the more striking. The revolt narratives provide fine examples of a type of medieval narrative which is certainly different to the types of narrative with which modern readers are more likely to be familiar, but they amply repay a close and sympathetic reading.

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Appendix One

Translations

The following are the major testimonia for the revolt in the examined chronicles composed in Latin. These chronicles have been chosen for particular attention because they have not previously been translated. They are assembled here in order to give a sense of the wider contexts in which the passages quoted occur. They appear in the following order:

Chronicle 1: Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*

Chronicle 2: *Continuatio Eulogii*

Chronicle 3: *Historia Vitae*

Chronicle 4: *Dieulacres Chronicle*

Chronicle 5: Capgrave's *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*

Chronicle 6: John Rous's *Historia Regum Angliae*

Chronicle 7: Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica*

The passages are arranged in the order in which they appear in the texts.

Chronicle 1: Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*

Historia Anglicana: De tempore regis Henrici, Post Conquestum Quarti, Volume II, Henry Thomas Riley, ed., Rolls Series, 1863.

Passage 1a. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.246

Interia Wallici, nacta occasione de regis absentia, duce quodam Oweyno de Glendour, rebellare coeperunt. Hic primo apprenticuis fuit apud Westmonasterium, deinde scutifer Regis moderni; sed orta discordia inter eum et dominum Reginaldum Grey de Ruthyn, pro terris quas asseruit sibi jure haereditario pertinere, cum rationes suas et allegationes parvipensas cerneret, primo in dictum Dominum de Grey hostilia commovit arma, vastans possessiones ejus per incendia, et ferro peromens plures de sua familia nimis crudeliter et inhumane. Quem proinde Rex prosequi statuens, tanquam pacis patriae turbatorum, cum armata manu Walliam est ingressus; sed

Cambri, cum duce suo, montes Snowdoune occupantes, intentatae vindictae se protinus subtraxerunt. Rex vero, combusta regione et quibusdam peremptis, quos sors pro tunc gladiis evaginatis[1] obtulerat, cum praeda jumentorum et animalium remeavit.

In the meantime, there happened to be an occasion that the king was absent, and the Welsh, with a certain leader, Owain Glynd+r, began to rebel. This man was first an apprentice near Westminster and later the shield-bearer of the current king; but discord arose between him and Reginald Lord Grey on account of lands which he claimed belonged to him by right of inheritance, and when he discerned that his reasoning and claims were of little weight, he began hostilities against the said Lord de Grey, laying waste his possessions with fires and slaying many of his household too cruelly and savagely. Then the king, deciding to pursue him as one of those who disturbed the peace of the land, attacked Wales with an armed band of men; but the 'Cambri', with their leader occupying the mountains of Snowdon, withdrew at once from impending vengeance. Indeed the king, when the region had been burned and some people destroyed, whomever luck had brought onto their unsheathed swords, returned with booty made up of beasts and animals.

Passage 1b. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.248

Hoc tempore Oweynus de Glendore, cum suis Wallencibus, damna gravia infert Anglis.

At this time Owain Glynd+r with his Welsh followers caused great damage to the English.

Passage 1c. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.248

Anno gratiæ millesimo quadringentesimo secundo, cometa apparuit mense Martio, primo inter Corum et Septentrionem, videlicet in circio, flammas emittens, postremo comas in Boream transferens; præsignans fortassis effusionem humani sanguinis circa partes Walliæ et Northumbriæ expost futuram.

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[1] The Rolls series text print the obviously incorrect 'cvaginatis', an evident error for evaginatis.

In the year of grace fourteen hundred and two, a comet appeared in the month of March, first between the Corus and Septentrio, that is in Circius, sending out flames, and afterwards shifting its hair into Boreas; foreshadowing perhaps that there would be spilling of human blood around parts of Wales and Northumbria afterwards.

Passage 1d. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.248

Eo tempore Oweunus de Glendore vastavit terras Domini Reginaldi de Grey; cui occurrens idem Dominus, putans eum levi negotio superandum, inopinate versa Martis alea, captus est, et de suis plurimi trucidati; quod infortunium Wallicos extulit in superbiam, et insolentiam auxit eisdem.

At that time Owain Glynd+r laid waste the lands of Lord Reginald Grey. The same lord ran to meet him, supposing that he would be overcome with light work, however, the dice of Mars came out unexpectedly and he [Grey] was captured and a great many of his people were killed. This misfortune carried away the Welsh into arrogance, and it increased their insolence.

Passage 1e. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.250

Eo tempore Owenus de Glendore, cum comitiva Cambrensium, assuetis intendens irruptionibus, pene totam militiam Herefordensis Comitatus provocavit ad arma. Cujus Comitatus viris congregatis, Edmundus de Morto Mari præbuit ducatum; sed cum perventum fuisset ad actum, proditione mediante, et Edmundus captus et cæteri victi sunt, occisis de nostratibus amplius quam mille viris: ubi perpetratum est facinus sæculis inauditum, nam fœminae Wallencium, post conflictum, genitalia peremptorum absciderunt, et membrum pudendum in ore cujuslibet mortui posuerunt, testiculosque a mento dependere fecerunt ; nasosque praecisos in culis presserunt eorundem ; nec patiebantur corpora peremptorum sine grandi petio supremis exequiis commendari.

At that time Owain Glynd+r with a band of 'Cambri', advancing with their customary incursions, provoked to arms the entire militia of Herefordshire. When the men of the county gathered together, Edmund Mortimer, offered himself to be their leader. But when it came to the battle, Edmund was captured through treachery and the rest were overcome, when more than a thousand men had been killed from

our countries, this crime had been perpetrated; unheard of in all the ages, for the women of the Welsh, after the conflict, cut off the genitalia of the slain. They placed the genitals, in the mouths of some slain one. And they made the testicles hang down from the chin, and they pressed the noses into the bottoms of the same men; and they did not allow the bodies of the slain to be given their last rites without a great price.

Passage 1f. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.250-251.

Rex Angliæ, circa festum Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, collectis exercitibus, profectus est in Walliam, ad persequendum Owenum de Glendor; sed nihil profuit tantus armorum strepitus, cum Wallicus in nota latibula se recepit; quin potius, ut putatus, arte magica Regem pene perdidit, cum exercitu quem ducebat, per pluvias, nives, et grandines, ut creditus, arte diabolica concitatas. In Vigilia vero Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ, cum rex in loco amoenissimo fixisset tentoria, ibi nihil formidabile, sed summa requies, sperabatur, repente in ipsius noctis prima vigilia flaverunt venti, et descendit pluvia tam excessiva, ut ipsum Regis tentorium dejicerent, et ejusdem lanceam everterent impetu vehementi, et in Regis armatura defigerent. Fuisset ipsa Regi nox ultima, si non quievisset armatus; nec meminerunt Anglici, licet assuenti rebus bellicis, se unquam tantum vexatos, periculis tantis expositos, in ulla expeditione fuisse.

The King of England, around the feast of the Assumption of Saint Mary, gathered his armies and set out into Wales, to pursue Owain Glynd+r; but so great a clashing of arms was of no avail, when the Welshman withdrew himself into his known lurking places; indeed, so it is supposed, [Owain Glynd+r] almost destroyed the king by the art of magic, along with the army he was leading, by means of rains, snows, and hails, called up, as it is supposed, by diabolic art. On the vigil of the Birth of Saint Mary, when the King had set up camp in a most idyllic place, where nothing fearful but rather the deepest rest was expected, suddenly in the first watch of that very night winds blew and rains came down so heavily that they threw down the very tent of the king, and the wind overthrew the king's lance, and set it down into his armour. That very night would have been the last for the king, if he had not slept armed. And the English did not remember, although they were accustomed to war-like affairs, ever being so harassed or exposed to such dangers in any expedition.

Passage 1g. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.253-254

Eo tempore, Edmundus Mortymer obiit, juvenis quem retulimus ante captum ab Oweno Glendor, vel taedio dirae captivitatis, vel metu mortis, vel ex alia qua nescitur causa; conversus retrorsum, cum Owennio contra Regem Angliae se sentire professus est, dum nuptias satis humiles, et suae generositati impares, contrabit cum filia dicti Oweni.

Hujus, ut fertur, nativitatis exordia dira comitata sunt prodigia; quia nocte qua in lucem profusus est, in hippodromo paterno omnes equi patris sui reperti sunt in alto cruore stetisse, usque ad tibiarum demersionem; quod tunc interpretati sunt plurimi sinistrorsum.

At that time, Edmund Mortimer died, a youth whom we mentioned previously, captured by Owain Glynd+r, either by the tedium of grim captivity or by fear of death, or from another cause which is not known. Having changed his allegiances, he professed that he sympathised with Owain against the King of England, since he celebrated a wedding with the daughter of the said Owain, which was humble enough and unequal to his noble birth.

So it is said prodigies accompanied the dire beginnings of this man's birth, because on the night on which he came forth into the light, in his father's stable, all of his father's horses were found standing in deep blood up to the shin bones. Very many people then interpreted this as sinister.

Passage 1h. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* pp.255-256

Sed effrænata temeritas, spreto lenimento regali, rigorem rebellionis induit, et Salopiam properavit, sperans, ut putatur, in auxilio Oweynii Glendor et Edmundi de Mortuo Mari, quorundamque Cestrensium et Wallicorum.

But, when the king's attempts at mollification had been spurned, an unbridled and rash element made up of certain men of Chester and Welshmen, undertook the rough path of rebellion, and hastened to Shrewsbury, hoping, so it is supposed, to aid Owain Glynd+r and Edmund Mortimer.

Passage 1i. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.259

Reversus Rex de partibus Borealibus, disposuit adire Walliam, ad compenscendum insolentiam Wallicorum, qui multa damna irrogaverant patriæ post recessum suum. Sed tamen retinuit eum rei familiaris inopia, eo quod destitutus esset pecunia pro exercitu conducendo.

The king, having turned back from northern parts, arranged to advance into Wales, to restrain the insolence of the Welsh, who had wrought great destruction on the fatherland after his withdrawal. But nevertheless a lack of personal funds restrained him, in that he lacked money for gathering an army together.

Passage 1j. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.262

Per omne tempus æstatis præsentis, Owenus Glendor, cum suis Wallicis, prædatur, incendit, et destruit regiones sibi contiguas, et nunc dolis, nunc insidiis, nunc aperto Marte, multos captivat, plurimos perimit Anglicorum, castellaque nonnulla capta complanat, quaedam sibi conservat integra pro tutela. Johannes Trevor, Episcopus Assavensis, cernens rem prosperari in manu Wallici, conversus est in virum pravum, factus transfuga ad Howenum.

Through the whole time of the present summer, Owain Glynd+r, with his Welshmen, plundered, burned and laid waste the regions bordering him, and now by tricks, now by traps, now by open warfare, he captured many, killed very many of the English, and he levelled some captured castles, and some he saved for safety. John Trevor, Bishop of St Asaph discerning that affairs were prospering in the hands of the Welshman, turned into a depraved man, having become a deserter to Owain.

Passage 1k. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.268

Domina de Spencer, relicta Domini Thomæ de Spencer nuper occisi Bristolliae, dum fugit, ut fertur, ad Howenum Glendor, cum filio octenni, capta est, et cunctis thesauris spoliata; perque regios ad Regem reducta, custodiæ artioris subiit nocumenta.

Lady de Spencer, the widow of Lord Thomas de Spencer who had recently been killed in Bristol, while she was fleeing, it is said, to Owain Glynd+r, with her eight

year old son, was captured and was despoiled of all of her treasure; having been led to the king by the king's men, she went under the hardships of closer custody.

Passage 1l. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, pp.271-272

Quibus successibus Rex elatus, redivit incunctanter Walliam; ubi, e contrario, nil sibi cessit prosperum, sed velut infortunitate omnia gerebantur. Quapropter, nullo profecto negotio, reversus est, currus, carectas, et plaustra perdens, numero quinquaginta, prout fertur, cum thesauro maximo et coronis suis, per aquarum inundationes supervenientes improvise.

The king, carried away by these successes, returned into Wales without delay; where, on the contrary, nothing turned out favourably for him, but as if everything were being carried out under an ill fortune. Because of this, although no business had been completed, he turned back, losing chariots, covered wagons and carts, fifty in number, so it is said, with a great deal of treasure and his own crowns, because of the inundations of waters which overtook them unexpectedly.

Passage 1m. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.272

Medio tempore, Gallici venientes in succursum Wallici, id est, Howeni Gleyndor, cum centrum quadraginta navibus applicuerunt in portum de Mylleford, amissis primo, prae penuria recentus aquae, pene omnibus equis suis. Dominus de Berklee et Henricus Pay combusserunt ex eisdem navibus quindecim in eodem portu. Dicti vero Gallici obsederunt urbem Kaermerdyn, et ceperunt, concessis prius defensoribus omnibus bonis mobilibus, cum licentia se transferendi quocunque vellent. Sub eodem tempore captæ sunt naves quatuordecim per supradictos Dominum de Berklee, et Dominum Thomam de Swynburne, ac Henricum Pay, dum velificarent versus Walliam ad auxiliandum Howeno; in quibus Senescallus Franciæ et alii octo capitanei capti fuere.

Meanwhile, the French came to the help of the Welshman, that is, to Owain Glynd+r, and with 140 ships arrived at the harbour of Milford, almost all of their horses being lost due to a lack of fresh water. Lord de Berklee and Henry Pay burned up fifty of those same ships in that same harbour. Indeed, the said Frenchmen besieged the city of Carmarthen, and took it, when they had allowed to

the defenders all of their movable goods, since they wished to have the licence of moving themselves wherever they wished. But at the same time forty ships were captured by the aforesaid Lord de Berkley, and Lord Thomas de Swynburne, and Henry Pay, when they had sailed towards Wales to assist Owain; on these ships the Seneschal of France and eight captains had been captured.

Passage 1n. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.273

Eo tempore, dum Galli properant in succursu Howenii Gleyndor, cum ratibus triginta et octo, captæ sunt ex eis octo naves armatis refertæ, reliquis in Walliam evadentibus meticulose. Non multo post captæ sunt naves quindecim, portantes vinum et cerem,[2] per mercatores nostros ad maris custodiam deputatos.

At that time, when the Frenchmen hastened to the aid of Owain Glynd+r, with thirty-eight vessels, eight of these ships were captured crammed full of armed men, and the remainder escaped into Wales in terror. Not long afterwards forty ships were captured, carrying wine and bread, through our merchants who had been sent out to keep watch at sea.

Passage 1o. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, p.277

Hac aestate Dominus Henricus, Princeps Walliae, cepit per obsidionem castrum de Abrustwythe; sed non multo post Howenus Glendor fraudulenter illud intravit, et novos custodes imposuit.

In this summer the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales, took by siege the castle of Aberystwyth; but not long after, Owain Glynd+r deceitfully entered it, and placed new guardians.

Chronicle 2: *Continuatio Eulogii.*

Eulogium (Historiaum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe Condito Usque ad Annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI., A Monacho Quodam Malmesburiensi Exaratum. Accedunt

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[2] The Rolls Series text prints 'vinum et ceram' ('wine and wax') here. This would be a curious cargo, but the correction of ceram to cerem ('bread') is an easy one. This use of Ceres is admittedly a poeticism, but that is not unusual in Walsingham. Compare, for instance, the use of 'ratibus' for 'navibus' in the previous sentence.

Continuationes duae, Quarum una ad annum M.CCCC.XIII. Altera ad Annum M.CCC.XC. Perducta Est. Frank Scott Haydon, ed., Rolls Series, London, 1967.

Passage 2a. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.388

 Ad hoc parliamentum venit Audoenus de Glendour Wallicus qui fuerat armiger comitis Arundell', conquerens quod dominus de Grey Ruthyn quasdam terras suas in Wallia usurpavit, sed contra dominum de Grey nihil profecit. Episcopus de santo Assaf consuluit in parliamento quod non omnino contemnerent praefatum Audoenum ne forte Wallici insurgerent. Et illi de parliamento dixerunt se de scurris nudipedibus non curare.

To this parliament came the Welshman Owain Glynd+r who had been the armsbearer of the Earl Arundel, complaining that the Lord Grey of Ruthin, had forcibly taken some of his lands in Wales, but he had no advance against the Lord de Grey. In parliament the Bishop of St Asaph advised that they should not altogether dismiss the commander Owain, lest by chance the Welsh might rise. And concerning this the members of the parliament said that they did not care about barefooted buffoons.

Passage 2b. *Continuatio Eulogii*, pp.388-389

Anno Domini 1401, Wallici contra regem Henricum Quartum rebellant et bona Anglicorum undique diripiunt. Rex autem transivit in Walliam Borealem et Insulam de Anglesey, ubi Fratres Minores de conventu Lamasiae et Wallici cum aliis Regi resistebant, et ideo exercitus regis fratres occidebant et captivabant ac conventum spoliabant. Et, Audoeno non comparente, revertitur Rex. Et dominus le Gray manucepit tuitionem patriae. Rex vero tradidit ministerio Ordinis fratres captivatos, et jussit omnia restitui conventui, et voluit quod conventus ille inhabitaretur ab Anglicis fratribus.

In the year of our Lord, 1401, the Welsh rebelled against King Henry and snatched away the goods of the English everywhere. Moreover, the king crossed into Northern Wales and the Isle of Anglesey, where the Minorite Friars from the convent of Llanfaes and the Welsh with others were resisting the king and for that reason the army of the king began to kill and capture the friars and loot the convent. And,

although Owain had not appeared, the King turned back. And Lord Grey took up the defence of the fatherland. The King however handed over to the ministry the captured brothers of the Order and commanded that everything be returned to the convent and wanted the convent to be occupied by English Brothers.

Passage 2c. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389

Audoenus de Glendour dominum le Grey in bello cepit. Et eodem anno capitulum generale Fratrum Minorum celebratur Leycestriæ in festo Assumptionis, in quo prohibitum est sub pœna perpetui carceris ne aliquis fratrum loquatur verbum quod possit sonare in præjudicium Regis. Et quod quilibet præsidens haberet potestatem talem incarcerandi qui ausus esset in hoc culpari.

Owain Glynd+r took the Lord Grey captive in battle. And in the same year a general chapter of the Minorite Friars was held at Leicester on the feast of the Assumption, at which it was prohibited on pain of life imprisonment that any of the Brothers speak a word which could be taken against the king. And they ruled that each had sufficient power to incarcerate anyone who had dared to offend in this matter.

Passage 2d. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.389

Hoc insuper anno post Natale Domini apparuit quaedam stella comata aspectu terribilis in Occidente, eujus flamma magna sursum ascendebat.

Moreover in this year, after Christmas, appeared a certain comet-star, horrible to look upon, in the west, whose great flame rose on high.

Passage 2e. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.394

Hoc insuper anno, Audoenus de Glendour cepit Edmundum de Mortuo Mari, multis Anglicis de marchia Walliae interfectis. Et Rex congregato exercitu transivit in Walliam, ubi, prohibentibus maximis tempestatibus in Septembri tonitruorum, imbrium, et grandinis, equitare non poterunt, et multi de exercitu frigore mortui sunt.

Moreover in this year, Owain Glynd+r captured Edmund Mortimer, when many Englishmen from the marches of Wales had been killed. And the King assembled an army and crossed into Wales, where, when very great storms in September of

thunder, heavy rains and hail prevented them from riding, many of the army even died of cold.

Passage 2f. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.396

Henricus Percy, et avunculus ejus Thomas Percy, quem Rex Ricardus fecerat comitem Wigorniæ et domus suæ senescallum, collegerunt exercitum in marchia Scociæ, dicentes quod contra Scotos bellare oporteret; et venerunt ad comitatum Cestriæ et Cestrenses secum assumpserunt. Miseruntque ad Audoenum ut veniret. Sed Audeonus, cognoscens quod callidi erant, non confidebat in illis. Wallicos tamen multos assumpserunt, et venerunt omnes in Lichfeld insignati signis Regis Ricardi, videlicet, cervis.

Henry Percy, and his uncle Thomas Percy, whom King Richard had made Earl of Worcester and seneschal of his own house, gathered an army in the march of Scotland, saying that they ought to make war against the Scots; and they came to the county of Chester and they took some men of Chester with them. And they sent a message to Owain to come. But Owain, knowing that they were cunning, had no trust in them. Nevertheless they took many Welshmen along, and they all came to Lichfield, decorated with the standards of King Richard, that is, with stags.

Passage 2g. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398

 Super caput Henrici Percy apparuit stella comata, malum significans eventum.

Above the head of Henry Percy there appeared a comet signifying a bad event.

Passage 2h. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.398

Edmundus de Mortuo Mari in Wallia, non valens se redimere, dixit se nunquam velle subesse sub Henrico rege, sed filam Audoeni cum magna solemnitate duxit in uxorem. In nativitate autem hujus Edmundi mirabile accidit portentum. In arena[3] stabuli sui patris sanguis manabat ita alte ut pedes equorum co-operiret. Vaginae omnes gladiorum et pugionum sanguine plenæ erant. Secures sanguine rubuerunt.

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[3] The phrase 'in area stabuli' sounds rather vague, especially as the horses are apparently standing in the stable when the portent takes place. 'In arena stabuli' ('on the sand of the stable') is much more vivid, and not at all a difficult correction.

Princeps jacens in cunis dormire non poterat nec a vagitu cessare nisi gladius sibi ostenderetur. Et in sinu nutricis positus non poterat quietari nisi aliquod instrumentum bellicum sibi traderetur.

Edmund Mortimer, in Wales, not being able to redeem himself, said that he would never be able to submit to King Henry, but he took, with great solemnity, the daughter of Owain as his wife. Moreover at the birth of this Edmund a remarkable portent occurred. In the area of the sand in the stables of his father blood flowed so deeply that it covered the feet of the horses. All the sheaths of the swords and daggers were filled with blood. The axes were red with blood. The prince lying in his cradle could not sleep nor cease from moving about unless a sword was shown to him. And placed in the breast of his nurse he was not able to be quiet unless some instrument of war was given to him.

Passage 2i. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.401

Anno Domini 1404, et anno 4 Regis, Audoenus Glendor partes Australes Walliæ incendit et villam de Kaierdief et castrum obsedit. Qui vero intus erant miserunt ad regem petentes auxilium, sed ipse nec venit neque succursum misit. Audoenus villam [Cardiff] cepit, et incendit præter unum vicum in quo Fratres Minores habitabant, quem amore fratrum cum conventu stare permisit. Cepit insuper castrum et destruxit, multasque divitias ibi repositas abstulit. Et cum Fratres Minores peterent ab eo libros suos et calices quos in castro deposuerant, respondit: "Quare posuistis bona vestra in castro? Si ea retinuissetis apud vos salva vobis fuissent."

In the year of our lord 1404, and the fourth year of the King, Owain Glynd+r burned the southern parts of Wales and the town of Cardiff and besieged the castle. Indeed those who were inside sent to the king asking for help, but he himself did not come nor did he send aid. Owain captured the town (of Cardiff), and he burnt it except for one area in which the Minorite Friars were living, which he allowed to stand along with their monastery out of love of the brothers. Moreover, he took the castle and destroyed it and took away a great deal of wealth that was deposited there. And when the Minorite Friars asked him for their books and chalices which they had deposited in the castle, he responded: 'why have you placed your belongings in the castle? If you had retained them with you they would have been safe with you.'

Passage 2j. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.402

Hoc anno filius Audoeni ab Anglicis capitur, et in Turri Londoniae captivatur. Tunc haeredes comitis Marchiae duo filli existentes in warda Regis, quos quidam dixerunt veros esse haeredes regni de proxima linea de stirpe domini Leonelli, abducti ferunt a curia Regis per quandam damicellam de camera reginae, et ipsa accusavit de hoc ducem Eborum. Et dux in castro de Pevenesey aliquandiu detentus est.

In this year the son of Owain was captured by the English, and was held captive in the Tower of London. Then the heirs of the Earl of March, his two surviving sons in the ward of the King, were abducted from the court of the King by a certain servant from the chamber of the Queen, and she herself accused the Duke of York of this. And the duke was detained for some time in the castle of Pevensey.

Passage 2k. *Continuatio Eulogii*, p.408

Et reversus transiit in Walliam Australem, et castrum de Coyfy, diu a Wallicis obsessum, liberavit. Et in redeundo cariagium suum et jocalia sua Wallenses spoliabant.

And turning back he crossed into South Wales, and freed the castle of Coity, long held by the Welshmen. And while he was returning the Welsh despoiled his carriage and his jewels.

Chronicle 3: *Historia Vitae*

Historia Vitae et Regni Ricardi Secundi, George Stow, ed., Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977.

Passage 3a. *Historia Vitae*, pp.167-168

De execrabili scilicet insurreccione Walens, qui quendam armigerum, nomine Owyn Glendor, in suum principem, et capitaneum eorum contra pacem erexerunt. Cuius insurreccionis causa subsequitur, ut eam relatu habemus.

Cum rex in Scociam properare disponeret, inter alios misit litteras, anulo suo signatas, ad predictum Owyn, pro eo quod ipse illis diebus armiger formosus habebatur, ut illuc secum nullo modo uenire recusaret. Quarum litterarum baiulus

dominus de Grey de Rythynn tunc constitutus erat, qui acceptas litteras usque ad profeccionem regis ad eum ferre differebat. Pridie igitur tercione die ante mocionem pre-dicte regis littere sibi liberabantur. Qui de hiis ualde attonitus, respondit, quod nimis tarde, subito et inopinate pro tanto uiagio premunitus erat, breuiter se excusans, quod nollet, sicut nec potuisset, ea uice in Scociam ire. Dominus uero le Grey, relicto eo in Wallia, ad regem in Scociam quamtociens excessum, narrans ei modo peiori, quod predictus Owen spretis litteris suis, eum uilipendisset, eius precepta ualde contempnendo.

Ipse uero rex tacitus pro tempore considerabat. Postea cum suo exercitu de Leycestr' egressus, Walliam intrauit cum omni festinacione, ad debellandum uel penitus eosdem destruendum, si fortuna sibi faueret. Illac istacque circuiens, et quem occideret ardenter querens, neminem uidit uel occidit. Ipse autem Owynus G<lyndor> in speluncis et montibus Wallie a facie regis se abscondebat. Videns igitur rex, quod nichil proficeret, sed magis deterioracio exercitus sui fieret, cum ibidem uictualia sufficiencia minime haberent, datis prius terris, tenementis ac redditibus predicti Owyni G<lyndor> ipsi domino de Grey, reuersus est per Salopiam uersus Wigorn', ubi morabatur per dies aliquot tractaturus cum suo consilio, quid super hiis agendum esset. Et hec quidem donacio terrarum, reddituum ac tenementorum nobis maioris tribulacionis et angustie fomitem ministrabat, prout lucidius inferius patebit.

Regarding the hateful insurrection of the Welsh, who raised up into their ruler a certain armour-bearer, by the name of Owain Glynd+r and their captain against the peace. The cause of this insurrection follows, as we have it related.

When the king made arrangements to hasten into Scotland he sent a letter sealed with his signet ring to the aforesaid Owain, amongst other people, because in those days he [Owain] was held to be a handsome squire, so that in no manner could he refuse to come with him. Lord de Grey de Ruthin had been appointed as the carrier of this letter, who postponed delivering the accepted letter to him [Owain] up until the time of the setting out of the king. Therefore at Terce on the day before setting out the aforesaid letter of the king was freed by him. He [Owain] was deeply astonished by these happenings, and replied that he had been alerted too late, suddenly and unexpectedly for such a voyage, briefly excusing himself because he was not willing, just as he had not been able, to go into Scotland at that time. In fact Lord de Grey,

having left that man [Owain] in Wales, told the king, who had advanced thus far into Scotland, in an incriminating fashion, that the aforesaid Owain scorned the king's letters and considered the king of no value, vehemently condemning his commands. Truly the king himself considered these things in silence for a time afterwards. Setting out with his army from Leicester he entered Wales with all haste to vanquish or to destroy utterly those same men if fortune were favourable to him. Going about here and there, and seeking ardently to kill him, he neither saw nor killed anyone. However Owain Glynd+r himself hid himself from the sight of the king in the caves and mountains of Wales. Therefore the king, seeing that he was achieving nothing, but rather that he was harming his army, since he barely had sufficient food there, lands having been given earlier, and the holdings and returns of the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r to Lord de Grey himself, the king turned back through Shrewsbury to Worcester, where he delayed for some days in order to discuss with his council what was to be done about these things. And indeed this giving of lands, returns and holdings prepared for us the kindling of a greater trial and poverty, as will appear more clearly below.

Passage 3b. *Historia Vitae*, p.168

Hoc eodem anno, cito post recessum regis, surrexit Owynus Glyndor cum suis, et quandam uillam in Wallia, nomine Rithyn, que erat de dominio predicti domini de Grey, primitus spoliatam igne penitus consumpsit.

In this same year, shortly after the return of the king, Owain Glynd+r rose up with his people, and attacked and plundered then entirely burned a certain town in Wales, by the name of Ruthin, which was under the dominion of the said Lord de Grey.

Passage 3c. *Historia Vitae*, p.170

Eodem anno rexn iterum propositum sumens in Walliam descendere contra predictum Owynum Glyndor et Wallen, adhuc sibi et regno rebellantes, in uigilia Corporis Christi secundo Euesham uenit, stipatus cum comitum, baronum, militum, et aliorum magna multitudine. Qui illuc usque in tercium diem post prandium commoratus est. Post hec inde recedens, Wigorniam adiit, deinde in Walliam, ubi per 4 septimanas cum suo excercitu moram traxit, parum proficiens ad propositum,

excepto quod decapitari fecit unum Wallicum, qui asserebat, se regem ad Owynum Glyndor ducturum, nec perfecit. Iste interrogatus, cur sic regem decipere auderet, gratanter caput percussori extendens, respondit, se malle repende decollari, quam ipsius O<wyni> Glyndor consilium, eo quod duo filii sui essent cum eo, aliquo modo propalare. Possumus et nos Anglici hic exemplum habere, ut discamus inter nos fideliter usque ad mortem consilia et secreta nostra tenere.

In that same year the king again formed a plan to descend into Wales against the aforementioned Owain Glynd+r and the Welsh, until now rebelling against himself and the kingdom, and he arrived at Evesham on the evening of Corpus Christi, attended by a great multitude of earls, barons, soldiers and others. There he was delayed until after breakfast on the third day. After this, withdrawing from there, he went to Worcester, and from there into Wales, where he spent a period of four weeks with his army, achieving very little to do with his intention, except that he had one Welshman decapitated, who had claimed that he would lead the king to Owain Glynd+r, and had not achieved it. When that man was interrogated, and they asked him why he dared to deceive the king in this way, he held out his head freely to the executioner, and replied that he preferred to be decapitated at once, than to divulge in any way the council of Owain Glynd+r, especially because his own two sons were with him. We English too can hold this is an example, so that we may learn to hold our councils and secrets among ourselves faithfully to the point of death.

Passage 3d. *Historia Vitae*, p.170

Depauperauit etiam tunc abbathiam rex de Stretflur ita ut nullum monachum in ea relinqueret. De quibus unus, qui contra regem et pacem arma portabat, iam tunc decollatus est. Ipsum uero O <wynum> Glyndor nec uidit, nec ubi esset aliquid audiuit. Exercercitus autem eius labore, fame, siti et frigore fatigatus, est demum occulte repedauit. Rex etiam, positis prius custodibus, licet insufficiencibus, in castellis Wallie, ubi necesse putabat, reuersus est cum suis usque London. Quod audiens O<wynus> Glyndor parum post hec surrexit de abditis, et succendebat suburbias suisdam uille, uocate 'le Pole' et alia damna non minima ibidem perpetrauit.

Then the king even rendered destitute the abbey of Strata Florida to such an extent that he left no monk in it. One of these monks, who was bearing arms against the king and the peace, was decapitated. Truly he did not see Owain Glynd+r himself, nor did he hear at all where he was. However worn out by that labour, exhausted by hunger, thirst and cold, he [the king] secretly turned back from there at last. The king also first posted guards, evidently insufficient, in the castles of Wales, where he supposed them necessary, and returned with his people to London. Hearing this, Owain Glynd+r rose up a little after this from his places of concealment, and set fire with his people to the outlying areas of the town called Welshpool and carried out other terrible deeds in the same place, not at all small ones.

Passage 3e. *Historia Vitae*, p.171

Inopinate inuentum est quoddam horribile instrumentum ferreum ad longitudinem dimidie uirge, nouiter fabricatum, stans directe instrumentum, pede rotundo et tribus longis illimatisque aculeis, cum quo rex occideretur, cum ad lectum properaret. Sed, per Dei graciam, illesus euasit.   Nam cum illud incontinenti coram multis osetenderetur, ait rex: "Ecce! Domini et socii mei, quantum teneor Deo meo. Non enim uult Deus meus, ut tali morte occumbar." Iussu igitur regis, inquiritur faber qui hoc fecit.

A certain horrible iron instrument was unexpectedly found, the length of half a branch, newly made, the instrument standing straight, with a round foot, and with three long spikes attached in order that the king be killed, when he hurried into bed. But, by the glory of God, he escaped unharmed. For when that thing was shown publicly to many people, the king said: 'Behold, my lords and companions, how much I am defended by my God. For my God does not wish, that I should die by such a death.' So by command of the king, the craftsman was sought, who had made this thing.'

Passage 3f. *Historia Vitae*, p.171

In fine huius anni rex, tercio in Walliam properare disponens, propter sepedictum et maledictum Owynum Glyndor, qui inmania mala ibidem fecerat de die in diem, in die Sancti Michaelis Euesham uenit …

At the end of this year the king prepared for a third time to hasten into Wales, on account of Owain Glynd+r, who has been spoken of often and badly, and who had committed terrible evils there day in day out. And he came to Evesham on the day of Saint Michael …

Passage 3g. *Historia Vitae*, pp.171- 172

Hoc anno, dum esset rex apud Wigorn, pertractabat cum suo consilio, quid contra predictum Owynum <Glyndor> sibique adherentes agendum sit, et an ipse rex in propria persona ea uice in Walliam proficissi deberet. Tandem ad id uentum est, ut rex, ordinatis prius custodibus sufficientibus in castellis et aliis fortitudinibus Wallie, London rediret.

In this year, when the king was at Worcester, he was discussing with his council what should be done against the aforementioned Owain Glynd+r and those who attached themselves to him, and whether the king himself in his own person ought to set out into Wales for that reason. At length it was decided that the king should first appoint sufficient guards in the castles and other fortified places of Wales, and return to London.

Passage 3h. *Historia Vitae*, p.172

Stella comata hoc anno circa festum Purificacionis beate Marie in occidente visa est, que interpolatim durauit usque Pascha.

A comet was seen in the west in this year, around the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, which remained on and off until Easter.

Passage 3i. *Historia Vitae*, p.172

Eodem anno in Quadragesima dominus de Grey dum esset in suo castro de Rythin in Wallia, uenerunt ad eum de sua familia, qui dicerent, O<wynum> G<lyndor> cum paucis prope assistere, et quod sibi honorem maximum nomenque sempiternum adquireret, predamque diu desiderabilem se capturum, de qua deficere non deberet, si contra eos et ad eos exire uellet. Quo audito, statim arma petit, paratisque equis, arcubus et lanceis, extra castrum ad illos animo uolente quamtocius accessit. Quem cum uidisset O<wynus> Glyndor, fugam fingendo se parum retrahit, quousque

dominus cum suis a castro plene et perfecte exisset. Absconderat autem O<wynus> <Glyndor> Wallenses per turmas, in diuersis locis latitantes, quos precepit, ut, cum tempus oportunum aduenisset, omnes in dominum predictum insurgerent.

In that same year in Lent when the Lord Grey was in his castle of Ruthin in Wales, some members of his household came to him to say that Owain Glynd+r had stopped nearby with a few men, and that he would acquire great honour and an eternal name, and plunder desirable for a long time if he should capture him, plunder which would never run out, if he wished to go to them and attack them. When he had heard this, he sought his arms at once, and when his horses had been prepared, bows and lances, he we out of the castle against them with a willing spirit as quickly as possible. When Owain Glynd+r had seen him, pretending to flee he withdrew himself a little, until the lord had openly and completely come out from the castle with his men. However, Owain Glynd+r hid away the Welshmen in crowds, lurking in various places, and ordered them, when a suitable time came, to all rise against the aforesaid lord.

Passage 3j. *Historia Vitae*, p.172

Que plura? Mox ad hostibus circumceptus, capitur et captiuatur dominus lorisque fortissimis ligatur, atque cum illo in montes de Snowdonn et speluncas Wallie deducitur. Sicque factum est, ut, qui predam se capturum indubitanter dispondebat, fortuna sinistrante ipse pocius, quod condolendo referimus, uersa uice preda aduersarii effectus est.

What more should I say? Soon the lord was surrounded by the enemy, was taken and made captive and was bound with the strongest bonds, and was led away with that man into the mountains of Snowdon and the caves of Wales. So it happened that he who thought that he was certainly going to take booty, rather himself, by a sinister fortune, rather became the booty of his adversary, a thing to relate with sympathy.

Passage 3k. *Historia Vitae*, p.172

Hoc anno, in festo Sancti Albani, dominus Edmundus Mortumer' miles per predictum Owynum Glyndor hoc modo captus est. Existente autem illo in propria uille de Ludlow, peruenit ad eum, quod predictus O<weynus> G<lyndor> de

montibus Wallie cum paucis descendisset, essetque super unum moncium iuxta Pilale, ubi quedam ymago beate Marie uirginis ualde honorabatur, non longe a dicta uilla Ludlow. Misit ergo festinater Edmundus pro hominibus et de se tenentibus de Melenyth in Wallia, ut in adiutorium suum in hac ardua necessitate uenire non omitterent.

In this year, on the feast of Saint Alban, Lord Edmund Mortimer, a knight, was captured in this manner by the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r. When that man appeared in the vicinity of the town of Ludlow, news came to him, that the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r had descended from the mountains of Wales with a few men, and he was on one of the mountains beside Pilleth, where a certain image of the blessed virgin Mary was greatly honoured, not far from the said town of Ludlow. Therefore Edmund sent a message there quickly to the men and those who were attached to him in Maelienydd in Wales, asking that they not neglect to come to his aid in so dire a necessity.

Passage 3l. *Historia Vitae*, pp.172-173

Qui cum ad eum peruenissent, cum eis et aliis pluribus ualentibus dictum montem intrepidus ascendit. Congresso igitur cum impetu magno inter eos facto, predicti Wallenses de Melenyth non de tribu Iuda, ymmo Iude prodictoris procreati, contra dominum proprium faciem et aciem proditorie uertebant. Cecidit ergo fors super nostrates, captus est dominus Edmundus incontinenti, et plures alii cum illo. Venerat quidem tunc ex parte dicti Owyni G<lyndor> quidam Wallicus, nomine Rees a Gythe, qui et ipse inter alios mentis acerbioris erat. Hic sibi omnes resistentes aut occidit aut mutulauit aut capiuauit. Vnde in illo conflictu occisi sunt numero quasi 400 homines Anglicani, inter quos 4 milites, uidelicet dominus Kinare de Laber.

When these men had come to him, with these and many other strong men, he fearlessly ascended the said mountain. And so when the two forces came together with a great charge, the aforesaid Welshmen of Maelienydd, being not of the tribe of Juda, but rather descended from the line of the traitor Judas, turned against their own lord the figure and battle-line of treachery. Therefore fortune turned against our men, and Edmund was captured publicly, and many others with him. Then a certain Welshman came, of the faction of the said Owain Glynd+r, by name Rhys ap

Gruffydd, who was himself of a fiercer mind even than the others. This one either killed or mutilated or captured all those resisting him. Thus in that conflict around four hundred Englishmen were slain, among whom were four knights, including the Lord Kynard de le Beer.

Passage 3m. *Historia Vitae*, p.173

Iacebant ergo corpora inter equorum pedes, sanguine proprio rubricata, longo tempore post sepeliri prohibita. Hic putatur, secundum opinionen quorundam, prodigium illud, dudum in natiuitate dicti Edmundi factum, in hoc conflictu completum esse. Cum enim in hanc lucem uisceribus a maternis editus esset, equi sui in stabulo in sanguine stantes fere ad genua inuenti sunt. Sed utinam hic impletum set, ne nobis de cetero per ipsum, et propter ipsum, deterius contingat. Capto ergo Edmundo, ibat de conflictu cum illo Owyn G<lyndor> in montes et speluncas de Snowdonn in Wallia. Quam tamen humaniter simul et reuerenter pro suo modulo tractauit, sperans et asserens, illum regem Anglie in proximo futurum. Ab isto quidem die cepit pars predicti Owyni <Glyndor> nimis accrescere, nostra uero infirmari.

Therefore the bodies were lying amongst the feet of the horses, red with their own blood, being forbidden to be buried for a long time afterwards. Here it is supposed, according to the opinion of certain people, that that prodigy, which had occurred at the birth of the said Edmund, was fulfilled in this conflict. For when he had been given forth into this light from his mother's insides, his own horses were found standing in the stables in blood almost up to their knees. But may it be so that it was fulfilled in this way, lest something worse happen to us in some other matter, through that very man and on account of that very man. So when Edmund was captured, he went from the conflict with Owain Glynd+r into the mountains and caves of Snowdonia in Wales. Nevertheless, he treated him at the same time very humanely and reverently to the best of his ability, anticipating and assuring, that he [Edmund] would be king of England in the near future. Indeed from this day the cause of the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r very much increased and our cause indeed ailed.

Passage 3n. *Historia Vitae*, **pp.173-174**

Eodem anno, circa festum Decollacionis beati Iohannis Baptiste, descendit iterum rex cum manu forti in Walliam contra predictum Owynum G<lyndor> et Wallenses adhuc sibi rebellantes. Qui per 20 dies ibidem extitit, non solum nichil proficiens, sed et multa infortunia et dampna per aerearum malignitatum tempestates pertulit. Vnde idem inglorious reuersus est.

In that same year, around the feast of the Beheading of the Blessed John the Baptist, the king came down with a strong hand once again into Wales against the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r and the Welsh who were still rebelling against him. He remained in that place for twenty days, not only achieving nothing, but bearing many misfortunes and injuries through the storms of airy malignities. So the same man returned from there ignominiously.

Passage 3o. *Historia Vitae*, **p.175**

Eodem anno, circa festum Sancti Martini episcopi, dominus de Grey, de quo supra fit mencio, solutis prius 5000 marcarum, liberatus est de manibus predicti Owyni G<lyndor> relictis tamen duobus filiis suis obsidibus in eius custodia pro aliis 5000 marcis, adhuc remanentibus, et sibi fideliter soluendis. Eodem anno dominus Edmundus Mortumer, de quo etiam supra mencionem feci, circa festum Sancti Andree Apostoli, filiam prefati Owyni Glyndor desponsauit maxima cum solennitate, et, sicut uulgariter dicitur, conuersus est totaliter ad Wallicos.

In that same year, around the feast of Saint Martin the Bishop, Lord Grey, regarding whom mention was made above, when 5000 marks had been paid, was freed from the hands of the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r, although two sons of his still remained in his custody upon a ransom of another 5000 marks, to be paid faithfully to him. In that same year the Lord Edmund Mortimer, about whom I have also made mention above, around the feast of Saint Andrew the Apostle, married the daughter of the aforesaid Owain Glynd+r with very great solemnity, and so it is commonly said, turned entirely to the side of the Welshmen.

Chronicle 4: *Dieulacres Chronicle*

The Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey, 1381– 1403, M.V. Clarke and V.H. Galbraith, eds, in 'The De- position of Richard II', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 14 (1930), pp.125-185.

Passage 4a. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175

Anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndouur erat, figens se iure progenitorum suorum principem Wallie fore villas angligenas in Wallia, scilicet, Conway, Ruthyn, Oswaldistr et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit. Quequidem terra Wallie tempore regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.

In the year 1400 a certain evil-doer and rebel with his Welsh companions of the race of the Britons whose name in fact was Owain Glynd+r, setting himself up as the Prince of Wales by the law of his ancestors, plundered and burned English townships in Wales, more specifically, Conwy, Ruthin and Oswestry and others both walled and bare. The land of Wales, having been conquered in the time of Edward I, was recognised as distinct.

Passage 4b. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175

Circa idem tempus stella comata apparuit in borialibus partibus Anglie. Que comata scintillas vertebat versus Walliam; et quidam estimant dictam cometam pronosticare bellum Salopie.

Around that same time a comet star appeared in the northern parts of England. This comet turned its sparks towards Wales; and certain people consider the said comet to have predicted the battle of Shrewsbury.

Passage 4c. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.175

Eodem anno Reginaldus Grey dominus de Ruthyn non longe a castro dolo et fraude Wallencium et precipue domus sue captus est et fere per biennium in arta custodia postus, ultro pro x milibus librarym redemptus est.

In that same year Reginald Grey Lord of Ruthin was captured by the trickery and deceit of the Welshmen, not far from his castle and near his own home, and was placed under close guard for almost two years, until he was freed for a ransom of ten thousand libra.

Passage 4d. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, pp.175-176

Eodem anno quidam Wallencium, Willelmus ap Tuder in die Parasceves hora tenebrarum dolo et fraude, custode absente, Iohanne Massey de Podyngton milite capitaneo castellum de Conway cepit.

Fertur siquidem in dicto castello hora supradicta tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servicio divinio in ecclesia parochiali occupatis remansisse; sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis, castellum vendicarunt; parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste treugis factis et pace concessa omnibus octo exceptis in manum principis reddiderunt.

In this year on the day of Good Friday, at the hour of Tenebrae a certain Welshman, William ap Tudor, captured the castle of Conwy by fraud and treachery while the guardian John Massey of Podyngton, military captain, was absent.

It is said that in the castle at the hour mentioned above three Welsh servants and two English guards remained while the others were occupied in divine service (mass) in the church of the parish; and so when the English had treacherously been killed by them they claimed the castle; in a short time worn out by a siege, when a truce was made on the feast of John the Baptist, and peace conceded to all except eight of them, they returned it into the hands of their ruler.

Passage 4e. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.176

Anno domini millesimo CCCCI Owinus iuxta le Pole primo spoliatus contra Anglicos super undam Sabrine dimicavit suisque letaliter lesis et multis interfectis atque galea de capite proiecta sero profugit ab eis. Sed discreti reputant demenciam quando quis una manu percutit alteram. Sicque rex Henricus et princeps Henricus diversis temporibus cum manu forti Walliam pergirantes omnia devestabant, quia in primeva fundacione circa ea modicum laborabant. Illi vero rebelles semper fugiendo

latuerunt in montibus, boscis et cavernis terre, semper machinantes caudam anglicorum perimere.

In the year of our lord one thousand four hundred and one, Owain, when he had first plundered near Welshpool, fought against the English beside the river Severn, and, when many of his man had been mortally wounded or killed, he threw the helm from his head and at last fled from them. But the discerning consider it madness when someone strikes one hand with the other. And in this way the King Henry and Prince Henry, at different times, were travelling through Wales with a strong hand, laying waste to everything, because they had not worked sufficiently at these things in the first place. Indeed the rebels always fled and lurked in mountains, forests and caverns of the earth, always plotting to cut off the rearguard of the English.

Passage 4f. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p.176

Hiis temporibus Anglici multa bona et precipue bestiarum omnium generum quasi infinitam multitudinem abduxerunt, ut putaretur quasi impossibile tanta bona in tam modica plaga principaliter bestiarum arceri.[4] Sed mira res, licet tempus esset clarum et tranquillum nunquam habuerunt, cum ibi essent amenum tempus ante reversionem set inundacionem tonitruum, grandinem et precipue tempore estivali. Sed hoc non videtur difficile ex sortilegio contingere quod putatur fieri per magos Owini et non est impossible per potestatem immundorum spirituum aerem commoveri; sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt: ideo proposito pene semper caruerunt et in vanum sepius laboraverunt etc.

At this time the English took away many goods, and especially many of all kinds of beasts, an almost unlimited multitude, so that one would suppose it almost impossible that so many goods especially animals, could be gathered in such a region. But it was a miraculous thing, although the season was clear and tranquil they [the English] never had pleasant weather when they were there before going

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[4] The editors M.V. Clarke and V.H. Galbraith suggest 'acreari', thanking one Mr. Charles Johnson. It is unclear from their edition whether this is a manuscript reading for which Johnson has offered an explanation, or a conjecture, but in either case it is not a good one. I would suggest arceri makes good sense, unlike the non-word acreari, the proposed meaning of which ('destroyed') does not fit the context in any case, even if it is a possible meaning of this otherwise unattested word.

back, but there was an inundation of thunders, hail and especially in the summer season. But this does not seem difficult to give a supernatural explanation, that it is supposed to have happened through the magicians of Owain, and it is not impossible that the air be moved through the power of unclean spirits; but to many more discerning people it seemed that the cause of the said tempest was principally because the aforesaid people had no just title against them: thus they almost always failed in their plans and too often laboured in vain.

Passage 4g. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, pp.176-177

Eodem anno in die sancti Albani in loco qui dicitur Pilale Wallici fraude circumvenerunt Anglicos interficientes ex eis mille quingentos captoque Edmundo le Mortimere a sua familia, ut dictitur, decepto et cum Owyno converso eius filiam desponsavit et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit.

In that same year on the day of the feast of St Alban in the place which is called Pillith, the Welsh deceptively surrounded the English, killing one thousand five hundred of them, and when Edmund Mortimer had been captured, deceived, so it is said, by his own family, and having been converted to Owain's cause, he married his [i.e. Owain's] daughter and continued for a long time in the same error in working with that man.

Chronicle 5: Cagrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*

Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis, F.C. Hingeston, ed., Rolls Series, London, 1858.

Passage 5a. Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus*, p.110

Et post haec quasdam animi perturbationes habuit idem rex cum uno armigero Ricardi, comitis Arundell, qui armiger dictus est Glendore, quem rex saepius quaesivit et nunquam invenit. Nam in montibus et cavernis Walliae circumvagans, nunquam certum locum habuit, nec a quoquam capi potuit.

And after these things the same king [Henry IV] had certain worries of his mind with one squire of Richard, the Earl of Arundel, called Glynd+r whom the king rather

often sought, and never found. For wandering about in the mountains and caverns of Wales, he never had a certain location nor could he be captured by anyone.

Chronicle 6: Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*

John Rous, *Rossi Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*, Thomas Hearne, ed., Oxford, 1716.

Passage 6a. Rous, *Historia Regum Angliae*, pp.206-207

Circa initium regni sui apparuit stella comata, Rosa, secundum astronomos, dicta, de natura solis. Rotunda erat & mirae magnitudinis. Statim ,urrexit magna rebellione quidam Wallicus dictus Owen de Glendour, qui totam Angliam multum inquietavit. Regio exercitui nunquam obviare au,us in certis ca,tris erat ,æpius ob,e,,us, ca,tris ip,is captis inveniri non potuit. Dictum erat tunc commune quod lapidem habuit eum reddentem invi,ibilem, qui lapis, ut dicitur, quondam erat Ricardi comitis Arundeliiæ per regem Ricardum crudeliter decapitati. Comes Arundelliæ prædictus, ut a,,eritur, habuit corvum de majori corum genere autonomatice a Ravyn. Qui corvus erat nutritus in curia ,ua, & dum quadam vice luderet ad ,caccarium in quodam orto, dictus corvus vel ,piritus in ,pecie corvina coram comite lapidem eructavit invi,ibilitatis habentem virtutem. Comes lapidem non appreciavit contra con,ilium nobilium ,uorum, & cito po,t dictus comes manu potenti are,tatus ad carceres deputatus finaliter decapitatus e,t.

Around the beginning of his [Henry's] reign appeared a comet, red, according to the astronomers said to be of the nature of the sun. It was round and of an extraordinary size. At once, a certain Welshman called Owain Glynd+r rose up in a great rebellion, who much disquieted the whole of England. He never dared to meet in battle the king's army, and he was often besieged in a stronghold. The castle having been captured, he could not be found. It was a common rumour at that time that he had a stone which rendered him invisible, which stone, as it is said, once belonged to Richard, Earl of Arundel, who was cruelly beheaded by King Richard. The aforesaid Earl of Arundel, so it is reported, had a crow of the greater sort of them, which are called ravens. This crow was raised in his court and when on a certain occasion he was playing chess in a certain garden, the so called crow or spirit in the form of a

crow, in the presence of the earl, noisily spat out a stone which had the virtue of invisibility. The earl did not use it, contrary to the advice of his nobles, and soon after the said earl was forcibly arrested, sent off to prison and finally decapitated.

Chronicle 7: Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*

Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica* (1555), Scolar Press, Mension, England, 1972.

Passage 7a. Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.432

Interea ut ,pes nulla requietis e,,et, Vallia quæ ,emper ad novos motus intenta erat, mutuis quorundam nobilium di,sidijs exagitata, ad defection' propemodum ,pectare uidebatur. Quod ubi rex cognouit, eo celeriter cum exercitu profici,citur, qui uix aberat bidui, cum Valli perterriti ,e,e raptim in ,yluas atq[ue] paludes abdiderunt, copijs regijs po,,e ,e re,i,tere, non dubitanter de,perantes: n(omnibus tamen fuga ,aluti fuit, quippe aliquot in ea capti merita poena afficiuntur.

Meanwhile, so there would be no hope for quiet, Wales, ever prone to new risings, was troubled by the mutual bickering of certain nobles and seemed almost to look towards rebellion. When the king found this out, he hastened there with an army, and was scarce two days away when the terrified Welsh swiftly stole away to their forests and marshes, no doubt despairing that they could resist the royal forces. But this flight was not the salvation of them all, since some were captured there and suffered their deserved comeuppance.

Passage 7b. Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.433

Rex interim certior factus a comitibus in ,e bellum parari, quam citi,simè pote,t, militem ,uum cogit, præ,entemque tumult* Vuallico anteuertendum ratus, Salopiam reuertit, ueritus ne à tergo ab inimicis intercluderetur: uix eò peruenerat, cum intellexit comites in,tructo agmine aduentare, qui tanta ferocia accedebãt ad dimicand), ut in propinquo ca,tris po,itis, au,i ,int incur,are in ho,tes. Rex ubi propior' ,pe dimicationem uidet, ut ne militum uirtuti mora damno ,it, aciem in,truit: in,truuntur c(tra & ho,tes animis & uiribus pares, datoque utrinque ,igno, initur magnis ,ublatis clamoribus prælium: primo c(gre,,u, regia prima acies quæ peditum erat, à Scotis qui initium pugnæ fecerunt, paululum loco cedere cogitur, ,ed

confe,tim centurion* opera & iu,,u, pro ,e qui,que rur,us in eum locum unde erat egre,,us, reuertens non parum fortiter re,i,tit. Interim Vualli qui po,t regis di,ce,,um, ex ,yluis ac paludibus egre,si de nouo bello audierant, ,ubinde uenientes ad comites, fe,sis integri ac recentes ,ubibant.

Meanwhile when the king was informed by his earls that he should prepare himself for war, he brought together his soldiers as quickly as he could. Considering the present tumult to be more important than the Welsh one, he turned back to Shrewsbury, fearing that he might be cut off from behind by his enemies: barely had he come there, when he perceived that his earls had arrived with battle lines drawn up, who had approached with such ferocious eagerness for battle, that, since the camps had been pitched close to each other, they dared to strike against the enemy. When the king saw that battle was closer than he had hoped, he drew up his battle line, so that delay would not do harm to the courage of his soldiers: they were drawn up, both enemies in spirit and in strength equal, and when the signal was given on both sides, battle was joined with a great clamour: in the first part of the engagement, the king's first battle line, which was on foot, was driven to yield a little ground, by the Scots who made a start of the battle. But quickly, by the work and the orders of the centurions, each for himself made back the ground from which he had withdrawn, and turning back each resisted with not a little bravery. Meanwhile the Welsh, who after the withdrawal of the king had emerged from their forests and marshes and had heard about the new war, came unhurt and fresh to the aid of those who were weary.

Passage 7c. Polydore Vergil, *Historia Anglica*, p.434

Princeps Henricus ,ecund* hanc victori& in Vuallum exercit* duxit, qu' patris belli fortuna ,ecunda perterritum, nullo fere labore domuit, Ouino viro natura ,editio,o tumultuo,oque, qui faction* caput fuerat, exili* ultro adire coacto, ubi vitæ exitum ,uis factis dign* habuit: nam rerum omni* egens mi,errime mortem obiit.

After this victory Prince Henry led the army into Wales, and, since it was terrified by his father's good fortune in war, he subdued it with next to no effort. Owain, the leader of the faction, a man seditious and riotous by nature, was forced to go into

voluntary exile, where his life had an ending worthy of his deeds. Reduced to extreme poverty, he died a wretched death.