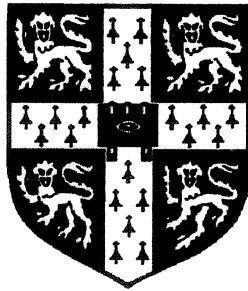


BASIC TEXTS FOR BRITTONIC HISTORY

1

Annales Cambriae,
A.D. 682–954:
Texts A–C in Parallel

Edited and translated by
DAVID N. DUMVILLE



DEPARTMENT OF ANGLO-SAXON, NORSE, AND CELTIC
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

The Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic offers programmes of study, at both undergraduate and graduate level, on the post-Roman, pre-Norman cultures of Britain, Brittany, Ireland, and the Scandinavian world in their various aspects — historical, literary, linguistic, and palaeographical. The principal courses offered cover the following subjects:

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PREFACE

This series of pamphlets containing editions and translations of important texts for the study of the history of the Brittonic-speaking peoples (the Bretons, the Cornish, the Manx before about A.D. 900, the North Britons — especially the Strathclyders, the Picts, and the Welsh) has been launched to give greater currency to materials prepared for class-use in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic of the University of Cambridge. These are intended as unpretentious editions, giving no more apparatus than is absolutely essential and leaving commentary to be delivered in class. Since a high proportion of these texts is otherwise difficult of access, in editions which are out of print or out of date or without Modern English translations (or suffering from all these defects), it is hoped that this series will prove serviceable also to a wider scholarly community. The series-editor would be grateful to receive any suggestions for improvement of the editions or for additions to the series.

David N. Dumville
Summer 2002

INTRODUCTION

Annales Cambriae is a modern title given to a complex of interrelated Cambro-Latin chronicles of various dates (including one with the mediaeval title *Cronica de Wallia*), which stem ultimately from a text compiled from diverse sources at Mynyw, presumably St Davids in Dyfed, not later than the tenth century. The tradition did not run its course until the years around 1300, by which time it had interacted with Anglo-Latin chronicling.¹ Cambro-Latin chronicling, including its interaction with the English tradition, contributed to Welsh vernacular chronicling (whose only known mediaeval title is, ironically, *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ‘The Kings of the English’) which probably began as a translation-literature in the immediate aftermath of complete English conquest in Wales in the earlier 1280s; the vernacular tradition was sustained until the second half of the fifteenth century.² Various lost texts can be hypothesised, and some early modern fragments of lost mediaeval witnesses are known, though hardly studied.³ From the thirteenth century at least, Welsh chronicling was penetrated by the narrative and outlook of ‘the British History’ which we associate with Geoffrey of Monmouth, bishop of Llanelwy/St Asaph 1152-5: his *Historia regum Britanniae*, ‘History of the Kings of Britain’, published in the later 1130s,⁴ was revised by another (and almost contemporary) writer;⁵ the *Historia* was also translated into Welsh on more than one occasion, first about 1200.⁶ Geoffrey’s historiography is reflected in two of the three texts presented here.⁷

Although *Annales Cambriae* was known, in one form or another, from the beginnings of the modern British scholarly tradition in the mid-sixteenth century, it was not published until the mid-nineteenth.⁸ In the intervening period, the Welsh vernacular derivatives — retranslated into Latin and translated into English — held the field, first being published in translation in 1584.⁹

¹ The standard account is that of Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 67-100.

² Lloyd, ‘The Welsh chronicles’; Jones, ‘Historical writing’.

³ *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. Smith, IV.168-77 (errata on p. viii); Williams, ‘Bishop Sulien’ (cf. Lloyd, ‘Bishop Sulien’, and Flower, ‘William Salesbury’); Brett, ‘John Leland, Wales’, pp. 176-80.

⁴ *The Historia*, I, ed. Wright; *Geoffrey*, transl. Thorpe. Cf. Lloyd, ‘Geoffrey’.

⁵ *The Historia*, II, ed. Wright.

⁶ *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. Roberts; cf. *Brut y Brenhinedd*, ed. & transl. Parry; *Brut Dingestow*, ed. Lewis. For separate discussion, see Reiss, ‘The Welsh versions’.

⁷ B and C; see below, p. xiii. See annals 682B; 679C, 689C, 704C, 722.2C, 734C.

⁸ Some early modern transcripts are known. For Leland, see above, n. 3. Excerpts, in two series, were published in 1691 in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II.648-51, and xxxi-xxxii, as *Annales Ecclesiae Menevensis*.

⁹ Powel, *The Historie of Cambria*. Cf. Lhuyd, *Commentarioli* and *The Breuiary*.

The pre-Conquest segment of *Annales Cambriae* was the first to see print, in 1848, in *Monumenta Historica Britannica*.¹⁰ It was followed in 1860 by a less good — in fact, very poor — edition of the whole by John Williams (Ab Ithel),¹¹ who in the same year was responsible for the first critical edition, with translation, of the Welsh vernacular chronicle(s).¹² Both were published in the Rolls Series.¹³ Although the grave faults of Williams's edition of *Annales Cambriae* were early pointed out,¹⁴ the only major attempt to improve the situation was Egerton Phillimore's very precise edition of the A-text, published in *Y Cymmrodor* in 1888 (and reprinted with only a few corrections in 1995).¹⁵ In 1900 J.E. Lloyd printed parallel texts of B and C for the years 1035-93,¹⁶ a useful service but one which highlighted how desperate was the need for a new edition of the whole complex of Cambro-Latin chronicles. There the matter rested, save that in 1946 Thomas Jones published from a Welsh Cistercian manuscript a related Latin chronicle of the years 1190-1266, which travelled under the name *Cronica de Wallia*.¹⁷ The twentieth century also saw two major articles devoted to the textual history of the Welsh chronicles.¹⁸ It has rather been in the area of the vernacular derivatives that twentieth-century scholarship has made its major contribution, in the shape of the four volumes of edition and translation published by Thomas Jones in 1941, 1952, 1955 (revised 1973), and 1971.¹⁹

There are four principal versions of *Annales Cambriae*.

A: London, British Library, MS. Harley 3859, folios 190r-193r

B: London (Kew), Public Record Office, MS. E.164/1 (K.R. Misc. Books, Series I), pp. 2-26

C: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Domitian A.i, folios 138r-155r

E: Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS. 3514, pp. 507-19 (*Cronica de Wallia*)

All the manuscripts except the first were written in South Wales in the second half of the thirteenth century.

¹⁰ *Monumenta*, edd. Petrie & Sharpe, pp. 830-40 (cf. 92-4).

¹¹ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Williams.

¹² *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. & transl. Williams.

¹³ On the series, see Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises*, pp. 99-134.

¹⁴ For discussion, see Phillimore, 'The publication'.

¹⁵ Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*'; Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.13-55.

¹⁶ Lloyd, 'Wales and the coming', pp. 166-79.

¹⁷ Jones, "'Cronica'" and *Cronica*.

¹⁸ Lloyd, 'The Welsh chronicles'; Hughes, 'The Welsh Latin chronicles', reprinted (revised) in *Celtic Britain*, pp. 67-85.

¹⁹ *Brut y Tywysogion*, ed. & transl. Jones (3 volumes); *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, ed. & transl. Jones.

A is contained in a manuscript written about 1100, an unusually large collection of mostly late Antique texts (occupying some 365 folios).²⁰ Where the manuscript was written has been a matter of some considerable uncertainty. Wales is an unlikely area of origin.²¹ The Low Counties, Normandy, and England have all been suggested.²² Studies of the textual histories of some of the manuscript's contents have begun to provide pointers.²³ Although the handwriting suggests that it is the work of a Continental scribe, there is some reason to think that the manuscript was in southern England in the first half of the twelfth century; and it may have been written there.²⁴ From the fourteenth century until the early eighteenth it resided in Italy.²⁵

A (whose annalistic frame extends from A.D. 445 to 977) is an interpolation (in the company of a following set of Welsh royal genealogies) into a copy of the Harleian recension of *Historia Brittonum*.²⁶ In as much as the frame of A concludes at 977, and the last annal is for 954, and the genealogies document the status of Owain ap Hywel, king of Deheubarth 950-88,²⁷ it seems likely that this pair of texts belongs to the second half of the tenth century; it is probable that they were also interpolated then into *Historia Brittonum*, probably at Mynyw but certainly in South Wales. The copy in MS. Harley 3859 of the interpolated *Historia* — which has been called, not entirely helpfully, a 'British Historical Miscellany'²⁸ — seems to represent a foreign petrification of the work, whose Welsh linguistic forms

²⁰ For the contents, see Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, p. 68 and n. 11. The date is that universally given in the scholarship (for an apt comparison with a Flemish manuscript of 1101×1106, see Denholm-Young, *Handwriting*, p. 41), save that, in the course of a literary controversy a date in the second quarter of the twelfth century was proposed by the palaeographer J.G. Evans: *Facsimile*, ed. Evans, p. viii (the Introduction is not in all published copies); Morris-Jones, 'Taliesin', pp. 37-44; Evans, 'Taliesin', p. 7. Recently, Michael Reeve has again allowed that possibility, dating it *saec.* xii¹ but perhaps not later than the 1130s, and indeed not after 1125: 'The transmission', pp. 317, 319.

²¹ The principal evidence resides in the mechanical corruption of Welsh names (and other Welsh words) contained in the manuscript's three texts of Welsh origin: *Historia Brittonum*, *Annales Cambriae*, Welsh royal genealogies. For discussion, see Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*', pp. 146-7 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.18-19). Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, pp. 31-2, unwisely attributed it to St Davids after 1115.

²² Denholm-Young, *Handwriting*, p. 41; Reeve, 'Two manuscripts', p. 833 (reproduction of folio 15v on p. 839); Reeve, 'Editorial opportunities', p. 485; Reeve, 'The transmission', pp. 317-20.

²³ Reeve, 'The transmission', pp. 317-22.

²⁴ Cf. Reeve, *ibid.*, p. 319.

²⁵ Reeve, 'Two manuscripts'; cf. 'The transmission', p. 320. Its last known Italian owner was Ovidio Montalbani (1602-71) of Bologna: Wright, *Fontes*, pp. 242, 436.

²⁶ On *Historia Brittonum* see Dumville, *Histories*, essays I-XIII, and 'Historia Brittonum'. For the three Welsh texts from this manuscript, see Faral, *La légende*, III.3-63; for translation of the whole see Nennius's "History of the Britons", transl. Wade-Evans.

²⁷ For the genealogies, see Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*', pp. 169-83 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.41-55); *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. Bartrum, pp. 9-13 (with plate of folio 194r) and notes on pp. 125-9.

²⁸ Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, pp. 29-41.

belong to the ninth and tenth centuries, not to the years around 1100.²⁹ A presents a range of peculiarities, some of which will be discussed below.

B is an addition, with two other small chronicles, to a contemporary copy of a briefer edition of 'Domesday Book'. B was written, probably at the Cistercian abbey of Neath, at the end of the thirteenth century (and certainly before 1304): its last annal is for 1286.³⁰ The text begins at 60 B.C., Bede's date for Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain;³¹ A.D. dates are attached to annals from 1097. Down to 682 its text has been affected by the historiography of Geoffrey of Monmouth.³²

C is part of a book written at the cathedral church of St Davids and dominated by works of Gerald of Wales (1146-1223), long an officer of that church.³³ The chronicle begins with a lengthy world-history section, organised in its latter part by the reigns of Roman emperors to Heraclius (610-41), but from the mid-fifth century the text of *Annales Cambriae* has been conflated with this. Two blank *anni* precede the text printed here; almost forty annals have been lost in the process. The influence of the historiography of Geoffrey of Monmouth continues into the annal of 734.³⁴ The last annal is for 1288, but a blank *annus* for 1289 suggests that the chronicler intended to continue.³⁵

E is found in a manuscript of the First Variant Version of Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britanniae* and other specimens of twelfth-century historiography.³⁶ At least part of the book was written at the Cistercian abbey of Whitland in south-west Wales in the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁷ The chronicle (*Cronica de Wallia*) extends from 1190 to 1266; it is followed, at some slight remove (pp. 523-8) by D, a *Cronica ante aduentum Domini* rapidly covering 1132 B.C. to A.D. 1285 and containing a few notices of Welsh affairs.³⁸

²⁹ The point was made by Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*', pp. 147-9 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.19-21). Cf. Jackson, *Language*, pp. 47-9, 56.

³⁰ Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 74, 79-85.

³¹ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, V.24 (edd. & transl. Colgrave & Mynors, pp. 560-1). Cf. Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, p. 74 and n. 49.

³² Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 73-4 and p. 84, n. 93. See also above, n. 7, and below, n. 34.

³³ On the manuscript see Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 73-4, 76, and (as also for its history) Ker, *Books*, pp. 471-96 (it was being used by Sir John Prise already in 1539, having been sent to him from St Davids Cathedral: it is 'P.10' in Ker's list). On Gerald, see Bartlett, *Gerald*, and Wada, 'Gerald on Gerald'.

³⁴ On this transitional part of the text, see Dumville, *Histories*, essay III, pp. 462-3. For the transitions in B and C, see Dumville *et al.*, *Saint Patrick*, pp. 279-88.

³⁵ Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, p. 85.

³⁶ For description, see Crick, *The Historia*, III, pp. 114-17 (no. 70), and references given there. See also Thornton, 'A neglected genealogy' (on Text II).

³⁷ Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 76-9, 85, on the localisation.

³⁸ *Cronica*, ed. Jones, pp. 16-17 (Text IV); cf. Dumville, *Histories*, essay III, p. 465 (cf. 466).

The ultimate origin of all this Welsh chronicling seems to lie at Mynyw in Dyfed in the years around 800. A beginning in 796 has been suggested,³⁹ but any kind of continuity is wanting until the sequences 807-12, 815-18; it may therefore be more realistic to think of that period as the start of chronicling at Mynyw, but we must note that these particular annals are heavily dominated by records of events in Gwynedd.⁴⁰ At some point the chronicle was extended backwards to 453 (the first entry) and 445 (the first, blank, annal).⁴¹ The text seems to have borne no explicit chronology, however, and an origin in the margins of paschal tables has been suggested.⁴² The history of the text to the second half of the tenth century, the period of the creation of version A, remains uncertain. Apart from entries at 601 and 645, Mynyw is first mentioned in the annal for 810.⁴³ Thereafter we seem to have record of a sequence of bishops of Mynyw; there is no such record for any other church before the twelfth century. What is clearly arguable is that an annalistic record was kept desultorily at Mynyw from at least 810 (perhaps even the 770s).⁴⁴

The sources of *Annales Cambriae* constitute a problem which needs to be kept firmly in mind. It is certain that an Irish chronicle created in the first half of the tenth century was a significant source for *Annales Cambriae* down to that date; we can also document exchange of historical information between Clonmacnoise and Mynyw thereafter.⁴⁵ A North Welsh chronicle covering 754-858 (and perhaps indeed continuing closer to the time of compilation) also seems to have been used.⁴⁶ Information about North Britain may have come from a

³⁹ Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 86-8, 99-100 (cf. 68-9). Lloyd, 'The Welsh chronicles', p. 380, put the beginning 'about 770', modifying his earlier and less adventurous position in *A History*, I.263-4.

⁴⁰ On the Venedotian dimension, see further below, pp. x-xiii.

⁴¹ It is not clear why the cycle begins in 445. That year is, however, $323=17\times 19$ years before 768, the date of the paschal change to the nineteen-year cycles, instigated by the Venedotian Bishop Elfoddw and recorded in *Annales Cambriae*. The significance of 453 is, as the first editors put it, 'Inter ecclesiam Occidentalem Orientalemque anno 453 quæstio orta est, utrum Pascha anni 455 die Aprilis decimo septimo an vicesimo quarto celebrandum esset': *Monumenta*, edd. Petrie & Sharpe, p. 830, n. d.

⁴² On such an origin for annalistic chronicles, see *Annala Uladh*, edd. & transl. Hennessy & MacCarthy, IV.c-cv, Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History*, pp. 235-59, 501-12; and Ó Cróinín, 'Early Irish annals'.

⁴³ 601 (an. 157A): *Dauid episcopus †Moni iudeorum†*, presumably including *Moniu* (Mynyw). 645 (an. 201A): *Percusio demeticæ regionis quando cenobium Dauid incensum est*. See Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*', pp. 156, 158 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.28, 30).

⁴⁴ There are two records of South Welsh events in the 770s — at 775 and 778.

⁴⁵ Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles*, chapter IV, for full details. That an Irish source was used was recognised already by the first editors.

⁴⁶ The specific notice of Abergele in the annal for 858 deserves to be remarked in this connexion.

chronicle kept in that area or may have been mediated through the Chronicle of Clonmacnoise.⁴⁷

A St Davids chronicle constitutes a common source for B and C as far as the annal for 1202;⁴⁸ thereafter, only C (and a close relative excerpted in the 1530s by John Leland)⁴⁹ is a St Davids record.⁵⁰ That common source was neither A nor a derivative of A. Rather, it was independently derived from an ancestor of A. B and C jointly and individually attest entries which must belong to the chronicle kept at Mynyw in the tenth century.⁵¹ There has been speculation about a chronicle kept in Ceredigion, first at Llanbadarn Fawr and then at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, but this remains to be argued out in detail.⁵² Other Welsh Cistercian houses have from time to time been thought seats of chronicling in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵³ However, almost everything remains to be done in discovering both the local sources of record and the textual history behind the extant chronicles (which is itself intertwined with the questions of the sources and interrelationships of the Welsh vernacular chronicles).

Some aspects of the textual history may be illuminated by considering the annals for 775-7. A great deal more such evidence can be gathered from comparison of these texts.

775 A Fernmail filius Iudhail moritur.

B Fernwail filius Idwal obiit.

C Sernmail filius Idwal moritur.

We may be satisfied that A is a credible statement: Ffyrnfael, son of Ithael, is otherwise known as a member of the royal line of Gwent.⁵⁴ His name is found altered in different ways in B and C: in B it is partially updated; in C, by contrast, the Old-Welsh form has been retained, but the initial has been mangled. C has likewise retained the presumptively original *moritur*, whereas B contains an innovation, *obiit*. The most striking difference, however, is

⁴⁷ Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 68-73, 86-100, considered the options, but before it had been demonstrated (see n. 45) that a tenth-century Irish chronicle would have been the hypothetical intermediary; cf. Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles*, pp. 212-15.

⁴⁸ Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 74, 80, 84, 85.

⁴⁹ *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. Smith, IV.168-77 (errata on p. viii). It should be noted, however, that Leland's hand is found also in the manuscript of the C-text, as Daniel Huws has pointed out to me.

⁵⁰ The origin of C at St Davids was already recognised in 1691 when excerpts were published in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, II.xxxi-xxxii, 648-51 (cf. p. xxvi, no. XXI), and described as *Annales Ecclesiae Menevensis*.

⁵¹ Cf. Grabowski & Dumville, *Chronicles*, p. 224.

⁵² Lloyd, 'The Welsh chronicles', pp. 383-5.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 385-6; Smith, 'The "Cronica de Wallia"'; Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 77-83.

⁵⁴ Harleian Genealogies, §28: Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*', pp. 181-2 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.53-4); *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. Bartrum, p. 12 (cf. p. 129); Nennius's "History of the Britons", transl. Wade-Evans, p. 112.

that BC agree against A in giving a different patronymic for Ffyrnfael, namely Idwal (which is also shared with the three vernacular chronicles). BC may therefore be seen to have a common source in which an error had been introduced.

- 776 A Ceniold, rex Pictorum, obiit.
B Chemoith, rex Pictorum, obiit.
C Cenioid, rex Pictorum, moritur.

C again shows an innovation in the verb, this time in the opposite direction to the change in 775. It also retains, however, (or reinstates) the name-form originally written by the scribe of A, *Cenioid*, which was presumably that in A's exemplar.

- 777 A Cudbert'h' abbas moritur.
B Cubertus abbas obiit.
C Cudbertus abbas obiit.

We may be sure that the common source of BC read as C, with B's *Cubertus* being a corruption. And in this case it is certain that that common source read *obiit*.

In sum, there can be little doubt that B and C had a common source. The hypothesis that that source was up to date in late 1202 when a copy of it passed from Gerald of Wales into the possession of the Welsh Cistercian abbey of Whitland may explain very satisfactorily the process of transmission of the text from St Davids into a Cistercian milieu.⁵⁵

That A was not an ancestor of the common source of BC is shown not only by the want in A of entries whose original presence is hard to doubt but also by small corruptions in A from which BC remain free. 811.2, 812, 822, 866(B), 904, 918(?) may all be held to show such a history.⁵⁶ We may take the first two as examples for discussion.

811.2 A De cantorum ictu fulminis comburit.

812 A Bellum inter Higucl uictor fuit.

Both entries are nonsensical as they stand.

811.2 B —

812 B Bellum inter Howel et Kinan: Howel uictor fuit.

The annal for 812 makes sense here. 811.2 is absent.

811.2 C Degannoel ictu fulminis comburitur.

⁵⁵ Harrison, 'A note'.

⁵⁶ On missing entries, see above. In the annal for 689, the words *et in Britannia* are in BC (and their equivalents are in all the vernacular texts), but not in A, and are presumptively original. In the annal for 831, on the other hand, *Saturbiu*, *A/ Saturwiu* B share against *Sadurnveu*, C, the loss of an essential consonant; here we should probably allow that C's reading arises from conjectural restoration. For an entry of Irish origin in 895 B, see Thornton, 'Locusts'.

812 C Bellum inter Howel et Kenan, sed uictor fuit Kenan.

We can only speculate as to the reason for the absence of 811.2 from B: this entry is present in all the vernacular versions. It seems unlikely that sense could be made simply from A, and therefore it is simplest to suppose that the source of BC carried a complete and accurate text. C's *comburitur* may suggest that A's *comburit* is corrupt, but the point cannot be pressed too hard. 812 A seems to be a simple case of a *saut du même au même*: 'Bellum inter Higuel <et Cinan: Higuel> uictor fuit'. This is what is given by B and all the vernacular versions. Troubling though C's different report of the outcome of the battle may be, there is no reason here to think that the common source of BC suffered from the same lacuna as A, leaving its derivatives to innovate independently.

Recognition that the A-text, though by two centuries the earliest surviving witness, does not stand at the head of the textual transmission invites questions about the form both of A and of the original compiled chronicle (which cannot have antedated by much the exemplar of A). What is most striking about A is its construction in a form which makes statements about Easter. As it stands, it is a chronicle of 533 years (although the first eight and the last twenty-three annals are blank): it is hard to doubt that a statement about the (Victorian or) Dionysiac Great Paschal Cycle of 532 years was intended. Entries at 453 (*Pasca commutatur super diem Dominicum cum papa Leone episcopo Rome*, 'Easter is changed on Sunday by Pope Leo, bishop of Rome'), 665 (*Primum pasca apud Saxones celebratur*, 'Easter is celebrated by the English for the first time'), and 768 are all concerned with Easter.⁵⁷ Yet it is hard to credit that this was a concern at Mynyw in the tenth century.⁵⁸

If we were to choose to assign these features to the hypothetical Venedotian source-chronicle extending at least from 754 to 848, which includes the moment of paschal change in Gwynedd in 768, we might have an explanation of this concern. It would be necessary to imagine that this special interest in Easter went back to later eighth-century Gwynedd. If so, the form of the A-text might be one devised to proclaim allegiance to the internationalist position. We might hope to find evidence that entries have been transferred from 84-year paschal cycles to their Great-Cycle counterpart. It is therefore striking that A's annals 312-14 (A.D. 756-8) and 397-8 (A.D. 841-2) are physically dislocated in the manuscript of the A-text,⁵⁹ for they stand eighty-four years apart. This apparently clear

⁵⁷ On Easter-cycles and paschal controversy, see Bedae Opera, ed. Jones; Harrison, *The Framework*.

⁵⁸ On the paschal controversy in Wales, see Lloyd, *A History*, I.175-7, 202-4.

⁵⁹ For detail, see Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae*', p. 161 and n. 5, and p. 164(-5) and n. 5 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.33 and n. 5, and 36[-7] and n. 5).

indication of an Easter-cycle of the old system is mitigated only by the fact that the later terminus falls long after the period at which that system is supposed to have been abandoned in Gwynedd — and indeed in Wales as a whole.

It is probably necessary to suppose that at Mynyw the newly compiled chronicle was developed in two ways. While A.D. 445 remained the starting point (at least for the time being: eventually a chronicle of the Six Ages of the World was prefixed to, but not integrated with, the chronicle kept at Mynyw),⁶⁰ the copy which was the exemplar of A retained the paschal-cycle form while another was developed as a simple chronicle. The latter was the text which, as developed to A.D. 1202, became the common source of B and C. We can track the reception of the A-text, embedded with the Welsh royal genealogies in the ‘Harleian’ recension of *Historia Brittonum*, in South Wales and at Canterbury around 1100, for it was used at Llancarfan in Lifris’s *Vita Sancti Cadoci*, §§45-47,⁶¹ and at Canterbury Cathedral in the F-text of ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle’, *s.a.* 685.⁶² And, as we have seen,⁶³ MS. Harley 3859, wherever it was written, was probably in southern England in the first half of the twelfth century.

For anyone not used to Insular Celtic chronicles, the absence of an A.D. dating system will no doubt seem odd. *Annales Cambriae* before 1097 lacks reference to any absolute, externally defined, chronology. The system found in the A-text is simply to number the years sequentially, this being marked by decimal counting, a practice probably ultimately derived from the chronicle of Eusebius-Jerome via that of Prosper of Aquitaine, both of whom gave a number every ten years.⁶⁴ Irish chroniclers of the ninth and tenth centuries seem also to have eschewed expression of absolute, universal dating formulae.

The ten-year dating in *Annales Cambriae* (A) was not perfectly achieved, for some decades contain one too many or one too few annals, and in places we can see erased *anni*.⁶⁵ This introduces some uncertainty into the chronicle’s chronology. Further difficulties arise when we consider events datable from external record. In annal 260A we find two entries,

⁶⁰ Brett, ‘The prefaces’; cf. Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 73-4, 85.

⁶¹ *Vitae*, ed. & transl. Wade-Evans, *Vitae*, pp. 116-19. On additions to this Life, made not later than about 1200, see Emanuel, ‘An analysis’.

⁶² *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition*, VIII, *MS F*, ed. Baker, p. 38 (cf. p. lix and n. 71): ‘Her wearþ on Brytene blodi ren, 7 meolc 7 butere wurdon gewend to blode Pluuia sanguinea facta est in Britannia, et lac et butirum uersa sunt in sanguinem.’

⁶³ See above, p. vii.

⁶⁴ Dumville, ‘What is a chronicle?’.

⁶⁵ Phillimore, ‘The *Annales Cambriae*’, pp. 155 n. 2 (573), 156 n. 7, 159 n. 2, 160 nn. 1 and 3, 161 n. 1, 162 n. 6, 163 n. 9, 166 n. 8, 167 n. 10, 168 n. 2 (=Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, V.27 n. 2, 28 n. 7, 31 n. 2, 32 nn. 1 and 3, 33 n. 1, 34 n. 6, 35 n. 9, 38 n. 8, 39 n. 10, 40 n. 2).

the first recording the death of Aldfrith, king of the Northumbrians, which probably occurred in 705,⁶⁶ and the second that of Adomnán, abbot of Iona, who died in 704. Annal 325A records the battle of Ashdown (871), while annal 326A records the capture of Dumbarton Rock by vikings (870). These difficulties are likely to arise from source-problems. On the other hand, we read in annal 496A that Æthelstan (first king of the English) died (939); in annal 502A, that Strathclyde was ravaged by the English (945); and in annal 503A that King Edmund was killed (946). This sequence is in order. However, at annal 506 we read of the death of King Hywel (Dda) which we now know certainly to have occurred in 950.⁶⁷ Accordingly, since we are dealing with a period of contemporaneous record, we must suppose a dislocation in the chronology.

It is familiar ground to students of annalistic chronicles that a blank annal may be omitted accidentally in the course of copying, that a sequence of blank annals may be miscopied short or long, that two adjoining annals may be merged into one, and that an annal containing more than one entry may lose one (or more) to an adjoining annal.⁶⁸ These errors in transmission may occur even when the annals are continuously numbered: how much more likely is copying error when no such numerical continuity is embedded in the chronicle's structure!

Comparison with externally datable events provides one control. Another control may be found in the comparison of different versions of the same chronicle. This provides part of the justification for printing texts A-C in parallel columns. In that way, one may see at a glance where the three texts get out of sequence with one another. An example of various processes of dislocation may be seen in annals 811-14. There is some reason to think that the decimal counting of years in A provided a partial corrective to dislocation within the decade.

I have intervened to emend the chronology of these three chronicles, A-C, having regard to all these factors. However, no thorough study of their chronology has been published. On those grounds alone, all editorial decisions on the matter must be seen as provisional. They are the more so, indeed, in the absence of a parallel-text edition of the three Welsh vernacular chronicles. Only when that has been achieved shall we be able to

⁶⁶ Cf. Kirby, 'Northumbria', pp. 10, 15-16, 20, 23, 28; Harrison, *The Framework*, pp. 85, 89-92, 94, 97; *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, transl. Lapidge & Herren, p. 10; Yorke, *Kings*, pp. 73, 83, 86-8; Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings*, pp. 107, 121, 142-6.

⁶⁷ On this matter, see Thornton, 'The death'.

⁶⁸ For the classic exposition, see *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Plummer, II.

make major progress with text-historical approaches to the chronology. I have in progress a pamphlet containing the vernacular chronicles to A.D. 954, to be put alongside this edition of the Latin texts.

This brings me to the rationale and methods of the present edition, and first to the question of its extent. I chose the range 682-954 to facilitate comparison of texts. The content (not the frame) of A ends at 954; thereafter only B and C are witnesses for a substantial number of annals — the next pamphlet in this series will contain B and C in parallel for 955-1097. At the beginning, the reasons are slightly more complex. The Welsh vernacular chronicles begin at the equivalent of 682. The Latin texts are hard to compare directly before that date: during the thirteenth century, annals equivalent to 445-681 (entries only from 453 to 676) of the A-text were independently conflated in B and C with world-history text which had once stood before each.⁶⁹ The chronology of both chronicles was badly corrupted as a result. Furthermore, in C two blank annals only stand before its annal given first here (679C=682); before that is found a chronicle organised by the reign-length of Roman emperors.

The layout has been specifically designed to keep corresponding annals, entries, and (where appropriate) part-entries in line with one another. Where an annal contains more than one entry (an entry being discrete in respect of content and syntax from its neighbours),⁷⁰ I have numbered the entries in sequence, as has been the practice in editions of mediaeval Irish chronicles.⁷¹ The text has been edited, with full use of modern punctuation. Emendations of the text to give sense by adding to or altering the manuscript-evidence have been placed in angle-brackets: < >. Deletions have been marked by round brackets: (). Restoration of physical loss caused by damage to a manuscript has been marked by square brackets: []. Letters or words inserted (usually interlineally) into the text in the manuscript have been indicated here by the use of caret-marks: ` `.

The translation (in the first column) is of A, with significant differences and (from the point of view of A) additions recorded from BC in brackets. Matter in A but not in B and/or C has not been specially flagged in the translation.

Detailed indexing is likewise of A, but a supplementary index of names peculiar to B and/or C has also been provided.

⁶⁹ See above, p. xiii, and cf. Hughes, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 73-4, 85, and Brett, 'The prefaces'.

⁷⁰ Dumville, 'What is a chronicle?'

⁷¹ For discussion, see Dumville, 'On editing' (reprinted in *Histories*, essay XVI).

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ANNALES CAMBRIAE,
A.D. 682–954:
TEXTS A–C IN PARALLEL

Year	Translation		A
			(191rc4)
682	There was a great plague in Britain, in which Cadwaladr ap Cadwallon died (on account of which C. ap. C. fled to Brittany, B; quit Britain and went to Armorica, A.D. 679, C).	an'.	Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia, <i>n qua Catgualart filius Catguolau<ni> obiit.
683	The plague in Ireland	an'.	Mortalitas in Hibernia.
684	A great earthquake occurred in the Isle of Mann.	an' .ccxl.	Terremotus in Eubonia factus est magnus.
685		an'.	
686		an'.	
687	(First year of a decemnoenal cycle, C.)	an'.	
688		an'.	
	(Cadwaldr, king of Britain, sent his son Ifor with twelve ships to rule the remnants of the Britons, and he himself went to Rome where on 20 April he went the way of all flesh, A.D. 689, C.)		
	(An earthquake in Britain, C.)		
689	A bloody rain occurred (fell, B) in Britain (and in Ireland, BC), and milk and butter were turned into blood.	an'.	Pluuia sanguinea facta est in Britannia, et lac et butirum uersa sunt in san<g>uinem.
690		an'.	
691		an'.	
692		an'.	
693		an'.	
694		an' .ccl.	
695		an'.	
696		an'.	
697		an'.	
698		an'.	
699		an'.	
700		an'.	
701		an'.	
702		an'.	
703		an'.	
		(an')	
704	(1) Alhfrith (Aelfrid, B; Adelstan, C), a king of the English, died.	an' .cclx.	(1) Alchfrit, rex Saxonum, obiit.
	(2) The death of Adomnán.		(2) Dormitatio Adomman.
705		an'.	
706		an'.	
707		an'.	(191va)

	B		C	Year
		(8c17)		(140ra30)
Anus.	Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia pro qua Catwaladir filius Catwalaun in Minorem Britanniam aufugit.		Annus. Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia; et Cadwaladrus rex Britanniam dereliquit et ad Armoricam regionem perrexit, 'ab incarnatione Domini anno .d°.c.lxxix. '.	679
Annus.	Mortalitas fuit in Hibernia.		Annus.	680C
Anus.	Terremotus magnus in Eumonia.		Annus.	681C
Anus.			Annus.	682C
Anus.			Annus.	683C
Anus.			Annus. Primus decemouenalis.	684C
Anus.			Annus.	685C
			Annus.	686C
			Annus.	687C
			Annus.	688C
			Annus. Cadwaladrus rex Brita(n)nie misit luor filium suum cum duodecim nauibus ad regendas Britonum reliquias, et ipse Romam per(140rb)rexit ubi .xii°. kl. Maii uiam uniuerse carnis ingressus est, anno ab incarnatione Domini .dc°.lxxx°.ix°..	689C
			Annus.	690C
			Annus. Terremotus in Britannia.	691C
			Annus.	692C
			Annus.	693C
			Annus.	694C
			Annus.	695C
Anus.	(1) Pluuia sanguinea cecidit in Britannia et in Hibernia.		Anus. (1) Pluuia sanguinea facta est in Britannia et in Hybernia.	696C
	(2) Lac et butirum in sang<u>inem uersa sunt.		(2) Lac et butyrum uersa sunt in sanguinem.	
Anus.			Annus.	697C
Anus.			Annus.	698C
Anus.			Annus.	699C
Anus.			Annus.	700C
Anus.			Annus.	701C
Anus.			Annus.	702C
Anus.			Annus.	703C
Anus.			(Annus.)	
Anus.			(Annus.)	
Anus.				
Anus.				
Anus.				
<Anus.>				
Anus.	Aelfrid, rex Saxonum, obiit.		Annus. Ade'I'stan, rex Saxonum, mortuus est.	704
Anus.			Annus.	705
Anus.			Annus.	706
Anus.			Annus.	707

Year	Translation		A
708		an'.	
709		an'.	
710		an'.	
711		an'.	
712		an'.	
713		an'.	
714	(1) There was a night light as day.	an' .cc.lxx.	(1) Nox lucida fuit sicut dies.
	(2) Pipin the mayor, king of the Franks, died in Christ.		(2) Pipinus maior, rex Francorum, obiit in Christo.
715		an'.	
716		an'.	
717	Osred, a king of the English, dies.	an'.	Os(b)rit, rex Saxonum, moritur.
718	The consecration of the church of the Archangel Michael (on Monte Gargano, B).	an'.	Consecratio Michaelis ar<e>hangeli ecclesie.
719		an'.	
720		an'.	
721	A dry summer.	an'.	Æstas torrida.
722	Beli ab Elffin dies; and the battle of Hayle among the Cornish; the battle of Garth Maelog; the battle of <i>Pencon</i> among the Southern Britons (<i>Pentun</i> between Britons and English, C) — and the Britons were the victors in those three battles (Ifor being their leader, C).	an'.	Beli filius Elfin moritur; et bellum Hehil apud Cornuenses; gueith Gart Mailauc; cat Pencon apud Dexterales Brittones — et Brittones uictores fuerunt in istis tribus bellis.
723		an'.	
724		an' .cclxxx.	
725		an'.	
726		an'.	
727		an'.	
728	The battle of Mount <i>Carno</i> .	an'.	Bellum Mo<n>tis Carno.
729		an'.	(191vb)
730		an'.	
731		an'.	
732		an'.	
733		an'.	
		(an'.)	
734	(Ifor ap Cadwaladr [died], C.)	an' .ccxc.	
735	The priest Bede dies (who composed this chronicle year by year, C.)	an'.	Beda presbiter dormit.
736	<i>Ougen</i> (Owain), a king of Picts, died.	an'.	Ougen, rex Pictorum, obiit.
737		an'.	
738		an'.	
739		an'.	
740		an'.	
741		an'.	
742		an'.	
743		an'.	
744		an' .ccc.	
745		an'.	
746		an'.	

	B		C	Year
Anus.		Annus.		708
Anus.		Annus.		709
Anus.		(9a) Annus.		710
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		711
Anus.		Annus.		712
Anus.		Annus.		713
Anus.	(1) Nox lucida sicut dies.	Annus.	(1) Pipinus, rex Francie, moritur	714
	(2) Pipimus, rex Francorum, obiit.		(2) Nox lucida facta est ut dies.	
Anus.		Annus.		715
Anus.		Annus.		716
Anus.	Offrit, rex Saxonum, obiit.	Annus.		717
Anus.	Consecratio ecclesie sancti <i>Michaelis</i> in Monte Gargano.	Annus.	Consecratio ecclesie sancti Michaelis.	718
Anus.		Annus.		719
Anus.		Annus.		720
Anus.	Estas torrida.	Annus.	Estas torrida.	721
Anus.	(1) Beli filius Elphin obiit.	Annus.	(1) Beli filius Elphin moritur.	722
	(2) Bellum Heil apud Corinemes.		(2) Bellum Heyl apud Cornubiam,	
	(3) Gueith Garth Mailauc.		bellum Gard Mailauc,	
	(4) Cat Pencon apud Dextrales Britones, et Britones uictores fuerunt.		bellum Pentum inter Britones et Saxones, sed Britones uictores in hiis omnibus fuerunt, luor existente dux eorum.	
Anus.		Annus.		723
Anus.		Annus.		724
Anus.		Annus.		725
Anus.		Annus.		726
Anus.		Annus.		727
(Anus.)				
Anus.	Bellum Montis Carno.	Annus.	Bellum Montis Carno.	728
Anus.		Annus.		729
Anus.		Annus.		730
Anus.		Annus.		731
Anus.		Annus.		732
Anus.		Annus.		733
Anus.		Annus.	Iuor filius Cadwaladir.	734
Anus.	Beda p<r>esbiter dormit.	Annus.	Beda presbiter mortuus, qui hunc librum cronicum annuatim composuit.	735
Anus.	Owinus, rex Pictorum, obiit.	Annus.	Oweyn, rex Pictorum, obiit.	736
Anus.		Annus.		737
Anus.		Annus.		738
Anus.		Annus.		739
Anus.		Annus.		740
Anus.		Annus.		741
Anus.		Annus.		742
Anus.		Annus.		743
Anus.		Annus.		744
Anus.		Annus.		745
Anus.		Annus.		746

Year	Translation		A
747		an [?] .	
748		an [?] .	
749		an [?] .	
750	(1) A battle between the Picts and the Britons, that is, the battle of <i>Mocetauc</i> ; and their king, Talargan, is killed by the Britons.	an [?] .	(1) Bellum inter Pictos et Brittones, id est guei<th> Mocetauc; et rex eorum Talargan a Brittonibus occiditur.
	(2) Tewdwr ab Beli dies.		(2) Teudu`b`r filius Beli moritur.
751		an [?] .	
752		an [?] .	
753		an [?] .	
754	Rhodri, a king of the Britons, dies.	an [?] .cccx.	Rotri, rex Brittonum, moritur.
755		an [?] .	
756		an [?] .	
757	Æthelbald, a king of the English, dies.	an [?] .	Ed< >pald, rex Saxonum, moritur. (191vc)
758		an [?] .	
759		an [?] .	
760	A battle between the Britons and the English, that is, the battle of Hirffordd (Hereford?); and Dyfnwal ap Tewdwr dies.	an [?] .	Bellum inter Brittones et Saxones, id est gueith Hirford; et Du<m>nagual fili<us> Teudu`b`r moritur.
761		an [?] .	
762		an [?] .	
763		an [?] .	
764		an [?] .ccccx.	
765		an [?] .	
766		an [?] .	
767		an [?] .	
768	Easter is altered by the Britons (on Sunday, B) — Elfoddw, a man of God, correcting it.	an [?] .	Pasca commutatur apud Brittones, emendante Elbodugo homine Dei.
769		an [?] .	
770		an [?] .	
771		an [?] .	
772		an [?] .	
773		an [?] .	
774		an [?] .ccc.xxx.	
775	Ffermael ab Ithael (Idwal, BC) dies.	an [?] .	Fermail filius Iudhail moritur.
776	<i>Cenioyd</i> , a king of the Picts, died.	an [?] .	Cenioyd, rex Pictorum, obiit.
777	Abbot Cuthbert dies.	an [?] .	Cudbert`h` abbas moritur.
778	Ravaging of the Southern Britons by Offa (a king of the English, C).	an [?] .	Uastatio Brittonum Dexteralium apud Offa.
779		an [?] .	
780		an [?] .	
781		an [?] .	
782		an [?] .	(192ra)
783		an [?] .	
784	Ravaging of the Britons by Offa in summer.	an [?] .cccxl.	Uastati<o> Brittonum cum Offa in estate.
785		an [?] .	
786		an [?] .	

		B			C	Year
Anus.				Annus.		747
Anus.				Annus.		748
Anus.				Annus.		749
Anus.	(1)	Bellum inter Pictos et Britones, et Talargan, rex Pictorum, occisus est.		Annus.	(1)	750
	(2)	Teudur filius Beli moritur.			(2)	Tudur ab Hely moritur. (140va)
Anus.				Annus.		751
Anus.			(9b)	Annus.		752
Anus.				Annus.		753
Anus.		Rodri, rex Britonum, obiit.		Annus.		Rodri, rex Britonum, moritur. 754
Anus.				Annus.		755
Anus.				Annus.		756
Anus.		Edphalt, rex Saxonum, obiit.		Annus.		Edpalt, rex Saxonum, moritur. 757
Anus.				Annus.		758
Anus.				Annus.		759
Anus.	(1)	Bellum inter Britones et Saxones.		Annus.		760
	(2)	Denawal filius Teudur moritur.				
Anus.				Annus.		761
Anus.				Annus.		762
Anus.				Annus.		763
Anus.				Annus.		764
Anus.				Annus.		765
Anus.				Annus.		766
Anus.				Annus.		767
Anus.		Pascha commutatur apud Britones super Dominicam diem, emendante Elbodo seruo Dei.		Annus.		Pascha mutatur apud Britones, emendante Elbodu homine Dei. 768
Anus.				Annus.		769
Anus.				Annus.		770
Anus.				Annus.		771
Anus.				Annus.		772
Anus.				Annus.		773
Anus.				<Annus.>		774
Anus.		Fernwail filius Idwal obiit.		Annus.		Sernmail filius Ydwal moritur. 775
Anus.		Chemoith, rex Pictorum, obiit.		Annus.		Cenioid, rex Pictorum, moritur. 776
Anus.		Cubertus abbas obiit.		Annus.		Cudbertus abbas obiit. 777
Anus.		Uastacio Britonum Dextralium apud Offa.		Annus.		Uastacio Britonum Dextralium ab Offa, rege Saxonum. 778
Anus.				Annus.		779
Anus.				Annus.		780
Anus.				Annus.		781
Anus.				Annus.		782
Anus.				Annus.		783
(Anus.)				(Annus.)		
Anus.		Uastacio Britonum cum Offa in estate.		Annus.		Uastacio Britonum ab Offa in estate. 784
Anus.				Annus.		785
Anus.				Annus.		786

Year	Translation		A
787		an'.	
788		an'.	
789		an'.	
790		an'.	
791		an'.	
792		an'.	
793		an'.	
		(an'.)	
794		an' .ccc.l.	
795	(Ravaging of Rheinwg by Offa, C.) The first coming of the Heathens to Ireland, among the southerners.	an'.	Primus aduentus Gentilium <ad Hiberniam apud dexterales>.
796	Offa, king of the Mercians, and Maredudd, king of the people of Dyfed, die; and the battle of Rhuddlan.	an'.	Offa, rex Merciorum, et Morgetiud, rex Demetorum, morte moriuntur, et bellum Rudglann.
797		an'.	
798	Caradog, king (of the men, B) of Gwynedd, is killed by the English.	an'.	Caratauc, rex Guenedote, apud Saxones iugulatur.
799		an'.	
800		an'.	
801		an'.	
802		an'.	
803		an'.	
804		an' .ccc.lx.	
805		an'.	
806		an'.	
807	Arthien, king (lord, B) of Ceredigion, dies. (An eclipse of the sun, B.)	an'.	Ar' th' gen, rex Cereticiaum, (192rb) moritur.
808	Rhain, king of the people of Dyfed, and Cadell (king, BC) of Powys die.	an'.	Regin, rex Demetorum, et Catel' I' Pouis moriuntur.
809	Elfoddw, archbishop of the Venedotian kingdom (Gwynedd), died.	an'.	Elbodg, archiepiscopus Guenedote region<is>, migravit ad Dominum.
810	(1) (The moon is darkened, B.) (2) The destruction of Mynyw by fire. (3) (A mortality of animals in Britain, B.)	an'.	Combustio Miniu.
811	(1) Owain ap Maredudd dies. (2) <The fortress> of the Decanti (Degannwy) burns because of a stroke of lightning.	an'.	(1) Euge<in> filius Margetiud moritur.
		(an'.)	(2) <Ar:> Decantorum ictu fulminis comburit.
812	A battle between Hywel <and Cynan: Hywel (Cynan, C)> was the victor.	an'.	Bellum inter Higucl <et Cinan: Higucl> uictor fuit.
813		<an'.>	
814		an'.	
815	(1) There was great thunder and it caused many fires. (2) Tryffun ap Rhain dies; and after a space of two months Gruffudd (Grifri, B) ap Cyngen is killed by his kinsman Elise(dd) through deceitful planning. (3) Hywel won a victory (again fought against Cynan, C) in respect of the island of Môn (Anglesey) and expelled Cynan from it with great ruin of his own army.	an' .ccc.bxx.	(1) Tonitruum magnum fuit, et incendia multa fecit. (2) Trifun filius Regin moritur; et Griphiud filius Cincen dolosa dispensatione a fratre suo Elized post interuallum duorum mensium interficitur. (3) Higucl de Monia insula triumphauit et Cinan de ea expulit cum contritione magna exercitus sui.

	B		C	Year
Anus.		Annus.		787
Anus.		Annus.		788
Anus.		Annus.		789
Anus.		Annus.		790
Anus.		Annus.		791
Anus.		Annus.		792
Anus.		Annus.		793
Anus.		Annus.		794
Anus.	Primus aduentus Gentilium in Hiberniam.	Annus.	(1) Uastatio Rienuch ab Offa. (2) Gentiles uenerunt ad Yberniam.	795
Anus.	(1) Offa, rex Merciorum, obiit.	Annus.	(1) Offa rex obiit.	796
(Anus.)	(2) Mareduť, rex Demetorum, obiit.		(2) Bellum Rudlan.	
Anus.		Annus.	(3) Mareduť, rex Demetorum, obiit.	796
Anus.		Annus.		797
Anus.	Caradoc, rex Uenedotorum, a Saxsonibus iugulatur.	Annus.	Cradauc, rex Uenedocie, a Saxsonibus iugulatur.	798
Anus.		Annus.		799
Anus.		Annus.		800
Anus.		Annus.		801
Anus.		Annus.		802
Anus.		Annus.		803
Anus.		Annus.		804
Anus.		Annus.		805
Anus.		Annus.		806
Anus.	(1) Arthen, dominus Keredigeaun, obiit.	Annus.	Arthen, rex Keredigiaun, obiit.	807
	(2) Eclipsis solis.			
Anus.	Rex Demetorum obiit, et Catel, Powisorum rex, obiit.	Annus.	Reyn, rex Demetorum, et Cadelh, rex Powisie, moriuntur.	808
Annus.	Elbodu, episcopus Wenedocie, obiit.	Annus.	Elbodu, episcopus Uenedotie, obiit.	809
Anus.	(1) Luna obscuratur.	Annus.		810
	(2) Combustio Meneuie.		Combustio Men(i)euie.	
	(3) Mortalitas pecorum in Britannia.			
Anus.	Owinus filius Meredut obiit.	Annus.	(1) Oweyn filius Mareduť obiit.	811
			(2) Degannoe ictu fulminis comburitur.	
Anus.	Bellum inter Howel et Kinan: <i>Howel</i> uictor fuit.	Annus.	Bellum inter Howel et Kenan, sed uictor fuit Kenan. (140vb)	812
Anus.		Annus.		813
Anus.		Annus.		814
Anus.	(1) Tonitruum magnum fuit et incendia multa.	Annus.		815
	(2) Trifin filius Rein obiit.			
	(3) Grifri filius Chengen a fratre suo Elissed dolose occiditur.			
	(4) Howel in Monia insula triumphauit et Conanum de ea expulit.		Howel iterum pugnavit contra Kenan et expulit eum de Monia insula.	

Year	Translation	(an'.)	A
816	(1) Hywel was expelled again from Môn (Anglesey) (by Cynan, C). (2) King Cynan dies. (3) (The English invaded [ravaged, C] the mountains of Eryri [Snowdonia], BC, and the kingdom of Rhufoniog, C.)	(an'.) an'.	(1) Higel iterum (192rc) de Monia expulsus est. (2) Cinan rex moritur.
817	The battle of Llan-faes.	an'.	Gueith Lammaes.
818	(Cenwulf [B; the English, C] ravaged [the kingdoms of the men of, B] Dyfed, BC.)	an'.	
819		an'.	
820		an'.	
821		an'.	
822	The fortress of the Decanti (Degannwy) is destroyed by the English, and they drew the kingdom of Powys under their control.	an'.	Ar<x> De<c>antorum a Saxonibus destruitur, et regionem Poyuis in sua potestate traxerunt.
823		an'.	
824		an'. .ccclxxx.	
825	Hywel dies.	an'.	Higel moritur.
826		an'.	
827		an'.	
828		an'.	
829		an'.	
830		an'.	
831	Llawdden dies. (An eclipse of the moon, B.) Sadwrnfyw the Generous (bishop, BC) of Mynyw dies.	an'.	Laudent moritur, et Satur<n>biu hail Miniu moritur.
832		an'.	
833		an'.	
834		an'. .ccc.xc.	
835		an'.	
836		an'.	
837		an'.	
838		an'.	
839		an'.	
840	Bishop <i>Nobis</i> (Nyfys?) ruled in Mynyw (received the bishopric, B).	an'.	Nobis episcopus in Miniu regnauit.
841		an'.	
842	Idwallon dies.	an'.	Iudguoll[aun] morit[ur].
843		an'.	
844	(1) Merfyn dies. (2) The battle of <i>Cetill</i> .	an'. .cccc.	(1) Mermin moritur. (2) Gueith Cetill. (192va)
845		an'.	
846		an'.	
847		an'.	
848	(1) The battle of <i>Finnant</i> . (2) Ithael, king (lord, B) of Gwent, was killed by the men of Brycheiniog.	an'.	(1) Gueit Finnant. (2) Iudhail, rex Guent, a uiris Brocenciauc occisus est.
849	Meurig was killed by the English.	an'.	Mouric occisus est a Saxonibus.
850	<i>Cinnen</i> is killed by the Heathens.	an'.	Cinnen a Gentilibus iugulatur.
851		an'.	
852		an'.	

		B			C	Year
Anus.	(1)	Howel de Mon expulsus est.	Annus.	(1)	Howel iterum de Monia expulsus est a Kenan;	816
	(2)	Chinan rex obiit.			sed postea Kenan moritur.	
	(3)	Saxones montes Eleri et regnum Roweniauc imaserunt.		(2)	Saxones in montibus Eleri uastauerunt.	
Anus.		Bellum Llan Mais.	Annus.		Bellum Lanvays.	817
Anus.		Cenuil regiones Demetorum uastauit.	Annus.		Saxones Demetiam uastauerunt.	818
Anus.			Annus.			819
Anus.			Annus.			820
Anus.			Annus.			821
Anus.		Arx Deganhui a Saxonibus destruitur, et Powis in suam potestatem traxerunt.	Annus.		Saxones arcem Degammoe destruxerunt et regionem Poweis uastauerunt.	822
<Anus.>			<Annus.>			823
Anus.			Annus.			824
Anus.		Howel obiit.	Annus.		Howel moritur.	825
Anus.			Annus.			826
Anus.			Annus.			827
Anus.			Annus.			828
Anus.			Annus.			829
Anus.			Annus.			830
Anus.	(1)	Eclipsis lune.	Annus.			831
	(2)	Saturwiu, episcopus Meneuensis, obiit.			Sadurnueu, episcopus Meneuensis, moritur.	
Anus.			Annus.			832
Anus.			Annus.			833
Anus.			Annus.			834
Anus.			(10a) Annus.			835
Anus.			Annus.			836
Anus.			Annus.			837
Anus.			Annus.			838
Anus.			Annus.			839
Anus.		Nouus episcopatum suscepit.	Annus.		Nouis est episcopus Meneuensis.	840
Anus.			Annus.			841
Anus.		Idwalaun obiit.	<Annus.>			842
Anus.			<Annus.>			843
Anus.	(1)	Gue'it Cetil.	Annus.	(1)	Merhin moritur.	844
	(2)	Merwin obiit.		(2)	Bellum Citil.	
Anus.			Annus.			845
Anus.			Annus.			846
Anus.			Annus.			847
Anus.	(1)	Bellum Fimant.	Annus.	(1)	Bellum Fynant.	848
	(2)	Ithail, dominus Guent, a uiris Brecheinauc occisus est.		(2)	Ythail rex moritur.	
Anus.		Meur' a Saxonibus occiditur.	Annus.		Meuric a Saxonibus occiditur.	849
Anus.		Cengen a Gentilibus occisus est.	Annus.			850
Anus.			Annus.			851
Anus.			Annus.			852

Year	Translation		A
853	Môn (Anglesey) ravaged by the 'Black Heathens'.	an'.	Mon uastata a Gentilibus Nigris.
854	Cyngen, king of Powys, died in Rome.	an' .ccc.x.	Cin<c>en, rex Pouis, in Roma obiit.
<855>		<an.>	
<856>		<an.>	
857		an'.	
858	Cenioyth, a king of Picts, dies; and Jonathan, abbot of Abergele, dies.	an'.	Ce<ni>oyth, rex Pictorum, moritur, et Ionathan, princeps Opergelei, moritur.
859		an'.	
860		an'.	
861		an'.	
862	(Mael Sechlaim [<i>Matusalem</i> , C] dies, BC.)	an'.	
		(an'.)	
863	Cadwaithen was driven out.	an'.	Catgueithen expulsus est.
864		an'.	
865	Duda ravaged Glywysing.	an' .cccc.xx.	Duta uastauit Gliuisi(g)ng.
866	Cian of Nant Nyfer (Neuern) died.	an'.	Cian Nant <Ni>mer obiit.
867	The city of York was ravaged, that is, the battle of the 'Black Heathen' (battle of Dublin, B).	an'.	Urbs Ebrauc (192vb) uastata est, id est cat Dubgint.
868		an'.	
869		an'.	
870	The battle of Brynomen (Ashdown).	an'.	Cat Brinomen.
871	The fortress of Allt Glud (Dumbarton) was broken by the Heathens.	an'.	Arx Alt Clut a Gentilibus fracta est.
872	Gwgon, king of Ceredigion, was drowned.	an'.	Guoccaun mersus est, rex Ce<r>e<t>iciaun.
873		an'.	
874	(1) <i>Nobis</i> (Nyfys?) and Meurig die.	an'.	(1) Nobis et Mouric moriuntur.
	(2) The battle of <i>Bannguolou</i> .		(2) Gueith Ban' n' guolou.
875	(Bishop Llundan is consecrated, B.)	an' .cccc.xxx.	
876	<i>Dungarth</i> , king of Cornwall, was drowned.	an'.	Dungarth, rex Cerniu, mersus est.
877	'Sunday's Battle' in Môn (Anglesey).	an'.	Gueith diu Sul in Mon.
878	Rhodri and his son (brother, B) Gwriad are killed by the English.	an'.	Rotri — et filius eius Guriat — a Saxonibus iugulatur.
879	Aed mac Néill dies.	an'.	Aed map Neill moritur.
880		an'.	
881	(1) The battle of Conwy: the avenging of Rhodri by God.	an'.	Gueit Conguoy: digal Rotri a Deo.
	(2) (The battle of Cynan, B.)		
882		an'.	
883	Cadwaithen died.	an'.	Catgueithen obiit.
884		an'.	
885		an' .cccc.xl.	
886	Hywel died in Rome.	an'.	Higuel in Roma defun<c>tus est. (192vc)
887		an'.	

B		C		Year
Anus.	Mon uastata est a Gentilibus Nigris.	Annus.	Monia uastatur a Gentilibus.	853
Anus.	Cengen Powis Rome obiit.	Annus.	Eygen, rex Powisie, Rome obiit.	854
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		<855>
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		<856>
<Anus.>		Annus.		857
Anus.	Cenioc, rex Pictorum, obiit; et Ionathan, princeps Abergeleu, obiit.	Annus.		858
Anus.		Annus.		859
Anus.		(Annus.)		
Anus.		Annus.		860
Anus.		(Annus.)		
Anus.		Annus.		861
Anus.	Mailsachlen obiit.	Annus.	Matusalem moritur.	862
Anus.		(Annus.)		
Anus.	Catweithen expulsus est.	Annus.		863
<Anus.>		Annus.		864
Anus.	Dutta uastauit Gliuissig.	Annus.		865
Anus.	Chian Nant Newer obiit.	Annus.	Kenan moritur.	866
Anus.	Urbs Ebrauci uastata est, cat Dulin.	Annus.	Urbs Ebrauci uastatur.	867
Anus.		Annus.		868
Anus.		Annus.		869
Anus.	Cat Wrenonnen.	Annus.		870
Anus.	Alclut a Gentilibus fracta est.	Annus.		871
Anus.	Gugan, rex Ceredigean, mersus est.	Annus.	Gogaun, rex Keredigaun, mergitur.	872
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		873
Anus.	(1) Gueith Bannoleu.	Annus.	Nouis episcopus moritur.	874
	(2) Nouus episcopus et Meuruc moriuntur.			
Anus.	Llunwerth episcopus consecratur.	Annus.		875
Anus.	Dumnarth, rex Cerneu, id est Cornubie, mersus est.	Annus.		876
Anus.	Gueit diu Sul en Mon.	Annus.	Bellum in die Dominica apud Mon. (141ra)	877
Anus.	Rodri et Guiriat <i>frater</i> eius a Saxonibus iugulantur.	Annus.	Rodri et filius eius occiduntur.	878
Anus.		Annus.		879
Anus.		Annus.		880
Anus.	(1) Bellum Congui: dial Rotri.	Annus.	Bellum Conuy, id est dial Rodri.	881
	(2) Gueit Conani.			
Anus.		(10b) Annus.		882
Anus.	Cathweithen obiit.	Annus.		883
Anus.		Annus.		884
Anus.		Annus.		885
Anus.	Hoelus Rome obiit.	Annus.	Howel Rome defunctus est.	886
Anus.		Annus.		887

Year	Translation		A
888	Cerball died.	an'.	Cerball defunctus est.
889		an'.	
890	(Suibne, the most learned of the Gael, died, B.)	an'.	
		(an'.)	
		(an'.)	
891	Hyfaidd dies.	an'.	Himeyd moritur.
892		an'.	
893	Anarawd came with the English to ravage Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi.	an' .cccc.l.	Anaraut cum Anglis uenit uastare Cereticiaum et Strat T<i>ui.
894	Northmen came and they ravaged Lloegr, Brycheiniog, Gwent, and Gwynllywiog.	an'.	<N>ordmani uenerunt et uastauerunt Loycr et Bricheniauc et Guent et Guimllogiauc.
895	(1) (Bread was lacking in Ireland, B.)	an'.	
	(2) (Vermin, like a mole with two teeth, who ate everything, fell from the air; they were driven out by fasting and prayer, B.)		
896		an'.	
897	(<i>Elstan</i> , a king of the English, died, B.)	an'.	
898		an'.	
899	Alfred, king of the Iwys (Gewisse, West Saxons), dies.	an'.	Albrit, rex Giuoys, moritur.
<900>		<an'>	
901		an'.	
902	Ingimundr came in(to) the island of Môn (Anglesey) and seized Maes Osfeilion.	an'.	Igmunt in insula Mon uenit et tenuit Maes Osmeliaun.
903	(Merfyn ap Rhodri died [is killed by Heathens, C], BC.) Llywarch ap Hyfaidd dies.	an'.	Loumarch filius Hi<me>id moritur.(193ra)
904	Rhodri (ap Hyfaidd, B) was beheaded in Arwystli.	an' .cccc.lx.	Ro(s)tri decol<latus> est in Arguistli.
905		an'.	
906	The battle of <i>Dinmeir</i> (Dineirth, C); and Mynyw was sacked.	an'.	Gueith Dinmeir; et Miniu fracta est.
907	(Bishop, B) <i>Guorchiguil</i> dies.	an'.	Guorchiguil moritur.
<908>	(Cormac [king of Ireland, C] died, BC.)	<an'>	
909	Asser (bishop, BC; of Britain, C) died (is made bishop, C). King Cadell (ap Rhodri, BC) dies.	an'.	Asser defunctus est.
		(an'.)	Catell rex moritur.
910		an'.	
911		an'.	
912		an'.	
913		an'.	
914	Ottarr came (into Britain, BC).	an'.	Otter uenit.
915		an' .cccc.lxx.	
916	King Anarawd (of the Britons, B) dies.	an'.	Anaraut rex moritur.
917		an'.	
918	Queen Ælflæd (Edflæd, B; Æthelflæd, C) died.	an'.	Ælflæd regina obiit.
919		an'.	
920	King Clydog (ap Cadell, C) died.	an'.	Clitauc rex occisus est.
		(an'.)	

B		C		Year
Anus.		Annus.		888
Anus.		Annus.		889
Anus.	Subni Scotorum sapientissimus obiit.	Annus.		890
(Anus.)		(Annus.)		
		(Annus.)		
		(Annus.)		
Anus.		Annus.	Hiueid moritur.	891
Anus.		Annus.		892
Anus.	Anaraut cum Anglis uenit uastare Ceredig' et Stratewy.	Annus.	Anaraut cum Saxonibus uastauit Keredigaun.	893
Anus.		Annus.		894
Anus.	(1) Panis in Hibernia defecit.	Annus.		895
	(2) Uermes de aere ceciderunt, talpe similes cum duobus dentibus, qui totam comederunt; qui eiecti sunt ieiunio et oracione.			
Anus.		Annus.		896
Anus.	Elstan, rex Saxonum, obiit.	Annus.		897
<Anus.>		Annus.		898
Anus.	Alwryt rex obiit.	Annus.		899
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		<900>
Anus.		Annus.		901
Anus.		Annus.		902
Anus.	Merwyn filius Rodri obiit; et Llewarch fili<us> Heweid occisus est.	Annus.	Meruin rex, filius Rodri, occiditur a Gentilibus.	903
Anus.	Rodri filius Heweid decollatus est.	Annus.		904
Anus.		Annus.		905
Anus.		Annus.	Bellum Dynerth.	906
	Meneuia deleta est.			
Anus.	Gorchewil episcopus obiit, et Cormuc rex.	Annus.		907
		<Annus.>	Cormuch, rex Ybernie, obiit.	<908>
Anus.	Asser episcopus obiit.	Annus.	Asser episcopus Britannie fit.	909
(Anus.)	Catel filius Rodri obiit.	(Annus.)	Cadell filius Rodri moritur.	
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		910
Anus.		Annus.		911
Anus.		Annus.		912
Anus.		Annus.		913
Anus.	Oter uenit in Britannia.	Annus.	Othyr uenit in Britanniam.	914
Anus.		Annus.		915
Anus.	Anaraut, rex Britonum, obiit.	Annus.	Anaraut rex obiit.	916
Anus.		Annus.		917
Anus.	Edfled regina obiit.	Annus.	Edelflet regina obiit.	918
Anus.		Annus.		919
Anus.		Annus.	Cledau filius Cadell occiditur.	920

Year	Translation		A
921	The battle of Dinas Newydd.	an'.	Gueith Dina's' Neguid.
922		an'.	
923		an'.	
924		an'.cccc.lxxx.	
925		an'.	
926		an'.	
927		an'.	
928	(1) King Hywel (the Good, B; ap Cadell, C) went to Rome. (2) (Helena [B; Elen, C] died.)	an'.	Higuel rex perrexit ad Romam.
929		an'.	
930		an'.	(193rb)
931		an'.	
932		an'.	
933		an'.	
934		an'.cccc.xc.	
935	(Gruffudd ab Owain died [B; is killed, C].)	an'.	
936		an'.	
		(an'.)	
937	The battle of <i>Brune</i> .	an'.	Bellum Brune.
938	Hyfaidd ap Clydog and Meurig die.	an'. (an'.)	Himeid filius Clitauc et Mouric moritur.
939	Æthelstan (king of the English, BC) dies.	an'.	Ædelstan moritur.
940		an'.	
941	King Afloeg dies.	an'.	Abloyc rex moritur.
942	Cadell ab Arthfael dies by poison; and Idwal (son, BC; of Rhodri, C) and his son, Elise(dd), are killed by the English.	an'.	Catel filius Artmail ueneno moritur; et Iudgual et filius eius Elized a Saxonibus occiduntur.
943	Bishop <i>Lunberth</i> died at Mynyw (bishop of Mynyw, C).	an'. .d.	Lunberth episcopus in Miniu obiit.
944	(Bishop <i>Mor[c]leis</i> died, BC.)	an'.	
945	Cyngen ab Elise(dd) died by poison; and <i>Eneuris</i> , bishop of Mynyw, died; and Ystrad Clud (Strathclyde) was ravaged by the English.	an'.	Cincen'n' filius Elized ueneno perit; et Eneuris episcopus Miniu obiit; et Strat Clut uastata est a Saxonibus.
946	Edmund, king of the English, was killed.	an'.	Eadmund, rex Saxonum, iugulatu<S> est.
947		an'.	
<948>		<an'>	
949		an'.	
950	Hywel (the Good, BC), a king of the Britons, died (to whom succeeded Owain, his son, C).	an'.	Higuel, rex (193rc) Brittonum, obiit.
951	And Cadwgon ab Owain is killed by the English; and the battle of Carno (between the sons of Hywel and the sons of Idwal, B). (But two sons of Idwal, namely Iago and Ieuf, whom Hywel had expelled from the kingdom, arrived unexpectedly and fought against Owain near Nant Carno, and they were the victors, C.)	an'.	Et Catguocaun filius Ouein a Saxonibus iugulatur; et bellum Carno.
952		an'.	

B		C		Year
Anus.	Gueit Dinas Newit.	Annus.	Bellum Dynas Newit.	921
Anus.		Annus.		922
Anus.		Annus.		923
Anus.		Annus.		924
Anus.		Annus.		925
Anus.		Annus.		926
Anus.		Annus.		927
Anus.	(1) Hoelus Da filius Catel Romam iuit.	Annus.	Howel rex, <i>filius</i> Cadell, Romam perrexit;	928
	(2) Helena obiit. (10c)		et Elen obiit.	
Anus.		Annus.		929
Anus.		Annus.		930
Anus.		Annus.		931
Anus.		Annus.		932
Anus.		Annus.		933
Anus.		Annus.		934
Anus.	Grifinus filius Oweyn obiit.	Annus.	Grifut <i>filius</i> Oweyn occiditur.	935
Anus.		Annus.		936
<Anus.>		Annus.		937
Anus.	Hewed <i>filius</i> Clidauc et Meuric ob'.	Annus.	Hiueid <i>filius</i> Cledauc moritur.	938
		(Annus.)		
Anus.	Elstan, rex Saxonum, obiit.	Annus.	Adestan, rex Saxonum, obiit.	939
Anus.		Annus.		940
<Anus.>		Annus.		941
Anus.	(1) Catel filius Arthwail ueneno extinctus est.	Annus.	(1) Cadell <i>filius</i> Artuail moritur.	942
	(2) Idwal filius <...> cum filio Elissed ob'.		(2) Idwal <i>filius</i> Rodri et filius eius iugulantur a Saxonibus.	
Anus.	Lunweth episcopus obiit.	Annus.	Luuert, episcopus Meneuensis, moritur.	943
Anus.	Morcleis episcopus obiit.	Annus.	Morcleis episcopus moritur.	944
Anus.		Annus.	(1) Kengen (ab) <i>filius</i> Elissed ueneno extinguitur.	945
			(2) Eneuris episcopus moritur. (141rb)	
Anus.	Eadmundus, rex Saxonum, iugulatus est.	Annus.	Eadmund, rex Saxonum, occiditur.	946
Anus.		Annus.		947
<Anus.>		<Annus.>		<948>
Anus.		Annus.		949
Anus.	Hoelus, rex Britonum, scilicet bonus, obiit.	Annus.	Howel, rex Britonum, cognomento bonus, moritur, cui successit Oweyn <i>filius</i> eius.	950
Anus.	(1) Cadugan filius Oweyn a Saxonibus iugulatus.			951
	(2) Bellum Carno inter filios Hoeli et filios Idwal.		Sed superuenerunt duo filii Ydwal, id est Iago et Ieuf, quos Howel a regno expulerat, et pugnaverunt contra Oweyn iuxta Nant Carno et uictores fuerunt.	
Anus.		Annus.		952

Year	Translation		A
953	(Iago and Ieuaif, sons of Idwal, ravaged Dyfed, BC.)	an'.	
954	Rhodri ap Hywel dies.	an' .dx.	Rotri filius Higuel moritur.

	B		C	Year
Anus.	Iago et Idwab, filii Idwal, uastauerunt Dewet.	Anus.	Uastacio Dyuet a filiis Idwal, id est Iago et Ieuf.	953
Anus.	Rodri filius Hoely obiit.	Anus.	Rodri <i>filius</i> Howel moritur.	954

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Catguolaun	
Catguolaum	682 (gen.: <i>Catguolau<ni>?</i>)
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