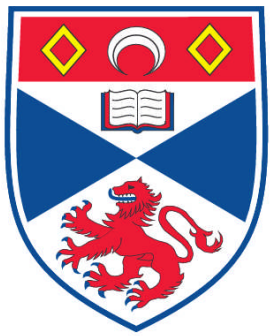
LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH:
THE MAKING OF A WELSH PRINCE

Margaret Wrenn Cole

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews



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ABSTRACT:

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (1173-1140) has long been considered one of the leading heroes of Wales. The life and rule of Llywelyn, known as Llywelyn the Great, is explored in detail in this thesis. The grandson of Owain Gwynedd, ruler of North Wales from 1137-1170, Llywelyn grew up during the period of turmoil following Owain's death. After wresting control of Gwynedd from his rival family members in the latter decade of the 12th century, he proceeded to gain recognition as the foremost representative of Wales on the political stage.

Although viewed as a legendary hero in Welsh history, poetry and culture, Llywelyn's route to power is more complex than that. The thesis explores the development of the man from rebel and warlord, to leader and spokesman, to statesman, traces the expansion of his hegemony throughout wales, and discusses the methods he used to gain and maintain power. Particular attention is paid to his use of family, marriage, allies, rivals and the church to achieve his goals. These insights can be derived from the surviving charters, letters, and other *acta* of Llywelyn and the Royal Chancery of England, the titles accorded therein, Welsh and English chronicles, as well as, occasionally, Venedotian Poetry. Finally, this thesis seeks to address the limitations on Llywelyn's successes, in light of succeeding events and concludes with a discussion of Llywelyn's legendary status in the modern world.

DECLARATIONS

I, Margaret Wrenn Cole, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 67,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted as a research student in September, 2004 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD by Research, Medieval History in December, 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2004 and 2011.

Date: 25 January 2012 Signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD by Research, Medieval History in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Brenhinedd	Jones, Thomas, ed. trans., *Brenhinedd Y Saesson, or the Kings of the Saxons,* Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1971.
Brut: Pen. 20	Jones, Thomas, ed. trans., *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS 20 Version,* Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1941.
Brut: RBH	Jones, Thomas, ed., *Brut Y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version,* Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1955.
Close Rolls,1227-1231,	*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1227-1231,* London, Public Record Office, 1902.
Patent Rolls, 1216-1225	*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1216-1225,* London, Public Record Office, 1901
Patent Rolls, 1225-1232	*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1225-1232,* London, Public Record Office, 1901.
Patent Rolls, 1233-1247	*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, 1232-1247,* London, Public Record Office, 1901
Rotuli Chartarum	Hardy, Thoma Duffus, ed., *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi,* Public Records Office, 1837.
Rotuli Litterarum Patentium	Hardy, Thoma Duffus, ed., *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinesi*, Public Records Office, 1835.
Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum	Hardy, Thoma Duffus, ed., *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinesi,* Vols, 1-2, Public Records Office, 1833-1844.

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INTRODUCTION

More than eight hundred years worth of hindsight has allowed historians to look upon the reign of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth with rose-tinted glasses. As a boy, disinherited and exiled from his patrimony, his story presents as 'rags-to-riches', the struggle from a puppy in hiding to top dog. Arguably, a unifier of Wales, he was the inspiration for his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and the first to attempt to unite Wales as a single entity under one 'prince'. Dealt with on a semantic basis, the above statement is technically accurate.

Of course, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's rise to the top and rule is far more problematical than the previous paragraph would lead one to believe. It seems to most that Llywelyn was always destined for greatness. His final epithet, enshrined in the memory of many a Welsh historian: 'Mawr', elucidates a picture of a man larger-than-life who by sheer force of will and political acumen united Wales under his person. However, it is unjust to suggest that this diplomat and ruler was such from the moment he appeared on the Welsh political scene, a mere stripling. Perhaps it is fair to say that he developed many of the qualifications of being an elder statesman and ruler, but his beginning was much bloodier and more war-torn. Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, to become that great hero: Llywelyn Mawr, had to experience all the vagaries of life and perhaps learn from not only his own mistakes but his chance misfortunes as well. Perhaps, the most damning comment that can be made of the man was that he was a victor of circumstances as much as by his own acumen and talent. It is these aspects of his life and rule that this thesis will discuss more fully.

SOURCES

The historian studying Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and his place in the history of thirteenth century of Medieval Wales is generally felt to be in luck. Most primary sources are readily available in modern or nineteenth century printed editions, easy to access and use. However, there remains a wide variety of problems in using and interpreting these documents. These can come in the form of a range of intricate primary sources, the complexity of their interpretation and use, the difficulty of languages, both in the sources and in modern secondary literature, and in both the preponderance and lack of secondary literature specific aspects of the period.

The difficulties involved in working with primary sources for the student of Medieval Welsh History come in many forms, including problems involved in dealing with modern editions of printed sources; or in the interpretation of bias by the authors of surviving records; or, finally, the date of the surviving documents themselves. The complications of consulting printed material are manifestly wide. Generally considering these problems is the task of most historians using any form of primary source. In the first instance, the discerning scholar should be aware that the printed text is an edited version of the original, often including expansions of abbreviations common in medieval texts. They often also include minor changes that reflect what the editor believed to be corrections of the original text. It is worth remembering that this problem can also be found in seemingly ‘contemporary’ sources where a scribe has changed the original document from which he is copying, or in the case of a re-issued charter most commonly, has omitted sections of the original that he found objectionable.

However, printed material is far more accessible, as well as easier for the modern historian to read than the original manuscripts and therefore widely used. Moreover, many manuscripts found in earlier collections of materials are no longer extant, and thus some earlier printed editions of medieval documents are problems in and of themselves. There is no way to guarantee to what extent the transcribers were true to the originals, and one has to simultaneously accept these printed sources on faith as well as viewing the text with a dose of scepticism.

The primary sources relating to thirteenth century Wales that are extant in printed editions exist in the form of chronicles, legal codes, poetry, and a variety of letters and charters. Most of the chronicles and legal codes as well as some of the letters that are found in English archives are printed in the University of Wales Press *History and Law Series*. In many of these volumes the introduction and notes are in English and in the case of the chronicles, the text employs facing-page translation or a separate volume of translation. However, the best edition in which to consult the poetry is found the University of Wales Press's *Bardd o'r Tywysogyon* series; in this is found a wealth of scholarly discussion, as well as the poetry itself, in both modern scholastic Welsh and middle Welsh. This facilitates a non-native speaker with determining nuances of the original. The poet of most interest to the scholar of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is his chief court poet, Llywarch ap Llywelyn. His poetry can be used by the historian, provided a dose of common sense is also applied, to illustrate events in Llywelyn's rule and how they were perceived within Wales, as well as examining how the myth of Llywelyn, 'hero of the Welsh,' was created and perpetuated.

The *acta* of the Welsh princes, their correspondence, decrees, and charters, are some of the most important contemporary sources to shed light upon the medieval Welsh polity. Helpfully, the recently published *The Acts of the Welsh Rulers 1120-1283*, edited by Huw Pryce, collects all of these sources into one very convenient book, with reliable transcriptions, as well as detailed English summaries provided to the reader.[1]

However, the majority of the primary sources surviving are those which reveal the English perspective on Wales in the 13th century; the best editions of which remain in the printed collection entitled, *The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, known collectively as 'the Rolls Series' by most medievalists. This serial includes both the work of English chroniclers and the surviving writs, charters and other documentation from the reigns of the English kings. Of most note are those of the reign of Henry III. These are books of collected manuscripts, transcribed into printed editions and remaining untranslated. Although they were works printed in the 19th century, they are still referenced by most modern medieval historians. Included among the surviving Anglo-Norman sources of use to the historian of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are the chronicles of Roger of Howden,[2] Matthew Paris,[3] Roger of Wendover,[4] Ralf de Diceto[5] and the Anglo-Welsh Arch-deacon and

[1] Huw Pryce, *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120-1283*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2005.
[2] Ends 1201. *Chronica Magestri Rogeri de Houedene*, William Stubbs (ed) *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, (Rolls Ser. 51) Vols 1-4, London, Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1868-1871.
[3] Matthaei Parisisensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, *Chronica Majora*, Henry Richards Luard, ed, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, (Rolls Ser, 57) , Vols 1-4, London, Longman & Co, 187—1882. And Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancit Albani, *Historia Anglorum, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series, 44) Vols.1-3, London, Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866-1869.
[4] *Flores Historiarum*, Henry Richards Luard, ed,Vols I-III, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*,(Rolls Ser, 95) London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890.

prolific author Giraldus Cambrensis,[6] all of which provide detailed insight into England and English history as well as occasional mentions of Wales in this period. Importantly, both Matthew Paris and Giraldus Cambrensis deal heavily with Wales and the English dealings with that country and its princes. Provided that it is remembered that these documents were recorded through the eyes of English and Anglo-Marcher perspectives, often years after the events they transcribe, they can help pinpoint and define the past dealings of Wales and its rulers with England. Also found amongst the printed editions of their original Latin in the Rolls Series, are the charters, letters and other general acta of the English kings.

Despite these problems with extant sources, it must be remembered that in dealing with thirteenth century Wales, there remains a dearth of reliable sources. Most extant versions of Welsh chronicles post-date Edward's conquest of Wales in 1283 by over a century and—for the Welsh historian of Gwynedd—most of the chronicles that survive originate in the south of Wales. The dating of the original manuscripts in which these chronicles survive can itself often be a problem. For instance, both of the versions of the Welsh chronicle *Brut Y Tywysogyon*, 'Peniarth 20', and 'The Red Book of Hergest', and their brother, *Brenhinedd y Saesson* exist in their earliest manuscript form from the fourteenth century.[7] This dating discrepancy presents problems because the Red Book version of the

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[5] Ends 1202. *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica*, William Stubbs, ed, Vols I-II, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores,* (Rolls Ser. 68), vols. London, L Longman & Co. 1876.

[6] Giraldi Cambrensis *Opera*,Dimcock, James F. Ed, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, (or Rolls Ser. 21) vols. I – VIII, London, Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyewe, 1861-1891.

[7] Jones, Thomas, *Brut Y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version,* Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1955 and Thomas Jones, *Brut Y Tywysogyon: Peniarth MS 20 Version,* Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1952 and Thomas Jones, *Brenhinedd Y Saesson,* Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1971.

Brutiau chronicle stops in 1283. Therefore, in the Red Book version, the earliest surviving text is not contemporary with the last entry, but easily post-dates it by over 60 years. This can be contrasted with the continuation in Peniarth 20 which Charles-Edwards, in his study of the orthography of the text, concluded was produced by a single scribe. He pointed out that the scribe in question used different inks as he continued the chronicle, first by adding the material from 1282 to 1290, and then adding the material from 1291 to 1330 as a single block, finally concluding with two separate entries for 1331 and 1332.[8] Charles-Edwards suggests a probable history of Peniarth 20 that began with the composition of a Latin version[9] of the *Brutiau* at Strata Florida, a copy of which was continued beyond 1282 (when the RBH stops) up to 1290. Charles-Edwards then suggests that a separate Latin annal was compiled that included the period from 1291 to 1330, the combination of these was then translated into Welsh at Valle Crucis which was then compiled by two scribes, the second of whom ('Hand B') added to the first's record in glosses. The end result was Peniarth 20, a 'fair copy' that Charles-Edwards maintains was extended in 1331 and 1332 as a year-on-year record.[10] This gives us an earliest date for the completion of the first part of 1290, but a more likely date of completion in the early thirteenth century, before 1331. While this is not completely divorced from Llywelyn's career, nearly a century

[8] Thomas Charles-Edwards, '*Brut Y Tywysogion* in Peniarth MS. 20' in E. B. Fryde, ed., *Essays and Poems Presented to Daniel Huws,* Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales Press, 1994, pp. 294-305, p. 300.
[9] David Stephenson pointed out that the existence of a lost Latin exemplar has been challenged by Julian Harrison in his article on 'Cistercian Chronicling in the British Isles' (c. 2007). However, the general consensus of scholarship until that point remains in favour of a Latin *Brut.* –David Stephenson, 'The "Resurgence" of Powys in the late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries,' in C. P. Lewis, ed., *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2007*, Vol. 30, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2008, pp. 182-195, p. 183.
[10] Charles-Edwards, '*Brut Y Tywsogion* in Peniarth MS. 20,' pp. 303-304.

may have passed between the events it records for Llywelyn and the work of the scribes in Valle Crucis that resulted in Peniarth 20.

This still allows for the possibility that earlier events could well have been misinterpreted, misplaced, or even invented in the intervening decades or even centuries. More importantly, although all versions of *Brut*, as well as the other main Welsh chronicle sources, the *Cronica de Wallia* and *Annales Cambriae,* are all believed to stem from lost, Latin exemplars, little is known from which part of Wales the authors and compilers of theses chronicles hailed or when they lived. However, certain observations open intriguing possibilities. David Stephenson has argued that the period from 1100 until around 1127/30 may have been the work of a single annalist, Daniel ap Sulien.[11] He makes several observations to support this. Firstly, the fact that this thirty-year period makes up over a quarter of the RBH text leads him to assume that this period was of particular interest to the author.[12] Similarly, the interest of the chronicle at this time with actions of Henry I as well as the strong connections with events at Llanbadarn Fawr and the wealth of genealogical material relating to the family of which Bishop Sulien were a part, all point towards the interests and observations of David ap Sulien.[13] Stephenson argues that this suggests that this period of the chronicle was compiled 'more or less contemporaneously with the episodes of which it treats.'[14] He argues that this makes *Brut* a more credible source that the *Annales Cambriae* for events taking place in the early twelfth century. Stephenson's argument differs from that put forward by Kari Maund; she claims that the text for these

[11] Stephenson, '"Resurgence" of Powys,' p. 188.
[12] *ibid,* p. 185.
[13] *ibid,* pp. 184-185, & pp. 187-189.
[14] *ibid,* pp. 184-185, & pp. 187-189.

thirty years found in *Brutiau* was as much a polemic as the *Historia Gruffudd ap Cynan.* She suggests instead that the *Brutiau* represents the ambitions and claims of Owain Cyfeiliog and was composed in the later 12th century.[15]

Recently, J. Beverly Smith has put *Brenhinedd* under similar scrutiny. He refers to the two surviving manuscripts of *Brenhinedd*, Cotton MS Cleopatra B v and the Black Book of Basingwerk, which date from the early fourteenth century and the late fifteenth century respectively, as 'closely comparable, but not identical.'[16] Beverly Smith maintains the previous existence of a now lost Latin exemplar for both Welsh language manuscripts and argues that *Brenhinedd* was designed to be a continuation of *Brut y Brenhinedd,* the Welsh translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.[17] While he rejects the use of *Annales Cambriae,* Beverly Smith does suggest that the Latin sources used to compile the Latin *Brut,* or even the Latin *Brut* itself, may have formed the Welsh portion of Brenhinedd alongside the use of the Annals of Winchester (until 1095) for English material and either the Breviate of Domesday (1095-1197) or a text to which the Breviate was closely related for material related to the De Braose family until 1197.[18] After that date, the compiler of *Brenhinedd* seems to have stuck to the Latin *Brut.*[19] When considering where the Latin *Brenhinedd* was compiled, Beverly Smith points that the resources needed by the compiler included material known to be housed at Whitland and Neath, and suggests these

[15] Kari Maund, 'Owain ap Cadwgan: A Rebel Revisited,' *Haskins Society Journal,* vol. 13, Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2004, pp. 65-74, p. 69. Stephenson quotes an entire passage of Maund's argument directly, in order to challenge it. See, Stephenson, '"Resurgence" of Powys,' p. 184.
[16] J. Beverly Smith, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales: The Composition of *Brenhinedd y Saesson,*' *Studia Celtica,* vol. 42, 2008, pp. 55-86, p.55.
[17] *ibid,* pp. 55-56.
[18] *ibid,* pp.56, 59-60, 65, 67-70.
[19] *ibid,* p. 71.

alongside Strata Florida as part of an axis of manuscript transmission, that resulted in the compilation of Brenhinedd and its translation at Valle Crucis around 1300.[20]

The *Cronica de Wallia* and the B and C texts of *Annales Cambriae* have also been subjected to similar studies. While discussing the origins of some of the information contained in *Brenhinedd*, Beverly Smith concludes that the extended entries in *Cronica* between 1190 and 1266 suggested the author, writing around 1277, drew on a detailed narrative source.[21] In comparison, when considering the *Annales Cambriae* and Gerald of Wales's influence upon them, Stephenson points out that the B-text copies Gerald's *Itinerary of Wales*, ignore the role of Llywelyn's cousins and uncle in the exile of Dafydd ab Owain, attributing Dafydd's downfall to Llywelyn alone.[22] He does not believe, however, that Gerald was the author of any part of B-text, but rather that he was familiar and friendly with the man who was.[23] Moreover, he argues that there is no evidence for the claim that Strata Florida acquired the B-text in 1202,[24] but rather that the entry for 1202 mirrors that in the C-text, known to be compiled in St. David's.[25] Furthermore, in a separate account, Stephenson argues that the restricted geographic scope of the B-text, in comparison to the C-text, may have been the product of the compiler rather than the available sources.[26] Beverly Smith

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[20] *ibid,* pp. 72-82.
[21] *ibid,* pp. 57-58
[22] David Stephenson, 'Gerald of Wales and *Annales Cambriae,' Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, no. 60, 2010, pp. 23-37, p. 35.
[23] *ibid,* p. 36.
[24] Made by Kathleen Hughes in 'The Welsh Latin Chronicles: *Annales Cambriae* and Related Texts,' in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Scottish and Welsh Sources,* David Dumville ed., Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1980, pp. 76-85, p. 76.
[25] *ibid,* p. 28.
[26] David Stephenson, 'Welsh Chronicles' Accounts of the Mid-Twelfth Century,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies,* no. 56, 2008, pp. 45-59, p. 49.

suggested a specific scribe at Neath as the copyist employed in the production of the B-text within the Breviate of Domesday.[27] His suggestion lends itself to the conclusion that the author may have been familiar with the B-text.[28]

These recent studies make several items readily apparent. Firstly, although parts of the chronicles can be linked to individuals such as Daniel ap Sulien or Gerald of Wales for some of their information, the present forms of these texts are compilations, post-dating the events they describe. Furthermore, the identification of many of these texts with the religious houses at Strata Florida, Whitland, Neath and – in their Welsh language form – Valle Crucis, lends itself to a southern and western bias. Although this does not directly discount the use of Welsh chronicles, it does make it difficult to use any one of them as a single, reliable source for early thirteenth century Gwynedd. Rather, their use must be carefully considered in relation to the provenance of the surviving manuscripts, the interests of their compilers and translators, and the dating of the material from which they draw. Despite these considerations, and with them in mind, the chronicles can provide a sense of the Welsh perspective on events, and which events were considered important when the compilers and authors were working.

Charters attributed to Llywelyn also must be dealt with conservatively. Although fully republished in a very thorough and scholarly edition by Huw Pryce,[29] it is worth bearing in mind the provenance of each manuscript and therefore not only how, but also why, each charter survived the centuries. In many instances, the only reason that a Welsh charter survives is if it had been reissued after the Conquest by Edward I, or II. Many of these have altered place

[27] Beverly Smith, 'Historical Writing in Medieval Wales,' p. 76.
[28] *ibid,* p. 77.
[29] Pryce, *Acts*, pp. 344-444.

names, because the English scribe who was copying out the charter from its original was unfamiliar with the Welsh names and their phonetic spelling system or even the pronunciation of the places, even inventing his own phonetic spelling. This can lead to problems in interpreting the extent of land grants. A similar problem can be found in the English Chroniclers works, as they are often unfamiliar with Wales and can misplace a battle, meeting or other event in their attempt to convey the place-name into Latin or perhaps write the name in a way that suggests a place far from where the battle occurred. However, trusting even contemporary Welsh writers to provide accurate geography for events is a sticky business. The problem lies not only in the changes over time to names of places, or even the changes to the rules on transcribing phonetically the places into the Roman alphabet, but mainly in interpretation of a place. For example, when Llywelyn ab Iorwerth hanged William de Braose for having an affair with Llywelyn's wife Joan, the Welsh records place the event at Crogen, believed to be in the region Gwynedd Is Conwy, but also possibly meaning 'hang-dog' suggesting the possibility that the place name was not that at all but a description of what happened there.[30] Problems of this sort can arise when dealing with the place-names of 13th century Wales and make placing some battles and other important events difficult, unless they are at well-known castles or religious centres.

However, there is a more pressing concern when working with some texts, most significantly noticeable in the Welsh law codes. In many instances, most notably the 13th century *Llyfr Iorwerth*, it is difficult to discern the 13th century

[30] J. J. Crump, 'Repercussions of the Execution of William de Braose: a Letter from Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to Stephen de Segrave,' *Historical Research*, 73, 2000, pp. 197-212.

reality from the idealised 'ancient' or 'archaic' codes. This is compounded in *Llyfr Iorwerth* with the possibility that Iorwerth changed some of the aspects of a Queen's role limiting her place and influence in the King's court in response to the position of Joan, wife of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth had taken as emissary to England.

Bias and misconception in primary documentation is not the only consideration for the scholar of Welsh history. The secondary source material can also prove difficult. Books, articles and other resources that interpret, analyse, or otherwise discuss subjects in 13th century in Wales, England, and on the continent must be consulted and the ideas of other scholars considered when attempting to delve into the history of 13th century Wales. However, it is important to keep in mind that in dealing with the history of a nation like Wales, as with Ireland and Scotland, one must be aware of the political and social situation of the era in which each scholar wrote. Some historians may demonstrate a decidedly nationalistic or anti-nationalistic slant in their writing. Historians such as John Edward Lloyd had their own personal beliefs; these often infused their writing. J.E. Lloyd, who published his treatment of ancient and medieval Welsh History in 1911, for instance, held tightly to the view that any Welsh ruler who communicated and worked closely with the English was to be commended as having fantastic foresight in light of the subsequent annexation of North Wales by Edward I of England in 1283 and should be considered one of the 'Great' leaders. Into this category he placed Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. However, not every Welsh historian agrees this viewpoint and it is important to note that Lloyd did skip certain periods of history, especially the reigns of specific rulers such as Dafydd

and Rhodri ab Owain Gwynedd, in his *History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*[31] because there was little evidence surviving to suggest that these rulers displayed those characteristics which he admired. The other works whose treatment of Wales included a discussion of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, are R. R. Davies's *The Age of Conquest*[32] first published in 1987, and the more recently published work of Roger Turvey: *Llywelyn the Great*[33]. Common to general discussions of the rule of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is the view that Llywelyn's skills as a 'statesman' lead to his remarkable authority over much of native Wales in the period after 1220. J. E. Lloyd and R. R. Davies, as historians of Welsh medieval history who hail from different ends of the twentieth century, agree on the basic facts of Llywelyn's reign. Where they disagree is marginal. However, it is possible to discern the slight differences in tone and take on the career of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, as these fuel and feed the interpretations of other historians such as Turvey, who takes his tone from not only these two, but from the many historians who followed their research, focusing on specific aspects of Llywelyn's rule, such as his adoption of the title Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon in 1225.

This does not take into account the wealth of articles published in the past two decades which discuss varying aspects of Llywelyn's rule, written by D. A. Carpenter, A. D. Carr, J. J. Crump, Charles Insley, Huw Pryce, K. William Jones, and R. F. Treharne to name but a few. These historians have limited their articles to studying specific aspects of Llywelyn's career, making Llywelyn's rule one of

[31] J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest, 2 vols. London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1948.
[32] R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
[33] Roger Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great*, Llandysul, Gomer, 2007.

the more studied of Welsh princes. This does not negate the need for a full biography of Llywelyn to collate these new theories and studies into one academic study, as Roger Turvey noted in his own preface to his biography.[34] New interpretations are always arising, with different eyes to study the sources, providing insight into the life of this celebrated Welsh ruler. Roger Turvey's biography began the collation that this thesis hopes to continue, providing some new insights and stressing different aspects of Llywelyn's rise to power. Amidst this study, the historiography of Llywelyn will be discussed and applied to the events within his life.

TWELFTH CENTURY WALES

Twelfth century Wales was a land of uncompromising terrain and factious men. The Cambrian Mountains, which stretch across the whole of Wales, were sparsely populated and heavily forested, the prime breadbasket was on the Isle of Anglesey in the north, and the population gathered in small narrow plains in the South and West and around the lowland coastal areas. The problems with terrain were made worse by the nature of the law of partible-inheritance which allowed all recognised sons to share equally in the inheritance of their patrimony. While at first glance perfectly fair, this ever-dividing practice reduces the land—and therefore livelihood—available to each individual in each successive generation. This can create disputes, disagreements, and ultimately warfare between those who feel they deserve either a larger portion, or the whole, of the available patrimony. After all, how do you divide a kingdom or principality?

[34] *ibid*, p. xi.

By 1188, when Gerald of Wales took his eponymous *Journey Through Wales* and *Description of Wales*, he wrote about a Wales of three constituent parts: Gwynedd, Deheubarth, and Powys. He cited the division of Wales into these three 'parts' to the death of Rhodri Mawr in 878[35] and its division as part of the inheritance of Rhodri's sons Merfyn, Anarawd, and Cadell.[36] Although Gerald focused on the legendary origins of these three principalities, they correspond loosely to the ruling dynastic kindreds of the twelfth century.

In the south of Wales, The Lord Rhys (Rhys ap Gruffudd), ruled native Deheubarth, including Dyfed, until his death in 1197. Although Deheubarth had descended into chaos upon the death of Rhys's father Gruffudd ap Rhys in 1130, Rhys emerged as the prominent ruler by 1155 when the native Welsh kingdom had been 'reconstituted'.[37] As the sole surviving son of Gruffudd ap Rhys, this Rhys found it easier to control the patrimony than he might have had his brothers survived. Although limited by massive Anglo-Norman intrusions into the south, including the creation of the Earldom of Pembroke by King Stephen and given to the Clares, Rhys managed, mostly through a concerted campaign of warfare, to gain a hegemony of cantrefs and commotes under native rule. The Lord Rhys was so successful and powerful that he was named Justiciar of South Wales by Henry II in 1172 in an attempt to pacify the Welsh before the English King left for France to continue a war there.[38] Rhys's rule was spent primarily warring with Henry (in 1157, 1163, 1171), as well as the marcher lords of southern Wales, such as Clare, the de Braose family, the Earls of Pembroke and any family members

[35] Lloyd, *History*, Vol. 1, p. 326, and *Brut:RBH*, pp. 8-9,
[36] Gerald of Wales, *Description*, p. 221.
[37] Davies, *Conquest*, p. 50.
[38] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 158-159.

that may have posed a threat to his hegemony in the south. Thus, twelfth-century Deheubarth was strong and united when Llywelyn ab Iorwerth first came onto the scene in the north.

In Powys, the ruler was less easy to determine. By 1160 the practice of partible-inheritance had divided the land between five co-heirs: Owain Cyfeiliog, Gruffudd Maelor, Owain Fychan, Owain Brogyntin (Cyfeiliog's cousins), and Iorwerth 'Goch' their uncle. Powys seems to have been divided several times during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, at one point becoming known as Powys Fadog and Powys Wenwynwyn (after the rulers who controlled the constituent cantrefs that made up the respective regions). In fact, these problems with division of rule amongst rival claimants came earlier. Davies notes the destruction of at least six members of the Powysian line between 1111 and 1130,[39] and that trend continued forward. By the 1190s, the only claimants left standing were Owain Cyfeiliog, his son Gwenwynwyn, Gruffudd Maelor, and his two sons: Madog and Owain, and the sons of Owain Fychan and Owain Brogyntwyn. Together, the heirs of 1160 had limited their own numbers to two surviving from their generation, and expanded the claimants to eight, among the succeeding generations.

Gwynedd, itself, in late twelfth century seems to be an amalgamation of the other two 'parts' in its history. Owain Gwynedd's name is synonymous with the area he ruled for over thirty years. Unfortunately for nationalists who like to tote the successes of Owain Gwynedd, his appellation was not earned from his long or successful reign, but as a way to distinguish him from the other 'Owain ap

[39] Davies, *Conquest*, p. 72.

Gruffudd' (Owain Cyfeiliog) ruling in Powys. Owain, and his brother Cadwaladr, succeeded their father in 1137, and by 1152, Owain had exiled his brother,[40] leaving him as sole ruler in Gwynedd. This led to a relative stability within Gwynedd for Owain. He was challenged by Henry II during his campaigns into Wales to subdue the native rulers in 1157 and 1163. Although, it was Owain who quashed the English Fleet sent by Henry to attack Anglesey—the breadbasket of Gwynedd—in 1157,[41] in the end, he had to accept back his brother and surrender Tegeingl.[42] In the second of Henry's campaigns, Owain and Cadwaladr worked together to take back Basingwerk and Ruddlan.[43] Unfortunately, the strength of Gwynedd fell apart upon the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170. Owain's surviving sons made war upon each other in the ensuing power struggle. Uniting, the youngest sons, Rhodri and Dafydd first killed the presumed *edling* and poet-prince, Hywel ab Owain,[44] in 1170 before turning towards their other brothers in an attempt to become the sole-surviving ruler in Gwynedd.

But even this territorial division into the ruling houses of Deheubarth, Powys, and Gwynedd is misleading and arbitrary, as R.R. Davies notes. Conquest of lands both within the patrimony and outside it was commonplace amongst native Welsh rulers in the eleventh century,[45] and this can be seen to continue into the twelfth century. Just one example from a century's worth was in 1142, when *Brut* notes that Anarawd ap Gruffudd 'the hope and strength and glory of the men

[40] *ibid,* p. 48.
[41] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 134-137.
[42] Davies, *Conquest,* p. 51.
[43] *ibid,* p 53.
[44] Peryf ap Cedifor. 'Lament for Hywel ab Owain and his Foster-Brothers,' in Clancy, Joseph P. Medieval Welsh Poems, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2003, p. 139.
[45] Davies, *Conquest,* p 62.

of the South'—and eldest brother to the future Lord Rhys—was killed by the war band of Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd, Owain Gwynedd's brother.[46]

It was into this fratricidal and war-filled world that Llywelyn ab Iorwerth was born. The only child of Owain's third known son, Iorwerth Drwyndwn—broken nosed—Llywelyn would not have been unaware of the nature of rulership in Wales in the twelfth century. The stories of his patrilineal rule and the death of his uncles and father would have been what moulded his world and informed his actions in it, upon exiting childhood.

As noted above, Llywelyn's reign in Gwynedd and his ascent to the lofty heights that earned him the moniker 'Mawr' (Great) have been studied in detail in the past. Where this thesis attempts to distinguish itself from previously published works is in its attempt to recognise, define and present not just the Llywelyn Mawr of fame, but the more impetuous and immature prince Llywelyn of the beginning of the 13th century and examine how the latter grew to become the personage so beloved of medieval Welsh history scholars today.

[46] *Brut: RBH*, p. 118-119,

PART 1:

FROM CRADLE TO GRAVE

CHAPTER 1

A WELSH WARLORD: 1173-1211

Llywelyn's beginnings as a Welsh ruler were bloody and war-torn. In his early years he displayed few, if any, of the qualities that made him the leading Welsh prince and earned him the epithet 'Mawr'. In fact, it can be argued that his early career was more that of a warlord, than a prince.

Due to the scarcity of sources, it is impossible to be exact with the dating, but Llywelyn ab Iorwerth must have been born by or in 1174, as his father is believed to have died sometime before 1174.[1] Unfortunately, Gwynedd at the time was in crisis. Llywelyn was born into a bellicose family in the midst of a feud. His father was one of Owain Gwynedd's many sons, and his mother was a daughter of the house of Powys.

Owain Gwynedd, Llywelyn's paternal grandfather, ruled North Wales from 1137 until his death in 1170. Upon Owain's death, his realm descended into chaos, which Turvey blamed on the Welsh partible inheritance.[2] According to Welsh law codes, the structure of inheritance Wales provided for equal division amongst all recognised sons of the father; theoretically, if strictly applied, this made for factitious *interregna.* In fact, Gerald of Wales noted the effects of this practice upon a principality.[3] However, while individual farms could be

[1] Charles Insley notes that the fate of Iorwerth is unclear, but that he seems to have disappeared from the records around this time. Insley, Charles, 'The Wilderness Years of Llywelyn the Great,' *Thirteenth Century England, IX,* Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame, eds., Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 163-173, p. 164.

[2] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* p. 20.

[3] 'Ad heac etiam quad fraters inter se pro herili terras portione dividunt et distinguut, antiques in hac genete mos obinuit. Accessit et aliud incommodum grave, quod principled filios suos geneerosis de terra sua viris diversis diversos alendos tradunt: quorum quilibet alumnum suum post patris obitum extollere, aliisque praeferre, toto conamine nititur et machinatur. Per quot graves terries eorum toites, nec sine caedibus multis et fratricidiis, seu fratrum exculationibus cerebris, virium quoquae ominum et successuum experienta dificiale sedabiles, emergere soleu

subdivided and parcelled out, dividing kingdoms is often more difficult as few typically wish to share governance. J. Beverley Smith has persuasively argued that this system of inheritance was never meant to be applied to kingdoms or principalities, but was limited in the thirteenth century to what he called 'the patrimonies of free proprietors.'[4] He points explicitly to the designation of an *edling*, as well as the creation of apanages for other kinsmen as evidence that the Welsh did not intend to divide principalities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[5] However, although Welsh law explicitly provided for an heir-apparent in the *edling*, the codes are not clear exactly who is an *edling,*[6] and this ambiguity in practice led to fratricide and concerted campaigns to rid the family of any male member who fell within the kinship degree necessary for inheritance.

In 1170, Owains' sons by his second wife and first-cousin, Crystin, refused to acknowledge Hywel's status as *edling*, or heir-apparent.[7] Although Owain himself had designated his eldest surviving son, Hywel, as *edling*, this was strongly contested by the other claimants to the principality. The ensuing power struggle lead to the probable deaths of at least four of the six known sons of

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turbationes. Unde et inter fraters collactaneos quam naturals longe veriores inveniens amicitatas.'--Giraldi Cambrensis *Opera*, Dimcock, James F. Ed, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, (or Rolls Ser.) Vol 21, Vol V, pp. 211-212.

[4] Smith, J. Beverly, 'The succession to Welsh Princely inheritance, the evidence reconsidered.' *The British Isles, 1100-1500, Comparisons, Contrasts, and Connections,* R. R. Davies, ed, Edinburgh, Donald, 1998, pp. 64-81, p. 65.

[5] *ibid,* p. 68.

[6] 'The Welsh law code of Hwyel Dda states that the 'edling' is either everyone of the 'king's members', ie. Those with the right to inherit from the current ruler: his sons, his nephews or his first-cousins, or he is the one to whom 'the king gives hope and expectation.' The second use of the tern 'edling' corresponds roughly with the Irish tanistry practices of choosing from within the *gelfine* for a leader. // '*Sef ev ayloudeu y brenhin, Y ueybyon a'y neueynt a'y keuyndyrv. Rey a dyweyt bot yn edlyg pob rey o'r rey hynny. Ereyll a dwyeyt nat delyg nep namyn y nep y rodho y brehyn gobeyth yn gvrthrych ydav.'—Llyfr Iorwerth,* §4, p3.

[7] Despite pressure from the Church to put Crystin aside on the grounds of *consanguinity*, Owain remained married to her until his death in 1170. Hywel was illegitimate and his mother unknown. Pryce uses this marriage in the face of Church displeasure to illustrate the independence of native law. Pryce, Huw, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003, pp82-83,

Owain Gwynedd: Hywel, Iorwerth, Maelgwn, and Cynan. Insley points out that the situation was complex; throughout the 1170s, 1180s and 1190s the control of Gwynedd was in flux, sometimes with Dafydd as primary ruler, and at other times his brother Rhodri controlled the majority of Gwynedd.[8] Aside from the death of Hywel at Pentraeth, the battles between the many sons of Owain Gwynedd seldom make the chronicles, but they do make it into the poetry.[9] This was the world into which Llywelyn ab Iorwerth was born and the world that shaped him on his rise to power.

Little is known about Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's childhood, although some hypotheses can be made. His mother was the daughter of Madog ap Maredudd, of Powys. Llywelyn refers to William Corbet as 'uncle'[10] suggesting a familial tie with the Corbet marchers. Some historians, including Lloyd, have suggested that this could indicate a marriage between Llywelyn's mother and a Corbet.[11] This provides two possible places for Llywelyn to grow up, one of which would be at the court of one of his maternal uncles, as suggested by Turvey.[12] The other possibility is that he was raised across the border on the marcher lands of the Corbet family. However, there is no conclusive evidence of this. The marriage of Gwenwynwyn to Margaret Corbet is evidence that the Corbets and the House of Powys intermarried in later years, but there is no further evidence as to where Llywelyn spent his formative years. Wherever he spent them however, Llywelyn

[8] Insley, 'Wilderness,' pp. 164-165.
[9] Peryf ap Cedifor 'Marwnad Meibion Cedifor' in Morfydd E. Owain (ed), *Gwaith Llyweylyn Fardd I ac Eraill o Feirdd Y Ddeuddegfed Ganrif*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1994, p. 343.
[10] '*frater Will(el)mi Corbet avunculi mei*.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 234, p. 389.
[11] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 587.
[12] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great*, p. 29.

was informed of his own claims in Gwynedd and by the time he was twenty he appears in historical record, attempting to make good those claims.

The first victims of Llywelyn's ambitions were his family members, the uncles and cousins at whose expense Llywelyn's initial expansion was achieved. Llywelyn began his early career through a combination of intrigue, alliance and subversion. His first appearance in the Welsh chronicles is in 1194 when they record that Llywelyn ab Iorwerth united with his uncle, Rhodri ab Owain, and his cousins, Gruffudd and Maredudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd against another of Llywelyn's uncles, Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd.[13] However, as Insley points out, it is difficult to truly discern who was actually active in the battle at Aberconwy; *Brut* is vague, and the court poet, Llywarch ap Llywelyn (Prydydd Y Moch), seems to credit both Llywelyn and Rhodri, in different poems, with the victory.[14] It is possible that Llywelyn was active, even earlier, in 1193 when Rhodri ab Owain was expelled by his brother Cynan's sons.[15] However, there is no evidence to specifically state which side, if any, Llywelyn took during this part of the ongoing upheaval in Gwynedd that began with the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170. All that appears in the documents is Llywelyn's first appearance amongst the various warring factions of the Venedotian princely family.

Llywelyn's actions and part in the events leading up to his eventual take-over of Gwynedd are murky indeed and it is relatively difficult to discern how much he profited from the machinations of others and how much he was

[13] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 174-175.
[14] Insley, 'Wilderness,' p. 166. And in *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd Y Moch',* Elin M. Jones and Nerys Ann Jones eds, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1991, no. 5, li. 30, p. 56 and no.23, li. 79-82, p. 221.
[15] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 172-172.

orchestrating the conflicts.[16] In 1196, Llywelyn was presumably amongst 'all the princes of Gwynedd' who aided Henry, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English earls in laying siege to Gwenwynwyn at Welshpool.[17] But there is no specific indication of his involvement.

Interestingly, it is possible to track the loss of power suffered by Dafydd ab Owain, Llywelyn's uncle and erstwhile enemy by consulting the self-styling that Dafydd used in his grants, through four charters he issued between his rise to power in 1177 and his exile in England from 1198 onwards until his death.[18] The first of these was a grant naming Dafydd as 'King, son of Owain'.[19] Although there is no specific date on the document, it can be tentatively dated to Dafydd's early reign (1177 -1190), the period during which Dafydd's rule was relatively stable. Another charter dated early in Dafydd's reign, before the death of the Bishop Gwion in 1190, named Dafydd 'King of north Wales'.[20] By Dafydd's third extant charter, dated before April of 1194, he styles himself 'Dafydd son of Owain, Prince of North Wales.'[21] By the fourth, probably sometime after the last and before his death in 1203, Dafydd dropped any styling at all and made the grant merely as 'Dafydd son of Owain.'[22] The successive loss of Dafydd's control over North Wales is very evident in the changes, and shows, in effect, a downgrading of Dafydd's status throughout his rule in Gwynedd.

A similar situation can be found in the charter record of the sons of Cynan ab Owain. Both granted charters during their period of alliance with Rhodri ab

[16] Rhodri died in 1195, eliminating one potential rival.
[17] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 176-177,
[18] Pryce, *Acts*, nos. 198, 199, 200, 201, pp. 331-334.
[19] *'David rex filius Owini'— ibid*, no. 198, p, 331.
[20] '*David Rex Norwallie'— ibid*, no. 199, p. 332.
[21] '*David filius Owini princeps Norwallie*.'— *ibid*, no. 200, p. 333
[22] '*ego David filius Oweni*…'— *ibid*, no. 201, p. 334.

Owain and Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Gruffudd granted a charter dated to between 1194 and 1199 to Aberconwy abbey styling himself 'I…son of Cynan prince of North Wales.'[23] By Gruffudd's second charter he stated 'I Gruffudd, son of Cynan.'[24] His brother, Maredudd, likewise styled himself 'Maredudd son of Cynan'[25] in his charter to St. Mary's church, dated before 1199. This suggests some limitations upon their conception of their own power.

In 1197, Llywelyn captured his uncle Dafydd. The following year, Llywelyn's cousin Maredudd ap Cynan was captured by the English during Gwenwynwyn's war to 'restore to the Welsh their ancient proprietary rights and bounds.'[26] Stephenson argues that by 1199 that Llywelyn is defacto overlord of Gwynedd, citing the Aberconwey charters of 1199.[27] In 1201 Llywelyn expelled Maredudd from Llyn 'because of his treachery'.[28] In 1202, Maredudd's nephew, Hywel ap Gruffudd then likewise expelled Maredudd from Meirionnydd.[29] It is likely that Hywel acted at Llywelyn's instigation; there is no mention of Hywel in any chronicle records, and Llywelyn is shortly thereafter recognised as in control of Merionydd. The whittling down of rivals during the end of the twelfth century is illustrative of Llywelyn's ability to capitalise upon existing situations in order to strengthen his position.

This constant shifting of alliances on Llywelyn's part may be viewed as crafty. Llywelyn created alliances to whittle down rivals claimants before turning

[23] '*ego…Kynan filius Norwallie princeps'— ibid*, no. 206, p. 338.
[24] '*ego Griffin(us) filius Canaan'— ibid*, no. 208, p. 340.
[25] '*ego Maredud filius Canan'— ibid*, no. 208, p, 340.
[26] *Brut: RBH*, pp.180-181.
[27] Stephenson, *Governance*, pp. 199-200. However, Stephenson's use of these charters is problematic, as they very probably date from after Edward I's conquest of Wales. See Insley, 'Fact and Fiction,' for a fuller arguement. These charters and discussion can be found in Pryce, *Acts*, no 218, pp. 348-363, and no 219, pp. 363-368.
[28] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 182-183.
[29] *ibid*, pp. 184-185.

on erstwhile allies to further his ambitions. The goal: to be the last *edling*[30] standing. But it also denotes one important aspect of Llywelyn's character often overlooked by other scholars: Llywelyn was power hungry. Not content to accept the power division inherent in an alliance, Llywelyn acted in his own interests in order to obtain the lands that his cousins held.

But Llywelyn did not devote himself merely to establishing himself as sole ruler of native Gwynedd. In 1199, the Annals of Chester record the capture of Mold Castle.[31] There is some discrepancy here as to who actually held the castle, as the annals seem to suggest that it was held by Llywelyn and lost to Chester. Insley notes that the text is possibly corrupt, but suggest there is ambiguity in regards to the battle at Mold.[32] Lloyd categorically states that Mold was held by Robert of Montault, the seneschal of the Earl of Chester.[33] If Lloyd is right, this action is illustrative of Llywelyn's slow eastward expansion into Chester. Given Ranulf's succeeding actions with regards to both Llywelyn and Gwenwynwyn, this seems the most likely assumption. Moreover, the reaction to the Welsh re-conquest of Mold, last taken by Llywelyn's famed grandfather Owain Gwynedd, was significant for both Llywelyn and Ranulf. The Welsh were jubilant. Cynddelew, a Welsh poet described the original event with delight, writing that the River 'Alun was red with blood.'[34] And Llywarch records a similar for

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[30] See above, note 6.
[31] *'sunt multi nobiles totius Norwallie et precipue hominess Lewelini interempti sunt omninoque disperse et obsessum est castellum Moald et captum in die epiphanie domini a Lewelini'—Annales Cestrienses; or the Chronicle of hte Abbey of S. Werberg, at Chester,* Vol XIV, Richard Copley Christie, ed, London, Wyman and sons, 1887, pp. 44-45.
[32] Insley, 'Wilderness,' pp. 168-169. And above, in note 31.
[33] Lloyd, History of Wales, p. 590.
[34] '*Alun rhag hil Rhun bu rhudd'* – Nerys Ann Jones and Ann Parry Owen, *Gwaith Cyndellew Brydydd Mawr II*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1995, p. 243.

Llywelyn[35] that could support Lloyd interpretation. If so, the success would have brought back memories of the victories of Owain Fawr that alluded to similar glories in store for Llywelyn. Mold Castle, on the Welsh-Chester border, was a significant outpost for protecting Ranulf's interests in Flint, as well as protecting Hawarden Castle and western Cheshire and its loss was felt heavily. Ranulf could ill afford the loss of Mold, and he probably seethed with anger at his seneschal's failure to adequately defend the castle.

However, Insley argued for a closer look at the Annals of Chester, suggesting that if they were not corrupted, then it throws doubt upon the use of the poetry to support Llywelyn's success.[36] He further argues that the fact that John took Llywelyn under his protection in 1199 may indicate a weakness on Llywelyn's part.[37] This makes some sense, as the first of these charters, dated the 28th of September 1199 states that John takes Llywelyn into his protection, as well as his lands and anything he could win from his enemies.[38] This seems to be encouraging Llywelyn to lay claim to land he does not yet hold and moreover, it suggests that Llywelyn is not yet in a very strong position. The fact that Llywelyn is merely 'Llywelyn son of Iorwerth' supports this idea. Moreover, as Insley notes, the fact that John granted a similar charter to Gruffudd ap Cynan[39] in December reflects the continued flux in Gwynedd during 1199.[40] Of further note is the fact that while Llylweyn is granted what he can win, only Gruffudd has

[35] *Llywarch ap Llywelyn*, no. 23, li. 79-80, p. 221.
[36] Insley, 'Wilderness,' p. 170.
[37] *ibid*, p. 170.
[38] *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi*, Thoma Duffus Hardy (ed), vol I, Public Records Office, 1837, p, 23.
[39] *ibid*, p. 63.
[40] Insley, 'Wilderness,' p. 170

confirmed his castles and tenements in North Wales'[41] perhaps indicating that it is he who held the upper hand in 1199.

Despite his lack of interference during the Venedotian power struggles of the 1190s, Ranulf was no stranger to English-Welsh politics. In December of 1204,[42] King John wrote a Letter Close to the sheriffs of Lincolnshire, Nottingham, Yorkshire, Leicestershire, and Warwickshire directing the sheriffs to seize all of Ranulf's lands and possessions. Ranulf's support of Gwenwynwyn, in the face of John's imprisonment of same Welsh prince, had angered the English king. Ranulf however, had interpreted Gwenwynwyn's imprisonment as implicit support for John's son-in-law, Llywelyn. As Llywelyn's interest extended into the march of Cheshire as well as Powys Wenwynwyn, it was in Ranulf's interests to keep Llywelyn distracted by Gwenwynwyn rather than by his interest in the earldom. However, it is impossible to ignore John's animosity towards Ranulf over the earl's spirited defence of Gwenwynwyn. The significance is in Ranulf's wish to support Gwenwynwyn in the face of his King's disapproval because he saw Llywelyn's power and land hunger as a far bigger threat to Cheshire than John's disappointment.

Gwenwynwyn, another eastern neighbour of Llywelyn, was forever at odds with the Venedotians over their shared border and surrounding lands. Their ongoing disputes are fully documented in following chapters, and best illustrated, in this early period, by Llywelyn's conquest of Powys Wenwynwyn while Gwenwynwyn was imprisoned by John. The general policy of both the Angevin Crown and the marcher lords in this period was to play upon the rivalries between

[41] *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 63.
[42] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, p. 18.

and amongst the native Welsh rulers. While squabbling between themselves, the native rulers were often unable to turn their attention to the machinations and advances of the Marcher lords into native Welsh lands. This was how, as discussed above, Ranulf's ancestors had originally claimed so much of Gwynedd. Ranulf had learned from his oversight and underestimation of Llywelyn in the last decade of the twelfth century. His policy in the early decades of the thirteenth century was different; he focused his attention upon the division between Gwenwynwyn and Llywelyn. Due to Llywelyn's raids across the Chester border and his probable conquest of Mold in 1199, Ranulf followed the tried and tested policy of divide and conquer, by supporting Gwenwynwyn as the 'lesser of two evils' over Llywelyn. His goal was to keep Llywelyn's attention turned towards the Gwynedd-Powys border rather than the Gwynedd-Chester border. Llywelyn dutifully obliged until 1208.

By 1201, Llywelyn's ascendant star had been noted by the English Crown and a peace concluded between emissaries from the English and Venedotian leaders. This heralded the beginning of a fourteen-year association between Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, self-styled Prince of North Wales, and his sometime supporter, adversary, bitter enemy, and father-in-law, King John of England. The rockiness of a relationship between the rulers of England and Wales respectively was in part borne out of the constant possibility of turbulence borne of the English wish for dominion. The Marcher barons who wanted to carve out lands in Wales on the one hand, and the Welsh who wished to maintain independence on the other, added further strain to these relationships. However, while such a sense of hostility could have easily seethed under the surface of their relationship, the

reality of the clash between Llywelyn and John was more complex. Born partly of mistrust and misinterpretation; both rulers second-guessed how each saw the other's role in their association. This fuelled the mistrust with which each approached and interpreted early agreements, treaties, and contracts.

The document that provides testament to the earliest foundations of the relationship between Llywelyn and the King John is the 1201 accord. Although, as Rowlands noted, it has received limited commentary,[43] this peace, agreed between Llywelyn and the English king's representatives, provides a glimpse as to how John viewed his ideal relationship with 'Llywelyn son of Iorwerth.'[44] The document accords Llywelyn no further title, and this limitation upon the recognition of his power is indicative of further limits he accepted in exchange for being recognised at all by King John's representatives. The accord specifically dictates that Llywelyn is to do homage to John for his lands in Gwynedd. 'And when the lord king comes in England, Llywelyn will go toward him and he will do homage by his hand to the lord who is his liege of the lands.'[45] Rowlands notes that both this fealty and homage were simultaneously conventional and the most comprehensive and demanding and binding form of fealty.[46] The text is also very specific as to how Llywelyn gained control of his lands, stating that Llywelyn received seisin over his lands from the English King's Justiciar

[43] Rowlands, I. W. 'The 1201 Peace between King John and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth,' *Studia Celtica*, vol. 35, 2000, pp. 149-166, p149.
[44] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 221, p. 372. For the full text, see Appendix A, the clauses herein discussed are in bold for ease of reference.
[45] '*Et cum dominus rex in Anglian venerit idem Leuilinus ad mandatum eius veniet ad eum et homagium ei faciet sicut domino suo ligio de predictis tenementis.— ibid*,, no. 221, p. 372.
[46] Rowlands, '1201 Peace,' p. 156.

Geoffrey fitz Peter.[47] Thus, the English King's representatives ignored the reality of Llywelyn's triumph over his uncle Dafydd, who had been previously backed by the English King, Henry II, while simultaneously relegating him to the role of a vassal, invested with his land by the English Kings. Rowlands points out that the formal delivery of the seisin of Llywelyn's lands is a powerful message of his client status.[48] The combination of these two clauses set out at the beginning of the document drawn up by the English royal chancery suggests an English feeling of superiority over the Welsh leader. It appears that King John was quite happy to instruct his lords to recognise Llywelyn's control of the lands. However, he also stipulated that Llywelyn held them from the English king, not by right of inheritance or conquest. It thereby ignores or invalidates Llywelyn's own claim to those rights as the sovereign ruler of north Wales.

Llywelyn appears to have conceded this point. His decision to do so is probably based on two considerations. One is that his predecessors throughout Wales, not just in Gwynedd, had traditionally sworn homage to the English King. There is a further argument to be made, common to most historians commenting upon the relationships of Welsh rulers with English Kings. Ever since the Anglo-Saxon period, the English kings had maintained that allegiance is owed to them from the Welsh rulers. Asser, a Welsh native who served King Alfred and later became his biographer, claims the idea that native Welsh rulers swearing allegiance for their lands in Wales to the Anglo Saxon Kings dates to the reign of Alfred the Great. Asser notes that the Welsh, with the Franks, Frisians, Gauls,

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[47] '*leuinus receipt de manu domini iusticiarii saisinam omnium tenementorum suorum que tunc possidebat.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 221, p. 372. Again, see Appendix A, the clauses herein discussed are in bold for ease of reference.
[48] Rowlands, '1201 Peace,' p. 157.

pagans, Scots and Britons subjected themselves willingly to Alfred.[49] While Anglo-Saxon England was no more united than Wales in this period, and it is, therefore, difficult to claim that such an idea dated in a concrete form from so early a period, the notion that Welsh rulers owed allegiance to the English crown is not in doubt. In fact, Asser states that the Welsh kings of Dyfed, Glywysing, Gwent, Brycheiniog, and the sons of Rhodri Mawr submitted themselves to Alfred's *imperium*.[50] Llywelyn's forbears dating back to the sons of Rhodri Mawr, both in Gwynedd, and in other areas of Wales, owed allegiance to the English King. This may have been a nominal promise, to keep faith with the English. However, Owain Gwynedd, The Lord Rhys, and Llywelyn's uncle Dafydd all swore allegiance to Henry II while he ruled.[51] Dafydd went so far as to marry the illegitimate sister of King Henry and, after Llywelyn had exiled Dafydd, the former prince of Gwynedd and his wife lived in England on her estates. Llywelyn was quick to follow this pattern. In the past, the recognised rulers of Gwynedd and other major principalities had sworn allegiance to the king of England; Llywelyn was intent on placing himself on equal footing with previous Venedotian rulers. He saw no threat in the swearing of homage, and by extension gaining English recognition of his conquests in Gwynedd.[52]

The second consideration was that Llywelyn was also getting something out of it. After he had done homage to the King, John would pardon all offenses

[49] Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, ed William Henry Stephenson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1904, 60. A translation can be found in the critical edition, Alfred P. Smyth, *The Medieval Life of King Alfred the Great*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002, p. 34.
[50] *ibid*, pp. 66-67, and trans, Smyth, *Medieval Life of King Alfred*, pp. 38-39.
[51] In fact, the Lord Rhys was named Justiciar of Wales by Henry II. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 543.
[52] Even if it wasn't worded that way!

committed before Llywelyn had so sworn.[53] This ameliorated any strain between Llywelyn and the Crown and, coincidentally left Llywelyn free to make his way back to Gwynedd without threat of being drawn into a case regarding his holdings. As Rowlands points out, Llywelyn had amassed a wealth of enemies in his rise to prominence, and this clause is a form of protection.[54] As Dafydd had been living in English exile since January of 1198, it is likely that this clause is specifically designed to protect Llywelyn from any claim his uncle might have wished to bring against Llywelyn.[55] As the agreement was reached while John was in Poitou, this was effectively a 'go-ahead' for Llywelyn to continue his campaigns in Wales. After all, he would be forgiven once John returned and he did homage! Considering that Llywelyn's interests were in ruling Gwynedd, the whole of Gwynedd if he could arrange it, this is a remarkably generous clause, and with the English King tied up with his interests in France,[56] it was entirely possible for Llywelyn to complete his conquest of Gwynedd before John returned to England. Llywelyn was not interested in rocking the proverbial boat and he wasn't interested in Gwynedd's, much less Wales's, independence from King John. What Llywelyn wanted, as a new upstart prince, was recognition of his status and to be left alone in order to deal with those cousins whose hold on

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[53] '*Et homagio facto inpace redibit ad propria ne cab aliquot inplacatibur donec inin patria sua competentem receperit summonitionem, et dominus rex omnia retro forisfacta ante diem pacis si qua sunt ei condonabit*.'—Pryce, Acts, no. 221, p. 372. Again, see Appendix A, the clauses herein discussed are in bold for ease of reference.

[54] Rowlands, '1201 Peace,' pp. 158-159.

[55] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 590 and note 76. Also, although Brut doesn't record the exile, it does record that Llywelyn seized Dafydd the year previously. *Brut: RBH*, pp. 184-185, *Brut: Pen 20*, p, 142.

[56] John's marriage to Isabella of Angouleme, out from under Hugh de Lusignan, had angered the Lusignans. By Easter of 1201 the problem had become an issue for John and he was forced to summon his English vassals at Portsmouth, and travel to Poitou to deal with the Lusignans.—For a fuller accounting of this time, and the John's actions on the continent, see Warren, *King John*, pp. 67-76.

Arwystli and other areas threatened his security. While he was at it, the possibility to expand the borders of the Gwynedd he controlled was not something he would overlook.

In a discussion of Llywelyn's 'wars of independence', slanted heavily by Welsh nationalism, David Moore makes the erroneous conclusion that Llywelyn was hesitant to perform homage to the John, noting that when Llywelyn was faced with his cousin Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd, it was Gruffudd who promised homage to King John for Gwynedd in 1199, not Llywelyn.[57] His discussion of the 1201 peace treaty is then slanted, granting that Llywelyn conceded King John's points on Llywelyn's lack of rights to harbour fugitives in an attempt to safeguard Gwynedd from Gwenwynwyn's grasping Powysian hands.[58] However, the reality is, as I have pointed to above, more complex than that. Moore fails to discuss the idea that recognition of his status as a ruler of lands was important to a young Llywelyn. He notes the fact that all Welsh princes for the past two generations had promised homage to the English crown, but fails to acknowledge the implications of this in respect to his nationalist agenda. However, as previously discussed, English recognition, especially when granted by a king who was far more interested in his lands in France, allowed Llywelyn to go after possible threats to his supremacy in Gwynedd without English interference. While there are some truths in Moore's argument, Moore portrays Llywelyn as very aware of his attempts at independence from England, even at such an early date as 1201. It is doubtful that Llywelyn spared much thought for the terms of the treaty in 1201, or what it may have meant for the future. He

[57] David Moore, *The Welsh Wars of Independence*, (Stroud, Tempus, 2005), p. 109.
[58] *ibid,* pp. 110-111.

appears comfortable with agreeing not to harbour fugitives of the English King. This only became an issue in 1224 when Llywelyn argued that as an independent sovereign, he was entitled to harbour English fugitives.[59] Moreover, it is even more debatable whether Llywelyn even cared if the English King claimed overlordship in 1201, so long as he had recognition of his rule in Gwynedd. That year, the *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* remarks that Llywelyn conquered Llŷn from his cousin, Maredudd ap Cynan.[60] Clearly, securing Gwynedd from his family was paramount in the young Llywelyn's mind that year. Furthermore, the following year, the Welsh chronicles note Llywelyn set out to subdue Gwenwynwyn, the eponymous prince of Powys Wenwynwyn and now Llywelyn's neighbour.[61] Llywelyn seems more concerned with Gwynedd and his rivals in Wales than any possible threat from England and was willing to give the English Justiciar and Archbishop what they wanted in the 1201 charter agreement.

There is more to this document that just homage. It also forms a legal framework for charges against Llywelyn. Rowland points out that the treaty contains the first reference in existing English royal documents to '*lex Wallie'*.[62] Furthermore, Rowlands points out that the charter contains a distinction between Llywelyn's right and his possessions.[63] Llywelyn may have been given seisin over his lands but his rights could still be challenged. Once charged, Llywelyn

[59] In 1201: *'Preterea is qui dampna in terra domini Regis fecerint et in terram Leuini venerint, et dampna passi vel alii eos cum clamore et cornu usque at terram predicti Leulini insecuti fuerint, idem Leulin(us) dampna restituet et de malefactoribus iustitam facient.'*—Pryce, *Acts,* no. 221, p. 373. In 1224: '*Non enim minoris libertatis sumus quam rex Scocie qui receptat utlagatos de Angl(ia), etiam impune.'— ibid,* no. 255, p. 418.
[60] *Brenhinedd,* pp. 196-197.
[61] *ibid,* pp. 198-199.
[62] Rowlands, '1201 Peace,' p 159.
[63] *ibid,* p 161.

had the right to decide what law would be used, English or Welsh.[64] Royal intervention, Rowlands points out, is in the guise of supervision, and is probably designed to limit Llywelyn's ability to hide behind his own law.[65]

Despite what might have been, at other times, large concessions, Llywelyn was not in a very strong negotiating position, and seemed happy with the terms. At the very least, it confirmed some limited recognition of Llywelyn's status as a ruler in North Wales from external dignitaries and powers, such as the English crown. This placed Llywelyn firmly on the world scene. This was important to his status as a leader in Gwynedd and the long fights that he engaged in against his uncles and cousins on his way to becoming a ruler of Gwynedd indicated that his position in the preceding years was far from secure. In this document, the English acknowledged Llywelyn's place on the Welsh stage of politics and warfare. This, in itself, is a major triumph for Llywelyn.

It would have been difficult for Llywelyn to stake his claim to the Venedotian leadership without either the support, or at least the recognition, of at least one of the important policy-makers in Europe. These could have come either from the Church or from his neighbouring rulers. In Llywelyn's case these neighbouring rulers would be either the other Welsh leaders or the English Crown. Thus, sometime between 1199 and 1201 Llywelyn was among those Welsh rulers who wrote to the Pope, seeking independence for the Welsh Church from Canterbury.[66] In the letter, Llywelyn and his 'allies' are on equal footing;

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[64] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 221, p. 371. Again, see Appendix A, the clauses herein discussed are in bold for ease of reference.
[65] Rowlands, '1201 Peace, p 162.
[66] The Llywelyn's relationship with the Church, including the local Welsh Monastic houses, the Bishopric of Bangor and the Papacy will be discussed in Chapter 5. Suffice it to say, this is another complex discussion.

Llywelyn is styled in the letter (which pre-dates his peace accord with King John's Justiciar Geoffrey fitz Peter) 'Llywelyn son of Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales' and the other Welsh rulers are listed on the same status level as Llywelyn 'Gwenwynwyn and Madoc, Princes of Powys, Gruffudd and Maelgwn, Rhys and Maredudd sons of Rhys, Princes of South Wales'.[67] Llywelyn was clearly seeking to state his position as the ruler of North Wales, and be recognised as such by the Pope—ruler of the Church and the other Welsh rulers: Gwenwynwyn ab Owain, Madoc ap Gruffudd the rulers of Powys, the East of Wales and Maelgwn, Gruffudd, Maredudd, and Rhys, current rulers of South Wales. Clearly, Llywelyn is a prince in Wales by 1201, yet he is not accorded that title in the English Royal Chancery and King John clearly sees the young ruler as subordinate and not a sovereign equal.

Interestingly, Kevin Mann noted that Llywelyn is the only Welsh ruler to bear the title *princeps* (prince)—and rarely at that—in English royal documents from John's reign. He also noted that the title occurs in English documents only when John was currying Llywelyn's favour to achieve the marriage between Llywelyn and Joan in 1204 and 1205.[68] This is significant because although the title was awarded in rare cases to Llywelyn, he does not appear to have acquired it in the eyes of the English as of 1201, regardless of the fact that Llywelyn did style himself as 'Prince of North Wales' in his own correspondence. This indicates that Llywelyn was perhaps not as significant a player on the Welsh scene as he hoped to be, as well as hinting at a general English disregard of Welsh rulers and the

[67] *Lewelinus filius Ioruert princeps Norwallie, Wenunwen et Madocus princepes Powisie, Grifinus et Mailgo, Resus ac Mareducius filii Resi principes Sutwallie*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 220, p. 369.
[68] Kevin J. Mann, *King John, Wales and the March*, PhD Thesis, University of Wales, Swansea, July 1991, pp. 213-215. Mann's discussion is as far as I can tell accurate.

English need to assert supremacy over the native Welsh. Although Llywelyn was using '*princeps norwalliae'* (prince of North Wales), the title does not appear in the wording of the 1201 treaty. This suggests either that he maintained less power within Wales in 1201 than in 1205, or that the title was only accorded to pander to Llywelyn during marriage negotiations. Either way, he was not a major player, let alone the force he had become by the 1220s. Llywelyn was not much of a threat to John and as such, was left to his own devices. This was useful for Llywelyn, because, as he would learn in 1211, when it came to people whom he determined threatened his maintenance of control, John was ruthless. An angry King of England, with all the wealth and might of his country behind him, was not something Llywelyn was in a position to withstand in 1201. Thus, Llywelyn contracted a peace that appeared to be little threat to the aspirations of the English King, and protected his holdings from royal invasion, if not royal interference.

In 1202, Llywelyn, having secured the Principality of Gwynedd as his own, turned his sights upon his eastern neighbours. He first attacked both Gwenwynwyn of Northern Powys and the Earl of Chester, aiming to expand Gwynedd.

In 1199, King John made treaties of alliance with both princes, appearing first to back Llywelyn in September and then Gwenwynwyn in December. Both were promised 'all lands they could win against the king's enemies.'[69] Again in 1200, the English King made a second treaty with Gwenwynwyn and followed this up in 1201 with the treaty with Llywelyn in which John recognised Llywelyn's control of the whole of Gwynedd.[70] It is misleading to interpret these

[69] *Rotuli Chartarum*, pp. 23 & 63.
[70] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 220, pp. 370-371.

actions on the part of the English king as many historians have—as a tit-for-tat alliance with the English crown siding with first one side and then the other in a long-term dispute between two rival leaders. In fact, between 1199 and 1201, Llywelyn and Gwenwynwyn were among those who signed their names to a letter to Pope Innocent III, asking for independence from Canterbury for the Welsh Church.[71] The idea that Gwenwynwyn and Llywelyn would both sign their names to a document if they were not in agreement is ludicrous, suggesting that neither ruler felt remarkably hostile towards the other until Llywelyn's invasion of Penllyn in 1202.

In 1202, however, Llywelyn 'moved a host to Powys to subdue Gwenwynwyn and gain possession of his land'[72] Although, Gwenwynwyn defended his lands, Llywelyn managed to win both the cantrefs of Penllyn and Edeirnion, as well as the strategic castle of Bala on the banks of the Dee.

Llywelyn's relations with the other Welsh rulers also seem dubious. However, he did not progress to out-right war against them, the way he did with Gwenwynwyn in 1202.

Sometime in 1204, when John returned to England having lost Normandy to King Philip of France,[73] Llywelyn performed his homage to the English King and it is likely at this point that English interest in the Welsh prince grew. During John's absence, Llywelyn had been consolidating his position in Gwynedd. The young prince's focus had shifted from securing recognition in his position as ruler

[71] '*Lewelin(us) filius Ioruert princepts Norwallie, Uenuwwen td Madoc(us) principes Poweisie, Grifin(us) et Mailgo, Resus ac Mareduci(us) filii Resi princepst Sutwallie.*'— *ibid,* no. 220, p. 369.
[72] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 1184-1185
[73] For a full, blow-by-blow account of John's trials in Normandy from 1199 to 1204, see W. L. Warren, *King John,* Berkley, University of California Press, 1978, 'Chapter 3: Normandy Lost,' pp. 51-99.

in Gwynedd to expanding his power and influence in addition to the land he directly controlled in this period. The subjugation of Gwenwynwyn in 1202 marks the beginning of the shift in Llywelyn's policies. Llywelyn then made peace with Gwenwynwyn, the Prince of Southern Powys, and dispossessed Elise ap Madog ap Maredudd, Prince of Powys Fadog (Northern Powys).[74] The following year, Llywelyn's uncle, Dafydd ab Owain, whom Llywelyn had captured back in 1197, and who ended his days in English exile, died at Ellesmere, the estate belonging to his wife, Emma. These conquests are illustrative of Llywelyn's interests. Although he made peace with Gwenwynwyn later in the same year and returned Crogen castle to Elise, 'his uncle' 'out of mercy,'[75] Llywelyn's goals had clearly changed; now he wanted to expand the land he controlled within Wales, not merely Gwynedd. In this sense, he was following the footsteps of a great many early medieval Welsh rulers who controlled vast areas of Wales through conquest, marriage and inheritance.

It was around this point that following the precedent set by Henry II and Dafydd ab Owain, John offered his daughter, Joan, to Llywelyn as the Welshman's wife and Llywelyn accepted.[76] The date of the marriage was between 1204 and 1206, according two English sources, the Annals of Chester and Worcester respectively;[77] there is no record for the marriage in Welsh texts.

The Welsh prince and his new in-laws appear to be at peace until 1208, when John interfered in Wales by capturing Gwenwynwyn, the Powysian prince at Chester. Gwenwynwyn had decided to increase his mid-Wales lands by

[74] *'Brenhinedd,* pp. 198-199.
[75] *ibid,* pp. 198-199.
[76] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* p. 616.
[77] *ibid,* pp. 616.

invading the new lands of Peter fitz Herbert, new lord of the third part of Brecknock following to William de Braose's fall from John's grace. John rapidly decided to support Peter, and summoned Gwenwynwyn to Shrewsbury on 8 October to sue for peace, and imprisoned him.[78] Llywelyn took advantage of Gwenwynwyn's imprisonment and went on an offensive campaign to acquire as much land as he could within Wales. But whilst Gwenwynwyn was in English captivity, Llywelyn seized the chance to claim further lands on his south eastern border. Advancing from his 1202 position, Llywelyn attacked first Powys, and then Ceredigion, taking the lands of Gwenwynwyn and his ally Maelgwn ap Rhys.[79] It is impossible to know the full extent that the imprisonment of Gwenwynwyn had on Llywelyn's plans. It is clear from his actions that he was fully intending to expand his territories south and east. His interests were not solely limited to conquests in Powys. Llywelyn also looked south; he took the lands of his southern neighbour, Maelgwn ap Rhys, who controlled the north of Ceredigion.[80] Unfortunately, Llywelyn's position was precarious; he had misinterpreted John's seizure of Gwenwynwyn as tacit agreement to his conquest and had made further enemies. The other Welsh princes could easily see which way Llywelyn's interests and ambitions were heading. Shortly before Christmas in 1208, Llywelyn was forced to write a letter to the English King making restitution to the English King for his actions in Powys.[81] In fact, King John tried to foster hostility between Llywelyn and his fellow native rulers, by both recognising Llywelyn's conquests and then by releasing Gwenwynwyn in 1210

[78] Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 620-621.
[79] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 188-189
[80] See above.
[81] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 228, pp. 377-378.

with the backing of an English Army to help the Powysian Prince reclaim what he had lost in 1208.[82] He succeeded in raiding and taking control of Gwenwynwyn's lands.[83] Unfortunately, John was neither amused nor pleased by such an action and requested that Llywelyn return the land.

The Welsh chronicles record that Maelgwn ap Rhys, one of the sons of the Lord Rhys and prince of Deheubarth, destroyed his castles at Ystrad Meurig, Aberystwyth, and Dineirth 'from fear of Llywelyn.'[84] Llywelyn reached Aberystwyth and rebuilt that castle,[85] and his pattern of expansion appears to extend not just through southern Powys, but into Ceredigion, and the cantref of Penweddig. While others could point to the fact that Llywelyn gave the lands of northern Ceredigion between the Dyfi and Aeron to the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys to argue that Llywelyn was seeking either an independent Wales or the position he later achieved as the first among Welsh Princes, this does not seem to be the case. Llywelyn appears to have kept most of the lands that he could reasonably hold to himself. Moreover, during his conquests he made more enemies than friends.

Llywelyn's conquests of 1208 not only damaged his relationships with other Welsh rulers, they also threatened his relationship with John. Although Turvey referred to John's reaction to Llywelyn's conquest as 'indulgent', this is far from an accurate assessment.[86] John's focus had shifted to England and her insular neighbours after his defeats in France and he set out to increase his influence over Wales; this is illustrated by his imprisonment of Gwenwynwyn. Meanwhile, Llywelyn was quick to apologise to the English king and sent a letter

[82] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 188-189.
[83] *Brenhinedd,* 200-201.
[84] *ibid*,pp. 200-201.
[85] *ibid*,pp. 200-201.
[86] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* p. 52.

to John to that effect by Christmas of 1208.[87] It is possible that a wariness was growing on John's part when he considered his son-in-law. John was possibly concerned about Llywelyn's growing power within Wales, but Llywelyn still appears willing to appease the English king.

Two years later, while John was busy pursuing William de Braose and his family in Ireland, the Earl of Chester rebuilt the castle of Degannwy, which overlooked the Abbey of Aberconwy and bordered on the Conwy River in Gwynedd Is Conwy, as well as the castle of Holywell. Llywelyn, the chronicles note, ravaged the Earl's domain so as to provide discouragement for any possible planned invasion.[88] Ranulf III, Earl of Chester, was born in 1170 and ruled Chester from 1181 until his death in 1232. His relationship with the Venedotian Welsh was based upon an extended history of both expansionism and periods of consolidation on the part of the Welsh princes. Ranulf was a minor from 1181 to 1193 and upon reaching his majority at age twenty-three, he was sidetracked by English Crown interests in France. Ranulf had ignored the dynastic disputes between Llywelyn, his uncles and cousins that raged in Gwynedd.[89] While Llywelyn was consolidating his position on Gwynedd, Ranulf's attention was turned elsewhere. In 1198, Ranulf was attending to trouble within his interests in Normandy and elsewhere in England while Llywelyn was exiling his cousins.

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[87] Pryce, *Acts*, 377.

[88] '*Y vlwydyn hono yd adeilawd jarll Caer Lleon gastell Deganwy, yr hwn a torassei Llywelyn ab Jorwerth gyn no hyny rav ofyn y brenhin. Ac Yna heuyt yd adelawd y iarll hwnw gastell Trefynnawn. Ac y difeithawd Llywelyn ab Jorwerth gyuoeth y jarll hwnw.'—Brut: RBH*, pp. 188-189. (*Brenhinedd Y Saesson* records that the castle of Degannwy was rebuilt by the Earl of Clare, after its destruction by Llywelyn. This is likely to be a scribal error, as Clare had no lands anywhere near where these castles were built, or for that matter, lands bordering on Llywelyn's. *'Yn y vlwyddyn honno yr adeilodd iarll Klar gastell Dygannwy, yr hwnn a dorasi Lywelyn ap Jerwerth rac ofn y brenin. A'r vn jarll a edeilodd kastell Tref Ffynnon. A Llwywelyn a'i diffeithodd oll.'—Brenhinedd,* pp. 202-203.)

[89] See above, pp. 21-26.

Although previous Earls of Chester such as Hugh d'Avranches and his nephew, Robert of Rhuddlan, had conquered most of Gwynedd by attacking whilst the Venedotian rulers were embroiled in dynastic disputes, Ranulf had not followed Hugh's example of conquest in Wales. However, this history did fuel the flames of animosity between the Prince of North Wales and the Earl of Chester at the end of the twelfth century. Clearly, Llywelyn had little interest in allowing the Earl of Chester gain a foothold in Gwynedd, as the Earl's lands bordered directly on Llywelyn's own. A previous Earl of Chester, Hugh d'Avranches, and his cousin Robert of Ruddlan had conquered deep into the heart of Gwynedd by the end of the eleventh century and Llywelyn sought to prevent any possible repeat of the event.[90] Moreover, Llywelyn's relationship with John appears to be souring at this point. While there is no evidence to suggest that the Earl was acting on the King's behalf, Llywelyn destroyed the hill-top fortress of Degannwy 'for fear of the king' and thus appears to be wary of his father-in-law. This wariness is understandable. The same year that Llywelyn was fighting with the Earl of Chester, John helped Llywelyn's rival, Gwenwynwyn, regain his lands in Southern Powys and made a pact with Maelgwn ap Rhys in support of his attack on the cantref of Penweddig.[91] Llywelyn could have easily construed John's

[90] 'Hugh earl of Chester and many other leaders, namely Robert of Rhuddlan and Guarine of Shrewsbury, and Walter Earl of Hereford, mustered the largest host ever of horsemen and foot soldiers. And they brought with them Gwrgenau son of Seisyll and the men of Powys, and traversed the mountains till they came to Llŷn. In that cantref they encamped for a week, causing destruction there daily and ravaging it and inflicting great slaughter of corpses whish they left behind.' 'And straight away after he (Gruffudd ap Cynan) had been captured, Earl Hugh came to his territory (Gwynedd) with a multitude of forces, and built castles and Strongholds after the manner of the French, and became lord over the land. He built a castle in Anglesey and another in Arfon…He build another in Bangor and another in Meirionnydd. And he placed in them horsemen and archers on foot, and they did so much damage as had never been done since the beginning of the world.'—D. Simon Evans, *A Medieval Prince of Wales: The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan,* Lannerch, Lannerch Enterprises, 1990, pp. 65 & 70.
[91] *Brenhinedd,* pp. 202-203.

interference amongst the Welsh princes as a withdrawal of support by the English King.

In the summer of 1211, King John assembled an English army with the aim of humiliating Llywelyn. With the English King in this endeavour, were all the princes who had felt threatened by Llywelyn's ambitions. The princes who supported John in his two invasions of Gwynedd included Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog, Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Cynan, Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor, Maredudd ap Robert of Cydewain, and Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg ap Rhys

Llywelyn's fears were confirmed that year when John gathered a force in Chester. Using the new alliances he had forged in the past year, the English king summoned all the rulers in Wales to meet with him in the city and join his force against the Venedotian prince. *Brut Y Tywysogion* records that John's invasion was retaliation for Llywelyn's continued forays into English lands.[92] Llywelyn faced a combined force of the English King, his English army and mercenaries, as well as the support of the Welsh princes of whom Llywelyn had made enemies over the past decade. Llywelyn, and the people of Gwynedd Is Conwy—encompassing the Perfeddwlad made up of the four cantrefs of Rhos, Rhufoniog, Dyffryn Clwyd and Tegeingl—withdrew in the face of John's advance, retreating into the mountains of Snowdonia.[93] King John reached Degannwy without a problem, but found that his supplies were cut off by the Welsh circling behind him, attacking the supply train in their familiar form of guerrilla warfare. Famine settled in over the English and Welsh combined forces and the chronicles noted

[92] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 190-191.
[93] *ibid,* pp. 190-191.

they even ate their horses before withdrawing back to Chester until August.[94] John returned to Gwynedd, angrier for his defeat, on the 1st of August. He built castles as he advanced in order to protect against a repeat of the disastrous famine at Degannwy. The King advanced deep into Gwynedd, his forces imprisoning Bishop Robert of Bangor and burning the town.[95] Llywelyn, with the support of his key councillors, sent his wife, Joan, to make peace with her father. He entered the English camp with the king's assurances of safety and agreed to a very costly peace.[96]

John's first invasion of 1211 was, as noted previously, an abortive failure, but his second was a resounding success. On 12 August 1211, Llywelyn formally quitclaimed to John the three cantrefs known collectively as the part of the Perfeddwlad—Rhos, Rhufoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd, with their accompanying castles of Degannwy, Denbigh, Ystrad and Ruthin.[97] More importantly, Llywelyn promised not to interfere in Edeirnion, and to allow Hywel ap Gruffudd to reclaim seisin over his lands—i.e. the lands of his father, Gruffudd ap Cynan.[98] It is interesting that despite the vast concessions made to John in August of 1211, Llywelyn only made these two concessions in the charter agreement regarding the Welsh. The claim to Edeirnion was recognised in favour of the minor Welsh lord, Owain Brogyntyn, and the charter expressly states that Owain held his land of the English king rather than either Gwenwynwyn or Llywelyn.[99] This, interestingly, ended the dispute between Gwenwynwyn and Llywelyn over the cantref of

[94] *ibid,* pp. 190-191.
[95] *ibid,* pp, 190-191.
[96] *ibid,*pp, 192-193.
[97] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 233, p. 387.
[98] *ibid,* no. 233, p. 387.
[99] see above, note 07, and Pryce, *Acts*, no 233, p. 387.

Edeirnion, as John was claiming it as his own. However, it also sowed the seeds for the Welsh Alliance that began the following year in 1212.

Llywelyn's agreement with John on the 11th of August was meant to ruin the Venedotian prince, leaving him as nothing more than a petty lord in Wales. John clearly had lost patience with Llywelyn, as the prince had not lived up to John's expectations of a malleable ruler whose allegiance was in the service of the English King. Llywelyn's interest in expanding his lands and power in Wales and the Marches of Wales had upset the English king and he hoped to humble the prince, restrict him to Gwynedd Uwch Conwy and keep him loyal with the threat of harm to the hostages Llywelyn provided. The charter Llywelyn attested quitclaimed to King John all four cantrefs of the Perfeddwlad: Rhos, Rhufoniog, Ystrad,[100] Dyffryn Clwyd with the castles within them: Degannwy, Denbigh, and Ruthin.[101] He promised not to interfere with the native Welsh rulers, and granted that the king could have the allegiance of as many of Llywelyn's retainers as the King wished.[102] Clearly, the King was worried about the extent of Llywelyn's aspirations within Wales. If Rhys and Owain ap Gruffudd were willing to hold their lands from Llywelyn, and recognise him as their lord and if Llywelyn somehow managed to reconquer the lands he held before August 1211, then Llywelyn might rise to the sort of prominence that Rhodri Mawr, Hywel Dda,

[100] Tegeingl is the name for the fourth cantref of the Perfeddwlad, however, for some reason the references the castle Ystrad and not Tegeingl.

[101] '*Sciatis quod pro habenda gratiam et benevolenctiam domini mei Regis Anglie Iohannis dinisi 'ei' et imperpetuum quieta clanavi castrum de Gannoch' cum Ros et omnibus pertinentiis suis et Rouina cum Dunbeig' et Estrede et omnibus pertinentiis suis et Defreneclud' cum Ruthin et omnibus pertinentiis suis.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 222, p. 387. See Appendix B for the full text of this submission, passages in question are in bold.

[102] '*Homnes auten dtrrarun puas donino regi dimisi si voluerint ad doninum regum venire et terras suas de eo tenere, faciant ei bonam securitatem quod fideliter ei servient et servitia sua bene ei reddent nec aliquo modo perquirent quod ab alio quam a domino rege receptentur*.'—*ibid*, no. 233, p. 387. See Appendix B for the full text of this submission, passages in question are in bold.

Maredudd ab Owain and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn achieved in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries respectively. John preferred many smaller local rulers, to one major prince within Wales. In order to complete his conquest of Gwynedd, John compelled Llywelyn to promise that if he failed to have an heir by Joan his lands would revert to the English king and would pass to Gruffudd only by gift of the English Crown, as well as provide as one of his hostages his illegitimate son, and heir, Gruffudd.[103] This could possibly have meant the end to the principality of Gwynedd, and its absorption into the English crown two generations earlier than Edward I's famous conquest of 1282-1283, or the reinforcement of a client kingdom held solely by the gift of the English King. Llywelyn further conceded to the English, in compensation for the cost of John's campaign into Gwynedd, of 10,000 cows, 40 destriers, 60 hunters,[104] and as many of the Welsh lords as hostages as John demanded.[105]

John's conquest of Gwynedd came fresh on the heels of his successes in both Scotland and Ireland. In August of 1209, John led a large army to Norham and demanded that King William the Lion of Scotland hand over three castles in that country as security for the Scottish King's loyalty to the English crown.[106] John forced William's complete submission when the Scottish king arrived to avoid war, taking his two daughters as hostages, and gaining 15,000 marks in two

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[103] '*...et liberabo ei filium meum Gruffinum tenendum semper et ad faciendum inde voluntatem suam, ita quod si de filia domini Regis uxore mea heredem non habuero, concedo ipsi domino meo regi tanquam heredi meo omnes terras meas tam illas quas retinui quam illas quas et dimisi preter terras quas ei placuerit dare eidem filio meo et meis.*'— *ibid*, no. 233, p. 287. See Appendix B for the full text of this submission, passages in question are in bold.

[104] '*Preterea dabo eidem domino meo regi pro expensis suis decem milia vaccarum et quatraginta dextraios et sexginta chascuros…*'— *ibid*, no. 233, pp. 387-388. See Appendix B for the full text of this submission, passages in question are in bold.

[105] '*Liberabo etiam ei obsides de terra mea quos et quot et de quibus habere voluerit pro fideli servito meo, et pro conventione predicta tenenda…*'— *ibid*, no. 233, p. 388. See Appendix B for the full text of this submission, passages in question are in bold.

[106] Warren, *King John*, p. 193.

years to maintain the English King's goodwill.[107] John was probably hoping to copy the terms of William's submission in Gwynedd, and perhaps Llywelyn worried about a similar war between himself and John during the ensuing two years. Moreover, John's well organised and successful campaign in Ireland may have caused the prince further concern. It was a major expedition and John was able to dispose of Anglo-Norman lords whose power he felt threatened him, such as Walter Lacy, and managed to secure with his vast army a good chunk of Ireland.[108] John's successes in Ireland and Scotland illustrate his interest in controlling the whole of the British Isles, and could have warned Llywelyn of his eventual submission to John in the summer of 1211 had the prince been reading John's intentions in Ireland and Scotland that way.

It is clear that 1211 ended in dismal failure for Llywelyn. He had lost half of his patrimony to the Crown, all of the lands he had won at the expense of his neighbours and was forced to accept costly and humiliating terms from John. However, all was not lost, and this defeat would prove to the catalyst for Llywelyn's meteoric rise in the succeeding years.

[107] Warren, *King John,* p. 193. For a fuller account of John's relationship with the Scottish King see A. A. M. Duncan 'John King of England and the kings of the Scots' in S. D. Church's *King John New Interpretations*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1999, pp. 247-271, pp. 248-266.
[108] For a full account of John's expedition in Ireland see Warren. King John, pp 194-198 and Sean Dufy, 'John and Ireland: the Origins of England's Irish Problem' in S. D. Church's *New Interpretations*, pp. 221-245.

CHAPTER 2

THE LEARNING CURVE: 1211 – 1228

Llywelyn had succumbed to a disastrous defeat in 1211; he had been humiliated and his patrimony had been drastically reduced. There can be no doubt it was a depressing situation for the prince. However, it was also a hard-earned lesson; and one Llywelyn had clearly learned well. Over the next decade and a half, Llywelyn addressed himself anew to his self-aggrandisement, but in a manner vastly different from his original approach. Instead of setting out to subdue his fellow rulers and claim by conquest more of Wales, Llywelyn began to use a measure of diplomacy in his dealings with them. Forging alliances with his fellow rulers, he set out once more to unite native Wales under his own standard.

Llywelyn's relationship with John was irrevocably ruined after Llywelyn's dramatic defeat in August 1211. But he was not the only Welsh ruler to suffer losses at John's hands. It is difficult to determine the full extent to which John's actions in the disputed territory of Edeirnion—in effect dispossessing both Gwenwynwyn and Llywelyn—resulted in frustration and fuelled concerns amongst the native Welsh rulers, but it is likely that they saw John's ultimate goal as more comprehensive than merely dispossessing Llywelyn. The fact that John had not recognised Gwenwynwyn's prior claim to Edeirnion, which Llywelyn had taken from him in 1202, probably irked Gwenwynwyn, and might have raised concerns among the Welsh princes that John's interest was about not only subduing Llywelyn, but all the other Welsh rulers as well. Again, it appears that ambition got the better of rulers both in England as well as in Wales. John kept the castle of Aberystwyth for himself, rather than returning it to Maelgwn or

Rhys, sons of the Lord Rhys.[1] Moreover, John also used his Welsh allies to attack Penweddig and wrest it, and the lands between the Dyfi and Aeron, from the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys. By the end of 1211, many of the Welsh rulers had begun to revolt against John's active incursions and apparent objectives in Wales.

Llywelyn wanted to reclaim Perfeddwlad, the four cantrefs east of the Conwy he had ceeded to John in August 1211. John had given them to Llywelyn's cousins Owain ap Dafydd and Gruffudd ap Rhodri[2] in order to, according to Mann, maintain Llywelyn's new submissive position to the English Crown.[3] Late in 1211, Rhys Gryg and Maelgwn ap Rhys violated their terms with the English king and sacked Aberystwyth castle.[4] Although he was at Cambridge with John for Easter,[5] Llywelyn joined the revolt shortly thereafter and later that same year, he moved back into lands he had given to the Crown.[6] He also was quick to join forces with his former rivals. The campaigns of August 1211 had taught Llywelyn that when the other Welsh rulers saw him as a threat to their security, they were willing to ally with the English Crown against him.[7] He turned this knowledge on its head. John's predatory actions had made his erstwhile enemies nervous and they were now willing to unite with Llywelyn. As allies, the Welsh could help each other guard against John. Burying the hatchet, the Welsh rose up against the King; Llywelyn regained all his castles except Degannwy and Rhuddlan and his allies were able to capture Mathrafal in Powys,

[1] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 192-193.
[2] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, p. 188.
[3] Mann, 'King John, Wales and the March', pp. 240-241.
[4] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 192-193.
[5] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 637.
[6] *ibid*, pp. 192-195.
[7] *ibid*, pp. 194-195.

built by the Anglo-Norman Robert Vieuxpont.[8] Llywelyn had learned one of his most important lessons about ruling in Wales: do not alienate potential allies when there is a greater threat to your security.

In 1212, the chronicles note that Llywelyn made a pact with the other rulers in Wales when he joined them in revolt. Amongst those named as Llywelyn's' allies in *Brut* are Gwenwynwyn, Maelgwn ap Rhys, Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor, and Maredudd ap Robert.[9] All four of Llywelyn's new major allies had made up part of the force that arrayed against Llywelyn in 1211. This is important because it specifically highlights a shift in Llywelyn's policies in dealing with his fellow Welsh rulers. From 1212 onwards, Llywelyn focused mainly upon creating a firm alliance. Llywelyn's ambition was not diminished by this shift; instead, he sought new ways of accomplishing his ultimate objective of control of Wales. The significance of the 1212 alliance cannot be overestimated. It is ultimately the defining moment in Llywelyn's history, the event which best illustrates the change in Llywelyn's policy, and his shift from a petty, land and power hungry warlord who attacked anyone he perceived as weak or whose land he coveted, to the diplomatic spokesman for native Wales; the man who acquired his power through alliances and his intelligent use of the trust of the other native Welsh rulers throughout the period.

The Welsh allies, and Llywelyn in particular, also sought further help from international sources. Because John had, in 1206, alienated England from the Papacy over his refusal to accept Stephen Langton as the Archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent III excommunicated John and placed an interdict over both

[8] *ibid*, pp. 194-195 and *Brut: Pen. 20*, p. 158.
[9] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 194-195. The fact that Rhys's age is mentioned in the chronicles suggests a sense of outrage, or at least concern about this treatment of the young.

England and Wales. This dispute was still on-going in 1211 and 1212, and the Welsh were swift to capitalise on it. Papal blessing for the Welsh revolt swiftly reached the princes; and Innocent dissolved their oaths of allegiance to John.[10]

Llywelyn also wrote to Philip Augustus and received a royal gold-sealed letter in return, ratifying a treaty between France and Gwynedd. Treharne argues that the treaty illustrates Llywelyn's knowledge of just how precarious the Welsh position was and that Llywelyn and his allies were in need of 'powerful support.'[11] He also points out that the use of Philip's gold-seal suggests that it was a formal record of an alliance treaty.[12] Llywelyn's letter to Philip stresses the need for mutual aid against enemies held in common. He also explicitly states that he has not agreed a truce, or even parlayed, with the English and requests that Philip agree neither truce nor peace with the English without Welsh support.[13] Llywelyn states in his letter summarising the treaty that he had 'summoned together all the princes of Wales, all of whom he has bound together in the friendship of this treaty.'[14] Moreover, this letter illustrates that he was the spokesman for the Welsh alliance to the wider world. It is significant that by the summer of 1212, Llywelyn was in a position to call his fellow native Welsh rulers together and bind them to a treaty of his making. It suggests that not only was Llywelyn a member of the Welsh rebellion against John and an ally of his fellow rebels, he was the ringleader. His statement that he 'bound them to the treaty'

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[10] *ibid,* pp. 194-195.
[11] Treharne, R. F., 'The Franco Welsh Treaty of Alliance in 1212,' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* vol.43, 1960, pp. 60-75, p. 66.
[12] *ibid,* p. 66.
[13] Pryce, *Acts,* no. 235, p. 393.
[14] '*Quod ut inviolabiliter observetur, congregato procurem meorum consilio et communic cunctorum Wallie principum assensu, quos omnes vobiscum in huius federis amicicia colligavi, sigilli mei testimonio me vobis fidelem in pertetuium promitto, et fideliter promitto fidelius promissum adimplebo.'— ibid,* no, 235, p. 393.

further argues that Llywelyn actually had acquired some sort of leadership. Moreover, that there is no record of any other Welsh ruler writing to the French King, suggests that Llywelyn was recognised by both Philip and the other Welsh rulers as the spokesman for them all. This could suggest one other thing, it is also possible either Philip or Llywelyn, himself, was the one who was instrumental in securing the absolution of the Welsh from their oaths of allegiance to John. Llywelyn's alliances were ultimately successful in supporting his ambitions; the chronicles note that the Welsh re-claimed the Perfeddwlad for him.

When Llywelyn joined in Welsh rebellion the following year, to reclaim the lands east of the Conwy, John assembled a force to dispossess the prince completely.[15] Once again, they congregated at Chester. It was at Chester that John hung the twenty-eight hostages given by Llywelyn to ensure the peace of 1211 and from there that he ordered the hanging of young Rhys Maelgwn's seven-year-old son, Rhys, at Shrewsbury.[16] While ensuring the hanging of the hostages, John amassed a huge army in order to complete his destruction of Llywelyn. However, Llywelyn and his allies were saved from John's wrath by letters from both the King of Scotland, William the Lion, and Joan, Llywelyn's wife, warning John that he faced the defection of his nobles after he crossed the border into Wales.[17] Whether Joan was a spy for her father, or was writing the

[15] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, p. 534.
[16] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 194-195.
[17] These letters are only preserved as a reference in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*. '*Deinde cum sedisset ad mensam, sibis intendens et potibus, venit nuncios ad regem ex parte Regis Scotiae, qui ei literas suae provisae proditionis porrexit. Quo facto, venit alius nuncios ex parte filiae ejusdem regis, uxoris videlicet Loelini regis Walliae, qui regi alias literas prioribus non dissimiles tradidit, dicens secretum esse quod literad continebant. Rex vero post prandium divertens ad locum secretum, jussit sibi tenorem exponere literarum. Literae vero, licet de regionibus venirent diversis, unam tamen eandemque sententiam continebant. Cumque adhuc sepretis his comminationibus ad cestriam venisset, iterum venerunt ad eum nuncii et literae, quod videlicet*

letter on Llywelyn's orders to keep John out of Wales is a topic much debated.[18] Either way, John decided against the invasion, turning his focus upon the dissent of his English barons. It appears that while John was busy subduing the Scots, Irish and Welsh, he was making enemies at home as well as on the borders of England. Between 1212 and 1215, the Welsh revolt could actually be so termed. During the summer of 1212, Llywelyn wrote to his fellow Welsh princes declaring that they all should protect from theft and plunder religious lands including all the lands acquired by Walter Corbet 'for the increase of religion.'[19] That Llywelyn felt comfortable and secure enough to dictate to his allies in this way suggests that his role as leader of the Welsh allies was somewhat firm. The following year, John focused on making peace with the papacy and protecting himself against his enemies within England as well as the proposed invasion by Louis of France backed by the papacy. The Welsh, meanwhile, recaptured Degannwy and Rhuddlan, putting Llywelyn back in possession of the Perfeddwlad.[20]

John abandoned his campaign in Wales and arranged a truce with Llywelyn in June of 1213, with the help of Pandulf, the papal legate.[21] In late

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rec, si bellum aggrederetur incoeptum, aut a suis magnatibus perimeretur aut hostibus ad perdendum traderetur.'— ibid, p. 534.

[18] See below, chapter 7.

[19] '*Lewelinis filius Gervasii De gratia princeps Norwalie dilectis sibi et cognates et amicis Madoco filio Mailgun et fratribus eius, et Hoelo filio Cadewathl' et M[e]redith filio Roberti et Gervasio Goch et Meurik fiio eius et aliis filiis ipsis et Gervasio et Meredith filius Heinoun Clut et Gervasio 'filio' Merioun, et amnipus aliis per Walliam constiutis tam npobis sipi quam estratensis, salutem…scilicet Rotlincope et Cotes, que terra, sicut mihi relatum est, proxima et vicina est terre de Keri, nanutenaetis et protegatis et defendatis et tam hominess et sevientes prefati loci quam animalia et cetera omnia que illic sunt et futeru sut at usum fraturem et pauperum chresti necessaria…*'Pryce, *Acts,* no. 234, p. 389.

[20] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 198-199.

[21] This, of course, was in violation of Llywelyn's agreement with Philip. However, as Treharne points out, John's submission of England to Innocent III to be held as a papal fife dramatically alters the situation for the Welsh princes. They are no longer 'good sons of the church' fighting a

summer of 1213, John sent a letter patent, naming Ranulf of Chester and Faulks de Breaute among his addressees, prescribing the rules of the peace the King had agreed with Llywelyn in June.[22] The Earl of Chester was not among those who had been plotting to desert John in Wales. Ranulf III was an adamant supporter of John and a crown loyalist in the English baronial uprisings of 1215 to 1217, and his position was unlikely to have been the opposite in the three years preceding the uprisings.[23] However, he may have been seeking to augment his holdings under the guise of putting down the Welsh rebellion. The message to these marchers was clear; the King did not want them to engage in further hostilities with Llywelyn.

Interestingly, multiple alliances amongst the Welsh against John were neither binding nor absolute. In 1213, Rhys Ieunac appealed to John and not his fellow Welshmen, to be instated with a portion of territory in South Wales. John ordered Rhys Gryg to 'share' with Rhys Ieuanc and Rhys Gryg refused. The two fell into a dispute over Brycheiniog.[24] Rhys Gryg eventually capitulated and attempted to make peace with John but was captured at Carmarthen and imprisoned by the King.[25] This infighting was one of many reasons for the peace treaty which was agreed in the summer of 1213 between Llywelyn and John.[26] This truce lasted until John's problems with his barons flared up in 1215. It is noteworthy that during that time, the Welsh chronicles record King John's actions

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excommunicate King, but rebels, fighting the Pope's vassel.—Treharne, ''Franco-Welsh Alliance,' p. 71.

[22] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinesni*, Thoma Duffus Hardy, ed, Vol I, Public Records Office, 1835, p. 100.

[23] Warren, *King John*, 231, 247-248, 253. Ifor W. Rolands, 'King John and Wales', in Church, *New Interpretations*, 275. Ralph Turner even notes that Ranulf was a member of John's *familiars regis*, Turner, *King John*, p. 133.

[24] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 196-197.

[25] *ibid*, pp. 198-199.

[26] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 236, p. 393.

in France and at the same time, mention no action on the part of any native Welsh ruler against the English. Llywelyn was not the only Welsh prince to involve himself in English affairs during the baronial revolts of 1213 to 1218. However, historians of Wales often cite Llywelyn as the primary instigator and leader of the Welsh aspect of the Baronial wars.

John spent most of 1214 in France, fighting once again for his continental patrimony; upon his failure, he returned to an increasingly unhappy England. King John had alienated many of his barons with his mistrust and heavy-handed governmental style. The mistrust between the English King and his barons was previously illustrated in John's abortion of his planned invasion of Gwynedd in 1213. Joan and William both had warned John that he faced desertion and treachery from his barons when his force crossed the Venedotian border. This cross-border alliance between Llywelyn and the Anglo-Norman barons is indicative of the future of Llywelyn's relationship with his Anglo-Norman neighbours and the English Crown.

Like his continuing problems with the barons, John and Llywelyn's relationship also failed to repair itself during John's stay in France. The Welsh record of the events of 1215 point to an alliance amongst 'all the leading men of England and all the princes of Wales…against the King until…he restored to the leading men of England and Wales the lands and castles which he had taken from them at his pleasure, without either justice or law.'[27] Between 1215 and 1218, the Welsh were led in their rebellion against the English by Llywelyn, whose military success seemed assured. He and his Welsh force took Shrewsbury and Llywelyn

[27] '*holl wyrda Lloegr a holl tywyssogyon Kymry y gyt yn erbyn y brenhinhyt na hedwch na chyfundeb na chyghreir yny talei … heuyt y wyrda Llowegy a Chymru y tired a'r kestll a gymerassei wrth y weyllyw y gantunt hep na gwyr na chureith.'—Brut: RBH*, pp. 200-201.

and the Welsh princes 'in general' gathered a host to capture Carmarthen.[28] The united force attacking South Wales was made up of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Cynan, Llywelyn ap Maredudd ap Cynan, Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog, Maredudd ap Robert of Cydewain, Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor, the sons of Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, Maelgwn ap Rhys, Rhys Gryg, Rhys Ieuanc and his brother Owain ap Gruffudd ap Rhys. Notably, early in the year, Maelgwn ap Rhys and Rhys Ieuanc captured 'all the Welsh of Dyfed.' In response, Maelgwn and Owain ap Gruffudd went to Gwynedd to complain about their treatment to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Llywelyn was not only the one picked to mediate the dispute, but he managed to convince both sides to join forces to form part of the united front against the Crown in the south of Wales rather than fight amongst themselves. This signifies the shift in the status of Llywelyn amongst his Welsh compatriots. Instead of being seen as the aggressor, by 1215 Llywelyn, rather than the English King, is the one appointed as arbitrator of internal Welsh disputes. This is further evidence of the native Welsh trust in Llywelyn and illustrates that Llywelyn was accepted by his fellow leaders to act as a fair and impartial judge for arbitration. In 1216 Llywelyn summoned 'all the princes of Wales' and as a committee, apportioned the lands in south Wales amongst the various local rulers there.[29] What King John had failed to accomplish, Llywelyn managed three years later.

The first mention in the Welsh chronicles of an Anglo-Norman alliance of Llywelyn's is in 1215, when the chronicles specifically state that Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford, organised an alliance between the Welsh rebels and the

[28] *ibid,* pp. 204-205.
[29] *ibid,* pp. 206-207.

Anglo-Norman ones, cemented in a meeting at Brycheiniog between the Welsh and Reginald de Braose. It seems that Giles was the one who pushed for this alliance, and encouraged his brother, Reginald to ally with the Welsh. It certainly was Giles who encouraged Reginald's alliance with the Welsh of Brycheiniog.[30]

Gwladus, daughter of Llywelyn, married Reginald de Braose in 1215.[31] Reginald and his brother Giles, Bishop of Hereford, were prominent in the baronial rebellion against King John in 1213-1214. Llywelyn was supporting the barons against King John and that alliance therefore served the purpose of cementing a political union against a common foe. But when Reginald became reconciled with King Henry III in 1217, Llywelyn became 'enraged against Reginald de Braose for breaking his pact.'[32] Not only did he lead his troops against Reginald, but in 1219 he married another of his daughters, Margaret, to Reginald's nephew, John, as a rival claimant to Reginald's lands as well as a supporter against the crown.[33]

Llywelyn and his Welsh allies supported the barons throughout the conflict and Llywelyn captured Shrewsbury without resistance while John suffered the loss of London at the hands of the barons.[34] The Welsh also advanced in the south on the King's castles—mostly taken from William de Braose—and won Abergavenny, Pencelli, Skenfrith and White Castle. Although, it was the English barons who brought John to submission at Runnymede in 1215, the interests of the Welsh, and especially Llywelyn, were not ignored. Included in the resultant

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[30] *ibid*, pp. 202-203.
[31] 'Reginald Braose … took for his wife the daughter of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, prince of Gywnedd.' '*Reinallt Brewys…a gymerth yn wreic idaw merch Lywelyn ap Ioruerth, tywyssawc Gwyned.'— ibid*, pp. 204-205.
[32] *ibid*, pp. 214-215.
[33] *ibid*, pp. 218-219. For family relationships see the genealogical family tree, Appendix D.
[34] *ibid: RBH*, pp, 202-203.

charter was a provision to return Llywelyn and the Welsh princes their lands, liberties,[35] the return of all Welsh hostages and charters held by John including Llywelyn's son Gruffudd.[36] J.B Smith points out one aspect fundamental to the Welsh was the division of how to arbitrate disputed land. The text is specific, 'if a dispute arises over this [the land to be returned] let it be decided in the March by the judgement of their peers, for holdings in England according to the law of England, for holdings in Wales according to the law of Wales, and for holdings in the March according to the law of the March.'[37] The combined interests of the Welsh, the Marchers and the English provided for uneasy bedfellows. Much of the land the Marcher lords held the Welsh laid claim to, and vice-versa. It may well be that the Welsh were merely trying to safeguard their acquisitions to the best of their abilities, by insisting on Welsh law in Wales, and the Marchers retaliated with March law. The problem, of course, lies in the fact that much of the Marches was disputed territory, claimed by both, and this division had the potentiality to present rival claimants for insisting on separate law. Smith points out that this was the first formal recognition of three separate laws, but he takes the interpretation one step further, arguing that Llywelyn was seeking to ensure that the judicial process would 'safeguard the jurisdictional immunity of a Welsh

[35] '*Si nos dissaisivimus vel elongavimus Walenses de terries vel liberatibus vel rebus aliis, sine legali judicio parium suorum, in Anglisa vel in Wallia, eis statim reddantur*;'—The full text of the Runneymede charter can be found in a variety of sources, for the purposes of this, I have used Stubbs, William *Select Charters and other Illustrations of Constitutional History,* H. W. C. Davis, rev, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, p. 291-303, p. 300, also Warren, *King John,* p. 274 for English translation.

[36] '*Nos reddemus filium Lewelini statim, et omnest obsides de Wallia, et cartas quae nobis liberatae fuerunt in secruitatem pacis.*' *ibid,* p. 300. Also, Warren, *King John,* p. 275.

[37] *'Et si contentio super hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in Marchia per judicium parium suorum, de tenementis Angliae secundum legem Angliae, de tenementis Walliae secundum legem Walliae, de tenementis Marchiae secundum legem Marchiae.'*—Stubbs, *Select Charters,* p. 300, Also, Warren, *King John,* pp. 274-275.

prince.'[38] This peace, however, was not a lasting one. John had the Runnymede charter annulled by the papacy because it was granted under duress.[39] However, some provisions of the charter were met, and Gruffudd returned to his father's court in 1215.

Llywelyn's support of the Baronial cause did not engender himself to all of the Marcher barons. He and Ranulf remained on opposite sides of the battles between John and the English Barons that began in 1215 and lasted until the English King's death. It was expedient, and most likely gratifying after the humiliation Llywelyn had suffered at John's hands, for Llywelyn to aid the barons. Ranulf, on the other hand, remained a crown loyalist. In order to reward Ranulf for his support, John granted many castles during this period to his trusted earl. On 13 April 1216, John granted Shropshire, Staffordshire and Bridgenorth castle to Ranulf.[40] It is likely John granted Shropshire in hopes that Ranulf would protect the border between Shropshire and Wales just as he had protected the Gwynedd-Cheshire border from Llywelyn when the latter had been raiding the English border in support of the baronial opposition to John. James Alexander points out that these grants to Ranulf provided him with a 'range of contiguous counties in the west and north-west of England.'[41] Alexander's interpretation centres upon Ranulf's position as a trusted supporter of John and loyalist baron and aims to prove this point. However, Ranulf's swathe of counties brought him into further conflict with Llywelyn. Llywelyn had taken Shrewsbury, in

[38] Smith, 'Magna Carta and the Charters of the Welsh Princes,' p. 347.
[39] Perhaps this was something Llywelyn should have considered enacting over his submission charter of 1211. For the full text of this letter see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora,* pp. 616-619.
[40] Alexander, *Ranulf of Chester,* p. 34.
[41] *ibid,* p. 34.

Shropshire, in May of 1215 and the King's grant to Ranulf was a way to counter Llywelyn's grasp of the Shropshire countryside.

Llywelyn's successes in diplomacy with the native Welsh and the rebel barons were not all encompassing. Gwenwynwyn renounced his alliance with Llywelyn and the other Welsh princes and for unknown reasons made peace with King John in 1216. Although hostilities continued, after making peace with John, Gwenwynwyn ignored the oaths made to his fellow Welsh rulers. Llywelyn, in a clear attempt at diplomacy, sent bishops to try and persuade Gwenwynwyn to honour his agreement with his fellow Welsh princes, but they were rebuffed, so Llywelyn used the excuse to reconquer Powys, with the help of his allies.[42] Llywelyn's attempt at diplomacy and his subsequent conquest of Powys illustrate that he had matured dramatically over the seventeen years of John's reign. While he clearly still coveted Powys for himself, he acted first to gain the support of other Welsh princes and attempted negotiations before any conquest was endeavoured. Thus, Llywelyn did not appear a threat to the lands of his Welsh allies in the south, or his baronial allies. When negotiations failed, however, Llywelyn and the rest of the native Welsh princes attacked Powys Wenwynwyn.[43] The allies of Llywelyn captured that part of Powys and claimed it for him. Gwenwynwyn was driven into exile in Chester and, there, died. Turvey suggests that Llywelyn fully intended to hold southern Powys for 'longer than he did the last time he annexed the kingdom.'[44]

John had a lot to contend with during the last months of his rule. Louis, the crown prince of France, invaded England with the support of the rebel barons,

[42] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 214-215.
[43] *Brut: RBH* pp. 206-209.
[44] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* p. 66.

and John, while he was on the offensive, took sick and died at the Bishop of Lincoln's castle on the 18 October 1216.[45] Henry, John's infant son, was declared the new king, and the rebel barons who were supporting Louis quickly hastened to make peace with the new regency council. The rebellion was at an end in England, but Llywelyn and his allies continued to fight in Wales.

The new King of England was little more than nine years old but surrounded by experienced, intelligent advisors including Llywelyn's erstwhile enemy, the Earl of Chester, who functioned as a regency council and helped the young king ascend to the throne. The rebel English barons rapidly made peace with the child Henry, preferring him to the adult French prince, Louis. This situation was further aided by the reissue of the Runnymede charter in the same year: Henry's supporters secured his kingdom.

England was in the process of defeating Louis and reintegrating itself after a civil war, while Llywelyn and his Welsh allies continued to expand their horizons. As regent, the Earl William Marshal, a marcher lord of Pembroke, reconstructed the crown and gained the support of Pope Honorius III for Henry's interests. Llywelyn, meanwhile, continued his war against the Anglo-Normans, both in Wales and the Marches. When his son-in-law, the Marcher lord Reginald de Braose, made peace with the Henry's regency supporters, Llywelyn invaded Brecon with the support of Rhys and Owain, nephews of Reginald, who attacked Builth.[46] Llywelyn set out to attack Brecon and the town surrendered, offering five hostages for their safety. Llywelyn moved on to Gower, losing many of his men along the trek over the Black Mountain, before encamping at Llan-giwg.

[45] Warren, *King John*, p. 254.
[46] *Brut: RBH*, pp, 214-215.

Reginald and William de Braose approached Llywelyn there to surrender, and ceded the castle of Seinhenydd to the Welsh.[47] Llywelyn passed the castle into the keeping of Rhys Gryg, and Llywelyn turned his attention back to his other main rival.

The preceding English kings had settled Flemings in the March of Wales in an attempt to provide for their hired mercenaries. It was against the Flemings, in Dyfed, that Llywelyn marched next but they, too, sued for peace before he advanced any further than Cefn Cynfarchan, near Whitland Abbey on the Taf River. Llywelyn, however, marched further across Pembrokeshire and prepared for battle outside Haverford in Rhos. Iorwerth, Bishop of St. Davids, spoke on behalf of the townspeople and Llywelyn agreed to peace in exchange for 20 hostages and 1,000 marks by the next Michaelmas or else they would do him homage for their lands forever.[48] Llywelyn was clearly still attempting to expand the sphere of his influence into the south but he was after the lands of his Anglo-Norman enemies: the De Braose lands, and the Pembroke lands of William the Marshal. In this way, Llywelyn was learning to extend his influence first by

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[47] *'A phan weles renallt hyny o distrywedigaeth yr oed yn y wneuthur ef adoeth achwe marchawc ygyt ac ey ac a ymrodes ylywelyn a thranoeth Llywelyn ydaw kastell seyneis. Ac ynteu ay gorch ymynawd ygatwedigaeth rys gryc.'—Brut: Pen. 20,* p. 177. *A translation to this text may be found in Thomas Jones, *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Or the Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1952. *Brenhinedd* provides a better description of who received the castle, making it clear that it was Reginald who gave Seinhenydd to Llywelyn, who in turn passed it on to Rhys Gryc. '*Ac wedy gweled o Reinallt Brewys y vuddygoliaeth yr oedd Lwelyn yn i chael, kyrchu atto ar i chweched, ac ymroi jddo a oruc, a roddi i Llywelyin gastell Sain Henydd. Ac yntav a'i roddes ybnghadwedigaeth Rys Gryc.'—Brenhinedd,* p. 218.

[48] '*a llywelyn adrygawd yny aruaeth archychu hauyrford aoruc ac ansodi yvin vydinoed wrth ymlad ar dref. Arys vab Gruffud a lleg o wyr y deheu gyt ac ef a awth drwy gledyf auon y ymlad yn gyntaf ar dref ac y nychaf jor(werth). Esglob ymnyw achyt ac ef kreuydwyr ac ysgolheigyon yn dyuot at yr agrlwyd llywelyn, tywyssawc gwyned ac yn aruaethu surys hedwch ac ef o barthret y flandrysswyr. A llyma y furyf nyt amgen no rodi onadunt vugeinwystyl etholedigywan o ros aphenvro ar rodi ydaw erbyn gwyl vihagel mil o vorkeu o aryant neyu ynteu ymrodi onadunt ehunein ydaw y gynal eu tir ay dayar ydanaw. A gwedy daruot hyny ef aymchwelawd pawb yn llawen y eu gwla*t'--*Brut: Pen. 20,* pp. 177-178. Other versons of this event are not so verbose or descriptive. They include *BRUT: RBH,* pp. 214-217, and *Brenhinedd*, p. 218.

alliance, and secondly by conquest of the lands that border on his allies. If he had secured the loyalty and homage of Haverford, native-ruled Wales would have moved further south, all the way to the sea, and Llywelyn's allies would no longer have been hemmed in by Anglo-Normans, but by him. Llywelyn might have hoped to maintain his own personal rule over lands, but it would have been a very difficult dream to fulfil as they were so far south and removed in relation to Gwynedd. However, the increase of his sway and influence, while placing others in charge of lands newly-won from the Anglo-Normans, would encourage Henry's advisors to be wary of Llywelyn before he even ventured to the English bargaining table.

While Llywelyn and his Welsh allies were making war on the Anglo-Norman holdings of the Marshal in Wales, Henry's advisors agreed to a peace ostensibly with Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, but in reality with his English adherents. The terms of the peace stated that Henry would restore to the English barons and earls their laws, and Louis would forswear the English Kingdom forever. As Llywelyn and his Welsh allies had not agreed to the peace, William Marshal laid siege to Caerleon and then Rhys Gryg destroyed Seinhenydd and the castles of Gower. The following year, Llywelyn and the southern Welsh princes made peace with the English. Llywelyn had built himself a very firm position upon which he could expound his case as spokesman for the native Welsh and obtain a settlement much to his and his allies advantage. He negotiated for the guardianship of Carmarthen and Cardigan castles, and then agreed to do homage to the English King.

Llywelyn and his allies did not make peace with the English until 1218. It is hard to argue with Davies's assessment that during this time 'Llywelyn had hardly set a foot wrong.'[49] The faith that the Welsh princes had placed in Llywelyn had not been misplaced. It was Llywelyn who organised the peace agreements with Henry III's minority council, pledging his homage as spokesman for all the Welsh princes. Moreover, Llywelyn proved his trustworthiness to the Welsh princes in 1218 when, as part of his agreements with the English, he accepted the rule of Powys Wenwynwyn *only until such a time* as Gwenwynwyn's heirs came to age.[50]

The Welsh chronicles *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* and *Brut Y Tywysogyon* tell different versions of the events. *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* records that Llywelyn received Cardigan and Carmarthen and then advised the princes of South Wales to do homage to the king, and they followed Llywelyn's advice: 'And Carmarthen and Cardigan were in the hand of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. And then Rhys Ieuanc and all the princes of the south went to do homage through the counsel of Llywelyn.'[51] *Brut Y Tywysogyon* records that Rhys Ieuanc 'went alone from Deheubarth to the king's court to do homage to him.'[52] In fact, as shown below, *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* is the more correct of the two chronicles. The first of two

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[49] Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 243.

[50] *Universis tam presentibps quam futuris ad quos presentes scriptum pervenerit Lwewlinus princeps Norwall(ie) slautem in domino. Noverit unversatas vestra nos recepisse a domino G. titulo Sancti Martin prespiterao cardniali et apostilice sedis legato et a domino H. illustri regi Angl(ie)…in custodia et defensioned totam terram que fuit Wenhunwen' in Wallia et Mungom(er)I unde per nos et imprisos nostros causea Guerra inter bone memorie I. quonam regem Agli(ie) et barones sours orted, disseisituis fuit, tenendam usques ad edatem heredum predicit W. ita quod heredes ipsius W.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 240, p. 397.

[51] '*Ac t fodded Kaevyrddin ac Aber Teivi dan lwyodraeth Llywely a Jerwerth Dirwyndwn. Ac yna yr aeth Rys Jevangc a holl dywysogion y Dehav I wnevthur gwrogaeth y'r brenin drwy gyngor Llywelyn'—Brehinedd*, pp. 220-221.

[52] '*Rys Jeuanc ehun o Deheubarth y lys y brenhin y wneuthur gwrogaeth idaw*.'*—Brut: RBH*, pp. 218-219.

letters of agreement from Llywelyn regarding his agreement with the crown concerned the peace between Llywelyn and the English Crown at Worcester. It was written in mid-March 1218 and stated that he had handed over the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan to the papal legate, Guala,[53] and would advise the Welsh princes to make peace with the English king.[54] Moreover, it is very important to note that if *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* was correct about who made peace with Henry's government in 1218 and what Llywelyn received in the bargain, then it is also correct in stating that the other Welsh Princes took the advice of Llywelyn as to *when* to make peace with the English Crown, a time when it would be mutually beneficial to all the Welsh allies. This illustrates Llywelyn's growth in diplomacy in the seven years since his humiliating defeat by John. Llywelyn had developed his position in Wales, not only as an ally of the other Welsh princes, but also as a trusted advisor to them as well.

Llywelyn also issued another letter patent at Worcester notifying all and sundry that he received the lands of Gwenwynwyn, his archrival, which Llywelyn had won in the war against John. Llywelyn received these lands 'from the king and the legate Guala' and he would hold the lands until Gwenwynwyn's heirs came of age.[55] Llywelyn clearly held out for a better deal from the regency government, and in so doing, managed to secure his hold on Powys Wenwynwyn for an extended period.

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[53] Llywelyn also received these two castles back from the legate to hold until the King came of age. This is in the second of these letters patent from Worcester, dated 16 March 1218. Pryce, *Acts*, no. 242, p. 400.

[54] *ibid*, no. 241, 398.

[55] '*Noverit universitas vestra nos recepisse a domino G. titulo Sancti Martini Presbitero cardinali et apostolice sedis lego et a domino H. illustri regi Angli(ie)…in custodia et defensione totam terram que fuit Wenhunwen' in Wallia et in Mungum(er)i unde per nos et inprisos nostros causa guerre inter bone menorie I quondam regem Angl(ie) et barones suos orte, disseisitus fuit, tenedam usque ad etatem heredum predicti W., ita quod heredes ipsius W.*'— *ibid*, no. 240, p. 397.

Overall, Llywelyn came out ahead in his dealings with the English crown in this instance. The minority of Henry III represented an opportunity upon which Llywelyn could capitalise. In March of 1218, when Llywelyn made peace with the English Government, they were willing to grant Llywelyn much of what he had won by force. The English had recognised Llywelyn's influential position within Wales. It was also in their best interest, especially William Marshal's and Ranulf of Chester's,[56] to make peace with the Venedotian ruler and then use his considerable influence with the other Welsh princes to gain their homage and fealty to Henry.

Following the peace in 1218, Wales did not descend completely into quiet reflection. Llywelyn composed a letter to the king on behalf of all the Welsh princes sometime after the agreements between him and Henry's officials had been concluded. Llywelyn wrote directly to Henry, complaining about the boy's council, assuring Henry that his trust in the King was unchanged but he no longer trusted the regent council, which had demanded that Llywelyn hand over the custody of the manors of Knighton and Norton to Hugh Mortimer.[57] It appears that Llywelyn's relationship with Henry was cautious. He is careful to assure Henry that he trusted him implicitly: 'of your brotherly affection I am sure.'[58] In

[56] Ranulf, Earl of Chester made peace with Llywelyn in June of 1218, not long before Ranulf left for Jerusalem. The alliance between Llywelyn and Ranulf not only protected Chester from Llywelyn's advance but also Gwynedd from incursions by Ranulf's men. This detente eased border relations between these two, and allowed Llywelyn to focus upon his ambitions in the South. This relationship was important enough to Llywelyn that two years later he was awaiting Ranulf's return from the Holy Land in Chester, and two years later Llywelyn also secured the future of the alliance with the marriage of his daughter, Helen, to Ranulf's nephew and heir, John the Scot.—*Annales Cestrienses*, pp. 50-53.

[57] '*De vobis, domine karissime, nec volumes nec debemus conqueri, quia certi sumus quod fraternum affectum erga nos gerritis. Verum de consilio vestro non modicum conqerimur super mandato quo nobis mandastis, quod plenam siesinam havere faciamus H. de Mortuo Mari de custodia maneriorum nostrorum de Knihteton' et Norton'.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no, 244, p. 402.

[58] '*De vobis, domine karissime, nec volumes nec debemus conqueri, quia certi sumus quod fraternum affectum egra nos geritis*.'— *ibid*, no. 224, 402.

the same letter, Llywelyn implied that he did not trust the group of adults who advised Henry: 'Truly, I complain of your council'.[59] Here Llywelyn is prepared to play to the eleven-year-old's sense of pride and to assure the King of his ultimate authority. He achieves this by asking him to tell the council to remedy the disagreement in his favour. While it can be argued that addressing the letter directly to Henry because he is the King was simply a matter of diplomatic correctness, the circumstances here seem to indicate otherwise. However, Llywelyn does write to other members of the regency council when merited. He wrote directly to Pandulf, the papal legate in twice in the spring and summer of 1220 to complain, both of the actions of the men of Pembroke and regarding the request to transfer seisin to Henry of Audley for Maelienydd.[60]

By the beginning of 1220, Llywelyn and his Welsh allies were once again on the move. The Welsh chronicles record that the combined forces besieged the Flemings of Rhos, attacked Arberth, then Wizo's castle,[61] burned it, and then burned Haverford before they crossed the Cleddyf and headed for Pembroke. Llywelyn brokered a truce with the Flemings on the 1 May 1220 and then returned to Gwynedd. He wrote to Henry asking him to write to his council to provide him with safe conduct to Shrewsbury to meet the King.[62] Clearly, Llywelyn wanted to cement his truce with the Pembroke and Rhos men with royal approval. Again, while he was aware that the real power in England was the regency council, he addressed Henry, suggesting to the youth that he have *his* council issue the safe-conduct. Llywelyn's knowledge and understanding of the

[59] '*Verum de consilio vestor non modicum conquerimur super mandato quod nobis mandaatis*,'—*ibid*, no. 244, p. 402.
[60] *ibid* , no. 246, pp. 404-406 and no. 247, pp. 406-407.
[61] Now Wiston Castle.
[62] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 245, p. 403.

emotional state-of-mind of the growing King is quite insightful considering that he had failed to read and understand the mind-set of King John ten years previously. It appears that he had learned to be perceptive in reading the English Kings and used this to pander to the King's ego to protect himself and his allies.

It was also around this time that Llywelyn began to think of the future. As discussed previously, in chapter 1, the fratricidal wars stemming from the ambiguity of inheritance inherent in the Welsh system were what allowed the Anglo-Normans to make such vast forays into Welsh lands and helped the Kings of England maintain control and ultimate overlordship of the Welsh. If patient enough, all a King of England needed to do was await the death of any strong Welsh leader who had proven capable of uniting the Welsh. Upon his death, control over his lands would split amongst rival claimants all seeking ultimate control, i.e. the title or leadership of the kingdom or principality. According to Welsh law, the principality could pass to any one of 'the King's members', these being his sons, nephews, and first male cousins.[63] This could lead to a wide number of claimants to the throne and the many long and drawn out interregnums of medieval Welsh politics provide adequate evidence that this practice did not foster strong, independent principalities. The Welsh attempted to circumvent this with the appointment of the *edling*, or heir-apparent, the one to whom the king gave 'hope and expectation'.[64] This would presumably allow one possible heir a

[63] *Llyfr Iorwerth,* §4, p. 3.
[64] '*Ereyll a dyweyt nat deling nep namyn y nep y rodho y brenhin gobeyth a gvrthdych ydav.'*—*Lyfr Iorwerth,* §4, p. 3. Robin Chapman Stacey notes that the Iorwerth redactor is remarkably vague in his interpretation of who is *edling*. She argues, when considering the redaction in terms of Gruffudd and Dafydd, the redactor wanted to 'phrase his categories as broadly as possible' to mark the uncertainty of Gruffudd's position.—Stacey, Robin Chapman, 'King, Queen and *Edling* in the Laws of the Court,' in *the Welsh King and his Court,* T. M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen and Paul Russell, eds., Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000, pp29-62, pp. 52-3.

seamless transition from a key position within the ruler's *teulu* to the leader of the principality.

Llywelyn had profited from the descent into anarchy caused by his grandfather's death. The multiplicity of rival claimants to the leadership of Gwynedd was what helped Llywelyn triumph. Only by uniting with different uncles or cousins as his needs required, did he manage to expel or kill the other possible claimants to Gwynedd's rule. But the civil war that had been so profitable to Llywelyn in the end of the twelfth century was something he feared by the middle of the thirteenth. By 1220 he was already planning for a smoother transition. But he went further than merely giving 'hope and expectation' to the younger—and legitimate—of his two sons. He even had the succession of Gwynedd confirmed by outside forces. Both the English Crown and the Papacy recognised Dafydd's claim to the succession of Gwynedd.

In May 1220, Llywelyn met with Pandulf, the papal legate, and Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Shrewsbury. One of the outcomes was a confirmation of Dafydd's status as his heir.[65] At this point, Dafydd could not have been more than a child. When Llywelyn had agreed to John's terms of surrender in August 1211, Dafydd was not yet born. The agreement specifically states that if Llywleyn dies without heirs from Joan, Gwynedd will be passed to the English Crown.[66] Given the reference to Gruffudd, both as hostage, and as a possible beneficiary of the King upon his 'heirless' death, the lack of reference to Dafydd is suggestive of a lack of existence. What is striking is that Gruffudd was a grown man by 1220, with his own *teulu* and land. In fact, little more than a year

[65] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 656.
[66] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 233, p. 387. See Appendix B for the full text of this submission, passages in question are in bold.

later the Welsh chronicles record that Llywelyn gathered a host to subdue his own son after the latter's razing of the cantref of Meirionnydd.[67] *Brut* records the cause of the battle-that-wasn't was caused by Gruffudd's anger at the men of Meirionnydd for insult (*sarhaed*), and not Dafydd's promotion to *edling* status the year before. The question then becomes why pick the child over the proved warrior? There is always the possibility that Gruffudd did not want the role of prince in Gwynedd, but this is belied by the repeated imprisonment of Gruffudd by Llywelyn in 1228 and again by Dafydd in 1238.[68] What might be closer to the truth is the fact that Gruffudd was stripped of his lands several times by Llywelyn and or Dafydd by the end of Llywelyn's reign. It is possible that Llywelyn considered Gruffudd unable to rule his cantrefs without giving rise to insult and injury and did not feel Gruffudd well placed to rule in Llywelyn's stead. However, considering the first time Gruffudd rebelled dated to after Llywelyn promoted Dafydd, this seems unlikely.

In the spring of 1222, Llywelyn formally petitioned Pope Honorius III for confirmation of Dafydd's status as Llywelyn's heir on the basis of his legitimacy.[69] Interestingly, Llywelyn seems not to be arguing so much against the idea of partable inheritance, as the idea that Gruffudd held equal inheritance rights under Welsh law as did Dafydd, although Gruffudd was illegitimate.[70] Honorius appears to have written back in the affirmative, granting Llywelyn's petition and acknowledging Dafydd as Llywelyn's heir.[71] Lloyd notes that in 1226, Llywelyn went a step further in his goals to name Dafydd as his son. He sought, and

[67] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 220-221.
[68] *Annales Cestriensis*, pp. 54-55. See also, Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 687.
[69] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 253, p. 415.
[70] *ibid*, no. 253, p. 415.
[71] Lloyd, History of Wales, p. 687.

apparently obtained, recognition of Dafydd's status as his heir to Gwynedd from his fellow Welsh rulers.[72]

Lloyd interprets Gruffudd's imprisonment in 1228[73] as further proof Llywelyn was working in the best interests of Dafydd. Gruffudd was a popular figure amongst the Welsh, and would serve as a rallying point against Dafydd, upon Llywelyn's death.[74] Describing the imprisoning of Gruffudd in the best possible light, Lloyd writes 'With Gruffudd under lock and key, David's path was clear of difficulties.'[75] But Llywelyn actually appeared more uncertain about Dafydd's future as heir. Despite the support of other native Welsh rulers for Dafydd's preferment, Llywelyn still felt insecure in the future of his familial line. On the 5th of September 1229, Dafydd ap Llywelyn was granted a safe conduct to England to swear homage to the king[76] and agreed to pay £20 twice a year at Michaelmas and Easter to the king, when he inherited his father's patrimony.[77]

Llywelyn was not only focused upon Dafydd's future. In September of 1220, Llywelyn wrote again to Henry. In his letter, he informed Henry that he had marched against Rhys Gryg and brought him to battle at the bridge of Carmarthen and on Sunday the 30th of August, he had granted peace to Rhys and received the lands of Cedweli, Carnwyllion, Gwidigada and Gower as well as hostages. Rhys

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[72] *ibid*, p. 687,
[73] *Annales Castrienses*, pp. 54-55.
[74] See below, chapter 4.
[75] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 687.
[76] *Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-1232*, 263.
[77] '*Rex omnibus ad quos littere presentes pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cepimus homagium dilecti nepotis nostri David, filii dilecti et fidelis nostri L. principis Norwallie et dilecte sororis nostre Johanne usoris sue, pro feneficio nostro; ita quod singuils annis, donec ei benefecerimus, recipiet ad Scaccarium nostrum quadrgrinta libras, fidelicet xx libras ad acaccarium Sancti Michaelis et xx libras ad scaccarium Pasche. Cepimus etiam homagium ipsius Dsavid nepotis nostri de omnibus juribus et liberatibus que ipsum contigent post mortem ipsius L. principis patris sui, si ipsum patrem suum supervixerit…. Tercio die Octobris, anno etc xiij.'—Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-1232*, 269-270.

had promised to serve 'the king' and do homage to Henry by journeying with Llywelyn, or the Earl of Chester, or the Earl of Gloucester to the English Court.[78] Turvey argues that, alone amongst the native Welsh, Llywelyn attacked Rhys Gryg because the latter was threatening to 'restore the greatness that was once Deheubarth,'[79] Yet, there seems to be little evidence of Rhys actually forming a threat to his hegemony. In fact, the opposite is true. There is a marked increase in Llywelyn's status and his role in Wales. He is now the emissary, advocate and enforcer of the English Crown in Wales, similar to the role the Lord Rhys had played for Henry II as Justiciar of Wales.[80] It was Llywelyn who forced Rhys Gryg back in line and required the other Welsh prince to go and swear homage to Henry on a date set by Llywelyn, with the escort to England provided by himself or one of two other important magnates from Henry's court. Moreover, he prides himself on his position. In fact, he lamented his exclusion from the king's council in a letter to the papal legate, Pandulf, written in May of that same year.[81] Clearly, Llywelyn wished to present himself as a councillor to the King who spoke for Wales and, therefore, ought to be present in all meetings of the king's council that discussed Wales.

It is upon this relationship that the future of Llywelyn's control over Wales and the remainder of the Welsh princes would arise. His next interaction with the English court took place in 1221, when he met Henry and his earls and barons at Shrewsbury in March.[82] There, Llywelyn and Rhys Ieuanc, who had argued with him over the apportionment of Cardigan and complained of the matter to the

[78] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 248, p. 408.
[79] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* pp75-76.
[80] See Davies, *Age of Conquest,* for a synopsis of Rhys's role as Justiciar.
[81] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 247, p. 407.
[82] *Brenhinedd,* p. 222.

English court,[83] reconciled. This reconciliation seems in retrospect, almost pointless, as Rhys Ieuanc died the following year and Llywelyn divided Rhys's lands between Rhys's only brother Owain ap Gruffudd and Maelgwn ap Rhys.[84]

Sometime between the end of 1221 and the beginning of 1222, he wrote again to Henry, this time asking the King to protect Llywelyn's English manor and the men of Suckley in Worcester from the molestation of Roger Clifford.[85] Llywelyn is again pandering to the ego of the fourteen-year-old boy and his council. The Venedotian prince wrote that he had no advocate or patron in England other than the king, and asks his 'patron' to rectify the problem.[86] This is an important technique of Llywelyn's. By involving the king in his small dispute in England, he is effectively bowing to the English King's contention that the King is the only English lord with the right of private war, at least as far as his actions within England were concerned. It is important to remember that Llywelyn concedes nothing of his own power and influence within Wales in this letter. Rather, he is conceding his position as the lord of Suckley, an English manor. This letter is illustrative of Llywelyn's careful maintenance of friendly relations between himself and his brother-in-law.

Warfare erupted in Wales between Llywelyn and William Marshal at the end of April of 1223. On 16th of April, William returned from Ireland with a host of knights, soldiers and a fleet of ships.[87] On Easter Monday, 24th April 1223, the Marshal attacked Cardigan and the castle surrendered. He continued on to

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[83] *Brut: RBH,* p. 222-223.
[84] *Brenhinedd,* p. 224.
[85] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 249, p. 410.
[86] '*Et quia nullum advotatum vel patronum… in Angli(ia) nisi vos, si polacet qper iustriciarios vestros iuxta rationem no 'et nostros homines' deffensarae e…s.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 249, p. 410.
[87] '*Y ulwydyn racwynep y deuth Gwillim Marscal o Iwerdon a Lluossogrwyd o varchogyon a phedyt gantaw mewn diruawr lyges y Vynyw y'r tir amgylch Sul y Blodeu.(palm Sunday.)- Brut: RBH,* p. 222-224.

Carmarthen and captured it on Wednesday 26th April.[88] As these castles were held by Llywelyn as part of the peace agreement between Llywelyn and the regency council in 1218, Llywelyn sent his son Gruffudd to oppose William. Llywelyn's Welsh allies were a part of Gruffudd's army and the two opposing forces met at Carmarthen Bridge on the Tywi River.[89] Gruffudd was forced to withdraw his forces due to a lack of food. During the period of respite, Henry and the Archbishop of Canterbury called William before them, to make reparations to Llywelyn.[90] The king and the archbishop were unable to reconcile the pair. Henry's attempt at negotiation and mediation suggests that the king's regency council maintained their right to interfere with the interactions of Marcher Lords and native Welsh alike.

Llywelyn's relationship with Henry's council was souring. He had lost Carmarthen and Cardigan to William Marshal and his continued warfare against the earl, who would marry King Henry's sister Eleanor in May of 1224, was alienating himself from both the English and his southern Welsh allies. In October of 1223, Llywelyn wrote to the king stating that he swore on relics to indemnify the king and his men for the losses inflicted by Llywelyn when he captured Kinnerly castle on 7 October 1223.[91] This apology can be contrasted with a letter the previous year to Pope Honorius III seeking papal support for Llywelyn's abolition of the Welsh practice of equal inheritance between both legitimate and illegitimate sons. The earlier letter was written 'with the consent of

[88] *ibid,* p. 224-225.
[89] *ibid,* p. 224-225.
[90] *ibid,* p. 224-225.
[91] '*Novertis me diacis sacroncanctis iurasse quot satisfaciam domino meo K. illustri regi Angli(ie) et suis infra terminus rationabiles quos mihi prefiget dominus Cantuar(iensis) archiepiscopus et in loco competienti, de dampnis eidem regi et suis illatis per me et meos a die captionis castri de Kinardesl' usque ad diem absolutionis mee, diem videlicet sabbati in crastionio octavarum Sancti Mich(ael)is anno regni ipsius regis vii.'*—Pryce, *Acts,* no. 254, p. 416.

Henry, illustrious king of England.'[92] The difference between being able to claim the King's support one year and promising to compensate the king for something that presumably had angered the same King the next year is important. Llywelyn clearly wanted to avoid encouraging a repeat invasion in fear of a defeat similar to the one from 1211. He still wanted the support of the English King, or Henry's acquiescence to his plans. Nonetheless, things were beginning to look like they were arranging themselves against Llywelyn and he needed to apologise in a way that did not detract from his conquests.

In 1224, the slope upon which Llywelyn had been precariously standing became wet and slippery. Henry's council was getting impatient. Henry wrote to Llywelyn when he fell out with Falkes de Bréauté and directed him not to give Falkes aid or council. Llywelyn replied that Falkes appeared at his court complaining about the King's council and the Baron departed again the same day.[93] He argued strongly in the letter that he maintained the same independence as the King of Scotland. While this claim is in direct opposition to the earlier treaty of 1201[94] with the English King's father, John, it is worth considering that the situation was different in 1224 than it was in 1201. In 1201, Llywelyn was a young upstart prince, intent on securing recognition for his successes in North Wales. By 1224, Llywelyn was the leader of an alliance of native Welsh rulers,

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[92] '*Henri(ici) regis Anglor(um) illustrious domini tui accendente consensu.'— ibid,* no. 253, p. 415.

[93] '*Unde et nobis prohibuistis ne auxilium vel consilium et prestaremus ipsum vel suos receptando. Ad hoc vobis respondemus quod prefatus F. ad nos accessit in terram nostram conquerens et graviter dolens super hiis que vestrum consilium sibi fieri procurabat. Ostendit etiam quot eo inconsulto et nesciente captus fuit predictus H., et licet non advodaret factum, nichilominus optulit quod faceret Will(elmu)m de Breaut' et sequences suos stare iudicio et de facto satisfacere. Quod quia vestrum refutavit consilium iniuste actum fuisse cum eo docere satagebat, eodem autem die quo ad nos accessit de terra nostra recessit. Non quia teneamur excusare nos, si ipsum et nsuos receptemus, hec vobis mandamus. Non enim minoris libertatis sumus quam rex Scocie qui receptat utlagatos de Angl(ia), etiam impune.'— ibid,* no. 255, p. 418.

[94] *ibid,* no 221, p. 373. See also Appendix A.

for whom he negotiated peace to their terms in 1218. He was claiming his independence within Wales on a stronger foundation and support structure than the treaty of 1201 provided and he had less to fear from the youthful Henry than the seasoned John. Kevin Mann argued Llywelyn's claim was 'specious' when considering the 1201 treaty between Llywelyn and John.[95] However, my conclusions differ from those of Mann: it is difficult to reconcile the changes in Llywelyn's status and power with a strict application of the 1201 agreement. The intervening years of warfare and reconciliation had changed the Venedotian-English situation irrevocably. Clearly, Llywelyn saw the 1201 treaty as defunct and he made no mention of its provision against his right to harbour English fugitives. Moreover, and most importantly, the argument that Llywelyn makes is that he is as sovereign a ruler within Gwynedd as the King of Scotland is within his own kingdom. Llywelyn's views on his political relationship with the English king are clearly expressed in this one argument: Llywelyn is not questing after a Wales completely independent of England. He sees himself as a ruler on par with the King of Scotland. He is a sovereign whose country is separate from England, although he owes homage to the King of England.

However, Llywelyn was not unaware of the undercurrents of English politics. In 1223, Stephen de Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert de Burgh, chief Justiciar to Henry, had declared Henry 'partially of age' in order to reclaim many of the castles that were being held by King John's old adherents, such as Llywelyn's ally Ranulf, Earl of Chester.[96] Hubert de Burgh, despite

[95] Kevin Mann, 'King John, Wales and the March', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales, Swansea, July 1991, p. 234.
[96] For a complete discussion of these events, see D. A. Carpenter's *The Reign of Henry III*, London, The Hambledon Press, 1996, pp. 45-57.

winning many detractors from this action, remained in power because his supporters outnumbered his adversaries. However, the action coincided with Llywelyn's loss of Carmarthen and Cardigan Castles, and seemed to bode badly for Llywelyn. It is doubtful that Llywelyn missed the implications of the declaration of Henry as 'partially of age.' Not only did Llywelyn lose castles, like Carmarthen and Cardigan, which according to his agreement at Worcester on the 16th of March 1218, he held for Henry until he came of age, [97] but he was also going to be dealing with a King who was supposedly making the decisions himself. This presented him with a problem. Until 1224, his complaints to Henry about English demands were phrased so that he built Henry's ego, often stating, as discussed above, that while Llywelyn trusted the good faith of Henry, he was having a problem with Henry's council. Now, any complaint that he lodged would be to discuss a disagreement with Henry, not his council. This concern was magnified in January 1227 when Henry, still eight months shy of his 21st birthday, effectively reached his majority.[98]

Llywelyn appears to have grown significantly in the years after 1211. He developed an acute understanding of diplomacy and its necessity within Wales. Despite his ongoing lust for Powys, he learned to team up with his fellow Welsh rulers in order to secure his safety and extend his power and influence over Wales through diplomacy and alliance rather than conquest. Llywelyn clearly learned to exploit John's troubles with his barons the same way John had exploited the Welsh quarrels. By uniting, Llywelyn and his Welsh allies managed to prevent John from continuing to divide and conquer. Llywelyn clearly capitalised upon

[97] Pryce, *Acts*, 400.
[98] For a full discussion of the ramifications in England, see D. A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, London, Methuen London, 1990, 389-395.

the English animosity. However, it is unclear whether his continued raids on England and support of the rebel barons was due to his interest in furthering his desire to expand his control over Wales and the March, or whether he was merely getting even with John for the humiliating defeat in 1211.

Llywelyn's hunger for power, control, and more land was something the young prince learned to control after 1211; however, it did not disappear and Llywelyn continued to want to claim a position of pre-eminence among the Welsh princes as two previous Venedotian Princes, Rhodri Mawr[99] and Gruffudd ap Llywelyn had done in the ninth and eleventh centuries. Llywelyn made some headway towards such a claim in the second decade of the thirteenth century; however, it was by uniting with the other Welsh princes against the English that he managed it. His first plan, to conquer Wales by force, had not worked; perhaps insinuating himself as a friend and ally would. Then, when Welsh princes left the fold, he could then use the support of his remaining allies, as he had against Gwenwynwyn, to gain their lands. Additionally, Llywelyn's skilful handling of the young Henry indicates that he accurately perceived the political situation within England and acted accordingly. The change in Llywelyn's policy in this middle period of his rule suggests that the prince learned, mostly the hard way, that to be an influential Welsh ruler in the thirteenth century required skilful diplomacy, not merely a strong sword arm.

[99] Rhodri Mawr is a rather elusive character among early Welsh medieval kings. His sons, Anarwald, Cadell and Merfyn, between them divided Gwynedd, Deheubarth, and Powys between them in the end of the ninth century. Rhodri is credited with the conquest of the whole of Wales in the mid-ninth century. However, it is worth mentioning that there is no contemporary evidence to support this claim, and it is possible, if not probable, that the claim of Rhodri's pre-eminence came from later Venedotian leaders, in order to justify their claims of the right of overlordship of all Wales.

CHAPTER 3

PROVED WARRIOR AND ELDER STATESMAN: 1228-1238

Although he had not yet earned the epithet 'Mawr', by 1228, Llywelyn's position as spokeman for Wales was well established. However, Llywelyn could not easily reap the benefits of his successes. His apparent triumphs co-insided with the majority of Henry III and a renewed crown interest in Wales and Llywelyn's role there-in. However, it is here, in the middling to latter stages of Llywelyn's life that the true statesman emerges. It is in the last decades of Llywelyn's life that the man Lloyd praised as being 'a prince who was supreme beyond challenge' becomes evident. But this supremancy was neither merely proof of his diplomatic skills, nor those of his sword. Instead, it continues to illustrate a growth of character and understanding of the balance it was necessary to strike between Llwelyn's own amitions and the goals of his fellow Welsh rulers, the marchers and the English crown.

1228 saw the first planned invasion by the newly adult King of England, 'Henry and the armed force of England came to Wales and planned to subdue Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and all the Princes of Wales.'[1] According to Welsh sorces, the precipitating event for the invasion was Henry's grant of the lordship of Montgomery to Hubert de Burgh on the 8th of May 1228.[2] The expansion of

[1] '*…y deuth Henry vrenhin a chedernyt Lloegyr y gyt ac ef y Gymry ac aruaethu darestwg Llywelyn ap Ioruerth a holl Tywysogyon Kymry idaw.'—Brut: RBH,* p. 226. It is perhaps worth noting that Walker argues explicitly against this interpretation. He states that it is 'unjust' to blame the war on Hubert and his supposed wish to create a 'vast marcher lordship' for himself. Instead, he blames the war on Llywelyn, stating that it was the unsatisfactory nature of recent negotiations that was the cause of the war. —Walker, R.F., 'Hubert de Burgh and Wales, 1218-1232,' *English Historical Review,* Vol. 88, 1972, pp 465-494, p. 477.

[2] '*Sciatis nos concessisse dilecto et dideli nostro H. de Burgo, comiti Kancie, justiciario nostro, castrum de Mungumeri cum omnibus pertinenciis suit tap in dominicis, redditibus, serviciis, quam*

Hubert de Burgh into the Welsh commote of Ceri caused some concern and the Welsh amassed around the castle.[3] Roger of Wendover's chronicle provides a rather fuller account than those of the Welsh. He records that in August, the English garrison from Montgomery had mounted an expedition into Wales in order to protect a road leading to the castle there.[4] In response, the Welsh attacked 'in great force,' causing them to flee into the castle, to which the Welsh then laid siege.[5] King Henry, with Hubert, marched to Montgomery to raise the siege; they succeeded in forcing the Welsh back into Wales and reduced a Cistercian monastery called 'Cridia' to ashes, in order to erect a castle there because the natural setting was 'impregnable.'[6] However, Wendover noted that many in Henry's army were secretly supporting Llywelyn, and due to their malice, the King 'was obliged to make a disgraceful peace.'[7] Wendover records that Henry agreed to pull down the castle at his own cost and that Llyweln would recompensate Henry for the cost of the war at a price of three thousand marks.

Although the Welsh faced off against the forces of Hubert de Burgh, Llywelyn was granted an extension of a truce negotiated between the Venedotian Prince, Fulk fitz Warin and Thomas Corbet by Henry on the 15th of August,

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aliis, custodiendum toto tempore vite sue.'—Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, A.D 1225-1232, London: Public Record Office, 1903, p. 186.

[3] '*Eodem tempore, mense Augusto, milites et servientes de castello Montis-Gomerii, quod in confinio Walliae situm est, exierunt cum populo regionis, ut transitum cujusdam viæ non longe a castello positum, propter latrines Wallenses, qui in illo loco viatores peremerunt assidue et transeuntes spoliaverunt, latius facerent et securum.Venientes siquidem ad locum cum gladiis, securibus, fustibus et armis, cæperunt arboures et ligna, veprium densitates et fruteta, succindere, ut viam redderent viatoribus spatiosam. Quod cum Wallensibus compertum fuerat, supervenerunt in fortituedine gravi et hostes acriter invadentes compulerunt eos castellum ingredi, hinc inde quibusdam peremptis*;'— Roger de Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vols. 4, London, Sumptiubs Scocitatis, 1842, vol. 4, p. 172.

[4] *ibid*, p. 172.

[5] *ibid*, p. 173.

[6] *ibid* p. 173.

[7] *ibid*, p. 173.

1228.[8] This in itself indicates an attempt was being made on both sides to resolve the dispute without resorting to warfare. A safe-conduct granted to Llywelyn's wife, Joan, to last until the feast of the Nativity, on the 8th of September 1228, further illustrates that both sides hoped for successful negotiations.[9] Llywelyn was clearly unwilling to completely break diplomatic ties with the English King and used his wife as an ambassador in an attempt to satisfy the concerns of Henry. When Henry and Hubert de Burgh rushed to the aid of the besieged castle in the end of August,[10] Llywelyn responded by aiding his Welsh allies. Negotiations had failed him and warfare was inevitable, especially when Hubert de Burgh began a new castle in Ceri, threatening Llywelyn's hold on Arwystli.[11] The Welsh chronicles record a major success for the Welsh who opposed Henry, who 'went to England sadly.'[12]

The war had been a success for the Welsh allies and a dismal failure for the English. Llywelyn captured William de Braose, the younger,[13] and held him for ransom. Llywelyn demanded of William money for his release, Builth castle to be surrendered to Llywelyn,[14] and an agreement to marry William's daughter Isabella to Llywelyn's son Dafydd. [15] The following February 1229, the King gave his support to the agreement between Llywelyn and William.[16] Hubert de Burgh's aptly named failed castle in Ceri, 'Hubert's Folly,'[17] was razed by the

[8] Walter Waddington Shirley (ed.), *Royal and Other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III, Rolls Series*, 27. i, (Vol. 1), p. 334.
[9] Shirley, *Letters*, p. 334.
[10] Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 172.
[11] *ibid*, p. 172-173.
[12] '*Ac yna yr aeth y brenin i Loegr yn drist.'—Brenhinedd*, p. 226.
[13] 'Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 173.
[14]*Brut: RBH*, p. 226-229.
[15]' H. R. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici*, Vol. 3, *Rolls Ser.*, (London, 1866), p. 117.
[16] *Patent Rolls, Henry III 1225-1232*, p. 239.
[17] '*Stultitiam Herberti'*—Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 174.

king, for which Llywelyn paid £2,000[18], and Llywelyn secured a signal victory. He sent the English king packing, erasing the memory of his crushing defeat 17 years before. However, the claim that 'Llywelyn had come through the troubles of 1228 with flying colours,'[19] drastically underestimates the problems which were still present. Ill-contentment seethed under the surface of his relationship with the English King. While it did not manifest in the ensuing two years, it would take little to aggravate the sores in 1231.

In the interim, Llywelyn still felt insecure in his standing and the future of his familial line. On the 5th of September 1229, Dafydd ap Llywelyn was granted a safe conduct to England to swear homage to the king[20] and agreed to pay £20 twice a year, at Michaelmas and Easter, to the king when he inherited his father's patrimony.[21]

The following year saw two significant concerns for both the Welsh Prince and Henry. Henry was preoccupied with his Poitevin campaign, which departed Portsmouth on the 1st May 1230, with the aim of recapturing Normandy, Anjou and Poitou.[22] Meanwhile, Llywelyn's concern centred on his wife and on her

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[18] Lloyd, *History of Wales* p. 668.
[19] *ibid*, p. 669.
[20] '*Rex suscepit in salvum conductum suum David filium L. principis Norwallie in veniendo ad regem ad faciendum ei homagium suum…teste rege, apud Windlesor, v die Septembris*.'—*Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-1232*, p. 263.
[21] '*Rex omnibus ad quos littere presentes pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cepimus homagium dilecti nepotis nostri David, filii dilecti et fidelis nostri L. principis Norwallie et dilecte sororis nostre Johanne usoris sue, pro feneficio nostro; ita quod singuils annis, donec ei benefecerimus, recipiet ad Scaccarium nostrum quadrgrinta libras, fidelicet xx libras ad acaccarium Sancti Michaelis et xx libras ad scaccarium Pasche. Cepimus etiam homagium ipsius Dsavid nepotis nostri de omnibus juribus et liberatibus que ipsum contigent post mortem ipsius L. principis patris sui, si ipsum patrem suum supervixerit…. Tercio die Octobris, anno etc xiij.'—Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1225-1232*, p. 270.
[22] Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, vol. 2, p. 323. The Welsh Brut Y Tywysogion records the aim of the expedition: '*Deg mlynedd ar hugeint a deucant a mil oed oet Crist pann vorwydawd Henri vrenhin, a diruar lu aruawc y gyt ac ef, y Frreinc ar veder enill y dylyet o Normandi ac Angiw a Pheittaw.'—Brut: RBH*, p. 228. For a full discussion of Henry's goals and those of the lords that supported him, see Robert C. Stacy, *Politics, Policy, and Finance under Henry III,*

infidelity with William de Braose, when on Easter day, 7th of April 1230, he discovered her in his bedchamber with William.[23] Both were swiftly imprisoned and William was then hanged, publicly, from a tree at the Manor of Crokein on the 2nd of May 1230.[24] A letter from Nicholas, the Abbot of Vaudey to Ralph, Bishop of Chichester, dated post-18th of May 1230, attests to there being 'more than eight hundred persons, called together for the lamentable spectacle, especially those who were enemies of William de Braose senior and his sons.'[25] This excerpt from the letter is telling both how the execution was seen by outsiders and who attended. Nicholas believed that the death of William de Braose was connected with the tyrannous and in some cases treacherous rule of his forefathers in southern Wales. The 'enemies of William de Braose, senior' had memories ranging back fifty-five years, to the treachery of his grandfather. In 1175, Seisyll ap Dyfnwall, his son and other chieftains of Gwent, were slain 'through treachery' by William de Braose, Lord of Brycheiniog.[26] The Welsh saw this as irredeemable and the chronicler of *Brut* added 'and from that day forth none of the Welsh dared place trust in the French.'[27] This mistrust and deep-rooted dislike of the Braose family may have been what forced Llywelyn's hand towards the 'lamentable' execution of William de Braose on the 2nd of May 1230. J. J. Crump argues persuasively for the interpretation that it was the longstanding loathing of the Braose family by native rulers of southern Wales that influenced

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1216-1245, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, Chapter 5 'Diplomacy, War and Finance: The Campaign for Poitou', 160-200.
[23] *Brut: RBH,* p. 228.
[24] Edwards, *CACCW,* p. 37.
[25] Ibid, p. 37. See also Shirley, *Historical Letters,* Vol. 1, pp. 365-367.
[26] *Brut: RBH,* p. 164-165.
[27] *Brut: Pen. 20,* p. 71.

Llywelyn toward the public hanging of William at Crokein.[28] However, officialy, Llywelyn hanged William as vengeance for the 'disgrace and injury'[29] done to the Prince on the 2nd of May 1230.

Hanging was, in the medieval world, a disgraceful way to die, typically reserved for criminals from lower classes, rather than nobles. Kari Ellen Gade claims that hanging was 'a symbol of ultimate degradation.'[30] She points out that by the later medieval period, hanging was used to punish thieves and also 'criminals guilty of ignominious crimes,' in order to serve as a deterrent against repeats of the same crime.[31] The insult of stealing Llywelyn's wife and making him appear a doddering old fool, may have prompted immediate anger-driven vengeance in this publicly disgraceful way. However hard it is to reconcile the cool-headed Llywelyn of latter years with the heedless agrieved husband who would throw his plans for Builth to the winds for the opportunity to hang William de Braose, this is what appears to have happened.

Henry was in Reading at Easter, assembling his army for his trip to France when Llywelyn found Joan with William de Braose. However, it did not stop his expedition to Poitou[32] and he arrived in St. Malo in Brittany only three days after William's body swung from the tree at Crokein.[33] Despite his lack of concern for William's fate, upon hearing of the former's imprisonment, Henry did provide

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[28] Crump, J. J, 'Repercussions of the Execution of William de Braose: a Letter from Llywelyn ab Iorwerth to Stephen of Segrave,' *Historical Research,* Vol. 73, 2000, pp.197-212, pp. 200-203.
[29] '*vindictam de oprobrio et iniuria nostra sapientes,…'*—Pryce, *Acts,* no. 261, p. 428.
[30] Kari Ellen Gade, 'Hanging in Northern Law and Literature,' *Maal of Minne,* Vol. 3-4, 1985, pp. 159-183, p. 167.
[31] *ibid,* p. 167-168.
[32] Crump notes that Henry's campaign in Poitou had been 'eagerly anticipated' and he was in a hurry to leave Portsmouth, and that rather than delay and deal with the matter, he transferred the problem to his chancellor, Robert de Neville and his Justiciar, Stephen of Seagrave.¯Crump, 'Repercussions,' 206.
[33] Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 210.

provision for his lands and castles. While at Portsmouth, Henry dictated that all the lands and castles of William de Braose, while he was in prison, should be transferred to the custody of Peter fitz Herbert and John of Monmouth,[34] and then to William Marshal.[35] Henry seems less concerned, here, by the actions that Llywelyn might take than by the custody of William's castles. This is understandable when considering Llywelyn's on-going power lust. If Llywelyn confiscated the lands of William de Braose in the south of Wales as forfeit for the adulterer's crime, he would dramatically increase his power, prestige and influence further in Wales. However, despite his transfer of custody of the Braose castles, Henry does not appear to be too concerned with Llywelyn's actual trial of William. There are no letters between the English King and Welsh Prince discussing Llywelyn's execution of William, although there are many between Llywelyn and William Marshal, Stephen of Segrave, and Eva de Braose.

Political resentment smouldered between the English and Welsh in the aftermath of William's death. This distrust burst again into a conflagration in 1231. Hatred of the de Braose kindred ran deep among the native Welsh and Llywelyn had hinted as much when he wrote to Eva de Braose, attempting to save the marriage alliance between Dafydd and Eva's daughter Isabella. He wrote: 'And know that we could not have prevented the judgement the magnates of our land made, knowing the punishment for the dishonour and injury to us.'[36] The marriage of Dafydd to Isabella was something Llywelyn had been actively

[34] *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p, 336.
[35] *ibid*, p. 339.
[36] '*Et sciatus quod nullo modo possemus defendere quad magnates terre nostre non facerent iudicium quod decerunt, vindictam de oprobrio et iniuria nostra sapientes*.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 261, p. 428.

pursuing.[37] Although Llywelyn already had familial ties to the de Braose family, [38] Isabella brought with her Builth. Builth controls the passage from Powys Wenwynwyn into Southern Wales across the River Wye.[39] This marriage, therefore, was important to Llywelyn's control of Powys, and the divide between North and South Wales. He was not willing to let it slip away from him simply because Joan had acted improvidently.

The anger at the de Braose clan, from the native Welsh, infused the punishment dictated by Llywelyn's magnates and illustrates their distrust of the Marcher lords. This is a part of the precipitation for the war of 1231 and resulted in two disputes between the Native Welsh, led by Llywelyn, and the de Braose family, lead by Eva and backed by William.

The record of these disputes survives in Llywelyn's letter to Stephen Segrave.[40] Initially, Eva de Braose sought an exchange of hostages. She requested that Llywelyn release those de Braose hostages he still held from the war of 1228 and the subsequent execution of her husband in May 1230. In exchange, she would return 'the son of Einion'—probably the son of Einion ap Gwalchmai, court poet, judge, and according to Stephenson, one of the leading ministers in the Venedotian government[41]—who was being fostered in the de Braose household. Llywelyn responded that the boy was not a hostage; he was

[37] And he was willing to overlook quite a lot to protect it. In his letter to Segrave, Llywelyn points out that Eva's chaplain had been excommunicating Llywelyn by name on Sundays.— *ibid,* no. 263, p. 432.
[38] Llywelyn had previously married his daughter Gwladus to Reginald in 1215, and Margaret to John in 1219. See above, chapter 2. This made the family tree a very convoluted one, indeed! See Appendix D.
[39] See Appendix F.
[40] Pryce, *Acts,* no. 263, pp431-433,
[41] Stephenson, *Governance,* p. 98.

Eva's foster-son. The implication is clear: treating the boy as a hostage was equivalent to Eva treating her own son in the same manner.[42]

The second difficulty was the position of Madoc Fychan, a tenant of William de Braose. Madoc began to claim that he held his land directly from Llywelyn. He then attacked William Marshall's holdings and plundered them, taking hostages. Llywelyn and Bishop Ralph of Chichester met on the 12th of June 1230 to discuss William Marshall's complaints against Madoc.[43] Llywelyn promised Segrave that he would ensure Madoc and his supporters made amends for their actions at a 'safe and suitable place,' and further promised that if they failed to do so, he would dispossess them.[44]

Madoc's actions fed the fire that erupted in May of 1231 when Llywelyn and his armies marched through the lands of William de Braose, ravaging them. Llywelyn then attacked the lands of other Marcher lords, 'sparing neither churches nor ecclesiastical persons,' burning the churches as well as women and girls who had fled to them for safety.[45] The Justiciar responded in kind, capturing and killing many of the Welsh force before returning the prisoners to the Justiciary to be decapitated.[46] Roger claims the decapitation was the precipitating

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[42] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 236, pp. 431-432.
[43] Shirley, *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp, 5-6. In the *Calendar of Ancient Corresponance Concering Wales*, J. G. Edwards argues that 'Nokesbure' should have been transcribed as 'Slobesbure' and is meant to be Shrewsbury.—J. Goronwy Edwards, *Calendar of Ancient Correspondence Concerning Wales*, Cardiff: University Press Board, 1935, pp, 35-36.
[44] '*Nos respondimus eis quod illos fraceremus venire ad locum securm et competentem ad ... emendas faciendas de his que eis obiciantur, quod si nollent de terra nostra expellimus eos.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 263, p. 432.
[45] '*Quod factum Loelinus nimis moleste ferens collegit exercitum copiosum, et terras baronem, qui in limbo Walliae degebant, et possessions gravi depopulatione contrivit, et, nec ecclesiis neque personis ecclesiasticis parcens, matronas quasdam nobiles et paellas, quae causa pacis et salutis ad ecclesias confugerant, cum ipsis ecclesiis concremavit.*'—Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 221.
[46] *'Eodem mense Maio Wallenses de latibulis, ut sorcies e cavernis, erumpentes terram, quae fuit Willelmi de Brausa, flammis discurrentibud vastaverunt…Sed cum milites qui errant in praesidio castri memorati, hoc cognovissent ne tam lib ere sine offensione discurrerent, exierunt ad*

event of Llywelyn's campaign in South Wales,[47] while the Welsh chronicle *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* states that Llywelyn fought in response to Henry's rebuilding of Painscastle. Henry and Llywelyn had clearly turned from mutual supporters to adversaries. Henry had Llywelyn excommunicated on the 13th of July for his bloody rendering of the churches in May.[48] Nevertheless, this did not deter Llywelyn, and during the summer of 1231 the Welsh burned Montgomery, Radnor, Hay, Brecon, Caerleon, Neath and Kidwelly castles as they marched first south, then west.[49] The warfare continued and the successes were awarded to the Welsh, who under Llywelyn, used a Cistercian monk to trick the English into impetuously crossing the River Severn, near Montgomery, drowning a large portion of the English.[50] While the King managed to refortify Painscastle in stone over the summer, he had accomplished little else. Llywelyn's alliance with Ranulf, Earl of Chester, might have stood him in good stead here, for while the King was rebuilding Painscastle, Ranulf visited him and quarrelled. Although the Chester Annals do not record the source of this quarrel, it is likely to have been over Henry's war with Llywelyn. It may have been that Ranulf refused to aid the King in fighting Llywelyn, or perhaps he tried to negotiate a truce, and found Henry unwilling to compromise. Either way, he arrived back in Chester by late August.[51] A truce was agreed between the King and Llywelyn, and Llywelyn

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praelium contra ipsos, et viam revertendi praecludentes multo ex eis ceperunt et plurimos peremerunt; cumque illos, quos vivos ceperant, justiciario praesentassent, juissit omnes decapitari et regni Anglorum capita praesentari.'— *ibid*, p. 220-221.

[47] *ibid*, p. 221.

[48] *ibid*, p. 221-222.

[49] *Brenhinedd*, p. 228.

[50] See Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 221-223 for a full account.

[51] *Annales Cestrienses*, pp. 56-59.

wrote to Henry on the 30 November, 1231 to extend the truce until St Andrews Day the following year.[52]

The following year, 1232, saw a renewed attempt at a wary peace on both sides. Llywelyn agreed to pay the king for 'all excesses by Llywelyn and his men against the king and his men' and to return to the king all lands taken from him during the war.[53] Henry, again, had concerns other than Llywelyn. The mounting unhappiness of the English barons put pressure on Henry's government. When the new Earl of Pembroke, Richard, stood against Henry, the King responded by besieging Usk castle.[54] During this dispute, Llywelyn tried to avoid conflict, sending a letter in the end of September 1233, that stated he would keep the peace, if Henry could get the Marcher lords to do the same.[55] However, despite J. E. Lloyd's claim that 'Llywelyn watched the conflict as an interested spectator,' Llywelyn was neither completely peaceful nor neutral in 1233. He made a pact with Richard, Earl of Pembroke, destroyed the castles of Brycheiniog, laid siege to Brecon castle, burned Clun, captured Castell Coch, burned Oswestry, and captured the castles of Cardiff, Abergavenny, Pencelli, Blaenllyfni, Bwlchydinas, and razed all, save Cardiff. Walker notes that Llywelyn was 'the most potent ally Richard Marshall secured.'[56] He points out that alliance with Llywelyn divided

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[52] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 266, pp. 434-435.
[53] '*Sciatis quod cum L. princeps de Aberfr(au) et domninus Snauwdon nobis concesserit et firmiter promiserit…quam ipsi facturi sunt super congruis ememdis nobis faciendis de omnibus excessibus nobis et nostris ab eo et suis factis et de restitutione nobis et hominibus nostris facienda de omnibuid terries et possessioniibus nostri et nostrorum per ipsum L. et Walenses occupatis , occoasione werre inter nos et ipsem mote.'— ibid*, no. 267, p. 436.
[54] For a full account of Henry's English problems see: D. A. Carpenter's *Reign of Henry III*. Also, Walker, R. F. 'The supporters of Richard Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in the Rebellion of 1233-1234,' *The Welsh History Review,* Vol. 17, 1994, pp. 11-65.
[55] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 268, p. 437.
[56] Walker, 'Supporters of Richard Marshall,' p. 62.

Henry's focus, as Llywelyn could attack anywhere in the Marches.[57] With the help of the Earl of Pembroke, they laid siege to Carmarthen but when reinforcements arrived, they abandoned the siege.[58] Given the dating of the letter promising peace, it is likely that Llywelyn did not join the campaign until October of 1233. However, the following year Llywelyn and the Earl of Pembroke concluded a peace at Brocton on the 6th of March to last until the 25th of July of the same year, including the provision that neither side would build fortifications during that time.[59]

On 15 April 1234, the Earl Richard died in Ireland, and that left Llywelyn without his powerful ally in this war. However, that did not stop the Prince from concluding a truce with the King known as the Peace of the Middle, on the 21st of June 1234. It was essentially a 'status quo' agreement, each side would hold what they held at the beginning of the war, and the truce would run for two years. Both sides agreed not to build or demolish castles. Disputes would be handled by the Law of the March.[60] This truce was renewed in 1236,[61] 1237[62] and 1238,[63] and lasted until Llywelyn's death in 1240; therefore, many historians have called it a 'peace.' Nevertheless, it is important to note that the famous end of Llywelyn's

[57] *Ibid*, p. 62.
[58] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 230-232.
[59] '*Nec liceat hinc inde castra aut fortelesca de novo construere, vel dirruta reficere vel fulcire.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 269, p. 438.
[60] '*Ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostril quam predictu L. Et sui sint in eisdem tenementis, terries, hominibus et homagiis in quibus fuerunt in principio dicte guerre in aliqua inplacatione super eisdem tenementis durantibius treugis predictis. Et si quid intererim fuerunt forisfactum emende fiant per correctors ad hoc ex utraque parte electos qui hanc potestatem faciendi emendas secundum legem et consuetudionem March(ie) in loco competent in Marchiad de eisdem forisfactis vel transgressionibus infra terminum quem dicti correctors viderint expedire, treugis nichilominus manetibus in sua firmitate per tempus predictum. Et nullum castrum novem firmentur vel dirrutum reficiatur in Marchia durantibus treugis et terre sint communes secundum formam treugarum alias captarum per predictos Roffen' et Conventr' episcopos apud Brocton.'*--*ibid*, no. 270, p. 440.
[61] *ibid*, no. 271, p. 441.
[62] *ibid*, no. 273, p. 443.
[63] *ibid*, no. 274, pp. 443-444.

reign, in which Lloyd claimed 'he had won for himself and for his people a secure and well-guarded independence'[64] was in fact a series of temporary truces which lasted only until Llywelyn's death only six years later and was not an overarching peace treaty. The agreed truce would run for two years from the 25th of July and each side would hold what they claimed at the beginning of the war of 1233. Moreover, they had control of any court cases in those lands and if 'any wrong was committed' both parties would provide independent adjudicators to determine who was in the right, according to the custom of the March, not English Common law or Welsh Native law. Additionally, the agreement regarding Castles from April 1234 would continue to stand.[65]

From 1218 onwards, Llywelyn was in effect the sole spokesman for Wales. His status as the leader amongst the Welsh rulers was further validated in 1220 when Llywelyn summoned the other princes of Wales to attack Rhos and Pembroke.[66] The fact that Llywelyn could, himself, summon all the other Welsh princes to join in a campaign is reminiscent of traditional over-lordship.

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[64] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, 681.

[65] *'Rex omnibus Cristi fidelibus presentes litteras inspecturis salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus et ratas habemus et gratas treugas captas apud Mudel inter nos et omnes hominess nostros ex una parte …et L. principem de Aberfrau de dominum dnaudon' et omnes hominess suos et inprisios Walensis et alios si quos habuit in principio guerre que dicebatur Guerra Ricdardi Mar', comitis Penbr' ex alio die mercurii proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis anno regni nostri decimo octavo, duraturas a festo Sancti Iacopb apostolic, ita scilicet quod tam nos et nostri quam predictus L. et sui sint in eisdem tenementis, terries, hominibus et homagiis in quisbus fuerune in principio dicte guerre in aliqua inplacatione super eisdem tenementis durantibus treugis predictis. Et si quid interim fuerit forisfactum, emende fiant per correctors ad hoc ex utraque parte electos qui hanc potestatem faciendi emendas secundum legem et consuetudinem Marchie in loco competenti in Marchia de eisdem forisfactis vel trangressionibus infra terminum quem dicti correctors viderint expedire, treugis nichilominus manentibus in sua firmitate per tempus predictum. Et nullum castrum novum firmetur vel dirrutum reficiatur in Marchia durantibis treugis et terre sint communes secundum formam treugarum alias captarum per predicos Roffen' et Coventr' epicopos apud Brocton.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 270, pp. 439-440.

[66] 'Y *ulwydyn honno y gelwis Llywelyn ap Iorwerth ataw gann mwyaf tywyssogion Kymry oll.'*—Brut: RBH, pp. 220-221.

Llywelyn, however, never claimed such a privilege. He may have created a wide variety of de facto powers for himself, but he had learned from his early mistakes. Perhaps it is worth considering Llywelyn's relative position amongst the other Welsh rulers before 1211 and after he arranged the peace with England in 1218. Essentially, Llywelyn's position was aggrandized. Llywelyn had firm control of the entirety of Gwynedd, was in control of Powys Wenwynwyn, and held direct control over Cemais, as well as the former English Royal castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen. He was respected and played the part of both spokesman and peacemaker for and amongst his fellow Welsh rulers and even had a claim to overlordship of these princes. Importantly however, Llywelyn never claimed this outright; there remained checks upon his power. He held Cardigan and Carmarthen until his brother-in-law, Henry III, came of age. Likewise, Llywelyn controlled Powys only until Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn came of age. His position as spokesman was never codified and he was only peacemaker as long as he could create a situation that would be to the advantage of all. Llywelyn could not force his superiority over the other Welsh princes. He had failed to do so before 1211, and never even managed to do so afterward. Llywelyn's successes on the battlefield were also dependent upon the strength and support lent to him by his fellow Welsh allies. Llywelyn was savvy enough to understand his limitations and his understanding of those limits is perhaps the difference between his position pre and post 1211.

In 1238, 'all the princes of Wales' swore allegiance to Dafydd ap Llywelyn at Strata Florida Abbey, on the 19th of October.[67] Llywelyn did not step

[67] '*Y ulwyudn racwyneb, trannoeth wedy Gwyl Luc Evegylywr, y tygawd holl tywyssogyon Kymry ffydlonder y Dauid ap Llywelin ap Iorwerth yn Ystrat Flur.'—ibid*, pp, 234-235.

down from power until two years later when he assumed the Cistercian habit at Aberconwy and subsequently died.[68] Nonetheless, this marked the final years of Llywelyn's dealings with Henry. The Welsh prince had achieved a great deal, managing to take his signal defeat to John in 1211 and turn his forty-one year reign into a success. However, regardless of that there remains little evidence to suggest that Llywelyn ever completely lost his thirst for power. Even in the end, Llywelyn schemed for a future where his power would continue in the guise of his son, and he provided for that future with the swearing allegiance by the other Welsh Princes to Dafydd at Strata Florida in 1238. Sadly, Llywelyn's strength was insufficient to stretch from beyond the grave and his son lost much of the prestige Llywelyn had gained. Yet, it is worth remembering that Llywelyn never did secure a lasting peace with the King of England, merely a series of truces that were never meant to outlast 1240.

Llywelyn's military successes reinforced his status as the foremost native Welsh ruler. Llywelyn never went so far as to outright claim for himself the status of overlord of the Welsh with the title 'Prince of Wales'. He contented himself with an indirect solution. By 1230, Llywelyn adopted the style of referring to himself in his charters as: 'L. princeps Ab(er)frau, dominus Snaudon'[69]—Llywelyn, prince of Aberffraw and Lord of Snowdon. These new titles are an attempt to demonstrate his dominant status among the native Welsh.

The first instance this title appears in use by Llywelyn is in a charter to the Hospitallers of St. John at Dolgynwal, in North Wales. In this charter, Llywelyn granted the Hospitallers 'the whole of the church of Ellesmere with all its

[68] *ibid*, pp. 236-237.
[69] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 260, p. 425.

appurtenances' for their use towards the poor.[70] What is significant here is *who* gave this gift to the Hospitallers at Dolgynwal: Llywelyn, prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon.[71] The charter is dated the 18th of November, 1225.[72] Pryce, in his notes on this charter, argues that there is some question as to the authenticity of this charter given the two divergent facts: firstly that the style, 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon', appears in no other specifically datable documents until May of 1230. In the second instance, the dating clause uses Henry III's regnal year and describes Henry as '*iunior'*. Pryce points out that while Llywelyn has dated by Henry's regnal year in the past, it is a rarity, and he further expresses concerns about the reference to Henry's minority at the time, pointing out that it could be a later interpolation.[73] Pryce concludes that the authenticity of the charter is inconclusive. As he states, there is no evidence that Llywelyn did not adopt the style 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon' as early as 1225; the next extant document from Llywelyn that is unmistakably dated is his letter patent about Ednyfed Fychan's purchase of Dinierth, written at 'Ystrad, the First of May, in the year 1230.'[74] This leaves a historian with several possible conclusions about the titular style in the Dolgynwal grant of 1225. It may be a later forgery, written, or re-fashioned and back-dated, to re-create either a lost document or to justify the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal's rights to the church of Ellesmere. This would suggest either that the scibe copied from a later charter, that no longer survives, that contained Llywelyn's elevated title, thereby backdating its use, or

[70] '*totam ecclesiam de Ellemers cum omnibus pertinentiss ad opus pauperum Cristi,'— ibid*, no. 256, p. 419
[71] '*L. Princepts de Aber(frau), dominus Snaud''- ibid*, no. 256, p. 419.
[72] '*Datum apud Ruthi(n) in octibus Sancti Martini anno regni Henr(ici) iunioris regis Angl(ie) x^{mo}.'- ibid*, no. 256, p. 419.
[73] *ibid*, 420.
[74] '*Estrad kalendis maii anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo.'- ibid*, no. 260, p. 426.

that Llywelyn's titles of 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon' were so entrenched in the psyche of the drafting, or re-drafting, of the document that he merely included them as a matter of course. If so, then these later titles had, by whenever this was re-drafted, eclipsed Llywelyn's previous style of Prince of North Wales. It may be, as Stephenson suggested, a misdated document—dating perhaps to 1235—and the scribe left out one of the 'x's' but then, what of the '*iunoris*'?[75] By 1235, Henry had reached his majority and was ruling in his own right. Or perhaps it is exactly what it seems.[76] If this is so, then perhaps Llywelyn is introducing his use of the new self-style 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon' to a smaller audience first in order to assess its impact before using it at a wider audience that might have included other native Welsh rulers and the English government, both of whom might not hesitate to clamp down on the self-aggrandisement the title is meant to suggest.

There is a problem with accepting 1225 at face value. If the grant to the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal is legitimate, then this could theoretically date Llywelyn's grant of the church of Nefyn, surrounding land, and nearby pastures to Haugmond Abbey[77] to at least as early as 1226 when, one of the witnesses, Gruffudd ap Rhodri also appears as a witness to a grant by Llywelyn's eldest son, Gruffudd, to Strata Marcella.[78] But, when Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's grant to Strata Marcella is looked at in more detail, it is clear that even he is referring to his

[75] Stephenson, *The Governance of Gwynedd*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1984, p. 202.
[76] Pryce admits the possibility that the Hospitallers may have felt their right to Ellesmere Church was more convincing if the charter was dated from Henry's regnal year, but argues that this is unlikely.—Pryce, Huw, 'Negotiating Anglo-Welsh Relations, Llywelyn the Great and Henry III,' in *England and Europe in the Reign of Henry III (1216-1272)* Bjorn K.U. Wieler and Ifor W Rolands, eds., Aldeshot, Ashgate, 2002, p. 13-29, p. 16-17
[77] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 258, pp. 422-423.
[78] '*Facta est autem hec mea donation anno ab incarnation domini m^{o} cc^{o} xx^{o} vi^{o}. His testibus...Grifino filio Rhodri.'— ibid*, no. 282, p. 449.

father as 'Llewelyn, Prince of North Wales' in 1226.[79] Although the pair had fallen out in 1221,[80] they had reconciled, and Gruffudd was acting for Llywelyn on martial fronts in 1223.[81] Surely, the son would support his father's claim to further-reaching powers in Wales? Perhaps it is best to discount the 1225 grant to the Hospitallers as an outlier, and accept 1230 as the date Llywelyn introduces his new self-styling as Pryce does. He argues that because no charters of Llywelyn date from the five years between 1225 and then Llywelyn's grant of the church of Nefyn, surrounding land, and nearby pastures to Haugmond Abbey[82] must date to 1230-1232. Pryce uses Llywelyn's titular style to suggest the earliest possible date for the charter to 1230, and suggests the end of the career of Richard ap Cadwaldr—whom Stephenson suggests may be a cousin of Llywelyn's[83]—as *rhaglaw* for an end date of 1232.[84]

Whether Llywelyn adopted the title in 1225 or in 1230, its use has been viewed by scholars of the period as significant. Lloyd states that by 1230, when Llywelyn began to style himself 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon', Llywelyn was aware of the scope of his successes militarily and diplomatically both within Wales and externally but that he 'had at the time no adventurous designs and wished only to reap the fruits of his victory.'[85] He points to the adoption of the title 'Prince of Aberffraw' to identify himself as the holder of one of the traditional three 'principal seats' held by the rulers of the three historic kingdoms of Wales, Dinefwr (Dyfed or Deheubarth), Mathrafal (Powys) and

[79] '*ego Grifinus filius Lewelini princeipis Norwallie'— ibid*, no. 282, p. 449.
[80] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 220-221
[81] *ibid*, pp. 224-225,
[82] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 258, pp. 422-423.
[83] Stephenson, *Governance*, pp. 116-117.
[84] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 258, p. 423. Pryce uses Stephenson's *Governance of Gwynedd* to confirm Richard's role as *rhaglaw* of Dinllaen in Llyn.
[85] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, vol. 2, p. 669.

Aberffraw (Gwynedd) and that Aberffraw claimed pre-eminence over the rulers of Dinefwr and Mathrafal.[86] He further suggests that 'Lord of Snowdon' was added to impress the English, who might not have been conversant with Welsh traditions.[87] Davies also points to the fact that the three major principalities in Wales had recognised principal seats to suggest that Llywelyn is making use of 'historical and sentimental connections'.[88] And Pryce claims that the new title both confirmed his status as ruler of Gwynedd and promoted his claim to overlordship of the whole of native Wales.[89]

There are a few problems with this blind acceptance of the enhanced status Llywelyn's new title is presumed to confer. The first has to do with the texts used in support of Aberffraw's pre-eminence as a seat for rule in Wales. The documents most commonly used in support of this are from the Venedotian version of the Welsh Laws of Hywel Dda. This version cites the 'King of Aberffraw' only twice. Both occur when discussing the *sarhaed* of the King of Aberffraw: 'the sarhaed of the king of Aberffraw is paid thus: ... No gold is paid except to the King of Aberffraw.'[90] Firstly, there is no explicit mention that the King of Aberffraw is the pre-eminent ruler in Wales. Secondly, all the individual manuscripts from which this law text is compiled date from the 13th century or later.[91] Most were even identified as part of the 'Llyfr Iorwerth' by Wiliam because they contain references to the elevated status of the King of Aberffraw, or

[86] *ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 682,
[87] *ibid*, Vol 2, p. 682.
[88] Davies, *Conquest*, p. 253.
[89] Pryce, *Acts*, pp. 27-28,
[90] '*Sarhaet brenhyn Aberfrav ual hyn y telyr: ... Ny thelyr eur namyn y urenhyn Aberfrav.' And 'Val hyn e traethun ny o'r sarhaedeu: en gyntaf o sarhaet brenhyn Aberfrau*.' —Aled Rhys Wiliam, *Llyfr Iorwerth*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1960, 2 and 73. And in Translation: Dafydd Jenkings, *The Law of Hywel Dda*, Llandysul, Gomer, 2000, 5-6 and 154.
[91] *ibid*, pp. xix, xx.

refer to Iorwerth ap Madog as a respected jurist, and or the compiler of these codes.[92] This, by nature makes the argument that Llywelyn drew upon the legendary elevated status of the king of Aberffraw when formulating his new title 'Prince of Aberffraw' somewhat circular. The evidence supporting the elevated position of the King of Aberffraw over that of the other native Welsh rulers dates from around the same time as Llywelyn adopted the title, and worse, it is identified as such *because* it refers to the elevated status of Aberffraw. Even more worrying, although Stephenson states that Iorwerth ap Madog cannot be identified as part of the court of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, he does not dispute his existence in Gwynedd in the early thirteenth century.[93] If he was a Venedotian jurist around the time of Llywelyn's rule, then he would have been well placed to help *create* the myth of the pre-eminence of Aberffraw. Thus, when Turvey repeatedly refers to the pre-eminence of Aberffraw to identify the chief ruler of Gwynedd during the fratricidal wars of Owain Gwynedd's descendants between 1170 and 1201, he may in fact be refering to a myth created by Llywelyn himself.[94]

There are two further places where evidence of the ruler of Aberffraw as the overlord can be found. First, Humfrey Llwyd notes in his *Chronica Walliae*, that in 1202 'Lhewelyn ap Ierwerth Prince of Northwales, calling to memorye his estate and title and how all the princes of Wales, by the ordinance of Rodrike the Great and after by the laws of Howell Dha, ought of right to acknowledge the Prince of Kinge of Aberfrawe and Northwales as their leidge lorde.'[95] But this gathering, with this claim, appears in no other medieval or late-medieval text;

[92] *ibid*, pp. xviii-xix.
[93]Stephenson, *Governance*, p. xl.
[94] Turvey, Llywelyn the Great, pp. 24, 37, 44.
[95] Llwyd, Humfrey, *Chronica Walliae*, Ieuan M. Williams (ed), Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002, p. 186.

Brut has no record of such a meeting, and although the earliest manuscripts of *Brut* date from the fourteenth century, they can surely be used to refute the sixteenth century Llwyd.[96] So this reference ought to be discounted a method of substantiating a pre-Llywelyn ab Iorwerth claim to the overlordship of the ruler of Aberffraw. Llywarch ap Llywelyn points to Llywelyn as the ruler of Aberffraw in one of his odes to the prince.[97] But again, Llywarch was contemporary with Llywelyn, so it is difficult to categorically state that the rulers of Aberffraw before 1230 held any sort of mythological status in the Welsh psyche with claim to the overlordship of Wales.[98]

These concerns leave the scholar with two options: either to take the claims made by Llyfr Iorwerth at face value and assume that Llywelyn was in fact claiming some sort of legendary right to rule Wales as overlord, or to look at the proliferation of the references to a ruler at Aberffraw in a pre-eminent position as evidence of a propaganda campaign to establish Llywelyn as the foremost amongst the Welsh rulers. It is possible that the references to the elevation of the ruler of Aberffraw in the poetry and law codes associated with Llywelyn's court and/or the period of his rule are the result of Llywelyn's attempt to create a position of supremacy synonymous with the ruler of Gywnedd. This would mean that these references to Aberffraw are thirteenth century propaganda, designed to enhance the status of the ruler of Gwynedd and to reflect the state to which Llywelyn's own status in relation to the other rulers in Wales had grown since

[96] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 182-178 and *Brut: Pen 20*, pp. 145-149.
[97] '*Cefaist, Llywelyn, o lywiaw—gwendorf,/Gwynnderyn Aberffraw*,'—Elin M. Jones (ed) with Nerys Ann Jones, *Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd Y Moch',* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991, p. 163.
[98] There is plentiful evidence for an English King as overlord of the various rulers in Wales, in the preceding centuries as far back as Asser, though! See Chapter 1, pp. 31-32.

1201 when he first was acknowledged as sole ruler in Gwynedd. If this is the case and it was a propaganda campaign then why Aberffraw and Snowdon? Lloyd suggested that Snowdon was added 'for greater effect' because Aberffraw conveyed no suggestion of legendary greatness to the English.[99] Lloyd could be correct; Snowdon is certainly the highest peak in Wales, and would therefore be impressive to the English. But perhaps there is more to this, as Aberffraw stands midway along the south-western coast on Anglesey, and from there, one can make out Snowdown, and her neighbour Garnedd Ugain on mainland. If the human eye can link these two, then perhaps the geography indicates something more important in Llywelyn's choice of title. Low-lying Anglesey was the bread-basket for Gwyendd and the mountains of Snowdon were the fortress that protected her. Together, these two parts of Gwynedd made up the hard won land of Llywelyn's early campaigns to rule which he had maintained rule over since 1200. Furthermore, Snowdon provides the name of a specific place, highest on the mainland, from which Llewelyn could theoretically rule 'all that he surveyed.' Perhaps this was what Llywelyn was stressing, as lord of the highest point, he was the highest ruler in Wales. Or perhaps it is merely as Pryce suggested, that Snowdon is meant to represent Llywelyn's control of Gwynedd while Aberffraw focuses upon his aspirations to a 'Wales-wide' authority.[100] It is impossible to know for sure.

The only thing the documents can tell us, is that by May 1230, Llywelyn was calling himself 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon' and that by the

[99] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* Vol. 2, p. 682.
[100] Pryce, *Acts,* 76.

following year, the English chancery had also adopted these titles for Llywelyn.[101] In fact, in a sealed royal letter from Henry dated St Andrews day (30th of November) 1231 extending the truce between England and her Welsh allies against Llywelyn and his allies, Henry specifically refers to Llywelyn as 'L. Principem de Abbefrau et dominum de Snaudon' in the central text of the letter.[102] If Henry is making concessions to Llywelyn's new title whilst extending a truce between himself and Llywleyn, it suggests that Llywelyn's self-aggrandising claims by way of these titles were either not something which worried Henry, or that he had little to no knowledge of what they are presumed to have implied. Considering Henry's close ties with Llywelyn's wife Joan and other Welsh leaders, the latter is unlikely unless the mythological political situation with Aberffraw at the head of the Welsh was a propaganda product of Llywelyn's court.

There is no way to definitively tell whether the idea that the ruler of Aberffraw held legendary status as the foremost of the native Welsh rulers was part of a propaganda campaign created in the thirteenth century by Llywelyn. However, whether it was or not, it has ultimately proved to be a successful re-style on the part of Llywelyn. Most historians take as read the idea that these new titles are illustrative of Llywelyn's successes and his claim to overlordship within Wales. Today, the Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon has the pre-eminent place amongst the Welsh rulers in the eyes of medieval historians.

Llywelyn had achieved a great deal in the decade between 1228 and 1238. He had gained titular recognition of his status as the Welsh prince above other

[101] '*L. Principis de Abbefrau ed domini de Snaudonia*.'—*Patent Rolls, 1225-1232*, p, 436.
[102] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 266, pp. 434-5.

Welsh princes; he had gained recognition of the succession of his younger son, not only to his own patrimony, but to his position as first amongst the Welsh; and he had managed to maintain a tricky balance of truce with England. These triumphs are what lead to the epithet 'Mawr'. They are why historians have given Llywelyn so much credit. And yet, as we have seen, they are not quite what they have been claimed to have been. Throughout, there have been qualifications to each 'success'. The 'peace with England' was merely a succession of truces, Llywelyn wasn't named 'Prince of all Wales' but 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon', and Dafydd's hold on the patrimony and claim to the homage of the other Welsh princes was far more of a pipedream than a reality. The disjointure of Llywelyn's successes will be discussed in the succeeding chapter, but here it is enough to say that Llwyelyn had accomplished great things for himself. Just perhaps not as grand as he had hoped.

CHAPTER 4

DÉNOUEMENT

Llywelyn's final years were not merely the culmination of the resounding successes of the preceding two and a half decades. If anything, the last three years of Llywelyn's life suggest a gradual weakening of the strength and capabilities of the Venedotian hegemony apparently in step with the weakening of Llywelyn's person and the failing of his health.

In 1237 Llywelyn suffered a paralytic stroke[1] and it appears, from this point on, the strength of his position both within Wales, and amongst his allies, declines. In fact, 1237 was a very bad year for Llywelyn. Joan died in February[2] and his son-in-law, John the Scot, earl of Chester, also died without issue. This meant that John's land escheated back to the Crown, losing Llywelyn both a powerful magnate as ally and with him, the protection of his northeast boundaries. Matthew Paris claims that Llywelyn even considered putting his lands under Royal protection at this point, offering military service in exchange for peace.[3] Turvey states that both proposals 'undermine[d] Llywelyn's quest for greater autonomy.'[4] Although Paris's work contains the only record of these offers, it seems that the events of 1237 significantly weakened Llywelyn's position. His stroke would have probably limited his ability to effectively lead a military force, and might even have affected his ability to negotiate with the Marcher lords, the Crown and his fellow Welsh. It is entirely possible that the stroke made it clear to Llywelyn that his life was nearing its conclusion and as a result, he redirected his

[1] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. III, p. 385.
[2] See below, Ch 7. See also *Brut: RBH*, p. 234-235.
[3] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. III, p. 385.
[4] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great*, p. 133.

thoughts to how to maintain his current position, and once again safe-guard Dafydd's inheritance.

In 1238, 'all the princes of Wales' swore allegiance to Dafydd ap Llywelyn at Strata Florida Abbey, on the nineteenth of October.[5] They had already recognised Dafydd as Llywelyn's heir in 1226, but now they were expressly swearing fealty to Dafydd, not only as heir to Gwynedd, but also to Llywelyn's position within Wales. Llywelyn clearly intended for his supremacy within Wales to continue after his death. Interestingly, not only did the Welsh princes meet at Strata Florida in October for just that purpose, but no record suggests that the attendees had any quarrel with such a proposition. Llywelyn's position remained stable and secure enough by 1238, that he could demand his fellow princes to swear fealty to his son, and they would do so.

However, a qualification to this must be made. Llywelyn initially wanted the native Welsh princes to do homage to Dafydd. However, when Henry heard of Llywelyn's plans, he immediately took exception to them. Letters were dispatched in March to Llywelyn, Dafydd and the Welsh lords forbidding the homages, stating unequivocally that homage was due only to him. Henry even summoned the Marcher lords to a meeting to discuss the situation.[6] It is clear that Henry was willing to allow no further aggrandisement of Llywelyn's power, nor a transfer of that power into the next generation. Although Lloyd dismissed, without mention, the Crown's response to Llywelyn's plans,[7] it is clear that even in 1238 there were limitations to Llywelyn's hegemony in Wales, and the powers

[5] '*Y ulwyudn racwyneb, trannoeth wedy Gwyl Luc Evegylywr, y tygawd holl tywyssogyon Kymry ffydlonder y Dauid ap Llywelin ap Iorwerth yn Ystrat Flur.'—Brut: RBH*, pp. 234-235.
[6] *Close Rolls 1237-1242*, pp. 123-25, *Patent Rolls* 1232-1247, pp. 212, 215, 221, 225, 235, 237.
[7] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, pp. 692-693,

which he had at his disposal. Davies notes that Llywelyn's actions in 1237-8 and the Crown's response suggest that Llywelyn was 'generally apprehensive about the future.'[8] Henry had no intention of allowing his half-nephew to retain the power and level of independence that Llywelyn had taken.

Although Turvey echoed Carr in stating that Llywelyn intended to use this assembly to 'effectively abdicate and publically invest his son with his princely powers,'[9] Llywelyn did not step down from power until two years later when he assumed the Cistercian habit at Aberconwy and subsequently died.[10] Llywelyn's close relationship with his fellow Welsh rulers remained until his death in 1240. His role as peacemaker and arbitrator for his fellow Welsh princes did not end with their allegiance to Dafydd. Later in the same year, Llywelyn proved he retained the power and control over his fellow Welsh princes by dispossessing Maredudd ap Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor after he had dispossessed his brother, Gruffudd ap Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor.[11]

Nonetheless, 1238 marked the final years of Llywelyn's supremacy. The Welsh prince had achieved a great deal, managing to take his signal military defeat to John in 1211 and turn his forty-one year reign into a success. However, there remains little evidence to suggest that Llywelyn ever completely lost his hunger for power. Even in the end, Llywelyn schemed for a future where his influence would continue in the guise of his son and he provided for that future with the allegiance of the Welsh in 1238.

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[8] Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 250.
[9] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great*,134. And Carr, A. D, 'Llywelyn ab Iorwerth,' *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 24, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 180-185, 184 and Online.
[10] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 236-237.
[11] *ibid*, pp. 234-235.

Llywelyn was ultimately successful in gaining control of native Wales, but his early route—through outright conquest had to be scrapped in favour of acting as spokesman for his fellow Welsh rulers. It is not enough to simply applaud Llywelyn's successes by his death in 1240, it must be understood that they only existed by force of his strong personality and the reputation he earned after 1211 as acting in the best interests of all his fellow Welsh princes. Llywelyn was the spin-doctor of thirteenth century Wales; he re-created his own persona between 1211 and 1218, from a land-hungry warlord into a arbitrator, mediator, spokesman, and the fighter for the native Welsh. Or at least, that was how he portrayed himself to the Welsh. Sadly, Llywelyn's strength was insufficient to be felt from beyond the grave and his son lost much of the recognition Llywelyn had gained. Yet, it is worth remembering that Llywelyn never did secure a lasting peace with the King of England, merely a series of truces that were never meant to last.

In 1240, Llywelyn, having secured what he hoped would be a lasting succession for the Venedotian leadership, took holy orders and joined the Cistercian monks at Aberconwy. Shortly thereafter, he passed away. Gwynedd however, continued under the leadership of Dafydd, as Llywelyn intended. What is significant is that the unity of the Welsh princes to speak in one voice—the voice of the ruler of Gwynedd—disappeared almost immediately upon Llywelyn's death.

Within months of Llywelyn's death, Dafydd had both conceded and lost most of what Llywelyn had achieved. On the 15th of May, 1240 Dafydd did homage to Henry for Gwynedd, but in so doing, lost quite a bit of the authority

Llywleyn had claimed. Dafydd was accorded neither the title 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon,' nor 'Prince of North Wales' that his father hand held. In fact, Dafydd is named only as 'David, son of Llywelyn who was Prince of North Wales.'[12] Moreover, he conceded his rights to the homages of the Welsh 'barons'[13] and submitted the lands previously acquired by Llywelyn from the Marchers and Welsh princes to the arbitration of a committee composed of the papal legate, Otto, the Bishops of Worcester and Norwich, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, John of Monmouth, Ednyfed Fychan and Einion Fychan.[14] It is interesting to note that the document expressly states five arbitrators to be on Henry's side and only the last two are Dafydd's supporters. This perhaps alludes to the fact that Henry had no intention of allowing Dafydd to retain the hegemony his father had claimed in native Wales. As Gwyn Williams notes, within a month of Llywelyn's death, the Crown had regained what they 'had sought so long in vain from Llywelyn.'[15]

From this it is clear that Llywelyn's successes were ephemeral. Without his strong personality, the authority he had created disappeared as water through a sieve. Davies argued that 'hindsight should not be summoned to belittle Llywelyn's achievement.'[16] However, to ignore the aftermath of Llywelyn's death is to ignore the reality of the limitations on Llywelyn's successes. Llywelyn may have achieved a truce with England, he may have laid claim to much of the Welsh marches, and he may have been able to demand the fealty of the native

[12] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 291, p. 458.
[13] *ibid*, no. 291, p. 459.
[14] *ibid*, no. 291, p. 458.
[15] Williams, Gwyn A., 'The Succession to Gwynedd, 1238-47' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, Vol. XX, 1964, pp. 393-413, p. 397.
[16] Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 250.

Welsh princes, not only for himself, but for his son. Unfortunately, he could make none of these last. The fact that all Llywelyn's accomplishments after he regained the Perfeddwlad were either wholly negated in May of 1240 or were subject to arbitration by a committee predisposed to limit Dafydd's power illustrates that the strength of the Venedotian hegemony was entirely reliant on the strength of a single individual Llywelyn. While this could be interpreted as evidence of Llywelyn's successes, it is worth considering the fact that Llywelyn had put significant time and effort into establishing Dafydd as his successor. Not only did Llywelyn intend for Dafydd to hold Gwynedd, but also he wanted Dafydd to succeed to all the authority Llywelyn had earned in his lifetime. Dafydd did not; in fact, he was forced to concede most of it in the wake of his father's death. It would be difficult for Llywelyn to be blamed for these losses if they had not come so swiftly after his death. That Llywelyn's hegemony couldn't survive a month after his death, points to the precarious nature of Llywelyn's 'success' and illustrates the extent to which the Crown, the Marchers and the native Welsh only acknowledged Llywelyn's authority on the basis of the force of his person, and his military strength alone.

Williams argued that Dafydd only made the concessions in 1240 because he was more concerned about holding Gwynedd in the face of Gruffudd's expansion.[17] Williams preferred Matthew Paris's date of the imprisonment of Gruffudd in 1241[18] to *Brut*'s 1239[19] because it suggested that, with Gruffudd also claiming rights to Gwynedd, Dafydd was willing to concede so much of his

[17] Williams, 'Succession to Gwynedd,' p. 406.
[18] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 4, pp. 47-48.
[19] *Brut: RBH*, 234-235 and *Brut: Pen*, p. 197.

father's wider authority for recognition of his rights in Gwynedd.[20] However, this just paints a bleaker picture of Llywelyn's failures. If Gruffudd was free, and challenging Dafydd's authority immediately after Llywelyn's death, then Llywelyn's attempt to promote Dafydd as his heir was a failure. That Henry could use Gruffudd to effectively checkmate Dafydd belies the entire recognition process Llywelyn had undergone in the 1220s to assure Dafydd's status in Wales. Llywelyn had devoted a great deal of energy to assuring Dafydd succeeded to his entire combined authority.

This is not to suggest that Llywelyn did not create a wider princely hegemony over native Wales, or expand his domains at the expense of the Marcher lords, nor does it negate his brilliant military campaigns. However, it really is necessary to acknowledge that these were transient successes and that despite his desires to pass along all that he had won, he was unable to do so. For Llywelyn, the adage was not 'you can't take it with you,' but rather, 'you can't pass it on'!

[20] Williams, 'Succession to Gwynedd,' p. 406.

PART 2:

RELATIONSHIPS AND THEMES

CHAPTER 5

'CONVENTIONALLY PIOUS'

Llywelyn's patronage of the Welsh Church was little different from his predecessors'. His donations to the abbeys of Basingwerk, Haughmond, Cymer, Strata Marcella, the priories of Beddgelert and Ynys Lannog, and the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal seem neither small nor excessive in comparison to those gifts of other Welsh princes. Only the two charter grants to Aberconwy abbey stand out.

The original foundation of the monastery that was to become Aberconwy was situated at Rhydynog Felyn, near modern-day Caernarfon; it was founded as a daughter house of the Cistercian Abbey at Strata Florida (Ystrad Ffleur) in July, 1186.[1] However, by the time Gerald of Wales re-wrote his *Journey through Wales* in 1197, the monks had moved to the mouth of the Conwy river, over-looked by Degannwy castle.[2] Exactly when is uncertain.

The extensive grant from Llywelyn to the monks at Aberconwy is profoundly detailed in its direction, topographical information and rights and privileges. In fact, Pryce, in his notes on the charter, states that 'this is by far the longest charter in favour of a religious house extant in the name of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Welsh ruler.'[3] When read, it strikes one almost as a foundation gift, rather than an augmentation to an already existing abbey. For example, the grant of Bodgedwydd was recorded in remarkable detail: the land of Bodgedwydd ascends from the island in Llyn Coron, through the middle of Clawdd Iago to

[1] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 168-169, and Gresham, Colin A. 'The Aberconwy Charter.' *Archawologia Cambrensis.* vol. 44, December, 1939, p. 123.
[2] Gerald of Wales, *Journey through Wales,* p. 195, note 389.
[3] Pryce, *Acts,* no. 218, p. 357.

Caerneddy Iorwerth, it then turns towards Aberffraw by a stone to Waun Wern, past another stone boundary by Murdduen Cyfnerth, turning towards Hennlys to Cors Henllys... and so on.[4] But Insley had another opinion; in his 'Fact and Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Gwynedd: The Aberconwy Charters' he argued that the combined two charters—the longer first, and the shorter second—could not have been granted when (1199) and in the manner they are recorded (in its entirety, as a single grant). Instead, he suggests the Aberconwy charter is a possible amalgamation of previous grants, and those Llywelyn granted in his lifetime. Insley, further suggests that the 'Aberconwy Charters' date instead from the post-conquest era circa 1283; and compares this charter to Edward I's 1284 charter to the monks of Aberconwy. He suggests that these 1199 charter were used as a 'bargaining tool' for the soon-to-be dispossessed monks.[5] If Insley is correct, then perhaps it is worth discounting the Aberconwy charters as forgeries and looking at Llywelyn's grants to other religious houses instead, for insight into his relationship with the Church.

The majority of Llywelyn's grants to religious houses are short, simple documents. In fact, many of these date from the early days of his presence in Gwynedd. These early gifts are less religiously minded gifts, than grants that

[4] *'Dedi etiam et confirmavio eisdem Bodgedwyd per hos videlicet terminos: ascendendo de quadam parva insula existente in Llyn(n) Coron per medium Claud Yago usque Carned Yago usque Carned Yorwerth, hinc divertendo versus Aberfraw per quoddam* claud *lapidibus signatum usque Weun Wenn, hinc per* claud *quoddam lapidibus signatum usques Murdymnen Kefnerth, hinc directe versus Henllys usque Korsenllys hinc divertendo ad desteram per medium alvei usques Rytdu, hinc per medium illius aovei usques* aber *Gouer Garenen prout decendit in Korscallellyn, hinc acendendo per Gouergarenen iuxta quoddam* claud *lapidibus signatum usque Wuen Las, hinc per medium Wen Las usques Wen Vaur, hinc ascendendo per alveum usques Fynnony Meyirch, hinc per quoddam* claud *lapidibus signatum usque ad latus Brodwrdyn, hing per ductum lapidum usque Cerric Poetheon, hinc per quoddam claud divertens versus Trerfdraeth, usque ad latus Trefdrateh, hinc per medium alvei extentis in confino Trefdraeth per pedium Kors y Gicvran usque Pylleu Haloc et ab hinc per alveum usque ad predicam insulam.'* - Pryce, *Acts*, no. 218, pp. 353-354.

[5] Insley, Charles, 'Fact and Fiction in the Thirteenth-Century Gwynedd: The Aberconwy Charter,' *Studia Celtica*, vol. 33, 1999, pp. 247-248.

merely confirm those rights previously granted to the religious houses by previous princes, this time in Llywelyn's name. Effectively, Llywelyn was confirming that his rule would provide continuity and security to the religious houses in Gwynedd. In fact, in a grant to Basingwerk Abbey, Llywelyn specifically confirmed all the gifts of his predecessors.[6] Similarly, he re-grants to Haughmond Abbey for the salvation of his soul, and that of his father and uncle Dafydd ab Owain, the land of Stockett which Dafydd had granted earlier.[7] These two charters seem to imply the need to re-grant the gifts of previous rulers in order to ensure continuity. But Llywelyn goes further, in a grant to Cymer Abbey in 1209, he explains that one of his jobs is to protect the religious orders, and he has confirmed in writing what has been previously gifted to the Cistercian Monks as Cymer so that these donations cannot be removed from the monks in the future.[8] It appears that it was the monks, themselves, who requested that Llywelyn re-issue a charter confirming all the previous grants and ensuring that they would be

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[6] '*ego Lewelinus concede et confirm Deo et Sancte marie et monasterio de Basingwerk' monachisque ibidem Deo servientibus omnes donations quas antecessores mei prefacto monasterio pro suisi animabus contulerunt, liberas et quietas ab omni sertitio terreno et exactione seculari*.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 213, p. 345.

[7] '*donationem quam prefatus David filius Owini avunculus noster sisdem cannonicuis fecit et carta sua confirmavit de tota terra de Stokesta cum omnibus libertatibus et pertinentiis, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pastuis in aquis et viviariis in stagnis et piscariis, in moris, viis in semitis et in omnibuis aliis rebus et locis integer, libere et quiete in perpetuum ab omni exactione et servitio seculari sicut carta predicit David filii Owini testator.'—ibid*, no. 225, p. 375.

[8] '*Cum cuntis quantum in nobis est pacis beneficium conservare tenemur, his maxime quos connendat ordo religionis, debemus solicite providere ne pacis defectu lonsetentur iniuste. Quo circa dilectorum fratrum nostrorum abbatis et monachorum Cisterciensis ordinis Bangor(ensis) diocesis apud Kemmer Deo et gloriose Virgini Marie devote servientium atque sub regula Sancti Bened(ic)ti nostril patroni regulariter viventium iustas petitiones exaudientes, et oroum precibus inclinates utilitatibus eorundem diligenter providere volentes quicquid vel a nobis vela a aliis seu a conprincipibus nostir eisdem collatum acceptimus nostor sigillo duximus confirmare ne quod iuste collatum fuerit iniusta posit infuturum premutari presumption. Eaproptier terrarium eisdem monachis collatarum nomina que nobis et 'ab' aliis illis fratribus prinicpibus date sunt huic scriptio liquid duximus commendare cum integris terminis et pertinentiis suit prot melius et certius et manifestius continentur et kartis et donationibus deorum principum Mareduc silicet et Griffud filiorum Kenan et Howeli filii Griffini et ailorum, et prout flienus et expressius omnes terras dictis monachis ac liberates dicti prinipes contulerunt et donaverunt*.'— *ibid*, no. 229, p. 380.

respected and upheld in the future. With the exception of the two, possibly forged, Aberconwy charters, Cymer's charter seems to be the most extensive of all of Llywelyn's grants to religious houses. But then, it is a complete acknowledgement of every grant made up to Llywelyn's time to provide a legal basis for the holdings of the Abbey.

Of the sixteen charters, not including the two grants to Aberconwy, that survive, either in mention or in full, as gifts of Llywelyn to religious houses, only four can be reliably dated to after 1211. Three of these give the specific dates of their confirmation[9] and the fourth can be dated primarily by the use of the title Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon.[10] This begs the question: why do only one-quarter of the charters granted to religious houses by Llywelyn date from the height of his rule? The answer is complex; six of the sixteen cannot be precisely dated, except to sometime during Llywelyn's rule. It is possible to gain some insight by considering what could not have been granted in a specific period. For example, it would have been difficult for Llywelyn to grant Mostyn to Basingwerk Abbey between 1211 and 1212 because he was no longer in control in the Perfeddwlad. The charter itself, granting Mostyn no longer exists, and without the charter all we know is that Llywelyn made the grant at some point

[9] In chronological order: To Ynys Llanog Priory, 15 October 1221 '*Hinc est quod vestere ducimus notificare universitiatinos pietatis intuit et pro anime nostra et animarum parentum nostrorum salute concessee et in puram et perpetuam elemonisam contuilisse totam villam de Begni(n)g...delictis fratriubus nostris canonicis de Insula Glannauch. Actum, apus Kaerninarun anno gratie m^{o} cc^{o} xx^{o} primo idus octobris*.'; To the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal, 18 November 1225 '*Verstra noscat universitas nos pietatis intuit et pro salute anime nostre concessisse et contulisse domui Hospitalis Ierosal(em) de Dolgenwal et fratriub Deo Ioh(ann)i...Datum apud Ruthi(n) in octabis Sancti Martini anno regni Henr(ici) iunioris regis Angli(ie) x^{mo}*.'; To Ynys Lannog Priory again, 10 April 1237 '*Noverit universitas vestra nos pro salute anime nostre antecessorum nostrorum dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse priori et canonicis de Insula Glannauc,...Datum apud Rosuer quarto id' aprilis anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo xxx septimo*.'—*ibid*, nos. 250, 258, & 272, pp. 411, 422-423, 442.

[10] *ibid*, no. 258, pp. 422-3.

during his rule.[11] If just over one-third of the texts cannot be dated precisely, then the number of datable grants emanating from the height of Llywelyn's rule is less surprising. Three-fifths of the remaining documents are known to date from the first seventeen years that Llywelyn was—even nominally—in power in Gwynedd. The remaining four date from the final nineteen years of his reign. This leaves a ten year gap in grants to religious houses between 1211[12] and 1221. These gaps are arbitrary; any of the six undated charters could fill them, and could even out the stress on donations in the part of Llywelyn's reign.

Overall, what do these grants tell us? Of the sixteen, five were granted to Basingwerk Abbey[13] in Tegeingl. Haughmond Abbey,[14] near Shrewsbury in Shropshire received the next largest number of charters, four. Strata Marcella, in the eponymous Ystrad Marchell,[15] Powys, received two grants, as did Ynys Lannog Priory on Anglesey. [16] The remaining single donations went to Beddgelert Priory[17], Cymer Abbey[18], and the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal[19]. Aberconwy Abbey is noticeably absent, but then, as noted above they may have lost their previous charters and forged 'new' ones at a later date. In comparison, Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd granted three specific charters to Haughmond Abbey,[20] and a letter to the parishioners of Nefyn for the benefit of Haughmond

[11] *ibid*, no. 231, p. 345.
[12] Using the outside dates of the latest of Llywelyn's early grants. Cf *ibid*, 375 & 376 for discussion of these dates.
[13] *ibid*, nos. 213, 214, 215, 216 & 217, pp. 344-345, 345, 345, 346, 374.
[14] *ibid*, nos. 225, 226, 227 & 258, pp, 374-375, 376, 377, 422-423.
[15] *ibid*, nos. 231 & 232, pp. 385, 386.
[16] *ibid*, nos. 250 & 272, pp. 411 & 442.
[17] *ibid*, no. 217, p, 347.
[18] *ibid*, no. 229, pp. 378-384.
[19] *ibid*, no. 256, pp. 419-421.
[20] *ibid*, nos. 198, 200, 210, pp. 331-332, 333, 334.

Abbey.[21] His wife, Emma of Anjou, made a further two grants to Haughmond, as did his son Owain ap Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd.[22] Previous to that, Owain Gwynedd's brother Cadwaladr also granted the church at Nefyn to Haughmond[23] and both the sons of Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd also gave gifts to the Augustinian canons there.[24] This makes Haughmond Abbey highly subscribed and supported by the house of Owain Gwyneedd, even if no surviving charters from the latter exist. The sons of Cynan were the only ones who gave or, at least, whose grants to other religious houses survive. Gruffudd ap Cynan made a gift to Aberconwy Abbey[25] and his brother Maredudd granted lands to Cymer Abbey.[26] So why was Llywelyn so much more even-handed with his distributions than his kin? Perhaps the answer could lie in the fact that Llywelyn maintained rule in Gwynedd for so much longer. But then, his grandfather, Owain Gwynedd, ruled Gwynedd for thirty-three years and the only surviving grant to a religious house from this period was that made by Cadwaladr. Did Owain Gwynedd not make any gifts to monastic orders during his reign? Did the Welsh monks and canons discard earlier grants after receiving those from a more recent or perceived more important ruler, like Llywelyn? The monks at Cymer certainly requested such a document in 1209, but then the grant of Maredudd ap Cynan survived at least until Roger Mortimer's inquisition in 1316.[27] Did these documents, like so many others, simply fail to survive the monastic purges of Henry VIII in the sixteenth

[21] *ibid*, no. 198, pp. 332-333.
[22] *ibid*, nos. 204, 205, pp. 336-337, 337-338.
[23] *ibid*, no. 197, pp. 329-331.
[24] *ibid* nos. 207, 207, pp. 339-340, 340-341.
[25] *ibid*, no. 206, pp. 338-339
[26] *ibid*, no. 209, p. 341.
[27] See, *ibid*, no. 185, pp. 314.

century? If so, what does this tell us of those grants that do survive from Llywelyn's rule?

Perhaps it is worth casting the net more widely. The Lord Rhys, who ruled in South Wales from 1155 to 1197 made at least five grants to religious houses in southern Wales. These focused on Slebech Commandery[28] in Pembrokeshire, Strata Florida Abbey[29] near Tregaron in Ceredigion and, interestingly, Chertsey Abbey[30] in Surrey. He further confirmed two grants to Talley Abbey[31] near Llandeilo in Carmarthenshire, and Whitland Abbey,[32] also in Carmarthenshire, the mother house of Strata Florida. While all but one of these grants and confirmations are to religious houses within South Wales and Rhys's sphere of influence, this at least shows some similarity of gift-giving both in scope and in numbers. Rhys's son Maelgwn made around six grants to Strata Florida[33] in his lifetime, plus a further one each to Whitland[34] and Cwm-hir[35] in Powys. Rhys's sons Gruffudd and Hywel Sais each made at least one grant before they died in 1201 and 1204 respectively. Gruffudd gave lands to Strata Florida[36], and Hywel gave land to Whitland abbey[37], and further land to the Church of Llanfihangel[38]. Rhys Gryg also made three known grants to Strata Florida[39], and a further fourth grant to Talley Abbey[40]. Gruffudd's sons Rhys Ieuanc and Owain both patronised

[28] *ibid*, nos. 23 & 24, pp. 166, 166-167,
[29] *ibid*, nos. 25, 27, pp. 167-168, 171-175
[30] *ibid*, no. 26, pp. 168-170.
[31] *ibid*, no. 27, pp. 171.
[32] *ibid*, no. 29, pp. 175-177.
[33] *ibid*, nos. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, pp. 180-183, 183,184.
[34] *ibid*, no. 33, p. 179.
[35] *ibid*, no. 34, pp. 179-180.
[36] *ibid*, no. 45, p. 187.
[37] *ibid*, no. 46, p. 188.
[38] *ibid*, no. 46, p. 188.
[39] *ibid*, nos. 48, 50, 51, pp.189, 190, 191.
[40] *ibid*, no. 49, p. 189.

Slebech Commandery[41], like their grandfather. In addition, Rhys Ieuanc also made a grant to Strata Florida[42] while Owain gave a further grant to Strata Marcella[43]. Similarly, Hwyel Sais's son granted land of Elwyn to Whitland Abbey[44] before his death in 1240. Compared to Llywelyn's sixteen known grants, as individuals each of these leading men of Deheubarth seem at first glance to have granted few lands or privileges to religious houses. However, the sons and grandsons of Lord Rhys together produced at least as many grants as Llywelyn did before his death in 1240. Furthermore, they seem to repeatedly patronise the same establishments, Slebech, Whitland and Strata Florida showing up the most often, suggesting a family tradition of patronage to these religious houses.

When Powys is taken into consideration, the story becomes even clearer. Llywelyn's rival, Gwenwynwyn, granted lands or privileges to Strata Marcella abbey on no less than sixteen separate occasions, with a further nine documents attesting to the sale of lands to the Abbey and a final four confirmations or notifications of grants by others to the same abbey. Gwenwynwyn also made a grant to St Michaels Church of Trefeglwys and Haughmond Abbey, of land and that which could be gleaned from it,[45] and also a final grant to Cwm-hir Abbey.[46] This makes a total of twenty gifts to Strata Marcella, and twenty two grants in total. The documents attesting to the sale of land to Strata Marcella are a bit more problematic to consider. It is unclear whether Gwenwynwyn was attempting to raise money, or merely to discharge responsibility for the land in question.

[41] *ibid*, nos. 58, 59, 60, p. 196,
[42] *ibid*, no. 55, pp. 193-195.
[43] *ibid*, no. 61, p. 197.
[44] *ibid*, no. 62, p. 197.
[45] *ibid*, no. 546, p. 752.
[46] *ibid*, no. 547, pp. 752-753.

What can be gleaned from this comparison? Firstly, it becomes apparent that individual rulers focused their patronage on a few select religious houses that fell within their sphere of influence. Rhys and his descendants focused on Slebech Commandery, Strata Florida, and Whitland Abbey, although other houses received benefactions as well. Gwenwynwyn almost exclusively patronised Strata Marcella. Llywelyn's focus seems to have been upon Basingwerk and Haughmond abbeys. Secondly is that these grants do, to a limited extent, depict the holdings of the Welsh princes at the time. At least one of Llywelyn's grants to Strata Marcella is precisely dated to 25 November[47] in the year 1209, when Gwenwynwyn was imprisoned by John and Llywelyn had laid claim to Southern Powys. Although there is debate amongst scholars as to the location of the gifted land 'Banhadlogllwydion' it is likely to be in Dyffryn Clwyd. While Llywelyn was clearly not granting lands out with his patrimony here, the fact that he is patronising abbeys outside Gwynedd suggests that he probably saw an advantage in making gifts to an abbey, in potentially hostile lands. Similarly, Llywelyn's gift of Ellesmere Church to the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal seems odd, except that the whole of Ellesmere had been given to Llywelyn by John as a dowry for Joan and the preceptory for Dolgynwal was on the banks of the Conwy river, in the heart of Llywelyn's lands.

Secondly, the grants differ little from Llywelyn's own. Of his grants to religious houses, fourteen in total of the sixteen specify land that is given to the religious house.[48] This is commensurate with those grants of other leaders. Five

[47] '*Datum literatum vii*^{o} *kalendas decembris, luna xx*^{a} *iii*^{a}*, apud Dinnorbed in manu G. Prioris de St(ra)tm(ar)chel*.'— *ibid*, no. 231, pp. 385-386.
[48] *ibid*, nos. 213, 214, 215, 217, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 250, 258 & 272, pp. 344-345, 345, 345-346, 347, 374, 374-375, 376-377, 377, 378-384, 385-386, 386, 411, 422-423, 442.

mention pasture, either as separate from land or as part of the rights of the land.[49] Four mention churches, with all their rights.[50] Two mention mills,[51] another osiers[52] and a third a quittance from pannage[53]— the right to keep pigs in woodland—for 60 pigs. Another four mention exclusion from 'exactions'.[54] The Cymer Abbey[55] charter goes further, citing the monks' rights to their own shipping, wreckage, to dig up any treasures and freedom from secular tribute.[56] Llywelyn spells out, in specifics, the terms by which the monks hold the land and what rights they retain within it, but he also makes promises about his own actions as prince with regards to the Church and the monks at Cymer. He promises to respect papal privileges and uphold those granted to the monks, and to both exercise secular justice on behalf of the monks and enforce ecclesiastical censure on those who harm the monks.[57] Llywelyn is granting not only autonomy for the

[49] *ibid*, nos. 213, 215, 224, 229 & 272, pp.344-345, 345-346, 374, 378-384, 422-423.
[50] *ibid*, nos. 216, 256, & 272, pp. 346-347, 419, 442.
[51] *ibid*, nos. 229 & 213, pp. 378-384, 344-345.
[52] *ibid*, no. 214, p. 345.
[53] *ibid*, no. 226, pp. 376-377.
[54] *ibid*, nos. 226, 227, 229 & 258, pp. 376-377, 377, 378-384, 422-423.
[55] *ibid*, no. 229, pp. 378-384.
[56] '*Omnes igitur supranominatas in tribus prefatic provinciis terras et quascumque alias sue a nobis seu ab aliis sunt adepti vel imposterum adepturi et etiam domui de Kemm(er) et monachis eiusdem loci collates warantizabo et manutenebo pro me et heredibus meis a me in perpetuam donationem vela b aliis illis datas, in campis et silvis, in pratis, aquis, molendinis, in pasturis et piscationibus, in retium stationibus, in fulminibus et stagnis, in portubus atque littoribus et mari, in mavium et scapharum libertatibus, in eareum onera de propriis rebus monachorum tantam si lamo eventu contignat ut a procella maris fuerint confracte aut submerse havenda et tolenda sine contradiction et tallio, in omnibus lignis suscipiendis et lapidibus cuiuslibet generis, in avibust et feris silvestribus et animalibus arestibus cuiuscumque generis vel specie fuerint habendis in mettallis et thesauris effoiendis et deducendis in montivus et nemoribus, in omnibus mobilibus et immobilibus, in omibus que super dictas terras aut subtus eas continentur de rebus materialibu vel nom materialibus possidendis et in porprios usus habendis, in omnibus utilitatibus et commoditatibus libere et quiete ab omni seculari exactionie sive gravamine, 'sine' alicuius molestia autcalumpnia vel contrversia, sine constuetudine legume secularium aut tribute aliquot uncquam, sine aliqua conventione cum aliquot in pasturis seu in aliis utiitatibus in prefatis terries, vel in cohabitatione aut consortio*.' *ibid*, no. 229, pp. 378-384.
[57] '*In omnibus quoque et ante omnia domini pape preceptis obedientes, prefatis fratribus donavimut ut summi pontificis privlidgeia, peatorum apostolorum Petri at Pauli auctoritate roborata, ipisique moonachis sive datat sive danda in omibus vim suam obidineat et inconcussa atque inviolate permanent. In eos vero qui apostolic magetatis apices manifeste fregerint et contra eas egerint, aut quamlibet de domibus ipsorum monachorum incendio aut sanguine intra*

monks at Cymer, but a promise not to allow other lords to interrupt their peace. Aside from similar clauses in the two Aberconwy charters, this is the only grant to a religious house where such a promise occurs. However, Cymer is not the only abbey to which Llywelyn made such grants.

Others have interpreted Llywelyn's patronage of the Welsh Monastic houses as something more special than has been concluded here. 'Llywelyn showed himself the enlightened friend of reform' wrote Lloyd in his *History of Wales.*[58] He cites Llywelyn's grant to Ynnys Llannog[59] as evidence that Llywelyn supported the 'old Welsh pattern' of grouped anchorites as much as he supported the Cistercians at Cymer and Aberconwy and claims those grants as evidence of support of monastic reform. However, Turvey is more blasé; he refers to Llywelyn as 'conventionally pious'.[60] Turvey points to the fact that no Welsh chronicler named Llywelyn as extravagantly religious or extolled his great piety as evidence of Llywelyn's mediocre devoutness. However, Turvey echoes Lloyd in his conclusion that Llywelyn supported monastic reform.[61] He points to Llywleyn's patronage of the Cistercians at Cymer and Aberconwy as evidence of Llywelyn's interest in monastic reform and stated that 'Llywelyn transferred of foundations at Aberdaron, Bardsey, Beddgelert and Penmon to the Augustinians,' suggesting that he preferred these to traditional native Welsh establishments.[62] Turvey is slightly off in his interpretation here, while it is possible that Llywelyn

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septa monasterii fundendo vel etiam gangriarum aut lorcourm, aut hominem tenendo aut furtum aut rapinam seu hominem verberando sive aliquam irreverentiam exercendo, himinem spoliando vel aliud quid contra apostolic scripta et indulta faciendo, quantumlibit nobis caros et vinicos secularem iustitam penarie exercibimus et ecclesiasticamcensuram in eos latam patinenter et libenter sustinebimus.'— *ibid,* no. 229, pp. 378-384.

[58] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* p. 689.

[59] See Pryce, *Acts,* no. 250, p. 411.

[60] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* p. 121.

[61] *ibid,* p. 123.

[62] *ibid,* p. 124.

supported the decisions of these houses to adopt the Augustinian rule, there is no evidence that Llywelyn actually was responsible for the change, let alone physically transferred the foundations. Perhaps there is something in this, in so far as of the surviving grants by Llywelyn to religious houses, all but the grants to Basingwerk, Beddgelert and Ynys Llannog, go to the reformed houses of the Cistercians, Augustinians, Hospitallers and Basingwerk, Beddgelert and Ynys Llannog all adopted the Augustinian rule before or during the time Llywelyn ruled Gwynedd. But then, the twelfth century saw the tail end of the monastic reforms with the establishment of the Cistercian order which flourished at Aberconwy and Cymer. What is interesting is that of the nineteen or so known native monastic foundations; just under half are known to have adopted a recognised rule in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Of those that changed, five came from lands over which Llywelyn ruled, two on Anglesey and three in Gwynedd Is-Conwy. Bardsey, Beddgelert and St. Tudwal's all adopted Augustinian rule, as did Penmon and Ynys Llannog on Anglesey. This seems to suggest that Llywelyn supported the adoption of the Augustinian rule by existing Welsh monasteries. However, there are no surviving grants made by Llywelyn to Bardsey, St. Tudwals, or Penmon. Moreover, Caergybi, Llanfechell, and Llangaffo on Anglesey, as well as Aberdaron and Clynnog retained their traditional *clasau* until dissolved or absorbed into other foundations. In fact, many of the known religious houses in Gwynedd either were not patronised by Llywelyn, or such charters that he granted did not survive. This may stem from a different approach to donations. It may be that reformed orders actively sought written charters and preserved them in their records, while the older, unreformed, *clas* may not have

been quite as diligent in requiring written record of the donations. As there is no foundation charter by Llywelyn for the Franciscan Friary at Llanfaes, which *Brut* tells us he founded upon Joan's death in her memory, it may be that Llywelyn in fact patronised more of the welsh monastic houses than survive.[63] Following on from that, it is difficult to say that Llywelyn was a friend to reform, so much as he patronised those houses that fell within his sphere of influence.

The evidence, therefore, has shown that as a benefactor of Welsh religious houses, Llywelyn is no different than his forbears or his fellow Welsh rulers. He made grants to religious houses that had been patronised by his family in the past; he made grants to religious houses that fell within the territories he controlled. He showed little or no favouritism of one type to monastic foundation over another, equally supporting Augustinians, Cistercians and *clasau*.

In 1209, Llywelyn arbitrated a dispute between the Abbot of Dore in Herefordshire and Strata Florida. The arbitration reads like a range war between cowboys of the Old West.[64] The Abbot of Dore remitted the damages inflicted by Strata Florida and the monks of Strata Florida promised not to seize Dore's property, lands, pastures or woods held by Dore in the Cantref of Selyf.[65] This would seem to suggest that as prince, the Church looked to Llywelyn to mediate disputes, just as the Welsh magnates did. However, Huw Pryce states that in general, legal disputes between abbeys were usually addressed by abbots

[63] '*Ac o'e hanryded hi yd adeilawd Llywelin a Ioruerth yno vanachloc Troetnoeth a elwir Llan Caes yMon.*'—*Brut: RBH,* pp. 234-235.
[64] Pryce, *Acts,* no. 230, pp. 384-385.
[65] *ibid,* pp. 384-385.

commissioned by the General Chapter.[66] It also suggests that the church officials saw Llywelyn as a fair arbitrator and respected his ruling.

This relationship also worked the other way. During Henry's minority, when Llywelyn was having trouble with William Marshall's men in Pembroke, Llywelyn turned wrote to Pandulf, the papal legate, for support. Llywelyn complains of dishonour, of being attacked during truce and of the summoning of Irish mercenaries, forcing Llywelyn to withdraw.[67] The text reeks of the hard-done by. Llywelyn claims to be doing his best to follow the counsels of Pandulf, but feels Pandulf is not doing enough to stop William Marshall's men, and that even if Pandulf tries, Llywelyn does not believe Pandulf will be able to stop them.[68] Here, Llywelyn appears to be providing advance justification for war against William Marshall. While ostensibly, Llywelyn is asking Pandulf to stop William Marshall's men—and by extension, William Marshall—Llywelyn really intends to stop the men of Pembroke himself, although he couches this in the reasoning that he does not believe William Marshall's men will obey Pandulf. Llywelyn is in fact, using Pandulf and his authority to regain a measure of control over Pembroke.

Llywelyn's relationship with the wider Church and its hierarchy is in one sense more ambiguous, and in another less so, than his patronage to those monastic houses. Llywelyn, when considering the Welsh Church, seems to have the whole of Wales in his concerns and the idea of an identity of a 'Welsh Church' appears most clearly. It is from this preference for a Welsh Church

[66] Pryce, *Native Law,* p. 208.
[67] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 246, pp. 404-405.
[68] *ibid*, no. 246, pp. 404-405.

independent of English control that the historian could interpret Llywelyn to have been the nationalist hero with a clear 'Welsh' identity.

Llywelyn was, in his early career, a supporter of Gerald of Wales and the independence of the Welsh church from English governance. It is here, in letters referring to the 'souls of the Welsh', that Llywelyn speaks on behalf of the whole of Wales, albeit jointly with his fellow princes. Llywelyn and his fellow princes refer to the 'Welsh Church' as a distinct unit.[69] The joint letter informs Innocent III of the abuses suffered by the Welsh at the hands of the English appointees. The English bishops are ignorant of 'our' language, and can neither preach nor hear confessions without an interpreter.[70] The princes jointly complain further, that the bishops preferred by England prize 'neither our land nor our[selves]' but instead of seeking the profit of souls by persecuting bodies and seizing what they can take from Wales back to England and then excommunicating the Welsh from there.[71] The princes go on to complain that these actions on the part of the English bishops have resulted in poor cathedral churches in Wales.[72] The Welsh princes seize upon two further complaints, one being the way in which the English bishops are elected, [73] and the second being their loyalties to the English king over

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[69] '*Paterniti vestre notificamus, quanta incommode et animarum perculua ecclesia Walensica sustinuit,'— ibid,* no. 220, pp. 368-371.
[70] '*morum patrie et lingue nostre prorsus ignaros, qui nec verbus Dei populo predicare sciunt nec confessions nisi per interpretem suscipere*.'— *ibid,* no. 220, pp. 368-371.
[71] '*Preterea episcopi nostri sic nobis de Anglia prefecti, quia nec terram nostram neque nos diligunt, set sicut innato quodam idio corpora prosecuntur, ita nec etiam animarum lucre querunt. Presse quidem nobis et non prodesse cupiented, pastroale officium minime apud nos exercent, set quecumque a terra nostra, et si non recte, quocumque modo rapiunt, in Anglia(m) asportant; ibique in abatiis et terries, eis a regibus Anglie ad hoc concessis ut quassi Particis a tergo et a longe sagittis secure nos quotiens iubentur excommunicare possint, cuncta consumunt.*'— *ibid,* no. 220, pp. 368-371.
[72] '*Unde ad summam miseriam et paupertatem ecclesie cathedrals in Wallia redacte sunt, que si bonis et idoneis gauderent prelatis, noblies essent et optime*.'— *ibid,* no. 220, pp. 368-371.
[73] '*Illos etiam non per electionem canonicam set per intrusionem potius et violentiam in ecclesiasticis constituent; vel si electionem quandoque sustineant, umbratilem illam et non veram faciunt, clericos nostros in Angliam vocando, et ibi in cameric regum quemcumque et*

the Welsh people whom they serve.[74] Llywelyn, Gwenwynwyn, Madog, Gruffudd, Maelgwn, Rhys and Maredudd sought redress of these wrongs in the person of Gerald of Wales who had been elected by the canons of St. David's[75] without the approval of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury. This letter was clearly written with the initial aim of getting papal consent to the election of Gerald as Bishop of St. David's, by pointing out the benefits of a Welsh prelate over an English one. However, the concluding remarks are broader in their scope. The Welsh princes, in their letter, hearken back to an illusory ancient time when 'St. David's was the primatial see of Wales and the ancient metropolitan, subject only to the Holy Church of Rome.'[76]

In his typically uncomplicated interpretation, Lloyd viewed Llywelyn's reign as 'a quiet period of rest' for the Welsh Church.[77] He pointed to the election of Iorwerth, Abbot of Talley to the bishopric of St. David's and the confirmation by Archbishop Langton of Cadwgan, Abbot of Whitland, to the see of Bangor in 1215, 'no doubt in concordance with Llywelyn' as evidence that the security of an independent Welsh church was based upon the stable rule of Llywelyn.[78] It is

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quamtumlibet vvilem in partibus suis abiectum sibi eligere pastroem combellendo.'-- *ibid*, no. 220, pp. 368-371.

[74] '*Ad hec etiam, quotiens Anglici in terram nostrum et nos insurgent, statim archiepiscopi Cantuar(ienses) totam terram nostrum sub interdicto concludunt, et not, qui pro patria nostra solum et libertate tuenda pugnamus, nominatim et gentem nostrum in genere, sentential excommunicationis involvunt' et id ipsum episcopis nostris, quos ibisi ad libitum suum nobis, ut diximust, creant, et qui eis in hoc libenter obedient, faciendum iniugunt*.—*ibid*, no. 220, pp. 368-371.

[75] '*Contra hec igitur incommode et alia multa, que canonici Meneven(ses) cum electo suo, G. Archidiacono, viro venerabili et discreto, vobis viva voce plenius ostendent, a vestra sanctitate, ad quam ecclesie totus regemen spectat, cum lacrimis et singultibus remedia querimus; rogantes et communiter suplicantes, quantinus filios vestros, tantum trium episcoporun Meneven(sium) tempore ab Anglicana ecclesia miserabiliter afflictos, ab indebta servitude paterna pietate relevare velitis*.'--*ibid*, no. 220, pp. 368-371.

[76] '*tempora ecclesia Meneven(sis)primatie Wallie totius sedes fuerat, sicut et antiquitus metropolitan, sancte Romane dilicet ecclesie solum obnoxia*.'-- *ibid*, no. 220, pp. 368-371.

[77] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* p. 687.

[78] *ibid*, p. 688.

Lloyd's contention, as always, that these appointments would not have succeeded without the support of Llywelyn alone. This support Lloyd assumes; there is no documentary evidence that explicitly states Llywelyn's support for Iorwerth.

Turvey looked upon the struggle of the Welsh Prelates in terms of a wider struggle for Welsh independence stating that the English Archbishops of Canterbury and the English Crown worked in tandem to 'assume the spiritual overlordship of the native bishoprics'.[79] To an extent, this can be concluded from the joint letter to Innocent III in 1199/1201. Turvey, however, ignores this initial letter in his argument and instead looks to a letter patent of St. David's Cathedral Chapter proclaiming Llywelyn's support of Gerald and his anger with any cleric that failed to support the latter.[80] Turvey ignores that this second letter only exists in a copied form in Gerald of Wales's own *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae,* and as such owes its existence only to Gerald's interest in recording that which strengthened his case for his claim to the prelacy of St. David's. However, Davies has downgraded the role of the Welsh princes in his synopsis of the struggle for the primacy of St. David's. Although he acknowledges the role of native Welsh rulers, he specifically stated that 'it was not from the Welsh princes but rather from the churchmen of St. David's ... that the most vigorous opposition [to English intrusion in the Welsh Church] was forthcoming.'[81] This synopsis is more in keeping with the evidence. The joint letter from the Welsh Princes to Innocent was accompanied by Gerald of Wales who spear-headed the campaign for the independence of the Welsh Church and the elevation of St. David's. It is

[79] Turvey, *Llyweyn the Great*, p. 122.
[80] *ibid,* p. 122 and in Pryce, *Acts*, no 222, p. 374 and again in Gerald of Wales *Girladus Cambrensis Opera,* vol. 1, p. 13.
[81] Davies, *Age of Conquest,* p. 190.

Gerald's writings that chronicle the internal ecclesiastical struggles of the Welsh Church and those actions taken by the English to elevate the Welsh. In fact, the letter exists only in Gerald's *De iure et statu Menevenis ecclesiae* as does the letter patent.

Llywelyn also used papal authority to his own advantage. In a letter to Honorius III in the spring of 1222, Llywelyn 'complained' of the Welsh custom of recognising both legitimate and illegitimate offspring as potential heirs. Although the original letter does not survive, the response from Honorius does. Honorius writes to confirm what Henry III, Stephen Langton, and Pandulf have already agreed with Llywelyn: that Dafydd will be recognised as Llywelyn's heir, to the exclusion of Gruffudd.[82] What is important here is that Llywelyn carefully used the hierarchy of the Church and its ultimate authority, to support his nomination of Dafydd as *edling*. Llywelyn originally sought confirmation of his decision from not only the English King, but also the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Papal Legate, and finally the Pope, himself. His use of the Church's authority is masterful. Not only did Henry support Llywelyn's decision to name Dafydd as heir over his older brother Gruffudd, but Llywelyn managed to get the decision recognised by the Church. If challenged in the future by a fellow ruler, Gruffudd himself, or even Henry given a change of mind, Llywelyn need merely point to the Pope as the authority on which the decision stands.

Despite the sometimes murky nature of the surviving evidence, it is clear that Llywelyn's relationship with the Church and its hierarchy was complex. On the one hand, he supported the growth of monastic institutions in those lands

[82] Pryce, *Acts*, p. 415.

which he controlled, reliably augmenting their foundations. On the other, Llywelyn used the Church to his advantage, when it suited him. He supported Welsh bishops and the independence of the Welsh Church, when so moved, and requested the help of the wider Church when necessary. In fact, when comparing both letters addressed to the Papacy, it appears that in both cases he was requesting that which would make him stronger – an independent Welsh prelacy in St. David's and a clear line of inheritance, which would eliminate fratricidal warfare. Overall, from the evidence available to us, it appears that the Church was a tool to Llywelyn, like a good sword or John's rebellious rebels, something he could use to his advantage and to the advantage of Gwynedd as a whole.

CHAPTER 6

RULING GWYNEDD

With the help of his cousins and uncle Rhodri, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth conquered a share of what he perceived to be his inheritance, Gwynedd, in 1195 and spent the next several years incorporating the rest of North Wales into his patrimony, ruling Gwynedd until his death in 1240. The governmental structures and officers he used in order to administer his lands are not easy to discern. Nevertheless, it is important to discover how Llywelyn maintained control over the core of his dominion as well as considering his methods of control over the wider native Wales. Llywelyn could not have maintained his rule of Gwynedd for over forty years without the aid of councillors and officers in charge of both his central and local government. Who these men where, what their jobs were and how they were described in the law codes will be compared with their portrayal in the sources. Any changes in approach evident over the course of Llywelyn's rule are likely to be coping mechanisms put into place due to the experience he gained throughout his lifetime.

When seeking to determine who the men supporting Llywelyn's regime were, and what structures aided their work, a detailed analysis is needed. It requires careful study of document witnesses, comparison of various forms of law codes and poetry to discover who supported Llywelyn and in what capacity they did so. Luckily, this work has already been completed in a thorough analysis of the governmental structures and supporting officials of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century by David Stephenson in 1984. Just as it would be remiss to consider

Llywelyn's life without looking into his internal rule of Gwynedd, it would be negligent to examine Llywelyn's government without looking in detail at the work Stephenson has already completed, and where possible, expanding upon it. Llywelyn ab Iorwerth began his rule of Gwynedd in 1195, sharing the principality with two of his cousins, Maredudd and Gruffudd ap Cynan and his uncle Dafydd ab Owain Gwynedd. It appears as if Llywelyn ruled Gwynedd Is Conwy (Gwynedd below [east of] the Conwy [river]), while his cousins ruled the more plentiful Gwynedd Uwch Conwy; Gruffudd controlled Anglesey, Arfon, Arllechwedd, Lleyn, and Maredudd controlled Merionydd and other lands to the north-west.[1] Llywelyn inherited a government system that remains to this day shrouded in the cloak of the Welsh law codes. There are few sources from elsewhere that can shed any light upon the structure of internal government of the Wales which precedes the Edwardian Conquest in 1284. However, David Stephenson managed to provide a description of the method of Government in Gwynedd in the thirteenth century, focusing primarily upon Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, but also including some description of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's government.[2] He used evidence from both legal texts and *acta* of the princes of Gwynedd in order to do this.[3]

The important magnates were men from his council, made up of both the clergy and the barons of Gwynedd; however, this large council did not make the

[1] Lloyd, *A History of Wales* p. 589. Also, Davies notes that Llywelyn was not content to share in the patrimony and captured then exiled his uncle Dafydd in 1197 and his cousin Maredudd in 1201, from whom he took Llyn and Eifionydd. Davies, *The Age of Conquest:* p. 239. Please see Chapter 1 for a more thorough accounting of how Llywelyn's consolidated his rule in Gwynedd.
[2] Stephenson, *Governance*.
[3] *ibid*, pp. xxxvi-xlii.

everyday decisions, rather Llywelyn utilised a smaller, 'working council'[4]. Kathryn Hurlock argues that this movement towards Venedotian rulers seeking advice and counsel of a defined group of councillors, whom she calls a 'ministerial elite'[5], was essentially a 'pan-European' phenomenon of thirteenth century, and not unique to Gwynedd.[6] She is not alone in this interpretation; Pryce points out that the evolution of a working group of officials in charge of administration and its arrangements was part of an increasing trend towards emulation of European and Anglo-Norman modes of government.[7]

The members of Llywelyn's working council included two titled officials the *distain*,[8] and the *gwas ystafell a thrysorier*: [9] *ynad llys*[10] and *bardd teulu*[11] joined into one person, and a variety of other officials used on jobs for specific talents but with no particular title or function.[12] Hurlock points out that this is a change from the more traditional form of counsel and criticism provided in the Welsh Courts from *pencerdd* and *bard teulu* in the formal court poetry.[13] The *pencerdd* was responsible for delivering two poems to the court: praising God and their lord, and the *bardd teulu* to deliver a third praising the *teulu*. The existence of further poetry from these poets criticising the Welsh Princes and providing advice, Hurlock uses to point to this poetry as a way to deliver such advice.[14] But

[4] *ibid*, p. 9.
[5] Hurlock, Katherine, 'Counselling the Prince, Advice and Counsel in Thirteenth-Century Welsh Society', *History*, 94, 2009, p. 28.
[6] *ibid*, p. 21.
[7] Pryce, Huw, 'Welsh Rulers and European Change, c. 1100-1282,' in Huw Pryce and John Watts, eds., *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 37-51, p.41.
[8] *distain* (MW), *senescallus* (LT), steward (E).
[9] *gwas ystafell* (MW), *camerarius* (LT), chamberlain (E). *Thrysorier* (MW), treasurer (E).
[10] *ynad llys*, (MW), judge of the court (E).
[11] *bardd teulu* (MW), poet of the warband/poet of the household (E).
[12] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 24.
[13] Hurlock, 'Counselling the Prince', p. 23.
[14] *ibid*, p. 24.

this is a slightly simplified argument; many of the men providing counsel and helping Llywelyn to rule at his court had positions carefully described and delineated in the Welsh lawcodes.

The *distain* was Llywelyn's closest advisor for most of his rule, and the office was held by two men during Llywelyn's reign [15] Gwyn ab Ednywain and Ednyfed Fychan.[16] In the Llyfr Iorwerth law-code book the *distain*'s job was listed as sharing out the food and the drink, sharing out the supper money, and taking oaths in the place of the king when he was absent.[17] However, evidence suggests that the *distain* worked closely with the Venedotian ruler, witnessing charters, consulting on judicial matters, and proceeding on diplomatic missions.[18] For instance, Gwyn ab Ednywain appeared in seven charters of Llywelyn between 1196/1199 and 1209.[19] He is named as Llywelyn's *distain* in the witness list of Llywelyn's grant to Cymer Abbey in 1209 as 'Gwyn son of Edneweyn our seneschal.'[20] It is interesting to note that the role of seneschal was developing elsewhere, in his discussion of the government of the Angevin empire, John Gillingham notes that Philip Augustus was advised to copy the Henry II's style of government.[21] Again, this points to a pan-European development of governmental offices in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of with Gwynedd was a part.

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[15] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 14.
[16] Ednyfed ap Cynfrig ab Iorwerth,* '*Bychan,'* 'the small one.' * *ibid*, p. 102.
[17] '*E dysteyn a dely medu en wastat e bwyt en y kegyn a'r llyn en y uedgell*' (It is right for the *distain* to make equal the food in the kitchen and the drink in the mead-cellar)…'*E dysteyn a dely tygu tros e brenhyn ac a dele rannu aryant e kvynnos*.' (It is right for the *distain* to swear for the King and to share out the supper money.)—*Llyfr Iorwerth*, §8, pp. 6-7.
[18] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 12.
[19] Pryce, *Acts*, nos. 216, 218, 219, 225, 226, 229 & 231, pp. 346, 351-357, 365-367, 374-375, 376, 380-382, 385.
[20] '*Gwyn filius Edneweyn seneschallus noster*'— *ibid*, no. 229, p. 382.
[21] John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, London, Arnold Publishing, 1984, pp. 67-85, p. 80.

Ednyfed Fychan first appears as the 'seneschal' of Llywelyn in a letter patent from the ruler of Gwynedd to Ralph Mortimer dated sometime between June 1230 and Llywelyn's death in 1240.[22] Hurlock argues his importance to Llywelyn's court by pointing to his role as both witness to charters and envoy on Llywelyn's behalf to Henry III.[23] Ednyfed appears to have replaced Gwyn ab Ednywain long before this period, as Ednyfed fails to appear in any role in the earlier charters when Gwyn served Llywelyn, but appears regularly as a witness in charters and letters after 1218. Stephenson suggests the date of 1216 for the replacement of Gwyn with Ednyfed.[24] Further charter evidence illustrates Ednyfed's position as trusted official; Ednyfed continued on with his post as *distain* after Llywelyn's death, serving as a witness for Dafydd ab Llywelyn on his grant and confirmation to Basingwerk Abbey on 25 July 1240.[25] Ednyfed appears as a witness in five of Llywelyn's charters and letters,[26] and elsewhere in six other documents.[27] In three[28] of these eleven documents he is named as *distain* for Llywelyn. Ednyfed Fychan first appears in a letter patent of Llywelyn; he is to be absolved of his fealty and homage to Llywelyn in order to allow him to aid the English king and his heirs in the event of breaches of the terms of Llywelyn's hold on Carmarthen and Cardigan castles. If Llywelyn, or his heirs, failed to turn the castles over to Henry upon his reaching the age of majority the

[22] '*Hiis testibus: ... Idneuet Vechan seneschallo nostro*…' 'With these witnesses … Ednyfed Fychan our seneschal…'— *ibid*, no. 263, pp. 423-424.
[23] Hurlock, 'Counselling the Prince,' p. 22.
[24] Stephenson, *Governance*, p 14.
[25] '*Hiis testibus: ... Edeneweth Vakan ... Dat' apud Colshull anno domini m° cc° quadrangesimo in die Sancti Iacobi abostoli*.' 'With these witnesses … Ednyfed Fychan … Dated at Coleshill in the year of our lord 1240 on the day of Saint Jacob the apostle.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 292, pp. 460-461.
[26] Pryce, *Acts*, nos. 252, 256, 258 & 259, pp. 414, 419, 423, 424.
[27] *ibid*, nos. 242, 260, 263, 266, 267 & 274, pp. 400, 425-426, 431-432, 434-435, 436, 443-444.
[28] *ibid*, nos. 259, 260 & 267, pp. 424, 425-426, 436.

fealty of Ednyfed and the others named would be granted to the king and their fealty could not be returned to Llywelyn until he made restitution of the castles.[29] The naming of a man who is later noted to be Llywelyn's distain, suggests two possibilities. One possibility is that the council insisted on named men, selected from those officials high in Llywelyn's confidence, men whose allegiance Llywelyn would be loathe to lose, in order to enforce their codes. Alternatively, Llywelyn named these men because he did not, in fact, fear that they would truly support Henry's cause over his, and that this letter patent transferring Ednyfed's fealty was a performance, rather than a reality. In March 1218 when this letter was issued at Worcester, Henry III's minority government had little influence in Wales, and Llywelyn already had control over both castles.[30] The agreement was nominal, and Ednyfed Fychan's name in this charter suggests that he was considered a leading man of Llywelyn's council by the English and one whose fealty the Vendotian ruler would loathe to lose.

Where the distain was in charge of household finances such as the supper-money according to *Llyfr Iorwerth*,[31] the *gwas ystafell* is given the role of the keeping the king's treasure, and therefore could also be considered the treasurer.[32] Stephenson argues that there is no real evidence for the creation of a new department within the governmental structure of Gwynedd; a department with a treasurer, or the *gwas ystafell*, as the head of the office.[33] However, there is

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[29] '*Ad hec consessimus quod Etneueth' Bachan, Eygno(n) filius Walcm', Eygno(n) filius Ririt, Heylin(us) filius Reirit hominess nostri recedant et omnino sint absoluti ab homagio et fidelitate nostra et domino regi et heridibus suis adhereant et eis pro posse suo sint in auxilium, ut ea que a nobis observata non fuerint plenary emendentur*.' — *ibid*, no. 242, p. 400.
[30] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, Vol. 2, p. 652.
[31] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 24.
[32] '*Ef byeu cadv tryzor e brenhun y am y fyoleu a'e kyrn a'e uodrvyeu*.' 'He is to keep the treasure of the king concerning the cups and the horns and the rings.'—*Llyfr Iorwerth*, §12, p. 10.
[33] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 22.

evidence for an individual treasurer. In a grant to the Hospitallers of Dolgynwal, dated at Ruthin on the 18th of November 1225, Owain is named in the witness list as Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's *camerarius*.[34] This is the only mention of an Owain as a '*camerarius'* in Llywelyn's *acta*. However, an Owain appears as early as 1209 in the witness list to Llywelyn's charter to Cymer Abbey.[35] It is always possible that the same Owain served Llywelyn as his *gwas ystafell* for the intervening sixteen years between the two charters.

The emergence of a post resembling that of a treasurer is not something that was unique to Gwynedd. There is some evidence for the great magnates of the Anglo-Norman world, copying the English crown and its financial offices. Crouch points out that the earls of Leicester, Chester and Gloucester held 'elaborate annual sessions before their chief men...called "exchequers"' and that William Marshal himself had a 'chamber' responsible for the collection of money and the issuance of receipts.[36] This centralisation of fiscal control can be seen earlier with evolving powers of the royal chamber and exchequer in England throughout the twelfth-century.[37] It would be misleading to suggest that Llywelyn was directly copying either the financial structures of these magnates, or those of the crown, but the emergence in Gwynedd of a financial officer holding the title of

[34] '*Hiis testibus: … Owen camerario nostro…Datam apud Ruthi(n) in octabis Sancti Martini anno regni Henri(ici) iunioris Regis Angl(ie) x^mo*.' 'With these witnesses: … Owain our chamberlain, dated at Ruthin on Saint Martin's day in the eighty year of Henry King of England.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 256, p. 419.
[35] '*Ywen et multis aliis ydoneis et fidelibus*.' 'Owain and many other capable and faithful persons.'— *ibid*, no. 299, p. 382.
[36] Crouch, David, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, London, Longman, 2002, pp. 147, 176.
[37] For a full discussion of these changes, see Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, pp. 67-85 and Tout, T. F, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals*, Vol. 1, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1920, pp. 177-205.

'*camerius'* suggests that Llywelyn's Venedotian government was not as divorced from wider Anglo-Norman developments.

The positions of *bardd teulu* and *ynad llys* (court poet and court judge) were held by one man under Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's rule of Gwynedd, Einion ap Gwalchmai. This appears to be the first instance of a son following his father in a post in the Venedotian government; the poet Gwalchmai served Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's grandfather Owain Gwynedd.[38] Einion was rewarded with privileges—mostly in the form of land free of the renders due the prince—on land in Cafflogion and Trefddisdeiniad in Malltraeth, render free and rent free land in Dindaethwy and land in Lledwyganllwys in Malltraeth with renders still due the prince.[39] Einion, like Ednyfed Fychan, appears in Llywelyn's letter patent regarding the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan as a man whose loyalty would change upon the failure of Llywelyn to return the castles when the king came of age.[40] This implies that his position in Llywelyn's retinue and his support was as important to Llywelyn and the prince's control of Gwynedd as Ednyfed was. Einion appears as a witness in one other charter, issued to Ynys Lannog Priory at Caernarfon on the 15th of October 1221.[41] Einion's presence with Llywelyn can be assumed from this to at least be occasional, and given his position as a justice of the court it would be assumed that he might travel in the same peripatetic circuit—*cylch*—as Llywelyn with the court to provide judgements.

[38] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 14.
[39] *ibid*, p, 98.
[40] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 242, p400.
[41] '*Hiis testibus: ... Ennio filio Walchmei, ... Actum apud Kaerinaruon anno gratie m° cc° xx°priomo idus octobris*.' 'With these witnesses: .. Einion son of Gwalchmai, … Act at Caernarfon, in the year of grace 1221 on the ides of October.' – *ibid*, no. 250, p. 411.

The *teulu*[42] forms an important portion of the king's court in the legal codes. However, there are few, if any, references to Llywelyn's *teulu* in the sources available for 13th century Gwynedd. Stephenson argued that the *teulu* was 'a potent fighting force' with siege engines for battle,[43] they served as the prince's personal bodyguard, and the larger force used for warfare outside Gwynedd was formed from them, and the freemen of Gwynedd were required to 'go with their lord in his war for forty days at their own cost and thereafter at his cost;'[44] this service commenced at the arrival of the men at the assembly point for the siege.[45] However, the *teulu* had a peacekeeping role within Gwynedd as well and was often used for raids within the country exercising distraint,[46] and members of the *teulu* were not responsible for *galanas* payments to victims of the *teulu*'s activities.[47] The officer in charge of the *teulu,* the *penteulu*[48] still existed in the reign of Llywelyn's grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, as Llywelyn ap Gruffudd's younger brother Dafydd ap Gruffudd served his other older brother Owain ap Gruffudd in this role by 1255.[49] However, there exists no record of any particular man with the title of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's *penteulu*, and it is therefore impossible to know how important the role of the *penteulu* was to Llywelyn's government.

Stephenson, when considering the beginnings of a chancery in Gwynedd, suggests that the repetitions in phraseology and naming point towards a single clerk

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[42] *teulu* (MW), warband (E) or household (E).
[43] Stephenson, *Governance*, p.15.
[44] *ibid,* p. 90.
[45] *ibid,* p. 89.
[46] *ibid,* p. 46.
[47] '*Nyt a galanas yn ol teulu6ryaeth*' 'No galanas after the job of a member of the *teulu*.'—Dafydd Jenkins (ed. And trans.), *The Law of Hywel Dda,* (Llandysul, Gomer Press, 2000), p. 356.
[48] *Penteulu* (MW), captain of the household force (E).
[49] Pryce, *Acts*, p. 637.

working for Llywelyn at any given time, rather than a fully developed chancery.[50] Because of the limited references to clerical men in Llywelyn's letters and charters, it is possible that many of the charters may have been written at one or another of the religious houses. Llywelyn used the abbeys of Aberconwy, Cymer, and other religious institutions as document storehouses;[51] this is probably because Llywelyn assumed—somewhat incorrectly[52]—that these buildings were safe from the wrath of the English king or other raiding parties.

However, these individual clerks that could have become the beginnings of a chancery and a chancellor developed from the *offeriad teulu*,[53] the priest of the household. The law codes claim that the *offeriad teulu* has the right to four pence for each open seal the king gives for land and earth or for other great things.[54] The first recorded *cancellarius* of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth was Instructus, who Stephenson assumes to also be 'Ystrwyth' and 'Ostrcius'.[55] Instructus appears in two charters,[56] once named as chancellor of Llywelyn.[57] Ystrwyth appears in two charters as a witness.[58] Instructus appears as Llywelyn's envoy to Stephen Segrave regarding the release of Einion Fychan's son in 1230.[59]

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[50] Stephenson, *Governance*, pp. 26, 28.
[51] *ibid*, p. 34.
[52] In 1211 King John lead two campaigns into Gwynedd, the first aborted when the army was surrounded at Degannwy and cut off from their supplies the army starved, and withdrew from Gwynedd. The second campaign was, according to R. R. Davies, 'devastatingly successful' and John arrived at Llywelyn's *llys* (court) at Aber (now Abergwyngregyn) sending his troops onto Bangor (5 miles as the crow flies) who burned the city when the Bishop refused to greet the excommunicate king.—Davies, *Conquest*, p. 241; Lloyd, *History of Wales*, pp. 634-635.
[53] *Offeriad teulu* (MW), household priest (E).
[54] '*Ef a dely pedeyr keynnyavc o pob ynseyl agoret a rodho e brenhyn am tyr a daear neu am negesseu mavr ereyll*.' 'He has the right to four pence of every seal given by the king for land and earth or for other large things.' *–Llyfr Iorwerth*, p. 5.
[55] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 31.
[56] Pryce, *Acts*, nos. 250 & 259, pp. 411, 424.
[57] '*Hiis testibus*: *magistro Instructo cancellario nostro*' 'With these witnesses: Master Instructus our chancellor.'— *ibid*, no. 259, p. 424.
[58] *ibid*, no. 229, & 252, pp. 382-383, 414.
[59] *ibid*, no, 263, p. 431.

Sometime between 1230 and 1231,[60] Joan, wife of Llywelyn and half-sister to King Henry III, wrote to her brother assuring him of the loyalty of Instructus to both the king and her husband.[61] Joan often served as emissary between the two rulers, and her letter has the poignancy of a person who knows how it feels to be torn between two masters. 'Know this, lord, they suggest that which are most unjust of your suspicions to have of Instructus your clerk and clerk of my lord, which I believe you cannot have in England a more faithful clerk, if God adjudges to me; the same [Instructrus] is not less loyal to you if he faithfully goes to carry out business for his lord, which in the same place now he has in going of your actions the heart of his lord; you can trust to confide in himself and not others, if he chooses to neglectfully contract the business of his lord.'[62] Instructus, in his role as chancellor, clearly acted as an ambassador and envoy between the English king and the Vendotian leader during his tenure of the office, and was seen as acting for both of them, to the dismay of Henry III. This role, encompassing envoy and clerk for both Henry and Llywelyn suggests that the emergence of a chancellor in Gwynedd was encouraged in part by Anglo-Norman/Welsh relationships. Perhaps, rather than merely being an attempt to emulate the Anglo-Norman office, the title of *cancellarius* afforded to Instructus was an attempt to find something that fit the requirements of the function he performed for both masters. However, the important aspect of this is that under Llywelyn's rule, the

[60] *ibid*, no. 280, p. 447
[61] 'Assures him that his suspicion of Instructus, clerk of the king and of her husband, are entirely unjustified.'—Edwards, *CACCW*, p. 20.
[62] '*Ad hec sciatis, domine, quod iniustissime suggerunt vobis nonnulli suspicionem habere de Inst(ru)cto et vestro et domini me clerco, quo non credo vos posse habere in Angl(ia) vobis fideliorem clericum sic me Deus adiuvet; nec ideo minus fidelis est vobis, si fideliter agit negocia domin sui, quia eodem modo se habet in agendas vestries coram domino suo; nec vos nec aliquis in ipso posset confidere, si domini sui tepide vel negligenter negocia tractaret*.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 280, p. 447.

office of chancellor developed from merely the scribal aspect of the job of the *offeriad teulu* to include a role as diplomat for the ruler of Gwynedd.

It is worth comparing the evolution of this role in Gwynedd under Llywelyn to the position of clerks in the households of other magnates. David Crouch, for instance, notes that for William Marshal his clerks 'added a certain tone to the Marshal's reputation...a respectability and profundity of counsel.'[63] He points out that the Marshal had a large clerical staff made up of 'chaplains' and 'clerks' with the clerks being responsible for keeping accounts and conducting his correspondence.[64] The existence of such men in the Marshal's retinue points to a broader development of similar offices not only within Wales and this may have been the impetus behind the changes within Gwynedd.

Another of Llywelyn's clerks is 'David'[65] who appears as a witness in a chirograph agreement concerning the marriage between Llywelyn's daughter Helen and the Earl of Chester's nephew and heir, John the Scot. David reappears as one of Llywelyn's emissaries to Henry III in 1232 along with Ednyfed, and others from Llywleyn's court.[66]

Religious men such as Master Philip ab Ifor also served as Llywelyn's clerks; Philip ab Ifor first appears in Llywelyn's service in the mid 1220s and disappears from the records in 1241.[67] Philip was an archdeacon of St. Asaph and Stephenson suggests that his disappearance from the service of the Prince of

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[63] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p. 142.
[64] *ibid*, p. 143.
[65] '*David clerico Lewel*(*ini*)' 'David clerk to Llywelyn'— *ibid*, no. 252, p. 413-414.
[66] '*cum Idneuet seneschallo ipsius L. et E(er)renoc pratre eius, Iniano Vachan' et David clerico. ... apud Salop' vii die decembris anno regni nostri xvii°.*' 'With Ednyfed seneschal to Llywelyn and his brother Goronwy, Einion Fychan, and David the clerk. … at Shrewsbury on the seventh day of December in the 17th year of our (the English King's) reign.'— *ibid*, no. 267, p. 436.
[67] Stephenson, *Governance*, pp. 34-35. *Master Philip ab Ifor reappears in service to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1257 on a diplomatic mission.— *ibid*, p. 35.

Gwynedd relates directly to control of the Perfeddwlad and the St. Asaph diocese, the disputed land east of the Conwy River.[68] Philip witnessed one charter of Llywelyn,[69] and appears as a guarantor in a letter patent concerning a truce between Llywelyn and Henry III in 1238.[70] Abraham, the Cistercian abbot of Aberconwy, also appears in 1221 as a witness in a grant to Ynys Llanog Priory,[71] and again in one of the many grants to Basingwerk Abbey given by Llywelyn throughout his rule of Gwynedd.[72] He may have been the same man who became the Bishop of the St. Asaph diocese from 1225 until 1232.[73] The lack of an organised chancery makes it difficult determine the full extent of the importance, and role of Llywelyn's scribal officers. Whether the position of *cancellarius*, accorded to Instructus, was the same position that David, Philip and Abraham filled, or whether the term *cancellarius* was simply a title accorded to Instructus due to his simultaneous role of clerk to both Llywelyn and Henry III is unknown. Due to the limited nature of the sources, and the multiplicity of the men with the title 'clerk' over the period of 1196 to 1240 it is doubtful whether the full extent of the role of the *cancellarius* in Llywelyn's government can be fully elucidated.

Llywelyn, as Prince of Gwynedd,[74] was not able to closely oversee the administration of the localities within Gwynedd. Instead, he employed local

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[68] *ibid*, p. 35.
[69] '*Hiis testibus:…ph(ilippo) filio Iuor… Datum apud Rosuer quarto id' parilis anno gratie millesimo ducentisimo xxx septimo*.' 'With these witnesses: Philip son of Ifor…Dated at Rhosyr on the fourth to the ides of April in the year of grace 1237'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 272, p. 442.
[70] '*magistrum David archidiaconum de Sancto Asaph*' 'Master David archdecon of Saint Asaph'—Pr *ibid* yce, *Acts*, no. 274, p. 443-444.
[71] '*Hiis testibus: patre Abraham de Aberthon'*,' 'With these witnesses: father Abraham of Aberconwy'— *ibid*, no. 250, p. 411. *see above, note 43, for the dating clause.
[72] '*Hii autem sunt testes: … Abrah(a)m abbas de Aberconewey*' 'and these are witnesses: … Abraham, abbot of Aberconwy'— *ibid*, no. 216, p. 346. *The date of this charter, as with many of the grants given by Llywelyn, is debatable, it could be anytime between June 1196 and October 1202.
[73] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 35.
[74] *Princeps Norwallie* (LT), Prince of North Wales (E).

administrators to govern the districts of his country. The men who served Llywelyn on the local level made up a larger group than the officers of Llywelyn's court. There were several different officials responsible for separate jobs within the administration of the localities. The *rhaglaw*,[75] the *rhingyll*, and the peace-keeping officials were among the various types of officers mentioned in the legal texts.

The office of the *rhaglaw* appeared not long before the thirteenth century. Stephenson argues that the *rhaglaw* developed to replace the *maer* and *cynghellor* as the leading local officials.[76] He further argued that the title *rhaglaw* better illustrated the position as the representative of prince—here Llywelyn—in the localities.[77] *Llyfr Iorwerth* gives the *rhaglaw* the responsibility of standing in the place of an accuser or prosecutor of a theft for which the plaintiff feels too frightened to charge the thief himself.[78] Dafydd Jenkins notes that the alternation between *arglwydd* and *rhaglaw* in this section of the text in the 'confused' manner suggests that the complier of Llyfr Iorwerth was aware that the ruler no longer preformed the function; rather it was his lieutenant who did so.[79] The evidence of confusion regarding the role of the *rhaglaw* in *Llyfr Iorwerth*—its earliest manuscripts date from the thirteenth century[80]—suggests that the position of the rhaglaw and his role was developing in the thirteenth century. Stephenson

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[75] *rhaglaw* (MW), lieutenant, governor, or deputy (E).
[76] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 41.
[77] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 41.
[78] '*puybynnac a uynno guneythru dogyn uanac, aet ar er argulyd a dywed rywneythur lledrat o dyn ny lleueys e dewedut arnau, ae rac y uonhed ae rac e uedynat. Yna e mae uaun e'r raglau dyuennu er effeyryat attau a dyweduyt ydau er hyn dydywespuyt ydau enteu*.' 'Whoever wishes to make enough information, go to the lord and say that a theft was made by man he does not dare to say against him, either because of his nobleness or because of his wealth. Then it is right for the *rhaglaw* to call the priest to him and say to him what had been said to him.'—*Llyfr Iorwerth*, §113, p. 76.
[79] Jenkins, *Law*, p. 281.
[80] Wiliam (ed.), 'Introduction,' *Llyfr Iowerth*, pp, xix, xxix.

suggests that the *rhaglaw* was latinised to *ballivus*[81] in the Latin law codes and in charters.[82] If this is the case, Llywelyn's proscriptions for his bailiffs in Llŷn[83] near the church of Nefyn in a charter to Haughmond Abbey are written for his *rhaglaw*: 'We prohibit those of our bailiffs or our heirs from exercising lordship over the land previously named of the canons.'[84] This suggests that, for the most part, Llywelyn trusted his *rhaglaw* to exercise lordship in his absence as his deputy. Thus, Stephenson notes that they were responsible for awarding fines—*gobrau*[85]—on *uchelwr*[86].[87] However, if this post was developing in the early thirteenth century it is impossible to expect the details of the job of the *rhaglaw* to be fully developed in thirteenth century manuscripts of the law codes attributed to Gwynedd.

The obscurity, intricacy, and complexity regarding the roles of the lesser, more local officials of the Venedotian leader in the first half of the thirteenth century should not be overlooked or dismissed. The role of the *rhingyll* also changed in the thirteenth century. Stephenson points to the fact that in the legal texts the *rhingyll* was the servant of the *cynghellor*; however, in post-conquest sources the

[81] *ballivus* (LT), bailiff (E).
[82] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 42.
[83] William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times,* (London, Faber and Faber, 1966), plate 33, plate 37.
[84] '*Inhibemus etiam ne quis ballivorum vel heredum nostrorum super terram predictorum canonicorum dominium exerceat*.'—Pryce, *Acts*, p. 423.
[85] *gobrau* (MW), fines or fees (E).
[86] *uchelwr* (MW), nobleman, gentleman, freeman (E). This term is one of two for nobleman and refers to a freeman who holds land. An *uchelwr* stems from *uchel* (W) high (E) and *gŵr* (W) man (E). He is the opposite of a *taeog*, or bondman or villein. The other term for aristocrat, *bonheddig* implies the concept of nobility and stems from *bonedd* (MW) lineage (E). There are only two social classes based upon landholding, men who hold free land (*uchelwr*) and men who hold bond land (*taeog*).—For translations see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language,* Vols. 1-4, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999-2002), vols. 1 & 4.
[87] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 42. *I have been unable to find this reference in my text of Llyfr Iorwerth, however, Dafydd Jenkins notes that in MS. C of Llyfr Iorwerth—which is incomplete—the term *rhaglaw* is used in place of *arglwydd*. His translation reads: 'There is no entrenched fee for an *uchelwr* at sessions, save what the Lord wants to give.' [Jenkins, *Law*, pp. 123, 270] If 'lord' is replaced with *rhaglaw* Stephenson's argument is sound, however this job is placed within the jobs of the *maer* and *cynghellor* both of whom are officials of the prince's demesne.

rhingyll was the servant of the *rhaglaw*. He uses these as evidence for the changing nature of local administration in the thirteenth century.[88] The *cynghellor*, along with the *maer*, were officers who were in charge of the ruler's demesne land.[89] The *rhingyll* acted as the apparitor—officer of a civil court—or a summoner in the Welsh law courts.[90] The *rhingyll* in the law codes was the fourth officer[91] addressed in the text of those who were not among the twenty-four officers that belonged to the ruler's court.[92] The *rhingyll* appears in a description of the judicial court,[93] he stands behind the *cyngaws,* the man who presents the case of the litigant.[94] He therefore plays a nominal role as an overseer of Venedotian justice. Stephenson notes that from this nominal role in the law codes, the *rhingyll* evolved into a steward of the commotal *llys*.[95]

The other officials involved in the justice system of Llywelyn's government were the *ceisiad*.[96] These men were in charge of controlling wrongdoers; they were permitted to stop, distrain, or suppress them, and in peaceful times were aided in this job by the *teulu*. These men also replaced the *maer* and *cynghellor* who were granted the same roles in the law codes, thus removing these two officials in favour of the *ceisiad*, the *rhingyll*, and the *rhaglaw*.[97] The role of the *cais*—sergeants of the peace—in dealing with peacekeeping is illuminated in Llywelyn's

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[88] *ibid*, p. 44.
[89] *ibid*, p. 44.
[90] *ibid*, p. 44.
[91] '*Petweryd yv e ryghyll;*' 'Fourth is the rhingyll;'—*Llyfr Iorwerth*, §34, p.19.
[92] '*uchof retraethassam ny o'r petwar svydavc ar ugeynt a perthyn ar e llys; eman e traethvn ny o'r swydogyon aruer a'r rey deuavt a uyd emevn llys*.' 'Above we have treated of the twenty-four officers who belong to the court, here we treat of the officers some of custom and are in the court.' — *ibid*, §30, p. 17.
[93] '*a'r rygyll en seuyll tra cheuen e kegaus'* 'And the rhigyll in the chimney thing/matter/material behind the *cyngaws*.'— *ibid*, §73, p. 45.
[94] Jenkins, *Law*, p. 322.
[95] Stephenson, *Governance*, p, 45.
[96] *ceisiad* (MW), *servientes pacis* (LT), sergeant of the peace (E).
[97] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 41.

grant to Aberconwy Abbey on 7 January 1199. 'I granted, furthermore the same which if thieves or robbers or wrongdoers in the granges or lords or land of these monks by my attendants or ministers or other whoever they are capture or find, the monks themselves and their servants and familiars shall not be troubled on account of this, because to my attendants and ministers who protect the peace they are to consign important robbers, thieves and wrongdoers to investigate, prosecute and capture.'[98] This suggests that officers who served as officials to keep the peace had an important role in Llywelyn's governmental style. He deliberately provided in his charter for his 'policemen' to seize any thieves or wrongdoers; it can be assumed that Llywelyn maintained an interest in keeping his lands quiet and peaceful, rather than allowing the monks to harbour criminals who fled the justice of Llywelyn's court.

Stephenson highlighted the loyalty of the men serving the Venedotian leader as one of the necessities when governing Gwynedd.[99] The creation of a recognised heir, designated by the ruler during his lifetime and associated with him, was designed to alleviate the problem of strife amongst the royal family. The law codes provide for the heir, named the *edling,* to be selected from among the 'members of the king'[100]. *Llyfr Iorwerth*, the law code most closely associated with thirteenth century Gwynedd, elucidates the list of possible heirs: 'Namely, the members of the king are the sons and the nephews and the cousins. Some say all of them are *edlings*. Others say no one is *edling* except the one given hope and

[98] '*Concessi etiam eisdem quod si fures aut latrines aut malefactors in grangiis aut domibus aut terries ipsorum monachorum per satellites aut ministros meos aut alios quoscumque capti feurint aut inventi, ipsi monachi et servientes ac familiars sui propter hoc minime molestentur, nam ad satellites et ministros meos qui ad custodiendam pacem sunt assignati pertinet latrines, fures et malefactors investigare, prosequi et capere*.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 219, p. 366.
[99] Stephenson, *Governance,* p. 1-2.
[100] '*Aylaut y'r brenhyn*' –Aled Rhys Wiliam (ed.), *Llyfr Iorwerth A critical text of the Venedotian Code of Medieval Welsh Law,* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1960), §4, p. 3.

expectation by the king to him.'[101] The selection of an *edling* was meant to provide the ruler with a powerful ally to support his decisions, and possibly also to prevent the quarrelling of possible heirs upon the death of the ruler. However, this was not always the case. Despite Llywelyn's preference for his second--but legitimate in the eyes of the church--son Dafydd, over his firstborn, illegitimate son Gruffudd, Gruffudd twice rebelled against Llywelyn, seeking to claim that he should have been made *edling*. The text of *Llyfr Iorwerth* illustrates the problem. There are two possible ways to determine the *edling*, either he is the one to whom the king gives 'hope and expectation' or he is the one of the male members of the king's family and simply by virtue of that, is a possible heir. However, despite this, Llywelyn couched his letters to the papacy in terms of his dislike of the partible inheritance practice of the Welsh. 'Soundly our petitions, delivered to you in succession, in which a certain detestable custom had grown in my land, hence it can corrupt the land bordering upon your sovereignty, that it should be easy to see the son of a handmaiden is an heir with the free son and illegitimate sons inherit just as the legitimate hold.'[102] Llywelyn had one interpretation of the law from *Llyfr Iorwerth* on his side for support in his decision to pick Dafydd as his successor. Dafydd was one of 'the king's members': he was the son of Llywelyn and his English wife, Joan, and on the basis of that he could be chosen from amongst these 'members' and then 'given hope and expectation', i.e. named as heir. Llywelyn also had the support of Pandulf, the Papal legate; Stephen, the

[101] '*Sef ev aylodeu y brenhyn, y ueybyon a'y neueynt a'y keuyndyrv. Rey a dyweyt bot yn edlyg pob rey o'r hynny. Ereyll a dyweyt nat edlyg nep namyn y nep y rodho y brenhyn gobeyth a gvrthrych ydaw.'—Llyfr Iorwerth*, §4, p. 3.
[102] '*Sane tua petitio nobis exhibitia continebat quod cum quedam detestabilis consuetude vel potius corruptela inolevisset in terra tue ditione subiecta, ut videlict filius ancille esset heres cum filio libere et illegitimi filii hereditatem sicut legitimi obtinerent*.'—Pryce (ed.), *Acts*, no. 253, p. 415.

Archbishop of Canterbury; and Henry III, the English king for his decision to name Dafydd his heir.[103] Moreover, in the summer of 1222 pope Honorius III confirmed the ordinance by which Llywelyn ab Iorwerth made provision for Dafydd's inheritance of Gwynedd.[104]

However, an argument in favour of Gruffudd could be made that he was the eldest son of Llywelyn, and there is no differentiation in Welsh law between legitimate and illegitimate sons. Nevertheless, the same law that allows for all possible 'members of the King' as *edling* also provides for the disinheritance of possible 'members of the King.' By providing these 'members' with land, they become landholders and are thereby discounted from the position of *edling.* 'The *edling* and those who we named above will be of that status until they take land and after that against the land that take is his status all together, except this: if it happens that they obtain a settlement of villains the status of the land is raise to free land.'[105] The text suggests that the status of the 'members' is dependent upon the king until they become landholders in their own right, when they gain their own status. Gruffudd was given lands before 1220, and his status had thus changed from a 'member of the King' or possible *edling* to an *uchelwr*, or land-holder.[106] Gruffudd, in fact, fell out of favour twice. In 1221 his father reclaimed the lands he had given his eldest for support of Gruffudd's retainers and in 1228

[103] '*tu karissimi in Christo filii nostiri Henr(ici) Regis Anglor(um) illustris domini tui acceedente consensus ac etiam interveniente auctoritate venerabilis fratris nostri Stephani Cantuarien(sis) archepiscopi sancta Roman(e) ecclesie cardinalis ac dilecti filii Pandulfi Norwicen(sis) electi tunc in partibus illis legationis officium…*'—Pryce, *Acts,* no. 253, p. 415.
[104] J. Beverly Smith, 'The succession to Welsh Princely Inheritance: The Evidence Reconsidered,' in R. R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections,* (Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, Ltd., 1988), p. 64.
[105] '*Er edlyg a'r rey rydywedassam ny uchot a uydant ar y breynt hvnnv yny gaffont tyr, a guedy hynny vrth ureynt y tyr a gaffont yd a eu breynt hvynt eu, eythyr hyn: o deruyd udunt caffael byleyntref, breynt y tyr a dyrcheyf yny uo tyr ryd*.'*—Llyfr Iorwerth,* §4, p. 3.
[106] The date of Gruffudd's grants of land from Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is unknown. However, he must have gained the lands before 1221 when Llywelyn reclaimed these lands.

Llywelyn imprisoned Gruffudd for a further six years.[107] Given the relative dates of these disputes, it is probable that at least the first quarrel related directly to Llywelyn's preference for Dafydd as heir. It was at Shrewsbury in May of 1220 that Dafydd was recognised as Llywelyn's heir was recognised by the English court; although this recognition was missed out of the Welsh chronicles, Gruffudd's rebellion the following year was not. Dafydd's position of *edling* was eventually accepted not only by Honorius III in 1222, but also by the magnates of Gwynedd; by May of 1230 Dafydd appears as a witness to Llywelyn's grant to his seneschal, Ednyfed Fychan, named explicitly as 'our heir.'[108] Stephenson points that although Dafydd only succeeded his father in ruling Gwynedd upon Llywelyn's death in 1240, Llywelyn's choice was not a complete failure because Dafydd did maintain control of the central patrimony.[109] This seems perhaps an oversimplification of the outcome; while Dafydd's rule of Gwynedd was not an unmitigated disaster, his control of Gwynedd relied upon the incarceration of Gruffudd and his sons in English hands and the influence his father had held over native Wales disappeared in Dafydd's hands.

Llywelyn's control of Gwynedd required more than just the support of his heir and an uncontested claim to leadership. Llywelyn needed the support of his council and *teulu*—household retinue—to help him administrate Gwynedd. Llywelyn pointed to the importance of councillors in a letter to Henry III in 1228, stating he would be hard-pressed to come to a decision without the King's

[107] Davies, *Age of Conquest*, p. 249.
[108] 'his testibus: David herede nostro.'—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 260, p. 425.
[109] Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 2.

councillors.[110] The reason for Llywelyn's decision not to send his messengers until the king's councillors were with him is lost to history, and Stephenson argued that it echoed Llywelyn's bond with his own council.[111] However, the best example of Llywelyn's deference to the powerful men in his country is in his letter to Eva de Braose in May 1230. 'And know that we cannot prevent the magnates of our land from making the justice which they made.'[112] Regardless of the issue of whether Llywelyn wanted to take justice upon William de Braose for his affair with Llywelyn's wife, Joan; the fact remains that Llywelyn could point to his magnates as people who could force change to Llywelyn's justice.

Little evidence remains of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's internal structure and governmental style. What can be gathered from the sources is that Llywelyn maintained a close circle of advisors who worked with him to shape both the external and internal policy. However, this curia was not fully developed, nor was any other aspect of his governmental system. During Llywelyn's rule of Gwynedd in the first half of the thirteenth century, the internal governmental system evolved, with new officers such as the *ceisiad* replacing older officers such as the *maer* and *cynghellor* of the law codes. This does not mean that this process began in Llywelyn's rule, or that he was the driving force behind the changes. Rather, the confusion in the law codes and in the charters suggests that change was gradual. The evidence suggests an evolving governmental structure that changed to meet the needs of the thirteenth century prince and the

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[110] '*super eo autem quod nuncios vestros pro premissis ad nos misissetis si consiliarii nostri nobiscum fuissent, vobis significamus quod numquam ita fuimus consilio destituti quin consilium nostrum at maiora et dificiliora dufficeret.'*—Stephenson, *Governance*, p. 7.
[111] *ibid*, p. 8.
[112] '*Et sciatis quod nullo modo possemus defender quod magnates terre nostre non facerent iudicium quod fecerunt.'*—Pryce, *Acts*, no. 261, p. 428.

expectations of the wider world of which thirteenth century Gwynedd was now a part. These are not the innovations of Llywelyn, but rather part of a greater European shift, into which Gwynedd's older governmental style found itself forced to adapt.

CHAPTER 7

THE CONSORT, JOAN: MORE THAN WIFE, LESS THAN PERFECT

Llywelyn's wife, Joan, illegitimate daughter of King John and sister of Henry III, does not escape historical records as some of her predecessors did. While Joan did not go down in history for actively campaigning on behalf of her son through warfare, as Matilda had done, nor in her own right as her grandmother Eleanor of Aquitaine had, her actions are nevertheless recorded in the historical records of both England and Wales. Her role at Llywelyn's court has been picked over in a variety of studies. Robin Chapman Stacy studied the comparative expectations of a Queen with Joan's role and the implied criticism by Welsh Jurists compiling legal codes now known as the 'Iorwerth' redaction.[1] She has been studied as an example of consort behaviour by Louise Wilkinson[2] and her infidelity has been picked apart, discussed, and considered in terms of Llywelyn's relationship with the Braose clan by J. J. Crump.[3]

Joan was the 'natural' or illegitimate daughter of John of England. In the spring of 1226 Joan applied to be declared legitimate by the church.[4] This application for legitimacy would not have been necessary had Joan been to date accepted as a legitimate daughter. Messer, in her study, notes that the Tewkesbury Annals claim one 'Queen Clemencia' as Joan's mother, but provides

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[1] Stacey, Robin Chapman, 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style,' *Speculum*, Vol 77, 2002, pp1107-1127.
[2] Wilkinson, Louise J., 'Joan, Wife of Llywelyn the Great,' *Thirteenth Century England* X, Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003, pp. 81-93.
[3] Crump, 'Repercussions', pp. 197-212, Lloyd also discusses Llywelyn's reaction to Joan's betrayal in his study of Llywelyn, Lloyd, *A History of Wales,* 670-71. However, it is interesting that Joan's infidelity and William's subsequent hanging is barely mentioned in Davies, who notes only that William's estates were divided between his daughters upon his execution, and that Llywelyn seized the opportunity created by the combined deaths of de Braose, Clare and Marshall. Davies, R.R.. *Age of Conquest,* pp. 248, 270.
[4] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 279, pp. 446-447.

no viable identification for Clemencia.[5] Wilkinson is more specific, pointing out that Joan is the 'only identified illegitimate daughter' of John and on this basis suggests that he took an interest in her welfare – in 1203 the Norman pipe roll recorded the expenses for a ship to carry 'the king's daughter' from Normandy to England.[6]

In 1204, Joan was betrothed to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. It appears this marriage was the brainchild of John, and not Llywelyn, who was in the process of arranging his own marriage to another princess, this one the daughter of the Manx King, Reginald. In fact, in April of 1203, Llywelyn secured papal approval for a marriage between himself and the Manx princess, who had been previously been betrothed to his uncle Rhodri.[7] Llywelyn's actions indicate that as of April 1203, a marriage-alliance with the daughter of the English King was not considered. However, in February of 1204, Pryce notes Llywelyn was not adverse to using Church doctrine for his own ends and that he had a volte-face with regards to his Manx bride, when he provided the papal court with four witnesses that testified to the consummation of the marriage between Rhodri and the Manx princess. This provided the prohibited degree of kinship between Llywelyn and the princess to void both the childhood betrothal and adult marriage, thereby freeing Llywelyn from the bond with Reginald's daughter.[8] This seems to indicate that Llywelyn, unsurprisingly, saw his marriage to the Manx princess as less politically significant than an alliance with the English King. That John instructed the sheriff

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[5] Messer, Dana, 'Medieval Monarchs, Female Illegitimacy and Modern Genealogical Matters: Part II: Joan of England, c. 1190-1236/7,' *Foundations for Medieval Genealogy*, Vol 1, 2004, pp. 294-298, p. 296.
[6] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 82.
[7] Pryce, *Native Law* p. 84-85.
[8] *ibid*, p. 85.

of Shropshire to hand over to Llywelyn 20 librates (that is to say, 20 pieces of land with value £1pa each) of land which 'we have given with our daughter' in October of 1204, suggests that a betrothal between Joan and Llywelyn had been finalised by this point.[9] Ellesmere, too, was handed to Llywelyn in March of 1205, with the royal charter that recorded the settlement written at Dover, 3 weeks later.[10] There is a bit of uncertainty as to the exact date of Joan's marriage to Llywelyn, with the Annals of Chester recording it in 1204 and the Worcester Chronicle as 1206.[11] However, in either case it is clear that by 1206, Llywelyn was married to King John's illegitimate daughter.

The marriage of Joan to Llywelyn proposed significant political advantages for both rulers. The alliance between the English crown and Venedotian household was not without precedents. In 1175, Llywelyn's uncle Dafydd had married Emma, the illegitimate sister of Henry II, in order to protect his lands against royal interference.[12] Although the Welsh texts are silent on the marriage of Joan and Llywelyn, it is certainly possible that Llywelyn had similar expectations of his own marriage. When considering the repudiated marriage to the Manx King's daughter and the attendant naval support, it is clear that Llywelyn was expecting not just Ellesmere, but also some sort of political or military concessions in exchange for his marriage to John's illegitimate daughter.

[9] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 83 & *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. 1, p. 12.
[10] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 83 & *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. 1, p. 23, and *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 147.
[11] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' 83. Also, '*Rex Johannes filiam suam Nocham Lewelino principi Wallie dedit et cum ea castellum de Hellesmer*.'—*Annales Cestrenses*, pp. 48-49. and '*Lewelinus desponsavid filiam regis post Ascensionem*.'—*Annales Monastici*, Henry Richards Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, Vol IV, London, Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1869, p. 394.
[12] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 164-165. The reason presented for the marriage is also stated in Peniarth 20.

However, Joan was more than a mere representation of the Anglo-Venedotian alliance; she appears repeatedly as an instrument, acting either for husband or father. After his disastrous losses to John in 1211, Llywelyn sent Joan as envoy to her father to negotiate Llywelyn's surrender.[13] It appears that Joan was trusted in this job not only by Llywelyn, but also by 'the leading men' upon whose council he sent his wife.[14] Wilkinson noted that the Worcester annalist confirmed Joan's role in Llywelyn's surrender and pointed out that Joan's position as Llywelyn's wife 'directly influenced' the terms of the resulting agreement.[15] Were Llewellyn to die without direct male heirs from Joan, then Llywelyn's lands would revert to the English Crown.[16] Wilkinson suggests that Joan's position as Llywelyn's wife 'directly influenced' this particular term of settlement, forcing Llywelyn to adopt the English (and canon law) style of recognising the claims of heirs born in wedlock before those claims of other, illegitimate, offspring, including Gruffudd.[17] She implies that this concession to the wider European inheritance practice, sanctioned by canon law, was a stipulation added because of Llywelyn's marriage to Joan and created the 'possibility that [Llywelyn's] lands might escheat to John on his death.'[18] However, the second part of the clause could be seen to weaken this argument. Llywelyn quitclaims to John all the land 'apart from the lands that it pleases him to give to my son and mine.'[19] This phrase implies that John would potentially return part, or all, of Gwynedd to Llywelyn's illegitimate son to hold as a gift of

[13] *ibid*, pp. 190-193.
[14] *ibid*, pp. 190-193.
[15] Wilkinson, 'Joan', p. 85.
[16] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 233, p. 387. For full text of Llywelyn's submission, see Appendix B.
[17] Wilkinson, 'Joan', p. 85-86.
[18] *ibid*, p. 86
[19] '*praeter terras quas ei placuerit dare eidem filio meo et meis*.' –Pryce, *Acts*, no. 233, p. 287.

the English Crown. Although the potentiality of Gruffudd's inheritance is limited directly by the lack of a direct heir by Joan's body, the generosity of the English Crown and the limitations of land held by direct 'gift' of the English Crown, it does not explicitly exclude Gruffudd from any prospect of ruling a client Gwynedd. This limits the eventuality of any of Joan's influence over the future of Gwynedd to a specific circumstance; that she has a son. Wilkinson is correct in assuming that part of this clause, wherein a son of Llywelyn and Joan—in effect, Dafydd—inherits his land directly from his father without reference to the English Crown was influenced by the position of Joan as both Llywelyn's wife and also as John's daughter, may not have existed had Llywelyn not married the daughter of the English King. But that is the extent of her involvement in this treaty. John's aims, however, were grander. It seems that with the 1211 submission of Llywelyn, John was providing for a more pliable ruler in the successive Venedotian generation than Llywelyn had proved to be. Either John would see a grandson of his own blood, reared by his daughter, in charge of North Wales, or alternatively, a youth who had grown to manhood as a hostage in England, holding a part of his patrimony solely by *gift* of the Crown.

As with Joan's involvement in Llywelyn's submission at Aber in 1211, Joan's letter to John a year later could have two possible interpretations. Just as John was preparing his newest invasion into Gwynedd, in order to subdue Llywelyn's revolt, John received two letters, both attesting to the fact that were he to invade Llywelyn's lands, his own barons would revolt against him. One of these came from Joan and contained 'secret' letters pertaining to the threat to

John.[20] Wilkinson is uncertain as to Joan's motives suggesting 'some sense of filial loyalty towards her father, even in the face of Anglo-Welsh conflict' but acknowledging despite this that the timing was critical for Anglo-Welsh affairs.[21] Joan's packet of letters, along with the supporting confirmation from William the Lion, the Scottish King, halted John's planned invasion of Gwynedd. This allowed Llywelyn to quickly reclaim the Perfeddwlad. Joan's actions—sending both warning, and supporting letters—could easily be construed as the work of a double agent. The problem with this type of interpretation is that there is little supporting evidence, beyond Wendover's report, that would support the idea of Joan as a spy. There are no further packets of letters sent to John or other reports that suggest John acted upon intelligence gathered by Joan, acting as a spy on her husband.

The obvious alternative is that Joan's package of letters was sent on Llywleyn's orders to scare off John's invasion. The problem with that concept is that Joan was not the only one reporting the rebellion of John's barons; William of Scotland provided independent confirmation of Joan's claim. There is nothing to suggest that Alexander colluded with Llywelyn in stopping John's invasion of Gwynedd. Further to that, it seems unlikely that Llywelyn would collude with rebellious barons against John, only to sell them out in an effort to keep John out of Gwynedd. When taking into consideration Llywelyn's continued alliance with the baronial revolt through 1218, it seems unlikely that he would have betrayed them at that early stage. This leaves Wilkinson's suggestion that Joan sent the

[20] These letters are only preserved as a reference in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*. p. 534. See Chapter 2, page 54, note 17.
[21] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 86.

letters in a fit of loyalty to her father, not as a spy or an agent of Llywelyn's, as the most plausible explanation.

Whatever the intentions of Joan in sending those letters to John in 1212, she appears repeatedly in the records petitioning her father on behalf of Llywelyn. There is evidence that it was Joan's petitions that secured the release of four Welsh hostages in December 1214, and a fifth in January of 1215.[22] It appears that even as the hostilities between John and Llywelyn grew and Llywelyn took steps to cement his alliance with the rebel barons, Joan was working on Llywelyn's behalf to protect those hostages still living which Llywelyn had surrendered against his compliance with John in 1211. In fact, Joan's actions in safe-guarding her father in 1212 may have increased her influence in getting the five hostages released. Further to that, it is clear that Joan was playing the daughter card well, as John expressly released Gwyn ab Iorwerth to 'our beloved daughter, Joan'.[23]

John's death in 1216 may have ended Joan's direct relationship with the English King, but it may not have ended her role as intermediary between Llywelyn and the English Crown. Wilkinson argued that in her role as mother, 'although there is no direct evidence for Joan's participation, it is likely she helped to safeguard her son's future' in 1220, by supporting an application to have Henry recognise his half-nephew, Dafydd, as heir to Gwynedd.[24] However, circumstances point to another interpretation of there being a lack of documentary evidence to Joan's role in the ascendancy of Dafydd. Wilkinson herself admits that Joan's position as an illegitimate half-sister to Henry carried less political

[22] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 86 and *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, pp. 125, 126.
[23] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium,* p. 126.
[24] Wilkinson, 'Joan', p. 87.

weight than Hubert de Burgh and the Earl of Pembroke, both of whom were enemies of Llywelyn. In fact, Joan was not entirely silent in these years. In February of 1220, Joan seems less concerned with the succession of her son to Gwynedd, as she is concerned that Henry is being misadvised as to the person of Hugh de Lusignan.[25] As further proof that Joan's intercessions held little weight in the minority government of Henry III, it was Llywelyn who appealed directly to Henry regarding his men in Stuckley, the manor Llywelyn held in free marriage from John.[26]

Although not a consideration at the time of her marriage to Llywelyn, Joan's illegitimacy presented an obstacle to Llywelyn's argument for choosing Dafydd as his heir over Gruffudd. As discussed previously, Llywelyn requested papal and English support and recognition of Dafydd on the grounds of his legitimacy in 1222.[27] At this point, Joan's illegitimacy may have become an issue. To support Dafydd's right to the Venedotian inheritance, sometime before April of 1226, Joan formally applied to Honorius III to be declared legitimate in the eyes of the church.[28] This was granted explicitly so that Joan's birth did not detract from the legitimacy of her husband and son. Wilkinson argued that this application on Joan's part was evidence of her fulfilling one of her more important roles according to medieval conventions.[29] Dana Messer has taken this argument further, suggesting that legitimisation would have strengthened Joan's

[25] Royal letters, Vol. I, 92. – This letter was written before Henry's mother, Isabella, wrote to her son in May of 1220, stating that she had married Hugh de Lusignan. For a full discussion of Isabella's marriage to Hugh see Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, pp. 193-194.
[26] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 249, p. 410.
[27] See above, chapter 2, p. 68, and also, Pryce, *Acts*, no. 253, pp. 414-415.
[28] Pryce, *Acts*, no, 279, p. 446.
[29] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 88.

ties to the English royal court and 'her family's position in royal society.'[30] This idea seems superfluous; by 1226 Joan had been acting as envoy between the Venedotian and English courts for over fifteen years. Furthermore, as noted above, Joan's wrote often to her brother Henry III on family matters as well as Welsh affairs.

Joan was, in fact, a regular visitor to the English court, and Wilkinson notes Henry seemed genuinely fond of his half-sister.[31] Joan was with Llywelyn and Dafydd at Shrewsbury in August of 1226, when Henry granted her a manor in Shropshire,[32] and in March of 1227 Henry exempted her manors from a tallage levy.[33] Wilkinson claims it was due to his 'high-regard' for Joan, that although reclaiming Rothley and Condover, Henry had undertaken conciliatory measures towards Joan during the Ceri campaign. He allowed Joan's officials to remove her beasts and chattels and had the sheriff of Shropshire return the corn Joan had wanted planted at Condover.[34] Wilkinson interprets Henry's actions regarding Joan's English manors as an inducement to aid his diplomatic overtures with Llywelyn.[35] Considering Henry's relationships with his Lusignan half-siblings,[36] this may have been Henry's approach to maintaining familial loyalty.

Joan continued to negotiate between Llywelyn and Henry, appearing more regularly in the records once Henry began to act on his own. In September of 1224, Henry issued a safe conduct to Joan, allowing her to visit him at

[30] Messer, 'Part II, Joan of England,' p. 297.
[31] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 89.
[32] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*. vol 1, p. 135.
[33] *Patent Rolls 1225-32*, p. 112.
[34] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 89.
[35] *ibid,* p. 89.
[36] Henry was heavily criticised for his patronage of his Lusignan half-brothers as well as his wife's Savoyard relations See Carpenter, *Henry III* for a full discussion.

Worcester.[37] Similarly, when the truce was concluded after the disastrous Ceri campaign of 1228, Joan was issued a safe-conduct to visit the King at Shrewsbury.[38] Wilkinson interprets this action by Henry as hopeful, suggesting that he saw Joan as his intermediary with Llywelyn.[39] However, Wilkinson also attributes Henry's pleasure in the results to Joan's actions alone, noting in regard to her visit to Shrewsbury that 'her efforts were rewarded with the return of Rothley in November.'[40] This seems a little over-simplified. While Joan may have been instrumental in serving as a go-between for Henry and Llywelyn, it is clear that both sides intended to conclude a truce, and Joan was not the sole ambassador for Llywelyn. In fact, the truce with Llywelyn had been concluded before Joan joined Henry at Shrewsbury at 1228. Furthermore, it took until September of 1229 for Llywelyn and Dafydd to formally perform homage to Henry, ending the conflict. Although Joan was in attendance at the English court with both her husband and son, she was not there as diplomatic envoy, but rather as consort and sister.[41] This is not to suggest that Joan's status as wife of Llywelyn and her presence at Henry's court did not act to persuade her brother into being more favourably inclined towards Llywelyn; merely, it is an overestimate of Joan's role as diplomat that her influence concluded treaties both men clearly sought.

In 1230, Joan's affair with William de Braose undermined her position in the Welsh court. Wilkinson argues that Joan's twenty-five year actions as 'capable consort' to Llywelyn, a woman who produced the needed male heir,

[37] *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum.* p. 644.
[38] Shirley, *Letters,* p. 334.
[39] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 89.
[40] *ibid,* p. 89.
[41] *Patent Rolls, 1225-1232,* p. 263.

secured her son's future as heir to Llywelyn, and acted as envoy between the English and Welsh worlds in which she moved, made her adultery 'shocking'.[42] As discussed previously,[43] Joan was found in her bedchamber with William de Braose on Easter day, 1230. William was hanged within a few weeks, and Joan confined. Wilkinson viewed Llywelyn's reaction to his wife's infidelity as 'extreme' while simultaneously noting that adultery was ranked alongside apostasy, heresy, and excessive cruelty as grounds for ending marriages under canon law, and Welsh laws were similarly harsh for infidelity by wives.[44] Kate Norgate did not describe Llywelyn's actions in quite such strong language, instead suggesting Llywelyn encouraged Joan's infidelity, in order to rid himself of William de Braose.[45] As this interpretation is gathered from the Margam Abbey chronicle, which stated that Llywelyn only 'suspected' Joan and William because of a long-standing dispute between William's grandparents and the native Welsh, and Wilkinson noted Margam was heavily patronised by the de Braoses,[46] this seems unlikely. Furthermore, J.J. Crump's studies disagree, presenting a cogent argument against the idea, pointing to the difficulties that Llywelyn faced in the aftermath of the de Braose execution.[47] As discussed previously, Llywelyn's plans for a marriage between Dafydd and de Braose's daughter, Isabelle, and subsequent expansion of his influence in southern Wales were endangered by Joan's infidelity and William's subsequent execution.[48]

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[42]Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 89.
[43] See above, chapter 3, pp. 81-83.
[44] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 90.
[45] Norgate, Kate, 'Joan, Joanna, Anna, or Janet,' *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 10, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 825.
[46] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 91.
[47] Crump, 'The Ramifications of the Execution of William de Braose,' p. 206-210.
[48] Again, see chapter 3, pp. 85-86.

More interesting is how Joan is perceived in the chronicles. Wilkinson suggests that the chroniclers were 'neutral' in tone when it came to relating the adultery itself, and points out that the annalists were more concerned with the actions of the 'male protagonists' to record much about Joan.[49] However, *Brut* is generally minimalist with respect to details, so the fact-based accounts of Joan's adultery cited by Wilkinson from Peniarth and the Red Book, are not dissimilar from the rest of these annals. More importantly, Wilkinson noted that the Chester annalist referred to Joan as 'the woman'[50] interpreting this failure to name Joan as part of the annalists preoccupation with the actions of William and Llywelyn rather than Joan. There are two other possible interpretations of this refusal to name Joan. The first is that the chronicler's disgust with Joan's actions was so powerful that he referred to Joan only as 'the woman' as a form of censure. The second possible interpretation is that the Earl of Chester pressured the annalist not to name Joan in order to protect his wife, Joan's daughter, from being shamed by her mother's actions. However, it would have been impossible for the Earl to prevent Joan's name from being associated with her actions, and given that neither Llywelyn nor Henry sought to stop Joan from being associated with her actions to protect either Dafydd, or any of her daughters, this seems unlikely.

Joan's infidelity had the potential to cast serious doubts upon the legitimacy of Dafydd. Having advanced Dafydd's claim over Gruffudd's on the basis of his status as Llywelyn's sole legitimate son, and furthering the position with the application for Joan to be declared legitimate, the knowledge that Joan had committed adultery could have seriously weakened Dafydd's status as son

[49] Wilkinson, 'Joan', p. 90-91.
[50] '*Item Willemus de Breus inculpates est a Lewelino principe Wallie de uxore sua, et suspenditur, Et mulier carcerata custodia diu*.'—*Annales Castriensis*, pp. 56-57, and Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 91.

and heir to Llywelyn. Wilkinson states categorically that this 'was simply not allowed' to be a problem for Dafydd's future.[51]

Despite the troubles brought upon Llywelyn by Joan's actions, and the censure she undoubtedly received, Joan was back at Llywelyn's court by 1231.[52] Wilkinson suggests several possible options for Llywelyn's reconciliation with his wife, including the 'strength' of their earlier relationship, his need of her 'talents as mediator' in 1231-1232, and possibly intercessions on the part of Henry.[53] She does not suggest the possibility of a Welsh repugnance towards divorce. In a persuasive article on divorce in medieval Welsh law, Robin Chapman Stacey suggests that the long list of items partitioned during a divorce in the Iorwerth redaction, was in fact, 'a homily on the evils of divorce.'[54] Stacey points out that many of the items were divided in such a way as to render them useless to either recipient, such as the top and bottom of the quern, the coulter and ploughshare, and the coarse and fine sieves.[55] Furthermore, he notes that the passage on division of movable goods in the event of divorce was moved to a more prominent place in the text.[56] He suggests that the Iorwerth compiler was commenting specifically upon the separation of Llywelyn and Joan, by implying divorce was 'a purveyor of infertility'[57] and points out that the redactor has 'deliberately extended the material...to make his point on the futility of divorce as strong as he could.'[58] If the Iorwerth compiler was echoing the consensus of the Welsh, this

[51] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 93.
[52] '*Lewelinus princeps Walye receipt uxorem suam filiam Johannis Regis quam antea incarceravit.'—Annales Cestienses*, pp. 56-57.
[53] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 92.
[54] Stacey, 'Divorce, Medieval Welsh Style,' p. 1124.
[55] *ibid*, p. 1115.
[56] *ibid*, p. 1111.
[57] *ibid*, p. 1125.
[58] *ibid*, p. 1122.

indicates Llywelyn may have felt pressure, not from Joan's family, but from his own people, to take her back.

This is interesting, especially in light of how the compiler viewed Joan's role in Llywelyn's court. In a separate article, Stacey argues persuasively that the Iorwerth version of the 'laws of court' carefully redefines the Queen's role in the court to criticise Joan's role in Llywelyn's.[59] In Iorwerth, 'the Queen' is entitled to eight officers,[60] the steward,[61] the priest,[62] the chief groom,[63] the chamberlain,[64] the handmaid,[65] the doorkeeper,[66] the cook[67] and the candleman.[68] This is up from the original four, and includes three that are entirely new, and represents her increase in status in the royal household.[69] Stacey suggests this increase in household officials may suggest that Joan frequently maintained a separate household from Llywelyn,[70] but it could also have evolved either during Joan's estrangement from Llywelyn in 1231 or from individuals she brought with her from England in 1205. However, the authority of the Queen and her officers in Iorwerth were limited to an extent not found elsewhere. For example, in Iorwerth, the Queen's steward can only protect an offender while he escorts the man as far as the king's steward, whose protection is far further reaching.[71] Stacey notes that this limitation is not present in the Latin codes or the Cyfnerth or Blegywryd

[59] Stacey, Robin Chapman, 'King, Queen and *Edling* in the Laws of Court,' *The Welsh King and his Court,* eds. T. M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen, Paul Russell, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000, 60-62.
[60] *Llyfr Iorweth,* §22, p.15.
[61] *ibid,* §22, p. 15.
[62] *ibid,* §23, p. 15.
[63] *ibid,* §24, p. 16.
[64] *ibid,* §25, p. 16.
[65] *ibid,* §26, p. 16.
[66] *ibid,* §27, p. 17.
[67] *ibid,* §28, p. 17.
[68] *ibid,* §28, p. 17.
[69] Stacey, 'King, Queen, and *Edling,*' p. 55.
[70] *ibid,* p. 55.
[71] *Llyfr Iorwerth,* §22, p15.

redactions.[72] Furthermore, she points out that in Iorwerth, the queen is synonymous with the chamber, whereas the king is linked with the court and household, and that this comparison creates a difference between the 'political' court and the 'domestic' chamber.[73] Although Stacey acknowledges that a separate chamber envisioned for the queen seems to mirror the continental and Anglo-Norman royal arrangements that developed in the thirteenth century, with queens holding separate households and chambers from their kings, he points out that in Iorwerth, this arrangement is carried to the extreme. In fact, Joan's recurring role as mediator and envoy places her so securely in the King's politicised court of the Iorwerth redaction, that the compiler's representation of the queen as separate, domestic, non-political, with limited power almost feels like a parody. Stacey argues that in reality, the Iorwerth queen represents a specific criticism of Joan's politicised role, either a dislike or distrust of Joan as an individual, or her actions on behalf of Llywelyn.[74]

If the Iorwerth redaction of the Welsh lawcodes did explicitly react to Joan's role and actions as Llywelyn's consort and wayward wife, and the commentaries on divorce and the limitation on the role of the 'queen' in the Venedotian court are a direct reaction to Joan's role at Llywelyn's court, then it is worth noting that Joan's role did not change after her infidelity. Sometime after her incarceration, Joan wrote to Henry in order to dispel the discord that had been fostered between himself and her husband.[75] Assuring him of Llywelyn's sincere affection for him, Joan warns against those who are fostering the discord and

[72] Stacey, 'King, Queen, and *Edling*,' p. 56.
[73] *ibid*, p. 58-59.
[74] *ibid*, p. 61-62.
[75] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 280, p. 447. See chapter 5 for a full account of the dating of this text.

requests that Henry trust Joan's clerk, Instructus.[76] Instructus is acting as Joan's envoy in this occasion, rather than Joan herself, but it is clear that, despite her infidelity, Joan is still acting on behalf of her husband as a mediator in Anglo-Welsh disputes. More importantly, this supports Wilkinson's suggestion that Llywelyn still needed Joan as an intermediary between himself and Henry, and that this may have been one consideration in his decision to reinstate Joan's position within his court.[77]

Joan clearly held an important position in Llywelyn's court. The daughter of an English king, she may not have brought Llywelyn the protection against royal interference that Dafydd ap Owain had expected from Emma, but she did prove a very useful consort for Llywelyn. As his wife, Joan provided Llywelyn with an heir, served as intermediary and envoy to the royal court, negotiated a surrender and even prevented a potentially ruinous punitive invasion. Her actions may not have always been popular with the Welsh, and her role as consort may have been criticised, but it is clear that Joan was not relegated to the background. Joan died in 1237 and Llywelyn founded a Franciscan friary in her name at Llanfaes.[78] Not every action Joan undertook can be perfectly interpreted as supporting Llywelyn and in fact, some of her actions were direct threats to his plans. However, she was still revered by Llywelyn upon her death.

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[76] '*Super quo non minus doleo propter vos quam propter dominum meum, presertim cum sciam quam sincerum affectum habebat et adhuc habet dominus meus egra vos, et quam inutile sit nobis et periscolum, salva reverential vestra, verso amicos amittere et iminicos proe amicis habere. ... Ad hec sciatic, domine, quod iniustissime suggerunt vobis nonnulli suspicionem habere de Inst(ru)cto et vestro et domini mei cleric, quo non credo vos posse habere in Angl(ia) vobis fideliorem clericum, sic me dues adiuvet; nec ideo minus fidelis est vobis, si fideliter agit negocia domini sui, quia eodem modo se habet in agendis vestries coram domino suo; nec vos nec aliquis in ipso poset confidere, si domini sui tepide vel negligenter negocia tracteret.'— ibid,* no. 280, p, 447.
[77] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 92.
[78] *Brut: RBH,* pp. 234-235.

CHAPTER 8

THE MYTH IN THE MAN

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth has perhaps not reached the fame of his grandson, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in popular contemporary culture, but Llywelyn is still 'The Great.' When speaking of the native Welsh hero, he is revered for uniting Wales against the forces of English invasion. From David Moore to J. E. Lloyd, to Roger Turvey, historians interpret Llywelyn's successes with the authority of certainty. Llywelyn's mistakes were mere stepping-stones to his successes; the learning curve foreshortened in the creation of a Welsh hero. Unfortunately, this is the fate of many successful leaders whose achievements gain the veneration of their nation and is, to some extent, understandable. The historian is asked to divorce modern nationalism and patriotism from his research, to interpret the known events and what remains of the supporting evidence in an unbiased manner. It is because historians need to interpret rather than merely report, creating a more complete picture of events, that one can find evidence of national partiality, particularly where pride exists.

This nationalism, a modern construct, when applied to the medieval world seems immediately absurd and it is dismissed. Historians do not acknowledge it; they look at Llywelyn within the construct of thirteenth-century Europe. Llywelyn is studied in relation to his affairs with England, with his fellow Welsh rulers, with the church, and with constructs of strong personal rulers. Yet, if the average Welshman is asked about Llywelyn Mawr, they say that Llywelyn fought for Wales. Llywelyn was a Welsh prince. He wanted an independent Wales.

How was this Welsh hero created and perpetuated? Where does the myth stem from, and what effect, if any, does it have on the historiography of Llywelyn?

It is the 'Poets of the Princes', the twelfth to thirteenth century court poets that first elegise and elevate Llywelyn to the role of hero. The Welsh lawcodes state that the *bardd teulu*[1] must sing five poems, one to God, one to the 'King', and then after an intermission by the *pencerdd*, a further three 'of some other kind.'[2] The other main court poet, the *pencerdd*—chief of song—was not one of the king's officers as the *Bardd teulu* was, but was one of the most respected bards of the kings court. The two posts were virtually indistinguishable by the 12th century, if they ever were in fact separate, and many of the court poets from Cynddelw Prydydd Mawr and his successors in the princely court of Gwynedd sang as both poets as the occasion required.[3]

The poet Llywarch ap Llywelyn, was one of the many *beirdd* who served Llywelyn as a court poet. Llywarch wrote mostly *awdlau* to Llywelyn. *Awdl* is roughly translated as 'ode'. It is meant to be confined to lines of 8 to 9 syllables in a mono rhyme sequence, although the poet can alter the position of the main rhyme or insert an internal rhyme into the sequence. The *awdlau* of Llywarch sing the praises of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Prince of Aberffraw.

Llywarch was a political poet, serving a political and diplomatic prince, when he worked for Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Hurlock notes that it was well within the rights of the poets to criticise the princes and to advise them on conduct.[4]

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[1] the poet of the household or poet of the warband

[2] '*Pan venher canu kerd, e bar kaderyavc a decrau; e kentaf o Duv, a' eil o'r brenhyn byeyffo e llys... Guedy e ard cadeyravc e bard teylu byeu canu tri chanu o kerd amgen'—Llyfr Iorwerth,* §13, p. 10.

[3] Jenkins, Dafydd, 'Bardd Teulu and Pencerdd,' in *Welsh King and his Court,* pp. 142-166, p. 163.

[4] Hurlock, 'Counselling the Prince,' p. 24.

Llywarch's poetry is certainly not removed from politics. However, he is remarkably one-sided about every political triangle Llywelyn faced. Emulating the ideal forged in the poetry of Llywarch's predecessors, the *Cynfeirdd*,[5] Llywarch perceived the actions of the Welsh, and particularly the Vendotian leaders, as justifiable, no matter the cause. His poetry decries the actions of England and the English crown, and praises Llywelyn for actions towards England which would have ensured derision had he acted that way against someone else. Llywarch wrote: 'Llywelyn's assault, renowned helm of Britain / Pledge to England he spurns / Thousand bards' patron, praise-anointed / Ferocious, he makes for the field'[6] Llywarch, here, praises Llywelyn for breaking faith with John after 1211.

Among the qualities credited to Llywelyn by Llywarch was generosity.[7] Llywelyn was also gracious, merciful, fearless, valiant and fearsome in pursuit.[8] These qualities are not unique to Llywelyn, appearing elsewhere in descriptions of other rulers by both Llywarch and other *gogynfeirdd*. However, Llywarch also praises Llywelyn's looks.[9] Moreover, the term '*pryd'* refers specifically to the appearance of a person; here Llywelyn's beauty means his looks. This is the first evidence that Llywelyn was considered a 'beautiful' or handsome man. However, there are far more references to Llywelyn's battle prowess, and his skills as a warrior and commander than to his being handsome. Llywelyn is the first among

[5] Early Poets – c. Ninth to eleventh century.
[6] Tremyn Llywelyn, llyw ryddyrch—Prydain / Pryd i Loegr ei dissyrch, / Milfeirdd glydwr, glod Neintyrch, / Moes terwn, maes twr a gyrch--*Gwaith Llywarch ap Llywelyn 'Prydydd Y Moch'.* Ed.Elin M. Jones, and Nerys Ann Jones, in *Cyfres Beirdd y Tywysogyon* Vol 5. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymry, 1991. No. 20, Lines 29-34, p. 189.
[7] 'Hyddn Lyerlyn, hydolawg—I feirdd'—*Llywarch*, no 20, line 9, p. 189.
[8] 'Gwrhydri Benlli, ban llocher—ys gwlyd,/Is gwledig cymynner,/Ys gwrdd yni'I gorddiner,/Ys gorddrud ffwyr ddylud ffer.'—*ibid*, no. 20, lines 21-24, p. 198.
[9] Draig Brydain ei bryd a'i nerth/A'I deall guall gannerth'—*ibid*, No 17, lines 35-36, p. 164.

many, the great leader of the Venedotian people.[10] Similarly, Llywarch references Llywelyn's title as prince of Aberffraw.[11] This reference to the title Llywelyn adopts around 1230[12] is intriguing, as Llywarch's death in 1220 means it predates the stylistic titular change in Llywelyn's *acta*. It is perhaps even possible that Llywarch is setting the stage for Llywelyn's new title. The idea of a chief leader, common throughout his poetry and the term is used quite frequently. There are also references to the mythic king Arthur, whom Llywarch compared to Llywelyn.[13] The Welsh embraced the mythic Arthur as their own and he appears among the Welsh legends as one of the great leaders. Here, the comparison of the mythic king who fended off the Saxons and was the chief leader of the Britons in their battle against the Saxons is clearly stated. Llywarch sees Llywelyn as another Arthur leading the Vendotian people to battle against the evil English. This image of Llywelyn appears to permeate modern interpretations of the prince, and his life. This is partly because the poets and their elegiac poetry, fuelling the image of a heroic Llywelyn, have been used by historians as sources. But these are not the only places where the story of Llywelyn's greatness has survived in popular memory.

Gelert was, according to the Welsh myth, Llywelyn's 'faithful hound'. Although the tale differs slightly in each re-telling, the crux is the same. A 'faithful hound' guarding a sleeping child, is discovered beneath the overturned cot, blood round its mouth, and then is slain by the angry father. The child is then discovered un-harmed, a dead wolf nearby. The story of why Gelert was with the

[10] pendragon, draig un ddengmlwydd' *ibid*, no. 17, line 31, p. 164.
[11] 'Llywelyn, o liwiaw—gwendorf, / Gwyndeyrn Aberffraw' --*ibid* no. 17, 45-46, p. 165.
[12] See above, chapter 3,(pp. 91-100) for a discussion of Llywelyn's titular changes
[13] Hy byddai Arthur, eirthiaw hyn—a'I lu, / Eilyw oedd o'I gylchyn, / Milwr gwlydd milwr gryd gryn, / Mal ydd wyt heddiw, hyddyn. –*Llywarch*, no. 20, lines 5-9, p. 189.

child depends on the edition of the tale. In Siân Lewis's adaption of Elena Morus's children's tale, Gelert stays behind to watch over Llywelyn's son on orders from his master.[14] Borrow, similarly records that Llywelyn left 'his infant son in a cradle, in his tent, under the care of his hound Gelert, after giving the child his fill of goats milk.'[15] But the poet William Robert Spencer, wrote that he simply fails to accompany his master on his hunting trip.[16]

This legend, carved in stone, stands as fact in the small Snowdonian hamlet of Beddgelert, where they claim that Llywelyn named their town after his faithful hound. However, Michael Senior notes that it was not always the lure used in guidebooks. In 1778, Thomas Pennant described both the church and monastic history of the settlement at Beddgelert, but mentions nothing in his *Tours in Wales* about Gelert, the hound, or his grave.[17] When edited and re-published by John Rhys, the Jesus Professor of Celtic at Oxford, in 1810, Rhys notes only the improvement to the houses of the area, and nothing of a tale of a prince and a dog.[18] In fact, the first mention of the hound in a guidebook is in Borrow's tale of his travels in Wales, where he devotes a chapter to the town and legend of Gelert.[19] Using David Erwyd Jenkin's book *Bedd Gelert, Its Facts, Fairies and Folklore,* forwarded by John Rhys, Senior notes that Thomas Jones of Bryntirion, founded the Bedd Gelert Hotel to replace the less savoury accommodation already available in the town to travellers drawn from nearby

[14] Morus, Elena and Siân Lewis, *Stories from Wales: Gelert*, Llanrwst, Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 1997, p. 6.
[15] Borrow, George Henry, *Wild Wales: it's people, language and scenery*, Vol. II, London, John Murray, 1862, p. 147.
[16] Spencer, *Beth-Gelert, or the Grave of the Greyhound,* York, 1815.
[17] Senior, Michael, *Faithful Hound: Beddgelert and the truth about it's legend,* Llanrwst, Llygad Gwalch, 2009, pp. 17-18.
[18] *ibid,* pp. 18-19.
[19] *ibid,* p. 26. Borrow, *Wild Wales*, 'Chapter XIV', pp. 147-149.

Carmarthen.[20] The name Gelert, for the hound, and the story's placement at Beddgelert appears to have been the addition of David Prichard from South Wales, the tenant-manager of the Bedd Gelert Hotel[21] in 1802.[22] Although the cairn of stones marking the grave is regularly visited by tourists, it does not date from the medieval period, but rather, in 1861, William Jones recorded that it had been placed there by Prichard and Richard Edwards, the parish clerk.[23] Furthermore, that the tale had been imported, wholesale, from elsewhere in Wales.[24] The myth seems to have exploded quickly in popularity; certainly, by 1811William Robert Spencer made it the subject of his rather famous ballad, 'Beth Gellert'.[25] But as a mythological tale, is not that distinct from the similar tales focusing on the rash actions of scared parents when their beloved pets save a child. Senior notes its similarity to 'Kalilah wa Dimnah' from the Pancatantra of Indian legend.[26] In that case, it is a Brahmin who beats to death a mongoose who killed a cobra who threatened the life of the Brahmin's son. He points that the tale was translated into Latin between 1263 and 1278 – and printed for the first time in 1480. He noted the English translation by Thomas North dated to 1570, and also points to the Welsh version of the tale contained in 'Chwedlau Saith Doethion Rhufain' in the Red Book of Hergest,[27] a late fourteenth century compilation that includes not only historical chronicles, such as *Brut*, but also tales such as *The Dream of Rhonabwy* and the four branches of the Mabinogion.

[20] *ibid*, pp. 30-31.
[21] Later the 'Royal Goat' after the Bryntirion family coat of arms, a goat climbing among mountains and the visit of Prince Arthur in the 1870s.–*ibid*, pp. 30-31.
[22] *ibid*, p. 31.
[23] *ibid*, p. 32.
[24] *ibid*, p. 34.
[25] First published 11 August, 1800 at Dolmelynllyn (Dolgellau).–*ibid*, p. 36.
[26] *ibid*, pp. 42-43.
[27] Jesus MS 111 127v, (column 527) – 134v (column 555).

In the RBH version, it is a knight who, at the insistence of the child's mother, slays the hound that had saved the child from a serpent.[28] In France, 'Guinefort' was the dog who saved a baby from a snake while his father, the knight, was out hunting. Although never officially canonised by the Church, the local cult of Saint Guinefort, has been venerated near Lyon since the 13th century.[29] The attribution of Gelert as the hound, Llywelyn as the knight and Beddgelert as the place, are much later editions of an older tale, but ones that indicate his importance in the national psyche.

The reality of Beddgelert is perhaps more striking. Gerald of Wales mentions it as the 'Mirror of the Church,' an order of Culdees at Snowdon.[30] Moreover, Llywelyn made a grant to Beddgelert priory,[31] pointing to the establishment of the community, and the name, long before Prichard associated the tale with the place. Senior points to the foundation of the religious community here for the creation of the place-name, *Beddgelert.* He argues that Celer (not Celert)[32] was the foundation 'saint' of the local religious community and that 'somewhere here is [his] grave.'[33] Celer was a local Welsh saint in Carmarthenshire, and two Churches dedicated to St. Celer exist. One at Llangeler, east of Newcastle Emlyn,[34] and a second chapel dedicated to the saint in Llandysul. In fact, St. Mary's Church at Beddgelert shows evidence of being

[28] *ibid,* 128v (Col 530) line 38, 129r, (Col 532) line 18.
[29] Senior, *Faithful Hound,* p. 44.
[30] *ibid,* p. 59.
[31] Pryce, *Acts,* p. 347.
[32] Bartrum argued 'Celert' was a 'back-formation' from Beddgelert, and could not have been 'genuinely Welsh' because of the 'rt' combination. Instead, he suggested the name Celert came from the English 'Kill-hart' linking it to the 'faithful hound' legend, but once again, when considering the age of the priory in Beddgelert, this seems unlikely.—Bartrum, Peter C. *A Welsh Classical Dictionary,* Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1993, pp. 118.
[33] Senior, *Faithful Hound,* p. 63.
[34] Bartrum, *Welsh Classical Dictionary,* p. 118.

part of a major priory, with work around the west door of the church dating from 1220-1240 and further archaeological evidence from excavations in the mid 19th century shows grave coins dating from the reign of Henry III.[35] While Llywelyn founded a Franciscan house at Llanfaes for his wife upon her death, it seems unlikely that he would have founded a priory for his hound, regardless of how faithful!

One certainty is that Llywelyn and his faithful hound have been useful for the tourism of Beddgelert, and Wales in general. Despite the age of the original tale, the fact that Llywelyn had been co-opted into the role of mistaken-avenger by the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries illustrates the growth of his position as a Welsh national hero.

Barrow's book—with Gelert's legend contained within—increased nineteenth-century English awareness of Wales as a separate nation.[36] This is just one small aspect of a larger movement. Although mainly centred around Presbyterian nonconformity, the appearance of Welsh Language newspapers, such as *Y Diwygiwr,* and *Yr Amserau* point to the movement's gathering strength. Morgan pointed out that although political nationalism had been ephemeral, the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, the development of the University of Wales and the revival of Welsh language and literature, lead to a surge of Welsh scholars.[37] It is against this backdrop that Lloyd wrote his History of Wales from the Earliest Times. Published in 1911, it is not surprising that Lloyd sought to tell a narrative of a continuous history of strong, independent Welshmen. In doing

[35] Senior, *Faithful Hound*, pp. 63-65.
[36] Morgan, K. O, 'Radicalism and Nationalism,' in A. J. Roderick, ed., *Wales through the Ages,* Vol. II, Aberystwyth, Christopher Davies, 1960, pp193-200, p194.
[37] *ibid,* p. 199.

this he interpreted Llywelyn's successes, and his wider hegemony in the best possible light, whilst downplaying his failures.

Nor was Lloyd alone, Philip Jenkins noted that the need to interpret Welsh history in terms of its greatest heroes continued to the point that it forms the structure of the GCSE course in Welsh schools.[38] Unfortunately, this has set the tone for future Welsh historians. Turvey's recent monograph on Llywelyn echoes Lloyd heavily. Focusing primarily upon Llywelyn's achievements and minimising his failings, his work borders upon hero-worship rather than historical debate. Davies is generous when considering the aftermath of Llywelyn's death. Moreover, the fact that Llywelyn's career is one of the most heavily studied in medieval Welsh history belies the complex nature of Llywelyn's career. The pick-and-mix nature of scholarly articles as allowed historians to study the highlights of Llywelyn's rule. There are some exceptions to this; Insley's study of Llywelyn's early years is an exception to this. His close look at the 1190s acknowledges not only the problematic nature of the sources and its limitations in creating an accurate picture of Llywelyn's actions, but also the limits to Llywelyn actual power in Wales during this time.[39] Walker's frank discussion of Hubert de Burgh's career in Wales is far less laudatory towards Llywelyn.[40] That is not to suggest that historians have actively shied away from addressing the more dispiriting aspects of Llywelyn's rule, but rather that the complexities of his less successful periods are lost often lost in the detail of focused articles.

The problem with this lies in Llywelyn's popularity as a Welsh national hero. The national consciousness that gave rise to Llywelyn being attributed with

[38] Jenkins, Philip, *A History of Modern Wales, 1536-1990*, London, Longman, 1992.
[39] Insley 'Wilderness years,' pp. 163-173.'
[40] Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh and Wales,' pp. 465-494.

the Gelert still has an effect on the general population. Recently, Llywelyn's reputation as a Welsh hero has been illustrated in his role as a central character of not one, but three separate novels of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Probably the best known[41] of these is Sharon Kay Penman's *Here be Dragons*,[42] a historical fiction romance focusing primarily upon the life and relationships of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, Joan and King John. First published in 1985, it is primarily a romance centring upon 'Joanna' and Llywelyn, but attempts to put their lives and love in the wider context of the Anglo-Norman world. Llywelyn comes across as larger than life, a highly successful monarch, intelligent and insightful, and committed to the cause of Welsh independence. Although the characters in the book attribute Llywelyn's successes to luck, it is clear that Llywelyn is master of his own destiny, and a skilful one at that.[43] In Penman's

[41] Currently, the bestseller of the three novels on the international internet bookseller Amazon; it is ranked 92,135th, compared to 167,325th for *The Heaven Tree* and 7,732,684th for the disastrous *Ascent of an Eagle* in the USA and in the UK the ratings are similar: 11,936, 344,289, 1,318,781 respectively. –http://www.amazon.com/Here-Dragons-Sharon-Kay-Penman/dp/0312382456/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1303973822&sr=8-1, http://www.amazon.com/Heaven-Trilogy-Green-Branch-Scarlet/dp/0446517089/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1303973893&sr=1-1, http://www.amazon.com/Ascent-Eagle-Gaius-Demetrius/dp/1424119987/ref=sr_1_3?ie=UTF8&qid=1303974043&sr=1-3-spell, http://www.amazon.co.uk/Here-be-Dragons-Sharon-Penman/dp/0140133402/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1303973552&sr=8-1; http://www.amazon.co.uk/Heaven-Tree-heaven-tree-trilogy/dp/0751504734/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1303973656&sr=1-1; http://www.amazon.co.uk/Ascent-Eagle-Gaius-Demetrius/dp/1424119987/ref=sr_1_3?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1303973738&sr=1-3. Rankings correct as of 28 April 2011.

[42] Sharon Kay Penman, *Here be Dragons*, New York, Ballantine Books, 1993.

[43] 'There are men who be born lucky. All their lives, fortune does favor them, does play the whore for them. My brother Richard was one, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is another. And he is clever enough, ambitious enough and ruthless enough to one day rule all of Wales if he is not reigned in.'—Penman, *Dragons*, 179.

book, Llywelyn manages to outwit John at his surrender in 1211. Insulting the king and surviving, Llywelyn admits only his submission to superior forces.[44]

Penman is careful with the details, admitting to a 'factual liberty' in placing Llywelyn's capture of Mild to April rather than January of 1199 and even cites the use of Bartrum's *Welsh Genealogies* for both the additional third son and the brother of Llywelyn she adds to round out her characters.[45]

However, in creating Llywelyn the hero, she clearly relies heavily on Lloyd for her interpretations of his successes. Lloyd remarked that Llywelyn's 'power began to be felt' in 1199 with the capture of Mold Castle, comparing it to Owain Fawr's similar glory. Penman echoes this, when she gives Llywelyn voice: 'My grandfather took Mold Castle, too, Rhys. The garrison held out for three months before yielding, and he later said it was his sweetest victory ever.'[46] Penman's Llywelyn is remarkably astute and insightful throughout. Although she introduces him as a ten-year old boy, these qualities are consistent throughout his life in her book. This echoes Lloyd's constant admiration of Llywelyn's actions, even in his early years.[47] In fact, in Penman's *Dragons' Lair,* a less factually based historical mystery set in 1193, under Dafydd ab Owain's rule in Gwynedd, Llywelyn, the rebel, appears as a main protagonist, remarkably sure of himself and astute in his interpretations of events.[48] Moreover, her main character

[44] 'I submit myself unto the King's will...Would it not make more sense to speak of hard, irrefutable facts, of power? You've won. I admit your victory, acknowledge your authority as my King and liege lord.'—*ibid,* p. 342.
[45] *ibid*, p. 702.
[46] *ibid,* p. 109.
[47] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, p. 587-590; See also refuting arguments, above in Chapter 1.
[48] Penman, *Dragon's Lair,* London, Penguin Books, 2005, pp. 87-97, 218-224, 256-2635, 267-276, 295.

respects Llywelyn because he is both clever and lucky, which would be 'good for Wales' but not so for England.'[49]

Penman's Llywelyn is definitively a *Welsh* nationalist. It is Wales that Llywelyn seeks to see, free of English influence or interference.[50] Llywelyn expressly states this early on, 'My people ... speak to the difficulties of dwelling in England's shadow.'[51] However, Penman's Welsh nationalist interpretation of Llywelyn does not always echo Lloyd. When King John arranged the marriage of Joan with Llywelyn, Lloyd praised the fact Llywelyn had forged a 'close tie with the king' and pointed towards the marriage between Emma and Dafydd ap Owain as evidence the marriage 'proved of very great service.'[52] Penman recounts the marriage alliance in John's words, 'This marriage...is the answer to so much... It was an inspired solution to the Welsh problem. I do...secure a border for England, all for the price of one castle and a wedding wing. Rarely has a war been so cheaply won...'[53] In Penman's version, Llywelyn also gains a promise from John that he will not interfere when Llywelyn attacks Gwenwynwyn,[54] adds that Llywelyn 'would have been utterly mad... to refuse.'[55] Historians have only speculated on the possible aims both parties had for the marriage alliances, and certainly, none have gone so far as to suggest that Joan's marriage to Llywelyn

[49] *ibid,* p. 295.
[50] 'They [Swansea, Pembroke, Fishguard, Tenby] are towns on Welsh soil, but no Welshman may become a citizen, or bear aroms whilst in the town, or sit on a juryt in a lawsuit between a Norman and one of Welsh blood. The wesh... are intruders in their own land.'--Penman, *Dragons,* p. 359, also p. 207.
[51] *ibid,* p. 137
[52] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* p. 616.
[53] Penman, *Dragons,* p. 178.
[54] *ibid,* p. 207.
[55] *ibid,* p. 201.

prevented a war, but it is likely Llywelyn was gaining military advantages from this marriage.[56]

Penman has created, in 'Joanna', a character that vastly resembles Wilkinson's interpretation. Joanna is torn, trapped between her father and Llywelyn, and sends the 1212 packet to John to both save her father and protect her husband.[57] Similarly, Joanna's reconciliation with Llywelyn after the 1230 affair echoes Wilkinson's suggestion of the strength of their previous relationship.[58] However, Penman's Joanna serves less of an envoy, only once truly negotiating on behalf of Llywelyn, in 1211, when she begs for Llywelyn's life and the security of Gwynedd for her son.[59] The rest of the time, Joanna is less of a political figure, bemoaning the fact that to Llywelyn, Wales will always come first.[60]

Penman's novel is popular and has been reprinted at least once a decade since the original publication, both in the UK and the United States, where the author lives.[61] Her Llywelyn is believable, and constantly presented as a Welsh hero, fighting for Wales. Penman, herself admits that 'historical novelists can do ... damage, almost as much as Hollywood screenwriters.'[62] She acknowledges the difficulties in avoiding the creation of false impressions of historical persons when bringing them to life and elaborating upon events that have only the barest

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[56] See above, chapter 7.
[57] 'I know you were not choosing between us when you send John that warning. You wanted to save your father's life, but you also wanted to stop a war, a war your thought I'd lose.'—Penman, *Dragons,* p. 406. Also, pp. 339, 367, 393, 395.
[58] Wilkinson, 'Joan,' p. 92, Penman, *Dragons,* p. 680.
[59] *ibid,* pp. 337-341.
[60] *ibid,* p. 676.
[61] http://www.sharonkaypenman.com/sharon_kay_penman.htm; (author's website) Accessed 29 April 2011.
[62] Penman, Sharon, 'On Reshaping History,' *Ricardian Register,* Winter 1997-1998, http://www.r3.org/fiction/roses/penman.html. Accessed last 29 April 2011.

background. She argues that in all her works of historical fiction. she has tried to stay as close to the 'truth' as possible, and used her author's notes to address any inconsistencies.[63]

In Edith Pargeter's 1960 novel *The Heaven Tree*, Llywelyn first appears in mention only, as one of the Welsh who 'raided almost daily.'[64] Historical events are only dealt with in passing, normally through discussion between the protagonist Harry Talvace and his patron Isambard, as they pertain to the central story. John's losses on the continent, his attack on Ireland and invasion of Gwynedd in 1211 is dealt with in passing,[65] to create mood and set the scene, characters relate the wider world to Harry. However, there are a few places where Pargeter acquits Llywelyn of actions that could be construed as questionable. During his submission to John, Llywelyn blames Harry's patron Isambard, 'You are he who put into his [John's] mind to believe that I was conspiring with de Breos.'[66] Llywelyn was not attacked in 1211 because he was suspected of conspiring with William de Braose, but rather his attacks on Gwenwynwyn's lands in 1208 and his growing hegemony in Wales were perceived by John as a threat.[67]

Despite the fact that Harry grew up in Shropshire, he is always respectful of Llywelyn and it is Isambard that portrays the anti-Welsh sentiment. Llywelyn is lauded by Harry for not attacking England, whilst the rest of the native Welsh rulers rose up against John.[68] Isambard claims John will not touch Gruffudd

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[63] Penman, 'Reshaping History.'
[64] Pargeter, Edith, *The Heaven Tree*, Long Preston, Magna Print Books, 1991, p. 236-237
[65] *ibid*, pp. 232-233, 382-383, 394-399
[66] *ibid*, p. 397.
[67] See above, chapter 1, pp. 40-43.
[68] Pargeter, *Heaven Tree*, pp. 410-411.

because he fears Llywelyn's wrath,[69] argues that John spared Gruffudd to isolate Llywelyn from the rest of the Welsh, and that Joan sent the news of the rebellion of the English barons in order to scare off John's invasions.[70] Isambard in contrast to Llywelyn, is Pargeter's 'petty English lord', someone biased in his approach to Llywelyn, casting blame upon him, perceiving him as a threat, and refusing to visit court, despite royal command, while Llywelyn is in residence.[71] Moreover, it is Harry who takes in Llywelyn's foster-son 'Owen' and then protects him when Isambard was ordered by John to hang the boy.[72]

Gaius Demetrius's *Ascent of an Eagle,* can also be accused of glorifying Llywelyn. In Demetrius's book, Llywelyn is introduced as 'wiry and tall', 'athletic' and 'even by the extraordinary standards of medieval Europe, a devout Catholic.'[73] Remarkably undeveloped for a main character, Llywelyn is only a hero in as much as Demetrius repeats it. Repeatedly referring to him as a 'noble', Llywleyn is credited with 'almost legendary and unbreakable power'; he is 'a magnificent and beloved ruler.'[74] This repetitive statement of Llywelyn's greatness only serves to highlight the author's lack of study of any scholarly research as well as to illustrate his inability to create a realistic or multi-faceted character. Llywelyn is only 'great' because Demetrius insists upon it, repeatedly. Llywelyn is also innocent of any ambition or avarice when it comes to his Welsh neighbours. Safe in his mountainous sanctuary at Dolwyddelan, Llywelyn has to

[69] *ibid,* p. 412.
[70] *ibid,* pp. 424-425.
[71] *ibid,* pp. 382, 397. 415-416.
[72] *ibid,* pp. 459-468, 485-486, 493-495, 500.
[73] Demetrius, Gaius, *Ascent of an Eagle,* Baltimore, Publish America, 2006, p. 9.
[74] *ibid,* pp. 155, 200.

be encouraged into uniting with Gruffudd ap Cynan against Dafydd.[75] Llywelyn is also reluctant to attack Hywel, despite Hywel's attack on Bangor.[76] Llywelyn must be 'tricked' into invading Powys in 1208 by Joan.[77] And it is Joan, in her guise as English mole, who suggests the idea of Llywelyn as ruler of a united Wales.[78]

The rest of the characters are similarly one-dimensional. Tangwystl, despite all evidence to the contrary, is named Llywelyn's wife and 'Queen' and merely stands to support Llywelyn and approve his decisions. Joan is slightly more interesting, but still lacks breadth. Sent to Wales as an emissary in 1201 to negotiate a truce,[79] she is also expressly tasked by John with enticing Llywelyn from Tangwystl.[80] Llywelyn proves incorruptible, but Joan encourages Hywel to kill Tangwystl so that she can marry Llywelyn instead.[81] Once married, Joan relentlessly pursues the preferment of her son, Dafydd,[82] and the ambitions of John.[83] However, she suffers an inexplicable about-face and suddenly declares her love for her husband.[84] Llywelyn's friend and confidant, Ednyfed 'Vychan', is flat; supposedly a military hero, he is called for his so-called ability to

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[75] *ibid*, pp. 13-18.–Gruffudd's brother, Maredudd is conspicuously absent, probably owing to the author's limited understanding of Welsh inheritance practices and the complexities of native Welsh kingdoms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
[76] *ibid*, p. 198.
[77] *ibid*, p. 257-259.
[78] *ibid*, p. 257.
[79] Demetrius has clearly heard of the 1201 treaty but is unfamiliar with its contents. He sees it as 'favourable to Gwynedd' in that it provides 'security from any attack' and 'recognises the complete independence of Gwynedd' in return for 'a small amount of military assistance.'—*ibid*, p. 210. This is quite obviously at odds with the actual treaty agreed between Llywelyn, John's Justiciar, Geoffrey fitz Peter. Joan had no role in it. See above, chapter 1, pp. 29-38.
[80] 'I am sending you to Llewelyn with a diplomatic mission. While you are in Gwynedd I want you to try and win his heart. If I can install you as Llewelyn's mistress than you can become a useful spy.'—Demetrius, *Ascent of an Eagle*, p. 208.
[81] *Ibid*, pp. 224-225
[82] *ibid*, p. 271.
[83] *ibid*, pp. 254, 286, 288-289.
[84] *ibid*, p. 289.

safeguard the Snowdonian mountains from the English King.[85] John is remarkably one-dimensional and predictably malevolent in the way painted by any contemporary chronicler of 'evil King John.' In order to convey his love of power, John is addressed as 'Most Excellent and Unsurpassable Majesty'[86] to add to Demetrius's inflated sense of royal authority, and further portray John's wicked nature, John beats and then has shot a turncoat Welshman for failing to bow, asking for a reward, and bringing dated intelligence.[87] William de Braose appears as 'the Ogre of Abergavenny'[88] and Hywel ab Gruffudd is the only character to come even realistically to life as a petulant teenager envious of Llywelyn's power. However realistic the sour and miserable the teen is, Demetrius can't resist the need to inform the audience that he is an antagonist, Hywel is 'pale and spotted,' 'repulsive' and 'skeletal' using unfavourable description as a crude device to portray Hywel's inward depravity.[89] When Hywel betrays Llywelyn to John, he decays even more, becoming 'horrible to behold' with 'grotesquely disfigured flaps of skin' on his face.[90]

The narrative voice is also poorly constructed. It may have been that Demetrius was trying to emulate the medieval chroniclers, but the directives read more like stage directions than narrative transitions. More distressing than the author's continual break in narrative voice, are factual inaccuracies that could have been addressed with even limited research. Demetrius's story bears only a nominal relationship to the life of Llywelyn or Anglo-Welsh history in the late

[85] *ibid*, p. 10. Also, Llywelyn abandons Mold Castle to Ednyfed while he repulses Demetrius's fictional attack by Hywel's on Bangor. p. 193.
[86] *ibid*, pp. 238, 239, 252, 254, 298, 299, 314.
[87] *ibid*, p. 48.
[88] *ibid*, p. 98.
[89] *ibid*, p. 184.
[90] *ibid*, pp. 261-262.

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Not only has Demetrius absolutely no understanding of native Wales, her rulers,[91] laws or inheritance practices,[92] but in his naivety, he makes sweeping erroneous statements. In reference to Llywelyn's attack on Mold, he stated that a Welsh attack on 'English territory' was 'inconceivable' and 'alarming.'[93] Alarming it may have been, for Mold was a significant outpost for the Earl of Chester, but Llywelyn's attack was neither the first, nor the only Welsh attack on Anglo-Norman border castles.[94] Nor was the attack on Mold an attack on England; the Anglo-Welsh border was far more fluid than Demetrius envisions.[95] Worse is his suggestion that under Llywelyn, by 1210, Gwynedd was equal in wealth to England and the Angevin treasury.[96]

However, Demetrius's knowledge of the names, places, and events suggests that he has clearly drawn from some source, even if these have been misunderstood. It is entirely possible that he consulted modern historians. Although, Lloyd's *History of Wales* focuses exclusively upon the pre-eminent ruler in Wales, it does mention both the 1197 attack on Aberystwyth and Gwenwynwyn's attack on Painscastle,[97] both events that distract Demetrius. Similarly, Davies's *Age of Conquest* discusses both the fratricidal wars that divided the Lord Rhys's lands upon his death and Gwenwynwyn's bid for

[91] Every Welsh ruler is 'King', (King Gruffudd, King Llywelyn, King Maelgwn, King Hywel, King Dafydd)
[92] Demetrius has a clear opinion on who is a 'rightful' ruler based upon direct primogeniture. Llywelyn is the rightful heir to Gwynedd because Iorwerth was dispossessed by his younger brother. Moreover, to ensure Llywelyn is a definitive hero, Llywelyn will not 'wage war on a legitimate King.'—*ibid,* pp. 8, 258.
[93] *ibid,* p. 180.
[94] See above, chapter 1, pp 22-23.
[95] See above, chapters 1-3 and introduction.
[96] Demetrius, *Ascent of an Eagle,* p. 289.
[97] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* pp. 584-585.

hegemony in the wake of Lord Rhys's death.[98] However, as noted above, Demetrius lacks the nuanced understanding of Welsh ideas of kingship, inheritance, and identity. It would be impossible to consult these texts without retaining some sort of understanding of medieval Wales. Moreover, the use of 'King' for the rulers rules out Turvey's *Welsh Princes,*[99] and Turvey's *Llywelyn the Great* was published after Demetrius's book.[100] What Demetrius must have consulted primarily, is something with less nuance. I would suggest *Brut* as this source; the random shifts in the storyline to accommodate events that are seemingly unimportant to the story of Llywelyn coincide with *Brut*'s timeline. The jolt from Llywelyn's tale to Maelgwn's attack on Aberystwyth and subsequent capture of his brother, does little to feed Demetrius's tale, and the similar digressions about William de Braose illustrates absolutely no understanding of the complexities of William's relationship with John. Demetrius has clearly ignored any events that either paint Llywelyn in an unfavourable light, or present a version of Welsh rule outside his vision. Gruffudd ap Rhys is handed over to William de Braose, rather than Gwenwynwyn in 1197,[101] Hywel encourages Maelgwn and Gwenwynwyn to attack Llywelyn in 1211, rather than John,[102] and Joan does not report Llywelyn's alliance with the barons to her father.[103] As Joan's packet to John was the only evidence suggesting she served as spy for her father, an idea Demetrius seized upon, ignoring Joan's letter and its aftermath illustrates Demetrius's need to create a hero in Llywelyn. Instead of

[98] Davies, *Age of Conquest,* pp. 224, 229.
[99] Turvey's book is clear on the presentation of the rulers as 'princes' of native wales, and his chapters discuss concepts of inheritance, 'Wales' as a construct, and the Welsh relationships with each other and the crown.—Turvey, *Welsh Princes.*
[100] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* 2007.
[101] Demetrius, *Ascent of an Eagle,* pp. 80-97; *Brut:RBH* pp. 180-181; *Brut: Pen. 20,* p. 142 .
[102] Demetrius, *Ascent of an Eagle,* pp. 303, 305,
[103] *ibid,* p. 333.

forestalling the invasion, in Demetrius's story, John's invasion takes place, and Llywelyn is victorious.

Ultimately, Demetrius's story fails as historical-fiction. It bears little relevance to the events in twelfth and thirteenth century Gwynedd and her neighbours. However, it illustrates a keen point. The synopsis, and author's website, claim that Llywelyn was the focus of this travesty because he was 'Wales' greatest hero'[104] 'who does not receive anything like the attention he deserves as a true hero of history'[105] and that Demetrius 'attempted to make it as historicaly [sic] accurate as possible.'[106] Demetrius was clearly influenced by the popular mythology and hero-status of Llywelyn the Great and sought to create what he felt was an accurate portrayal of the hero. Demetrius's book illustrates that the glorified, nationalised myth of Llywelyn far outweighs, in popular conception, the historical research of the academic scholar.

The Welsh poet and play-write, Saunders Lewis, also addressed Llywelyn in 1954 with his play 'Siwan'. First produced in 1956 and performed as recently as 2008 by the Theatre Genedlaethol Cymru[107] on tour, from May 20 until June 14, 'Siwan' is still part of the Welsh national consciousness.[108] 'Siwan' is a three-act play, the first act of which takes part in Joan's bedchamber. Joan,[109] obviously, is the adulterous wife, but is treated with sensitivity. She may be an adulteress, but she still seems worried about her husband's reaction to de Braose's

[104] *ibid*, back cover.
[105] Demetrius, Gaius. http://www.freewebs.com/gaiusdemetrius/ Accessed last 29 April 2011.
[106] Demetirus, Gaius, posted on BBC history 16 March 2006, http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/northwest/halloffame/public_life/llewelyn.shtml Accessed last 29 April 2011.
[107] National Theatre of Wales
[108] Lambert, Emily, 'Review: Siwan' *Western Mail*, May 16, 2008. http://www.walesonline.co.uk/whats-on/whats-on-news/2008/05/16/review-siwan-91466-20917933/, accessed 29 April, 2011.
[109] Lewis, Saunders, 'Siwan' in *Siwan a Cherddi Eraill*, Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1976.

intrusion into his chamber[110] and spends much of the time babbling about their upcoming marriages and politics[111] until William calls her on it.[112] Llywelyn looms large in Act I, initially as the great bogeyman, the husband that Joan fears. But his return changes all, as he strides in, the aggrieved husband, laughing bitterly at William's excuses. Act II focuses upon Joan. Although initially fearing for herself, Joan becomes distressed and falls to the floor in a faint on hearing of William's sentence.[113] What is most striking is that Lewis captures the mood of the Welsh, when Joan has Alis, her maid, open the window, and hears the chants 'Death to the Frenchman/ Hang the Braose'.[114] This conveys the disgust of the Welshmen that, according to his letter to William's widow, forced Llywelyn to hang William.[115] Joan's grief leads her to curse Llywelyn when he appears at the end of the scene, 'See the hell of my grief, my curse upon you, Llywelyn!'[116] Llywelyn's anger is stronger, but interestingly, his grief seems more sincere as he questions his decision to hang William.[117] Moreover, Llywelyn is softer in the final act, sharing news, admitting his need for Joan, both out of love and for political expediency, and telling Alis, 'to be weak is to be human.'[118] Llywelyn may not be the ultimate hero, but in Lewis's play there are none. De Braose hung for acting the seducer, Joan was punished for her love and lust, and Llywelyn remains a ruler, but a hurt, humanised prince in Lewis's play.

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[110] 'Gwely Llywelyn yw hwm. Mae perigl yma.'—*ibid*, Act I, p. 38 and 'Nid ofny y gwyn, ond ofni, hwyrach, ei glywed;'—*ibid*, Act I p. 42.
[111] *ibid*, Act I, p. 38-42
[112] 'Nid i siarad am wleidyddiaeth y des i i'th ystafell di heno.'--*ibid*, Act I, p. 42
[113] *ibid*, Act II, p. 59.
[114] *ibid*, Act II p. 63.
[115] Pryce, *Acts*, 428. Also see above, chapters 3 and 7.
[116] Lewis, 'Siwan,' Act II, p. 68.
[117] ''Feiddiwn id dim, ai e? 'Feiddiwn id dim?'—*ibid*, Act II, p. 68.
[118] Bod yn wan yw body n ddynol.'--*ibid*, Act III, p. 72.

It is a testament to Llywelyn's 'greatness' that his story survives in so many modern formats. However in many cases, the facts get obscured by nationalistic pride and the desire for a great and enduring story. While this may be understandable for the purposes of entertainment, it becomes problematic when claims of historical accuracy are made. Although historians are required to apply their own interpretations to cold facts and records of events, they must take care not to cross the line, lest they be compared to the amateur historians whose more biased literary works are designed to appeal to, and even inflame, an already strong sense of Welsh nationalism. Although Llywelyn ab Iorwerth is "the Great", it is clear that he has become even more so with the passage of time, and the keen story-telling culture of the Welsh people.

Conclusion

By any measure, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth was ultimately a successful Welsh Prince. By the time of his death in 1240, he had united the native Welsh into federation that could withstand the combined pressures of the individual ambitions of the Welsh nobility, as well as those of the Anglo-Norman Marchers and the English crown. He had stemmed the onslaught of Marcher advance into native Welsh territories and obtained external recognition of his achievements as 'Prince of Aberffraw, Lord of Snowdon,' not 'one of many', but the voice heeded by the Welsh and English alike. Proclaiming himself leader of all native Wales, he sought even to make the position hereditary, encouraging the native Welsh to swear allegiance to his son, ensuring Dafydd's status as Llywelyn's heir.

These are not inconsiderable successes. Llywelyn achieved as much as any of the Welsh leaders of renown; like the ninth-century Venedotian King, Rhodri, and his grandfather, Owain Gwynedd before him, Llywelyn earned the epithet 'Mawr' for his achievements in uniting the Welsh under one ruler.[1] Laying claim to a titular style that separated himself from other native rulers indicated his primacy amongst the native Welsh, and like the Lord Rhys,[2] Llywelyn achieved recognition by the Crown as the leader and prince who kept maintained peace and kept his fellow Welsh in line. The poets, chroniclers, and historians who have praised Llywelyn in the centuries since his death for his successes were not wrong in their assessment of his achievements; his successes were indeed 'Great'.

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[1] Pryce, Huw, 'The Franco-Welsh Diplomacy of the First Prince of Wales,' *Welsh History Review,* 19, 1999, pp. 1-28, p. 23.
[2] See Davies, *Age of Conquest,* pp. 222-223 for an account of the Lord Rhys's dominance in Wales, and its limitations.

Historians who have therefore presented Llywelyn as a great Welsh hero, are not wholly wrong in their assessment. However, although he united the native Welsh rulers, stalled the Marcher advance, and limited the interference of the English King in Wales, they are overly generous in their assessment of these successes. The status Llywelyn had earned and attempted to pass on to his descendants was not enduring and this ultimate failure cannot be dismissed simply because it came after his death.[3]

Llywelyn's career was bloody and war-torn. He gained his patrimony not by direct inheritance, but at the point of his sword. In order to do so, Llywelyn first allied with his uncle and cousins, before turning on them in succession, or pitting them against each other, in a bid to become the sole surviving *edling*.[4] He augmented his holdings the same way, wresting control of both castles and land from English and Welsh neighbours with little regard to the aftermath of his actions. Llywelyn was clearly intelligent and a gifted military leader, his early successes on the field and his ability to play his fellow *edlings* off against one another was what led to him being the recognised ruler in North Wales by 1201.

The method by which Llywelyn rose to prominence in Gwynedd marks the tone of his initial relationships with his fellow Welsh rulers. Llywelyn was not nostalgic in his alliances or his quest for power; his alliances with his cousins, and probably, his uncle Rhodri, lasted only as long as they supported his aims in dispossessing Dafydd. Within a few years of the exile of Dafydd, Llywelyn's self-interest is apparent in his expulsion of Maredudd from Llyn and his hand is

[3] As Davies did when he argued that 'hindsight should not be summoned to belittle Llywelyn's achievement.'—Davies, *Age of Conquest,* p. 250.
[4] In this instance, the term is used in the broader interpretation offered in Llyfr Iorwerth. '*Sef Ef aylodeu y brenhyn, y ueybyon a'y neueynt a'y keuyndyrv. Rey a dyweyt bot yn deling pob rey o'r rey hynny.'—Llyfr Iorwerth,* §4, p. 3.

clear in the further dispossession of Maredudd from Meirionnydd by Hywel ap Gruffudd. Llywelyn's interest in expansion did not stop at Gwynedd's borders. Llywelyn repeatedly sought to extend his own holdings, most notably when it came to the lands held by Gwenwynwyn in Powys. His capture in 1202 of Penllyn, Ederion, and the Castle of Bala are illustrative of his ambitions, as are his further attacks in 1208 on Powys and Ceredigion while Gwenwynwyn was in John's prison. The fact that Maelgwn ap Rhys destroyed several castles 'from fear of Llywelyn,'[5] supports the contention that Llywelyn was focused upon the aggrandisement of himself and Gwynedd at the point of a sword.

Although there is evidence that Llywelyn did form some alliances when it suited him, such as those with his cousins in the 1190s and his support of the joint letter from the Welsh rulers to Innocent III at the close of the twelfth century, alliances with fellow Welsh leaders in the years before 1211 are few and rarely maintained for long. However, Llywelyn's defeat in 1211 changed the nature of his relationship with his fellow Welsh leaders and his approach to alliances in general. By 1212, Llywelyn had joined his erstwhile enemies: Gwenwynwyn, Maelgwn ap Rhys, Madog ap Gruffudd Maelor and Maredudd ap Robert, in rebellion. It is there that there is a clear shift in the focus of Llywelyn's relationships with his fellow Welsh rulers. Working jointly with the other Welsh against the greater threat of the might of the English crown replaces the petty interests in land aggrandisement within native Wales.

This is not to suggest that Llywelyn lost his self-interest in light of the interests of an 'independent Wales.' Rather, what becomes clear is a new

[5] *Brenhinedd,* pp. 200-201.

approach to holding power within Wales on the part of Llywelyn. Instead of dispossessing fellow rulers, he seeks their recognition as the leader and spokesman of the native Welsh. In fact, in a letter to Philip Augustus in the same year, Llywelyn 'bound [the other Welsh rulers] together in the friendship of this treaty'[6] It is clear here, and again in 1218 with the peace agreed between Llywelyn and the English crown that it is Llywelyn who negotiated on behalf of the Welsh princes as a whole.

Llywelyn's primacy among the Welsh princes is reinforced several times in the succeeding decades. It was Llywelyn who called the Welsh princes to a meeting to reapportion the lands in South Wales amongst the local leaders in 1216. His summons for an attack on Rhos and Pembroke in 1220 is evidence of his position within the Welsh, as were the appearance of his fellow Welsh in his repeated military campaigns of the 1220s an 1230s. The fact that Llywelyn could protect his position amongst the Welsh princes with the fealty pledged to Dafydd as Llywelyn's heir at Strata Florida in 1238 further illustrates how accepted his position had become by the end of his life.

In contrast to Llywelyn's successes as a leader and spokesman, the ninth and tenth century rulers able to lay claim to extended hegemony within Wales appear to have done so largely by their strength as war leaders. Rhodri Mawr (d.878) appears to have claimed his greatness from his ability to conquer neighbouring Welsh kingdoms and withstand Danish invasion at the same time.[7] Hywel Dda, who could lay claim to the title 'by the grace of God, ruler of all

[6] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 235, p. 393.
[7] Lloyd, *History of Wales*, Vol. 1, pp. 324-326.

Wales'[8] is better remembered for his supposed role in the creation of the Welsh Law codes, than how he acquired his titular position amongst the Welsh. Moreover, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's successes were also founded upon his military might.[9] Davies points out that it was the 'dazzling successes of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn' that created a unity within Wales under his rule.[10] The successes of these Welsh rulers were clearly fleeting. The same goes for the successes of the Lord Rhys in the south and Owain Gwynedd in the north in the twelfth century. None of these rulers left dominions that retained the same hegemony into the succeeding generation. Although Llywelyn's military successes were not used to impose unity on the other Welsh, uniting them under his rule, but rather to support a confederation of princes with Llywelyn at its head as spokesman, it was not for lack of trying. What his predecessors had managed by sword, Llywelyn managed through alliance and support. Despite this, his successes remained just as fleeting. His attempts to pass the position he had gained onto his heir, Dafydd, were ultimately unsuccessful.

However, Llywelyn's status amongst the Welsh by the end of his life, although ephemeral, has foreshadows the successes of his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. That Llywelyn, 'The Last,' was described by Lloyd as 'not only the foremost of the princes of Wales,[11] but also the single force which is of any account in Welsh politics.'[12] As early as 1258, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, unlike Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, was able to lay claim to the title 'Prince of Wales' as well

[8] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* vol. 1, p. 337.
[9] Davies, *Age of Conquest,* p. 24.
[10] *ibid,* pp. 25-26.
[11] As discussed above, the position held by his grandfather, and the subject of this study, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth.
[12] Lloyd, *History of Wales,* vol. 2, p. 716.

as pledges of loyalty and allegiance from his fellow Welsh rulers.[13] In fact, Beverly Smith goes so far as to state that 'Llywelyn looked for nothing less than a contractual relationship of lord and vassal.'[14] Llywelyn ab Iorwerth never achieved anything like a contractual lord-vassal relationship, or recognition of a title as encompassing as 'Prince of Wales' but that does not diminish his success as spokesman for the Welsh. After all, it is upon the strength of his successes amongst the Welsh that Llywelyn ap Gruffudd expanded.

Llywelyn's relationships with the marcher barons are more difficult to classify. Llywelyn's approach to the marchers seems in the first instance more random than his dealings with his fellow Welsh princes. However, there are some correlations. In the first instance, the pre/post 1211 split is just as apparent here as it is in other aspects of Llywelyn's life. Whether Llywelyn had lost or captured Mold in 1199,[15] doesn't matter as much as the fact that his interests in this time clearly lay in the expansion of Gwynedd east, towards Chester. That Ranulf supported Gwenwynwyn against Llywelyn in this early period, in order to keep Llywelyn's focus upon Gwenwynwyn's Powys rather than Chester, supports the contention that the interests of these two young men were in opposition of each other. This is further supported by Ranulf's role in rebuilding the castle of Degannwy in 1210. This suggests a distrust and animosity between these two neighbours, as does the fact that Chester was the staging point for John's campaigns the following year.

[13] *Brut: Pen. 20*, p. 111 *and Brut: RBH*, pp. 250-251.
[14] J. Beverly Smith, *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Prince of Wales*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1998, p. 109.
[15] For full discussion, see above, pp. 27-29.

Alliances with marcher barons become clear only after Llywelyn's defeat in 1211. Joan's letter to her father in 1212 attesting to the defection of his nobles once he crossed the Welsh border are the first instance of an alliance between Llywelyn and the marcher lords. Despite John's abandonment of a Welsh invasion, this alliance, between Llywelyn and his fellow Welsh on the one hand and the barons in rebellion against John on the other, was either renewed or maintained throughout the succeeding years. In fact, the alliance between the Anglo-Norman rebels and the Welsh is attested to in *Brut* in 1215,[16] and the meeting at Brycheiniog may have been the impetus for the marriage of Llywelyn's daughter Gwladus to Reginald de Braose, in a clear attempt to solidify an alliance of expediency into something more permanent. Moreover, this alliance proved useful for Llywelyn; amongst the provisions of the Runneymede charter were clauses attesting to the return to Llywelyn and his fellow Welsh of their charters, hostages, lands, and liberties.[17]

Despite the marriage, the alliance between the rebel barons and the Welsh was not as lasting as Llywelyn's alliance with his fellow countrymen. In fact, the Anglo-Norman lords who opposed John readily accepted the peace agreement with Henry III's minority government in 1216. This was something Llywelyn was not prepared to do. Moreover, the decision on the part of Reginald de Braose to accept the peace terms, led Llywelyn to attack his new son-in-law, within two years of the marriage.

Nor is this to suggest that Llywelyn's alliance was with all marcher lords. Llywelyn and William Marshal never saw each other as anything other than a

[16] *Brut: RBH*, pp. 202-203.
[17] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 300. See also above, chapter 2, pp. 59-60.

threat to their respective security. In fact, the argument has been made that the marriage of Llywelyn's daughter Gwenllian to William de Lacy sometime before 1224, may have been an attempt to gain support from an Anglo-Norman baron also opposed to the Marshal.[18]

Taken together, there is a clear trend on the part of Llywelyn to barter his daughters to Anglo-Norman barons who will help him further his interests in Wales. The marriage of Margaret to John de Braose, who contested Reginald's claim to the de Braose lands, takes place after Reginald's decision to come to terms with the English Crown.[19] The second marriage in 1230 of Gwladus to Ralph Mortimer, who held Wigmore Castle on the Hereford border retained ties to the Anglo-Welsh border surrounding the de Braose lands. The same can be said for the second marriage of Margaret to Walter Clifford sometime after 1232; Walter held castles on the Hereford border. Even Dafydd, Llywelyn's son, married into marcher families of the southwest. One of the conditions of William de Braose's release in 1228 was an agreement to marry his daughter, Isabella, to Dafydd ap Llywelyn, in return for the castle of Builth on the same Hereford border.

When put into that context, Helen's marriage to John the Scot seems to be an outlier. However, when considering the role these marriages played as a surety for alliance, it appears less so. Llywelyn's alliance with Ranulf, Earl of Chester, did not begin until after peace was concluded between Llywelyn and the Crown, but it became a marked alliance, one that Llywelyn tried to ensure into the next

[18] Robin Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration of the British Isles.' In R. R. Davies, ed., *The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections,* Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers, 1988, pp. 142-159, p. 147.
[19] A. J. Roderick, 'Marriage and Politics in Wales, 1066-1282' *The Welsh History Review,* vol. 4, 1968-1969, pp. 3-20, pp. 16-18.

generation with the marriage of Helen to Ranulf's heir, John. The benefits of such an alliance are clear: Llywelyn gained a powerful ally in Henry's minority council. In fact, Ranulf was a trusted member, never having sided with the baronial revolt, and someone one who had the potential capability to temper undue Marshal influence in the minority council and thereby protect Llywelyn and other Welsh interests in south Wales.

Taken together, this presents a story of alliances designed to support Llywelyn in his quest for supremacy within Wales. His alliance with Ranulf of Chester offers him the opportunity for a strong voice of support in Henry's regency council, and the opportunity to block William Marshal. The marriages to the de Braose family also seem to illustrate a need to reinforce ties in the southeast. Moreover, the alliance with Richard Marshal, towards the end of his career further supports this argument. These alliances were forged in expediency, and did not always last, but they do suggest, after 1211, a systematic attempt to seek support and protect Llywelyn's hegemony within Wales.

Having already touched on Llywelyn's relationship with contacts outside Gwynedd and the marcher border, it is perhaps necessary to discuss them in more detail. It is clear that after 1200, Gwynedd is less involved with the Irish Sea world than it had been under the leadership of Gruffudd ap Cynan and even Owain Gwynedd. In 1204, Llywelyn actively rejects the daughter of the Manx King in favour of Joan as his wife. The decision to tie his fortunes more closely to those of the Angevin house points towards an acceptance that his and Gwynedd's future would be determined by events taking place to the east and south of Wales rather than the north and west. Although links can be made to the

north and west in the form of the alliances to John the Scot and William de Lacy, these can be shown to have an effect upon Llywelyn's often troubled relationship with William Marshal in Pembroke, and the English Crown during the minority. In fact, although Robin Frame is quite correct to point out that the Marshal's attack on Llywelyn in 1223 had been launched from Ireland and that the Lacy family fit into a broader Irish Sea world,[20] it is clear that Irish Sea links are not the focus of Llywelyn's interest. The Lacy family were long-time opponents of the Marshals in Ireland, and Llywelyn's alliance can be taken, as an attempt to ally with an enemy of William, rather than an attempt to draw him closer into the Irish Sea world.

This is not to suggest that Llywelyn ignored everything that did not share a land border with Wales. In fact, it is clear that he was aware of the rivalries between the Lacys and the Marshals. Moreover, in his quest to increase his autonomy within Wales, Llywelyn dealt with both Philip Augustus and the Papacy on occasion. This, combined with the fact that the Scots King, William, was able to provide John with evidence of Llywelyn's alliance with barons in 1212, makes it clear that Llywelyn reached beyond Wales in his attempts to forge alliances and provide for his aspirations within Gwynedd and Wales as a whole. However, these do not form the main part of Llywelyn's alliances. It is clear, rather, that the wider contacts only serve to reinforce Llywelyn's goals within Wales and in relation to England.

What does all this mean for Llywelyn's relationship with the English Crown? On the one hand, it is clear that Llywelyn realised very early that his

[20] Frame, 'Aristocracies and the Political Configuration,' pp. 147, 150.

goals could not be achieved without at least the tacit acceptance of his goals from his powerful neighbour, England. While, it is also clear that, at least initially, Llywelyn only sought to rule as much as he could of Gwynedd. This constant self-aggrandisement is prevalent throughout Llywelyn's life, and when considered across its entirety, seems to take precedence over any more selfless desires for Welsh independence or freedoms from English interference. In 1201, Llywelyn conceded English overlordship and promised homage to John in exchange for acknowledgement of his acquisitions, even as he argued for the independence of the Welsh Church from Canterbury.[21] Moreover, his marriage to Joan in 1204/1205 is a direct re-focusing of his interests towards England and away from an alliance with the Manx.

It was an inspired move, in that Joan would prove an invaluable ally and ambassador throughout Llywelyn's lifetime. As seen above,[22] it was she who opened negotiations for Llywelyn's surrender in 1211, and possibly even ensured that Gwynedd would not escheat back to the crown, provided she gave birth to an heir, thus protecting the potential for sustained native rule in Gwynedd. This is not the only instance. Repeatedly, Joan serves as an intermediary, not only reassuring Henry of Instructus's loyalty to both his masters, but also appearing regularly at Henry's court once the King reached his majority. The fact that she was issued several safe-conducts, both before, and immediately after Henry's disastrous Ceri campaign of 1228, illustrates her continued position as link between Henry and Llywelyn. However, there were limits to Joan's influence. Although, Joan's affair with William de Braose in 1230 undermined her position

[21] Pryce, *Acts*, no. 221, pp. 371-373, and no. 220, pp. 368-370.
[22] Chapter 7.

within Gwynedd, it did not ruin relations between Llywelyn and Henry, and this illustrates that the relationship between the English Kings and Llywelyn was more complex than a simple marriage tie.

What becomes clear from a prolonged study of the interaction between Llywelyn and John and later, Henry, is the conclusion that is that a combination of misunderstanding, misinterpretation, and goals at odds with one another, led to a varied and often difficult relationship. Llywelyn may have seen his marriage to Joan and John's imprisonment of Gwenwynwyn as tacit agreement on the part of the English King to Llywelyn's conquest of Powys Wenwynwyn. However, that was not how John viewed the alliance; rather he saw it as a way to control Llywelyn's ambitions. Similarly, it is clear in 1224 that Llywelyn and Henry viewed the harbouring of Falkes de Bréauté on different terms. Llywelyn argued for the independence of his rule on the same level as the King of Scotland, while Henry saw Llywelyn in a more obedient role, such as vassal. In fact, the campaigns of his majority provide further evidence of the gaps between Llywelyn and Henry. Llywelyn's campaigns in the south in 1232 were linked by *Brut*[23] to Henry's decision to rebuild Painscastle.

On the other hand, it is also clear that Llywelyn's understanding of his relationship with the English Crown and especially with Henry improved over the course of his career. Llywelyn's continued direct appeal towards Henry throughout his minority shows a remarkable sensitivity towards the emotional state of a child king. It is a testament to Llywelyn's ability to read Henry's insecurities that Henry supported Llywelyn's letter to Honorius in 1222 related to

[23] See above, chapter 3, pp. 81-86, for a discussion of the causes of this war.

the abolition of equal inheritance between legitimate and illegitimate sons. This is not to say that Llywelyn's career during Henry's minority was peaceful. Llywelyn lost Cardigan and Carmarthen to the Marshal in 1223. However, it is clear that Llywelyn understood the young Henry a bit better than he did the adult King of later years.

Although his goals never fully change over the course of his career, it is possible to see some shifts in Llywelyn's approach. Llywelyn's early desire to acquire lands made enemies of his neighbours, native Welsh rulers and Anglo-Norman Marchers alike, and this aggression ultimately helped lead to his downfall in 1211.

As discussed above, one feature of Llywelyn's 'greatness' was his ability to learn from his mistakes, and to adapt his methods in order find better ways to achieve his aims. Where, in the early days, Llywelyn sought self-aggrandisement at the expense of his neighbours, after 1211, he turned towards more diplomatic approaches to reach his goals in its aftermath. Although no stranger to the idea of uniting against a common enemy, Llywelyn's actions after 1211 display a remarkable shift in his willingness to understand the political situations in which he found himself and adapt to them. Llywelyn's planned union with the English rebel barons in 1212, his willingness to ally with his erstwhile Welsh enemies, and his ability to convince them that he acted in the interests of them all is an indicator of this shift in his methods. Indeed, by 1218, Llywelyn was acting as the leading Welsh prince and it was he who determined when and on what terms peace with the English Crown would be arranged. It is this change in Llywelyn's

manner and skills in diplomacy that ultimately lead to Llywelyn's successes and the plaudits of history.

By the end of his career, Llywelyn's primacy amongst the Welsh was even more apparent. Twice, he was able to demand his fellow Welsh rulers swear allegiances to Dafydd, and it was negotiations with him that determined the 'Peace of the Middle.' These are the glories which made him 'great,' a Welsh hero. They also illustrate his failings as a leader. The 'Peace of the Middle' was but a series of truces that were renewed until Llywelyn's death. Therefore, Dafydd was never fully secure in his rule and Llywelyn's hegemony crumbled in the wake of his death.

Moreover, although there is consensus amongst Welsh historians as to the glories of Llywelyn's career, there is a need to remember that he was a man, not a legendary hero in the abstract. Although Llywelyn built a hegemony over native Wales, at no point did he rule it outright as 'Prince of Wales,' nor is there evidence that he was a Welsh hero intent on Welsh independence from English rule. Llywelyn was quite content, throughout his life, to acknowledge his client status in relation to the English Crown. As long as he was the pre-eminent leader in Wales, then he was happy to do homage to the King for his lands. Moreover, when he did go to war against the Marcher lords or the Crown, it was at times when a resurgence of royal aspirations or an expansion of Marcher territories was threatening his lands, his hegemony or the lands of his native Welsh allies. It seems that Llywelyn was always much more interested in his own strength and power, than in an idea of Welsh independence, and although he often acted or argued for Welsh independence, it was only ever as it would support his own

power. In fact, throughout his career, Llywelyn never lost his self-aggrandising visions even as he learned new methods of gaining them.

Moreover, Llywelyn would not have achieved so much without the support of his council, his court officers such as Ednyfed Fychan and Gwyn ab Ednywain, his wife, and the Church. His seneschals and other court officers allowed him to govern his patrimony while he focused upon aggrandising his position within Wales. It is clear that these changes to Gwynedd's internal government were part of a pan-European evolution in governmental styles. They mirror similar changes taking place across the twelfth and thirteenth century throughout Europe, most noticeably the English court and those of the great Anglo-Norman magnates with whom Llywelyn had regular contact. This is not to suggest that Llywelyn was the driving force behind these changes within Gwynedd, rather that his exposure to these governmental styles and the sharing of Instructus between Llywelyn and Henry may have increased the rate of change already present within Gwynedd.

Llywelyn's relationship with Joan gifted him with an envoy to the royal court and a direct line of appeal to the King. It also gave him daughters with which he could barter for alliances, and a son who would ultimately inherit from him. Although Llywelyn could never be called much more than 'conventionally pious,'[24] he was quite adept at using the Church for his own ends, securing papal recognition of Dafydd's supremacy as rightful heir. In addition, he supported the cause of an independent Welsh Church and an archepiscopacy at St. David's in order to limit the control Canterbury could hold over the Welsh Church and its

[24] Turvey, *Llywelyn the Great,* p. 121.

abilities and interest in arranging peace accords in favour of the English rather than Llywelyn's own interests.

Perhaps it is easier to objectively consider the limitations to Llywelyn's successes when approaching the subject with an outsider's perspective. Llywelyn's main successes were perhaps as much a product of fortune as they were of his own abilities. The internal divisions within Gwynedd, and disputes between Dafydd, his brother and nephews provided Llywelyn with useful allies. Chester's lack of interest allowed him to extend his holdings without interference. His alliance with the rebel barons and his fellow native Welsh rulers after 1211 came only because John had made such enemies of them. Moreover, the intense competition between the sons of the Lord Rhys in the south and the death of Gwenwynwyn in 1216 made it easier for Llywelyn to claim pre-eminence within Wales. The minority of Henry III left Llywelyn with little interference from the Crown and even allowed him to act as guardian of Carmarthen and Cardigan for his nephew. Perhaps it is possible to go so far as to say that Henry's regency council needed Llywelyn as unifying force to allow them to deal with Wales and the Welsh as a single entity, rather than attempting to balance the competing interests of the Crown with the varied interests of a multiplicity of Welsh rulers. Moreover, the death of William de Braose—albeit at Llywelyn's order—created a power vacuum, quickly exploited by Llywelyn.

Had Llywelyn lived in more peaceful times, had he faced English Kings who did not alienate their barons or were older, wiser and stronger, he may not have achieved as much or been a Welsh ruler of much note. Nevertheless, what Llywelyn achieved and the manner in which he did it, is certainly worthy of study.

His successes, although perhaps inflated in the intervening years, became the stuff of legend, and the blame for his failure to create a lasting hegemony was passed on to the next generation. Even if he was greater in legend than in life, that is not to say that his deeds are in any way unworthy of historical record. He remains to this day, Llywelyn the Great.

APPENDIX A: THE 1201 TREATY

Hec est forma pacis qua **Leulinus filius Ioruert** venit ad ervitum domini regis.

[i] Primo coram Rob(er)to Bagorensi et R. De Sancto Asaph' epicopis et domino G. filio Pet(ri) comite Essex' iusticiario domini regis et baronibus multis et pluribus aliis iuravit idem Leulin(us), et maiores terre sue post eum iuraverunt, fidelitatem domini regis I. contra omnes homines se inperpetuum observaturos de sua vita et membris suis et de suo terrento honore.

[ii] **Et idem Leulin(us) receipt de manu domini iusticiarii saisinam ominum tenemtorum suorum que tunc possidebat et ea in pace tenebit usque adventum domini regis in Anglia(m).**

[iii] **Et cum dominus rex in Anglia(m) venerit idem Leulin(us) ad mandatum eius veniet ad eum et homagium ei faciet sicut domino suo ligio de predictis tenementis.**

[iv] **Et homagio facto in pace redibit ad propria nec ab aliquo implacitabitur donec in patria sua competentem receperit summonitionem, et dominus rex omina retro forisfacta ante diem pacis si quia sunt ei condonabit.**

[v] **Si vero postmodum aliquis puerelam moverit super aliquo tenementorum suorum predictorum, in eius electione erit utrum causa illa tractetur secundum legem Anglie vel secundum legem Wallie, et non respondebit alicui nisi de proprietate, 'tamen' exclusa penitus questione possessionis.**

[vi] Et si secundum legem Anglie causam illam tractari elegerit, dominus rext ponet curiam suam in Anglia in loco competenti et ibi quod iustum fuerit secundum legem illam iudicabitur.

[vii] Si autem legem Walle(n)se(m) elegerit, quicumque eum super predictis in causam taxerit, primo discernetur utrum ipse Leulin(us) curiam suam habere debeat vel non; quam si habuerit, causam illam in curia sua tractabit.

[viii] Si vero curiam suam non habuerit, dominus rex mittet de fidelibus suis viros discretos in terram Leulini de qua questio fuerit coram quibus a Wallensib(us) ad hoc electis et partibus non suspectis quod iustum fuerit statuetur et a partibus firmiter observabitur. Similiter fiet de omnibus aliis de quibus decetero querele venient ad dominum regem vel iusticiarum eius de ipso Leulino.

[ix] Porro 'si idem' Leulin(us) aut sui domino regi vel suis forisfecerint post pacem predictam, dominus rex fideli consilio domini Cant(uariensis) archiepiscopi et domini G. filii Pet(ri) iusticiarii vel alterius illorum si ambo interesse non poterint et aliorum fidelium suorum emendationem recipiet, nichilominus predicta pace observata. Dominus etiam Cant(uariensis) et dominus G. filius Pet(ri) iusticiarius, episcopi, comites, barones qui huic paci componende interfuerunt ad honorem Die et domini regis causam Leuiini secundum iusticiam fovebint.

[x] **Preterea si qui dampna in terra domini regis fecerint et in terram Leulini venerint, dampna passi vel alii eos cum clamore et cornu usque ad terram predicti Leulini in secuiti[c] fuerint, idem Leulin(us) dampna restituet et de malefactoribus iustitiam faciet.**

[xi] Si vero malefacores terre domini regis per terram ipius Leulini furtive transierint velibi se occultaverint, super sacramentum suum promisit quod omnen diligentiam adhibebit ad hoc emendandum sicut faceret si dampna sibi vel terre

sue[d] illata essent. Facta fuit pax iusta ill[tio] anno regni regis Ioh(ann)is v[to] idus iulii. Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem dominus Can(uariensis) et dominus G. filius Pet(ri) iusticiarius sigilla sua huic scripto apposuerunt et pepigerunt quod dominus rex pacem istam sigillo suo convirmabit.[1]

[1] Copied in full from Pryce, *Acts*, no. 221, pp. 372-373.
The full text can also be found, with similarly numbered clauses in Rowlands, '1201 Peace, pp. 165-166.
In manuscript: PRO, C 66/1.

APPENDIX B: THE 1211 SUBMISSION

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus presentem cartam inspecturis Lewelinus princeps Norwall(ie) salutem.

Sciatus quod pro habenda gratiam et benevolenctiam domini [mei regis Anglie] Iohannis dimisi 'ei' et imperpetuum quieta clamavi castrum de Gannoch' cum Ros et omnibus pertinentiis suis et Roui(n)a cum Dunbeig' et Estrede et omnibus perti[nentiis suis] et Defreneclud' cum Ruthin et omnibus pertinentiiis suis.

De Derenia(n) autem cum pertinentiis suis nichil me intromitto nisi supplicando pro Oeno de Porkinton [avunculo] meo quia numquam tenuit terram illam de me vel aliquo antecessorum meorum set de domino rege.

Et concessi quod Hoelus filius Griffini seisinam [habeat de] terra sua ita quod postea stet recto in curia mea.

Et si in curiam meam venire vel in ea recto stare noluerit, dominus rex ad hoc ipsum dis[tringere] faciet.

Et concessi quod dominus rex faciat voluntatem suam de Roelan' et Monte Alto cum Englefeld' et omnibus pertinentiis suis salvo in iure meo et [... vel ...] petere dirationare per ius quod in eis clamo; quod disrationavero dimittam in manum domini regis quamdiu ei placuerit.

Homines autem terrarium quas domino [regidi]misi si voluerint ad dominum regem venire et terras suas de eo tenere, faciant ei bonam securitatem quod fideliter ei servient et servitia sua bene ei reddent nec aliquo modo perquirent quod ab alio quam a domino rege receptentur.

Faciam etiam habere domino meo regi ligantias omnium hominum meorum de quibus voluerit, et liberabo ei filium meum Griffinu(m) tenedum semper et ad faciendum inde voluntatem suam, ita quod si de filia domini regis uxore mea heredem non habuero, concede ipsi domino meo regi tanquam heredi meo omnes terras meas tam illas quas retinui quam illas quas et dimisi preter terras quas ei placuerit dare eidem filio meo et meis.

Preterea dabo eidem domino meo regi pro expensis suis decem milia vaccarum et quadraginta dextrarios et sexaginta chascuros, ita quod homines terrarum quas domino regi dimisi tam illi qui ad dominum regem ibunt ut de eo terras suas teneant quam illi qui mecum remanebunt auxilium michi facient rationabiliter ad solvendam predictam pecuiniam.

Liberabo etiam ei obsides de terra mea quos et quot et de quibus habere voluerit pro fideli servitio meo, et pro conventione predicta tenenda et hec in bona fide et sine malo ingenio tenenda tactis sacrocanctis iuravi et hanc cartam meam eidem domino meo regi inde fiery feci.

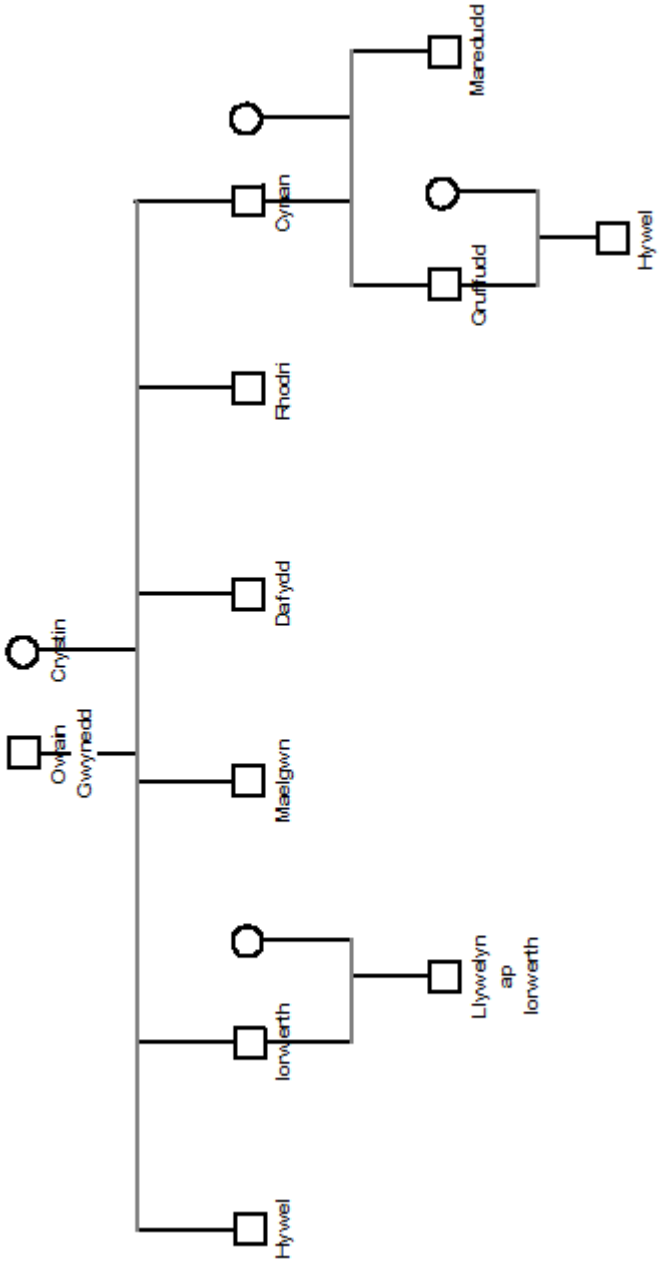
Dominus vero Norwic(ensis) episcopus, Will(elmu)s [comes Sarresberiensis], comes Will(elmu)s Mar(escallus), comes W. Warronn' et Petrus filius Hereb(er)ti manuceperunt quod dominus rex omnem malivolentiam et ind[ignationem] michi

per predictam coventionem remisit quam erga me habuit usque ad diem Veneris proximam post festum Sancti Laurencii [Martiris anno regni] domini regis xiii.

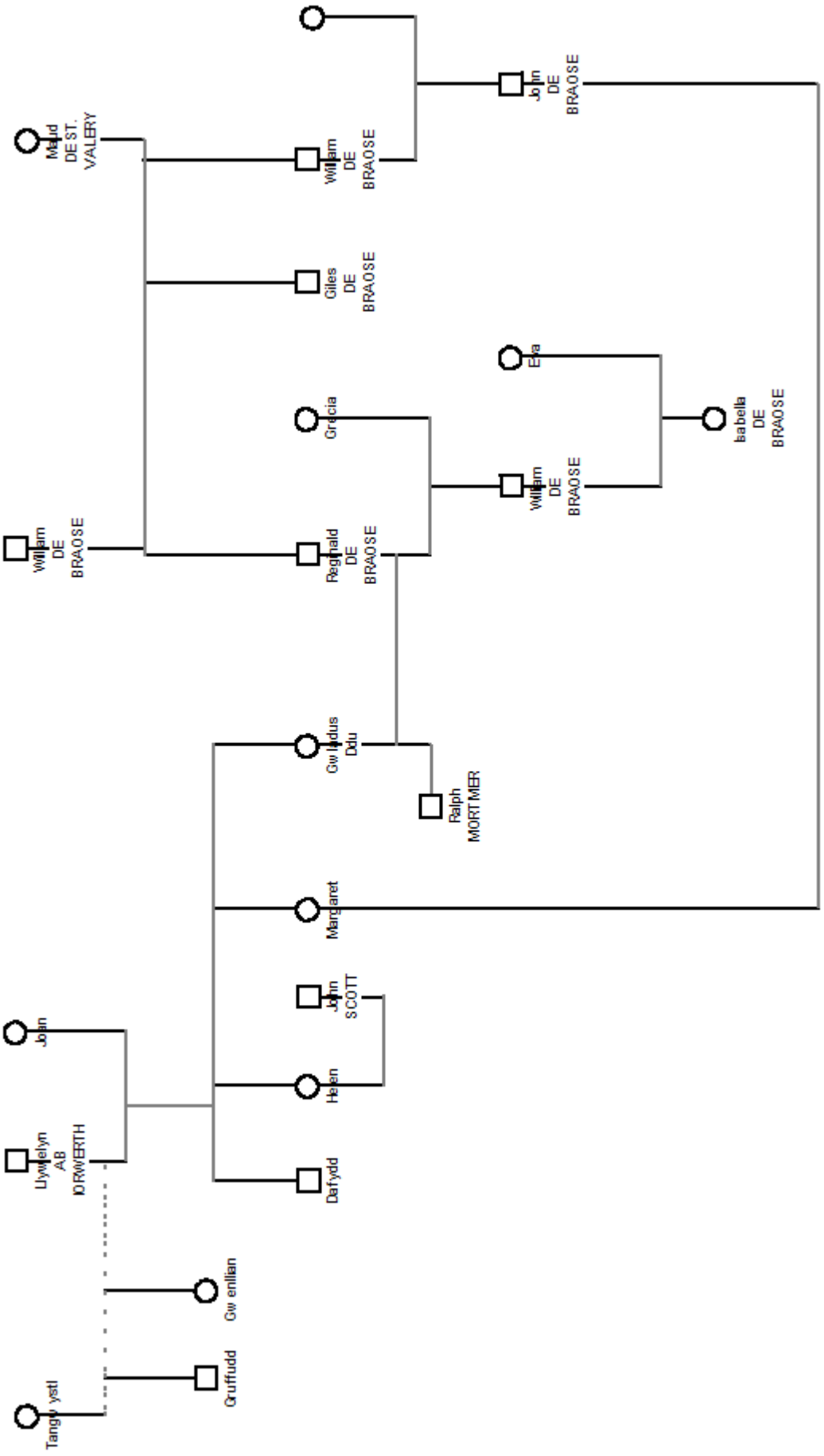
Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem dominus I. Norwic(ensis) episcopus W. comes Sarr(ensberiensis), comes W. Mar(escallus), comes W. W[arronn'] et Petrus filius Hereb(er)ti ad petitionem meam sigilla sua cum sigillo meo huic carte apposuerunt.[2]

[2] Taken in full from Pryce, *Acts*, no. 233. pp387-388.
In manuscript: PRO, E 163/4/47

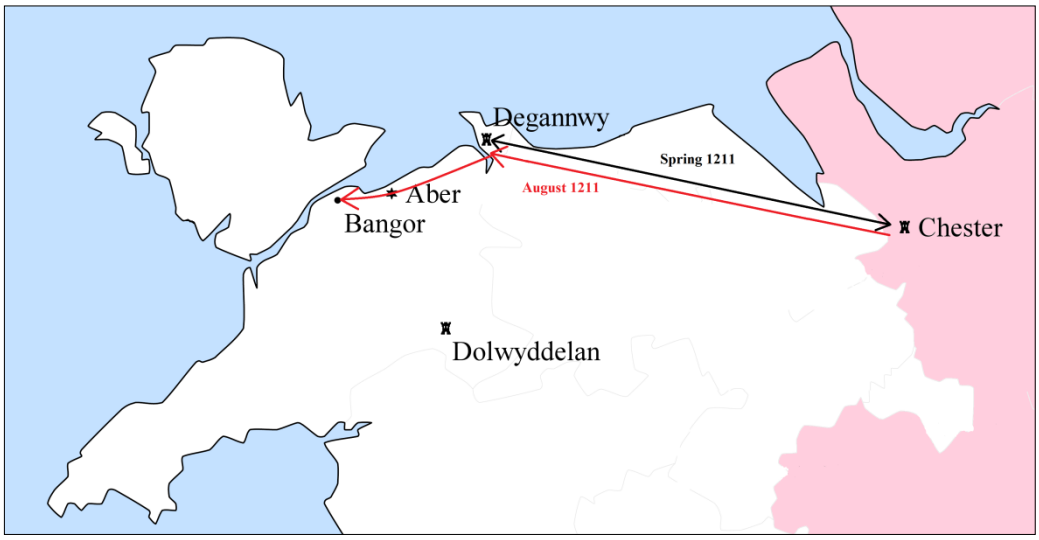
APPENDIX C: CLAIMANTS OF GWYNEDD

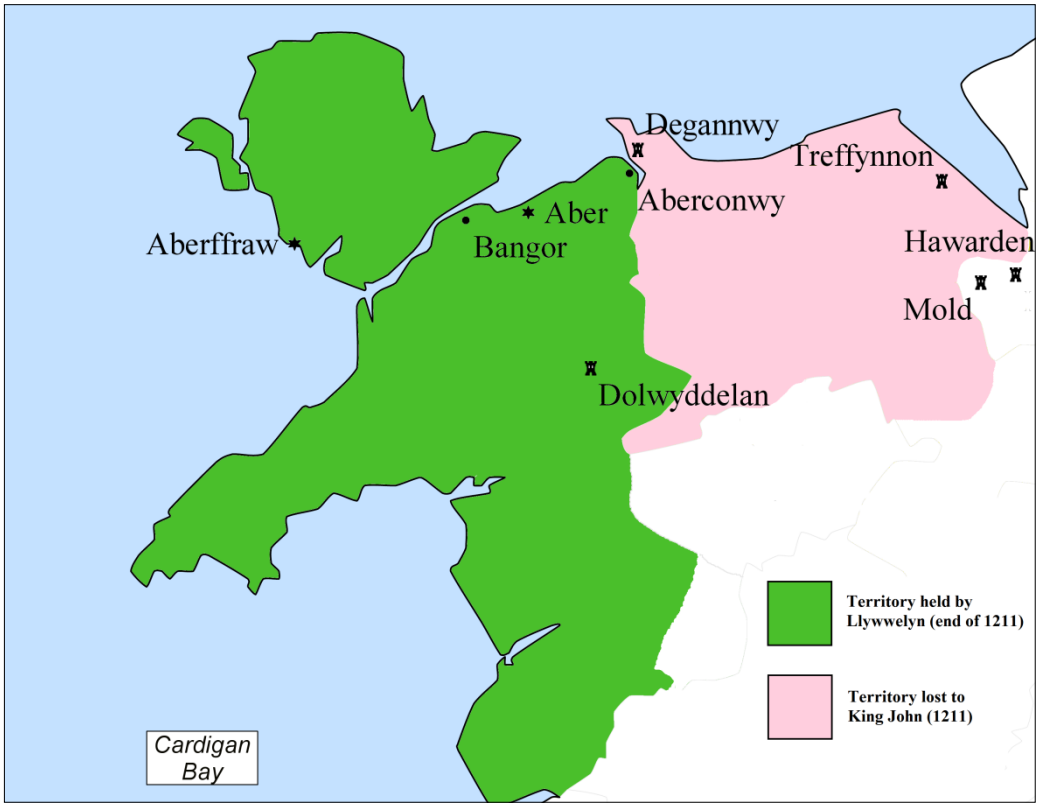


APPENDIX D: DESCENDANTS OF LLYWELYN AP IORWERTH

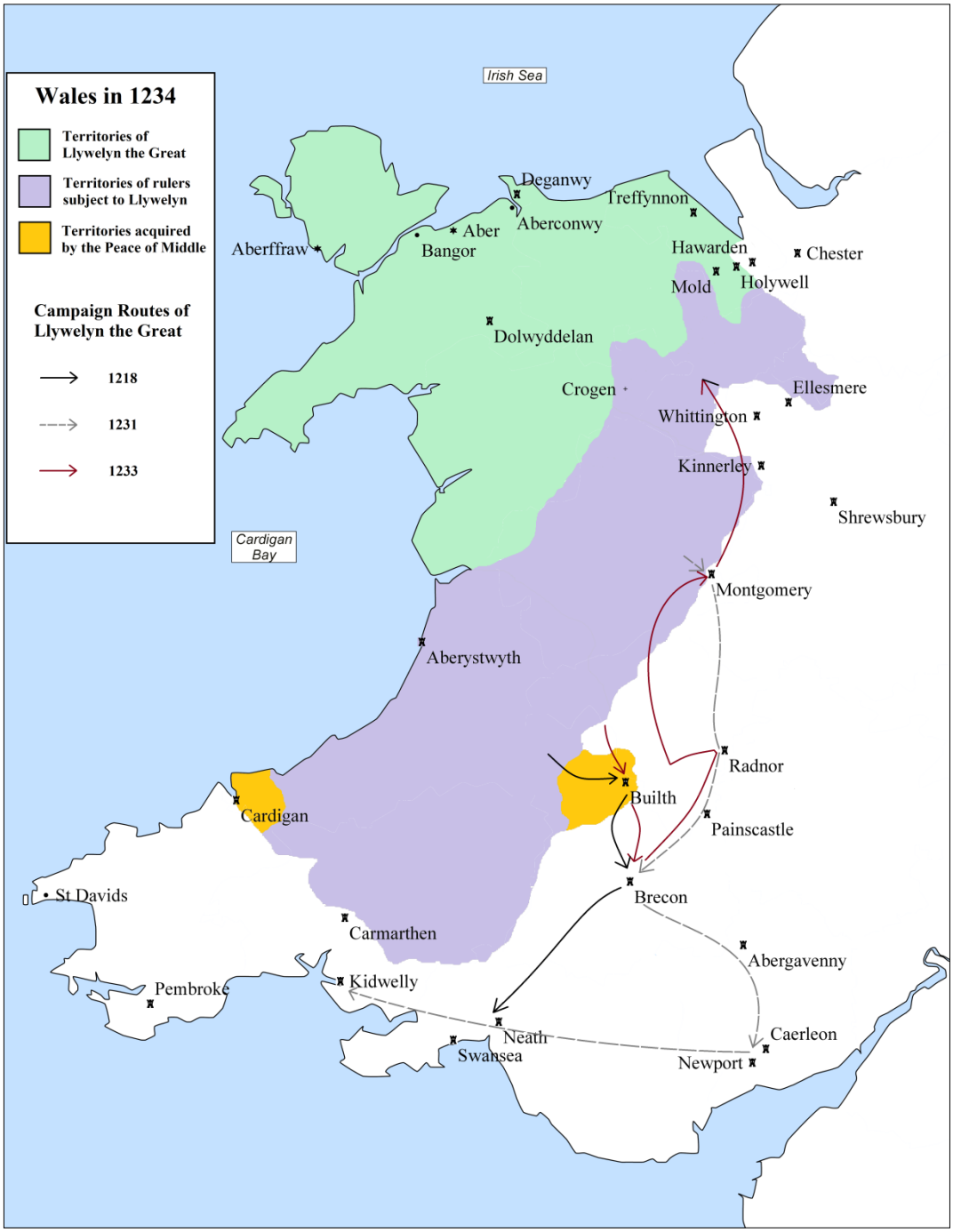


APPENDIX E: ENGLISH INVASION OF 1211





APPENDIX F: LLYWELYN'S CAMPAIGNS OF 1218, 1231 AND 1233.



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