

Acts of the Welsh Rulers
1120–1283

Edited by
Huw Pryce

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The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283

THE ACTS OF WELSH RULERS

1120–1283

edited by

HUW PRYCE

with the assistance of

CHARLES INSLEY

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Huw Pryce

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Add.	Additional
BL	British Library, London
cd.	calendared
Ch.	Charter
cmt.	commote
fo(s)	folio(s)
Lat.	Latin
m.	membrane
Mod.	Modern
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
NLW	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth
par.	parish
Pat.	Patent
pd.	printed
pl.	plural
R.	Roll
TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Record Office, London
trans.	translated
W.	Welsh

Dates of manuscripts are expressed according to established conventions: thus s. xiii in., s. xiii med. and s. xiii ex. for the early, mid- and late thirteenth century respectively, s. xiii¹ for the first half and s. xiii² for the second half of the thirteenth century, s. xiii/xiv for the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, s. xiii–xiv for the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

Where they have been identified, the modern forms of Welsh place-names are generally given in the forms recommended in *A Gazetteer of Welsh Place-Names*, ed. E. Davies (Cardiff, 1957), or M. Richards, *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units* (Cardiff, 1969), the main exceptions being commonly used English forms such as Anglesey, Cardiff, Carmarthen or Swansea. The Welsh territorial term *cantref* (pl. *cantrefi*) has been treated as an English noun and rendered as cantref (pl. cantrefs).

All secondary works are referred to in the notes in an abbreviated form: full bibliographical details of both abbreviated references and works cited by author and short title (or short title only in the case of some edited texts) are provided in the Bibliography.

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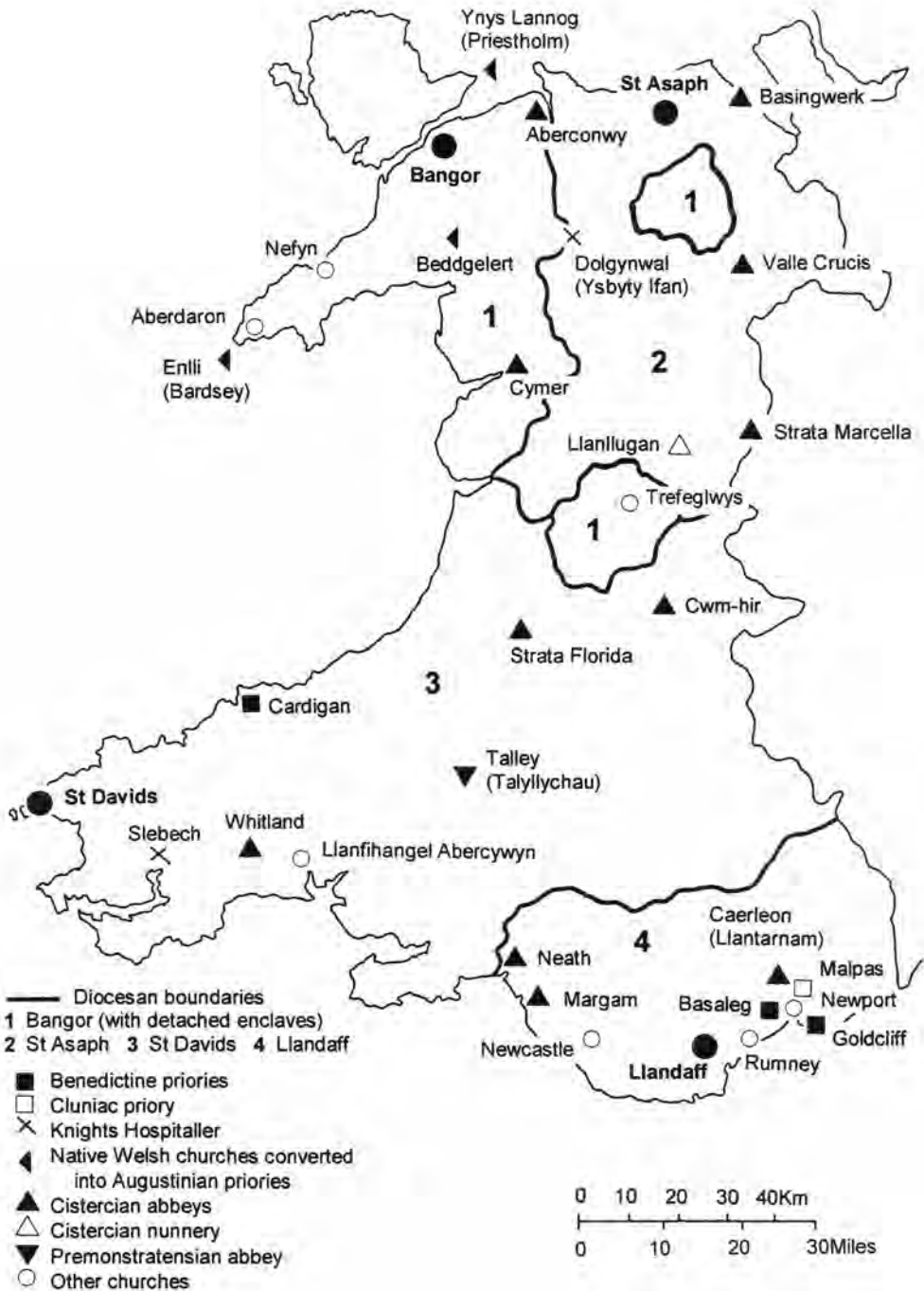
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WEBSITES

- Images and discussion of Strata Marcella charters held in the National Library of Wales:
http://www.llgc.org.uk/drychldrych_s018.htm
- Images and discussion of no. 263: http://www.ukans.edulcarrie/ms_room/jjcrump/document.html



MAP 1. Territorial divisions of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Wales



MAP 2. Religious houses and other churches in Wales which were beneficiaries of charters or parties to agreements in this edition

TABLE 1. The dynasty of Arwystli

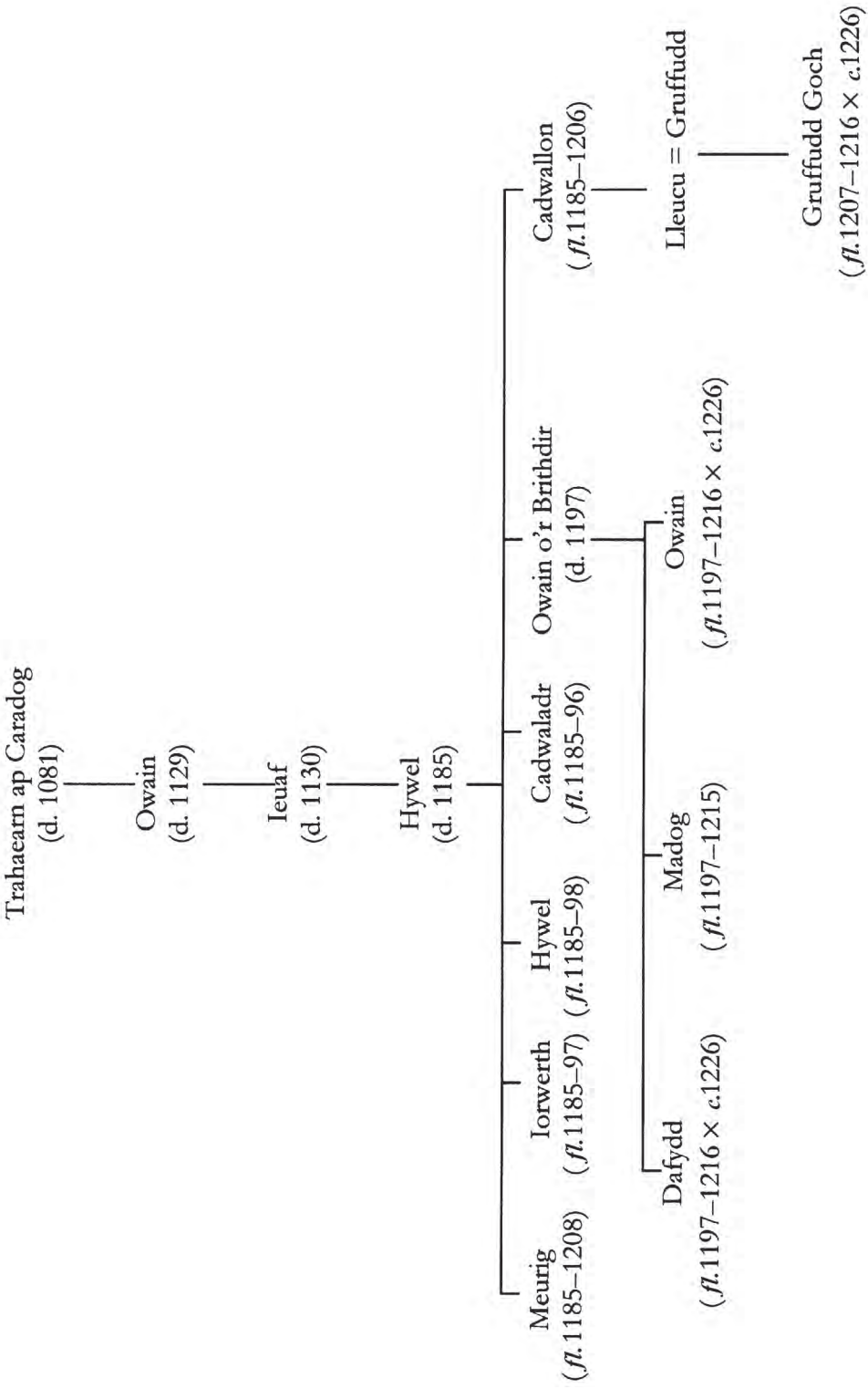


TABLE 2. The dynasty of Cedewain

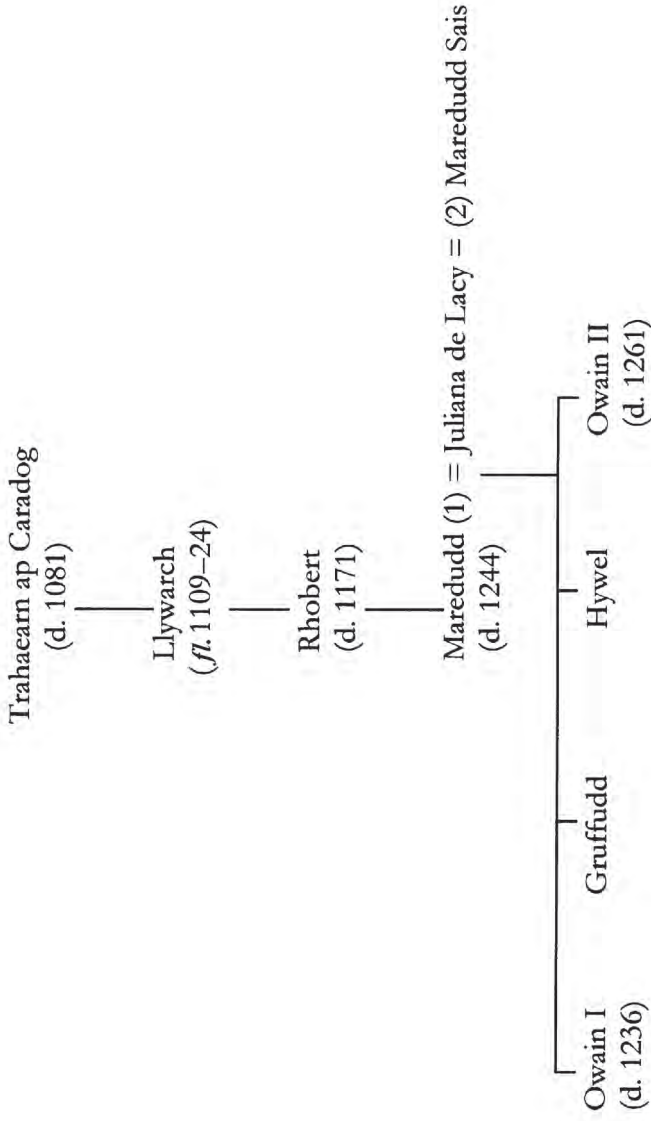


TABLE 3. The dynasty of Deheubarth

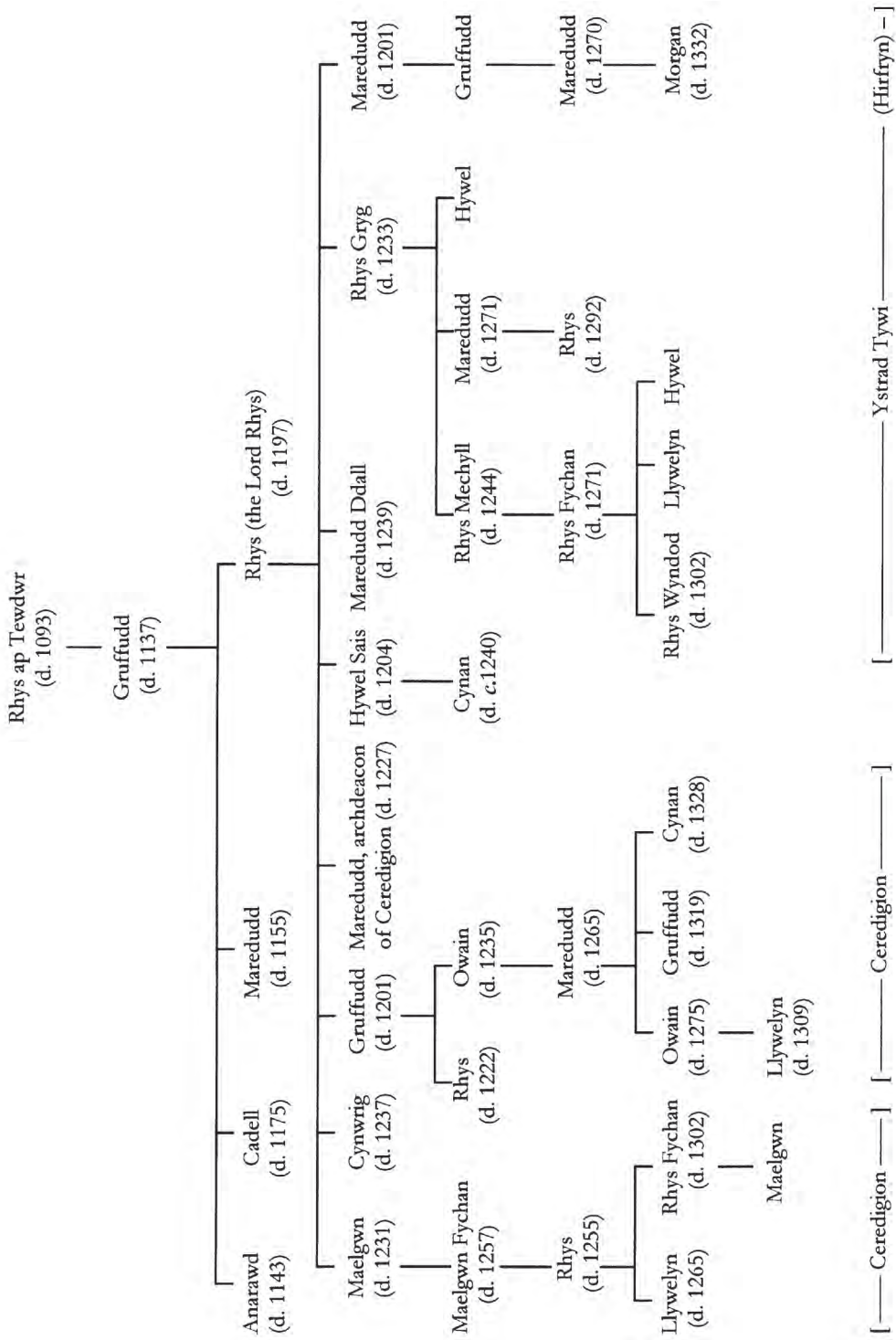


TABLE 4. The dynasty of Elfael and Maelienydd

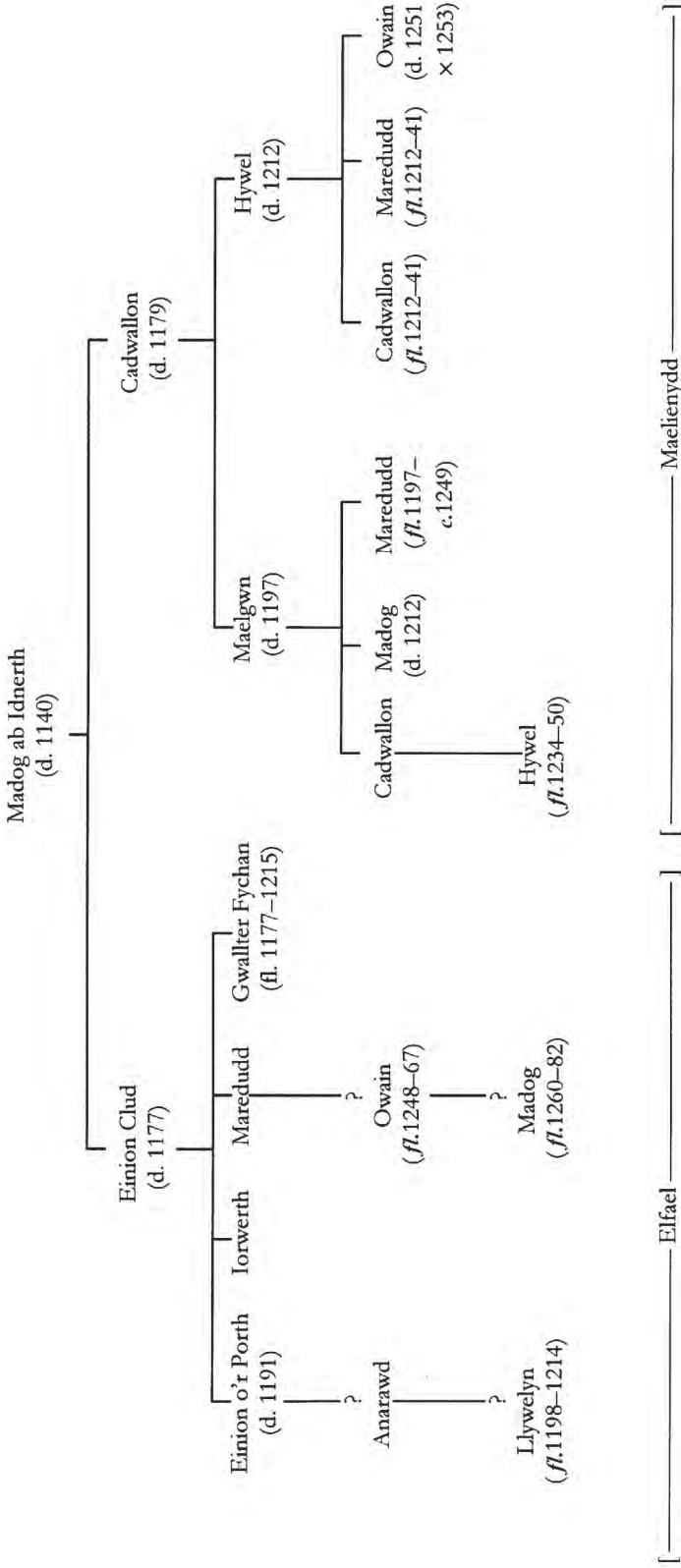


TABLE 5. The dynasty of Glamorgan

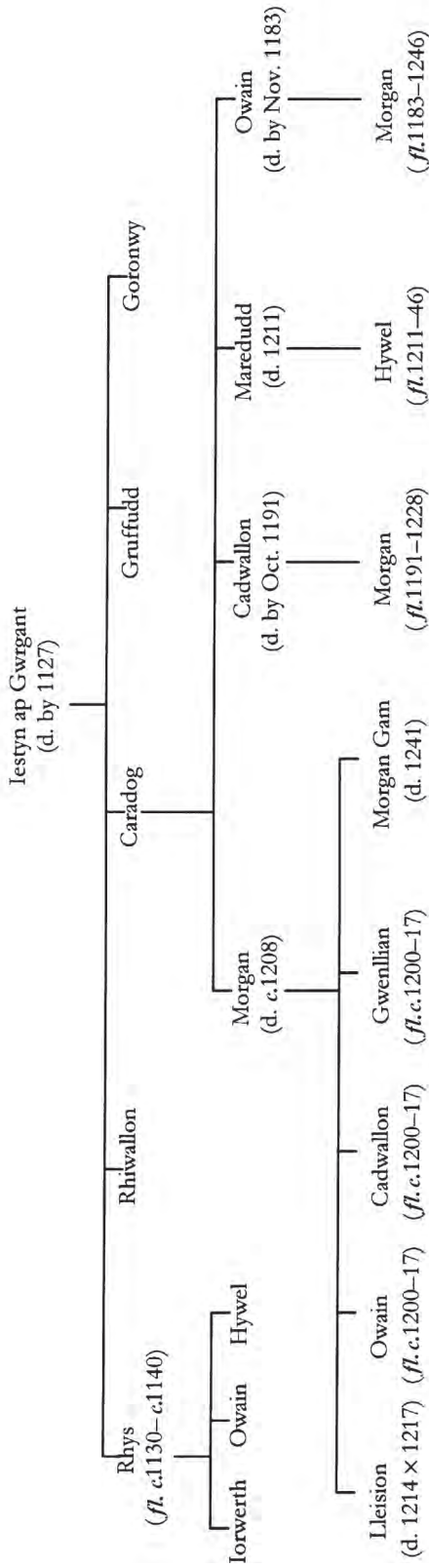


TABLE 6. The dynasty of Gwynedd

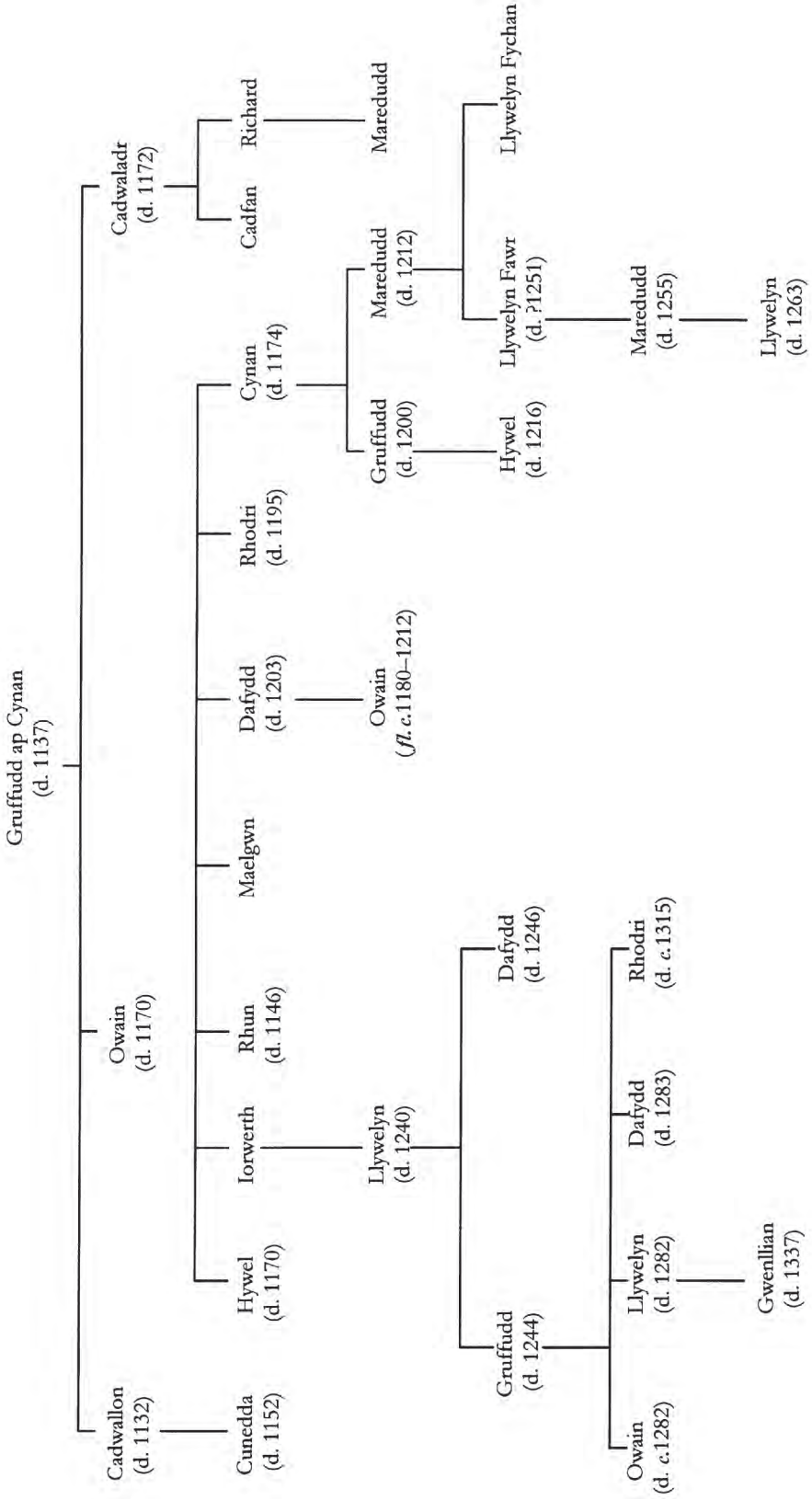


TABLE 7. The dynasty of Gwynllŵg

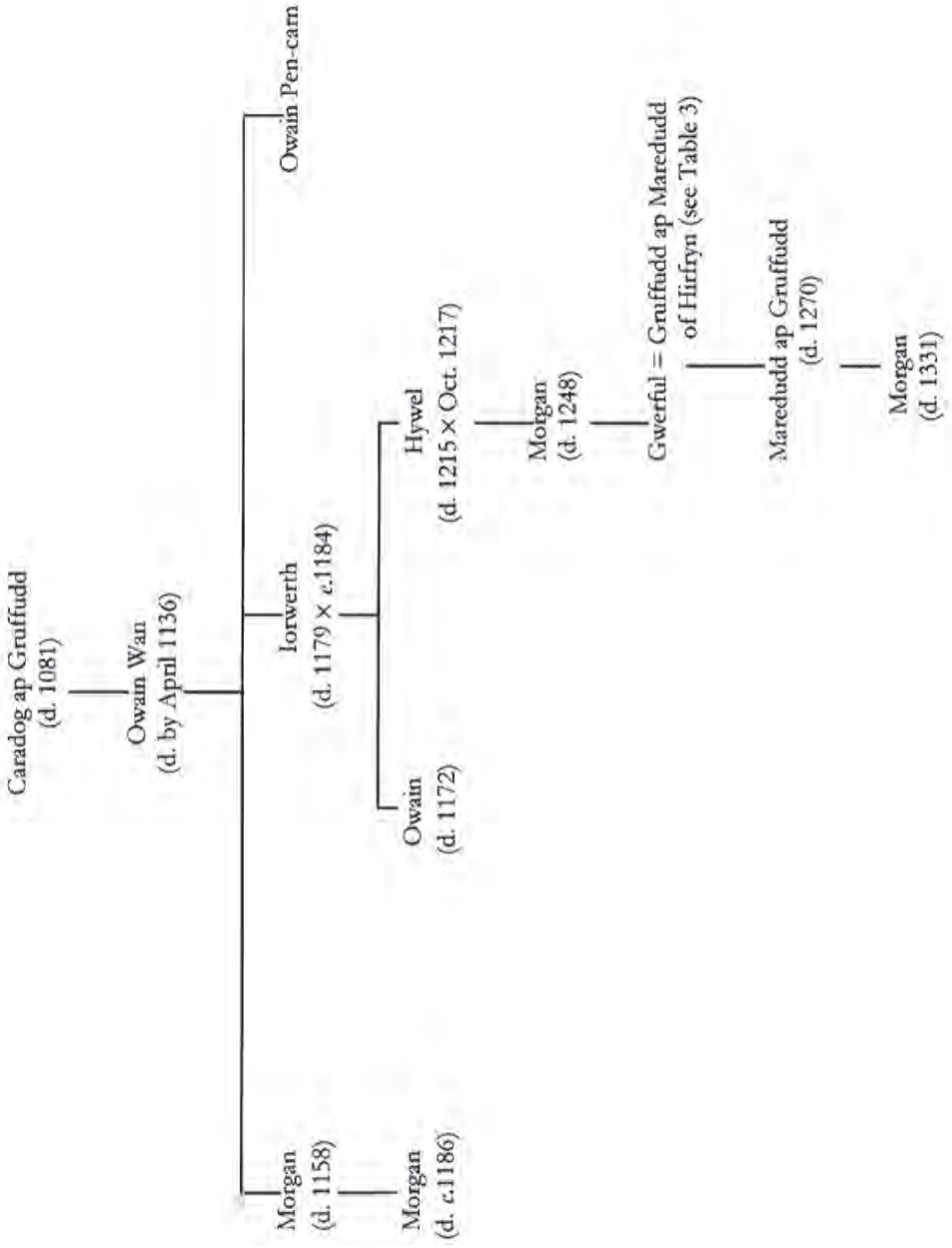
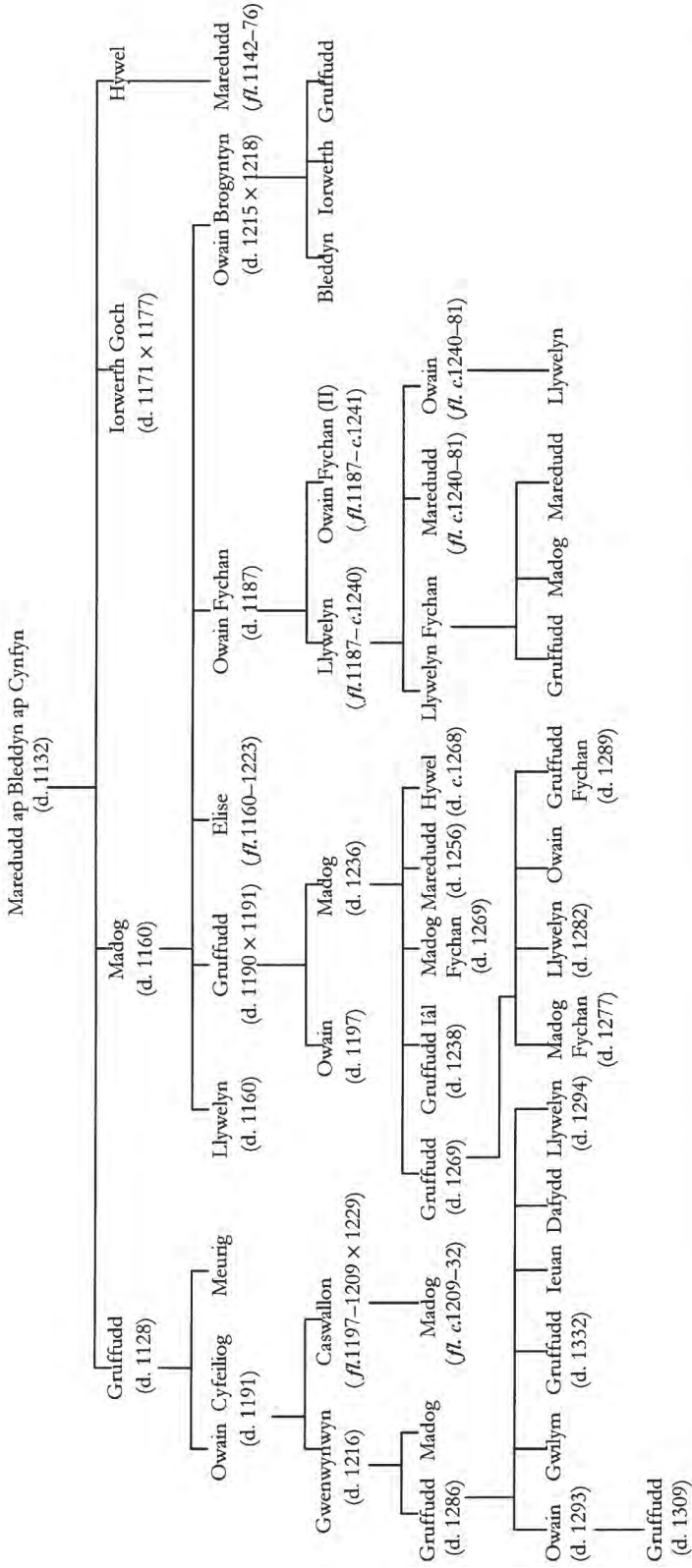
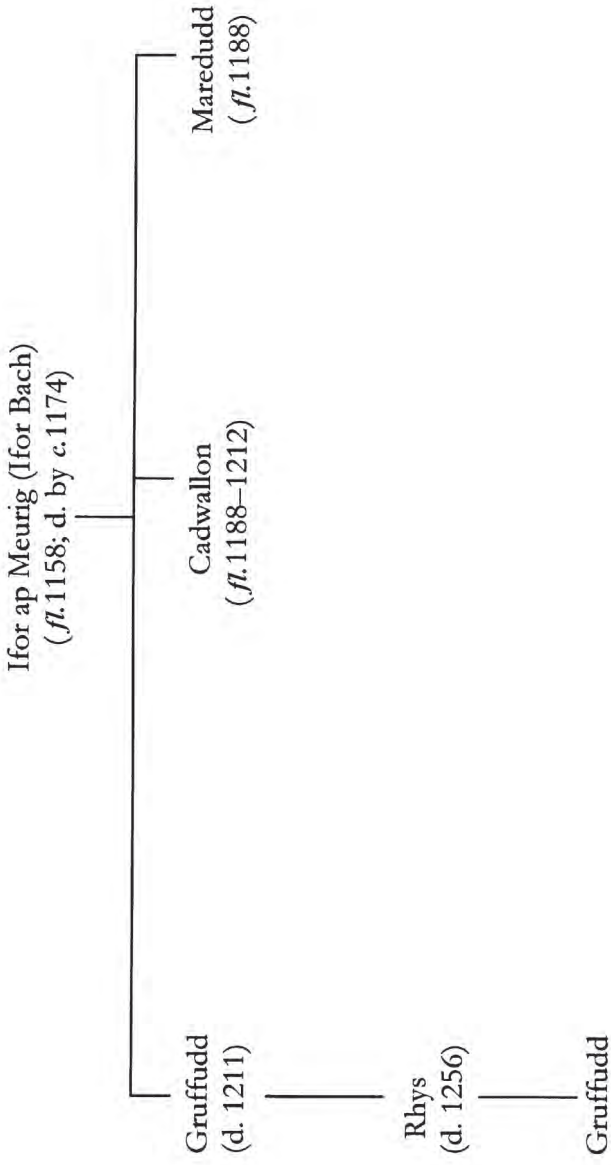


TABLE 8. The dynasty of Powys



[— Powys Wenwynwyn —] [— Powys Fadog —] [— Mechain —] [— Dinmael and Edeirnion —]

TABLE 9. The dynasty of Senghennydd



INTRODUCTION

This edition attempts to assemble the first comprehensive collection of acts issued by native rulers of Wales from the earliest extant twelfth-century documents to the death of Dafydd ap Gruffudd in 1283 during the Edwardian conquest that extinguished independent rule.¹ It thereby aims to make more accessible than before a key body of source material for the study of medieval Wales during an era of struggles for power by native rulers both among themselves and with Marcher lords and the English crown, an era sometimes characterized as ‘the age of the princes’.² Coverage is intentionally broad. The term ‘ruler’ has been applied to members not only of the dominant dynasties of Deheubarth, Powys and, above all, Gwynedd but also of minor dynasties such as those of Arwystli or Senghennydd; and, in a world where political power was often contested and fragmented, to individuals within each dynasty who exercised some measure of authority, however limited geographically or temporally. Likewise, the edition includes all known documents issued as expressions of a ruler’s will – both those extant as texts and those known only from mentions in other sources – even if, as is the case with petitions or some letters, these do not conform to acts in the strict sense of instruments, particularly charters, that create, modify or confirm a juridical action or situation.³ (Texts of agreements with the English crown and other third parties are included irrespective of whether they survive in ratifications issued by the Welsh ruler concerned, partly for the sake of completeness but also on the assumption that, where such ratifications are not extant, the terms were at least approved by the ruler, in some cases quite possibly in a written act now lost.)

Identification of the corpus of documents has been greatly facilitated by Kari Maund’s compilation of a handlist of acts in a project that prepared the ground for the present edition.⁴ In addition, much is owed to the efforts of previous editors of individual documents or collections of documents. As well as standard editions and calendars of royal

¹ The latest known acts of Welsh rulers before 1120 are charters of the later eleventh century preserved in the Book of Llandaff: *Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, 267–75; cf. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, 129; Crouch, ‘Earliest original charter’, 125–7.

² See Lloyd, ‘Age of the native princes’; Jones Pierce, *Medieval Welsh Society*, Chap. I, ‘The Age of the Princes’ (admittedly this essay applies the phrase only to the century that ended with the death of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd in 1282).

³ Cf. Guyotjeannin *et al.*, *Diplomatique médiévale*, 104–5.

⁴ *H*. This edition contains most of the documents listed in *H* (see the concordance, below, pp. 816–23) together with further discoveries made since *H* went to press. Errors in *H* have normally been corrected silently in the present work.

sources concerning mainly England or the monastic charters in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, these publications include important volumes of Welsh documents, namely G. T. Clark's edition of Glamorgan charters, J. Goronwy Edwards's calendar of letters concerning Wales contained among the Ancient Correspondence (SC1) in The National Archives: Public Record Office, the same scholar's edition of *Littere Wallie* and Graham Thomas's edition of Strata Marcella charters.⁵ As the endnotes to individual documents make clear, the present work also draws extensively on earlier historiography of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Wales. The same is true of Part I of this Introduction, which aims to supply some historical context for the documents contained in the edition and to clarify issues bearing on their chronology. This is followed, in Part II, by an analysis of the diplomatic of the acts.

I. WELSH RULERS, 1120–1283

ARWYSTLI

The native lords of Arwystli in the twelfth century belonged to the same dynasty as those of Cedewain, sharing descent from Trahaearn ap Caradog (d. 1081), who had taken over the kingship of Gwynedd after the death of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn in 1075.⁶ This connection with Gwynedd may explain why Arwystli formed a detached portion of the diocese of Bangor. All known acts of the rulers of Arwystli consist of charters issued in favour of either St Michael's church, Trefeglwys (and the Augustinian abbey of Haughmond in Shropshire to which it was granted by Hywel ab Ieuf) or the Cistercian abbey of Strata Marcella near Welshpool. For most of the period covered by the dynasty's surviving acts Arwystli was subject at different times to the overlordship of rulers from Powys, Gwynedd and possibly also Deheubarth.

The earliest surviving charters are those of Hywel ab Ieuf (d. 1185), whose father Ieuf ab Owain ap Trahaearn was killed in 1130 by his first cousins, the sons of Llywarch ap Trahaearn, in the blood-bath that resulted in the blinding, castration and death of at least seven members of the family in 1129–30.⁷ To judge by his earliest extant charters, Hywel claimed royal status in the 1140s or early 1150s, styling himself *rex Argwestil/Arewestil*.⁸ Possibly he obtained the backing of Cadell ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth, who witnessed the first charter and also Bishop Meurig (Maurice) of Bangor's confirmation of the second, as a counterweight to the ambitions of Madog ap Maredudd (d. 1160) of Powys, who asserted overlordship over Hywel and his land by 1151.⁹ Hywel joined Madog in Henry II's campaign against Owain Gwynedd in 1157 and the later medieval prose tale *Breuddwyd*

⁵ *Cartae; CAC; LW; Ystrad Marchell Charters*. These examples are of course not exhaustive. Among other valuable earlier editions are Una Rees's publication of the Haughmond Cartulary (*Cart. Haugh.*) and papers by J. Beverley Smith printing previously unpublished documents.

⁶ *EWGT*, 104–5. For the rulers of Arwystli see further Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [II]', 28–32; Stephenson, 'Politics of Powys Wenwynwyn', 43–4, 46; Carr, 'Debatable land', 39–45; Pryce, 'Church of Trefeglwys', esp. 15–18, 42–7.

⁷ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 50; *BT, RBH*, 110–13; cf. Davies, *Conquest*, 72.

⁸ Nos 1–2.

⁹ No. 480.

Rhonabwy claimed that Madog's authority extended as far south as Gwanan 'in the farthest part of Arwystli'.¹⁰ A poem by Cynddelw (fl. c.1155–c.1195) thanking Hywel for the gift of a bull associates the ruler of Arwystli with Talgarth (SH 962 902), half a mile south-west of Trefeglwys, suggesting that this was Hywel's principal court.¹¹ A patron of the Augustinians of Haughmond by the early 1150s, Hywel later also seems to have supported the Cistercians, as he was buried at Strata Florida Abbey on his death in 1185.¹² The choice of burial place may also indicate that Hywel had aligned himself with the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, the most powerful Welsh ruler after the death of Owain Gwynedd in 1170, and youngest brother and eventual successor of Cadell ap Gruffudd with whom Hywel seems to have been associated earlier.¹³

Hywel had at least six sons, but the extent to which these maintained their father's authority in Arwystli is uncertain.¹⁴ None of these sons is known to have styled himself, or been referred to, as 'king'. Lloyd, relying on the Welsh chronicles, held that Hywel was succeeded by Owain o'r Brithdir (thus named after a township in the parish of Llanidloes), and that the cantref was annexed by Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog of Powys after Owain's death in 1197.¹⁵ The sequence of events may have been the reverse, however, as all versions of the chronicle record Owain's death after stating that Gwenwynwyn seized Arwystli. More importantly, the charters issued by Owain's brothers and sons suggest that the succession to Arwystli was more complex than Lloyd suggested, and that Hywel ab Ieuaf's sons and grandsons retained significant influence in the region until at least c.1216. As Cadwaladr ap Hywel's grant of lands in the parish of Trefeglwys to Strata Marcella was made no later than December 1196, Owain o'r Brithdir cannot have held all his father's lands in the cantref.¹⁶ The confirmations for Strata Marcella in 1198 by Meurig and Hywel may suggest, moreover, that the abbey considered them to be at least potentially powerful despite Gwenwynwyn's annexation the previous year.¹⁷ Meurig also occurs as a grantor of lands in the parish of Trefeglwys in 1208.¹⁸ It is unknown whether this charter was issued before or after Llywelyn's occupation of the lands of Gwenwynwyn (including, presumably, Arwystli) following the latter's arrest by King John in 1208. Gwenwynwyn was restored to his lands with the king's support at about the end of November 1210.¹⁹

Another son of Hywel ab Ieuaf, Cadwallon, confirmed lands to Strata Marcella in 1206,

¹⁰ *HW*, ii. 496; *Breudwyt Ronabwy*, 1. Gwanan has not been identified, but the description of it as lying 'in the farthest part' (*yg gwarthaf*) of Arwystli suggests a location in the northern commote of Arwystli Uwchcoed: *ibid.*, 24. See also R. G. Gruffydd, *Studia Celtica*, 38 (2004), 97.

¹¹ *GCBM I*, no. 22.

¹² *BT, Pen20Tr*, 73; *BT, RBH*, 168–9. The suggestion of Williams, *Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida*, 111, followed by *HW*, ii. 598, n. 130, that Hywel may have granted the church of Llangurig to Strata Florida should be disregarded, as the church was granted to the abbey by Cadwgan, bishop of Bangor: *CPL*, i. 558–9.

¹³ Carr, 'Debatable land', 41.

¹⁴ *Ystrad Marchell Charters*, 72. 'Gruffudd Carno' should be discounted: see note to no. 10.

¹⁵ *HW*, ii. 566, 584; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 79; *BT, RBH*, 180–1 (although the editor assigns the annals for this year to 1198, comparison with the Peniarth 20 version of the *Brut* shows that the correct year was 1197); *BS*, 144–5.

¹⁶ No. 7.

¹⁷ Nos 5, 8.

¹⁸ No. 6.

¹⁹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 83–4; *BT, RBH*, 188–9.

a grant confirmed in turn by Gruffudd Goch ap Gruffudd Carno, very probably Cadwallon's grandson, the following year.²⁰ Gruffudd Goch also occurs in 1208 and among the men of Arwystli at Llandinam in, probably, 1216 × c.1226; he may also be identifiable with the *Grifut Coyc* who witnessed a charter at Llandovery in 1215.²¹ Strata Marcella obtained wide-ranging confirmations from three of the sons of Owain o'r Brithdir in 1215.²² Since the year-date in those confirmations probably signified 25 March 1215 × 24 March 1216 by modern reckoning, they may have been made in the wake of Gwenwynwyn's expulsion from his lands by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd early in 1216.²³ Two of these sons of Owain o'r Brithdir, Dafydd and Owain, were probably present at Llandinam in 1216 × c.1226.²⁴

That Cadwallon ap Hywel's charter of 1206 and the charters of Dafydd and Owain, sons of Owain o'r Brithdir, are dated at Llandovery in Cantref Bychan, about thirty-six miles south-west of Talgarth, could indicate that the grantors were in exile when the charters were issued.²⁵ Likewise, the presence of Owain Brogyntyn in the witness list of the third Strata Marcella confirmation of 1215, issued by Madog ab Owain o'r Brithdir, may show that Owain had taken refuge north of Arwystli in Owain Brogyntyn's lands of Edeirnion and Dinmael.²⁶ Be that as it may, it appears that the dynasty suffered a reduction in its authority and lands in the thirteenth century, being subject to the overlordship of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and his son Gruffudd ap Llywelyn from 1216 to 1240 and to that of Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn and his son Owain ap Gruffudd from 1241 to 1274, when the cantref was seized by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd after the abortive assassination plot against him involving Owain.²⁷ Although it was recovered by Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn as a result of Edward I's first Welsh war of 1277, Llywelyn continued to assert his right to Arwystli in the years leading up to the conquest. The extent of the Arwystli dynasty's decline by this period is revealed by the unsuccessful, and quite possibly collusive, claims to the territory brought by several of Hywel ab Ieuaif's descendants against Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn and Owain ap Gruffudd in 1279–81.²⁸

CEDEWAIN

Maredudd ap Rhobert (d. 1244)

Maredudd is the only ruler of Cedewain known to have issued acts.²⁹ According to genealogists of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he was descended from Trahaearn ap Caradog and thus shared a common ancestry with the rulers of Arwystli.³⁰ The same sources

²⁰ Nos 9–10.

²¹ Nos 6, 11, 16; cf. *Ystrad Marchell Charters*, 81.

²² Nos 11–13.

²³ Stephenson, 'Politics of Powys Wenwynwyn', 43.

²⁴ No. 17.

²⁵ Nos 9, 11, 13.

²⁶ No. 12.

²⁷ Davies, *Conquest*, 217, 229–31; Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [II]', 32.

²⁸ *WAR*, 125–30; Carr, 'Debatable land', 42–4.

²⁹ For the history of Cedewain in this period see Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 10–21.

³⁰ *EWGT*, 105.

state that his mother was Dyddgu ferch Madog ab Idnerth. If this is correct, Maredudd was also related to the dynasty of Elfael-Maelienydd, with several of whose members he was associated in a letter from Llywelyn ap Iorwerth probably written in the summer of 1212.³¹ Maredudd's father Rhobert ap Llywarch ap Trahaearn has been assumed, probably correctly, to have been the same person as the Rhobert ap Llywarch who died in 1171.³²

The earliest certain reference to Maredudd in the sources occurs in 1211, when he is named as one of the Welsh lords who joined King John's campaign against Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and exchequer records show, contrary to the assertion of the Welsh chronicles, that he remained loyal to the king a year later, receiving payment from the crown in September 1212.³³ When Maredudd first established his authority over Cedewain is unknown. Although the two documents recording his judgement on behalf of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth at Llandinam in a dispute over lands in Arwystli, in which he is styled 'lord of Cedewain', could belong to Llywelyn's first occupation of Arwystli in 1208–10, they are far more likely to date from the prince's second period of occupation that began in 1216.³⁴ One reason for supposing this is that Maredudd is not attested as an ally of Llywelyn until 1215, whereas between at least August 1211 and September 1212 he was a supporter of John against Llywelyn. That the prince regarded Maredudd with suspicion at this time is shown by the letter, already mentioned, sent no later than the beginning of August 1212 in which Llywelyn urged Maredudd and other Welsh lords to protect the lands of Ratlinghope Priory in Shropshire.³⁵ The letter shows that at least some of the lords addressed were based in Ceri, the commote bordering immediately on Cedewain to the south. It is uncertain whether Maredudd, who is given no territorial designation in the letter, was in control of Cedewain by this time or was a refugee in Ceri together with the descendants of Madog ab Idnerth (possibly his maternal kin). However, the balance of probability is that his stature as a prominent Welsh ally of the king in 1211–12 derived from his tenure of the commote.³⁶ Whether, or for how long, he held the commote before 1211, we can only guess: the sources are silent about Maredudd, and indeed Cedewain, for the forty years following his father's death in 1171.³⁷ That the commote retained its autonomy in this period from the rulers of Powys is suggested, however, by the absence of any grants of land in it to Strata Marcella, in contrast to the situation in Arwystli.³⁸

³¹ No. 234.

³² *BT, Pen20Tr*, 66; *BT, RBH*, 152–3; cf. *HW*, ii. 648, n. 182; Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 11.

³³ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 85, 86; *BT, RBH*, 190–1, 194–5; *HW*, ii. 638, n. 131.

³⁴ Nos 16–17.

³⁵ No. 234.

³⁶ Although the Welsh chronicles refer to 'Maredudd ap Rhobert of Cedewain' in their accounts of John's campaign in 1211, this territorial association could have been made with the benefit of hindsight and does not provide contemporary testimony that he held the commote at that time. That Maredudd appears with the title *dominus* among the witnesses of Madog ap Maelgwn's charter for Cwm-hir in May 1212 may imply that he held Cedewain by then: no. 113. The genealogist Lewys Dwnn (c.1550–c.1616) asserted that Maredudd bought Cedewain from his maternal uncle, Madog ap Samwel, but the basis for this assertion is unclear: Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, i. 136 and n. 3.

³⁷ Remfry, 'Native Welsh Dynasties', 161 argues that Maredudd became lord of Cedewain only in August 1211, with royal support, and may have been landless before that.

³⁸ Cf. Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [II]', 35; Williams, *Atlas*, 91. Gerald of Wales implies that Cedewain had earlier been associated with Powys in an account of a threat by Bishop Adam of St Asaph in 1176 to enter Ceri *cum Powisensibus et de Keddewein: Gir. Camb. Op.*, i. 33 (*De rebus a se gestis*, I. 6).

From at least 1215 Maredudd was a prominent ally of Llywelyn, an alliance illustrated by several of his acts as well as by two issued by the prince.³⁹ However, after the prince's death he numbered among the Welsh lords who supported the claims of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn against Dafydd, Llywelyn's designated successor, in 1241.⁴⁰ By the end of his life Maredudd may have enjoyed the role of an elder statesman in Welsh politics, for the Welsh chroniclers commemorated him as the 'most eminent counsellor of Wales'.⁴¹ Yet, if his wider influence in Wales is clear, the nature of his rule in Cedewain remains elusive. Maredudd granted land at Aber-miwl and probably also at Gelynnog to Strata Florida, the abbey at which he eventually died, having taken the monastic habit, in 1244.⁴² Maredudd also founded a Cistercian nunnery at Llanllugan.⁴³ This patronage of the Cistercians may well have been designed in part to maintain the independence of Cedewain from Powys Wenwynwyn. In particular, Llanllugan, though apparently supervised by Strata Marcella, whose patrons were the rulers of Powys Wenwynwyn, was endowed in part with some of the lands between the Rhiw and the Helygi, along Cedewain's northern border with the Powysian commotes of Llannerch Hudol and Caereinion, which Maredudd seized from Gwenwynwyn *c.*1216.⁴⁴

Maredudd married Juliana de Lacy, on whom he apparently conferred (unspecified) dower lands and who survived him to marry Maredudd Sais by 1252. She may have been a daughter of Walter de Lacy (d. 1241) of Weobley in Herefordshire.⁴⁵ The date of the marriage is unknown, but is unlikely to have occurred before *c.*1205, if, as is very likely, she was the mother of Maredudd's son Owain II (d. 1261), who was presumably born after the death of his eldest son Owain I in 1236.⁴⁶ If she had also borne Owain I, she probably married Maredudd no later than *c.*1220, as the recording of Owain's death in the Welsh chronicles suggests that he was at least a young adult by 1236; moreover, Owain I had two younger brothers.⁴⁷ Maredudd was eventually succeeded in 1248 by Owain II, after the latter had promised to pay Henry III an entry fine of 300 marks. However, royal influence over Cedewain waned following Owain II's death on *c.*1 November 1261, when the commote appears to have been seized by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd of Gwynedd, who had already driven Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn from most of the neighbouring lands of southern Powys in 1257. Though Gruffudd was restored to the district between the Rhiw and the Helygi in his agreement with Llywelyn in December 1263, he was deprived of it by the prince, who had begun building a castle at Dolforwyn in Cedewain in 1273, after the discovery of Gruffudd's plot against him in 1274. Cedewain fell to royal forces in the spring of 1277 and was granted to Roger Mortimer on 6 January 1279.⁴⁸

³⁹ Maredudd was named, along with Gwenwynwyn and the warband of Madog ap Gruffudd, among those from Powys who joined Llywelyn's campaign in south-west Wales at the end of 1215: *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 91; *BT*, *RBH*, 206–7. See also nos 16–17, 19–20, 239, 242.

⁴⁰ Williams, 'Succession', 400, 404–5, 408; no. 21.

⁴¹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 106. *BT*, *RBH*, 238–9, and *BS*, 234–5, refer to him respectively as 'the chief counsellor of Wales' and 'the chief counsel of all Wales'.

⁴² No. 14; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 106; *BT*, *RBH*, 238–9; *AC*, 85.

⁴³ No. 18.

⁴⁴ For the seizure of these lands see no. 591.

⁴⁵ No. 15.

⁴⁶ Cf. *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 104; *BT*, *RBH*, 232–3; Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 12.

⁴⁷ No. 18.

⁴⁸ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 108, 112; *BT*, *RBH*, 242–3, 252–3; Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 12–20; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 183 and n. 169; *CChR 1257–1300*, 211.

DEHEUBARTH

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Deheubarth signified the kingdom in the south-west restored by Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 1137) and his sons which comprised Ystrad Tywi, Ceredigion and those areas of Dyfed seized from the Marcher lords.⁴⁹ The kingdom reached its greatest extent and power under Rhys ap Gruffudd, also known as the Lord Rhys, but after his death in 1197 its lands were fragmented as the result of struggles among his descendants, who sought support from both the princes of Gwynedd and the English crown. The dynasty, descended from Cadell ap Rhodri Mawr, achieved a remarkable recovery beginning in the generation after the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr in 1093 and the Norman conquest of Dyfed.⁵⁰ Rhys's son Gruffudd ap Rhys returned from exile in Ireland c.1113 and led risings against the Normans in 1115–16 and again, in alliance with the sons of Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd, in 1136–7.⁵¹ (Gruffudd ap Rhys married Gruffudd ap Cynan's daughter Gwenllian, the mother of his younger sons Maredudd and Rhys.) Attacks on the Normans were continued by Gruffudd's sons, whose co-operation and perseverance resulted in major territorial gains and the restoration of a native kingdom in the south-west.

Cadell ap Gruffudd (d. 1175)

Cadell succeeded to the kingship of Deheubarth after his brother and predecessor Anarawd ap Gruffudd was killed by the warband of Cadwaladr ap Gruffudd ap Cynan in 1143. (Anarawd's son Einion ab Anarawd served as Rhys ap Gruffudd's *penteulu* or chief of military retinue until he was killed at the instigation of Roger de Clare in 1163; Einion's son Anarawd ab Einion was a benefactor of the Hospitallers of Slebech.)⁵² Cadell's rule was marked by important military successes, often in conjunction with his younger half-brothers Maredudd and Rhys, including the capture of several castles in 1146 and the conquest of all of Ceredigion, apart from Pen-gwern in Llanfihangel, from Hywel ab Owain of Gwynedd by 1151.⁵³ However, later in that year Cadell was severely wounded by Normans from Tenby.⁵⁴ His injuries almost certainly incapacitated him as a ruler, since only Maredudd and Rhys are named as leading further campaigns in 1151 and 1153, and probably explain why he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, entrusting 'all his authority to Maredudd and Rhys, his brothers, until he should come back'.⁵⁵ The pilgrimage is assigned to 1153 in *Brut y Tywysogyon*, but both the B- and the C-texts of *Annales Cambriae* offer a different chronology, placing it in the year after the death of Maredudd ap Rhys in 1155,

⁴⁹ For Deheubarth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the essential narrative remains that of Lloyd in *HW*, ii. See also *idem*, 'Age of the native princes'; *idem*, *Story of Ceredigion*, 26–105; Davies, *Conquest*, esp. 34–43, 50–5, 217–27.

⁵⁰ *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 166–7 (*DK I.* 2, 3); *EWGT*, 39 (no. 2), 47 (no. 24). See further Maund, *Ireland, Wales and England*, 33–8; Moore, 'O Rys ap Tewdwr'.

⁵¹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 39–44, 51–2; *BT, RBH*, 82–97, 112–17; *AC*, 35–6, 40–1.

⁵² *BT, Pen20Tr*, 62–3; *BT, RBH*, 142–5; nos 31–2.

⁵³ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 53, 54, 55, 57; *BT, RBH*, 118–19, 120–3, 124–5, 128–31.

⁵⁴ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 57; *BT, RBH*, 130–1. *AC*, 45, places the wounding in the following year, in an annal which seems to cover events from February 1152 to 16 December 1153.

⁵⁵ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 58; also *BT, RBH*, 132–3.

and the year before Henry II's first Welsh campaign, that is, in 1156.⁵⁶ The account in *Brut y Tywysogyon* therefore implies that Cadell retained the kingship of Deheubarth until 1153, and then only abdicated temporarily in favour of his half-brothers. By contrast, the B-text of *Annales Cambriae* implies that Cadell had lost authority by 1155, for it states that, after the death of Maredudd, Rhys obtained his brother's 'portion'; only after Rhys had succeeded to the kingship did Cadell go to Rome. It is difficult to decide which of these accounts is likely to be more the accurate. However, the important point with respect to dating acts issued or witnessed by Cadell is that he seems to have lost his capacity to rule as 'king of Deheubarth' after he was wounded in 1151. He evidently returned from Rome, for he died at the Cistercian monastery of Strata Florida in 1175 after assuming the monastic habit.⁵⁷

Rhys ap Gruffudd (the Lord Rhys) (d. 28 April 1197)

All the Welsh narrative sources agree that Rhys succeeded his brother Maredudd – described in *Brut y Tywysogyon* as lord or king of Ceredigion, Ystrad Tywi and Dyfed – upon the latter's death, aged twenty-four, in 1155.⁵⁸ Though himself even younger than Maredudd, Rhys had almost a decade's experience of campaigning with his brothers and was thus well prepared for the new challenge to his dynasty's conquests posed by Henry II (1154–89). In 1158 Rhys was forced to submit to the king and surrender Ceredigion to Roger de Clare, earl of Hertford (d. 1173) and Cantref Bychan with its castle of Llandovery to Walter Clifford (d. 1190).⁵⁹ However, the prince seized every opportunity to regain these lands and, despite two royal campaigns against him in 1159 and 1163 (the latter followed by a further submission at Woodstock on 1 July 1163), the Marchers' recovery proved short-lived: Rhys seized Cantref Mawr before the end of 1163 and reconquered most of Ceredigion in 1164.⁶⁰ In August 1165 he joined his uncle Owain Gwynedd and other Welsh leaders at Corwen to resist Henry II's disastrous last campaign against the Welsh, and later that year Rhys completed the conquest of Ceredigion, capturing Cardigan and Cilgerran castles.⁶¹ Ceredigion remained in his hands for the rest of his reign, a success reflected in Rhys's surviving acts, all of which grant land in the region, and most of it continued to be held by his descendants until 1277. One consequence of the reconquest of Ceredigion was the prince's assumption of the patronage of Strata Florida, a daughter house of Whitland Abbey (another Cistercian house patronized by the prince) which had been founded in 1164 by his cousin, Robert fitz Stephen, the Clares' constable of Cardigan, and Rhys confirmed and augmented the possessions of other Marcher foundations in Ceredigion.⁶²

After the death of Owain Gwynedd in November 1170 Rhys became the most powerful Welsh ruler and remained so for the rest of his life. His hegemony in south Wales was

⁵⁶ *AC*, 46. These texts merely state that Cadell went on pilgrimage to Rome, without implying that he had only temporarily abdicated his authority.

⁵⁷ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 71; *BT*, *RBH*, 166–7. The former chronicle says that he died 'of a long infirmity', perhaps a reference to the injuries of 1151.

⁵⁸ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 58; *BT*, *RBH*, 132–3; *AC*, 46. Both versions of *BT* say that Maredudd died 'in the twenty-fifth year of his age'. For Rhys see further Jones and Pryce (eds), *Arghwydd Rhys* (esp. Smith, 'Trefnadaeth Deheubarth'), and Turvey, *Lord Rhys*.

⁵⁹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 60; *BT*, *RBH*, 136–9.

⁶⁰ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 61–3; *BT*, *RBH*, 140–5; *HW*, ii. 510–14.

⁶¹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 63–4; *BT*, *RBH*, 144–7.

⁶² Nos 23–4, 29.

recognized by Henry II, who in October 1171 confirmed Rhys in possession of Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi, together with Emlyn, Ystlwyf and Efelffre in Dyfed, and on his return from Ireland after Easter 1172 appointed the prince ‘justice in all south Wales’, thereby probably delegating to him authority over the Welsh rulers of Gwynllŵg, Gwent, Glamorgan, Maelienydd, Gwerthrynion and Elfael, rulers who accompanied him to meet Henry II at the council of Gloucester in June 1175 and most of whom were related to Rhys by marriage.⁶³ Despite strains, especially in 1184 and 1186, the détente with Henry II lasted until the latter’s death in July 1189. However, the last years of Rhys’s reign were marked by a resumption of hostilities against royal and Marcher lands and castles in south Wales as well as by increasingly bitter struggles among the prince’s sons, two of whom captured and briefly imprisoned their father in 1194.⁶⁴ Rhys died on 28 April 1197, aged sixty-five, and was buried in St Davids cathedral.⁶⁵

Rhys ap Gruffudd’s successors, 1197–1240

Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 25 July 1201), eldest legitimate son of Rhys ap Gruffudd and his wife Gwenllian ferch Madog ap Maredudd of Powys, was clearly the Lord Rhys’s chosen successor and was recognized by Richard I’s government shortly after his father’s death in 1197. However, the succession to Deheubarth was challenged by Gruffudd’s elder illegitimate half-brother Maelgwn ap Rhys, with whom Gruffudd had been in conflict since 1189, and later in 1197 Maelgwn, aided by Gwenwynwyn of southern Powys, occupied Ceredigion and captured Gruffudd, who was handed over for imprisonment to the English. Gruffudd was released in July 1198 and recovered all of Ceredigion apart from the castles of Cardigan and Ystradmeurig after Gwenwynwyn’s defeat at Painscastle on 13 August.⁶⁶ By December 1199 Maelgwn sought royal assistance and agreed by 11 April 1200 to surrender Cardigan and the adjacent commote of Is Hirwern to John in return for the four cantrefs of Ceredigion and Emlyn.⁶⁷ Gruffudd ap Rhys died on 25 July 1201, shortly after seizing Cantref Bychan and Llandovery following the death of his brother Maredudd ap Rhys on 2 July.⁶⁸ Gruffudd left a widow, Matilda de Braose (d. 29 December 1210),⁶⁹ with whom he had two sons, Rhys Ieuanc (d. August 1222) and Owain (d. 17 January 1235).

Maelgwn exploited the opportunity presented by Gruffudd’s death to recover Cilgerran in 1201 and, with Gwenwynwyn’s help, to occupy Cantref Mawr and Cantref Bychan in 1203, thereby excluding Gruffudd’s sons.⁷⁰ In 1204 Hywel Sais ap Rhys, an ally of Gruffudd, died, probably from wounds inflicted by Maelgwn’s men in Cemais. Later in that year Maelgwn was expelled from Ystrad Tywi by the sons of Gruffudd and their uncle Rhys Gryg ap Rhys (d. 1233): Rhys Ieuanc and Owain took Cantref Bychan, Rhys Gryg

⁶³ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 66–8, 70–1; *BT, RBH*, 154–5, 158–9, 164–5; Smith, ‘Trefadaeth Deheubarth’, 30–2.

⁶⁴ For the last phase of Rhys’s reign see most recently Gillingham, *English in the Twelfth Century*, 59–68.

⁶⁵ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 76–7; *BT, RBH*, 178–9; *AC*, 60–1; *AM*, ii. 66. As Lloyd suggested (*HW*, ii. 475, n. 53, 582 and n. 38), Rhys was probably born c.1132, as he was younger than Maredudd, who died in his twenty-fifth year in 1155 and was thus born 1130 × 1131.

⁶⁶ *AC*, 61; *CW*, 31–2; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 78–80; *BT, RBH*, 178–83; *HW*, ii. 584; Smith, ‘Dynastic succession’, 212–13.

⁶⁷ No. 41 and note.

⁶⁸ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 81; *BT, RBH*, 184–5.

⁶⁹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 84; *BT, RBH*, 190–1.

⁷⁰ *AC*, 63; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 82; *BT, RBH*, 186–7.

Cantref Mawr.⁷¹ From 1208 events in Deheubarth were greatly influenced by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd, who occupied Ceredigion north of the Ystwyth in that year and handed the area between the Ystwyth and the Aeron to Rhys Ieuanc and Owain sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys. However, their hold on Cantref Bychan and northern Ceredigion was interrupted, first, by Rhys Gryg's capture of Llandovery on 8 September 1210 and, second, by their expulsion from Ceredigion in the summer of 1211 by the forces of Falkes de Bréauté, Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg and their subsequent submission to John.⁷² By contrast, Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg, faced by John's castle-building policy in Wales after his defeat of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in the summer of 1211, defected from the crown and their rising was supported by Llywelyn the following summer (1212). The sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys remained loyal to the crown, however, and with its support seized Cantref Bychan and Cantref Mawr from Rhys Gryg in late January 1213; later in the year Rhys Gryg was captured and imprisoned in Carmarthen castle.⁷³ Rhys Ieuanc and Owain then changed sides again and allied with Maelgwn, secure in Ceredigion since 1210, in an invasion of Dyfed on 27 May 1215. The allies also sought the help of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, who in December 1215 led a force including them and also Rhys Gryg, released from captivity on 13 June 1215, which won major victories in Deheubarth, including the capture of Carmarthen.⁷⁴

At a council of his magnates at Aberdyfi early in 1216 Llywelyn imposed a partition on the rulers of Deheubarth that would last, with some modifications, until the prince's death in 1240.⁷⁵ Maelgwn chose the share comprising Cantref Gwarthaf (including Carmarthen), Cemais and Emlyn (including Cilgerran) in Dyfed; the commotes of Malläen in Cantref Mawr and Hirfryn (with Llandovery) in Cantref Bychan; and the commotes of Gwynionydd and Mebwynion in Ceredigion. Rhys Gryg was restored to Cantref Mawr and Cantref Bychan, apart from the commotes allocated to Maelgwn, and was also granted Cydweli and Carnwyllion in Dyfed, while the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys were restored to Ceredigion, apart from Gwynionydd and Mebwynion. Rhys Gryg's share was reduced at the end of August 1220, after Llywelyn arrived in Ystrad Tywi with an army and forced Rhys to surrender Cydweli, Carnwyllion, Gwidigada and Gower to the Marchers, in accordance with instructions from the regency government of Henry III.⁷⁶ On the death of Rhys Ieuanc without a direct heir in August 1222, Llywelyn divided his lands between Maelgwn and Owain ap Gruffudd.⁷⁷ William Marshal II's campaign in 1223 restored Cardigan and Carmarthen to the crown,⁷⁸ and by his death at Llannerch Aeron (20 November 1230 × 14

⁷¹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 82; *BT, RBH*, 186–7; *CW*, 32. These accounts of Hywel's death are probably more reliable than *AC*, 62 (B), which states that Hywel died from an illness at Chepstow after returning from John's court, which he had visited 'around Easter', or else was killed by *Franci*: see *HW*, ii. 618, n. 37; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 193–4.

⁷² *BT, Pen20Tr*, 83, 84, 85–6; *BT, RBH*, 188–9, 192–3; *CW*, 33–4.

⁷³ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 86–8; *BT, RBH*, 192–9; *CW*, 34–5.

⁷⁴ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 90–2; *BT, RBH*, 202–7; *CW*, 36; *AC*, 71–2.

⁷⁵ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 92; *BT, RBH*, 206–7; *CW*, 36; *HW*, ii. 649. Davies, *Conquest*, 228, has a map and notes that the division (as reported in *CW*) was made in accordance with the principles of Welsh law.

⁷⁶ No. 248; *HW*, ii. 659. However, Rhys seems to have been soon restored to Cydweli and still held it in 1222: Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh', 470–1.

⁷⁷ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 99; *BT, RBH*, 222–3; *AC*, 75 (B).

⁷⁸ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 99–100; *BT, RBH*, 222–5; *AC*, 75 (B); Carpenter, *Minority*, 307–9.

February 1231) Maelgwn's lands were largely concentrated in Ceredigion Is Aeron.⁷⁹ During the Marshal rebellion Rhys Gryg, Owain ap Gruffudd and Maelgwn Fychan ap Maelgwn (d. 1257) unsuccessfully besieged Carmarthen. Rhys Gryg was wounded when the siege was raised in March 1233 and died shortly afterwards at Llandeilo Fawr and was buried at St Davids near the grave of his father the Lord Rhys. Owain ap Gruffudd died at Strata Florida on 17 January 1235 and was buried in the chapter house near his brother Rhys Ieuanc.⁸⁰ Rhys Gryg's son Rhys Mechyll (d. 1244) and Owain's son Maredudd ab Owain (d. 1265) continued their fathers' lineages in Ystrad Tywi and Ceredigion respectively.

The lineage of Maelgwn ap Rhys, 1231–83

In the thirteenth century native lordship in Ceredigion was exercised by the lines of Maelgwn ap Rhys and his nephew Owain ap Gruffudd ap Rhys. Maelgwn's son and successor Maelgwn Fychan seems to have moved his power-base into northern Ceredigion, persuading Llywelyn ap Iorwerth to make Maredudd ab Owain grant him the commote of Mefenydd in exchange for Pennardd in 1236, allegedly with a view to despoiling the monks of Strata Florida of their lands at Ystradmeurig; he also held Creuddyn and probably gained Perfedd by the 1240s.⁸¹ However, in April 1246 Maelgwn was driven out of Ceredigion by a royal force sent in support of his kinsmen Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg and Maredudd ab Owain, and fled to Meirionnydd; although he subsequently made peace with the crown, Maelgwn was restored to only two commotes in the northern and southern extremities of Ceredigion, namely Genau'r-glyn and Is Coed.⁸² Maelgwn Fychan was predeceased by his son Rhys ap Maelgwn on c.24 June 1255 and died in 1257; both were buried at Strata Florida.⁸³

Rhys ap Maelgwn left two sons, Llywelyn ap Rhys (d. 13 January 1265) and Rhys Fychan ap Rhys (d. 1302).⁸⁴ Rhys Fychan appears to have been established in Genau'r-glyn by 1260, and in 1274 he obtained the contiguous commote of Perfedd in an exchange with Cynan ap Maredudd ab Owain, to whom he gave Pennardd.⁸⁵ Rhys Fychan surrendered to

⁷⁹ Chancery records last refer to Maelgwn on 20 November 1230; he had been replaced by his son, Maelgwn Fychan, by 14 February 1231: *CR 1227–31*, 458; *PR 1225–32*, 424. *Annales Cambriae* (C) places Maelgwn's death in 1230: *HW*, ii. 674, n. 110. By contrast, *BT, Pen20Tr*, 102, and *BT, RBH*, 228–9, place it as the first entry under 1231 and add that Maelgwn was buried in the chapter house of Strata Florida.

⁸⁰ Owain died at Strata Florida 'on the Wednesday next after the eighth day from Epiphany' in 1235 (*BT, Pen20Tr*, 103; *BT, RBH*, 232–3; *AC*, 81; *CW*, 38). Although the year was reckoned by Welsh chroniclers to begin on 25 March, this probably refers to 17 January 1235 rather than to 15 January 1236, as the entry is followed by an account of Henry III's marriage to Eleanor of Provence, said by both the vernacular and the Latin chronicles to have occurred in the same year as Gruffudd's death. Admittedly this is not in itself conclusive, since the marriage was celebrated on 20 January 1236, but it should be noted that the versions of *Brut y Tywysogyon* are more specific, placing the marriage at Christmas, presumably in 1235 by modern reckoning; if the sequence of events given is correct, this implies that the marriage occurred well after Gruffudd's death. See *BT, Pen20Tr*, 104, 203; *Ystrad Marchell Charters*, 30. Owain's death is assigned to 1236 in *HW*, ii. 768.

⁸¹ *AC*, 81 (B); *Rot. Claus.*, ii. 73a; *CPR 1232–47*, 488 (cited in *HW*, ii. 700, n. 39).

⁸² *AC*, 86; *CPR 1232–47*, 493; *HW*, ii. 710; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 55. Maelgwn's son-in-law Maredudd ap Llywelyn (d. 1255) was lord of Meirionnydd: n. 83 below.

⁸³ *AC*, 89; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 109, 111; *BT, RBH*, 244–7, 248–9.

⁸⁴ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 114; *BT, RBH*, 254–5.

⁸⁵ No. 66; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 117; *BT, RBH*, 262–3.

the crown in the 1277 war, doing homage to Edward I at Worcester on 1 July, but on *c.* 1 August he fled with the men of Genau'r-glyn to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.⁸⁶ Rhys briefly recovered his lands in the next Welsh war. On 24 or 25 March 1282 he joined Gruffudd ap Maredudd in capturing the town and castle of Aberystwyth, thereby acquiring the cantref of Penweddig (comprising Genau'r-glyn, Perfedd and Creuddyn).⁸⁷ However, in January 1283 Rhys surrendered to William de Valence, whose forces had reached Aberystwyth, and he remained in royal pay from March to July, when he defected to Dafydd ap Gruffudd (who had tried to win his support with a grant of Penweddig on 2 May). Captured shortly afterwards, Rhys spent the rest of his life in royal custody and service.⁸⁸

The lineage of Owain ap Gruffudd, 1235–83

By the 1240s Maredudd ab Owain ap Gruffudd held five commotes in Ceredigion: Genau'r-glyn, Pennardd, Mebwynion, Gwynionydd and Is Coed.⁸⁹ In April 1246, following the death of Dafydd ap Llywelyn in February, Maredudd, together with Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg, made peace with Henry III, and in August he received royal ratification of his grant of Gwynionydd in dower to his wife Elen.⁹⁰ Over ten years later, in early December 1256, Maredudd was granted Builth and the Lord Edward's lands around Llanbadarn Fawr by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, who had occupied northern Ceredigion. Maredudd did fealty to Llywelyn on that occasion and remained a loyal and active adherent of the prince until his death at Llanbadarn Fawr in March 1265, being praised by the native chronicler as 'defender of all Deheubarth and counsellor of all Wales'.⁹¹

Maredudd left three sons – Owain, Gruffudd and Cynan – whose lands lay south of the Ystwyth. Owain's share of his father's lands included Anhuniog, while Gruffudd appears to have held Gwynionydd.⁹² The sons continued their father's loyalty to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd.⁹³ Owain died on 18 July 1275.⁹⁴ His son Llywelyn ab Owain (d. 1309) was the only member of the dynasty of Deheubarth to retain lands in Ceredigion after the conquest of 1282–3.⁹⁵ Gruffudd, Cynan and their nephew Llywelyn surrendered to Payn de Chaworth, the commander of royal forces in west Wales, on 2 May 1277, quitclaiming the commotes of Mefenydd and Anhuniog to the crown, and did homage to Edward I at Worcester on 1 July. Gruffudd was allowed to return to Ceredigion, but Cynan was released only on 10 October, while Llywelyn ab Owain was detained as a ward of the king; his lands

⁸⁶ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 118–19; *BT, RBH*, 264–7; Griffiths, *PW*, 3–4.

⁸⁷ *CAC*, 44–5; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 120; *BT, RBH*, 268–71.

⁸⁸ Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 50–1; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 571–2 and n. 209; no. 457.

⁸⁹ *AC*, 81; *CPR 1232–47*, 487, 493; *CChR 1226–57*, 475.

⁹⁰ *CPR 1232–47*, 470, 479; no. 69.

⁹¹ *AC*, 91; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 110 (which erroneously states that Builth was granted to Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg), 114; *BT, RBH*, 246–7, 256–7; *HW*, ii, 718, 720–2, 725, 726–7; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 93–5, 98, 108, 151–2; no. 328. Maredudd was buried in the chapter house at Strata Florida.

⁹² Nos 71, 73.

⁹³ See nos 70, 72, 79–80, 221; Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 49–50.

⁹⁴ According to *BT, Pen20Tr*, 117, followed by *BS*, 250–1, he died 'on the fifteenth day from the Calends of August' (*y pymthecuet dyd o galan Awst*: *BT, Pen20*, 221). *BT, RBH*, 262–3, reads: 'on the fifteenth day from August' (*yn y pymthecuet tyd o Awst*). Cf. *BT, Pen20Tr*, 215. Presumably the Latin annal underlying these texts read *xv kal. Aug.*, i.e. 18 July.

⁹⁵ No. 83 and note. Llywelyn's lands were inherited by his sons Owain and Thomas after his death, which occurred in 1309, before 3 May: *CIPM*, v. 42–3 (no. 91).

were restored to him after he did homage to Edward I on 15 February 1279.⁹⁶ Cynan continued to hold lands in at least Perfedd, as he was in dispute with Strata Florida, situated in that commote, in 1279–80.⁹⁷ However, Cynan and Gruffudd increasingly resented the demands imposed by the royal administration based at Cardigan in the years after 1277, and both sided with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1282. Gruffudd joined Rhys Fychan ap Rhys in capturing Aberystwyth on 24 or 25 March and recovered Mefenydd.⁹⁸ After royal forces occupied Ceredigion in January 1283 Gruffudd joined Dafydd ap Gruffudd in Gwynedd; he issued a charter at Llanberis on 2 May, and presumably surrendered once Dafydd had been captured the following month.⁹⁹ Cynan (and Rhys Fychan) surrendered to William de Valence in January 1283, serving the crown from March to July before transferring their allegiance to Dafydd ap Gruffudd.¹⁰⁰ Shortly afterwards they were captured and imprisoned at Bridgnorth, and later occur, together with Gruffudd, in the king's service in Flanders in 1297.¹⁰¹ Gruffudd died by 24 March 1319 and Cynan by 18 June 1328; the latter ended his days in receipt of a corrody at the Augustinian house of Thornton in Lincolnshire.¹⁰²

The lineage of Rhys Gryg, 1233–83

None of Rhys Gryg's descendants succeeded in establishing hegemony over the whole of Ystrad Tywi.¹⁰³ Rhys's eldest son Rhys Mechyll (also known as Rhys Fychan) faced a challenge from his brother Maredudd ap Rhys (d. 1271), who, supported by Gilbert Marshal, appears to have held the four western commotes of Cantref Mawr in 1240, thereby establishing a lordship based on Dryslwyn castle and leaving Rhys Mechyll with the eastern commotes and Dinefwr castle. After his death, shortly before 6 April 1244,¹⁰⁴ Rhys Mechyll was succeeded by his son Rhys Fychan (d. 1271). Both Rhys Fychan and his uncle Maredudd ap Rhys submitted to Henry III in 1246. However, both Welsh rulers entered a confederacy with Owain ap Gruffudd and his brother Llywelyn in October 1251, and Maredudd joined in Llywelyn's conquest of Perfeddwlad in December 1256 and was subsequently restored to his lands in Ystrad Tywi, from which he had been expelled by Rhys Fychan in alliance with the English. However, while Rhys Fychan defected from the English during the campaign that ended in the Welsh victory at Cymerau in June 1257, thereafter remaining loyal to Llywelyn, Maredudd's allegiance wavered between Llywelyn

⁹⁶ No. 74; *BT, RBH*, 264–7; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 118–19; *CWR*, 180; Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 50.

⁹⁷ Nos 76, 81.

⁹⁸ No. 77; *CAC*, 44–5; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 120; *BT, RBH*, 268–71.

⁹⁹ No. 78; Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 51; *idem, PW*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Smith, *Llywelyn*, 572, n. 209.

¹⁰¹ Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 51; Morris, *Welsh Wars*, 279–80.

¹⁰² *CPR 1317–21*, 323; *CCR 1327–30*, 401. Cf. *CPR 1307–13*, 57; *CCR 1313–18*, 186. The records referring to Gruffudd ap Maredudd and his brother Cynan in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries show that the latter was a different person from the Cynan (?ap Maredudd) named with Madog ap Llywelyn as one of the leaders of the Welsh rising in 1294 (possibly in Brecon, where he was captured), who was executed at Hereford on 14 September 1295, notwithstanding the identification of him as Cynan ap Maredudd ab Owain ap Gruffudd in *BS*, 260–3 (partially followed by Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 51). *BT, Pen20Tr*, 122, and *AM*, iv. 522 (*Ann. Wig.*), respectively refer to him as Cynan ap Maredudd and *Conan*. Cf. Walker, 'Welsh war', xxviii; Edwards, 'Madog ap Llywelyn', 207.

¹⁰³ For Ystrad Tywi in the thirteenth century see Smith, "'Cronica de Wallia'", esp. 265–74.

¹⁰⁴ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 106; *BT, RBH*, 238–9; *HW*, ii. 710, n. 98, citing *CPR 1232–47*, 422.

and the crown in the following years, and at the Treaty of Montgomery he was the only ‘Welsh baron’ whose homage was denied Llywelyn, although the latter purchased it from the crown for 5,000 marks in 1270.¹⁰⁵ Maredudd died at Dryslwyn in 1271, probably on 27 July, and was buried at Whitland.¹⁰⁶ This was followed on 17 August by the death at Dinefwr of Rhys Fychan, who was buried at Talley.¹⁰⁷

Maredudd was succeeded at Dryslwyn and its appurtenant commotes of Catheiniog, Mabudrud and possibly Gwidigada by his son Rhys ap Maredudd (d. 1292), while Dinefwr and the eastern commotes of Cantref Mawr, namely Maenordeilo, Malláen, Cao and Mabelfyw fell to Rhys Fychan’s son Rhys Wyndod (d. 1302). Both lords surrendered to Payn de Chaworth in April 1277, while Hywel ap Rhys Gryg, who had been granted Mabelfyw and other lands in return for his homage by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in August 1258 after Maredudd ap Rhys’s defection to the crown, fled with Rhys Wyndod’s son Llywelyn to the prince in Gwynedd.¹⁰⁸ Both Rhys Wyndod and Rhys ap Maredudd recovered some of their lands in Ystrad Tywi following their surrender. However, the former joined in the Welsh rising in 1282, capturing the castles of Llandovery and Carreg Cennen which he had surrendered to the crown in April 1277, and he was among the adherents of Dafydd ap Gruffudd at Dolbadarn in May 1283.¹⁰⁹ Rhys ap Maredudd, by contrast, remained loyal to Edward I, and was duly rewarded with royal grants of the commotes of Mebwynion and Gwynionydd in Ceredigion as well as Rhys Wyndod’s commotes of Malláen and Cao. However, although he held all of Cantref Mawr except for the commote of Gwidigada, which, with Elfed, was retained by the crown, he failed in his long-cherished ambition to recover the ancestral seat of his dynasty at Dinefwr, which he finally quitclaimed to Edward on 16 October 1283.¹¹⁰ Within four years, in June 1287, an accumulation of grievances against royal officials at Carmarthen drove Rhys into a revolt which led to the seizure of his lands by the crown and to his execution at York on 2 June 1292, following his betrayal in Malláen the previous April.¹¹¹

ELFAEL AND MAELIENYDD

The cantrefws of Elfael and Maelienydd formed part of the region known as Rhwng Gwy a Hafren (between the Wye and the Severn) or the middle March, a region that also comprised the small commotes of Ceri, Gwerthrynion and Deuddwr and, originally, the

¹⁰⁵ Nos 316, 328–9, 363, c. x, 398 and note; *CIM*, i, nos 1443, 1800; *HW*, ii, 719–22; Smith, “‘Cronica de Wallia’”, 269–72.

¹⁰⁶ The date is given as ‘the sixth day from [the calends of] August’ (*y chwechet dyd o Awst*) in *BT*, *Pen20*, 219; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 116. According to *BT*, *RBH*, 258–9, and *BS*, 248–9, Maredudd died on the sixth day after the calends of August (i.e. 7 August). All the versions of the chronicle almost certainly derive their date from a Latin annal that read *vi kal. Aug.*, i.e. 27 July (as suggested in *HW*, ii, 750 and n. 179).

¹⁰⁷ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 116; *BT*, *RBH*, 258–9.

¹⁰⁸ Nos 85–8, 92–3, 99; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 118; *BT*, *RBH*, 264–5. Hywel’s loyalty to Llywelyn is emphasized in Smith, “‘Cronica de Wallia’”, 277. Hywel and his men received the king’s protection on 7 January 1278: *CWR*, 161; see also no. 89.

¹⁰⁹ Smith, *Llywelyn*, 421, 452, 523, 572 and n. 209; nos 78, 457; cf. nos 101–2.

¹¹⁰ No. 97; Smith, “‘Cronica de Wallia’”, 273–4.

¹¹¹ Smith, ‘Origins of the revolt’; Griffiths, *Conquerors*, 67–83.

cantref of Buellt (Builth).¹¹² Builth was conquered by the Braose family towards the end of the eleventh century.¹¹³ The remaining territories faced considerable pressure from the Marchers, especially the Mortimers of Wigmore, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and came under the overlordship of the princes of Gwynedd for two periods in the thirteenth century. The native rulers of Elfael and Maelienydd known to have issued acts belonged to the dynasty of Elystan Glodrydd; more precisely, they represent the lines of two of the sons of Madog ab Idnerth (d. 1140), namely Einion Clud (d. 1177) of Elfael and Cadwallon ap Madog (d. 1179) of Maelienydd.

The lineage of Einion Clud (d. 1177)

Einion Clud is first mentioned in the chronicles in 1160, when he was captured by his brother Cadwallon ap Madog and sent to Owain Gwynedd, who handed him over to the ‘French’ (that is, the Marchers), from whom he escaped.¹¹⁴ Five years later both brothers were in the Welsh force under Owain that faced Henry II.¹¹⁵ Einion married a daughter of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth, and, like Cadwallon, was one of the Welsh rulers who accompanied Rhys to the council of Gloucester in 1175. Einion was killed in 1177, though by whom is unknown.¹¹⁶ Shortly before his death he granted land in Elfael Is Mynydd to the Cistercian abbey of Cwm-hir, founded in 1176 by his brother Cadwallon.¹¹⁷

Einion Clud was succeeded by his son Einion o’r Porth, whom Gerald of Wales described as *Elevemiae princeps* in his account of Archbishop Baldwin’s journey to preach the Third Crusade in Wales in 1188. Einion and his first cousin Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, *princeps Maeleniae* were the only two Welsh lords to respond to Baldwin’s call to take the cross.¹¹⁸ Three years later, in 1191, Einion was killed by one of his brothers, probably Iorwerth, Maredudd or Gwallter Fychan.¹¹⁹ Like his father, he was a benefactor of Cwm-hir.¹²⁰ Within a few years of Einion’s death Elfael fell to William de Braose, lord of Brecon and Radnor, who held the castles of Colwyn and Painscastle by 1196, when these were taken by the Lord Rhys. However, despite Rhys’s military success, Braose retained his hold on the cantref, and Gwenwynwyn’s attempt to capture Painscastle in 1198 met with disaster. Among the Welsh killed by the English force relieving the siege on 13 August was Anarawd ab Einion, probably a son of Einion o’r Porth.¹²¹ It is likely that the Llywelyn ab Anarawd, who by December 1214 granted lands in Elfael near the border with the commote of Llythyfnwg to Cwm-hir, was a son of this Anarawd and thus a grandson of Einion o’r Porth.¹²² Whether he was the same as the Llywelyn ab Anarawd ‘of Gwerthryniön’ who

¹¹² *HW*, i. 252–6. For this region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries see further Smith, ‘Middle March’.

¹¹³ *HW*, ii. 402–3.

¹¹⁴ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 62; *BT*, *RBH*, 140–3.

¹¹⁵ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 63; *BT*, *RBH*, 144–5.

¹¹⁶ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 70, 72; *BT*, *RBH*, 164–5, 168–9.

¹¹⁷ No. 103.

¹¹⁸ *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 14, 16 (*IKI* 1).

¹¹⁹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 74; *BT*, *RBH*, 172–3; *CW*, 29. For the names of the three other known sons of Einion Clud see no. 234; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 90; *BT*, *RBH*, 202–3.

¹²⁰ No. 104.

¹²¹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 76, 79–80; *BT*, *RBH*, 176–7, 180–1; Smith, ‘Middle March’, 80; Remfry, *Political History of Abbey Cwmhir*, 7.

¹²² *Ibid.*; no. 104.

quitclaimed his rights in Gwerthrynion to Ralph Mortimer in 1241 is, by contrast, doubtful.¹²³ There is no evidence to suggest that Einion Clud's descendants held lands in Gwerthrynion, a commote independent of Elfael and Maelienydd in the late twelfth century under its own ruler, Einion ap Rhys, and the Llywelyn ab Anarawd who patronized Cwm-hir held lands in Elfael Is Mynydd.¹²⁴

If the identification of this Llywelyn ab Anarawd as a grandson of Einion o'r Porth is correct, he may well have died or been incapacitated by 1215, for in that year Reginald de Braose, as a result of his alliance with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, allowed Gwallter Fychan ab Einion Clud to take Elfael with its castles of Colwyn and Painscastle.¹²⁵ It is unknown for how long Gwallter held the cantref. Possibly it was recovered by Reginald de Braose after his submission to the crown in June 1217 and, although the Welsh seem to have occupied it by October 1228, following Reginald's death the previous June, it numbered among the Braose lordships eventually held by Hubert de Burgh following the death of William Marshal II on 5 April 1231, and de Burgh was responsible for the rebuilding of the castle at Painscastle by Henry III's army in August-September 1231.¹²⁶ However, although the Tony family were established in Elfael Is Mynydd by the 1240s, the line of Einion Clud retained some authority in the cantref, for its other commote of Elfael Uwch Mynydd was held by Owain ap Maredudd ab Einion Clud in 1248.¹²⁷ Owain submitted to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd after the latter's capture of Builth castle in July 1260, and was rewarded by the release of his son Madog, who had been imprisoned by Llywelyn, together with a gift of £300.¹²⁸ Owain was alive at the end of 1267, when Llywelyn ap Gruffudd complained to the king of Earl Gilbert de Clare's occupation of Elfael Is Mynydd despite its rightfully belonging to Owain, but was dead by November 1271. His sons succeeded him as lords of Elfael Uwch Mynydd and remained subject to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd until the Marchers recovered Elfael in 1277.¹²⁹

The lineage of Cadwallon ap Madog (d. 1179)

Cadwallon ap Madog successfully withstood pressure from the Mortimers and established a powerful lordship in Maelienydd and the adjoining commote of Ceri.¹³⁰ Although no acts of his are extant, he was probably responsible for founding – or, possibly, re-founding – the Cistercian abbey of Cwm-hir, a daughter house of Whitland, in 1176, and the grants of his sons and grandsons to the abbey may well include confirmations of lands originally donated by Cadwallon.¹³¹ After he was killed in 1179 Cadwallon was succeeded by his eldest son Maelgwn (d. 1197), described by Gerald of Wales as being 'prince of

¹²³ Smith, 'Middle March', 89, no. 2.

¹²⁴ For Gwerthrynion see *BT, Pen20Tr*, 70; *BT, RBH*, 164–5; *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 17 (*IK I*, 1); Smith, 'Middle March', 79–80, 83–4. Cf. Remfry, *Political History of Abbey Cwmhir*, 7, n. 43.

¹²⁵ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 90; *BT, RBH*, 202–3; *HW*, ii. 645.

¹²⁶ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 102; *BT, RBH*, 228–9; *PR 1225–32*, 205–6; Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh', 484, 487, 488–90; cf. *HW*, ii. 652, 666.

¹²⁷ *CR 1247–51*, 72, 113.

¹²⁸ *AC*, 98; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 112; *BT, RBH*, 250–1; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 127.

¹²⁹ Nos 106–7, 365; Smith, 'Middle March', 85–7.

¹³⁰ See Remfry, 'Cadwallon ap Madog'. His authority in Ceri is revealed in *Gir. Camb. Op.*, i. 37–8 (*De rebus a se gestis*, I. 6).

¹³¹ Remfry, 'Cadwallon ap Madog', 16, 23–4, 28, n. 45; *idem*, *Political History of Abbey Cwmhir*, 1–6. Although there is no earlier authority for Cadwallon's foundation of Cwm-hir than a petition of c. 1322 (*CAP*, 54–5), it is credible in view of the grant to the abbey by Einion Clud (d. 1177): no. 103.

Maelienydd' in 1188.¹³² It is quite possible that Maelgwn ap Cadwallon died in exile in Gwynedd, as both he and his younger brother Hywel were driven from Maelienydd by Roger Mortimer in 1195 and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth later claimed that he had fostered Maelgwn's son Madog ap Maelgwn.¹³³

Madog ap Maelgwn and his uncle Hywel ap Cadwallon ap Madog had re-established themselves in Maelienydd and Ceri by 1212 at the latest. Both were hanged on King John's orders at Bridgnorth in that year, almost certainly on c.3 August, for the murder of William de Mora.¹³⁴ However, Madog issued a charter granting lands to Cwm-hir in the south-east of Maelienydd in May 1212, and a letter from Llywelyn ap Iorwerth implies that both he and Hywel ap Cadwallon also held Ceri at about this time. These sources show, moreover, that Madog had turned against his erstwhile foster-father, as the charter contains a remarkable clause stating that Madog's nobles had sworn never to endure the dominion of any prince over them, a clear reference to Llywelyn, whose letter singled out Madog and warned him not to repay the good done to him by the prince with evil by attacking the lands of Ratlinghope Priory in Shropshire.¹³⁵ There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that Madog, together with his brothers (also addressed by Llywelyn in his letter) and uncle Hywel ap Cadwallon, were restored to at least part of their lands in Maelienydd and Ceri through an agreement with Roger Mortimer in 1210 or 1211.¹³⁶

It may well be that the execution of Madog and Hywel in August 1212 persuaded the two surviving sons of Maelgwn ap Cadwallon, namely Cadwallon and Maredudd, to renew their dynasty's close ties with Llywelyn, who had rapidly recovered from his crushing defeat by John the previous summer. They had certainly done so by 1215, for they joined the prince in his campaign in south-west Wales at the end of that year, and in May 1220 Llywelyn upheld the brothers' right to Maelienydd when he wrote to the papal legate, Pandulf, rejecting demands by the regency government in England that the cantref should be handed over to Hugh Mortimer.¹³⁷ Maelienydd continued to be held by the brothers, together with their first cousins, the sons of Hywel ap Cadwallon, under the overlordship of Llywelyn until the latter's death in April 1240. However, pressure from Ralph Mortimer was probably mounting by February 1241, as Maredudd and his kinsmen were granted a safe conduct to travel to the king at Worcester in that month, presumably in order to assert their claim to Maelienydd against the lord of Wigmore. They were at war with Mortimer by the summer, and on 14 August 1241 Maredudd ap Maelgwn, together with three sons of Hywel ap Cadwallon and their nephew Hywel ap Cadwallon ap Hywel, submitted to the king at Shrewsbury and agreed to a truce with Ralph Mortimer to last until Michaelmas.¹³⁸ A week later the king ominously notified 'the Welsh of the land late of Owain ap Hywel in Maelienydd' that he was willing to receive any of them who came into his peace and to the fealty and service of Ralph Mortimer.¹³⁹ Despite meetings with the king on the eve of the

¹³² *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 16 (*IK I.* 1); *BT, Pen20Tr*, 79; *BT, RBH*, 180–1.

¹³³ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 75; *BT, RBH*, 174–5; no. 234. See further Smith, 'Middle March', 81, with the modifications in *idem*, 'Cymer', 103–4.

¹³⁴ See note to no. 234.

¹³⁵ Nos 113, 234.

¹³⁶ See note to no. 113.

¹³⁷ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 91–2; *BT, RBH*, 206–7; no. 247.

¹³⁸ Nos 110–12, 116, 118; Smith, 'Middle March', 82–3.

¹³⁹ *CPR 1232–47*, 257.

expiry of the truce (28 September 1241) and again in 1243, the lords failed to recover Maelienydd.¹⁴⁰

However, Maredudd ap Maelgwn and Hywel ap Cadwallon appear to have retained half of the adjoining commote of Ceri until they were deprived of it for having broken their fealty to the king by siding with Dafydd ap Llywelyn in 1245–6. Their attempts to recover their half of the commote were unsuccessful, but their kinsman Owain ap Hywel ap Cadwallon (Maredudd's first cousin) promised an entry fine of £50 for the other half on 30 July 1248, though the grant did not become immediately effective, as on 5 November the king ordered Thomas Corbet to give Owain seisin without delay.¹⁴¹ Owain seems to have died by August 1253, since before Henry III sailed for Gascony in that month Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn successfully petitioned him for the farm of Ceri formerly taken by Owain.¹⁴² Yet Gruffudd's influence in Ceri was short-lived, as he was driven from most of his lands in Powys Wenwynwyn by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1257, and Maelienydd fell to the prince of Gwynedd in 1262.¹⁴³ Llywelyn was confirmed in his possession of Ceri by the Treaty of Montgomery (1267), which also provided that he would be allowed to hold Maelienydd if he could prove his right to it.¹⁴⁴ The prince's hold on the region ended with Edward I's first Welsh war of 1276–7.¹⁴⁵ Thereafter, although not entirely extinguished, the lordship exercised by the native dynasty of Maelienydd was a pale reflection of what it had been under Cadwallon ap Madog or the overlordship of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth. On 7 June 1278 Edward I granted a quarter of Ceri to Maredudd ap Maelgwn's son Madog and grandson Hywel ap Llywelyn.¹⁴⁶ The remaining three-quarters of the commote was granted on 6 January 1279 to Roger Mortimer, who also permanently recovered Maelienydd (and Gwerthrynion) for his family.¹⁴⁷

GLAMORGAN

Although nominally subject to the Anglo-Norman lords of Glamorgan, with their *caput* at Cardiff, the dynasty descended from Iestyn ap Gwrgant effectively controlled the uplands between the Taff and the Neath from the twelfth to the mid-thirteenth centuries.¹⁴⁸ It is

¹⁴⁰ See Smith, 'Middle March', 82–3 and note to no. 110. Only Maredudd ap Maelgwn and Owain ap Hywel ap Cadwallon were present at the latter meeting, and Owain's brothers Cadwallon and Maredudd are not attested after 1241.

¹⁴¹ No. 117; *Rot. Fin.*, ii. 37–8; *CR 1247–51*, 125. See further Cole, 'Elystan's line'; Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 31–2.

¹⁴² *CR 1253–4*, 108. (The petition has not been calendared among the lost acts of Gruffudd since the phrase *supplicavit nobis Griffinus filius Wehunwen per nuncios suos* suggests that it was made only orally, an interpretation arguably supported by the lack of any written record of the king's consent referred to retrospectively in this royal mandate of 27 December 1253.) Cf. also *ibid.*, 20–1. Owain was still alive in May 1251: Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 33.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 42; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 139–47.

¹⁴⁴ No. 363, cc. iv–v; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 183.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 418 and n. 105; Morgan, 'Territorial divisions [I]', 36–7.

¹⁴⁶ *CWR*, 166.

¹⁴⁷ *CChR 1257–1300*, 211; cf. *WAR*, 236, 242.

¹⁴⁸ For Glamorgan in this period see Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg'; Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan'; Crouch, 'Slow death'; Evans, 'Lords of Afan'.

likely that Iestyn, a follower of Caradog ap Gruffudd (d. 1081), last king of Morgannwg, died by 1127.¹⁴⁹ According to the antiquary Rice Merrick, drawing on the lost register of Neath Abbey, four of Caradog's sons were benefactors of the abbey, founded by Richard de Granville in 1130, and the grant of Llanilid by Rhys ab Iestyn was included in King John's confirmation for Neath in 1214.¹⁵⁰ Merrick also states that Rhys and his brother Rhiwallon made an agreement with Richard de Granville by which they were granted lands between the Neath and the Tawe, grants almost certainly datable to 1136 which were presumably designed to prevent further attacks on Richard's lands in western Glamorgan in the Welsh rising of that year.¹⁵¹ However, it was the line of Caradog ab Iestyn which came to dominate the hill country of Glamorgan, together with considerable areas of the lowlands between the Ogmere and Neath rivers, from the mid-twelfth century onwards.¹⁵²

Caradog and his wife Gwladus, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth, had four sons: Morgan, Cadwallon, Maredudd and Owain. According to Gerald of Wales, these shared authority over their father's lands after Caradog's death. Gerald also reports that, after killing Owain (an event that took place no later than November 1183), Cadwallon himself perished while besieging a castle.¹⁵³ Both men left sons: Morgan ab Owain, last attested in 1246,¹⁵⁴ and Morgan ap Cadwallon. The latter held the commote of Glynrhondda in the early thirteenth century, until it was annexed by his cousin Hywel ap Maredudd, lord of the commote of Meisgyn, in 1228.¹⁵⁵ Hywel presumably succeeded to Meisgyn after the death of his father Maredudd ap Caradog in 1211.¹⁵⁶ After the death of his cousin Morgan Gam in 1241 Hywel assumed the leadership of upland Glamorgan, but was expelled from his lands in 1246 by Richard de Clare.¹⁵⁷

The lineage of Morgan ap Caradog (d. c.1208)

Morgan was probably Caradog ab Iestyn's eldest son, as he succeeded to his father's extensive lands in the cantref of Afan and appears to have exercised some kind of overlordship over his brothers.¹⁵⁸ He is named first both in Gerald of Wales's account of Caradog's sons and in a charter issued jointly with two of his brothers, granted common pasture to Neath Abbey in

¹⁴⁹ Crouch, 'Slow death', 30–1; *AM*, i. 12.

¹⁵⁰ *Rice Merrick*, 13; no. 119.

¹⁵¹ *Rice Merrick*, 39, 54; Crouch, 'Robert, earl of Gloucester', 230; no. 120. The sons of Iestyn also attacked the lordship of Brecon: *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 20–1 (*IK* I. 2).

¹⁵² The family held lands as far east as the Llancarfan area: nos 132, 168.

¹⁵³ *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 69 (*IK* I. 7). Owain died during the reign of Henry II, while Earl William (d. 23 November 1183) was lord of Glamorgan; Cadwallon's death occurred by October 1191, when Gerald completed the first recension of *IK*. Joint lordship is arguably implied by a charter in which Caradog *Uerbeis* refers to land granted by him in Meisgyn as belonging to the *feudum* of Morgan, Cadwallon and Maredudd: *Cartae*, ii. 346–7 (no. 346). However, the precedence given to Morgan both here and in the brothers' confirmation of the grant (no. 121) suggests that he enjoyed some sort of supremacy, a point developed below.

¹⁵⁴ No. 187.

¹⁵⁵ *AM*, i. 36; Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 26.

¹⁵⁶ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 86. Maredudd led men in the service of Henry II in 1188, and occurs as a pledge with his brother Morgan ap Caradog in 1199: *Pipe Roll 34 Henry II*, 106; *Llandaff Episcopal Acta*, no. 44.

¹⁵⁷ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 107; *BT, RBH*, 240–1; Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan', 50–1; Walker and Spurgeon, 'Custody of the de Clare castles', 44.

¹⁵⁸ Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 36. See also RCAHMW, *Glamorgan III. 1a*, 17–19.

the mountains between the Taff and the Neath (an area including Meisgyn and Glynrhondda), and is the only member of his dynasty named as attending the council of Gloucester in 1175 with his maternal uncle the Lord Rhys.¹⁵⁹ It is unknown how long before this Morgan had succeeded his father, although it has been suggested, without explanation, that he may have done so c.1147 and his earliest extant charter, issued after Caradog's death, could be as early as 1158.¹⁶⁰ What is clear is that he gravitated into the political orbit of the Lord Rhys and sought to regain lands conquered by the Normans. In particular, Morgan seized the opportunity to realize his ambitions presented by the death of Earl William of Gloucester on 23 November 1183, as he must have been the leader behind the major Welsh rising in Glamorgan which erupted at the end of 1183 and continued into the following year.¹⁶¹ It was presumably as a result of this rising that Morgan came to control the strategically important lowlands around the Neath estuary, across whose quicksands he escorted Archbishop Baldwin in March 1188, control almost certainly secured by the building of a castle on the west bank of the river at Briton Ferry.¹⁶² Morgan significantly extended his hold on the lowlands after he was granted the castle and lordship of Newcastle, to the east of Afan, by Prince John, probably soon after John's marriage to Earl William's heiress Isabel of Gloucester on 29 August 1189. The lord of Afan's authority in Newcastle is reflected in his grants of land there to Margam Abbey, a Cistercian house founded by Robert, earl of Gloucester in 1147.¹⁶³ Morgan's latest charter bearing a date was issued at about Michaelmas 1208, and he probably died shortly after this.¹⁶⁴

Morgan was succeeded in Afan by the eldest of his four sons, Lleision ap Morgan, who led 200 troops in the service of King John in 1204 and who consented to several of his father's grants to Margam.¹⁶⁵ Lleision's latest dated charter was issued on Christmas Day 1213.¹⁶⁶ He was probably dead by the summer of 1217, when Llywelyn ap Iorwerth granted Landimôr in Gower to Lleision's brother Morgan Gam, a grant which implies that Morgan was lord of Afan.¹⁶⁷ If so, it is likely that by then Morgan Gam had also outlived his other two brothers, Owain and Cadwallon, both of whom were almost certainly older than him. Owain seems to have been Morgan ap Caradog's second son, for, unlike Cadwallon or Morgan Gam, he issued two charters jointly with Lleision and also confirmed grants by his father and Lleision.¹⁶⁸ That Cadwallon was the third son is suggested by his confirmation of grants by his father, Lleision and Owain.¹⁶⁹ Morgan ap Caradog also had at least one

¹⁵⁹ See n. 153 above; nos 121, 140; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 70–1; *BT, RBH*, 164–5.

¹⁶⁰ RCAHMW, *Glamorgan III. 1a*, 17; no. 121.

¹⁶¹ Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 34, 36–8.

¹⁶² *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 72 (*IK I.* 8); Wilkinson, 'Excavations at Hen Gastell', esp. 5–6, 35–6; RCAHMW, *Glamorgan III. 1a*, 18, 139–41. The principal stronghold of the lords of Afan in this period was probably Plas Baglan (SS 756 923), the site of a masonry castle by the thirteenth century: *ibid.*, 38, 149–52.

¹⁶³ Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 38–9; nos 124–30, 139, 142–3, 145–6, 148; Cowley, *Monastic Order*, 22–3.

¹⁶⁴ No. 148; Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 39, 587, n. 182.

¹⁶⁵ *Rot. Lib.*, 88; nos 124, 136–7, 142, 146. Lleision is called Morgan ap Caradog's *primogenitus* in no. 137.

¹⁶⁶ No. 167.

¹⁶⁷ No. 239; cf. Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan', 46.

¹⁶⁸ Nos 160–1, 170–2.

¹⁶⁹ No. 173.

daughter, Gwenllian, who, like Lleision and Owain, appears to have had rights in land in the fee of Newcastle.¹⁷⁰

Morgan Gam lost control of Newcastle, and sought to recover it as well as to remain independent of his nominal overlord, Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford (1218–30), to the extent of confirming Gilbert's charters for Margam after his death.¹⁷¹ Although he was imprisoned by Gilbert in 1228–9, Morgan resumed his attacks after his release, joining Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, an ally since 1217, in his campaigns in south Wales in 1231 and 1232, by which time the lordship of Glamorgan was in royal custody during the minority of Gilbert's heir, Richard de Clare. Morgan died in February 1241 and was buried at Margam.¹⁷² He was succeeded by his sons Lleision and then, by 1262, Morgan Fychan (d. 1288), under whom Afan was subjected to the authority of the lord of Glamorgan and increasingly integrated into neighbouring Marcher society. The Anglicization of Morgan Gam's descendants – illustrated by the title 'lord of Avene' adopted by Morgan Fychan's son Lleision – helps to explain why, alone of the Welsh lordships of Glamorgan, Afan survived into the fourteenth century.¹⁷³

GWYNEDD

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Gwynedd, the most powerful of the medieval Welsh kingdoms, was ruled by descendants of Rhodri Mawr (d. 878), son of Merfyn Frych (d. 844), founder of the kingdom's second dynasty.¹⁷⁴ The heartland of the rulers' power lay in Gwynedd Uwch Conwy, the districts to the west of the river Conwy protected by the mountain ranges of Snowdonia comprising the cantrefs of Arllechwedd, Arfon, Llŷn, Ardudwy and Meirionnydd, the commote of Eifionydd and the island of Anglesey, site of the rulers' principal court of Aberffraw. For much of this period the rulers also controlled the districts east of the Conwy, namely the cantrefs of Dyffryn Clwyd, Rhos, Rhufoniog and Tegeingl (Englefield) known variously as Gwynedd Is Conwy, Perfeddwlad (lit. 'Middle Country') or the Four Cantrefs. In its full extent, therefore, Gwynedd consisted of a broad arc of territory in north Wales extending from the river Dee near Chester to the river Dyfi which marked the border with Ceredigion.¹⁷⁵ In addition, the kingdom's rulers sought to extend their authority beyond Gwynedd, notably at the expense of Powys, and for significant periods in the thirteenth century Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 1240) and his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 1282) succeeded in establishing a hegemony over the other native rulers that made them the most powerful rulers in Wales. This dominance was recognized in 1267 by the Treaty of Montgomery, in which the English crown granted to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and his successors the title of 'prince of Wales'. However, Llywelyn's hegemony was short-lived, and Edward I's conquest of Gwynedd in 1282–3 marked the extinction of native rule in Wales.

¹⁷⁰ No. 169.

¹⁷¹ No. 178. For what follows see Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan', 46–50.

¹⁷² *AM*, i. 116.

¹⁷³ Evans, 'Lords of Afan', 28–31; Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan', 51–2.

¹⁷⁴ *EWGT*, 36, 38; cf. Maund, *Welsh Kings*, 37–42.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. *HW*, i. 229–42; Jones, 'Defences of Gwynedd'; Stephenson, *Governance*, xiii–xvi.

Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1137)

Gruffudd re-established the dynasty of Rhodri Mawr, excluded from power since 1039, as rulers of Gwynedd, a position maintained by his descendants until the Edwardian conquest.¹⁷⁶ The son of Cynan ab Iago ab Idwal and his Hiberno-Scandinavian mother Raghnhildr, daughter of Olaf Sihtricsson, Gruffudd was born in Dublin *c.*1055. He first crossed the Irish Sea to try and seize Gwynedd in 1075 and eventually killed its king, Trahaearn ap Caradog, at the battle of Mynydd Carn in 1081. Shortly afterwards, however, Gruffudd was captured by the Normans and imprisoned for at least twelve years at Chester, and his rule in Gwynedd effectively began only after the final expulsion of the Normans from Gwynedd Uwch Conwy in 1098 and his acquisition of Anglesey the following year.¹⁷⁷ The dominance he subsequently achieved in Gwynedd was facilitated by a minority in the earldom of Chester from 1101 to 1114, and had grown sufficiently threatening by the latter year for Henry I to lead a campaign in Wales which secured Gruffudd's submission.¹⁷⁸ Thereafter Gruffudd took care not to provoke the king and concentrated on consolidating his power in north Wales. After the expulsion, probably in 1098, of the Breton Hervé, consecrated bishop of Bangor in 1092 when Robert of Rhuddlan held Gwynedd, Gruffudd kept the see vacant until April 1120, when he secured the consecration of his nominee, David the Scot (d. 1139).¹⁷⁹ During the remaining years of his reign Gruffudd sought to expand Gwynedd, thereby providing a channel for the ambitions of his three sons, who led campaigns into Meirionnydd (1124), Dyffryn Clwyd (1125), Powys (1132) and Ceredigion (1136).¹⁸⁰ Gruffudd died in 1137 aged eighty-two and was buried in Bangor cathedral.¹⁸¹ He was survived by his widow Angharad (d. 1162), daughter of Owain ab Edwin of Dyffryn Clwyd, mother of his sons Cadwallon (killed in 1132), Owain and Cadwaladr, as well as five daughters, including Gwenllïan (d. 1136), wife of Gruffudd ap Rhys (d. 1137) of Deheubarth, and Susanna, wife of Madog ap Maredudd (d. 1160) of Powys.¹⁸²

Owain Gwynedd (d. (?23) November 1170)

Gruffudd ap Cynan was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Owain, who not only maintained unitary rule of Gwynedd but also, by the last decade of his life, assumed the leadership of native Wales against the English.¹⁸³ After his accession Owain completed the conquest of Ceredigion, undertaken in alliance with the dynasty of Deheubarth, and granted the southern half to his son Hywel and the northern half to his brother Cadwaladr, who also held Meirionnydd and Anglesey. (It is uncertain whether Cadwaladr possessed Nefyn in Llŷn, whose church he granted to the Augustinian abbey of Haughmond in Shropshire, before his expulsion from Gwynedd in 1152 or only after his restoration in 1157.)¹⁸⁴ However, in 1143 Cadwaladr was temporarily expelled from his share of

¹⁷⁶ See further Maund (ed.), *Gruffudd ap Cynan; Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. Evans.

¹⁷⁷ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 20–1; *BT, RBH*, 36–9.

¹⁷⁸ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 37–8; *BT, RBH*, 78–83.

¹⁷⁹ No. 191.

¹⁸⁰ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 49, 50, 51–2; *BT, RBH*, 108–11, 112–15.

¹⁸¹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 52; *BT, RBH*, 116–17; *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. Evans, 33.

¹⁸² *EWGT*, 47 (no. 25), 98 (no. 5a), 104 (no. 12); *BT, Pen20Tr*, 50, 62; *BT, RBH*, 112–13, 142–3; *HW*, ii. 470.

¹⁸³ See further Smith, 'Owain Gwynedd'; Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd'.

¹⁸⁴ No. 197.

Ceredigion, and also possibly from Anglesey, as punishment for the murder by his warband of Anarawd ap Gruffudd ap Rhys, to whom Owain's daughter was betrothed, and in 1147 he was driven out of Meirionnydd by Hywel and Cynan sons of Owain.¹⁸⁵ His position became even more precarious in 1150, when Hywel seized his son Cadfan, to whom Cadwaladr had transferred northern Ceredigion the previous year, and in 1152 Cadwaladr was expelled from Anglesey and sought refuge in England, being granted the estate of Ness in Shropshire by Henry II by 1155 or 1156. In the mean time, the attempt to annex Ceredigion to the dynasty of Gwynedd had been thwarted by Cadell ap Gruffudd and his younger brothers Maredudd and Rhys, who had captured the whole region except for one castle from Hywel ab Owain by 1151.¹⁸⁶ The pressure on Ceredigion by the dynasty of Deheubarth helps to explain why Owain Gwynedd resumed his kingdom's expansion in the north-east, capturing the commote of Iâl in 1149 and, it seems, Tegeingl by the following year; the attempt to check his progress by Madog ap Maredudd of Powys and forces supplied by Ranulf II, earl of Chester ended in victory for Owain at the battle of Coleshill in 1150.¹⁸⁷

However, Owain faced a more formidable opponent in Henry II, whose campaign against Gwynedd in the summer of 1157, supported by the exiled Cadwaladr, Madog ap Maredudd, Madog's brother Iorwerth Goch and Hywel ab Ieuf of Arwystli, compelled him to submit and give homage to the king, surrender his conquests in Tegeingl and restore Cadwaladr to his lands.¹⁸⁸ After his restoration Cadwaladr remained loyal to his brother for the rest of his life. The death of Madog ap Maredudd in 1160 presented further opportunities for expansion, and Owain seems immediately to have occupied the Powysian commotes of Edeirnion and Cyfeiliog.¹⁸⁹ On 1 July 1163 he demonstrated his continuing submission to Henry II by giving homage to the king at Woodstock following the king's second Welsh campaign, against the Lord Rhys, who also gave homage on that occasion.¹⁹⁰ However, by the autumn it appears that Owain had angered the king by adopting the title 'prince', and by the end of 1164 he had assumed the leadership of the Welsh in a widespread rising against the Marchers and the crown and approached Louis VII of France in an attempt to form a Franco-Welsh alliance against Henry II. The Welsh rising provoked a major royal campaign against Owain and his allies, gathered at Corwen in August 1165, that ended in disaster for the king as his army fell victim to torrential rains on the Berwyn mountains and was forced to retreat.¹⁹¹

After Henry's defeat in 1165 Owain was at the height of his power, a dominance given expression by the adoption in his letters of the titles 'prince of the Welsh' and 'prince of Wales'.¹⁹² In 1166–7 he recovered Tegeingl with the support, in the latter year, of his nephew Rhys ap Gruffudd of Deheubarth.¹⁹³ He also continued his negotiations with Louis VII, no doubt being one of the 'kings of Wales' who sent messengers to the French king in 1168 to forge an alliance against Henry II. The authority enjoyed by Owain in his last years is

¹⁸⁵ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 53, 56; *BT*, *RBH*, 118–19.

¹⁸⁶ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 57–8; *BT*, *RBH*, 128–31; *HW*, ii. 496.

¹⁸⁷ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 55, 57; *BT*, *RBH*, 124–5, 128–9; *HW*, ii. 492, 494–5; cf. Smith, 'Castell Gwyddgrug'.

¹⁸⁸ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 59–60; *BT*, *RBH*, 134–7; *HW*, ii. 496–500.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 510.

¹⁹⁰ *Diceto*, i. 311.

¹⁹¹ Latimer, 'Henry II's campaign'; Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd'; *CTB*, i, no. 12; nos 193–4 below.

¹⁹² No. 196; *CTB*, ii, nos 202, 223; below, p. 74.

¹⁹³ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 64–5; *BT*, *RBH*, 148–9.

reflected in his unflinching defiance of attempts by Archbishop Thomas Becket and Pope Alexander III both to secure the election of a bishop of Bangor acceptable to the archbishop, following the death of Bishop Meurig (Maurice) in 1161, and, by 1169, to compel him to separate from his wife Cristin ferch Gronw ab Owain, on the grounds that she was his first cousin and thus related within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.¹⁹⁴ This defiance of the ecclesiastical authorities led to his being excommunicated by his death in November 1170, probably on the twenty-third of that month, but the sentence was disregarded by his clergy, who buried Owain in Bangor cathedral. His brother Cadwaladr died in 1172, probably on 29 February, and was buried beside him.¹⁹⁵

The struggle for Gwynedd, 1170–1201

The succession to Owain Gwynedd was contested among his sons and grandsons, resulting in a division of Gwynedd that was eventually overcome by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, who succeeded in subduing the whole of the kingdom by 1201.¹⁹⁶ Owain's eldest son, and possibly his intended successor, Hywel ab Owain was killed by his half-brothers Dafydd and Rhodri at the battle of Pentraeth towards the end of 1170.¹⁹⁷ An attempt by Dafydd in 1173–4 to establish hegemony over all of Gwynedd was thwarted in 1175 by his brother Rhodri, with the result that Dafydd was largely confined to Gwynedd Is Conwy, though he also exercised lordship in at least part of Llŷn, granting land and tithes at Nefyn no earlier than 1177.¹⁹⁸ Rhodri controlled Anglesey, Arllechwedd and Arfon while Gruffudd and Maredudd, sons of Cynan ab Owain (d. 1174), held Eifionydd, Ardudwy and Meirionnydd. Despite his failure to overcome his brother and nephews, Dafydd may have remained the most powerful ruler in Gwynedd until 1194. One advantage he enjoyed was an alliance with the English crown: he married Henry II's half-sister Emma of Anjou in the summer of 1174, and was the only ruler of Gwynedd present at the council of Oxford in May 1177, when he was granted the manor of Ellesmere in Shropshire as a marriage gift.¹⁹⁹ However, Dafydd lost most of his lands in Gwynedd after his defeat by Gruffudd and Maredudd sons of Cynan and their cousin Llywelyn ap Iorwerth at the mouth of the Conwy in 1194. The role of Rhodri in that battle is uncertain, but after his death the following year Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain achieved a dominant position in Gwynedd, holding Anglesey, Arfon, Arllechwedd and Llŷn; in addition, he seems to have continued to exercise lordship in Meirionnydd while his brother Maredudd held Eifionydd and Ardudwy.²⁰⁰

After the defeat of Dafydd in 1194 most of Perfeddwlad was held by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, the son, born in 1173, of Iorwerth Drwyndwn ab Owain Gwynedd and Marared

¹⁹⁴ *CTB*, ii, nos 190, 202; Pryce, 'Owain Gwynedd', 1–2, 9.

¹⁹⁵ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 65, 68 and notes at 184, 185; *BT*, *RBH*, 158–9; *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi, 133 (*IK* II, 8); *HW*, ii, 522 and n. 136, 550 and n. 67.

¹⁹⁶ For interpretations of the events of this period see *HW*, ii, 549–53, 564–5, 587–90, 612–15; Stephenson, *Governance*, 199–200; Carr, 'Prydydd y Moch'; Insley, 'Wilderness years'.

¹⁹⁷ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 65; *BT*, *RBH*, 150–1; 'Gwaith Peryf ap Cedifor', ed. Owen; Smith, 'Dynastic succession', 213–15.

¹⁹⁸ Nos 198–9; Stephenson, *Governance*, xviii, n. 10.

¹⁹⁹ *HW*, ii, 551, 552–3; Carr, 'Prydydd y Moch', 166–7. Dafydd's special status in Gwynedd is implicit in Roger of Howden's account of the council of Oxford, in which Dafydd, termed *rex Nortwalliae*, is listed only second, after the Lord Rhys, *rex Swtwalliae*, among the Welsh rulers present: *Gesta*, ed. Stubbs, i, 162; cf. *Chronica*, ed. Stubbs, ii, 133–4.

²⁰⁰ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 75; *BT*, *RBH*, 174–5; *AC*, 59; *HW*, ii, 588–9; Smith, 'Age of the princes', 18–21; Pryce, 'Medieval church', 276–7.

(Margaret), daughter of Madog ap Maredudd (d. 1160) of Powys. Iorwerth seems to have played little or no part in the struggle for the succession to his father, perhaps because he was prevented by a facial disfigurement, though he remained in Gwynedd, being buried in Penmachno.²⁰¹ The date of Iorwerth's death is unknown, but, according to Gerald of Wales, Llywelyn had begun staking his claim to Gwynedd in 1188 by attacking both Dafydd and Rhodri.²⁰² Llywelyn consolidated his grip on Perfeddwlad in 1197 by capturing Dafydd, who, after his release the following January, spent the rest of his life in English exile and died in 1203 (by 27 May).²⁰³ Dafydd's widow Emma still held the manor of Halesowen in 1212 and their son Owain ap Dafydd remained with her in England, receiving a (speculative) grant of lands in Gwynedd from King John in October of the same year.²⁰⁴

When Llywelyn succeeded in extending his power west of the Conwy to the heartland of Gwynedd is uncertain, but there is a good case for supposing that he mounted a serious challenge to Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain Gwynedd's hegemony during 1199. (Llywelyn's two charters for Aberconwy Abbey, dated 7 January 1199, are spurious and therefore cannot be used as evidence in this connection.)²⁰⁵ On 28 September Llywelyn was granted protection by King John and confirmed in all his lands. However, on 3 December John granted Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain all the lands he could win from the king's enemies, and a similar grant was made to Gwenwynwyn ab Owain of Powys the following day.²⁰⁶ These grants suggest that the crown feared Llywelyn's growing power in Gwynedd; moreover, the favour shown Gruffudd may imply that he had already been displaced by Llywelyn.²⁰⁷ A further indication of Llywelyn's ambitions in the autumn of 1199 is his petition to Pope Innocent III to be allowed to marry the daughter of Rogvald (Reginald), king of Man and the Isles, notwithstanding the fact that she had previously been betrothed to his uncle Rhodri ab Owain (d. 1195). It is surely significant that the pope's response, addressed to the bishop of Man, the archdeacon of Bangor and the prior of Ynys Lannog and dated 24 November 1199, refers to Llywelyn as *princeps Norwallie*, no doubt echoing the usage in the petition.²⁰⁸ By the end of October it seems, then, that Llywelyn sought to revive the Manx alliance which had earlier helped to strengthen Rhodri's position and had also adopted a title asserting his right to rule the whole of Gwynedd, a title also used by Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain.²⁰⁹

²⁰¹ *HW*, ii. 550, 587.

²⁰² *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 134 (*IK* II. 8).

²⁰³ *HW*, ii. 589–90 and n. 76; *Rot. Lib.*, 36.

²⁰⁴ *HW*, ii. 616, n. 26, 640. Dafydd and Emma had been granted Halesowen by Henry II: *ibid.*, 590. Since this edition went to press Louise Wilkinson has drawn my attention to a legal case in 1221 in which the abbot of Halesowen claimed that Emma, after receiving Halesowen from Henry II, had granted land pertaining to the manor *in maritagium* with her niece Agnes to the defendant, Stephen of Chatley, although this was denied by Stephen's attorney: *CRR*, x. 137–8. The outcome of the dispute is unknown, and, even if the abbot's claim was correct, it is uncertain whether Emma's grant was the subject of a written act.

²⁰⁵ Nos 218–19 and notes.

²⁰⁶ *Rot. Chart.*, 23a, 63a; *HW*, ii. 614–15.

²⁰⁷ Smith, 'Cymer', 103–4; *idem*, 'Age of the princes', 19–21; Smith and Butler, 'Cistercian order', 301–3.

²⁰⁸ *Reg. Innocenz' III.*, ii. 430–1 (no. 224).

²⁰⁹ No. 206. Cf. the reference in September 1199 to *petitio Gifini principis Norwalliae* to build a Cistercian abbey, presumably Cymer: *Statuta*, ed. Canivez, i. 236; Smith, 'Cymer', 104. Given the scarcity of evidence, it is, of course, possible that Llywelyn had adopted the title *princeps Norwallie* before 1199, though he is unlikely to have done so before his occupation of Perfeddwlad in 1194: cf. nos 213, 216.

If this interpretation is correct, Gruffudd ap Cynan ab Owain may well already have lost much if not all of his power in Gwynedd Uwch Conwy to Llywelyn when he retired in 1200 to die in the abbey of Aberconwy, of which he was a benefactor.²¹⁰ In any event, there can be no doubt that Llywelyn was master of Gwynedd after Gruffudd's death, a mastery consolidated by his expulsion of Maredudd ap Cynan from Llŷn in 1201. (Maredudd was expelled from Meirionnydd the following year by his nephew Hywel ap Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1216), who accepted Llywelyn's overlordship, and died in 1212.)²¹¹ The prince's supremacy was further secured by obtaining the recognition and support of the crown, which began efforts to negotiate with Llywelyn in January 1201 that culminated in a peace agreement on 11 July: the prince swore fealty to the king in return for seisin of the lands in his possession and also promised to give him homage after his return to England from the continent.²¹²

Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (d. 11 April 1240)

From 1201 Llywelyn's supremacy in Gwynedd appears to have been unchallenged, providing the foundation from which he eventually established a hegemony over native Wales greater than that achieved by any Welsh ruler since Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (d. 1063).²¹³ The *rapprochement* with John lasted until 1210. It was reinforced by the prince's marriage to the king's illegitimate daughter Joan (d. 1237), which probably took place in the spring of 1205; Llywelyn was granted Ellesmere, resumed by the crown following Dafydd ab Owain's death in 1203, as a marriage gift on 16 April 1205.²¹⁴ (Though papal approval had been given in April 1203 for the Manx marriage requested by Llywelyn in 1199, this decision was reversed on 17 February 1205 in the light of new evidence that Rhodri ab Owain had in fact consummated his marriage to Rognvald's daughter.)²¹⁵ John accepted the prince's occupation of southern Powys following Gwenwynwyn's arrest at Shrewsbury on 8 October 1208, and Llywelyn joined the royal campaign against William I of Scotland the following year.²¹⁶ However, these friendly relations broke down in 1210, a change reflected in John's restoration of Gwenwynwyn to his lands about the end of November.²¹⁷ This was followed, in the summer of 1211, by a devastating royal campaign against Gwynedd which compelled Llywelyn to accept harsh terms of surrender on 12 August, notably the quitclaim to the king of Gwynedd east of the Conwy (Perfeddwlad), a concession that the rest of Gwynedd would escheat to the crown if the prince died without an heir with Joan and the promise of a massive tribute of 10,000 cows.²¹⁸

In August 1211 not only had Llywelyn's ambitions for wider hegemony in Wales been crushed but his control of Gwynedd had been severely curtailed and its future as a native principality put into question. Within less than a year, however, John's efforts to tighten his grip on Wales through a programme of castle building had lost him the support of several of the Welsh leaders who had joined him in 1211: in July 1212 Llywelyn recovered

²¹⁰ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 80; *BT*, *RBH*, 182–3; no. 206.

²¹¹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 81; *BT*, *RBH*, 182–3; *CW*, 32; *HW*, ii. 648, n. 181.

²¹² No. 221; Rowlands, '1201 peace'.

²¹³ For recent assessments of Llywelyn's reign see Davies, *Conquest*, 236–51; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 11–29.

²¹⁴ *HW*, ii. 616–17 and nn. 27–8; cf. nos 225–7.

²¹⁵ *Reg. Innocenz' III.*, vi. 69–70 (no. 47); *ibid.*, vii. 383–6 (no. 220); cf. Pryce, *Native Law*, 84–6.

²¹⁶ No. 228; *HW*, ii. 622–3.

²¹⁷ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 84; *BT*, *RBH*, 188–9.

²¹⁸ Davies, *Conquest*, 295–6; Smith, 'Magna Carta'; no. 233.

Perfeddwlad apart from the castles of Degannwy and Rhuddlan, forming a pact with Maelgwn and Rhys Gryg, sons of the Lord Rhys, in Deheubarth and Gwenwynwyn in southern Powys, who likewise rose against the English. Llywelyn's determination to lead the Welsh against John in the summer of 1212 is further revealed by his alliance with Philip Augustus, king of France.²¹⁹ Rumours of a plot against him forced John to call off a campaign against Gwynedd in August 1212, and by June 1213, following the lifting of the interdict and the surrender of his kingdom to the papacy, the king agreed to a truce with Llywelyn – who had completed his conquest of Perfeddwlad by capturing Degannwy and Rhuddlan earlier in the year – which lasted until May 1215. However, Llywelyn then resumed his attacks, in an alliance with the baronial opposition to the king negotiated by Giles de Braose, and captured Shrewsbury. The peace achieved by the issue on 15 June of Magna Carta, in which the king agreed to restore to the Welsh their lands and charters, including that granted by Llywelyn in 1211, soon broke down and in December 1215 Llywelyn led an army comprising the forces of nearly all the native Welsh rulers into south-west Wales, where he conquered extensive territories, including the royal strongholds of Cardigan and Carmarthen.²²⁰ In 1216–17 the prince's hegemony was extended even further. His authority over the native rulers of the south was demonstrated at Aberdyfi early in 1216, when, with his council, he presided over a partition of Deheubarth among the sons and grandsons of the Lord Rhys. In southern Powys his intervention that year was more direct, as Llywelyn expelled Gwenwynwyn from his lands after the latter's defection to John and occupied them for the rest of his life.²²¹ The submission of Reginald de Braose, previously loyal to the Welsh, to the regency government of the young Henry III in June 1217 precipitated renewed campaigning by Llywelyn in the south, in Brycheiniog, Gower and Dyfed.²²² Although the Treaty of Lambeth that ended the civil war in England in September 1217 included an offer of peace to Llywelyn and his Welsh allies, a settlement was only reached six months later.²²³

The three agreements at Worcester in March 1218 negotiated by the papal legate Guala acknowledged Llywelyn's dominant position in Wales. The prince was effectively confirmed in his occupation of Powys and of the royal castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen, but at the price of asserting the king's overlordship not only over him but also, crucially, the other Welsh lords, who were required to do homage to the king.²²⁴ That these agreements did not satisfy Llywelyn's ambitions is revealed by his subsequent claims to the homages of Welsh rulers, including an abortive attempt to have them do homage to his son and chosen successor Dafydd in 1238;²²⁵ by renewed attacks on Marcher and royal lands and castles in the 1220s and 1230s;²²⁶ and by his adoption, probably in 1230, of a new title, 'prince of Aberffraw and lord of Snowdon', which proclaimed his dual status as both overlord of the

²¹⁹ No. 235.

²²⁰ *HW*, ii. 639–48; Smith, 'Magna Carta'; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 88, 90, 91–2; *BT*, *RBH*, 198–9, 202–3, 204–7.

²²¹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 92; *BT*, *RBH*, 206–9; Davies, *Conquest*, 228.

²²² *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 95–6; *BT*, *RBH*, 214–17.

²²³ *HW*, ii. 653; Smith, 'Treaty of Lambeth', 577–8 (c. 10); cf. Painter, *William Marshal*, 252.

²²⁴ Nos 240–2. For further consideration of Llywelyn's relations with the crown from 1218 onwards see Walker, 'Hubert de Burgh'; Pryce, 'Negotiating Anglo-Welsh relations'.

²²⁵ No. 247; Williams, 'Succession', 395–6.

²²⁶ *HW*, ii. 658–63, 667–9, 673–80.

whole of native Wales and ruler of his patrimonial principality of Gwynedd.²²⁷ Yet, though Llywelyn continued to dominate Wales for the rest of his life, notwithstanding some setbacks (notably in 1223, when William Marshal II recovered Cardigan and Carmarthen and the prince was forced to submit to the king at Montgomery), he never succeeded in securing a comprehensive peace granting him royal confirmation of all his territorial gains and, above all, the homages of the other Welsh rulers.²²⁸ The series of truces agreed after the withdrawal of Henry III's army from Painscastle in September 1231, while renewed, with some modifications, until the prince's death, were primarily concerned with procedures for securing compensation and settling disputes arising from warfare in the March rather than with a resolution of fundamental issues in Anglo-Welsh relations.²²⁹

Llywelyn's efforts to ensure the succession of Dafydd, his son by Joan, were integral to his aim of maintaining the supremacy of Gwynedd.²³⁰ The designation of Dafydd, born after August 1211, as heir in preference to his elder half-brother Gruffudd, the result of an extra-marital relationship with Tangwystl, was justified by Llywelyn on the grounds of Gruffudd's illegitimacy. Dafydd's status as successor was confirmed by the crown in 1220 (and again in 1229, when the king took Dafydd's homage for 'all the rights and liberties' which would fall to him after his father's death) as well as by the pope in 1222.²³¹ Llywelyn also sought to elevate Dafydd's status by securing for him the hand of Isabella de Braose, daughter of William de Braose, lord of Brecon and Builth, together with a promise of Builth as her dowry, as conditions of her father's release after his capture in Henry III's Ceri campaign of 1228; the marriage went ahead in 1230 despite the execution of William on 2 May for his affair with Joan, discovered the previous Easter.²³² Not surprisingly, the designation of Dafydd as heir was resented by Gruffudd, who enjoyed considerable sympathy in Gwynedd. Llywelyn dispossessed Gruffudd of Meirionnydd and Arduwy in 1221, but subsequently granted him southern Powys, which he was holding in 1226.²³³ However, Gruffudd was imprisoned by his father from 1228 to 1234, after which he appears to have been reinstated in southern Powys and was granted, or restored to, Llŷn, until Dafydd, following his receipt of fealty from the other Welsh princes at Strata Florida on 19 October 1238 (a move designed further to secure his succession), expelled him from the lands in Powys, leaving him only Llŷn.²³⁴

Dafydd's mother Joan, legitimized by Pope Honorius III in April 1226, died at Aber in February 1237 and was buried across the Menai at Llan-faes on Anglesey, where Llywelyn founded a Franciscan friary in her memory.²³⁵ Although imprisoned after the discovery of her affair with William de Braose at Easter 1230, she was released the following year and resumed her role as a negotiator with the crown on behalf of her husband; indeed, her status seems to have grown during her last years, to judge by her adoption of the new title

²²⁷ See below, pp. 76–7.

²²⁸ No. 254 and note.

²²⁹ Nos 266–7, 269–70, 273–4.

²³⁰ See further Smith, 'Dynastic succession', 218–20; *idem*, *Llywelyn*, 12–14, 25–6.

²³¹ No. 253; *PR* 1225–32, 269–70.

²³² *AM*, iii. 117; nos 261–3.

²³³ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 98; *BT*, *RBH*, 220–1; nos 282–3.

²³⁴ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 103, 104; *BT*, *RBH*, 232–3, 234–5.

²³⁵ *CPL*, i. 109; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 104; *BT*, *RBH*, 234–5. The date of death given in *Brut y Tywysogyon* (February) and *Ann. Cestr.*, 60–1 (the Purification, i.e. 2 February) is probably preferable to that of the Tewkesbury annals (30 March 1237): *AM*, i. 101.

of ‘lady of Wales’.²³⁶ Llywelyn died three years later, on 11 April 1240, after assuming the monastic habit at Aberconwy, where he was buried.²³⁷

Dafydd ap Llywelyn (d. 25 February 1246)

Dafydd succeeded his father and swiftly made peace with the crown, which showed its determination to prevent him from maintaining the wide authority in Wales enjoyed by Llywelyn. Thus it was for Gwynedd only that Dafydd gave homage to the king at Gloucester on 15 May 1240. Moreover, he agreed that claims by Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn and other of the ‘king’s barons’ (meaning the Marchers) to lands held by him should be subject to arbitration and explicitly conceded all the homages of the ‘barons of Wales’ to the king. Dafydd’s readiness to submit reflected the fragility of his position in Gwynedd, where, according to Matthew Paris, his elder half-brother Gruffudd waged war against him from Llywelyn’s death in April until he was captured by Dafydd around the end of September.²³⁸ Once Gruffudd was imprisoned at Cricieth castle Dafydd had less incentive to comply with the provisions for arbitration and, after failing on several occasions to appear before the arbitrators as requested, a royal campaign was mounted against Gwynedd which forced him to surrender to the king at Gwerneigrön near Rhuddlan on 29 August 1241. The terms granted threatened the integrity of Gwynedd. Dafydd was required not only to surrender Tegeingl, one of the four cantrefs of Perfeddwlad, to the crown but also, more importantly, to hand over Gruffudd and the latter’s eldest son Owain to the custody of the king, who would decide whether Gruffudd was entitled to a portion of Gwynedd.²³⁹ The agreement was confirmed in London on 24 October, when Dafydd granted Degannwy to the king to cover the expenses of the royal campaign against him and also conceded, as his father had done thirty years earlier, that Gwynedd should escheat to the crown if he died without a legitimate heir.²⁴⁰ The scale of Dafydd’s humiliation is reflected in the new style he adopted after his submission at Gwerneigrön, namely, *David filius Lewelini quondam principis Norwallie* (‘Dafydd son of Llywelyn, the former prince of North Wales’).

One key to Henry’s success was the support he received from other Welsh lords, including Gruffudd ap Madog of northern Powys and Maredudd ap Rhobert of Cedewain as well as the dispossessed Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of southern Powys, who appear as pledges for Senana in the agreement she reached with the king at Shrewsbury on 12 August for the release of her husband Gruffudd ap Llywelyn.²⁴¹ The claims of Gruffudd and the sympathy he enjoyed in Wales enabled the king to hold Dafydd in check. However, this restraint was lifted on 1 March 1244 when Gruffudd fell to his death while trying to escape from the Tower of London, where he had been held since September 1241.²⁴² By June Dafydd had risen in alliance with the other Welsh rulers apart from Gruffudd ap Madog and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn in Powys and Morgan ap Hywel of Caerleon and attacked the Marchers

²³⁶ *HW*, ii. 685–6; nos 280–1.

²³⁷ Paris, *CM*, iv. 8; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 105; *BT*, *RBH*, 236–7; *AC*, 82–3; *CW*, 38.

²³⁸ No. 291 and note.

²³⁹ *HW*, ii. 696–8; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 32–5; nos 300–3.

²⁴⁰ Nos 304–5.

²⁴¹ No. 284.

²⁴² Paris, *CM*, iv. 295–6; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 106; *BT*, *RBH*, 238–9; *AC*, 84–5. For events between the deaths of Gruffudd and Dafydd see further *HW*, ii. 700–6; Smith, *Llywelyn*, 47–55.

and the English border. In June or July he also urged Pope Innocent IV to annul the agreements made with Henry in 1241 on the grounds that these had been extracted from Dafydd by force through an unjust war after the king had disregarded the earlier agreement to settle disputes by arbitration. Moreover, the prince sought to secure his independence of the king by claiming to hold Gwynedd as a vassal of the pope, and also adopted the title ‘prince of Wales’. This bid for independence foundered in April 1245, when, in response to pressure from Henry’s proctors, Innocent IV declared that Dafydd was a vassal of the king of England.²⁴³ However, the prince and his allies – who by January 1245 included, significantly, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s second son Llywelyn ap Gruffudd²⁴⁴ – continued to wage war across Wales, eventually provoking another royal campaign against Gwynedd in August 1245. Yet, though Henry reached the Conwy estuary and built an imposing new castle at Degannwy, he failed to penetrate Gwynedd Uwch Conwy and secure Dafydd’s submission and so on 26 October he withdrew to Chester, ordering an embargo on trade with Wales. Four months later, on 25 February 1246, Dafydd died, still childless, at Aber and was buried beside his father at Aberconwy.²⁴⁵

Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (d. 11 December 1282)

Llywelyn ap Gruffudd is perhaps the best known, and certainly the most studied, Welsh ruler of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁴⁶ Already before the death of his father Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in March 1244, Llywelyn had established himself in the cantref of Dyffryn Clwyd and he had joined Dafydd ap Llywelyn’s war against the English by the end of that year. On Dafydd’s death in February 1246 he pressed his claim to share in the rule of Gwynedd, which was partitioned between him and his elder brother Owain, ‘by counsel of the wise men of the land’.²⁴⁷ However, Gwynedd was further weakened as Owain and Llywelyn were unable to resist the royal army which reached Degannwy in the spring of 1247, and on 30 April they were compelled in the Treaty of Woodstock to cede Perfeddwlad to the crown and hold Gwynedd Uwch Conwy from the king in return for military service.²⁴⁸ Although Henry III had not invoked the terms of the Treaty of Gwerneigrion and its associated agreements, he had ensured that Gwynedd would be both truncated and divided. Further division followed with the allocation, probably by Owain, of the commote of Cymydmaen in Llŷn to Gruffudd ap Llywelyn’s third son Dafydd by July 1252.²⁴⁹ Llywelyn sought to strengthen his position by forming an alliance (jointly with his brother Owain) with Maredudd ap Rhys Gryg and Rhys Fychan ap Rhys of Deheubarth in October 1251.²⁵⁰ Yet the key to mastery of Gwynedd lay in overcoming his brothers, whose disputes with him over the partition of the territory were exploited by the crown by 1253,

²⁴³ Richter, ‘David ap Llywelyn’; nos 306–8.

²⁴⁴ *CR* 1242–7, 347.

²⁴⁵ The date is given in *Ann. Cestr.*, 64–5 (*quinto kal. Martii*) and *AM*, iv, 437 (*Ann. Wig: prima die Quadragesimae*). *Brut y Tywysogyon* places the death in March: *BT, Pen20Tr*, 106; *BT, RBH*, 238–9. *AC*, 85 gives only the year.

²⁴⁶ Smith, *Llywelyn*, provides a detailed and fully documented biography; references in the following paragraphs will therefore be largely confined to documents contained in the present edition. Llywelyn’s career is also assessed in Davies, *Conquest*, chs. 12–13.

²⁴⁷ No. 318; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 107; cf. *BT, RBH*, 238–41.

²⁴⁸ No. 312.

²⁴⁹ No. 440.

²⁵⁰ No. 316; cf. also no. 323.

and in mid-June 1255 Llywelyn defeated and captured Owain and Dafydd at the battle of Bryn Derwin, near the boundary between Arfon and Eifionydd. Owain remained a prisoner for over twenty years, being eventually released as one of the terms of the Treaty of Aberconwy in November 1277, when he was granted Llŷn. He appears to have played no active political role thereafter and died before Llywelyn, probably in 1282.²⁵¹

The victory at Bryn Derwin gave Llywelyn control of most of Gwynedd Uwch Conwy. It was followed, in November 1256, by the recovery of Perfeddwlad (apart from the castles of Diserth and Degannwy, eventually captured in 1263) and by campaigns in 1257–8 which resulted in the annexation of Meirionnydd, the restoration of northern Ceredigion to its native dynasty and of Maredudd ap Rhys, Llywelyn's ally, to Ystrad Tywi, the recovery of Builth and Gwerthrynion by the Welsh, and the prince's occupation of southern Powys. A royal campaign against Gwynedd in August–September 1257 achieved little. Llywelyn's dominance was reflected in the agreement of mutual aid reached in March 1258 with the baronial party in Scotland led by the Comyns, in which he is given the title 'prince of Wales' at the head of a list of most other native rulers.²⁵² Possibly the Welsh parties to the agreement gave their assent to it on the same occasion in 1258 that all the Welsh lords formed a pact in which they may well have sworn allegiance to the prince.

However, Llywelyn appreciated that, for his hegemony to endure, he needed above all to secure peace with the English crown. The first step in this direction was taken on 17 June 1258, when the king, facing baronial discontent in England, abandoned plans for another Welsh campaign and agreed a truce with Llywelyn which would last for four years.²⁵³ There followed, in October 1259, the first of a series of attempts by Llywelyn to obtain royal recognition of his paramount status in Wales through an offer of homage and payments in return for the homages of the other Welsh rulers.²⁵⁴ The prince was not inhibited by such negotiations from seizing the castle and lordship of Builth from Roger Mortimer in 1260; and, after the final collapse of the truce in November 1262, it was to the middle March that he turned in his next phase of territorial expansion. (He had also, by September 1262, adopted a new, self-confident title, 'prince of Wales and lord of Snowdon', after a period of using no title at all since his appearance as 'prince of Wales' in the Scottish agreement of March 1258.)²⁵⁵ Maelienydd, held by Mortimer, was overrun; the Welsh of Brecon and Blaenllyfni rose to join Llywelyn; and by March 1263 the prince's forces threatened Abergavenny. In the north-east Diserth and Degannwy were finally captured in August and September respectively, and in December Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn abandoned his fealty to the king and came to terms with Llywelyn.²⁵⁶

In 1263, too, the prince began co-operating with Simon de Montfort in the baronial war against Henry III, and on 19 June 1265 secured an agreement with de Montfort, acting in the king's name, whereby Llywelyn promised to pay 30,000 marks in return for peace and the recognition that he held the principality of Wales from the king.²⁵⁷ Though the agreement did not survive de Montfort's death at Evesham on 4 August 1265, it indicated the kind of

²⁵¹ Smith, *Llywelyn*, 440–1 and n. 190.

²⁵² No. 328.

²⁵³ Nos 331, 336, 342.

²⁵⁴ No. 338.

²⁵⁵ No. 353.

²⁵⁶ No. 358.

²⁵⁷ Nos 361–2.

settlement Llywelyn had been seeking since at least 1259 and provided a precedent for the more comprehensive and durable peace concluded, through the arbitration of the papal legate Ottobuono, with Henry III and the Lord Edward at Montgomery on 29 September 1267.²⁵⁸ By the Treaty of Montgomery Llywelyn became the first (and last) Welsh ruler to receive official recognition from the English crown as prince of Wales, ruling a principality of Wales comprising not only Gwynedd (including Perfeddwlad) but also all the territories held by the ‘Welsh barons of Wales’ (except for Maredudd ap Rhys of Ystrad Tywi). In return, Llywelyn was obliged to give homage and fealty to the king together with 25,000 marks, to be paid in annual instalments. Although the treaty proved to be less supportive of his position as prince of Wales than Llywelyn had hoped and failed to avert further conflict, its significance should not be underestimated: the recognition attained by Llywelyn in 1267 not only set the seal on a remarkable political ascendancy beginning with the victory at Bryn Derwin twelve years earlier but marked the realization of a goal that had eluded even his grandfather Llywelyn ap Iorwerth at the height of his power.

Over the next decade Llywelyn’s authority faced challenges from several directions: the Marcher lords, especially in the south-east; the Welsh leaders of newly conquered areas, notably Maelienydd, Elfael and Brecon; the bishops of Bangor and especially St Asaph;²⁵⁹ and from within his own family. Despite his destruction of Earl Gilbert de Clare’s new castle at Caerphilly in 1270, the prince failed in his attempts to extend his power over the Welsh of upland Glamorgan, while Humphrey de Bohun and Roger Mortimer respectively sought to recover the lordships of Brecon and Maelienydd.²⁶⁰ The most serious threat to Llywelyn came in 1274, however, when his brother, Dafydd – restored to his lands in Gwynedd by the terms of the Treaty of Montgomery following his defection to the crown in 1263 – conspired with Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of southern Powys and the latter’s son Owain in an abortive plot to assassinate the prince on 2 February; Dafydd was to succeed to the principality and give his daughter in marriage, together with Ceri and Cedewain, to Owain. As Llywelyn learned of the full extent of the plot Dafydd fled again to England and was followed at the end of the year by Gruffudd and Owain.²⁶¹

In the mean time, Henry III had been succeeded, in November 1272, by Edward I, who returned to England from crusade in August 1274. Edward’s return was followed by a deterioration in Llywelyn’s relations with the crown. The prince not only absented himself from Edward’s coronation but ignored five summonses between December 1274 and April 1276 to do homage to the new king. Llywelyn did not deny his obligation to do this, but insisted that his grievances concerning Marcher attacks and the king’s harbouring of Dafydd and Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn should first be redressed. In addition, in January 1272 he had ceased the payments due under the terms of the Treaty of Montgomery.²⁶² A further bone of contention was the capture and imprisonment at the end of 1275 of Llywelyn’s wife Eleanor de Montfort – whom he had married by proxy earlier in the year in fulfilment, it seems, of an agreement with her father Simon de Montfort – while she was sailing from France to Wales. The king, for his part, insisted that Llywelyn should do him

²⁵⁸ No. 363.

²⁵⁹ Nos 369, 383, 387, 397.

²⁶⁰ Nos 366, 375, 377, 380, 392–3.

²⁶¹ Nos 383, 603–4.

²⁶² Nos 378, 380, 384–5, 390–1, 393.

fealty and homage unconditionally and on 12 November 1276 the prince was condemned as a rebel. A final attempt at negotiation by Llywelyn early in 1277 failed,²⁶³ and a massive campaign was launched against him which resulted in a crushing defeat and the collapse of the principality recognized in 1267.

Llywelyn's humiliation was spelled out in the Treaty of Aberconwy on 9 November 1277, which, though preserving his title of 'prince of Wales', stripped it of most of its substance.²⁶⁴ Gwynedd was truncated and divided in a manner reminiscent of the terms of the Treaty of Woodstock thirty years earlier: Llywelyn was obliged to cede Perfeddwlad to the king, to restore Dafydd to a share of Gwynedd (although the latter was granted the cantref of Rhufoniog and Dyffryn Clwyd and the lordship of Hope by the king in compensation for this share, so that Llywelyn could hold it for his life) and to acknowledge the claims of his other brothers Owain (released after over two decades of captivity) and Rhodri (who quitclaimed his share to Llywelyn for 1,000 marks).²⁶⁵ In addition, the prince was only allowed to keep the homages of five, fairly minor, Welsh lords, and these only for his lifetime; the other Welsh homages fell to the king. Llywelyn himself was required to travel to London to do homage to Edward at his Christmas court.

During the following years Llywelyn remained outwardly submissive to the king, but relations nevertheless became strained as Edward sought to tighten his jurisdictional grip on Wales. True, Eleanor was released in January 1278 and celebrated her marriage to Llywelyn at Worcester cathedral on 13 October in the presence of the king, who paid for the wedding feast. However, the claim to Arwystli, held by Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of southern Powys, which the prince initiated in February of that year developed into an increasing source of tension, as the king insisted on his right to exercise jurisdiction in the case and came to be seen by Llywelyn as conniving with Gruffudd's attempt to prevent it being tried by Welsh law, even though this was allowed, so the prince believed, by the provision in the Treaty of Aberconwy that disputes arising in Wales should be settled by the laws of Wales. The litigation proceeded so slowly that the case had not been resolved when war broke out in 1282.²⁶⁶ In the mean time, Llywelyn had begun reconstructing alliances with other Welsh leaders, and also made an agreement of mutual aid with Roger Mortimer on 9 October 1281.²⁶⁷ In addition, widespread discontent had arisen in Wales against English rule, especially in those areas such as Perfeddwlad and northern Ceredigion brought directly under English control in 1277, discontent whose causes are articulated in *gravamina* presented to Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury in late October 1282.²⁶⁸ The war began when Dafydd ap Gruffudd attacked Hawarden castle on Palm Sunday (21 March) 1282. The king reacted swiftly by organizing a major campaign based on three military commands at Chester, mid-Wales and west Wales. When precisely Llywelyn assumed leadership of the rising is uncertain; a crucial catalyst may have been the death of Eleanor after giving birth to a daughter, Gwenllïan, on 19 June.²⁶⁹ Despite attempts at

²⁶³ Nos 398–9, 401.

²⁶⁴ No. 402; see also nos 403–5, 407.

²⁶⁵ Nos 405, 458–9.

²⁶⁶ Nos 409, 415, 420, 427.

²⁶⁷ No. 425.

²⁶⁸ Nos 77, 101–2, 429, 454, 536.

²⁶⁹ Smith, *Llywelyn*, 509–10.

intervention by Archbishop Pecham in the autumn, Llywelyn refused to surrender. Instead, he made for the middle March, quite possibly in an attempt to raise support in an area which had shown loyalty to him in the 1260s, and was killed near Builth on 11 December 1282.²⁷⁰

Dafydd ap Gruffudd continued the struggle, assuming Llywelyn's title 'prince of Wales and lord of Snowdon', until his capture in late June 1283, probably the twenty-second, and was executed at Shrewsbury on 2 October.²⁷¹ Of the other two sons of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, Owain, as already noted, had predeceased Llywelyn in 1282, while Rhodri, who supported Edward I in both 1277 and 1282, survived as a knight in England until his death *c.*1315.²⁷² Llywelyn's daughter Gwenllïan was taken in her cradle from Gwynedd to the Gilbertine nunnery of Sempringham in Norfolk, where she died on 7 June 1337.²⁷³

GWYNLLŴG

The native lords of Gwynllŵg were descendants of Caradog ap Gruffudd (d. 1081), the last king of the pre-Norman kingdom of Morgannwg (Glamorgan).²⁷⁴ Gwynllŵg, located between the Rhymni and the Usk, appears as one of the constituent cantrefs of Morgannwg in fifteenth-century lists of the cantrefs and commotes of Wales, but had almost certainly become detached from the rest of Morgannwg to its west before the Norman conquest of lowland Glamorgan, including the coastal plain of Wentloog in Gwynllŵg, by Robert fitz Hamon *c.*1093.²⁷⁵ Caradog's son Owain Wan ('the weak') failed to maintain the extensive hegemony established by his father and seems to have been restricted to the upland commote of Machen.

Morgan ab Owain (d. 1158) and Iorwerth ab Owain (d. 1179 × *c.*1184)

Owain ap Caradog was killed at Carmarthen in 1116. On 15 April 1136 his sons Morgan and Iorwerth were responsible for killing Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, lord of Ceredigion, near Abergavenny and went on to occupy the lordships of Caerleon and Usk in lowland Gwent.²⁷⁶ They were also granted 300 acres of moorland by Earl Robert of Gloucester from his demesne lands in Rumney in return for their homage, a gift datable to 1136 or early 1137 that has been interpreted as an attempt to prevent the brothers attacking the lordship of Glamorgan. Morgan and Iorwerth supported Robert in the civil war of Stephen's reign and obtained confirmation of their conquests in Gwynllŵg and Gwent by Henry II.²⁷⁷ Royal favour was also reflected in the grant of an annuity of 40*s.* to Morgan from at least 1155–6.²⁷⁸

Morgan ab Owain was killed together with his poet Gwrgant ap Rhys by the men of Ifor

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 550–67.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 578–9; nos 456–7. For Dafydd see further Carr, "'Last and weakest of his line'".

²⁷² Carr, *Owen of Wales*, 3–7.

²⁷³ Smith, *Llywelyn*, 580, 586.

²⁷⁴ For Gwynllŵg and its dynasty in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries see Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 6–7; Crouch, 'Slow death'.

²⁷⁵ Smith, 'Kingdom of Morgannwg', 10, 12–13.

²⁷⁶ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 41; *BT*, *RBH*, 88–9; *HW*, ii. 471 and n. 34.

²⁷⁷ Nos 462–3; Crouch, 'Robert, earl of Gloucester', 230, 241–2, nn. 5, 6; Crouch, 'Slow death', 33–6.

²⁷⁸ See note to no. 465.

Bach of Senghennydd in 1158, and was succeeded by his brother Iorwerth, with whom he had previously co-operated.²⁷⁹ However, the 40s. annuity from the English exchequer was transferred to Morgan's son Morgan ap Morgan, the grantor of two charters, who seems to have died during the year beginning at Michaelmas 1185.²⁸⁰ Iorwerth ab Owain married Angharad, daughter of Uchdryd (Uthred), bishop of Llandaff (1140–8). She bore Iorwerth two sons: Owain, killed by men of Earl William of Gloucester in 1172, and Hywel, Iorwerth's successor. Caerleon was confiscated from Iorwerth by Henry II for an unspecified reason in September 1171 and only restored through the intervention of the Lord Rhys at the council of Gloucester in June 1175, which Iorwerth attended.²⁸¹ Also in 1175, without Iorwerth's knowledge, Hywel sought to strengthen his chances of succeeding his father by blinding and castrating his uncle Owain Pen-carn ab Owain.²⁸² Iorwerth is last attested in a charter giving consent to a grant by his son Hywel to Glastonbury Abbey almost certainly issued no earlier than 1179.²⁸³ Since Hywel was the grantor of this charter, and since it also refers to his having established the Cistercians at Llantarnam near Caerleon, Iorwerth appears to have relinquished effective authority to him by this time, perhaps because of illness or injury. The date of Iorwerth's death is unknown, but had probably occurred by 1184, for the reference to *Hoel de Carliun* in the pipe roll for 1184–5 suggests that Hywel had succeeded to the lordship by that date.²⁸⁴ It may also be significant that in the charter for Glastonbury Hywel is styled simply by his patronymic (*Hoelus filius Ioruerthi filii Oeni*), whereas his other surviving charters use the style 'Hywel of Caerleon' or 'Hywel, lord of Caerleon'. Although the latter styles appear to have been a new development for the dynasty (and thus the previous use of the patronymic did not in itself imply a lack of lordship), they are most unlikely to have been adopted while Iorwerth was alive and could still claim, however nominally, to be lord of Caerleon, and the same may well apply to the usage of the exchequer.²⁸⁵

Hywel ap Iorwerth (d. 1215 × 1217)

The scanty evidence about Hywel as lord of Caerleon allows two important conclusions. First, he continued his dynasty's policy since 1154, interrupted only in 1171–5, of loyalty to the crown, no doubt regarded as the best safeguard of the lands and authority recovered by his uncle and father in Stephen's reign. In 1184–5 he guarded castles for the king in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg in the face of the major Welsh revolt precipitated by the death of Earl William of Gloucester in November 1183, and continued to serve the crown under Richard I.²⁸⁶ Not for nothing did Gerald of Wales, in a passage added to the third recension of the *Itinerarium Cambriae* c.1214, name him with Dafydd ab Owain of Gwynedd as examples of rulers who divided their loyalties equally between the Welsh and the English.²⁸⁷

²⁷⁹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 60; *BT, RBH*, 136–7.

²⁸⁰ See note to no. 465.

²⁸¹ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 66, 71; *BT, RBH*, 154–5, 164–5; *HW*, ii. 540, 545–6.

²⁸² *BT, Pen20Tr*, 70; *BT, RBH*, 162–3.

²⁸³ No. 467.

²⁸⁴ *Pipe Roll 31 Henry II*, 7.

²⁸⁵ See below, p. 117.

²⁸⁶ *Pipe Roll 31 Henry II*, 7; *Pipe Roll 3–4 Richard I*, 165; *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I*, 194.

²⁸⁷ *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 145 (*IK* II. 12). This passage occurs only in the third recension of the *IK*: *ibid.*, xx, 145, n. 3.

Second, Hywel continued his dynasty's benefactions to religious houses. As well as confirming his relatives' grants to Glastonbury Abbey and Goldcliff Priory he made additional grants to the latter house, confirmed Robert de Candos's grants to Malpas Priory, founded a daughter house of Strata Florida at Llantarnam near Caerleon in 1179 and granted tithes from the mill of Ebbw collated to the chapter of Llandaff cathedral by Bishop Henry (1193–1218).²⁸⁸

The precise date of Hywel's death is uncertain. According to an exchequer memoranda roll for 7 Henry III, Hywel of Caerleon died 'in (the) war' (*in guerra*), and the previous roll refers to 'the war of Hywel of Caerleon'.²⁸⁹ This war presumably took place during the period of attacks on royal and Marcher lands in Wales led by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and his allies from the early summer of 1215; if so, Hywel died no earlier than 1215.²⁹⁰ In any case, his death had occurred by October 1217, as it was Hywel's son and successor Morgan ap Hywel who lost Caerleon in that month to forces sent by Earl William Marshal, lord of Striguil.²⁹¹

The successors of Hywel ap Iorwerth

The loss of Caerleon proved to be permanent, for despite various efforts, both legal and military, Morgan ap Hywel failed to recover it. At his death, shortly before 15 March 1248, Morgan held the castle of Machen (temporarily lost to Gilbert Marshal in 1236) in upland Gwynllŵg together with the commotes of Edeligion and Llebenydd in the lordship of Caerleon in Gwent.²⁹² He was succeeded by Maredudd ap Gruffudd (d. 1270), lord of Hirfryn in Ystrad Tywi, son of Morgan's daughter and heiress Gwerful and of Gruffudd ap Maredudd, a grandson of the Lord Rhys.²⁹³ Maredudd was the last of his dynasty to exercise lordship in Gwynllŵg and Gwent, for in autumn 1270, probably in response to the destruction of Caerphilly castle by Maredudd's overlord Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Machen, Edeligion and Llebenydd were seized by Earl Gilbert de Clare and permanently annexed as demesne lands of the lordship of Glamorgan. Maredudd's son Morgan ap Maredudd (d. 1331) appears as a leader in Glamorgan during the unsuccessful Welsh revolt of 1294–5, but is subsequently found in the service of the crown, to which he remained loyal during the rebellion of Llywelyn Bren in 1315–16.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁸ Nos 468–72, 474–5; *Llandaff Episcopal Acta*, 98.

²⁸⁹ TNA: PRO, E 368/5, m. 9d; E 368/4, m. 6 (*a tempore guerre Hoheli de Kaerliun qui mortuus est*). I am very grateful to David Crouch for providing me with these and other references to unpublished exchequer sources and for his helpful comments on the dating of Hywel ap Iorwerth's death.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Painter, *William Marshal*, 250–2. By contrast, Lloyd held that Hywel was succeeded by his son Morgan ap Hywel c.1210, noting that 'Morgan of Caerleon' occurs in a charter of Countess Isabella of Gloucester for Basaleg Priory datable to January 1214 × 23 February 1216: *HW*, ii. 653, n. 213; *EGC*, 32–3 (no. 4). However, no. 476 shows that Hywel was still alive in March 1211, and a reference to pledges of Hywel being in the (lost) originalia roll of 14 John may well imply that he was alive when the latter was written at Easter(?) 1213: TNA: PRO, E 159/4 (5 Henry III), m. 19. The naming of Morgan with a toponym in the charter does not necessarily indicate that he had succeeded his father.

²⁹¹ *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. Meyer, ii. 277–82 (lines 17748–872); cf. *ibid.*, iii. 250–2; Painter, *William Marshal*, 252.

²⁹² *HW*, ii. 653, 674, 701, n. 43, 712–13 and n. 113; *Rot. Fin.*, ii. 31; *CIPM*, i. 36–7 (no. 150); nos 271, 477–8.

²⁹³ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 115; *BT*, *RBH*, 258–9; *CIPM*, ii. 164 (no. 289); Smith, *Llywelyn*, 345–8, 352, n. 49.

²⁹⁴ Altschul, 'Lordship of Glamorgan', 55–6; RCAHMW, *Glamorgan III. 1a*, 299; Smith, 'Edward II', 142; *idem*, 'Rebellion of Llywelyn Bren', 82; *CPR 1330–4*, 160.

POWYS

Powys, a kingdom in north-east Wales whose rulers had extended their authority westwards into Ceredigion in the early twelfth century, was exposed to the hegemonic ambitions of the princes of Gwynedd as well as to attacks from the Marchers of the Anglo-Welsh border.²⁹⁵ Its native dynasty in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was descended from Bleddyn ap Cynfyn (d. 1075), king of Powys and Gwynedd.²⁹⁶ After the death of Bleddyn's grandson Madog ap Maredudd in 1160 Powys was divided among various members of the dynasty and, like Deheubarth after the death of the Lord Rhys, was never again subject to unitary rule. From the late twelfth century the two major divisions of the kingdom were northern Powys (alias Powys Fadog, after Madog ap Gruffudd (d. 1236)) and southern Powys (alias Powys Wenwynwyn, after Gwenwynwyn ab Owain Cyfeiliog (d. 1216)). Northern Powys comprised the commotes of Iâl, Maelor Gymraeg (Bromfield), Maelor Saesneg, Nanheudwy, Cynllaith and Mochnant Uwch Is Rhaeadr; its rulers were chiefly based at Overton and Dinas Brân above Llangollen. Southern Powys, whose rulers made Welshpool their principal centre by the thirteenth century, consisted of the commotes of Mochnant Uwch Rhaeadr, Caereinion and Cyfeiliog together with smaller commotes or *swyddi* (such as Swydd Llannerch Hudol) on either side of the Severn and also the cantref of Arwystli, annexed by Gwenwynwyn. Other branches of the dynasty, especially that of Owain Brogyntyn ap Madog, held the commotes of Penllyn (annexed by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1202), Edeirnion and Dinmael; while the cantref of Mechain retained its independence of southern Powys under the lineage of Owain Fychan ap Madog.²⁹⁷

Madog ap Maredudd (d. c.9 February 1160)

Powys probably reached its greatest extent under Madog ap Maredudd, who succeeded his father Maredudd ap Bleddyn as sole ruler of the kingdom in 1132. Madog expanded the kingdom eastwards into Shropshire, seizing Oswestry in 1149, and also established overlordship over Hywel ab Ieuf, ruler of Arwystli, by 1151.²⁹⁸ Six years later Madog and Hywel, together with Madog's brother Iorwerth Goch, joined Henry II in his campaign against Owain Gwynedd, who had seized the commote of Iâl in 1149 and defeated Madog and Ranulf II, earl of Chester the following year. Later in 1157 Iorwerth Goch destroyed Owain Gwynedd's castle of Tomen y Rhodwydd in Iâl.²⁹⁹ Madog died in 1160 – 'at the beginning of Lent', that is, c.9 February, according to the poet Gwalchmai ap Meilyr – and was buried at the church of Meifod.³⁰⁰ Shortly afterwards his son, and probably his intended successor, Llywelyn ap Madog was killed, a death that marked the end of unitary rule in Powys, which was divided between Madog's three remaining sons, Elise, Gruffudd Maelor (d. 1190 × 1191) and Owain Fychan (d. 1187), his brother Iorwerth Goch and his nephew Owain Cyfeiliog (d. 1197).³⁰¹

²⁹⁵ For Powys in the late eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries see *HW*, ii. 411–22; Davies, 'Henry I and Wales'; Maund, *Welsh Kings*, 71–92.

²⁹⁶ *EWGT*, 39 (no. 3), 47 (no. 27), 95 (nos 1b–e), 102–3 (no. 8).

²⁹⁷ For the divisions of Powys see *HW*, i. 242–9; ii. 583–4; Davies, *Conquest*, 230.

²⁹⁸ No. 480. For Madog see further *HW*, ii. 489, 492–4, 496, 508–9; Davies, *Conquest*, 49–50.

²⁹⁹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 57, 59; *BT*, *RBH*, 128–9, 134–5.

³⁰⁰ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 61 (and note at 180–1, which rejects as inaccurate the statement, unique to this text, that Madog died at Winchester); *BT*, *RBH*, 140–1; *AC*, 48; *GMB*, no. 7, line 136.

³⁰¹ *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 62; *BT*, *RBH*, 140–1; Smith, 'Dynastic succession', 210–12.

The medieval Welsh prose tale, *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, possibly composed as late as the early fourteenth century, preserves a tradition of friction between Madog and Iorwerth Goch, who received Sutton near Wenlock and other Shropshire manors in serjeanty from Henry II in 1157 in return for his services as an interpreter.³⁰² Iorwerth was granted custody of Chirk castle by Henry II in April 1166 and expelled from Mochnant by his nephews Owain Fychan and Owain Cyfeiliog in the same year; he continued to receive payments from the crown until 1171. The cessation of those payments after Michaelmas of that year may indicate that he had died by then, but this is uncertain.³⁰³ Possibly Iorwerth continued to struggle for a share of Powys after 1166, and he was held in sufficient regard there for Cynddelw to compose an elegy in his memory after he was killed in an otherwise unknown battle.³⁰⁴

The lords of Penllyn, Edeirnion and Dinmael

In the years following Madog ap Maredudd's death in 1160 several members of his dynasty exercised rights of lordship in the north-western commotes of Powys. Thus in 1176 Maredudd ap Hywel, named with Owain Cyfeiliog and Owain Fychan as capturing Henry II's castle of Carreghofa in 1163 and the son of Hywel ap Maredudd ap Bleddyn (d. 1142) according to late medieval genealogists, styled himself 'lord of the province which is called Edeirnion'.³⁰⁵ It is unknown when Maredudd died, but his first cousin Elise ap Madog ap Maredudd held Esgyngaenog in Edeirnion as well as lands in Penllyn by 1183, though he seems to have become lord of Penllyn only after the death of his brother Gruffudd ap Madog in 1190 × 1191.³⁰⁶ Possibly Elise succeeded Maredudd ap Hywel as lord of Edeirnion; this could explain why he was named, together with Gruffudd, as one of the 'princes of Powys' who met Archbishop Baldwin at Oswestry in 1188.³⁰⁷ In 1202, however, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth deprived Elise of Penllyn, apart from the castle of Crogen and seven appurtenant townships.³⁰⁸ Elise's nephew Madog ap Gruffudd of northern Powys may have annexed Edeirnion at the same time, and had certainly established his lordship there by early 1207.³⁰⁹ Presumably Elise retained Crogen in Penllyn, and perhaps also lands in Edeirnion, as he continued to enjoy some prominence until 1223, after which he is no longer attested.³¹⁰

Reconstructing the position in the region is further complicated by the presence of a third son of Madog, Owain Brogyntyn, named after the village of Porkington near Oswestry, who received regular payments from Henry II in 1160–9.³¹¹ Owain's grants to Strata Marcella and Basingwerk show that he held lands in Penllyn before its annexation by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and in Dinmael by 1207.³¹² He also seems to have held Edeirnion

³⁰² *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, 1; *HW*, ii. 520; Bullock-Davies, *Professional Interpreters*, 15–17.

³⁰³ See note to no. 481.

³⁰⁴ *GCBM I*, no. 12.

³⁰⁵ No. 482; *BT, Pen20Tr*, 53, 62; *BT, RBH*, 118–19, 142–3; Bartrum, *WG*, i, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn 1; *HW*, ii. 509, n. 86.

³⁰⁶ Nos 483, 487.

³⁰⁷ *Gir. Camb. Op.*, vi. 142 (*JK II*. 12).

³⁰⁸ *BT, Pen20Tr*, 82; *BT, RBH*, 184–5.

³⁰⁹ No. 504; Stephenson, 'Politics of Powys Wenwynwyn', 42. There are no references to Elise in Edeirnion after 1198: no. 488.

³¹⁰ No. 489.

³¹¹ *HW*, ii. 494, 566; Carr and Smith, 'Edeirnion and Mawddwy', 138–9.

³¹² Nos 490–6.

in or before August 1211, when Llywelyn ap Iorwerth promised not to intervene there except to intercede for Owain, who had only ever held the land from the king: the clause does not necessarily indicate that Owain was currently in possession of Edeirnion, and could imply, rather, that he was claiming it, presumably against Madog ap Gruffudd, lord of the commote in 1207.³¹³ That Owain held it by his death is suggested, however, by the fact that his sons and grandsons were lords of both Edeirnion and Dinmael in the thirteenth century.³¹⁴ Owain last occurs in 1215 and was dead by May 1218, when his son Bleddyn ab Owain submitted to Henry III.³¹⁵

Northern Powys: the lineage of Gruffudd ap Madog (d. 1190 × 1191)

Gruffudd Maelor ap Madog ap Maredudd established an extensive hegemony in northern Powys by his death.³¹⁶ Of his two sons, Owain ap Gruffudd died in 1197, thereby eliminating the danger of territorial fragmentation, and the unity of northern Powys was preserved by Madog ap Gruffudd, from whom it took the name Powys Fadog.³¹⁷ Madog founded the Cistercian abbey of Valle Crucis near Llangollen *c.*1200 and was also a benefactor of its mother house Strata Marcella.³¹⁸ Although he sided with King John in 1211–12, by 1215 Madog threw in his lot with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd, with whom he had been associated at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and remained loyal to the prince until his death in 1236; he was buried at Valle Crucis.³¹⁹

It is uncertain how far Gruffudd ap Madog, the eldest of Madog's five sons, succeeded in establishing a hegemony in northern Powys commensurate with that of his father.³²⁰ His status as heir is implicit in the confirmation, issued in Gruffudd's name alone, of Madog's grants to Valle Crucis in 1236.³²¹ That disputes soon arose between at least two of Gruffudd's brothers is revealed by the murder of his namesake, Gruffudd Iâl, by Maredudd ap Madog in 1238; although deprived of his lands by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, who maintained his overlordship of northern Powys until his death in 1240, Maredudd appears alongside his three surviving brothers in the record of a dispute settlement in favour of Valle Crucis in 1247.³²² Possibly the threat posed by his younger brothers, supported by the crown, led Gruffudd to enter into an agreement of mutual help with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1250, although this is uncertain as the correct date of the document may have been 1257.³²³ In any case, if it was made in 1250, the agreement did not override Gruffudd's loyalty to Henry III, to whom he had given fealty in 1241 and from whom he received a promise in July 1244 that he should hold the whole of his father's patrimony, and it was only

³¹³ No. 233.

³¹⁴ *HW*, ii. 683, 759; Carr, 'Barons of Edeyrnion', 188–9; Carr and Smith, 'Edeirnion and Mawddwy', 139–41.

³¹⁵ No. 12; *Foedera*, I. i. 151.

³¹⁶ *HW*, ii. 566. For the possibility that he died in 1190, rather than 1191 (as stated in *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 74; *BT*, *RBH*, 172–3) see no. 487 and note.

³¹⁷ *HW*, ii. 583–4 and n. 46.

³¹⁸ Nos 499, 501, 503–6, 508–9.

³¹⁹ *HW*, ii. 634, 638 and n. 131, 648, 683; *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 85, 91, 104; *BT*, *RBH*, 190–1, 206–7, 232–3.

³²⁰ This section is indebted to Smith, 'Dynastic succession', 227–8.

³²¹ No. 511.

³²² *BT*, *Pen20Tr*, 105; *BT*, *RBH*, 234–5; no. 513 (the document names the brothers in the order Gruffudd, Maredudd, Hywel and Madog Fychan, quite possibly indicating their relative seniority).

³²³ No. 323 and note.