

Task 2: The Daughters of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth

Llywelyn ab Iorwerth was a pivotal figure in Welsh history for his efforts to first align with the British crown yet ultimately battling against it for autonomy and a unified Wales. In 1201 he signed an Anglo-Welsh treaty and later married Joan, the illegitimate daughter of King John, but was eventually at war with his father-in-law and needed to send Joan to her father to broker peace in 1211.¹ For the rest of his life, barring a few periods where he came to heel, he would be working to forge alliances and destabilize the crown in an effort to secure his own place of power within Wales.

The daughters of Llywelyn were crucial to his success. Llywelyn had two sons, each by a different wife², and while his “heir and a spare” could help protect his rule through being able-bodied men who could fight and rally others to the cause as well as offering some chance of security for succession, it was the strategic marriages of his daughters which allowed him to become the figure of Welsh unity and leadership he is recognized for today. The marriages of his daughters commenced as his relationship with King John began to deteriorate, as is evident from the realization that each marriage was arranged with a partner aligned against the British crown.

This paper focuses on the critical first marriages of Llywelyn’s six daughters. It was through these marriages that Llywelyn was able to build a strong and diversified network of allies throughout and surrounding Wales. Each first marriage was with a prominent member of the partnering family; many were heirs to their familial lands and, in one case, a potential heir to the Scottish crown. I very much appreciate Gwenyth Richard’s thesis concept of “From Footnotes to Narrative”; too often the

¹ L. Wilkinson, ‘Joan, Wife of Llywelyn the Great’, in *Thirteenth Century England X, Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003*, ed by M Prestwich, R Britnell and R Frame (Boydell & Brewer, 2003), pp 81-93, (p. 82-3, 85).

² G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen in the Thirteenth Century*, (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009), pp 24-5.

women of history are afforded little more than a passing mention.³ It is not surprising that Llywelyn would look to use marriage to secure his position, but by assessing each marriage in order and in the context of the political circumstances of the time, it becomes clear to see how his daughters connected him to influential families to better secure cooperation in volatile times.

By 1200, Llywelyn ap Iorwerth ruled Gwynedd in northwest Wales, which he took by force from his uncles, and secured as one of the most powerful of the Welsh kingdoms.⁴ From this location, Llywelyn could act with some protection against English insurgency, given that the Welsh kingdom of Powys was a geographic buffer between much of Gwynedd and England.⁵ In addition, Llywelyn also had a series of potential allies in the marcher lords along the border. Marcher lords had been installed in the area since the Norman Conquest in 1066 to protect the border and establish a strong base loyal to the crown. Over the next 150 years, however, they were so successful in establishing regional supremacy that they ultimately became a threat to the English kings, which benefitted Llywelyn greatly as he sought to expand and secure his own power in Wales.⁶

The utilization of marriage as a way to secure power was a familiar concept to Llywelyn, who displaced the woman he was already married to in order to marry Joan. Llywelyn had a Welsh wife named Tangwystl ferch Llywarch Goch with whom he had already had one son and at least two daughters, but that wife was cast aside when the marriage with Joan was decided since Joan was a better means to status than Tangwystl would have been.⁷ Tangwystl's daughters were named Gwenllïan and Angharad and Joan gave birth to at least four more daughters: Gwladus, Margaret, Elen and

³ G. Richards, *From Footnotes to Narrative: Welsh Noblewomen in the Thirteenth Century* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2005). <http://hdl.handle.net/2123/1097>

⁴ 'Llywelyn, the Greatest Prince of Wales', *British Heritage*, (September 2007), p. 65.

⁵ K.L. Maund, *The Welsh Kings: Warriors, Warlords and Princes* (Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2006), p. 12.

⁶ 'Marcher Lord', in *Oxford Dictionary of World History*, 2nd ed, ed by E. Wright (Oxford University Press, 2015) <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192807007.001.0001/acref-9780192807007-e-2308?rskey=M7jdgl&result=1> [accessed 27 March 2022].

⁷ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p.12.

Susanna.⁸ Susanna is only known from a mention in the 1228 Patent Roll record of Henry III, who references this woman as his niece and the daughter of Llywelyn prince of North Wales and his wife, “Joanna”, whom he also refers to as his sister.⁹ It is through these six women that Llywelyn built his dynasty.

We do not know exactly when each of his daughters were born, but it appears the first of Llywelyn’s daughters to marry was Gwladus, in 1215. There is some debate on which of Llywelyn’s wives was her mother, but Richards argues it was Joan based on the emphasis placed on a connection to Joan through later works and the emphasis on her royal lineage as King John’s illegitimate daughter.¹⁰ I also believe Gwladus was Joan’s daughter given the order in which the daughters were married. An alliance would be stronger through a legitimate daughter and granddaughter of the King of England. Selecting one of his daughters by Tangwystl to marry first would not have had the same distinction. Joan and Llywelyn married in 1205, which meant Gwladus could not have been more than ten years of age at the time of her marriage in 1215, clearly indicating that the marriage was intended as an alliance.¹¹

Gwladus was married to Reginald de Braose [de Briouze], son of William (III) de Braose, who had fought alongside King Richard I in capturing and defending the Welsh border. William continued to hold favor with Richard’s successor, King John, who agreed in 1200 to grant William any land he was able to capture in Wales, and the Braose holdings continued to expand.¹² The strength of the Braose family eventually became a problem for John and, as a result, starting in 1208, a series of fines and judgements for a variety of offences were levied. William de Braose could not pay the sums extorted from him, and

⁸ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, pp 43-69.

⁹ K. Hurlock, ‘The Welsh Wife of Malcolm, Earl of Fife (d. 1266): An Alternative Suggestion’. *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol LXXXVII, 2: No. 226 (2009), 352-355 (p. 354).

¹⁰ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p. 57-8.

¹¹ D. Messer, *Joan, Lady of Wales: Power and Politics of King John’s Daughter*, (Yorkshire: Pen and Sword History, 2020), p. 36.

¹² R. V. Turner, ‘Briouze [Braose], William de (d. 1211)’ from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (28 Sept 2006), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3283> [accessed 9 April 2022].

John initiated a series of campaigns against the family which drove William to flee to France to escape.¹³

The failure to pay his debts and the unauthorized departure were given by John as the explanation for his campaign against William and seizure of the Braose lands.¹⁴ By 1213, Reginald had joined Welsh forces and reclaimed the Braose land taken by the crown.¹⁵ Gwladus' marriage to Reginald in 1215 would have further cemented the Braose/Welsh alliance against the crown.

The death of King John in 1216 was a turning point, however, as the change in authority caused many marcher lords to reconsider their ongoing struggle and instead make peace with the young King Henry III and his regent government. One such concession was made by Gwladus' husband Reginald de Braose, who submitted to the crown in return for his lands in 1217.¹⁶ Llywelyn must not have approved of the capitulation, as he is noted as having punished Reginald de Braose for his actions in this period.¹⁷

It may seem surprising, then, that the second marriage of a daughter of Llywelyn would take place to another Braose at a time when they may have been more sympathetic to the crown. The next daughter we know to have married was his second daughter by Joan: Margaret. Margaret married John de Braose, a nephew of Reginald, in 1219.¹⁸ John was the son of Reginald's brother William (IV) de Braose, who himself was the oldest of William III's sons. William IV died in captivity in Windsor as the conflict between the Braoses and King John raged.¹⁹ As the son of the heir, Margaret's husband John fought with her brother-in-law Reginald over ownership of the Braose lands.²⁰ It was likely due to this

¹³ W.H. Brock, 'King John, the Braoses, and the Celtic Fringe, 1207-1216', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 33(1), (Spring, 2001) pp. 1-23 (p.8).

¹⁴ For a translation of John's account, see D. Crouch, 'The Complaint of King John against William de Briouze (c. September 1210)' in J. Loengard, ed., *Magna Carta and the England of King John* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 168-180 (pp. 173-179).

¹⁵ J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales, Vol II* (London: Longmans, 1911), pp. 644-5.

¹⁶ J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 651-2.

¹⁷ R.C. Stacey, *Law and the Imagination in Medieval Wales* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). p. 59.

¹⁸ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p. 63.

¹⁹ W.H. Brock, 'King John, the Braoses, and the Celtic Fringe', pp. 12, 15.

²⁰ J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, p. 658.

conflict that Llywelyn selected John as a match for Margaret, in order ensure that, regardless of which Braose was triumphant, he would have a powerful son-in-law in the region.

With allies in the central area of the march more secure through the two Braose marriages²¹, Llywelyn could turn his attention to building alliances outside of Wales. His daughter Elen [Helen], another one of Joan's children, was the next to marry. She was paired with John the Scot, nephew and heir to the earl of Chester just over the English border, in 1222.²² The earl of Chester had been a regular supporter of the crown but is known to have structured agreements with Llywelyn in order to protect his interests.²³ Elen's marriage would have provided a means for Llywelyn to secure a foothold in England with the potential for even greater connections. John the Scot was a cousin, and most likely heir, to the Scottish throne given that Alexander II was childless at this time.²⁴ It would have been quite the accomplishment for Llywelyn to have one of his daughters become a queen.

The same year, 1222, Llywelyn arranged the marriage of Gwenllïan, his first illegitimate daughter to be recorded as married, to William de Lacy in Ireland.²⁵ This marriage of an illegitimate daughter suggests to me that Susanna was either not yet born or was too young to marry off. Another reason Gwenllïan could have been selected for this marriage was that William was also regarded as an illegitimate child, as his father Hugh de Lacy had married without Henry II's consent.^{26,27} Perhaps marrying a legitimate daughter like Susanna to an illegitimate son would not have been as advantageous

²¹ Holden notes Braose control was focused around Radnor, Brecon and Abergavenny and Elfael in 'King John, the Braoses, and the Celtic Fringe' (p. 2), which the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales indicates on a historic map of Wales at <https://rcahmw.gov.uk/mapping-the-historic-boundaries-of-wales-commotes-and-cantrefs/> [accessed 9 April 2022].

²² J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, p. 657.

²³ R. Eales, 'Ranulf (III) [Ranulf de Blundeville], Sixth Earl of Chester and First Earl of Lincoln' from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (4 October 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2716> [accessed 16 April 2022].

²⁴ M. Brown, 'Alexander II', *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371*, (Edinburgh: University Press, 2004), pp.21-43, (p. 24).

²⁵ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p. 45.

²⁶ Richards identifies William's mother as Hugh's second wife Rose, daughter of Rory O'Connor, King of Connacht in *Welsh Noblewomen*, p. 45.

²⁷ N.J. Synnott, 'Notes on the Family of De Lacy in Ireland' from *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries or Ireland*, Sixth Series, 9(2), (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 31 December 1919), pp. 113-131, (p. 120).

for Llywelyn. Regardless of the reason, the marriages of Elen and Gwenllian outside of Wales greatly expanded their father's span of influence by resulting in his daughters being married into influential families in Wales, England and Ireland.

The Lacy family Gwenllian married into were as central to the politics of the day as the Braose family. King John had come to blows with both families in England and elsewhere, as his 1210 campaign in Ireland was focused on reducing the power of the Braose and Lacy families in Ireland.²⁸ It was in Llywelyn's best interest to keep the crown distracted and engaged in other countries by providing support and confirming alliances with these other families through marriages with his daughters.

The other daughter of Tangwystl, Angharad, is believed to have been married to a Welshman. Very little is known about her, but her husband was Maelgwn Fychan, who fought alongside Llywelyn in 1233 at the siege of Carmarthen. It is unclear if Angharad and Maelgwn were married at the time of the siege or not, but it demonstrates the connection between the families none the less.²⁹ Maelgwn was the son of Lord Rhys, who died in either 1230 or 1231, which elevated Maelgwn's own status as heir to land in the southern part of Wales.³⁰ Angharad's marriage thus added an additional partnership for her father in another strategic geography.

The final crucial first marriage of Llywelyn's daughters was that of Susanna, possibly to a Scottish earl. Conclusive evidence of the marriage has not been found, but Kathryn Hurlock has pieced together a compelling argument that supports the theory. Hurlock connects the dots between contemporary documents which describe an individual connected to Llywelyn and Joan. The 1228 Patent Roll establishes Susanna as a daughter of Llywelyn and Joan and records that she was being relocated to the care of another family.³¹ Susanna was placed with the de Verduns, a Norman family that had allied with

²⁸ K.L. Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, p. 192.

²⁹ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p.67.

³⁰ J.E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, pp. 674, 680.

³¹ See footnote 9

the crown since the Conquest and, at the time of Susanna's placement, held land in the English midlands, the Welsh march and County Louth in Ireland.³² There is no record of which of the Verdun estates Susanna was sent to, but if the rationale behind her relocation was to use her as a hostage to keep her father in line, as Hurlock suggests, it is reasonable to expect she would have been moved to Alton, Staffordshire, where the Verduns had established their English caput.³³

While it may not have been as fortunate for her, it is fortunate for historians that Susanna was selected to be a hostage, as there are no other known records which reference her existence. She was likely chosen due to the placement of her five sisters by this time. By 1228, Joan's other three daughters, Gwladus³⁴, Margaret, and Elen were married, as was Tangwystl's daughter Gwenllian, and possibly Angharad, and they were all paired with men who had a history of conflict with the crown and unlikely to willingly surrender their wife as a hostage. Susanna was likely the only daughter left to take on this role.

Two years after Susanna was boarded with the Verduns, Malcolm II was made Earl of Fife in Scotland when his uncle died without an heir. The Melrose Chronicle notes that, following his succession, he married a daughter of Llywelyn that same year, 1230, but no further information is given.³⁵ With some deduction it is most likely that this daughter was Susanna. By 1230, Gwladus was a widow, but she is known to have re-married Ralph Mortimer, another marcher baron that year.³⁶ Angharad may have been married to Maelgwn Fychan by this time, or it may have been that she, as an illegitimate daughter, would not have been a suitable match for a Scottish noble. Gwenllian, Elen and

³² M.S. Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family: The de Verduns in England, Ireland Wales, 1066-1316*, (Cornwall: Four Courts Press, 2001) pp. 7-8, 17-19.

³³ M.S. Hagger, *The Fortunes of a Norman Family*, pp. 26-27.

³⁴ Gwladus was widowed when Reginald de Braose died in 1228 per G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p. 54 but no date is provided to compare against the November patent roll declaration regarding Susanna. It is possible Gwladus was a widow by the time Susanna was sent to the Verduns.

³⁵ J. Stevenson (translated and ed.), 'Chronicle of Melrose', *The Church Historians of England*, Vol IV Part I, (Oxford: 1856), pp. 77-242 (p.176).

³⁶ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p.55.

Margaret were all still married, which would leave Susanna as the only remaining daughter we know of who was eligible to marry Malcolm II.

Given that the first marriages of Llywelyn's other daughters were with men who were aligned against the crown, at least at the time of the marriage, it would be reasonable to assume the same was true with a marriage for Susanna. As seen from relationships between Llywelyn, the English crown, and marcher lords, initial partnerships could turn hostile, and the same pattern was playing out in Scotland at the time. The Scottish king, Alexander II, had married King Henry III's sister, who was thereby a half-sister of Llywelyn's wife Joan, meaning Alexander had connections through marriage to both King Henry and Llywelyn. Alexander married his own sisters to prominent Norman families loyal to the English crown, building a strong partnership with England. Initially, Alexander was allied with English lords against the trio of Llywelyn, Hugh de Lacy and Ranulf, earl of Chester.³⁷

None of this would seem to work in Llywelyn's favor but allegiances eventually broke down. By 1227, infighting and resentment amongst English and Scottish lords reduced the English influence on Alexander. Alexander was also slighted by Henry III when he was unable to secure a marriage of his sister with the English king, which drove Alexander towards forming a coalition with Llywelyn by 1233.³⁸ It is plausible that Susanna was the daughter to marry Malcolm in 1230, as it would have been happening during this period of shifting attitudes in Scotland.

Within a 15-year span from approximately 1215 to 1230, Llywelyn had successfully married each of his daughters to a strategic partner surrounding Gwynedd, assuming Angharad was married by the siege of Carmarthen. Elen was just over the border to the east in Chester, Gwladus³⁹ and Margaret were

³⁷ M. Brown, 'Alexander II', p. 24.

³⁸ M. Brown, 'Alexander II', p. 25.

³⁹ In 1230, Gwladus, widowed in 1228, was married to Ralph Mortimer, another marcher lord. J.F.A. Mason, 'Mortimer, Hugh de (d. 1185)' from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (9 April 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19347> [accessed 9 April 2022].

southeast on the march, Angharad was in southern Wales, Gwenllïan was to the west in Ireland, and Susanna was likely getting settled in the north in Scotland.

It also emerges by 1230 that Llywelyn had given himself a new title, styling himself as prince of Aberffraw and lord of Snowdon, which he claimed gave him dominance over all the other leaders of Wales.⁴⁰ It does not seem to be a coincidence that this move would come about as he had concluded his efforts to marry each of his daughters to important families in strategic locations surrounding the land he was now professing to be overlord of.

The final decade of Llywelyn's life was a continuation of warfare and strategic partnerships, though he no longer had a cadre of daughters with which to expand his reach as he approached sixty years of age. Joan died in 1237 and Llywelyn himself suffered a stroke the same year. He worked to secure his legitimate son, Dafydd as his heir but Henry III refused to confirm anything beyond their ancestral lands of Gwynedd, which dealt a significant blow to his cause. Llywelyn died in 1240.⁴¹

By the time of Llywelyn's death, we know one daughter, Gwenllïan, was a widow.⁴² Susanna does not show up again in the records, so her situation at the time is unknown. Her husband, Malcolm III, was still alive in 1240, so she was likely not a widow if she were still alive.⁴³ Similarly, there is no record of Angharad's death so it is also unknown if she was alive at this time. The remaining three daughters were still alive and married, though each to a different man from the first husband Llywelyn had chosen for them. Two, Gwladus and Margaret, the first two daughters to be married, and who were originally married to marcher barons of the Braose family, had both been widowed and were again married to marcher barons.⁴⁴ No doubt Llywelyn felt the march to be a critical geography he needed to maintain an alliance with. The final daughter, Elen, had married Robert de Quincy, a younger son of the

⁴⁰ K.L. Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, p. 123.

⁴¹ K.L. Maund, *The Welsh Kings*, pp. 200-1.

⁴² *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, D. Murphy (ed.), (Dublin: University Press, 1896), p. 234.

⁴³ K. Hurlock, 'The Welsh Wife of Malcolm', p. 352.

⁴⁴ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, pp. 55, 64.

earl of Winchester, which meant he would not have been first in line to inherit land and titles. Llywelyn was reportedly not pleased with this marriage, which suggests Elen made the selection on her own.⁴⁵

Using marriage as a means to secure alliances and consolidate power was not unique to Llywelyn or novel for the time, but through closer analysis of the specific men he chose for his daughters' first marriages, it becomes clear just how critical they were to his success. Allegiances were fleeting, and while Tangwystl could attest to marriage not being an unbreakable bond, it had more staying power than a verbal oath among men, particularly once children were born of the union. Llywelyn would not likely have been able to forge such strong connections as broadly as he did were it not for his daughters. By looking at each of their first marriages chronologically and geographically, one can see how wide a net these women were able to cast for their father in providing him with a network of alliances throughout the region and across the British Isles. Ultimately their brothers were unable to maintain what their father had built and sustain the ring of allies they had all done their part to build.

⁴⁵ G. Richards, *Welsh Noblewomen*, p. 61.

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