

strove after giving good justice to all of his own men with the love and fear of God; he was sustained by those indebted to him by bonds of fear or affection.^{*431}

The Burial of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and other Venedotians in North Wales.

The chronicles quoted above provide the evidence that Prince Llywelyn was buried in Aberconwy abbey in 1240. Yet there is little evidence as to the exact place of his burial or the fate of his remains or even his tomb, despite widespread claims in recent times. The so-called tomb of Prince Llywelyn (Fig.15) is said to have survived to the present day, being moved first to Maenan in the late 1280s and then, after the Dissolution of the abbey in 1537, to the Gwydir chapel, built in 1633 on the side of Llanrwst church. Here the partial tomb now stands near to a smaller lid with an effigy of Hywel Coetmor, an adherent of Owain Glyndwr who died some time in the early fifteenth century^{*432}. Hywel's lid has lost its sarcophagus and is obviously too small to seal the so-called Llywelyn tomb. Undated sarcophagi similar to this still exist at Ellington, Cambridgeshire (Fig.14) and Fulbrook, Oxfordshire (Fig.16). No doubt there are many more still to be noted, but as undated monuments they add little to our understanding of the Llanrwst tomb. At first sight the tomb said to be that of Abbot Alexander Holderness of Peterborough (d.1226, Fig.17) might suggest that the style of this sarcophagus is early thirteenth century; however the apparent breaking and reshaping of the tomb to fit the effigy suggests that the two have been matched together at a later date.

It is a pity that the lid of the Llywelyn sarcophagus has not been found. If this sarcophagus did belong to Llywelyn, it may have had a low-relief effigy to compliment that alleged to be of his wife Joan, now residing at Beaumaris (Fig.18). Before going any further it should be noted that it is quite possible that this sarcophagus does not belong to Llywelyn himself or even to any other member of the Venedotian family who are known to have been buried in Aberconwy abbey. Indeed, without any firm provenance, it is possible that this fine tomb might have belonged to any medieval noble and came from any church in the vicinity. Its association with Prince Llywelyn currently appears to rest solely upon eighteenth or nineteenth century hearsay. It has further been suggested in the 1980s that after the demoting of Aberconwy abbey to a parish church, the tomb with the body of Prince Llywelyn was moved and relaid in a stone lined grave lying centrally in the presbytery of Maenan church^{*433}. If this is true, then the freestanding sarcophagus at Llanrwst can hardly be that removed from under the ground at Maenan and it should be remembered that John Wynne of Gwydir was more than happy to fabricate evidence to link himself back to Prince Llywelyn^{*434}. Further, there is no recorded historical evidence that the house of Aberconwy held any reverence for Llywelyn ab Iorwerth before his forged charters were placed before King Edward III in 1332. It should also be noted that the princely burials at Strata Florida seem to have all been in the chapter house^{*435}. This, of course, does not mean that all princes were buried in chapter houses. Our only source mentioning the place of Llywelyn's burial in the presence of the high altar, this Aberconwy 'chronicle', does not define what form of tomb, if any, he had. Regardless of this, what little evidence there is makes it suspect that the monks of 1283 would have regarded Llywelyn's tomb and corpse with any greater respect than that which should

^{*431} *Annales Cambriae. A Translation of Harleian 3859; PRO E.164/1; Cottonian Domitian, A 1; Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514 and MS Exchequer DB Neath, PRO E.164/1*, ed. Remfry, P.M., [Malvern, 2007], B (St David's), D (Hopton Commission?), 130.

^{*432} Hywel was the son of Gruffydd Fychan and this Gruffydd and his sons, amongst whom were also Rhys Gethin, had to post a bond of £100 on 23 November 1390 that they would not harm Abbot John of Maenan, amongst others, *CCR 1389-82*, 295.

^{*433} Butler, L.A.S. and Evans, D.H., 'the Cistercian abbey at... Maenan, Excavations in 1968', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* [1980], 11.

^{*434} <http://www.ancientwalesstudies.org/id115.html>

^{*435} Williams, S.W., *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida...* [1889], 125, 205.

have been recorded to the founder of the house, Rhodri ap Owain (d.1194), or any of his princely successors who were buried at Aberconwy.

The only contemporary source which mentions the style of Llywelyn's burial comes from the copied words of a poet. Sometime, apparently soon after Llywelyn's death, Einion Wan wrote some lines which have been translated as:

True lord of the land – how strange that today
He rules not o'er Gwynedd;
Lord of nought but the piled up stones of his tomb,
Of the seven-foot grave in which he lies.^{*436}

Certainly the sarcophagus displayed at Llanrwst is not a pile of stones, but is the phrase 'piled up stones' simply poetic licence? Certainly it would appear unlikely that the abbot would have allowed a pile of stones to be dumped in his nice church over a crude grave cut through his tiled floor. The question must be asked that if the Llanrwst sarcophagus is a part of the tomb of Llywelyn, rescued by the Wynnes from their new home of Maenan abbey, then why did they not also rescue the tomb lid and possible effigy? The conclusion of this points towards the tomb not being that of Prince Llywelyn.

The Llanrwst sarcophagus is 1'4" high, 3'1" wide at the head, but only 2'4½" wide at the base and 7'11" long (Fig.14). As such this might well have contained Llywelyn's corpse if it were taken from a 7' long grave initially cut at Aberconwy as Einion Wan sang. The sarcophagus is cut out of a light grey, medium grained sandstone which is heavily stratified along the length of the box. The tomb had six quatrefoils on each side with three more at the head and two at the base. The remains of pin holes in the central upper part of each roundel shows that they once contained plaques of some description. These may possibly have been heraldic or representations of the occupant's family as 'weepers'. Further, semi-quatrefoil carvings filled in the gaps around the main roundels, while just one corner of the box was indented. This sarcophagus was undoubtedly a part of a richly decorated tomb. It also contains a mysterious groove running deeply from lid indent to indent within the centre of the crudely carved interior.

As the sarcophagus now at Llanrwst clearly once had a lid - as can be seen from the indent cut around its top - it is quite possible that this once supported an effigy that matched that found on the lid of the sarcophagus alleged to be of Princess Joan and now displayed in the porch of Beaumaris church (Fig.18). Her death is recorded in the Bruts under 1237.

Dame Joan, daughter of King John, wife of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, died in the month of February at the court of Aber; and she was buried in a new graveyard on the shore-bank which Bishop Hywel of St Asaph had consecrated. And in her honour Llywelyn ab Iorwerth built there a monastery for the bare-footed friars, which is called Llanfaes in Anglesey.^{*437}

The Lady of Wales, wife of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and daughter to the king of England, her name was Joan, died in Llywelyn's court at Aber in the month of February and her body was buried in a consecrated enclosure which was on the shore-bank. And there

^{*436} Translated in Lloyd, J.E., *History of Wales* [2 vols., 1911] II, 693 from *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, eds. O. Jones, E. Williams & W. Owen [2nd edn., Denbigh, 1870] I, 335.

^{*437} RBH, 235.

after that Bishop Hywel consecrated a monastery for the Barefooted Friars to the honour of the Blessed Mary. And the prince built it all at his cost for the soul of his lady.^{*438}

Neither of these versions of the apparent original chronicle mention that Joan was buried within a church, just in the graveyard on the shore-bank. This, of course, does not rule out her exhumation and placing within a tomb when the friary was built soon afterwards, or even the friary being built around her burial plot and a tomb added around the grave at the same time. The three years from her death to that of her husband would probably have allowed sufficient time for the small church of the friary to be built^{*439}. Yet, it is surprising that Llywelyn did not make a 'foundation charter' for this monastery, especially considering the amount of charters he is said to have made to North Welsh religious houses, viz. Aberconwy (forgeries), Basingwerk, Beddgelert (probably a charter by Llywelyn Fawr ap Maredudd and not Llywelyn ab Iorwerth), Cymer (probable forgery), Dolgynwal, Haughmond, Strata Marcella and Ynys Llanog. Two other tombstones have been recovered from the Llanfaes site, one said to be 'twelfth century' and the other probably a 'fourteenth century' priest^{*440}.

The Llanfaes sarcophagus, now in Beaumaris, was cut from a fine grey cross-bedded sandstone and is six feet long, over two feet high and has sides some three inches thick. The stone is darker than that of the Llanrwst sarcophagus. The edges of the effigy on the lid have been much damaged, the moulding on the dexter side is totally missing as too is the bulk of the top edge. Further, as the lid has recently been cemented into place, thereby filling in the missing portions, it is not possible to be certain that the lid and the sarcophagus are actually a match. In addition, it is obvious that the stone of the sarcophagus and the lid are of different varieties, the sarcophagus being cut from a single set of trough cross-beds which look slightly curved in the long section, while the lid is composed of fine grained, flat laminated and current rippled grey sandstone. Quite obviously the stone required for lid and sarcophagus needed different properties for their different purposes and this may account for the differences, one for strength and the other for intricate carving. The sarcophagus is quite plain and crudely finished as it was evidently intended to be sunk into the ground, similar to that suggested for the burial at Maenan presbytery and also the original burial of King John at Worcester. This is dissimilar to the tomb displayed at Llanrwst which was carved to stand proud of the ground.

The coffin said to be that of Princess Joan had long been used as a watering trough outside Llanfaes, when 'found' in 1808 by Viscount Thomas Bulkeley (1752-1822). It was then 'face downwards in a ditch near Llanfaes, the stone coffin which it had covered being used as a water trough'^{*441}. Eight years later the 'evidence' that this was the effigy of Princess Joan was questioned on the sound surmise that this rumour only dated to the early 1800s^{*442}. The story proposed by these relatively well known 'sources' can now both be proven to be wrong and historically near worthless from this 1699 record^{*443}.

^{*438} Pen, 104.

^{*439} There is no apparent confirmation for the extraordinary claim that Llywelyn ab Iorwerth founded the priory in 1245, <http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/300910/details/llanfaes-friary-franciscangreyfriars> retrieved 23 August 2017.

^{*440} *Archaeologia Cambrensis* [1855], 78pl; <http://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/archive/6277008/details/504> retrieved 23 August 2017. It should be noted that the 'twelfth century' tombstone lies in a cemetery apparently only founded in 1237.

^{*441} *Archaeologia Cambrensis* [1847], 316.

^{*442} *Archaeologia Cambrensis* [1855], 79.

^{*443} The history of the legend of the Joan's coffin can be found in Gray, M., 'Four weddings, three funerals and a historical detective puzzle: a cautionary tale', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* [2014], 4-5. Here it is also shown that Joan's effigy

(continued...)

The friary chapel now turned into a tithe barn, in which have been dug up several stone coffins of the same form with that of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth's taken up at the Abbey of Nant Conway, now remaining in the chapel of Llanrwst. These coffins are now converted into swine troughs in several houses of Anglesey.^{*444}

This clearly shows that many coffins were dug up from the friary and that Joan's was at this time thought to be one similar to that now in Llanrwst, ie. presumably decorated with quatrefoils or similar. This also shows that 'Llywelyn's sarcophagus' was already in Llanrwst church by the 1670s. As it was then rumoured to be Llywelyn's only 130 years after the monastery's dissolution, it seems feasible that this might represent a true remembrance. As these accounts all mention Joan's coffin, it is uncertain as to when the effigy was brought together with the rest of her alleged tomb.

The Beaumaris effigy shows the upper portion of a woman with her hands on her chest, but they are lying flat, in an apparently unique and uncomfortably open position, rather than being held together in prayer (Fig.19). Perhaps this was necessary as the effigy was cut in low relief. The even lower relief effigy of an otherwise unknown Lady Eva in Bangor cathedral, probably dates to the last half of the fourteenth century and adopts a somewhat similar pose, although the effigy is shown in full and is surrounded by a canopy and stiff leaf foliage (Fig.20). An effigy at Danby Wiske, Yorkshire^{*445}, although in higher relief, has her hands in a similar position, but palm downwards (Fig.21). The style of the effigy would point towards the end of the thirteenth century, or even a few decades into the fourteenth. The lady in question is also wearing two heraldic shields which look like multiple bars. These do not fit the heraldic badges of any known family of Danby Wiske - viz. The counts of Richmond, the Nevilles, the Longvilliers, the Furnivalls or the Scropes. The Maunbys had an interest in the vill, but their heraldic devices appear unknown; however their manorial interests make it unlikely that this lady belonged to their family^{*446}. This leaves the possibility that the traditional identification of this effigy as Matilda, the widow of Brian Fitz Alan (d.1306) could well be correct. The idea that she was the sister of King John Balliol is apparently unsourced and the fact that she only wears what 'could' be Fitz Alan of Bedale arms and not those of Balliol would tend to mitigate against her being a member of the Balliol family. If the identification is correct it again emphasises the problems of assuming that an effigy must be related to the church where it is currently found.

Another somewhat similar effigy to the Beaumaris one can be found at East Worldham, Hampshire, where the upper part of a woman's torso has been carved deeply into a block of light grey sandstone (Fig.22). The figure displays similar headwear to Princess

^{*443} (...continued)

was not found face down in a ditch by the coffin, but was already in the church when the coffin was taken from its temporary home at Baron Hill.

^{*444} 'Historia Bellomarisei of circa 1669 by William Williams' in Fenton, R., *Tours in Wales* [1804-1813], ed. Fisher, J. [Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1917], 305.

^{*445} Traditionally the effigy is said to represent Matilda, the second wife of Brian Fitz Alan (d.1306), who died sometime after 1340. The assumption appears based on the heraldry of a barry of five shown on her cloak. However, there are many such coats of arms and there seems no Fitz Alan link to the manor. From an early date Danby Wiske formed part of the demesne land of the honour of Richmond. In the early thirteenth century this was held by Earl Ranulf of Chester (d.1232), the step father in law of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. The lordship then passed between the Crown, the Scropes and the mostly absentee dukes of Brittany until 1342 when it was resumed by the Crown and eventually granted to John of Gaunt. Possibly the lady is a wife or mother of Geoffrey le Scrope who died holding the vill a little before 11 December 1340, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1216-1427* [22 vols., 1898-2003] 1336-47, 206. Alternatively, the effigy might be a Neville or a Mauneby, Hugh Neville holding the manor of Thomas Mauneby, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1336-47*, No.403. In short, she is anonymous.

^{*446} *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1336-47*, No.403.

Joan, except for a definite lack of a coronet. She also has a fine wheel brooch under her throat, but her hands are palm down one above the other on her chest. This figure is traditionally said to be Philippa Roet, the wife of Geoffrey Chaucer (d.1400), but this identification is at least 150 years too late^{*447}.

The Beaumaris figure is surrounded by the branches of a floriated stem which springs from the base of the lid border and is grasped by the head of a wyvern (Fig.23). The tail of the animal is formed into a love knot just before the end loops into the lower foliage of the stem. The effigy face is enclosed by a barbet. This may be worn over an apparent coif which closes tightly about the forehead. A few strands of hair appear visible at the temples (Fig.24). On the top of her head is what has been claimed to be a coronet^{*448} which holds in place a wimple which falls to her shoulders where it rests in three apparently pleated rolls on either shoulder. Under the fall of the wimple and over the possible coif at the base of the neck is the V shaped top of a tight fitting long sleeved gown. This is clasped at her throat by a circular wheel brooch possibly with a dove or other design within the circle. Her head rests on a plain rectangular cushion in typical early stone effigy fashion (1150-1250). As the end of the thirteenth century was reached a second cushion and sometimes tassels were added to the effigy headrest.

The headwear of the Beaumaris effigy is surprisingly similar to that worn by Isabella Plantagenet (c.1214-41), with coronet over a wimple that apparently doesn't cover the throat, but does lie in pleats on her shoulders (Fig.25^{*449}). Her hair is also just showing at her temples. The style of drawing of the face is also nearly identical to the Beaumaris effigy. Isabella was the younger half sister of Princess Joan of Wales. Isabella's other uterine sisters, Eleanor (c.1215-75), the wife of Simon Montfort (d.1265), and Joan (1210-38) the queen of Scotland, are shown in the same roll in exactly the same headwear (Fig.26). It is further apparent that these ladies have quite different headgear to other royal ladies represented on the roll. They also have coronets dissimilar to the crowns of the kings in the manuscript. The implication could well be that they are all daughters of King John and that this was thought to be the style of royal ladies when the roll was drawn up in the early fourteenth century.

This combined circumstantial evidence also leaves the possibility that the effigy is of Eleanor's daughter, another Eleanor (1252-82), who was wife to Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd from 1278. If this is so, the effigy could well have been commissioned by that Llywelyn between Eleanor's death on 19 June 1282 and his own killing on 10 December 1282. According to a contemporary chronicle made outside of Wales - no Welsh chronicle mentions her death - she died at the very end of the day of 19 June 1282 when her daughter Gwenllian was born and she was buried at Llanfaes in the house of the brothers minor^{*450}. Eleanor had no female siblings and so it is not possible to compare any representations of them to the Beaumaris effigy, but another genealogical chronicle of the English kings dating to between 1275 and 1300 (BL Royal MS 14 B V), does represent her (Fig.27). This looks nothing like the effigy and has a totally different headwear. Unfortunately all the other females in this roll have exactly the same headwear, so this of itself proves nothing, other than this poor sketch may have been done just within her lifetime. It can further be stated that Eleanor of

^{*447} <http://astoft.co.uk/eastworldham.htm?fref=gc> retrieved 23 August 2017.

^{*448} There are many effigies who are apparently not of royal blood, but sport coronets, viz. the female effigy at Norwell, Nottinghamshire.

^{*449} British Library, Royal MS 14 B VI, a genealogical roll of the kings of England possibly drawn up between 1300 and 1308 accessible online via <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=18941&CollID=16&NStart=140206>

^{*450} *Florentii Wigornensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe [2 vols., English Historical Society, 1848-9] II, 226; *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, ed. Gransden, A. [Nelson, 1964], 75.

Aquitaine's effigy of 1204 at Fontevrault (Fig.28) bears more than a passing resemblance to the Beaumaris headwear, as too does that of Isabella of Angouleme (d.1246), Princess Joan's stepmother (Fig.29). The effigy of Countess Aveline Fortibus of Lancaster (d.1274, Fig.30) is less of a match in headwear than the legitimate daughters of King John seem to have worn.

The argument has run for 200 years that the Beaumaris effigy must be Joan as it has a coronet (though this never seems to have been clearly seen), is obviously an early effigy and Joan was buried at Llanfaes. Yet, if the above is correct, the possibility remains that this lady is actually Princess Rhunallt ferch Reginald, the first wife of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and daughter of the king of Man^{*451}. On 3 July 1414, King Henry V reconstituted Llanfaes friary which had been abandoned due to the troubles in Wales before 28 January 1401^{*452}. In Henry V's letter he notes that the daughter of King John had been buried there as well as some son of the king of Dacia, the body of Lord Clifford and others killed in the Welsh wars^{*453}. When Camden saw this document many years later he thought it read *filia regis Johannis, filius Regis Daniae...*^{*454}. Logically the original reading should have been *Regis Maniae* or the king of Man and not *Daciae* or *Daniae* at all. Similarly, it is possible that *filius* is a faulty expansion of *fil'* and should really have been rendered *filia* - daughter. If these deductions are correct, Llanfaes could also have been the burial place of Llywelyn's first wife. That said, at least one son of the king of Man, Godred Olafsson, did die off the coast of Gwynedd in 1237^{*455}. Thus he could quite conceivably have been buried at Llanfaes. The fact that King Henry V mentioned these people would suggest that their names were remembered due to their having inscriptions or notable tombs at the friary. It may also indicate that prayers may have been maintained for them until 1401.

Further south in Wales there are some more unidentified effigies that have similarities with that of the Beaumaris effigy. The first two are in Abergavenny. One lies largely covered by a Cantilupe shield, which almost certainly makes her the effigy of the Jean Cantilupe who died in 1271 (Fig.31). Alternatively, this just might be her mother, Eva Braose, who married William Cantilupe in 1248 and died in 1255. If it is her, then she is displaying her husband's heraldry on the shield and not her own. The likelihood is therefore that this is not Eva Braose (d.1255), who was the sister of Princess Isabella Braose (d.1272+), the wife of Prince Dafydd ap Llywelyn (d.1246), but her daughter, Jean or Joanna Cantilupe (d.1271). Once more the effigy has a rather triangular face with a barbet with probable coif underneath. Again the head lies on a plain rectangular pillow. The effigy rested on a much mutilated sarcophagus. This has recently been rebuilt, showing a rectangular box with three defaced shields in each side. There are no roundels. The second Abergavenny effigy is highly defaced and obviously dates to several generations after the Cantilupe woman. However, the reconstructed tomb she lies upon has three quatrefoils on either side containing defaced heraldic shields (Fig.32). It is worth speculating here that this figure might well represent Agnes Mortimer (d.1368^{*456}), the third great granddaughter of Joan Plantagenet (d.1237). The style is feasible when compared to her sister Catherine (d.1369) at Warwick and the obviously earlier effigy of another sister, Blanche (d.1347), entombed at Much Marcle in Herefordshire. The effigy of Earl Lawrence

^{*451} See the above chapter, Llywelyn's Marriage and Aberconwy, 1195 to 1203.

^{*452} *CPR 1399-1401*, 418; *CPR 1413-16*, 234.

^{*453} *et similiter quod in eadem domo corpus tam filiae regis Johannis progenitoris nostri, quam filii regis Daciae, necnon corpora domini de Clyffort, et aliorum dominorum militum et armigerorum qui in guerris Walliae...*, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae etc.*, ed. T. Rymer and R. Sanderson, 4th edn, by A. Clarke, F. Holbrooke, and J. Caley [4 vols. in 7 parts, 1816-69], IV, 1401-33, 83.

^{*454} *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, Hearne, T., [London, 1770, 6 vols] I, 54.

^{*455} *Chronicle of the kings of Mann and the Isles*, ed Broderick, G. [Douglas, 2004], f.45r-v.

^{*456} *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1365-70*, No.226.

Hastings of Pembroke, Agnes Mortimer's husband, lies nearby. He died twenty years before her, on 30 August 1348, which might explain the two having separate tombs. His sarcophagus has no roundels, but multiple canopies with weepers within them as might be fitting for a mid fourteenth century tomb.

Just over the current Welsh border at English Bicknor in Gloucestershire, is another effigy that is worth comparison with that at Beaumaris. This shows a poorly sculptured lady allegedly of the fourteenth century (Fig.33). Again she wears somewhat similar headwear to the Beaumaris effigy and her head rests on a rectangular pillow. Quite possibly then, this is thirteenth century and not later.

There is a similar coffin lid to Beaumaris in Brampton, Derbyshire, that can be dated. This belongs to Matilda le Caus who died a little before 21 May 1224^{*457}. The lid, which was discovered in the graveyard in the eighteenth century, has a quatrefoil at the top through which the bust of Matilda is displayed (Fig.34). She clasps her heart to her chest and wears a veil over some kind of cap or braided hairdo. Her head rests on a rectangular pillow of typical thirteenth century style. Above the quatrefoil lobes are some indistinct decoration, while on the main part of the coffin lid is an inscription that reads: Here lies Matilda le Caus. Say a lord's prayer for her soul^{*458}. In style it is not dissimilar to the Beaumaris coffin lid, although much less ornate, as might be expected for a lesser personage.

Finally with these comparisons, it is worth noting the effigy of Rose Verdun (d.10 Feb.1247) found in Belton church, Leicestershire (Fig.35). Here is an apparently defaced effigy with canopy, apparently removed to Belton church when Rose's foundation of Grace Dieu priory was dissolved in 1538. The effigy currently lies on a modern table tomb and consists of a slab supporting the effigy of a lady set under a trefoil canopy replete with ball foliage. Towards the top of the canopy, set in the angles, are a rose and the Verdun arms, one on either side. The effigy slab is unusually thick and the canopy top has five upright figures at the head and three each on the two upper sides, all kneeling in prayer or reading, apart from the topmost figure who appears to be female and is rising to heaven from her shroud aided by two surrounding figures with angel wings, uncovering her shroud^{*459}. At the base of the effigy Rose's feet lie on a dragon, while on the base of the foot plate are a further three effigies, probably Rose standing with her hands raised and two women on either side kneeling in prayer. Around the side two further girls peep around the chamfered corners of the slab. The effigy is in a long flowing surcoat with loose folds, belted high at the waist. Her hands lie flat on her chest and her left forearm cradles a closed book. On her head, which rests in early style on a single rectangular cushion, she wears just a veil which flows down onto her shoulders. The apparent barrette seems caused by the refacing of the effigy which may have occurred in 1912 when the monument was 'restored'^{*460}. If the scenes around the top and bottom of the slab are interpreted correctly Rose is displayed centrally at top and bottom in life and at the Resurrection. Altogether the extravagance and workmanship of the monument is vastly superior to those already examined, there appears no evidence to suggest that the effigy must be of later provenance, especially when Rose asked for lights to adorn her tomb just before her death.

It should be remembered from this brief survey that the dating of any archaeological feature by comparison with other equally undatable features is a pastime fraught with

^{*457} CPR 1216-25, 439.

^{*458} *Hic:Iacet:Matild:le:Caus: Orate:Pro:Anima Ei' Pat'Nos.*

^{*459} My thanks go to many members of the Facebook group British Medieval History, who helped with the interpretation of this.

^{*460} It is possible that some effigies had separate faces which were then glued to the main body.

historical danger, consequently it cannot be taken for granted that the Beaumaris effigy does represent Princess Joan, even if the circumstantial evidence does seem to point that way.

To help with the identification it is necessary to look at some broad statistics to place these effigies in context. Currently it is estimated that approximately 0.84% of the world population dies each year. Of the knightly class of England there were approximately 7,000 available for service around 1200, so when wives and clerics are added to this equation it gives a rough figure of some 20,000 people who may have wished to be commemorated by effigies at any one time in the thirteenth century. If this class of people capable of affording effigies or incised slabs were dying at approximately 1% per annum and each were commemorated, this would mean that some 200 new effigies were being made each year. Between the rough dates of 1200 and 1350 that would suggest a production of some 30,000 pieces of funerary art. As it can be shown that effigies were being produced in the twelfth century this figure is most certainly an underestimate for potential production of effigies before 1350. Currently there are only some 1,500 examples existing or known to have existed from the period 1100 to 1350. This is less than 5% of what might be expected if every suitably rich person was commemorated in such a fashion. Quite obviously they were not.

Regardless of the original evidence, it has recently even been suggested that the Beaumaris effigy might represent ladies as diverse as Princess Joan, Senana ferch Caradog (bef.1200-52+) the widow of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (d.1244), or Eleanor Montfort (1252-82), the wife of Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (d.1282)^{*461}. No doubt there will always be more suggestions than solid answers. All of the documentary evidence as well as the similar styles of the effigies and similar works of art (though few of their dates can be taken as secure), would tend to suggest that the lady represented in the effigy is indeed Joan Plantagenet (d.1237) and dates to the second quarter of the thirteenth century - probably in the period 1237 to 1241. Unfortunately suggestion is the best that the available evidence allows.

Some further evidence can be gleaned from the geological examination of both the Beaumaris and the Llanrwst sarcophagi which was carried out in 2008^{*462}. This showed quite conclusively that the three parts of the two tombs came from different sandstone beds, although microscopic analysis showed that both had suffered similar geological histories in terms of alteration during their laying down and diagenesis. This suggested that both original sandstone blocks had been obtained from the same or closely related quarries. Comparison with quarries in lands adjacent to Aberconwy at Bodysgallen, Degannwy, Llandudno, Conwy, Bangor and the adjacent parts of Mon all proved negative; notwithstanding it was felt that 'the nearest likely candidate quarries are those in the fluvial Carboniferous sandstone at Talacre, near Mostyn Dock'. If this is correct it may well suggest that both sarcophagi came from the lands of Basingwerk abbey, unless of course the stone was simply purchased and then brought to Llanfaes and Aberconwy in 1237 and 1240 and cut on site. If the suggestion for the origin of the sarcophagi rock is correct the fact that Tegeingl fell out of the political control of Prince Dafydd ap Llywelyn in the summer of 1241 might well offer a terminus post quem for both tombs, although there is no reason that he could purchase the stones in the period 1241-44 when he was at peace with the English king. This geological evidence therefore leads to the likelihood that both the Llanrwst and Beaumaris tombs were cut in Wales. The conclusion of this evidence would therefore appear to be that the Llanrwst sarcophagus could well be that of

^{*461} Gray, M., 'Four weddings, three funerals and a historical detective puzzle: a cautionary tale', *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club* [2014].

^{*462} Campbell-Bannerman, N. and Crossley, R., *North Wales Geology Association* [Jan 2008], vol.49, 4-5.

Prince Llywelyn and that the Beaumaris effigy, but not the underlying sarcophagus, could be a part of the tomb of Princess Joan. Neither case can be more than a suggestion.

With all this considered, the Llanrwst sarcophagus could conceivably belong to any of the princes buried at Aberconwy between 1200 and 1248 and possibly any number of abbots or nobles who might have been buried there up to roughly 1300. During this time six men of Venedotian princely stock are known to have been buried within the abbey. They were Gruffydd ap Cynan in 1200, Hywel ap Gruffydd in 1216, Llywelyn ap Maelgwn in 1230, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth in 1240, Dafydd ap Llywelyn in 1246 and finally Gruffydd ap Llywelyn in 1248. There is one more factor that might sway opinion towards the Llanrwst sarcophagus being that of Prince Llywelyn, and that is that his wife's aunt, Eleanor Plantagenet (1162-1214), was buried in a sarcophagus with similar decoration at Burgos in Spain in 1214 (Fig.36). Although this tomb has no effigy, but in its place a pyramidal roof, it does have 'roundels', but these are trefoil canopies, rather than quatrefoils. Regardless of this, the design seems specifically Spanish as King Alphonso X (1226-84) was buried in a similar sarcophagus (Fig.37). Back in Britain similar tombs seem to have been made for other members of King John's family. King John's tomb in Worcester cathedral has quatrefoil roundels, but these are far more sumptuous, as is the whole tomb (Fig.38). Unfortunately they are a late addition, only being made in 1529 when the tomb was modified to make it match that of Prince Arthur. Thus, although the quatrefoils contain heraldic plaques, like those postulated for the Llanrwst tomb, they cannot have had a similar provenance. When the Tudor tomb was opened in 1797 the original stone coffin containing the king's corpse was discovered within. Clearly the effigy and the sarcophagus are of the same shape - similar to that of the Llanrwst sarcophagus except that this tomb was body shaped internally (Fig.39). The effigy would appear to have originally lain directly on top of the sarcophagus which shows evidence of having been initially set in the ground, with the effigy lying directly on the church floor (Fig.40). This would appear to have been in the same style as the grave found in the excavations at Maenan abbey in 1968 and suggested as the second resting place of Prince Llywelyn. The elm boards found around the Worcester sarcophagus in 1797 probably marked an attempt to reseal the coffin after its removal to its current position and the construction of the 1529 box tomb to enclose the body and sarcophagus. The conclusion of the 1797 investigators was that the stone coffin of Higley stone had been laid in the Lady's chapel in the ground and the effigy then laid over it on the ground surface^{*463}. It was then later translated to its present position. Whether this was initially done in 1216, 1232 or only in 1529 remains a moot point, but the later is more likely. An interesting comment by the 1797 investigators was that the body of the king accurately reflected the image of the effigy above in both clothing and position. It therefore seems likely that the effigy of the king was placed there by the executors of his will in the immediate aftermath of the king's death, rather than later in 1232 as is currently asserted^{*464}.

If the tomb of King John does not help with identifying the sarcophagus at Llanrwst a nearby tomb does. This is the final resting place of Matilda Longespey, nee Clifford (d.1284), the granddaughter of Prince Llywelyn and Joan Plantagenet who would appear to have been buried in Worcester priory in 1284. This tomb, as well as a masterful effigy on the lid, has six quatrefoils along its one exposed side. The other three sides are built into a wall, though it is uncertain whether this was done originally or is part of the later Tudor remodelling (Fig.41).

^{*463} The idea that John asked to be buried between the two Saxon saints, Oswald and Wulfstan, is a modern invention as a quick glance at his will shows.

^{*464} http://worcestercathedral.co.uk/King_John.php accessed 19 August 2017.

Certainly this sarcophagus appears the nearest match to that at Llanrwst and the identification of the effigy is proved by the multitude of Clifford arms that decorate her cloak (Fig.42).

Other tombs with quatrefoil decoration exist, or once existed, at Moccas, Herefordshire (5 quatrefoils of possibly the mid fourteenth century) and Bishop Henry Marshall (d.1210) in Exeter cathedral (three large and two small quatrefoils on either side with leaf moulding surroundings). Joan Vere (d.1293) in Chichester cathedral has similar quatrefoils, but they are more elaborate. Interestingly, they are similar to those on the tomb of Earl Richard Fitz Alan (d.1376) and his second wife Eleanor Lancaster (d.1372) which lies nearby. In both these cases the roundels are flanked by trefoil canopies. Consequently these would appear to be later variants of the Llanrwst sarcophagus design. Similarly, the tomb of King Edward III (d.1377) has quatrefoils along the base, but they are far more complex than those of Llanrwst.



Figure 14, Two tombs at Ellington, Cambridgeshire, which have similar decoration to the sarcophagus at Llanrwst.



Figure 15, The sarcophagus attributed to Prince Llywelyn in the Gwydir chapel of Llanrwst church. Note the quatrefoil roundels with central pinholes to hold the plaques in place and the central groove within the tomb. There is also an insert on the base corner (bottom left) where the tomb may have butted against an object. Similarly, the upper right corner has been chamfered away damaging a roundel. This implies that this portion of the tomb at least was moved and placed with this side between or against two objects.



Figure 16, The Fulbrook, Oxfordshire, tomb.



Figure 17, The effigy alleged to be that of Abbot Alexander Holderness of Peterborough (d.1226) set on top of a modified sarcophagus with roundels containing quatrefoils.



Figure 18, The plain and undecorated stone coffin alleged to be that of Princess Joan (d.1237). This is now sealed by a decorated sepulchral slab with a female representation upon it. Joan was buried on the seashore before Llanfaes priory was apparently built near or over the site.



Figure 19, The effigy on the tomb lid thought to represent Princess Joan (d.1237), currently within Beaumaris church porch.

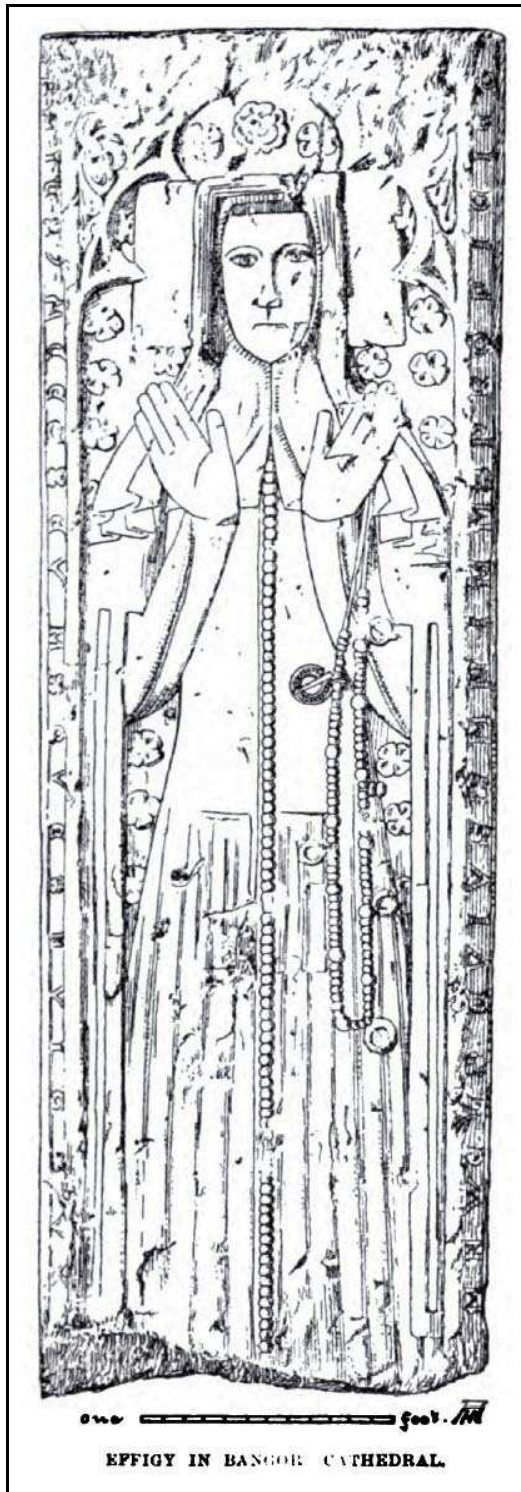


Figure 20, The Lady Eva with open palms. The style of headdress and the buttons down the centre of her cloak would suggest a late 14th century date.



Figure 21, The effigy in Danby Wiske with the downturned hands. Note the more refined clothing as well as the two heraldic shields on her shoulders and the twin cushions. Such is far more 1275 to 1325 than 1200 to 1250 in style.



Figure 22, The effigy at East Worldham showing a similar wheel brooch and headwear to that worn by Princess Joan. Photo courtesy of Allan Soedring.



Figure 23, A Victorian representation of the coffin lid assigned to Princess Joan soon after its discovery.



Figure 24, A close up of the face and headgear of the Beaumaris effigy.



Figure 25, Isabella Plantagenet, (1214-41), Empress of Germany and younger half-sister of Princess Joan of Wales.



Figure 26, Eleanor Plantagenet (1215-75), the youngest daughter of King John.



Figure 27, Princess Eleanor Montfort of Wales (d.1282).



Figure 28, The refurbished effigy of Eleanor of Aquitaine (d.1204). Note the single rectangular pillow of a type found in many early effigies.

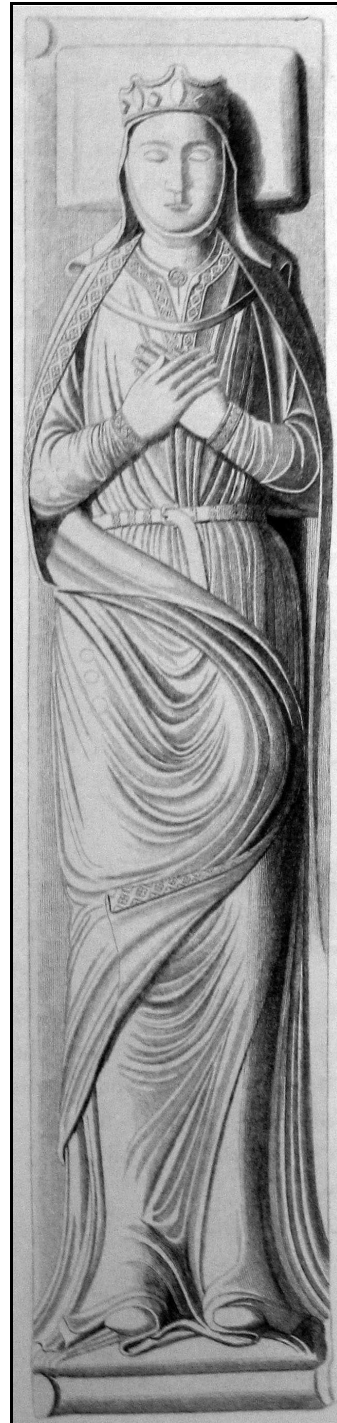


Figure 29, The tomb effigy of Isabella of Angouleme (d.1246), the widow of King John, in Fontevrault abbey.

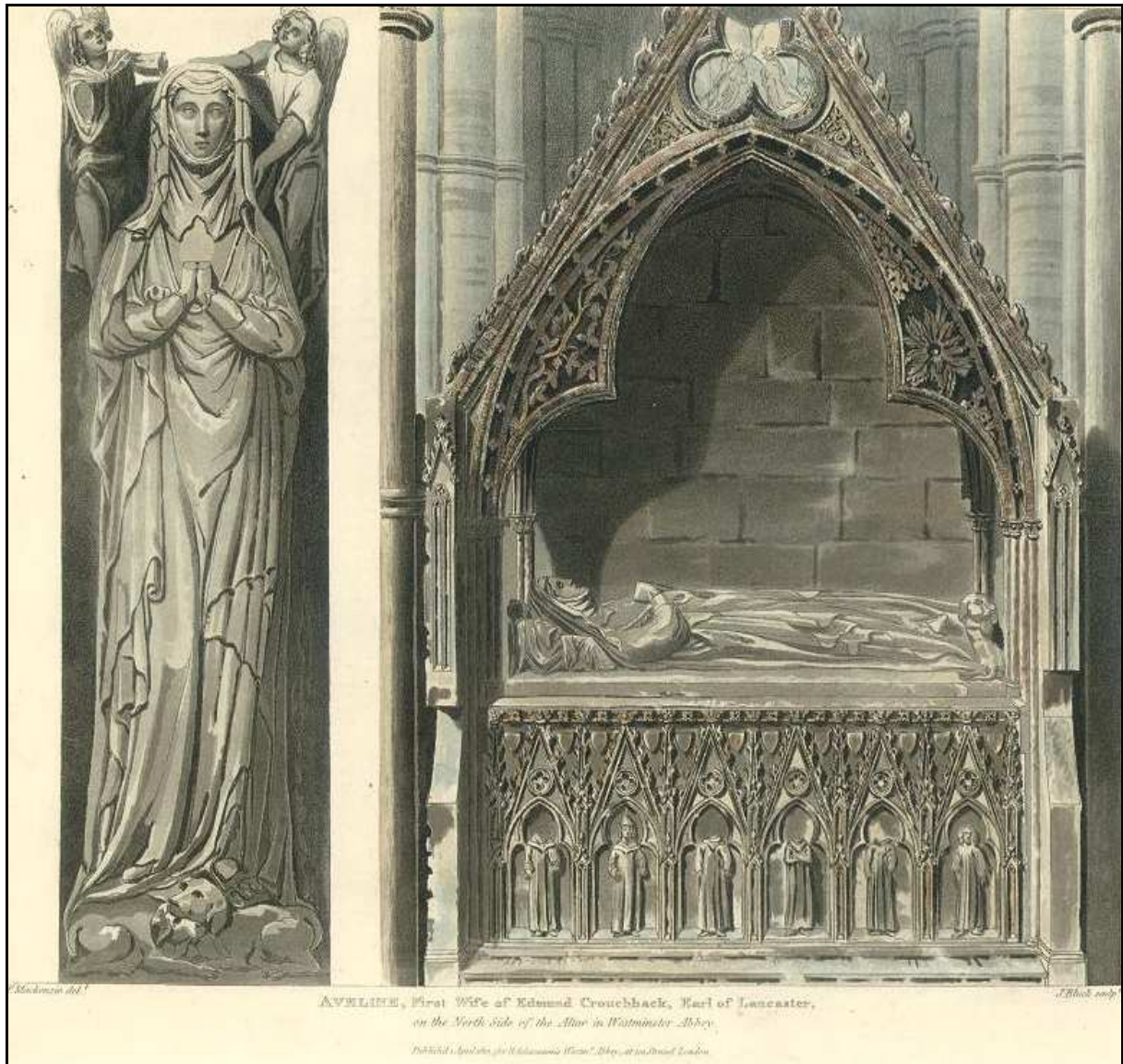


Figure 30, Aveline Fortibus (d.1274), the wife of Earl Edmund of Lancaster (d.1296) in Westminster cathedral. Note how the decoration on her tomb is trefoil, rather than quatrefoil as appears on the Llanrwst tomb.



Figure 31, The face of the effigy which seems to represent Jean Cantilupe (d.1271) at Abergavenny.



Figure 32, The second female effigy at Abergavenny set upon a modern reconstruction of a table tomb. The quatrefoils of this bear some resemblance to those on the sarcophagus at Llanrwst.



Figure 33, The rather amateurish English Bicknor effigy.



Figure 34, The effigy of Matilda le Cauz (d.1224) at Old Brampton, Derbyshire.



Figure 35, The Lady Rose Verdun (d.1246) in Belton, Leicestershire. Notice the Verdun arms on the trefoil canopy and the apparently new face glued to the defaced head.



Figure 36, The sarcophagus of Eleanor Plantagenet (rear with the three leopard heraldic device of England) and King Alphonso VIII of Castile at Burgos cathedral, Spain.

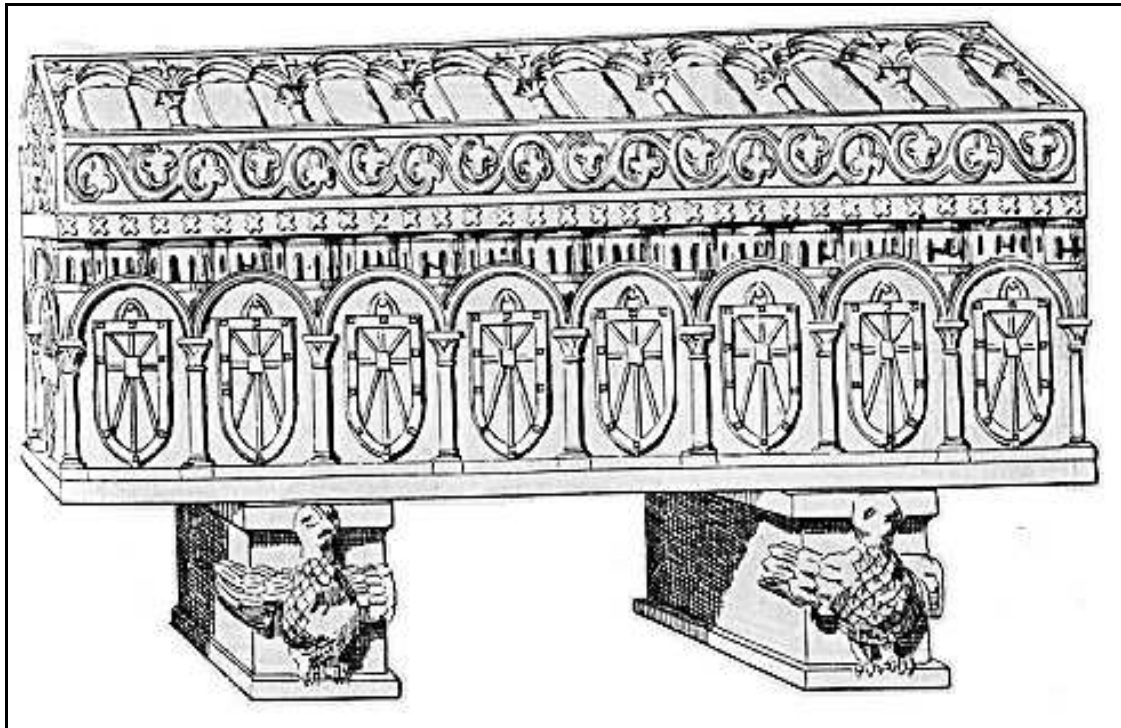


Figure 37, The tomb of King Alphonso X of Castile (d.1284).



Figure 38, King John's tomb showing the three quatrefoil roundels set in a sumptuous tomb with elaborate buttresses of a canopy style. The sarcophagus, but not the effigy, dates from 1529.

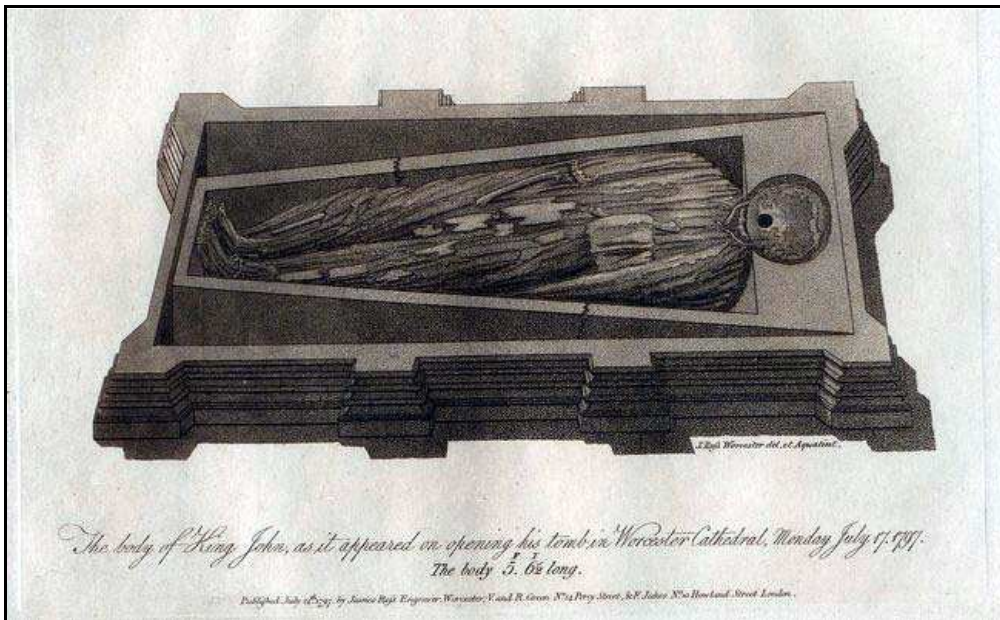


Figure 39, The body of King John as it was found in 1797, placed within in the original coffin with the head inverted, possibly in the 1529 translation.



Figure 40, A representation of the effigy of King John showing its coffin shape which apparently matches that of the sarcophagus below.



Figure 41, The tomb of Matilda Longespey nee Clifford (d.1284) in Worcester cathedral showing the quatrefoil roundels similar to those found on the Llanrwst sarcophagus.

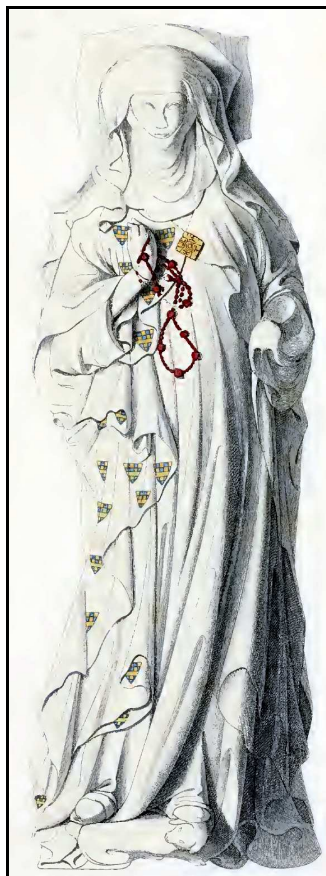


Figure 42, A Victorian sketch of the heraldry on the effigy of Matilda Clifford at Worcester.

Aberconwy Abbey During the Wars of Prince Dafydd, 1240 to 1246

If it is uncertain if any trace of Prince Llywelyn's tomb still remains, more can be said of his last years and his successors' fight for power. The precise course of events concerning Prince Dafydd's assumption of power as well as his imprisonment of his half-brother have previously created some confusion. Once more, following the contemporary sources alleviates this confusion. The Bruts state under 1239 that:

Dafydd ap Llywelyn seized Gruffydd, his brother, breaking faith with him and imprisoned him and his son at Criccieth (*Kruceith, Grugyeith, Krucyeith*)^{*465}.

Dafydd ap Llywelyn seized Gruffydd, his brother, breaking his oath with him and he imprisoned him and his son in the castle of Criccieth.^{*466}

By the implication of the juxtaposition of entires, this event occurred after the birth of the future King Edward I on 18 June 1239 and before the death of Llywelyn on 11 April 1240. However, as the Bruts were only redacted in the fourteenth century, this cannot be taken as an untainted primary source. The same is true of the *Annales Cambriae*, which were likewise redacted around the beginning of the fourteenth century. The probable Strata Florida and Hopton Commission versions, both have Gruffydd captured by Dafydd due to the fortunes of war, with the Strata version sandwiching this between two events, the death of Gruffydd ap Maredudd and the birth of Prince Edward^{*467}. Obviously this disagrees dramatically with the Bruts which have Gruffydd captured after the birth of Edward. Further, no Gruffydd ap Maredudd is known to have died in 1239, but this year Maredudd Goeg died at Whitland^{*468}. His nephew, a Gruffydd ap Maredudd, died in 1242. Whatever the case, the Strata chronicle is corrupt here. The St David's version is also corrupt and states under the year 1239:

And Gruffydd his son was captured by his brother Dafydd and imprisoned.

The original should probably have read:

Gruffydd, and also his son, were captured and imprisoned by his brother Dafydd.

Regardless of these renderings, it seems reasonably clear from this that the writer of the lost Welsh Chronicle believed that Dafydd had captured Gruffydd. Whether this happened at Criccieth or Criccieth castle is open to doubt. Furthermore, it is uncertain whether the prince 'and his son' were imprisoned in Criccieth as well as being captured there. Criccieth was in Eifionydd and therefore next to Gruffydd's land of Llyn.

English sources have a quite different take on Welsh affairs. Matthew Paris recorded two versions of Dafydd's takeover of power. In the first, which might have been written up near contemporaneously, he said:

^{*465} RBH, 237.

^{*466} Pen, 105.

^{*467} *Annales Cambriae. A Translation of Harleian 3859; PRO E.164/1; Cottonian Domitian, A 1; Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514 and MS Exchequer DB Neath, PRO E.164/1*, ed. Remfry, P.M., [Malvern, 2007], 130.

^{*468} Pen, 105.