

**The Origins of the Village in South Wales: a Study in Landscape
Archaeology.**

Jonathan Andrew Kissock

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Abstract:

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The debate on the origins of nucleated settlement and their associated open-field agricultural systems is now one of the most frequently encountered in landscape studies. This thesis has explored this debate in a processual framework. A hypothetico-deductive methodology has been employed and the evidence is presented in a retrogressive manner. The study is spatially limited to the four "old" counties of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire; there are no fixed chronological limits.

The first chapter set out the background to this thesis and defined the overall aim. This was then expanded into a number of overall objectives. Each objective was presented in the form of a model from which hypotheses were deduced and then, in subsequent chapters, tested. Underlying each model was the premise that the village is the physical - and therefore usually the archaeologically recoverable - manifestation of a particular form of social organisation.

It was argued that three processes led to village origins. A number of them were deliberately planted in order to stabilise the Norman-Celtic boundary in mid-Pembrokeshire. These were probably founded c. 1110 by locatores. These villages had the inflated status of "rural boroughs" in order to attract settlers. Two processes contributed to village origins in the pre-Conquest period: the need to increase agricultural production (to support both aristocratic and ecclesiastical élites) and the requirement to re-organise agriculture following the fragmentation of the earlier multiple estates.

This thesis also examined other related topics. The evidence for the stability of village plans was also explored. A wide range of material - maps, the degree of concentration of landownership, population figures and the shape and size of deserted villages - was discussed as part of this area of study. It was argued that village shape had not usually changed and hence the deductions made from morphological studies - for example deliberate plantation (for which there is ample ethnographic evidence) - were valid. Another study examined the landscape of Gower in some detail. This chapter demonstrated the difference between the Anglo-Norman and the Celtic landscapes of nucleation, the vibrancy of the upland economy in the later medieval period and developed the concept of village dating beyond the "one species per century" formula.

This thesis has contributed to the wider debate in two ways: it has gathered new information and offered new interpretations of the village in south Wales. It has also developed and refined some of the approaches and assumptions made by landscape archaeologists.

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Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations have been used throughout to refer to collections of source material:

BL	British Library.
Bodl.	Bodleian Library.
GCRO	Glamorgan County Record Office.
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office.
NLW Maps	National Library of Wales, Dept. of Pictures and Maps.
NLW Ms.	National Library of Wales, Dept. of Manuscripts.
PRO	Public Record Office.
UCSA	University College Swansea Archives.
WGARO	West Glamorgan Area Record Office.

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Chapter 1: Introduction.

1.1: Aim, objectives and evaluation.

A request to describe the settlement pattern of south Wales would provoke several answers. Many people would refer to the industrial settlement of valleys such as the Rhondda or the Rhumney. Others might remember holidays spent amidst the equally regimented caravan parks of Barry or Tenby. Some might recall the upland sheep farm of the film "On the Black Mountain." Very few would mention the villages, which are commonplace in the author's adopted home - the English Midlands - but rare in Wales. They are to be found, in the main, on the coastal plain which runs from the Anglo-Welsh border to the Irish Sea. The aim of this thesis is to try to answer the question: why are there villages in south Wales? In doing so the author hopes to contribute to the wider debate on the origins of rural settlements - especially nucleations - and their associated agricultural systems. This debate is now one of the most frequently encountered in contemporary landscape studies.

The author has broken his aim down into a number of specific objectives. Each objective takes the form of one question about village origins, for example - were the villages deliberately planted in the wake of the Norman Conquest of the region? The individual objectives are discussed in detail in chapter 2; for the moment it is sufficient to say that each objective comprises one or more hypotheses, drawn from a model. These hypotheses are then tested in chapters 3, 5 and 6. Chapter 3 uses relatively modern maps to search for signs of deliberate village plantation. Chapters 5 and 6, arranged in a retrospective fashion, carry the search for village origins backwards in time. They draw mainly on archaeological evidence, with the objective of examining the possibility of village origins in the latter part of the first and early second millennium AD. Chapter 4 stands apart from the other in that it sets out to examine the validity of the crucial premises underlying chapter 3. These chapters form Part I of the thesis.

In Part II the scale of the study is changed. Instead of looking at the whole study area - which comprises four

counties and 3,000 square miles - two smaller areas are examined in detail. The evolution of the villages in the eastern part of the Gower Peninsula is discussed in chapter 7. Chapter 8 examines the processes of village plantation in Pembrokeshire. In addition to drawing the threads together the final chapter will examine the suitability - for a study of landscape archaeology - of the approaches adopted.

Four appendices have been added to this thesis. The first lists the urban centres of the area in the Middle Ages. The second draws on several sources - including published works and sites and monuments records - to provide a gazetteer of deserted medieval settlement sites in the study area. A justification and modification of the technique of hedgerow dating forms Appendix 3; this technique is used to analyse the Gower landscape in chapter 7. The final appendix examines the threat to the villages of Pembrokeshire that is posed by building developments.

Finally, criteria have to be established against which the author can evaluate his work. The Council for British Archaeology's Countryside Committee have recently stated what rural archaeology, in their opinion, should be¹. First, they argue it should be "ecologically conceived", by which they mean that the collection and analysis of archaeo-environmental and palaeo-botanical material should be incorporated into the research design. Second it should be more than just excavation; excavation must be integrated into other strategies of fieldwork. This is related to their third guideline: research must be area-based, as "the concept of site is no longer appropriate." Furthermore research should be long term, but not necessarily continuous, and should be academically motivated within a carefully conceived research strategy. Finally rural archaeology should aim to include both detailed and generalized study, and must consider "living" farms and villages in addition to the more usual concerns with "dead" ones.

The CBA was not, of course, writing with research students in mind. They were, this author believes, thinking of large-scale projects, for example Raunds or Wharham Percy.

¹A.C. Thomas, Research Objectives in British Archaeology, 1983, pp. 18 - 22.

Nevertheless their guidelines can, with modification to exclude the long-term factor, be used to define good practice in a landscape archaeology thesis. Hence they will be used by the author to evaluate his work in the concluding chapter.

1.2: Landscape archaeology.

As the subtitle of this thesis is "a study in landscape archaeology" it is necessary to examine this term and to try to define it. The definition of landscape studies is best examined in a historical framework. Three clear phases in the development of this branch of the wider discipline can be distinguished: the antiquarian phase (from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth), the preconscious phase (from the early twentieth century to 1955) and the modern phase (from 1955 onwards.)

Antiquarian scholars, for example John Leland, Edward Lhwyd and William Camden, started the study of the landscape and antiquities of the British Isles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Leland travelled widely in Britain and recorded the ancient monuments and medieval works he saw. Whilst he described himself as an antiquary, his aim was to present a historical background to his eulogised descriptions of Tudor England². It was works such as Camden's Britannia and Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire which first included history, archaeology and topography for their own worth. Their early research was the first to be based on a measure of systematic fieldwork; in pursuit of knowledge Lhwyd travelled widely throughout the British Isles and France³. He also pioneered the collection of data by questionnaire. The observations he obtained in this way are of considerable interest and will be used in future chapters of this thesis. Another antiquarian, William Stukeley, developed a geographical and topographical approach in his work; this enabled him to interpret dykes and similar earthworks in the light of contemporary historical knowledge⁴.

²T.D. Kendrick, 'Foreword', L. Toulmin Smith, ed., The Itinerary of John Leland, vol. 1, 1964, np.

³G.E. Daniel, A Short History of Archaeology, 1981, pp. 26 - 27.

⁴G.E. Daniel, The Origins and Growth of Archaeology, 1967, pp. 44 - 5.

The preconscious phase of landscape studies corresponds to the period when archaeology, as a whole, has been said to have "come of age."⁵ At least two scholars were actively involved in plotting archaeological distributions against physical features in the search for patterns. O.G.S. Crawford, as Archaeology Officer at the Ordnance Survey, initiated the great series of period maps, for example the Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain which first appeared in 1924. Cyril Fox was engaged in similar work. He compared the distribution of archaeological finds and sites against the physical geography of, initially, the Cambridge area and later the whole of Britain. Neither would have considered his work as landscape archaeology; there is no mention of the term in Crawford's autobiography nor in Fox's semi-autobiographical essay, which was appended to the second edition of the Archaeology of the Cambridge Region⁶. The direction of their research was quite different from that of modern landscape studies. Crawford and Fox were interested in the relationship between distributions of recognised categories of information - Bronze Age axes, Roman villas, Anglo-Saxon metalwork etc. - and physical geography. In contrast, modern landscape studies regard the physical geography as the background setting to questions concerning particular settlement and agricultural forms, for example the origin of villages and hamlets or the change from open-field to enclosed arable farming.

The first modern work in the field of landscape studies was done by W.G. Hoskins. As the introduction to his seminal work, The Making of the English Landscape, shows he was clearly aware that it was a new development. He wrote,

"Despite the multitude of books about English landscape and scenery, and the flood of topographical books in general, there is not one book which deals with the historical evolution of the landscape as we know it. ... No book exists to describe the manner in which the various landscapes of this country came to assume the

⁵Daniel, op. cit., 1981, p. 148.

⁶O.G.S. Crawford, Said and Done, 1955, passim; C.F. Fox, The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region, 1948, revised edition, pp. A 1 - 24.

shape and appearance they now have. ... I am concerned in this book, then, ... with everything that has altered the natural landscape. ... This book on the Making of the English Landscape is a pioneer study."

He also wrote about "a new kind of history" which used documents to discover which processes had been at work in the landscape, when they had been active and what features they had produced. These documentary studies were to be supplemented by work in the field. If used together, Hoskins argued, then it ought to be possible to explain how the landscape came to assume its present form⁸.

The impact of The Making of the English Landscape cannot be underestimated. One of today's foremost landscape scholars - Christopher Taylor - has written in the introduction to the revised edition,

"The Making of the English Landscape is one of the greatest books ever written. It is great because it established landscape history as a new and proper branch of historical study. ... It has inspired two, and perhaps now more, generations of historians, archaeologists, geographers and botanists."⁹

D.W. Menig has also praised Hoskins's innovative approach to the landscape. He states that Hoskins,

"has looked at the landscape in new ways, defined a new focus for its study and has through his own work and his stimulation of others created a new literature."¹⁰

Both Hoskins and Taylor regard landscape studies as a multi-, if not actually inter-, disciplinary pursuit. This view is commonly accepted. The Journal for Landscape History has set this out in a policy statement; every issue now includes this paragraph,

"Landscape study has become a common meeting-ground for scholars and students of many disciplines whose concern has been with the material evaluation of

⁷W.G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, 1955, pp. 13 - 5.

⁸ibid., p. 14.

⁹W.G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, revised edition, with an introduction and commentary by C.C. Taylor, 1988, p. 7.

¹⁰D.W. Menig, 'Reading the Landscape', in D.W. Menig, ed., The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes, 1979, p. 195.

man's use of the land surface. Architectural historians, geomorphologists, palynologists, archaeologists, historical geographers and place-name scholars are among the many types of specialist who have been combining their efforts and contributing to a growing body of literature about the origin and development of the landscape. The ultimate intention is a more secure and penetrating comprehension of the processes at work together with an overall narrative account of landscape prehistory and history."

This author cannot provide a better description of the multi-faceted approach that is now being taken in landscape studies. He does not wish to challenge the aim - made explicit in the last sentence - which he fully accepts. Yet he will pose one further question: what, if anything, is the difference between landscape archaeology and landscape history?

One author - B.K. Roberts - has recently discussed the distinction. He concludes that it is merely a question of time-scale and the influence this has on sources. He argues that studies of landscape phenomena after c. 1700 - the period for which maps exist - are landscape history. Studies of the period prior to c. 650 - for which there are, he claims, no documents - should be described as landscape archaeology and that studies of the intervening period - when there is some documentation, but not always directly related to the landscape - lie in a zone of indeterminacy¹¹. This author does not accept this argument. First, there is some documentary evidence - in the works of various Roman authors and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle - for the period before c. 650. Second, it is necessary in some cases to transcend these chronological boundaries and to take material from one period to try to comprehend processes which operated in another. Roberts's own work on morphogenesis is an excellent example of this; he uses nineteenth century maps as the basis for a discussion of medieval village plantation¹².

Landscape archaeology, it would appear, is difficult to define. This is because it appears to fit into none of the accepted academic "compartments" or university departments. It

¹¹B.K. Roberts, 'Landscape Archaeology', in J.M. Wagstaff, ed., Landscape and Culture: geographical and archaeological perspectives, 1987, p. 85.

¹²See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of Roberts's work.

is neither archaeology, nor history nor geography; and yet it includes elements of all three. It also embraces topography in its study of topics such as boundaries, field patterns and place names. This author describes himself as a "landscape archaeologist" and his work as "landscape archaeology" as this reflects his own academic background. He has however drawn on the skills and results of history, geography and topography as and when required. This has not always been easy, but has, at times, been necessary. The study of the landscape has now become complicated and no-one can hope to master all the necessary skills; as Taylor says, W.G. Hoskins, the founding-father of modern of landscape studies, is the "last of the polymaths."¹³

1.3: The study area - its physical geography.

This section presents the first part of the factual background to the whole study. The physical nature of the area has to be appreciated because it can exert a profound influence on the settlement pattern. It is now common to divide the countryside into a number of pays, each of which has a distinctive geographical character¹⁴. This approach has been developed, in the main by, Joan Thirsk and Alan Everitt. Pays are differentiated partly by geology and soil type, and partly on the basis of a large number of other factors, which can be simplified into land form, drainage and climate. Everitt has argued that there area eight basic types of British pays: field, forest, heath, fell, fen, marsh, down and wald¹⁵.

Both Everitt and Thirsk use the concept of pays as the basis of what at first sight appears to be a deterministic view of social patterns. The apparent propensity it shows towards determinism is the major flaw of the English concept of pays. As these quotes illustrate they consider the physical make up of an area to be of fundamental importance in determining a whole range of matters. Thirsk states that,

¹³Taylor, op. cit., p. 9.

¹⁴C.V. Phythian-Adams, Re-thinking English Local History, 1987, p. 9.

¹⁵A.M. Everitt, Continuity and Colonization: the Evolution of Kentish Settlements, 1986, pp. 338 - 9.

"The geography of England imposed strict limitations. Beneath the man-made landscape, and underlying all the institutions of society which differentiated neighbouring communities and united widely separated ones, nature had laid a foundation which men were forced to accept. She had cleft England in twain and imposed a division upon the kingdom which had the deepest significance for its economic and social development."¹⁶

and,

"I believe that the husbandry of Lincolnshire will be found repeated in broad outline wherever similar types of landscape occur in other countries."¹⁷

Everitt's views are not dissimilar. He has written,

"What was interesting to observe was the way they (the pays) affected not only agricultural practice but almost every other aspect of human life in the sixteenth and seventeenth century: social structure, demographic development, settlement history, manorial organisation, styles of building, the distribution of wealth, religious mores and many other matters."¹⁸

Both Thirsk and Everitt have denied that they are determinists, yet their writings do, at times, suggest that they are. Everitt has clearly stated that the fact that areas are similar does not mean that their history has been shaped by crude determinism. He argues that any similarity between areas only represents a complex human response to that kind of environment¹⁹. Thirsk, in one of a series of general reviews of the current state of research, has argued that physical factors impose limitations on peoples' options rather than inviolable constraints. She believes all freedom of choice can never be removed and that farming systems are shaped as a response to physical, social, economic and political considerations²⁰.

¹⁶J. Thirsk, "The Farming Regions of England", in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, volume 4, 1500 - 1640, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁷J. Thirsk, English Peasant Farming, 1957, p. 2.

¹⁸A.M. Everitt, 1985, Landscape and Community in England, p. 42.

¹⁹A.M. Everitt, 'Country, county and town: patterns of regional evolution in England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fifth series, 29, 1979, p. 83.

²⁰J. Thirsk, England's Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History 1500 - 1700, 1987, p. 12 and p. 15.

It would appear that the notion of pays is derived from the work of early twentieth-century French geographers, the doyen of whom was Paul Vidal de la Blache. The concepts outlined above are, if extreme determinism is to be discounted, those of la géographie humaine. Vidal de la Blache however rarely uses the term pays; instead it is milieu, or less frequently paysage, which is used to describe physical landscape²¹. When the term pays is used in French geography it denotes an area, rather than a type of area²². The concept of paysage and milieu are not used deterministically; physical, historical and socio-cultural factors are integrated so that la géographie humaine is concerned with the dialogue between human community and environment²³. As far as Vidal de la Blache was concerned nature does not set rigid boundaries; a margin is left for works of transformation and amendment which can be performed by the human community²⁴. He described the interaction between man and environment in the following way,

"une contrée est un réservoir où dorment des énergies dont la nature a déposé le germe, mais dont l'emploi dépend de l'homme."²⁵

This thesis rejects the determinist approach too, and regards mankind as being both passive and active in its relationship with nature; whilst the environment has influenced men's actions, it cannot be denied that men's actions have also changed the environment. This possibilist approach to man-environment interaction is valid, within the context of this thesis, for other reasons too. The holistic character of Vidal

²¹A. Buttner, Society and Milieu in the French Geographic Tradition, 1971, p. 47.

²²F. Braudel, The Identity of France, volume 1, History and Environment, translated by S. Reynolds, 1989, p. 41 - 4 and p. 409.

²³A. Buttner, 'Charism and context: the challenge of la géographie humaine', in D. Ley and M.S. Samuels, eds., Humanistic geography: prospects and problems, 1978, pp. 60 - 1.

²⁴P. Vidal de la Blache, Principles of Human Geography, (ed. by E. de Martonne, trans. by M.T. Bingham), 1926, p. 24.

²⁵P. Vidal de la Blache, Tableau de la Géographie de la France, 1911, p.8.

de la Blache's beliefs²⁶ resembles the multi-disciplinary nature of landscape studies, as described above. Furthermore the approach to la géographie humaine has influenced several generations of Welsh scholars, most notably those associated with the Gregynog chair of Geography and Anthropology at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. H.J. Fleure admitted that the work of Vidal de la Blache had a great impact on his own²⁷. E.G. Bowen has taken this further and has stated that all of contemporary British human geography is conducted within the framework established by Vidal de la Blache²⁸.

The landscape of south Wales can be grouped into two rather general types: upland and lowland. This division has been commonly used in the past, for example by George Owen and Rice Meyrick in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, and has survived into the present²⁹. The highland-lowland division does correspond to the farming regions of south Wales; the mixed farming lowlands are differentiated from the pastoral, stock-rearing uplands³⁰. This division has one major failure: it oversimplifies the area's complexity. River valleys, coastal plateaux and inland plains are artificially brought together. For the purposes of this study both the highland and the lowland have been broken down into nine smaller units, which fall within four types of pays (in the sense that Everitt uses the word.) These are described below and in Figure 1.1. Four of the pays are field, three fell (*i.e.* mountain or hill), one river valley and one marsh. It is sometimes impossible to draw sharp boundaries between the units, and hence the general pictures presented below are true for the cores of the areas; the peripheries around them sometimes form zones of transition³¹.

²⁶Buttimer, op. cit., p. 73.

²⁷A. Garnett, 'H.J. Fleure, 1877 - 1969', Biographical Memoirs of the Fellows of the Royal Society, 16, 1970, p. 259.

²⁸E.G. Bowen, 'Regional Geography at Aberystwyth', in E.G. Bowen, H. Carter and J.A. Taylor, eds., Geography at Aberystwyth, 1968, pp. 270 - 1.

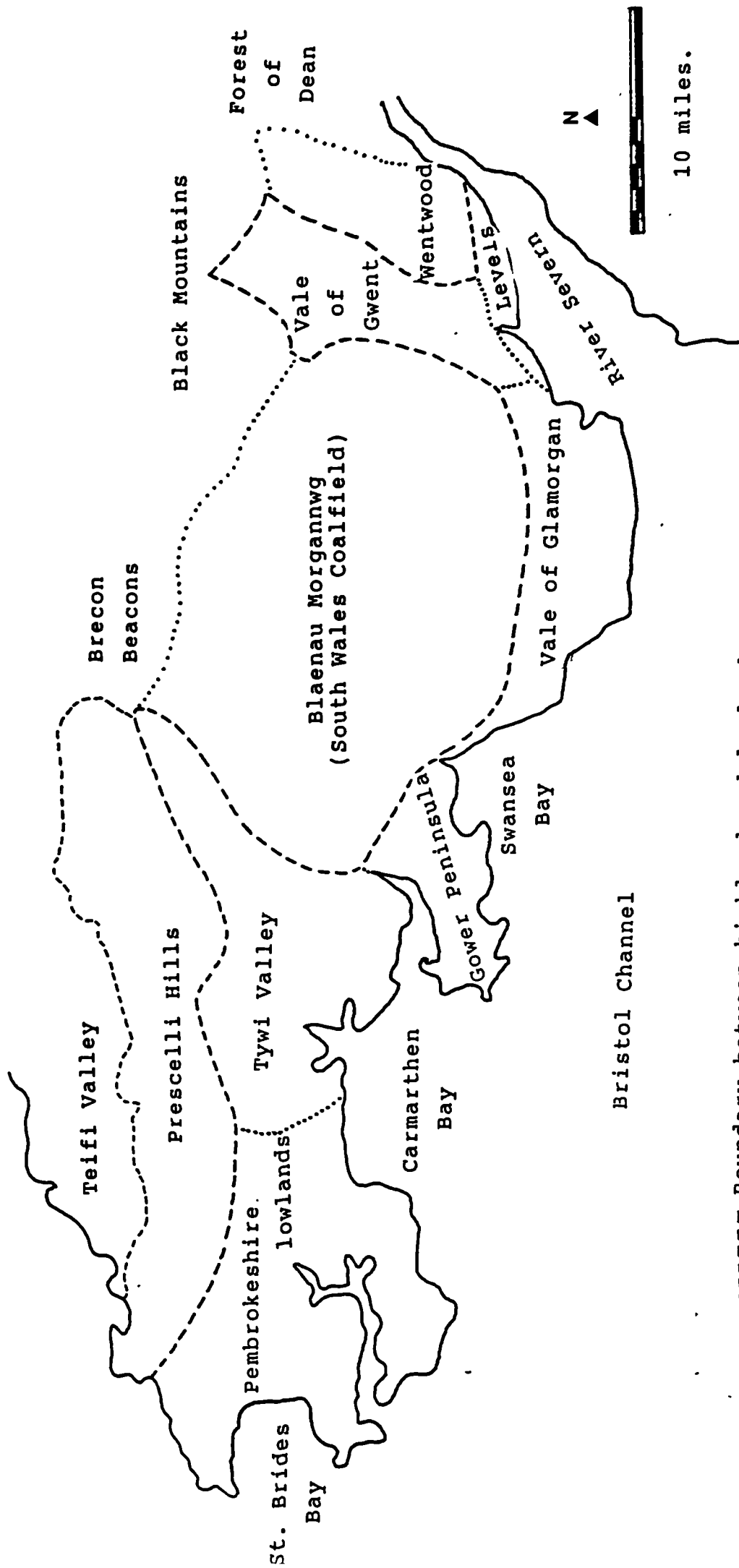
²⁹F.V. Emery, 'Farming Regions of Wales', in Thirsk, ed., op. cit., 1967, pp. 114 - 9.

³⁰ibid., p. 125.

³¹E.G. Bowen, 'Regional Divisions of Wales', in E.G. Bowen, ed., Wales: a Physical, Historical and Regional Geography, 1965, p.

Fig. 1.1 : the study area and its constituent pays.

Irish Sea



----- Boundary between highland and lowland.

..... Boundary of sub-divisions within highland and lowland.

The Pembrokeshire lowlands are, like most of south and east Wales, comprised of Upper Palaeozoic and, less frequently, Mesozoic rock with well developed features³². These features are not related to the fold zones but to their subsequent erosion. The main features are the two peneplain surfaces at 600' and 250' above sea level; recent tilting has led to slight variations in height around these levels and has given the area a pleasant rolling aspect. The area therefore resembles a plateau with gentle variations in relief. The coastline is marked by cliffs broken by the occasional long, fine, sandy bay, for example at St. Brides. A post-glacial change in the relative sea-land level has led to the drowning of a river valley and the formation of a ria at Milford Haven; this divides the lowland into two, with the result that nowhere in south Pembrokeshire being is more than seven miles from the sea³³. The Dale Peninsula lies to the north of the ria. The thin red soils of this area are derived mainly from Old Red Sandstone and are primarily grade 3 in quality. Small rivers flow through wooded valleys, which are separated by broad, swelling interfluves. The Castlemartin peninsula is comprised in part of Old Red Sandstone and also of limestone. The former area resembles the Dale peninsula and in the latter area the soil (which is grade 1) is characteristic of such rock elsewhere and surface drainage is absent³⁴.

The Prescelli Hills lie to the north of the lowlands and form a direct and dramatic contrast to them. They are part of upland Wales, and - being formed of complex geological structures in Lower Palaeozoic and Pre-Cambrian rocks - are geologically similar to most of the north and west of the country³⁵. The Prescellis are a series of small "monadock-like"

³²E.H. Brown, The Relief and Drainage of Wales, 1960, p. 7.

³³E.G. Bowen, 'The South West', in E.G. Bowen, ed., op. cit., 1935, pp. 329 - 36.

³⁴B. John, Pembrokeshire, 1976, p. 23.

³⁵Brown, op. cit., p. 7.

hills, which rise abruptly up to 1000' above sea level. The scenery is mainly moorland with the occasional outcrop of broken rock. To the north lies another area of lowland: the Teifi Valley. Here the highland/lowland division corresponds approximately to the boundary of the study area.

The Tywi valley lies between the Prescellis and the south Wales coalfield; the coastal wetlands and the small hills of the Narberth area separate it from the Pembrokeshire lowlands. The valley slowly slopes towards the sea. The rejuvenation of the river's course has led to the formation of a series of terraces, all but the innermost of which are relatively wide. The coastline of the area is marked by blown sand. To the west of the Tywi estuary lie the Laugharne Burrows, where a sand spit and dunes front a marsh and former cliffs. On the east are the Pembrey Burrows, where blown sand, perhaps of a medieval date, form a coastal dune belt in front of the cliffs³⁶. The soils of the valley are generally grade 4 in quality, with numerous isolated pockets of grade 3.

The Gower peninsula lies midway between the Irish sea and the Anglo-Welsh border. The shallow seas of Carmarthen and Swansea Bays were probably once land, uniting Gower to the Vale of Glamorgan and the lower Teifi Valley. Today the area - joined to the mainland by one of its shorter sides - is largely self-contained³⁷. The area comprises two plateau surfaces, at 200' and 600' above sea level. The latter survives only as isolated, treeless hills at Cefn Bryn, Rhossili and Llanmadoc Downs. The former plateau surface meets the sea as a series of dramatic cliffs, broken by magnificent, extensive beaches, for example, at Oxwich. In many places, for example at Landimore, these sand deposits prevent the erosion of the cliff faces³⁸. An area of coastal marsh lies to the north of the peninsula; this has developed extensively in recent decades due to the deliberate introduction of spartina Townsendii³⁹. The underlying geology of the area is limestone and hence surface drainage is absent. The soils of the area are not derived from the limestone but from glacial drift; hence they vary

³⁶ ibid., p. 13 and p. 15.

³⁷ E.G. Bowen, Wales: a Study in History and Geography, 1941, p. 15.

³⁸ H. Carter, 'The Vale of Glamorgan and Gower', in E.G. Bowen, ed., Wales: a Physical, Historical and Regional Geography, 1965, pp. 421 - 4.

³⁹ D.O. Bowen, 'The Land of Wales', in D. Thomas, ed., Wales: a

considerably in quality with pockets of grade 1, 2 and 4 land lying amidst the most common grade 3.

The largest region within the study area is Blaenau Morgannwg, now often called the south Wales coalfield. This area of mountainous moorland covers all of northern Glamorgan and extends into both Carmarthenshire and Monmouthshire. It forms the southern part of the high plateau of central Wales, and is separated from this area by the Brecon Beacons and the upper Usk valley. Blaenau Morgannwg reaches its highest point of 2000' near Craig-y-Llyn and from here rivers fan out in a southerly direction. The Tawe, Neath and Afan all run southwestwards, whilst the Taff and Rhumney run southeastwards through deep valleys, often glacial in origin⁴⁰. The soils of the area are very poor in agricultural terms, yet the coal and iron ore which lie under them helped to make the area into a major industrial region.

To the south of Blaenau Morgannwg lies Bro Morgannwg - the Vale of Glamorgan. This area is not a Vale in the true physical sense, but is rather an area of flat level land between the hills and the sea. There is usually a dramatic break between the Coalfield and the Vale of Glamorgan, for example near Margam there is a fall of over 1100' within 3½ miles. On the east the break is still clear but less dramatic. The Vale is a coastal plateau at 200' above sea level; unlike Gower there are no hills above this height. The soils of the area are derived from the parent rocks, which are carboniferous limestone and Old Red Sandstone. They are generally buff-brown, friable, heavy loams with smaller patches of lime, derived from outcrops of lias limestone and shale⁴¹. The soils of the Vale are mainly grade 2 in quality. The coast is marked by cliffs, with a wide tract of blown sand (again of medieval origin) at

⁴⁰G.M. Howe, 'The South Wales Coalfield', in E.G. Bowen, op. cit., 1965, pp. 353 - 62.

⁴¹Carter, op. cit., pp. 402 - 8.

Merthyr Mawr on the west seaboard.

The Vale of Gwent is a true vale, in that it is an area of lowland between two areas of highland. On the east there is again a dramatic change from the Coalfield to the lowland; here the fall is 750' in half a mile. The River Usk flows southwards through the area and the tributaries of the Wye flow eastwards from it. The soils are considered to be light to medium and are grade 2 and 3 in quality.

The Levels lie between the Severn estuary and the Vale of Gwent. They are divided by the River Usk; the Wentlloog levels lie to the west, the Caldicot levels to the east. The area is below the level of high tide, and hence the sea defences - which were probably first built in the Roman period - are vital. The soils of this - the marsh pays - are principally grade 3; they are comprised of marine alluvium and silts, interlayered with peat, and lying above Keuper Marl⁴².

The study area's easternmost sub-division is the Wentwood. This is a gently rolling and well wooded tract of countryside which forms the extreme western part of the Forest of Dean. The area is mainly about 800' above sea level, with the highest point Beacon Hill, near Trelech, reaching 1000'⁴³. The soils of the Wentwood are generally poor, and comprise equal amounts of grade 3 and 4.

The landscape of south Wales is the stage - albeit a living one - upon which the human actions which led to the origins of the village took place. The natural landscape is likely to have limited the range of man's possible actions, and man's actions will have changed the natural landscape.

1.4: The study area - an outline political history.

To write a brief history of post-Roman, pre-Conquest Wales is difficult. The sources are few, opinions on them are varied and nothing can be stated with any degree of certainty. Wendy Davies has described these centuries as "a period of quite exceptional obscurity"⁴⁴. Nevertheless some attempt has to be made in order to set the problem to be analysed in this

⁴²Brown, op. cit., p. 15; D.Q. Bowen, op. cit., p. 35.

⁴³Brown, op. cit., pp. 20 - 1.

⁴⁴W.E. Davies, Wales in the Early Middle Ages, 1982, p. 2.

thesis into its wider historical context.

Post-Roman Wales appears to have comprised a series of small, interdependent kingdoms. It appears that there was, initially, no one major kingdom and no major ruling family. By the seventh century the nature of kingship had begun to change. The family of Meurig ap Tewdrig extended its influence over, and eventually eliminated, the myriad, minor dynasties of south east Wales and, in doing so, built itself a power base in this area. His actions initiated a long period of stability which lasted down to the tenth century. The south west formed the kingdom of Dyfed, a unit "descended" from the Roman tribal area of the Demetae; the nature of the descent, the precise early boundaries and the internal political structure of this unit are unknown⁴⁵. The tenth century brought changes to south Wales: new kings and new kingdoms appear. For a brief period (1039 - 63) much of Wales was united under the rule of a north Welsh house: that of Gruffyd ap Llewelyn. He was king of Gwynedd, Powys, Dheubarth and seems, at times, to have exerted his influence over events in south east Wales too. The latter years of his reign were marked by border conflict as he and Harold Godwinson raided and retaliated along the southern border lands⁴⁶.

The conquest of England in 1066 brought the Normans to the Welsh border. By 1070 they had settled in strength along the frontier and had started to make tentative advances across it. William I's initial aim was to control the border and to prevent Welsh incursions into England. To do this he deliberately entrusted it to a group of loyal men, all of whom held lands on the Norman-French border and were therefore well versed in the skills of frontier defence. The whole frontier area was divided into three earldoms: Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester. They were granted to William fitz Osbern, Roger de Montgomery and Hugh d'Avranches respectively⁴⁷.

The first advances into south Wales took place under

⁴⁵ ibid., pp. 93 - 5.

⁴⁶ J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales, third edition, 1939, pp. 357 - 71.

⁴⁷ D. Walker, The Norman Conquerors, 197 , p. 10 and pp. 18 - 24.

William fitz Osbern's direction. The Normans established castles at Chepstow and Monmouth and used these as the basis for subsequent encroachments⁴⁸. The extent of the earliest advances is not known. It is generally thought that all of Gwent was overrun by fitz Osbern prior to his death in 1071. Courtney has argued that this early occupation was, in fact, limited to the small area of land along the Monmouthshire-Herefordshire border which had formerly been held by Harold Godwinson; the rest of the modern county was, he argues, not captured until after the accession of William Rufus, who adopted a much more aggressive frontier policy than his father⁴⁹. This view of a limited early conquest is not accepted by all. C.J. Spurgeon has argued that the early conquest was extensive and may have reached through all of Gwent and as far as Cardiff by 1081. He claims that by 1083, at the latest, Cardiff was a secure enough Norman centre for William I to have established a mint there⁵⁰.

The latter part of William I's reign was marked by a period of stability along the frontier. Fitz Osbern's death and the disgrace of his son, coupled with the emergence of a strong Welsh ruler - Rhys ap Tewdwr - checked the Norman advance. The death of both William I and ap Tewdwr altered the balance of power and disrupted the politico-military equilibrium in the last decade of the eleventh century. Dyfed and Ceredigion were captured, by Roger de Montgomery and William fitz Baldwin, Sheriff of Devon, in 1093; hence the Normans gained a tenuous and precarious foothold in extreme south west Wales⁵¹. After

⁴⁸ ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁹ P. Courtney, 'The Norman Invasion of Gwent: a re-assessment', Journal of Medieval History, 12, 1986, passim; 'The First Welsh Mints and the Origin of Cardiff', Morgannwg, 30, 1986, pp. 66 - 8.

⁵⁰ C.J. Spurgeon, 'Mottes and Castle-Ringworks in Wales', in J.R. Kenyon and R. Avent, eds., Castles in Wales and the Marches: Essays in Honour of D.J.C. King, 1987, pp. 40 - 1.

⁵¹ I.W. Rowlands, 'The Making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed' in R.A. Brown, ed., Proceedings of
(Footnote continued)

this the Norman advance rapidly gained momentum. Robert fitz Hamo, son-in-law of the Earl of Shrewsbury and a major landholder in Gloucester and thus a man well established on the Welsh frontier, began the conquest of Morgannwg at the same time. It is probable that the invading force came from Bristol and travelled by sea. The initial conquest, secured before fitz Hamon's return to Normandy in 1104, was probably limited to the area which later formed the Shire Fee of Glamorgan. Later advances took the Normans to the northern edge of the Vale and the limit of the conquests here⁵².

Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Warwick, received the King's permission to take Gower, c. 1106. His invading forces may also have come by sea and, perhaps, first landed at Oxwich and Port Eynon bays, in the south west of the peninsula. The siting of the lordship's caput at Swansea has been used to argue for an overland conquest through the Vale of Glamorgan⁵³. This argument overlooks the fact that a sea-born invasion could easily have landed in Swansea Bay. This confusion illustrates one problem which historians of these events face: the detailed chronicle of military events is not known and discussion is unlikely ever to advance beyond speculation.

Further west, Walter of Gloucester captured Ystrad Twyi and Kidwelly and had established a stronghold at Carmarthen by 1109⁵⁴. The conquest of most of upland Carmarthenshire, then known as Cantref Mawr, did not follow immediately. This area, like most of north and mid-west Wales, was not seized until the royal campaigns of the late thirteenth century. The pattern of lordships, established almost entirely by conquest, by the early fourteenth century is summarised in Figure 1.2.

nued)

the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies, 3, 1980, 1981, p. 142.

⁵²J.B. Smith, 'The Kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, pp. 9 - 10, 14 and 22.

⁵³J.B. Smith and T.B Pugh, 'The Lordship of Gower and Kilvey', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, pp. 207 - 11.

⁵⁴Walker, op. cit., pp. 35 - 9.

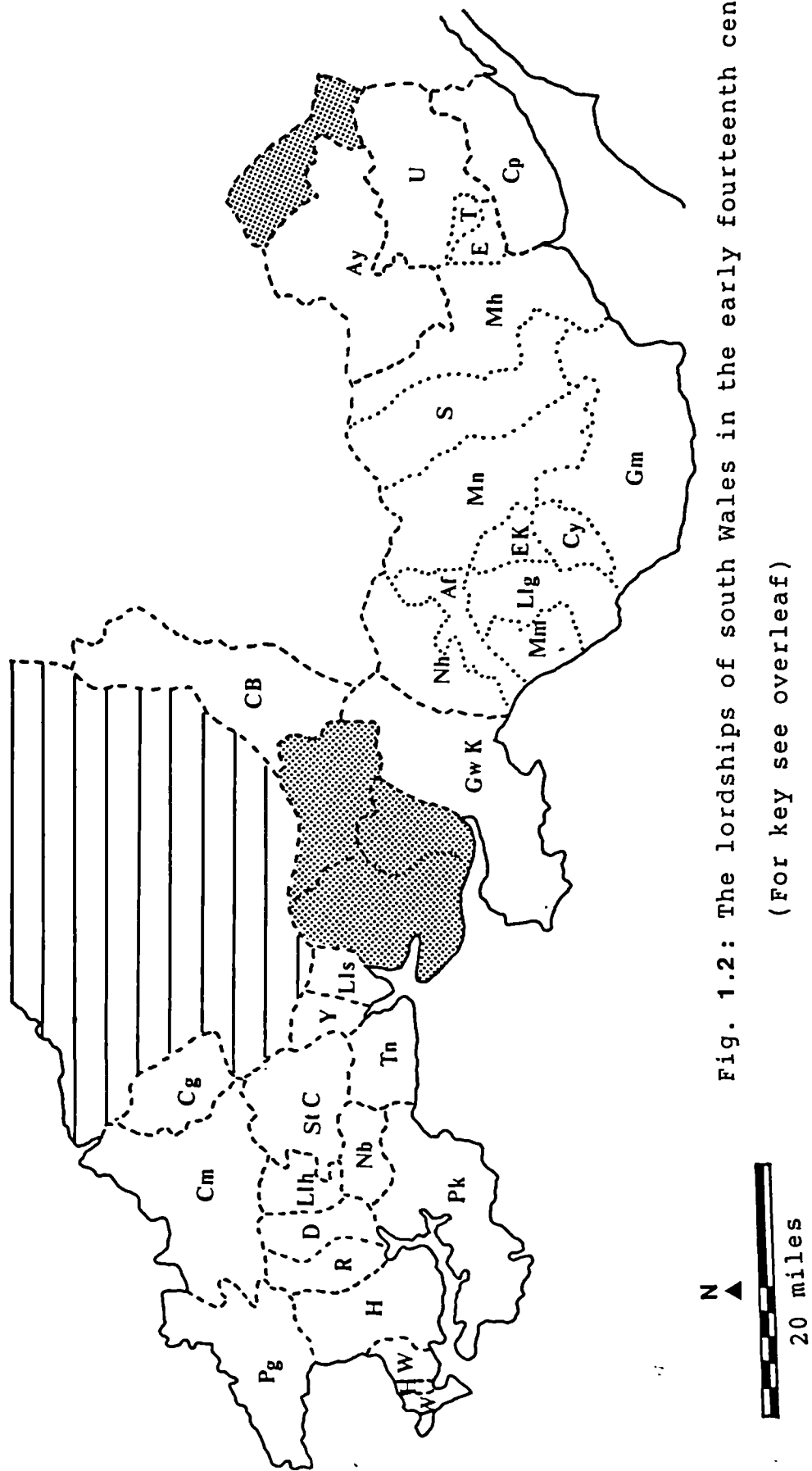




Fig. 1.2: The lordships of south Wales in the early fourteenth century
(For key see overleaf)

Key to Figure 1.2:

H	- Haverford		- The Principality of Wales
W	- Walwyn's Castle		
Pg	- Pebidiog		- The Duchy of Lancaster:
Pk	- Pembroke		western area - Cydweli
Cm	- Cemaïs		Iscennen
R	- Rhos		Carnwallon
D	- Daugleddau		eastern area - Three Castles
Llh	- Llawhaden		
Cg	- Cilgerran		
Nb	- Narberth		
StC	- St. Clears		
Y	- Ystlwyf		
Lls	- Llansteffan		
CB	- Cantref Bychan		
Tn	- Tallacharn		
CB	- Cantref Bychan		
GwK	- Gower and Kilvey		
Af	- Afan		
Mm	- Margam		
Nh	- Neath		
Llg	- Llangynwyd		
EK	- Eglwys Keynon		
Cy	- Coity		
Mn	- Miesgyn		
S	- Senghennydd		
Gm	- Shire-fee of Glamorgan		
Mh	- Machen		
Cp	- Chepstow		
E	- Edelegan		
T	- Tregug		
U	- Usk		
Ay	- Abergavenny		

The piecemeal and precarious nature of the conquest of south Wales led to the emergence of the two pairs of political divisions of the area: March and Principality on one hand, and Englishry and Welshry on the other (Figure 1.3). The Marcher lordships were held by their lords as the direct result of conquest. Individual lords seized the land they wanted and ruled it virtually as they wished. The major institutions of the monarchy and the church held very little land in the March. The crown was only able to intervene infrequently in the affairs of the Marcher lordships. Each Marcher lord was almost a king within his own barony; he exercised rights which in England were exercised only by the king⁵⁵. In the lordship of Gower and Kilvey, for example, the Crown's rights were limited to the service of one knight's fee, the right to try cases of treason and the right to occupy the lordship during the lord's minority. Subject to these exceptions, the lord held rights of iura regalia and all cases - from major felonies to minor misdemeanours - which in England were heard at the King's Bench or in the Court of Common Pleas, would have been heard before the lord or his agents⁵⁶. R.R. Davies has commented that "the lords of the March were clearly powerful men"; they were at one and the same time lords of men, captains of war, fountains of justice, focii of loyalty and sources of governance⁵⁷.

The Principality came into existence later than the March. It comprised the lands of the native Welsh princes which were conquered by Edward I in 1277 and 1282 - 3, and then granted to his son in 1301. The Principality was, unlike the March, a part of the English realm. Under the Statute of Wales (sometimes called the Statute of Rhuddlan) of 1284 the Principality gained the officers of state and the administrative and judicial structure which existed in England⁵⁸. Relatively little of the study area of this thesis

⁵⁵W. Rees, 'The Union of England and Wales, with a Transcript of the Act of Union', Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1937, pp. 29 - 30.

⁵⁶W.R.B. Robinson, 'The Government of the Lordship of Gower and Kilvey in the early Tudor period', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, p. 257.

⁵⁷R.R. Davies, Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282 - 1400, 1978, p. 60.

⁵⁸L.B. Smith, 'The Statute of Wales, 1284', Welsh History Review, 10, 1981, passim.

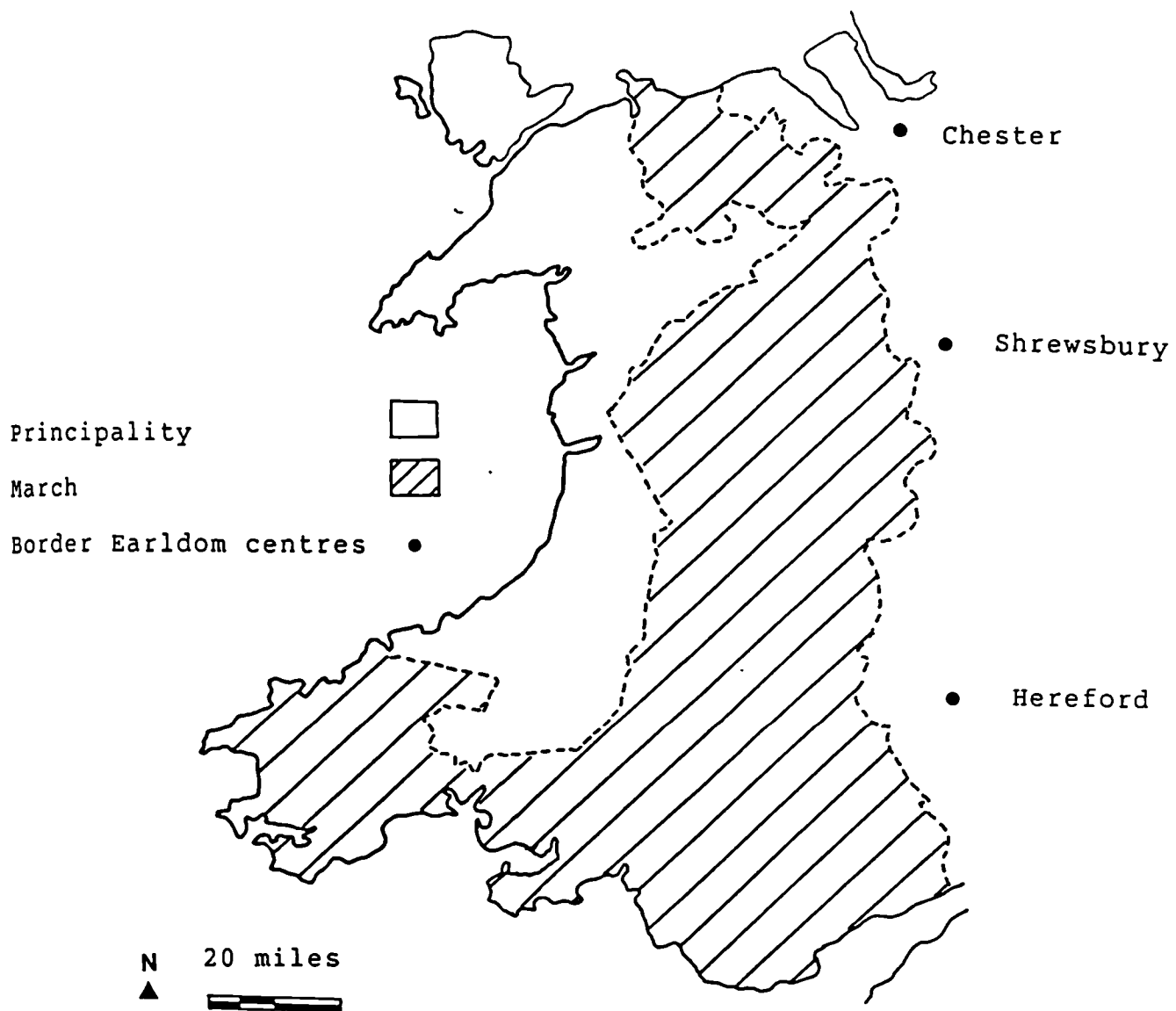


Fig. 1.3a: The Principality and the March in the early fourteenth century.

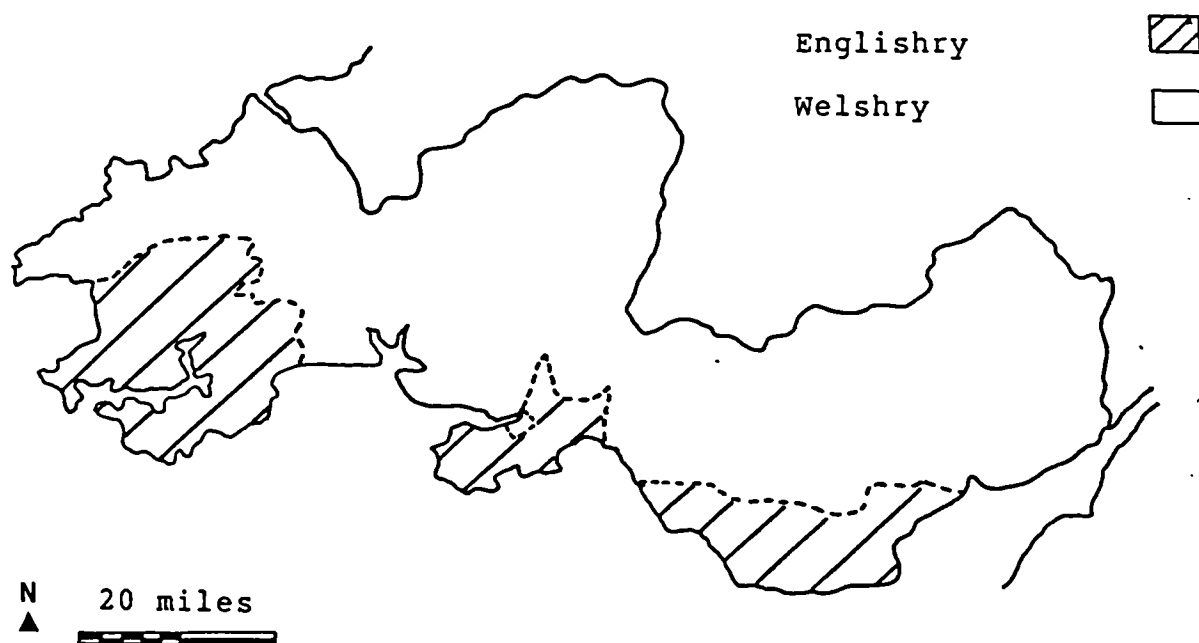


Fig. 1.3b: The Englishry and the Welshry in the thirteenth century.

falls within the Principality; all but northwestern Carmarthenshire was within the March. The monarchy occasionally held some of these Marcher lordships, and when this was the case they held them as personal possessions and not as part of the realm. Henry I held a large part of southern Pembrokeshire in the early twelfth century. The Duchy of Lancaster lands of the Three Castles (Grosmont, Skenfrith and Whitecastle, all in Monmouthshire) and Kidwelly, Carnwallon and Iscennen (Carmarthenshire) all eventually came to be held by the Crown.

The second division of the land was into Englishry and Welshry. By the late twelfth century the March could be divided into these two clear parts - an inner core of secure Norman control and an outer area of precarious military overlordship⁵⁹. The Marcher lords held and are thought to have settled their followers in the limited, more securely held areas. It was into these areas that manors were, in the course of the consolidation of the conquest, introduced. By the thirteenth century these areas were recognised as the Englishries. These were restricted to the better and more fertile areas of the coastal plain: the Vale of Glamorgan, peninsular Gower and southern Pembrokeshire. Separated administratively, legally and economically were the Welshries. Here Celtic law, custom and social organisation continued under petty Welsh rulers who whilst having sworn allegiance to the Norman lords of the lowlands retained some measure of independence. The division between the two areas is of fundamental importance in this thesis. Similarities and differences between the settlement patterns of the two areas are likely to shed some light on the evolution of the village in south Wales. As it is usually thought that the village is a Norman introduction, the Englishries and the Welshries have to be examined thoroughly for traces of their pre- and post-conquest settlement patterns.

The confiscation of properties after the Wars of the Roses and the acquisition by the Crown of other land due to the

⁵⁹ R.R. Davies, Conquest, Coexistence and Change, Wales 1063 - 1415, 1987, p. 274.

failure of male heirs may have prompted the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542. They gave Wales its familiar political face as the division between the March and the Principality was ended and the whole country was divided into counties on the English model. The background to the acts is not straightforward. William Rees argued that Henry VIII had little interest in Welsh administration and that it was his desire to wrest control of the Welsh church from the Papacy which was the sole reason for his actions⁶⁰. T.B. Pugh has argued, to the contrary, that Henry VIII was well aware of the complex nature of Welsh administration - some of the land was part of the realm, some his personal holding, some in trust to him and some under the control of others - and wished to rationalise it. This could not be done until the crisis caused by the Act of Supremacy (1534) and the break with Rome was over for fear of creating hostility and conflict within Wales⁶¹. The first act set out the general principles which underlay the union, the second set out the detail. Certain anomalies were created by the second act. First, Gower which had traditionally looked westwards and which had, before its conquest, been a part of the western kingdom of Dheubarth was merged into the eastern county of Glamorgan. Second, Monmouthshire was divorced from Wales and hence ipso facto annexed to England. The county was included within the English judicial circuits and was permitted two Members of Parliament, whilst the new Welsh counties received one each. At the time its position was not as unusual as it might now seem. Since 1471 the Principality, the Marcher lordships and the border counties of Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire had for certain purposes been grouped together under the auspices of the Council of the March in Wales. Hence Monmouthshire's new position was no different from that of the other border counties.

Following the Union there was no dramatic change in Welsh administrative matters for many decades. The Council of the Marches continued until its suspension in 1641; it was

⁶⁰Rees, op. cit., pp. 44 - 5.

⁶¹T.B. Pugh, The Origins of the Act of Union of 1536, Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, p. 568.

never revived and was finally abolished in 1689. The post of Minister for Welsh Affairs, within the Home Office, was created in 1951, and the Welsh Office under a Secretary of State has existed since 1964⁶². A further measure of political autonomy was rejected in the devolution referendum of 1 March 1979. The Local Government Act (1972) altered the political boundaries which had been established in 1542. Monmouthshire, after certain small boundary changes, was re-named Gwent and re-incorporated into Wales. Glamorgan was divided into three new counties: South Glamorgan (mainly comprising Cardiff and the Vale), Mid Glamorgan (the Valleys of the Coalfield) and West Glamorgan (Swansea, the neighbouring industrial areas and Gower.) Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire were, along with Cardiganshire, merged into the new county of Dyfed. These changes are summarised in Figure 1.4.

1.5: Summary.

This chapter has set out the background to the study. Some of this background - the physical geography and outline political history - has been purely factual. The facts cannot be divorced from interpretation and hence it has been necessary to discuss certain procedural and epistemological matters: the criteria which will be used to evaluate the study, the nature of landscape archaeology and the influence that landscape can have on lifestyle.

The first section stated the aim of the thesis: to discover the origin of the nucleated settlements of the coastal plain of south Wales. The next chapter presents the objectives which will be used to attain this aim.

⁶²H.M. Griffiths, 'Administrative Areas, 1284 - 1980', in H. Carter, ed., The National Atlas of Wales, 1981, section 2.1.

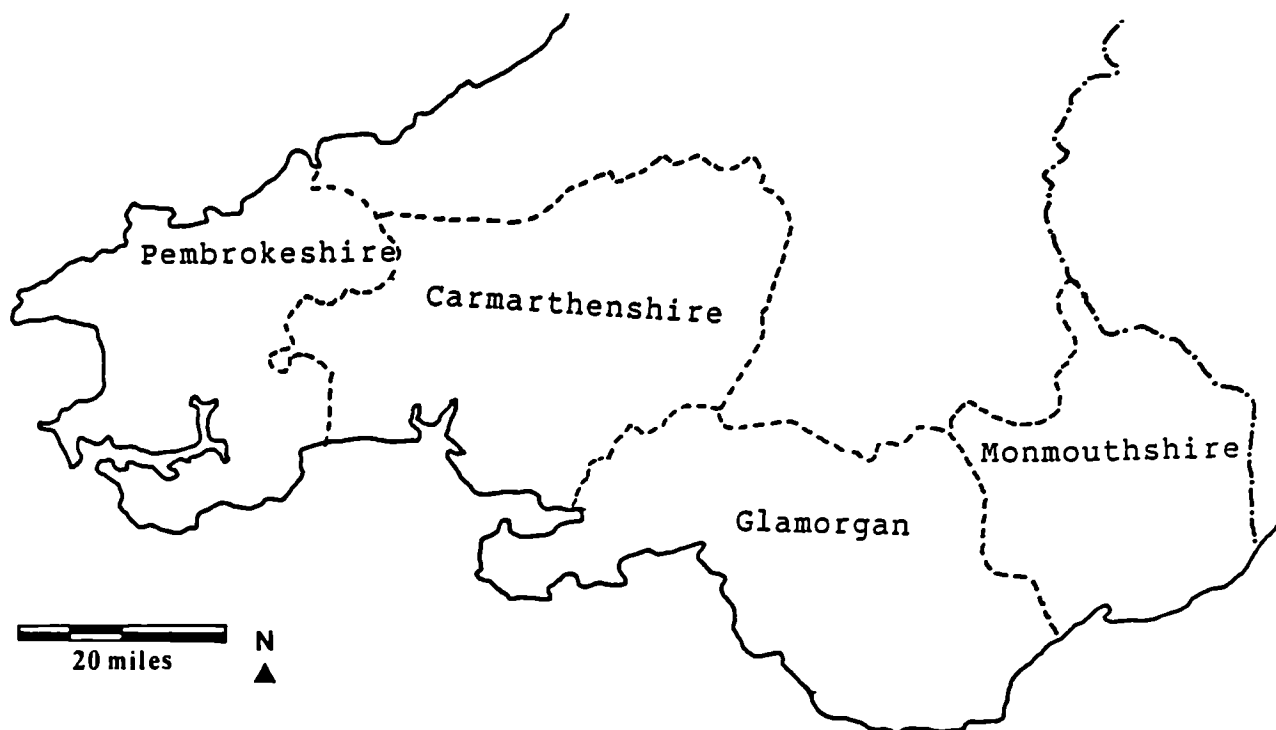


Fig. 1.4a: The counties of Wales, 1542 - 1974.

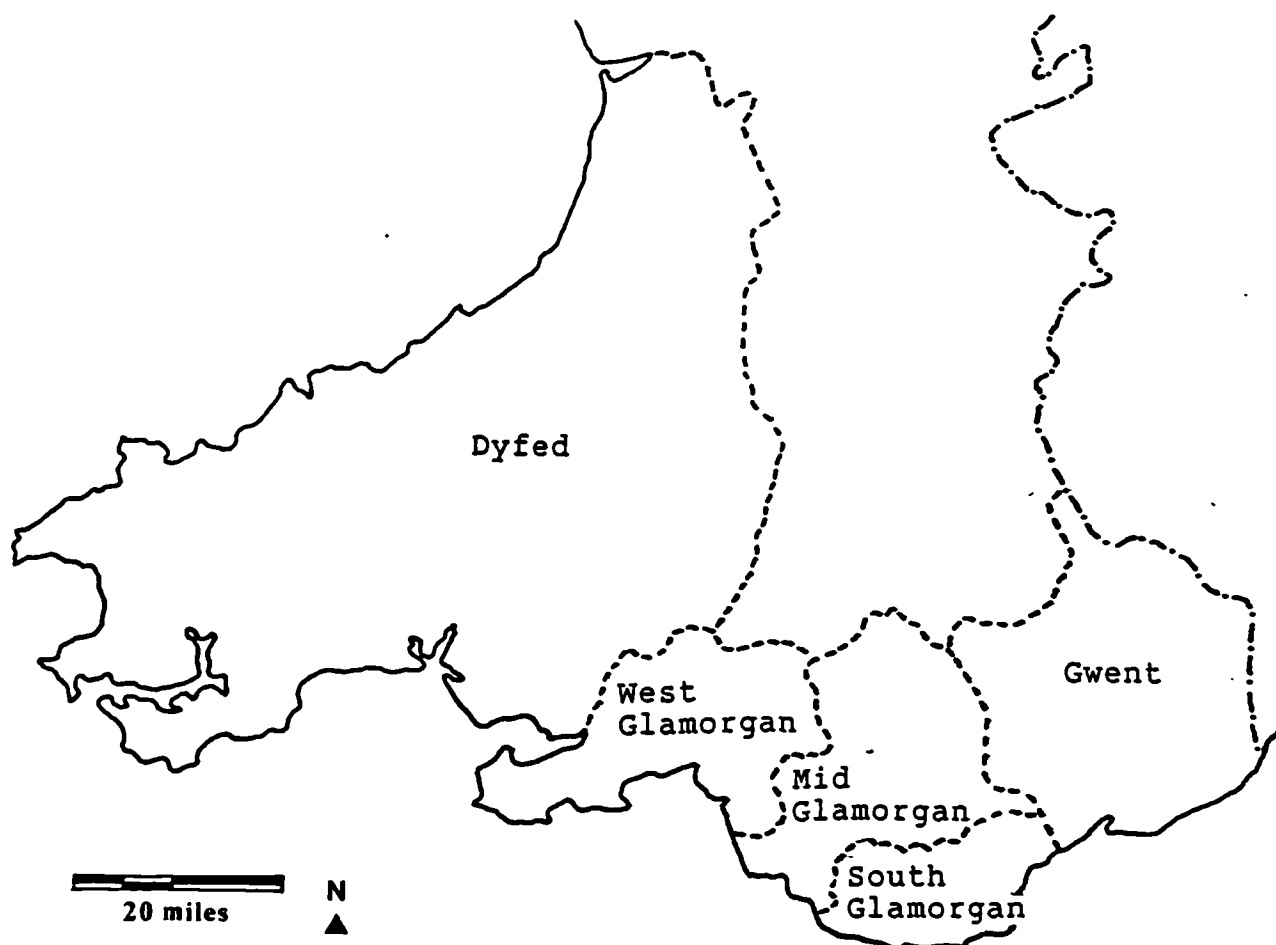


Fig. 1.4b: The counties of Wales since 1974.

Chapter 2: A methodological framework for the exploration of village origins in south Wales.

The previous chapter presented background information to the study. It concentrated on the geographical nature and political history of the study area. This chapter looks at the epistemological nature of this project. It sets out, in general terms, the approach which is to be followed - the hypothetico-deductive one - and justifies it. In doing so it presents this author's personal statement on the general nature of archaeological research. The first section introduces models and hypotheses; subsequent sections outline the models themselves and hypotheses are deduced from them.

2.1: Models and hypotheses.

There appears to be a most unfortunate split in archaeology (once most noticeable in prehistoric studies, but now present in research into the medieval period too) between the "do-ers" and the "talkers." The former group are actively involved in fieldwork and research; they also tend to eschew epistemological discussion having found the various theoretical formulations of little use. The "talkers" are, in the main, so absorbed with the philosophical nature of the discipline that they have little first hand knowledge of the data or of the issues which are thought, by those in the field, to be crucial. Hence those with the theoretical knowledge do not use it in conjunction with the data, and those with the knowledge of the data have been accused of not presenting it in a logical form or with any semblance of a "good" explanation¹. This author sympathises with the "do-ers", but recognises that a theoretical foundation is essential in every research project. Without it the project becomes aimless and directionless.

This thesis can be considered to have been conceived within the framework of processual archaeology; the term processual is slowly supplanting "new" and is preferred, simply

¹A.C. Renfrew, 'Explanation Revisited', in A.C. Renfrew, M.J. Rowlands and B.A. Segraves, eds., Theory and Explanation in Archaeology, The Southampton Conference, 1982, p. 20.

because "new" archaeology is no longer that! It has been argued that processual archaeology differs from its predecessors in three major ways². First, it asserts that the major goal of archaeologists is no longer classification; the construction of typologies is a means to an end, not the end in itself. Second, the processes of reasoning are always explicit and, as a result, explanation is achieved by construction of models and the subsequent rigorous testing of hypotheses. Third, there is a deliberate aim at explanation with the consideration of questions about systems change.

There are many different approaches that could have been taken in this study and, from these, the author has selected the hypothetico-deductive one, which is explained and justified below. This approach starts with the construction of a model, which defines the variables and the relationships between the variables which are thought to be important in explaining the process being explored³. These models may be derived from a variety of situations. Here all the models are derived mainly from ethnographic material. Hence processes - because they are taking place in the ethnographic present - are generally understood and are not being inferred, possibly incorrectly, from past instances. This process maximises archaeologists' interpretative powers, by increasing their knowledge of living peoples and contemporary social processes. The use of ethnographic material as the basis for the models has one other advantage. The hypotheses are not tested against the context in which they arose (as they would have been if drawn exclusively from supposed historical parallels) and hence they have some degree of general applicability.

Once the model is complete hypotheses are then drawn from it and tested. Hypotheses can take the form if x then y, where x is the event thought to be taking place, and y an observable result of that event. The hypotheses are usually tested against the data with the aim of falsification, rather

²G.E. Daniel and A.C. Renfrew, The Idea of Prehistory, revised edition, 1988, pp. 160 - 5.

³D.L. Clarke, 'Models and Paradigms in Contemporary Archaeology', in D.L. Clarke, ed., Models in Archaeology, 1972, pp. 2 - 3.

than verification. Negative instances can be searched for and used to nullify the hypothesis; but positive instances - by their nature - are open to doubt. Verification, unlike falsification, cannot rule out the possibility of correspondence by chance. Evidence in favour of a hypothesis can support it but it can never prove that the apparent cause of the change did bring it about. The rigid framework of the physical sciences has been modified for the purposes of this thesis. Whilst the emphasis remains on testing hypotheses with the aim of falsifying them, evidence which supports the hypotheses will be brought into use as an auxiliary means of verification. Hence this author will not be searching for the criminal lawyer's "proof beyond all reasonable doubt" but the civil lawyer's "proof on the balance of probabilities."

If a hypothesis is rejected then the model has to be re-defined (with the possible changes ranging from simple to drastic,) new hypotheses are deduced from it and then tested, again with the aim - if possible - of falsification. The process of constructing models, generating hypotheses, aiming to falsify them and re-constructing models continues until, in the short term (at least), a model is found and the hypotheses which are drawn from it cannot be refuted. This model can then be accepted as the one which, in the light of current knowledge, best explains events. It will in due course be modified and replaced, but this is likely to happen in the long term. The hypothetico-deductive approach was chosen for one important reason: it is efficient in the use of time. In this thesis a fixed number of models has been chosen and all are tested in various ways. The data are gathered with respect to these hypotheses, and not for their own sake. Hence the process is speedy and yields results. Total immersion in the data has only two possible results: either the scholar drowns or reaches shore a long time after the other swimmers have gone home!

The individual models and the hypotheses deduced from them are set out in the subsequent sections. There are two important premises underlying all of these models. First, the village is considered to be a physical manifestation of a particular form of social organisation and, as such, it is archaeologically recoverable (subject, of course, to the usual taphonomic processes which operate on all archaeological

remains.) Second, a principle of inertia has been adopted. It is assumed that a system will remain stable until forces which are external to that system act upon it. Systems must face problems and be under stress before they are likely to change⁴.

2.2: The plantation model.

The plantation model is basic and straightforward: it argues that the village was deliberately planted in south Wales immediately after the Norman Conquest. In its essential simplicity it resembles the archaeological viewpoints commonly found from the 1920s until the 1960s. It sees culture change as being possible only as the result of conquest.

This model is firmly established in all the literature, as the following selection of quotations shows. David Robinson has stated,

"Many of the nucleated villages, so familiar in the modern county of South Glamorgan, probably owe their origin to Anglo-Norman developments. Before this time the rural settlement pattern is likely to have been somewhat dispersed, but the new lords saw the economic advantages of nucleation."⁵

This view is also taken by the Glamorgan Inventory,

"Most of the Glamorgan villages were founded as manorial settlements not long after the Anglo-Norman conquest at the close of the Eleventh Century. Others ... may have been established in the Twelfth Century as secondary colonisation of waste or marginal land."⁶

Planted field systems are thought to have been introduced alongside the villages; Margaret Davies has written of,

"The field patterns introduced by the Normans into the border and coastal lowlands of South Wales :⁷ (which) were modelled on those of the English manors."

This view is still held by most Welsh medievalists.

⁴ L.R. Binford, In Pursuit of the Past, Decoding the Archaeological Record, 1983, pp. 221 - 2.

⁵ D.M. Robinson, South Glamorgan's Heritage: the Archaeology of a County, 1985, p. 51.

⁶ The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 3 part 2, Medieval Secular Monuments, Non-defensive, p. 215.

⁷ M. Davies, 'Field Systems of South Wales', in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, eds., Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, 1973, p. 527.

Occasional dissenting voices can be heard. Matthew Griffiths has admitted that there is a possibility of pre-Conquest Conquest nucleation, but - as the following quotation shows - he does not overstress its importance,

"Over much of lowland Gower, and in the Vale of Glamorgan, the Normans re-organised society according to their own model, with the manor as the vehicle of economic exploitation. ... One may suspect that there had been a strong element of nucleation in the Vale and the Gower peninsula before the arrival of the Normans, and that the conquerors imposed their manorial system on a pre-existing pattern of estates that were worked on behalf of native lords by unfree tenants living in bond hamlets. There can be no doubt, however, that the essential features of the early modern settlement pattern were established in the two centuries or so after 1100, and that many of the villages ... were founded as Norman castle-builders consolidated their hold on the territory they had been granted."⁸

The belief that villages were a deliberate introduction into Celtic areas is frequently encountered. Muir believes that this village plantation is common characteristic of western Britain, and he dates it mainly to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries⁹. In Devon, Hoskins and Finberg noted the "not infrequent" appearance of nucleated villages, not unlike those of the English Midlands. They considered that these villages were founded by of the earliest Saxon settlers in the area¹⁰. In neighbouring Cornwall Balchin has argued that the English influence on the east part of the county can be inferred from the presence of substantial villages with English names¹¹.

This author has considerable doubts that the Glamorgan villages were founded in the immediate post-Conquest years. An early study of his has shown that there is very little evidence for this. He found no evidence in the village

⁸The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 4 part 2, Domestic Architecture from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution, Farmhouses and Cottages, p. 4.

⁹R. Muir, Reading the Celtic Landscape, 1985, p. 194.

¹⁰W.G. Hoskins and H.P.R. Finberg, Devonshire Studies, 1952, pp. 290 - 2 and pp. 308 - 9.

¹¹W.G.V. Balchin, The Cornish Landscape, revised edition, 1983, p. 74.

plans and no pattern in village distribution which argued for plantation¹². As this work was based on a sample taken from just one of the four counties of the study area of this thesis, the plantation model ought not to be rejected at this stage; rather it must be more rigorously tested.

There are two ways in which the plantation model can be tested. If villages were planted then they ought to be found only in the areas which the Normans conquered; they should not be found in Welsh retained lands. Hence villages should be found throughout the Englishry and should be absent from the Welshry. Furthermore the villages ought to have a regularly laid out plan, which attests deliberate plantation. Examples of regularly laid out village plans which are the result of deliberate village plantation are known from historical and anthropological studies.

There is plentiful evidence for planted settlement in northern England. B.K. Roberts, June Sheppard and others have argued for widespread plantation in County Durham, Yorkshire and Cumbria. The deliberate plantation of villages also took place in eastern Europe. Eigler has argued that villages were planted by Charlemagne on Bavarian territory as early as 788. Regular villages were certainly planted throughout eastern Europe as the Germans advanced eastwards, for example into Silesia and Pomerania, throughout the Middle Ages. Colonies comprised of regular villages, with two rows of homesteads close together and facing each other across a street were established.¹³

Further evidence for the shape of planted settlements is provided by the mid-eighteenth century emigration of German communities to Australia. Prussians settling near Adelaide laid out villages in which long, narrow, equal strips extending back from properties which fronted a street¹⁴. The Hufendorfen-type

¹²J.A. Kissock, The Origins of the Village in Glamorgan: a preliminary analysis, unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1984, pp. 11 - 15.

¹³Roberts's work is reviewed in detail in chapters 3. Further reference to his work is to be found in chapter 8, where the eastern European material is also discussed.

¹⁴G. Young, 'Pioneer Settlement Patterns in the Onkaparinga
(Footnote continued)

of settlement was designed to give every family an equal share in the land. The long plots appear to have been farmed on a rational basis. Houses, with small gardens, were laid out along the street; vegetable plots, chicken coops and pig sties came next; they were followed by orchards and vineyards; land for growing grain, mainly wheat and barley, was the penultimate element, beyond which lay pasture land (Figure 2.1.)

There is evidence from west Africa - an area of recent colonial conquest - for regular village morphologies being a post-colonial and conquest-related development. B.W. Hodder has discussed the changes which happened to the indigenous settlement patterns following European colonial activity. He remarks,

"The major change was simply in plan, the original, clustered¹⁵ formless street plan gave way to a grid iron pattern."

Changes of this nature seem to have been quite common¹⁶. The imposition of colonial rule appears to have led to the formation of regular village morphologies.

The nature of and the reasons for colonial settlement can affect settlement morphology in many ways. The British practice of indirect rule in her colonies led to the addition to many existing political centres and markets of English colonial townships and military garrison depots. For example, on the Indian north-west frontier, a formally laid out colonial cantonment was added to the agricultural and marketing town of Peshawar in 1849¹⁷. In contrast, the French and German policy

ued)

District Council of South Australia', Antiquity, 61, 1987, pp. 302-3.

¹⁵B.W. Hodder, 'The European Impact on Indigenous Nucleated Settlements in Western Africa', B.C. Burnham and H.B. Johnson, eds., Invasion and Response: the Case of Roman Britain, 1979, p. 225.

¹⁶W.B. Morgan, 'The Influence of European Contacts on the Landscape of Southern Nigeria', Geographical Journal 125, 1959, p. 59; M.B. Gleave, 'Hill Settlements and their Abandonment in Western Yorubaland', Africa 32, 1963, p. 343.

¹⁷W. Kirk, 'The Making and Impact of the British Imperial North-west Frontier in India', B.C. Burnham and H.B. Johnson, eds., Invasion and Response: the Case of Roman Britain, p. 50.

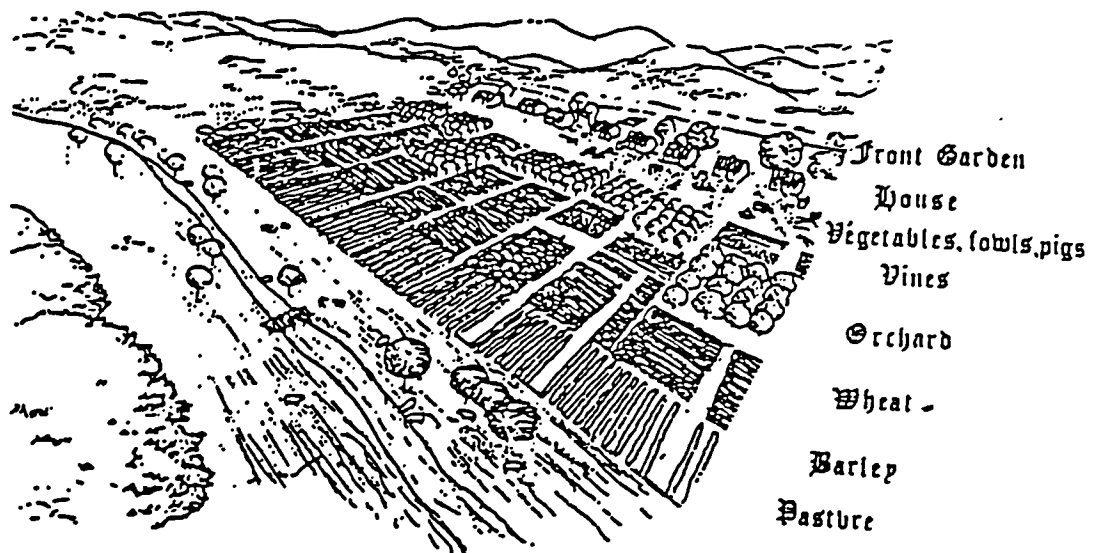


Fig. 2.1 : Reconstruction of a farmlet-village (Hufendorf). The land belonging to each farm extended out in a long strip behind the farm buildings which lay each side of a street or behind a dyke. Vegetable plots lay close to the house, then an orchard and beyond, wheat and barley fields. Cattle were pastured in the surrounding woodlands.

of direct rule, in their African colonies, tended to lead to the establishment of new centres of administration and political control. In Cameroon and Togo the Germans deliberately forced some groups to nucleate with the aim of acquiring easy access to supplies of forced labour¹⁸. Hodder concludes that the specifically European nature of the impact was unimportant. What he considers to be important is that there was an invasion, and therefore what he sees in west Africa is nothing more than,

"common, universal and common sense responses to invasions by technologically relatively advanced peoples."¹⁹

The historical and ethnographic material suggest the two hypotheses which will be used to test the plantation model. They can be re-stated as a conclusion to this section. First, if the villages of south Wales were planted immediately after the Norman Conquest then they ought only to be found in the Englishry. Second, if the villages were a deliberate introduction then the plans ought to be regularly laid out.

2.3: The defence model.

The second model proposed regards the village as a unit created for the defence of an area at a time of threat. Various anthropological studies have shown that dispersed settlement patterns are often abandoned in favour of nucleated ones as groups unify against a common threat. Vayada has argued, citing evidence from Melanesian and Amerindian communities, that warfare can be a force which promotes social cohesion. The members of a society unite and submerge their differences in pursuit of common goals²⁰. Sahlins has noted that, amongst both the Tiv and the Nuer, the usual state of disunity is replaced by consolidation in the face of external competition. The degree of consolidation appears to be proportionate to the scale of the threat. This consolidation is usually temporary²¹. When one segmentary lineage system is

¹⁸Hodder, op. cit., p. 225 - 6.

¹⁹ibid., pp. 227 - 8.

²⁰A.P. Vayada, 'Expansion and Warfare Among Swidden Agriculturalists', American Anthropologist, 63, 1961, p. 346.

²¹M.D. Sahlins, 'Segmentary Lineage and Predatory Expansion', American Anthropologist, 63, 1961, p. 326.

victorious, it dissolves as the forces favouring fusion disappear and the lack of coherent leadership allows divisive tendencies to come to the fore again²².

This author has already suggested that the Gower villages were in part a response to the Viking threat²³. The other villages of south Wales might be contemporary and owe their origin to the Viking threat too. If this is so then there ought to be considerable evidence for Viking activity throughout the area. Furthermore in areas where there was no nucleation, and where, as a consequence, colonisation may have been easier, Viking settlement might be found. There ought therefore to be finds of Scandinavian style metalwork, burial, inscription and place-names. The search for material of this nature is not easy. In England which large scale Viking settlement is known to have occurred, the settlers seem to be - archaeologically - almost invisible²⁴.

The defence model was suggested partly by Biddle's discussion of the burhs of Wessex and Mercia²⁵. The Wessex burhs were conceived as fortified towns in 879, when Wessex, of all the Saxon kingdoms, stood alone against the Vikings. They were built by 892, if not as early as 886. The Mercian burhs are not as old; they are thought to have been founded between 907 and 915. These defended centres were intended to develop beyond mere military strongpoints; they had to be economically viable too. There was a close link between having a large population for commercial reasons and a population who could provide effective defence if necessary.

²²ibid., p. 342.

²³J.A. Kisson, 'The Open Fields of Gower: a Case Study and a Reconsideration', Journal of the Gower Society, 37, 1986, p. 47.

²⁴D.M. Wilson, 'The Scandinavians in England', D.M. Wilson, ed., The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, 1976, passim; D.M. Wilson, 'Archaeological Evidence for the Viking Raids and Settlements in England', Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 2, 1968, passim.

²⁵M. Biddle, 'Towns', D.M. Wilson, ed., The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, 1976, pp. 124 - 37.

The possibilities that communities might fission once the threat has passed need not have happened in all circumstances. If an open field system had originated at the same time as the nucleated settlement - as has been argued²⁶ - then the dispersal of every individual's land throughout the whole arable area would have acted as a force to maintain nucleation. Historical and anthropological evidence demonstrates the force exerted by dispersed agricultural holdings on nucleated settlement. Once fields are enclosed and most individuals have a consolidated portion of the arable land, farmhouses are established on this new holding and often villages start to fission. Schmeider has noted exactly the same pattern amongst Tzapotec and Mije communities in Mexico²⁷. The Tzapotec co-operate in clearing their parajes and then distribute the land amongst those involved in the work. As a result the lands held by each community are dispersed; this dispersion exerts a force which maintains village stability. In contrast, amongst the Mije, each family clears its own lands and then erects its dwelling on it; the result is numerous isolated farmsteads.

In conclusion, the defence model will be tested by the following hypotheses. There ought to be evidence for a threat, possibly from the Scandinavians; and there might be evidence for Scandinavian settlement in areas where nucleation had not taken place.

2.4: The taxation model.

This model sees the origin of nucleated settlement as the result of a change in government which leads to the imposition of taxes. In turn, this leads to a requirement for communities to increase their production in order to be able to meet these demands. The taxation model, presented below, is derived mainly from ethnographic material; it has been hinted at in some historical works, but never has been explicitly discussed²⁸.

It is generally believed that the form and intensity

²⁶Kissock, loc. cit., pp. 47 - 8.

²⁷O. Schmeider, The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians, State of Oaxaca, Mexico, 1930, pp. 76 - 7.

²⁸D. Hall, 'The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture - the Archaeological Fieldwork Evidence', in T. Rowley, ed., The Origins of Open-Field Agriculture, 1981, pp. 37 - 8.

of settlement is governed by agrarian factors: notably the potential of the land and the level of technology. Boserup has argued that the reverse is true and that population growth will lead to changes in agricultural practices²⁹. Little attention has been paid in historical studies of settlement patterns to one other factor which appears, from the ethnographic evidence, to be very important in determining the nature of settlement. This is the structure of power which characterises village society, and which differentiates it from other types of settlement. Villages are noted for their strong polity and the effect that this has on the organisation of production. Human labour always has a social character; individuals produce within social frameworks and not in isolation. Hence society's production is not limited by the means of labour, but rather by the organisation of labour. This was realised by some social theorists and economists well over a century ago³⁰.

More recently this view has been developed by M.D. Sahlins. He has brought together a large amount of ethnographic and economic data to show that village society is usually more productive than societies whose settlements are dispersed. Sahlins argues that in "primitive" communities production is low relative to possibilities, and that economies are often running below capacity. They aim to satisfy wants, rather than to maximise production; this can easily be done, especially if wants are modest. This type of economic framework is defined as the domestic mode of production (usually abbreviated to dmp), with the organisation of production by individual families within the loose framework of kinship groups³¹. The absence of authority within a community and the level of production have been linked by other ethnographers too. Mary Douglas has

²⁹E. Boserup, The Conditions of Agricultural Growth. The Economics of Agrarian Change Under Population Pressure, 1965, passim.

³⁰For example, K. Marx, Grundriße der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie, nd, translated by D. McLellan as Marx's Grundrisse, Palladin edition, 1973, p. 26.

³¹M.D. Sahlins, Stone Age Economics, 1972, p. 41.

written of the Lele,

"the lack of authority goes a long way to explain their poverty."³²

The older members of the Lele community receive deference, but they do not hold power. She found that there was no-one who could give an order with any hope of it being obeyed. This contrasts with the neighbouring Chokwe and Ndembu, who have village headmen each of whom acts as a focus for village unity. Amongst the Lele production was aimed at short term results, whilst among their neighbours "steady application" and a desire to maximise the efforts of production were noted³³. The lack of any mechanism for holding growing communities together is another weakness which usually leads to the fissioning of that community. This is noted in Amazonia, where chieftainship is weak and where communities continuously split and re-form³⁴.

The relationship between power, production and settlement pattern are of fundamental importance to the taxation model. It has been stressed that power structures influence the level of production, and it can be shown that both affect the nature of the settlement pattern. Hence the practice of the dmp has an affect on settlement patterns. As Sahlins states,

"the dmp is inclined toward a maximum dispersion of homesteads, because maximum dispersion is the absence of interdependence and a common authority."³⁵

This is because the domestic mode of production is a form of anarchy, where disorganisation and fragmentation are common. If social control can replace anarchy then nucleation can replace dispersion. At some point in social evolution, according to Sahlins, control over the economy passes from the family group to the political element in society. This change is crucial; Sahlins describes it thus,

"tribal powers that be and would-be powers encroach upon the domestic system to undermine its autonomy, curb its anarchy and unleash its

³²M. Douglas, The Lele of the Kasai, 1963, p. 1.

³³ibid., pp. 5 - 6.

³⁴Sahlins, op. cit., p. 98.

³⁵ibid., p. 95.

productivity."³⁶

This change is socio-economic in nature; it could also mark the change from a dispersed to a nucleated settlement pattern.

These issues - power, productivity and their affect on the settlement pattern - lie at the heart of the taxation model. When, for whatever reason, taxation was levied for the first time, or was dramatically increased, then it could prompt a community to produce more in order to pay without foregoing consumption. One, ethnographically attested, way of increasing productivity is nucleation of the settlement pattern.

The adoption of open field agriculture would have taken place at the same time. As Dahlman has argued, using complex methods of micro-economic analysis, there are cost benefits to be derived from this system³⁷. The decision to adopt an open field system would probably not have been taken in such a "formalist" way; an analysis of the economic rationale of such a change is unlikely to have taken place. As argued above once nucleation had been decided upon, change in the way in which the field system was organised would follow.

The taxation model can be tested in this way: if there was a change in the nature of government and in taxation then there ought to be evidence for this change in the historical sources, which - in this period - are often the records of government. Furthermore there ought to be evidence for an almost universal pattern of dispersion before this date, with a change to predominantly nucleated pattern afterwards; individual farmsteads might survive in areas which were thinly populated or which were, for physical reasons, unsuitable for nucleation.

One date immediately suggests itself for this change: the immediate post-Conquest period. If the Normans imposed great financial obligations on the Welsh, then it may have prompted nucleation. The idea can be rejected at the outset. It was argued above that the initial Norman conquest of south Wales was a change in the composition of the elite, not the

³⁶ibid., p. 130.

³⁷C.J. Dalhman, The Open Field System and Beyond, 1980, pp. 135 - 8.

first emergence of an elite: a factor which is of crucial importance to the taxation model. Another possible date for the origin of nucleation as a result of the changes in the taxation structure is the seventh century, when the Welsh kingdoms began to consolidate under the dynasty of Meurig ap Tewdrig³⁸.

2.6: The agrarian change model I.

This model draws on the work of Christopher Taylor and Joan Thirsk who have suggested a thirteenth century date for village origins and for common fields respectively³⁹.

Taylor cites several examples of village sites where there is no evidence for village occupation in or before the twelfth century; for example Wythmail and Lyveden (both in Northamptonshire,) Gomeldon in Wiltshire and Holworth in Dorset. He argues that Domesday Book, which is usually taken to record the first evidence for these nucleations, has been mis-read. He claims that it does not record villages but tenurial units which were comprised mainly of hamlets and dispersed farmsteads. These were later - in all but "fringe" areas - overtaken by the development of villages. Taylor dates village origins to the thirteenth century and claims that this is due to the development of the open field system, which with its scattered strips made nucleation sensible from the point of view of efficiency. In support of his idea he cites the work of Thirsk, who has advocated this date for their origin.

Joan Thirsk defines common fields as a combination of these elements: agricultural land divided into strips; common rights over arable, meadow, pasture and waste; and an assembly of cultivators (for example, a manorial court or a village meeting) to arbitrate disputes arising from communal rights.

³⁸Section 1.3 describes these changes.

³⁹C.C. Taylor, Village and Farmstead, A History of Rural Settlement in England, 1983, pp. 126 - 131; J. Thirsk, 'The Common Fields', Past and Present, 33, 1963, passim. It should be noted that Taylor uses open and common field as interchangeable terms, whereas as Thirsk draws a distinction between common field (land worked under the common field system, according to her definition given in the text) and open field (land lying in strips but not subject to common grazing rights.) The terminology of the individual authors has been maintained in this section of the discussion.

All these elements did not come into existence together. Strips of land are referred to in the laws of King Ine, and therefore were present in the seventh century landscape. Common rights of grazing, as shown by patterns of common crop rotation, are thought perhaps to have been a novel development when they are first recorded in the period c. 1250 to c. 1320. Manorial courts developed gradually; the earliest court rolls date from thirteenth century, the first explicit documents sixteenth century and the most complete court proceedings are of a seventeenth and eighteenth century date. The date of the earliest complete common field system varies from place to place, with different elements becoming visible at different times. The general date, according to Thirsk, is in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries when population was growing and common field agriculture was adopted as a way of cultivating land more efficiently.

There is one straightforward hypothesis which can be used to test this model: if nucleation is dated to the thirteenth century then there ought to be archaeological evidence for it; the earliest levels on excavated sites ought to date to this period.

2.7: The agrarian change model II.

This model explores a similar change to that described above, yet the reasons for the change are slightly different and the date is some centuries earlier. Changes in the methods of cultivation are a crucial factor underlying this model too, but they are not thought to have been wholly brought about by population growth. It is proposed that the tenurial units which existed in the early middle ages began to break up in the centuries before the conquest and that this lead to changes in field systems, which in turn had an effect on settlement patterns. This model is based partly on the suggestion of H.S.A. Fox⁴⁰, who acknowledges the contribution made to his ideas by the earlier work of G.R.J. Jones⁴¹. A similar model to that outlined below has been put forward by

⁴⁰H.S.A. Fox, 'Approaches to the Adoption of the Midland System', T. Rowley, ed., The Origins of Open Field Agriculture, 1981, pp. 99 - 101.

⁴¹G.R.J. Jones, 'Basic Patterns of Settlement Distribution in Northern England', Advancement of Science, 18, 1961, pp. 196 - 7 and p. 200, note 7. Jones's work is discussed in considerable detail in chapter 6.

Cadman and Foard for village origins at Raunds in Northamptonshire, but their work does not explicitly explore the reasons for change⁴².

In the early medieval period and, perhaps, before there were thought to have been linked groups of settlements. Some of these settlements would have specialised in the production of pastoral resources, others in the cultivation of arable land. Exchange of products would have ensure that no one settlement went without the full range of available products. The breakdown of this pattern, caused by the fragmentation of the linked groups, would have forced individual communities to cease specialised production and to produce a wider range of commodities, almost all for internal consumption. The need to increase the supply of arable or pastoral land (depending on the nature of the earlier specialisation) would have had to have led to the integration of the two, as land resources are finite. This integration with cattle grazing the stubble after harvest, and manuring it ready for the next crop is one feature of the common field system. The second feature - the scattering of each individual's holdings amidst several fields - could have led to a change in the organisation of the field pattern. (Scattering was an essential feature of the common field pattern and may have been the result of a move to ensure that everyone had to participate in the communal grazing⁴³.) The scattering of holdings may lead to a change in the settlement pattern. The amount of energy used in walking to and from a collection of scattered strips can be minimised if their owners live at a central point. That distance equals time and energy, and that this has an effect on labour costs and productivity, has long been known⁴⁴. A more recent study of agricultural

⁴²G. Cadman and G. Foard, 'Raunds: Manorial and Village Origins', M.L. Faull, ed., Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement, 1984, pp. 87 - 92.

⁴³Dahlman, op. cit., pp. 143 - 5.

⁴⁴For example J.H. von Thünen, Der Isolierte Staat in
(Footnote continued)

location, carried out by Chisholm, has noted similar patterns. In describing medieval Britain, he states that:

"the scattering of strips provided a cogent reason for living together in nucleated villages because this minimized the total distance from the dwellings to the parcels."⁴⁵

A response of this nature seems to be common. It was noted in the earlier discussion of the Mexican Tzapotec and Mije Indians that dispersed agricultural holdings are associated with settlement nucleation.

This model requires a two stage test. First, it will be necessary to demonstrate that the linkages which existed between settlements in the early medieval period were, for whatever reasons, broken and that this led to agricultural change. This is not likely to be easy; but this author believes that it can in certain circumstances be done. Second it will be necessary to demonstrate the widespread existence of dispersed agricultural holdings, with, ceteris paribus, a village at their centre.

2.8: Conclusion.

This section has outlined the methodology which will be used in this thesis. Five models have been proposed, all of which describe the circumstances in which, and the reasons why villages might be founded. Hypotheses have been deduced from each model. Attempts will now be made to falsify them and to re-define the models.

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Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie, 1826, ed. by P. Hall and translated by C. Wartenberg as Von Thünen's Isolated State, 1966, pp. 55 - 66.

⁴⁵M.D.I. Chisholm, Rural Settlement and Land Use, second edition, 1968, p. 117.

Part I

The Regional Perspective.

Chapter 3: The study of village morphology.

The previous chapter examined several models for the origin of nucleated settlement patterns. Hypotheses were outlined for the testing of every model. The present chapter examines the first model: settlement plantation following conquest. Discussion of the model is based upon taxonomic approaches to morphology. The arguments for and against approaches of this nature are reviewed and the recent developments in the field examined. Then the methodology used in this part of the thesis is explained. The hypothesis is tested and modified in the light of the data. Finally the subjects on which more data is required before this analysis can continue are outlined.

3.1: The concept of village morphology.

For many years it was argued whether or not the shape of individual villages could tell landscape historians anything about their origins and the way in which these villages had developed. Forty years ago Sharp was abruptly dismissive of the possibility of a study of village morphology. He stated that there were ten thousand villages in England and ten thousand different village shapes¹. In the 1950s M.W. Beresford tried to classify village plans; however he eventually abandoned this exercise arguing that it was impossible to hope to devise a taxonomy which could aid historical research².

Yet, in the late nineteenth century, F.W. Maitland had believed that village morphology was a fruitful subject for research, and regretted that he did not have enough time to explore the topic in some depth³. Later, W.G. Hoskins briefly considered village plans⁴. He summed up the topic with these words,

"The variety of plan among the villages of

¹T. Sharp, The Anatomy of the Village, 1946, p. 6.

²M.W. Beresford and J.K. St. Joseph, Medieval England: an Aerial Survey, 1958, p. 126.

³F.W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, -1897, p.368.

⁴W.G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, 1955, p. 49.

England ... is profoundly interesting - and tantalizing - to the historian of the landscape. It is interesting because he realises that this variety of forms almost certainly reflects very early cultural or historical differences, and it is tantalizing for two reasons. First, because we cannot be sure that the present plan of the village is not the result of successive changes ... we cannot be sure we know what the original shape was in many instances ... [and secondly] we are not yet in a position to say - for the subject has been so little studied in this country - what the various plans and shapes mean."

3.2: Recent developments - the work of B.K. Roberts.

In the last twenty years the debate has developed in a new direction. The argument no longer considers whether or not it is possible to classify village plans; instead it revolves around the taxonomic scheme proposed by Brian Roberts. He has classified village plans and has used his technique to interpret the development of nucleated settlements⁵.

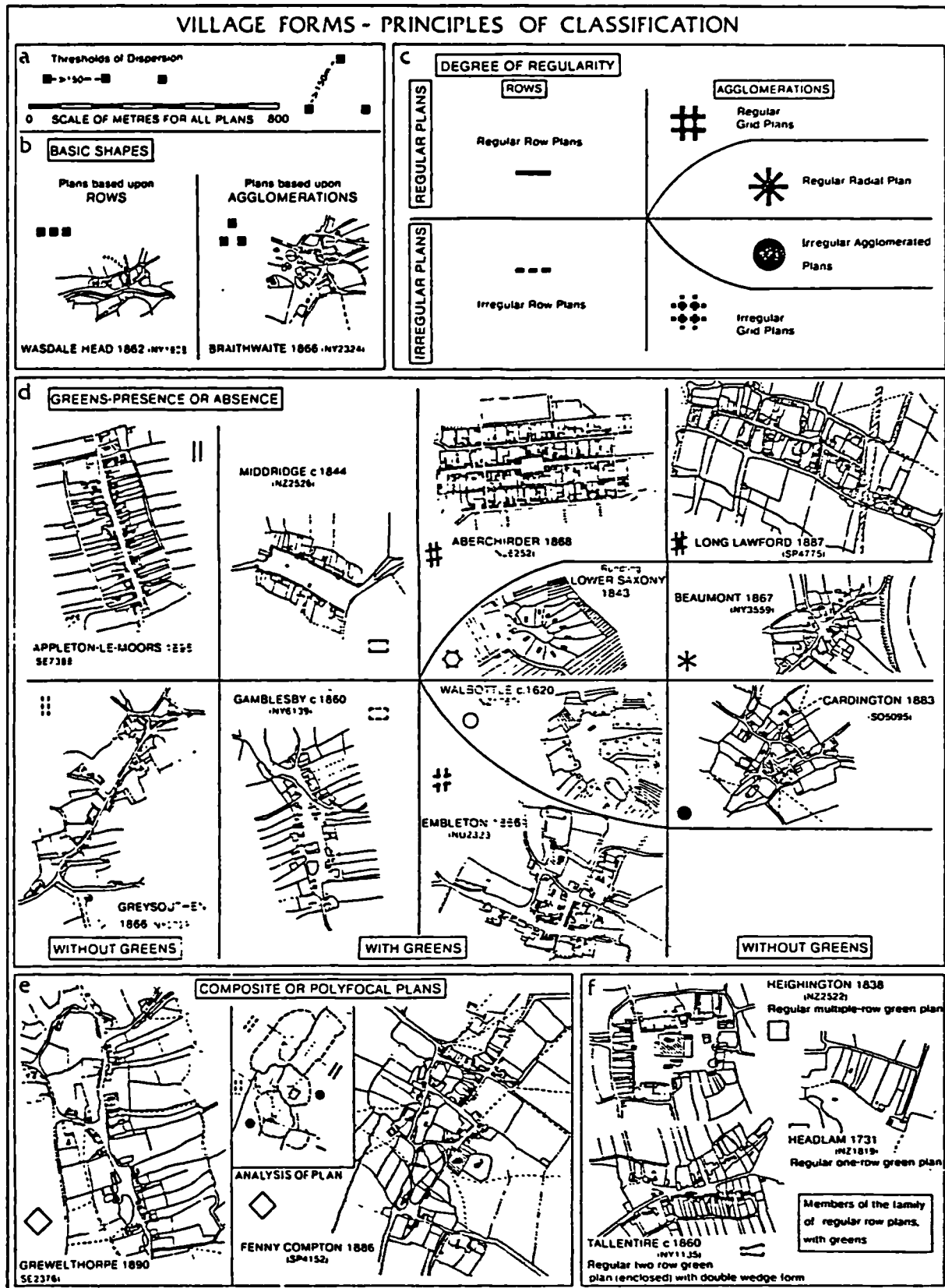
Roberts's ideas have both developed and been modified over the last two decades. His initial work began with an attempt to classify the village plans he had observed in County Durham⁶. Eight plan types were noted, based upon streets, greens and agglomerations. His recent taxonomic work is more embracing. He has produced a classificatory grid within which he argues that a nucleated settlement of any shape can be placed⁷. This grid is reproduced as Figure 3.1. The grid is divided into two major columns: rows and agglomerations. The two columns are further subdivided into plans with or without greens. His four basic types are then horizontally divided into villages which are regular in shape and those which are not. Thus four types of linear settlement are recognised. The agglomerations have been further subdivided. The regular plans are divided into two categories: radial and grid; both can be found with or without a green. The irregular plans have been divided into irregular grids and simple irregular agglomerations. In theory both of these types can be found with or without greens too.

⁵B.K. Roberts, The Making of the English Village, 1987, *passim*.

⁶B.K. Roberts, 'Village Plans in County Durham: a Preliminary Statement', Medieval Archaeology 16, 1972, p. 35.

⁷Roberts, *op. cit.*, 1987, figure 2.3, pp. 26 - 7.

Fig. 3.1: Brian Roberts's grid for the classification of village plans.



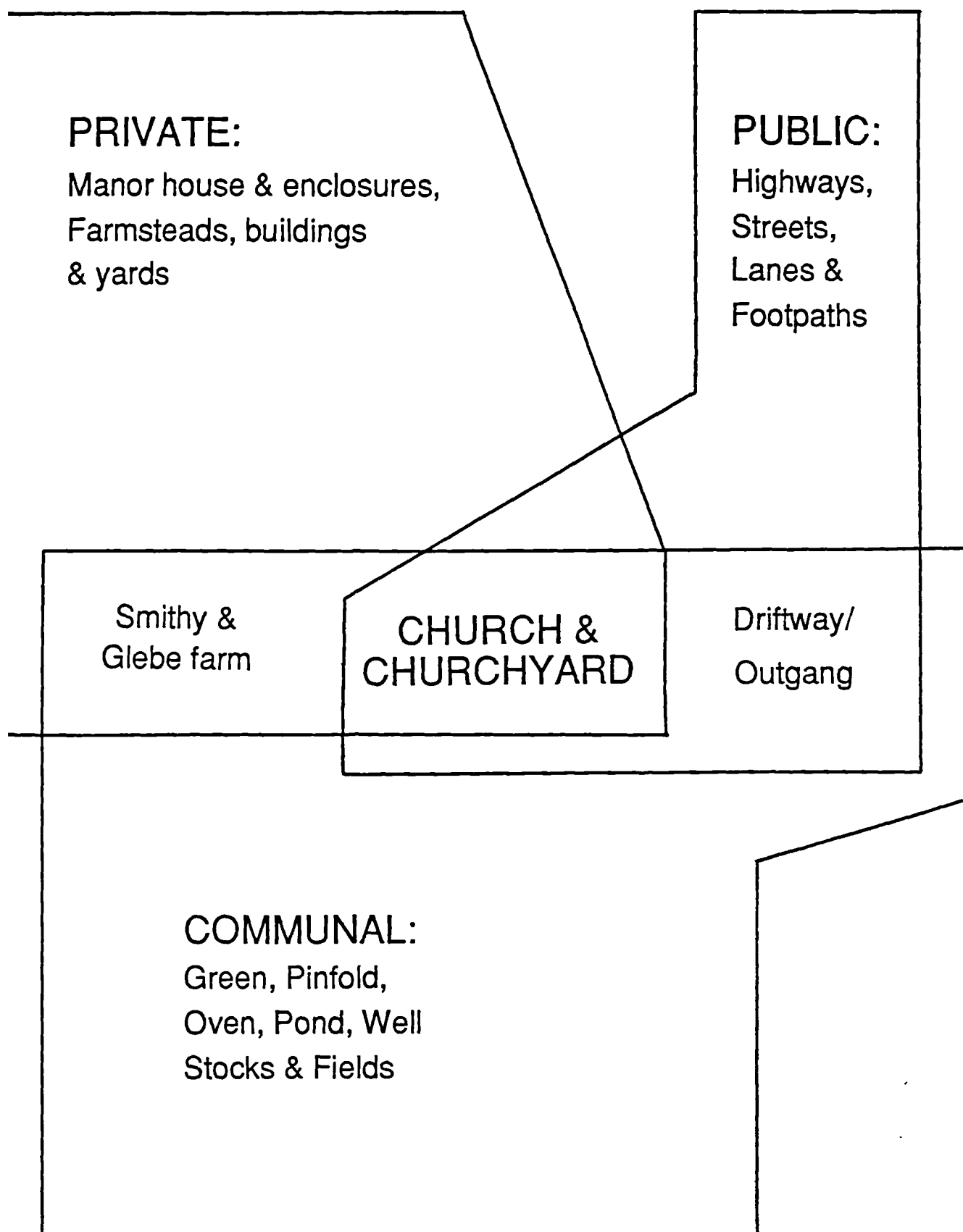
This taxonomy was developed by separating out or "anatomising" the various elements of the village plan, which is thought to comprise three distinct components. First, there are the buildings and their positions within tofts (or crofts.) The second group of elements is the tofts themselves. Finally the position of the streets, lanes and open spaces amidst the tofts is considered. There is also a distinction made between private, public and communal space (Figure 3.2.) The manor house with its enclosures and the farmsteads with their adjacent lands are private. Public space includes the streets, lanes and footpaths. The water supply, grazing land and certain facilities, for example the stocks and the pound, are communally controlled. The church and the graveyard, which are a complicated combination of all three types of space, stand at the centre of this model. All items are separate and moveable; however they can be spatially combined in a finite number of ways and this is the logical basis of village plan classification. This process and the resulting grid are, Roberts argues, valid in all cultural and chronological contexts. The grid reproduced as Figure 3.1 is only one possible version. An alternative exists. Here the examples are not taken from amongst the English villages shown on the Ordnance Survey maps, but from a variety - both chronological and spatial - of other sources⁸.

In practice Roberts has had to modify his taxonomy in three ways. It proved difficult to differentiate confidently between irregular grid patterns with and without greens. Furthermore, a series of villages was recognised which comprised two or more parts each with a different plan. These villages are considered to have a composite plan and are analogous with C.C. Taylor's "polyfocal" village plans⁹. Roberts has also developed the concept of catenas, which are gradations across the grid of village morphologies from one category to the next. The recognition of catenas reflects the

⁸B.K. Roberts, 'Lordship, Status and Settlement: an Overview', paper read at the Medieval Settlement Research Group Conference, 1989.

⁹C.C. Taylor, 'Polyfocal Settlement and the English Village', Medieval Archaeology, 21, 1977, p. 189.

Fig. 3.2: Private, public and communal space - the principle of village plan classification.



complexity of some settlement shapes. They do not appear to fit into one category but to stand on the border between two different categories. They do not aid the research worker, because in the last analysis every village has to be fitted somewhere within one of the categories. Adding a series of extra categories might appear to be one way of solving this problem. It would only increase the number of boundaries and border line cases and thus complicate matters further.

The classification of individual village morphologies is only the first step towards understanding the evolution of the settlement pattern of any area. Once all the villages in an area have been described in the standardised terminology of the classificatory grid it is possible to plot them on a distribution map using a series of ideograms devised by Roberts. These stylistically represent the individual village plan classifications. Roberts uses the county as the basis for these distribution maps, and so far he has produced maps of Warwickshire, Durham, Cumberland and Somerset.¹⁰ These maps generally form the basis of the interpretative aspect of his work. Roberts compares the distribution of different types of plan with the distribution of other features, for example the nature of the landscape or the past political structure of the area, and then uses the spatial correlation of the two to explain the origin of the villages. For example, the regular row villages of County Durham are attributed to reorganisation of the landscape following the "Harrying of the North." The regular village plans of Cumberland are attributed to the directed settlement of the area carried out by the soldiers of William Rufus. The Warwickshire pattern of large nucleations in the south and east and almost complete dispersal in the north and west is attributed to the relatively late colonisation of the wood and heathland of the last two areas¹¹.

Roberts's classificatory grid may have ended the debate over the possibility of producing a relatively non-normative method for classifying village plans. However Roberts's approach has not met universal, unqualified support.

¹⁰ Roberts, op. cit., 1987, p. 171, pp. 174 - 5 and p. 183.

¹¹ ibid., pp. 170 - 3.

The most detailed, recent criticisms have been made by David Austin¹². He has argued that there are major shortcomings in Roberts's work. There are three main, closely linked problems. First, although simple early village plans can be elucidated from a complex modern reality, complex early plans cannot be deduced from modern simplicity. Second, the processes of change are not critically and methodically explored. Third, all typologies are subject to inherent chronological problems. He also argues that Roberts's means have become his ends, because he does not carefully separate the morphology from the typology. It is important to consider these criticisms in some depth. A full understanding of the limitations of any method is an essential prerequisite to its proper use. Austin's first point is self-evident and, if only modern maps are studied, unavoidable. The only way to reveal fully the earliest morphology - be it simple or complex - of any village site is through large-scale archaeological excavation of that site - a very impractical and expensive procedure to carry out on the large numbers of villages that are included in morphogenetic studies.

The three examples of Roberts's interpretations cited above demonstrate the brevity with which he discusses the process of change. There is no argument as to why the reorganisation of the Durham landscape should have produced regular village morphologies. It is implied that new, strong lordships and the need for rapid reconstruction of a devastated area led to village plantation. This is never stated, nor explored. He does not explain why the colonisation of woodland areas in Warwickshire leads to the emergence of a dispersed settlement pattern. It is only elsewhere, in a parochial, as opposed to a county, study that he discusses the role played by population growth and seigneurial encouragement, in settling the Forest of Arden¹³. An interesting contradiction exists

¹²D. Austin, 'Doubts About Morphogenesis', Journal of Historical Geography, 11, 1985, pp. 202 - 3, and review notice "The Making of the English Village", Journal of Historical Geography, 14, 1988, pp. 201 - 2.

¹³B.K. Roberts, 'A Study of Medieval Colonization in the Forest of Arden, Warwickshire', Agricultural History Review, 16, 1968, (Footnote continued)

between Roberts's Warwickshire work and the ideas of earlier scholars. For example, W.G. Hoskins thought that the clearing of the dense oak-ash forests of the Midlands in the early Anglian period was conducive to the founding of a pattern of nucleated settlement¹⁴. The problem here is one of meaning. Taxonomies cannot explain themselves; they have to be interpreted and there are problems as to how this might be done. Ethnographic analogy is one avenue for further exploration. Studies of village morphology and of the social processes which lead to nucleation, such as those presented in the previous chapter, offer a way of exploring this problem.

For many years archaeologists compiled typologies of artefacts and uncritically used them as the basis of chronologies. It is now recognised that these typologies are so beset with problems that they are virtually worthless¹⁵. Roberts's typology presents some of the problems with which archaeologists are familiar. For example there is no way of knowing if during the evolution of a village's plan - and this specific, hypothetical case assumes evolution rather than overnight foundation - the rate and direction of change were stable between the two fixed points at either end of the typology. Even setting these limits poses problems. For in no more than a few villages do we have two fixed points; for most the only fixed point in the evolution of its morphology is that recorded on a relatively modern map.

Adherents of the cognitive school of archaeological thought might make a further criticism. They would argue that the grid relies only upon observable factors and that no attempt has been made to make it "culturally meaningful." Cognitive archaeologists aim to construct classifications which reflect how the minds of the people being studied thought about their own physical world¹⁶. Cognitive studies, such as Ian

(continued)

p. 102.

¹⁴W.G. Hoskins, 'The Anglian and Scandinavian Settlement of Leicestershire', Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society 18, 1935, pp. 110 - 111.

¹⁵D.M. Wilson, 'Almgren and Chronology. A Summary and Some Comments', Medieval Archaeology, 3, 1959, pp. 112 - 9.

¹⁶K.C. Chang, Rethinking Archaeology, 1967, pp. 78 - 9.

Hodder's concerns with emulation, ideology and the substitution of meaning, are of no concern here¹⁷. Some cognitive studies - for example, Fletcher's analysis of spatial ordering and distance in a Ghanaian village in terms of a Fibonacci number sequence¹⁸ - have produced interesting insights into aspects of human behaviour, yet this author does not believe that they could be of any value in this study. It would be possible to build a cognitive typology, but it would be impossible to test its validity. The necessary mental classifications ceased to exist when the people who lived in the settlements died. For an archaeologist to "get inside the heads" of early medieval Welshmen and women is only possible through very bad excavation technique! Of more value are studies, such as Renfrew's, which have looked at much more tangible expressions of human intention; for example his study of the weights and measures used at Mohenjodaro¹⁹. Some similar work on the area of tofts will form a part of the next chapter.

Research for this thesis has revealed a further problem with Roberts's grid: it is possible for two different settlements with different morphologies to end up in the same classification. This is most apparent in the composite section of the grid, which appears to cover a multitude of sins. In the distribution maps presented below this has been modified by splitting the composite category into two: composite with a regular component and composite-irregular plans. This is a subjective choice made out of many possible ones and is based on the idea outlined in the first hypothesis that settlement in this area could be planted²⁰. A similar problem was encountered with the classification of regular rows. The maps (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) demonstrate that Templeton, the core of Cilgerran and

¹⁷I.R. Hodder, 'The contextual analysis of symbolic meanings', in I.R. Hodder, ed., The Archaeology of Contextual Meanings, 1987, p. 1.

¹⁸R. Fletcher, 'Settlement Studies (Micro and Semi-micro)', in D.L. Clarke, ed., Spatial Archaeology, 1977, pp. 61 - 108.

¹⁹A.C. Renfrew, Towards an Archaeology of Mind, 1982, pp. 16 - 7.

²⁰Chapter 2.1.

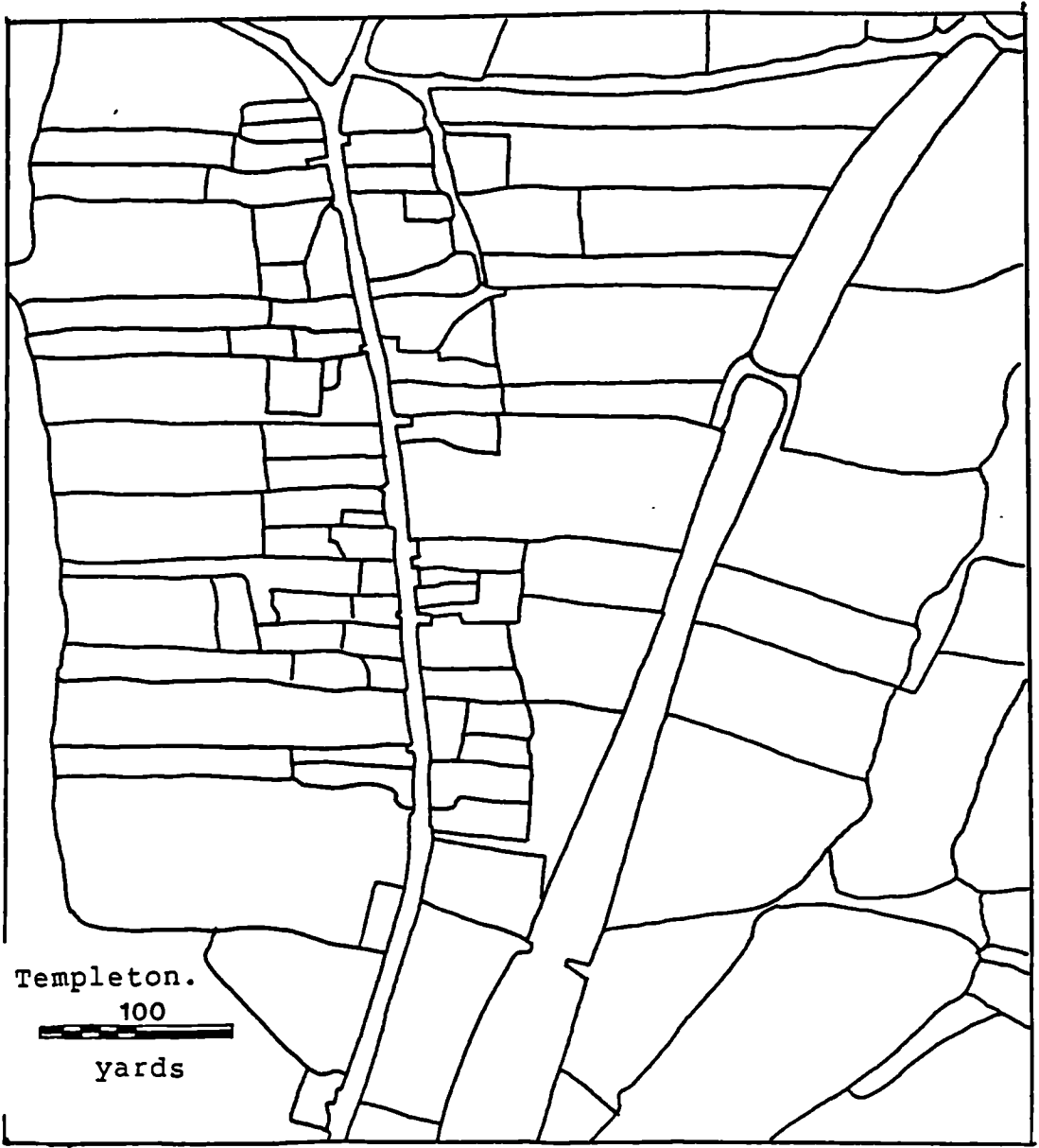


Fig. 3.3a: Templeton.

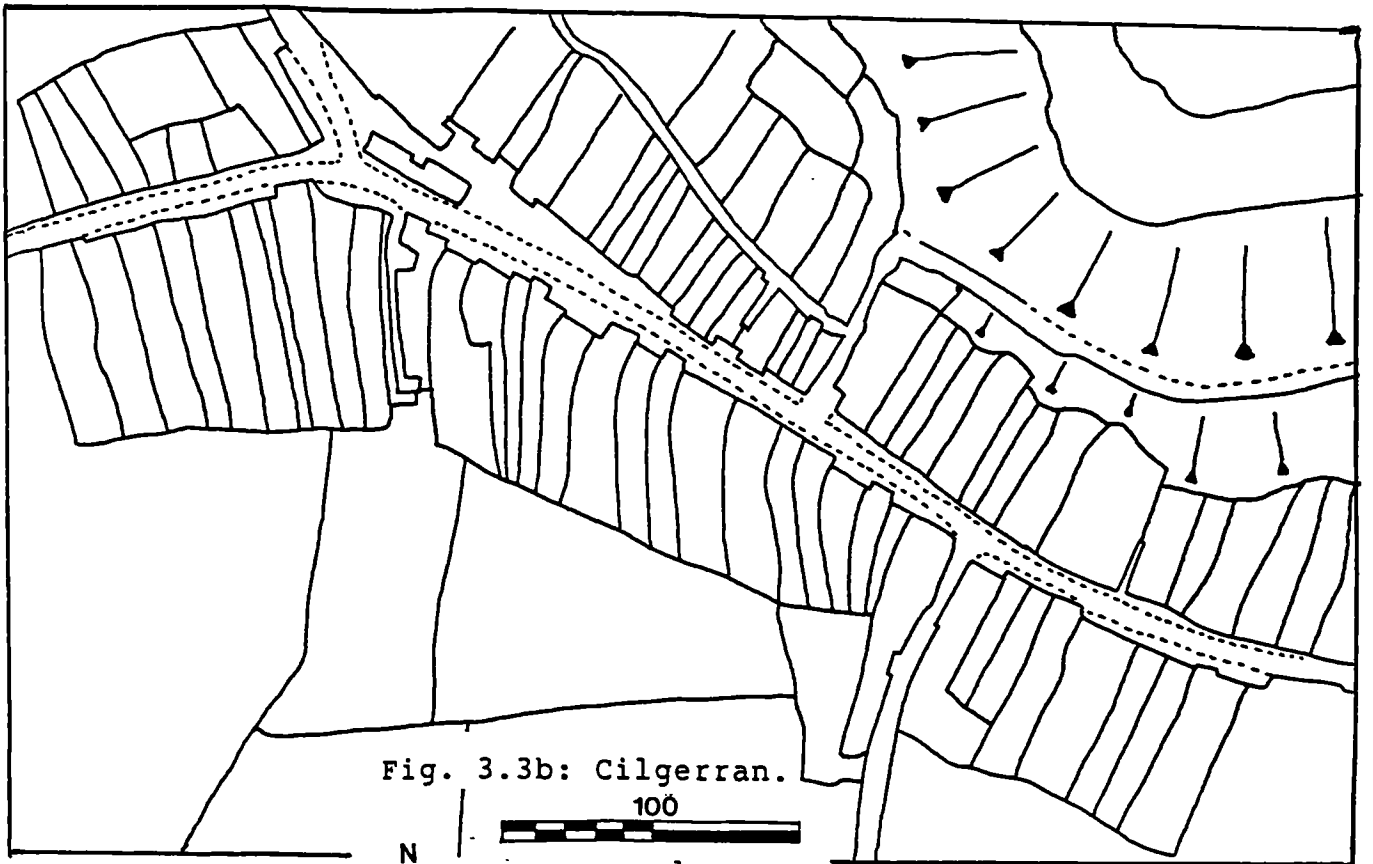
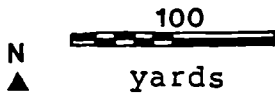


Fig. 3.3b: Cilgerran.

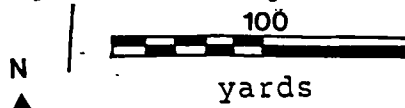


Fig. 3.4: Angle.



Angle all belong within this one category. Yet the plots at Templeton are much wider and considerably longer than those at Cilgerran. In turn, those at Angle are much longer than those at Templeton. It is possible that this variation is of considerable significance in understanding the origins of these nucleations. This observation shows that Roberts's belief that each form can be related to a function in the early stages of village development must be open to doubt²¹.

In practice it proved almost impossible to identify one of Roberts's putative stages in village development - the basic cluster - from the map alone²². Basic clusters are thought to have had the potential, albeit unfulfilled, for development into larger nucleations and hence a knowledge of their distribution was considered to be very important. The inability to recognise them is perhaps not surprising when it is remembered that the model is developed from excavated rural settlements, a consideration of the needs of a mixed agricultural community and map evidence. Furthermore Roberts's criteria for recognising a basic cluster - notably the presence of what he considers to be fundamental linearity or agglomeration - are as he has demonstrated elsewhere characteristic of all settlements²³.

The possible weaknesses in Roberts's work have been examined in some detail, not because they make his taxonomic model inoperable - that would be to throw out the baby with the bath water - but rather because once the weaknesses are understood it becomes possible to develop more sophisticated models through the incorporation of new ideas. Austin, too, in his critical consideration of morphogenetic studies does not totally reject them; rather he argues that they should be used more rigorously²⁴. Morphological analysis is now an accepted technique. Its advocates should strive to include sound

²¹B.K. Roberts, 'The anatomy of the village: observation and extrapolation', Landscape History, 4, 1982, p. 13.

²²Roberts, op. cit., 1987, p. 72.

²³B.K. Roberts, Rural Settlement: an Historical Perspective, 1982, pp. 4 - 5.

²⁴Austin, op. cit., 1985, p.205.

archaeological evidence for dating the typology. They must also make the maximum effort to use anthropological evidence for interpreting the processes at work which create the landscapes recorded within the taxonomic framework.

After this detailed critical examination of Roberts's writings on the subject of village morphology it seems fair that he should be allowed to have the last word. At the conclusion of his most detailed work he urges other scholars to develop his ideas noting that his own arguments are just "preliminary" and that morphology is only "one tool of enquiry" which landscape historians have at their disposal²⁵.

3.3: Village morphology in south Wales - methodology.

The large extent of the area studied - almost 3000 square miles - made it necessary to adopt smaller, more easily manageable units of analysis. The pre-1832 ecclesiastical parishes were chosen. They may well have a pre-medieval and possibly late prehistoric origin²⁶, and therefore are perhaps of some significance in the development of the medieval landscape. In many cases, especially in rural areas, the modern administrative boundaries on the OS 1" to the mile maps follow the early ecclesiastical ones. The stability of the boundaries was one feature noted during this exercise. The boundary between the City of Swansea and the Borough of Neath (and both units were only created during the 1974 local government re-organisation) is identical to that between the pre-Norman commotes of Gwyr and Morgannwg.

Once the boundaries had been transferred onto the Ordnance Survey maps it was possible to record which modern settlements lay within which parishes. A number of parishes, mostly in the south Wales coalfield, are now dominated by urban and industrial development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These were excluded from the survey of village morphology because it was impossible to discern the original settlement shape. If the original shape of any modern urban

²⁵Roberts, op. cit., 1987, p. 220 and 221.

²⁶C.C. Taylor, 'The Nature of Romano-British Settlement Studies - What Are the Boundaries?', D. Miles, ed., The Romano-British Countryside, volume 1, 1982, pp. 6 - 10.

centre could be detected then the morphology of that settlement was included. This was done because it is possible that the thirteenth-century and later distinction between the urban borough settlements and rural villages did not exist during the earlier stages of the evolution of the settlement pattern. The possibility that settlements analogous to the Irish rural boroughs and the French bourgs ruraux may have existed in south Wales was considered, but not actually examined in detail, at this stage of the research²⁷.

As the name of every settlement within every parish was now known it was possible to start working with the second edition of the twenty-five inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps. The original surveys for these maps were made between c. 1860 and c. 1895, with revisions made immediately prior to their publication between c. 1905 and c. 1920. There are several advantages in using this series of maps. They are widely available, they use standardised conventions and omit all the relatively recent accretions to the settlement pattern. These maps also record the area of each parcel of land. The area of the plots is worth examining and recording in any settlement where planning and consequently mensural regularity is suspected.

Every nucleation was examined and its morphology recorded according to Roberts's grid. The flexibility of this grid makes it applicable in most circumstances, and with due consideration given to the reservations expressed on composite settlements and basic clusters above, it was found to be suitable for this task. A further reason for using an already developed taxonomy, rather than designing an alternative, was a recognition of the Council for British Archaeology's call for an "agreed terminology" and a "common research language" as a worthwhile objective²⁸. This should not be taken to imply a slavish copying of Roberts's work. Whilst his descriptions and ideograms have been used, the use of a hypothetico-deductive framework and of anthropological material is new in this study.

²⁷It is explored later in Chapter 8.

²⁸Council for British Archaeology, Research Board, Countryside Committee, Research Objectives in British Archaeology, 1983, p. 18 and p. 20.

Roberts has examined some of the Pembrokeshire settlements himself. His classifications do not usually differ from those presented here. However, as discussed above this author does not believe that basic clusters can be identified from the cartographic evidence alone. Tretio and Tresinwen are not therefore accepted as belonging to this category²⁹. Roberts's view that there might be a planned row at Hodgeston is difficult to accept³⁰. Three irregular rows lie adjacent to the moated manor site, church and village green. The western row comprises three small plots with no consistent size or shape. The northern and southern rows contain no two plots which display any similarity.

The size of every settlement was also recorded. This was measured according to the crude procedure, advocated by Roberts, of recording the diameter of a circle which will encompass the whole of the settlement³¹. There are obvious problems with this method. A linear settlement will have a much greater diameter than an agglomeration with the same population, simply because in the latter the population density within the circle is much higher. The amount of nineteenth century accretion that took place at the edge of settlements is unknown; however the measurement does not include schools and nonconformist chapels located here, as both institutions are likely to have been relatively modern foundations.

It soon became apparent that Welsh settlements were much smaller than their English counterparts, and hence in preparing the maps below the scale of the ideograms has been modified. In his map of Warwickshire Roberts divided his nucleations into the following size categories: 200 - 400 metres, 600 - 800 m., 1000+ m. and 1200+ m.³². This division is of no use in south Wales. Ninety percent of the settlements are less than 600 m. in diameter. The diameters of the settlements in south Wales were plotted as a line graph (Figure 3.5.) A bimodal distribution resulted. The low point between the high

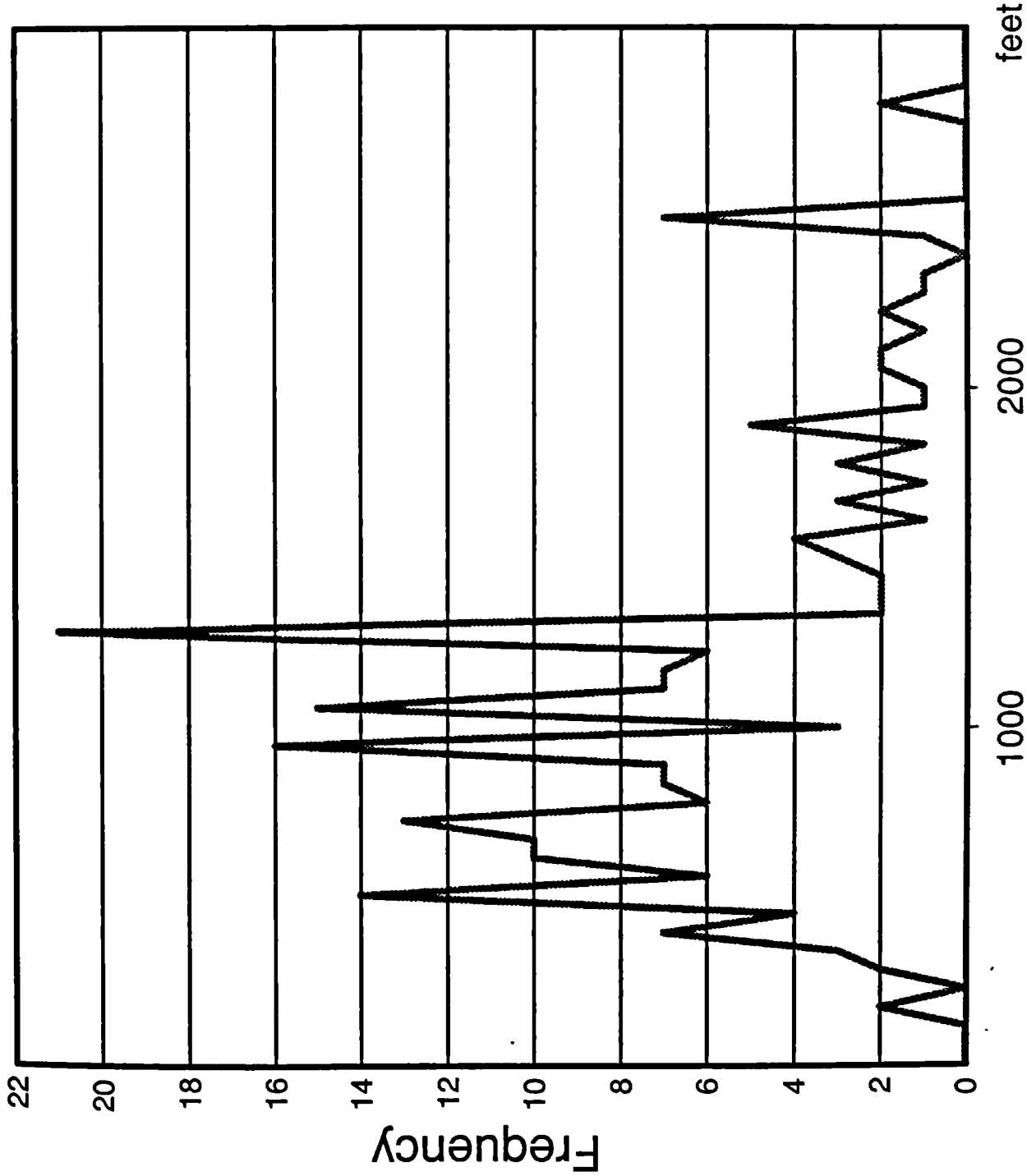
²⁹Roberts, op. cit., 1987, p. 72.

³⁰ibid., p. 199.

³¹ibid., p. 32.

³²Roberts, op. cit., 1982, Figure 3.

Fig. 3.5: Graph to show size of settlement diameters.



points was at almost 1000' (300 m.) and this was taken as the upper limit for the smallest category. The second category covered all settlements above 1000' and below 2000' (600 m.) and a third category all settlements greater than 2000'.

The final result of this cataloguing and measuring is shown in the following maps. The ideograms devised by Roberts are used throughout. The letter R has been added to the composite symbol in order to distinguish composite-regular and composite-irregular settlements. There is no certain evidence that the distribution maps represent a settlement pattern earlier than the one which existed in the late nineteenth century. In order to examine the processes which were taking place in the landscape's formative period it is necessary to try to reconstruct the distribution of the various types of village morphology at much earlier dates. The next chapter is devoted to an attempt to do this.

3.4: The county distribution maps.

The construction of the distribution maps is not the end of the study; rather it is the beginning. The four maps (Figures 3.6 - 3.9) have been prepared using Roberts's ideograms with the addition to distinguish between composite-regular and composite-irregular, and the modifications to the size of the ideograms, outlined above. The four maps cannot be seen as independent diagrams. The overlapping nature of the county and pays boundaries means that the maps have to be used together, and to make this easier they have been drawn to a consistent scale.

An examination of the maps reveals several patterns of note. Most striking is the absence of nucleated settlement in Blaenau Morgannwg. (This region and all the others mentioned in this section are shown on Figure 3.10) The pattern is shown clearly on the north of the Glamorgan and on the west of the Monmouthshire maps. This is the result of a complex blend of historical and geographical factors. The valley floors are now heavily industrialised, whilst the uplands rarely attract anything other than individual, small farms. In contrast to the coalfield area of Monmouthshire, the settlement pattern of the Vale of Gwent comprises many small irregular settlements, both linear and agglomerated, a few of which have greens. The

Fig. 3.6: County distribution map - village morphology in Monmouthshire.

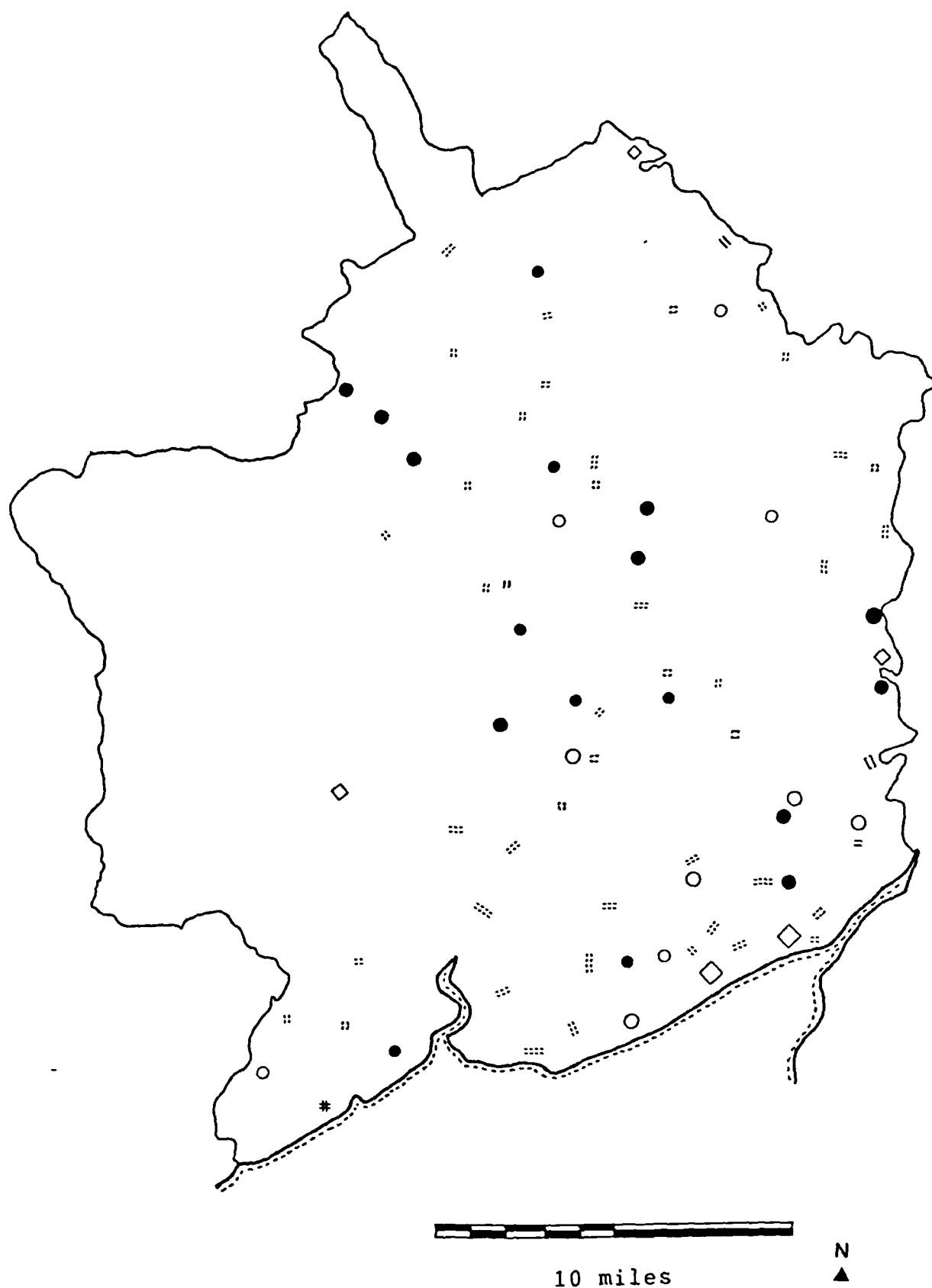


Fig. 3.7: County distri~~tion~~ map - village morphology in Glamorgan.

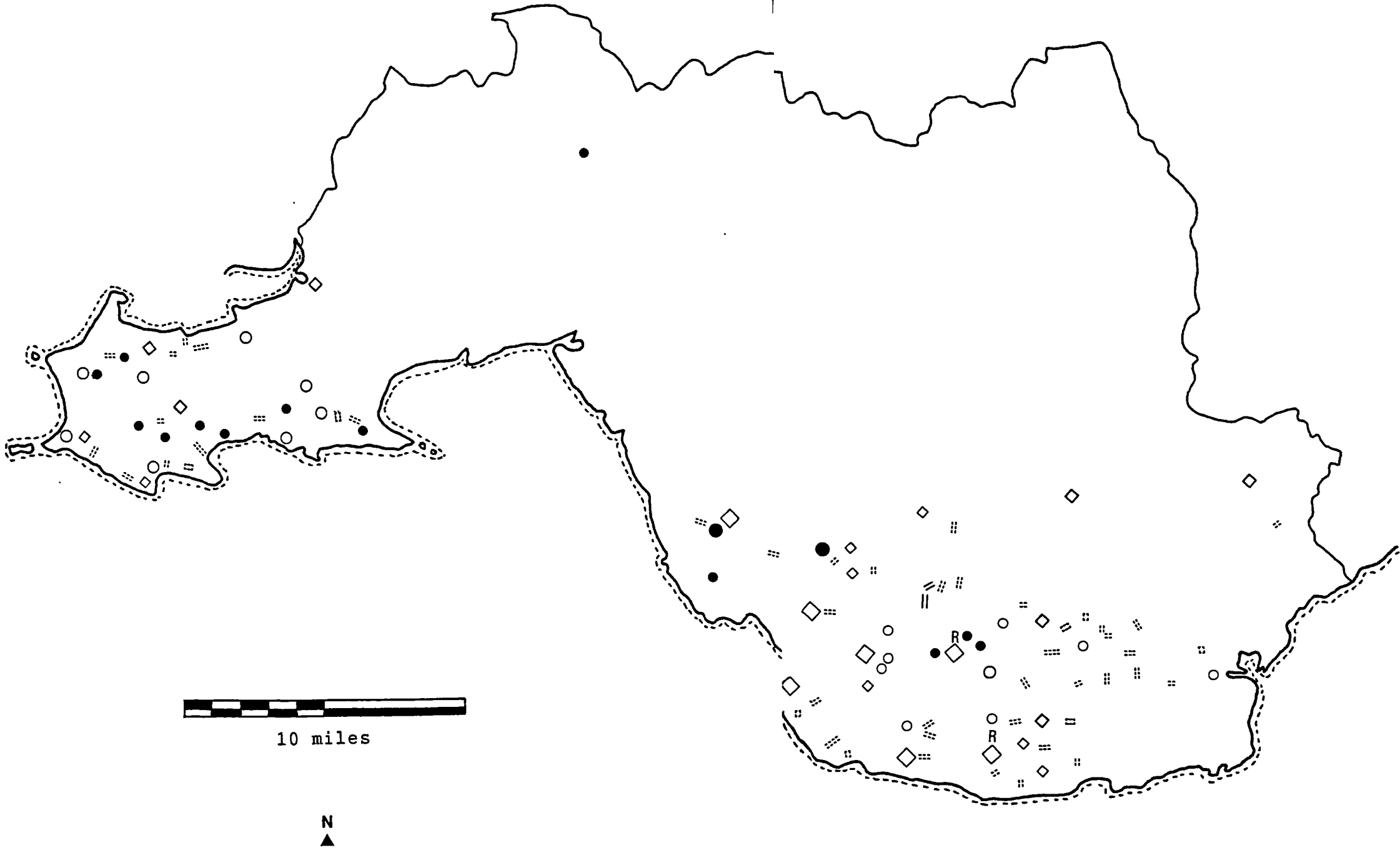


Fig. 3.8: County distribution map - village morphology in Carmarthenshire.

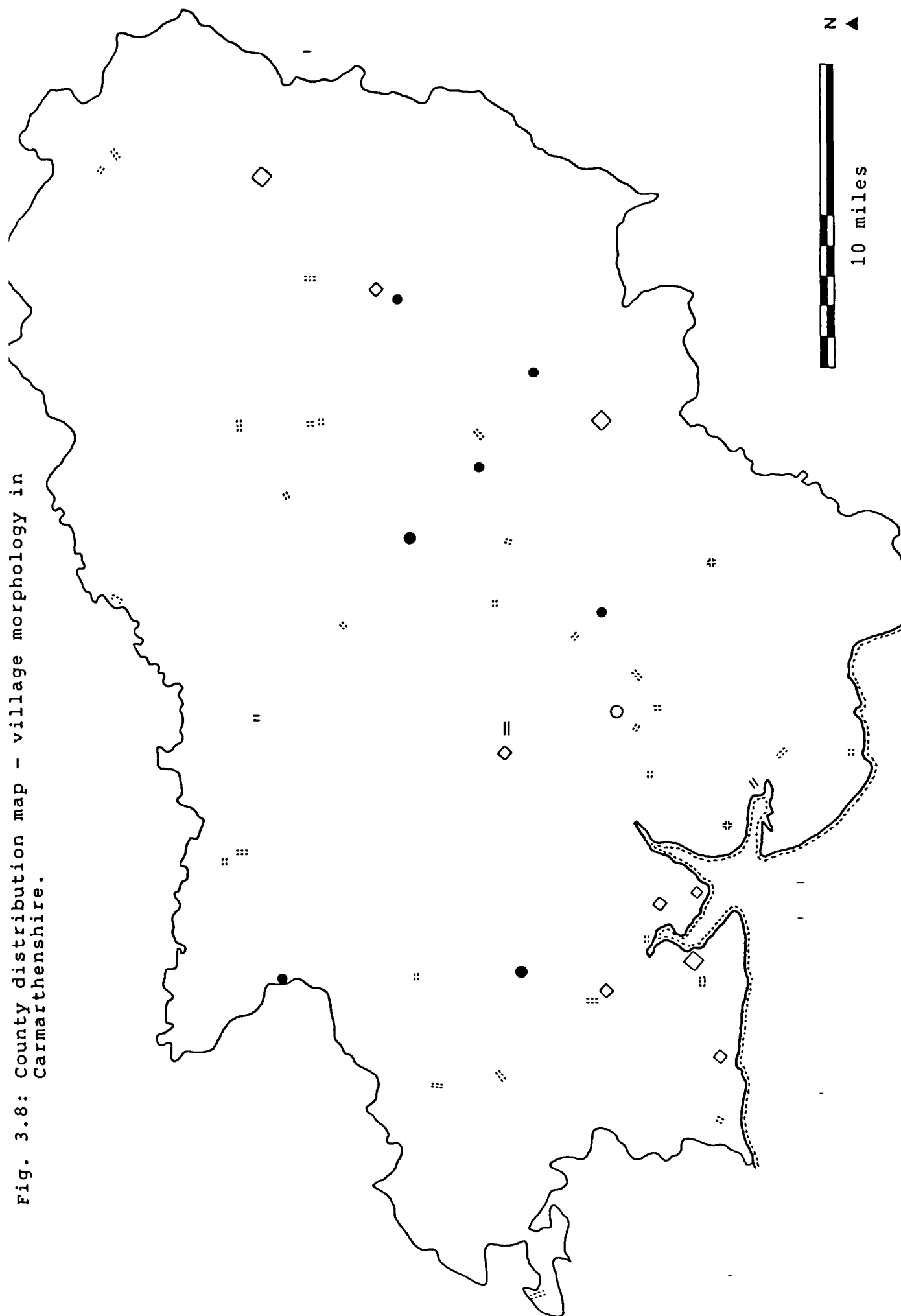


Fig. 3.9: County distribution map - village morphology in Pembrokeshire.

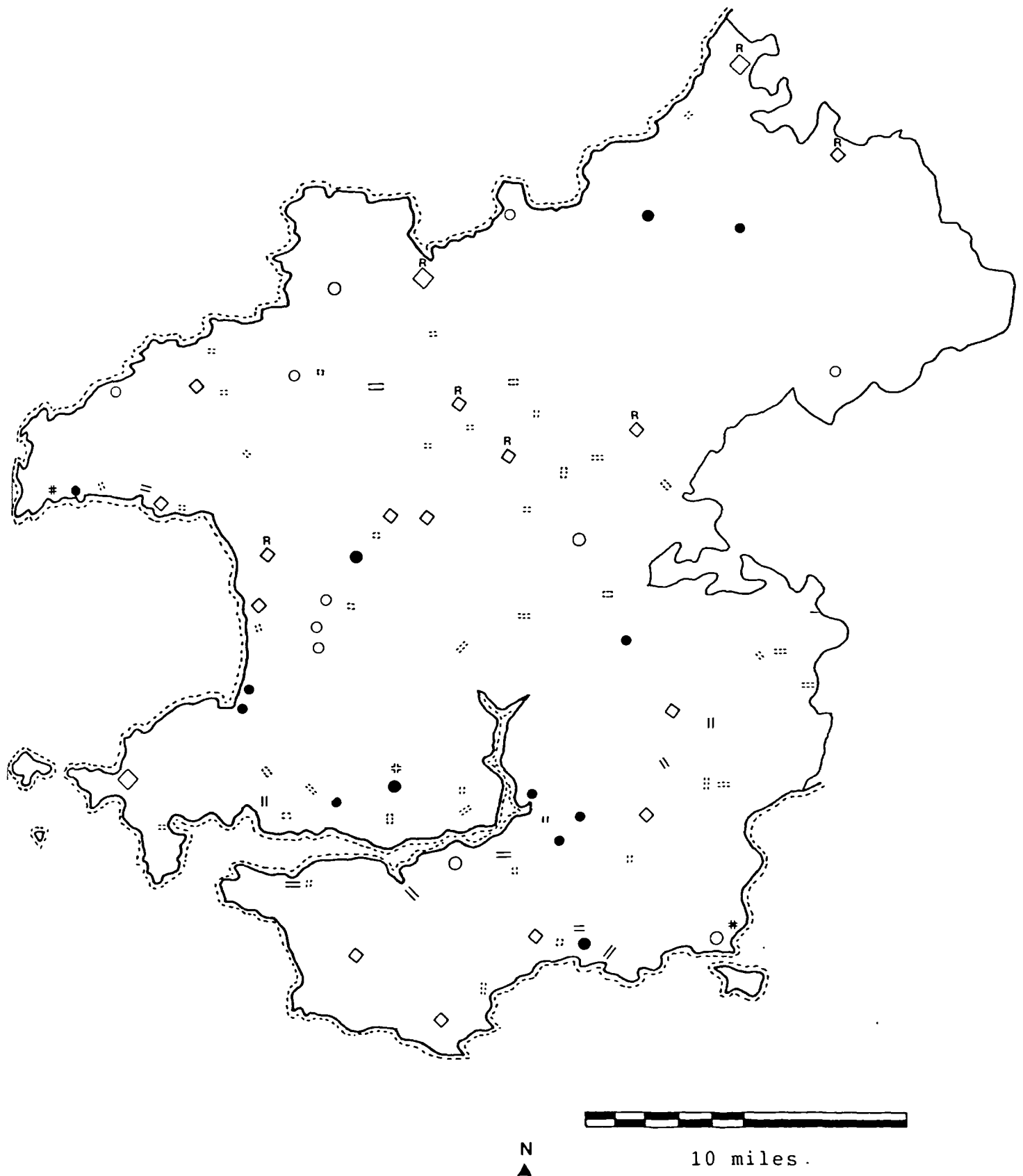
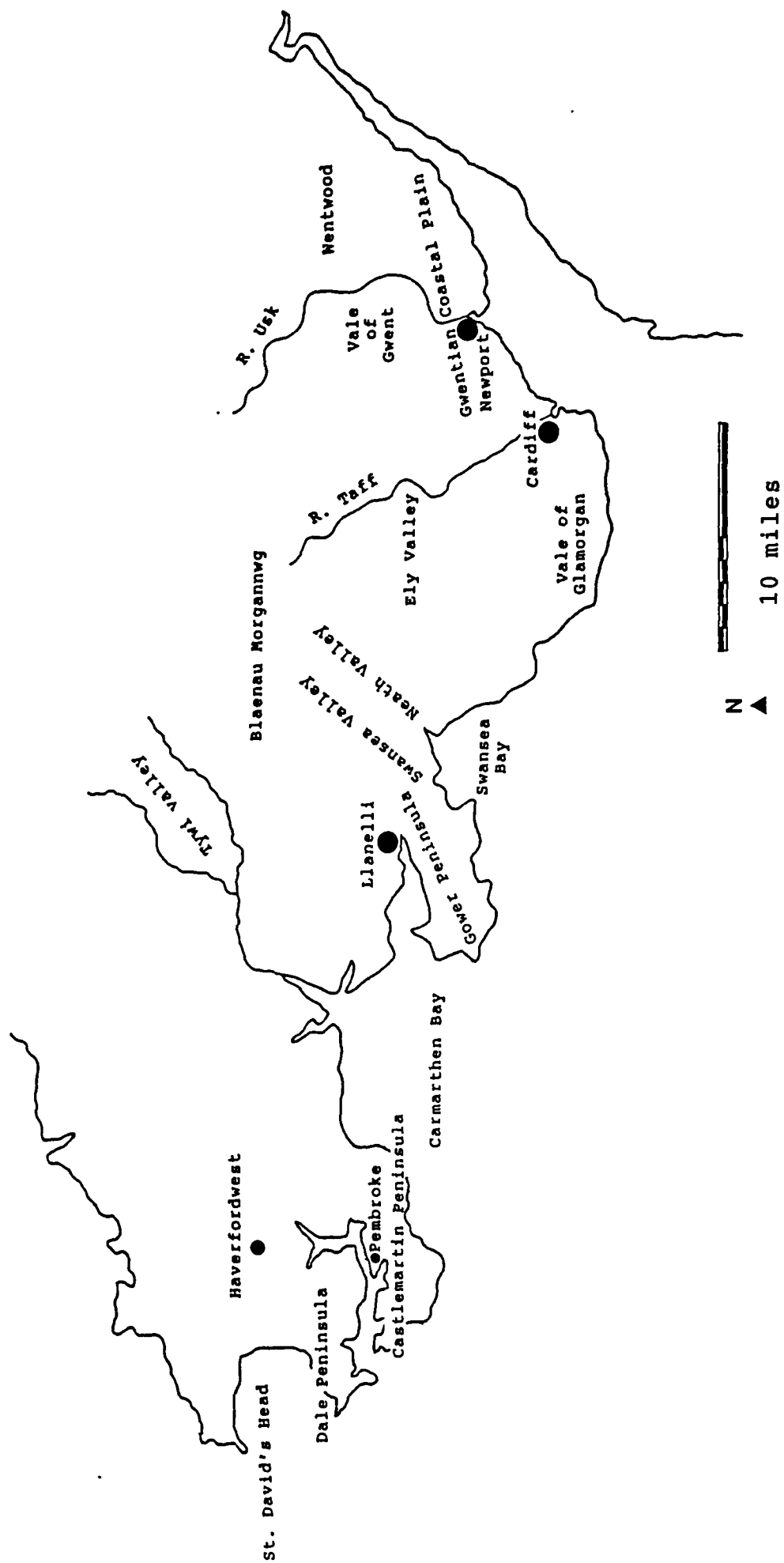


Fig. 3.10: Major places and areas referred to in the description of the morphological maps.



virtually "empty" area of the Wentwood is clearly visible; there is only one settlement in this area, a small planned linear village with a green, whose name - Newton - indicates that it could be the result of assarting, probably in the late medieval period. The Gwentian coastal plain is dominated by irregular linear settlements, particularly to the east of the mouth of the Usk.

The original settlement pattern of the area between the Usk and Taff estuaries is unknown. This area is heavily urbanised; it comprises the cities of Cardiff and Newport and their extensive suburbs. The suburban development of Cardiff has also obscured the original settlement pattern of the eastern part of the Vale of Glamorgan. The western Vale is dominated by villages - both rows and agglomerations - with greens. There are two regular composite settlements in this area. The more northerly one is the urban centre of Cowbridge, the other is Penllin (Figure 3.11.) At the former the medieval topography is clearly preserved in the modern street plan. The limited distance between the highland and the sea, the inundation of this area by blown sand and relatively recent industrial development have obscured all details of the original settlement pattern around the edge of Swansea Bay. Industrial development has also affected the Swansea and Neath valleys making it impossible to reconstruct the pre-nineteenth century pattern here. The Gower peninsula is an area of mixed settlement types: irregular linear villages of all sizes in addition to small agglomerations. Both these basic types are found with and without greens.

The settlement patterns of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire have been much less affected by modern development. Only in the Llanelli area (the extreme south west of Carmarthenshire) and in the vicinity of some of the Pembrokeshire towns (notably Pembroke and Haverfordwest) has it been impossible to record the pre-industrial pattern with certainty. The main areas of nucleated settlements in Carmarthen run around the edge of Carmarthen Bay and up the Tywi valley. There are a few settlements outside this area and they usually lie in other, smaller valleys. Small linear settlements without greens are the dominant form here. The Pembrokeshire map forms a dramatic contrast to the

Fig. 3.11: Penlline.



Carmarthenshire one. First, there is a marked increase in the density of settlements. Second, there are also large numbers of settlements with regular morphologies. There would appear to be two areas where regular morphologies are predominant: Castlemartin Peninsula and a band running east-west along the southern edge of the Prescelli mountains. There are few nucleations in the mountains and, in contrast to Dale and Castlemartin peninsulas, there are few villages on St. David's head.

The distribution map can be used as more than a simple descriptive device. It can be used as an analytical tool and as part of the explanatory process. By comparing the patterns on the distribution maps with other patterns, it is possible to test the plantation hypotheses.

3.5: Settlement morphology and village origins.

The examination of the distribution of nucleations and of village morphology was carried out in order to test the plantation hypothesis. It was argued that if villages were a Norman plantation then they should be found only in the Englishry (lands conquered by the Normans) and not in the Welshry (lands retained by the native, Welsh lords.) Villages are found in both the Englishry and the Welshry and therefore the distribution of villages corresponds to the physical, rather than to the post-conquest political, geography of south Wales. One area where this is clear is in the Ely Valley, in eastern Glamorgan. This area forms an extension of the Englishry into the northern Vale and the nature of the land is poorer than that found elsewhere in the Englishry. This combination of poor land and Anglo-Norman control is important because it allows a distinction to be made between the influence exerted on the settlement pattern by physical and political factors. Small nucleations and considerable dispersion characterise the settlement pattern of this area. This demonstrates the dominance of physical geography over political control, in the evolution of the rural settlement pattern.

The plantation hypothesis has to be examined in greater detail because there is a number, albeit relatively small, of regular village morphologies in south Wales. The most

obvious cases of regular morphologies are to be found in Pembrokeshire. At Angle, Cosheston, Letterston and Templeton long, wide plots run back from a single street. At Jameston near Manorbier the impression of regularity is caused by the location of the village amidst a vast, presumably planned, coaxial field system (Plate 3.1)³³. Three other settlements - Roch, Little Newcastle and Herbrandston (Figures 3.12 and 3.13) - have rows which lie within the catena between regular and irregular. These settlements and the others which are mentioned later in this chapter are shown on the accompanying map (Figure 3.14.)

There appear to be four possible sets of circumstances which could have led to the creation of the regular village and field patterns in Pembrokeshire. They are: as the result of Parliamentary enclosure in the nineteenth century, plantation following the enforced settlement of a Flemish community in the area c. 1110, plantation after the Norman conquest of c. 1090 or the widespread survival of early, possibly prehistoric, coaxial field systems.

The most recent possible date is after Parliamentary enclosure in the early nineteenth century. Parliamentary enclosure usually led to the creation of a particular type of field pattern which can easily be distinguished from earlier enclosure. Parliamentary enclosure fields were normally laid out in rectilinear networks with straight sides and right angled corners. Field patterns from the earlier enclosure of open field usually preserve the shape of the medieval strips in their boundaries. As a consequence the boundaries appear to resemble a reversed 'S'. If the field patterns were created as the result of Parliamentary enclosure then there ought to be a recorded enclosure act for every area in which a regular village plan is found.

Parliamentary enclosure is relatively rare in Pembrokeshire, and indeed in Wales, as a whole. There are only seven enclosure acts listed for Pembrokeshire³⁴. Two of the

³³A. Fleming, 'Coaxial Field Systems: Some Questions of Time and Space', Antiquity 61, 1987, p. 188.

³⁴I. Bowen, The Great Enclosures of Common Lands in Wales,
(Footnote continued)

Plate 3.1: Jameston - The differing axes of the field and plot boundaries.

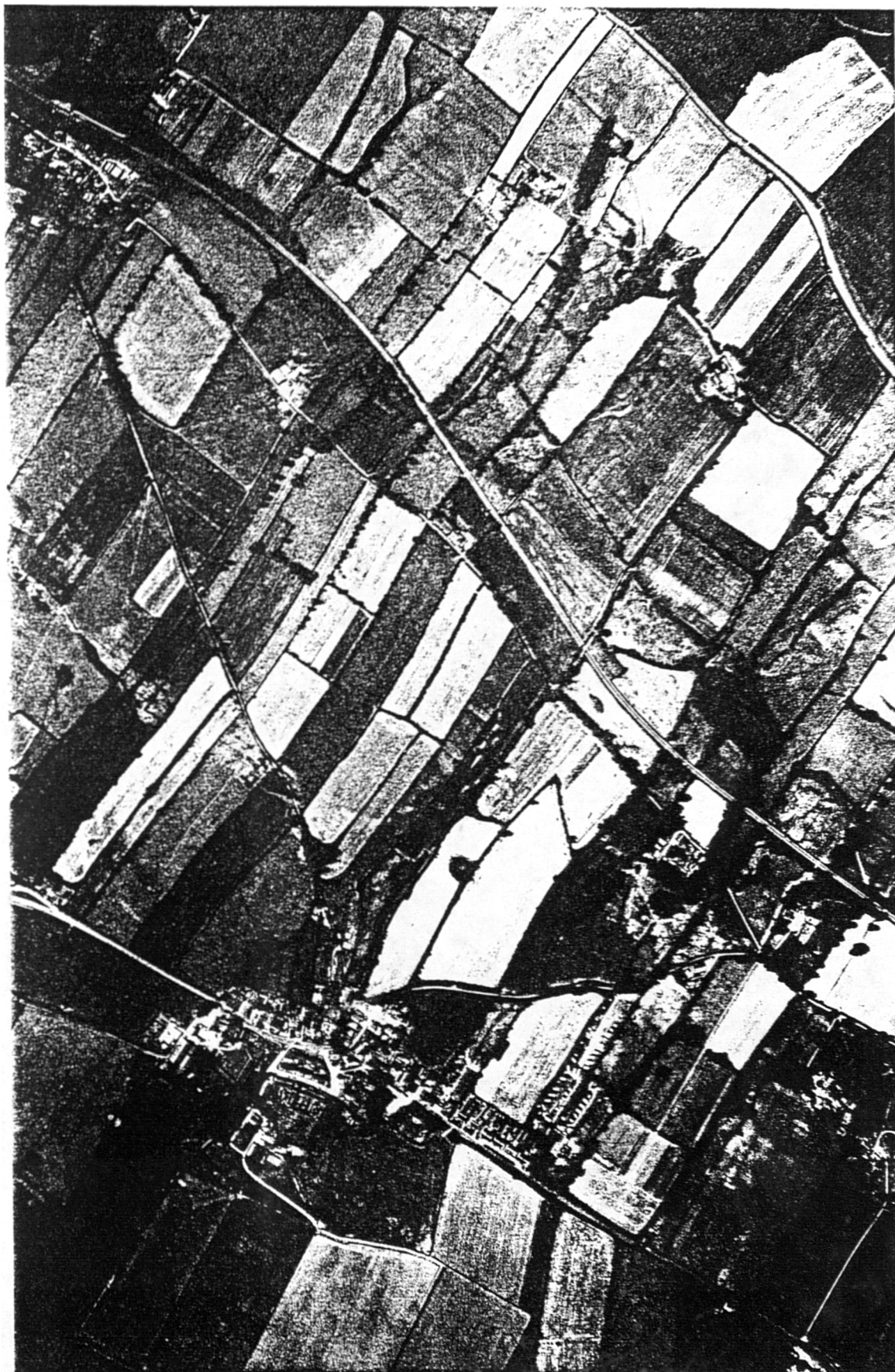


Fig. 3.12a: Kochi.

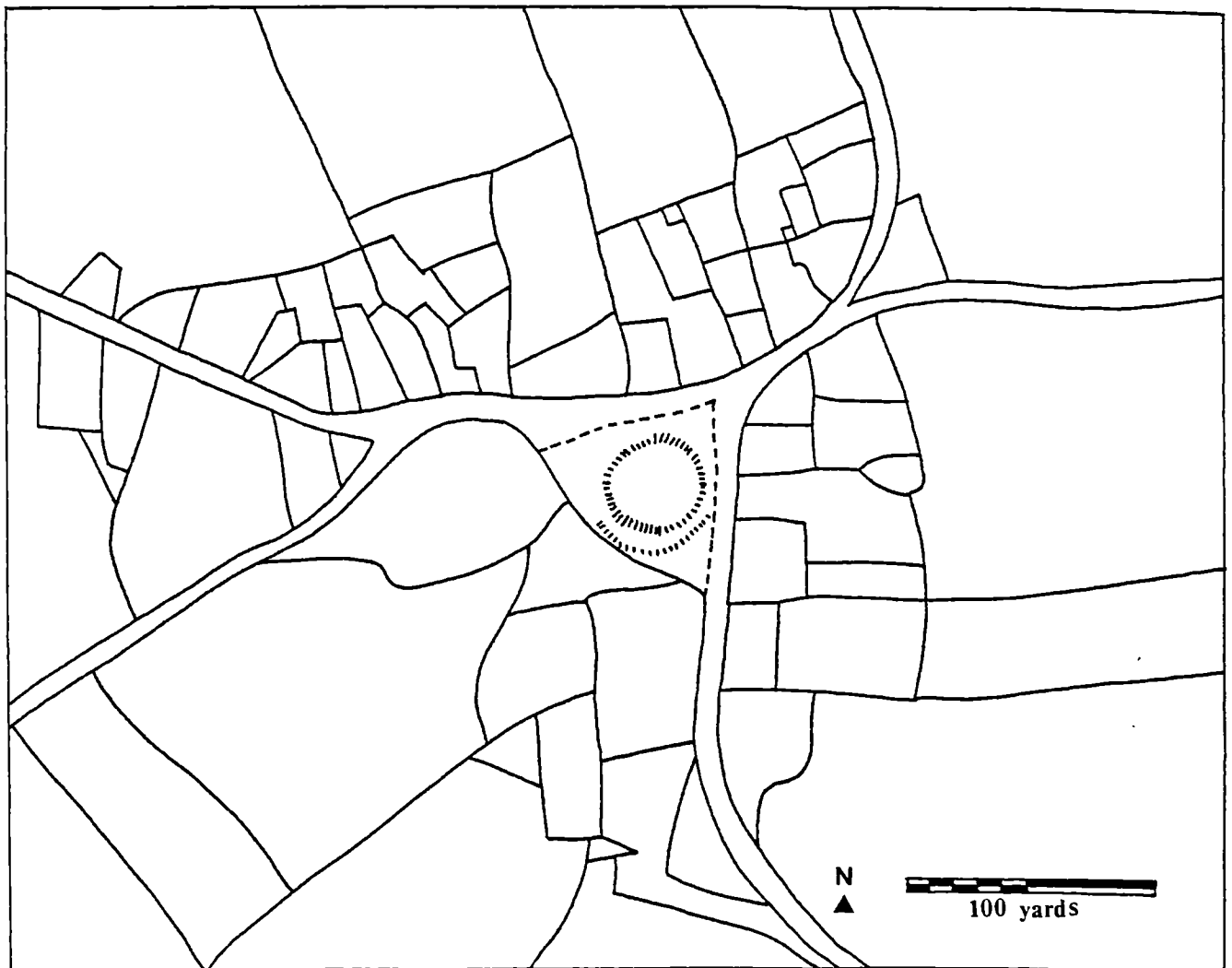
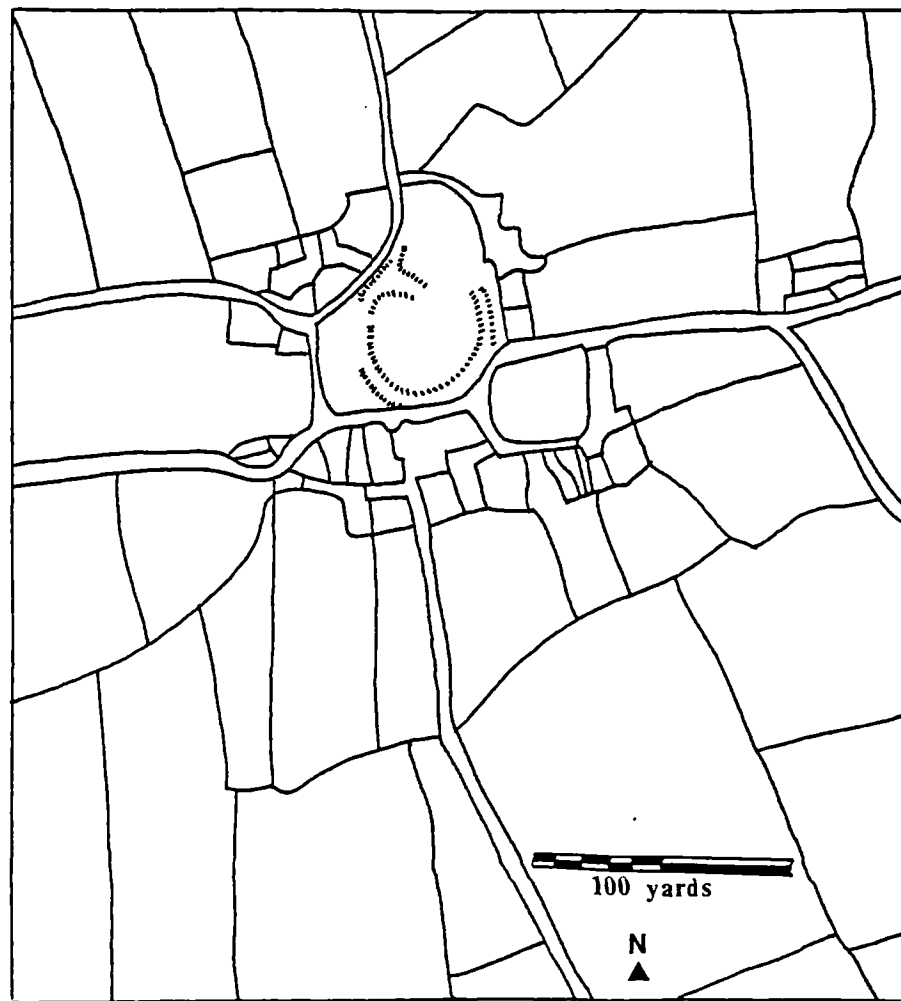
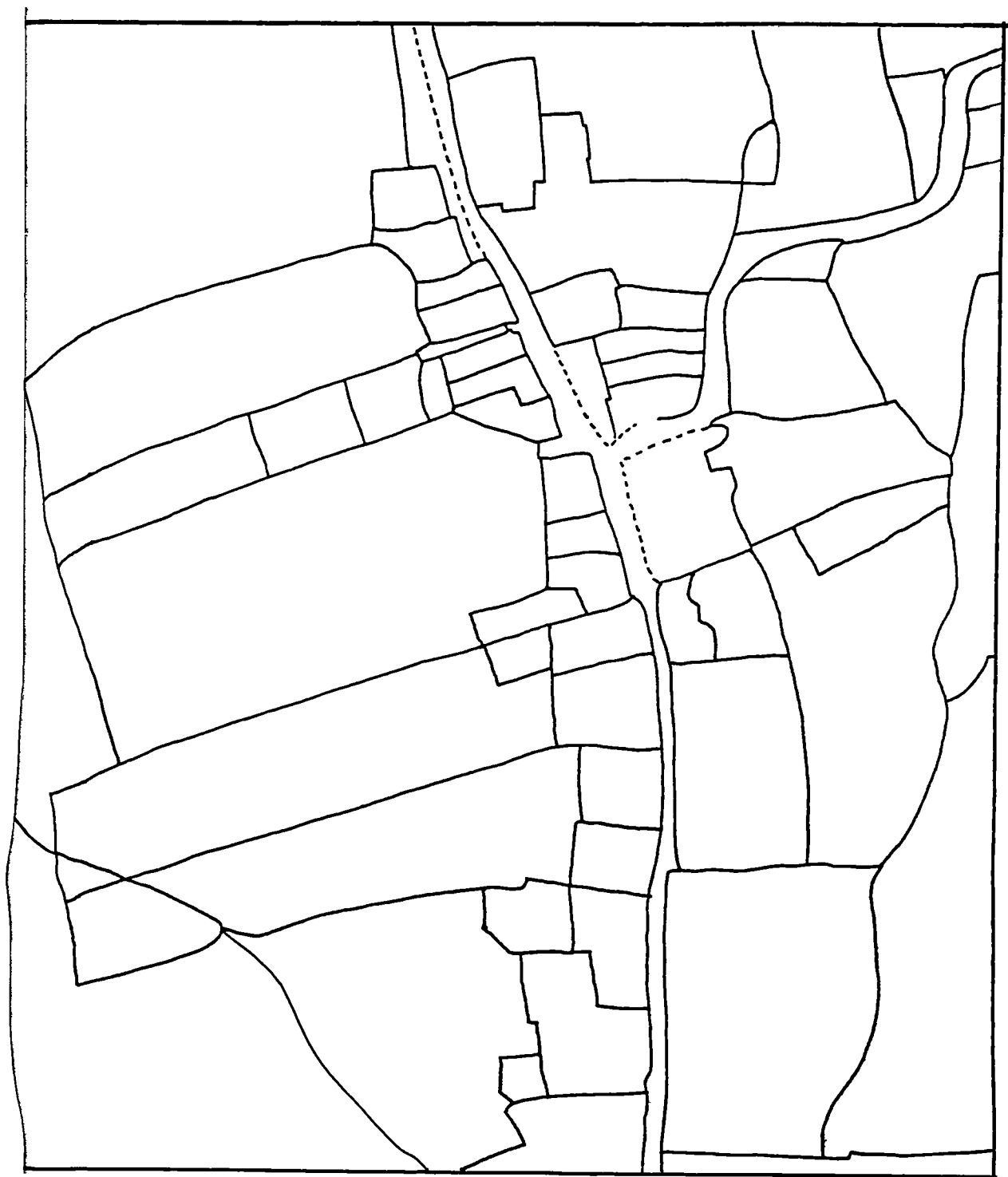


Fig. 3.12b: Little Newcastle.

Fig. 3.13: Herbrandston.



N
▲



100 yards

acts relate to north Pembrokeshire areas where regular villages are depicted on the Ordnance Survey maps. Maenclochog and Letterston were enclosed by Parliamentary Acts in 1815 and 1856 respectively. The area of the enclosures in Maenclochog is given as comprising several "large and extensive commons, commonable lands and wastes" on the border between Maenclochog itself and the neighbouring parishes of Llangolman and Llandilo³⁵. The purpose of the enclosure was to bring the land concerned into cultivation. It can be said with certainty that this Act dealt with the enclosure of waste far away from the village centre and that it did not alter the morphology of the village of Maenclochog itself. It is not possible even to speculate on the area that was enclosed at Letterston. The enclosures were carried out under a general act: The Second Annual Enclosure Act of 1856³⁶. No details are therefore available in the Parliamentary sources. A 1790 manuscript map does not cover the area of the village in any detail³⁷. There are no enclosure acts for other areas where regular morphologies exist. The regular landscapes elsewhere cannot therefore be the result of Parliamentary enclosure. They must have been created at some other time.

The second possible set of circumstances concerns plantation following conquest. Invasions were once commonly invoked as agents of social change. Whilst this is no longer routinely done, they ought to be considered where they appear to be justified. As discussed above Roberts has used the Norman conquest to "explain" the settlement pattern of Co. Durham. However this is most unsatisfactory as he makes no attempt to discuss why this should have happened. Archaeological and historical evidence can make a contribution to this debate and will be discussed later. The third, very interesting, avenue for exploration - ethnographic analogy - has been examined in the previous chapter.

((continued))

1914, pp. 47 - 56.

³⁵HLRO: Original Act, 55 George III, no. 163.

³⁶HLRO: Printed Act, 19 - 20 Victoria, chapter 106.

³⁷NLW Maps: Estates of the Bishop of St. David's, 14229.6.

This earlier discussion of village plans and their response to invasions shows that a careful and considered approach to settlement plantation in Pembrokeshire could possibly yield interesting results. The most likely occasions when this could have happened are after either the Viking, the Norman or the Flemish settlement in this area in c. 870, in c. 1090 and in c. 1110 respectively. In one other part of Britain - Holderness in east Yorkshire - the settlement pattern seems to have resulted from conquest by the Normans or the Vikings.

Mary Harvey's attempts to decide whether the settlements of Holderness are Norman or Scandinavian in origin have much more than local significance³⁸. They are of considerable interest to Pembrokeshire too. There are parallels between the two areas. Both areas were settled by Scandinavians and both were held by the same Norman lord. Arnulf de Montgomery, Earl - or perhaps just Lord - of Pembroke from 1093, became Lord of Holderness in 1096 and held both areas until 1102³⁹. There are also parallels in village morphology. The long, wide plots of the Holderness villages which stretch back from a single street, are very similar to those of the Pembrokeshire settlements. Mary Harvey has been unable to make a firm choice between a post-Scandinavian or a post-Norman date; although she now appears to favour the former, whereas once it was the latter⁴⁰.

The settlements of the lordship of Pembroke (which comprises the southern half of the Englishry) can be divided into four categories: boroughs, demesnes, knights' fees and

³⁸M. Harvey, 'Regular Open-field Systems on the Yorkshire Wolds', Landscape History 4, 1982, p. 29, and 'Planned Field Systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some Thoughts on Their Origin', Agricultural History Review 31, 1983, p. 103.

³⁹I.W. Rowlands, 'The Making of the March: Aspects of the Norman Settlement in Dyfed', R.A. Brown, ed., Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies 3, 1980, 1981, pp. 144 - 5; B. English, The Lords of Holderness, 1086 - 1260, 1979, p.13.

⁴⁰Compare M. Harvey, 'The Origin of Planned Field Systems in Holderness, Yorkshire', T. Rowley, ed., The Origins of Open Field Agriculture, 1981, p. 200, to 'Open Field Structure and Land Holding Arrangements in Eastern Yorkshire', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 9, new series, 1984, pp. 70 - 3.

Fig. 3.14: Early Norman Pembrokeshire - places mentioned in the text.



sub-lordships⁴¹. This area contains two boroughs Pembroke and Tenby, both of which are, like all the boroughs of south Wales, Norman plantations. There are three demesnes: Castlemartin, St. Florence and Kingswood. Both Castlemartin and St. Florence are nucleations today and Kingswood was a single farm, until it was replaced by an industrial estate. Its name suggests that this may always have been the case, and that the area was demesne woodland. It is commonly thought that the demesnes of the Norman lords had previously been the tir bwrdd (literally table lands) of the Welsh chiefs. Before the conquest they had been worked by labour drawn from a servile vill (or maerdref) who provided food and services for the chief's court (or llys)⁴². There is no reason why the conversion of tir bwrdd into demesne should not have happened here. Interestingly, St. Florence displays the characteristic grid shape ethnographically associated with native settlements adapting to colonial rule (Figure 3.15.) The communities working the tir bwrdd of the Welsh lords continued to exist, their labours supporting a Norman lord rather than a Welsh chief.

Within de Montgomery's personal lands there were thirty knights' fees, including Castlemartin which was both a knight's fee and demesne land and Begelly, a knight's fee and a sub-lordship. Of the remaining twenty-eight knights' fees, eight are now nucleations, seventeen farms and three are untraceable on the 2½" to the mile Ordnance Survey maps. Once again, this may not always have been the pattern and historical and archaeological information will be needed to add to this tentative framework. Some of the farms might be all that remains of former villages. It should be noted, however, that the place-name element -ton, which is present in eleven of the eighteen farm names, can mean farmstead as well as village⁴³.

⁴¹W. Rees, South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century, 1932, south west sheet. Rees's concept of sub-lordship is puzzling. It is not defined in the handbook which accompanies the map. It is mentioned, but not explained in his An Historical Atlas of Wales from Early to Modern Times, 1951, p. 28. In his major work, South Wales and the March, 1284 - 1415: a Social and Agrarian Study, 1924, it is not referred to.

⁴²R.R. Davies, Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1282 - 1400, 1978, p. 109.

⁴³A.H. Smith, ed., 'English Place-name Elements, Part 2, Jafn - Ytri', English Place-name Society 26, 1970, p. 188.

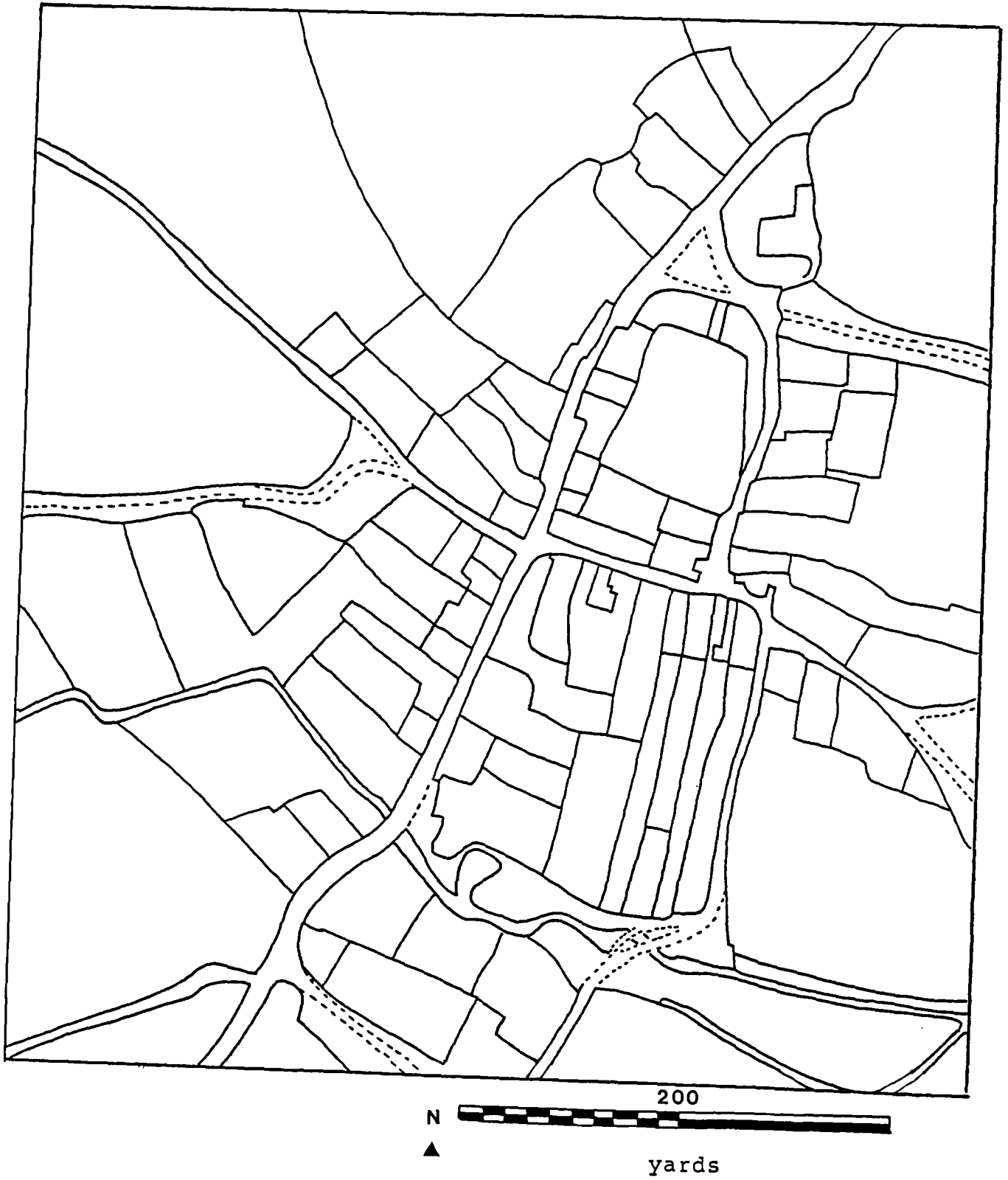
Two of the eight nucleations have regular morphologies and they resemble those of the regular row Hufendorfen, which are ethnographically attested as being favoured by certain communities when establishing new settlements in previously unsettled areas.

Any interpretation of the pattern of sub-lordships is extremely difficult because their economic and tenurial nature is unknown. Of the eighteen in the Lordship of Pembroke ten are nucleations, six are farms and two are untraceable. All the nucleations are irregular. There is also a curious spatial pattern between the knights' fees and the sub-lordships. The sub-lordships are found only in the eastern part of the lordship, whilst knights' fees are found throughout, albeit with a tendency for them to be in the west. It can also be noted that the proportion of sub-lordships which are nucleations is over a half, whereas amongst the knights' fees it is under one third.

It can be argued that when Arnulf de Montgomery seized the Welsh commote of Benfro and made it into the Norman lordship of Pembroke he deliberately encouraged settlements. The villages represent the foundation of centres for his followers, who were obliged to support him with military service. A crucial distinction has emerged here; it is that that exists between a planned village and a planted one. The former term refers to communities which have a regular morphology. It has already been argued that a pattern of this nature is the result of village foundation. Planted villages are new settlements; they may have either a regular or an irregular morphology. The degree of regularity they display is probably related to the circumstances in which they were planted. The Norman conquerors of southern Pembroke appear to have planned some settlements, planted many more and inherited a few from their Welsh predecessors.

The acceptance of the Norman plantation model for the origins of the villages in south Pembrokeshire raises one important question: what happened elsewhere in the Englishry of Pembroke? A knowledge of the historical development of the

Fig. 3.15: St. Florence.



area, coupled with the morphological study, provides the material for informed speculation. Historical evidence for the settlement of the lands between the border and the Lordship of Pembroke - the former cantrefi of Rhos and Daugleddau - is abundant. It was here that Henry I is believed to have deliberately settled a Flemish community, perhaps to replace de Montgomery's followers who had fled into exile with him⁴⁴.

The contemporary sources - Orderic Vitalis, the Brut y Tywysogyon, the Annales Cambriae, William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester - are unanimous in stating that Henry I deliberately settled a Flemish colony here. They agree that the focus of the settlement was Rhos, and that settlers may have gone to Daugleddau too. Almost all give dates between 1105 and 1113, although Orderic Vitalis claims that the settlement took place in 1134. It is also generally agreed that the settlers came here from northern England and that they had left Flanders after large extents of land had been lost during severe flooding. Florence of Worcester stated that,

"Henry, king of England, removed into Wales all the Flemings who were living in Northumbria ... and made them settle in the district called Rhos."⁴⁵

William of Malmesbury made use of a much more grand literary style when he wrote,

"The Welsh, perpetually rebelling, were subjugated in repeated expeditions by king Henry, who, relying on a prudent expedient to quell their tumults, transported thither all the Flemings then resident in England. ... He settled them, with all their property and conexions, at Ross, a Welsh province."⁴⁶

The Annales Cambriae were much more direct,

"Annos mcvii Flandrenses ad Ros venerunt."

An unstable, precarious and vulnerable lifestyle was characteristic of the border area; Welsh raids were common and

⁴⁴Rowlands, op. cit., p. 147; H. Owen, 'The Flemings in Pembrokeshire', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 92, 1875, pp. 96 - 105.

⁴⁵Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, translated by T. Forester, 1854, pp. 222 - 3.

⁴⁶The History of the Kings of England and of His Own Times by William of Malmesbury, translated by J. Sharpe, ed. by J. Stevenson, 1854, pp. 349 - 50.

the Normans were frequently to be found on the defensive rather than the offensive side of the military balance. If planned villages represent the deliberate settlement of people with a military obligation to support their lord, then the presence of planned villages north of Castlemartin - at Roch, Little Newcastle and Letterston, - could indicate plantation along an unstable border. Roch, Little Newcastle and Letterston were knights' fees and hence their obligations appear to be attested.

There is one other regular village: Templeton. This area did not form part de Montgomery's personal domain nor was it part of the focus of Flemish settlement. Therefore it cannot be placed in exactly the same context as the other regular plantations. It was in the lordship of Narberth which de Montgomery granted to one of his followers, Stephen Perrot⁴⁷. Its morphology is not identical to the other regular linear villages, although it is similar enough for it to fall into the same category. Templeton does not display the long plots characteristic of Angle or Cosheston. Its plots are much shorter. This difference may be due to plantation by Perrott, or another, rather than by de Montgomery himself. Few details are known about its tenure; the next known holder, after Perrott, was Roger Mortmain in 1283⁴⁸. The name Templeton suggests that it was at one time a possession of the military order of the Knights' Templar, but there is no certain evidence for this. Its geographical position suggests that it too could have been a deliberate plantation on the border between the Norman lands and the Welsh lands of Deheubarth, which were not part of the lands initially captured by the Normans.

There is a fourth alternative date for the origin of the regular landscape, as opposed to the planned villages. It is a prehistoric or an early historic one, similar to the date argued by Fleming for his coaxial field systems elsewhere in the British Isles⁴⁹. Co-axial field systems display one prevailing axis; boundaries either follow this or run

⁴⁷S. Lewis, Topographical Dictionary of Wales, 1840, np.

⁴⁸PRO: C 133/32/7.

⁴⁹Fleming, op. cit., 1987, p. 188 - 9.

perpendicular to it. Landscapes of this nature often cover large areas, 250 or more acres, and can be described as "terrain oblivious" in that they do not respect natural features. The known examples of co-axial landscapes range widely in time and location. They include the prehistoric reaves on Dartmoor and the contemporary field boundaries at Behy-Glenurla in western Ireland along with the Romano-British fields at Segsbury and the later examples on the Burren⁵⁰. Fleming lists no Welsh examples, although Flatrès has argued for the existence of his similar "terroirs orientés" in the western Vale of Glamorgan⁵¹.

David Austin has stated that the regular village and field pattern at Ambleston is most likely to have a Bronze Age date⁵². Unfortunately he can only provide a little evidence to support his claim. He argues that the long strips at Ambleston are ranged around a large area of common land, which is called Wallis, a place name which suggests that a Celtic community lived here after the Norman conquest. If a prehistoric date is likely then the survival of all these field systems for up to four millennia (*i.e.* from the Bronze Age to today) has to be considered. This author has already referred to an example of a similar pattern elsewhere. It was noted that at Jameston, near Manorbier, the apparent regularity was caused by the morphology of the field system rather than the regularity of the village plan itself. (Plate 3.1) A similar pattern can be observed at Templeton. (Plate 3.2) Here there is no doubt that the village has a regular plan, as does the surrounding landscape. Yet both are laid out on different axes. The principal lines of the village lay parallel to the contours on an east-west axis; the major field boundaries run from the north west to the south east. Maenclochog, in the north of the county, could possibly be another village which grew up within or which was inserted into an older landscape. Here the plot divisions appear to run across the main road giving an impression of a co-axial

⁵⁰ibid., p. 199.

⁵¹P. Flatrès, Géographie Rurale de Quatre Contrées Celtiques, 1957, pp. 553 - 8.

⁵²Austin, op. cit., 1988, p. 202.

Plate 3.2: Templeton - The differing axes of the field and plot boundaries.

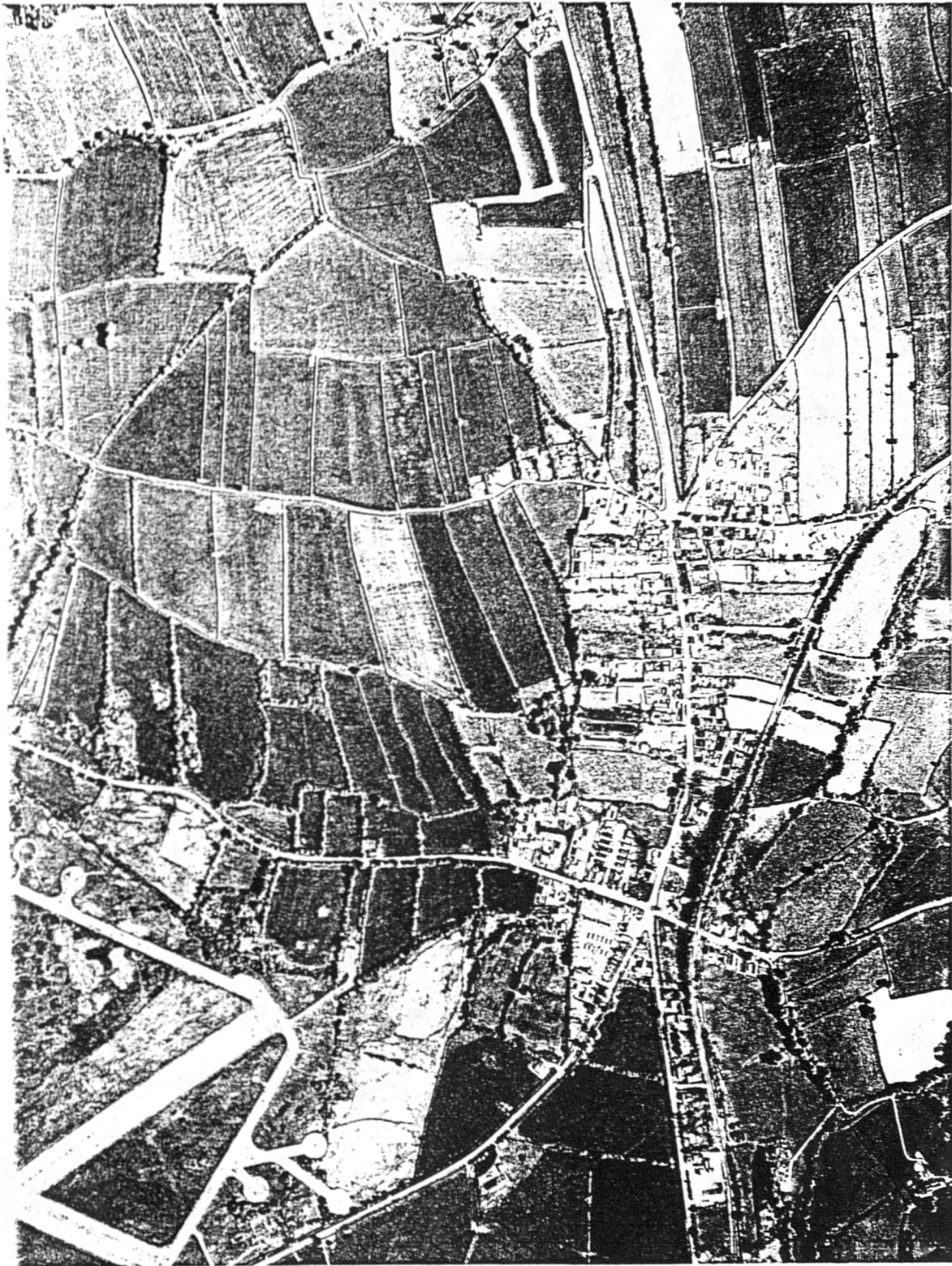


Fig. 3.16: Maenclochog.



landscape and thus in a subtle way differentiating its plan from those of the planned villages of southern Pembroke. (Figure 3.16) It appears that Templeton, Jameston and Maenclochog were planted within pre-existing landscapes, and that this took place without regard to the earlier patterns.

3.6: Conclusion.

This chapter has demonstrated that a diligent analysis of village morphology, made in conjunction with ethnographic material and some independent dating evidence can make a valuable contribution to understanding the origins of settlement in south Wales.

The main contribution of this chapter has been to show that only in one area of south Wales is there evidence for the Norman plantation of villages. There is no morphological evidence for village plantation other than in the extreme south west. Villages were planted in the lordship of Pembroke after Arnulf de Montgomery seized the area c. 1090. Those along the Landsker were probably founded when Henry I ordered the deliberate settlement of Flemish communities here c. 1110. Some of the nucleated settlements - those that became demesne land - of this area and, possibly those of the rest of south Wales, appear to be earlier and to have had an economic function related to the exploitation of the land in the pre-Conquest period. In other areas examples of spurious regularity were noted and their origin attributed to the influence of earlier landscape developments.

One problem, common to Roberts's analyses too, remains. The county maps show the distribution of the various types of settlements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and yet the pattern is argued to have been created in the late eleventh century. There is an unexplored, and possibly therefore unjustified, assumption of landscape stability. More evidence is needed for the evolution of the settlement pattern between the Norman period and drawing of the Ordnance Survey maps. The next chapter will attempt to explore this assumption. Future chapters will then explore the other models for village origins.

Chapter 4: Morphological Stability - An Act Of Faith?

It was noted in the introduction to the last chapter that W.G. Hoskins regarded village plans as "tantalising." This was because there were few ways of knowing if they had remained unchanged since the origin of the village¹. Stability is an important assumption of morphogenesis. If village plans changed between the medieval period and the earliest large scale Ordnance Survey maps (usually drawn in the late nineteenth century), then any deductions made about village origins on the basis of these maps are suspect and open to doubt.

The stability of village plans in south Wales will be examined in order to ascertain whether or not there were any major changes and, if so, what they were and how they might affect the conclusions reached in the last chapter. In addition to using the methods proposed by Roberts to explore morphological stability and chronology, this author has tried to develop alternative techniques. Roberts has stated that exploring the forces engendering stability is far more difficult than exploring those which generate change². However this author believes that the task is challenging and the results interesting.

This chapter begins with an examination of the early cartographical evidence. Then two new areas of study are developed. They are, first, the role of lordship with respect to the ownership of land and, second, the effect of population levels, its rate of change and density and the influence both can have on village morphology. This is followed by an attempt to reconstruct the early morphology of two villages - Templeton in Pembrokeshire and Bonvilston in Glamorgan - using documentary evidence. Finally, aspects of the archaeology of the deserted medieval village pattern are studied. These sections are, like the rest of the thesis, presented in a retrospective manner. Unfortunately the sources are mainly

¹W.G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape, 1955, p. 49.

²B.K. Roberts, 'Village Patterns and Village Forms: Some Models For Discussion', in D. Hooke, ed., Medieval Villages, A Review of Current Work, 1985, p. 17.

post-fifteenth century. There is some medieval evidence, but it is limited in quantity and quality. This presents a considerable problem, especially as the emphasis of this chapter is in part on comparison between villages with regular and irregular morphologies. Evidence which is widely available and standardised in nature is required. As far as Wales is concerned some evidence is available from 1543 onwards, unfortunately it only fulfils the above quality and quantity criteria after 1801.

Brian Roberts used early estate maps in order to take his study of Co. Durham village morphology back into the eighteenth century. He was then able to use surveys and taxation returns to continue back to the twelfth century. Although Roberts admits that his evidence consists of "probabilities" rather than "certainties", he is prepared to accept that village morphologies did not change significantly over the intervening centuries³. In her study of a limited number of Co. Durham villages Lucille Camphey was able to use similar materials. Fourteenth century rentals exist for the sixteen villages which belonged to the cathedral priory of Durham; these were used in conjunction with surveys, rentals and topographical study to reconstruct early village plans⁴.

Many of Roberts's villages exist within regular "frames". The frame is a concept developed by this author in order to assist in the examination of the case for or against long-term morphological stability. All regular villages appear to exist within frames. They can be defined as the series of lines which enclose the regular component and separate it from the irregular. This series of lines, usually four in number, mark the front back and sides of the regular component. The establishment of a frame appears, for uncertain reasons, to be of great importance in the preservation of a regular village plan. This is clearly evident at Cockfield, a village which Roberts has studied in some depth. A row of regular plots lies

³B.K. Roberts, 'Village Plans in County Durham: a Preliminary Statement', Medieval Archaeology, 16, 1972, p. 37.

⁴L.H. Camphey, 'Medieval Village Plans in County Durham: An Analysis of Reconstructed Plans Based on Medieval Documentary Sources', Northern History, 25, 1989, p. 61.

along the northern edge of the village. Subsequent intakes have been added to this row on the east, where the land forms the glebe, and on the west. The whole row appears to have moved slightly forward, encroaching upon a green and leaving a distinct, deserted boundary on the fell. Despite these changes the overall pattern of a regular row of large, equal-sized plots is clearly visible⁵. Figure 4.1.

Not all villages conform to this pattern; there is no semblance of such a "frame" in most. Certain scholars of village morphology have argued that stability of the village plan is inherently unlikely and that mobility is common. C.C. Taylor has claimed that there is a need to admit that throughout the historic period the pattern of the rural landscape has been constantly changing, with some villages moving over considerable distances. He proposes that in addition to growth, shrinkage and desertion, landscape historians must recognise the concept of shift⁶. Taylor has recently discussed the theme of shift again. In a somewhat self-indulgent paper he has considered the movement of Whittlesford in Cambridgeshire⁷. Some of the earliest work on this theme was done by Wade-Martins in Launditch hundred in Norfolk⁸. Here the village of Longham appears to have been centred on the church in the middle Saxon period. It started to expand in the late Saxon period and in the twelfth century started to shift to Southall Green. This movement had finished by the fourteenth century and was followed, in the sixteenth century, by a shift towards Kirtling Common. Finally, in 1816, the whole village was replanned in its current location. The

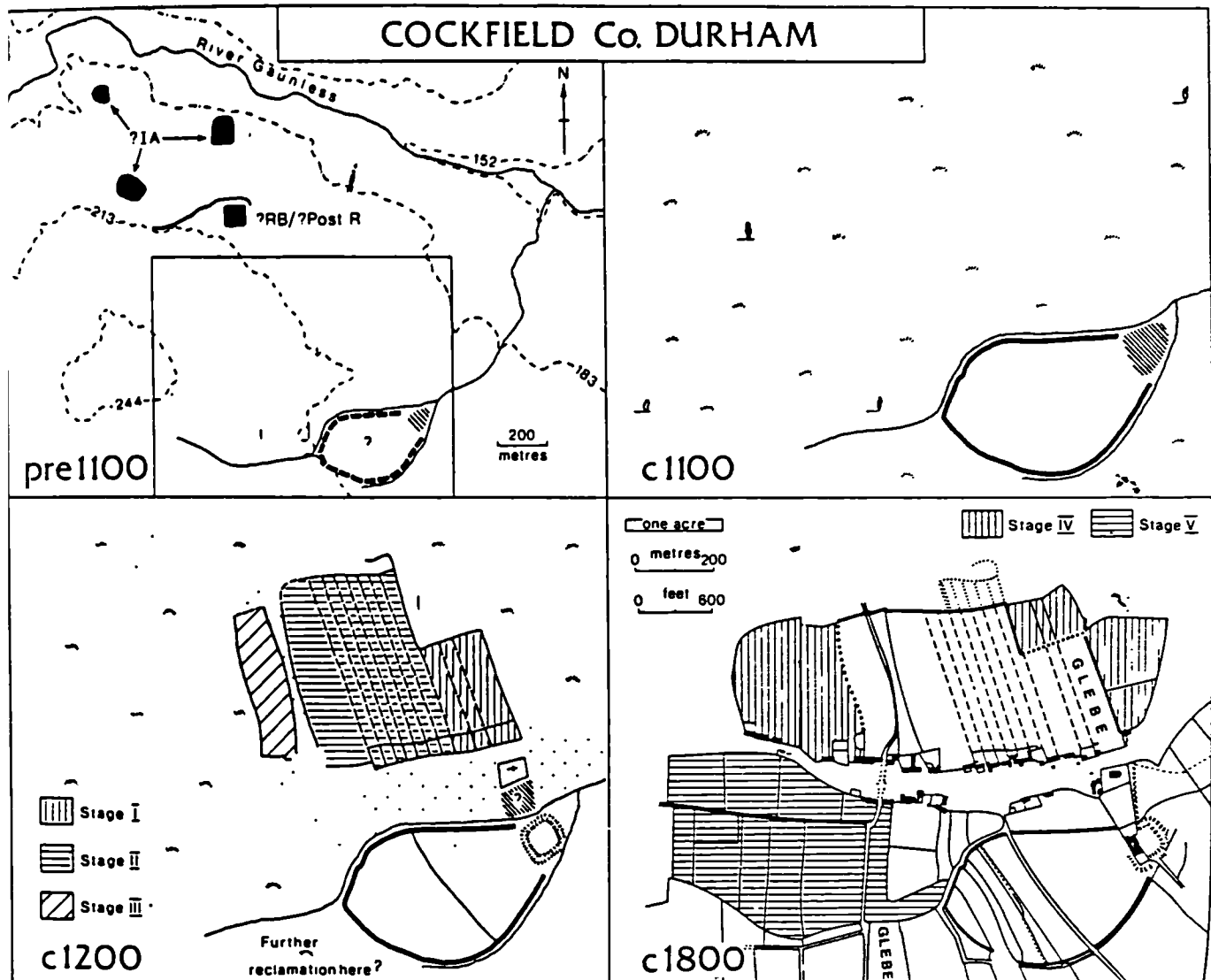
⁵B.K. Roberts, 'Of landscapes and words', in B.K. Roberts and R.E. Glasscock, eds., Villages, Fields and Frontiers, 1983, pp. 23 - 8; B.K. Roberts, The Making of the English Village, 1987, pp. 56 - 7.

⁶C.C. Taylor, 'Aspects of Village Mobility in Medieval and Later Times', in S. Limbrey and J.G. Evans, eds., The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Lowland Zone, 1978, p. 126.

⁷C.C. Taylor, 'Whittlesford: The Study of a River-edge Village', M. Aston, D. Austin and C.C. Dyer, eds., The Rural Settlements of Medieval England, 1989, pp. 207 - 27 .

⁸P. Wade-Martins, 'The Origins of Rural Settlement in East Anglia', P.J. Fowler, ed., Recent Work in Rural Archaeology, 1975, pp. 141 - 3.

Fig. 4.1: .



author of this thesis finds it extremely interesting to note that it was after replanning that the village ceased to move. Presumably a "frame" had been created and subsequent shift had become impossible. There is evidence to support Taylor's argument in the areas where he has worked, notably in East Anglia, but - as will be shown - there is none in south west Wales. As far as regular villages are concerned it is "frames" and not "shuffles" that ought to be considered.

The current chapter focuses on two of the four counties: Pembrokeshire and Glamorgan. A conscious decision to exclude Monmouthshire and Carmarthenshire has not been taken. Rather it recognises that the villages which are presumed to have been planted are in Pembrokeshire and the deserted medieval villages are found mainly in Glamorgan.

4.1: The early maps.

The only extensive survey of south Wales, other than that for the Ordnance Survey maps, was carried out following the 1836 Tithe Redemption Act. The short time span - fifty to sixty years - between the tithe survey and the earliest Ordnance Survey surveys, led to the decision not to consult all the tithe maps. Selected maps and schedules were however used to clarify certain details of the morphology and landownership of certain parishes. Their use for these purposes is discussed later in this chapter. In most cases the maps have survived, but some doubt has been cast on their accuracy⁹. This has been studied by Kain and Prince¹⁰. The Tithe Commissioners identified two standards of map: first class maps and second class ones. The former were those which the commissioners considered to be accurate; they certified these with their signatures and seals of office. The second class maps were those that failed the test of accuracy and which were never corrected; they remain unsigned and unsealed¹¹. The assistant tithe commissioners do not appear to have had problems with the

⁹R.I. Jack, Medieval Wales, 1972, p. 223.

¹⁰R.J.P. Kain and H.C. Prince, The Tithe Surveys of England and Wales, 1985.

¹¹ibid. pp. 81 - 2.

mapping of south Wales; the present author has found few maps which were unsealed. The main problems appear to have been with crop and livestock data. William Hoskins, an assistant commissioner in Pembrokeshire found that a variety of different practices were covered by the term "ley" and that many farmers denied him access to folds and dairies so that he had to estimate the number of cattle they contained¹².

Eighteenth and nineteenth-century estate maps were examined in order to assess how much village morphology had changed. Although large collections of maps exist their value is limited for this purpose because they infrequently record the shape of villages. Maps were usually commissioned by large landowners in order to show their own properties. The areas of land owned by others in settlements of intermixed ownership are not usually recorded. Therefore the maps present a peculiar picture: individual plots are shown scattered amongst large areas of land for which there is no cartographic evidence. The north eastern portion of the map of Letterston (Plate 4.1) shows this pattern. Individual strips, which form the rear extensions of the tofts which lie along the main road appear to exist in a peculiar form of isolation, divorced from their context. Likewise, in the maps held in one of the largest collections of material relating to south east Wales - the Badminton collection, dating to the mid 1760s¹³ - no village plans are recorded, only plots of land amidst large areas of blank paper.

The earliest maps of any manor in Wales are probably those of Fonmon and Penmark in the Vale of Glamorgan. They were drawn by Evans Mouse in 1622 - 4, as part of a survey of the St. John family lands¹⁴. Several settlements are shown on these maps. The morphology of Penmark does not appear to have changed substantially in the three and a half centuries before the Ordnance Survey map, although the fields surrounding the village have been fully enclosed. This survey was carried out at the time when enclosure of the open fields was under way;

¹²ibid. pp. 143 - 5.

¹³NLW Maps: Badminton Collection, vols. 1, 2, 4 - 6 and 8 - 10.

¹⁴GCRO: D/D X bf. 1 - 3.

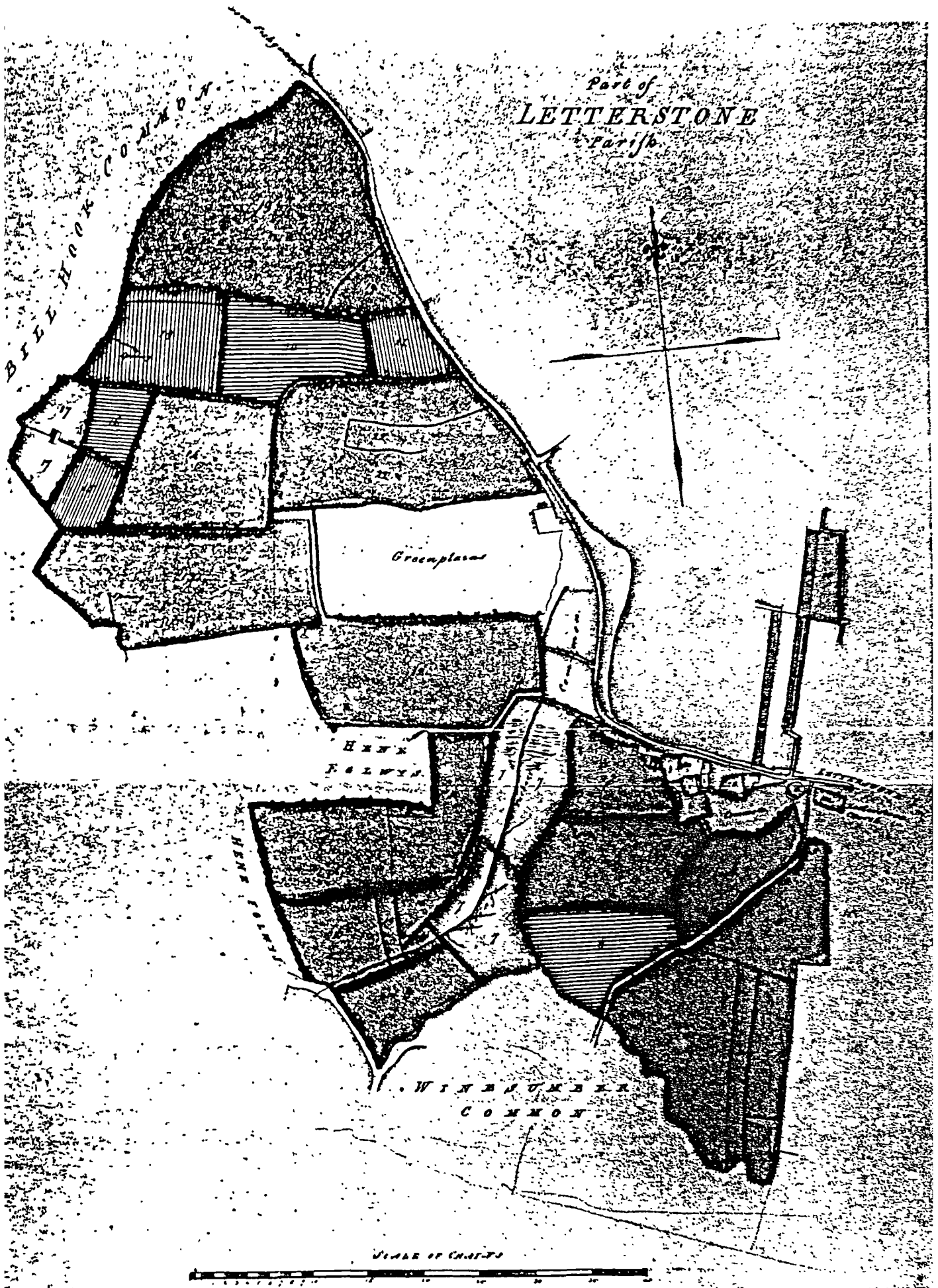


Plate 4.1: Map of the Bishop of St. David's estates in Letterston in 1760.

some of the open fields around each settlement had already been enclosed, but strips of common land were still being farmed. It is this change in the pattern of land holding rather than any change in village morphology which is most noticeable.

One collection of maps did provide an excellent source of evidence for the late eighteenth century morphology of many villages in the Gower Peninsula¹⁵. The maps prepared for Thomas Mansel Talbot, the major Gower landowner, during the 1790s record all his possessions as well as those of other Gower landowners. As a consequence it records the morphology of all the villages which lay within the area surveyed. Most villages appear not to have changed between the late eighteenth century and the late nineteenth century.

It has been possible to find pre-1800 maps of fifty six villages. These have been compared with the Ordnance Survey maps in order to try to gauge how much change there had been in village morphology in the intervening century. Twenty maps showed changes, including seven where the change had been to an industrialised landscape. In only thirteen cases - under a quarter of the total - the village morphology had changed. Most had changed from irregular linear settlements to irregular agglomerations. This change is clearly visible in two examples from south central Gower. Norton was in the 1780s a small linear settlement near Oxwich¹⁶, but by the time it was surveyed by the Ordnance Survey it had expanded slightly; this expansion took place along several pathways leading from the village to give the impression of an irregular agglomerated village. Nearby at Penrice changes occurred too. Here the village composed two irregular rows facing each other across a wide green, near the top of which stood a church. By the late eighteenth century a line of building had been added along the open edge of the green, perpendicular to the other rows. Thus an irregular linear village became an irregular agglomeration¹⁷. (Figure 4.2.) The last few sentences have concentrated on change. It must be stressed that change appears

¹⁵WGARO: D/DP 808 - 22.

¹⁶WGARO: D/DP 816.

¹⁷WGARO: D/DP 817.

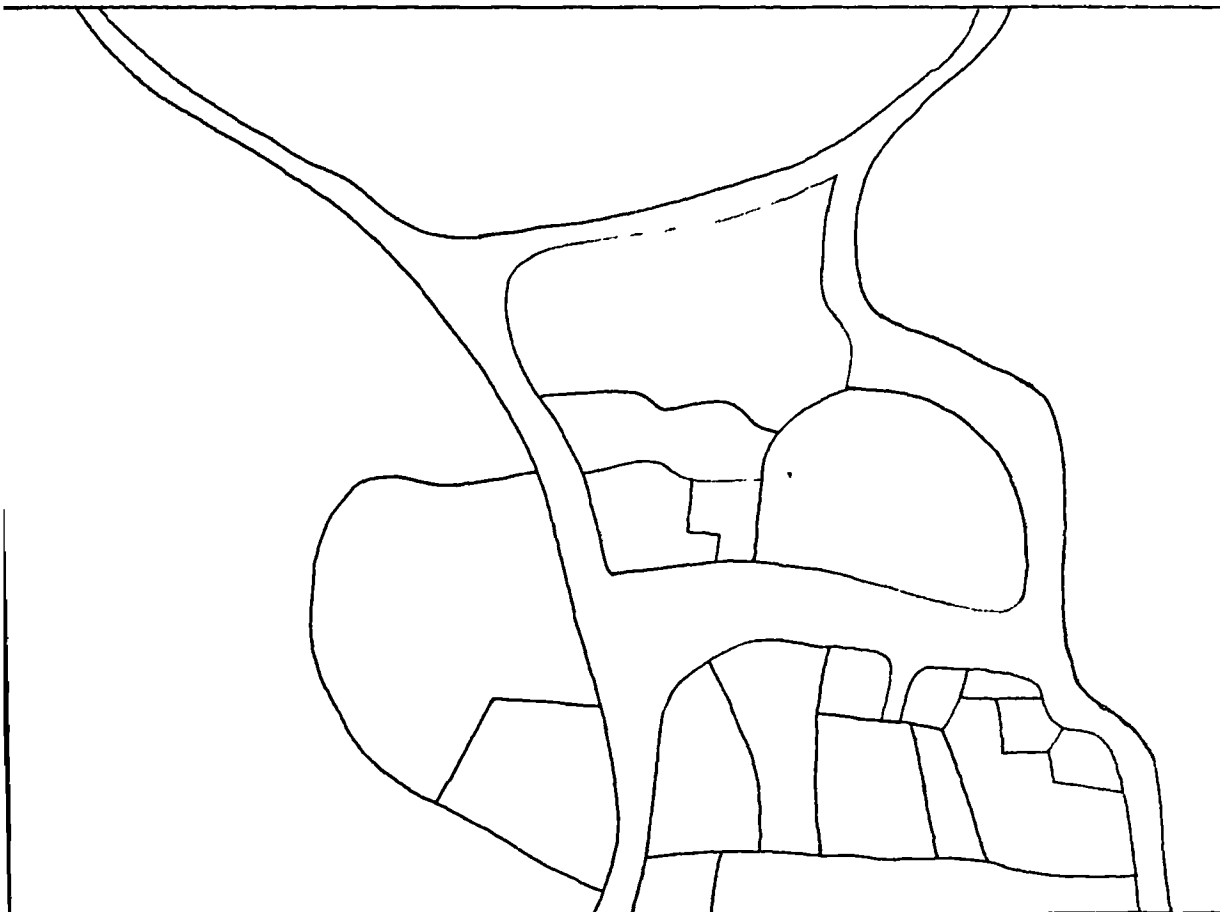
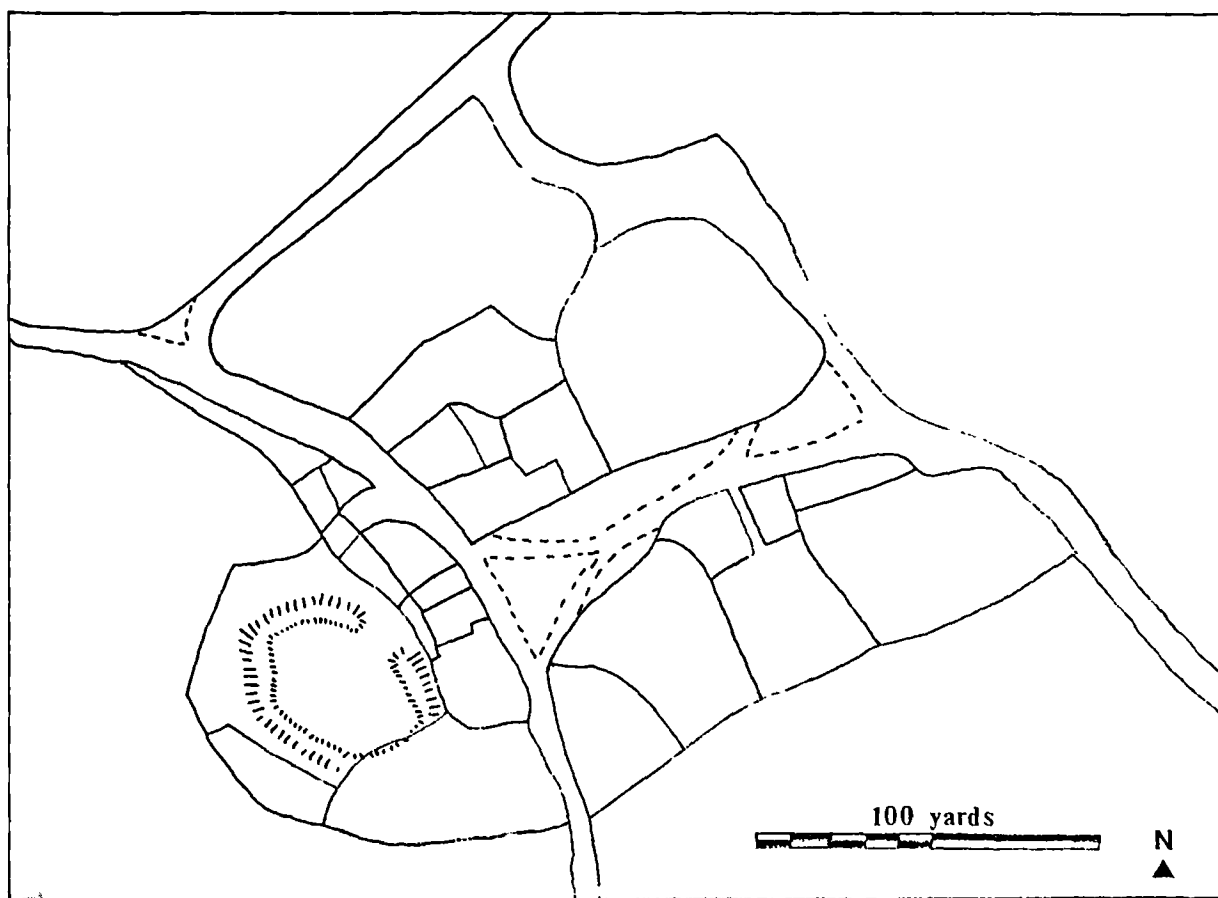


Fig. 4.2: Penrice in 1783 and 1878.

The upper of these two maps is based upon an estate map of 1783, WGARO D/DP 817, and the lower upon the second edition of the 25": 1 mile Ordnance Survey county series map, drawn in 1878. Comparison of the two shows that the row along the western edge of the village has been added in the intervening century. This has altered the village's morphology from that of an irregular linear village with green to that of an irregular agglomerated village with green. A castle ringwork is depicted to the west of the village on the later map.



to have been exceptional. The cartographic evidence shows that village plans have tended to be stable over at least the last two centuries.

4.2: Landownership within the community.

It was argued that the power of one lord could be the major force in creating a regular village morphology. This argument can be extended to assert that lordly power could also be a force maintaining the regularity of the village plan once created.

Dennis Mills has researched landlord domination of the community and developed a model of "open" and "closed" parishes. Although his work uses nineteenth-century terminology, it may be extended back to the sixteenth century. He argues that there is a dichotomy, albeit a generalised one, between the two types of parish. The closed parish is dominated by one major landlord who, desiring to minimize his payments of poor rates, limits movement into the parish. This leads to a small population and a low rate of growth. In the open parish power is vested in a large number of individuals, each of whom hold only a small amount of land, where they reside and which they exploit¹⁸. Although aspects of this model have been recently challenged by S.J. Banks, she accepts the dichotomy in general terms and argues that more variables should be used to define open and closed parishes¹⁹. However her aims are not those of this study. Here the aim is to explore the factors influencing morphological stability, and as Mills's original variables - number of landowners and size of population - are likely to have influenced this, they have been adhered to. It is to be expected that regular villages will be closed, whilst those on the catena between regular and irregular are more open. There is an assumption underlying this expectation. It is thought that the villages on the regular-irregular catena were

¹⁸D. Mills, 'English Villages in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: a Sociological Approach. Part I: the Concept of a Sociological Classification', Amateur Historian, 6, 1965, pp. 272 - 76.

¹⁹S.J. Banks, 'Nineteenth Century Scandal or Twentieth Century Model? A New Look at "Open" and "Closed" Parishes', Economic History Review, 41, 2nd series, 1988, pp. 64 - 6.

once fully regular, but that their plan has for some unknown reason become distorted.

Everitt has advocated using The Imperial Gazetteer as a guide to the pattern of landholding in the community. This refers to land ownership in a parish as being either "divided among a few" (here equated with closed) or "much subdivided" (open)²⁰. In order to facilitate the speed of the study the author decided to sample the available material. He took six parishes and divided them into two groups. The first group comprised three parishes in which the main settlement was fully regular: Angle, Cosheston and Letterston. In the second group were three settlements which lay on the regular-irregular catena: Herbrandston, Little Newcastle and Roch. Details are not available in The Imperial Gazetteer for all of the villages with which this study is concerned. The landownership pattern is given for only four of the parishes. Angle, a village with a regular morphology, is described as being "divided among a few." Letterston and Cosheston - both also have a regular shape - are described as being "much subdivided." Herbrandston, on the regular-irregular catena, is "divided among a few." Therefore the expected pattern was not found. Three of the four villages were in a category in which it was not thought that they would be found.

Further research, using the landownership details included in the tithe schedules²¹, revealed that the descriptions in The Imperial Gazetteer are very crude. They appear to be based solely upon the number of landowners, with ten appearing to be the difference between "divided among a few" and "much subdivided." The earlier criticism of the accuracy of Welsh tithe documents was not important here. Although one in six Welsh tithe maps was rejected by the commissioners as inaccurate²², all but one of the maps consulted for this study - that of Roch - was sealed as being correct.

²⁰A. Everitt, The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century, 1972, p. 8; J.M. Wilson, The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales, 6 vols., nd.

²¹NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment collection.

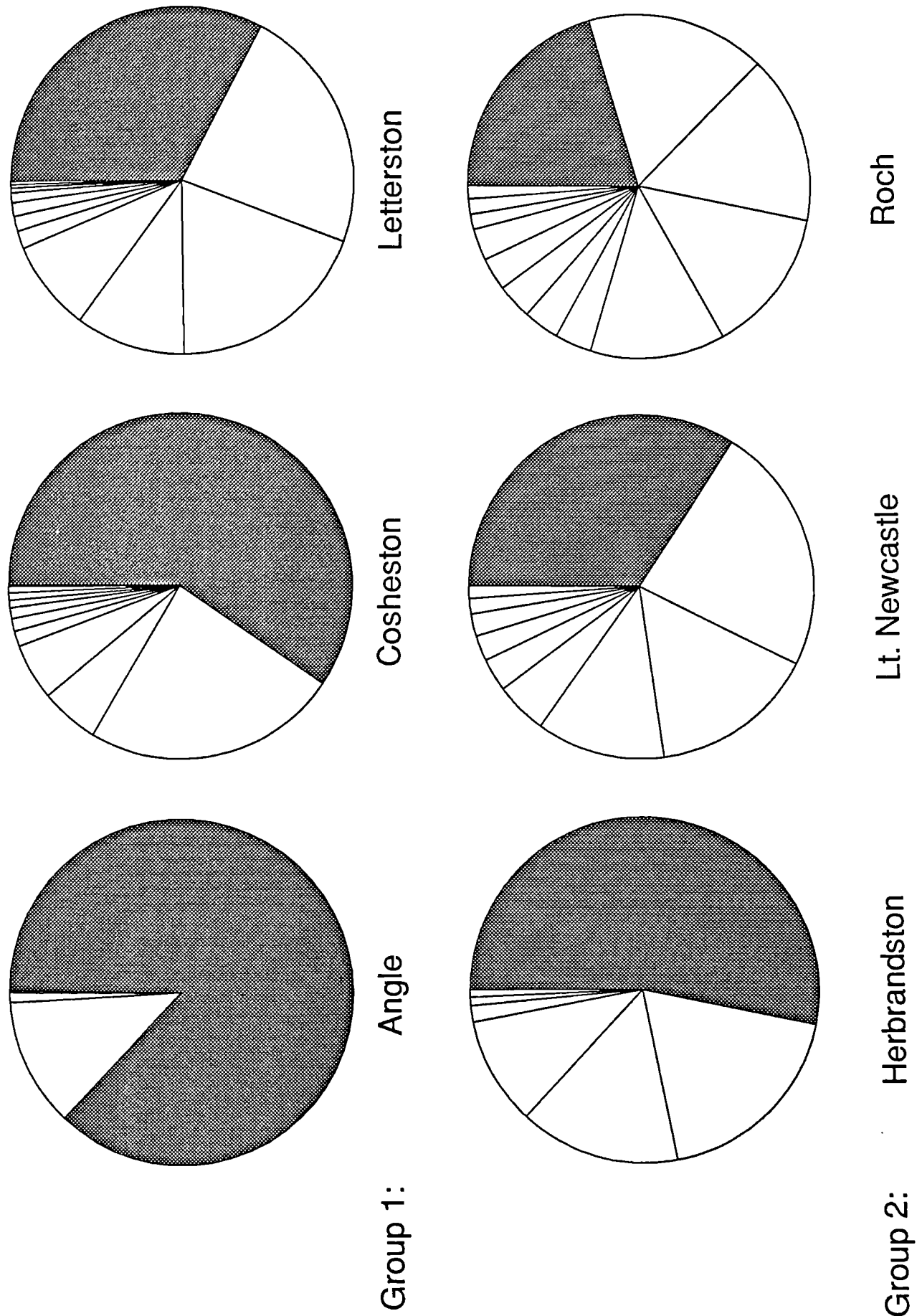
²²Jack, op. cit., p. 223.

The concentration of landownership is probably more important than the number of owners. In Angle the largest landowner possessed nearly 87% of the land in the parish, the second largest landowner had 12%, whilst the vicar's and rector's glebes accounted for just over 1%. The structure of landownership in the different parishes is shown in Figure 4.3. The proportionally divided circles reveal an interesting pattern. In Angle and Cosheston there is one dominant landowner, owning well over half the land in the parish, and a small number of other landowners often with a substantial share. Elsewhere this pattern is generally not visible. There is little difference between the concentration of landownership in Letterston, Little Newcastle and Roch.

Herbrandston forms a very interesting exception. The concentration of land ownership is very similar to that of Cosheston. If the classification was rearranged and the similarity of the proportionally divided circles, rather than the pattern of village morphology, was used as the defining characteristic then Herbrandston would be placed alongside Angle and Cosheston. The village plan of Herbrandston (Figure 3.13) lies in the catena between the regular and irregular linear morphologies. There is no clear dividing line between the two forms; one gradually shades into the other. Herbrandston lies much closer to a regular morphology than it does to an irregular one. When the village plans were examined as part of the research for the last chapter, it was immediately recognisable as a modified regular village plan. This was not the case when Little Newcastle and Roch were examined. The elucidation of a regular component was a much more difficult task in these cases. A dominant landowner may therefore, in certain cases, limit the amount of activity taking place which can lead to the obscuration of a regular village plan.

This study is fixed with respect to time. It has relied so far entirely on the data extracted from the tithe schedules. There are unfortunately no similar, earlier sources which can be used to see if this pattern existed before the mid-nineteenth century. There is only one way in which the general pattern of landownership can be explored in the period prior to c. 1840. It is necessary to look at the state of the

Fig. 4.3: Structure of landownership in selected Pems. parishes, c. 1840.



land market in an attempt to see how this was functioning and to speculate on how the purchase and sale of land might have affected morphology.

If it can be assumed that changes in the amount of land held by an individual are an important factor in governing stability then the frequency with which people bought and sold land is of importance to this study. A change of landlord could initiate large scale, local changes which could completely alter the morphology of a settlement. At least one example of this is known to the author. In c. 1800 C.R.M. Talbot extended the home farm of the Penrice Castle estate to include land around the village of Perriswood in Gower. The small, narrow fields - the remnants of the open field - were swept away and replaced by a number of regular, rectilinear enclosures²³. This example raises the question of the nature of individual landowners. Some may have acted as dynamic agents for changes, others are likely to have been more conservative; some are likely to have been disinterested absentee landlords whilst others were active in many of the spheres of life of the immediate locality in which they held land.

Considerable work on the Welsh gentry and the land market has been carried out in the last three decades. The general picture presented is one of stability, with very few people acquiring land. One period when land was available for purchase - throughout England and Wales - was immediately after the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536. It must be noted that the wealth of many Welsh monastic houses lay in spiritualities, not temporalities, and that therefore there was little land to be released on to the market. Nevertheless, with the exception of a few particularly acquisitive families the purchase of a newly-dissolved grange or rectory was as far as most people, who could afford to purchase, were prepared to invest²⁴. In Pembrokeshire, one of the more anxious to speculate was Sir John Perrot and Lloyd considers his gains of

²³J.A. Kisson, 'The Open Fields of Gower: a Case Study and a Reconsideration', The Journal of the Gower Society, 37, 1986, p. 43.

²⁴H.A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South West Wales, 1540 - 1640, 1968, pp. 31 - 2.

land as "scarcely remarkable²⁵." The pattern found in Monmouthshire was very similar. Few people were anxious to acquire to land in order to augment their existing holdings²⁶.

This examination of a selection of parishes which have either a regular linear morphology or a place in the regular-irregular linear catena demonstrates that the concentration of landownership may be an important force affecting the form of village plans into the mid-nineteenth century. This power may be expressed in two, quite different, ways. A dominant landowner may restrict in-migration, which could preserve the existing morphology. Equally one landowner could initiate far-reaching change. More knowledge would appear to be needed on particular landlords and specific localities before the exact nature of the relationship between landownership and morphological stability can be assessed. Like most of the sections in this chapter this one is experimental. It has pioneered the exploration of themes which could be researched in detail if time permitted.

4.3: Population and the village plan.

The previous examination of the pattern of landownership was fixed to some extent with respect to time. Most of the data came from tithe schedules which were compiled in the late 1830s and early 1840s. There was a limited dynamic element in the study. An examination of the change in population in the same parishes allows a longer-term, different and more dynamic perspective to be taken. Once again data is most frequently available from the nineteenth century onwards, although there is a limited amount of sixteenth and seventeenth century material.

The number of people in each parish was noted from the first census, 1801, up to the census which immediately preceeded the drawing of the maps, that of 1911. The average for both groups was calculated and the results are shown as Figure 4.4. The small size of the data set (two groups of

²⁵ibid., p. 37.

²⁶M. Gray, 'Crown Property and the Land Market in South-East Wales in the Sixteenth Century', Agricultural History Review, 35, 1987, p. 144.

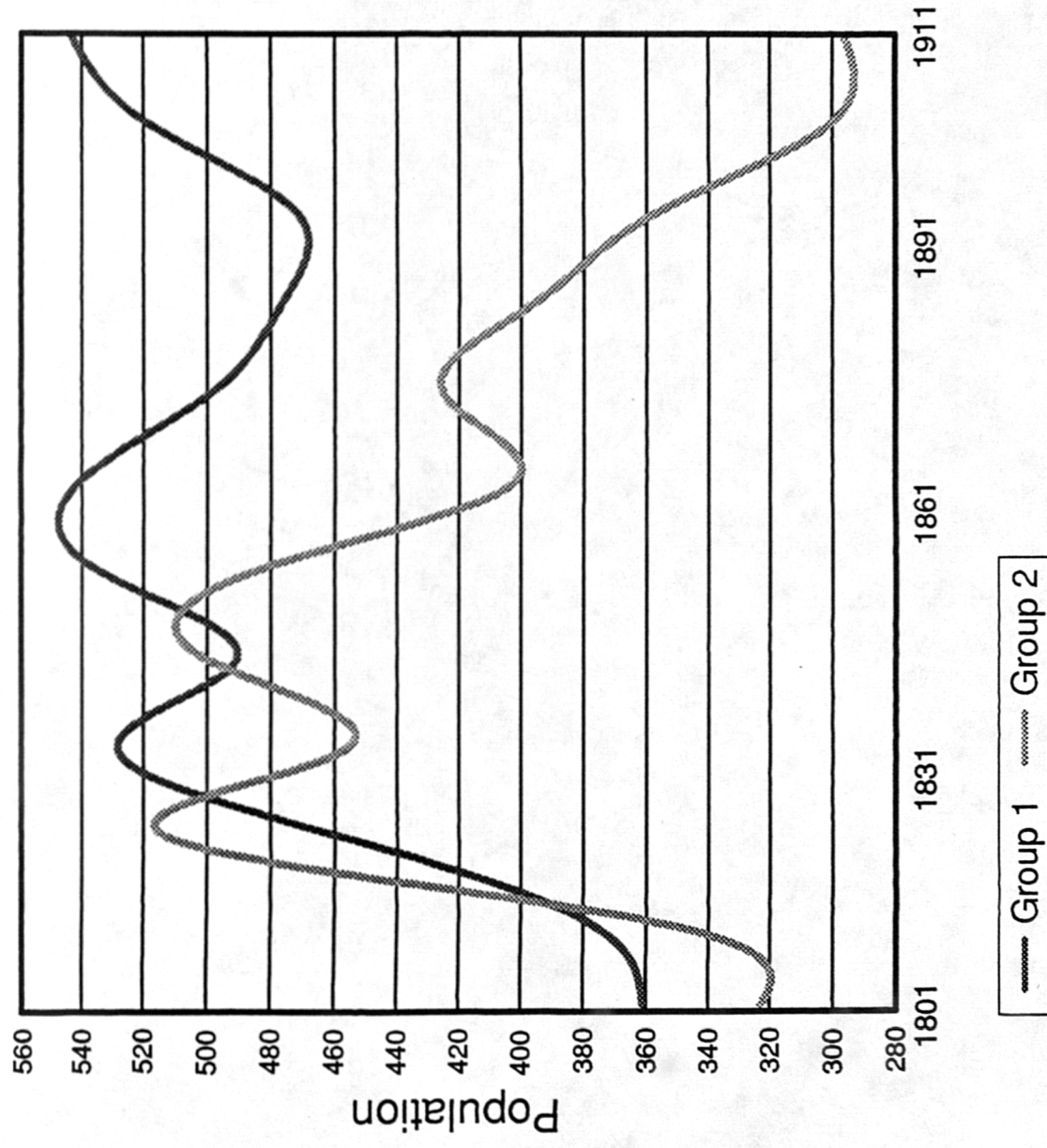


Fig. 4.4: Average absolute population growth in selected Pembrokeshire parishes, 1801 - 1911.

three) makes this graph insufficient for an examination of anything other than a general trend. In the parishes where the main settlement is fully regular population levels rise a little irregularly in the period before 1851, they then start to decline before recovering in 1891 and rise thereafter. In the second group of parishes the pattern is more complex. Three rises (in 1801 - 1821, 1831 - 41 and 1861 - 71) are followed by falls. Towards the end of the period there is a rapid decline from an average of 429 in 1871 to 297 in 1911. This pattern does not accord with the expected one. Population levels are high in the regular parishes (presumed to be closed and therefore which ought to exhibit low population growth) and low in the irregular ones (presumed to be those of high population growth.)

The pattern of the data argues that the model ought to be modified. Just as the proportion of land held by the major landowner may have been of more importance to the preservation of village morphology than was the number of landowners, so the absolute size of the population may possibly have less effect on the maintenance of original village morphology than the rate of change of population and population density could have done. Figure 4.5 shows the average rate of change of population per decade from 1801 to 1911. The pattern is less consistent than that of Figure 4.4. The lines rise and fall dramatically, with no apparent order. A much more detailed study might reveal a more sophisticated pattern linking the population figures - both relative and absolute - with village morphology. It is possible to speculate on what such a study might comprise; regrettably the limits of time make it impossible to carry out within the confines of this thesis. A series of studies which considers the change of population within individual parishes might examine the patterns of births, marriages and deaths as recorded in the parish registers and, for later periods, the figures in the census returns. The age-sex structure of the populace could be studied to determine the fertility of the community. Finally other local factors which might have encouraged or discourage migration - for example, the availability or otherwise of employment - could be included within the research in order to gain as complete a picture as is possible of population change.

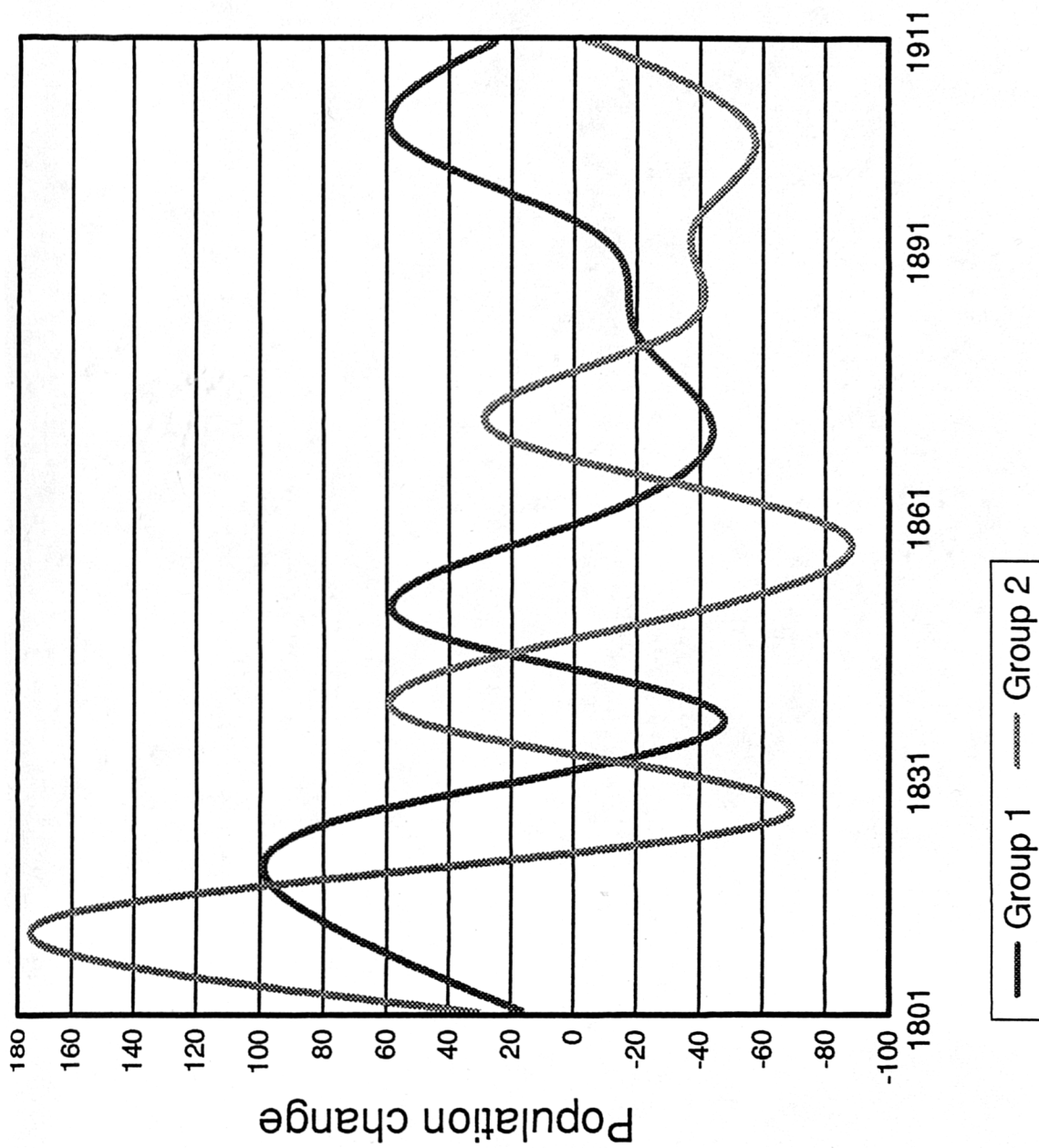


Fig. 4.5: Average marginal population growth in selected Pembrokeshire parishes, 1801 - 1911.

Demographic sources are generally limited and sometimes unreliable for the period before 1801. In Wales the situation is far worse than it is in England. There are no sources available for the period before the Second Act of Union, 1542. For the period between 1542 and 1801 tax assessments and ecclesiastical censuses form the only large scale sources of demographic information. There are three major sources: the lay subsidy returns, an ecclesiastical census of 1536 and the hearth tax returns.

In 1563 the Privy Council requested that a survey be made of the number of households in every parish. Parishes, grouped into deaneries and then into dioceses, were enumerated. Although all dioceses were covered not all returns survive²⁷. Fortunately the survivors include the returns for the diocese of St. David's²⁸. This includes virtually every parish in south Wales west of the River Tawe. Therefore it includes all of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire and the western part of Glamorgan. Unfortunately there seems to be no record of the number of households in Little Newcastle in this census.

During the period 1662 - 74 a tax was levied on the number of hearths in the households in every parish. The hearth tax returns record the number of hearths per house and the name of the occupier of that house. These lists can be used to calculate the number of households in every parish because they include lists of both those who paid the tax and those who were exempt on the grounds of poverty. The returns of the years 1669 - 74 are fuller and, consequently, are thought to be more accurate than the earlier ones²⁹. The surviving Pembrokeshire returns³⁰ are dated to 1670 and therefore they can be regarded as a reliable indication of the number of households in each

²⁷J. Thirsk, Sources of Information on Population, 1500-1760, 1965, p. 5.

²⁸BL: Harleian manuscripts, 595, f. 87.

²⁹T. Unwin, Late Seventeenth Century Taxation and Population, 1985, pp. 13 - 4; T. Arkell, 'A Student's Guide to the Hearth Tax: Some Truths, Half-Truths and Untruths', in N. Alldridge, ed., The Hearth Tax: Problems and Possibilities, 1983, pp. 23 - 9.

³⁰PRO: E 179/224/532.

parish at this time. The hearth taxes, with their lists of the taxed and the exempt, are not as simple to use as it might seem. Patten has observed that there are variations in whether or not all the exemptions are listed; it appears, in certain circumstances, that those who were certified as exempt were usually listed, whilst those who were regarded as paupers were not³¹. Thus the totals recorded may slightly underestimate the actual number of households resident in the parish. Nevertheless these are the only figures which exist for south Wales in the centuries between 1563 and 1801, and this author agrees with Patten when he concludes that - whatever their problems - the hearth taxes are the only useful source for the evaluation of the level of local populations in the later seventeenth century³².

Both sources give the number of households in each parish; they are therefore comparable and can be used in conjunction with the number of families in each parish as shown on the 1801 census return. Table 4.1a shows the number of households in each of the eight parishes in 1563, 1670 and 1801. These figures are, basically, all the reliable information that there is for population change in the two and a half centuries before the establishment of the national census. They shed little light on the growth of the population and its relationship to morphological stability because they can be used to argue different and, at times, conflicting views. For example, the number of households in Angle appears to have been virtually stable between 1670 and 1801 and this ought to have helped to preserve the regular morphology. Yet, in Cosheston - also a village with a regular plan - the number of households more than doubled between 1563 and 1801.

The population of the two groups of parishes can be studied in one further way. Calculation of population density can be used to define areas of congested population and, therefore, of land shortage³³. If a parish has a low population density then it is likely that population growth can be

³¹J. Patten, "The Hearth Taxes", Local Population Studies, 7, 1971, p. 18.

³²Ibid. p. 23.

³³Thirsk, op. cit., p. 10.

Table 4.1a: Number of households/families in selected
Pembrokeshire parishes, 1563-1801.

	<u>1563</u>	<u>1670</u>	<u>1801</u>
	households		families
<u>Group 1:</u>			
Angle	54	70	72
Cosheston	39	52	90
Letterston	18	37	87
<u>Group 2:</u>			
Herbrandston	25	21	34
Little Newcastle	--	30	66
Roch	54	63	112

Table 4.1b: Density of households/families in selected
Pembrokeshire parishes, 1563-1801.

	<u>1563</u>	<u>1670</u>	<u>1801</u>
	households		families
	per acre		per acre
<u>Group 1:</u>			
Angle	.024	.031	.032
Cosheston	.018	.024	.041
Letterston	.008	.017	.039
<u>Group 2:</u>			
Herbrandston	.018	.015	.024
Little Newcastle	--	.011	.024
Roch	.012	.014	.025

Group 1: parishes in which the principal settlement has a regular linear morphology.

Group 2: parishes in which the principal settlement is on the regular/irregular catena.

Sources: PRO: E 179/224/532.

BL: Harleian Ms. 595, f. 87.

accommodated without too great a pressure being placed on space. (This assumes that new settlement is not adjacent to the village, or that movement into and out of the village is balanced. An assumption of this nature is certainly justified in the case of Cosheston. A detailed map of almost all of the parish made in 1851³⁴ shows that new settlements - identified by names such as Ferry Tenement, and the regular shape of the fields around them - lie away from the centre of the village.)

Village morphology may remain unchanged in areas of rapid population growth, if the density of population remains low. The population figures given in Table 4.1a were used to calculate the densities given in Table 4.1b. A mid-nineteenth century source is likely to be most reliable for the acreages of the parishes as it will combine maximum accuracy with minimum changes to boundaries³⁵. The figures were initially taken from the 1851 census. They were corrected with reference to The Imperial Gazetteer. In every case the total area of each parish was the same, but the census includes in its figure the amount of the land which lies below the high water mark. This has the potential to alter considerably the density figures; for example, in Angle 2305 acres lie below the high water mark compared with 2276 above it.

The calculation of population density in each parish may help to explain the preservation of regularity in Letterston, despite other factors (rate of population growth, land ownership structure) appearing to be predisposed against it. There was probably no land shortage and therefore no consequent congestion of population nor modification of the village plan in the parish.

The preceding two sections have examined factors at work within the community which might mask or help to preserve the original village plan. The important factors for the preservation of the original village plan appear to be concentration of landownership, low rate of population growth and low population density.

³⁴NLW Maps: National Library Map Collection D, 495.

³⁵ibid., p. 10.

4.4: The reconstruction of a village plan 1 - Templeton.

In one of his more detailed discussions of the historical evidence for plan stability, Roberts was able to make use of several medieval surveys and taxation documents³⁶. Unfortunately it appears that the survival of surveys is uncommon. From the Principality, stricto sensu, have come major documents such as the surveys of the Honour of Denbigh and the Bromfield and Yale extents. Evidence of this quality is virtually non-existent for south Wales³⁷. The Black Book of St. David's covers certain parts of the study area, but the information it contains is of little use in morphological reconstruction.

The village of Templeton lies in southern Pembrokeshire. It is about four miles inland and is a similar distance from the Pembrokeshire-Carmarthenshire border. All of the village lies on a south facing slope, above a river valley. There are two surveys of this regular, linear village, which can be used to argue that the contemporary morphology existed as far back as 1532. After the execution of Rees ap Griffith in 1531 his lands in Narberth were seized by the Crown. The manor remained in crown hands for over seventy years, and during this period two surveys were made. The first was taken in 1532, the second in 1609³⁸. In 1609 sixteen freeholders and 3 leaseholders are recorded as living in Templeton. A detailed description of the lands they hold and the rents they pay reveal that Arnold Tancke held two plots adjacent to the village street rather than the customary one. This gives a total of twenty plots in the village as a whole. A study of the Ordnance Survey map clearly reveals these twenty plots. Adjustment is necessary to allow for the construction of the railway. All plot boundaries which abut, but which do not appear to run under, the railway are excluded. This reveals that there was one large plot at the northern end of the eastern row. At the southern end of this row there was probably

³⁶B.K. Roberts, 'Village Plans in County Durham: a Preliminary Statement', Medieval Archaeology, 16, 1972, pp. 41 - 50.

³⁷Jack, op. cit., pp. 103 and 120 - 1.

³⁸PRO: SC6/Hen VIII/5262 and LR2 206/118 - 86.

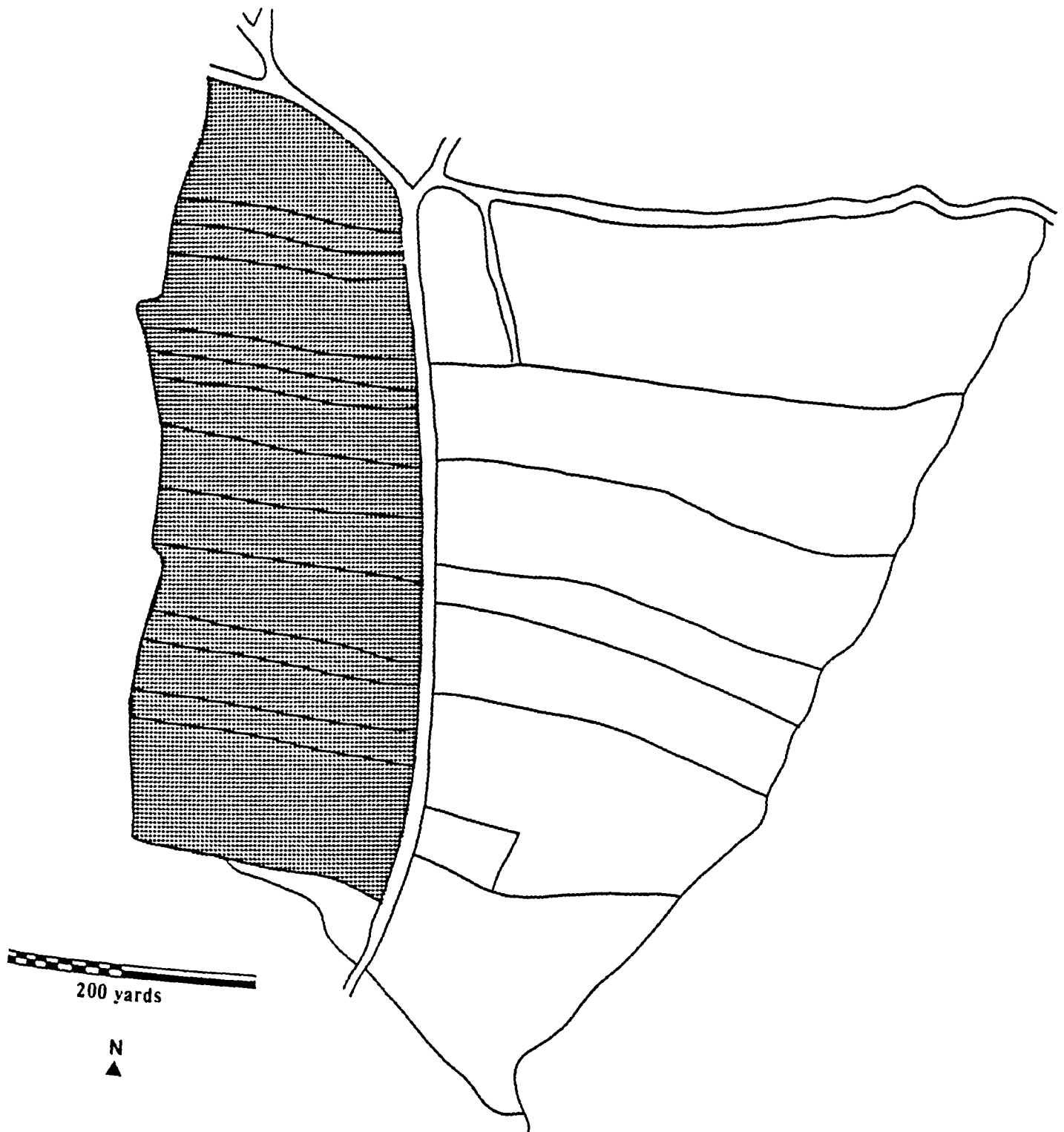
another plot. Its boundary is much less clear, but it would have included the road, the churchyard wall and the wall of the plot to the north. Figure 4.6 shows a hypothetical reconstruction of Templeton in the early seventeenth century. Twenty plots are clearly shown. It cannot be proved that these were the same twenty plots which existed in 1609, but, on balance, it is probable that they were.

The rental of 1532 reveals a similar pattern. Twenty three entries were recorded in a list of rents and farms at Templeton. Three parcels can be eliminated. The location of two is recorded and they do not lie adjacent to the main village street, but a little way away at Jackshill. No location is given for the third parcel. It was held by William Mors, the King's reeve, who was responsible for listing the tenants and their holdings. It was one of two plots he held. One was in the village and other at this unspecified location. It seems reasonable to assume that Mors knew where his own land was and did not therefore go to the trouble of recording it as exactly as he did other holdings. The data provided in Table 4.2 are derived partly from the rental itself and partly from Figure 4.6. Two interesting patterns are revealed. A modular unit of land - two thirds of an acre - appears to have been used in the planning of Templeton. Five of the twenty plots have an area of about two thirds of an acre, four of one and one third acres and three of two acres. All these plots lie together and form a regular row along the western edge of the settlement. The existence of plots twice or three times the modular size suggests that plots have, at some time, been amalgamated. There is some documentary evidence for this. In the late thirteenth century Walter and Sarah Cole acquired two adjacent burgage plots between the burgage plots of Robert le Skynnare and Phillip Heylot³⁹. This may have been one of a series of transactions which led to a reduction in the number of plots.

If the reconstruction is correct then ceteris paribus there ought to be some connection between the rent charged for the plots and their size. The acreage of each plot was

³⁹ NLW Ms: Slebech manuscripts, 486. In chapter 8 it will be argued that although Templeton was economically a village burgess tenure existed here, hence the terminology employed above.

Fig. 4.6 : Templeton



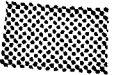
 - plots with an area of two-thirds of an acre or with an area which is a whole number multiple of two-thirds of an acre.

Table 4.2: Plot areas, rents and possible occupiers in Templeton, 1532.

<u>Plot</u> <u>no.</u>	<u>Area</u> acres	<u>Rent</u> s. d.	<u>Rent per</u> <u>acre</u> s. d.	<u>Occupier</u>
1	2.00	8 11	4 5½	William Hoode
2	0.56	2 9	4 11	John Davye
3	0.63	2 10½	4 7	Richard Thomas
4	1.94	8 2	4 2½	John Moris
5	0.69	3 0	4 4	Thomas Philpins
6	0.69	3 2	4 7	Thomas Walter
7	1.34	3 10	2 10	Richard Cooke
8	1.34	3 9	2 10	Henry Hoode
9	1.34	6 5	4 9½	William Stevyn
10	2.00	8 7½	4 4	Thomas Huthyn
11	0.69	3 3½	4 9	Richard Rowe
12	1.34	7 4½	5 6	Richard Howell
13	0.75	3 6½	4 8½	David Grono
14	3.50	9 5	2 8	William Mors
15	9.88	14 8	1 6	David Gybbe
16	6.44	13 4	2 8	Richard Carrowe
17	5.10	12 3½	2 5	Henry Hancock
18	1.81	8 0	4 5	David ap Ieuan
19	1.13	3 6½	3 1½	Philip Browne
20	4.56	11 0½	2 5	John Brown

Source: PRO: SC6/Hen VIII/5262.

calculated and matched with a rent. It was assumed that the largest plot would carry the highest rent and the smallest the lowest, with the others being distributed in between with respect to size of plot and rent. Hypothetical rents per acre can be calculated. Twelve of the twenty rents per acre were approximately 4s. 6d. If a fair rent for similar properties is assumed then this helps to confirm the reconstruction. Most of the lower rents were found to the east of the main street where the land is poorer in quality.

In 1532, as in 1609 and as in the early nineteenth century, there were twenty plots along the western side of the main street running through the centre of Templeton. This village provides the best evidence for morphological stability over a long period of time. Like Cockfield, Co. Durham, and the latest stage of Longham, Norfolk, it lies within its own "frame"; this is emerging as an important feature in the preservation of regular village morphologies. The sides of the frame here comprise the roads which lie in front of the plots and to the north and south of the regular row. The fourth edge is formed by the junction between the rear of the plots and the fields to the west. the notion of a frame is re-inforced here by a large, solidly-built bank which divides the village from its agricultural land.

It is unfortunate that it is impossible to study the tithe details and population variables for this one village. Templeton lies within the parish of Narberth. This parish contains, in addition to Templeton, the borough of Narberth itself and several other settlements. There are no independent figures which relate to just the village, rather than to the parish as a whole. furthermore the tithe map has been badly damaged and it is now almost impossible to examine the village itself⁴⁰.

4.5: The reconstruction of a village plan 2 - Bonvilston.

The village of Bonvilston lies in the middle of the Vale of Glamorgan about five miles from the sea. The land surface of the parish undulates gently and lies at about 300 foot above sea level. Immediately beyond the northern boundary

⁴⁰NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Templeton.

of the parish the land falls steeply down to the Ely Valley. The southern part of the parish is characterised by several small springs, which unite to form Nant Llancarfan, a tributary of the River Thaw. In Roberts's terminology it would be an irregular linear village without green. In the medieval period the parish and manor of Bonvilston were co-terminous, as is common in the Vale of Glamorgan. The manor rated as half a knight's fee and the large monastic holding was recorded as being worth £19 in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. Unlike other Cistercian holdings the land at Bonvilston was not depopulated in order to build a grange here. This is perhaps because the land was acquired slowly and is unlikely to have lain in one large unit.

There are exceptionally good, in Welsh terms at least, collections of manuscripts relating to the history of this village. Before the Dissolution of the Monasteries most of the manor of Bonvilston had belonged to the Margam Abbey. When the lands were sold the muniments of the Abbey were passed on to new holders. Most of the manuscripts were retained by the Mansell Talbots, who acquired Margam itself. These documents were given to the National Library of Wales, where they form the basis of the Penrice and Margam collection. Other documents were acquired by the Harley family, and can now be found in the Harleian collection in the British Library. It is presumably these manuscripts which the antiquarian Edward Lhwyd examined in 1707⁴¹. In the late sixteenth century the manor of Bonvilston was sold to Rice Meyrick, the Glamorgan historian. He appears to have collected papers relating to the estate and to have preserved those created during his period of ownership. This collection was eventually passed to Cardiff Central Library and has recently been acquired by the Glamorgan County Record Office. All these manuscripts form the basis of this author's attempted reconstruction of the morphology of the village.

There is very little information in the documents which allows the reconstruction of the general landscape of the medieval period. The River Turbernesdune is mentioned as dividing a gift of land from the lands of Bonvilston⁴². No

⁴¹NLW Ms: Plas-yn-Cefn collection 2903.

⁴²NLW Ms: Penrice and Margam, 40.

river of this name is known today. The streams of Nant Whitton and Nant Llancarfan do however mark most of the southern boundary of the manor and other small streams flow within the area. There are also references to the roads of the area. The Portway - an alternative name for the modern A 48 - existed in the mid-thirteenth century when Robert de Bonvilston granted away his lands lying between the sheepfold and it. It is probably also the King's Highway which lay to the north of the half acre messuage which David Spudur granted to the church c. 1281⁴³. The Smalweye (sic) - probably the Bonvilston to Llancarfan road - lay to the north of the lands of John Heude which were themselves north of David Spudur's other donation of three acres, made in 1281⁴⁴. The hillfort, now densely covered with trees, was a recognisable land mark in the Middle Ages. In 1308 William Wronou exchanged his lands at Hellegogy for monastic lands next to the "old castle"⁴⁵.

As expected only one individual structure can be identified: the church. The tower and the chancel arch of this structure are believed to be part of the original twelfth-century structure, but the rest of the church dates from an 1863 rebuild⁴⁶. The advowson of various churches and two thirds of the demesne at Bonvilston were granted to the Benedictine abbey of Tewkesbury some time between 1173 and 1183⁴⁷. Before long, however, the advowson was transferred to Margam Abbey⁴⁸. The identification of crofts is virtually impossible. There are some references to them, but their location is rarely mentioned. It is land - both arable and pasture - that is most

⁴³NLW Ms: Penrice and Margam, 188.

⁴⁴NLW Ms.: Penrice and Margam, 187.

⁴⁵BL: Harleian charter, 75 A 43.

⁴⁶G.R. Orrin, Medieval Churches of the Vale of Glamorgan, 1988, p. 109.

⁴⁷D.B. Crouch, ed., Llandaff Episcopal Acta, 1140 - 1287, 1989, no. 31, pp. 28 - 31, citing BL: Cotton Cleopatra A7, f. 70.

⁴⁸Ibid., no. 76, pp. 69 - 70 citing NLW Ms.: Penrice and Margam, 293. For details of this unusual action see F.G. Cowley, The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1977, pp. 184 - 5.

commonly transferred, not homesteads. Sibilla, the wife of William Citharedus, held a toft and a croft in addition to 20 acres of arable and half an acre of meadow, c. 1200⁴⁹. Cecilia de Bonvilston granted to her son Adam all her lands in Bonvilston at an unknown date. This included a messuage and a garden lying next to that of Wronou Medici, along with an acre and a perch near the house of Richard son of Galfrid. The position of the messuage and garden indicates that some of the messuages lay adjacent to one another, presumeably in the village itself. From another undated grant it is known that John de Bonvilston also held a toft and croft. The location of only one croft is known - that belonging to David Spudur and lying immediately to the south of the Portway. This croft must underlie the present southern row of the village. It is the only evidence for settlement stability through from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. The other crofts could have lain here too. There is certainly no evidence - archaeological or historical - for medieval settlement elsewhere in the manor.

The documents contain considerable evidence on the lay-out of the fields. Open fields existed in the manor. David Spudur had a parcel of three acres in the north of the parish at Pole. The long axis of this strip ran east west, with John Springal having lands to the south and east, John Vachan's lands lying to the west and Isabella de Bonvilston's to the north⁵⁰. John, son of Wronou the physician, granted the monks an acre; the long axis of this ran from north to south, the monastery already held land to the south and west, Wronou Wrachan held land to the north and John himself the acre to the east⁵¹.

Some of the lands mentioned in the documents can be tentatively identified, especially if the names occur in the sixteenth and seventeenth century papers and in the tithe schedules⁵², as well as in medieval and modern contexts. There is an estate map which includes part of the manor of

⁴⁹BL: Harleian charter, 75 B 36.

⁵⁰NLW Ms.: Penrice and Margam, 187 and 188.

⁵¹NLW Ms.: Penrice and Margam, 546/3.

⁵²NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Bonvilston.

Bonvilston, but it is of little use⁵³. It has brief details of only six parcels of land in two blocks one west of the Bonvilston to Llancarfan road, the other on the Portway. Three other areas of land can be traced today and at various times in the past. The Knights Templar owned a small part of Bonvilston. They may have acquired this land between c. 1200 and 1216⁵⁴. This land can possibly be equated with the Templand, which is mentioned in a quitclaim of 1630⁵⁵ and with the four "parts of the Templonds" of the tithe schedule (1839.) There is a problem with the size of the grant. The Templars appear to have held forty acres in the medieval period, yet the three seventeenth century sources - the quitclaim, a feoffment and a set of articles of agreement⁵⁶ - all refer to just nine acres of Templand. The four parts of the Templonds of the tithe schedule add up to eleven acres, and lie in an 'L' shaped block in the east of the parish. Here the boundary diverts from the road which it has followed for several hundred yards and encloses a block of several small fields. It is possible that this whole block was the original holding of the Knights Templar. These parcels of land are, in total, just over 38 acres in extent; this figure is sufficiently close to forty to strengthen the likelihood of this being the land which was given to the Templars.

In 1291 Thomas le Spodur and the Abbey exchanged seven acres of land⁵⁷. One of these acres lay in a field called Rede Lond. A similar exchange was carried out between William Wronou and the monks in 1308⁵⁸. On this occasion Wronou received two acres in Redelond. A parcel of twelve acres, known as Reedland, was enfeofed in 1600⁵⁹. It lay between Heol Blackley (the road which links Blackland Farm to the Portway),

⁵³NLW Maps: Manuscript maps vol. 6, PA 2756.

⁵⁴NLW Ms.: Penrice and Margam, 290/7.

⁵⁵GCRO: CL/BRA 247/30.

⁵⁶GCRO: CL/BRA 247/31 and CL/BRA 247/32.

⁵⁷BL: Harleian charter, 75 B 13.

⁵⁸BL: Harleian charter, 75 A 43.

the Abbot's Wood, and the land of Morrice John Lewis and Reedland Fawr Farm. This road should not be confused with the modern A 4226 which links the A 48 to Cardiff-Wales airport at Rhoose; the original road is now preserved as an overgrown, unusable lane alongside the modern dual carriageway. In 1626 Edward Williams leased a tenement and twenty acres called Redland⁶⁰. A farm of this name exists in Bonvilston today. It lies a little way south east of the village on the boundary of Bonvilston and St. Nicholas parishes, in the position described in the enfeoffment. This farm will shortly disappear if the Parc Dyffryn Trust's plans for a racecourse, a new settlement with a shop, village hall and public house, private school and hotel receive planning permission. One further property can be identified in the seventeenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Sheep Court Farm lies just north of the Portway, in the east of the parish. It is mentioned under various names - Kaer Shipp Courte, Sheepcourte, Kae yr Sheepcourte and Tire yn y Shipcourt - in the period 1630 to 1700⁶¹.

The village of Bonvilston appears in the medieval period to have lain amidst large open fields. These were later enclosed and some of the farms then created preserved the names of the earlier land divisions; these same names are carried by modern farms. The church stood then where it is today and at least one croft lay along the Portway, which is and was the major road through the village. It has proved virtually impossible to recreate the village of Bonvilston solely from the documents. This contrasts with Templeton where it was possible to use two surveys to show that the early twentieth century village morphology was the same as that of the early sixteenth century. This author echoes P.D.A. Harvey's conclusions. In his study of Boarstall and Cuxham, in Oxfordshire, he found collection of deeds a useful starting point but they were no substitute for detailed surveys⁶².

⁵⁹GCRO: CL/BRA 247/78.

⁶⁰GCRO: CL/BRA 247/5.

⁶¹GCRO: CL/BRA 247/30; CL/BRA 247/31; CL/BRA 247/32 and CL/BRA 247/68.

⁶²P.D.A. Harvey, 'Mapping the Village: the Historical Evidence', D. Hooke, ed., Medieval Villages, 1983, p. 44.

4.6: The morphology of the deserted medieval villages.

One further source of information on early village morphology remains: the morphology of the deserted sites. A gazetteer of all the known deserted medieval, non-defensive, secular sites is presented as Appendix 1 of this thesis. Two patterns are clearly revealed: most of the deserted sites are in the eastern part of the study area, notably in the Vale of Glamorgan and most of the sites are linear in shape. There is also a small number of sites with an agglomerated morphology and hence there are no morphological forms found amongst deserted but not amongst extant villages.

It is a truism that archaeological distribution maps represent the distribution of active archaeologists. Yet the absence of any major deserted sites from west Wales would not appear to be a spurious pattern. Intensive fieldwork has been carried out by the Dyfed Archaeological Trust and no true deserted village sites have been found. There are a few minor deserted sites, often comprising one building, but no deserted villages. This pattern is the result of two factors. In Carmarthenshire villages are rare. It is essentially an area of dispersed settlement. W.S.G. Thomas has argued that there are a number of deserted medieval villages in Carmarthenshire⁶³. Yet wherever fieldwork has been carried out on one of his proposed sites the results have been negative. No archaeological evidence exists for deserted medieval villages in this area. As has been pointed out earlier the arguments of C.C. Taylor and P. Wade-Martins do not apply to Pembrokeshire. This is an area of very stable communities, with sites continuing in use for many hundreds of years. The archaeological record shows that it is stability, and not dynamism, that is characteristic of the landscape here.

There is an interesting pattern amongst the deserted villages of south east Wales. The Royal Commission states that in 1813, of the 72 surviving villages and hamlets in the Vale

⁶³W.S.G. Thomas, 'Lost Villages in South West Carmarthenshire', Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 47, 1969, pp. 191 - 203.

of Glamorgan (as surveyed by the Ordnance Survey) 33 were linear, 30 clustered (equal to the term agglomerated used elsewhere in this work) and 9 were of "a scattered or indeterminate form"⁶⁴. This author has studied the Swansea and Bristol maps in this series to obtain comparable figures for Gower and southern Gwent. In the early nineteenth century there were, in the study area as a whole, 50 linear villages, 51 agglomerated ones and 16 whose shape was uncertain. As a large proportion of the deserted villages are linear, and as almost equal numbers of extant linear and agglomerated villages are to be found in the nineteenth century it can be proposed that linear villages are more susceptible to abandonment than agglomerated ones. The Royal Commission suggested that this might be due to linear villages having smaller populations and that therefore they were unable to survive the ravages of disease and sporadic warfare in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Beresford has noted similar patterns elsewhere. He studied the 1377 poll tax figures for 156 English deserted villages and found that the adult population of just over two thirds of these settlements was less than 51, with over a fifth of the deserted villages having a population between 31 and 40. The author's research aimed to test the assertion that shape and size and the propensity to be deserted were linked by calculating the populations of a large number of villages and by comparing village shape and size.

A preliminary investigation showed that this was the case. The median population of linear villages in mid-sixteenth century Gower can be compared with that of agglomerated villages. The figure for linear villages - 17 households - was much lower than that for agglomerated ones, which was 40 households⁶⁵. The figures used for this study were those of the Bishop of St. David's census of 1563⁶⁶. This opens up the possibility of a circular argument. The census was taken after the period of greatest desertion and the villages may have been

⁶⁴The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 3 part 2, p. 215.

⁶⁵J.A. Kissock, *The Origins of the Village in Glamorgan: a Preliminary Analysis*, unpublished B.A. dissertation University of Cambridge, 1984, pp. 14 - 5.

⁶⁶BL: Harleian manuscripts, 595, f. 87.

small because they had already been partially deserted. Therefore the figures may represent an index of depopulation rather than village size. This study was however fatally flawed in another way. It considered only the shape of the major village in each parish. If there were more than two settlements in any parish all the population was assumed to be in the major one. Despite its weaknesses this preliminary study did illustrate that a more sophisticated approach to the question might have interesting results. This author has carried out an alternative analysis and the results, which have been published elsewhere, are reproduced here⁶⁷.

This analysis starts with the ecclesiastical census, which records the number of households. It then uses the lay subsidies, giving the number of taxpayers, in conjunction with the census in order to extrapolate the number of households from the number of taxpayers. The number of people who paid the lay subsidy is recorded in the appropriate tax returns, which are available for the hundreds of Swansea, Cowbridge, Ogmore⁶⁸, Dinas Powys and Caldicot. It was originally hoped to include Usk hundred in the study but there was insufficient data for any calculations to be statistically valid. The returns enumerate the number of taxpayers, which have to be converted into approximate population levels. The bishop's census can be compared with the 1543 lay subsidy returns for Gower in order to calculate the number of household heads who were also taxpayers⁶⁹. (This comparison rests on the assumption that there was no major demographic trauma between 1543 and 1563. Unfortunately this may not be so. It appears that the death rate rose sharply whilst the birth rate fell considerably in the late 1550s⁷⁰.) There were 908 households and 989 taxpayers.

⁶⁷J.A. Kissock, 'Village size, shape and the process of desertion in south east Wales', Siluria, 1990, forthcoming.

⁶⁸As this study is concerned with the deserted settlement of the lowlands the highland portion of Ogmore hundred (the parishes of Llangeinor and Llandyfodwg) have been excluded from all calculations. A map of the hundreds will be found as Figure 5.8.

⁶⁹W.R.B. Robinson, 'The First Subsidy Assessments for the Hundreds of Swansea and Llangyfelach, 1543, Welsh History Review, 2, 1964, table 1, between pp. 142 and 143, citing PRO: E 179/221/236.

⁷⁰E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, The Population History of England, 1541 - 1871: A Reconstruction, 1989 reprint, p. 212.

The tax appears to have been comprehensive; the head of every household may have been required to pay. The extra 81 taxpayers (8% of the total) are likely to have come from households where widows, orphaned children and wealthy servants lived with other members of their families. These groups were liable to be taxed if they held some property or goods. This 8% discrepancy between the number of taxpayers and households can be used to convert the 1543 subsidy returns into the number of households elsewhere. Values for the population of parishes in Dinas Powys⁷¹ and Caldicot⁷² hundreds can be reckoned by subtracting 8% from the number of taxpayers there in 1543.

Estimating the number of households in the parishes of Cowbridge and Ogmore is more difficult. There are no surviving returns for 1543; only the 1544 returns have survived⁷³. Comparison of the 1543 and 1544 returns for Dinas Powys shows that in the latter year fewer people were required to pay the tax. It appears that a quarter of those who paid in 1543 did not pay again in 1544 or 1545. Therefore the number of households in Ogmore and Cowbridge hundreds can be estimated by adding to the 1544 sum a quarter of that figure to give a hypothetical population for 1543. This hypothetical figure can then be reduced by the 8% - derived from the Swansea data - which represents households with more than one taxpayer.

After these arithmetical exercises had been carried out the number of households in every parish in the mid-sixteenth century was either known or had been calculated, and the analysis could proceed. Before examining these figures in relation to village shape and attempting to analyse the relationship between size, shape and desertion processes the cautionary note must be remembered. The figures so far calculated are on a per parish, not per settlement, basis. As

⁷¹M. Griffiths, 'The Vale of Glamorgan in the 1543 Lay Subsidy Returns', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 39, 1982, p. 715, citing PRO: E 179/221/237.

⁷²PRO: E 179/148/6.

⁷³Griffiths, op. cit., p. 715, citing PRO: E 179/221/38 and E 179/221/232.

per settlement figures are needed for this study it has been necessary to exclude all the parishes with two or more settlements. It is thought likely that most of the population would have been living in villages in the mid-sixteenth century. This author's reconstructions of the evolution of the settlement morphology of certain Gower parishes have shown that very few farms existed away from the village prior to the late eighteenth century⁷⁴.

Figures for the population of 50 nucleations are available. Thirty four of these settlements were linear and 16 agglomerated. The mean (or average) population of the linear villages was 28.05 households, and of the agglomerated villages 66.32 households. In order to assess the reliability of these statistics the standard deviations about the mean were also calculated; these were 22.83 and 41.55 respectively. Unfortunately these figures are rather high. This is probably due to the presence within the data set of a few extreme values; for example the agglomerated settlement of Cogan has only 4 households, whilst the linear village of Goldcliff has 84. These unusually extreme figures are ignored if the median values (*i.e.* the number which splits the data sets into two equal halves) are calculated. These are 16 households in linear villages and 27.5 households in agglomerated ones. The semi-interquartile range, can be used to show the degree of dispersion around this measure of central tendency; for linear villages it is 8.75, for agglomerated ones 11.5.

The Royal Commission's assumption that the linear villages were more frequently deserted because of their lower populations appears to have been justified. The mean and median values for the population of linear villages - 28.05 and 16 respectively - are much lower than the corresponding ones for the agglomerated villages: 66.32 and 27.5. They argued that lower population would have made villages more vulnerable to desertion during the occasional warfare of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and during the Glyndwr rebellion. They further claim that the vicissitudes of disease - the plagues of 1349, 1361 and 1369 - are also likely to have led to more problems and more frequent desertion of sites in smaller

⁷⁴Kissock, *op. cit.* 1986, pp. 43 - 4.

communities than in larger ones. These dates for desertion are particularly late when compared with the evidence for the English midlands. Here desertion is usually dated to the first decades of the fourteenth century, for example Dyer has claimed that desertion was underway by c. 1340, if not by c. 1320⁷⁵.

An interesting observations can be made if the data are studied on a hundred by hundred basis. In five of the six hundreds the mean size of the agglomerated village is larger than that of the linear one. In Cowbridge hundred the pattern is reversed; the linear villages have a mean size of 28.3 households and the agglomerated ones 18.6 households. Following on from the propositions advanced above - that disease and warfare were the main agents of desertion, and that they affected smaller villages more seriously than larger ones - it might be assumed that deserted agglomerated villages ought to be the main type of site in this hundred. This is not the case. In fact, it seems that the agents of desertion were different and would have affected all settlements, regardless of their size, equally. The Cistercian house at Margam acquired some villages - for example Llangewydd and, perhaps, Caerwigau - and depopulated them to create monastic granges. Drifting sand covered the fields and farms of other villages, and the borough of Kenfig, in the sixteenth century. The problem was so serious that it was discussed by Parliament. In 1553 they noted,

"The great hurt, nuisance and losses that cometh and chanceth to the Queen's highness and her subjects, by reason of sand arising out of the sea, and driven to land by storms and winds, whereby much good ground lying on the sea-coasts in sundry places of this realm, and especially in the county of Glamorgan, is covered with such sand arising out of the sea, that there cometh no profit of the same, to the great loss of the Queen's highness and her loving subjects."⁷⁶

Neither the sand nor the monks paid, it appears, any respect to village size.

It has been argued that village shape is closely related to village size and that, in general, linear villages

⁷⁵ C.C. Dyer, 'Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands', Economic History Review, 35, second series, 1982, p. 22.

⁷⁶ An Act Concerning the Sea-Sands in Glamorganshire, 1 Mary I, chapter 11. D. Pickering, Statutes at Large, vol. 6, 1763, p. 24.

have smaller populations than agglomerated ones. Size is a crucial factor in determining whether or not a settlement is deserted when certain processes are at work. Linear villages are by far the most common shape of deserted village in Glamorgan because they were less able to survive the depredations of warfare and disease.

The hearth tax returns for southern Monmouthshire revealed an interesting pattern. The villages of this area were in the late seventeenth century much larger than those in Pembrokeshire. The difference in size between the Monmouthshire villages and those elsewhere in the study area has already been noted (in the description of the patterns found in the morphological maps.) As the source for these maps is nineteenth century, it would appear that a strong measure of continuity existed in relative village size between the two areas over the centuries. This measure of continuity is further evidence for village plan stability.

The evidence of this section argues strongly in favour of plan stability. The small number of deserted and shrunken sites in west Wales is one part of this argument. The study of village size and desertion has, in addition to showing which settlements were most likely to be at risk, revealed that at least one element of the nineteenth century regional pattern was present over three hundred years earlier. Hence stability seems to have been a feature of the both the Monmouthshire and Pembrokeshire landscapes.

4.7: Conclusion.

This chapter has investigated the evidence for stability and dynamism within the landscape as a whole and within the morphology of certain villages in particular. Several different criteria - population levels and rate of growth, the pattern of land ownership, the existence of deserted medieval settlements - have been examined and it has been shown that village forms appear to have been stable for many centuries. The conclusions reached earlier do not need to be altered. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century rural landscapes from which the earlier conclusions were deduced were, in the crucial elements, very similar to those of the earlier period.

Chapter 5: The landscape archaeology of south Wales, c. AD 1100 to c. AD 1500.

This chapter examines both the archaeological and historical evidence for the landscape in the post-Conquest period. It aims to show which elements were introduced by the Normans and which were present before the Conquest. It is proposed that the Normans introduced a "landscape package" associated almost entirely with the new elite. At the opposite end of the social scale very little changed. Village plantation was, as the morphogenetic study demonstrated, geographically limited. Outside of Pembrokeshire nucleated settlements must owe their origins to some other process. There is therefore a need to examine other hypotheses about the origin of the village. This will be done within the framework of this chapter; here Taylor's proposition can be tested. He argued that village origins were, in some parts of the country, as late as the thirteenth century and that this was related to the development of the open fields, dated by Joan Thirsk to that period¹. If his argument is correct - and many scholars would dispute this late a date - then it ought to be possible, given the range of archaeological evidence for this period, to show that nucleated settlements first developed at this time.

Section 5.1: The creation of the Anglo-Norman landscape.

The nucleated settlement pattern of south Wales is usually stated to have followed the Norman conquest of this area in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The morphogenetic study of south Wales showed that this argument was only tenable in limited areas of Pembrokeshire. This section reviews the historical and archaeological evidence of the Norman impact on south Wales. It examines the contents of the "landscape package" - castles, towns and Latin monasteries - which the Normans brought with them. This information forms a backdrop against which the archaeology of the medieval village can be studied.

¹C.C. Taylor, Village and Farmstead, 1983, pp. 126 - 31; J. Thirsk, 'The Common Fields', Past and Present, 29, 1964, passim.

The castles are obvious features of the Norman Conquest of Wales. This discussion is not concerned with the large stone castles - for example Caerphilly or Pembroke - which dominate the contemporary "heritage" landscape. These are the result of the consolidation of the conquest and not of the conquest itself. The small earthen ringworks and mottes, although often visible only to the trained eye today, would to a Celt in the late eleventh or early twelfth century have been the most obvious introduction into the landscape. The ringworks and mottes were easy to build and provided bases from which small forces of soldiers could have commanded the local populations and been protected from them².

The distribution of castles in Glamorgan is now well known. Fieldwork is underway for the Royal Commission's inventory of the defensive sites of the county; site descriptions and preliminary interpretative discussions have appeared³. Work on the castles of other areas is not as straightforward. Lists of the locations and nature of castles are not easily obtainable and the interpretation of them is not simple. The Dyfed Archaeological Trust maintains a list of all the castles in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire as part of its sites and monuments record (SMR.) They have not been able to visit every castle and record the details of surviving earthworks, let alone to conduct a full search of the archive material which could outline the history of these castles. Due to the time constraints that exist when preparing a thesis this list has had to be used as the basis for research. The SMR list was supplemented by the short reports in D.J.C. King's Castellarium Anglicanum⁴, and where differences between the two were noted these were resolved by personal visits to the sites concerned. For example the SMR records that Sentence Camp, near Narberth, is a motte whilst King describes it as a castle ringwork. After approaching the castle, now covered by

²R.A. Brown, 'The Norman Conquest and the Genesis of the English Castle', Château Gaillard, 3, 1966, p. 8.

³C.J. Spurgeon and H.J. Thomas, 'Glamorgan Castles (General) Early Castles in Glamorgan', Archaeology in Wales, 20, 1980, pp. 56 - 82.

⁴D.J.C. King, Castellarium Anglicanum, 1983, pp. 390 - 404.

a few trees, and climbing up the bank the shape of ringwork is clearly visible; a circular bank, fronted by a ditch full of rubbish, surrounds a small central enclosure.

The large, impressive earthen towers of the Glamorgan mottes - symbols of Norman lordship and domination - were generally the first castles to be built in that area. At least twenty mottes were built before 1100. These occupy the prime sites along the routes of communication and formed the basis of the network of later major administrative centres. No mottes were built in the lordship of Glamorgan between 1100 and 1136. Ringworks were constructed instead. In Glamorgan, the motte appears to have been the primary castle of conquest, the ringwork that of local exploitation. This pattern, it has been argued, is complicated by the local geology⁵. The large amounts of material needed to build mottes are only found in areas where large quantities of glacial debris were deposited at the end of the Ice Age. Hence there is thought to be a close correspondence between the areas which are not thought to have been covered with ice sheets and the distribution of castle ringworks.

For the purposes of this thesis the impact of the castles on the landscape will be examined through a case study of Pembrokeshire. This study has two goals. First, to deduce the reasons underlying the distribution pattern of the different types of castle as part of an attempt to further the model of the settlement of the area proposed in Chapter 3. Second, to see if the pattern here was geologically determined, as suggested above. One problem was immediately encountered. As in Glamorgan the major Norman centres of the area were converted into stone castles as soon as was possible; once the earthen banks had stabilised construction using stone became possible. Unlike Glamorgan no excavation of castles has recently been carried out and therefore determination of the earliest form of most masonry castles is impossible. Many small earthwork castles were not adapted into later masonry ones and an investigation of these sites was

⁵C.J. Spurgeon, 'Mottes and Castle-ringworks in Wales', in J.R. Kenyon and R. Avent, eds., Castles in Wales and the Marches, 1987, pp. 28 - 34.

carried out with the hope that it would provide sufficient material which could be used to evaluate the earlier model of planted settlement in this part of south Wales.

The Pembrokeshire mottes tend to lie close to the Landsker (the Anglo-Norman/Celtic frontier.) Thirteen out of the seventeen sites lie within three miles of this boundary. They lie close together along the northern limit of the line of English penetration. Most of them, as the map (Figure 5.1) shows, lie in front of it. This supports the idea that the landsker should not be thought of as the border itself, but as a part of a frontier zone, which appears to have been protected by an area of mottes and planted villages. The ringworks are more widely distributed, and with the exception of one group, are not concentrated in any particular area. There are six ringworks in the north east of the area. Only one of them is of the typical form, two others have the additional defence of a bailey and three are described by King as "partial"⁶, which can be taken to mean unfinished. This group of ringworks may indicate an unsuccessful attempt to colonise this area.

The distances between castles and villages was the next factor examined. In Normandy de Bôuard found that mottes were usually sited close to villages and ringworks were generally isolated⁷. At first there was thought to be some suggestion of a similar pattern here. There were four isolated ringworks, but only one isolated motte. Yet there were equal numbers of both mottes and ringworks within or very close to villages. Hence there is no clear-cut way in which the distribution of villages relates to the pattern of castles.

The final factor examined was the geology. No pattern comparable with that in the Vale of Glamorgan was found. Geological information was available for sixteen

⁶King, op. cit., pp. 392 - 4.

⁷M. de Bôuard, 'Les Petits Enceintes Circulaires d' Origine Medievale en Normandie', Château Gaillard, 1, 1964, p. 30.

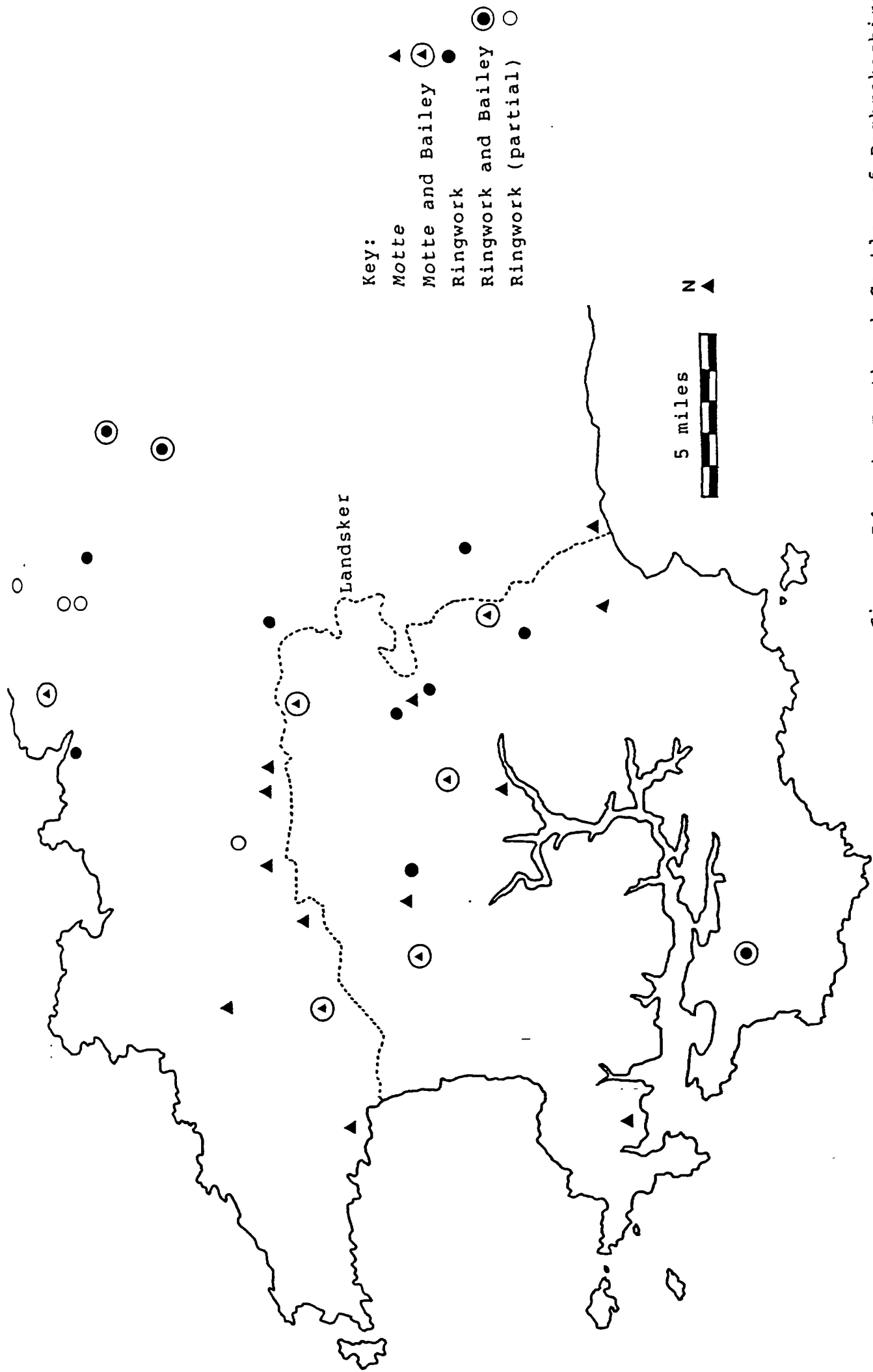


Figure 5.1 : The Earthwork Castles of Pembrokeshire.

sites⁸. All the mottes are on non-glacial material; only one castle lies on the boulder clay and this is a ringwork. There is a problem with the geological history of south Pembrokeshire. The thin ice sheets of the Irish Sea passed over this area, yet their impact was probably not as massive as that of the Welsh glacial ice which created the depositional features of the Vale of Glamorgan. The resulting geological features are likely to have been smaller and therefore were not recorded on geological maps of this scale⁹. Comparison of the Pembrokeshire sheets with one of the Glamorgan sheets showed the areas of boulder clay and outwash sands and gravel were far more extensive, and therefore far more noticeable, in the later area¹⁰. Until the glacial geomorphology of this area is studied in more detail a distribution pattern based on physical geography cannot be properly rejected.

It appears - in the light of present evidence - that the distribution pattern of mottes and ringworks in Pembroke is governed by strategic principles, rather than by geological factors. In this case Spurgeon's interpretation of the Glamorgan pattern must be open to doubt. The mottes, probably because of their height and restricted perimeters, are more suitable as primary castles of campaign and as frontier positions¹¹. The ringworks are castles of exploitation founded by local lords after the initial conquest had been achieved. The correlation between mottes and glacial material in Glamorgan could well be a fortuitous, and not a deterministic, pattern. Finally it is fitting to empathize with the indigenous population of the area. Their country would have been taken by force by an invader who would have constructed

⁸Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1:50,000 scale maps, sheets 244/5 (Pembroke and Linney Head), 228 (Haverfordwest) and 226/7 (Milford). These sheets cover only that area south of a line drawn approximately from Newgale to Llanboidy, and west of a line from Llanboidy to Marros.

⁹Spurgeon, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁰Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1:50,000 scale maps, sheet 261/2 (Bridgend.)

¹¹Spurgeon and Thomas, op. cit., pp. 67 - 8, initially considered this argument; but Spurgeon's more recent work (op. cit.) advocates the geologically determined view of the distribution pattern.

in their midst a defended residence from which he could dominate their lives.

The second element in the "landsacpe package" is the planted town. A discussion of the origins of urbanism cannot be undertaken without a definition of the concept itself. It would be possible to use a legal definition and, as a consequence, to take as urban every community in which burgage tenure is found. Yet it is likely that burgage tenure in south Wales existed in some rural areas as well as in the towns¹². Therefore other approaches to the definition of urbanism have been used and a list of the urban centres of south Wales is to found in Appendix 1.

Other authors have provided definitions of "urban" too. These definitions do not differ substantially from Childe's. Clark and Slack have listed the four characteristics of a pre-industrial town as a centre with a specialist economic function, a peculiar concentration of people and a sophisticated political structure; finally, the impact of this centre should stretch beyond its immediate locality and populace¹³. Reynolds defines the town as a settlement in which a significant proportion of the inhabitants make their living from a variety of non-agricultural occupations, such as trade, industry or administration. The settlement also serves as a centre - possibly administrative or economic - for the surrounding area. Her definition also requires the settlement to be a social unit which is more or less distinct from the surrounding countryside. This distinction is, it is argued, probably due to the greater density and size of population of the settlement and the differences in occupational structure of that population¹⁴.

The contribution to town development made by the pre-urban nuclei of the monastic centres and the maesdrefi

¹²This argument is explored in much greater detail in Chapter 8.

¹³P. Clark and P. Slack, 'Introduction', in P. Clark and P. Slack, eds., Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500 - 1700, 1972, p. 4.

¹⁴S. Reynolds, An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns, 1977, p. ix.

(royal households) should not be over-stressed. The deliberately planted town was undoubtedly a Norman introduction into south Wales¹⁵. In this way the history of urban origins in Wales appears to differ from that in Ireland. The possibility that monasteries formed some form of pre-urban nucleus appears to be accepted there. Doherty has claimed that Kells, Clonmacnoise and other monastic centres were urban from the tenth century onwards. He does however qualify his statement by claiming that they are urban in a way which contemporary people would not perceive them to be so¹⁶. This paper has prompted considerable debate. Simms and Clarke have defended Doherty's views¹⁷. Yet B.J. Graham (accepting the concept of a monastic town, albeit with considerable reservation) claims that towns in pre-Conquest Ireland had not developed beyond a "nascent state" and that there was no urban network in this period¹⁸.

The combination of castle and town is standard practice in south Wales. Once castles had been established small settlements would grow up nearby to supply food and materials, both luxuries and necessities¹⁹. Eventually they would be given the formal privileges of a borough codified into a charter. This would further encourage growth and would increase the profit made by the conquerors from their holdings. The towns are also argued to have played a "psychological part" in subduing the Welsh: they were the sole places where market trading could take place²⁰.

The majority of Welsh towns were planted between 1070 and the early fourteenth century. The identification of phases of plantation is difficult; the coastal towns and towns in lowland areas are earlier than those on the upland fringe.

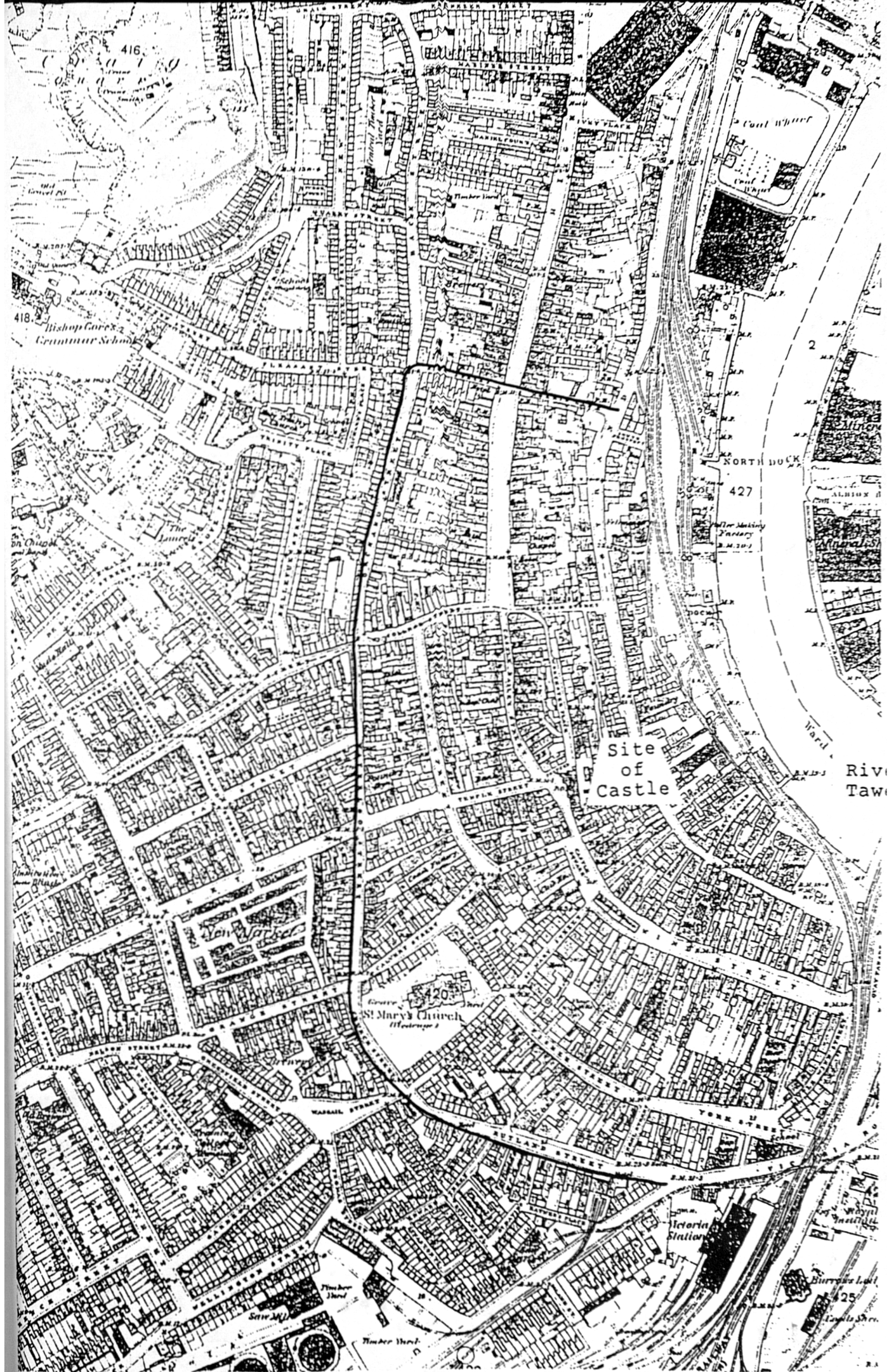
¹⁵C.J. Delaney, 'Welsh Urban Archaeology', in M.W. Barley, ed., European Towns, Their Archaeology and Early History, 1977, p. 37.

¹⁶C. Doherty, 'The Monastic Town in Early Medieval Ireland', in H.B. Clarke and A. Simms, eds., The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe, 2 vols., 1985, p. 68.

¹⁷H.B. Clarke and A. Simms, 'Analogy v. Theory: a Rejoinder', Journal of Historical Geography, 13, 1987, pp. 57 - 63.

¹⁸B.J. Graham, 'Urban Genesis in Early Medieval Ireland', Journal of Historical Geography, 13, 1987, p. 16.

¹⁹R.A. Griffiths, 'The Boroughs of the Lordship of Glamorgan', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, p. 335.



Map 5.2: Swansea in 1878, after the Ordnance Survey map.

For example, in eastern Glamorgan the first stage took place prior to the death of William, Earl of Gloucester, in 1183. There then appears to have been a brief pause until the de Clare family started the movement of town plantation in the highland fringe from 1217 onwards²¹. Cardiff, Abergavenny, Tenby and Pembroke are all thought to have been founded in the last years of the eleventh century and Carmarthen was founded within the first decade of the next century. Swansea was not granted its charter until 1153 at the earliest, by when work had started on the construction of the urban fabric at Haverfordwest, Neath, Kidwelly and Kenfig. The towns of Gwent are also first mentioned in this period, as are two of the Pembrokeshire towns: Fishguard and St. David's. The civil war of the second quarter of the twelfth century curtailed activity and when town foundation continued it was concentrated in the lordships of Glamorgan, Pembroke and Monmouthshire. Small towns such as St. Clear's, Cilgerran, Llanelli, and Grosmont all have their origins then. Other, similar sized communities, were established throughout the period up to 1300, when Soulsby considers that "the forces of town plantation had largely been spent"²².

The evidence for the detailed study of urban communities in south Wales is uneven. The topographical evidence is usually good, the archaeological evidence variable and the documentary evidence usually poor. A brief study of Swansea - the main urban centre of south Wales in the pre-industrial era - illustrates these problems. The original plan of the town can be constructed easily from the pre-1941 street maps (Figure 5.2). The "three nights blitz" of February that year damaged much of the archaeological stratigraphy and has made urban archaeology, where the opportunities exist for its practice, extremely complex. From the limited documentary evidence it is possible to construct an outline history of the

²¹Griffiths, op. cit., p. 338.

²²Soulsby, op. cit., pp. 7 - 15.

town and to gauge the impact of urbanism on the landscape.

Swansea Castle appears to have been founded before 1116 and the town would have come into existence a little later²³. The archaeological evidence for the earliest town and the relationship between it and the castle has not been exploited. An excavation was planned by the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust for the summer of 1981, but was not - through no fault of the Trust's - carried out. The original charter of the borough was granted some time between 1153 and 1184. By then it is likely that the borough would have been in existence for some time. As J.R. Alban has pointed out the text of the charter is largely in the past tense and therefore the rights it gives to the burgesses must have been in existence sometime before they were written down²⁴. It is possible that an earlier charter existed but was lost or destroyed and hence the past tense is being used to refer to the original document. The charter contains some standard clauses and some which were geared especially to the local conditions and those of the March. As elsewhere, for an annual rent of one shilling every burgess received a plot for the construction of a dwelling, commercial premises, an oven and a brewhouse. Within the borough, the powers of the de Breos family were circumscribed; members of his household could not testify against burgesses in his own courts. As the March was a military frontier an obligation of military service was also placed upon the burgesses. This was to provide for the defence of the town. Hence if the campaign took men away from Swansea for more than a day it was to be at the lord's expense. Other clauses in the charter show that the burgesses had considerable rights over the surrounding area. Each burgess was entitled to take seven acres of land for arable use and had rights of pasture, hunting and fishing. Limited exploitation of the area's natural resources, including woodland, was also permitted by the charter.

The town's early history is a chequered one. Between 1212 and 1220 it changed hands several times and in 1215 it

²³E. Evans, Swansea Castle and the Medieval Town, 1983, p. 22.

²⁴J.R. Alban, Swansea 1184-1984, 1984, p. 4 citing PRO: E 164/1.

was burnt to the ground. It was attacked by the Welsh in both 1257 and 1287, and possibly at other times which went unrecorded²⁵. Nevertheless the town was able to re-establish its economic base and in the earliest surviving set of financial accounts (1367) was worth £76 7s. 11d. to the Marcher lord. Rents, tolls, court fines, taxes on brewing and charges at the lord's mill all contributed to this sum. There are also surviving accounts for 1400 and 1449, when the revenues due to the lord were £60 1s. 11d. and £39 9s. 8d.²⁶. The gradual decline in revenue could represent the success of the burgesses in establishing themselves as independent of the lord's power, or alternatively indicate economic decline in the later Middle Ages. Swansea has been examined in detail here, but it is just one example of the many towns of south Wales. By the mid-thirteenth century the towns of Wales - communities of independent commercial life - had become a potent economic force within the landscape. They had reached the level when - according to the arguments of Reynolds which were cited above - they are clearly urban. They were central places for the surrounding area, they possessed a distinctive social structure and non-agricultural occupations were pursued by many.

The third component of the "landscape package" was Latin monasticism. Monasticism was known in fifth century Britain. The Llandaff charters refer to thirty six monasteries in Wales, and if the pre-Conquest ecclesiae were also monastic foundations the number rises to fifty²⁷. Apart from a religious nature, there is no one characteristic feature of these communities. One Celtic monastic site has been excavated²⁸. On Burry Holms, a small tidal island off the

²⁵W.R.B. Robinson, 'Medieval Swansea', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, pp. 362 - 3 and p. 366.

²⁶ibid., p. 374.

²⁷W.E. Davies, Wales in the Early Middle Ages, 1982, pp. 143 - 9.

²⁸D.B. Hague, 'Burryholms', Medieval Archaeology, 14, 1970, pp. 171 - 2; The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 1, part 3, The Early Christian Period, 1976, pp. 14 - 5.

north west coast of Gower, a monastic cell was established before 1089. The structural remains for this period are limited. Four post holes, presumably part of an early wooden church, underlie a stone building. One of the post holes cut into a grave of earlier, but unknown, date. The site was surrounded by a wall of turf revetted on the outside with small stones. The living quarters associated with the early period were extensively robbed to provide material for the later structures on the site. A hall (13 x 5 metres, with an internal division) appears to have been the main building. A parallel wall to the east is thought to have bounded a yard outside the main building. The early medieval features overlay two round huts of probable Iron Age date. The whole site covered an area of 75 x 25 metres, i.e. 0.19 hectares (half an acre), making it far, far smaller than the later monastic sites. Burry Holms belongs to a class of small monastic sites other examples of which have been found elsewhere in western and northern Britain, for example at Church Island, Co. Kerry, or Ardwall Island²⁹.

A frequent act of piety amongst Norman nobility was the establishment and patronage of a monastery. Hence it was to be expected that once parts of Wales had been conquered that gifts of land and other endowments would be made to established French and English religious communities. In turn this led to the foundation of independent houses in Wales³⁰. The post-Conquest monastic foundations were different from their predecessors. Spiritually, they offered a rigorously ascetic experience previously unknown³¹. Economically, they made a major and lasting impact on the landscape. Monastic houses were generally concentrated in the south of Wales. Of the forty seven established before 1485, eleven were in Monmouthshire, seven in Pembroke and five each in Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire³². Their distribution and foundation dates are shown in Figure 5.3.

²⁹A.C. Thomas, The Early Christian Archaeology of Northern Britain, 1971, pp. 69 - 73 and p. 83.

³⁰F.G. Cowley, The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066 - 1349, 1977, pp. 9 - 12.

³¹Davies, op. cit., p. 152.

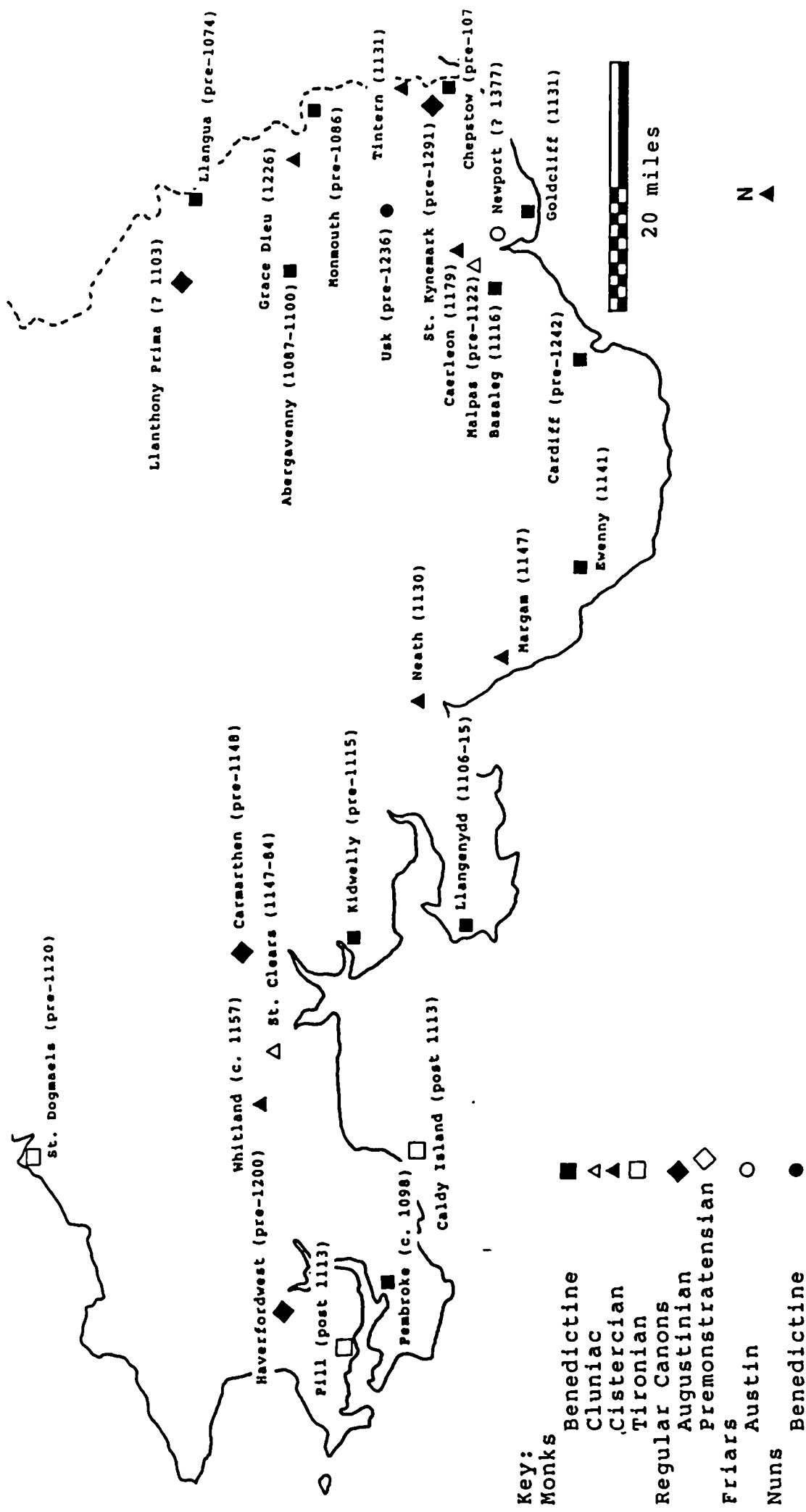


Figure 5.3: Monastic houses in southern Wales, c. 1400.

When compared with their English or continental counterparts the Welsh monasteries were poor, but they were affluent when set alongside the rest of the Welsh church³³. They exerted a profound economic influence on the life of the March and re-inforced the financial power of the castles and boroughs. By the end of the thirteenth century monastic landowners held numerous large and small properties and are stated as having "well over 40,000 acres under the plough"³⁴.

Each monastic order favoured different types of possession. In Wales, the Benedictines appear to have preferred small landed estates of up to five hundred acres or properties in towns. These were let as any other landlord would manage his property and were quite a profitable source of revenue. In the 1291 Taxatio Ecclesiastica their estate of Goldcliff was worth £23 13s. 8d. in rents and a further £13 6s. 8d. in pleas, fines, tolls and perquisites³⁵. The Benedictines derived an equal, if not a greater value, from spiritualities. The orders of regular canons were most interested in spiritual income. The Augustinian house of Llanthony held the rectorial tithes of fourteen churches in Ireland and nine in the Diocese of Hereford; in 1291 they were worth £96³⁶.

The most acquisitive order was the Cistercians. Their lifestyle emphasised poverty, seclusion and simplicity. Therefore their abbeys were built in remote locations and granges, where farming was carried out by the monks themselves, were established on the margins of cultivation. In south Wales their estates included large areas of mountain pasture and low-lying, ill-drained lands in marshes and near river mouths³⁷. The Cistercian abbeys and granges in the

³²G. Williams, The Welsh Church From the Conquest to the Reformation, revised ed., 1976, p. 346.

³³ibid., p. 349.

³⁴Cowley, op. cit., pp. 54 - 6.

³⁵ibid., pp. 57 - 8.

³⁶ibid., pp. 65 - 8.

³⁷R.A. Donkin, The Cistercians, 1978, p. 16.

Diocese of Llandaff are shown in Figure 5.4.

In 1300 the Cistercian community of Neath Abbey was the richest monastic foundation in Wales; it had been the poorest in 1200 and was founded as recently as 1130. By 1291 over 5,000 acres were being managed and 4897 sheep, with an estimated value of £130 13s. 4d., grazed its pastures. This flock had probably once been much larger; the scab epidemic of 1281-2 had reduced the numbers of all Glamorgan flocks drastically³⁸. The abbey together with its extensive network of granges, stretching from Gower to east Glamorgan, held property worth a total of £255 17s. 4½d. The abbey had urban holdings in Cardiff and Neath, which along with holdings in the villages of Caerleon and Llantwit accounted for a quarter of the house's income. The other major Cistercian abbey in south Wales was at Margam. It too had a complex and profitable system of grange farming. The monks held fishing rights in the Rivers Afan, Neath and Tawe, where a weir was constructed, in Kenfig Pool and off Paviland in Gower³⁹. Coal, lead and iron ore were mined too⁴⁰. Neath Abbey owned a ship, which was used for trade, and had secured exemptions from certain tolls as early as 1200⁴¹.

The large concentrations of land around the abbeys were contrasted by the smaller holdings of the granges. The establishment of these monastic farms ensured that the Cistercian Order made its impact throughout south Wales. The most impressive surviving remains of a Welsh grange are to be found at Monknash in the western Vale of Glamorgan⁴². It dates from the earliest years of the establishment of Neath Abbey. The grange buildings are surrounded by a large pentangular enclosure. At the widest point it is 480 m. across and is marked by a bank (doubled in places) 5 - 8 m. wide and up to 1

³⁸D.H. Williams, The Welsh Cistercians - Aspects of Their Economic History, 1969, p. 64.

³⁹ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁰ibid., p. 78.

⁴¹Donkin, op. cit., pp. 141 - 4.

⁴²The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 3 part 2, Medieval Secular Monuments, Non-defensive, pp. 262 - 6.

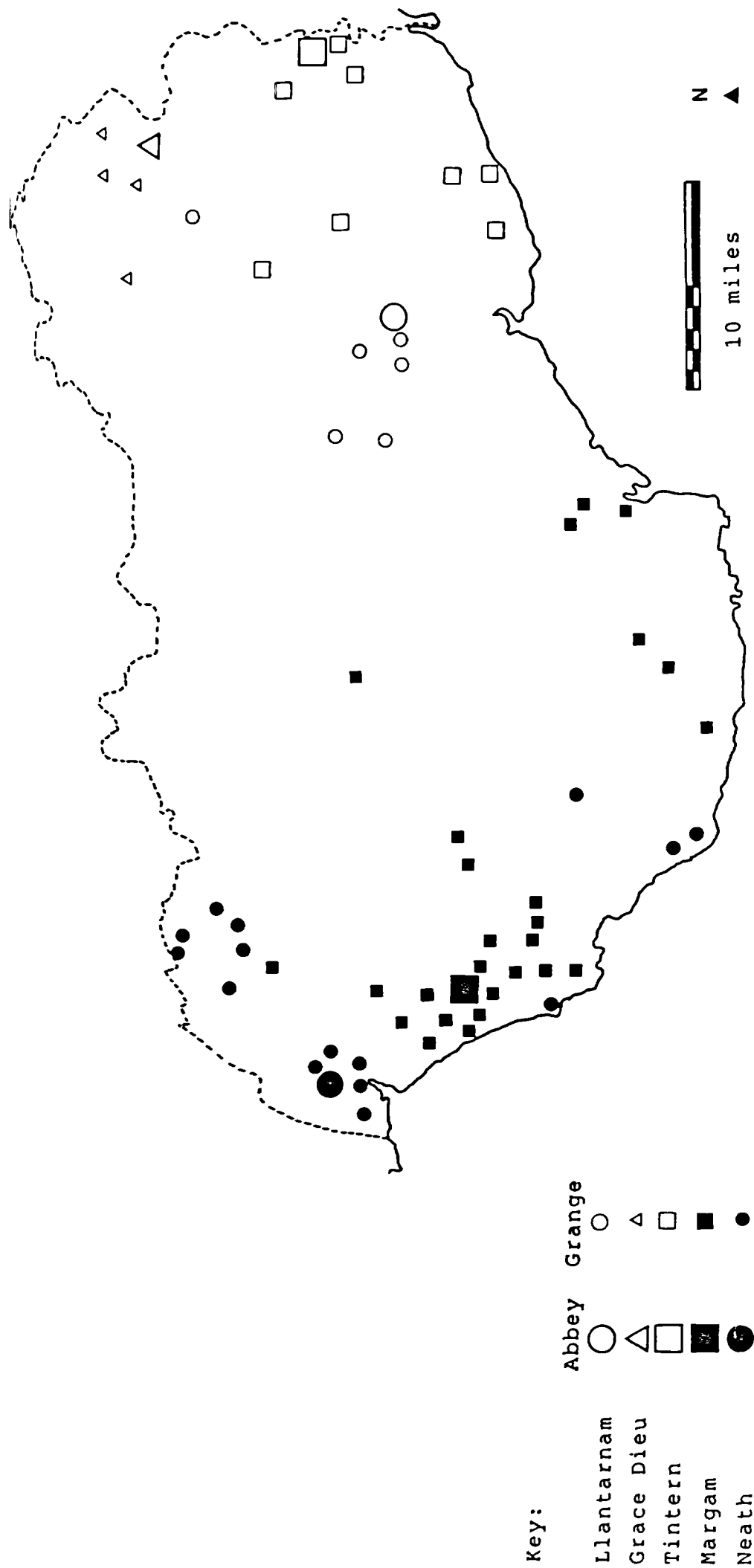


Figure 5.4: Cistercian Abbeys and thier Granges in the Diocese of Llandaff, c. 1400.

m. high, which is fronted by a ditch 5 m. wide and 1 m. deep. The main surviving features are parts of a large barn, 64 x 10 m., with a capacity of 2,500 cubic metres. This structure has mortared masonry, angle and pilaster buttresses, ventilation slits and two entrances with projecting porches. Within the compound various building platforms and footings can be seen, along with hollow-ways, a dovecote (large parts of which survive) and yards. A corn mill and possibly a church were also part of the grange complex. The Cistercian grange buildings cover an area of 17 hectares (41 acres), which when compared with the 0.19 of a hectare at the pre-Conquest monastic site at Burry Holms, demonstrate the impact of post-Conquest monasticism on the south Wales landscape.

In 1291 Monknash grange farmed ten carucates of land. The exact area of this land is not known. A boundary bank, a mile long, marks the north west limit of the monastic lands. The Royal Commission argues that the other boundaries can be inferred from the 25" to the mile Ordnance Survey map and that the total area of the complex was 342 hectares (820 acres), or 325 hectares if the buildings are not included⁴³. Their argument does however appear to over-simplify the difficulty of tracing the boundaries of the monastic property. Robinson has argued, from the distribution of tithe-free fields in 1839, that the grange was smaller than this and that it comprised 243 hectares⁴⁴. Either size would have looked impressive alongside the fragmented strips and small enclosed fields of the medieval farmer. It would have clearly represented the economic power of the monastic orders within the south Wales landscape.

The Normans had a considerable impact on the landscape of south Wales. They brought with them castles, urban settlements and monasteries with their granges, none of which had been seen in Wales before. These elements represent the landscape of an élite, not the landscape of the ordinary man or woman. The village has generally been viewed as a part

⁴³ibid., p. 262.

⁴⁴D.M. Robinson, 'The Monastic Grange in South East Wales', Annual Report of the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust 1980/1, 1980, p. 47.

of this "package." Whether or not this is justified is examined in the next section where the archaeological evidence for the Norman plantation of villages will be considered.

Section 5.2: The archaeology of the medieval village.

The morphogenetic study questioned the view that all the villages were planted in the wake of the Norman conquest. Only a few villages, found in a limited area, appear to have been deliberately planned and planted. This section will examine the archaeological evidence for this argument. Unlike the castles, towns and monasteries there is virtually no early documentary evidence for the post-Conquest village; almost all that is known is the product of excavation. This section will focus, initially, on the two most extensive village excavations: Barry and Highlight (both in the Vale of Glamorgan,) this will be followed by a more general discussion of the archaeological evidence.

Highlight was excavated between 1964 and 1969 by the Barry and Vale Archaeology Group. No new work has been undertaken since then, but the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust has maintained a series of watching briefs on the site and certain new structures and features have come to light. The site is important because of the variety of buildings found: ecclesiastical, domestic and ancillary. In terms of area uncovered it is also one of the largest excavation projects on a deserted medieval village site in south Wales. A number of interim reports were produced as the excavation proceeded and this summary is based upon them⁴⁵.

The village itself appears to have covered an area of 250 by 150 metres and probably comprised a series of crofts along a roadway. The extent of the village cannot be measured with accuracy because most of the remains have now been ploughed. The actual area of the village is likely to have been a little smaller than the figures given above. The moated

⁴⁵H.J. Thomas, 'Uchelolau (Highlight) Deserted Medieval Village', Morgannwg, 10, 1966, pp. 63 - 6; H.J. Thomas, 'Uchelolau (Highlight) Deserted Medieval Village', Morgannwg, 12, 1967, pp. 82 - 3; H.J. Thomas, 'Uchelolau (Highlight) Deserted Medieval Village', Morgannwg, 14, 1970, pp. 88 - 92; The Glamorgan Inventory, op. cit., pp.107 - 10 and pp. 226 - 8.

manor house stood a little distance away from the village itself, and the church lay at the north western extremity of the village.

The church was constructed in the first half of the thirteenth century and deserted in the latter half of the sixteenth. Early religious activity in the area of the church is likely as a twelfth-century stone font was found in an adjacent field. Within the churchyard lay the priest's house. A croft around the building was probably formed by an annexe attached to the graveyard. Rubbish dumped over the wall of the croft included twelfth century sherds. The building was drained by a rubble filled sump in the floor, which led to a slabbed drain. This contained a coin of Edward I and thirteenth and fourteenth century pottery sherds. Other structures included a mill: a timber building adjacent to the stream, in which were found twelfth and thirteenth century sherds. Near this was a corn drying kiln which contained a large quantity of carbonised grain.

Only one ordinary house was discovered. Unfortunately the site had been partially destroyed by a later quarry and a kiln. Sufficient pottery and metal work were recovered to date the construction of the house to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The house lay within a croft about 60 metres by 40 metres in size. A building platform was found nearby within a similar sized croft. It has been argued that both were constructed as part of the thirteenth century expansion of the village into a previously uninhabited area. The date of the pottery found here was contemporary with that found on the house site. Evidence exists for two further house sites. An occupation area comprising a hearth and thirteenth and fourteenth century pottery was found during the construction of a pipeline in 1977, whilst a habitation area with a hearth and twelfth century pottery was found during the original excavations.

The moated site at Highlight is the most thoroughly excavated example of this type of structure in Wales. A square platform, 35 metres across was built in marshy ground. It has a long structural history beginning in the late twelfth century and continuing until the fifteenth. The two buildings of the first phase were replaced by a single substantial

structure in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Large quantities of refuse, including Saintonge pottery (which was used to date the structure), were found associated with this building. Slight structural remains of the manor house, which replaced the moated site, are preserved in the modern Highlight Farm.

Barry was originally a small village perhaps typical of many in the Vale of Glamorgan. During the nineteenth century it grew to become a sizeable town around a dockyard. The Old Village Road excavations at Barry were different from those at Highlight. The latter were concerned with a number of sites spread over an area, whereas Barry was a small site (about 100 metres by 30 metres) with some stratigraphic depth. The Barry and Vale Archaeological Group started the excavation of a medieval house here in 1962⁴⁶. In 1977 excavations were renewed by the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, which discovered a further three houses. Two of these were excavated and the third examined whilst a watching brief was maintained on the destruction of the site. This summary of the excavations is also based on interim reports⁴⁷. A full report was issued after this chapter was first written; it does not alter the conclusions of the earlier reports and does not therefore alter the substance of this chapter in any way⁴⁸

The first house to be discovered is now known as house C. It was built on a platform cut into the slope. It was parallelogram in shape and was 15.23 metres long and 6.55 metres wide. There were three rooms of uniform width, the central one being much longer than the other two. There were two opposing doors giving on to this central room. The house could well have been damp as four slabbed drains ran

⁴⁶H.J. Thomas and G. Davies, 'A Medieval House Site at Barry Glamorgan,' Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society, 96, 1974, pp. 4 - 22.

⁴⁷H.J. Thomas and G. Dowdell, 'Barry, Old Village Road,' Morgannwg, 21, 1977, pp. 92-5; H.J. Thomas and G. Dowdell, 'Barry Village,' Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust Annual Report 1976-7, 1977, pp. 12-17; H.J. Thomas, 'Barry, Old Village,' Morgannwg, 23, 1979, p. 91.

⁴⁸H.J. Thomas and G. Dowdell, 'A Shrunken Medieval Village at Barry, South Glamorgan', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 136, 1987, pp. 94 - 137.

underneath it. No tiles were found on site and hence the house was probably thatched. The chamfered, internally splayed window jambs found on site suggest a degree of comfort, perhaps indicating occupation by a moderately prosperous farmer. A metalled yard lay to the south of the house, and a well close to the north west corner of the building. Middens were found outside both doors; they contained late thirteenth and early fourteenth century pottery, both local wares and imported green glaze jugs, iron arrowheads, bronze buckles and a mid-fourteenth century brass rowel spur, which appears to have been deposited just before the site was deserted.

The first period of activity on the house A and B site is thought to date from c. 1200 to c. 1250. On house site A there are slight traces of timber building, whilst on site B there were the remains of a floor and the west end of a house on a platform cut into sloping ground. A well is thought to have lain close to the site in an area of thick black soil containing late twelfth and early thirteenth century pottery; this is thought to have been a garden or a farmyard. Under the black soil, and therefore earlier, or at the latest contemporary with period I, were two small pits. One contained hearth material, the other limpet shells.

Periods II and III take the development of the site up to c. 1300. Houses A and B were rebuilt as substantial stone dwellings, possibly with two rooms each. They were of similar construction; dressed stone was used and the windows were broadly chamfered with internal splays. Some time after the construction of building B a byre or stable was added to its eastern end. The slab drains of period I continued in use through periods II and III. Period IV saw the demolition of the stable attached to house B, and the conversion of a small dwelling into a sizeable house. Rubbish was allowed to accumulate outside the house; this contained pot sherds, food debris including limpet shells and a penny of Edward III (dated 1344 - 57.) Only one wall of the fourth house was found. This was associated with a thirty metre square spread of occupation debris, perhaps representing the backyard or croft of the site. Late thirteenth and early fourteenth century pottery were found on the site. A corn drying kiln was found in the vicinity of this house.

On first sight it appears that Taylor's proposition that villages first developed in the thirteenth century is correct. There appears to be no certain material at either site which clearly relates to any earlier settlement. This pattern may only be a product of the archaeological record and cannot be taken at face value. In south Wales villages have almost always been dated by pottery; Highlight and Barry, along with Michaelstone-le-Pit, Wrinstone, Rhossili and six other Glamorgan sites all listed by the Royal Commission were dated in this way⁴⁹. Deserted villages in Monmouthshire - for example Runston and Llanwern - have also been dated by pottery. Yet Wales was apparently aceramic until c. 1100, if not until c. 1150. Pottery was made and used in Wales during the Roman period, and it was being imported for use at sub-Roman sites such as Dinas Powys. However there is no evidence for pottery manufacture or use for several centuries after this.

This contrasts considerably with the post-Conquest situation. Coarse wares were being made from local clays and fine wares were being imported from England and France. Recent research has focused on one particular group of coarse wares: those made from Vale fabrics⁵⁰. On the evidence from the excavations at Cosmeston these wares are thought to have evolved some time in the thirteenth century and to have flourished at least until the last quarter of the fourteenth. The production of Vale fabric superseded an earlier industry. At Cosmeston early wares, described tentatively as "proto-Vale fabric", have been recovered⁵¹. This phrase is a convenient and temporary label, as there is no evidence to show that this fabric was an earlier form of Vale fabric. (Equally, there is no evidence which indicates that it was not.) It is certainly earlier in date, but the two may not be related. Proto-Vale

⁴⁹The Glamorgan Inventory, op. cit., pp. 215 - 43.

⁵⁰B.E. Vyner, 'Vale Fabric: a Medieval Pottery Industry in Glamorgan', Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales, 5, 1982, passim; C. Price and R. Newman, 'Vale fabric: a revaluation', Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales, 8, 1985, passim.

⁵¹Personal communication from Jonathan Parkhouse, formerly Director of the Cosmeston excavations and Caron Price, formerly finds assistant there.

fabric has been found at Llanmaes (where it is undated) and at Llantrithyd where an associated coin hoard firmly places the ceramic assemblage in the twelfth century. It is interesting to note that Vale fabric was absent from this site, confirming the Cosmeston evidence for its thirteenth century origins.

There is further evidence which suggests that pottery production was quite widespread from c. 1200, but not before⁵². This comes in the form of personal and place-names. The occupational name Croc is known from the Vale of Glamorgan in the thirteenth century, and the place name Crockarton (or Crockerton) and Crockershulle are found adjacent to the Norman towns of Cardiff and Bridgend respectively. This implies that pottery was being made just outside the walls of these new, planted settlements, presumably because kilns carried with them a fire risk. Further evidence which suggests that pottery was a post-Conquest introduction comes from the Welsh language. The Welsh words for vessel forms are taken directly from English; for example plât (plate), jwg (jug) or basn (basin), whilst there are Welsh words to describe the forms that can be made from metal, wood or leather, for example cunnog (bucket) or llestr (vessel). Caution must therefore be exercised when pottery is used to date sites. The date derived from the pottery may not represent the date of the origin of the site, but rather just the first appearance of pottery on that site.

Highlight and Barry are not the only two excavated post-Conquest sites, although they are - at the moment - the most fully explored. Over forty other domestic buildings belonging to the period c. 1150 to c. 1500 are known in south east Wales⁵³. In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries

⁵²D.H. Evans, 'Some Current Problems in Defining Late Medieval Pottery in Wales', Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales, 6, 1983, pp. 2 - 4.

⁵³D.M. Robinson, 'Medieval Vernacular Buildings Below the Ground: a Review and Corpus for South East Wales', Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust Annual Report 1981/2, 1982, pp. 116-121. Another survey of Welsh peasant housing has appeared in print since Robinson's work, yet the delay in producing this latter work makes Robinson's the most up-to-date and comprehensive survey available: L.A.S. Butler, 'Wales - Peasant Housing', H.E. Hallam, ed., The Agrarian History of
(Footnote continued)

the standard dwelling, for example that from Rhossili ⁵⁴, was dry built from crude rubble with rounded internal and external corners. Evidence for roof structures is limited; but post-holes at certain sites suggest roofs supported by timber uprights, but elsewhere they may have rested upon walls capped with large stones or sleeper beams.

The origin of this type of building is of importance to this section of the study. If they are imported then the argument for village plantation would be strengthened, whereas if they display continuity onwards from earlier forms then plantation can perhaps be rejected. Similar buildings to those in south east Wales have been found at Hutholes and Houndtor on Dartmoor⁵⁵, in Ireland⁵⁶ and in Brittany⁵⁷. These buildings may therefore represent part of a Celtic, as opposed to an Anglo-Norman, building tradition. The integral rounded corners, which are a standard feature on south Welsh buildings at this time, are also found on the pre-Conquest structure at Glan-y-Mor, and possibly, at Dinas Powys (although the evidence for the shape of the buildings here is poor⁵⁸.) There appears to be no sudden change in building type that can be associated with the conquest; rather there is a gradual evolution of more and more sophisticated types of dwelling throughout the period up to c. 1500.

The excavation of village sites in Wales lags far

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England and Wales, volume 2, 1042 to 1350, 1988, pp. 949 - 57.

⁵⁴A.F. Davidson, J.E. Davidson, H.S. Owen-John and L.A. Toft, 'Excavations at the Sand Covered Medieval Settlement at Rhossili, West Glamorgan', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 34, 1987, p. 249.

⁵⁵G. Beresford, 'Three Deserted Medieval Settlements on Dartmoor, a report on E. Marie Minter's Excavations', Medieval Archaeology, 23, 1979, pp. 130 - 7.

⁵⁶D.M. Waterman, 'A Marshland Habitation Site near Larne (Co. Antrim)', Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 34, series 3, 1971, p. 66.

⁵⁷P. Andre, R. Bertrand and M. Clement, 'La Maison à Pignons en Abside', Archeologia, 97, 1976, pp. 28 - 30.

⁵⁸L. Alcock, Dinas Powys an Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan, 1963, p. 68.

behind similar work in England. There is, as yet, no Welsh equivalent to Wharram Percy. It was hoped that the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust's excavations at Cosmeston would be of sufficient scale to start redressing the balance. Regrettably the Government's decision to end the Community Programme job creation schemes has curtailed activity at the site drastically. Any programme of excavation which hopes to date nucleation must aim to produce large quantities of material which can be dated by a range of absolute means. There are - given the current level of scientific knowledge - problems with the interpretation of absolute dates derived from medieval contexts. Yet it must be noted that there appears to be no other way forward. The search for material of this nature will also have to contend with the evidence for structures which might have been very flimsy, for as Gerald of Wales wrote in the late twelfth century,

"It is not their habit to build great palaces, or vast and towering structures of stone and cement. Instead they content themselves with wattled huts on the edges of the forest, put up with little labour or expense, but strong enough to last a year or so."⁵⁹

It must also be remembered that the picture presented by the excavated evidence is spatially skewed and that therefore the archaeological evidence does not give a full picture of village developments across south Wales. In the previous chapter it was noted that deserted medieval settlements were rare in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, but were common in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. Hence it is from the latter areas that all the excavated evidence discussed in this chapter has come. The pattern is also complicated at spatial levels other than that of county. Most of the early work took place in the Welshry; Lady Fox excavated several late medieval hut platforms on Gelligaer Common in the 1930s⁶⁰. The recent trend has been towards

⁵⁹ Gerald of Wales, The Description of Wales, 1.17, translated by L. Thorpe, 1980, pp. 251 - 2.

⁶⁰ A. Fox, 'Dinas Noddfa, Gellygaer [sic] Common, Glamorgan. Excavations in 1936', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 92, 1937, pp. 247 - 68; A. Fox, 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common, Glamorgan. Excavations in 1938.' Archaeologia Cambrensis, 94, (Footnote continued)

excavation of sites on the lowland and no work has taken place on the highland for some decades. It will be argued in Chapter 7 that the most thoroughly explored site on the Gower Peninsula - Rhossili - is part of a settlement pattern associated with a pre-Conquest monastery and could therefore possibly be atypical of the other sites in this area. The expensive nature of archaeological excavation means that inferences have to be made from individual sites to the whole landscape; this should only be done with caution and in circumstances which are as far as is possible likely to be compatible.

There is no documentary evidence that refers specifically to village origins; indeed there is very little which refers to villages at all. The earlier studies of the village of Templeton noted that the inquisition post mortem into the lands of Roger Mortimer of Chirk lists his possessions, but hardly gives any details of them⁶¹. There is more detail in the inquisition into lands alienated by William de Breos, but once again no nucleation can be inferred from this document⁶².

There is one other survey which sheds a little light on the tenurial structure of rural settlements in this period: The Black Book of St. David's⁶³. This document, thought to have been compiled in 1326, lists the services and rents due to the Bishop of St. David's. It can be used to show the extent to which English customs had replaced Welsh ones in the two centuries after the Conquest. Pembrokeshire was heavily anglicized. The services - heriot, leyrwite, suit of court and mill, agricultural, carrying and military services - required of the population of, for example, Brawdy and Warren are identical to those found on many English manors. Welsh tenure

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1939, pp. 163 - 99.

⁶¹PRO: C 133/32/7.

⁶²PRO: C 145/83/12. Fuller use of this document is made in the case study of Gower in Chapter 7.

⁶³J.W. Willis-Bund, The Black Book of St. David's, Cymmrodorion Records Series 5, 1902, citing BL: Additional Ms. 34135.

and custom remain throughout the Bishop's lands in Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. For example at Meidrim, Carmarthenshire, each holding was a gwely and heriots were replaced by ebidw, which were payable by the whole community in proportion to the land they held. The exact nature of the gwely is uncertain. Also unknown, and perhaps unknowable, is the form it would take if it were to be archaeologically recoverable. This problem is one that is associated with most of the early Welsh units of settlement, notably those described by G.R.J. Jones.

The ebidw, a heriot paid by a group, is also encountered in the inquisition post mortem into the Carmarthenshire lands held by John Gyffard in 1291⁶⁴. In addition to rents and fines for leyrwite Gamul ap Wiliam, Madok ap Wiliam, Griffith ap Howel, Iouan ap Griffith, Iouan ap Llewelyn and four others owe a collective heriot of this nature. Other evidence has been found for the persistence of another early custom - partible inheritance - up until the mid-sixteenth century in Glamorgan. In 1556 - 8 the sons of Woorrye ap Evan initiated proceedings against Harry Franklyn and Richard ap John in order to try to gain their share of their father's lands in Llangwig in Gower⁶⁵. The Black Book reveals that in Gower the pattern of tenure was mixed. In Llandewi there is no trace of Welsh tenure, whilst both English and Welsh elements co-exist in Llangyfelach. The main interest of this document is that it illustrates the differing degree of anglicization that exist between the different areas of south Wales.

In conclusion to this section the argument presented in it can be restated: the best archaeological evidence for continuity is provided by the building forms which can be used to argue for gradual development through rather than radical change in the period being considered. There are however problems with this analysis: the pottery evidence used to date nucleation is misleading and cannot be used in the way it has been and the spatial distribution of excavated deserted sites

⁶⁴PRO: C 133/91.

⁶⁵PRO: C 1/1399/39 - 42.

is biased and may not fully reflect the totality of the evidence. One pattern of note does emerge from the documentary evidence: anglicization is greater in Pembrokeshire than elsewhere. This point will be returned to in the following sections.

Section 5.3: Language and the landscape.

This section is concerned with the impact of the English language on south Wales. It examines the distribution of the spoken languages at different times and the factors which brought about a change from universal use of Welsh to the situation where only one in five of the population can actually speak Welsh (let alone use it in everyday conversation.) This distribution pattern is one feature of the contemporary landscape whose origins lay, in part, in the immediate post-Conquest period. This pattern can be studied in its own right and as part of the background to the study of the place-names which are considered later in this section.

When the various conquerors arrived in Wales they would probably have spoken a range of different languages: predominantly Norman-French and Flemish. Any colonisers brought from the English lands would have spoken Middle English, whereas the indigenous population would have spoken a form of Welsh. The pattern and development of the languages spoken immediately after the Conquest is unknown. It was nearly five hundred years from the Conquest until observations about the language of the area are written down.

Two Acts of Parliament provide a sixteenth century perspective on the use of the Welsh language. The Act of Union of 1536 refers to the Welsh as a people who,

"do daily use a speche nothing like ne
consonaunt to the naturall mother tonge used within
this Realme⁶⁶."

The Act for Translating the Bible and the Prayer Book into Welsh (1562) refers to English as a language which,

"ys not understanded of the most and greatest
nounge of all her Majesties most lovynge and obiedient
Subjects inhabiting within her Hignes Dominion and Contrey
of Wales.⁶⁷"

⁶⁶D. Pickering, Statutes at Large, vol. 4, pp. 308 - 402.

⁶⁷ibid., vol. 6, pp. 266 - 8.

This is an over generalised view. In parts of south Wales English appears to have been commonly used. George Owen recalled that Camden had described Pembroke as "Little England beyond Wales" or Anglia Transwallia, and stated that,

"the reasons whie it tooke that name may well be conjectured, for that the most part of the Countrey speacketh Englishe, and in yt noe use of the Welshe."⁶⁸

He described the hundreds of Castlemartin, Rhos and, most of, Narberth and Dungleddy as English speaking, whilst in Cemaes, Kilgerran and St. David's Welsh was commonly used. His research reached down to parish level and he identified six parishes where both languages were common in daily use⁶⁹. This distribution of languages is shown in Figure 5.5.

Isaac Hamon, of Bishopston in Gower, described the linguistic divisions of that area for Edward Lhwyd c. 1700⁷⁰. In the north west of the peninsula and in the northern part of the lordship Welsh was commonly used, but elsewhere "the English tounge is spoken generally." Other of Lhwyd's correspondents described the mixture of English and Welsh that pertained in their own areas. Of Coychurch, Glamorgan, it was written that,

"The language is p'tly English and p'tly Welsh our tradeing being for ye most parte with Summer and Devon Shires which spoiles our Welsh."⁷¹
Trade was also a factor mentioned when the language used in Baglan was described thus,

"Welsh that is common in the neighbourhood is here spoken, without any alteration, but the inhabitants of the lower parts retaine their welsh as well as others, notwithstanding the continuall trade there is, and hathe been there for severall ages by English men for coale, and heardly ... understand any

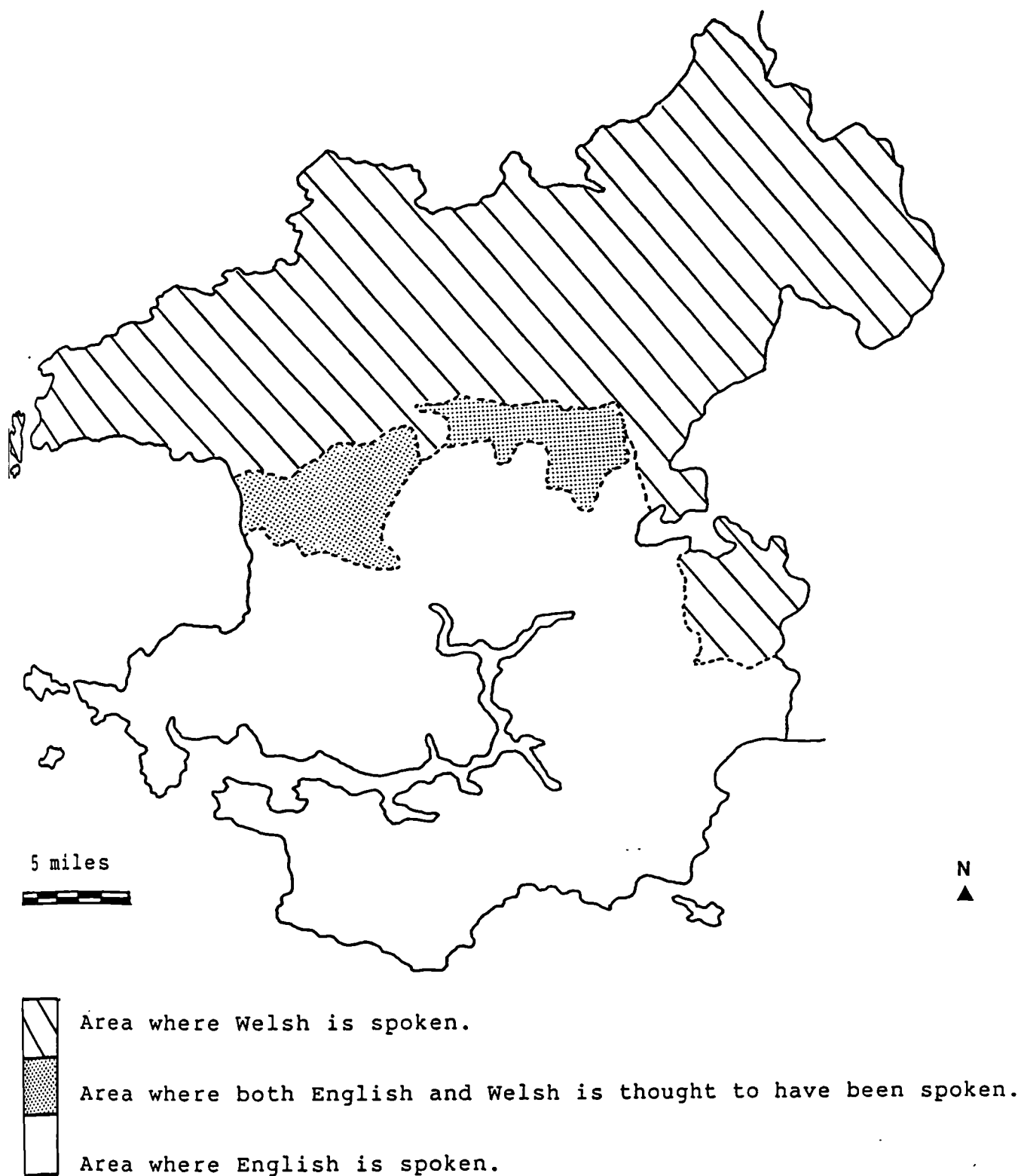
⁶⁸G. Owen, A History of Pembrokeshire, 1603, p. 33.

⁶⁹ibid., pp. 47-8.

⁷⁰F.V. Emery, 'Edward Lhuyd and some of Glamorgan correspondents: a view of Gower in the 1690s.', Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1964 session, 1965, p. 91.

⁷¹R.H. Morris, Parochialia, Being a Summary of Answers to 'Parochial Queries' Issued by Edward Lhwyd, 1909-11, pp. 14-5.

Figure 5.5: Linguistic Divisions in Pembrokeshire in 1603, according to George Owen.



English such is their love to the Brittish language."⁷²

Further east in Caerwent it was recorded that "none born in this parish speak Welsh."⁷³

The sea trade across the Bristol Channel appears to have been a factor in promoting the use of English in certain parts of south Wales. Hamon also comments that the English of Gower was very like that of the south west⁷⁴. The pattern of spoken language is never static. Hamon refers to the range of words and phrases which were once popular in Gower but had fallen out of use with the majority of the population, some of them recently and some of them perhaps seventy years before his own time⁷⁵. Little is known about the use of the Welsh language in the period between these observations and the mid-nineteenth century. The industrial development of Wales appears to have attracted many Welsh-speakers from the countryside into the towns. Their place as rural labourers was taken by English families from Somerset, Devon and Gloucester, and to a smaller extent from Cornwall, Dorset and Wiltshire⁷⁶. This is likely to have altered the linguistic distribution patterns.

The history of the Welsh language in the latter part of the nineteenth century is coloured by emotion and prejudice, and is marked by a complete disregard of the evidence. The report of the 1847 committee of enquiry into education in Wales, which attacked the use of the Welsh language and the adherence to the non-conformist church, is referred to as "the treason of the blue books." Yet it is forgotten that the report's fiercest critics were not non-conformist ministers but Anglican clergymen⁷⁷. The Welsh

⁷²ibid., p. 29.

⁷³ibid., p. 21.

⁷⁴Emery, op. cit., p. 106.

⁷⁵ibid., p. 107.

⁷⁶G.O. Pierce, The Place-names of Dinas Powys Hundred, 1968, p. xvi.

⁷⁷P. Morgan, 'From Long Knives to Blue Books' in R.R. Davies, R.A. Griffiths, I.G. Jones and K.O. Morgan, eds., Welsh
(Footnote continued)

not (variously note) - a device supposedly used for punishing children who spoke Welsh at school - appears to have been most commonly used in Welsh-speaking areas, where the schoolmaster was often the local Welsh-speaking, non-conformist preacher⁷⁸. It is taught that the Education Act of 1870 legislated that English was to be the language of formal education, and that as a consequence Welsh was relegated to the home and the chapel. The text of the act simply does not confirm this: no mention is made of the Welsh language⁷⁹.

One example of the emotion which surrounded the debate over the use of Welsh can be seen in the 1865 correspondance relating to the advowson of the parish of Letterston with Llanfair Nant y Gof⁸⁰. On May 16 E.A. Williams, the Chancellor's Canon at St. David's Cathedral, complained petulantly to Sir William Dunbar, M.P., that the new incumbent, Owen Nares, knew no Welsh and that Welsh was the only language spoken in the area. Nares, in his application for the post dated May 20 (four days later than the letter cited above), notes that he was about to take the Bishopric's examination in proficiency in the Welsh language and that both English and Welsh were spoken by the inhabitants of the area.

Since 1901 the census has recorded the number of people able to speak Welsh. Nationally the figure has been around 20%, distributed mainly in north and west Wales, where over 70% of the population can speak Welsh. In south Wales the figures are much lower. In 1971 less than 20% of the population of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan and south Pembrokeshire could speak Welsh. It is possible that these figures could rise: Welsh language classes are generally well patronised. Welsh-speaking primary schools are full and are becoming more

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Society and Nationhood: Historical Essays Presented to Glanmor Williams, 1984, p. 209.

⁷⁸J.V. Morgan, The Welsh Mind in Evolution, 1925, pp. 130 - 3.

⁷⁹The Public General Statutes Passed in the Thirty Third and Thirty Fourth Years of the Reign of H.M. Queen Victoria, 1870, pp. 443 - 83.

⁸⁰NLW Ms.: Duchy of Cornwall, E 277 - 8.

and more popular; although this may not be completely due to the use of Welsh in these schools. The establishment of Welsh language radio and television channels, although not universally welcomed, may have helped to boost the status of the language.

Colin Renfrew has recently discussed the relationship between the languages spoken in certain areas and the archaeological evidence for "peoples" in the same areas. His work is mainly concerned within the spread of Indo-European languages, but has a wider applicability. His models were produced to answer the questions: how does a specific language come to be spoken in a particular area and how does the language spoken in one area change⁸¹. They can be used to further discussion of the fate of the Welsh language in the post-conquest period.

Renfrew advances two models for linguistic replacement and sets out ways in which they can be tested archaeologically. The demography/subsistence model postulates a large number of people moving into an area and speaking a language which was not previously spoken there. This results in the displacement of the existing population and a consequent change in the archaeological record of the area⁸². His second model concerns élite dominance. A small group of people, with a language different to that spoken in one area, could arrive and due to military prowess come to dominate the area and subjugate the existing population. A period when the two languages co-exist is followed by a period when the one language comes to dominate. This is often the one introduced by the élite, perhaps because speaking this language gives the individual a chance of achieving favour with the new masters. Archaeologically the élite is represented by evidence for centres of power and for military superiority. There is evidence to support both models in south Wales. New forms - "the landscape package" - are introduced, but old forms - building styles - continue too.

The situation in Wales is more complex than

⁸¹A.C. Renfrew, Archaeology and Language, The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins, 1988, p. 120.

⁸²ibid., p. 130 - 2.

Renfrew's models allow. It is English - the language of the probable colonisers - not Norman-French - the language of the conquerors - that is now in general use. Furthermore whilst it is from the mother that a child usually learns its language, it is the men of the community who are likely to have come into contact with the new élite in their everyday affairs. The Norman conquerors are likely to have placed their own trusted officials in important village positions - the reeveship, for example. Hence whilst English may have been used in the fields it may never have reached into the homes. The linguistic pattern suggests than a colonising movement of men and women must have been involved in consolidating the Norman acquisition of the area. Some of the colonists may have come from the Bristol area, hence introducing the accent. Trade would have strengthened it. From the Dark Ages, if not before, the Bristol Channel was a means of communication and not a barrier which separated people.

The study of place-names is very complex. It cannot be undertaken without an understanding of the limits of the evidence and its interpretations. The first documentary reference to a place-name is a terminus ante quem; it does not represent the first use of the name; there is no way of knowing when that name first came into use. (It is possible to presume that a name in a particular language was first coined when that language was dominant in the area concerned, but even then it must be remembered that names can and have changed.) There are other problems too. The Royal Commission has prepared two maps of Glamorgan, one showing English names first recorded before 1500, the other English names first recorded between 1500 and 1750⁸³. This latter group may, of course, have been in common use for as long as those in the first group but, for some reason, were not recorded in manuscripts. In Wales there are additional problems. There is, regrettably, no Welsh equivalent of the English Place Name Society. The documentary sources are limited and they have not been recently exploited. The corpus of place-name forms is now over fifty years old⁸⁴. There is also the problem of cultural bias in interpretations. Three studies have been produced of

⁸³The Glamorgan Inventory, op. cit., p. 10.

limited areas of Glamorgan; however only one was written in English⁸⁵.

One particular group of names - those with a Wal prefix - have been the subject of much discussion. It is usually thought to be derived from Walh, meaning British, and therefore considered to indicate a settlement of the indigenous population, perhaps surviving in serfdom⁸⁶, surrounded by (and thus thought to be different from) settlements of non-Celts. This need not be so. Charles only accepts this origin with caution. He claims that Walton West could "just possibly" fall into this category, whilst Wallis is thought to be derived from walls (and is therefore a reference to the rath there⁸⁷.) Cameron has recently re-evaluated this argument⁸⁸. He concludes that the old English walh does mean "a Briton or a Welshman", and not necessarily a slave, and that the name is usually associated with settlements in English areas which had a noticeable Celtic population in the eighth century and possibly later. Cameron's analysis that the term refers only to a distinctive community rather than a servile one is substantiated by some evidence from the Castlemartin area of Pembrokeshire. None of the demesne settlements, which are likely to be prime candidates for the existence of pre-Conquest bond settlements, and therefore for a post-Conquest name indicating the slave status of its population, have a walh element in their name.

Two Monmouthshire names suggest that the communities might have been planted. Shirenewton and Wolvesnewton, first

⁸⁴B.G. Charles, Non-Celtic Place-names in Wales, 1938.

⁸⁵Pierce, op. cit.; B.D. Harries, Enwau Lleoedd Arglwyddiaeth Tal-y-fan, Unpublished University of Wales MA thesis, 1956; R.J. Thomas, Astudiaeth o enwau lleoedd Cwmwd Meisgyn, Unpublished University of Wales MA thesis, 1933.

⁸⁶A.H. Smith, English Place-name Elements, 1970, pp. 242 - 4.

⁸⁷Charles, op. cit., pp. 85 - 6 and p. 36.

⁸⁸K. Cameron, 'The Meaning and Significance of Old English walh in English Place-Names', The English Place-Name Society Journal, 12, 1979 - 80, p. 34.

appear as Sherrevesneuton and Wlnesneuton in 1287 and 1295 respectively⁸⁹. Neither has a regular morphology. This may suggest that the communities were not new, and that the names were adopted some time after the settlements' foundation. Hence Shirenewton need not be the new tun founded especially for the shire reeve, it could be the site of his new home in an existing community. The -newton ending can indicate this. In addition to its usual meaning of "newly reclaimed from the waste" Smith also considers it to mean "newly built", "newly cultivated" and "newly acquired"⁹⁰. Two other Monmouthshire names show clearly the extent of Anglo-Saxon linguistic influence. At both Wonastow and Dingestow it is the Old English -stow element (meaning "a place where people gathered for religious purposes"⁹¹,) rather than the Welsh llan- (which has a similar meaning) that has been added to Welsh saints' names.

Many other Welsh names appear to have survived the English Conquest, although in much modified form. It is possible that a large number of names with a -ton form have been translated from Welsh forms with a Tref- prefix. This may be especially so in Glamorgan where the -ton element is usually added to a location prefix, for example, Norton or Sutton. In Pembrokeshire possessive prefixes are more common; these often take the form of a personal name of Welsh or non-Welsh origin coupled with -ton. Eight of the names of this type have Welsh names; for example, the first element of Bletherston is Bledri⁹². Almost six times as many names have continental personal names as the first element; for example Clarbeston is derived from a Germanic personal name, and Mayeston from the Old French name Mahieu⁹³. The difference between the types of prefixes is interesting and worth speculating upon.

⁸⁹Charles, op. cit., p. 255 and p. 258.

⁹⁰Smith, op. cit., pp. 50 - 1.

⁹¹ibid., p. 159.

⁹²Charles, op. cit., p. 37.

⁹³ibid., p. 38 and p. 9.

Possession of the land by individuals seems to have been more important in Pembrokeshire, where it may have been indicated by naming the area after the individual concerned. This may have arisen at the time of the Conquest, with every conqueror claiming some of the new domain as his own. When settlements were founded, shortly after, the names came to represent both the land and the new village. A greater proportion of the land in Glamorgan might have been communally owned at the time when the place-names of some of the settlements were fixed. Hence they were not named after individuals but after cardinal directions or topographical features. If individual possession was the result of the Conquest, then the nucleations of Pembrokeshire (with the names mainly derived from the names of the conquerors) might be more recent than some of the nucleations of Glamorgan with their names derived from other sources.

Just as the morphological study and the examination of tenurial structures revealed a difference between Pembrokeshire and Glamorgan in the intensity of Norman settlement, so it can be argued does study of place-names. Once again, it has been shown that the Norman conquest led to profound changes in the landscape of Pembrokeshire; changes of a less drastic nature may not have taken place further eastwards. Here the place-name evidence might confirm the pattern found in the other evidence, i.e. that the Norman influence has been overplayed and that, as far as south east Wales is concerned equal stress should be placed on both continuity and change.

Section 5.4: The distribution of church dedications.

It was noted above that the corpus of place-names was old and in need of revision. This task is impossible to achieve in a study of this size. It is possible, however, to undertake a smaller study which focuses on one category of name: that of the saints to whom the parish churches were dedicated. Building up a corpus of data is not hard. Most of the names are included in Crockford's Clerical Directory. The 1922 edition was used as this was the first one issued after the separation of the Welsh church and the Church of England. To counter the possibility of including the dedications of

relatively modern churches, only those churches known to have been in existence before c. 1750 were included in the analysis. Collecting the data is much easier than interpreting it; the pattern is underlain by all the psychological subtleties of medieval religious sentiment.

Considerable work on the dedications of the churches in Wales has been carried out by E.G. Bowen⁹⁴. This section does not aim to imitate his work; it takes a different perspective. Bowen took concentrations of dedications to certain saints in certain areas to mark that saint's "patria" or "sphere of influence"⁹⁵. Here it is the process of re-naming or re-dedicating churches that is investigated. It is thought that as the Norman conquerors took land in south Wales they may have changed the dedications of the churches, thus replacing the names of Celtic saints with those with which they were more familiar. Equally new churches would have been founded by the conquerors and dedicated not to Celtic saints but to others.

For this study the dedications were divided up into three categories. First were those to the Celtic saints, for example Teilo or Julius and Aaron - "the Caerleon martyrs" - and Michael the Archangel, whose cult was popular in tenth century Wales⁹⁶. Then came dedications to "Anglo-Norman" saints; popular medieval cults included the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Catherine. Churches with dedications such as Holy Cross or All Souls were included in this category. Finally a small number of compound dedications were identified, for example to Ss. John and Elvan at Aberdare.

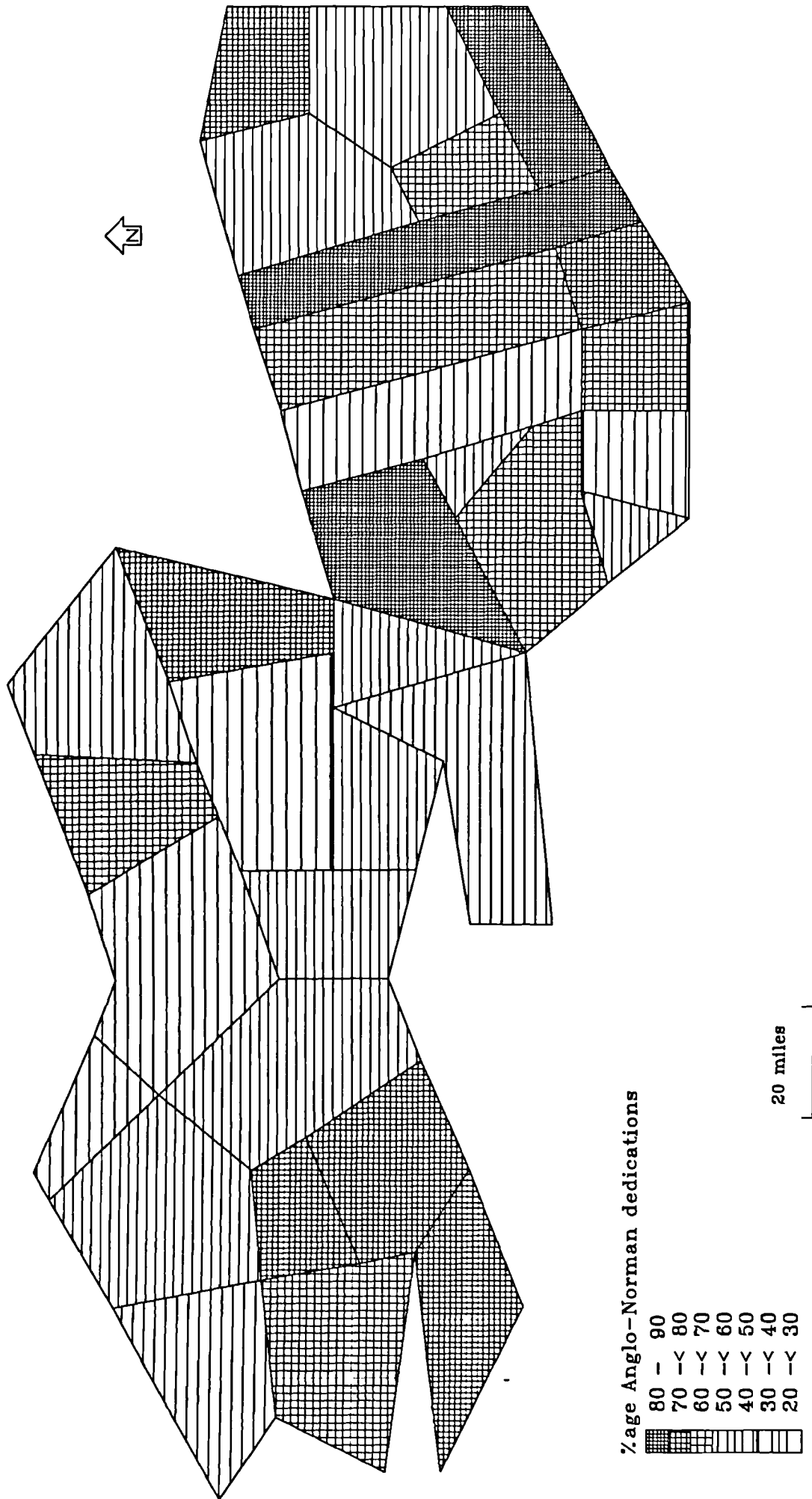
The proportions of dedications to each category of saints is shown by means of a choropleth map in Figure 5.6. In areas along the northern fringe of the study area the number of Celtic dedications is high. In Cilgerran it is 67%, further west in Elvett and Iskennen it reaches 69% and 76% respectively, in the north Glamorgan hundred of Meisgyn it is

⁹⁴E.G. Bowen, The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales, 1956, passim.

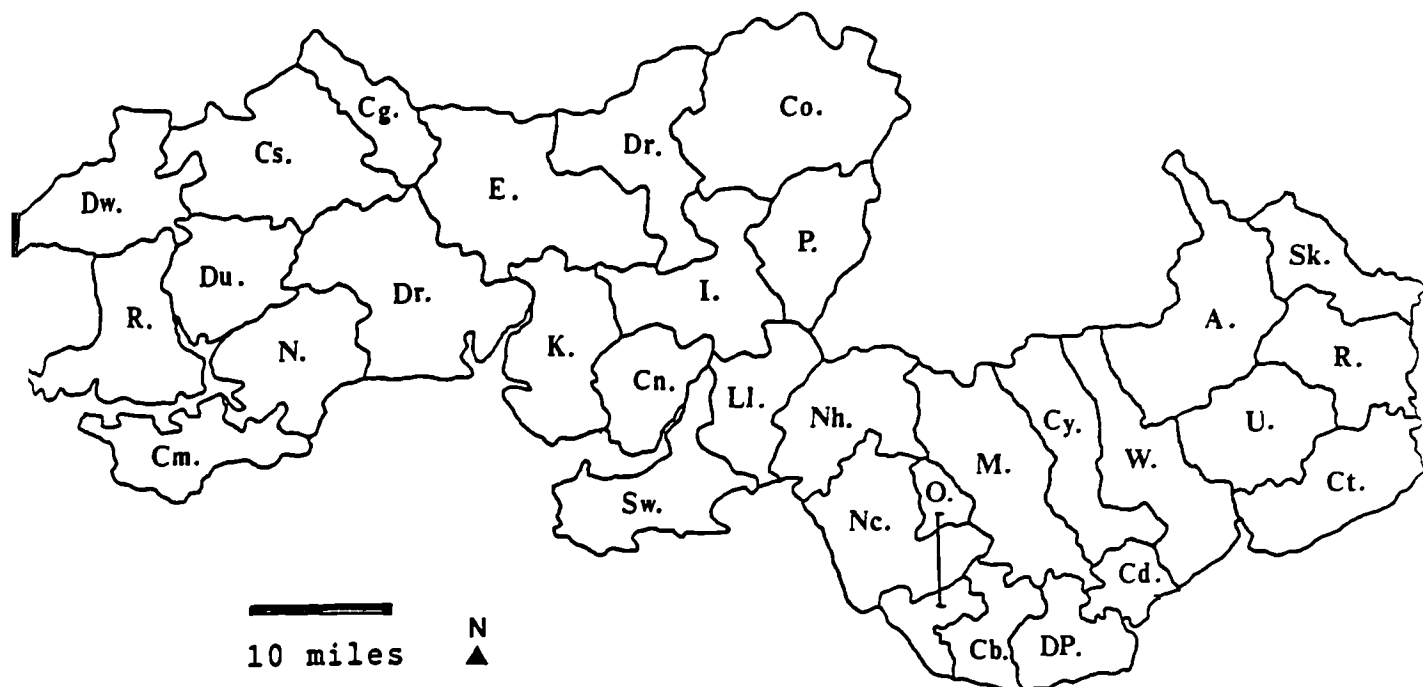
⁹⁵Ibid., p. 4.

⁹⁶D.H. Farmer, The Oxford Dictionary of Saints, 1978, p. 278.

Fig. 5.6: The intensity of Anglo-Norman church dedications.



Key for use with Fig. 5.6.



Key:

Dw. - Dewisland
R. - Rhos
Cm. - Castlemartin
N. - Narberth
Du. - Daugleddau
Cs. - Cemaais
Cg. - Cilgerran
Dr. - Derllys
E. - Elvett
K. - Kidwelly
Cn. - Carnwallon
I. - Iskennen
P. - Perfedd
Cr. - Carthinog
Co. - Caio
Sw. - Swansea

Ll. - Llangyfelach
Nh. - Neath
Nc. - Newcastle
O. - Ogmore
Cb. - Cowbridge
M. - Meisgyn
DP. - Dinas Powys
Cd. - Cardiff
Cy. - Caerphilly
W. - Wentllooge
A. - Abergavenny
U. - Usk
Ct. - Caldicot
R. - Raglan
Sk. - Skenfrith

also 67% whilst in Abergavenny, on the English border, it falls to 46%. This pattern was expected. These areas were, after all, retained by the Welsh long after the conquest of the lowlands. More suprising is the proportion of Celtic dedications found in the lowland areas. The figures are very low close to the English border: 18% in Caldicot, 11% in Wentllooge. Further west, in Cardiff and Dinas Powys the proportions are 22% and 33% respectively. There is then a steep rise: Cowbridge 61%, Swansea 53% and Kidwelly 50%. In the far west the numbers fall dramatically: Castlemartin 26%, Narberth 25%. Celtic survival, as evidenced by church dedications, seems far stronger in Glamorgan than in Pembrokeshire. This pattern corresponds with that found in the study of place names and in the distribution of planted villages and English tenure.

One other use was made of church dedications. The pattern of dedications to St. Michael was plotted to see if it could be used to provide a chronology of landscape development. It was noted above that this dedication was common in Wales in the tenth century and therefore it seemed possible that areas opened up for settlement in the tenth century could be identified by high densities of dedications to St. Michael. This was not the case in practice. There are no concentrations of St. Michael dedications. The mean distance between parishes with St. Michael dedications is 1.67 miles. This compares to 1.63 miles as the mean distance between parishes with dedications to another popular medieval saint: the Virgin Mary. This small difference is insignificant and could be due to measuring error. The total number of St. Michael dedications, forty nine, is similar to those to the Virgin Mary: fifty four⁹⁷. St. Michael dedications appear to form no pattern which can be related to possible settlement expansion or landscape development.

Section 5.6: Conclusion.

This chapter has shown that a certain number of new

⁹⁷This figure may represent a small over-representation. This is because Crockford's does not always specify which St. Mary the dedication is to.

elements are first found in the south Wales landscape immediately after the Norman conquest. The castles, towns and Latin monasteries all formed part of a "landscape package" which was introduced by the conquerors. The impact that these new institutions had on the landscape was large and this appears to have coloured subsequent interpretations of village origins. Here the archaeological evidence can perhaps be used to point towards continuity in certain practices; building styles may not be new and it is possible to argue for onward development from the tradition which previously existed in the area. It is the pottery which has been commonly used to (mis)date villages that is new, not necessarily the villages themselves. Taylor's proposition argues that villages were founded in the thirteenth century; if this is so then there ought to be archaeological evidence for it. The archaeological evidence apparently supports his case; yet the use of pottery to date these sites makes this argument circular as pottery was introduced by the Normans too. The widespread use of the English language gives the clearest indication of a colonising movement with the arrival in Wales of a substantial number of non-Welsh speaking people.

A different pattern appears to exist between the Englisheries of Pembrokeshire and Glamorgan. The morphological study showed that plantation did occur in the former, but not in the latter. The presence of Welsh church dedications, the form of place names and the pattern of mixed English and Welsh tenures argues strongly for a measure of continuity in Glamorgan. In Pembrokeshire the same evidence points to dislocation and change. It is probable that not all of the nucleations of south east Wales were founded in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. A number of the villages of south east Wales must therefore predate the Conquest. The next chapter will speculate on village foundation in the period before c. 1100.

Chapter 6: The landscape archaeology of south Wales, c. AD 300 to c. AD 1100.

The last chapter explored the Norman settlement of south Wales. It argued that whilst many features of the human landscape of the area can be attributed to post-Conquest developments the origin of some of the villages probably cannot. This chapter goes further back in time and aims to explore the archaeology, topography and history of the early medieval period and to test the hypotheses which relate to village origins in this period. The models under consideration are: the organisation for defence model, the taxation model and the early agricultural change model. The defence model is tested first; this model is set within the Viking period and hence the Vikings in south Wales form the first section of this chapter. The taxation and agricultural change models are then examined in the framework of the transformation of the Roman civitas into the early medieval kingdoms.

6.1: The Vikings in south Wales.

This section is concerned with the archaeological and historical evidence for Viking raids and settlements in south Wales. An archaeological study of the Vikings in any area of Britain is complicated by the fact that they often seem to be archaeologically invisible¹. This is as true in Wales as it is everywhere else. There are some material remains. They are few in number, as is evidence for the Celtic population of south Wales in the period from c. 350 to c. 1100. There is limited information in the historical sources. Place-name evidence and the results of modern genetic studies can also be used to examine the question of Viking activity and settlement in the study area.

There are two ways in which the Vikings might have brought about nucleated settlement in south Wales. It has been proposed, in chapter two, that Viking raids could have prompted people to settle in larger numbers than was usual in

¹D.M. Wilson, 'The Scandinavians in England', in D.M. Wilson, ed., The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, 1976, pp. 393 - 403.

locations that were suitable for the evasion of Viking raiders. This model can be tested in this way: there should be considerable evidence of Viking activity in the area as a whole. If raids did not pose a threat then there would have been no response to them! Mary Harvey has argued that in certain parts of Britain, notably the north east, Viking settlers introduced villages with regularly laid out field systems. Harvey's arguments have been reviewed in the discussion of morphogenesis, in Chapter 3. If her arguments are to apply to south west Wales then large scale Viking settlement of the areas where regular villages are found has to be shown.

The material evidence for this is limited. The brooches from Culver Hole and Minchin Hole, Gower, are thought to have Hiberno-Norse parallels². Some of the material from Llanelen is also thought to be Viking. The cheek-pieces from a horse's bit are argued as being in the Ringerike style and therefore have an eleventh century date³. In contrast, the pair of stirrups from St. Mary Hill, in the Vale of Glamorgan, are no longer thought to be Scandinavian⁴. No Viking weapon burials or rich female graves, which would indicate certain settlement, have been found.

The place-name evidence was first examined by D.R. Paterson, who argued that there was substantial Scandinavian settlement in Pembroke and Glamorgan, and that an urban centre was founded at Cardiff during this period. B.G. Charles accepted the general outline of Paterson's argument, but rejected some of the place-name evidence arguing that it was impossible to differentiate between place-names introduced by the Norse and Norman communities. He also claimed that some of the supposed Norse place-names were in fact Middle English⁵. This difficulty was also considered by Sir John Lloyd⁶. He

²A.M. Lane, 'The Vikings in Glamorgan?', Glamorgan County History, volume 2, Early Glamorgan, 1984, p. 355.

³J. Graham-Campbell, 'The Metalwork', in A.R. Scheslinger, C. Walls, J.A. Kisson and C. Lovegrove, 'Excavations at Llanelen, 1973 - 1985', Archaeologia Cambrensis, forthcoming.

⁴J.K. Knight, 'Glamorgan AD 400 - 1100: Archaeology and History', Glamorgan County History, volume 2, Early Glamorgan, 1984, p. 351.

⁵B.G. Charles, Non-Celtic Place-names in Wales, 1938, p. xxxiii.

⁶J.E. Lloyd, A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to The Edwardian Conquest, third edition, 1939, p. 322.

considered that there were no Norse place-names in Pembrokeshire. Place-names which involved personal names - be they Norse, Norman, Saxon or Welsh - invariably ended in -ton and not -by. There are two place-names with a -by ending in Pembrokeshire. This author has found it impossible to discover any information about Cosby Farm, near Wiston. The other place-name with a -by suffix is Tenby, and this is derived from its Welsh name: Dinbych-y-Psygod.

Some of the coastal features of south Wales are thought to have Scandinavian names: the Stacks and Skers of St. Brides Bay along with Burry Holmes, Flat Holm and Steep Holm on the Glamorgan coast. Loyn has argued that this shows that Scandinavian seamen were active here⁷. There are two unanswered questions which must be asked in conjunction with this proposition: when did these features get their names and how were the names used by passing sailors transmitted into local usage? Loyn has speculated that the names may have been given in the twelfth century by the Irish-Scandinavian Ostmen of Dublin; the mechanism of diffusion is not discussed. If the date is this late then transmission from sailors to the Norman conquerors (who probably would have had similar languages) and thus to the wider population is a model for consideration.

An interesting approach to the place-names was taken by Isaac Taylor⁸. He calculated the density of Scandinavian place-names on a county by county basis and then compared the result with the density of Scandinavian place-names in Kent (presumed to be the county with the smallest amount of settlement) in order to produce an index figure. The value for Glamorgan was one; the density of Scandinavian place-names in Glamorgan was as low as that in the county least open to Viking influence. This is further evidence for the limited influence of the Scandinavians on developments in south Wales

⁷H.R. Loyn, The Vikings in Wales, 1976, p. 10

⁸I. Taylor, Words and Places, 1888, pp. 121 - 2.

in the early medieval period.

It has been argued that there is bioanthropological evidence for the presence of Scandinavian communities in Wales. Thankfully much has changed since early this century when Owen Edwards could write of the Welsh people as,

"a race of men of short stature and of swarthy countenance whose purest descendants may be seen among the miners of the Rhondda Valley or the quadrangles of Jesus College, Oxford."

Modern microgenetic studies are much more sophisticated. They concern variation in the ABO blood group systems, colourblindness and the ability to taste certain chemical compounds such as phenylthiocarbamide (PTC).

Studies of the genetic patterns within the indigenous populations (which must not be confused with the inhabitants) of several areas have been carried out since the war. One area that has been studied is Pembrokeshire. In the south west of the county 33.6% of the population have either A or AB blood; whereas on Mynydd Hiraethog, in the north, this level falls to 17.2%. These figures can be compared to a level between 25 and 29% for the rest of rural south Wales. When smaller areas are studied the concentration of the A blood gene becomes more noticeable. In south west "Little England" the frequency rises to 50.1%, and in the north west of this area it is 44.4% ¹⁰. This pattern is considered to be statistically significant. Equally high concentrations of the A gene are not found elsewhere within Wales. The only other regions with such high levels of population with A and AB blood are to be found in parts of Scandinavia, notably in western Norway. The high levels in south west Pembrokeshire are used to argue for the intensive settlement of Viking communities in this area. Communities must have been involved. If raiders had decided to settle they would probably have married into the local

⁹Cited in G.E. Daniel, The National Museum as a Mirror of Ancient Wales: A Seventy Fifth Anniversary Lecture, 1983, p. 22.

¹⁰All the figures are taken from I.M. Watkin, 'ABO blood group distribution in Wales in relation to human settlement', in P.S. Harper and E. Sunderland, eds., Genetic and Population Studies in Wales, 1986, pp. 124 - 6.

community, thus considerably reducing the concentration of the A gene within the community within one generation. In order to maintain these high levels Scandinavian women must have settled in south west Pembrokeshire too.

There are however problems with this analysis. The population of Scandinavia also contributed to the population of Normandy, yet an unexpectedly high A gene frequency is not found there¹¹. There must therefore be some other reason to explain this high concentration of the A blood gene. Marked regional variations in blood gene frequency can be due to factors other than migration. Natural selection, genetic drift, gene mutation and hybridization can all contribute to the build up of certain genes in certain areas¹². For example, persons with blood group O show a slightly higher susceptibility to gastric and duodenal ulcers than do people with other blood groups. Therefore in conditions where stomach ulcers are endemic the O blood gene is less likely to flourish. However as persons with the A blood gene are more likely to suffer stomach cancer and, when young, broncho-pneumonia the selective advantage appears to be counterbalanced¹³.

Genetic drift seems to this author to be the most likely reason for the build up of the concentration of the A blood gene in this area. A slightly high frequency of the A blood gene amongst the founder population of the area would be reinforced by continual inter-marriage over many generations. Therefore, the influx of large numbers of A blood gene carriers at one specific time in the past need not be the only reason for the contemporary pattern. Another genetic study reinforces this author's argument. Pullin and Sunderland have examined the ability to taste PTC and colourblindness in Pembrokeshire¹⁴.

¹¹I.M. Watkin, ibid., p. 124.

¹²G.A. Harrison, J.S. Weiner, J.M. Tanner, N.A. Barnicot, Human Biology. An Introduction to Human Evolution, Variation, Growth and Ecology, 1977, pp. 159 - 67.

¹³W.T.W. Potts, 'History and Blood Groups in the British Isles', in P.H. Sawyer, ed., Medieval Settlement, 1976, p. 239.

¹⁴E.W. Pullin and E. Sunderland, 'A Survey of Phenylthiocarbamide (PTC)-tasting and Colourblindness in
(Footnote continued)

They found that in these factors there was no difference between south Pembrokeshire and adjacent areas of north Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. When all the genetic factors - PTC tasting, incidence of colourblindness and blood gene distribution - were considered together it was north Pembrokeshire that appeared, within the context of the whole British pattern, to be anomalous rather than the south of the county, which the historical studies would have predicted to be different. The high concentration of the A blood gene does not necessarily indicate Scandinavian settlement. The genetic evidence cannot be used to argue for Viking settlement in south Wales.

The historical references for the Vikings in south Wales are limited. The Annales Cambriae record only two attacks on south Wales; St. David's suffered in 999 and 1080¹⁵. It must be noted that St. David's, in the north western extremity of Pebediog, is peripheral to the study area as a whole, and is close to the area of Pembrokeshire where Flemish village plantation has been demonstrated. Hence the defence model can almost certainly be rejected. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records evidence for Viking activity in southern Britain as a whole¹⁶. South Wales receives only one mention; in 997 a Viking fleet sailed up the Bristol Channel towards the mouth of the Usk. It was not Monmouthshire which received their attentions but Somerset. In Devon, most of the havoc and destruction associated with the Vikings appears to have been focused on the southern coast, rather than on the north, a coastline from which south Wales is often clearly visible.

H.R Loyn has argued that the Scandinavians had little influence on Welsh life in the pre-Conquest period. He stated that,

"On the structure of Welsh institutional life, language, vocabulary, social custom and political habit the Scandinavians made no positive impact at all. ... Of the major political communities

(continued)

Pembrokeshire, Wales', Man, 63, 1963, pp. 52 - 5.

¹⁵J.W. ab Ithel, ed., Annales Cambriae, 1860, pp. 19 - 21.

¹⁶G.N. Garmonsway, trans., The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 1972, new edition, p. 131.

within these islands the Welsh on the whole suffered least and received least from the Men of the North."

The argument for Viking activity in south east Wales is best summarised by Alan Lane, who has written,

"The evidence for Scandinavian settlement in Glamorgan before the coming of the Normans is slight. The historical sources are negative, the place-name evidence ambiguous and the archaeological evidence scanty. However the archaeological evidence, ... is even weaker for the native Welsh in this period and this absence of evidence may be the problem. ... On present evidence we can suggest little more in Glamorgan than a restricted Scandinavian settlement possibly focused in Gower,¹⁸ although even this remains to be adequately proven."

This statement can be expanded to cover all of south Wales. If, as has been argued, Viking activity was limited then the villages of the south west cannot have been planted by them and the villages of the south east are unlikely to have been the result of a defensive response. If the villages of the south east did not originate in the period covered by this section and if, as has been argued in the morphological study, most were not Norman plantations, then other models have to be explored. The next sections look at the Roman to early medieval transformation (the period from the eleventh century back to the fourth) in south east Wales and argue that village origins may lie some time in this period.

6.2: The Roman - Early Medieval Transformation I.

The evidence for the period of transformation from the late Roman to the early medieval comes in two forms. This section deals entirely with the evidence for sites; the next deals with the evidence for tenurial units and estates. The early medieval settlement pattern has to be seen against the background of the late Roman pattern. This, in turn, must be studied in conjunction with the pattern of the earlier Roman period and of the late Iron Age. Therefore whilst this study will concentrate on the period from the third and fourth

¹⁷Loyn, op. cit., pp. 21 - 2.

¹⁸Lane, op. cit., pp. 355 - 6.

centuries onwards, it will have to look at relevant earlier material.

It has been usual to regard Roman south Wales as primarily a military area with only limited civilian settlement; Nash-Williams used the phrase terra limitanea to describe this situation¹⁹. Field walking in the 1950s and excavation in the 1970s have revealed many agricultural sites in south east Wales²⁰. Military rule appears to have been relaxed in the mid-second century and from then onwards a distinct civilian life-style with villas, farmsteads and small towns can be recognised alongside the military infrastructure of fortified sites.

Many of the Romanized farmsteads of the third and fourth centuries appeared to have been founded in the late Iron Age²¹. At Whitton it is thought that the farmstead was established before c. AD 30, when the earliest feature - a bank and ditch encircling the site - was constructed. The evidence from Whitton is used to argue a contemporary date for a similar feature at Llantwit Major. At Biglis the earliest structures were at least four round huts, which also appear to have been constructed c. AD 30. The evidence from both Caldicot and Llandough is less certain, but late prehistoric

¹⁹V.E. Nash-Williams, 'The Roman Villa at Llantwit Major, Glamorgan', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 102, 1953, p. 89.

²⁰H.J. Thomas, 'Roman Discoveries in The Vale of Glamorgan', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 17, 1958, pp. 293 - 6; M. Jarrett and S. Wrathmell, Whitton an Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan, 1981, passim; D.M. Robinson, 'Prologue: Romano-British Rural Settlement in South-East Wales', pp. vii - xxiii; J. Parkhouse, 'Excavations at Biglis, South Glamorgan', pp. 1 - 31; B.E. Vyner and D.W.H. Allen, 'A Romano-British Settlement at Caldicot, Gwent', pp. 65 - 90; H.S. Owen-John, 'Llandough: the Rescue Excavation of a Multi-Period Site Near Cardiff South Glamorgan', pp. 123 - 155, all in D.M. Robinson, ed., Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough, Three Late Iron Age and Romano-British Sites in South-East Wales Excavations 1977-79, 1988.

²¹This synthesis describing rural settlement in south east Wales in the Romano-British period is based on the site reports listed in the previous footnote and the following: R.E.M. Wheeler, 'A Roman Fortified House Near Cardiff', Journal of Roman Studies, 11, 1921, passim; A.H.A. Hogg, 'The Llantwit Major Villa: A Reconsideration of the Evidence', Britannia, 5, 1974, passim.

activity appears to have taken place at both sites and continuity into the Roman period is inherently likely. At Ely there is no evidence for any structure prior to the Roman ones, the construction of which was dated to c. 130 - 140 by numismatic evidence. These sites appear to develop slowly over the following century with the first use of stone, plaster and pavements occurring c. 130. At Whitton the round huts were replaced by rectangular wooden structures, which were in turn replaced by stone buildings. Despite these developments Whitton, Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough never reach the level of sophistication which merits the term villa; all are best considered as Romanized farmsteads. Only Llantwit Major displays a considerable degree of luxury.

In south west Wales rural life in the Roman period was quite different from that in the south east. It was once assumed that farmsteads similar to those of the Vale of Glamorgan would eventually be found, but fieldwork has revealed no traces of a similar structure and this argument is now untenable. Only one major site is known. At Llys Brychan, near Llangadog, a villa with an extensive courtyard plan, stone walls decorated with painted plaster and a hypocaust was discovered. The contrast between the south east and the south west is genuine, and not the product of differential amounts of fieldwork. The south west appears to have been economically backward in the Roman period, perhaps - it has been argued - as the result of the continuity of an earlier pattern of small-scale tenure which prevented the development of a villa or farmstead economy²². The exact boundary between the two areas remains unknown. Whilst there is a major Roman site, of an uncertain nature, at Oystermouth on Gower, the density of settlement on the Peninsula as a whole will only be revealed after a major programme of field walking has been carried out. Dowdell has stated that the southern half of the Peninsula is large enough to have supported three villa estates. He believes that one estate lay in the Bishopston area and that the known farmstead site at Bishopston quarry was probably the

²²H. James, Roman West Wales, 1982, passim; H. James and G. Williams, 1982, 'Rural Settlement in Roman Dyfed', in D. Miles, ed., The Romano-British Countryside, Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy, passim.

residence of an estate dependent. A further estate may have been focused on the Rhossili/Llangennith area, locations where Roman material has been found and which have strong post-Roman associations. The third area of Dowdell's interest includes Scurlage and Reynoldston, but he has not yet identified the location of any Roman structures in the vicinity²³.

Confusion surrounds the transition from the late Roman to the early medieval period in south Wales as it does elsewhere. In the third and fourth centuries it is hard to discern any clear-cut patterns of activity between the sites. From the early third century until c. 270 Llantwit Major appears to have stagnated, if not to have been deserted. Yet this is the period when the other sites appear to have been at their most prosperous. By the time Llantwit Major reached its zenith c. 340 - 50, the other sites had been deserted. At Whitton the use of pottery ceases c. 330 - 40 and none of the coin finds can be dated to later than 341. There is no evidence for a sudden, dramatic and violent end to the occupation sequence. The environmental evidence suggests that the well dried up and, as a consequence, the site became uninhabitable. Pottery sequences and numismatic finds date the abandonment of the other farmstead sites to the mid-fourth century too. The period of pre-medieval occupation at Llandough ended before 335, and possibly before 325. It is thought that desertion might possibly be associated with a period of military instability. At Biglis a boundary bank and entrance structures were constructed, before activity ceased c. 325 - 50. Earthworks were also built at Ely, between c. 270 and c. 325. However, at Whitton, the bank and ditch had ceased to have a defensive function by the second century, when the ditch was being used for refuse disposal. A massacre does appear to have taken place at Llantwit Major, but this was at least a century after the abandonment of the site. A party of thirty men were killed here and their bodies left unburied amidst the ruins. If a general picture emerges from the evidence it is one of a movement from prosperity to abandonment in very few decades. The reasons for this swift change are unknown.

²³G. Dowdell, personal communication.

There are several archaeological problems associated with the study of the transformation of the late Roman rural society into the early medieval one. Much of the evidence for the transformation from the Romano-British to the early medieval may have been destroyed before the sites were excavated. The decision to excavate at Whitton was prompted by the considerable damage which was being done to the site by ploughing. Comparison of trenches dug in 1965 - 70 with sections drawn in 1956 suggests that 50 cms. of soil and archaeological stratification had been removed from the site. In some areas of the site the plough damage had reduced the remaining stratification to a minimum. Ploughing also caused severe damage at Biglis. In parts soil and archaeological features had been cut away down to the bedrock. The story is similar at Llandough; before archaeological investigations started the topsoil was machine-stripped from the area, with the consequent loss of artifacts and the destruction of features in the upper part of the structural sequence.

Dating evidence for this period is scarce and unreliable. Coins ceased being used and therefore mass-made pottery, if available, could not be purchased. The situation could be complicated by old pottery, once put aside as "family heirlooms", coming back into use in this period. The second century mortarium found at the High Pennard promontory fort, Gower²⁴, could have been an "antique" recalled into daily life in the late fourth or early fifth century when it was then broken and finally deposited. This would make sites appear to be much earlier than their true date. Fine metalwork cannot be used to date sites because it cannot be firmly dated itself. Often it is the chronology of the site that is used to date the metalwork, rather than the reverse²⁵. For example, the type G penannular and the type F zoomorphic penannular brooches are regarded as Roman because they have usually been found on what are considered to be Roman sites. The typology

²⁴The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 1, part 2, The Iron Age and the Roman Occupation, pp. 69 - 70.

²⁵L. Alcock, 'The Archaeology of Celtic Britain, Fifth to Twelfth Centuries AD', in D.A. Hinton, ed., Twenty Five Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1983, p. 49.

and the chronology require further refinement, when this has been done, and if their date is revised forwards, more early medieval sites could be revealed²⁶. In Wales it is impossible to differentiate between similar structures of varying dates. As a consequence sites of the early medieval period are perhaps mistaken for those of the Iron Age. Excavation can perhaps differentiate between the two, but even this does not eliminate all the problems over the determination of chronology.

There are some absolute dates, but they do not alter the chronological outline. For example, burial 387 at Biglis was radiocarbon dated to 435 ± 65 ²⁷. At the two standard deviation level of significance (that is, the level within which it is 95% certain that the true date lies) the date range is 305 to 565. The former date is not inconsistent with the general chronology of the site, but the latter could indicate an aceramic period of occupation in the early medieval period. Radiocarbon dating must be used with caution by historians as there are three problems which limit its uses. Sample errors can occur through the of contamination of the carbonised material. Analytical errors result from various uncertainties in the measuring processes, for example the exact half life of the carbon-14 isotope remains uncertain. As the relationship between radiocarbon years and absolute time is complex and appears to vary with time and space calibration errors must also be taken into account. Hence it is impossible to obtain results which are accurate to within more than several centuries of the real date²⁸. Dendrochronology appears to be the most hopeful way in which absolute dates from

²⁶N. Edwards and A.M. Lane, 'Introduction', in Edwards and Lane, eds., Early Medieval Settlements in Wales, AD 400-1100, 1988, p. 10.

²⁷It is not known whether or not this date has been calibrated. In the excavation report it is given as 1515 ± 65 BP (upper case letters usually signify a calibrated date.) This figure is then adjusted to give a date in AD/BC terms by subtracting 1950 as the notional present. The final date is cited as ad 435 ± 65 (lower cases letters usually implying an uncalibrated date.)

²⁸J.A. Campbell, M.S. Baxter and L. Alco ck, 'Radiocarbon dates for the Cadbury massacre', Antiquity, 53, 1979, pp. 34 - 7.

medieval British contexts can be obtained. In the areas for which chronological sequences have been constructed it is possible to date well-preserved wood, with growth rings present from the core to the sap, to the year of felling²⁹. The necessary well-preserved, preferably waterlogged, timber has been found on only one Welsh site and this lies outside the study area of this thesis. A crannog, comprising rubble dumped on to a raft of wattles, secured by a timber frame, has been found at Llangorse in southern Powys³⁰. Dendrochronological analysis showed that the timber had been felled sometime after 860 and before 906; the range incorporates the margin necessary to allow for the loss of the outer sap-wood layer.

There is some evidence for the re-use of some sites, probably after a period of desertion, in the early medieval period. This may have been the result of coincidence or of continuity based on major landholdings. A Christian cemetery and, later, a monastic grange occupied the farmstead site at Llandough. Burial also took place in the ruins of Llantwit Major from perhaps the eighth century until the twelfth or thirteenth century. Unfortunately there is no evidence to fill the fifth century lacuna. David Robinson argues that the economy did not collapse, but that it was reorganised. The tenant farmers were moved closer to the principal farms or onto locations which were easier to defend, for example onto sites on higher land³¹. There is as yet no archaeological evidence to support, or equally, to refute his argument.

This paucity of evidence is one of the major problems in analysing the early medieval period from an archaeological standpoint. There appear to be no certain diagnostic artifact types or single settlement forms. Some hillforts were used in this period, but surface investigation cannot differentiate between Iron Age and early medieval occupation. Undefended sites are likely to have been of poor

²⁹M.G.L. Baillie, Tree Ring Dating and Archaeology, 1982, pp. 71 - 3.

³⁰E. Campell and A.M. Lane, 'Llangorse: a Tenth Century Royal Crannog in Wales', Antiquity, 63, 1989, pp. 677 - 80.

³¹Robinson, op. cit., p. xxiv.

quality construction and located in areas where the soil is good and has therefore been intensively used, with consequent destruction of the evidence. Pottery was crucial in identifying Anglo-Saxon sites in lowland England. Only when this had been done did air photography become a valuable tool. Yet there are no local, early medieval ceramic industries in south Wales and no imports were received after the seventh century³².

Some sites dating to the period c. 500 to c. 1100 have been discovered. Their number is small - only four definite and fifteen possible for the four counties of the study area - and they have usually been found by chance. Dinas Powys, perhaps a prince's llys and certainly one of the key sites of "the Celtic West", was revealed during the excavation of a Norman castle. Glan-y-Mor, the only other definite site in Glamorgan, lay over the Roman structure then being excavated³³. Attention was drawn to the site at Longbury Bank, in Pembrokeshire, when Dark Age material was found during the excavation of a presumed Palaeolithic site. As Alcock has commented there is a need to explore the settlements of the peasants rather than those of the princes, but the problem is finding those settlements³⁴.

The arguments proposed in the last chapter and in chapter 2 that elements of the rural settlement pattern came into existence in the early medieval period make it essential to review the early medieval period in full. The recent review of early medieval settlement carried out under the aegis of the Early Medieval Wales Archaeology Research Group make this relatively easy. The known secular sites, both definite and possible, are described below. This author has tried to group them according to their nature. They have been divided into hillforts, hut groups, caves and other sites.

Dinas Powys has produced some of the best known evidence for early medieval secular activity in the British

³²Edwards and Lane, op. cit., p. 3.

³³E. Evans, G. Dowdell and H.J. Thomas, 'A Third-century Maritime Establishment at Cold Knap, Barry, South Glamorgan', Britannia, 16, 1985, p. 41.

³⁴Alcock, op. cit., p. 51.

Isles. The site, atop a whale backed limestone ridge, was well defended by ditches and banks with stone revetments. Extensive excavation has revealed the drip gullies believed to belong to two dry stone buildings, of which there survived no trace, and a number of hearths used to smelt iron ores and cast various metal objects. A large range of imported goods was found at the site. There were four Phocaeen red slip ware, four north African red slip ware, nine D and thirteen E ware vessels, seven B ware amphorae and approximately forty glass vessels of Anglo-Saxon and continental origin. Large quantities of bronze, lead, silver and iron were also recovered, along with bone, antler and jet objects³⁵. This community who lived here were obviously wealthy enough to be able to trade at a considerable distance. Pottery and therefore associated goods, for example wine and perhaps food, were being brought to the site as were the raw materials for the practice of various craft specialisations.

Dinefwr is a defended site with excellent views over the surrounding area. An Iron Age or early medieval hill fort underlies a medieval castle. No early medieval artifacts or dateable material have been recovered from the site. Therefore this author argues that Nancy Edwards's claim that is a "possible" site is, at the moment, untenable³⁶. K.R. Dark has argued that his excavations within the hill-fort at Brawdy have produced evidence for early medieval activity there³⁷. This is unfortunately no more than wishful thinking; no early medieval material has been recovered and no absolute dating evidence points with any degree of certainty to occupation in the period AD 400 to 1100.

One early medieval fragment of glass has lead to the inclusion of Margam as a possible early medieval site. The rim sherd from a glass cone beaker is decorated with white marvered horizontal trails and is sixth or, perhaps, seventh century in date. There are two tenth century early Christian

³⁵ L. Alcock, Dinas Powys, an Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan, 1963, pp. 104 - 88.

³⁶ N. Edwards, 'Dinefwr', in Edwards and Lane, eds., op. cit., p. 62.

³⁷ K.R. Dark, personal communication.

monuments at Margam and there is believed to have been an important immediately pre-Norman ecclesiastical site here. If the glass fragment is indicative of earlier activity then there might have been an earlier secular site too³⁸. Near Margam is the besanded Norman borough of Kenfig. Half a penannular brooch and some pottery, possibly Phocaeen red slip ware, were found here (and subsequently lost!) Therefore the existence of a fifth to seventh century site in the area is considered possible³⁹.

There are two sites in the second category: hut groups. Gateholm is a definite early medieval site on an island off the Pembrokeshire coast. A number of sub-rectangular structures can be seen preserved as earthworks either side of a central track. Finds indicate that activity took place over a long period from the Neolithic to the medieval. Alan Lane regards the settlement as unique and therefore without a parallel to facilitate interpretation⁴⁰. Glan-y-Mor is definitely the site of early medieval activity. Above the Roman building were at least two spreads of material. Animal bone from a floor level was dated AD 600 - 860 by radiocarbon, and bone associated with the rubble from a secondary building was dated to AD 780 - 1045/1155. The earlier of the two later dates is considered by the excavators to be the most likely bearing in mind the nature of the site⁴¹.

At Drim, a possible early medieval site, a small circular enclosure, surrounded by a bank and a ditch, enclosed two building platforms. There were no early medieval material remains from the site, but charcoal from a post hole on one of the building platforms was radiocarbon dated to AD 640 -

³⁸E. Campbell, 'Margam', in Edwards and Lane, op. cit., p. 91.

³⁹E. Campbell, 'Kenfig', ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁰A.M. Lane, 'Gateholm', ibid., pp. 73 - 4.

⁴¹A.M. Lane, 'Glan-y-Mor', ibid., pp. 77-8. All radiocarbon dates are taken from the reference cited, where they have been calibrated and expressed with a range one of standard deviation about the central date. The peculiar nature of the Glan-y-Mor date - there are two possible upper limits - is caused by a blip in the calibration curve.

770⁴². (Fig 6.1) This site perfectly illustrates the problems of differentiating between Iron Age and Dark Age hillforts. Prior to the recovery of suitable material for radiocarbon dating there was no reason to suspect from the appearance of the site that it was anything other than a small hill-fort of the late prehistoric period.

The early medieval use of caves seems to have been common on Gower. Activity, albeit of uncertain nature, appears to have taken place at three sites: Culver Hole, Bacon Hole and Minchin Hole. At Culver Hole a tenth century bronze penannular brooch was found associated with a skeleton, which is thought to be between Bronze Age and Romano-British in date. The brooch find is considered to be significant because it adds to the evidence for the early medieval use of caves and because it provides further evidence for Viking activity in the area⁴³. Minchin Hole is an interesting site because it has provided evidence for the regular (perhaps seasonal rather than permanent) Romano-British occupation of caves in addition to important early medieval finds. Three ninth century coins were found along with two composite bone combs and a brooch with disc terminals. Although the metalwork is thought to be early medieval, brooch chronology is extremely uncertain⁴⁴. At the third possible early medieval site in the Gower cliffs - Bacon Hole - a bronze pennanular brooch was found⁴⁵. Deposition of valuable objects is the common feature of the activity at cave sites. This could be linked to concealment of goods in periods of insecurity or to votive offerings made in conjunction with religious practices of an unknown nature.

There are also two inland cave sites: Longbury Bank (Pembrokeshire) and Lesser Garth Cave (Glamorgan.) Both are considered to be definite sites of early medieval activity. Excavations at the former, c. 1878, produced Phocaean red slip ware along with sherds of Bi and Biv amphorae and Merovingian glass. The range of finds is only paralleled in the British

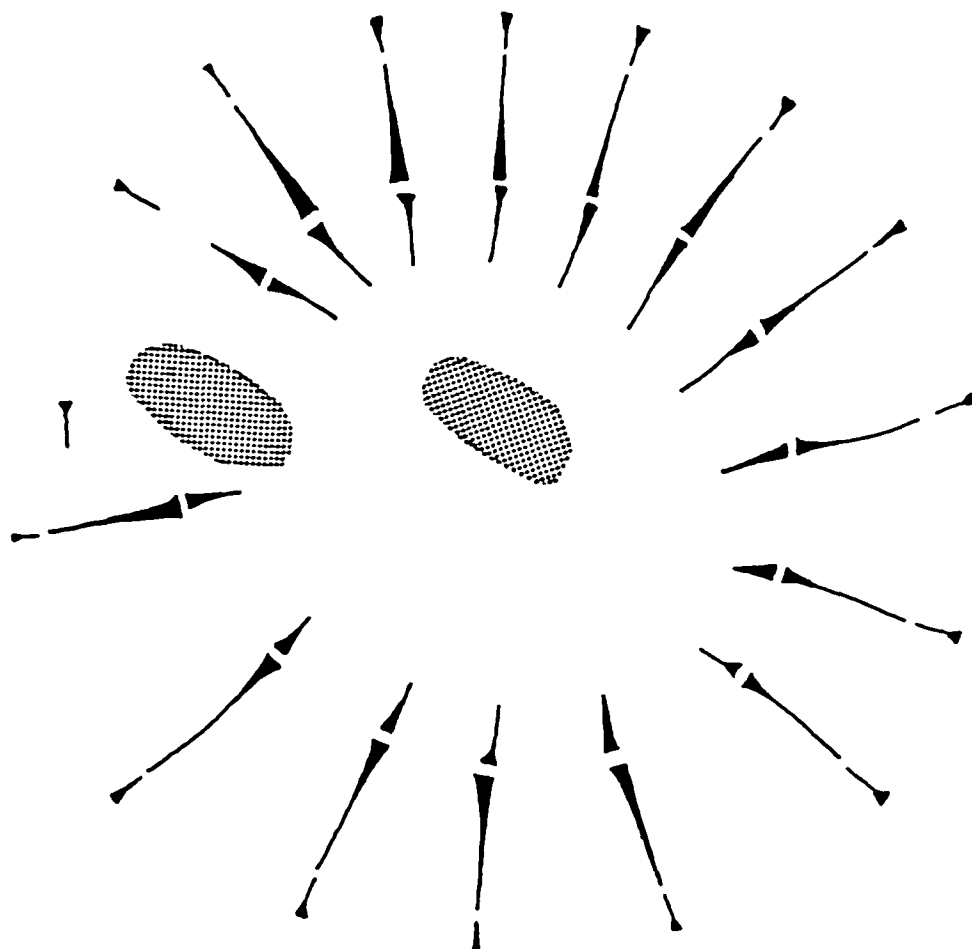
⁴²H. Mytum, 'Drim', ibid., p. 68.

⁴³J.K. Knight, 'Culver Hole', ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁴A.M. Lane, 'Minchin Hole', ibid., p. 94 - 5.

⁴⁵J.K. Knight, 'Bacon Hole', ibid., p. 22.

Fig. 6.1: The early medieval enclosure at Drim.



10 metres



N
▲



: house platforms

Isles by those from Dinas Powys. A major problem has, until recently, been to suggest a meaningful context for these objects⁴⁶. It is now thought likely that a major secular site lay on the ridge above the cave (and documentary evidence is believed to hint at this) and that the material fell through into the cave. Air photography and geophysical survey yielded no trace of a settlement here. However in view of the quantity and quality of finds excavation was carried out and traces of structures, metal working debris and more Dark Age material were found. An undefended site appears to have lain on the hill top, from which material must have fallen through into the cave, where it was discovered by chance. The history of the discovery of this site - the first major Dark Age site, in Wales, to be discovered since Dinas Powys in the 1960s. - illustrates the problems which surround the identification of early medieval sites⁴⁷.

The objects found at Lesser Garth Cave include a sherd of E ware, a bronze ring brooch and a "slotted and pointed object" of unknown function. These objects have a general date range of seventh to ninth century. It is possible that the main activity - perhaps settlement in a site no longer visible due to quarrying in the area - took place on the ridge above the level of the cave, which was occasionally used for storage and refuge. The site might be linked to Dinas Powys. They are (just) intervisible, and the iron ore deposits at Lesser Garth are identical in composition to the ore found at Dinas Powys. Both the E ware rim sherds have the same curious shape and are perhaps therefore from the same shipment of imports⁴⁸.

The remaining sites display no overall similarity. If there is a common feature it is their ephemeral nature and unreliable dates. There are two possible sites in west Wales: Penyrcoed and Pentre Farm (Pontardulais.) The excavation of a small sub-rectangular enclosure at Penyrcoed revealed traces of

⁴⁶E. Campbell, 'Longbury Bank', ibid., p.88 - 9.

⁴⁷A.M. Lane and E. Campbell, 'Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed, 1988', Archaeology in Wales, 28, 1988, pp. 22 - 4.

⁴⁸E. Campbell, 'Lesser Garth Cave', in Edwards and Lane, eds., op. cit., p. 87.

several internal structures. Charcoal from a series of pits was dated by radiocarbon analysis. One date was AD 1000 - 1260, but the rest of the dates were more recent than this and varied widely. There were no early medieval material remains to verify this date, and in view of this and the comments about the accuracy of radiocarbon dating, mentioned above, this one date should be treated with considerable scepticism⁴⁹. At Pentre Farm a fire was found in a context stratigraphically later than a Bronze Age earth and stone ring cairn. Charcoal from this fire was radiocarbon dated to AD 410-660. However the nature of the early medieval activity at this site remains unknown⁵⁰.

There is one further possible site in the area where the Vale of Glamorgan meets the highlands: Saint-y-Nyll. The earthworks of two small rectangular buildings and a field boundary mark either the site of a deserted medieval farm or that of the Villa Penn Onn of the Llandaff Charters⁵¹. The apparent rectangular, rather than sub-rectangular, nature of the buildings make the later date more likely, but only excavation can resolve the problem of the date and nature of this site. Here again archaeologists are faced with the problem of differentiating between Iron Age and Dark Age structures purely by visual inspection.

Three possible early medieval sites are known in Monmouthshire: Caerleon, Caerwent and Portskewett. At Caerleon an isolated female burial was found with the legionary fortress. It was radiocarbon dated to AD 660-940⁵². At least one hundred and eighteen burials were found within the Roman town of Caerwent. They lay both inside and outside the walls and some of the burials were associated with coins and post-Roman metalwork. Radiocarbon dates exist for five burials; AD 340 - 650, 420 - 680, 535 - 770, 650 - 980 and 780 - 1040. The long date range shows that this cemetery had been in use for a considerable period of time⁵³. Unfortunately no

⁴⁹A.M. Lane, 'Penycoed', ibid., p. 107.

⁵⁰A.M. Lane, 'Pentre Farm', ibid., p. 105.

⁵¹A.M. Lane, 'Saint-y-Nyll', ibid., p. 114.

⁵²A.M. Lane, 'Caerleon', ibid., p. 34.

⁵³A.M. Lane and J.K. Knight, 'Caerwent', ibid., pp. 35-7.

trace has been found of the settlement where this community must have lived. The final site is at Portskewett, where the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that Harold Godwinson built a hunting lodge in 1065 and that this was immediately destroyed by the Welsh. There is also literary evidence to suggest that this settlement was the llys of the early medieval kings of Gwent. The Domesday Book records that there was a hardwick, or stock farm, in the area of Poteschuiet. Earthworks are visible but they are of unknown age. Again excavation could help to resolve this problem⁵⁴.

The Atlantic Trading Estate site, near Barry, was discovered recently. Forty five inhumations have been excavated. In some of the graves preservation has been very good and remains of coffins and possibly shrouds have been recorded. Almost all the radiocarbon dates obtained from the burials lie within the period from the late fourth to the early sixth centuries; one is dated to the early eighth century and another is cut into the fill of a late medieval or early post-medieval ditch⁵⁵. Whilst no traces of an early medieval settlement in the vicinity of the cemetery have been found, large quantities of Bronze Age (c. 2000 to 700 BC) and some Romano-British material have been recovered. It has been stated that the cemetery contains the inhabitants of an estate centre which was somewhere in the vicinity, but which has not been found⁵⁶. The site resembles the west-country cemeteries of Cannington and Camerton; here too the settlements have not been discovered. After nearly three decades of unsuccessful searching it is perhaps worth considering that the early medieval settlement lies under the present-day settlements of these names. This possibility cannot be ignored in Wales too.

⁵⁴A.M. Lane, 'Portskewett', ibid., p. 108 - 9; H.C. Darby, 'Gloucestershire', in H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett, eds., The Domesday Geography of Medieval England, revised edition, 1971, p. 54.

⁵⁵C. Price and P. Wardle, 'Excavations at Atlantic Trading Estate, Barry in 1987', Siluria, 6, 1988, pp. 5 - 8.

⁵⁶Heather James, paper entitled 'Early Medieval Cemeteries in Wales', read at the 1989 conference on the early church in Wales and the west.

Yet as some of the earlier results of this author's research have shown some of the settlement was deliberately introduced into certain areas in the early twelfth century - notably in the form of planted communities of Flemings. There must be some settlement which pre-dates these nucleations; some of which was likely to have been dispersed in nature. Hence it cannot all lie under modern settlements. The problem of recognising these settlements is a real one and one that cannot be conveniently explained away.

There is some other material for the early medieval period. For many years the early Christian monuments, large sculptured stones, were the only type of monument known from early medieval south Wales⁵⁷. The early stones - the group 1 simple incised stones, dated to the fifth to seventh centuries - have a westerly and coastal distribution and are common in Pembrokeshire and the Lleyn Peninsula/Anglesey region. Not one of these early stones is found in south east Wales. This has been taken to imply a cultural break here between the Romano-British and early medieval periods⁵⁸. Only in the period from the ninth to the eleventh century - i.e. that of the group 3 sculptured crosses and cross slabs - are large numbers of monuments found in south east Wales, notably in the Vale of Glamorgan. This is taken to suggest an eastwards re-orientation of Welsh life at this time⁵⁹. This interpretation - of a break followed by new developments - is based on the assumption that the early Christian monuments have a Romano-British prototype. If this is not so then the distribution of the earliest monuments is irrelevant to the discussion of continuity. Knight has argued that the monuments are a post-Roman introduction into Wales from south western France; he believes that there are similarities between the Welsh and French monuments and that there were relatively few possible prototypes in Roman Britain (only early military gravestones and later milestones.) Furthermore, the

⁵⁷V.E. Nash-Williams, The Early Christian Monuments of Wales, 1950, p. 1.

⁵⁸ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁹ibid., p. 29.

transmission of the idea of monuments of this nature parallels the trade in class D pottery⁶⁰. Pearce's observations on the early Christian monuments of the west-country substantiates Knight's arguments⁶¹. She states that the erection of simple inscribed pillar stones - common in Ireland and southern Scotland as well as in Wales and the west-country - was originally an Irish custom which drew on Gaulish inspiration, which itself may have owed something to Roman funerary customs. Hence any investigation of continuity based on the distribution pattern of the stone monuments is flawed. The monuments appear to be a post-Roman introduction into Wales, and the argument for discontinuity within south Wales in the early medieval period cannot be tenable.

This material, like that of the excavated cemeteries, does not help advance the discussion of the origins of nucleated settlement in south Wales. The distribution of funerary monuments and cemeteries need not (other than in a very general way) reflect the distribution of people. Large cemeteries need not imply that settlement was nucleated. They could indicate dispersed settlement, with all the dead being buried in one location. The archaeological evidence is particularly frustrating. Evidence for secular sites is difficult to discover, date and interpret. The excavated evidence for the whole period is confused and no clear picture has emerged from a site by site study. The early Christian monuments show that people were dying and being commemorated there, but give no idea as to where and how they were living. All that can be said, with certainty, is that some categories of site - villas and towns - went out of use, others - hillforts and caves - were re-used. Thankfully, there is some evidence of continuity of occupation of the land; the estates attached to the villas seem to have survived as coherent farming units up until the eighth century. The evidence for this aspect of continuity forms part of the next

⁶⁰J.K. Knight, paper entitled 'Si Monumenta Requirit: the Early Christian Inscriptions of Wales in their Wider Context', read at the 1989 conference on the early church in Wales and the west.

⁶¹S. Pearce, The Archaeology of South West Britain, 1981, pp. 168 - 72.

section.

This section has considered the landscape solely through a discussion of the archaeological sites. This has been carried out on a location by location basis, the relevant features and finds being discussed virtually in isolation from the wider landscape pattern. The final paragraphs of the section will try to place these sites in their landscape. This is very much an exercise in speculation.

There are a few sites which suggest occupation by petty kings or chiefs and use as a court or llys. These sites have produced either a substantial amount of finds, often including material of a luxury nature, or would have required considerable effort to build. Dinas Powys and the crannog at Llangorse are clear examples of each. If a Dark Age site does exist at Dinefwr it is likely, in view of its later history and location, to belong to this category too. The other site which is defended - Drim - may not be a site of this nature. Its small size and lack of finds could indicate that this site (if used at all at this time) was temporarily re-occupied in the period of dislocation and instability which may have accompanied the transition from Roman civitas to Dark Age kingdoms. Speculation such as this is made more difficult by the assumption of synchronicity. There is no justification for thinking that all the sites reviewed above were contemporary or that the landscape remained static from c. AD 350 to c. AD 1100. These paragraphs, it must be stressed, are like much of the research into this period speculative. Nevertheless they are not "flights of fancy." They are based firmly on the available evidence and a knowledge of the likely nature of Dark Age society.

Most of the remaining sites are small and undefended. These are likely to have been the homes of the lower status members of society. The round structure at Glan-y-mor, the small sub-rectangular enclosure at Pencoed, the Villa Penn Onn and the hardwick at Portskewett were all probably farms. They appear to have been solitary sites with only a few buildings at each locality. The hut-group at Gateholm appears slightly different from these, but it too is likely to have been the home of a farming community. Other sites have a limited range of prestigious items and may have

had a different economic base to those discussed above. Lesser Garth Cave and the settlement on Longbury Bank both produced early medieval pottery, and the former and Minchen Hole have produced Dark Age bronzes. These sites, it can be argued, were involved in producing non-agricultural resources. Iron ore may have been extracted at Lesser Garth, and coastal environments exploited at the other two. These resources could have been exchanged with the élite for pottery, goods or other materials; hence the quality of finds and the similarities between the pottery at Lesser Garth Cave and near-by Dinas Powys. The inhabitants of Longbury Bank may also have been working mineral resources - metal-working debris was found on site.

In summary, an attempt has been made at a speculative reconstruction of the settlement pattern. These were a small number of high status sites, distinguished either by the quantity and quality of resources or by location. Not all re-occupied hillforts are included in this category, some are likely to have been temporary refuges in times of conflict. Elsewhere in the landscape there were perhaps two types of site: small, undefended farms dependent upon pastoral and arable resources and sites exploiting specialised resources, for example metal ores or littoral environments.

6.3: The Roman - Early Medieval Transformation II.

The charter memoranda contained in the Book of Llandaff have been used to provide an account of the continuation and development of tenurial patterns in south east Wales. Wendy Davies has argued in a number of books and papers that the Roman estate pattern formed the basis of the early medieval one. From the tenurial documents and from associated material she has been able to discuss the economic and political structure of the area in the early medieval period. Her work does not directly cover the origin of villages, but the light she throws on this period will enable village origins to be examined later in this section.

Until recently the contents of the Book of Llandaff were regarded as fake. They were thought to have been forged in the early twelfth century, when Llandaff was trying to establish its position as the premier see in Wales, and was

therefore trying to prove its antiquity. Wendy Davies has rigorously analysed them and concluded that they are a genuine, but complex, series of early medieval land charters⁶². Her argument is that the documents were not forged at this time, but rather copied from earlier versions which have not survived. The charters are, she claims, unlike twelfth century forgeries in that they do not try to copy presumed earlier forms and they are imprecise. They preserve archaic terms which would have meant nothing to a medieval forger, but which could easily have been copied. Finally, the lands to which the charters refer are not always specifically located and hence the documents are of no use as property deeds⁶³.

The "rehabilitated" charters can be used to demonstrate continuity onwards from the late Roman period into the early medieval one. The charters record the transfer to the church of large tracts of land, which are usually arable and being worked by tenants and labourers. Whilst there is no evidence from the fifth century (the earliest charter dates from the second quarter of the sixth century) there is sufficient material to show that the charters have a Roman origin and that therefore continuity of farmed estates from the mid-fourth to the early mid-sixth century can be demonstrated. The charters are too early to be Welsh versions of similar Anglo-Saxon documents. They are Roman in tradition, terminology and conceptual framework, and they are akin to post-Roman charters elsewhere. The nature of kingship - only a king can donate land - is most certainly in the Roman tradition of imperial rescript. The tenurial pattern they describe is very similar to that of Merovingian France, where it is closely conditioned by the immediate Roman past. The landscape of the eighth century was not a fossilised form of that of the fourth; some estates may have retained their shape, others were directly descended from fourth century properties and all would have experienced changes in the methods and intensity with which the land was worked⁶⁴.

⁶²W.E. Davies, The Llandaff Charters, 1979, p. 3.

⁶³W.E. Davies, 'Roman Settlements and Post-Roman Estates in South-East Wales', in P.J. Casey, ed., The End of Roman Britain, 1979, p. 161.

⁶⁴ibid., pp. 158 - 60.

In one area of south east Wales - the Caldicot Levels - this author strongly suspects estate continuity from the Roman period through into the early medieval period and beyond. The parishes of this area can be divided into groups, with each group of parishes having boundaries which are straight lines and which follow no obvious topographical features. This can easily be seen in the boundary which separates Goldcliff, Whitson and Llanwern from Bishton and Redwick. The parish boundaries abut, but do not cross, the straight line boundary; hence these straight line boundaries, and the units they demarcate, are earlier than the parishes. There is one exception to this pattern. The boundary between the parishes of Magor and Undy is a straight line on the Levels, but as the land starts to rise the boundary runs along the line of Magor Pill, which lies in a small steep-sided valley.

The dating and function of these straight line boundaries is of crucial importance to the continuity argument. Parishes were not established, in south Wales, until the twelfth century, but their boundaries follow those of earlier tenurial and economic units⁶⁵. As the Levels are thought to have been first drained in Roman times⁶⁶ these boundaries cannot predate this period. In many parts of Britain it appears that the medieval landscape units defined by the parish boundaries represent, in some way, older, possibly Roman units⁶⁷. This author proposes that after the Levels were drained they were divided into large estates; these estates continued in use from the Roman period into the early medieval period and their boundaries were preserved when parishes were created in the twelfth century.

This model can be developed further. Figure 6.2 shows

⁶⁵ R.R. Davies, Conquest, Co-existence and Change, Wales 1063 - 1415, 1987, pp. 185 - 6.

⁶⁶ J.R.L. Allen and M.G. Fulford, 'The Wentlooge Level: A Romano-British Saltmarsh Reclamation in Southeast Wales', Britannia, 17, 1986, pp. 91 - 117.

⁶⁷ C.C. Taylor, 'The Nature of Romano-British Settlement Studies - What are the Boundaries?', in D. Miles, ed., The Romano-British Countryside, 1982, pp. 6 - 8.

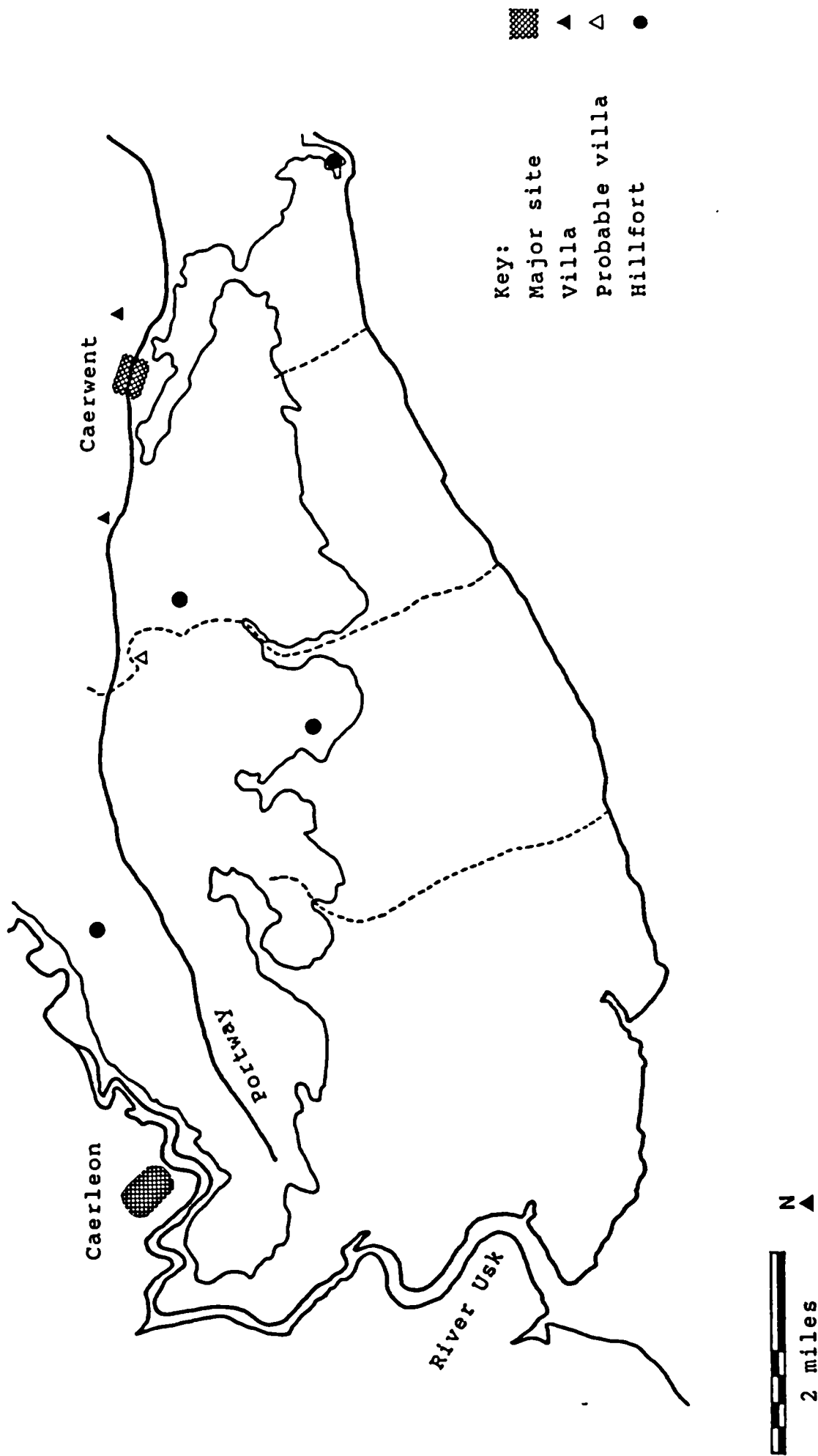


Fig. 6.2 : Roman and possible early medieval sites and estate boundaries on the Caldicot Levels.

the Caldicot Levels, the presumed estate boundaries and the Roman and possible early medieval sites within the area. At the extreme east and west of the area are the two major Roman sites of Caerleon (the legionary fortress of Isca) and Caerwent (the civitas capital of Venta Silurum.) There are two certain villa sites in the area; one at Castle Tump, the other near Five Lanes. There is a possible villa site in Penhow, where walling and Roman pottery were found in the rectory garden⁶⁸. Each of these villas is positioned close to the route of a Roman road (the Portway) and each appears to relate to one specific estate. No villa has yet been identified in the westernmost estate. Research carried out by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in advance of the proposed Severn tidal barrage may have lead to the discovery of a site in this area; the results of this work have not been released yet⁶⁹. These new estates would have extended from the coast up to the Portway and, perhaps, some way beyond. They would have been large in size; their approximate sizes are 12,000, 8,000, 6,000 and 3,000 acres respectively from west to east. Villas were then established as centres for the exploitation of these lands.

In the early medieval period there may have been a change from estates focused on villas to estates focused on hillforts. A series of hillforts has been identified in this area. There is one major hill-fort per estate; all are in the Wentwood rather than on the Levels, but are so situated that they could have functioned easily as focal places. A further hill-fort at Llanmelin can be excluded from this analysis because extensive excavation revealed no evidence for occupation other than in the early Iron Age⁷⁰. It is not known if these hillforts were first built at this time or if they were re-used Iron Age sites. The location of the sites, on the edge of newly drained lands, can be used, albeit cautiously, to

⁶⁸J. Bradney, History of Monmouthshire, volume 4, part 2, Hundred of Caldicot, 1932, p. 198.

⁶⁹J. Hill-Kahn, personal communication.

⁷⁰V.E. Nash-Williams, 'An Early Iron Age Hill-fort at Llanmelin, near Caerwent, Monmouthshire', Archaeologica Cambrensis, 88, 1933, pp. 237 - 309.

suggest a Dark Age date. There is also evidence for early ecclesiastical activity in each estate. The morphology of three churchyards suggests that they may be pre-Conquest in origin. Llanwern churchyard has been described as a "largely curved enclosure" and both Portskewett and Magor are "partly curved enclosures"⁷¹. It is possible that these three sites were the ecclesiastical focii for the three estates. The method of churchyard construction at Bishton has led Brook to propose that this is also an early site. The partly earth-banked yard is possibly a feature of early churches in this area, but it may - she admits - be a regional variation rather than a chronological marker. Llanvaches and Mathern may also be early sites, both have alternate names which include the element merthyr (meaning martyr.) This is thought to indicate an early date and an important status. Bishton, Mathern and Llanvaches all have dedications to Celtic saints; respectively Cadwaladar, Tewdric and Dubritius. Portskewett and Magor are dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and Llanwern to St. Michael.

It appears that throughout south east Wales the sub-Roman estate pattern continued without dramatic change until the eighth century. Stability then gave way to a period of fundamental social and economic disturbance. The donors of the estates ceased to be exclusively royal. From c. 660 members of the aristocracy joined the king as co-donors of land; later, from c. 705 onwards, land was bought from the king specifically to be donated; finally, land donation was open to all who could afford it⁷². The donations became smaller; before c. 760 grants were often hundreds and sometimes thousands of acres in size, after this date a standard gift of 125 acres was common. Accompanying this decrease in the size of grant there was a change in the unit used to measure land. The uncia disappeared and the formerly geographically restricted modius was more widely used⁷³. Of most importance to this study is the

⁷¹D. Brook, 'The Early Christian Church in Gwent', The Monmouthshire Antiquary, 5, 1988, pp. 72 - 5.

⁷²W.E. Davies, 'Land and Power in Early Medieval Wales', Past and Present, 81, 1978, pp. 10 - 12.

⁷³W.E. Davies, 'Unciae: Land Measurement in the Liber
(Footnote continued)

final change: for the first time land units become defined in relation to settlements and their boundaries can be traced in the modern landscape. The description of units as agri ceases and is replaced by uillae; each uilla invariably encloses one principal settlement and a church. The nucleated settlement pattern of south east Wales today appears to emerge for the first time in the eighth century. The ager, unlike the uilla, carries with it no implication of settlement and it is this factor which is the key difference between the two⁷⁴.

It must be stressed that this linkage crosses a wide time-span; the documents are eighth century in origin and the settlement pattern first attested in maps and/or documents of the eighteenth. In Wonnastow, for example, there is no evidence for settlement anywhere other than where nucleations now stand. This could be taken to argue that the earliest nucleations lie under the modern ones. There is no evidence which supports or refutes this speculation. As was noted earlier evidence for the period between the sub-Roman decades and the Norman invasion is rarely found. The evidence for pre-eighth century desertion and later nucleation, if that is the pattern, has not yet been recovered. Further advances will be required in archaeological fieldwork techniques before the problems of this long time-span can be resolved.

Wendy Davies has not considered the reasons for the change described above in any detail. Sometimes it is included as an almost inconsequential detail, sometimes it attracts brief comment⁷⁵. The changes are related primarily, she argues, to an increase in the level of piety within society. People felt the need to make a gift to the church and were prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to do it. This author doubts this view. People may have wished to donate land to the church before the eighth century, but were legally prevented from doing so. The social changes of the eighth century, notably the change in the kings' power which prevented them from stopping

(continued)

Landavensis', Agricultural History Review, 21, 1973, p. 112.

⁷⁴W.E. Davies, An Early Welsh Microcosm, 1978, pp. 38 - 42.

⁷⁵For example compare W.E. Davies, op. cit., 1978, p. 64, with W.E. Davies, op. cit., 1979, p. 21.

the gift of land, may have unleashed a flood of donations to the church. The social change was necessary to enable the piety of society - if it existed - to be expressed in this one way.

The evidence from the Book of Llandaff appears to point to village origins in the eighth century. The taxation model can be used to explain why settlements appear to have nucleated at this time. This model argued that villages were characterised by particular structures of power; they are noted for their strong polity. This affects work styles and the level of production, because human labour has a social as well as a physical character. Thus there is a close link between settlement pattern, power and production. Power is characteristic of village societies and one way in which power is expressed is by organising labour so as to increase production. If then the élite element within society increased their demands for tribute, then nucleation could have been one way of increasing the productivity of labour (by making it easier to control) and thus meeting these increased demands. If this model is correct then there ought to be evidence for the emergence of an, or a change in the nature of the, élite. There should also be a contemporary change in the system of tribute and taxation. The period from c. 580 onwards saw a change in the nature of kingship. The dynasty of Meurig ap Tewdrig initiated the formation of the Kingdom of Glywysing. Through the gradual elimination of rivals, Meurig's great-grandson Ithel had established his rule throughout modern Glamorgan, Gwent and south west Hereford by c. 715⁷⁶. Concurrent with the development of the "new style" monarchy is the development of the taxation system. Earliest tax demands appear c. 700 and a fully developed system is operating by c. 800⁷⁷. Hence it would appear that, according to the evidence published by Wendy Davies, the taxation model provides a valid explanation of the origins of nucleated settlement in south east Wales. The acceptance of this model is tentative and conjectural. It relies on limited evidence from a small number of charters, which may in some way be atypical. The evidence is, as one

⁷⁶W.E. Davies, op. cit., 1978, pp. 93 - 5.

⁷⁷ibid., pp. 100 - 1.

might expect, biased. All the charter material does, of course, deal with land donations to the church. Nevertheless the available evidence does support the taxation model and hence it deserves consideration as one set of circumstances which might explain why villages originated.

The post-Roman estates, identified by Wendy Davies, are not the only landscape units which are thought to have existed in early medieval Wales. In a complex series of papers, produced over the last thirty five years, G.R.J. Jones has developed the concept of the multiple estate. These units are thought to date back possibly to the late prehistoric period and may have lasted up until the late first millennium AD⁷⁸. A consideration of their nature and the role they may play in any analysis of the origin of the village is of crucial importance in this study.

There is a need to approach the multiple estate model with caution. First, it is derived in the main from north Welsh sources, for example the law tracts of the Book of Iorwerth. This may not be applicable in south Wales. As Jones has admitted,

"the lawbooks of south Wales present a much more sketchy outline of territorial organisation."⁷⁹

Second, landscape historians have very little idea of how the settlements envisaged by Jones would appear in the archaeological record. Jones has made some suggestions, but these are also taken from north Welsh contexts and may not represent the situation in the south⁸⁰.

A succinct definition of a multiple estate has recently been provided by Gregson⁸¹. Her definition uses spatial, social and economic attributes and focuses on what are

⁷⁸G.R.J. Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation in England and Wales', Geografiska Annaler, 43, 1961, p. 181.

⁷⁹G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlements' in P.H. Sawyer, ed., Medieval Settlement, 1976, p. 17.

⁸⁰G.R.J. Jones, 'Nucleal Settlement and its Tenorial Relationships: Some Morphological Implications', B.K. Roberts and R.E. Glasscock, eds., Villages, Fields and Frontiers, 1983, pp. 153 - 70; G.R.J. Jones, 'Forms and Patterns of Settlement in Welsh Wales', D. Hooke, ed., Medieval Villages, 1985, pp. 155 - 69.

⁸¹N. Gregson, 'The Multiple Estate Model - Some Critical Questions', Journal of Historical Geography, 11, 1985, p. 346.

though to be its six fundamental attributes. A multiple estate comprises a group of associated upland and lowland townships, all of which lie within the bounds of a medieval estate or similar unit; within the estate there should be a recognisable central place or caput. There should be evidence for a social hierarchy headed by a lord; sometimes this evidence may take the form of a palace, llys or similar high status residence (described by her inelegant phrase: "morphological surrogate"). Below the lord there should be three social levels. The first is responsible for the administration, supervision and organisation of the estate. The second comprises the freemen, who render light cash payments and owe minimal service obligations to the lord. Third, the bondmen, who bear onerous service demands. These services are differentiated and include providing agricultural labour, carrying out construction work, making gifts for hospitality and meeting numerous other obligations. There are two additional criteria which, she thinks, may also mark a multiple estate. There might be place-name evidence to supplement the general pattern outlined above and to indicate the antiquity of the sites⁸². Second, there could be archaeological evidence for settlement in the prehistoric or Romano-British period.

There is a misleading notion of stasis within Gregson's definition of a multiple estate. The elements are not static; they are interacting within a complex framework of resource management. The linkages between the settlements are one of the fundamental concepts of the model. Each settlement has an individual speciality; one settlement may have grown grain, another will provide pasture for animals, a third may have managed woods and provided supplies of timber. Each settlement would have rendered its products to the caput and,

⁸²Gregson's work is largely concerned with English examples of multiple estates and, hence, her use of place-name evidence is not applicable in Welsh contexts. The use of the place-name elements walh-, bret- or cumbre- to indicate servile communities of the original Celtic population is perhaps justified in England, but not in Wales. Here the actual meaning of place-names and the presence of early Celtic saints' names in church dedications appears to be of more use.

in return, received goods which it did not produce. The caput could have acted as both a consumption and a redistribution centre. Alternatively, the lord may have travelled around the estate receiving renders and organising re-distribution en route.

One of Jones's published examples of a multiple estate lies within the study area at Maenor Meddyfnych in Carmarthenshire⁸³. The area, which is largely co-terminous with the parish of Llandybïe, first appears as a coherent unit in an entry in the Book of St. Chad, dated to c. 800. It comprises seven upland and lowland townships, which are scattered over an area of twelve square miles. In all of these townships common arable and meadow land existed until relatively recently. The llys is thought to have been at Meddyfnych itself. This small settlement has the same name as the whole multiple estate and lies in the township of Fferm Fawr, which can be translated as "great farm." Evidence for the second social level is unambiguously provided by another place-name. The farm name Maerdy means "Mayor's house", and would have been the settlement of the reeve. There is no direct evidence for the free- or bondmen's settlements. However other clauses in the Book of St. Chad refer to the existence of these classes of society. It can be presumed that the free- and bondmen lived in the other townships, but this cannot be shown to be so. There is also evidence in the estate for Gregson's two final criteria. Roman pottery, glass and mosaic tiles - all suggestive of a Romanised farmstead or, possibly, a villa - were found at Derwydd (which is in the same parish as Meddyfnych,) and the church is dedicated to the Celtic saint Tybïe. There was also an upland meadow known, in the ninth century, as Henllan (old church). This could have been the land which, perhaps with workers, was set aside for the support of the church and its priest.

Wendy Davies and G.R.J. Jones have both identified estates - large landscape units - which, they argue, continued in active cultivation from the Roman period into the medieval

⁸³G.R.J. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', in H.P.R. Finberg, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, volume 1, part 2, AD 43 - 1042, 1972, pp. 308 - 11.

one. Unfortunately, no attempt has yet been made to combine their work, and hence the correspondence between the Roman and post-Roman estates of south east Wales and the multiple estates is unknown. This could be due to Davies's refusal to accept the notion of a multiple estate as, in any way whatsoever, a useful concept for exploration of the Dark Age landscape of south Wales. She maintains that it relies upon fiscal concepts that cannot be shown to have existed at that time⁸⁴. This author finds her rejection of the concept extremely negative. In north Wales Jones has claimed that the services and renders required from the population of Aberffraw in the early thirteenth century may have been demanded for some time. This area was conquered by the Normans not long before this. Hence the pre-Conquest existence of a structured system of renders and services can hardly be rejected. When it is noted that the villas have Welsh names which suggest certain responsibilities, for example Trefddisteiniaid (Vill of the stewards) and Trefwastrodion (Vill of the grooms,) then Jones's use of certain fiscal concepts seems fully justified⁸⁵.

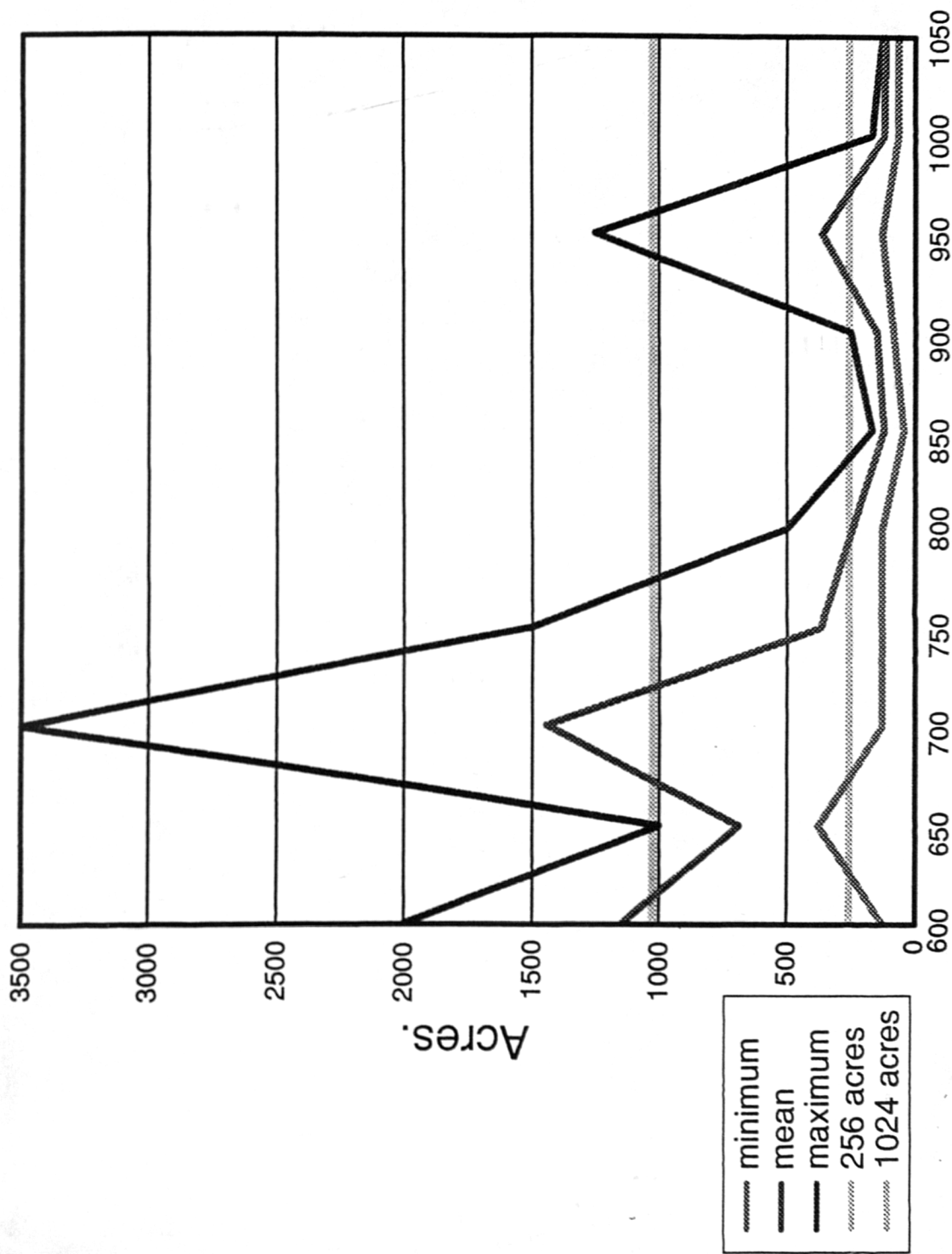
It is likely that the large early grants, made before the eighth century, were gifts of whole multiple estates, and that those made later were gifts of individual villas, or trefi, which were the component parts of multiple estates. The graph (Figure 6.3) shows the maximum, mean and minimum size of donations with each fifty year period, along with the size (derived by Jones from the Book of Iorwerth) for an ideal multiple estate and vill, 1024 and 256 acres respectively⁸⁶. The correspondence of early gifts with whole estates and later donations of individual trefi is a little generalised. It can be seen that, whilst on average the size of the gifts fell, there were both small early grants (far too small to have been whole multiple estates) and large late donations (sufficient to have been of estate size.) Nevertheless a general pattern of early large grants of multiple estates and later smaller grants

⁸⁴W.E. Davies, personal communication.

⁸⁵G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in P.H. Sawyer, ed., Medieval Settlement, 1976, pp. 19 - 21.

⁸⁶Jones, ibid., p. 15.

Fig. 6.3: Minimum, mean and maximum sizes of donations to the church at Llandaff, c. 575 to c. 1075, fifty year moving averages.



of trefi appears to exist. Whilst Davies rejects the concept of the multiple estate, she has - in the past equated the uillae of the Llandaff charters with one of the estates' constituent elements: the tref. She has stated that,

"There is no reason to suppose that the Llandaff uillae ... were distinct from the Domesday vills of Gwent or that they⁸⁷ were essentially different from the trefi of the Laws."

One of the early gifts was certainly a multiple estate, and it has been reconstructed by this author. In c. 655 King Meurig and his queen restored Lan Teliau Talypont to Bishop Euddogwy and the church⁸⁸. The estate lies in the general area of Llandeilo Tal-y-Bont, in northern Gower on the Carmarthenshire/Glamorgan boundary. The bounds of the grant are given as,

"From the influx of the Marlès to the bottom of Llanerch Onnvyw. Across the Cwm Onnvyw to the 'garth lunguyd' to the Cam-Guili to the Hir Melin. From the Hir Melin straight on to the Llwchwr on the other side. Along the Llwchwr upwards as far as Camffrwd. Along the Camffrwd on the church side of the Llwchwr to its source to Allt Minchei, Ceven Drum. Along the Allt to Dulès. Through the Dulès-es as far as Dinas Cyn llyvan. Along the source as far opposite the source of the Cynvran. Along the Cynvran as far as the Llwchwr."

Some of these locations are known (Figure 6.4.) The Marlès is probably the River Morlais; there is also a River Marlais nearby, but the general pattern of the bounds makes more sense if the Morlais is used. Llanerch Onnvyw could refer to the valley where Llanerch Farm now lies. Cam Guili is certainly the Gwili Valley, which is Cwm Gwili in Welsh. The River Llwchwr and the Camffrwd have both retained their names up to the present, but the bifurcation of the upper Camffrwd leaves the source unknown. Ceven Drum hill and the Dulès valley can be identified as Cefn Drum and the Dulais. These points can be used to delimit the approximate bounds of the estate which appears to have been a large area, perhaps 4000 acres in size.

The claim for Llandeilo Tal-y-bont as a multiple

⁸⁷W.E. Davies, op. cit., 1978, p. 40.

⁸⁸W.E. Davies, The Llandaff Charters, 1979, p. 97; J.G. Evans and J. Rhys, The Text of the Book of Llandaff, 1893, pp. 368 - 9 give full details of the charter with the boundary clause.

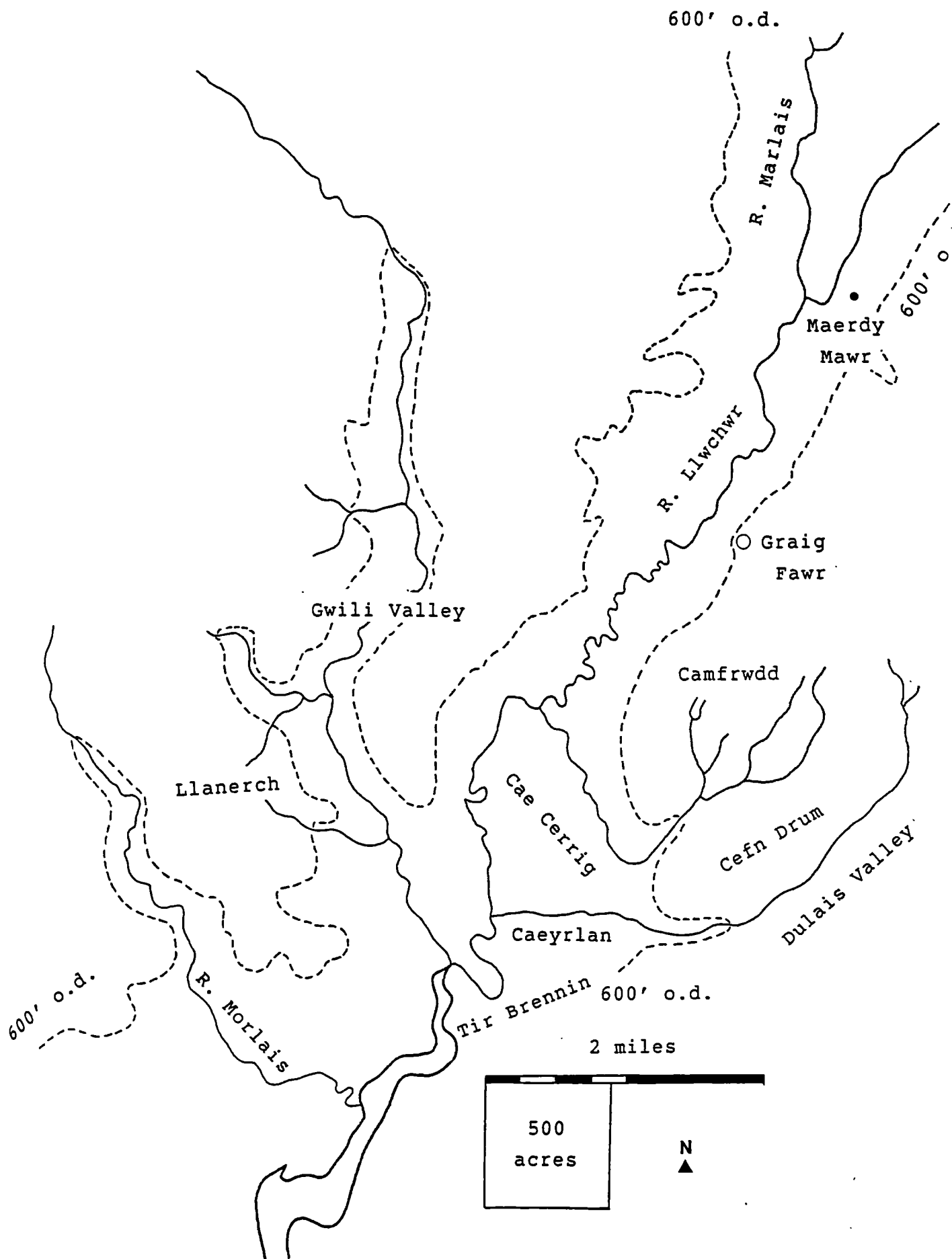


Fig. 6.4: a reconstruction of the multiple estate of Lan Teliau Talypont

estate can be examined within the framework developed by Gregson and which has been outlined above. As the reconstructed bounds of the estate were not precise any correspondence with a later unit must be tentative. The boundaries of the lower end of the parish of Llandeilo Tal-y-bont would appear to match those of the estate. Links between highland and lowland, within a transhumance system, are indicated by a number of Hafod and Hendre place-names (respectively meaning winter and summer pasture.) The caput of the estate was probably the hill fort of Graig Fawr; this is a D-shaped fortified enclosure which is now poorly preserved, but which was once defended by a stone-faced bank of earth⁸⁹. The best evidence for the king comes from a large area at the mouth of the River Llŵchwr, which is known as Tir Brennin (King's land) in the tithe map⁹⁰. The centre of the estate's administration would have been at Maerdy Mawr (which translates as "large farm of the reeve"). Evidence for small communities with their own sharelands is provided by the survival of several rhandir at Cae Cerrig between the Camffrwd and the Dulais. The bondmen responsible for the upkeep of the church, and perhaps the priest, were probably to have been found near Caeyrlan (the field of the church.) The estate may have had an orchard (Maes-y-berllan: field of the orchard) and a mill (Melin-y-garn: mill by the cairn or stones); both are situated near the reeve's farm. In summary, it would appear that the land, at Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, which made up one of the early grants to the church was a whole multiple estate. This multiple estate was granted whole; it was not split up and therefore it is relatively easy to re-construct the early medieval pattern of land use.

An examination of two grants which post-date the eighth century changes in donation patterns demonstrates that these two gifts cannot be of whole multiple estates. First, Gurthebiriuc equated with Wonastow in north east Monmouthshire; this estate was given to the church, in c. 750, by Cynfor ap Iago, who had purchased it from King Ffernfael⁹¹. The area

⁸⁹The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 1 part 2, The Iron Age and the Roman Occupation, p. 21; Ordnance Survey (Archaeological Division) record cards.

⁹⁰NLW Maps, collection of tithe maps and apportionments.

⁹¹W.E. Davies, op. cit., 1974, pp. 116 - 8, and op. cit., 1973, pp. 115 - 7.

covered by this grant is just 653 acres (fractionally more than 1 square mile.) The second donation was at Llanfannar, where in c. 780, 702 acres were given to the church by King Athrwys. Such small areas are unlikely to have been multiple estates in their own right. They could however have formed parts of one, perhaps a tref or a small number of trefi. There is then evidence to support this author's overview that there appears to be the following trend: early donations of whole multiple estates, later donations of individual trefi.

The extended discussion of multiple estates and their relationship to post-Roman estates, presented above, has been a necessary introduction to the testing of the model for village origins which links nucleation to the break up of the multiple estate. The granting of individual trefi, or vills, to the church marks the start of a process of fission, whereby the estates began to split up. Once a vill was divorced from the estate the economic links were severed. This breakage would lead to profound changes within the newly-independent vill. It could no longer specialize in the production of one commodity; the community would be forced with a stark choice: diversify or die.

Diversification could have led to the adoption of a common field system, and therefore to a nucleated village. The loss of upland pasture, once available to a lowland, arable-farming community, could have been compensated for in the open fields, where animals were allowed to graze on fallow fields and stubble. This would have brought about the integration of pasture and arable, and hence an "arable" element of an estate could have become an independent unit producing sufficient grain and animal produce. Upland trefi, which had once been entirely pastoral, would need to convert some of their grazing land to arable. As this was likely to have been poor in quality, the pasturing of animals on it at certain times, as a way of improving it, is likely. A common field system would allow trefi, which had previously had a pastoral economic base, to increase their amount of arable and those which had specialised in arable production to increase

the availability of grazing land. The scattering of strips would ensure that everyone's animals had to take part in the communal garazing and that every individual was involved in the arrangements necessary to regulate the system⁹².

An interesting glimpse of an upland vill that was divorced from its parent estate, with dramatic consequences, has been provided, almost unintentionally, by G.R.J. Jones⁹³. The fourth marginal entry in the Book of St. Chad records the gift of the modern parish of Llan-y-Crwys to the church in c. 850. Llan-y-Crwys is a small triangular parish, two miles by three, which as Figure 6.5 clearly shows was once part of the larger unit of Caew; it also forms a natural unit of relief and drainage within this commote. It was required to render to the church a ram, a quantity of butter and sixty loaves per year. These sixty loves are of crucial importance to this author's arguments. Arable land would have had to have been found for the community to fulfil its obligations to the church, as well as for it to feed itself. There is plentiful evidence for common pastures within the parish today. There is also some arable land, which is unusual in this part of north Carmarthenshire. As Jones remarks, in a footnote,

"By Welsh upland standards an unusually large proportion of the land in Llan-y-Crwys was cultivated during⁹⁴ the inter-war period of the twentieth century."

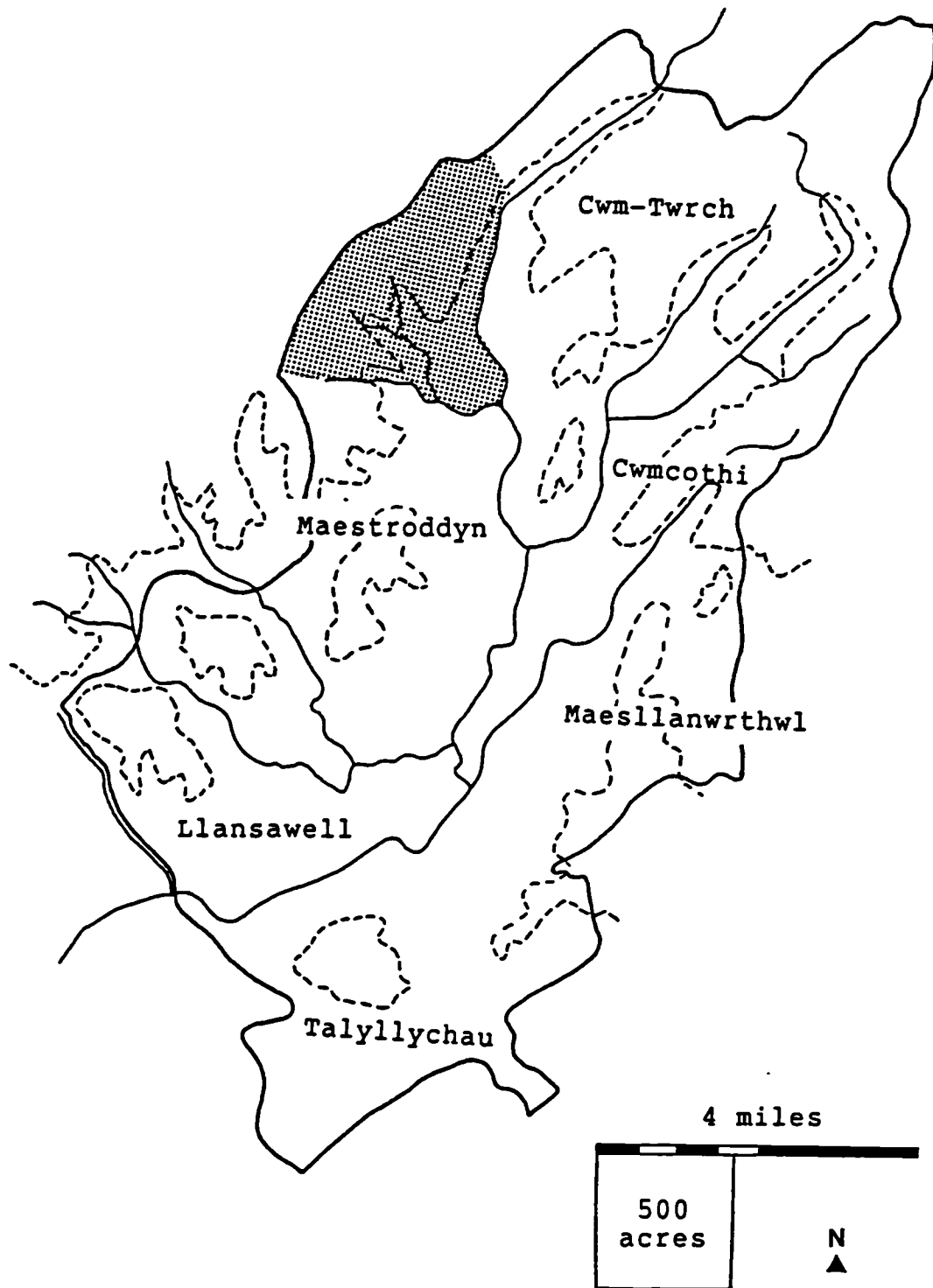
This is not a twentieth century pattern; it goes back to at least 1801. Table 6.1a compares the amount of arable land in Llan-y-Crwys with that in the three other north Carmarthenshire parishes (the choice of these three is governed partly by the availability of data and partly by geographical similarity.) The proportion of arable land is far greater in Llan-y-Crwys than it is in any other parish; here the proportion - 13.8% - is well above the average of 7.9%. Table 6.1b uses tithe data to compare Llan-y-Crwys with the parishes which remained a part of the commote of Caew. Table 6.1b shows the pattern that existed throughout the whole area of the former multiple estate

⁹²C.J. Dahlman, The Open Fields and Beyond, 1980, pp. 143 - 5.

⁹³Jones, op. cit., 1972, pp. 313 - 9.

⁹⁴ibid., p. 314.

Fig. 6.5: Llan-y-Crwys and the other townships in the commote of Caer, c. 850.



Key:

Commote boundary
 Area of Llan-y-Crwys
 800' contour
 Rivers and streams



Table 6.1a: Land devoted to arable production in certain north Carmarthenshire parishes in 1801.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Area</u> (all figures in acres)	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rye</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Veg.</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>arable</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>-age</u>
Llan-y-Crwys	3379	15	7	103	309	22	456	13.8
Llansadwrn	7064	64	-	110	150	25	349	4.9
Llanybydder	10031	30	-	253	460	101	844	8.4
Pencarreg	10392	22	-	94	490	69	774	7.3
Total	30866	131	7	560	1409	217	2423	7.9

D. Williams, 'The Acreage Returns of 1801 for Wales', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 14, 1950, p. 63, citing PRO: HO 66/22/102, 66/22/106, 66/22/200 and 66/22/240.

Table 6.1b: Proportion of arable land in the parishes which were once part of the commote of Caer, c. 1840.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Area</u> (all figures in acres)	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Percentage</u> <u>arable</u>
Llan-y-Crwys	3379	966	1914	28.6
Conwyl-Gaeo	41785	6333	12667	15.2
Llansawell	10017	2193	4388	21.9
Talley	7167	2070	4155	28.9
Total	62348	11562	23124	18.5

Source: NLW Maps: tithe apportionments.

in c. 1840. The portion of land recorded in the tithe schedules as devoted to arable is over ten percent higher in the parish of Llan-y-Crwys than it is in the area as a whole. The figure for Llan-y-Crwys (28.6%) is also only three tenths of one percent below the level of that for Talley (28.9%), which would have comprised the lowland element of the original estate.

These figures are, of course, derived from relatively recent sources. They post-date the author's proposed date for the changes in the agricultural pattern by about a millennium. There is a possibility of rectifying this situation through palynological studies. It has not been possible to carry out a study of this nature within the confines of this work; yet the potential remains for the future. Similar studies elsewhere in Carmarthenshire have yielded results which have been used to demonstrate agricultural change at other dates. For example, Thomas was able - in zone G2 of the pollen diagram obtained near Llanllwch - to link the decrease in pollens from scrub woodland and the onset of the high frequency of cereal pollens with the establishment of a monastic farm nearby at Prior's Land⁹⁵. Whilst there is no bog land in Llan-y-Crywys pollen grains can be recovered, if sufficient care is used, from acid soils. These can be used to build a pollen diagram, which would be of considerable importance in furthering knowledge of the agricultural history of this area and of village origins in the region as a whole.

For some unknown reason Llan-y-Crwys was selected and granted out of that estate in c. 850. Once this happened it could no longer rely on the rest of the estate to supply the commodities which it could no longer produce. As Llan-y-Crwys was an upland area it was almost certainly self-sufficient in pasture; what it lacked was arable land. The community was forced to convert pasture into arable in order to feed themselves and to meet their obligations to the church. This agricultural change prompted nucleation. The remainder of the settlement in the parent estate was not affected. The severing of the links between Llan-y-Crwys and its neighbours caused a

⁹⁵ K.W. Thomas, 'The Stratigraphy and Pollen Analysis of a Raised Peat Bog at Llanllwch, near Carmarthen', The New Phytologist, 64, 1965, pp. 112 - 5.

fundamental change in the organisation of resources - agricultural and human - within that small area. The fracturing of the links between settlements led to origin of the villages and the common field systems in south east Wales.

There is positive historical evidence and negative archaeological evidence against which this model can be tested. It has already been demonstrated, in the discussion of the land grants recorded in the Book of Llandaff, that some villages may have originated in the eighth century. These villages would have developed from the vills which were amongst the first to be separated from their "parent" estates. Their number would probably have been very limited. Later fission would gradually increase the number; multiple estates would slowly break up and nucleated villages would replace the dispersed settlements characteristic of the trefi.

The Domesday Book gives a limited idea of the degree of estate fission which had taken place prior to 1086. Some information on Wales is included amongst the Gloucestershire folios. H.C. Darby considers the entries for Monmouthshire to be "untidy." The records are often incomplete and the omissions include assessments, the number of plough teams and the details of population; woodland and meadow are never mentioned. The land is always reckoned in carucates rather than hides. Furthermore terms such as "between the Usk and the Wye" or "beyond the Usk" replace mentions of specific locations, and hence no detailed pattern can be reconstructed ⁹⁶. In this short entry it states,

"Under Waswic the reeve there are 13 vills, under Elmwy 14 vills, under Iudhael 14 vills. ... Berdic the King's Jester has 3 vills ... Morin 1 vill, Kenesis 1, Waswic's son 1, Sessisbert 1, Abraham the priest 2 vills. ... Under these reeves are 4 vills destroyed by King Caradoc. In the King's alms there is 1 vill."⁹⁷

It would appear that there were four multiple estates in this area; three of which remain their original structure of

⁹⁶ H.C. Darby, 'Gloucestershire', in H.C. Darby and I.B. Terrett, The Domesday Geography of Midland England, revised edition, 1971, pp. 53 - 4.

⁹⁷ J.S. Moore, ed., The Domesday Book: Gloucestershire, 1982, np. Uilla has been translated by this author as vill, rather than left as the editor's village.

thirteen or fourteen vills. The fourth one has completely collapsed; its original fourteen vills, of which only ten then remained, were divided between seven different holders. This fissioning is likely to have happened amidst the dislocation caused as the Normans made their impact felt along the border. It is worth noting that the names recorded are not Welsh⁹⁸, and that Morin (which is a diminutive of Moore) was a popular Norman introduction into England⁹⁹. Further west multiple estates may have been broken up, and consequently villages founded, as individual Norman lords seized land for themselves.

The archaeological evidence for village foundation over the period from the eighth century to the eleventh, and, for their origin as a result of this process are entirely negative. At no site was any pre-Conquest structural evidence found. There were no aceramic layers which might have indicated nucleation prior to the early twelfth century. Of course, if the above model is correct then this is exactly what is expected. Vills - such as Wonastow and Llan-y-Crwys - may have developed into villages in the eighth century. Current settlements stand over the locations of their early precursors.

6.4: Field systems and villages.

The agricultural change II model was a two-step proposition. First, it argued that common field systems would be created; then, it was proposed that settlement would migrate to the centre of the open fields so that distance between the dispersed holdings was minimised. Hence a nucleation would be formed. The earlier discussion has shown that estate fragmentation could lead to the disruption of agricultural patterns and the formation of open fields. It is now necessary to turn to the pattern of open-field in south Wales in order to examine its distribution and its spatial relationship to villages.

It was once believed that open-field was extremely rare in south Wales. The Orwins noted only four instances of

⁹⁸None of them appear in T.J. Morgan and P. Morgan, Welsh Surnames, 1985.

⁹⁹P. Hanks and F. Hodges, A Dictionary of Surnames, p. 374, 1988.

its existence in Monmouthshire¹⁰⁰. Gray's work notes a few more examples. He found evidence for the existence of open field in a few areas of south Wales, notably in south and west and near the coast¹⁰¹. In reality it appears that open field was widespread and existed in all areas of lowland south Wales from the border to the Irish Sea. The work of Margaret Davies has produced a virtual catalogue of the open field of the area¹⁰². The author has no intention of reproducing her lists word-for-word. He has attempted to summarise her information in cartographic form (Figure 6.6) This map shows every location at which Margaret Davies has argued that there was once open-field, along with the line across the Vale of Glamorgan below which, she contends, open-field once existed in every manor. To her information the author will add the results of some of his own research into the open-field patterns of two areas: the Duchy of Lancaster lordships of northern Monmouthshire and then the patterns found on the Gower Peninsula. The study of the former area is restricted to a limited range of historical sources, the study of the latter to cartographic material and field evidence.

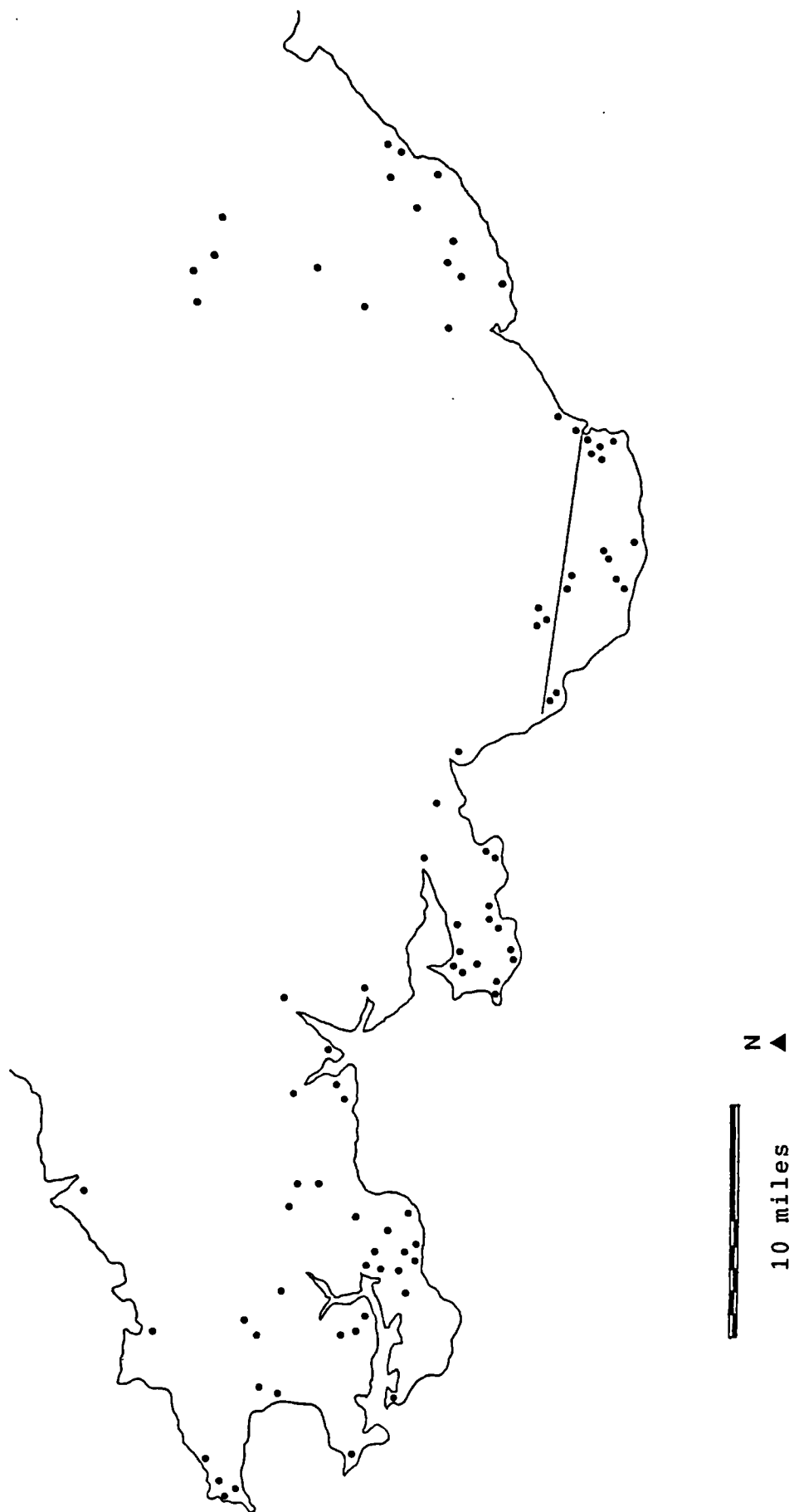
Open field appears to have been fairly common in early seventeenth-century Monmouthshire. It existed at Monmouth, Grosmont, White Castle and Skenfrith (the lordship of the Three Castles) and at Caldicot and Newton. Near Monmouth there were four fields of varying sizes. The 37.75 acres of the largest - Leviattes Field - were shared between ten holders at a rent of 8 d. per acre per year. The ten acres of Castell Field, the smallest of the four, were 13 d. per acre per year;

¹⁰⁰C.S. Orwin and C.S. Orwin, *The Open Fields*, 1967, third edition, p. 64.

¹⁰¹H.L. Gray, *English Field Systems*, 1915, pp. 171 - 3.

¹⁰²M. Davies, 'Field Patterns in the Vale of Glamorgan', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, 84, 1955, pp. 5 - 14; 'The Open Fields of Laugharne', *Geography*, 40, 1955, pp. 169 - 77; 'Rhosili [sic] Open Field and Related South Wales Field Patterns', *Agricultural History Review*, 4, 1956, pp. 80 - 96; 'Common Lands in South-east Monmouthshire', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, 85, 1956, pp. 5 - 15; 'Field Systems of South Wales', in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles*, 1973, pp. 480 - 529.

Fig. 6.6: The distribution of open field in south Wales, as noted by Margaret Davies.



this field was shared between six some of whom also had land in Leviattes Field. Fourteen individuals were also entitled to cut hay and pasture their animals on the stubble of Cheppinhome Meade. These rights existed from the time of harvest until the Feast of the Purification (2 February) and cost the tenants 1 s. 8 d. per acre per year¹⁰³.

Open-field existed - and on Rhossili Head still exists today - throughout the Gower Peninsula. The main source of evidence comes from the series of maps drawn for Thomas Mansel Talbot in the 1780s¹⁰⁴ and from the modern landscape where relict features survive. The author has been working on this material for some time now¹⁰⁵. He can demonstrate that open-field once existed in both the Englishry and the Welshry. Small areas identifiable on the maps and in the contemporary landscape by their shape can be found in most areas of Gower Anglica. In the parts of the Peninsula that the indigenous Celtic population retained after the Norman Conquest the pattern is similar. For example at Llanrhidian an area of former open-field can be identified. This lies a little south of the village, either side of the modern B 4295, and extends along the road towards Oldwalls. Almost identical in form is a patch of fields near Llanmadoc in the Englishry. The area bounded by the road from Cwm Ivy through Llanmadoc and out onto the marsh appears to have once comprised a number of strips. This may well have been the estate known to have been held by the Knights Templar and later by the Knights Hospitaller at Llanmadoc. This manor was first acquired in 1156 and was held until the Dissolution. This small study of Gower illustrates one very important point: open-field is found in both the Englishry and the Welshry. It cannot therefore be a product of the Conquest, as Davies and Rees claimed¹⁰⁶. If this had been the case then open-field would only have been found in the

¹⁰³W. Rees, ed., A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales, 1609 - 1613, 1953, citing PRO: DL 42/121 - 123.

¹⁰⁴WGARO: D/DP 808 - 821.

¹⁰⁵J.A. Kissock, 'The Open Fields of Gower: a Case Study and a Reconsideration', Journal of the Gower Society, 37, 1986, pp. 41 - 9, and 'Gower Field Systems', Archaeology in Wales, 27, 1987, p. 69; R.N. Cooper and J.A. Kissock, 'Gower Field Systems', Archaeology in Wales, 28, pp. 36 - 7.

¹⁰⁶M. Davies, op. cit., 1973, pp. 481 - 4 ; Rees, op. cit., p. ix.

Norman-held Englishries, and not in the Celtic-retained Welshries. Open-field is likely therefore to owe its origins to a time when this division did not exist. By the sixteenth century when the Act of Union legislated this division out of formal existence fields were already being enclosed; hence such a date is too late. Open-field is likely therefore to be a pre-Conquest feature.

Unfortunately for the argument presented in the previous section there is no evidence for open-field in Llan-y-Crwys. There are few documentary sources for the pattern of agricultural organisation here. The tithe map is the first cartographic source for the area, and the only one for the period prior to the O.S. maps. The tithe map shows a very regular lay out of land; the fields are usually large and have a regular geometric shape. Farmsteads are usually located at the centre of their contiguous holdings¹⁰⁷. In many ways this pattern resembles the patterns found in Gower and argued - in that area - to be part of a reorganisation of the earlier arable field pattern, perhaps dated to between the late Stuart period and the nineteenth century. It is not impossible to extend an analogy into Camarthenshire and to argue that open-field may have once existed here and that it was swept away by reorganisation of the fields at a relatively recent date.

Other evidence for open-field is included elsewhere in this thesis. The medieval charter evidence for the fields at Bonvilston was discussed as part of the attempt to re-construct the morphology of that village in Chapter 4. The patterns of open-field shown on Evans Mouse's seventeenth century maps of the Vale of Glamorgan manors of Barry, Penmark, Fonmon and Llancadle are also referred to in that chapter. A study of the open-field around Nicholaston, Perriswood and Penmaen is to be found in the next chapter.

6.5: Conclusion.

This chapter has examined three models for the origin

¹⁰⁷ NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Llan-y-Crwys.

of the village in south Wales. One of them has been refuted. There was only limited evidence of Viking activity along the coast of south Wales, and hence the defence model was rejected. Two other models were examined: the agricultural change model II and the taxation model. The hypothesis drawn from these models could not be refuted and additional material was found which led further credence to them. It must be remembered that these models are set in a period for which archaeological and historical evidence is limited and difficult to use. To an extent parts of this chapter have been venturesome. Yet, in spite of these caveats it has been possible to provide two conjectural models for village origins.

The first model revolved around the emergence of an élite and the development of a system of taxation. It was argued in Chapter 2 that labour has a social character, and that the productivity of labour is governed not only by physical constraints, but by the way in which it is organised. Villages are noted for their strong polity; people come together and are kept together by mechanisms - notably by the emergence of headmen - which promote cohesion. The labour force is then concentrated in one location with a recognised leader, who can over-rule the anarchic organisation of family-based production and consumption. Sahlins's ethnographic work clearly demonstrates that once autonomy is curbed productivity is increased. The period from c. 715 onwards brought changes in the nature of kingship to south east Wales. The area of Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and south west Herefordshire were united under the rule of Ithel and the first taxation demands appear, culminating in a fully developed taxation system emerging by c. 800. It is at this time too that the charters in the Book of Llandaff start to record the small grants which today enclose one village and its lands.

The other model was concerned with agricultural changes brought about by the severing of the links between communities which characterise the multiple estate pattern of settlement. The links allowed communities to specialise in the production of certain resources. Once broken communities were forced to specialise and the subsequent rearrangement in the organisation of agricultural resources led to a rearrangement of human resources, which in turn led to the emergence of

nucleated settlements. The links appear to have broken at different times in different areas. The granting of individual communities - for example Wonastow and Llan-y-Crwys - to the church in the eighth and ninth centuries would have started the process. The Saxon incursions into Monmouthshire may have marked another stage in the process. The Norman conquest of south east Wales and the subsequent division of the area into knights' fees and manors would have completed the process of estate break-up and village formation.

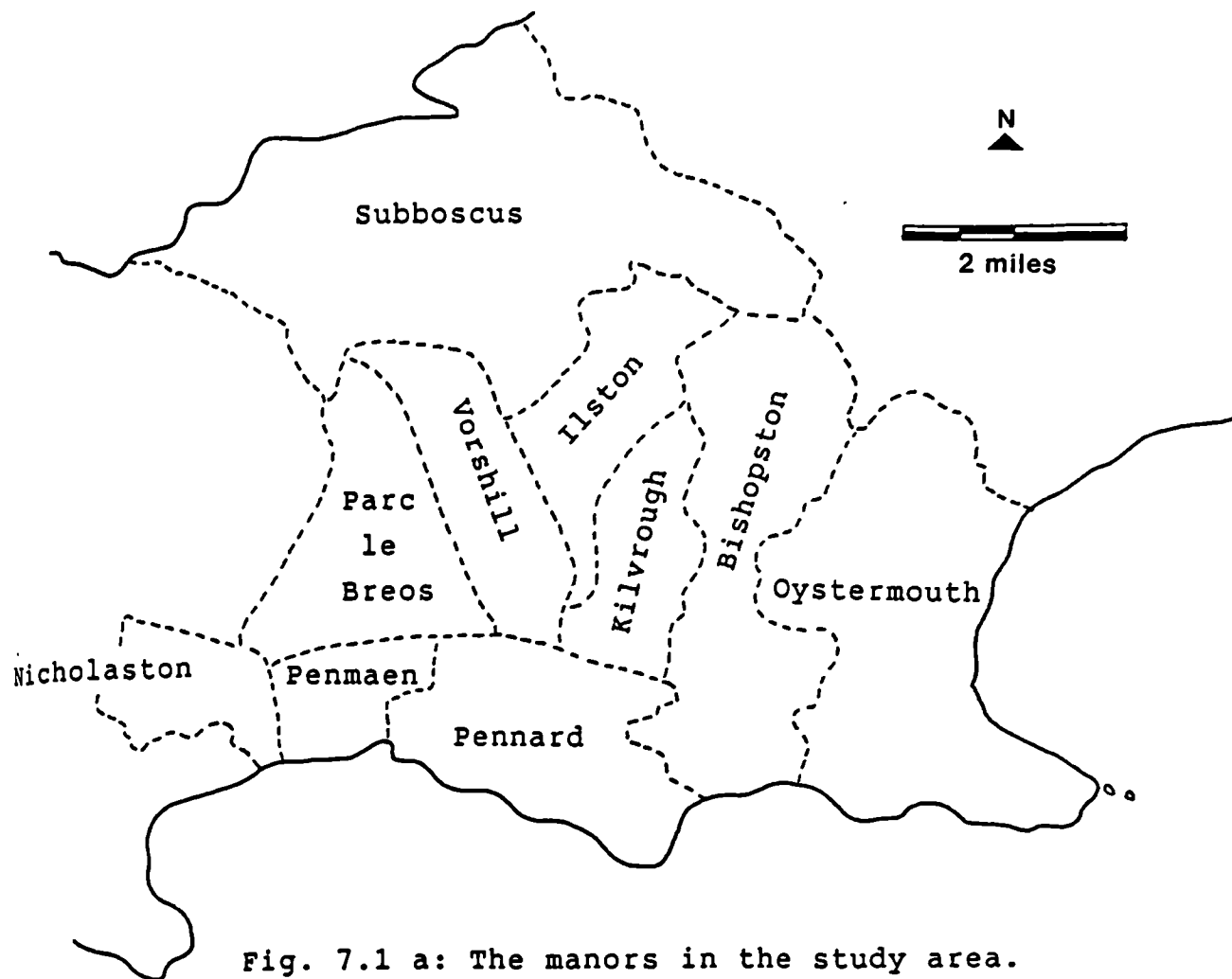
At the conclusion of Part I - the regional study - it can be stated that three models have been of use in furthering our understanding of the origins of the village in south Wales. They were the plantation model, the taxation model and the agricultural change model II. The plantation model showed that villages had been planted in a restricted area of Pembrokeshire. It was also noted that immigration into south Wales was common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that nucleated settlements may have been the result. The taxation model and the agricultural change model II were used to speculate on village origins in the pre-Conquest period. The next section re-examines these models in specific localities. The evolution of the landscape of one particular area - the Gower Peninsula - over fifteen centuries is looked at in some detail, whilst the penultimate chapter of this thesis tries to place village plantation in Pembrokeshire in its wider European perspective.

Part II
Local studies.

Chapter 7: The evolution of the east Gower landscape.

This chapter is the first of two cases studies which aim to elaborate upon the more general ideas presented in Part I. It examines the settlement pattern of east Gower and attempts to reconstruct it at various periods between the sixteenth century and the late Roman period. These reconstructions were carried out for two reasons. First, to facilitate the examination of the processes which lead to nucleation. Second, to try to set out some criteria whereby early medieval settlement patterns can be recognised. The first section of the chapter comprises a brief overview of the physical geography of the area, which forms the background to the study. In the subsequent sections a variety of techniques will be used to analyse the development of the landscape. These include the field examination of various sites, archaeological excavation, documentary research and hedge dating.

The study area is defined thus: the medieval parishes of Nicholaston, Penmaen, Pennard, Ilston, Bishopston and Oystermouth. To these have been added the modern parish of Llanrhidian Higher, which is roughly a third of the vast medieval parish of Llanrhidian. Other locations, in Gower and elsewhere, are drawn into the debate as and when necessary; the treatment of these areas will not usually be as extensive or as systematic as it will be of the study area proper. This compact group of east Gower parishes was chosen for two principal reasons. First, a range of medieval landscape divisions are represented. Both Englishry and Welshry are included, as are areas which were and which were not granted to the church in the pre-Conquest period. The area comprises post-conquest ecclesiastical and secular lordships. The parishes and manors of the area in the fourteenth century are shown in Figure 7.1. In this area, unlike for example the Vale of Glamorgan, the post-Conquest parishes and manors do not coincide; hence the influence of church and lord on the landscape can be distinguished and analysed separately. Second, the author has a considerable personal knowledge of the study area. He lived here for many years and made his first explorations into local history here. Hence he has a good knowledge of the locality, which is indispensable for a detailed topographic study.



The development of the landscape of north eastern Gower in the period c. 1300 to c. 1700 is studied first. As is shown below this period saw the establishment of many independent farms. The second section examines the economy of one of them - Llanelen - in some detail. Attention is then turned to the manors of south Gower which were founded following the Norman conquest of c. 1106. Finally the focus of this chapter turns to the parishes of Bishopston and Oystermouth, where it will be argued that the settlement and field pattern pre-dates the Norman conquest and that certain features of the modern landscape have their origins in the donation of lands to the church in the early medieval period. The adoption of this retrospective perspective has certain advantages and disadvantages. The archaeological approach to a site - examination of the latest features first - is mirrored; this is appropriate for a thesis in landscape archaeology. A time-centred study also allows concentration on the relevant material in any one given area; a factor which is of crucial importance when a student is working within externally imposed time limits. The minor disadvantage is that evidence for individual localities throughout time is split up. This reflects the importance that is, rightly in this author's opinion, being given to time and process over individual locality.

7.1: The physical geography of east Gower.

This short section re-introduces the physical geography of Gower, one of the study region's constituent pays, which were discussed in Chapter 1. The underlying geology of the area is comprised of bands of limestone and millstone grit. The River Clyne runs through the millstone grit and emerges into Swansea Bay. The other two rivers - Bishopston and Pennard Pills - run, unusually, through the limestone. Both reach the sea further along the coast, at Pwll Du and Three Cliffs Bay respectively. These rivers have cut into the 200' plateau surface which forms the land surface of the peninsula. The southern coastline is marked by a line of dramatic cliffs broken by large bays, where the millstone grit has yielded to marine erosion more easily than the limestone. Extensive deposits of blown sand lie on the plateau surface at Penmaen

and Pennard; these deposits are of medieval date. The northern coast is a marsh area; some of the development of this feature may be of recent origin. Another, smaller area of coastal marsh, is to be found in the southern extremity of Nicholaston parish.

The area falls into two distinct soil bands¹. A line which runs diagonally across the Gower peninsula from Whitford in the north west to the Mumbles in the south east divides the brown earth soils from the gley soils. (Figure 7.2 a.) The brown earths are common in south west Gower. They were formed from loamy glacial drift and terrace deposits; they comprise the most valuable agricultural and horticultural land in the area. The gley soils of north east Gower are grey in colour and wetter in nature. Occasionally - for example on the Gower commons - organic matter has accumulated on the surface and peaty gleys have resulted. The quality of the soils is shown in Figure 7.2 b. Throughout both areas the soil is generally deep, except in the cliff zone and on the steeper slopes of some of the narrower valleys.

This distinction between the two areas - north east and south west - was recognised long ago. In 1697 Isaac Hamon, a native of Bishopston, described the area for the antiquary Edward Llwyd; he wrote that the north east was,

"more cold than the rest and it is full of woods, coal veynes, moores and wet grounds, yet there are many considerable tenemts,² or pt. of them, that is good ground for corn and hay."

The general pattern of the study area's drainage and relief is neatly summarised in Figure 7.3.

7.2: Fields, farms and hedges in north Gower.

An examination of the settlement pattern of the whole study area reveals that the south is principally an area of nucleation whilst the north is characterised by dispersed

¹E.M. Bridges, 'Pedology', in W.G.V. Balchin, ed., Swansea and its Region, 1971, passim.

²F.V. Emery, 'Edward Lhuyd and Some of His Glamorgan Correspondents: a View of Gower in the 1690s', Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1965 session, pp. 90 - 114, citing Bodl: Carte 108 (Collections for Wales), f. 26 b.

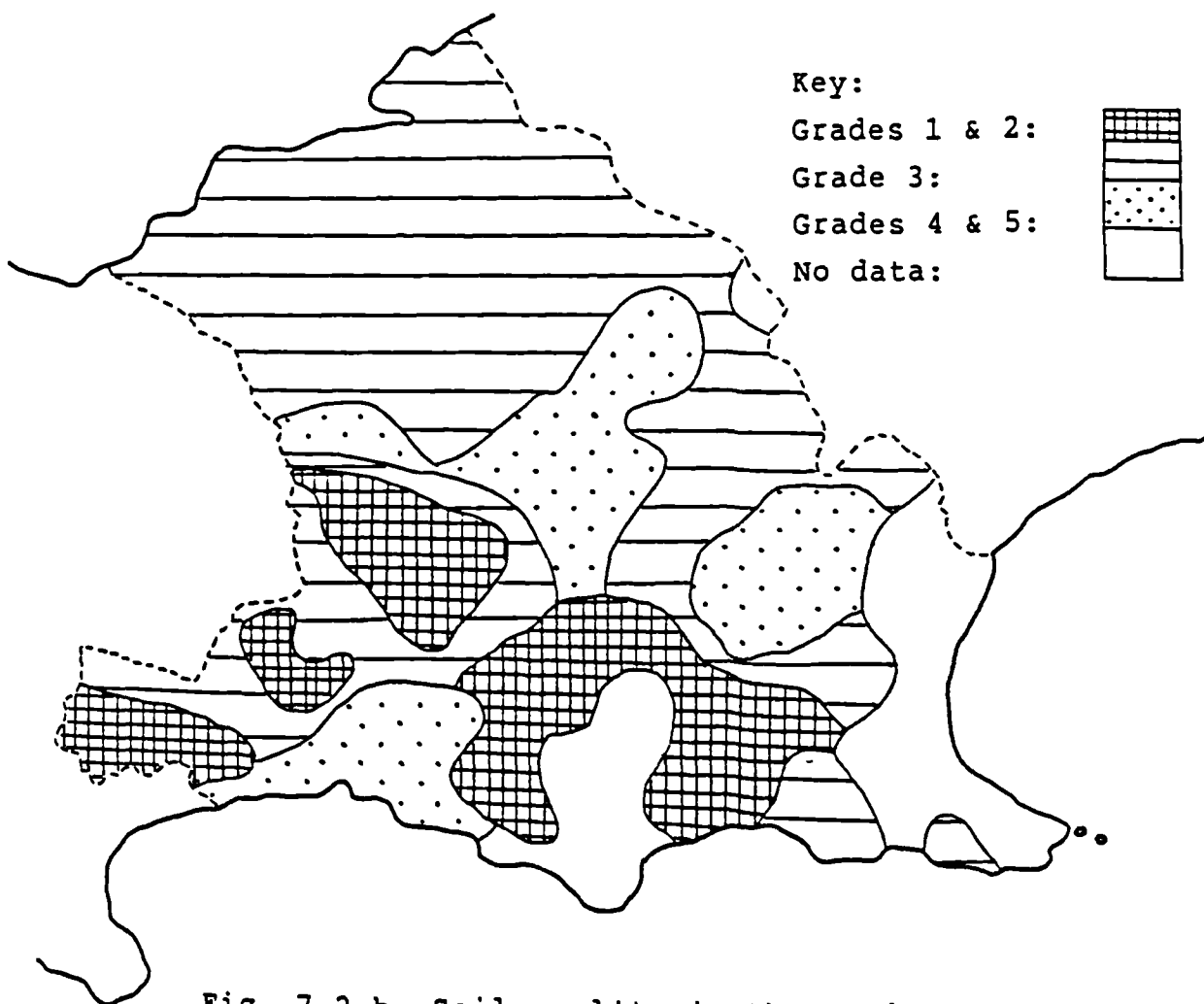
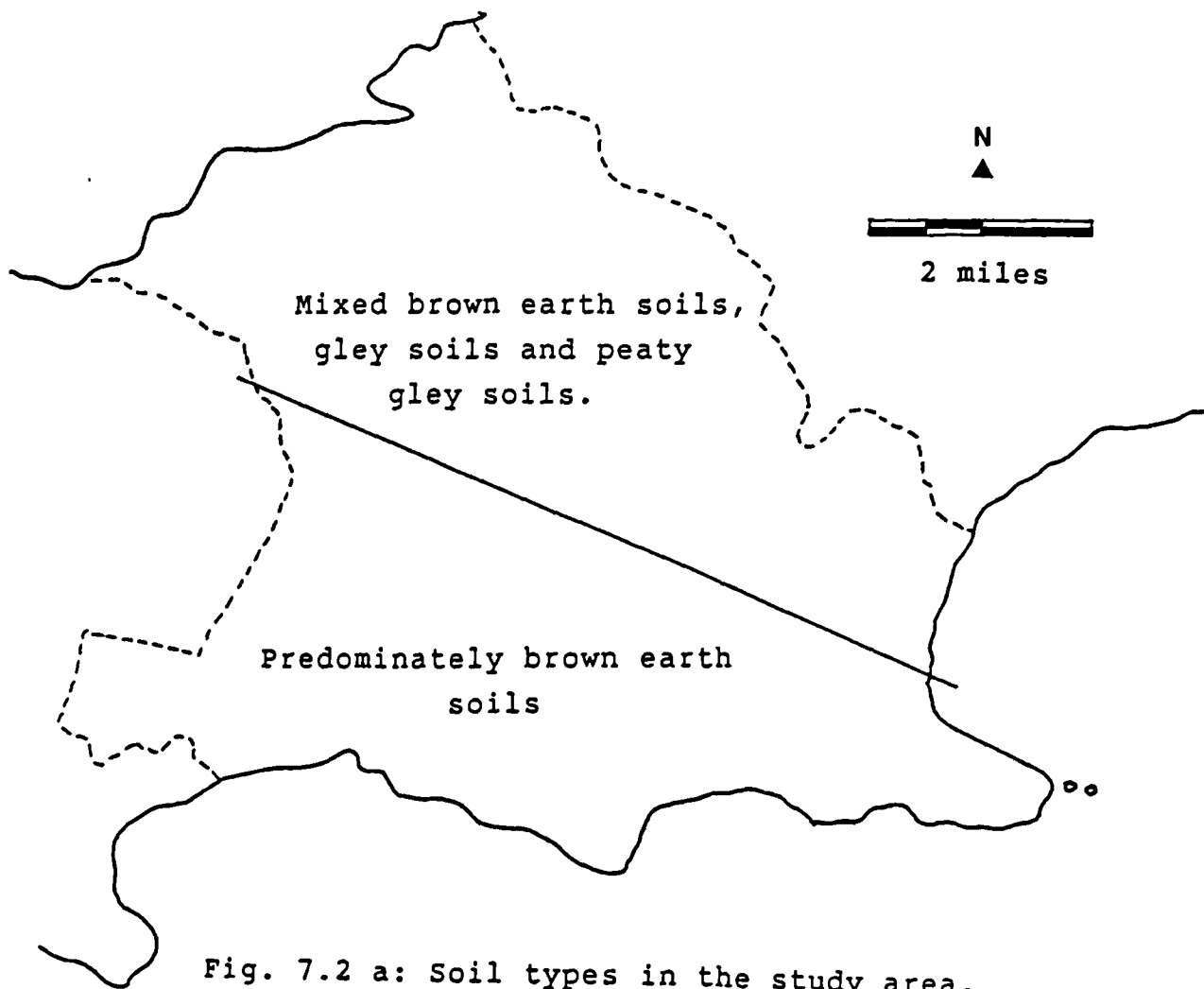




Fig. 7.3: Extract from the Yates map of Glamorgan, 1790.

2 miles

farmsteads. The major nucleation of the north coast - Penclawdd - grew as the result of industrial development in the nineteenth century³. Cartographic and documentary evidence shows that the few isolated farms of the south followed the enclosure of the open fields and the establishment of new farms in the eighteenth century⁴. The study of a dispersed settlement pattern within a thesis on the origins of village nucleation may at first seem unusual, if not actually out of place. Criticisms of this section on that basis are unwarranted. Throughout this work (and indeed most studies of a similar nature) it has been explicit that dispersion is - at some time and for some reason - replaced by nucleation. This may not be wholly true. There are also times when nucleations may start to break up and be replaced by dispersed settlement patterns. An understanding of the forces at work in creating and pulling apart nucleations is a valid field of inquiry for this thesis. Indeed this topic has now become a field of central concern for many of those studying the development of the medieval landscape⁵.

Establishing a chronology for the dispersed settlement of the north was an essential preliminary to a full study of the evolution of the settlement pattern. The pattern could be modern. Alternatively, as this area was never conquered by the Normans, it could be an area where the Celtic settlement pattern survives. The decision to try to date the settlement chronology of the area through a detailed study of the hedgerows was taken partly because this author had been engaged upon work of this nature for some time prior to starting this thesis⁶. Hedgerow analysis also presented itself as one of the few ways forward as other approaches, for example

³R.N. Cooper, A Dark and Pagan Place, 1986, pp. 23 - 4.

⁴WGARO: D/DP 815; NLW Mss: Penrice and Margam 4386, 8517 and 8518; J.A. Kissonck, 'The Open Fields of Gower: a Case Study and a Reconsideration', Journal of the Gower Society, 37, 1986, pp. 42 - 5.

⁵C.C. Taylor, 'The New Medieval Settlement Research Group: Where Do We Go?' and C. Dyer, 'Sex and Crime or Land and Manure: the Future of Historical Research?', papers read at the Medieval Rural Settlement: Prospect and Retrospect conference, Leicester 1987.

⁶J.A. Kissonck, 'Gower Field Systems', Archaeology in Wales, 27, 1987, p. 69; R.N. Cooper and J.A. Kissonck, 'Gower Field Systems', Archaeology in Wales, 28, 1988, pp. 36 - 7; J.A. Kissonck and R.N. Cooper, 'Gower Farms and Field Systems', Archaeology in Wales, 29, 1989, pp. 34 - 5.

trying to date farms by their architectural features, yielded no significant results. It also offered the opportunity to develop the methodology of hedge dating as part of a response to recent attacks upon it. The debate on the validity of hedgerow analysis of a dating technique is fully explored in Appendix 3.

From the study of hedgerow composition it is possible to chart the general process of the assarting of woodland in north Gower. Encroachment appears to have started along the northern shore in the vicinity of Llanelen and Wernfrwdd. Here the hedges are species rich; an average of 6.4 species were found in a number of thirty yard lengths along the ridge at Llanelen. These hedges are relatively wide and the banks are of crude construction; both features suggest to the author that the hedges were created to enclose early assarts. It is possible to suggest, on the basis of hedgerow analysis, a date of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century for these farms. This date corresponds to a period of population growth and consequent "land hunger." The species pattern did not always closely conform to the overall woodland species profile (see Appendix 3, particularly Figure 3A.3) Ash and grey willow were most frequently found, and as both flourish on wet soils⁷ - common in this area - this deviation is perhaps understandable. Indeed, once this is taken into account oak and hazel, the most common woodland species, are predominant. The expansion of agricultural land in the areas between these early farms was probably a gradual process, taking place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The hedgerows around the four holdings which form the southern edge of the farmed area and the northern edge of Fairwood Common were also examined. The semi-circular shape of these boundaries suggest that these farms were formed as the area of farmed land advanced into the common land. In the area

⁷H. Vedel and J. Lange, Trees and Bushes in Wood and Hedgerow, 1960, p. 138 and p. 193.

of Fairwood Corner and Little Hills Farms the holdings may have been formed by the taking in of relatively open grassland. This is argued for on the basis of the species profiles which contain large amounts of thorn and relatively little oak. Hence they are quite unlike the woodland profile and the known assart hedges. At Wimblewood and Bryncoch Farms grey willow and holly dominate the species profiles. The latter is perhaps understandable in view of the wet nature of the ground here too. The high amount of holly and the low amount of thorn in these hedges makes it possible to speculate that holly was used as a substitute for thorn. Blackthorn and hawthorn were commonly purchased from nurserymen, and were - Walter Davies noted in the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture - being grown by local nurserymen in large quantities by 1815. Holly can be obtained from woodland, perhaps without expense. Young holly shrubs, transplanted into loam and then moved on were recommended as excellent for hedging in the County Report⁸. All the plants are functionally similar - in that they have thorns to ward off people and animals! The average species counts for the four farms range between 3.3 and 4.3 suggesting a sixteenth or seventeenth century date for the formation of these farms.

In the third area studied - around Lunnon, Willoxton and Furzehill - there were two patterns in the composition of hedges. There were distinct areas of high species (average: 6.0 species) and low species hedges (average: 4.8 species.) The low species areas do not appear to have been created by the clearing of woodland; oak was entirely absent and hawthorn was common. In the high species hedges oak was common as was sycamore. The botanical nature of sycamore is curious. It was found only once in the woodland transects (see Appendix 3), but it is common in this area and in other assart hedges. Originally sycamore did not grow wild in Britain. As it produces large quantities of seed which are very easily dispersed, it is now commonly found in many areas⁹. This may in some complex botanical way - involving seed availability and the ability of the tree to establish itself in certain areas -

⁸W. Davies, General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of South Wales, 1815, p. 219 and pp. 229 - 31.

⁹Vedel and Lange, op. cit., p. 181.

explain the distribution. Two other plants were noted in this area: dogwood and rose. The former is a very poor coloniser and was found in species rich hedges, whilst the latter a common coloniser was found in the low species hedges¹⁰. The detailed study of the botanical composition of the hedges of the Lunnon, Willoxton and Furzehill area enables a brief discussion of the development of the agricultural pattern. The low species hedges (which are closest to the village of Lunnon) appear to be the result of enclosure, whereas the high species hedges (around Willoxton Farm) are probably the resulting of clearing woodland to increase the supply of arable. The dates of the enclosure and the assart would appear to be early sixteenth century for the former and, perhaps, thirteenth or fourteenth century for the latter.

The aim of this study was to try to date the general pattern of dispersed farmsteads in this area. It appears that assarting began in the thirteenth or fourteenth century in areas near to the north Gower coast and around Llanmorlais. This clearance appears to have created large farms, often with recognisable boundaries, on the better lands; for example the south facing slopes at Llanelen and to the north of the River Morlais. Willoxton and Furzehill farms may have been established when Parc le Breos was divided up some time in the fifteenth century. The farms of the Lunnon area were probably founded in the sixteenth century. Most of the assarting in Llanrhidian Higher took place between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century; this is particularly so in the area immediately north and east of the common land at Welsh Moor and Forest Common. The clearing of woodland to obtain charcoal for the iron industry and the subsequent expansion of farming on the "new" land is known elsewhere in south Wales. Just a few miles away, across the Burry Estuary, Richard Vaughan sold parcels of woodland "fit for the making of charcoal" in 1705. Farms were subsequently established on this land¹¹. Dates in

¹⁰E. Pollard, M.D. Hooper and N.W. More, Hedges, 1974, p. 97 and p. 89.

¹¹F.V. Emery, 'Wales', in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, volume 5 part 1, 1640 - 1750 Regional Farming Systems, 1984, p. 408.

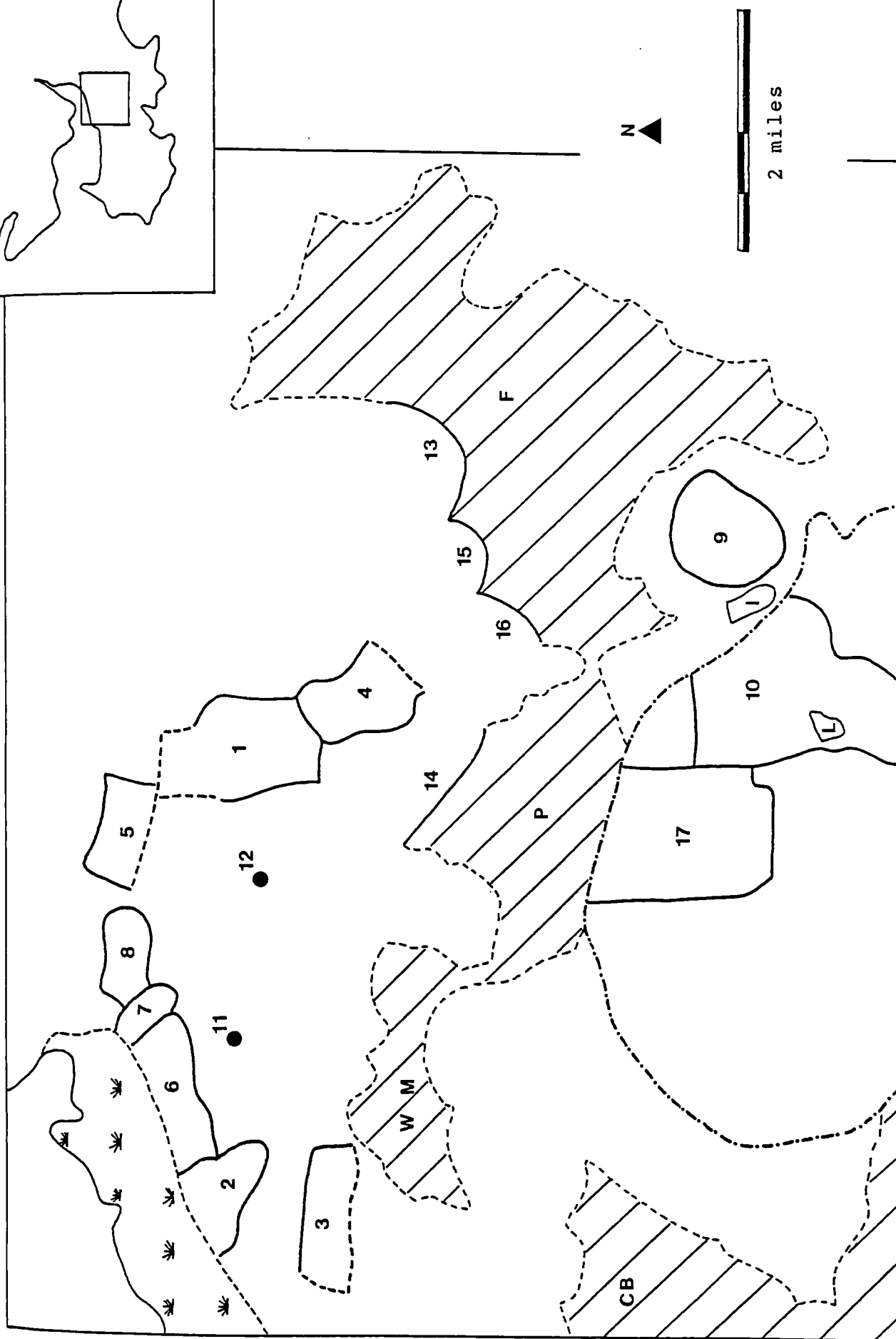
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be proposed for the establishment of the farms along the northern edge of Fairwood Common, which marks the southern edge of the area of dispersed settlement. The pattern of individual farm foundation is summarised in Figure 7.4. The detail of the map can be contrasted with Figure 7.5, which shows the pattern of land clearance and enclosure as derived from two sets of documentary sources. In Figure 7.5 there is a clear contrast between the small scattered enclosures of the early fourteenth century and the larger ones of the late sixteenth century. Furthermore the later enclosure seems to have encompassed large areas of land in the parish of Pennard, where sand inundation of agricultural land was common in the mid-sixteenth century.

It appears therefore that the dispersed settlement pattern of north western Gower does not, in the main, represent a pre-Conquest landscape which has survived; rather it is a post-Conquest landscape which was established gradually between, perhaps, the thirteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries.

7.3: Llanelen - a study of the medieval economy of a farmstead.

A site-specific approach to subsistence in this area can be considered by the detailed examination of the history of one site: Llanelen, which lies on the border between the Higher and Lower divisions of the parish of Llanrhidian¹². A church occupied this site until c. 1210, when it appears to have been allowed to fall into disrepair. At some time in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century the site was occupied by a farmstead. Documentary evidence coupled with the date derived from the pottery suggests that the site was deserted following the Black Death. Hence a detailed study of Llanelen permits a view of the agricultural economy of north Gower in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. This detailed study will also briefly review the debates on the chronology of medieval enclosure and the nature of the margin in the medieval

¹²This author joined the team that has been excavating the site in 1981 and this analysis draws on the research he has undertaken for the final report: A.R. Schlesinger, C. Walls, J.A. Kisson and C.A. Lovegrove, 'Excavations at Llanelen, 1973 - 1981', Archaeologia Cambrensis, forthcoming.



Key to Figure 7.4:

Farms:

1 - Cilonnen	pre-1300
2 - Wernfrwdd	pre-1300
3 - Llanelen	<u>c.</u> 1300
4 - Bryngwas	<u>c.</u> 1300
5 - Llwyn-yr-Awst	<u>c.</u> 1300
6 - Digod	pre-1400
7 - Kyngy	<u>c.</u> 1450
8 - Morlais	<u>c.</u> 1550
9 - Courthouse Farm	pre-1590
10 - Lunnon	pre-1600*
11 - Rallt	<u>c.</u> 1625
12 - Gelli Groes	<u>c.</u> 1630
13 - Fairwood Corner Farm	pre-1650
14 - Little Hills	pre-1650
15 - Wimblewood	pre-1700
16 - Bryncoch	pre-1700
17 - Willoxton	pre-1700*

* The exact dates of these farms are not known. They are certainly pre- the dates given above, perhaps by as much as two or three centuries.

Commons:

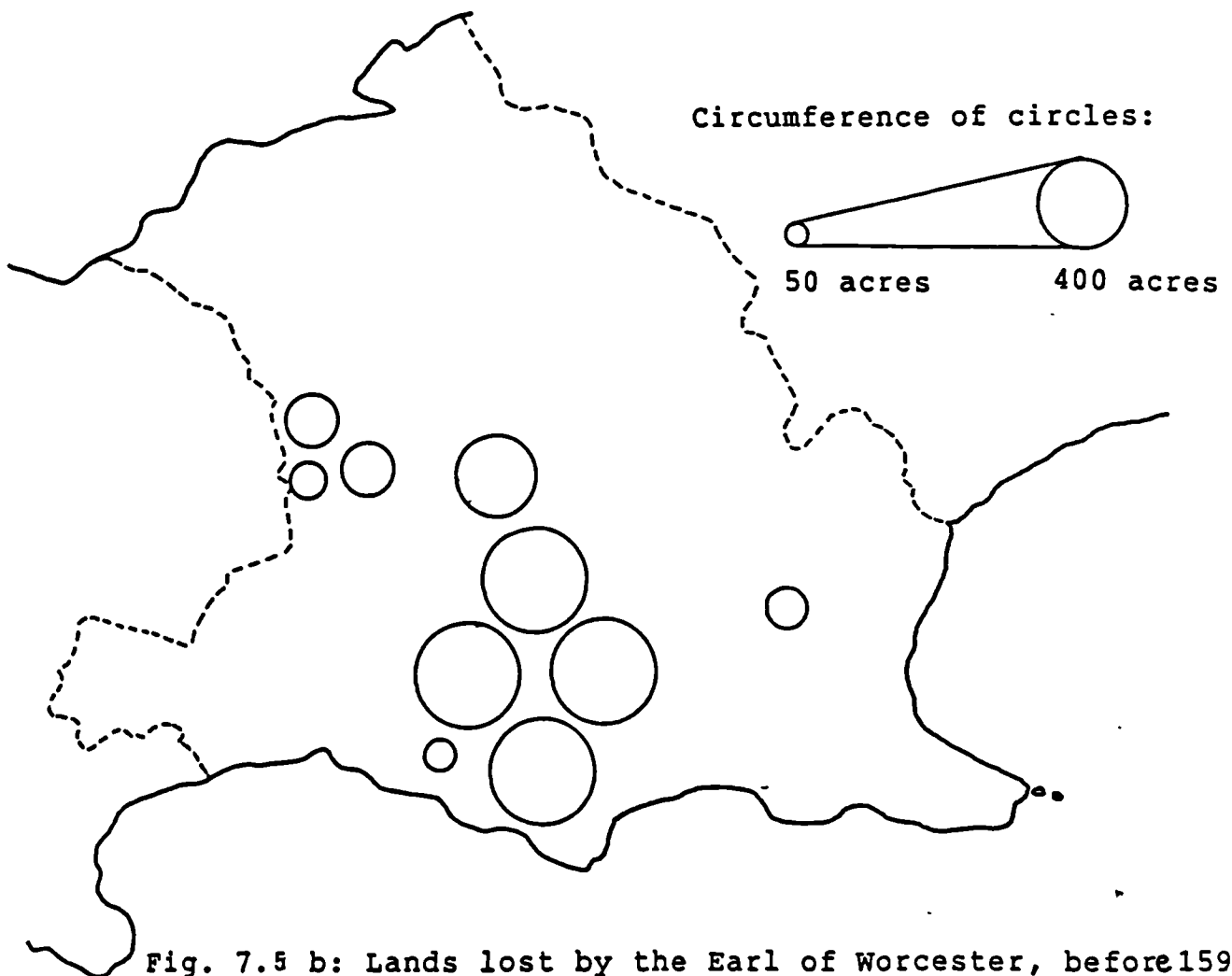
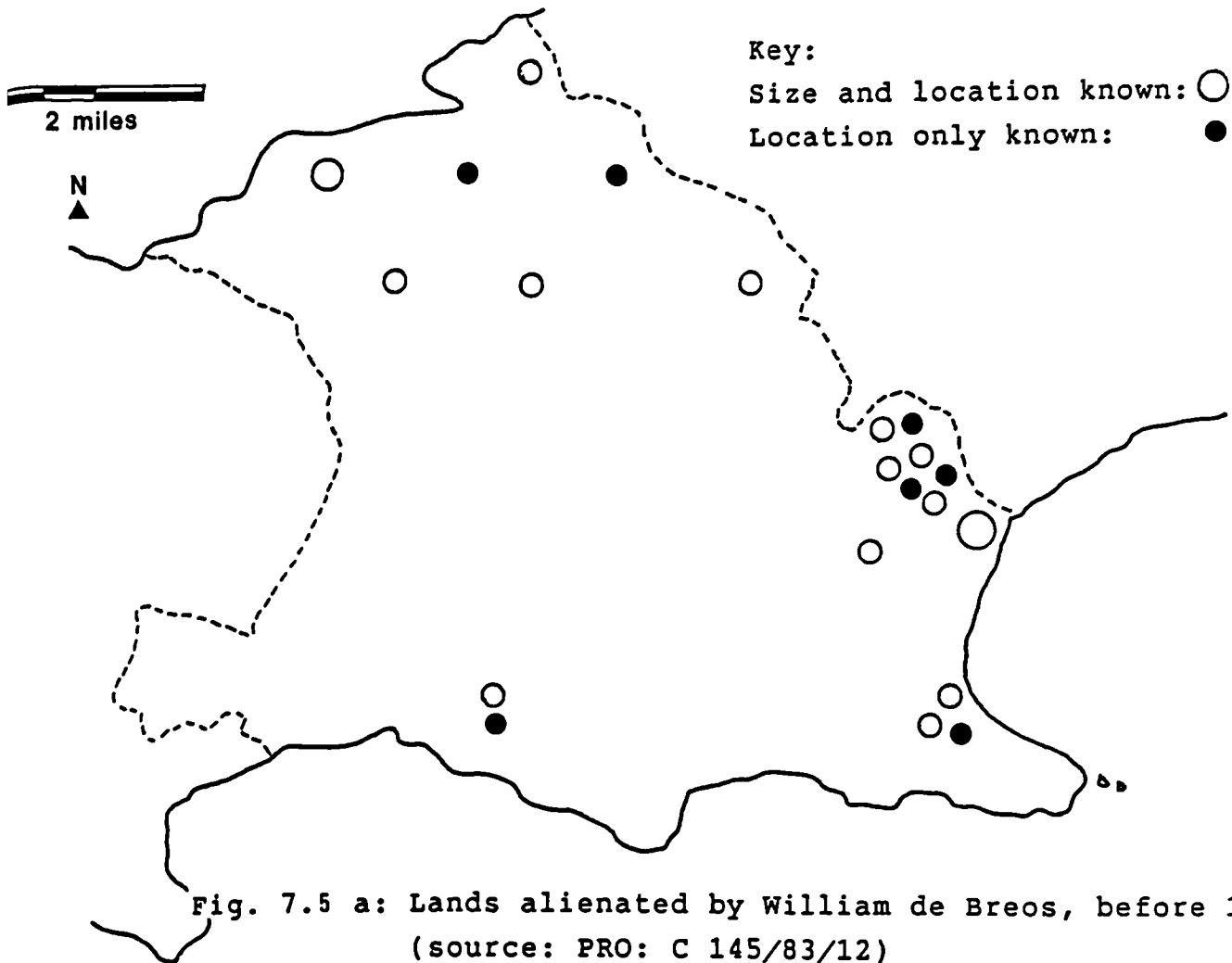
WM - Welsh Moor
P - Pengwern
F - Fairwood
CB - Cefn Bryn

Villages:

I - Ilston
L - Lunnon

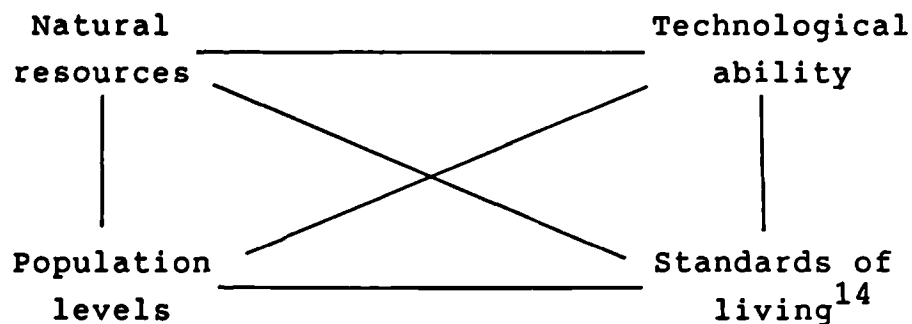
Boundary of Parc le Breos - ~ ~ ~ ~

Present day coastal marsh - * *



economy, so far as they are relevant to increasing the understanding of the processes underlying it.

The natural resources exploited by any community can be assessed through the technique of site catchment analysis (SCA.) This approach to economic archaeology was developed by the members of the British Academy Major Research Project in the early History of Agriculture¹³. The technique has to be used, this author maintains, within the framework of the quartet drawn up by J.H. Paterson, and which aims to describe the circumstances in which certain resources will be utilised. This quartet contains four interlinked elements:



The level of technology will determine which resources and areas can be used, whilst the desired standard of living will determine which are used given a certain population.

SCA has not previously been used in medieval studies; no examples are known to this author. It has however been used on equally complex economies, for example those of a Romano-British villa and, by Kent Flannery, on Mesoamerican villages in the Formative period¹⁵. This author agrees only with certain aspects of Flannery's work. He accepts the idea that the agricultural land around the settlement was zoned into

¹³E.S. Higgs and C. Vita-Finzi, 'Prehistoric Economies: a Territorial Approach', in E.S. Higgs, ed., Papers in Economic Prehistory, 1972, pp. 27 - 36; G.W.W. Barker, 'Prehistoric Territories and Economies in Central Italy', in E.S. Higgs, ed., Palaeoeconomy, 1975, pp. 111 - 75.

¹⁴J.H. Paterson, Land, Work and Resources, second edition, 1976, p. 9.

¹⁵Anon., 'Barton Court Farm Report Published', British Archaeological Newsletter 1, 1986, p. 61; K.V. Flannery, 'Empirical Determinism of Site Catchments in Oaxaca and Tehuacán', in K.V. Flannery, ed., The Early Mesoamerican Village, 1976, pp. 103 - 17.

areas of high and low intensity - i.e. into infield and outfield. But he thinks that a series of further outer rings from which certain resources - pottery clay, construction materials, etc. - could be gathered is doubtful. These resources are likely to have been available only at specific locations and not distributed throughout a large area. This point will be demonstrated below. Figure 7.6 summarises the results of the SCA exercise.

Evidence for three types of food resource were recovered from the site: quantities of charred grain, a small number of animal bones and teeth and the remains of a number of cockle shells. All the calcium-based material was very badly preserved due to the acidic nature of the soil. Other material recovered, and relevant to this discussion of the economy, included pottery and iron slag. Quantities of carbonised grain were found in four contexts during the excavations. All the grain was either two row hulled barley or oats. The grain was often found in association with charcoal. Only the largest deposit - which comprised over 600 grains - is susceptible to some degree of analysis. It is likely to have been preserved in one of two ways. It could have been subjected to gentle heating (200 - 400°C), probably on the periphery of a fire and as a result carbonised. Alternatively, it might have been smothered by ash early in the heating process and so deprived of oxygen. The absence of inedible parts of the crop - the glumes and rachises - and of weed seeds suggests that this deposit had possibly already been cleaned, perhaps in preparation for cooking. Carbonisation following a cooking accident is a common way in which plant products are reduced to charred remains¹⁶. It must be noted that recent research has shown that when subjected to heat grain is preserved better than glumes or rachises; hence grain preservation is possible in conditions which would destroy other parts of the plant¹⁷. Thus the above statement must be treated with due caution.

¹⁶G. Hillman, 'Reconstructing Crop Husbandry Practices from Charred Remains', in R.J. Mercer, ed., Farming Practice in British Prehistory, 1981, pp. 134 - 7.

¹⁷S. Boardman and G.E.M. Jones, 'Experiments on the Effects of Charring on Cereal Plant Components', Journal of Archaeological Science, 17, 1990, pp. 4 - 6.

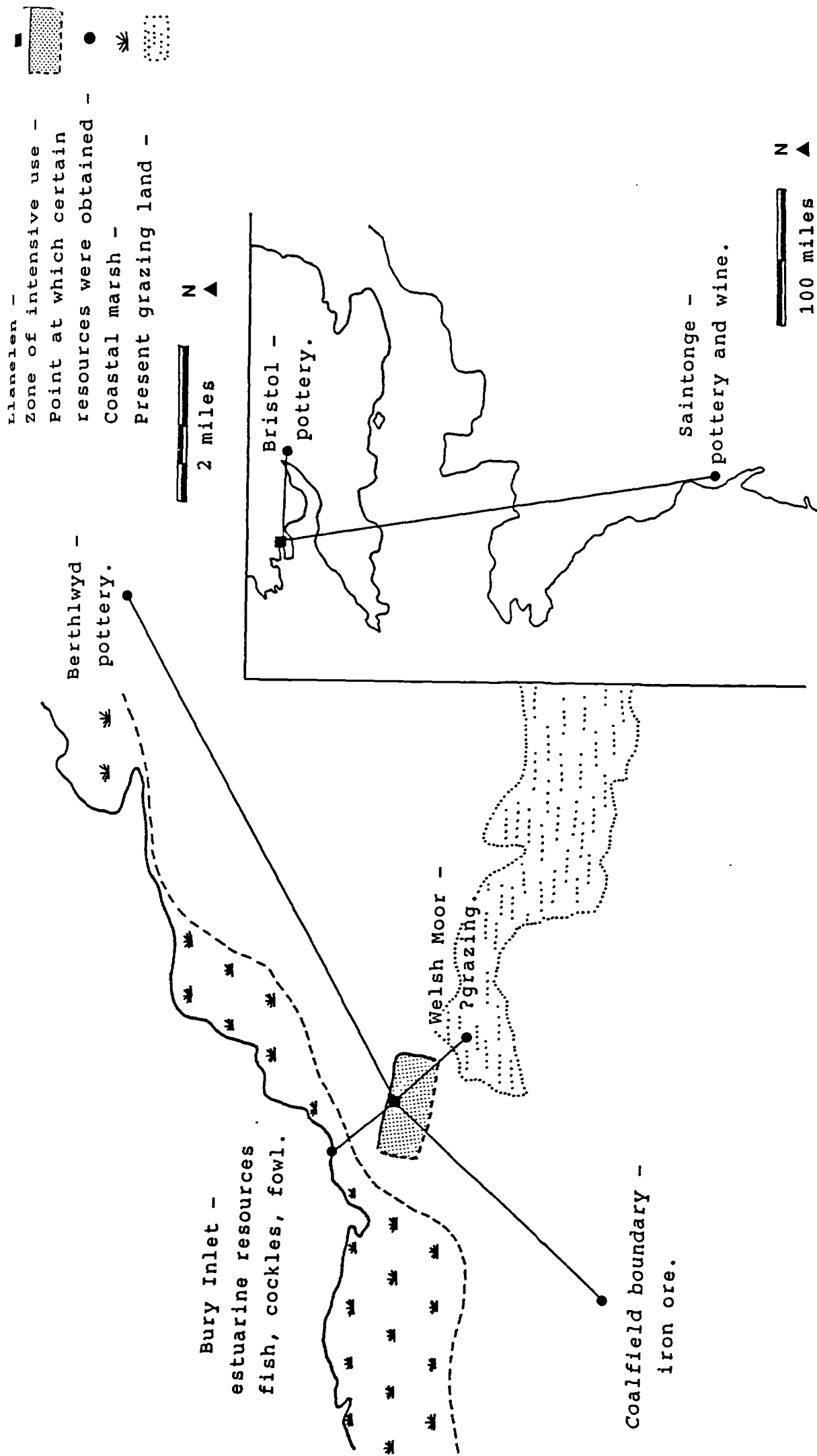


Fig. 7.6: Cartographic summary of the Llanellen site catchment analysis.

The oats and barley may have been mixed long before cooking. In the medieval period it was common practice to sow two types of grain together in one plot. There were two standard mixtures: maslin (wheat and rye) and drage (barley and oats). Drage was usually sown as a spring or Lent crop. Walter of Henley's Husbandry states that yields will be highest when barley is the dominant constituent of the drage mixture sown¹⁸. In this deposit the proportion of barley to oats is approximately seven to two. From this evidence it is therefore possible to argue that the grain was part of a crop of drage, which was preserved by carbonisation as the result of a cooking accident. The drage was perhaps one constituent of a meal of pottage.

The arable land where this crop was grown is likely to have lain in the fields below the farmstead. The extent of these fields is open to speculation; the documentary evidence does not match up with the results of the hedge dating study. A fourteenth century charter refers to the transfer of two plots of land at Llanelen: one of seven acres, the other of an acre¹⁹. William de Breos had alienated the same seven acres here sometime before 1319²⁰. A long boundary hedge, together with a stream, delimits an area of eighty acres. This area is plotted as Llanelen farm in Figure 7.4. It is probable that most of this eighty acres was not sown with grain, but was left as woodland. A large proportion of the presumed farm was wooded until the neighbouring caravan site was extended in 1985, and a sale catalogue of 1852 shows that 39% of the farmed land in this area was then devoted to wood²¹. Exploitation of the woodland may have been one element of the economic exploitation pattern of this one family in the medieval period.

The evidence for meat is less conclusive. The teeth of both sheep and cattle were recovered, but their poor state of preservation and limited number makes any deductions about

¹⁸W. Ashley, The Bread of Our Forefathers, 1928, pp. 15 - 7; D. Oschinsky, Walter of Henley, 1971, p. 419.

¹⁹NLW Mss: Penrice and Margam 3005.

²⁰PRO: C 145/83/12.

²¹UCSA: Sale Catalogue Collection 4.

this aspect of the community's economy entirely speculative. The community would have had access to the pasture land on the commons which lay to the south and east of the site at Pengwern and Welsh Moor, and which may, at that time, have extended to include the now enclosed lands nearer to Llanelen itself. Animals may have been kept near the site at some times of the year and moved to and from the common as necessary. Large amounts of cockle shells were also collected during the excavation. This would appear to indicate that the Bury estuary was exploited for food resources. No traces of mussels, fish or water fowl, available in the estuary, were recovered. This may illustrate the complex and differential processes of deposition, survival and recovery which affect archaeological excavation. The acidic nature of the soil damaged much of the bone. No flotation apparatus - a wet-sieve for example - could be obtained for use during the excavations and the limited supplies of water at the site rendered the construction of an ad hoc device undesirable. Hence some of the potential evidence may have been lost during excavation.

Another important facet of economic life is illustrated by the pottery finds. Over 500 sherds were recovered from the excavation; almost all of them came from one, unsealed context. In an assemblage of this size it is likely that the number of variations in fabric type will approximate to the number of vessels present. Medieval plainwares are extremely variable in their structure, particularly with regard to inclusions present. It is upon these inclusions that the fabric analysis is based. In the Llanelen assemblage quartz, quartzite and sandstone were present throughout, and iron ore and mica were frequently noted. This assemblage consists of at least four jugs and a minimum of ten unglazed vessels, used for cooking or storage. All of these are of medieval date and could fit within the period 1250 - 1350. A small quantity of post-medieval coarsewares, both local and north Devonian in origin, were also recovered.

The medieval jugs, all of which are glazed, form a particularly interesting group. One was imported from the Saintonge, Charente Maritime, and is dated to c. 1250 - 1350. Two vessels are examples of Redcliffe ware from Avon; they can

be dated to c. 1300 - 1350. The fourth jug does not appear to be local, and its origin is unknown. It has a soft sandy fabric with quartz and ferrous inclusions (up to 0.3 mm in diameter). It was decorated with simple roulettes and had a thumbled base and stabbed strap-handle. These jugs must have been acquired through trade; the nature of the trade mechanism is not known, although three models can be suggested. First, direct contact with the producing areas is not impossible, if unlikely. Second, intermediaries, perhaps based in the boroughs of Swansea or Loughor, could have been involved in a complex form of "down the line" trade. Third, it is also possible that merchants trading out of Bristol and in contact with the Atlantic Coast of Europe brought the vessels directly to Llanelen. Regardless of how they arrived, these vessels were almost certain to have been intended for use in the consumption of wine, which would have been imported too. The ability to purchase and consume wine must be taken as indicative of a relative degree of prosperity enjoyed by the residents of the site in the early and mid-fourteenth century.

The unglazed vessels are less remarkable. All were cooking or storage vessels; the former purpose is indicated by traces of soot on some of the sherds. The origin of these vessels is unknown. They are unlikely to have been traded over a long-distance, and may have come from Berthlwyd (4 miles to the north east) where kilns existed c. 1700²². There are certain similarities between the fabrics of the two sets of ceramics, which suggests that the clay may have come from the same deposit and that local production is likely. Both fabrics contained black iron ore and dark mica. The quartz and quartzite visible in the coarse wares from Llanelen are less visible in the Berthlwyd material. More efficient preparation of the clay may have been possible in the later period, whilst the deliberate addition of coarse inclusions in early fabrics would help to prevent breakage during firing (especially if this was carried out in a clamp rather than a kiln.) There is further evidence for the antiquity of pottery manufacture at Berthlwyd; sherds were found in a context which was

²²B. Morris, 'An Eighteenth Century Pottery Kiln in Gower', Journal of the Gower Society, 18, 1967, pp. 18 - 9.

stratigraphically earlier than the floor of the kiln.

Two other local resources may have been exploited by the community at Llanelen: stone and iron ore. Parts of a rotary quern were found during the excavations. Its origin is currently unknown, but it could be local. The site lies on millstone grit, which - as the name suggests - is eminently suitable for such purposes. The quarrying and dressing of the stone may have taken place on site, but the import of a ready made quern cannot be discounted. Large quantities of iron slag were found to the east of the stone structure and it is possible that iron ore was being processed on site. The geology of the area suggests that small pockets of iron ore were locally available. In and around the edges of the south Wales coalfield orebodies occur as masses of haematite both within the limestone and especially at the junction of the limestone and the millstone grit. The limestone millstone grit boundary lies, at the nearest point, about 1 mile south of the site, and hence the ore would have been easily accessible²³. The ore could have been brought to the site and smelted using charcoal (plentiful supplies of timber probably then existed within the locality) to form iron blooms which were then either exported for further processing or forged on site. The woodland resources of the site could have been used to provide a ready supply of wood for charcoal for iron smelting. There is no evidence for further iron working processes on site, but the archaeologically recoverable remains of smithing or casting are, at best, ephemeral.

The discussion of the economy of Llanelen can be taken in another two directions. An attempt can be made to discuss it on a wider level, and to use this as the basis for an examination of the whole of the study area. It is possible to look at the context in which the activity at Llanelen may have commenced, and also to make some statements about the integration of agricultural and non-agricultural resources into the site's economy. A general date for activity at the site has been given as between after c. 1210 (when ecclesiastical

²³D. Slater and D.E. Highley, 'Iron Ore Deposits in the United Kingdom', in A. Zitzmann, ed., Iron Ore Deposits of Europe and Adjacent Areas, 1977, p. 397; Geological Survey of Great Britain, 1:50,000 scale map, sheet 247, (Swansea [solid]).

activity is thought to have ceased) and c. 1350 (when the pottery sequence ends.) A knowledge of the agrarian history of the first half of the fourteenth century makes it possible to suggest a date, and to examine the context within which this land was taken into agricultural production. The gathering of the harvest of 1314 was a difficult task as rain hampered progress. Summer rains of the following year destroyed crops as they stood in the fields and famine resulted²⁴. In 1316, for the third successive year, rain ruined the harvest and - as if this was not in itself bad enough - it was accompanied by an epidemic of typhoid. Sheep murrin appears to have been common at this time too. Price rises inevitably followed; wheat sold in the markets of south Wales rose from 5/- to 7/- a quarter in the second half of 1316, and in the following year the price reached 18/-²⁵. The harvest of 1317 was moderately successful and grain was plentiful in 1318 and 1319. These years did not mark the end of the famine, but rather a respite in its severity. The wet autumn of 1320 ruined that year's harvest, and summer drought severely affected that of 1321. The crop failure was accompanied by an outbreak of rinderpest which killed many cattle. For example, on the manor of Llangwm, Monmouthshire, nine out of 33 oxen died in 1321²⁶. In summary, a series of agricultural crises, rather than one single catastrophic event, affected both arable and livestock farming in the period 1315 to 1321.

Stinson has argued that these crises affected the pattern of taking over new land and clearing it to bring it into cultivation²⁷. Before 1315 there were stable prices for land and its products. This coupled with a concentration of resources at the top of the landholding structure meant that assarting perpetuated and consolidated the existing social

²⁴I. Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315 - 1322', in R.H. Hilton, ed., Peasants, Knights and Heretics, 1976, pp. 93 - 106.

²⁵W. Rees, South Wales and the March, 1924, pp. 191 - 4.

²⁶Kershaw, op. cit., p. 107.

²⁷M. Stinson, 'Assarting and Poverty in Early Fourteenth Century Western Yorkshire', Landscape History, 5, 1983, pp. 62 - 6.

structure. During the period of the crisis, she argues, the main assarters were those with very little land. Driven by desperation they accepted the high prices of land in the hope of growing sufficient supplies for themselves and their families; they were in a "no win", farm or starve situation. Those who were rich enough to have assarted before 1315 would have been likely to have ceased assarting as clearing the land would have been an arduous and financially risky venture. After 1321 there was a gradual reversion to the pre-crisis pattern as assarting again became a worthwhile prospect. The death of many smaller landowners may also have left some farmed land without tenants, and hence in the years immediately after 1321 assarting to claim new land need not have been necessary. This model can be applied to farmstead at Llanelen. The community here was not poor - they were, after all, able to afford French wines. Hence it is almost certain that they acquired this farm at a time of prosperity, and were not driven to take land at a time of extreme scarcity and poverty. The land is therefore likely to have been cleared and farming started either before 1315 or at some time after 1321. The documentary evidence, referred to above, shows that the land had been alienated before 1318 and hence Llanelen would appear to have been founded in the early fourteenth or perhaps even late thirteenth centuries.

It has already been noted that quantities of iron ore were found on the site and it has been suggested that the manufacture of bloomery iron was a part of the economy of the farmstead. The pattern of combined agriculture and industry can be observed elsewhere in this part of Gower. In 1583 Mr. Bulmer leased Park-y-glo, Llanrhidian, in order to exploit coal; further mines were opened on farm land by others in 1602 and 1653²⁸. In 1641 Richard Seys was prosecuted for unlawfully mining coal at his farm at Penllwyn Robert²⁹. Extraction of coal was not new; before 1319 de Breos had granted to John de Horton an area of land and the right to gather sea coal (mineria carbonum maris) in the Subboscus³⁰. The carbo terrenus in Kylthy wasta (?Killay) for which permission to work was

²⁸NLW Mss: Penrice and Margam 2873, 3250 and 5047.

²⁹UCSA: Royal Institution Collection 1.

³⁰PRO: C 145/83/12.

granted in 1306³¹ may also refer to early coal production.

This pattern of agricultural combined with small-scale industrial production has been noted in other contexts. Peacock has claimed that in certain Roman communities, where pottery production was at the household industry level, it was an essential means of livelihood. In these situations agriculture was not in itself a sufficient means of support. He cites various examples from southern and south eastern Europe and Asia minor in support of his views³². Hey and Thirsk have identified similar patterns. Iron working and agricultural activities were often combined by communities living in the Sheffield region, the Forest of Dean and on the Sussex weald in the sixteenth century³³. It is at first sight difficult to fit the "rich" finds at Llanelen into Peacock's model of economic activity within which the community is thought to be particularly poor. There are ways in which this apparent contradiction can be overcome easily. Firstly, the farmstead may have depended mainly on iron production with agriculture as a subsidiary element. Second, it would have taken time to clear the land and prepare it for agriculture. (This author's experience of a small council allotment has convinced him of the difficulty of clearing long abandoned land!) Another source of income may then have been necessary until agricultural production was well established. Finally and perhaps most pragmatically, as crops can always fail (with - as was noted above - disastrous consequences) the economy may have been kept deliberately as diverse as was possible as a form of insurance policy. Iron manufacture could have been carried out at those times of the year when farming activities were at their least intensive. The labour cost would have been low and it would have been possible to sell the iron at considerable profit. The production of bloomery iron may have provided the

³¹NLW Mss: Penrice and Margam 391.

³²D.P.S. Peacock, Pottery in the Roman World, 1982, p. 23.

³³D. Hey, The Rural Metalworkers of the Sheffield Region, 1972, pp. 18 - 20; J. Thirsk, 'Roots of Industrial England', in A.R.H. Baker and J.B. Harley, eds., Man Made the Land, 1973, pp. 93 - 108.

source of income that was used to purchase the claret.

Similar economic patterns - a mixture of farming and manufacturing - have been noted by Bailey³⁴. He has argued that the current concept of the "margin" in the medieval economy is too crude. The margin for the cultivation of cereal crops need not have been the margin for all economic activity. Other activities could have been viable, and their practice was - in north Gower - common and profitable.

This part of the study area appears to have possessed a distinctive economy. In the post-Conquest period it appears to have been independent and based around individual effort. Indeed, it resembles the "ideal economic world" of certain late twentieth century economic theorists and politicians. This pattern will now be compared with that in south Gower, where co-operative activity and nucleated settlement were common.

7.4: The manors of Norman Gower and village origins in the post-conquest period.

In c. 1106 the Welsh kingdom of Gwyr was captured by Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Warwick. The conquest of the area seems to have taken place at the instigation of Henry I who was anxious to strengthen his hold on south Wales. Following the conquest the former kingdom was divided into two parts: an Englishry and a Welshry. The new lord and his knights controlled the Englishry, whilst the day-to-day affairs of the Welshry were left in the hands of the native princes. The Welshry was divide into two portions: the Is-coed (in Latin, Sub-bosco) and the Uwch-coed (Supra-bosco.) The former lay on the north edge of the peninsula, and the latter comprised the inland uplands of the Lordship. Two boroughs were established in the Lordship: Swansea on the River Tawe in the east and Loughor on the Llwchwr in the west ³⁵ (Figure 7.7.)

³⁴M. Bailey, 'The Concept of the Margin in the Medieval English Economy', Economic History Review, 42, second series, 1989, pp. 10 - 14.

³⁵Full details of the conquest and the settlement of the area can be found in W. Rees, 'Gower and the March of Wales', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 110, 1966, passim; J.B. Smith and T.B. Pugh, 'The Lordship of Gower and Kilvey', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1977, pp. 205 - 13;
(Footnote continued)

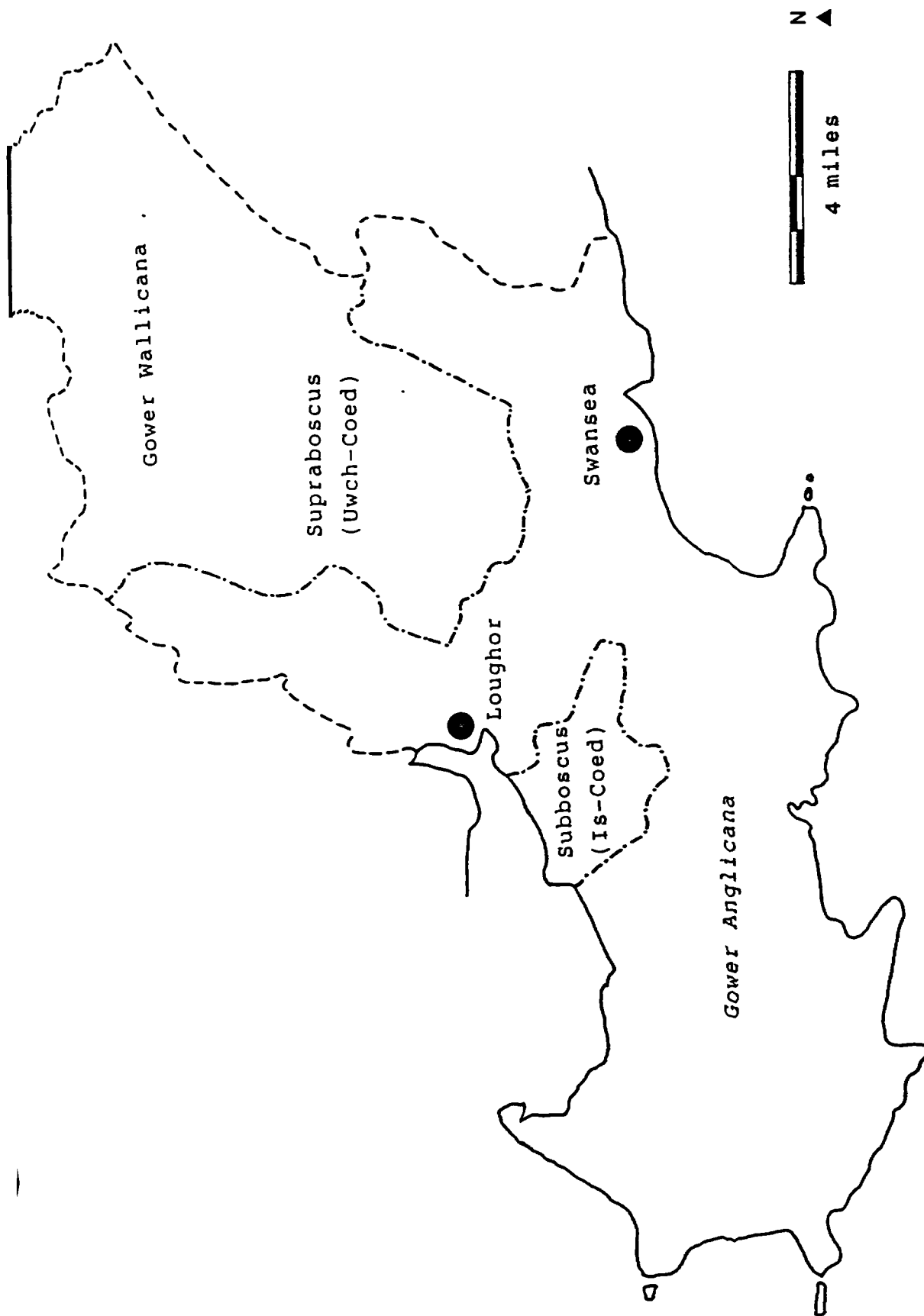


Fig. 7.7 : The Lordship of Gower and Kilvey in the fourteenth century.

The Englishry was divided into a series of knights' fees. In return for his land each knight was expected to serve for forty days at the castle in Swansea. It is these knights' fees - Penmaen, Nicholaston, Ilston, Kilvrough and Vorshill - which, along with the lord's demesnes of Pennard and Oystermouth are the centre of attention in this section of the study. The western part of this area was probably the focus of settlement as the knights established colonies of their followers on their newly acquired land. It is usually thought that these settlers came from across the Bristol Channel³⁶ with the purpose of making the new land productive and therefore worth retaining by military force if necessary.

The retention of a knight's fee in lowland Gower was not for the faint-hearted. Welsh attacks on the new Anglo-Norman colonies were frequent. The castles at Swansea and Oystermouth were destroyed not long after the conquest. Further attacks took place in 1135, 1215, 1217 and 1287. The destruction of the borough is likely to have had a profound - albeit unrecorded - affect on the locality. As a result, or more probably as a precaution, a number of castles were built. Excavation, by Leslie Alcock, has revealed much about the nature of one of them: Penmaen³⁷. This castle, which stands on a cliff and overlooks the sea - a natural defensive position - lies at the southern extremity of the manor of Penmaen. Another castle lies across the bay at Pennard, but it has not been excavated.

There were two main phases of activity at Castle Tower both of which date to the period between the twelfth and early thirteenth century and are not separated by a hiatus. The whole site is surrounded by a bank and a ditch, which enclose a defended area of 30 m. in diameter. This bank is of considerable proportions: 12 m. wide at the base and 3 m. high. The first phase is marked by a timber gate tower and wooden

⁵(continued)

R.R. Davies, Conquest, Co-existence and Change, 1987, pp. 98 - 100.

³⁶Rees, op. cit., p. 6; Davies, op. cit., p. 91.

³⁷L. Alcock, 'Castle Tower, Penmaen: a Norman Ring-work in Glamorgan', Antiquaries Journal, 46, 1966, passim.

buildings. The gate was destroyed by fire, which could have been the result of either military action or a domestic accident. The remains of beams and planks reduced to charcoal were recovered from the thick layer of debris which was spread over the entrance way. The post-holes at the side of the entrance way are particularly deep and wide and are likely to have supported a large tower structure which could have comprised accommodation (it is worth noting that few structures were found in the interior) above which lay a fighting platform. The main features of the second phase are the rebuilding, in stone, of the entrance, and the construction of a dry-stone hall. This hall is irregular in layout and considered by Alcock to be a "lowly structure", yet it is the only dwelling on site which can be associated with this phase. The castle was the symbol of the Norman overlordship of the area and excavation has revealed its basic structures and history.

In contrast, virtually nothing is known about the other social classes in this area. It is usually argued that the Norman lords introduced their own settlers and that this large-scale alien immigration led to a drastic degree of social reorganisation³⁸. Assessment of the degree of disruption is impossible. General works on this field can be consulted and then their conclusions extended to argue that what was happening elsewhere was also happening in Gower too. This is unsatisfactory procedure for a case study the purpose of which is, after all, to illustrate the general with specific detail. The following paragraphs will use what local material is available in order to develop the general model outlined by the author in the previous chapter. The aim will be to explain, as far as is possible, the processes which led to village origins in south Gower in the immediate post-Conquest period.

After the initial conquest manors are known to have been established. The concept of a manor may not have been entirely new. There had existed tir bwrdd land which provided for the pre-conquest Welsh princes. This may have been easily transformed into the post-Conquest demesne. It has already been

³⁸R.R. Davies, Lordship and Society in the March of Wales, 1972, pp. 341 - 2

argued that St. Florence in Pembrokeshire was originally tir bwrdd and that its peculiar "grid-iron" street pattern is the result of its transformation to demesne. There is no similar evidence for the transformation of the settlement shapes of south Gower. Indeed, R.R. Davies has noted that the settlement of south Gower was perhaps the settlement of virgin land³⁹. This view is unlikely. There are three Neolithic Severn Cotswold chambered tombs within two miles of the village; hence some earlier activity cannot be totally discounted. Yet there is no surviving evidence for Roman or earlier medieval activity in this part of south Gower. Indeed, if Dowdell's suggested locations of Roman sites prove to be correct then this area is equidistant from the sites though to exist near Oystermouth-Bishopston and Reynoldston-Scurlage⁴⁰ and, therefore, where influence by Roman developments is least likely to have been felt. One place-name might suggest earlier settlement, but the evidence is not conclusive. One field in Penmaen was known, in the thirteenth century, as the Sted Furlong. The Old English stede has a variety of meanings which, when compounded with other terms, may indicate settlements, for example a farm⁴¹. It must also be remembered that this is a particularly attractive location, with many pedological and micro-climatical advantages. Hence some previous settlement is inherently likely.

The manors were essentially units of economic exploitation founded to cater for the needs of the alien lords and the soldiers who garrisoned the new castles. Maitland has argued that the manor is an economic concept; whilst there may be associated juridical structures (the manorial court) and tenurial patterns (demesne lands, freehold and customary tenures) the manor is thought to be, first and foremost, a unit which forms the basis of tax collection⁴². Aston takes a

³⁹ ibid., p. 345.

⁴⁰ G. Dowdell, personal communication. See preceeding chapter for a fuller discussion of his ideas.

⁴¹ A.H. Smith, English Place-name Elements, (English Place-name Society vol. 26), 1970, pp. 147 - 50.

⁴² F.W. Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond, 1921 edition, pp.
(Footnote continued)

similar view. He regards the manor as being, in the main, a "functioning economic unit"⁴³. The fundamental concept - that the manor is a unit which organises production above surplus level - can easily be applied in the study area.

Two points have to be considered before the analysis can proceed: there follows a need to specify exactly how matters were being organised for production and the likely spatial and settlement correlates of the manorial system of production have to be determined. The former can be done by briefly considering the four basic types of economic resource: land, labour, capital and enterprise. Land, which is usually taken to include all natural resources, means exactly that in these circumstances - the land which is being exploited in order to provide commodities, usually of an agricultural nature. Capital comprises the equipment which has to be brought to bear on the land in order to realise its potential. In these circumstances it is likely to include agricultural tools, draught animals, seed corn and similar goods. Labour is necessary to apply the capital to the land so that production will result. The colonists who were deliberately settled in this area would, of course, have provided the labour. Finally, enterprise is required to successfully organise the other factors and to initiate production. This would, in the first instance at least, have been provided by the new lords and by their agents. Determining the nature of the manor as far as settlement is concerned is more difficult, but essential to the aim of this thesis. The manor need not necessarily be linked with a village; although Postan sees the nucleated village as characteristic of a "typical" manor⁴⁴. The manor requires labour to function, and the labour has to be settled somewhere be it in a village, or a in series of dispersed farms.

²(continued)

119 - 21.

⁴³T.H. Aston, 'The Origin of the Manor in England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 8, fifth series, 1958, p. 61.

⁴⁴M.M. Postan, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: England', in M.M. Postan, ed., The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, Cambridge Economic History of Europe, volume 1, 1966, p. 576.

The model for village origins, developed in the previous chapters, tried to link the establishment of the manor, open fields and villages. It was argued that once the pre-Conquest multiple estates were broken down to form Anglo-Norman manors that the flow of goods between locations would be disrupted and that open fields would result as arable and pastoral resources had to be combined. The holdings of individuals would be broken up and scattered amongst these fields. Nucleation would follow as people gathered at points where, as far as possible, they minimized the distance between their strips. In the last chapter a number of maps were examined in order to show that strip fields were common in the vicinity of villages and that holdings were interspersed throughout these fields. This approach can also be applied, albeit with limitations caused by the availability of data, here.

The map of Nicholaston (Figure 7.8), based on an original of 1782 shows the core of original fields around the village in the western part of the manor. The traces of former strips are visible immediately to the north and south of the main road. The list of holdings, taken from the cadastral information appended to the map, shows that a degree of dispersion still existed. This pattern had undergone some degree of rationalisation prior to the late eighteenth century. Evidence for this can be deduced from the shape of some of the fields. The presence of long, narrow fields suggest that strips had frequently been exchanged and merged in order to form the compact blocks that are seen on the map. Surveys also refer to landshares throughout south Gower. This term - of English origin - appears to refer to the small balks of turf and stone which separated the strips and perhaps also to a form of tenure whereby individuals held strips in common fields⁴⁵. Landshares are mentioned in the tithe schedules, in Gabriel Powell's survey of 1764, in the Cromwellian survey of 1650 and in an Elizabethan survey of 1583⁴⁶.

⁴⁵H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Open Field in Devon', W.G. Hoskins and H.P.R. Finberg, eds., Devonshire Studies, 1952, p. 276.

⁴⁶UCSA: George Grant Francis Collection B4, B7 and B3
(Footnote continued)

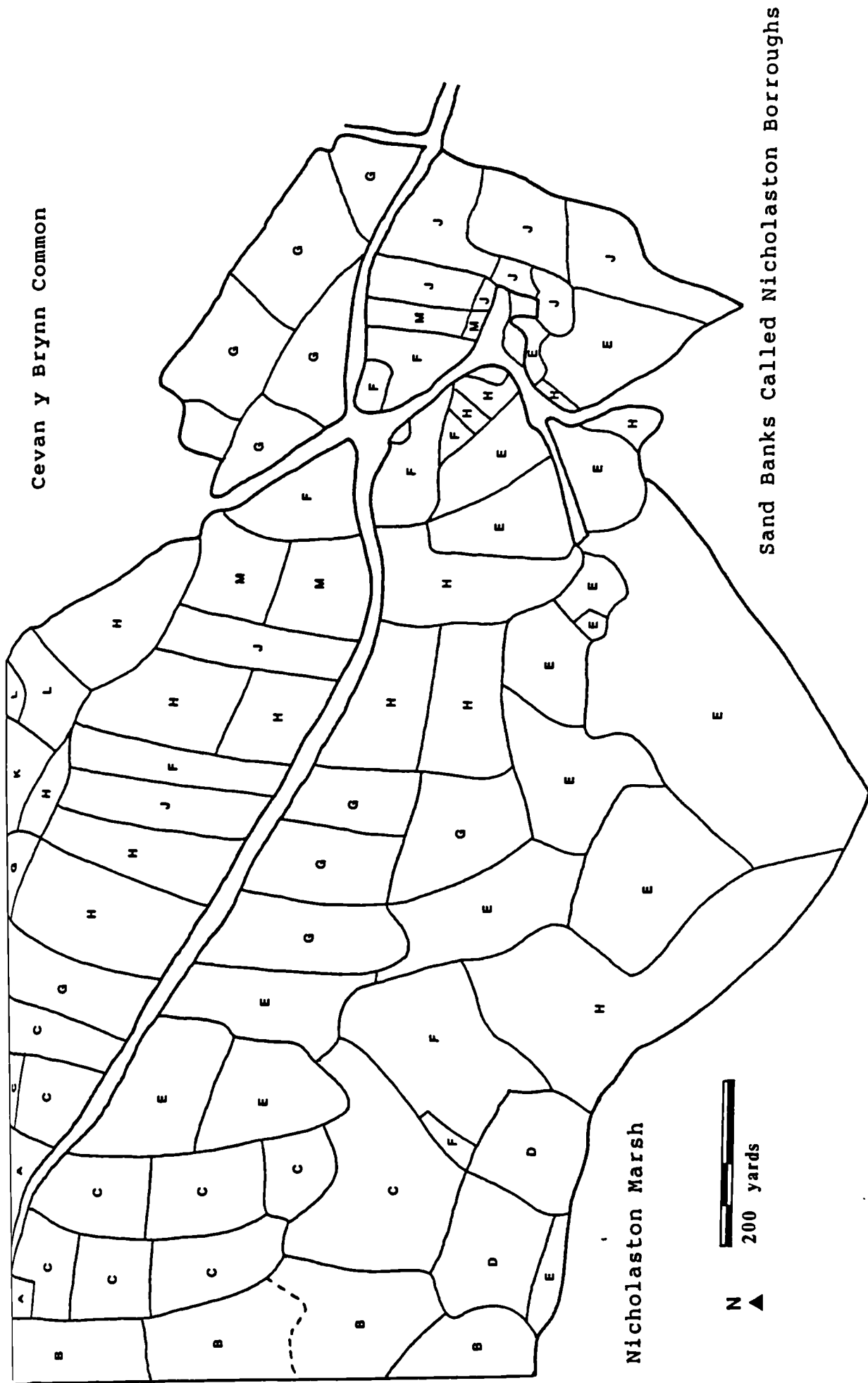


Fig. 7.8 : Dispersed holdings and former landshares near Nicholaston, 1792.

Fig. 7.8: Dispersed holdings and former landshares near
Nicholaston, 1792.

Key to owners:

- A - Nicholaston Glebe Farm.
- B - Nicholston Hall.
- C - lands of Mrs. Beavans.
- D - lands of Mrs. Smith.
- E - lands of Mrs. Phillips.
- F - John Edwards lands.
- G - lands of Annie Stephens.
- H - John Moss' lands.
- J - Thomas Walters lands.
- K - John David's croft.
- L - Sam William's croft.
- M - J.B. Popkins's land.

This map is based upon John Williams's map of the Manor of
Nicholaston made for Thomas Mansel Talbot, (WGARO: D/DP 815.)

There is documentary evidence to show that in Penmaen landshares and dispersed holdings existed c. 1320⁴⁷. John Bloncaynel granted to Robert Mansel twenty two and a half acres of land and two crofts with their gardens. The land was not one compact block, but was divided into six parcels. The details of the location of each parcel are given in relation to the field within which it lay and in terms of features such as roads and paths. This author has been able to use Seyler's analysis of this document to attempt a partial cartographic reconstruction of the manor's fields in the early fourteenth century. (Figure 7.9) The lands granted away lay principally in two fields: the Southern and Eastern Fields, where there were seven and nine and a half acres respectively. Two and a half acres lay in the Western field. Two further fields - the Northern Field and Honeylands - are also referred to by Seyler but none of the granted lies appears to have lain here. It can be seen from Figure 7.9 that the village does not lie, as has previously been argued, at the centre of the fields. There are good reasons for this. The centre of the field area forms a steep, narrow valley which could not be used for settlement. Some of the land - as the field names Honeylands and The Quabbs attest - was ill-drained and hence also unsuitable⁴⁸. The manor house and the crofts appear to have been deliberately sited on well-drained land. Indeed, one of the crofts was called Ricroft, a name which often indicates shallow, gravelly - and consequently dry - land. Furthermore the original village may have been deserted in the sixteenth century as sand was blown in over the southern part of the manor. The current locations of crofts may have established at that time. This example demonstrates the complexity which underlies the examination of settlement location; a distance minimisation location is only

⁶(continued)

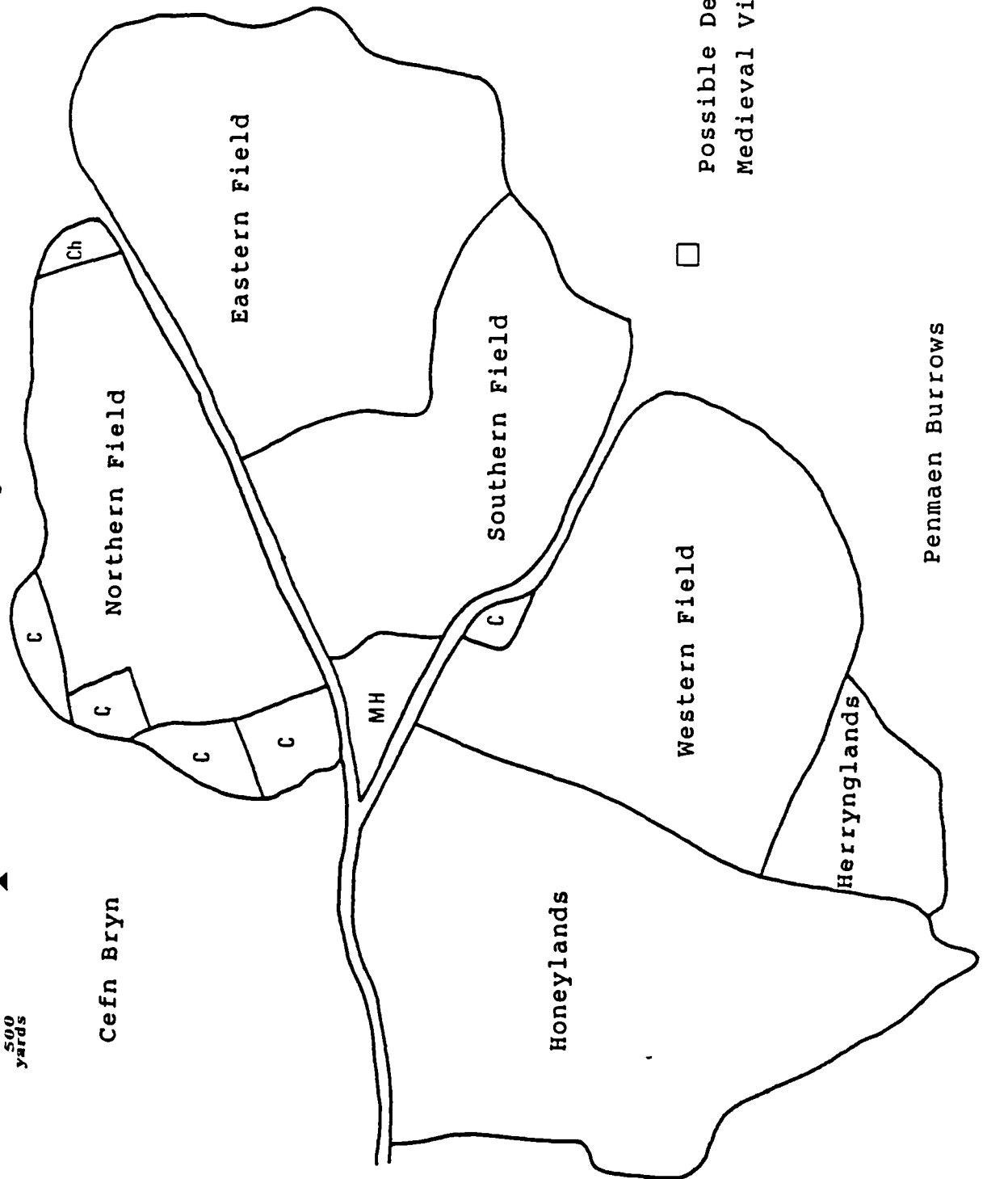
respectively.

⁴⁷The document is published by C.A. Seyler, '"Stedworlango": a Study of the Fee of Penmaen in Gower', Archaeologia Cambrensis, 75, 1920, pp. 134 - 5. The original was once in the George Grant Francis Collection, but was lost some time before 1895.

⁴⁸K. Cameron, English Place-names, second edition, 1963, p. 208.



Fig. 7.9 : Reconstruction of the open-fields of Penmaen, c. 1320.



Key:

MH - Manor House.

C - Croft.

Ch - Church.

□ - Deserted Church.

Possible Deserted
Medieval Village

Castle

Tower

Penmaen Burrows

likely in a ceteris paribus situation.

South Gower was an area of Anglo-Norman manors, villages and open fields. All three can be linked together, as the above discussion has tried to show. The manors were founded in the twelfth century. Each manor was an economic unit, with the aim of producing supplies for the lords and their retainers. Labour and capital were employed on the manorial land for this purpose. The land was divided into fields and each field into strips. The pattern of strips is generally has been argued to be characteristic of a situation when newly taken land is divided amongst those who had joined in the required effort to establish the claim to it. As draft animals were scarce in the medieval period it has been proposed that everyone who contributed beasts to the ploughteam received a share of the ploughed land⁴⁹. The labour was provided by the colonists, who were settled in villages amidst their fields. In this situation villages have an economic and an organisational rationale. People are concentrated in one location, distance to the individual parts of each holding is minimised, and labour can easily be organised for production and defence can be swiftly arranged if needed.

The above model; for the origin of strips appears to be at variance with that proposed by Dahlamn and cited by the author earlier. Dahlman argued that the intermingling of holdings would have ensured that everyone's beasts participated in communal grazing and that each individual would have been involved in the arrangements necessary to regulate the field system. He does however admit that this may not always have been the reason for the origin of scattered holdings; partible inheritance, common ploughing, a desire for equity and the acquisition of previously unploughed land could all have brought about scattered holdings⁵⁰.

The map (Figure 7.10) show the pattern of manors and villages. Within five of the nine manors there is one village.

⁴⁹A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, 'Conclusion: Problems and Perspectives' in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, eds., Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, pp. 635 - 41.

⁵⁰C.J. Dahlamn, The Open Field System and Beyond, 1980, pp. 143 - 4.

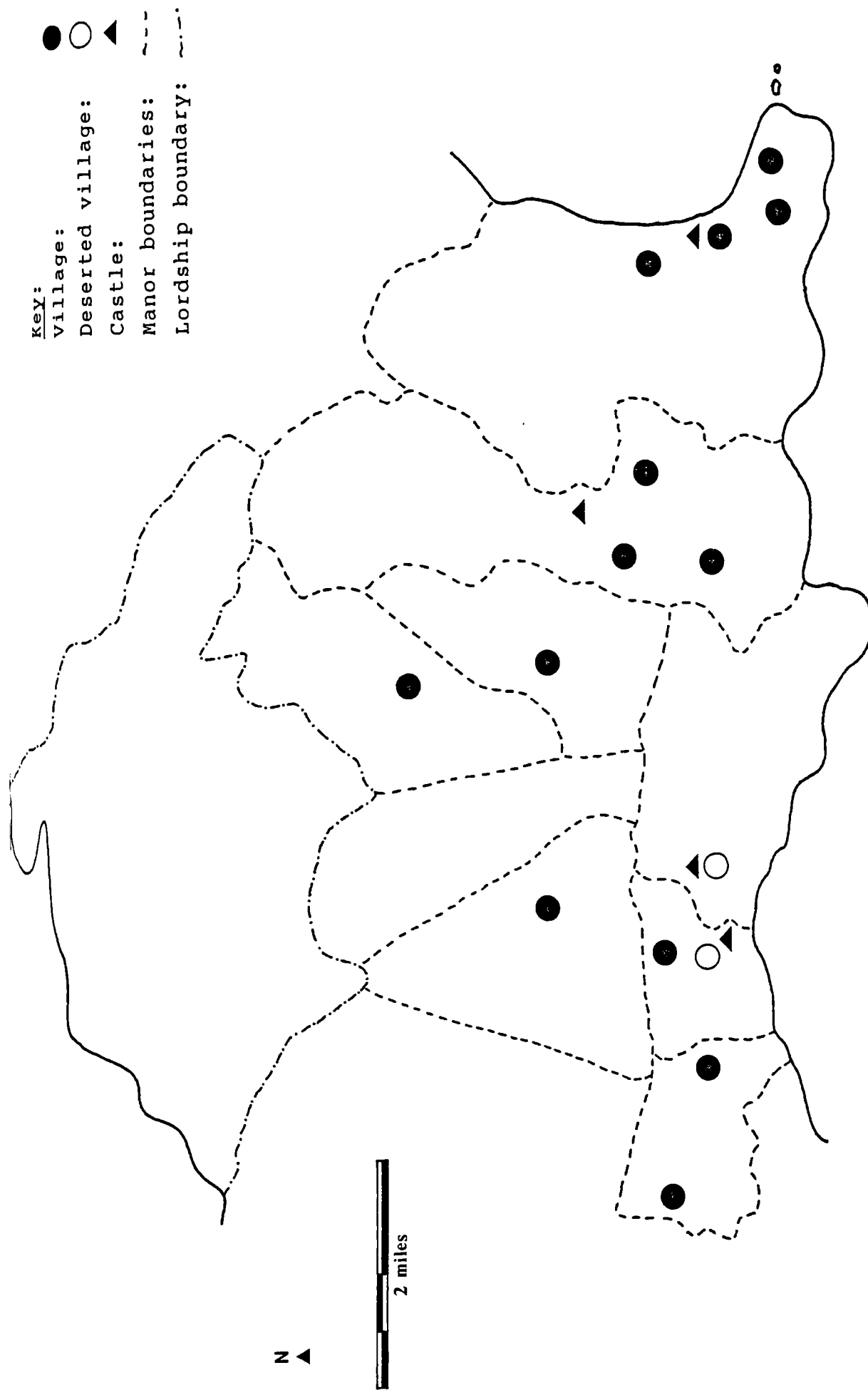


Fig. 7.10 : manorial boundaries and villages in south east Gower.

The exceptions to this pattern can be explained. It will be argued below that Bishopston and Oystermouth have retained a pre-Conquest settlement pattern. Perriswood - a small settlement of three farms in Nicholaston parish - is perhaps a late development. At Vorshill there is no village, contemporary or deserted. There is one farm - Furzehill - at the centre of the manor and almost no other settlement. Vorshill was recorded in the charter of 1306 as one of Gower's ancient knights' fees (antiqua feoda militum⁵¹.) It was regarded as a manor in 1764 when Gabriel Powell wrote that,

"the late Mr. Dawkin and Richard Bydder hold the manor of Vorshill by ffealty, Suit of Court, Heriot and the payment at Michmas yearly of six Swallow tailed arrows or Six pence."⁵²

A manor, as has been stated, need not be associated with a village. Vorshill is never likely to have been more than a small manor worked by one man and his family. Such conditions are not unknown⁵³. A settlement here would fit into the pattern noted in the hedge dating study. The hedges of this area have an average of 5.95 species in the standard thirty yard length; they are relatively oak-rich and thorn-poor. A farm created by assarting at an early date is therefore likely here. In the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Gower the new lords would have been granted some land to exploit as they wished; most of the new lords seem to have imported labour, one - it appears - did or could not.

There are two further areas of inquiry to be followed before turning to the pre-Conquest settlement pattern: the profitability of the new manors and the presence or absence of planned settlements in the area. By the sixteenth century Gower was a heavily anglicized area. It appears therefore to have been worth settling and defending. A brief examination of the profits of lordship and the advantages of taking land here is justified. The sources for this are, as often, limited. Following the death of Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, on

⁵¹NLW Mss: Penrice and Margam 391.

⁵²UCSA: George Grant Francis Collection B4.

⁵³Maitland, op. cit., p. 118.

24 March 1399 and the subsequent death of her grandson and heir John Mowbray on 22 September of that year the Lordship of Gower was taken into royal hands. In July 1400 dower was assigned to Mowbray's widow and the accounts drawn up then give the values of the lordship in that one year⁵⁴. The three demesne manors of Pennard, Oystermouth and Lunnon were worth £21 18s. 9d., £31 11s. 3d. and at least £24 11s. 6d. respectively. Most of the income - well over 80% - came from rents, with smaller proportions coming from both profits of the court and the mill⁵⁵. The breakdown of the sources of income is shown in Figure 7.12.

The morphological study is unfortunately incomplete because some of the Gower villages may have had to change their location in the sixteenth century. Large scale inundation of land with sand covered the fields of Pennard and Penmaen, thus rendering the morphology of some early villages unavailable for study. A deserted village appears to lie near the castle at Pennard and one dwelling has been excavated recently⁵⁶. Figure 7.5b showed the lands which had been lost by the Earl of Worcester prior to 1590; these appear to have been concentrated in the parish of Pennard. The settlement pattern of this area - several farms and small clusters in addition to the recent development of Southgate - probably dates from this period and hence the medieval pattern is currently obscured. There is one advantage in this situation: the medieval village remains - albeit under huge quantities of sand - for the examination of future archaeologists. There may also be a deserted village at Penmaen. The most likely location would appear to be on the dunes between Castle Tower and the deserted church (Figure 7.9.) Seyler was anxious to prove that there was no village here and that the name Stedworlango applied to a furlong - the Sted Furlong - in one of the fields⁵⁷. His argument concerning

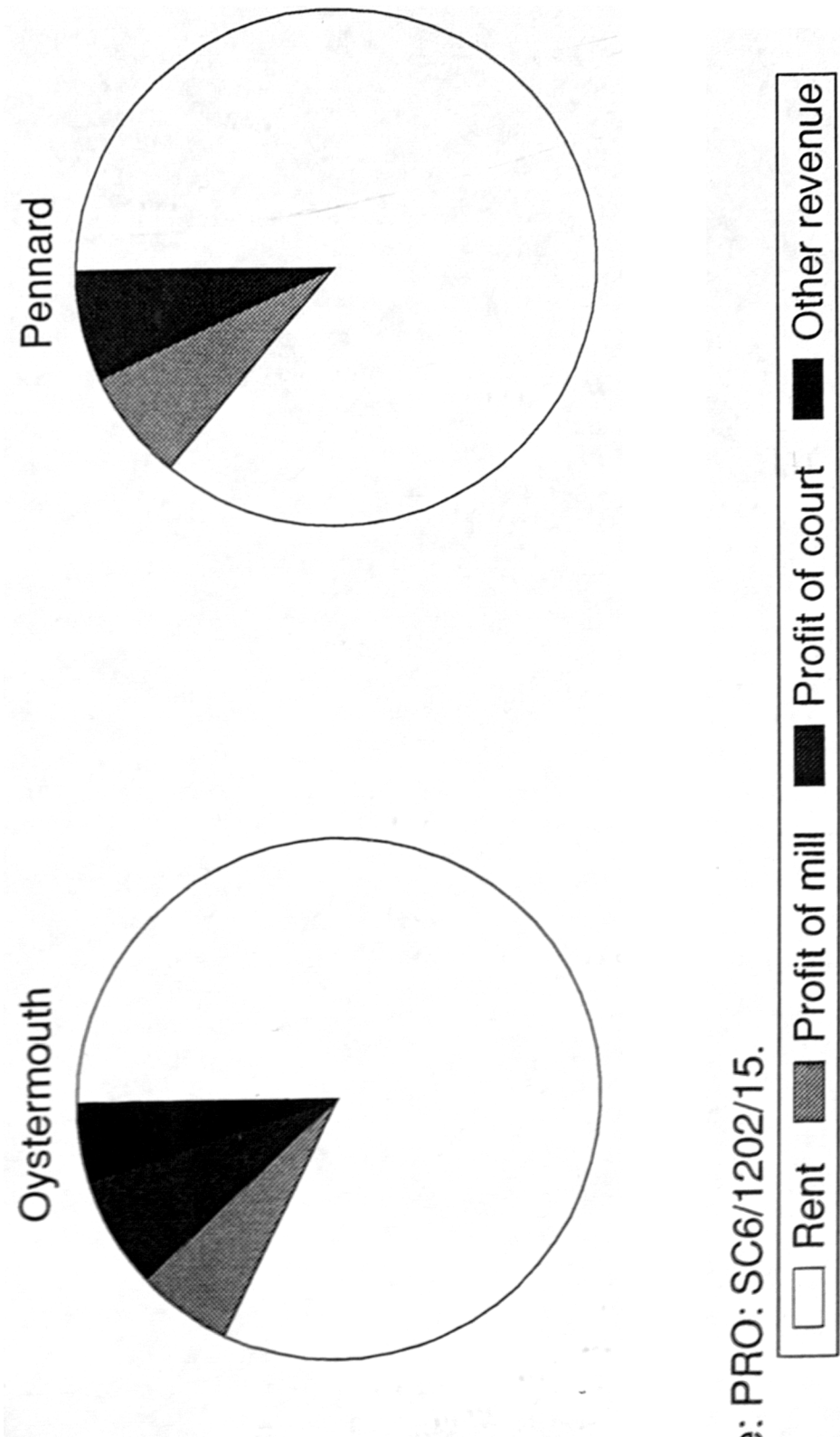
⁵⁴J.B. Smith and T.B. Pugh, 'The Lordship of Gower and Kilvey in the Middle Ages', Glamorgan County History, volume 3, The Middle Ages, 1971, pp. 254 - 6.

⁵⁵PRO: SC6/1202/15.

⁵⁶D.J. Lees and S.H. Sell, 'Excavations of a Medieval Dwelling at Pennard', Journal of the Gower Society, 34, 1983, pp. 44 - 52.

⁵⁷Seyler, op. cit., p. 158.

Fig. 7.12: Income of the manors of Pennard and Oystermouth, 1399 - 1400.



Source: PRO: SC6/1202/15.

the name is justifiable, but it cannot be extended to show that there was no village here. His work only demonstrates that the village was not called Stedworlango.

In the discussion of settlement morphology it was shown that a series of villages in central Pembrokeshire were planned and planted⁵⁸. As a result they can be recognised by their regular morphology. These villages were part of a deliberately created military frontier zone between the Welsh and Anglo-Norman communities. It must be noted that none of the villages of Gower is regular in plan. There is no one common plan type; some are linear, others agglomerated, some have greens, other do not. The difference in the village plans of the two areas must relate to the specific processes which led to their origin. The Pembrokeshire villages were, it is thought, laid out by locators who brought whole communities of Flemings to settle in west Wales. Military matters were here perhaps of more importance than economic ones. In Gower the process was likely to have been different. Individuals and single families may have been attracted to the new lands; those with little to lose may have been especially interested in new opportunities in the newly acquired lands. Hence the Gower aristocracy may not have been as forceful in choosing the locations for settlements as their Pembrokeshire counterparts were. Economic logic rather than strategic advantage would have determined the most suitable location for the centres of the Anglo-Norman manors of Gower. The speed within which villages were required and the degree of power exercised by lords appear to have been factors in determining whether or not villages were planned.

7.5: The ecclesiastical estates of south Gower and village origins in the early medieval period.

The final section of this case study considers the pre-Conquest period. It will be argued that some elements of the nucleated settlement pattern came into existence in the early medieval period. Some of this chapter will be very

⁵⁸Chapter 3, section. These settlements are also explored in more detail in chapter 8.

speculative because of the limited amount of early archaeological and historical evidence. The main problem is that the small rural settlements of south eastern Gower are now lost under suburban development. Nevertheless an attempt to study the early medieval settlement pattern of this area has to be made in order to complete the retrogressive study of village evolution.

The first documentary references to the study area are to found in the Book of Llandaff. There are four charters recording the transfer of land in the Bishopston area. The earliest, dated to c. AD 605, records that King Gwrddwg gave his daughter Dulon and four modii of land to the church. Davies believes that this charter (76 b in her edition) may be of doubtful origin, but she notes that the witness list and the general chronology - based on the contemporaneous lives of all the parties named - are sound. A further possible reference is found in charter 144, which is dated to c. 650. This document certainly refers to various locations in Gower but exactly which ones are unknown. A third charter (145) dated to c. 695 records that King Morgan returned the church and land at Bishopston to the church, presumably after they had been alienated for a short period of time. In some ways - notably the use of a high proportion of twelfth century interpolations and the nature of its contents when compared with the next reference - this charter appears to be later than its given date, yet the original record is thought to be coherent. The fourth reference (charter 239) is dated to c. 925. It records that King Gruffudd violated various ecclesiastical properties including that at Bishopston, but that he had since returned them to the church⁵⁹.

Part of the confusion over the exact locations recorded in the charters is due to the variety of names which exists for every location. The first grant refers to the area by the name of Porth Tulon, a name derived from that of the donor's daughter: Dulon. The fourth charter also uses this name. Alternative names include: Lann Cinuur and Sancti Cyngur (variously Conguri and Conuur)⁶⁰. The second charter also uses

⁵⁹W.E. Davies, The Llandaff Charters, 1979, pp. 94 - 5, 97 - 8 and 124.

⁶⁰W.E. Davies, An Early Welsh Microcosm, 1978, p. 136.

the names Lan Mergualt and Lanferwalt. This form is echoed in the modern Welsh name: Llandeilo Ferwallt. This can be translated into a, slightly cumbersome, description of the place's nature and location: St. Teilo's religious site near Fairwood. Its English form is also descriptive: Bishopston. This is first recorded as Bisschopiston in the mid-thirteenth century⁶¹.

If one of the ideas outlined in the previous chapter - that early grants were of whole multiple estates - is correct then it ought to be possible to reconstruct a multiple estate here. The proposition that the area of the Porth Tulon grant was a multiple estate can be examined by using the list of criteria developed by Gregson, which she argues define a multiple estate⁶². The first part of this task is to define the boundary of the estate. This is relatively straightforward. The boundary of the grant corresponds to that of the manor (and parish) of Bishopston, which the Bishop of Llandaff held in the post-Conquest period. The boundary runs from the shore up to Canthred's Well (a spring near Caswell Bay) and then along the dry valley towards Murton. A marker stone stands where the boundary changes direction and starts to run along the prominent ridge above Clyne valley. From Jacob's Well the boundary follows a small stream as far as Rhyd y Defaid and then it runs down Bishopston Valley to meet the sea. The first of Gregson's criteria - that the estate should lie within a later medieval unit - is met; it forms a medieval parish and manor. The evidence for highland and lowland settlements is also found. In the north west of the Porth Tulon area lie a group of six farms all of which have similar names: Killay Fawr, Killay Fach, Killay Ganol, Killay Draw, Killay Uchaf and Killay Isaf. All the names combine the element Killay with an adjective; respectively: large, small, middle, beyond, upper and lower. The Killay element is probably derived from the Welsh words cil (narrow) and le (place). This must refer to the

⁶¹J.R. Alban, Swansea, 1184 - 1984, 1984, citing PRO: E 164/1 f. 486.

⁶²N. Gregson, 'The Multiple Estate Model - Some Critical Questions', Journal of Historical Geography, 11, 1985, p. 346.

narrow ravine which lies immediately to the north of this group of farms and which forms the northern boundary of the proposed estate⁶³. In the southern part of the estate lie three small nucleated settlements: Bishopston, Pyle and Murton. As stated above, this area is one of the principal areas of sub-urbanisation in Gower today and this pattern is reconstructed from the tithe maps⁶⁴. There does not appear to have been sufficient settlement here for a multiple estate. G.R.J. Jones has argued, and the earlier discussion of the Domesday Book supports his analysis, that the multiple estates of south Wales comprised either seven or thirteen vill⁶⁵.

Gregson's other criteria for the definition of a multiple estate includes the presence of a well defined social hierarchy. There is little evidence for this: other than for the King who made the initial donation. As observed elsewhere - in Maenor Meddyfnych and Llandeilo Tal-y-bont for example - these criteria are the most difficult to fulfil in the absence of documentary material. The supplementary criterion is also met. There is evidence for an Iron Age fort in Porth Tulon. An inland promontory fort lies in the extreme west of the area on an incised meander of the river. These natural defences are supplemented by two banks with ditches on the neck of the promontory. Excavation revealed a hut site, a midden and various small finds of bone, shell and Iron Age and Roman pottery⁶⁶. In conclusion, Porth Tulon fulfils some, but not all, of the conditions thought to define a multiple estate. This is probably due to the paucity of the evidence for the whole area at this time.

The area can also be considered as an ecclesiastical estate. Wendy Davies believes that a monastery was established

⁶³The cil place-name element is found elsewhere in the study area, but nowhere is it associated with le; the other examples are Killan, Cilibion, Cilonnen and Gelli^lhir, which was known as Kylthyhir in 1328.

⁶⁴NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Bishopston.

⁶⁵G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in P.H. Sawyer, ed., Medieval Settlement Continuity and Change, 1976, p. 17.

⁶⁶The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 1, part 2, The Iron Age and the Roman Occupation, p. 46.

here before c. 650 and that it survived up until, at least, c. 925⁶⁷. A pre-conquest monastery should not be confused with a post-conquest one, as has previously happened. Davies has criticised this faulty parallel, which has been made in The Glamorgan Inventory's discussion of early monastic sites. The Royal Commission's view that the monastery once stood where the medieval church does and that no trace of it survives is totally erroneous⁶⁸. The monastery need not have been a community within a complex of buildings, as, for example, a later Cistercian or Benedictine monastery was. It could have been a body of people with shared beliefs. Very little is known about these communities and about the organisation of early Welsh monastic life. The communities could have been male or female or mixed. In addition to those in orders they would have included lay members. The evidence of the charters clearly shows that the land was not worked by monks, but rather by the lay dependents of the monastic communities. Furthermore, in the early monastic communities property and offices seems to have been held on a hereditary basis, and hence rules of celibacy could not have existed. The hereditary transmission of monastic properties and offices underlay the emergence of the clas as a widespread and powerful unit of monastic life.

The economic structure of the monastic estate - a group of clerics supported by lay members - depended on the production of surplus foodstuffs. The ways in which the economy could have been organised to produce a surplus have been outlined already under the heading of the "taxation model" in chapter two. One way, it was noted, was by the rearrangement of the landscape into nucleated settlements and the consequent breakdown of the "inefficient" domestic mode of production and an increase in output. Similarly a change to common field agriculture would reduce transaction costs and further increase productivity. The principal gains are likely to have been made through co-operative labour managed so as to obtain, as far as

⁶⁷Davies, op. cit., 1978, p. 136.

⁶⁸W.E. Davies, 'A Historian's View of Celtic Archaeology', in D.A. Hinton, ed., Twenty Five Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1983, p. 68; The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 1 part 3, The early Christian period, p. 16.

possible, the maximum returns from input. The landscape of the Porth Tulon area today shows clearly that villages and strip fields were once widespread. In the lower part of the parish of Bishopston the long narrow fields are clearly descended from blocks of former strips. Evidence is clearest in the areas around the Bishopston and Pyle nucleations and in the vicinity of Murton. The tithe map shows that in 1844 they existed to the north of the Old Castle too⁶⁹. The pattern is similar in neighbouring Oystermouth parish. The former open fields lie in an arc to the west and north of Newton, and were probably once more widespread. The Oystermouth cemetery appears to have been laid out over open fields; Whitstone Lane regularly changes direction in a series of ninety degree turns, characteristic of the lanes which edged open-fields. Figure 7.13 shows the extent of the former strip field throughout this area.








If the parishes of Bishopston and Oystermouth are taken together then an exceptionally interesting pattern emerges. There are six farms - the Killay group - and seven nucleations in the area. These nucleations are Bishopston and Oystermouth themselves, along with Norton, Murton, Pyle, Thistleboon and Dunns. (A further nucleation - Newton - has, because of its name been discounted from this analysis.) The location of Dunns is no longer certain, but Dunns Lane still exists near Mumbles Head. This settlement was certainly a sizeable location when first recorded in 1650; five freeholders and thirteen customary tenants lived and farmed here⁷⁰. All these settlements are mentioned in the survey of 1650 and there is evidence that some of them existed much earlier, Oystermouth, Murton and Thistelbon (sic) are all referred to in fourteenth century court pleas⁷¹. The total number of settlements in the two parishes is thirteen - corresponding exactly to the number of vills supposed by G.R.J. Jones to make up a multiple estate south Wales. This author believes that Porth Tulon was not, in itself, a multiple estate, but rather that the parishes of Oystermouth and Bishopston once formed one

⁶⁹NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Bishopston.

⁷⁰UCSA: George Grant Francis Collection B7.

⁷¹BL: Cotton Mss. Julius B XII 35, folio 184b.

Key:

Nucleation	
Farm	
Open field	
Boundary of multiple estate	
Later parocial boundary	
Roman villa	
Hill fort	

Nucleations:

- 1 - Norton
- 2 - Oystermouth
- 3 - Thistleboon
- 4 - Dunns
- 5 - Murton
- 6 - Pyle
- 7 - Bishopston

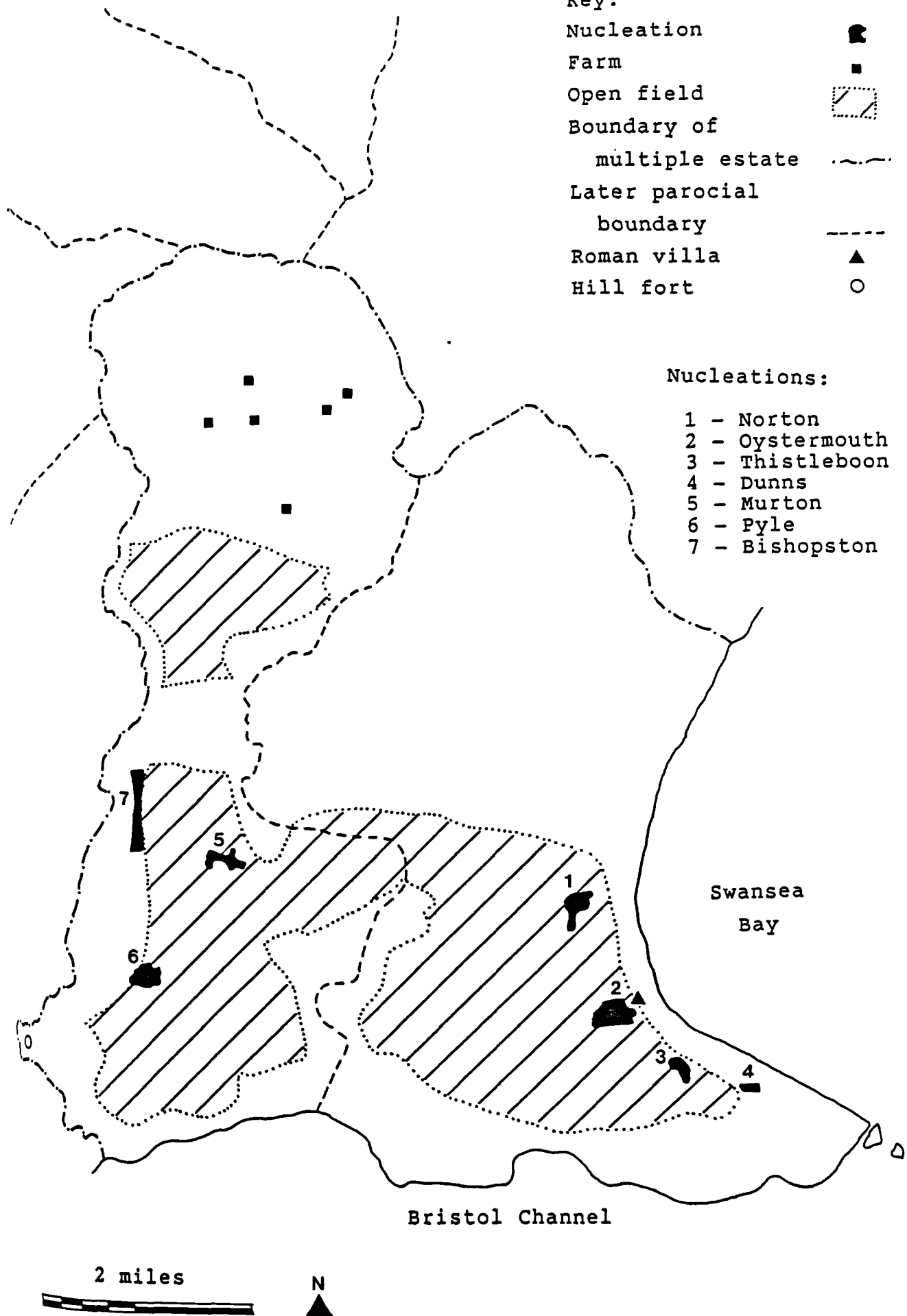


Fig. 7.13 : the Bishopston-Oystermouth area in the early medieval period.

entirety, and that this unit was a multiple estate.

The Gregson list of criteria can be used to evaluate this proposition. This does not add much to the discussion as the sources are fewer for Oystermouth than they are for Bishopston; again paucity of evidence can be cited as one reason why all the conditions of the model are not met. None the less there is evidence to fulfil most of the defining conditions. It is also possible to argue that this unit may once have been a Roman estate. Material - including tesserae from a mosaic pavement, pottery and third century coins - found in the northern part of Oystermouth churchyard can be taken to indicate that this was once the site of at least, a Roman building, perhaps a farmstead or a villa⁷². It is interesting to speculate briefly on the history of this estate. If this farmstead was similar to those elsewhere in Glamorgan it could overlies a prehistoric site and have been in use from c. AD 30 up to c. AD 330. Following its decline - for whatever reason - the focus of lordly settlement could have switched to (or perhaps back to) the promontory fort which lies at the centre of the estate. There may have been no change in the estate's ownership and Gwrddwg and Dulon could have been the descendants of the occupiers of the Romano-British farm, who were in turn descended from the indigenous Iron Age inhabitants of the area. In c. 605 - perhaps out of piety - Gwrddwg split his estate with the boundary drawn along the Bishopston river valley, which is the major physical feature of the area. The western half of his lands became the monastic estate. The eastern part remained his own land. This pattern may have remained basically unchanged for a half a millennia with the monastic estate becoming the medieval ecclesiastical manor of Bishopston and the secular estate becoming the Norman demesne of Oystermouth.

It may not be coincidental that another large area of strip field lies at Rhossili, on the south western extremity of the Gower Peninsula. (Plate 7.1.) Here the fields on the headland have still not been enclosed, although they are no longer farmed communally. The boundaries between the strips have been left as uncultivated stony balks. The Mansel Talbot

⁷²The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 1 part 2, The Iron Age and the Roman Occupation, pp. 110 - 1.

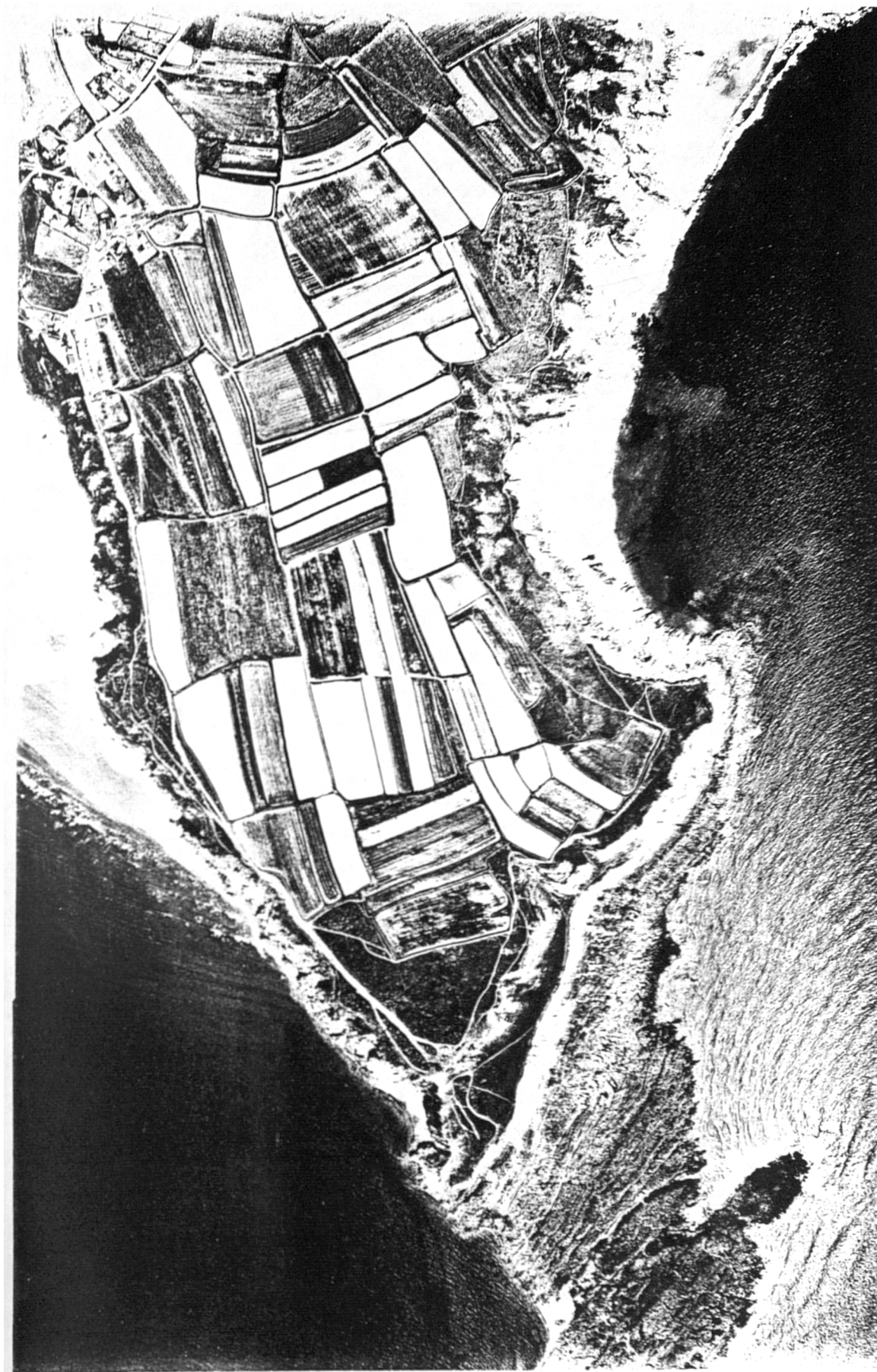


Plate 7.1: Rhossili, south west Gower. Here the characteristic strips of an open field system have survived unenclosed.

map of Rhossili shows that there has been virtually no change in this pattern since 1780⁷³. The open strips visible today and in the map are remnants of a much larger field system. The shape of enclosed fields along the cliff tops show that the blocks of strips ran as far as Pilton, nearly two miles away. Rhossili, like Bishopston and Oystermouth, appears to have been a monastic estate from c. 650 onwards. Davies argues that Rhossili appears, from the evidence in the Book of Llandaff, to be an important location and a monasterium of the early church⁷⁴. Two of the charters which refer to Bishopston (numbers 144 and 239) may at the same time be referring to Rhossili, for example the latter is headed "Penn ibei in Rosulgen"⁷⁵. The settlement pattern of Rhossili is similar to that of Oystermouth too. There are several small villages in this parish: Rhossili, Middleton, Pitton, Paviland and Pilton, along with a few farms such as Hillend, Talgarth's Well and Kimley Moor. There is also a partly excavated deserted medieval village on the solifluction bench just above the beach⁷⁶. Like the settlement at Pennard this appears to have been besanded in the sixteenth century and subsequently abandoned. These settlements may also form a multiple estate, perhaps of the smaller seven vill variety.

A pattern has emerged of large expanses of open field and several small villages within one parish or estate. It appears that these units were granted to the church with important consequences as far as the settlement pattern was concerned. The taxation model best explains these changes. It argued that as a powerful and non-productive group (in this case the monastic clas community) emerged, the production of foodstuffs would have to be increased in order to maintain this group. The wider community response to this could have been to

⁷³WGARO: D/DP 821.

⁷⁴Davies, op. cit., 1978, p. 135 and p. 146.

⁷⁵J.G. Evans and J. Rhys, eds., The Text of the Book of Llandaff, 1893, p. 239.

⁷⁶A.F. Davidson, J.E. Davidson, H.S. Owen John and L.A. Toft, 'Excavations at the Sand Covered Medieval Settlement Site at Rhossili, West Glamorgan', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 34, 1987, pp. 244 - 69.

nucleate settlement and consequently to alter the social relations and physical fabric of production. The disorganisation, independence and settlement dispersion of the domestic mode of production would give way to social control and authority. The replacement of a dispersed settlement pattern with small villages may have been a long term and, if organised at all, an indirectly controlled, process. It was seen above in the discussion of the emergence of the nucleated villages in the areas of Norman Conquest, that the long term and piecemeal nature of the settlement led to irregular settlements. Hence as far as morphology is concerned the pre-Conquest villages of Gower resemble the post-Conquest ones. The relative time span over which they emerged (perhaps a few generations) may have been similar but the absolute date and the underlying processes were different. The post-Conquest villages were the centres of an immigrant population settled deliberately in order to work the newly-founded manors. The pre-Conquest villages were communities of the indigenous population trying to produce enough to feed themselves and the ecclesiastical masters.

The influence of the church on the pattern of agricultural exploitation has been explored by G.R.J. Jones. He has identified a type of land which is known as tir corddlan or nucleal land. This is often found in the vicinity of the more important ancient settlements, notably those which in some way - perhaps politically or religiously - served as a focus for the community⁷⁷. Jones has identified tir corddlan adjacent to the church of Llanynys in Clwyd, where strips survive in the fields. This land and its tenants was alienated from a larger holding and donated to the church some time in the early medieval period. It appears that a number of bond-communities were attached to the land and their produce, and later revenues, were assigned to support a clas community of twenty four members, headed by an abbot⁷⁸. The best opportunities for

⁷⁷G.R.J. Jones, 'Post-Roman Wales', in H.P.R. Finberg, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, volume 1 part 2, AD 43 - 1042, 1972, pp. 340 - 2.

⁷⁸G.R.J. Jones, 'The Llanynys Quillets: a Measure of Landscape Transformation in North Wales', Transactions of the
(Footnote continued)

the survival of tir corddlan are thought, by Jones, to have been in the nuclei of settlement around older churches, particularly if the glebe remained fragmented and intermingled with the lands of others⁷⁹. It is possible that the extensive areas of strip fields around the villages of Bishopston, Oystermouth and Rhossili are the remains of tir corddlan, established in the early medieval period to support clas communities associated with the early monasteries known to have existed in both areas.

If this is the case then there should be evidence for fragmented glebe lands in these areas at a late date. An investigation of the nature of the glebe lands of southern Gower strengthens the view that dispersal was characteristic of the glebe lands of Bishopston and Rhossili in the late eighteenth century. The degree of fragmentation is a relative measure and hence it is unfortunate that the same quantity and quality of evidence is not available for every parish in the study area. Whilst the situation that the evidence portrays may reflect the survival of the evidence, it does show that dispersed glebe lands existed in Bishopston and Rhossili c. 1720, whereas consolidation was characteristic of glebe lands in the non-ecclesiastical Nicholaston and Penmaen in the very late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The glebe lands in Nicholaston had been united into one large farm - Glebe Farm - by 1782⁸⁰. The same situation existed in Penmaen, where Rectory Farm, another large, *compact* holding, is first recorded in the tithe map, dated 1844⁸¹. This compact holding cannot always have existed. The tithe maps show that the glebe was then concentrated in the area of the earlier Eastern Field (Figure 7.9.) Thus some of the land in the glebe in the nineteenth century was part of John Bloncaynel's land in c. 1320. A compact area of glebe land is not to be found in

(continued)

Denbighshire Historical Society, 13, 1964, pp. 149 - 50.

⁷⁹G.R.J. Jones, 'Field Systems of North Wales', in A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, eds., Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles, 1973, pp. 471 - 2.

⁸⁰WGARO: D/DP 815.

⁸¹NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Penmaen.

Bishopston. By the time of the Bishopston tithe map (also dated 1844) there were two main concentrations of glebe land: one in the village and the other over two miles away in the north of the parish⁸². Further information as to the composition of the glebe is to be found in a terrier of 1721⁸³. In addition to various monetary dues, a tenth of all wool shorn, tithes of agricultural produce and all the marketable cheese that could be made from the cows' milk drawn on the last days of May, June and July, the church had thirty one acres of land in at least eight separate, distinct parcels. The Rhossili terrier, of 1720, also contains brief details of the glebe land. It records that there were "twenty acres of tillable land, in eight several fields."⁸⁴. Hence it would appear that Jones's conditions for the indentification of possible tir corddian lands - fragmenatation of the glebe at a relatively late date - is met in both Bishopston and Rhossili.

Finally this discussion will examine two other areas of strip fields, both in the study area. The extent of strip fields forms a continuum. There were vast stretches of open field such as Bishopston, Oystermouth and Rhossili, small areas of open field, for example at Nicholaston and Penmaen, and finally blocks of no more than a few strips such as at Cefn Bychan and at Pwll-y-froga and Wernllath, near Killay, on the eastern edge of the study area. All areas are basically similar, but there are two important, interlinked differences: the extent of the land lying in strips and the proximity of these strips to the settlement. At Bishopston, Rhossili and Oystermouth there are hundreds of acres of strip field with the furthest strips lying a mile or more from the nearest village. At the other end of the scale lie small groups of a few strips immediately adjacent to farms. The strip fields near Killay are clearly visible on a map prepared to accompany a sale catalogue in 1907⁸⁵. The few strips at Cefn Bychan were recorded on the tithe map of 1847⁸⁶. (Figure 7.14)

⁸²NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Bishopston.

⁸³WGARO: D/D MG 12.

⁸⁴NLW Ms.: Church in Wales SD/Misc/733.

⁸⁵UCSA: Graham Vivian Collection A 16.

⁸⁶ NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Llanrhidian Higher.

Fig 7.14 a: Strip fields in southern Killay, 1907.

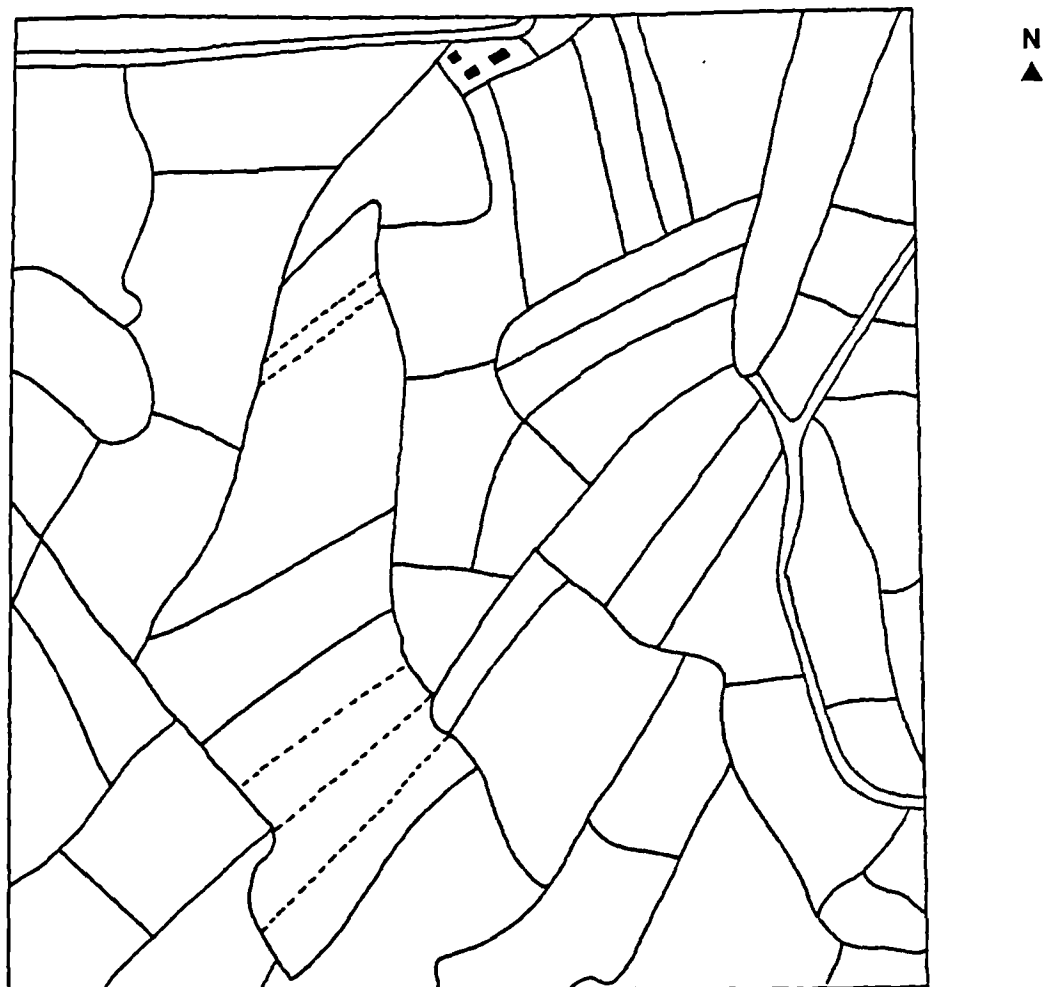
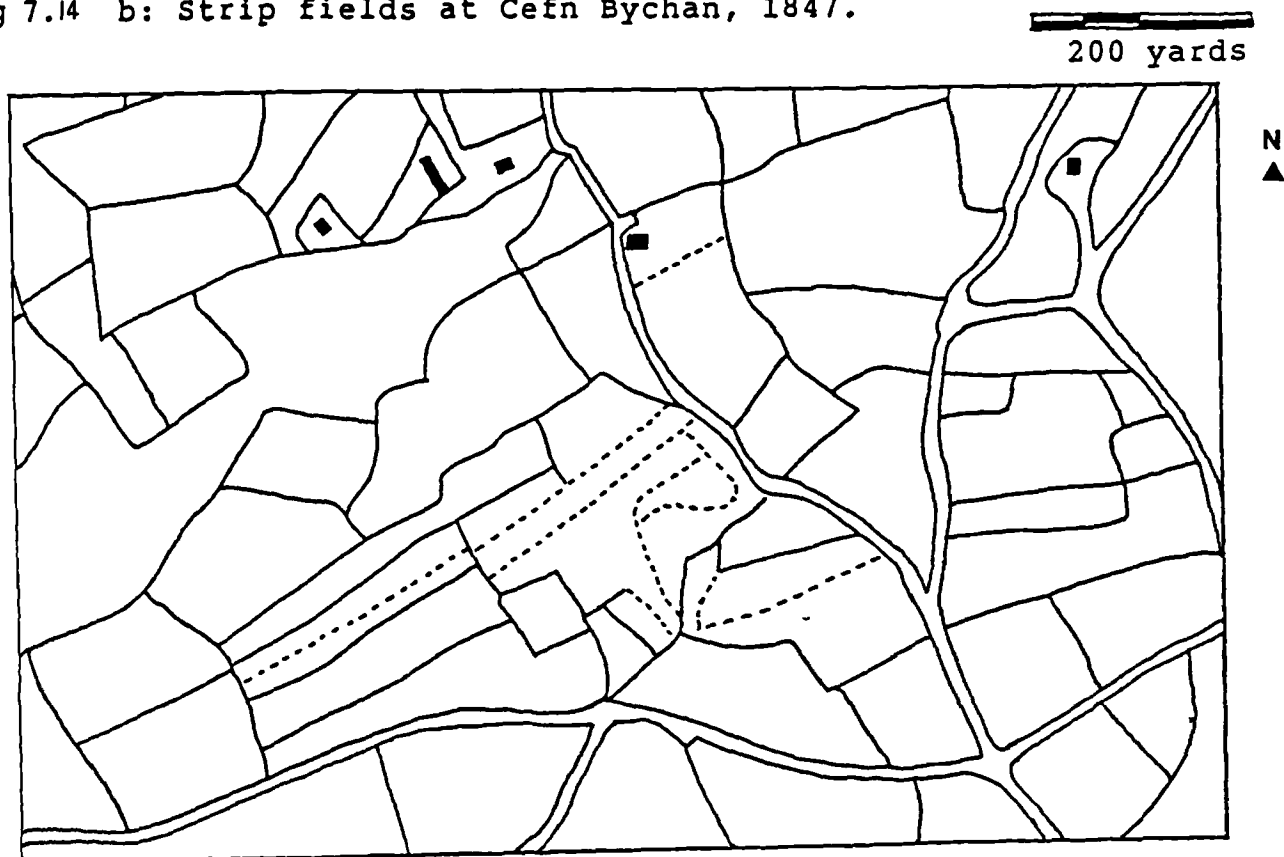


Fig 7.14 b: Strip fields at Cefn Bychan, 1847.



This author believes that these differences are of importance in trying to understand the evolution of the village communities in the early medieval period. The large areas of strips were thought to have been tir corddlan, the smaller areas are likely to have been tir cyfrif (or "reckoned land.") Jones argues that this was the uninheritable land of the community which was held by villein tenure and on which dispersed dwellings or single farmsteads were to be found⁸⁷. The similarity between the field shapes in both areas is probably the result of the use of the same ploughing technique. A plough with a mouldboard is known, from the lawbooks, to have been in use in early medieval Wales⁸⁸. It is likely that the deployment of this type of plough led to long, thin fields so as to minimize the difficult procedure of turning at the furrow ends⁸⁹.

Despite the morphological similarity there was a functional difference between tir corddlan and tir cyfrif. The former existed to supply the demands of the powerful monastic clas communities, the latter to supply individual farmers and their families. It appears that in the areas which were supporting these monastic communities nucleated settlement existed, with each settlement perhaps forming the base for a number of families who worked the land in order to supply the clerics who were either resident in that community or at some other near-by location. Elsewhere there were likely to have existed numerous small, independent farms, each supporting no more than its resident family. The change from tir cyfrif to tir corddlan, and the associated change in the settlement pattern, appears to have taken place at numerous places at various times between the sub-Roman period and the eighth century. The change was the result of the donation of multiple estates comprising communities of farmers and their agricultural land to the church, with the accompanying change

⁸⁷ Jones, op. cit., 1972, p. 326.

⁸⁸ ibid., p. 367.

⁸⁹ M. Nightingale, 'Ploughing and Field Shape', Antiquity, 27, 1953, p. 26.

from secular to ecclesiastical ownership of the land. It is this process which has been examined in detail by Wendy Davies⁹⁰ which led to the emergence of some of the early nucleations in south east Wales.

There are two examples of this type of change which parallel the case studies of Bishopston and Rhossili. In north Wales G.R.J. Jones has stated that the strip-like lands of Arfon, in north Wales, were originally tir cyfrif, and that they were subsequently donated to the church by the secular lord of the region. This change may have happened as early as the fifth to seventh centuries, and is likely to have been associated with the foundation of a monastic community here⁹¹. J.K. Knight has identified a similar transformation in the Vale of Glamorgan. He has argued that part of the text of the Vita Cadoci preserves a record of the pattern of the agricultural exploitation of a monastic community in the pre-Conquest period⁹². A community of 36 canons is thought to have existed with 80 acres of land set aside and worked by the lay community for the benefit of itself and those canons. He has identified many of the places referred to in the text and they lie within the parish of Lllancarfan. In this parish there were, in the later medieval period, eight small hamlets and one main village; around each settlement there was an area of strip field. In their essential elements - numerous settlements surrounded by open fields and the presence of a clas community - the settlement pattern and ecclesiastical history of Lllancarfan, Rhossili and Bishopston are identical. The impact of the clas appears to have been of fundamental importance in the initiation of nucleation, with a characteristic resulting pattern which can be used today to identify areas of possible

⁹⁰For example: W.E. Davies, 'Land and Power in Early Medieval Wales', Past and Present, 81, p. 7; W.E. Davies, An early Welsh Microcosm, 1978, pp. 42 - 3.

⁹¹G.R.J. Jones, 'Early Settlement in Arfon: the Setting of Tre'r Ceiri', Transaction of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society, 24, passim.

⁹²J.K. Knight, 'Sources for the Early History of Morgannwg: Landscape and Land Use: Lllancarfan and the Vita Cadoci', Glamorgan County History, volume 2, Early Glamorgan, 1984, pp. 395 - 8.

early nucleation in south east Wales.

7.6: Conclusion.

This chapter has provided a detailed case study of the evolution of the settlement pattern in one area: eastern Gower. The study was carried out in a retrospective fashion with "newer" elements being examined before "older" ones. A hedge-dating study showed that the dispersed settlements of north Gower appeared to have been founded between the fourteenth and seventeenth century. The excavation and site catchment analysis of one site - Llanelen - showed that these sites had a diverse economic base with farming practices carried out alongside the manufacture or extraction of certain commodities, such as pottery, bloomery iron or coal. The notion of this area as economically "marginal" is not substantiated, rather it should be thought of as economically "different" to south Gower.

The later sections of this chapter have looked at the pattern of agricultural activity in the southern part of the study area. Some of the villages of this area appear to have been founded after the Norman conquest and with the aim of exploiting the arable land which formed the basis of the new manors. The immigration into this area is thought not to have been centrally controlled. Hence the villages of south central Gower - such as Nicholaston and Penmaen - are not planned like the Norman villages of midland Pembrokeshire. A contrast also exists between the pattern of villages and manors in the south west and south east of the study area. One village per manor was the pattern in the south west, whereas in the south eastern area of Bishopston and Oystermouth there are seven villages in two manors. It is argued that the settlement pattern here originated long before the Conquest. It is thought to have been due to the granting of the land to the church and the foundation of a clas community. The conversion of land from tir cyfrif to tir corddian would have followed, with the establishment of numerous small villages on this land as settlements nucleated in order to produce more to meet the demands of the clas. In Gower as in Llan-y-Crwys, (examined in chapter 6) the church appears to have wielded great power over the ordinary people and hence over the landscape.

At least two processes appear to have moulded the nucleated settlement pattern of eastern Gower: the establishment of Norman manorial centres and the foundation of monastic estates. With caution the results of the two processes can be distinguished. Usually, there appears to be a pattern of one manor one village in areas where Norman settlement was planted; this is often accompanied by a modest area of now-enclosed open field. In the ecclesiastical estates there are usually several settlement nuclei and vast areas of former strip field. This chapter has demonstrated the complexity of landscape evolution and has examined in detail two of the fundamental processes involved, the next case study will return to the study of the third process with a fuller consideration of village plantation.

Chapter 8: The making of the mid-Pembrokeshire landscape.

The second case study, and the final major chapter of this work, returns to an earlier theme: the plantation of villages along the Norman-Celtic frontier (the Landsker) in midland Pembrokeshire. After the morphological analysis had been carried out in Chapter 3 it was noted that a line of villages appeared to have been planted here. All these villages were knights' fees, and their inhabitants were required to perform military service along the Landsker. The Landsker is also marked by a line of mottes (Figure 5.1.) It was proposed that Flemish settlers were deliberately brought into the region as part of a campaign to stabilise this volatile frontier. It was argued that this was done on the instructions of Henry I, who held the cantrefws of Rhos and Daugleddau after they had been forfeited by Arnulf de Montgomery following the Bellême rebellion. Various chroniclers - including Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury and those of the Annales Cambriae - agree that the influx of Flemish settlers took place c. 1110.

The Landsker is part of a wide zone rather than a definite boundary. The area was stricto sensu a march. The characteristic outer orientation of frontiers is clearly visible: the system of mottes, planted villages and knights' fees were aimed at guarding the area from an attack from the north. The transition from frontier to boundary was a gradual one. By the fifteenth century the divisions had become legally institutionalised into the Englishry and the Welshry. Some trace of the earlier pattern remained: there was still an area where both the English and Welsh languages could be heard between the two monoglot areas (Figure 5.5) and the Norman plantation of Letterston lies some miles beyond the boundary in the Welshry.

This chapter will look at the process of settlement plantation - one of the most interesting characteristics of the frontier - in detail. In order to do this a comparative approach has been adopted. The planted settlements of other parts of northern and eastern Europe will be reviewed and then compared and contrasted with those of this area.

Section 8.1 : Planted settlement in northern and eastern Europe.

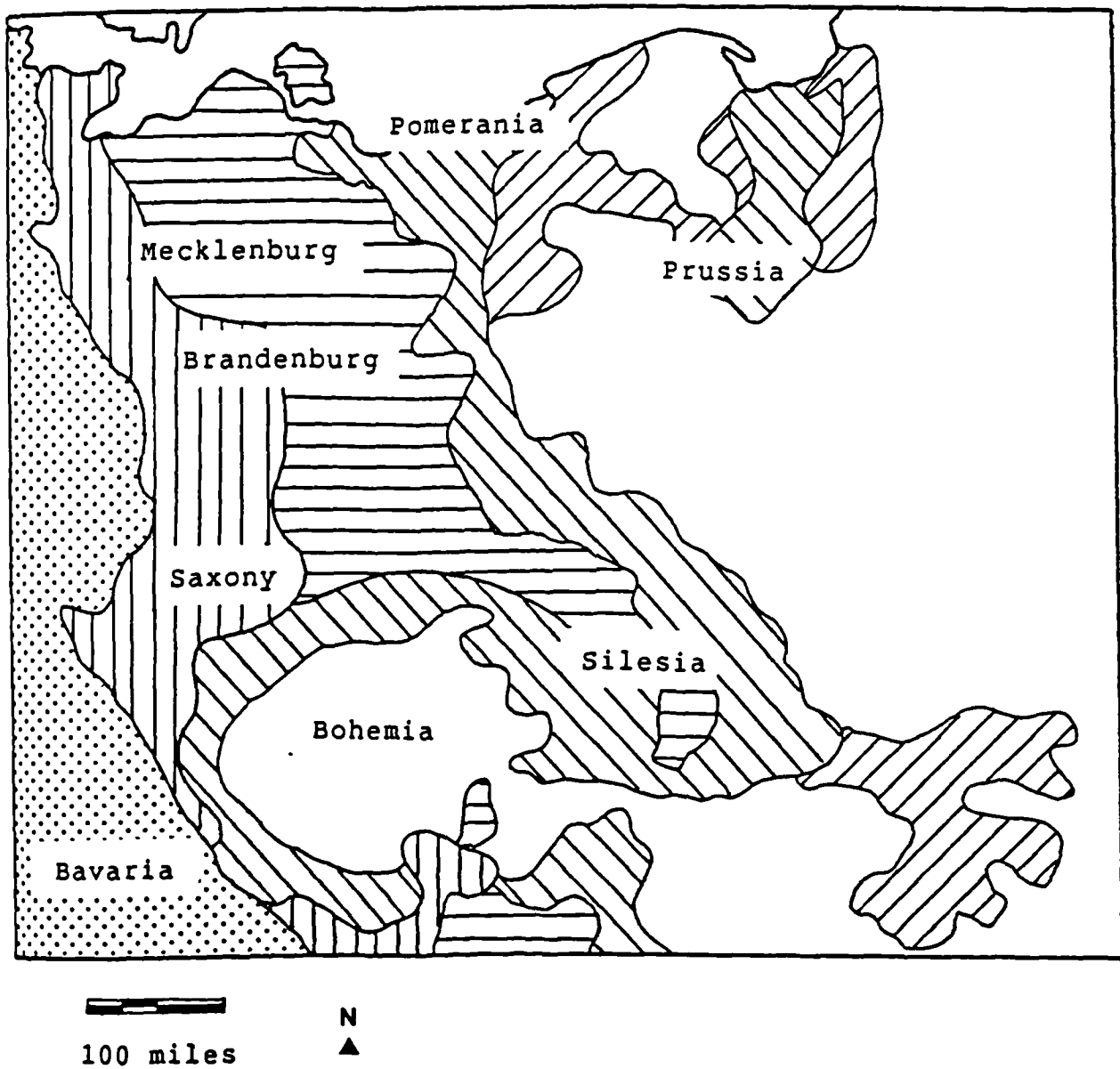
One of the aims of this chapter is, as was stated above, to place the planted settlements of west Wales in their wider European context. There are four areas of planted settlement which will be taken into account here: the villages founded by the Germanic communities as they expanded into eastern Europe from the eighth century onwards, the bourgs ruraux of tenth to fourteenth century Normandy, the rural boroughs of Ireland which were established after the Norman Conquest in the late twelfth century and the planted villages of northern Britain.

One of the largest movements of population in the medieval period was from the Germanic lands into eastern Europe. The movement appears to have started as early as the last three decades of the eighth century, when Charlemagne directed the settlement of Frankish farmer-soldiers along the eastern border of the recently expanded Frankonian empire¹. This movement was at its peak in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the movement of people is summarised in Figure 8.1². This clearly shows the migration eastwards from across the Elbe, through the Harz Mountains and the Thuringian Forest, spreading along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea and down towards the Carpathian Mountains. The exclusion of Bohemia seems curious as Gojda has argued for the twelfth and thirteenth century colonization of the slopes and lower mountain lands by Germanic peoples, and the fourteenth century expansion from these settlements into the sub-montane area³.

¹H.-J. Nitz, 'Feudal Woodland Colonisation as a Strategy of the Carolingian Empire in the Conquest of Saxony', in B.K. Roberts and R.E. Glasscock, eds., Villages, Fields and Frontiers, 1983, pp. 171 - 3.

²R. Koebener, 'The Settlement and Colonisation of Europe', in M.M. Postan, ed., The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, volume 1, The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages, 1966, second edition, p.86; H. Aubin, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime - the Lands East of the Elbe and German Colonisation Eastwards', ibid., p. 462 and pp. 471 - 2; J. Rutkowk, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime - Poland, Lithuania and Hungary', ibid., p. 502. The map is based on that of W. Kuhn as reproduced by A. Mayhew, Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany, 1973, p. 51.

Fig. 8.1 : The German colonisation of eastern Europe.



Key:

- Indigenous German lands -
- New settlement 1100 - 1200 -
- New settlement 1200 - 1250 -
- New settlement 1250 - 1300 -
- New settlement 1300 - 1400 -



The settlement of eastern Europe appears to have been well-controlled. The whole process was under the direction of locatores⁴. They were entrusted with the task of finding people and moving them to the new settlements. In many cases they were expected to bear the cost of the move, the maintenance of the settlers until the first harvest and the provision of houses, a church, mills and other facilities. It is not surprising therefore that some of the colonisation was organised by institutions which possessed large amounts of capital, for example the Cistercian Order and the Knights Templar. Both were active in forest areas of the eastern North European Plain and the Danube Basin. Locatores received good rewards for the risks they undertook. These included a plot of land (usually much larger than that offered to the other colonists and sometimes tithe-free), a proportion - varying between a third and two thirds - of the profits of the courts and certain monopolies. These locatores' rights of monopoly were associated with the colonists' demands for access to markets. Some locatores also sought limited commercial privileges - for example the right to hold an annual fair - which were often elsewhere reserved for places with markets or for boroughs. The ordinary settlers received favourable terms too. In the north they were guaranteed certain immunities, freedoms and personal protection. They were also exempted from the ius ducale (heavy burdens of services which the indigenous population were expected to perform for the monarchy, their overlords and the church⁵.) The villages laid out by the locatores were linear and regular in plan. These Hufendörfer are the dominant form of village in many of the colonised areas, for example in the Ordensland of Prussia and along the Baltic seaboard⁶.

The pattern of village foundation - as represented by the establishment of bourgs ruraux - in Normandy has been

³M. Gojda, 'Medieval Settlement in Bohemia', address delivered to the Society for Medieval Archaeology, 1988.

⁴R.C. Hoffmann's study Land, Liberties and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside, 1989, did not become available in the University of Leicester's library until after the author had submitted this thesis. It deals with the Germanic settlement of one area of eastern Europe, the Duchy of Wroclaw, equidistant from Berlin and Krakow, and examines the role of the locator in detail (pp. 73 - 92.)

studied in great detail by Lucien Musset⁷. He was not the first to discover the existence of burgage tenure in rural areas; the concept was referred to by Généstal at the turn of the century⁸. There are several types of bourgs; these have been broken down into bourgs suburbains, bourgs ruraux annexes de monastères and bourgs purement villageois. It is the last type that is relevant to this analysis. Much of the French work emphasises the role of the bourg as a market centre. Latouche has gone as far as to state that the most important characteristic of bourg is the possession of a market or fair, and this has been echoed by Piletta⁹. Yet there are as the above classification shows a type of bourg which have been described thus: "ils sont purement ruraux." In the eleventh century first mention is made of 18 bourgs in Haute-Normandie and 29 in Basse-Normandie; of these 27 appear to have been bourgs ruraux. At least 20 bourgs ruraux are first recorded in the following century and of the 140 bourgs known by 1300 between 65 and 70 of them "se trouvaient dans des localités purement rurales."¹⁰

One example of a bourg rural is St. Martin-des-Bois in the Calvados region. Here there may have been sufficient land attached to the community for it to have supported itself

⁵P. Knoll, 'Economic and Political Institutions on the Polish-German Frontier in the Middle Ages', in R. Bartlett and A. MacKay, eds., Medieval Frontier Societies, 1989, p. 160.

⁶Mayhew, op. cit., pp. 66 - 8.

⁷L. Musset, 'Une Transformation du Régime Seigneurial: l'Essor des Bourgs Ruraux Normands (XI - XIIe Siècles)', Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger, 1948, pp. 169 - 70; 'Recherches sur les Bourgs et les Bourgs Ruraux du Bocage Normand', Le Pays Bas-Normand, 53, 1960, pp. 86 - 94; 'Peuplement en Bourgage et Bourgs Ruraux en Normandie du Xe au XIIIe siècle', Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, 9, 1966, pp. 177 - 93.

⁸R. Généstal, La Tenure en Bourgage, 1900, p. 88.

⁹R. Latouche, 'Un Aspect de la Vie Rurale dans Maine au XIe et au XIIe siècle: L'Etablissement des Bourgs', Le Moyen Age, 8, series 3, 1937, p.47; F. Piletta, 'Les Bourgs du Sud du Pays d'Auge du Milieu du XIe au Milieu du XIVe Siècle', Annales de Normandie, 30, 1980, p. 230.

¹⁰The quotes are taken from Musset, op. cit., 1960, p. 89 and Musset, op. cit., 1966, p 186.

by agriculture alone. In 1291 there were 18 burgage plots comprising a total of 261 customary acres. If the figure that Musset gives for the sixteenth-century Calvados acre - about 0.8 of a hectare - can be used retrospectively, then the 261 acres were equivalent to 85 English statute acres. This is equivalent to just over four acres per burgage plot if every plot was occupied by one burgess and his dependents. The role of the burgess as a cultivator, working the land for an ecclesiastical or lay lord, seems to have been well-established in northern France in the later medieval period.

There are unfortunately several problems with this work. The French research tends to be characterised by imprecision; it is not always possible to tell which type of bourg is being referred to at any one point. The problem of vocabulary also exists. English and French institutions could have been quite different in the pre-Conquest period, yet the terms used to describe them are sometimes the same and thus an impression of similarity is created; for example some of the early Norman bourgs were small villages with an agrarian base, whilst the contemporary Anglo-Saxon burhs were fortress-towns. There are also many questions that can be asked about the origins of the bourg, and as a result there are many various answers and no one accepted over-view. The nature of continuity between pre- and post-Conquest urban centres, the date and circumstances in which bourgs were founded, the point at which and the reasons why they achieved special status and the possibility of foreign influence on bourg foundation are problems as debateable as much now as they were when they were first outlined¹¹.

Any analysis of the morphology of the bourgs ruraux has proved to be impossible. Apart from distribution maps there are no maps in the French studies of bourgs. This author has attempted his own study but without significant results. Sufficient numbers of maps of the villages of Normandy at a suitable scale are not available in Britain. A series of modern maps at a scale of 1:1000 is currently being prepared by the

¹¹J. Broussard, 'Hypothèses sur la formation de bourgs et des communes en Normandie', Annales de Normandie, 8, 1958, pp. 426 - 37.

Sous Direction de la Cadastre et de la Publicité Foncière, but they are not yet available for all areas¹². This author tried to use the current series of the 1:25,000 scale maps to examine the morphology of the suggestively named Le Neubourg and the communities of Bellême, Ste. Foy de Montgomery and St. Germain de Montgomery¹³. These three communities are believed to have been the ancestral seat of the Bellême family¹⁴. Arnulf de Montgomery, who was proposed as a possible candidate for the introduction of planned villages into Pembrokeshire, came from this family. No morphological pattern could be found. The scale of the maps made it impossible to determine the original morphology of each settlement and no similarity could therefore be seen within this small sample.

The concept of the Irish rural borough or "pseudo-borough" was first developed by Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, and the term itself was coined by Robin Glasscock¹⁵. Otway-Ruthven believed that burgess tenure, with its economic advantages, was widely used to induce settlers to migrate to Ireland. As a result there were a large number of small boroughs which were never more than villages, and which never had anything other than an agrarian economy, and yet also had the elements of an urban constitution. The use of the Custom of Breteuil guaranteed the settlers low rents, usually of 1/- a year and the use of hundred (rather than the more punitive manorial) courts to settle disputes. This along with certain personal liberties and freedoms gave settlers pecuniary

¹²Personal communication from McCarta Ltd., British Agents for the Institut Géographique National.

¹³Cartes de France, 1:25,000 sheets: 1912 (Elbeuf) est; 1817 (Mamers) est; 1713 (Livarot) est and ouest, 1714 (Vimoutiers) est and ouest.

¹⁴L.C. Lloyd, Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families, 1951, pp. 68 - 9 .

¹⁵A.J. Otway-Ruthven, The character of Norman settlement in Ireland, Historical Studies, 5, 1965, pp. 77 - 9; A.J. Otway-Ruthven, A History of Medieval Ireland, second edition, 1980, pp. 116 - 8; R.E. Glasscock, 'The study of deserted medieval settlements in Ireland', in M.W. Beresford and J.G. Hurst, eds., Deserted Medieval Villages, 1971, pp. 279 - 97; R.E. Glasscock, 'Land and People, c. 1300', in A. Cosgrove, ed., A New History of Ireland, volume 2, Medieval Ireland, 1169 - 1534, p. 223.

advantages. These boroughs were not towns, in the economic, as opposed to the legal sense; only limited and localised trade is likely to have occurred there. Frequently the burgesses owed some labour services on the lord's demesne, for example, in 1415 - 16 the tenants of Ballyboe, Co. Tipperary, owed the lord fifteen days work a year.

There is some evidence for the regular lay-out of the Irish rural boroughs. Glasscock has made use of the first edition of the 6" Ordnance Survey maps of the 1840s in order to discover isolated castle and church sites and has followed this up with field work and the study of air photographs (if available) in order to see if regular earthworks can be found. In this way he discovered the planned settlement of Kiltinan, Co. Tipperary. Burgesses are known to have resided there in 1308 and it is recorded in the list of Tipperary boroughs of 1437. The earthworks were destroyed by ploughing in 1978. Prior to this the settlement appeared to have a regular plan with roads marked by well-defined hollow-ways. (Figure 8.2.) The situation at other sites is much poorer. At Glenogra, Co. Limerick, there are only slight indications of earthworks; and at Newton Earls, Co. Kilkenny, a hollow-way leads from the church down to the river and there are indications of house sites lining this. There is no evidence for the plans of the presumed rural boroughs of Ardscull, Co. Kildare, Greencastle, Co. Down, and Leix and Kilmaclenie, both in Co. Cork.

The planted villages of County Durham and Yorkshire were described earlier in this thesis. It has been argued by Brian Roberts and June Sheppard that these villages, characterised by their regular morphological lay-out, were deliberately planted after the "Harrying of the North."¹⁶ Recent criticisms of the origin of some village plans should not be taken as a refutation of widespread village plantation. Camphey has argued that a few regular lay-outs result from the cumulative effect of polyfocal development over time, yet she supports the use of relatively modern maps to examine the possibility of deliberate village planning and accepts the

¹⁶B.K. Roberts, 'Village plans in County Durham: a Preliminary Statement', Medieval Archaeology, 16, -pp. 33 - 56; J.A. Sheppard, 'Metrological Analysis of Regular Village Plans in Yorkshire', Agricultural History Review, 22, pp. 118 - 35.

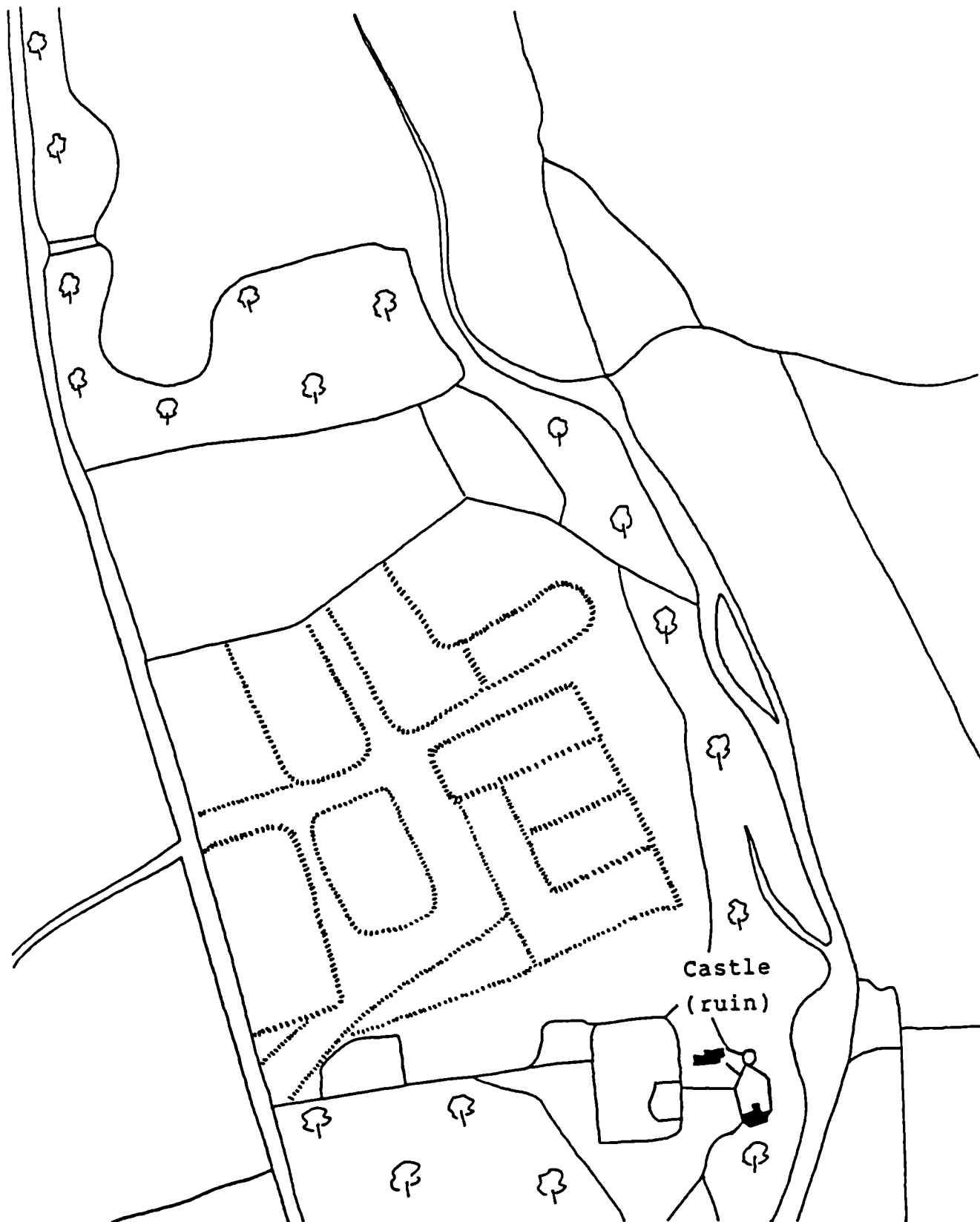


Fig. 8.2: The earthworks of the deserted medieval village of Kiltinan, Co. Tipperary.

200 yards

Heavily wooded area

This sketch map is based upon both the first and the second editions of the OS 6": 1 mile map of Co. Tipperary, sheet 70.

results that Roberts has obtained in this way as valid¹⁷. Planted villages can be found in the north west of England too. In the Fylde of Lancashire, A.J.L. Winchester has noted a concentration of regular village plans; for example Newton, Hardhorn and Elswick. All but sixteen of the vills in this area were waste in 1086 and hence any foundations in this area are likely to be, at the earliest, late eleventh century in date¹⁸. They may have been founded in the later twelfth or thirteenth centuries as Winchester has argued for a wave of colonisation running through the area between c. 1150 and c. 1300. Roberts has examined the village plans of Cumberland and has argued that the numerous regular row villages of the county date from 1092, when as the Anglo Saxon Chronicle records, William Rufus ordered the re-settlement of the area after the expulsion of Dolfin and his followers¹⁹. Both Roberts's and Winchester's dates are open to critical examination. For example, in Gilsland (Cumberland) the native lord resisted the Norman advances until c. 1156. The planned village of Cumwhitton ought, if Roberts's argument is correct, to date later than this. Hence it would appear that village plantation was not a once-and-for-all procedure adopted in 1092. Furthermore, it could also be argued that the planned villages of the north west date much later than this. It is not impossible that they were the re-foundations of villages which had been destroyed after the Scots raids of 1316, 1322 or 1345.

The settlement pattern of Cumberland and Westmorland - so B.K. Roberts argues - displays four distinctive phases of growth²⁰. These are a substratum of native British developments, the results of the Anglo-Saxon influx (which he dates to the earlier tenth-century,) the tenth century Scandinavian settlement and the establishment of sponsored settlements following the Norman acquisition of military

¹⁷ L.H. Camphey, 'Medieval Village plans in County Durham: an Analysis of Reconstructed Plans Based on Medieval Documentary Sources', Northern History, 25, 1989, p. 60.

¹⁸ A.J.L. Winchester, Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria, 1987, pp. 5 - 6.

¹⁹ B.K. Roberts, The Making of the English Village, 1987, pp. 173 - 4.

²⁰ B.K. Roberts, 'Nucleation and Dispersion: Distribution Maps as a Research Tool', in M. Aston, D. Austin and C.C. Dyer, eds., The Rural Settlements of Medieval England, 1989, pp. 59 - 75.

control after 1092. He believes that the Eden - Eamont confluence was deliberately settled, in the late eleventh century, for strategic reasons. Men such as Gamel and Glasson (the founders, respectively, of Gamblesby and Glassonby) were - he maintains - deliberately employed as locatores. It must be noted that Roberts admits that in the "absence of hard evidence" such a proposal is only "speculation." These locatores appear to have included Flemings, for example Gueri, whose name is deceptively preserved in Willow Holm.

Other Flemings were active in Cumberland a generation later. Michael the Fleming and Turgis Brundis, Lord of Liddel, both received land from Henry I sometime after 1120. These two men appear to have been exceptional; most of the remaining landholders were either natives or from Lower Normandy and Brittany²¹. This area had been Henry I's "power base" before he became king and hence it was here that owed political debts and maintained a patronage network. Kapelle has extended this argument in a persuasive way²². He noted that the area lay above the wheat-bread line, in an area where oats and rye were the principal cereals. The nobility of Upper Normandy valued wheaten bread highly; those of Lower Normandy were less discerning. In Lower Normandy oats and rye were the common bread gains and prospective tenants were prepared to accept similar land in England.

The case study of one Cumberland settlement - Cumwhitton - demonstrates the evolution of a partly-planned village²³. The village lies, astride a small stream, about six miles east of Carlisle and three miles west of the dramatic rise in the height of the land which marks the edge of Cumrew

²¹W.E. Kapelle, The Norman Conquest of the North, 1979, pp. 212 - 3.

²²Ibid. p. 228 - 9.

²³The author is indebted to Prof. C.V. Phythian-Adams who first introduced him to Cumwhitton and to Lord William Howard's 1603 Survey of the Barony of Gilsland; University of Leicester, Dept. of English Local History, Cumberland field course, Easter 1988.

Fell. The houses that form the village lie, in the main, along one street (Figure 8.3). On the southeastern side lies St. Mary's church (which might possibly be Anglo-Saxon in date²⁴) and a small number of dwellings which are relatively late in origin. The other side of the street forms a regular row of five plots, which run for about two hundred yards down to Cumwhitton Beck. The shape of the building line shows that a triangular green may have once lain at the southeastern end of the village; no trace of it now remains. At the head of the street lies The Townend which comprises two large farms - one called Demesne Farm - and the vicarage. The Demesne Farm appears to have formed the original settlement in the area and was the focus of the lord's power and of economic activity; hence it can aptly be termed a "magnate core." The date of this farm is unknown; it may have been the original Celtic settlement in the area which was seized by the Normans, or alternatively it may have been founded as an immediate result of the capture of the area. To this was added the planned row as the lord imported labour to work the surrounding land. Finally the irregular row developed around the church on the then "empty" side of the village.

Planted villages also exist in southern Scotland. Some of these villages' placenames include Flemish personal names²⁵. These names include Wizo (in Wiston and, perhaps, Wyseby) and Tancard (in Thankerton; there are two settlements with this name in Lanarkshire.) It is thought that these place-names are unlikely to date to before c. 1100. Barrow argues that the Flemish settlement of Clydesdale may have taken place between c. 1150 to c. 1250²⁶. His maps of this process are reproduced as Figures 8.4 a and b. A date early in this time range for this group of villages is supported by documentary evidence. Wizo donated the church of Wiston to the monks of Kelso some time between 1153 and 1159²⁷ and Tancard received his grant of land from Malcolm IV between 1153 and

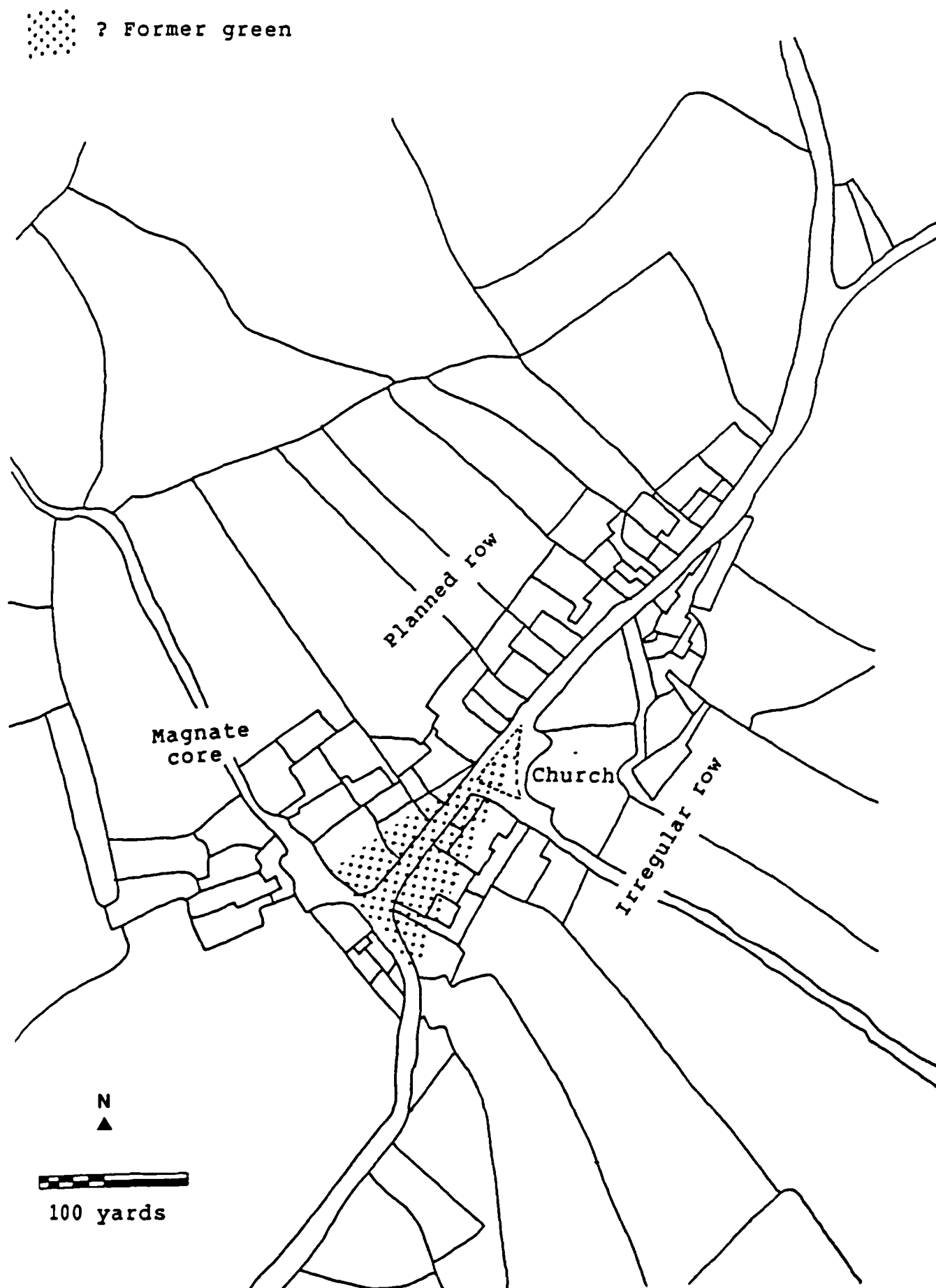
²⁴N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England - Cumberland and Westmorland, 1967, p. 116. It is not included in H. Taylor and J. Taylor, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 3 volumes, 1965 - 1978.

²⁵G.W.S. Barrow, The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History, 1980, pp. 35 - 46.

²⁶ibid., pp. 111 - 12.

²⁷W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Scottish Place-names, 1976, p. 38.

Fig. 8.3: Morphological analysis of Cumwhitton.



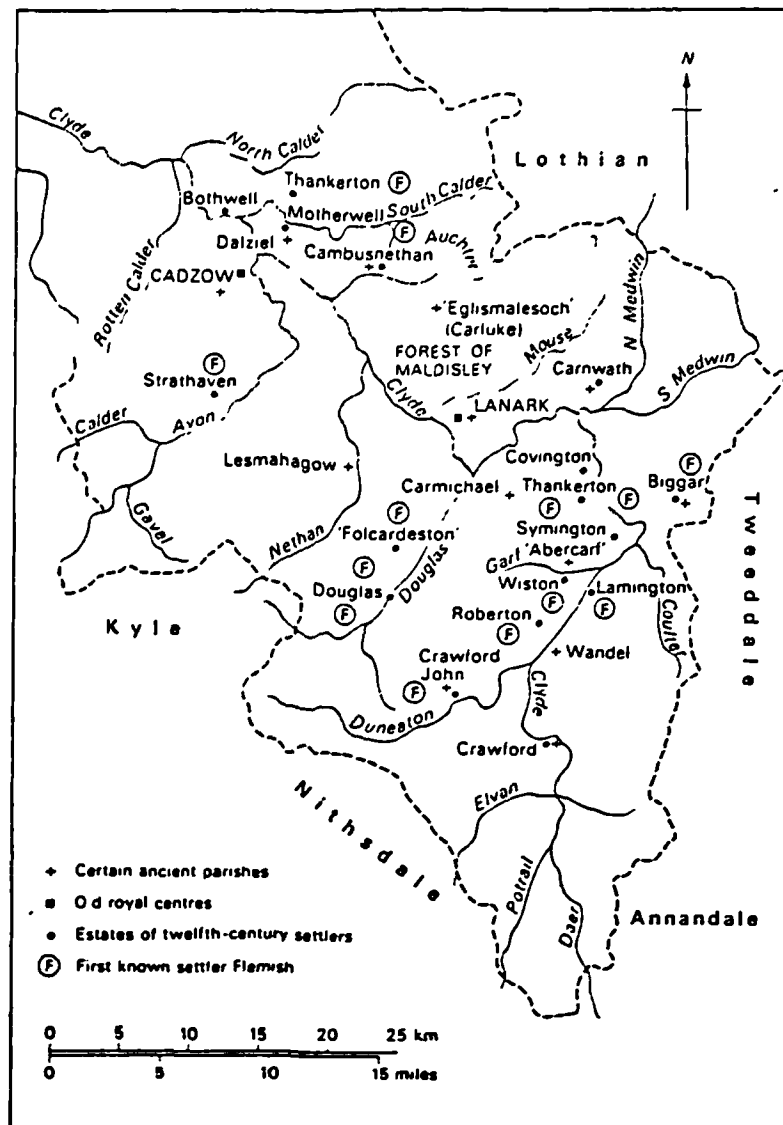


Figure 8.4b: Twelfth century settlement in the Upper and Middle Wards of Clydesdale.

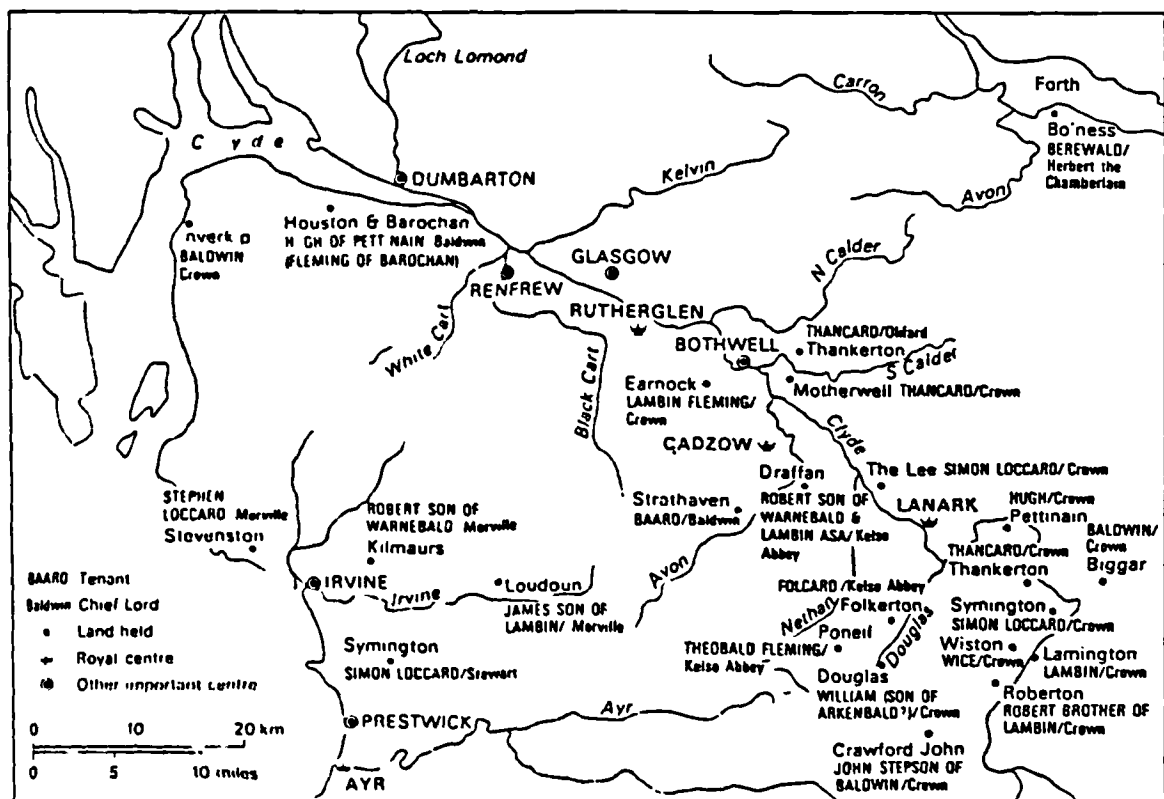


Figure 8.4a: Flemish settlement in southern Scotland, before 1214.

1165²⁸.

A brief study of the morphology of two of these villages was carried out; no conclusive results were achieved. The landscape around Wiston is extremely regular; it looks as if it could have been laid out with a ruler and a set-square! This indeed may have been the case if the fields, forest plantations and the lands adjacent to the village and Wiston Lodge were planned in the late eighteenth century rather than the twelfth²⁹. There is some air photographic evidence for the earlier settlement pattern of this area. (Plates 8.1 a and b.) This appears to be relatively early, perhaps prehistoric, and cannot be related to the development of the medieval pattern in any coherent way. The southernmost of the two Thankertons also has a regular morphology. The construction of the Caledonian Railway and the subsequent growth of the village has to some extent obscured the original pattern. Nevertheless this author would be prepared to argue for a plan row (similar to that at Cumwhitton) on the western side of the village.

It appears that the settlement of southern Scotland followed on from the settlement of Cleveland by Flemings which took place in the middle of Henry I's reign. Tancard appears to have been active here too; before c. 1135 he is thought to have held Fylingdales, Fylinghall, Normanby and Hawsker (all of which are near Whitby in the North Riding of Yorkshire) and which, Farrer suggests, he sold to go in search of opportunities elsewhere³⁰. Regular settlements are not unknown in this general area. Mary Harvey has described many of them, but her work has been confined, in the main to the East rather than to the North Riding³¹. The villages of Low Hawsker and

²⁸G.W.S. Barrow, ed., Regesta Regum Scottorum, vol. 1, 1960, p. 285, no. 304, citing Liber S. Thome de Aberrothoc I, f. 99.

²⁹R.N. Millman, The Making of the Scottish Landscape, 1975, pp. 103 - 7.

³⁰W. Farrer, Early Yorkshire Charters, volume 2, 1915, pp. 203 - 5, no. 859 citing BL: Additional Ms. 4715, f. 6d.

³¹M. Harvey, 'Regular Fields and tenurial Arrangements in
(Footnote continued)

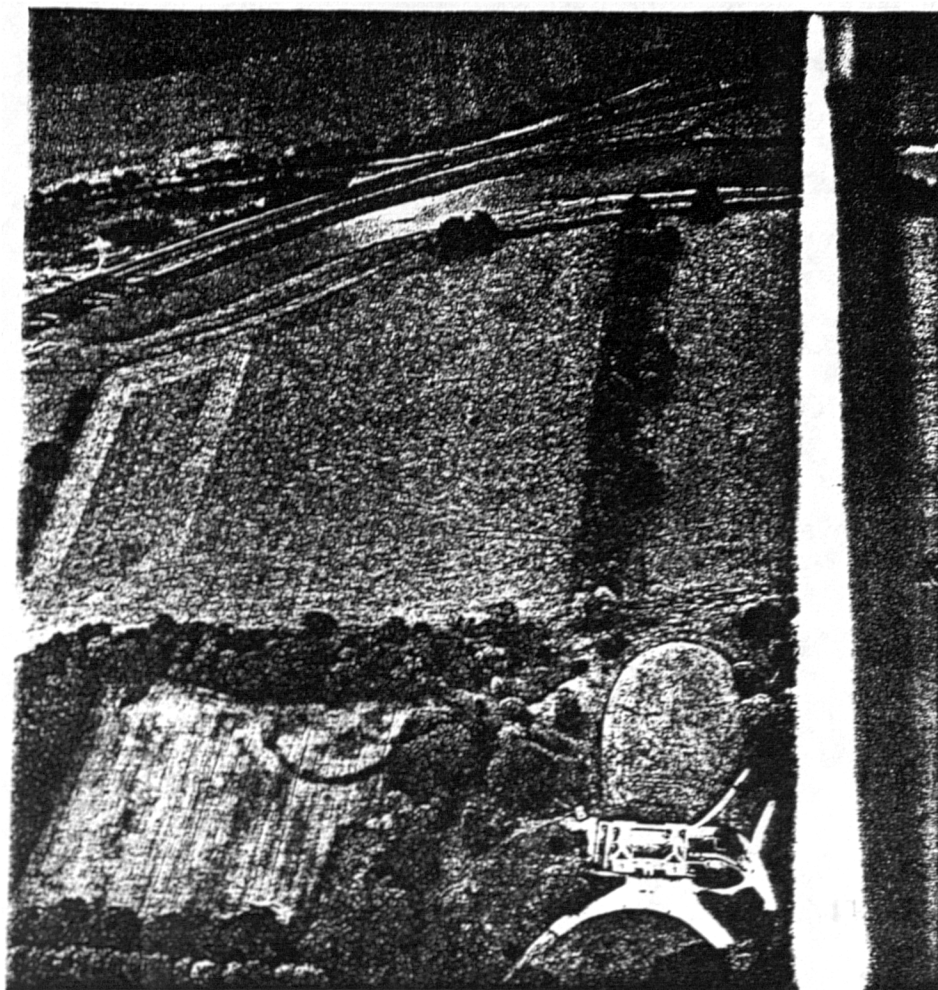


Plate 8.1 : Air photographs of early landscape features at Wiston (Lanarkshire); a (above): circular enclosure visible as a cr mark; b (below): various earthworks preserved in upland rough grassland.



Normanby both comprised possible planned rows; while nearby Sneaton is clearly planned with four regular plots lying adjacent to the church, rectory and the site of the former manor house. Figure 8.5

Some clear parallels emerge from this discussion. Regular morphology is a common feature of the planted villages of eastern Europe; it appears to exist in northern Britain and Ireland too. It might also exist in France, but there is not yet sufficient available evidence for the author to judge. Locatores were commonly used to plant villages in eastern Europe; men like Wizo and Thancard appear to have undertaken this task in parts of Britain. Finally, trade appears to be associated with the foundation of new communities. Many, but not all, of the French bourgs were trading centres; markets and fairs were demanded by the Germanic settlers of eastern Europe. A search can now be made for evidence for locatores and "peculiar" patterns of borough status and urban function in south west Wales. This search will illustrate the ways in which the planted villages of the study area both resemble and differ from those elsewhere in north western Europe.

Section 8.2: The villages of mid-Pembrokeshire in their wider context.

The above study of the European material has allowed the formulation of two important questions. These can now be posed as a part of the Pembrokeshire case-study. The questions are: were these villages given the inflated status of boroughs in order to attract settlers, i.e. were they rural boroughs? Second, were locatores employed in the foundation of these villages?

The question of the existence of rural boroughs in the study areas is fraught with difficulties. The first problem is that of definition; there is a need to specify exactly what is meant by a rural borough and to do so in a way in which the limited evidence can be used so as to indicate which settlements did or did not fall into this category. There are

(continued)

Holderness, Yorkshire', Journal of Historical Geography, 6, passim; M. Harvey, 'Regular Open Field Systems on the Yorkshire Wolds', Landscape History, 4, passim.



N ▲

Fig. 8.5: The planned village of Sneaton.



200 yards

also problems with the nature of the evidence - all of it post-dates the period of settlement, sometimes by several centuries. During this period many changes may have happened to the economic and legal framework within which the settlement existed.

In the earlier discussion of the Irish rural boroughs and the French bourgs ruraux one fundamental characteristic was referred to. This was the existence of an agricultural rather than an urban economic base. The examples cited were of communities of farmers (not manufactures or traders) who held land and owed services - often obligations of agricultural labour - to their lords. Hence the existence of relatively large areas of land attached to settlements which have an urban constitution will form the first part of the criteria used to determine whether or not any settlement was a rural borough. In some of the Welsh urban centres burgesses were allowed to hold land. In Swansea - the largest urban centre - they were allowed seven acres each³². Thus in addition to land holding it will be necessary to demonstrate that the community had an agricultural rather than an urban economy. One way in which this can be done is by examining the service obligations which were placed on burgesses to see if they include agricultural labour. A further way is to try to gauge the extent to which the community concerned participated in a wide-ranging trade network. The evidence for this trade - usually a characteristic of an urban rather than a rural economy - is the presence of a regular market, perhaps supplemented by occasional fairs.

Burgesses and burgage tenure are known to have existed at several locations other than those urban centres listed in Appendix 1. The Black Book of St. David's provides the best evidence for the existence of rural boroughs in south west Wales. It records the holdings of the bishopric in 1326 and notes the existence of burgesses in New Moat, Llawhaden and Letterston³³. Whilst Letterston receives only a brief mention, New Moat and Llawhaden are described with considerable detail.

³² J.R. Alban, ed., Swansea 1184 - 1984, 1984, p. 1 citing PRO: E 164/1 f. 478.

³³ J.W. Willis-Bund, The Black Book of St. David's, 1902, citing BL: Additional Ms. 34125.

All three appear to have had an agricultural rather than an urban economy; the main factor which, this author believes, differentiates between a town and a rural borough. There are problems with the study of both these settlements, neither is clearly regular, yet the morphology suggest that Llawhaden and, to a lesser degree, New Moat were once planned.

New Moat lies near the top of a hill with a view down the River Syfnwy; narrow wooded valleys are found to the south and east. The church lies a little distance from the village itself on the valley floor. Attached to each burgage tenement were eight acres and every burgess was obliged to spend one day per year ploughing, another harrowing and a third reaping for the lord. New Moat, it appears, was a rural borough. The results of an excavation have been used to argue that the original extent of the settlement was once far greater. The name implies that the current castle (of which there are fragmentary and insubstantial remains) was not the first one on the site and that there are remains of another somewhere nearby. A shallow ditch and a low outer bank, revealed by excavation, are presumed to be the only surviving traces of the first castle³⁴, and the borough is supposed to have lain somewhere between the two. The existence of such a large area devoted to residences is only necessary if one believes that the population of New Moat was particularly large. In fact the 89 burgage plots of 1326 were held by only 44 individuals. Burgages which included substantial amounts of land existed in New Moat in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. An inspeximus of 1297³⁵ - in which the original charter can be dated to between 1189 and 1219 by reference to the grantors: William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke and his wife Isabel³⁶ - records the gift of "a burgage with eight acres of land in the vill of Mote" to the Tironian Order. One important element of an urban economy is not found at New Moat; there is no evidence that a market was held here. No

³⁴Dyfed Archaeological Trust SMR, PRN 12978.

³⁵Calendar of Charter Rolls, volume 2, Henry III to Edward I, 1257 - 1300, 1906, p. 469 referring to PRO: C 53/18 Edw. I.

³⁶The Complete Peerage, volume 10, Oakham to Richmond, pp. 358 - 63.

mention is made of a market in a charter which lists the Bishopric's markets and fairs in 1290. There was only a three-day annual fair (6,7 and 8 December³⁷.) Thus it appears that New Moat was a rural borough; the burgess held land and performed labour services, and the economy appears to have been based on agriculture rather than manufacture and trade.

Llawhaden occupies a hillslope site on a spur of land overlooking the eastern Cleddau. In 1326 174½ burgage plots were to be found; each available at a 12 d. annual rent. These were held by 113 burgesses. Here some of the holdings were large too; the average size of a holding was over 5 acres and the largest was 22. Service obligations on the lord's demesne also existed here. The holder of a burgage was required to spend one day of each year ploughing for the lord, half a day harrowing and a further day reaping. It is not known where these burgesses lived, but on the level land surface either side of the modern main road is the most suitable place for a moderately sized settlement. The lord did not have the right to a market here either. As at New Moat, the only local trading opportunity was the two fairs which were held every year.

New Moat and Llawhaden differ from the urban centres of Pembrokeshire in three crucial ways. First the burgesses owed labour services - ploughing, harrowing and reaping - to the lord. Second they did not appear to have had markets and hence were denied the opportunity to trade on a regular or a long-distance basis. Third, the communities were much smaller. In the early fourteenth century the burgesses of New Moat and Llawhaden number 44 and 113 respectively. This can be compared with 360 burgesses at Haverford West (in 1324) and 247 in Tenby (1307³⁸.) The argument that New Moat and Llawhaden were rural boroughs has drawn almost exclusively on one very comprehensive source: The Black Book. There is no information of comparable quality or date for the rest of the planted villages. Nevertheless as it has been possible to show that two of the

³⁷ Calendar of Charter Rolls, volume 2, Henry III to Edward I, 1257 - 1300, 1906, pp. 343 - 4, referring to PRO: C 53/25 Edw. I.

³⁸ M.W. Beresford, The New Towns of the Middle Ages, 1967, p. 255 - 6.

planted communities meet the attributes of rural boroughs it appears to be worth considering the evidence for other planned settlements.

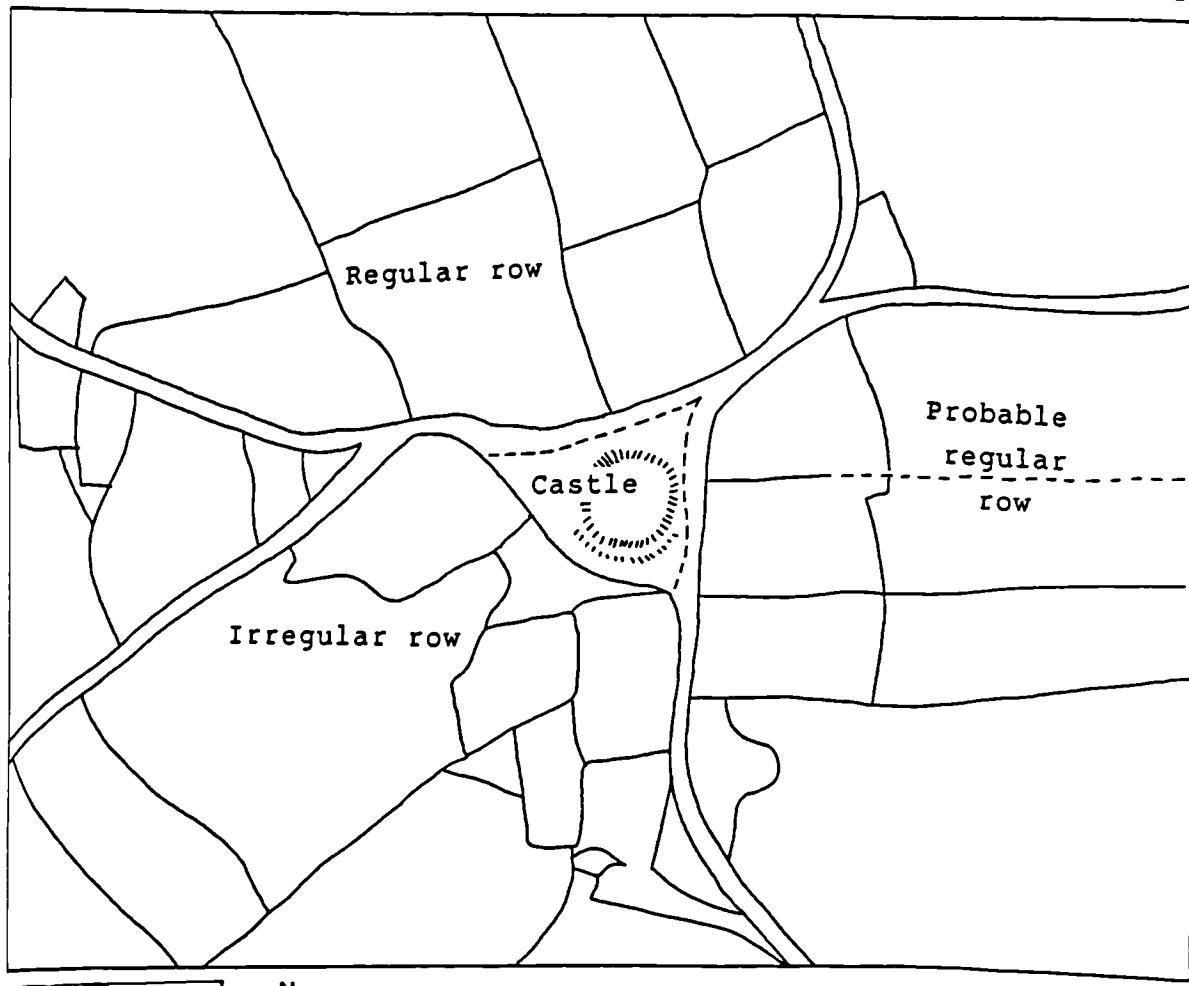
Some information on the persistence of burgage tenure until the mid-nineteenth century can be found in the tithe schedules. These documents sometimes mention burgages and burgage tenements. This term appears eleven times in the schedule for Little Newcastle³⁹. Little Newcastle is near Letterston; it stands on a small hillslope above the confluence of several small streams and is overlooked by the Ysgubor Mountain. It is a small village with a composite plan; two regular rows can be found alongside other irregular elements. (Figure 8.6a) The castle which once stood on the green was bulldozed by the local council as part of a civic amenity programme. Part of the frontage of one of the plots in one of the regular rows is referred to as a "burgage", as are four plots elsewhere in the village (Figure 8.6b) and another six plots in the parish. The detailed study of the morphology of Little Newcastle raises some problems. One regular row lies immediately to the north of the castle and a possible regular row lies to the east. To the south lies the church and between the church and the north western corner of the villages lie three burgages (as recorded in the tithe map.) The main problem is one of chronology. The planted rows and the castle can be assumed to be approximately contemporary and to date to c. 1110. To these may have been added a church (the dedication is to St. Peter, rather than to a Celtic saint) and some later settlement, which was given burgage status. Alternatively the settlement may have been here long before the conquest and the castle and planted rows added to it. All the crofts may have been granted burgage tenure which has for some complex, unknown reason only partially survived.

Templeton may also have been a rural borough. The unusual and unexplained tenure of "burgesses of the wind" (de vento) existed here in 1283⁴⁰. Templeton can hardly be considered a borough. There are, at most, 27 burgage plots and

³⁹NLW Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Little Newcastle.

⁴⁰PRO: C 133/32/7.

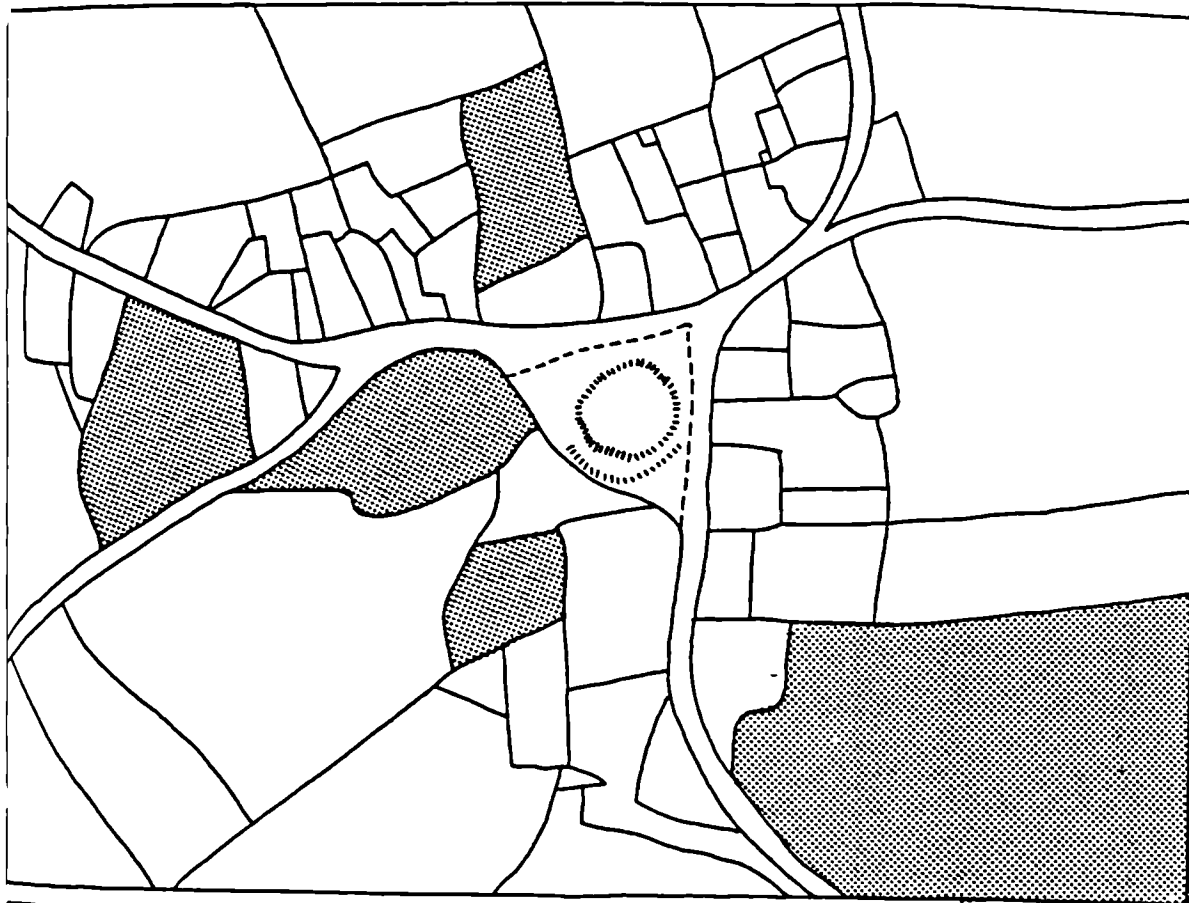
Fig. 8.6a: Little Newcastle - morphological analysis



100 yards

N
▲

Fig. 8.6b: Little Newcastle - burgage plots in 184



100 yards

N
▲

■ - Burgage

there was no market. The name suggests that the village was a foundation of the Knights Templar. This Order did plant towns, albeit very infrequently; Baldock (Herts.) is the only known English example, to which can be added La Bastide du Temple and Le Temple de Breuil in English-held Gascony⁴¹. Furthermore any lord planting a conventional borough would be doing so in the hope of raising revenue from a market, and the tolls and fines which would have accompanied it. Any hope of such at Templeton would have been in vain: it lies less than two miles from the small market town of Narberth.

A study of Wiston raises one further problem which is encountered when the proposed rural boroughs of south west Wales are scrutinised. Wiston lies on a hilltop site overlooking Fenton Brook and the upper reaches of the River Syfynwy. The principal settlement shown on the large-scale OS map was an irregular row dominated by the castle (recent developments to this plan are described below.) Immediately to the north of the castle lies a large hedgebank which is much more substantial than the others which appear to abut, but not to cut it. This feature is shown in Figure 8.7 and is clearly visible on air photographs. It runs for some distance and changes direction, through ninety degrees on three occasions. The total area enclosed is about 180 acres. This feature is - in the author's opinion - a planned boundary bank. It is broken on its south western corner where the natural landscape slopes steeply away from the enclosed area. Legally Wiston is a borough; its rights to this status were confirmed in Parliament on 23 February 1712. It had, according to Blome, a market in the late seventeenth century⁴². Yet in the early twentieth century it was nothing more than a small group of farms. It is possible that Wiston is a "failed borough", an urban centre which floundered for some unknown reason.

The argument that Wiston, with a market, was a failed borough, but that larger Llawhaden, without a market, was a rural borough demonstrates the importance of trade to the urban economy. In only a few circumstances is there evidence to show

⁴¹Beresford, op. cit., p. 133.

⁴²R. Blome, Britannia, 1673, np.



250 yards

► N

Fig. 8.7: Wiston (Pembs.) - the castle and the "boundary bank."

that burgesses owed agricultural labour services and that their borough is perhaps better considered as rural rather than urban. Unfortunately market trade is not always restricted to urban centres. There were at least fourteen markets in Pembrokeshire in the latter Middle Ages; these were supplemented by at least eighteen local fairs. (Figures 8.8 and 8.9.) In 1603 George Owen provided substantial details of Pembrokeshire markets and fairs and he recorded that nine of the former were no longer held⁴³. Not all of these markets need have taken place in urban centres. The major ones certainly would have done, but the minor ones may have taken place elsewhere. Market villages - small settlements with the right to hold an occasional market - have long been recognised in southern England⁴⁴. Territories have been added to Figure 8.8 to show that distances to market were not great. The furthest that any rural settlement lay from a market was about eight miles (equivalent to a two-hour walk.) They do not, of course, represent the areas from which the markets drew customers. This would be coloured by other factors; for example, Owen, who lived in the north of the county at Cemaes, tried to avoid the markets at St. David's and Newport "for that they be so small and badd."

This section will now consider the role of the locator in Wales and this author intends to challenge the view that locatores were not active here. The research he has undertaken for this thesis has shown that locatores were at work here, in the earliest decades of the twelfth century. It has been common to draw parallels between the Norman settlements of Ireland and Wales, and to outline the differences between Ireland and eastern Europe and, then, to use this framework to state that Wales and eastern Europe were different⁴⁵. There are claimed to be four parallels between the

⁴³G. Owen, *The Description of Penbrokeshire*, 1603, .

⁴⁴D.A. Postles, 'Markets for Rural Produce in Oxfordshire, 1086 - 1350', *Midland History*, 12, 1987, pp. 14 - 26; M. Reed, 'Markets and Fairs in Medieval Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 20, 1978, pp. 563 - 586.

⁴⁵C.A. Empey, 'Conquest and Settlement: Patterns of Anglo-Norman Settlement in North Munster and South Leinster',
(Footnote continued)

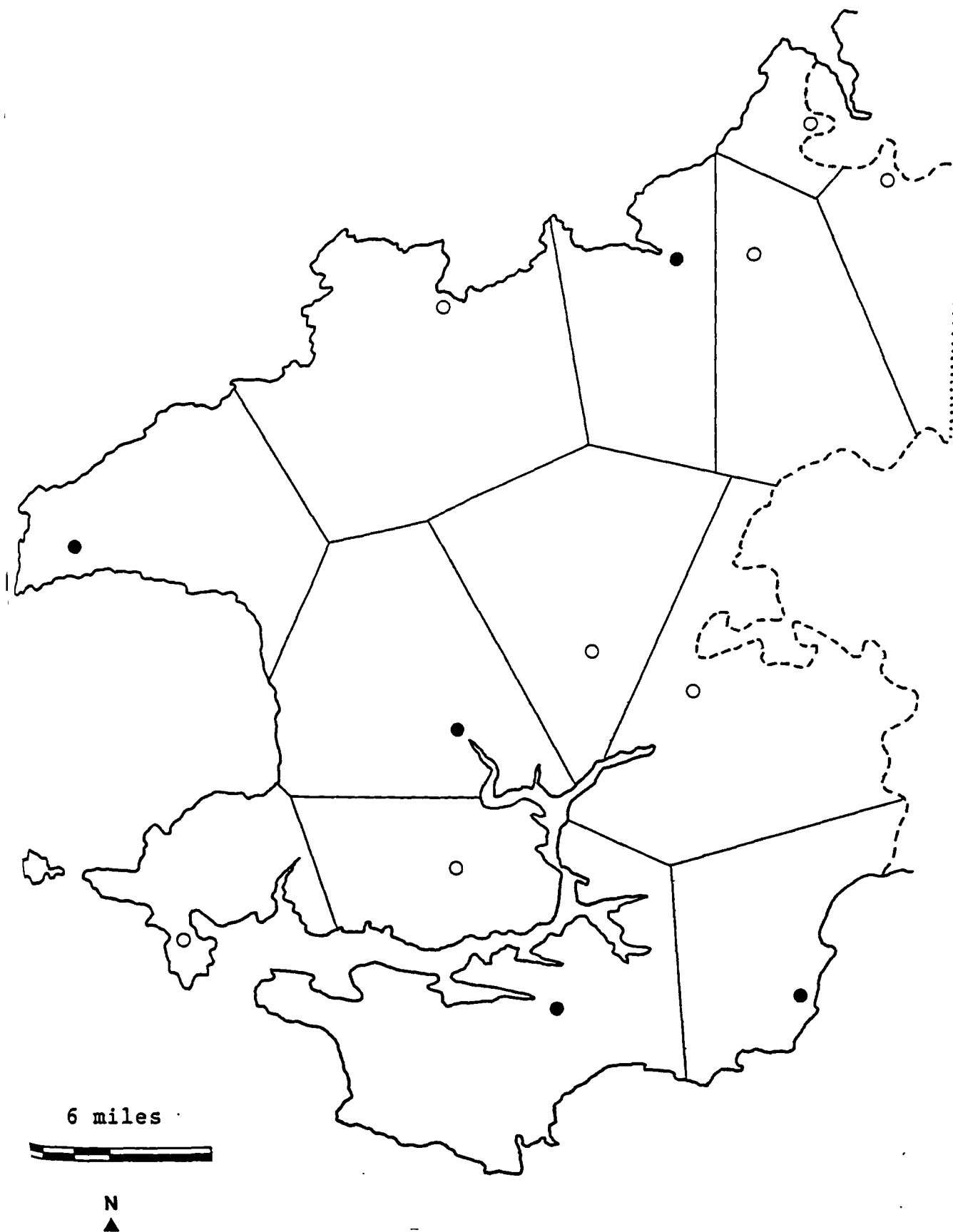


Fig. 8.8: Pembrokeshire markets and their hypothetical "territories" in the later Middle Ages.

Celtic countries. First, that the conquest was carried out by a feudal aristocracy and was followed by immigration. Second, the units of settlement - castles and boroughs etc. - and of feudal tenure - the manor - were the same. Third, pre-existing land units appear to have formed the basis of the future divisions in both countries. Fourth, there are said to have been parallels in post-Conquest economic activity, with the exploitation of arable land and the organisation of trade. The key difference between the east and the west is thought to be that the colonisation took different forms; in the west it was a military expansion, in the east it was a broad-based population movement. It is also thought that locatores were only active in the east, where a standard land measurement applied by professional surveyors was used. Furthermore it was thought that Ireland had an established population but eastern Europe did not. The author disagrees with all of these supposed differences. He has discovered clear evidence of immigration ordered by Henry I, organised by locatores and assisted by surveyors, into south Wales in the early twelfth century.

In the first section the activities of two men - Wizo and Tancard were described. Both appear to have planted villages in southern Scotland; Tancard appears to have worked in northern Yorkshire too, and - most importantly - both also worked in south west Wales. The Flemish princeps Wizo founded Wiston c. 1110. Another Wiston was also founded by Wizo - this second Wiston is in Lanarkshire and was founded before 1153. Tancredston, in Pembrokeshire, lies equidistant from the planted settlements of Roch and Letterston, but is much smaller in size. In the early twentieth century it comprised two farms, one either side of a small green. These farms lie in a dry valley sloping gently down to Brandy Brook. This settlement may have been founded by Tancard the Fleming in the early twelfth century. Tancard is also known to have held lands in another area of planted settlement - the North Riding of Yorkshire. He

⁶(continued)

Irish Economic and Social History, 13, 1986, pp. 29 - 30, citing A. Simms, 'Überformung eines keltischen Siedlungsraumes am Rande Europas durch externe Kolonisationsbewegungen', J. Hagedorn, J. Hovermann and N.H. Nitz, eds., Festschrift zum 42. deutschen Geographentag, pp. 280 and 287 - 8.

sold these lands before c. 1135 and soon afterwards founded settlements in Clydesdale. Both Wizo and Tancard were clearly locatores in that they were active in establishing villages and then, once this had been successfully done, moving on elsewhere with the aim of founding other villages. Their activities at the behest of Henry I were very similar to the work of town plantation carried out by men such as Henry le Waleys and Thomas Alard for Edward I⁴⁶.

It could be argued that there were several different men with the names Tancard and Wizo, all of whom happened to be founding villages in the early twelfth century and thus that the pattern is the result of chance rather than deliberate action. This argument would be strengthened if Tancard and Wizo were particularly popular names at that time. This is not so. Both names are relatively rare. Wizo is a known, but rare name in Flanders in the period c. 1060 to the mid-twelfth century. Names containing the element Tanc- are in general fairly rare in post-Conquest English records⁴⁷. The chances that several men called Wizo and also several men called Tancard were coincidentally figuring in related contexts are therefore slight. The comparative rarity of both names argues that the actions of two individual locatores are being witnessed.

There is also subsidiary evidence for the presence of locatores. It was stated above that locatores were in eastern Europe assisted by professional surveyors who laid out villages according to standardised land measures. A study of the morphologically similar settlements of Templeton and Letterston clearly demonstrates that villages were laid out according to preconceived notions of regularity. This pattern was demonstrated in Chapter 4, when the morphology of Templeton was subjected to detailed scrutiny. The plots lie on a hillslope which goes downwards from the north to the south and, to a lesser degree, from the west to the east. A river forms part of the boundary of the settlement and flows into an area of damp marsh-like land in the valley below the settlement. It was

⁴⁶Beresford, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴⁷Personal communication from Cecily Clark, who cites C. Marynissen, Hypokotistische Suffixen in Oudnederlandse Persoonsnamen, 1986, pp. 241 - 4.

shown that each plot had the same area - two thirds of an acre - and it was argued that this could not have come about by chance; deliberate delineation of standard size plots by experienced men must have taken place.

Two other advantages are known from eastern Europe to have been enjoyed by locatores: larger plots at no rent or, at least, a lower one and certain privileges which may have included an exemption from tithes. There is evidence for the first and possibly the second at two separate locations in south west Wales. Letterston is a large settlement of two planned rows, one either side of the main road. The land here forms a gently undulating platform which stretches from the valley of the River Cleddau towards the Ysgubor Mountain, which is part of the Prescellis. At the head of the road along which the planned rows run there now stands a large farm, Great Letterston Farm. (Figure 8.10.) Adjacent to it stands the rectory and, a little further west, two smaller farms - Court Farm and Heneglwys (Old Church) Farm. This group of buildings - large farms and, possibly, some ecclesiastical buildings form "a magnate core" similar to that described above at Cumwhitton. There was originally a gap between this group of buildings and the northern row of the rest of the village; it is now filled by a small row of post-war houses. Between the southern row and the "magnate core" lies the village green. It is as if the senior members of the community wished to preserve a spatial distance between themselves and the remainder; a spatial difference which reflected and may have helped to reinforce the social differences. This smaller group of farms could have existed long before the village did. They may have formed an element in the original, dispersed, Celtic settlement pattern of the area. It is not too over-fanciful to envisage Lettard (the principal Flemish settler) seizing these farms for himself and, in doing so, dispossessing their Celtic owners. He then arranged for a village to be planted near the farm to create a new settlement, the outline of which is visible today.

A search for large areas of tithe-free lands in planted villages has been carried out by the author. The results are equivocal. Certain lands which were exempt from tithes in the early Middle Ages managed to keep this status until the tithe maps and schedules were compiled in the



Fig. 8.10: The planned village of Letterston.

mid-nineteenth century. Several areas of tithe free land were noted in the vicinity of the village of Angle, a regular linear village without a green - to use Roberts's terminology - which lies in a coastal valley at the mouth of Milford Haven. The tithe-free lands include two large areas - the arable land of North Studdock Farm and the grazing land of Broomhill Burrows - and numerous small areas - such as the frontage of the houses which comprise the village and some miscellaneous plots. (Figure 8.11) This may represent land granted to the locator of Angle as part of the reward for his services. Another explanation is possible. In chapter 5 section 1 the original extent of the lands of the Cistercian grange of Monknash was calculated by studying the amount of tithe-free land in the vicinity. This was done because the Cistercians were exempt from tithes. There was once a monastic holding in Angle parish; its nature and extent are unfortunately not known. Indeed the existence of monastic lands is only supposed because Edward III was asked to appoint a cleric to this living as the right of presentment, which probably belonged to the French Priory of St. Martin de Sééz, could not be exercised at the time (between 1334 and 1340⁴⁸.) This was because a state of war existed between the two countries. It is probable that the tithe-free land belonged to the Priory rather than to the locator. In view of the absence of tithe-free lands in any other parish where the village was planted, this author believes that the locatores who were active in Wales were not rewarded in this one particular way.

The plantation of Flemings in Pembrokeshire may have involved settlement types other than planned villages. In addition to the two farms at Tancredston, there are small settlements at Flemingston and Lambston (both of which are Flemish names.) The aim here may have been to plant villages, which either were never settled or which failed shortly after settlement or, alternatively, to plant farms for individual immigrant families. At Flemingston there is some evidence for the former. This author was unable to gain access to the farm site when he visited the area in February 1988 and has had to

⁴⁸W. Rees, ed., Calendar of Ancient Petitions Relating to Wales, 1975, p. 270, number 160, citing PRO: C 47/10/7992.

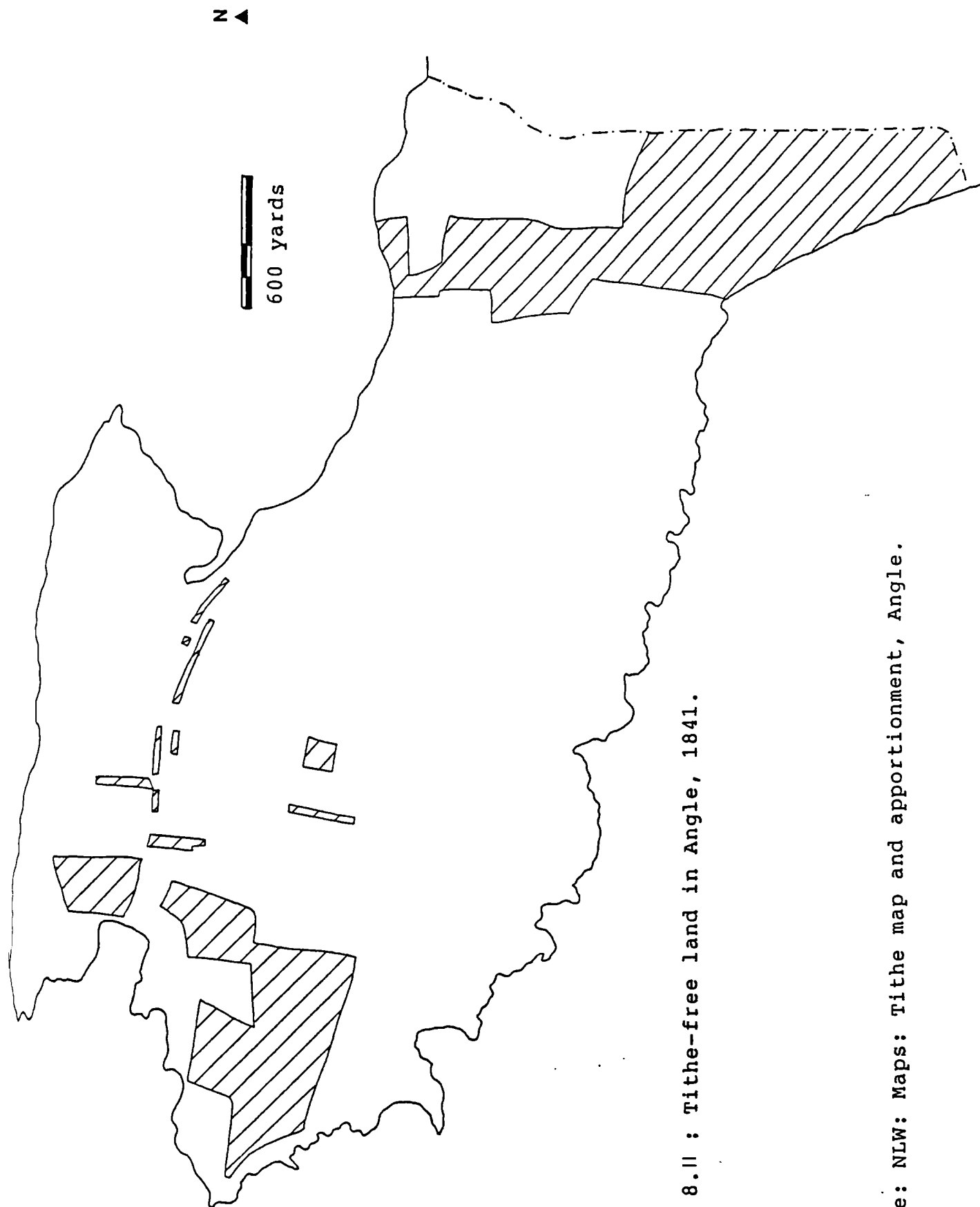


Fig. 8.11 : Tithe-free land in Angle, 1841.

Source: NLW: Maps: Tithe map and apportionment, Angle.

rely on B.K. Robert's description⁴⁹. Around the modern farm lie a series of large hedgebanks which mark out the rectangular shape of what are considered to be two planned toft compartments, perhaps with internal subdivisions. There are now no building structures visible within these compartments. If there ever were Roberts believes that they disappeared so long ago as to lead to the complete absence of visible remains. Two sets of circumstances can be envisaged for this: a small planned settlement was established and subsequently failed or an unsuccessful attempt was made to draw people to a pre-planned settlement. The origin of Lambston is more obscure. It may be similar to Flemingston or, alternatively, it might be like Vorshill, in Gower, which is discussed in chapter 7. Here a manor appears always to have comprised one farm since it was created prior to 1306. The founders of both settlements - best considered as fundators rather than locatores - may have wished to run their lands as small, family farms rather than to import labour and found villages.

The organisation of planned settlement in south west Wales shows clear parallels in its execution with the establishment of the French bourgs ruraux, the east European Hufendörfer and the planted settlements of the other parts of the British Isles. This section has argued that some of the new foundations were rural boroughs, that is villages with the inflated status of towns. This artificial rank brought with it economic advantages which attracted settlers to the new foundations. These rural boroughs were founded by locatores (men who made a career of establishing new settlements in frontier areas.) Neither rural borough nor locator were previously thought to have existed in Wales. The arguments presented here have directly challenged and refuted earlier views.

Section 8.3: Conclusion.

The objective of this chapter has been an attempt to place the local pattern in its wider European perspective and by doing so to gain a more detailed understanding of it. This chapter has recorded the results of two major discoveries: the

⁴⁹ Roberts, op. cit., 1987, pp. 199 - 201.

recognition that locatores were at work in south west Wales and the discovery of the rural boroughs planted by them. It appears that men such as Wizo and Tancard deliberately planted settlements - of various types - in south west Wales, before moving on to repeat the process elsewhere in Britain. Some of the foundations were villages in the economic sense - their residents owed agricultural labour services to the lord and market trade was of minimal importance - yet they were legally towns. This gave the inhabitants a financial incentive to settle in what was a turbulent and volatile area.

Chapter 9: Conclusion.

9.1: A summary of the results.

The aim of this thesis was clearly stated at the outset. It was to answer this question: why are there villages in south Wales? This aim was broken down into a number of objectives. Each objective was framed as a hypothesis drawn from a model. The models were concerned with village plantation, nucleation as the response to a military threat, nucleation as the way of increasing the production of certain commodities and, finally, village origins as the result of agrarian changes. The hypotheses were tested with the intention of falsifying the models. Any model or models which could not be falsified were accepted as explaining the origins of the village in the light of contemporary evidence.

The first model to be tested - the plantation model - stated that the village had been introduced into south Wales after the Norman Conquest of the area in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. If this was the case it was argued that the village would only be found in the Norman-held areas (the Englishries) and that the villages would have regular morphologies (characteristic of planted villages elsewhere.) In south Wales, as a whole, there were few villages with regular morphologies and no correspondence between the overall distribution of villages and the Norman/Celtic spheres of control. Planted villages were found in to be concentrated in one area: along the Landsker (the Norman/Celtic boundary) in mid-Pembrokeshire.

It has been argued in this thesis that these regular planned villages were founded at the instigation of Henry I. He ordered that Flemish settlers be brought to the area so that a particularly volatile and almost uncontrollable frontier be stabilised. The Flemish immigrants are believed to have arrived c. 1110. The author maintains that the settlements were organised by locatores; men such as Wizo and Tancard who were professional settlement organisers. Some of these settlements had an unusual legal position: legally they were boroughs, yet they did not have an urban economy. Agricultural labour services were demanded of their inhabitants and opportunities for trade were limited. In return financial advantages were

enjoyed by the tenants of these "rural boroughs." These advantages were needed to draw settlers into this hostile area. Other planned villages exist in south Pembrokeshire, but less is known about their origins. Arnulf de Montgomery may have planted Angle and Cosheston c. 1095, and he is also thought to have planted villages in Holderness, Yorkshire, at about this time. Templeton was also planned and planted; perhaps by Stephen Perrot, Lord of Narberth at this time, or perhaps by the Knights Templar. It is also likely that some of the villages of south central Gower and south Pembrokeshire were founded at this time. They are likely to have been founded as manorial centres, from which immigrant labourers exploited local resources for the profit of the conquerors.

The next model to be examined - the agrarian change I model - proposed that village foundation was the result of the adoption of an open-field system in the thirteenth century. This model has been proposed by C.C. Taylor, but is not widely accepted. Many changes happened to the south Wales landscape in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first castles were built; mottes were the primary castles of conquest and ringworks were the main castles of local exploitation. The earliest towns - communities of independent commercial life - were founded. The nature of monastic life changed too: Celtic communities were replaced by Latin orders, with their powerful and economically valuable abbeys and granges. Villages are usually thought to have formed a part of this "landscape package." The archaeological evidence for this is equivocal. Excavated villages have always been dated by pottery, yet Wales was aceramic until perhaps c. 1150 and no local wares were made before c. 1200. The style of building - notably the internal and external rounded corners - may indicate a continuity of building tradition from the Celtic to the Norman period. Unfortunately the distribution of excavated sites is uneven and hence any deductions made from this observation are open to question. Village origins cannot be placed in the thirteenth century with any degree of certainty. The evidence is ambiguous and indeterminate.

After the partial falsification of the plantation model and the rejection of the agrarian change I model the hypotheses drawn from the defence model were tested. It was

proposed that people may have gathered together in defensible locations if threatened by Viking attackers. Virtually no evidence was found for a Scandinavian menace. Both the material evidence and the historical evidence of Viking raids and settlements in south Wales are limited. There are very few Scandinavian place-names. The genetic evidence derived from studies of the ABO blood group system may indicate settlement, although when considered alongside other genetic traits - the ability to taste PTC and colourblindness - genetic drift is a more likely explanation.

The hypotheses drawn from both the remaining models - the taxation model and the agrarian change II model - could not be falsified. The taxation model argued that as an élite emerged production would have to be increased to support them. Concentrating labour resources at one location is an ethnographically attested way of increasing the productivity of a fixed-size labour force. Within the framework of the village the social character of labour can be more easily managed and people made to work harder. The organisation of the land around the nucleation into a common field system has been argued as economically efficient and thus a further way of increasing production without also increasing labour inputs. The hypothesis drawn from this model was that the first appearance of an aristocracy making tax demands and the first nucleations ought to be almost contemporary. Grants of uilla - the unit of land with one principal settlement - are not found in the earliest charters, although they are common from the eighth century onwards. The emergence of an élite - in the form of the royal family of the kingdom of Glywysing - is complete by c. 715. This élite makes its earliest tax demands c. 700 and a taxation system is fully operating by c. 800. A variant on this model emerged from the first case study. It was proposed that the emergence of clas monastic communities led to a need to increase production to support this non-productive sector of the community. Hence nucleation and open-field were adopted to support both royal and ecclesiastical élites.

The final model - the agrarian change II model - centred on the concept of the multiple estate: an associated group of upland and lowland townships. Each vill specialised in the production of certain agricultural resources, which were

then exchanged by the communities. Hence no community went without the whole range of products available in the wider locality. Nucleation appears to result from the break-up of the multiple estate. The economic links between townships are severed and no one township can rely on another for a certain commodity. The community has to diversify its production. One crucial need would be to develop both arable and pastoral production to replace the earlier specialization. The integration of arable and pastoral resources - one feature of common field farming - would be one possibility. The subsequent adoption of strips and dispersed holdings could have brought about nucleation. The granting of communities to the church in the pre-Conquest period was shown to be one factor which profoundly influenced the pattern of agricultural exploitation, with the adoption of common fields and villages as a consequence of this change. This process may have started c. 800 and continued up until the Norman Conquest, and perhaps beyond. A difference was noted between the Norman villages founded as manorial centres, for example those in south central Gower, and those with Celtic origins. The Norman landscape was characterised by one large village with a limited amount of strip field; the Celtic landscapes comprised several smaller settlements amidst vast areas of strip field.

The author offers this summary to his question: what processes led to the foundation of villages in south Wales? Villages were first founded in the eighth century as a response to the demands of the royal élite for increased taxation. Other villages originated from the agricultural changes necessitated by the break-up of the multiple estates. In the early twelfth century villages were planned by the Norman Conquerors along the Landsker, and planted elsewhere as the centres of manorial exploitation. The original plantation model which envisaged villages as a Norman introduction must now be replaced by more sophisticated models which propose that the village evolved for various reasons over a period of four or more centuries.

9.2: An evaluation of the methodology.

The author now proposes to evaluate his project. First, he intends to refer back to the criteria proposed by the

Council for British Archaeology and considered to define "good" landscape archaeology. This will be done so that he may judge the standards of his own work. Then he will assess how effective and appropriate both the "aims and objective" and the use of a hypothetico-deductive methodology were in the execution of this thesis.

In 1978 and again in 1983 the Countryside Committee of the CBA's Research Board stated that rural archaeology should be:

- '1 - Ecologically conceived.
- 2 - An integrated exercise based upon the use of multiple investigatory techniques (i.e. not just excavation.)
- 3 - Area-based.
- 4 - Long-term though not necessarily continuous.
- 5 - Academically motivated within carefully conceived research strategies.¹

This author believes that he has fulfilled criteria 1 to 3 and 5. His work has involved ecological evidence; the study of the territory and catchment areas at Llanelen and the examination of the grain sample recovered here are clear examples of this. Multiple investigatory techniques have been deployed. He has used the results of excavations (in some of which he has participated.) He has studied a wide range of historical sources in order to further his research. The analysis of village morphology is just one example of the many times he has used maps in this project. Finally he visited a great number of sites and walked many, many miles in order to examine the shrubs and flowers present in numerous stretches of hedgerow. Though these diverse approaches to different types of evidence have been employed the author firmly believes that this has been an integrated study. This is because all the work has been focused in one direction, a direction which was specified in the form of the aim, at the outset.

This project has certainly been area-based: it encompassed an area of 3,000 square miles, four counties (five - if post-1974 boundaries are used) and over five hundred parishes. The case studies were not restricted to individual

¹Council for British Archaeology, Research Board, Countryside Committee, 'Research Objectives in the Countryside', Research Objectives in British Archaeology, 1983, p. 18.

places. The Gower study considered an area of almost 100 square miles and the Pembrokeshire study examined a number of places along a border which runs for twenty five miles. The author hopes that his work has been characterised by "a carefully conceived research strategy." He believes that chapter 2 presented this strategy in a clear and lucid manner; subsequent chapters aimed to use the models set out there in a perceptive and balanced way in order to lead to justifiable and defensible results. The author believes that criterion 4 is not currently applicable to his work. A PhD is not, of course, a lifetime's work and the author hopes to return to this field of study in the future. Then he will aim to define further questions and to answer them, with the aim of examining other aspects of the settlement pattern in south Wales.

The appraisal of the value of both an "aims and objectives" approach and a hypothetico-deductive methodology cannot be separated. Each model was designed to relate to one specific objective, all of which were linked to the wider aim. Thus the use of the former approach in close conjunction with the latter methodology ensured that all the hypotheses were related to each other and also to the general direction of the research as a whole. A hypothetico-deductive methodology also has one major advantage: it is efficient with respect to the use of time. In a period of financial stringency when the Economic and Social Research Council is demanding to see a relatively fast return on its "investments" such a methodology has an obvious attraction. The student's attention is directly focused on one part of the problem, data collection is simplified, the results ought to be straightforward to analyse and the completion of a substantial piece of work can be possible within the permitted time period. This alone recommends its use in the present circumstances.

9.3: Topics for future research.

The research for this thesis has raised a wide variety of questions. Many have been answered as the work progressed; others have had to be left unaddressed. This is partly due to the constraints of time and money - especially as the answers to some of the questions would be theses in themselves! Some potential research projects are outlined

below. They have been divided a little arbitrarily into "major" and "minor" projects, depending on the amount of work that would be required to investigate each.

One "minor" - but very important - starting point for research is the parish of Llan-y-Crwys. In chapter 6 it was argued that far-reaching agricultural change took place here c. 800. Nineteenth century documents were used to illustrate this change. The date range needs to be extended backwards from this point in order to identify the full nature and date of this change. A palynological study would be the best way of doing this. The field pattern of Llan-y-Crwys also needs to be examined to see if enclosure has replaced an early open-field system. A hedge-dating study would date the origin of the present pattern and would be the best starting point for research.

Another topic for study is the link that may exist (if any) between geology and castle type in Pembrokeshire. The immediate locality of each castle would have to be examined to see whether mottes were indeed founded on pockets of isolated glacial drift, or whether (as this author has proposed) strategic principles were more important. Research into the possibility that some of the castles were founded within earlier Dark Age or Iron Age enclosures is also needed. It is possible that the availability of a structure of this nature led to its use as a bailey, and thus governed the type of castle which was built. The final "minor" study comprises a test of Dowdell's model for Roman settlement in Gower. Fieldwalking was instrumental in revealing Roman farmsteads on the Vale of Glamorgan and could be carried out in selected areas - for example Scurlage and Reynoldston - here too. This would allow a more objective assessment of the nature and density of Roman settlement on the peninsula.

The first of the major studies is urgently required: the corpora of both Celtic and non-Celtic place-names in Wales need thorough revision. The latter was compiled in the 1930s and has not been updated since; the former has never advanced (at least in published form) beyond a simple list. This project should comprise the basis of a new analysis of place-name form, meaning and chronology. This would open the way for sophisticated studies of settlement patterns and Anglo-Celtic

interaction. Further studies of the stability of village plans are also needed. A possible direction for future research was indicated in chapter 4 section 3: on to studies such as those of Bonvilston and Templeton could be added a detailed examination of parochial sources for population changes and patterns of landownership with the aim of demonstrating whether or not village morphologies have changed, and if so, by how much. A third major project is outlined in appendix 4. An urgent study of Pembrokeshire villages is needed in order to determine which areas are threatened by building development, which threatened areas ought to be preserved and which excavated.

The possibility of the existence of co-axial landscapes in Pembrokeshire ought also to be investigated. This project ought to start with basic questions of extent and chronology, and could move on to explore the influence of landscapes of this nature on later developments. For example, it could be asked why the village of Templeton is planned with respect to one axis and the surrounding landscape to another. The final topic for future research consists of an attempt to link the models of multiple estates to the archaeology of south Wales in order to try to refine the concept and to further scholarly knowledge of the development of villages out of the estate framework. One area where the author intends to try to do this is on the Caldicot levels in south Monmouthshire. In chapter 6 section 3 possible Roman and early medieval political centres and ecclesiastical focii were identified on four probable estates. The author hopes in future to identify other settlements and to follow the development of the settlement pattern from, if possible, the Roman to the later medieval period.

9.4: This thesis in its wider context.

In the final pages of this work the author will try to demonstrate the importance of this thesis to the wider debate on village origins. In the first paragraph of this study he expressed a hope that something would be offered to the general discussion of this theme, he now believes that this has been achieved. His contributions fall into two categories: methodological and factual.

The methodological contributions have been quite varied. In chapter 3 the author's debt to B.K. Roberts's studies of morphology was obvious. Through the four county studies presented there the author believes that he has contributed to Roberts's proposal for a national systematic survey of village morphologies; furthermore two of the counties studied - Pembrokeshire and Glamorgan - are regarded by Roberts as important in extending our wider understanding of settlement evolution². The author believes that the contrasts he found within the two areas - a frontier zone of clearly planned settlements, planted villages and earlier nucleations founded to meet the demands of lords and the church - are indeed of particular note. This thesis has also developed Roberts's analyses of village morphology in two crucial directions: ethnographic studies have been used to demonstrate that Conquest does lead to deliberate plantation and planned settlements, and sociological analyses of landownership and population growth have been used to explore morphological stability. The author has, in appendix 3, refined the techniques of hedgerow dating. He has been able to modify the one species per century formula and to produce a refined and more sophisticated way of calculating the age of hedges. This new approach relies upon several factors: the number of species, the range of species, the shape of the fields they enclose and the method of hedge bank construction. All this work has been conducted within a novel framework: an overtly processual study of village origins. Processual archaeology has been viewed by Daniel and Renfrew³ - and this author agrees with them - as characterised by explicit processes of reasoning with explanation achieved by the construction of models and the subsequent rigorous testing of hypotheses. Unlike some earlier work it is no longer preoccupied with classification, hence the construction of typologies is a means to an end rather than the end in itself. This author believes that his work clearly displays these features.

²B.K. Roberts, 'Village Patterns and Forms: Some Models for Discussion', in D. Hooke, Medieval Villages, 1985, p. 8.

³G.E. Daniel and A.C. Renfrew, The Idea of Prehistory, revised edition, 1988, pp. 160 - 5.

The factual material has already been presented as section 1 of this chapter. The author believes that he has offered a new analysis of village origins in south Wales. A comprehensive synthesis of the settlement pattern of south Wales has been presented. This encompasses a wide chronological range; co-axial landscapes with a possible prehistoric date have been discovered and speculations have been made about building developments and the impact that this will have on the opportunities for future archaeological research. The main body of the work deals with the more restricted, yet still large, time-span from the demise of the Roman villa economy c. 320 up to the establishment of the farms in the highland fringe in the early fourteenth century. One problem addressed by this factual study was the introduction of an Anglo-Norman landscape "package" into the region. It was possible to separate the earliest development of nucleated settlement from this "package" and to show that village origins were to an extent an independent, pre-Norman development.

Appendix 1: The Urban Centres of South Wales, c. 1300.

Carmarthenshire

Carmarthen
Dryslwyn
Kidwelly
Laugharne
Llandovery
Newcastle Emlyn
Newton
Old Dynevor

Glamorgan

Aberavon
Bridgend
Caerphilly
Cardiff
Cowbridge
Kenfig
Llantrissant
Loughor
Neath
Swansea

Monmouthshire

Abergavenny
Chepstow
Grosmont
Monmouth
Newport
Trelleck
Usk

Pembrokeshire

Haverfordwest
Narberth
Newport
Pembroke
Tenby

This list is based upon the author's consideration of the borough descriptions given in:

M.W. Beresford, New Towns of the Middle Ages, 1967, pp. 527 - 74.

I. Soulsby, The Towns of Medieval Wales, 1983.

Appendix 2: Gazetteer of deserted sites in south Wales.

This gazetteer has been compiled in order to bring together the basic information on deserted, non-defensive, secular sites in the study area. It has been compiled from the sites and monuments records (SMRs) of the Glamorgan-Gwent and Dyfed Archaeological Trusts and from the record cards of the Ordnance Survey's Archaeology Division. A limited amount of material, relevant only to Glamorgan, has been added from two published sources, which are credited below. Other published sources - for example individual site reports - have not been included in order to "streamline" the gazetteer.

Each source has been created to fulfill a different need and this has to be taken into account when comparing the information they hold. The SMRs are used by the Trusts to evaluate the archaeological implications of development proposals submitted to local planning authorities. The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust's SMR was based upon the Ordnance Survey record cards, but has been expanded to include information held by the Royal Commission and material published in both local and national journals. The Dyfed Archaeological Trust has based its SMR mainly around air photographs, supplemented by their own field investigations. Apart from their recent photographs taken expressly for archaeological purposes, they hold collections of the stereoscopic pairs of photographs taken by the RAF in 1946 and by Meridian Airmaps for the South Wales Electricity Board in 1955. Unfortunately these photographs are often incorrectly indexed and badly filed. Both Trusts have given each site a primary reference number. This has been included because it is the main source of information on each site.

The Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales was established in 1908. Its task is to compile an inventory of all ancient monuments in every county in Wales and to recommend to the Welsh Office those monuments which are considered especially worthy of preservation. Three relevant volumes exist: Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire and that part of the Glamorgan Inventory which records the medieval, non-defensive, secular monuments. The first two volumes were published in 1917 and 1925, and might charitably

be regarded as "period pieces". However they were seriously inadequate even then. An anonymous reviewer described the Pembrokeshire inventory in these terms,

"The Welsh Commission has failed, and failed catastrophically. We accuse (them) of lack of all technical appreciation of the architectural evidence;... the consistent use of out-of-date and inaccurate descriptions and illustrations;... ignorance of prehistoric and Roman¹ material;... and a general editorial incompetence".

Thankfully much has changed and the Commission's Glamorgan Inventory is a much more reliable work. Its material is divided up by type of monument and each entry is given a number within that category. No attempt has been made to include all the relevant material in The Glamorgan Inventory. All the references to deserted village sites are included, but references to moated sites and long and platform houses are only included if a mention to that type of site has been made in one of the other sources.

The Ordnance Survey's records exist in order to enable archaeological information to be accurately plotted on to maps. Its data has been gathered through field investigation, survey of selected sites and from primary and secondary sources. The Ordnance Survey plots each site on the relevant quarter sheet and then gives each site a sheet-specific number. These numbers are cited in the gazetteer.

When this gazetteer was prepared in the summer of 1988 some of the material had already been computerised. The Dyfed Archaeological Trust has pioneered the computerisation of SMRs in Wales. Basic details of all sites are kept within a Database-3 format on an Amstrad micro-computer. The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust has started to computerise its material. They had then completed a "dirty" record of sites in Gwent. In the long-term their aim is to create a "clean" record of all the sites and monuments in the region. The Ordnance

¹Anon., 'A review of "Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions in Wales and Monmouthshire: VII, County of Pembroke"', in Antiquity 1, 1927, pp. 245 - 7; see G.E. Daniel, The National Museum as a Mirror of Ancient Wales, 1983, pp. 12 - 3, for the suggestion that the anonymous reviewer was in fact Sir Mortimer Wheeler.

Survey has not started to computerise its records, but is trying to obtain finance for work of this nature. Even when computerisation is completed the records will only hold the basic indices, which are currently held on cards. The detailed site notes, plans, photographs and other material will still have to be kept in conventional files.

Each entry in this gazetteer follows a standard pattern. The first column comprises the name of the site, followed by any alternative names, and by as exact as possible a national grid reference. The sources for the information are listed in the second column and a short description of the site is given in the third. The sites are listed by county and have been grouped into three self-explanatory categories: accepted major, accepted minor and rejected.

Abbreviations used in the gazetteer:

GGAT	primary reference number, Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust's SMR.
DAT	primary reference number, Dyfed Archaeological Trust's SMR.
RCAHM	<u>The Glamorgan Inventory</u> , volume 3, part 2, <u>Medieval Non-defensive Secular Monuments</u> , 1982, DV - deserted village, MS - moated site, LH - long hut.
OS	reference number, Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division.
DMVRG	<u>Deserted Medieval Village Research Group Annual Report</u> , 12, 1964, appendix F, DV - deserted village, SV - shrunken village, ? - deserted village requiring further research, F - deserted farmstead.

C - century
e - early
m - middle
l - late.

Carmarthenshire.

Accepted site (minor):

Common Church DAT 8869
Farm, Eglwyscummin OS SN 10 NE 14
SN 230107

unitelligible surface
irregularities and the
remains of a field
system.

Unconfirmed and rejected sites:

Castell Toch OS SN 21 SE 26
SN 252113

Castle Ely OS SN 11 SE 25
SN 19512047

no archaeological
evidence visible
on air photographs
of this supposed site.

Castle Lloyd OS SN 20 NW 21
SN 247093

Crinage OS SN 21 SW 15
SN 203143

Cyffig OS SN 21 SW 14
SN 208139

field investigation
and air
photography have
revealed no traces
of the exact location
or nature of this
supposed site.

Cyn Gadel OS SN 20 NE 13
SN 287096

Cynog's Well OS SN 20 NE 11
SN 260098

Honeycorse OS SN 20 NE 12
SN 282091

Llandawke OS SN 21 SE 27
SN 283113

Maesgwrda OS SN 21 SE 22
SN 265134

Marros OS SN 20 NW 19
SN 206088

Newton OS SN 21 SE 25
SN 267121

Pwllcogan OS SN 21 SW 12 nothing is now visible
SN on air photographs
however very stoney
ground was revealed
during field
clearance.

Tadyhill OS SN 21 SE 24
SN 287128

Tremoilet OS SN 20 NW 20
SN 224094

Whitehill OS SN 21 SE 23
SN 290134

Glamorgan.

Accepted sites (major):

Barry Old Village GGAT 721 S 4 excavated houses, in a row
ST 18276722 RCAHM DV 12 occupation dated to C12 - 1C14
OS ST 16 NW 3 OS ST 16 NW 13 by pottery and a coin.
DMVRG SV 3

Cogan GGAT 818 S earthworks of a linear
ST 16857060 RCAHM DV 18 settlement documentary reference
for depopulation from C16

onwards.

Cosmeston ST 176690	GGAT 948 S DMVRG SV 4	various buildings excavated, but full morphology has not yet been revealed; pottery dates occupation to C13-C14.
Cwmbarry ST 104678 1013 S	GGAT 1011 S 1012 S 1013 S OS ST 16 NW 35	3 habitation sites revealed, but no building plans, thus there are no details of morphology; pottery evidence for C14 depopulation.
Cwmcidy ST 09296775	GGAT 693 S RCAHM DV 8 OS ST 06 NE 21 DMVRG DV 3	sunken trail and earthworks of linear settlement; pottery evidence for occupation 1C13-eC14; map evidence for depopulation from C16 onwards.
Ewenny (Lampha) SS 92447488	GGAT 431 M OS SS 97 SW 11 DMVRG F 5	earthworks of a linear settlement.
Flemingston ST 02436980	GGAT 508 S RCAHM DV 6 OS ST 06 NW 24 DMVRG F 6	earthworks of huts, building platforms and fish ponds; pottery indicates C12-C14 occupation.
Highlight (Uchelolau) ST 097699	GGAT 536 S RCAHM DV 9 RCAHM MS 10 OS ST 06 NE 6 DMVRG DV 5	linear settlement; excavations reveal 2 houses, 3 "occupation areas", a building platform and a moated manor house; occupation dated by pottery and coins to C12-C14; documentary reference to desertion pre-1543.
Llancadle	GGAT 691 S	earthworks of 4 building

ST 03526821	RCAHM DV 7	platforms and a sunken trail;
	OS ST 06 NW 28	cartographic reference to
	DMVRG DV 5	desertion before 1622.
Marcross	GGAT 678 S	earthworks of a linear
SS 92156918	RCAHM DV 3	settlement, including a
	OS SS 96 NW 2	dam and a mill.
	6 and 8	
	DMVRG SV 8	
Margam	GGAT 885 W	linear deserted site,
SS 80008630	RCAHM DV 2	post-medieval date.
Merthyr Dyfan	GGAT 722 S	linear settlement comprising
ST 113694	RCAHM DV 13	4 platform houses; occupied
		C13-C14.
Michaelston-s.-Ely	GGAT 7344 S	a linear site, earthworks for
ST 11607636	RCAHM DV 15	4 houses; documentary and
	OS ST 17 NW 2	cartographic evidence for
		C16-C19 desertion.
Radyr	GGAT 735 S	a manor house and 3 other
ST 138790	RCAHM DV	dwelling form a linear
	DMVRG ?7	settlement; pottery indicates
		occupation C12-C14.
Rhossili	GGAT 150 W	uncertain number of houses
SS 415882	OS SS 48 NW 18	(?3) and a church form a
		linear settlement; pottery
		evidence for occupation C12 -
		C13.
St. Athan	GGAT 486 S	series of linear earthworks
ST 02006815	RCAHM DV 54	representing 4 huts and
	OS ST 06 NW 6	crofts.
	DMVRG SV 10	
Sully	GGAT 723 S	earthworks of 3 houses
ST 14916830	RCAHM DV 14	with crofts form a linear

	OS ST 16 NW 42	settlement; pottery indicates C13 occupation.
Treguff ST 02957120	GGAT 702 S RCAHM DV 10 OS ST 07 SW 29 DMVRG DV 12	a hut and the traces of other crofts form a linear settlement; map evidence for desertion in the C19.
Walterston (Cefn Bryn) SS 50858968	GGAT 882 W RCAHM DV 16 OS SS 58 NW 41	a linear settlement comprising 5 crofts, 6 huts and a chapel; map evidence for C19 depopulation.
West Aberthaw ST 024668	GGAT 492 S RCAHM DV 4 OS ST 06 NW 12 DMVRG SV 2	earthworks of 2 platform houses remain of what was probably a linear settlement; pottery indicates C13-C14 occupation.
Wrinston ST 13457250	GGAT 729 S RCAHM DV 17 OS ST 17 SW 29	12 crofts surround what was probably a green at this agglomerated settlement; pottery suggests occupation during C13.
Ysguborgoch ST 133718	GGAT 846 M RCAHM LH 60 OS ST 17 SW DMVRG F 7	earthworks of a homestead an a croft, a sunken trackway and strip enclosures.

Accepted sites (minor):

Llanelen SS 51129337	GGAT 234 W	2 houses, one of which overlies an earlier chapel; pottery and documentary evidence for desertion c. 1350.
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Llanfrynach SS 98037465	GGAT 313 S OS SS 97 SE 61 DMVRG 73	2 buildings, only one of which is certainly domestic; mC15 coins found during excavation.
Old Henllys SS 449891	GGAT 154 W RCAHM LH 10 OS SS 48 NW 25 DMVRG DV 4	hut and croft only.
Pennard SS 545885	GGAT 884 W RCAHM DV 20 OS SS 58 NW 18 DMVRG DV 10	one house, pottery and coin evidence for occupation 1C12.
Porthkerry ST 078669	OS ST 06 NE 22 DMVRG SV 9	one building occupied from C12-C15 on the basis of pottery and coin evidence.
St. Brides Major SS 894752	OS SS 87 NE 131 DMVRG SV 11	one homestead occupied C13 as deduced from pottery evidence.
Walterston (Llancarfan) ST 06797122	GGAT 938 S OS ST 06 SE 33	earthworks of one building, occupied C12-C13.
<u>Rejected and lost sites:</u>		
Abernant SS 05237119	GGAT 387 S DMVRG F 1	
Beganston ST 148746	GGAT 730 RCAHM DV 29 DMVRG ?1	isolated church - no archaeological evidence for settlement.
Bradington ST 052711	RCAHM DV 11	
Burrow's Well SS 856773	DMVRG DV 1	

Caerau GGAT 942 S
ST 1476 DMVRG ?2

Caerwegau GGAT 711 S
(Caerwigau, RCAHM DV 27
Pendoylan) DMVRG F 6
ST 060755

Cae Summerhouse, DMVRG F 2 mainly an Iron Age and
Tythegston Roman site.
SS 970752

Corrwg DMVRG F 3
SS 970752

East Aberthaw DMVRG SV 1
ST 035667

Kenfig DMVRG DV 6 besanded borough site.
SS 801826

Liege GGAT 6973 S moated site and chapel.
ST 054734 RCAHM DV 28

Llanbethery DMVRG SV
ST 032696

Llandewi DMVRG SV 7
SS 460890

Llangewydd GGAT 909 M monastic grange.
SS 875809 RCAHM DV 25
DMVRG DV 7

Llanilid DMVRG ?4
SS 977814

Llanmihangel GGAT 281 S
SS 98187180

Llansannor SS 993775	DMVRG ?5	
Merthyr Mawr (Candleston) SS 86817737	GGAT 256 M DMVRG DV 2	lost site, presumed to have been inundated with sand, C14.
Nicholaston SS 522882	GGAT 286 W OS SS 58 NW 24 DMVRG DV 8	isolated church - no evidence for near-by settlement.
Northdown SS 874755	GGAT 901 M RCAHM DV 22	
Ogmore SS 882768	GGAT 903 M RCAHM DV 23	
Penmaen SS 531881	GGAT 883 W RCAHM DV 19 OS SS 58 NW 18	documentary references to Stedworlango are now thought to refer to a field rather than to a settlement.
Peterston-s.-Montem SS 9985	GGAT 1163 M OS SS 98 NE 9 DMVRG ?6	an isolated church in an area which is most unsuitable for settlement.
Scurlage SS 46258820	GGAT 169 W DMVRG SV 12	
St. Andrew's Minor	GGAT 1035 S RCAHM DV 26 OS SS 97 SW 32 DMVRG ?8	an isolated church; adjacent natural features could be mistaken for earthworks from a distance.
St. Hilary ST 00847209	GGAT 338 S OS ST 07 SW 14	the earthworks in this area belong to a former orchard.

St. Mary Hill (Gelligarn) SS 958793	GGAT 1030 S OS ST 07 SW 14 DMVRG ?9	no visible remains were noted during a field investigation.
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Stormy Down SS 846815	GGAT 907 M RCAHM DV 24 OS SS 88 SW 38 DMVRG DV 11
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Sutton SS 86457552	GGAT 902 M RCAHM DV 21
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Ysguborgoch Y Parcau DMVRG F 8
SS 930740

Ystradowen ST 012777	DMVRG ?10
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Monmouthshire.

Accepted sites (major):

Llanwern ST 370882	GGAT 2493 G
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the slight earthworks,
created by the
depopulation of a village,
have been severely damaged
recently; medieval and
post-medieval pottery has
been recovered from the
site.

Runston ST 49609157	GGAT 1043 G OS ST 49 SE 16
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linear settlement;
occupation is dated by
pottery and coins to
C12-C18, map evidence for
depopulation 1C16-C18.

Wilcrick ST 409879	GGAT 2331 G OS ST 48 NW 30
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a linear settlement;
cartographic sources can
be used to show that
desertion took place

Accepted sites (minor):

before eC19.

Langstone GGAT 3291 G
ST 371896

indeterminate earthworks.

Llangybi Fawr GGAT 351 G
ST 373966

badly degraded earthworks
in the vicinity of the
present village, perhaps
indicating shrinkage.

Pentirih GGAT 761 G
ST 52009873 OS ST 59 NW 21

earthworks - currently
being recorded.

St. Brides GGAT 351 G
Netherwent ST 48 NW 15
ST 42858960

Rejected sites:

Blaenau Gwent GGAT 2099 G
SO 216048

Llanarth Fawr GGAT 3222 G
SO 37060940

Llantarnam GGAT 3640 G
ST 310930

Penhow GGAT 3305 G
ST 424908 OS ST 49 SW 39

Whitecastle GGAT 3281 G
SO 379167

no archaeological evidence
recorded on air
photographs.

Pembrokeshire.

Accepted sites (minor):

Fagwyr Goch, DAT 1560
SN 05693043

details of this small
earthwork site have been

		obscured by tipping, levelling of the site is threatened.
Great Rudbaxton	DAT 8892	
SM 959205		minor earthworks and a hollow way are visible near the church, but the limited detail is not clear on the air photograph.
Hayscastle Farm	DAT 10475	
SM 896258		minor earthworks, not fully recorded.
Park House Field,	DAT 590	
Stackpole Elidor	OS SR 99 NE 13	
SR 98149610		there are no intelligible remains following the recent destruction of this small earthworks site.
Morvil	DAT 1553	
SN 037307		only one building is visible on the air photograph of this site.
Tal-y-bont,	DAT 8898	
Llawhaden		
SN 076173		minor earthwork site.
Wall Field/Wall	DAT 7972	
Park, Carew		
SN 049028		no archaeological details are visible on the air photograph of this site, however the name could indicate former activity here.

Appendix 3: In defence of the concept of hedgerow dating.

In the discussion of the evolution of the landscape of dispersed farmsteads in north Gower (section 7.2) most of the data was derived from an analysis of the number and range of species in numerous hedges. This appendix aims to justify this methodology and to show that one particular set of criticisms made against it is largely without foundation. The concept of dating a hedge by counting the number of species of plants and trees in it was first proposed by Max Hooper¹. He examined a range of hedges of known date in Devon, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon and Northamptonshire and formulated the following equation from the relationship between age and the number of species in a thirty yard length of hedge,

$$\text{age} = [(110 \times \text{species count}) + 30] \text{ years}$$

Hence the age of a hedge in which the average number of species in a series of thirty yard sections is two, is presumed to be two hundred and fifty years; if the average species count is four the formula predicts that the hedge is four hundred and seventy years old. Variations between actual age and the age calculated by the equation were attributed to the influence of climate, soil and hedge management strategy. Hooper tried to eliminate these factors by taking a smaller group of hedges on the Huntingdon Northamptonshire border and revising the equation. The modified formula was:

$$\text{age} = [(99 \times \text{species count}) - 16] \text{ years}$$

An average species count of two would lead to the calculation that the hedge was one hundred and eighty two years old and an average count of four would produce an age of three hundred and eighty years. Both formulae can be simplified into the well-known statement that the number of species in a thirty yard length of hedgerow is equal to the age of that hedge in centuries.

This simple equation has recently been criticised by Richard and Nina Muir². Their attack on Hooper's work is at

¹E. Pollard, M.D. Hooper and N.W. Moore, Hedges, 1974, p. 79.

²R. Muir and N. Muir, Hedgerows, 1987, pp. 50 - 67.

times unjustified, and could lead one to suppose that they had not fully studied his work. They continually attack the one species per century concept, without examining Hooper's own misgivings about it or the wider statements he makes. He takes care to point out the pitfalls in his own work and clearly states that the one species per century formula has to be used with caution and should not be "used as an immutable universal law ³."

The refutation of the simple one species per century formula and the basis of this author's revised approach can best be seen by considering two groups of Gower hedges. One group lies on the now enclosed Port Eynon Moor, near Scurlage, in south west Gower. The other lies around Courthouse Farm in Ilston, in the centre of the Gower peninsula. In both areas the average number of species identified in a series of thirty yard lengths is 3.1; which would suggest a date in the late seventeenth century. Both groups of hedges are quite different in botanical nature. The hedges around Courthouse Farm are comprised largely of sycamore (Acer pseudoplatanus), hazel (Corylus avellana), beech (Fagus sylvatica), and birch (Betula pubescens.) On Port Eynon Moor the main species are hawthorn (Crataegus monogyna), blackthorn (Prunus spinosa) and elder (Sambucus nigra). There is a greater range in the number of species found in the Courthouse Farm area, where there are six species in addition to those listed above. On Port Eynon Moor only two other species were noted. The structure of the hedge banks of both areas show considerable differences. The lane that leads to Courthouse Farm is sunken well below the surface of the surrounding fields. The path acts as an overflow channel for a stream, the lower parts of the bank are bare and the hedgerow plants, gorse (Ulex europaeus) and brambles line the top part. (Figure 3A.1) In contrast, hedge banks are usually absent from Port Eynon Moor; the plants appear to have been planted directly in the ground and there is no change in level between the roads and the fields.

There is good evidence to conclude that these two sets of hedges originated at different times and in different ways. The hedges on Port Eynon Moor date to 1685, when grazing

³Pollard, Hooper and Moore, op. cit., pp. 85 - 9.

Fig.3A.1a : Typical nineteenth century, enclosure hedgebank; Nicholaston.

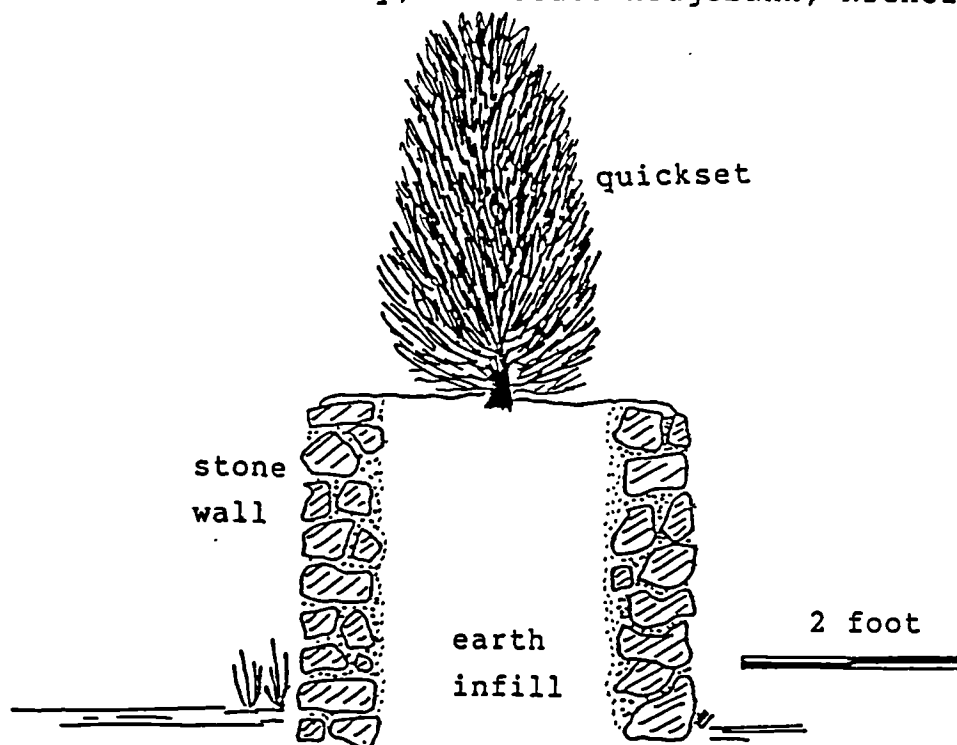
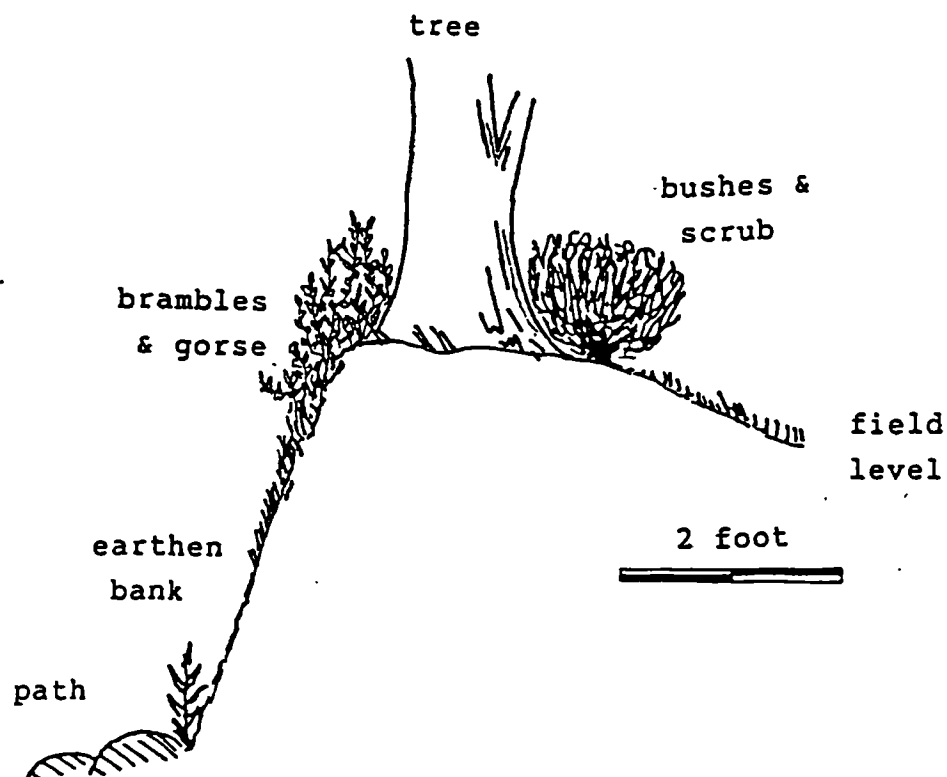


Fig. 3A.1b: Probable late medieval hedgebank; Courthouse Farm Lane, Ilston.



land was enclosed in order to provide more arable land for south west Gower⁴. The fields around Courthouse Farm probably originated in the late fifteenth century when an assart was made into the wooded land of the former de Breos deer park. The fields around the farm form a compact circular group around the top of a hill the lower slopes of which remain wooded; the fields closest to the farm were probably the original infield arable, whilst those further away then - as today - were rougher grazing land. This group of fields and the farm can be seen in the south east corner of the map (Figure 3A.2.) The farmhouse itself lies just below the top of the hill on the sheltered, south side. The windows, which are arch- and cusp-headed have been used to date the farmhouse to the fifteenth century⁵. This area of assarted land can, the author believes, be equated - in location and extent - with the one hundred and twenty hundred acres in the Forest of Fayerwood (sic) which the Earl of Worcester claimed had been taken illegally from him some time before 1590⁶.

This author does not reject the concept of hedge-dating outright. The author fully agrees with W.G. Hoskins who, as a young man, noted the variations in hedges and thought that they, in some complex way, were related to the ages of the hedges⁷. There does remain a problem if one believes that a hedge's nature and age are linked: it is necessary to specify which facets of the nature of a hedge bank can be used to date it. The author has tried to develop a wider methodology which includes not only the number of species but also the range of species present in and absent from each hedge, and the botanical characteristics of the individual species. Another possible way in which age and origin can be

⁴WGARO: D/D Ma 1; NLW Mss: Penrice and Margam 3606.

⁵The Glamorgan Inventory, volume 3 part 2, Medieval Secular Monuments, Non-defensive, 1982, p. 206.

⁶W.R.B. Robinson, 'The Liturgation of Edward Earl of Worcester Concerning Gower, 1590 - 6, Part I', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 22, 1968, pp. 377 - 85 citing PRO: Wards 3 11/61/6.

⁷W.G. Hoskins, 'Historical Sources for Hedge Dating', in Standing Conference for Local History pamphlet entitled Hedges and Local History, 1971, p. 14.



Fig. 3A.2: Field patterns in the central part of the chapter 7 case study area; reproduced from OS Pathfinder maps SS 48/58/68 and SS 49/59.

approached is through a study of the method of hedge bank construction and the shapes and names of fields which the hedges line. The Muirs have already argued that the study of field morphology and toponymy should replace hedgerow analysis as a way of dating fields⁸. This author aimed to combine all the methods in order to gain the maximum information.

Four other areas of hedgerow, of known date and origin, can be examined in order to extend the framework within which undated hedges can be assessed. An area of land was assarted at Llwyn-yr-Awst, in Llanrhidian, in 1328⁹. The average species count here is 5.2, with oak and hazel dominating the varied range of hedge shrubs identified. Another assart was made nearby, at Gelli-Groes, c. 1630¹⁰. Here the species count is 3.7, and a relatively large proportion of the hedges contain holly (*Ilex aquifolium*). These assart hedges were probably created by leaving woodland trees in situ and, if necessary, supplementing them by saplings from the same wood. Embanking of the hedge may also have been carried out. Two other sets of hedges originated, not through assarting, but by the re-organisation of arable land. At Rallt, in Llanrhidian, in 1625 large parcels of land were subdivided in order to make farming more manageable¹¹. The hedges of this area have an average of 4.2 species with hawthorn, blackthorn and hazel being predominant amongst a wide range of other species. An area of small regular fields south of Perriswood in the parish of Nicholaston has recently been swept away in the interests of "agri-business"¹². This author has argued that they were

⁸R. Muir and N. Muir, Fields, 1989, pp. 122 - 35.

⁹UCSA: Geo. Grant Francis Collection, box 1 (b).

¹⁰R.N. Cooper, A Survey of Hedges in the Western Part of Llanrhidian Higher Parish, unpublished manuscript, 1988, np.

¹¹ibid., np.

¹²The deliberate destruction of hedgerows is a practice which has recently caused some concern. It is estimated (personal communications from Charles Secrett [Friends of the Earth] and Jenny Smith [Council for the Protection of Rural Wales]) that between 1,500 and 2,000 miles of hedgerow are disappearing annually, with the consequent loss of an archaeological and biological resource. It is worth noting that ancient monuments
(Footnote continued)

created c. 1800 when the Mansel Talbot family of Penrice ceased to rent out this land and took it directly under their own management¹³.

From these descriptions and from a knowledge of the biological characteristics of certain species it is possible to set out some general principles which can be used to date and analyse the origins of certain hedges. The hedges at Rallt, Perriswood and on Port Eynon Moor were all deliberately constructed on open ground; in this study they have been termed enclosure hedges. The species counts give a general idea of date, as Table 3A.a shows. Hawthorn is found in all these hedges. Blackthorn is common in both Rallt and on Port Eynon Moor; this is to be expected as blackthorn is a rapid coloniser of hedges and it has a long life span. Ash (Fraxinus excelsior), another rapid and long-lived coloniser, is common in the hedges south of Perriswood. Elder is another fast coloniser; it flourishes on disturbed grounds, but it tends to be short-lived. The range of species found in these hedges is generally limited; at Perriswood most of the hedge counts included three of only four species. The limited range of species present was a common factor in the hedges examined in all three areas.

The number of species in the assart hedges is no firm indicator of age. As Table 3A.b shows there is some discrepancy between the actual and predicted dates. A way of differentiating between assart and enclosure hedges is needed. This would enable general limits of confidence to be set for the dating of hedges. It would also add to the knowledge of the processes at work in the countryside. Thus the date attributed to an enclosure hedge would be much more reliable than that attributed to an assart hedge. There is a noticeable difference in the species composition of assart and enclosure hedges. Figure 3A.3 shows the proportions of species counts which contained eight common plants. A marked difference is most

¹²(continued)

receive state protection, ancient hedges do not.

¹³J.A. Kissock, 'The Open Fields of Gower: a Case Study and a Reconsideration', Journal of the Gower Society, 37, 1986, p. 43.

Table 3A.1a: Species counts, predicted and actual dates and differences between the two, in three groups of Gower enclosure hedges.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Species</u> <u>count</u>	<u>Predicted</u> <u>date</u>	<u>Actual</u> <u>date</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Rallt	4.2	1570	c. 1625	- 55
Port Eynon Moor	3.1	1680	1685	- 5
Perriswood	2.0	1790	c. 1800	- 10

mean difference: - 23.3

Table 3A.1b: Species counts, predicted and actual dates and differences between the two, in three groups of Gower assart hedges.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Species</u> <u>count</u>	<u>Predicted</u> <u>date</u>	<u>Actual</u> <u>date</u>	<u>Difference</u>
Llwyn-yr-Awst	5.2	1470	c. 1300	+ 170
Courthouse Farm	3.1	1680	pre-1590	+ 90
Gelli Groes	3.7	1620	c. 1630	- 10

mean difference: + 83.3

Table 3A.1c: Profiles of woodland species.

<u>Species</u>	<u>Wimblewood</u>	<u>Morlakes</u>	<u>Wood</u>	<u>Total</u> (=%)
Oak	13	13		26
Hazel	19	-		19
Beech	-	15		15
Birch	5	9		14
Ash	7	6		13
Holly	5	1		6
Hawthorn	1	5		6
Sycamore	-	1		1

noticeable in the smaller amounts of thorn and the greater amounts of holly, oak, sycamore and hazel in the assart hedges. The assart hedges appear to contain no one predominant species, whereas the enclosure hedges do. This characteristic of assart hedges has been recognised elsewhere¹⁴.

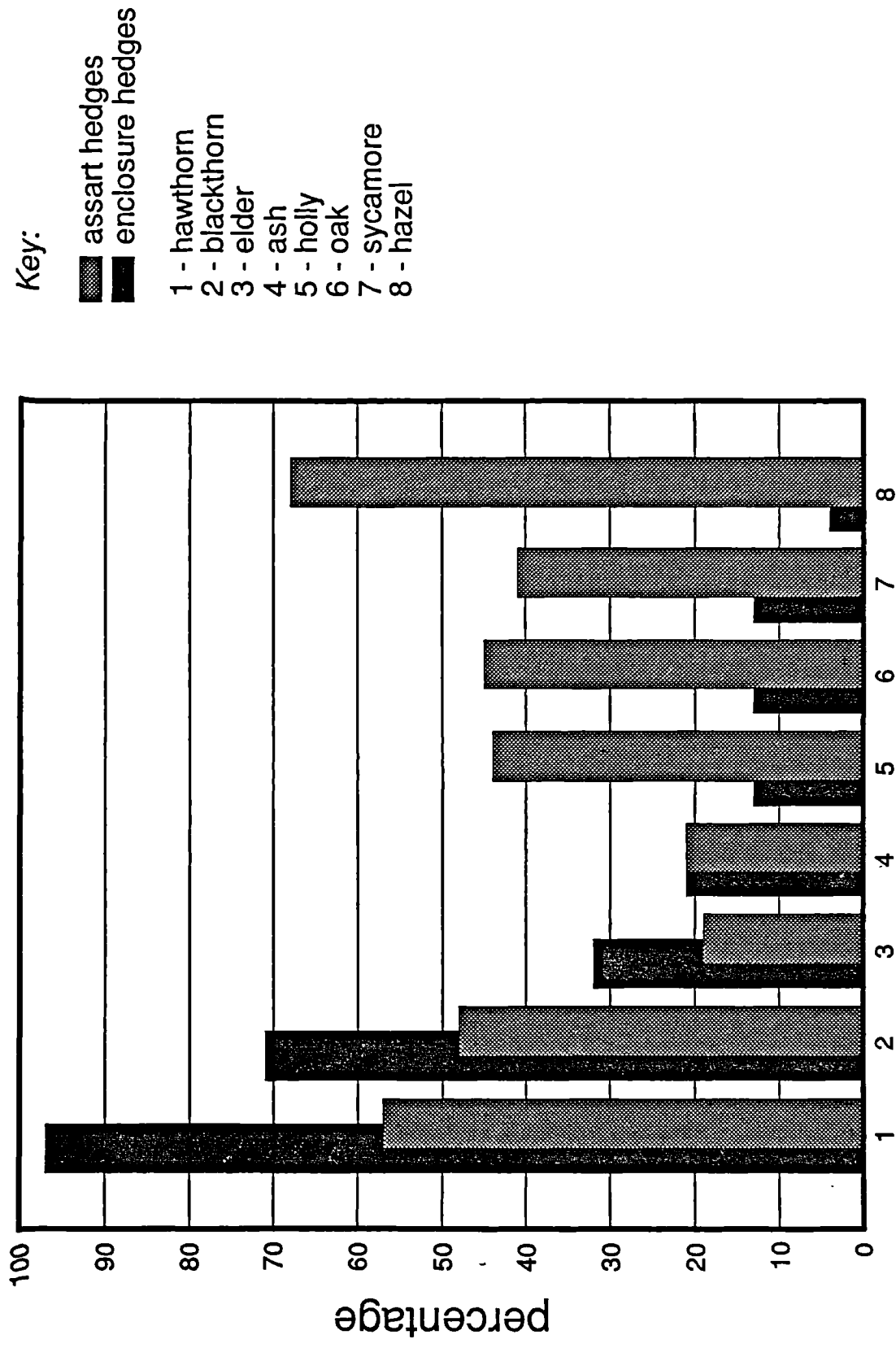
The assart hedges are likely to comprise those species that were common in the woodlands that were cleared. An examination of the species composition of two areas of woodland was carried out in order to ascertain which were the common woodland species of north Gower. Transects were walked across both Wimblewood and Morlakes Wood and the first fifty trees on each transect were recorded. Neither wood shows any measure of recent management and hence it is hoped that the species profiles (Table 3A.c) represent the composition of natural woodland in the area. It appears that oak, hazel, beech, birch and ash are the most common woodland plants. The predominance of hazel, beech and birch in Courthouse Farm Lane, and oak and hazel at Llwyn-yr-Awst, both areas of assarting, helps to confirm the supposition that the woodland species profile does have some degree of historical value. The differences between Table 3A.c and Figure 3A.3 (notably the high proportion of thorn in the latter) is almost certainly accounted for by differential colonisation. Hawthorn and blackthorn are common in enclosure hedges and can easily invade all other hedges, irrespective of origin. This cannot happen in woodland. By examining the range of species in hedges and comparing them with this woodland profile it ought to be possible to determine whether or not specific groups of hedges resulted from assarts or from enclosure.

An auxiliary method of determining whether or not a hedge results from an assart is thought to be the presence or absence of the spring flowers bluebell (Hyacinthoides non-scriptus), wood anemone (Anemone nemorosa) and dog's mercury (Mercurialis perennis) in the hedgebank. All these flowers are thought to characterise hedges which were once part of woodland and are claimed to be characteristic of assart - but not enclosure - hedges¹⁵. A clear-cut pattern of this

¹⁴E. Pollard, 'Woodland Relic Hedges in Huntingdon and Peterborough', Journal of Ecology, 61, 1963, p. 345.

¹⁵E. Pollard, M.D. Hooper and N.W. Moore, Hedges, 1974, p. 88.

Fig. 3A.3: The percentage of enclosure and assart hedges which contain certain species.



nature could not be found in Gower. Bluebells were found in virtually all hedges regardless of their origin. Limited amounts of dog's mercury and anemone were found. The exceptionally mild spring of 1990, with the consequent early flowering of plants, may have partly led to this pattern. Anemone usually flowers in April, the other plants in May. By the time the fieldwork was carried out (in the last week of April and the first week of May) anemone may have flowered and died back, leaving only the less noticeable leaves behind. Neither anemone nor dogs' mercury were found in the enclosure hedges around Scurlage; both were found in the assart hedge along Courthouse Farm Lane. This pattern was expected. Yet no anemone (flowers or leaves) could be found near Llanellen and both anemone and dogs' mercury were found immediately north of Lunnon. This pattern was not expected. In conclusion, as far as south central Gower is concerned, the presence or absence of certain spring flowers does not appear to be a reliable indicator of the origin of any group of hedges.

Field shape and the method of hedge bank construction offer two other ways in which it may be possible that fields can be dated. It is difficult to determine the nature of the hedgebanks throughout the study area. It is usually impossible to see the core of the hedgebank in order to study how it was constructed. Road works do however provide an occasional and useful "key hole"! At Penmaen the hedges appear to be similar to the general pattern of those of south Gower. Hedges lie on banks which are fronted by low stone walls (Figure 3A.1.) In north Gower the pattern is much more varied. No date is known for the construction of this bank. The following thirty yards of hedge contain four species (hawthorn, holly, birch and ash) which may suggest a sixteenth century date. The hedgebanks in Nicholaston, dated c. 1800, appear to be very similar to those at Penmaen. There is also some documentary evidence for the nature of enclosure hedgebanks at this time. Areas in the parishes of Swansea and Loughor were enclosed by act in 1761 and 1835 respectively. Both acts specify the way in which the boundaries were to be constructed. In both areas a similar practice was to be followed; as the Loughor Act states,

"A bank of Clod and Turf be made four feet high and the middle filled with earth of Mould and that the top be planted with quicksets of Thorns¹⁶."

A little information on the hedges and fences of the area is to be found in the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture. Walter Davies noted, in 1815, that the hedges of Gower were almost always plashed (built up by successive layerings of shrubs) and trimmed back on the roadward side. This ensured that there was sufficient shade for animals and dead wood for domestic purposes remaining on the inner side¹⁷.

Earlier enclosure took place at Gelli-Groes, in c. 1630. Here the hedges come in two distinct forms. Some comprise stone walled banks with the hedge on top. Holly tends to be the predominant species in these hedges. Others appear to lie on banks which are fronted by ditches, sometimes a small second (possibly recent) bank lies in front of this. The make-up of the main bank appears to be a simple mound of earth, but the presence of a (now covered) stone retaining wall cannot be discounted. This could be an example of two different processes at work. Walled banks and holly hedges resulting from the early seventeenth century agricultural changes with earth bank hedges formed through woodland clearance. The two processes may or may not be contemporary; there is not sufficient evidence to date the latter type of hedge.

At the site of the other seventeenth century enclosure, Port Eynon Moor, hedgebanks were, as was noted above, almost entirely absent, and the hedges were planted at field level. Assart hedges usually lie on earth banks; stone walls were generally absent. These hedge banks were (as might be expected) often more crude in appearance than those of the enclosure hedges. At Fairwood Corner Farm, where the hedges are similar in date to some of those at Gelli-Groes, they are quite different in bank construction, being earthen banks rather than walls. The former hedge banks resulted from the taking in of land, the latter from agricultural re-organisation. This study of hedgebanks was inconclusive as far as chronology was

¹⁶WGARO: D/D Xnx 1.

¹⁷W. Davies, General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of South Wales, 1815, p. 247 and pp. x - xi.

concerned. No trends in hedgebank construction were found which could be related to chronology. There was considerable variety in hedgebank construction techniques and few hedges could be dated other than by their species counts and botanical compositions. If a link existed it was between the origin of the hedge - assart or enclosure - and construction method. Whilst this pattern may conceal a chronological one, with assarts probably being earlier than enclosures, the pattern is not chronologically independent and it cannot therefore be used solely as way of dating hedges. It does allow the distinction to be drawn between enclosure and assart hedges and therefore allows the certainty of any date to be gauged by reference to the adjustment figures cited in Table 3A.1.

Field shapes were studied and classified into five groups: elongated fields (with an exceptionally high length:width ratio, usually greater than 5:1), rectilinear fields (with a lower length: width ratio), small irregular fields, large irregular fields (differentiated from the former by having an area of five or more acres) and large regular fields. The range of field shapes in the area can be seen on Figure 3A.2 Those fields whose shape appears to have been dictated largely by terrain were excluded from this section of the study. The first two groups of fields almost certainly derived from individual strips or groups of strips being enclosed. These fields are often found in small parcels near to groups of three or four farms, for example at Cefn Bychan. The average species count for these hedges is 5.4. The species counts in the large fields were generally lower; average 4.1. These fields tend to surround farms; although the large group near the village of Lunnon does not conform to this pattern. The nearness of the species counts and the nature of the hedges makes any assumptions about absolute dates unwise. These data need to be used in conjunction with other evidence, and not on its own. Hence it is also difficult to use shape alone as a chronological indicator.

Assart hedges can be identified by their particular species profile and form of bank structure. One group of assart hedges in the north of the study area is also exceptionally long and is abutted, but not cut, by other hedges. These hedges are usually about 500 yards long, and often have five or more

abuttals. These hedges do not necessarily follow landscape features, such as ridges or valleys. They are often species rich (with average counts of up to 5.4), suggesting relatively early dates when compared with other hedges in this part of the study area. These hedges may be the boundaries of the earliest intakes made into this area. For example at Llanelen the hedge runs along the hill slope in an easterly direction before turning through ninety degrees to run down to a stream. Throughout its length the hedge is associated with a footpath. This long, unbroken hedge is likely to have been the boundary of the medieval farm here. Similar patterns are found at Cwm Farm, Wernfrwdd and elsewhere. Often the clearing of land between the medieval assarts to enclose land for later farms has blurred this pattern; but it is still visible where farmed land, regardless of the age of its enclosure, meets moorland.

In conclusion, it is possible to state that hedge dating by counting the number of species in a series of thirty yard sections, and equating this number with the age of that hedge in centuries, is a viable technique. It provides relatively accurate dates for enclosure hedges and dates, which can be used albeit with care, to give a general chronology to assart hedges. The examination of the botanical composition of species profiles enables assart and enclosure hedges to be differentiated, and hence the origin of hedges and the precision with which they can be dated can be gauged. Unfortunately the examination of the method of hedgebank construction method, revealed no certain pattern that could be related to date. The study of field shape and name similarly revealed no definite chronological pattern. Hedge dating by the analysis of species counts and the study of the range of species in that hedge remains, this author maintains, a feasible and practicable method of study. It enabled an area of landscape to be dated and a tentative analysis of the processes which created it to be outlined.

Appendix 4: Archaeologists and developers in mid-Pembrokeshire.

Several villages were identified in chapters 3 and 8 as key to our understanding of the Anglo-Norman settlement of Pembrokeshire. They were selected mainly through a study of village morphology and, in part, by an examination of the results of excavation and by the study of historical sources. Recent development and the threat of future development is obscuring the original morphology and rendering large areas of village land archaeologically sterile through the destruction of remains. If these were made available for excavation they could add substantially to our knowledge of the twelfth-century settlement history of this area.

Rural housing is a scarce resource in most parts of England and Wales today. It has recently been estimated that ten or more houses will have to be built in every English and Welsh village within the next five years in order to solve the shortage¹. Both property developers and local authorities are anxious to exploit the potential of what is regarded as "exceptional land" on the edge of villages. Both groups hope that this land can be developed to provide more low-cost housing which is desperately needed. This land is also the land with the greatest archaeological potential - it is in villages but it is not already built upon.

The threat posed by development to these archaeological resources can be best understood by looking at two case studies: Wiston and Templeton. Development at Wiston has recently been the subject of a planning inquiry. A Mr. Massey-Crosse had his application for permission to build two houses immediately to the south of Wiston Castle referred to the Welsh Office. This application was rejected in an almost unprecedented move. (Massey-Crosse has not accepted his loss gracefully and has threatened to plough out all potential archaeological deposits on his land.) A further application has been examined by Presceli Pembrokeshire District Council for

¹T. Miles, 'Rural Housing Crisis is Four Times Worse Than Feared', The Observer, 5 February 1990, p. 4, citing a joint report by the Rural Development Commission and Action with Communities in Rural England.

four dwellings in the field immediately to the west of the church. This proposal has been scaled down to three houses. These eight buildings would add to the six which have already received consent, which has not yet been implemented. There is therefore a possibility that twelve new houses will be built within the limits of the borough outlined in Figure 8.7. This is in addition to the ten post-war council houses, a primary school (opened in 1977) and a row of more recent bungalows. The situation in Templeton is worse. Here planning consents have been obtained and implemented. Figure A4.1 shows the areas which have been built upon between c. 1975 and this author's visit in February 1988. Infilling has taken place on several burgage plots and the initial pattern of houses fronting on to the road has been broken up by the frequent insertion of cul-de-sacs each of about a dozen houses. The access roads and sub-surface provision of drainage and cables for these houses have obliterated any remains of the frontages of the medieval burgage plots that might have survived. The construction of agricultural structures at the rear of the domestic buildings may also have destroyed any remains that were once there. All this was done without archaeologists having the opportunity to examine the areas concerned.

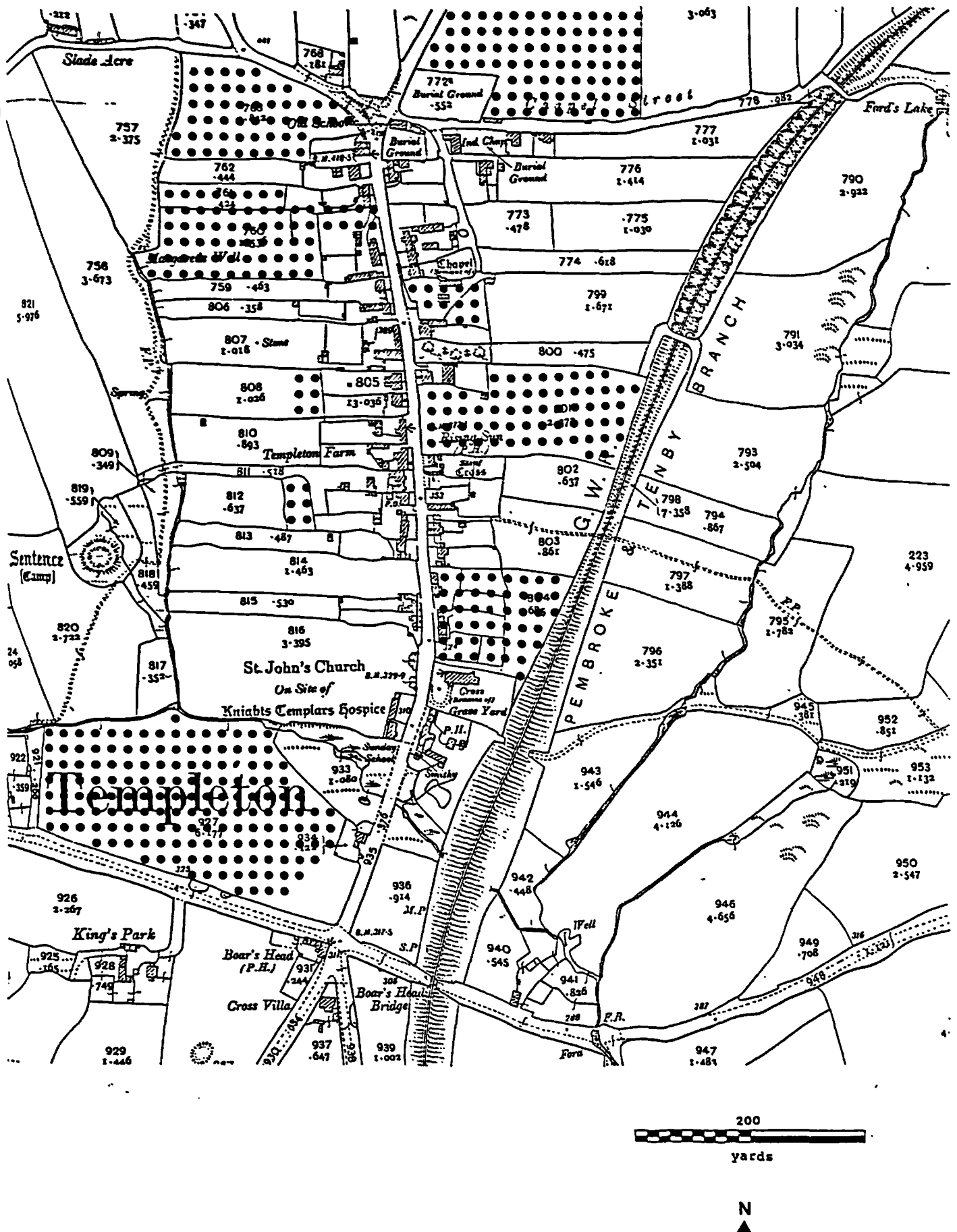
This destruction of resources is only a small part of a much wider pattern. Darvill has examined this threat and has concluded that,

"The development of a coherent strategy for the preservation of archaeological sites on a large scale is now critical in order to take advantage of the tide of change taking place in the way the countryside is managed. Britain has a long history of protecting and caring for its ancient monuments, but the experience of the last two decades makes it clear that more must be done now to ensure that even a small sample of what remains is preserved for our₂ own and future generations." (Darvill's emphasis.)²

Darvill believes, and this author agrees, that what is needed is a series of archaeological resource management plans which would preserve a range of sites and monuments. These would also aim to provide a framework within which conflicts of interest could be resolved if and when they occurred. A review of the

²T. Darvill, Ancient Monuments in the Countryside, 1987, p. 1.

Fig.4A.1: The destruction of archaeological resources at Templeton, c. 1971 to 1989.



••• : Devastated areas.

legal and financial framework within which the protection and archaeological examination of threatened sites will now be conducted is a necessary preliminary to this author's proposed framework for an archaeological resource management plan.

There are two possible types of response to the threat: statutory and voluntary. A voluntary code of practice has been drawn up between the British Property Federation and the Standing Conference of Archaeological Unit Managers³. It recognises that when sites are being developed both parties have an interest and that this causes problems of time and money. Under the code developers are asked to regard archaeologists as another professional body (on a par with architects or civil engineers) and to include them in the planning process from the start of any project by approaching them for obtain an archaeological implications report as a matter of routine. This agreement was negotiated by Brian Hobley (head of the Department of Urban Archaeology at the Museum of London) and the conciliation committee, which aims to resolve disputes is chaired by Peter Brooke (MP for the City of London.) This reflects the urban-orientated bias of the code of practice. In areas where profit margins are high and where most of the developers are members of the British Property Federation the code will be applied; this is unlikely to be so elsewhere.

The second opportunity for voluntary restraints on developers was initiated by the government. The possible course of section is specified in the Town and Country Planning Act, 1971⁴. This Act gives local authorities the power to regulate the development of land, permanently or for a specified period, if they wish to do so. A joint Department of the Environment and Welsh Office circular⁵ reminded local authorities that, if they desired, they could impose conditions of this type on developers so that land could be made available for examination by archaeologists. Such conditions were to be "reasonable" and

³Anon., Editorial, British Archaeological Newsletter, 1, 1986, p. 33; A. Selkirk, Editorial, Current Archaeology, 9, 1986, pp. 132 - 3.

⁴Section 52.

⁵Number 1/85, 1985.

"should not require work to be held up while archaeological investigation takes place." Action of this nature has to be initiated by local authorities; they are not obliged to do so and no one can insist that land is given this protection. The local authorities are being asked to choose between houses and archaeology, and the latter usually wins. Local authorities are keen to promote "infilling" as building on existing vacant land within villages is thought not to spoil the character of the area. Unfortunately they are also unable or unwilling to use the provision of the Act which allows them to provide financial resources to regulate development. The powers therefore exist for local authorities to halt development for short periods of time and to fund archaeological investigations of threatened areas. These powers are not exercised.

The first statutory power that can be exercised is to "schedule" the monument. Scheduled ancient monuments are protected by the state against a variety of threats. This procedure was established in the late nineteenth century and has been amended, but not replaced since⁶. During the boom in rescue archaeology in the 1970s and in the face of developer intransigence scheduling was often used to create opportunities for fieldwork. The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act, 1979, which came into force on 14 April 1982, removed this possibility. Only monuments or areas thought to be of "national importance" can be scheduled. Criteria have been drawn up for the selection of monuments for scheduling. These are: the state of preservation of the monument, its period, rarity and fragility, the available documentation and group value of that category of monument, the need to ensure that a diverse range of monuments are protected and the potential of the monument or area. Templeton, Wiston and similar sites all have potential, yet scheduling on this factor alone is thought to be a dubious legal point⁷. Even if this potential were demonstrated, for example by using geophysical means to ascertain to some extent the nature of any remains, the legal objections might still

⁶ Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882; Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act, 1913; Ancient Monuments Act, 1931; Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act, 1953.

⁷ A. Selkirk, Editorial, Current Archaeology, 8, 1984, p. 195.

apply.

Under section 33 of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act the Secretary of State or a local authority may designate any area which merits the distinction as an Area of Archaeological Importance. Any development (which includes flooding the area and tipping waste upon it, as well as building work which will disturb the ground) must be notified to the authorities at least six weeks in advance. The failure to do so can lead to a fine of £1,000⁸. Section 38 of this Act gives archaeologists the right of entry to any designated site in order to determine whether or not excavation is desirable, to excavate if necessary and to maintain a watching brief during any development of the site. If excavation is to go ahead a notice of intention to do so must be made within four weeks of the receipt of notification to develop the site. The period then allowed for excavation is four and a half months. The Secretary of State or local authority may, under section 45 of the Act, pay some or all of the costs of the archaeological investigation in one of the Areas of Archaeological Importance (AAIs.)

This Act would appear to offer sites such as Wiston and Templeton some measure of protection. In practice it does not. The government has been prepared to designate only five historic town centres - those of Canterbury, York, Chester, Exeter and Hereford - as AAIs. The Council for British Archaeology and the House of Commons Environment Committee has urged the creation of further AAIs⁹, but the Department of the Environment has refused to do so. It claims that the scheme is a "pilot project" and that no further AAIs will be designated until there has been a review of the effectiveness of the procedure as a means of protection¹⁰. This refusal may be a case of the government exploiting a vagueness in the purpose

⁸ Magistrates' Court Act, 1980.

⁹ House of Commons, First Report from the Environment Committee, Session 1986 - 87, Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments, volume 1, sections 137 - 9.

¹⁰ House of Commons, Environment Committee, First Special Report, Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments, Observations on the First Report of the Committee in Session 1986 - 87, section 34.

underlying the terminology of the Act. It should be remembered that this act aimed to replace widespread "scheduling" of threatened sites with an equally effective means of protection: the creation of AAIs. Yet the legislation is not being used so that intention is expressed in action. This Act did not receive the benefit of detailed discussion during a committee stage as it received both its readings in both Houses of Parliament in one afternoon. This exceptional procedure was adopted as an alternative to losing the bill in the final hours before Parliament was dissolved for the 1979 general election. It is also worth noting that the above discussion relates only to the way in which the Department of the Environment has administered the Act in England. The Welsh Office could presumably, if the Secretary of State desired, interpret the Act as it wished¹¹. This would not, of course, be against the letter of the Act, only against the spirit in which it is currently used.

It appears therefore that there are ways of protecting the threatened land in the villages with which this chapter has been concerned. Local authorities could use the powers they have under the Town and Country Planning Act to delay development until archaeological investigation has taken place. Alternatively the sites could be designated as AAIs and thus any development would have to be notified and an avenue for appropriate action - be that excavation or the maintenance of a watching brief - opened. There is one problem with both these strategies: finance. Resources would have to be made available for the project. The House of Commons Environment Committee has recommended that English Heritage should be given the necessary resources to fund research in AAIs which are under threat. If AAIs were established in Wales then a similar recommendation might be made for the provision of resources for Cadw. Unfortunately Cadw has appeared to be unwilling to put resources into village archaeology in the past. (The current inquiry into developments at Wiston has forced a change. As they objected to the development they were honour bound to finance limited excavation within the threatened area.) But

¹¹This section was first drafted in January 1990 when Peter Walker was following an exceptionally independent line as Secretary of State for Wales. It remains to be seen whether or not his successor, David Hunt, will be similarly minded.

this might not be sufficient; other resources will have to be drawn on for the "non-rescue" elements of research. This could be funded by the developers themselves. They have already recognised the need to use some of the profits they will gain from these developments for social purposes (usually the creation of mixed estates of low-cost rented homes and housing for sale on the open market.) All that would appear to be required is a slight change in emphasis with the setting aside of a small proportion of the profit to fund archaeological activity and an consequent minor increase in the proportion of the properties sold rather than rented.

This author proposes the following archaeological resource management plan for the villages of south Pembrokeshire. First, protection needs to be granted to land within villages that could be developed. This must either be done by local authority use of section 52 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1971 or by the widespread creation of AAIs by the Welsh Office. This would restrict development and ensure that any disturbance of the ground could take only place after the archaeologists had had an opportunity to investigate the site. Finance for this ought to be made by the Welsh Office, through Cadw, from the local authorities and from the developers themselves.

Once villages are given some measure of protection and finance is made available work could start in earnest. An early priority ought to be to try to establish exactly what remains undamaged. In certain areas air photography might provide some indications, but in most localities resistivity and magnetic resonance surveys will have to be used. This would be a prelude to the selection of certain areas for immediate excavation and of other areas for long-term preservation. This choice ought not to be based only upon the quality of the remains and the nature of the threat posed to them, but also upon the need to examine a wide variety of types of site. It should include, where possible, the investigation of both regular and irregular settlements in all areas of the county. Integrated with this work ought to be research into the varied aspects of the landscapes of conquest, colonisation and survival. This ought to take into account the interdisciplinary perspective which will be gained by re-investigating historical

sources and topographical evidence in the light of a campaign of archaeological investigation.

An outline strategy for the preservation of remains has been presented above. This is urgently necessary, otherwise there will be no data available for future work. The inclusion of this strategy is an open admission that there are still - at the end of this project - unanswered questions and, in the fullness of time, there are likely to be other questions which were not even asked in this thesis. This work, by its very nature, and by the nature of the scope and time limit imposed on this thesis remains unconsidered.

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