Land, people and power in early medieval Wales:

the cantref of Cemais in comparative perspective

Volume 1

Text

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Declaration

I, Rhiannon Comeau, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This study examines the structure of the early medieval Welsh landscape. Using a cantref (hundred) in south-west Wales as a case study, it draws on a multidisciplinary, comparative analysis to overcome the limits imposed by restricted material culture survival and limited written sources. It examines the patterns of power and habitual activity that defined spaces and structured lives, and considers the temporal relationships, both seasonal and longue durée, that shaped them.

Four key findings are presented.

Firstly, that key areas of early medieval life – agriculture, tribute-payment, legal processes and hunting – were structured by a longstanding seasonal patterning that is preserved in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Welsh law, church and well dedications and fair dates.

Secondly it presents, at cantref level, the first systematic survey of assembly site evidence in Wales, and sets it in comparative context.

Thirdly, it demonstrates that, though poor material culture preservation and limited written records have hitherto restricted identification and characterisation of key locations in the early medieval Welsh landscape, a multidisciplinary dataset allows effective identification of focal zones through indicators known from other areas of north-west Europe.

Fourthly, the widely-used 'multiple estate model' is found to be an inadequate descriptor of the early medieval Welsh landscape. An alternative approach is proposed.

Methodologically, it demonstrates the value of a multidisciplinary approach, especially the systematic use of place-names which is novel in a Welsh context. It also provides key resources for other researchers by geolocating pre-1700 place-names from a previously published survey; creating GIS resources (polygons and geolocated databases) from the 1840s tithe map and schedules for parishes in its detailed case study areas; and providing a geolocated database of 16th-century demesne and Welsh-law landholdings in the cantref.

Impact Statement

This study began as a response to well-acknowledged limitations in the study of Welsh landscapes of the early medieval period, an area of scholarship which, for various reasons, has not kept up with that of the countries around it. Within Wales this obscures understanding of a key period for the formation of regional and national identities, and on the broader level means the near-absence of Wales from supra-regional discourses whose larger narratives are accordingly skewed and restricted.

Because so many gaps in research had to be bridged, my study's intention is both to challenge and provoke as well as to provide effective, accessible approaches to assessing the early medieval landscape that are not reliant on material culture and written records, since these are in short supply for early medieval Wales. It also aims to facilitate discourse with other regional and national narratives.

The impact of this study is already being felt as presentations of work-in-progress at conferences prompt others to re-evaluate patterns of evidence in their own areas. There is considerable interest in its study of seasonality and its different manifestations. Awareness of the existence and significance of Welsh assembly sites (previously unknown as an area of study) is becoming established, though Wales is still in need of much fundamental research. The local study of assembly sites in this thesis provides a template for this further research as well as, for the first time, providing a body of comparative material for assembly site research elsewhere. Medieval Welsh agriculture is also receiving more attention following a conference instigated in part by work undertaken for this thesis, and a collection of papers is in preparation.

These presentations have been given to local groups as well as to academic audiences. The approaches presented are accessible to community researchers as well as to university academics and heritage specialists, and provide a framework that sets local research within wider narratives. They provide a means of contextualising less tangible elements of heritage like place-names, longstanding festivals and landscape use, and using them to access a pivotal but often archaeologically invisible period of history. For both academic researchers and heritage specialists they facilitate the targeting of research and resources through the identification of focal zones. Supra-regional contextualisation provides a validity outside the study's regional setting and opens up possibilities for much-needed wider discourse.

In sum, this study offers a fresh research agenda that has implications far beyond its regional Welsh setting.

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Abbreviations

BL: British Library

CCR: Calendar of Close Rolls

CIPM: Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem

CPAT: Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust

DAT: Dyfed Archaeological Trust http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk/

GAT: Gwynedd Archaeological Trust

GIS: Geographic Information System

GGAT: Gwent-Glamorgan Archaeological Trust

GPC: Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru (A Dictionary of the Welsh Language, published by University of Wales Press), available online http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html

HER: Historic Environment Record, available online https://www.archwilio.org.uk/arch/

NLW: National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

NPRN: National Primary Record Number

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

PRO: Public Record Office

RCAHMW: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales. Records available online http://map.coflein.gov.uk/

Chapter 1.
Introduction

This is a study of the early medieval landscape, and of longstanding links between people and place in a pre-urban society. It examines how patterns of power and habitual activity defined spaces and structured lives, and considers the temporal relationships, both seasonal and longue durée, that shaped these practices. Its objectives are shaped by an examination of the limitations and lacunae of existing research: it seeks to identify key elements of the early medieval landscape; asks how landscape patterns and processes can be characterised; whether existing models provide an adequate description; and whether a better conceptualisation is possible.

It is a study at different levels. On one level it uses microscale studies to investigate the landscape signature of early medieval settlement and activity in a specific, poorly understood area. On another level it addresses the more general question of the spatial expression of power in the social and economic processes of a world without towns or large villages. Running through it is the theme of time, expressed in seasonally-syncopated patterns of practice in the landscape, as well as in longer term relationships with the past, both of which structured people's experience and definition of the landscape.

The area that it examines lies within Wales, a region defined in the early medieval period, its landforms imbued with references to early medieval mythology and marked by inscribed stones commemorating the secular and spiritual forces of the post-Roman centuries (Bollard 2009, 47-8; W. Davies 1982, 196-7; Edwards 2001, 22-3; 2007, 31-4, 55-62; Petts 2007, 164-5). It is therefore striking that, despite its iconic identification with this period, the region is notable for its substantial absence from early medieval scholarly discourse (W. Davies 2004, 203-4). Its settlement patterns and social and economic processes are poorly identified and understood, with research suffering from a material record restricted by aceramic traditions, little coin use, unfurnished burials, acid soils, and limited excavation activity: developer-funded excavations are scarce due to weak economic development (Edwards et al. 2011, 17-8). Historical documentation is also extremely limited, and both medieval and pre-Conquest records are absent in many areas. It is nonetheless an area of interest in a wider European context for its long-enduring patterns of dispersed settlement and power, which present a counterpoint to the dominant teleological European narrative of urbanisation and large-scale polities (Wickham 2010, 208). It is therefore unfortunate (to say the least) that there is little Welsh research to offer pan-regional reviews of early medieval settlement and landscapes, like that of Gabor Thomas (2012). Its focal places are

poorly understood, and its assembly sites are substantially unidentified: before this research began, only one site in the whole of Wales had been definitively identified and published (Comeau 2014, 270-1; Edwards et al. 2005, 33-6; Edwards 2009b; Edwards et al. 2011, 2).

These problems extend to, and are linked with, the region's (early medieval) historical research, which has been criticised for its lack of integration of archaeological and environmental data and for its failure to engage with the major themes of European historiography, among them issues of social structure, change, popular involvement with processes of power in their various forms, and Annaliste interpretations (W. Davies 2004, 206, 210-1, 219-20). The region's best-known contribution to early medieval scholarship, the multiple estate model, a conceptual structure of economic and territorial relationships that has been highly influential in Anglo-Saxon and Scottish work, is commonly censured as static, prescriptive and anachronistic (W. Davies 1982, 44-7; 2004, 207; Gregson 1985; Hadley 1996, 8, 11-12; Seaman 2012). The development of alternative accounts is constrained by limited written sources and by the lack of conventional archaeological data, summed up in a recent review of early medieval Wales which notes that 'our understanding of the archaeology of pre-Norman settlement … is virtually non-existent: not a single site has conclusively been identified' (Edwards 2007, 8).

As well as being an issue for broader scholarship, these factors present problems locally in a region whose identity was formed by a 19th- and earlier 20th-century tribal narrative of pastoralist Celtic aristocrats that dovetailed with the Welsh Annals' terse references to the exploits of Welsh princes (Fleming 2007, 5-6; Pryce 2011, 137-8). This research study is a response to the challenge posed by these shortcomings, which indicate a pressing need for a broadly-based (re)assessment of the evidence for pre-Conquest Welsh settlement patterns and landscape use that recognises current European research. It provides this through a detailed interdisciplinary, comparative investigation of an early medieval *cantref* (hundred/supra-local district), Cemais, in Pembrokeshire. Its subject is the multiple expressions of the relationship between land, people and power over the longue durée of the early medieval period, from 6th-century Irish settlement to the 12th-century Norman conquest, with a particular focus on the 11th-century pre-Conquest landscape. It identifies the structure and elements (economic, administrative and social) of this landscape, and considers the expression, at different spatial and temporal levels, of communal engagement with it. It does this using a thematic analysis that includes a consideration of the patterns of landscape use revealed in seasonal agricultural practices and in fairs and other assemblies; the materialisation of ideas and events in place-names, monumental stones, barrows and

intersite relationships; and the relevance and validity of existing models of early medieval settlement.

South-west Wales, the regional setting for Cemais (Figures A1, A2), exemplifies the limited scope of early medieval Welsh archaeology, with no investigation of its pre-Conquest central places or of their relationship to recorded Conquest-period territorial units: a clear gap in scholarship. The specific circumstances of Cemais' medieval development offer useful potential for interdisciplinary analysis. Its well-researched late prehistoric pattern of numerous small scattered habitative enclosures (Murphy and Mytum 2012; C. Thomas 1994, 76) is echoed by its dispersed medieval settlements; its only town, Newport, was founded by the Normans c.1200 (Miles 1995, 25). Oral tradition describes a brutal Norman takeover to the south of the Preselis, where there were subinfeudated Norman landholdings, and fruitful negotiations with the Welsh in the north, where substantial areas were held under Welsh law until the 16th century (Chapter 4). Welsh is still the primary language of many of the area's inhabitants. These contrasting trajectories provide comparative substance for the detailed investigations that elucidate the study's principal themes.

Existing regional archaeological and historical research into settlement, economy, society and land use are reviewed in **Chapter 2,** with specific consideration of the multiple estate model and related discussions of lordship, power and territoriality; early medieval trade and exchange; assemblies; and the use of early medieval inscribed stones as territorial markers. This analysis shapes the objectives of the research project, defining directions that might allow research to identify the social and economic structure of the landscape and characterise and model its elements in a broader comparative European perspective. These directions include, firstly, looking at individual and communal engagement with the landscape, and its relationship with the expression of power; and secondly an evaluation of the utility of the multiple estate model against other and newer models of early medieval settlement and landscape. A checklist of focal zone elements generated from these discussions structures discussion of study area evidence in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3, 'Approaches', continues this overview of existing research with a review of the research project's conceptual hinterland that shapes the study's theoretical framework and methodology. These are selected for their capacity to structure a broad and diverse range of data within a contextualised comparative analysis. Discussion focusses on the relevance of analytic models of social hierarchy and centrality, and considers the utility of a practice-based approach as a means of engaging with a broad range of attributes at different scales of analysis. The use of a practice-based approach in conjunction with an Annales time structure is proposed, emphasising processes of

social and economic change over the longue durée of the early medieval period, and identifying the cyclical activities which structured society (conjonctures), and events at individual sites and settings (événements) as a counterbalance to the static reification inherent in mapping settlement and land use patterns. The issue of availability of evidence of past practice is looked at, and the point is made that conventional archaeological material culture is not the only source of information about past practice in the landscape. Other sources, like written records, place-names and oral traditions are considered.

These conceptual considerations lead into a discussion of the project's practical priorities and methods of data collection and analysis. Data sets are identified which relate to seasonal events as well as more conventional subject matter like archaeological sites and medieval landholding patterns. Criteria for examining focal areas are considered, and areas for detailed micro-level case studies are defined.

In **Chapter 4** attention turns to a collation and evaluation of patterns of evidence across the whole of the cantref study area. The very limited early medieval archaeological data for Cemais are summarised and examined before turning to the written record. Much of this derives from little-discussed material of the 13th to 16th centuries that is set out in supporting appendices, the more lengthy of which are presented on a CD-ROM. These include medieval charters, 16th-century estate records and geolocated pre-1700 place names, as well as the evidence of the archaeological record, and provide the material for cantref-wide overall assessments in this chapter as well as detailed analyses in subsequent chapters.

The recorded historical development of the general area of Dyfed, and of the specific area of the *cantref* (or medieval Lordship) of Cemais, is outlined with the aim of providing a base for an assessment of the pre-Conquest *cantref.* This is a significant task since Cemais has hitherto received little attention outside its Anglo-Norman enclaves, and it is specifically the non-Norman areas that are of particular interest to the current research. The medieval landholding and administrative structure of Cemais is assessed using medieval and 16th-century records, and set in the context of oral traditions relating to the Conquest of Cemais and such evidence as exists locally for pre-Conquest elements like the *cantref*, *commote (cwmwd)*, *llys*, *maenor*, *maerdref* and *tref*. Medieval and 16th-century landholding records are used to throw light on medieval Welsh social structure. Patterns of post- and pre-Conquest ecclesiastical landholding are considered. From this evidence a picture of Conquest-period Cemais emerges, and patterns of possible pre-Conquest areas of royal, ecclesiastical, freeholder and bondsmen's land are identified in broad outline.

A different approach to identifying patterns of life in the early medieval landscape occupies much of **Chapters 5** ('Living off the land') and **6** ('Power in the land'). The keynote to this is provided by Chapter 5's introductory overview of the broader documentary evidence for the seasonal patterning of early medieval life, using a new analysis of pre-Conquest Welsh law and of written sources elsewhere in north-west Europe. This identifies an annual cycle of activities focussing on particular key times (cross-quarter days and midsummer) that provides a key to the use of different sites and areas. Chapter 5 then proceeds to examine the longstanding spatial and temporal patterns of the medieval and pre-Conquest agrarian landscape. The detailed evidence of case studies illuminates and contextualises the picture communicated by broader-scale sources, allowing an understanding of the landscape's seasonal as well as spatial structure. Given the well-established problems of identifying early medieval use of Welsh sites, late prehistoric settlements and pre-1500 place-names are used as proxies for early medieval settlement, together with evidence for high medieval longhuts, platforms and deserted medieval hamlets. The use of an infield-outfield system with elements of local short-distance transhumance is identified and linked to pollen evidence and the patterning of medieval settlement indicated by archaeology, place-names, estate records and regressive analysis of field patterns. The implication of patterns of 16th-century Welsh settlement for the understanding of pre-Conquest settlement patterning and social structure is considered, together with local evidence for the pre-Conquest support of the Welsh prince's peripatetic court.

In **Chapter 6**, the focus turns to places and processes linked with the exercise of power, and to activities, notably hunting, that are strongly associated with the lives of the elite. Among the landscape elements considered are places of assembly, high status habitation, patterns of ecclesiastical provision and dedication and relationships to places of past power. The location of focal or central zones is analysed and set in comparative context, using the checklist of focal zone elements identified in Chapter 2. Sites of assembly are identified in locations that indicate spatially, temporally and socially differentiated processes of early medieval power; these are the first assembly sites to be identified in Wales through a systematic survey, and their landscape signatures provide productive comparisons with other areas of north-west Europe. The presence within the physical limits of the cantref of a recorded high status pre-Conquest estate, the *maenor* or 'bishop house' of Llandeilo Llwydarth, provides material for a consideration of the link between sites of post-Roman and later royal and ecclesiastical power.

These different elements are brought together in **Chapter 7**, 'Synthesis and conclusion', which combines the different strands of evidence of earlier chapters to produce a richly-textured picture of the spatial and seasonal structure of the landscape.

A coherent spatial patterning is identified and compared with evidence for the *maenor* which, it is suggested, may not have been as significant an early medieval landscape element as some commentators have believed. Seasonality – which runs through the various thematic discussions – emerges here as a unifying element that pulls together different aspects of life in the landscape. Its role in structuring the use of focal zones is considered, as is the role of assemblies at these focal zones in supporting processes of power. The interdependence of different elements of early medieval society – the king, powerful freeholders, the church and unfree agricultural workers – is noted. Trade mechanisms are considered and evidence set in comparative context. These structures and processes are compared with the schema of the multiple estate model and other conceptual structures of early medieval landholding, and some thoughts about redefining the early medieval Welsh landscape paradigm are offered. The study concludes with suggestions about directions of future research.

Chapter 2.
Review of related literature

It is all very well to announce that a research project will address broadly stated gaps in understanding. What, however, are these lacunae, and how do they relate to existing scholarship? A broad answer is provided by published overviews of Welsh early medieval scholarship, which reveal well-acknowledged poor understandings of settlement and society and a general lack of integration with wider European research themes (W. Davies 2004; Edwards et al. 2011).

A detailed view of lacunae can be formed by a review of extant scholarship, which in turn shapes this research project's objectives. Two aspects necessarily inform this consideration: first, themes of broader research relevance; and second, topics where current weaknesses in scholarship impact on the specific aims of the Cemais research project. Since the Cemais project involves examining large-scale regional questions through the lens of a local area, this examination is conducted at varying scales: local (the study area), regional (Wales), and supraregional (Britain, Ireland and Scandinavia), with previous work at regional and supraregional scales examined in thematic surveys. These latter focus on the exercise or practice of power through models of early medieval territorial structures; the trade and exchange structures that supported power; particular places - assembly sites - where power was exercised; and the physical marking of power with early medieval inscribed stones: the use of place-names as markers of power in the landscape is considered in Chapter 3.

Local literature: Cemais

Published research for the Cemais study area demonstrates one of the problems that besets Welsh consideration of 'big questions', namely a shortage of detailed case studies, historical surveys, and data for specialised critical interrogation. The area is notably lacking in excavations of early medieval sites, and academic research tends to focus either on the area's early medieval inscribed stones, which form a significant part of a recent national survey and feature in many discussions of the region's post-Roman Irish settlement (discussed below), or on the poorly-understood pre-Norman ecclesiastical structure (e.g. Breeze 2009; Charles-Edwards 2013, 596-7; Edwards 2007; H. James 2007; Pryce 2007). Archaeological investigations of early medieval activity, as in most other areas of Wales, are limited by poor survival of organic material and restricted traditions of material culture (and thus dating evidence), as was the case at the 2013 excavation of the multivallate enclosure of Crugiau Cemais, where only a stone setting and soil stains attested to the presence of an early medieval 'special grave' (Murphy and Murphy 2015). The existing understanding of the area's early

medieval archaeology (outlined in Chapter 4) largely derives from research into late prehistoric enclosed settlements like Crugiau Cemais (Caple 2011; Comeau 2014; Crane and Poucher 2009; H. James 1987; Murphy 1994; Murphy et al. 2007; Murphy and Mytum 2005; Murphy and Mytum 2006; Mytum and Webster 1989; Murphy and Mytum 2012; Mytum 1998; Mytum and Webster 2001; Mytum and Webster 2003; Mytum 2011; Mytum and Webster 1994; Mytum 2013; Poucher and Ings 2010; Schlee 2007). Aside from this work, an early 20th-century survey of the area's upstanding monuments is still largely representative (RCAHMW 1925).

The paucity of historical surveys is partly due to limited medieval written sources, and to the near non-existence of early medieval documentation, which - as Wendy Davies' survey of early medieval Wales makes clear - is rare outside south-east Wales (W. Davies 1982, 198-218). The Victoria County History does not cover Wales; in the study area, surveys and histories have been published for the parishes of Dinas, Eglwyswrw, Mynachlogddu, Meline, Nevern, Llanfair Nantgwyn, Llanfyrnach and Whitchurch and for the Norman borough of Newport (Bignall 1991; Comeau 2010; Lewis 1967; Lewis 1969a; Lewis 1969b; 1972; Miles 1995; 1997; Miles 1998). Most of these provide little detail of the medieval period or earlier, and draw heavily on antiquarian accounts (Charles 1948; Comeau 2012c; Fenton 1903; H.L. Jones 1861; E.D. Jones 1922; Lluyd 1695; G. Owen 1862; 1897; 1906; 1994; Pritchard 1907; Rhys 1874; Vincent 1864; Westwood 1879). These local surveys are usefully supplemented by investigations into the genealogy and landholding patterns of medieval descendants of the pre-Norman rulers (Charles 1971-2; F. Jones 1938; 1972; 1974; 1979; 1984; 2001).

Medieval documentation consists largely of charters and other records of the post-Conquest Lords of Cemais held at the National Library of Wales, and a few papal and other ecclesiastical records; these are explored in Chapter 4 (J. Barrow 1998; Bronwydd; G. Owen 1862; 1906; 1977). Pre-Conquest Cemais is entirely undocumented apart from an early 12th-century praise-poem thought to be addressed to its pre-Norman lord (Gruffydd 1975), a few passing notes in the Welsh Annals (Dumville 2002), and references in the Book of Llandaff and medieval Welsh law to the 'Bishop House' of Llandeilo Llwydarth on the southern boundary of the *cantref*, further discussed in Chapter 4 (Charles-Edwards 2013, 162-4, 596-8; H. James 2007, 56-8). No written records survive for the major pre-Conquest church at Nevern; the Life of Brynach, the local 'patron saint' to whom it is dedicated, survives as an early 12th-century document (Hughes 1958, 187; Wade-Evans 1944b, 2-15) . For most of the study area, Tudor records, including several extents or estate surveys, form the main stratum of early documentation (e.g. G. Owen 1977).

Information about the Welsh legal structures that prevailed until the 16th century across much of the study area is provided by translations and discussions of medieval Welsh law (Charles-Edwards 1989b; D. Jenkins 1990; A. Owen 1841; Richards 1954; S.E. Roberts 2011; Stephenson 2014; Wade-Evans 1909). This exists as regional versions, revised in the 12th and 13th century, of a common Welsh code which (according to these recensions) was composed by the 10th-century ruler Hywel Dda (D. Jenkins 1990, xiii; Pryce 1986). The relevance of these high medieval recensions to the early medieval period is contested: the earliest version is thought to be the Cyfnerth redaction (Wade-Evans 1909), whose prologue appears to have been written in late-12th century Deheubarth (i.e. south-west Wales) under Lord Rhys (Charles-Edwards 2013, 268-272; 1989b, 36-7; W. Davies 1982, 203-5; 2004, 208-9; Pryce 1986, 165, 181-2). All regional versions preserve substantial portions of clear pre-Conquest origin, most notably the Laws of Court which define the rights and responsibilities of a king and his court; Charles-Edwards dates these to the 10th century or earlier (Charles-Edwards 2013, 271; D. Jenkins 2000a, 260-1; D. Jenkins 2000b, 16). These Laws of Court provide the basis for analyses of the physical, legal and social arrangements of the pre-Conquest royal court and of royal hunting (Charles-Edwards et al. 2000), and bear useful comparison with Stephenson's and Beverley Smith's analyses of 13th-century evidence from north Wales (Smith 1998; Stephenson 2014). All sections of the Welsh laws are used by Glanville Jones as material for his multiple estate model (see below), and for his discussions of medieval farming practice (G.R.J. Jones 1973).

Regional literature: Wales

Across Wales as a whole, the picture presented in Wendy Davies' landmark 1982 synthesis of early medieval historical and archaeological evidence is still largely unchanged, though Charles Edwards' erudite 2013 discussion of – largely – written evidence is a significant addition (Charles-Edwards 2013; W. Davies 1982; cf. W. Davies 1978; 1990; 2001; 2004; 2009; see Wickham 2005; Wickham 2010, for good regional contextualisation and challenging questions). Work by Rees Davies, Pryce and William Rees presents the high medieval historical perspective (R.R. Davies 1978; 1987; Pryce 1993; Rees 1924). Archaeological understanding, summarised in the CBA's Regional Research Framework, is restricted by limited developer-led and university investigations, acid soils, unfurnished burials and an aceramic, largely coin-free material record (Edwards et al. 2011, 2016).

Settlement

Knowledge of early medieval settlement rests on a small number of excavations of high status sites, most notably Coygan Camp, Dinas Powys, Longbury Bank, Rhosyr,

Llangorse and Llanbedrgoch (Edwards 1979; Edwards et al. 2011; Edwards and Lane 1988,1-13, 45-6, 59-61, 88-90; Johnstone 2000; Longley 1997; Redknap 2004; Redknap and Lane 1994; Seaman 2013; Silvester and Kissock 2012). Analysis of patterns of archaeologically-attested early medieval settlement is substantially shaped by Campbell's and Dark's observations about the hierarchy of post-Roman (5th- to 7th-century) settlement (Campbell 2007, 117, 123-4; Dark 2000, 164-70, 184-5; cf. Seaman 2016; White 2007, 156-168). Campbell identifies a morphological hierarchy across western Britain and Ireland of 5th- to 7th-century "forts, enclosures and unenclosed settlements" whose upper grades largely correspond with the import centres and secondary sites identified by imported late Antique pottery; he notes that in Wales identification of minor sites is limited because many are aceramic (Campbell 2007, 117, 123). Dark also notes that the patterning of Welsh unenclosed settlements, enclosed farms and hillforts resembles that of south-west England where 5th- and 6th-century elites used seasonally occupied inland multivallate hilltop enclosures and coastal promontory forts above harbours that participated in 'status-related trade', perhaps with the Mediterranean, with lower-level local centres linked with seasonal coastal fair sites (Dark 2000, 164-8, 184, 186-7; see Duggan 2018 for recent discussion of the Mediterranean trade evidence). Considerations of early medieval economic activity are rare in Welsh scholarship, and are considered further under Theme 2 below.

An observable research bias towards the uplands and to north-west Wales is noted by Silvester and Kissock in their review of work on post-8th-century Welsh settlement and landscape (Silvester and Kissock 2012, 168). They also note poor archaeological understanding of bond (low status semi-servile) settlements, and mention only two dated excavations of possible lower status early medieval sites, both of round or oval wattle structures with 7th- to 9th- and 11th- to 12th-century dates; one of these sites, Drim, lies a short distance south of the study area (Silvester and Kissock 2012, 162). The study area has another roundhouse of late date at Maenclochog, where occupation up to the Anglo-Norman period is indicated by a late 10th- to 12th-century radiocarbon date and 12th-century pottery (Schlee 2007). Interpretation of many excavations is complicated by their restricted extent as well as by limited survival of material culture and environmental remains, as at the (as yet largely unpublished) multi-phase site of Freshwater East where sequences of settlement and burial activity span the early medieval and medieval period but the overall narrative is uncertain (Schlee 2009). A lack of radiocarbon dating of excavated deposits compounds these issues and makes dating of sites particularly problematic (see transhumance section below). Early medieval occupation is often effectively invisible, with sites commonly assigned to more materially visible phases in the late Iron Age or high medieval

periods. It is therefore especially interesting that a 2014-5 excavation at Rhuddgaer in Anglesey has produced several late 7th- to early 10th-century radiocarbon dates for a sub-rectangular stone structure (Hopewell and Edwards 2017). The site is part of a group of long huts and associated fields that would usually be assumed to be high medieval, and demonstrates how greater use of radiocarbon dating can advance understanding of such sites. In similar fashion, a 2013 excavation of an enclosed settlement at Glanfred in Ceredigion, thought to be Iron Age, reveals 5th- to 9th-century AD activity through radiocarbon dating (I. Jones et al. 2018). Radiocarbon dating of a 2015 excavation of an upland longhut in the study area (Carn Goedog, discussed in Chapter 5) identifies 11th- or 12th-century activity; material culture here would otherwise indicate a 12th- to 16th-century AD date (Schlee et al 2018).

Environmental information is provided by a small but significant body of evidence, mostly pollen and plant based and largely derived from upland sites, with lowland research represented most significantly by the work of Carruthers at South Hook, the South Wales pipeline and Tudur Davies in north Wales; preservation of faunal remains is limited, with Dinas Powys and Llangors providing rare insights (Carruthers 163-180 in Crane and Murphy 2010; W. Davies 2004, 206; T. Davies 2011; forthcoming; Gilchrist 1988; H. James forthcoming; Kelly 1982; Mulville and Powell forthcoming; Seaman forthcoming; cf. Chambers et al. 1988).

Irish and Viking impact

Dark's work on 5th- to 7th-century settlement contributes to wider studies of the post-Roman presence of the Irish Deisi people in south-west Wales, a manifestation of the migration, colonisation, acculturation and cultural contact that are a hallmark of post-Roman England and north-west Europe and which, with the Vikings, effectively bracket the early medieval period in the study area (W. Davies 1990, 39-40, 48-60; Halsall 2007; Härke 2011; Hills 2003; Ó Cathasaigh 1984, 6-7; Ó Cathasaigh 2005; Rance 2001, 243-51).

Estimates for the Deisi arrival or contact period range from the late 3rd century to the early 6th century (Alcock 1989, 98; Coplestone-Crow 1981/2, 23-4; Dark 2000, 43-5, 188-90; Dillon 1977-3; Meyer 1901, 102; Miller 1977/8; Mytum 1992, 30; Ó Cathasaigh 1984, 25-8; Rance 2001, 255-6, n.89 & n.91; C. Thomas 1994, 71-2). The evidence of place-names, hagiographic evidence and ogham stones indicates a focus on the study area, perhaps centring on the multivallate enclosure of Moel Trigarn on the Preseli Hills (Richards 1960a, 148-152; 1962, 129; C. Thomas 1994, 57-62, 76). An initial context of Roman overlordship is suggested, with both the use of Roman titles by Deisi kings, who rule Dyfed in the post-Roman centuries, and the conscious cultivation of Irish

identity by British inhabitants (Dark 2000, 188-90; Mytum 1992, 33-4; Rance 2001, 257-260).

At the other end of the early medieval period, Viking contact is noted in annals records of Viking raids and collaboration between Welsh princes and Hiberno-Norse forces (e.g. T. Jones 1952, 10 (991/2, 13 (1037/39), 14 (1041/44); Morris 1980, 48 (850, 853), 49 (895, 902); Appendix 11). Discussions of the historical, archaeological and artistic impact of this contact is provided by Wendy Davies, Redknap, Loyn, Edwards and Griffiths; the saga and annals evidence is analysed by Charles (Charles 1934; W. Davies 1982, 116-120, 196; 1990, 48-60; Griffiths 2010, 38-47; Loyn 1976; Redknap 2005; 2008) (for discussion of economic impact see Theme 3 below). Trading activity and settlement is suggested by place-names and stray finds in south-west Wales, principally in south Pembrokeshire (Figure B1) and the Swansea Bay area, but the greatest density of evidence for Viking activity is in north-west Wales where Wendy Davies links it with a late 10th- to early 11th-century hiatus in references to royal titles for Welsh rulers; she suggests a possible period of Viking domination or overlordship at this time (Charles 1992, xxxvi; W. Davies 1990, 10-11, 31, 57-9; Loyn 1976, 25, map 2; Redknap 2008, 404; 2009a, 30).

Landscape

Landscape history approaches to Welsh settlement patterns were pioneered in the mid-20th century by Jones Pierce and Glanville Jones (discussed further under Theme 1 below), with subsequent work (exhibiting varying degrees of multidisciplinarity) by Carr, Gresham, Hooke, Longley and Johnstone in north Wales, and by Bezant, Kissock and Rippon in south and mid Wales; the latter two consider Pembrokeshire (Bezant 2009; Carr 2011, 63-72; Gresham 1973; Hooke 1997; G.R.J. Jones 1973; 2012; Johnstone 1997; Jones Pierce 1972a; Kissock 1993; 1997; Longley 1997; 2001; Rippon 2008, 231, 234-242). Most work, given the evidence available, considers the high and late rather than early medieval periods, with work on upland landscapes dominating in recent years (see also http://www.strataflorida.org.uk/ and discussion below of transhumance evidence) (K. Roberts 2006; Silvester and Kissock 2012, 166-8; Silvester 2000; 2006; C. Thomas 1980a; 1992). Lowland landscapes, where the bulk of the early medieval population is presumed to have lived, have received relatively little attention (Silvester and Kissock 2012, 168).

Early medieval landscape study is restricted by limited place-name scholarship and tends to focus on landscapes of faith (e.g. Edwards 2007; 2009a; 2013; Edwards and Lane 1992; H. James 2007; Knight 2013; Petts 2009; Redknap and Lewis 2007) (see place-name discussion in Chapter 3). There is little to compare with the broad multidisciplinary approaches offered in England and Scotland (e.g. Brookes 2007;

Driscoll, Geddes and Hall 2011; Everson and Stocker 2006; Turner 2006): detailed studies are scarce, and this has discouraged fine-grained regional overviews beyond the better-documented high medieval (albeit pre-Conquest) landscapes of north-west Wales and Ceredigion (cf. T. Davies 2006, for a rare instance of a detailed landscape study). The region's absence from British landscape history's investigations of nucleated and dispersed settlement is a case in point. Welsh evidence contributed by Kissock, Rippon and Austin to these debates has inspired little other regional work to date (Austin 2005, 54-5, 59-61; Kissock 1993; 1997; Rippon 2008, 247; cf. Comeau 2012c). It is indicative that the multiple estate model, the best-known contribution of Welsh scholarship to early medieval British landscape research (see Theme 1 below) is disputed in early medieval Welsh contexts, although 12th- and 13th-century 'multiple estates' have been identified in north and mid Wales (Bezant 2009; G.R.J. Jones 1976; cf. Johnstone 1997; Longley 1997; see Seaman 2012 for critical discussion).

Agriculture

Agriculture was central to the concept of the multiple estate, as indeed it is to any attempt to understand the early medieval period (W. Davies 2001; G.R.J. Jones 1973). Current understanding of early medieval agricultural practice in Britain and Ireland is represented by Banham and Faith for Anglo-Saxon England and Kelly, McCormick and Monk for Ireland, by Rippon's research into the development of the post-Roman landscape of England and Wales, by Oosthuizen's discussion of shared agricultural resources and by her and Hall's accounts of the development of English field systems, and by Fowler's thematic discussions which incorporate evidence relating to Wales (Banham and Faith 2014; Fowler 2002; Hall 2014; Kelly 2000; McCormick et al. 2014; Monk 2015; Oosthuizen 2013; Rippon 2008; Rippon et al. 2015). In Wales, engagement with issues of agriculture, field systems and the economic structure of early medieval settlement has been limited, perhaps because of the persistence, through much of the 20th century, of 19th-century ideas of Celtic tribal pastoralist-nomadism that were central to an independent, definitively non-Anglo-Saxon identity (W. Davies 2004, 207, 219-20; Fleming 2007, 8-9, 11; Pryce 2011, 130-2). These ideas exerted a powerful if negative influence on understandings of the Welsh post-Roman landscape and encouraged popular associations of a 'settled' landscape of common fields and nucleated villages with the arrival of Norman colonists (Austin 2005, 60-1). This view was challenged by Glanville Jones' identification of Welsh pre-Conquest bond settlements that focussed on arable production and, in recent years, by environmental evidence (e.g. pollen) for early medieval crop growing, though its impact is still noted in post-2000 analyses (W. Davies 2001, 3-9; 2004, ibid; T. Davies 2015; G.R.J. Jones 1961).

A persisting pastoralist paradigm may explain the limited exploration of a broader Welsh context for George Owen's 16th-century descriptions of Welsh Pembrokeshire's infield-outfield systems, other than in the work of Glanville Jones (Howells 1955-6, 324-5; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 435; G. Owen 1994, 62-77; Silvester and Kissock 2012, 167; cf. Johnson 1978; C. Thomas 1980a). The similarity between Welsh infield-outfield systems and those of other areas of western and northern Britain has had minimal impact on Welsh discourse and, with the exception of the work of Dodgshon and Rippon, has figured little in pan-British discussions (Dodgshon 1980; Rippon 2002; Rippon 2008, 130-6; for discussion and case study see Comeau 2010, 236-7; and Comeau 2012a). Work by Oosthuizen does however provide a provocative (if limited) re-integration of aspects of Welsh evidence, in arguments for a continuum of practice linking medieval common fields in the English midlands with early medieval and prehistoric systems of infield-outfield type (Oosthuizen 2013, 159-73).

Wood-pasture is similarly largely unexplored, though English studies indicate its importance as a seasonal resource in the agro-economic 'synergy' of early medieval estates (for Wales, Linnard 2000, 18, 47-50; for England, Banham and Faith 2014, 201-221; Chatwin and Gardiner 2005; Faith 2008; Fleming 2012; Hooke 2012b; Rackham 1987, 110; Williamson 2013, 207-233) (see Theme 1, multiple estate discussion, below). Wood pasture is understood as a resource for summer transhumant pastoralism, a key medieval and early medieval agricultural practice in Scotland, Ireland and many areas of England: Fox and Winchester's work on transhumance in Devon and Cumbria, though focussing on the later medieval period, provides valuable elucidation of its mechanisms (Banham and Faith 2014; G.W.S. Barrow 1973, 260; 1998, 65; Fox 2012; Herring 2007; Kelly 2000, 43-5; Patterson 2012, 78, 135-143; Winchester 2000). Opinions differ on its relevance to early medieval Wales, and merit disentangling in order to appreciate current regional understanding of this potentially important practice (W. Davies 2001, 15-16).

Transhumant practice

Transhumant practice in Wales was largely a memory by the late 18th century, with awareness of it as a traditional folk practice rekindled by Sayce's articles in the 1950s, and by the detailed scholarship of Elwyn Davies in a series of articles between the late 1960s and early 1980s which examined written sources and place-names (E. Davies 1973; 1977; 1979; 1980; 1984; Sayce 1955-6; 1957). This work – particularly that of Sayce – resonated with the enduring view of the pre-Conquest Welsh as nomadic tribal pastoralists, and identified transhumance as a well-established medieval and post medieval practice, attested in 18th-century records of Ceredigion and Snowdonia,

place-names, medieval surveys and 12th-century Welsh law (e.g. E. Davies 1980, 3-4, 10-15; 1984, 77, 81-2, 87-8).

The earliest textual references of the 12th to 14th century mention both specialised use of upland pasture by princes and monastic houses, for vaccaries (specialised upland cattle ranches) and horse studs, and a more general summer-long relocation of bondmen and their animals (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 445; Smith 1998, 231-2, 240-1). The latter is argued to be a longstanding element of early medieval practice by Glanville Jones, drawing evidence primarily from 12th- and 13th-century Welsh laws that indicate bondmen's departure in early May after crops were sown, and return between August and October in time for the harvest (Appendix 1B) (D. Jenkins 1990, 40, 236; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 431; 1992, 111; Richards 1954, 92-3, 101,139). Similar patterns are noted in the Scottish Highlands and Ireland ('booleying'), where the data is substantially early modern, though discussions integrate accounts of early medieval agricultural and pastoral practice (Bil 1989; Costello 2015; Dixon 2009; Miller 1967; cf. Kelly 2000, 43-5; Patterson 2012, 78, 135-143).

Archaeological investigations of Welsh transhumance focus on medieval and post-medieval upland settlement, for instance the 2006 pan-Wales CADW assessment, principally surveys and syntheses of existing research (K. Roberts 2006; Ward 1997), and RCAHMW's Black Mountains survey (Leighton 2012). This body of work is supplemented by limited studies of associated environmental habitats, place-names and field systems (Hooke 1997; C. Thomas 1973; 1980b; a; 1992; Richards 1959; 1960b). At the start of the present research project, available dating of sites indicated occupation between the 12th to 16th centuries, based on a small number of excavations that produced a couple of radiocarbon dates and a handful of artefacts (Leighton 2012, 127-8), availability of datable material culture and faunal evidence being limited by acid soils and exacerbated by pre-Conquest aceramic, non coin-using traditions. The 2015 11th- to 12th-century radiocarbon date for the Carn Goedog longhut (Schlee et al. 2018), which lies on seasonal pasture, is therefore particularly significant (Rhuddgaer [Hopewell and Edwards 2017] with its 7th- to 10th-century dates, being a lowland site). The possibility that certain upland south Wales structures are early medieval is raised by Leighton, noting pollen evidence on Mynydd Du in the Brecon Beacons, in an area with 'major concentrations' of rectangular buildings and platforms along upland streams, which he suggests represent intensified farming from the 8th century onwards (Leighton 2012, 35, 125, 128).

Equivalent problems are encountered in trying to establish whether or not these sites are seasonally or permanently occupied, with excavated evidence of seasonal site function generally unavailable. One suggested means of evaluation assesses their

topographical and geographical setting, morphology, the presence or absence of features like field systems that are considered to imply permanent farming, similar but better understood sites nearby, place-name or cartographic evidence, and associated structures indicative of agricultural usages (Silvester 2006-5, 34, 36). Assessment is complicated by changing patterns of exploitation, with seasonal sites becoming permanent, and 'permanent' farms sometimes reverting to seasonal use (Silvester ibid; cf. Kelly et al. 1982). Existing archaeological evidence is, therefore, of limited utility in identifying both the date and manner of early medieval occupation.

Against this background one must consider Wendy Davies' comments in two important reviews, encapsulated in her 2004 statement that environmental and archaeological research establishes that 'Systematic use of upland pastures for summer grazing was not a universal practice from time immemorial but was clearly in some parts a development of the later 11th and 12th centuries.' (W. Davies 2004, 206, referring to W. Davies 2001; and to Chambers et al. 1988, 345; and to Chambers and Price 1988, 100). She notes that this evidence, which reveals cereal cultivation and possible permanent occupation at some upland sites, challenges the post-1960 'orthodoxies' represented by the work of Glanville Jones (i.e. his model of lowland arable and upland seasonal pasture) and contributes to 'the demise of the fiction of perpetual and innate Welsh pastoralism' (W. Davies 2001, 15; references to G.R.J. Jones 1955; 1961; 1964a; 1972; 1976).

Wendy Davies' objections are especially significant since, as has been noted, transhumance is part of the established medieval and early medieval narrative. On the surface, her comments might be taken to deny the existence and significance of pastoral agriculture in upland locations in early medieval Wales, something which recent research (see below; e.g T. Davies 2015) clearly contradicts. A closer examination, however, suggests that Wendy Davies' criticism is directed at an inflexible assumption of 'universal' transhumance and 'the fiction of a perpetual and innate Welsh pastoralism', encapsulated in Seebohm's nomadic pastoralist Celtic tribesmen (W. Davies 2001, 15; 2004, 206; Seebohm 1895, 44-7; cf. recent application of this idea to late prehistoric Ireland in Dolan 2014), assumptions that diminish the significance of early medieval arable production and perpetuate a 19th-century tribal history narrative. These entrenched views are visible in the influential mid-20th century work of Jones Pierce who – whilst criticising the all-encompassing semi-nomadic pastoralist vision of Seebohm (Jones Pierce 1972, 329-30), and examining the interplay between pastoralism and agrarian economic activity in post-12th century records (ibid., 282, 284) – nonetheless envisaged a fundamental pre-Norman division between settled lowland bond communities and pastoral hinterlands occupied by free tribesmen with a semi-nomadic lifestyle (ibid., 331, 348-9, 351). The dismantling of

these views was substantially due to Glanville Jones, who – notably in *The Tribal System in Wales* (1961) – showed how concepts of nomadic free pastoralists supported an inappropriate tribal model of post-Roman Welsh society. Instead, he saw the upland pastures as the preserve of seasonal transhumance (e.g. G. R. J. Jones 1973, 444-5), a practice that – as noted above – resonated with the earlier pastoral social identification. Pastoralism thus, as Davies observed, continued to dominate many narratives, albeit (in Jones' work at least) detached from a tribal model.

Terminology is important here: transhumance and pastoralism refer to distinct and separate practices, and pastoralism (the keeping or grazing of sheep or cattle – Oxford English Dictionary) does not require either transhumant movement or the use of upland resources. Transhumance is an aspect, but not an essential component, of pastoralism, and as a seasonal movement involving a permanent winter base and often a permanent summer base it is not, in turn, the same as nomadism (travelling from place to place to find fresh pasture for animals, with no permanent home – OED). It takes advantage of seasonally available pasture resources, usually with the aim of preserving grassland close to the home farm for the winter months ahead, and while it frequently involves an upland shift to mountain pastures, it also uses coastal, floodplain and unenclosed rough lowland grazing. This point is made by Kelly, one of the authors to whom Wendy Davies refers, who suggests that – instead of season-long relocation to another dwelling - daily movements to local seasonal pastures may have been common, and he says that it is inappropriate to use the term transhumance in such circumstances (Kelly et al. 1982, 885-6).

A qualified use of the term transhumance is also suggested by Fox who – writing about Dartmoor - notes that transhumance can refer to seasonal movements of livestock at different geographical scales, from local short distance to long distance ('lesser' and 'greater' transhumance), and at different levels of magnitude, from individual herders caring for the animals of several households, to large scale mass herds under the care of professional herders ('personal' and 'impersonal' transhumance) (Fox 2012, 29-42, 155-7). He identifies this large scale 'impersonal' transhumance as a late medieval development, replacing the personal transhumance of the early medieval period which, he suggests, involved single men or women rather than whole families given the small size of summer dwellings on Dartmoor (Fox 2012, 155). His 1996 review of transhumant practice across Britain and Ireland suggests that the movement of whole families was the exception rather than the rule, since some people would have had to look after the arable crops at the permanent settlements (Fox 1996, 13). A range of scales of activity, albeit without Dartmoor's neatly chronological development from personal to impersonal practice, is also identified by Winchester in northern England and the Borders, with medieval and post medieval movement of village cattle under the

care of young people working as communal village 'herds', as well as 17th-century references to the movement of whole households in the Borders and 13th- and 14th-century records of lordly income from large-scale shielings (Winchester 2000, 84-5, 88, 93, 114). Early modern transhumant practice in Ireland ('booleying') and Scotland (the 'shieling') was frequently the domain of young women, and Herring suggests a similar model for early medieval Bodmin moor (Cornwall) (Fox 1996, 39; Herring 2012, 94, 97).

Wendy Davies' warning against assuming that transhumance was the early medieval norm must be acknowledged at this point, though environmental and archaeological research (including that utilised by Wendy Davies) confirms widespread and ongoing (albeit not necessarily systematic or universal) pastoral use of upland sites throughout the early medieval period. Arable indicators are also present and suggest cultivation at low and fluctuating levels within primarily pastoralist regimes: in other words, a mixed agricultural economy (Chambers et al. 1988, 343; W. Davies 2001, 8-9; Hooke 1997, 79-80; Kelly 1988, 101, 109, 141; Mighall and Chambers 1989, 20). The evidence for the study area, which will be considered more extensively in Chapter 5, also suggests this, and indicates that the tops of the Preseli hills were 'rich grassland', maintained by substantial levels of grazing since the Iron Age or earlier (Seymour 1985, 240-1, 349-50).

Evidence of long term pastoralist practice is therefore identifiable in published reports of early medieval upland sites, as is arable cultivation at fluctuating but (probably) low levels. The question therefore is not one of *whether* pastoralism or arable practice existed or not, but of *how* – within what system or pattern of landscape use. As one of the reports utilised by Wendy Davies observes (Chambers et al. 1988, 345, referring to G.R.J. Jones 1964a, 1972, 1973), one possibility is outfield cultivation or convertible (long-ley) husbandry, a flexible system of periodic arable cultivation of small areas of outfield within substantially pastoral regimes. Pollen evidence of 7th- to 8th-century date indicative of this has been identified by Fyfe, Rippon and Brown in Devon, where it signals increased early medieval cereal production (Rippon et al. 2006, 49-58, 69-70).

Another question that deserves consideration relates to the criteria used to define sites as seasonal or year-round. Although the presence of arable cultivation is usually taken as an indicator of year-round occupation, assessing evidence is – as Silvester notes – problematic (Caseldine 2006, 142; Silvester 2006, 33-4). As well as patterns of exploitation that may have varied with time, we could also be dealing with short-term cultivation of seasonally occupied sites, as is recorded at early modern booley sites in Ireland and shielings in Scotland, where crops were grown in small plots enriched by cattle manure (Bil 1989, 160; Costello 2015, 49, 52; McNeary 2014, 273; Miller 1967,

200-1). There is little consideration of this possibility in Wales, although there is ample evidence otherwise of the temporary outfield cultivation practices that characterise medieval and post-medieval northern British agriculture (Elliott 1973, 63-7; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 443-4; Whittington 1973, 533-4).

Summary: key problems of local and regional scholarship

A number of recurring issues are evident in this survey of local and regional research. There is a need for work that can:

- provide detailed landscape studies
- integrate different kinds of evidence
- pay attention to agriculture and economy
- redress current biases by focusing on lowland areas, especially in south Wales
- take account of concepts and research directions in the broader European arena

These priorities are demonstrated at the broader British and north-west European level by a recent chapter-length overview of the early medieval British and Irish landscape that barely mentions Wales (G. Thomas 2012). Similarly, pre-Conquest Wales is barely mentioned in Loveluck's compelling comparative analysis of social change in Britain, France, Belgium and the western Netherlands, and there is a striking contrast with the detailed evidence revealed in Irish excavations over the last two decades (Loveluck 2013; McCormick et al. 2013).

An uneven representation of Welsh perspectives is also evident in the thematic analyses of broader work that follow. Five particularly relevant areas of research are examined, all of which touch on the exercise of power: (1) models of early medieval territorial structures; (2) the trade and exchange structures that supported power; (3) particular places - assembly sites - where power was exercised; (4) the physical marking of power with early medieval inscribed stones; and (5) place-names as markers of power in the landscape. The last of these, place-names, will be considered in Chapter 3; reviews of work in the other areas follows underneath. Welsh evidence figures prominently in some of these, notably the multiple estate model and early medieval inscribed stones, but in others it barely registers. Key elements in these discussions are marked in bold, and summarised at the end of the chapter.

Relevant areas of research

Theme 1: Structures of power in the landscape - the multiple estate model

Models of settlement patterns and landscape organisation provide powerful tools for understanding the fragmentary evidence of the past, and one of the most extensively

used British early medieval models, the multiple estate, was created from Welsh exemplars. It identifies economic and territorial relationships that link a high-status centre with interdependent subsidiary territories, and when it first appeared, constituted an effective challenge to the dominant earlier 20th-century paradigms of the Anglo-Saxon village and Celtic nomadic pastoralists (Fleming 2007, 8; B.K. Roberts 2011, 29-45; Silvester 2000, 47; Smith 2011). Its creator, historical geographer Glanville Jones, defined it as 'a territorial entity containing a hierarchy of settlements, settlements which were in part functionally differentiated and whose occupants, supervised by a ministerial aristocracy, owed rents and services for the support of a lord' (G.R.J. Jones 1985b, 354). Its distinctive detailed structures have been widely used in studies of the early medieval British landscape, but not without controversy: its relevance (as will be seen) has been questioned on a number of grounds, and alternative models of the early medieval landscape exist.

The multiple estate's structure was derived from medieval Welsh law (Appendix 2). The core unit is the *maenor* or *maenol*, an administrative unit first recorded in the 9th century. In the detailed reformed laws of 13th-century north Wales it contains four townships or *trefi*; in the earlier, vaguer south Wales laws it is larger, with either seven or thirteen townships. These older laws provide little other information about structure beyond the internal make-up of the *tref*, but the later north Wales laws stipulate that a commote/*cwmwd* (defined as half a *cantref*/hundred though in practice there might be three or more) contained twelve *maenolydd*, plus two additional royal vills, one of which was a lowland royal bond vill or *maerdref* which serviced the king's caput or *llys*, while the other was an upland vill for summer pasture. Four of these *maenolydd* were for bondmen; one was for the 'chancellor' or *cynghellor* and one for the 'greater reeve' or *maer*, who administered the *cantref* on behalf of the king; the other six were for the free 'notables' or *uchelwyr* (D. Jenkins 1990, 121; G.R.J. Jones 1976, 15). Therefore in all there were, in the idealised vision of 13th-century north Wales law, twenty-four *maenolydd* or multiple estates in a *cantref*/hundred, plus four royal vills. This *cantref*, in turn, was one of the component units of the kingdom: Dyfed, for instance, had seven *peu* (modern spelling *pau*: the word derives from *pagus*) or *cantrefi* (Charles-Edwards 2013, 18). Not all *cantrefi* were of equal status: one would contain the prince's principal court or *llys,* the *eisteddfa arbenning* or *sedes principalis* of Dinefwr (Deheubarth) or Aberffraw (Gwynedd) (D. Jenkins 2000b, 20; G.R.J. Jones 2000, 302-3), and the other *cantrefi* and their *llysoedd* would be visited on circuit.

The approximately parish scale of the Welsh maenor is useful to note, given the multiple estate model's application to both large and small units. It should also be noted that although Glanville Jones' 1971 diagram provides the multiple estate with its own *llys* and *maerdref*, Welsh law indicates only one caput or *llys* and *maerdref* in the entire

commote (half-*cantref*) of twelve *maenolydd* or proto multiple estates (G.R.J. Jones 1971, 253 Figure 1). Glanville Jones' boosting of the *llys/maerdref* presence is counterbalanced by his downplaying of Welsh law's (very clear) evidence for a peripatetic royal court which subsisted on local hospitality (Charles-Edwards 2000b, 322-3; Stephenson 2014, 64-7, 233-4), a bias which may be linked to his need to disassociate from earlier concepts of Celtic nomadic pastoralism. It should also be noted that the 1971 diagrammatic model derives from an amalgam of the north and south Wales *maenolydd/maenorau* and represents Glanville Jones' attempt to rationalise two temporally and regionally distinct sets of data whose similarities do not go much further than terminology and overall concept.

Glanville Jones argued for the early and widespread presence of multiple estate-type structures, and used his model to interpret evidence of both early medieval and late Roman landholding across England as well as Wales; he hypothesised Iron Age roots and said that it was intended 'not as a rigid model but as a framework for tracing the evolution of settlement' (Fleming 2007, 8; G.R.J. Jones 1961; 1976, 21, 38-40; 1985b, 354). The model's operation, presaged in his work of the early 1960s, is outlined in two key papers of 1971 and 1976 (G.R.J. Jones 1961; 1971; 1976); in other researchers' work it is sometimes termed a composite, federal, complex, or discrete estate (Faith 1997, 11; G.R.J. Jones 1976, 25).

In Anglo-Saxon studies its centre-periphery concepts have lent themselves to analyses of settlement and agrarian economy and to theoretical models of resource exploitation and of colonisation, often using place-name evidence (e.g. Aston and Gerrard 2013, 8; Brookes 2007; Costen 1992, 86; Fleming 2010; Hines 2003, 96-8; Hooke 1996; Roberts and Barnwell 2011, 39-40; Winchester 2008; see Brookes 2010, 65-6 for summary of key work). In Wales it has been used to reconstruct 12th- and 13th-century pre-Conquest estates in mid and north Wales – areas whose medieval records provided the original data for Glanville Jones' research - and its application to early medieval contexts is limited (Bezant 2009; Longley 1997; 2001; Johnstone 1997; Kissock 2001; cf. R.A. Jones 1998b).

More problematically, it sits poorly with the socially and economically informed approaches of recent European scholarship and has attracted censure for its static, prescriptive structure that back-projects medieval institutions to earlier periods (W. Davies 1982, 44-7; 2004, 207; Hadley 1996, 8, 11-12; Seaman 2012, 164; Wickham 2005, 325). One of its most quoted critics is Wendy Davies, who has described the multiple estate model as a refinement of 19th-century interest in the tribal system (W. Davies 2004, 207). An anachronistic use of source material lies behind much of this criticism. The 13th-century laws of north Wales used by Glanville Jones represent a

substantial reworking of earlier laws, and reflect the needs of high medieval fiscal structures (D. Jenkins 1990, xxv; Jones Pierce 1972, 296, 324-5). In particular, the north Wales administrative hierarchy of *tref*, *maenor*, *commote* and *cantref* is not replicated in the older south Wales laws and cannot, according to Charles Edwards, be identified before the 11th century (Charles-Edwards 2013, 290; D. Jenkins 1990, 120-2), while – as already mentioned - the north and south Wales lawcodes show radical differences in the structure of the *maenor* or *maenol* with its component townships or *trefi*, key elements of the multiple estate (Appendix 2; see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

This reliance on a high medieval structure presents problems for the credibility of the multiple estate as a model of early medieval landscape organisation, as Wendy Davies has repeatedly pointed out (e.g. W. Davies 1982, 46; 2004, 208). There are, she acknowledges, elements for which Glanville Jones identified pre-Conquest evidence – the south Wales *maenor*; the fission of larger units; jointly administered groups of townships (*trefi*); summer and winter (food) renders; and (in one instance) similarities between 9th-century *maenor* and modern parish boundaries (W. Davies 1982, 44). However, given the level of known change in the early medieval period, it is (she says) not possible that the multiple estate model could have survived essentially unchanged as an institution until the high medieval period; she questions 'the universal applicability and uniformity of this framework and the invariable inclusion of all its distinctive characteristics', and suggests that there may have been more than one type of estate in existence (W. Davies 1982, 46-7; 1990, 82 n4).

Her work, together with that of Charles Edwards and Rhys Jones, indicates a gradual and late evolution of Welsh law's structures – a *maenor*/*maenol* is mentioned in the 9th century, *cantrefi* are detectable in the 11th century while *commotes* are a late and possibly post Conquest development (W. Davies 1982, 44, 131-2, 202, 235-6; Jenkins and Owen 1983, 56; cf. Charles-Edwards 2013, 568-9 who says the full system may be an 11th-century innovation of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn (d. 1064); and R.A. Jones 1998a, 170, 175-7 who suggests a gradual 9th- to 10th-century development of the *cantref*) (Chapter 4). The absence of the *maenor* in pre-9th-century sources casts doubt on its early existence, with change also evident in early references to other types of land unit, the *uncia* and the *ager*, that disappear from later records (Charles-Edwards 2013, 282-3, 285, 288-9; W. Davies 1978, 33-4, 57; R.A. Jones 1998b, 142).

This evidence of change is something to which Glanville Jones paid limited attention: although he acknowledged the early medieval fission of larger estates, it did not affect his belief in the antiquity of his model (G.R.J. Jones 1971, 262-3; 1976, 40). Different conclusions were reached by Hooke, an influential proponent of the multiple estate in

Anglo-Saxon contexts, who observed that the non-antiquity of some later Anglo-Saxon multiple estates is indicated by differences between Anglo-Saxon and Roman land use patterns, especially in relation to pasture resources; she links this to an evolving political framework (Hooke 1996, 81-3; cf. Fox 1981, 100-1). She identifies 7th-century 'folk territories' that are later divided into multiple estates, and comprise a mix of terrain and resources – arable and wood pasture, with some suggestions of transhumance. This land-use pattern, she says, is found in both British and Anglo-Saxon areas, which might argue for its antiquity, though it may be a common response to the needs of the agricultural economy (Hooke 1996, 81). These issues receive fuller exposition in the work of Faith (see below), whose exploration of the relationship of the multiple estate model with other possible modes of early landholding takes note of the model's conceptual anachronisms.

The multiple estate model's problems extend beyond issues of source material to criticisms of its early medieval application of concepts of absolute ownership of land, of feudal-mode lordship and social structure, and of a specialised-production economic model. Its assumptions of early private ownership are rejected as 'unhistorical' by Bassett; Wickham similarly favours a 'more fluid view' of early landholding (as also suggested, he notes, by Maitland, Stenton, Blair, Faith and Hadley), saying that 7th-century Anglo-Saxon land units should be seen as political divisions, not estates, and structured by dues or obligations (sometimes overlapping) rather than by the exclusive land tenure of Roman law (Bassett 1989, 20, 242-3, n52; Wickham 2005, 319-25). A similar point is made in relation to the Welsh evidence, where Charles Edwards says that the evidence of the Laws and of 'late surviving *maenorau*' describe the *maenor* as 'more of an administrative unit than as an estate' (Charles-Edwards 2013, 283), while Wendy Davies suggests that it 'confuses' royal and fiscal powers (to which its Welsh law source material refers) with proprietary and landlordship powers (W. Davies 1990, 82 n4). Indeed, the 1971 diagram can be viewed as giving a misleading territorial solidity to what was perhaps, fundamentally, an administrative device, and this point will be explored further in Chapters 4 and 7. In related vein, Hadley says that many attempts at reconstructing early medieval estate structure erroneously assume the uniform division of landscape into 'neatly segmented territories', with consequent confusion of administrative, tribal, political and geographical territories (Hadley 1996, 8, 11-12). Problems of scale are also evident, with the multiple estate label applied to units of greatly varying size, from an entire *cantref* or small shire to a parish (Charles-Edwards 2013, 291).

There is further challenge to the model for its assumption that agricultural and military services were performed by tenants: the only references to military services in Wales are 11th century, and there is no pre-Conquest evidence that bondmen perform labour

services (W. Davies 1982, 68, 130; 1990, 83). Postulated specialised production, often deduced from place-names, is a feature of some visions of the multiple estate model but may also (transhumance apart) be without basis: Faith says the English court 'was itinerant and dependent on food rents, rather than efficiently exploited estates, until well after the Conquest' (Faith 2008, 9). There is further criticism for the multiple estate model for its elision of food rents (from a king's or lord's own tenants) with tax or tribute (a more generalised payment from the king's subjects, many of whom would not be his direct tenants): it confuses, Wendy Davies says, different types of power (W. Davies 1990, 81) (see Theme 2 underneath).

Another potential anachronism is presented by Glanville Jones' suggestion of ancient roots to widespread Conquest-period bond tenure, an important part of his challenge to ideas about (free) Celtic nomadic pastoralists (G.R.J. Jones 1961; 1964a). Critics suggest that, given many references to free tenants in early Anglo-Saxon law codes, widespread semi-servile tenure must be a product of 12th- and 13th-century changes rather than an early medieval feature (Faith 2008, 12; Wickham 2005, 319-20). This evidence, however, relates to England and contrasts with clear evidence for early medieval Welsh and Irish dependent tenants: Glanville Jones' identification of their widespread pre-Conquest Welsh presence is, in Wendy Davies' view, uncontroversial and probably reflected in the sharp social distinctions of south Wales laws (W. Davies 1982, 64-7; 2004, 213-4; R.R. Davies 1987, 118-20).

These various criticisms and caveats indicate that the anachronisms of the multiple estate are inappropriate for the early medieval landscape. Fewer problems attend a more loosely structured contemporaneous model, Geoffrey Barrow's small shire, *regio* or extensive lordship, which he described as 'a system of goods and services due from outlying dependencies to a royal centre, coupled … with a regular pattern of free tenants' grazing rights and an obligation to grind their corn at the king's mill', with servile tenants supporting a 'warrior aristocracy' (G.W.S. Barrow 1973, 7-68, quotations at page 13). Glanville Jones regarded it as broadly identical to the multiple estate model but, as Faith elucidates, there are important conceptual distinctions (Faith 2008, 10). She identifies the multiple estate as a stage that follows the small shire or extensive lordship, marking the territorialisation (and beginnings of feudalisation) of lordship, and characterises the small shires, *regiones* or resource territories as areas of extensive lordship where relationships were personal rather than territorialised, utilising common resources like seasonal pasture (G.W.S. Barrow 1973, 7-28; Faith 1997, 9-13). Faith says that the agricultural 'synergy' of seasonal usages of different types of land defined the small shire or *regio*, balancing pastoralism and arable cultivation and structuring the resources of landholdings, with woodland used for pasture (ibid, 9). *Regiones* took their identity and often their names from what Barrow described as

'geographically definable … permanent common pasture' (quote from G.W.S Barrow 1973, 52; Faith 2008, 9-10).

She contextualises this centre-periphery model against contemporary European social and economic changes, and in Anglo-Saxon contexts links the extensive estate with her identification of an 'inland' area of more dependent/less free workers, and an 'outland'/'warland' area of more autonomous individuals, saying that the multiple estate should be seen as part of a 'widespread and evolving series of responses to the realities of politics, agriculture and settlement (Faith 1997, 12, 90-1). She notes a process, in Anglo-Saxon England, of fragmentation of large complex estates from the 10th century onwards, when smaller manors were created, albeit 'with the original major (royal) estate-holders retaining core areas that were 'ancient centres' characterised by proximity to woodland and rights to use more distant woodlands (Faith 1997, 154-5, drawing on Williamson 1993, 21-5).

Wickham similarly validates Barrow's concept of 'extensive lordship' and advocates it and Faith's inland-outland model as alternative models for the post-Roman centuries (Wickham 2005, 319-25). In Wales, Faith's analysis is echoed by Charles Edwards who accommodates both her and Davies' perspectives by reframing the multiple estate as 'a pattern by which a central place with less freedom was accompanied by satellite settlements with more freedom…[which was] replicated at different levels, both at the level of the *regiones* [*cantref*] … and in the smaller unit of the *maenor*' – in other words of 'the complementarity of the more extensive lordship over the free and the more intensive lordship over the unfree and of the association of the unfree with the central settlement and of the free with satellite settlements' (Charles-Edwards 2013, 291-2).

There are, of course, other visions of the early medieval landscape: recent work includes, notably, that of Brink, Theuws and Blair in Scandinavia, the low countries and England respectively, and of Loveluck in his metastudy of north-western Europe (Blair 2013; Brink 1996; Loveluck 2013; Theuws 2008). There are also interesting comparisons with Moore's work on late Iron Age England, and with Dark's work on post-Roman centres in south-west Britain, noted earlier (Dark 1994; 2000; Moore 2012). This more recent body of work, taken as a whole, identifies elements characteristic of the focal areas of the pre-urban landscape (noted hereafter in bold typeface) and examines the relationships that linked and supported them. Loose clusters of focal elements are found in recurring associations and constitute the 'polyfocal complexes' of the British pre-Roman Iron Age with their networks of **multiple ditch systems**, **large enclosures**, **coins, metalwork, imported pottery**, **rich burials** and **strategic/liminal landscape locations** (Moore 2012); the polyfocal agglomerations of different settlements and functions that form the central places (so-

called 'towns') of post-Roman Francia (Loveluck 2013, 259-60; Verhulst 1999, 42-3); and the 'central place complexes' of early medieval Scandinavia, where they typically comprise a dispersed area containing a **high status central landholding** and **hall** which is **strategically located for communication**, **cult sites** like sacred groves, **cemeteries**, **craft-working site**, a **market area** and an **assembly place** which might be a large grave mound, and also surrounding **subsidiary landholdings**; later in the Viking period **royal chapels and rune stones** mark these sites (Brink 1996, 236, 241-7; 1999, 434-5; Fabech 1999, 41; Jørgensen 2011; Nielsen 2014; Nielsen et al. 2011; Skre 2007a, 48, 481).

In England, 'central clusters' consisting of 'complementary groups of functional sites' associated with royal vills are noted (Blair 2013), with discussion of 6th-/8th-century evidence at Rendlesham suggesting a polyfocal central place with a **high status residence** for a peripatetic elite, periodic **assembly** and **trading places**, and a permanent **centre for agricultural production** and **collection of renders and taxes** supported by a **resident dependent workforce** and, in the surrounding region, small valley-side **agricultural settlements** (Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Hamerow et al. 2007; Mileson and Brookes 2014; Scull forthcoming; Scull et al. 2016). In Scotland the Pictish social landscape shows evidence of a tripartite structure, made up of a **caput** (possibly fortified), **dependent agricultural settlements**, and a **meeting place** which is often a mound and associated with an area of prehistoric monuments, while comparisons to Scandinavian central places are prompted by the combination of **carved symbol stones**, **rich material culture** and **high status habitation** at the 5th-/6th-century Rhynie fortified enclosure (Driscoll 1991, 98-9, 107; Noble et al. 2013, 1146-7) . In Ireland, Gibson and Fitzpatrick identify focal associations of **royal habitation**, **church** and **assembly/inaugurations site**, with supporting **mensal lands** (see Theme 3 discussion for references). Taken together, this work identifies clusters of sites, the (poly)focal central zones or central complexes, that constitute the archaeological landscape signature of the loci of juridicial, political, administrative and trading functions in early medieval societies of dispersed settlement.

Wales, however, figures little in such work, apart from the 12th- and 13th-century '***llys-maerdref***' complexes identified by Longley and Johnson in north Wales from the same documentary sources that Glanville Jones used (Johnstone 2000; Longley 1997). This Welsh work is distinctive for not noting any places of assembly (see Theme 3 discussion below), though it notes the frequent presence of **markets and fairs** at *maerdrefi* which often have **coastal locations** appropriate for commerce (Johnstone 1997, 61-2). **Royal chapels** are usually present, albeit sometimes up to 1 km away, and appear to be a 12th-century innovation: in earlier periods the nearest 'mother church' may have been used by the royal court. Mottes, either in or close to the

commotal centre, are also commonly present across Wales, and there are suspicions that some (especially in north Wales) may be Welsh constructions (ibid, 60, 67).

Most of the evidence for known *llysoedd* is late in date, deriving from the well-documented late 13th-century conquest of Gwynedd. Only one confirmed pre-Conquest *llys* has been excavated, at Rhosyr in Anglesey (Johnstone 1999), and it is uncertain whether its 13th-century hall (earlier phase 15x9 m; later phase 20x14 m) and separate chamber block are representative of *llysoedd* in other earlier-conquered areas of Wales. In the Cemais study area, for instance, the use of the pre-Conquest llys by the royal court of Deheubarth would have stopped c.1108 with the advent of the Normans, whose Nevern Castle power base was constructed *de novo* around this time, and used by the Deheubarth princes when they reconquered Cemais (Caple 2016, 383).

The idealised arrangements within the king's *llys* appear in one of the oldest, pre-Conquest parts of Welsh law, the Laws of Court (Stacey 2000, 30). A substantial establishment of primarily wooden buildings is suggested, with at least one large hall as well as the lord's personal chamber, a kitchen, stable, a porter's/doorkeeper's house, granary or barn, corn-kiln, kennels, privy and perhaps a chapel; no specific place of assembly is mentioned, and the presence of a surrounding fortified enclosure is unclear (Butler 1987, 49-50). Some of these buildings (the barn and kiln in particular, and perhaps the chapel) could be in the adjacent *maerdref* where many of the visiting officials were accommodated, with the king's steward lodging in the house closest to the *llys* (G.R.J. Jones 2000, 298-302). 13th- and 14th-century manorial extents also note the presence of **mill**s which are not mentioned in lawbooks: in south-west Wales, for example, a record of 1278 for the *maerdref* at Lampeter mentions 'the lord's house, his water-mill, his meadow (about an acre), a few acres of wood and his arable' (Butler 1987, 50, 53; Rees 1924, 199-201).

Positive identification of *llysoedd* in early medieval contexts is hampered by sparse documentation and limited surviving material culture, few being noted on HER records anywhere in Wales despite Welsh law's suggestion that there was a *llys* in every *commote* or *cantref* (Silvester 2015, 7, 12-13). Discussions of secular high status sites of the 7th to 11th century – for example by Dark (1994) and Longley (1997, 46-7) - tend to focus on sites where surviving **fortifications** are treated as proxies for high social status, though investigations at Longbury Bank suggest that some high status sites may have been unenclosed: its rich (for Wales) material culture assemblage is similar to that of the **multivallate promontory enclosure** at Dinas Powys (Campbell and Lane 1993; Seaman 2016). The clearest excavation of an early medieval high status site is at Llanbedrgoch, where the well-known Hiberno-Norse evidence of the 9th- and

10th-century phase is preceded by 7th- and 8th-century structures that include a roundhouse and a **rectangular hall**, within a 1 hectare D-shaped **embanked enclosure** (Redknap 2004, 148). The wider contexts of all these early medieval sites are generally poorly understood (Campbell and Lane's regional contextualisation of Longbury Bank is exceptional), and Seaman's current research on Dinas Powys promises to transform understanding of this area of south-east Wales (Seaman 2018).

Summary: the multiple estate model

The multiple estate model provides a home-grown paradigm of the early medieval landscape but has attracted criticism for its backwards projection of a late and highly regionalised body of evidence that reflects high medieval circumstances. This criticism focuses principally on:

- Questions of continuity and change
- Anachronistic and inflexible application of social and economic concepts
- Identification of elements - early medieval evidence for some multiple estate components is limited or lacking
- Assumptions about economic mode and land tenure
- Prescriptive and highly specific structure

Other, alternative recent models of the early medieval landscape are less prescriptive in their identification of focal elements and central zones, and link with the discussions of economic structure and expressions of power that follow.

Theme 2: Economic power - early medieval trade and exchange

Perspectives that integrate considerations of trade and exchange (or, more generally, wealth transfer) in early medieval Wales are, as noted already, relatively rare, with extant work (principally Campbell 2007; Campbell and Lane 1993; W. Davies 1982, 50-8; 2004; Griffiths 2003b; Griffiths 2003a; Griffiths 2009; Redknap 2009b; Wooding 1996) limited by the virtual non-existence of pottery between the late 7th and late 11th centuries, and by very little use of coins - the single surviving instance of an early medieval Welsh coin, showing the 10th-century ruler Hywel Dda, was minted in Chester (W. Davies 1982, 54). Finds of Viking Age weights and hacksilver (weighed silver, which might include silver coins) cast some light on 10th- and 11th-century activity, while the limited documentary records provide important suggestions.

Discussions are sharply delimited by the bounds of the existing evidence. **Imported pottery and glass** of the late 5th to late 7th/early 8th century (the 'late Antique' period) indicate links with the eastern Mediterranean and western France (Campbell 1991; 2007; Duggan 2016; Wooding 1996), and Campbell's analysis identifies a tripartite functional structure for find locations, which focus on a small number **of high status**

coastal settlements or 'import centres' where trade with foreign merchants appears to have been based on exchange of commodities, with redistributive gift-giving (as suggested by Renfrew) indicated at satellite sites; and also **peripheral trading sites** (for instance some islands) that may have been used as 'safe havens' by merchants (Campbell 1991; 2007, 9, 123-4, 137, 141; referring to Renfrew 1977; Wooding 1996). These peripheral sites correspond to Hodges' Type A emporia – seasonal fairs in boundary or coastal locations which probably operated largely outside royal control – though it should be noted that Hodges' highly influential model of early medieval trade largely ignores the circumstances of the Atlantic seaboard (Campbell 2007, 10, 52; Hodges 1982, 50-3). Imported pottery is also found at beach sites where the presence or otherwise of settlement is – generally – uncertain due to coastal erosion and medieval sand blows, though excavations at Mothecombe in Devon suggest high status dwellings at a beach site (Agate et al. 2012; Griffiths 2009; 2015). The detailed picture for late Antique south-west Wales is considered in a 1993 study by Campbell and Lane, who note apparently mutually exclusive distributions of late Antique artefacts and the zone of Irish settlement (centring on Cemais) indicated by ogham stones and place-names (Campbell and Lane 1993, 67 fig. 13, 70).

This late Antique trade ends by the early 8th century and, with it, evidence of activity at the elite sites until the Norman Conquest, though Campbell suggests that the presence of medieval castles suggests 'a continuing tradition of occupation' at many Welsh sites (Campbell 2007, 124, 139-40). Evidence of activity at some of the putative beach and island trading sites reappears in the Viking period: these are, Griffiths observes, the closest that Wales has to the English 'productive sites' and have assemblages that indicate a 'very long-lived tradition of **seasonal markets**' (Griffiths 2003b, 63, 65; 2009, 276). There are, however, no Welsh parallels either to Ireland's Hiberno-Norse towns or to the permanent urban sites or wics of the North Sea area (Hodges 'Type B' emporia) that are commonly implicated in the transition to coin-using market economies (Hodges 1982, 117, 165-6; Hodges 2012, 6-7, 98, 128-35; Skre 2008c, 330, 332, 339).

Viking Age economic activity in Wales is considered by Redknap and Griffiths, who identify localised evidence (weights, armrings and hacksilver) at a few coastal locations for a bullion economy operating in tandem with 'gift-giving within a status-oriented society' (Redknap 2009b, 40). There is no evidence for trading settlements of any substantial size, and only one Welsh site of Hiberno-Norse economic activity is understood with any clarity – Llanbedrgoch in Anglesey, an enclosed high status settlement (perhaps a *llys*) which may have acted as a tribute collection centre (Redknap 2004, 169-70; 2009b, 38-9). This combination of trading and tribute collection is significant given suggestions that it was tribute which allowed early

medieval elites to engage in foreign trade; and also that in the late 10th- and early 11th-century Vikings were politically dominant in north Wales (W. Davies 1990, 57-9; Fleming 2011, 208-10).

In the region surrounding the study area, the clearest evidence of Viking-period trading activity is in south Pembrokeshire, where scattered finds, including weights, indicate a Viking presence in the vicinity of the poorly understood beach trading site at Linney or Brownslade Burrows, locus of a multi-period assemblage which includes late Antique pottery (Figure B1; Griffiths 2009, 272, 276). There is another probable coastal trading site at Whitesands Bay near St Davids, where medieval dune formation and coastal erosion has obscured evidence of earlier settlement, though activity is signalled by two Hiberno-Norse pins, a 10th-century Anglo-Saxon coin, and evidence of fine metalworking and craft manufacture at a 7th to 11th cemetery (Murphy et al. in preparation; Redknap 2007).

The material-culture based approach that identifies these loci of exchange activity has, with the exception of Gilchrist's analysis of the agro-economic implications of the Dinas Powys animal bone assemblage, little to say about the economic mechanisms of the hinterland that supplied sites (Gilchrist 1988). Written sources, however, identify a number of mechanisms for acquiring goods in early medieval Wales: raiding; sale; payment for specified services; exchanges at an agreed rate; and exchange by means of a gift which symbolises a relationship of dependence (W. Davies 1982, 51). These acquisitions generally took place within 'wider social relationships' of 'continuing necessary reciprocity', though there were also sales where prices were named and no 'attendant obligations' appear to have been involved (W. Davies 1982, 51, 53). Coins were not used as currency, but there is evidence for standard units of valuation – silver (by weight, as in hacksilver) and cows (W. Davies 1982, 53-5). In pre-Conquest Welsh law of the 12th and 13th centuries coin appears as a substitute for the annual *uchelwyr* food tribute (*gwestfa*), to be paid if this food is not supplied at the 'right time, namely, in the winter' (Wade-Evans 1909, 56, 206), but fines are expressed in cows and weighed silver (Wade-Evans 1909, 2, 8, 147, 152). Similar units of account are noted in early medieval Spain and Ireland (where slaves also commonly appear as a standard of value), late 8th-century Frankish sources identify bread, grain, cattle and honey as units of value, while early 14th-century Norway has standard valuations expressed in butter, hides and iron (Charles-Edwards 1993, 478-85; W. Davies 2002, 160; 2010, 124; Kelly 2000, 587-599; Kershaw 2017; Kershaw and Williams 2018; Kilger 2008, 270; Lunden 1999, 254; Skre 2017). The actual payment could be made in a variety of ways, many of which would leave little archaeological trace and therefore, it is suggested, attract little research attention (Gullbeck 2011, 102). In early medieval Wales payments are made in horses, swords, clothing, dogs, hawks, horns, female

slaves and cloth (linen) as well as cattle and silver, with silver and gold being increasingly used in the 10th and 11th centuries (W. Davies 1982, 53). In Ireland, modes of payment appear to have been, to some extent, socially determined. Liam Breatnach argues that precious metals, particularly silver, were mainly used for payments by high rank persons, while cattle were associated with low value payments and lower status individuals (Breatnach 2014, 16-19). He also notes rules governing the types of commodity to be used for certain payments (ibid, 6-7, 9-10, 16-17). Underpinning this is a structure of equivalences (or rates of exchange) between different units of value which, while not universal or unchanging, were undoubtedly widespread (Charles-Edwards 1993, 479), and allow an understanding of how Viking bullion payments might integrate with the longstanding use of commodity-based units of value and account.

The relative clarity of this Irish evidence contrasts with that of Wales, where the absence of a 'consistent' medium of exchange suggests, Wendy Davies says, much less commercial exchange than in other areas of Europe, and the almost total lack of early medieval references to markets (bar one late reference to merchants and tolls) also points to minimal local-level commercial exchange (W. Davies 1982, 57, 202). Evidence for pre-Viking local commercial exchange in Ireland is similarly uncertain, as Liam Breatnach points out (2014, 9), and Wendy Davies questions Doherty's influential observations about the significance of monastic development of seasonal fairs at *óenach* gatherings, saying that the scale of economic activity at the *óenaig* (recorded from c.800) is uncertain (W. Davies 2010, 121, 131; Doherty 1980, 81-3).

The minimal evidence for local exchange suggests, Wendy Davies says, that local produce was largely distributed within the estate system, with very little commercial exchange (W. Davies 1982, 57). Lords were supported by food renders from their own tenants; these are recorded in 8th- and 9th-century Welsh charters which indicate a broad similarity of items to those stipulated in post-Conquest Welsh law, and food and livestock-based rents continue into the 13th century and beyond (Appendix 3) (R.R. Davies 1978, 138, 141; W. Davies 1982, 46). Charles Edwards suggests that, as a general rule, early food renders may only have been exacted when the royal household arrived on circuit, and were therefore only a significant burden on core areas of the territory (Charles-Edwards 1989a, 30-1). He also suggests that free clients probably did not pay food renders in earlier periods, but instead had a duty to provide hospitality to the king on his circuit (Charles-Edwards 1989a, 33; 1993, 376-7). Texts also refer to more generalised taxes on a kingdom's subjects which – together with payments from subject kingdoms - are sometimes referred to as tribute ('*exactio, census, tributum*'): they appear to be a normal expectation by the 11th century, when ecclesiastical lands are often mentioned as exempted, although they may have been collected in the south-

east by the 8th century (W. Davies 1982, 129-30; 1990, 83). These are territory-based payments of silver or cattle, cattle 'on the hoof' being, as Charles Edwards points out, a practical way of receiving payments from distant areas (Charles-Edwards 1989a, 30-1).

This broad picture of a society supported by food renders, where commercial exchange existed only at low levels and was underpinned by commodity-based units of account, goes some way towards explaining why Wales presents little of the evidence used in conventional archaeological analyses of early medieval trade and exchange. It has a poor fit with the dominant north European paradigm provided by Hodges' emporia model, which is useful for understanding Viking period external mechanisms but is otherwise of limited utility within Wales, and gives minimal consideration either of the use of units of account to effect exchange, which are seen as a brief episode in the development of a monetised economy, or of systems of credit in embedded social contexts (Hodges 1982, 50-3; Hodges 2012, 31-2, 34, 43-4; cf. Graeber 2011; Gregory 1997 for a discussion in an anthropological context; Loveluck 2013, 14-18 for North Sea trade; G. Owen 1994, 142 who refers to late 16th-century systems of credit, repaid at seasonal cattle fairs, in north Pembrokeshire).

An alternative model for Scotland, Ireland and western areas of Britain is proposed by Carver (Carver 2015) who develops Doherty's suggestion of monastic-driven economic change in Ireland within a broad overview of early medieval European economic change. He identifies a process of change whereby 6th- and 7th-century elite sites become monastic sites with a 'congregational' focus in the 7th and 8th centuries and then in the 9th century develop into profit-driven trading sites (Carver 2015, 9-11, 18). Considering the monastery at Portmahomack in Scotland, he suggests that it 'participated in an economy in which cattle were the capital assets, with hides as the portable currency'; this economy also drew on the 'sale of spiritual benefits' and the 'manufacture and sale of souvenirs'. He identifies a parallel process at pagan cult sites in Scandinavia, in the work of (among others) Skre and Fabech (Carver 2015, 2-6; citing Fabech and Näsman 2013; Skre 2012). Carver's model provides food for thought in the Welsh context, given the extensive St Davids landholdings identified in 13th- and 14th-century sources and the limited nature of pre-Conquest secular economic development and royal power (W. Davies 1990, 90-1; Pryce 2007; Willis-Bund 1902). It also raises the possibility that Viking attacks on Welsh monastic sites may have targeted exchange activity and/or challenges to Viking trading hegemony.

Carver's analysis focuses on the major ideological drivers for economic European development and is not concerned with long term local level processes. These receive more consideration in the Scandinavian work of Skre, who modifies Hodges' model (see Chapter 3) to incorporate the Norwegian evidence of well-established units of

account, and postulates their use within the socially-embedded commodity exchange systems of small-scale early medieval societies. Skre envisages these standards of exchange facilitating local trade without the need of coins at both elite-controlled central places and at peripheral seasonal markets (akin to the English 'productive sites' and, perhaps, to the Irish Sea sand dune sites) where economic activity may have been conducted in more independent contexts, both before and alongside the Viking Age bullion economy and permanent trading settlements when they develop (Lunden 1999; Skre 2008b, 331-2, 347, 352). This flexible multilevel model relates well to Wendy Davies' identification of commodity exchange systems in Atlantic areas and – by identifying how and where long-lived mechanisms for low level exchange operated in small scale societies – is potentially very useful for understanding the Welsh evidence, notwithstanding Hodges' minimal recognition of commodity exchange as a brief episode in the development of a monetised economy (Hodges 2012, 31-4, 43-4). Its linkage of exchange activities with places of assembly or congregation, which also features in Carver's model, presents one particularly interesting association that will be considered next.

Summary – trade and exchange

Trade within a monetised economy is often regarded as integral to a teleological progression to urbanised society, though alternative perspectives identify other processes of exchange operating within non-urbanised societies. In early medieval Wales these are characterised by:

- Commodity-based units of account
- Probable low levels of commercial exchange
- Socially embedded economy, structured largely within estate system
- Seasonal markets e.g. beach sites
- Possible combined linkage of trade and tribute loci
- Postulated association with assembly sites and also with ecclesiastical estates

Theme 3: Places of power - assemblies

Outdoor sites of **assembly**, where courts, fairs, musters and other gatherings took place, are the subject of a growing body of work in England, Scotland, Ireland and Scandinavia; Wales is substantially absent (e.g. Carroll et al. forthcoming; Fitzpatrick 2004a; Gleeson 2015; 2018; O'Grady 2008; Pantos and Semple 2004; Sanmark 2009; Semple and Sanmark 2013; Sanmark 2017; Semple 2013; cf. Comeau 2014). This literature reveals recurrent patterns of site elements characterising many such sites across north-west Europe: mounds, ancient, new, natural or sepulchral; specifically **named areas of assembly**; **monumental stones**; **churches**; **burial grounds**;

fortified enclosures (often multivallate); **sacred trees; holy wells** and **important routeways** (Brink 2004; Driscoll 2004, 79-81; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 143-8, 206-9; Gibson 1995, 116-7; Herity 1993, 127; Mallery 2011, 185; Sanmark 2009; 2017; Swift 2000; Warner 1988, 52; 2004). Locations are often at administrative or ecological boundaries, or on common pasture (Faith 2009, 29; Pantos 2003; Semple and Sanmark 2013, 528). The appropriation of prehistoric sites– most frequently barrows, but also hillforts, standing stones and chambered tombs – is a common theme, and linked to complex negotiations of identity, expressions of kingship and political agendas (Bradley 1987; Carver 2002; Carver 2010; Semple 2013; Williams 1998). Place-names provide indicators of assembly functions, with work in England, Scotland and Ireland identifying name elements that either directly refer to gatherings of different sorts, or indicate **legal proceedings**, speech, discussion and/or **the name of an administrative unit**, often in combination with topographic or locational elements like 'mound', 'tree' and 'ford' (Baker and Brookes 2015, 4-6; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 29-34; MacCotter 2011; O'Grady 2014; Pantos 2004a, 192-7; Sanmark 2017, 12-13; Skinner and Semple 2016). **Seasonal festivals** and sports are long-lived activities at these sites (Baker and Brookes 2015, 9, 17; Charles-Edwards 2000a, 14; Fitzpatrick 2001, 71; MacNeill 1962, 221ff., 287ff., 371-2, 376, 382; Pantos 2004b, 166; Swift 2000, 38-40).

In England, research identifies a range of assembly sites operating at different spatial and social scales, from local farmers negotiating grazing rights to the gathering-places of kingdoms, the latter being manifested in mass baptism sites at conversion-period **royal and ceremonial centres**, in political and legal gatherings of the 10th-century peripatetic English royal court, and in the ecclesiastical synods that commence in 673 AD (Blair 2005, 56-7; Hutton 1997, 330; Oosthuizen 2013, 37-39; Roach 2013, 45-76). In between these two extremes are the late Anglo-Saxon hundredal moots where local communities met regularly to regulate their affairs, identifiable from Domesday records (Anderson 1934; Baker and Brookes 2015, 4-5). These have been mapped and their characteristics identified: sites are accessible, in some way distinctive, suitable for large numbers of people and animals, found in both central and boundary locations, often symbolically laden, sometimes the settings for battles, and frequently associated with other types of communal gathering like markets, sports, and military muster sites (Baker and Brookes 2015, 13-17; Pantos 2003; 2004b; a). A detailed regional survey of these sites in Yorkshire finds patterns of association with barrows, mounds, **fords**, **estate borders** and the **peripheries of estate centres**, but little evidence of any link with markets and churches (Skinner 2014, 284-5, 248-9; Skinner and Semple 2016).

A rich seam of recent Scandinavian research, which sees assembly sites as part of the patterning of focal areas, informs English work and incorporates Orkney and Iceland in its ambit (e.g. Brink 2004; Sanmark 2009; 2017; see also articles in Journal of the

North Atlantic Vol 8, 2015). Similar (if not identical) conjunctions of elements are noted at sites of assembly in Ireland where they are linked with specific models of royal inauguration and kingship landscapes. This Irish work (which spans historical, literary, archaeological and folkloric discussions) has potential relevance for Wales, given geographical proximity and shared cultural influences over the early medieval period, though its royal focus must be seen in context: Ireland's hierarchical royal structure created local-level kings where Wales had local lords (Byrne 1973, 7, 30-1, 40-7; W. Davies 1982, 132-4; 1990, 90, n29; Charles-Edwards 2004).

Current research focusses on major assemblies or *óenaig* (recorded in annals from the 8th century and in saints' lives set in the 6th century) and emphasises their role as sites of divinely-assisted royal power (Binchy 1958; FitzPatrick 2015; Gleeson 2015). There is, however, written evidence for other assemblies at different scales: occasional national or provincial royal assemblies or *rigdala*, and ecclesiastical synods which ran concurrently with the *óenaig*, both of which are mentioned in 6th-century contexts (Charles-Edwards 2000a, 277-9; Gleeson 2015, 34); and the *airecht*, a legal dispute-settling gathering of freemen that was the predecessor of the later medieval *oireachtas*, (Bhreathnach 2014, 75; FitzPatrick 2015, 54; Kelly 2000, 458). The earliest record of an *airecht* gathering is in 1023 (Fitzpatrick 2004, 16), though its procedures are discussed in a text that, Fergus Kelly suggests, may have been composed as early as the 7th century AD (Kelly 1986, 76): these procedures (which appear to refer to a judicial court of some importance rather than a local court for disputes between neighbours) identify a large gathering of at least 30 people where judgement was made by a judge or judges in the presence of the provincial king (the 'king of overkings'), and its arrangements have parallels with those specified in *Llyfr Iorwerth* for the explicitly outdoor 13th-century north Wales law courts (ibid, 80-3; Charles-Edwards 2004, 99). There were also smaller scale *óenaig* assemblies for small kingdoms or *tuatha* which are much less well evidenced, but which are thought to have involved the royal administration of justice (Bhreathnach 2014, 69, 71-2). Records permit some identification of seasonal patterning: many took place at Lugnasad (1st August), at the beginning of harvest, and are suggested to have been concerned with harvest organisation as well as trade, sports (racing) and feasting, but *óenaig*/fairs are also known to have been held at Samhain (All Saints/Halloween) and on the feast of Saint Martin (10th November, a 10th-century reference) (Bhreathnach 2014, 70, 73-4 ; Kelly 2000, 458, 461). Festivals are also noted at Imbolc (early February), at Beltane (early May), and also possibly at midsummer and on the Feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist (29th August; a 9th-century reference) (Bhreathnach 2014, 74; Kelly 2000, 460-2). It is unclear whether all of these were the occasions for *óenaig*, but the possibility that these were times for financial and livestock transactions is suggested by the fact

that young livestock values rise at Beltane, Lugnasad and Samhain (Kelly 2000, 461). Later medieval sources indicate that Beltane and All Saints/Samhain/St Martin's feast day were times of *oireachtas* (the later medieval manifestation of the *airecht*) and rent paying (Simms 2000, 73-4). The importance of the *óenaig* in Ireland's early medieval economic development is, as noted earlier, a subject of discussion, as is their location: earlier suggestions that they were located on boundary settings are not altogether born out in recent work (Gleeson 2015, 38 (map); O'Riain 1972, 24-5).

The Lugnasad *óenaig* are particularly well understood from historical, literary and folkloric evidence and – given the evidence for two major early medieval Lugnasad assemblies or óenaig at Tailtiu (Teltown) and Carmun - linked with functions of governance and kingship, ancestral celebrations, games and fairs (Binchy 1958; Gwynn 1913; 1924; MacNeill 1962). The written evidence for the assembly at Tailtiu indicates a symbolically significant landscape, made up of three sites of royal power – the **king's fort** of Ráth Airthir (the place of assembly of the túatha/kingdoms), the area of the Óenach Tailten (the **Fair**/Gathering of Tailtiu) and the **sanctuary** at Domnach Pátraic (where Patrick founded a church) – which are surrounded by the *blaí*, a multi-functional open area of secular sanctuary demarcated by **stones** and other boundary markers (Swift 2000, 24-30, 35-40). A similar usage of stones is identified by Brink and Sanmark in Scandinavia (see below).

The wealth of early medieval documentation that informs these discussions allows archaeological identification both of particular locations and of patterns of features (e.g. Wailes 1982), and also, in recent work, explorations of how contemporaries understood and controlled these landscapes and used (holy) wells, springs, banks and ditches to mark **seasonal events** and transition points in the human life cycle (Dowling 2006, 15-18; Mallery 2011; Newman 2007, 431-2). The associations of features are particularly significant, given the clarity of the observed patterns, and include '**ring-barrows, small cairns or mounds**, **standing stones**, **large embanked enclosures and linear earthworks or "avenues"**', together with 'a prominent mound in or near the large enclosure' and 'a local tradition of early importance which is unlikely to be mere antiquarianism' (Warner 1988, 52, drawing on Wailes 1982). Many of these sites show a long sequence of development and use that goes back to the Neolithic and Bronze Age, and intensifies in the late prehistoric (Iron Age), when some can be identified from early medieval sources as **royal sites,** albeit within selectively-constructed narratives that furthered the interests of particular early medieval elites (Aitchison 1994, 306; Herity 1993, 147). Interestingly, a number of these sites have been wrongly identified as Norman mottes (Herity ibid).

This combination of elements also appears to characterise early medieval royal sites, albeit with some spatial reconfiguration and evidence of **metal and glass-working** (Warner 1988, 67). The pairing of mounds and **high status residences** (e.g. at Clogher in Ireland and Gooderne in Cornwall) is suggested to be an archaeological indicator of early medieval inauguration settings; written sources indicate that the mounds were used as places of governance and parley and allowed kingship to draw upon divine power, and one such place, located perhaps in Britain rather than Ireland, is referred to in the early medieval 'Cormac's Glossary' (Warner 2004, 33-8). Viewed through the lens of chiefdoms and the 'primitive state', the royal or inauguration mound can be seen as part of a 'capital set' of three elements (the **royal homestead**, **ecclesiastical establishment** and **inauguration mound**) in 8th- to 12th-century Irish high-status centres (Gibson 1995, 116-7, 125-6).

The spatial relationship of these elements is noted to change with time, with sites of royal habitation tending to move away from the loci of inauguration and assembly (*óenach/óenaig* sites) in the early medieval period (Fitzpatrick 2004a, 196-7, 205; Gibson 1995, 116-7, 125-6; Warner 1988, 58, 67). A further separation between inauguration sites and popular assembly sites is observed in the medieval period, indicating perhaps a deliberate distancing of popular gatherings (and the church) from the more arcane rituals of Irish kingship: Iron Age assemblies are thought to have been at or outside the sacred royal sites (Warner 2004, 39). The location of the inauguration site tends to remain fixed, and as a 'biographical landmark' (whether old or newly-constructed) was used by incoming dynasties to give a sense of 'territorial historicity' (Fitzpatrick 2004a, 97). Its location appears to be strongly linked to the '*lucht tighe*', the chief's household '**mensal**' (or **demesne**) lands, rather than, as is sometimes suggested, to boundary areas (ibid, 196-7). Archaeology, written sources, folklore and place-names show that mounds, inauguration stones, stone 'chairs' and sacred trees mark these dynastic landmarks, which are frequently the locations of battles (ibid, 174). There is also an emerging link between **hunting**, inaugural assembly and Lugnasad sites and myth (Fitzpatrick 2013; FitzPatrick et al. 2015).

A broader perspective on the landscape settings of assembly, which explores contexts beyond royal inauguration and ceremony, is provided by the recent Óenach Project, which has found a strong relationship between **assembly sites** and **cemeteries** as well as **early church sites** (Gleeson 2015; 2017). These cemeteries, and in some cases corn dryers, are frequently located close to the boundaries of the royal lands around assembly sites, which suggests that they perhaps represent subsidiary, kingroup gathering places where corn tributes are prepared (Gleeson, ibid).

In Scotland, similar patterns to those of Ireland are noted in both Gaelic and Pictish areas; early medieval assembly sites reference prehistoric sites and are understood as a spatial manifestation of authority in the landscape of early medieval estates or thanages (Driscoll 1988a; 1991, 98-9; 1998, 151-3; 2004, 90-1; Maldonado 2017). A recent national survey of sites, building on earlier place-name work, reveals patterns of naming and location: assemblies are most commonly located on natural hills and some have close links with estate centres (G.W.S. Barrow 1981; O'Grady 2014).

Assemblies in Wales

Very little research has been done on assembly sites in Wales, despite the much-cited literary reference to an early medieval royal mound - the unlocated *gorsedd* or 'over-seat' at Narberth of Pwyll Prince of Dyfed, identified in the *Mabinogion* as a place for otherworld visions and for dispensing justice (Charles-Edwards 2004, 98; S. Davies 2007, 8, 43; Warner 2004, 34).

Compared to Ireland and England, the location and organisation of assemblies in Wales is poorly understood: there is no Domesday from which pre-Conquest administrative structures and assembly sites can be inferred, and its lists of cantrefi and commotes are of late 14th- and 15th-century date, albeit perhaps of 12th- or 13th-century origin (Lloyd 2004 [1911], 280). Reconstruction of its pre-Conquest structure relies on wide scholarship and extremely limited written sources (Lloyd 2004 [1911], 229-280; cf. Charles-Edwards 2013, 568).

Until recently work was effectively restricted to Charles Edwards' 2004 discussion of legal assemblies and Wendy Davies' 1982 examination of charter references to processes of governance (Charles-Edwards 2004; W. Davies 1982, 132-4). Assembly sites are not a part of the multiple estate model of Glanville Jones, and neither do they figure in the *llys-maerdref* model of pre-Conquest Welsh central places (Johnstone 2000; G.R.J. Jones 2000; Longley 1997); the contrast with Scotland, where Driscoll identifies them as part of the thanage, is striking (Driscoll 1991, 98). There has been no systematic study of the distribution and location of assembly place-names, and at the start of the current research project identification of terminology was restricted to Charles Edwards' consideration (2004) of three assembly-related terms, *llys*, *gorsedd* and *dadl*, earlier discussions of *gorsedd* place-names by Ifor Williams (Williams 1930, 120; 1945, 22), and a possible assembly place-name, *Cyngreawdwr*, associated with the Great Orme headland in north Wales (H. W. Owen and Morgan 2007, 174). Charles Edwards notes that *llys* is used in the *Mabinogion* and in 11th- and 12th-century lawbooks to refer both to the royal entourage and to the buildings that it occupied, the latter probably being the original primary meaning of the term. Although assemblies might happen at such locales, the term does not in itself indicate an

assembly site. *Gorsedd* (literally, an 'over-seat') is, of these three terms, most likely to refer to the site of an assembly, since it indicates both the place of a court or judicial assembly and a mound or barrow. *Dadl* refers more to processes than to the place where they took place, glossing the Latin terms *forum*, *curia* or *concio* in 9th- and early 10th-century sources, and signifying legal cases or legal meetings in 12th- and 13th-century Welsh lawbooks (Charles-Edwards 2004, 96-7, 101-3). The current research project has since identified other assembly place-names which are discussed in Chapter 6 and listed in Appendices 5A and 5B.

The assembly activities denoted by place-names are significant since there is little mention of them in the sparse Welsh early medieval sources. Assemblies are not mentioned in the Welsh Annals, and there are only two specific references to assembly in Welsh law, plus one possible allusion to dispute-settling arrangements in references to a '*gorfodtref*' (Appendix 2). These references include a description of the seating system of a (clearly outdoor) 13th-century legal court in north Wales, and the reference to a major 10th-century law-making assembly in prologues (written in the later 12th and 13th centuries) to most redactions of Welsh law (Charles-Edwards 2004, 98-9; Pryce 1986; see D. Jenkins 1990, xiii-xiv for a dismissal of the suggestion that the reference to Hywel's assembly is a 12th-century invention). In one of its earliest surviving versions (see Pryce 1983, 152-5, 183-4) this prologue describes how Hywel Dda, 'king of Cymru', observing

> 'bad customs and good customs before his time. … takes six men from every cymwd in Cymru and brings them to the White House on the Tav; and there were present those who held croziers in Cymru including archbishops and bishops and abbots and good teachers; and of that number, twelve of the wisest laics [*lleyc* – layman or laity, GPC] were chosen, and the one wisest scholar who was called Blegywryd, to make the good laws and to abolish the bad ones which were before his time; and to place good ones in their stead and to confirm them in his own name. When they had finished making those laws, they placed the curse of God, and the one of that assembly, and the one of Cymru in general upon any one who should break those laws.'
>
> (Wade-Evans 1909, 145-6).

We have to read this account of an assembly with caution, since it has been convincingly argued that the prologues were intended to establish the validity of Welsh law to Anglo-Norman period practitioners, and similarities between the description of Hywel's assembly and the Anglo-Norman *inquisitio* should be seen in this light (Pryce 1986, 168, 174, 182). Nonetheless, there are echoes of Hywel Dda's executive assembly of laity in Llandaff charter references to 7th- and 8th-century south Wales legal business and disputes being settled locally by groups of prominent elders (*meliores, seniors, degion, hinham*) whose landholdings and power were not

dependent on royal favour or assent (W. Davies 1982, 132-4, 138). There is, interestingly, a reference (presumably credible to its original audience) to one such assembly of elders in the *Mabinogion* story of Pwyll, prince of Dyfed: the men of Preseli summon Pwyll to an assembly in *Presseleu* (the Preseli hills: the exact location is not given), which is clearly geographically and organisationally separate from the *gorsedd* mound (*pen gorssed*) at Pwyll's principal court on the lowlands to the south of these hills (S. Davies 2007, 16). The term used here for assembly is *doethont y gyt* – a 'coming together', and a similar usage of *cyd/gyt* ('joining together', 'united', '(in) common') describes an assembly at Pwyll's court (Thomas, Bevan and Donovan 1967; Williams 1930, 9, 19).

Another reference to an early medieval assembly is provided by the account of a major 6th-century synod in the Life of David, an 11th-century compilation of earlier sources. It describes a great gathering of ecclesiasts and laymen at Llanddewi Brefi addressed by speakers raised on mounds of clothing: a hill rises under St David's feet as he speaks, presumably the distinctive natural mound on which the medieval church sits (Sharpe and Davies 2007, 143, 153, 155).

The use of mounds for public address is also suggested in the traditional association of several mounds in mid-Wales churchyards with the preaching activities of the 5th-century St Germanus or Garmon (Baring-Gould and Fisher 1907, III, 78); the two surviving mounds at Tomen Garmon, Ceiriog Ucha and Twmpath Garmon, Llanfechain are both about 20 m wide and 1-2.5 m high (CPAT PRN 6342, 100985, 3376, 1487). In England the presence of mounds or knolls within churchyards is attributed to 'differing potential motivations and processes' that range from longstanding associations of an area with pre-Christian cult sites to the common origin of church and mound as a Norman motte-and-bailey with associated church (Semple 2013, 127). Some of these English mounds are thought to be mottes, though the possibility exists that, if so, they may have incorporated existing mounds, a phenomenon that has been noted in England and evidenced in Wales at Treoda near Cardiff, where there is evidence of Roman-period activity (GGAT PRN 02954s). Similarly longstanding, older associations seem likely at the Welsh churches with early medieval associations that actually sit on mounds or hills, for instance Tregaron (Ceredigion), Mathry (Pembrokeshire), Llangan (Carmarthenshire), Llanlleonfel (Powys/Brecknockshire) and Llanddewi Brefi; more systematic evaluation is needed (DAT PRN 50161, 4578, 49290, 11786; CPAT PRN 32166, 2585).

Longstanding boundary assembly sites, where disputes involving neighbouring territories were settled by discussion between the communities concerned or their representatives, are mentioned in sources of the 13th century onwards (Smith 1965).

Six sites in mid and north Wales are named, largely identifiable as mountain passes or hills: Bwlch Oerddrws; Carnedd Hywel; Pontgamarch; Eisteddfa Gurig; Aber Diwlas; and Rhuddwr. Cattle-stealing and fugitives from justice figure prominently in these medieval records, as they do in the 10th- or 11th-century *Ordinance of the Dunsaete* used by English courts on the border with Wales (Molyneaux 2011). In England the longstanding existence of boundary courts is evident in the early 12th-century *Leges Henrici Primi* and Liber Eliensis, and the late 10th-/early 11th-century Aethelred and Cnut lawcodes, with settings examined in recent research projects (Baker and Brookes 2013a; Downer 1972, 139, 177, 179, 320; Skinner 2014, 276-8; Pantos 2003). In the study area there is a medieval record of one such site at Garn Turne (Chapter 6). The pre-Conquest symbolic significance of boundary gatherings is glimpsed in a poem of c.1100 addressed (it is thought) to Cuhelyn, *maer* of Cemais:

> 'great horns in due place,/ wholly brilliant,/ for the fortunate one of the muster;
> at the boundary-line of [his] people/ a fierce warband/ [yet] the counsellor of judges;
> the leader of a host / [bearing] ample reward/ close to the suppliants;
> a little one as regards wrong-doing,/ the acme of reconciliation,/ a seizer of fame;
> the keystone of art/ for a hundred calends together/ in the ardent assembly'

> (Lines 9-13, page 204, tr. Gruffydd 1975)

There are also 16th-century references to traditions of informal outdoor hillside assemblies, *cymanfaoedd*, where crowds gathered on Sundays and holidays to listen to heroic songs and recite genealogies (R.R. Davies 1987, 80, 131). An Elizabethan report on north Wales describes how

> 'Upon the Sondaies and hollidaies the multitude of all sortes of men woomen and childerne of everie parishe doe use to meete in sondrie places either one [on] some hill or one the side of some mountaine where theire harpers and crowthers singe them songs of the doeings of theire auncestors, namelie, of theire wars againste the kings of this realme and the English nac'on, and then doe they ripp upp theire petigres at lenght howe eche of them is discended from those theire ould princs. Here alsoe doe they spende theire time in hearinge some parte of the lives of Thalaassyn [Taliessin], Marlin Beno Pybbye [Merddyn penbeirdd], Jeruu [? Jorwerth], and suche other the intended prophets and saincts of that cuntrie.'

> (E. Owen 1900, 72).

A similar 19th-century gathering at Moylgrove in the study area is noted in Chapter 6. The study area also has Elizabethan records of games of *cnapan* (hurling) at rural and hillside locations (G. Owen 1994, 208-219). Hurling, played elsewhere in south Wales (as *bando*), Scotland (as *shinty*), Cornwall and other areas of England, and of course Ireland has a long history: a hurling player is depicted on a Roman-period clay mould from Kettering in Northamptonshire, and Irish myths refer to hurling games at royal sites (J. Davies, Jenkins and Baines 2008, 48; Hawkes 1940; Heaney 1995, 158-9;

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Hutchinson 1989, 32-3; Kinsella 1970, 77-9, 82-3; O'Sullivan 1998; G. Owen 1994, 208-219). .

19th-century hillside assemblies are recorded on 1st August or *Gŵyl Awst*, and linked by Rhys with the Irish Lugnasad festival (Rhys 1888, 421). He talks of it as

> '... a day for fairs in certain parts of North Wales, and it is remembered in central and southern Cardiganshire as one on which the shepherds used, till comparatively lately, to have a sort of picnic on the hills. One farmer's wife would lend a big kettle, and others would contribute the materials held requisite for making in it a plentiful supply of good soup or broth, while, according to another account, everybody present had to put his share of fuel on the fire with his own hands. But in Brecknockshire the first of August seems to have given way, some time before Catholicism had lost its sway in Wales, to the first holiday or feast in August, that is to say, the first Sunday in that month. For then crowds of people early in the morning made their way up the mountains called the Beacons, both from the side of Carmarthenshire and Glamorgan: their destination used to be the neighbourhood of the Little Van Lake, out of whose water they expected in the course of the day to see the Lady of the Lake make her momentary appearance.'

> (Rhys 1888, 421).

Rhys' account can be supplemented by an 1880 description of 'Lammas houses' in south-east Pembrokeshire and the Taf estuary, temporary constructions of wood, furze and turf that commemorated transhumant summer dwellings in 1st August celebrations until the 1870s (Curtis 1880, 205, 296, 331; cf. Thorne 2018). They were set alight at the end of the day's celebrations, with the burning structures (often located on hilltops) visible from afar at sunset. The description clearly identifies a first-fruits festival (MacNeill 1962, 43-60), in this case marking the start of apple picking:

> 'On Lammas day, 1st August, it had been from time immemorial the custom at Laugharne and throughout Wales to construct huts of branches of trees and furze, with earth laid on the roof, and to call them Lammas houses. They erected them in the morning ready for the evening feast, of which apples were the prominent features; for now they celebrated the ripening of that fruit. The huts were often large. In the middle was a rude fire-place formed of stones, for burning wood to boil the tea-kettle. In the afternoon the company assembled... The apples were roasted. After regaling themselves with tea and making merry, they left at sunset, setting fire to the hut to light them home'

> (Curtis 1880, 205).

There are no early medieval references to *Gŵyl Awst* gatherings in Wales, unlike Ireland where early 11th-century poems describe the games, music, poetry and markets of Lugnasad ancestral celebrations (Gwynn 1913; 1924). Nonetheless their early existence may be suspected from the account, in the 7th-century Life of Samson, of the saint challenging ancestral celebrations at a hilltop standing stone in 6th-century Cornwall (W. Davies 1982, 215; Flobert 1997, 216-9; Taylor 1925, 49; C. Thomas 1994, 229). The revellers agreed to destroy their 'idol' when Samson restored a dead

charioteer to life through his prayers; he affirmed their Christian faith by baptism and marked the stone with a cross. The story carries strong overtones of the Christianising of a traditional celebration, particularly given the proximity of Samson's festival (28 July) to the Lugnasad/*Gŵyl Awst* feast; Lugnasad's 'conversion' elsewhere into the festival of St James (25 July) is noted by MacNeill (MacNeill 1962, 12-25, 364-189, 418). Samson was a native of south-west Wales (F. Jones 1992, 43), and his traditional association with a number of prehistoric monuments in Pembrokeshire is considered further in Chapter 6.

Summing up this evidence, the cumulative impression is of a longstanding tradition of places of outdoor assembly where communities (however defined) gathered to consider problems, reach agreements, commemorate ancestors and also socialise. The presence of a professional lawmaker is only indicated in north Wales: in south Wales, where the early medieval evidence points to legal and social arbitration by gatherings of elders, the presence of the king or his representative seems to have been less important (Charles-Edwards 2004, 98-9; W. Davies 1982, 138). The comments of Wendy Davies on the very limited development of royal power in Wales are pertinent here (W. Davies 1990).

The identification of specific sites from these sparse sources is problematic, and until the recent identification of two assembly sites at the Pillar of Eliseg (Llangollen) and Bayvil (Nevern), no locations of early medieval Welsh assembly (other than Llanddewi Brefi) had been definitively identified (cf. Charles-Edwards 2004; Petts 2009, 139-40). At the first of these two sites, the Pillar of Eliseg in north-east Wales, a 9th-century inscribed stone (formerly topped by a cross) is located on a barrow and carries a lengthy inscription in the style of a charter. It appears to mark a claim to territory, and its declamatory style, probably intended for proclamation at public gatherings, suggests that this was an inauguration or assembly site located at a naturally-defined intersection of routes through the landscape (Edwards 2009b, 167-70; Murrieta-Flores & Williams 2017). The second site, Bayvil, lies within the study area in south-west Wales, and was recognised in preparatory work for the current research (Comeau 2014); it shows strong parallels with the landscape patterning of Irish assembly sites and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

It could be argued (echoing comments by Wendy Davies 2004) that the identification of Welsh assembly sites has been clouded by a preoccupation with church and castle development and – underlying this - by a lack of conceptual questioning: the re-use of Iron Age enclosures for early medieval burials is recognised but has been investigated largely within the context of the development of churches and Christian burial grounds, and there is a similar focus to some discussions of the early medieval reuse of barrows

(W. Davies 2004, 204; H. James 1992; Knight 2007, 139-141; Longley 2009, 120-4). Cross-marked sites are routinely ascribed a primarily devotional or ecclesiastical significance, though Edwards' work on the Pillar of Eliseg marks a move away from this (Edwards 2009b; cf. Edwards 2007, 57). Mounds at Welsh pre-Conquest demesne centres are, in similar fashion, seen through the lens of another longstanding and dominant research area, castle studies, and routinely assigned a defensive motte-type function, with no consideration of alternative primary rationales (Johnstone 1997, 56, 61, 67; Longley 1997, 43-5).

Summary: assemblies

This brief survey of the evidence for early medieval assembly places is striking. It reveals that:

- Common patterns of elements are identified in landscape of assembly across north-west Europe, except in Wales which is poorly understood.
- Places of assembly are understood as part of early medieval focal areas/central places in Ireland, Scotland and Scandinavia.
- This is not the case in Wales where they are absent from models of early medieval/pre-Conquest focal areas
- Written references to assembly in Wales are scarce, but indicate similarities to practices elsewhere in Britain and Ireland.
- This suggests that the direction of Welsh research is anomalous rather than the evidence itself. An example of this is the widespread assumption that mounds at conquest-period Welsh estate centres have a defensive Norman-period origin rather than an assembly function.

Theme 4: markers of power- early medieval inscribed stones

Though Wales has little work on assembly sites, it has a great deal of work on inscribed stones. Recent encyclopaedic studies consolidate 150 years of research on its post-Roman ogham/Roman script ('Class I') inscribed stones and early medieval crosses and sculptured stones (cf. Celtic Inscribed Stones Project website: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp/database/) (Edwards 2007; 2013; Redknap and Lewis 2007). In the study area, ogham/Roman script stones are a distinctive element of its early medieval landscape, generally agreed to indicate post-Roman Irish settlement (Charles-Edwards 2013, 174; Edwards 2007, 31). Edwards' gazetteer indicates that Cemais and its borders account for one-sixth (11 out of 64) of all the 5th- and 6th-century ogham and/or Roman-letter stones in the three south-west Wales counties of Pembrokeshire, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire, and nearly one-third (7 of the total 23) of their ogham-inscribed stones. Recent work sees these inscribed stones as

statements of power that may mark claims to land, being often found near roads, on Roman sites, and associated with barrows or prehistoric enclosures (W. Davies 2004, 204; Edwards 2001; 2012), and to be seen in the context of the isolated stone-marked burials of heroes that 9th- and 10th-century Welsh poetry mentions (T. Jones 1967, 100; Petts 2007, 164). Edwards also notes that the inscribed stones show a complex interplay of identities of different groups, native, Irish and Roman-descended, displayed in the selective reuse of both the Roman and of the prehistoric past 'as part of a process of reinvention and the evolution of changing power structures' (Edwards 2012, 391, 403). Crosses might similarly mark ownership and boundaries, as well as burials, routes and devotional foci (Edwards 2007, 57; S.E. Roberts 2001, 309 ff.). Similar statements of identity, power and land rights are suggested in the relationship of Viking-age and prehistoric monuments in north-east Wales (Griffiths 2007).

Edwards' work draws on that of Handley, who has suggested that the early medieval inscribed stones of western Britain were, like Irish ogham stones, effectively multi-purpose 'stone charters' that served the combined functions of burial markers, boundary stones and recorders of title to land; and on Charles-Edwards' analysis of early Irish law's references to the use of inscribed/standing stones and barrows to mark ownership of land, which links boundary burials with Irish pagan belief in the continuing power of the dead: only a claimant with a true claim to the land – a kinsman or descendant of the dead – could cross the grave-mound safely (Charles-Edwards 1976, 85-6; Handley 1998, 344-52).

Such suggestions have not met with universal support: McManus rejects the idea that Ogham stones might act as reminders of the power of the dead and prefers to see Ogham stones on boundaries as straightforward records of people to whom the land had once belonged (McManus 1991, 164-5). The topographic evidence for a relationship between boundaries, inscribed stones and early medieval burials has also been debated, with Petts' uncertainty dismissed by Turner who points to multiple examples of boundary-located monumental stones in the south-west of England which, he suggests, defined the early Christian landscape (Petts 2002, 205; 2009, 140; Turner 2006, 141-3). Boundary functions are also suggested by some studies of Welsh prehistoric standing stones which show associations with the peripheries of arable soil zones; recent work in the Pembrokeshire study area extends this association to crosses, township fields and parish boundaries (Bird 1972; Comeau 2010, 246; Crampton and Webley 1960; Williams 1988, 5-15; Wilson 1983).

In Scotland, the long-term boundary use of Pictish symbol stones and cross slabs by elite groups has been identified by Carver and discussed as a 'symbolic discourse' by Driscoll (Carver 1998; Carver 2009; Driscoll 1988b, 168). Carver considers them

primarily in the context of early medieval ecclesiastical landscapes, albeit within a longue durée perspective of transitions and continuity in pagan and Christian landscape practice (Carver 1998; 2009). Driscoll's work explores the Pictish stones' symbol systems within the terms of Barrett (1988) and Giddens (1979) as a discursive practice that reproduces social order by 'fix[ing] individuals and, by extension, their kin, firmly in space and time' (Barrett 1988; Driscoll 1988a, 178, 181; 1988b; Giddens 1979, 347 reference in Driscoll 1988a, 168). Driscoll also notes the apparent reuse of standing stones by some Pictish symbol stones, and considers the early medieval elite's conscious manipulation of the understanding of the past that prehistoric sites carried in their *dindshenchas* ('the lore or history of noble place') (Driscoll 1998, 149, 154-5). These ideas are taken forward in other important recent work, with excavations at Rhynie locating the position of a symbol stone at the entrance to a high status enclosure, its imagery (supported by a find of a miniature axe-hammer pin and 'significant deposits of burnt or cremated bone') suggesting the ritual slaughter of cattle by a leader (Noble et al. 2013, 1142, 1147; Noble and Gondek 2011). Hunting features on many other Pictish stones as well as on one of the few Welsh stones with imagery (Driscoll 1988a, 225, 232; Geddes 2017, 68, 80, 120-1,153, 222-3; Loveluck 2013, 134, 259-60; Redknap 2001, 28). Hunting, particularly of deer, is a widespread marker of early medieval elite status across north-west Europe, well-attested by faunal deposits at excavated high status sites (Loveluck 2013, 145, 259-60, 288-9); its ritually-imbued symbolism connects people and land in the Late Iron Age (Allen 2014, 181-3). The rich trappings and martial imagery of the king's hunting party (and selective participation in this) contributed to the personal and ideological power of early medieval kings (Rollason 2012, 439-440).

These uses of stones by elites to convey messages and their links with significant locations echoes the association of standing stones with assembly sites in Ireland and Scandinavia, where both inscribed and plain monoliths, of generally small size, delineate assembly zones where particular codes of conduct applied during gatherings. In Ireland, pre-10th-century sources mention the use of both **plain and inscribed stones**, and also mounds, prehistoric stone tombs, trees, rivers and tracks, to demarcate areas of secular sanctuary (*blaí*) around **óenach sites** (Swift 2000, 26, 29-30, 34). Similarly, the areas around Scandinavian **thing sites** are defined by both **plain standing stones and inscribed (rune) stones** of 11th-century date. Some commemorate individuals but, like the Irish *blaí* stones, they are also thought to indicate areas where particular behavioural codes applied during times of assembly (Brink 2004, 208-9, 215; Sanmark 2009, 209, 232-3; 2017, 87-9). There is also evidence that in England and Scotland some assemblies met at sites focussed on monumental stones (Baker and Brookes 2015, 15; O'Grady 2014, 106, 119). It is interesting therefore that

though only two assembly sites have been identified in Wales, they are both linked with monumental stones: an inscribed cross atop a barrow in the case of the Pillar of Eliseg, and a number of small standing stones and a small cross in the case of Bayvil (Comeau 2014, 276; Edwards 2009b).

Summary: Early medieval inscribed stones

Early medieval inscribed stones are understood as:

- Markers of claims to land
- Commemorations of ancestors (on whom claims to land rest)
- Markers of territorial boundaries
- Markers of zones where particular behavioural codes applied
- Elements of 'symbolic discourse'

Summing up

A number of significant lacunae and common themes emerge from this review of relevant literature. Existing Welsh research notably lacks:

- detailed landscape studies that integrate different kinds of evidence
- agricultural, economic, trade and exchange perspectives
- work on lowland areas, especially in south Wales
- comparative European perspectives
- assembly place identification

Thematic discussions in the broader literature are marked by questions about:

- focal zones: their landscape signature and patterning/interrelationship
- common patterns of assembly spatial location
- relationship between focal area, assembly sites, places of exchange/seasonal markets, tribute-paying, sacred/ecclesiastical sites
- the use of normative models
- the nature of land tenure and of economic mode
- continuity and change: the long-term relationships between people and land

On a more positive level, it appears possible to identify consistent characteristics of focal zones across a broad area of north-west Europe. These elements have been flagged with bold type in preceding pages and are listed below. All are identified in Irish work (e.g. Fitzpatrick 2004a; 2013; 2015; Gibson 1995; Gleeson 2015; 2018; Herity 1993; Newman 2007; Swift 2000; Wailes 1982; Warner 1988; 2004), and most are evident in Scandinavia (e.g. Brink 1996; 1999; 2004; Sanmark 2009; 2017; Skre 2007b). They are partially evident in Wales (e.g. Dark 1994; 2000; Johnstone 1997; 2000; Longley 1997), Scotland (e.g. Driscoll 1988a; 1991; 1998; 2003; 2004; Noble et

al. 2013; O'Grady 2008), and England (e.g. Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Hamerow et al. 2007; Loveluck 2013; Scull forthcoming; Scull et al. 2016; Semple 2004; Semple et al. 2017; Semple and Sanmark 2013). Mounds, it will be noted, are not identified in the list below as a specific key element although they are often found at assembly sites; their association with assembly areas is considered further in Chapter 6.

Table 2.1: Key elements of focal areas in the early medieval landscape

1. Assembly site (1A – feasting sites; 1B – seasonal festival; 1C– monumental stones)
2. Sacral site – pagan or Christian
3. Aristocratic/royal residence
4. Other high status homes, e.g. warriors/cult leader/craft specialist/ruling kin-group
5. Market
6. Craft production
7. Rich material culture
8. Significant function (cult/juridical/political/administrative)
9. Important cemetery
10. Strategic location - communication
11. Strategic location – landscape zones/topography
12. Mills
13. Hunting
14. Complex ditches (possibly around large area) ('fortifications')
15. Dependent agricultural settlements

Taken together, these points indicate the need for research that considers the social and economic structure of the Welsh landscape, and characterises and models its elements in a broader comparative European perspective. How was power expressed in the landscape? Can we, for instance, identify focal zone elements in early medieval Wales, and if so, how did people engage with them? Can they help us identify more flexible and less prescriptive models of early medieval settlement and landscape than the multiple estate model?

The next step is to consider the conceptual framework within which to approach these questions.

Chapter 3.
Theory and methodology

Based upon the survey of existing scholarship in Chapter 2, the subjects that this research should investigate are clear. But what should be the shape of these investigations? How - given the lack of pre-Conquest written accounts and the scant conventional material culture – can enquiry proceed? Before examining the question of evidence, the first task is therefore to identify an appropriate structuring framework for investigation; among other qualities, it must be capable of dealing with a diverse range of data and be able to accommodate its comparative contextualisation.

Priority 1: an ordering framework - possible theoretical approaches

The need for an appropriate comparative conceptual framework was argued two decades ago by Austin (Austin 1990, 38), and is emphasised by the nature of existing research on the early medieval British landscape, much of it framed within a strong empirical tradition of research that has actively resisted theorisation - itself a theoretical position (Johnson 2007, 68-9; Johnson 2010, 219-10). In practice the 'empirical' approach frequently employs concepts drawn from processualism, using place names or environmental data, for instance, within barely acknowledged general models. The multiple estate model can thus be perceived as a territorialised model of a ranked society that, from the mid-1980s onwards, incorporated concepts derived from Chrystaller's central place theory and (to a lesser degree) site catchment analysis in some of its variants (Aston 1986, 73; Aston and Gerrard 2013, 7-8; Christaller 1966). These influences are largely unacknowledged, and the model lacks explicit connection with explanatory structures used elsewhere and with broader international theoretical discourse. This is quite typical of analyses of early medieval British landscapes, where explicitly theorised approaches are rare, a notable exception being Brookes' rigorous analysis of settlement, territory and exchange in early medieval Kent (Brookes 2007; for reviews of approaches see Johnson 2007; Reynolds 2009; cf. David and Thomas 2008). The determinedly pragmatic work of Rippon ('understanding process from form') typifies the empirically driven atheoretical tradition (Rippon 2004, 4; Rippon 2008-12, 252; Rippon 2009, 245), and contrasts strongly with that of theoretically-aligned Scandinavian researchers (e.g. on outfield systems Altenberg 2003; Andersson et al. 1998; Holm et al. 2005).

Ranked societies

One might, then, start by considering the possibility of analysis based explicitly on the general models that silently inform much existing work, perhaps by examining the

evidence for settlement hierarchies in Welsh early medieval society, which was sharply stratified and kin-based (W. Davies 1982, 51-2, 60-7, 80-1). Approaches of this sort, using spatial analyses derived from world systems and network theory, have been used for the similar ramage-type social institutions - chiefdoms - of contemporary Ireland and of Scandinavia (Gibson 2012, 6-21; Myhre 1987; Sindbaek 2007; cf. the less explicitly theorised work of Comber 2008; Kerr 2007; Stout 1997).

Such approaches, however, are criticised for their failure to recognise processes of agency and change (Barrett 1999, 26; Harding 2013, 385; Skre 2011, 198), and indeed, similar criticisms are made of the early 20th-century 'tribal system' analyses of early medieval Welsh society still used by some historians (W. Davies 2004, 208-9). In practice, changes in early medieval Wales are observable albeit poorly understood, for instance in the change from slavery to tied bondsmen, in agricultural practices and in processes of territorial fusion and fission (W. Davies 1982, 102, 110; 2001, 8, 15-16; 2004, 211, 215). Commentators note the need to investigate such changes in the larger European context (W. Davies 2004; Wickham 2010).

Clearly, any interpretative framework should recognise processes that drive change, which makes it problematic to apply the dominant model of the early medieval Welsh landscape, the multiple estate model, which is criticised for being static, prescriptive, and anachronistic (W. Davies 1982, 46; Wickham 2005, 325). Nonetheless its foundations in detailed historical evidence and utility for analysing relationships between focal sites and dependent settlements mean that it continues to be used in landscape studies and in discussions of early medieval power, economy and territoriality (e.g. Faith 2008). As a consequence (and contra Seaman 2012, 164, 182), it should be considered in a critical context rather than entirely dismissed.

This critical context requires a discourse that engages with the multiple estate model's weaknesses – **change**, **agency** and **non-contemporaneous evidence sources**, whilst contextualising its elements (otherwise identified with the ranked society, central place and economic production model) across a broader geographic and intellectual arena encompassing less functional attributes, like meaning and belief, that the multiple estate model ignores. The analysis of the model's problems (Chapter 2) also suggests a need for **flexible operation at different scales of analysis**: the macrolevel of regional patterns, and the microlevel of individual sites/locations (cf. Loveluck 2013, 5-8).

Change, agency and practice

The first of these key attributes, **change,** has driven archaeological thinking since scientific archaeology developed from Thomsen's early 19th-century work on relative

chronologies (Trigger 1996, 127). Archaeologically it has been conventionally identified with differences in material culture, though Barrett points out that this 'stop-go' picture of the past, with 'horizons of social transformation' between periods of apparent stability, ignores the processes that create change in these periods (Barrett 1994, 33). His work, and that of other post-processual archaeologists like Gosden and Julian Thomas, has explored these processes, examining the relationship between change, agency and social practice. Their work draws on the sociological perspectives of Bourdieu and Giddens: Bourdieu's influential concept of *habitus*, the 'structuring structure' of habitual, unselfconscious, individual and collective routines that are inculcated and reproduced through socialisation and which exist in a 'reciprocal or dialectical relationship' with objective conditions; and Giddens' *structuration theory*, which deals with the production and reproduction of social systems through the recursive relationship between the 'rules and resources' of social structures and 'the knowledgeable activities of situated actors' - the 'duality of structure' (Bourdieu 1977, 72, 78; Giddens 1984, 25; R. Jenkins 1992, 74-84). Thus Barrett describes settlement as 'inhabited space' that objectifies the relationships between people and practices and, by drawing on a body of shared knowledge of the world, 'both mobilises the structuring resources of culture and maintains aspects of the social system' (Barrett 1981, 210-1; cf. Barrett 1994; Gosden 1994; J. Thomas 1996). More recently, the work of Gardner demonstrates how materially-attested activities track changing social identity (Gardner 2007).

Giddens' and Bourdieu's influence on post-processual archaeology has also had consequences within the world systems/processual tradition, for instance in the work of Earle and Kristiansen, whose 2010 analysis of the settlements and ranked societies of late prehistoric Europe uses a multiscalar comparative analysis to address the 'critical' role of agency and symbolic power in the 'dialectic intersection' of social institutions, lived experience and material culture (Earle and Kristiansen 2010, 8-10, 249-50).

Recent work on early medieval Scandinavia draws on all these approaches, with Skre using a nuanced analysis of the social and economic agency of 'real actors' at the site of Kaupang, in the symbolically charged settings of a hierarchically ordered society, to call for a reconsideration of early medievalists' approach to two key concepts, central places and economic exchange (Skre 2007b; 2008a; c, 335). Using Brink's identification of Scandinavian 'central place complexes' – areas of clustered nodal functions in pre-urban landscapes (Chapter 2) - Skre considers how central functions change over time, and are perceived and used differently by different social groups. These considerations are lacking in Christaller's original central place theory (an influence on the multiple estate model) which developed as a geographical analysis of the factors affecting the profit margins and transport needs of a 20th-century market

economy in an urbanised landscape (Brink 1996, 238; Christaller 1966; Skre 2010, 221-9).

Skre's approach to economic agency questions the widely-used evolutionary narrative of early medieval economic development which distinguishes between an earlier period of socially-embedded prestige-oriented gift exchange and the later development of a profit-driven coin- or hacksilver-using market economy where social relationships were of little significance, with recent work emphasising the significance of the 6th- to 9th-century growth in this 'alienable exchange of commodities, free of any social obligation' (Loveluck 2013, 19). Skre challenges this, applying Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital - the social profit that accrues from gift-giving – to exchange transactions, noting Bourdieu's observations about different degrees of economic and social benefit that are possible in 'dense' or 'loose' social networks (Skre 2008c, 334-6). Skre argues for the continued embedding of social values in economic exchange, and (as discussed in Chapter 2) revises Hodges' influential model to reflect the early significance of pre-urbanisation seasonal markets, where exchange took place in a context of close social relationships and used a well-established commodity exchange/money system (Skre 2008a, 344, 352; 2008c, 329-38; referring to Bourdieu 1990 , 113-6, 335; Hodges 1982; drawing on Dalton 1977; Polanyi 1957; Smith 1978; Service 1971; cf. Loveluck 2013, 19 on Verhulst; and work in Ulmschneider and Pestell 2003). These ideas, as already noted, provide a potentially useful approach to understanding social and economic agency in Wales.

Perspectives similarly rooted in 'the material factors that determine social life' (Chapman 2003, 186, 191) and combining usually distinct theoretical traditions can be found in other recent work on early medieval landscapes. Loveluck's comparative overview of northern European early medieval archaeology, for instance, while harnessing the power of social evolutionary models in creating longue durée narratives, tempers their 'unilinear' tendencies with thematic and multi-scale analyses of the material culture profiles of social practice (Loveluck 2013, 5-8). Similarly Oosthuizen's thematic study of systems of common land management in the medieval British landscape combines concepts drawn from Giddens and Bourdieu (the 'construction and reconstruction' of 'collective memory of customary rights') with the social evolutionary perspective of Earle on the development of territoriality and property rights (Oosthuizen 2013, 1-15; drawing on Bourdieu 1977; Earle 2000; Giddens 1984).

The problem of evidence

The approaches considered above address questions of change, agency and practice within a conceptually flexible multiscalar structure and offer – in principle - considerable potential for the study area, tempered by the limited availability of the types of material

evidence (artefacts from excavations and metal detecting), that inform the work of Skre, Loveluck, and others.

A different means of accessing evidence for past practice is needed, and becomes available if the enquiry is framed in terms that are not dependent on the tightly dated evidence of conventional material culture, and if it is accepted that 'stuff' – the material culture of pots, coins and strap ends – is not the only material trace of past practice in the landscape. The proto-historical nature of the period, in combination with a high degree of cultural continuity, reveals written records, place-names and oral traditions which should, as Barrett points out, be seen as aspects of the 'production and reproduction of the cultural and social system' that, like other forms of material culture, are 'the result of actions which are at once both articulated through social relationships, and are also the means by which those social relationships are constructed' (Barrett 1981, 206, 216).

These sources record patterns of activity like rural assemblies, seasonal land usage and tenure which, carefully used in combination with extant archaeological evidence (predominantly enclosed settlements and inscribed stones) indicate activities that might, elsewhere, leave datable traces in more portable material culture. These materially tangible but identifiable activities constitute durable social practices that have persisted across centuries.

Practice, processes and time

These 'durable social practices' are the long-running processes variously identified by the Annales school and by later writers as the conjonctures of medium term structural history, or alternatively the cyclical, recursive processes of social or public time: carriers of symbols and meaning that structure – and are structured by - the slow changing longue durée of Annaliste time, on the one hand, and short duration events on the other (Braudel 2009; Gosden 1994, 133, 137; Harding 2005, 95; Knapp 1992a, 6, 10). Table 3.1 provides a summary.

Table 3.1: Annales Time Structures

Braudel/Annales school (summarised by Harding 2005, 95)	Knapp 1992, 10 (alternative terms for Annales structures)	Gosden 1994, 121, 137 (3 levels, paralleling the Annales structure, that interpenetrate/feed on each other)
événements – rapidly changing – history of events	episodic [individual time]	time of our lives – of personal existence – life and death
conjonctures – medium term – structural history	cyclical [social time]	public time – symbols and meanings - some of these 'shade into' the longue durée
longue durée – slow changing – geographical time	structural [how society relates to the environment]	recursive, long term time, pulling together past, present and future

This approach, originally presented by Braudel in 1959 as a conceptual tool for looking at data and trying out theories, has been the spur for and focus of much critical analysis by both processualists and post-processualists since its ideas became current in archaeology in the late 1980s (Bintliff 1991; Braudel 2009, 195, 202; Harding 2005, 92-5; Olivier 2006, 90-1; articles in Knapp 1992b). Criticism has focused on the environmental determinism that accompanied Braudel's original use of the longue durée concept (though later Annaliste historians focused more on shorter time scales) (Knapp 1992a, 6-8), and on the problems of the relationship of archaeological assemblages to the 'event' (événement) and more extensive temporal frameworks, which have led to calls for greater theoretical and methodological rigour when using Annaliste time structures (e.g. Fletcher 1992; Harding 2005, 92-3; Lucas 2008).

These views are countered by comments that attempts at rigorous definitions of time structures overlook the habitual aspects of many short-term activities (événements), which also often form part of longer term projects (J. Thomas 2006, 81). The apparent lack of rigour is, it is pointed out, actually an aspect of the structure's flexibility (cf. Bintliff 1991). It should be noted that much of this criticism stems from archaeological applications of Annaliste structures to more specialised contexts than the original interdisciplinary studies of Annaliste historians (Knapp 1992a, 3-5), and one commentator says that Annaliste concepts were never intended as a complete theoretical framework, but, instead, were meant to be a means of organising data that would 'foster inter-disciplinary links and broader perspectives' (Olivier in J. Thomas et al. 2006, 90-1).

The numerous effective applications of the Annales time framework within complex archaeological narratives can also be set against these criticisms (e.g. Cunliffe 2008, 18; Loveluck 2013, 6-8). It is appreciated for its capacity to recognise the complex relationship between people and temporality, and the different paces of change in the world around us (J. Thomas 2006). Concepts of habitus and structuration theory are often explicitly integral to its use (e.g. Barrett 1994, 75-6; Gosden 1994, 189-193; Moreland 1992; J. Thomas 2006). It facilitates the recognition of the recursive relationship between human action and social structures, wherein environmental 'constraints' do not determine human action but form just one element – the locus of human action - in the recursive relationship between structure and events (Moreland 1992, 116-7). It is well adapted to investigations that use both written records and the physical archaeological record: in Moreland's study of early medieval Italian settlement, these reveal the forms of settlement and the patterns of life within them as a

manifestation of habitus and of relationships of power between different social groups (Moreland 1992, 125).

In the hands of Gosden, this linkage between time, space and habitus makes explicit the role of the landscape in the creation and reproduction of social power, with sites in the landscape being seen to form a recursive connection with 'the rhythms of life' (Gosden 1994, 88, 127, 191). Action effectively creates the social temporal framework, and power is seen not solely as a top-down activity but derives from the interaction between people, habitual practice and place, particularly at 'public times' (Gosden 1994, 124-30, 137, 192). The linkage of power and time allows power to be seen as a 'moving moment of the social process', and permits a dynamic reframing of the normally static perception of ranked societies (Gosden 1994, 145).

Demonstrations of the effectiveness of these concepts in understanding the landscape as the locus of the creation and reproduction of social power are presented by Lock and Gosden's work at Segsbury Camp, and by the work of Giles in Yorkshire. At Segsbury Camp, an Iron Age hillfort in Oxfordshire, Lock and Gosden interpret a large enclosure and episodic occupation evidence as indicative not of a defensive or symbolic/prestige-oriented function, but as the location of seasonal gatherings of people and their livestock, accompanied by social and economic activities like markets, fairs, marriage and feasting (Lock and Gosden 2005, 145-151). They draw comparisons with modern ram auctions, where it is noted that 'the social aspect of keeping sheep structures people's understandings of themselves and their world at a series of scales, from the actions of everyday herding to the important annual event of ram auctions' (Lock and Gosden 2005, 147, discussing Gray 2002). It was a place, they say, created and maintained by social relationships - 'shared experiences, histories, territories and practices', and which was more than a passive venue for social action, since they see the place itself as 'helping to create and shape communities through time' (Lock and Gosden 2005, 133-4).

Giles, similarly, discussing Iron Age landscapes in Yorkshire, says that 'place' is constituted through repeated engagements with a particular site, and through the memories and associations that such habitual activity engenders (Giles 2007, 109-110). Time, she suggests, may have been understood through associations with particular places: she notes that for the Nuer of southern Sudan, place and time are synonymous, with the names of seasons referring to particular social undertakings. She makes telling observations about people's relationship with the land: 'Knowledge of how to live in this land with others – where to go at particular times of the year, where to find water or the best grazing – could not be inherited passively. It had to be walked into, learned whilst following the swaying hips of cattle, the backs of sheep. It

was repeatedly trodden into the land, indented by hoof prints, by churned turf, manure and mud, where herds or flocks surged through entrance ways… When we talk of traditions and rights being 'passed down', we therefore acknowledge that they were actually learned tacitly, embodied in breath and gesture and gait, over seasons and years of droving and following stock.' (Giles 2007, 109; cf. Chadwick 2016).

In related mode, an earlier study by Fenton-Thomas of late prehistoric and early medieval land use in the Yorkshire Wolds notes the relationship between patterns of transhumance and 'persistent places' – a term coined to describe North American sites where recurrent patterns of activity indicated a long-term significance (Fenton-Thomas 2003, 119, 133-4; Schlanger 1992, 97, 110). His work, and that of Giles, is highlighted by Fleming for its bottom-up approach to the creation of place in the landscape, focusing on the broad-based activity that maintained social cohesion and identity rather than on the role of 'socio-political hierarchies, institutionalised violence, or elite agency' (Fleming 2015, 23). Fleming also draws attention to the conceptual landscape structure that Giles visualises: a 'rhizomatic network of nodes and connections' created by the movements of people and their animals, rather than 'bounded territories and central places', and where linear earthworks (conventionally understood as boundary features) may have functioned to enhance awareness of the mythical landscape and encode memories of history, patterns of working, and of rights to access to land (Fleming 2015, 23, quoting Giles 2007, 109, 111). This vision of a landscape shaped by the agency of farmers and their animals expands and complements a current meme of key sites of ancient power appropriated by early medieval social elites to legitimise their authority (Bradley 1987).

The reflexive relationship between people, activity, landscape and the meanings it carries is also the subject of anthropological investigations: Basso (to whom Gosden and Lock, and also Giles, refer) explores the 'sense of place' in contemporary Apache landscapes where social and personal knowledge and identity is carried in knowledge of places (Basso 1996, 73, 83-7). In similar vein are Kahn's consideration of the spatial context of the understanding of time, marked by 'ancestral' stones which record myth and history, and Rodman's analysis of the multiple embodiments of place in the experience of different 'actors' (Kahn 1990, 53-4, 61; Rodman 1992, 652).

Another perspective on space, place, seasonality and the social creation of power is provided by Wengrow and Graber who note anthropological evidence for social structures that vary with the seasonal movements of groups of people: between settled agricultural villages and nomadic foraging bands in one case, or between informally-organised family groups and the authoritarian structures of large seasonal gatherings in another (Wengrow and Graeber 2015, 7, 11-12). They say that these seasonally-

variable social structures challenge concepts of the evolutionary progression of band to tribe, chiefdom and state, although no single pattern in the relationship of seasonality and social structure can be identified, and seasonal gatherings can be times when authority is challenged as well as times when 'coercive authority' is exercised (Wengrow and Graeber 2015, 12, 16-17). The key thing is, they say, that the seasonal shift maintained awareness of the capacity for change in social roles, and sustained opportunities for 'negotiation, subversion and change' (Wengrow and Graeber 2015, 17).

Événements, conjonctures and the longue durée

Seasonally related activity can thus be seen to define loci that had different significances for different people, and whose long term resonances might indicate 'persistent places' (Barrett 1994, 72; Gosden 1994, 87-100; Skre 2010, 226). Studies suggest that by looking at how seasonal patterning is used to construct space and territory, we can move beyond the determinism of both evolutionary social models and static spatial models like the multiple estate model, and focus on the different agencies that sustain individual and collective life. These invest power in different groups in society, and function both within longer structures of time and memory as well as within recurrent seasonal events – the événements that, cumulatively, create the conjonctures or cyclical structures that maintain society. The loci at which this social power is exercised become pivotal sites – nodes – in spatial and social structures: places or zones where the dynamic processes of power are defined, reaffirmed and sometimes reshaped. The patterns of use of these zones, and their interconnections, are seasonally-defined.

The use of an Annales time structure in combination with concepts of habitus and structuration theory provides an effective means of modelling this recursive relationship between time, space and human activity, but a caveat must be noted. Many archaeological applications of these concepts use analyses of excavated material culture, and such approaches, given the restricted nature of the study area's archaeological evidence, are of limited utility to the current research project. The underlying concepts are nonetheless significant because they focus on the activities and processes that, under appropriate conditions, leave traces in the archaeological material culture record and in the landscape, and which – in later periods – might be mentioned in written records. Their identification of longstanding habitual activities that structure the use and understanding of space suggests the possibility that 'anachronistic' historical evidence, like records of seasonal gatherings, agricultural practices and related issues like food renders, could indicate longstanding practices that considerably prefigure the date of the record. This may present a means of

circumnavigating the evidence problems presented by the study area's lack of analysable material culture and of contemporary historical records.

The question of scale

Some consideration of the scale of analysis is also needed. An integrated approach to temporal scale is advocated by Gosden, who recommends examining broad, long-term patterns of evidence in the landscape, and then using these to contextualise evidence of specific episodes of 'short-term symbolic action' (Gosden 1994, 89). It is noticeable that different temporal levels of activity are mirrored in the different spatial scales of possible analytic approaches, with explorations of identity and symbols of power typically (but not inevitably) being found in microscale analyses while enviro-economic models often take a macroscale perspective (cf. Brookes and Reynolds 2011; Dodgshon 1987).

Thus, for instance, analyses framed at the micro-level of individual sites and landscape settings have investigated the temporally and socially contingent meanings given to landscape markers by seasonally-related activity (Kahn 1990, 53-4, 61; Rodman 1992, 652; Swift 2000, 26, 29-30). Similar perspectives could be applied to the crosses and stones, plain and inscribed, that mark the landscape of the study area, and may be usefully complementary to existing discussions of their symbolism and power, for instance in the work of Edwards and Handley (Edwards 2001; 2007; Handley 1998, supra). Such approaches may of course have broad macroscale implications, as in the socially contingent, reflexively-constructed meanings that are proposed by Garipzanov for the cross-symbols ('signa') used as personal signatures on early medieval documents and on coins. He identifies these as graphic signs of authority in a symbolic dialogue, which was reflexively-structured and invested in habitus and semiotic creolisation (Garipzanov 2006, 419-424; Garipzanov 2008, 12-29; drawing on Lotman 2005). This early medieval symbolic language of authority is effectively a code used to communicate meanings, whose elements were extracted from a more general zone (or 'semiosphere') of possible semantic elements that draws on habitus (Garipzanov 2008, 18). Giddens' reciprocal, reflexive view of power relations is implicated in this communication of power between ruler and subjects, which required authorities to take account of whether their messages would be accepted or rejected and therefore meant that ordinary people had some power in this process of communication (Garipzanov 2008, 12-13, 26-7).

Theoretical approach: summing up

To sum up: Annaliste time concepts present an effective organising structure for analysis, at macro- and micro-scale, of the recursive structures of the practices, both

habitual and deliberate, that sustained this landscape. They offer a dynamic perspective on the agencies that created and sustained the structures of social life in a dispersed landscape, and accordingly are suggested as a key component of the research project's analytic framework.

Priority 2: comparative analysis - considerations of methodology

This conceptual framework brings shape and coherence to diverse evidence by focussing on these key areas:

- Identification of the social and economic structure of the landscape, and characterisation and modelling of its key elements, including the spatial and temporal patterns that linked them.
- Analysis of individual and communal engagement with this structure, considering in particular the landscape expression of early medieval power.
- Development of comparative data that can be assessed against the evidence of other areas and against existing normative models of early medieval settlement like the multiple estate model.

This comparative analysis presents a methodological challenge. On the one hand, a wide variety of European work exists (Chapter 2) which identifies the landscape patterning of focal areas in pre-urban landscapes, where defined spatial settings gave 'coherence' to such habitual and deliberate actions as assembly, ancestral commemoration, exchange and tribute (Gosden 1994, 99; Lock and Gosden 2005, 133-51). However, in common with many archaeological applications of the Annales framework, this body of work makes substantial use of the excavated evidence of material culture which is generally poor in Wales. On the other hand, as already observed, the original Annales studies were multidisciplinary, and the anthropological studies that underpin many archaeological analyses are based on records of oral culture and observed activities. In the study area, the high degree of pre- to post-Conquest Welsh institutional and social continuity in northern Cemais, supported by detailed 16th-century records, offers high potential for multidisciplinary analysis. This commended the selection of the study area, using a broadly cast evidential net that focuses on the regional, longue durée patterns and processes of the landscape rather than on events at individual sites. Evidence for these patterns and processes exists in place- and field-names, early maps, geomorphology, early literary sources and oral traditions, which considerably expand the limited evidence of archaeological and historical records. The project's multidisciplinary analysis of such sources goes beyond that of much historical and proto-historical archaeology, which (often with much attention to the reliability, bias and conceptual role of written sources) uses archaeology to add details to the outlines provided by written sources. This

conventional approach has problems that are well-rehearsed in theoretical discussions and often, as Driscoll observes, fails to address the issue of lacunae – information gaps – produced by limited written records (Austin 1990; Driscoll 1991, 83; Feinman 1997; Loveluck 2013, 5, 18; Moreland 2001). The current project's approach is closer to that of Driscoll's bottom-up systemic modelling of Pictish sites and to influential work in Scandinavia that identifies multifunctional early medieval central place zones: multiple sources create 'thick description' of the processes and patterns of the longue durée which are integrated into a model of early medieval settlement that takes life on the land as its starting point (Brink 1996, 238-9; Driscoll 1991, 86-9; 2011, 273-4; Geertz 1973; Turner 2006, 16).

My analysis uses an inductive approach to collate and identify patterning within several sets of evidence, using an analytic framework derived from the last chapter's survey of existing research and this chapter's survey of conceptual approaches. The first set of evidence relates to **the long-running patterns, practices and loci of agricultural production** whose socially-embedded structures did not need a market-based monetary economy (Gerrard 2013, 114, 245). Specifically, this involves identifying infield (arable open fields), outfield (shared pasture), and seasonally used land and settlements that characterise agriculture in pre-Conquest Wales, and are also identified in early medieval England and Scotland (Banham and Faith 2014, 73, 144-62, 251-2, 282; G.W.S. Barrow 1998, 62-6; Driscoll 1991, 94-8; G.R.J. Jones 1973). Chapters 4 and 5 present the evidence for this and for two related sets of evidence, **social and tenurial structure**, and the wider evidence for the **seasonal patterning** of early medieval life. Another set of evidence (Chapter 6) relates to the landscape expression of early medieval power, which is analysed using a framework based on the **key elements that structure early medieval focal zones** across north-west Europe, from Scandinavia to Ireland; these were listed at the end of Chapter 2. The combined picture produced by these different sets of evidence is then considered within comparative context.

Case study areas

This evidence is collected and analysed (thematically and largely discursively) at two scales: at the broader level of the *cantref*; and at a much more detailed level within several case study areas (Figure A3). Three case study areas were originally identified within an approximate north-south transect across different ecological and cultural zones, in areas where archaeological and historical records suggested good potential for identifying focal zones and for detailed comparative analysis. The understanding gained from these three case studies was then applied to a fourth area in the southern part of the *cantref*, whose post-Roman inscriptions and pre-Conquest ecclesiastical

landholdings indicate early medieval significance but which was not subjected to the same level of analysis as the original case study areas because of its limited archaeological and historical (medieval and 16th century) records. There is also a fifth (small) case study in the north which the author studied intensively before beginning the current research.

The detailed case study areas are as follows (references in Chapters 4 and 5; 'parishes' are 19th-century ecclesiastical parishes):

- Case study area 1, 'Bayvil and Moylgrove', comprising the parishes of Bayvil and Moylgrove, and Crugie quarter of Nevern parish. Topographically defined as the area of raised coastal plateau between the north coast and (from west to east) the rivers Caman, Nevern, Duad, Gwyddan and Ceibwr. Administered as two Welsh-law demesne manors of the Lord of Cemais in the late medieval period; records suggest that most of its medieval inhabitants were Welsh. Adjacent to the caput of the Norman Lord of Cemais and to the cantref's principal church at Nevern. Bayvil and Moylgrove offer the best surviving set of medieval records in Cemais, including a detailed 16th-century survey. Geographically central to the *cantref's* northern *commote* (Conquest-period administrative division). Within a zone of significant institutional continuity from the pre-Conquest period, for instance in the land tenure of Welsh elites. This continuity assists analysis and identification of landscape elements; patterns identified provide comparisons for other case studies.
- Case study area 2: 'Redwalls', comprising the parishes of Morvil, Puncheston, Castlebythe and Little Newcastle. A topographic zone extending south-west of the Preseli ridgeline to the inland pastures of the south-western corner of the cantref. Administered as manors of the Lord of Cemais and Anglo-Norman knights in the medieval period, mostly under English marcher law (medieval place-names suggest a significant English and Flemish presence), though there is 14th-century evidence of Welsh freeholders administered under Welsh law. A limited amount of medieval and 16th-century documentation is available. Within the southern *commote*, which (according to oral tradition) was forcibly subjugated by the Normans.
- Case study area 3: 'Llanfeugan', comprising the parishes of Llanfair Nantgwyn, Eglwyswen/Whitchurch (hereafter Whitchurch) and Meline. A zone extending northwards of the Preseli ridgeline to the land around the headwaters of the river Nevern, bordered on its east by the raised ground of the watershed between the rivers Nevern and Teifi (which forms the eastern boundary of the *cantref*), to the north by the elevated coastal promontory of St Dogmaels, and to

the west by the agricultural land of the lower Nevern valley and the unenclosed moorland of the northern Preseli foothills. Located on the north-eastern edge of the *cantref*, on its boundary with the *cantref* of Emlyn. Within the northern *commote's* area of significant pre-to post-Conquest institutional continuity: it was held by aristocratic Welsh freeholders in the medieval period and administered under Welsh law. Considerably less well documented than Bayvil and Moylgrove.

- Case study area 4, additional to original case study selection: Maenclochog/Llandeilo Llwydarth, comprising the parishes of Maenclochog, Llandeilo and Llangolman. The area between the highest part (Foel Cwm Cerwyn) of the Preselis to the north and the Eastern River Cleddau to the south; this river forms the southern part of the *cantref*. Streams define it to the east and west. Comprised an English knight's manor in the medieval period, when place-names indicate a Welsh-speaking population, unlike the Flemish names of Henry's Moat and Castlebythe to the west (Appendix 4). Geographically central to the southern *commote*. No detailed medieval or 16th-century documentation survives but three Latin/ogham stones and (brief) references to a pre-Conquest ecclesiastical maenor and bishop-house suggest early medieval significance.

- Case study area 5, investigated in earlier research projects (Comeau 2010; Comeau 2012a): the parish of Dinas, covering a small section of the northern coastal plain and Preseli hills. An area of medieval Welsh-law landholdings, mostly held by the dependent tenants of elite Welsh freeholders resident in the Nevern valley (e.g. case study area 3).

Method of data collection and analysis

The use of multiple sources of information within a multi-level, longue durée study requires spatially- and temporally-appropriate methods of analysis, and appropriate multiscalar integration (Rippon 2004, 4, 76-8; Turner 2006, 29-32). This, in turn, underlines the need to use methodologies whose results are capable of robust critical analysis. To this end, Geographical Information System software (ArcGIS) was used to map and contextualise the project's multiscalar data. Use of GIS capabilities was, apart from a simple form of viewshed analysis, largely restricted to spatial data collection, management and visualisation, since much of the heterogeneous data lacks the precision appropriate for sophisticated GIS-based spatial analyses, and the scope of the study precluded advanced GIS applications like Cost Surface Analysis and Least Cost Path (Conolly 2008, 585-6; cf. Murrieta-Flores and Williams 2017). Mapping started from a low base: no equivalent to English Heritage's detailed mapping of

'Historic Landscape Characterisation' (HLC) is available in Wales, where the HLC register is based on textual descriptions of selected key 'heritage' areas (Rippon 2004, 65, 68-9; Turner 2006, 22-9). Digitisation of 19th-century tithe maps and schedules for study areas 1, 2 and 3 and analyses of field patterns and names was therefore fundamental to the methodological approach, with GIS polygons of each field linked to the full range of tithe schedule data (Appendix 18). This facilitates a far higher level of interrogation than is possible with the National Library of Wales (admirable) digital tithe map resource, Cynefin, and permits the visualisation of patterns of naming or tenure. Another key methodological element was the creation of a geolocated database from the pre-1700 place-names in the Cemais portion of Charles' (1992) survey of Pembrokeshire place-names (Appendix 14). Its Excel format allows searching and ordering by date as well as name, so that – for instance – pre-1500 place-names of certain types can be mapped. In similar manner, a geolocated, searchable database was created from a late 16th-century Extent of the landholdings of the Lord of Cemais and Welsh freeholders (Appendix 13). Extensive use was made of Excel spreadsheets to capture and analyse these and other data. Data was saved as separate datasets. The use of a relational database was considered but rejected in favour of a simple Excel-based file structure to minimise software legacy problems and facilitate easy use by other researchers. Key datasets are listed below and, unless otherwise indicated, cover the whole of Cemais.

Table 3.2: Key datasets (a representative rather than exhaustive list. References are given in discussions in the appropriate chapters)

Dataset type	*Corresponding focal zone element*	*Principal sources*
Archaeological records	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 14	Historic Environment Record (HER); Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS); Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW - Coflein database).
Land use	11, 12, 13	Soil Survey of England and Wales; British Geological Survey maps; Common land recorded under Commons Registration Act 1965; Tithe maps of 1840s; Bronwydd Archive NLW
Settlement pattern, overall	baseline for analysis of specific patterns	Ordnance Survey maps: first edition six-inch (1880s) and Old Series one-inch (1830s); G. Owen 1602 map of Pembrokeshire; Charles 1992 place-name survey.
Patterns of medieval and 16c landholding	2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 15	NLW Bronwydd Archive; genealogical research of Francis Jones, Herald Extraordinary
Ecclesiastical sites	2, 4	DAT early medieval ecclesiastical sites survey; surveys of church and well dedications by Francis Jones & Dr Graham Jones; Taxatio 1291
Seasonal events	1, 8, 13	Samantha Letters: *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516;* records (c.1600) of George Owen; pre-Conquest Welsh law; 12c Calendar of Demetian saints
Place-name evidence	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14	Charles 1992, Pembrokeshire place-name survey; Tithe schedules

Key sites at Norman Conquest and earlier	1, 3, 4, 8, 10	George Owen records; Welsh Annals
Medieval and pre-Conquest roads/ tracks	8, 10	G. Owen map 1602

The following table shows focal zone elements and corresponding datasets. Many of the datasets listed are set out in Appendix 5.

Table 3.3: Focal zone elements and principal evidence (not an exhaustive list)

Focal zone element	Corresponding datasets
1. Assembly site (1A – feasting sites; 1B – seasonal festival; 1C– monumental stones associated with assembly site)	Assembly site place-names, pre-1700 Documented medieval fair Pre-1600 *cnapan* (hurling) game Twmpath place-names Battle site, recorded Battle place-names Beacon place-names
2. Sacral site – pagan or Christian	Multiperiod ritual complexes Pre-Conquest ecclesiastical site – written evidence
3. Aristocratic/royal residence	Multivallate enclosure *Llys* place-name (= also 5)
4. Other high status homes, e.g. warriors/ cult leader/craft specialist/ruling kin-group	Records of medieval caputs of high status Welsh uchelwyr
5. Market	Medieval markets
6. Craft production	Material culture finds/excavation results [very little in study area]
7. Rich material culture	Ogham/Latin inscribed stones, 5th-6th century (= also 1C) Large or elaborate cross/cross-carved stone or other EM sculpture (= also 1C)
8. Significant function (cult/juridical/political/administrative)	David & associated saints dedications Brynach dedications Prince (etc) place-names, pre-1700 (= also 3) Cantref/regional place-names
9. Important cemetery	Barrow cemeteries Early medieval 'special' graves
10. Strategic location - communication	Cross roads
11. Strategic location – landscape zones/topography	Soil type Mountain pass Boundary between upland/forest and lowland/arable
12. Mills	Medieval mills
13. Hunting	Hunting place-names
14. Complex ditches (possibly around large area)	Large prehistoric enclosure with complex ditches
15. Dependent agricultural settlements	Maerdref and maerdy place-names, pre-1700 Bond township place-name Bond or ex-bond township recorded 16th century Infield – (arable) open field Outfield – shared pasture Seasonally used areas of land and settlement

Datasets were enhanced by field visits, with (for instance) a site visit to assess the setting of the 'lost' Maenhir y Bayvil' (Chapter 6) identifying a number of hitherto-

unrecorded monumental stones around Bayvil's assembly area. These site visits were generally of mixed success, with some hampered by poor weather, limited visibility, blocked footpaths and other problems of access.

Excel spreadsheets were also used to collate diverse data into overviews of the distribution of focal zone elements, and to prepare datasets for GIS mapping, some of which (e.g. place-names and Extent) will be deposited in ADS for future researchers. Specific mention should be made of the particular means whereby overviews of focal zone indicators were produced. The initial identification and analysis of focal zone elements was parish-based and undertaken at two levels, cantref and case study level, using Chapter 2's list of focal zones. The *cantref*-level overview used a range of focal zone indicators selected for *cantref*-wide coverage, while the case study overview used a more detailed assessment of evidence and covered all focal zone elements in Case Study areas 1, 2, 3 and 5, using a wide range of place-name, archaeological and historical data (Appendix 5, 6). The assessment process can be viewed best in the overview for Bayvil, undertaken as part of a preparative study and therefore particularly detailed (Appendix 7). The overview also includes, for comparison, additional study areas 4, 6 and 7, though since these were not part of the detailed case studies neither their tithe schedules nor their 14th- to 16th-century records were analysed, the latter being exiguous in these areas. Most categories of evidence could be clearly identified and assessed, though some were not present. Table 3.4, below, shows a hypothetical example of the parish-based overview of focal zone indicators; the shorter, *cantref*-level assessment is shown. Table 3.5, on the next page, shows a hypothetical example of the case-study level assessment. Scores are on a presence/absence basis, and do not take note of multiple instances of a particular focal zone element.

Table 3.4: Hypothetical example of evidence for focal zone indicators: cantref-level assessment.

Focal zone element	1	1B	1B	*	*	*	*	2	2	3	5	7	8	8	8	8	*	8	9	9	10	13	13	14	15	15	15	15	
Parishes	Assembly site place-names, pre-1700	Documented medieval fair	Pre-1600 *crapan* (hurling) game	Twmpath place-names	Battle site, recorded	Battle place-names	Beacon place-names	Multiperiod ritual complexes	Pre-Conq eccl site – written evidence	Multivallate enclosure	Medieval markets	Ogham/Latin inscribed stones, 5c-6c	David & associated saints dedications	Brynach dedications	Prince (etc) place-names, pre-1700	Llys place-names, pre-1700	Court place-names, pre-1700	Cantref/regional place-names	Barrow cemeteries	EM *special* graves	Cross roads	Hunting place-names	Medieval forests recorded in 16c	Large prehistoric enclosure with complex ditches	Meredith place-names, pre-1700	Maerdref place-names, pre-1700	Bond township place-name	Bond or ex-bond township recorded 16c	TOTAL SCORE
Parish A	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓			✓				✓	16
Parish B	✓				✓	✓								✓										✓					5

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Table 3.5: Hypothetical example of evidence for all focal zone elements in selected parishes. Evidence type: A = archaeology; C = church dedication; D = documentary evidence; P = place name; G = geomorphological/topographical; M = medieval manorial centre OR pre-Conquest maenor; Mp = historic map evidence.

Parishes	1: Assembly site	1A: assembly feasting	1B: assembly - seasonal festival	1C: monumental stones at assembly site	2: Sacral site – pagan or Christian ✶	3: aristocratic/royal residence	4: other high status homes	5: market	6: craft production	7: rich material culture	8: significant functions [cult/juridical/political/admin]	9: important cemetery	10: strategic location - communication	11: strategic location – landscape zones/topography	12: mills	13: hunting	14: Complex ditches around large area	15: Dependent agricultural settlements	TOTAL SCORE
Parish A	D P (2)	-	C D P	A D P	A D P	P	D	D P	_	(4)	D M P	A P	G	G	D/ P (5)	(1)	A D P	D P	16
Parish B	D P	-	P	-	D	-	A D	-	-	-	-	-	G	G	D P	-	-	D P	8

Scores of the incidence of focal zone indicators in each parish were calculated. The *cantref* and case study overviews produces different scores for the same parishes (Table 6.2; Appendix 6) because the case study overview uses a wider range of more detailed datasets. Nonetheless, similar variations in score are exhibited by the same parishes in each overview, potentially indicating focal zones. Assessing the significance of these variations is, however, complicated by differences in parish size. There are also issues arising from differential availability of data: the finely grained case study overviews are potentially misleading because of variable survival of written records, particularly between northern and southern Cemais, which is reflected in sharply differing numbers of pre-1700 place-names (Appendix 4A). There is also great variability in 19th-century tithe records of field names, which are not recorded at all in some areas, and when present are often only functional designators. Achieving confidence in a *cantref*-wide projection of an analysis based on the detailed case studies is therefore problematic.

Because of this, and the practical problem that detailed tables present to the quick conceptualisation and contextualisation of data, an alternative approach was devised: *cantref*-level density mapping of those focal zone indicators for which *cantref*-wide data were available, using a GIS layer composed of aggregated data (Appendix 5). Mapping focussed on the more secure elements of pre-Conquest evidence: apart from medieval fairs and *cnapan* games, explicitly post-Conquest sites like Newport's execution site

were excluded from the base dataset. Since the intention was to produce a density image of robust indicators, duplication of sites in separate categories (e.g. as both 'hosting site' and 'assembly place-name') was avoided as far as possible, and where there was both a well and church to the same saint at a location, or two or more related or almost identical place-names for a small area, only one was taken into account. (This latter restriction will to some extent counter the bias produced by the better records of demesne estate centres). It should be noted that the density map dataset does not include those potential assembly sites suggested by site patterning alone, rather than by place-name or record:. The resultant images are shown in Figures H1 to H12.

Methodological issues

A number of methodological issues affecting the use of place-name evidence, oral tradition, written evidence/historical sources and retrogressive analysis should also be noted.

Place-name evidence

Place-names represent an extensive source of data on early medieval settlement. They map both the physical and mental worlds of those who coined them, and have been described as the 'most extensive and most complete corpus of information' on early settlement (R. Jones and Semple 2012a, 2-3). To users, they communicate identity as well as marking location, and can convey a 'sense of place' imbued with personal and communal knowledge and mythical narratives (Basso 1996, 73, 83-7; Bollard 2009, 42-4).

As a research resource, their capacity to encode memories of earlier functions across several hundred centuries is clearly demonstrated in fieldwork by Gardiner (Gardiner 2012, 16-24; Pantos 2004b, 155-61). They have been used to identify early medieval settlement patterns, land use and sites of authority and assembly in England, Scotland, Scandinavia and Ireland (Brink 1996; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 29-34; Gelling and Cole 2000; Hooke 2012a; O'Grady 2008, 125-224; Pantos 2004b; see papers in R. Jones and Semple 2012b). In Wales they identify the Conquest-period administrative structures of Welsh law (G.R.J. Jones 1985a; 2000).

Place-names are therefore of significant value as markers of practice and function, and provide useful comparisons with the indications of archaeological and historical sources, though allowances have to be made for the vagaries of oral transmission, orthography and survival – work by Hall indicates that few Welsh place-names survive from before 930 AD (Hall 2012, 117-8). As a resource they are little-used in the study area: existing Welsh place-name scholarship is limited in scope compared with English

work, and interpretations of place-names in the study area therefore require particular care. Although the methodological implications of using field-names to analyse historic Welsh landscapes has been considered by Colin Thomas, work is lacking on names of historical and archaeological significance (C. Thomas 1980a, 341; 1992; cf. H. James 1998 for one of the few attempts at archaeological contextualisation of place-names; see Oosthuizen 2008 for an English example). Overall, work reflects a bias towards the upland terrain and dialect of north Wales, and there is little place- and field-name work on lowland landscapes, especially in south Wales (H.W. Owen and Morgan 2007, i, ix; cf, on the uplands north Wales landscape, C. Thomas 1992). The complexities of transfer between different languages are little addressed; this is a particular issue in the study area, where Latin, Old Irish, French and English are used in addition to Welsh at different times between the post-Roman and late medieval periods, as well as Flemish in an adjacent area. These issues, combined with the shifting nature of place-names and their recursive formation and interpretation, mean that simplistic, face-value translations of medieval Welsh names may be very misleading (Comeau 2013; Turner 2006, 16-18).

These problems affect an extensive but un-geolocated survey of the study area's place-names (Charles 1971; Charles 1992), which also tends to privilege explanations reliant on topographical and personal-name elements over references to past functions (cf. Reynolds and Semple 2012, 94). As a consequence, despite accurate and thorough name-collection, its interpretations are sometimes questionable. Interpretations of place-names are therefore used with caution as a source of evidence, and have been re-examined for the current research; however these new interpretations must on their own be regarded as only tentative, given the under-researched state of this area of scholarship and the fact that they are offered by a non-specialist. Their main use is to corroborate other sources of evidence, e.g. archaeological or historical, rather than as primary sources (cf. Reynolds and Semple op. cit.).

Written evidence and oral traditions

The use of written sources and oral traditions by archaeologists presents fundamental questions about approach. Driscoll's comments about the restrictions consequent upon using a limited written record as a framework have already noted (Driscoll 1991, 83). Barrett makes useful observations about the relationship of written sources and oral traditions. He notes that although classical and early medieval written evidence is frequently employed in later prehistoric archaeology to identify 'chronological horizons' and providing textual descriptions of artefacts and social systems, its use requires an awareness of the context of its creation and reproduction. The written record, he points

out, reflects the preoccupations of the time of its production and, when it refers to earlier periods, represents a stage in the transformation of knowledge; it cannot be taken simply as representing an earlier oral tradition (Barrett 1981, 216-7).

It goes without saying that the same concerns apply to early medieval archaeology. These words of caution are mirrored in the concerns of other commentators who note that historical sources require a source-critical approach to reduce the risk of reproducing authorial bias. In the study area this authorial bias often reflects colonial Anglo-Norman perspectives (Austin 1990; Feinman 1997; Moreland 2001). There are particular problems with the use of 'verbal' (written or oral) evidence, which should not, Goody reminds us, be taken as straightforward records, and are likely to commemorate only the exceptional and, when accessed via later written records, will be subject to the writer's transformations (Goody 1977, 13-14, 158). The comments of Aitchison (1994) on the creation of histories by early medieval elites are especially significant in this regard.

Despite these reservations, the oral traditions noted by antiquarian writers can be of value. Gardiner's work, and the reliance of many pre-modern societies on oral testimony (Oosthuizen 2013, 13-14), suggests that these traditions may cast a useful light on past events and practice, particularly when they are recorded by more than one independent source and are capable of corroboration with other forms of evidence. In similar vein, locally-set medieval stories about the pre-Conquest period may offer insight into past understanding of the landscape (e.g. S. Davies 2007, 3, 210).

Retrogressive analysis and the question of continuity

This research project, like Driscoll's Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot project, uses regressive (or retrogressive) analysis of the earliest mapped field systems to provide physical and economic context for archaeological, historical and place-name evidence (Driscoll 2011, 273-4). Since the area's first detailed maps are early 19th century, the effectiveness of this technique is affected by the level of post-medieval landscape reorganisation (Comeau 2012a, 32-4; Oosthuizen 2006, 77-9; Rippon 2004, 77, 83).

Use of a parallel approach to written evidence is much more contentious, and the issue figures large in debates about the multiple estate model, where the 'back projecting' of high/late medieval written evidence to identify early medieval social and territorial structures is much criticised. Such criticisms do not however entirely invalidate the use of later written evidence to understand the early medieval period, provided that such sources are used with care (cf. Charles-Edwards 2013, 596-7, on the Bishop Houses of

Dyfed). Further controls are provided by their use within a multidisciplinary framework where they are validated against other sources of data.

Methodology and theory: summing up

This research is intended to create a nuanced, multivocal analysis of the early medieval Welsh landscape, which responds to the gaps in scholarship identified by the review of existing literature. Conceptually, it is framed within the terms of Annales time structures, and constitutes a study of the longue durée of the early medieval period, and of the conjonctures, the cyclical activities enacted in public, social time, which structured it, and focusses on the recursive agency of people engaged in long term cycles of activity, maintained through habitus. This approach is particularly suited to the research priorities identified in Chapter 2 because it places the mechanisms of change and social and economic process in the foreground, and thus provides a useful corrective to the static tendencies inherent in identifying settlement hierarchies. This practice-focussed analysis is multi-level and integrates the micro-level of individual sites and settings – the événements – within its considerations of broader, macro-scale patterns of activity in the landscape.

Analysis is multidisciplinary and examines diverse sources of evidence for longue durée patterns of activity at landscape level, an approach that lies at the heart of Annales thinking. Among the sources of evidence considered are place- and field-names, the earliest maps of field systems and settlements, geomorphology, early literary sources and oral traditions, written records of the 12th to 16th centuries and the HER, as well as new evidence gathered by field survey in case study areas.

My analysis focuses on identifying, within the early medieval landscape, the key elements that, elsewhere, constitute polyfocal central areas, and also on identifying the location of agricultural resources. Data is mapped and correlated using a GIS, ground-truthed, and analysed discursively and thematically within the comparative context of work elsewhere in north-west Europe. Identifying the locations of focal areas in the landscape, in combination with the seasonal patterning indicated by Welsh law and by contemporary and medieval records (Chapters 4, 5, 6), will allow the creation of a nuanced picture of the patterns and processes of activity that sustained and reproduced the early medieval landscape. This picture is then (Chapter 7) compared with the multiple estate model and other existing models of the early medieval landscape, and set in the context of evidence of the broader European arena, to construct a new, alternative paradigm of the early medieval Welsh landscape. The next chapter sets out the detail of the local evidence from which this analysis proceeds.

Chapter 4.
Patterns of evidence across the whole study area

Cemais emerges into the historical record as a *cantref* or *provincia*, part of the south-west Wales pre-Conquest kingdom of Deheubarth whose predecessor, Dyfed, developed from the Roman-period territory of the Demetae people (Charles-Edwards 2013, 17-20; H. James 2016a, 369). The seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed are noted in 12th-century poetry and in the *Mabinogion* (Figure A1; S. Davies 2007, 3, 21, 35, 45, 47). The Cemais name is found elsewhere in Wales and may derive from *cam*, 'crooked, curved, winding', perhaps referring to bends in the coast (Charles 1992, 25; H.W. Owen and Morgan 2007, 80; Richards 1998, 46).

The earliest datable reference to Cemais is in 1121, soon after it becomes an Anglo-Norman lordship (Appendix 11). The reference, in a charter granting land to the monastery of St Dogmaels, describes the *provincia* of Kames as divided from neighbouring Emlyn (another of Dyfed's *cantrefi*) by the river Breuan, the modern Afon Pilau (Charles 1992, 4; J.C. Davies 1946, D49, 242; Dugdale 1823, 130; Pritchard 1907, 46-8). Further charter references to 'Cameis' or 'Chameis' appear in 1131 and 1147, in the context of a grant of a salt house and two carucates of land to Llanthony Abbey (J.C. Davies 1946, D83, 251; D130, 261). Cemais is also mentioned in a location clause within a list of churches copied into the early 12th-century Book of Llandaff (Evans and Rhys 1893, 124, 255). The list itself is thought to date to c.1025, and represents churches and lands claimed (unsuccessfully as it turned out) by the Bishop of Llandaff from St Davids (J.R. Davies 2003, 17, 71, 88-9; W. Davies 1973). The location clause - '*Lannteliau litgarth, in fin doucledif ha chemeis. mainaur*' ('Llandeilo Litgarth [*Llwydarth*] on the boundary of Daugleddau and Cemais, mainaur') - tells us that the boundary (a wide river valley) separating the *cantrefi*/lordship of Cemais and Daugleddau was operational by the 1120s when the Book was created, and very possibly a century earlier when the list was composed. It is also a reference to a *maenor*, to which we will return later.

A full description of the boundaries of Cemais is given c.1600 (G. Owen 1862, 134-5), and substantially concurs with these 12th-century documents, though its westernmost extent around Fishguard represents a 12th-century annexation of St Davids lands (Brewer 1863, 154, 349-50; Pryce 2007, 312; cf. F. Jones 1969, 35) (Appendix 8, Figure A2). These boundaries delineate a territory of some 360 km^2 that extended along the north Pembrokeshire coast between the Teifi estuary at Cardigan in the east, and the Gwaun estuary at Fishguard in the west, and comprised the coastal plain, the river basin of the River Nevern (Nyfer) (excluding its source on the slopes of Frenni

Fawr mountain in the neighbouring *cantref* of Emlyn) and the Preseli massif (Figures A4, A5). The highest point of these hills, at Foel Cwm Cerwyn (536 m OD) above Maenclochog, forms a distinctive landmark on the horizon for travellers approaching from the direction of the Roman road at Whitland, and an outlier, Garn Turne, marks the *cantref's* south-western extremity.

River valleys provide further definition; two of them, the Teifi and Taf, still mark the modern Pembrokeshire boundary. To the east, the Conquest-period *cantref* boundary follows the river Teifi and its Breuan/Pilau tributary before cutting overland across the upper branches of the nascent river Nevern to the source of the river Taf at Crymych, under Frenni Fawr. From here the boundary follows the Taf, with a significant excursion at the *cantref's* easternmost extent to include a hilltop beyond the river valley. It then cuts overland to the eastern branch of the river Cleddau and its tributaries, following an east-west track that skirts the southern flanks of the Preselis and leads to Garn Turne, above the junction of the western branches of the river Cleddau and its Anghof/Sealy tributary (Charles 1992, 2, 19). The pre-Conquest western boundary was probably the River Gwaun.

Communication is shaped by topography. None of the rivers within the *cantref* are navigable by anything larger than a flat-bottomed coracle, and networks of tracks and paths access the landing places of the north coast. The earliest map of roads, in 1602, shows east-west routes along the coastal plateau and the Nevern valley, and north-south routes through passes over the Preselis (Figure A2; NLW Map 5359, 1602). No Roman roads have been conclusively identified, though their possible presence is suggested in recent work by Martin Davies and Merrony, with the latter reviving discredited antiquarian suggestions of an east-west Roman road along the southern flanks of the Preselis (M. Davies 2017; H. James 2016a, 307; Merrony 2018; Schlee 2005, 4). A popular belief in ancient origins of the modern walkers' path along the Preseli ridgetop is unsubstantiated (cf. Dyfed Archaeological Trust HER 1524).

The credentials of the 16th-century boundary can be gauged from deanery affiliations of churches recorded in the 1291 Taxatio (Figure C1), since these normally reflect early 12th-century *cantrefi* (J.C. Davies 1946, 45-6, 144; Taxatio 1291). All the Taxatio churches are in the deanery of 'Kenneys' (sic) apart from Fishguard and Maenclochog, which belonged to the deaneries of Pebidiog and Rhos respectively, the latter covering two pre-Conquest *cantrefi*, Rhos and Daugleddau. These divergent affiliations reflect the early 12th-century transfer, already mentioned, of the Bishop of St Davids' Fishguard lands to the Lord of Cemais, and the inferred (but not specifically documented) Norman seizure of lands belonging to St Davids at Maenclochog that

probably represent the contested *maenor* of Llandeilo Llwydarth (see below; Appendix 9).

The topographic integrity of Cemais – focussed on the resources of a river basin and hill range - has much in common with small regional/supra-local early medieval territorial units elsewhere, and Chapter 5 will examine the possibility of a cohesive early territorial unit antedating the 11th- and 12th-century records (Williamson 2013, 55-9, 87-93). Church dedications indicate an early medieval distinction between it and the area to the south and west (H. James 2007, 59; Ludlow 2009, 66-7), with Cemais showing a concentration of dedications to St Brynach, whose *Life* links him with a post-Roman ruler near Nevern (Wade-Evans 1944b). These dedications, discussed further in Chapter 6, show a Cemais/north Carmarthenshire/Brecon distribution, and – in northern Cemais - correlate substantially with the lands held by medieval descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* (Figure C2). Ogham stones, which mark post-Roman Irish settlement, also show a concentration on Cemais and the adjacent *cantrefi* of Emlyn and Cantref Gwarthaf, and these same areas also show 'significant' numbers of Roman-letter inscriptions with Irish names (Edwards 2007, 31-2). Family connections between 5th- and 6th-century individuals, and possible links between different areas of Cemais and Emlyn, are indicated (Charles-Edwards 2013, 162-4; C. Thomas 1994, 62-4). A marked focus on the southern boundary is especially striking given the suggested use of ogham and Roman letter stones to mark territorial claims (Figure B3; see Chapter 6; Handley 1998).

Archaeological evidence

Archaeological evidence for early medieval Cemais is, apart from the ogham stones, scant. HER records for the early medieval period largely refer to ecclesiastical sites, and of 144 possible early medieval records, 77 refer to inscribed stones or crosses, and a further 55 to ecclesiastical sites or cemeteries (often identified through relationships to early medieval inscribed stones, circular churchyard morphology or place-names); just 12 refer to secular sites (Appendix 10).

Eight long cist burial sites are known, at Penrhyn (St Dogmaels), Caerau, Caer Bayvil, Brynhenllan, Cwmyreglwys, St Cristiolus Eglwyswrw, Llanychlwydog, and Felindre Farchog, although the Eglwyswrw and Cwmyreglwys burials appear to be of high medieval date and attest to longstanding local use of this characteristically early medieval form of burial (HER PRN 1058, 1054, 1150, 1428, 32081, 46790, 4336/13002; Casswell et al. 2017; Comeau 2015; Ludlow 2003b). Rectangular embanked graves have also been identified at Crugiau Cemais, of a type identified elsewhere as late Roman or early medieval 'special burials' (Murphy and Murphy 2015).

Little direct dating evidence is available: acid soils and early medieval aceramic and non coin-using traditions contribute to a dearth of early medieval material culture. Other than inscribed stones, the only early medieval artefacts found within Cemais have been a blue glass bead at the early medieval cemetery at Felindre Farchog (A, Figure B2), a loom weight of 5th- to 6th-century type from the Henllys Top Field enclosed settlement (B, Figure B2), and a 6th-century penannular brooch which was metal-detected on Goodwick beach (C, Figure B2) and may have arrived with sand brought from another site (Campbell 2013, 163-4; Casswell et al 2017; Mytum and Webster 2001, 96-8). Finds of Romano-British brooches and pottery have also been found in post-Roman and early medieval contexts at Castell Henllys (D, Figure B2) and Llanychlwydog (E, Figure B2), and may (in the words of one excavator) represent heirlooms, though the proximity of Romano-British settlement at both sites is significant (Murphy 1987, 88, 93; Mytum 2013, 18-9; I am grateful to Heather James for her comments on this). Bone preservation in burials is rare. Only six sites have early medieval radiocarbon-dates; these are given below and shown in Figure B2.

Table 4.1: Cemais: early medieval radiocarbon dates

Site No.	Site	PRN	Calibrated date (2 sigma)	Context	Reference
1	Cwm Gloyne II	964	cal AD 320-600	pit/post hole within inland promontory fort.	Mytum and Webster (2001, 106)
2	Caer Bayvil	1150	cal AD 640-880*	cist burial	James (1987, 59)
3	Llanychlwydog	13002	cal AD 777-1151*	cist burial associated with medieval church; Romano-British brooch also found	Murphy (1987, 88)
4	Castell Cadw	102359	cal AD 890-1020	pit, possible post hole of structure associated with burnt mound revealed through road improvement	Crane (2008, 6)
5	Maenclochog	99501	cal AD 880-1021 (buried soil under bank) & AD 980-1160 (roundhouse hearth - charred grain)	under bank of fortified enclosure around roundhouse; medieval castle wall overlies bank.	Schlee (2007, 8)
6	Carn Goedog House C	NPRN 402816	Cal AD 1030-1200	Carbonised hazel roundwood from hearth in sub-rectangular dwelling, probably seasonally-occupied: see Chapter 5	Schlee et al. 2018

*Calibrated by author from published uncalibrated dates using OxCal 4.2 (IntCal 13) - http://c14.arch.ox.ac.uk/embed.php?File=oxcal.html

The first two of these dates derive from a series of excavations of late prehistoric enclosed settlements in the Nevern (Henllys/Bayvil) area which show occupation of some small enclosures extending into the post-Roman period (Cwm Gloyne II &

Henllys Top Field: Mytum and Webster 2001, 96, 106), with brief reoccupation (perhaps late 4th or 5th century, given finds) at a large multivallate enclosure (Castell Henllys: Mytum 2013, 18-19). Three of these Nevern/Bayvil enclosures, Bayvil, Crugiau Cemais and Felindre Farchog, are re-used for early medieval burials, with the multivallate enclosure at Crugiau Cemais also partially enclosing a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, and burials at Felindre Farchog focussing on a small natural mound within the enclosure (Casswell et al. 2017; H. James 1987; Murphy and Murphy 2015). Long cist burials were also discovered within the coastal multivallate enclosure at Caerau in the 19th century (Vincent 1864). Figure B5 shows these late prehistoric enclosures; Figure B4 shows early medieval burials and other early medieval occupation evidence/activity. Figure B6 shows barrow cemeteries and natural mounds. There is further discussion of possibly early medieval activity at the study area's enclosed settlements in the next chapter.

Sites ascribed to the later medieval period may also have been used in the early medieval period, with activity undetectable because of a lack of excavation and/or datable material culture and radiocarbon dating, the Carn Goedog House C excavation (Table 4.1) being a case in point. Possible instances include three uninvestigated deserted or shrunken medieval hamlets, two of them being demesne holdings and probable bond settlements: Redwalls/Fagwyr Goch, Bayvil, and Treriffith where the earthworks of the medieval settlement lie on the approach to a cliff promontory fort (HER PRN 1360; 106528; 11338, 1157). Figure F10 shows these sites, which are considered further in Chapter 5.

Figure D1 shows, by contrast, the locations of the known medieval/16th-century caputs of descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer*, who – according to 16th-century tradition - retained their northern pre-Conquest lands through Conquest-period negotiation (see below; Charles 1948, 278-9). The map also shows other 16th-century settlements held under Welsh Law, elements of which were still in use in 1594 (G. Owen 1977). Close relationships between some of these recorded caputs and late prehistoric sites can be seen in Figure B6, and are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Written sources

Research into medieval Cemais focusses on its Norman rulers and no detailed overviews of its early medieval period exist other than Heather James' Pembrokeshire-wide review (H. James 2016a; Miles 1997; Walker 2002). The following discussion will therefore largely use original sources, some published and some archival. A timeline of these sources is provided in Appendix 11.

Early medieval written sources

Although Welsh chronicles (*Annales Cambriae* and the later *Brut y Twysogion*) make numerous references to the early medieval kingdom of Dyfed, there are only three identifiable references to Cemais or to places within it before the late 11th century. The earliest is in *Annales Cambriae*, and mentions Nanhyfer (Nevern) in relation to the death of an otherwise unknown individual called Cian: '*865 an. Cian nant Nimer obit*'/'Cian of Nanhyfer died' (Morris 1980, 48, 89) The name may be a palaeographic abbreviation for Cynan ('Kynan'), which is how it appears in the *Brut Y Tywysogion* (T. Jones 1952, 4, 136), but in itself it is an attested Irish name. The second reference is to a Viking raid on Llandudoch (St Dogmaels) in 987 (ibid, 10). The third reference, noted earlier, is to a church and *maenor*, Llandeilo Llwydarth, in a *Book of Llandaff* text of early 11th-century provenance or earlier. Llandeilo Llwydarth is also mentioned as a 'Bishop House' in a section of Welsh law which is argued to be of pre-Conquest date (Charles-Edwards 2013, 596-7).

These brief references to Llandudoch and Llandeilo Llwydarth are the only pre-Conquest records of clearly ecclesiastical sites in Cemais – the 865 naming of '*Nant Nimer/Nanhyfer*', though commonly understood as the vicinity of the medieval church of Nevern, could refer to the broader area of the valley (*nant*) of the river Nyfer/Nimer (see Chapter 6 for more discussion of this place-name). References to ecclesiastical sites are otherwise post-Conquest, the earliest being the 1121 charter that records the Norman re-establishment of a Tironensian (Benedictine) monastery at St Dogmaels/Llandudoch (Pritchard 1907) (Appendix 8). Nothing is known of its pre-Conquest predecessor apart from the 987 reference, but it has been suggested that its pre-Conquest location was at Caerau (Vincent 1864, 304). Nevern is the principal church of Brynach, the patron saint of the local pre-Conquest ruling family, but its pre-Conquest ecclesiastical status is unknown. The first mention of a church at Nevern is in the 12th-century *Life of Brynach* which records Brynach's burial under the east wall of Nevern church, though the existence of a 12th-century record of a Feast of Translation of Brynach indicates that this was not his original resting place (Comeau 2014; Hughes 1958, 197). There are no records of a monastery here, and the *clas* indications which survive in place-names and the 15th-century record of a sanctuary area could (as in other areas) refer to a secular church held by the local ruling family (Comeau 2016).

Apart from these brief historical references, the only other mention of early Cemais is in the *Mabinogion*, which describes royal hunts in the Nevern valley and on the Preselis (including Cwm Cerwyn), and refers to an assembly at an un-named location in the Preselis (S. Davies 2007, 3, 16, and note especially 210 with its topographic detail). References increase from the late 11th century, when a number of battles are recorded

on and near the borders of Cemais (Figure E1). Competing Welsh princes, supported by Irish, Scots and Viking mercenaries, vied for supremacy in 1078 at Pwllgwdig (Goodwick)*)*, at Llechryd on the Teifi estuary in 1088, and at Llandudoch (St Dogmaels) in 1091; it has also been suggested that the crucial dynastic 1081 battle of Mynydd Carn, discussed further in Chapter 6, was located in the Preselis (E.D. Jones 1922; T. Jones 1952, 17, 18, 154; Russell 2005, 27-9, 51 (map), 68-71).

The last native lord of Cemais, Cuhelyn, is commemorated in an early 12th-century praise-poem, where he is referred to as a *breyr* (nobleman/lord) and *maer* (steward/governor) of many homesteads with a *llongborth anaw* ('treasure of a seaport') (Gruffydd 1975, 199-200, 204-6, lines 20, 23, 45). The location of this *llongborth* is uncertain – whether Newport, Fishguard on the Cemais boundary, with its maritime tradition, Scandinavian name and links with the initial Norman invasion of Cemais, St Dogmaels or Dinas (Cwmyreglwys), both of the latter having landing places close to medieval estate centres (Figure A2).

It is also uncertain whether Cuhelyn's allegiance was to a Welsh or Norman ruler: at some point between 1100 and 1108 the Normans conquer Cemais and Robert Martin occupies Nevern (Miles 2002, 460; Walker 2002, 151). These events are not explicitly noted in any contemporary sources and have to be reconstructed from other events of the period and from archaeological investigations of the castle at Nevern (Caple 2011). An oral account of the Conquest survived until c.1600, first recorded briefly by Leland between 1536 and 1539 as the conquering of Cemais by 'Martinus de Turribus, a Norman… about the tyme of King William Conqueror' (Leland 1906, 27). More detail is given by George Owen around the year 1600, who describes how Robert's father Martin landed at Fishguard, conquered the Welsh in battle at Morvil (Figure E1), and 'consumed the Countrey with fier & sworde ' until he came to a place called 'Keven Dianel' (in the Meline/Eglwyswrw area) where the Welshmen 'of Melyney, Whitchurch and Nantgwyn mett him & unbending their bowes submitted them selves by delyveringe upp of their weapons to him' (Charles 1948, 278-9). Their acceptance of Norman rule was rewarded: they were given their lands 'rent free' and rights to patronage of their churches, and the continued use of Welsh law in these areas is recorded in 1326 (CIPM 1910, 448-9). Owen notes that as a consequence the 'inhabitants of Cemais do vaunt of their ancient antiquity, much before any other of the shires, accounting … by good proof of ancient writings and records that their ancestors have been owners of those lands that they now enjoy many years before the coming of Strongbow…' (G. Owen 1994, 41).

Records of Cemais in annalistic sources and charters multiply after the early 12th century (see Appendices 8 and 11 for a summary of these), though much has to be

inferred, like the establishment of Newport and its castle around 1191 (Walker 2002, 151). These records indicate that the 12th and early 13th centuries are times of considerable instability: a flavour is given by *Brut* references that refer to combined Welsh and Hiberno-Irish attacks on Dyfed for plunder and slaves in 1110, the capture and destruction of Nevern castle in 1194*,* and attacks on the castles at Newport and Maenclochog in 1215 and 1257 (T. Jones 1952, 33, 75, 90-1, 111, 190). Changes in control between the Welsh and Anglo-Normans are frequent, and it is not until the later 13th century that Anglo-Norman control is assured, albeit with considerable support from the local Welsh aristocracy. A charter of 1243x1268 records the Preseli land rights granted to this kin-group, whose members also enjoyed high office under the Normans ('Charter of Preseli' in Appendix 8) (F. Jones 1979, 28-9; G. Owen 1862, 48). A flow of charters marks this point (e.g. G. Owen 1862 ff.), and it is only after this that any detailed analysis of the internal structure of Cemais becomes possible, as references to specific settlements emerge in documents that provide overviews of the whole of Cemais.

The challenge, therefore, is to assess whether 13th- and 14th-century Cemais preserved elements of pre-Conquest administrative organisation, a possibility raised by the continued presence of Welsh social and legal structures in the northern part of the *cantref* and observations elsewhere that marcher lordships frequently retained substantial elements of pre-Conquest arrangements (R.R. Davies 1987, 282). Before looking at these, some further consideration of the chronology and function of pre-Conquest Welsh landholding and administrative structures is needed (Appendix 2).

The discussion of the multiple estate in Chapter 2 noted that 13th-century north Wales law's nested structure of *cantref-commote-maenol-tref* cannot be identified as a complete hierarchy before the 11th century (Charles-Edwards 2013, 290), and is not found in the earlier *Cyfnerth* law code of south Wales (G.R.J. Jones 1989, 177-180; 1992); it is therefore substantially irrelevant to the study area on both geographical and historical grounds. The *Cyfnerth* law code does not present a comprehensive landholding structure: although it refers to a tribute-paying *tref* with constituent *rhandiroedd* (see below) that forms part of a *maenor* (Wade-Evans 1909, 55-6, 204-5), it does not specify the relationship between *maenor* and *cantref* or *commote*. There are, nonetheless, references to *commotes* and *cantrefi* throughout *Cyfnerth*, with a territorial *gwlad* (country)/*cantref*/*commote* hierarchy implied by some of the provisions for claiming *galanas* (blood money) (ibid.,122, 265). Most of its other references to *commote* and *cantref* similarly refer to legal processes like oath-giving and compensation (ibid., 1, 2, 85, 100, 106, 115, 119, 141, 145, 147, 230, 261, 245, 283), with references also to *commote* boundaries (ibid., 5, 55, 149, 205) and to the rights and tributes of particular *commote* or *cantref* officials (ibid., 31, 99, 177, 243).

As Chapter 2 notes, the historical record shows these various elements emerging separately: the *mainaur/maenor/maenawr* in the 9th century, *cantrefi* in the 11th century (having perhaps evolved gradually over the preceding two centuries), with *commotes* being perhaps a Conquest-period development. The *tref* or *villa* ('township') is the most enduring element, used from the 7th century to the medieval period, albeit for varied sizes of unit: the *tref* of 13th-century north Wales law is much smaller than the *tref* of south Wales law and the Llandaff Charters (W. Davies 1978, 38-40; Jones Pierce 1972, 324-5). Its component element, the *modius* (see below), *rhandir* or shareland – an area of some 40 acres in south Wales – is similarly in widespread use from the post-Roman period to Norman conquest. In the Llandaff charters, *trefi* or *villae* made up of three *modii* are a recurrent unit from the 7th century onwards, and presage the 3-shareland bond *tref* (*taeogtref*) of 12th-century south Wales law (the free *tref* has 4 sharelands) (W. Davies 1978, 33-4; 1982, 42; G.R.J. Jones 1989, 179-181; Wade-Evans 1909, 55-6, 204-5, 347). The Llandaff land grants are, Wendy Davies says, of essentially arable type, though different arrangements are possible in a small number of upland areas of large acreage (W. Davies 1978, 29, 34-5). A mixed agricultural economy is indicated by south Wales law's references to sharelands/*rhandiroedd*, which might contain 'clear and brake, and wood and field (*maes*), and wet and dry'; each *tref* should have one shareland devoted to pasture while the others are for 'occupancy', which presumably included cultivation (Figure F2; Wade-Evans supra; cf. Ross 2006 on the structure of the Scottish *dabhach/davoch*).

Different phases of territorial organisation are indicated by other territorial terms, if the limited documentation is representative. Some of the earliest terms for larger territorial units do not survive through to the pre-Conquest centuries: the term *ager*, which refers to either an estate (e.g. an *uncia*) or (more generally) land, goes out of use in the 9th century (Charles-Edwards 2013, 285-8; W. Davies 1978, 40-1). Similarly, the term *uncia*, a large 12-*modii* estate of some 500 acres known only in south-east Wales, is rare after the 8th century and not used after the 10th century (Charles-Edwards 2013, 279; W. Davies 1978, 33-4, 57; see W. Davies 1978 also for discussion of other early terms).

Records of the *mainaur/maenor/maenawr*, another large unit, are found from the 9th century onwards, albeit in south-west rather than south-east Wales (Charles-Edwards 2013, 283; W. Davies 1982, 44-7; G.R.J. Jones 1972, 308-319). The lack of earlier evidence raises the possibility that it may be a 9th-century innovation (Charles-Edwards 2013, 289). References in early medieval sources are principally in the Llandaff charters, where Davies says that they 'occur too rarely to permit general comment' (W. Davies 1978, 42). Transfers of *maenorau* form the subject of three Llandaff charters where the term refers to a royal grant to the church of a

topographically defined area of territory (two of the charters give bounds) which presumably contained a number of *trefi* (72a, 125a, 165: W. Davies ibid); a similar grant (Chad 6) is recorded in the Lichfield/Teilo Gospel marginalia and can be identified as parish-scale (G.R.J. Jones 1972, 308-11). *Maenorau* are also mentioned in titles, locational references and lists in several other Llandaff charters, like 163, 180a, 253, 263 (Charles-Edwards 2013, 283-4). None of the *maenorau* grants mention food rents, which in the charters are linked to the much more frequently mentioned *trefi* and their constituent *modii*/sharelands/*rhandiroedd*.

The south-west Wales *maenor* is, as Chapter 2 notes, different from and larger than the similar-sounding *maenol* of 13th-century north Wales law, and south Wales law's silence on its relationship with the *cantref* and *commote* has already been noted. There are, nonetheless, 13th-century records of *commotes* containing three or four *maenorau* in Ystrad Tywi (Carmarthenshire), though these south Wales *maenorau* seem to have been functionally redundant by this time (Jones Pierce 1972, 324). South Wales law refers principally to two sizes of *maenor*: one of 7 bond *trefi*/vills, whose '*maenor fro*' name may refer to a lowland or arable location, and another of 13 *trefi*/vills, with *maenorau* of 16 or 24 *trefi* also mentioned in some medieval legal sources (S.E. Roberts 2011, 165, 173; Wade-Evans 1909, 55, 205). South Wales law refers to the 13-vill *maenor* as a '*maenor wrthtir*', a term variously interpreted as indicating free status (Wade-Evans 1909, 344) and/or an upland (*gwrthdir*) location (Richards 1954, 134; G. Jones 1989, 179). Its 13th *tref* was the *gorfodtref* or *gorfdref,* a term translated as a 'neighbouring', 'adjunct' or 'supernumerary' *tref* (A. Owen 1841, ii, 280-3, 740-1; S. E. Roberts 2011, 260-3; Wade-Evans 1909, 55, 205, 340-1), and Glanville Jones took it to be an area of additional, probably upland, pasture (Jones 1992, 98), though there is clearer evidence for it as 'a notional *tref* for the purpose of legal evidence' (GPC). This interpretation comes from a fifteenth-century version of *Cyfnerth*, which (discussing a legal procedure for resolving claims for land) describes the *gorfodtref* as composed of sharelands/*rhandiroedd* from the *trefi* of *uchelwyr* (freemen) that abut the *tref* wherein is found the dispute (A. Owen 1841, ii, 280-3; S. E. Roberts 2011, 260-3; Wade Evans 1909, 341]. This suggestion that the *gorfodtre*f was a temporary designation for the purpose of resolving a land claim is accepted by Seebohm (Seebohm 1902, 35), and accords with the exclusion of the *gorfodtref* from the acreage stipulations for *trefi* (Wade Evans 1909, 55, 204).

This notional, dispute-settling *gorfodtref* is effectively the sole function directly linked to the *maenor* by south Wales law. Whereas the *maenol* is the food rent unit of the reformed north Wales legal structures, in the earlier south Wales laws the food rent payment unit is (as in the charters) the *tref* or its constituent *rhandir*. Nonetheless, since the significance of early medieval estates is thought to have lain primarily in the

production of food renders or tribute which supported the king and his travelling court, and facilitated tribute payments to other dominant, hegemonic rulers (Charles-Edwards 1989a, 30-3; 2013, 276-282; W. Davies 1982, 46, 129-131), a food rent/tribute aspect might be inferred for the *maenorau* of royal bond *trefi* that, in charters, were given to the church for its support. Fundamentally though, the evidence suggests that the primary use of the term '*maenor*' was to designate groups of *trefi*, whether for the purpose of giving them to the church (a context that suggests royal bond *trefi*), or for dispute-resolution purposes in the case of free *trefi*. The physical territorialisation of the *maenor* is variable and uncertain, and although charter bounds exist for a few individual *maenorau* (see above), we cannot (following Rhys Jones 1998b, 138, 141) assume that all *trefi* were allocated to *maenorau*, or that *maenorau* covered the entirety of the cantref. Rather than the *maenor*, the core food tribute unit of south Wales throughout the early medieval period seems not to have been the *maenor* but the *tref* and its underlying productive unit, the *modius* or shareland. Indeed, the term '*modius*' is a measure of the grain tribute that arable land might be expected to produce; it was commonly provided as a tribute of ale made from barley, and the ubiquity of the 3-*modius tref*/vill is attributed to the 3-*modii* measure of the standard vat of ale (Charles-Edwards 2013, 276-7).

Similarly-scaled obligations of tribute production – whether in the form of food rent levied on *trefi* or *rhandiroedd* or, from the 12th century or thereabouts, of coin – underpin later south Wales territorial structures (Charles-Edwards 1993, 382; R.R. Davies 1987, 258) (Appendix 3). Some of these structures are reformed in the 12th and 13th century when a 'pattern of obligations' becomes clearly established, with local officials (like the *rhaglaw*/steward, successor to the *maer*) becoming more prominent (R.R. Davies 1987, 221, 252-8, 265). The structures established in Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi under Lord Rhys are potentially pertinent to the study area, given proximity to Cemais (Figure A1), and Lord Rhys' capture of some or all of Cemais in the later 12th century (Caple 2011, 326-7). Rhys is credited with the late 12th-century creation of *gwestfa* districts in Ceredigion and Ystrad Tywi, each usually made up of 5 *rhandiroedd*/sharelands, and broadly similar to the 4-shareland/*rhandir*/*modii* free *tref* of south Wales law (Appendix 2) (Jones Pierce 1972, 318-9, 345-6). Medieval records for Ceredigion show that these *gwestfa* districts generally contain large areas of uncultivated waste as well as 5 to 10 (usually 4 or 5) small areas of arable land and habitation called *gwelyau*, which are named after the 4-generation descent groups (the *gwely*) who held them. Each *gwely* was made up of 4 or 5 families, though a few contained up to 17. The institution of the *gwely* is one of the key changes of the period 1150-1250, particularly evident in north Wales and Ceredigion, but only identifiable in one peripheral Cemais parish, Llanfyrnach (R.R. Davies 1987, 265; Howells 1955-6,

323; Jones Pierce 1972, 320; Rees 1924, 225; see Appendix 6). The documented Ceredigion structure can be compared with the idealised information of south Wales law, which – though not identifying an occupancy figure for the 4-shareland free *tref* – specifies a total of 6 bondsmen in the 3-shareland bond *tref* (3 bondsmen in each of two of the three sharelands of a bond *tref*, with the third shareland for pasturage) (Wade-Evans 1909, 205).

The setting for these later tribute production/collection structures is the *cantref* and its *commote* subdivision (cf. W. Davies 1982, 131 for early tax collection structures); the earliest (1121) reference to the *provincia* of Cemais was noted earlier. Areas corresponding to *cantrefi* are first mentioned in the 11th century, when they are described as *pagi*, from *pagus*; the Welsh form, *pau* or Middle Welsh *peu*, is used in the 12th century, when the cantrefi of south-west Wales are first mentioned (in general terms) in a poem as the '*seith beu Dyued*' (the 'seven *pagi* of Dyfed') (Charles-Edwards 2013, 18; W. Davies 1982, 132). The earlier existence of *cantrefi* is shadowy: it is suggested that they develop gradually over the 9th to 10th centuries, linked with the collection of tribute within a system of overkingship, but the coherent Wales-wide structure of *cantrefi* may be an 11th-century royal innovation (Charles-Edwards 2013, 568; R.A. Jones 1998a 170, 175-7). There is also uncertainty about the early status and territorial extent of some of the small kingdoms that the *cantrefi* ultimately formed part of, though the picture for Dyfed is relatively clear – sources indicate the existence of the kingdom, named for its Iron Age tribe, in the 6th century AD (W. Davies 1982, 91-3, 96-8).

The *commote*, in contrast, is a much later development and is probably an administrative development of the early Norman period: references are 12th century, though there are also some 11th-century references to areas subsequently identified as *commotes* (W. Davies 1982, 132). Although idealised 13th-century north Wales laws stipulate two *commotes* per *cantref*, medieval records show that, in practice, *commote:cantref* ratios varied enormously, with two or three *commotes* per *cantref* in much of Dyfed, and eight in Cantref Gwarthaf (modern Carmarthenshire) (see Table 4.2, for sources).

Territorial evidence for pre-Conquest Cemais

There is a particular difficulty in applying this understanding of pre-Conquest Welsh territorial and administrative structures to Cemais and many other areas of south Wales. Unlike England, Wales (with the exception of some border regions) has no Domesday survey to provide a snapshot of late 11th-century social and administrative structure, and the earliest surviving complete lists of Welsh *cantrefi* and *commotes* are of late 14th- and 15th-century date. There are three of these, the earliest of which, the

Cotton MS is, from the evidence of its name forms, of 12th- or 13th-century origin, albeit via a later copy (Lloyd 1911, 280, referring to Y Cymmrodor xi, 168); the north Pembrokeshire portions are reproduced below in Table 4.2.

Cemais itself, being an early 12th-century marcher lordship, has no post-Conquest surveys like those made for Edward I in 13th-century north Wales. This, and the very limited pre-Conquest sources, means that the internal structure of pre-Conquest Cemais has to be pieced together from later medieval documentation. In the pages that follow, this documentation will be analysed for three strands: (1) evidence for major territorial divisions; (2) evidence for the lands used to directly support the Prince on his visits (the equivalent of medieval demesne); (3) evidence for territorial/tribute producing units within the *commote*.

Evidence for the commote

The Cotton MS and one of the other two sources indicate that Cemais was divided into two *commotes*, *Uwch* (Upper) and *Is* (Lower) *Neuer* or Nevern. The third and latest source (Hengwrt MS 34 of c.1450) presents different information, listing three rather than two *commotes* for Cemais and the adjacent *cantrefi* of Emlyn and Pebidiog.

Table 4.2: North Pembrokeshire commotes (from sources given in Lloyd 1911, 280)

Cantref	COMMOTES		
	Source 1: **Cotton MS Domitian A VIII, Fos 119-120, printed in Evans 1910, 940-44** *15th century (?c.1400) text of probable 12th-13th century origin*	Source 2: **Jesus College MS 111, Fol 90v: 'The Red Book of Hergest'** *After 1382/c.1400*	Source 3: **Hengwrt MS 34, f68-9/ Peniarth MS 50, printed Y Cymmrodor. ix. 1888, 326-31** *c.1450*
CEMAIS Kemeys (source 1)/ Cemeis (source 2)/ Kemeis (source 3)	Huch Neuer	Uch Neuer	Uwch Neuer
	Hisneuer	Is Neuer	Is Neuer
			Tref draeth.
EMLYN Henlyn (source 1)/ Emlyn (source 2 & 3)	Huch Cuch	Uch Cuch	Uwch Kuwch
	His Cuch	Is Cuch	Is Kuwch
			Eluet
PEBIDIOG Pebidiaug (source 1)/ Pebideawc (source 2)/ Pabidyawc (source 3)	Munwe	Meneu	Mynyw
	Penkaer	Pennkaer	Penkaer
			Pebidyawc
DAUGLEDDAU Unnamed (source 1)/ Deugledyf (source 2) / Deu Gledyf (source 3)	Llauhuadeyn	Llan y Hadein	Llanehadein
	Castel Guys	Castell Hu	Kastell gwis

The three-*commote* structure is copied closely in other later lists, like the 1543 Hengwrt 352/Peniarth 163 'Gruffydd Hiraethog' manuscript (Hengwrt 352). It can be seen c.1600 in the work of George Owen, who says that 'in auncient tyme' (implicitly, before the arrival of the Normans) the *cantref* of Cemais had three *commotes* (Figure E2):

- ***Uwch (Upper) Nevern*** – Cemais south of the river Nevern, between the rivers Taf and west Clydach; parishes of Whitchurch, Llanfyrnach, Meline supra Nevern, south Nevern, Mynachlogddu, Llangolman, Llandeilo, Maenclochog, Henry's Moat, Castlebythe, Pontfaen, Morvil, Llanychaer, Little Newcastle, Puncheston.
- ***Is (Lower) Nevern*** – between the river Nevern and the sea to the north; parishes of St Dogmaels, Monington, Moylgrove, Bayvil, north Nevern, Llanfair Nantgwyn, Eglwyswrw, Meline sub Nevern, part of Bridell.
- ***Trefdraeth*** – everything between the West Clydach river and the sea, following the course of the river Gwaun and Nant y Gof; parishes of Newport, Dinas, Capel Mihangel, Llanychllwydig, Llanllawer, Fishguard, Llanfairnantygof.

(Source: G. Owen 1862, 135; 1897, 497-8)

Post-Conquest/high medieval period

A different structure is indicated for the post-Conquest period, both by medieval records and by George Owen, who says that 'when it was won by Martin de Turribus, and became a barony, it was divided into twenty knights' fees, thirty-four plough lands, and four boroughs' (G. Owen 1862, 135; 1897, 496-7). No 12th-century documentation survives to verify this statement, but this structure is reflected in late 13th- and 14th-century charters and chancery records that identify knights fees (*feodum* – parish-sized feudal units) and additional ploughlands (*carucatum*) occupied either by English knights (as subinfeudated manors) or by groups of Welsh freeholders (in areas where Welsh laws of partible inheritance prevailed), as well as Norman-established boroughs (see R.R. Davies 1987, 94-6, 282-4, 419-25 for a discussion of 13th-14th governance in the Welsh marches) (Figure E3).

The Welsh freeholders are mentioned in three *cantref*-wide lists – the 1278 'Free Men of Cemais' trade charter, which lists, fee by fee, representatives of all Welsh and Anglo-Norman landholders of free status; the 1326/7 Inquisition Post Mortem of William Martin, Lord of Cemais, which records which fees were held under either English or Welsh law; and the 1327/1337 'Homage tenant de Kemeys' (View of Frankpledge; the date is ambiguous) which gives the names of the Welsh freeholders from each fee (CIPM 1910, 448-9; G. Owen 1862, 57-60, 88-9) (Appendix 8).

The 1278 and 1326/7 lists of fees and ploughlands are shown on following pages, following the sequence of the 1278 charter. It will be seen that the 1278 and 1326 lists are not wholly consistent. Three fees – Llanychaer, Nant Marchan and Dinas – are mentioned in the 1326/7 Inquisition Post Mortem but are not named in the 1278 charter, possibly because the 1278 charter is a record of freemen: if no freemen had their primary residences in a fee, we cannot expect it to have signatories. There is evidence suggesting that at least two of these three fees were areas of unfree settlement: most of the early forms of the Llanychaer place-name contain the element *caeth* ('bondman, serf'), while the post-medieval tenurial and settlement patterns of both Dinas and Llanmerchan (small hamlets of customary tenants on land largely held by Welsh gentry who are domiciled elsewhere) hint at semi-servile medieval populations (Charles 1992, 94; Comeau 2012a, 42; G. Owen 1977, 27, 30-1). It should be noted that the 1278 charter does list fees (for instance, Bayvil) where both servile tenancies and resident freeholders are known (F. Jones 1984; G. Owen 1977, 50-2).

In addition, several of the fees mentioned in the 1278 charter are not recorded in 1326/7 and are presumably either subsumed within other 1326/7 fees or are extraneous to the structure recorded in 1326/7, which – therefore – perhaps to some extent rationalises the earlier picture. These are Vagwrfran (in Puncheston parish), Castlebythe and Morvil, all in the Puncheston area which is discussed below; Fishguard, given to the Abbot of St Dogmaels in 1268 and therefore included under either his 1326/7 portion of Cefnllymwith or under Casia (Appendix 8) (H. Owen 1902, 20 for dating; Pritchard 1907, 49-52); and a group of unspecified English and Welsh ploughlands (carucates) which are named c.1600 (Figure E3; G. Owen 1897, 495-6, 504). Since these ploughlands are not part of fees, they probably post-date establishment of the fee structure, perhaps as enclosures of cleared woodland or former shared pasture (R.R. Davies 1987, 150, 159-60; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 443-4, 454-5).

The 1278 and 1326/7 fees largely correspond in name to post-medieval parishes, though closer examination reveals that territorial extents are sometimes different. The example of the freeholders listed under the Welsh fee of Puncheston in the 1327 View of Frankpledge is the most striking: they include Welsh freeholders at Castlebythe and Llanfyrnach (Dyffryntha), both of which are listed as separate fees in the 1278 charter and become separate medieval parishes. Llanfyrnach (Dyffryntha) itself is listed in 1326/7 as an English fee held by an English knight. The allocation of Llanfyrnach's Welsh freeholders to the Welsh fee of Puncheston was presumably an administrative device to ensure that their affairs were dealt with under the correct (Welsh) legal system, Llanfyrnach itself being an English knight's fee and (judging by its 13267 Inquisition Post Mortem listing) administered as an Anglo-Norman manor. These

arrangements reflect the fact that Cemais, like other medieval marcher lordships, had separate Welsh and English administrative and legal structures that had to contend with intermingled landholdings with shared rights to pasture and woodland (R.R. Davies 1987, 130, 155-6, 420; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 446-9; cf. Figure G3). The territorial limits represented by later parish boundaries are a poor way of comprehending the overlapping use-rights that structured medieval (and earlier) landscapes.

Table 4.3: the 1278 and 1326/7 lists of fees and ploughlands (CIPM 1910, 448-9; G. Owen 1862, 57-60, 88-9)

Map no	Name			Identity: English (E) or Welsh(W)		14c-16c demesne presence?	Comment
	1278 fee	*1326/7 fee*	*16c/modern*	1278 1	1326/7 2		
1	*Novo castro*	New Castle	Newcastle	E	E		
2	*Punchardon*	Ponchardon	Puncheston	E	W	Y	16c parish; medieval links with Morvil and Castlebythe – see below
3	*Magoervaran*	*Not on 1326 list*	Vagwrfran (in Puncheston parish)	E		possibly	Settlement in Puncheston parish
4	*Castelhugh*	*Not on 1326 list*	Castlebythe	E		N	16c parish; medieval links with Puncheston and Morvil – see below
5	*Morvill*	*Not on 1326 list*	Morvil	W?		N	16c parish; medieval links with Puncheston and Castlebythe – see below
6	*Mota Henrici*	Henryismote/ Henrymote	Henry's Moat	E	E	N	16c parish
7	*Kevenlumwith*	Kenthlumuth/ Kenthlminith	Cefnllymwith	W	E	Y	In Fishguard parish, south-east of the town ('lost' place-name)
8	*Munut Melyn*	Menuth Melyn/ Menith Melyn	Mynydd Melyn	W	W	N	In Llanychllwydog parish
9	*Eiskergenon*	Trefgenon (joint fee with Nantgwyn)	Eskairgynon	W	W	N	Near Tregynon & Cilgwyn in Nevern parish
10	*Trefwern*	Trewern	Trewern	W	W	N	One of the 'quarters' of Nevern parish

11	*Melineu*	Melynuth/ Melynuith/ Melynnith	Meline	W	W	N	16c parish
12	*Egloswen*	Egluswen	Whitchurch/ Eglwyswen	W	W	N	16c parish
13	*Diffrintave*	Dyffryntha	Dyffryntaf (Llanfyrnach)	W	E	N	16c parish
14	*Nantgwin*	Nantgwyn (joint fee with Trefgenon)	Llanfair Nantgwyn	W	W	N	16c parish
15	*Egloisserou*	Eglysroun/ Eglisyroun	Eglwyswrw	E & W	E	Y	16c parish. Demesne acquired after late 13c/early 14c
16	*Bayvill*	Bayvill	Bayvil	W	W	Y	16c parish
17	*Grana Matildis*	Molde Grove	Moylgrove	W	W	Y	16c parish
18	*Gr' de Manetu'*	Manyngton	Monington	E & W	E	N	16c parish
19	*Cacia*	Cassia	Casia	W	E	N	Southern part of St Dogmaels parish
20	*Maenclochaug*	Maynclozhock/Ma ynthghock	Maenclochog	W	E	N	16c parish
21	*Fissingard*		Fishguard	W		N	16c parish
22	*Pontvaen*	Pontfayn/ Pontfaen	Pontfaen	W	W	N	16c parish
	Karucatis Anglorum	*Not on 1326 list*	The English ploughlands	E		N	17 are listed c.1600: Coedywynog (2); Morvil (5); Colston (5); Blacknock (4); Farthings Hook (1). (G. Owen 1897, 495)
	Karacatis Wallenciu'	*Not on 1326 list*	The Welsh ploughlands	W		N	17 are listed c.1600: Morva (8), Cilgwyn (4), Llanerchybleiddi (1), Brithdir (1), Trewreithig (2), Burnaghes well and Budloy (1). (G. Owen 1897, 495)
23	*not on 1278 list*	Landyrkayth	Llanychaer		E	N	16c parish
24	*not on 1278 list*	Nant Marzhan	Nant marchan		W	N	Part of Llanychllwydog parish
25	*not on 1278 list*	Dynas	Dinas		W	N	16c parish

[1] *'English/Welsh' based on surnames of witnesses to 1278 charter*

[2] *'English/Welsh' based on 1326/7 division into English and Welsh fees*

Table 4.4: Cemais: the high/ late medieval administrative structure described by George Owen c.1600 (G. Owen 1862, 135; 1897, 495-6).
Cf. 1326/7 structure of 20 knights fees, of which 8 were held by English knights or ecclesiasts and 11 by Welsh freeholders (CIPM 1910, 448-9)

	DEMESNE – **lands directly held by the Lord of Cemais**	**CEMAIS HIGH COURT**		**'OTHER' FEES**
		SERVICE **divided into two geographical divisions, Upper and Lower Cemais**		The freehold portions of the Barony's demesne manors
		High fee: Not subinfeudated; accountable directly to High Court.	**Mean tenure:** Subinfeudated areas with manorial courts held by English knights	
Castles/ boroughs	1 castle: Newport	2 boroughs: Newport (280 burgages); Nevern (18 burgages)	2 boroughs: Fishguard and St Dogmael	
Manors/ knights fees (most of which are mentioned in 1278 and 1326/7)	4 or 5 areas served by manorial courts, with varying names in records: (1) Cilrhydd/ Bayvil/Moylgrove; (2) Carn Defio/Puncheston/ Redwalls; (3) Cefnllymwith; (4) (Little) Newcastle; also (5) Eglwyswrw from late 13c/early 14c **DETAILED IN 1594 EXTENT**	8 fees containing Welsh freeholders with no local/manorial courts: Trewern, Meline, Whitchurch, Nantgwyn & Tregynon; Mynydd Melyn; Nantmarchan; Dinas; Pontfaen. **DETAILED IN 1594 EXTENT.**	8 English knights fees: Casia (& Granant); Maenclochog; Monington; Llanychaer; Henry's Moat; Castlebythe*; Dyffryntaf (Llanfyrnach); Puncheston*; Cefnllymwith (half a fee); Nigra grangia (Mynachlogddu) half a fee. *Castlebythe and Puncheston also have Welsh-law tenants*	4 or 5 areas with manorial courts, including Newcastle, Eglwyswrw, Bayvil, Moylgrove **DETAILED IN 1594 EXTENT**
Other lands including ploughlands. Ploughlands are mentioned in the 1278 'Free Men of Cemais' charter but not in 1326/7	Various properties including wastes and commons	17 plough lands: Morva (8), Cilgwyn (4), Llanerchybleiddi (1), Brithdir (1), Trewreithig (2), Burnaghes well and Budloy (1). Includes some lands held by English knights – e.g. Morva (Charles 1948/Owen Bk II).	17 plough lands: Coedywynog (2); Morvil (5); Colston (5); Blacknock (4); Farthings Hook (1). All linked to the English knights fees	
Patronage of churches	6 churches, listed in 1326/7 as Nevern, Newport, Llanychwlydog, Puncheston, Dinas and 'a moiety' of Meline	6 churches: not named by George Owen	6 churches: Morvil, Maenclochog, Llandeilo, Llanychaer, Henry's Moat, Castlebythe (BK 40)	

Later medieval/16th century

There are also – after the period of Table 4.3's records - references to two sub-divisions of Cemais described by George Owen as 'bailiwicks'; these are shown in Table 4.4. Each was regulated by a *bidell* (beadle), the bailiff successor to a pre-Conquest official called a *rhingyll* who, under Welsh law, collected dues from freeholders for the Receiver or Chamberlain of the commote; by 1399 this was the *locumtenens* (steward) of Cemais (G. Owen 1862, 90, 93-8; 1977, 22, 31; Rees 1924, 99). They are often referred to by their relationship to the river Clydach/Cleudach, a tributary of the river Nevern which runs along the south-eastern edge of Newport parish: hence Alter /Upper/Supra Clydach (Cleudach) or Upper Cemais/Kemes Supra/Uwchmynydd ('above the mountains'); and Sub/Lower Clydach (Cleudach) or Lower Cemais/Kemes Infra/Ismynydd ('below the mountains') (G. Owen 1977, 37; 1897, 498, 504). As Figures E2 and E3 show, these bailiwicks cover significantly different areas to the pre-Conquest commotes. The first references to the bailiwicks appears in some of the earliest surviving accounts of the Steward of Cemais for the years 1394, 1398 and 1399, and they are still in use two centuries later (Appendix 12). These bailiwicks, it should be noted, are geographical – territorial – divisions of the landscape, and are cut across by the legal/administrative structure of late medieval Cemais, which treated landholders and tenants not by geographical location but by status and tenure - whether they were subject to Welsh or English law, or were demesne tenants.

Discussion: major territorial divisions

Two types of pre-Conquest territorial unit are recorded in Cemais, the *commote* and the *maenor*.

Commotes

Three key points about *commote* structure emerge from information about pre-Conquest and later medieval divisions of Cemais. The first is that the 'Upper/Lower Nevern' terminology, used in the Welsh *commote/cantref* lists and in George Owen's description of pre-Conquest Cemais, is not used in local administration of the 14th to 16th centuries, when the geographical divisions or bailiwicks are named as either Upper/Lower Cemais, Uwch/Ismynydd (Above/Below the Mountains) or Above/Below Cleudach (Clydach), and administration is conducted within a complex court structure that cuts across the geographical divisions. The second is that the territorial areas of these late medieval Cemais divisions are significantly different to those of pre-Conquest Upper and Lower Nevern, even allowing for the complicating factor of a putative third pre-Conquest *commote*, Trefdraeth. The third is the existence of two

alternative structures, of either two or three *commotes*, for pre-Conquest Cemais, divided primarily by the river Nyfer/Nevern, with much of the *cantref's* seasonal pasture in the hilly zones of Uwch Nyfer, and (as will be seen) the homes of the Welsh elite in the coastal and riverine settings of Is Nyfer. The *Is*/'lower' place-name element indicates the most important commote (G.R.J. Jones 1994, 90; Richards 1964, 9-14).

Points (1) and (2) present the possibility that – though it is commonly assumed that the administrative arrangements of Marcher lordships like Cemais frequently preserve pre-Conquest arrangements – this might not entirely be the case here. There does, at the very least, seem to have been some post-Conquest rearrangement of structures of governance, and the most likely period for this would seem to be the 13th century, when the court structure of Marcher lordships (and division into English and Welsh areas of governance) is known to have developed (R.R. Davies 1987, 283). There is nonetheless the possibility of some pre-Conquest roots to the smaller units – the fees/manors – which made up these new structures, as will be examined later in this chapter.

What, though, of point (3), the pre-Conquest *commotes*: why are there two alternative structures? Given the particularly late (c.1450) date of the three-*commote* list, might it be an invention of the late medieval period, which betrays itself through its perceived pre-eminence of the planted Norman town of Newport (Trefdraeth)? Against this can be set the list's use of the Welsh name Trefdraeth ('beach/shore township'), which bears no relation to the name of the Norman town and is first recorded in 1215 in the Welsh Annals; it may well represent a pre-existing name for the area. Indications of a nearby pre-Conquest focal zone are considered in Chapters 6 and 7.

Whether or not the three-*commote* structure is a late medieval invention, there is the fundamental point that the institution of the *commote* is first specifically recorded in the 12th century, the period of the protracted conquest of Cemais, and it cannot therefore be presumed that a highly developed administrative structure involving *commotes* was in place before the Normans arrived. Indeed, as already noted, the period 1150-1250, well after the Norman arrival, is a key period of development of native Welsh administration, with reforms in Deheubarth linked to its ruler Lord Rhys, who took back control of part of Cemais during the 1160s to 1190s. Any such reforms should therefore be distinguished from early medieval ('pre-Conquest') arrangements. Direct evidence for them is, in any case, limited: Cemais has no documented references to *gwestfa* and only one reference to a *gwely*, on its easternmost extremity at Llanfyrnach (as noted earlier), though some Rhysian element in the fee structure remains possible.

The maenor

One *maenor* is identified, at Llandeilo Llwydarth which corresponds to the Anglo-Norman manor of Maenclochog. This was presumably a royal gift to the church, like other recorded early medieval *maenorau*, and therefore composed of the bond *trefi* that commonly feature in early medieval ecclesiastical charters (Figure C3). Another ecclesiastical *maenor* is probably represented by the similar-sized lands of St Dogmaels/Cassia and its appendant territory at Mynachlogddu (Figure C4). Further early medieval donations to the church are represented by the pre-Conquest St Davids lands (see below) at Llantwd, Monington, Moylgrove and Fishguard/Cefnllymwith: lack of pre-Conquest records obscures pre-Conquest arrangements, but the general patterns identified in the Llandaff charters suggest the likelihood that these are *tref*/*villa*-level units rather than *maenorau* (Appendix 2). There are no records of the large free *maenorau* whose freeholders were involved in the *gorfodtref* dispute-settling mechanism, though they presumably existed. The only recorded units of approximately similar scale are the Conquest-period *commotes*, which prompts the question of whether they are related.

Some sense of possible freeholder *maenorau* (whose *trefi* cannot be assumed to be contiguous) is provided by quantifying pre-1500 settlement place-names within the geographical areas of the three pre-Conquest Cemais *commotes* identified by George Owen: Trefdraeth, Uwch (Upper) Nevern, and Is (Lower) Nevern (Appendix 15). Approximate numbers of medieval freeholder settlements in each of these three areas were assessed by excluding settlement place-names on Lord of Cemais demesne (including Newport borough), and in manors held pre-Conquest by St Davids/St Dogmaels. The remaining settlements are likely to be those of freeholders or their dependent tenants, though they may include some pre-Conquest *clas* land. Other caveats are noted below.

These calculations produce the following analyses:

Table 4.5: potential representation of freeholder settlements among pre-1500 place-names

'Commote' area	Total number of pre-1500 names	Total number of geolocated pre-1500 names	Potential freeholder settlements among these
Newport/Trefdraeth	22	18	9
Lower /Is Nyfer	90	57	17
Upper/Uwch Nyfer	77	56	43

This assessment is clearly very crude and the estimates may be wildly incorrect, given the source data used: although topographic and minor place-names have been excluded, place-names may refer to *rhandir*/sharelands rather than *trefi* themselves, which (if place-names are assumed to refer to *trefi*) will overestimate *trefi* numbers, while gaps in records may lead to omission of *trefi*. Some freeholders, as noted earlier, also held land in demesne areas, which this calculation does not allow for.

Some light is shed on the question of whether 'settlements' represent *trefi* or *rhandiroedd* (sharelands) by comparing known medieval ploughlands with pre-1500 settlements in the same areas, and assessing the results against the Welsh law standard of three or four ploughlands/sharelands/*rhandir*/*modii* to the *tref*.

Table 4.6: Pre-1500 place-names and ploughland locations compared

Area (fee/manor)	Ploughlands (see Chapter 4 for demesne ploughlands and Chapter 5 case studies for Dinas and Bayvil ploughlands). A bovate is a twelfth of a Cemais ploughland (G. Owen 1897, 368). Figures marked * refer to Lord of Cemais demesne only; freeholder ploughlands in these cases are unknown.	Pre-1500 geolocated settlement names (Appendix 4)
Bayvil	9 bond, 3 free (13c-16c; total of 1594)	12 (excluding minor names)
Cefnllymwith	3* (1392)	2
Dinas	4 (14c-16c)	4, of which 2 relate to the same ploughland
Eglwyswrw	5* (1392)	5
(Little) Newcastle	2 bovates* (1392)	2 (excluding seasonal settlement)
Morvil/Redwalls/ Puncheston	4* (1392)	3 (excluding seasonal settlement)
Moylgrove	3 bovates* (1423)	4

The close correspondence in most cases suggests that settlement place-names often relate to ploughlands rather than to whole *trefi*/townships, and the calculations of Table 4.6 must therefore be considered with caution. There may be up to four times as many pre-1500 settlement place-names as there are *trefi*, and the 43 potential freeholder settlements in Uwch Nyfer may (given 4 *rhandir* to the free *tref*) represent as few as 11 *trefi*. Trefdraeth and Is Nyfer, with a combined 26 potential freeholder settlements, may represent as few as 7 *trefi*, though these figures exclude the pre-1500 place-names for areas of known freeholder settlements in Moylgrove and Bayvil, of which there are at least 3 at Moylgrove and 7 at Bayvil (Appendix 13), bringing numbers up to 36 – the equivalent of at least 9 freeholder *trefi*. These figures therefore support the possibility that the Cemais '*commote*' divisions may correspond to two large freeholder *maenorau*, one in the north and one in the south, and composed of non-contiguous *trefi*. The analysis in Appendix 15 also suggests that – if many pre-1500 settlement

place-names represent *rhandiroedd* rather than *trefi* – many of the parishes deriving from fees (*feodis*) represent only single *trefi*, given the preponderance of parishes with only one, two or three pre-1500 place-names (almost all surviving as 19th-century settlements).

We can therefore conclude that while a 12th-century Norman presence makes it unlikely that the Cemais pre-Conquest structure featured the contemporary innovations of the *commote*, *gwestfa* or *gwelyau*, there is evidence for *maenorau*, *trefi* and *rhandiroedd*. To better understand these, we need to turn our attention to some core pre-Conquest elements: the lands that directly supported the Welsh Prince, and local-level tribute producing units.

Discussion: lands that directly supported the pre-Conquest Prince

Identifying the medieval demesne lands of the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais is essential to identifying and understanding pre-Conquest structures, since research in other areas of Wales demonstrates considerable continuity between pre-and post-Conquest demesne, and the relationship between pre-Conquest demesne lands of the *maerdref* and the hall/*llys* of the Lord or Prince is well established (R.R. Davies 1978, 109-110, 380-1; Johnstone 1997; G.R.J. Jones 2000; Rees 1924, 199-201). The available evidence for demesne is summarised below and shown in Figure D5(B):

Table 4.7: Analysis of evidence and summary table of references to the manors annexed to Newport Castle (for references, see Appendix 12)

MANOR	1383	1389	1392	1394	1398	1399	1423a	1423b	1424	1523	1542a	1542b	c1600a	c1600b
Eglwyswrw	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cilrhydd	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓					
Bayvil		✓		✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moylgrove		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Redwalls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓					
Carn Deifo										✓		✓		
Puncheston													✓	✓
Cefnllymwith	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Newcastle		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

The earliest references to the demesne of the Lord of Cemais appear in late 14th-century Steward's accounts and post-mortem assessments of estates (Appendix 12). The first 'Extent' appears in a 1325 Inquisition Post-Mortem, and focusses on the demesne lands around Newport castle and borough; it lacks references to specific locations and is therefore of limited use. The earliest detailed accounts are in 1392/3, and record demesne in Eglwyswrw, Redwalls, Cilrhydd and Cefnllymwydd of 2 messuages, 3 mills, 12 carucates of arable, 8 acres of meadow, 270 acres of wood, 20 shillings and 1 penny of rents, with appurtenances:

'Haec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini regis coram Roberto de Cherlton etc. (justices), int*er* Will*elmu*m Stretehay, Thom*as* Thikenes, etc. (plaintiffs) et Rog*eru*m Hillary militem et Margaretam ux*ore*m ejus (defendants) de medietate castri, man*er*ii, ville, comoti, et do*mi*nii de Neuport in Kemmeys, cu*m* pertin*entiis*, et duo*rum* mesuagio*rum*, triu*m* molendino*rum*, duodecim caracata*rum* te*r*re, octo acra*rum* prati, ducenta*rum* et sexaginta et decem acra*rum* bosci, et viginti solidata*rum* et unius denarate reddit*uum* cu*m* pertin*entiis* in Eglewysyrowe, Redewalles, Kylrede, et Kyuenllymwyd…' (G. Owen 1862, 90; extended abbreviations shown in italics).

Thirty years later, in 1423/4 (ibid, 79-81), Moylegrove and Newcastle are added to the list: constitution of the demesne changes over time, with a range of alternative names designating some areas.

Eglwyswrw demonstrates this changing constitution. Although it is a constant part of the demesne from the time of the earliest 1383 record, Eglwyswrw may only have become part of the Anglo-Norman demesne in 1308-9 when William Cantingdon sold 5 ploughlands and tenements in 'Eglosseram' and 'Penkethly' to David Martin, Bishop of St Davids, who was a younger son of Nicholas FitzMartin, Lord of Cemais (Miles 1997, 27-8; G. Owen 1897, 458). By 1326/7, David's half-brother Robert Martin is Lord of Eglwyswrw, Newcastle and Cefn Llymwith – all listed as demesne lands from 1383 onwards (CIPM 1910, 448-9). According to a note of 1583, the Barony's demesne lands at (Little) Newcastle, Cefnllymwith, and Redwalls similarly derived from the Cantingdon family, who had acquired them via the dowry of a daughter of Lord Rhys – presumably during Lord Rhys' late 12th-century control of Cemais (G. Owen 1977, 39). There is no documentary corroboration of this marriage, though there may be some significance in the fact that the death of 'William Canton of Cemais' in 1230 merits mention in medieval Welsh chronicles (T. Jones 1952, 101). If these lands did originate in a princely dowry, they possibly represent pre-Conquest royal demesne, and – interestingly – this is specifically indicated by some of Eglwyswrw's 16th-century services (see below).

Bayvil on the other hand can be clearly identified from 1273 onwards as part of the demesne of the Lord of Cemais: a charter in that year releases certain of his Bayvil tenants from villein labour services and requires them to do mill service like its free tenants (G. Owen 1862, 51-2). A court roll of 1382/3 and a rent roll of 1469/70 record its administration as a demesne manor, and an Extent of 1594 records a bond township (NLW Bronwydd 57 & 65; G. Owen 1977, 43).

Despite this, Bayvil is not included in the 1392/3 and 1423/4 documents, either due to some temporary alienation, or perhaps because it is – in some manner - represented

by the entries for Cilrhydd, which appear in the years when Bayvil is missing: the two areas may have been linked administratively. Cilrhydd can be identified as demesne woodland (Coed Cilrhydd) and other scattered holdings to the east of Newport, in the area of Pentre Ifan; the family of the pre-Conquest *maer* also held lands here (Charles 1948, 274; Charles 1992, 134; F. Jones 2001, 42). Moylgrove's pattern of inclusion suggests that it too may sometimes have been incorporated in the conglomerate Cilrhydd-Bayvil area: the manors of Bayvil and Moylgrove are adjacent and shared the same 14th-century court roll and pattern of gatherings (NLW Bronwydd 65 of 1382) (Table 5.5).

Carn Deifo, Puncheston and Redwalls similarly refer to adjacent but separate areas in post-medieval records. It is likely that their occurrences in medieval demesne records are all references to the same area since, like Bayvil and Cilrhydd, they never appear in the same lists. This likelihood is supported by the 1327/1337 View of Frankpledge which - as noted above - indicates that the 14th-century Welsh fee of Puncheston included Welsh freeholders from an area much larger than the modern parish, some of them freeholders from a separate area (Llanfyrnach) held as an English knights fee. Morvil (site of an early Norman victory over the Welsh) is another interchangeable name for this area, appearing in records relating to the area's major 13th-century landholder, the Anglo-Norman Robert de Vale and his de Roche successor – de Vale's fair charter for Morvil actually refers to Redwalls (Isaacson 1917, 24-5; G. Owen 1862, 27, 75-6). The cumulative impression is that some parish- and site-specific post-medieval names, like Puncheston, Morvil and Redwalls, may in the medieval period have referred to much wider zones of intermingled holdings.

It will be useful at this point to consider the constitution of these demesne lands and services. The nature of demesne services is of particular relevance since some elements are also known to characterise the pre-Conquest bond tenancies that are observed frequently to precede Anglo-Norman demesne manors (R.R. Davies 1978, 378-91; Rees 1924, 171). One example of this is the carriage of timber and firewood by some gale tenants - gale/gafolman/*gabularius* (cf. Welsh *gafael* and medieval Latin *gavella*, a holding) being a generic term for the tenant of a virgate or bovate, which in south-west Wales is applied both to bond-type customary tenants and to the tenancies-at-will that succeeded them; gale tenancies constituted most of the 16th-century Cemais demesne (Howells 1987, 63-5; G. Owen 1977, 85; Rees 1924, 150, 175) (Appendix 13).

Demesne areas and services

Table 4.8: Demesne - estate elements

Map E3 key	MANOR	Arable (carucates/ploughlands unless otherwise stated)	Mills	Woodland (acres)
A	Eglwyswrw	5 (1392)	1 (1392)	250 (1392)
B	Cilrhydd	none listed	none listed	none listed
C	Bayvil	12 (9 bond, 3 free) (1594)	1 (1278)	60 (1594)
D	Moylgrove	3 bovates (1423)	1 (1594)	200 (early 12th century)
E	Redwalls (E1); Carn Deifo (E2); Puncheston (E3)	4 (1392)	1 (1392)	none listed
F	Cefnllymwith	3 (1392)	1 (1392)	20 (1392)
G	Newcastle	2 bovates (1392)	none listed	none listed

Table 4.9: Demesne - services (for gale tenants unless otherwise specified; no data is available for Cilrhydd, Little Newcastle or Cefnllymwith)

	Number of days' service annually per tenant OR (shown by ticks) shared service (from 1594 Extent: G. Owen 1977, 38-76)				
	Eglwyswrw (24 tenants[1])	Bayvil – gale (13 tenants)	Bayvil – bond (24 tenants)	Moylegrove (3 or 4 tenants)	Redwalls (5 tenants)
Ploughing	2	1	-	1	-
Harrowing	2	1	-	1	-
Reaping	3	1	-	1	1
Binding	1	-	-	-	-
Carriage of harvested corn	2	1	-	-	-
Carriage of lime	1	-	-	-	1
Carriage of manure	-	1	-	1	-
Weeding	1	-	-	-	-
Cutting and carrying firewood	3	3	-	-	-
Harvesting and carrying hay	1	1	-	✓	-
Thatching mill	✓	-	-	-	-
Cleaning mill leet	✓	-	✓	-	-
Carrying timber and stone to repair mill	✓	-	✓	-	-
Agistement or herbage – keeping lord's cattle in summer	-	-	-	-	✓
Maintaining common pound	✓ (all tenants)	✓ (all tenants)	✓ (all tenants)	✓ (all tenants)	-
Unspecified forest privileges	-	-	-	✓	-

Table 4.10: Demesne - miscellaneous charges, levied on gale tenants unless otherwise specified. No information available for Cilrhydd, Little Newcastle or Cefnllymwith.

	Eglwyswrw (24 tenants[1])	Bayvil – gale (13 tenants)	Bayvil – bond (24 tenants)	Moylegrove (3 or 4 tenants)	Redwalls (5 tenants)
Plough-money or arian eredig[2]	✓	-	-	-	-
Rent of oats, called 'Kyl March'[3]	✓	-	-	-	-
Hen rent[4]	✓	✓	-	1	1
Way money/pecunia vie/ arian y vidir[5]	✓	-	-	-	-
Using lord's mill and paying a corn toll	-	-	✓	-	-
Royal heriot/best beast/ turf or cash heriot (death payment)	-	✓	✓	✓	-
Communal bond rent	-	-	✓	-	-

[1] Made up of 18 core tenements plus 6 tenants holding miscellaneous pieces of ex demesne land

[2] Paid by 20 tenants (the 18 tenements plus demesne gafael holdings)

[3] Paid by the 18 tenements that made up the manor

[4] Paid by 20 tenants in Eglwyswrw

[5] Paid by certain tenants for having a way through the lord's land

The tables above summarise the available information, much of which is derived from the 1594 Extent (Appendix 13); little detailed evidence is provided by the medieval sources, which are given in Appendix 12. In the table of estate elements (Table 4.8), acreages are assumed to be statute English measures (cf. Charles 1948, 268) - the north Pembrokeshire customary acre was equivalent to 2.11 statute acres (Howells 1955-6, 318). The year given is when the estate element is first noted. No data on estate elements is available for Puncheston or Carn Deifo, which are assumed to be subsumed within the Redwalls information.

The first point to observe is that by the 16th century all demesne tenants held gale or customary tenancies, some of which, as already noted, may have unfree or bond origins. The only exception was in Bayvil, where bond tenancies survived but were held (and sublet) by aristocratic freeholders (G. Owen 1977, 41-6). The services required of gale tenants were – like many (former) bondsmen's services elsewhere in the Welsh march - characteristically light, with an emphasis on carriage and mill duties with some ploughing and harvest work (R.R. Davies 1978, 388-90). (The aristocratic 16th-century Bayvil bond tenants only had mill duties, like many Welsh freeholders elsewhere (Rees 1924, 237-8)). Carriage duties in Wales tended to fall most heavily on the unfree, and

the concentration of carriage services in Bayvil and Eglwyswrw supports other indications that both were originally areas of bond tenants. These areas are adjacent, and had large concentrations of gale and bond tenants in the 16th century (Chapter 5); arable production figured large in their services. This contrasts with 16th-century Redwalls, where care of the Lord of Cemais' livestock in the summer months appears to have been a key duty for its small group of gale tenants.

The bond origin of Eglwyswrw's tenants is also indicated by the charges for which they were liable – the *arian eredig* or 'plough money' and the *Kyl March* or 'oat rent'. *Cylch march* (*cylch stalwyn* in north Wales) is the commuted charge that replaced the earlier duty of bondsmen to care for the Prince's stallion during a progress or *cylch*; the 1594 Cemais Extent describes its purpose as maintaining the 'lord's horses', and specifies a levy of one modium of oats or 2 shillings per tenement annually, payable in equal parts in spring and autumn (G. Owen 1977, 61, 66; Thomas, Bevan and Donovan 1967). This 'Oat rent' is recorded in other south Wales Welshries, where it is paid by bond tenants to support the horse and groom of the *rhaglaw* or steward, the post-Conquest successor to the *maer* (Rees 1924, 96-8, 224; cf. 12). Payments like this, which replaced duties of practical care, are often not fully consolidated within the general commuted charges (like the Cemais Chief Rent/Rent of Assize/Extent) that replace pre-Conquest food renders (Stephenson 2014, 65-6). (Appendix 3) (Figure D2).

Figure D5(B) maps the distribution of 16th-century gale and bond tenants against the location of medieval demesne manors: there is a substantial correspondence, and the beginnings of an understanding of the structure of Conquest-period Cemais can be seen which subsequent chapters will expand on.

Discussion: territorial/tribute-producing units within the *commote/cantref*

It is now time to examine the third strand of evidence: indications of territorial/tribute production units within the *commote* and *cantref*. The existence of 13th- and 14th-century 'fees' (Figure E3) poses questions about the relationship of pre-Conquest, post-Conquest and late medieval structures: are they Anglo-Norman creations or are they in some way inherited from earlier Welsh arrangements? In Ceredigion for example, many *gwestfau* are approximately coextensive with parishes, and tended to be identified as *vills* or townships by medieval English administrators (Bezant 2009, 116; Jones Pierce 1972, 318). To gain more insight into the Cemais situation we need first to understand more about the known processes of change in the post-Conquest period.

Since no documentary records directly record the 12th-century Anglo-Norman takeover of the *cantref*, the early existence and development of its sub-commotal/bailiwick

divisions has to be traced indirectly from such 12th- and 13th-century charters as survive. These surviving documents record transfers of land to the church, and changing patterns of power can be traced both in the transfers which are the direct subject of the charters as well as in the patterns of landholding noted in the boundary clauses. Before examining these patterns, it will be useful to assess the Welsh presence in 13th- and 14th-century Cemais. Evidence for this survives in several sources: the 1243x1268 Charter of Preseli; various charters including the 1342 settlement of the estate of Owen ap Roppart ap Gourwareth, one of the descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer*, oral tradition, and the late medieval patterns of landholding that can be reconstructed from the 1594 Extent of Cemais and genealogical research (Appendices 8, 13, 14) (Charles 1948, 278-9; Leland 1906, 27; F. Jones 1979, 30-1) .

Evidence for the Welsh community, 13th-14th century

Overall, these attest to a Welsh freeholder elite who backed the Normans in 13th-century north Cemais. 14th- to 16th-century landholding patterns and genealogical research (F. Jones 1938, 1972, 1974, 1979, 1984) support oral traditions of forcible Norman takeover in the south of the cantref and negotiated retention of Welsh lands in the north: all the hereditary medieval lands of the descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* are in the north, with caputs focused on the Nevern valley (Figure D1). The north Preseli slopes above these lands are referred to in the 13th-century Commons of Preseli charter, where the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais gave this elite group rights over an extensive tract of unenclosed land for seasonal pasture, turbary and hunting (Appendix 8). They also retained the right to nominate clergy under arrangements that hint at *clas* or portionary Welsh kin-held churches (Charles 1948, 279-80). Much of north Cemais was held either by these elite Welsh freeholders or by the Lord of Cemais (Chapter 5), often as intermingled lands. By contrast, southern Cemais was largely held by Anglo-Norman knights, with areas of Welsh settlement indicated by legal designations in 13th- and 14th-century records of people's names and '*Wallis*' (Welshry) place-names (e.g. 'Redwalls') (Figures D3, E4). The only identifiable Welsh elite possessions are at Cilciffeth and Llanfyrnach and are apparently 14th-century acquisitions (F. Jones 1972, 34; 1981, 30). This is significantly different to northern Cemais, where Welsh freeholders retained substantial lands and privileges.

Evidence for the Welsh community, 16th century

'Lands and privileges' implies less advantaged individuals working the land and paying rents. 16th-century records (the 1594 Extent of Cemais and other contemporary legal records not included in the Extent, perhaps because landholders were exempt: Appendix 13), reveal great social differences among landholders. In 1594 six

descendants of the elite Welsh freeholders, together with the Lord of Cemais, controlled over half (55%) of the 504 Welsh law and demesne landholdings in Cemais. 89 freeholders and bondmen held 373 landholdings, about half (43) of these individuals having only a single landholding. The largest landholder was the Lord of Cemais, with 131 landholdings, two-thirds representing the Barony demesne lands before their engrossment by the holdings of the Owen family in the 16th century. The next six biggest landholders were descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* (see Figure D4 for a map of the 16th-century holdings of one of these, William Griffith). 80% of these 504 landholdings were tenanted, mostly by tenants of freeholders; only 14% of all landholdings were medieval demesne lands of the Lord of Cemais (Appendix 14, 16).

Table 4.11: The top 8 landholders in late 16th-century Cemais (Appendix 16)

Landholder	Residence	No. of landholdings
Lord of Cemais – pre-Owen lands	Henllys	83
Lord of Cemais – acquisitions by George Owen's family	Henllys	48
Thomas Lloid, esq	Cilciffeth, Llanychaer	38
Owen Johnes	Trecwn, Llanfair nantygof	29
Lewis Philipes, gent, by right of his wife	Pentre Evan, Nevern	26
Thomas ap Owen James	Ros y Maen, Meline	19
William Warren and Jane his wife	Treffewern (Trewern), Nevern	18
William Griffith gent	Penybenglog, Meline	16
Total landholdings held by these 8 landholders		**277**
Percentage of all 504 'Welsh-law' (non-borough, non-subinfeudated manors) Cemais landholdings held by these 8 landholders		**55%**

This picture stands in sharp contrast to that suggested by Howells, who claimed that the unpublished 1586 Extent (predecessor to the published 1594 Extent) showed that 'freeholders predominated in Welsh areas', and that the prevalence in 16th-century Cemais of small freeholders suggested a similar situation in the high medieval period (1955/6, 413, 417). Howells took his 'freeholder' figures from the 1586 Extent – without observing that these were actually figures for units of land rather than people. Re-analysis of the published 1594 Extent (similar to the 1586 Extent – Howells 1977, 4; Appendix 13) shows numbers of freeholders to have been much lower than units of land enumerated in the Extent, since many Extent freeholders held more than one unit of land, with tenants of freeholders forming the most numerous class. The table on the next page compares this analysis with Howells' figures and shows a similar picture to that expounded above (Appendix 16).

Looking at Tables 4.11 and 4.12, can we propose, like Charles, that the 16th-century picture also holds good for the high middle ages? Does it tell us anything about the pre-Conquest period? Clearly, 16th-century engrossment is represented both by George

Owen's personal lands and by those of at least one of the *maer*'s descendants, Thomas Lloyd (Comeau 2012, 33-4; F. Jones 1972). Nonetheless 14th- and 15th-century records for elite freeholders descended from the pre-Conquest *maer* show longstanding patterns in their landholding portfolios, also supported by the 13th-century Charter of Preseli (G. Owen 1862, 48; Appendix 14). Most freeholders' demesne lands seem not to have been liable for Rent of Extent – they are absent from the 16th-century Extent of Cemais, which explicitly records these charges – and this exemption would befit the lands of an official of the pre-Conquest court (Stephenson 2014, 97-8).

Table 4.12: Howell's analysis re-evaluated: tenancies (chargeable units) compared with numbers of freeholders, dependent tenants of freeholders, and gale tenants of the Lord of Cemais.

Manor or Territorial Division	M	E	NR	CS	CI
Howells: Total number of tenants, 1583	66	58	15	35	72
Howells: Number of freeholders among these, 1583	59	30	11	20 or 23	70
Howells: Number of gale tenants on demesne land of the Lord of Cemais among these, 1583	7	28	4	15 or 12	2
Re-evaluation:					
Total number of tenancies, 1594	73	64	15	35	72
Number of freehold tenancies, 1594	61	29	11	19	70
Number of freeholders holding these freehold tenancies	25	15	7	9	24
Number of resident freeholders	*12*	*8*	*4*	*4*	*12*
Number of (dependent) tenants of freeholders	**28**	**7**	**4**	**11**	**45**
Number of gale tenancies on the demesne of the Lord of Cemais, 1594	12	35	4	16	2
Number of gale tenants holding these gale tenancies	5	24	4	14	2
Total of freeholders, their tenants and L of C's demesne tenants	**58**	**46**	**15**	**34**	**71**
Dependent tenants of freeholders as proportion of all freeholders, their tenants and Lord of Cemais' demesne tenants	**48%**	**15%**	**27%**	**32%**	**64%**
Dependent tenants of freeholders and gale tenants of Lord of Cemais as proportion of all freeholders, their tenants and Lord of Cemais' demesne tenants	***57%***	***67%***	***53%***	***74%***	***66%***
Resident freeholders as proportion of all freeholders, their tenants and Lord of Cemais' demesne tenants	***21%***	***17%***	***27%***	***12%***	***17%***
Resident freeholders as proportion of freehold tenancies	**20%**	**28%**	**37%**	**21%**	**17%**

M = Moylgrove; E = Eglwyswrw; NR = Newcastle and Redwalls ; CS = Cemais Supra; CI = Cemais Infra.

The breakdown for Kemes Supra (1594 Extent) is particularly misleading because this area includes a number of exempt freeholders with large tenanted estates which are not mentioned in the Extent.

Similar dominance by a small, closely related group of *uchelwyr* is identified for 12th- and 13th-century Glamorgan by Matthew Griffith (1988/9, 194). He suggests that they are successors to 'prominent local landowners' who, throughout the early medieval period, controlled business and legal proceedings in south Wales (W. Davies 1982,

132-3; Griffith 1988/9, 198). He also notes that – as Howells has observed for Pembrokeshire – 12th- and 13th-century landholding in Welsh areas of Glamorgan was 'unmediated by the complexities of the *gwely-gafael* framework' (Griffith 1988/9, 213): there is, in other words, a 'direct evolution' from early medieval landholding that bypasses 12th- and 13th-century reforms in north Wales and Ceredigion.

Charter references indicate that 12th- and 13th-century Glamorgan *uchelwyr* made decisions on behalf of 'their men' (Griffith 1988/9, 198), indicating dependents, and the same phenomenon is identified in the 1278 Free Men of Cemais charter with its many references to the *gabularii* (customary tenants) of freemen (G. Owen 1862, 57-60). (These *gabularii*, noted above in the discussion of demesne lands and services, would in the 13th century have held their lands under a range of different customs or tenures, some of which had clear pre-Conquest origins (W. Rees 1924, 150, 174-5), They owed their lords varying combinations of payments of food or money and services that, over the course of the thirteenth century, began to be commuted to cash payments; the Free Men of Cemais charter suggests that in 1278 cash may not have been in common use among the *gabularii* of freemen (Chapter 5).) The large numbers of tenants of 16th-century descendants of some of the 13th-century 'Free men', and the extensive natures of their medieval estates suggest that 13th-century *gabularii* were similarly numerous. Indeed, numerous unfree tenants are identified in 11th-century Gwynedd, where subsequent reforms involved their transformation into freemen (R.R. Davies 1987, 120-1; W. Davies 2004, 212, referring to G.R.J. Jones 1961, 1964a and Jones Pierce 1963/1972). In Cemais this does not seem to happen: here, bondmen seem to become tenants (*gabularii*) and this is considered further in Chapter 5.

Grants to the church, 1130 onwards

The pattern of grants to the church is similarly instructive. The most revealing is the first recorded post-Conquest transfer, the 1121 charter of the Abbey of St Dogmaels. Its boundary clauses, mapped in Figure C4, identify a 12th-century monastic estate that substantially corresponds to post-medieval parishes at St Dogmaels and Mynachlogddu (Appendix 8, 9). Adjacent territories can also be identified, with boundaries coinciding with those of later manors and parishes: Llantwyd, Monington, and the lands of Hubert de Vale to the east and west of Mynachlogddu. De Vale's western lands emerge in later records as the manor of Maenclochog, comprising the parishes of Maenclochog, Llandeilo Llwydarth and Llangolman: this is the Book of Llandaff's *maenor* of Llandeilo Llwydarth, discussed further in Chapter 6. It is the only recorded *maenor* in the *cantref* – indeed, the only pre-Conquest landholding specifically identified in written sources. The de Vale land to the east is the 14th-century fee or manor of Dyffryntaf, equating to the later parish of Llanfyrnach. [A word

of caution on this information - these charters do not refer to, and should not be taken as evidence of, Norman landholding rights extending to the totality of land in these areas, and (as noted above) the 1278 charter and 1327/1337 View of Frankpledge for Puncheston and Llanfyrnach indicates that Welsh freeholders and an English knight could hold lands in the same area – quite possibly intermingled – as at Bayvil (Comeau 2012b).]

More transfers to the church - to St Dogmaels and also to the Knights Hospitaller of St John - are noted in subsequent 12th- and 13th-century charters (Figure C5). Some motivation for these donations can perhaps be discerned in early 12th-century threats of excommunication to various Anglo-Norman knights, including Robert fitzMartin, for seizure of church lands (Appendix 9; J.C. Davies 1946, 236; Rees 1840, 576).

From this information it is possible to identify a pattern of donations to favoured Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical institutions around the periphery of Cemais. It is likely that, before the Conquest, many of these lands belonged to St Davids (Figure C3). Some are named in court judgements of 1222 that require the return to St Davids of lands seized by the Normans and then (by 1222) recaptured by Welsh princes (J. Barrow 1998, 121-3, #107; Pryce 2007, 311-2). These claims, it should be noted, relate solely to lands held at that point by Welsh princes, and which were therefore feasible candidates for claims; they do not extend to lands still in the hands of Anglo-Norman knights (like Maenclochog) or transferred to other ecclesiastical institutions. Neither do they deal with the appropriated lands of other pre-Conquest ecclesiastical institutions like the *clas* church at Nevern, whose lands probably correspond to some of the Anglo-Norman holdings in that area (Figure D3). This pattern of boundary-located ecclesiastical estates is found elsewhere: in early medieval Glamorgan, similarly located church lands originate as royal gifts of the 7th to 8th centuries, and it is speculated that they may have conferred church protection on vulnerable boundaries (P. Jenkins 1988, 41).

Landholdings of Anglo-Norman knights

The landholdings of Anglo-Norman knights therefore include pre-Conquest demesne, held by fitz Martin and Cantington; what appear to be former Nevern *clas* lands claimed by Peverel, Cole, and de Hode; and former St Davids lands at Monington, Moylgrove, Fishguard, Maenclochog (Llandeilo Llwydarth) and very probably St Dogmaels (Appendix 9). The church dedications to St David in the Anglo-Norman fees of Llanychaer and Little Newcastle similarly suggest pre-Conquest St Davids interests (Appendix 5M; Figures C1, C3; H. James 2007, 54-5). The early history of the latter areas is obscure, but de Vale held land in Little Newcastle in the 13th century, as well as in the adjacent areas of Puncheston, Henry's Moat and Maenclochog, and also at

Llanfyrnach: in other words across much of southern Cemais, apart from Mynachlogddu (G. Owen 1862, 62; H. Owen 1902, 92-4, cf. 76). The St Dogmaels charters show his ancestor Hubert de Vale in possession of some of these lands in 1121, and the impression is that, at the Conquest, de Vale and FitzMartin had seized most of the lands, ecclesiastical as well as secular, in this southern area, with FitzMartin (but not de Vale) subsequently endowing a favoured ecclesiastical institution with some of the seized lands. The nature of the de Vale lands is uncertain (no medieval manorial records have survived) but it is likely that, as well as former St Davids lands, they include the lands of some of the area's vanquished Welsh freeholders and perhaps some former royal demesne, for instance at Morvil. The presence of Brynach-dedicated churches, chapels and wells in Morvil, Henry's Moat and Llanfyrnach (Appendices 5N, 5O) support an impression of former Welsh freeholder/*clas* lands. The names in the 1278 'Free Men of Cemais' charter suggest a substantial (if not necessarily exclusive) Anglo-Norman/Flemish presence in these areas.

Summing up

These historical sources suggest that the Conquest-period *cantref* of Cemais was divided into two territorial divisions or *commotes*, with a third (Trefdraeth) perhaps created at some point. Given the coincidence of the period of *commote* creation (late 11th to 12th century) with the Anglo-Norman conquest of this area, no institutional maturity of *commote* arrangements can be expected. It is possible that these *commotes* originate in large freeholder *maenorau*, defined for the purpose of dispute resolution. The only other clear evidence of an earlier territorial structure is the ecclesiastically held *maenor* at Llandeilo Llwydarth (Maenclochog), which probably consisted of bond *trefi*. It is possible that another bond *maenor* is represented by St Dogmaels, though the pattern of the Llandaff charters suggests that many of the other former St Davids lands were *trefi*-level units.

So what is the origin of the 'fees' that appear in 13th- and 14th-century records with names that often correspond to medieval parishes? The manor of Maenclochog is one of these and originates in a pre-Conquest *maenor* (Llandeilo Llwydarth), and further former pre-Conquest ecclesiastical lands and royal *maerdrefi* may lie behind some of the other Anglo-Norman fees, particularly those composed largely of dependent tenants. However, since the Conquest-period tribute/food rent payment unit of south Wales was the *tref* and its constituent *rhandir*/shareland, we might expect that *trefi* formed the basis of much of the Anglo-Norman fee structure, and the pre-1500 settlement evidence (using place-names as proxies) supports this. Whether any of the *trefi* had become *gwestfa* units under Lord Rhys in the late 12th century is an open

question. Lands taken from the church (and held as manors by individual knights) would have been slotted in as further fees, whether they were originally *trefi* or *maenorau*, though the *maenor* was not, in pre-Conquest south Wales, a tribute-payment unit in its own right. Thus the fee structure reflected different scales of pre-Conquest unit, mostly *trefi*, but incorporating at least one *maenor* at Llandeilo Llwydarth/Maenclochog, and several demesne manors which represent former *maerdrefi*, some of which, as we will see in the next chapter, had settlements larger than the standard Welsh law bond *trefi*.

The nature of landholding within these townships/*trefi* (or former *maenorau*) varied. Some areas may have been largely or exclusively occupied by bondsmen – for instance Dinas, Llanychaer, Redwalls and a substantial part of Bayvil and Eglwyswrw (Figure D5). Ploughlands and services in such areas often indicate arable production, though Redwalls was clearly focussed on seasonal pastoral activity. The medieval pattern of landholding suggests that in the northern part of Cemais, where Welsh freeholders (many descended from the pre-Conquest *maer*) retained their own hereditary lands, the lands of the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais represent a mix of confiscated former *clas* and pre-Conquest royal land. Some of this royal land had, during the 13th century, been held by the Anglo-Norman Cantingdons, who had apparently acquired it via a late 12th-century marriage into the Prince of Deheubarth's family. The pre-Conquest royal land was focussed on several specific areas. These are most clearly identifiable in the northern part of Cemais, at Bayvil, Moylgrove and Eglwyswrw. The picture is less clear in southern Cemais due to land-grabs by Anglo-Norman knights, though demesne lands can be identified around Redwalls and Little Newcastle. It is also possible to identify substantial areas of pre-Conquest ecclesiastical lands, many of them held by St Davids (Figure C3). Some of these, like Maenclochog/Llandeilo Llwydarth, may represent areas originally under royal control before donation to the church.

This picture derives from written evidence and provides only partial understanding since its top-down perspective identifies only sites significant to medieval record-keepers. It gives little sense of the relationships between sites and resources, or of the activities that structured and maintained pre-Conquest life. To move away from the static, biased schemata of medieval documents we need next to look more closely at the landscape using a wider range of data that includes archaeological sites, place-names, seasonal practices and longstanding patterns of land use.

Chapter 5.

Living off the land:
pre-Conquest agriculture and settlement

This chapter and the next consider the practices that shaped the early medieval landscape and identify elements indicative of focal zones. Most of these relate to elite activities and are considered in Chapter 6, while this chapter considers agriculture and the people who worked the land to sustain the powerful. Archaeological evidence for early medieval agriculture and economy is examined and linked with historical and place-name evidence for land use and settlement across the medieval period. The evidence reveals the importance of timing as well as of place, the 'when' as well as the 'where', and begins with a review of early medieval seasonality that reveals common patterns in both agricultural and elite activity.

Seasonal patterns: the Welsh law and historical evidence

Seasonal patterning in 12th- and 13th-century regional recensions of pre-Conquest Welsh law refers to calendrically defined activities, summarised in Table 5.1 (overleaf), Figure F1 and Appendices 1A-E.

Five types of seasonal activity can be identified: agricultural; food rents/tribute payment; legal; ceremonial (feasts); and hunting, with information relating to royal hunting and other activities of the court being clearly pre-Conquest (Charles-Edwards 2013, 271; Stacey 2000, 30; Stephenson 2000, 401). Local and wider regional evidence for the first two of these activities – agriculture and food rents/tribute payments - is considered later in this chapter, while the latter three – legal, ceremonial/feasting and hunting – are considered in Chapter 6, in the context of local evidence for polyfocal central zones. First, a general overview of these patterns is given to contextualise later detailed discussions.

References to *agriculture* (Appendix 1B) regulate times of ploughing, sowing, heath burning, use of (hay) meadows, closure of arable fields to grazing, movement of people and animals to and from summer pastures (discussed in Chapter 2), mating of animals, use of woods by pigs, post-harvest grazing of animals in open fields and meadows, and the closure of barns in winter. This information, referenced in work on Conquest-period agriculture (e.g. G.R.J. Jones 1973; C. Thomas 1975), indicates seasonal practices similar to those elsewhere in western Britain (cf. Winchester 2000), and is discussed shortly.

Table 5.1: summary of seasonal activity referred to in Welsh law; for detail and references see Appendices 1A-E.

Date	Festival (English name)	Principal activities
1 January	New Year's Day	Pigs excluded from corn land
21 January	15th day after Epiphany	Pannage ends
1 February	St Bride's Day	Deer (hind) hunting starts (alt date 1); also main (spring) ploughing
9 February		Land law closed for cultivation/sowing; plough oxen tested
17 March	St Patrick's Day	Meadows closed to animals
March, unspecified		Heath-burning from mid-March to mid-April
March/April/variable	Easter Sunday to Low Sunday	Feast
1 May	May Day	Summer food-rent due. Bondsmen and animals go to summer pastures. Arable fields closed to animals. Hind hunting begins (alt date 2)
9 May		Land law re-opens after ploughing & sowing. Cow's milking capacity tested. Hind hunting finishes (alt date 1)
May- June/ variable	Whit Sunday/Pentecost to Trinity Sunday	Feast
16 June	St Curig's Day	Hart/stag hunting begins today (alt date 1)
24 June	Nativity of St John the Baptist	Mating of mature cows begin; hind hunting ends today (alt date 2)
25 June		Stag/hart hunting begins today (alt date 2)
1 August	Lugnasad/Lammas/ St Peter's Chains	Bondsmen return to winter dwellings for harvest (N. Wales); mating of mature cows ends and of heifers begins.
9 August	Vigil of St Laurence	Land law closes for harvest
15 August	Assumption of St Mary	Mating of heifers ends
29 August	Decollation of St John the Baptist	Pigs go to the woods and to post-harvest corn fields
September/ harvest (unspecified)		Bondsmen return to winter dwellings for harvest (S. Wales)
24 September		Pannage rights begin
29 September	Michaelmas	Sheep & goats mating begins
1 November	All Saints Day/Calends of Winter	Food rent/tribute due. King's warband and court billeted on freemen and king's bondsmen. Sheep and goats mating ends. Barns closed. Meadows opened for grazing. All debts of corn to be claimed by now. Hart/stag hunting ends (alt date 1). Land law re-opens (alt date 1).
9 November		Boar hunting begins. Land law re-opens (alt date 2).
1 December	Calends of December	Hart/stag hunting ends. Boar hunting ends.
9 December		Land law re-opens after harvest (alt date 3).
25 December	Christmas to New Year	Feast.

Food rent/tribute (Appendices 1A, 3) was also regulated, its payment times – unsurprisingly - related to the seasonality of food production. Welsh law indicates that freemen's tribute/food rent was payable either once or twice a year, their winter or once yearly payments due between November 1 and 12, and any summer portions due from May 1. Bondsmen also paid twice a year, with November and May similarly signalling the start of the six-month periods when winter and summer food rents were due. Winter was also the time of circuits when bondsmen accommodated the King's court officers (though huntsmen and the *maer* might stay with them at other times), while the royal warband (*teulu*) were quartered with freemen.

The major **ceremonial** occasions (Appendix 1C) were the *Tair gŵyl arbennig*, the three special feasts of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun when repayments of debts – and presumably other everyday business - were suspended for a week (Charles-Edwards 2013, 663, n.59; D. Jenkins 1990, 76; Richards 1954, 24; Wade-Evans 1909, 233). References to *Nos Calan* (New Year) celebrations in early medieval Welsh poetry and mythology hint at longstanding traditions of midwinter feasting (Hutton 1997, 8). The praise-poem *Edmyg Dinbych*, dated by Charles-Edwards to the ninth century (2013, 662), refers to one such New Year's feast at a royal fortress at Dinbych or Tenby, some 30 km south of Cemais. Mead, wine, poetry and gift-giving are mentioned: as Charles-Edwards notes, there was a special name, *calennig/celennig*, for the *Calan* gift (ibid, 663). Welsh law evidence is primarily concerned with seating arrangements and the rights of the royal court at these times (e.g. Richards 1954-2; Wade-Evans 1909, 155-6), but general expectations of gift giving at feasts are signalled in the *Mabinogion* (S. Davies 2007, 15-16, 183).

 The **Legal** year (Appendix 1C) was explicitly structured around agricultural needs: land law proceedings closed for ploughing and sowing, between early February and the beginning of May, and again from the start of August to the start of November for harvest. Compensation values of young animals changed at the start of February, May, August and November, of plough oxen on February 9, and of milk cows on May 9. The common pattern of dates suggests legal activity was focussed at the start of seasons when law courts opened and closed.

Hunting (Appendix 1D), a significant aristocratic marker across early medieval Europe, is presented by Welsh law as a largely royal activity (D. Jenkins 2000a; Loveluck 2013, 134, 259-60). Hunting of hinds began in February (or May in one alternative text) and continued until May or June; stag hunting started at midsummer and continued until the start of November or December. Boars were hunted in November, with the hunting season finishing in early December, or in early November where there was no boar

hunting. From Christmas until the start of the hunting season in February, the huntsmen lived with the King; at other times (including while they hunted) they stayed with his bondsmen. Similar patterns are detectable in Scotland, where the medieval stag hunting started in May and ended in October, with the most popular hunting months being July to September, and the main courts for the hunting forest of Ettrick convened at Beltane (the start of May) and All Saints (the start of November) in the 15th century (Gilbert 1979, 67, 148-50, 162-4). The hunting season in early medieval Ireland is thought to be similar (Patterson 2012, 124). The earlier ritual significance of hunting in seasonal festivals is suggested by the human figures with red deer pedicles on their foreheads among the 'pagan sculptures' at Armagh, 2.5 km from the Irish royal assembly site of Navan (Warner 2013, 56-7), as well as by the hunting mythology topoi of Irish assembly sites (Fitzpatrick 2013; FitzPatrick and Hennessy 2017), and by the antler-headed Iron Age deity of Gaul, Scandinavia and southern Britain, commonly identified as Cernunnos and variously depicted with bulls, corn, fruit, coins and in one case, a solar wheel (Green 1992, 59-61, 124, 198-9).

Seasonal structure: Many of the key events in these different cycles of activity cluster at certain times of the year: not at the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, but in early February, May, August and November (Figure F1). These were the times when, according to Welsh law, the seasons changed: a list from a legal handbook of 14th-century provenance is reproduced in columns 1 and 2 of the following table (S.E. Roberts 2011, 17, 218-9, 332-4).

Table 5.2: The medieval and early medieval Welsh seasons:

Season (S.E. Roberts 2011, 218-9)	*Months* (S.E. Roberts 2011, 218-9 – 14th cent.)	*Start of season*	*Name given to start of season* (12th-century references unless otherwise stated)
Winter (*Gaeaf*)	November, December, January	1 November	*Gŵyl yr Holl Seint* (Feast of All Saints)/*Calan Gaeaf* (Calends of Winter) (Wade Evans 1909, 102/246)
Spring (*Gwanwyn*)	February, March, April	1 February	*Gŵyl Sanffraid* (Feast of St Bride/Bridget)/ *Calan Chwefror* (Calends of February) (*Gŵyl Sanffraid* only used in north Wales laws - e.g. Jenkins 1990, 83.36-84, 202.22, 23)
Summer (*Haf*)	May, June, July	1 May	*Calan Mai* (Calends of May/May Day)/ *Cyntefin* (May (day), literally 'beginning of summer') (Wade Evans 1909, 20/164; GPC)
Autumn (*Cynhaeaf* – 'harvest', literally 'preceding winter' - GPC)	August, September, October	1 August	*Calan/Gŵyl Awst* (The Calends/Feast of August/Augustus) – Welsh law usually uses an unqualified '*Awst*', with no '*Gŵyl*' or '*Calan*', e.g. Wade Evans 1909, p70-1/217. See Wade Evans 1909, 65/217 and Williams & Powell 1961, 55.12, n194 for rare uses of '*Calan Awst*'. '*Gŵyl Awst*' is used for 19th-century fairs and folk gatherings – Rhys 1888, 421)

This list notably begins with winter and the early November festival, rather than spring as is more usual in modern usage. The list of activities for November (Welsh *Tachwedd*, 'slaughter, end' - 12th century; GPC) indicates its significance: barns closed after the end of harvest, animals and people back from seasonal pastures, and food rents due from both free and unfree. The court's stag hunting season ended, the boar hunting month began, land law courts opened after harvest, and animal compensation values rose.

The names of some of the Welsh months embody this structure, particularly those for the summer season (Koch 2005, 331). May or *Cyntefin* carries a literal meaning of 'beginning of summer' (GPC). June, *Mehefin*, marks the mid-point with its *mei-* ('half, middle') prefix, while July is *Gorffennaf*, literally *gorffen+haf*, 'end of summer'. Medieval Welsh poetry also refers to it. The poem *Mis Mai* ('May') by Dafydd ap Gwilym, a 14th-century descendant of Cuhelyn, *maer* of Cemais (F. Jones 1979, 30), celebrates May as the beginning of the growing season and the start of summer when spring is at an end (lines 2 and 47-9). In another poem, *Mawl i'r Haf* ('Praise of Summer'), he refers to the three months of crop growth and good weather that August and St Peter (who has a festival on August 1) bring to an end (lines 24, 30, 35) (Gwyn Thomas 2001, 51, 59; poems with parallel translations at http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/index_eng.php).

Similar seasonal patterns are found elsewhere and figure in numerous discussions, though these rarely address Welsh evidence (cf. Hutton 1997, 362-3, 366-8, whose material does not include Welsh law information). Some - as Hutton points out – rely on post-medieval sources (Hutton 1997, 5, 360-3); the following discussion focusses on early evidence. Thus the October/November transition, known for its modern Hallowe'en celebrations on October 31, was marked by the Feast of All Hallows or All Saints across much of northern Europe; this feast was celebrated on November 1 from c.800, having been originally celebrated on May 13 in Mediterranean Europe and Frankia (Hutton 1997, 364; cf. E.O. James 1961, 227). It is often suggested that the move to November 1 was intended to challenge widespread autumn traditions of pre-Christian origin, but there is little firm evidence for this. In 9th-century Ireland, All Saints was celebrated on April 20, while November 1 was the festival of *Samhain*, when the doors to the Otherworld opened (Hutton 1997, 361-2, cf. 364-5; Kelly 2000, 461; Stokes 1905, 107). It was marked by assemblies in both mythology and historical records, and early medieval Irish records note it as a time of feasting and food renders (of pigs, for roasting), after the return of cattle from seasonal pastures, and as a time for revaluing young animals (Kelly 2000, 46, 320, 357, 461). Samhain is commonly (if contentiously) regarded as marking the 'Celtic' New Year (Hutton 1997, 363-4).

The significance of *Samhain* – like the Welsh November turning-point - is suggested by its position at the head of a 10th- to 11th-century Irish list of seasons. This follows the same pattern as the Welsh list, and runs:

> '… from Samain, when the summer goes to its rest, until Imbolc, when the ewes are milked at spring's beginning; from Imbolc to Beltine[1] at the summer's beginning and from Beltine to Brón Trogain[2], earth's sorrowing autumn.' (Kinsella 1970, 27; cf. 143).

Like *Samhain*, all appear to have been times for gatherings. Their pre-Christian origins are noted, with greater or lesser degrees of clarity, by early Irish sources. *Imbolc*, the start of spring, is marked by the feast of the 5th-century St Brigid, whose cult probably subverts that of an eponymous Irish counterpart of the Roman Minerva (Hutton 1997, 134-5). *Beltane*, at the beginning of May, was a term that (according to the early medieval 'Cormac's Glossary') meant 'lucky fire, i.e. two fires which Druids used to make with great incantations, and they used to bring the cattle [as a safeguard] against the diseases of each year to those fires … [marginal note] they used to drive the cattle between them' (Cormac 1868, 19; cf. Hutton 1997, 218-9). *Beltane*'s alternative name was *Cétshamun*, which Cormac's Glossary interprets as 'the first motion of the weather [season] of summer' (Cormac 1868, 36; Meyer 1912, 24; www.irishglossaries.cam.ac.uk). Hutton sees this as a time of widespread significance across northern Europe in pastoralist societies, linked to the departure to summer pastures (Hutton 1997, 225). The Glossary identifies *Lugnasad* (August 1) as 'a festival or game of [the god] Lugh mac Ethne or Ethlenn, which was celebrated by him in the beginning of autumn' (Cormac 1868, 99). Other early medieval sources provide abundant evidence for major tribal gatherings at *Lugnasad*, with feasting, songs and games (horse-racing) to honour ancestors, accompanied by markets and legal assemblies; later evidence indicates a widespread first fruits festival, often Christianised through dedication to St James the Great (July 25) (Gwynn 1913; 1924; Kelly 2000, 458-9; MacNeill 1962, 265, 311-349, 418; cf. Hutton 1997, 327-331).

The same seasonal divisions are noted in 11th-century Anglo-Saxon calendars (e.g. BL Arundel 155, f.7; BL Arundel 60, f. 4, 7; BL Cotton Nero C IV, f. 40v; BL Cotton Tiberius B V, f. 3v, 5r, 6v, 8r), and in the Anglo-Saxon calendar poem, the *Menalogium*, written c.1000: in the Anglo-Saxon world, winter began on November 7, spring on February 7, summer on May 9, and autumn on August 7 (Karasawa 2015, 31, 75, 79, 81, 85, 103, 113, 122). These seasonal turning-points are identified by Bede, c. 700, in a widely disseminated calendar which many subsequent calendars (including Irish works) utilise: his list begins in November, like the medieval Welsh and Irish lists

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[1] *Also known as Cétshamun – see below.*
[2] *More commonly known as Lughnasa.*

(Meyvaert 2002, 9, 40, App A). Bede notes that these turning-points are half-way between equinox and solstice, which many Anglo-Saxons marked on pre-Council of Nicaea dates: the winter solstice on December 25, the summer solstice on June 24, the spring equinox on March 25, and the Autumn equinox on September 24 (Wallis 1999, 87-8, 101-2). Bede explains that the Greeks and Romans used astronomy to identify these November, February, May and August turning-points, his principal source for this being Pliny the Elder, who (c. 77-79 AD) describes how the position of the Pleaides star cluster identifies the cross-quarter days when summer and winter begin (Bostock and Riley 1893, 79; cf. Bostock and Riley 1890, 75-7; Meyvaert 2002, 16).

As in Ireland, pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon seasonal festivals can be identified at these times, most notably in November, known as *Blodmonath* because, Bede says, it was the early Anglo-Saxon ' "month of immolations*",* for then the cattle which were to be slaughtered were consecrated to their gods' (Wallis 1999, 54). Speaking of February (*Solmonath*), he explains that the feast of St Mary (February 2) replaced the pagan 'purifactory sacrifices' to the gods of the underworld which had previously taken place at this time (Wallis 1999, 48-9). He also says that in this month the early Anglo-Saxons offered 'cakes' to their gods: Hutton regards this as 'convincing' evidence of an early Spring pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon festival (Hutton 1997, 140; Wallis 1999, 53-4). Bede has nothing to say about pre-Christian festivals at May and August: he notes May only as a month of abundant milk, indicated by its Anglo-Saxon name, *Thrimilchi*, 'three [daily] milkings', and makes no reference to any festivities at the start of August (Wallis 1999, 54; May festivities in England are not recorded until the 13th century - Hutton 1997, 226).

This lack of reference to August celebrations is striking, given the well-established existence of a popular Anglo-Saxon festival on August 1 – *Lammas* or *Hlaef-mass* (literally 'loaf mass'), which the Menalogium links with the arrival of *haerfest* - harvest or autumn (Hutton 1997, 330-1; Karasawa 2015, 80-1). *Lammas* is used as a temporal indicator in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (e.g. Swanton 1996, 101 for 921 AD), as well as by some early medieval ecclesiastical writers, and its early significance is indicated by the synod of the early English church held on this date in 673 (Hutton 1997, 330; Karasawa 2015, 42). It is not however mentioned in most Anglo-Saxon calendars of saints' days– it is not the feast of a Christian saint or martyr - though the Menalogium exceptionally includes it in its counted cycle of prominent Anglo-Saxon festivals (Karasawa 2015, 32, 42, 48).

In Welsh law, the beginning of August was legally significant (Appendix 1E) – animal compensation values changed on August 1, land law closed for harvest on August 9, and an extra food rent may have been levied now in some areas – but it does not

receive the same recognition as other legally significant times at the beginning of February, December/November and May. These are referred to as *Calan* (Calend), while August usually has no qualifying title: it is simply *Awst* (August) (e.g. Richards 1954, 88; Wade-Evans 1909, 217); a rare exception is found in one recension which the translator 'corrects' to 'August', removing the *Calan* of the Welsh original *Galan Awst* (Wade Evans 1909, 65/214). A specific date is undoubtedly implied by the *Awst*/'August' term (e.g. Wade Evans 1909, 226: the '9th day before August/*Awst*', and Wade Evans 1909, 217: 'the next morning after' August/*Awst*), and this raises the question of whether the lack of a *'Calend'* title for August in some way reflects a diminished significance for the day. It was undoubtedly a less significant date than in Ireland: there are no medieval references to Welsh first-fruits festivals or assemblies on August 1, and activity seems limited to the scattering of 19th-century folk gatherings noted in Chapter 2. There are, however, two important 5th- to 6th-century saints with festivals close to August 1, Samson (July 28) and Germanus (July 31), whose 7th-century Lives describe conversion activities in Wales and south-west England. In the case of Samson, these involve challenges to pagan ancestral hilltop celebrations (Flobert 1997, 216-9; Morris 1980, 4, 32-3; Taylor 1925, 49-50). This may have a bearing on the restricted evidence for Welsh *Awst* festivals, and will be evaluated against local evidence in Chapter 6.

Thus, in both Wales and Anglo-Saxon England, the beginning of August had enduring economic and legal significance, though there are hints that the church tried to reduce its prominence. It was part of a commonly understood annual cycle of festivals and seasons and, at this point, it will be useful to acknowledge some archaeological evidence for similar seasonal turning-points in Roman-period (and possibly pre-Roman) Gaul, Iron Age Ireland and – possible - Bronze Age Germany. The Gaulish evidence is represented by the Coligny calendar, a bronze calendrical tablet whose context and palaeography dates it to the 2nd to 3rd century AD, but which appears to track an older agro-religious cycle, though firm evidence for any pre-Roman origin is lacking (Swift 2002, 84-5; cf. Olmsted 1992 who argues for a Late Iron Age date). Swift's analysis suggests a May-November seasonal division and identifies similarities in terminology and structures to those of early medieval Ireland: the name of the first month in the Coligny year, *Samon*, is generally agreed to indicate summer, and its root, *sam*, is the Old Irish word for summer. The seventh Coligny month, *Giamonios*, thought to indicate winter, has a reflex element, *gam*, that is the Old Irish word for winter (Swift 2002, 88-9). The terms are, Swift says, suggestive of the Old Irish seasonal divisions of *Samhain* and *Beltane*, and (using linguistic arguments which are outside the scope of the present discussion) she suggests a November-May seasonal structure for the Coligny calendar rather than the midwinter-midsummer solstice pattern favoured by

some (e.g. Olmsted 1992). A '*Trinux Samoni*' event in the Coligny month of Samon may, she suggests, indicate a 3-night October/November festival, like Ireland's November *Samhain* feast. She dismisses proposals that these similarities indicates a 'Common Celtic' people, and instead attributes them to the shared 'rhythms of the north European agricultural year' (Swift 2002, 92-3).

A harvest-period festival is similarly suggested by archaeological evidence from Ireland and Germany that may implicate the known use of the Pleiades to mark key points in the agricultural cycle. This cluster of bright stars (seven are easily visible) is visible from Autumn until early May and its use by Pliny to identify cross-quarter seasonal turning points has already been noted (Ceci 1978, 302-5). Pliny's comments, and those of Hesiod c. 700 BC which note how the rising and setting of the Pleiades marked harvest and sowing times, form part of a large body of anthropological and historical sources that record their use by farmers across the world to identify key agricultural times (Ceci 1978, 304). They may be depicted on the Nebra disk of c.1600 BC, found in Germany in 1999, and it is suggested they marked harvest festivals at the Irish Iron Age ceremonial enclosure of Lismullin, where an avenue is oriented on their autumn transit (O'Connell 2013, 72; Pasztor and Roslund 2007; Prendergast 2013, 155).

The combined picture therefore reveals widely-shared seasonal structures. In both Ireland and Anglo-Saxon areas there is evidence of pre-Christian activities that mark seasonal turning points at mid points between equinoxes ('cross-quarter days'), and whose existence precedes the early medieval circulation of Roman-influenced ecclesiastical calendars like Bede's. Month names and early medieval sources indicate common themes at these times: animal slaughter in November (*Tachwedd*/*Blodmonath*), the arrival of spring in February, the departure of herds to seasonal pastures in May, and a first fruits harvest festival in August. It contrasts with the solstice/equinox seasonal structure which informs Cunliffe's late prehistoric model, with the Welsh law evidence indicating that the summer and winter solstices were much less functionally significant than the cross-quarter days (Cunliffe 2005, 419). The Welsh *Gaeaf* or winter season, for instance, comprises the three dark months of the year when plant growth slows or stops. The common early medieval pattern would therefore appear to be linked to natural cycles – of animal lives, crop-growing and weather patterns - that underpin the social and ceremonial structures of a society with a mixed agricultural base (cf. Banham and Faith 2014, 158-9; Patterson 2012, 118-149; Winchester 2000, 54-61). Together with the anthropological and archaeological evidence for the use of the Pleiades to mark key agricultural periods, they imply the operation of widely-shared habitual longue durée activities, structured around seasonal turning-points – the cross-quarter days.

This, then, is the context of the yearly patterning of subsistence, elite and ceremonial activities recorded in 12th- and 13th-century Welsh law and in earlier Irish, Anglo-Saxon and Roman sources. Can it help us understand the local evidence for early medieval Cemais? Let us start with its evidence for early medieval agriculture – and first of all, with the terrain itself.

The land: environmental evidence

This terrain is geomorphologically varied, with a division between the granites and shales of the Preseli hills, and a gentler, more fertile sedimentary geology north of the Nevern valley (Figure F3, F4) which contains the *cantref*'s best agricultural land, with a preponderance of well-drained brown earths. Within the parishes and medieval demesne manors of Bayvil, Moylgrove and Monington (held by an Anglo-Norman knight), are easily worked loams of the Newport 1 series, derived from glacial sands and gravels and providing optimum arable conditions in wetter areas of Britain (Rudeforth et al. 1984, 207). This association of easily worked soils and early settlement centres is also identified in Anglo-Saxon areas (Ford 1976, 288-292). Soils in other areas comprise well-drained brown earths, sometimes shallow and podzolic, and seasonally waterlogged clays and peats; peaty hilltop soils display occasional surface wetness.

Pollen sampling

A study of peat cores from 11 sites on the Preseli hills and margins reveals the genesis of the upland Cemais zone (Figure F4; Seymour 1985). This longue durée overview is little mentioned in reviews of the early medieval Welsh environment due to the limited utility of its radiocarbon dates, which have large standard deviations and wide date ranges. This can be seen in its three early medieval or medieval dates: Ty Rhyg SRR-2092, 950±160 BP = 711-1382 cal AD at 2 standard deviations (95.4%), with dates clustering (93.3%) in 764-1301 cal AD; Llanerch, SRR-2086, 510±180 BP = 1052-1918 cal AD at 2 standard deviations (95.4%), with dates clustering (88.8%) in 1152-1695 cal AD; Dolaeron SRR-2094, 1090±90 BP = 711-1154 cal AD at 2 standard deviations (95.4%), with dates clustering (84.4%) in 764-1059 cal AD (all calibrated using OxCal v4 2.4: Reimer et al 2013).

These poorly anchored dates do not, however, invalidate distinctive underlying trends in the pollen evidence that provide useful comparisons with recent north Wales research by Tudur Davies (T. Davies 2015, 218-233, 243-4). Seymour's evidence for the long-term use, from the Bronze Age at the latest, of the Preseli hills for pastoralism, with some cultivation on better drained land, is paralleled in north Wales by Tudur Davies' observation of the continued management of upland by heath-burning from

c.2000 BC to c.1300 AD (T. Davies 2015, 72, 202, 216, 244; Seymour 1985, 338-344). In the late prehistoric Preselis, heavy grazing activity and good drainage maintain grassland on hilltops cleared in the Early Bronze Age, inhibiting peat development and the development of heather moorland until the early medieval period at the earliest (dating uses Cleddau Bog date SRR-2093, 3340+80 BP: 1876-1444 cal BC) (Seymour 1985, 346, 387). Similar patterns of early medieval peat development are found elsewhere in Wales (Seymour 1985; quoting Chambers 1983; and Crampton 1966). Much of the modern Preseli waterlogging is a relatively recent phenomenon, triggered by wet cool conditions in the 15th to 17th centuries (Seymour 1985, 363, 383).

Several phases of early medieval Preseli agricultural activity are detectable. There is overall broad continuity with the extensive upland grazing of the late prehistoric period, the surrounding late prehistoric lowlands being used for mixed farming (spelt, barley, bread wheat, oats, emmer and animal husbandry) according to archaeobotanical samples from recent excavations (Murphy and Mytum 2012, 309; Seymour 1985, 341). Seymour's early medieval upland pollen samples suggest reduced activity in the late- or post-Roman period, followed by some intensification of activity with increased arable indicators, and after this, widespread clearance and grazing pressure in the later part of the early medieval and/or high medieval period (Seymour 1985, 351-3). This last phase marks a peak of activity, followed by reduced activity and climatic deterioration that Seymour links to the late and post-medieval period (Seymour 1985, 361-9, 383).

These Preseli phases can be compared with the three phases (5th to 6th, 7th to 8th, and 9th to 10th centuries) that Tudur Davies independently identifies in north Wales (T. Davies 2015, 218-233, 243-4). Tudur Davies' 5th- to 6th-century phase is marked – in both his study area and across Wales – by increased heath, woodland and wetland pollen, and reduced arable and pastoral indicators, which he attributes to a climate downturn and to post-Roman economic slowdown (T. Davies 2015, 243). This contrasts with the mixed picture of Seymour's first early medieval Preseli phase, where some valley and hillside sites show woodland regeneration, while other hilltop and valley sites show open grassland being maintained or even extended (Seymour 1985, 208, 349-50).

In Tudur Davies' next phase, dated to the 7th to 8th century, his north Wales study area shows evidence of an 'improved climate and … increased arable activities and a decrease in wetland habitats' (T. Davies 2015, 243). Elsewhere in Wales he notes signs of a widespread increase in farming activity and some deforestation, though changes in wetland indicators are very variable. Seymour's second Preseli phase is less clearly dated, occurring just before an 8th- to 12th-century radiocarbon date [711-1154 cal AD; dates cluster (84.4%) in 764-1059 cal AD], and whilst still 'predominantly

pastoral', sees increased exploitation with indications of a mixed economy in some favourable locations. Evidence for this is provided by cereal pollen at Dolaeron, buckwheat at Ty Rhyg, and other low-level occurrences of weed taxa associated with arable production (Seymour 1985, 208, 228, 351-2).

Tudur Davies' subsequent 9th- to 10th-century phase shows higher levels of pastoral indicators both in his north Wales study area and across Wales. Arable pollen taxa in his study area fall, though they rise in the 'inner core' of the kingdom of Gwynedd (T. Davies 2015, 244). In the Preselis, Seymour identifies a phase of widespread increased evidence of clearance, indicative of pressure on agricultural resources, that follows the earlier intensification phase, and sees this as post-Conquest activity (Seymour 1985, 383). This clearance phase postdates the 8th-/12th-century Dolaeron radiocarbon date, and corresponds with the Ty Rhyg date. This Ty Rhyg date is hard to tie down, given its extremely large 8th-/14th-century range [711-1382 cal AD], and Seymour's post-Conquest labelling of this phase must therefore be regarded with caution (Seymour 1985, 228, 353). During this period, carr woodland in valleys is replaced by 'rich damp meadow', suggesting higher water tables perhaps due to increased run-off from woodland clearance (Seymour 1985, 355). On the moorlands, increased grazing pressure is indicated, as is the development of rich grass-heath that may show more intensive management of upland pasture (Seymour 1985, 356). It is possible that extended use of summer grazing was encouraged by above-average summer and winter temperatures between c. 1150 and c. 1300 (Lamb 1966; noted in Seymour 1985, 358).

It will be seen that there is a broad correspondence of environmental indicators between the three phases that Tudur Davies and Seymour separately identify. Both find signs of increased arable activity, Tudur Davies in the 7th to 8th century, and Seymour arguably around the same period; the broader picture shows a widespread arable upsurge at this time, reflected in finds of corn dryers and watermills in England, Scotland and Ireland, and crop processing evidence of steadily increasing English production (Hamerow 2012, 151-5; McCormick et al. 2011, 39-44; McKerracher 2016a, 98; 2016b, 65). Tudur Davies' third phase, which shows increased pastoralism, is somewhat earlier than Seymour's suggested post-Conquest dating of similar evidence, but it is not inconsistent with the range of Seymour's calibrated radiocarbon dates. It is therefore possible that Seymour's third phase, rather than being post-Conquest, similarly commences in the 9th or 10th centuries. This is significant since interpretation of the activity identified in this phase has a bearing on other pre-Conquest evidence. Thus, for instance, Tudur Davies attributes the 9th- to 10th-century evidence of increased pastoralism to a 'shift towards a mobile food source' which would be useful at times of attack, but an alternative rationale might be the introduction of regulated

systems of renders and cattle-based fines, recorded in 12th-century Welsh laws where cattle are required for the annual renders of freemen and paid in lieu of other elements in food renders (Appendix 3; Charles-Edwards 1989b, 85-6; T. Davies 2015, 244; Pryce 1986). If the Hywel Dda attribution of these laws is accepted, the renders indicate a 10th-century maximisation of royal revenues in a society where cattle were a more frequent measure of wealth than coin (W. Davies 1982, 39, 53, 130; M.E. Owen 2009, 6). The regularisation of grain renders might similarly correspond to the increased arable indicators of core Gwynedd areas. Cattle payments would have swelled the pre-Conquest royal vaccaries noted in 13th-century Gwynedd evidence (Smith 1998, 228-234), and contributed towards cattle-based tribute payments to other rulers like the Anglo-Saxon King Athelstan, reputedly promised 25,000 oxen annually from north Wales in 927 (W. Davies 1990, 75).

Tudur Davies' work also gives a broader environmental context to Seymour's evidence for extensive upland pastoral use through its clear pastoral upland/arable lowland distinction in environmental evidence, which Tudur Davies links with Welsh law's description of transhumant agricultural practice (T. Davies 2015, 200, 202). Specific comparison with Cemais is however difficult given Seymour's poorly dated samples and bias towards upland sites.

Crop processing evidence

Crop processing (charred grain) evidence for early medieval Cemais is also limited. The only firmly dated assemblage that impinges on the early medieval period is a single (and potentially unrepresentative) sample from a hearth context at Maenclochog, dated to 980-1160 cal AD (Carruthers 2007, 7-8). Identifiable grains were largely oats and rye with very little wheat and barley: high levels of rye are unusual on British sites but normal on the Continental in this period, though recent work by McKerracher shows steadily increasing cultivation of rye in some Anglo- Saxon areas (McKerracher 2016a, 95). Since Maenclochog lies on the edge of the area settled by the Flemings in the early 12th-century, one might speculate that this sample reveals post-Conquest non-native influences (Charles 1992, xlvi, lii; T. Jones 1952, 42 for 1116 AD).

Clearer evidence of early medieval cereal production is provided by samples from South Hook, a small 8th to 12th century coastal settlement 25 km to the south. Here substantial deposits from four corn kilns indicate crops composed largely of barley alone or of mixed oats and barley (Carruthers 2010, 174-6, 178-9). Sprouted barley, dated to cal AD 680-880, suggests the malting of grain and perhaps the brewing of beer, a longstanding element of food rents (Appendix 3). Free threshing wheat, mostly of club-type wheat (*Triticum aestivum* subsp. *Compactum*, a compact form of bread wheat), was also present in a third of samples, though this could be an

underrepresentation since preservation is less good than oats and barley. Club-type wheat was the only wheat grain present before the 10th century; thereafter the more usual bread-type wheat appears (Carruthers 2010, 172, 179). Club wheat and barley were also found in Early Bronze Age deposits at the site, but there was virtually no evidence of rye – just one possible grain. At the nearby site of Newton, deposits from two corn driers largely consisted of oats, barley and bread wheat and were dated to cal AD 720-960 (Caseldine and Griffiths 2004: no club wheat noted).

A similar preponderance of oats and barley characterises other early medieval south Wales sites, oats being a useful crop on impoverished acid soils in high rainfall areas (Carruthers 2010, 166, 180-1; Caseldine and Griffiths 2004, 17). Restricted archaeobotanical sampling at most south Wales sites limits the available picture, but the more thorough sampling programmes at South Hook and along the route of the Milford Haven pipeline suggest that low proportions of free-threshing wheat are normal, in contrast to the frequent occurrences of bread-type wheat at medieval English sites (Carruthers 2010, 181). The only other crops found in any quantities are the flax seeds at South Hook (Carruthers 2010, 174-5). Rye, in south Wales, is only found in significant quantities at Maenclochog.

Barley and oats also dominate in an undated but rich assemblage from the heart of the study area, described as 'medieval' from context and make-up (Parker Pearson et al. 2018, 115, 132). This derives from a corn dryer at Bayvil Farm and, as well as large quantities of hulled barley and oat, contained small quantities of spelt wheat and other grains 'exhibiting characteristics intermediate between spelt wheat and free-threshing (*Triticum spelta/nudum*) although no free-threshing wheat grains were positively identified' (Simmons 2018, 132). Weed taxa were also illuminating: some indicated spring-sown crops, and others were associated with manuring and with both grassland as well as cultivated soils (ibid). This is interesting evidence, albeit in need of better dating, whose significance will become clearer when longstanding local medieval husbandry practices are considered.

Descriptions of local agricultural methods

Information about these practices is provided by George Owen, the late 16th century Lord of Cemais (Charles 1973), who (writing from Henllys, a few fields away from the Bayvil Farm corn dryer) reports that the Welsh of north Cemais had a deeply traditional approach to agriculture, resisting agricultural improvements (Charles 1973; G. Owen 1994, 64-7). Welsh arable lands were intermingled in open fields that were grazed in common from harvest to mid-March, a practice surviving until the 18th century in some areas of north Pembrokeshire (M. Davies 1973, 521-2; G. Owen 1994, 64, 170, 175). This arrangement is called *in rodwallis* in 13th- and 14th-century charters from Bayvil

and St Dogmaels, and is preserved in the 'Redwalls' place-name (Charles 1992, 114; G. Owen 1862, 55-6, late 13c; NLW Bronwydd 7010 of 1349; 7014 of 1355; 1348 of 1369/70). Owen says that this *in rodwallis* practice precluded the cultivation of winter-sown crops on Welsh fields, unlike English-settled areas of Pembrokeshire (cf. Howells 1955-6, 246-7, 325).

A comparison of Cemais practices described by Owen with those of Conquest-period Welsh law suggests that 16th-century methods were much the same as those used centuries earlier. These are summarised in Table 5.3. (Sources of data: G. Owen 1977, 39-40; 1994, 63-5, 175; M. Davies 1973, 521-2. J = D. Jenkins 1990; R = Richards 1954; Rus = Russell 2000; WE = Wade-Evans 1909. Not shown: animal mating times, which Welsh law notes for summer and autumn, and George Owen's timings for preparing land by beat-burning: D. Jenkins 1990, 206; G. Owen 1994, 66-7). Table 5.4 provides further comparisons between the practices of 16th-century Cemais and 12th-century Welsh law.

There is – for instance - correspondence between Welsh law's post-harvest grazing of open fields and the 13th- to 16th-century *in rodwallis* practice of Cemais. This post-harvest and winter grazing practice was not uniquely Welsh and was found in other areas of Britain like 15th-century Lancashire, where arable fields called 'half year lands' were similarly grazed by cattle from the end of harvest until Lady Day (25 March/The Feast of the Annunciation) (Hall 2014, 79, 84). In the Lake District and Borders, arable fields were open to grazing from the end of harvest, in August or September, until the departure of sheep and cattle to summer grazing, which took place on Lady Day in the 17th century, and between 15 April ('Mid April Day') and 3 May in the centuries before that (Bird 1983, 349; Winchester 2000, 55-8). The change to Lady Day, which marked the start of the English legal and financial year from the 14th to 18th centuries, was probably facilitated by increasing enclosure of open fields (and easier associated livestock management) and encouraged by the Julian calendar's growing disjuncture between calendrical dates and natural seasons (Winchester 2000, 55-6).

The system that George Owen describes is essentially an infield-outfield system, similar to those known from 16th to 18th-century north Britain and early medieval Irish texts (Figure F2; Buchanan 1973, 586, 617; Hall 2014, 87; Kelly 2000, 46, 370; Whittington 1973, 532-4). Its different areas are subject to varying degree of arable exploitation that can be matched broadly to 19th-century tithe field-name elements (e.g. Figures G2, G5 and see Bayvil and Dinas case studies below; G. Owen 1994, 63-77; G. Owen 1592 quoted in Howells 1955-6, 325; field names: cf. G.R.J. Jones 1973, 457-60, 471-6; Longley 2001, 48; C. Thomas 1980a, 161).

Table 5.3: The agricultural year according to George Owen and Welsh law

		16th CENTURY – NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE	12th & 13th CENTURY – WELSH LAW	
WIN-TER	JANUARY	• Livestock grazing on arable open fields until mid-March	• Pigs excluded from corn land; pannage in woods ends (R83; J178, 206, WE254)	←animals on arable→
SPRING	FEBRUARY		• Ploughing and sowing period: 1 February - 30 April (J202; R88; WE 219, 282)	
SPRING	MARCH	• Sowing oats; ploughing for barley • Livestock moved to outfield (mid-March in 16th century; 25 March in 18th century)	• Meadows closed to grazing • (17 March) (J206) • Heath-burning - March (J170) or • mid-March to mid-April (R106, WE 274)	
SPRING	APRIL	• Sowing summer ('holy') wheat (late March-early April) • Sowing barley (late April-early May)		
SUMMER	MAY	• Seasonal pastures (agistement/herbage) open (1 May)	• Animals excluded from arable open fields of the hendref (1 May) (J40, 236; Rus 513) • Summer dwelling occupation begins (1 May) (J40, 236; Rus 513)	↑ ==== seasonal pasture ==== ↓
SUMMER	JUNE			
SUMMER	JULY	• Harvest - barley (July & August)		
AUTUMN	AUGUST	• (Time of oat harvest, though not specifically mentioned by George Owen)	• Harvest period: 1 August - 31 October (J83, WE298-9 , 317) • Bondsmen's summer dwelling period ends (north Wales) (J40, 236). • Animals allowed on arable open fields from now in north Wales (J40). Pigs on corn land and in woods from 29 August (J178, J206; cf. R91; W222)	
AUTUMN	SEPTEMBER	• Harvest of summer wheat (a variety with a long growing season) • Seasonal pastures (agistement/herbage) close (29 September)	• Bondsmen's summer dwelling periods ends either after reaping or when September finishes (depending on translation of *medi*: September/reap/harvest), and animals allowed on arable open fields after then (south Wales; WE265)	
AUTUMN	OCTOBER	• Open arable fields grazed in common after corn harvest to mid-March	• animals on arable open fields (see above)	←animals on arable→
WINTER	NOVEMBER	• Return of stock from outfield areas (mid-November)	• Harvest in, barns closed (1 November) (J204, R93, WE246)	
WINTER	DECEMBER	• Ploughing for oats (on folded land)	• Some winter ploughing, presumably on enclosed/folded outfield (J195, 202; R58; WE174, 319; cf. Table 5.4)	

The Cemais infield or 'corn ground' is 'plowed for corne ev'y yeere' (G. Owen 1592, quoted in Howells 1955-6, 325, fn. 7). Unlike the Midlands common fields it has no rotation or fallow period and is manured by post-harvest grazing: place-name elements like *maes* ('open field'), *llain* ('strip') and *gardd* ('strip, quillet') identify it. The outfield, the *cytir* ('common land') or *gwndwn* ('unploughed or uncultivated land') where animals ordinarily graze, is subject to periodic cultivation with long ley (grass) intervals – a technique called convertible husbandry (Hall 2014, 86-94; Rippon 2008, 130-6; Hall's broader definition of convertible husbandry is applied to the ensuing discussion). The better parts of it are periodically used as arable after improving by folding animals on it overnight. Other outfield areas of poorer 'wild ground' called *tir mynythe* or *tir mane* (G. Owen 1592 quoted in Howells 1955-6, 325: literally 'mountain land') are very occasionally used for the short-term growing of crops by the removal and burning of turf – a practice called beat burning (G. Owen 1994, 66-7). They can be identified on 19th-century tithe maps by field name elements like *mynydd* ('mountain, common, unenclosed land'), *rhos* and *gwaun* (both mean 'moor, heath', possibly low-lying and wet for 'gwaun'), and by terms like *poeth* (GPC, 12th-13th century: burnt), *bietyn* (GPC, *bating, beting, bieting, batin* c.1600: pared and burnt turf or hillside); and *brith* (GPC, 10th century: chequered, mottled, pied; cf. *braenar brith,* GPC 1814: partially pared burnt fallow) (G. Owen 1994, 67)*.* Field name examples include *Park y boeth*, Moylgrove Tithe 287; *Park (y) bieting*, Bayvil Tithe 55 & Nevern Tithe 691; *Llain bietin*, Dinas Tithe 277; *Park brith,* Bayvil Tithe 18; Tithe Schedules of 1840-1847). *Terra montana* – the Latin equivalent of *tir mynythe* – denotes outfield in 14th-century north Wales records (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 444).

The weed taxa at the Bayvil Farm corn dryer, which indicate manuring, cultivated land and also grassland, can be seen in the light of these various practices. They are also found elsewhere in western and northern Britain. Overnight folding to improve land is widespread, being recorded in southern and eastern England from the 13th century onwards with a variety of field systems, and in early modern Ireland and Scotland to create arable plots around summer dwellings (Bil 1989, 160; Costello 2015, 52; Hall 2014, 53-60, 69-73). The periodic cultivation of pasture or outfield – convertible husbandry or Devonshiring – offers a flexible means of increasing arable production, and pollen evidence in the south-west of England indicates its introduction in the 8th to 10th centuries AD (Fyfe and Rippon 2004, 38-9). It appears to have been a Roman practice (Kron 2000). Beat-burning, regarded by Fox as a deeply rooted and integral part of convertible husbandry, was 'the common custom of the whole countryside' in medieval Devon, and is recorded (as '*ad baticium'*) in late 13th-century Cornwall (Fox 1973, 29-30, 33; 1991, 309-10). Beat-burning was also used in post-medieval Scotland and 13th-century Ireland (Kelly 2000, 230; Whittington 1973, 534).

There are no specific references to beat-burning in Welsh law, although it notes moor burning in March, a practice still used in the Preselis to control vegetation (Appendix 1B; D. Jenkins 1990, 170; Richards 1954, 106; Wade-Evans 1909, 274). Convertible husbandry practices may, nonetheless, in the view of Glanville Jones, be implied by Welsh law's statements about how long crops can be grown on different types of land (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 435). If so, beat burning may also have been used, given its established place within convertible husbandry elsewhere. Convertible husbandry could have been (as in south-west England) an early medieval mechanism for increased arable production: in more recent times it has provided a useful way of responding to increased grain demand in areas of poor soils (Fox 1973, 33; Hall 2014, 86; G. Owen 1994, 67). It is certainly not necessary to posit technological changes like the adoption of the heavy mouldboard plough to explain increased arable evidence (contra T. Davies 2015, 243-4; cf. G. Thomas et al. 2016).

Crops and ploughing

Heavy mouldboard ploughs do not seem to have been much used in medieval south-west Wales, where there is little evidence of their characteristic ridge and furrow: strips in arable open fields were flat in form and – as in the south-west of England - separated by narrow balks or landshares rather than by furrows; much surviving ridge and furrow represents either post-medieval improvement or meadow drainage (M. Davies 1956, 94-6; 1973, 491, 528). In north Wales however the use of heavy mouldboard ploughs may be indicated by references to teams of 8 oxen, the standard Domesday English team, in ploughing regulations that are thought to represent 13th-century agricultural improvement in that area (Banham and Faith 2014, 51-2; Darby 1977, 125; D. Jenkins 1982, 2-3, 7-9; 1990, 198-202). The size of plough teams is not mentioned in the earlier South Wales laws, whose references to ploughing extend little beyond the requirement that bond tenants organise their ploughing cooperatively, though Gerald of Wales, a 12th-century native of Pembrokeshire, reports that teams of four oxen were usual (Thorpe 1978, 252; Wade-Evans 1909, 251).

Late and post medieval evidence indicates widespread use of a plough with a minimal or absent mouldboard across south and west Wales and south-west England (though not, it seems, north Wales) (Payne 1957, 81-2). A drawing of one illustrates a 15th-century Cardiganshire law text on ploughing (Payne 1947, 152-3). These ploughs, which were said to make a field look 'as if a drove of swine had been moiling it', were pulled by teams of 4 to 6 oxen or by 2 oxen and 2 horses (Hassall 1794, 18; G. Owen 1994, 66; Payne 1947, 52). A predecessor of this plough seems to be the most likely candidate for the Conquest-period plough of south-west Wales. Teams of 4 oxen are also standard in early medieval Ireland (Kelly 2000, 474-6).

Table 5.4: 16th-century agricultural practice according to George Owen

George Owen describes	Agricultural element	16th-century preparation technique (G. Owen 1994, 65-77)	Preparation technique - 12th- and 13th-century Welsh law (J = Jenkins 1990; R = Richards 1954; WE = Wade-Evans 1909)	Typical place-name elements:
Arable areas that are cropped continuously (100 years +) and maintained by dunging during winter months (G. Owen 1994, 74)	INFIELD – permanently cultivated arable inner core	• Lime, marl (glacial till), sand, seaweed. (67-8) • Carting of dung is not favoured. • No rotations like English common fields.	• Manured annually (J113)	• *maes* – open field • *llain* - strip • *(g)ardd* – strip, quillet
Good pasture land that is periodically used as arable after improving by keeping animals on it overnight ('folding') (7-10 years arable, then 8-10 ley/ fallow) (G. Owen 1994, 65)	OUTFIELD – areas of good pasture periodically used as arable to supplement infield – 'flexible convertible husbandry'	• Folding – animals folded overnight mid-March to mid-November • Folded land crops: summer wheat grown in first year; oats then grown for 7-10 years; then 8-10 years ley/ fallow.	Cultivation time allowed on land prepared using: • Fallow - 2-3 years (J113; WE211) • Folding - 3 years (J113; WE211) • Carted dung – 4 years (J113; WE211) • Manured fallow – 4 years (WE211)	• *cytir* – common land • *gwndwn* – unploughed/uncultivated land, ley-land
Poorer land (mountain typically) that is very occasionally cultivated through beat-burning (2-6 years arable, 20-24 years ley/fallow) (G. Owen 1994, 66-7)	OUTFIELD/ MOORLAND – unenclosed rough pasture	• Beat-burning on hills/moors - removing and burning turf; scattering ashes on land. • Beat-burning land crops - oats, rye and barley grown for 2-6 years, then 20-24 years ley/fallow	Cultivation time allowed for: • Former scrub land – 2 years (J113, WE211) • Former wooded land – 4-6 years (J113, WE211) • Beat-burning practice is not specifically mentioned	• *mynydd* – mountain, common, unenclosed land • *rhos* – (upland) moor, heath • *gwaun* – moorland, heath • *brith* – chequered, speckled, mottled /partially deturfed beatland • *poeth* - hot, burnt • *beting, bieting, batin, bietyn* – pared and burnt turf or hillside

Crops grown:

- 16th-century Pembs Welsh - barley; oats; wheat. No/little rye (G. Owen 1994, 63-4, 66)
- Welsh law - barley; oats; wheat; also rye in north Wales (D. Jenkins 1990, 128-9, 176; Richards 1954, 72-3, 88; Wade Evans 1909, 206-7, 219; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 438)

On rough upland areas spade cultivation is likely (Fowler 1981, 156; 2002, 151, 157-8). In recent centuries, human-powered breast or push ploughs were widespread in areas of beat-burning like the Preselis, and there are 6th- and 8th-century references to British and Irish monks pulling their own ploughs (Fussell 1933, 109; Meredith Morris 1991, 31; Sharpe and Davies 2007, 127; Wooding 2007, 16).

Spring ploughing and sowing of the infield was the norm in this system, both in 16th-century Welsh north Pembrokeshire and in Welsh law, where February, March and April are stipulated as the proper months for these activities. There are nonetheless a few references to winter ploughing in Welsh law, which presumably refer – as in 16th-century north Pembrokeshire – to the periodic cultivation of areas of enclosed outfield (D. Jenkins 1990, 195, 202; G.R.J. Jones 1973, 438; G. Owen 1994, 62-4). One of them stipulates that, when a *maer* who is 'unable to maintain a house' has made use of his right to use a bondsman's milk, corn and swine for a year, he shall at the end of that year leave that bondman with 8 acres of spring tilth, 4 acres of winter tilth, four sows, a boar and all his other animals (Richards 1954, 58; Wade-Evans 1909, 174), an indication perhaps of the minimum arable land (and its type) that a bondman needed to feed himself and meet the communal food rent. March ploughing and spring sowing was also usual in early medieval Ireland, where written evidence is supported by weed patterns in archaeobotanical evidence, though the winter cultivation of rye and wheat is noted in 12th- and 14th-century references (Kelly 2000, 230-1; McCormick et al. 2011, 93). Rye, however, was an uncommon crop in early medieval Ireland, where the main crops were barley, oats and to a lesser extent wheat (McCormick et al. 2011, 50, 56-7).

Crops of oats, barley, wheat and (in 13th-century north Wales only) rye are mentioned in Welsh law; with the exception of rye, the same grains were grown by the medieval north Pembrokeshire Welsh and, as already noted, oats and barley dominate early medieval archaeobotanical samples (D. Jenkins 1990, 128-9, 176; G. Owen 1994, 63-4, 66; Richards 1954, 72-3, 88; Wade-Evans 1909, 206-7, 219). Oats and barley are spring-sown, but the spring sowing of wheat raises questions, since the most common early medieval wheat is a free-threshing bread-type that is usually taken to be the winter-sown *triticum aestivum L.*, though other types of wheat are known to have been grown, and – as McKerracher points out – Bede mentions that the spring sowing of wheat was usual in 7th-century Northumbria (Banham and Faith 2014, 28-9, 58; McKerracher 2014, 274; Moffett 2011, 348-351; G. Owen 1994, 62-5; Colgrave and Mynors 1999, 226; Colgrave 1940, 221). McKerracher's own research finds regional diversity in Anglo-Saxon cropping practice, using weed-growing patterns to identify spring-sown wheat in some areas of southern England; he suggest that spring sowing is a 'risk-buffering strategy' (McKerracher 2014, 273-4).

Spring sown wheat is also indicated by 16th-century sources for the study area, where winter wheat cultivation was limited by wintertime *in rodwallis* grazing of cattle on the infield. George Owen says that an Easter-sown variety of wheat was favoured by the Welsh of north Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire; his careful description of a cold-hating 'holy wheat' (as he calls it) suggests rivet wheat (*triticum turgidum L.*), a free-threshing frost-sensitive relative of emmer and durum that can be grown in spring (Moffett 2011, 234; G. Owen 1994, 63-4; Percival 1921, 243; I am indebted to Wendy Carruthers for the identification). Club wheat (*Triticum aestivum* subsp. *Compactum)*, found in the pre-10th-century samples for South Hook, is also spring-sown (Carruthers 2010, 172).

Early medieval evidence for club wheat and rivet wheat in Britain is limited, with the latter identified in medieval archaeobotanical samples in southern England but not, so far, in Wales (Carruthers 2010, 180; Moffett 2011, 350-1). Rivet wheat is acknowledged to be a potential component of free-threshing wheat samples, but can be hard to differentiate from bread-type wheat if (as often happen) chaff is often not preserved (McKerracher 2016a, 92). Samples are therefore often classed generically as free-threshing wheat. Club wheat, similarly, can be hard to distinguish from bread wheat, and may be present in samples labelled as bread-type wheat (Carruthers 2010, 172, 180).

These identification issues are significant. Both rivet wheat and club wheat have characteristics that might, independently of their spring sown status, confer advantages over bread wheat in south-west Wales: club wheat is better suited than bread wheat to poor soils and copes well with rain and delayed harvesting, while rivet wheat is rust resistant and unattractive to birds (Carruthers 2010, 172, 180; Percival 1921, 242). Both, therefore, were useful varieties, as well as fitting into the annual cycles implied by Welsh law and by infield-outfield systems. The limited crop-processing evidence for them highlights the need for more Welsh archaeobotanical research, and the potential complexity of the overall picture is demonstrated by the spelt and intermediate spelt/free-threshing grains of the Bayvil Farm corn dryer: spelt, a staple Roman crop whose cultivation continues into the early medieval period, can be planted in spring as well as autumn (McKerracher 2014, 234, 276; Percival 1921, 326). At the very least, caution is advised in applying simplified Anglo-Saxon agricultural models to early medieval Wales.

Transhumance

Animals figure large in pre-Conquest agriculture (M.E. Owen 2009). They dominate Welsh law's lists of three 'nets' or key possessions, which for a king were his warband, horses and cattle; for a freeman his horses, cattle and swine; and for a bondsman his

cattle, swine (which he was not allowed to sell without his lord's consent), and winter settlement (*hendref*) or 'hearth' (*pentan*) (D. Jenkins 1990, 40; Richards 1954, 101-2, 139; Wade-Evans 1909, 265). The 'legal herd' was said to contain 12 pigs, 30 sheep, and 24 cattle, though the context of references suggests that bond hamlets had communal herds in the care of a herdsman, with individual animals owned by particular bondsmen (D. Jenkins 1990, 62; Richards 1954, 85-6; Wade-Evans 1909, 41, 228-9, 301). Terminology is interesting: in different versions of these lists, the king's and freeman's horses are held as a *gre* (a stud, defined as 50 mares – Wade Evans 1909, 301), as an *allwest* (a term glossed as *porfa*, pasture), or as *pascuum* (Latin, pasturage). Their cattle are held as a *maerdy* (dairy) of female animals or as a *praidd* (a term which can mean either herd, flock, drove or spoils, plunder, booty, prey, and figuratively denotes treasure or wealth).

The horses and cattle of the king and freeman are therefore effectively reckoned in terms of production - studs and dairy farms or pastures that connote territorial or grazing rights - and their cattle figuratively constitute wealth, a usage which has already been remarked on (Chapter 2). The large numbers of cattle suggested by Preseli pollen samples are therefore particularly significant.

It is with this understanding that we should view the movement of people and livestock between arable settlements and seasonal pasture: it was central to wealth production as well as shaping the pre-Conquest year. Cows and sheep benefited from the new grass on seasonal summer pastures while wheat, oats and barley grew on arable land that was kept in good heart by manure from winter grazing. People accompanied them, as is evident from Welsh law's references to summer dwellings, the *haf tai*, which lay on the summer grazing lands known as the *hafod* (Figure F2; E. Davies 1980, 4-7; Wade-Evans 1909, 246, 265).

Transhumance constituted a longue durée element of many infield-outfield arrangements, and survived until the early modern period in Ireland and the Scottish highlands (Buchanan 1973, 584-7; Whittington 1973, 532-5). The post-Roman use of seasonal pasture is mentioned by Gildas, who talks of 'mountains especially suited to varying the pasture for animals', recalling the medieval Welsh use of the term *mynydd* (see above) which in Scotland similarly refers both to big hills and to rough grazing (G.W.S Barrow 1973, 52; 1998, 62-5; Winterbottom 1978, 17). Woodland, not necessarily on hills, also provided seasonal pasture, and its interlinkage with core arable areas, often in river basins, is recognised in the early medieval period in Kent, eastern England, the Midlands and the Welsh borders, and identified as a core component of the naturally-defined resource zones that landscape historians/historical geographers calls *pays* (Everitt 1977; Ford 1976; Hooke 1982; Williamson 2013).

Hooke sums up the early Anglo-Saxon use of these areas as a 'system of riverine-based estates centred upon nodal areas, linked with less developed regions of woodland some considerable distance away' (Hooke 1982, 233).

The timing of livestock movements is stipulated by Welsh law. Animals were to be removed from the winter dwelling or *hendref* by May 1, and not to return until after harvest, which was in August in north Wales and September in south Wales (for references see Appendix 1B). Penalties enforced this: owners of cattle had to pay compensation of 4 pennies for each animal that strayed on to bondsmen's *hendrefi* during this closed season (Wade-Evans 1909, 265). A 1326 court record shows the post-Conquest continuation of the practice in north Wales, where a court levied a fine on one of the dwellers of Llanaber (Merioneth) whose animals were still on the common pasture of the *hendref* township ('*in communi pastura del hendreve*') after the May departure of the community and animals to the mountains (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 445, quoting P.R.O. SC 2/225/28: Record of Caernarvon 277-8). In northern Britain, 3 May or St Helen's Day (Ellenmass) was similarly the final medieval 'closure' date for the head-dykes around open fields (Winchester 2000, 55-6).

What is not so clear from the Welsh documentary evidence is exactly who accompanied the summer herds: men, women or whole families. Although there are 18th- and 19th-century references to the movement of whole households in north Wales, early modern records in Ireland and northern Britain, summed up by Fox, indicate that it was more usual for young women - dairymaids - to accompany the herds with some help from male herders, while others stayed in the winter settlements to tend crops and harvest the hay (E. Davies 1984, 88; Fox 1996, 3-4, 8, 12-13; Sayce 1955-6, 132-3). Courts in northern Britain, like that of 1326 Merioneth, were concerned with the unseasonable summer presence at arable townships of animals rather than people. In Cornwall, Herring argues (from early modern Scottish and Irish parallels) for an early medieval female transhumant workforce, citing the small size of huts on Bodmin Moor (Herring 2012, 94, 97). In the study area a spindle whorl suggests a female presence at the 12th-century transhumance site of Carn Goedog (below), evidence perhaps of dairymaids who would have been accompanied by the township herdsman or *bugail*: their joint responsibility for cattle is noted in medieval Welsh law. (D. Jenkins 1990, 176).

Seasonal pasture in Cemais

Seasonal pasture in Cemais is principally represented by the Preseli hills, where extensive tracts of common land are still used as summer grazing, albeit restricted today to sheep and horses (Figure F6). Sheep are communally controlled through periodic round-ups –'stray days' or *stra*, a term derived from the English 'stray' that

refers to 'periodic rounding up and sorting of sheep grazing', and 'collection days' (Charles 1971, 132; Lewis 1969b, 93-4). In the late 1960s there were two *stra* days, in the last week of June (after sheep shearing) and at the end of October, and four main collection days. Two of the collection days were in late June in the days running up to the *stra* day, firstly for washing, and secondly for shearing and ear-marking of lambs; the third was in the middle of August for dipping sheep; and the fourth at the end of August to select sheep for sale. Similar late June arrangements for sheep washing and shearing are recorded in 17th-century Cumbria, while midsummer and early autumn cattle round-ups ('drifts') are recorded in medieval Dartmoor (Fox 2012, 65-7, 88; Winchester 2000, 59-61). Such gatherings would have drawn together dispersed communities and research in England identifies them as occasions for other important communal activities in the early medieval and, perhaps, the late prehistoric period. Faith, for instance, notes that much of the business of the Anglo-Saxon hundred court was concerned with 'managing and marketing livestock' which – as in medieval Wales – wandered freely in the care of township herdsmen; the Old English words for livestock – *yrfe* or *feoh* – mean both 'property' and 'cattle' (Banham and Faith 2014, 160-161; Gosden and Lock 2009, 145-151).

The Cemais seasonal pasture is regulated today by manorial courts (Mynachlogddu and Puncheston in the south, and the Court Leet of the Barony of Cemais in the north) which deal with disputes over grazing rights and straying animals. The Cemais Court Leet meets annually on 10 November, while Mynachlogddu manorial court, in the 1960s, met in July and October (David Cole, Steward of the Barony of Cemais, pers. comm.; Lewis 1969b, 93).

A summer and autumn pattern of meetings is also shown in the only surviving medieval manorial court roll for Cemais, which records the 1381-2 court sessions for Moylgrove and the 1382-3 sessions for the adjacent manor of Bayvil (NLW Bronwydd 65, 1381-3). Both manorial courts met only between May 1 (the Feast of the Apostles Philip and Jacob) and the end of September, with an accounting year that ended in early August at the Feast of St Laurence (Table 5.5). They therefore convened only when cattle from different communities would have been sharing seasonal pastures.

Table 5.5: Dates of Bayvil and Moylgrove manorial courts, 1382 (NLW Bronwydd 65)

Moylgrove courts 1381-2	Date of feast day
Eve of St Laurence the Martyr, 1381	August 8
Saturday before the feast of St Bartholomew the Apostle, 1381	August 24
Saturday after the feast of the birth of the Blessed Mary, 1381	September 8
Monday before the feast of Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1381	September 13
Tuesday after the feast of the Apostles Philip and Jacob, 1382	May 1
Tuesday after the feast of Pentecost [Whit Sunday], 1382	7th Sunday after Easter Day (movable feast)
Saturday after the feast of St Barnabus, 1382	June 11
Saturday after the feast of Ciricus & Julitta, martyrs, 1382	June 16
Day after of the Translation of St Thomas, 1382	July 7
Wednesday after the feast of St Mary Magdalene, 1382	July 22
Bayvil courts 1382-3	
Saturday before the feast of St Bartholomew the Apostle, 1382	August 24
Saturday before the feast of the birth of the Blessed Mary, 1382	September 8
Monday before the feast of St Michael, 1382	September 29
Tuesday after the feast of the Apostles Philip and Jacob, 1383	May 1
Tuesday before the feast of Pentecost [Whit Sunday], 1383	7th Sunday after Easter Day (movable feast)
Saturday after the feast of St Barnabus, 1383	June 11
Saturday after the feast of Ciricus & Julitta, martyrs, 1383	June 16
Tuesday on the day after the Translation of St Thomas, 1383	July 7
Wednesday after the feast of St Mary Magdalene, 1383	July 22
Monday 'saving next' the eve of St Laurence, 1383	August 8

The evidence for medieval seasonal pasture is summarised in Appendix 17 and shown in Figure F5, and indicates different scales of medieval and pre-Conquest practice. Although records do not specifically mention transhumance, it can be surmised from some of the distances between winter settlements and summer grazing areas, and from the remains of small structures on areas of upland seasonal pasture (e.g. Dinas/Mynydd Melyn and Carn Goedog below). The meagre existing evidence points to the involvement of both young men and women in these seasonal movements: in the 16th century, boys and young men worked year-round as cattle herders in the unenclosed landscape, while Conquest-period female involvement is indicated by a spindle whorl at an 11th- or 12th-century long hut (Carn Goedog) on the 'Charter of Preseli' land (G. Owen 1994, 45; Schlee et al. 2018).

The overall impression is of widespread transhumance, some of it very localised, which had disappeared by the 16th century (cf. Fox 1996, 2-4). Lowland communities held rights to specific areas of upland pasture that are sometimes institutionalised in medieval and 16th-century detached portions of parishes or fees. Where a hill lay next to a community, it was used; where several communities lay around a hill, its grazing was shared between them, as the *mynydd* place-names attest (see Case Studies, below).

Parishes, which replace the 'fee' or manor in local records after the mid-15th century (e.g. NLW Bronwydd 830 of 1446, the first identifiable reference to 'parish' in Bayvil's land transactions), have boundaries that meet on these areas of shared rough pasture; similar 'radiating patterns' of parish boundaries on common grazing land are noted in England by Hooke (1985, 66). Some of these represent late divisions of shared pastures; in Cemais their 13th-century progenitors, the Welsh north Preseli fees, share unenclosed areas of hill pasture (Figures D1, E3). Anglo-Norman manors like Mynachlogddu and Maenclochog, in contrast, incorporate hill pastures within their boundaries (Figure D3).

Similar divisions of shared rough pasture can be seen in less elevated areas. *Mynydd* names are found on the coastal plain above the Nevern valley in the area around Llech y Drybedd burial chamber where the parishes of Moylgrove and Nevern meet (*Mynyth y Llech y Drybedd* 1585: Charles 1992, 140; Appendix 17 for Tithe references to *mynydd* field names). Together with a nearby 18th-century *hafod* place-name that marks the medieval demesne and 12th-century forest of the Lord of Cemais, they indicate extensive seasonal grazing – some of it wood pasture – on the coastal plain which was regulated, here and in adjacent Bayvil, by the summer-specific manorial court (Charles 1948, 268; Charles 1992, 119, 121). Bayvil's seasonal grazing is identified by 14th- to 16th-century records of pasture rights in areas of outfield place-names (Case Study Example 1).

On the southern side of the Nevern valley, where descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* held lands, communities used seasonal pastures on the northern Preseli slopes in the area specified in the 1243x1268 Charter of Preseli (Figure F5). These generally lie on moorland above the home farms (*hendrefi*), though a more distant relationship is indicated by the paired half-fees of Llanfair Nantgwyn and Tregynon, on opposite edges of the Preseli commons, some 10 km apart.

Longer distance links, spanning 15 km, exist between coastal St Dogmaels and Mynachlogddu on the southern Preseli slopes, recorded in the 1121 St Dogmaels charter and the medieval parochial structure – Mynachlogddu, known as 'Plwyf Mawr' was a detached portion of St Dogmaels parish, and Mynachlogddu pasture rights were still held by St Dogmaels parishioners in the 19th century (Lewis 1967, 31, 36). Parishioners at Monington, the Anglo-Norman manor next to St Dogmaels on the coastal plain, similarly held pasture rights in one area of Mynachlogddu. A transmontane track connects these areas and is shown on the first map of Pembrokeshire of 1602 (Figure F8; NLW Map 5359, 1602).

These links undoubtedly involved transhumance, which is evident in Little Newcastle's paired settlements at Summerton and Winterton (Case Study Example 3 below), and

probably indicated by group of habitations on seasonal pastures like the 12th-century long huts at Carn Goedog (Appendix 17; Case Study example 4, below). Like the Dinas/Mynydd Melyn sub-circular structures (Case Study example 2), Carn Goedog was less than an hour's walk from areas of medieval arable settlement.

A different scale of operation is suggested at Mynachlogddu, whose 1291 *Grangia* name (Appendix 17) indicates a year-round vaccary or cattle ranch, like those of pre-Conquest 13th-century north Wales and of the Abbey of Strata Florida, established by Lord Rhys in the 12th century, and perhaps also indicated by large upland grants in some 7th- and 8th-century Llandaff charters (Fleming and Barker 2008; Smith 1998, 228-233; W. Davies 1978, 35). The St Dogmaels/Mynachlogddu cattle granges should be seen in the context of the 1222/3 St Davids claim to extensive pre-Conquest ecclesiastical lands around the edges of Cemais (Figure C3; Pryce 2007). Large scale operations are similarly indicated by the sole rights of the Lord of Cemais to summer pasture at Redwalls in Morvil (Appendix 17). The sizeable herds implied by the large scale dairying and cattle ranching of church and prince were sustained by live animals paid as fines and tribute (Appendix 3). *Maerdy* place-names, focussing on areas held by descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer*, suggest similarly specialised *uchelwyr* activity (see Appendix 17), with intensified exploitation superimposed on patterns of local transhumance.

A central shared pasture resource in the pre-Conquest period?

This picture of medieval Preseli pasture rights indicates longstanding claims by coastal and Nevern valley areas to the hills as a shared resource, and add substance to the evidence of longstanding heavy upland grazing that Seymour detects from pollen samples. The earliest records are 12th century, but the institutional continuity of pre-Conquest landholding arrangements in Welsh areas, and the Anglo-Norman tendency to continue pre-Conquest arrangements in areas where a native population remained, suggests claims of pre-Conquest provenance. This is also supported by the complex mosaic of linkages and rights, detailed in the preceding section, which involves both Welsh and English areas (Figure F5). The southern Preseli pastures of St Dogmaels abbey at Mynachlogddu, for instance, are granted in 1121, not long after the Conquest, yet are separated from the abbey by the large north Preseli area where the common rights of (Welsh) descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* are confirmed by the 1243x1268 Charter of Preseli; Francis Jones suggest that these rights may have originally been held by early 12th-century Welshmen to whom the charter refers (F. Jones 1938, 128; 1979, 29). The simplest interpretation of the St Dogmaels arrangement is that it reflects pre-Conquest arrangements whereby extensive lands and rights (like those temporarily restored to St Davids in 1222-3) had been granted to

ecclesiastical institutions at various points in the early medieval period (Pryce 2007; cf. Hooke 1996, 82-3).

Thus, on a wider level, we can see the Preseli hills as - originally - a communal resource, with certain areas habitually used by certain communities, and use regulated by common-pool resource arrangements of the type proposed by Ostrom and discussed by Oosthuizen, albeit with some areas reserved for the use of king and church (Oosthuizen 2013; Ostrom 1990). This resource was the key to managing and increasing the wealth represented by cattle. Widespread use of summer habitations in these hills provided extra hands for stock round-ups, and supported nearby seasonal markets or fairs where surplus animals and butter and cheese made at the summer settlements could be sold; these fairs will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Settlement evidence across the cantref

The distinctive landscape footprint of this infield-outfield-transhumance system can be seen in its relationship between settlement and soil. Direct identification of its early medieval component is difficult due to the restrictions of historical and archaeological records, but the location of medieval and late prehistoric sites is instructive. Figure F9(A) uses pre-1500 place-names as proxies for zones of medieval settlement, almost all of which (allowing for a few topographical references to distinctive hilltop features) can be seen to be located on soils of greater fertility and close to boundaries with soils of lesser fertility. The latter are often, in modern times, poorly drained and liable to seasonal waterlogging, and described as moor or *rhos*. These variations in fertility and drainage determine whether areas are better suited for arable or for seasonal pasture; similar patterns are recognised elsewhere, for instance in Anglesey and Glamorgan (G.R.J. Jones 1955, 36-7, Figure 1; Seaman 2010). The siting of settlements on the interface of arable and pasture zones optimises access and allows livestock to move from homestead to pasture without having to pass through the crops of the open fields. The resulting patterns of common-edge settlement are widely recognised in England (Oosthuizen 2013, 25, 27; Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 90-1, 100-3, 116; Williamson 2013, 132 (south-east England), 152-4 (East Anglia), 158-9 (Hertfordshire); cf. for Wales, Austin 2016, 9, 13).

This pattern can be usefully compared with that of deserted (medieval/post-medieval) rural settlements and longhuts (Figure F9(B)), which include dwellings associated with transhumance. These are represented by HER records that span different periods and probably under-represent lowland sites in areas of agricultural improvement, but nonetheless many of the deserted settlements can be seen to be on poorer upland soils where heath and reeds now replace early medieval pasture. This is especially evident on the north Preseli slopes above Whitchurch and Meline, the subject of the

Charter of Preseli's 1243x1268 confirmation of Welsh common rights, where Seymour's evidence suggests that the onset of waterlogging could be late- or post-medieval. Settlement morphology suggests both late prehistoric and medieval deserted sites are present (http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk/HLC/Preseli/area/area281.htm), and some probably represent transhumance activity, like those at Carn Goedog, which are roughly contemporary both with the Charter of Preseli and with Welsh law references to transhumance.

Comparisons can also be made with HER records of enclosed ('defended') settlements (Figure F9(C)) of late prehistoric, Romano-British and possible early medieval date. Distribution overlaps with the medieval place-name sites, but extend to higher altitudes in moorland areas (for example Mynydd Melyn and Carn Ingli) where Seymour's analysis confirms the presence of good grazing up to the early medieval period. Deserted unenclosed settlements and enclosures of late prehistoric and medieval date, sometimes associated with fields and enclosures, are also found at these higher altitudes. On the northern Preseli slopes these tend to be located close to the boundary of different soils within the moorland area – specifically on the edge of seasonally waterlogged Hafren soils close to their junction with the wetter Wilcocks 1 soils - hinting that the Hafren soils once presented better opportunities than exist today (Rudeforth et al. 1984, 163-7, 250-3). The hillfort of Carn Alw (HER 1036) and the cluster of settlements and enclosures around it (e.g. HER 8404, 11537, 11538, 11539), as well as the settlements around Carn Goedog provide particularly clear examples of this.

It will be useful at this point to pause and consider when occupation of these enclosed settlements comes to an end, since this question is fundamental to understanding archaeological evidence for early medieval Wales. In Devon and Cornwall, the differential distributions of enclosed rounds and unenclosed medieval settlements are attributed to a Christian-era refocussing of settlement around churches, with occupation of enclosed settlements ending around the 6th century, and the term *tref* designating unenclosed settlements after this same time (Padel 1985, 223-232; Quinnell 2004, 243-4; Turner 2006, 75-9, 98, 172-3, 181, 188). In Wales however churches are integrated into older settlement patterns, with late prehistoric enclosures re-used for cemeteries (Comeau 2016; H. James 1992; T. James 1992). There is little to indicate when enclosed or 'fortified' settlements[3] go out of use in Wales: the remit of the 2003-7 CADW Prehistoric Defended Enclosures project did not extend to early medieval occupation, though Kate Waddington's comprehensive longue durée survey of late prehistoric and early medieval settlements in north-west Wales notes that use of

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[3] Fitzpatrick's recommendation of the term 'enclosed settlements' for such sites is noted (Fitzpatrick 2009)

both unenclosed and enclosed sites is ongoing from the late Bronze Age onwards (Edwards et al. 2011, 2; Waddington 2013, 25, 89, 108-111, 115). In Cemais, post-Roman occupation of a small Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed site is suggested at Henllys Top Field, with the medieval Henllys Uchaf and Isaf a couple of fields away (Figure G2; see Bayvil case study below; Charles 1971-2; Mytum and Webster 2001). The nearby Iron Age multivallate site of Castell Henllys, whose interior was abandoned in the Late Iron Age in favour of farmsteads in an annexe enclosure, has a short-lived late/post-Roman refortification, and is thereafter permanently abandoned together with its annexe farmsteads: the excavator suggests this happens in the 4th century AD and may be associated with the arrival of the Irish Deisi (Mytum 2013, 17-19). There is also, under the wall of 12th-century Maenclochog castle, a 9th- to 11th-century *terminus post quem* radiocarbon date which – if it does not relate to an earth-and-timber phase of the castle - raises questions about the origin of ringworks and enclosures of apparent late prehistoric type at other local Conquest-period centres like Puncheston (Figure G6; see Puncheston/Little Newcastle case study below; Schlee 2007, 11). No unenclosed early medieval settlements are identified in Cemais (apart from seasonally-occupied Carn Goedog), but such sites are notoriously under-identified (Edwards et al. 2005, 35).

A similar mix of early medieval settlement types is shown elsewhere in Wales. Existing discussion tends to focus on distinctive hilltop enclosures like Dinas Powys which have evidence of high status 5th- to 7th-century occupation, but early medieval occupation can also be identified (usually via radiocarbon dates) at a number of small Iron Age/Romano-British enclosed settlements in south-west Wales, most notably the promontory forts at Brawdy and Carew, Pembrokeshire (Edwards et al. 2005, 33-4, quoting Dark 2000, 185; Loveluck 2013, 295). There are also indications of post-Roman occupation at the south-east Wales 'hillfort' sites of Portskewett and Caerau, and at the Roman site of Caerleon (Edwards et al. 2016, 11-12). In north Wales the enclosed Iron Age/Romano-British site of Graeanog has signs of occupation in the 9th century or later (Edwards et al. 2005, 35, quoting Fasham et al 1998, 155). In Ceredigion, there is 5th- to 6th-century crop processing evidence and 7th- to 9th-century ironworking at the inland promontory enclosure of Glanfred (I. Jones et al 2018). There is also evidence (echoing Maenclochog) of the 11th- or 12th-century construction of two 'defended sites' in north Wales which, given the historical evidence, are unlikely to be Norman (Hen Gastell, Gwynedd and Llanfairpwll, Anglesey) (Edwards et al. 2016, 14).

Very few unenclosed early medieval Welsh sites are known. Apart from the 5th- to 7th-century high status site at Longbury Bank, there are a number of rectangular structures of 7th- to 12th-century date at agricultural settlements, the earliest of which is the 7th- to 8th-century round-ended rectangular stone building (one of a group) associated with

a field system at Rhuddgaer in Anglesey (Edwards et al. 2005, 35; Edwards et al. 2016, 15; Hopewell and Edwards 2017). Its form is very similar to longhuts elsewhere that have hitherto been assumed to be later medieval, and its plan is comparable to the 8th- to 12th-century bow-sided timber buildings at South Hook (Pembrokeshire) and to the 7th- to early 11th-century timber building at Conkland Hill, Wiston (also Pembrokeshire) which overlies an earlier hilltop enclosure (Edwards et al. 2016, 16).

The signs are therefore that many enclosed settlements continued to be used, and indeed built, until late in the early medieval period, and that unenclosed settlements are also in use after the 7th century. This picture has more in common with the Irish situation than with the Cornish picture as generally perceived. In Ireland, excavations reveal both enclosed and unenclosed early medieval settlements, with possible seasonal settlements among the latter (O'Sullivan et al. 2013, 74-9, 112-6). Irish ringforts/enclosed settlements continue to be built and occupied throughout the early medieval period and beyond, though at many sites occupation finishes in the 8th- to 10th-century; reasons for their abandonment may include a shift from clientship to feudalism and from cows to greater arable cultivation, with economic surpluses fuelling the creation of greater regional powers (Fitzpatrick 2009, 277-8, 303; McCormick 2008, 220-1; O'Sullivan et al. 2013, 78).

In Cemais it is conceivable that some of the upland archaeological record captures this early medieval use of both enclosed and unenclosed settlements, particularly on areas of slightly better soils like those in the Carn Alw area, where the early medieval onset of waterlogging in adjacent rough grazing would have reduced the area available for autumn and winter grazing and thus affected the viability of year-round settlements here. It is also possible that some of the upland enclosed settlements may represent seasonal settlement: as noted in Chapter 2, early modern Scottish shielings show that crop-growing does not contra-indicate summer use. Seasonal use for gatherings is, for instance, noted as a possibility at the large multivallate Iron Age hilltop enclosure of Foel Trigarn, which has large numbers of insubstantial habitations (Mytum 2013, 16; see also Chapter 6).

Returning to settlement patterning, the common-edge pattern of settlement identified by pre-1500 place-names is visible both along the edge of the Preseli seasonal grazing and also at lower altitudes like the coastal plain, with settlements often located at the springs that arise at geological and soil boundaries (Figures F5, F9, G2, G5). Although spatial patterns at these lower levels are often obscured by post-medieval enclosure, early 19th-century field names identify pre-enclosure landscape components including substantial areas of lowland pasture, some of it shared grazing and woodland, fringed by pre-1700 settlements and small areas of arable (Figure G1; cf. Oosthuizen 2008; C.

Thomas 1980a; 1992). These show a micro-level interplay of arable and pasture that is implied by infield-outfield agricultural regimes and shapes the early Anglo-Saxon estates discussed by Hooke.

These patterns are particularly clear at Bayvil, where surviving medieval documents enhance understanding, and at Dinas where some medieval field patterns with intermingled tenure survive to the 19th century. Both these case study areas lie within the Welsh area of Cemais and provide productive comparisons with patterns south of the Preseli hills, where 13th-century personal names and medieval place-names indicate English and Flemish settlement (Charles 1992, xliii-lii; cf. names of witnesses to Free Men of Cemais Charter: G. Owen 1862, 57-60). The Bayvil, Dinas and south Preseli Puncheston/Little Newcastle case study areas will be examined next, together with the seasonal Preseli settlement at Carn Goedog. Details of case study area place-names are given in Appendix 4, and of HER records in Appendix 10.

Case study detailed example 1, north of the Preselis: Bayvil, Crugie quarter and Moylgrove
(Figures G2, J3; Appendices 4, 10)

Spatial pattern

Mapping of pre-1700 place-names and 19th-century field names indicative of outfield (e.g. 'uncultivated', '*moor/rhos/mynydd*') (Figure G2(A)) shows that Bayvil's settlements form a ring of hamlets around an area of outfield extending westwards of Crugiau Cemais as far as Rhos Bayvil ('Bayvil moor'), and lie at springs rising from the edge of the gravel terrace on which this outfield lies. 14th- to 16th-century records show these settlements holding grazing rights in this central outfield area, though none of it survives as common land (Figure G3; Appendix 17 for details; e.g. NLW Bronwydd 1037 of 1520). Light free-draining soils of the Newport 1 series provide good quality pasture and productive arable across much of this area.

Records link these settlements with open fields – ploughlands or carucates - of intermingled strips and *in rodwallis* rights (NLW Bronwydd 7010 of 1349; G. Owen 1862, 55-6, late 13th century; 1977, 42-3). There are references to stones and ditches demarcating fields, like Maen hir y Bavyil ('the longstone of Bayvil' - NLW Bronwydd 821 of 1427, 839 of 1584/5; cf. NLW Bronwydd 953 of 1508 for early 16th-century erection of boundary stones; the stones and ditch around the Bayvil assembly site are considered in Chapter 6), Ffos nant y fin ('the ditch/of the stream/valley of the boundary' – NLW Bronwydd 1345 of 1418), Talffin/y talffin hir ('the end of the long boundary' - NLW Bronwydd 839 & 843 of 1584/5), and Ffos y Krigie ('the ditch of

Crigie' - NLW Bronwydd 769 of 1594). There are further small areas of shared grazing between the open fields (G. Owen 1977, 41-3).

Lack of field books and pre-18th-century maps prevents detailed mapping, but 18th- to 19th-century field names and boundary patterns indicate settlement locations between open fields and the large central shared pasture. The 1845 tithe map shows consolidation eradicating most traces of open fields apart from strips of glebe land near Bayvil and strip fields at Trewenfron/Pengarddau in the Crugiau Cemais area. Its single farmsteads are hamlets in the 1594 Extent.

Place-name evidence (see below) indicates considerable early medieval activity here, but there is very little archaeologically established early medieval occupation evidence other than the hints of post-Roman activity at Castell Henllys and at Henllys Top Field noted above. There are however three early medieval cemeteries (Casswell et al. 2017; H. James 1987; Murphy and Murphy 2015; Mytum and Webster 2003), and enclosed prehistoric settlements of varying sizes lying close to medieval sites and indicating longue durée settlement patterning (Chapter 6). The enclosures at Castell Henllys and Crugiau Cemais are notable for their greater size and multivallation, and at the latter partially enclose a Bronze Age barrow cemetery and early medieval rectangular embanked graves (Comeau 2014). There are also two large palisaded enclosures, undated but probably late prehistoric, at Postgoch and Dryslwyn (Parker Pearson et al. 2017; Welham and Steele 2014), which lie next to more round barrows, a chambered tomb (Nash 2013) and an abandoned medieval settlement called Pantyllech. These sites are considered further in the next chapter, which examines the probable presence of a pre-Conquest court or *llys* at Bayvil.

Tenure

Bayvil was a medieval demesne bond fee or manor (Chapter 4) with bond tenancies subject to the characteristic communal Welsh bond township rent (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 437, 460-1; G. Owen 1977, 43), though only a small number of these were directly controlled by the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais before the 16th-century Owen takeover (see below; Table 5.6-8) (Charles 1973, 5-38; G. Owen 1977, 44). Many were held, bought, sold and (sub)let by high status individuals who elsewhere are freeholders (Appendix 13, 14; cf. G. Owen 1977, 50-51).

The location of these bond tenancies is shown on Figure G4. Most lie within small hamlets of 3 to 11 tenements of mixed landlordship (Table 5.6), which are associated with *in rodwallis* open fields: the 1594 Extent notes 9 bond ploughlands and 3 free ('knight service') ploughlands (G. Owen 1977, 42-3), several of which are mentioned in the 14th and 15th century though the overall picture is unclear due to a lack of early manorial surveys. At Henllys three bond ploughlands are noted in the Extent (Henllys

Ucha, Henllys Issa and Henllys Forgan) and documented in preceding centuries, and there is also a 15th-century reference to one at Henllys Podynghod which may be an alternative name for one of the other Henllys ploughlands (e.g. NLW Bronwydd 962 of 1487; 972 of 1497; 945 of 1499, 1340 of 1401; 1270 of 1493/4; 1270 of 1493/4, 1054 of 1473/4). Since a ploughland equates to a *rhandir* (Appendix 2), Henllys may therefore have been a 3-*rhandir* bond township (*tref*) as specified by the 12th-century south Wales laws.

Records also identify high status residences here - the hereditary lands and medieval homes of several descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer*, as well as lands of the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais (presumably deriving from the pre-Conquest Welsh prince) and of an Anglo-Norman knight (Peverel) (Comeau 2012b).

Significant sites and place-names

Crugiau Cemais, Henllys and Nanhyfer/Nevern are all names of regional significance and are considered in Chapter 6, together with the Pantyllech name which may relate to pre-Conquest ecclesiastical (*clas*) land, and the Bayvil name whose significance is uncertain. Focal zone dependent settlements are suggested by the names of two twinned bond settlements, Penallt y garddau (*Penallt y garthe* 1571), which echoes the names of bond settlements composed of *garddau* ('gardens' or narrow strips) at pre-Conquest royal centres in north Wales, and Trewenfron (*Trefgynwran* 1349) which may mean 'township of the prince' (Charles 1992, 142, 146). Both are considered in more detail below. There is also a lost 14th-century 'Cynheidre' (*Kynhayfdref* 1343: harvest/autumn township) place-name, which presumably related to the seasonal practices evidenced by 14th to 16th-century pasture rights and by 14th-century manorial court dates (Appendix 17; Charles 1992, 28).

Felindre Farchog (*Velindre Melinmarchoge* t. Ed 3 (1580): 'Mill/mill farm of the lord/knight') was the site of the Lord of Cemais' mill, mentioned in 1273, to which both bond tenants and freeholders owed services (Charles 1992, 28, 138; G. Owen 1862, 51-2; 1977, 50-2). Bayvil's 14th-century late midsummer market and fair charter probably regularises earlier activities and is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 (Comeau 2014).

The place-names, in combination with the preponderance of bond tenants, demesne status, fair, market and mill suggest that Bayvil was a pre-Conquest *maerdref* or township of dependent tenants who supported the royal court. The 12th-century Norman caput was at Nevern, on Bayvil's south-western boundary (Caple 2011), and this is also the location of the *cantref*'s principal church, dedicated to St Brynach.

Case study detailed example 2, north of the Preselis: Dinas
(Figure G5; Appendices 4, 10)

Spatial pattern

Like Bayvil, comparison of outfield (*mynydd/rhos*) field names and pre-1700 place-names shows a ring of hamlets around two areas of outfield, with settlement locations corresponding to a line of springs at the junctions of permeable and impermeable geologies. The outfield zones survive as large areas of common land, Rhos Dinas or Dinas moor on the coastal plain, and Mynydd Dinas on the hilltop above. The latter is part of a larger hilltop zone whose different areas have names – Mynydd Dinas, Mynydd Llanllawer and Mynydd Melyn – that encode the rights of encircling parishes; in the case of Mynydd Melyn this is the 13th-century fee that became Llanychlwydog parish. Mynydd Melyn (Llanychlwydog p.) has a group of small sub-circular structures of suggested Iron Age date (DAT HER 1440, 1447-1450), 0.5 km beyond the hilltop parish junction with Dinas and Llanllawer parishes; their hilltop locations suggest seasonal habitations.

19th-century tithe maps show intermingled fields, indicative of medieval open fields, next to the pre-1700 hamlets of Brynhenllan, Penmynydd, Fron, Hescwm and Trefvawr, though little survives in the latter's substantially consolidated area. As in Bayvil, the proximity of late prehistoric enclosed settlements to several of its medieval settlement indicate a longue durée patterning, though unlike Bayvil no multivallate enclosures have been identified (Appendix 10). Two ring barrows are recorded on Dinas mountain, one of them close to the hilltop parish junction and used as a pound in the early 19th century (PRO OS 26/8637: pages 6-7; Comeau 2012c, 12). Ongoing survey identifies a number of other small cairns here (R. Comeau and H. James, field survey in progress). No barrow cemeteries are otherwise recorded. There is a cist grave cemetery of possible pre-Conquest date at Brynhenllan, the cist graves at Cwm-yr-eglwys being of probable high medieval date (Comeau 2015).

Post-medieval consolidation is limited outside the Trefvawr area, and this, combined with a non-demesne Welsh law tenurial status, is reflected in a scarcity of medieval documentation (Comeau 2010, 236; Comeau 2012a, 29-30; 32-7). Open fields or ploughlands are referred to in three areas – Brynhenllan (1331), Trefvawr (1519) and Hescwm (1594) (NLW Bronwydd 1170 of 1519; G. Owen 1862, 31; 1977, 30). 19th-century tithe records indicate that tenure of the intermingled fields that succeed these open fields is almost always restricted to occupants of the adjacent hamlet, and lands are rarely held in more than one hamlet (Comeau 2012a, 32-6).

These open field zones correspond closely to areas of better soils, with soil boundaries coinciding with standing stones and crosses. The placement of these also coincides

with track junctions and parish boundaries, suggesting a boundary-marker function similar to that mentioned in Welsh law (Comeau 2010, 241, 246-7). Livestock were excluded from the open fields by a bank and ditch 'head-dyke' or *pen clawdd*, known locally as a *gorchlawdd*; one survived on Rhos Dinas to the 18th century and another on Mynydd Dinas is still visible (Comeau 2012a, 37).

Tenure

Dinas is listed as a Welsh fee in 1326 but is not mentioned in the 1278 Freemen of Cemais charter, which raises the question of whether its inhabitants were bondsmen (CIPM 1910, 448-9). This may account for largely tenanted 16th-century status; most landlords are non-resident and can be identified as descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* (Appendix 13, 14; Comeau 2010, 229, 237; G. Owen 1977, 30-31). This pattern of dependant tenants (the *gabulari,* 'gale' or customary tenants mentioned in Chapter 4) with small, intermingled landholdings organised into small hamlets of 3 to 7 units or *tyddynoedd* can be identified elsewhere in 16th-century Cemais (Tables 5.6, 5.7) and reinforces Chapter 4's suggestion that in this region, the enfranchisement of bond tenants did not create a class of minor freeholders as happened in Gwynedd and Ceredigion (G.R.J. Jones 1955, 55-7; Jones Pierce 1972, 268, 274, 316-8, 321-2; G. Owen 1862, 59; cf. G.R.J. Jones 1996).

Significant sites and place-names

Dinas (*Y Dinas* 1264) means 'The fort/stronghold', though it is unclear which site is implied (Charles 1992, 35). The name suggests a larger site than the parish's known small late prehistoric/early medieval fortified enclosures which are mostly referred to as *Castell* (Comeau 2010, 235). 16th-century records attach the 'Dinas' name to a cluster of intermingled hilltop tenements (also called Fron Fawr in 1583, and called Penmynydd from the 17th century) in the type of hill-brow setting where large Iron Age enclosures are commonly found elsewhere in the Preselis, for instance at Carn Ffoi on Newport mountain; Carn Alw at Whitchurch, Crugiau Cemais in Bayvil and Castell Mawr in Meline (Figure B5; DAT HER 1437; 1036, 99386, 983; G. Owen 1977, 31 [cf. Penmynydd in F.Jones 1979, 42, 45]; Parker Pearson, Casswell and Welham 2017).

Another place-name, Brynhenllan (*Brinhenllan* 1331: 'Hill by the old/former church'), indicates a pre-Conquest church or *llan* in the hamlet where a cist cemetery is recorded (Charles 1992, 35; Comeau 2010, 239-241)[4]. There was also a mill in Dinas, held by

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[4] I am not including here the *Gilwen* field-name that, in earlier work (Comeau 2009, 240 and Comeau 2016, 209), I suggested may mean either 'white/holy church' or 'white/holy narrow place/corner'. Its exclusion arises partly because of its late date (a 19th-century Tithe Schedule record) and partly because thesis research has caused me to reconsider my earlier suggestion that *cil* may - as in Ireland and other

16th-century descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer*: in Welsh law a mill, together with a church, fishery/weir and orchard is an 'ornament' of a kindred (Comeau 2010, 229, 233; G.R.J. Jones 1985a, 158).

No fair or markets are recorded in Dinas, though there were August 1 (Gŵyl Awst) gatherings on Dinas mountain which are discussed in Chapter 6 (Comeau 2012c, 14).

Case study detailed example 3, south of the Preselis: Puncheston, Little Newcastle, Morvil and Castlebythe

(Figures G6, J1; Appendices 4, 10)

Spatial pattern

This area lies to the south of the hilly southern edge of the Gwaun valley, which is divided into the *mynydd* of the communities of Cilciffeth, Pontfaen (or Trenewydd) and – in the area to be considered here – Morvil, Castlebythe, Fagwr Fran (Puncheston) and Little Newcastle, whose *mynydd* is called Summerton Mountain or Carn Deifo moor. The adjacent areas of Summerton mountain and Fagwr Fran moor have a concentration of outfield place-names, fringed at lower levels by meadows, the settlements of Fagwr Fran, Puncheston, Martel and Little Newcastle, and 19th-century intermingled fields, many of them strip fields. To the east, beyond Puncheston, are more outfield names at Morvil and Redwalls, bordering the Preseli commons. Castlebythe mountain is common land, and its large embanked enclosure contains at least six unexcavated rectangular structures similar to those on the seasonal pasture at Carn Goedog.

As well as the embanked enclosure at Castlebythe, there are two more on the Summerton *mynydd*: a large multivallate enclosure at Summerton Camp and a smaller univallate enclosure at Carn Cwcw. There is also a large embanked enclosure of unknown date in the centre of Puncheston, above the river. It is not known if there was a pre-Conquest component to the motte in the centre of Little Newcastle which was demolished in the 1960s. To the north, the site named *Castell* on Mynydd Morvil represents another possible fortified enclosure of unknown date, strategically located at a mountain pass above the medieval demesne centre of Morvil.

Gaelic-influenced areas - indicate a church. Tempting as such an interpretation is in an area of post-Roman Irish settlement, particularly for several Cemais locations where a medieval *cil* name-form appears to coincide with a medieval church, there are no other records of this usage in Wales: although (as Giraldus Cambrensis notes) early medieval Irish sources make multiple references to St Davids as *Cill(e)/Cell Muine*, Welsh sources refer to it as *Meneu/Mynyw* (Charles 1992, 283-4). Moreover the relative abundance of medieval and 16th century *cil* name-forms locally argues against their indicating churches – there seem to be too many. The recurrent use of *cil* in 13th-16th place-names in north Pembrokeshire is, however, intriguing and needs further (and wider) investigation.

The 1594 Extent shows settlements of the Lord of Cemais' gale tenants and freeholders at Newcastle village and the two areas of 'Welsh' and 'English' Redwalls, while late 14th-century records identify demesne at Carn Deifo (in Little Newcastle parish) and Redwalls (in Morvil parish) (G. Owen 1977, 38-9; see Chapter 4 for demesne records). Records do not provide a complete picture, being very limited for lands descending from 12th- and 13th-century de Vale holdings at Morvil, Redwalls (shared with the Lord of Cemais), Puncheston and Little Newcastle, part of a substantial estate encompassing most of the southern Preselis (Figure C4; G. Owen 1862, 27, 62, 75-6; 1892, 188; H. Owen 1902, 75, 92-4).

There is common land on the hill in Puncheston parish, in Fagwr Fran Moor area. To the east, Summerton mountain in the parish of Newcastle is entirely enclosed and privatised. Place-names and 16th-century records indicate that Summerton mountain provided seasonal pasture for the hamlets on its lower slopes: everyone with a messuage at Summerton settlement (there were 7 of them) also had one at Little Newcastle or Martell, which was also known as Winterton (Appendix 17).

Medieval records show that much of the area is in Anglo-Norman hands, with Flemish names in evidence in Puncheston in 1278, though this fee is listed as 'Welsh' in 1326 (CIPM 1910, 448-9; G. Owen 1862, 60). The designation of different areas of nearby Redwalls as 'English and 'Welsh' similarly indicates varied late medieval social or legal identities. The Redwalls place-name itself (*Redwalles* 1293: Charles 1992, 114) hints at an area held under Welsh law, if *walles* (*wallys* 1392) is a *waleis* or area of medieval Welsh landholding (a 'Welshry') rather than the stone wall suggested by Charles (Appendix 4): the 16th-century Welsh form, Vagwr Goch, is a literal translation of 'Red walls'). '*Red*' or '*rod*' probably indicates the rod or rood used to measure land, giving a meaning of 'Welsh land' for the name 'Redwalls', similar to the local 13th- and 14th-century charter term *in radivallis/rudivallis/rodwallis* which, according to George Owen, designated areas of Welsh infield (Howells 1955-6, 315; Jones Pierce 1943; G. Owen 1862-6; 1994, 64-5, 135-6, 170, 175; Palmer 1896; cf. NLW Bronwydd 7010 of 1349, 7014 of 1355, 1348 of 1369). There is another *wallis* place-name nearby at Ambleston (Figure E4; Charles 1992, 397).

Significant sites and place-names

Puncheston (*Pounchardon* 1291: Charles 1992, 175) is a Norman-French name, attested in Somerset where the Anglo-Norman conquerors of Cemais originally held land (see 'Punchardon' in Lyte 1894, 289). The hamlet and parish have an alternative Welsh name, Casmael, whose princely associations are discussed in Chapter 6, together with the warrior associations of the *Fagwr Fran* name of a 13th-century

township or fee on the northern fringes of Puncheston, and a lost 6th-century Roman-letter inscribed stone recorded in 1698 at Puncheston church, close to the fortified enclosure at the heart of Puncheston hamlet. A 16th-century tradition names Morvil as the focus for unsuccessful Welsh resistance to the Norman Conquest (Charles 1948, 278-9), and there may be a reference to this in the name of the mountain pass next to the *castell* on Mynydd Morvil: Bwlch-Wyniad (*Bwlch y Winiad* 17th century: Charles 1992, 115), which Charles interprets as 'the windy gap/pass', but which might alternatively represent 'the pass of the spearman/attacker/raider'. Castlebythe's place-name (*Castlebugh* 1278: Charles 1992, 32-3; 'the fortified enclosure/enclosed settlement of the cows') suggests a seasonally-used place.

A mill on the demesne of the Lord of Cemais at Redwalls is recorded in 1392/3 and 1423/4 (G. Owen 1862, 79-81, 90). This may be the decayed water grist mill called Melyn Lane, on the river Syfynwy at Redwalles, recorded in 1594 (G. Owen 1977, 40). There was another water grist mill at Morvil and a fulling mill at Martell (Puncheston) c.1600 (Howells 1973, 79-80).

Redwalls has a charter for a midsummer fair and market, granted to de Vale in 1293. Like Bayvil, this probably regularises earlier activity and is discussed in Chapter 6 and 7. A market in the Puncheston, Morvil or Martel area is also suggested by the 1610 'market hill' alias for Martel, on the southern edge of the Puncheston fields, and by the 1326 *Marketull* cognomen of a Puncheston freeman which may, as often with medieval surnames, indicate the settlement from which he came (Charles 1992, 176; G. Owen 1862, 88-9). Since de Vale is described in 1297 as 'Lord of Punchardun in Wales', and given also the proximity of the modern Redwalls/Morvil and Puncheston – only some 4 km apart - it is possible that Puncheston, Morvil and Redwalls all referred to the same area in the medieval period, and that these are all references to the same market (G. Owen 1862, 62).

Case study detailed example 4, an upland seasonal site: Carn Goedog
(Figure G7, G8)

Spatial pattern

Carn Goedog is a rock outcrop on the northern Preseli commons where surveys reveal two adjacent groups of structures (SN12833328; NPRN 402816) close to a transmontane track (Schlee et al. 2018). One is composed of 5 subcircular structures whose morphology is thought to suggest a prehistoric date. The other, a linear arrangement of 9 small rectangular structures with pre-excavation lengths of 4-7 m, is very similar to other upland groups of dwellings of presumed medieval date elsewhere in Wales (Locock 2006, 45).

Excavation of one of the rectangular structures in 2015 suggests 11th- to 12th-century occupation of a building that measured 4.5 m x 2.2 m internally with a central doorway and hearth, and a long axis at right angles to the contour. Structural evidence consists of a low stone wall base which was probably the footing for a turf wall, like Scottish shielings. One short end wall is dug into the hillside, and the other is apsidal, providing a smaller scale version of the 7th- or 8th-century lowland house at Rhuddgaer in Anglesey (Hopewell and Edwards 2017). A radiocarbon date of cal AD 1020-1210 at 95.4% confidence (SUERC-68382; 917±34 BP; carbonised Corylus sample) was obtained for the internal hearth, and medieval pottery (of late 12th- to early 16th-century type) and a spindle whorl of possible 12th- to 13th-century date were recovered from outside the structure. These finds suggest occupation contemporary with the Welsh law codes that refer to transhumance, ceasing not long after 1200, some decades before the Charter of Preseli is signed. Few dwellings associated with seasonal activity are firmly dated elsewhere in Wales, and Carn Goedog house is currently the earliest.

Tenure

The occupants were probably tenants of descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer*, whose common rights to this land are retrospectively confirmed in the 1243x1268 Charter of Preseli (Appendix 17; F. Jones 1979, 28; G. Owen 1862, 48; the charter is pre-1268 since Jordan de Cantingdon, one of the witnesses, is dead by then – H. Owen 1902, 20). The charter refers to their lands adjacent to the common at *Albam Ecclesiam* (Whitchurch), *Melyney* (Meline), *Treffhay* (Trehaidd), *Penketlyvor* (Gelli fawr), *Kylwen* (Cilwen) and *Kylgwyn* (Cilgwyn). The spindle whorl suggests a female presence, the easily portable spindle and distaff being used (largely for flax – wool spinning was a winter activity) by milkmaids on 19th-century Scottish shielings (Sayce 1957, 70).

Significant sites and place-names

The term *coedog* means wooded, and suggests the former presence here of wood pasture or, at the very least, of small stands of trees growing in pockets of soil around rocks. *Hafod* place-names nearby attest to the presence of summer pasturage (Appendix 17), one of them, an isolated moorland farm called Hafod Tydfil, being the only surviving permanently occupied site on these moors (Lockley 1950, 36). Evidence for dairying activities is indicated by the 'butter' place-name of Carn Menyn or Meini (earliest form: *Garn y Menyn* 1573), a nearby rock outcrop (Charles 1992, 125).

This is the area of the summer *stras* or livestock drives. No medieval fairs are recorded on these high moors, though late prehistoric gatherings are suggested at Foel Trigarn, 3 km away (Mytum 2013, 16; see also Chapter 6).

Agriculture and settlement patterns in context

The settlement patterns found at Bayvil, Dinas, Puncheston and Little Newcastle – of hamlets and open fields clustered around areas of common pasture – are widely visible elsewhere in Cemais (Figure G1). In the coastal parish and fee of Moylgrove, pre-1700 settlements with open field evidence ring areas of *mynydd* and outfield names, some of them in the area of the 12th-century forest; valley-edge hamlets and intermingled holdings similarly fringe extensive areas of pasture, woodland and moor at Eglwyswrw and (south of the Preselis) at Llangolman. The surviving transhumance evidence indicates links between these agrarian settlements and seasonal pasture habitations that, given the Carn Goedog evidence, were occupied until at least c.1200 with some subsequently (as at Summerton and Hafod Tydfil) becoming year-round settlements. These arrangements probably go back to the early medieval period or even earlier, given their association, north of the Preselis, with longstanding patterns of agriculture, social and institutional structures of pre-Conquest origin, and the correspondence between the late prehistoric and medieval settlement patterns.

These settlements appear from the 16th-century Cemais records to be mostly tenanted hamlets, some clearly of bond origin: there are no large villages or towns in Welsh-law areas. The largest has eleven houses or tenements (Figure D5; Appendix 13), but most are much smaller – only eight hamlets had more than six tenements, and these were in the manors or fees of Bayvil (which had the largest hamlet of eleven tenements), Moylgrove, Little Newcastle, Trefgynon (on the Preseli edge of the Gwaun valley), Eglwyswrw, and Dinas. The greatest number of hamlets (where a hamlet is three or more tenements) were in Bayvil (11, including the group of properties at Henllys), Eglwyswrw (11), and Moylgrove (10) (Tables 5.6, 5.7, 5.8; Appendix 13G). A total of 58 hamlets can be identified, of which 86% (50/58) had between 3 and 6 dwellings or landholdings. This can be compared with the 6 dwelling-standard of pre-Conquest south Wales law's bond townships, where occupation was distributed between two sharelands or *rhandiroedd*, each of three dwellings and arable, with a third shareland or *rhandir* reserved for pasture (Appendix 2; Wade-Evans 1909, 55-6, 204-5, 347).

Some of the hamlet inhabitants are the tenants of the Lord of Cemais, whose lands derived from the pre-Conquest landholdings of the Prince of Deheubarth, and comprised 3 areas of north Cemais (Bayvil, Moylgrove and Eglwyswrw) and 3 areas of south Cemais (Redwalls, Cefnllymwith and Little Newcastle) (Chapter 4). When 16th-century acquisitions are excluded, there is very little evidence that the medieval Lord of Cemais (and by extension the Prince of Deheubarth) had land outside these areas. Table 5.8 (overleaf) shows the hamlets of 3 or more units where the Lord of Cemais held lands. The preponderance of 3-unit hamlets can be compared with Chapter 4's

observation that the correspondence between pre-1500 place-names and ploughlands suggests that many of the former relate to *rhandiroedd*, sharelands. The dominance of 3-unit hamlets also (given the 3-bondman *rhandir* of south Wales law - Wade-Evans 1909, 205) supports Chapter 4's analysis of the 16th century Extent, which suggest the presence of large numbers of dependent tenants or former bondmen.

Table 5.6: Hamlets with 6 or more tenements – all landholders, late 16th century

parish	*manor/fee*	*hamlet/township*	*total units within this hamlet*	*Lord of Cemais units**	*total owners inc Lord of Cemais*	*Total 'owner-occupied' units, excl. those of the Lord & George Owen*
Bayvil	Bayvil	Bayvil village	11	3	4	
Moylgrove	Moelgrove	Trefaes	11		8	6
Little Newcastle	Newcastle & Redwalls	Newcastle village & Tir y Martell	10	1	6	1
Nevern	Kemes Supra	Trefgynon & Clyn y bettws	9		5	3
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Carnhean	7	1	5	1
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Treclyn	7		4	
Dinas	Kemes Infra	Hescwm	7		3	
Moylgrove	Moelgrove	Tregriffith	7		2	
Dinas	Kemes Infra	Fron Fawr	6		4	
Llanllawer	Kemes Infra	Trellwyn/Yr Hen Castell	6		4	2
Llanych-llwydog	Kemes Infra	Llanmarchan	6		5	
Nevern	Bayvil	Crugiau Cemais	6		4	2
Nevern	Bayvil	Trefgynfron (Trewenfron)	6		6	2
Nevern	Kemes Supra	Eisteddfa	6		3	

*excluding acquisitions of George Owen and his family, which are listed under other owners

Some of the demesne represented seasonal pasture resources, for instance at Redwalls in the southern commote (Appendix 17). In the north there may have been royal summer pasture at Newport and Eglwyswrw. Newport mountain (Carn Ingli) was given to the burgesses of Newport by the Lord of Cemais in 1278, and is bordered to the west by the late prehistoric enclosed settlement of Carn Ffoi (Figure F7; DAT 1437) which is the focus of hilltop droveways, the Iron Age/Romano-British site of Newport Rectory (DAT 1439), and the demesne forest of Rhigian, recorded in Barony accounts of 1396 (Miles 1995, 27; G. Owen 1862, 98; Pearson 2001, 13-16). Extensive pasture in the demesne manor of Eglwyswrw is indicated by place names (e.g. *Treclyn* – 'Meadow/moor township'), the 16th-century common and pastures of the Lord of Cemais, and his right to an oat rent, '*Kyl March*', from his tenants in lieu of a pre-Conquest obligation to lodge the Prince's horses (Appendix 4, Figure D2; G. Owen 1977, 61, 63).

Table 5.7: Hamlets of 3 or more units in Welsh-law Cemais: size range, late 16th century

Legend: Total units/ tenements; Lord of Cemais units/ tenements; Total owners; Total 'owner-occupiers'*
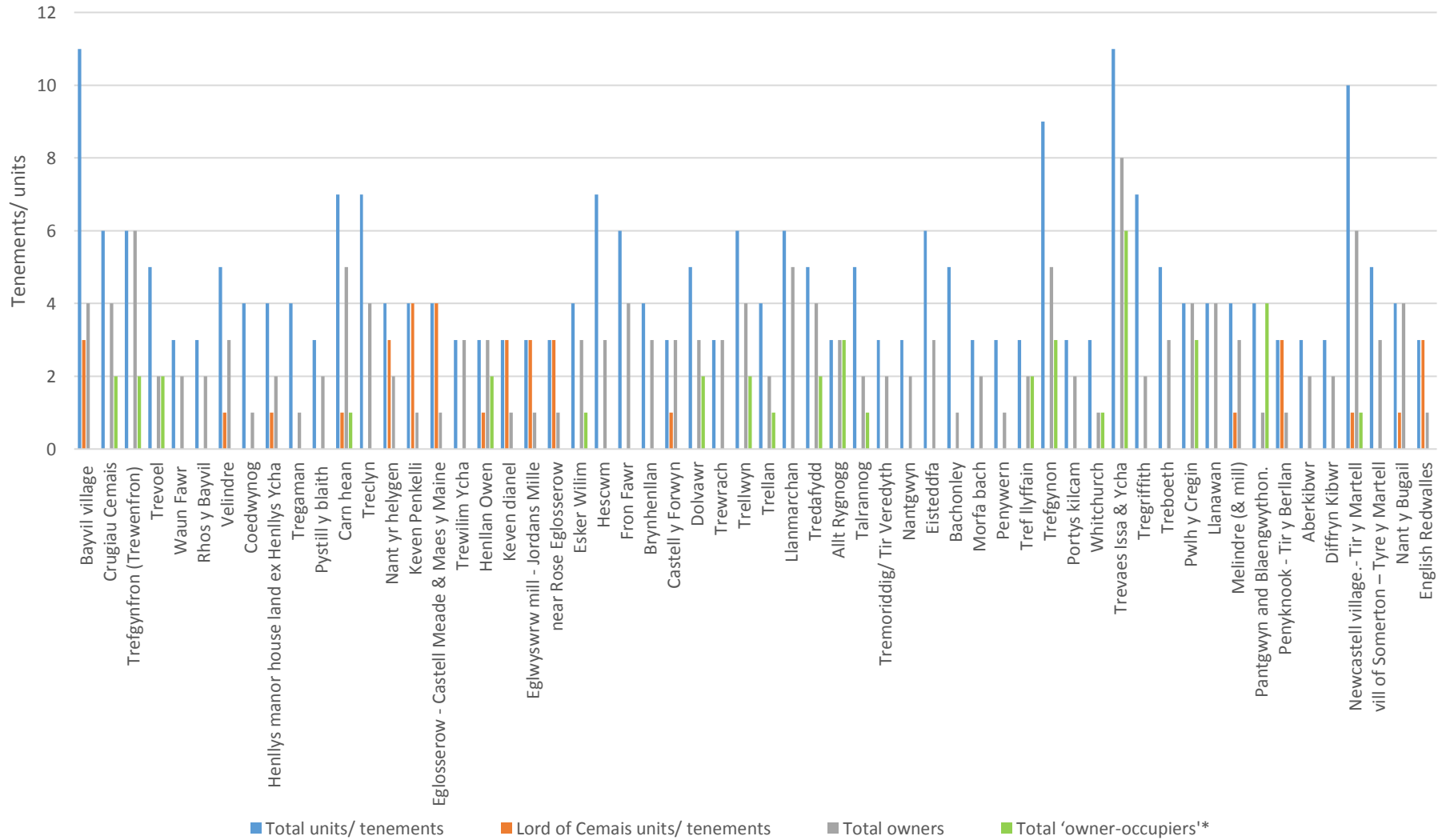
Table 5.8: Hamlets of 3 or more units where the Lord of Cemais held lands in 1594 (excluding acquisitions of the Owen family who acquired the Lordship in 1542)

parish	manor/fee	hamlet/township	total units	Lord of Cemais units*	total owners inc Lord	Total 'owner-occupied' units, excluding those of the Lord & George Owen
Bayvil	Bayvil	Bayvil village	11	3	4	
Nevern	Bayvil	Felindre Farchog	5	1	3	
Nevern	Bayvil	Henllys	4	1	2	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Keven Pencelli/ Pencelli village	4	4	1	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw - Castle Meade & Maes y Maine	4	4	1	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Nant yr helygen	4	3	2	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Keven dianel	3	3	1	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw mill - Jordans Mill	3	3	1	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	near Rhos Eglwyswrw	3	3	1	
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Carnhean	7	1	5	1
Eglwyswrw	Eglwyswrw	Henllan Owen	3	1	3	2
Moylgrove	Moelgrove	Penycnwc	3	3	1	
Moylgrove	Moelgrove	Melindre (& mill)	4	1	3	
Little Newcastle	Newcastle & Redwalls	Newcastle village & Tir y Martell	10	1	6	1
Llanfair Nantygof	Newcastle & Redwalls	Nant y Bugail	4	1	4	
Morvil	Newcastle & Redwalls	English Redwalls	3	3	1	
Dinas	Kemes Infra	Castell y Vorwyn	3	1	3	

*excluding acquisitions of George Owen and his family, which are listed under other owners

Tables 5.7, 5.8 and Appendix 13 show that, as at Bayvil, demesne areas north of the Preselis also contained the tenants of Welsh *uchelwyr*, suggesting pre-Conquest bond hamlets of mixed landlordship. 16th-century records indicate that tenants of freeholders (*uchelwyr*) accounted for two-thirds of all Cemais landholdings (Chapter 4), and hamlets of *uchelwyr* landlordship are widespread outside the demesne areas, for instance at Dinas where – as already noted - many of the 16th-century landlords descend from the pre-Conquest *maer*.

This pattern of mixed royal and freeholder landlordship is common in medieval England, though at variance with the model of pre-Conquest settlement proposed by Glanville Jones, which envisages bond settlements under the control of a single lord or prince (Hall 2014, 95-9; G.R.J. Jones 1971, 251-3; see also Chapter 2). Glanville Jones' model, however (as noted in Chapter 2) draws on the late, idealised structures

of 13th-century north Wales law which reflect an overriding concern with the rights and dues of the king and do not necessarily represent contemporary physical conditions there, let alone those existing a century earlier in pre-Conquest south Wales. Indeed, 'mixed' townships are recorded in 13th- and 14th-century Gwynedd, and are hypothesized to represent royal grants to freeholders, though there is little solid evidence for this (G.R.J. Jones 1955, 57-8; Jones Pierce 1972, 269-70). There is a similar divergence between legal model and reality in north Wales law's stipulation of one demesne (*maerdref*) near the *commote* or *cantref* court plus an upland demesne for seasonal pasture, which contrasts with Gwynedd records showing that it was common for a central demesne manor (or *maerdref*) to be supplemented by a number of ancillary demesnes and upland vaccaries (Smith 1998, 222-8, 234). This reality is closer to the picture presented in the south Wales law texts of a multiplicity of *maerdrefi* near the court, with one perhaps being pre-eminent (G.R.J. Jones 2000, 301; Rees 1924, 198), and the study area's multiple pre-conquest demesne townships are best viewed in this context.

Bond settlements: tir cyfrif

Further similarities between the evidence of the study area and the 13th-/14th-century records of north Wales bond townships can be identified by looking for sites with *tir cyfrif* tenure attributes. This form of tenure is noted in the laws of north Wales and is characteristic of many bond settlements near or at north Wales *maerdrefi*, but is not found in the south Wales laws (Charles-Edwards 1993, 402; Jones Pierce 1972, 277-8). The term has a literal meaning of 'reckoned land' (GPC) and is characterised by larger than usual townships where tenants perform labour services on the prince's demesne (the most characteristic due) and share communal shared responsibility for all *vill* dues. Tenants' land was held as equal holdings of strips in open fields and periodically reallocated: there was no partible inheritance of *tir cyfrif* land (Charles-Edwards 1993, 400-1; Jones Pierce 1972, 274, 282, 343; Smith 1998, 222).

Some of these characteristics are present in the Cemais bond or ex-bond settlements, and discussion earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 4 has noted Bayvil's communal rent, the substantial demesne labour obligations of the Lord of Cemais' tenants in Bayvil and Eglwyswrw where the largest hamlets are also located, and evidence for strips and intermingled holdings here (though this is also found elsewhere in Cemais). Some of the Bayvil strips are at the twinned bond hamlets of Trewenfron and Penallt y garddau, which between them had 8 units or tenements in 1594 (G. Owen 1977, 41); the former is described as a two-acre carucate or ploughland held *in rodwallis* ('*in rodivall*') in 1369/70 (NLW Bronwydd 1348 of 1369). The name of Penallt y garddau ('End of the wood of the enclosures': Penallt y garthe 1571: Charles 1992, 142) echoes

the '*Garddau*' ('gardens') place-name of a *tir cyfrif* hamlet at the Gwynedd royal centre of Aberffraw (Longley 1997, 50). This Aberffraw hamlet contained 14 or 15 'gardens' of about 1 acre each, and there was a similar bond hamlet of 12 'gardynemen' at another Gwynedd *llys*, Rhosyr (Longley 2001, 47, 51-2, 58-9).

Both the Aberffraw and Cemais *garddau* settlements have settlements with *Henllys* place-names nearby, and there are further royal associations in the Trewenfron (Trefgynwran 1349) name when one looks beyond Charles' interpretation of 'Cynfran's farm' (Charles 1992, 146). An alternative interpretation might be 'township of the prince', if the '*gynwran*' ('*cynwran*') element derives from *cynfran* ('the foremost crow or raven', figuratively a leader, chieftain or warrior, 13th century) which (in the view of Ifor Williams) was a term that developed from *cynran* (prince, leader, distinguished warrior, soldier, 13th century) (I. Williams 1935, 73: I am grateful to Thomas Charles-Edwards for his insights on this).

Penallt y garddau/Tregynfran is not recorded as an area of the Lord of Cemais' bond tenants, though it lay in the area of the bond ploughland of Crugiau Cemais. If it was once a bond township of *tir cyfrif* type, it had freeholder landlords. This raises questions about whether other concentrations of dependent tenants of freeholders might have had *tref cyfrif* type status, as at 'Tregriffith', a 7-unit hamlet in the manor of Moylgrove, held by Sir John Perrot in 1594, where hen rents indicate the residual food renders of dependent tenants (Tregriffith 1552: Charles 1992, 120; G. Owen 1977, 68).

The bond settlement attributions and landscape footprints of medieval Cemais settlements are significant because such settlements are poorly understood in south Wales due to limited records. In addition, although numerous bond settlements are known in north Wales and to some extent reconstructed from 13th- and 14th-century records, their landscape context has been little considered outside the pioneering work of Glanville Jones (Carr 2011, 91-117; Johnstone 1997; 2000; G.R.J. Jones 1955; 1964a; Jones Pierce 1972, 251-287; Longley 2001, 41-5). He identifies relationships between settlement and soil zones in 13th-century Anglesey that are similar to those of north Pembrokeshire, and a landscape footprint akin to that of Cemais can also be seen in his study of the settlement pattern at Dinorben in north-east Wales where 14th-century records show four *maerdrefi* and the former *llys* bordering an area of pasture under the late prehistoric hillfort of Dinorben (NPRN 406097) (G.R.J. Jones 1955, 38, Figure 1; 1973, 465-8; 2000, 307-9, Figure 13.2 on page 308).

Bond settlements: tir corddlan

Glanville Jones' own settlement models focused on identifying the characteristic patterns of free and bond settlements, for example the nucleated settlements of

bondsmen that he terms 'nucleal land' or *tir corddlan*. He argued that this term, found only in north Wales law (D. Jenkins 1963, 38, 155-6; 1990, 82, 113, 254, 328; Wiliam 1960, 44, 58, 120), refers to a kin-group infield next to a church composed of annually-manured strips (*gerddi*) of one *erw* (Welsh acre) in length. His discussions and case study of Llanynys in the Vale of Clwyd created an attractive spatial model of a pre-Conquest bond hamlet that has become part of the Welsh pre-Conquest spatial lexicon and inspired identifications elsewhere, for instance by Kissock in south Pembrokeshire (Edwards 1997, 8; G.R.J. Jones 1964b; 1972, 340-9; 1973, 435, 471-6; 1994, 172-183; cf. G.R.J. Jones 1996, where he postulates its existence purely on the basis of the presence of 'kin land'; Kissock 1997, 135). However, as will be seen, this model relies on a contestable conjunction of textual references.

Glanville Jones created the *tir corddlan* model by combining references to (a) *corflan* and (b) *cordlan/coflan/corthlan* from two distinct and separate sections of the law texts. The first of these is found in a section on church sanctuary, in a reference to taking sanctuary in a *corflan* around a *mynwent* (churchyard) that specifies how this *corflan* is measured (D. Jenkins 1990, 82; Wiliam 1960, 44 [§ 71.23, 28]), and the second in a section on land rights, in a reference to the sharing (allocation) of land in an area referred to as *tir cordlan*, *coflan* or *corthlan* in different manuscripts (D. Jenkins 1990, 113; Wiliam 1960, 58 [§ 88.8 and n.2]). This second section says that *cordlan/coflan/corthlan* land should be shared (allocated) as *gerddi* (literally gardens, but means strips or quillets) rather than as *tyddynod* (tofts), and manured annually. Interpretation of this second term as *corddlan*, it should be noted, is itself uncertain, being based on a form (*corthlan*) found in only one manuscript (Thomas Charles-Edwards pers. comm.; cf. Wiliam 1960, 120), though Aneurin Owen's decision to use *corddlan* in this section of his pioneering edition will have been influential (1841, I, 181).

Caution is also indicated by the wording of the two law text sections, which refer to quite different activities. It is therefore precarious to assume that any apparent similarities in terminology indicate an equivalence of meaning. Jenkins and Wiliam, editors and translators of the north Wales law texts, have expressed uncertainty about whether these two usages refer to the same term, though both agree that they refer to some sort of enclosure (D. Jenkins 1990, 254, 328; Wiliam 1960, 120). Jenkins resolves this by translating *corflan* as 'the enclosed ground which was associated with a church' and *tyr cordlan/corflan/corthlan* as 'hamlet land' (D. Jenkins 1990, 113, 328).

Their uncertainty is – to this writer – persuasive, and there seems no textual justification for using this term to refer to strip fields around churches. On the other hand there seems truth in Glanville Jones' interpretation that the annually manured strips of *tir corddlan* indicate an infield (G.R.J. Jones 1972, 340-1; 1973, 435), but since

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the term does not seem to have been used in south Wales there is, I would suggest, no need to complicate interpretations by using either the term *tir corddlan* or 'nucleal land'. 'Infield' will suffice (perhaps better than 'hamlet land'), and its use allows Welsh evidence to be seen in the broader British and Irish context discussed by people like Buchanan (1973, 584-7), Hall (2014, 86-94), Kelly (2000, 370), Oosthuizen (2011), and Whittington (1973, 532-5, 550-1). It fits with George Owen's description of permanently cultivated (annually manured) infields in Welsh areas of north Pembrokeshire, and suggests that infield may be an appropriate designation for the *gerddi/garddau* of Penallt y garddau in Bayvil and the strip fields at Brynhenllan.

Freeholders, bondsmen and girdle patterns

The local evidence also presents difficulties for another of Glanville Jones' spatial models, the 'girdle pattern' of freeholder homesteads around an intermingled arable area (G.R.J. Jones 1955, 33, 77-9; 1961, 117-8; 1973, 455, 458-9). Glanville Jones argued that this pattern was produced by partible inheritance of freeholder kingroup land, but a 'girdle pattern' at Llanfeugan in north-east Cemais (Figure G9), shown on the tithe map as a string of cottages around the edge of the intermingled landholdings of an (apparent) former open field, suggests otherwise. This early 19th-century Cemais girdle pattern was made up of 8 dependent tenants rather than freeholders (Llanfeugan Tithe 146-217), and earlier arrangements may have been similar, if (like Dinas) early 19th-century settlement patterns largely followed those recorded in the 16th-century and later medieval period (Comeau 2012a). These late medieval patterns are, in Welsh areas of late medieval North Pembrokeshire, thought to reflect a social and legal structure that preserved pre-Conquest arrangements (Howells 1955, 323-4), and pre-dated the development of the *gwely* and patrimonial rights for bondmen that is seen in North Wales and Ceredigion (Jones Pierce, 1972, 284, 316-8; cf. Jenkins 1990, 98-100). It is therefore hard to argue (as Glanville Jones did for north Wales) that they reflect the operation of the inheritance rights of a family group: there is no evidence to suggest that Welsh partible inheritance arrangements recorded in the 1326/7 Inquisition Post-Mortem (CIPM 1910, 448-9) extended beyond the small group of freeholders discussed in Chapter 4. Girdle patterns are also noted in England, some of them linked to tenants rather than freeholders (Atkin 1985, 173-182; Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 102-3). Caution is therefore needed in linking spatial form to social status. Known medieval Cemais freeholders tend to live on the interface of arable land and forest – a location appropriate for hunting, a marker of medieval and early medieval elite status and social identity (Figure D1; Chapter 6; Loveluck 2013, 259-65; Rollason 2012).

Food rents, services and seasons

We are therefore able to identify the location, landscape patterning and agricultural methods of settlements deriving from Conquest-period bond settlements. The agrarian and pastoral resources linked with these bond settlements indicate that they were largely self-sufficient, with some specialisation represented by large-scale ecclesiastical and royal cattle ranches, as in 13th-century Gwynedd (Smith 1998, 226-8, 239-41). Agricultural production was directed at meeting the subsistence needs of the population and satisfying food rents and service obligations, principally feeding and housing elements of the king's court when they visited on their separate circuits (*cylchoedd*) (Appendices 1A, 1E, 3; Tables 5.1 and 5.9) (Charles-Edwards 2000b, 320-3; Smith 1998, 197-9, 237-8; Stephenson 2014, 64-7). The timing of these circuits links with the seasonal patterning of agriculture and hunting: they take place in the quiet winter season, after the hunting season, when the harvest is in and animals have returned from seasonal pasture. Apart from the royal warband (who stayed with *uchelwyr*) the various groups of court officers all lodged with royal bondsmen.

 The royal bondsmen's food rents (*dawnbwyd*) reflect the seasonal availability of the food stuffs and fodder needed for a peripatetic court, with barley (for beer), oats and the fattened pig of the winter food rent being autumn-available produce, while the cheese and butter of the summer food rent used milk that would be available by May after calving in the spring (Wade-Evans 1909, 217). Beer was only required in winter, reflecting a seasonal emphasis on lordly hospitality. A summer payment of a sheep was also sometimes required. Bread was always required, both in summer and winter, made either of wheat or oats, and the numbers of loaves (60 in south Wales, each the size of a dinner plate) required from a bond township indicates the size of the visiting court (Appendix 3).

When food rents had to be paid is only generally indicated – 'winter' and 'summer' are mentioned – but payment at the *llys* can be deduced from the requirement that bondsmen should take food rents to the king and (coinciding with this) light a fire for him for either one or three nights (Charles-Edwards 1993, 377; D. Jenkins 1990, 128; Richards 1954, 73). The impression is that the bondsmen's food rent became due on the arrival of the court, whenever that might be. The requirement of a 7th- to 8th-century Llancarfan charter that bondsmen should bring their food rent 'to the clergy of Cadog wherever they chose to eat or drink', is notable in this regard (Wade-Evans 1944a, 129, #59). There is no mention of when food rents are due in this or any other charter, but their usual composition of beer, bread, meat and honey suggests winter foodgifts.

Table 5.9: Circuits/cylch: the various circuits of different groups from the royal court

Which circuit	Where billeted	When	References
King and court	*Llys* of the *cantref/ commote* (the lodging places in *llys* and *maerdref* for different court officers are specified)	At any time (subject, presumably, to available support from yearly *gwestfa* and twice yearly food rents)	Jenkins 1990, 6-39, 124; Richards 1954, 29-30; Wade Evans 1909, 153-4
Royal *teulu*/household troops/warband/ bodyguard	Freemen/the *maer* (Richards 1954, 58): this was the only circuit that involved billeting on *uchelwyr*. Called 'the great circuit of the household'	'Winter'/after Christmas	Jenkins 1990, 11, 123-4
Queen	The royal bondsmen shall 'honour the Queen once a year with food and drink (Jenkins 1990, 124)	During annual period (possibly summer) when king and his host are campaigning outside the kingdom.	Jenkins 1990, 124; Wade Evans 1909, 208
Maer and two or three servants	Royal bondsmen	Winter and (south Wales) a second time in the year	Wade Evans 1909, 207, 173, Richards 1954, 58, Jenkins 1990, 129
Cynghellor and two servants	Royal bondsmen	Once a year in winter	Jenkins 1990, 129; Wade Evans 1909, 207
Royal huntsmen and hounds	Royal bondsmen	December, until Christmas, separate from falconers and grooms	Jenkins 1990, 23, 124; Wade Evans 1909, 163, 208; Richards 1954, 37
Royal falconer(s)	Royal bondsmen	Once a year (in winter), separate from huntsmen and grooms	Wade Evans 1909, 162, 208; Richards 1954, 33; Jenkins 1990, 15, 124
Royal grooms and horses	Royal bondsmen	Once a year (in winter), separate from huntsmen and falconers	Wade Evans 1909, 208; Richards 1954, 57; Jenkins 1990, 124
Royal pages	Royal bondsmen	Once a year (in winter)	Jenkins 1990, 124
Circuit of poets from other 'countries' while they wait for the king's gifts	Royal bondsmen	unspecified	Richards 1954, 57

The timing of the *uchelwyr* annual tribute payment or food render (*gwestfa*) is clearer: it had to be paid 'between the feast of All Saints and the feast of Saint Martin' – in other words, between November 1 and November 12 - unless money was paid instead (Richards 1954, 72, 84, 136). The place of payment is not specified but a central location is likely given this limited time window. Like the bondmen's food rent, its composition (wheat flour, an ox for meat, mead/beer, oats for horse fodder, honey and 24 silver pennies 'for the king's servants') reflects the seasonal availability of grain and

fattened animals as well as the needs of royal hospitality. This is appropriate given the indications (deduced from its name) that it replaces an earlier obligation of personal hospitality, *gwestfa* being 'literally the place, *ma*, which supplies hospitality for a night (*gwest*, 'spending the night', included normally both the provision of a meal and also sleeping-quarters)' (Charles-Edwards 1993, 376-7; D. Jenkins 1990, 128; Richards 1954, 72-3; Wade-Evans 1909, 206-8).The food rents paid by bondsmen of *uchelwyr* to their freemen landlords were probably similar to those of royal bondsmen, but evidence is limited. They are noted, but not detailed, in Llandaff grants from *uchelwyr* (W. Davies 1978, 50), and no mention is made of them in Welsh law which focuses on royal rights and dues. It is therefore interesting to discover, centuries later in a 1611 Cemais Hundred court roll, a Dinas tenant's liability to pay his *uchelwr* landlord an annual Michaelmas rent of barley, oatmeal, peas, wheat, cheese, butter and calves (Charles 1951a, 10). This is notable because pre-1700 Cemais records deal largely with tenants of the Lords of Cemais rather than *uchelwyr* or subinfeudated Anglo-Norman manors. They indicate 14th-century Lords of Cemais charging cash-based rents, with a 13th-century commutation of services in Cemais and of food rents in adjacent Pebidiog (Pebidiog 1215 and 1247: Willis-Bund 1902, 55-7, 81; Cemais 1326: CCR 1898, 598-9; Cemais 1273 and 1393-8: G. Owen 1862, 51-2, 93-9). Similar processes of commutation, converting physical duties and mixed food rents to cattle, grain or cash are observed in 13th- and 14th-century north Wales (Appendix 3; Smith 1998, 222-3, 234).

At a day to day level, however, change may have been slower. A 1278 charter ('Free Men of Cemais') refers to exchanges of goods between the tenants of free men being conducted without the use of coin, as if this were usual; the implications of this are discussed in Chapter 7 (Charles 1951b, 136; G. Owen 1862, 57-60). We can also note that not all services are commuted to cash. May 1-3 renders of sheep (*Collectio*, paid every three years) and of cows (*Commorth*, usually payable every two years) were paid by the Welshry of Narberth in 1282 and were still due in the Lordships of Pebidiog (St Davids) and Cilgerran until the 16th century (G. Owen 1911, Vol. 2, 48, 74; Rees 1924, 229; Willis-Bund 1902, 81, 125, 153, 161, 163). These livestock payments may themselves represent commutation of food rents, given the commuted payment of an oxen or cow for three foodgift elements of the bondsmen's winter *dawnbwyd* in Blegywryd and in Latin A, and of the freemen's summer *gwestfa* in Blegywryd (Charles-Edwards 1993, 384; Richards 1954, 72-3). Eglwyswrw's 16th-century Michaelmas oat rent – the *Cylch March*, a yearly *modium* of oats which was the commutation of a duty to lodge/maintain the horses of the Prince – has already been noted (G. Owen 1977, 61). South of the Preselis, a similar payment was made on November 1 in late medieval Narberth (Howells 1955-6, 419). References to May, August and November

cattle payments and oat rents are found elsewhere in medieval south Wales (Rees 1924, 81, 96-8, 229-34). Although records of medieval and 16th-century cash rents largely follow an Easter-Michaelmas or May 1-Michaelmas pattern (e.g. for Cemais: G. Owen 1862, 93-8; 1977, 24, 33, 66, 75; for Pebidiog: Willis-Bund 1902, e.g. 17, 33, 39-41, 47-9, 53-5, 61-71), an August year-end is preserved in the Moylgrove and Bayvil court roll of 1382 (Table 5.5): a legacy, presumably, of the cross-quarter pattern structure that is found in the surviving commodity payments, and a link with the early medieval cycles of activity discussed at the start of this chapter.

Summary and discussion: assessing and modelling the interrelated patterns of bond settlement, agriculture and trade/exchange.

A distinct pattern – a consistent, common narrative – can be identified in these diverse sources of evidence for the study area's agriculture and dependent settlements. The background to this is provided by evidence of cyclical patterns of activity that appear to be widespread across the longue durée of north-west Europe. These cycles pivot around the cross-quarter days (mid-points between solstices and equinoxes) which are commonly regarded as 'Celtic' festivals, though early written sources suggest that they were as characteristic of early Anglo-Saxon England as of pre-Christian Ireland. The same dates structure key agricultural, food tribute, ceremonial and hunting activities in pre-Conquest Welsh law. There is also some evidence from archaeology, classical authors and anthropological studies that some of these seasonal turning points identify planting and harvest times in other early agriculturalist societies, where they are defined by the visibility of a particular star cluster, the Pleiades.

The longue durée environmental evidence for the study area indicates extensive pastoral upland use from the late prehistoric to the medieval period. There is early medieval crop processing evidence from the surrounding region for oats, barley and wheat, all crops required by pre-Conquest food rents. Wheat, at the best-evidenced local site, consisted of a spring-sown variety (club wheat) in pre-10th-century samples; oats and barley are also spring-sown. A 16th-century source also notes a local Welsh preference for another spring-sown wheat variety, probably rivet wheat.

These crop choices are consistent with the seasonal patterning of the medieval infield-outfield system which, as prescribed by Welsh law, incorporated winter grazing of the infield and spring ploughing/sowing. There is evidence that this agricultural system is integrated with the widespread use of seasonal pasture, whose pre-Conquest origin is suggested by the interlocking rights of English and Welsh areas.

Much of this pasture is on poorer soils in the Preseli hills, where seasonal waterlogging is generally a late medieval development. These poorer soils are the location of

numerous deserted settlements, some of which can be identified as summer settlements; excavation at one of these reveals abandonment c.1200. A few enclosed settlements are also found here, though the majority are close to medieval arable settlements on better land: although traditionally considered to be late prehistoric, there are indications that these enclosed settlements continue to be constructed until the arrival of Normans.

Medieval settlement and small arable open fields [infields] are associated with soils of greater fertility and typically arranged into small hamlets at spring locations on the boundary with poorer soils, forming common-edge patterns of settlement around large areas of rough pasture which are called *mynydd (*'mountain') regardless of altitude. These pastures are, post-Conquest, shared between adjacent 'fees' or manors in Welsh areas, and apportioned to individual manors in Norman-held areas; parishes are not noted before the 15th century. Pollen evidence for heavy pasturage use of the Preselis in the late prehistoric and early medieval periods suggests that use of upland pastures long predates the Norman conquest, involving longstanding customary use of a shared resource. Different levels of upland activity can be identified: areas of seasonal grazing rights, both close and distant, held by lowland communities and by the pre-Conquest prince as well as zones where the larger scale pastoralism of *uchelwyr* and monastic houses might betoken permanent rather than seasonal cattle ranches. Not all of the seasonal grazing was upland or at distant locations that required substantial movements of people and animals. Some was within an hour's walk of permanent settlements, though the evidence of groups of small upland structures suggests that even short-distance summer pasture might involve a temporary move of habitation for some groups in the community.

The permanent settlements (hamlets) rarely contain more than 6 tenements in the 16th century, consistent with settlement sizes given in Welsh law. The largest hamlets in the Welsh law area, of 10 and 11 tenements, are in pre-Conquest demesne areas associated with evidence for pre-Conquest bond tenants, though their landlords are often *uchelwyr* (high status freemen) rather than the Lord of Cemais, whose holdings derive from the pre-Conquest Prince. This high incidence of tenants of *uchelwyr* (freemen) was noted in Chapter 4: nearly two-thirds of all late 16th-century landholdings were occupied by the dependent tenants of freemen, while tenants on the Lord of Cemais' medieval lands constituted only 14% of all landholdings.

Some of the names and characteristics of these hamlets echo better-recorded *maerdref* bond settlements on 13th-century north Wales royal demesnes, and suggest that common forms of organisation of bond settlements were in existence before the 12th-century Norman conquest of Cemais which effectively fossilised its native Welsh

institutional structure. The high level of dependent tenants in medieval Cemais is consistent with the substantial number of bond tenants suggested for 12th-century Gwynedd, where many of them achieved freeholder status through later Welsh law reforms. The preponderance of 3-unit hamlets is similarly indicative of large numbers of former bond hamlets.

A picture thus emerges of the spatial and seasonal patterning of the life of pre-Conquest agricultural communities. Many of the Cemais medieval arrangements are probably representative of pre-Conquest agriculture, seasonal pasture use and settlement, which in turn largely mirror late prehistoric patterns. Focal areas for pre-Conquest agricultural production can be identified on the most easily worked soils, much of it used as demesne by the Lord of Cemais, with other areas, notably the Preselis, used for summer pasture. These patterns resemble those identified in the folk territories and small shires of Anglo-Saxon England and medieval Scotland, where the use of central shared pasture resources is thought to be fundamental to the development of social and territorial identities (Banham and Faith 2014, 157; G.W.S Barrow 1973, 52).

Much of the power in this landscape was probably held by *uchelwyr*, given the considerable agency they exert in Conquest-period concessions, and the medieval preponderance of their dependent tenants. Wendy Davies has identified that, in early medieval south Wales, much power rested with this group and the power of kings was limited (W. Davies 1982, 132-4). Chapter 6 will look at the places where the power relationship between *uchelwyr* and king was negotiated and displayed. It will be seen that the shared resources of the summer pastures which sustained the cattle wealth of *uchelwyr*, prince and of their dependents are closely linked, both functionally and symbolically, with places of social power – and in particular with assembly sites. It is to these – the loci of the événements where power was brokered - that I turn next.

Chapter 6.

Power in the land:

spatial and seasonal patterning of focal zones

Introduction: identifying focal zones

This chapter looks at the Cemais evidence for polyfocal central zones, the loose clusters of key sites where power in its different manifestations (juridical, administrative, economic, cultic) was negotiated and realised in interactions between different sections of early medieval society. Three powerful groups stand out in Welsh early medieval records: royalty (the prince of the regional kingdom, e.g. Dyfed or Deheubarth); locally-based (*de facto* noble) freeholders who, in Cemais, may have been members of the same kin-group as the *maer* (governor); and ecclesiastical establishments, whose lands were grants from royalty and *uchelwyr* and included hereditarily-held *clas* churches with substantial lay involvement (Charles-Edwards 2013, 583-614; R.R. Davies 1987, 115-136; W. Davies 1982, 59-73, 128-134, 164-8; 1990, 22-29; Wickham 2005, 352-3). Work elsewhere suggests that the resulting complex interplay of power would have produced focal zones with differing degrees of centrality, depending on the type, extent and range of functions, and that there would be changes over time (Skre 2011).

These focal zones will be examined by identifying the elements which Chapter 2 noted to be characteristic of central areas of pre-urban landscapes across early medieval north-west Europe.

Table 6.1 - Focal zone key elements:
  1. Assembly site (1A – feasting sites; 1B – seasonal festival; 1C– monumental stones)
  2. Sacral site – pagan or Christian
  3. Aristocratic/royal residence
  4. Other high status homes, e.g. warriors/cult leader/craft specialist/ruling kin group
  5. Market
  6. Craft production
  7. Rich material culture
  8. Significant function (cult/juridical/political/administrative)
  9. Important cemetery
  10. Strategic location communication
  11. Strategic location – landscape zones/topography
  12. Mills
  13. Hunting
  14. Complex ditches (possibly around large area)
  15. Dependent agricultural settlements

The methodology for recording and identifying these elements was considered in Chapter 3. The evidence, a multidisciplinary dataset that incorporates place-names and

patterns of longue durée activities, is set out in Appendix 5, and (with the exception of dependent agricultural settlements, which have already been discussed in Chapter 5) discussed thematically below. Appendix 6 shows a parish-based tabulation of the evidence, while Figures H1 to H12 present it as density maps. It is possible to identify evidence for most of the focal zone elements, though there is currently no evidence for craft manufacture or feasting (which is to be expected given preservational conditions and lack of excavation) and the only evidence for rich material culture is provided by the area's freestanding crosses, cross slabs and pillars. There is also no evidence for early medieval mills, though records of medieval and 16th-century mills are noted in Appendix 5 for reference.

Appendix 6's parish-based tabulated analysis assesses data in two ways, firstly on a cantref-wide basis through analysis of readily-available datasets, and secondly for the case study parishes through detailed interrogation of local records. Both assessments show high scores for two parishes, Bayvil and Morvil, where almost the whole suite of focal zone characteristics is present. In no other parish are they evident to the same degree, though there are also high concentrations in adjacent parishes. The highest-scoring parishes, grouped by adjacency, are as follows:

Table 6.2: Parish-based tabulated analysis – a summary

Parish	*Cantref*-wide analysis	Case-study analysis
Group 1		
Bayvil	16/29	16/18
Crugie quarter (Nevern parish)	5/29	11/18
Group 2		
Morvil	11/29	14/16
Puncheston	3/29	9/16
Little Newcastle	7/29	8/16
Group 3		
Maenclochog	8/29	10/18
Llandeilo Llwydarth	4/29	9/18
Llangolman	4/29	10/18
Group 4		
Llanfair Nantgwyn	8/29	11/18

This parish-based analysis is shaped by parish boundaries that may not reflect medieval or earlier circumstances: Bayvil medieval manor, for instance, comprises the 19th-century parishes of Bayvil and Crugie quarter of Nevern. Figure H1 therefore presents a different (and more digestible) view of this data by showing key datasets with *cantref*-wide availability as a density map. This overcomes the distortion introduced by parish boundaries and represents the areas of high scores as hotspots

focussed on the parishes of Bayvil, Morvil/Puncheston, Maenclochog/Llandeilo Llwydarth, and Llanfair Nantgwyn, with a further hotspot in the south-west corner of the cantref at Garn Turne near Little Newcastle. The mapped composite base dataset is set out in Appendix 5Ac, and comprises datasets of geolocated evidence that are detailed elsewhere in Appendix 5. Apart from medieval fairs and *cnapan* (hurling) games, these comprise sites of pre-Conquest significance: assembly place-names and records, pre-Conquest and Conquest-period battle and beacon sites and place-names, place-names of pre-Conquest territorial, administrative or royal significance, ogham and Roman-script inscribed stones, freestanding early medieval crosses, high status early medieval archaeological sites, pre-Conquest churches indicated by medieval *clas*/*noddfa* or portionary status, and key saints dedications. Coastal landing sites at Fishguard, Newport and St Dogmaels are also included. Figures H2 to H12 use this base dataset as a context for mapping of individual datasets, including some prehistoric and medieval sites that are not included in the base composite dataset.

To understand the makeup and implications of the hotspots on the density map, a detailed thematic consideration of key evidence follows. Focal zone indicators of a primarily spatial nature are considered first (assembly site references and place-names; battle and beacon sites; monumental stones; sacral sites; royal and aristocratic residences; territorial and tribute-payment centres; communication networks), followed by seasonally contingent elements (medieval fairs and festivals; church and well dedications to particular saints; hunting). The patterns that emerge are summarised in the concluding discussion.

Spatial indicators

Assembly sites (Appendix 5A-G)

- **Cantref boundaries:** *Garn Turne* (medieval judicial & hosting; chambered tomb; rock outcrop – Little Newcaste/Ambleston/St Dogwells parishes), Llanfeugan* (fair; cnapan games; well cult; mound – Llanfair Nantwgyn/Bridell parishes); Twmpath y cwn* (& ?Blacknuck) (mound/gathering place-name - Henry's Moat/Maenclochog p.). Uncertain: Rhyd Twmpathog (place-name - Llanfair Nantgwyn p.)*
- **Within cantref**: *Cnwc y Crogwydd* (medieval execution site; mound; cross - Newport p.). Within or on boundary of Bayvil p.: Felindre Farchog* (medieval gathering; mound), Pantycroes* alias Crugerelyrch/Crig y Bigelydd (manorial court venue; place-names; cross; mound), Dyn waeth (= ?Caer Bayvil) (hosting place-name), Crugiau Cemais* (inauguration site place-name; high status early medieval burial; barrows), Crugegwyr, Knokybayvil, Carn Mabli ('lost' mounds*

with territorial/assembly name elements in Bayvil assembly zone). Morvil* (possible 11th-century dynastic battle site; Norman Conquest battle site; fair; mound – Morvil p.); Cefn Diannel* (Conquest parley site - Meline p.); Foel Trigarn (site patterning; mounds - Whitchurch p.); Cnwc y Celwydd (site patterning, mound - St Dogmaels p.); Mynydd Dinas* (19th century record of August 1st gatherings - Dinas p.). Uncertain: Castlebythe (mound/ 'motte' – Castlebythe p.); Henry's Moat (mound/'motte' – Henry's Moat p.); Carn Enoc* (place-name - Dinas p.); Mynydd Dinas* (possible 11th-century dynastic battle site - Dinas p.).

** = crossroads **OR** river crossing at or near the site,*

Assembly sites are one of the most indicative components of focal zones, but had not been investigated in the study area before research began, or indeed elsewhere in Wales apart from the Pillar of Eliseg (Chapter 2). Evidence for these archaeologically elusive sites was therefore identified through methods used effectively elsewhere, principally using assembly-attesting place-names and written records (Baker and Brookes 2015; Pantos 2004b; Skinner and Semple 2016, 118, 120). Functions consistent with traditions of assembly were noted, including medieval seasonal festivals (noted under 'seasonally contingent elements'), sites associated with execution, army musters and battles. Morphological indicators found elsewhere were similarly noted, notably the use of mounds or low hilltops at central or boundary locations near communication routes (Baker and Brookes 2015, 13, 15, 17; Sanmark 2017, 20, 56-7, 83-6).

Assembly: records

Records of assembly-type activities exist for a number of sites (Figure H2). Two of these are *cantref* boundary locations where medieval sources record musters, courts, fairs and processions; Chapter 2 has noted references to boundary gatherings in a locally-set poem of c.1100 (Gruffydd 1975).

The best-recorded of these sites is Garn Turne (Figure J1), a low hilltop on the west of Cemais where rock outcrops and a chambered tomb mark the junction of three *cantrefi* that survive into the medieval period as the lordships of Cemais, Pebidiog/Dewisland and Daugleddau/Dungleddy. 16th-century estate records refer to it as the Three Lords' Stone, a place where three lordships could hold court simultaneously:

> 'Garne turney which flatte stone is called the three lordes stone for that iii lordes may keepe iii severall coortes upon the same stone and every lorde and his tenauntes standing in his owne Lordshippe (?vzd) the Byshopp of St Davids for the Lordshippe of Dewisland the Lord of Kemes for his L'p of Kemes and the Lord of Dongleddy for his L'p of Dungleddy.'

(G. Owen, Rinaston Manor Survey 1592, Vairdre Book ff. 151-3, NLW Bronwydd). The *Garn Turne* place-name itself refers to the 'turn, tourn' or circuit and court of a lord or sheriff [W. *twrne/twrnei*], which Pantos also notes, in a 14th-century Sussex context, as a late manifestation of longstanding boundary assembly activity (Charles 1992, 396; Pantos 2003, 45). Records of 1326 refer to Garn Turne as the destination of musters and processions for some of the Bishop of St Davids' freeholders and tenants who had a duty 'in war time and out of war time' to follow the 'Lord and his host' and the shrine with the relics of St David as far as the boundary site of Garn Turne (H. James 2007, 55-6; Willis-Bund 1902, 66-7, 88, 110, 122-7). Similar hosting duties at boundary sites that also involved bondsmen erecting temporary encampments are found in pre-Conquest Welsh law (D. Jenkins 1990, 41, 124-5; Richards 1954, 57; Wade-Evans 1909, 208).

The other likely super-cantrefal boundary assembly site is on the opposite, eastern edge of the *cantref* at Llanfeugan (Figure J2), and is suggested by 14th- to 16th-century records of a major fair and patronal festival on November 11 (i.e. Martinmas) at the well-chapel of the early medieval saint Meugan and by *cnapan* (hurling) games in May and June between lordships (discussed below under seasonal indicators). The fair site, on a low hilltop with superb views of the Nevern valley and Preseli hills (Figure J18), is close to a major crossroads on the north-south trans-Preseli ridgeway linking Cardigan with Narberth. The 19th-century name for the field on the hilltop was *Carn Our* [Aur], 'the mound of gold' (RCAHMW 1925, 163-4; Llanfair Nantgwyn tithe 121), though no barrow or cairn is to be seen today on this heavily improved land. Both here and at Garn Turne, footpaths as well as the cantref boundary run through the site.

At central Cemais locations, records of assembly activities include further fairs as well as a 14th-century execution site at a cross-roads on the western edge of Newport - a familiar judicial location in Anglo-Saxon towns (Baker and Brookes 2013b, 756-8; G. Owen 1862, 22-3). Its Welsh place-name *Cnwc y Crogwydd* (c.1600) means 'gallows mound', while its medieval English form, 'Warren-tree', is the Pembrokeshire English term for a gallows (Charles 1992, 163). The mound is now built over (Miles 1995, 45). This site's pre-Conquest function is uncertain: whilst the existence of early medieval Welsh execution sites can be deduced from a *Mabinogion* reference to a gallows on the Narberth '*gorsedd*' mound (Chapter 2), Newport is an Anglo-Norman plantation town, though some pre-Norman significance is suggested by the site's proximity to a 7th- to 9th-century cross-carved stone (Edwards 2007, 408-9).

A different type of gathering place is recorded at Felindre Farchog, Bayvil's mill-hamlet at a crossing on the river Nevern. Local tradition says that Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, in the company of Giraldus Cambrensis, preached here for the Third

Crusade in 1188 at *Craig yr Esgob* ('the rock of the bishop') (Lewis 1972, 57; RCAHMW 1925, 786). This *craig* site is lost, but local use of the related term *crug* to refer to round barrows (e.g. Crugiau Cemais) provides a possible candidate in a recently-excavated barrow-like mound on the outskirts of the hamlet (Casswell et al. 2017). This is surrounded by early medieval burials within a circular enclosure, and its dimensions (maximum width 20 m, height approx. 0.7 m) put it in the same size range as the churchyard 'preaching mounds' of mid-Wales/Powys noted in Chapter 2.

Limited records mean that little is known of the venues of medieval manorial courts, though Bayvil's manorial rolls note a 1604 court at Pantycroes, a crossroads where three parishes converge near the principal source of St Brynach's 'holy' river Caman (Charles 1992, 118-9; Wade-Evans 1944b). The *Pantycroes* name (*Pantegroes* 1349: 'Hollow by the cross') refers to a vanished cross (Edwards 2007, 387; H.L. Jones 1861, 208-9; Vincent 1864, 310), and in the archaeological record is applied to a broad, flat-topped unexcavated mound on a low hillside above the probable location of a fair, in an area of medieval seasonal pasture (Charles 1992, 118; Comeau 2014). Its dimensions (2 m high and 30 m in diameter) make it the same height as, but broader than, the Powys 'preaching mounds'.

Assembly-attesting place-names

The study area's place-name records (principally pre-1700 place-names, tithe field names, and first edition Ordnance Survey map topographic names) were checked for instances of the three assembly-attesting place-names previously identified in Wales (*cyngreawdwr*, *dadl* and *gorsedd*; see Chapter 2) and of *twmpath*, a 14th-century term with a double meaning of 'mound' and 'assembly'. Place-name records in areas with medieval fairs and recorded popular assemblies were also scrutinised for corollaries of assembly place name-types found in other areas of Britain and Ireland. Analysis uses Charles' comprehensive 1992 study as a base and offers alternative interpretations of place-name elements in a few instances, though detailed consideration of the development of names lies outside the scope of the present work.

Results (Appendix 5A, 5B and 5Ab; pre-1700 place-name dataset in Appendix 4), reveal no instances of *cyngreawdwr*, *dadl* or *gorsedd*, though two *twmpath* names were found as well as a number of other place-names with potential assembly-attesting elements: 14 in all, of which 8 are in the well-documented Bayvil area (Figure H2). They contain elements representing the name of the cantref, seasonal festivals, groups of people, (public) speech, trade, and execution. Elements referring to a bishop, lord and to God were also noted at sites where other factors suggest assembly, but these elements may have other associations and the corresponding place-names are not therefore regarded as assembly-attesting. Many have parallels in assembly-attesting

names elsewhere. Some relate to sites with recorded assemblies, and are considered in the sections dealing with recorded sites. The settings of assembly-attesting place-names with little or no recorded evidence of assembly activity are considered below.

Examples of assembly-attesting place-names similar to those of other areas of Britain and Ireland are presented by the two alternative names *Crig y Bigelydd* (1585) and (less certainly) *Crugereleyrch* (1508) for the mound at Pantycroes where the manorial court met during the summer grazing season (Chapter 5; Appendix 4A; Figure J3, J4; Charles 1992, 31; Comeau 2012b: Figure 10, Appendix 5, 8c, 9). The first of these, *Crig y Bigelydd*, 'Cairn/hillock of the herdsmen', resembles that of Swanborough, 'hill or mound of the herdsmen/peasants', a hundred meeting place in Wiltshire (Baker and Brookes 2015, 9,13; Pollard and Reynolds 2002, 254), and presumably refers to the gatherings of the manorial court. The mound's other name, *Crugereleyrch*, translates literally as 'Knoll/cairn of the swans' (*elyrch/eleirch* = swans) though it is hard to envisage the presence of swans in this hillbrow context. The use of the location by the manorial court suggests the possibility that the name may perhaps have some relationship to *eirioledd,* the pleas or supplications of a court, making it a 'hillock/cairn of pleas', though the name-form makes the connection uncertain (there is also a late, less well attested *eiriolwch* form). The name has a superficial similarity to a Scottish Gaelic place-name, *Cnoc an Eireachd* in Skye, which was referred to as 'Hill of Pleas' in 1774: the *eireachd* element is related to the term for early medieval Irish open air legal and political assemblies, the *airecht* or *oireacht/oireachtas* held (often in association with the early medieval church) on a 'mound of judgement' (Fitzpatrick 2004a, 16-17; O'Grady 2014, 130; Swift 1996, 16-21).

Other place-names in the vicinity of this mound indicate an extended multi-period zone of assembly, the most recent being a 19th-century name, *Plas Marchand*, attached to another crossroads which probably identifies the former site of a medieval fair (see below) (Appendix 5A; Comeau 2014, 25; Charles 1992, 30; cf. Sanmark 2017). Another name, for the hillside above the fair crossroads, provides interpretations suggestive of a hosting-site at a location whose topography resembles recently identified Anglo-Saxon 'promontory' assembly sites (Baker and Brookes 2013a). This is *Lloyn/Llwyn dyn wath/waeth*, recorded in 1583 and 1594 (Charles 1992, 31; Owen 1977, 44), a name that requires some consideration given questions raised by Clancy (2018) about its meaning. *Llwyn* is a thicket, grove or wood, and *dyn* is a man, though the 16th-century orthography may instead imply a *din* (fort, stronghold, defensive hill) given the hilltop presence of the late prehistoric fortified enclosure (and early medieval cist cemetery) of *Caer Bayvil* (H. James 1987). *Dyn wath/waeth* is a compound word where *wath/waeth* probably derives either from *gwaith* ('work, labour' and a number of other meanings including 'construction', 'fortification/earthwork', 'time/occasion/turn',

'battle') or *gwaedd* ('shout/cry/clamour', 'shout of an army', figuratively 'army/host/people'). Possible interpretations for *dyn waeth* therefore include 'battle-fort', 'army/host-fort', and 'acclamation-fort'. Interpretation of the name as 'Grove/wood of the fort of acclamation/the host' appears particularly apposite (and has previously been suggested in Comeau 2014, 279 and Comeau 2016, the latter using the term 'proclamation' rather than 'acclamation') because of the suitability of the site, on top of a slope above a large level area, for addressing a large number of people.

Three further, unlocated 15th-century names in this general area might also suggest mounds used for gatherings: *Crugegwyr* (1469: 'mound of the men/valiant warriors/heroes '), *Knokybayvil* (1434: 'hillock/knoll of Bayvil') and *Carn Mabli* (1585: 'mound of son of Lugh'). The latter appears, from charter boundary analysis, to have been in the vicinity of a large cropmarked barrow at the Dryslwyn/Pantyllech enclosure/barrow complex (see below), and may (like Bayvil's well of James, mentioned below) signal an August gathering, this being the principal festival time of the pre-Christian deity Lugh (G. Jones 2007, 93; MacNeill 1962, 3). Another early assembly site, 1.5 km to the east, is suggested by the *Crugiau Cemais* name for a Bronze Age barrow cemetery at the highest point of the local landscape, a gravel plateau with natural glacially-deposited mounds whose shapes are echoed by the Bronze Age barrows (Figure J9). The site is partially enclosed by an Iron Age multivallate enclosure, and both its name and setting echo late Iron Age Irish assembly and inauguration sites (Comeau 2014; Fitzpatrick 2004b). A small hoard of Roman coins, one of them a gold 'medal of Otho' (Emperor, AD 69), was found in one of its mounds in the 18th century (RCAHMW 1925, 14). A 5 m square ditched enclosure with a central east-west oriented burial, identified as a 'special' grave of late Roman/early medieval type, was excavated here in 2013; another similar burial is identified by geophysics (Murphy and Murphy 2015). Although no finds were present, the high-status associations of this form of burial can be deduced from the *Mabinogion*'s reference to the 'four-sided grave' of a princess, Branwen (S. Davies 2007, 33).

A further possible assembly reference is provided by the *Pentellech/Pantyllech* place-name for a location that, from tenurial patterns, may be the 'land of Thelych' mentioned in the 12th-century *Life of Brynach* (Wade Evans 1944b, 15; see also discussion below of 'Royal or high status sites'). The place-name's variant forms, both first recorded in 1508, present contrasting interpretations because of the opposed meanings of the initial *pen/pant* element: *pen* is a 'head, headland, promontory, top, hill-top, end, source, chief' while *pant* is a 'hollow, valley'. The *pen* form seems more appropriate given the site's position on a rounded hill-top (with excellent vistas over the Nevern valley – Figure J13). The putative *pen-tellech* construction has echoes of the Irish term for a hill, *tulach,* whose associations with legal assemblies are discussed by Fitzpatrick

(2004a, 31): August gatherings here are suggested by Carn Mabli's possible 'Lugh' attribution, while early Irish linguistic influence is evident locally in *feidir/vidir* dialect terms (Richards 1962). However, although links between Irish *tulach* and early medieval Welsh *telich* place-names were proposed by Sir John Rhys (Rhys 1895, 27), the etymological basis for this is uncertain (Charles- Edwards pers. comm.).

The geographical and topographical settings of the four *telich* place-names considered by Rhys are nonetheless useful to note, as are those of modern *telych* names. The early *telich* names all derive from either the Lichfield (Chad/Teilo) Gospel or the Llandaff charters, and all are located within or on the Gower fringes of south-west Wales. The 9th-century *Tir Telih (Tir Telych)* of the 'Surexit' Chad 2 charter (Jenkins and Owen 1983) has been identified as land close to the gold mines at Dolaucothi, in the Carmarthenshire parish of Cynwyl Caeo (G. Jones 1994, 82). Of the three instances of the name in the Llandaff Charters, two, *Telichclouman* (Llandaff 125, Evans & Rhys 1893, 125; W. Davies 1978, 167) and *Telich Clouuan* (Llandaff 255, Evans & Rhys 1893, 255) are in the view of Coe (2001, 805) references to the same property. Although Davies links one of these, *Telichclouman*, to the parish of Llanegwad near Llandeilo fawr in Carmarthenshire, Coe links it to the Pembrokeshire cantref of Rhos, a plausible suggestion given the position of its alternative form *Telich Clouuan* in the list of properties in Llandaff 255. The third instance, *Telich* (Llandaff 239, Evans & Rhys 1893, 240; W. Davies 1978, 184) is identified by Coe as near Paviland, in Gower (1991, 699, 804). The *telych* element in these names is usually considered to be a personal name (e.g. Jenkins and Owen 1984, 96), though Rhys suggested that it was originally a common noun, an Irish 'appellative' reference to a hill which came to be regarded as a personal name when its original meaning was forgotten; *Telichclouman* would thus originally have meant 'Clouman's Knoll' (Rhys 1895, 27-9). Coe similarly observes that *telich/telych* appears to be a common noun, though he does not offer any specific interpretation (Coe op. cit.).

19th-century Ordnance Survey maps record seven instances of *telych* place-names, all in the same area as those of the Lichfield Gospel and Llandaff charters, and all (like Pentellech) containing hill (*bryn*), ridge (*cefn*) or hilltop/chief/head (*pen*) elements (https://historicplacenames.rcahmw.gov.uk/accessed 12/02/19). Three are in the parish of Llandingad Without, Carmarthenshire (Allt Cefn-Telych; Cefn-Telych; Pen-lan-Talych/Pen-lan-Telych); two in the parish of Cynwyl Gaeo, Carmarthenshire (Bryn-Telych Lodge; Cefn-Telych); one in the parish of Llanfihangel Aberbythych, Carmarthenshire (Bryn-telych); and one in the parish of Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, Glamorgan (Bryn-telych, which is some 3 km from Pontardulais to the north of the Gower peninsula). The complications of assessing the genesis of these names are illustrated by Deric John's records of the last-named

(https://sites.google.com/site/pontardulaisfarms/beili---bolgoed accessed 12/02/19), which is first recorded as *Bryn tellech ycha/issa* 1621, and evolves via *tellich*, *telych* and *telech* variants to the *Bryn telych* of 19th century maps.

All known instances of *telych/telich* place-names, therefore, lie in or close to areas of Irish settlement in southwest Wales, the furthest east being on or near the Gower peninsula: although evidence of Irish settlement via ogham inscriptions is scant as far east as this, Irish settlement here is noted by Nennius (C. Thomas 1994, 58, 91; Morris 1980, 20-1, 62). In addition, all recorded 19th-century *telych* place-names refer to elevated places. Therefore, although the link between *telich* and *tulach* is etymologically uncertain, locational patterns suggest some connection.

Another Cemais hilltop site, *Carn Enoc* on Mynydd Dinas, also bears a name (first recorded in the 19th century by the Ordnance Survey) with a superficial similarity to another Gaelic assembly term, *óenach* (Chapter 2). The site, a natural cairn on common land above the junction of ridgeway and transmontane routeways, lies on a hill where 19th-century *Gŵyl Awst* (August 1st) gatherings are recorded (see below; Comeau 2012c, 14), in an area of *feidir/vidir* place-names (Comeau 2012c, 12-13; Richards 1962). The term *óenach* is, however, unrecorded in Wales, and (the location's record of August 1st gatherings notwithstanding) there are no philological grounds for linking it to the *Enoc* place-name element (Charles-Edwards pers. comm.), which would have been familiar to local 19th-century inhabitants as an Old Testament personal name.

Two more possible places of assembly on or close to the cantref boundary are indicated by *twmpath* place-names, a term that denotes a hillock, mound, gathering or assembly; the Glamorgan colloquial phrase '*dyrnu'r twmpath*' - literally, 'to beat the mound' – describes those who 'orate and gesticulate with much noise and little sense' (GPC, 14th century). One of these is a crossroads on the southern cantref boundary where the parishes of Henry's Moat, Maenclochog and New Moat meet (1820 *Tumpath y cwn*, Charles 1992, 66, 104). A well dedicated to St Mary with a healing tradition is 350 m away. The *twmpath* place-name suggests a mound or barrow, though none has been identified here, and the location – a crossroads on a manorial, parish and cantrefal boundary – is a likely assembly site setting (Baker and Brookes 2015, 13, 17). *Cwn* means 'dogs', but *cwyn* (14th century, GPC) is a grievance or (in a legal context) a complaint. This may therefore be a 'mound of pleas'. Another nearby name, *Blacknuck* (1591, Charles 1992, 63: 'Black hillock') may also refer to this site, if its 'black' (Welsh *du*) component is a corrupted anglicisation of *duw* ('God': Charles 1992, 142 notes that *Mynydd Du* in Nevern parish originates in 15th/17th-century *dew/duw/dyw* forms): the *twmpath* location, on the boundaries of a *maenor* (Llandeilo

Llwydarth) and *cantref* (Daugleddau) held by St Davids in the pre-Conquest period, is a plausible setting for a mound used for gatherings of (the men of) God. A similar possibility is presented by *Cnwc y Celwydd* mound on the St Dogmaels, Moylgrove, and Monington parish boundary, discussed in the 'site patterning' section below. The other *twmpath* name in Cemais presents less certain assembly indications, being that of a ford, *Rhyd Twmpathog* (1614, Charles 1992, 72), over the nascent river Nevern; *rhyd* is a ford, but Charles translates the *twmpath* element as 'humpy, rough' rather than relating it to the primary 'hillock/mound/gathering/assembly' meaning. Its combination with 'ford' is interesting, given the association of 'ford' place-names with assemblies in England (Skinner and Semple 2016, 129). The source of the Nevern river, 2 km away, was marked by Easter games of *cnapan* (see below). The ford is adjacent to the distinctive walled, ditched motte of *Parc y Domen/Castell Dyffryn Mawr/Castell Hiberte* (RCAHMW NPRN 304042) on the boundary of Llanfair Nantgwyn and Whitchurch parishes, and to a road that intersects, 1 km away, with the north-south route from Cardigan to Narberth that effectively marks the *cantref* boundary (Appendix 10). This mound (20 m diameter, 5.5 m high from base of 3 m deep ditch) is topped by a circular wall, built using the clay-bonded techniques of the Conquest-period Welsh (Caple 2016, 387). In the 13th century the area is held by a Welsh descendant of the pre-Conquest *maer*, who acted as a seneschal and constable for the English crown (F. Jones 1979, 29; 2001a, 189). Conquest period re-use of existing mounds for mottes is attested elsewhere (e.g. Treoda (Glamorgan) ST1559080404, RCAHMW NPRN 402383; Semple 2013, 126-7). The combination of location, place-name and site patterning therefore present some possibility of an assembly site here, albeit more uncertainly than at the Henry's Moat/Maenclochog *Twmpath* site.

Battle sites

Sites of inauguration and assembly were invested with crucial symbolic rights to the surrounding territory, and consequently were often the location of early medieval dynastic battles in Ireland and England (Aitchison 1994, 103-4; Baker and Brookes 2015, 13, 17; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 36; MacNeill 1962, 329-31). Some of the Cemais 11th- and early 12th-century battles can be seen in this light, with the possible Cemais location of the 1081 Battle of Mynydd Carn posing particular questions (Figure H3). This decisive battle for control of the kingdoms of Deheubarth and Gwynedd has been variously located to Montgomeryshire, south Ceredigion, south Pembrokeshire, or somewhere in the Preselis, where both Carn Ingli and Mynydd Dinas are proposed as possible locales (DAT HER 1432; E.D. Jones 1922; T. Jones 1952, 17, 155; RCAHMW 1925, xliv; RCAHMW NPRN 300319; cf. Russell 2005, 51 [map]). All these identifications are uncertain since the near-contemporary *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*

notes only that the battle site lay in mountains a day's march from St Davids (where the ultimately victorious Rhys ap Tewdwr of Deheubarth and Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd met and combined forces against their common enemies), and was named after a nearby large cairn (Russell 2005, 68-71; D. S. Evans 1990, 36-7, 67-9).

A Preseli location is likely since this is the nearest recognisable mountain range to St Davids, and lies a day's march, 20 miles/32 km away. Identification of the particular setting within the Preselis is complicated by variations between the Welsh and Latin versions of the Life. The middle Welsh version calls the site *Menyd Carn* ('the mountain [singular] of the Carn') (Russell, 28; D. S. Evans 1990, 37, 68), while the Latin version calls it *montes Carn* ('the mountains [plural] of (the) Carn'), and says that the 'montes Carn' are so called 'because a huge pile of stones was heaped up there' (*quod ibi lapidum ingens cumulus congestus sit)* (Russell, 27-9, 70-71).

If we follow Russell's arguments that the Latin text is closest to the original (Russell 2005, 2), the site should, therefore, be a setting where a group of hills is distinguished by a single large cairn. Furthermore, the cairn appears to have been understood as sepulchral rather than natural, whether one considers the references to buried treasure in the Latin version or to a warrior's grave in the Welsh (Russell suggests a Welsh mis-transcription of 'treasure' here - 2005, 28-9). This narrows down identification of the site, making it unlikely, for instance, that it is Foel Cwm Cerwyn, the highest point in the Preselis, which has four prehistoric funerary cairns (DAT HER 48370), or Foel Trigarn with its well-known three skyline cairns (DAT HER 48364). Mynydd Dinas and Carn Ingli, where the *cernydd* are natural dolerite tors, are also unlikely.

There is, though, one site meeting these criteria: Foel Eryr, the second highest point in the Preselis, where a single large Bronze Age-type cairn (19 m diameter x 3 m high; DAT HER 1561) overlooks the New Inn (Redwalls/Morvil) crossroads on the central pass through the Preselis (Figures J6, J15, J18). The Fishguard-based antiquarian Fenton, in 1811, remarked on the extensive views of the 'whole country' from its summit, which he describes as 'formed into a perfect cone by a stupendous carnedd' (Fenton 1811, 566/ 1903, 310; his use of *carnedd* to denote a single cairn echoes a *garnedd* term in the Welsh Life), and the site continues to be much-visited for its panoramic vistas. It lies close to the western edge of the Preselis, and the crossroads below connects to routes to St Davids, making it a credible location for a battle that, according to the Life, took place soon after Gruffydd ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr reached the mountains.

Other strategic and symbolic aspects of the location add to the credibility of Foel Eryr as a location for the battle. As well as its visibility, vantage point and proximity to a crossroads on a key route through a central pass, it lies close to meeting places of both

prehistoric date (Banc Ddu causewayed enclosure, DAT HER 14383) and medieval date (Redwalls fair – see below), to a later Conquest-period battle site (see below), to place-names indicative of battle at Morvil (*Bwlch y Winiad* 'pass of the spearman/attacker') and of high status at Puncheston ('prince' and 'warrior' place-names - see below) (Figure J6), and to medieval demesne and a probable pre-Conquest *maerdref* at Morvil/Redwalls (chapter 5). There is, admittedly, no 'Mynydd Carn' place-name at Foel Eryr, though the figurative usages of *eryr* ('eagle') to refer to a 'hero, chief; prince, leader; one who preys, spoiler; emblem of political power or supreme temporal authority' (GPC) are consistent with a site of dynastic significance.

These practical and symbolic aspects may also explain the presence, some twenty years later, of fighting close to this locale when the Normans defeated the Welsh of Morvil (Charles 1948, 278-9). The *cantref's* other recorded site of Conquest-period Norman-Welsh confrontation, a parley site at Cefn Diannel in the Nevern valley, has a similarly significant setting, on raised ground where Morvil's transmontane route approaches Bayvil through the pre-Conquest royal demesne of Eglwyswrw (Chapters 4 and 5). The location, an area of *Henllan* place-names adjacent to the multivallate enclosure of Castell Mawr, is overlooked by the pre-Conquest royal site of Henllys and the possible inauguration site of Crugiau Cemais (Figure J10, J12, J17).

Assemblies: site patterning indications

At some sites the patterning of features in itself suggests assembly sites, most notably at Foel Trigarn on the northern Preselis above Llanfeugan and Whitchurch. Here a large hilltop multivallate enclosure containing three large stone cairns and over 200 small circular platforms ('hut scoops') is suggested as a possible late prehistoric/ Roman-British period assembly site by Mytum: 19th-century excavation of its hut scoops found Iron Age occupation evidence but no evidence of stone walls, suggesting relatively ephemeral or temporary structures (RCAHMW NPRN 94948) (Baring-Gould 1900, 194; Mytum 2013, 16). The surrounding area is heavily grazed from the late prehistoric period onwards and used as summer pasture in the medieval period (Chapter 5). Suggestions that large hillforts elsewhere in Britain are associated with transhumance are noted by Cunliffe (Cunliffe 2005, 401, 437), and Foel Trigarn's late prehistoric use for summer gatherings seems likely. The Crymych hilltop crossroads (see above) is nearby. Foel Trigarn's mounds and multivallate enclosure carry echoes of late prehistoric Irish royal sites with their longue durée assembly associations (Chapter 2) (Warner 2004). Further parallels with the spatial patterning of Irish assembly sites have already been noted in the combination of barrow cemetery and multivallate enclosure at Crugiau Cemais. The Irish involvement of the early church with sites of assembly is echoed in the coincidence of Brynach associations with the

assembly place-names of the Pantycroes and Caer Bayvil area, and changes over time in Bayvil's assembly areas – for instance the Christian-era refocus from Crugiau Cemais to Caer Bayvil/Caereglismore – also shows similarities to patterns identified in Ireland (Comeau 2014; cf. Aitchison 1994).

A couple of rather uncertain sites are suggested by site patterning at Castlebythe and Henry's Moat/Castell Hendre in southern Cemais (Appendix 5D). Both have mounds, categorised as mottes by the HER, but no castles here are mentioned in medieval records and there is no visible evidence of walls or a bailey. This is unusual in Cemais, where the only other 'motte' site with no traces of masonry, the low broad embanked mound of Castell Llainfawr 1 km west of Llanfair Nantgwyn, is similarly unrecorded by medieval sources (Appendix 5Aa). There is a ditch around the Castlebythe mound but it is uncertain whether there was one at Henry's Moat. Dimensions are similar: Castlebythe: 4.2 m high, 12 m diameter 'across the top'/15 m across base, and Henry's Moat: 5 m high, 11-14 m diameter. Both sites have nearby similar sized (70-80 m x 50-60 m) embanked enclosures of presumed late prehistoric date – 300 m away in the case of Castlebythe, 100 m away in the case of Henry's Moat. At Castlebythe the mound lies in a small nucleated hamlet on the edge of the shared pastures of Mynydd Castlebythe, not far from the church which is mentioned in the 1291 Taxatio and dedicated to St Michael, whose cult (discussed further in the 'Saints' festivals' section below) has been linked to livestock and summer pastures (G. Jones 2007, 196, 206). The Castlebythe embanked enclosure is on the common land of the *mynydd* and contains six or more unexcavated rectangular structures, whose 9.0 m x 5.0 m dimensions put them in the same size range as the 12th-century seasonal dwellings at Carn Goedog (Appendix 10). The place-name (*Castelbugh* 1278) may refer to this enclosure: *castel(l),* the Welsh form of Latin *castrum,* commonly denotes Iron Age and early medieval fortified enclosures, often at sites (like Castell y Vorwyn/Bwlch Mawr Castell in Dinas) where there is no evidence for Anglo-Norman activity (Comeau 2010, 235; T. James 1998). *Bugh* or *buch* is a cow, an appropriate association for an enclosure on seasonal pasture.

At Henry's Moat the mound lies next to the churchyard, where a monolith called 'St Brynach's Stone' was 'locally said to have been a fragment of a cromlech' (RCAHMW 1925, 119). The church is listed in the 1291 Taxatio, and (together with a well and well-chapel 1 km away at Bernard's Well) is dedicated to St Brynach who is strongly associated with the early medieval ruling kin-group of Cemais (Appendix 10). The dedications suggest a locally-significant early medieval focal area, and the presence of a standing stone or chambered tomb in the churchyard is striking. Given this, the possibility should be considered that the 'mottes' at Henry's Moat and Castlebythe incorporate pre-Conquest meeting-mounds that were elaborated for defensive

purposes: their tall, narrow shapes are quite different to that of the Pantycroes (Bayvil) mound, whose assembly function is much more certain.

It is similarly uncertain whether an isolated, lost mound (HER DAT 1563) to the north-east of the deserted medieval settlement at Fagwyr Goch/Redwalls, first mentioned by the antiquary Richard Fenton ('a small circular elevation, which I should suspect to be a tumulus'), was of any significance in the periodic gatherings deduced from Redwalls' (Morvil) 13th-century fair and market charter (Fenton 1811, 347). As noted below, this charter probably formalised earlier gatherings at this rural crossroads on the central Preseli pass. A barrow cemetery is suggested by aerial photography on Mynydd Morvil, 2 km to the west (RCAHMW NPRN 260033).

Questions are also presented by two mounds associated with 19th-century recreational gatherings at Moylgrove and Llanfyrnach, which are discussed further below under 'seasonal gatherings'. No earlier records exist of either site, but the site patterning and setting of one of them, on the boundary between Moylgrove, St Dogmaels and Monington parishes, is particularly striking for its echoes of assembly sites elsewhere in England and Ireland. A low, broad stone cairn (1.6 m high x 30 m wide) of presumed Bronze Age date (DAT HER 1159, Parc yr Esgob Cairn), sits on the brow of the hillside some 400 m from where the three parishes meet at a promontory fort of Iron Age or early medieval date recorded as Castell Ion in the 19th century ('the Castle of the Lord (God)', commonly known as Castell Joan; Vincent 1864, 305), which itself lies on the demesne lands of the high status Anglo-Norman manor of Monington (Figure J7). Below the cairn is a river crossing. The trivallate concentric enclosure of Caerau and its early medieval cist cemetery is 700 m away. The mound is referred to as *Cnwc y Celwydd* or 'tump of lies' by a 19th-century source (Vincent 1864, 307), though it possible that *Celwydd* is a corruption of *Culwydd* ('sovereign, lord, chief; almost invariably of God and Christ,' GPC, 13c), which would make this the 'mound of the Lord (God)', echoing the name of the field (*Parc yr Esgob*: the Bishop's field), the adjacent 'Castle of the Lord (God)', and the area's pre-Conquest ecclesiastical affiliations. As noted below, the mound was a traditional venue for storytelling gatherings until the 19th century.

Monumental stones (Appendix 5H-J)

- **Group I (Ogham/Roman-letter) stones:** Llandeilo Llwydarth (3 stones, comprising a family group); Llanfyrnach (2 stones); Llanychaer; Meline; Nevern (2 stones); Puncheston; St Dogmaels, and (just over the cantref boundary) at Bridell.
- **Freestanding crosses, cross slabs and pillars:** St Dogmaels; Llanychaer; Moylegrove; Nevern.

- ***Unmarked monumental stones***: *Bayvil (group); Puncheston/Llanychaer boundary; Preseli ridge*

Monumental stones (whether elaborate carved stones or unmarked boulders) commonly mark key sites in the early medieval landscape (Chapter 2), like boundaries, burials (which might denote land rights) and areas where particular codes of conduct applied.

Early medieval inscribed and carved stones

Within the study area, three types of early medieval inscribed and carved stones are identified in Nancy Edwards' comprehensive catalogue (Edwards 2007, 30, 49, 51-3). The first type, carrying ogham and/or Roman-letter inscriptions, corresponds to Nash Williams' Group I stones and their locations and inscriptions are considered here. The second type, cross-carved stones, largely comprises numerous simple crosses (Group II stones) that marked boundaries, cross-roads and burials, and have not been considered in the present study given these varied functions and uncertain dating. The third Edwards type comprises freestanding crosses, cross slabs and pillars, mostly Nash Williams Group III stones but also including some more elaborate Group II stones, and is considered here as evidence of rich material culture.

Group I stones with ogham and Roman-letter inscriptions

The 5th- and 6th-century ogham-inscribed stones of Cemais are an important and distinctive element of its early medieval landscape, and are generally agreed to indicate post-Roman Irish settlement (Chapter 2). Stones are recorded in the parishes of Llandeilo Llwydarth (3 stones, comprising a family group); Llanfyrnach (2 stones); Llanychaer; Meline; Nevern (2 stones); Puncheston; St Dogmaels, and (just over the cantref boundary) at Bridell (for details, taken from Edwards 2007, see Appendix 5B). Distribution focuses markedly on the Cemais boundaries, with an additional group of stones in the Nevern area (Figure B3, H4): an interesting distribution, given discussions noted in Chapter 2 about the use of early medieval inscribed stones as 'stone charters' marking claims to land, and therefore to post-Roman estates. Although original locations are often uncertain, none are likely to originate far from their findspots (Edwards 2007, 32), and they may therefore indicate post-Roman focal zones or boundaries. Most are first recorded at churchyard locations, between the 17th and 19th centuries. Three have non-churchyard findspots: the Meline stone (P63), somewhere in the area between the Preseli moor edge and Castell Mawr multivallate enclosure; one of the Llandeilo Llwydarth stones (P58) at the large prehistoric enclosure and monument complex of Temple Druid/Prisk; and one of the Llanfyrnach stones (P30)

near Iet-wen farm at a hillside Bronze Age cremation cemetery where the ridgeway route from Narberth to Cardigan crosses the Cemais boundary (details: Appendix 5H).

Many bear Old Irish names with elements referring to leaders, princes and kings. These communicate desired rather than actual qualities, and cannot be taken as directly indicative of the bearer's social rank, but nonetheless there is some coincidence of such inscriptions with the other indications of high or royal status noted elsewhere in this chapter. Bridell, with its *llys* place-name and David-dedicated church, presents a striking example with an ogham inscription 'Of Nettasagri son (i.e. member) of the kindred of Briaci' (P5). The first part of the *Nettasagri* name represents the Old Irish *núada* ('hero, king, champion': eDIL s.v. núada, núadu http://www.dil.ie; the meaning of the second element is uncertain since Edwards' suggested *sár* ['chief, ruler'] is not attested until the 17th century - eDIL s.v. 3 sár http://www.dil.ie; I am grateful to Thomas Charles-Edwards for this observation). *Briaci* may be either the same personal name Briacus as at Brawdy near St Davids (P4), or a reference to the Brecraige, an Irish tuath or 'subject-people' (Edwards 2007, 293). Puncheston's Welsh place-name *Casmael* 'Fort of the Prince', is foreshadowed in a lost Roman-letter stone (P88) commemorating 'Cunigcus son of Nemaglus': the first name is related to the Old English *Cyning*, 'king', while the second is the Old Irish name *Nia-Mail*, 'Champion of a Prince' (Edwards 2007, 425-6). At Nevern a 'prince-hound' and 'fame-king' make up the name '[Of] Maglicu/Maglocu son of Clutar…/Clutorius' on one of its ogham and Roman-letter stones (P70) (Edwards 2007, 392). Nearby in the parish of Meline, the name on its lost Roman-letter stone (P63) suggests warrior attributes through use of the name *Brann*: *bran* is a crow, raven and, figuratively, a warrior (GPC), and its use in medieval Cemais place-names is confined to likely royal sites (see discussion below in 'Royal or aristocratic residences' section).

Freestanding crosses, cross slabs and pillars

Associations of location are similarly apparent with the more elaborately decorated stones (Group II and III freestanding crosses, cross slabs and pillars) of the 8th to 11th centuries (Appendix 5I; Figure H4; Edwards 2007, 51-3). Most are associated with St Dogmaels abbey (6 of the 9 stones in this class). The status of Nevern church is marked by a 10th-century great cross, the most richly carved of the cantref's stone monuments.

Unmarked monumental stones

Not all significant stones can be expected to bear distinctive markings, and identifying them (and assessing whether they are of early medieval or prehistoric significance) presents challenges when no written records are available.

A group of distinctively-located stones was identified by the writer at Bayvil through field work prompted by references, from 1392 onwards, to the *longa petra* or *Maen Hir* ('long stone') of Bayvil, a boundary-marking stone which appeared to be a longstanding fixed feature in the landscape (Appendix 5.1J; NLW Bronwydd 1330 of 1392; 821 of 1427). Though regarded as 'lost', triangulation with other landmarks in charter boundary clauses identified a possible candidate, a 1.6 m high rhyolite boulder at a track crossing point (Figure J11), as well as several other stones in similar locations (Comeau 2012b, Figure 14). All are of igneous composition, from sources a minimum of 3 km to the south in the Preseli hills. They are distinctive amidst Bayvil's sand and gravel terraces which were shaped by the southwards flow of the Irish Sea glacier, moving in an opposite direction to that which would have been required to carry Preseli rhyolite here (Etienne et al. 2006, 758). Their presence reflects human agency, as does their relatively uniform size, with heights of 1.2-1.8 m and widths of 0.4-0.7 m that are similar to Pembrokeshire's early medieval inscribed stones (Petts 2002, 203). The distance from their source, the difficult intervening terrain, and a local abundance of oak timber make it unlikely that their original function was as post-enclosure gateposts. Almost all are singletons, and many stand at junctions on medieval tracks that meet at a central crossroads next to one of the sources of the Caman, Brynach's holy river. Several of Bayvil's assembly place-names are found in or near this area, which was probably the location of medieval fairs and feast day processions (Comeau 2014).

Some of these stones may be 16th century, given references to new boundary-marking stones at that time (e.g. NLW Bronwydd 953 of 1508; 1401 of 1599), which may also account for some of the 'field stones' (usually regarded as either cattle rubbing stones or prehistoric standing stones) shown on the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map, none of which are now visible. Many, however, seem from their locations and from the 14th-century evidence for Maen Hir y Bayvil to have been boundary and locational markers in the unenclosed medieval landscape. A number of those at crossing-places, including the one tentatively identified as 'Maen Hir y Bayvil', form a large arc around the likely setting for Bayvil's medieval fair that incorporates a 16th-century 'long boundary' (*talffin hir*) between Maen Hir y Bayvil and the cist cemetery, Caereglismore (Figure J4; NLW Bronwydd, 839 of 1584/5). This arc may mark the eastern edge of an extensive area of sanctuary or *noddfa*, called *Nothvabernach* in a 1445 papal letter which says that it included the glebe lands of Nevern church and particularly those called *Clastir*, which lie to the west of the putative fair site (I am grateful to the Rt Revd Wyn Evans, former Bishop of St Davids, for this suggestion) (H. James 1987; Pryce 1993, 172, 200). It would also, if the identification of the *talffin hir* as the *noddfa* boundary is correct, have included the cist cemetery of *Caereglismore* ('fort of the great church') (Comeau 2014). This combination of assembly sites,

sanctuary area and stones echoes those of Ireland and Scandinavia, though there are differences: the *noddfa* is an area of permanent sanctuary, while the areas of secular sanctuary at Irish and Scandinavian assembly sites existed only for the duration of assemblies (Sanmark 2017, 86-7; Swift 2000, 28-9).

Identification of comparable marker stones elsewhere in Cemais is hindered by igneous geology, south and west of the Nevern river, where large boulders of both erratic and locally quarried origin are abundant and commonly used as gateposts. Nonetheless a boundary-marker boulder like those at Bayvil was identified by fieldwork on the hill above Puncheston (SN0038532288) on a ridgeway track that follows the boundary between the medieval knights fees of Puncheston and Llanychaer. On the Preseli ridge, stones that define the limit of Welsh land of the 1243x1268 Commons of Preseli charter are noted by the antiquary Richard Fenton (Fenton 1811, 566).

Sacral sites: multiperiod ritual complexes and barrow cemeteries

- ***Prehistoric monument complexes (Appendix 5L):*** *Prisk/Temple Druid (Maenclochog p.); Parc Maen (Llangolman p.); Carn Menyn (Mynachlogddu p.); Eithbed West (Mynachlogddu p.). Also Bayvil (not listed as this site type by DAT HER). Borders: Glandy Cross (Llandissilio East p.); Letterston Complex (Letterston p.)*
- ***Bronze Age barrow cemeteries (Appendix 5K)***: *Foel Drygarn (Whitchurch p.); Mynydd Cilciffeth (Llanychaer p.); Criney Bridge (Fishguard South p.); Foel Cwmcerwyn (Llandeilo Llwydarth p.); Crugiau Cemaes (Bayvil p.); Mynydd Castlebythe (Castlebythe p.); Carn Llwyd (Newport p.); Crugiau Dwy (Mynachlogddu p.); Glyn-y-Fran (Llanfyrnach p.); Dryslwyn/Pantyllech (Bayvil/Nevern parish boundaries)*

The distribution of prehistoric enclosures and funerary monuments, often associated with early medieval focal zones elsewhere in north-west Europe (Chapter 2), is shown in Figure H5. This shows prehistoric monuments complexes identified by Dyfed Archaeological Trust in 2004, Bayvil's cluster of recently investigated sites, and chambered tomb cemeteries; Appendix 5L provides details (Cook 2004). Apart from one site, Glyn y fran (Llanfyrnach p.), that is best considered as a barrow cemetery, these sites consist of clusters of chambered tombs or complexes of round/ring barrows, standing stones and chambered tombs, sometimes, as at Prisk/Temple Druid (Maenclochog p.) and Letterston (a short distance outside Cemais), contained within large enclosures that may be henges.

There is a marked correspondence between the location of assembly sites and prehistoric monument complexes. Two of the latter, the Prisk/Temple Druid complex and the Eithbed West chambered tomb cemetery, are a short distance from the

Twmpath crossroads. The Bayvil complex is in the same area as a number of assembly site indicators and also (see below) a *llys*. It is particularly striking for its concentration of sites: a chambered tomb (Trefael), two large palisaded enclosures of uncertain date at Dryslwyn (approximately 115 m diameter, associated with pits contining Early Neolithic material) and at Post goch (50-70 m diameter); a barrow cemetery at the Iron Age multivallate enclosure of Crugiau Cemais; a pair of cropmarked round barrows at the Dryslwyn enclosure; another pair near the Post goch crossroads; and the isolated mound at Pantycroes (Figures J4, J5; Appendix 5.L; see also 'Royal or aristocratic residences' below).

There is a similar but less investigated concentration of monuments at Temple Druid/Prisk that comprises a large undated enclosure of 450 x 200 m, perhaps multivallate, which contains at least one, perhaps two burial chambers and up to 4 standing stones (Figure J17). One of the Roman-letter stones was found here. Temple Druid/Prisk is adjacent to Llandeilo Llwydarth, an early medieval high status site which is discussed below.

There may also be some significance in the location of Bronze Age barrow cemeteries (Appendix 5K, Figure H6), which are largely found on hilltops close to known or probable high status early medieval sites (Crugiau Cemaes above Bayvil; Foel Cwmcerwyn above Llandeilo Llwydarth; Mynydd Castlebythe and Mynydd Cilciffeth above Puncheston/Morvil) or to caputs of medieval descendants of the pre-Conquest *maer* (Foel Drygarn above Whitchurch and Llanfair Nantgwyn; Mynydd Cilciffeth above Cilciffeth) or Norman caputs (Criney Bridge above Llanychaer/'Cefn Llymwith'). The two pairs of barrows at Dryslwyn and Post goch crossroads lie on the Bayvil/Nevern parish boundary, on the edge of the Henllys medieval fields (Figure J3).

Christian cult sites and pre-Conquest clas churches *(Appendix 5M-P)*

- ***Pre-Conquest clas churches:*** *St Dogmaels and Nevern. Probably also Bridell, Meline, Monington, Whitchurch (inc Llanfair Nantgwyn freeholders) and Puncheston.*

- ***Principal cults: churches***: ***Brynach***: *Dinas, Henry's Moat, Llanfyrnach, Morvil, Nevern, and Pontfaen.* ***Dogmael:*** *Llandudoch (St Dogmaels), Mynachlogddu, Meline, St Dogwells (Pebidiog cantref) adjacent to Garn Turne.* ***David:*** *Capel Dewi (Newport p.), Little Newcastle (with St Peter), Llanllawer, Llanychaer, Llanychlwydog, Moylgrove, on boundary, Bridell.* ***David-linked cult of Meugan***: *Llanfeugan (attached to Bridell).* ***Teilo***: *Llandeilo Llwydarth*

- ***Principal cults: wells:*** ***Brynach***: *Henry's Moat, Llanfair Nantgwyn, Llanfyrnach and Buarth Byrnach (Preseli hills, Cilgwyn quarter of Nevern parish).* ***David:*** *wells in the parishes of Fishguard, Llanychlwydog,*

Maenclochog and Newport. **David-linked cult of Meugan***: Llanfeugan
(attached to Bridell).* **Teilo:** *Llandeilo Llwydarth.* **Samson:** *Llangolman,
Mynachlogddu, and Newport.*

- ***Other cult sites: Brynach:*** *river, woods and 'land of Thelych' in Bayvil; the 'old
  church' by the river Nevern; the 'Red well'/Fons Rubens; Pons Lapideus
  (Pontfaen p.).* **Samson:** *Newport (mound near Samson well); Pentre Ifan (field
  around chambered tomb – Nevern p.), Maengwynhir (standing stone –
  Llanfyrnach p.).* **Teilo:** *Llandeiloi Llwydarth (bishop house/mainaur).*

Some early medieval Christian cults show similarly significant relationships with focal
zones, notably those of several locally-important 6th-century saints: Brynach, Dogmael,
David, Meugan, Teilo and Samson (Figure H7). The first three are numerically
dominant, while the latter three have only a very few sites but are important for other
reasons.

Brynach (festivals: April 7, June 26) is unique among Welsh saints for having a Feast
of Translation (Hughes 1958, 188). His cult focuses on Cemais and adjoining areas of
Carmarthenshire with churches also in Breconshire (1), Glamorganshire (1) and
perhaps also at Braunton in Devon (Baring-Gould and Fisher 1907, I, 321-7; G. Jones
2001; Ludlow 2009, 66-7). His principal church is at Nevern where, according to his
12th-century Life, the local ruling kingroup dedicated itself to his service (F. Jones
1992, 39-40; Wade-Evans 1944a, 7, 11, 15). This Life links him to a number of Cemais
sites, mostly in the Nevern/Bayvil area: at a place on the River Nyfer (Nevern) called
'*Saltus Ueteris Ecclesie, the grove of the old church, llwyn hen llan*' (Wade-Evans
1944, 7) where he unsuccessfully attempted to build a church; Nevern church at the
confluence of the Caman and Nyfer rivers; and the Caman river and woods next to it.
Elsewhere in the Preseli and north Pembrokeshire area it mentions *Fons Rubens* or
Red Well; *Pons Lapideus* (Pontfaen), where demons were expelled; and *Mons
Angelorum* (Carn Ingli) (Appendix 5O). There are Brynach churches and chapels at
Dinas, Henry's Moat, Llanfyrnach, Nevern, Morvil, and Pontfaen, the first four of these
being listed in the 1291 Taxatio, and wells at Henry's Moat, Llanfair Nantgwyn,
Llanfyrnach and Buarth Byrnach in the Preseli hills.

Dogmael (festival: October 31), a rather obscure Cemais-based saint, has a monastery
at Llandudoch (St Dogmaels) where a Viking raid was recorded in 987, and churches
and wells at Mynachlogddu which was attached to St Dogmaels in the medieval period
(Chapter 5), Meline where the church abuts Castell Henllys and the Bayvil complex of
sites, and just over the *cantref* boundary at St Dogwells in the river valley under the
boundary assembly site of Garn Turne (Baring-Gould and Fisher 1907, 11, 349-351; T.
Jones 1952, 10; F. Jones 1992, 204, 207).

There are also dedications to David (festival: March 1), whose 10th-century dominance was at the expense of other saints' cults (J.R. Davies 2002, 378, 386; Evans 2003, 14; H. James 2007, 55, 57-8, 63). There were David churches and chapels at Capel Dewi (Newport p.); Little Newcastle (with St Peter); Llanllawer; Llanychaer; Llanychlwydog; Moylgrove (with St Andrew in the post medieval period; the 'Mynno' dedication of some sources is 'Mynyw', an early medieval name for St Davids), and wells in the parishes of Fishguard, Llanychlwydog, Maenclochog and Newport (F. Jones 1992, 205). Just over the cantref boundary in Emlyn, Bridell church is dedicated to St David, as is Maenordeifi (also dedicated to Llawddog/St Lawrence) (for details of churches see Appendix 5.1M) Some of these David dedications represent lands seized from St Davids by the Normans, and are the subject of a letter of 1100-1102 from the archbishop of Canterbury that threatens excommunication if lands are not restored (J.C. Davies 1946, 236; R.R. Davies 1990, 44-6). Many were not restored, and are claimed again by St Davids in 1222/3 when lands in north Cemais and Emlyn are named, including Abergwaun/Fishguard ('*Aberguemi*'), Moylgrove/Trewyddel ('*Trefgoithel*') and Monington/Eglwys Wythyr ('*Eglois Goithir*') (J. Barrow 1998, 121-3,#107; Pryce 2007, 311-2; 2010, 185, #43).

David's Life links him with a saint called Meugan (festival: November 11), whose chapel and healing well at Llanfeugan has already been mentioned as the site of a likely super-*cantrefal* boundary assembly site, a fair and *cnapan* (hurling) games. It has been suggested that the Llanfeugan chapel, which was attached to the church of St David at Bridell in the medieval period, was the location of the monastery of Meugan, where – according to the 11th-century Life of St David - David's father, the ruler of Ceredig, was ordered to deliver gifts of honeycomb, fish and a portion of a stag by the angel who foretold his birth (Breeze 2009; Sharpe and Davies 2007, 109; cf. Wade-Evans 1923, 59-61). These food-gift associations are particularly apposite since Meugan's feast day coincides with Martinmas when freemen's tribute payments (food rents) were due according to 13th-century south Wales law (Richards 1954, 84).

Another significant early saint is represented by the church, well and *maenor* of Teilo (February 9) at Llandeilo Llwydarth, the location of three ogham and Roman-letter stones and of the prehistoric ritual complex of Temple Druid/Prisk. The *maenor*, which becomes a 'bishop house' for St Davids after the demise of Teilo's cult, may (if it follows patterns elsewhere) originate in a grant of royal land to the cult of Teilo, whose heyday was in the 9th century (see below, 'Royal and aristocratic residences').

Traces of a cult of Samson (festival: July 28) may be preserved in well dedications and names and traditions associated with prehistoric monuments. His early 7th-century Life suggests a Dyfed origin (W. Davies 1982, 215; Flobert 1997; Taylor 1925), and there

are 'Samson' references in the names of wells at Llangolman, Mynachlogddu, and Newport, and in the names of a mound near Newport's Samson well and of the field around the Pentre Ifan chambered tomb (F. Jones 1992, 43, 210; RCAHMW 1925, 245, 254, 274). A standing stone called Maengwynhir at Llanfyrnach was reputedly thrown there from the summit of Frenni Fawr hill by Samson (Appendix 5C, 5N; RCAHMW 1925, 165). Elsewhere in Pembrokeshire his name is similarly attached to other prehistoric monuments (F. Jones 1992, 43). Recent research argues that most of these names refer to the Old Testament giant rather than to the saint (Jankulak 2017, 169-174), but this argument does not take account of the Life's description of the 6th-century saint challenging customary ancestral celebrations at a hilltop standing stone in Cornwall (Flobert 1997, 216-9; Taylor 1925, 49). This raises the possibility that these sites may represent the Christianised loci of longstanding seasonal gatherings: the chariot racing, games, stone and ancestral celebration at Cornwall are redolent of the Irish *óenaig* of pre-Christian origin (Chapter 2). The Cemais locations of Samson and possible *Gŵyl Awst* (Lugnasad) sites are compared in Figure H8 and discussed further under seasonal indicators, below.

Pre-Conquest 'clas' churches and areas of sanctuary (noddfa)

Significant areas of early medieval activity are also suggested by the distribution of churches with *noddfa* rights and kin-held *clas* ('portionary') churches. Portionary churches, where the rights of groups of Welsh freeholders to appoint priests reputedly went back to the Conquest, are recorded at Bridell, Meline, Whitchurch (which was also the church of Llanfair Nantgwyn's freeholders) and Puncheston; Monington's Welsh place-name, *Eglois withir* or *woythwir* ('the church of eight men'), suggests it was also once a portionary church (Appendix 5P, Figure H9; Charles 1948, 268, 279-280; Charles-Edwards 2013, 602-8; Comeau 2016, 212; Pryce 1993, 185-9). There are records of *noddfa*, the zone of extended sanctuary associated with pre-Conquest Welsh churches, at St Dogmaels and Nevern; the latter's medieval *Clastir*, 'the land of the clas' was discussed under 'Unmarked monumental stones' (H. James 1987, 68; Pryce 1993, 172; Twemlow 1912, 454, 502). St Dogmaels and Nevern are, with Llandeilo Llwydarth, the only Cemais sites mentioned in the early medieval period.

Royal or aristocratic residences: llys sites and earlier manifestations *(Appendix 5Q-T)*

Archaeological and written evidence:

- ***Late prehistoric high status hillforts – bivallate*** *- Castell Henllys (Bayvil), Castell Mawr (Meline p.), Crugiau Cemais (Bayvil p.), Cwm Penybenglog*

(Meline p.); *Foel Trigarn (Whitchurch p.); Summerton Camp (Little Newcastle p.); Trefaes Issa (Moylgrove p.).* **Trivallate** - *Caerau (St Dogmaels p.)*

- **Early medieval royal or high status:** *Nevern; Llandudoch/St Dogmaels; Llandeilo Llwydarth*

- **Large prehistoric enclosures:** *Dryslwyn/ Pantyllech (Bayvil/Nevern p.); Prisk/Temple Druid (Maenclochog p.)*

- **Fortified enclosures of late prehistoric or early medieval type**: *Bwlch Mawr Castell (Dinas p.); Castell Tregriffith (Moylgrove p.); Puncheston; Maenclochog*

Place-names:

- **Prince/leader:** *Trewenfron/Trefgynwran (Bayvil p.); Fagwr (Magwr y) fran (Puncheston p.); Castell Mael (Puncheston)*

- **Llys:** *Henllys – multiple place-names (Nevern p.); Llystyn (Nevern p.); Bridell (Emlyn cantref, near Cemais boundary)*

- **Royal entourage**: *Nyfer (Nevern)*

Royal centres in Cemais - archaeological and written evidence

Archaeological evidence for 'royal' or high status sites in Cemais is (like evidence for such sites elsewhere in Wales) elusive, though place-name evidence provides strong indicators. Some of its late prehistoric high status sites are represented by multivallate hillforts (Appendix 5Q; Figure H5). All are bivallate apart from the trivallate Caerau enclosure near Moylgrove, whose multiple banks would in early medieval Irish contexts be regarded as a measure of status (O'Sullivan et al. 2013, 82). Inner enclosures ranging from 95 m x 75 m (Castell Henllys) to 180 m x 120 m (Foel Trigarn) and radiocarbon dating reveals occupation from the 8th-5th to 2nd-1st century BC (Murphy and Mytum 2012; Parker Pearson et al. 2017, 168-170). Finds at Foel Trigarn show activity extending uncertainly into the Roman period, and Castell Henllys has evidence for short-lived post-Roman reuse (Mytum 2013, 18-19; see Chapter 4). Crugiau Cemais and Foel Trigarn both encompass barrow cemeteries, with Foel Trigarn's multitude of hut scoops suggesting large scale seasonal or temporary occupation (see above). Crugiau Cemais has embanked rectangular burials of late or post Roman type, and Caerau has long cist graves and ecclesiastical associations (Murphy and Murphy 2015; Vincent 1864). Several, like Crugiau Cemais and Foel Trigarn, occupy superb vantage points: Castell Mawr (Figure J12) overlooks one of the two main passes through the Preselis and adjoins the 'heigh playne' called *Keven Dianel* where the 12th-century Welsh parleyed with the invading Normans; a medieval iron spear-head was found in an adjacent field (Charles 1948, 278-9; RCAHMW 1925, 227). It is 500 m from Penybenglog, the 14th-century caput of prominent descendants of the pre-

Conquest *maer*, suggesting a place of lasting resonance (F. Jones 2001, 212; see Figure D4 for map of 16th-century lands of this family).

Royal or high status sites of the early medieval period are harder to identify. The *cantref's* three early medieval written records, noted in Chapter 4, all refer to locations (Nevern, Llandudoch/St Dogmaels and Llandeilo Llwydarth), where the presence of early medieval ecclesiastical land implies donations of land by either a ruler or a freeholder (W. Davies 1982, 62-3). Such donations are well attested by documents and by visible changes in material culture at English sites like Flixborough and Lyminge (Loveluck 2007; G. Thomas 2013). Evidence in Wales is provided by the Llandaff charters, with Wendy Davies' investigations showing grants beginning c.500 and peaking c.680-785 and c.850-900; all pre-700 donations are made by royalty, but from 730 onwards there are over twice as many grants from laity as from kings (W. Davies 1978, 50). Llandeilo Llwydarth has references to its *maenor* in a list of c.1025, and to its Bishop House in an archaic section of south Wales law: it was one of several episcopal *llysoedd* belonging to St Davids, having been absorbed by St Davids after the late 10th-century decline of the Carmarthenshire-based cult of St Teilo to whom it was originally granted (Charles-Edwards 2013, 596-7; J.R. Davies 2003, 17, 71, 88-9; H. James 2016a, 457-8). The circumstances of this original grant are unknown, but the cult's 9th-century heyday is indicated by donations of land recorded in the Book of Chad (also known as the Lichfield or Teilo Gospels) (W. Davies 1982, 198, 202; D. Jenkins and Owen 1983, 53-6). The Anglo-Norman medieval manor of Maenclochog, represented by the parishes of Maenclochog, Llandeilo Llwydarth and Llangolman, probably corresponds to the pre-Conquest *maenor*, given its anomalous medieval ecclesiastical affiliation to the deanery of Rhos (a pre-Conquest St Davids estate to the south, to which it was an outlier) rather than to the deanery of Cemais (Appendix 9), and its eastern boundary which is recorded (as the land of Hubert de Vale) in the 1121 St Dogmaels charter and corresponds to that of Llangolman parish (Appendix 8). Artificially straight parish boundaries reflect its late or post medieval division into three separate parishes.

The special status of Llandeilo Llwydarth in the post-Roman period is indicated by its three 5th- to 6th-century ogham and Roman-letter inscribed stones which indicate the presence of an 'important Irish family' (Appendix 5H; Charles-Edwards 2013, 164). The location of the 'Bishop House' is unknown, but it might perhaps have been in the vicinity of Llandeilo Llwydarth church and the nearby prehistoric ritual complex and inscribed stones (Edwards 2007, 378). This association of site elements hints at a place of pre-Christian ritual significance, akin to the late Iron Age royal sites identified in Ireland (Aitchison 1994, 71ff; Byrne 1973, 23; Herity 1993). There is also a small area of good quality arable soil here, commonly associated with early medieval focal

zones in England (Figure F4; Ford 1976; Hooke 1982). Alternatively the 'Bishop House' may have been at Maenclochog, where the Norman castle and settlement were burnt by the Welsh in 1215 and again in 1257 (T. Jones 1952, 90, 111). As Chapter 5 notes, excavation of the site of the castle revealed that its enclosing wall was preceded by a ditch and bank with a terminus post quem of AD 880-1020 (2 sigma), whose circuit incorporates a rocky outcrop described in recent times as a motte (Schlee 2007, 3, 11). Within the enclosure was a roundhouse and associated hearth which produced 12th-century pottery and a 980-1160 cal AD radiocarbon date from a rye grain sample (Chapter 5), a cereal suggestive of a 12th-century Flemish presence (ibid, 6, 9).

There appear to have been similar royal grants of lands to the church at Bayvil and in the adjacent area of Nevern, asserted in the 12th-century *Life of Brynach*, though its claim that they were given by a 6th-century king is unverifiable (Wade-Evans 1944b, 15). One named area, 'the land of Thelych', may (as noted earlier in the discussion of *telich* names) be represented by a lost 16th-century settlement (*Pentellech/Pant y llech* 1508; *Pantellech* 1520) that appears to have been one of several properties seized from the Nevern *clas* church by the Normans (Charles 1992, 30, 159-60; Comeau 2012b: Appendix 7B; 2016, 212). It disappears from the record in the 17th century, but its location can be deduced from boundary clauses and corresponds to a group of fields near Bayvil church on the boundary of Bayvil and Nevern parishes (Figure J5; Comeau 2012b: Figures 10A-C). Earlier settlement is indicated by cropmarks in the adjacent field that reveal a large 115 m diameter oval enclosure (noted earlier under its HER 'Dryswlyn' name) adjacent to a smaller 33 m diameter enclosure and two round barrows, one of which is particularly large (Appendix 10). The location of the latter corresponds approximately to that of a lost cairn or round barrow, *Carn Mabli* ('mound of the son of Lugh'), noted earlier. Footpaths and medieval tracks converge next to the cropmarked field at the stone identified as '*Maen Hir y Bayvil*' (see above). A 2015 excavation (as yet unpublished) by the late Geoff Wainwright and Tim Darvill in the area of the large cropmarked Dryslwyn enclosure identified a palisaded enclosure and pits with pottery and carbonised plant remains of Early Neolithic date (T. Darvill pers. comm.).

As well as these sites, there are possibilities – raised, for instance, by recent work in Scotland on Pictish sites (Noble et al. 2013) - that unexcavated sites among the enclosed settlements and promontory forts noted in Chapter 5 may include some with early medieval occupation. The apparent similarity of the Castell y Vorwyn/Bwlch Mawr Castell enclosure at Dinas to known early medieval sites is noted by Dyfed Archaeological Trust, and the 13th-century Dinas place-name itself refers to an unspecified fort or stronghold (Appendix 4A, 5.8). The coastal promontory hillfort at Castell Tregriffith at Moylgrove has a deserted medieval settlement on its landward

side, visible in RCAHMW aerial photographs, that is presumably linked with 16th records of dependent tenants (Chapter 5), and might well have had high status occupation in the early medieval period. Erosion, however, has largely destroyed the site (Appendix 10). There is a high-banked enclosure at the heart of Puncheston (HER DAT 1276), and its 'Prince' place-name is noted below. The absence of excavation, however, at all these sites mean that assessment is speculative.

Llys place-names

Llys place-names present a means of identifying sites (Appendix 5R), but require caution given the fresh coinage of *llys* names in the post-medieval period (Silvester 2015, 8). Restricting analysis to pre-1500 place-names nonetheless reveals a cluster of *Henllys* ('old or former court') place-names at Bayvil, on the good quality soils to the south of Pantyllech. Apart from a single *llys* place-name on the opposite bank of the Nevern valley, *Llystyn* 1434: 'the fortified enclosure on the hill', which was the home of a 14th-century descendant of the *maer* (F. Jones 2001, 156), these are the only *llys* place-names in Cemais and are found in the same area as tenants of the medieval Lord of Cemais (Chapter 5; Figure H12). Variant medieval place-names refer to a greater and lesser Henllys (1345 onwards), a possible woodland residence (*Henllys Podynghod* 1349), a priest's portion (*Henllys papan* 1466), as well as the court's woods (*Allt Henllys* 1392), meadow (*Dol Henllys* 1497) and ploughlands (NLW Bronwydd 1321 of 1358 and 1349 of 1408 onwards for ploughlands; for other *Henllys* place-name references see Charles 1992; for Bayvil's bondsmen see Chapters 4 and 5). The late prehistoric bivallate enclosure recorded in 1497 as 'the castle of Henllys' (i.e. Castell Henllys) lies on the periphery of this area. Place-names similarly indicate a *llys* at Bridell in the neighbouring *cantref* of Emlyn (Charles 1992, 347-8: *Bridell* 1357 onwards, *Bridellys* 1399 and *Bridellis* 1411), a medieval demesne centre a kilometre or so from the *cantref* boundary (H. Owen 1911, 30). This highly localised distribution of *llys* place-names contrasts with the distribution of *cwrt* elements, another medieval indicator of a high status residence. In Cemais all *cwrt* names are 16th century or later, and are more widespread than *llys* names with some corresponding to known medieval manorial centres (Figure H10, H12, Appendix 5S).

The *llys* place-name distribution can be compared usefully with the royal and territorial attributions on early medieval inscribed stones that were discussed earlier, and also with two other place-name elements that may indicate high or royal status. The first of these, *bran*, although commonly interpreted as 'crow' or 'raven', refers figuratively to a warrior (GPC), and there is a Cornish example in the *Rialobran* ('kingly raven/warrior') Roman-letter inscription on the 'Men Scryfa' landmark stone (Herring et al. 2016, 199; C. Thomas 1994, 286). Within the term *cynfran* it means 'the foremost crow or raven' or

– figuratively, and in the related terms *cyngran* and *cynran* - a leader, chieftain or (distinguished) warrior (GPC). It is only found in two pre-1500 place-names in Cemais, at Bayvil (*Trefgynwran* 1349: the prince's township; see Chapter 5) and at Fagwr Fran (*Magoer faran* 1243x1268: 'the wall of the crow/warrior', alternatively 'the wall of anger') close to Puncheston whose Welsh name, *Castell Mael*, first recorded in 1566, means 'the lord/prince's castle/stronghold'.

The second royal place-name element is provided by Nyfer or Nevern (*Nant nimer/ niver*, 865), the name given to the principal river of Cemais and (as Nanhyfer) to the settlement around St Brynach's principal church (Charles 1992, 131; Morris 1980, 48, 89). The *Mabinogion nifer* (MW *niuer/niver*: host, company, troop or retinue, GPC) refers to the royal household troop, for example that of Pwyll Prince of Dyfed: '*Pwyll a'e niuer*' ('Pwyll and his company') (Williams 1930, 31; translation in S. Davies, 2007, 15). '*Nant nimer*' is therefore a 9th-century reference to 'the (river) valley of the (royal) host or household troop', a striking usage in an area abutting Bayvil with its *llys* and assembly place-names and medieval estates descending from the pre-Conquest *maer*.

Significant functions, cult, juridicial, political, administrative *(Appendix 5U, 5Z).*

- ***Place-names:*** *Crugiau Cemais (Bayvil/Nevern p.); Penalltygarddau (Nevern p.); Vaynor (Henry's Moat p. & Castlebythe p.); Uncertain: Bayvil; Morvil; Pant-Y-Deri (Llanfair Nantgwyn p.)*

Some place-names indicate regional or administrative significance (Appendix 5U; Figure H4). The importance of the barrow cemetery at Bayvil, *Crugiau Cemais* (1349), is signalled by its *cantref* name, and the name of the adjacent hamlet, *Penallt y garddau*, as Chapter 5 notes, is evocative of the *garddau* ('gardens') bondmen settlements at Gwynedd *llys/maerdref* centres. I have also previously suggested similar significance for the *Bayvil* name of the surrounding medieval manor (*Bayvil* ([*Y] Baivil(l),* 1273: Charles 1992, 27; Comeau 2014, 279), raising the possibility that the name derives from *peu, pau* (*pagus*, '*cantref* or region', see Charles Edwards 2013, 18, 316), and indicates 'the regional/*cantref* township'. This interpretation is, however, philologically doubtful since it presumes a lenition (mutation) of *peu* to *beu* which is contentious given the masculine gender of the underlying *pagus* form (Charles-Edwards pers. comm.). Its combination with a non-Welsh term, *vil*, adds further uncertainty. Nonetheless, given the absence of any alternative Welsh form that might (as at neighbouring Moylgrove/Trewyddel and Monington/Eglwys Wythwr) indicate Norman-French renaming, there are difficulties with the traditional interpretation of the name as a Norman-French 'beautiful town' (Charles 1948, 269; Charles 1992, 27; Charles-Edwards 2013, 18, 316; Comeau 2014, 279). The pronunciation of the 'bay'

element (rhyming with 'may') also differs from the 'biw' pronunciation (rhyming with 'view') of the known Anglo-Norman names of Beaulieu and Beaumaris.

The name of *Morvil* (Morvin/Morvil 1291), the demesne area south of the Preselis which housed Welsh resistance to the Norman invasion, presents similar problems with the same non-Welsh *vil* element. Although Charles suggests that it is a Norman-French name (Charles 1992, 113), like Bayvil it is the same in English and Welsh (*Y Morfil:* 'the Morvil'), indicating that (unlike adjacent Puncheston, known as *Casblaidd* to Welsh speakers) its name was accepted by the Welsh community and used as if it were Welsh.

Clearer indications of function are provided by the 16th-century names of two settlements less than 1 km from Morvil - *Vaynor* (1592, p. of Henry's Moat; Charles 1992, 64) and *Vaynor Fach* (1592, p. of Castlebythe; Charles 1992, 35) – each in a separate parish which meets the other two parishes between the three settlements (Figure J6; Appendix 4A). *Vaynor* (*maenor*) suggests a place of pre-Conquest significance here, perhaps a *maerdref* (Appendix 5Z, element 15), whose importance prompted its division between three later medieval parishes.

Another place-name may perhaps indicate a place for payments of taxes, dues or tribute, though other interpretations exist. This is *Pant-Y-Deri,* the Llanfair Nantgwyn mansion of descendants of the *maer* (*Pantyderry* 1698) which Charles interprets at face value as 'oak hollow' (Charles 1992, 73). An alternative interpretation (highly speculative given its late date) might involve either the figurative meaning of *deri* (oaks) as 'foremost warriors, leaders, mighty lords' or the term *daered,* meaning legal due, tax, tribute (13th century), used in the law codes to refer to the officers of the court who collect tribute (Richards 1954, 73; definitions taken from GPC).

Seasonal indicators

Certain focal zone indicators have a seasonal character: visits by the royal court to *llysoedd*, food rent obligations, fairs and other popular gatherings, saints festivals and hunting. The first two of these were considered in the last chapter, and the last three categories (fairs and other popular gatherings, saints' festivals, and hunting) will be considered here.

Fairs and other popular gatherings (Appendix 5G)

- **Medieval fairs***: Redwalls (Morvil p.); Bayvil; Llanfeugan (Llanfair Nantgwyn p./Bridell p.); Newport.*
- **Feast of Translation** *of Brynach: probably at Bayvil.*

- **Medieval cnapan games:** *Bury Sands (Nevern estuary)); Pont Gynon (on R. Nevern); Pwll Du, at source of R. Nevern; Llanfeugan, where R. Nevern crosses cantref boundary.*
- **August 1st gatherings:** *Mynydd Dinas (19th-century record, Dinas p.); Cnwc Awst ('August Mound') place-name in Cilgwyn quarter of Nevern p.; Carn Mabli (Bayvil/Nevern p.); Pwll Iago (Bayvil p.); Pistyll y Blaidd (Nevern p.).*

Documented medieval fairs

The fairs of medieval Cemais took place at two times: midsummer when the pre-Conquest royal stag hunting season began, and St Martin's Day in November when freeholders' food renders were due (Figure H2, Appendix 5G). They are recorded at Newport (June 16; first record 1594), Redwalls (Morvil) (3 day fair centring on June 20th; first record is a fair charter of 1293), Bayvil (3 day centring on 29 June, first record is a fair charter of 1338), and Llanfeugan (Monday after November 11, first record 1410). With the exception of Newport, all were held at rural locations with varying degrees of pre-Conquest centrality. No fair charter survives at Newport, but its medieval midsummer fair could conceivably pre-date the 13th-century town since it was dedicated to the Welsh saint Curig whose festival marks the start of the stag hunting season in Welsh law (Wade Evans 1909, 182). The Bayvil and Morvil/Redwalls fair charters, being at probable pre-Conquest *maerdrefi*, quite possibly regularise existing midsummer festivals – pre-Conquest fairs have been identified in north Wales at Llanfaes, Nefyn and Pwllheli (see Chapter 7) (Jones Pierce 1972, 142; Smith 1998, 243-4). At Bayvil an earlier regularisation is probably represented by the 12th-century record of a Feast of Translation of Brynach on 26 June which – given the Bayvil/Nevern focus of the saint's cult – is likely to have been celebrated here. The early medieval cist cemetery of Caer Bayvil, alias Caereglismore, and St James' well at the source of the river Caman, are at the epicentre of the Bayvil fair and Brynach-related associations (Comeau 2014). The Llanfeugan fair on the *cantref* boundary had no charter and focused on a well chapel whose festivals are noted in a Papal letter of 1410-11 (Bliss and Twemlow 1904). The well was linked to the portionary (*clas*) church at Bridell, whose Meugan and David cults are discussed above. Late 16th-century records track the suppression of its well cult and the removal of its Martinmas fair, in the 1590s, to the village of Eglwyswrw where it is described as 'a great fair' (NLW Bronwydd: 322 of 1599; 1257 of 1577; 840 of 1584/5; 1174 of 1593; F. Jones 1992, 59; G. Owen 1892, 271; 1994, 144).

Market activity

Whether we can envisage early medieval predecessors of these fairs depends on the likelihood of trading activity in a period when there was very little use of coin. Systems of exchange using units of account like cows and hacksilver can be identified across early medieval Europe, including Wales (Chapter 2). Evidence for them in the study area is suggested by a 1278 charter that allowed dependent ('gale'/ex-bond) tenants of 13th-century Cemais freeholders to trade toll-free in food at locations away from Newport's Thursday market so long as coin was not used (Charles 1951a, 136; G. Owen 1862, 57-60). This suggests that longstanding trading activity may lie behind market charters of 1338 and 1293 at the (very rural) medieval demesne centres of Bayvil and Morvil. The 1278 reference to coin-free processes of exchange is partnered by George Owen's statement of c.1600 that the only significant opportunities for trade in Cemais were presented by animal sales at the summer and autumn fairs, and that systems of credit operated between these times (G. Owen 1994, 142).

Other seasonal gatherings - cnapan (hurling) games, pre-1600, and Gŵyl Awst

Other gatherings – hurling games at Easter and Whitsun, and an informal hilltop gathering at *Gŵyl Awst* (Lugnasad) - similarly took place at key points in the pre-Conquest calendar. In Cemais hurling games are recorded c.1600, by which time they seem to have been largely a thing of the past. They took place at specific Nevern valley locations (Figure H2): at the mouth of the Nevern on Bury Sands (the modern Newport beach) on Shrove Tuesday; at Pont Gynon, a crossing over the Nevern, on Easter Monday; at Pwll Du, the source of the Nevern in Emlyn lordship, close to a barrow cemetery on the mountain of Frenni Fawr, on the Sunday after Easter; and at Llanfeugan, whose well-cult marks the place where the Nevern crosses the cantref boundary, first on Ascension Day, which is usually in May and marks the crop-blessing and parish boundary-marking feast of Rogation, and then on Corpus Christi, a 14th-century festival in the week after Whitsun (E.O. James 1961, 217-225; G. Owen 1994, 209). Neighbouring parishes competed at the first three of these, with hundreds of people taking part. At Llanfeugan the men of Cemais competed against the men of Emlyn and Cardiganshire at what were described as the main games of the year. Around two thousand people participated here, attended by large numbers of spectators and 'divers victuallers with meat, drink and wine of all sorts, also merchants, mercers and pedlars' (Owen ibid, 210).

Only one of these games, at Bury Sands, is associated with a Norman settlement; all the others are in areas of Welsh *uchelwyr* influence and may therefore indicate longstanding pre-Conquest festivities. Setting aside the Shrove Tuesday game at Bury Sands, which could be viewed as part of a tradition of medieval Shrove Tuesday

football games (Hutton 1997, 154, 159-62), the other games at Easter and Whitsun coincide with the *gŵyl arbennig*, the 'special feasts' of pre-Conquest Wales (Appendix 1C). They echo references to assembly games in the Tailtiu and Carmun poems, and the hurling played at royal residences in Irish myths (Chapter 2). In Cemais their location at key sites along the river Nevern (its source, crossing points, and exit to the sea) suggests the river itself once held some significance, and they are perhaps a relic of the 'divine honours' that, according to Gildas, were given to rivers and hills before the arrival of Christianity (Winterbottom 1978, 17; see also Edwards 2017, 383).

There are also indications of *Gŵyl Awst* (Lugnasad) gatherings on August 1. The August 1st gatherings on Mynydd Dinas have already been mentioned; the natural cairn here is distinctive for a rock marked with small linear non-natural incisions that resemble tally marks. Little is known of the event beyond the fact that it ceased in 1870 (Comeau 2012c, 14), but it may not have been the only August gathering in Cemais, given records of a lost *Cnwc Awst* ('August Mound') place-name south of Nevern in the Preseli hills. There are three references to it: in a 1425 list of the lands of a descendant of the pre-Conquest *maer* (*Knochauste* 1425: Charles 1992, 159); c.1603 in one of George Owen's lists of topographic features, which identifies it as a hill in the Cilgwyn quarter of Nevern parish, though exactly where is uncertain; and in 1694 in correspondence to Edward Lluyd, which describes it merely as a 'fort' called *Caer Aust*, in a description of antiquities mostly concerned with sites in Nevern and Meline parishes (Charles 1948, 277; RCAHMW 1925, xxxvii). It may also be referred to, as *Kenheiste*, in a 1342 list of properties of another descendant of the pre-Conquest *maer* (F. Jones 1979, 30-1). Figure H8 shows the general location of these sites, which make interesting comparisons with the Samson sites, noted earlier, given Samson's 28 July festival and role in Christianising ancestral hilltop celebrations. The map also shows a trio of sites in Bayvil which may indicate a *Gŵyl Awst* gathering: *Carn Mabli*, with its possible Lugh/Lugnasad name; *Pwll/Ffynnon Iago* (the well/spring of St James, festival July 25); and *Pistyll y Blaidd* (the spring of the wolf/St Bleidd: Lupus, July 29 festival).

The usages of these sites may be deduced from Chapter 2's accounts of 18th- and 19th-century *Gŵyl Awst* gatherings marked by festive meals and the burning of temporary wood and turf huts on hills and mountains, and the 16th-century account of hilltop gatherings for storytelling, songs of Welsh heroes and the recitation of pedigrees. Activities of this sort (albeit on Sundays rather than at *Gŵyl Awst*) are noted in 1864 at the mound above Moylgrove bridge (see 'Assemblies: site patterning indications' section), described by the local vicar as a place

> 'where men and women were formerly in the habit of assembling on the Lord's Day in large masses, to disport themselves by inventing and telling the most lying and wonderful tales that their imaginations could devise… this practice has been

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happily discontinued, and people now betake themselves to their respective places of worship…' (Vincent 1864, 307).

Possibly similar gatherings, taking place after oat sowing in late March and described as 'largely for entertainment', are recorded until 1825 on another Cemais mound, the motte in Llanfyrnach (Lewis 1969a, 41).

In sum, the local evidence for *Gŵyl Awst* gatherings and place-names, and for saints with late July festivals, reinforces that noted in Chapters 2 and 5. The impression is of a slowly vanishing popular festival of early date, Christianised and then discouraged as a challenge to both secular and religious authority, whose functional rationale as a key time for pre-Conquest legal activity disappeared with the demise of Welsh law. Further and broader investigation is needed, but these factors, combined with the restricted early medieval written record, go a long way towards explaining the lack of direct evidence in Wales for early medieval Lugnasad-type festivals, as noted by Clancy in his critique of my earlier comments on this subject (Clancy 2018, referring to Comeau 2016).

Saints festivals *(Appendix 5M-N)*

- ***Key festivals:*** *Bridget, Mary, Teilo, Cawey (early February); Michael (early May); Curig, John, Brynach, Peter & Paul (midsummer); Peter, James, Samson, Bleidd/Lupus (late July and August); Dogmael, Illtud, Cristiolus, Meugan, Bridget of Cil Muine (end of October/early November); Colman, Andrew and Nicholas (late November and early December).*

Many church and well festivals also cluster around key points in the early medieval year (Figure H7). Of the 54 medieval churches and chapels that can be identified in Cemais (Appendix 5M), 61% (33 out of 54) have a dedication that falls within a fortnight of a cross-quarter day or midsummer, or – to put it another way - 61% of medieval churches and chapels have dedications clustered within just 43 days (or 12%) of the year. This distribution of festivals, which excludes the national patronal saint David, but includes the regional patronal saint Brynach's Feast of Translation, seems hardly accidental. Many of the saints are Welsh. Others, like Michael, Mary and Peter, are universal saints with early medieval cults (G. Jones 2007). In most cases the lack of records means that the replacement of an earlier cult cannot be ruled out. A context for this association of saints festivals with these key points in the year is given by the recognised involvement, in Ireland, of the early medieval church in the legal, administrative and commercial business of the *óenaig* held on the cross-quarter days (Fitzpatrick 2004a, 173-4).

Many of the Cemais cross-quarter and midsummer dedications have already been alluded to, but it will useful to list them. There are festivals to Bridget, Mary, Teilo and

the obscure Cawey in early February, when ploughing and hind hunting began and land law closed; most are at manorial centres. Festivals to Michael, generally in more marginal area, mark early May when herds left for seasonal pastures and land law reopened after the sowing and planting season. There is local evidence for medieval courts held at this time and for the Mayday payment of renders of sheep and cows in the 13th century (Appendix 3). At midsummer, when stag hunting and cow mating began, there are dedications to Curig, John, the paired saints Peter and Paul, and Brynach has a Feast of Translation. Corresponding fairs at a number of these locations have already been discussed. The beginning of August is marked by a single church dedication to Peter, though several wells are named for saints with festivals around this time: James, Samson and perhaps Lupus (Welsh: Bleidd); the links between some of these and Gŵyl Awst festivals was considered in the last section.

The start of November, when food rents were paid, is marked by dedications to Dogmael, Illtud, Cristiolus and Meugan, all in the Nevern valley apart from a Dogmael church that marks the well-attested assembly site of Garn Turne on the western boundary. The Meugan dedication corresponds to the other well-evidenced boundary assembly to the east, the Martinmas fair at Llanfeugan. Meugan's 11 November festival is followed by a 12 November festival of Bridget of Cil Muine or St Davids (Baring-Gould and Fisher 1907, Vol 1, 285): both the Meugan and Bridget wells are linked with *llys* sites. There are also dedications later in November and in early December to Colman, Andrew and Nicholas.

Hunting (Appendix 5X)

- *Medieval demesne forests*: Pencelli; Cilrhydd; Moylgrove; Coed Cadw; Rhigian (all in Nevern valley or on coastal plain); Llandeilo Llwydarth. Red deer: Llandeilo Llwydarth (16th century).
- *Mythological (Mabinogion) hunting locations*: Cemais: Nevern valley; Preseli ridge; Cwm Cerwyn. Cantref of Emlyn: Glyn Cuch forest; Frenni Fawr.
- *Hunting place-names:* Cwm Cerwyn (Llandeilo Llwydarth p.); Cwm Garw (Llangolman/Mynachlogddu p.). Cnwc yr hydd (Preseli, Nevern p.); Cilrhydd (Nevern p.).

Hunting, as Chapter 5 noted, is highly seasonal: hind hunting began on St Bridget's Day, February 1, and ended on Mayday (or midsummer, in some versions of the Laws), stag hunting began at midsummer and ended on November 1, All Saints Day (or December 1 in one version), while boar hunting began a week later and ended on December 1 (Appendix 1D). Although there were no hunting reserves, the king had the right to hunt anywhere (D. Jenkins 2000a, 274; Langton 2011, 265): 13th-century Gwynedd royal hunts involved annual visits by hundreds of followers to the central

places of upland *commotes*, some of which were ecclesiastical estates (D. Jenkins 2000a, 258-9). Hunting locations therefore indicate areas of intense seasonal activity for the early medieval elite, just as transhumance locations do for dependent tenants, as well as considerable short-term resource implications for the feeding and housing of huntsmen and animals. In the study area, hunting locations are identified by 14th to 16th-century records and place-names, and by places mentioned in locally-set *Mabinogion* stories. Figure H11 shows these in the context of medieval woodland, which in the medieval (post-Conquest) period included demesne forests of significant size at Pencelli (250 acres, 1392); Cilrhydd; Moylgrove (200 acres, 12th century); Coed Cadw (adjacent to Bayvil/Henllys); and Rhigian (the modern 'Fforest' area between Dinas and Fishguard) (Charles 1948, 268, 274, 278; Howells 1973, 79; G. Owen 1994, 90) (see Appendix 5X). All these areas lie close together in the Nevern valley and on the northern coastal plain, and indicate an extensive wooded early medieval zone, partially surviving today, with high status medieval Welsh and Norman caputs on its fringes (Figure D1). There was also a 300-acre forest extending southwards of Llandeilo Llwydarth church on the southern Cemais boundary, held by the bishop of St Davids in 1326 (G. Owen 1994, 90; Willis-Bund 1902, 167). Red deer were observed here by Leland c.1540 (Leland 1906, 63). Elsewhere in Pembrokeshire the early 17th-century presence of a few red deer is noted by George Owen, who says they lived 'without sanctuary or privilege of forest', and that wild boar were virtually extinct (G. Owen 1994, 204-6).

Deer and boar seem to have been more abundant in earlier periods, judging from *Mabinogion* accounts of boar and deer hunting in the Preseli area. The *Mabinogion* story of Culhwch and Olwen describes a locally-set boar hunt that is also mentioned in the early 9th-century Historia Brittonum, where a pre-Galfredian Arthur chases a magician-boar, the Twrch Trwyth, from Ireland, across the Nevern valley and along the Preseli ridge to Cwm Cerwyn, a glacial corrie under the highest point in the Preseli hills (Bromwich and Evans 1992, lxiv-lxx, lxxvii; Morris 1980, 42, 83). Here it stands at bay and kills eight of Arthur's warriors before escaping to south Wales and Cornwall (S. Davies 2007, 210). On the landmark hill above it, the barrows and natural cairns of Foel Cwm Cerwyn are traditionally held to be the burials of Arthur's men (RCAHMW 1925, 242). Llandeilo Llwydarth lies directly under this iconic location (Figure A5) whose western flanks border the sites of later battles for supremacy: the Conquest-period battle between the Normans and the men of Morvil and – it is suggested above – perhaps also the 1081 Battle of Mynydd Carn. Other *Mabinogion* stories refer to hunting in the *cantref* of Emlyn, to the east of Cemais, where Pwyll Prince of Dyfed and Havgan King of the Underworld hunted in Glyn Cuch forest, and Macsen Wledig (the 4th-century AD Roman emperor Magnus Maximus) made a hunting camp on the tall

hilltop of Frenni Fawr, location of one of the *cnapan* games and another barrow cemetery (S. Davies 2007, 3, 108).

Hunting associations are also present in certain place-name elements, specifically *hydd* (stag, hart, 13c) and *carw* (deer, hart, stag, figuratively - lord, nobleman, 9c). *Cwm Cerwyn* (*Kwm Kerwyn* 14th Mabinogion, *Com Kerwyn* 1445: Charles 1992, 125), where the enchanted boar confronted Arthur and his men, has an early alternative *carw* form, *Cwm Garw* (*Combkaro* 'the valley of the deer'), given in 1121 as the location of a stream that formed the boundary between the manors of Mynachlogddu and Maenclochog alias Llandeilo Llwydarth maenor (J.C. Davies 1946, 242; Pritchard 1907, 46-8).

A *hydd* (stag, hart) element is found in *Cnwc yr hydd* 'mound of the red deer' (Charles 1992, 134, Nevern parish: 'the mound of the red deer'), a rocky outcrop on unenclosed Preseli moorland within the area of the Common of Preseli charter; it is first identified on the 1st edition 6-inch OS map (RCAHMW 1925, 267). Its association of deer with a hillock or knoll recalls the use of 'mounds of chase' in early medieval Ireland, used by hunters as platforms from which to throw spears at deer driven towards them by men and hounds (Fitzpatrick 2013, 113-6).

There may also, Charles suggests, be a *hydd* element in the name of Cilrhydd forest (Nevern parish, *Kilrhyth/Kilhireth* 1343; *Kilrede* 1383: Charles 1992, 134), though his suggestion that its *Kilhireth* and *Kilyrith* forms may represent *cil yr hydd* ('the deer's nook) should perhaps be approached with caution since the term *rhydd* denotes freehold land (GPC, *tir rhydd*), and this woodland was the demesne of prominent medieval Welsh freeholders as well as the Lord of Cemais (Chapter 4). Similarly ambiguous instances of *hydd* or *rhydd* can be found in other names, most notably that of the Emlyn boundary parish of *Penrhydd/Penrydd* (*Penruth* 1292: Charles 1992, 392), whose boundaries encompass the hill of Frenni Fawr, mentioned above. Charles interprets this as a 'red or brown hilltop' (*rhudd*: red or ruddy) although it could alternatively be *Pen yr hydd* (the hilltop of the deer) or *Pen rhydd* (the freeholders' hilltop). *Cnwc rhudd* (Llandeilo parish), a name attached by the 1st edition Ordnance Survey to Foel Cwm Cerwyn hillside, presents similar questions.

Discussion: summing up the polyfocal evidence

The varied sources of information implicate a consistent set of assembly places, royal or high status centres and cult sites. The co-location of different types of site can also be seen.

Assembly sites

It is possible to identify both the spatial and seasonal patterning of a number of assembly areas. At least 23 potential assembly locations and assembly-attesting place-names of various types can be identified (Appendix 5Ab). This figure relates to just one of the six *cantrefi* or lordships that made up Pembrokeshire and is relatively high compared to reported county-level totals for English work (Skinner and Semple 2016, 118, 120). This may be because its data sources are – of necessity – more widely flung than English studies based on Domesday, with (for instance) records of Cemais medieval rural fairs used as assembly correlates. The figure of 23 therefore includes sites of different types and periods as well as place-names that may be duplicated references to the same location, and of course some that may be spurious. However, it is also possible that in Cemais we are seeing different patterns of assembly to the English pattern, and/or that a relatively high degree of social and institutional continuity from the early medieval period has facilitated greater preservation of place-names and practice. In other words, the lack of Domesday records need not be an impediment to identifying assembly places in Wales.

Two, possibly three sites of likely pre-Conquest date can thus be identified on the *cantref* boundary, and another three in central locations, as well as several others of lesser or uncertain significance. Processes of change affecting these sites are detectable in the medieval and post-medieval period, and can similarly be expected in the early medieval period: this is, after all, a landscape palimpsest of sites of different periods and varying significance and function. Some sites survive as medieval rural fairs or courts and others are the loci of unofficial gatherings, while a number are represented only by place-names. Locations are often characterised by mounds, crossroads, river crossings and parish boundaries, and all the more certain sites are in highly visible locations, often on low hilltops (Figures H2, J18). 61% (14 out of 23) of all assembly place-names (whether of recorded gathering places or of assembly attesting place-names) contain a 'mound' element (Appendix 5Ab). This rises to 71% (10 out of 14) for assembly-attesting place-names alone; 8 of the assembly-attesting place-names are in Bayvil and show similar proportions of 'mound' elements. This is somewhat more than identified by English research, which finds 'mound' elements in 43% of assembly-attesting names in central England, rising to 61% in the Danelaw area of east and north-east England (Skinner and Semple 2016, 118, 120, 129). Turning to physical evidence for mounds at sites, nearly half (44% - 8 out of 18) of all geolocated assembly sites are marked by mounds, sometimes sepulchral, or rock outcrops, and the same proportion of sites are associated with prehistoric monuments of other types. Most (83% - 15 out of 18) are at crossroads or river crossings. 44% (8 out of 18) are at a spring or near a river source. Half of all sites are on parish

boundaries, which compares with Pantos' findings that in central England 41% of assembly sites lie within 50 m of a parish boundary and 65% within 200 m (Pantos 2003, 39-40).

The boundary assembly sites are at Garn Turne (medieval boundary courts and hosting site at a chambered tomb and rock outcrop) and Llanfeugan (fair and hurling games at a mound and well chapel). A third possible site, on place-name and locational grounds, is provided by the *twmpath* place-name at a crossroads near Maenclochog (i.e. Llandeilo Llwydarth) that marks *cantref*, *maenor* and manor, and parish boundaries.

This distribution leaves a notable gap in the south-eastern corner of the cantref, around Llanfyrnach where no gatherings are recorded apart from a 19th-century recreational gathering in late March at the motte, despite this being a place where three *cantrefi* (Cemais, Emlyn and Cantref Gwarthaf) met and where a battle place-name, *Rhyd-y-gath*, hints at a pivotal location. However indications of midsummer, August and November assemblies are provided by its Brynach dedication, by the late July festivals of saints referenced in the names of a boundary standing stone and round barrow, and by autumn fairs some two to three kilometres away in these other cantrefi. The fairs are recorded in the 18th and 19th centuries at Henfeddau in Emlyn (horse fairs: October 30, also May 13 and September 17), and at Llanwinio in Cantref Gwarthaf (a November 12 'sheep and pedlary' fair) (Anon 1786, 3; Lewis 1969a, 40; Lewis 1834). The boundary features named after saints with late July festivals lie on the hill where the three *cantrefi* meet; the arrangement of parish boundaries and common here suggests a former area of seasonal grazing shared by adjacent parishes (and implicitly therefore by the three *cantrefi*) whose division, perhaps in the 16th century when hundred boundaries are defined by the 1535 Act of Union, gave Llanfyrnach an oddly-shaped tongue of land protruding onto this hill beyond the natural boundary of the river Taf (Figure J8). A similar tongue (or finger) of land linked to the division of common land around boundary assembly sites is noted by Pantos (Pantos 2003, 47). A white quartz standing stone called Maen Gwyn Hir (HER DAT 1070), reputedly thrown by Samson from the top of Frenni Fawr mountain, acts as a boundary marker on the top of this hill; footpaths converge on it. 500 m north of this standing stone is a Bronze Age round barrow known as Castell Blaidd (NPRN 304117) where three parishes (Clydey, Llanwinio and Llanfyrnach) meet. Samson has a July 28 festival and Lupus (Blaidd), as noted at Bayvil, has a July 29 festival; a Christianised August 1 gathering may therefore be indicated. Midsummer gatherings are suggested by the late midsummer (June 26) Feast of Translation of Brynach, who is commemorated at Llanfyrnach church and at a boundary well on the south-western edge of the hill. The overall

impression is that the seasonal pasture of this hill may once have been an area of assemblies, and represents a fourth boundary assembly location for the cantref.

The central assembly sites are at Bayvil, Morvil and Foel Trigarn. Bayvil has a clutch of assembly locations of different types and periods that include a likely late prehistoric inauguration site at Crugiau Cemais, a medieval manorial court mound, the site of a medieval fair and (probably) a 12th-century Feast of Translation, a Conquest-period parley site and perhaps (from place-name evidence) a pre-Conquest hosting site (Appendix 5Ab). Mounds and crossing points mark several of these sites, some of which are aligned with monumental stones and a 16th-century boundary ditch/bank that may define an assembly area and/or the extended sanctuary zone (*noddfa*) of Nevern church.

The second central Cemais assembly site is at Morvil (fair; Conquest-period battle site(s); barrow cemetery; mound), and the third is at Foel Trigarn (multivallate enclosure; barrow cemetery) which is not associated with any recorded gatherings, though archaeological evidence suggests large scale temporary late prehistoric or Romano-British occupation, and the Preseli location makes it a possible template for the *Mabinogion*'s assembly of the men of Preseli (Chapter 2).

There is another gathering place on Mynydd Dinas, though the late (19th-century) record of its August 1st gatherings makes its early medieval existence uncertain. Indications of a further Lugnasad or *Gŵyl Awst* gathering site are provided by a lost *Cnwc Awst* ('August Mound') in Cilgwyn quarter of Nevern parish. Medieval recreational gatherings of possibly very early origin are indicated by references to *cnapan* (hurling) games at Bury Sands (Nevern estuary), Pont Gynon (crossing point on R. Nevern), Pwll Du (Emlyn *cantref*, at the source of the Nevern river), with two major games played at the assembly site of Llanfeugan where a Nevern tributary crosses the *cantref* boundary. There are early modern recreational assemblies on Sundays at a mound (Cnwc y Celwydd) between Moylgrove bridge and the multivallate enclosure and cist cemetery of Caerau, and annually post-sowing at Llanfyrnach motte; the medieval histories of these sites is unknown, but (as discussed above) the site patterning at Moylgrove is strongly suggestive of an older assembly site.

Assembly sites of uncertain pre-Conquest significance are represented by Cnwc y Crogwydd, Newport (record of medieval gallows; mound), and by Newport's medieval midsummer Ffair Curig, located near a Curig chapel and wells near Newport castle or at Newport bridge (HER 12915, 1469, 1470). There are also questions about the possible pre-Conquest significance of the mound/motte sites of Castlebythe and Henry's Moat, the latter having Brynach cult affiliations.

The times of some of the gatherings at these sites are indicated by fairs and saints festivals at adjacent churches and wells, and by Welsh law's information about activities at these times (Chapter 5). A February 1 gathering to mark the start of ploughing and hind hunting is suggested by Bayvil's well and chapel to St Bridget. Llanfeugan had large gatherings for *cnapan* games on Ascension Day (Rogationtide) in May, and (from the 14th century) on Corpus Christi at Whitsun; their inter-*cantrefal* nature suggests a possible pre-Conquest origin, and a role in sustaining local social identity. At Bayvil and Morvil, midsummer gatherings marked the start of the stag hunting season (indicators – fairs on June 20 & 29; patronal feasts on June 24/John, June 26/Brynach). On Mynydd Dinas (a place of seasonal grazing with likely temporary habitations) any August 1 gathering would have coincided with the beginning of harvest, and a gathering at this time is also possible at Bayvil, where the assembly area's well of St James (July 29) and the 'Lugh' place-name at the early medieval site of Pentellech adjoin seasonal pasture. Legal gatherings are likely at all these times. Food rent/tribute payments are likely at gatherings at the boundary assembly sites on October 31 at Garn Turne (indicator – Dogmael feast; cf. Dogmael dedication at Meline church next to Castell Henllys, Bayvil), in the second week of November at Llanfeugan (indicators – fair on Monday after St Martin's Day = November 11; Meugan feast on November 11) and on November 12 at Llanfyrnach/Llanwinio. This consistent November patterning of gatherings at boundary assembly sites can also be seen at a broader level: Figure H13 shows the location of all medieval late October, November and early December fairs in Dyfed, the significance of which will be discussed further in the next chapter. Bayvil church's dedication to St Andrew indicates a November 30 gathering which coincides with the end of the boar hunting season, and there are '*gwarthekig*' fixed-price cattle sales for the lord's larder at this time elsewhere in late 13th-century south Wales (Rees 1924, 80-1).

Of the more uncertain sites, Henry's Moat's Brynach church and well link it to midsummer celebrations via the saint's June 26 Feast of Translation, while Castlebythe church's Michael dedication suggests a May 8 transhumance-linked festival at a site on the edge of the common seasonal pasture. The boundary site of Twmpath is close to St Mary's well in Maenclochog, which potentially represents several festivals noted in the 12th-century Demetian calendar (Harris 1953), most notably the Purification of Mary on February 2, which like the Bridget well at Bayvil might mark the start of ploughing or hind hunting, and the Annunciation on March 25, when open fields were closed to grazing in the 15th and 16th centuries (closure of meadows is on March 17 in Welsh law) (Chapter 5). Foel Trigarn stands in isolation on the uninhabited Preseli ridge, with no identifiable saints wells among the springs at its base, but its associations with summer pasture are emphasised by the May 8 festival of the

Michael-dedicated *clas* church of Whitchurch under its northern slopes, and by the destroyed Croes Mihangel ('Michael's cross') round barrow (DAT HER 936) on its south-eastern edge, whose name suggests a vanished cross (Charles 1992, 128; G. Jones 2007, 196, 206; RCAHMW 1925, 241). It would also (given *Mabinogion* references to hunting in the surrounding area) have been well placed for aristocratic hunters, late summer and early autumn being the stag-hunting season.

Royal or high status sites

Early medieval royal and high status sites, one highly likely (Bayvil) and three probable (Puncheston/Morvil, Llandeilo Llwydarth and Bridell in Emlyn *cantref*) can be identified in proximity to some of the major *cantrefal* assembly sites. Evidence is provided principally by place-names: pre-1500 instances of *llys* (court), *bran* (crow or warrior) and *cynfran* (leader, chieftain) elements refer almost exclusively to sites at Bayvil, Puncheston (next to Morvil) and Bridell (next to Llanfeugan) (Figure H4). The cantref's one pre-1600 instance of a *mael* (prince) place-name is also at Puncheston. Ogham and Roman-letter stones at these sites account for over half of all such stones in Cemais and suggest their early importance, which is also indicated by the princely attributions of their name-styles.

Bayvil, with its assemblies, good land, bond hamlets and position next to the Norman caput of Nevern (Chapter 5), again stands out for the number and variety of place-names attesting to the buildings and land of a Welsh prince and *cantrefal* administrative centre. Its many *Henllys* place-names account for all but one of the pre-1500 *llys* place-names in Cemais (the other being at a medieval caput of the *maer*'s descendants). Royal and territorial attributions are also present in a 14th-century *cynfran* (prince, leader) place-name, and in *Nifer*, the 9th-century Welsh form of Nevern which refers to a royal retinue or household troop. There is a 14th-century reference to a significant administrative or territorial function in the '*cantref* mounds' name of Crugiau Cemais. Nevern church has a 10th-century high cross and two ogham and Roman-letter stones with 'prince' and 'king' name-styles. Late prehistoric significance is indicated by two large bivallate hillforts (Castell Henllys and Crugiau Cemais), and several small univallate enclosures (Chapter 5). Pottery distribution patterns indicate a high status Roman-period centre at Castell Henllys annexe (Mytum 2013, 18). A settlement hierarchy stretching back to the late prehistoric is indicated, with four of the cantref's other six multivallate enclosures a short distance away (Appendix 5H).

Indications of another royal centre south of the Preselis at Puncheston/Morvil are provided by 13th- and 14th-century *mael* (prince) and *bran* (warrior) place-names, and echoed in the royal attributions of personal names on Puncheston's lost Roman-letter script stone. Central functions are suggested by nearby *Vaynor* (*maenor*) place-names.

References to the Normans fighting the Welsh at Morvil hint at its importance (whether tactical or symbolic), as would the Battle of Mynydd Carn if (as I have suggested) it took place here. Late prehistoric significance is indicated by the nearby Summerton hilltop bivallate enclosure and by several univallate enclosures (Chapter 5).

The third royal site is at Llandeilo Llwydarth/Maenclochog, a documented pre-Conquest ecclesiastical *maenor* and bishop-house that probably originated in a grant of a royal or aristocratic estate, perhaps by a member of the family recorded on its three early medieval inscribed stones. A prehistoric ritual complex (Prisk/Temple Druid) with a large earthwork enclosure, and the mythological associations of the Preseli landmark peak above it, indicate its early significance, and like Bayvil it enjoys good soil, albeit on a lesser scale (Chapter 5). The *twmpath* assembly site is on its maenor boundary.

There is a further likely royal site at Bridell, 3 km away from the assembly site of Llanfeugan in the cantref of Emlyn. Bridell has a 1399 *llys* place-name form and an ogham stone with a warrior-leader personal name whose 'son of the kindred' form may implicate an Irish *tuath* or subject-people. Royal associations are suggested by the David dedication of its *clas* church, to which Llanfeugan (dedicated to David's teacher Meugan) was attached in the medieval period. Llanfeugan itself has tribute payment associations in the tribute topos of the story of St Meugan (see above). The name of its *uchelwyr* mansion, Pantyderi, could also be interpreted as a reference to tribute payment (*daered*) or to leaders/lords but the late 17th-century record makes this very uncertain.

Of the other identified assembly sites, Garn Turne is close enough (3.5 km) to Puncheston to allow use of a royal centre there, and there are also high status sites in the bordering *cantref* of Daugleddau that could be used (H. James 2007, 55). St Dogwells, at the foot of Garn Turne hill, is where the bishop of St Davids signed two charters in 1275 – interestingly (in light of possible times of assembly) on November 6, the feast of St Leonard (J. Barrow 1998, 164-5, charters 145 & 146). At Dinas, Bwlch Mawr Castell at the foot of Mynydd Dinas is noted as an enclosure of potential early medieval high status type (HER 1431; Comeau 2010, 235).

Links with early medieval royal hunting activities are indicated by the proximity of three of these locations (Bayvil, Llandeilo Llwydarth and Bridell/Llanfeugan) to sites with hunting associations or to medieval forest (Figure H11), as well as by their February, midsummer, and November festivals. Llandeilo Llwydarth's associations are particularly striking, given the iconic *Mabinogion* boar-hunt set on the landmark mountain peak above it. Proximity to hunting areas (and, often, a liminal location between these and settled agricultural land) is a common locational element of royal residences across early medieval England, Scotland and Germany (Rollason 2012,

432-4). Some Anglo-Saxon charters are signed at royal hunting lodges, and some versions of the Welsh laws say that they were composed in a 10th-century hunting lodge in south-west Wales (Pryce 1986, 168; Richards 1954, 23; Roach 2013, 69). The significance of the association is reinforced by Welsh law's presentation of hunting as an activity primarily for royalty and (to a lesser extent) for landholding *uchelwyr*, with bondsmen restricted to trapping (D. Jenkins 2000a, 257-8, 274-5).

Strong links can also be identified between these early medieval high status zones and medieval demesne (Figure H12). Bayvil, Morvil (Redwalls) and Little Newcastle (abutting Garn Turne) are all demesne manors of the medieval Lord of Cemais, and Bayvil adjoins another medieval demesne manor, Eglwyswrw (Chapter 4). Bridell is a demesne manor of Emlyn *cantref*. Maenclochog is an Anglo-Norman knight's manor (Chapters 4, 5).

The distribution of evidence therefore suggests that the *cantref's* main royal centre was at Bayvil, with a secondary royal centre at Puncheston/Morvil, and a post-Roman high status centre given to the church at Llandeilo Llwydarth/Maenclochog. The precise location of Bayvil's pre-Conquest royal hall is uncertain, though an indication is provided by the *Henllys* place-names. It seems unlikely that it was at Nevern Castle, where excavation reveals very little activity before the early 12th-century construction of the castle (Caple 2007). One might expect that it would be part of the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais' lands, since pre-Conquest royal lands commonly become Anglo-Norman lordly demesne (Chapters 4 and 5), but this is not borne out by available records. These indicate that although the Lord of Cemais held intermingled lands in the open fields of Henllys, it was Welsh *uchelwyr*, including the *maer's* descendants, who held the medieval dwellings at Henllys Uchaf and Isaf (Charles 1971-2, 117; Charles 1973, 2, 5; F. Jones 2001, 112). There was however an Anglo-Norman landholding, Pentellech or Pantyllech, on the northern edge of the Henllys lands, close to Bayvil church (and bondsmen settlements) in an area noted earlier for its cropmarked complex of enclosures, mounds/barrows (one called 'son of Lugh') and possible 'hill of assembly' place-name, with excavated evidence of a large but undated palisaded enclosure (Figure J5). Tracks and footpaths meet next to it, at Maen Hir y Bayvil. Location and morphology make this a candidate for a possible l*lys* site, though its history is less clear. This was one of several Bayvil properties held by a prominent conquest-period Norman knight, Peverel, whose daughter married the early 12th-century Anglo Norman Lord of Cemais, Robert FitzMartin, bringing a dowry that included Moylgrove and St Dogmaels (NLW Bronwydd 683 of 1582; Bursey 2011; Charles 1948, 268-9, 272; Pritchard 1907, 45-7). The other Peverel lands at Tregaman and Rhos Bayvil about the medieval *Glastir* lands that derived from Nevern church's pre-Conquest estate, and lie around the river Caman where, according to the late 12th-

century *Life of Brynach*, Nevern church's original endowment was located (Wade-Evans 1944b, 15). As noted earlier, Pantyllech may be the 'land of Thelych' mentioned in this Life. This is named and claimed, almost as an afterthought, in one of the Life's final paragraphs, in terms that suggest it was separate from the original endowment around the river Caman that found its way into Anglo-Norman hands. The claim by the church may stem from the close interlinkage of church and ruling family shown in the Life of Brynach and the Deheubarth princes' ecclesiastical patronage (Pryce 2007; Wade-Evans 1944b, 9). The cropmark evidence certainly suggests an important prehistoric (and possibly early medieval) site, whose significance (according to the documentary record) continues into the high medieval period. Its acquisition by the Peverels may be contemporaneous with the development of Nevern Castle as the Norman caput, in place of the pre-Conquest *llys*, and perhaps represents the disposal of the former *llys* site to a favoured Anglo-Norman knight.

Early medieval assemblies, ecclesiastical, royal and prehistoric sites: focal clusters

The proximal location of the principal assembly sites with royal or high status habitations can therefore be established, echoing the 'ancillary' associations between meeting mounds and estate centres identified in Yorkshire (Skinner and Semple 2016, 129). Associations with the churches, wells and estates of early Christian cults are also evident and reflect both seasonal activities and, in the case of Brynach sites, affiliations with the Cemais dominant kin-group, with David and Dogmael dedications potentially indicating royalty-favoured sites.

These clusters of significant sites constitute focal zones. They also contain sites of earlier ritual or funerary significance, most notably in Bayvil's barrows, chambered tomb and prehistoric enclosures, and Maenclochog/Llandeilo Llwydarth's proximity to the Prisk/Temple Druid monument complex and the Eithbed West chambered tomb cemetery (Figure J17). Some prehistoric sites, as noted, form the locus of assembly sites, like Garn Turne's group of chambered tombs (Figure J1), and Foel Drygarn's three Bronze Age cairns. Bronze Age barrow cemeteries adjoin most of the royal sites: Crugiau Cemais at Bayvil; Foel Cwmcerwyn and Glandy Cross cemeteries around Llandeilo Llwydarth, with further isolated barrows in Llangolman and Maenclochog; and Mynydd Cilciffeth, Mynydd Castlebythe and (possibly) Morvil mountain cemeteries around Puncheston/Morvil (Figures H5 & H6, Appendix 5K). These account for most of the recognised Cemais barrow cemeteries, which are otherwise identified at Criney Bridge near Fishguard and Crugiau Dwy at Mynachlogddu, though numerous scattered barrows also exist. This association of important early medieval sites with prehistoric

monuments, which Semple discusses in England (Semple 2013), will be revisited in the next chapter.

Identifying any patterning in the relationships between early medieval focal zones and early medieval cemeteries is more difficult since cist cemeteries are not in themselves exceptional and excavation evidence is limited, with many reports deriving from antiquarian literature. It is nonetheless notable that Bayvil is associated both with early medieval square-ditched graves at Crugiau Cemais, and with two cist cemeteries, Felindre Farchog (Casswell et al. 2017) and Caer Bayvil (H. James 1987), the latter being linked with the Brynach cult via its medieval name, *Caereglismore*, 'fort of the great church' and Caman-source location (Charles 1992, 28; Wade-Evans 1944b, 9, 15). There are also reports of cist graves at or near other sites associated with assemblies (Garn Turne (Parc-y-Pwll), Bridell, at Brynhenllan in Dinas, and at Caerau multivallate enclosure near Moylgrove) as well as at numerous locations where neither assembly nor royal attributes have been identified (see Ludlow 2003a for details of cist cemeteries).

Microlevel patterning

Detailed mapping of the areas of co-located assemblies, high status habitations and cult/ritual centres shows polyfocal patterning with recurrent associations of sites and of seasonal modulation. This can be seen most clearly at Bayvil and Llandeilo Llwydarth (Figure J16, J17). At both we see barrow cemeteries, prehistoric ritual complexes with large enclosures, important Christian cult sites, ogham/Roman-letter stones that indicate claims to land, and assembly sites, the latter being clearest at Bayvil, which also has archaeological evidence for early medieval high status burials. Both have an unlocated royal or episcopal dwelling, nearby forest, with hamlets (bond, in Bayvil) located on the interface of arable land and seasonal pasture.

Detailed analysis at Bayvil (Chapter 5; Comeau 2014) shows assembly areas on this seasonally-grazed outfield: Bayvil's manorial court, for instance, appears to have met in the summer months at Pantycroes/Crugerelyrch mound (Chapter 5) (NLW Bronwydd 65 of 1382-3; Charles 1992, 119). The summer outfield was, therefore, an area of social, economic and administrative communal interaction. This microlevel patterning also shows similarities in the patterns of church and well festivals, which coincide with seasonal turning points and key times for agriculture, law and hunting. In Bayvil these are on February 1 (Bridget/well, appropriately at Henllys on the interface of medieval arable and hunting forest), midsummer (June 26, Brynach's translation; also June 29, fair of Peter and Paul), July 25/29 (James/well), Oct 30 (Dogmael) at Meline church next to Castell Henllys, November 12 (Bridget of Cil Muine/well) and November 30 (Andrew/church). At Llandeilo Llwydarth there are festivals on February 2/9 (Mary/well

and Teilo/church and well); July 28 (Samson/well); November 20 (Colman/church) as well as David's feast day on March 1 (well).

The loose scattering of these various sites across the focal zone landscape is also characteristic of the wider area's medieval hamlets (Chapter 5), for instance at Bayvil - Llandeilo Llwydarth's medieval records being exiguous. Distances of 1 to 3 km between different elements in focal areas and hamlets are not uncommon. Habitation evidence shows these patterns for both medieval hamlets and late prehistoric enclosed settlements, and patterns only change significantly with post-enclosure consolidation in the 17th century. As a consequence references in discussions elsewhere (notably those of Glanville Jones) to nucleated bondsmen's settlements should be viewed with caution. Most hamlets are very small and even the bigger ones may only have been loosely nucleated (like the bigger settlement zones that they form part of), with settlement distributed in minute hamlets around sharelands.

Strategic locations

This microlevel patterning highlights the proximity of focal areas to nodal points in the landscape like crossroads, bridges or fords, and this is similarly evident at a Cemais-wide scale. The scope of the present study precluded application of the advanced GIS analysis used to study the location of the Pillar of Eliseg (Murrieta-Flores and Williams 2017), but the density maps of focal zone criteria (e.g. Figure H2 showing assembly sites) can instead be compared with the routes shown on the first detailed map of Pembrokeshire of 1602 (NLW Map 5359, 1602). It will be noted that there is a concentration of routes in north-east Pembrokeshire in the Llanfair Nantgwyn area, which may reflect the gathering-place evidence here, though it could also reveal the local knowledge of the map draughtsman, who lived in this area (Charles 1973, 190). Figure H2 also shows another route that is not on the 1602 map, an east-west road along the southern edge of the Preselis whose antiquity is suggested by two adjacent Roman-period sites (Ford, DAT HER 2384, SM 94972648; and Castell Flemish, DAT HER 1278, SN 00712679). Although the 19th-century belief that it was a Roman road called 'Via Julia' rests on an 18th-century forgery (H. James 2016b, 306-8, 315-7), a persuasive argument for its antiquity is presented by Merrony (2018). Fair sites and muster/procession sites lie close to places where roads and tracks cross, often on significant cross-country routes: at Llanfeugan close to a crossroads on the principal north-south transmontane route over the eastern edge of the Preselis (Figure J2), which links Ceredigion and Llandudoch/St Dogmaels with sites (Narberth, Glyn Cuch, Frenni Fawr) mentioned in the *Mabinogion* (S. Davies 2007, 3, 8, 108); Foel Trigarn is close to a hilltop crossroads on this route. Similar linkages are evident for the more central sites with their suggestions of royal residences: Morvil (Figure J6) lies on the

route through the principal central Preseli pass which heads up towards the Nevern valley and Bayvil, where the assembly area lies at the centre of a local network of tracks off the medieval east-west coastal route from Fishguard to Ceredigion (Figures J4, J17). Garne Turne (Figure J1) is on the east-west route along the southern edge of the Preselis that links it with Twmpath y Cwn, the prehistoric ritual complex of Temple Druid/Prisk, Llandeilo Llwydarth and the barrow cemetery of Glandy Cross, where it meets the Ceredigion/Narberth north-south route. Assembly site locations close to the sources of rivers are (as noted earlier) also evident.

This network can be expected to support trade structures, especially at coastal sites. In north Wales, at the coastal *maerdrefi* of Llanfaes (Dindaethwy commote) and Nefyn (Dinllaen commote), thriving pre-Conquest trading centres developed despite the minimal monetisation indicated by uncommuted food rents (Smith 1998, 243-4; evidence from late 13th-century onwards). Maritime pre-Conquest trade was significant here, culminating annually in a final November 1 fair (Jones Pierce 1972, 121-2, 141-2), and Cemais may have been similar, given the Cuhelyn poem's late 11th-century or early 12th-century reference to a 'treasure of a seaport' (Gruffydd 1975, line 45). Bayvil's late midsummer fair is, after all, only a gentle hour's walk upriver from Newport early midsummer Curig fair. 16th-century references to locally operating systems of credit, the 13th-century Cemais use of coin-free processes of exchange, and early medieval Scandinavian use of commodity-based units of account (which must surely have extended to coastal Wales, given finds of hacksilver, weights and other evidence for Hiberno-Norse activity) mean that it is perfectly possible to envisage the operation of these (and other) fairs in a pre-Conquest, non-coin using context, focussing probably on seasonal surpluses of livestock, butter, cheese and hides (cf. Fox 2012, 65-9; Morris 1991, 23-4; Swift 2000, 39-40; Winchester 2000, 55-61). Beachmarkets supplementing the inland seasonal fairs are a strong likelihood, with the most likely locations being Newport, and also perhaps St Dogmaels and Fishguard/Goodwick beach, where large landing places are known to have been used by Hiberno-Norse, Welsh and invading Norman ship-borne forces (Appendix 11).

Focal zones - final thoughts

This chapter opened with the suggestion that the interplay of power between royalty, freeholders and the church would produce focal zones with varying degrees of centrality which changed over time. It also suggested that these focal zones could be identified from the presence of the same key elements that characterise focal zones elsewhere in pre-urban north-west Europe.

It has been demonstrated, using a multidisciplinary dataset, that these focal zone elements are present. They are found in dispersed groupings that generally comprise a

royal and/or high status habitation; cult sites; high status burials; periodic markets (fairs); and assembly areas (Figures J16, J17). This is similar to focal zones in Anglo-Saxon England, Ireland and Scandinavia, and will be discussed further in the next chapter. Focal zone elements are structured spatially and seasonally, with an overall hierarchy of focal zones suggested by the differential distribution of elements. The presence of both royal and ecclesiastical elements signals a complexity of processes. The involvement of freeholders will be considered in the next chapter.

There are several focal zones, some at central locations and other focussed on boundary zones. Their internal spatial patterning is distinctive, with a polyfocal loose grouping of sites that is networked by local tracks. These are linked to coastal landing places and longer distance networks (some doubtless making use of former Roman roads) that provide access for far-flung courts and traders. Proximity to hunting locations underlines elite associations that would have been manifested in periodic visits by the royal court and the presence of occasionally-used royal *llysoedd* and bishop-houses.

Recurrent patterns of seasonal use can be seen, consistent with the structure of cross-quarter days or turning-points noted in Chapter 5. They indicate a seasonally ordered life where cyclical festivals represent times of social and legal gatherings, tribute payment (Chapter 5) and trade. This identification of a particular seasonal modulation or patterning in the use of early medieval focal zones is novel in Welsh and English contexts, though familiar in early medieval Ireland (at the cross-quarter days) and in British prehistory (at the solstices).

There are also indications of change over time, both within focal zones and in their relationship with each other. They change internally, for instance as Christian cult centres develop and take over other sites, and there are associated changes in the loci of assembly activities, with Bayvil showing a Christian-era change in focus from Crugiau Cemais to Caer Bayvil/Caereglismore. The relative importance of different focal zones may also have changed over time as some zones (like Llandeilo Llwydarth) passed to church control and others (notably boundary sites like Garn Turne and Llanfeugan) attained greater or different significance when tribute payment and governance systems developed in the early medieval period. Evidence of late prehistoric, pre-Conquest and post-Conquest phases of activity at these sites can be discerned through archaeology, records and place-names. Further changes in the early medieval period are likely but may (given material culture survival issues) be identifiable only through radiocarbon dating, as at Forteviot in Scotland. The enclosures at Pantyllech/Dryslwyn and at Prisk/Temple Druid present particular questions in this regard.

A clear picture therefore emerges, revealing patterns whose general outline is familiar elsewhere in north-west Europe, with detailed local study allowing identification of a cohesive structure of focal zones, royal centres and assemblies. In the next and final chapter I will consider how this intermeshes with evidence previously presented for dependent settlement and agriculture, and how it impacts on existing concepts of the structure of the early medieval Welsh landscape.

Chapter 7.
Synthesis and conclusion:
spatial and seasonal patterning in context

The last three chapters have set out a range of multidisciplinary evidence for a detailed landscape study framed around Annales time structures and focusing on the recursive agency of cyclical habitual activities in structuring the landscape. The study has aimed to characterise and model key landscape elements (including the **spatial** and **temporal** patterns that linked them) within a broader comparative European perspective; consider people's engagement with these key elements (i.e **structuring processes**), and their relationship with the landscape expression of **power;** and evaluate results against current landscape models. Its objectives were defined against a review of existing research on the early medieval Welsh landscape (Chapter 2) which indicates the dominance of an anachronistic and disputed model of the early medieval landscape, the multiple estate model, and a lack of detailed multidisciplinary landscape studies, agricultural and economic analyses, comparative European perspectives, and assembly place identification. The area chosen for study, Cemais, is typical of many areas of Wales, being little investigated and poorly recorded, with medieval Welsh landholdings that claimed pre-Conquest origins.

Evidence has focused on three key aspects outlined at the end of Chapter 3: (a) the elements that, elsewhere in north-west Europe, are linked with polyfocal central zones; (b) agricultural resources; and (c) the seasonally patterned processes that sustained and reproduced life. Chapter 4 provides an outline of the Cemais medieval administrative structure and a fresh analysis of patterns of lordly demesne and freeholder landholding that may reflect earlier, pre-Conquest arrangements. Chapter 5 uses a new survey of Welsh law evidence to consider the seasonal patterning of activities in early medieval Wales and elsewhere, and reviews the agricultural, settlement and longue durée environmental evidence for Cemais, using new mapping of tithe data and a 16th-century Extent as well as a geolocated database of place-names, created for the present research from Charles (1992). Chapter 6 examines the spatial and seasonal patterning of high status activity in Cemais, with tabular and heatmap (density mapping) analysis of a composite dataset indicating focal zones characterised by dispersed polyfocal patterning, early medieval royal and assembly sites (hitherto unidentified) and by seasonal patterning of fairs and saints festivals conforming to the key seasonal structures of Welsh law.

This evidence will now be recapped and assessed to see how it illuminates research objectives with regard to (1) spatial patterning of the early medieval landscape; (2)

seasonal patterning; and (3) the processes or activities that created these patterns, structured lives and supported processes of power. The relationship of this evidence to existing models of the early medieval landscape will then be addressed.

Spatial patterning of the early medieval landscape

Chapters 5 and 6 established that the spatial structure of pre-Conquest Cemais shares many features with other areas of north-west Europe. Its terrain - a large fertile river valley with arable, woods and adjacent (largely upland) seasonal pasture - is typical of the naturally defined resource units or *pays* that, in early medieval England and Scotland, form the basis of areas of extensive lordship variously termed folk group territories, regiones, or small shires (Chapters 2 & 5). Using medieval and late prehistoric evidence as a proxy, settlement can be seen to focus on the better arable-quality soils, with seasonal occupation of upland pasture areas. Settlement is dispersed, and in Welsh areas of the 13th to 16th century is characterised by numerous small hamlets, the majority (in 1594) containing between 3 and 5 tenements, a size range approximating to the pre-Conquest south Wales law standard of 3 bondsmen per shareland/*rhandir*/carucate and bond townships/*trefi* (composed of these sharelands) of 6 dwellings (Appendix 2; Chapter 5). Most of the occupants are dependant tenants, either of the Lord of Cemais or of a small number of powerful freeholders. The largest settlements (other than the Anglo-Norman plantation town of Newport) have up to 11 tenements and are associated with the medieval demesne centres identified in Chapter 4.

The medieval demesne centres largely coincide with early medieval focal zones north and south of the Preseli hills where multidisciplinary analysis identifies concentrations of the elements associated with central areas in early medieval Ireland, England, Scotland and Scandinavia; these are revealed both by high scores in tabular analysis and by high density zones in mapping (Chapter 6; Table 6.2; Figures H1-H12). Within the focal zones, the usual landscape of loosely nucleated hamlets is elaborated with a polyfocal distribution of key spatial elements (Figures J16, J17), indicating assembly, high status habitative, religious/cult and trading functions against a backdrop of prehistoric monuments and the memorial stones and burials of high status early medieval individuals (Chapter 6). These patterns can be compared with the polyfocal patterning of central place complexes identified at Rendlesham (Suffolk), Sutton Courtenay and Ewelme (Oxfordshire) and in Scandinavia at (among other sites) Kaupang, Gudme, Stavanger and Uppakra (Chapter 2).

The greatest concentration of both focal zone elements and the local ruler's dependent tenant settlements is in the good agricultural land of the north around the Nevern valley parishes of Bayvil and Crugie quarter (Nevern), and corresponds to an arable-focused

demesne manor of the Lord of Cemais with bond hamlets, fair and market; another demesne manor, Eglwyswrw, lies next to it. Place-names of pre-Conquest regional and administrative significance indicate the *llys* of a peripatetic royal court and a number of assembly sites, variously associated with early medieval burial grounds, an Iron Age multivallate enclosure, Bronze Age barrows and natural mounds. On its western boundary is the pre-Conquest Brynach cult centre and ogham stones of Nevern church, favoured by the *cantref's* dominant pre-Conquest kin-group. A Conquest-period parley site lies on its southern fringes (Figures J16, J17).

South of the hills there is another focal zone and concentration of Lord of Cemais dependent settlements centring on the parishes of Morvil, Puncheston and (to a lesser degree) Little Newcastle. Here place-names do not suggest major regional significance but provide limited indications of a royal presence and supporting *maerdref(i)*. As at Bayvil there is a fair, market, medieval demesne, fortified enclosures, early medieval inscribed stone, a Brynach church dedication, and complementary arable and pasture resources, some of them reserved for seasonal use by the herds of the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais whose estates derived from the pre-Conquest Welsh prince (Chapters 4 & 6). A Conquest-period battle between Normans and Welsh took place here. Adjoining it are a crossroads on the central Preseli transmontane route to the Nevern valley, a Bronze Age barrow cemetery, a Neolithic causewayed enclosure (echoed perhaps by the large but undated palisaded enclosures at Bayvil) and a single large hilltop funerary cairn which, I have suggested, may be the location of a further armed encounter, the 1081 Battle of Mynydd Carn.

There is an additional focal zone to the east of Morvil around Maenclochog where late prehistoric and post-Roman focal zone elements indicate an area of early significance with historic and mythological hunting associations. It is distinctive for the Prisk/Temple Druid 'prehistoric ritual complex' (Chapter 6) and a group of ogham stones, and lies below the highest peak in the Preselis. Pre-Conquest south Wales law records the presence of a bishop house, possibly the equivalent of a *llys*. Crossroads (one, Twmpath y Cwn, with an assembly name) on major north-south transmontane routes mark its western and eastern borders, linking it to Morvil, the Nevern valley (i.e. Bayvil) and Llanfeugan to the north, Narberth (mentioned in the *Mabinogion*) to the south, and Garn Turne to the west. This focal zone corresponds to the recorded early medieval ecclesiastical *maenor* of Llandeilo Llwydarth, whose origins probably lie in a post-Roman high status estate that, when transferred to the church, would have consisted largely of bond *trefi*.

Small concentrations of focal zone elements are also found around two boundary assembly sites on the eastern and western extremities of the *cantref*, at Garn Turne

and Llanfeugan; assessments of these underestimate the occurrence of elements because detailed analysis stopped at the *cantref* boundary. Both are associated with churches or chapels linked to St David, and therefore probably indicate royal patronage. Llanfeugan was the setting for a Martinmas fair (see below) while Garn Turne was a medieval Welsh law hosting site and boundary court site (Chapter 6). A third probable assembly site on the southern *cantref* boundary at Twmpath, near Maenclochog, noted above, corresponds to the Llandeilo Llwydarth focal zone, and a fourth is proposed at Llanfyrnach on the south-eastern corner of the *cantref* from spatial and dedicational patterns. Several other assembly sites in central areas are also identified (Chapter 6) and are shown in Figure H2, H3.

Maenorau

Apart from the record of an ecclesiastically-held pre-Conquest *maenor* of probable bond status at the focal zone of Llandeilo Llwydarth/Maenclochog, knowledge of the early medieval structure of Cemais is limited by poor medieval documentation, the uncertain genesis of 13th- and 14th-century fees (Chapter 4), and the idealised nature of 12th-century south Wales law's information about *maenorau* (Appendix 2). However as Chapter 4 notes, there was probably at least one more ecclesiastically-held *maenor* of probable bond origin, at St Dogmaels. The presence of further bond *maenorau* of non-ecclesiastical landlordship is uncertain since the only attested function of a bond *maenor* was to designate an area of bond townships when they were given to the church. As a consequence, although the medieval demesne manors of Bayvil and Eglwyswrw are of approximately similar size to Maenclochog manor/*maenor* and have clear evidence of pre-Conquest royal bondmen, it cannot be presumed that their pre-Conquest royal bond *trefi* (*maerdrefi*) were regarded as *maenorau*. The same goes for the *maerdrefi* of the Puncheston/Morvil/Little Newcastle area south of the Preselis.

Nonetheless the parallels between Bayvil and Maenclochog are noteworthy, with Bayvil's better records giving substance to Maenclochog's sketchier details and providing insight into the structure of the cohesive areas of dependent tenants that supported the elite and are recorded as *maenorau* in ecclesiastical charters. The Bayvil zone and *maenor* of Maenclochog/Llandeilo Llwydarth have similar polyfocal elements (Chapter 6) but Bayvil has better land and more recorded settlements (Chapter 5; Tables 5.7 & 5.8).

Identifying the large *maenorau* of freeholders is more complex since their only identifiable function seems to have been dispute resolution. The tribute payment unit for both free and bond was the *tref* or *rhandir* rather than the *maenor*. There is nothing in Welsh law or early medieval sources to suggest that the *trefi* of free *maenorau* were contiguous, and they may have included the settlements of freeholders' bondsmen.

The king's dealings with freeholder *trefi* were principally limited to the receipt of freeholders' tribute payments and their participation in the annual warhost gathering; there was no practical imperative for their *trefi* to be contiguous. Some sense of the possible pre-Conquest arrangements pertaining to these freemen is given by the 1327 View of Frankpledge which notes that the Welsh fee of Puncheston also administered freeholders from Castlebythe and Llanfyrnach/Dyffryntha (Chapter 4); in other words the 'fee' or administrative unit covered an extended area that overlapped spatially with other fees containing the demesne lands and dependent tenants of Anglo-Norman knights and the Lord of Cemais. This perhaps reflects pre-Conquest arrangements, with a widely-flung *maenor* of freemen overlapping with areas of royal bond tenants (*maerdrefi*) at Morvil, Puncheston and Little Newcastle. There may also be hints of this in the interchangeable medieval names, linked open field patterns and shared hilltop grazing of the parishes of Puncheston, Little Newcastle and Morvil, which shared a pre-Conquest central zone with the parishes of Castlebythe and Henry's Moat, marked by the adjacent settlements of Morvil (p. of Morvil), Vaynor ('*maenor*', p. of Henry's Moat) and Vaynor Fach ('little *maenor*', p. of Castlebythe) (Chapter 6; Appendix 4, Figure J6). At Bayvil, similarly, areas inhabited by medieval dependent tenants of bond origin also contained the intermingled lands of aristocratic freeholders (Chapter 5). Analysis of pre-1500 place-names supports these hints of widely-flung free *maenorau* of non-contiguous *trefi*, suggesting perhaps one freeholder *maenor* in the north and another in the south of Cemais, corresponding approximately to the later two-*commote* structure. Their relationship with the ecclesiastical *maenorau* (e.g. whether they overlap) is uncertain. Freeholders probably also held the *clas* lands in the Nevern area (Chapter 6, Comeau 2016), and Brynach dedications and place-names suggest further *clas* lands and links to the cantref's dominant pre-Conquest kin-group in Dinas, Henry's Moat/Morvil (Bernard's Mountain) and Llanfyrnach (Figures C2, D3).

There is little to compare this with elsewhere in south Wales, other than medieval Carmarthenshire records of 3 or 4 *maenorau* per *commote* (Jones Pierce 1972, 324). Glamorgan has early medieval ecclesiastical estates along its riverine *cantref* boundaries (P. Jenkins 1988, 41-2), providing superficial similarities to Cemais, though the Cemais pattern is affected by the presence of a large central areas of shared seasonal pasture. We can also note that, subject to caveats about the considerable uncertainty of pre-1500 records, post-Conquest fees/parishes appear to derive from a variety of earlier units of different social compositions and scales that range from a single township to a *maenor* (Chapter 4).

The overall impression is that we should not expect to find the whole terrain of early medieval Cemais divided into contiguous, spatially exclusive *maenorau*. These were not needed for tribute/food rent payment purposes – the *tref* and *rhandir* fulfilled this

function – and they seem to have existed for other specific ends, to identify dispute-resolution groups of scattered freeholders, or to designate cohesive, bounded areas of bond settlements given to the church. Some bond settlements – notably the royal *maerdrefi* – may not have been part of formally designated bond *maenorau*, though in practice their arrangements were probably virtually identical. The bond settlements of freeholders may not have had an independent legal existence, being subsumed within the *maenor* of their freeholder landlords.

We should also be wary when we consider what sort of terrain was designated by *maenorau*. Freeholder *maenorau* probably consisted only of the arable and pasture *rhandiroedd*/sharelands of freeholders and their tenants: the seasonal common pastures of the hills should not be expected to fall within their bounds, given the 13th-century Charter of Preseli evidence. Bond *maenorau* given to the church may have been different: the 9th-century Maenor Meddyfnych bounds in the Llandeilo/Chad Gospels marginalia include upland pasture as well as arable (G.R.J. Jones 1972, 309), suggesting that the church's acquisition of these areas of (in all likelihood) former royal bond *trefi* included defined areas of associated seasonal pasture. The seasonal pasture within the 12th-century boundary of the manor of Maenclochog may also have been a feature of its *maenor* predecessor, and the 16th-century Redwalls records suggest similar royal claims to defined areas of seasonal pasture associated with royal bondsmen. A diagrammatic representation of these different arrangements is given in Figure H14.

Otherwise, though, seasonal pastures appear to have been held in common (Chapter 5). The overlapping free *maenorau* and bond settlements were probably made up of lands of mixed tenure within arable townships that edged localised township pasture areas (e.g. at Dinas, Bayvil and Eglwyswrw), and used the central shared seasonal pasturage of the Preselis as a common resource (Figure F2). The patterning of settlements around *rhos* and *mynydd* areas, the charters of St Dogmaels and of Preseli, and palynological data all reflect the essential place of the Preseli hills and local commons in the agricultural productivity of the infield-outfield system - which is perhaps why the church may have wanted to define its upland portion.

Seasonal patterning

This crucial economic role, which saw pasture areas named for their settlements, together with the iconic *Mabinogion* boar hunt on the highest Preseli peak, suggests that seasonal pasture and hunting land were also highly significant in defining social identity both at the intensely local level of the township/*maenor* and also at the supra-local level of the *cantref* (Chapters 5, 6). Seasonal structuring is evident in focal zone patterning, with some focal zone evidence – principally fairs and church dedications –

marking events that coincide with key times (seasonal turning points and midsummer) in early medieval Wales, Ireland and England (Chapter 5). From Welsh law, we can see that these were key times for a range of activities – agricultural, hunting, legal and tribute/food renders – associated with different social groups (Figure F1).

The shared patterning of some seasonal activities is hardly surprising since the natural rhythms of crop growing and animal husbandry underpin capacity to pay tribute and settle debts, while the use of land for ploughing, sowing and harvest determined when Welsh land law courts met (S.E. Roberts forthcoming). Both hunting and pastoralism are shaped by animal lifecycles which, like agriculture, respond to seasonal changes of light and temperature (Patterson 2012, 130-1, 147).

The majority of the *cantref's* medieval church dedications fall within a fortnight of these times: 61%, after excluding festivals marking the deaths of the national and local patronal saints David and Brynach. Church dedications thus effectively track key places and times in the agricultural, hunting and legal year (Chapters 5 and 6). At both Bayvil and Llandeilo Llwydarth, churches and well dedications mark three of the four seasonal turning points, suggesting the year-round significance of these focal zones (Figure J17). The *cantref's* medieval fairs coincide with midsummer and the autumn winter seasonal turning point; similar associations in other areas with active patterns of medieval transhumance are noted in Cumbria and Devon (Fox 1996, 15).

There were four fairs (which can be viewed as the événements of Annales time structures): three at midsummer (on June 16 at Newport, June 20 at Morvil, and June 29 at Bayvil) and one on the Monday after Martinmas (November 11) at Llanfeugan. In the medieval period these provided the only significant opportunities for trade: the ramifications of this, and the possibility that they have pre-Conquest origins are considered later in this chapter. All apart from Newport were in focal zones, on the interface of summer pastures and arable lands, with the midsummer fairs in central locations within the *cantref* and the Martinmas fair on the boundary. Welsh law links midsummer with a key elite activity, the opening of the stag hunting season, and – for bondsmen - with the start of cow mating (Appendix 1). Cattle drives to manage free ranging livestock are widely reported elsewhere at this time (Chapter 5). The midsummer fairs' proximity to the Preseli hills and the woodland of the coastal plain facilitated access for both hunters and herders, their location at crossroads on transmontane routes signalled by hilltop barrows. For bondsmen (who possessed some degree of economic agency even if their legal freedom was restricted – W. Davies 1982, 68) they provided opportunities for the trade and exchange of seasonal surpluses of butter, cheese and (most importantly) livestock produced on these

summer pastures. For freemen they may have been times for legal gatherings, since midsummer lay in the 'open' season for land law.

Similar practical considerations presumably affected the locations of centres for tribute collection. Freemen's food renders were due in early November, and functional considerations can be seen in the setting of the *cantref's* Martinmas fair. This is at Llanfeugan, on the boundary of Cemais and Emlyn *cantrefi*, between the Emlyn royal hunting forests (mentioned in the *Mabinogion*), the Preseli summer pastures and the Nevern valley's arable lands, at the heart of a network of transmontane routes (like the track to the *hafod* site of Carn Goedog) (Figures G7, H2) appropriate for transporting food rents and live animal tribute (Chapter 5).

Llanfeugan fair's link with food renders is emphasised by the tribute payment theme of the story of St Meugan, teacher of St David, whose festival is at Martinmas, November 11, and its royal connections by Llanfeugan chapel's medieval link to the David-dedicated church at a nearby Emlyn demesne centre, Bridell (Chapter 6). The beginning of November, when barns were closed post-harvest and herds returned to winter grazing around the arable townships, was also when land law reopened after the harvest, and the presence of freemen, paying food renders and perhaps trading in surpluses, would make this a useful time to hold legislative and administrative assemblies. The timing also suggests royal involvement: early November was when the prince's stag hunting ended in some versions of Welsh law (one version gives the start of December), spoils of the hunt were presented, and a one-month boar hunting season began (Appendix 1D) – with food renders doubtless supplying post-hunt feasts.

Llanfeugan's boundary location would ease contact between the royal court and neighbouring *cantrefi*, as well as providing safe access to trading and law courts to people from different *cantrefal* jurisdictions (cf. Sanmark 2017, 122 for discussion of this in Scandinavia). Similar observations can be made of the cantref's other recorded boundary assembly site, Garn Turne, at the opposite end of the *cantref*, whose boundary courts, muster site and adjacent church dedication to St Dogmael (October 31) hint at another autumn-end tribute collection site, with a gathering timed to allow attendance at the Llanfeugan gathering a fortnight later. The importance of boundary locations for the November collection of freeholder tribute can be seen by mapping all the late autumn medieval fairs in Pembrokeshire (Figure H13). All are on *cantref* boundaries except for a Martinmas fair at Trefin, a geographically central location in the *cantref* of Pebidiog. This may relate to the fiscal and legal autonomy resulting from the *cantref* being granted to St Davids in 1082: Trefin was one of the Bishop's demesne centres, and the Bishop's hundred court was held 5 km away at another episcopal demesne centre, Castle Maurice (Pryce 2007, 305; Willis-Bund 1902, 73, 109, 119,

125). Interestingly, Narberth, a site associated with the early medieval royal court by the *Mabinogion*, has a St Andrews (30 November) medieval church dedication, as do the archaeologically attested early medieval high status sites of Dinas Powys in Glamorgan and Forteviot in Scotland: December 1st was the end of Welsh law's boar hunting season and, in one Welsh law recension, of the deer hunting season (Appendix 1D). At Llangors in Brycheiniog, large numbers of deer bones have been found at the high status 9th-century crannog which lies close to a church dedicated to St Paulinus, the teacher of St David whose festival is on 22 November (Seaman forthcoming).

Activities that structured lives and supported processes of power

The association of medieval fairs and saints festivals with key times for hunting, tribute payment and law courts carries a significance that goes beyond the merely functional. These gatherings (événements) were also places of display - an important aspect of the hunt (an elite activity – D. Jenkins 2000a, 274-5), as well as of the royal court and early church (cf. Sanmark 2017, 106-115). The pageantry and reminders of power provided by the royal hunting party with its horses, dogs and attendants en route to or from the annual killing of the animal king of the forest would be emphasised, for freemen and dependent tenants attending the fair, by ecclesiastical processions and masses for the saints with whom these fairs were associated. The celebration of the local patronal saint Brynach as well as the David-linked saints Meugan and Dogmael/ Dogwell indicates the significance of the local elite. This local power is celebrated in the Black Book of Carmarthen poem, quoted in Chapter 6, which praises Cuhelyn, the 'splendid and wise' mead-bearing *maer* who stood, 'great horns in due place', with his warband at the boundary line of his people (Gruffydd 1975).

These encounters between the regional royal elite, local *cantrefal* elite and dependent agricultural workers would have been important occasions for the negotiation and seasonal renewing of power, and manifestations of the interdependence of a kingdom's royal elite and locally-based landholding elites (R.R. Davies 1990, 58; W. Davies 1990, 22-4, 27-8). The settings of these gatherings declared a power vested in the authority of the past: Bronze Age barrow cemeteries and prehistoric enclosures at Bayvil and Morvil, a chambered tomb amidst the landmark rock outcrops of Garn Turne, and at Llanfeugan, where identification of archaeology is obscured by extensive agricultural improvement, a *Garn Aur* ('mound of gold') field name and above it, on the skyline, the triple barrows of the probable late prehistoric assembly site of Foel Trigarn. At the prehistoric ritual complex of Llandeilo Llwydarth (Prisk/Temple Druid) direct evidence of gatherings is restricted to the nearby Twmpath place-name, though royal use of its 'bishop house' by an itinerant court is highly likely, given the evidence of 11th-century Germany and 13th-century Gwynedd (Roach 2013, 64; Stephenson 2014, 233-4). The

names and mythological associations of some of these ancient sites allude to regional or totemic significance, for instance at Crugiau Cemais barrow cemetery (Bayvil) which bears the *cantref* name, and Foel Cwm Cerwyn (Llandeilo Llwydarth) whose barrow-marked peak effectively symbolises wider territorial possession in the Twrch Trwyth *Mabinogion* story (Chapter 6).

The referencing of the past by emergent early medieval elites, particularly through important prehistoric cemeteries, is a familiar feature at both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian magnate sites and Irish and Scottish (Pictish and Gaelic) royal sites (Driscoll 1998; 2004; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 51-2; Semple 2013, 230-9). In Ireland this symbolic appropriation underlies both the dynastic contesting of medieval Irish inauguration sites whose assembly areas, sacred trees, high status burial grounds and royal residences conferred legitimacy on new rulers, and the likely early medieval authorship of Irish mythology (Aitchison 1994; Fitzpatrick 2004a, 36, 57-8; Mallory 2016). In Scotland excavations at the recorded 9th-century Pictish royal centre of Forteviot show a prehistoric complex with a large Neolithic timber palisaded enclosure, henges, burial mounds and other enclosures attracting early medieval burials from the 5th century AD, and fires and pit digging (with some evidence of human cremations) in the 7th to 8th centuries AD (Maldonado 2017, 327-341). The site also shows evidence of Roman period (1st-2nd century AD) ritual activity, and of an ecclesiastical centre developing in the 9th century.

The co-location, in Cemais, of important prehistoric sites and early medieval focal zones is therefore unsurprising, and the combination of elements at the royal focal zone at Bayvil (and to some extent at Llandeilo Llwydarth) – prehistoric monuments, early medieval cemeteries, trading site, varied assembly sites, Christian cult sites, early medieval and late prehistoric royal/ high status residences – can be seen elsewhere, for instance at Sutton Courtenay (Oxfordshire), Clogher (Co. Tyrone) and Lejre (Denmark) (Brennan and Hamerow 2015; Hamerow et al. 2007; Semple 2013, 231; Warner 1988, 56). The similarity of patterning of sites and place-names at Crugiau Cemais (Bayvil) to Irish inauguration sites suggests a similar function (Comeau 2014; 2016), and this may also be the case at Llandeilo Llwydarth/Foel Cwm Cerwyn. Understanding of Bayvil and other Cemais sites (and of Welsh late prehistoric and early medieval enclosures in general – Chapter 5) is however hampered by limited excavations and minimal radiocarbon dates: without a more extensive programme of dating it is impossible, for instance, to say whether the large enclosure at Llandeilo Llwydarth is prehistoric or early medieval (cf. I. Jones et al. 2018), or whether there is use of these enclosures in the Roman period. The 1st century AD coins that indicate re-use of the Bronze Age barrows at Crugiau Cemais are certainly provocative (Cambrian-

Register 1799, 491, 496), as is the Roman-period evidence of high status occupation at Castell Henllys annexe (Mytum 2013, 18).

The Cemais longue durée focal zone evidence includes, at Bayvil, Morvil, Garn Turne and possibly Llandeilo Llwydarth, a close relationship of prehistoric and/or early medieval cemeteries with diverse places of assembly that may also be visible at the late prehistoric/Romano-British hilltop site of Foel Trigarn, a possible prototype for the *Mabinogion*'s Preseli assembly site. Similar relationships are evident in Ireland and at some Anglo-Saxon assembly sites, most notably at Saltwood (Baker and Brookes 2015, 9; Gleeson 2015, 40-6; Reynolds 2018; cf. Mileson and Brookes 2014, 25). In early medieval Ireland, cemeteries and prehistoric monuments at, for instance, Corbally (Oenach Carmun: Gleeson supra) provided the backdrop for communal ancestral celebration with games, fairs and legal councils, notably at Lugnasad (August) and Samhain (November) (Chapter 2). In 16th-century Ireland, similar activities characterise the hillside gatherings of the May and November *oireachtas*, which Elizabethan commentators describe in terms strongly reminiscent of contemporary hillside gatherings in Wales (E. Owen 1900, 72; Simms 2000, 74). Ancestors, real or mythical, provided social identity and rights to land in Ireland and Wales and were commemorated in verse; cemetery feasts to celebrate ancestors are a Roman tradition that continues until the 8th century AD in Gaul (Gwynn 1913; Charles-Edwards 1976; Edwards 2001, 22-3; Effros 2002, 47-8; Gwynn 1924; T. Jones 1967; Petts 2007, 165). Burial places in the early medieval period were not, therefore, solely reserved for the dead, and archaeological evidence of other activities is identified in agricultural processing, metal- and craftworking and possible funerary feasts at Irish settlement-cemeteries and at St Patricks (Pembrokeshire); metalworking is also seen in cemeteries at Llandygai (Anglesey) and at Whithorn and Inchmarnock in Scotland (Edwards 2016, 18; Gleeson 2018; Maldonado 2016, 229, 241; Murphy et al. in preparation; O'Sullivan et al. 2013, 306-9). Similar patterns of activity should be presumed in Cemais. As part of this we should also expect to see these ancestral associations investing mounds (whether manmade or natural) as places of negotiation and vision, a function identifiable in early medieval Irish and Welsh written sources (Warner 2004, 34), and indicated by assembly site patterning in England (Pantos 2003; 2004b; Skinner and Semple 2016).

The areas around the assembly mounds of the Cemais early medieval gatherings might have been defined in some cases by the remains of large prehistoric earthwork enclosures, though it is likely that at Bayvil stones and ditches demarcated the area of assembly (Chapter 6; Appendix 5J). Irish and Scandinavian research, noted in Chapter 2, similarly identifies the use of stones (as well as mounds, tombs, trees, rivers and tracks) to define areas within which particular standards of conduct, appropriate for

successful trade and legal proceedings, applied at particular times. These markers may have had multiple functions, like early medieval inscribed stones that both commemorate the dead and act as 'stone charters' to land (Handley 1998, 344-52): at Bayvil, some of the possible stone *noddfa* (sanctuary) markers are also waymarkers, as well as (sometimes) marking the division between personally-held strips of arable land and shared, seasonally-used pastures. These varied functions suggest a widely-understood material language or *habitus* akin to that suggested for early medieval written charters and coins, and similarly used to define and reproduce patterns of power (Garipzanov 2008, 25-7).

Seasonal patterning and the longue durée

The longue durée site associations of the Cemais gathering places are also supported by the dates of fairs and church dedications which mark seasonal turning points of widespread pre-Christian provenance (Chapter 5). Links between church and well dedications and the pre-Christian year are of course well-established: the accommodation of Christianity to pre-existing practices is documented by Pope Gregory's letter to Mellitus of AD 601 and by the late 6th-century Diocesan Council of Auxerre (Colgrave and Mynors 1999, I:30; Knight 2007, 122). Graham Jones suggests that the growing power of the early church allowed it to integrate its festivals into the existing calendar, though it is an equinoctial/solsticial structure, seen also in Cunliffe's model of Iron Age agriculture, that he envisages (Cunliffe 2005, 419; G. Jones 2007, 84). A similar solsticial pattern is identified for Scandinavian Iron Age assemblies by Sanmark, who makes the contrasting suggestion that the change from Norse to Christian religion saw a deliberate shift in the timing of assemblies, which are recorded in February/March, May, midsummer and November in 10th- to 14th-century Sweden and Iceland (Sanmark 2017, 121, 147, 155, 164).

In the study area it is the seasonal turning points of the cross-quarter days, as well as the summer solstice, that figure prominently in church and well dedications (Chapter 6). Chapter 5's survey of seasonal evidence suggested (*contra* Graham Jones, Sanmark and Cunliffe) that this cross-quarter structure was widespread in Britain and Ireland before the arrival of Christianity, and was shaped by the rhythms of agriculture (based around spring-sown cereals), transhumance and hunting. Classical period cross-quarter seasonal structuring in Mediterranean areas is noted by Pliny, and elements are identified by widely-cast anthropological studies. The combined evidence suggests a Late Iron Age structure of cross-quarter gatherings on to which a number of Christian festivals are superimposed, an impression supported in the case of the early Christian saint Bridget by her sharing a festival day with an eponymous pre-Christian deity (Hutton 1997, 134-8), and in the case of saint Samson, by his Christianisation of a

place of hilltop ancestral celebrations (Flobert 1997, 216-9; Taylor 1925, 49). The date of this appropriation may be the 6th to 8th centuries, given the 5th-/6th-century dating of the saints involved, the 6th- and early 7th-century injunctions of the Council of Auxerre and of Pope Gregory's letter to Mellitus, and an early 8th-century letter from the bishop of Sherborne that refers to the replacement of shrines to hunting deities by the 'unpretentious houses of missionaries' (Arbesmann 1979, 102-3).

These seasonal structures are subsequently hardwired into Welsh law where they mark key activities like the start of ploughing in February and of stag hunting at midsummer. In the 9th to 10th century there is a further wave of change as many of these early saints are absorbed by more dominant cults like that of David (J.R. Davies 2002, 384-6). The residual dedications indicate what times and activities held significance at particular sites, which is why the cross-quarter and midsummer dedications of the Cemais focal zones are so interesting.

The gathering places at the Cemais focal zones are therefore multivalent spaces, defined spatially, seasonally and behaviourally, where past and present meet to shape the future. Their festivals mark activities important to ploughmen as well as princes. They constitute longstanding nodes in the landscape defined by recurrent movements of people and animals along well-worn paths (Chapter 3; Giles 2007, 209-210), and their gatherings mark times of seasonal change when social modes are transformed - courtier to hunter (and back again), ploughman to pastoralist – and the winning of the earth's plenty by hunt and harvest (cf. Wengrow and Graeber 2015).

Trading processes

We have to be careful not to see these occasions solely as opportunities for theatre or alliance building by early medieval elites. At the other end of the social scale they provided bondsmen with rare social opportunities within a life otherwise confined to their hamlet and summer pastures, and their trading activities allowed bondsmen to exercise the economic agency that meant some could buy their freedom (W. Davies 1982, 67). Trade can be expected to have been conducted using commodity-based units of account like those found in Scandinavia, Ireland, Spain and Francia rather than coins to facilitate transactions, perhaps in combination with systems of credit, in embedded (local) social contexts (Chapter 2). Welsh sources suggest that silver, by weight, or cows may have been used as accounting units. Scandinavian discussions of units of account envisage their use both at periodic fairs in pre-urban contexts and in legal contexts, and such systems presumably facilitated the 'three busy markets' for food, livestock and 'Greek foreigners' mentioned in a poem about an Irish Lugnasad festival c.1000 AD (Gwynn 1913, lines 305-8).

The use of a 'cattle standard' in calculating payments reflects the pre-eminence of cattle as a unit of account, medium of payment and measure of wealth. The tangible reality of this particular form of wealth in pre-Conquest Cemais is attested by pollen evidence of heavy grazing on the uplands (commencing no later than the Bronze Age) and by complex, long-lived upland pasturing arrangements. Its enduring use in Cemais is suggested by the coin-free processes of exchange of 13th-century *gabularii* and the 16th-century observation that summer and autumn cattle fairs presented the principal opportunities for trade, with systems of credit operating between fair times (Chapter 6).

Relationship of Cemais evidence to models of the early medieval landscape

The cumulative evidence conveys a detailed (if fuzzy) picture of the sites and activities of pre-Conquest Cemais, with many of the key landscape elements of north-west Europe being present. Central and boundary focal zones with high status dwellings, assembly places and dependent settlements are linked and structured by longstanding patterns of seasonal activity ('durable social practices' or conjonctures) across the wider landscape, and marked by communal social, economic, administrative and religious events (événements) at the cross quarter (seasonal turning) points of the year and at midsummer. Settlement is dispersed, focussing on the better arable land in river valleys and the coastal plain, and some (though probably not all) of the dependent tenant population seasonally relocates to summer pastures, with heavy grazing of the hills being a longue durée feature.

How does this specific local picture relate to the existing models of the early medieval landscape that were noted in earlier chapters? As Chapters 2 and 4 have noted, the multiple estate model is based on written records and uses a parish-sized unit, the *maenor*, which forms the subject of four early medieval charters (all dating from the 9th century or later), and is mentioned in a number of others (Chapter 4). These charters do not provide much useful detail, so the internal structure of the multiple estate model is taken from 12th-century south Wales law and its external structure - an idealised territorial hierarchy – from 13th-century north Wales laws that reflect the administrative reforms of a modernising high medieval proto-state (G.R.J. Jones 1976, 15, 18). A *llys*, or prince's court, is also incorporated into the model, despite it being historically a feature not of the parish-level *maenor* but of a higher level territorial unit, the *cantref* (hundred).

The other principal models - the Scandinavian model of the magnate centre (Brink 1996), and the model of the thanage, extensive estate or small *scir* developed by Barrow and Driscoll in Scotland and Faith in England (G.W.S. Barrow 1973; Driscoll 1991; Faith 1997; 2008) - are broader based and incorporate archaeological and place-name evidence as well as historical (written) sources (Chapters 2 and 5).

Table 7.1: Models of early medieval settlement

Cemais evidence	Wales: multiple estate (Glanville Jones 1971, 1976)	Scotland and England: extensive estate/ thanage (Barrow 1973; Faith 1997, 2008; Ross 2006; elements marked * = Driscoll 1991)	Ireland: (a) landscape model (Stout 1997) (b) royal centre model (Gibson 1995; Warner 1988, 2004)	Scandinavia: central zones/ magnate centres (Brink 1996; Skre 2011; Nielsen 2014)
	Focal zone and broader territorial model	*Broader territorial model*	*Focal zone and broader territorial model*	*Focal zone model*
Llys (at level of maer-led cantref)	*Llys* (at level of parish-scale maenor)	Caput/principal residence	(a,b) Royal/chiefly residence: large roundhouse within its own multivallate ringfort	Hall/important farm associated with royalty or chieftain
Free and bond settlements	Free and bond settlements	Free landholdings (Scotland: *dabhach/davoch* & *pett*) with dependent settlements	(a) Free and unfree univallate settlements (client relationships)	Dependent farms of both low and high status individuals
Arable land and seasonal grazing	Arable land and seasonal grazing	Agriculture/ productive base, including area of common pasture	(a) Arable and common pasture	Arable land
Llan/church	*Llan*/church	Often near prehistoric ritual sites*	(b) Church or monastery patronised by king or 'chiefly family'	Sacred sites
Assembly places at central and boundary locations, some marked by mounds, chambered tombs and/or distinctive natural features	NOT NOTED	Meeting place/ceremonial centre, often marked by a mound*	(b) (Inauguration) mound usually but not always present, and possibly at separate location to royal residence	Assembly places - often a large (perhaps sepulchral) mound)
Fairs/periodic markets near these assembly places	NOT NOTED		(b) Fairs/popular assemblies, maybe separate from inauguration sites. Metalworking.	Seasonal market place; metalworking.

They identify similar sets of elements (Table 7.1), with the arrangements of the core areas of the Scandinavian magnate centres echoing those of Ireland's royal centres, which are recorded by early medieval sources and confirmed (to differing degrees) by

archaeological evidence (Aitchison 1994, 71ff; Bhreathnach 2011; Bhreathnach 2014, 101-117; Gibson 1995, 116-7, 125-6; Warner 1988, 58, 67). The wider patterns of Ireland's early medieval settlement pattern are similarly identified from early medieval accounts of social and settlement clientship hierarchies and attested by archaeology (Kelly 2000, 360, 368-71, 406; O'Sullivan et al. 2013, 82-4, 91, but note caveats on 329-30; Stout 1997, 123-7).

Comparison of their elements shows that the Cemais landscape patterning is very similar to that of the Scottish and English extensive estate, the Irish models, and the Scandinavian central zone/magnate centre, with the presence of places of assembly distinguishing it from the multiple estate model. The latter's lack of assembly sites reflects its derivation from medieval Welsh law which mentions them only in the context of seating arrangements at north Wales law courts (Chapter 2). This omission can be linked to Welsh law's focus on royal rights, and must be set against the recognised presence, in pre-urban north European, of well-known, habitually used outdoor places where people met to make decisions, install new leaders, conduct business, gather for war or celebrate.

There are particularly striking similarities between the topography, natural resources and land usage of Cemais and that of extensive estates (Chapter 5), for instance with the latter's areas of permanent common pasture that are central to social identity and territory formation (Banham and Faith 2014, 156-7; Faith 2008, 9-10), and with its 'agrarian economy of low-intensity mixed agriculture based on self-sufficient farms, combined with transhumant stock-raising' (Faith 1997, 9, drawing on Hooke's work). Bayvil, which has the greatest concentration of focal zone indicators, also has the fertile, easily worked soils found at early settlement foci in Anglo-Saxon extensive estates (Chapter 5).

The rulership of Cemais via a locally-based *maer* or governor, with periodic visits from the prince of the surrounding region, similarly mirrors that of north Britain where the *subreguli*, *praefecti* or *duces regii* represented the 7th-century Northumbrian kings on local circuits (Charles-Edwards 1989a, 31-2).

Comparison of the Cemais evidence with the multiple estate model is more difficult, being complicated by the latter's confusion of scale, transposition of elements, and absence of places of assembly and trade. If a *maenor* is a multiple estate, how should we regard the larger unit of Cemais *cantref*, which the *llys* at Bayvil served? The structure of focal zones (one of which is known to have been a *maenor*) indicates a hierarchy of significant functions, with – it appears – just one *llys* (at Bayvil) and perhaps a secondary subsidiary royal centre at Morvil/Puncheston in its southern part.

There certainly does not seem to have been (as the multiple estate model might suggest) a *llys* in every *maenor*.

This dissonance demonstrates that, in addition to the more general issues noted in Chapters 2 and 3, Welsh researchers face particular problems in trying to use the multiple estate model and indicates complications with the commonly assumed equivalence between it and the extensive estate model, whose 'small *scir*' scale is that of the *cantref* (as is the *tricha cet*, the 'local kingdom' of Ireland - MacCotter 2008, 22-4). There are also problems for the multiple estate model with the observation that, far from representing a widespread division of the landscape, *maenorau* may only have existed in specific circumstances with very limited functions, defining areas for purposes of transfers of land rights or of dispute settlement procedures (i.e. legal assemblies). Assumptions of territorial integrity also sit poorly with the empirical evidence. Although Llandeilo Llwydarth (Maenclochog) was a *maenor* that seems to have occupied a spatially defined portion of a *cantref*, *maenorau* probably did not (as noted above) cover the whole of the *cantref*, their size varied, and some did not constitute spatially exclusive areas, instead overlapping spatially. In addition, *maenorau* do not seem to have been primary economic units: the primary tribute-producing units of the early medieval period are the townships which figure far more prominently than *maenorau* in recorded grants of land (Chapter 4). There is no specific evidence of the *maenor* as a managed estate other than whatever may be inferred from the fact that a small number of *maenorau* of probable bond tenant composition are recorded as gifts to the early medieval church.

There is also poor accommodation between the royal power focus of Glanville Jones' multiple estate model and the Cemais indications of the pre-Conquest dominance of locally based powerful freeholders related to the pre-Conquest *maer* who hold rights to much of the land (Chapters 4 & 5). The medieval evidence suggests that some two-thirds of landholdings were held by dependent tenants ('bondsmen') whose landlords were these freeholders rather than the prince. These freeholders are not the free peasants of Anglo-Saxon discussions (e.g. Faith 1997), or the numerous small-scale medieval freeholders, former enfranchised bondsmen, of 13th- and 14th-century north Wales (Chapters 4, 5), but a small elite group whose 7th- and 8th-century south Wales predecessors settle disputes and make legal decisions independent of royal assent (W. Davies 1982, 132-4, 138). The power of these assemblies is referred to in the *Mabinogion* story of the Preseli assembly of the men of Dyfed who tell the Prince of Dyfed to put his apparently barren wife aside (S. Davies 2007, 16). If assembly places were where the power that underpinned a regional ruler was negotiated and confirmed, it was these elite freeholders who opened the doors to that power. In Scandinavia, similarly, recent research identifies the pivotal assembly role of powerful landholders

(Sanmark 2017, 244). We might speculate whether some of the assembly sites identified in Cemais are associated with the freeholder *maenorau* that (perhaps) corresponded to the Is and Uwch Nyfer *commotal* divisions: was Bayvil the principal assembly place for Is Nyfer, and Morvil the principal assembly place for Uwch Nyfer? A conceptualised diagram of such a structure is shown in Figure H14.

The social differentiation embodied by these elite freeholders, and visible in Iron Age elaborated enclosed settlements and differential distributions of Roman pottery at Castell Henllys (Murphy and Mytum 2012; Mytum 2013, 18; Parker Pearson et al. 2017), suggests that this is not one of the 'farmer republics' identified in early medieval Scotland (Fraser 2009, 34, 67, discussed by Noble et al 2013, 1137). Instead we see post-Roman ogham inscriptions that commemorate individuals whose names bear associations of high status, and whose stone memorials probably act as claims to land. The leader of this locally based group, the *maer* of the Cuhelyn poem, can be seen as the equivalent of an Irish local king (MacCotter 2008, 46), and part of a structure of clientship that creates a relationship of 'mutual support' between a superior ruler and his following (R.R. Davies 1990, 58; W. Davies 1990, 22-4). These relationships find little representation in the multiple estate model's top-down hierarchical structure, which reflects the idealised arrangements of 13th-century north Wales lawyers.

Redefining a landscape paradigm

The naturally defined territorial unit of Cemais is better seen as a core component in a network of reciprocally expressed power, much of it held by hereditary local landholders whose support for the prince was negotiated and expressed at seasonal gathering places. Its landscape patterning shows the seasonal structuring of the extensive estate model intermeshing with a polyfocal central place patterning akin to that of other early medieval north-west Europe landscapes.

The extensive estate's seasonal structure of peripatetic lordship and transhumance is preserved in the annual cycles of Welsh law, fairs and saints' festivals, which reveal a landscape shaped by and experienced through the interlocking events of the agricultural, hunting, legal and ceremonial/ritual year. Patterns of transhumance, the coincidence of seasonal grazing and wood pasture with hunting areas, and post-harvest common grazing of intermingled arable lands suggests that this is a landscape where use-rights change with season and activity (and effectively therefore with social group), rather than (as the multiple estate model assumes) being permanently divided into pre-Conquest zones in the unique ownership of particular individuals. A similar point is made by Faith in relation to post-Roman land in England (Faith 2009, 39).

These spatial and social relationships are seen most clearly and completely at the level of the *cantref* – the early medieval *pau/peu/pagus* – which in Cemais is a naturally defined territory. It is this scale that encompasses the longue durée spatial and temporal patterns that link people and place, linkages that cannot be seen at the levels of a single *maenor*. Characterising Cemais as an 'extensive estate' allows us to see it in a broader supra-regional and longue durée context: the distribution of ogham and Latin stones around its boundaries (and possibly also the Brynach churches of its local elite) hint at post Roman integrity. It is debateable whether we need to give this conceptual unit a specific term of reference apart from 'extensive estate' – using common terminology facilitates comparative references - but if a specific term were to be used, it might be distinguished from the *cantref* of later medieval records by use of the earlier Welsh term *peu* or *pau* (rhyming with the related term '*pays*'), derived from the Latin *pagus* that, in the 11th century, refers to areas later known as *cantrefi* (Charles-Edwards 2013, 18, 316; W. Davies 1990, 132).

Summing up

In conclusion, then, research objectives have been met and a new understanding of the Welsh early medieval landscape has been identified that sets the Welsh early medieval landscape in larger perspective. Broad-based comparative analysis and a multidisciplinary, holistic approach have overcome the limitations of minimal written and material culture evidence, and allowed insight into the structure of a pre-Conquest local territory: its places of power, seasonal activities, patterns of habitation and agricultural activity.

Similarities with the spatial patterning of other areas of north-west Europe are clear, notably places of assembly, which this study's research (pioneering in the Welsh context) reveals to be widespread and at locations familiar to Anglo-Saxon and Irish scholars. The internal structure of focal zones similarly comprises elements identified in other regions, combined in loosely-spaced landscape arrangements.

Seasonal patterning with far-reaching implications has also been revealed. Habitual functions and longue durée patterns of activity, fossilised in place-names and the dates of fairs and saints festivals, enable us both to locate focal zones and also recognise the activities and agency of different groups in the early medieval landscape. Isolated archaeological elements can be placed in both a local and wider context. By identifying the bigger picture we understand the details much better.

There are lessons here both for the spatial analysis of the pre-Conquest landscape and also for our understanding of how power in this landscape was created and supported. When we assess the early medieval landscape, we need to note not just spatial

elements like dependent settlements, but also seasonal patterning. It is misleading to view landscape use as a static spatial pattern – it changes cyclically, over the year, as well as in the longer term.

The inadequacy of the multiple estate model has been exposed, especially in relation to Welsh research. Its configuration of elements is misleading, and is particularly confusing when applied to evidence for the pre-Conquest *maenor*, which may only have existed in very specific circumstances. In particular, the early medieval maenor was not a tribute producing unit.

Establishing that the multiple estate model does not work as a concept (or at the very least is problematic) is, however, one thing. Saying what the *maenor* represents – how it was used, what it represented – is another, and the suggestions of this study will (I hope) provoke comment and further analysis of evidence. Nonetheless the restrictions of the available evidence mean that questions about the *maenor* will probably never be satisfactorily resolved. It may be better to focus on what we can identify from the available records. The extensive estate, a less prescriptive model than the multiple estate, is a better fit with the evidence and – significantly – assumes the presence of assembly sites.

Recommendations for further research

A number of avenues for further research can be identified. These include:

Assemblies: Assembly sites need to be investigated across Wales. This study demonstrates that, despite a dearth of written sources, a coherent pattern of assembly sites can be identified with attributes similar to assembly sites elsewhere in north-west Europe. This needs pursuing elsewhere in Wales, both to develop comparative understanding and also because assembly sites are a component of focal zones which – similarly – are poorly understood in Welsh contexts. To this end, there is a need to build on the work of this study in developing a corpus of assembly indicators like place-names, locations of fairs and other gatherings, and manorial record references. The common assumption that mounds at Conquest-period demesne centres were constructed as defensive mottes should be examined: there is, for instance, a record of the use of a motte for a commotal court in Montgomeryshire (Tafolwern: Silvester 2015, 11).

This wider work must be cognisant of change through time: my suggestion that free *maenorau* were linked to assemblies is only relevant to the 10th and 11th centuries given the documentary sources from which it derives. For earlier periods, we should consider the possible associations of multiperiod cemeteries with assemblies and focal zones: sites like Tandderwen (Denbighshire), Plas Gogerddan (Ceredigion) and Capel

Eithin (Anglesey). The possibility of hierarchies of assembly sites needs considering on a broader scale, and the relationship of assemblies with different ecological zones.

Focal zone indicators: Wider scale mapping of selected focal zone indicators should ideally accompany identification of assembly sites. Most of the focal zone elements found elsewhere in north-west Europe are present in Cemais. However whilst it is clear that the combination identified has the capacity to identify focal zones, it may not be practical to identify all of these when trying to assess wider areas. The focal zone elements identified in this study now need further widespread testing to see which are most indicative and productive, and how different elements relate to the varying relative significance of different focal zones. Wider analysis of polyfocal patterning of sites within focal zones is needed, and of the link between focal zones and medieval demesne, soils and agricultural/pastoral resources.

Density mapping within GIS allows the comparative analysis and contextualisation of indicators and identifies areas that might be explored further using more specialised approaches, whether technological (e.g. geophysical survey) or conceptualised (e.g. phenomenological approaches), building on the recognition that focal zone elements reflect lives in the landscape, not just landholding structures and economic relationships.

Seasonal patterning: I have demonstrated that use of the focal zones of the early medieval Welsh *peu/pau* (cantref) was structured within a common seasonal patterning whose detail is preserved within Welsh law. Again, these findings need to be tested against the evidence of other areas. The seasonal micropatterning of polyfocal elements within focal zones, observed at Bayvil and Llandeilo Llwydarth, merits further investigation at other locations.

Spatial patterning of medieval sites with regard to soils and agricultural resources: Identifying the landscape footprint of medieval hamlets of dependent tenants has been significant in understanding the seasonal and spatial functioning of the medieval landscape. The clarity and distinctiveness of their arrangements suggests the benefit of further detailed landscape studies in other areas of south Wales.

Place-names: The use of place-names has been central to this research, and a georeferenced database (Appendix 4B) created from a comprehensive place-name survey has been a key resource. The creation of similar resources elsewhere would be of enormous benefit. Specific work is needed on assembly place-name terms, and to this end a check-list of potential elements has been compiled (Appendix 5B) which incorporates the place-name elements identified in Cemais. This list includes both established and potential elements and should be regarded merely as a starting point.

Early medieval studies would also benefit from further work on other aspects of place-names. Among these are place-name indicators of bondmen settlements, which need more attention given the similarity of some Cemais place-names to those of recorded north Wales bond settlements. Further enquiry into the spatial patterning of 'colour' place-name elements might also be beneficial: elements like *gwyn* ('white'), *glas* ('blue/green'), *llwyd* ('grey'), *du* ('black'), and *coch* ('red'), which in some instances seem to be early modern rationalisations of lost medieval meanings, for instance relating to the pre-Conquest *clas* church. On a general level, wider interpretations of place-names is needed. Like the 'colour' place-name elements, there is a detectable tendency to accept at face value early modern transcriptions of names that use familiar terms like *cath* ('cat') and *cŵn* ('dogs') rather than less familiar medieval alternatives like *cad* ('battle') and *cwyn* ('plaint/grievance') which may be more appropriate given site contexts. The role of place-names as *dindshenchas* – the lore of place – must not be overlooked.

Scale of survey: My research demonstrates the utility of combining a cantref-level investigation with detailed local studies. The choice of a *cantref* as the unit of investigation is facilitated by the identification of the *cantref* with groups of medieval parishes. However the study has demonstrated the existence of assembly sites and focal zones on *cantref* boundaries. The full significance of these could not be considered because the availability of some datasets (like geolocated place-names) was limited to the *cantref*. Any similar future research should consider building in a buffer zone of some 5 km around *cantref* boundaries for all datasets, to allow complete evaluation of *cantref* boundary sites.

Welsh research – points to consider: Archaeologists and landscape historians using Welsh law material must be careful to use regionally-appropriate versions of the Welsh laws. In particular, evidence derived from 13th-century north Wales law is often inappropriate for the south Wales landscape.

There are also particular questions about the Welsh law material. Did a free *tref* effectively also contain a bond *tref* or *rhandir* (of the freeholder's bondmen)? Were bond *maenorau* only for royal bondsmen, and did they exist in circumstances apart from tribute/land rights transfers? Such questions may in practice be unanswerable given the limitations of evidence. It may be that, rather than asking how many *maenorau* or *trefi* there were (which would have changed over time, in any case), it is more useful to ask how people interrelated and how they existed in time as well as space: how people moved around the landscape over the course of the year, how and where social bonds were forged, deals made, where meeting places were, the nature of people's relationship with the past, and how they participated in making their future.

Concluding thoughts

Such questions are pivotal to our understanding of the early medieval landscape which, this study has shown, is the product of a dynamic relationship between people, space, and time. Multivalent sites meant different things, at different times, to different groups of individuals. This work has shown how we can identify some of the long durée strands making up the cyclical time that wove together past and present, and produced a seasonally-contingent understanding and structuring of space. Through this, places and processes of early medieval significance can be identified.

It is time to dig down below the idealised structures of medieval legal clerks, and to locate the milieux of early medieval life. This study shows a way forward.

Glossary of terms

Unless otherwise indicated, definition are based on those of GPC, OED and Adams 1976. Italicised terms denote Welsh terms.

beu see pau

bondman: a person of hereditary unfree status, legally dependent on their lord and tied to the land. Broadly equivalent to a medieval villein (W. Davies 1982, 64; R.R. Davies 1987, 117, 119)

dawnbwyd: food-rent paid by a bondman

cantref: a hundred, province or district

caput: a lord's principal establishment

carucate: literally, a ploughland, the area capable of being tilled by one plough-team of 8 oxen in the year (Howells 1967, 141). Commonly consisted of 8 oxlands or bovates, and equivalent to 64 customary acres in south Pembrokeshire (ibid), though there were 12 oxlands to the ploughland in 16th-century Cemais (G. Owen 1994, 135-7). Equivalent to a modius or 'Welsh hide' of c. 60 acres in south-east Wales (Domesday: G.R.J. Jones 1989, 192).

Chief Rent: commuted *gwestfa* or *dawnbwyd* payment, often consolidated with commuted payments for services. Alternatively known as Rents of Assize or Extent (R.R. Davies 1978, 356; Rees 1924, 230-1)

clas: a community (often but not always of ecclesiastical composition) with a stake in a (pre-Conquest) church) (Charles-Edwards 2013, 602, 606)

common field: (sometimes referred to as a 'Midland' common field) - an open field with a communally regulated crop rotation and fallowing. (Butlin and Baker 1976, 623-4; Hall 2014, 5; Oosthuizen 2011; Roberts & Wrathmell 2002, 2; Thirsk 1966, 144)

common land: land (belonging to one person) where another person holds rights of common whether arising from a grant or from the custom of the manor (Bird 1983, 80).

common, right of: the right to use the land or waters of another for pasture, piscary (fishing), estover (cutting wood, gorse or furze), or turbary (cutting turves) (Bird 1983, 80).

commote*/cwmwd*: a province or region; there were two or more to a *cantref*.

convertible husbandry: the periodic cultivation of an area of outfield, possibly in conjunction with the use of an infield. Cultivation intervals varied considerably: forty year intervals are recorded on poorer land. (Hall 2014, 86-94)

cytir: literally 'joint land' (*cyd-tir*); refers to shared or common pasture.

dawnbwyd: food rent paid by bondman

demesne: land possessed or occupied by an owner, including (in its widest sense) lands held of him by villeins/bondmen or copyhold tenure. It might or might not be intermingled with the holdings of others.

erw **(pl. *erwau*)**: literally 'acre'. A medieval measure of land in an open field, whose size varied in different areas of Wales. (Jones Pierce 1943, G.R.J. Jones 1972, 368-9)

fee: an inherited estate, often but not always equivalent to a parish, held by annual payment and feudal service either as an English knight's fee or as a Welsh fee (i.e. by Welsh freeholders under partible inheritance). In Pembrokeshire a knight's fee was, for fiscal purposes, reckoned to contain 10 ploughlands (Howells 1967, 141).

gardd **(pl. *gerddi*)**: literally 'garden'. Refers to strips in open fields.

***gwaun*:** high and wet level ground, moorland, heath OR low-lying marshy ground, meadow

***gwely* (pl. *gwelyau*):** commonly, a bed, but in medieval Welsh law, a 'group of persons who, as descendants of a common ancestor, were joint occupiers of land, stock, sept, tribe, family; tract of tribal land held in joint-ownership and called by the name of the stock-father of a particular progeny.' (GPC)

***gwestfa*:** food-rent or render paid by a freeman

***gwndwn*:** unploughed or uncultivated land.

***hafod* (pl. *hafodau/hafodydd*):** an area of summer pasture, usually rough moorland, which might also (in north/mid Wales) be termed *ffridd* or *ffrith*. The term is transferred in the early modern period to the dairies and dwellings on these pastures. (E. Davies 1980, 4-7).

***hafod-tir*:** the land of the summer grazing area.

***haf-ty/hafod-ty* (pl. *hafod-tai*):** summer house or shieling. *Haf ty* is used for seasonal summer dwellings in medieval Welsh law, *hafod ty* ('dwelling on the hafod') appears from the 16th-century. (E. Davies 1980, 7)

head-dyke: a stock-proof bank and ditch that separated the arable land of a township from the rough grazing beyond it; also called a corn ditch or, in Wales, a *penclawdd* or (Dinas) *gorchlawdd*.

***hendref*:** winter (permanent) settlement or township (tref), or home farm; literally 'old township'.

infield: an open field under permanent cultivation, normally sown not with a winter crop but with a spring crop.

***llain*:** a strip in an open field.

***llan*:** church, churchyard, church-enclosure

***llys*:** the complex of buildings used by a prince and his entourage on their circuits; also the royal entourage itself (Charles Edwards 2004, 96)

***maenor*:** a territorial and administrative unit comprising a varying number of townships. Size and constitution varies between north and south Wales law. In 13th-century north Wales law it is the food-rent paying unit (in 12th-century south Wales law food rent is levied on the *tref*).

***maer*:** a steward; in medieval Welsh Law, an administrative officer of the pre-Conquest prince who is responsible for land supervision and the collection of dues.

***maes*:** open field, in Wales commonly functioning as an infield.

modius: a measure of grain, in early medieval sources referring to the tribute or food-rent (*gwestfa/dawnbwyd*) that arable land produced (Charles-Edwards 2013, 277). Used as a measure of land. Alternative terms as land unit: *rhandir* and shareland. See *rhandir*.

mother church: church from which other churches have sprung; principal church of a district; *clas* church.

***mynydd*:** literally 'mountain', but in medieval sources refers to upland rough grazing, usually grazed in common, and occasionally cultivated using convertible husbandry techniques.

nucleal land: a term used by Glanville Jones to refer to the infield around a hamlet of dependent tenants or bondmen. It refers to *tir corddlan* which – strictly speaking – denotes only an infield composed of arable strips. (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 435, 471-6; D. Jenkins 1990, 113, 328)

open field: sometimes called a subdivided field or a townfield: a field composed of unenclosed strips, usually appearing either as ridge and furrow or (in south Wales and south-west England) as flat strips separated by turf balks that are called landshares. (Butlin and Baker 1973, 623-4; M. Davies 1956, 94-6; Hall 2014, 5; Oosthuizen 2011; Roberts & Wrathmell 2002, 2; Thirsk 1966, 144).

outfield: an area of shared pasture associated with an infield and – usually – a hamlet; part of it might be periodically cultivated, possibly at very long intervals, by the tenants of the infield (*see convertible husbandry)*.

pagus: late/post-Roman unit of population originally subordinate to a Roman civitas. In Welsh, *pau* or *peu*; in Dyfed, equivalent to a *cantref* (Charles-Edwards 2013, 18, 316)

pant: hollow, valley

pastoralism: the keeping or grazing of sheep or cattle.

pau: country, land, territory, region, hundred, district, area, place; from Latin pagus

pen: head, top, source

ploughland: see carucate

Rent of Assize or Extent: see Chief Rent

rhandir: Welsh term for modius or shareland. According to 12th-century south Wales law, there were three to a bond *tref*/*vill*, and four to a free *tref*/*vill* in south Wales. Each *rhandir* contained 312 *erwau*. See Appendix 2.

rhos: (upland) moor, heath(land)

shareland: alternative term for modius or rhandir. See rhandir

subinfeudate: in the context of Cemais, the grant, by a lord/knight holding land from the Crown, of part of that land to another so as to create his own feudal vassal who owed him knightly service (Bird 1983, 314).

taeog (pl. *taeogion*): serf, bondman, or villein.

tir: land

tir corddlan: a term used in north Wales law to refer to an infield composed of arable strips, which Glanville Jones linked with the small nucleated settlements of dependent tenants or *bondmen* – hence his term '*nucleal land*'. One translator uses the term 'hamlet land' for it. (G.R.J. Jones 1973, 435, 471-6; D. Jenkins 1990, 113, 328)

transhumance: the seasonal use of upland pastures, involving the movement of livestock from a permanent winter base to a permanent summer base. May be short or long distance, and can vary in scale. (Fox 2012, 155; Fox 1996)

tref (pl. *trefi*): in medieval sources this usually refers to a hamlet-scale township rather than a town (the modern meaning). Medieval Welsh law stipulates the size of trefi, albeit with considerable variations in size between north Wales and south Wales. In 12th-century south Wales law, food rents are levied on the tref/vill (in 13th-century north Wales they are levied on the maenor)

tyddyn: homestead or smallholding. In 13th-century north Wales law consisted of 4 erwau.

uchelwyr (pl. *uchelwyr*): land-holding freeholder. Pre-Conquest freeholders were *de facto* noble (Charles-Edwards 2013, 336; W. Davies 1982, 62-3; R.R. Davies 1987, 117).

vill: a township/tref

wood-pasture: an area of woodland or mixed grassland and scattered trees where animals are pastured.

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