

The Effects of Anglo-Norman Lordship upon the Landscape of Post-Conquest Monmouthshire



(A view of Monmouth. photograph courtesy of Haberdasher's Schools Monmouth).

Submitted by Owain James Connors to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology, November 2013.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the effects the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship, following the Anglo-Norman expansion into Wales in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had upon the landscape of the Welsh border region. In order to achieve this aim this project makes extensive use of digital Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in order to produce a detailed county-wide study of the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire as well as comprehensive case studies of individual Anglo-Norman lordships contained within the boundaries of the county.

This thesis also aims to locate its findings within important current debates in historic archaeology about the effects of medieval lordship upon the landscape, on the roles of the physical environment and human agency in the forming of the historic landscape, on the wider role of castles as lordship centres, beyond simple military functionality.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The historic landscape has long been identified as an archaeological artefact, shaped by the agency of past cultures and historic events into the modern countryside which is visible today. Indeed, such is the importance of the landscape as an archaeological resource, that it has been described as the 'richest historical record we possess' (Hoskins 1955). Whilst the Anglo-Norman Conquest of most of the southern regions of Britain in the late eleventh century is traditionally seen as one of the great 'paradigm shifts' in our history, it does not, however, seem to have affected the landscape of the country in any major form (outside the direct imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship forms). Certainly, in terms of the landscape of England (with the notable exception of the 'Harrying of the North'), the Norman Conquest appears to have had very little discernible impact, at least in an archaeological context, upon the countryside (Sawyer 1985; Rowley 1997, 26-30; Reynolds 1999, 181-2; Creighton 2002a, 175) as, beyond tenurial arrangements and some elements of the 'lordly landscape' (such as deer parks, pillow mounds etc.), there was a continuity of agricultural practice and the management of field systems (Creighton 2002a, 176). Furthermore, in some archaeological contexts, evidence for the influence of the Norman Conquest is difficult to pinpoint as no change in burial practice, pottery styles (outside the major urban trading centres) or coinage (beyond the name and face stamped upon them) seems to have taken place (Creighton 2002a, 175). Politically meaningful 'resistant' identities have, however, often been identified in peasant material culture in the wake of conquests (e.g. Smith 2009), and there is much debate surrounding the study of issues of power and identity conflict within the landscape of the medieval village (e.g. Dyer 1985; Saunders 1990; Rippon 2008; Williamson *et al.* 2013).

The traditional view of the post-Conquest landscape of Wales, however, is somewhat different, as many of the features which saw continuity in England, such as towns, villages and large scale open fields, are traditionally seen as an Anglo-Norman import to Wales. In fact, studies into the contemporary landscapes of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and the impact of Anglo-Norman lordships in these areas, have often highlighted the 'alien' nature of the methods of manorial structure, settlement and farming brought in by the newcomers (McNeil 1992, 84; Edwards 1997, 6; Creighton 2002a, 176). Furthermore, within each of these countries there are clear examples of Anglo-Norman castles acting as a catalyst for nucleation of settlement, such as Piperstown (Co. Louth, Ireland), Rattay (Perthshire, Scotland) and Templeton (Pembrokeshire, Wales) (Yeoman 1995, 89-95; Kissock 1997, 124-6; Barry 2000, 194). Another example is the phenomenon known as 'planted boroughs' with, for instance, not a single Welshman being recorded among the sixty-three original burgesses of Denbigh, north Wales, which was founded between 1283-90 (Davies 1978a, 327). John Le Patourel (1976, 28-48) argued that the Norman

Conquest (of first England and subsequently Wales) consisted of two distinct phases, the first being military dominance, and the second being colonisation, although recently there has been a movement away from 'military determinism' (Coulson 2003, 1) in the study of medieval lordship. Oliver Creighton's examination of the relationship between castles and the landscape in this period (Creighton 2002a), for example, suggests that the colonisation role of a castle was of equal, if not more, importance than the military function of 'frontier expansion'. Creighton's study focused on England, which was far more quickly pacified by the Anglo-Normans than Wales. Therefore, in the more bellicose setting of the Welsh Marches, the question must be asked, was the military role of the castle in the March dominant, or did their social and domestic function carry equal weight in their location, planning and construction?

This thesis, therefore, intends to take these theories and expand upon them onto a macro level, and investigate these patterns within the landscape of the Welsh Marches as a whole, and the case study border county of Monmouthshire. The main aim of this thesis, therefore, is to investigate whether patterns of political power which are recorded historically in post-Conquest Monmouthshire (and its predecessor, the early medieval Kingdom of Gwent) are visible within the historic landscape and whether the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship affected the landscape in the ways already mentioned in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. This involves determining whether the Anglo-Norman conquest of Gwent, and the subsequent establishment of Anglo-Norman lordship upon Welsh territory, affected the character of the landscape at the time, as well as defining to what degree this process manifests itself in the buried, relict and historic landscapes that are still evident today. This thesis also aims to uncover the extent to which the imposition of Anglo-Norman power, through such means as castles and towns, differed from lordship to lordship, and what factors contributed to any differences discovered. In addition this thesis will examine the relationship between Anglo-Norman lordship sites and landscape change, the reasons for the situation of these post-Conquest *capita* and the implications this had on the wider landscape. Finally, this study aims to examine the relationship between the effects of the physical landscape and the agency of Anglo-Norman lordship in shaping the historic landscape, and to engage with the debate reignited by Tom Williamson about the role of the physical landscape in the shaping of human landscapes (Williamson 2003; Williamson *et al.* 2013; see Section 1.2.1).

In order to achieve these aims, therefore, this thesis has a number of objectives that need to be met. The first of these is an interdisciplinary study of the historic landscape of Monmouthshire, investigating the distribution pattern of features associated with Anglo-Norman lordship and post-Conquest landscape change, such as towns, nucleated rural settlement and large-scale open field farming systems, as well as the relationship between these sites at the important Anglo-Norman seigneurial centres. The second aim, following this, is that the findings of this county-

wide study will be supplemented by a number of case studies of the individual Anglo-Norman lordships which eventually went on to form the basis of the historic county of Monmouthshire. These case studies will endeavour to investigate the patterns seen in the county-wide study and provide an explanation, as well as further evidence, for the regional and spatial landscape variations present within the county. Finally, once all the case studies are completed, the final objective of this thesis is to combine the findings of both the county-wide study and the individual lordship case studies in order to produce a final model of the patterns of Anglo-Norman landscape influence in Monmouthshire and produce a coherent theoretical discussion of the topics relating to the aims of this study. With the aims and the objectives of the thesis laid out, it is important to provide a comprehensive interdisciplinary academic background to this study in order to survey what work has been undertaken previously by other academics and where this thesis fits within the academic landscape.

1.2. Academic Background to the Study

1.2.1. Landscape Studies, Landscape Variation and the Landscape of Wales

At the end of the nineteenth century some historical and archaeological authors, such as Frederic Seebohm (1883), Paul Vinogradoff (1892) and F.W. Maitland (1897) began to move away from the more high status aspects of the medieval landscape (such as castles and monasteries) and discuss more mundane and everyday features of the rural countryside. These early studies were expanded upon by Howard Gray (1915), whose work began to suggest that the distinctive variations in regional patterns of land management within the English landscape were the result of distinct waves of settlers during the post-Roman period. This idea of regional variation of landscape character was developed by Cyril Fox (1932), with his distinction between the upland and the lowland zones of Britain. Fox's work, however, remained rooted in the dominant archaeological paradigms of the time: migrations and environmental determinism. Although archaeology as a discipline has long moved on from pure environmental determinism, the debate about the role of the agency of physical geography in shaping the character of a historic landscape has recently been reignited, in a landscape archaeology context, by Tom Williamson. While Williamson's work is largely focused on lowland East Midland England (Williamson 2003; Williamson *et al.* 2013), these discussions have a great relevance to a region with a highly varied topography like Monmouthshire.

During the late 1930s onwards historians and archaeologists also began to employ more techniques in analysing medieval landscapes, exploring them in the field and through their depictions in early maps in order to consider field systems and settlement patterns (Rippon 2009b, 228), with pioneering examples of these studies being undertaken by Charles and Christabel Orwin (1938) and Maurice Beresford

(1954; 1957). While the landmark publication in the study of the landscape of southern Britain is held to be W.G. Hoskins' (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape*, and Hoskins is usually cited as the father of modern landscape archaeology, the real boom in landscape archaeology came in the 1970s after the publication of Mick Aston and Trevor Rowley's (1974) *Landscape Archaeology: an Introduction to Fieldwork Techniques on Post-Roman Landscapes*, and it is from this book that the widespread use of the term 'landscape archaeology' can be traced (Darvill 2008). Since this genesis a number of 'handbooks' or guide texts on landscape studies have been published (e.g. Aston 1985; Muir 2000; Rippon 2004a etc.) and the subject has even developed its own peer review journals, *Landscape History* and *Landscapes*.

A major issue which has arisen in the field of landscape archaeology is its perceived focus of the discipline on the 'Central Province' of England, a term coined by Brian Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (Roberts 1987; Roberts & Wrathmell 2000; 2002). Roberts and Wrathmell's study built upon the work of Rackham (1986) who subdivided the British historic landscape into 'planned' and 'ancient' countryside based upon fundamental differences in the historic landscape, which corresponded to earlier divisions into 'champion' and 'woodland' areas (Fig.1.1.). In fact, as early as the sixteenth century topographical writers such as John Leland were clearly distinguishing between the 'woodland (or 'bosky') landscape of hedgerows and dispersed settlements in the west and south-east of England and the 'champion' landscape of open fields and nucleated settlement in the Midlands (Rippon 2004a, 8). Within this framework, Wales clearly, for the most part, had more in common with the 'woodland' landscape of the west of England, than the 'champion' landscape of the Midlands (or in Rackham's model, more in common with the 'ancient', rather than the 'planned', countryside of England, although Rackham's definition of English 'planned' countryside does creep into southern Monmouthshire).

In their study of nineteenth century settlement patterns, Roberts and Wrathmell (2002) divided the landscape of southern Britain into three 'provinces', divided up into twenty six sub-provinces: the 'Central Province', characterised by nucleated settlements and open fields, and the 'South-Eastern' and the 'Northern and Western' Provinces with dispersed settlement and land held in severalty (Fig.1.2.). Importantly, the focus of this study, Wales, although not expressly studied by Roberts and Wrathmell, has many links to their 'Northern and Western Province'. The origins of these medieval landscapes characterised by nucleated villages and attached open fields have been much debated, but it is now generally accepted that they replaced earlier landscapes characterised by more dispersed settlement patterns (Foard 1978; Hall 1981; Rowley 1981; Lewis *et al.* 1997; Brown & Foard 1998; Roberts & Wrathmell 2002; Williamson 2003), and that, in the English Midlands at least, the traditional view is that a 'great replanning' (or 'village moment') occurred around the ninth or tenth centuries (Rippon 2004a, 8). Beyond the 'Central Province', for instance in southern Wales, however, this process of 'villagisation', and

the adoption of associated large-scale open field farming methods, is largely seen as a post-Conquest phenomenon (Rippon 2004a, 8).

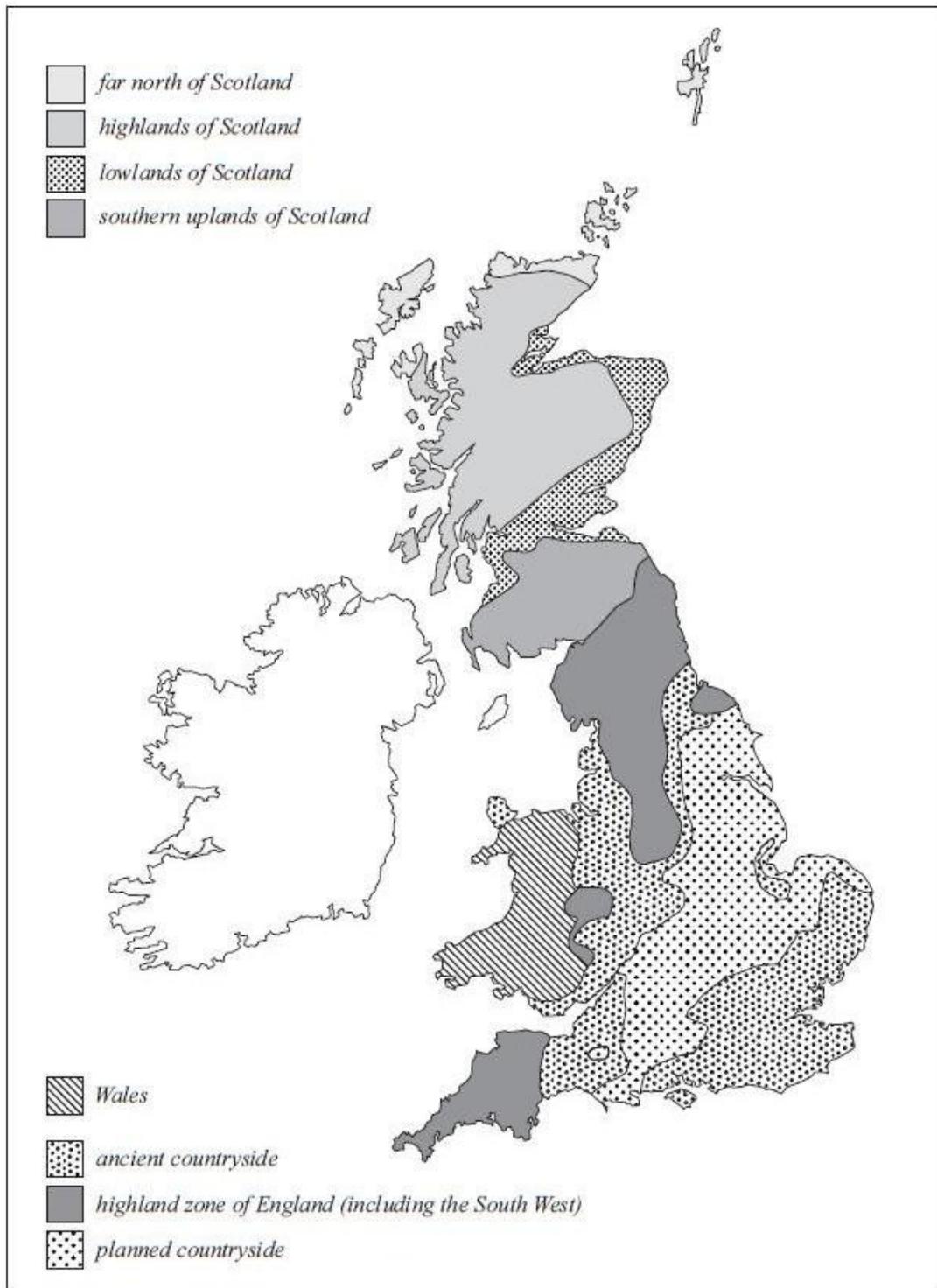


Fig.1.1. Rackham's basic subdivisions of the British historic landscape (Rackham 1986, Fig.1.3.), with the 'planned' and 'ancient' landscape subdivisions reflecting to the 'champion' and 'woodland' regions described by early topographical writers (Rippon 2004a, Fig.6.: Redrawn by Mike Rouillard).

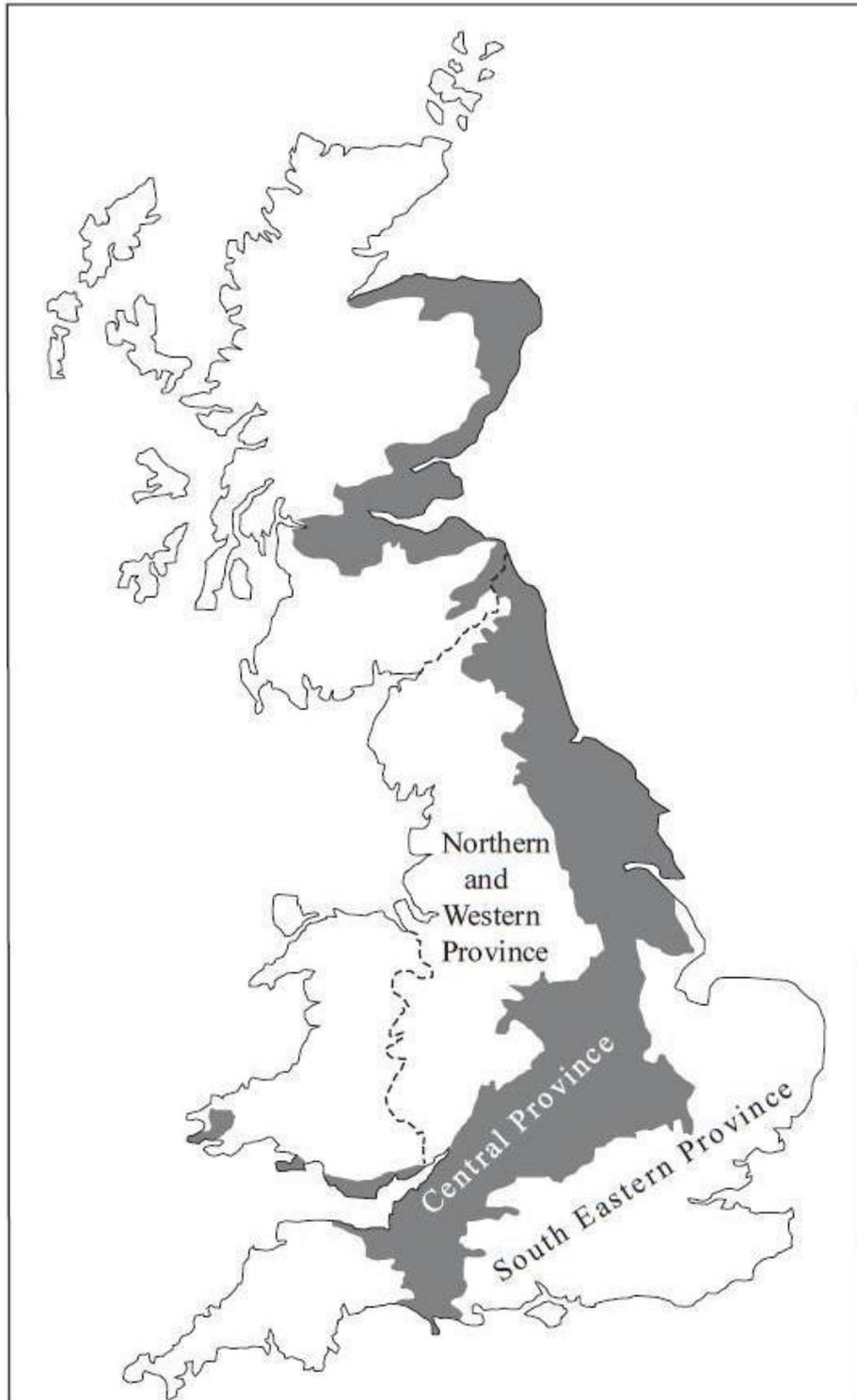


Fig.1.2. The major areas of nucleated settlement in nineteenth century Britain (in grey, taken from Roberts 1987, Fig.1.1.) and Roberts and Wrathmell's three 'settlement' provinces of England (from Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, Fig.1.4.). Note how the area of nucleated settlement spreads out of England's 'Central Province' and into south Wales and eastern Scotland, most notably for this thesis along the Monmouthshire coast (Rippon 2004a, Fig.1.4.: redrawn by Stephen Rippon).

As has been mentioned, landscape archaeologists, and landscape historians, have always attempted to identify different regions within the historic landscape and demarcate boundaries based upon features such as settlement pattern, field systems and toponymic evidence (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 202.), and there has been a recent growth in these studies due to development of more sophisticated forms of computerised GIS (geographic information system) programmes and the need to preserve the character of the historic landscape against unsuitable development (Austin 2007, 93; Williamson *et al.* 2013, 202.). This in turn has fuelled a growth in 'historic landscape characterisation' projects (HLC), building on the broad overviews of historic landscape characterisation in the whole of southern Britain produced by academics such as Rackham (1986) and Roberts and Wrathmell (2002) in order to produce a number of more detailed studies of landscapes, usually on a county-by-county basis (Fairclough 1999; 2002; 2006; Fairclough & Rippon 2002; Aldred & Fairclough 2003; Clark *et al.* 2004; Rippon 2004a, 53-55). HLC projects are not, however, without their detractors, and they have been criticised for having an insufficient level of *standardisation* across county-boundaries which leads to obvious 'join-lines' being present (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 203).

Another development in the characterisation of the British historic landscape is the introduction of the term *pays*, a French term indicating an area of land which shares common geographical, economic, cultural, or social features. This has become more prevalent in landscape archaeology during recent years and provides a holistic approach to the character of the landscape, breaking it down into discrete areas which possess their own innate identity, similar to the German idea of *Landschaft* (Leighley 1963, 315-50; Everitt 1979; 1985; 1986, 5-6, 43-68; Braudel 1988; Thirsk 2000; Rippon 2004a, 17). The concept of *pays* retains an element of environmental and geographic determinism, whilst also stressing the importance of social agency in shaping the character of a particular landscape (Rippon 2004a, 17-18). Researchers using *pays* as a framework for their discussion of a historic landscape, however, must acknowledge the danger of generalising about significant areas that often possess topographical and social idiosyncrasies at a local level (Wright 2012, 48). It is useful, therefore, to view *pays* as variations in character of the historic landscape on a regional level that result in a number of distinct districts (Rippon 2008, 7; Wright 2012, 48), and it remains a model utilised by a number of landscape archaeology researchers (e.g. Williamson 2003; Lake 2007; Rippon 2008).

In modern British landscape archaeology, however, there seems to be a focus on the 'Central Province' in current landscape archaeology and there has been a wealth of academic work published on this region, such as Lewis, Mitchell-Fox and Dyer's (1997) *Village, Hamlet and Field – Changing Medieval Settlements in Central England*. Unfortunately, the upland areas of Britain outside the 'Central Province', such as Wales and Scotland, lag far behind central England in terms of landscape research, with the publication of work focused on Scotland being 'limited to say the least' and the picture in Wales 'even bleaker' (Atkinson *et al.* 2000, vi; Morrison

2000; Rippon 2009b, 236). In fact, Hoskins' (1955) seminal work was largely focused upon lowland England (although he did feature some more upland areas of England, such as Devon, there is no mention of either Scotland or Ireland and references to Wales are infrequent) and due to this neglect of the 'Celtic fringes' there is no sense of 'Britain' at all in *The Making of the English Landscape* (Johnson 2006, 187). Following on from Hoskins' lead, the majority of medieval landscape studies have been focused upon lowland England, such as Tom Williamson's (2003) *Shaping Medieval Landscapes*. This work uses case studies in order to examine the factors that went into forming the diverse landscapes of medieval Britain and particularly England. However, all of Williamson's case studies are drawn from East Anglia and he does not mention upland areas, such as Wales, at all. More recently attempts have been made to move the academic debate away from this obsession with the English Midlands (e.g. Rippon 2008) and hopefully the next few years will see a growth in the levels of landscape research outside the 'Central Province'.

One of the factors holding back the study of medieval landscapes in Scotland is that the historic landscape is largely a post-medieval creation. While there are some well-preserved relict landscapes in upland regions, the modern settlement patterns and field systems of the Scottish lowlands were largely created in the last two and a half centuries due to intensive agriculture, with few surviving remains of pre-existing landscapes. This contrasts with the many deserted medieval villages, as well as the survival of medieval landscape features on nineteenth century mapping, which have been an important part of landscape research in lowland England, and has led studies of rural settlement in Scotland to be largely focused on the post medieval period (Rippon 2009b, 236). Similarly, the study of medieval rural settlement, and associated field systems, in Wales has been described as 'marginal', a reference to both the fact that the best preserved medieval remains are usually located in upland regions, and in terms of the relatively limited attention that it has received (Thompson & Yates 2000, 37; Rippon 2009b, 236-237), because medieval settlements in Wales have drawn significantly little attention when compared with the amount of research, survey and excavation which has been carried out on both rural and urban settlements of the same period in England over the last fifty years (Edwards 1997, 5).

Despite the aforementioned bias towards studies of England's 'Central Province' in landscape archaeology there is, however, a growing corpus of academic work relating to the study of the medieval landscape of Wales. Early landscape work in Wales focused on both high status post-Roman sites, such as Dinas Powys (Glamorgan) or deserted rural settlements in upland areas (e.g. Fox 1939; Butler 1971; Edwards 1997, 2-5). This focus on the upland landscape of Wales has continued, for example the study of the landscape surrounding a medieval farmstead at Cefn Graeanog (Clynnog, Gwynedd) (Kelly, 1982), the study of the creation of parish boundaries in north Wales and their relationship to previous townships regions (Gresham 1987), an investigation into the effect of English settlement in

medieval north Wales (Hooke 1997), a study of transhumance in the Black Mountains (Ward 1997) and research into the general archaeology of the Welsh Uplands (Browne & Hughes 2003). A further study focusing on upland Wales is Ian Brown's (2004) publication on the archaeology of the Clwydian Range on the border between Denbighshire and Flintshire in north-east Wales that covers a huge time period ranging from the Palaeolithic period to the modern industrial and post-industrial landscapes. This large time-scale makes it difficult to provide too much detail even though it is focused on quite a small and discrete area.

In spite of this traditional focus on 'upland', there has been a recent expansion in the level of work relating to more lowland areas of the Welsh landscape such as Stephen Rippon's (1996; 1997; 2008) work on the effects of Anglo-Norman lordship and wetland reclamation on the Gwent Levels and in Pembrokeshire (Rippon 2008) and Jemma Bezant's detailed study of medieval Welsh settlement and landscape in the Teifi Valley, Ceredigion (Bezant 2009). Cadw have also recently been targeting previously neglected landscape topics, such as later medieval royal courts (e.g. Longley 1997; Johnstone 1997) and lower status rural settlement (e.g. Thompson & Yates 2000, 38; Roberts 2006), in a concerted effort to redress the perceived bias within Welsh archaeology towards high-status sites such as castles, monasteries and towns (Rippon 2009b, 237).

There have also been a small number of studies which focus on the larger-scale picture of the Welsh landscape. One of the key texts on this issue is the historical geographer Dorothy Sylvester's (1969) work *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland*. Despite being an important study into the landscape of the region there are, however, problems with Sylvester's work. For instance, since it was published before the 1970's 'boom' in landscape archaeology, it is a historical geography text, not an archaeological work; so many modern avenues of archaeological examination are left unexplored, and it is focused on an extremely vast area (the entirety of the Anglo-Welsh border, on both sides). Another relevant title in this field is Myfanwy Lloyd Jones' (1984a; 1984b) *Society and Settlement in Wales and the Marches*. This study covers an extremely large timescale, including prehistoric and Roman Wales and only just overlaps the time period which this thesis examines. It also is related to a large area (all of Wales in fact) and a huge range of topics discussing almost everything involved in landscape studies, including settlement, industry, land use and animal husbandry. Trevor Rowley's (2001) study of the Welsh borderland is a useful text on the topic of the landscape of the Welsh Marches, even if it has slight hints of being too close to being a guidebook. Rowley's book covers both a large area and a large time period and, as with Myfanwy Lloyd Jones' study, this makes it difficult to be too precise about particular issues. Therefore, it can be seen that despite there being a few large scale landscape studies focused upon Wales they are all either slightly limited in their scope or cover an extremely large area which makes it difficult to present some forms of landscape data in sufficient detail. However, what Wales is not short on is smaller scale case studies focused on a

tighter study area, and it is intended that this thesis, as a detailed landscape study of a single Welsh county, will find a niche between the smaller scale projects and wider focused studies of the landscape. Therefore, although there is a place for broader overviews and synthesis as well as more detailed studies of specific areas of the landscape, it was decided that this study should explore a single theme, that of post-Conquest landscape change, on a county-wide scale (providing a more compact study area and time period) in order to gain the necessary depth to fully examine the historic landscape.

Studies on field systems, including the processes that went into their formation, are available for various parts of Wales (Jones 1972; 1973; Davies 1973; Jack 1988), and while there is some evidence for native open fields, extensive open fields were a distinguishing characteristic of those regions controlled or colonised by Anglo-Norman lords (Davies 1973): Dorothy Sylvester, for example, noted the proliferation and late survival of common fields along the Gwent coast (Sylvester 1958). Understanding the process of enclosure of these fields, in order to recognise the evidence they leave in the historic landscape is fundamental to this study, and John Chapman (1992) has published a guide to the later parliamentary enclosure of these open fields in Wales, which is based upon county by county summaries of how this process was undertaken.

Finally, one of the main issues facing Welsh landscape archaeology is that, despite the relatively large corpus of landscape work relative to its size, Wales still lacks detailed interdisciplinary studies of medieval landscapes, embracing the entire landscape of settlement, field systems, land usage and communication systems, such as seen in England at locations such as Shapwick (Aston & Gerrard 2007; Rippon 2009b, 237), although more thorough landscape studies of this nature are beginning to be undertaken, for instance the work of David Austin and Andrew Fleming at Strata Florida, Ceredigion (Austin 2004). When studying a landscape, along with the field systems, one of the most important facets to consider is that of settlement, in both its rural and urban forms, and therefore the next section of academic background will discuss settlement patterns and urbanism in post-Conquest Wales.

2.4.2. Urbanism and Settlement Pattern in post-Conquest Wales

Another important factor in studying the changes caused by the Anglo-Norman Conquest is the growth of urbanism in post-Conquest Wales, as the right to create boroughs was one of the privileges enjoyed by the Marcher lords (Williams 1975, 80). An excellent starting point for the study of medieval urban settlement in Britain as a whole is provided by John Schofield and Alan Vince's (2003) *Medieval Towns* which provides a basic overview of the physical forms, social structures and material cultures of medieval towns. While this publication does deal with Wales, it is mainly

focused upon England and an overview of the development of towns in post-Conquest Wales is provided by Ian Soulsby (1983). The traditional view is that urbanism and large scale rural settlement nucleation were an Anglo-Norman import to Wales, and that towns, and large villages, were entirely alien to pre-Conquest Wales. This is predicated on a belief that pre-Conquest Wales lacked an economy which required them (Williams 1975, 81), and that there was a programme of Anglo-Norman town 'plantation' in Wales (e.g. Beresford 1967). Whilst it is true that urban nucleations had largely disappeared in Wales during the post-Roman period, there have been a small number of studies which investigate rural settlement patterns in native, pre-Conquest, Wales (e.g. Butler 1971; Jones 1985; Edwards & Lane 1988) and, as has already been mentioned, in the last couple of decades there have been a number of publications that have suggested that larger scale nucleated settlements were not entirely an Anglo-Norman innovation, (e.g. Jonathan Kissock's (1990; 1997) study into the possibility that Welsh villages might predate the Anglo-Norman conquest). Expanding on the 'plantation' of urban settlements into the landscape of post-Conquest Wales, the processes that went into the creation of a Marcher town have been the subject of a number of studies, for instance the late Paul Courtney's study (2007) into the relationship between the 'feudal' lordships and the urban market economy in the Welsh Marches. Courtney's study included a discussion of the role of towns and urbanism in the 'modernisation' of post-Conquest Wales, as well as an emphasis on the importance of understanding their economic function. Further to this, Grenville Astill (2009) has written on the role of aristocrats and Marcher lords in nurturing town development as these magnates founded towns as part of their manorial landscapes. Astill also comments on the fact that many Marcher towns failed due to lack of economic links and possibly due to the threat of attack. Another important issue is the relationship between urban fortifications, castles and urban identity in the medieval world, and it is true that many castles in the March also had an 'urban' function, fostering the growth of a town either within or next to their defences (for an example, see Monmouth: Chapter 7). There have been a number of recent studies into medieval town defences, including those undertaken by Oliver Creighton and Robert Higham (Creighton 2004; 2007b; Creighton & Higham 2005), investigating their defensive, economic and status functions, and there were a number of medieval towns in Wales and the Marches which boasted urban fortifications. Furthermore, a number of case studies of fortified medieval urban sites in Monmouthshire, such as Monmouth itself (Rowlands 1993; Kissack 1996; Marvell 2001), can be drawn upon. This issue of fortification leads onto the next topic, castles and their role in the landscape.

2.4.3 Anglo-Norman Castles, Lordly Sites and the Seigneurial Landscape

As this thesis is mainly focused upon the effects of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape of post-Conquest Wales, it is important to fully understand the academic debates surrounding the most obvious and tangible manifestations of this power:

castles. Any investigation into Anglo-Norman lordship will have to have a firm basis in castellology. The best source of information on known castles sites, as well as possible sites, in England and Wales is David Cathcart King's (King 1983a; b) two-volume gazetteer work *Castellarium Anglicanum*. Furthermore, there are a number of basic guides to Welsh castles and castle building in Wales and the Marches (Kenyon 1994; Pettifer 2000; Morgan 2008), as well as investigations into the evidence for pre-Conquest fortification in Wales (Knight 1992), castle building by the native Welsh princes (Butler 1991; Avent 1992; Turvey 1995; Davis 2000; Davies 2004b; Davis 2007b) and the development of Anglo-Norman castle building in Wales (Spurgeon 1991). Many of these publications are, however, largely descriptive and in order to fully understand the role castles played in Anglo-Norman lordship in Wales the complex debates surrounding the function of castles within the medieval world must be engaged with.

It has been argued that most early castellologists accepted that castles were primarily military structures (Stocker 1992, 415) and it has been suggested that this 'military-strategic' thinking was important in the infancy of castle studies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g. Clark 1884a; Clark 1884b; Round 1902; Hope 1903; Armitage 1912; Thompson 1912; Oman 1926; Braun 1936; Toy 1953; 1955). M.W. Thompson has argued that this mode of thinking was crucial in order to drag the study of castles away from Victorian romanticism, and Thompson also argues that it must be kept in mind that the primary consideration of the castle builder was to make the site defensible, and to ignore this would be to lose sight of the main function of these structures (Thompson 1994, 444). Some castellologists of the middle of the twentieth century even argued that castles were built as part of a grand overarching royal military strategy, such as John H. Beeler's (1956), now discredited theories on their being a plan behind the locations chosen for the locations of castles in Norman and Angevin England.

By the 1970s there was a growing school of thought that wished to study castles as elements within the medieval landscape and not as separate military entities. While the mainstream belief was still that the primary function of the medieval castle was to dominate the surrounding landscape, these structures were beginning to be viewed less as a military refuge behind which Anglo-Norman lords cowered from potential threats. There began to be a realisation that the object of building a castle was not to retreat from the landscape but to control it (Warner 1971, 5), and an important moment in castellology came in 1984 when David Austin (1984), in the annual lecture to the Society for Landscape Studies, called for castellologists to look beyond the architecture of castles and analyse both their effects on the landscape and the landscapes effects upon them. Throughout this period, however, there were still a number of important publications which still emphasised the primacy of military thinking in castle building, such as the work of Colin Platt (1982), David Cathcart King (1988), John Kenyon (1990) and M. W. Thompson, with both his *The Rise of the Castle* (1991) and *The Decline of the Castle* (1987).

Progress away from this military primacy in the interpretation of castles began to be made with the publication of Norman Pounds' (1990) *The Medieval Castle in England and Wales: A Political and Social History*, where the debate began to move on to look at the social and political aspects of castle building. For some academics, however, the discussion of castles was still mired in quagmire of previous thought and scholarship was too focused on the 'military-strategic' elements of castle study (Stocker 1992). In the last couple of decades there has been a distinct swing towards a more holistic viewpoint of medieval fortifications, studying castles as social and political phenomena, not just mere fortresses designed for warfare. This so called 'revisionist' school of thought was espoused by academics such as Charles Coulson, Oliver Creighton and Robert Liddiard who noted that castles were only very occasionally actively caught up in active warfare, but were constantly at the centre of the ordinary life of all classes of medieval society (Coulson 2003 1-2). Charles Coulson's work (e.g. 1996; 2003) aimed to overcome the massive imbalance in contemporary academia and popular castle publications between the emphasis on the military design of castles and the space given within to social, aesthetic and cultural aspects of life.

Oliver Creighton's (2002a) *Castles and Landscapes* used the theories and methods of landscape studies in order to firmly tie castles down to their surrounding human and physical landscapes and ensure they are not studied as solely military phenomena. However, unfortunately for this study, Creighton's book is only focused on England. Creighton (2002b) has also examined the effects of castle baileys and settlement patterns in Norman England as well as the differences between castle building in the countryside and the imposition of castles on the urban landscape (Creighton 2007). In *Castles in Context* Robert Liddiard (2005) attempts to move the debate on from functionalism to symbolism and engage with all the various elements of the spectrum of castles and their landscape context, something he began in 2000 with the publication of his *Landscapes of Lordship*, a study of the Norman castles and their landscape settings, in Norfolk, with obvious relevance to this thesis. Another revisionist castellologist, Andrew Lowerre (2005), published a multi-county study (Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire & Northamptonshire) analysing the processes and influences that affected the locations chosen for the sites of Anglo-Norman castles in the decades immediately following the Conquest. Lowerre specifically looked at the effects of pre-Conquest lordship, divided *vills* and honorial cores, manorial resources and the physical landscape. Another important facet of Lowerre's study is his detailed use of GIS, a technique this study will make great use of.

The ideas of revisionism have not, however, convinced the entire castellological community and there have been a number of reactions this revisionism as the military-strategic mode of thought still finds its advocates, and recently there has been a few non-revisionist (or 'neo-non-revisionist') publications that aim to maintain the primacy of military thinking in castle studies whilst still emphasising the

landscape setting over military architecture (e.g. Hill & Wileman 2002; Prior 2006). Furthermore, authors who tend to take a more 'historical' or 'political' approaches to this topic tend to continue to emphasise the importance of warfare in the design of the medieval castle (e.g. Morillo 1994). The academic debate on this topic was best emphasised by Colin Platt's article in *Medieval Archaeology* and Oliver Creighton and Robert Liddiard's response in the next edition of the same journal (Platt 2007; Creighton & Liddiard 2008) and it is this dichotomy of thought which has led some to argue that this debate can never be fully settled (Hulme 2010). A useful case study of the debate between revisionist and non-revisionists in castle studies focuses upon the debate over the role and function of licences to crenellate and a quantitative study of licences to crenellate in England has been published by Phillip Davis (2007a). Charles Coulson has argued that licences to crenellate were sought by the lower ranks of the aristocracy to enhance their social status (Coulson 1979) and were not the symbols of 'insecurity in the countryside' (Coulson 1994, 93), a theory supported by Matthew Johnson (2002) who cites the example of Cooling Castle (Kent) where John Lord Cobham placed a copper copy of the licence on the gatehouse as a symbol of his elevated status. As one would expect, these theories have been enthusiastically opposed by non-revisionist academics, such as Colin Platt (2008).

Of course there are a number of other facets to castellology and the study of Anglo-Norman lordship, many of which have been somewhat understudied in the past. One of these is the study of timber castles, long ignored by castellologists who favour the 'military-strategic' mode of thought as 'proto-castles' on the typological advances towards the great fortresses of the later medieval period. However, as we shall see, many of castle sites never evolved into masonry constructions, and in the last couple of decades a large amount of work has been done on these structures by Robert Higham (e.g. 1989) and Phillip Barker, most notably in their book *Timber Castles* (Higham & Barker 1992) and in their excavation and case study of Hen Domen in Montgomeryshire (Higham & Barker 2000; Higham 2002). Another useful discussion of this topic, this time on a larger scale over the southernmost portion of the Welsh border, is Neil Phillips' (2006) study of earthwork castles in Gwent and Eryng. Another important manifestation of lordship in the medieval world were 'designed' landscapes which it is now becoming accepted were not just the preserve of the 'polite landscapes' of eighteenth century 'English landscape gardens' created by men such as Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, William Kent and Humphrey Repton and there is a growing corpus of work which argues that medieval lordly landscapes could have been just as designed (e.g. Creighton 2009). These landscapes were a massive symbol of lordship showing not just political control of the landscape, but a physical control and ability to alter it to suit the lord's needs. As well as editing a volume on the subject of medieval parks (Liddiard 2007b), Robert Liddiard has written an important discussion of the methodology and theory involved in the study of medieval designed landscapes, interestingly hinting that it may be useful to apply some study of the 'ritual' aspects to the study of the landscape that are more applied

to prehistoric archaeology (Liddiard 2007a). The same author has also made the interesting point that the term 'designed' landscape is slightly anachronistic when applied to the medieval world because the word 'design' is itself a sixteenth century Dutch word (Liddiard 2000, 10). In fact, the term 'landscape' shares similar roots, being first recorded in 1598 (Olwig 1996, 631). The English use of the word originated with Dutch painters during this period, who pioneered the 'landscape' genre of painting, using the Dutch term *landschap*, which had earlier simply referred to a 'region', or a 'tract of land', but soon gained the definition of a picture depicting scenery, or of a 'vista' (Olwig 1996, 631). Despite being mainly focused on the end of the medieval period, Matthew Johnson's *Behind the Castle Gate* (Johnson 2002) is useful as it emphasises the importance of castles, and their associated (sometimes watery) landscapes, as the stage-setting for social, ceremonial and political life, a theme that has also been picked up by Martin Hansson (2006), who moves the debate over ideas of medieval aristocratic landscapes and castles onto a European stage.

One of the important questions this study will have to examine is whether there is any archaeological or documentary evidence for Anglo-Norman designed 'seigneurial' landscapes in Wales, or a native Welsh equivalent. This may include physical evidence (such as park pales and pillow mounds for rabbit warrens), place-name evidence (such as references to deer parks) or literary references. The Welsh poet Iolo Goch's poem in praise of Owain Glyndŵr's *Llys at Sycarth* in Denbighshire (*Iolo Goch* 38-42) could be taken as documentary evidence for a native, non Anglo-Norman, lordly landscape in Wales. It will be interesting to explore whether this was usual for Welsh lords, or was this simply a case of Glyndŵr copying neighbouring Anglo-Norman lords (and overlords)? Of course the description of this landscape could just be the fantasy of a Welsh poet looking to please his patron and glorify the last hope for Welsh independence, although there is a large amount of documentary evidence contained within the native Welsh laws relating to hunting, as well the aristocratic privileges surrounding this activity (see Jenkins 2000). Therefore, it can be seen that it is possible that the idea of a designed landscape manufactured to assist the lordly pursuits of a prince or enhance a magnate's status was not solely an Anglo-Norman introduction into Wales and may have been present in the 'landscapes of lordship' of the native Welsh. Important work on medieval hunting and hunting reserves in Scotland has been undertaken by Gilbert (1979) and a gazetteer of parks in England (including some in Wales) has been produced by Cantor (1983) but as far as this author can ascertain no major work has been done on parks in Wales despite there being around 50 medieval parks recorded (Rackham 1986). It must also be kept in mind that these 'seigneurial' landscapes did not just produce venison in deer parks, and that the production of fish, doves and rabbits also formed part of this phenomenon (Dyer 1988; Williamson 2007).

1.3. Summary

This chapter has provided an introduction to this thesis, outlining the rationale behind it, laying out the aims and objectives of the study and presenting a survey of the academic landscape surrounding it. Moving on to the next stage, the following chapter will provide an in-depth background to the historic county of Monmouthshire, providing the details of the physical geography relevant to this thesis, as well as the historical background to this study, detailing the history of Gwent prior to the Conquest, the establishment of the Anglo-Norman Marcher lordships in the region and the post-Medieval creation of the county of Monmouthshire. This historical, and geographical, background is integral to this study and it is fundamentally important to understand the landscape which preceded the Anglo-Norman Conquest, in order to assess levels of change caused by the agency of Anglo-Norman lordship. Furthermore, it is crucial to survey the physical geography of Monmouthshire, so that the role of the environment in the development of the post-Conquest landscape can be fully understood.

2. Background to Monmouthshire

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to provide all the relevant background information required for this thesis, outside the academic discourse provided in the previous 'Introduction' section. In order to achieve this, it will outline the geographic background for the study, examining the topography, geology and pedology of the case study region, as well as providing a basic history of pre-Conquest Gwent, in order to provide an historic framework through which to examine the landscape of Monmouthshire. The in-depth post-Conquest histories of the individual lordships, however, will be left until the relevant case study chapters, in order to avoid confusion. This chapter also provides a brief overview of the post-medieval formation of the historic county of Monmouthshire from the lordships of the March. The rationale for providing this background information is that while a landscape can be used as an excellent tool to understand the social processes that went into its creation (Muir 1999, 149), one must remain aware of the basic political, social and historical events that frame these processes in order to fully understand the landscape.

The case-study chosen for this thesis is the historic county of Monmouthshire, the most south-eastern of the 'historic counties' created in the Welsh Marches by the Laws in Wales Act 1535 (Fig.2.1.) to replace the previous Marcher Lordships. An important distinction must be made between the historic county of Monmouthshire (created in 1535), which is the focus of this thesis, and the modern, much shrunken, administrative county known as 'Monmouthshire', now shorn of areas such as the unitary authority of the City of Newport and the County Borough of Torfaen, as well as most of the County Borough Blaenau Gwent, and those parts of the County Borough of Caerphilly and the City of Cardiff on the eastern side of the Rhymney River. This study is focused on all of these areas, regardless of whether they are still within the modern boundaries of 'Monmouthshire' (Fig.2.2.). The historic discrete entity of Monmouthshire was chosen as the focus of this study due to its 'liminal' nature on the Welsh border, its varied landscape, the proliferation of Anglo-Norman lordship sites (especially castles) within the county, its confused nature as to its status as a Welsh county (see Chapter 2) and its history as one of earliest areas of Anglo-Norman expansion into Wales.

Another reason for using the historic county of Monmouthshire is rooted in the data-sources used for this thesis as this study will use first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey mapping data, as well as earlier nineteenth century tithe survey maps, as the basis for a large amount of its analysis, and these were produced on a county-by-county basis focused on the historic county boundaries of Wales, it was decided that it made sense to follow suit and expand the focus of this study to the whole of the historic county of Monmouthshire. Furthermore, the term 'Monmouthshire' was decided upon above the pre-Conquest name for the region, Gwent, again for purely practical reasons as the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire are

clearly, and accurately, defined by nineteenth century mapping sources, in a way that the boundaries of 'Gwent' never can be without falling back on antecedent boundaries.

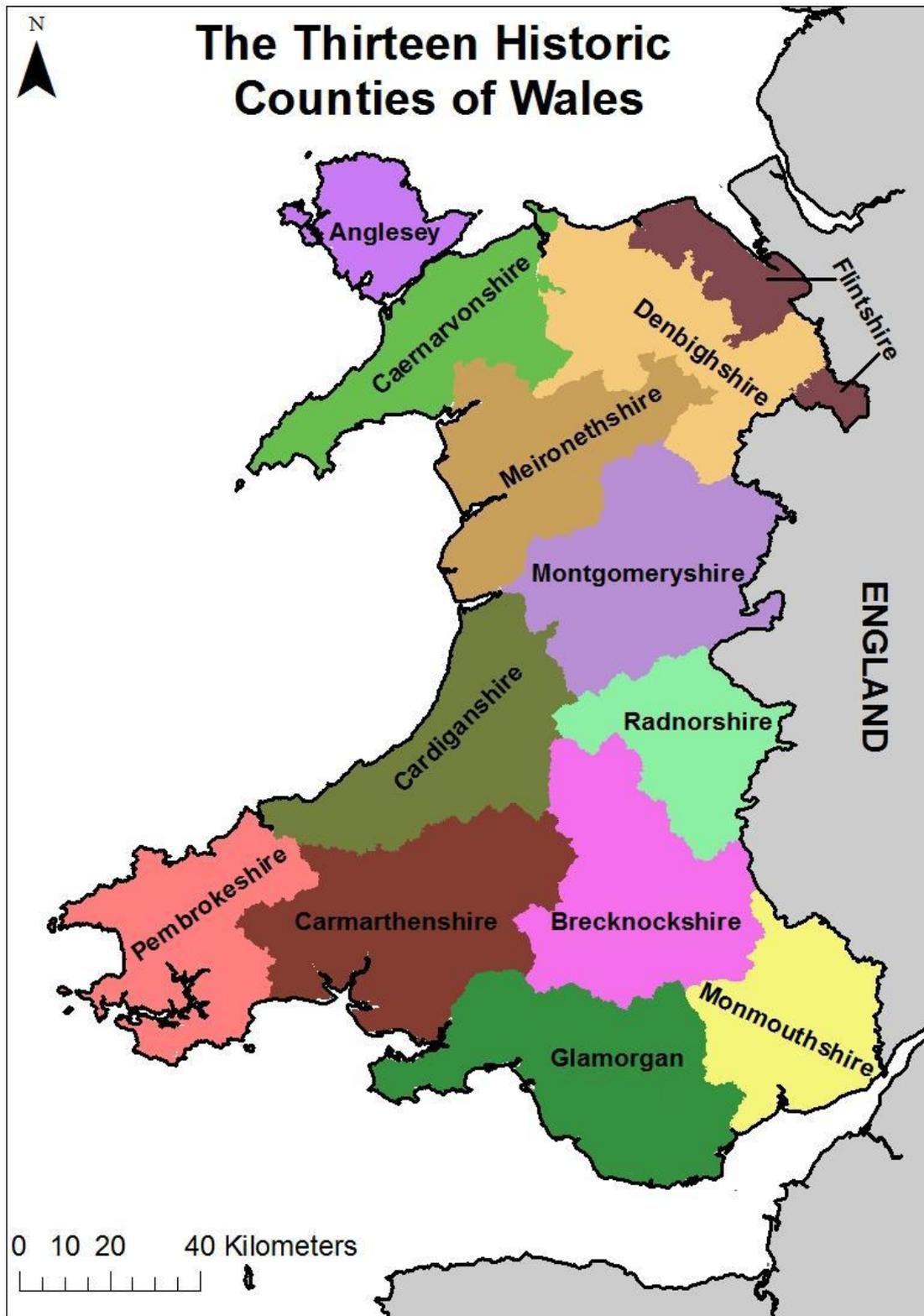


Fig.2.1. The thirteen historic counties of Wales created by the Acts of Union (1536 & 1543) with their English names (Digimap).

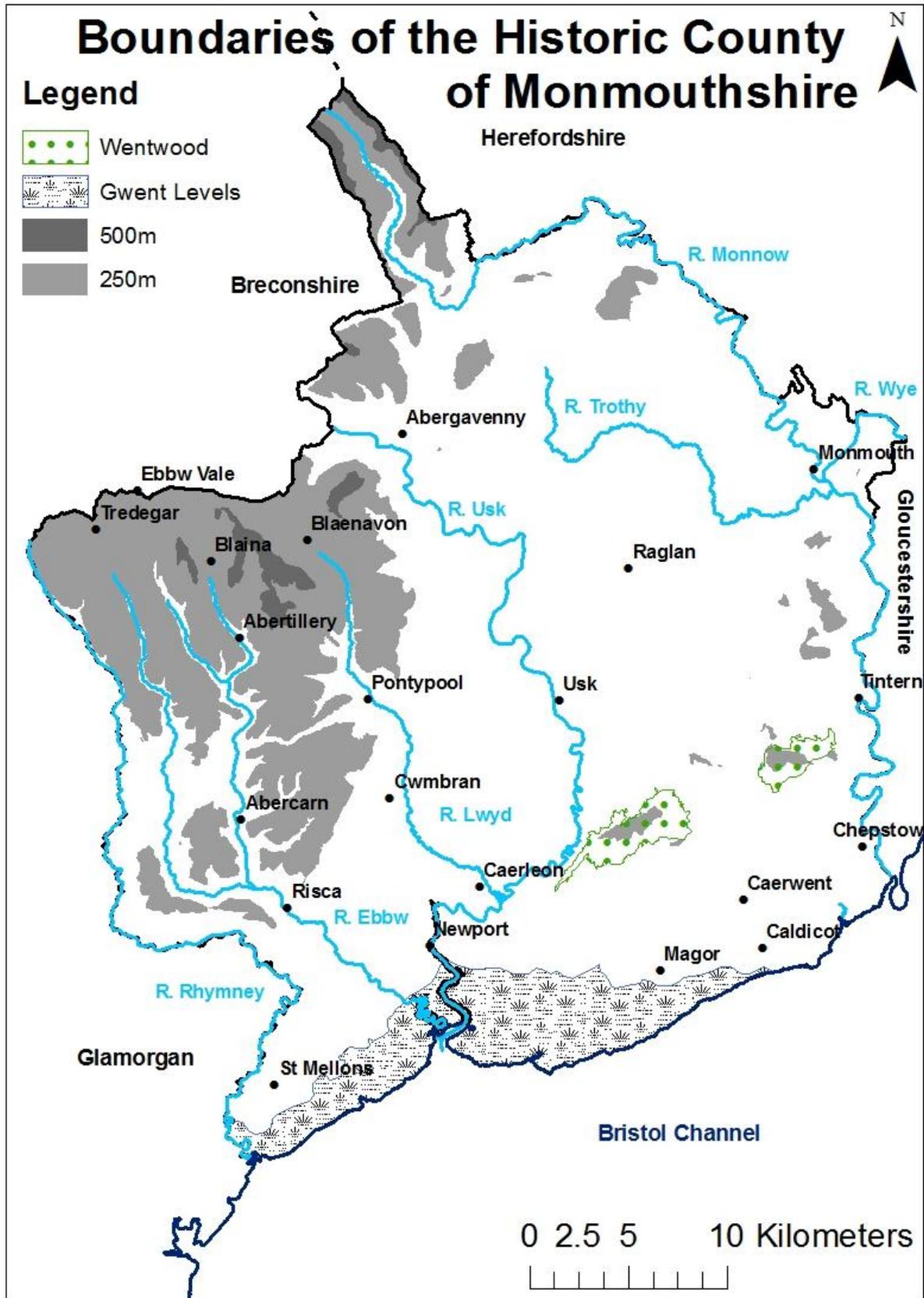


Fig.2.2. Map of the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire, with important modern settlements marked.

2.2. Geographic Background

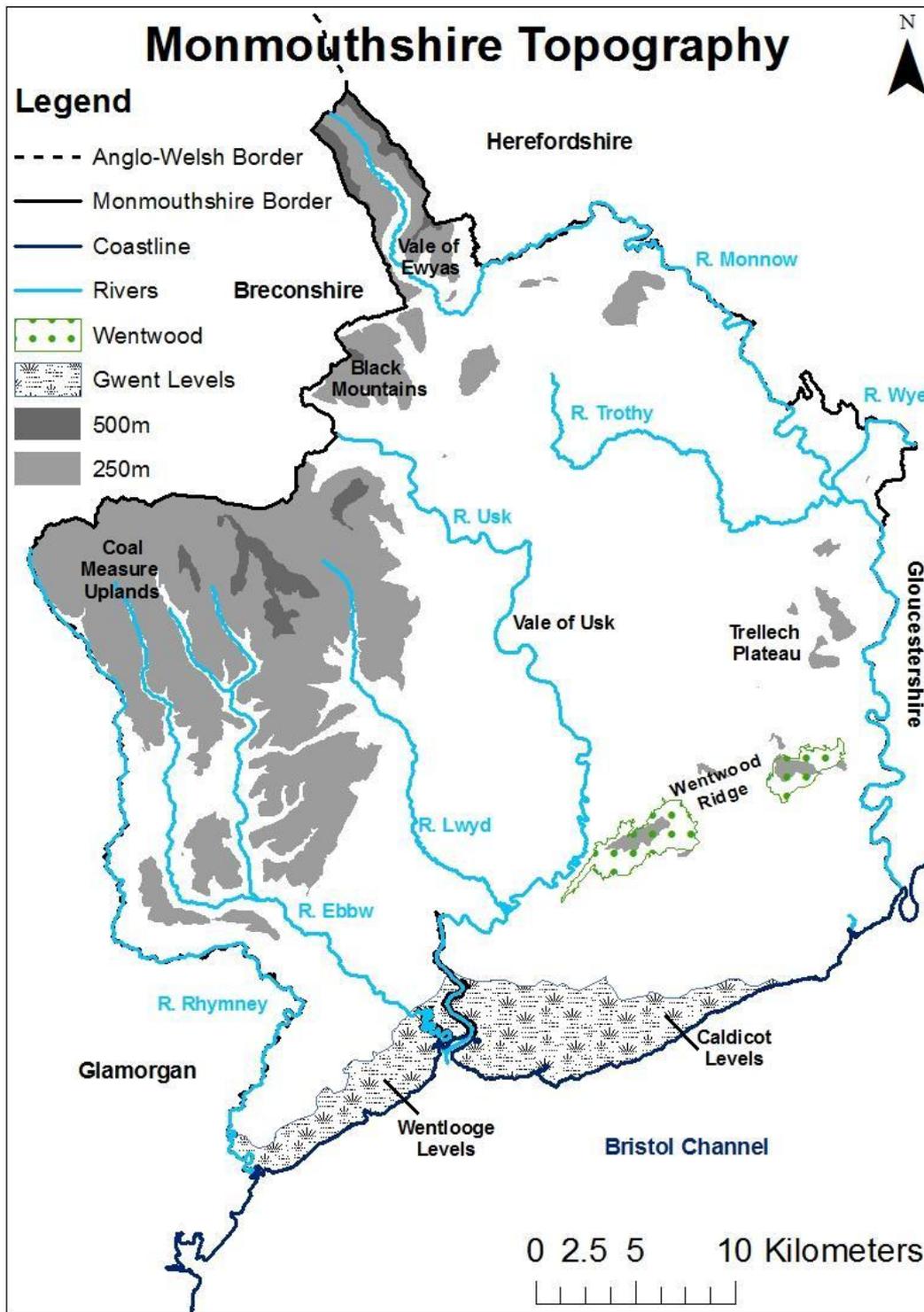


Fig.2.3. The topography and geographic features of the historic county of Monmouthshire.

The topography of southern and eastern Monmouthshire is, by Welsh standards, largely low lying, with the most obvious feature of the coast of the county being the Gwent Levels, an area of estuarine alluvial wetland and intertidal mudflats which

stretch from Cardiff in the west to Chepstow in the east. The Levels are divided by the Ebbw and Usk rivers into the Caldicot Level in the east and the Wentlooge level to the west (with the area between the two rivers being known as the Level of Mendelgief). To the north of the Caldicot Levels is the Wentwood Ridge, an elevated area of limestone and Old Red Sandstone (see Figs. 2.3. & 2.4.), rising to 309m, along which stands the remains of the Wentwood itself. The Wentwood (*Coed Gwent*) once stretched from the Wye to the Taff along the ridge and its importance as a dividing barrier across the region is demonstrated by the names of Gwent's two main *cantrefs*: *Gwent Iscoed* ('Gwent below the wood') and *Gwent Uwchcoed* ('Gwent above the wood'). Directly to the north of the Wentwood Ridge is a slightly elevated area of sandstone, known as the 'Trellech Plateau', rising to 306m at its highest elevation, at Beacon Hill. This plateau is bordered on two sides by river valleys (the Wye and the Trothy), but slopes down on its western edge towards the Vale of Usk, an area of wide river valley, which occupies most of the central portion of the county. In fact, river valleys, although not as dramatic as those seen further west into Wales, are a key feature of the Monmouthshire landscape, with the county being defined by the deeply gorged Wye Valley to the east and the River Rhymney to the west. The river valleys of the central portion of the county (the Usk, the Trothy and the Monnow, which forms most of the northern border of the county) are significantly wider and flatter than that of the Wye, and create a landscape of gently rolling hills. To the west, the River Usk is joined by the River Lwyd (at Caerleon) and the River Ebbw (created by the confluence of the Ebbw Fach, and Ebbw Fawr, and which joins the Usk south of Newport) which both flow out of the 'Coal Measure Uplands', an area of sandstone mountains and valleys, heavily transformed in the Industrial Revolution by the development of sites such as Blaenavon, Ebbw Vale and Tredegar. The Black Mountains, on the north-eastern border of the county, are separated from the Coal Measure Uplands by the River Usk. Here the landscape also consists of river valleys, such as the Vale of Ewyas (flanked on the east by Hatterrall Hill and by Chwarel y Fan to the west) and mountains, such as the 'Three peaks of Abergavenny', The Sugar Loaf (*Mynydd Pen-y-Fal*), The Blorenge (*Blorens*) and The Skirrid (*Ysgyryd Fawr*).

In terms of pedology, information for Monmouthshire can be collected from Cranfield University's simplified soil dataset, 'Soilscapes'. The Gwent Levels consist of the loamy and clayey soils of coastal flats whilst the Wentwood Ridge has a mixture of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils and freely draining slightly acid but base-rich soils. The soils of most of the Vale of Usk consist of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils, whilst in the more upland region of the Trellech plateau these are interspersed with small patches of freely draining very acid sandy and loamy soils. To the north of the county, around the Trothy Valley, the soils present a mixture of freely draining floodplain soils and slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage, with freely draining slightly acid loamy soils being found in the more upland areas. North-west of the Wentlooge levels, in the foothills of the Coal Measure Uplands, the pedology consists of soils which are slightly acid loamy and clayey in

nature, with impeded drainage, whilst the soils of the Coal Measure Uplands themselves are a mixture of freely draining acid loamy soils over rock, slowly permeable seasonally wet acid loamy and clayey soils, slowly permeable wet very acid upland soils with a peaty surface and very acid loamy upland soils with a wet peaty surface. Finally, the soils of the Black Mountains and the Vale of Ewyas are a mix of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils in the more lowland areas and very acid loamy upland soils with a wet peaty surface at higher elevations (Soilscapes).

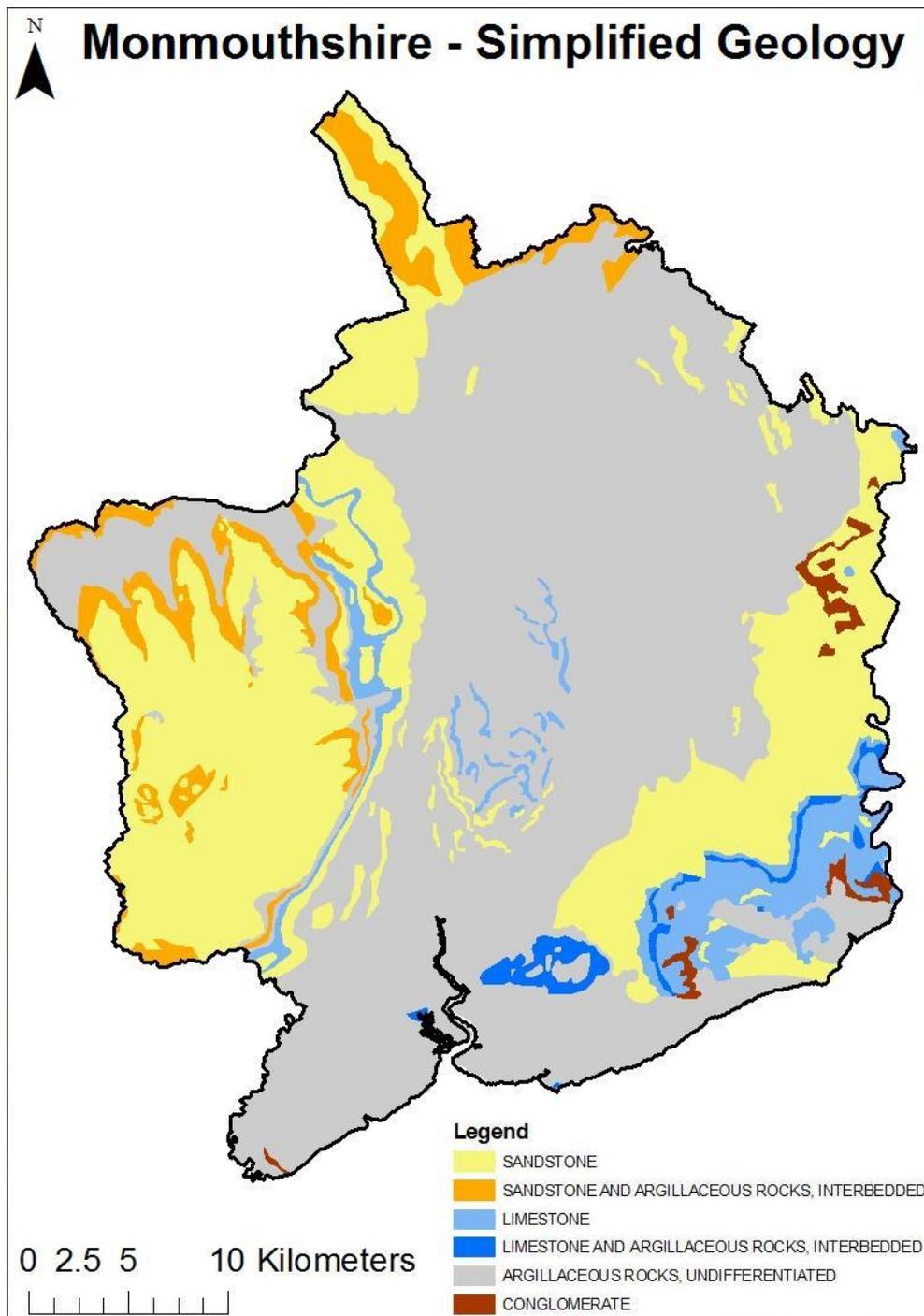


Fig.2.4. Simplified map of the subterranean geology of Monmouthshire (Redrawn by the author from *Edina Digimap*).

2.3. Historic Background

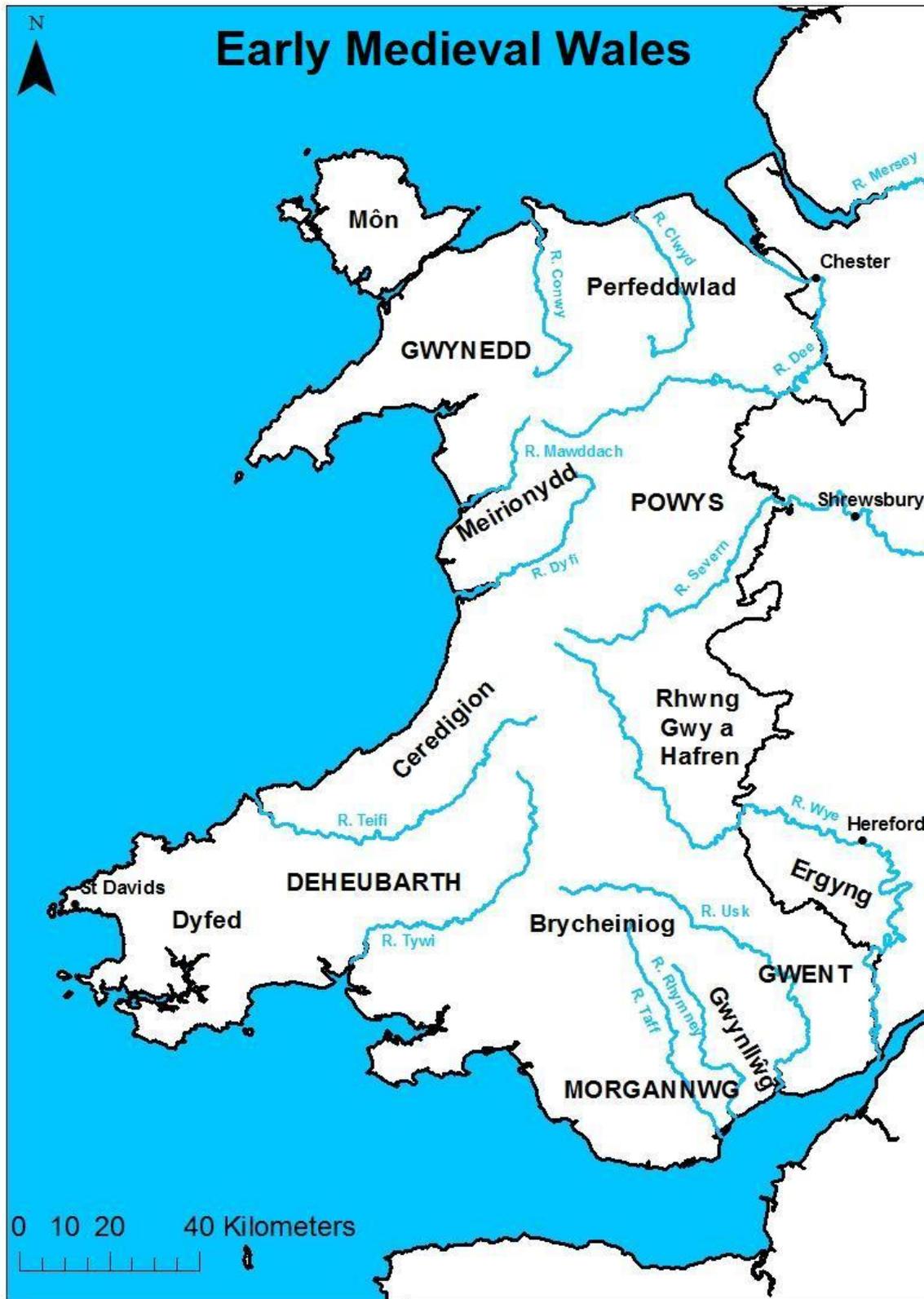


Fig.2.5. Map of the patchwork of small kingdoms and lordships which made up pre-Conquest Wales (redrawn from Davies 1987, Map 1).

If the impact the Anglo-Norman Conquest had upon the landscape of Monmouthshire is to be discussed, then a brief discussion of the antecedent landscape and history of pre-Conquest Gwent is required. Medieval Wales, both before and after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, was an ever shifting patchwork of small states (Fig.2.5.), due to fractionalisation caused by the Welsh system of gavelkind inheritance (where estates were divided equally amongst male heirs), and this often led to shared authority or kingdoms being subdivided (Howell 1988, 41-42; Bezant 2009, 28-29). Gwent, whose name is derived from the Romano-British settlement of *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent), was no different, and in the immediate Post-Roman period, the area which is now Monmouthshire was made up of a number of small political entities, such as the kingdom of Ergyng (focused on the modern day Archenfield region of south Herefordshire). However, from the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh centuries the consolidation of the kingdom of Gwent began, under the leadership of the semi-legendary King Tewdrig, culminating in the victory over the Saxons (and Tewdrig's death) at Pont y Saeson, near Tintern (Howell 1988, 40). The definition of Gwent as an area firmly outside Anglo-Saxon control was confirmed by the construction of Offa's Dyke in the eighth century, formalising the border between 'England' and 'Wales' as running along the banks of the Wye. Importantly Offa's dyke deviated away from the Wye before it reached the Severn, leaving both tidal banks of the river in Welsh hands, which might possibly be an indication of the political power of the Kings of Gwent at this time (Howell 1988, 45-46). Tidenham was under English jurisdiction by the tenth century, but this pattern of both sides of the Wye estuary remaining outside 'England' continued after the Anglo-Norman Conquest, as the Lordship of Chepstow (on the west bank of the Wye) continued to hold Tidenham and Lancaut in Gloucestershire (on the east bank of the Wye) (Longley 2004, 302), and this, therefore, provides evidence for the incoming Anglo-Norman lords continuing existing patterns of lordship in the region, at least when it suited their aims.

The Law of Hywel Dda (*Cyfraith Hywel Dda*) provides evidence for the structure of pre-Conquest Welsh society and methods of administration, despite the fact that the earliest surviving copies date from the thirteenth century (Longley 2004, 289). According to the laws the landscape was broken up into a number of small units, known as *trefi*, which translates roughly as 'estate', 'farm' or 'hamlet'. Fifty of these *trefi* made up a *cymwd*, or commote and two *cymydau* made up a *cantref* (literally 'a hundred *trefi*', similar to the English 'Hundreds' (Bezant 2009, 28)), which could be anything from a sub-division of a larger lordship to a small independent kingdom in its own right (Howell 1988, 43; Longley 2004, 290). It must be noted that *Cyfraith Hywel* provides us with an idealised and highly organised picture of the medieval landscape of Wales, and the truth was almost certainly far less uniform (Longley 2004, 290). As has been previously mentioned, Gwent was divided by the forested hills of the Wentwood Ridge, which divided the majority of the region into the *cantrefi* of *Gwent Uwchcoed* and *Gwent Iscoed*, which later became transliterated into English as 'Overwent' and 'Netherwent'. As well as these two *cantrefi*, the Kingdom

of Gwent also had a number of other territorial holdings, which fluctuated between Gwent's control and that of its neighbours, such as the *cantrefi* of Ergyng (the rump of a former Welsh kingdom in south Herefordshire – see Chapter 7) and Gwynllŵg (traditionally part of Morgannwg) (Fig.2.6.; Longley 2004, 290) (for a far more detailed analysis of the administration of pre-Conquest Gwent see Longley 2004, 290-297).

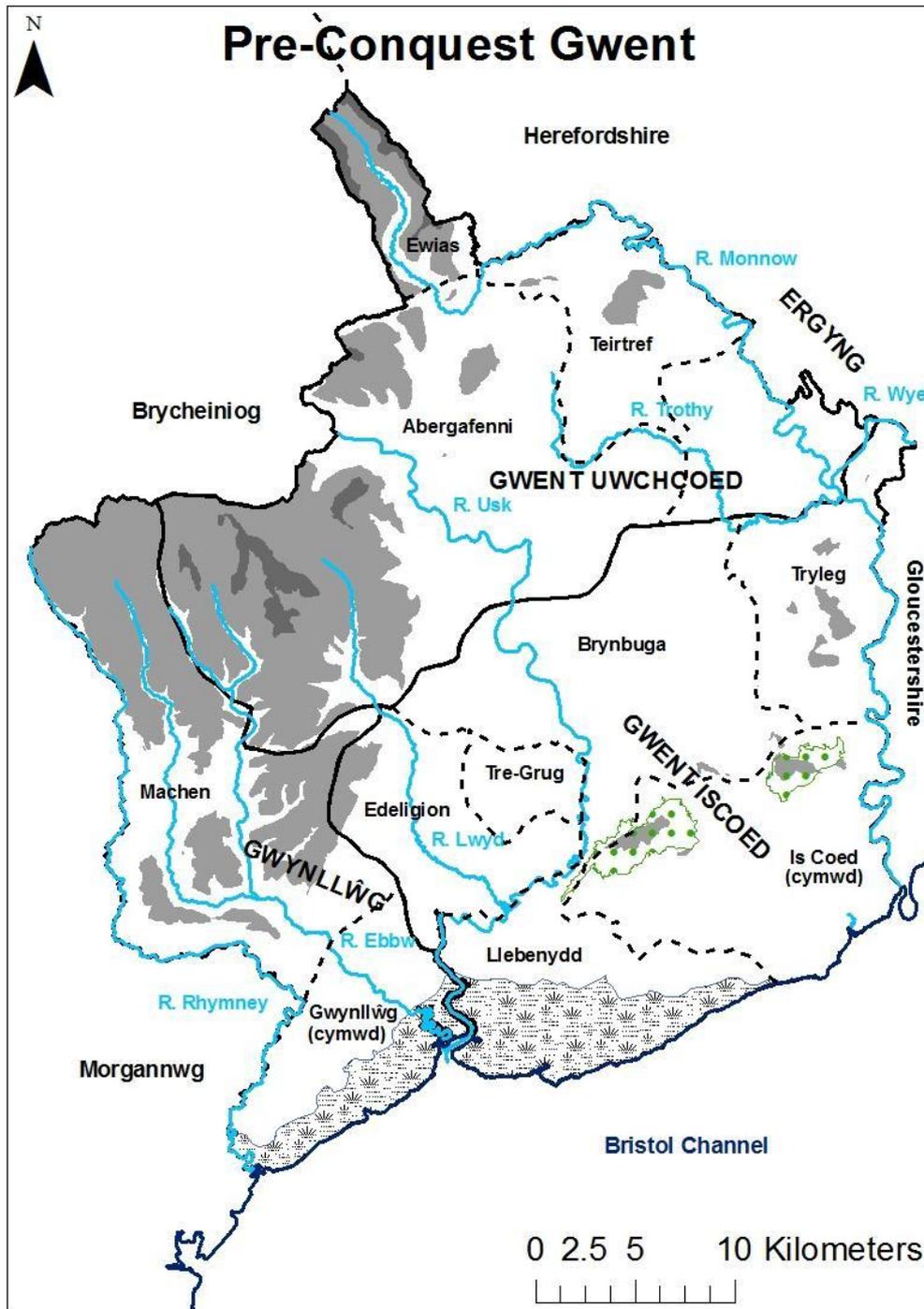


Fig.2.6. Map of pre-Conquest Gwent (redrawn by the author from Rees 1959 & Longley 2004).

Welsh rulers traditionally had quite a mobile court and would process around their lands, accompanied by a band of retainers and *uchelwyr* (noblemen), extracting rents and renders due to them. The most important of these rents being the *gwestfa*, or kingly right to hospitality (Howell 1988, 42; Charles-Edwards 1993, 364-365). These *uchelwyr* had a degree of autonomy from their leader and could, with the assistance of church leaders, remove a king (Howell 1988, 43-44). The common people of Gwent were known as *gwerin* and a large number of them were hereditary tenants tied to the land in a similar manner to the serfs of medieval England (Howell 1988, 44).

The traditional overall impression of the Welsh landscape prior to the eleventh century was a bleak one of poverty, underdevelopment and backwardness (Davies 1987, 161), although food surpluses must have been prevalent, as most taxes were paid in the form of food renders (Edwards 1997, 1). As has already been mentioned, the landscape was broken up into a number of *trefi*, or small homesteads or hamlets, but, along with the *trefi*, there were a number of other settlements of importance, such as the *llys* (the court/residence of the local lord), the *maerdref* (the 'reeve's *tref* or administrative centre) and the *clas* (community of canons) (Jones 1985, 158-159). The land attached to these settlements was organised in a number of different ways, such as *tir gwelyog* ('hereditary land'), which was held by kin groups, consisting of areas of unenclosed common land with scattered strips of arable held by various family members, which is periodically divided and reapportioned due to partible inheritance; *tir cyfrif* ('reckoned land'), consisting of unenclosed common land, again with attached small strip systems, farmed by bondsmen for the benefit of the lord; and *tir corddlan* ('nucleal land') made up of small, radial fields focused on settlements, both secular and ecclesiastical (Edwards 1997, 8; Kissock 1997). So it can be seen that, while there were some forms of open field farming present in pre-Conquest Wales, it was on quite small and fragmented scale, and nowhere near as significant as that seen in the 'Central Province' of England. There was also a great deal of transhumance associated with pre-Conquest Welsh agriculture, most notably pastoral farming. This took the form of the *hafod* and then *hendre*, with the *hafod* (summer dwelling) being located in the upland areas of the region and the *hendre* (literally 'old dwelling') being situated in the more sheltered lowland areas, for the winter months (Williams 1975, 33; 91).

Whilst Gwent was never ruled directly as part of the hegemony of Hywel Dda (d.950) (Maund 2006, 65) it was conquered by Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in 1055, making Gruffudd ruler of all Wales, a unique achievement (*Brut – RBH*, 25; Davies 2004a, 334). In order to gain control of Gwent Gruffudd ap Llywelyn defeated Gruffudd ap Rhydderch, whose father Rhydderch ab Iestyn (d.1033) had been King of Deheubarth (south-west Wales) until he was killed in battle by Hiberno-Norse invaders (*Brut – RBH*, 23; Maund 2006, 96), and his sons were driven out of Deheubarth by the dynasty of Edwin ab Einion (Hywel and Maredudd ab Edwin). Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's Welsh hegemony ended in 1063 with his death, supposedly

arranged by Harold Godwinsson and his brother Tostig (Howell 1988, 47; Maund 2006, 97), and in the wake of this power vacuum, Gruffudd ap Rhydderch's son, Caradog ap Gruffudd, was able to reassert his father's claims and re-establish Gwent as an independent kingdom (Davies 2004a, 341-342). Caradog ap Gruffudd became the most important Welsh lord in the region at the end of the eleventh century and his career is an excellent example of the tumultuous state of Welsh politics on the eve of the Anglo-Norman Conquest. Harold Godwinsson also sought to capitalise on the death of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (*Brut – RBH*, 27) by using his powerbase on the southern edge of the Anglo-Welsh border (Longley 2004, 303) to establish a foothold (recorded as a 'hunting lodge') west of the Wye at Portskewett (Davies 2004a, 342: see Chapter 6). The first documentary mention of Caradog ap Gruffudd occurs in 1065 when he attacked Harold's works at Portskewett which led to his ascendancy in the region by 1067 (Maund 2006, 100). It is also possible that Caradog's powerbase in Gwent was strong enough to allow him to raid Anglo-Norman territory, as Domesday records a number of villages destroyed by a '*rege Caraduech*' (*Domesday – Glos. W2.*).

Harold's designs on Gwent and south Wales stopped abruptly due to the events of 1066, and without one single Welsh king to deal with, William the Conqueror was faced with a complex situation, and retained King Edward the Confessor's regional arrangement regarding the Anglo-Welsh border (Davies 2004a, 342). William made William fitz Osbern Earl of Hereford, giving him power of the southern March of Wales, in the place of Harold Godwinsson (Crouch 2002, 100; Carpenter 2003, 106). As this region had been in the possession of William the Conqueror's predecessor, it was important that it was entrusted to a capable lieutenant in case of any lingering pro-Harold feeling (Davies 2004a, 343), and as fitz Osbern was one of his closest childhood friends (his father had protected the young Duke William after the death of his father in 1035) he was the perfect man for the job (Crouch 2002, 64; Carpenter 2003, 75; Davies 2004a 342). William the Conqueror made similar arrangements for the central March at Shrewsbury (Roger de Montgomery) and for the northern March at Chester (Hugh d'Avranches) (Carpenter 2003, 110). These earldoms were not just designed to protect the Anglo-Welsh border; the Marcher lords were encouraged to seize as much territory as possible west of Offa's Dyke (Davies 2004a, 342-343). Therefore, William fitz Osbern is seen as the architect of the first tentative Anglo-Norman advances into south Wales, although his policy seems to have been one of diplomacy, settlement and gradual expansion (Crouch 1985; Williams 1993, 450; Davies 2004a, 343). This situation appears to have suited parties on both sides of the border as Caradog ap Gruffudd seems to have recognized Anglo-Norman authority in order to use Norman troops to further his ambitions (Maund 2006, 96), and fitz Osbern made use of Caradog's holdings in Gwent as a buffer region (Davies 2004a, 344). Therefore, it can be argued that fitz Osbern's overlordship of Gwent was more 'apparent than real' (Crouch 1985, 26). The trust William the Conqueror had in fitz Osbern is exemplified by his willingness to leave him in charge of difficult situations when his duties called him elsewhere. For example, in 1069 he left fitz

Osbern in charge of the troublesome north of England whilst he celebrated Easter in Winchester (Crouch 2002, 104), and in the same year fitz Osbern was sent, along with Count Brian of Brittany, to destroy rebels outside Exeter (Crouch 2002, 105). In 1071 William fitz Osbern died at the Battle of Cassel whilst accompanying the army of King Philip of France in an invasion of Flanders, and his possessions passed to his two eldest sons, with William de Breteuil taking his father's Norman lands, whilst his younger brother, Roger de Breteuil, gained the Earldom of Hereford (Crouch 2002, 109).

The relationship between the Anglo-Norman and Caradog ap Gruffudd seems to have survived fitz Osbern's death, and Caradog used Norman troops to further his ambitions to recover his ancestral lands in Deheubarth (*Brut – RBH*, 27; 29; Maund 2006, 96), and this amity is exemplified by the presence of Caradog ap Gruffudd at the consecration of the new church in Monmouth (Courtney 1986: see Chapter 7). However, the earldom inherited by Roger de Breteuil was reduced in size by William the Conqueror, and he never had the same influence that his father had, having to content himself with a regional power base in the Welsh Marches (Crouch 2002, 108; 111). Earl Roger also did not inherit his father's loyalty to the King, and started a conspiracy with his brother in law Earl Ralph de Gael of Norfolk and Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland. This conspiracy broke into open rebellion, known as the 'Revolt of the Earls' in 1075 when the King refused to concede to all of Roger's demands, including recognising the marriage between Earl Ralf and Roger's sister Emma and granting Roger all of his father's titles and status (Crouch 2002, 111). Earl Roger used the southern March as a base for his revolt and seems to have been supported by Caradog ap Gruffudd (Davies 2004a, 345). Earl Waltheof soon deserted the cause of the Earl's revolt, and confessed the conspiracy to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. Earl Roger's forces were blocked from crossing the Severn and Earl Ralph's forces were defeated near Cambridge. Ralph fled to Denmark, whilst Roger was captured by the king's forces and a number of his supporters sought refuge with Caradog ap Gruffudd (Crouch 2002, 112). King William demanded their extradition and on Caradog's refusal sent a force under his son William Rufus to ravage Caradog's lands (and seize Earl Roger's possessions). Rufus' troops crossed the Usk, founded the first castle at Newport (Stow Hill motte and bailey) and pushed Anglo-Norman expansion to the Ebbw and Rhymney rivers (Coplestone-Crow 1998, 5; Davies 2004a, 345-6).

After Roger de Breteuil forfeited his lands to the king, the former fitz Osbern holdings, including land which had been seized beyond the River Usk, were divided into a number of smaller Marcher Lordships (such as Monmouth and Chepstow/Striguil (Netherwent)). This partition of the fitz Osbern lands into multiple lordships may account for the very dense distribution of castle sites in the region (see Chapter 3). Despite the elimination of his ally, Caradog continued his campaigns in Deheubarth and in 1078 he eliminated Rhys ab Owain ab Edwin (one of his most effective rivals) and seemed to be achieving some degree of lordship

over Deheubarth, although it was not to last long (Davies 2004a, 346; Maund 2006, 108). He was soon challenged by a new rival, Rhys ap Tewdwr, a direct descendant of Hywel Dda who, in 1081, defeated Caradog, and his Anglo-Norman allies, at the battle of Mynydd Carn, resulting in Caradog's death (*Brut – RBH*, 31; Turvey 2002, 51; Maund 2006, 110). Political confusion followed Caradog's death, a situation that was capitalised on by the Anglo-Norman Marcher lords (Turvey 2002, 20). Caradog was succeeded by his son Owain ap Caradog, known as *Owain Wan* ('Owain the Weak'), who was very much an Anglo-Norman vassal and was killed by his countrymen whilst performing castle-guard duty at Carmarthen (Davies 2004a, 347). However, his sons, Morgan and Iorwerth ab Owain were more like their warlike grandfather and went on to play a key role in the resistance to the Anglo-Norman expansion into Gwent (see Chapter 8).

In 1081, in the wake of Mynydd Carn, William the Conqueror led an expedition into Wales, labelled as a 'pilgrimage' to St Davids (*Brut – RBH*, 31; Turvey 2002, 69; Carpenter 2003, 110). As part of this 'pilgrimage', William forced the submission of a number of Welsh lords (the victor of Mynydd Carn, Rhys ap Tewdwr, accepted Anglo-Norman overlordship) and founded a number of new footholds, such as Caerleon and Cardiff, with attached Anglo-Norman Marcher lordships (Fig.2.6.; Crouch 1985; Davies 2004a, 346-347). By 1086 sites such as Chepstow, Caldicot and Monmouth were clearly sufficiently under Anglo-Norman control for them to be included in the Domesday survey (Fig.2.7.; *Domesday – Glos.* S1-2; W1-19; *Domesday – Here.* 1.48.) and there seems to have been a great deal of cooperation between the Marcher lords and the Welsh, which may explain the relatively unaggressive policy of the Anglo-Normans in the south when compared to north Wales (Davies 2004a, 345). Despite this, there was intermittent Welsh resistance to Anglo-Norman rule, which lasted until William Marshal recaptured Caerleon in 1217 (which had been captured by Morgan ab Owain around 1136: see Chapter 8).

The Anglo-Norman Marcher lords assumed the extensive rights previously enjoyed by the Welsh princes, and enjoyed a great deal of autonomy, only owing allegiance and homage to the king, whom they were bound to support in times of war, and being exempt from royal taxation. They also had the right to create boroughs, forests and markets without royal permission (rights usually reserved for the Crown) and hold their own courts, governed by local custom, not English law. The Anglo-Norman lordships in Wales were also (usually) compact and discrete territories, in contrast to the intermixed aristocratic estates of lowland England, meaning that Marcher lordships (and their associated castles) often acted as important sources of revenue and independent power bases for ambitious aristocratic families (e.g. De Clares, Marshals, Mortimers etc). Royal power in the Welsh Marches was nominally limited to when the king held lordships in demesne (for instance when lordships were forfeited for treason or briefly on the death of a lord, before it was passed on to his heir, a situation which could be extended if the heir was underage) (Courtney 2008).

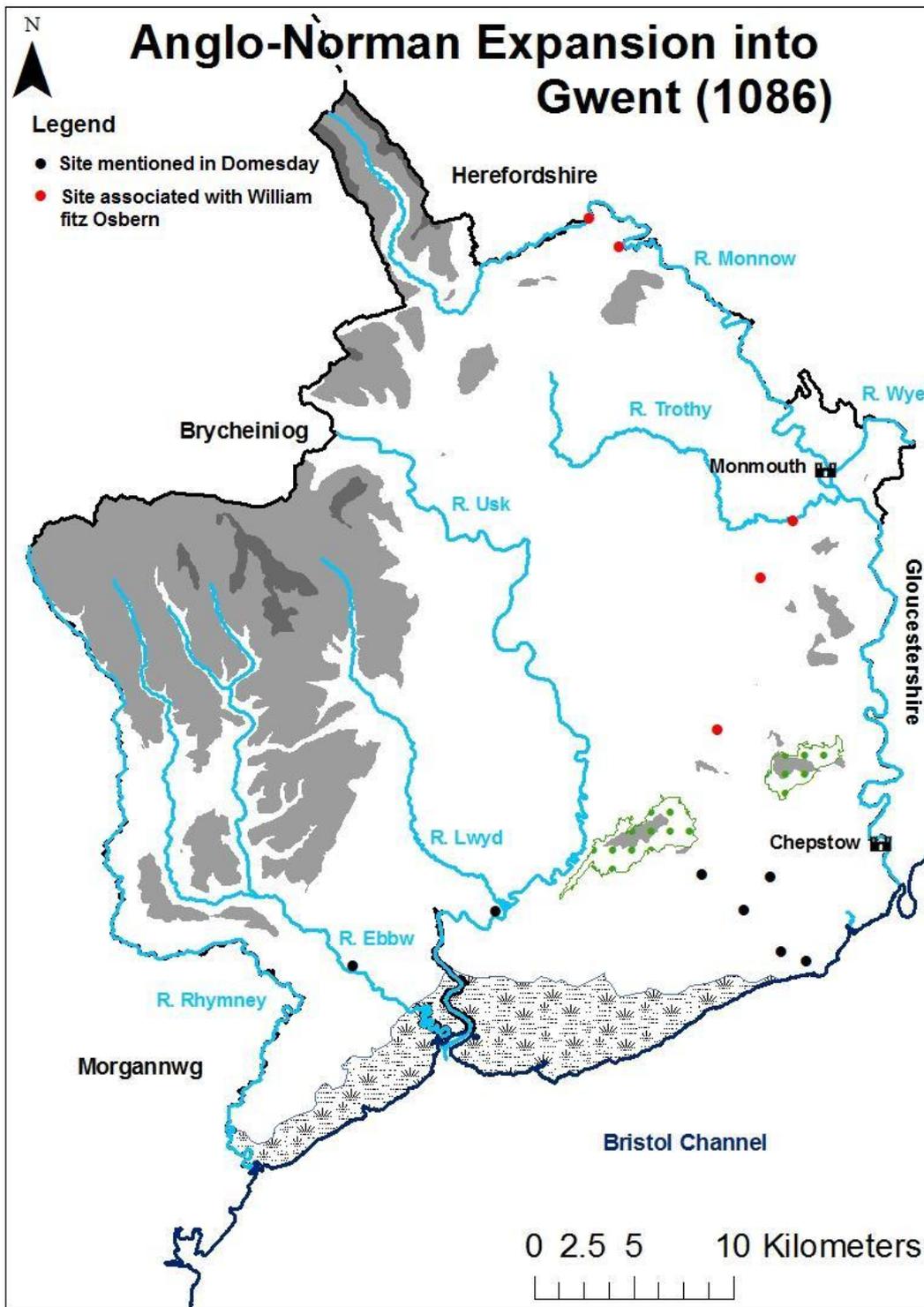


Fig.2.7. Map of sites in Monmouthshire mentioned in Domesday and other locations associated with William fitz Osbern.

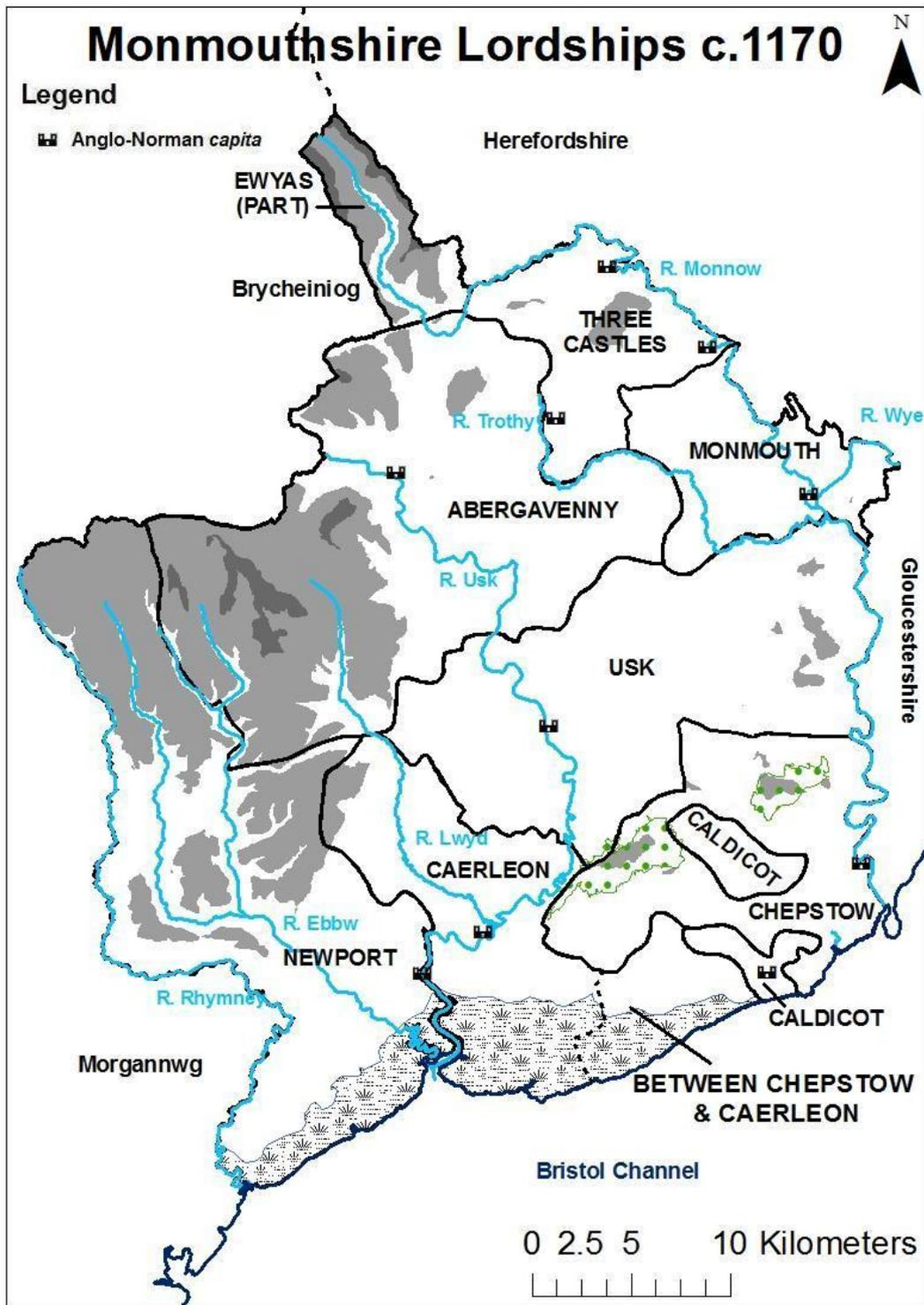


Fig.2.8. The Anglo-Norman lordship divisions within the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire (c.1170). The parishes in the area marked as 'between Chepstow & Caerleon' are recorded at various times as being in both the Lordship of Caerleon and the Lordship of Chepstow.

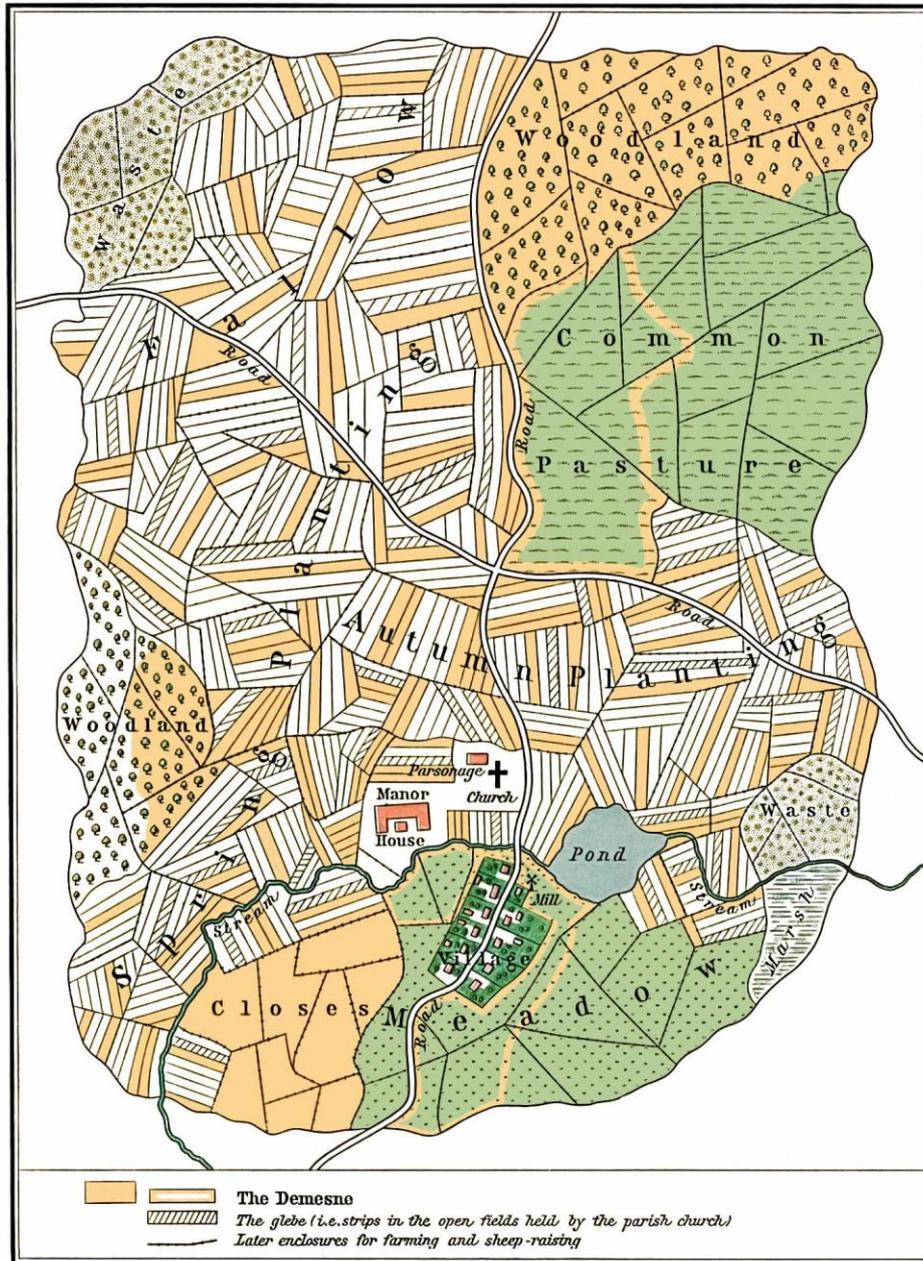


Fig.2.9. Theoretical example of a stereotypical medieval parish of the type associated with the Anglo-Norman manorial system in England's 'Central Province' (Shepherd 1923).

The centre of an Anglo-Norman lordship was known as a *caput*, usually the site of a major castle (e.g. Chepstow, Monmouth etc.), a borough and religious foundations (the Anglo-Norman 'trinity'). With the establishment of these Anglo-Norman lordships, the manorial system became important in order to support these lordship centres (for an excellent example, see Cardiff and its manors at Roath and Leckwith: Williams 1975, 61-62). Large-scale open field systems, consisting of multiple 'strips' of land within an area of larger unenclosed field, with associated manorial villages and mills, which are traditionally seen as a method of extracting the maximum agricultural output from the land, whilst still maintaining a large amount of control

over the populace (Fig.2.9.). Within the open field system, some of the strip fields, known as the 'demesne' (derived from the Latin *dominus* -'lord') would have been retained and managed by the lord of the manor, for their own support, and not let to tenants, whilst the 'glebe' refers to those portions of the manor used to support the incumbent priest. Away from these *capita* and Anglo-Norman manors, the Welsh population largely continued to farm the land in their traditional manner (usually in the more upland areas of the lordships), despite now paying political homage to their Anglo-Norman lords (Williams 1975 62). This produced a divide in the landscape, and therefore certain areas became known as either 'Englishries' or 'Welshries', according to the differences in the levels of Anglo-Norman economic and political control present, which was usually echoed in the landscape (Williams 1975, 58-59).

Post- medieval administrative history

The detailed histories of the individual Marcher lordships of Monmouthshire beyond the end of the eleventh century will be outlined in the relevant case study chapters (see Chapters 5-9). These Anglo-Norman Marcher lordships remained the basic units of administration in Gwent until Henry VIII passed the Laws in Wales Act 1535, which abolished the Marcher lordships and established the county of Monmouthshire (Fig.2.1.). Confusion to Monmouthshire's status as either an English or Welsh county can be traced to the two Acts of Union (1536 & 1543), where the English shire system was extended into Wales, and with it came the associated administrative system. This move replaced the customs of the March with English laws and parliamentary representation, and the 'Court of Great Sessions' established by this act divided England and Wales into four judicial circuits. For practical purposes, the act separated Monmouthshire from the other twelve counties of Wales, placing it within an English circuit (Morgan 2005, 7). This has led the county of Monmouthshire to suffer something akin to an 'identity crisis', being in somewhat of a legal limbo between England and Wales until the Local Government Act 1972 came into force in 1974, making Monmouthshire part of the newly formed local authority of Gwent, and finally, without doubt, a part of Wales (Morgan 2005, 7). Despite the confusion over its legal status, there is evidence that, until the 1700s, Monmouthshire was largely a Welsh speaking area, with English speakers (judging by place-name and personal-name evidence) largely confined to border areas, such as Chepstow and Monmouth (Morgan 2005, 8). Under the Local Government (Wales) Act 1994, 'Gwent' was abolished and broken up into a number of administrative areas, and from this the modern, much truncated, county of Monmouthshire emerged. It is important to reiterate at this stage that when discussing 'Monmouthshire', this thesis is referring to the historic (pre-1970s) county of Monmouthshire, and not the modern, much smaller, county.

2.4. Summary

Now that the background for this study has been outlined, providing the necessary geographic and historical framework upon which to build the rest of the thesis, the next stage is to undertake the county-wide study of the influence of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape. This next chapter will outline the methodology employed to collect the relevant data, present the data and then discuss the findings in order to produce a basic model of landscape influence, prior to the undertaking of the more in-depth individual lordship case studies.

3. County-Wide Study

3.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to examine the landscape of Monmouthshire on the macro level, looking for broad patterns in the historic environment, before an investigation on the micro level, exploring the landscapes of the individual lordships which eventually formed the historic county of Monmouthshire. Therefore, the first aim of this chapter is to detail the methodology employed to both gather the relevant data for the study and to present it in a form that is easy to both understand and analyse. The secondary purpose of this chapter is to then present the findings as a series of GIS maps outlining the various facets of the historic landscape of the region, in order to allow for analysis of the broad patterns present in the county. The final aim of this chapter is to provide this analysis, as well as a discussion of these results and interpretation of their significance, in order to provide the basis for the later, more detailed individual case studies of the various lordships.

3.2. Methodology

The use of a computer based GIS (geographic information system) programme (GIS being a system designed for the storage, analysis and presentation of geographic data, in this case ArcGIS by Esri) was integral to this thesis due to the ability of the software to handle large amounts of geo-spatial data quickly and accurately. Furthermore GIS allowed the layering of data on top of other elements (and other data sets) in order to provide comparison and analysis of how various features of the historic landscape are changed and moulded by the influence of other features. The first stage of this study was to create a basic poly-line shape-file of the outline of the historic county of Monmouthshire as well as a further shape-file made up of polygons representing the individual parishes. As a basis for this modern Ordnance Survey mapping, data was combined with Roger Kain and Richard Oliver's study of the historic parishes of England and Wales, which was originally published as an 'adobe publisher' file (Kain & Oliver 2001) and consisted of a number of individual lines making up the constituent historic parishes. Use of this source in its original format would have meant a large amount of time would have been taken up in redrawing the data on ArcMap in order to create a manageable shape-file consisting of individual polygons for each parish. However, Kain and Oliver's data is now available as a GIS shape file made up of individual polygon shape-files for each parish. These polygon shape-files were much easier to use within the GIS program as they could be easily manipulated and re-coloured by joining the shape-file with relevant data in spreadsheet form. It was then possible to create a simple outline poly-line shape-file around the outside of Kain and Oliver's parish polygons for use as a county border outline, for use with those data sets where the parish outlines were not relevant.

Obviously reasons must be provided as to why particular elements of the historic landscape were chosen for study. As has already been mentioned castles are the most obvious symbol of the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship upon Wales, but there are other important elements of the historic landscape that can give a useful indication of the degree to which Anglo-Norman lordship influenced the Welsh countryside:

- **'Seigneurial' landscape**

One of the most obvious physical symbols of the power of the Anglo-Norman lords is the 'seigneurial' landscape associated with lordly sites. This phrase is used to describe symbols of lordship and power within the landscape, such as dovecotes, fishponds, rabbit warrens and deer parks. These features were indicators of the power of the local lord, as well as a symbol of the Conquest, both by showing their ability to manipulate the landscape in order to show off the status, power and prestige of the lord and by providing high status foodstuffs for their tables (such as rabbit, venison, fish, dove etc) (for a fuller discussion of this topic see Creighton 2009).

- **Urbanism and markets**

Whilst it is traditionally held that there is little evidence for early medieval urbanism in Wales as a whole and Monmouthshire in particular (Jones 1984, 87-88; Arnold & Davies 2000, 155), there were, of course, some major Roman towns within the boundaries of Monmouthshire, usually associated with military installations, such as Abergavenny (*Gobannium*), Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*), Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), Monmouth (*Blestium*) and Usk (*Burrium*) and there is some evidence that occupation continued on these sites into the early medieval period (e.g. Edwards & Lane 1988) and this continuity of settlement is most noticeable in south-east Wales (Soulsby 1983, 2). We can be certain that there was no return to pre-Roman settlement pattern (Jones 1984, 87) and that by the mid twelfth century Wales had seen a remarkable rise in its level of urban settlement (Beresford 1967, 343; 346). Therefore, one of the issues which shall be investigated is whether medieval urbanism in Monmouthshire can be seen as a symbol of Anglo-Norman conquest. Gerald of Wales was certainly of the opinion that urban settlements were a foreign imposition and not a feature of the native Welsh who:

“...do not live in towns, villages or castles, but lead a solitary existence, deep in the woods.” (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, 251).

Furthermore, it can be seen that the introduction of towns was a key factor in the introduction of the manorial system in Wales and it can be argued that Anglo-Norman aristocrats and Marcher lords played an important role in nurturing town development as these magnates founded towns as part of their manorial landscapes. Previous studies have investigated the relationship between the 'feudal' lordships and the urban market economy in the Welsh Marches (Courtney 2007),

however, many of these smaller Marcher towns failed due to lack of economic links and possibly due to the threat of attack (Astill 2009). This study also intends to investigate the level of urban fortification present within Monmouthshire. In the medieval period town walls were not just for defence, although in Wales there are a far higher proportion of boroughs enclosed by defences presumably due to the volatile nature of the March (Creighton & Higham 2005, 217), but were also symbols of the power of not just the seigneurial lord who owned the land, but also of the burgesses who lived within its walls.

- **Post-Conquest monasticism & Ecclesiastical Landscape**

There is no doubt that there is an important link between the monastic landscape of the period and medieval lordship and the endowment and support of monasteries was seen as a lordly duty (Bond 2004, 25). Not only was making monetary contributions to a monastery an important act of Christian piety for a medieval lord, but it was also an effective way of displaying temporal and spiritual power. There was also a political element to it with rival factions of this period supporting different orders (for example, during the Anarchy Stephen founded multiple Savignac houses whilst the Cistercians were supported by Matilda). Whilst the plantation of monastic orders may have also been viewed by the Crown as an effective tool in the colonisation of Wales, earlier foundations of the Benedictine order were limited to the Welsh borderlands, whilst the later Cistercians found favour with the native Welsh princes and made much deeper inroads into the heartland of the country (Bond 2004, 25-26).

There is certainly plenty of evidence for pre-Conquest monasticism within this region (for examples see William Rees' historical atlas of Wales which has a couple of map-based studies into early Welsh monastic foundations (Rees 1959)) and there is a large amount of documentary reference in the native Welsh Laws to a particular Welsh form of small ecclesiastical community, which was referred to as a *clas* (*clasau*) (Evans 1992). The study of the transition of Welsh monasticism from these early medieval *clasau* into the later continental-style medieval monastic orders may be taken as further evidence for the influence exerted by Anglo-Norman lords upon the landscape of medieval Wales. However, this was not a simple transition and studies have shown there were marked regional differences (Evans 2009). It must also be noted that monasteries were also important landowners in their own right and key agents in landscape change and land improvement in this period. An excellent example of this is the Cistercian drive for self sufficiency:

“...settle the Cistercians in some barren retreat which is hidden away in an overgrown forest; a year or two later you will find splendid churches there and fine monastic buildings, with a great amount of property and all the wealth you can imagine” (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, 106).

The idea of monasteries facilitating landscape change in previously uncultivated land has been covered by modern academic studies (e.g. Rippon 2004b; 2009) and the ability of monasteries to make their land endowments as productive as possible was an important feature as, for the most part, they were intended to be largely self-sufficient (Bond 2004, 12). This industriousness is demonstrated at the abbey at Tintern, where the Cistercians cleared much of the parish of Newchurch and were involved in assarting right up to the fifteenth century (Aston 2000, 134-135). Interestingly, Gerald of Wales says the exact opposite about the Cluniac order, telling us that if you gave them a rich landscape filled with wonderful buildings, within a few years it would all be ruined (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, 106)

Another reason why an investigation into the monastic landscape of Monmouthshire will be an important feature of this study is that the county has the densest distribution of medieval monasticism in the whole of Wales (Table 3.1.).

Table 3.1. A study of the density of post-Conquest monastic sites situated within each of the thirteen historic counties. There are 51 sites in Wales and, as this table demonstrates, Monmouthshire has by far the highest density (Source: Monastic Wales).

Historic County	Area (km ²)	Monastic Sites	Density
Monmouthshire	1312.4	13	1/100.95 km ²
Caernarfonshire	1498.44	6	1/249.74 km ²
Pembrokeshire	1590	5	1/318 km ²
Anglesey	714	2	1/357 km ²
Carmarthenshire	2395	6	1/399.17 km ²
Glamorgan	2215.63	5	1/443.126 km ²
Cardiganshire	1795	4	1/448.75 km ²
Radnorshire	1101.26	2	1/550.63 km ²
Flintshire	748.28	1	1/748.28 km ²
Denbighshire	1562.3	2	1/781.15 km ²
Montgomeryshire	1955.94	2	1/977.97 km ²
Merionethshire	1559.22	1	1/1559.22 km ²
Brecknockshire	1862.19	1	1/1862.19 km ²

What this research shows is that Monmouthshire is the most important Welsh county in terms of monastic activity. There are fifty-one medieval monastic foundations in total within the boundaries of modern Wales, and thirteen of them are situated in Monmouthshire (around 25.5% of the total). It must be kept in mind, however, that Monmouthshire is only one out of the thirteen historic counties (7.6 %) but only takes up around 6.3 % of the total land mass of modern Wales. Therefore, it will be an important part of this study to investigate possible reasons for this imbalance and whether this high rate of post-Conquest monastic foundations can be taken as

evidence for the influence of the Anglo-Norman Conquest upon the historic landscape of Monmouthshire.

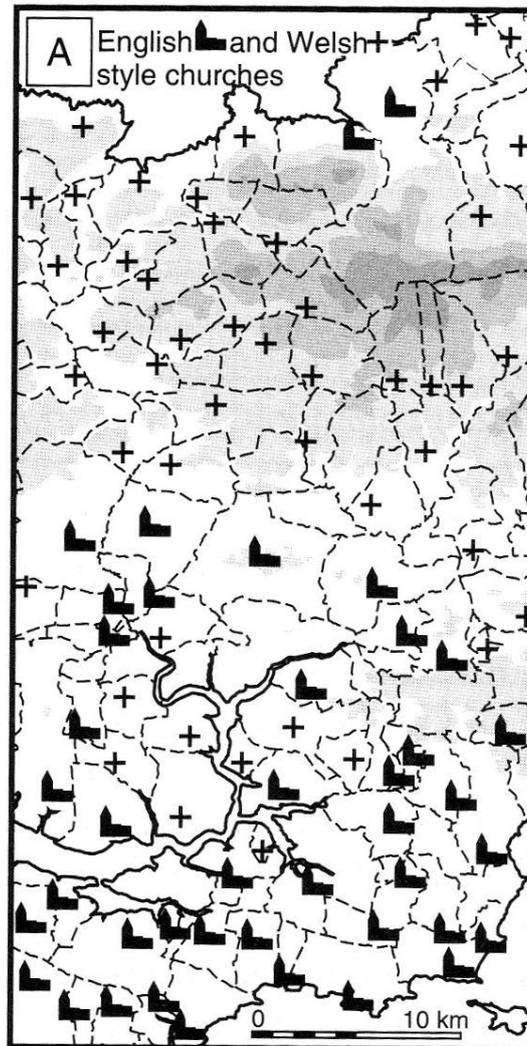


Fig.3.1. Stephen Rippon's study of church architecture in Pembrokeshire. Note the concentration of 'Welsh' style bellcote churches in the north of the county and 'English' style churches with masonry towers in the south (Rippon 2008, 244, Fig.6.19).

Because parish churches were also an important facet in the medieval ecclesiastical landscape, it was decided to include a study of the architecture and dedications of the churches of Monmouthshire. The saint to whom a church is dedicated can indicate the cultural, linguistic or political leaning of the lord or grandee funding its construction, or the ethnic make-up of the congregation. A study of church architecture was employed by Stephen Rippon in his study of Pembrokeshire in *Beyond the Medieval Village* (Rippon 2008, 227-248) where it was shown that in the northern, Welsh-speaking, part of the county smaller churches with bell-cotes and bell-gables were more prevalent. Conversely, Rippon's study showed that in the southern portion of Pembrokeshire, traditionally seen to be more 'English', larger churches with masonry west towers were more common (Fig.3.1.). Therefore, it was hoped that a similar study into the church architecture of Monmouthshire would

either yield comparable results and help prove a similar Anglo-Welsh landscape split to that seen in Pembrokeshire, or show that there was a much more cluttered picture, suggesting a more mixed landscape. As an aside both of these factors give an interesting insight into the development of the town of Monmouth. At Monmouth the construction of the Anglo-Norman motte led to the destruction of the old 'Celtic' church dedicated to St Cadog, and the building of a new church dedicated to St Mary, as well as the moving of the Welsh community across the river to the suburb of Overmonnow (Soulsby 1983, 3). The architecture of the two twelfth century churches in Monmouth is also interesting as the main town church of St Mary, close to the castle, is built in the classic 'English' style with a stone west tower, whilst the smaller church of St Thomas in the 'Welsh' suburb of Overmonnow has a small bellcote.

- **Rural settlement patterns**

As has already been mentioned it is believed that urban settlement was not a native feature of the medieval landscape of Wales, and the same view point can be applied to the rural landscape. The traditional view of native Welsh rural settlement is one of transhumance and 'seasonal' occupation of upland areas, such as the *hafoty* or 'summer house' (Sayce 1956; 1957; Ward 1997) (with more permanent settlement in the lowlands) and this view is echoed in the writings of Gerald of Wales:

"It is not their habit to build great palaces, or vast and towering structures of stone and cement. Instead they content themselves with wattled huts on the edge of the forest, put up with little labour or expense, but strong enough to last a year or so" (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, 251-252).

Furthermore, in 1284, John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, urged Edward I to force the Welsh to live together in villages because their dispersed settlement pattern was seen as a cause of their savageness and rebelliousness (Jones 1985, 155). Obviously this kind of temporary rural settlement would not lend itself to a nucleated pattern and the nucleation of rural settlement in post-Conquest Wales is heavily associated with the imposition of the English manorial system. However, there is some documentary evidence, such as the native Welsh laws, which suggest that there was at least some form settlement nucleation around lordly sites present in *Pura Wallia* (Jones 1985, 155-156). Furthermore, recently there have been a few publications that have suggested a nucleated settlement pattern in Wales was not an entirely Anglo-Norman innovation, such as Jonathan Kisson's (1997) study into the possibility that villages in Pembrokeshire might predate the Anglo-Norman conquest. Despite this, whilst not being covered by their study, Wales is largely seen as having a similar dispersed rural settlement pattern to that present in the 'Northern and Western Province' in Robert and Wrathmell's influential studies (Roberts & Wrathmell 2000; 2002).

- **Landscape management**

As well as the rural settlement pattern, evidence for former open field farming land management systems can also be seen as being associated with the English manorial system. In particular the use of common field strip farming can be taken as evidence due to the way that nucleated villages managed their surrounding farmland in a communal, open field, manner. It must be noted that there is some evidence for native Welsh strip farming, however, for there to have been large scale 'common' fields there has to have been some kind of nucleated settlement which, as has already been mentioned, is not traditionally seen as a Welsh feature. The issue that requires investigation is whether the adoption of these 'Anglo-Norman' trends is a sign that the Conquest was affecting the organisation of Welsh society or can their appearance in Wales be taken as evidence of European wide social trends and fashions that would have reached Wales regardless of the Anglo-Norman Conquest? In the latter case, did the presence of the Anglo-Norman elite in Wales simply accelerate what was probably an inevitable process in the development of land management?

- **Place-names studies**

The reason it was decided to include a toponymic study of Monmouthshire is that place-names constitute useful evidence for the landscape archaeologist, both in terms of a dating tool and evidence of the linguistic origins of the peoples responsible for shaping the landscape, as well as the cultural changes which took place after migration (Rackham 1986, 8; Rippon 2004a, 52 – also see Fig.3.2.). For this part of the study there was an investigation of 'the language of lordship' and an exploration of who was responsible for designating the place-names that are present within the landscape. W.G. Hoskins stated that Anglo-Saxon charters recorded the changing of a place's name from its 'Celtic' original to a newer toponym of 'English' origin after settlement by the Anglo-Saxons (Hoskins 1955, 33) and therefore similar evidence for this study area could point to a comparable process in Monmouthshire. It has already been mentioned that until the eighteenth century the majority of the population of Monmouthshire was Welsh-speaking (Morgan 2005, 8), although, apart from a few surviving Welsh lords, most of the post-Conquest noble families within the region were of Anglo-Norman origin and would have spoken Norman French or, gradually towards the end of the period, English. Furthermore, if these Anglo-Norman lords fostered large scale English plantation into their boroughs and the surrounding countryside then these people would have probably spoken either French or English. Therefore it would be useful to see the extent to which the county's medieval place-names were influenced by the Conquest and whether the majority of the pre-1300 place-names present were of Anglo-Norman or Welsh origin. If they are largely Welsh this can be viewed as evidence pointing towards the influence of the native populace in the formation of the landscape, providing a 'bottom-up' force for change (or resistance). However, a widespread proliferation of

Anglo-Norman place-names would suggest more of a ‘top-down’ approach where the lords affect the landscape more than the populace.

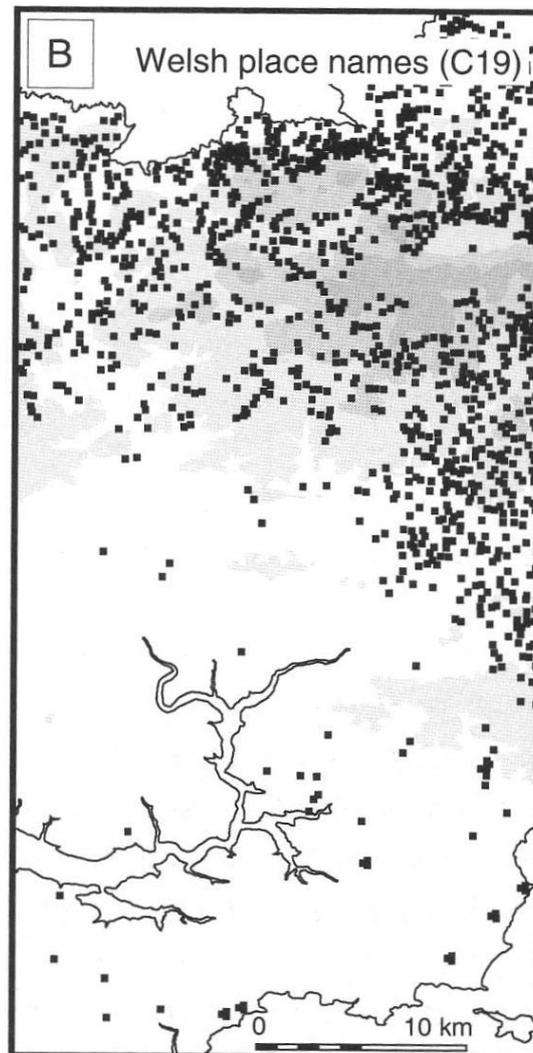


Fig.3.2. Stephen Rippon’s study of Pembrokeshire place-names of Welsh origin. Note the concentration of Welsh place-names in the north of the county, and the scarcity of them in the south (Rippon 2008, 235, Fig.6.15).

3.2.1. Physical Geography of Monmouthshire

The first data created for this thesis was a GIS model of the physical geography of Monmouthshire, comprising a representation of the topography of the county, of the region’s major rivers, of the coastline and important geographic features (such as the Gwent Levels and Wentwood). Despite it being originally planned to digitise and geo-reference a pre-existing study of the region’s physical geography, it was soon found that this was not practical and I switched to creating my own model based on modern Ordnance Survey data. After downloading the relevant modern map tiles from EDINA Digimap they were uploaded onto the GIS programme and geo-referenced polygon shape-files were created to represent the areas of

Monmouthshire over 250 and 500m above sea-level. This was achieved by building up the polygons via a number of vertexes following the 250 and 500 meter contour lines on the Ordnance Survey map. After this, geo-referenced polyline shape-file representations of the major rivers of the county, as well as a polyline transcription of the coastline and polygon depictions of the Gwent Levels and Wentwood, were created (see Fig.3.8.; previously used in Chapter 2).

3.2.2. Castles and Lordship Sites

The main sources used to create the GIS model of castles in Monmouthshire were the gazetteers of David Cathcart King (1988), Adrian Pettifer (2000) and Neil Phillips (2006) as well as the Coflein online database of the National Monuments Record of Wales (NMRW), maintained by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) (Coflein). From a study of these various sources a database was created of all the castle sites in Monmouthshire using Excel. On the spreadsheet a number of important categories of information were included for each site, including the name, the grid reference (as close to a twelve-figure reference as possible in order to facilitate an easier transition on my GIS model), the date of foundation (if known), the type of castle (masonry or timber) and ethnic origin (Welsh or Anglo-Norman). This last category provided a degree of difficulty as, although most sites are thought to be Anglo-Norman in origin, there is actually very little documentary evidence for many of the smaller castle sites in Monmouthshire and the presence of high status Welsh lordly sites at locations such as Machen and Castell Arnallt shows that 'castle' construction was not solely an Anglo-Norman activity. There were also some problems relating to a number of 'castle' sites that seem to defy classification or cause disagreement in the academic community, Cathcart King's so called 'problem sites'. These were uncertain, or disappeared examples of castles, as well as other possible sites which have been confused as medieval castles (e.g. post medieval high status sites or prehistoric earthworks that are similar to earth and timber castles). As even the RCAHMW seem unsure of how to classify some of these sites on the NMRW it was decided only to include sites which have some degree of certainty as to their validity as medieval castles.

Once the data had been collected, the next job was to convert the grid references into a form usable on ArcMap by turning the OS Reference into a six-figure reference. For example a site might have the OS reference 'ST 47857 93556', and the Ordnance Survey National Grid reference (ST) would have to be converted into numbers giving us a final grid reference of '347857 193556'. Once all of the grid references had been converted into a usable twelve-figure form the spread sheet was imported into ArcMap and the six-figure eastings and northings were assigned as the X and Y data which allowed it to be projected on top of the topographic data layer as a point shape-file. By using the 'categories' function in the 'symbolology' section of the 'properties' menu it was possible to colour the various points in the

shape-file according to the various columns of data which had been entered into the original spreadsheet. This meant that, for example, it was possible to show the distribution of masonry castles in Monmouthshire, and their relationship with the topography of the county, as opposed to the distribution of those sites constructed from earth and timber.

3.2.3. Seigneurial Landscape

The aim of this part of the county-wide study was to examine the distribution of elements of the seigneurial landscape (deer parks, fishponds, rabbit warrens, dovecotes etc.) and their relationship with lordly sites in Monmouthshire. The primary sources used for the study of the post-Conquest seigneurial landscape of Monmouthshire were the relevant online Historic Environment Record (HER) databases, such as Coflein and Archwilio, which combines the Historic Environment Records of the four Welsh archaeological trusts (Coflein; Archwilio). This research was supplemented by relevant secondary sources such as Oliver Creighton's *Designs Upon The Land* (Creighton 2009), as well as various sources specifically focused on individual elements of the seigneurial landscape, such as Leonard Cantor's gazetteer of medieval parks (Cantor 1983) and Tom Williamson's study of rabbit warrens (Williamson 2007).

During the research period, the sites that were identified as relevant were entered onto an Excel spreadsheet and before being divided into separate spreadsheets focused on the various separate elements of the seigneurial landscape: parks, dovecotes, fishponds and rabbit warrens. On each of the seigneurial lands spreadsheets a number of important categories of information were included for each site, including the name of the site, its grid reference (as close to a twelve-figure reference as possible in order to facilitate an easier transition onto the GIS model) and its date of construction (if known). One of the problems encountered was the thoroughness of the recording of these features on the HER, as many of the entries were rather vague and some had rather inaccurate four figure grid-references. Once data collection was finished, the next stage was the conversion of the grid references into a form usable on ArcMap by turning the OS Reference into a six-figure reference, as was mentioned in the previous section (3.2.3), and then importing the spreadsheet into ArcMap and assigning the X and Y designation to the six-figure eastings and northings in order to project the data on top of the topographic data layer as a point shape-file.

3.2.4. Boroughs, Markets and Urbanism

A brief study of pre-Conquest urban settlements in Monmouthshire was undertaken, based on Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane's gazetteer of early medieval settlements in

Wales (Edwards & Lane 1988) and studies of the Roman and post-Roman impact upon the area (e.g. Brewer 2004; Howell 2004; Longley 2004) backed up by case studies, where available, of sites such as Monmouth, Usk and Abergavenny (e.g. Marvell 2001). The findings from this research were entered onto an Excel spreadsheet with categories for the name of the site, the easting, the northing and the type or period of the site. The main sources for the next spreadsheet, a study of the development of post Conquest urbanism in Monmouthshire, were: first, an online list of the documented markets and fairs of the period ('Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516' (Keene & Letters 2004)) and second, studies of the medieval boroughs and urban settlements of Wales, such as those by Maurice Beresford and Ian Soulsby (Beresford 1967; Soulsby 1983). There were some problems relating to the varying degrees of urban settlements and the complex legal definitions of what constituted a town in the medieval period. Some settlements were granted charters but never really grew (these sites can be seen as being failed medieval "towns", such as Goldcliff and Henllys). Furthermore, whilst some sites were never granted official 'borough' status they do show some evidence of becoming similar to urban settlements, for example, the possible burgage plots at Caldicot. Finally, some small rural settlements hosted 'markets' but never attained the status of towns or showed any outward signs of urbanisation. Once it had been determined which sites to include in the study, all these sites were imported onto an Excel spreadsheet after the location of the settlement had been found and their grid references researched. On each of the towns and boroughs spreadsheet key information for each site was recorded, such the name of the site, its grid reference (as close to a twelve-figure reference as possible in order to facilitate an easier transition onto the GIS model) and its date of foundation or attainment of borough status (if known). It was also recorded whether the borough was walled at any point, based upon David Cathcart King's study in *Castellarium Anglicanum* (King 1983a; 1983b) and Oliver Creighton and Robert Higham's gazetteer in *Medieval Town Walls* (Creighton & Higham 2005).

Largely this part of the study was without any major problems or difficulties, mainly due to the fact that it mostly consisted of feeding data taken from existing studies and digitising it onto a spreadsheet. The only difficulty was the variety of sources required to compile the pre-Conquest settlement spreadsheet (Fig.3.15.). Once the data was recorded, as with the previous studies, the next stage was the conversion of the grid references into a form usable on ArcMap by turning the OS Reference into a six-figure reference and then importing the spreadsheet into ArcMap and designating the six-figure eastings and northings as the X and Y data in order to project the data on top of the topographic data layer as a point shape-file. First a basic map detailing the distribution of boroughs was produced (Fig.3.16.) coloured to show the date of foundation. This was then followed with a study representing which boroughs possessed town walls and which did not (Fig.3.17.).

3.2.5. Post-Conquest Monastic Landscape

The main published sources for this part of the study were F.G. Cowley's study of post-Conquest monasticism in south Wales (Cowley 1977) and Knowles and Hadcock's gazetteer of monastic sites in England and Wales (Knowles & Hadcock 1971). The research gathered from these sources was supplemented by data from the online database *The Monastic Wales Project (Monastic Wales)* as well as information from the HER (Archwilio; Coflein). These online sources were particularly useful as they gave accurate grid references which would be invaluable for eventually plotting the monastic sites on the final GIS model. These sites were then imported into an Excel spreadsheet which included a section to record other important information such as date of foundation, the benefactor who founded the monastery, the mother house (if any) and the type of monastic order that was resident at the site. The last two categories were particularly important as there were many different types of monasticism present in post-Conquest Monmouthshire, including the Benedictine, Cluniac, and Cistercian orders. In fact, there was even a Benedictine nunnery in Usk. The mother house was also important as it shows us which of these foundations were founded from scratch and which were imports from both England and the continent. Once this spreadsheet was completed it was imported into a GIS model and the grid references were turned into X and Y data to allow it to be projected as a point shape-file on top of the topographic data. Because the monastic order responsible for the foundation of each of the sites had been recorded it was possible to re-colour the shape-file to represent the distribution of the different orders around Monmouthshire. There were no real problems with this study as the monastic sites in Monmouthshire are all fairly well studied and recorded on the HER and the other sources.

3.2.6. Ecclesiastical Landscape

The study of the ecclesiastical landscape of Monmouthshire focused on two main facets. Firstly, a survey of the origins of the saints associated with the parish churches in Monmouthshire was undertaken, intending to ascertain whether they were originally from Wales or from elsewhere. The second part of this study was a study of the church architecture in Monmouthshire, attempting to categorise the different typologies of church design and ascertain whether there are any patterns that may emerge. In order to examine the architecture of the churches of Monmouthshire, one of the key sources used for this study was the Gwent/Monmouthshire edition of Pevsner's Buildings of Wales series (Newman 2000). However, because the boundaries of the old historic counties of Wales have been rather fluid in the past some of the sites included in the study were recorded in the Pevsner's guide to Glamorgan (Newman 1995). With the help of technical guides to church archaeology (Cocke *et al.* 1996; Parsons 1998), as well as personal visits to the sites, an Excel spreadsheet was created which recorded the name of the

church, its grid reference, its patron saint and its architectural design. The online HER database was used in order to locate the exact grid reference for each church (Archwilio; Coflein), which made it possible to plot each site accurately on the GIS model. On the final spreadsheet, after entering the exact definition of each church site, both the architecture and saint typologies were converted into less specific categories in a separate column, which facilitated the preservation of the original data. Once this spreadsheet was completed, as with the other studies that make up this thesis, it was imported into the GIS model and the grid references were turned into X and Y data, which allowed it to be projected as a point shape-file on top of the topographic data. Because the origin of the patron saint and the type of architecture present had been recorded it was possible to re-colour the shape-file in order to produce two different maps representing the distribution of church architecture types (Figs. 3.19. & 3.20.) and saint dedications (Figs. 3.21. & 3.22.) around Monmouthshire. In terms of problems faced with this portion of the study the main difficulty that was faced involved trying to determine which churches had proper medieval provenance and which ones had been irredeemably altered by the Victorians. There were also problems investigating some churches which have either been demolished or converted into other uses. In those instances architectural guidebooks (for instance, Newman 2000) were employed and those churches which were not relevant to this thesis were discounted.

3.2.7. Rural Settlement Pattern

It was originally envisaged that the survey of the rural settlement pattern would be done entirely digitally via ArcGIS using map tiles of the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map geo-referenced to the British National Grid downloaded from Edina Digimap. This original plan involved loading the relevant tiles for each parish onto ArcMap and overlaying them with the shape-file representing Kain and Oliver's study of the historic parishes of England and Wales before surveying them to ascertain the extent of the nucleation present. However, it rapidly became apparent that this solely digital technique would take far too long because, although the theory behind the use of GIS for this part of the study was sound, my fairly basic laptop struggled to cope with the large amounts of data it was required to manage in this project and the data collection process started to become rather slow and cumbersome as a long time was wasted waiting for data to load. As well as the technological issues involved, it was also found that sometimes working from a hard copy non-digital source is more useful than modern computerised data. This is because often, in order to obtain clarity of resolution, it was necessary to zoom into the mapping data to such an extent that it was difficult to view the landscape in a wide enough scale to be able to draw any definite conclusions. These problems were further compounded by the limitations of the size of a computer screen, which does not allow you to view a wide enough panorama of the landscape to undertake this kind of research effectively. These issues will probably be dealt with in the future and university researchers

might all have access to large, quick running, tabletop touch-screen systems, but at the moment this is simply an expensive pipe-dream.

A hard copy set of most of the sheets of the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for Monmouthshire was obtained from the Gwent Archives. Next Kain and Oliver's historic parish boundaries was transcribed onto the map sheets by going around their outlines with a highlighter pen in order to make the later survey of the parishes easier. However, the technique of using the hard copy paper maps was not without its own particular problems. Some parishes were on sheets that were not available from the Gwent Archives, so Digimap had to be employed in order to finish off the data collection. Furthermore, the quality of the copies of some of the sheets was not of the highest quality and was rather blurry and indistinct (for example, the sheet that included Abergavenny). Therefore, in order to be sure that the data collection was accurate it was necessary to revisit Digimap in order to obtain a clearer picture of the landscape of those particular parishes. Using this type of nineteenth century mapping as a 'proxy' in place of accurate medieval or post-medieval maps is a technique that is commonly used in landscape archaeology in the absence of accurate medieval or post-medieval maps (e.g. Roberts & Wrathmell 2000; 2002). In fact, the importance (and accuracy) of nineteenth century mapping in the study of the medieval landscape was noted in 1952, by W.G. Hoskins:

“The great Cambridge historian, Maitland, regarded the Ordnance map of England as one of the finest records we have, if only we could learn how to decipher it, and indeed it is.” (Hoskins 1952, 289).

Once the rural settlement pattern data had been prepared the next stage was to create a typology of the various patterns of rural settlement. The 'interpretation' of labelling the settlements as hamlets, villages and towns, was avoided, bearing in mind that what was considered a town in the medieval period would probably register as little more than a small village in the modern world. Therefore labels of small, medium and large degrees of nucleation (in the context of the Welsh Marches) were selected in order to be objective (see Table 3.2.). Within each of these different labels separate sub-categories were added where there was more than one nucleation present or multiple individual dispersed farmsteads dotted around the parish.

As the hard copy maps were worked through, a technique was employed of placing small flat counters on the map in order to mark each individual farmstead and settlement on the map in order to avoid marking it. This was done not only due to the fact that the maps were rather expensive, but also because it avoided influencing any later judgement by marking the map which would invariably draw the eye during later investigations. Once the counters were all in place it was adjudged into which of the typologies that particular parish fitted, before entering it in spreadsheet and then moving onto the next parish. Once the original survey of the rural settlement pattern

in Monmouthshire had been completed it was important that the hard-copy maps were revisited in order to ‘double-check’ the data, and amend the spreadsheet accordingly, once a fuller picture of the pattern of rural settlement in Monmouthshire had been gathered.

Table 3.2. The main categories within the study of the typology of rural settlement in Monmouthshire. Each category was further subdivided to include multiple nucleations and nucleations with outlying farmsteads.

No Nucleation	No form of settlement nucleation present in the parish at all.
Small Nucleation	Four or less farmsteads/houses nucleated together to form one single nucleation.
Medium Nucleation	Between four and twenty farmsteads/houses nucleated together to form one single nucleation.
Large Nucleation	More than twenty farmsteads/houses nucleated together to form one single nucleation within the parish.

From this study it was possible to create an Excel spreadsheet (Fig.3.3.) on which was recorded the name of each parish, the unique ID number assigned to it in Kain and Oliver’s GIS model, and the type of rural settlement present. By recording each parish’s unique ID number it facilitated the ‘joining’ of the spreadsheet to Kain and Oliver’s GIS model on ArcGIS, which then allowed each parish polygon to be re-coloured according to which of the typology categories it fitted and produce the final map (see Fig.3.23.). This process was not without its own particular problems. It was found that the industrial revolution had had a marked effect upon the settlement pattern of Monmouthshire’s western ‘mineral’ district (see Clarke 1943). Here the mineral wealth of the region led to the creation of a number of large industrial towns and workers’ villages in the west of the county, which has obliterated the antecedent medieval landscape. The coming of the railways to the area (intrinsicly linked to the industrial expansion in South Wales) led to the creation of a number of small settlements around the various stations on the rail-lines that passed through Monmouthshire. Further research would have to be undertaken to determine

whether these are pre-existing settlements joined up by the railway or whether these settlements grew up because of the new transport links (services, commuters etc).

FID	Name	Settlement Pattern	Evidence For Former Open-Field
0	Cwmyoy (Upper Cwmyoy)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
1	Llangua	No Nucleation	No Evidence
2	Cwmyoy (Lower Cwmyoy)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
3	Grosmont	Medium Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
4	Oldcastle	No Nucleation	No Evidence
5	Cwmvoy (Bwlch-Trewern)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
6	Llanvihangel Crucorney (Penbidwal)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
7	Skenfrith	Small Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
8	Llanvihangel Crucorney	Small Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
9	Llangattock Lingoed	Small Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
10	Llantilo Pertholey (Citra Division)	Multiple Small Nucleations with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
11	Llantilio Crossenny	No Nucleation	No Evidence
12	Llanwenarth (Citra)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
13	Rockfield (Detached)	Small Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
14	Abergavenny (Llwyndu Upper)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
15	Grosmont (Detached Upper)	Medium Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
16	Skenfrith (Detached)	Small Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
17	Grosmont (Detached Lower)	Medium Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence
18	St Maughans	No Nucleation	No Evidence
19	Abergavenny (Llwyndu Lower)	No Nucleation	No Evidence
20	Llanvetherine	No Nucleation	No Evidence
21	Llangattock-Vibon-Avel	No Nucleation	No Evidence
22	Llanddewi Skirrid	No Nucleation	No Evidence
23	Dixton Newton (Detached)	Small Nucleation with Outlying Farmsteads	No Evidence

Fig.3.3. Excel screenshot showing an example of the spreadsheet used to record the settlement pattern and open field evidence on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for Monmouthshire.

3.2.8. Evidence for Former Open Field Systems

As with the rural settlement pattern study it had originally been planned to undertake an investigation into the evidence for former open field systems entirely on GIS (making use of geo-referenced first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map tiles from Digimap) but, as has already been discussed, this took too long. Therefore, this part of the study was also undertaken with the use of the hard copy first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps obtained from Gwent Records office. As has been mentioned in the methodology for the study of the rural settlement pattern of Monmouthshire (Section 3.2.8) Kain and Oliver's historic parish boundaries had already been transcribed onto the map sheets with a highlighter pen, which made the survey of the parishes easier. In order to help adjudge the extent of these former open field systems found within the map sheets a simple scale device was created which could be used to measure from the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps. First it was worked out that at the scale of the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps one square mile would be six inches by six inches and would therefore represent 640 square acres. From this it was possible to produce three differing sizes to scale, namely 40 square acres, 160 square acres and 640 square acres that

would represent a small, medium and large area of former open field. These measurements were then traced onto a plastic overhead projector sheet, which would allow the scale device to be laid on top of the hard copy Ordnance Survey maps to be used as a gauge.

Table 3.3. The main categories within the study of the presence of former open field farming systems in each parish of Monmouthshire. Each category was then further subdivided to include the size of the piece of evidence present (large, medium or small).

No former open field system	Absolutely no evidence pointing towards there having been a former open field farming system within the parish (Fig.3.4.)
Possible former open field system	There is some evidence suggesting that there was a former open field farming system within the parish, but there are also some strong doubts caused by the field boundary patterns or the location (Fig.3.5.)
Probable former open field system	There is very strong evidence there may have been a former open field farming system within the parish, but no definite confirmation (Fig.3.6.)
Definite former open field system	There is definite evidence for the presence of a former open field farming system within the parish (Fig.3.7.)

The next stage of this part of the study was the creation of the typology of the differing levels of evidence present within each parish in Monmouthshire for the presence of former open field systems (Table 3.3.). The evidence that was being searched for included reversed s-shaped field boundaries and ‘dog-leg’ field morphology (for a more in-depth discussion see Rippon 2004a, 19-24). Each of the typology categories (apart from ‘no former open field system’) were then broken up into small (less than ¼ of a square mile/160 square acres), medium (between ¼ square mile/160 square acres and 1 square mile/640 square acres) or large (more than 1 square mile/640 square acres) in order to give an indication of the size of the potential former open field system present.

All of the data from this survey was entered onto a newly created spreadsheet (Fig.3.3.) and as with the study of the rural settlement pattern the name of each parish was recorded, as well as the unique ID number assigned to it within the GIS model of Kain and Oliver's GIS study which allowed the spreadsheet to be 'joined' to Kain and Oliver's GIS model on the GIS programme. Recording the typology categories for each parish allowed for the re-colouring of the parish polygons to indicate the level of evidence for an open field present and the production of the final map (see Fig.3.24.).

Once the original survey of the former open field systems of Monmouthshire had been completed it was important that the hard-copy maps were revisited in order to 'double-check' the data, and amend the spreadsheet accordingly, once a fuller picture of the evidence available in Monmouthshire had been obtained. Once the study was complete it was possible to enter the data into an Excel spreadsheet on which was recorded the name of each parish, the unique ID number assigned to it in Kain and Oliver's GIS model, and which of the former open field typology categories it fitted into. Recording the unique ID number of each parish made it possible to 'join' the spreadsheet to Kain and Oliver's GIS model allowing the re-colouring of each parish by typology categories (see Fig.3.24.).

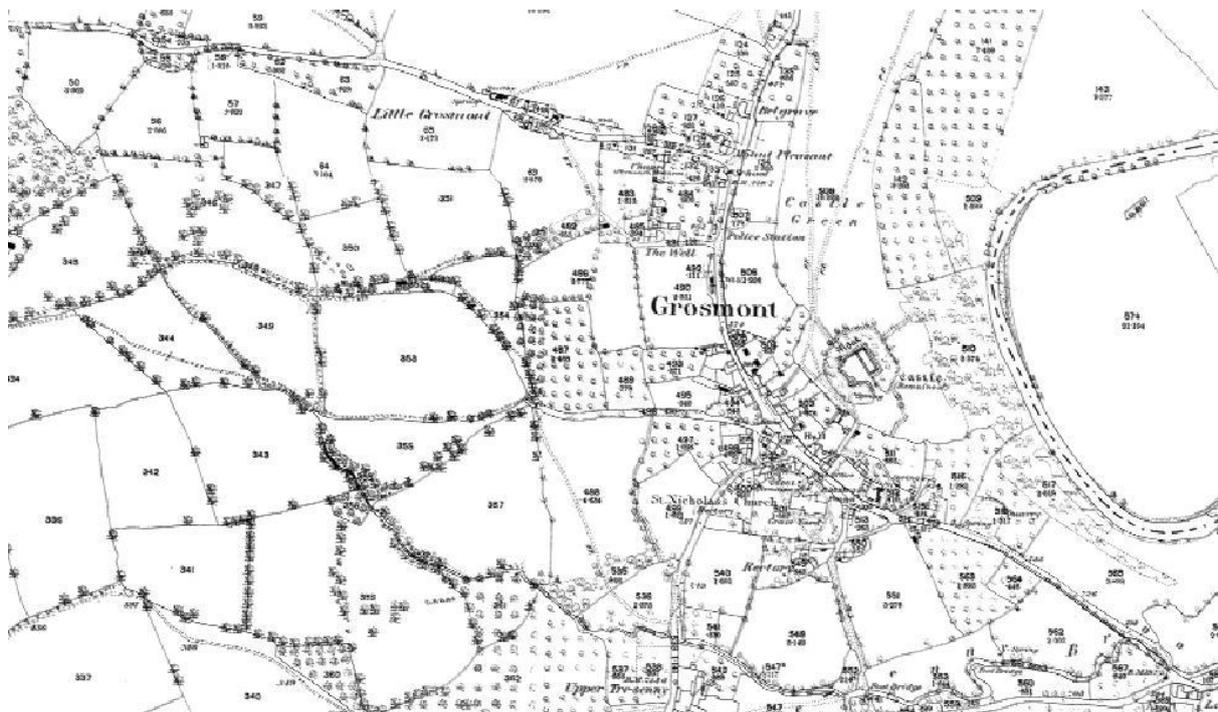


Fig.3.4. An exemplar of a landscape showing no evidence for there having been a former open field system present (Grosmont).

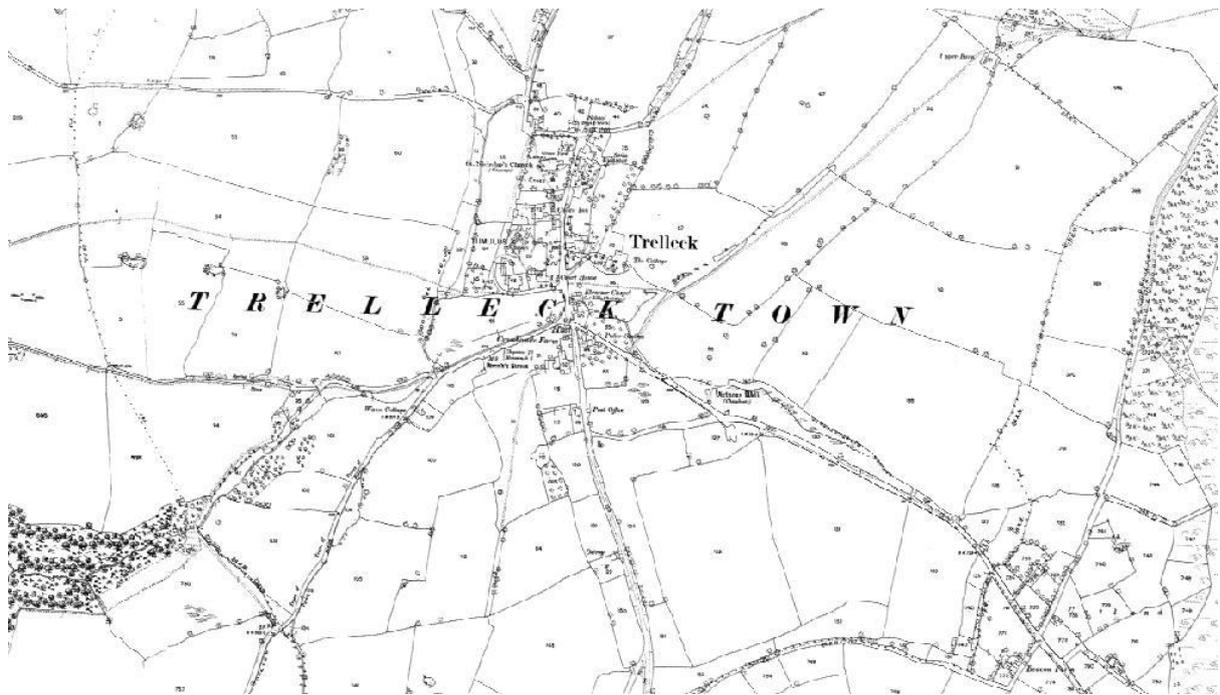


Fig.3.5. An exemplar of a landscape showing possible evidence for there having been a former open field system present (Trellech).

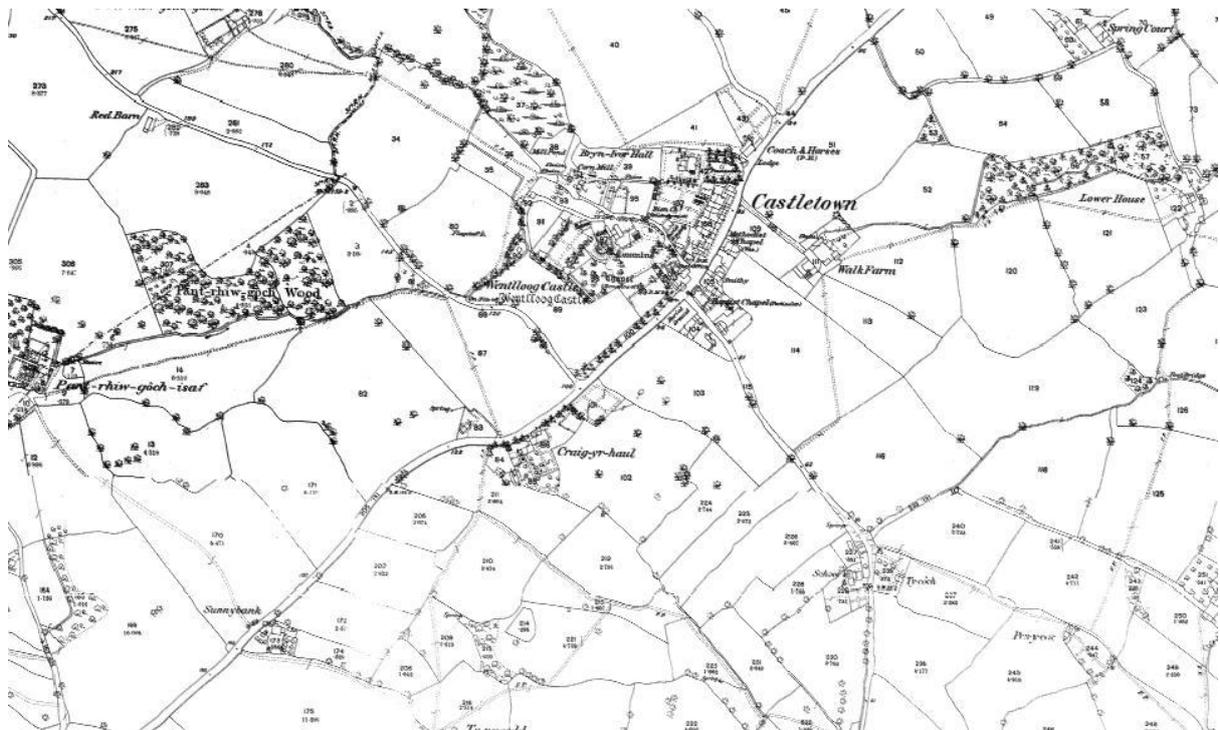


Fig.3.6. An exemplar of a landscape showing probable evidence for there having been a former open field system present (Marshfield).

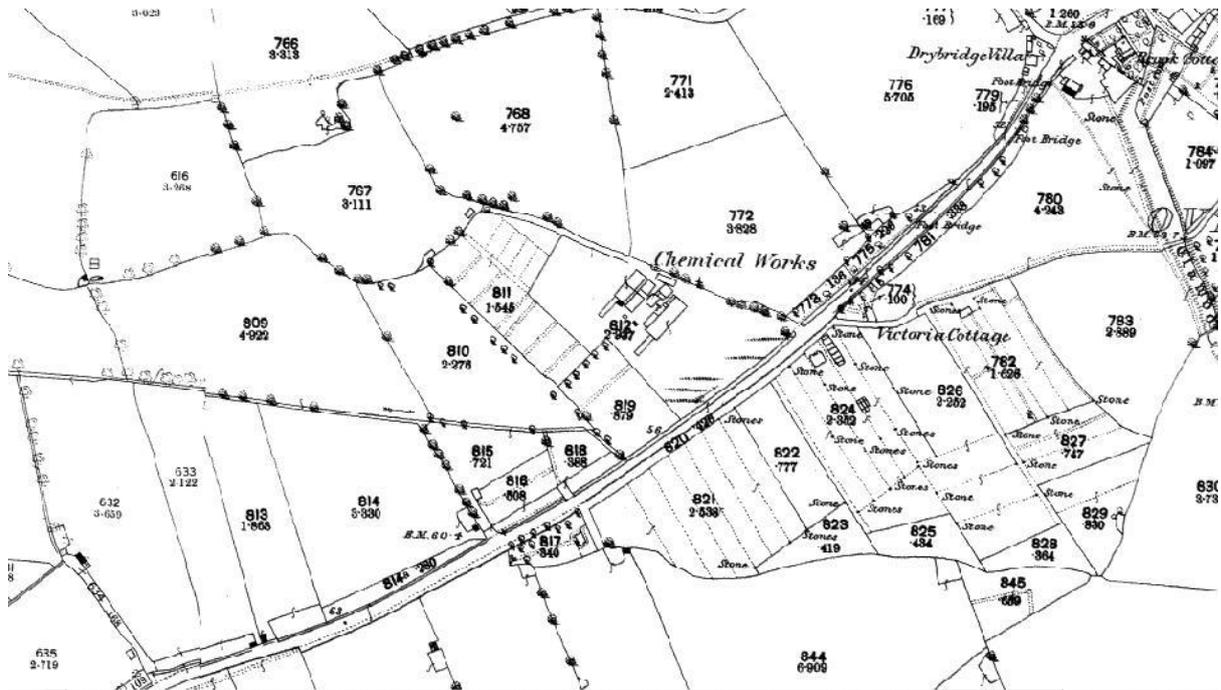


Fig.3.7. An exemplar of a landscape showing definite evidence for there having been a former open field system present (Monmouth).

3.2.9. Place-Names

The main source for the investigation into the origins of the place-names of Monmouthshire was the use of relevant place-name studies (Morgan 2005; Owen & Morgan 2007) to compile a spreadsheet of the recorded pre-1300 place-names. Since both these studies provide dates for the earliest mentions of these place-names in the historic record it was fairly easy to work through them, discounting any place-names which were not mentioned prior to 1300. The linguistic origin of each place-name, as well as a grid reference, were then recorded in separate columns of the spreadsheet. These grid references were then converted into a usable format for a GIS programme and then the spreadsheet was imported into ArcGIS. The data was then layered on top of the previous work on the topography of the county before being projected as a point shape-file by assigning X and Y designations to the eastings and northings recorded on the spreadsheet.

3.3. Analysis of the Historic Landscape

In this section the final GIS models for each part of this study will be presented. Each study will be presented as a map (or a series of maps) accompanied by a brief description and a limited amount of interpretation. More detailed interpretations, including cross-study analysis (where the various layers will be combined) will be undertaken in the discussion section at the end of this chapter, as well as the discussion chapter where the results will be combined with those drawn from the individual case studies of lordships (Chapter 10).

3.3.1. The Physical Geography of Monmouthshire

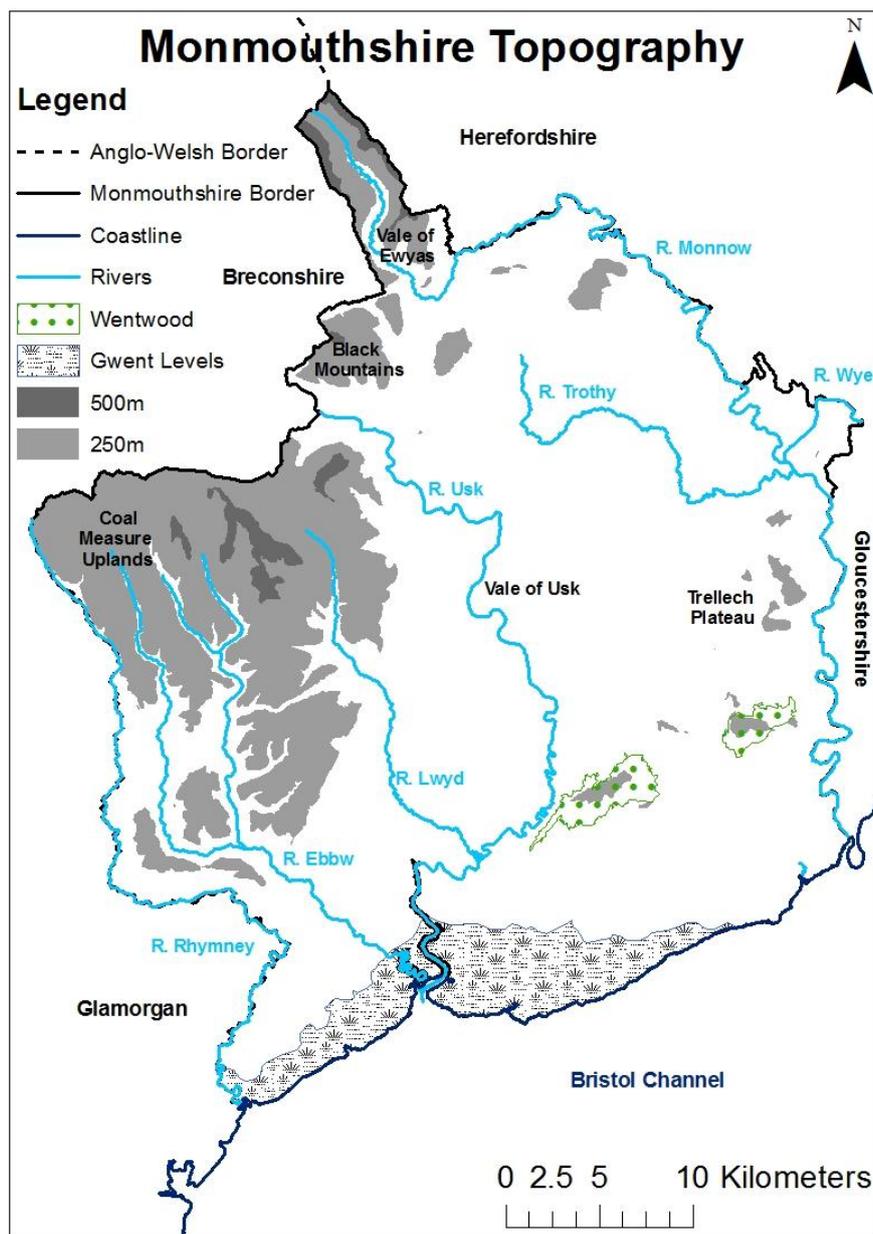


Fig.3.8. The topography of the historic county of Monmouthshire.

This map (Fig.3.8.) shows the great variety that is present in the landscape of Monmouthshire from the eastern to the western reaches of the county. What is clear from this map is that the western and northern reaches of the county are much more rugged in terms of topography (the Black Mountains, the Vale of Ewyas and the Coal Measure Uplands), whilst the eastern and southern portions are much flatter, with the exception of the Wentwood ridge and the Trellech Plateau, ultimately sloping down towards the Gwent Levels. There is also marked difference in terms of water courses between the eastern and western portion of the county. In the east of the county there are larger river valleys (such as the Wye and the Usk), which are quite widely spaced, whilst towards the west there is a greater concentration of smaller rivers such as the Ebbw and the Lwyd.

3.3.2. Castles

Looking at the distribution maps (Figs. 3.9. & 3.10.) one of the most noticeable features of this landscape is that masonry castles dominate across the northern edge of the Gwent Levels to the east of Newport. Outside this area they seem to be mainly situated in the fertile Usk, Trothy, Monnow and Wye river valleys (with the exception of Raglan). Earthwork castles are fairly ubiquitous around most of the county but are the sole sites present in the more upland northern and western reaches of the county. Only three sites, all in the upland western portion of the county, are situated in land above 250m above sea level and of these castles two are of an earth and timber construction, with the other being the small masonry construction at Llanhilleth. Because of this positioning in lowland areas it can be suggested that rather than being built as rugged frontier fortresses, most of these castles seem to have been built as centres of lordship in fertile river valleys which offer good farmland as well as useful communication links. Stuart Prior has suggested that this construction of castles along pre-existing communication and transportation links suggests an active and aggressive military purpose to the construction of these castles in Monmouthshire (Prior 2006, 158-9). While it cannot be disputed that there is a high degree of military purpose to these constructions, it would be naive to discount their functions as centres of lordship controlling and dominating prime farm land on the edge of a country where good arable land is scarce. It is also interesting to note that, despite being the traditional border between England and Wales (as signified by the presence of Offa's Dyke) and an important communication route, the Wye Valley is very sparsely populated by castles (in fact the only two built on the river are Monmouth and Chepstow). This is especially true when you compare it to the nearby Usk Valley. Therefore, this could be taken as evidence for the speed of the Anglo-Norman advance into Gwent in the years post-1066 as there was not a need to establish centres of lordship on the edge of the region; rather they were able to reach the fertile and relatively flat Usk Valley and establish castles as manorial centres and symbols of power, rather than for purely military purposes.

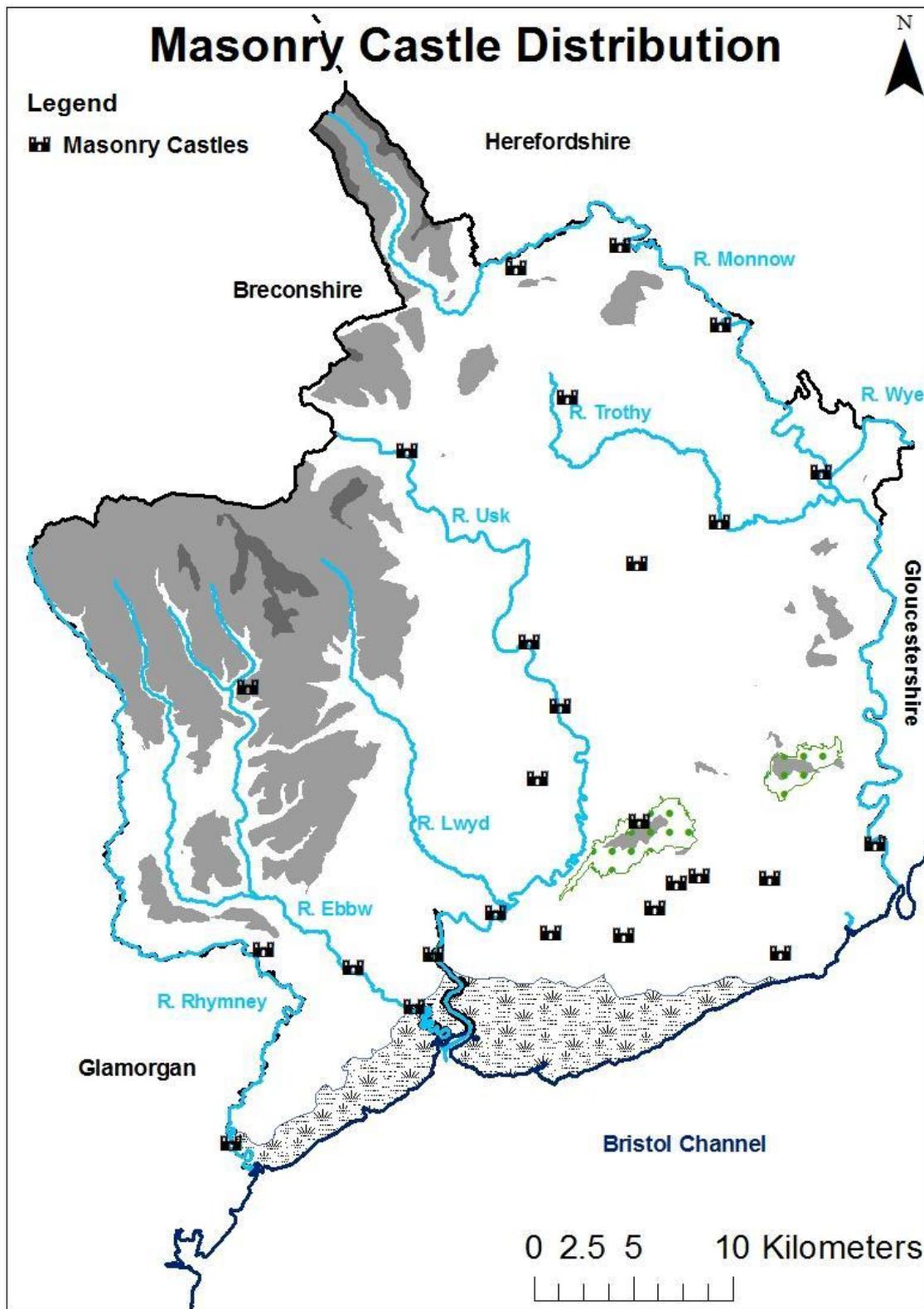


Fig.3.9. Masonry castle sites in Monmouthshire.

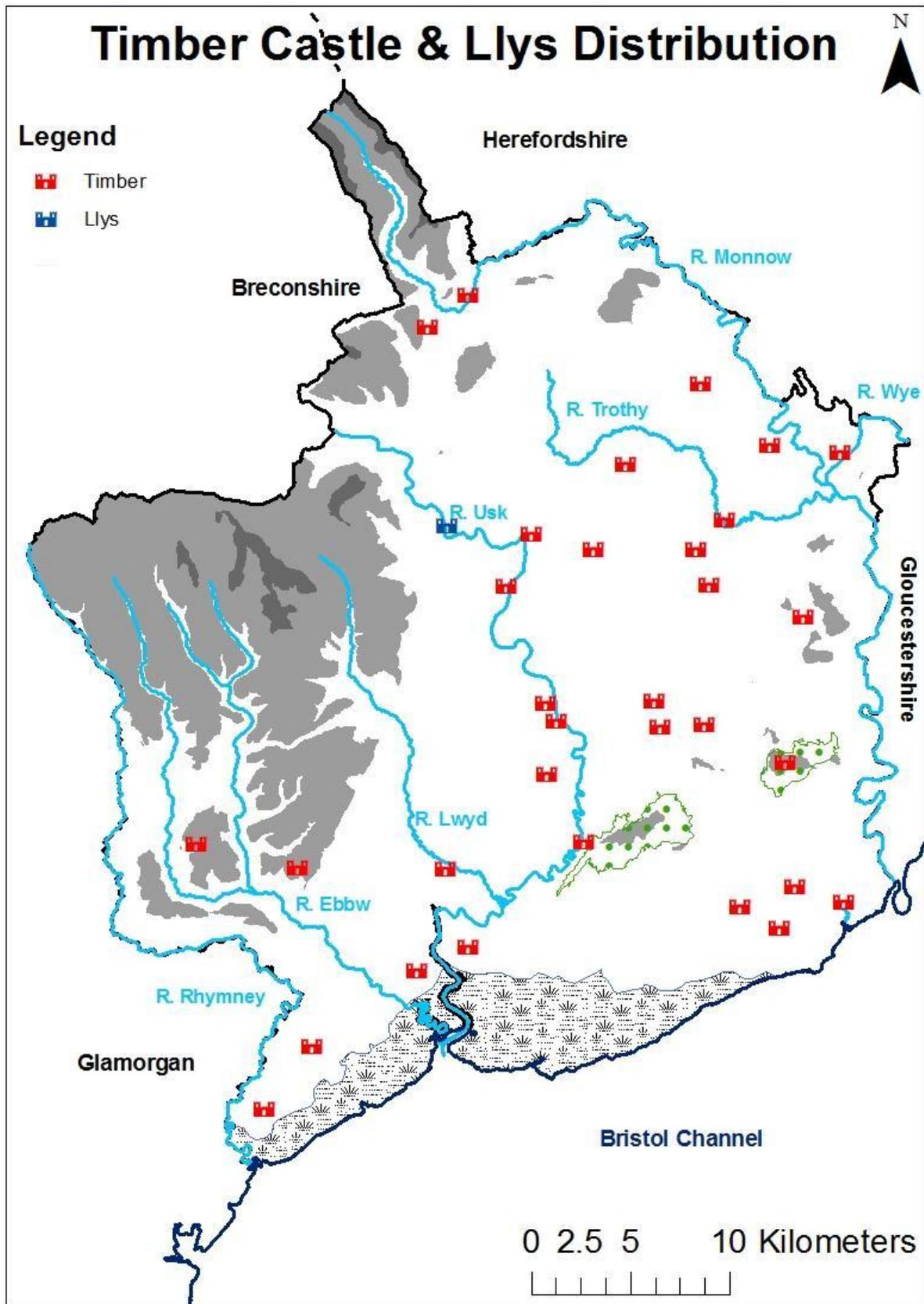


Fig.3.10. The timber castle sites and native Welsh *Llys* sites within Monmouthshire.

3.3.3. The Seigneurial Landscape

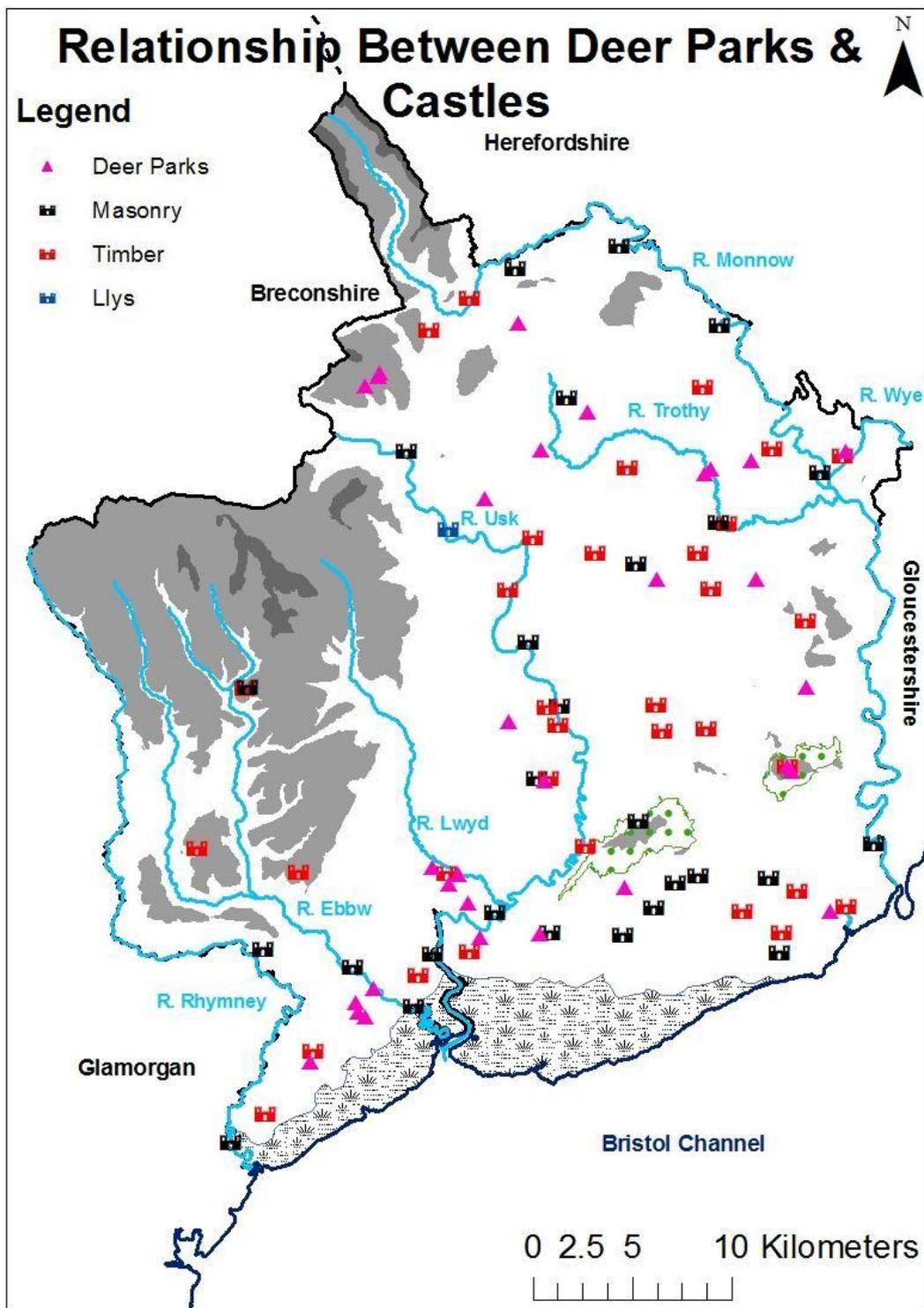


Fig.3.11. The locations of known medieval deer parks within the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire and their relationships with castle sites.

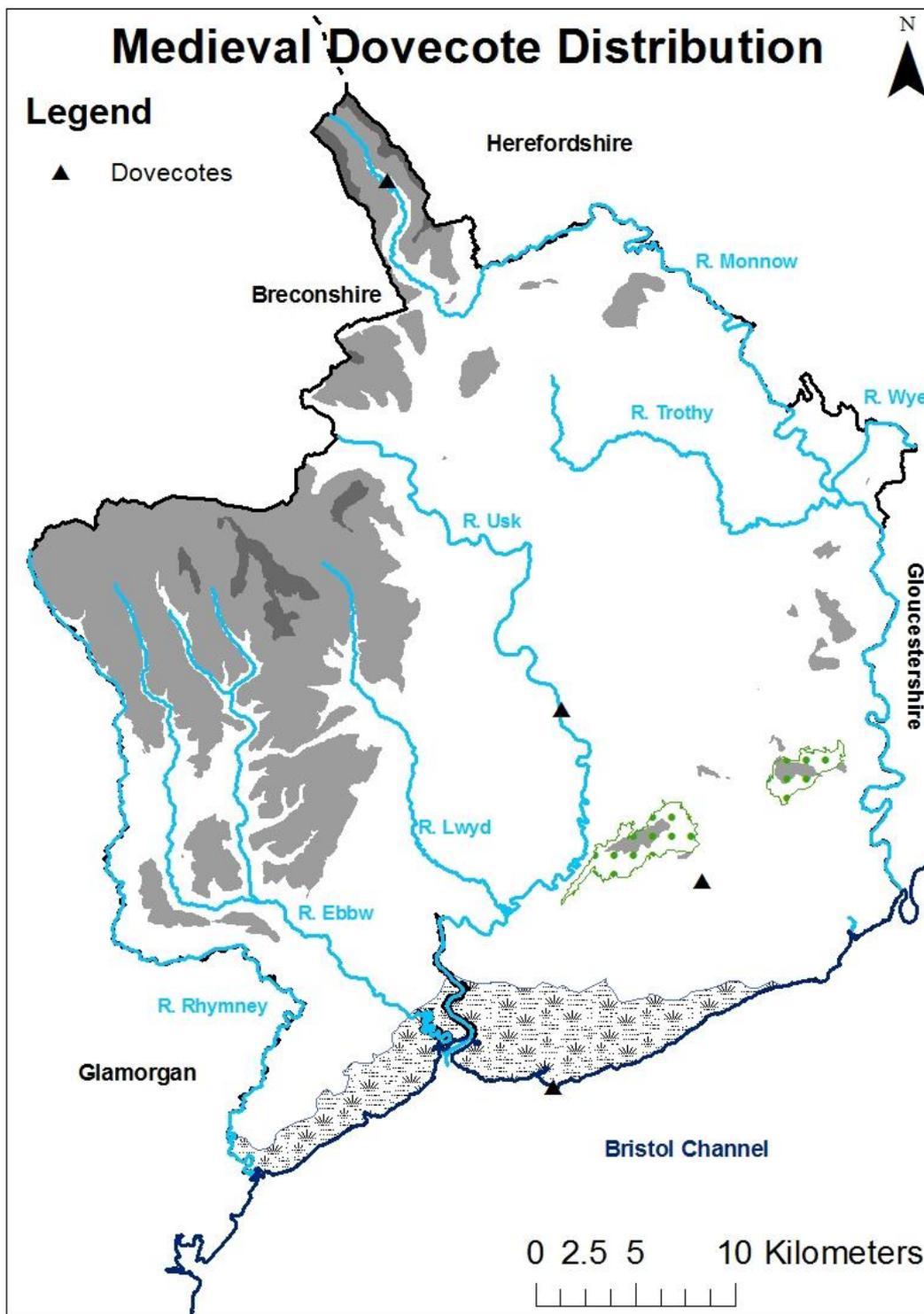


Fig.3.12. The locations of known medieval dovecotes within the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire.

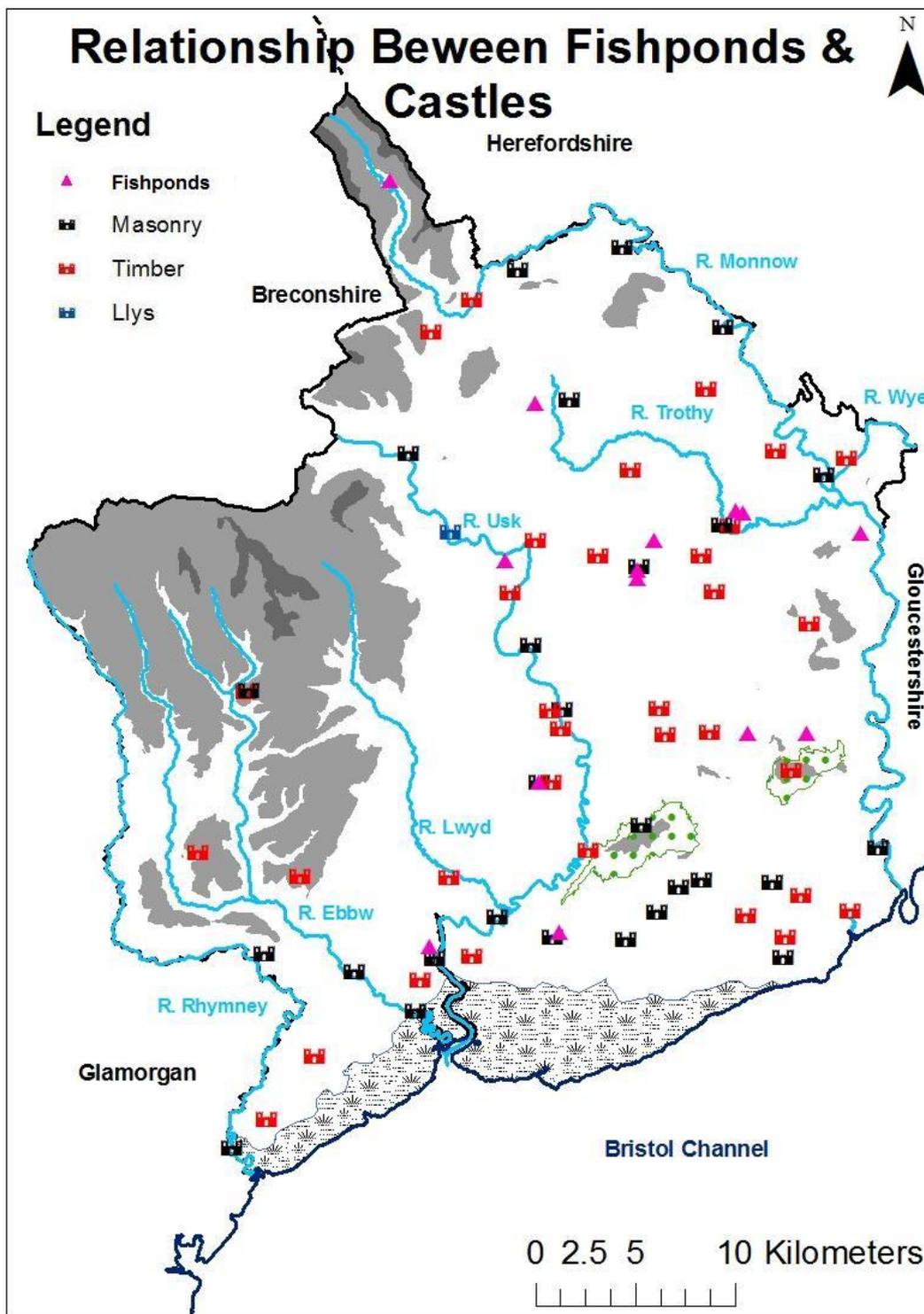


Fig.3.13. The locations of known medieval fishponds within the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire and their relationships with castle sites.

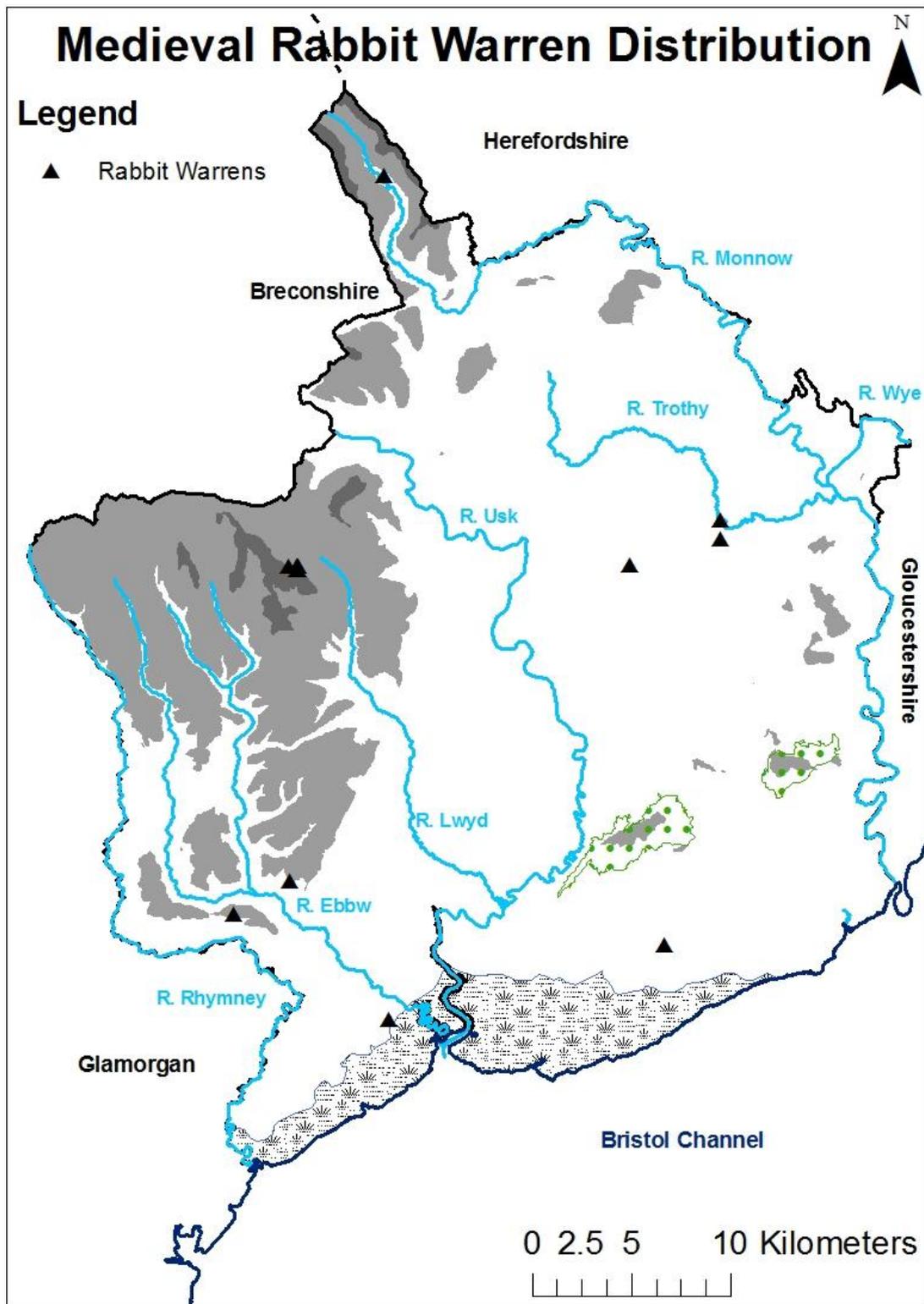


Fig.3.14. The locations of known medieval rabbit warrens within the boundaries of the historic county of Monmouthshire.

For the most part deer parks (Fig.3.11.) seem to have been mainly situated in lowland areas of the county, close to important centres of lordship (e.g. Newport, Caerleon, Usk etc.) but not appending them directly. However, a few are situated in more upland areas, but, importantly, they are still close to important centres of lordship. The best examples of this are the parks to the north-west of Chepstow and those associated with Abergavenny (which may also be associated with a monastic site). As there are only four medieval dovecotes recorded within the HER (Fig.3.12.) it makes analysis rather difficult as nothing can really be interpreted from such a small sample. All that can really be taken from this survey is that two of these dovecotes are associated with monastic sites (Llanthony and Goldcliff) and two with secular lordship sites (Usk and Llanfair-Discoed). Similar to the results of the survey of Monmouthshire's deer parks, fishponds (Fig.3.13.) are mainly situated in lowland river valleys close to lordship sites apart from those at Llanthony, which is in a river valley in an upland area, and those around Devauden. There is, of course, a practical reason to locate fishponds in lowland area, as it is easier to keep them filled where the water-table is high and you have easy access to rivers and streams. As with the dovecotes, the medieval rabbit warrens recorded on the HER (Fig.3.14.) do not provide a particularly large sample, being that there are only eight sites where they are present. However, when the warrens are modelled on GIS a different pattern is presented to that seen with the fishponds and dovecotes; with a higher percentage (38%) of them located in more upland areas. This, again, has a practical explanation as it makes sense to locate rabbit warrens in upland pasture land away from arable crops.

What is visible within this study is a pattern where there seems to be, for the most part, a correlation between the lordly sites of Monmouthshire and the location of the elements of the seigneurial landscape, which is to be expected. The majority of castles and other lordly sites within the county are located in fertile lowland areas, where they can act as manorial centres, and the seigneurial features which have been studied largely follow this pattern. There is, however, an environmental influence to be aware of, with certain features being more suited to certain landscapes. For instance fish ponds were easier to construct in lowland areas near to water courses and rabbit warrens were more suitable for upland areas. With all these features it is also worth noting that they are often associated with monastic sites as well, and not just those of important secular lords. Llanthony Priory in particular has a series of very well preserved 'seigneurial landscape' features. This, of course may in part be due to the monastic drive for self-sufficiency, but by producing expensive foodstuffs such as rabbit, fish and dove, the monks of Llanthony were aping the lordly manner of some of the secular landowners of the county.

3.3.4. Boroughs & Markets

When looking at the study of pre-Conquest urban settlement in Monmouthshire (Fig.3.15.) it can clearly be seen that the majority of Roman urban occupation was along the major rivers of the county, the Wye (Monmouth and Hadnock) and the Usk (Abergavenny, Usk, Bulmore and Caerleon) as well as the nearby Gwent Levels (Caerwent). Only the possible Roman site at Machen is outside these three areas, and no sites are over 250m above sea-level. The most striking conclusion to be drawn from the model of the known medieval boroughs of Monmouthshire (Fig.3.16.) is how the upland western portion of the county is completely devoid of any documented urban settlement. This point is taken further by the walled borough model (Fig.3.17.), which shows that those medieval settlements deemed important enough to warrant town defences are all located in important river valleys (Abergavenny, Usk, Caerleon and Newport on the Usk; Monmouth and Chepstow on the Wye).

When examining the issue of whether there is a high degree of continuity or large-scale change in terms of urban settlement patterns it is clear that there is a high degree of stability visible between the pre-Conquest and post-Conquest urban settlement patterns. Medieval occupation continued on top of Roman sites such as those at Abergavenny, Caerleon, Caerwent, Monmouth and Usk throughout the period between the end of Roman occupation and the Anglo-Norman Conquest. However, the Roman settlements at Bulmore, Hadnock and Machen did not last through the post-Roman period and despite its fame as the location of Earl Harold's 'hunting lodge' Portskewett never grew to be more than a small village.

Furthermore, looking at the later period studies, apart from Chepstow and Newport most of the new boroughs (Goldcliff, Grosmont, Henllys, Llanvair-Discoed, Raglan, Skenfrith and White Castle) of the post-Conquest era never grew to be more than villages and challenge the older more established settlement centres, such as Abergavenny, Usk and Monmouth. Finally it can be seen that in neither the Roman, early medieval or post-Conquest periods does any large-scale settlement appear to have been built in the more upland areas of the county. This phenomenon is clearly a consequence of the industrial revolution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the exploitation of Monmouthshire mineral wealth.

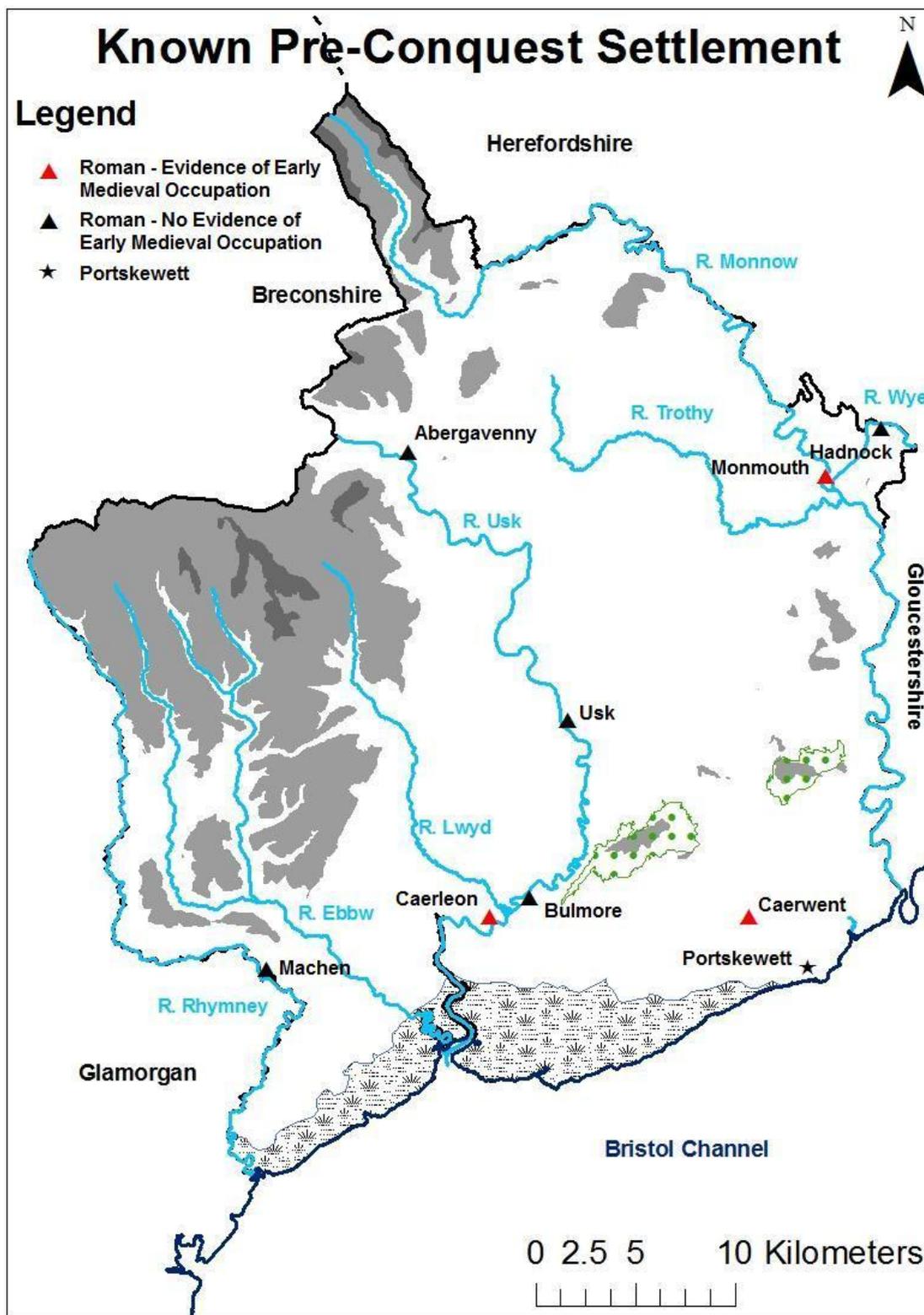


Fig.3.15. The pre-Conquest urban settlement in Monmouthshire for which there is evidence in the form of archaeology or documentation.

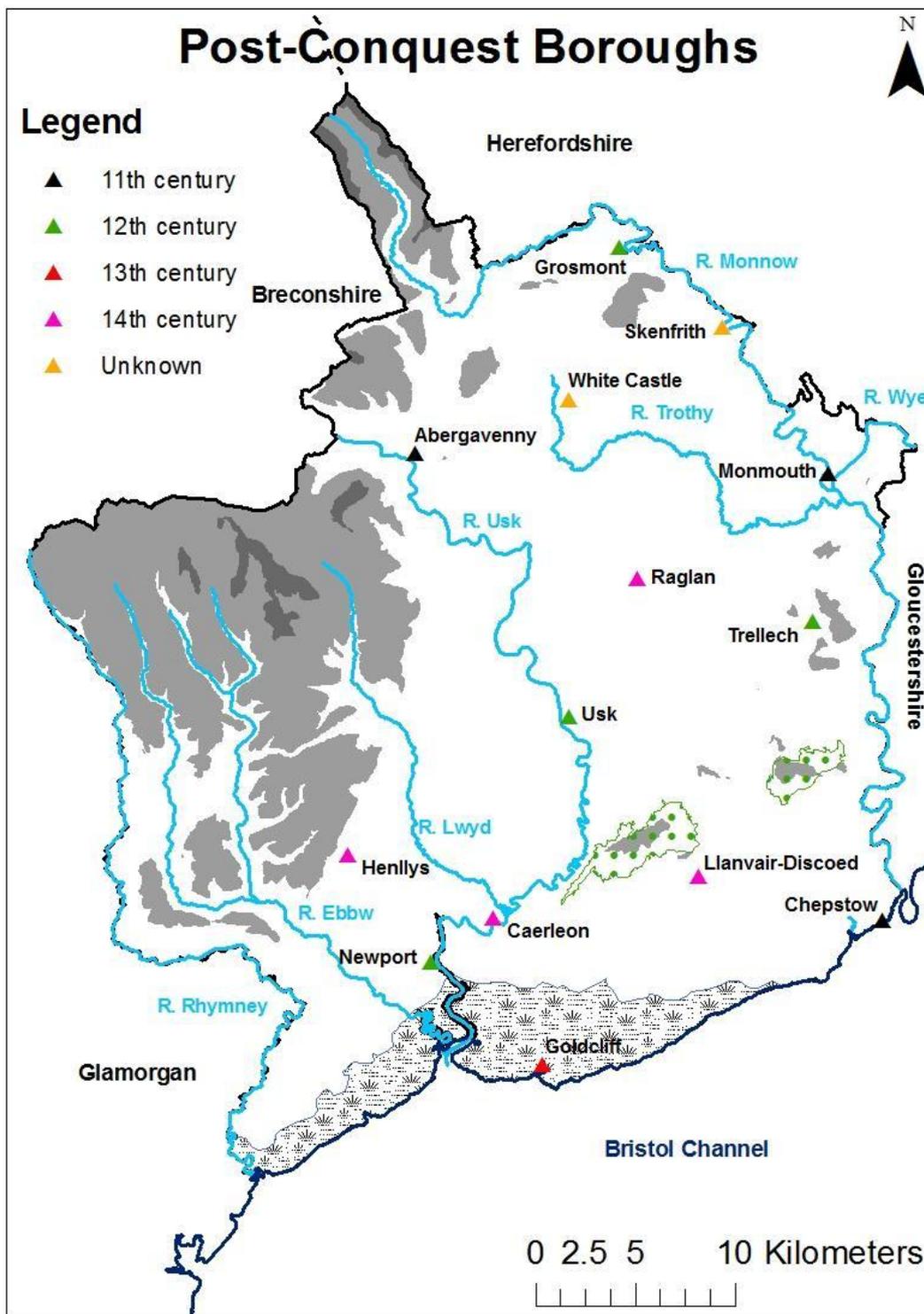


Fig.3.16. The medieval post-Conquest boroughs of Monmouthshire for which there is documentary evidence in the form of charters or other documentation.

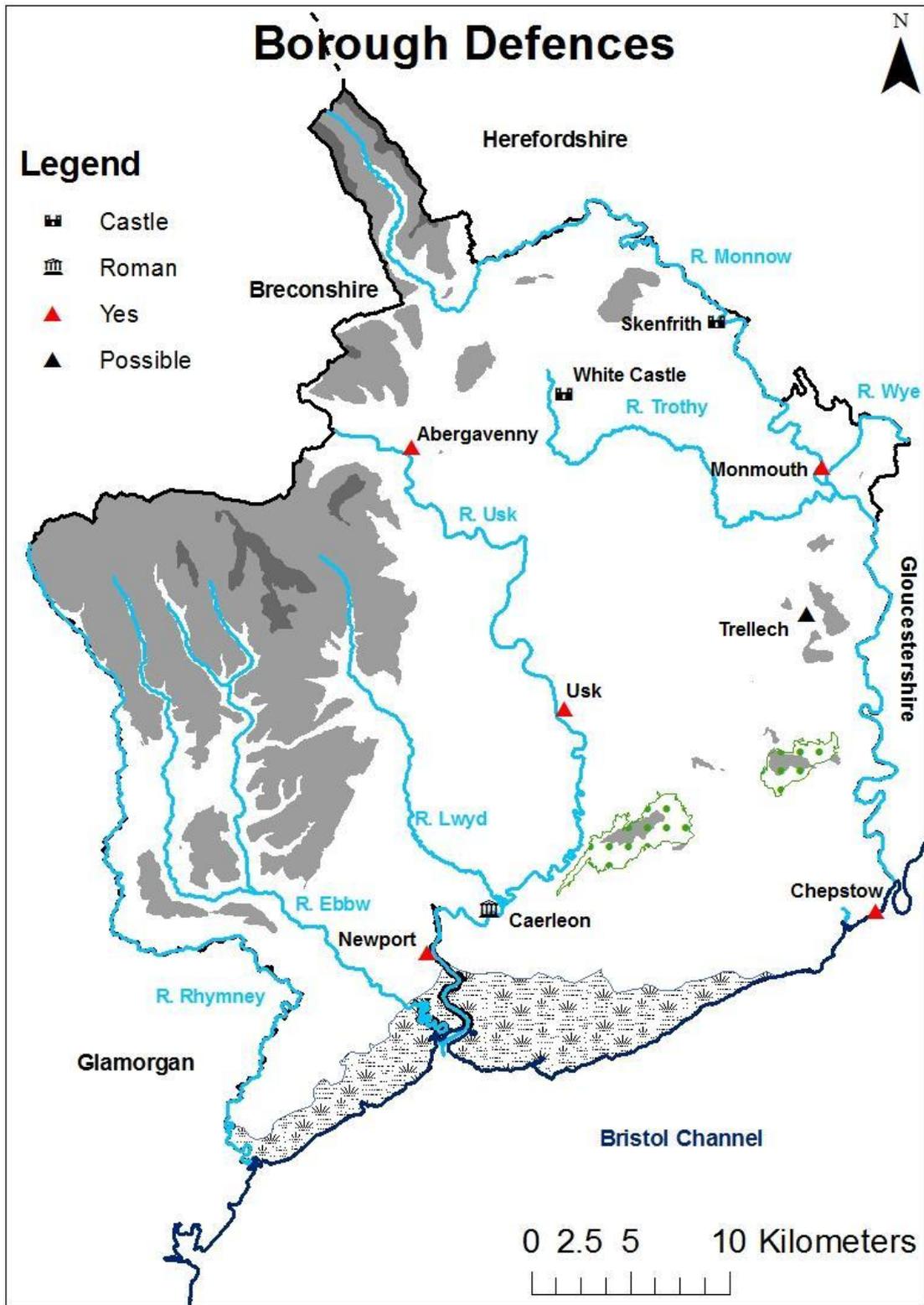


Fig.3.17. The walled medieval post-Conquest boroughs of Monmouthshire, detailing boroughs with definite (and possible) defensive walls, as well as those which made use of Roman walls or were situated within the walls of a castle site.

3.3.5. Post-Conquest Monastic Landscape

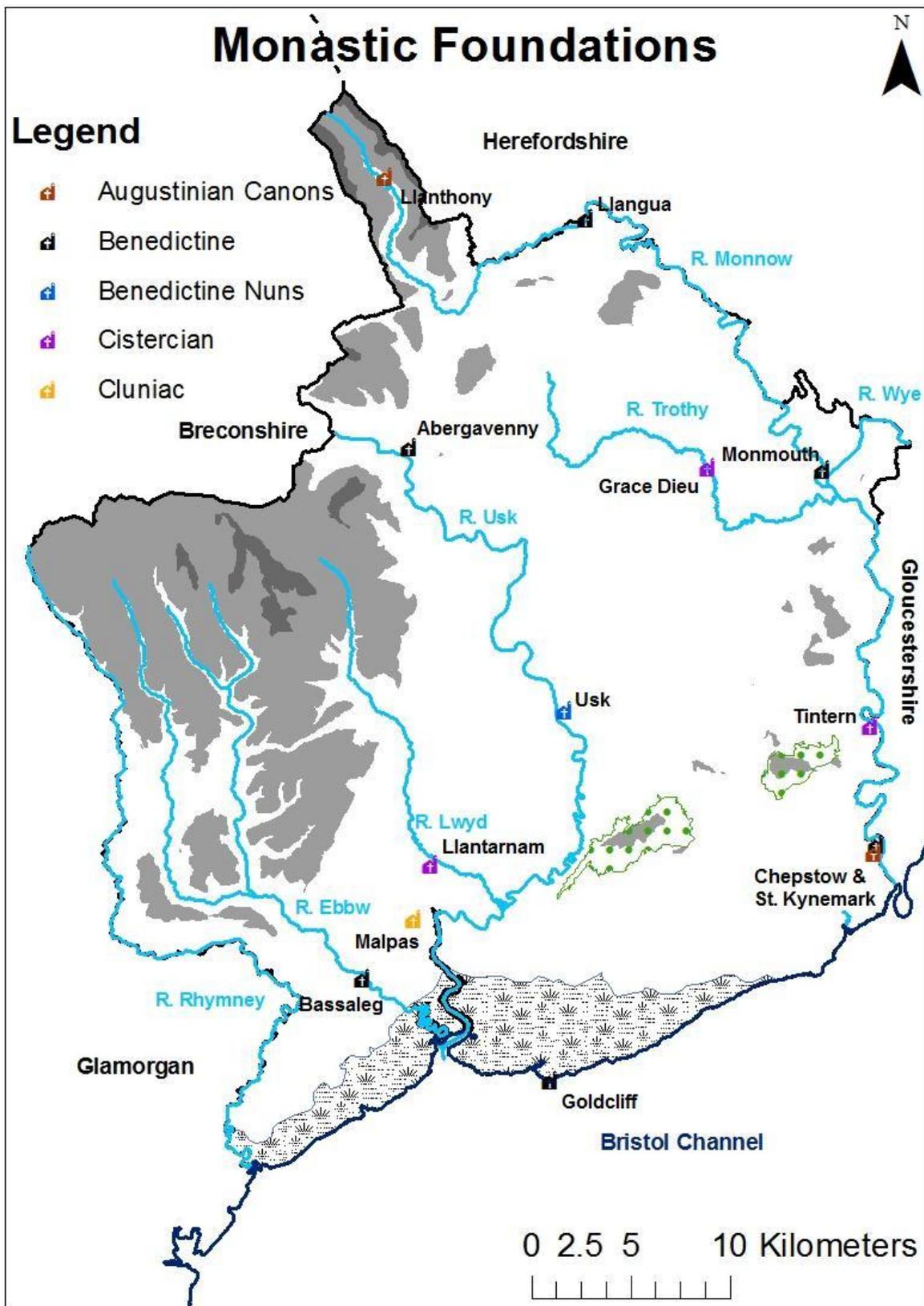


Fig.3.18. The post-Conquest monastic foundations of Monmouthshire.

The fact that Monmouthshire has the highest concentration of monastic sites in Wales has already been demonstrated (see Table 3.1.) and this GIS model (Fig.3.18.) shows where these sites are located. It is clear that they are all, with the exception of Llanthony, located in lowland areas and they are all located next to major rivers, apart from Goldcliff which is right on the shoreline of the Gwent Levels. They are also largely spaced out across the county, suggesting that it was not very common to have monastic sites clustered together, presumably because it would be difficult to accommodate multiple large houses in a small area. They are also (apart from possibly Llanthony) largely situated next to important Anglo-Norman lordly sites (such as Abergavenny, Usk and Monmouth), or within easy reach of these *capita* (for instance, Tintern, Grace Dieu and Goldcliff). Importantly, there are no monastic sites situated in the sparsely populated upland areas of the western portion of the county.

3.3.6. Ecclesiastical Landscape

These models (Figs. 3.19. & 3.20.) largely present a rather mixed picture throughout the ecclesiastical landscape of the county. There are, however, some regions where either one type of church architecture seems to be dominant or some regions which are the sole area where certain styles are present. There does seem to be a higher proportion of non towered churches in the centre of the county, and there is a significant concentration of these structures to the west of Usk and the south of Abergavenny. Conversely, around the Gwent Levels, the Trothy valley and the upland western portion of the county masonry towers seem to be the dominant style of church architecture. Another interesting pattern is that churches with half timbered towers only seem to be present in the north-eastern portion of the county along the border with Herefordshire around the Monnow and Trothy valleys.

The study of church dedications, even more so that the model of church architecture, presents us with a mostly mixed picture of the patterns of the ethnic origins of the saints to whom medieval churches in Monmouthshire were dedicated (Figs. 3.21. & 3.22.). However, as with the previous map a few slight patterns do appear to be present. There are definitely more 'non-native' church dedications to the east of the River Usk along with more 'native' dedications in the upland western portion of the county. Furthermore, there is a slight increase in the number of churches dedicated to 'native' saints as you go further north. For instance, there are significantly more dedications to Judeo-Christian saints in the Gwent Levels than there are Welsh ones.

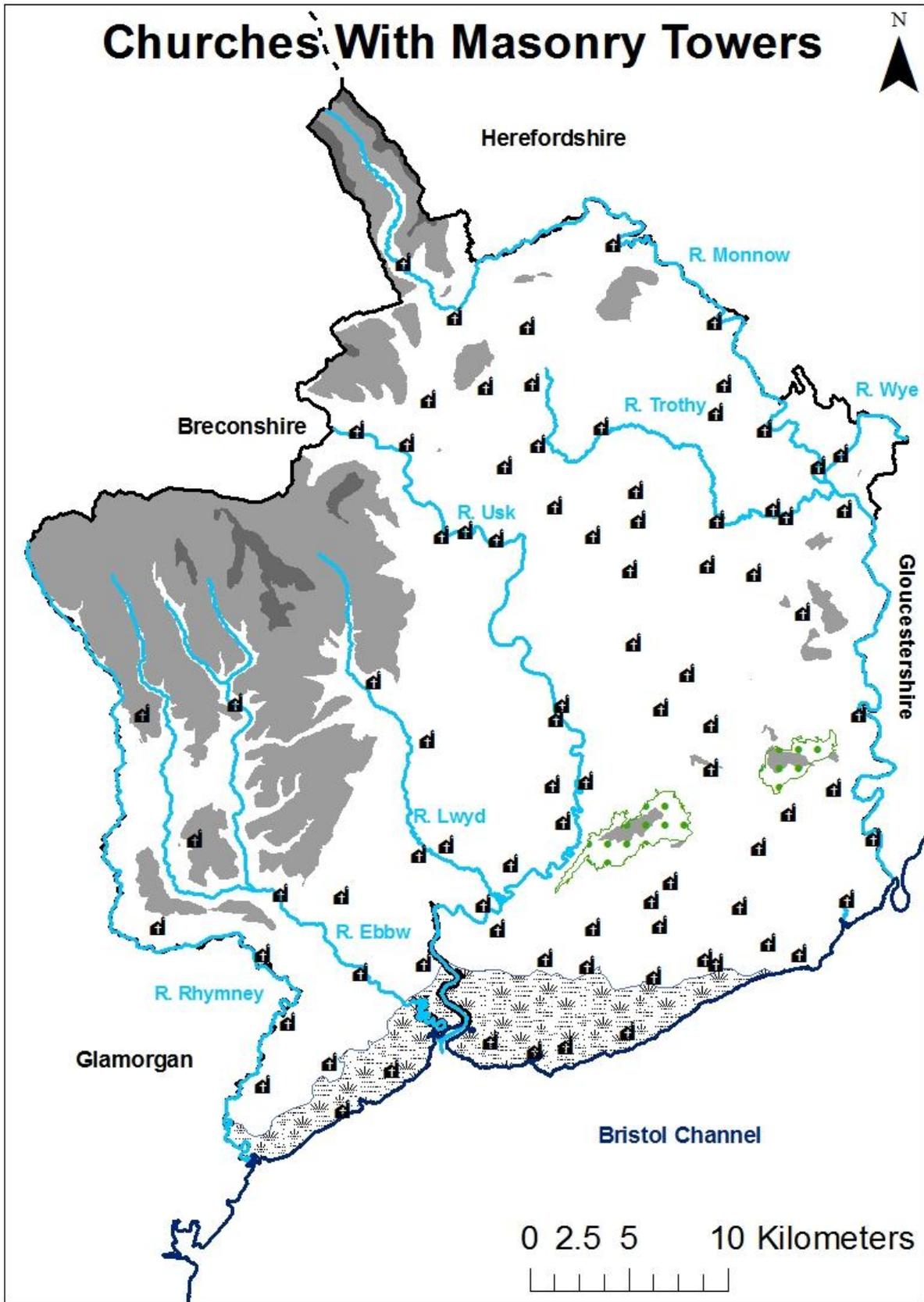


Fig.3.19. The Monmouthshire churches of medieval origin with masonry towers.

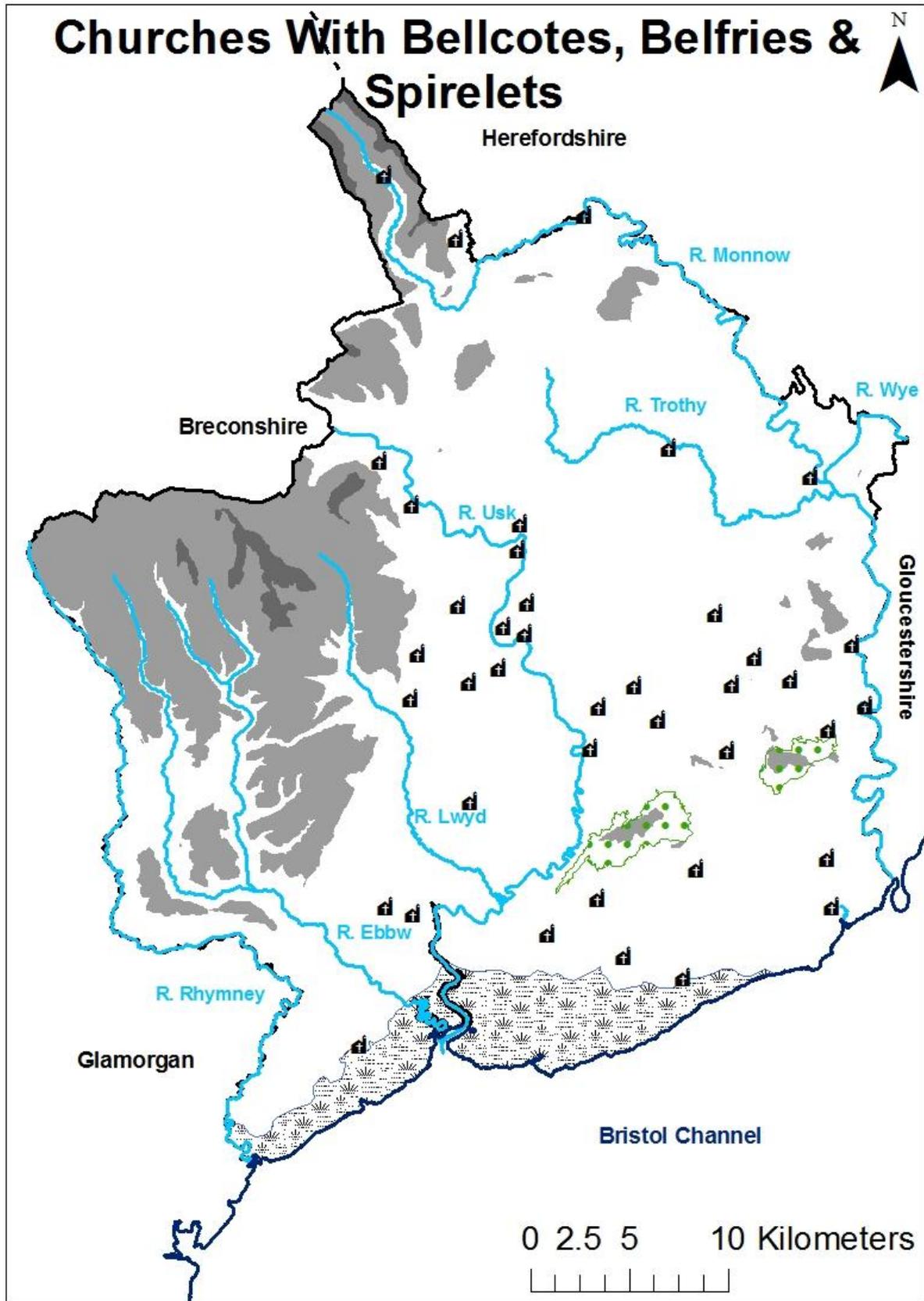


Fig.3.20. The Monmouthshire churches of medieval origin with bellcotes, belfries and spirelets.

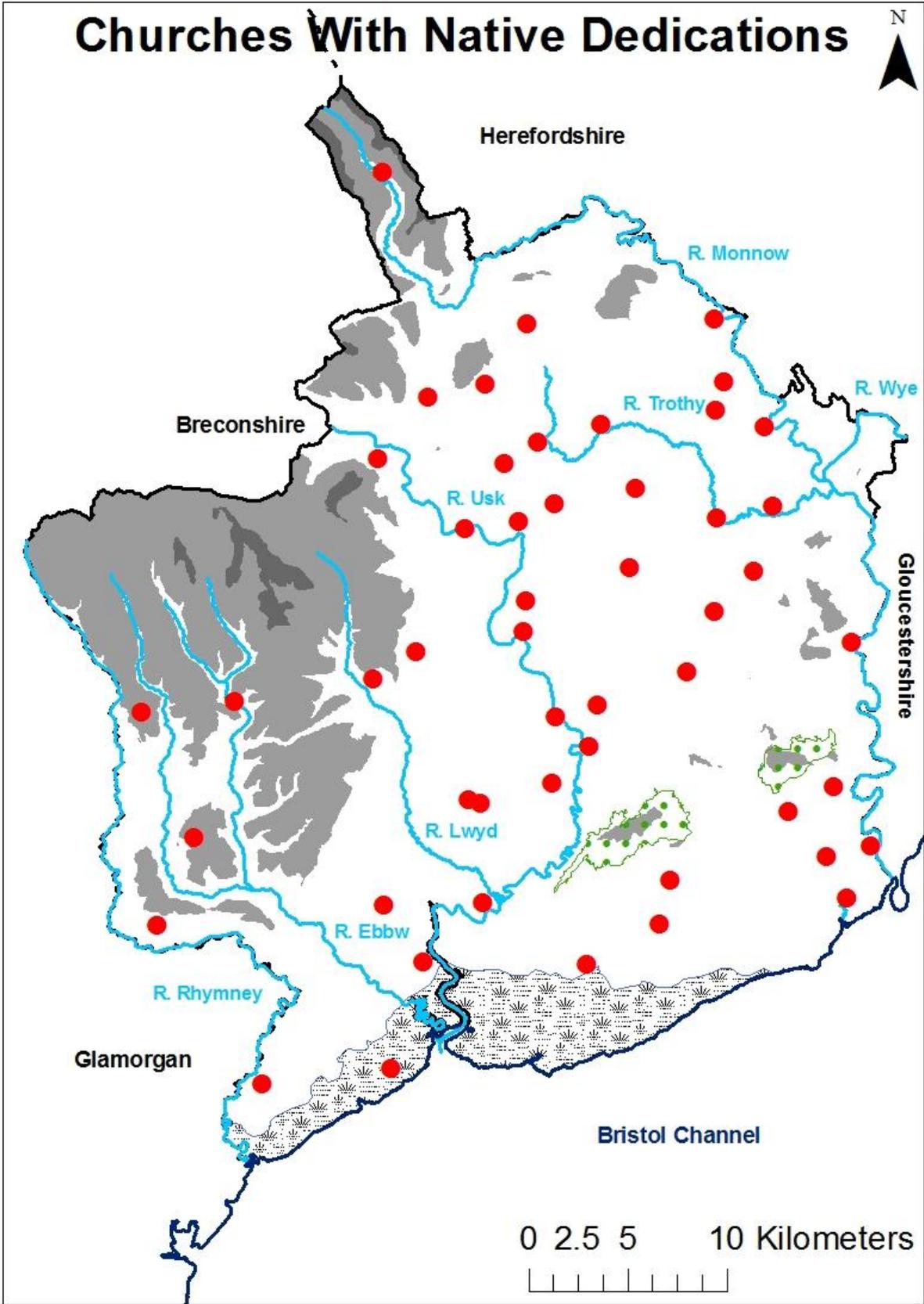


Fig.3.21. The Monmouthshire churches of medieval origin with 'native' dedications.

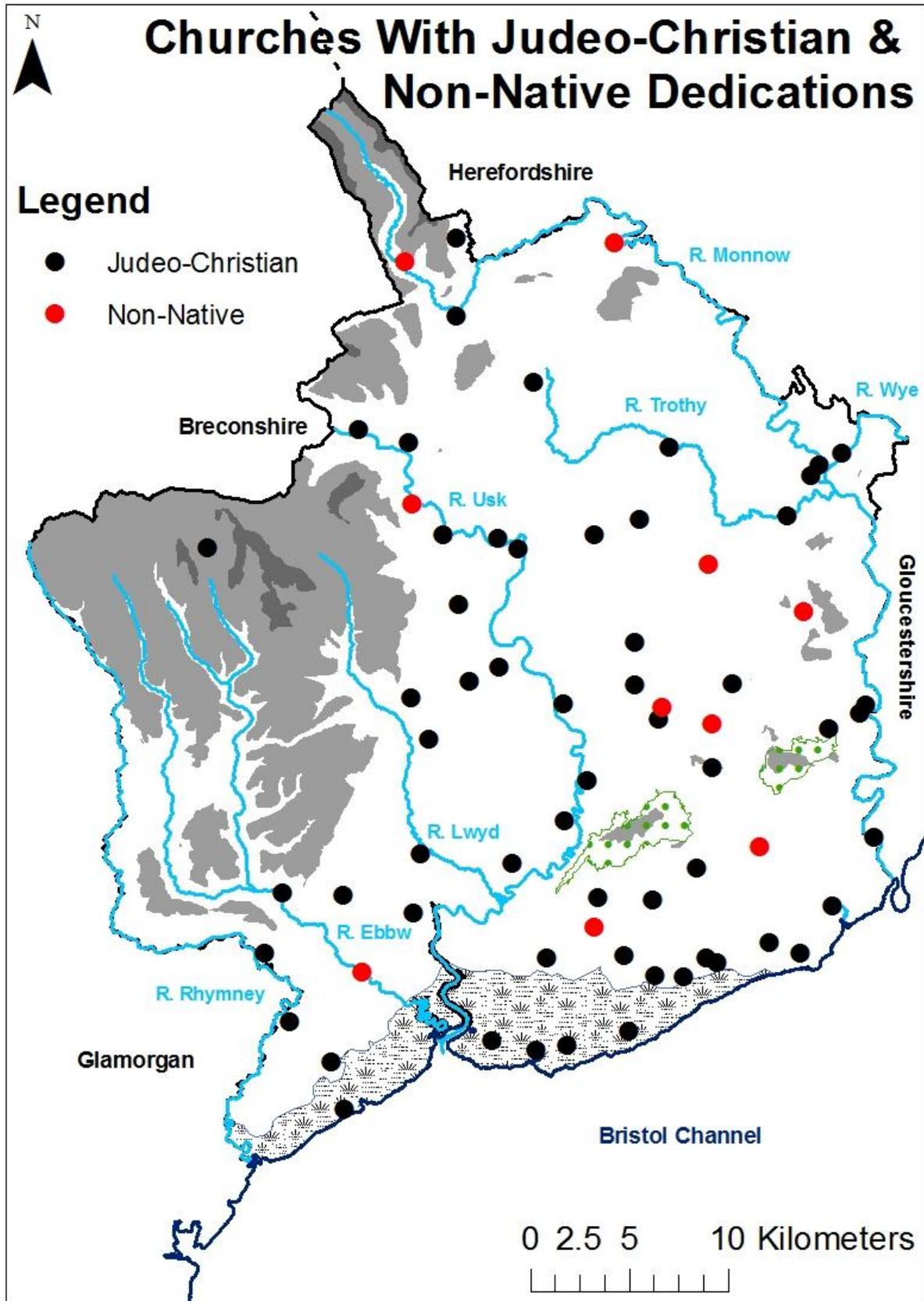


Fig.3.22. The Monmouthshire churches of medieval origin with 'non-native' and Judeo-Christian dedications.

3.3.7. Rural Settlement Pattern

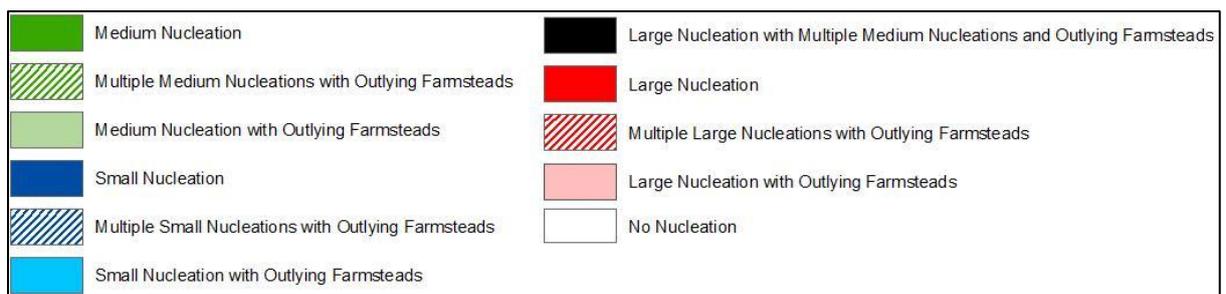
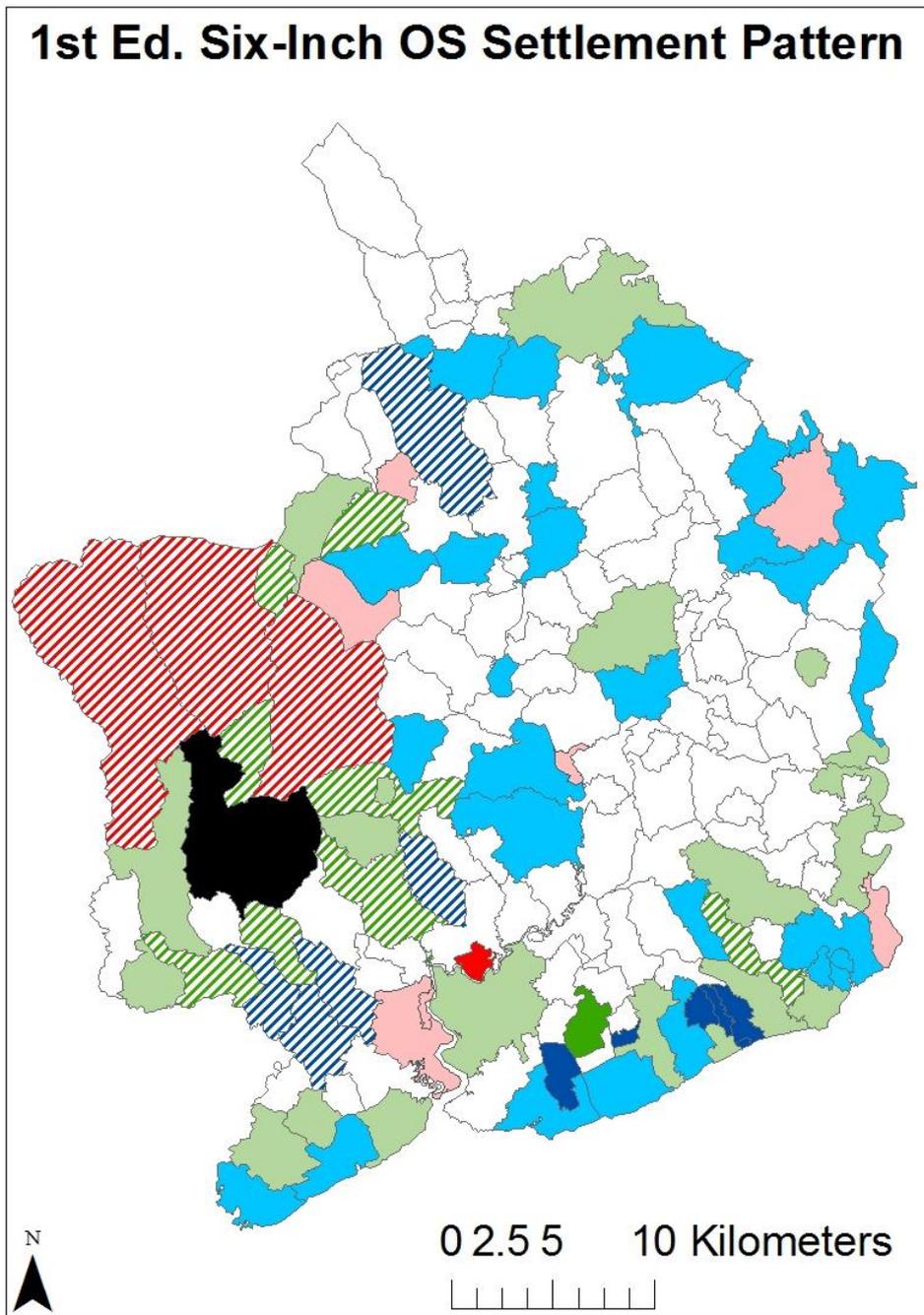


Fig.3.23. The nineteenth century rural settlement pattern of Monmouthshire.

Overall, the settlement pattern map (Fig.3.23.) produced a rather mixed and confused result, in part due to the effects of later industrial developments within the county. Both the building of the railways and the nineteenth century industrial build up in the west has distorted the picture as it means there are significantly more large nucleations in the far west of the county, as large towns were built in order to exploit the county's rich mineral wealth. This picture must be compared to the previous study of the medieval urban settlements of Monmouthshire (Fig.3.16.), where the western upland areas are largely devoid of documented towns. The railways also had the added effect of causing seemingly artificial nucleations around the stations built for the new lines. It would be valuable to conduct a study of the extent to which the lines were built to link up existing communities or whether these settlements sprung up due to the influence of the new transport network, but this is outside the remit of this study.

Ignoring the difficult to examine western portion of the county, some distinct patterns do appear to emerge. Large parts of the eastern and western portions of the county are without any rural nucleations at all, but there are certain areas where nucleations are much more prevalent, for example both portions of the Gwent Levels (the Caldicot levels and the Wentlooge), possibly as a result of the combination of the wetland reclamation and strong local Anglo-Norman lordship. There also appears to be a number of areas where there are multiple parishes with small and medium nucleations, being clustered around towns and larger settlements. These areas include the Monnow Valley (particularly Grosmont and Monmouth, the lower Wye Valley around Chepstow, around the outskirts of the city of Newport and around some of the major towns of the region (such as Abergavenny, Usk, and Raglan). Interestingly Trellech, whilst being a medium sized nucleated settlement in its own right, and being known to have been a medieval town, has no adjoining parishes with any nucleations of any scale.

3.3.8. Evidence for Former Open Field Systems

When looking at the GIS model for the distribution of former open field in Monmouthshire (Fig.3.24.) it can be seen that, according to the data, apart from a few sites near Monmouth and a couple of locations in the vicinity of Usk, most of the evidence for former open field systems can be found in the region of the Gwent Levels. It may seem that simply looking at the field morphology depicted on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps does not provide us with a huge amount of evidence, and certainly fails to show to number of former open fields found by Dorothy Sylvester (Sylvester 1969, 220-221). These results suggest one of two things; either Sylvester's work over estimated the number of former open fields present within Monmouthshire, or deeper work into further historical records needs to be undertaken before a clearer picture of the extent of former open fields in this region can be produced. It must be noted that any evidence surrounding both

Abergavenny and, particularly, Newport may have been obliterated in recent centuries due to both settlements' urban growth into the surrounding countryside.

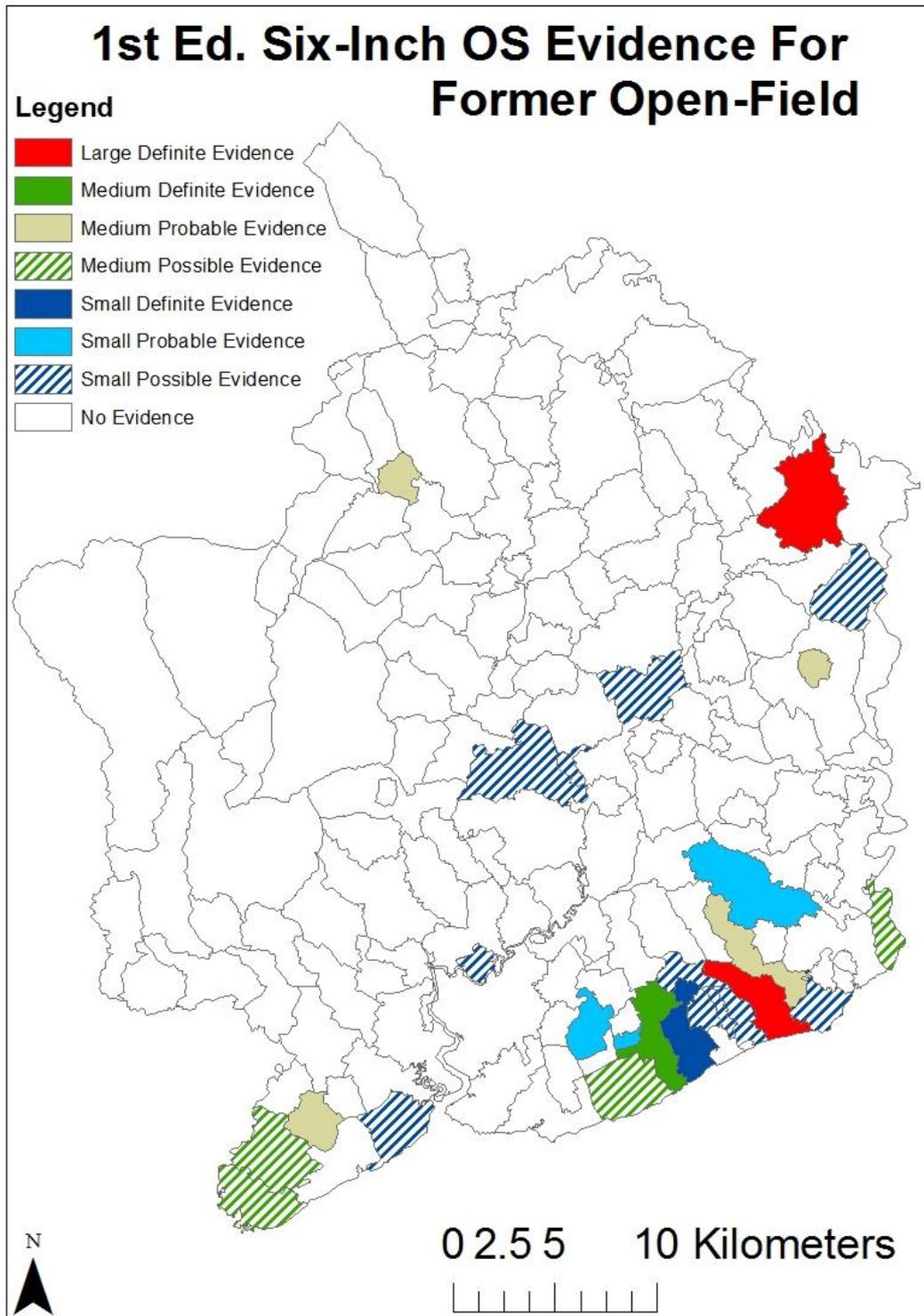


Fig.3.24. Evidence from the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for former open field systems in Monmouthshire.

3.3.9. Place-Names

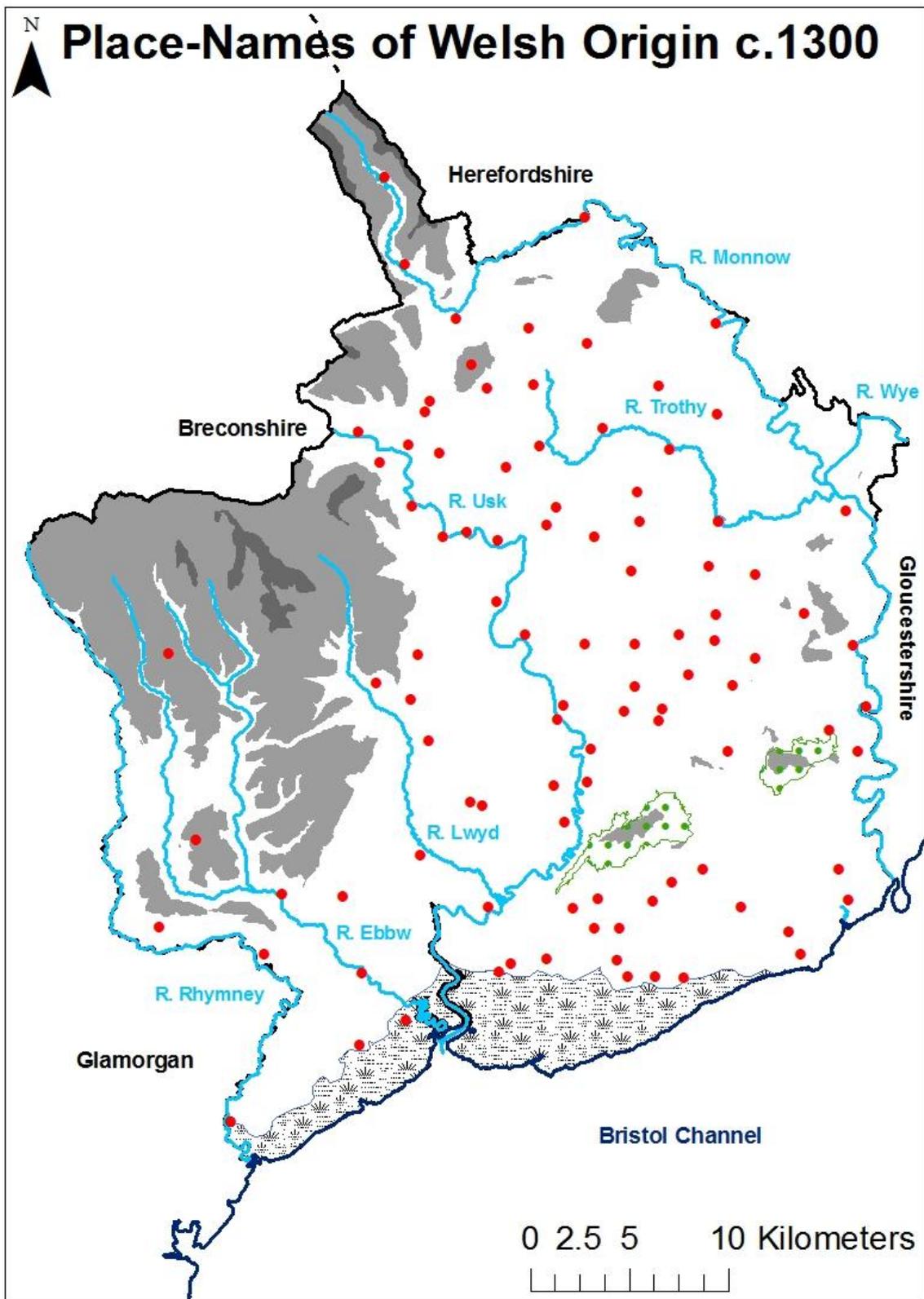


Fig.3.25. The Monmouthshire place-names of Welsh origin which are recorded prior to 1300.

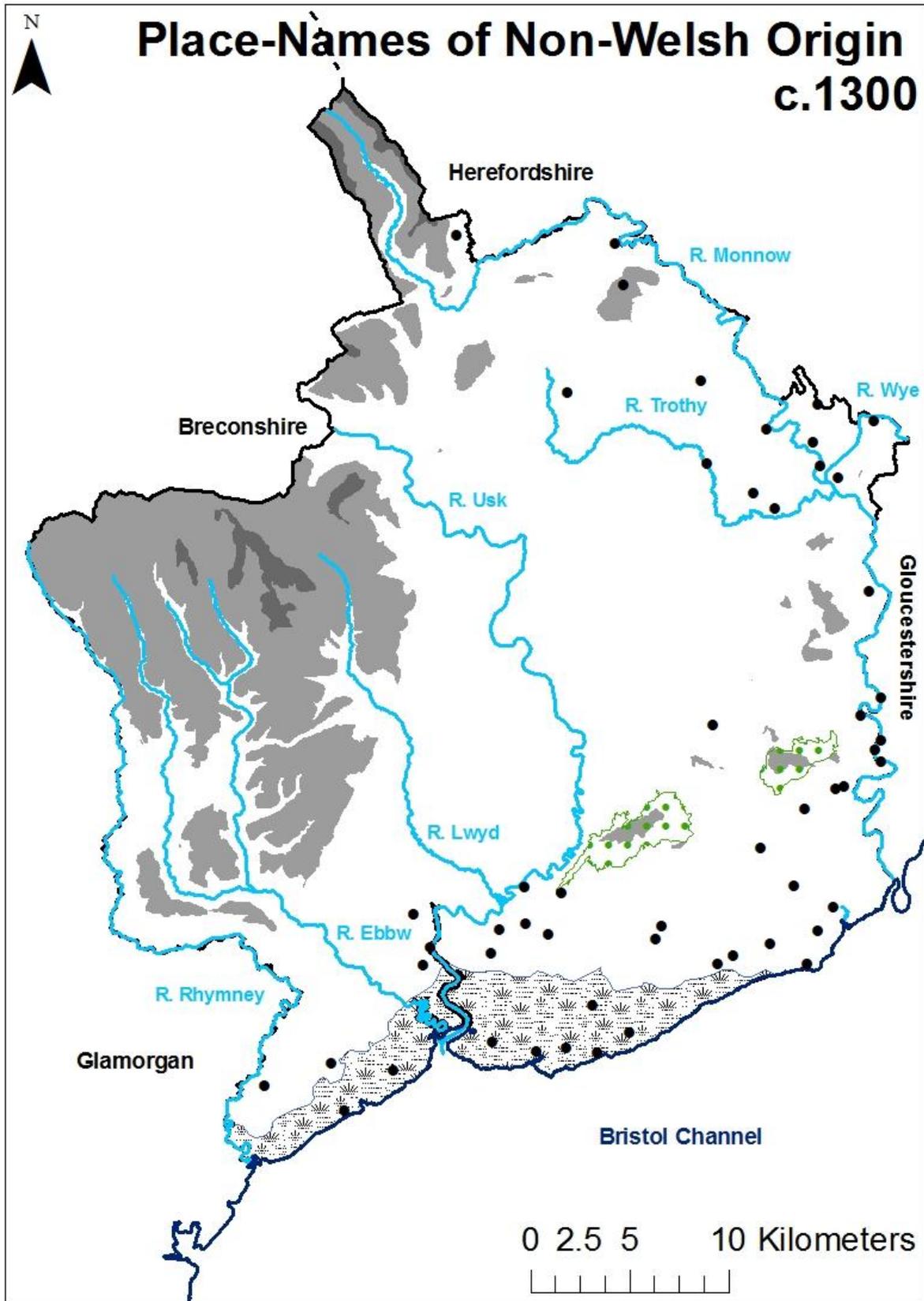


Fig.3.26. The Monmouthshire place-names of non-Welsh origin which are recorded prior to 1300.

The place-names origins GIS models (Figs.3.25. & 3.26.) provide quite stark results suggesting a quite dramatic linguistic (and cultural) watershed within Monmouthshire with the southern portion of the county having the vast majority of Anglo-Norman place-names. Most of these English (and French) place-names are located on both sides of the Gwent Levels. There also seems to be an English 'crust' to the county with a number of place-names of Anglo-Norman origin being situated along the Wye, Monnow and Trothy valleys. Apart from these distinct areas along the border there is very little evidence for place-names of an English origin within the county before 1300; suggesting that, despite Anglo-Norman lordship being pretty firmly established by this point, there was not much in the way of 'English' settlement in this region.

3.4. Discussion

The final map of this study (Fig.3.27.) shows 'regions', or typologies of landscape, according to the typology table (Table 3.4.) and aims to show the extent of the influence of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape. The map and table were created after combining all the data from my previous maps (see Section 3.3.). It can be seen from this final map that the region where the landscape is most influenced by the Anglo-Norman conquest ('category A') are the Gwent levels, where the landscape may be a product of the wetland reclamation that took place in this area (providing a blank slate to begin with, making the landscape less of a palimpsest), and the lower reaches of the Monnow Valley, especially around Monmouth. It is notable that both these regions are in lowland areas that are close to the border with England and provide excellent communication links (e.g. the sea and the Wye Valley). These regions are the settings for a number of important Anglo-Norman lordship sites which have continued to thrive into the current day (e.g. Chepstow, Monmouth and Newport). The next category of landscape influence ('category B') is the region surrounding the 'Three Castles' lordship (Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle) which is situated slightly further upstream in the Monnow Valley from Monmouth. Here too the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border must be noted as an influencing factor, but it must also be acknowledged that the landscape here is slightly less low-lying than that seen in the 'category A' regions as the study moves westwards towards the more mountainous parts of the county. Within this region some important Anglo-Norman lordship sites are found, but none that can claim to be anything more than a small village to the modern observer (e.g. Grosmont).

The 'third-tier' region, in terms of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape ('category C') makes up the majority of the county, including the wide and fertile Usk valley. This region is further away from the Anglo-Welsh border, but still relatively low-lying and has good communication links (e.g. the Usk). Here the landscape is characterised by 'islands' of minor Anglo-Norman influence surrounding important lordship centres (e.g. Usk, Abergavenny etc), whilst the majority of the landscape

seems to be largely 'Welsh' in character and the Anglo-Norman conquest appears to have had little impact.

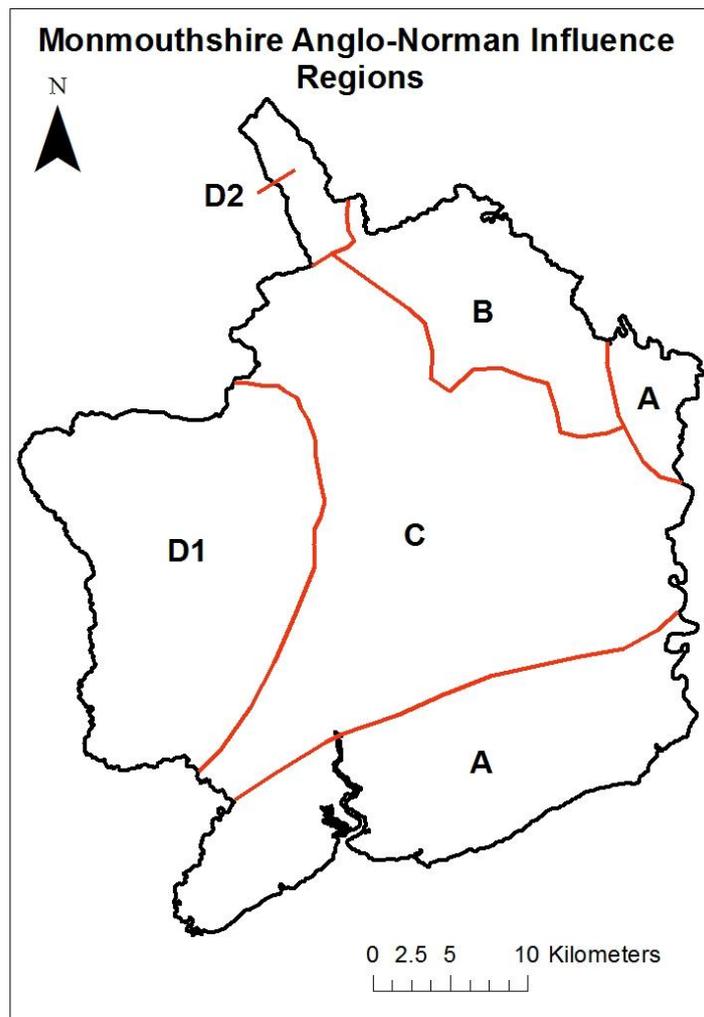


Fig.3.27. The author's final regions of varying degrees of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape of Monmouthshire. For typologies see Table 4.1.

Finally, it can be seen that in large parts of the county, particularly in the more upland areas, the Anglo-Norman conquest had very little influence upon the landscape ('categories D1 and D2'). This area, in heavy contrast to the large scale industrial developments (e.g. Blaina and Tredegar) and the 'new' towns (e.g. Cwmbran) of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, seems to have been very sparsely populated in the medieval period, presumably given over mainly to upland sheep farming. This concentration of areas of 'Anglo-Norman' landscape features around the major centres of lordship suggests a 'top-down' elite driven engine of landscape change that was not particularly successful, because in the majority of the county the native populace seem to have maintained control of their surrounding landscape and largely 'Welsh' methods of landscape management are dominant.

Table 3.4. Typological categories for the differing regions of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape of Monmouthshire, according to this study.

<p>A</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topographically lowland • High density of English-origin place-names • Boroughs and monasteries present • Many masonry castles; a few earth and timber • Plenty of evidence for rural settlement nucleation • Plenty of evidence for former open field systems • Mostly masonry church towers and more 'English' church dedications than 'Welsh' • Evidence for deer parks, rabbit warrens and fish ponds
<p>B</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topographically lowland • A few English-origin place-names; mostly Welsh • Only failed boroughs present and a limited number of monasteries • Both masonry and earth and timber castles • Some evidence for rural settlement nucleation • No evidence for former open field systems • Mostly masonry tower churches, some half-timbered; mixed church dedications • Evidence for deer parks only
<p>C</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topographically lowland • Welsh place-names • Boroughs and monasteries • Many earth and timber castles, a few masonry • Limited 'islands' of rural settlement nucleation • Limited evidence for former open field systems • Mixed church architecture and dedications; some areas where bellcotes are prevalent • Evidence for dovecotes, deer parks, rabbit warrens and fishponds
<p>D1</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topographically upland • Welsh place-names • No boroughs or monasteries • A few earth and timber castles present, no masonry • Some evidence for rural settlement nucleation • No evidence for former open field systems • Mostly masonry tower churches and more 'Welsh' church dedications than 'English' • Evidence for rabbit warrens only
<p>D2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same as D1 but: • Monasteries • No castles • No rural settlement nucleation • Mixed church architecture and dedications • Evidence for fishponds, rabbit warrens and dovecotes

3.5. Summary

Now that the county-wide study is complete, and a final model of the regions of varying degrees of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape in Monmouthshire has been created (Fig.3.27.), the next stage of this thesis is to focus on the individual lordships, which made up the historic county of Monmouthshire, and examine their landscapes in greater detail. This will move the study on from the macro level (looking at Monmouthshire as a whole) to examining the micro level (individual constituent lordships) and will help investigate some of the reasons for the patterns in the landscape suggested by the results of this chapter. The methodology employed in each of these individual lordship case studies will be detailed in the next chapter (Chapter 4), whilst the five chapters after that (Chapters 5-9) will present the findings of each of these case studies. The case studies consist of a detailed background to each lordship and each parish studied within the chapter, followed by the presentation of the results gathered by the implementation of the methodology outlined in Chapter 4 and, finally, a discussion of both the findings and the historic landscape of the lordships.

4. Case Study Methodology

4.1. Introduction

Building on the county-wide study of Monmouthshire and the subsequent 'regional' map of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire (see Chapter 3), the next stage of this process is to move from the macro to the micro level and examine the landscapes of the constituent lordships in detail. This will allow for an investigation into reasons behind why different historic landscapes are present within the boundaries of Monmouthshire, and the processes which contributed to the creation of these differing landscapes. Furthermore, it will allow for an examination of the extent to which the newly installed Anglo-Norman lords were agents of this change. This chapter outlines the reasoning employed in selecting which data sets to examine for each of the case study lordships, the methodology used for collecting the data, and the ways in which it was presented and analysed. An important difference between the presentation of these case study chapters and the county-wide study was the decision to separate the methodology for the lordship studies into a separate chapter. This was done because each of the lordship case studies employed an identical methodology and allowed for them to be written as self contained studies of the historic landscape of the chosen case study parishes without unnecessary repetition of methodology.

Obviously, if research time limits and word counts were not a factor, it would be preferable to study each of the Anglo-Norman lordships in Monmouthshire in minute detail, examining every parish, settlement, lordship site and field system. However, due to the restraints of writing a PhD this was not feasible and a compromise was decided upon whereby lordships were selected on the basis of providing a cross-section of the different geographical and political landscapes encompassed within Monmouthshire. From within these chosen lordships, a number of case study parishes were selected, providing a cross-section of the different geographical and political landscapes present, in order to provide a picture of the impact of Anglo-Norman lordship, without becoming tied down to completing analysis of an unfeasible number of parishes. The Anglo-Norman lordships selected for study were:

- **Caldicot** (Chapter 5): The Lordship of Caldicot was chosen as 'pilot' study due to its small size (consisting of only two, non-adjointing, parishes: Caldicot and Shirenewton). This allowed the methodology of these case studies to be examined for a relatively small and straight forward example. Caldicot is intrinsically interesting as it has been suggested that, due to its more upland landscape, Shirenewton was the 'detached Welshry' of the Lordship (with the parish of Caldicot forming the 'Englishry') (Sylvester 1969, 402).
- **Chepstow** (Chapter 6): The Lordship of Chepstow was the next case study chosen, in order to build upon the 'pilot' study of Caldicot, by examining a larger lordship set within the same lowland landscape as the previous case

study (south-eastern Monmouthshire). The Lordship of Chepstow is also situated on the Anglo-Welsh border, enabling analysis of the influence of this frontier upon the landscape. This area is also known to be highly 'Anglified' (see Figs. 3.25. & 3.26.) particularly along the margins of the Gwent Levels, which allows it to be used as a 'base level' from which to judge the landscapes of the other lordships further north. Finally, the Lordship of Chepstow is particularly important to the history of the region as Chepstow was the site of the first masonry castle constructed in Wales, and was one of the locations from which the Anglo-Norman conquest of the rest of the region was launched.

- **Monmouth** (Chapter 7): The next case study selected was the Lordship of Monmouth which provided a contrast to the previous study of Chepstow by allowing for an examination of a similar lordship set in a slightly different landscape. This lordship was also located on the Anglo-Welsh border, and situated in an area of Monmouthshire considered to be a very 'English', having been a major Anglo-Norman lordship site since prior to the Domesday survey. However it is located away from the coast, being situated within river valleys (particularly those of the Wye and the Monnow), and has a slightly more upland landscape than that seen around Chepstow, but not yet the extremely rugged landscape of the western reaches of the county.
- **Usk** (Chapter 8): The next case study chosen, that of the Lordship of Usk, moved the focus of this thesis away from the Anglo-Welsh border and the River Wye. This case study allowed for the analysis of an important lordship site in the history of the Anglo-Norman Conquest which was situated within a similar landscape of rolling hills and river valleys to that which surrounds the Lordship of Monmouth. As the Lordship of Usk is centred upon the River Usk (which runs through the centre of the county) and not the River Wye on the border, comparison of the landscape of the Lordship of Usk with the Lordship of Monmouth (which was focused on the border) allowed for an assessment Anglo-Welsh border's influence of the upon the character of the landscape.
- **Abergavenny** (Chapter 9): The final case study selected was that of the Lordship of Abergavenny. This moved the thesis into the much more 'upland' regions of Monmouthshire, with its extremely hilly and mountainous terrain. Abergavenny was still an important Anglo-Norman lordship site, but the change in topography provided a useful and dramatic contrast with the more lowland lordships, such as Chepstow. It was also a useful study as this lordship represents the furthest west this thesis goes.

Within each of these case studies it was important to identify relevant parishes to investigate in order to provide a detailed picture of the landscapes which make up the lordship. It was decided that the five chosen case study parishes in each lordship should include:

- The Anglo-Norman lordship centre (*caput*).

- Minor lordship centres (including smaller castles, monastic foundations etc.).
- 'Control parishes' which did not include any form of Anglo-Norman lordship centre, in order to provide examples of landscapes which may not exhibit evidence for Anglo-Norman lordship influence.

4.2. Data Set Selection

The initial task for each of the case studies was to compile a comprehensive background for each lordship, allowing for the selection of relevant case study parishes. These lordship background studies consisted of geographic and topographic information for every parish (detailed at the beginning of Section 4.3.), in addition to a history of both the lordship and each of the individual parishes which make up the study. The geographic data was collected in order to investigate the effects of the physical landscape, such as topography and watercourses, upon the historic landscape, while the historical background focused primarily upon the conquest, establishment and descent of each lordship, and was collected from a number of primary and secondary sources. Furthermore, information was collected on the history of the important lordship centres, including castles, manors, churches and monastic foundations, in order to provide a thorough survey of the history of the parish, as well as that of any lordship sites which may be exerting agency upon the landscape.

Beyond the background information for each parish, the first data set which was chosen to be examined was that of each parish's field morphology, using the earliest available accurate and comprehensive maps (the nineteenth century tithe apportionments). This was undertaken in order to ascertain the presence of any potential evidence for a former open field system, which could be linked to Anglo-Norman manorial farming. The rationale behind this is that the landscape can be viewed in terms of a 'palimpsest': repeatedly reused but retaining diagnostic traces of its previous function. This is because each successive historical epoch has updated some of its predecessor's fields to its particular needs, but has left others as it found them (Rackham 1986, 155).

The key data source for these case studies was the tithe maps and associated apportionments, created following the Tithe Commutation Act 1836, which served the purpose of allowing tithes to be paid in cash rather than in goods (Kain & Oliver 1995, 1). These provide the earliest comprehensive mapping of the country (although they did not cover many parishes in the English Midlands where the tithes were commuted as part of the Enclosure process) in a parish by parish form, and, apart from earlier estate maps (which do not cover the country in such a comprehensive way), they are a useful resource as a 'proxy' map in the absence of contemporary maps for earlier periods of the historic landscape, allowing us to see a snapshot of the landscape at the earliest possible opportunity. They are an

invaluable source, allowing landscape archaeologists to map the process of landscape change, especially when incorporated with twentieth century Ordnance Survey mapping and retrogressive analysis of field morphology and settlement patterns (Rippon 2004a, 79). Furthermore, tithe map data precedes the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey data investigated as part of the county-wide study, providing an earlier picture of the landscape, in some cases before later re-organisations took place (for instance, due to the building of the railways). It was not used in the preceding study as the data was not so readily available (being mapped at the scale of individual parishes, and these maps only being available in the County Records Office or the National Library of Wales, as opposed to online through Digimap). Tithe Maps do, however, provide greater detail than the Ordnance Survey maps, allowing (by attaching the relevant tithe apportionments to the map) an examination of patterns of land ownership, land occupancy and land use, in addition to field-names.

A key issue was identifying the possible extent of open field. Historically, large scale open field farming has not been thought of as a feature of the native Welsh historic landscape (see Chapter 2) and is usually associated with the 'English' manorial system introduced after the Conquest. Evidence for these field systems, therefore, can provide evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape agency and change.

In examining the field morphology of each of the case study parishes, evidence was therefore sought for former strip fields, which are indicative of former open field. This would show up in the tithe map field morphology as a number of diagnostic features:

- Where the morphology of medieval open field strip fields has survived, either in the form of extant long thin 'strip' fields, or as larger rectangular fields the same length as the thin 'strips' and, for the most part, along the same alignment as the 'strip' fields (where a large number of these 'strips' have been merged into a single field).
- Where larger fields are recorded on the tithe map, broken up into multiple small strips by boundary markers, such as stones, showing the presence of former open fields.
- Where the extant field boundaries have a 'reversed-s' shaped morphology caused by medieval ploughing techniques involving the use of oxen (the most commonly used animals in ploughing prior to the introduction of the horse collar) to pull the plough. This curving of the field boundaries is due to the nature of the oxen, being particularly stubborn and difficult to manoeuvre. Therefore, the ploughman would have to have made wider turns with his team at the end of each furrow, leading to the distinctive slight 'reversed-s' shape of fields formerly used for medieval strip farming (Rackham 1986, 168).
- Where a number of fields with 'dog-leg' morphology are present, which represent where multiple adjoining strip fields having been combined into an irregularly shaped field. This is due to the enclosure of a number strips held

by an individual, which did not combine into a large enough landholding to make one large and regularly shaped field.

- Where large groups of small fields on the edge of an area of possible former open field all share long, curved, common boundaries, suggestive of the edge of a former open field.

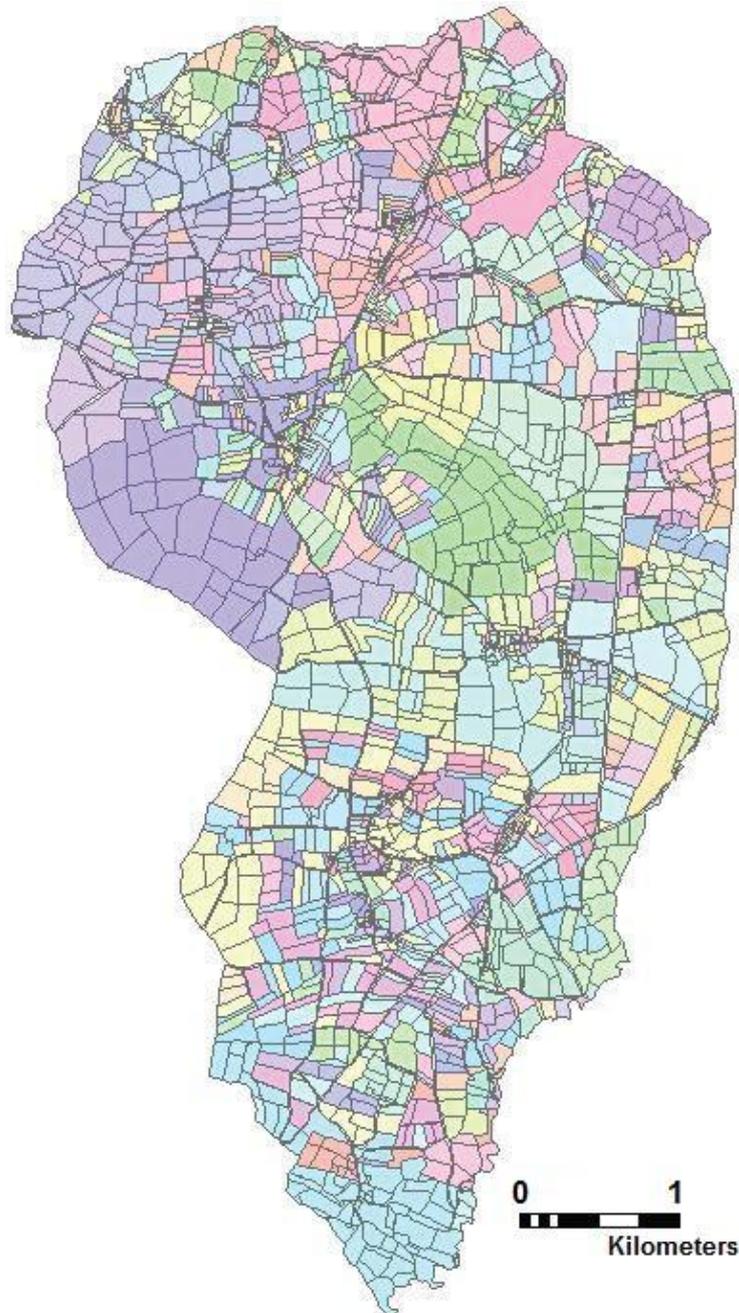


Fig.4.1. Transcription of the tithe map morphology of the parish of Chard (Somerset), showing clear morphological evidence for former open field (Rippon 2012, plate 3).

These diagnostic field morphology features are often the result of the piecemeal enclosure of arable open fields whose survival is a result of a change of land use, meaning that they escaped the large-scale removal of field boundaries associated

with modern arable farming (Rippon 2004a, 21). In contrast to all these diagnostic features of former open fields, a complex pattern of highly irregular fields is suggestive of the piecemeal enclosure of common, pasture or woodland; rather than being held in common these fields were enclosed (closes) held by one individual (i.e. in severalty) (Rippon 2004a, 24). An excellent example of the evidence being sought (although from outside the study area) is provided by the tithe map of the parish of Chard in Somerset, where there is diagnostic evidence for an open field covering most of the landscape of the parish. Within the parish of Chard there is clear evidence of thin 'strip' fields, fields sharing long, curved, common boundaries and examples of 'dog-leg' and 's-shaped' morphology in the centre of the parish, with more irregular shaped fields, indicative of closes held in severalty, around the edges (Fig.4.1.).

The location of any morphological evidence for possible former open field systems must also be taken into account, and evidence was sought for landscape features diagnostic of former open field farming systems clustered around the symbols of Anglo-Norman lordship within the parish, namely the church and the castle. This is because a few 'strip' fields situated on the edge of the parish, a long way from any form of settlement, is unlikely to constitute compelling evidence for a former open field system, and may, for example, be the result of the agency of one individual farmer. One must also be aware of the difference between the remains of former strip field farming and possible former tenements or burgage plots located where a settlement has shrunk in size.

Another important piece of information which can be garnered from a study of the field morphology of a parish is the road pattern present. This is relevant to these case studies because a 'radial' road pattern (i.e. one where all or most of the roads in the parish radiate out of a central point) is suggestive of a nucleated village, upon which all the roads are connected, being the focal point of the parish; again, Chard provides an excellent example of this (Fig.4.1.).

The next data set to be examined from the tithe survey of the case study parishes was that of the settlement pattern, more specifically whether a dispersed or nucleated pattern is present. The aim of this part of the case study was to look for the presence of any nucleation of settlement relating to either the church or the castle (or other relevant medieval lordship centre) in order to discover whether there were any traces within the landscape of the parish of villages, or small towns, associated with these prominent symbols of Anglo-Norman lordship. As has already been mentioned, the traditional view is of native Welsh rural settlement consisting of transhumance and 'seasonal' occupation of upland areas with more permanent lowland settlements (see Chapters 2 and 3), and this landscape of dispersed settlement is at odds with the classic Anglo-Norman pattern of nucleated villages complete with an associated open field. Furthermore, open field farming systems would have been difficult to implement without the agricultural workforce being located in a nearby nucleated settlement, with the most efficient location for this

village being in the centre of the open field. Another key piece of information which can be studied when examining the settlement pattern of a parish where a village (or larger nucleation) is definitely known to be present is whether or not a 'halo effect' is present around the edge of the settlement. The term 'halo effect' is used to describe a settlement pattern where a nucleation is present (a town or village) surrounded by a zone of land devoid of any settlement, whilst the rest of the parish largely consists of dispersed settlement. This is suggestive of a former open field surrounding a nucleated settlement where all the workers who farmed the open field lived in the village.

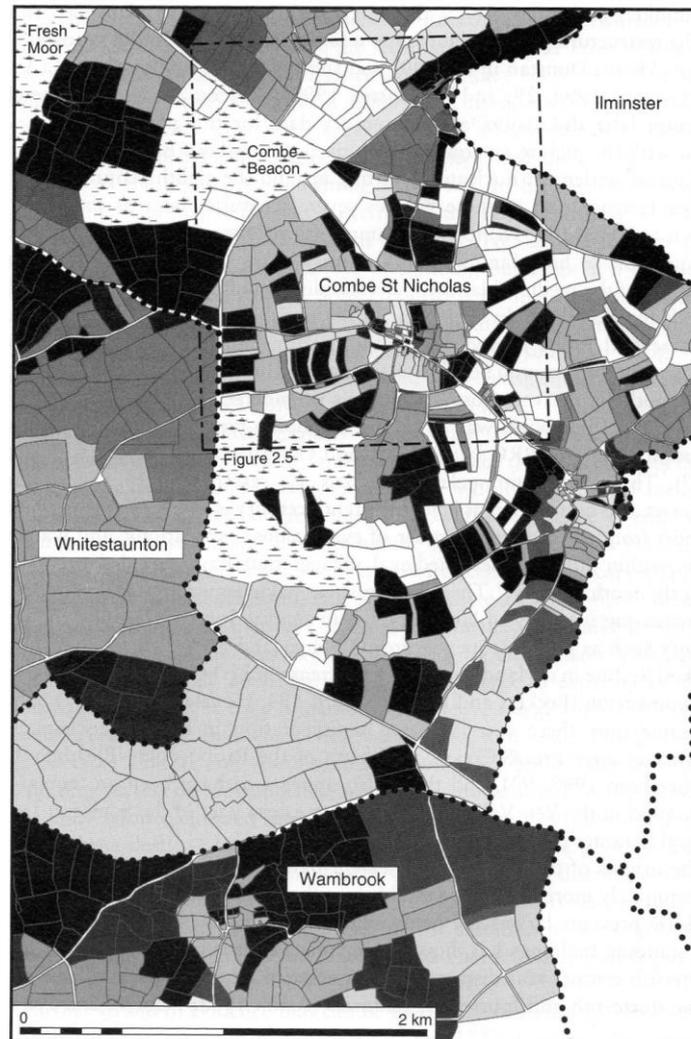


Fig.4.2. An example of how patterns of land occupancy and ownership can provide evidence for a former open field. These differences in the patterns of occupancy and ownership between Combe St Nicholas (Somerset) and its surrounding parishes clearly show a former open field (Rippon 2008, Fig.2.8.).

Conversely to this, a wholly dispersed settlement pattern, or one where the landscape consists of a number of extremely small nucleations, is suggestive of the opposite: a landscape made up of small holdings of land held in severalty. It was important to keep in mind that when examining the tithe survey settlement pattern of

a parish, care must be taken to discount settlement which is clearly post-medieval, particularly in the vicinity of the large towns and in the highly industrialised western reaches of the county and detailed analysis of the history of the settlement and forms of settlement present was undertaken. Furthermore, throughout this analysis, it was also important to maintain an awareness that medieval settlements may have shrunk, and what was once a village is now a hamlet, an isolated farmstead, or possibly have been totally deserted in the centuries between the medieval period and the present.

More diagnostic evidence for the presence of a former open field system in a parish's tithe map can be drawn from the patterns of land ownership and land occupancy. These patterns can provide evidence for the legacy of a former open field system because, in areas which formerly contained an open field system, one would expect to see a complicated pattern of jumbled land ownership and occupancy (Fig.4.2.). This is because, in areas where there has been a piecemeal enclosure of the former open field, instead of a large-scale systematic reorganisation of the landscape, the previous pattern of confused, dispersed and jumbled multiple land occupancy can be transferred to the later enclosed field system (except in cases of 'engrossment', where one tenant managed to gradually acquire the land of his neighbours, producing larger more compact landholdings). Conversely, large blocks of land owned and occupied by the same individuals is suggestive of a landscape formerly made up of land held in severalty, and farmed by individuals, and not the communal methods associated with former open fields.

As has already been mentioned (see Chapter 3) a toponymic study of these case study parishes is relevant to this thesis because place-names constitute useful evidence for the landscape archaeologist, both in terms of as a dating tool and as evidence of the linguistic origins of the peoples responsible for shaping the landscape. Although it is important to be aware that place-names can change after creation, and research into these processes needs to take place, the 'language' of a landscape (i.e. the place-names present) can be an important indicator of character, as well as the cultural identity of those responsible for creating the settlement, land use and field patterns we see today (Rippon 2004a, 27), and this is especially true in a bilingual area such as Wales. Furthermore, toponymic evidence provides a more fluid landscape element than some of the more permanent features, such as field boundaries and settlement pattern, which can take longer to change. Both the pattern of field-names recorded in the tithe survey and the place-names recorded in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps, therefore, provide this thesis with a different type of evidence, and the 'language of lordship' (the extent to which the place- and field-names present were affected by centres of Anglo-Norman lordship) can be examined. For instance, do we see more 'English' toponymic evidence in the vicinity of seigneurial focal points, and, conversely are the more remote parishes (and portions of parishes), away from the *caput* and the other lordly sites, dominated by 'Welsh' place-names? This will help give an understanding of the cultural

background of the agents responsible for shaping the landscape, and allow us to make judgements as to whether the Anglo-Norman lordly class or the native Welsh populace were exerting more agency. Throughout this process it was important to keep in mind that, due to the language of the landscape being quite a fluid piece of evidence, it may also have changed dramatically in the centuries after the establishment of Anglo-Norman lordships and the most important agent in this change may have been the nineteenth century landowner, at the time of the tithe survey, and their linguistic preferences. The Ordnance Survey data was collected in an attempt to emulate a previous study looking at the Lordship of the 'Three Castles' (Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle) in northern Monmouthshire (Connors 2011). Within this study an interesting correlation was found in the parish of Skenfrith relating to the distribution of place-names of a Welsh origin and topography, namely that the areas of the parish with a higher elevation were dominated by 'Welsh' place-names, whilst at lower heights 'English' place-names were prevalent (Fig.4.3.).

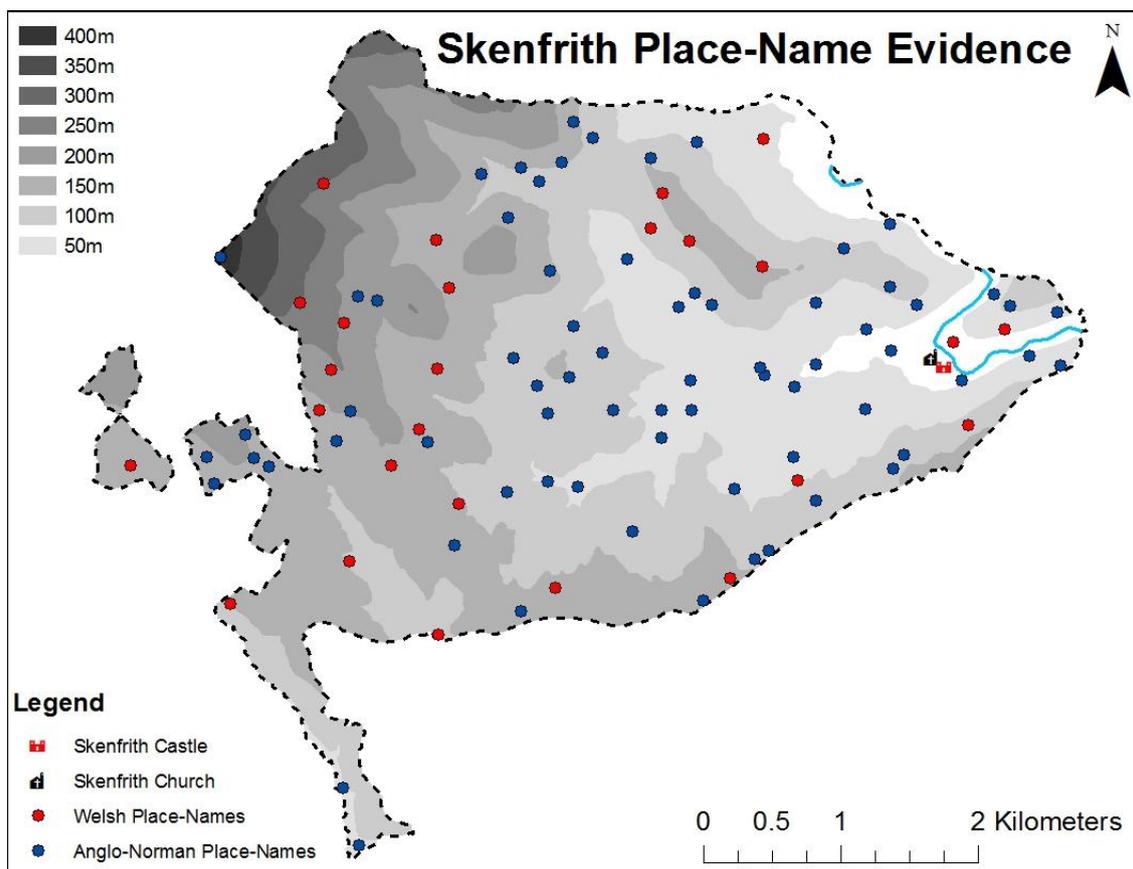


Fig.4.3. The linguistic origins of the place-names recoded in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for the parish of Skenfrith in Monmouthshire (Redrawn from Connors 2011).

Due to the multiple data sets that were to be examined for each case study parish, at this stage it was crucial to stress the importance of the use of multiple layers of data in order to provide compelling evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape influence in Monmouthshire. Because the landscape is a complicated picture, made up of a number of facets, a few thin strip-like fields do not, on their own, constitute solid

evidence for a former open field. The use of GIS software is crucial in this, as it allows for highly accurate shape-files representing each of the different data sets to be projected on top of both Ordnance Survey data and other data sets. The benefit of this is twofold, as it firstly allows for a great deal of accuracy (everything is geo-referenced and can be easily compared to the Ordnance Survey maps which form the base layer) and secondly it allows for the rapid comparison of different data sets, by placing the different layers on top of each other and turning them 'on and off' (i.e. telling the software which data sets to display) on the GIS program.

4.3. Data Set Collection Methodology

In order to collect data for each case-study parish it was necessary to obtain accurate parish boundary shape-files. A GIS shape-file of Roger Kain and Richard Oliver's 'Ancient Parishes of England and Wales, 1500-1850' project (Kain and Oliver 2001) was used as a base and this was first laid over a modern national grid geo-referenced Ordnance Survey map in order to check for accuracy. It was then layered on top of geo-referenced first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps on ArcGIS, downloaded from EDINA Digimap, as these contain accurate parish boundaries (which also tied in with the parish boundaries recorded in the tithe maps) which are not present on the modern maps. This allowed for an accurate, geo-referenced, polyline shape file (made up of a number of vertices) to be drawn for each parish boundary. Once the parish boundaries were completed, it was possible to record topographic data for each of the parishes in order to provide a snapshot of the physical landscape onto which the other data sets could be projected. This information was taken from national grid referenced tiles from modern Ordnance Survey maps, again downloaded from EDINA Digimap and imported into ArcGIS. From these maps geo-referenced polygons were created following each contour line lying within the parish boundaries. By ensuring these were layered in height order, it was possible to produce an accurate representation of the topography of the parish. Once these topographic polygons were completed, separate polylines were created for each watercourse within the parish.

The next data set to be collected was information from the relevant Historic Environment Records (HER). An Excel spreadsheet was created for each case study parish detailing any entries on the relevant online HERs, Coflein, the online database for the Royal Commission's National Monuments Record of Wales, and Archwilio, the online HER search engine of the four Welsh Archaeological Trusts, recorded as 'medieval' in date. Each spreadsheet entry created recorded the name, a twelve figure grid reference, the type of site recorded, a date (if known) and any relevant notes for each site listed by the HER. The spreadsheet was then imported into ArcGIS, and the easting and northings from the grid reference were converted into X and Y data in order for the spreadsheet information to be projected as points on top

of the topographic data for the parish. These points were then assigned different shapes and colours according to the type of site they represented.

DOWNERS.	OCCUPIERS.	Number referring to the Plan.	NAME AND DESCRIPTION OF LANDS AND PREMISES.	STATE OF CULTIVATION.	QUANTITIES IN STATUTE MEASURE.			Amount of Rent-Charge apporportioned upon the several Lands, and payable to the Tenant.			REMARKS.	
					A.	R.	P.	S.	d.	q.		
Williams Esquis (continued)	John Charles	17	One Acre	Arable	1	2	24	-	0	-		
		18	Barren	Grass	1	1	7	-	3	6		
		19	One pull yf	do	1	2	36	-	5	6		
		20	Llangattock Mill &	do	-	1	5	-	1	-		
		21	Orchard	do	1	-	37	-	3	6		
		22	Worked down by Waste in do	do	1	2	35	-	13	-		
		23	One Strip y of	do	2	3	11	-	6	6		
		24	Worked y of	do	2	1	22	-	6	6		
		25	One down Higher	Arable	1	3	37	-	6	6		
		26	Barren &	do	1	-	16	-	1	6		
		27	One war Higher	Arable	2	3	13	-	11	1		
		28	Worked y of	Grass	2	2	30	-	5	6		
		29	One by common	do	2	-	9	-	1	6		
		30	The Seven Acres	Arable	5	-	26	-	1	-		
		31	3 King Wood in do	do	6	-	5	-	1	2	9	
		31a	Brads West &	do	1	2	20	-	-	-	-	
							30	3	16	3	10	10
	Benjamin Williams	132	Stough Meadow	Grass	3	2	20	-	7	-		
		133	Upper Field	Arable	2	2	31	-	10	6		
		134	Further Stough &	do	1	3	30	-	6	-		
		135	Nearest Stough	do	3	2	26	-	14	6		
		136	Lower House Garden	do	-	1	7	-	1	3		
		137	Flamstead	do	-	2	12	-	2	3		
		138	Orchard	Grass	1	-	7	-	1	3		
		139	Little Field	Arable	1	1	-	-	1	3		
		140	Field by John Lewis	do	-	3	3	-	2	9		
		141	Range and Barn	Grass	-	1	34	-	1	2		
142	Field by Barn	Arable	3	3	3	-	16	6				
143	Little Meadow	Grass	1	1	24	-	8	6				
144	The Stough	do	5	-	19	-	6	6				
145	Great Warming	do	-	-	10	-	-	-				
146	Older	do	1	-	2	-	-	-				

Fig.4.4. An example of a photocopy of a tithe apportionment. Taken, in this instance, from the 1840 survey of Llangattock Nigh Usk.

The bulk of the data collection for these case studies was focused on the tithe maps and associated tithe apportionments created for every parish and the tithe apportionment (Fig.4.4.). The tithe apportionment was the first half of each of the parish tithe surveys to be recorded, as this provided a guide for the more complex tithe map transcription. The tithe apportionments for each of the case study parishes were transcribed onto an Excel spreadsheet recording the owner, occupier, field number, field-name and land use for each entry. Originally this was undertaken whilst visiting the Gwent Archives but it was soon realised that it was more time efficient to order photocopies of the relevant documents from the National Library of Wales. The Gwent Archives were, however, still visited periodically in order to investigate the existence of earlier historic maps for the case study parishes. There were a few problems encountered during this process, one of the most basic being the quality of the handwriting of the surveyors and the levels of preservation of the documents themselves. Whilst I had previous experience of reading Victorian handwriting, some of the entries on the tithe apportionments relevant to this study were very unclear, either due to the script used to originally record them, or due to the state of the manuscript (a few had been either altered, damaged or smudged in

the years since their creation). Furthermore, in some of the case study parishes, not all the relevant data, which was usually recorded in a tithe apportionment, had been collected (e.g. field-names), meaning not all the data sets were available to this study. Finally, some of the tithe surveyors also seem to have struggled with the Welsh place- and field-names present, and recorded fairly basic phonic transcriptions of what they heard, making some of the linguistic landscape data sets difficult to collect.

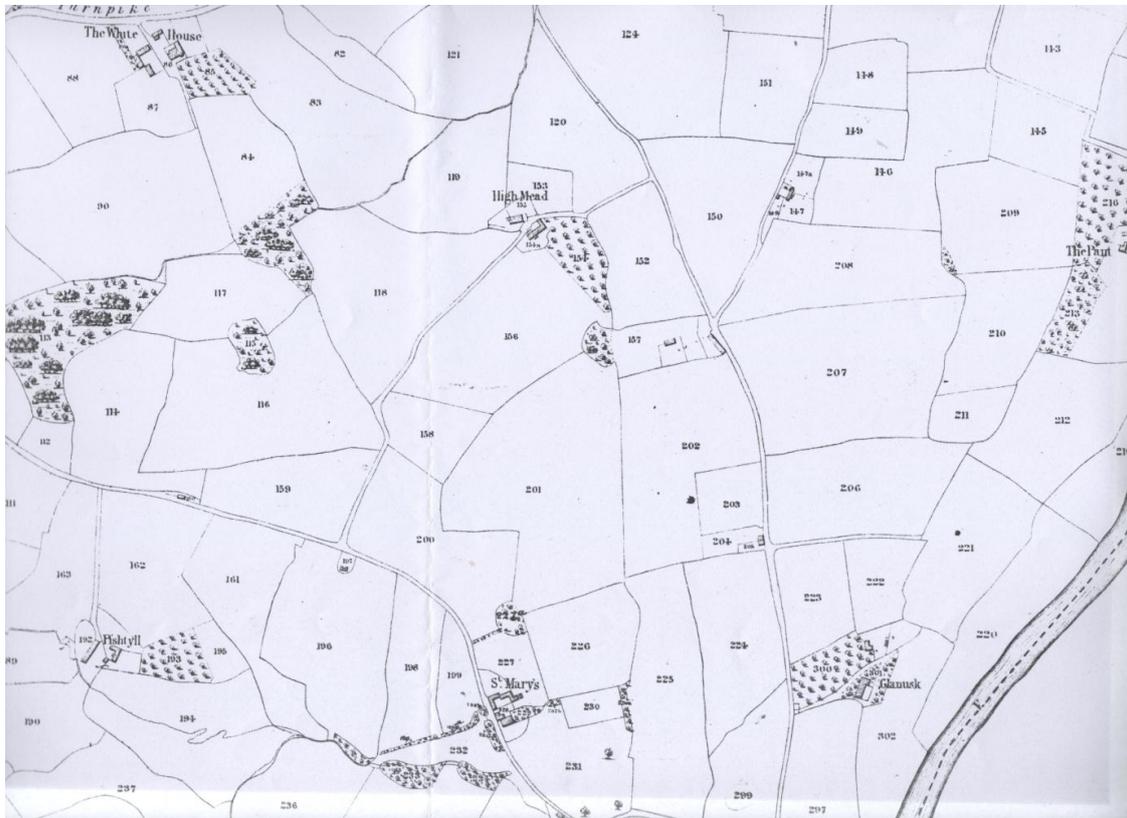


Fig.4.5. An example of a photocopy of a tithe map, taken, in this instance, from the 1841 tithe survey of Llanfair Kilgeddin.

Once the tithe apportionment was completed, an ArcGIS transcription of the relevant tithe maps was undertaken. As with the tithe apportionments, it was more time efficient to transcribe the tithe maps from ordered photocopies rather than from the originals (Fig.4.5.). Using an underlay of the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map as a guide, the tithe maps were transcribed into ArcGIS as a geo-referenced polygon shape file, with each of the individual polygons being made up of a number of vertices (Fig.4.6.). To avoid confusion, the field polygons were created in numerical order using the Excel spreadsheet transcription of the tithe apportionment (now reordered to also display the fields in numerical order) as a reference guide.

Once the tithe map transcription was completed it allowed for the field morphology of the parish to be analysed. As they were being created, each individual polygon was assigned a field number from the tithe map which related to the field numbers recorded on the tithe apportionment. Next, the relevant tithe apportionment was

attached to the completed tithe map transcription by relating the field numbers. This then allowed the tithe map to be re-coloured in order to show the patterns of settlement, land ownership, land occupancy, land use and field-names.

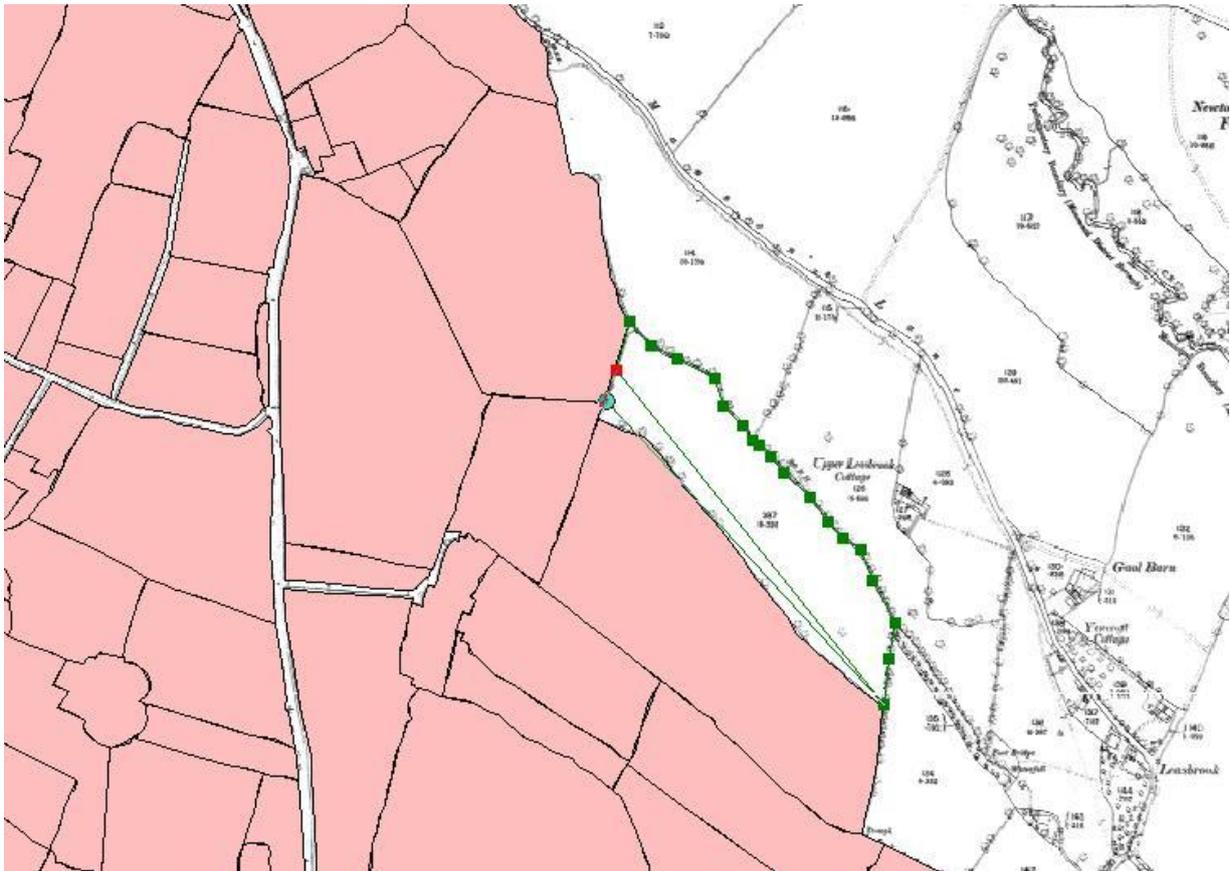


Fig.4.6. The creation of a GIS polygon shape file for a tithe map transcription. Note how the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map is used as an underlay and a guide and how the polygons are created from a number of 'vertices' (the green dots delineating the outline of the field, as transcribed to far – the red dot represents the last vertex placed).

The final piece of data collection for each of the case-study parishes was a survey of the linguistic origins of the place-names recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps. For this survey two point shape files were created on ArcGIS from the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map, one for place-names of English origin and one for place-names of Welsh origin. Simple descriptive names marked on the map, such as 'quarry' or 'barn', were not recorded as these were always going to be in English regardless of the landscape and therefore may have skewed the results.

4.4. Data Set Presentation

After the collection of each data set was completed, it was important to have solid methodology for the presentation and analysis of the data in each of the case studies in order to produce maps and models which were both easier to understand and

which provided all the relevant information. This section will, therefore, detail the methodology employed for presenting each data set, starting with the geographic data. When discussing the presentation of the geographic data for each parish, it is crucial to emphasise the importance of a coherent and uniform colour scheme for the topographic maps. This was due to the extremely varied landscape of the county (lowland coastal plains and wetland in the south-east, rising to extremely mountainous terrain in the north-west) and it was found that, while creating a contour line for every 10m of elevation was effective and produced good results in the lowland areas of the county, it was not feasible, or indeed time-efficient, to do so for the more upland regions of Monmouthshire as colouring each contour a different shade of the same colour quickly exhausted the palette available on ArcGIS. A compromise was therefore reached, and it was decided that every 20m of elevation would be recorded and shown. After being laid on top of each other on ArcGIS, the topographic layer polygons were coloured in varying shades of grey, gradually getting darker as the elevation rose (starting at 5% gray for 20m above sea-level and going up by a further 5% for every 20m of elevation), a colour scheme which was employed for every parish, apart from the most mountainous ones (e.g. Abergavenny and Llanellen) where shades of black and brown were required for the highest altitudes. Finally, once the topographic maps were complete, the river and coastline (if relevant) polylines were projected on top, with the rivers being coloured light blue and the coastline being coloured dark blue.

The tithe map field morphology for each parish was presented in a relatively simple manner, with each field polygon being coloured light green shade with dark grey boundaries in order to make the field pattern easy to discern. The presentation of the tithe map settlement pattern for each parish was slightly more complicated. Using the now attached tithe apportionment spreadsheet and ArcGIS's 'symbolology/categories' function, each field-name recorded as 'house', 'farm', 'homestead' or 'cottage' on the tithe apportionment was selected, and then picked out in pink in order to contrast with the duller pastel shade ('lime dust') which the rest of the fields in the parish were coloured. The presentation of the tithe map land owner and land occupancy data sets followed a similar pattern to each other. For these maps the tithe map polygons were re-coloured, again using ArcGIS's 'symbolology/categories' function, according to the names recorded in the 'land owner' and 'land occupier' column of the digitised tithe apportionment. It was at this stage that large areas which showed up as one block colour in the re-coloured model, and therefore in the sole ownership of one landowner, were noted (e.g. The Duke of Beaufort owned large swathes of land within the parish of Chepstow).

The tithe map land use data set was presented in a similar way to the land owner and land occupancy sets, being re-coloured according to the entries in the tithe apportionment's 'land use' column using ArcGIS's 'symbolology/categories' function. To simplify these data sets, entries of small quantity or irrelevant usages (such as 'waste' and 'pound') were discarded and coloured as 'hollow' polygons (i.e. white).

Furthermore, at this point in the study, in order to maintain clarity and uniformity, it was important to make sure the same colours were used consistently within the case studies of every parish to represent the different types of land use. The colour scheme was chosen from the choices available on ArcGIS (see Table 4.1.):

Table 4.1. The colour scheme chosen for re-colouring the tithe map field polygons according to land use:

Type of Land Use	Colour Chosen
'Arable'	'Autunite Yellow'
'Brake'	'Cherry Cola'
'Garden'	'Ultra Blue'
'Grass'	'Gray'
'Meadow'	'Chrysophase'
'Mixed'	'Heliotrope'
'Orchard'	'Leaf Green'
'Pasture'	'Medium Coral Light'
'Wood'	'Black'

It must be noted that not every parish within this case study recorded every land use in Table 4.1. In a number of parishes (e.g. Trellech and Llandenny) the tithe surveyors did not record land use as either 'meadow' or 'pasture' and only entered the land usage as the generic 'grass'.

The study of the distribution of field-names of Welsh origin within each case study parish began in a similar manner to each of the previous data sets, with the tithe map polygons being re-coloured using ArcGIS's 'symbolology/categories' function. This time the re-colouration was done according to the field-names recorded in the 'field-name' column of the digitised tithe apportionment. Those fields with Welsh toponomastic elements (e.g. '-cae-', '-maes-', '-pant-', '-mawr-' or '-bach-') were coloured red, whilst fields not showing any Welsh toponomastic influence were left white. Importantly, fields where no name was recorded ('null') were coloured with a diagonally hatched pattern, in order to make sure they did warp the results by appearing to be 'English' in character. During this phase of the study guides to Welsh place-names (e.g. Morgan 2005; Owen & Morgan 2007) and field-name dictionaries (e.g. Field 1972) were invaluable. It must be noted that there were a number of cases found where the English surveyor sent to compile the tithe apportionment for a particular parish clearly struggled with the names of fields which were given to them in Welsh, and produced a very rough transcription of how the name was told to them. In these cases I had to make some judgement calls as to the name of the field. The final data set to be presented for each case study was the place-name information taken from the first edition six- inch Ordnance Survey maps. The point shape files representing the place-names of English and Welsh origin recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps were imported into ArcGIS and, since the shape file did not cover the whole of the parish in the way that the tithe map polygons did, it was layered on top of the topographic data previously

taken in order to see if there was any influence from the physical landscape, as was seen at Skenfrith (Fig.4.3.)

For each data set the completed maps were then 'published' and exported from ArcGIS as JPEG files which could be incorporated into each lordship case study. The data sets for each parish would then be examined as a group in order to create a picture of the historic landscape of each parish, as well as the lordship as a whole. Finally, using the previous data sets as a guide (and layering them on top of each other using ArcGIS) a model of the post-Conquest landscape of each parish was created.

4.5. Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed overview of the processes which went into selecting the case study parishes and which data sets to examine, as well as how said data sets were collected, analysed and presented. Moving on from this chapter, the next stage of this thesis is the presentation of the results garnered from the methodology detailed in this section. This presentation will take the form of a number of case studies structured in a lordship by lordship basis, starting with the 'pilot' study of the Lordship of Caldicot.

5. Case Study: The Lordship of Caldicot

5.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to build upon the county-wide study on a smaller scale by exploring the impact of Anglo-Norman lordship within the boundaries of the Lordship of Caldicot in south-eastern Monmouthshire. The lordship was unusual in both its smallness in size (composed of only two parishes) and it being split between Caldicot manor, on the Gwent coastline, and the detached inland manor of Shirenewton carved out of the forest of Wentwood. The small size of the lordship has the distinct advantage of making it extremely manageable as a first case study and a pilot. This chapter will examine the landscape of the lordship in detail in order to determine to what extent the differences present in the landscapes of its two constituent parishes were caused by the differing patterns of seigneurial influence present. As the first case study of this thesis, and concentrated on a lordship in a highly 'anglicised' area, this chapter will hopefully provide a 'benchmark' for the rest of my case studies and act as a 'control' lordship.

Dorothy Sylvester has suggested that, due to its more upland landscape, Shirenewton was the 'detached Welshry' of the Lordship of Caldicot (with the parish of Caldicot forming the 'Englishry' (Sylvester 1969, 402). The traditional view of the system of dividing the lordship into an 'Englishry' and a 'Welshry' has its roots in the need of the incoming Anglo-Norman lords to exploit all the resources within their lordships. The 'Englishry' consisted of the low-lying portion of the lordship, settled by immigrants, and where manorial forms of organisation were established. This land was usually highly suitable for arable farming (although use was made of river pastures and meadowland for the keeping of livestock) and the farming is undertaken by a dependant and servile population, made up of English peasants. The lord would have profited through both demesne farming and rents paid in kind, as well as the revenues from his honorial and manorial courts (Walker 1990, 59). The 'Welshry' was made up of the less profitable lands situated in the more upland areas of the lordship, lands which the native Welsh were experts in exploiting as pastoral farmers. From these native Welsh subjects the Anglo-Norman lords would extract traditional payments in kind (just as Welsh lords would) such as the *ebediw* (a death duty equivalent to an English *heriot*), the *amobr* (a payment protecting female virginity, similar to English permission to marry) and payments in the form of arms, horses and beasts (Walker 1990, 59-60). Therefore, this chapter aims to examine to what extent there is landscape evidence to back up this theory.

5.2. Background

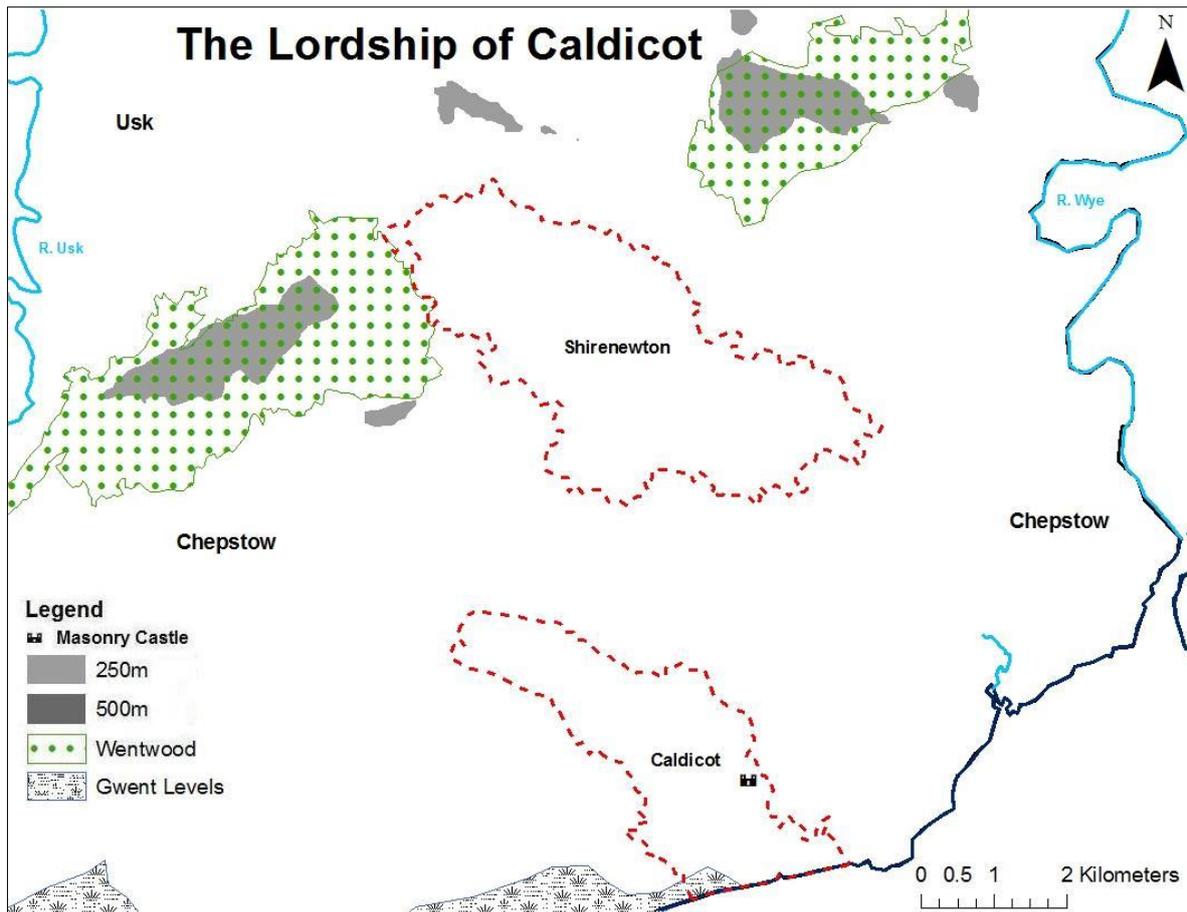


Fig.5.1. The Lordship of Caldicot (comprising the parishes of Caldicot and Shirenewton).

The topography of Caldicot (Fig.5.2) is fairly simple with the Gwent Levels on the coast to the south, rising to the heights of Highmoor Hill (rising to a height of 64m) in the north-western portion of the parish. The village of Caldicot itself is tucked behind a small rise in the land and most of the eastern boundary of the parish follows the valley of the Nedern Brook, a watercourse which eventually joins the Severn Estuary at Caldicot Pill.

Topographically the important features of Shirenewton (Fig.5.3) are the large hill (Earlswood Common) in the centre of the parish (rising to a height of 245m) and the edge of Wentwood forest (*Coed Gwent*; see Fig.5.1.), a large medieval hunting preserve which belonged to the Lordship of Chepstow and provided timber, fuel and pasturage for the tenants of many nearby manors (Courtney 2008, 57), to the north of the parish. There are also two main modern settlement nucleations (Mynydd Bach and Shirenewton itself), and the parish is largely bordered by watercourses along its north-eastern (Mounton Brook) and south-western boundaries (Castrogi Brook).

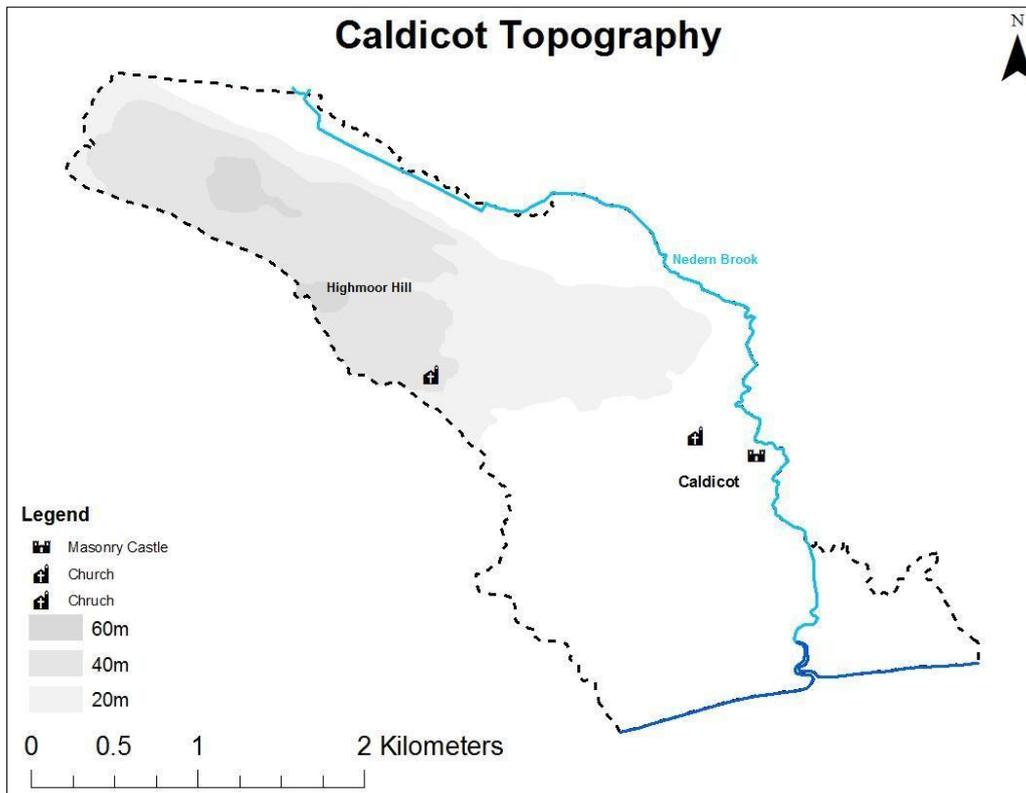


Fig.5.2. Topographic features of the parish Caldicot with medieval entries from the HER. Note the close proximity of the parish church to the castle.

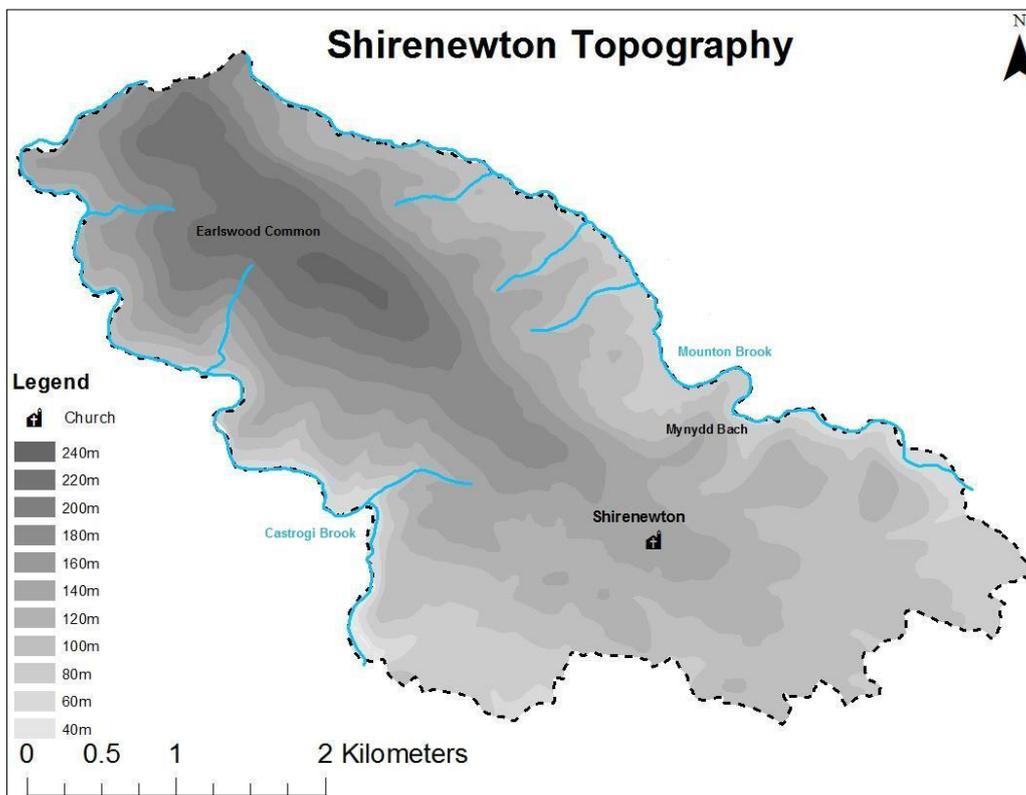


Fig.5.3. Topographic features of the parish of Shirenewton with medieval entries from the HER

According to the Llandaff charters there was some form of settlement in the area prior to the conquest as these documents mention that the church (dedicated to St Bride) at *Castell Conscuit* (Caldicot) was a pre-existing institution prior to the Anglo-Norman Conquest (*Liber Landavensis*, 235b). There is a grant of two churches (*duas ecclesias - ecclesia Castell Conscuit & ecclesiam Brigide*) with six *modii* of land by King Brochwael ap Meurig to Bishop Cyfeiliog (Davies 1978b, 137; 1979, 123; Evans 2003). At Shirenewton, there is very little historical evidence for pre-Conquest occupation, despite the possibility that Llanmelin Wood hill-fort may have been occupied in the aftermath of the Roman withdrawal, but it must be remembered that both these parishes are very close to Caerwent, which remained an important focus of economic and religious activity well into the sixth and seventh centuries (Knight 2004, 273).

In the Domesday survey (1086) Caldicot (*Caldecote*) was recorded as being held by Durand, the Sheriff of Gloucester, from the king. The survey records that Durand, as well as having extensive lands in Gloucestershire, held the land of Caldicot in demesne and had 3 ploughs. Within his land 15 half-villains (this odd designation is probably a 'best fit translation' for the Welsh bond tenants of the former *maerdref* resident of Durand's land, rather than English immigrants (Courtney 2008, 57), 4 slaves and 1 knight who held together another 12 ploughs. Domesday also mentions that there is a mill and that the entire manor is worth £6 (*Domesday – Glos., W15*). Durand had succeeded his brother, Roger de 'Pitres' and the family had been given their land by Earl William fitz Osbern of Hereford (d. 1071) and continued to serve the crown after Earl Roger's rebellion (1075) (Courtney 2008, 57). As a separate parish, Shirenewton probably owed its origins to the need to provide the sheriff with a private hunting domain (Courtney 2008, 57). Caldicot is a very common English place-name (there is a 'Caldicott' recorded in Gloucestershire's Salmonsbury Hundred and another Caldicot mentioned in the Domesday survey for Buckinghamshire (*Domesday – Glos, 34.5; Domesday – Bucks., 12.30*) and a number of 'Caldecote' place-names in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire) meaning 'cold hut' or 'cold huts' (*calde* and *cote* in Old English) (Morgan 2005, 58). This definition has been interpreted to mean a building some distance away from a farm or a village to be used as a store or a refuge in bad weather (Owen & Morgan 2007, 66). The Welsh name is *Cil-y-coed* which appears to be a modern misinterpretation of *-cot* as the Welsh *coed* (wood) and the *Cald-* place-name element as the Welsh *cil* (nook) (Morgan 2005, 58).

Despite Shirenewton not being directly recorded in the Domesday survey, a manor known as *Newetuna* or, in Latin, *Nova Villa* (Morgan 2005, 195), was granted to the Sheriff of Gloucester in the late eleventh century. This is reflected in the parish's name as, taken as a literal translation, Shirenewton means 'the sheriff's new town' (Owen & Morgan 2007, 439). Durand and his nephew Walter fitz Roger de Gloucester (d. 1129), who succeeded him as Sheriff, had part of the Wentwood

forest cleared around the year 1100, and established a small settlement. The manor then became known as *Caldecot-cum-Newton*, and in some documents the village was called Newton Netherwent (Morgan 2005, 195), 'Netherwent' being the Anglo-Norman name for the Welsh cantref of *Gwent-is-coed* (Gwent beneath the wood, i.e. Wentwood). As has already been mentioned, Dorothy Sylvester has suggested that, due to its more upland landscape, Shirenewton was the 'detached Welshry' of the Lordship of Caldicot (Sylvester 1969, 402). The medieval village of Shirenewton grew up between two medieval trading centres, the midweek market of Llanfair Discoed and the Saturday market at Chepstow (Weeks 2008, 144) and it is known that tenants within Shirenewton had rights of housebote (an allowance for a tenant to collect wood for repairing their dwelling and for fuel), heybote (permission to collect timber for maintaining hedges and fences), pasture (grazing rights for animals) and pannage (pasturage for pigs) on the large 'Earlswood Common' at the highest point of the parish on the edge of Wentwood (Davies 1973, 493).

After Walter fitz Roger de Gloucester retired to become a monk at Llanthony Priory (Prima), his son, Miles fitz Walter (Miles de Gloucester, d. 1143), became Sheriff of Gloucester and later Sheriff of Staffordshire, Sheriff of Herefordshire, Earl of Hereford and Lord High Constable of England and thus inherited both Caldicot and Shirenewton. As well as his many titles Miles controlled a large English honour with its *caput* at Caldicot and the lordships of Brecon and Abergavenny (Walker 1990, 41). It is due to Miles elevation to the Earldom that the area north-west of the village of Shirenewton became known as the Earl's Wood about that time, and is now known as Earlswood. All of Miles' male heirs died without legitimate male issue and when Miles' fifth, and last surviving, son, Mahel, was killed by falling masonry at Bronllys castle (Brecon) in 1175 the Hereford inheritance was divided between female heirs which, by virtue of marriage, led the Lordship of Caldicot to pass into the hands of Henry de Bohun, 1st Earl of Hereford (d. 1220), by the end of the twelfth century through a marriage to Margaret, the daughter of Milo fitz Walter (Walker 1990, 54).

Caldicot's current parish church, St Mary's, seems to have been built at some point in the eleventh century, replacing the pre-Conquest church of St Brides (dedicated to the Irish Saint Brigit of Kildare). Despite being heavily restored in the nineteenth century, St Mary's is a mix of styles, built in three main phases, with an Anglo-Norman central tower, a Decorated style chancel and nave, and a Perpendicular style aisle and porch. (Newman 2000, 152-3). There are also the faint remains of another medieval church at Dewstow in the more upland northern reaches of the parish (Archwilio, 08353g; Rippon 1993, 499). The church at Shirenewton was originally built by Henry's eldest son Humphrey de Bohun, 2nd Earl of Hereford (d. 1275) (Bradney 1932, 153), who inherited his father's lands in 1220. The church was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket (who had been canonised in 1173, three years after his death). Much of the structure, including the fortified tower, choir, chancel and nave, originally dates from the thirteenth century, although it was partly rebuilt

and completely restored in 1853 (Newman 2000, 527-8), and it has been suggested that the construction of the parish church to serve the burgeoning village in the thirteenth century fits in with a pattern of expansion and growing population in the March (Knight 2008c, 169). Excavations at the site of St Marys turned up late twelfth and early thirteenth century pottery, suggesting there may have been a previous church, or domestic occupation, on this site, but not one which predated the current church by very long (Gaimster & O’Conor 2005, 468). The parish of *Ecclesia de Nova Villa* (i.e. Shirenewton) was valued at £8 in Pope Nicholas IV’s taxation assessment of 1291, significantly less than the nearby parishes of Chepstow, Caerwent and, significantly, Caldicot (which is valued at £16) (Denton & Taylor 1998, 146). An *Inquisition post mortem* of 1298 (C. 133/92. No.8.) shows that the population of Caldicot was almost exclusively English, whilst Shirenewton had a racially mixed population and the small hamlet of ‘Woodsheaves’, despite its English name, was entirely inhabited by Welshmen (unfortunately, the exact location of this hamlet of ‘Woodsheaves’ is unknown). Despite this, the pattern of English and Welsh occupation seems to largely follow the contours of the topographic geography; with a higher percentage of Welsh population the further one gets away from sea-level (Rees 1924; Davies 1978a, 305).



Fig.5.4. An aerial view of Caldicot castle. Note the ‘motte’ on which the tower at the bottom-right of the picture stands (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

During the thirteenth century the masonry castle at Caldicot had been constructed (Fig.5.4.; Pettifer 2000 123), although there is some debate as to whether the circular mound which the north-western tower sits atop represents a pre-existing motte or an attempt to add age and 'heritage' to the construction, as is seen at Skenfrith (in the Lordship of the Three Castles (Phillips 2006). The castle formed an imposing lordship centre and by the beginning of the fourteenth century, Caldicot had probably been transformed by English peasant immigration and land reclamation. The Bohun manor at Caldicot had a demesne of around 300 acres with an additional 60 acres in Shirenewton prior to the abandonment of demesne farming in the 1360s (Courtney 2008, 59). A fishery at Caldicot is also mentioned in the holdings listed in the *Inquisition post mortem* of the 7th Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1298) (Birbeck 1973, 59) and the presence of medieval fish-traps off the coast of Caldicot is supported by archaeological evidence (Godbold & Turner 1994). Immediately before the onset of the Black Death (1349 - in Welsh *Y Farwolaeth Fawr*, or 'The Great Mortality') it is recorded that there were 23 English villeins or Welsh customary tenants in Shirenewton. In the Lordship of Caldicot the bond population was divided into three categories, known as 'gafolmen', 'semi-virgaters' and 'quarter-virgaters', according to the number of labour services owed and the size of their tenements (Davies 1978a, 382). The men of Caldicot owed a particularly high level of service to their lord, averaging two or three days' work a week, compared to the men of Brecon who owed no more than ten days a year (Davies 1978a, 383; 388). When the Black Death struck Caldicot 36 out of the 40 customary tenants perished (Davies 1978a, 425). As in other 'Anglicized' manors labour problems were acute. In the 1340s the lord of the manor had been able to call upon a workforce of over 2,000, by 1362 this number had dropped to 114 (Davies 1987, 426). Furthermore, by the end of the fourteenth century, as with other Marcher lordships, the mid-century high level of income for the Lordship of Caldicot had dropped dramatically (Davies 1978a, 194). In 1361-2 the sale of cattle, corn and wool, as well as services, from the manor of Caldicot raised £10. 7s. 3d., whilst the cost of labour and upkeep of the manor was £10. 7s. 5d (D.L.29/680/10999). Due to this lack of profitability demesne farming in Caldicot was abandoned at Michaelmas 1362 (Davies 1978a, 115). Furthermore, in the aftermath of the Black Death many of the previously customary tenants were able to renegotiate the terms of their tenure and, by the 1390s, a lordship which had been previously characterised by a large number of unfree tenants and heavy labour services had changed into one largely comprised of freeholders and tenants at will (Davies 1978a, 441-442). The change of economic focus in the late fourteenth century is shown by the fact that by 1370 a fulling mill in the centre of Shirenewton was being leased to a 'J. Scherar' by the last Humphrey de Bohun, a mill that was still at lease when the parish passed into royal custody (Jack 1981, 123).

In 1380 the Lordship of Caldicot had passed to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester and third son of Edward III (d. 1397), through his marriage to Eleanor Bohun. Upon his first visit to Caldicot as lord in 1384, Thomas received the gift of three barrels of wine with £16, amply demonstrating the financial benefits of Marcher

lordship beyond mere revenue (D.L.29/680/11007). Caldicot was a favourite seat of Thomas of Woodstock and he spent lavishly on it (for details of the expenses see: Davies 1978a, 75), although Thomas led the rebellion of the 'Lords Appellant' against his nephew Richard II, and was murdered whilst imprisoned in Calais in 1397 (Davies 1987, 442). By 1400 the lordship Caldicot had passed as dower into the hands of Edmund, Earl of Stafford (d. 1403). A later re-partitioning of the Woodstock inheritance by Henry V brought Caldicot and Shirenewton into royal ownership by 1415 as part of the Duchy of Lancaster. Lessees of the Lordship of Caldicot from the duchy of Lancaster in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries include Jasper Tudor (1453), William Herbert of Raglan (1462) and Charles Somerset (1507) (Courtney 2008, 59). As an aside it is also worth noting that it is thought that Shirenewton was, at one point, the residence of the fourteenth and fifteenth century chronicler Adam of Usk (Bradney 1932, 154).

There are later records of open field farming at Shirenewton and in 1574 it is recorded that on the lower, southern, slopes of the parish there were 621 ½ acres in closes and 433 ½ acres lying within common fields (Davies 1973, 493) and by the seventeenth century Shirenewton was displaying a curious mix of Welsh and English tenure and land arrangement (Sylvester 1969, 406). The earliest attestation for the Welsh equivalent place-name for Shirenewton, (*Drenewydd Gelli-farch*) is in the sixteenth century (Morgan 2005, 195) and, as the *Drenewydd* element of this name ('new town') is taken from the English name, it is almost certain that this is a later 'neo-cymricization'. The separate nucleation of Mynydd Bach, to the north of the village of Shirenewton itself, is not attested to as a separately named settlement until into the seventeenth century (Morgan 2005, 156) and did not really grow into its modern form, linked to the watermills on Whitemill Brook, until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Gaimster & Bradley 2001, 374). Despite, as has been previously mentioned, the parish showing some clear evidence for there having been an 'English'-style open field system of arable lands, Sylvester feels that the poor upland soils led to an early break up of this communal farming method and led to the modern field pattern which gives little indication of English influence (Sylvester 1969, 406). The final enclosure of the remaining common land in the parish was provisionally ordered on the 18th December 1849, with the actual award taking place in 1853. During this process the valuer, one James Peachey Williams of Bristol, found there to be 1302 acres of common and waste within the parish (Chapman 1992, 117-8), although much of this would have been common land in the upland portion of the parish, within the boundaries of Wentwood. In her study of settlement nucleation along the Welsh border, Dorothy Sylvester labels the parish of Shirenewton as a parish with one nucleated parochial village and two nucleated non-parochial villages in the period 1830-60 (Sylvester 1969, 207), presumably one of these non-parochial villages being the settlement of Mynydd Bach. It is known for certain that there was large scale open field farming in the parish of Caldicot well into the eighteenth century due to the survival of the 'Caldicot Maps' from 'John Foord's Book' held at the Gwent Archives (D25/1972). This provides clear cartographic

evidence that Caldicot was surrounded by strip fields, as well as useful field-name evidence (Fig.5.5.). Contemporary maps of Shirenewton do not show any open field, but do clearly show a nucleation of settlement at both Shirenewton and Mynydd Bach, as well as the landscape of the parish being divided between the land around the village and 'Earlswood Common' in the upland northern half of Shirenewton (Fig.5.6.).

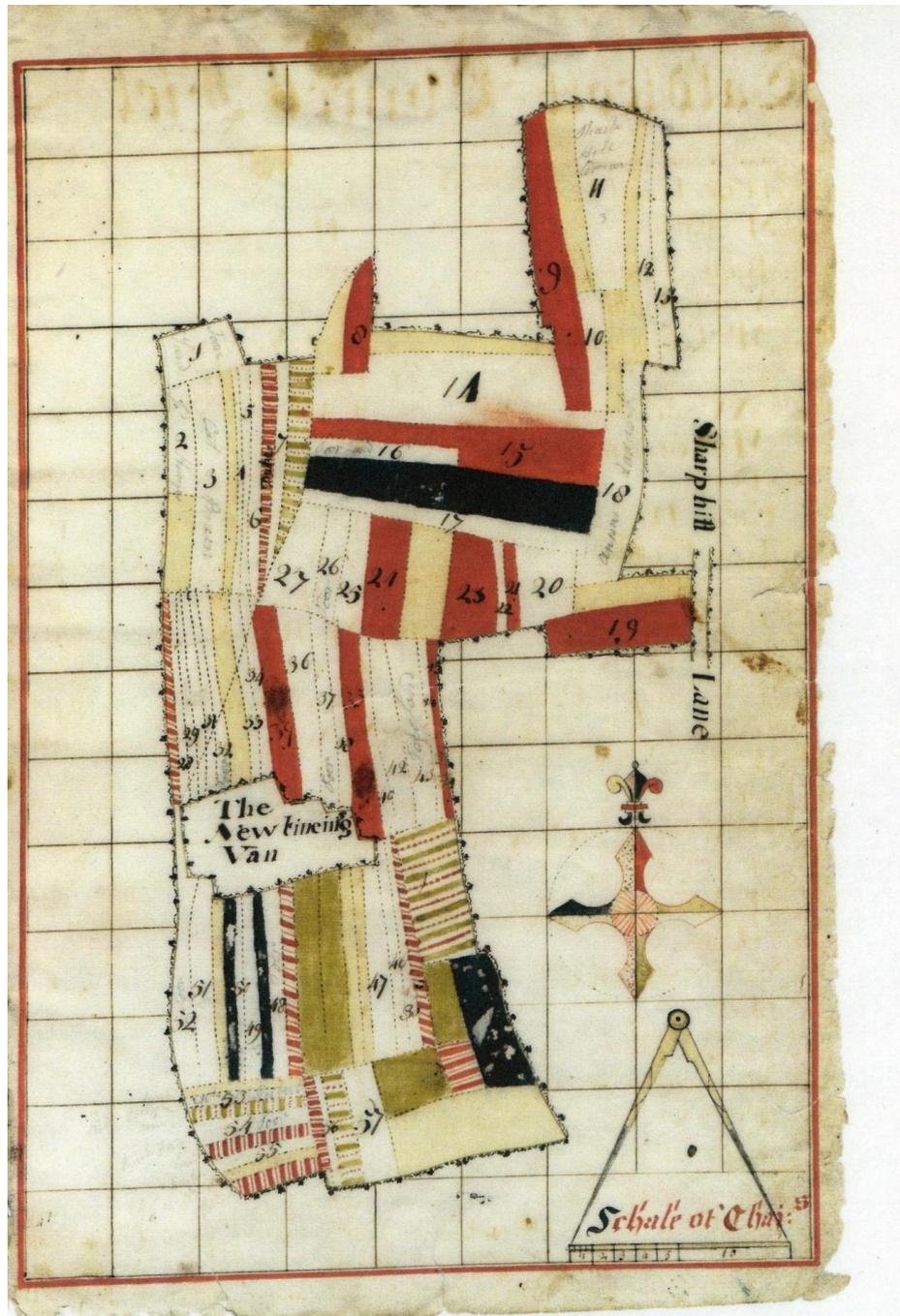


Fig.5.5. An example of a page from the 'Caldicot Map' taken from *John Foord's Book*. This map provides details on 'Church Field' (Source: Gwent Archives D25/1972).



Fig.5.6. An example of a survey map of the Duchy of Lancaster (1771), drawn by William Ford and showing Shirenewton, (Source: National Archives MPC1/117).

5.3. Analysis of the Historic Landscape

5.3.1. Caldicot

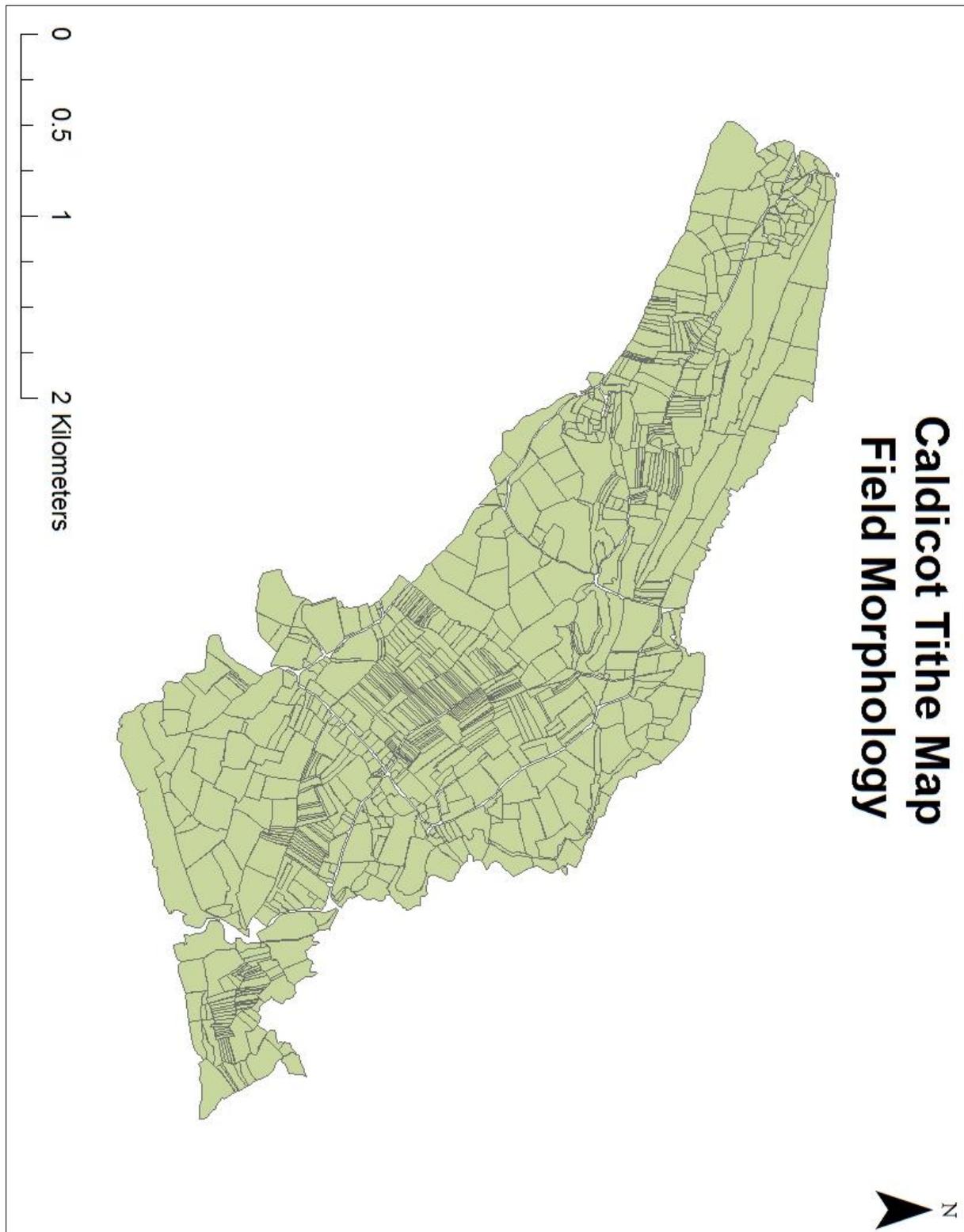


Fig.5.7. The field morphology of Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

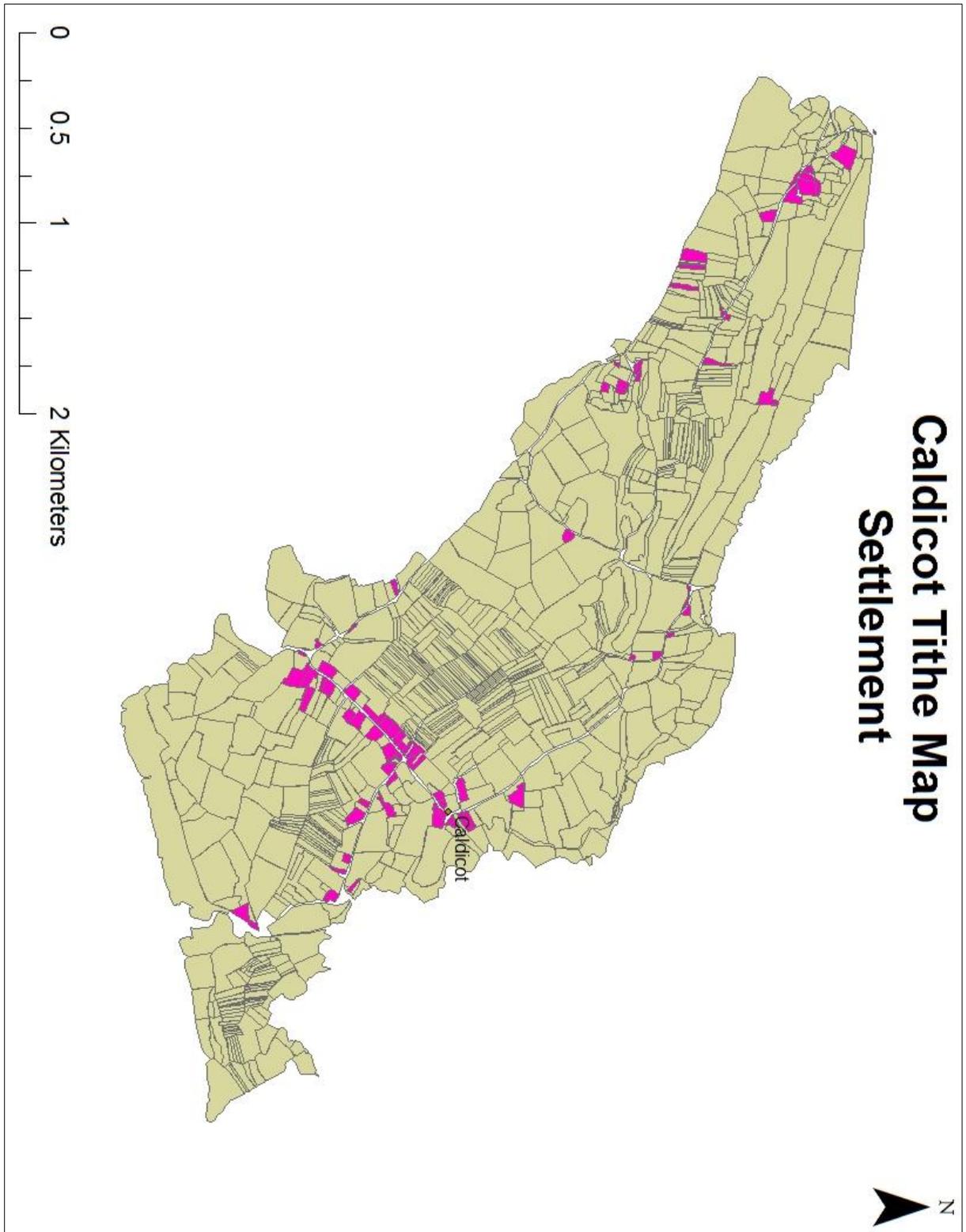


Fig.5.8. The settlement pattern of Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

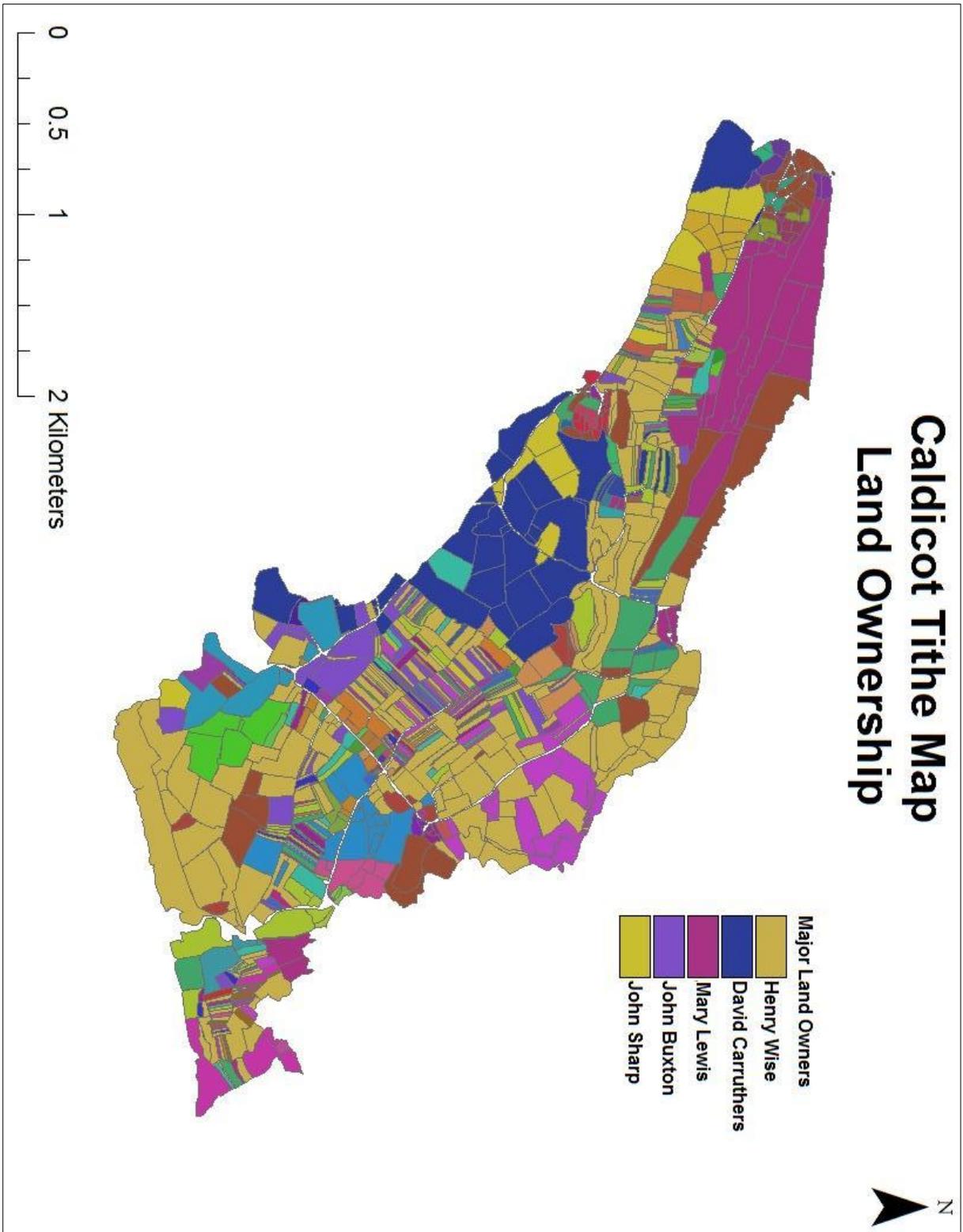


Fig.5.9. The pattern of land ownership for Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

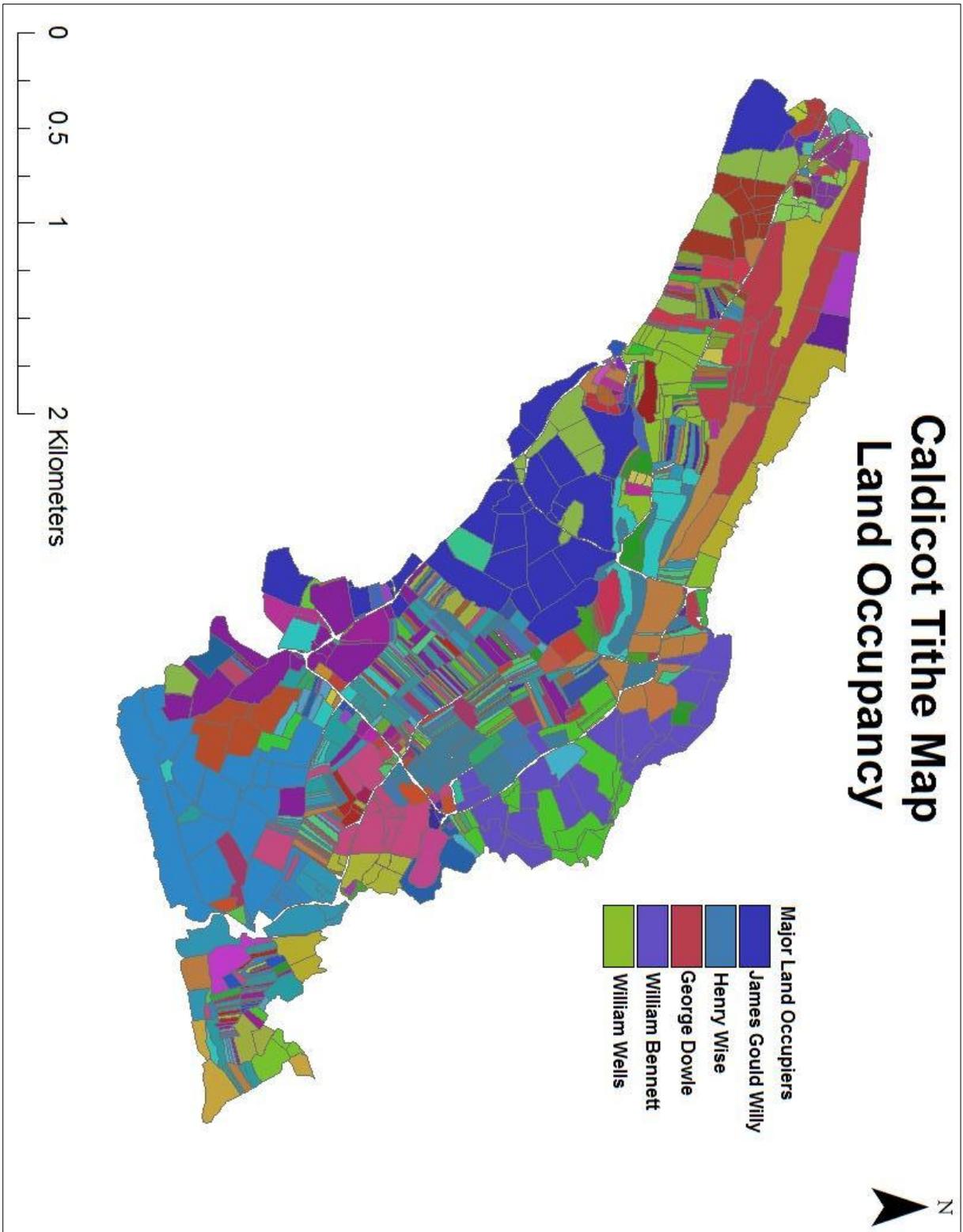


Fig.5.10. The pattern of land occupancy for Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

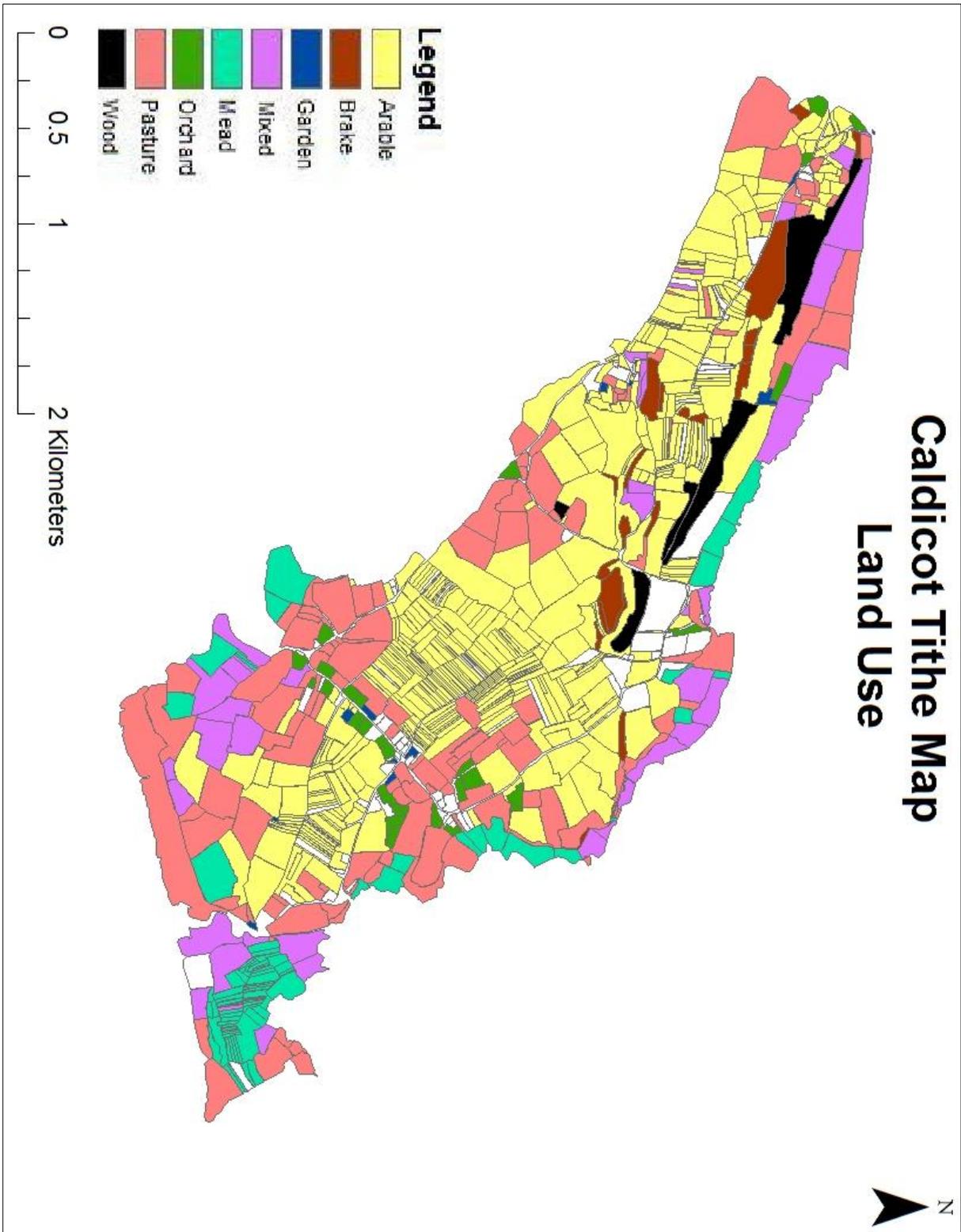


Fig.5.11. The pattern of land use for Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

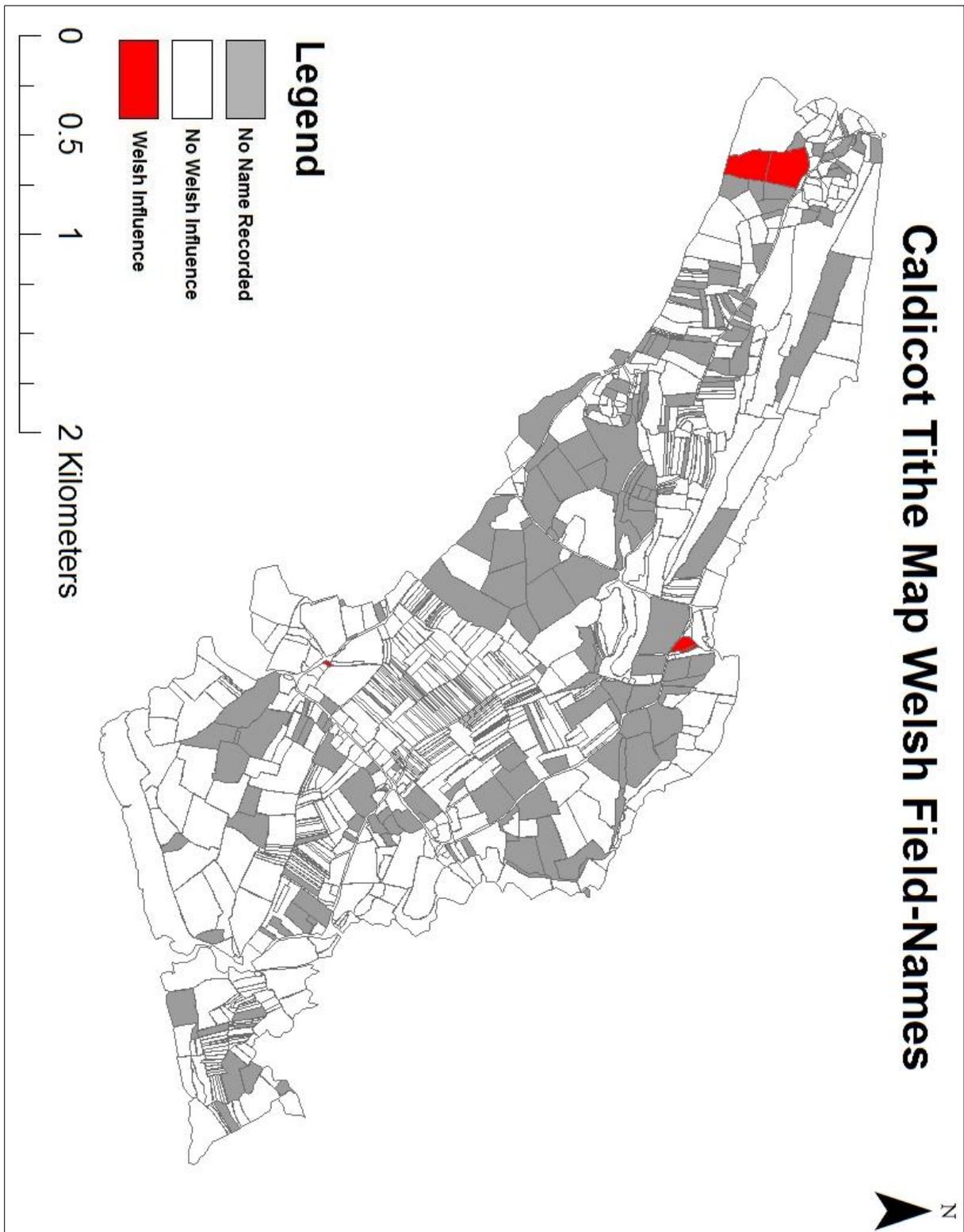


Fig.5.12. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names (marked in red) within the parish of Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey. The rest of the field-names were of English origin.

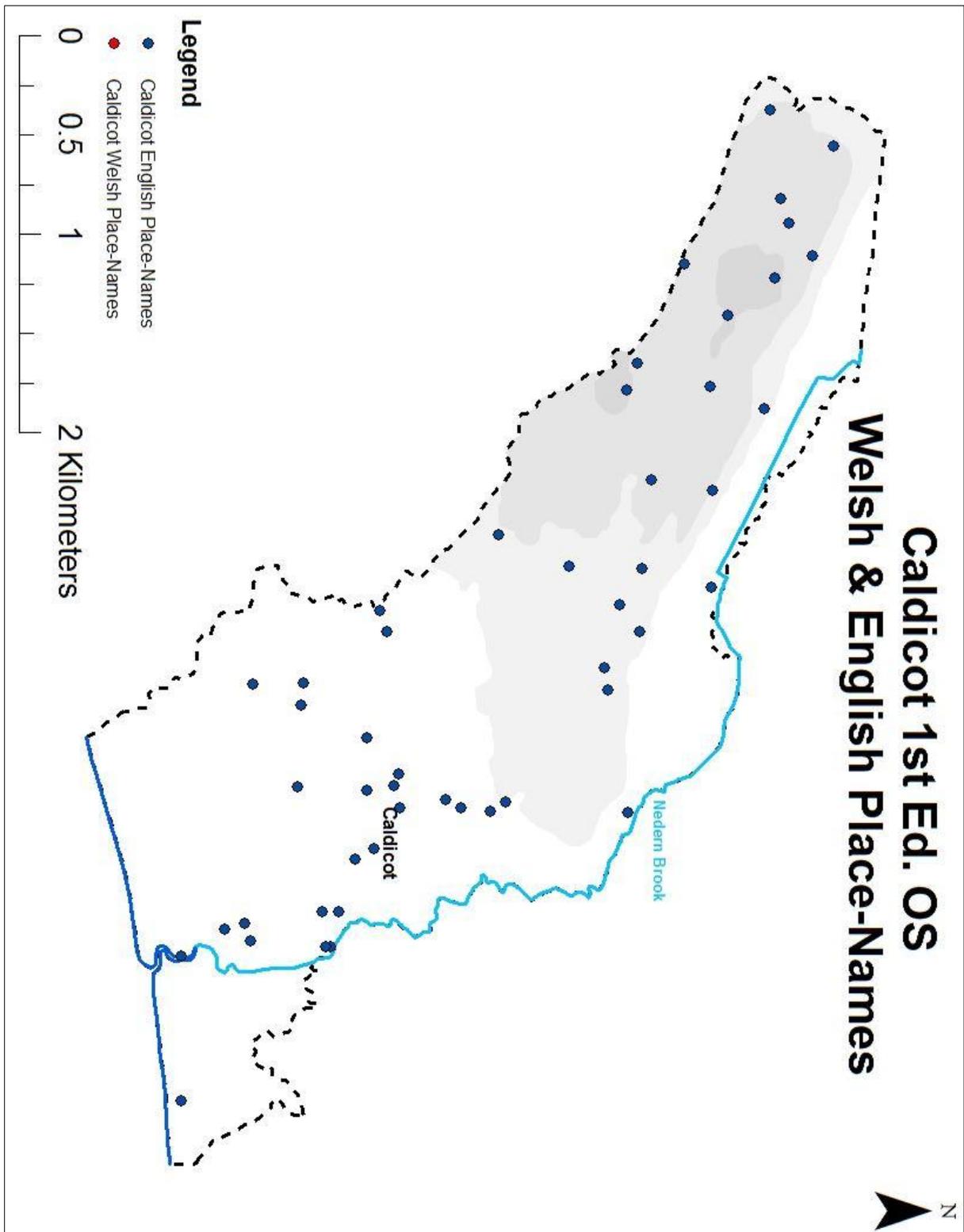


Fig.5.13. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Caldicot according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps. Note that there are no Welsh place-names present.

5.3.2. Shirenewton

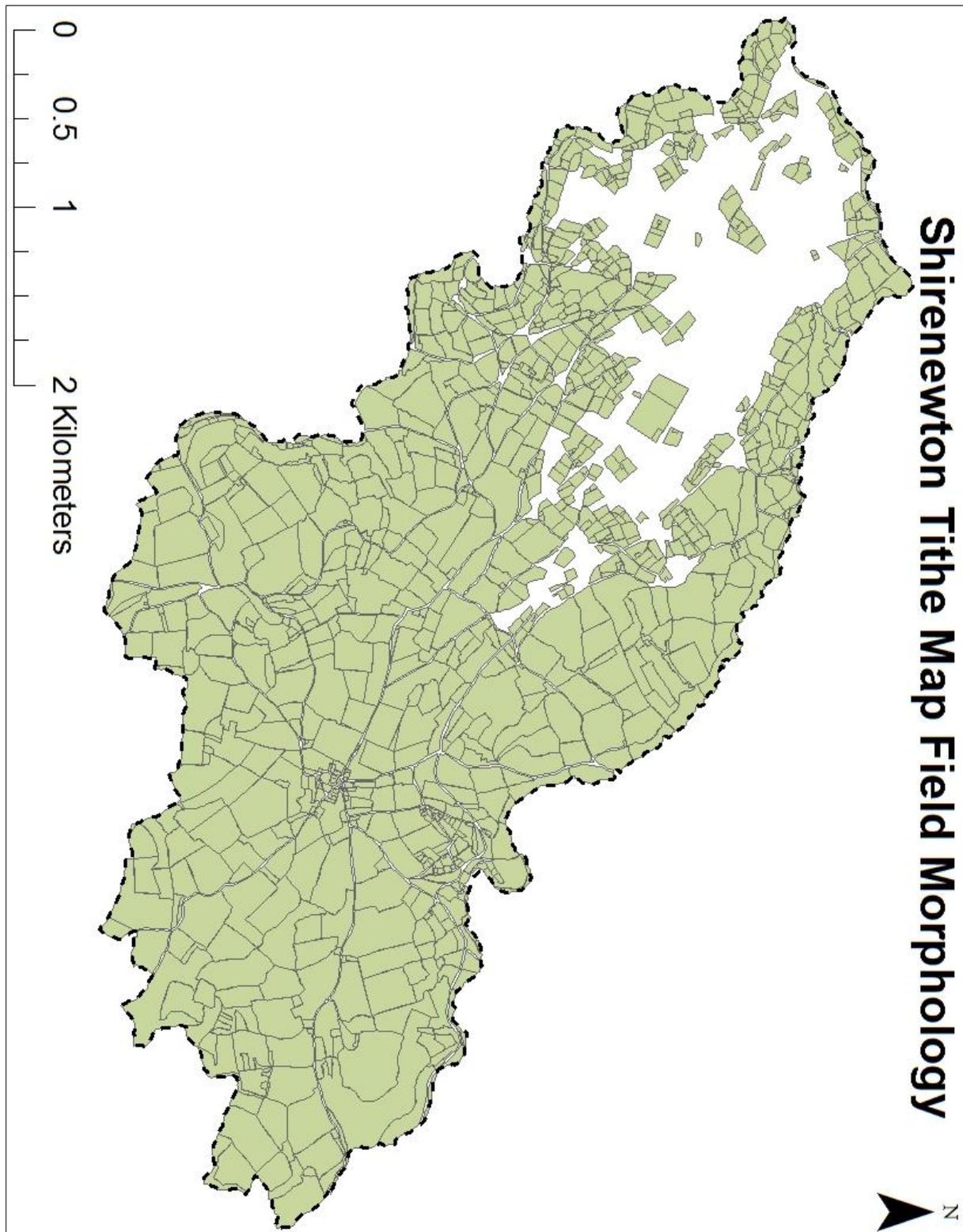


Fig.5.14. The field morphology of Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey. The white areas represent upland common land that was not recorded in the tithe map survey.

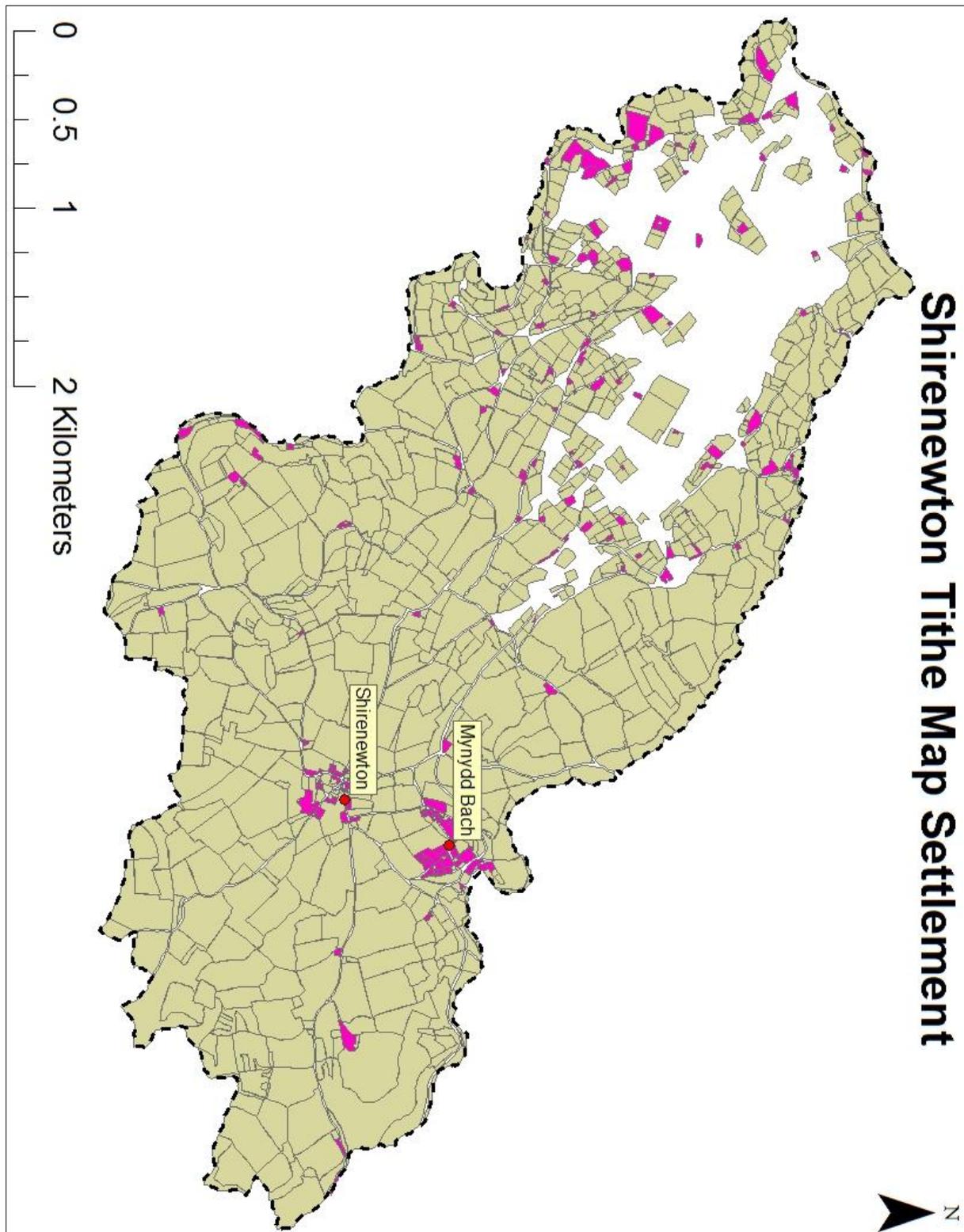


Fig.5.15. The settlement pattern of Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

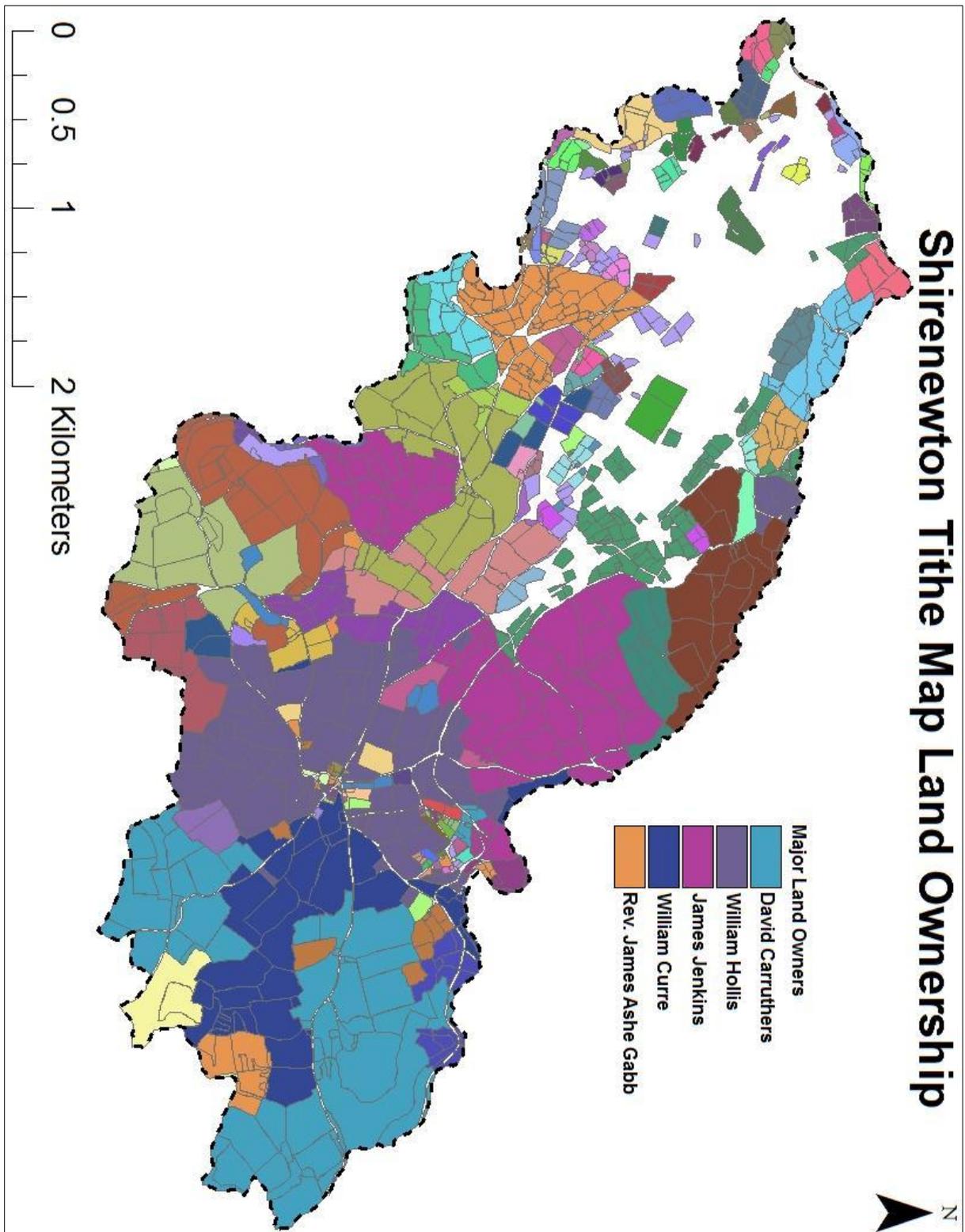


Fig.5.16. The pattern of land ownership for Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

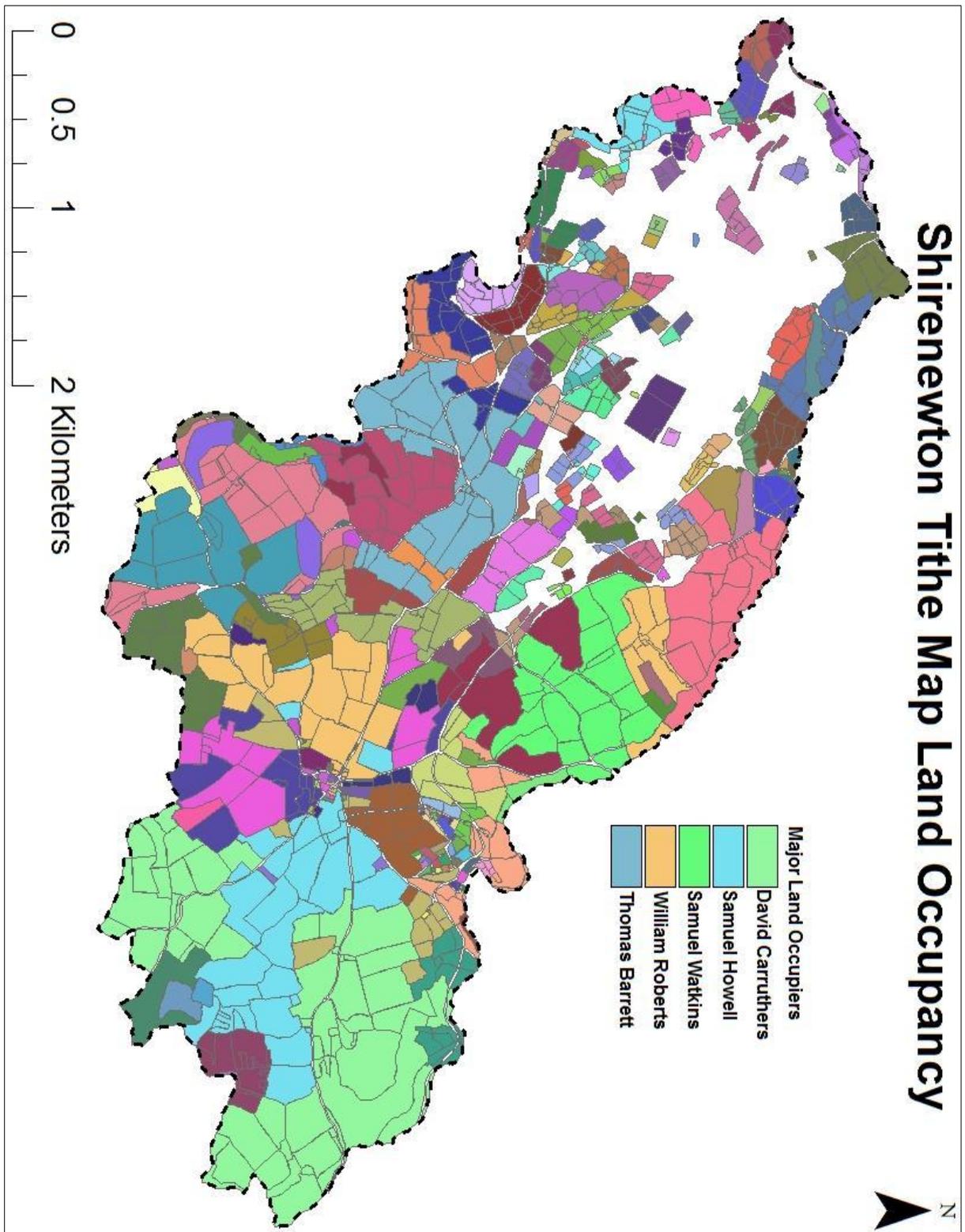


Fig.5.17. The pattern of land occupancy for Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

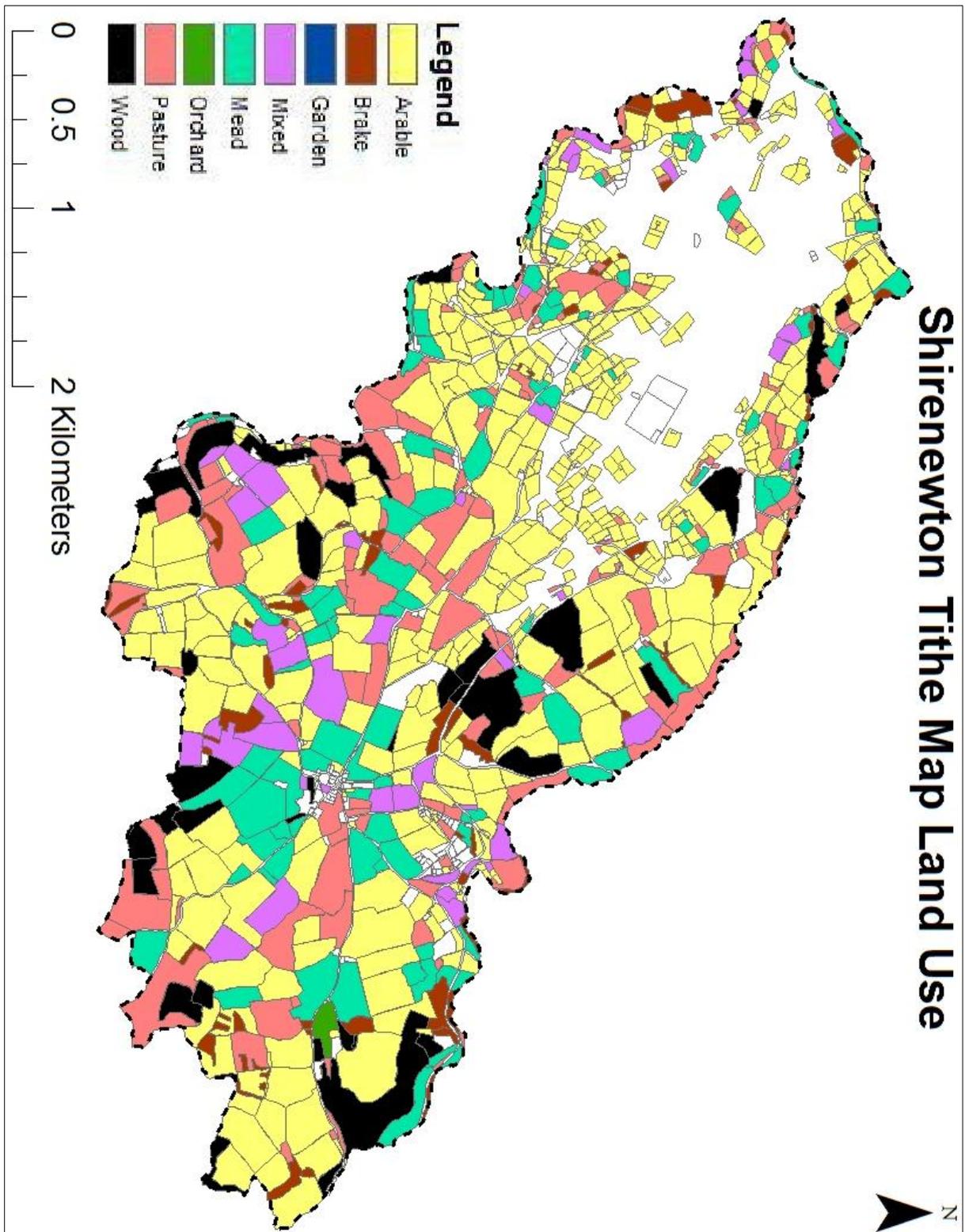


Fig.5.18. The pattern of land use for Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

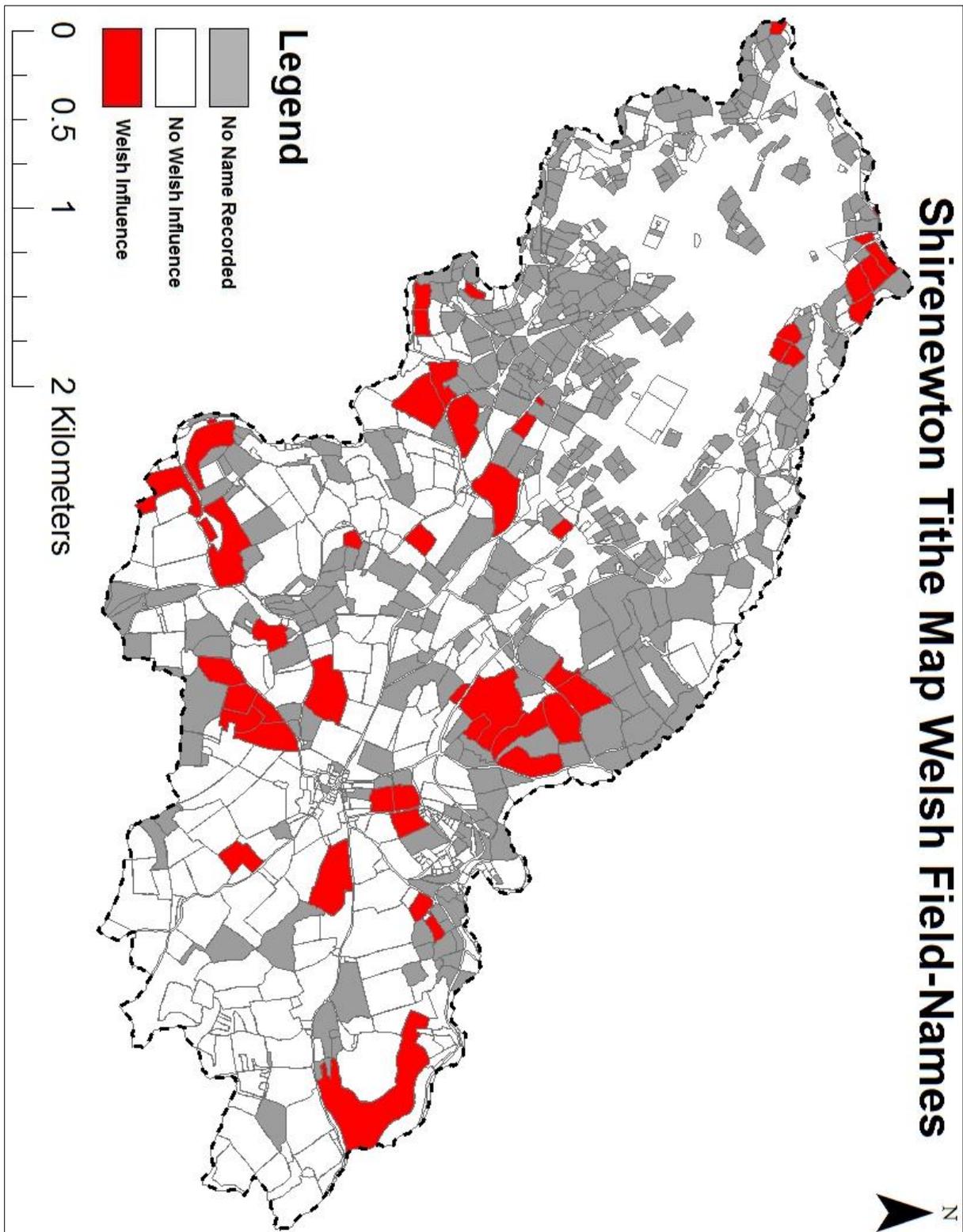


Fig.5.19. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

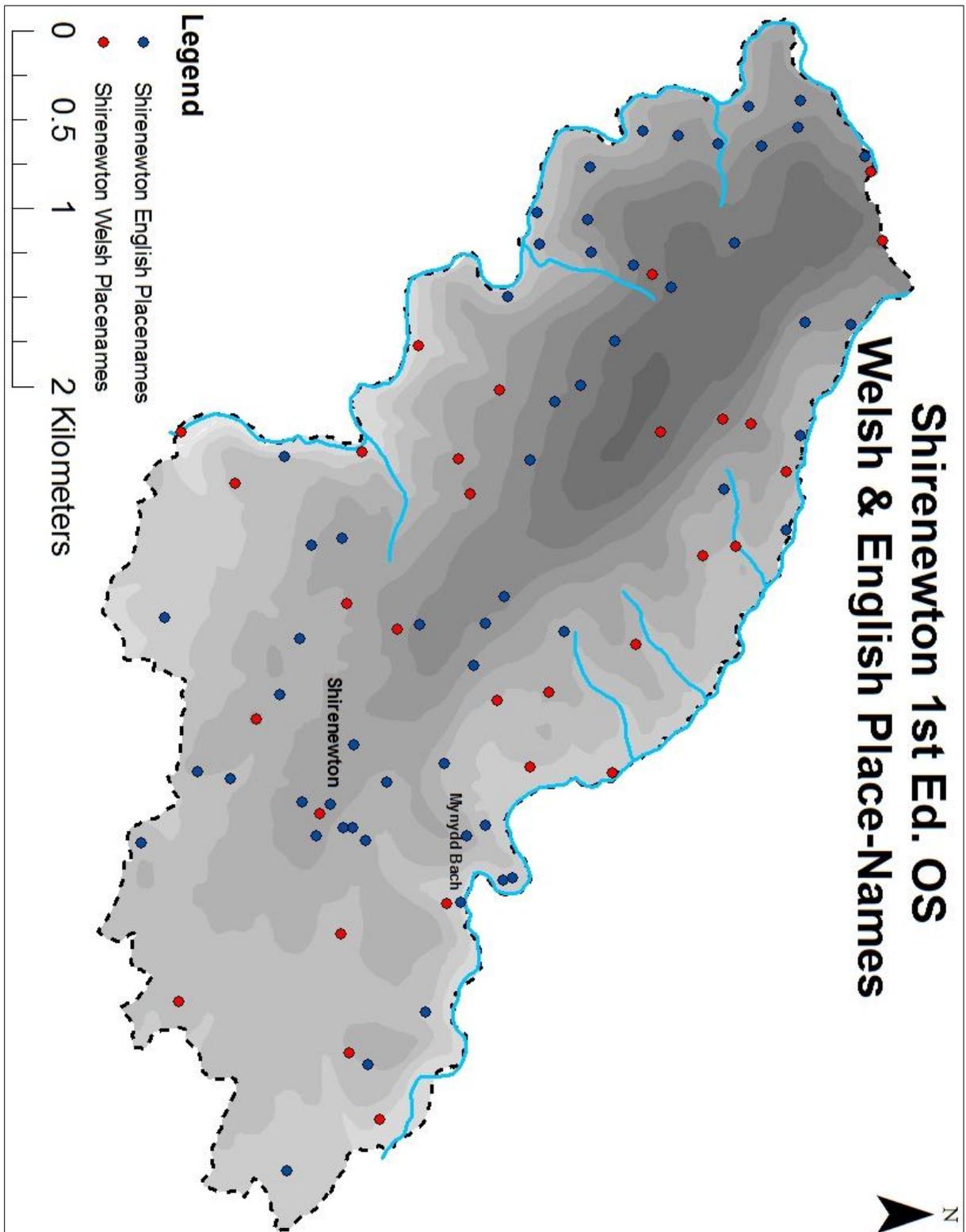


Fig.5.20. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Shirenewton according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

5.4. Discussion

Due to the small size of the Lordship of Caldicot, this section will provide a discussion of each of the facets of historic landscape character presented in the previous segment on a topic by topic basis (i.e. field morphology), as opposed to the parish by parish basis which will be adopted for the larger lordships, and will then compare and contrast the findings from both parishes.

Field Morphology

Whilst it is known that there was a large open field system present in Caldicot in the 1700s from the Caldicot Maps (D25/1972) what is most notable is that there are large areas where strip fields were still extant in the 1842 field morphology (Fig.5.7.), particularly to the immediate north-west of the village, further to the north-west towards Highmoor Hill, to the immediate south-east of the village and further to the south-east on the opposite side of Caldicot Pill. This model, therefore, gives us an understanding of the extent of open fields and common meadow still in existence around Caldicot in the middle of the nineteenth century. The rest of the parish seems to be a mixture of large irregular fields and smaller remnants of former strip fields. There are also a few areas of strip field morphology in the more upland portions of the parish, to the north, in the vicinity of the old church at Dewstow. In fact, these strip fields may represent areas of open field which was separated from the main area of arable farming by the holdings of the old church, as the site at Dewstow appears to be surrounded by an area of irregular fields with a radial pattern emanating from the church site, which interrupts the pattern seen in the majority of the rest of the parish. This, therefore might either be indicative of an area of land held in severalty owned by the church in the midst of an extensive open field, or that there was a separate open field attached to the church in the upland portion of the parish. Finally, there is an area of very irregular fields of varying sizes on the north-western border of the parish, which may represent former common or reclaimed woodland.

At first glance at the model of Shirenewton's 1843 field morphology (Fig.5.14.), there is largely an irregular scattering of small fields. The most obvious features are the large blank areas in the north-west of the parish, where the tithe map surveyors did not record the common land in the upland/Wentwood portion of Shirenewton. There certainly are not any obviously diagnostic fields showing the presence of a former open field system (thin strip fields, dog-legs, reverse 's-shaped' field morphology etc.). However, at closer examination, there is a clear north-west/south-east split, with the more upland areas of the parish showing smaller fields than those seen in the more lowland portion. Furthermore, there appears to be a hint of a 'radial' pattern, in both the field morphology and the road pattern surrounding the village of Shirenewton. This, while not being instantly diagnostic, is certainly suggestive of the

possibility of a former open field system and that Shirenewton has long been a major village.

Settlement Pattern

The most obvious feature of the settlement pattern present at Caldicot (Fig.5.8.) is the village of Caldicot itself which seems to be quite linear in its morphology, stretching across most of the width of the southern third of the parish. There also appears to be a slight break in this linear village with a small cluster of settlement around the church and the entrance to Caldicot Castle, then a small gap to the south-west followed by a strung out line of houses along the road towards Redwick and Magor, which may represent settlement from a later date as Caldicot grew. This linear settlement morphology, as well as the focus upon the lordship sites (castle and church) hints at the possibility of Caldicot being a 'planned village', laid out to suit the needs of the Anglo-Norman lords of Caldicot. Whilst there is a small scattering of settlement to the south of the village towards the coast, there is a large area devoid of habitation to the north of Caldicot, especially in the vicinity of the open field (as one would expect), as well as a number of small hamlets scattered around the north-western portion of the parish. These small settlements are all in the more upland portion of the parish and border the smaller open fields and areas of common close to the abandoned church at Dewstow.

The possibility of a former open field system in Shirenewton is supported by an examination of the model of settlement pattern recorded in the tithe map survey (Fig.5.15.). Here, once again, a clear north-west/south-east split can be seen, with the north-western (upland) portion of the parish having a clearly dispersed settlement pattern. When looking at the south-eastern half of the parish, if the later nucleation of Mynydd Bach to the north of the village of Shirenewton is discounted, then an almost entirely nucleated settlement pattern can be seen, with a few small outlying farmsteads. The patterns of the actual nucleations in Shirenewton and Mynydd Bach back this up, as Shirenewton seems to be a loose collection of farmsteads (suggesting an earlier farming village), whilst Mynydd Bach seems to show a much denser morphology (suggesting a later date). It must also be noted that there is a 'halo' of land without any settlement at all surrounding the village of Shirenewton which fits in with the 'radial' morphology of both the fields and the roads surrounding Shirenewton.

Land Ownership and Land Occupancy

The patterns of land ownership (Fig.5.9.) and land occupancy (Fig.5.10.) for Caldicot are remarkably similar. These models show large areas with highly mixed patterns of ownership and occupancy to the immediate north and south of the village, indicative

of former open field, with other smaller areas with a similar pattern both further north and further south of Caldicot. The main area of fragmented ownership and occupancy is the extremely large area to the north-west of Caldicot, and this pattern can only be indicative of a former open field. The rest of the parish consists of compact blocks, of varying sizes, of uniform ownership. There are particularly large areas of this pattern of land ownership to the immediate north of the main former open field above the village and along to the shore line on the southern boundary of the parish.

When looking at both of the maps of land ownership (Fig.5.16.) and land occupancy (Fig.5.17.) for the parish of Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey it can be seen that the patterns of land ownership and land occupancy are suggestive of 'land held in severalty' (i.e. large blocks of lands either owned or occupied by one person). However, there does seem to be a number of large farms surrounding the village and about three quarters of the farm land surrounding the village of Shirenewton is owned by one individual (a William Hollis Esq.), which may tie in with the 'radial' field morphology as evidence for a former open field system and may represent 'enclosure by agreement', where the farmers who owned land in the open fields surrounding the village all agreed an even and efficient distribution of the strips in a manner that allowed them to keep their homes within the village. These models are expanded on by the model of the farms in the vicinity of the village of Shirenewton (Fig.5.22.) and this provides an illustration of those land occupiers whose farms have more than three fields surrounding the village and shows that all of these individuals have 'homesteads' within the nucleation of Shirenewton. Furthermore, most of these farmers' lands seem to be concentrated around the village, apart from the two largest land occupiers on this model, Samuel Howell and William Roberts, who both own multiple fields in the northern upland portion of the parish.

Land Use

The model of tithe map land use for Caldicot (Fig.5.11.) is dominated by arable farming in the centre of the parish, especially in the areas where field morphology and land ownership/occupancy provides evidence of open field farming, exactly as one would expect. There is also significantly more pasture and meadow land use to the south of the village, towards the coastline and the Gwent Levels, and again this is what you would expect in the more coastal regions of the parish. Orchards tend to be around the village, whilst woodland and brake are more prevalent towards the northern, more upland, portion of the parish, again, exactly as one would expect.

The pattern of land use for Shirenewton according to the 1843 tithe map survey (Fig.5.18.) shows a fairly mixed pattern, but with more arable and not as much pasture as Sylvester's description of a 'Welshry' upland hill village (Sylvester 1969,

406) would have suggested. This may largely be the result of small scale Victorian subsistence farming, especially in the recently reclaimed lands in Wentwood where there seems to be a number of rather small farms, and this method of later land management may be compatible with the model of the more upland areas of the Lordship of Caldicot being a former 'Welshry'. It is also interesting to note that there appears to be a large amount of meadow surrounding the village of Shirenewton, situated in the 'halo' around the nucleation where there is a radial field and road morphology and very little settlement (Figs. 5.14. & 5.15.).

Place-Names Evidence

The pattern of field-names origin in Caldicot according to the 1842 tithe map survey (Fig.5.12.) shows the lack of Welsh influence in the parish. There are only five Welsh field-names out of all the fields with recorded names in the entire parish (0.7%) and these are spread rather thinly, primarily towards the northern end of the parish. When the pattern of Welsh influenced place-names in the parish according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.5.13.) is examined, it can be seen that in the intervening years all traces of Welsh place-names have been removed and only place-names of English origin are present, despite evidence from the Llandaff charters suggesting that, previously, Welsh place-names were present (Davies 1978b; Davies 1979).

Both the pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish according to the 1843 tithe map survey (Fig.5.19.) and the pattern of Welsh influenced place-names in the parish of Shirenewton according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.5.20.) produce a fairly even spread of Welsh language influence. Of the 661 fields which had their names recorded in the tithe survey, 54 showed Welsh influence (8%) and this is a much greater percentage than that seen at Caldicot. If a few large outlying fields (such as 'Grondra Wood') are discounted, it can be seen that the extreme far south-east of the parish shows far less evidence of field-names showing Welsh linguistic influence. This, again, is similar to the Ordnance Survey data where there are no Welsh place-names whatsoever in the extreme south-east of the parish, while they are scattered all over the rest of the parish with a slight bias towards the north-west. What is interesting about the model of tithe map field-names is that much of the other evidence this thesis has turned up points to there being an English style nucleated village surrounded by a former open field. However, the field-names map shows that there are a large number of fields with clearly Welsh names in the vicinity of the village (especially those with the 'cae- prefix, meaning 'field'). Despite this the possibility of later renaming of these fields by a farmer or landowner must not be discounted.

Discussion

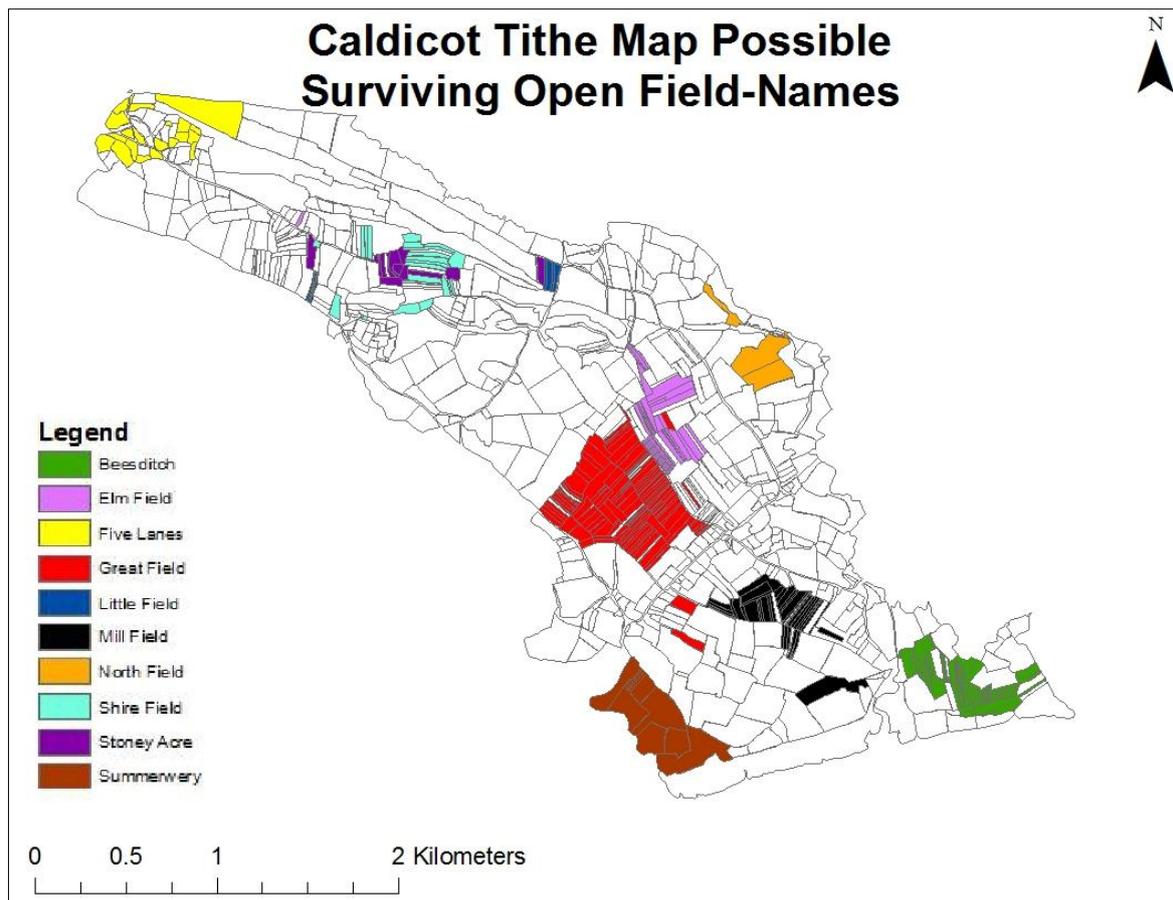


Fig.5.21: Evidence for open fields present in the 1842 tithe survey for Caldicot. This map highlights areas where there are many small fields marked on the tithe map which are recorded as having the same field-name in the tithe apportionment.

The main issue to consider is whether this evidence supports Sylvester's claim that the Lordship of Caldicot is comprised of an 'Englishry' (Caldicot) and a 'Welshry' (Shirenewton) which are distinct from each other? As was expected Caldicot shows plenty of evidence for a highly 'anglicised' landscape, as shown by such landscape features as the proximity of the 'focal point' of the Anglo-Norman lordship (the castle) to the church (Fig.5.4.), the nucleated settlement pattern (Fig.5.8.), the clear evidence for large scale open field farming (Figs. 5.6., 5.7., 5.9. & 5.10.), the lack of Welsh field and place-names (Figs. 5.12. & 5.13.) and the domination of arable land usage away from the coast and the borders of the parish (Fig.5.11.). Furthermore, when the groups of nucleated fields with identical field-names recorded in the Caldicot tithe survey are analysed, it can be seen that there is a large amount of evidence for 'surviving' open fields in 1842 (Fig.5.21.). There is, however a slight division in the landscape present at Caldicot, and there is the possibility that there were small areas of open fields, and common, set amongst the more upland areas of the parish, to the north of Caldicot bordering the old church at Dewstow. These may represent a separate upland settlement, a small 'Welshry' attached to Caldicot, or a

portion of open field separated by the land held by the church at Dewstow (Fig.5.22.).

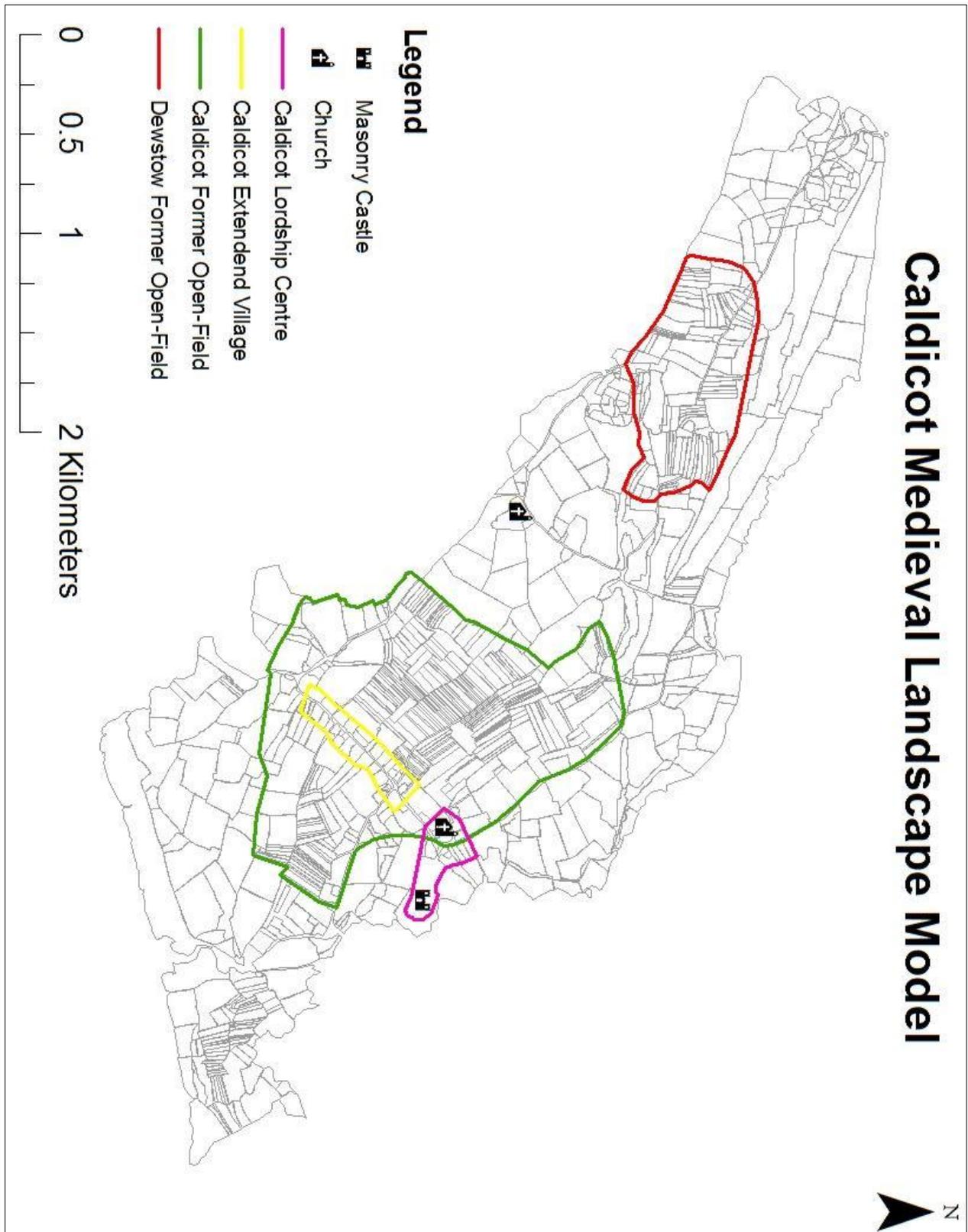


Fig.5.22. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Caldicot, based upon the findings of this case study.

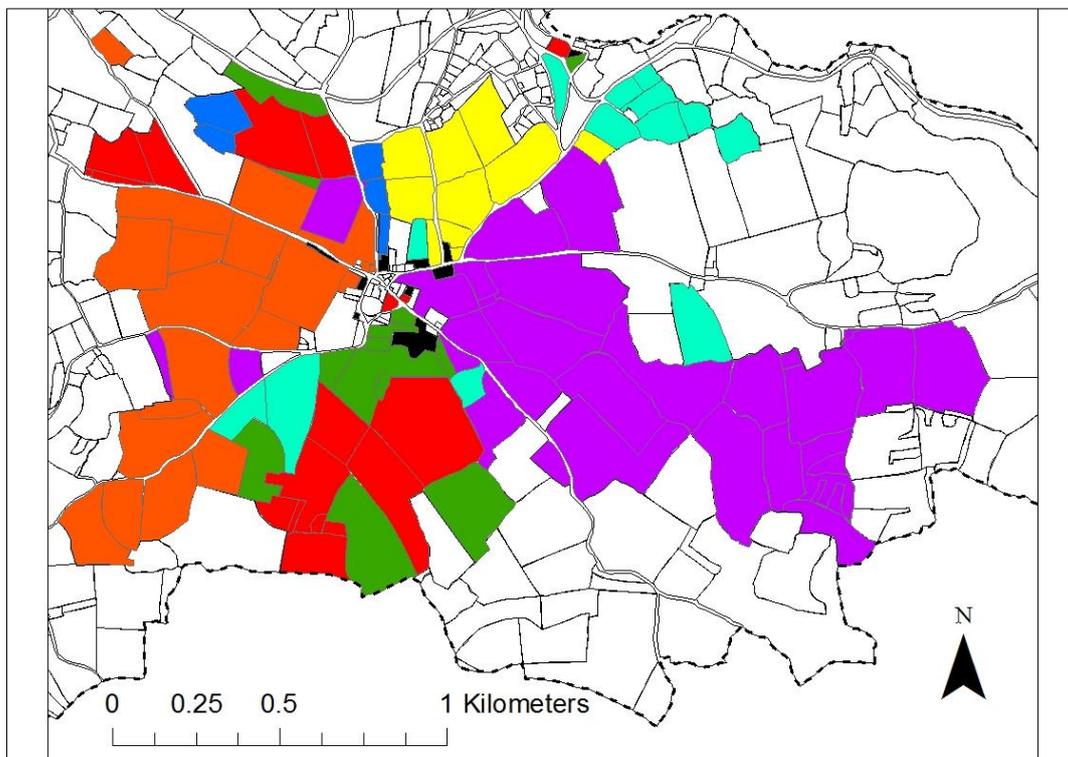
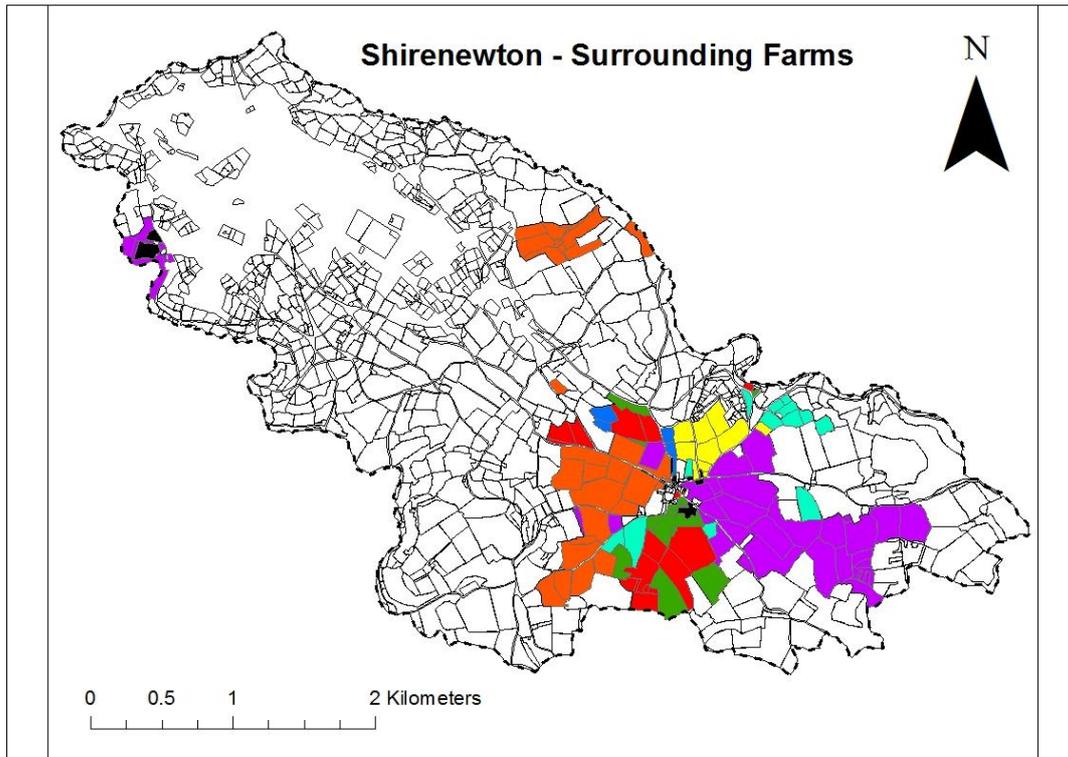


Fig.5.23. An illustration of farms having more than three fields surrounding the nucleation of Shirenewton and 'homesteads' within the village (including a zoomed in view of the village). The farms marked are those of: David Price (red), James Hancock (dark blue), John Benjamin (yellow), Samuel Howell (purple), Sarah Reece (light blue), William Hollis Esq. (green) and William Roberts (orange). 'Homesteads' are marked in black.

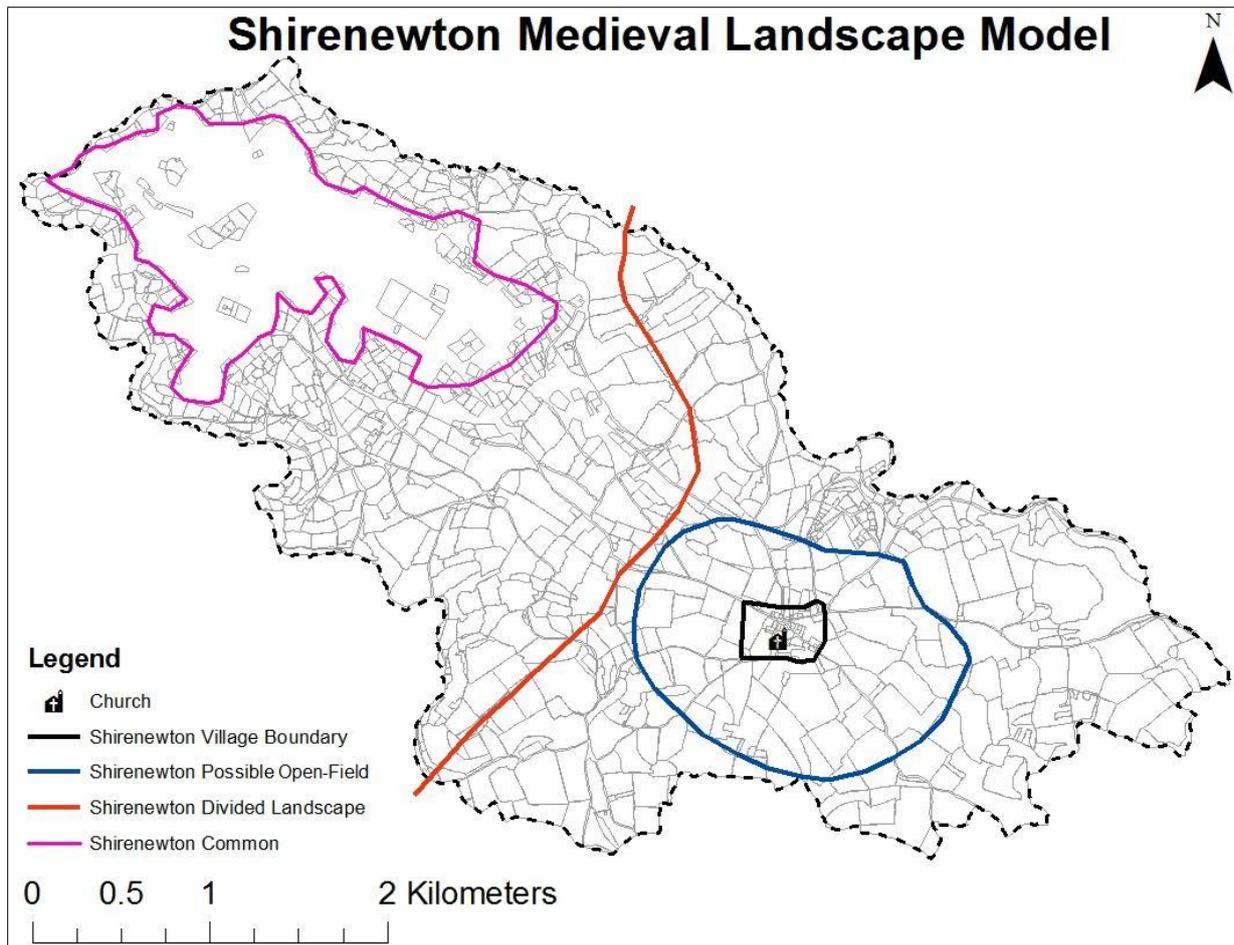


Fig.5.24. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Shirenewton, based upon the findings of this case study.

There is little doubt that the landscape of Shirenewton differs from that surrounding the *caput* of the lordship at Caldicot. However, upon analysis of the tithe map evidence it is clear that these differences are not as dramatic as Sylvester suggested when she labelled Shirenewton as a definite 'Welshry' attached to the 'Englishry' of Caldicot. Most importantly, there is some evidence of a village and a former open field system having been present at Shirenewton and that there was a 'divided landscape' with the northernmost reaches of the parish being more 'Welsh' in character and the southern portion being more 'English'. The toponymic evidence suggests that Welsh place-names were much more widespread in Shirenewton than they are across the parish of Caldicot (Figs. 5.19. & 5.20.), although there is possibly a slight scarcity of them towards the extreme south-east of the parish and this again points to a very slight divide in the parish's landscape. However, this being said, there are definitely both Welsh place-names and Welsh field-names recorded in the immediate vicinity of the village of Shirenewton. More evidence for differences between the two parishes is provided by the model of land usage (Fig.5.18.) which shows a much more mixed picture than is present in Caldicot. When the tithe map settlement pattern (Fig.5.15.) is considered it can be seen that whilst the southern

portion of the parish has a distribution fairly similar to that present at Caldicot, the northern portion of Shirenewton has a completely different, more dispersed, pattern.

However, the models of field morphology (Fig.5.14.), settlement pattern (Fig.5.15.), land ownership (Fig.5.16.) and land occupancy (Fig.5.17.) taken from the Shirenewton tithe map suggest that, while at first glance the landscape looks very different from that present at Caldicot, there is some evidence for a village and open field system. The settlement pattern, combined with the radial nature of the road pattern around the lower portion of the parish is also indicative of, at the very least, a nucleated settlement. Furthermore, despite there being very little in the way of clear morphological evidence in the field pattern for an open field system at Shirenewton, the 'halo' of non-settlement around Shirenewton is highly suggestive of a medieval village, as are the locations of farmsteads in a loosely nucleated grouping with associated farm land radiating out from the farmhouses located within the village (Fig.5.23.). In furtherance to this point, Kissock has suggested that, due to the nucleation and there being extensive level lands available, large common fields with communal tillage would have been present at Shirenewton (Kissock 2008, 76).

As has been previously mentioned, these various findings have provided a great deal of evidence for a 'divided landscape' in Shirenewton (Fig.5.24.). The northern portion of the parish shows a number of small, irregular fields with a very scattered settlement pattern. This is highly indicative of upland farming and recent deforestation of land, reclaimed from the Wentwood forest. When looking at the southern half of the parish, discounting the quite possibly later settlement of Mynydd Bach to the north of Shirenewton itself, it can be seen that there is a very clear evidence for a highly nucleated settlement pattern with an associated open field farming system, although Jonathan Kissock has suggested that the nucleation at Shirenewton is probably more likely to have been the result of later medieval assarting than eleventh century Anglo-Norman lordship (Kissock 1990, Fig.3.6.; 2008, 74). It is this author's view that the habitative '-ton' place-name element and the evidence for presence of a possible former open field system suggests that this nucleation has earlier rather than later origins. When looking at reasons for the development of this divided landscape within the parish of Shirenewton, it is obvious that no major lordship centres are present in either the historical or archaeological record. However, the first half of the parish name clearly links Shirenewton with either Durand the Sheriff of Gloucestershire or his descendants who were important Anglo-Norman lords, and the '-newton' suffix is clearly English in origin. Dorothy Sylvester has described Shirenewton as a 'detached Welshry' linked to the Lordship of Caldicot (Sylvester 1969, 402) but this statement requires more debate, because of the clear evidence for the possibility of a potential 'Anglo-Norman' village within the parish. Margaret Davies has stated that Welshries were characterised by scatters of upland farms running along the hillsides, whilst the lowland 'bond' villages were often incorporated into the Anglo-Norman manorial system (Davies 1973, 482) which is a description which could easily be applied to Shirenewton. In these upland

hill villages one would expect to find an emphasis on cattle and sheep rearing, with small arable patches being tilled where soil and slope were favourable, but Shirenewton has a definite bias towards arable farming. Whilst the place-names study provided fairly mixed results, other evidence uncovered by this study clearly shows that Shirenewton's landscape, at least in the southern portion of the parish, was more 'English' than Sylvester has suggested, despite there not being an obvious focus of Anglo-Norman lordship.

5.5. Summary

The main issue to consider at this point is what conclusions can be drawn about the composition of the Lordship of Caldicot and the influence of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire. The imposition of a centre of Anglo-Norman lordship has clearly had some degree of effect upon the landscape of Caldicot beyond simply the construction of a castle. The reconstruction and rededication of the church from an Irish saint to the more generic 'St Mary', the development of a nucleated settlement, the presence of a large arable open farming system and a complete absence of Welsh toponymic evidence all suggest that the *caput* of the Anglo-Norman Lordship of Caldicot altered the surrounding landscape and in some way 'anglified' it. However, the importance of the coastal wetland environment must not be discounted, as well as the proximity to England, in influencing this landscape, and it will be interesting to compare this landscape to other Anglo-Norman lordship sites in more upland and westerly locations in Monmouthshire.

The idea of Shirenewton simply being an upland 'Welshry' with entirely 'native' methods of land management and settlement patterns, attached to the Lordship of Caldicot in order to provide different economic benefits, is clearly false; the reality is much more nuanced. What we are probably seeing in the southern portion of the parish of Shirenewton is a minor nucleated village surrounded by a small open field farming system, both of which are more indicative of an 'Englishry' than a 'Welshry'. However, the northern portion of the parish does seem to be more suggestive of the Welsh landscape originally put forward by Dorothy Sylvester, hinting at a 'divided landscape' with a southern 'English' landscape bordering a 'Welsh' landscape to the north. Again, the physical landscape may play an important part in this development, with the more 'Welsh' features being more prevalent in the upland portions of the parish, and comparisons with other lordships will be fundamental to investigating this issue.

Finally the extent to which the Lordship of Caldicot provides us with a 'microcosm of the March' must be considered, and whether it can be used as a base level from which to judge the landscapes of the other Anglo-Norman lordships within Monmouthshire. The results drawn from the parish of Caldicot clearly show that an

Anglo-Norman *caput* could have a profound effect upon the surrounding landscape, but it is important to examine adjacent parishes (not necessarily within the same lordship) which show no high status evidence at all (as Caldicot has a large castle and Shirenewton has clear links with Durand the sheriff), such as Itton or Howick from the Lordship of Chepstow. This will provide an important contrast as it will allow for examination of whether the processes seen here are indeed linked in with Anglo-Norman lordship within the lordships of Caldicot and Chepstow, or whether they are related to a larger scale, population driven change or the influence of the physical landscape.

6. Case Study: The Lordship of Chepstow

6.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to expand on the previous 'pilot' case study of the Lordship of Caldicot, and is the first of the case studies of the larger Anglo-Norman lordships in Monmouthshire. Chepstow was chosen because of its location in the south-east of the county (the area which the county-wide survey identified as having the most Anglo-Norman influence), and its historic significance as one of the first areas in Monmouthshire to come under Anglo-Norman control. Moreover, it is focused on one of the earliest major Anglo-Norman lordship sites, Chepstow castle. It also allows this thesis to build on the previous study of the Lordship of Caldicot, by examining adjacent parishes, providing contrast and comparison and examining some of the Caldicot findings on a larger scale.

As Chepstow is a large lordship it was impractical to examine every parish in the detail required, as was the case with Caldicot. Therefore it was decided to select a sample of relevant parishes. It was important to examine parishes displaying different levels of Anglo-Norman lordship influence, as well as parishes set within different landscapes. Therefore, the reasons and methods for the selection of case study parishes were extremely important. The chosen starting point was, obviously, Chepstow itself. As a major seigneurial centre and the *caput* of the lordship, the parish displays all the classic landscape symbols of Anglo-Norman lordship, such as a large castle, a walled town, a monastic establishment and a designed seigneurial landscape (Chepstow Park). Chepstow would therefore provide an excellent 'base level' from which to judge the other parishes chosen. The next parish selected for the case study was Caerwent, which represents a minor lordship centre (it has a small motte), as well as a possible pre-Conquest lordship centre in the Romano-British town of *Venta Silurum*, which saw continued occupation into the post-Roman and early-medieval periods. Furthermore, Caerwent is inland and has a significantly more upland landscape than Chepstow, providing a contrasting topographical setting. Finally, the parish borders Shirenewton allowing comparison and direct contrast with the Lordship of Caldicot.

The exact western border of the lordship is difficult to ascertain as it seems to fluctuate over time (Fig.6.1.). For instance, in 1270, St Brides Netherwent is recorded as being in the Lordship of Chepstow, but by 1314 it is attached to Newport (Bradney, 1932, 224). Another example of this is at Magor, which was an important demesne manor attached to the Lordship of Chepstow in the late thirteenth century, but was retained by Henry III after the death of William Marshal (Courtney 2008, 50-51). Due to its early links with the lordship, it was decided to undertake an examination of the parish of Magor, as this would provide us with an example of a different, more minor Anglo-Norman lordship centre as, not only is there a manorial village present, there are also two monastic granges (outlying ecclesiastical farming estates) belonging to Tintern Abbey. Magor is also located on the Gwent Levels,

allowing a comparison with the similar geographic landscape of Caldicot from the previous case study. The parish of Portskewett and Sudbrook offers a different landscape for research: coastal, but away from the Gwent Levels. Whilst it has no obvious Anglo-Norman lordship centre, it does have possible links with native pre-Conquest lordship. The final case study chosen was a combined analysis of the small upland parishes of Itton, Mounton and Howick, located in an upland and inland area between Chepstow and Shirenewton. These parishes show very little evidence for the imposition of lordship, in a study area in which most parishes show some degree of evidence for Anglo-Norman lordship. Due to their small size, it was decided that these parishes should be treated as one, combined, entity for the sake of practicality and gathering enough data to analyse.

6.2. Background

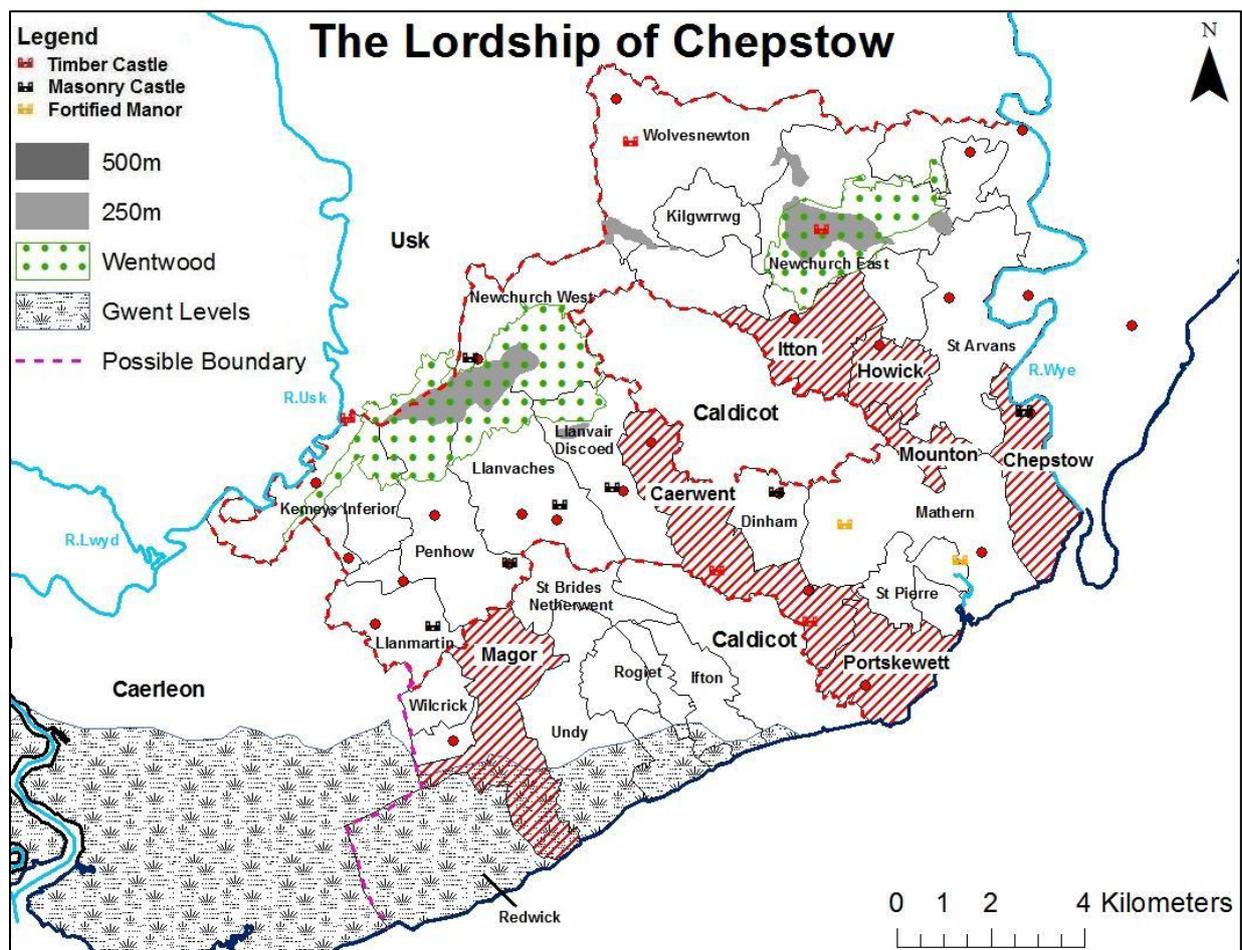


Fig.6.1. The Lordship of Chepstow. The case study parishes are shaded in red (compiled from the manors listed in the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of Roger le Bygod *alias* Le Bigod; Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England (*Cal. IMP Vol. 4, 35* Edw. I) and Rees 1959). It must be noted that the lordship extended east into Gloucestershire, but this part of the lordship is not relevant to this study and is therefore not included.

The main topographic features of the Lordship of Chepstow (Fig.6.1.) are the Wye Valley and its estuary towards the eastern border, the lowland coastal plain (interspersed with small inlets known as ‘pills’) leading towards the Gwent Levels on the western border, and the more upland landscape of the ‘Wentwood’ ridge to the north. The physical geography of the parish of Chepstow (Fig.6.2.) is dominated by the Wye, which occupies the entire eastern flank of the parish and the town of Chepstow which nestles within a bend in the river. There are also a number of smaller watercourses in the flatter southern portion of the parish, such as Hunger Pill, which flow into the Severn Estuary. To the east of the parish the topography begins to become more elevated as the landscape starts to build up to the larger hills in and around Shirenewton.

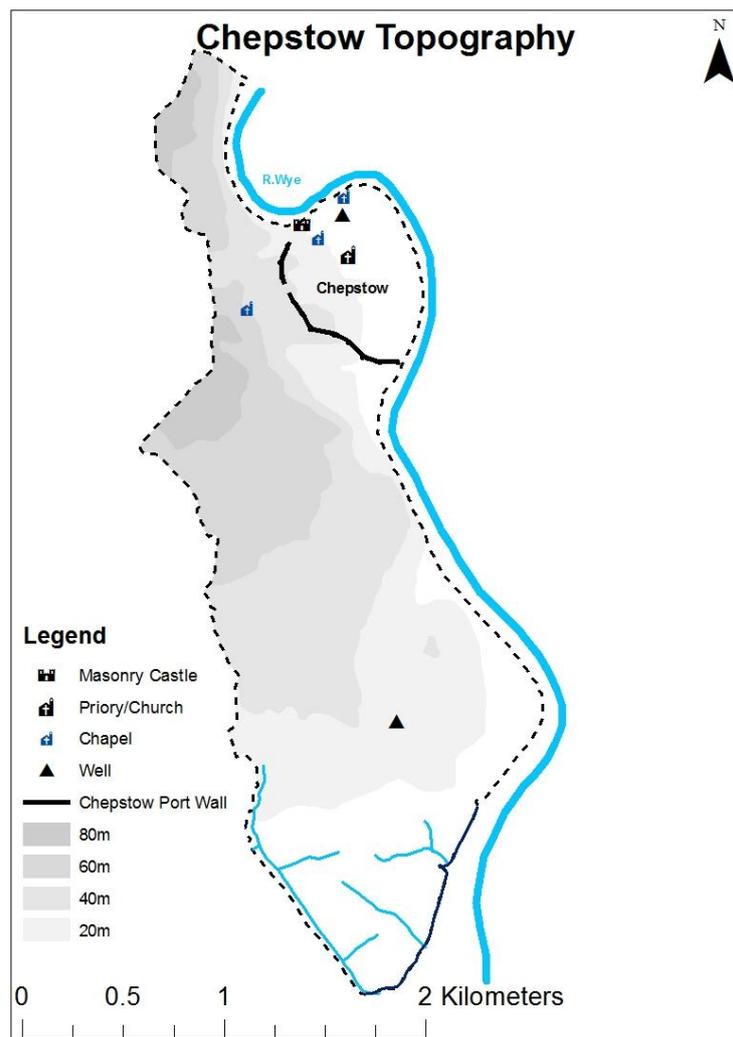


Fig.6.2. Topographic features of the parish of Chepstow with medieval entries from the HER.

In terms of the topography of Caerwent (Fig.6.3.) it can be seen that the southern two thirds of the parish, where the villages of Caerwent and Crick are located, is relatively flat, whilst the northern portion of the parish is much more rugged, rising to 170m. The parish is bordered by the Nedern Brook to the south, which joins the

Severn Estuary at Caldicot Pill. When the topography of the parish of Magor is examined (Fig.6.4.) it can be seen that there is a very flat southern portion, dominated by the Gwent Levels, and that the parish becomes hillier to the north, where there are a number of small hills, such as Salisbury Hill to the west, bisected by St Bride’s Brook. Once it reaches the flatter ground, St Bride’s Brook flows down the eastern border of the parish and into the Severn at Magor Pill, where it is joined by a number of ‘reens’, or drainage ditches.

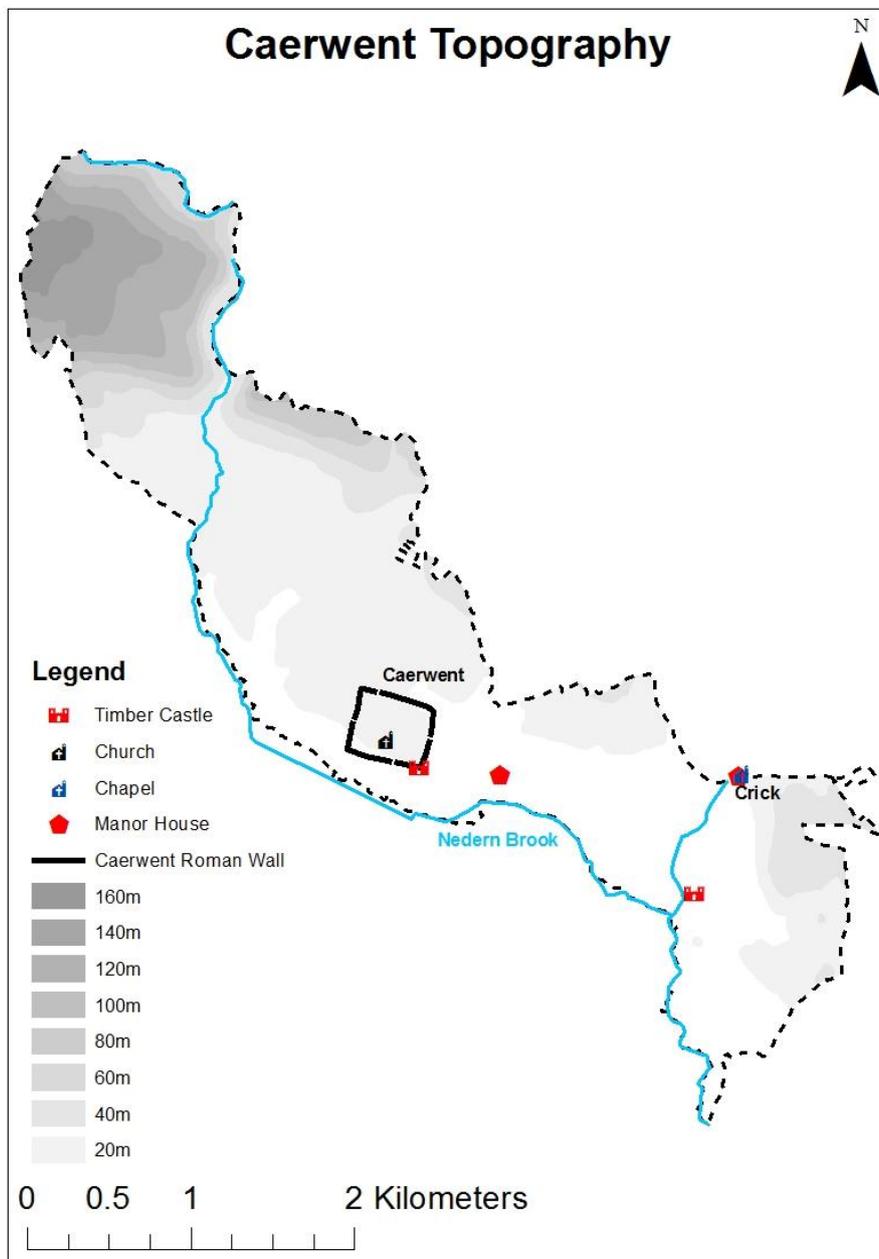


Fig.6.3. Topographic features of the parish of Caerwent with medieval entries from the HER.

The topography of Portskewett and Sudbrook (Fig.6.5.) shows us a number of watercourses to the north, leading into Passage Wharf Pill, as well as some to the south which lead out of the parish into Caldicot Pill. The landscape does not slope

smoothly into the sea, with the coastline being dominated by the slightly craggy features of Sudbrook Point. There are also a number of hills to the north of the village, beginning with Portskewett Hill itself. Finally, the topography of the parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton (Fig.6.6.) is very different to that of the neighbouring parish of Chepstow, being a very hilly landscape, intersected by the Mounton Brook.

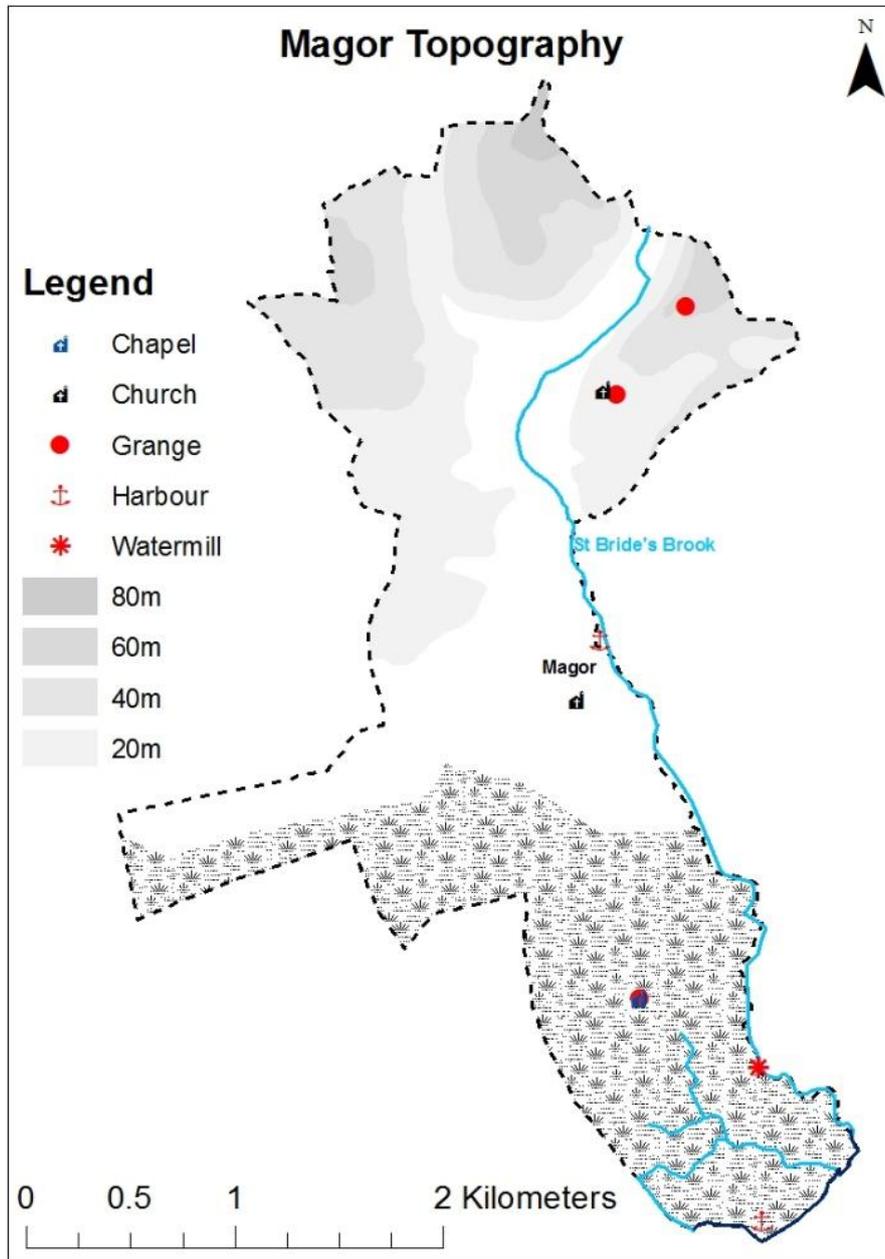


Fig.6.4. Topographic features of the parish of Magor with medieval features from the HER.

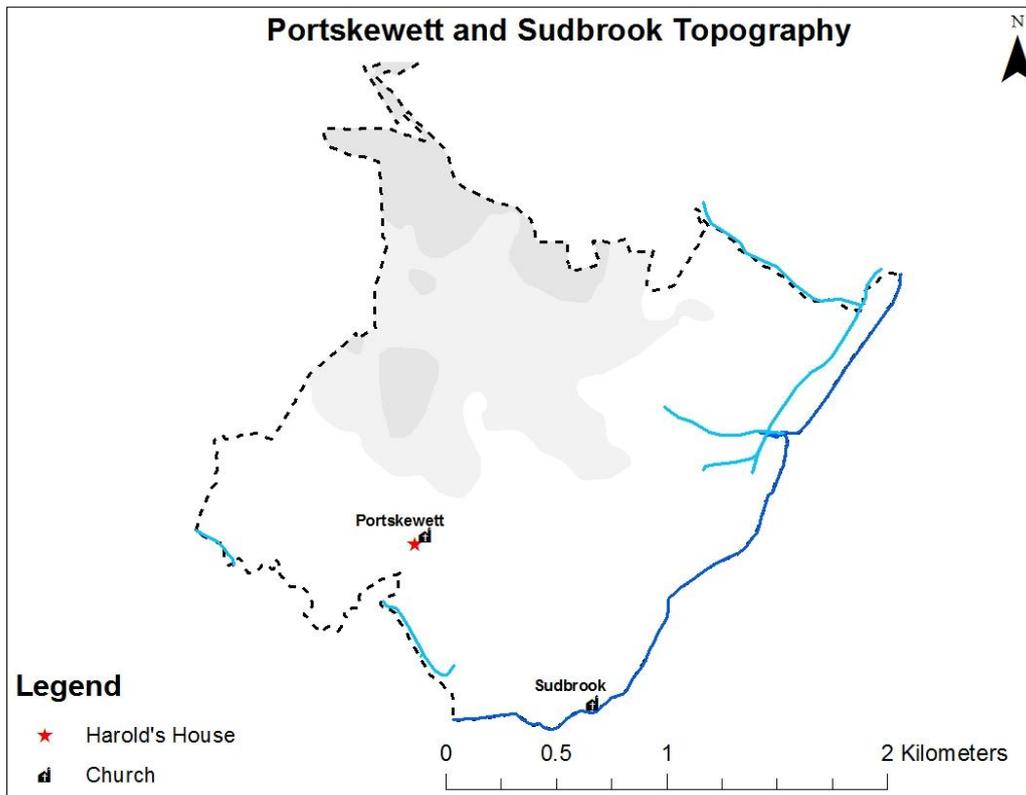


Fig.6.5. Topographic features of the parish of Portskewett and Sudbrook with medieval features from the HER.

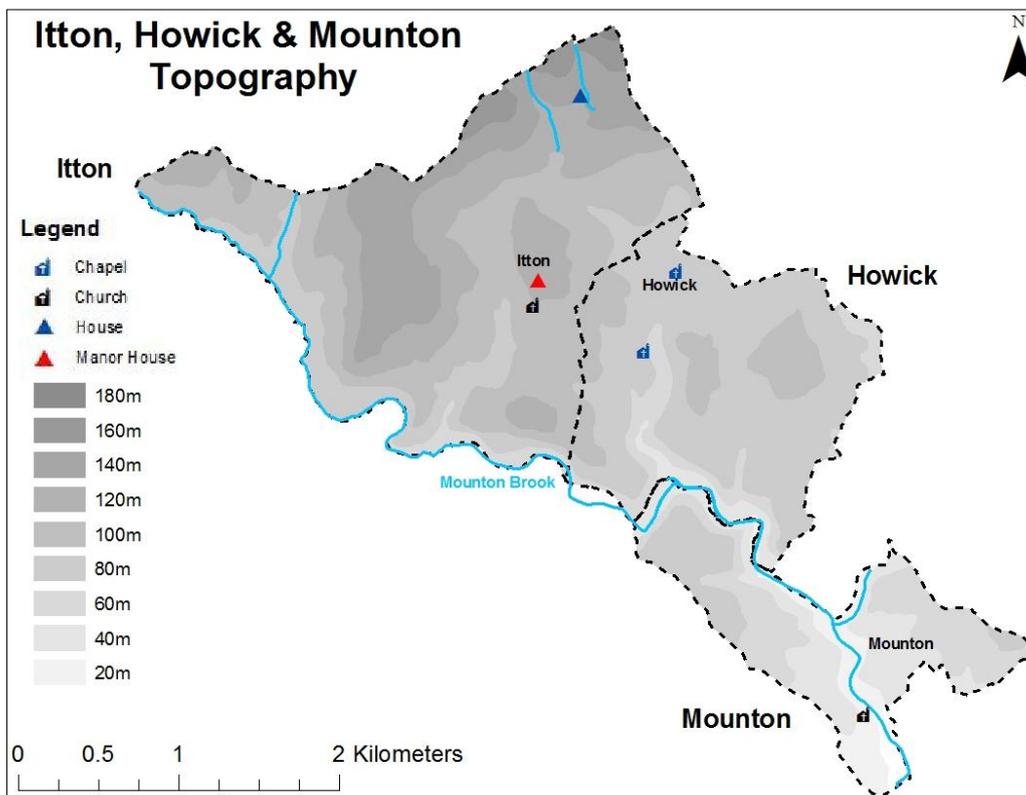


Fig.6.6. Topographic features of the parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton with medieval features from the HER.

Although there are some references to Chepstow contained within the Llandaff Charters (*Liber Landavensis*, 158; 165), the Anglo-Norman lordship, castle and associated 'plantation borough' at Chepstow (Griffiths 1978, 15) were all traditionally thought to have been founded by William fitz Osbern, the right-hand man of William the Conqueror, in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest, in order to secure the southern portion of the Anglo-Welsh border. The English name 'Chepstow' means simply 'market-place', emphasising its commercial character (Soulsby 1983, 107), whilst the Welsh equivalent, '*Cas-Gwent*' is even more obvious, translating as 'castle in Gwent'. The place-name 'Chepstow' is first documented in 1306 as '*Shepstowe*', whilst '*Cas-Gwent*' first appears in the historic record in 1128 as *castellguent* (Owen & Morgan 2007, 82). The castle is also recorded as *Estrighoiel* ('Striguil') in Domesday, which may be derived from the Welsh for 'bend' as, like many Anglo-Norman foundations, the site chosen was within a bend of the River Wye (Pettifer 2000, 129). It is thought that medieval references to 'Chepstow' may refer to the town and not the castle (Morgan 2005, 67) and the later dropping of the place-name 'Striguil' may hint at the growing importance of the town in later history (Owen & Morgan 2007, 82). In 1071 fitz Osbern also founded the Benedictine priory dedicated to St Mary (Fig.6.7.), a daughter house of Cormeilles Abbey in Normandy (Aston 1993, 76), thought to be the first such foundation in the Welsh Marches (Reeves 1983, 138). As with other Anglo-Norman urban monastic sites, the foundation of this priory can be viewed as an attempt to consolidate the temporal authority of the new elite through spiritual means (Greene 1992, 4). There was also a small house of Augustinian Canons founded at St Kynemark, on the outskirts of Chepstow, sometime between 1254 and 1270 (Howell 1988, 74). The importance of the medieval town of Chepstow within the Welsh Marches is shown, not only by its multiple monastic foundations, but by the number of parish churches founded within its boundaries, three, more than contemporary Cardiff (Schofield & Vince 1994, 147).

The impressive Anglo-Norman donjon, known as 'The Great Tower', at Chepstow resembles those being built in northern France prior to the Norman Conquest (Fig.6.8.; Pettifer 2000, 126; Turner 2004, 225) and features a band of Roman tiles and some other Roman stonework in the donjon seem to have been deliberately used in its construction (Turner 2006a, 6). These features are facing west into unconquered Wales and are clearly meant to be part of a lordly display of power linking the temporal authority of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy with that of the Romans (Creighton 2002a, 66-67; 2009, 189; Turner 2004, 309). The traditional view of fitz Osbern constructing the masonry castle, the earliest in Wales, is based on one line from the Domesday survey (*Domesday – Glos.*, S1) and this is being increasingly challenged and debated (Turner 2004, 225; 251-260). The reasons for this reassessment is that fitz Osbern was only Earl between 1067 and 1071 (4 years) and he was constantly on the move campaigning in England and the continent. Furthermore, Hereford was the centre of his earldom (Turner 2004, 226), not Chepstow, and fitz Osbern's border castles (such as Ewyas Harold and Monmouth) were placed in the keeping of a subordinate lord (Reeves 1983, 13) so the

construction of such a palatial building, which fitz Osbern himself probably would not have occupied, away from his seigneurial centre seems odd (Turner 2006a, 6) and the possibility of Chepstow's donjon being a royal construction has started to gain academic weight (Turner 2004, 260).



Fig.6.7. St Mary's Priory, Chepstow (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).



Fig.6.8. Aerial view of Chepstow Castle (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

When William fitz Osbern died, at the Battle of Cassel in 1071, he passed the Earldom of Hereford to his son, Roger de Breteuil, who forfeited his lands to the Crown in 1075, after the Revolt of the Earls, and the extent to which fitz Osbern's former lands were in royal hands at the time of Domesday (1086) remains controversial (Courtney 2008, 46). Domesday states that Chepstow itself is in the King's hands, and that fitz Osbern's former local administrators and tenants now appear in *Domesday* as royal officers and tenants-in-chief (Walker 1990, 22-3), including Roger of Berkeley, William of Eu, Ralph of Limesy and Roger of Lacy. There also appears to be a dispute brewing between Ralph de Limesy and William of Eu over who is the major land holder in the castelry (*Domesday – Glos.*, S1-2; W14-17). Portskewett is described as a dairy farm held by Roger of Ivry (*Domesday – Glos.*, W1) and Caerwent seems to be divided between Belward of Caerwent, Jocelyn the Breton and Durand the Sheriff, who also holds Caldicot (*Domesday – Glos.*, W7-15). There is no apparent mention of Magor, nor any of the other case study parishes to be examined in this chapter, suggesting either that there was a limit to Anglo-Norman expansion in this period, or that these settlements had simply not developed by this point. Outside Chepstow itself, land seems to be still organised according to Welsh custom, *maenorau*, making payment in kind (Walker 1990, 23). Interestingly, Chepstow castle is mentioned as an economic asset, collecting a toll on boats crossing the Wye (*Domesday – Glos.*, S1). The only other time a castle is mentioned in such terms in Domesday is Eye (Suffolk) with a seigneurial market (Creighton 2002a, 93-94). As has already been touched upon, the expansion of the Lordship of Chepstow is also a matter for debate. The traditional view is that by the end of the eleventh century the Lordship of Chepstow/Striguil already encompassed land further west that would later become the Lordship of Usk. However, a more recent 'revisionist' view, put forward by Paul Courtney, argues that the occupation was strictly limited to southern and eastern Gwent in relation to Anglo-Norman policy at the time which favoured stability on the frontier (Courtney 1986).

One lord of Chepstow mentioned in Domesday, William of Eu, conspired against King William II in 1095 (Crouch 2002, 147) and lost his lands, eyes and genitalia as a punishment, later dying of his wounds (Crouch 2008, 22). By 1119, when Pope Calixtus II wrote a letter to the *nobiles* of the diocese of Llandaff, threatening them with excommunication for their 'depredations', a Lordship of 'Netherwent' (with Chepstow as centre) had been granted by either William II or his brother Henry I to Walter fitz Richard, known as 'De Clare' (Crouch 2008, 22) and it is thought Walter had probably supported Henry in the succession crisis of 1100-1, which led to the creation (or cementing) of his lordship (Crouch 2008, 22). Importantly, it was Walter de Clare who founded Tintern Abbey in 1131 (Turner 2006a, 9). Walter died in 1138 and his lands passed to his nephew Gilbert fitz Gilbert de Clare (d.1148). Gilbert was made Earl of Pembroke in 1138 by King Stephen (Reeves 1983, 29), who also granted him the rape of Pevensey. Gilbert is occasionally known in the historic record as 'Strongbow' although this title is usually associated with his more famous son and heir, Richard de Clare (1130-1176), Earl of Pembroke and Striguil, Lord of

Leinster and Justicar of Ireland (Bradney 1929, 4). Although Richard succeeded to Gilbert's estates in 1148, his title of Earl of Pembroke was withheld by Henry II in 1154, due to his support of Stephen during the Anarchy (Carpenter 2003, 213). After Richard de Clare's infamous expedition to Leinster (1169), Henry II seized the Lordship of Netherwent in 1170 as punishment and royal officers continued to hold the lordship until Strongbow presented himself to the King at a meeting in Newnham in the Forest of Dean (*Brut – RBH*, 155). Due to the general unrest in the Angevin realm, primarily caused by the rebellion of Henry II's sons in 1173, and the absence of Earl Richard in Ireland, Iorwerth ab Owain, grandson of Caradog ap Gruffydd (ruler of Gwent d.1081) was able to invade eastern Gwent and pillage the land around Chepstow (Carpenter 2003, 224). The English tenants of Netherwent surrendered the honor to Hywel ab Iorwerth leaving only the major castles (probably Usk and Chepstow) resisting (*Brut – RBH*, 163).

In 1176 Richard de Clare died of an infection in his foot and was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who died a minor and was, in turn succeeded by his sister Isabel (d. 1220) (Sanders 1960). In 1189 Isabel de Clare married William Marshal (d. 1219), regarded by many as the greatest knight and soldier in the realm (Turner 2006a, 9-10). William had been promised Isabel's hand by Henry II and his son and successor Richard I upheld the promise one month after his accession to the throne. Despite this Marshal did not become the *jure uxoris* Earl of Pembroke and Earl of Striguil until 1199, he nevertheless assumed overlordship of Leinster, Pembroke Castle, Chepstow Castle, as well as Isabel's other castles in Wales (Davies 1987, 277). It was William Marshal, or his heirs, who extended the castle from its original Anglo-Norman form and built most of the defences seen today (Turner 2006a, 10-11) and dendro-chronological dating has dated the doors of the main gatehouse at Chepstow from this period (Turner 2006a, 10). It is also thought that William Marshal strengthened the castle with some of the earliest circular towers in Wales (Pettifer 2000, 126). An account dated to 1271-72 also refers to the castle having a 'gloriette' and a *camera comitessa* ('countess's chamber'), which are thought to have been private retreats built for William Marshal and his wife Isabel (Turner 2006a, 12) and with their wide views over the castle, gardens and the Wye Valley, but secluded location, it has been suggested that this was a high status female space (Gilchrist 1999, 133-4; Turner 2006b, 76-80).

When William Marshal died, his lands passed to his eldest son, also named William, who succeeded his father as both Earl of Pembroke and as Lord Marshal of England. These two powerful titles, as well as the status of his father, made William one of the most prominent nobles in England (Bradney 1929, 4). In 1224, William married Eleanor of England, youngest daughter of King John and Isabella of Angoulême, thereby strengthening the family's connection with the crown. The second William Marshal died childless on the 6th April 1231 and passed his lands on to his brother, Richard Marshal (d. 1234), who came to the fore as one of the leaders of the baronial party against Henry III (Carpenter 2003, 312-313). Richard also died

childless and passed his lands onto yet another brother, Gilbert Marshal (d. 1241), who went on to marry Marjorie, daughter of King William 'The Lion' of Scotland. Their marriage was, again, childless and Gilbert Marshal was accidentally killed while in a tournament which had been forbidden by Henry III (Turner 2006a, 13). Gilbert's lands passed on to a fourth brother, Walter Marshal (d. 1245), who died suddenly at Goodrich Castle and passed his lands onto a fifth and final brother, Anselm Marshal (d. 1245), who only held the Earldom for a month before dying at Chepstow (Pettifer 2000, 126). Anselm, like his brothers, died childless, and his estates were divided between his sisters and their husbands and Chepstow passed onto his eldest sister, Maud (d. 1248), who had married Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk (d.1225), one of the signatories of Magna Carta, before marrying William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey (Turner 2006a, 13).



Fig.6.9. Plan of medieval Chepstow (redrawn by the author from Soulsby 1983, Fig.25).

Upon Maud's death Chepstow, and the office of Marshal of England, passed to her eldest son, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk (d.1270). Roger also had no children, and was succeeded by his nephew, another Roger Bigod (d.1306), who, as Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshall and holder of vast estates across southern England, Wales and south-east Ireland, was one of the greatest magnates during the rule of Edward I (Turner 2006a, 14). Bigod seems to have made Chepstow his main residence and spent lavishly turning the Marshal stronghold into a palatial stronghold (Turner 2006a, 15-17) with a new domestic suite, including a spacious hall on the castle's northern and least exposed side (Pounds 1990, 141) and the large 'Marten's Tower' (Pettifer 2000, 126). The hunting ground of Chepstow Park, to the north in Wentwood, is documented by 1306 (Cantor 1983), although it is likely that it was in existence earlier, as well as another deer park further south in the lordship at St Pierre. There was also a moated site, known as 'The Old Lodge' within Chepstow Park, thought to be used as a hunting lodge (Turner & Priestly 2006, 194-7). It was this Earl Roger who is thought to have enclosed Chepstow with a stone town wall (Figs. 7.9. & 7.10.) to control access to the town and the payment of tolls and taxes due to single gate leading into the town (Soulsby 1983, 108; Turner 2006a, 14; 51-52) and his *Inquisition post mortem* shows that attached to the Lordship of Chepstow there was also a grange, or barton, belonging to the castle, fisheries on the Wye and water mills (Bradney 1929, 5-6). The town and port flourished under Bigod, and by his death (1306) it totalled an impressive 308 burgages (Soulsby 1983, 107).



Fig.6.10. Aerial view of Chepstow's Port Wall (to the left of the photograph) (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

After the death of this childless second Roger Bigod, the lordship reverted to the crown (Turner 2006a, 15) before being granted to Edward II's half-brother, Thomas Brotherton (d. 1333) (Turner 2006a, 18). In 1323 Thomas Brotherton leased Chepstow for life to Hugh le Despenser, Edward II's favourite (Waters 1977, 9) and in 1326 Edward and Despenser fled to Chepstow rather than face Isabel and Mortimer on their way to try and escape to Ireland – The pair only made it to Cardiff before being captured and eventually killed (Walker 1990, 56-7). Upon the deaths of Despenser and Edward the lordship reverted back to Brotherton (Courtney 2008, 48). In the fifteenth century, the continued strategic importance of Chepstow is testified by the substantial garrison imposed upon the castle during the Glyndŵr revolt (Pettifer 2000, 127).

The lordship then passed through the hands of the Segrave family, before being conferred on Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Norfolk (d.1403) (Turner 2006a, 18). During the tenure of the Mowbray Earls of Norfolk, St Mary's Chepstow became an independent priory in 1442 (Howell 1988, 113). Upon the extinction of the Mowbrays in the male line the lordship came to the Howard family, who, in 1468, sold Chepstow to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (Bradney 1929, 8). In 1469 Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers and his son Sir John Woodville sought refuge in the castle after the Yorkist defeat at Edgecote Moor. Despite this, they were captured by Warwick 'the Kingmaker' and taken to Kenilworth castle for execution (Turner 2006a, 18). In 1507 the lordship was inherited by Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester and Henry VII's cousin (d.1526), when his wife's uncle, Sir Walter Herbert, died (Turner 2006a, 18). During this period the town walls were rebuilt and remodelled, first in 1487, and again in 1524 (Pettifer 2000, 129). The monastic houses in Chepstow were dissolved within a year of each other, St Kynemark's in 1535, and Chepstow Priory in 1536.

Caerwent

As has already been mentioned (see Chapter 2), the place-name 'Caerwent' is derived from the Romano-British settlement of *Venta Silurum*, and translated into English means 'the fort of Gwent' (Owen & Morgan 2007, 65). There is plenty of evidence to suggest that there was some sort of urban, or 'proto-urban', survival after the Roman departure at Caerwent (Howell 1988, 45) and the finding of coins of Saxon and Norman origin in the village suggests an economic centre with trading links to the outside world (Howell 1988, 48). Caerwent is mentioned repeatedly in the Llandaff Charters as *Guentionia Urbs* (e.g. *Liber Landavensis*, 218) and, despite the oldest remaining part of the church of St Stephen and St Tathan at Caerwent dating from the thirteenth century, there is evidence of the church going back to the tenth century and a pre-Norman disc cross-head was found in 1992 (Newman 2000, 149). In fact, documentary evidence, such as charters and the *Liber Landavensis*,

suggests unbroken ecclesiastical occupation at Caerwent from prior to the Roman withdrawal (Howell 1988, 38). Charter evidence also suggests that there was a church in the adjoining settlement of Crick from the eleventh century (Howell 1988, 38) and the small thirteenth century manorial chapel of St Nyven has since been converted into a house (Salter 2002, 21). The place-name 'Crick' is clearly of Welsh origin, from *crug*, meaning 'mound', and is documented from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although Wendy Davies suggests that a *Uilla Carnou* mentioned in the Llandaff Charters is a reference to Crick (*Liber Landavensis*, 262; Morgan 2005, 76).



Fig.6.11. Aerial view of the village of Caerwent. The motte is in the bottom right corner (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

There are the remains of a Norman motte in the south-east corner of the Roman town walls (Figs. 6.11. & 6.12.), presumably raised during the early Anglo-Norman invasions of Gwent in order to make use of the pre-existing fortification (Pettifer 2000, 123). The reuse of the Roman remains may have also had a symbolic function, as has already been seen with the donjon at Chepstow. In fact, the lines of red Roman tile used in the construction of Chepstow castle are thought to be originally from Caerwent (Howell 1988, 50), linking the two sites together. The ownership of Caerwent at the time of Domesday, split between Belward of Caerwent, Jocelyn the Breton and Durand the Sheriff, has already been touched upon (*Domesday – Glos.*, W7-15). There was also a second Anglo-Norman motte in the parish, to the south of Crick, known as 'Mount Ballan' or 'The Berries'. This castle takes the form of a strong motte with evidence for a bailey, thought to be from the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, during the initial Anglo-Norman settlement of

the area (Phillips 2006). The next known holder of Caerwent is Geoffrey de Lucy, who, in 1234, was granted seisin of his lands in Caerwent, which had been seized during a dispute between Henry III and Richard Marshal (Bradney 1929, 129). The de Lucy family seem to have held Caerwent until the fifteenth century, when it is in the hands of the Kemeys family (Bradney 1929, 129). The 1271 Survey of Wentwood recorded Crick as being held by Sir William Denford, a fact restated in the *inquisitio post mortem* of Roger Bigod in 1306. By 1399 the manor had passed to Sir John de la More, via an ancestor's marriage into the Denford family (Bradney 1929, 138).



Fig.6.12. Aerial view of the motte at Caerwent (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

Magor

The place-name Magor (*Magwyr*), simply means fortification in Welsh and may refer to some of the sea defences and drainage ditches in the area, or the ruins of a Roman villa (Owen & Morgan 2007, 309). It is first documented in the twelfth century (Morgan 2005, 146). The earliest portion of St Mary's church is the thirteenth century central tower, although there are traces of an earlier twelfth century chancel (Newman 2000, 373), presumably from the earlier Anglo-Norman church dedicated to St Leonard (Salter 2002, 45). The parish has strong links with Tintern Abbey, due to the presence of two 'granges', or monastic farms, to the north and the south of the village (Howell 1988, 74). The industry at Magor was not just limited to the Cistercian granges, with a mill, harbours, multiple fishtraps and the remains of a medieval boat with a cargo of iron ore being recorded on the HER (e.g. Archwilio, 05764g; 00446g;

00460g etc.). There is also solid documentary and archaeological evidence for an extensive open field to the north of the village of Magor (Barber 1993; Maynard 1993). In 1270 the village was recorded as being held by Roger de St. Maur, with rights of houseboot and heyboot and seems to have been held by the St. Maur's from the De Clare family (Bradney 1932, 228). The St. Maur family's name changed over time to become the Seymours and eventually the family provided Henry VIII's third wife, Jane. In 1561 the industry of Magor was highlighted when Magor pill was described as a busy port (Williams 1975, 105). However, this has obviously changed since the wetland reclamation of the Gwent Levels drove the coastline further away from Magor.

Portskewett and Sudbrook

The place-name 'Portskewett' (*Porthsgiwed*) is of Welsh origin and is thought to translate as 'the harbour of Ysgewin'. Ysgewin is either a personal name or is derived from *ysgawen* (elder-tree) (Owen & Morgan 2007, 398). Portskewett has a small Norman church (St Mary's) with a twelfth century chancel arch (Newman 2000, 485). However, once again, Portskewett is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*, hinting at a much earlier foundation (Bradney 1929, 97). Gerald of Wales mentions Portskewett as the most south-easterly port in the country in his 'Description of Wales', interestingly omitting Chepstow, (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, 220) and a number of medieval fishtraps and trackways have been found off of the coast of Portskewett.

As has already been mentioned (see Chapter 2) Portskewett is the site of 'Harold's House' (Fig.6.13.), an eleventh century complex, apparently built by Earl Harold Godwinson (soon to be Harold II), and destroyed by Caradog ap Gruffudd in 1065 (Maund 2006, 100). In 1270 the manor is recorded in the hands of Matthew Deneband, with the usual rights of houseboot and heyboot in Wentwood, and in 1363 it is documented as being held by another, different, Matthew Deneband. By 1422 the manor had passed to John Bowles of Penhow (Bradney 1929, 97). Sudbrook (or Southbrook) was formerly an independent parish, but, as Bradney notes, has been linked to Portskewett 'from time immemorial' (1929, 103). The name is clearly of English origin and a reference to one of the many coastal streams in the area. It is first documented in 1193 (Owen & Morgan 2007, 446) and no 'Northbrook' has been identified (Morgan 2005, 198). There are the remains of a medieval chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity (Salter 2002, 63; Coflein, 96627) but there is also documentary evidence of a fourteenth century chancel and Norman nave windows are noted in 1895 (Newman 2000, 486). In 1271 Sudbrook was recorded in the possession of John de Southbrook, by 1334 this had passed to William Durant and by 1389 the manor was held by Jenkin Kemeys (Bradney 1929, 103).



Fig.6.13. Aerial view of 'Harold's House' and St Mary's Church, Portskewett (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

Itton, Howick and Mounton

Itton is first recorded in its English form as *Hudeton* in 1254 (Morgan 2005, 112-3) and it is thought to mean 'settlement of Eoda'. Its Welsh name (*Llanddinol*) means 'church of Deiniol' and predates this as it is recorded as *Lann Diniul* in the twelfth century (Owen & Morgan 2007, 201-2). It is mentioned in the Llandaff Charters (*Liber Landavensis*, 171b), as well as on a list of churches mentioned in a bull of pope Calixtus II (1119-1124) (Bradney 1932, 165). In 1270 Sir William Pendevill held Itton with housebote and heybote but the 1306 *inquisitio post mortem* of Roger Bigod records the manor as being held for half a Welsh knight's fee by Henry de Bendevile (Bradney 1932, 165). By the fifteenth century the manor is in the hands of John ap Gwilym Herbert (Bradney 1932, 165), which attaches it to the dynasty in possession of Chepstow at the time. The only remaining features of St Deiniol's church are the early fourteenth century tower and chancel arches (Salter 2002, 25).

The place-name 'Mounton' is first documented as *Monketowne* in 1535, but was previously recorded as 'Kington' in twelfth century documents (Morgan 2005, 156). It has also been suggested by Wendy Davies that a *Uilla* Guinnoui mentioned in the Llandaff Charters is a reference to Mounton (*Liber Landavensis*, 179b). Mounton was a former possession of Chepstow priory, but by 1306 it was held for a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Welsh knight's fee by John Blechery from Roger Bigod (Bradney 1929, 48). The

parish church, St Andoenus', is thought to be medieval in origin but was reconstructed in 1880 (Newman 2000, 412). There is some evidence for an earlier, now lost, church and charters suggests that there was probably a pre-Conquest church at both Howick and Mounton (Howell 1988, 38). Howick and Mounton were among the parishes owned by Chepstow Priory by at least the fourteenth century (Howell 1988, 70). Howick's name is of English origin and translates as 'village on a spur of land'; it is first recorded in the early thirteenth century. The Welsh equivalent, *Yr Hywig-fach*, dates from the seventeenth century and appears to be a cymriasation of the English name (Morgan 2005, 110-1). Howick is the smallest parish in the county of Monmouthshire and lacks a church (Newman 2000, 256). One of the few medieval mentions of the parish of Howick was the *Inquisitio post mortem* of Roger Bigod, although Wendy Davies suggests that an *ecclesia Guruid* mentioned in the Llandaff Charters refers to Howick (*Liber Landavensis*, 143), and seems, for most of its history to have been attached to Itton (Bradney 1932, 172).

6.3. Analysis of the Historic Landscape

Due to the number of parishes studied in this chapter, this section will provide maps for each of the data sets for every case study parish, followed by a discussion of the historic landscape of each parish (unlike the previous chapter, which discussed them in a topic by topic basis).

6.3.1. Chepstow

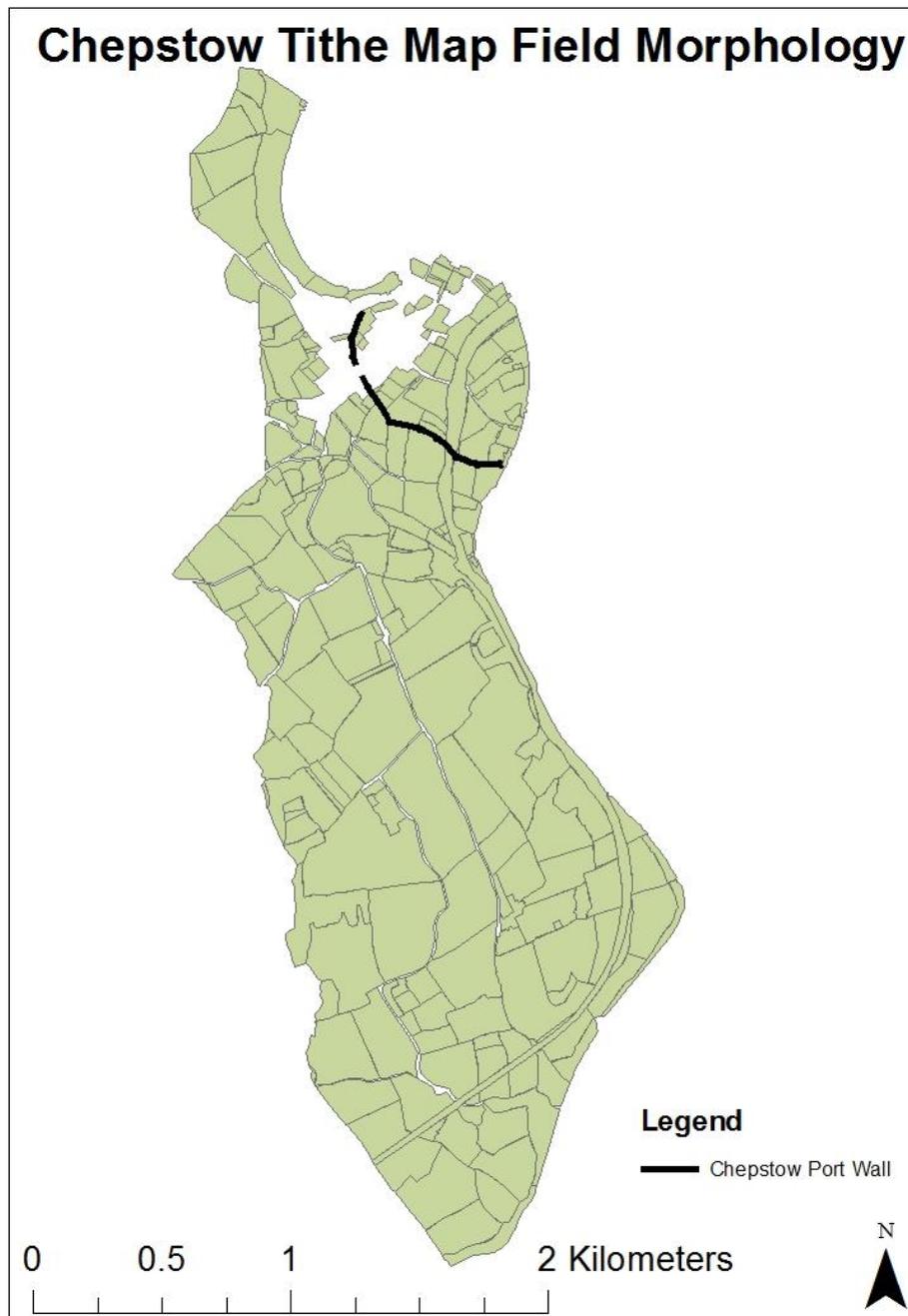


Fig.6.14. The field morphology of Chepstow according to the 1846 tithe map survey. The white areas represent urban land that was not recorded in the tithe map survey.

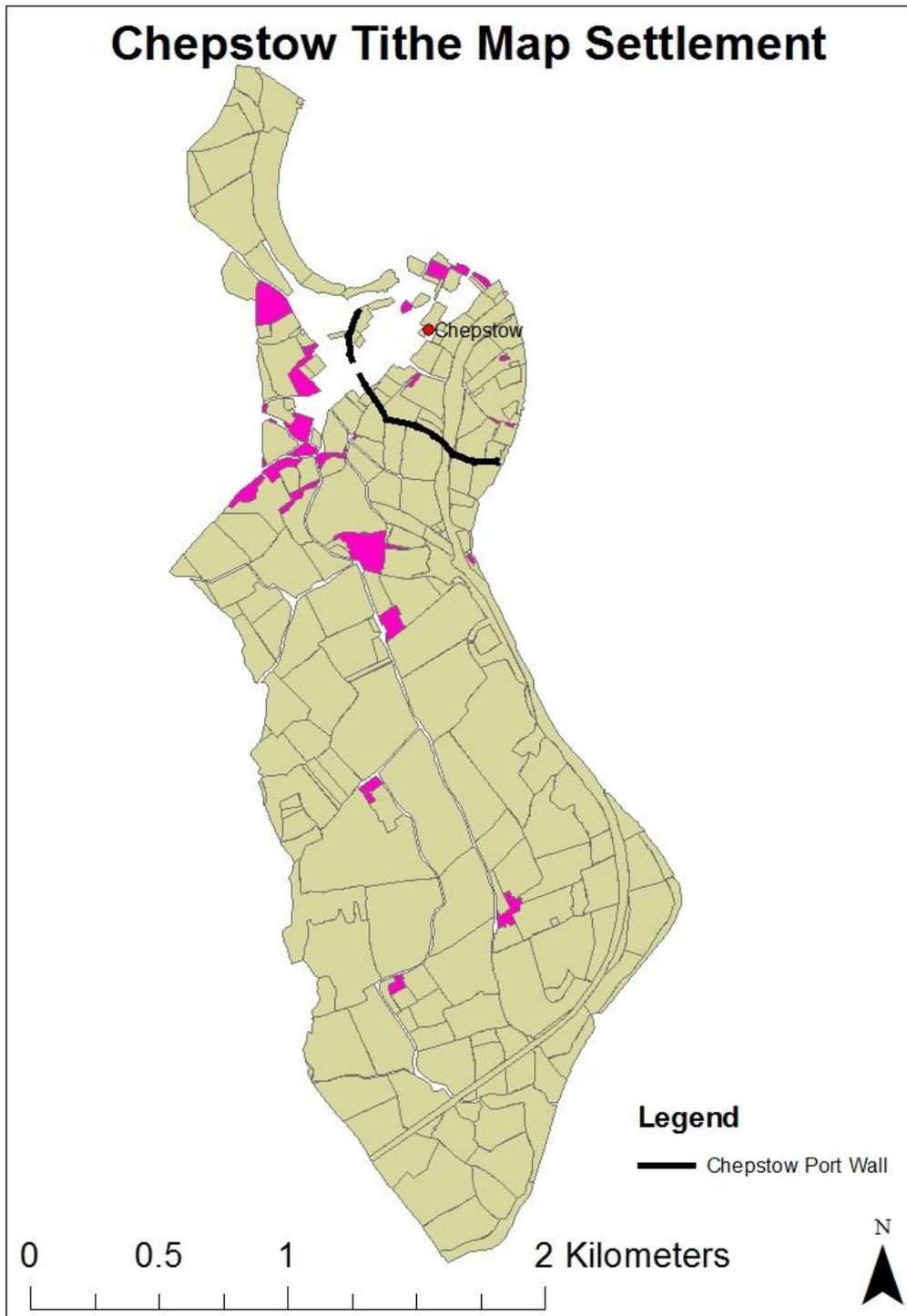


Fig.6.15. The settlement pattern of Chepstow according to the 1846 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink. The white urban areas represent most of the town of Chepstow.

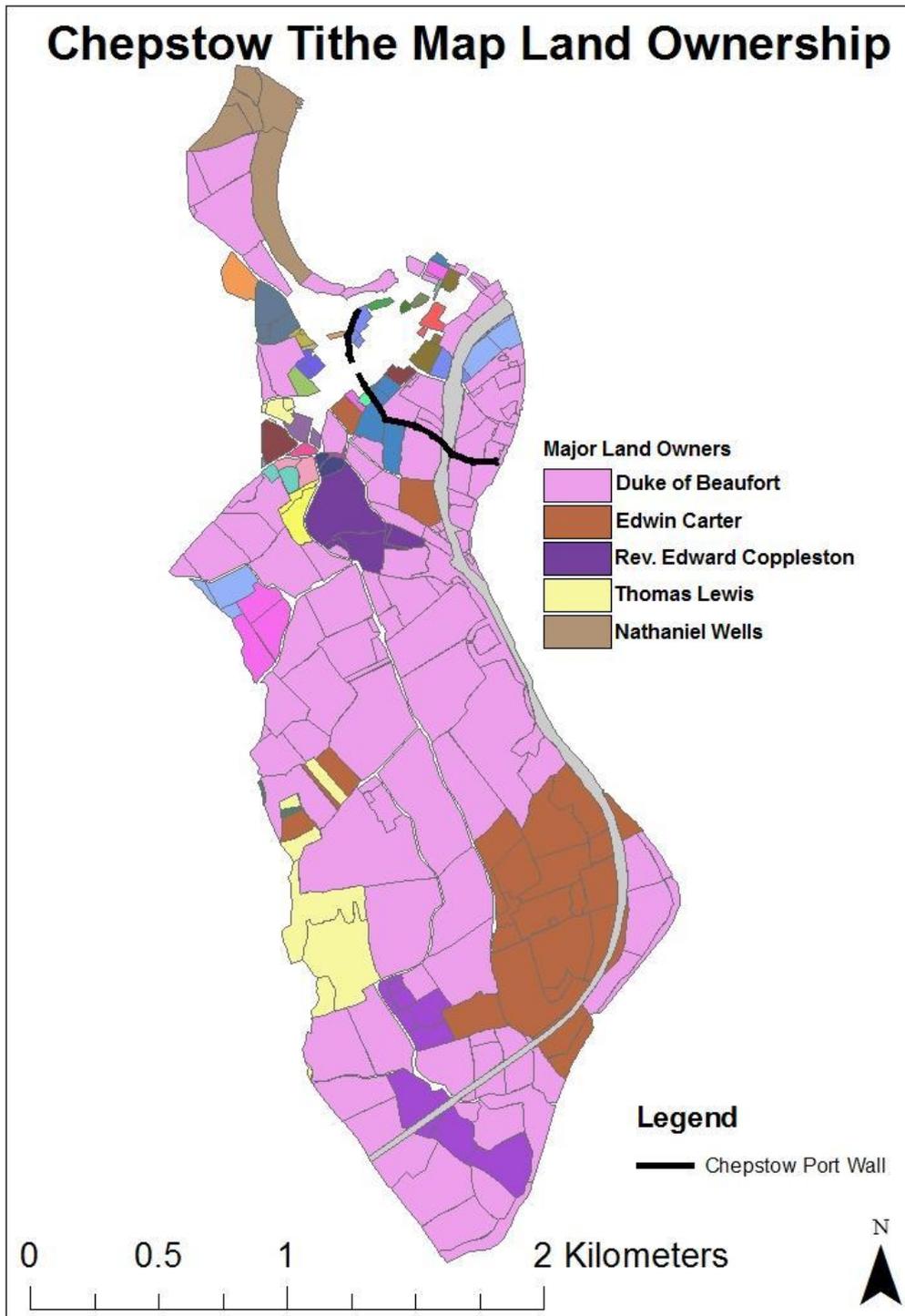


Fig.6.16. The pattern of land ownership for Chepstow according to the 1846 tithe map survey. The white urban areas represent most of the town of Chepstow.

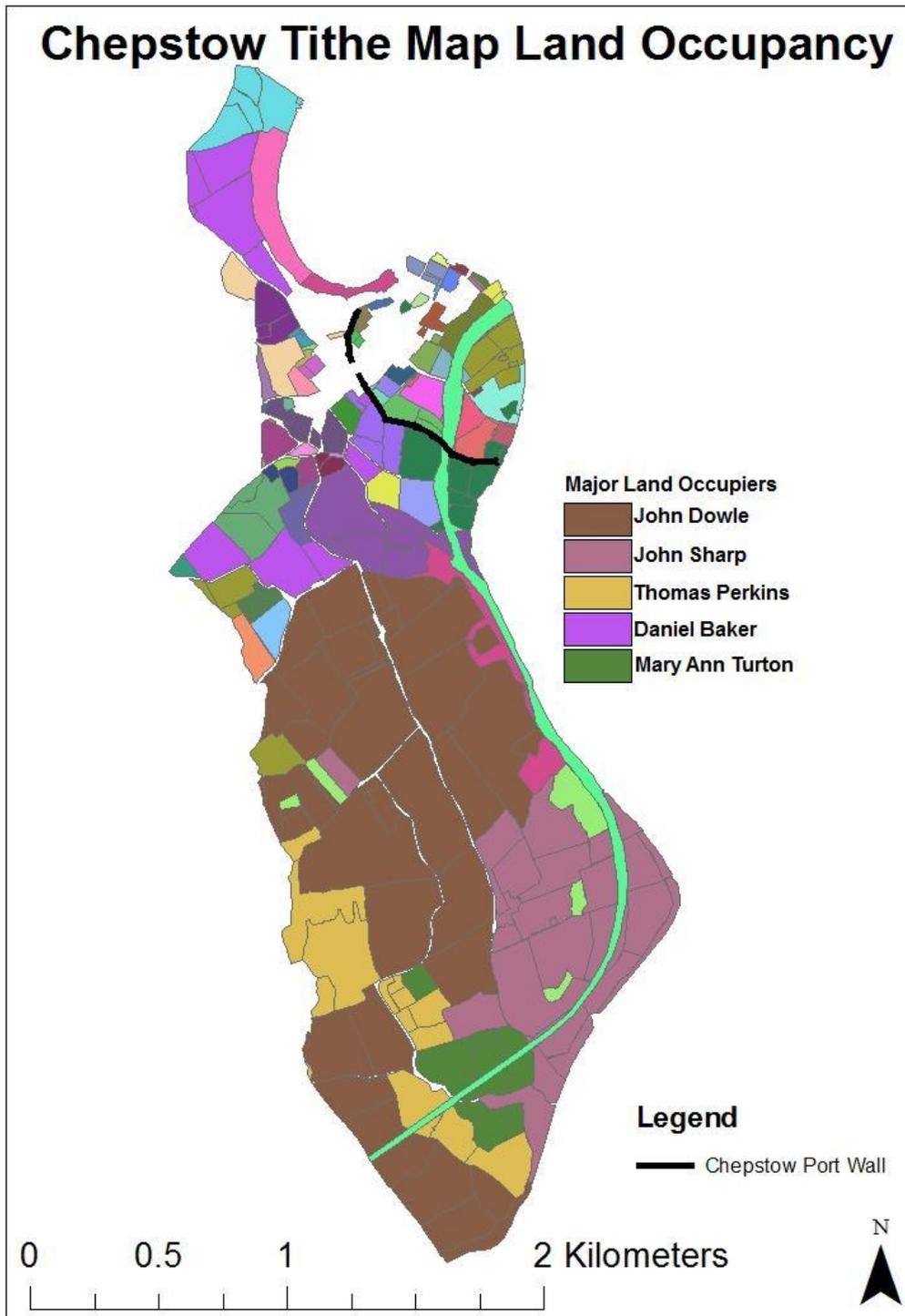


Fig.6.17. The pattern of land occupancy for Chepstow according to the 1846 tithe map survey. The white urban areas represent most of the town of Chepstow.

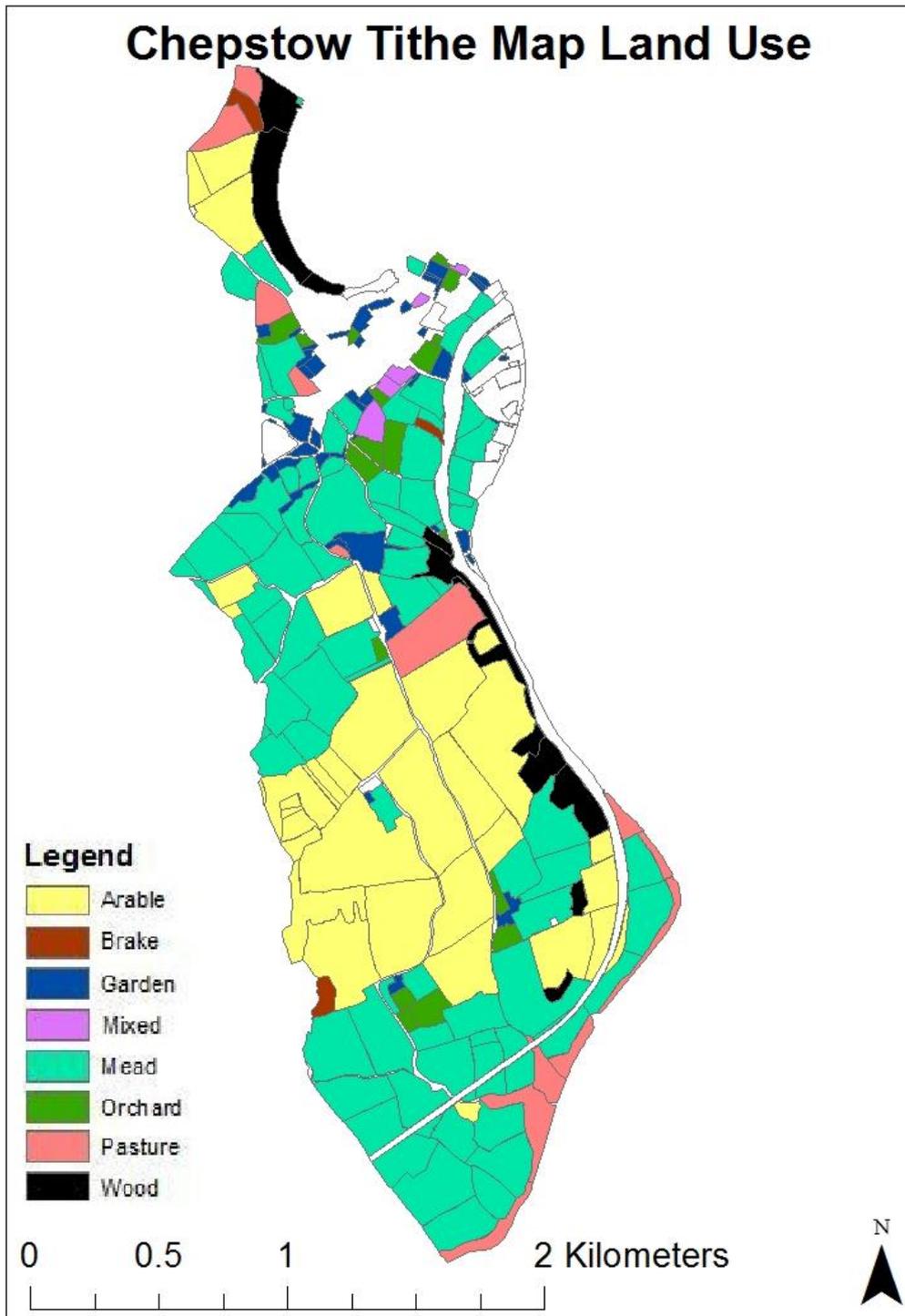


Fig.6.18. The pattern of land use for Chepstow according to the 1846 tithe map survey. The white urban areas represent most of the town of Chepstow.

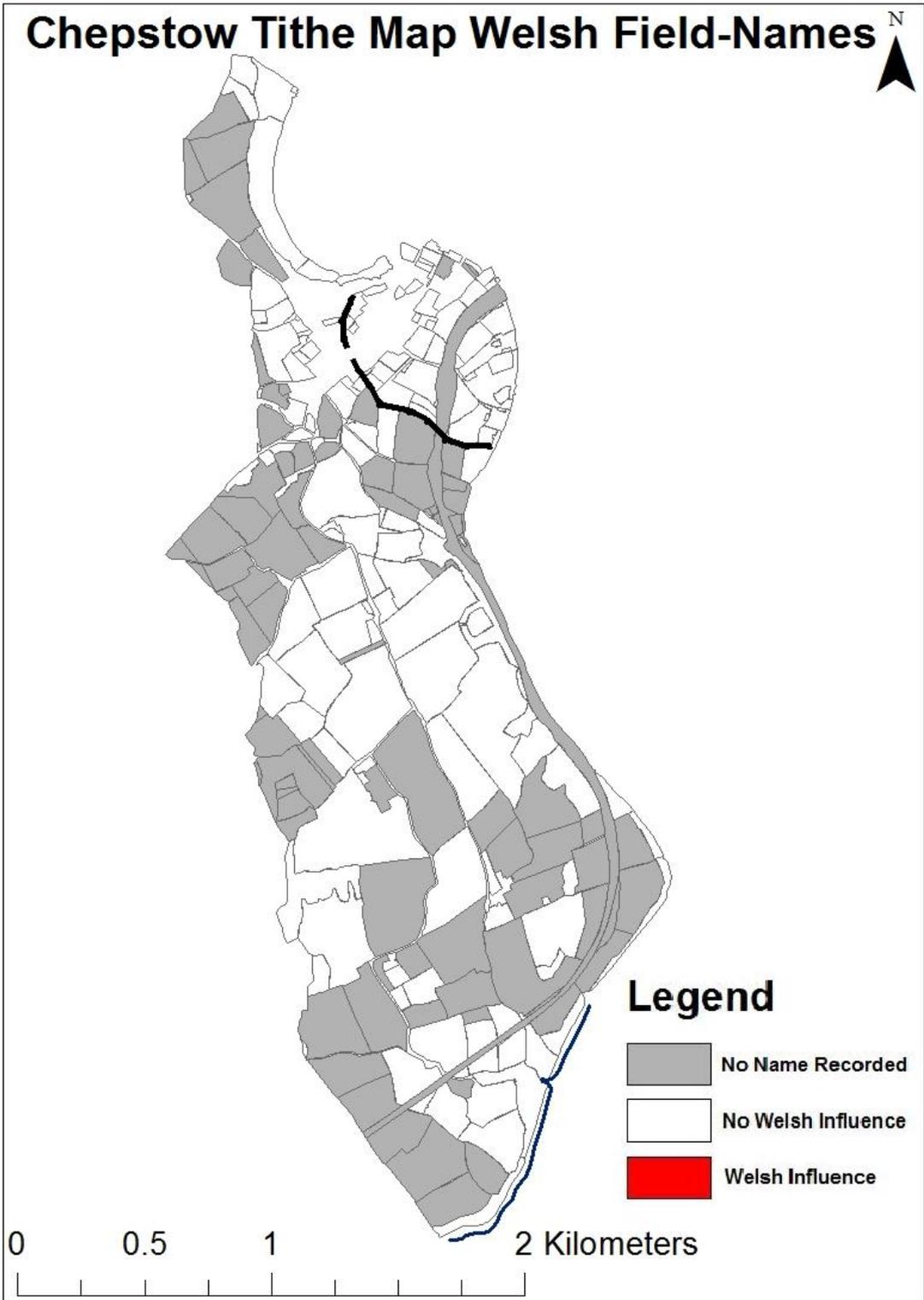


Fig.6.19. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Chepstow according to the 1846 tithe map survey.

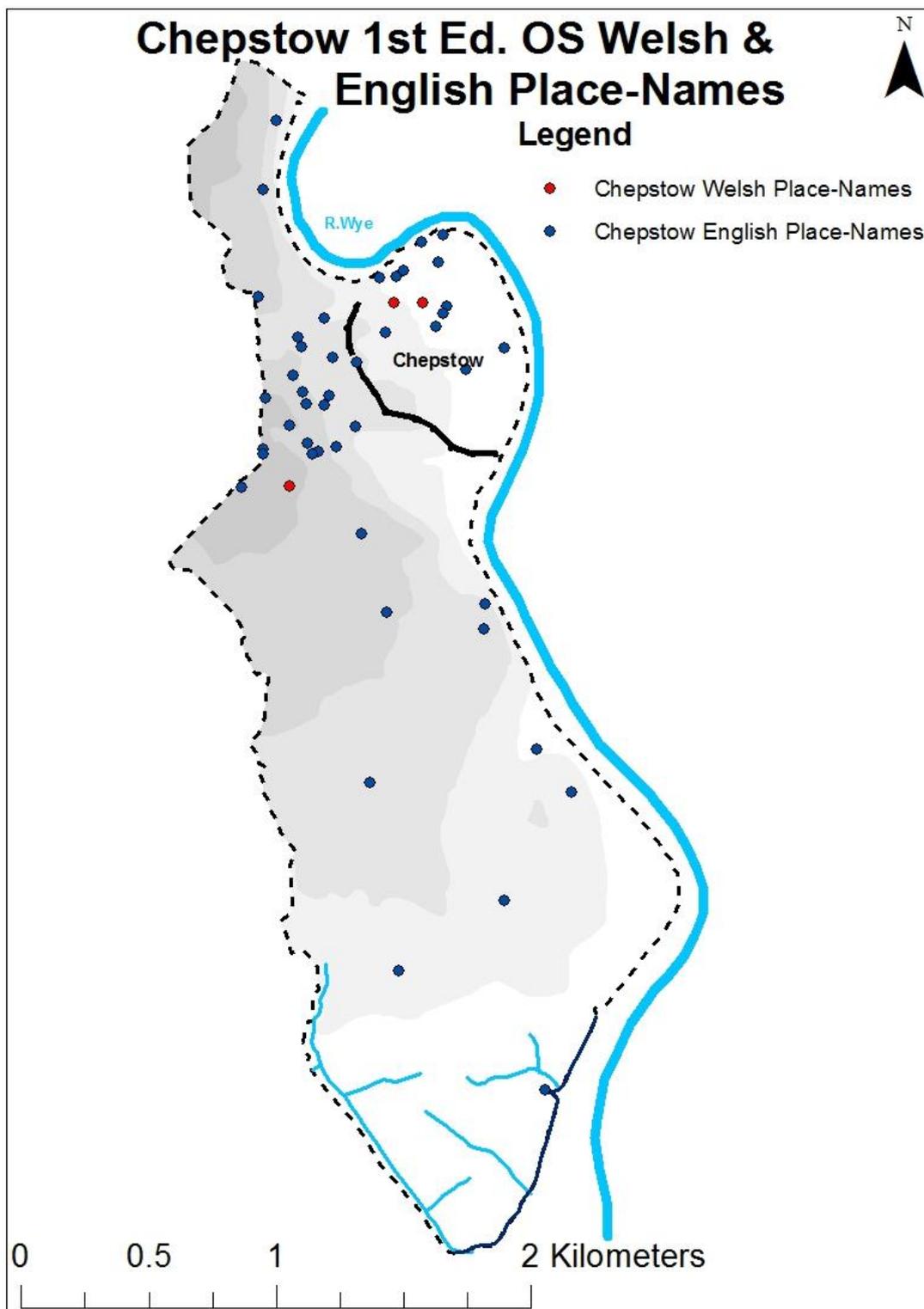


Fig.6.20. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Chepstow according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

At first glance there is not much clear evidence for a former open field system at Chepstow (Fig.6.14.). However, after closer examination, there are some features of the historic landscape which may be interpreted as suggesting a possible band of former open field in the centre of the parish. The sudden change from small irregular fields at the northern and southern ends of the parish to larger tracts with a more linear morphology in the central belt of Chepstow suggests an enclosure of open field, as well as the survival of a few longer thinner fields in the western half of this 'central belt'. This thesis is further supported by the presence of marker stones within this 'central belt' of the parish, which may be an indication of former thinner strip fields in this region (Fig.6.21.). However, looking at the rest of the parish, there are largely irregular fields along the southern fringes of the parish, and clusters of smaller fields surrounding the town of Chepstow, showing that this possible open field system did not cover the whole of the parish. What is also noticeable is that the land bought for the construction of the railway, the long thin strip weaving its way across the parish, skirts around the outside of this possible open field.

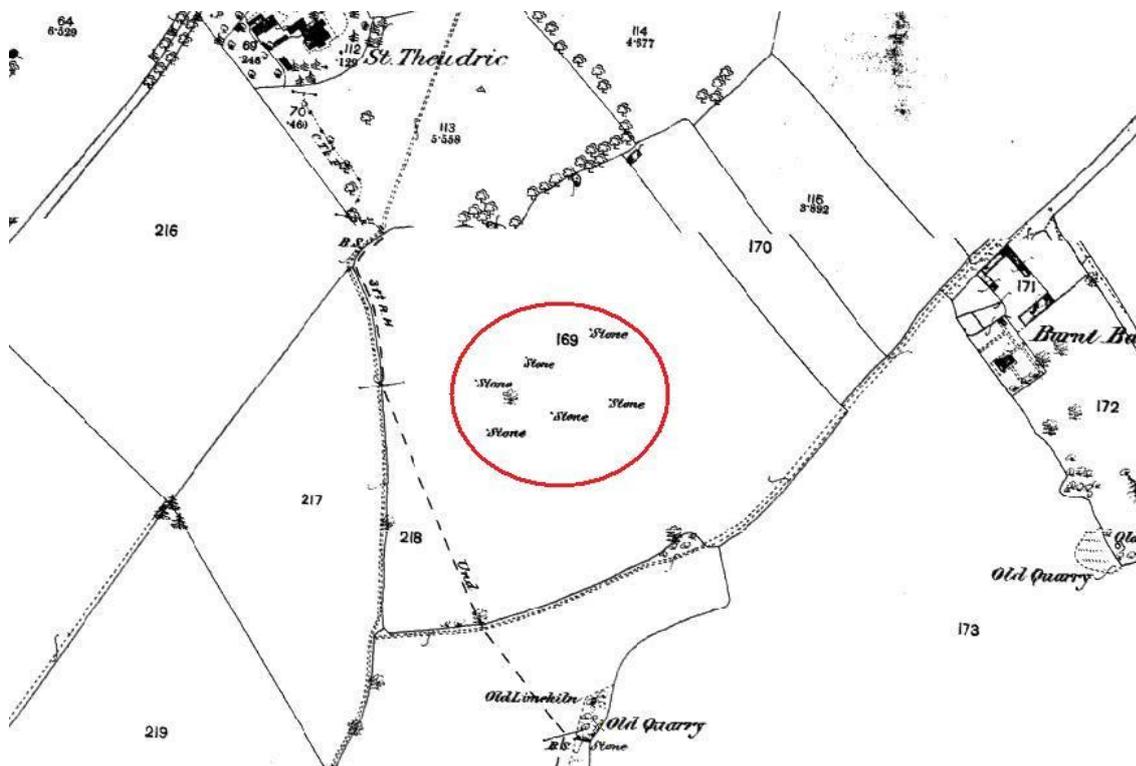


Fig.6.21. Marker stones in the 'central belt' of Chepstow, which may possibly indicate the presence of former strip fields within the parish.

The settlement pattern presented by the tithe maps for Chepstow (Fig.6.15.) obviously shows a large urban area, the town of Chepstow itself, which was not recorded on this survey. Outside this built up area there is a definite nucleation of settlement around the town, spilling down the main road into the town past the port wall, as you would expect for a town outgrowing its medieval boundaries. The central belt of the parish is fairly sparsely, but evenly, populated with lone farmhouses and large rural houses and cottages, and this scarcity of settlement might be suggestive

of a 'halo' effect which supports the suggestion of a former open field from the previous data set. The southern tip of Chepstow seems to be devoid of settlement, which is in contrast to the finds recorded in the HER (Fig.6.2.) which suggests that the central portion of the parish lacked medieval settlement, whilst there was some degree of medieval activity at Thornwell Farm to the south. Obviously this evidence has to be treated with caution as, of course, the absence of evidence does not equate to evidence of absence. As one would expect the road pattern in Chepstow radiates out of the town, only a dramatically different pattern would be worthy of note.

When the land ownership pattern in the parish of Chepstow (Fig.6.16.) is considered, it can be seen that it is dominated by one landowner, the Duke of Beaufort, who owns well over two thirds of the land in the parish, and this domination of land ownership by one individual makes it difficult to draw any conclusions from this landscape. However, this ownership is interesting as the Dukes of Beaufort (The Somerset family) were descended from the Beaufort Dukes of Somerset, who were in turn descended from the Lancastrian dynasty through John of Gaunt and the Lancastrian ownership of large parts of southeast Wales is well documented. Around the vicinity of the town there is a much more mixed pattern of landownership, as one would expect in an urban setting, and around the fringes of the parish there are compact blocks of land in the possession of owners other than the Duke of Beaufort. The pattern of land occupancy (Fig.6.17.) once again presents us with a jumbled pattern of small blocks of land occupancy in the northern portion of the parish, around the town. However, in contrast to the pattern of land ownership there is a more varied pattern in the southern half of the parish with larger blocks of compact occupancy. This, however, is not particularly indicative of former open field, although with the land all being owned by one individual it may be the result of a later, large scale landscape reorganisation. Interestingly, in contrast to the land ownership transcription, the Duke of Beaufort only actually occupies the land around the castle and a few areas of woodland on the eastern fringe of the parish.

The tithe map pattern of land usage for Chepstow (Fig.6.18.) has distinctive pattern, dominated by meadow, but with a large band of arable in the centre of the parish. This is further evidence for a former open field as this band of arable land ties in with the 'central belt' mentioned in the discussion of the field morphology. What is also noticeable is that there is little pasture present, it is largely limited the fringes of the parish, and there are extensive orchards and gardens surrounding the town, as one would expect. There was no evidence for any 'Welsh' field-names within the tithe survey of Chepstow (Fig.6.19.) (out of the 165 fields with recorded names) and there were only a few place-names of Welsh origin marked on Chepstow's first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map (Fig.6.20.), however, most of these are in the urban sprawl around the town of Chepstow itself and this is what you would expect from a Welsh town. It can be concluded, therefore, that the countryside around the town of Chepstow is dominated by place-names of English origin, and this is what one would

expect to find in a parish with such a large amount of Anglo-Norman influence, such as Chepstow.

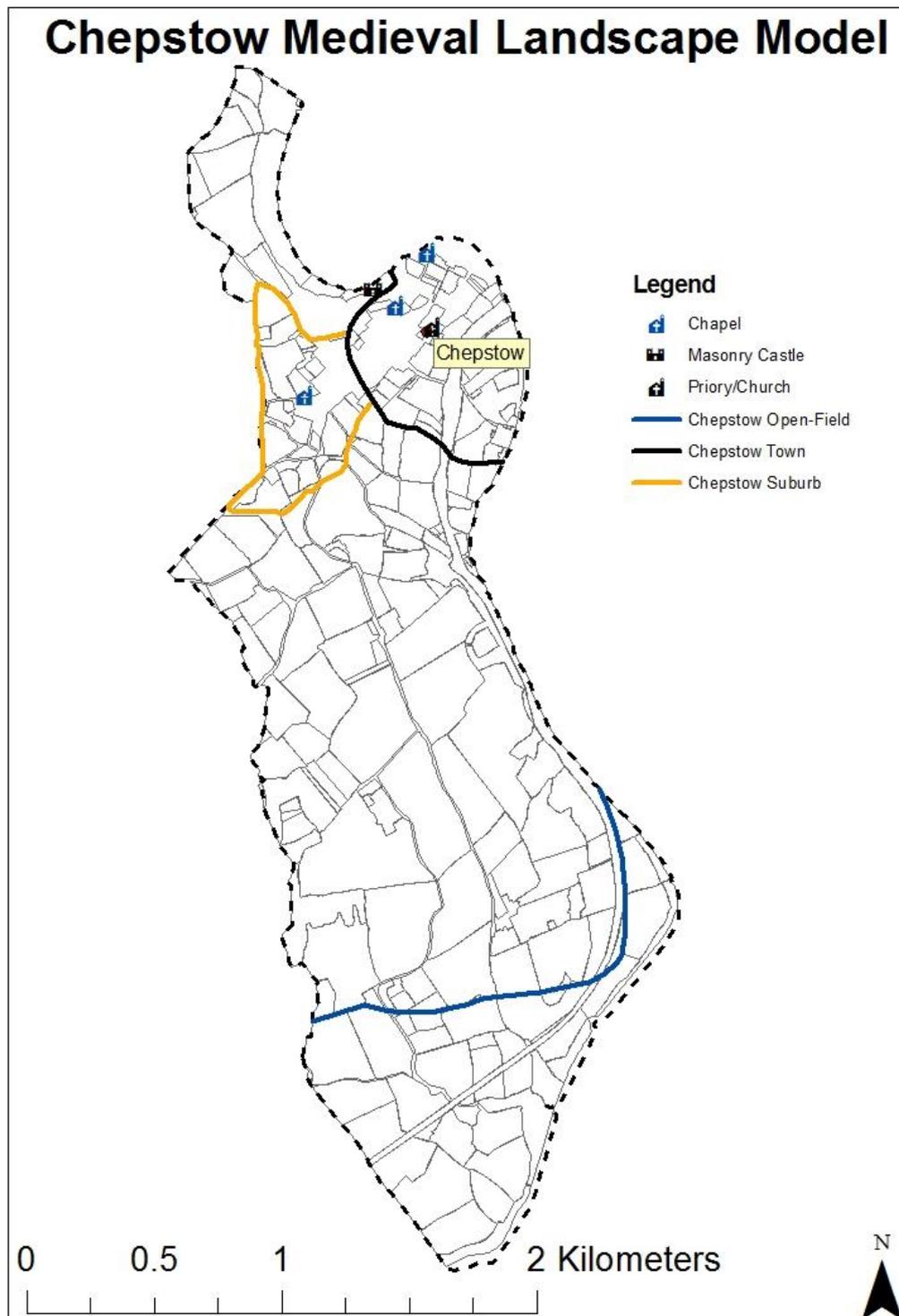


Fig.6.22. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Chepstow, based upon the findings of this case study.

In conclusion, within Chepstow there is an extremely 'Anglo-Norman' landscape, with a very large and obvious nucleation, a dominance of place-names of English origin and a substantial open field system across the middle of the parish (Fig.6.22.). Although it does look as if the open field did not reach all the way up to the town, maybe due to the presence of orchards, and the southern and northern fringes slightly different, with more pasture and woodland present. This 'English' landscape is, of course, important as Chepstow shows the highest degree of influence of an Anglo-Norman lordship in this case study, with the presence of the Anglo-Norman 'trinity', and it is interesting to note the high level of influence this appears to be exerting upon the surrounding landscape.

6.3.2. Caerwent

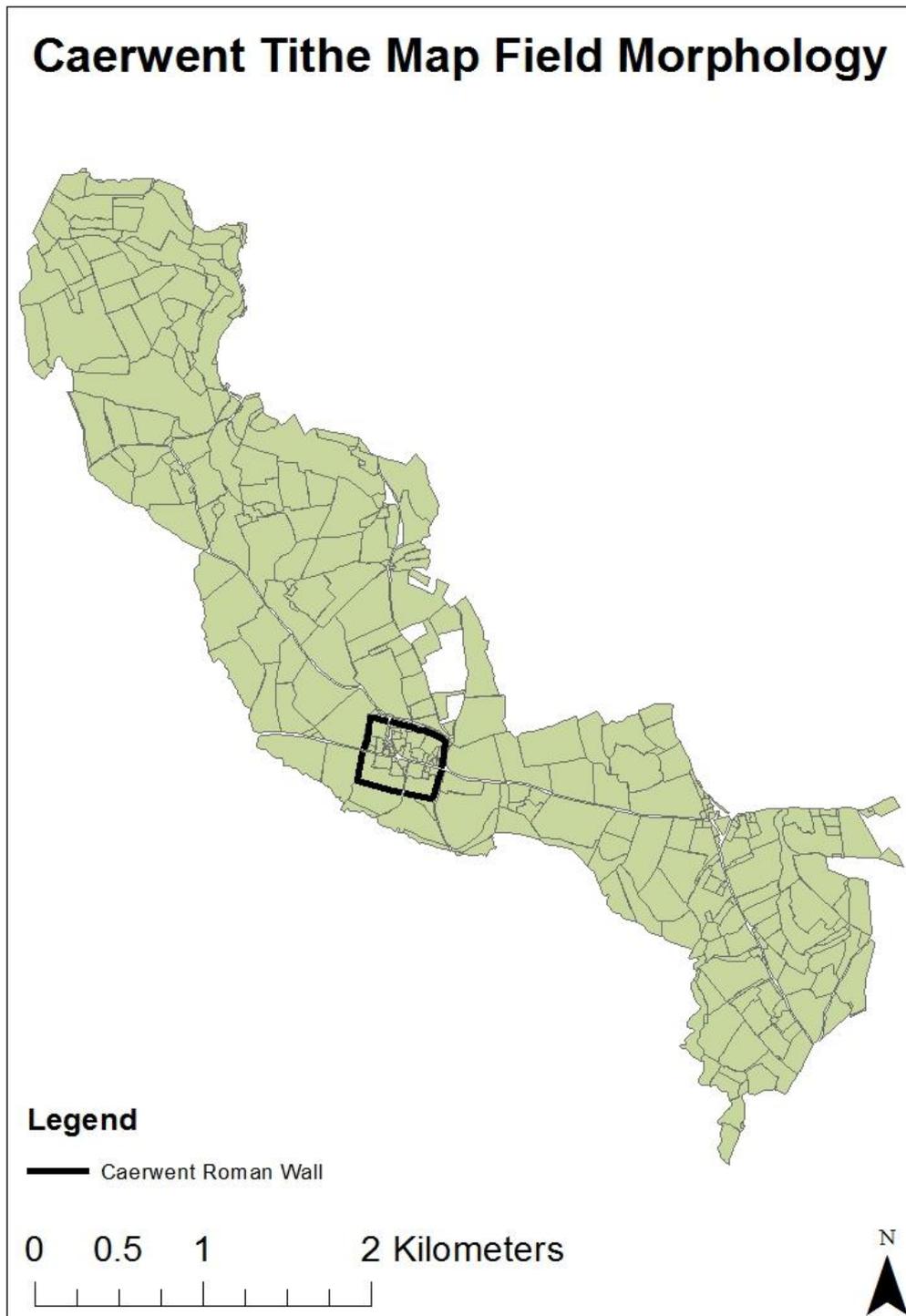


Fig.6.23. The field morphology of Caerwent according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

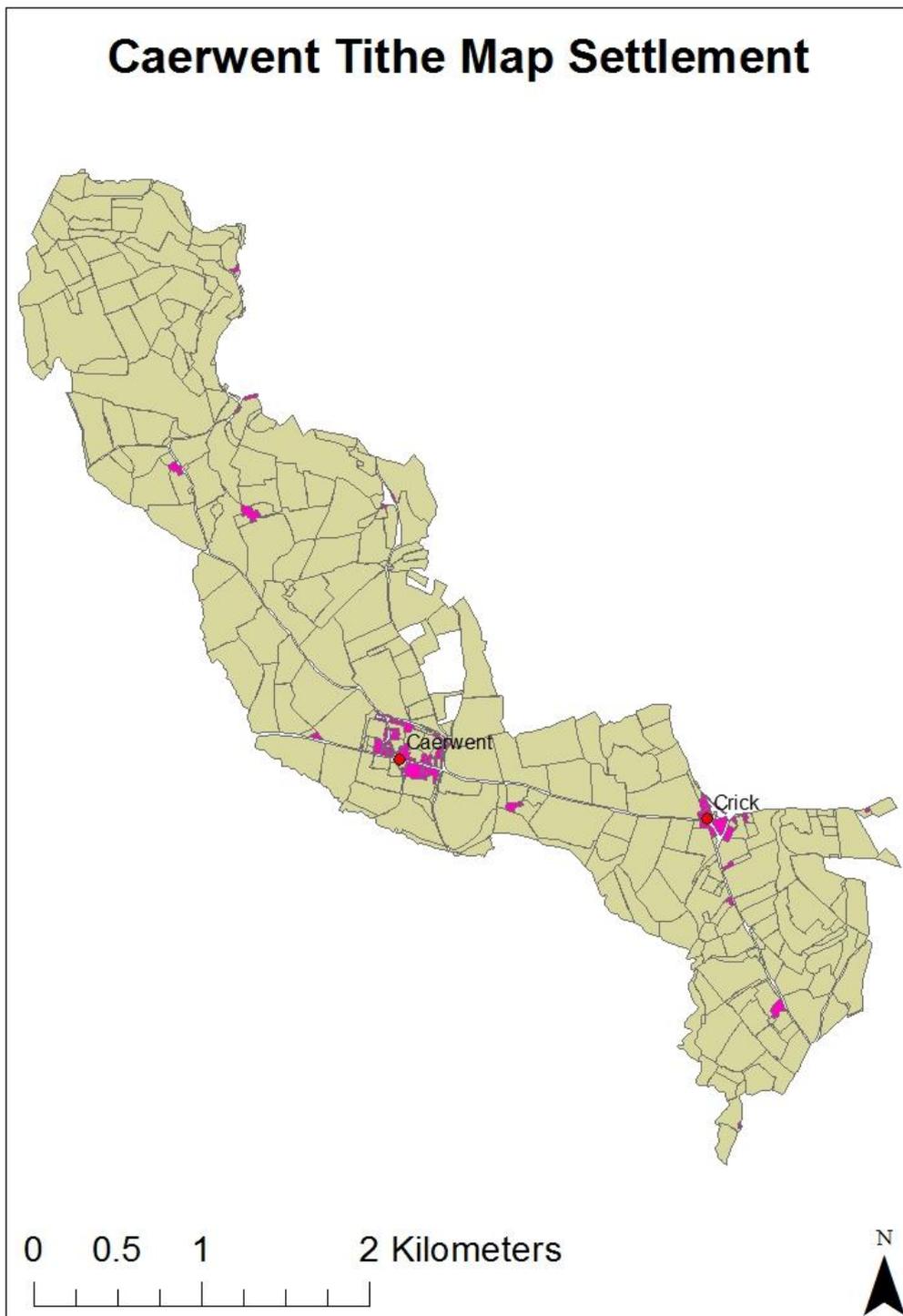


Fig.6.24. The settlement pattern of Caerwent according to the 1843 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

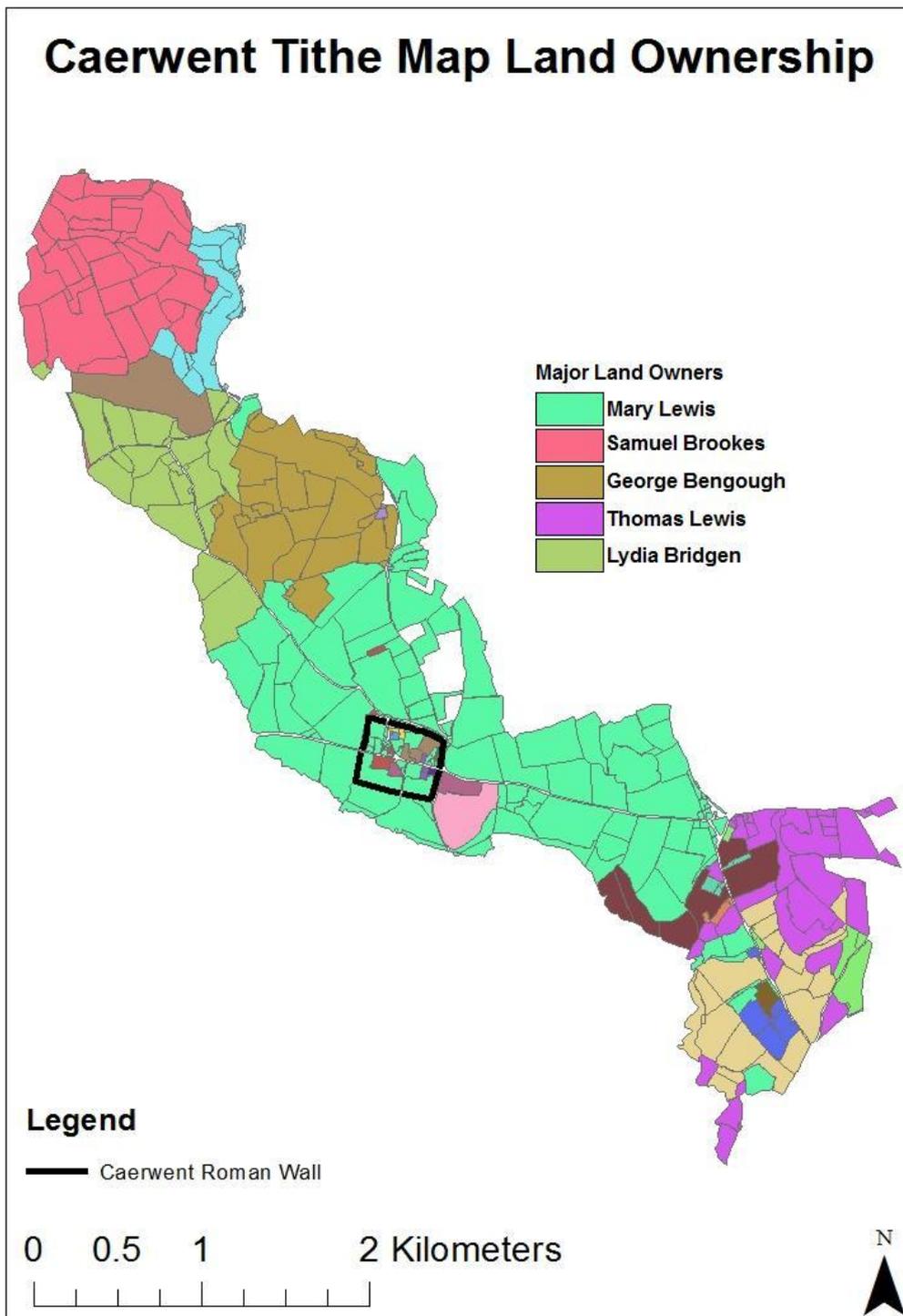


Fig.6.25. The pattern of land ownership for Caerwent according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

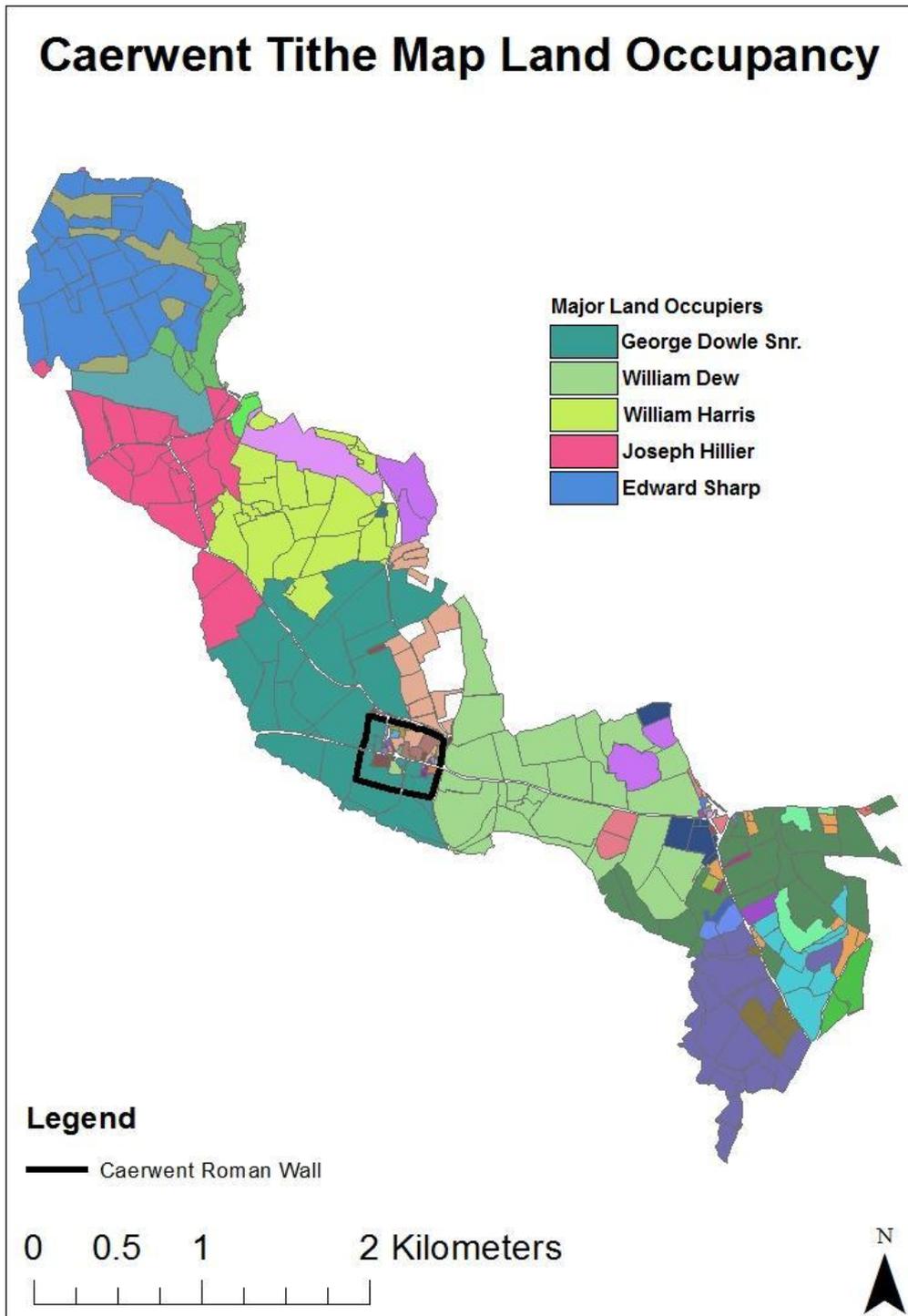


Fig.6.26. The pattern of land occupancy for Caerwent according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

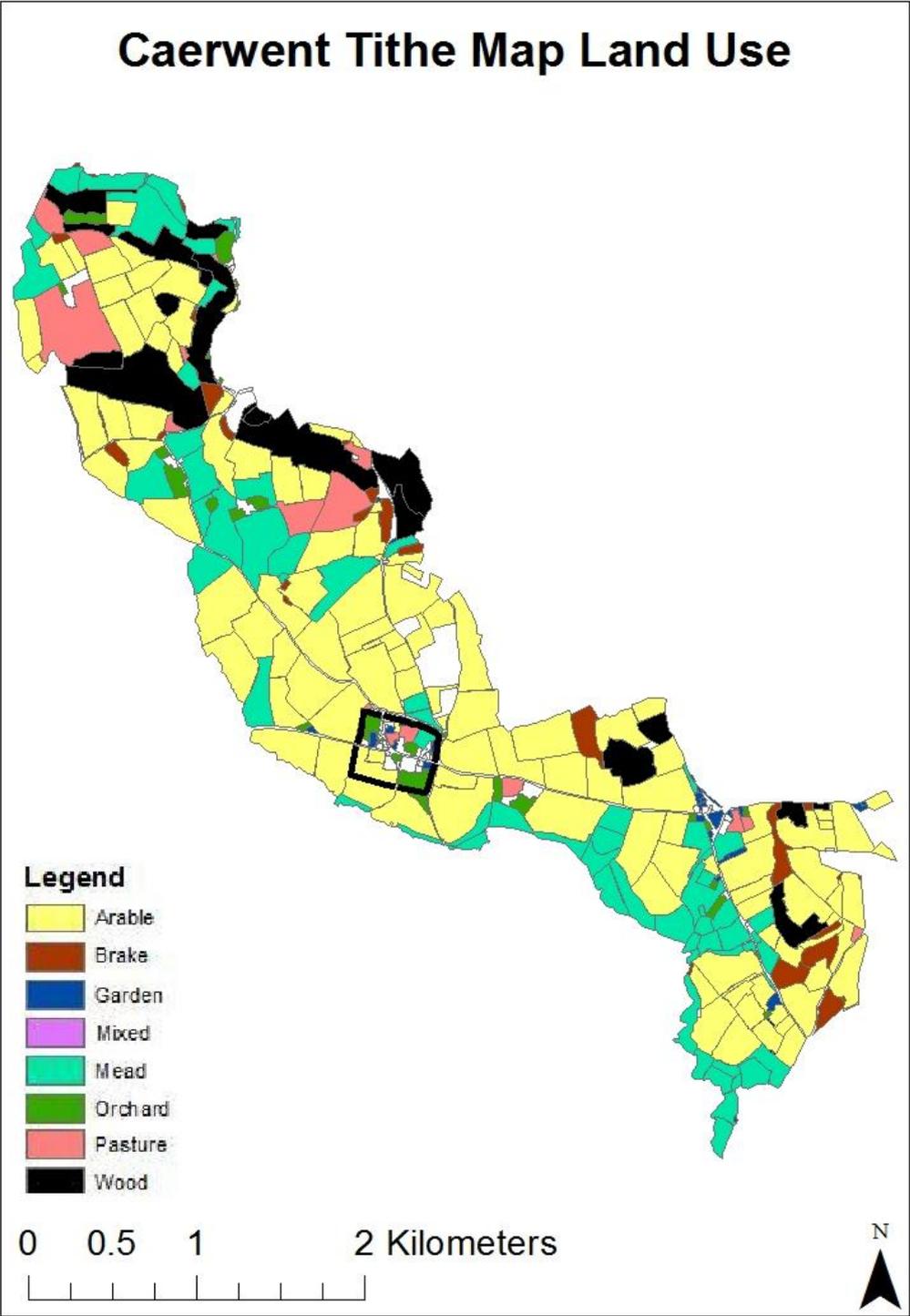


Fig.6.27. The pattern of land use for Caerwent according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

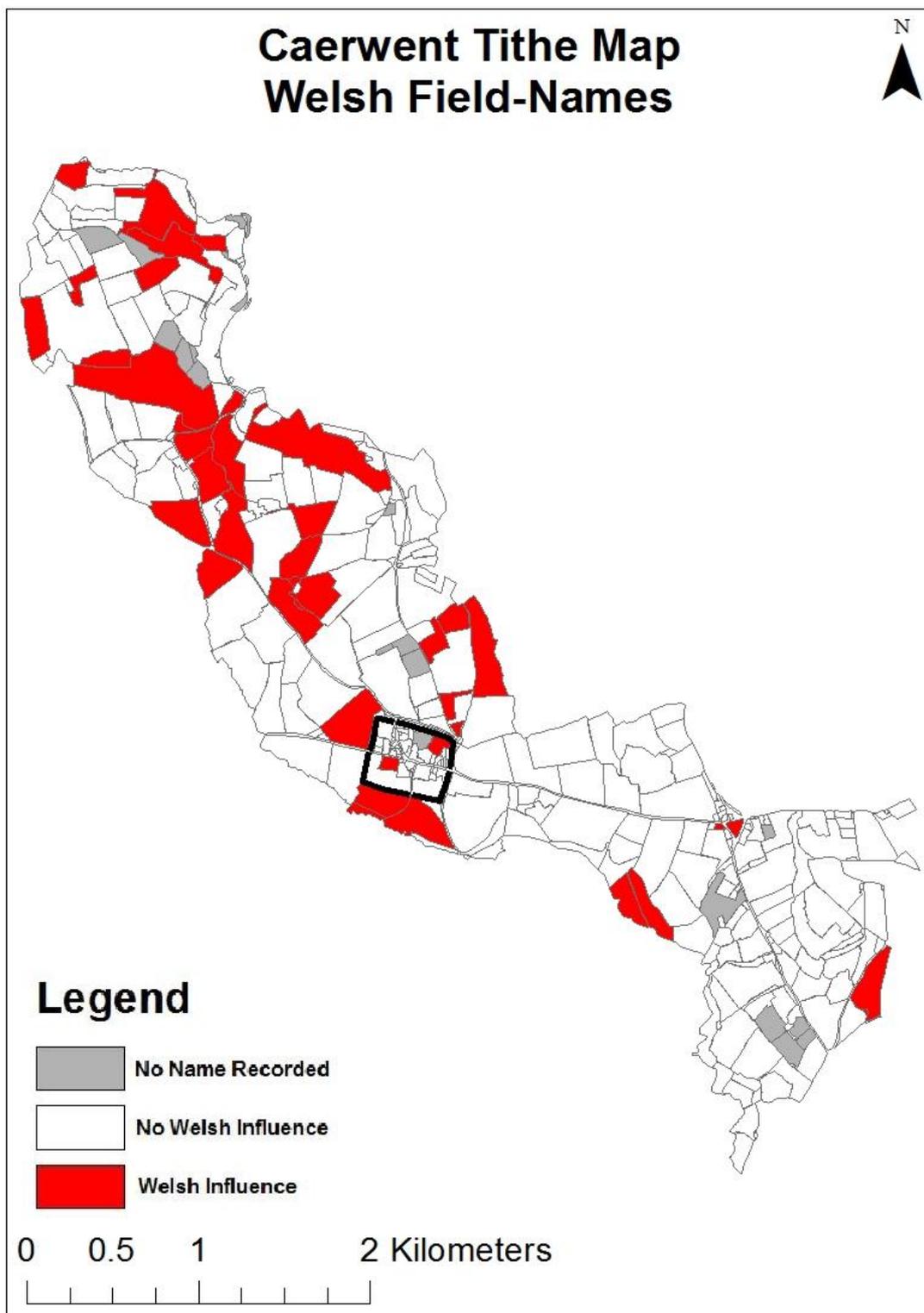


Fig.6.28. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Caerwent according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

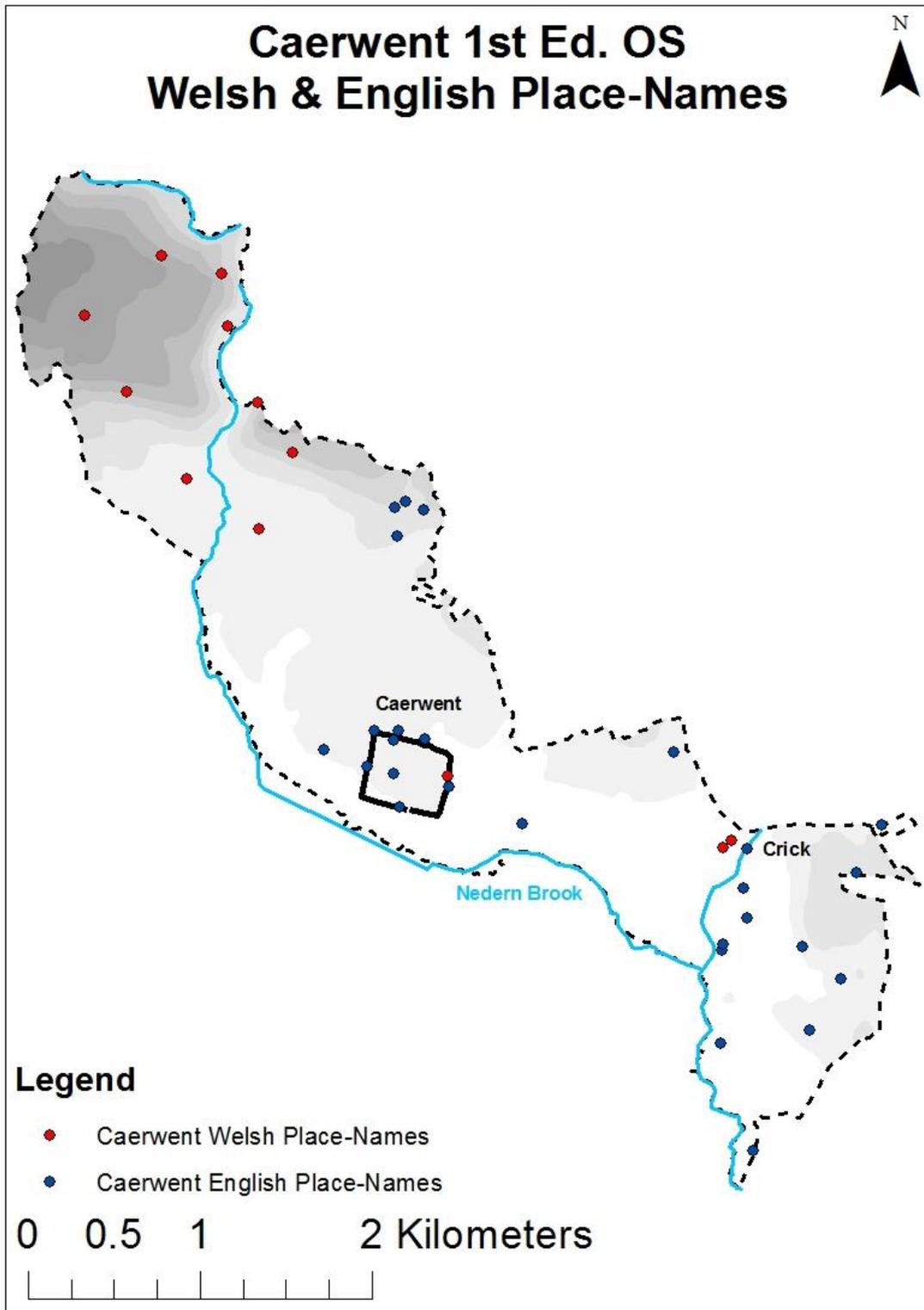


Fig.6.29. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Caerwent according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

When the field morphology of Caerwent (Fig.6.23.) is examined, it can be seen that there is not a huge amount of evidence for any former open field within the parish, and certainly there is none to be found in the fields surrounding Caerwent itself, nor in the northern portion of the parish. Here there is largely a jumble of irregularly shaped fields of varying size. However, when the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.6.30.) are examined, in the southern half of the parish around the settlement of Crick, and to the north of the motte at Mount Ballan, some very faint evidence can be seen which hints at the possibility of a former open field: a few thinner fields sharing boundaries and of a more regular size, but this is very scant evidence indeed and for the most part there is little to firmly suggest the presence of a former open field system at Caerwent.

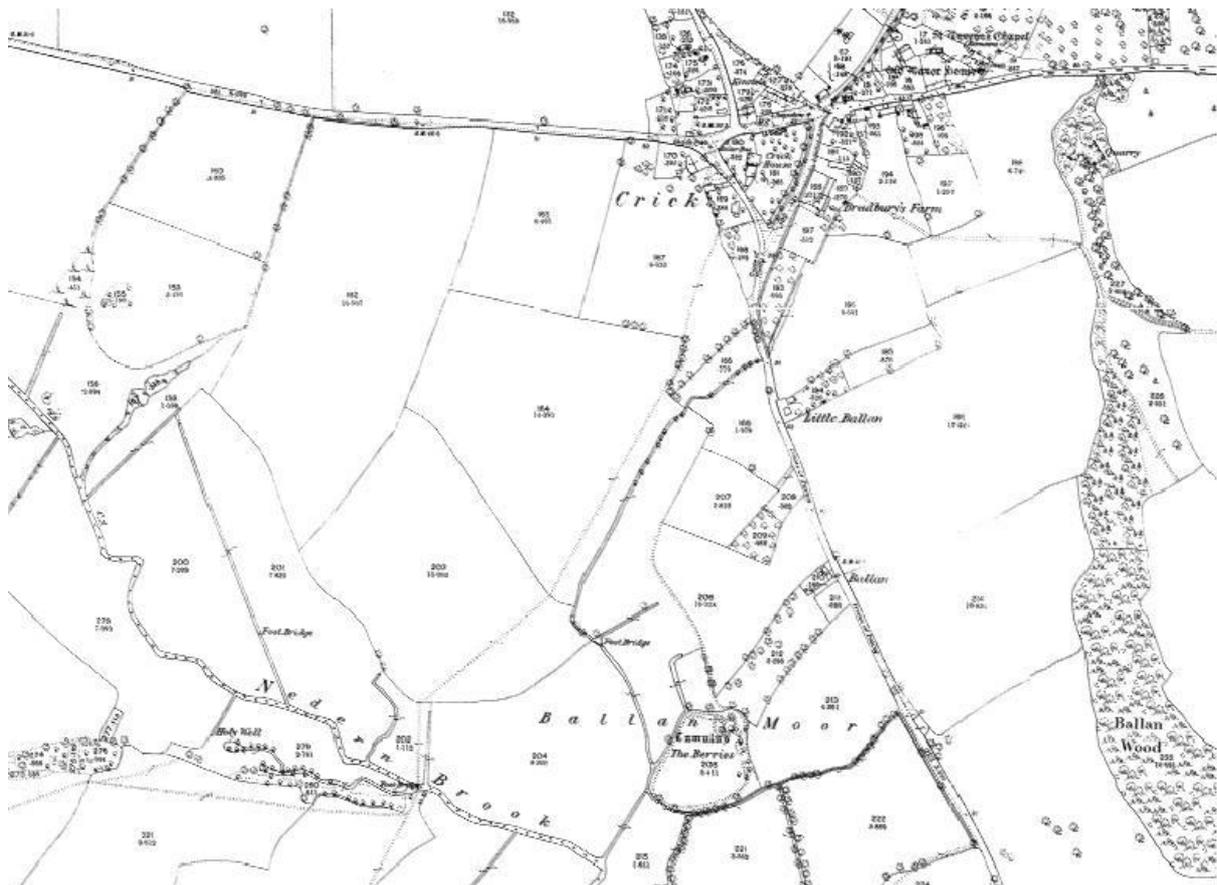


Fig.6.30. Field morphology south of Crick which may be suggestive of a possible former open field.

When the pattern of settlement in Caerwent (Fig.6.24.) is examined it can be seen that it has a bifocal distribution, divided between two settlement nucleations; Caerwent itself, clustered within the walls of the old Roman town of *Venta Silurum* and Crick to the south-east. Outside these two settlements there are a few dispersed farmsteads dotted around both the northern and southern portions of the parish. The pattern of roads in the parish once again supports this bifocal model of settlement, with a radial pattern leading out of both Caerwent and Crick. In the land ownership pattern for Caerwent (Fig.6.25.), it can be seen that large blocks of single ownership

cover most of the parish, especially around the village of Caerwent itself, where there seems to be one dominant landowner, Mary Lewis. The landscape to the south-east of Crick seems to be slightly different, with the holdings of a number of landowners being mixed up in a slightly more confused pattern. This landscape is echoed in the pattern of land occupancy (Fig.6.26.), with the north-western three quarters of the parish having a much more compact configuration than the south-eastern portion around Crick, where again a more jumbled picture can be seen. Both these maps are indicative of land held in severalty covering most of the parish, but there is the merest hint of a different pattern of land ownership and occupancy around Crick.

The pattern of land use present in Caerwent (Fig.6.27.) shows us that most of the parish is dominated by arable farming, with a large amount of meadow on the fringes of the parish. Importantly there are substantial amounts of land laid down to arable surrounding both the settlements in the parish, which backs up the idea that there was some form of small open field attached to Crick, but also provides a hint that there may have been a similar, very minor, open field system around Caerwent, contrary to the lack of morphological evidence. When the more north-westerly portion of the parish is examined a substantial increase in the amount of fields laid down for pastoral use and woodland can be seen. Again, this is as one would expect as this part of the parish is much more 'upland' in character.

Caerwent's tithe maps provide us with a much more complicated picture of the linguistic landscape to that seen at Chepstow (Fig.6.28.), with 14% of the fields with recorded names showing Welsh influence (53 out of 369). This data set also presents evidence of a 'divided landscape', with the majority of the 'Welsh' field-names present focused on the northern 'upland' portion of the parish. A line can be drawn across the parish a few metres to the east of the Roman walls of Caerwent, and there would be significantly fewer field-names of a Welsh origin beyond this mark. In fact, the only 'Welsh' place-names present in the south-eastern corner are due to the place-name 'Crick' being of Welsh origin. Again, as was seen in the land use surveys, this indicates a split between the upland north-western part of the parish and the lowland south-eastern half. The place-names on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.6.29.) once again show a divided landscape. As before, the extreme northern 'upland' portion of the parish is dominated by 'Welsh' place-names, this time displaying a complete lack of English influence. However, the imaginary line south of which 'English' place-names begin to appear is much further north on this map than on the tithe map model. This may be down to the later date of the Ordnance Survey maps and a 'retreat' of Welsh. The centre of the parish is dominated by English place-names, with 'Caerwent' itself being the only place-name present in this region of Welsh origin. Further to the south more 'Welsh' place-names begin to be seen again, but as with the tithe maps this is only due to 'Crick' being of Welsh origin.

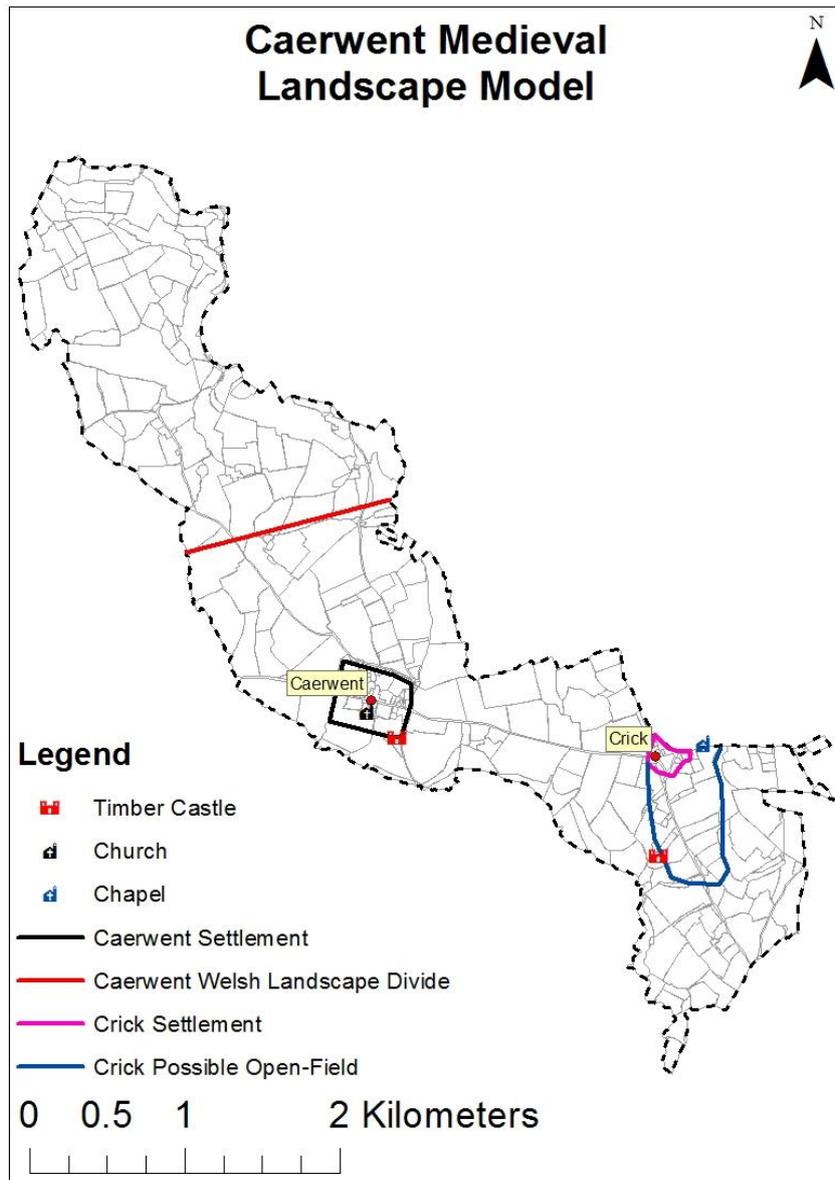


Fig.6.31. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Caerwent, based upon the findings of this case study.

Caerwent presents a divided landscape (Fig.6.31.), with 'Welsh' pastoral uplands, the merest hints of a very minor open field around the nucleation of Caerwent and a possible small open field around the nucleation of Crick and the motte at Mount Ballan. The division may simply be down to geographic factors (the more 'Welsh' areas are in the upland parts of the parish), but there is the possibility that Caerwent represents a minor Anglo-Norman lordship location, as well as a pre-Conquest lordly site, as well as the motte at Mount Ballan. However, if this is not the case, the 'English' influences may have come from the two manor houses present in the parish, at Caerwent and Crick (Fig.6.3.). Caerwent seems to be right on the interface between 'Welsh' and 'English' Monmouthshire, a fact probably reflected in the church's mixed dedication to the Celtic St Tathan and the Judeo-Christian St Stephen.

6.3.3. Magor

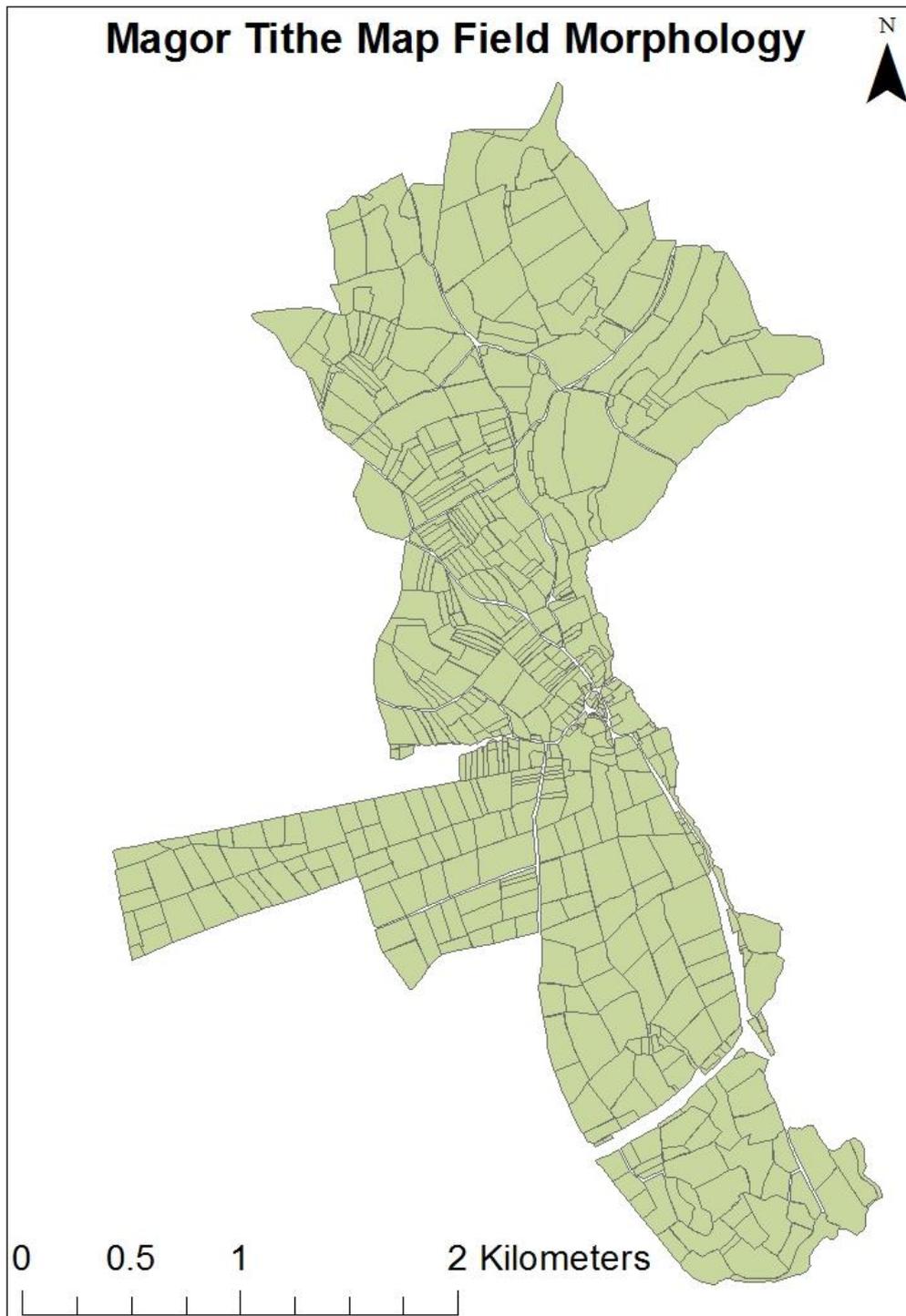


Fig.6.32. The field morphology of Magor according to the 1846 tithe map survey.

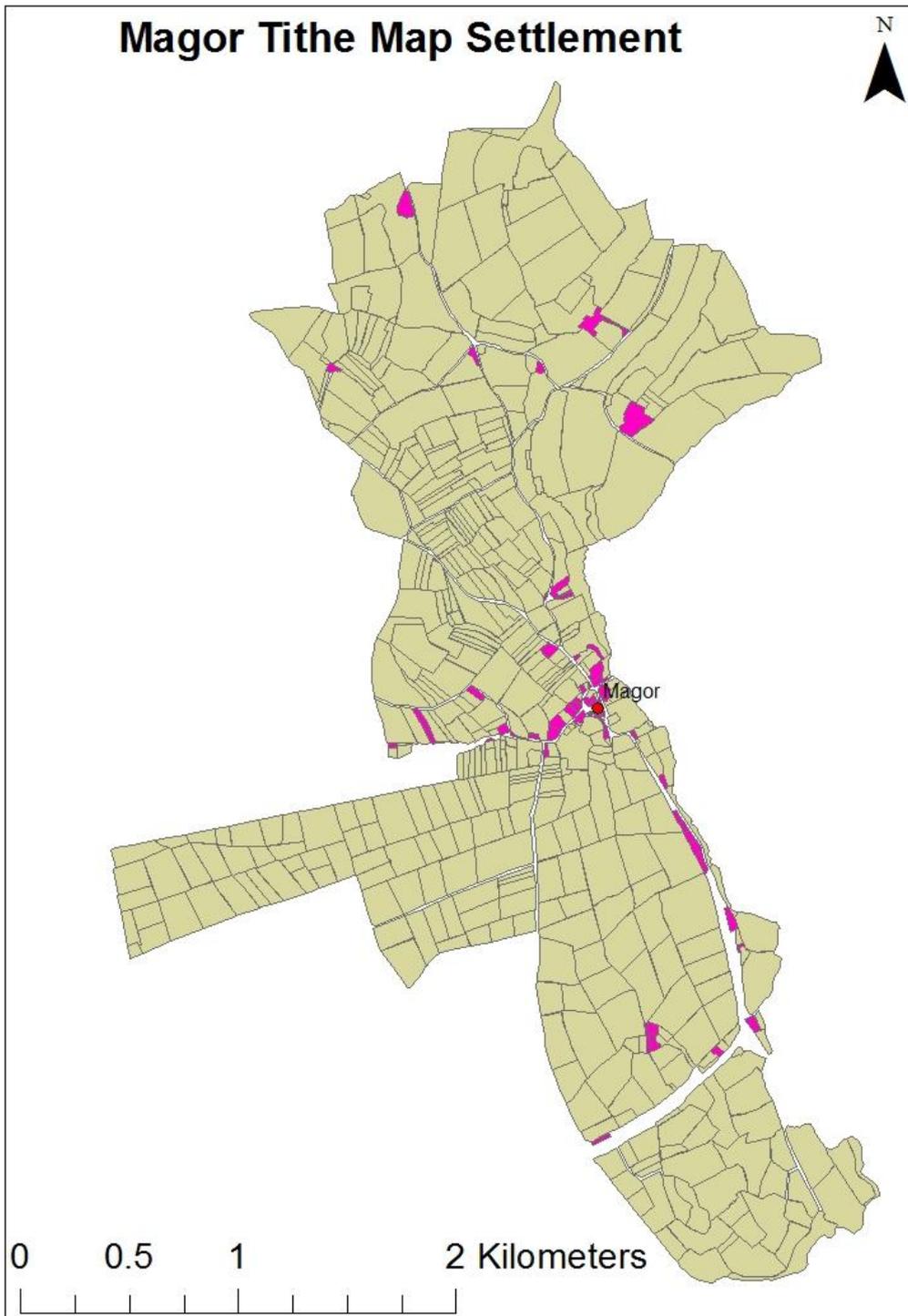


Fig.6.33. The settlement pattern of Magor according to the 1846 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

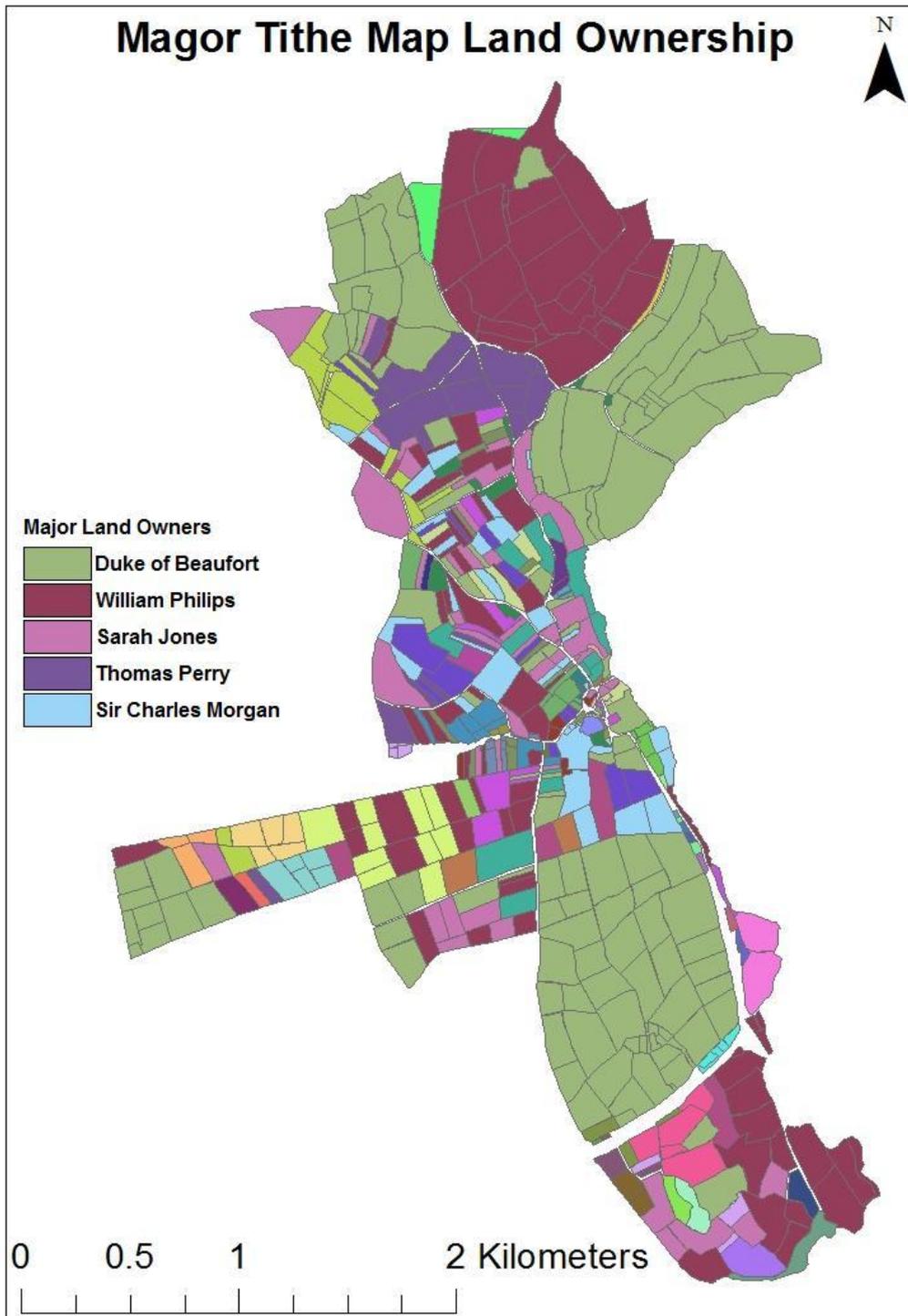


Fig.6.34. The pattern of land ownership for Magor according to the 1846 tithe map survey.

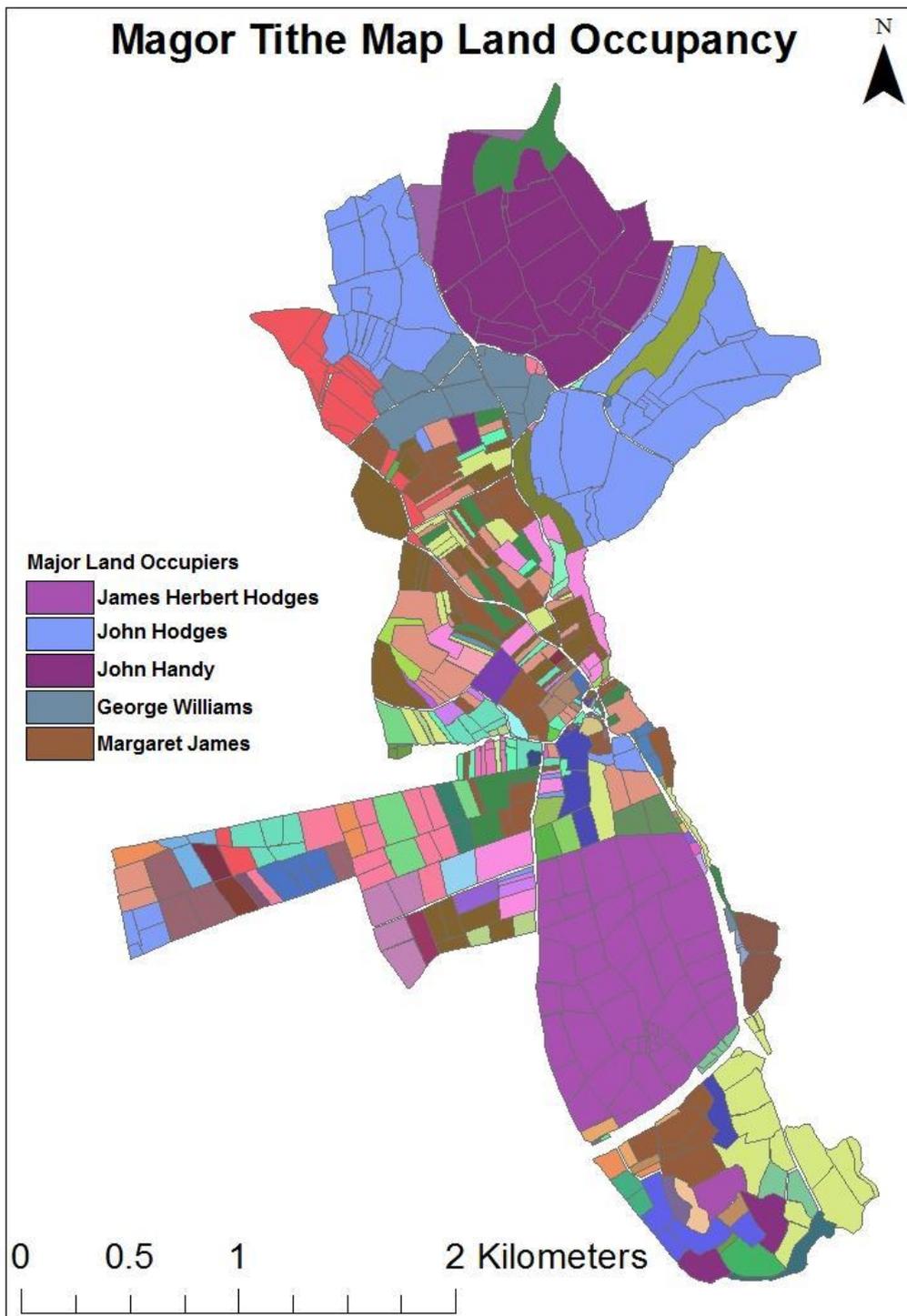


Fig.6.35. The pattern of land occupancy for Magor according to the 1846 tithe map survey.

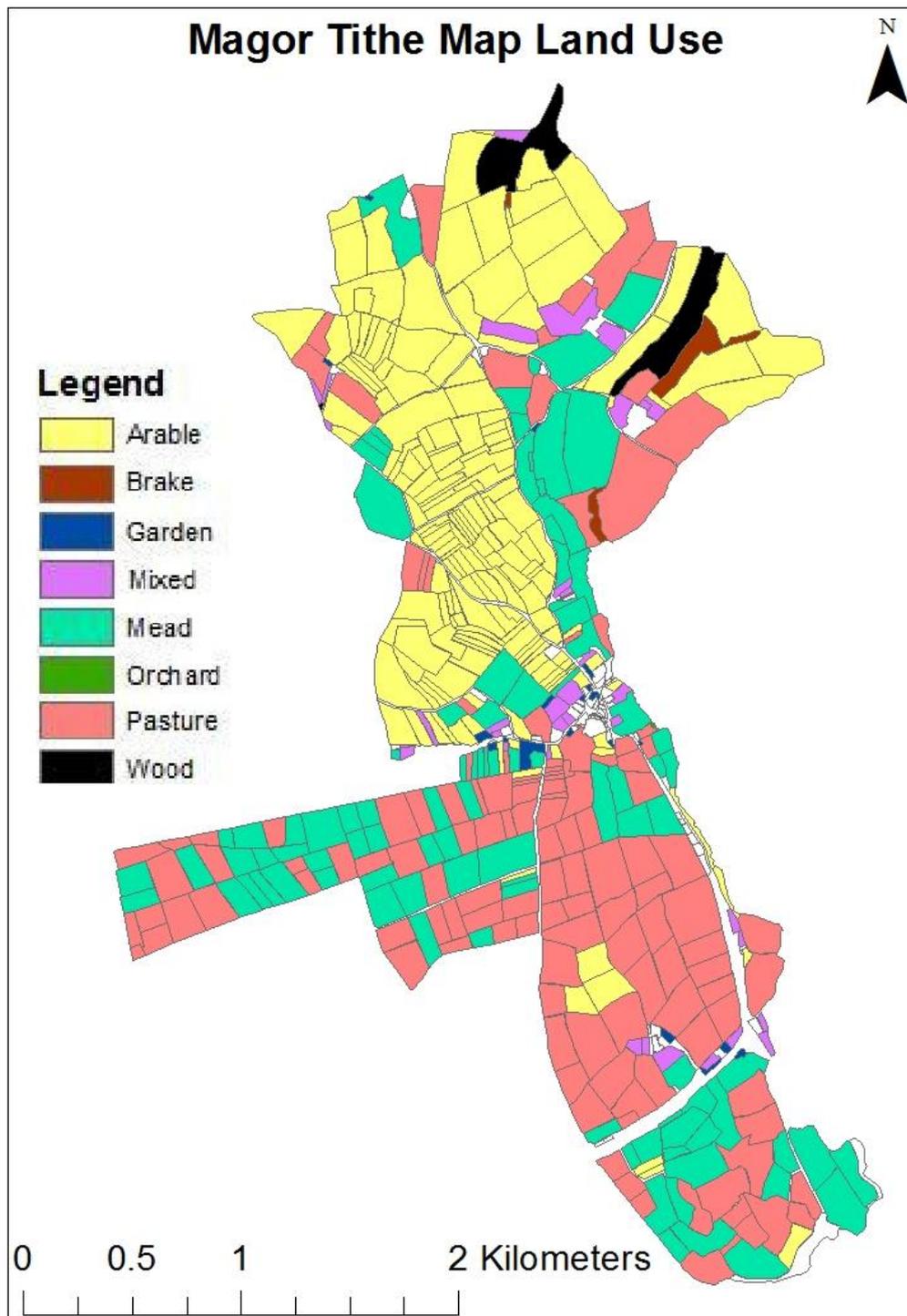


Fig.6.36. The pattern of land use for Magor according to the 1846 tithe map survey.

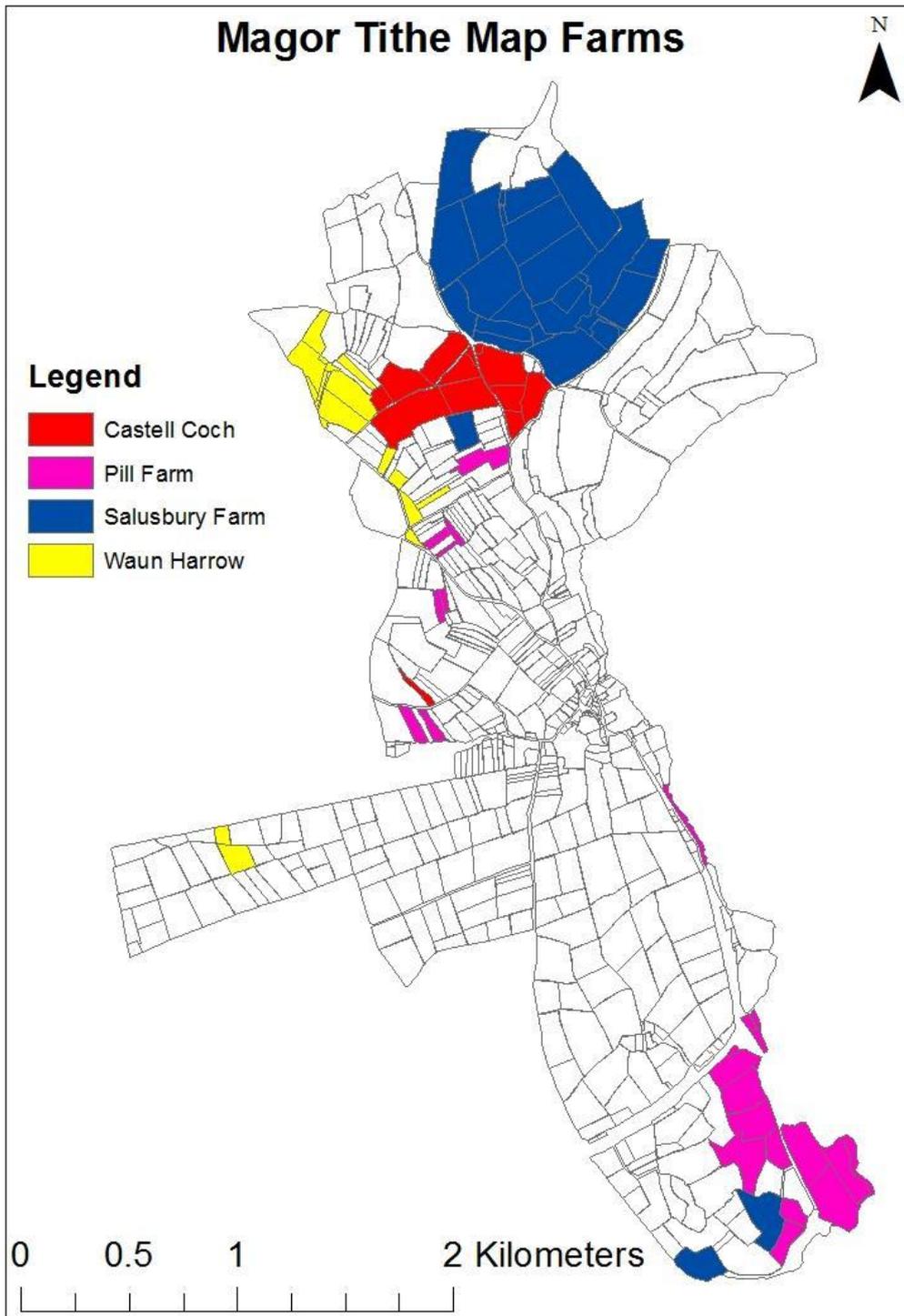


Fig.6.37. Individual 'farms' recorded in the 1846 tithe survey for the parish of Magor.

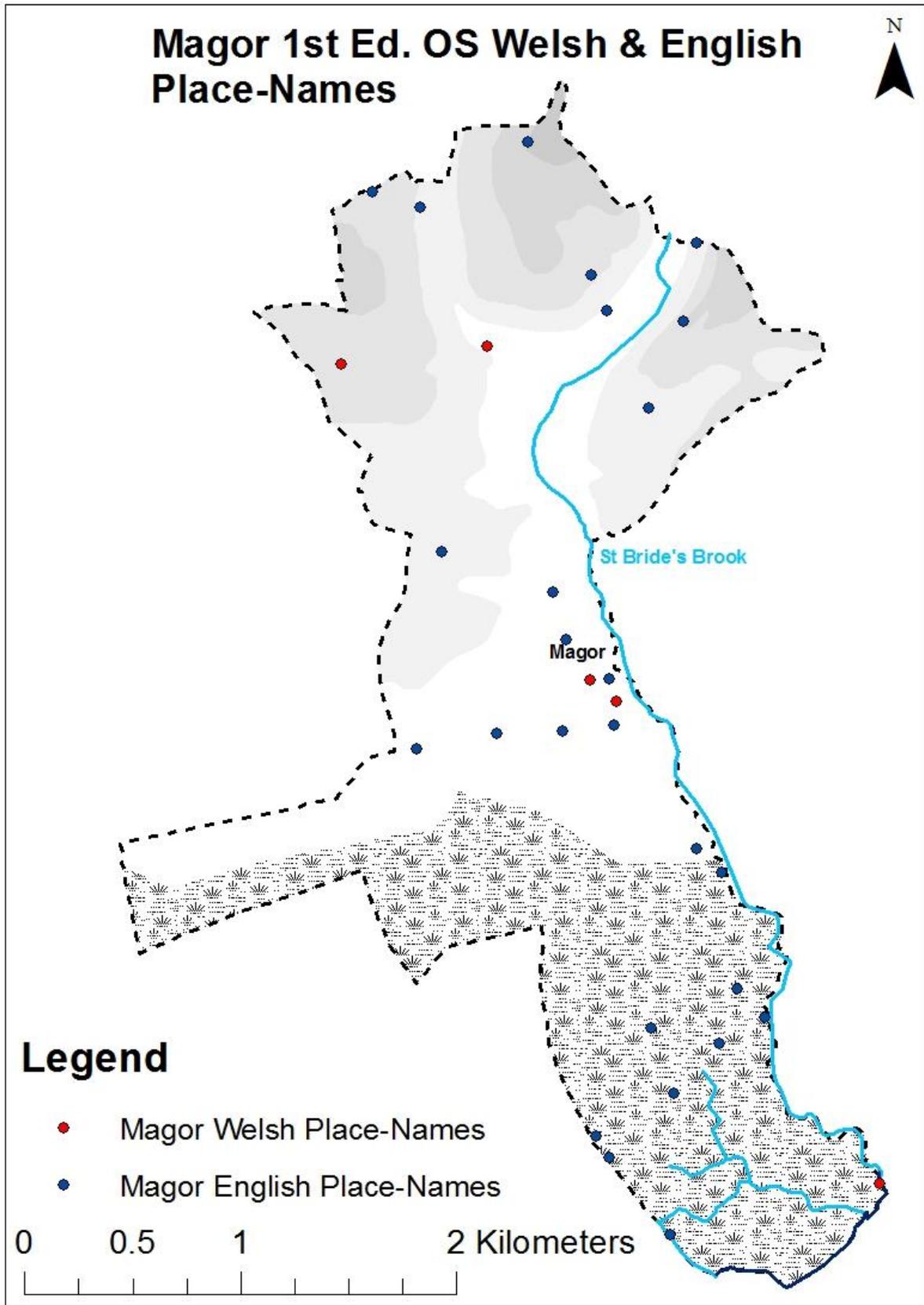


Fig.6.38. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Magor according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

In Magor's tithe map field system (Fig.6.32.) there is clear and obvious morphological evidence of a former open field surrounding the village itself, such as multiple thin strip fields sharing common boundaries and 'reversed-s' shaped morphology. The northern half of the parish has a much more irregular pattern, suggestive of a landscape of fields held in severalty, whilst the area to the south of Magor has a very regular field morphology, which hints at much more recently enclosed fields on the Gwent Levels. Finally, there is an area of more irregular fields beyond the area of regular morphology south of the village which is in the vicinity of the southern monastic grange and may represent an earlier reclamation of land associated with this site. The tithe map settlement of Magor (Fig.6.33.) seems to present us with a threefold division of the parish. There is a fairly nucleated settlement pattern in the centre of the parish, as one would expect, centred upon the village of Magor itself, while in the southern half of the parish the settlement, while not nucleated, seems to be entirely focused along the line of the roads. Finally, in the northern, upland, portion of Magor there is a fairly dispersed settlement pattern. Once again, as one would expect, the road pattern seems large to be radiating from the village.

As might be anticipated, both the models of land ownership (Fig.6.34.) and land occupancy (Fig.6.35.) for Magor show undisputable evidence for a former open field, with a myriad of different land owners and occupiers being present and there being virtually no compact blocks of either surrounding the village. However, there is a slightly less chaotic picture in the southern portion of the parish, with one very large area of single ownership and occupancy in the centre of this region. Finally, the northern, upland, part of the parish seems to be comprised of fairly compact areas of single ownership and occupancy. Both these are almost certainly the result of the monastic granges present to the north and the south of village, a thesis supported by the fact that both the location of the Upper and Lower granges recorded on the HER (Fig.6.36.) are surrounded by compact blocks of land held and occupied in severalty on the tithe map transcriptions.

There is a clear divide in the land use between the 'dry' land in the north and the reclaimed land to the south of the parish of Magor (Fig.6.37.). The northernmost portion of the parish is dominated by arable farming, with a minor amount of pasture, woodland and meadow in the more upland areas. This domination of arable is typical of a landscape with such an obvious former open field. When the southern half of Magor, on the Gwent Levels, is examined it is clear that the landscape is dominated by pasture and meadow, with small patches of arable, again typical of a 'reclaimed' landscape in a wetland setting. What is noticeable is that the fields laid down to arable in the southern portion of the parish are all in vicinity of Lower Grange, hinting that monastic farming practices may have impacted on the land use.

The tithe survey does not record any field-name evidence for Magor, so no analysis of this data can take place. However, the first edition Ordnance Survey six-inch maps (Fig.6.38.) do provide some information, and from these it can be seen that the

landscape of Magor is dominated by English place-names. There are a couple of place-names of Welsh origin in the more upland northern portion of the parish, as well as a couple in the village itself due to the fact that 'Magor' is a Welsh derived place-name. Therefore, it is safe to say that the landscape of Magor is clearly dominated by names of an English origin. The transcription of farm names recorded on Magor's tithe apportionment (Fig.6.39.) is useful as it shows us that the land surrounding the two monastic granges was not included in any of these compact farms.

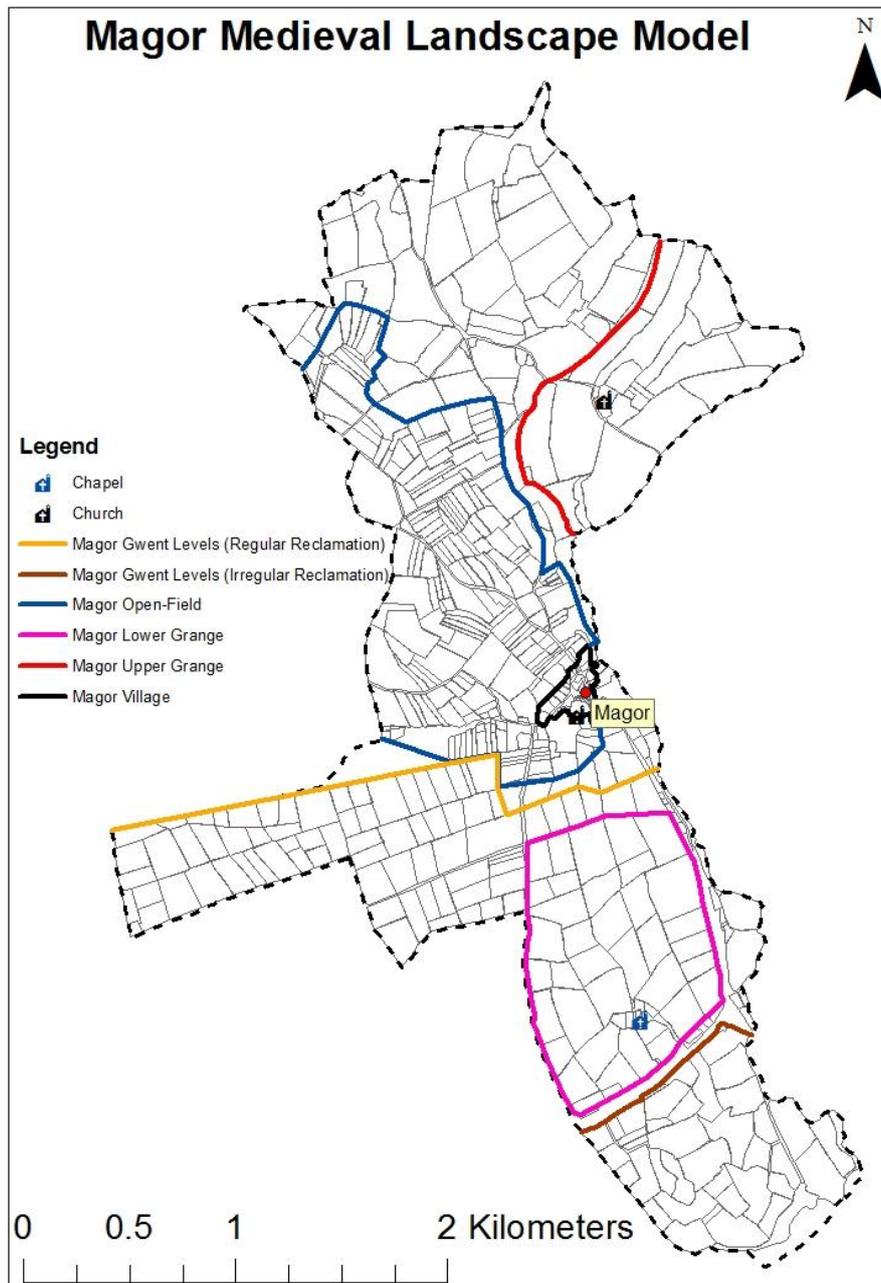


Fig.6.39. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Magor, based upon the findings of this case study.

In conclusion, the data collected for Magor presents us with a very complicated landscape (Fig.6.39.). Here, again, the landscape is divided, this time in to three divisions. In the centre there is the village of Magor itself, surrounded by a large open field system, to the south the Gwent Levels, with its fairly regular, more recently reclaimed, pasture and meadow landscape and a small patch of arable around Tintern's Lower Grange, as well as an area of older field system to the south of the grange. To the north there is a slightly more 'upland' landscape, although by no means 'Welsh', focused on land held in severalty by Tintern's Upper Grange. What can definitely be said is that this is again a landscape displaying a high degree of 'English' character, although this time a lesser degree of Anglo-Norman lordship influence than was seen at Chepstow. This is presumably due to the differing nature of the lordship present, being expressed through a manorial village and monastic granges, rather than a substantial masonry castle and seat of an important Marcher lordship.

6.3.4. Portskewett and Sudbrook

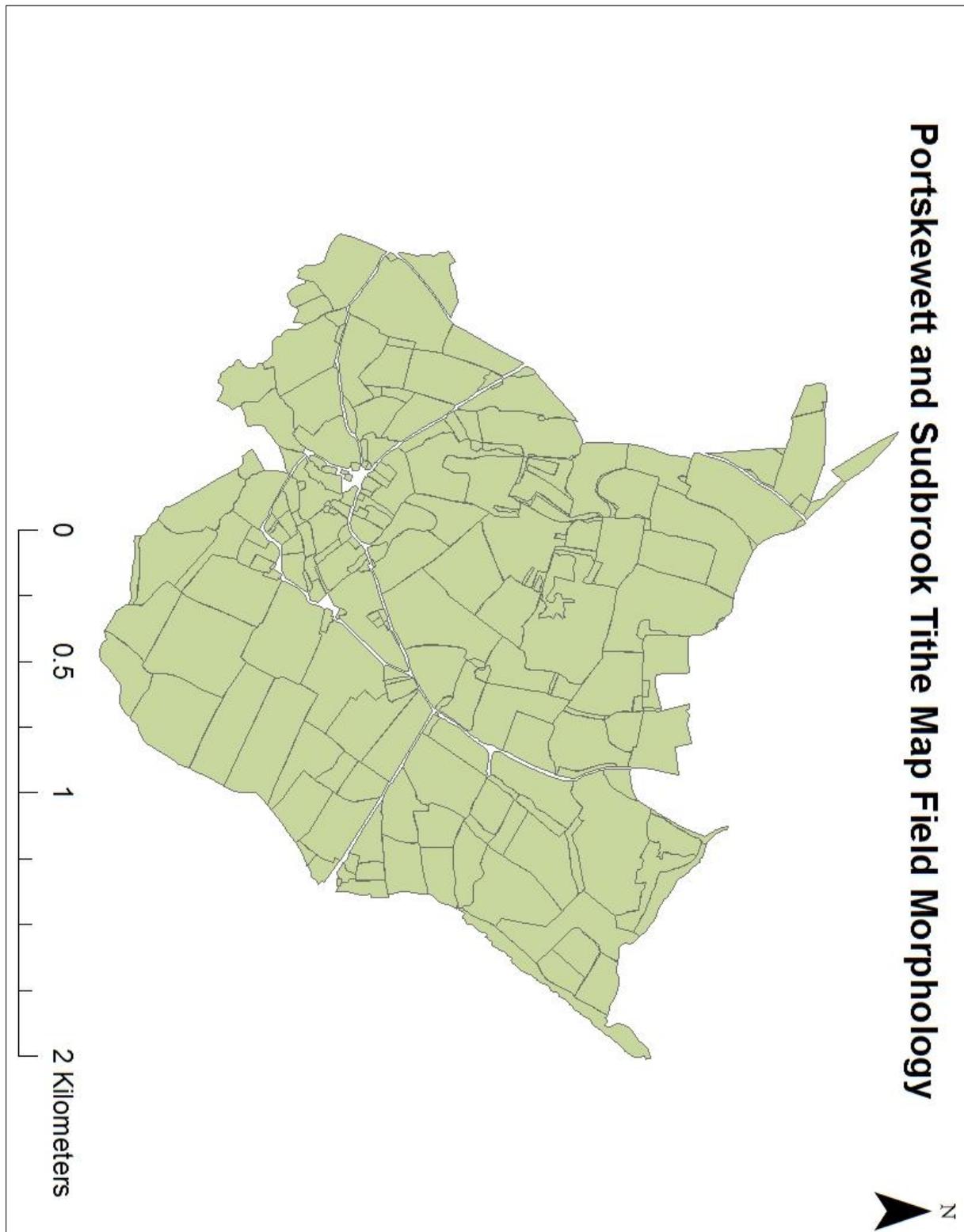


Fig.6.40. The field morphology of Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

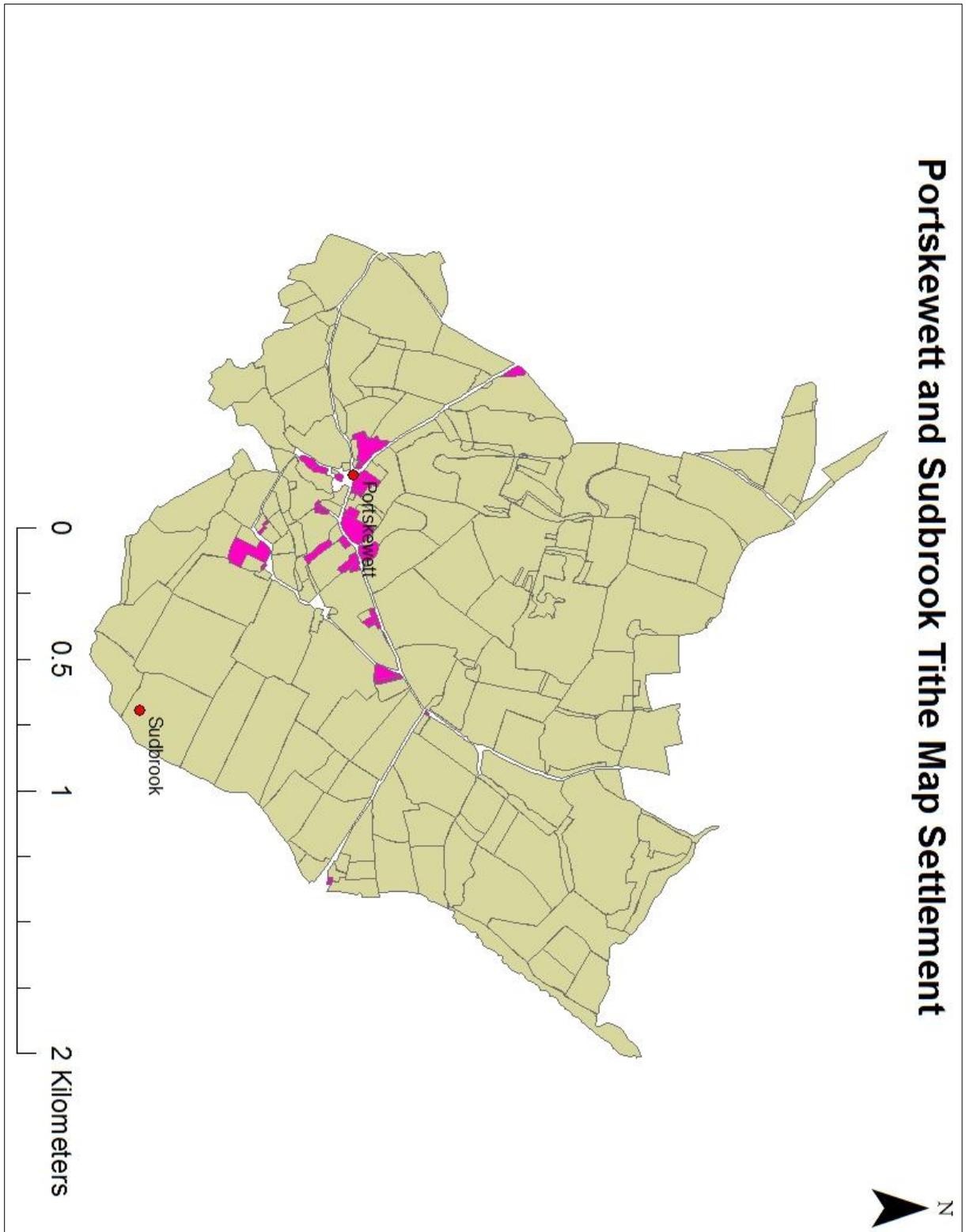


Fig.6.41. The settlement pattern of Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1839 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

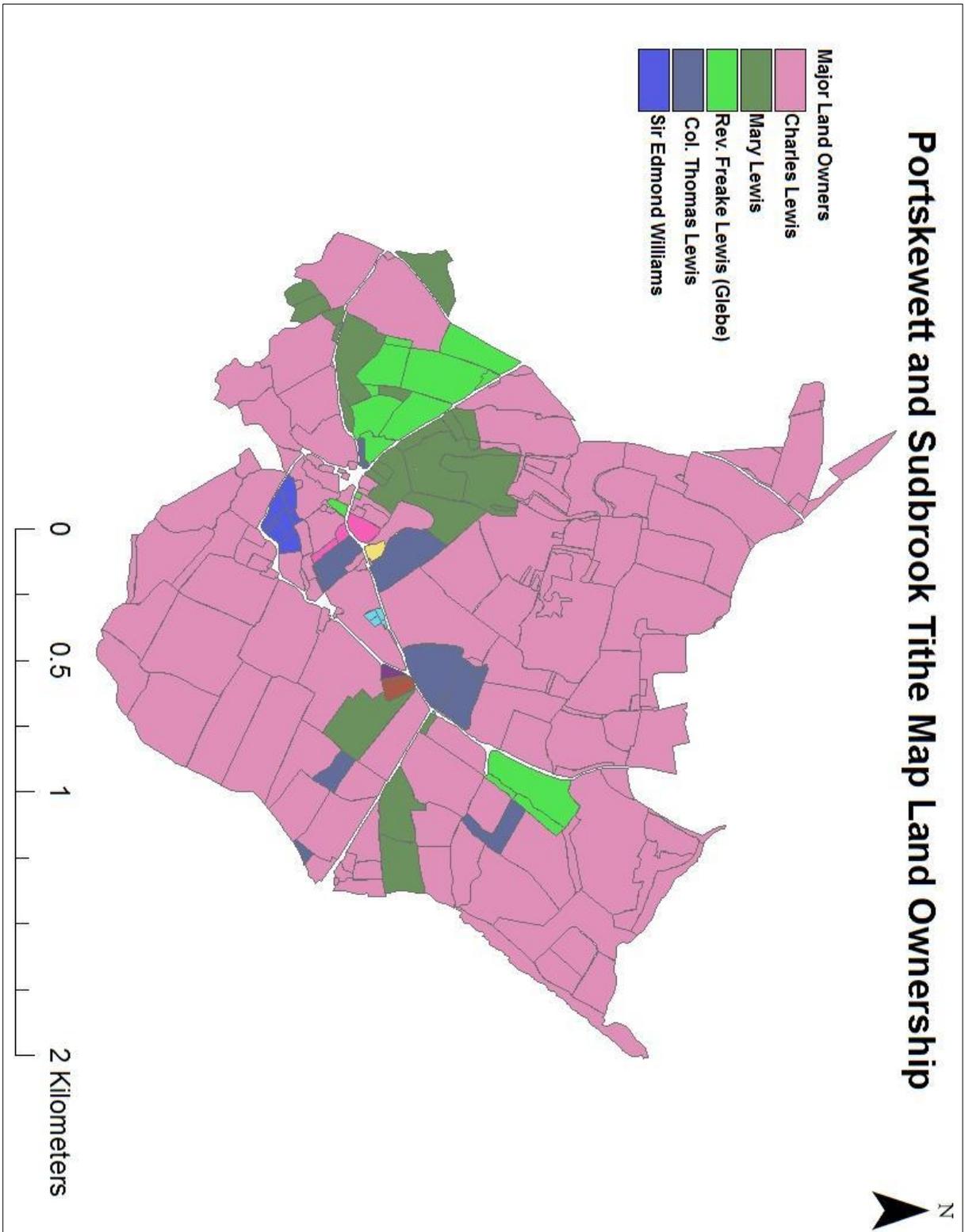


Fig.6.42. The pattern of land ownership for Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

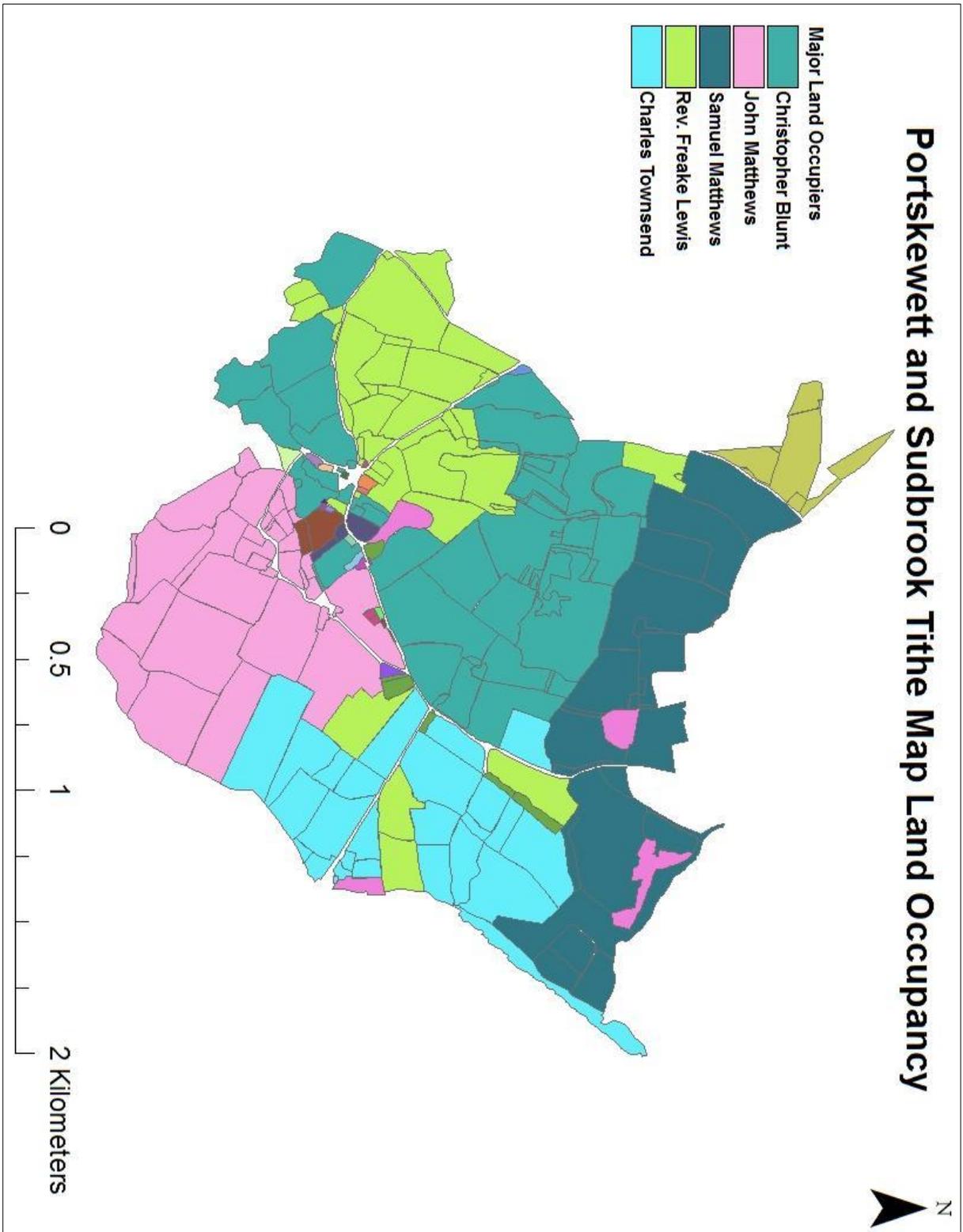


Fig.6.43. The pattern of land occupancy for Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

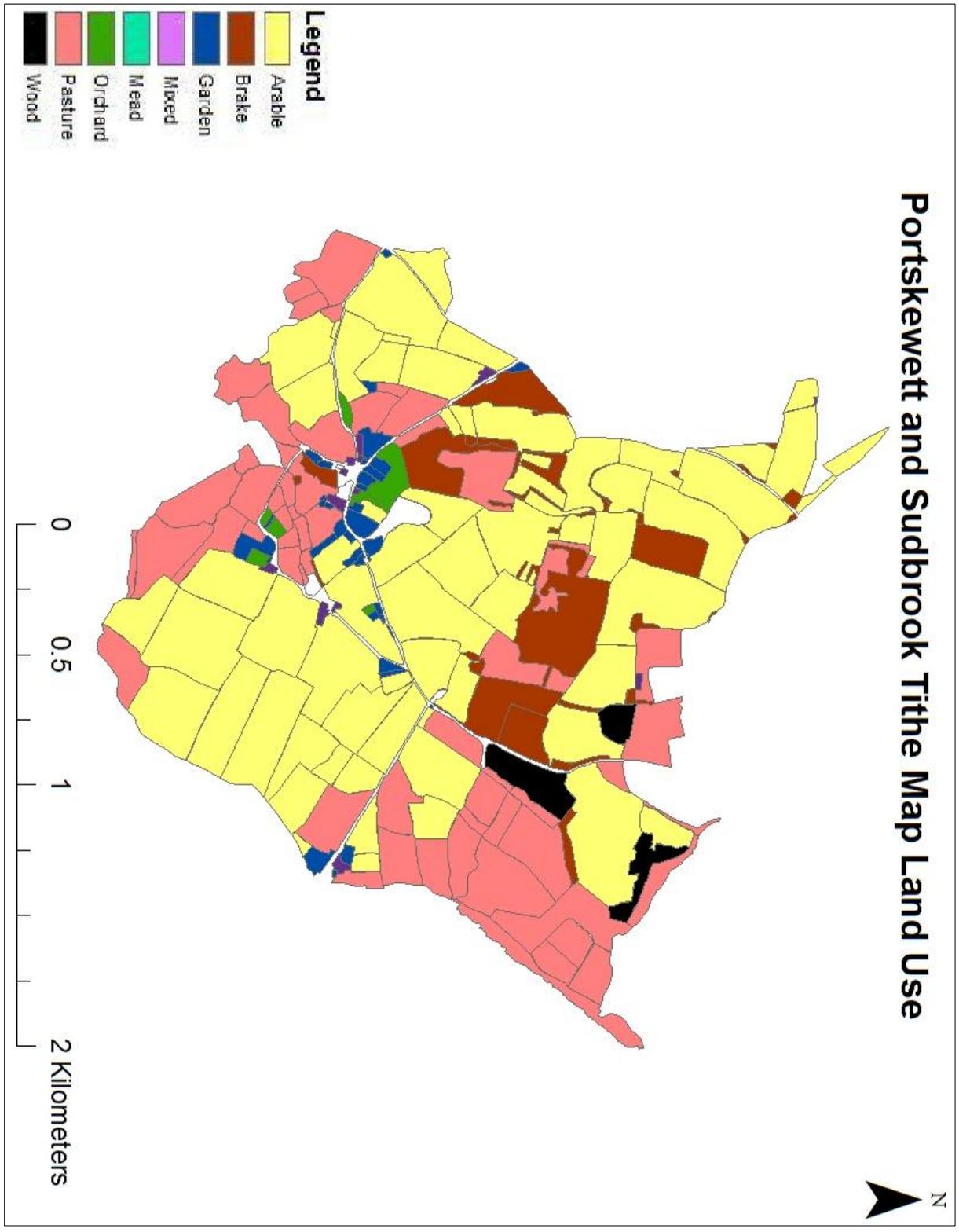


Fig.6.44. The pattern of land use for Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

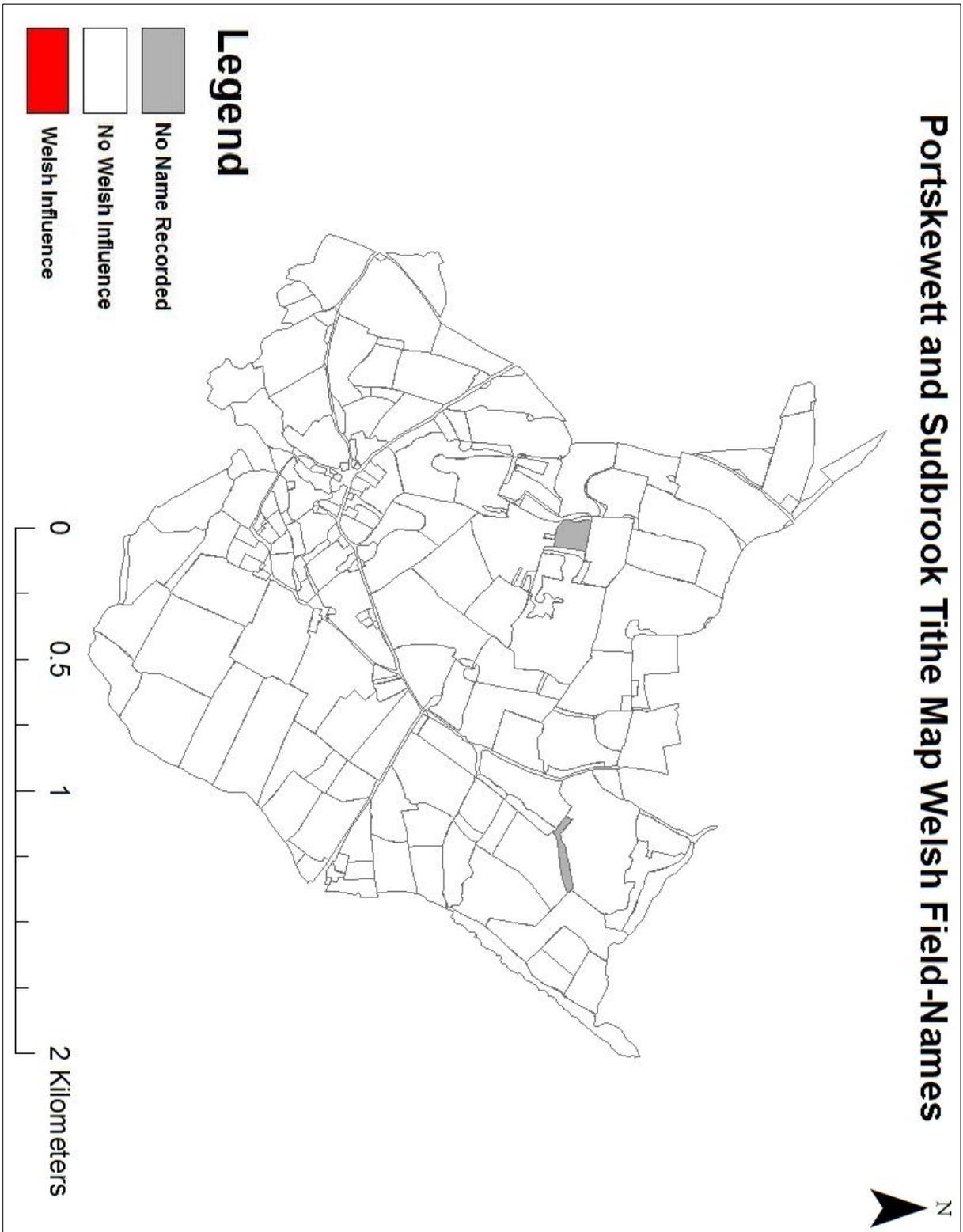


Fig.6.45. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

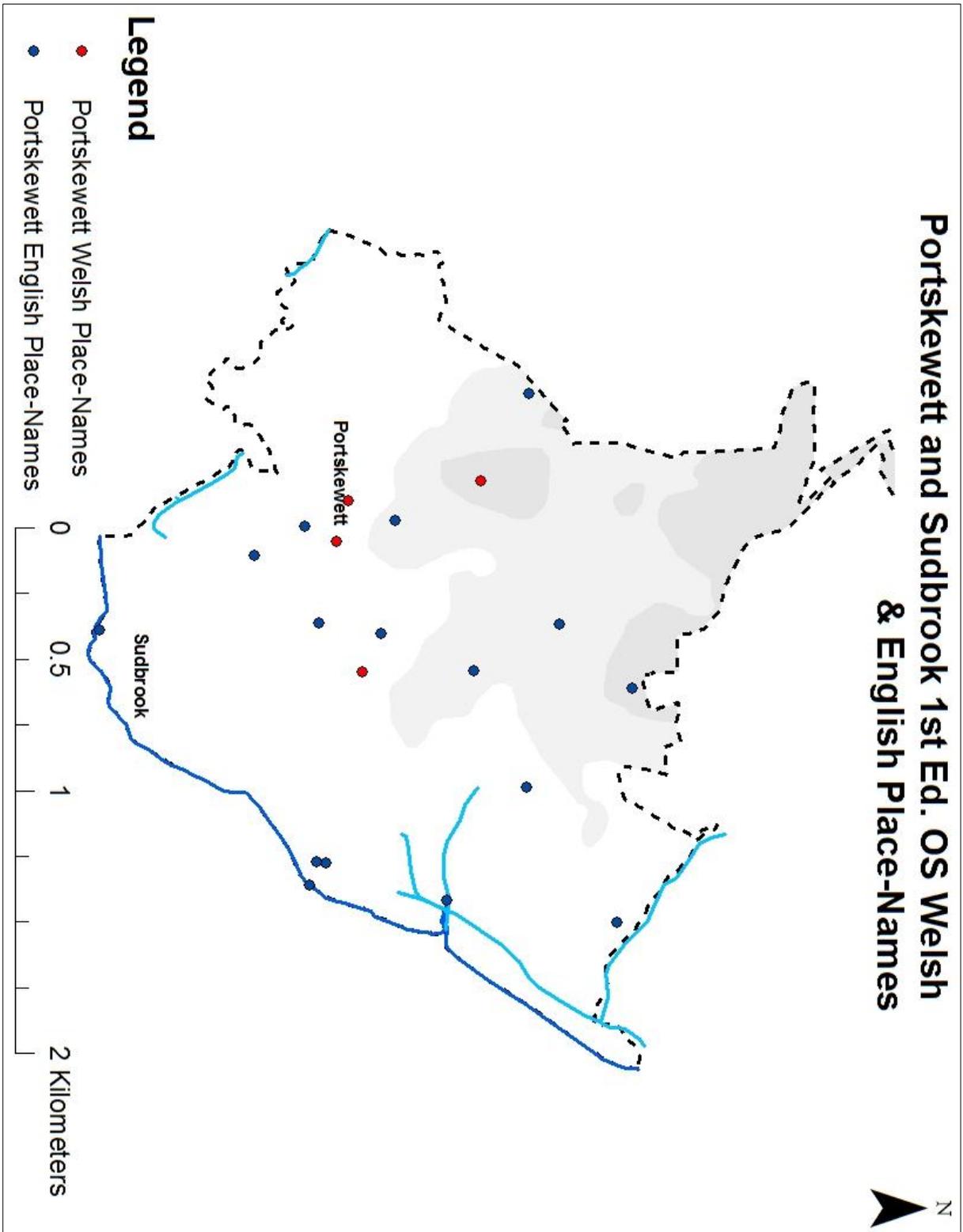


Fig.6.46. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Portskewett and Sudbrook according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

An examination of the field morphology of Portskewett and Sudbrook (Fig.6.40.) shows that there is generally very little morphological evidence for a former open field system and most of the parish comprises of fields of a fairly irregular shape and size. There are, however, a few fields in the south-western quarter of the parish, surrounding the village, which may possibly exhibit morphological features which are suggestive of a former open field system. Here there are a few longer and thinner fields which could possibly be thought of as 'strip' fields, as well as a small number of 's-shaped' field boundaries and dogleg patterns. However, this scant evidence would not, on its own, be enough to suggest that there may have previously been an open field system in Portskewett. Whilst Portskewett has a largely nucleated settlement pattern (Fig.6.41.), as well as a radial pattern of roads running out of the village, it is notable that despite the remains of the medieval church there is absolutely no settlement at all recorded at Sudbrook in the tithe survey, despite there now being a modern village on the site. Whether the merger with Portskewett, coastal erosion or the Great Flood of 1607 had anything to do with this is unknown. When the rest of the parish is examined, there are a few outlying farmhouses (one to the north and a few to the east of the village), as well as the 'passage house' on the coast, which is presumably the terminus of a ferry over the Severn or up to Chepstow.

The majority of the landscape of Portskewett is largely owned by one land owner, Charles Lewis (Fig.6.42.), with a few individual fields owned by other parties and compact areas of single land ownership breaking up this monopoly. Of these 'other' land owners, most of their holdings seem to be within the vicinity of the village or along the road to the coast. When the pattern of land occupancy (Fig.6.43.) is considered, a far less monopolised picture can be seen, with a number of occupiers farming fields within the parish. Most of these seem to be in compact blocks, although there is a more jumbled picture shown in the fields surrounding the village. This, when viewed in conjunction with the nucleation, radial road pattern and minor evidence present in the field morphology, could be taken as further evidence for possible open fields, on a scale very similar to that seen at Shirenewton (see Chapter 5).

The land usage in the parish of Portskewett and Sudbrook (Fig.6.44.) is dominated by arable farming, with the bulk of the fields laid down for this use. There are also some areas of the parish where there are a large amount of fields being used for pasture, mainly to the south-west of the village and on the north-eastern coastline. The village is surrounded by a number of small fields being employed as gardens or orchards, as one would expect. Interestingly, there appears to be no meadow whatsoever, and woodland only makes an appearance on the northern fringes of the parish. The fact that a large amount of the fields surrounding the village are pasture, and not arable, may count against the theory put forward previously in this chapter that there was a small open field system at Portskewett. However, of course, this may simply be a more recent change and have no impact upon this theory at all.

As with Chepstow, the tithe survey of Portskewett and Sudbrook (Fig.6.45.) does not record any Welsh field-names whatsoever within the parish of Portskewett. Furthermore, the Ordnance Survey first edition six-inch map model (Fig.6.46.) shows a similar result to that seen at Chepstow, with the parish being dominated by place-names of English origin. Whilst there are a few place-names of a Welsh origin, these all contain 'Portskewett' as an element and are all, unsurprisingly, found in the vicinity of the village of Portskewett itself.

At Portskewett (Fig.6.47.) there is very little evidence of Anglo-Norman lordship, but there is also a similar landscape to that seen surrounding the village of Shirenewton (see Chapter 5), with a small open field and a high degree of 'English' influence. This suggests that, within this region of Monmouthshire at least, having a major Anglo-Norman lordship within the parish was not the only driving force in landscape change, but the landscape (Portskewett is more lowland than Shirenewton and shows far less 'Welsh' influence), the prevailing political climate (Portskewett is in between the substantial Anglo-Norman lordship centres of Chepstow and Caldicot) and the surrounding landscapes played an important role too.

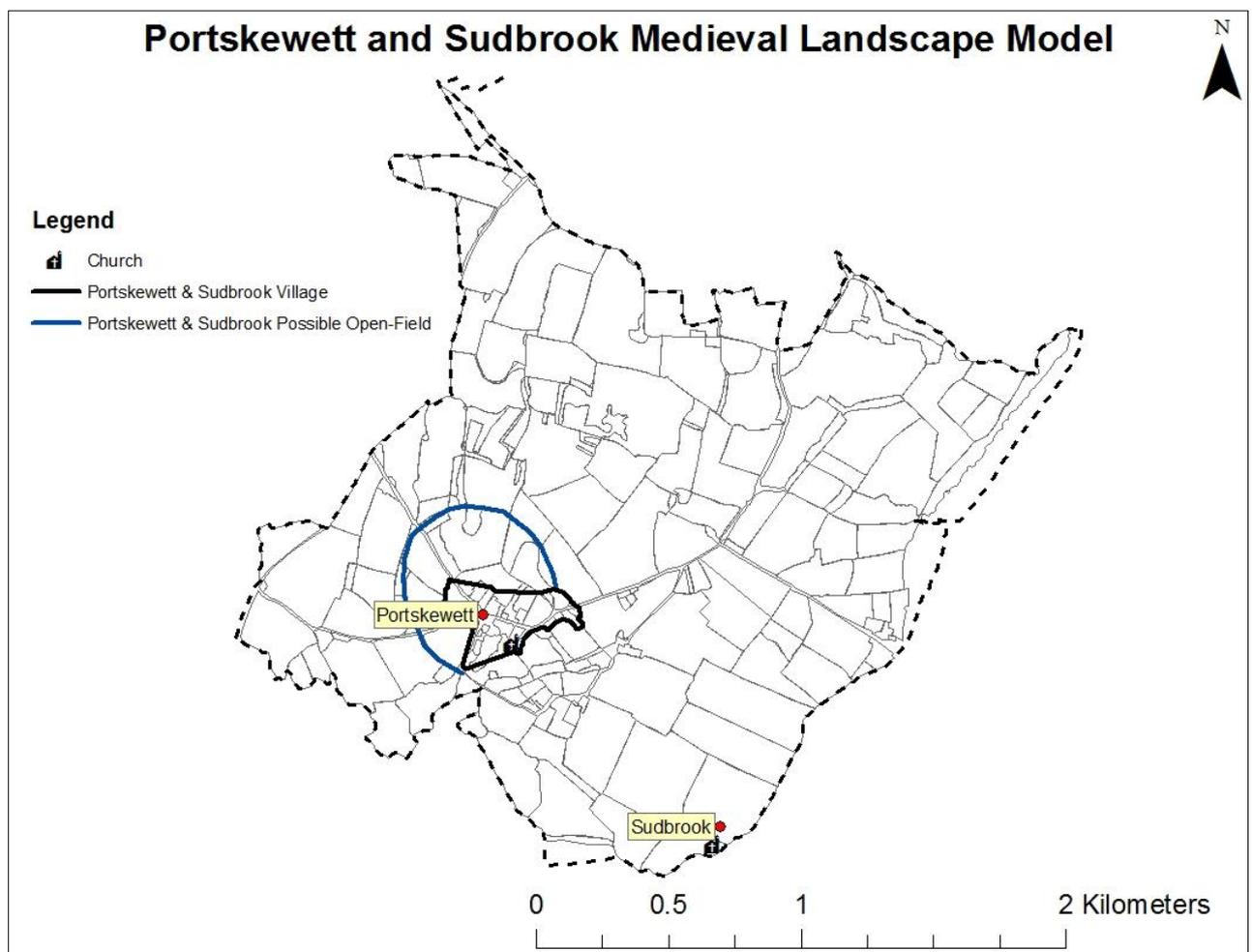


Fig.6.47. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Portskewett, based upon the findings of this case study.

6.3.5. Itton, Howick & Mounton

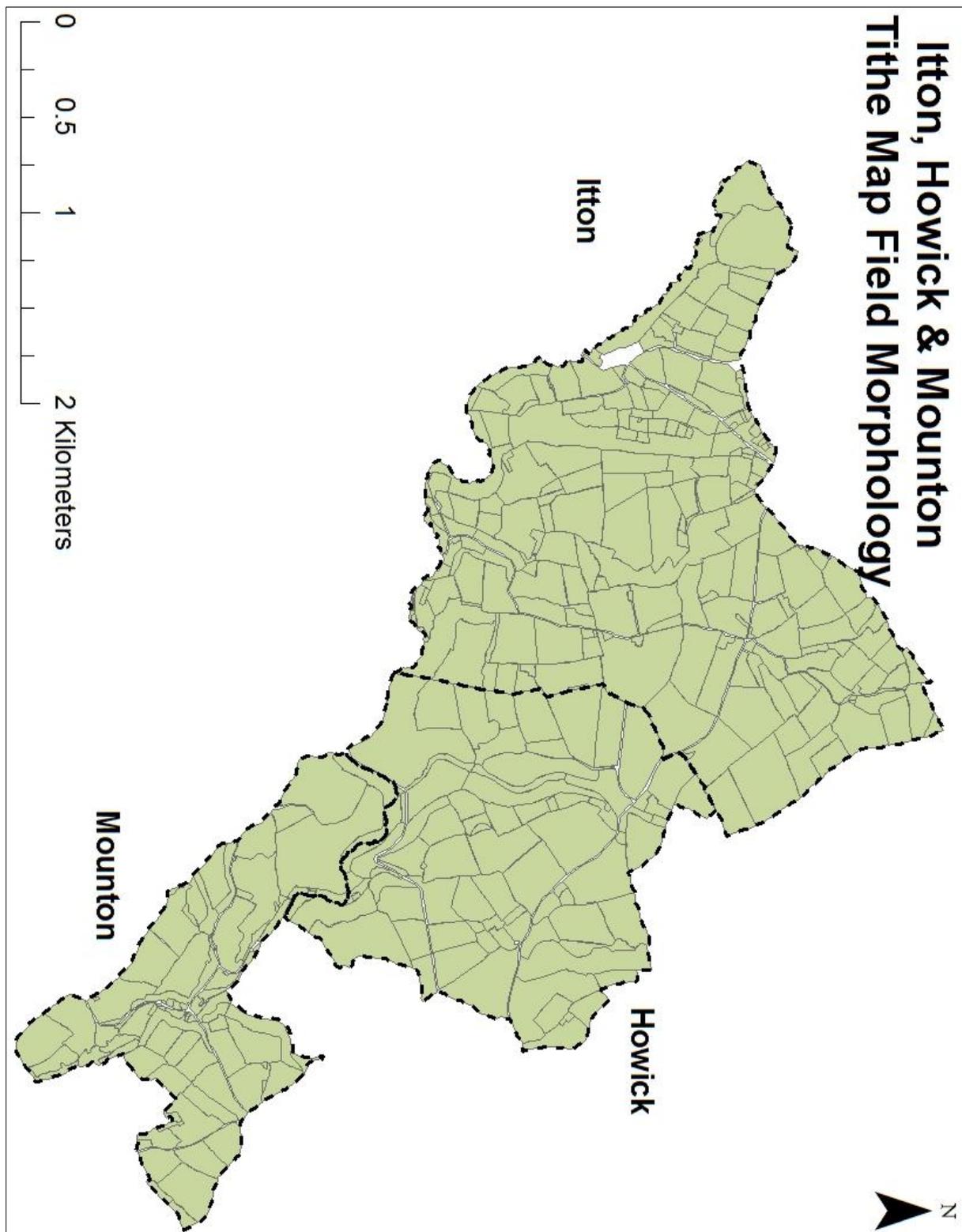


Fig.6.48. The field morphology of Itton, Howick and Mounton according to their respective 1843, 1850 and 1846 tithe map surveys.

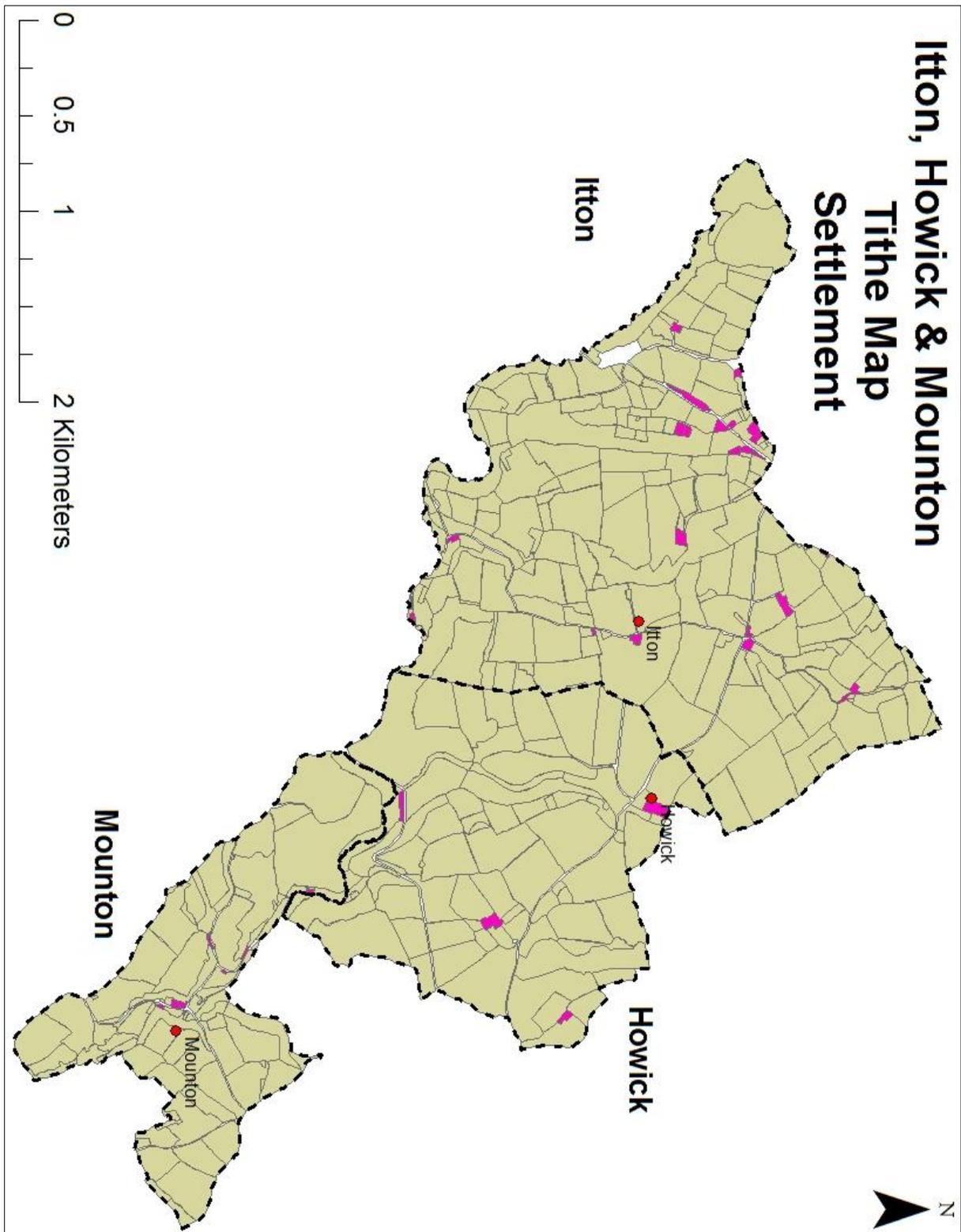


Fig.6.49. The settlement pattern of Itton, Howick and Mounton according to their respective 1843, 1850 and 1846 tithe map surveys. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

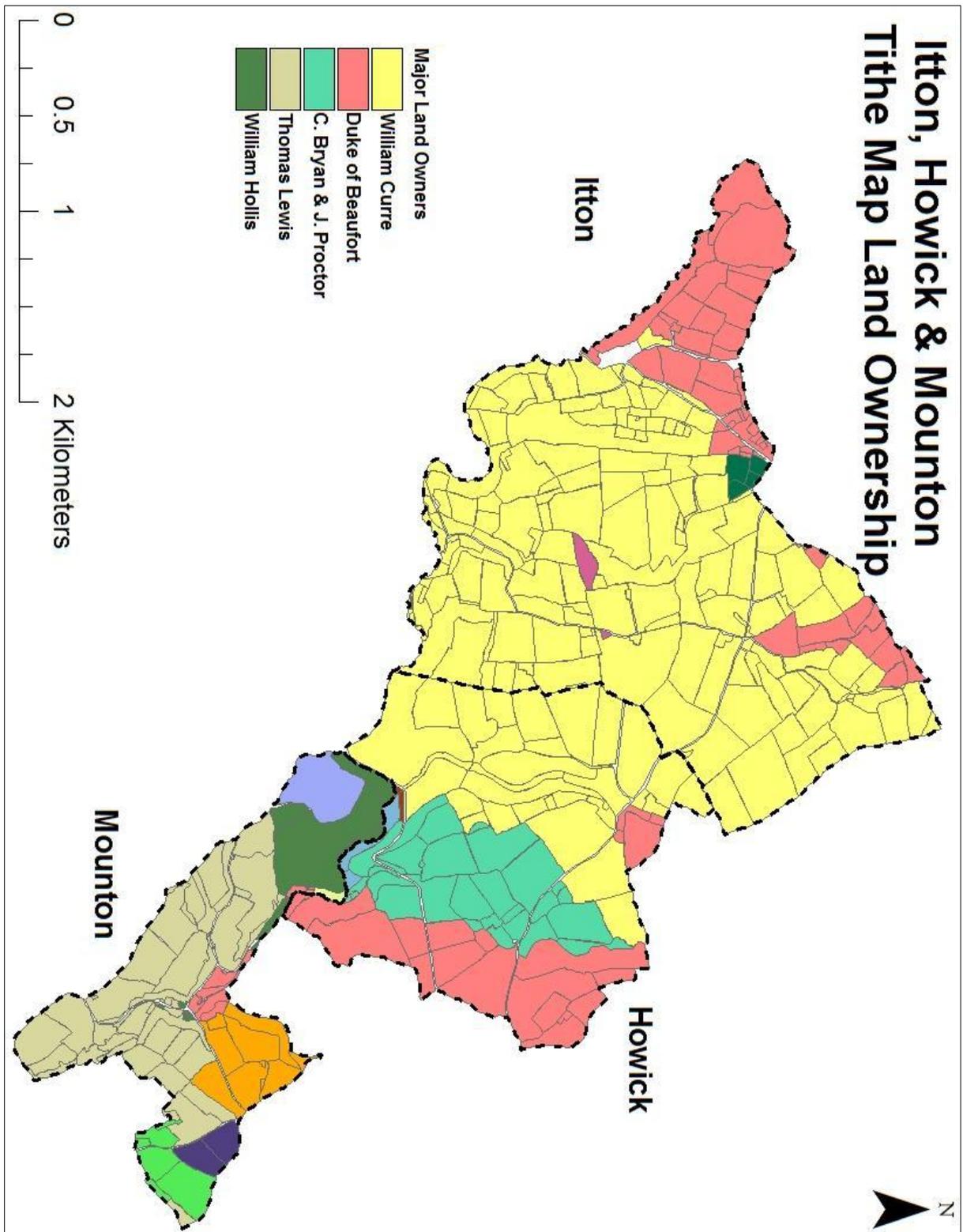


Fig.6.50. The pattern of land ownership for Itton, Howick and Mounton according to their respective 1843, 1850 and 1846 tithe map surveys.

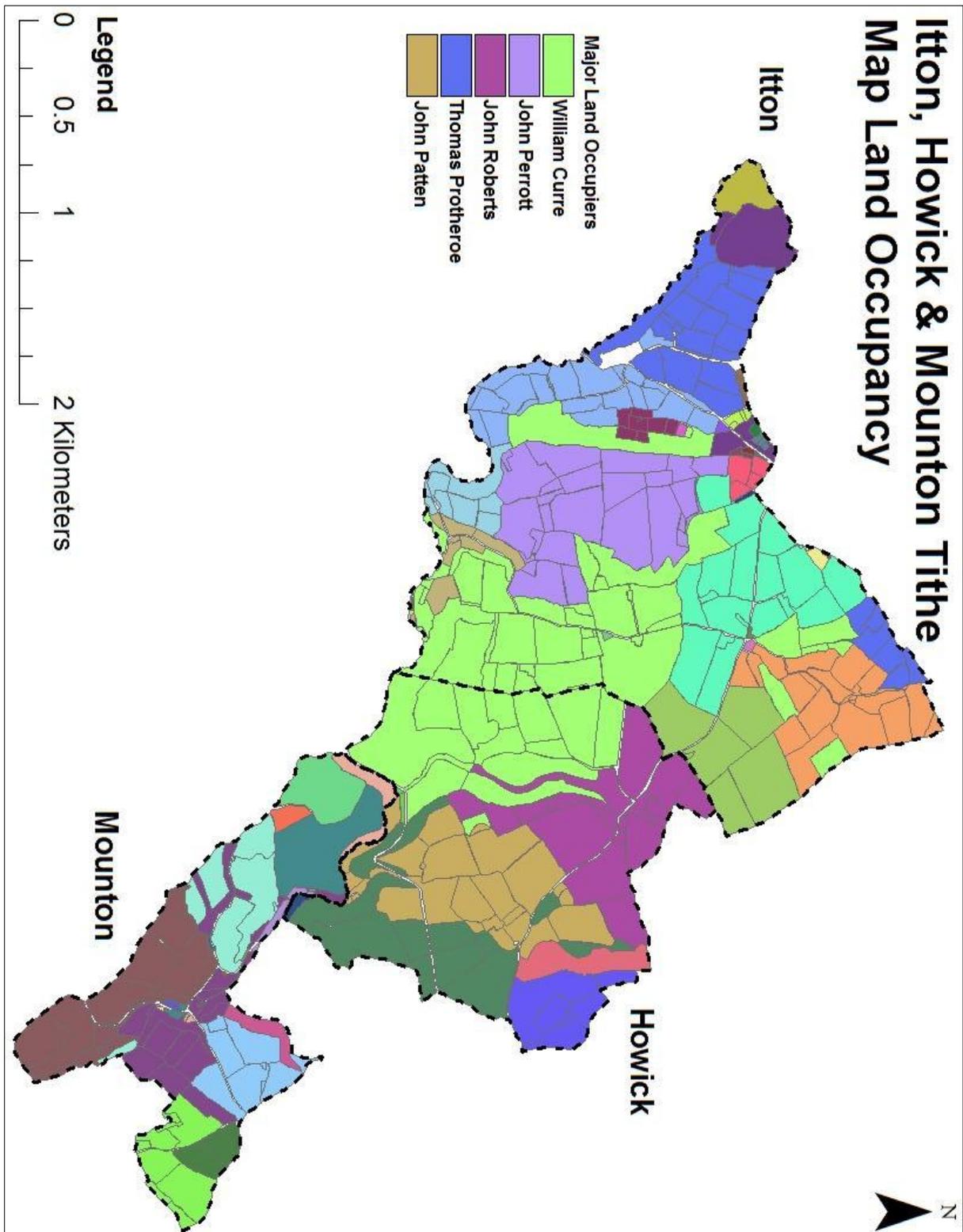


Fig.6.51. The pattern of land occupancy for Itton, Howick and Mounton according to their respective 1843, 1850 and 1846 tithe map surveys.

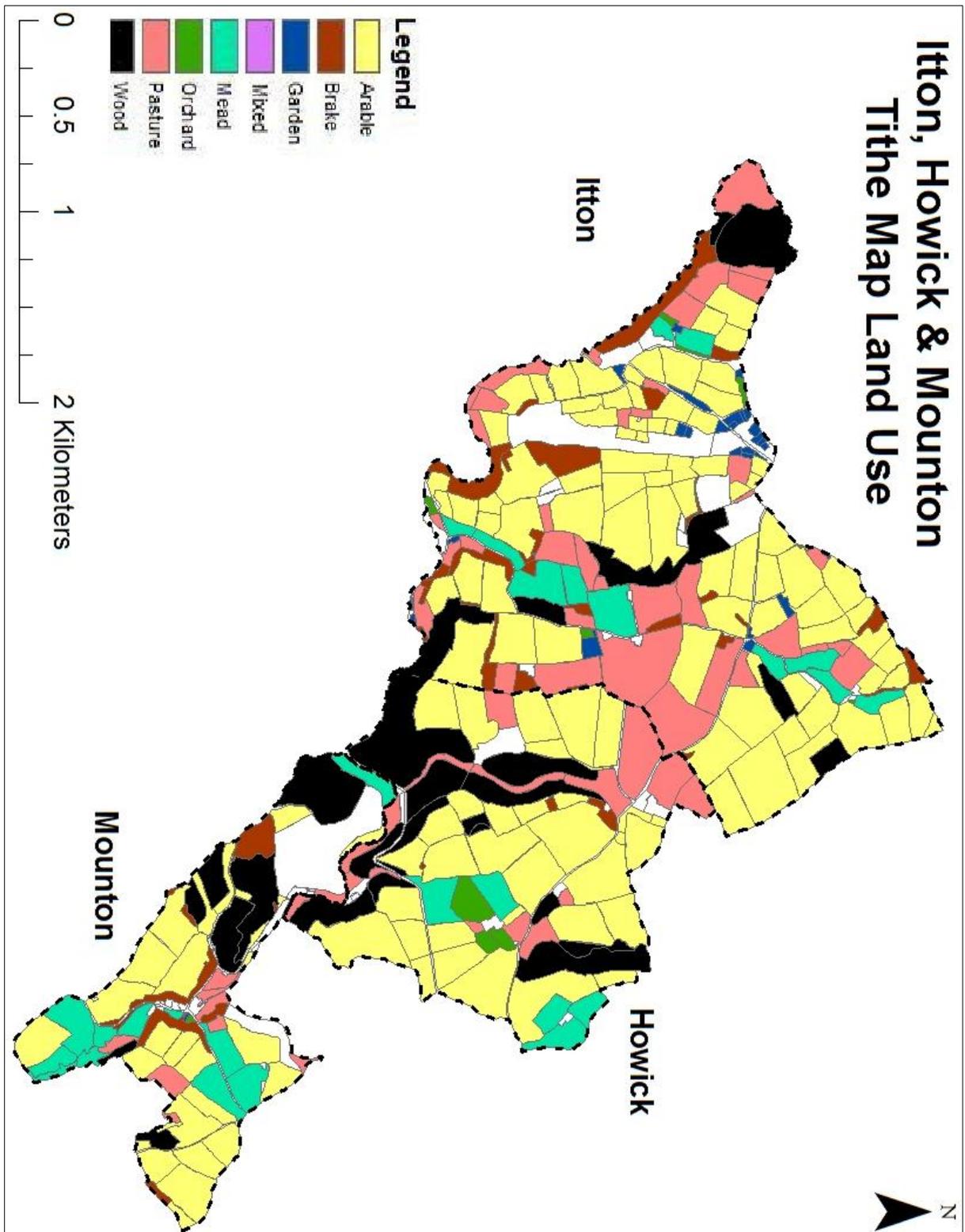


Fig.6.52. The pattern of land use for Itton, Howick and Mounton according to their respective 1843, 1850 and 1846 tithe map surveys.

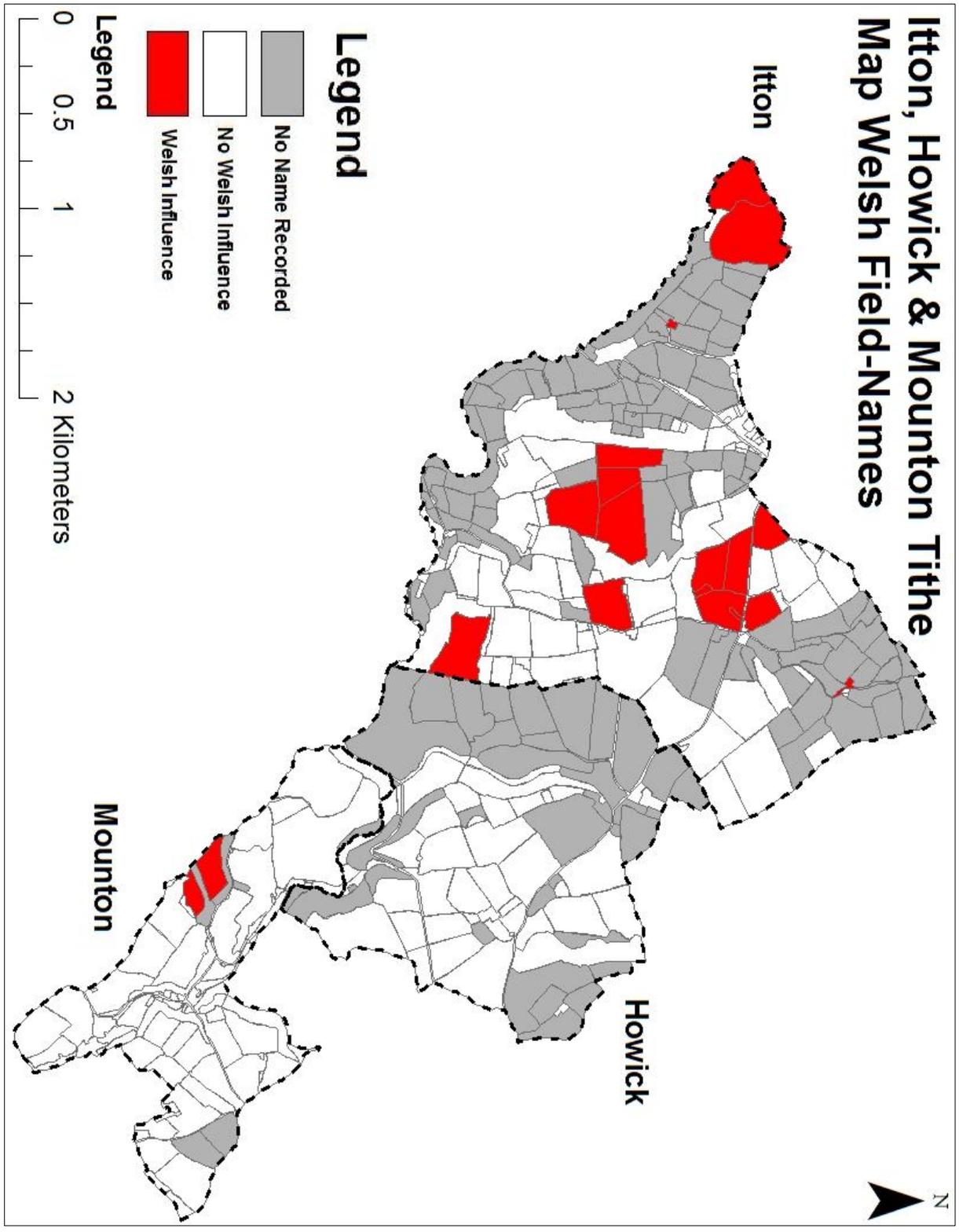


Fig.6.53. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton according to their respective 1843, 1850 and 1846 tithe map surveys.

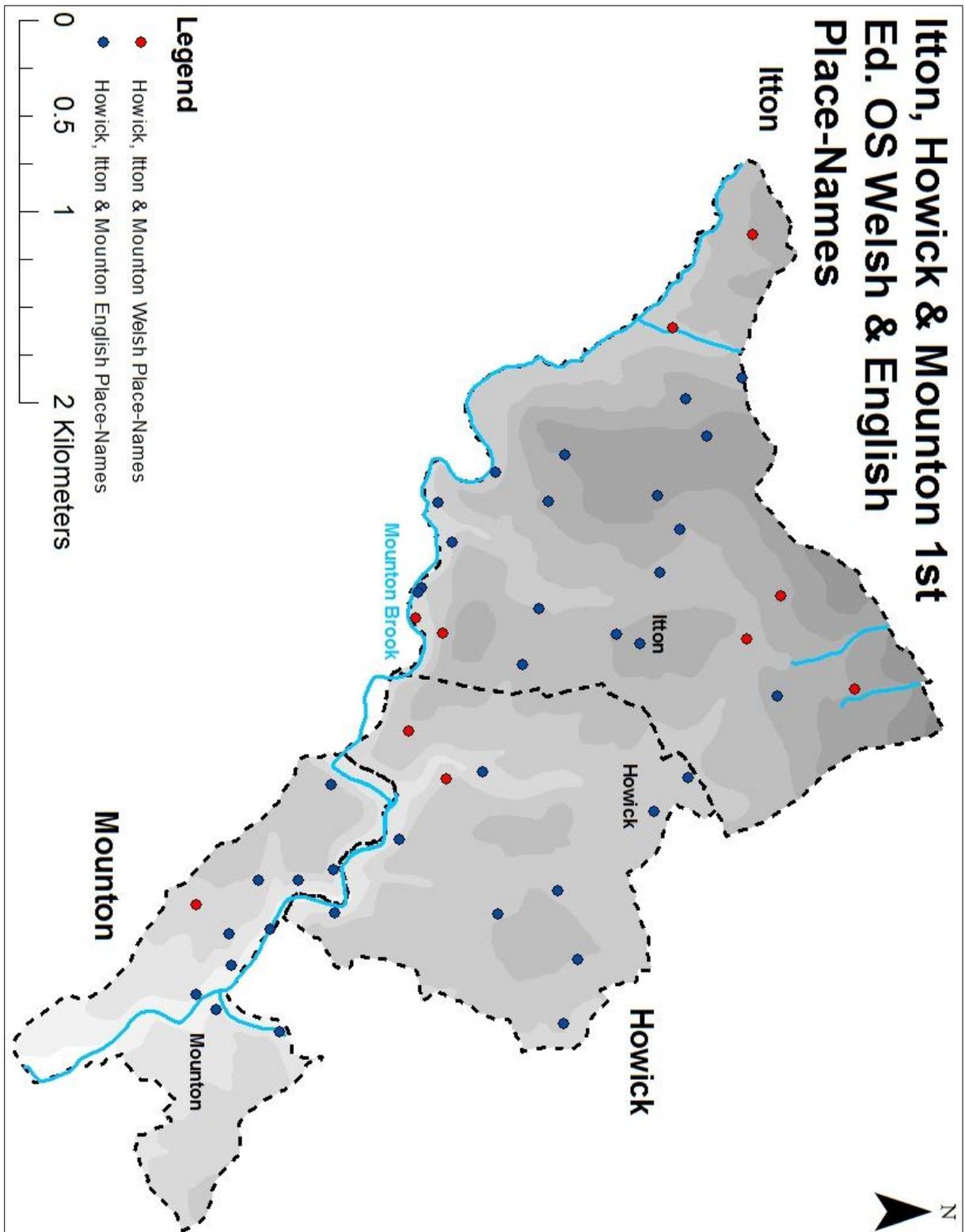


Fig.6.54. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

When looking at the tithe map morphology for the parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton (Fig.6.48.) it can be seen that there is hardly any morphological evidence for former open field systems in any of these three small parishes, with most of the landscape comprising fields of both an irregular size and shape. Furthermore, very little evidence of 'dog-legged' fields, 's-shaped' fields and shared boundaries is present. Dorothy Sylvester has suggested that there was an 'English-style' field system at Mounton (Sylvester 1958). However, if there was any evidence to support this, none of it is present in the data collected for this case study. On examination of the settlement pattern for the parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton (Fig.6.49.) a largely sparse and dispersed settlement pattern can be seen. However, there is a marked difference between the settlement landscape of Itton and those of Howick and Mounton. The two southernmost parishes have very little settlement, only a few scattered farms. Itton, on the other hand, has a greater degree of settlement and, while you could not quite call it nucleated, it is certainly clustered towards the northern edge of the parish. What are definitely not visible in any of these parishes are radial road patterns emanating from settlement nucleations as we see in, say, Portskewett.

The tithe map pattern of land occupancy for Itton, Howick and Mounton (Fig.6.50.) shows us that all three parishes have a very similar and simple pattern of land occupancy, composed of large distinct blocks of compact farmland. However, the land ownership pattern (Fig.6.51.) in these parishes is more nuanced and subtly changes as one moves south. The ownership landscape of Itton is dominated by two landowners, the Duke of Beaufort and William Curre Esquire, who between them hold most of the fields of the parish. Howick is once again dominated by large landholdings, this time broken into three between the Duke of Beaufort, William Curre Esquire and the trustees Charles Bryan and James Proctor. Interestingly William Curre's landholdings in Howick border his fields in Itton. Conversely, when the southernmost parish, Mounton, is considered a change in the landscape, with a much more varied and even pattern of land ownership, can clearly be seen. The Duke of Beaufort still has a small amount of holdings in the centre of the parish, but there is no land owned by William Curre and the rest is fairly evenly distributed between different landowners. However, it is still distributed in compact blocks, and not in scattered holdings that would be indicative of the strong influence of a former open field system. The land usage of these three parishes (Fig.6.52.) is predominately based on arable, but there are areas where other forms of farming are prevalent. In the north-western corner of Itton and along the border between Itton and Howick there are large areas of pasture land. In the south-western portion of Howick, as well as the northern reaches of Mounton, there is a large amount of woodland present, and meadow is fairly evenly spread about all three parishes.

When the evidence for Welsh field-names recorded in the tithe maps for Itton, Howick and Mounton (Fig.6.53.) is considered it can be seen that there is a marked difference in the landscapes present. The southernmost parishes, Howick and

Mounton, present us with very little evidence, with Mounton only recording two fields with names displaying a Welsh influence and Howick not returning any evidence whatsoever. Conversely, Itton has a fair number of fields with Welsh field-names. However, these do seem to be in compact groups, so therefore the possibility that these are down to the preferences of the farmer cultivating the land and not a historic survival has to be entertained. The Ordnance Survey first edition six-inch map transcriptions (Fig.6.54.) show a similar pattern with very few Welsh place-names in either Howick or Mounton. There are a few more in Itton, but they are on the fringes of the parish and the central portion of Itton is dominated by English place-names.

In conclusion, when the landscape of the small parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton are considered, very little evidence of Anglo-Norman lordship is present. The three parishes have a landscape with a very confused character, with no nucleation, little evidence for open field systems (despite Dorothy Sylvester's claims), but also very little Welsh place-name evidence. It is possible then that, due to their location between the town of Chepstow and the village of Shirenewton, these parishes do display a high degree of 'English' influence upon the formation of their landscapes, but their more upland topography (and their rather small size) meant that they failed to ever develop nucleated villages and open field systems.

6.4. Discussion & Summary

An examination of the historic landscape for the Lordship of Chepstow presented in this chapter clearly shows that the *caput*, Chepstow, with its Anglo-Norman 'trinity', appears to be exerting a large degree of influence upon its surrounding landscape. This is to be expected for such a historically important lordship site, and there is clear evidence for a large open field and definite settlement nucleation being present at Chepstow. When considering the minor Anglo-Norman lordship sites studied in this chapter (Caerwent and Magor) it is clear that they present slightly different pictures, both from each other and from the landscape of the *caput* at Chepstow. Magor, despite not possessing a castle, but having a manorial village and monastic grange, has a highly 'anglified' landscape with a large village and extensive open field present. Caerwent, on the other hand, has a much less 'anglified' landscape, despite its two possible Anglo-Norman mottes and later manor houses. At Caerwent there seems to be a small definite open field located between the small nucleation of Crick and the motte of Mount Ballan, which could be attached to either. Therefore the question needs to be asked; what is the difference between the Caerwent and Magor which means that the parish containing more obvious indications of Anglo-Norman lordship has less discernible evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape influence? The answer must, at least in part, be linked to the physical landscape, with the lowland Gwent Levels landscape of Magor having physical surroundings which were much more conducive to settlement nucleation and open field farming

than the slightly more upland setting of Caerwent (especially in the north of the parish).

The parishes within this study which show little direct evidence of Anglo-Norman lordship, or indeed none at all (Portskewett, Itton, Howick and Mounton), also follow a similar pattern. Only Portskewett, the parish located closest to the coast, shows any evidence for significant settlement nucleation or open field farming (albeit on a very small scale) similar to that seen at Shirenewton. Again, the physical landscape may be playing a role here, with the topography of Itton, Howick and Mounton being far more upland in character than that seen at Portskewett, and therefore less suitable for settlement nucleation and open field farming. However, a number of other factors must also be taken into account when examining this pattern, such as the pre-Conquest significance of Portskewett, the proximity of the major nucleation of Chepstow to Itton, Howick and Mounton and extremely small size of the three more upland parishes.

All the parishes in this case study situated along the Bristol Channel (Chepstow, Portskewett and Magor) display a distinct lack of Welsh linguistic influence in the landscape, whilst the opposite is true (in certain locations) in those away from the coast (Caerwent and the three parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton). Therefore, within in the Lordship of Chepstow it seems the areas further from the coast and the Gwent Levels, and closer to the upland area around the Wentwood ridge, contain a more apparent Welsh linguistic influence within the landscape. This theory is also relevant on the micro, not just the macro, level, as there are clear patterns emerging within those parishes showing a clear Welsh linguistic influence. In Caerwent the Welsh linguistic influence is located in the more upland areas of the parish, away from the lordship centre, and of the three parishes of Itton, Howick and Mounton, it is the most northerly and closest to Wentwood, Itton, which shows the most Welsh influence.

As with the previous chapter, the main issue for consideration at the end of this case study is the degree to which these findings show the landscape character of the Lordship of Chepstow, as well as how they build upon the conclusions drawn at the end of the study of the Lordship of Caldicot on the influence of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire. The fact that this study of Chepstow produced a landscape that is extremely 'English' in character is wholly unsurprising, but will provide a useful yardstick against which to judge the other case study lordships.

The parishes which presented landscapes with the greatest degree of 'Anglo-Norman' character, Magor and Chepstow (the *caput* of the lordship), are the ones with the largest and most obvious Anglo-Norman lordship sites within them. However, both Caerwent and Portskewett, with little or only minor imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship, have quite visible 'English' elements to their landscape. Conversely, Itton, Howick and Mounton seem to show the least Anglo-Norman

influence. This is presumably caused by a number of factors, such as the small size of these parishes, the lack of any visible seat of lordship and their upland character. What this case study has certainly shown is that the Lordship of Chepstow shows a clear geographical influence within patterns of landscape change, with more 'Welsh' landscape in the upland landscapes at a greater distance from the coast. Therefore, it will be important to see if similar patterns occur in lordships further away from the coast and also from the border with England. This also reflects findings from the 'pilot' case study of the Lordship of Caldicot, where the coastal, lowland and highly anglicised parish of Caldicot showed a dramatically different landscape to that found at Shirenewton. However, Shirenewton, despite its 'Welsh' upland nature, did show some facets of an 'English' landscape in the vicinity of the settlement nucleation due to its role as the 'Sheriff's New Town'. When this pattern of small-scale Anglo-Norman landscape influence, centred on the nucleations is examined, an analogous picture in both the parishes of Caerwent and Portskewett can be seen, where the varying degrees of very minor levels of Anglo-Norman lordship have, nevertheless, impacted upon the landscape.

With this case study completed, it is now important that focus of this thesis moves away from the Gwent levels and the coastal lowlands in order to examine landscapes further up the Wye and more towards the uplands of Monmouthshire. This will allow ideas garnered from the study of these two lowland lordships (Caldicot and Chepstow) to be tested to ascertain whether the theories can be extrapolated to more upland regions (Monmouth, Usk and Abergavenny). This change in landscape is important as it allows for an assessment of the extent to which the lowland topography of the Gwent Levels and coastal lowlands, in addition to the proximity to the Anglo-Welsh border, affected the levels of influence Anglo-Norman lordship had upon the landscape.

7. Case Study: The Lordship of Monmouth

7.1. Introduction

This case study chapter is intended to build upon the last two chapters, by moving the focus of this thesis away from the Gwent levels, whilst still remaining close to the Anglo-Welsh border. This will allow us to assess the degree to which the influence of Anglo-Norman lordship was magnified by the landscape of the lordships of Chepstow and Caldicot. The Lordship of Monmouth, in the north-east of the county, provides us with a more 'upland' landscape, dominated by the Wye, Monnow and Trothy river valleys, which contrasts with the 'lowland' coastal setting of the previous two studies. However, Monmouth does bear a number of similarities to the Lordship of Chepstow, being close to the border, having been founded at a similar time, by the same man (William fitz Osbern) and being focused on a major Anglo-Norman lordship centre (with the 'trinity' of castle, town and ecclesiastical foundation). Despite this, there are also a number of differences, beyond the obvious change to an 'upland' landscape, such as the Breton identity of the lords which held Monmouth after the fall of Roger de Breteuil and the long period of royal ownership which followed them.

Once again, as Monmouth is a large lordship, the selection of relevant case study parishes was highly important. As always, the *caput* of the lordship (Monmouth) was chosen as the major seigneurial centre in the region in order to provide the 'base level' from which to judge the other parishes within this study. The next case study chosen was the neighbouring parish of Rockfield which, with its small timber castle provides an opportunity to study a contrasting Anglo-Norman lordship site of minor importance in a similar landscape setting to that of the *caput* Monmouth (the Monnow Valley). Dingestow was chosen as the third case study as it is also the location of a minor Anglo-Norman lordship centre (another small castle), but is located on the southern fringes of the lordship in a different landscape setting, the Trothy Valley, away from the River Monnow. Importantly, the parish of Dingestow is also not on the Anglo-Welsh border (as Monmouth and Rockfield are), which will allow for an assessment of the impact of the proximity of this boundary upon the landscape of lordship in this region. The final two case study parishes chosen were those of St Maughans and Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern. These are parishes which show obvious signs of the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship (there are no castles or monastic foundations present). Once again, these case studies will allow an investigation of the impact of the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border as the parish of St Maughans borders England (Herefordshire), whilst Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern is deeper into Wales. However, when examining all these 'border' case studies, it must be remembered that the region of Herefordshire which all these parishes border (except the eastern boundaries of Monmouth) is 'Archenfield', and not really England 'proper'. Archenfield represents the areas of southern Herefordshire which formerly constituted the rump of the Welsh kingdom of Eryng,

assimilated into Mercia by the late ninth century (Davies 1978b, 28). Archenfield remained outside the hundred system, and became a privileged semi-autonomous Welsh district, with its own customs described in a separate section of the Herefordshire Domesday (*Domesday – Here*, A1-A10).

7.2. Background

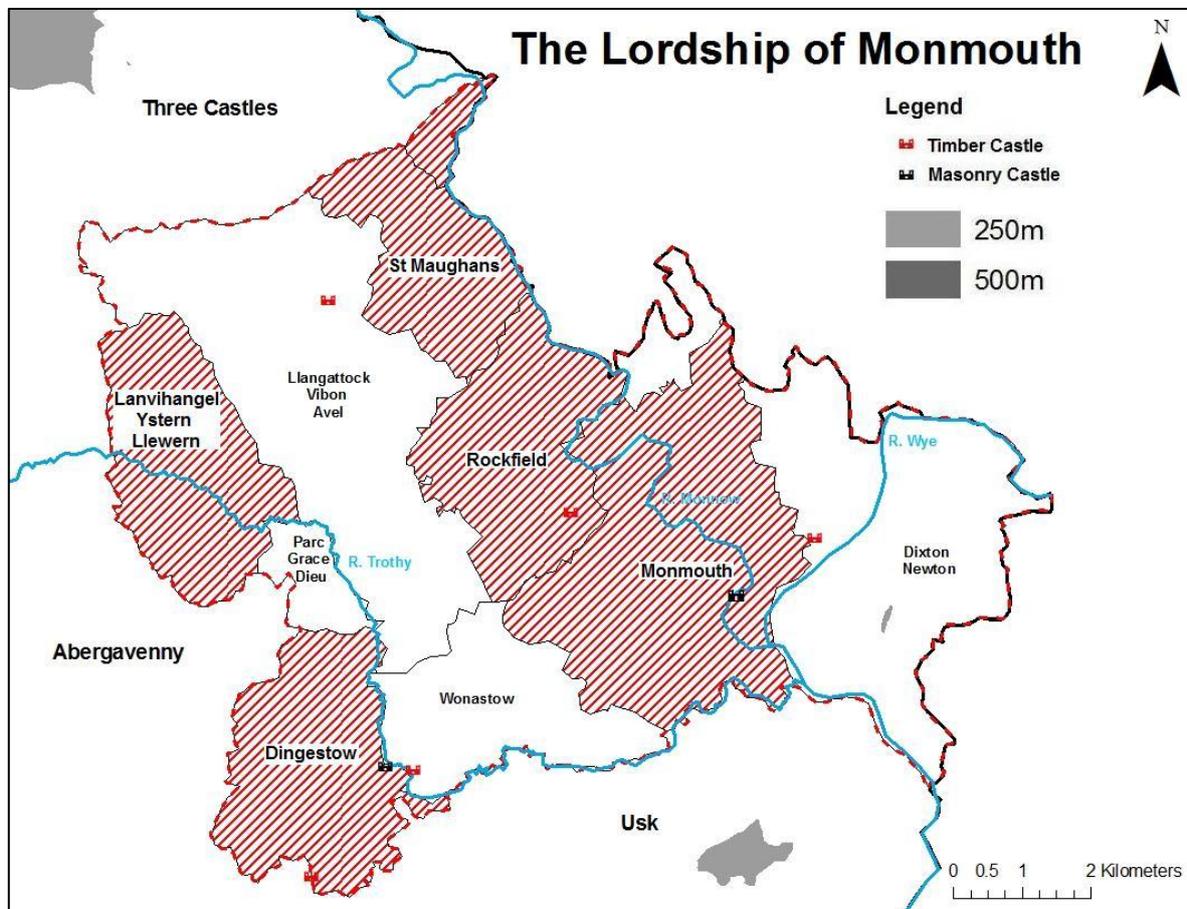


Fig.7.1. The Lordship of Monmouth, the case study parishes are shaded in red (redrawn from Rees 1959).

The area which makes up the Lordship of Monmouth is dominated by river valleys (namely the Wye Valley, the Monnow Valley and the Trothy Valley) and gently rolling hills, never rising above 200m. The parish of Monmouth (Fig.7.2.) is dominated and defined by rivers, with the River Wye running along its eastern border and the River Trothy delineating its southern edge. The centre of the parish is a large valley and bowl of low lying farmland (Fig.7.3.) created by the River Monnow and its confluence with the Wye. There are two large hills either side of the Monnow, covered in woodland, Buckholt Wood to the north and King’s Wood to the south. Rockfield’s topography (Fig.7.4.) is also defined by the Monnow, with the river running along the parish’s eastern edge, marking the Anglo-Welsh border. The Monnow also creates an area of lower lying land along the eastern edge of the parish, with a number of

small water courses causing small valleys in the slightly more upland western half of the parish.

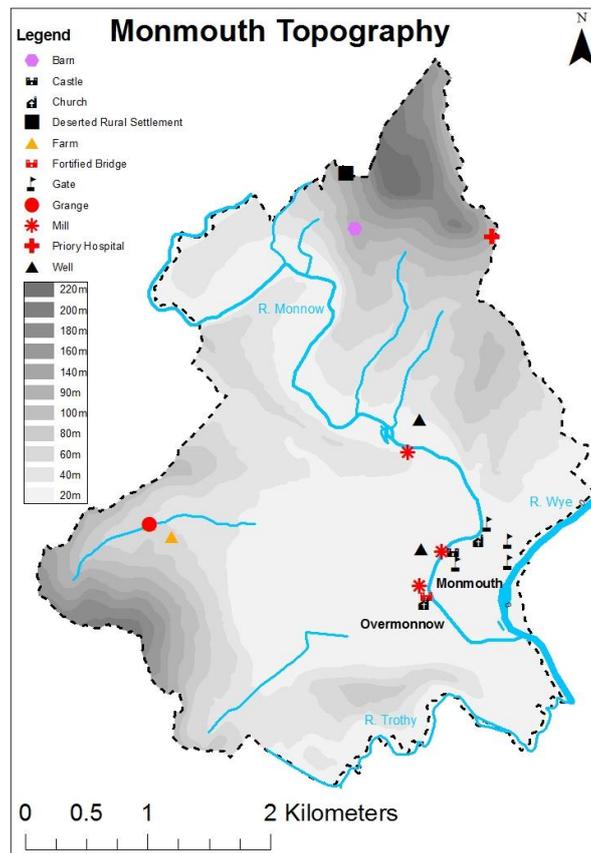


Fig.7.2. Topographic features of the parish of Monmouth with medieval entries from the HER.



Fig.7.3. A view of Monmouth from one of the surrounding hills, highlighting the 'bowl-like' nature of the landscape (photograph courtesy of Haberdasher's Schools Monmouth).

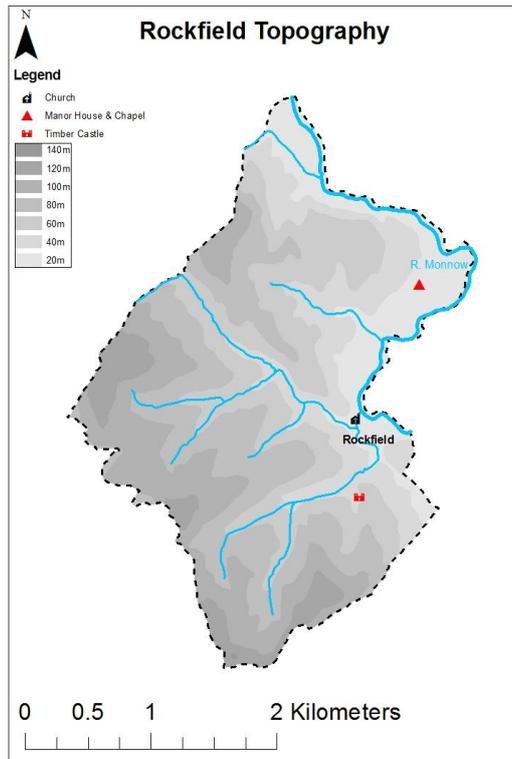


Fig.7.4. Topographic features of the parish of Rockfield with medieval entries from the HER.

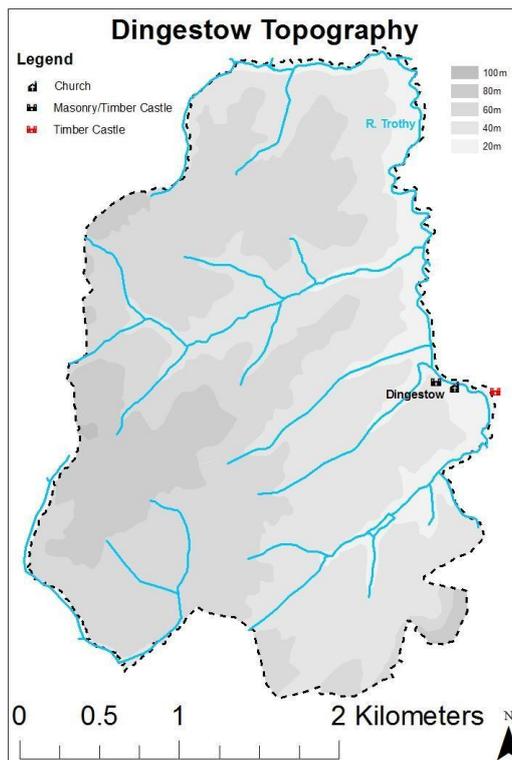


Fig.7.5. Topographic features of the parish of Dingestow with medieval entries from the HER.

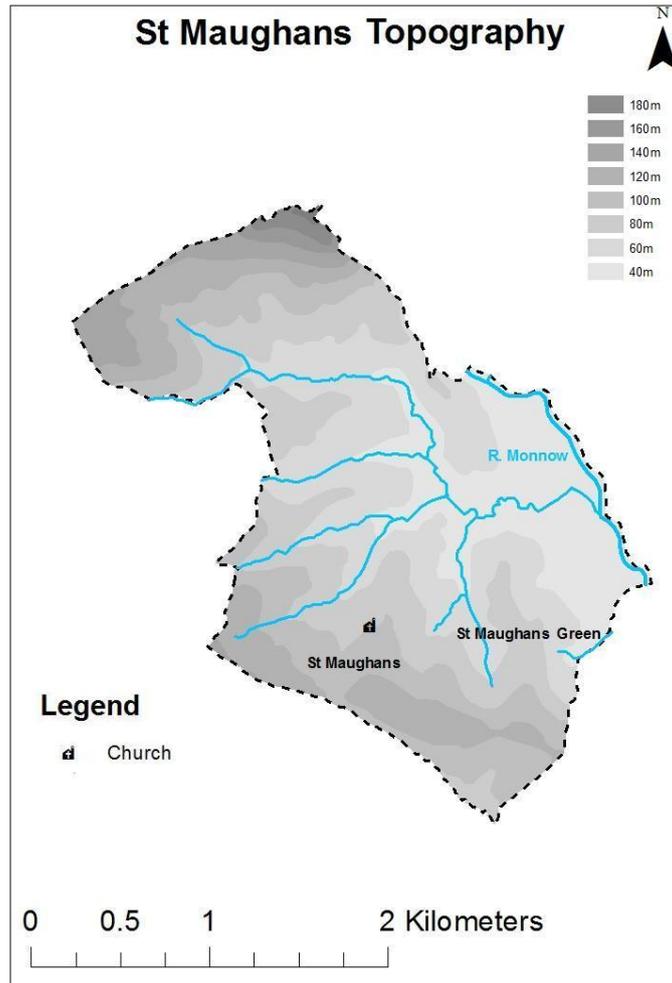


Fig.7.6. Topographic features of the parish of St Maughans with medieval entries from the HER.

The parish of Dingestow has quite a low lying topography (Fig.7.5.), with a number of very faint valleys running across its width caused by a number of small water courses running across the parish into the River Trothy on the eastern border of the parish. The only part of the parish reaching an altitude of over 100m above sea-level is a small area to the far west of Dingestow. St Maughans' topography (Fig.7.6.) is slightly more upland than that seen at Dingestow and is similar to the landscape present slightly further down the River Monnow at Rockfield. The Monnow forms the eastern border of the parish and the rest of the landscape consists of a number of small valleys created by minor watercourses, all of which flow towards the River Monnow and create an area of lower lying land towards the eastern edge of St Maughans. Finally, Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern's topography (Fig.7.7.) is cut in half by the River Trothy which flows across the middle of the parish and creates a valley of lower lying land. Either side of this valley are some more upland areas, and beyond these hills, on the northern and southern edges of the parish, are a number of minor watercourses which eventually flow into the Trothy.

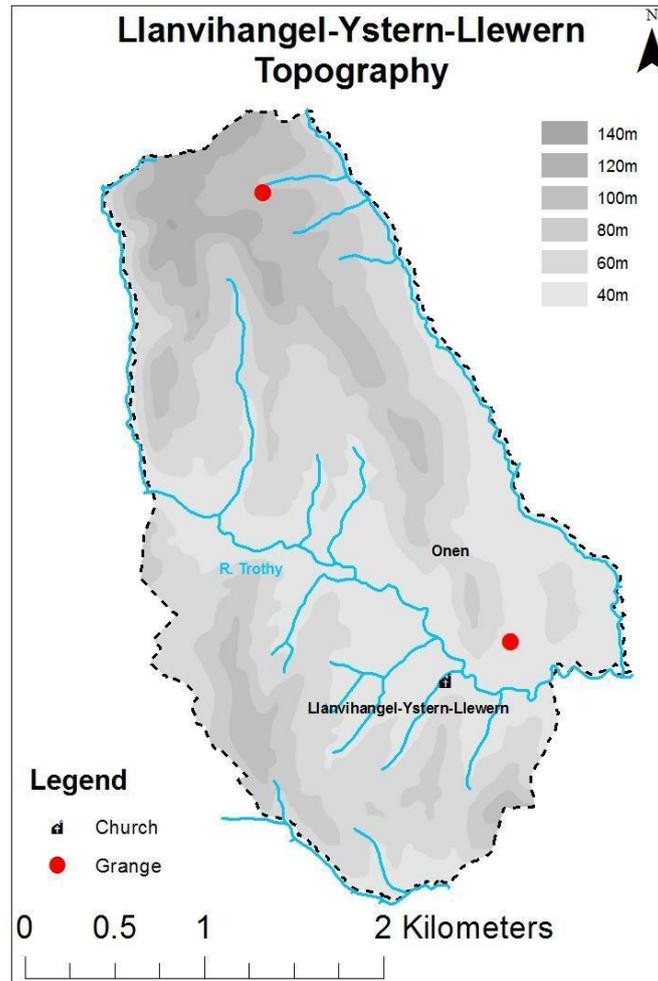


Fig.7.7. Topographic features of the parish of Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern with medieval entries from the HER.

The origins of the town of Monmouth can be traced back to Roman settlement of *Blestium*, a small fort and centre of iron manufacture (Howell 1988, 31), built where the Roman road link to the legionary fortress at Usk (*Burrium*) crosses the Wye valley (Knight 2000, 3). However, the settlement at *Blestium*/Monmouth did not finish with the withdrawal of the Romans and habitation continued into the early medieval period (and, obviously, beyond). There is evidence for eighth and tenth century grants of land in the Monmouth area (*aper Myngui* – ‘the mouth of the Monnow’) (*Liber Landavensis* 175; 186b; Soulsby 1983, 181; Zaluckyj & Zaluckyj 2006, 377) which, when combined with the discovery of a small amount of early-medieval pottery during excavations in the town, can be used as evidence for occupation in the periods between the end of Roman administration and the Anglo-Norman Conquest (Marvell 2001, 1). What is clear is that in this period the River Wye remained an important trading and communication route connecting what is now inland Monmouthshire and Herefordshire to the sea throughout this period. Furthermore, there is evidence for raiders (Danes, English and Welsh in the employ of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn) exploiting the richness of the land and the navigability of the

River Wye and coming up the river as far north as Dixton and ravaging the Archenfield in 1056 (Kissack 1996, 18). Importantly there was also a pre-Conquest church in Monmouth dedicated to the Welsh saint St. Cadog, son of the king of Gwent and disciple of St. Tathan (Howell 1988, 37).



Fig.7.8. The standing remains of Monmouth castle (photograph: author's own).

Monmouth was part of the great Earldom of Hereford, granted to William fitz Osbern after the Conquest. The location of Monmouth, between his important lordship sites of Hereford and Chepstow, must have influenced fitz Osbern's decision to establish a castle and town, as well as its location on a spit of land at the confluence of the Monnow and Wye making strategic sense, surrounding the settlement on three sides by water (similar to his foundation at Chepstow which was situated within a bend of the River Wye). The river junction also provided economic importance, allowing access to the higher reaches of the Wye (towards Hereford) and Monnow rivers, as well as connections to the lower Wye Valley and Chepstow (Schofield & Vince 2003, 25). Monmouth Castle (Figs. 7.8. & 7.9.) itself was constructed on the highest point overlooking the confluence of the Monnow and the Wye (Newman 2000, 394-9), and while it is now a tiny ruin tucked in one corner of the parade ground of the Royal Monmouthshire Royal Engineers Territorial Army unit, it was originally a large ring-work dominating the town with its walls reaching from the edge of the River Monnow to Agincourt Square in the centre of the town (Pettifer 2000, 133). The original Norman donjon was built of old red sandstone with its thickest walls facing west into Wales and was apparently modelled on the great tower at Chepstow, but on a smaller scale (King 1983a, 286). The architecture suggests that the earliest surviving masonry is the work of William fitz Baderon, from between 1120 and 1145 (Thurlby

2006, 90-2), and latter additions to the castle were made by Edmund Crouchback and Henry of Grosmont in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively.

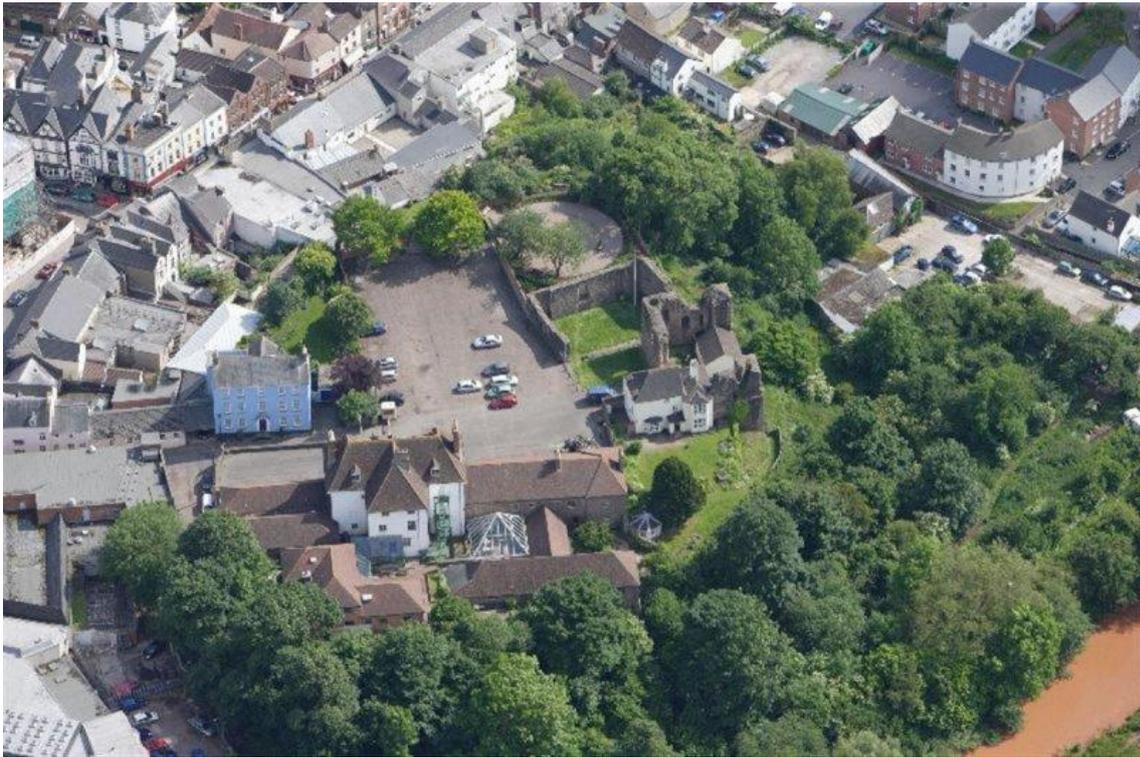


Fig.7.9. Aerial view of Monmouth Castle (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).



Fig.7.10. Aerial view of St Mary's, Monmouth (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).



Fig.7.11. St Thomas', Overmonnow, Monmouth (photograph: author's own).

However, after the fall from grace of fitz Osbern's son, Roger de Breteuil, in 1075 the Lordship of Monmouth briefly fell to Ranulf de Colville, before passing to a Breton lord name Gwethenoc, son of Caradoc of Laboussac (near Dol), who was the founder of a Breton dynasty which held the town until 1256 (Kissack 1996, 22). Monmouth Priory was founded in the 1080s and consecrated in 1101 (Salter 2002, 51), presumably superseding the previous pre-Conquest church (St. Cadog's), and as with Chepstow, Monmouth now had the Anglo-Norman 'trinity'. The importance of St Mary's as a foundation may be indicated by the presence of Caradog ap Gruffydd at its dedication (Kissack 1996, 23-24). Only a fragment of the Anglo-Norman Romanesque construction at the west end of St Mary's, as well as the fourteenth century west tower, survives from the Benedictine priory church. The rest became a ruin after the dissolution and was subsequently extensively rebuilt in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Newman 2000, 395-6; Salter 2002, 51; Thurlby 2006, 84-90). Despite this, the size and grace of St Mary's (Fig.7.10.), as well as its ancillary buildings, hints at its former role as a priory (Walker 1990, 83). The church and Benedictine priory were given as daughter establishments to St Florent of Saumur, differing from the practices of William fitz Osbern who attached all his religious establishments to the two Norman monasteries he had founded, at Lire and Cormeilles (Walker 1990, 67-68). The priory was also populated with monks from Brittany, not Normandy as was usual, and it is thought that these Breton monks

would have been more familiar with the Celtic ecclesiastical traditions of Wales (Cowley 1977, 14-15). Despite its different complexion, Monmouth Priory was certainly well endowed, holding up to 480 acres of land by the beginning of the sixteenth century (Walker 1990, 80-81) and the fact that the parish of Monmouth was placed under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Hereford, along with the Benedictine priory, firmly places the town in the Anglo-Norman spiritual sphere of influence. The suburb of Overmonnow, on the south side of the River Monnow, also has its own late twelfth century Anglo-Norman (although largely rebuilt in the eighteenth century) church, St Thomas Becket's, built next to the fortified bridge (Fig.7.11; Salter 2002, 51; Thurlby 2006, 167) and the need for two separate churches serving the town is a demonstration of the size and importance of medieval Monmouth. St Thomas Becket's was originally a 'chapel of ease' attached to St Mary's, however it later gained its own incumbent (Bradney 1904, 16).

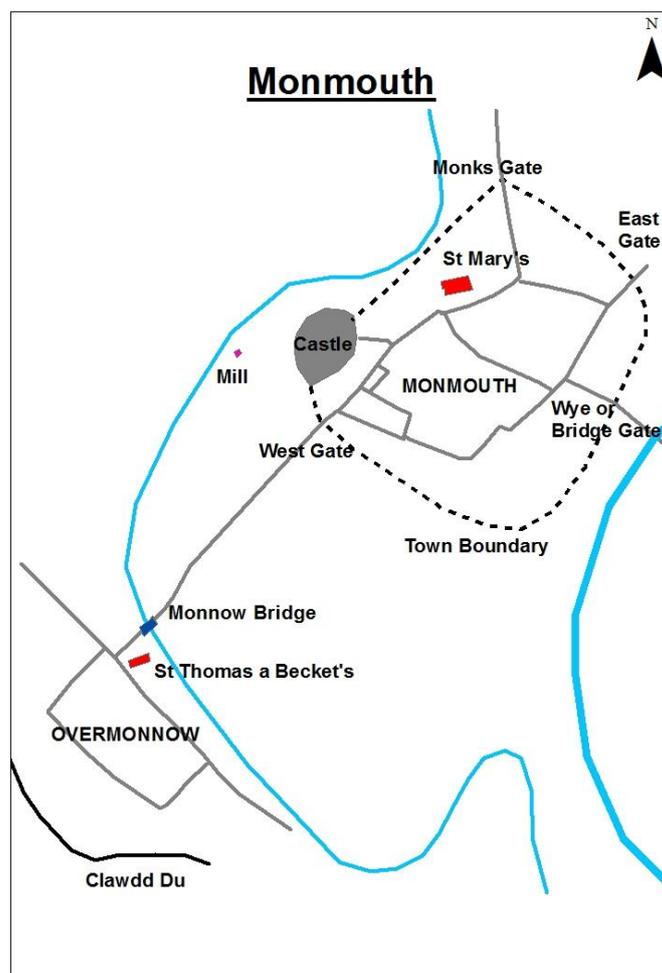


Fig.7.12. Plan of medieval Monmouth (redrawn by the author from Soulsby 1983, Fig.66).



Fig.7.13. The Monnow Bridge Gate (photograph: author's own).

Gwethenoc of Monmouth ultimately retired to Saumur Abbey as a monk, and, since his brother and son had already taken monastic orders, the Lordship of Monmouth passed to his nephew William fitz Baderon, who already had extensive lands in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire (Kissack 1996, 24-27). By 1086 Monmouth was clearly sufficiently within the Anglo-Norman sphere of influence to have been included in the Domesday survey of Herefordshire. Here William fitz Baderon is recorded as the lord, holding Monmouth from the King (*Domesday – Here.*, 1,48). In around 1125 William fitz Baderon was succeeded by his eldest son, Baderon, who married Rohesia, daughter of Gilbert De Clare, lord of Chepstow (Kissack 1996, 31). Baderon was, in turn succeeded by his son, Gilbert around 1176 (Kissack 1996, 38). Gilbert died in 1189/90, and his son and heir, John of Monmouth was made a ward of his uncle, William de Braose (lord of Abergavenny and the Three Castles), who was given custody of Monmouth, extending his extensive holdings in the Welsh Marches (Kissack 1996, 39; Walker 1990, 51). John of Monmouth held the lordship for nearly fifty years and Monmouth proved to be a pocket of unerring loyalty to the crown in an increasingly unstable political situation. King John visited Monmouth in 1213, and John of Monmouth was one of the executors of the King's will in 1216 (Kissack 1996, 39-40). Sadly Gerald of Wales only mentions Monmouth in passing when travelling from, in a slightly roundabout fashion, Usk to Caerleon (*Giraldus*

Cambrensis, 114) and, therefore, a chance for a valuable description of the town and castle in 1188 is missed.

The town, which originally developed within the outer bailey of the castle (Newman 2000, 394), flourished economically due to its important location on a river junction and the patronage of the castle (Schofield & Vince, 2003, 35) and Monmouth had certainly become a walled town by the end of the thirteenth century (Schofield & Vince, 2003, 50) with extensive public fortifications, including a fortified bridge over the River Monnow, at the end of the 'great causeway' (now Monnow Street), leading to the suburb of Overmonnow (Newman 2000, 394). The town walls were situated on the north side of the town (the only side of the town not defended by water), whilst there was no wall between the West Gate on Monnow Street and the East Gate on the Old Dixton Road (Fig.7.12.). The only remaining fragment of these defences is a portion of the East Gate incorporated into the 'Nag's Head' Pub (Soulsby 1983, 183). The Monnow Bridge is of particular interest as it is a rare example of a medieval fortified bridge where the gate is located in the centre of the bridge (Fig.7.13.). The suburb of Overmonnow appears to have had its own defences and was surrounded by a defensive ditch, known as 'Clawdd Du' (Black Dyke) (Bradney 1904, 15; Marvell 2001, 2). It is interesting to note that this feature appears to have a Welsh name, in a parish where the place-names are predominately Anglo-Norman in origin. Medieval Monmouth was attracting a sizeable Welsh population (Carr 1995, 96) and this may be taken as evidence for the town being divided into a form of 'Englishry' and 'Welshry'; with the Welsh inhabitants of the settlement being forced over the river into the suburb of Overmonnow.

In 1226 John of Monmouth founded the small Cistercian Abbey of Grace Dieu, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, with the founding monks being sent from Dore Abbey (Herefordshire), its mother house (Newman 2000, 235). Grace Dieu was located 2 miles north of Dingestow, but relocated on at least one occasion after being attacked by the Welsh (Mein 1986, 9) and its final site is uncertain (Monastic Wales). Its lack of size as a foundation is testified to by that fact that, at its suppression in 1536, there were only two resident monks (Newman 2000, 235). Monmouth castle saw little action during conflict with the Welsh, possibly a testament to its secure nature and location, but was involved in the English rebellions of Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke and Simon de Montfort. In 1233 Richard Marshal, during a dispute with Henry III, joined forces with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (Llywelyn Fawr) and Owain ap Gruffydd (Grandson of the Lord Rhys) and sacked the castle at Monmouth in the absence of John of Monmouth (the garrison was led by Baldwin de Guisnes, a mercenary captain), burning it to the ground and destroying the castle bridge with great slaughter (*Brut – RBH*, 231; *Brut – Peniarth*, 103; Howell 1988, 56; 79; Walker 1990, 97; Kissack 1996, 40). By 1234 John of Monmouth had returned to conduct operations against the rebels in person, but was ambushed near Trellech, escaping with his life. Ultimately, the death of Marshal in Ireland saved the political situation (Kissack 1996, 41). In 1240 John of Monmouth founded a hospital of St John to the

north of the town, along the Hereford road, to tend to the poor, aged and sick. The hospital was eventually granted by his son to Monmouth Priory (Archwilio 02270g). After the fall of Richard Marshal, John of Monmouth became an increasingly important figure in the March, being made Chief Bailiff of South Wales in 1242. He died the same year, and was buried in St Mary's (Kissack 1996, 41). John was succeeded by his son, also called John of Monmouth, who held the lordship for just over eight years before exchanging it with the king for lands in Dorset and Wiltshire and his lands in Monmouth were granted to the Lord Edward (The young Edward I) (Kissack 1996, 41-42), who already held Abergavenny and the 'Three Castles' (Skenfrith, Grosmont and White Castle) (Kissack 1996, 47). Therefore, after the tenure of the Lord Edward the Lordship of Monmouth was merged with the Lordship of the Three Castles.

In 1265, as part of the Second Baron's War, Monmouth was involved in Henry III and the Lord Edward's political troubles as Simon de Montfort and Llywelyn ap Gruffydd combined forces and stormed Monmouth castle (Howell 1988, 56; 80). Two years after De Montfort's final defeat (and death) at the battle of Evesham, Monmouth passed from Edward to his younger brother Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Leicester and Lancaster, ensuring that the combined Lordship of Monmouth and the Three Castles would be at the heart of the Lancastrian estates that would be so important in late medieval England and Wales (Kissack 1996, 42; 52). Edmund died fighting in Gascony in 1296, although most of the Lancastrian lands went to his eldest son, Thomas, Earl of Leicester and Lancaster, Monmouth appears to have been granted to the second son, Henry (Kissack 1996, 54). However, Thomas Earl of Lancaster rebelled against Edward II and was executed after his defeat at the Battle of Boroughbridge in 1322 and Monmouth is among the holdings seized by the Despensers and Edward II from 'treasonable earls' (Howell 1988, 83). Despite this, Henry, lord of Monmouth, seems to have escaped the taint of his brother's rebellion and by 1324 he was confirmed as the Earl of both Leicester and Lancaster, with all the associated land holdings in south Wales (Kissack 1996, 58).

Henry was prominent in both the deposition of Edward II and the coronation of Edward III, but by 1330 he was almost blind and handed the administration of the lordships of Monmouth and the Three Castles to his son, Henry of Grosmont (Kissack 1996, 58). Henry of Grosmont was an important figure in fourteenth century England and, in return for his service, was made a founder member of the order of the Garter and elevated to Duke of Lancaster by Edward III. He died in Leicester of the plague in 1361 (Kissack 1996, 60) and left his estates to his two daughters, Maud (who received Monmouth) and Blanche, who had married the third son of Edward III, John of Gaunt. The Black Death also repeatedly ravaged the Lordship of Monmouth in 1349, 1361 and 1369 (Howell 1988, 88; Kissack 1996, 63). Maud died young in 1362, and on her death the vast Lancastrian estates in their entirety, including Monmouth, passed to her sister's husband John, now Duke of Lancaster (Kissack 1996, 68).

After John of Gaunt's death in 1399 his eldest son, Henry Bolingbroke, seized the crown and became Henry IV in 1399. The Lordship of Monmouth, as part of the vast Duchy of Lancaster, was part of Henry's estates which were merged with those of the crown. Probably the most important event in the history of Monmouth Castle occurred in 1387, due to its place within the Lancastrian estates, when Mary de Bohun, wife of the then Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, gave birth to the future Henry V (Pettifer 2000, 132; Kissack 1996, 74). Monmouth did play a minor role in the last throes of Welsh independence and the rebellions against this new Lancastrian regime, as in 1404 forces loyal to Owain Glyndŵr defeated an English force at Craig y Dorth, near Trellech, pursuing them to the Monnow Gate with great slaughter (Howell 1988, 92; Knight 2000, 14). As a testament to the suffering caused by Glyndŵr's rebellion, twenty years after the revolt had ravaged the countryside around Monmouth, the town's accounts were still £391 in arrears (Kissack 1996, 77). In 1415, St Mary's becomes an independent priory (Howell 1988, 113) and, in 1447, Henry VI somewhat belatedly formally incorporated the town into a borough which, at the time, had 201 burgesses (Soulsby 1983, 183). Due to its strong ties to the Duchy of Lancaster, the Lordship of Monmouth was firmly Lancastrian during the Wars of the Roses (Walker 1990, 180) and in 1465 the Yorkist Edward IV created the Lordship of Raglan for his loyal follower William Herbert, carved out of the lordships of Monmouth and Usk (Reeves 1983, 43: see Chapter 8). Monmouth Priory had been dissolved by 1539 and its last prior, Richard Talybush, received a pension of £9 per annum (Howell 1988, 113-2). The military swansong of the castle was in 1645 during the English Civil War and it was slighted soon after (Pettifer 2000, 133).

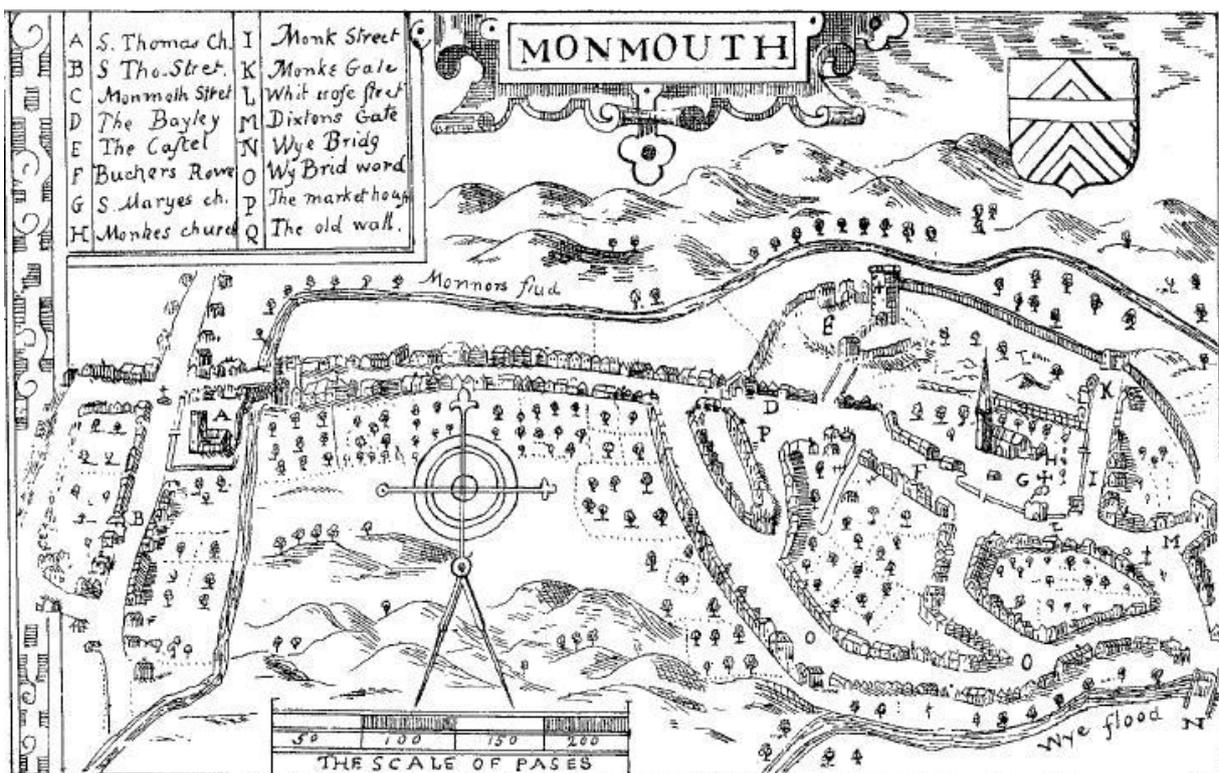


Fig.7.14. John Speed's map of the town of Monmouth (1610) (map: Warlow 1899, 32).

Rockfield

The place-name 'Rockfield' is thought to be an Anglo-Norman French transplant, taken from *Rocheville* (Manche) and first recorded in c.1069 when the tenant was 'Ralph de Rocheville' (Morgan 2005, 187; Owen & Morgan 2007, 425). The Welsh name for Rockfield, Llanoronwy, has been identified in earlier charters as 'Lann Guoronoï' which may show a connection with St. Guerialoc or may be in reference to 'the church next to the River Mynwy (Monnow) (*Liber Landavensis*, 240; 246; Morgan 2005, 187). As has already been mentioned in the introduction, there are the remains of a very minor timber castle at Rockfield (Fig.7.15.). King (1983a) identified as a 'motte small and rounded; possible traces of small and weak bailey'. However, in a slightly different location to that identified by King, Phillips (2006) found a motte and 'small triangular bailey, interpreted as a horn work' and a 'larger bailey to the east complete with sections of rampart. Phillips also suggests that because the site is atypical (the motte is not situated at the steep part of the slope; the bailey is), it may be that the motte already existed as an earlier mound which the Normans re-used (Phillips 2006). Interestingly, Rockfield castle was not mentioned in Bradney's parish by parish 'History of Monmouthshire', suggesting the site was not really known about in the early part of the twentieth century (Bradney 1904), and this may also explain the confusion over its exact location.



Fig.7.15. Aerial view of Rockfield Castle (© Bing Maps).

The Church at Rockfield, dedicated to St Cenedlon, a mysterious early Welsh saint, is mentioned in a papal bull of Urban III from 1186 (Kissack 1996, 34), although it has been tentatively associated with charters dating back to c.970 (Zaluckyj &

Zaluckyj 2006, 381). The importance of the nearby lordship *caput* at Monmouth is demonstrated by the fact that the revenues of St Cenedlon's church were owned by Monmouth Priory (Howell 1988, 70). However, as it stands today the church was extensively rebuilt in the late 1950s (Salter 2002, 58) and only the tower remains from the previous medieval construction (Newman 2000, 515). The fact that the church is some distance away from the castle supports the documentary evidence that the church predates the castle, as it was not re-founded (and re-dedicated) next to the newly constructed lordship site, as was the case at Monmouth.

An important facet of the later medieval landscape of Rockfield is the manor house and chapel complex at Perth-Hir, located next to the Monnow to the north of the village. Perth-Hir was first recorded in 1362 and later owned by a branch of the Herbert family until the eighteenth century (Bradney 1904, 29; see Chapter 9). As with the rest of the region, the ravages of the Glyndŵr revolt took their toll on the parish and the damages inflicted upon this parish is testified to by the fact that the mill at Rockfield still lay derelict in 1420 (Kissack 1996, 77).

Dingestow



Fig.7.16. Aerial view of Dingestow Castle and church (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

The place-name 'Dingestow' can be traced to the fourteenth century and is of English origin. It means 'the (holy) place of St Dingad', one of two possible early Welsh saints, but is a fairly direct translation of Dingestow's Welsh name

'Llanddingad', which is recorded as early as the beginning of the twelfth century (Morgan 2005, 87; Zaluckyj & Zaluckyj 2006, 327-8), while an ecclesia Dincat is recorded in the Llandaff Charters (*Liber Landavensis*, 227b). The present building of St Dingat's Church, however, is largely Victorian in construction (Newman 2000, 211-212; Salter 2002, 22). The nearby remains of Dingestow Castle consist of a moated platform above the River Trothy, supposedly constructed by William de Braose (Salter 1991, 18). Whilst Dingestow has traditionally been thought of as a timber motte and bailey castle, it has been suggested that the rectangular shape of the earthworks points to a grander masonry construction (Phillips 2006). There is a further motte and bailey site within some woodland on the other side of the river from Dingestow Castle (Salter 1991, 18) and this may be the site of an earlier foundation of the castle, or possibly even a siege castle.

The castle certainly dates to at least the twelfth century as it is recorded that in 1182, as a retaliation for William de Braose's murder of much of the Welsh nobility of Gwent at Abergavenny on Christmas day 1175, the Welsh, after sacking Abergavenny, attacked and killed Ranulf Poer, sheriff of Herefordshire in a battle near Dingestow castle (Howell 1988, 59). The castle was subsequently rebuilt and, despite being recaptured in 1233 by Richard Marshal, was soon after granted to Sir John Grey by Henry III. In 1281 Edward I gifted the homage of the Grey's of Dingestow to his brother, Edmund Crouchback and nothing more is heard of the castle until 1469, when it is part of the seized possessions of William Herbert of Raglan (Bradney 1914, 53).

St Maughans

It has been suggested that the church at St Maughans was not originally dedicated to St Meugan, an early Welsh saint, but to St Dyfrig (Dubricius/Devereux - a sixth century grandson of a king of Eryng). The Dyfrig foundation is thought to have been abandoned after an outbreak of plague in around 547 and later refounded dedicated to St Malo, the son of a Gwent nobleman, who has a number of dedications across Brittany, Normandy and northern France (Zaluckyj & Zaluckyj 2006, 385-6). The foundation of 'St Meugan's' can be traced in documents to c.860-1072 (Howell 1988, 38) and the place-name in its English form, 'St Maughans', can be traced back to around 1186, however the Welsh form of the name, 'Llanfocha', predates this by at least forty, possibly 200, years (Morgan 2005, 192). St Maughans is also possibly mentioned in Llandaff Charters dated to c.860 and c.1025 (*Liber Landavensis*, 171b; 264b). The church possesses an unusual, for this part of Wales, double nave, parts of which can be dated to the thirteenth century (Newman 2000, 523; Salter 2002, 60). As with Rockfield, St Maughans was deeply affected by the Glyndŵr revolt and, in 1420, is described as 'wholly in decay' (Kissack 1996, 77).

Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern

The place-name 'Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern' (Welsh: Llanfihangel-Ystim-Llywern) can be dated to the thirteenth century, but its meaning is unclear. 'Llanvihangel' clearly refers to a church dedicated to the archangel St. Michael, and 'Ystern' is thought to come from the Welsh *ystum*, or 'bend', but the meaning of 'Llewern' is unknown. It could be a personal name, it could be a reference to one of the watercourses in the parish, or it could be derived from the Welsh word *llywern*, or 'fox' (Morgan 2005, 128). The parish church, St Michael's, has elements, such as the east window, which are from the fourteenth century, although it was largely rebuilt in the nineteenth century (Newman 2000, 296; Salter 2002, 32). The parish also includes the remains of two monastic granges (attached to Grace Dieu Abbey, founded by John of Monmouth), Crug-Yr-Onnen Grange (Archwilio, 08336g) to the east of the village and another site to the north known only as 'The Grange' (Archwilio, 01526g). The name of the hamlet of Onen, north of the church and village, is derived from the Welsh word for 'ash-tree' (*onnen*) and is first recorded in 1831 (Morgan 2005, 165). It is possible that the hamlet is linked to the nearby monastic grange at Crug-Yr-Onnen.

7.3. Analysis of the Historic Landscape

7.3.1. Monmouth

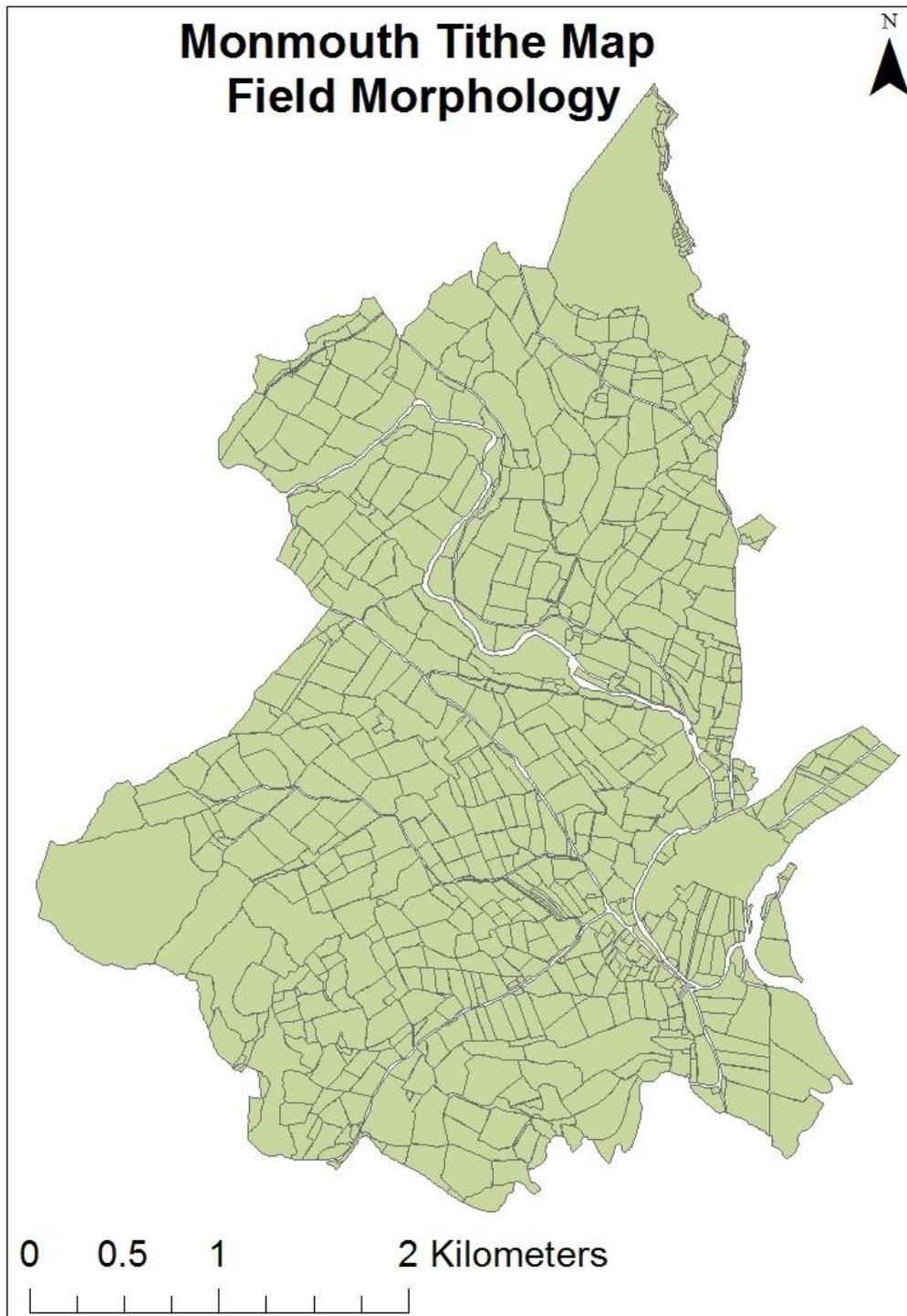


Fig.7.17. The field morphology of Monmouth according to the 1844 tithe map survey.

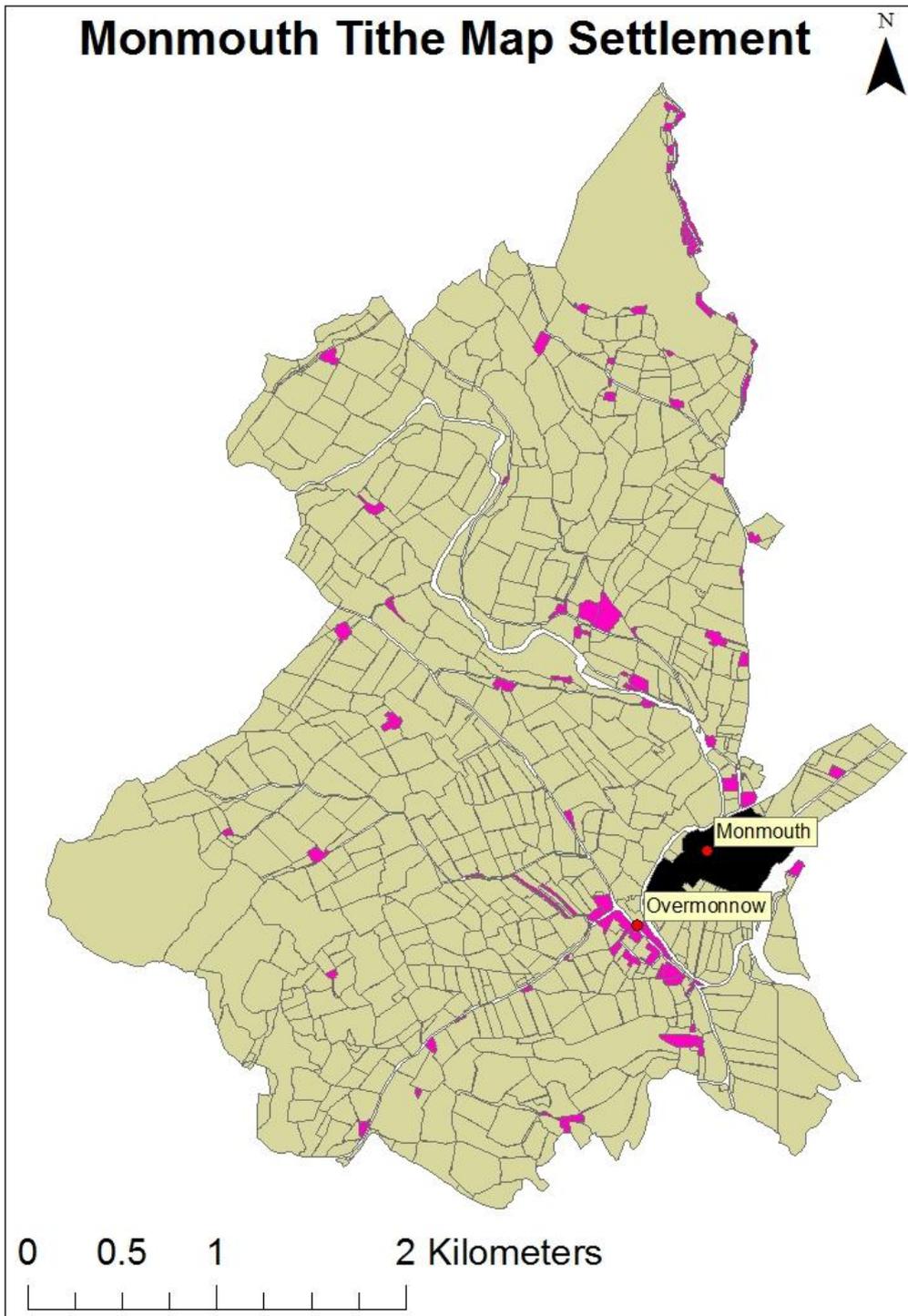


Fig.7.18. The settlement pattern of Monmouth according to the 1844 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink. The black area represents the town of Monmouth.

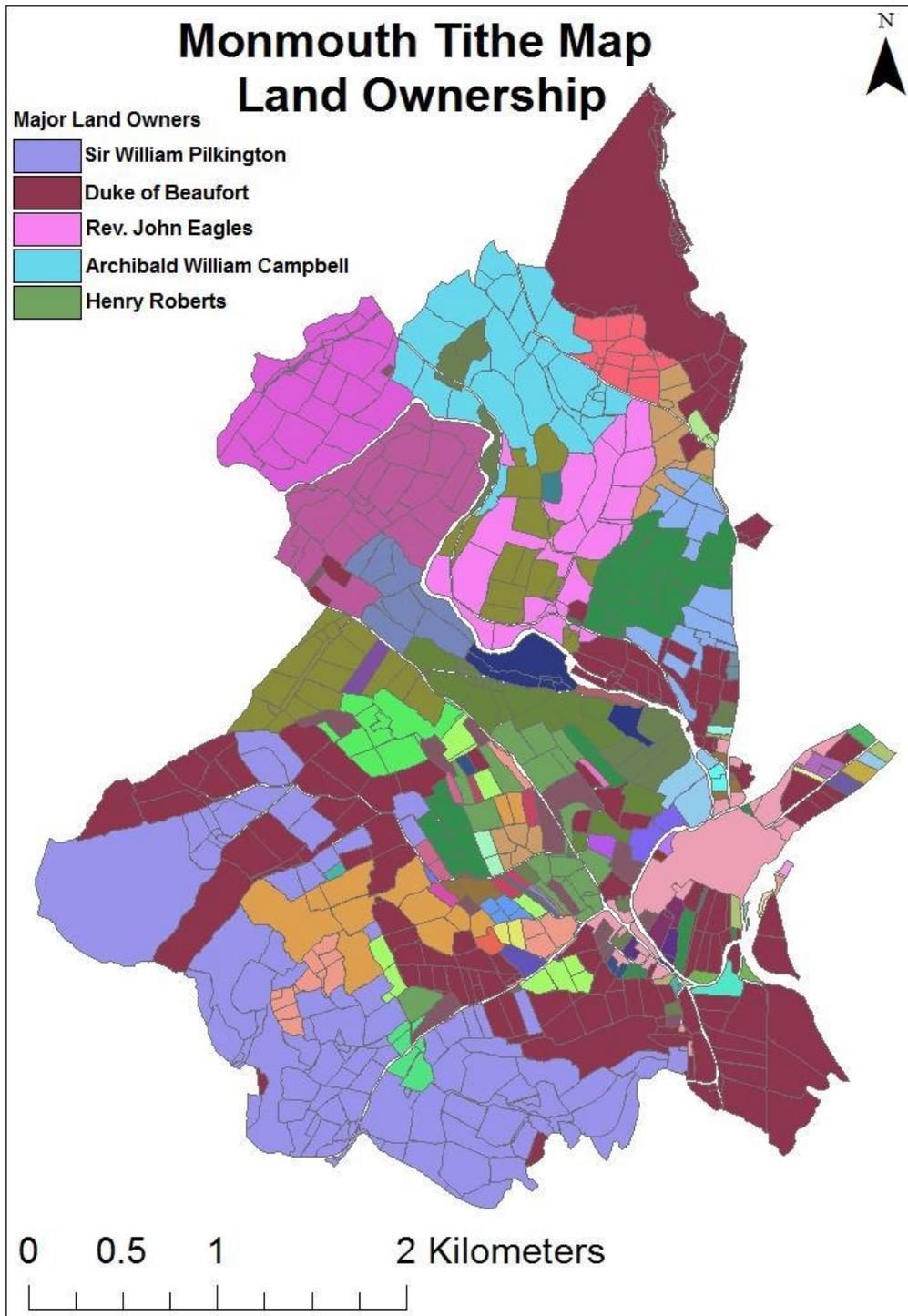


Fig.7.19. The pattern of land ownership for Monmouth according to the 1844 tithe map survey.

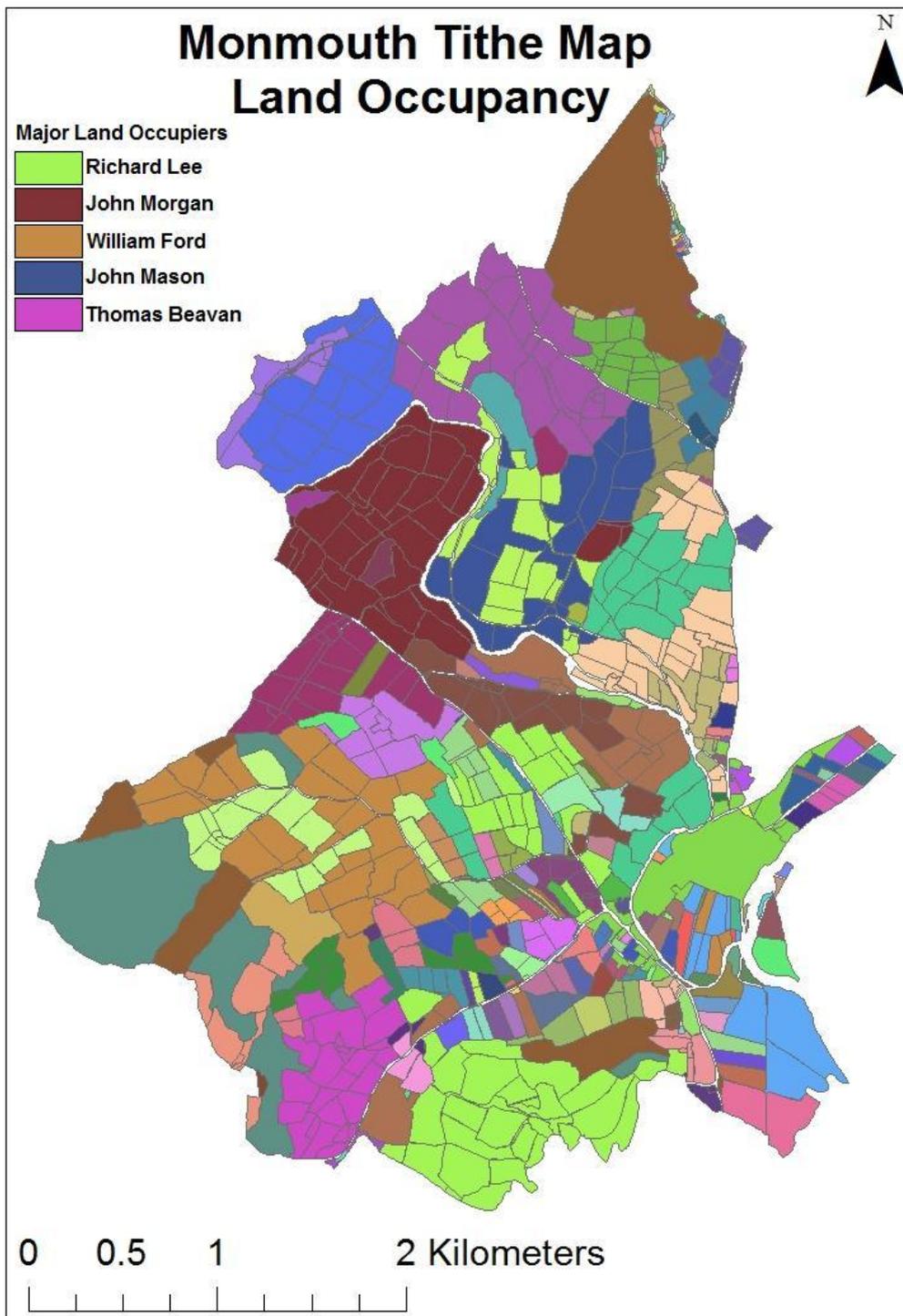


Fig.7.20. The pattern of land occupancy for Monmouth according to the 1844 tithe map survey.

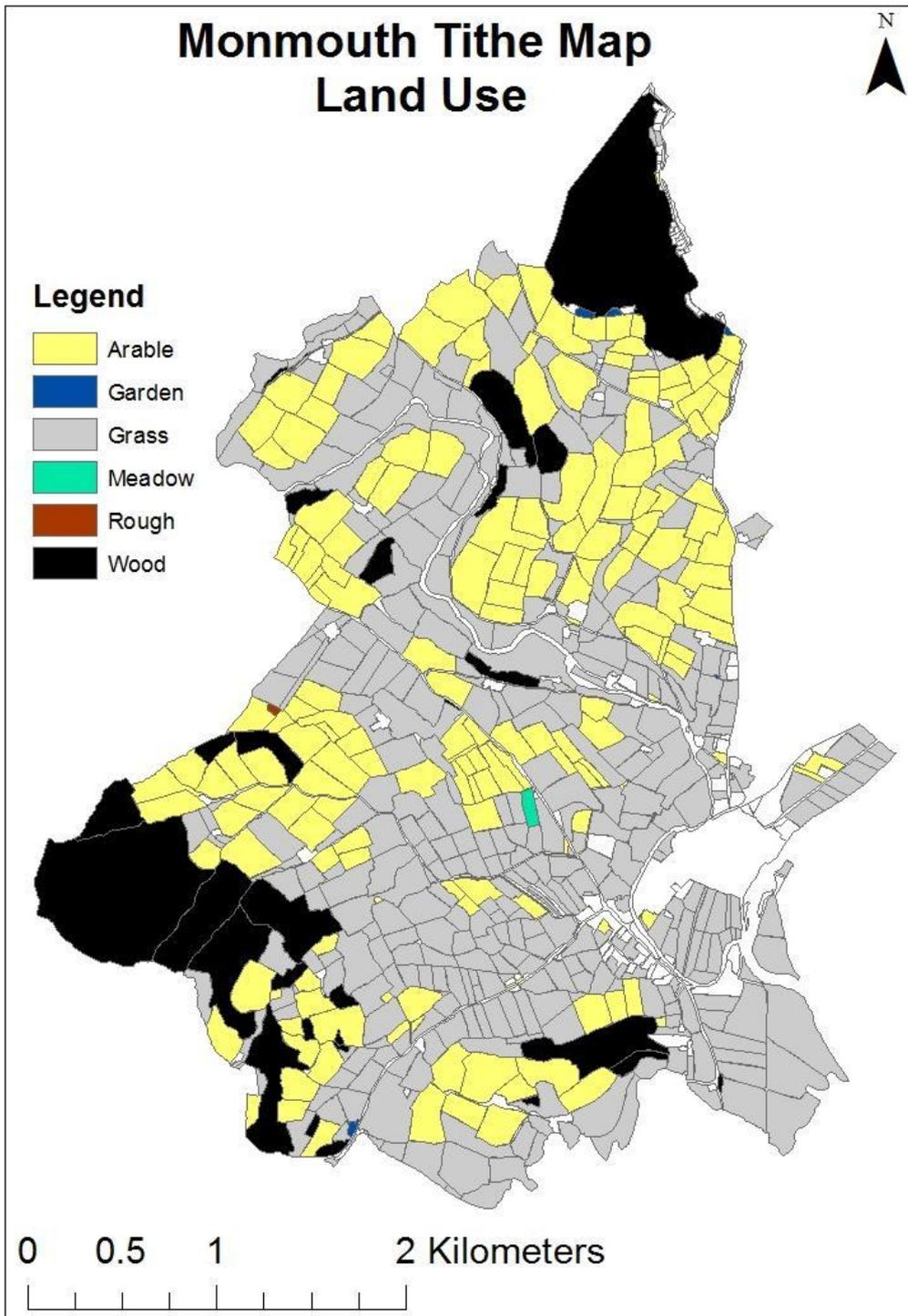


Fig.7.21. The pattern of land use for Monmouth according to the 1844 tithe map survey.

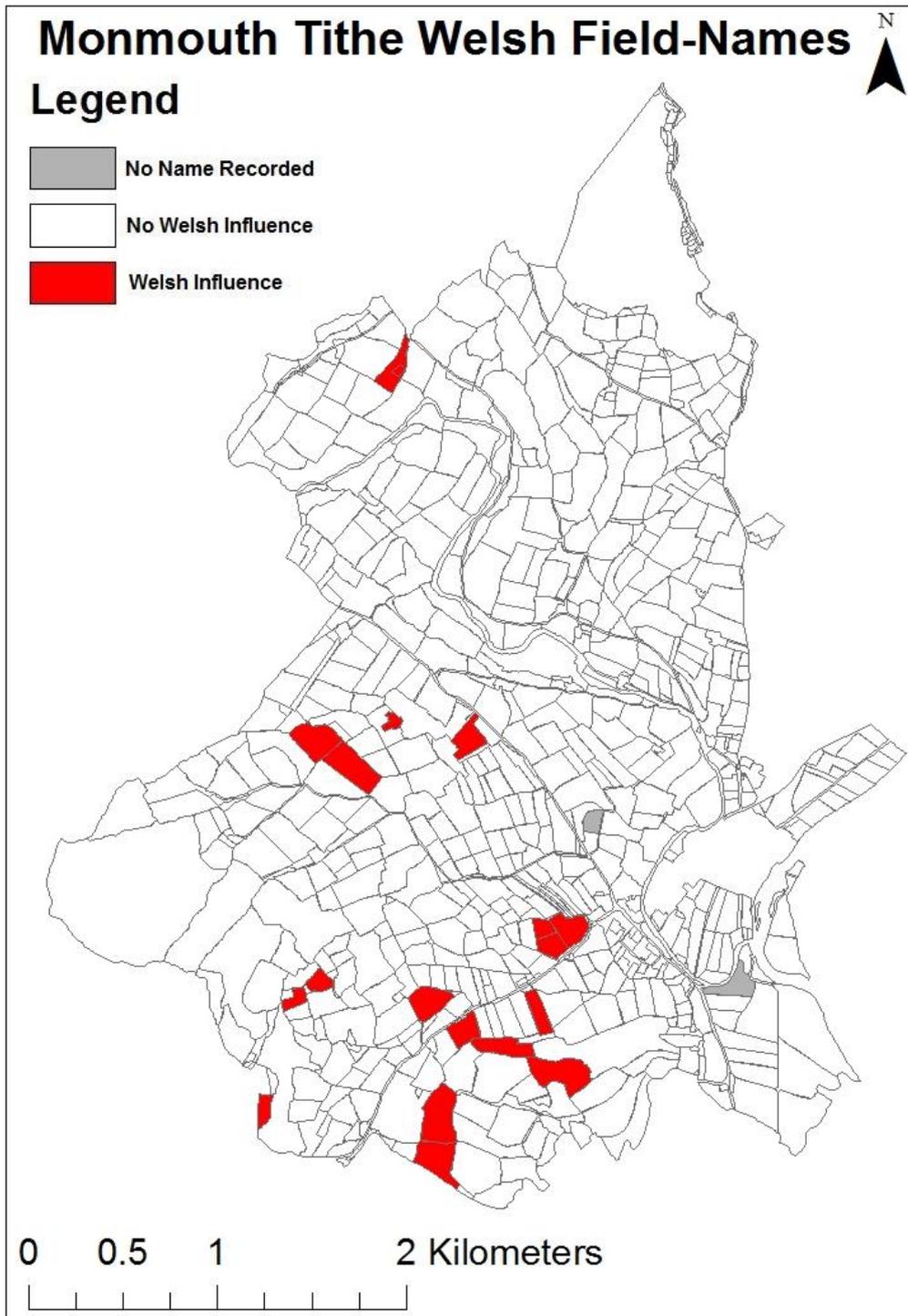


Fig.7.22. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Monmouth according to the 1844 tithe map survey.

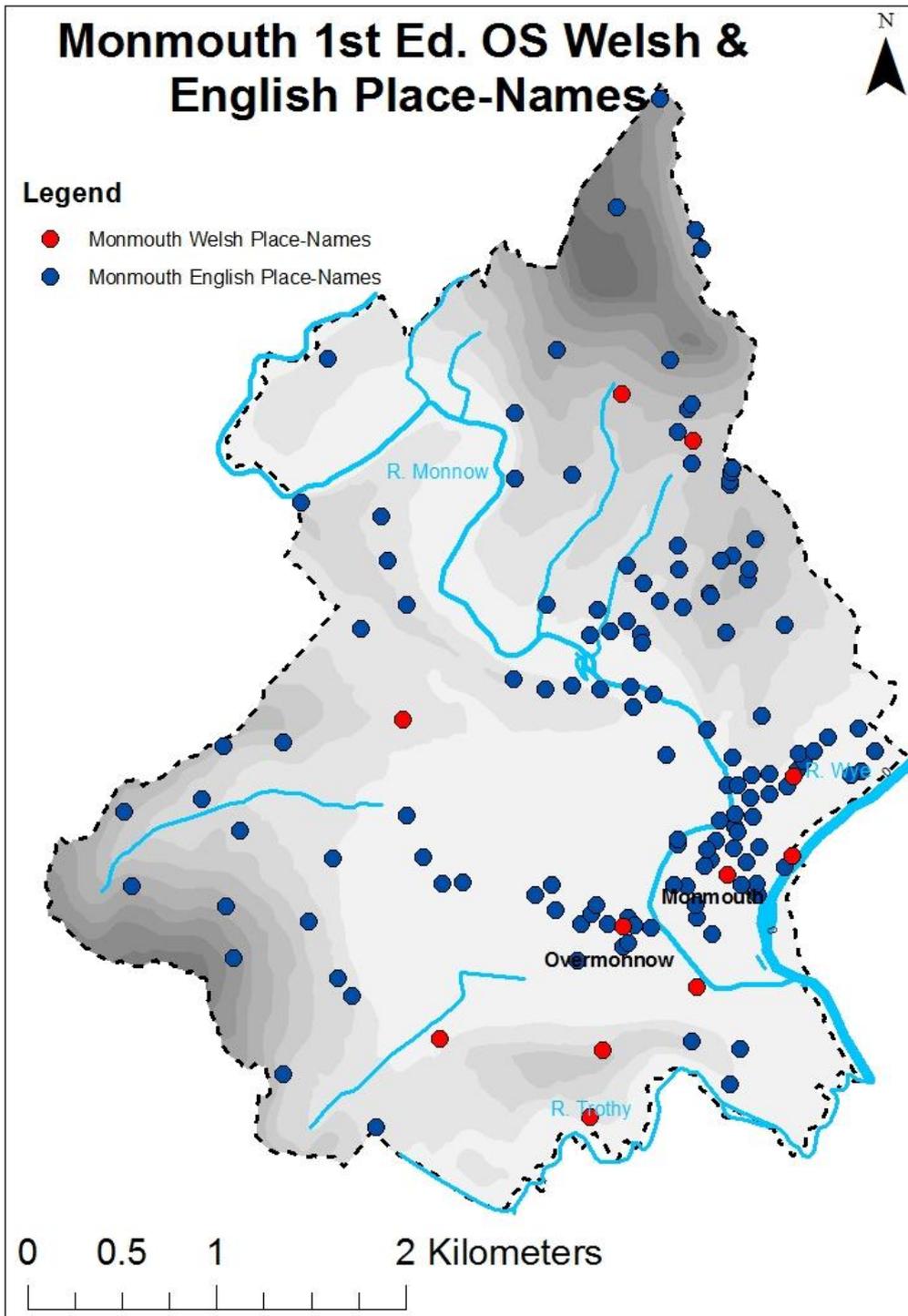


Fig.7.23. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Monmouth according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

Monmouth, not only as the main town in the region, but also as a crossing point for a number of waterways (the Wye, the Monnow and the Trothy).

A study of the patterns of land ownership present in the Monmouth tithe maps (Fig.7.19.) suggests that there are three distinct regions of the parish with differing patterns of land ownership. To the north of the parish there seems to be a landscape largely made up of multiple areas of compact single ownership, sometimes neatly fitting within the physical boundaries present, such as the bends of the River Monnow. In the middle of the parish there is a much more confused pattern of small and jumbled patches of land ownership surrounding the town. The field morphology pattern has already shown that there was an open field system in this region of the parish, and this mixed picture is highly diagnostic of that method of land management. Finally, most of the southern borders of the parish seem to be made up of large expanses of land owned by two individuals ('Sir William Pilkington, Baronet' and 'His Grace Henry Charles Duke of Beaufort'). The pattern of land occupancy for Monmouth (Fig.7.20.) presents a similar, if even more confused, picture to that seen in the map of land ownership. Here, again, there are the same three divisions of the landscape which were present in the previous model, but this time the boundaries are far less defined and the jumbled middle portion, suggesting open field, is larger. Both of these models are highly suggestive of a former open field, especially when combined with the evidence already presented so far in this chapter (e.g. morphology).

In regards to land use (Fig.7.21.), and in contrast to the surveys transcribed for the previous chapters, the tithe apportionment for Monmouth made no record of fields laid down to 'pasture' and only one field recorded as 'meadow'. Instead the tithe commissioner used the generic designation of 'grass' instead for most of the fields laid down to non-arable usage. The majority of the land in the parish is laid down to 'grass', but there are some compact pockets of arable, as well as a large amount of woodland on the fringes of the parish where the landscape becomes more hilly. Interestingly, the area where there is the most land designated as arable is to the north of the town, not in the open field region to the west. Obviously, this seems counterintuitive to what one would expect as open field is usually associated with arable farming.

When the pattern of Welsh field-names in the tithe maps for Monmouth (Fig.7.22.) is examined, what is clear is that there are very few present, with 19 of the 807 recorded field-names present in the tithe survey showing Welsh influence (2%). Furthermore, there are some areas of the parish where Welsh field-name evidence is more prevalent. There are a number of Welsh field-names next to Overmonnow, a few towards the southern border of the parish, a few in the middle of the western half of the parish and a couple in the north-western corner. However, even in these areas they are still very much in the minority and in the eastern half of the parish there are none whatsoever, which suggests that either the town or the Anglo-Welsh border is influencing their distribution. A similar pattern is presented by the model of place-

names recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map (Fig.7.23.) which is equally dominated by place-names of an English origin, a few Welsh place-names in the upland areas of the parish to the north and south. Unlike the tithe map survey, there are also a few place-names of Welsh origin within the town of Monmouth itself and towards the eastern half of the parish. As with Chepstow in the previous study, it can be suggested that this is probably caused by being a town in a rural area attracting people from the countryside to settle.

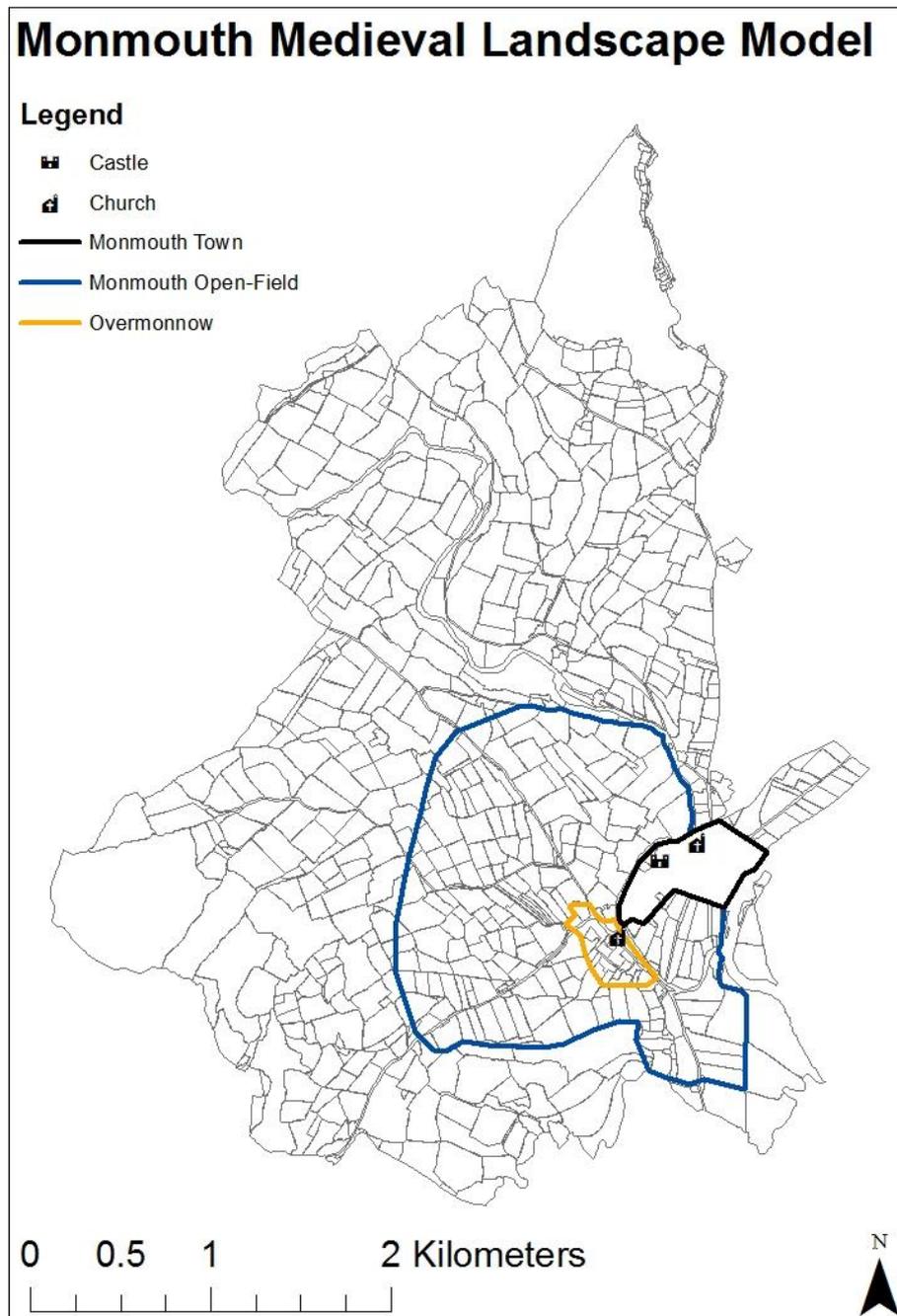


Fig.7.25. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Monmouth, based upon the findings of this case study.

Ultimately, the picture of the landscape of the parish of Monmouth presented by this study (Fig.7.25.) is of a classic Anglo-Norman *caput*. Monmouth has the lordship centre (castle), attached borough and monastic foundation that constitute the 'trinity' of Anglo-Norman urban settlement; all of which is surrounded by a large open field farming system occupying the lowland regions to the west of the town. In fact, it could be suggested that the presence of a river valley suitable for this type of farming, with a large 'bowl' of low lying land may have been a contributory consideration when it came to the location of the castle and town, as it would have been necessary to support such a large nucleation. This strong degree of Anglo-Norman influence, as well as the fact that Monmouth is situated right on the Anglo-Welsh border, leads to a high degree of Anglo-Norman influence and a highly 'anglified' landscape with an extensive open field system, which will be a useful 'yardstick' against which to measure the level to which Anglo-Norman landscape influence is present in the results taken from the other case study parishes.

7.3.2. Rockfield

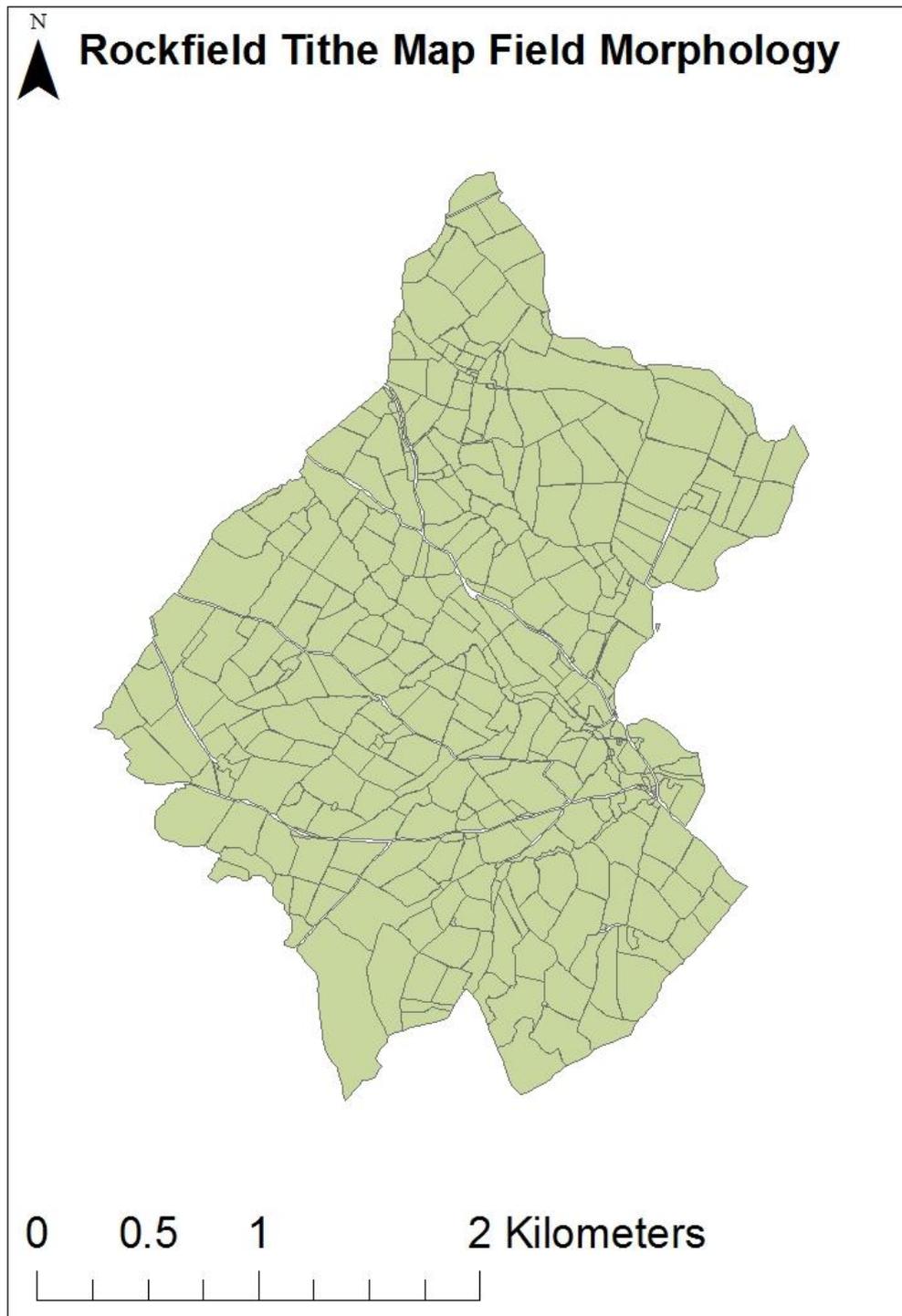


Fig.7.26. The field morphology of Rockfield according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

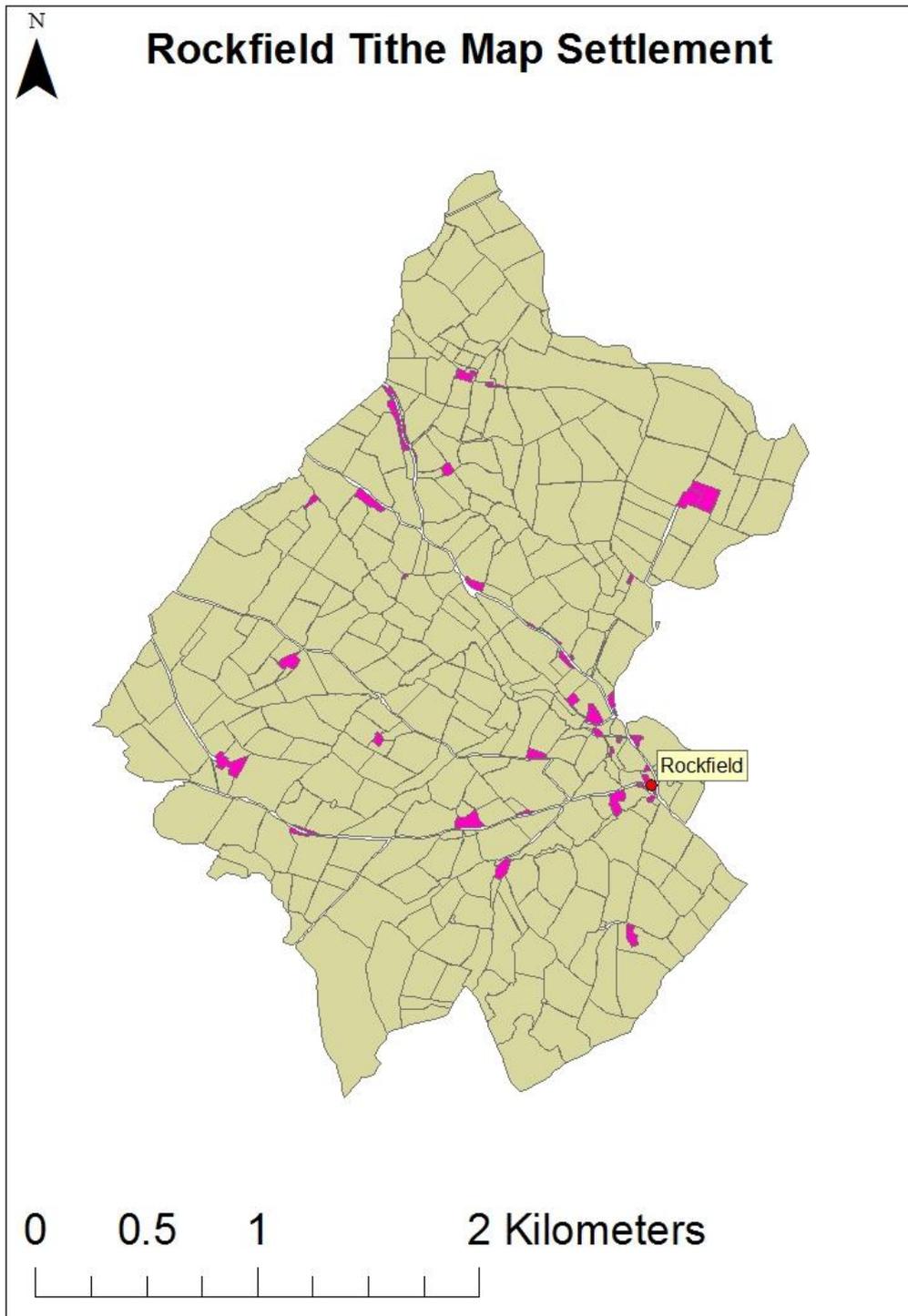


Fig.7.27. The settlement pattern of Rockfield according to the 1843 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

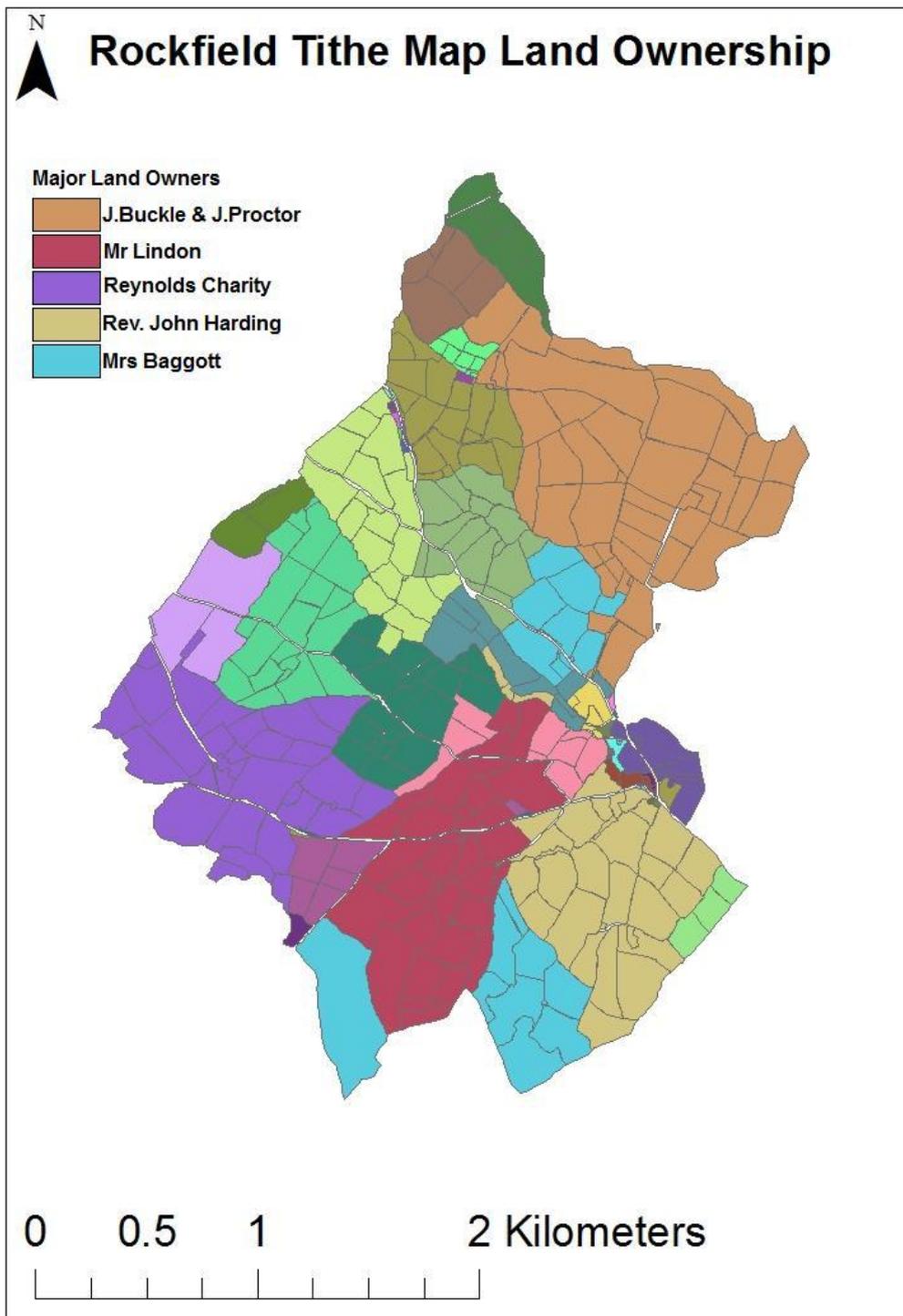


Fig.7.28. The pattern of land ownership for Rockfield according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

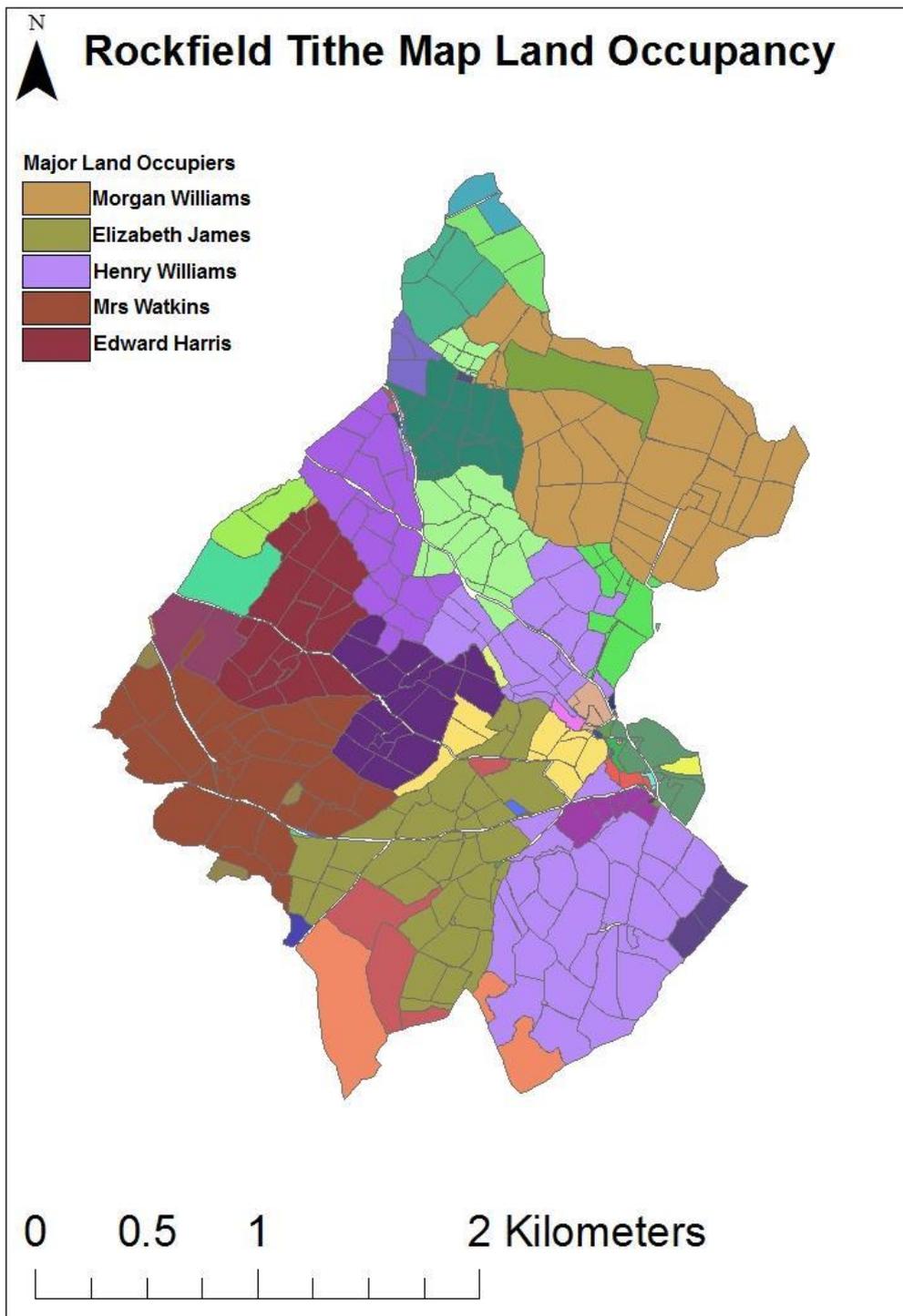


Fig.7.29. The pattern of land occupancy for Rockfield according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

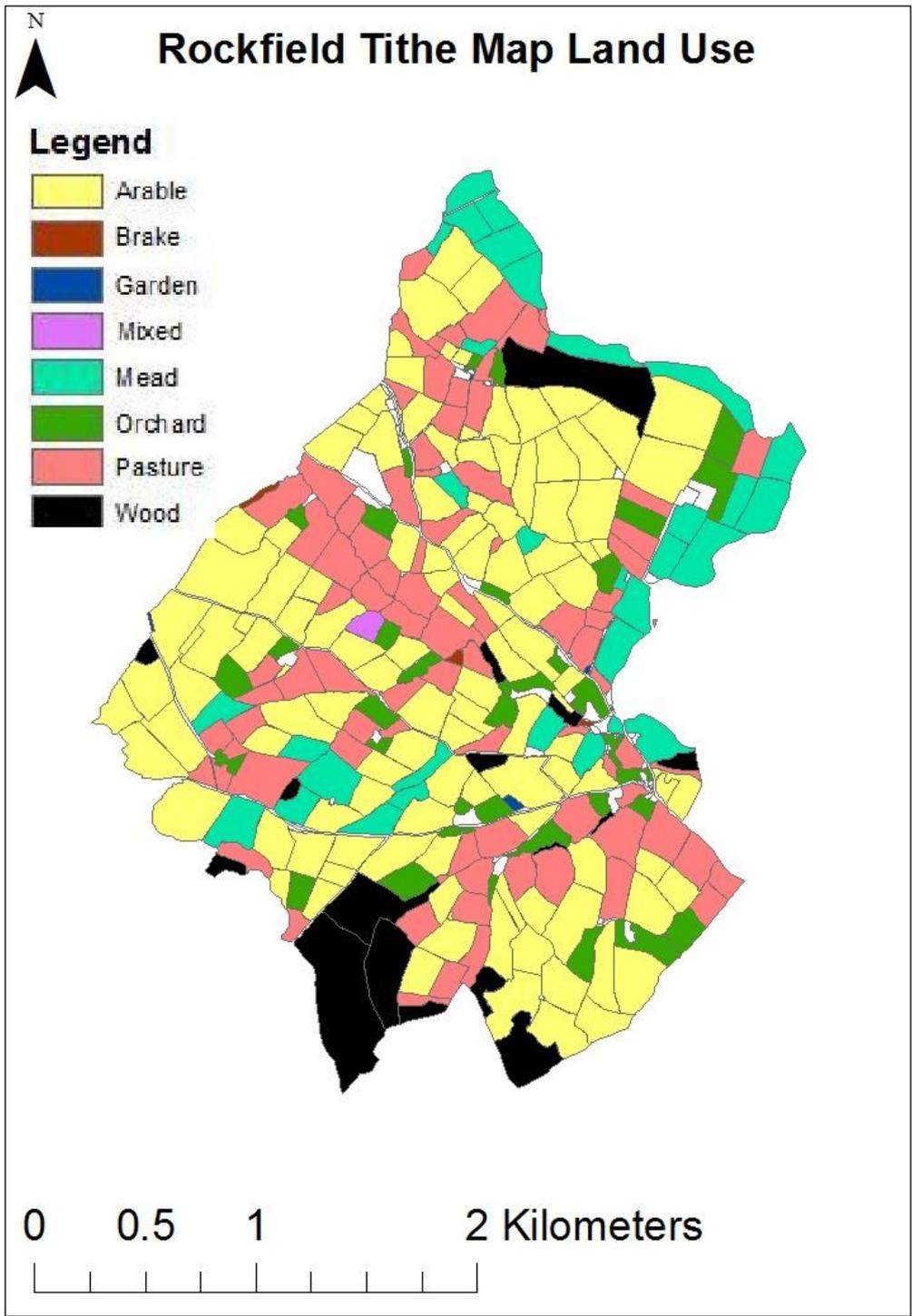


Fig.7.30. The pattern of land use for Rockfield according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

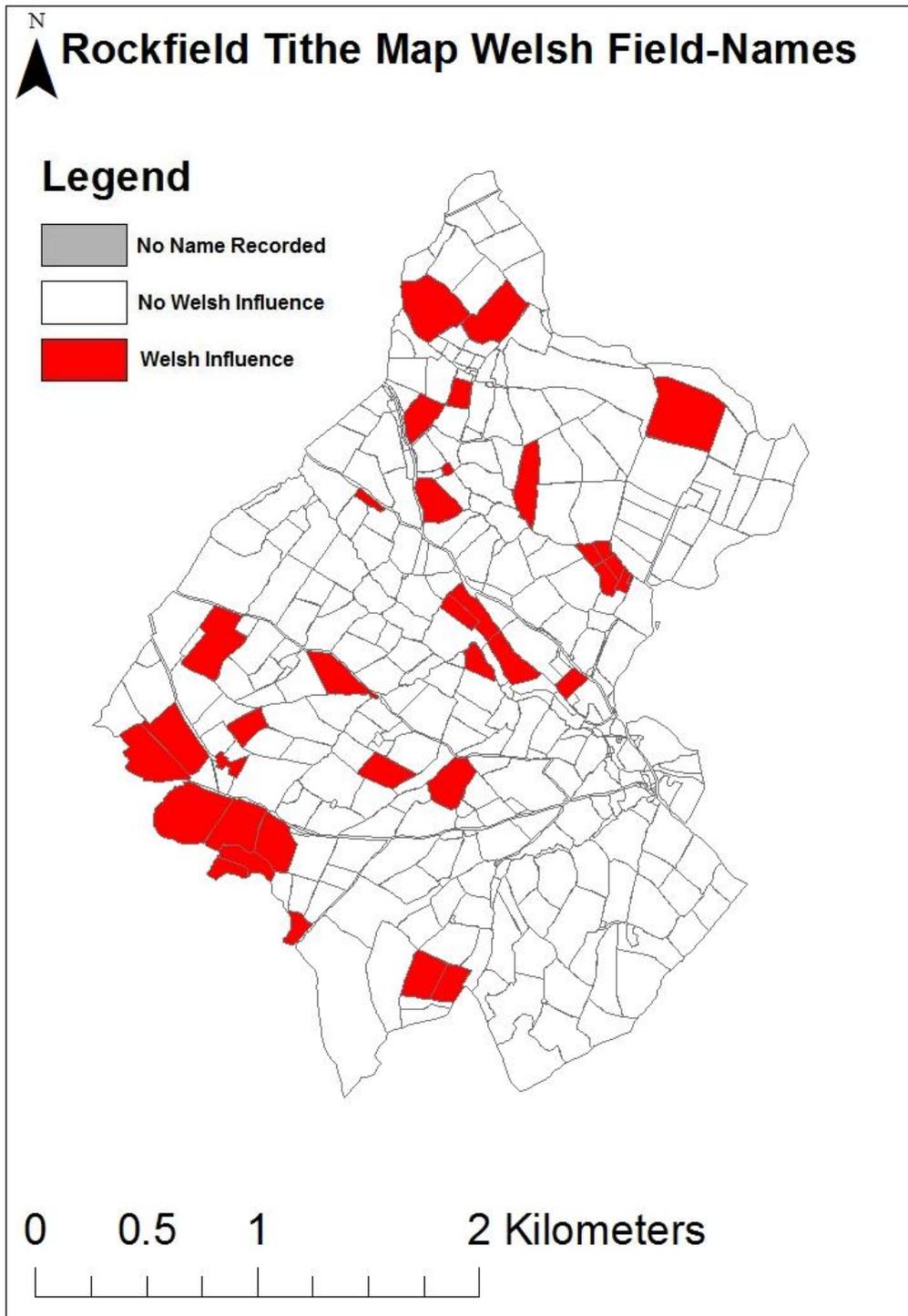


Fig.7.31. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Rockfield according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

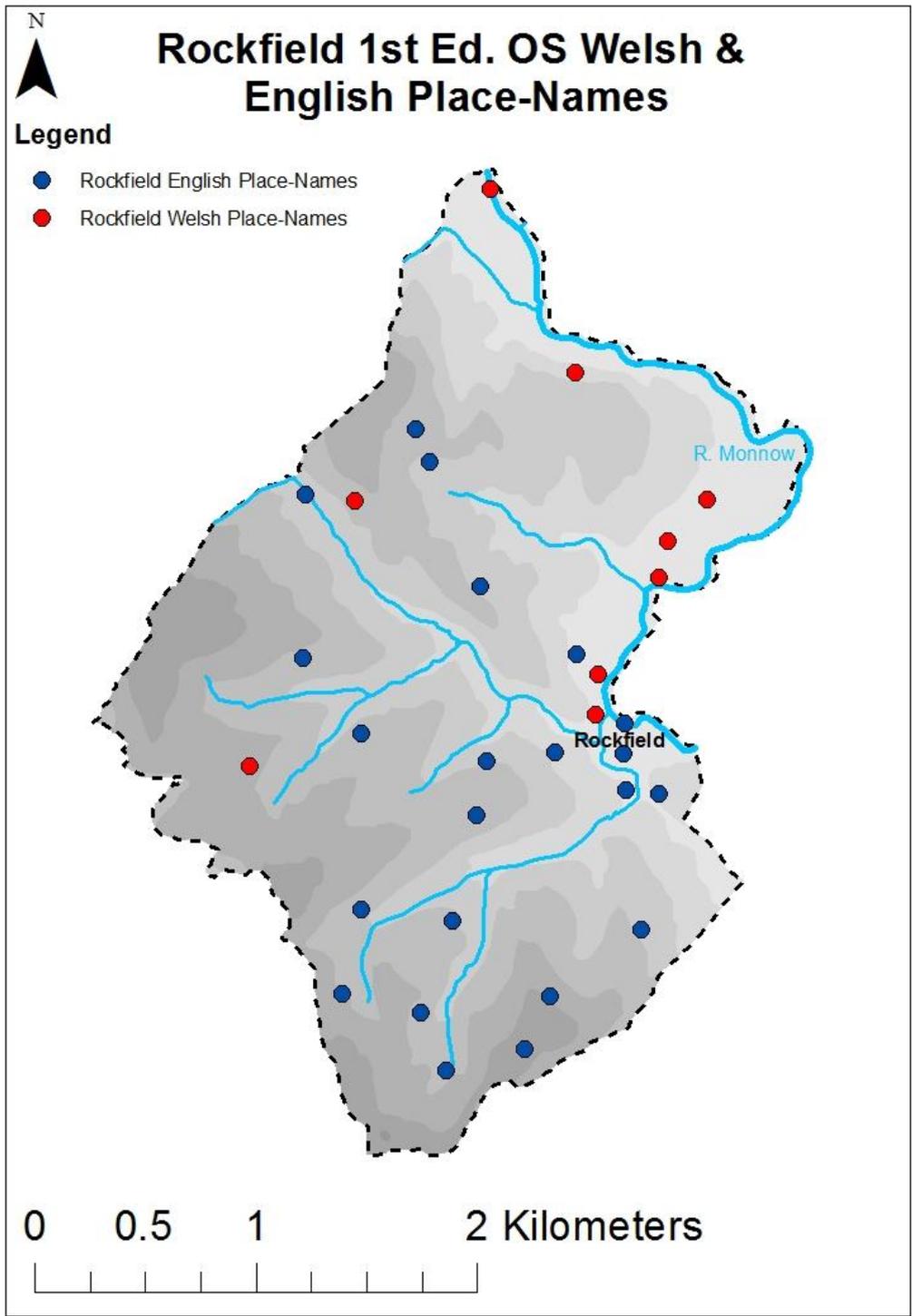


Fig.7.32. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Rockfield according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

There is not much in the way of morphological evidence for a former open field in the 1843 tithe survey for Rockfield (Fig.7.26.); the map contains a few longer and thinner fields, but, due to the straight nature of their boundaries and dispersed locations, these may be the result of the division of formerly larger fields. For the most part the fields present in this survey of the parish are largely irregular in both size and shape. There is a slightly radial pattern to the roads, which lead towards the 'village' of Rockfield focused on the church. As has already been mentioned, this is situated a good few fields away from the castle site and again this might possibly be suggesting that the church and village predated the castle and did not grow up around it. When this radial road pattern, focused on the 'village' of Rockfield, is compared to the settlement present in the tithe survey (Fig.7.27.) it can be seen that it is not quite a fully nucleated settlement, but of a 'dispersed village' with most of the parish's settlement focused on south-eastern portion of the parish, near the church, and again not directly next to the castle. There is also some dispersed settlement in the northern half of the parish, but some large areas (e.g. north-east/far-west) where there is no evidence whatsoever for settlement. There is certainly no 'halo' of land clear of settlement, seen at Shirenewton and Monmouth, which would be suggestive of a former open field.

Both the patterns of land ownership (Fig.7.28.) and land occupancy (Fig.7.29.) taken from the Rockfield tithe survey seem to present us with a very similar picture, with the landscape of the parish seeming to consist of fairly compact blocks of land held under single ownership and occupancy, which again does not provide any evidence of a former open field being associated with either the castle or the dispersed village. Rockfield's pattern of land use (Fig.7.30.) shows that the parish is mainly laid down to arable, with a band of pasture that runs diagonally north-west to south-east across the centre of the parish. There is also a large amount of meadow along the banks of the River Monnow and quite a number of orchards dotted around the landscape of the parish. Finally, there also seems to be far more woodland land use on the southern border of Rockfield than there is at any other point within the parish.

Rockfield's tithe survey recorded a few field-names of 'Welsh' origin (Fig.7.31.), 37 of the 437 recorded field-names present in the tithe survey showed Welsh influence (9%), but they do not seem to be concentrated on a particular area and are fairly evenly dispersed around the parish. The one exception to this rule is in the far south-eastern corner of the parish where there do not seem to be any field-names of a Welsh origin whatsoever. There are two possible explanations to this, the first being the influence of the castle (which is in this far south-eastern corner) or, secondly, the linguistic effects of the proximity of both the Anglo-Welsh border and the Anglo-Norman *caput* of Monmouth. Given the fairly minor nature of Rockfield castle, it would be prudent to suggest that the latter cause is the most likely. When considering the place-names recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map for Rockfield (Fig.7.32.), something of north/south divide can be noted in the parish. There are very few place-names of Welsh origin in the southern half of the

parish (again, this area is both nearer Monmouth and close to Rockfield Castle), whilst there are many more present in the north. In fact, there are probably more Welsh place-names than English ones and the north-eastern corner of the parish only has Welsh place-names, which may be as a product of the presence of a manor house associated with the Welsh Herbert family (see Chapter 9).

In conclusion, it can be seen that Rockfield, despite its castle and proximity to both Monmouth and the Anglo-Welsh border, has a very 'Welsh' landscape. There is no real evidence of a former open field present, and a dispersed settlement centred on the church, instead of a nucleated village focused on Rockfield castle. Therefore, it can be assumed that these landscape findings support the morphological evidence, and the lack of historical records, which suggests that the castle was a fairly minor foundation, and this lack of importance led to a lack of influence upon the landscape. The one area where the location of the castle seems to have had some form of impact upon the landscape is on the distribution of Welsh field- and place-names. However, as has already been mentioned, this could also be a product of the proximity of both the border and Monmouth, and due to the minor nature of the seigneurial centre at Rockfield, it can be assumed that this is the case.

7.3.3. Dingestow

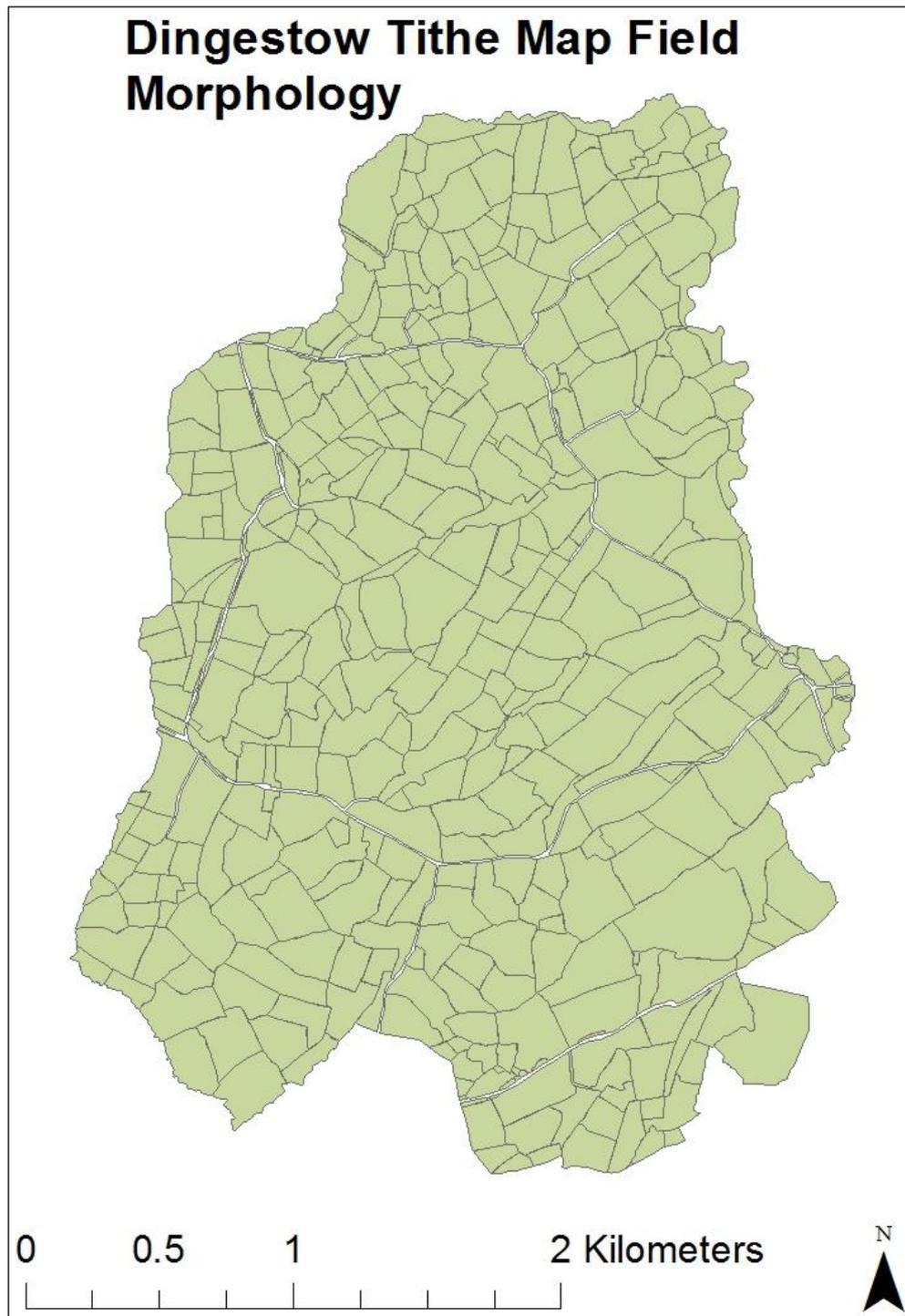


Fig.7.33. The field morphology of Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

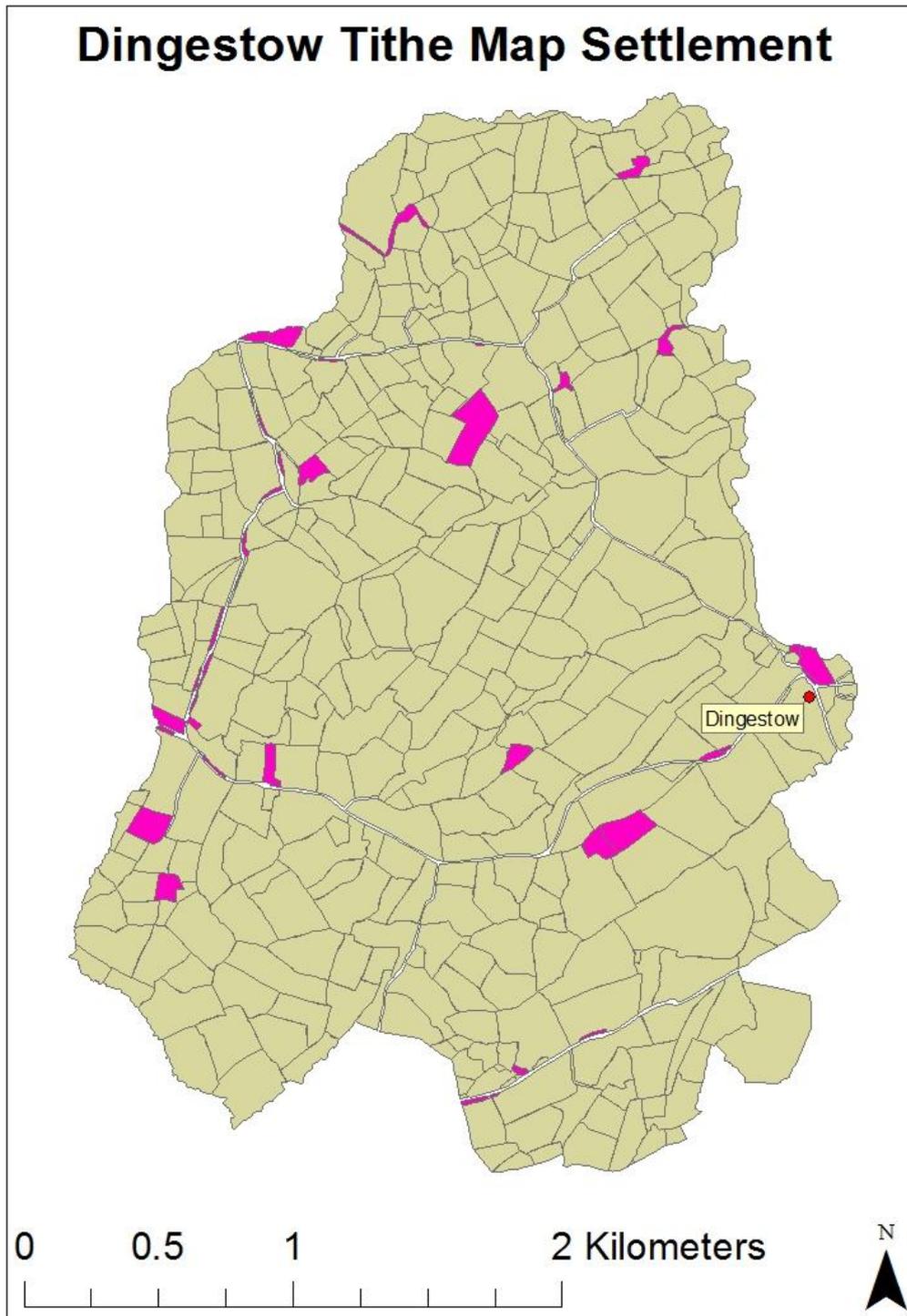


Fig.7.34. The settlement pattern of Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

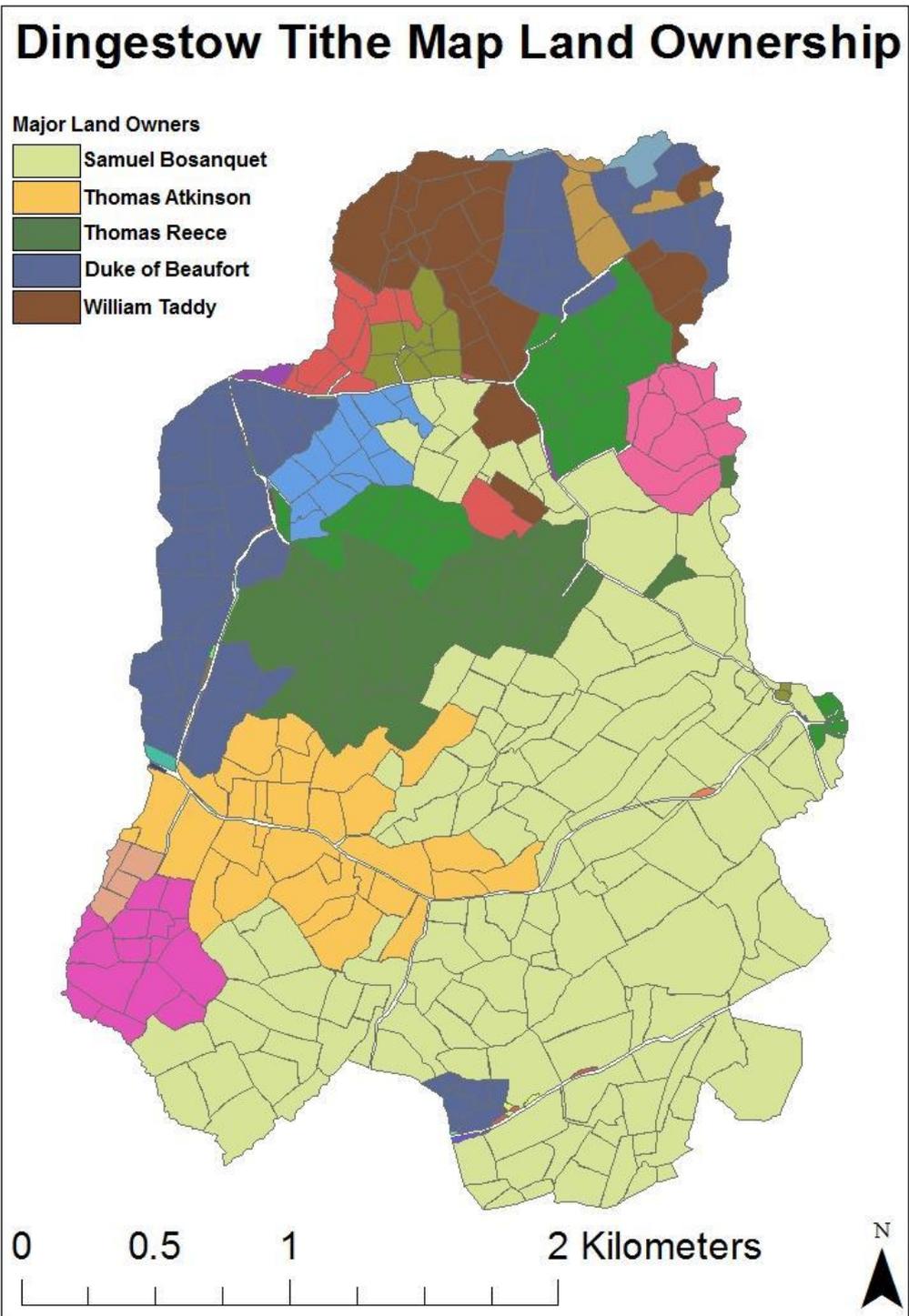


Fig.7.35. The pattern of land ownership for Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

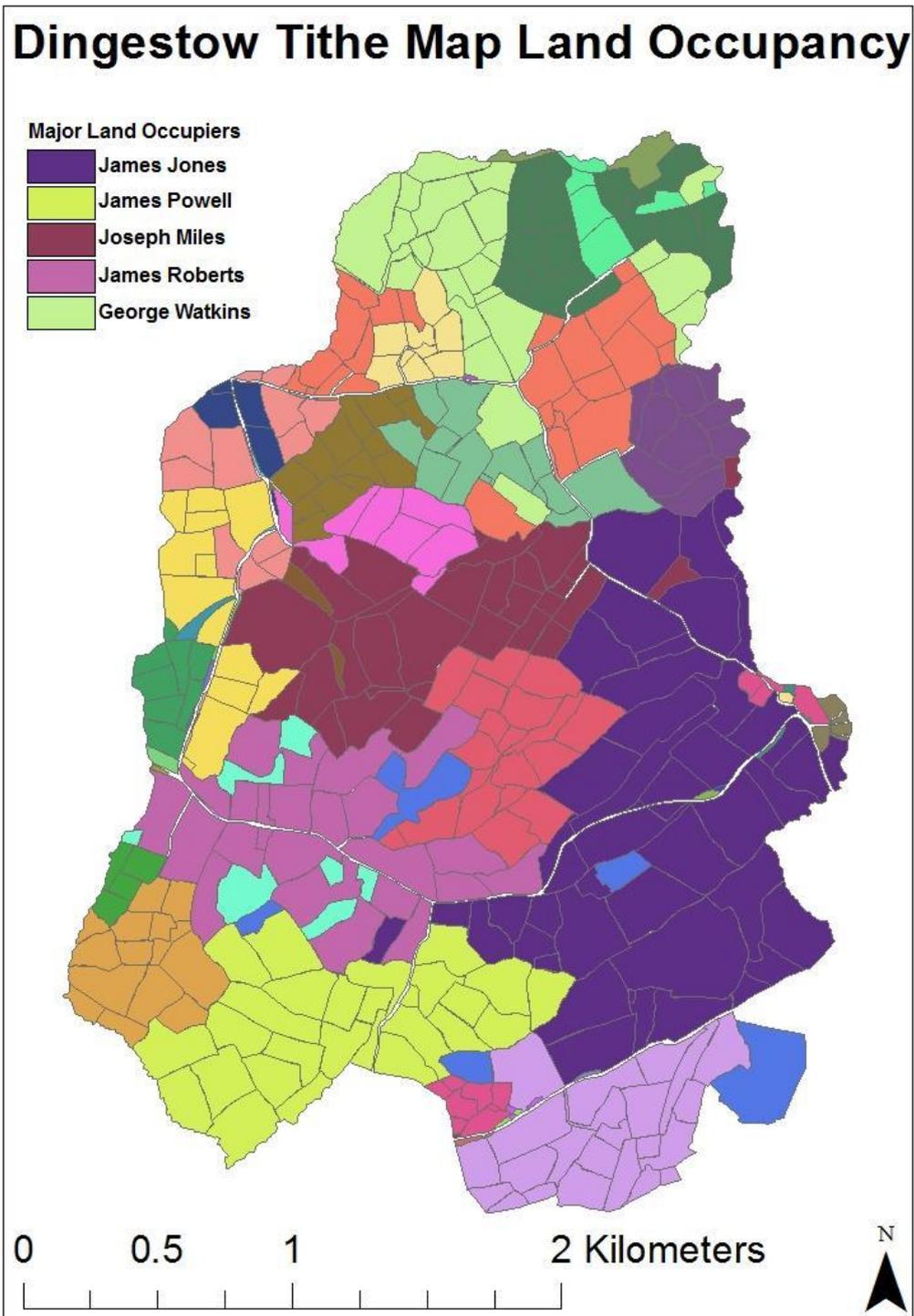


Fig.7.36. The pattern of land occupancy for Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

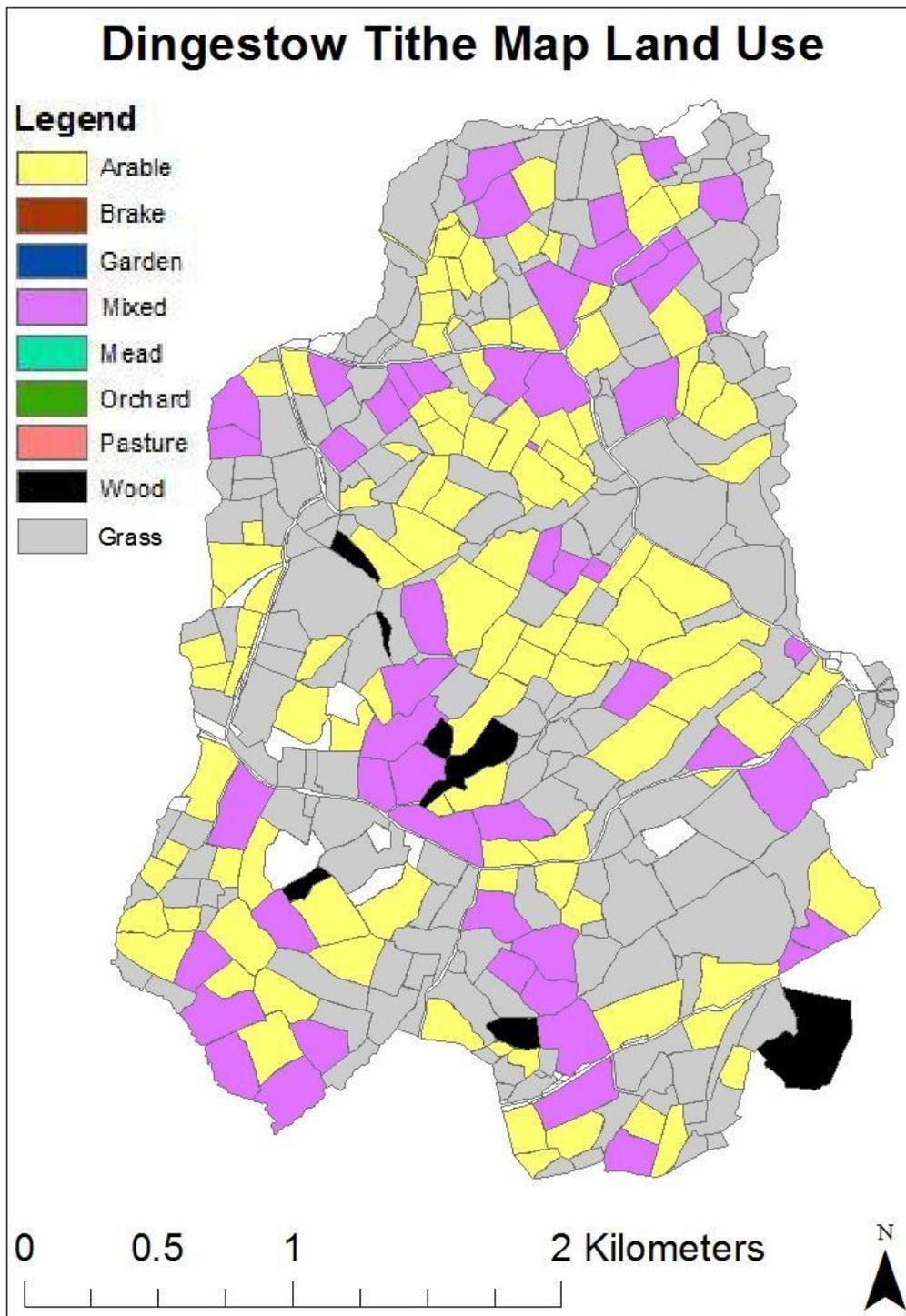
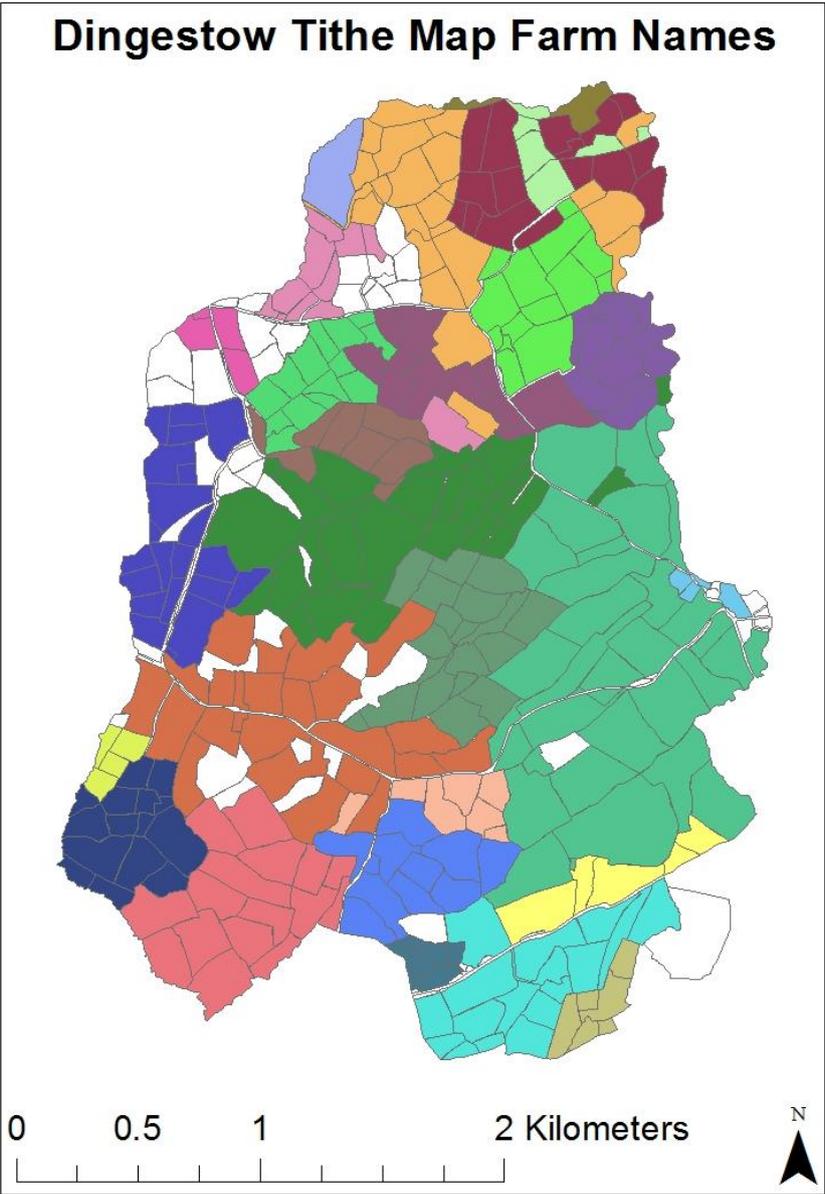


Fig.7.37. The pattern of land use for Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey.



	<Null>		Newland		The Castle
	Blue Door		Newland Farm		Treberran
	Coed y Vedw		Old House Farm		Ty Lloyd Farm
	Common a Bailey		Parlour Farm		Ty Mawr
	Court Farm		Part of Lower Talavan		Upper House
	Fish Pool Farm		Part of Park Grace Piece		Upper Lantrothy
	Hall Farm		Part of Parlour Farm		Upper Talavan
	Little Farm		Part of Tal y Van Farm		West Barn (late Turners)
	Lower Lantrothy		Part of Upper Lantrothy		
	New House		Part of West Land		

Fig.7.38. The pattern of farm names for Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

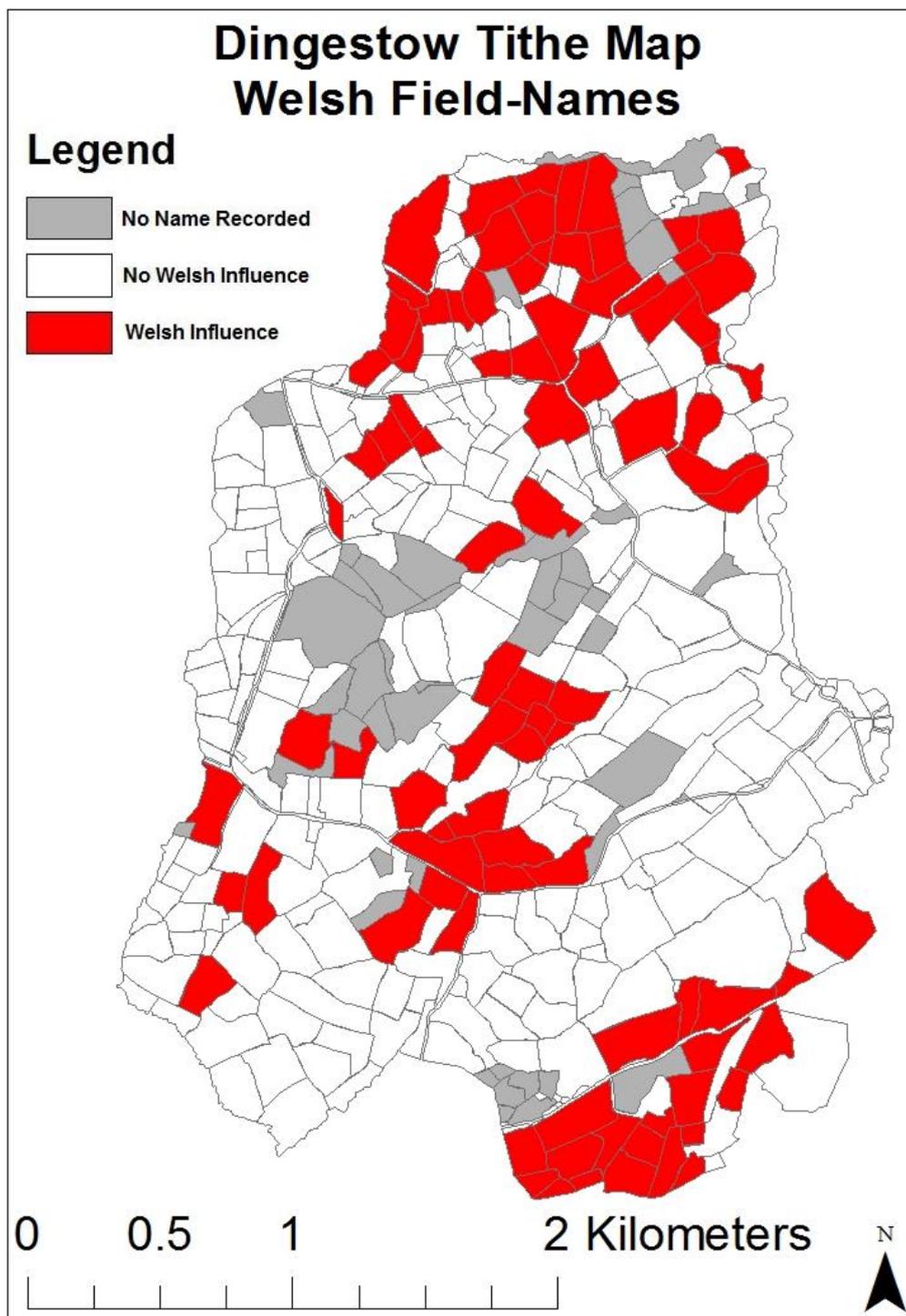


Fig.7.39. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Dingestow according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

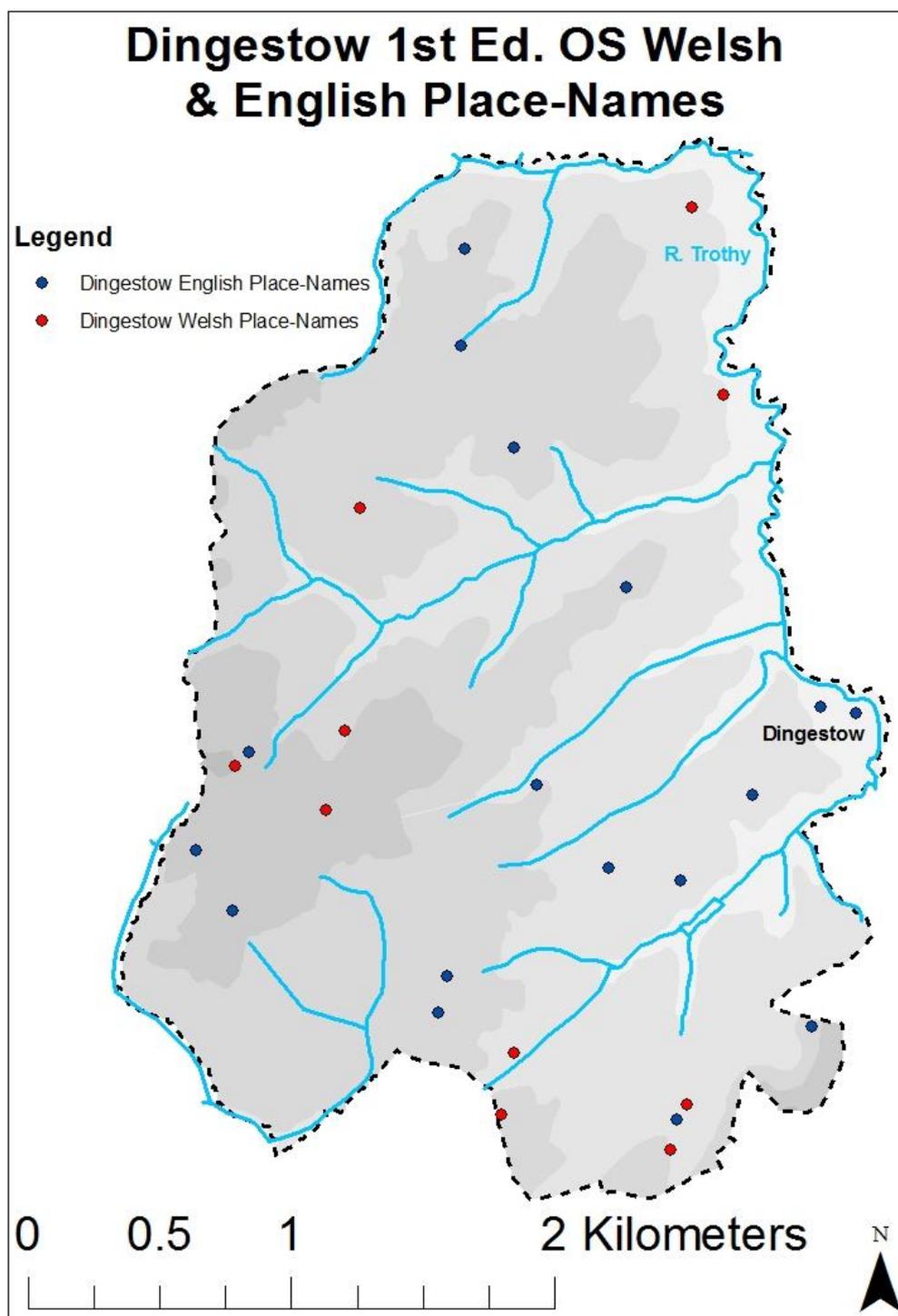


Fig.7.40. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Dingestow according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The pattern of field morphology recorded in the 1841 tithe survey for Dingestow (Fig.7.33.) presents us with a rather jumbled picture, with no real pattern or evidence of former open field. There is an area of slightly larger fields to the south-east of the parish, but there is nothing in either the topography or HER to suggest why this may be the case (Fig.7.5). The rest of Dingestow is largely made up of smaller fields of irregular shape, and the parish does not possess a particularly radial road system, which would have been suggestive of a nucleated settlement. This is backed up by Dingestow's Settlement Pattern (Fig.7.34.), which is very dispersed, with no real nucleations present to speak of, not even around the church. Importantly the whole of the parish seems to have some form of settlement in it, with no gaps suggesting a village or even a 'dispersed village' as was seen at Rockfield. Both the field morphology and the settlement pattern are highly suggestive that, despite the presence of a castle, or possibly two, there was no form of open field farming in Dingestow.

Upon examination of the pattern of land ownership for Dingestow (Fig.7.35.) it can be seen that the northern and western borders of the parish seem to be comprised of a series of compact blocks of land holdings. Apart from these areas, however, most of the rest of the parish is owned by one landowner (Samuel Bosanquet). The pattern of land occupancy (Fig.7.36.) provides a much more confused picture, with most of the parish taken up by a number of small compact blocks of land ownership and one larger area of single occupancy on the south-eastern side of the parish (James Jones). Outside the large scale land holdings of James Jones the patterns of land ownership and occupancy present in Dingestow seem to show compact blocks, once again suggesting there is no open field system present. As with the tithe survey of the parish of Monmouth, the tithe commissioner who compiled the apportionment for Dingestow (Fig.7.37.) makes no record of fields being laid down to 'pasture' or 'meadow' and simply used the generic term 'grass' instead. The transcription produced a rather jumbled picture with a fairly even mix between arable and 'grass'. No real patterns emerge, except that Dingestow had a large amount of fields with a 'mixed' land usage.

The model of fields recorded as having a field-name of Welsh origin (Fig.7.38.) shows that there were quite a number of Welsh field-names present within the parish of Dingestow, 91 of the 369 recorded field-names present in the tithe survey showed Welsh influence (25%). Of particular note is the large number spread across both the northern and southern portions of the parish, with a small band of field-names of a non-Welsh origin across the centre of the parish. There is also a large area to the South-East of the parish with no 'Welsh' field-names at all. When these findings are compared to the topographic and HER map (Fig.7.39.), it can be seen that these areas correlate with the location of the castle and a lower lying area of land caused by an unnamed watercourse in the centre of the parish which flows into the Trothy. This follows a similar pattern to that seen in the parish of Rockfield, where the only data sets which seemed to be affected by the location of the castle were those to do

with place-names and field-names. When this is compared with the place-name data from the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map (Fig.7.40.), a slightly different picture emerges. On the Ordnance Survey maps there are very few place-names of Welsh origins present, and none at all around both the castle and the church. Those which are recorded are mostly towards the south-west of the parish, with a few in the north. Again, a pattern can be seen where the castle appears to be influencing the linguistic landscape of the parish, as was present at Rockfield.

Therefore, it can be concluded that, as with the previous case study, Dingestow has quite a 'Welsh' landscape, despite the presence of an Anglo-Norman castle. With no nucleation present and no evidence for any former open field farming, the castle does not seem to have affected the physical landscape in any major way, despite possibly having a masonry construction that would suggest it was of greater importance than the small motte at Rockfield. However, as with Rockfield, there is an 'island' of linguistic influence surrounding the castle, where no 'Welsh' field- or place-names are present and maybe this suggests that the castle was able influence the linguistic landscape of the parish, as this is a more 'fluid' picture, able to change quicker than field morphology and settlement pattern. The results for Dingestow also shed an interesting light on the previous analysis of Rockfield, suggesting that the castle had more of an impact on the linguistic landscape than was surmised at the end of the previous section, as Dingestow neither sits on the Anglo-Welsh border, nor neighbours the *caput* parish of Monmouth.

7.3.4. St Maughans

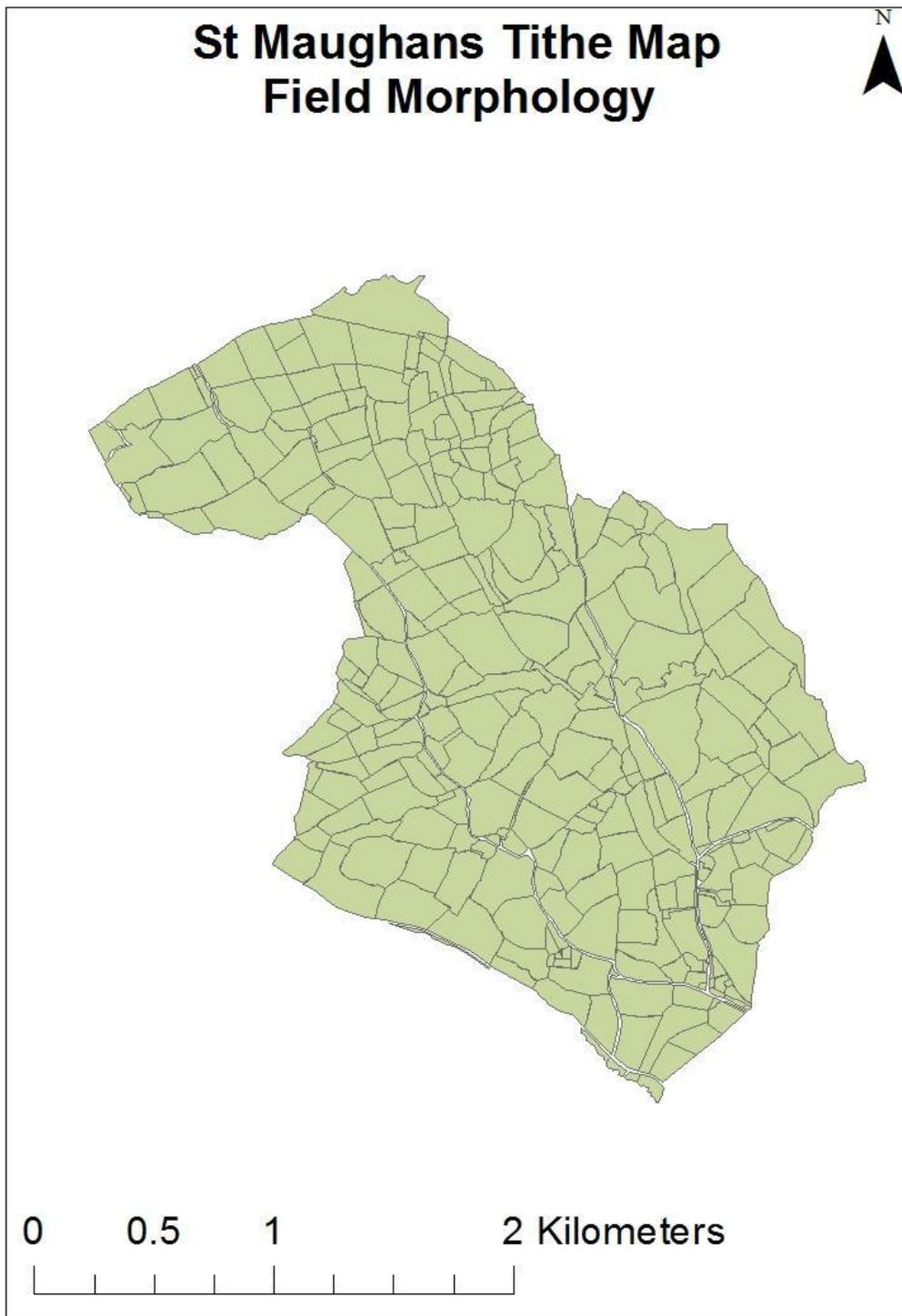


Fig.7.41. The field morphology of St Maughans according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

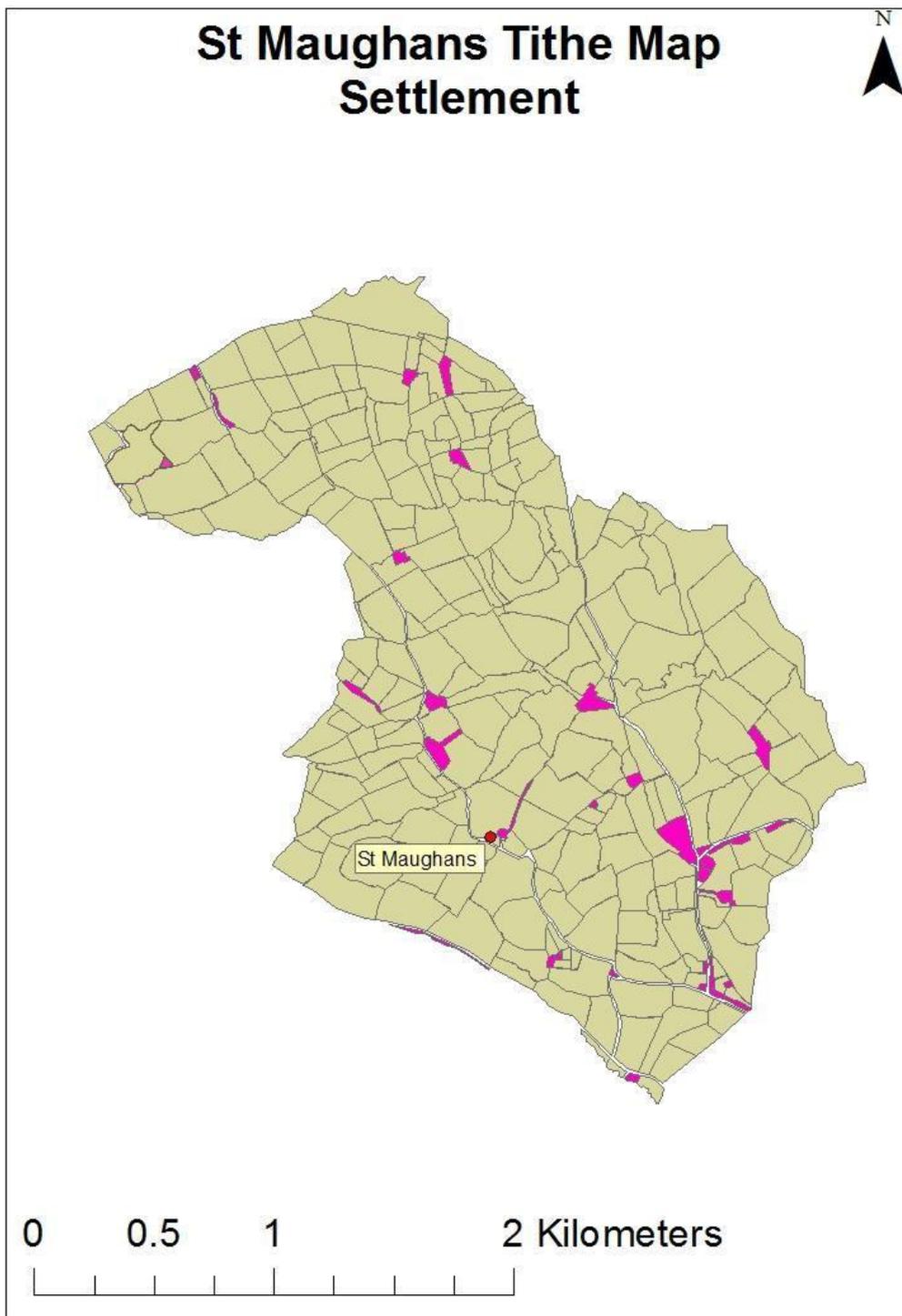


Fig.7.42. The settlement pattern of St Maughans according to the 1842 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

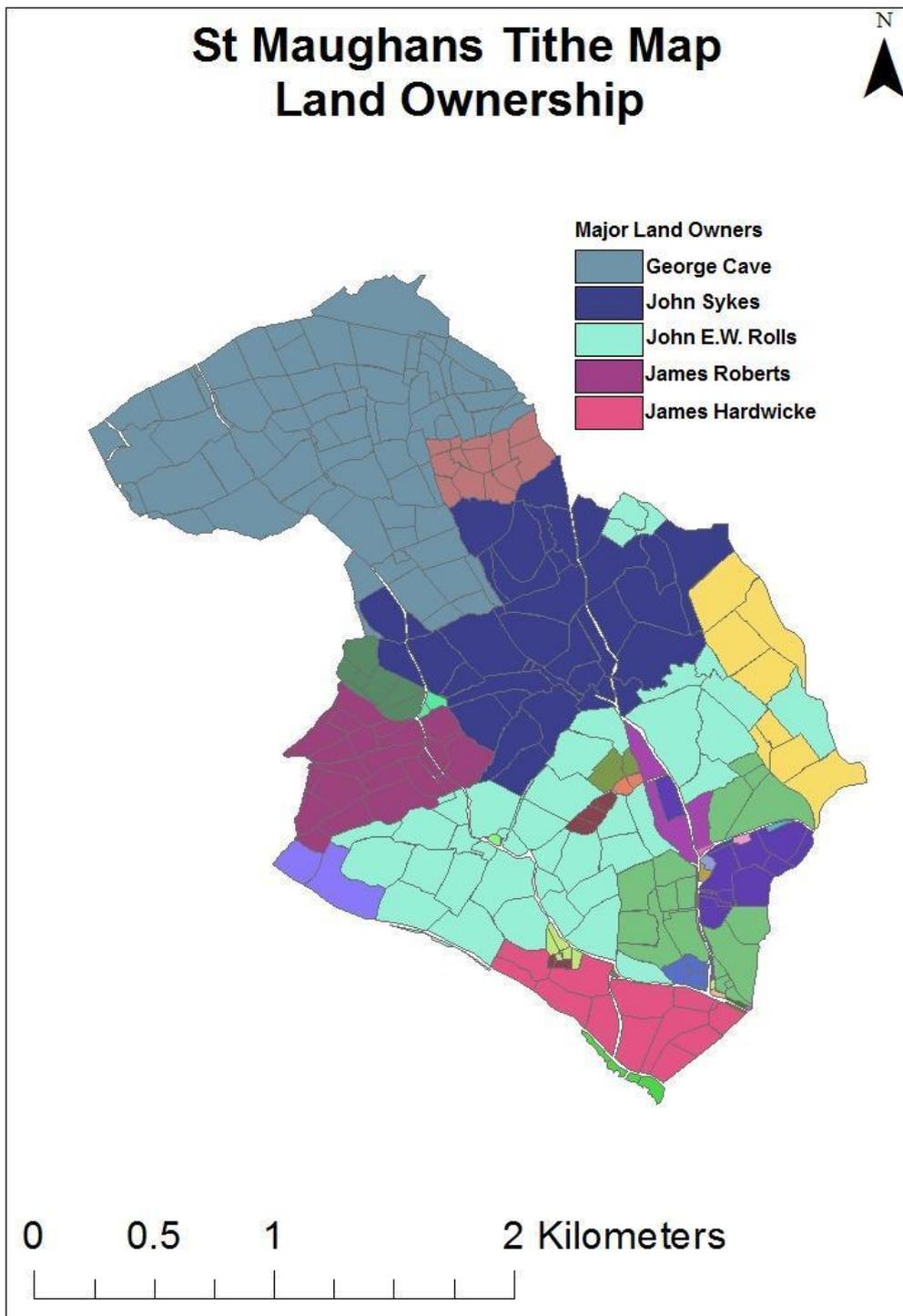


Fig.7.43. The pattern of land ownership for St Maughans according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

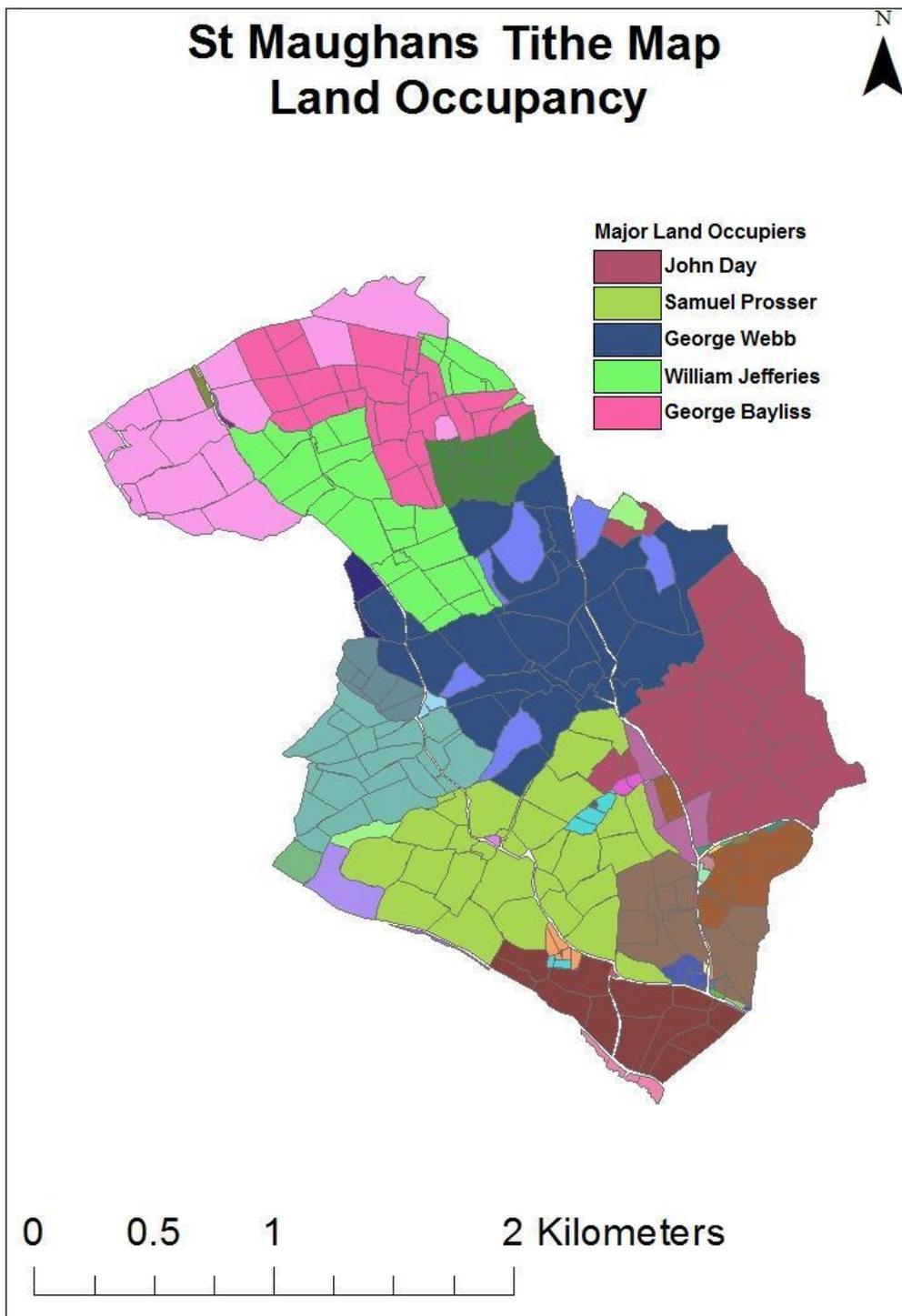


Fig.7.44. The pattern of land occupancy for St Maughans according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

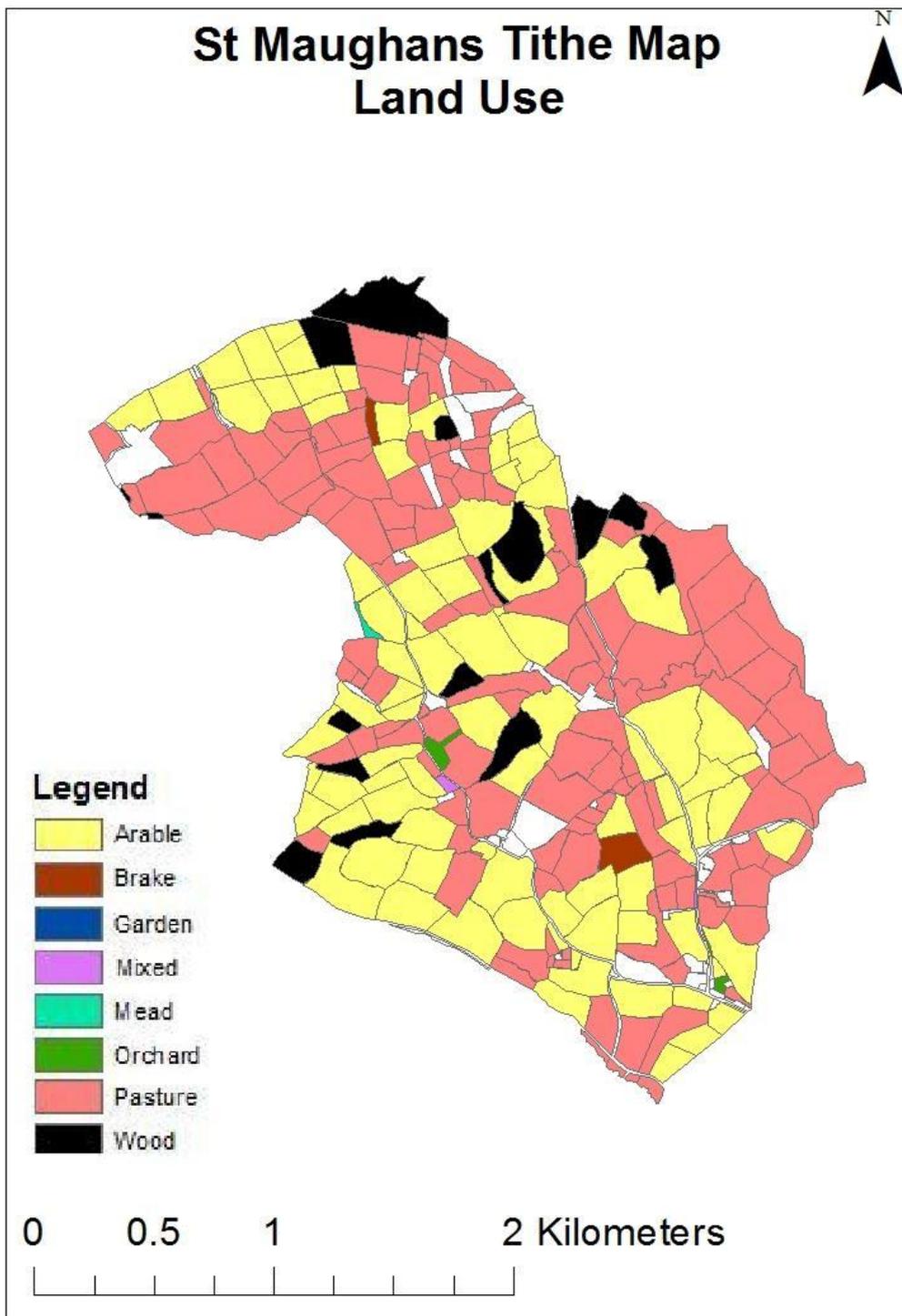


Fig.7.45. The pattern of land use for St Maughans according to the 1842 tithe map survey.

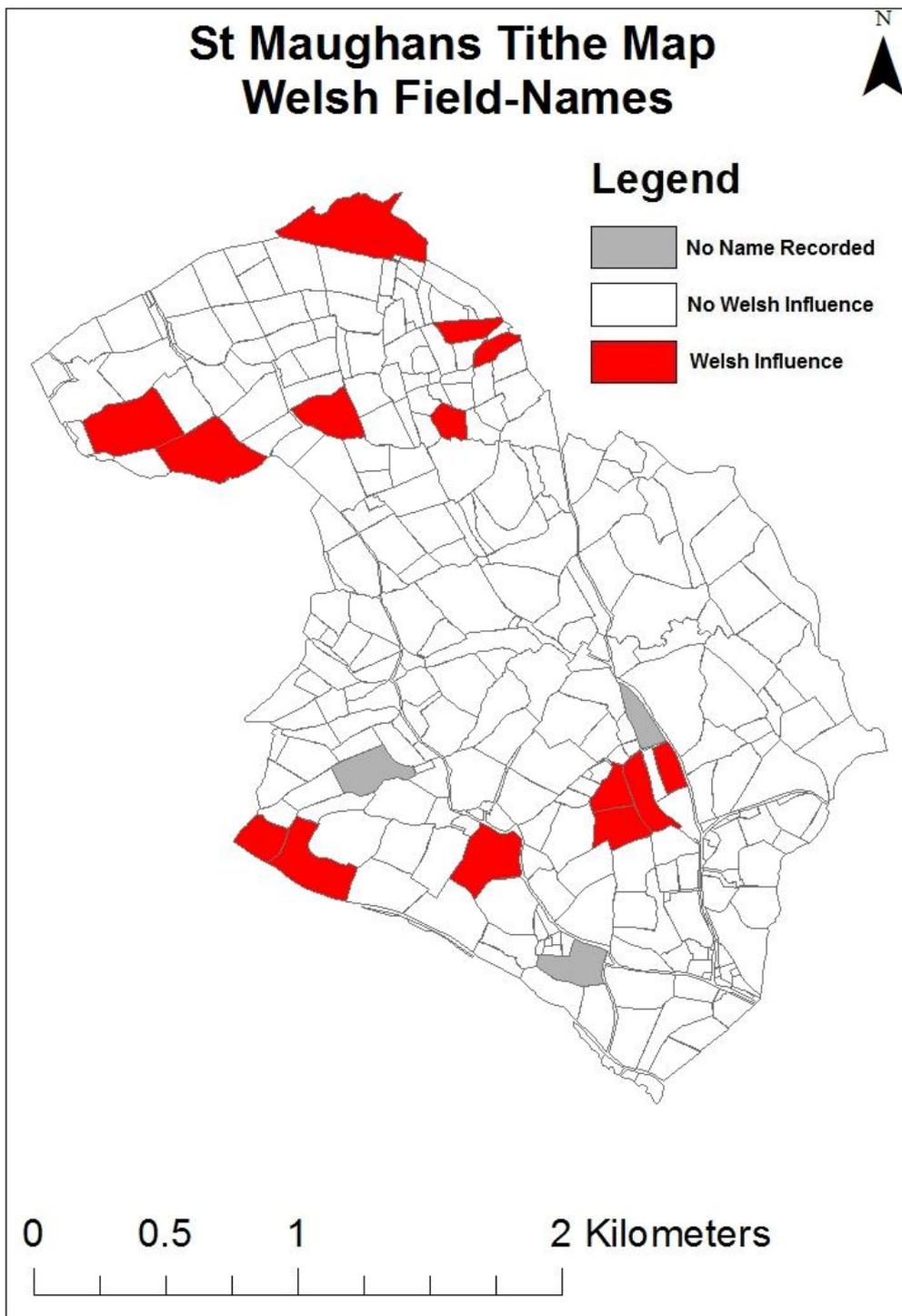


Fig.7.46. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of St Maughans according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

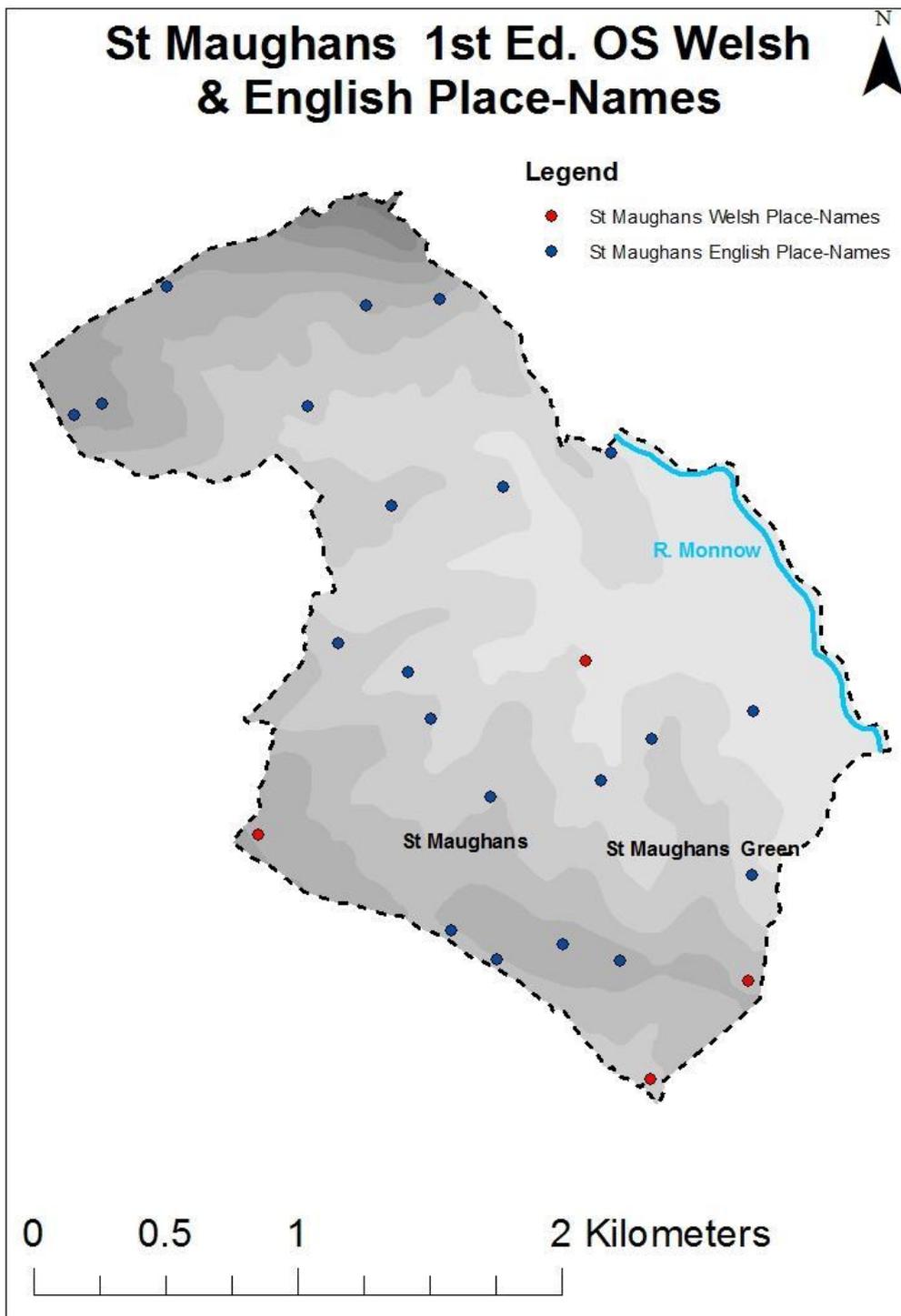


Fig.7.47. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of St Maughans according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

As with most of the parishes within this case study (with the notable exception of Monmouth), the field morphology taken from the 1841 tithe survey for the parish of St Maughans (Fig.7.41.) presents a fairly jumbled picture with the parish being made up of a largely irregular fields and no evidence suggesting a former open field. There

are some areas where the fields are larger, but very little pattern to this. The pattern of roads present seems to cut the parish into three vertical segments, and provide a slight hint of radiating from the settlement at the southern border of the parish. The settlement pattern recorded (Fig.7.42.) is fairly dispersed and there is not much nucleation around St Maughans, and the church, itself. However, there is some degree of nucleation to the east of the parish at 'St Maughans Green', which suggests the focus of the settlement in the parish has moved away from the church over time. Importantly, there are no large areas where settlement is notably absent and this, when combined with the field morphology, suggests a lack of a former open field.

The pattern of land ownership for St Maughans (Fig.7.43.) shows that most of the northern portion of the parish is owned by one individual (George Cave) whilst the rest of St Maughans seems to be fairly evenly distributed amongst a number of landowners; all of whom hold compact blocks of land. There is a similar picture in the south to the land ownership model (Fig.7.44.), but now the north of the parish is equally distributed amongst land occupiers, no longer under the sole occupancy of one person. Again, both of these models are highly suggestive of an absence of a former open field. The pattern of land use (Fig.7.45.) shows a fairly even distribution of land being laid down to pasture and arable, woodland more prevalent in the north, away from the River Monnow, and does not really suggest anything which is helpful in determining the medieval landscape of St Maughans. When looking at the evidence for field-names of Welsh origin taken from the tithe survey (Fig.7.46.), only 14 of the 297 recorded field-names present in the tithe survey showed Welsh influence (5%), and very few of these 'Welsh' field-names are located on the eastern side of the parish, close to the River Monnow and the Anglo-Welsh border. Towards the west of the parish there are two areas where they become more prevalent, one to the north and one to the south. The centre of the parish seems largely untouched by Welsh toponymic influence. This domination of English field-names is backed up by an examination of the place-names recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.7.47) which shows that there are very few Welsh place-names present, in fact only four, and they are fairly widely distributed. As was seen at Rockfield, the proximity of the River Monnow and the Anglo-Welsh border clearly has an effect upon the linguistic landscape.

In conclusion, it can be seen that St Maughans has quite a 'Welsh' landscape, at least in terms of the physical features present. There was no Anglo-Norman lordship centre, and consequently there is no evidence for settlement nucleation or a former open field system. However, linguistically the parish does show a great deal of 'English' influence, and the lack of 'Welsh' place- and field-names is almost certainly caused by the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border. In terms of the field systems and settlement patterns, St Maughans has proved to be an ideal 'control' parish, showing a physical landscape unaffected by Anglo-Norman lordship, while the linguistic landscape appears to be influenced by the proximity of Herefordshire.

7.3.5. Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern

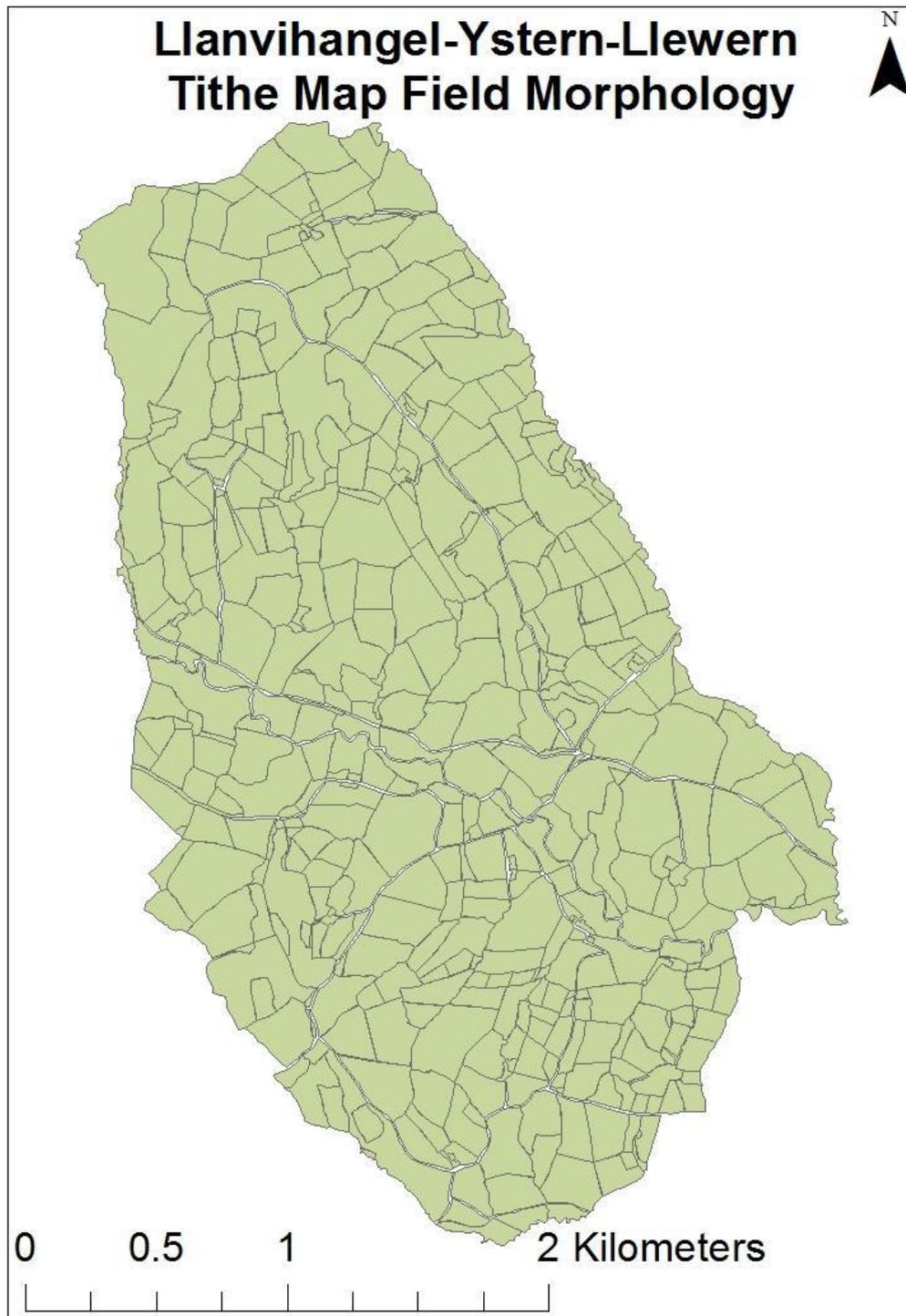


Fig.7.48. The field morphology of Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

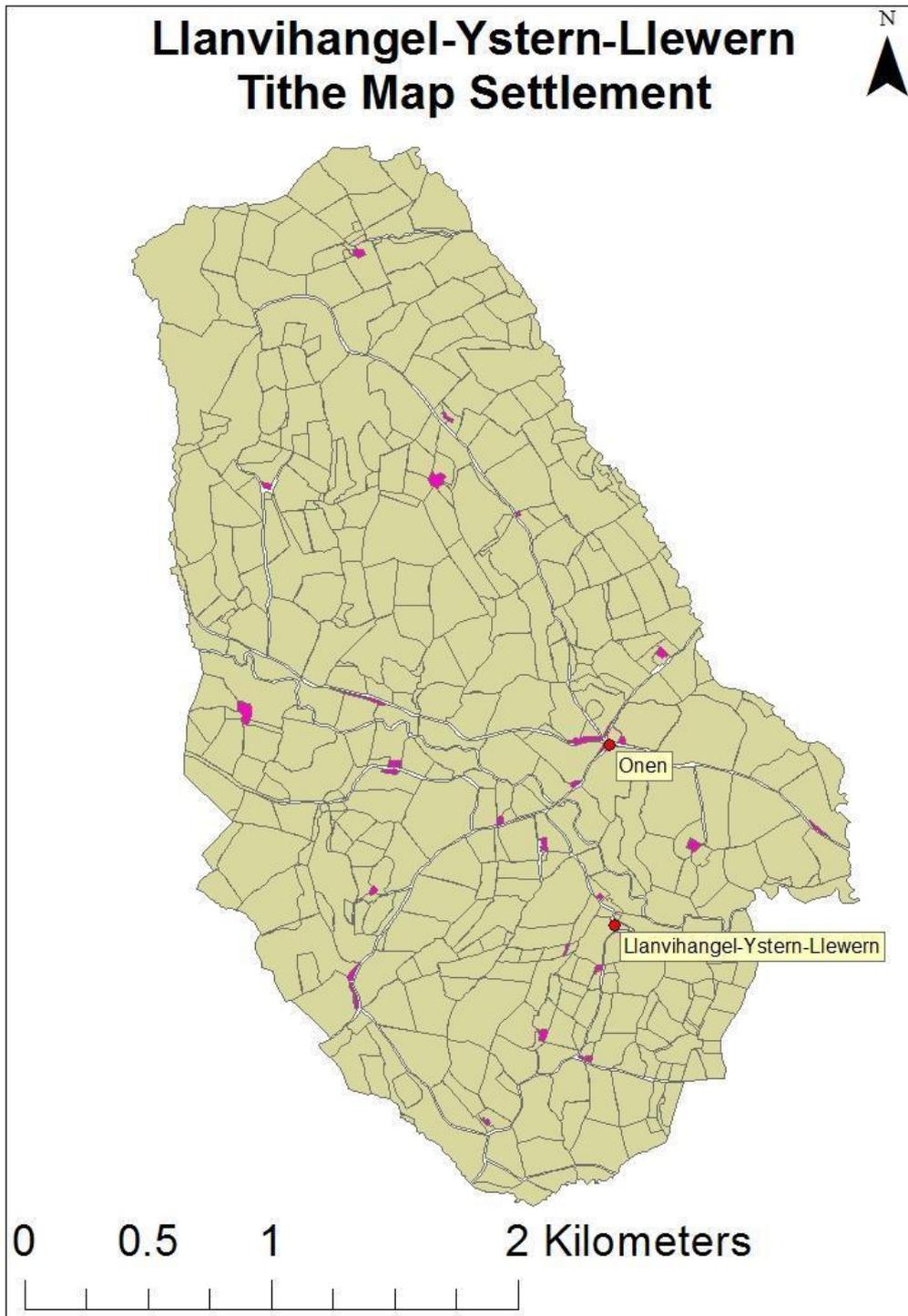


Fig.7.49. The settlement pattern of Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern according to the 1839 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

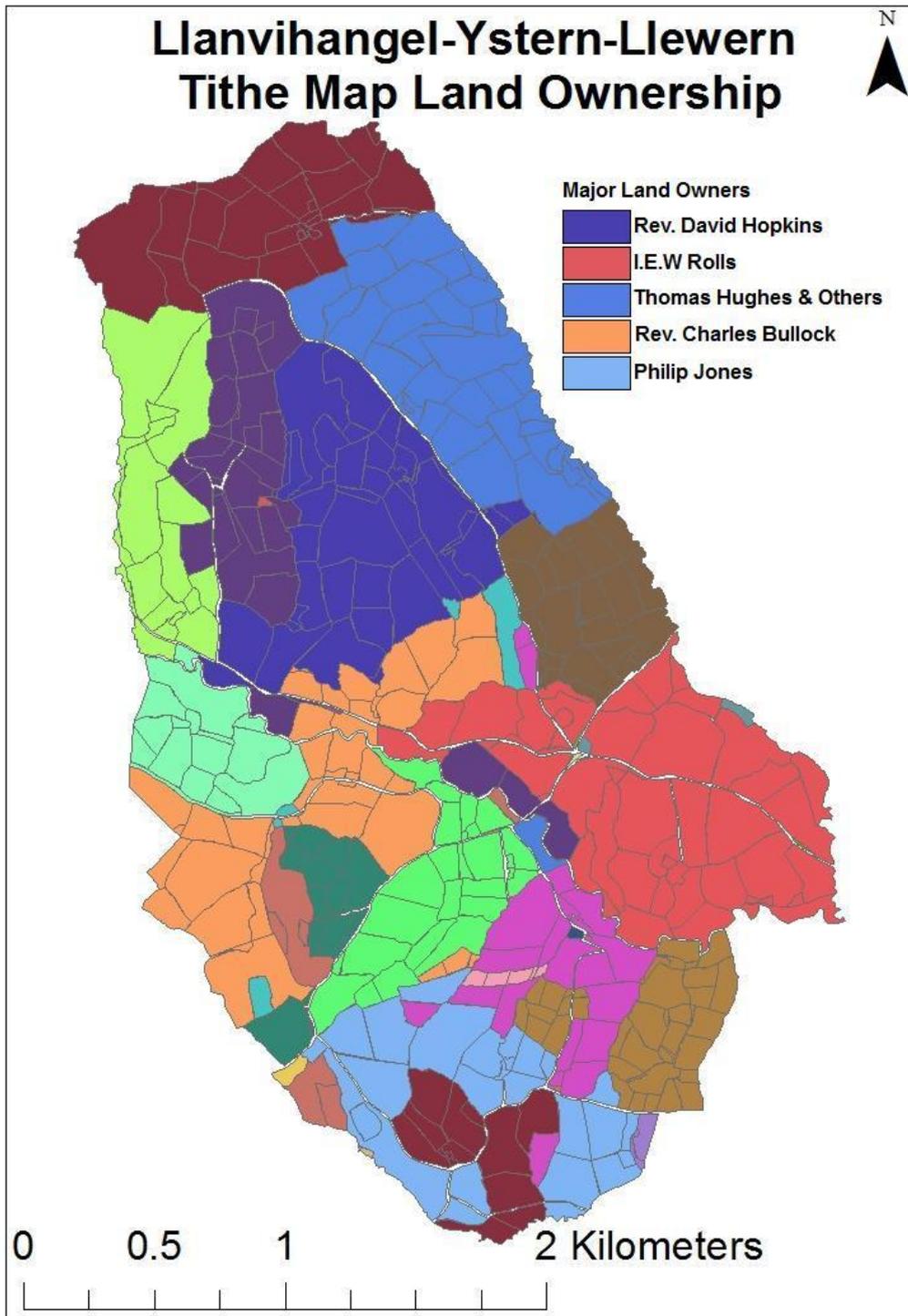


Fig.7.50. The pattern of land ownership for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

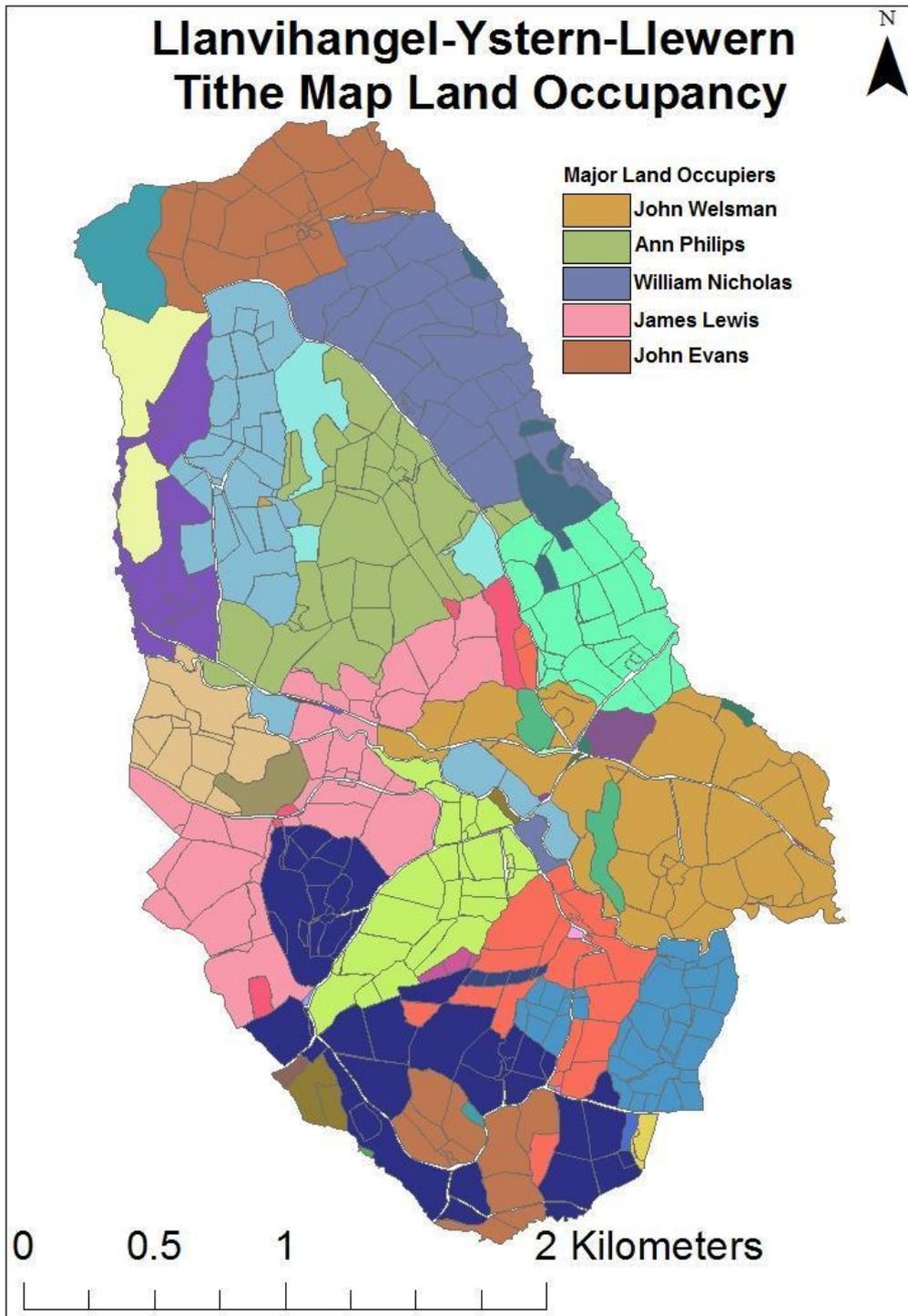


Fig.7.51. The pattern of land occupancy for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

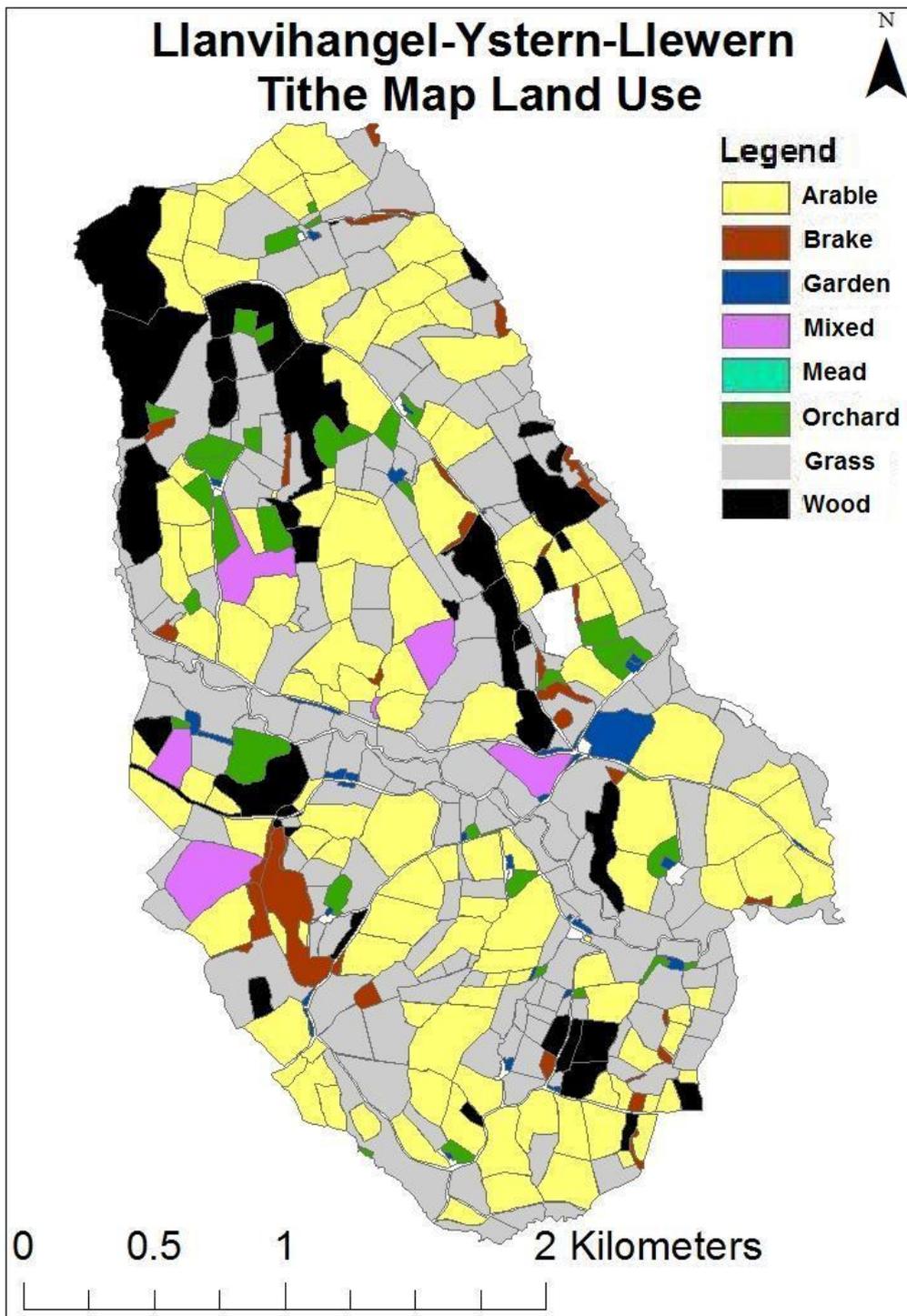


Fig.7.52. The pattern of land use for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern according to the 1839 tithe map survey.

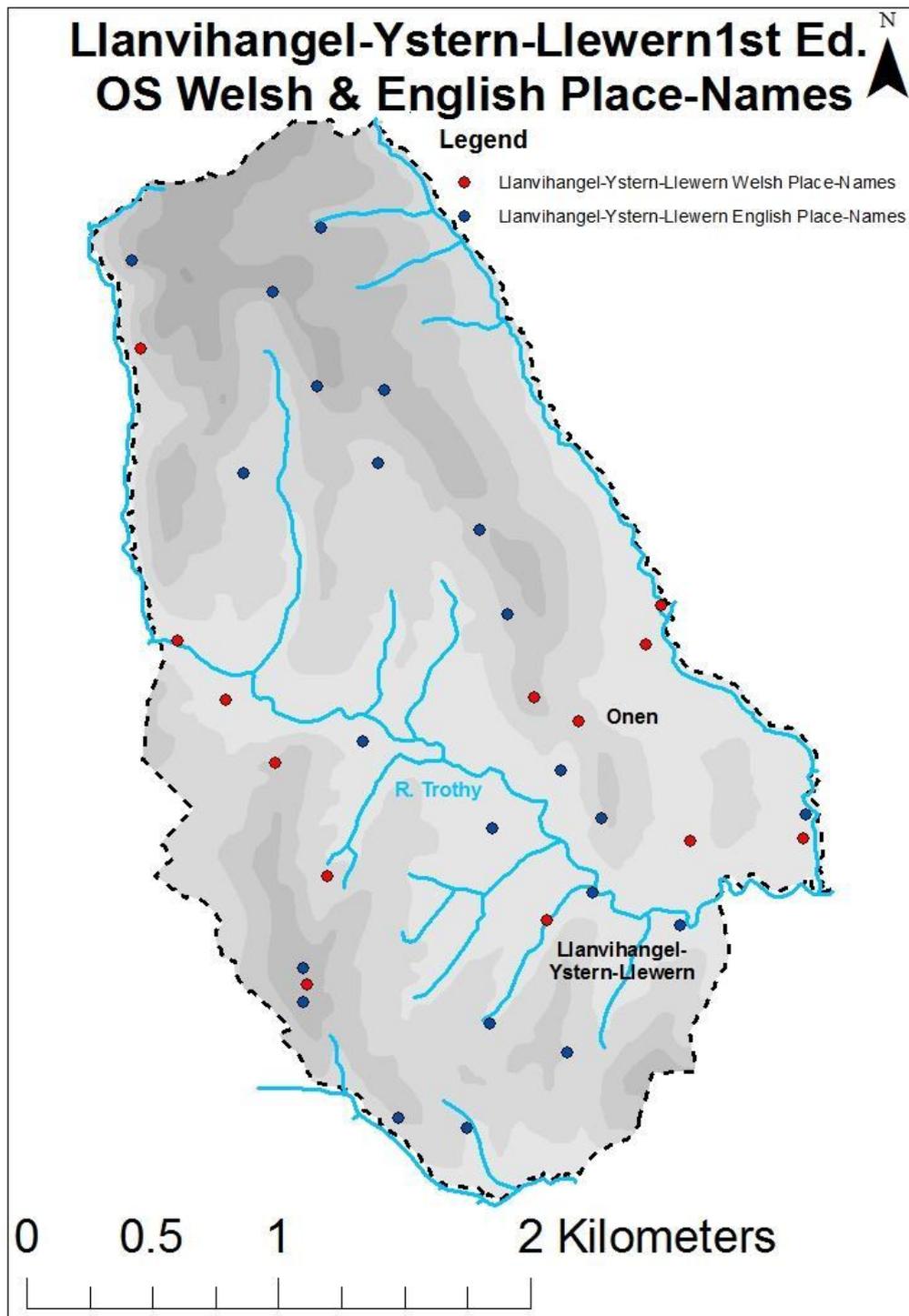


Fig.7.53. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

Again, as with many of the parishes in this region, the 1839 tithe survey for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern presents us with a very jumbled field morphology picture (Fig.7.48.) with fields which are irregular in both shape and size and no real patterns or evidence suggesting open field. There are a few clusters of smaller, regular fields towards the south-eastern corner of the parish, however, on closer inspection these seem to be caused by the division of pre-existing larger fields. The parish seems to have a radial road system, however it is emanating from the small settlement of Onen, and not Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern itself. The settlement pattern (Fig.7.49.) presents us with a highly dispersed settlement picture without much in the way of nucleation around the church at all. There is however slightly more nucleation present on the vicinity of the hamlet of Onen, but this is still a very small settlement. Therefore it can be safely argued that neither of the patterns of field morphology or settlement distribution for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern are suggestive of any kind of former open field being present.

Both the pattern of land ownership (Fig.7.50) and land occupancy (Fig.7.51) taken from the tithe survey for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern show a similar pattern, where the land is evenly distributed in compact blocks. Once again, this suggests the complete absence of a former open field. Interestingly, when the patterns of land ownership and occupancy are compared with the model of medieval HER features for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern (Fig.7.7.), it can be seen that both of the granges present in the parish sit within a compact block of land, presumably the remains of a former monastic farm. As with Monmouth and Dingestow, the tithe commissioner makes no mention of fields laid down to 'pasture' or 'meadow' when recording the land usage in the parish (Fig.7.52.), using the generic term 'grass' instead. The land usage seems to be dominated by 'grass', with some significant patches of arable, especially away from the watercourse. Woodland becomes more prevalent in the northern half of the parish, where the landscape becomes hillier.

Unfortunately the tithe survey does not record any field-names for Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern, so it was not possible to undertake analysis of field-names of Welsh origin. However, use can still be made of the place-name evidence recorded in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map (Fig.7.53.). This provides quite a mixed picture, with the landscape of the north of the parish seemingly to be largely made up of place-names of an English origin. This may either be an effect of the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border to this boundary, or could be influenced by the presence of a monastic grange in this portion of the parish (Fig.7.7.). In a band across the middle of the parish there is a fairly even mix of place-names of both English and Welsh origins, possibly with more Welsh present. Importantly there was also a monastic grange present in this region of the parish, which allows us to dismiss the idea that the dominance of place-names of English origin in the north was caused by a similar monastic establishment, and deduce that the most likely cause was the proximity of the border. Finally, a much smaller area (compared to the northern segment of the parish) on the far southern tip of the parish seems to be dominated

by English origin place-names once again, but the variation was not as great as that recorded in the northern portion of the parish.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern, as with most of the other parishes in this case study away from the *caput*, has a landscape with quite a 'Welsh' character. Without any form of Anglo-Norman lordship centres, outside the granges, there is virtually no evidence for either substantial settlement nucleation or a former open field farming system. Therefore, it has to be stated that Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern has a very 'Welsh' physical landscape. Conversely, whilst the parish does seem to show more 'Welsh' linguistic influence in its landscape than other similar and nearby parishes such as St Maughans (even in the name of the parish itself), it is still in no way dominated by 'Welsh' toponymic evidence and probably returns more 'English' place- and field-names.

7.4. Discussion & Summary

Assessing the Lordship of Monmouth as a whole, it can be seen that only the *caput* of Monmouth itself displays any clear evidence for a former open field system. Monmouth alone presents definite morphological evidence for an open field farming system and Monmouth is the sole parish to show the kind of patterns of land ownership and land occupancy associated with the presence of that method of land management. Furthermore, there is little evidence away from the *caput* of substantial settlement nucleation. The town of Monmouth is obviously a highly nucleated settlement, not just in the form of Monmouth itself, but also in the shape of its suburb, Overmonnow. Therefore, all the evidence presented here within the parish of Monmouth is indicative of an Anglo-Norman town, with a substantial open field system occupying the floor of the 'bowl-like' valley in which the settlement is located, surrounded by smaller upland farmsteads with land held in severalty. This, therefore, demonstrates that Monmouth has a highly 'anglified' landscape, similar to that seen surrounding the previous two *capita* studied in the thesis, Chepstow and Caldicot. In fact, Monmouth surpasses the other two *capita* in terms of Anglo-Norman landscape evidence, as Caldicot does not have a monastic foundation, and therefore does not have the full Anglo-Norman 'trinity', and the extant evidence for Chepstow's open field is far less obvious than that seen at Monmouth.

Conversely, in the other parishes which make up this case study chapter, there is almost a complete lack of evidence for substantial settlement nucleation, even in the vicinity of the minor Anglo-Norman lordship sites such as those seen at Rockfield and Dingestow. Of course, without the presence of any form of manorial village, any form of large-scale open field farming system would have been difficult to maintain and largely useless. Therefore, away from the *caput*, it has to be concluded that most of the Lordship of Monmouth's physical landscape was staunchly 'Welsh' in character, with the 'English' manorial organisation of the parish of Monmouth

standing out as an 'island' of Anglo-Norman landscape management. This may be a result of the relatively small size of Monmouth as a lordship, in comparison to, for instance, Chepstow or Usk, meaning that it was unfeasible for it to support another centre of Anglo-Norman lordship with a large amount of settlement nucleation and economic activity. Conversely, Usk had multiple *foci* outside the *caput* of Usk itself, such as the sub-lordship sites of Llangibby and Raglan, as well as the economic focal point of the iron-boom town of Trellech (see Chapter 8).

However, when the linguistic landscape of the lordship is examined, a significantly different, and a much more cohesive, pattern is seen. In terms of the toponymic evidence, the landscape of the Lordship of Monmouth is much more 'English' than 'Welsh', and this is testified by the fact that only one of the parishes in this case study, Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern, has a Welsh name. Furthermore, very few place-names of Welsh origin were recorded on any of the Victorian Ordnance Survey maps for the case study parishes, and only Dingestow recorded a significant number of Welsh field-names in its tithe survey. Importantly, the minor Anglo-Norman seigneurial centres included in this study, Dingestow and Rockfield, only presented evidence of Anglo-Norman linguistic influence upon the landscape, and very little agency affecting the physical landscape. Of course, the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border to this lordship, as well as the size and importance of the *caput* of Monmouth where 'English' place-names are definitely prevalent, is likely to be a contributing factor to the landscape of language, and the levels of Anglo-Norman toponymic evidence seen, within this region.

In conclusion, as with the previous case studies, the main issue for consideration at the end of this chapter is the degree to which these findings tell us about the character of the landscape of the Lordship of Monmouth. This study showed that, unsurprisingly, the landscape of the lordship *caput*, Monmouth, was extremely 'English' in character, with a castle, town, priory and a large open field farming system. However, what was surprising was that the rest of the lordship, at least in terms of the physical landscape, did not show much evidence of Anglo-Norman influence and presented us with a landscape that was, for the most part, quite 'Welsh' in character. Even those with castles situated within them, acting as seigneurial centres, showed little influence of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape.

The second issue to be addressed is the extent to which these findings build upon the conclusions drawn at the end of the previous studies of the lordships of Caldicot and Chepstow. As has previously been mentioned, the clearest difference between the results of this case study of the Lordship of Monmouth and the previous studies is that, outside the *caput*, the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship does not seem to have greatly impacted upon the physical landscape of the region. In contrast, it was shown that, in the lowland areas of the county previously examined in this thesis, minor Anglo-Norman lordship centres also produce a marked effect upon the landscape (such as Shirenewton and Magor). This may be a result of the extremely

low lying topography amplifying the landscape influence of the Anglo-Norman seigneurial centres, whilst the Anglo-Norman landscape agency in the north of the county is limited by the more upland character of the countryside. However, within some of the parishes directly neighbouring Monmouth or in close proximity to the Anglo-Welsh border, some degree of Anglo-Norman influence can be seen creeping in, most notably in the evidence provided by place-names and field-names. For instance, both the Anglo-Norman lordship sites at Dingestow and Rockfield seem to affect the surrounding linguistic landscape of their parishes. Therefore, another influence that has to be considered is the effect of the contemporary political and cultural situation present when the lordship was being established, the influence of the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border and major Anglo-Norman *capita* such as Monmouth, and the ease with which the Anglo-Normans were able to establish themselves in the area.

The evidence presented thus far has shown that Anglo-Norman *capita* certainly affected their surrounding landscape, but the influence of minor lordship sites appears to have been dependent on both the physical landscape and the political situation present at the time of foundation. Correspondingly, the influence of the *caput* upon the remainder of the landscape of lordship seems to be affected by similar processes, with Chepstow's influence being far more wide-ranging within its surrounding parishes than that of Monmouth. The next stage of this thesis is to relocate away from the Anglo-Welsh border to examine the Lordship of Usk, situated to the south-west of the Lordship of Monmouth. This will allow an examination of the effects of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape in a similar geographic location to that of the Lordship of Monmouth (river valleys), but discounting the effects of the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border.

8. Case Study: The Lordship of Usk

8.1. Introduction

Three out of the five case studies of individual Anglo-Norman lordships within the historic county of Monmouthshire have now been completed, and the fourth landscape to be selected for examination is that of the Lordship of Usk. The aim for this case study chapter is to build upon the last three chapters, by moving the focus of this thesis away from the Anglo-Welsh border and starting to explore the hinterland of the county. This will allow us to assess the degree to which the influence of Anglo-Norman lordship within the lordships of Caldicot, Chepstow and Monmouth was magnified by the proximity of the border, and investigate the landscape of the more traditionally 'Welsh' areas of Monmouthshire.

As with the previous two case studies, because Usk is quite a large lordship, time did not allow for the in depth study of landscape of every constituent parish which made up the lordship. Therefore, it is important to justify the selection of relevant case study parishes. The *caput* of the lordship, Usk, was chosen because, as with the other case studies in this thesis, it provided evidence for the major seigneurial centre (with the Anglo-Norman 'trinity') and also offered a 'base level' from which to judge the other parishes within this study. In the tithe survey, the parish of Usk was broken down into three distinct 'hamlets'. These were the town of Usk itself, the attached 'hamlet' of Gwehelog and the detached 'hamlet' of Glascoed. For the sake of ease of presentation, and because the tithe map of Usk does not include a large amount of land beyond the boundaries of the town itself, it was decided to study Usk and the attached 'hamlet' of Gwehelog as one single entity (Fig.8.2.), whilst examining the detached 'hamlet' of Glascoed separately. Building on the study of Usk, Raglan was selected to be the next case study parish as it provided an example of a minor lordship centre in the early part of the post-Conquest medieval period, which became increasingly important in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (as testified by the dramatic late medieval masonry castle). It is also a lordship site which is thought to have been in the hands of a Welsh family (the Herberts of Raglan were patrons of Welsh culture).

The next case study chosen was the parish of Trellech, that is now a very small rural village containing a large church and a minor lordship centre (motte), but which has a dramatic history and, as an iron smelting 'boom town', was once much more economically important than its modern setting would suggest. It has been the subject of much archaeological investigation and historical debate, some of which will be discussed in the background section of this chapter. The final two case study 'parishes' chosen were those of Glascoed (which has already been mentioned as a detached 'hamlet' of the Lordship of Usk) and the parish of Llandenny, which were selected due to the lack of any evidence for Anglo-Norman lordship centres at either site. As with the previous studies these case studies were undertaken in order to

provide contrast with the lordship sites of Usk, Raglan and Trellech, allowing comparison with these case studies and their centres of Anglo-Norman lordship.

8.2. Background

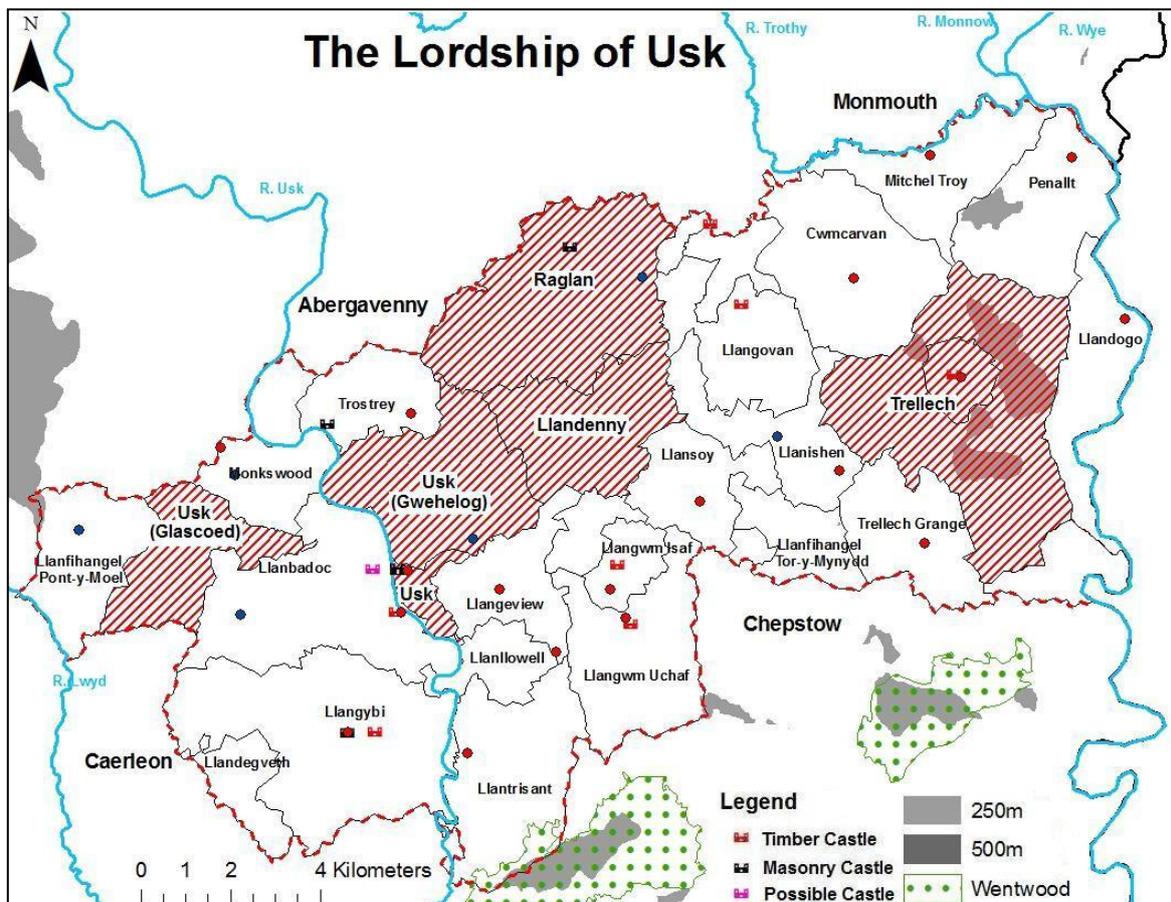


Fig.8.1. The Lordship of Usk. The case study parishes are shaded in red (compiled from the manors listed in the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of Joan, late the wife of Gilbert de Clare, Sometime Earl of Gloucester and Hertford (*Cal. IMP Vol. 4*, 35 Edw. I) and Rees 1959).

In terms of geography, the Lordship of Usk is, as the name suggests, centred upon the Usk Valley. It stretches from the fringes of the Wye Valley on the Anglo-Welsh border (Penallt and Llandogo) in the east, to the western side of the Usk Valley and the River Lwyd (Glascoed and Llanfihangel Pont-y-Moel) in the west. The Wentwood ridge forms the southern border of the lordship, whilst the river Trothy runs along its northern frontier with the Lordship of Monmouth. Most of the landscape of the lordship is comprised of rolling hills and river valleys, the one exception being the upland landscape of the 'Trellech Plateau' towards the east of the lordship (Prior 2006, 120). The physical geography of Usk (Fig.8.2) is dominated by the River Usk, which occupies the entire western flank of the parish and the town is situated at the confluence of the Usk with the Olway Brook. The land surrounding the town is relatively flat, whilst this topography changes dramatically as one moves north into

the attached hamlet of Gwehelog, where the landscape is much more undulating. The landscape of the detached hamlet of Glascoed (Fig.8.3) is also much more 'upland' in character than that seen at Usk itself, with numerous rolling hills, while the Berthin Brook runs along the north-eastern border.

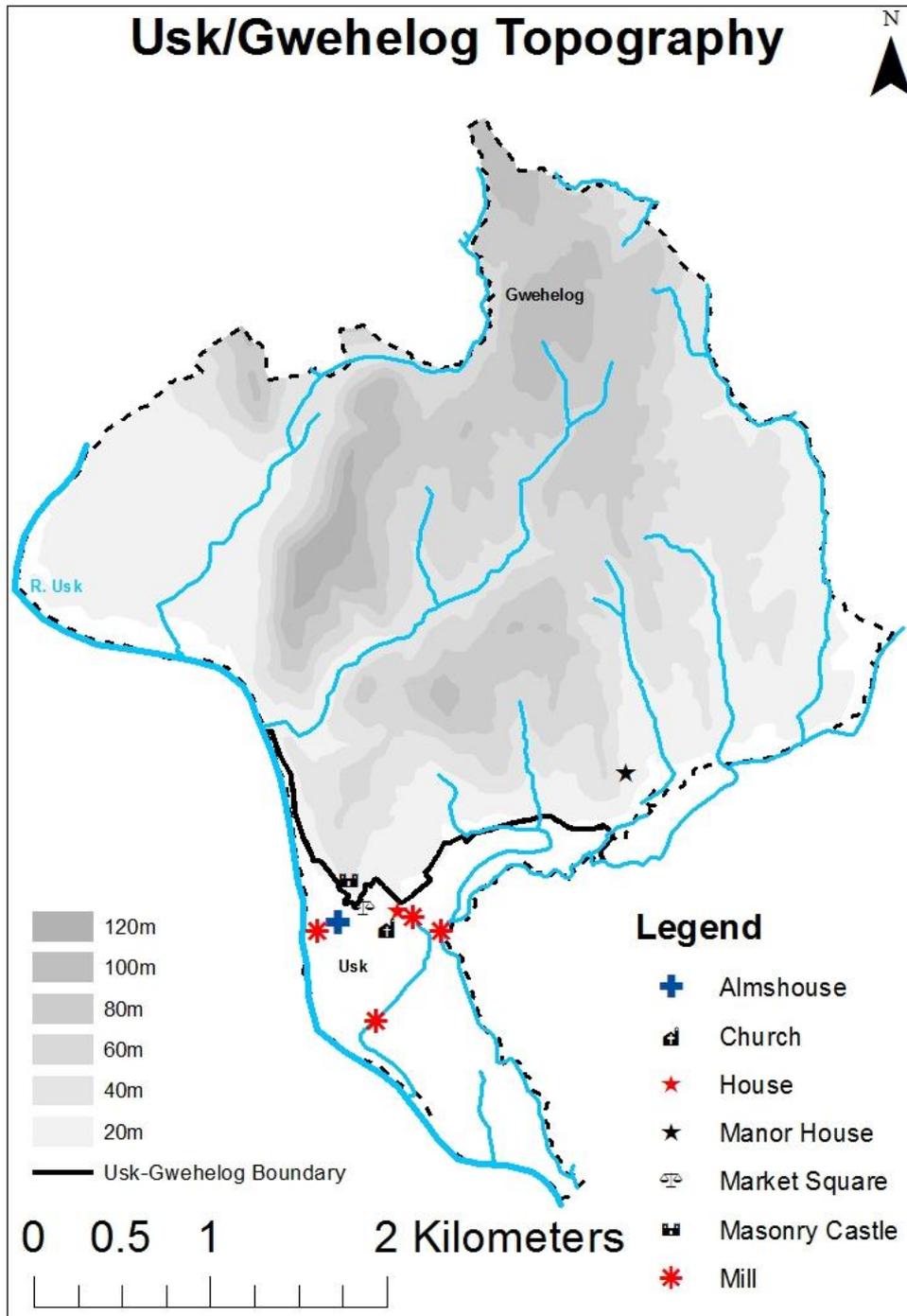


Fig.8.2. Topographic features of the parish of Usk, and the attached hamlet of Gwehelog with medieval entries from the HER Note how the medieval features of these parishes are focused upon Usk, demonstrating its importance.

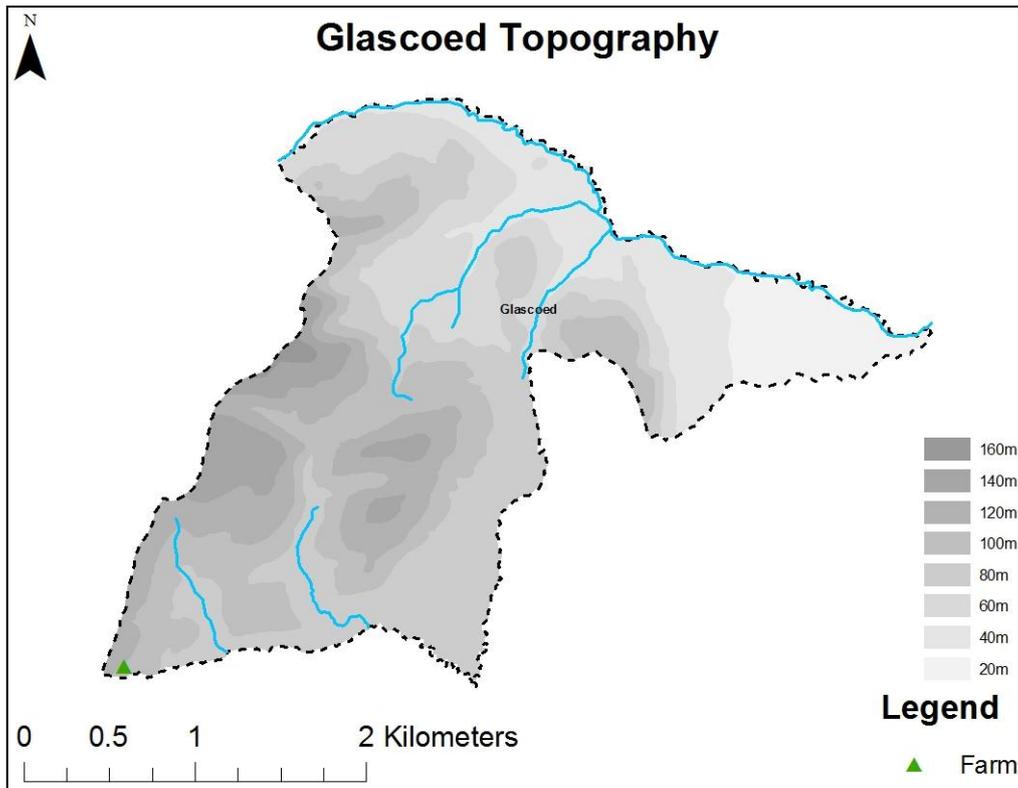


Fig.8.3. Topographic features of the detached hamlet of Glascoed with medieval entries from the HER. The only surviving medieval features are the remains of a small farm to the south-western edge of the parish.

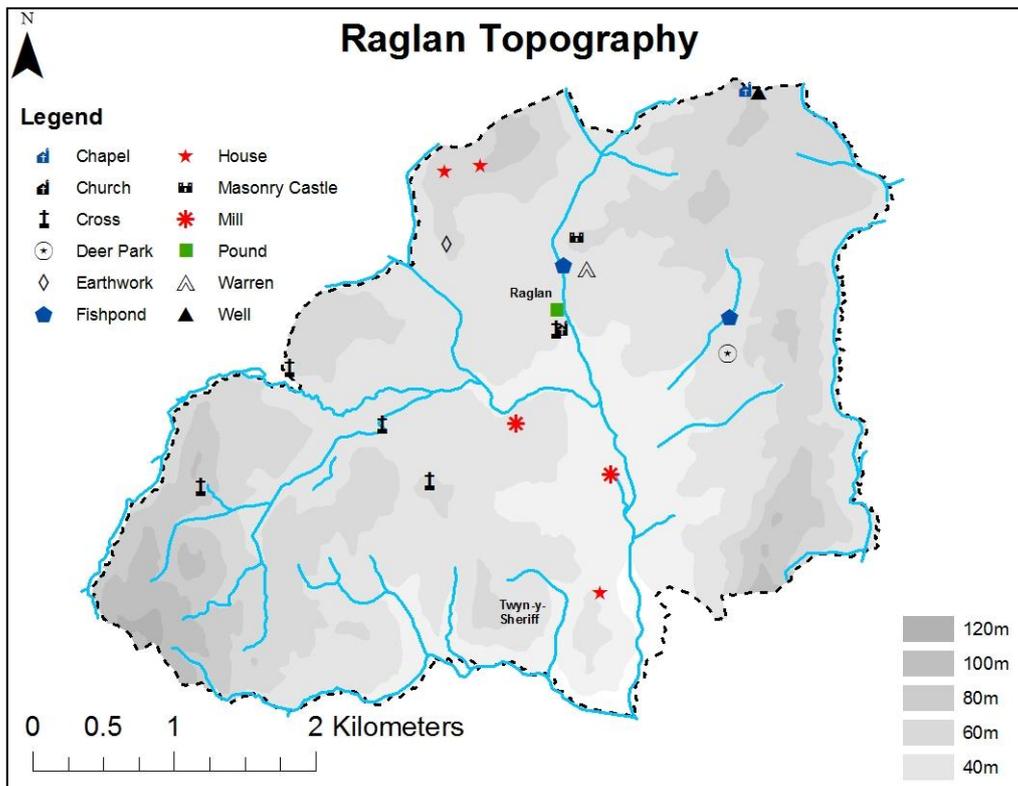


Fig.8.4. Topographic features of the parish of Raglan with medieval entries from the HER.

The topography of Raglan (Fig.8.4.) is characterised by rolling hills and a number of small, unnamed, watercourses running through the parish. The village, and castle, of Raglan itself is situated at the head of the valley of one of these streams, whilst the small settlement of Twyn-y-Sheriff is located in the slightly more upland western half of the parish. The landscape of Trellech (Fig.8.5.) is much more 'upland' than that of the other case study parishes in this chapter, being situated on the 'Trellech Plateau' on the eastern border of the county, next to the Wye Valley. Trellech is located at the head of the small valley of a small watercourse which eventually runs into the Olway Brook, and therefore joins the Usk just south of the town of Usk itself. Llandenny (Fig.8.6.) is situated on the Olway Brook, between Trellech and Usk, and has a fairly low lying topography, the main exception being the hill to north-east of the village, on which is located the small settlement of Kingcoed.

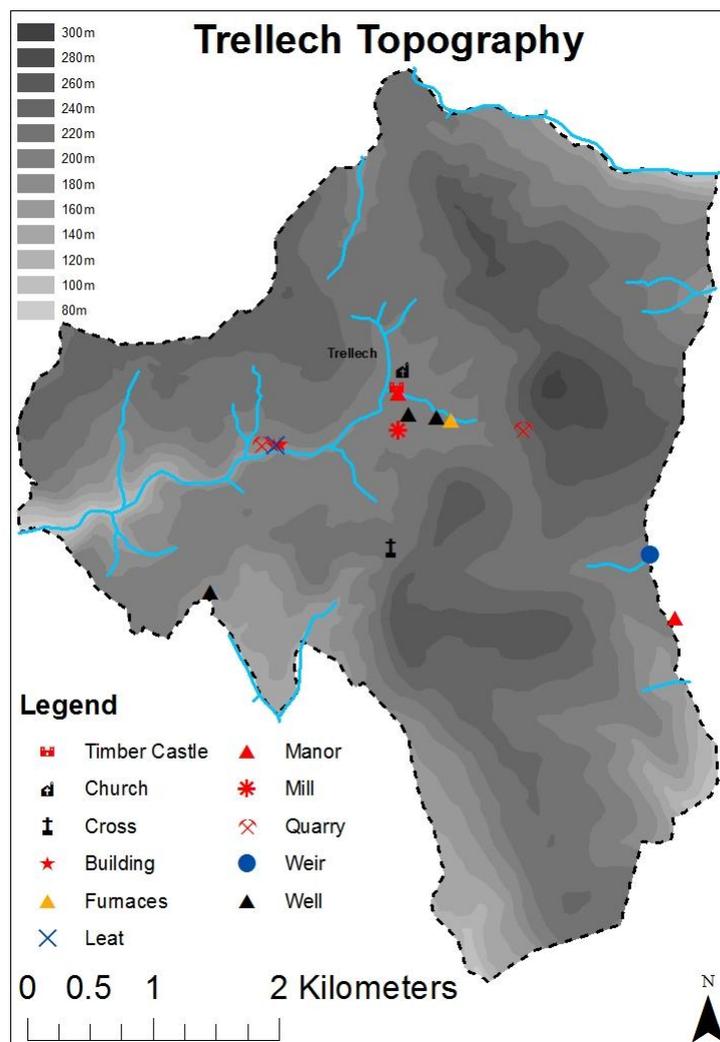


Fig.8.5. Topographic features of the parish of Trellech with medieval entries from the HER.

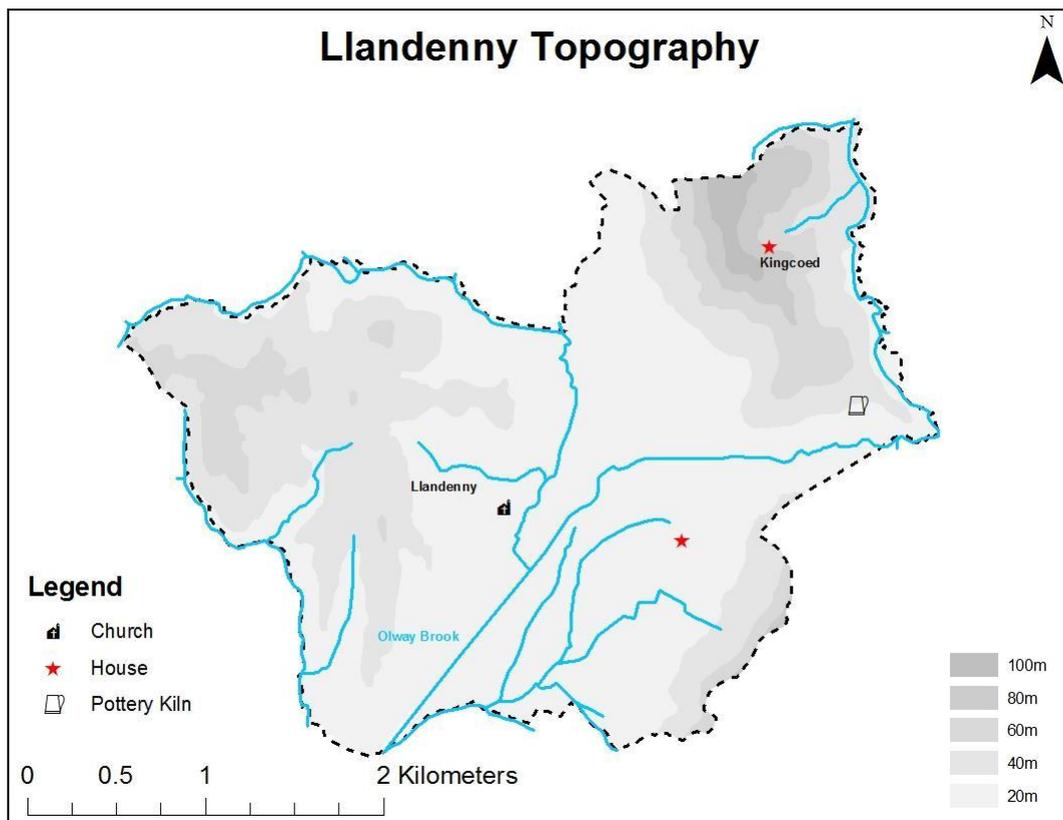


Fig.8.6. Topographic features of the parish of Monmouth with medieval entries from the HER.

The modern town of Usk is situated on the site of the Roman settlement of *Burrium*, a fortress of the Twentieth Legion, possibly established as early as 55 AD (Howell 1988, 27). *Burrium* was well situated with strong infrastructure links along the river to Caerleon (*Isca Silurum*) and Abergavenny (*Gobannium*), as well as a road connection to Monmouth (*Blestium*). Furthermore, Roman Usk's importance is testified by evidence of contemporary iron working found within the boundaries of the town (Howell 1988, 31). There is some slight evidence which may suggest some form of continuity of settlement at Usk and a pre-Conquest foundation. The Llandaff charters list a foundation at *Din Birrion*, which may be a reference to *Burrium*, and given the importance of other nearby Roman sites, such as Caerleon and Caerwent, as early Christian sites, this is entirely possible (*Liber Landavensis*, 210b; Zaluckyj & Zaluckyj 2006, 392). However, if there was a pre-Anglo-Norman church at Usk, it is unlikely to have had any land granted to it prior to the Conquest as it is absent from the Papal Bulls of 1119 and 1128 to Bishop Urban of Llandaff. Despite the evidence for a pre-Conquest church, there is no evidence for any pre-Anglo-Norman native Welsh settlement at Usk, beyond the religious foundation (Mein 1986, 3). The place-name 'Usk' is first documented c.1100 and is, rather obviously, taken from the River Usk, or *Afon Wysg*, and therefore is Welsh in origin. However, the Welsh name for Usk, *Brynbuga*, is dramatically different and possibly derived from *Burrium*, with the 'bryn-' element being Welsh for 'hill' (Owen & Morgan 2007, 484).

Jeremy Knight has suggested that, due to its location (at the junction of the Usk Valley road and the Monmouth road and on the border between Anglo-Norman held lands and those still in Welsh hands) and the morphological similarities of the original timber castle to that which preceded White Castle at Llantilio Crosseny, that the first castle at Usk may have been founded by Roger de Breteuil prior to his fall in 1075 (Knight 2008a, 56-57). Usk, however, was not mentioned in Domesday, but nearby Caerleon, on the west bank of the Usk, was recorded as being in Norman hands by 1086 (*Domesday – Glos.*, S2). It has also been suggested by David Crouch that the unidentified site of *Wetuna*, founded in the 1120s, which was granted to the church of Llanllywel by William de Tancarville (d.1129) was a precursor to Usk as the centre of Anglo-Norman lordship in the middle Usk valley. Whatever the status of this site, it was lost by William's son Rabel, either through confiscation after a rebellion against King Stephen or conquest by the Welsh in 1136 (Crouch 2008, 25-26).

The Lordship of Usk was originally a sub-component of the Lordship of Netherwent (Chepstow/Striguil), only later being separated. Indeed the first direct mention of Usk in the historical record is during the crisis of 1136 after the death of Richard fitz Gilbert of Ceredigion at the hands of Morgan ab Owain at Coed Grwyne, near Abergavenny. Throughout the summer of 1136 Anglo-Norman lordships in the Usk valley came under severe pressure and castles (Fig.8.7) at 'Usk' ('Ucham') and Caerleon were both captured by Morgan ab Owain, who seems to have taken back all the land west of the Usk in Netherwent. (Crouch 2008, 26; Knight 2008a, 56). Although this is the first time Usk castle is mentioned, the fact that it has been constructed by 1136 suggests it may have been extant for a while (Knight 2008a, 55). The Anglo-Norman lords of Gwent were probably distracted and weakened by the unravelling political situation in England, as the kingdom was being torn apart by the Anarchy, and Morgan had found himself a powerful patron in the form of Earl Robert of Gloucester, bastard son of Henry I and half-brother to the Empress Matilda (Knight 2008a, 57). Morgan died in 1158 in battle against Ifor Bach, lord of Senghennydd, whilst pursuing his wider ambitions in south Wales (*Brut – RBH*, 137) and was succeeded fairly peacefully as lord of Caerleon and Machen by his younger brother Iorwerth ab Owain. However, by 1170, before his expedition to Leinster, Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) embarked upon a reconquest of the Usk valley, taking Usk castle from the Welsh, apparently by subterfuge, and narrowly failing to capture Iorwerth ap Owain's family (Courtney 2008, 30; Knight 2008a, 57). It is in this period that the construction of a square donjon at Usk was probably ordered by de Clare, in order to replace an earlier timber construction (Pettifer 2000, 142-143). Strongbow's seizures around Usk can be established by grants he made in the early 1170s of the church at Raglan and lands at Llandenny, Trostrey and Llanarth to Usk Priory. He also granted the manor of Raglan to his follower Walter Bloet, telling us he had extended his lordship up to the boundaries of the honour of Abergavenny (Crouch 2008, 30).

It was not just through the castle that Strongbow left his mark upon Usk, as a surviving charter of 1330 confirms the original founding charter of St Mary's Priory (Fig.8.8), and attributes the foundation to Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare. This, therefore, probably dates the foundation of the priory to the period of Strongbow's reconquest of the Usk Valley in the 1170s (Mein 1986, 33-40). Of the current fabric of the priory, unique as the only priory of Benedictine nuns to be established in Wales (Thurlby 2006, 141), only the font, central tower and circular stair turret remain from the original de Clare construction and large portions of the church were demolished during the Dissolution (Salter 2002, 66). Mein argues that analysis of the situation of the priory's lands within the town of Usk suggests the borough (Fig.8.9.) was founded at the same time as the priory (Mein 1986, 43), during the turbulence of the 1170s, with Usk changing hands on multiple occasions. However, there is no evidence that the kind of 'racial' exclusion of the Welsh in the town, seen at Denbigh (Davies 1978a, 327), took place at Usk, and when Gerald of Wales visited Usk in 1188, enough Welsh speakers were present to hear Archbishop Baldwin preach that a translator was required. Mein (1986, 84) states that there is no evidence to suggest whether these Welsh speakers were drawn from the town or from the surrounding Welshries, such as Gwehelog and Glascoed, but certainly, by 1397, the Welsh were free to be made burgesses of the town (Mein 1986, 84). What is certain is that by the end of the twelfth century Usk had the Anglo-Norman 'trinity', as was seen at Monmouth and Chepstow.



Fig.8.7. Aerial view of Usk Castle (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).



Fig.8.8. St Mary's Priory Church, Usk (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

In 1174, the castle changed hands again as Hywel ap Iorwerth (the nephew of Morgan ap Owain), taking advantage of the general unrest in the Angevin realm due to the rebellion of Henry II's sons and many of his magnates, seized Usk. However, the castle was quickly recaptured by Strongbow the following year (Priestley & Turner 2003, 11). Upon Strongbow's death in 1176, Usk passed to his daughter and sole heir, Isabella, who was a minor. Hywel ap Iorwerth capitalised on the situation and retook the castle, and in 1183 Hywel is recorded as holding both Newport and Usk from the king (*Giraldus Cambrensis* 119; Knight 2008a, 57). However, this Welsh ascendancy did not last long and Hywel lost Usk, once again, after a surprise Anglo-Norman attack later in 1183. These forced changes of ownership clearly took its toll upon the fabric of Usk and Henry II is recorded as spending £10 3s on repairs to the castle (Taylor 1947; Priestley & Turner 2003, 11; Knight 2008a, 57), which may have been wise considering the volatile situation in the region following the Abergavenny massacre of 1175 (see Chapter 9).

In 1189 Usk passed to William Marshal after his marriage to Isabella de Clare, and William was an important figure in the transformation of the castle from an earthwork with a stone gatehouse to a major masonry castle. This extensive building work is a reflection of the turbulent times he lived through, with Morgan ap Hywel of Caerleon allied with Llywelyn Fawr, and the wealth, power and prestige of William Marshal (Knight 2008a, 60-61). However, the threat from Caerleon was somewhat lessened in 1217, when Marshal's bailiff captured Caerleon from Morgan (Knight 2008a, 60). As has been previously mentioned (see Chapter 6), the Marshal holdings passed

through the hands of the elder William Marshal's five sons. In 1233 Henry III seized Usk from Richard Marshal, the second son, forcing Richard to turn to Llywelyn Fawr and Owain ap Gruffudd (grandson of the Lord Rhys) for assistance, eventually taking the castle back by force (Howell 1988, 56; 79; Knight 2008a, 68). When in 1245 Anselm Marshal, the last of the Marshal male line, died, their vast Welsh estates were divided amongst William Marshal the elder's five daughters and their heirs. Through this transaction, Usk was separated from the Lordship of Chepstow and passed to Richard de Clare, 5th Earl of Hertford & 6th Earl of Gloucester (d.1262), son of Isabel Marshal (Priestly & Turner 2003, 11). It is during the tenure of this Richard de Clare, that the manor, or sub-lordship, of Tre-grug (Llangybi) is first mentioned as being the site of a strategically important castle to the south of Usk, documented as being stone built in the late thirteenth century (Priestly & Turner 2003, 20).

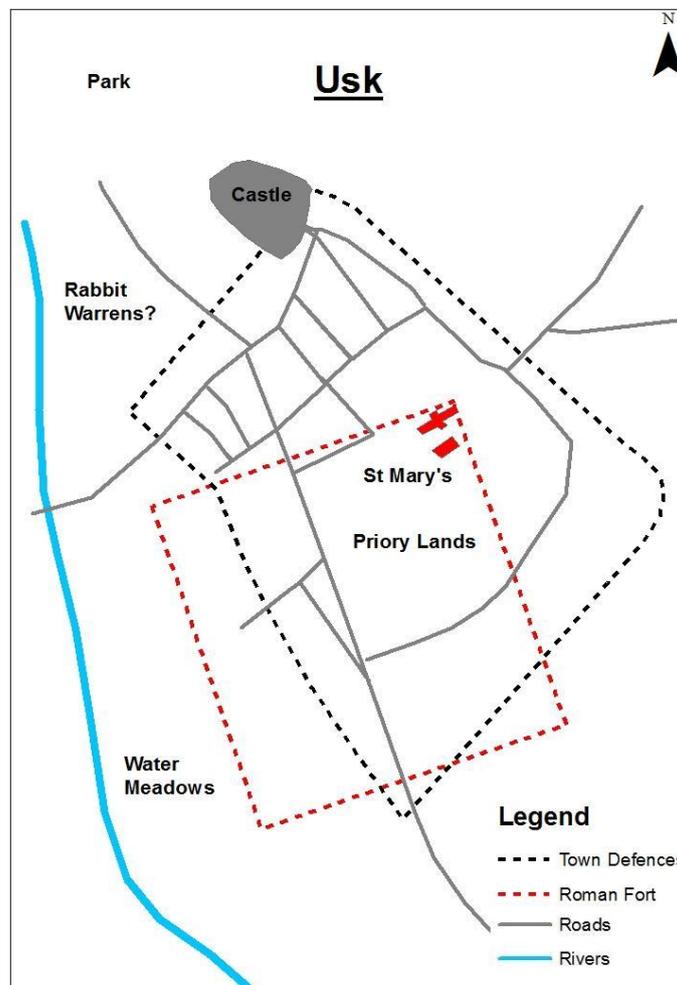


Fig.8.9. Plan of medieval Usk (redrawn by the author from Mein 1986, Fig.7 & Mein 2008, Fig.8.2).

In 1265, during the lordship of Richard de Clare's son, 'Red' Gilbert de Clare, 6th Earl of Hertford and 7th Earl of Gloucester, Usk came under attack yet again, this time by

Simon de Montfort, as part of his alliance with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and large scale destruction was inflicted upon the town (Howell 1988, 56; Knight 2008b, 70). The Lordship of Usk remained in the possession of the de Clares until 1295, when Joan of Acre, daughter of Edward I and widow of 'Red' Gilbert de Clare, married a retainer, Ralph de Monthermer, without royal permission. Despite King Edward's anger at the marriage, Ralph kept the lordship and the earldoms of Gloucester, Hertford and Atholl until Joan's death in 1306, when they were returned to her son, another Gilbert de Clare. Ralph was compensated with £10,000 and received the grant of a market and fairs to his own manor of Llanfair Discoed (within the Lordship of Chepstow) in 1308 (Priestly & Turner 2003, 13; Courtney 2008, 48). The prosperity of Usk in this period, despite the turbulence of the previous two centuries, is shown by the fact that by 1306 the town consisted of 294 burgages (Soulsby 1983, 261). The second Gilbert de Clare died at Bannockburn (1314) and his lands were divided, after a delay, between his three sisters, with Usk, Llangibby and Caerleon remaining in the hands of Gilbert's widow, Matilda (Priestly & Turner 2003, 13). On the death of the Countess Matilda in 1320, the Lordship of Usk passed to her sister in law Elizabeth de Burgh (the founder of Clare College, Cambridge) and her husband Roger Dammory (Priestly & Turner 2003, 15-16), but in 1322 he was executed for treason against Edward II and the Despencers acquired Usk through an exchange with Dammory's widow, as part of their attempts to strengthen their power base in south Wales with holdings taken from the 'treasonable earls' (Howell 1988, 83; Priestly & Turner 2003, 16-17; Courtney 2008, 49). The town continued to thrive throughout this period and the earliest surviving charter for the borough, granted by Edward II, dates from 1324 (Soulsby 1983, 261). Furthermore, in 1317 the town's sheep flock had numbered only 300, but by 1324 this had trebled. By 1330 fishing profits at Usk were substantial and receipts of up to £43 were recorded (Howell 1988, 87), all of which points to a thriving town with a booming economy in the early part of the fourteenth century, once its more turbulent past was behind it.

The regents of the young Edward III restored Usk to Elizabeth de Burgh in 1326 (Knight 2008b, 74) and her granddaughter, another Elizabeth, married Lionel of Antwerp (third son of Edward III). It is through this marriage the lordships passed to the Mortimer earls of March, via the marriage of Lionel's daughter, Phillippa of Clarence, to Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March (1352 –1381) (Knight 2008b, 74). During Elizabeth de Burgh's tenure, Usk was struck by the Black Death for the first time, in 1349, killing around 10% of the population (Mein 2008, 81) and was struck again in 1369 (Howell 1988, 88). Roger Mortimer, 4th Earl of March, was born at Usk and as the eldest son of Edmund Mortimer, inherited the lordship upon his father's death. Furthermore, through his mother's royal lineage, he was considered the heir presumptive to King Richard II until his death in Ireland in 1398 (Knight 2008b, 75). However, the Mortimers' position was called into question when Roger Mortimer's brother, Sir Edmund Mortimer, joined forces with Owain Glyndŵr. In 1405, Gruffudd, son of Owain Glyndŵr, attacked Usk, only to be routed at the battle of Pwll Melyn near the town (Hodges 1995, 125). The revolt had severely affected the prosperity of

Usk, and many of the lord's tenants had fled the town (Knight 2008a, 76), although, Usk has a particular affinity with the turbulent events of the early 1400s, as the chronicle of Adam of Usk, born in the town in the middle of the fourteenth century, sheds particular light upon the Glyndŵr revolt (Given-Wilson 2008, 89). The Mortimer lords of Usk, as well as extending the outer walls of the castle, also made a number of decorative additions to the castle, such as the dovecote tower, adding to the castle's role as a seigneurial icon of authority (Creighton 2009, 107). Sixteenth and seventeenth century surveys of Usk also mention a deer park situated to the north of the castle (Priestly & Turner 2003, 19), which helps reinforce this image of medieval lordly prestige.

When Roger Mortimer's son, Edmund, 5th Earl of March, died of the plague at Trim Castle, County Meath, in 1425, the Lordship of Usk then passed to his nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York and was therefore held by the Yorkist faction during the turmoil of the later fifteenth century. The lordship continued to be held for the crown by royal stewards, most notably by the Herbert family of Raglan, until 1550 when it was granted to William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (c.1501 – 1570). There is little evidence of building work at Usk under either the Mortimer earls of March or the Herberts (Priestly & Turner 2003, 19) as by this point a combination of the decline of the town and the shifting of the focus of regional lordship led to Usk being superseded by other nearby sites, such as Raglan, a state of affairs which was not helped by the dissolution of St Mary's priory in 1536 (Thurlby 2006, 141).

Gwehelog and Glascoed

As has already been mentioned, the parish of Usk had two separate hamlets attached to it, which could possibly represent 'Welshries' attached to the *caput* - Gwehelog and Glascoed (Mein 1986, 7-8). The place-name 'Gwehelog', which is of Welsh origin, although the exact translation is unclear (it may be a reference to the varied vegetation in the area), was first documented in 1296 as an area of woodland to the north of Usk known as 'Weolok' (Morgan 2005, 103). The place-name Glascoed (*Glasgoed* in Welsh) is also of Welsh origin and translates as 'blue/green wood' and is first documented in the early sixteenth century (Morgan 2005, 96). The inhabitants of Gwehelog, and nearby Trostrey, are returned as customary tenants of Usk in thirteenth century records of rents for the town (Mein 1986, 87), and these possibly represent 'Welsh' tenants attached to the 'English' borough of Usk, although there is no direct evidence for this and if it were the case the practice had certainly ceased by the fourteenth century (Mein 1986, 84). Mein has also suggested that Glascoed represents a 'settlement of free Welsh' attached to the 'Englishry' of Usk (Mein 1986, 7). Glascoed is separated from the rest of the parish of Usk by the parish of Monkwood, which was a monastic grant given to Tintern by the lords of Usk (Bradney 1923, 71). It was intended that Monkwood should be studied in conjunction with Glascoed, but no tithe map data was available. Gwehelog and

Glascoed's history as unenclosed land is referenced in the fact that they were still referred to as 'common' at the beginning of the twentieth century (Bradney 1923, 63; 65).

Raglan



Fig.8.10. Aerial view of St Cadoc's Church, Raglan (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

The place-name 'Raglan' (*Rhaglan* in Welsh) is first documented in around 1165, and is thought to loosely translate from Welsh as 'rampart' (*rhag* meaning 'before or in front of' and *glan* meaning 'bank'). This theory is supported by the fact that the Welsh word for 'rampart', 'bulwark' or 'bastion' is *rhagfur* (Morgan 2005, 184). With this name predating the construction of the later masonry castle in the fifteenth century, it could be taken as evidence for an earlier fortification at the site. Raglan's church, St Cadoc's, has a pre-Conquest dedication to a Welsh saint (Fig.8.10.), but, despite this, no part of any possible pre-Conquest church survives, with the earliest parts of St Cadoc's being two fourteenth century windows in the south wall and the west tower, thought to date from the 1460s (Newman 2000, 488; Salter 2002, 57). Linked into the possibility of a pre-Conquest church, there is also the suggestion that Raglan may have been a centre of local government in the region prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans (Mein 1986, 8-9). The small settlement of Twyn-y-Sheriff, to the south of Raglan, is first attested to in the nineteenth century. However, its Welsh derived name is rather intriguing in the context of this study as it translates as 'the

sheriff's hillock' (Morgan 2005, 213), and has a similar etymology to that seen previously at Shirenewton .

As has already been mentioned, Richard 'Strongbow' de Clare granted the manor of Raglan to Walter Bloet in the 1170s (Crouch 2008, 30) in return for the service of one Welsh knight at Usk Castle (Salter 1991, 28). Interestingly, a charter of Walter Bloet, confirming the tithes of Raglan to the Abbeys of Lyre and Cormeilles, suggests that Raglan had been under Anglo-Norman jurisdiction since the time of William fitz Osbern (Knight 2008a, 55), much earlier than previously thought. This foundation would have made sense, as Raglan sits at the crossroads of the Chepstow to Abergavenny and the Monmouth to Caerleon roads (Kenyon 2003, 3). However, there are no contemporary documents to back up this claim and forging of charters was widespread during this period.

Raglan's links to Usk are exemplified by Walter Bloet seeking confirmation of his holdings from Henry II after the capture of Usk by Hywel ap Iorwerth in 1174 (Mein 1986, 43) and there is a suggestion that the Bloets had a timber castle at the site. The finding of fragments of late thirteenth century tiles at Raglan, as well as accounts, dated to 1375, which talk of repairs to the lord's chambers, hall and garderobe hint at the extent of the Bloet castle which predates the extant Herbert construction (Newman 2000, 491). Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Great Tower at Raglan may sit atop the remains of a former motte (Kenyon 2003, 3), although Phillips found no evidence for a pre-existing timber castle at the site (Phillips 2006). What is known for certain is that the nucleated settlement of Raglan predates the construction of the masonry castle. The status of the settlement of Raglan in this period is unclear; it is described as a *vill*, but has 68 burgesses and in 1354 was described as a *burgus* (Hopkins 2008, 121), despite being hit repeatedly by the Black Death between 1348 and 1369 (Howell 1988, 88), and remains of ridge and furrow have been found in the surrounding fields (Archwilio, 02133g). Raglan was only granted a weekly Thursday market in the fifteenth century, but it is possible that an informal market had been held there for quite a long time previously, due to its size and the presence of a market place (Beresford 1967; Hopkins 2008, 126; Weeks 2008, 150).

The later history of Raglan is intertwined with the rise of the Herbert dynasty who, in the space of a couple of generations, went from being a minor Welsh family from Llansantffraed near Abergavenny, to virtual 'viceroys' of Wales during the Wars of the Roses. The first member of this family to hold Raglan was William ap Thomas (Fig.8.11.), a veteran of Agincourt. William's first wife was Elizabeth Bloet, daughter of Sir John Bloet and widow of the Sir James Berkeley who had been *jure uxoris* Lord of Raglan. After Elizabeth's death in 1420, William became lord of Raglan in his own right, buying Raglan from his step-son, another James Berkeley (Bradney 1914, 3; Salter 1991, 28). William ap Thomas was knighted in 1426, and became known as *Y Marchog Glas* (the blue knight) due to his flamboyant armour (Howell 1988, 97). As lord of Raglan, William began rebuilding Raglan (Fig.8.12.), whilst serving as

steward of Usk and Caerleon under the Duke of York (Howell 1988, 97). His most notable addition to the castle is the hexagonal keep ('The Great Tower', or 'The Yellow Tower of Gwent') which stands apart from the castle, its unique design showing the clear influence of his French campaigns (Stanford 1980; Pettifer 2000; Smith 2007).

William ap Thomas died in 1445 and his holdings passed to his son by his second wife, (Gwladys ferch Dafydd Gam, known as *Seren y Feni*, the star of Abergavenny), William Herbert, also known as 'Black William'. The change to an 'anglified' 'Herbert' surname may suggest a lingering suspicion of Welsh in the aftermath of the Glyndŵr revolt, although Herbert was known to keep a Welsh court at Raglan (Howell 1988, 97-9). William completed the inner courtyard and constructed the outer one beyond (Smith 2007, 125). Suggestions of a fourteenth century park hint that the Herberts inherited a maintained landscape from the previous lords of Raglan; what is certain, however, is that by the end of the fifteenth century Raglan had at least three different parks surrounding it, probably largely the work of William Herbert (Kenyon 2003, 11).



Fig.8.11. Effigy of William ap Thomas at St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny (photograph: author's own).



Fig.8.12. Aerial view of Raglan Castle (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

In 1457 William Herbert was outlawed by Henry VI for 'mischief and grievance brought upon the king's liege subjects' (Howell 1988, 98) and this, along with his allegiance to the Duke of York, led him to be a staunch enemy of the Lancastrian regime. In 1461 he raised a force in support of the Yorkist faction and fought beside the future Edward IV at the battle of Mortimer's Cross, near Leominster in Herefordshire. As a result, Edward IV entrusted William Herbert with mopping-up Lancastrian resistance in Wales, appointing him justicar of south Wales in 1461 and of north Wales in 1467 (Howell 1988, 98; Carr 1995, 122). Such was Herbert's power in Wales under the regime of Edward IV, that it can be argued that Raglan was virtually the de facto capital of Wales during this period (Howell 1988, 104).

In 1468 Herbert managed to crush the last vestiges of Lancastrian resistance in Wales, at Harlech Castle, and was rewarded with the earldom of Pembroke (taken from Jasper Tudor), gaining the Lordship of Chepstow, and therefore giving him hegemony over southern Gwent (Smith 2007, 125). The standing of the Herberts in the Yorkist court is exemplified by marriage of William's son, also called William, to Mary Woodville, Edward IV's sister in law. However, by 1469 William Herbert was dead, executed after his defeat by the now rebellious Richard 'Kingmaker' Neville, Earl of Warwick, at the battle of Edgecote in 1469 (Carr 1995, 123). It is worth also noting that, following the death of his father, Edmund, prior to his birth, a young Henry Tudor was in the custody of William Herbert at Raglan, before being passed to the care of his uncle, Jasper Tudor, following Herbert's death (Carr 1995, 125).

Upon the younger William Herbert's death in 1491, Raglan passed to his sole heir Elizabeth and her husband Charles Somerset, 1st Earl of Worcester, the legitimised son of Henry Beaufort, 3rd Duke of Somerset. The next major phase of remodelling at the castle was undertaken by William Somerset, 3rd Earl of Worcester (d.1589), and Henry Somerset, the fifth earl (d.1646) (Kenyon 2003; Smith 2007). The Somersets were staunchly Royalist during the Civil War and the castle was besieged by Parliament in 1646 and eventually slighted (Pettifer 2000, 138).

Trellech



Fig.8.13. Aerial view of 'Tump Terret' Motte, Trellech (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

The place-name 'Trellech' (or 'Trelech/Trelleck' – *Tryleg* in Welsh) is first documented in the eighth century and probably translates as 'three stones' after the three Bronze Age standing stones situated in the village, known today as 'Harold's Stones' (Morgan 2005, 211). There is evidence for extensive Roman iron smelting activity in and around Trellech (Howell 1988, 31), and iron would play an important role in the history of this settlement. Post-Roman and early medieval occupation is attested to by an eighth century charter relating to Trellech, and the remains of a preaching cross in the churchyard, which are thought to date from the eighth or ninth centuries (*Liber Landavensis*, 199b; Zaluckyj & Zaluckyj 2006, 390). Now a small village, Trellech was once one of the largest towns in Wales and the post-Conquest manor was a foundation of Richard de Clare, lord of Usk, which must have come

soon after the foundation of Usk in order to exploit the woodland economy of the uplands, including local reserves of iron and charcoal (Mein 1986, 72; Courtney 2008, 48). In fact, the manor of Trellech seems to have remained in the direct possession of whoever held the Lordship of Usk, hinting at its economic importance to the Marcher lords (Bradney 1913, 131-132). Eventually, Trellech became the main iron-producing centre for the de Clare group of lordships in south Wales, designed to support their castle-building campaign in Glamorgan (Weeks 2008, 155).



Fig.8.14. St Nicholas' church, Trellech (photograph: author's own).

The motte and bailey castle, known as 'Tump Terret' (Fig.8.13.) was erected before 1231 (Howell 1988, 60), and by the end of the thirteenth century had a permanent staff, some stone built components (Courtney 2008, 48) and even access to fish ponds (Kissock 2008, 80). In 1306 the castle site was described as 'the old castle' (Archwilio, 00855g) which hints at the age of the foundation and demonstrates that

the castle had some form of manorial administrative function for the nascent town of Trellech. In fact, the name 'Terret' could be a reference to a former masonry 'turret' built after the construction of the motte (Bradney 1913, 137). There appears to have been some attempt to replace the castle with a massive stone construction around 1300, but this plan never achieved fruition due to the death of Gilbert de Clare at the battle of Bannockburn (Courtney 2008, 49).

By 1288 Trellech had 378 burgage plots and a population larger than that of Chepstow. Therefore, by the end of the thirteenth century it was amongst the most populous towns in Wales (Howell 1988, 60). There is even evidence that by the fifteenth century Welshmen were sufficiently well established in the town to be made burgesses (Griffiths 2008, 257), hinting at the economic draw of the town. In fact, Trellech's former size is testified to, not just by the size of the church (St Nicholas'), which is rather large for a village of its size and largely dates from soon after the Welsh burnt the newly founded town in 1296 (Fig.8.14.; Newman 2000, 576; Salter 2002, 64), but by the fact that in the seventeenth century it was recorded as having had a mayor (Bradney 1913, 130). Despite a consensus that the settlement was much larger than its present size, there is an intense debate to be had about the exact layout and extent of medieval Trellech (Anthony 2003; Clarke 2006; Hopkins 2008, 126). By 1291 a large holding of Tintern Abbey was recorded to the south of Trellech, but outside the boundaries of the parish, known as Trellech Grange (Howell 1988, 74), with the remains of a medieval church which may have acted as a chapel for the grange (Newman 2000, 580).

As has already been mentioned, the Despencers briefly acquired Trellech, as part of their attempts to strengthen their power base in south Wales with holdings taken from the 'treasonable earls' (Howell 1988, 83). However, after 1369 a combination of plague and warfare, as well as a changing economic climate, as well as its position away from a major waterway, sent the town into irreversible decline (Mein 1986, 72; Howell 1988, 60). The ravages of the Glyndŵr revolt probably sealed Trellech's fate as in 1404 Owain Glyndŵr's forces defeated an English army at the battle of Craig y Dorth near Trellech, chasing them to Monmouth's Monnow gate (Howell 1988, 92). By 1696 the borough had been reduced to a 'poor inconsiderable village', and by 1901 there were only seventeen inhabited houses left (Newman 2000, 576).

Llandenny

'Llandenny', or 'Llandenni' (*Mathenni* in Welsh) is first recorded in the Llandaff Charters with an eighth century grant (*Liber Landavensis*, 207; 208; Zaluckyj & Zaluckyj 2006, 339). The place-name is of Welsh origin and translates as 'church of Tenni', Tenni being an unrecorded Welsh saint (Morgan 2005, 120). The grant of c.760 makes it clear that the land at Llandenny was in active agricultural use (Davies 1979 117-118; Mein 1986, 8) and Bradney highlights the quality of the land, possibly

hinting at why Llandenny was a prime location for an agricultural settlement (Bradney 1914, 40). The Church at Llandenny is dedicated to St John the Apostle, and its earliest architectural features are the Norman south doorway and one Norman north window, while the nave is twelfth century in origin, the chancel dates from c.1300 and the tower is from the sixteenth century (Newman 2000, 272; Salter 2002, 29). Llandenny is listed in 1314 as a knight's fee owed to Matilda, widow of Gilbert de Clare (Bradney 1914, 40). The settlement of 'Kingcoed' (*Cyncoed* in Welsh), to the north-east of Llandenny, is first documented in the nineteenth century. Despite its royal sounding name, it actually translates as 'woody ridge' (*cefn* 'ridge' and *coed* 'wood') (Morgan 2005, 84).

8.3. Analysis of the Historic Landscape

8.3.1. Usk

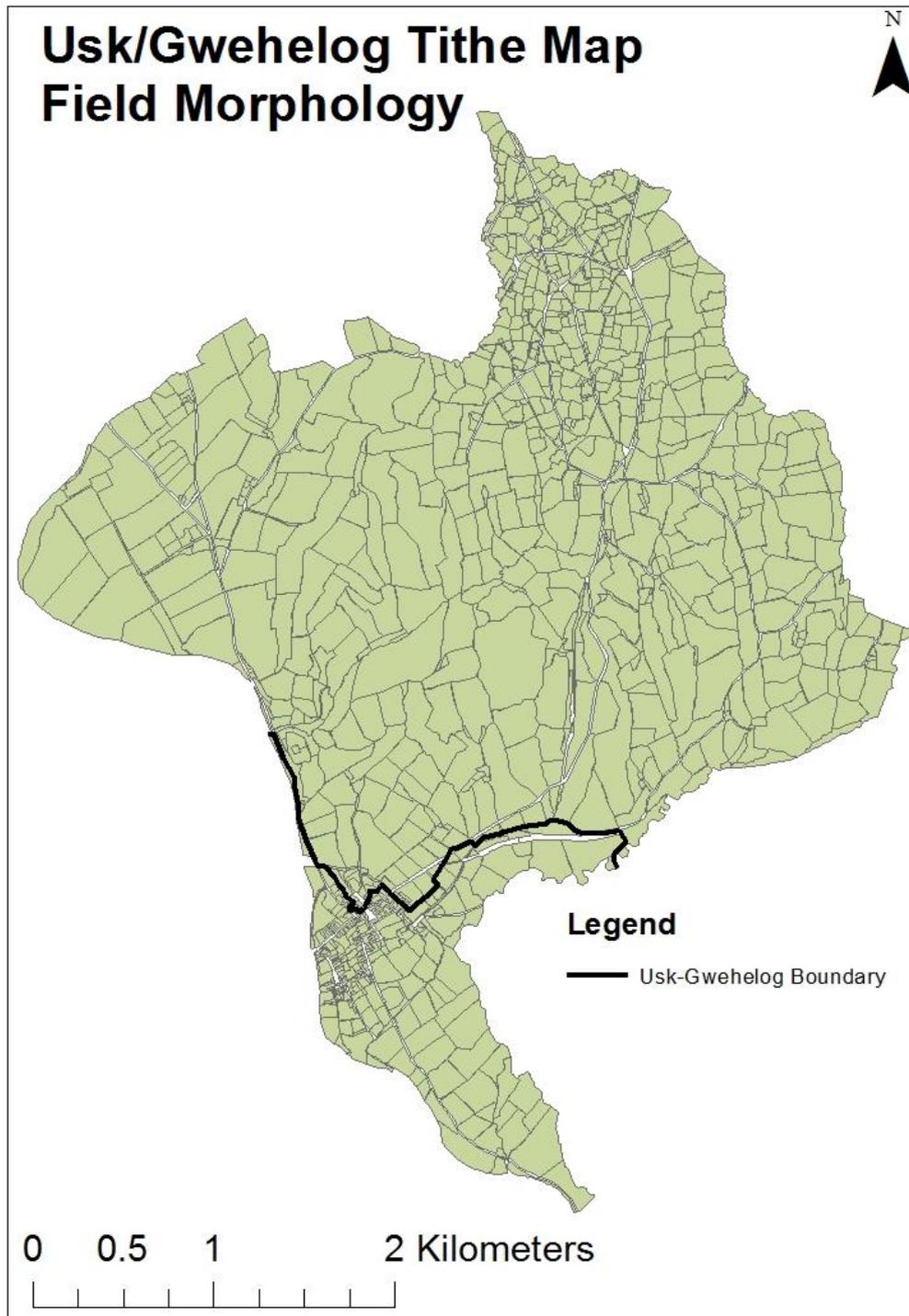


Fig.8.15. The field morphology of Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1843 (Usk) and 1842 (Gwehelog) tithe map surveys.

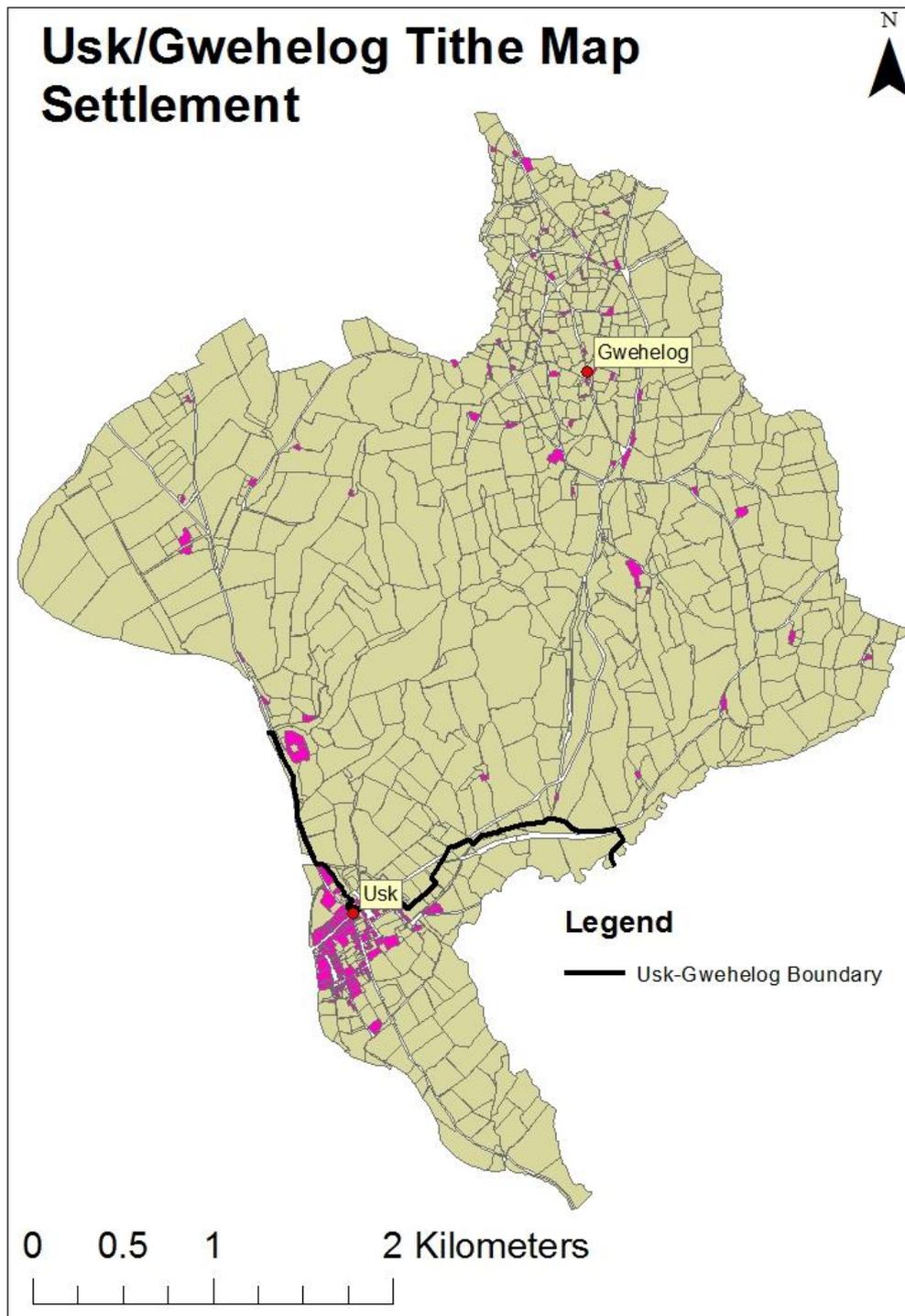


Fig.8.16. The settlement pattern of Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1843 (Usk) and 1842 (Gwehelog) tithe map surveys. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink. The black area represents the town of Monmouth.

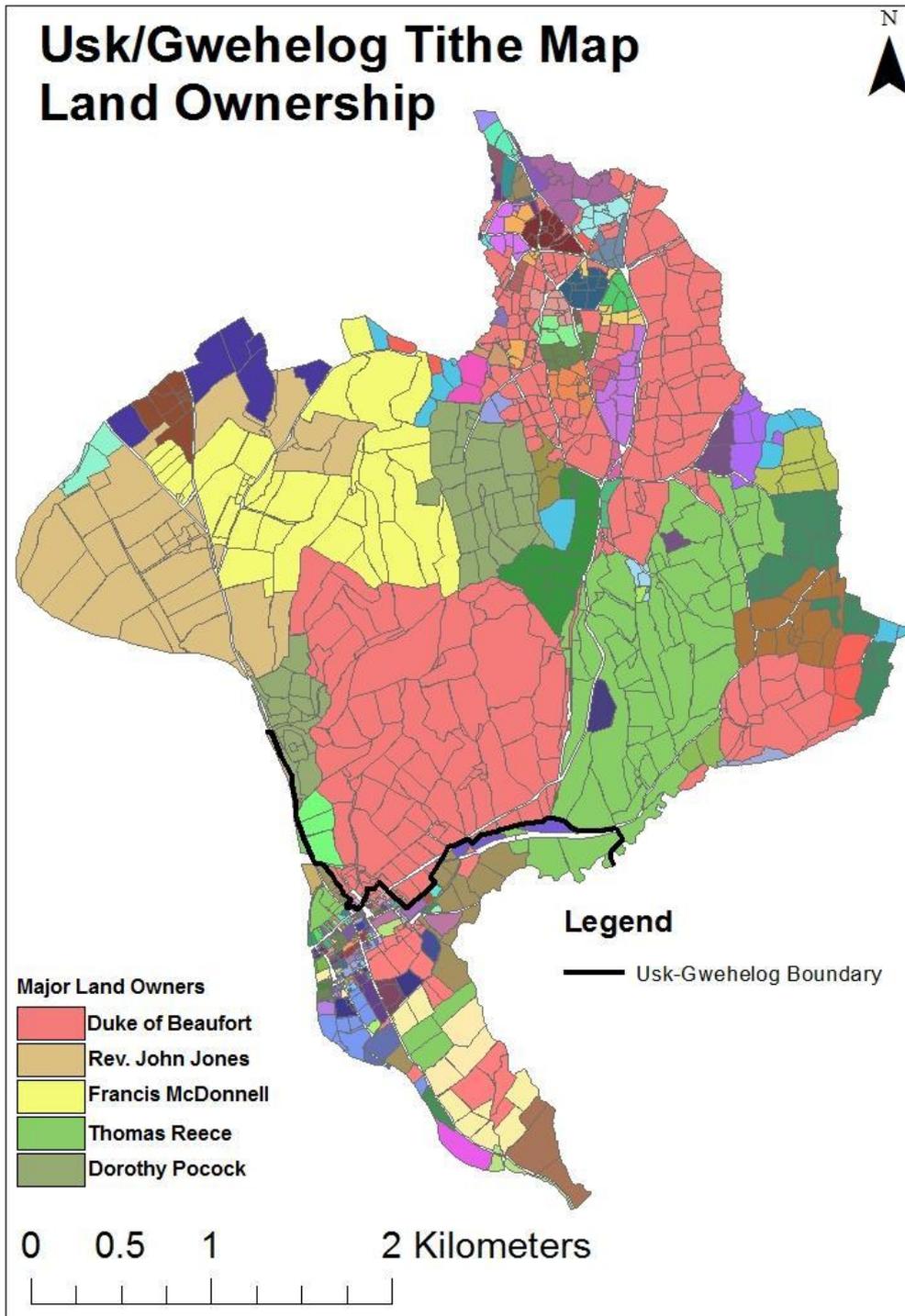


Fig.8.17. The pattern of land ownership for Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1843 (Usk) and 1842 (Gwehelog) tithe map surveys.

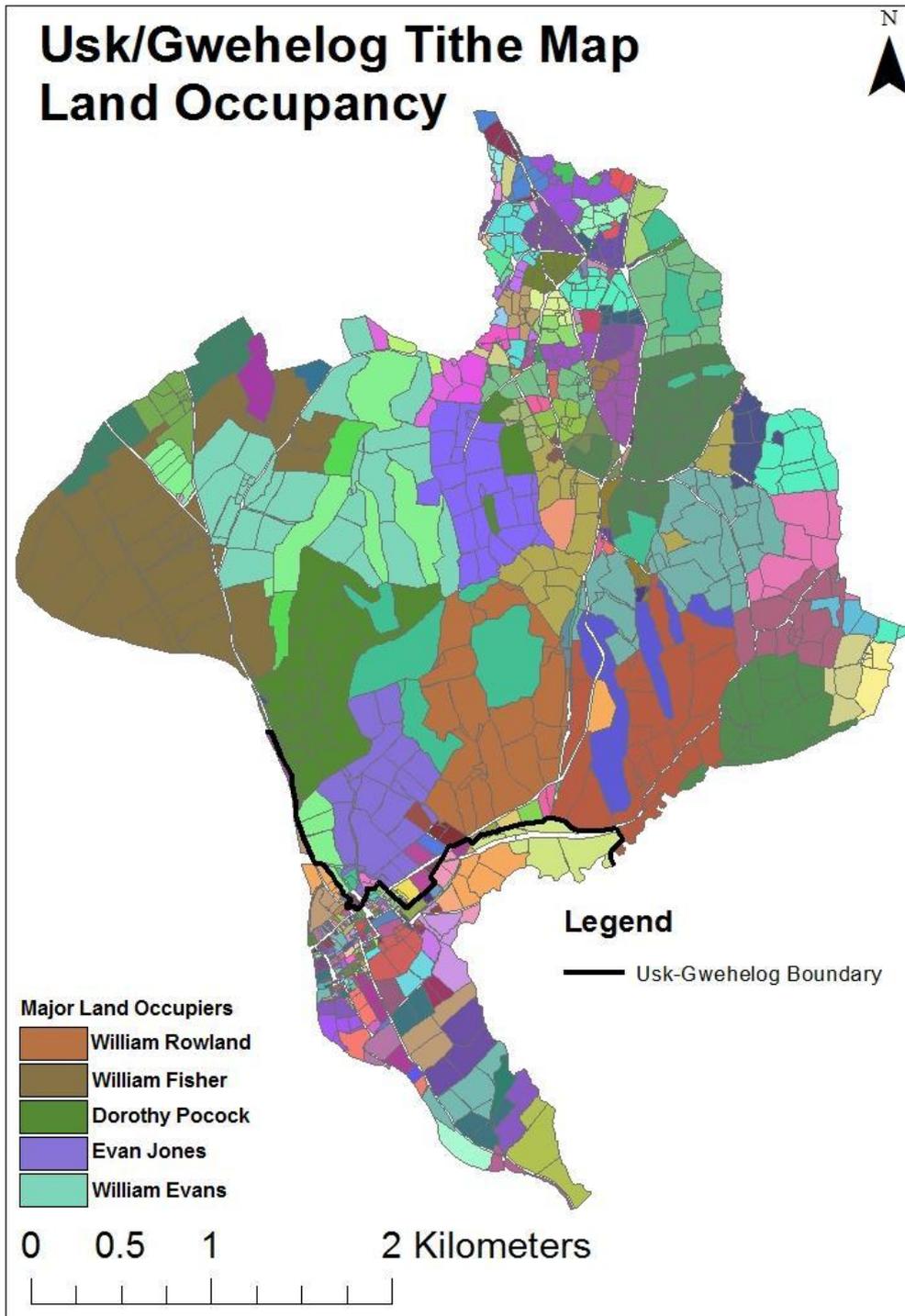


Fig.8.18. The pattern of land occupancy for Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1843 (Usk) and 1842 (Gwehelog) tithe map surveys.

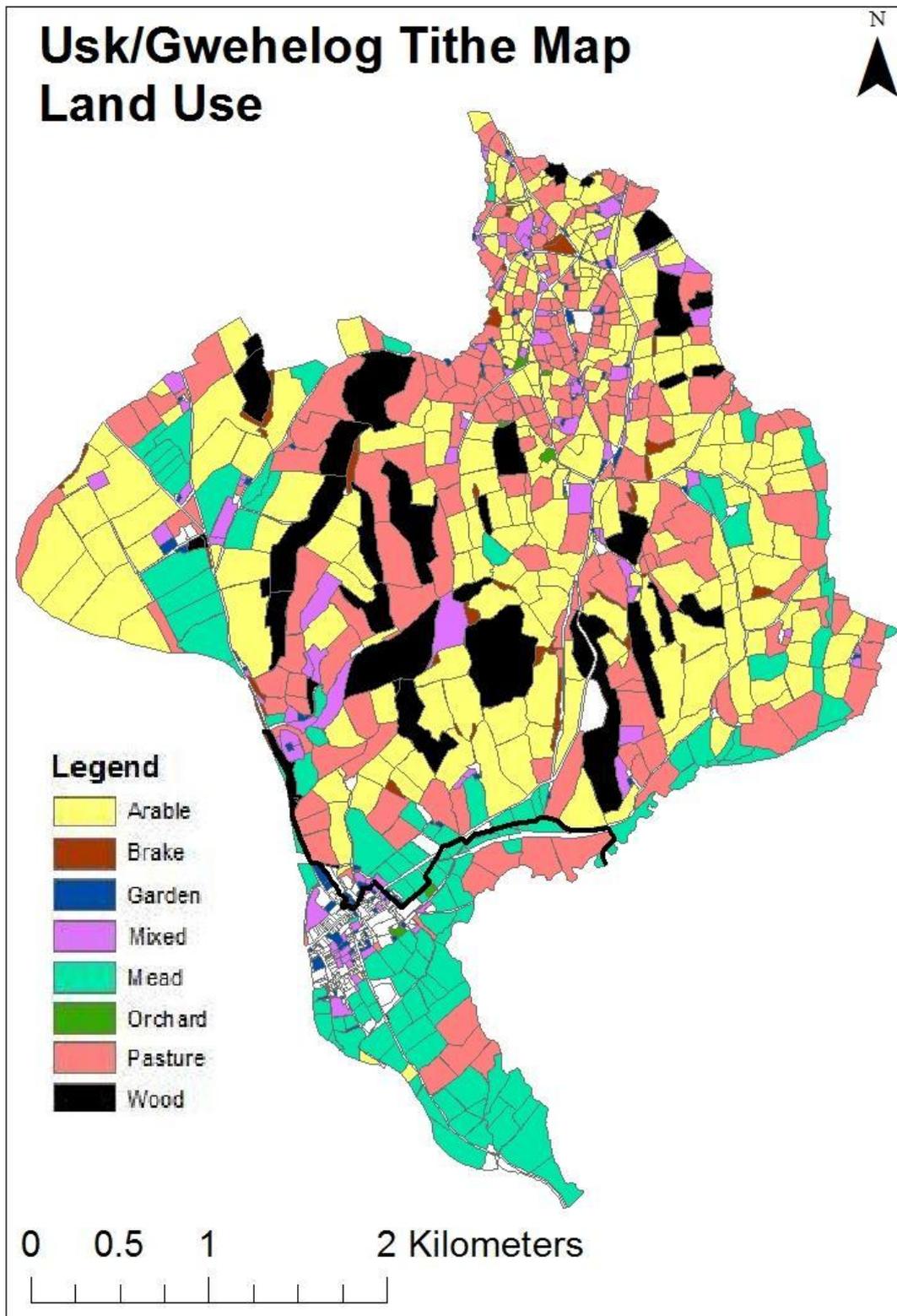


Fig.8.19. The pattern of land use for Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1843 (Usk) and 1842 (Gwehelog) tithe map surveys.

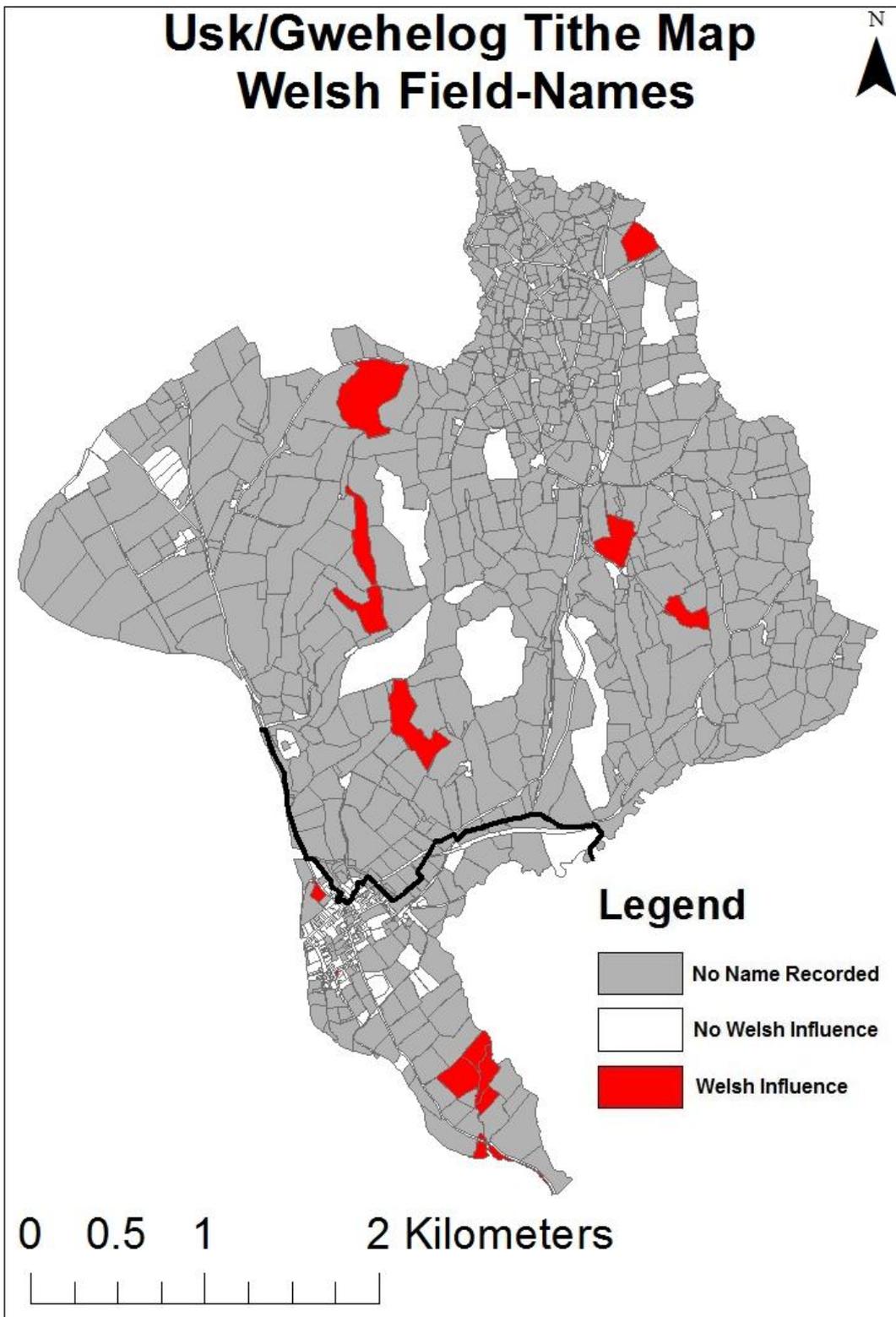


Fig.8.20. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1843 (Usk) and 1842 (Gwehelog) tithe map surveys.

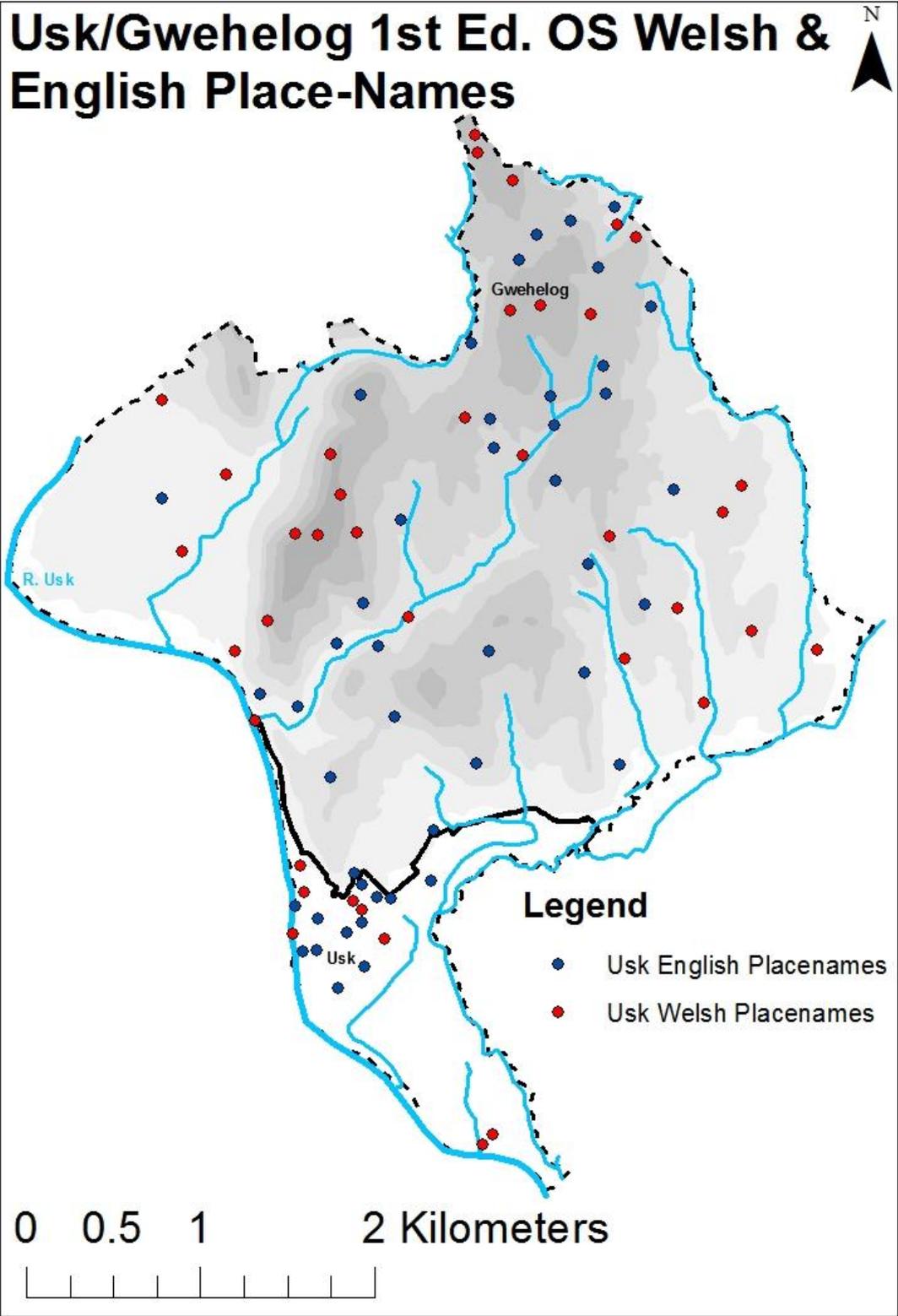


Fig.8.21. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

When the field morphology of the parishes of Usk and Gwehelog recorded in the tithe apportionment (Fig.8.15.) is examined, what can be seen is a rather varied pattern. There are some smaller strip fields in the vicinity of the town of Usk and a number of small and highly irregular fields around the hamlet of Gwehelog, which is suggestive of former unenclosed common land. The rest of the parish is seemingly made up of irregularly shaped fields of varying sizes, but generally larger than those surrounding Gwehelog. There are a few long 'strip' fields, but a significant amount of these are located on the fringes of the parish and are probably caused by the division of previous irregular fields. That being said, there are a few fields to the north of Usk which hint at possibly providing evidence for a small former open field system being attached to the town, with a smaller and more regular morphology. The area of land to the south of the town of Usk also has fairly regular field morphology, with rectangular fields which could offer possible proof of a former open field, but needs to be back up by further evidence from other data sets. The road pattern presented by the tithe maps is of a radial nature, focused on Usk, as one would expect. However, there is no similar pattern present at the other end of the parish focused on Gwehelog, instead there is a fairly confused road pattern that ties in with the small and irregular field morphology.

The tithe survey settlement pattern for this parish (Fig.8.16.) is, obviously, dominated by the town of Usk itself, which was quite a substantial nucleation. The fields to the south of Usk have no settlement recorded in them and, apart from a few small exceptions, the area directly to the north of the town is largely devoid of any settlement too. This, combined with the slight morphological evidence presented in the previous data set could be taken as an example of the 'halo' effect, and therefore be used as evidence for a small open field attached to the town. The rest of the parish, outside the area devoid of settlement north of Usk, seems to have a highly dispersed settlement pattern, apart from around the area of small irregular fields in Gwehelog. Here there is a large amount of settlement, still dispersed, and whilst still not nucleated enough to earn the title 'dispersed village'; it is still grouped closely enough to be remarked upon and set it aside from the rest of the parish.

The patterns of tithe survey land ownership for Usk and Gwehelog (Fig.8.17.) show a marked difference between the two parts of the parish. Usk has a very fragmented pattern of land ownership, with a jumble of different land owners with no particular pattern, as one would expect for a town with some kind of open field attached. Conversely, Gwehelog is very different, with large blocks of land held in severalty. This flies in the face of the evidence provided in the previous two data sets which suggested the possibility of a large open field system to north of the town. However, this large area, where the morphology and settlement pattern data sets suggest an open field, is all owned by one land owner (The Duke of Beaufort), who can claim descent from the former lords of Usk. Therefore, this one data set does not exclude the possibility of their having been a former open field in this region. There is a much more confused picture of land ownership around Gwehelog, but one would expect

this as this area has a large amount of settlement around what could possibly have been woodland common. The pattern of land occupancy recorded in the Usk tithe survey (Fig.8.18.) presents us with a very similar picture within the boundaries of Usk to that presented by the land ownership data set. There is a very jumbled and confused pattern of occupancy around both the town of Usk and around Gwehelog, while the rest of parish, away from the two settlements is far more regular. However, the occupancy pattern for this part of Usk is still slightly more fragmented than the ownership pattern, and so further clouds the debate as to whether a former open field system is present to the north of the town. All that can be said for certain is that, if one is present, it certainly is not as large and extensive as those seen at Monmouth, Chepstow and Caldicot.

An examination of the pattern of land use recorded in the tithe survey of Usk (Fig.8.19.) again presents us with a very clear difference between Usk and Gwehelog. In terms of land use, the parish of Usk is almost entirely made up of fields laid down to meadow. Interestingly, these meadows occupy all the land which, in the settlement and morphology data set, showed evidence for the presence of a former open field. An analysis of the soils in this region, however, suggests this land while highly fertile (Soilscapes) and very suitable for arable farming, is also on a flood plain, which may have caused difficulties for open field arable farming. Therefore, while it can be suggested that the change in land use to 'meadow' happened later and that there was some form of open field here, it is most likely that this area to the south of the town was common meadow and the arable open field was to the north. Conversely, Gwehelog has an extremely mixed picture and, noticeably, there is far less meadow present (particularly around Gwehelog itself, where there is almost none). In Gwehelog there is slightly more arable than pasture, although there is a large amount of pasture around the hamlet of Gwehelog, as well as large strips of wood in the centre of the parish, which again is suggestive of former unenclosed common and woodland.

Sadly, most of the fields in Usk and Gwehelog do not have their names recorded in the tithe survey (Fig.8.20.), which somewhat hampers the level of analysis which can be undertaken on this data set. Of those recorded, there are very few field-names of Welsh origin within Usk and Gwehelog. However, analysing the data that is recorded, it can be seen that 7 out of the 204 fields from the parish of Usk which had their field-names recorded by the tithe survey showed Welsh influence (3%) and this number rises slightly when Gwehelog is examined, where 8 of the recorded 121 fields had Welsh field-names (7%). When these two figures are combined a final total of 15 out of 325 (5%) is reached, which is not a huge amount. Therefore, if these figures are representative of the parish as a whole it can be seen that Usk does not have a huge amount of field-names showing Welsh toponymic influence. Of those which are recorded, there are a small cluster towards the south of the town of Usk and a scattering across Gwehelog, although none in the immediate vicinity of the hamlet itself. If this is the pattern for the rest of the parish, it could be argued that

these small clusters are probably more likely to be caused by the linguistic preferences of individual farmers, rather than any cultural landscape process. The place-name information collected from the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.8.21.) presents a much more mixed picture than that presented by the tithe map field-names data set. Both of the settlements in the parish (Usk and Gwehelog) seem to present a fairly mixed picture, but with a marked dominance of place-names of English origin and the central 'north-south vertical swathe' of the parish presents us with a similar pattern. However, the fringes of the parish present us with a different picture and the northern, eastern, southern and western edges of Usk are dominated by Welsh place-names, with very few place-names of English origin. In the absence of geographic reason for this change (the parish is quite a distance from the Anglo-Welsh border and the eastern fringe is definitely closer to the areas of stronger Anglo-Norman influence than the centre), it can be suggested that either the town, or the castle (or maybe even a former open field farming system) may have affected the linguistic landscape of the parish.

In conclusion, the medieval landscape model suggested by this study of Usk (Fig.8.22.) is indicative of a town surrounded by a small open field system, limited by both the river and the presence of Usk park to the north of the town. One of the main things to note when examining Usk's former open fields is the extent of it, significantly smaller than that seen at Monmouth, Chepstow and Caldicot, possibly due to the physical limitations of the landscape and possibly due to the later foundation of Usk and its volatile situation towards the frontier of the March. The rest of the parish, the more upland area, seems to either be comprised of blocks of land held in severalty or farmsteads carved out of former unenclosed common. Importantly, there does not appear to be much Welsh linguistic influence within the parish, hinting at the agency of the Anglo-Norman lordship site of Usk castle.

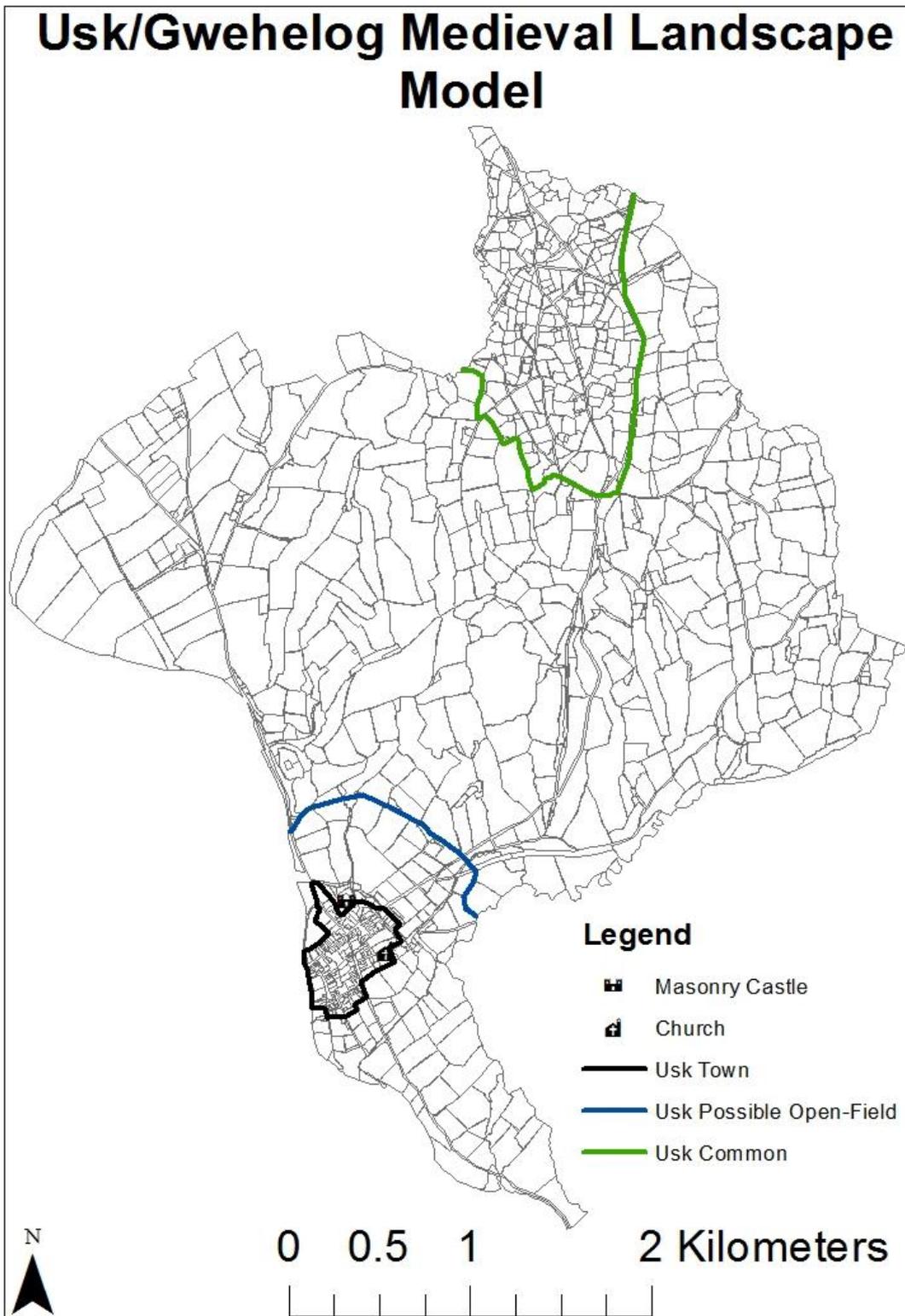


Fig.8.22. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Usk and the hamlet of Gwehelog, based upon the findings of this case study.

8.3.2. Raglan

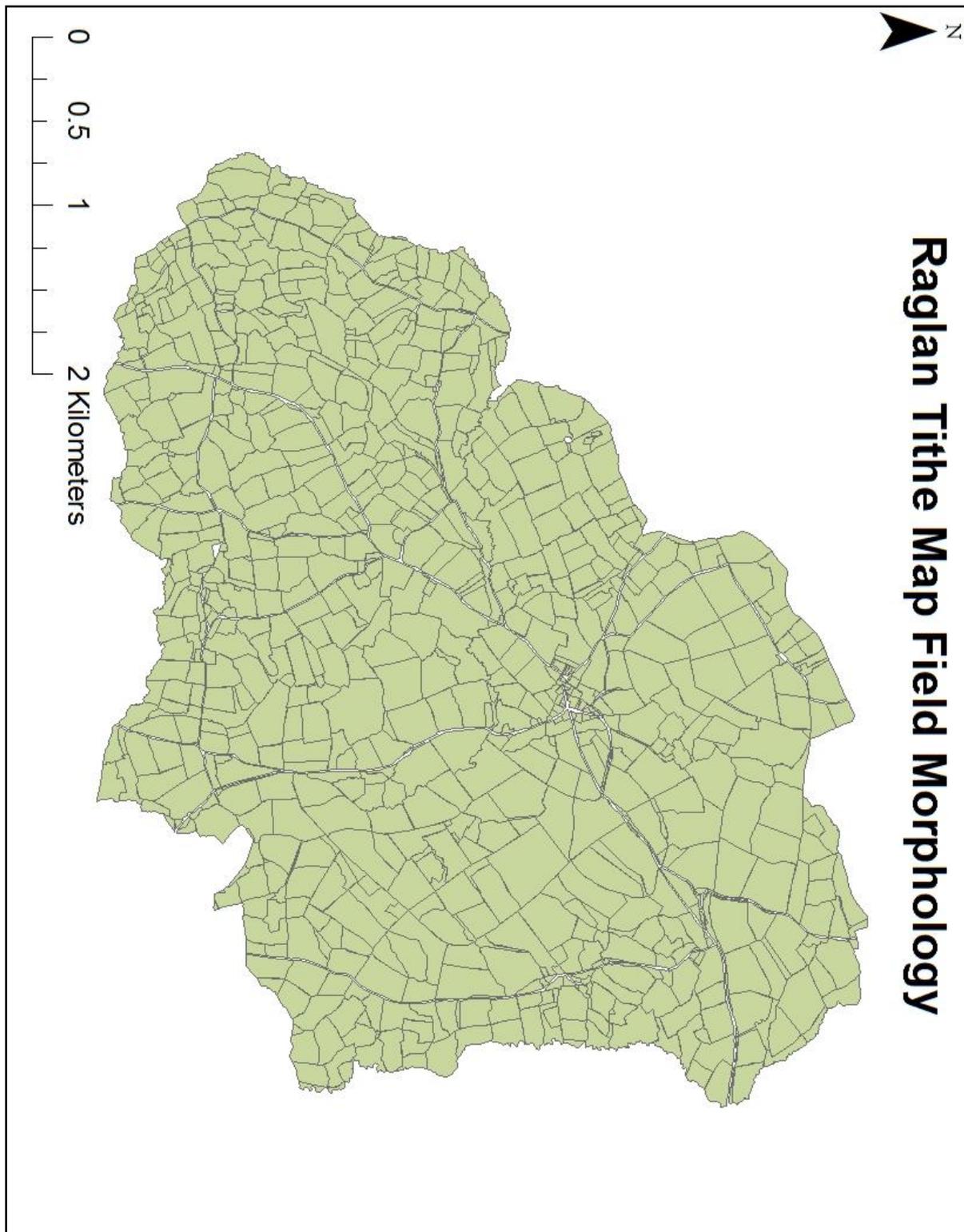


Fig.8.23. The field morphology of Raglan according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

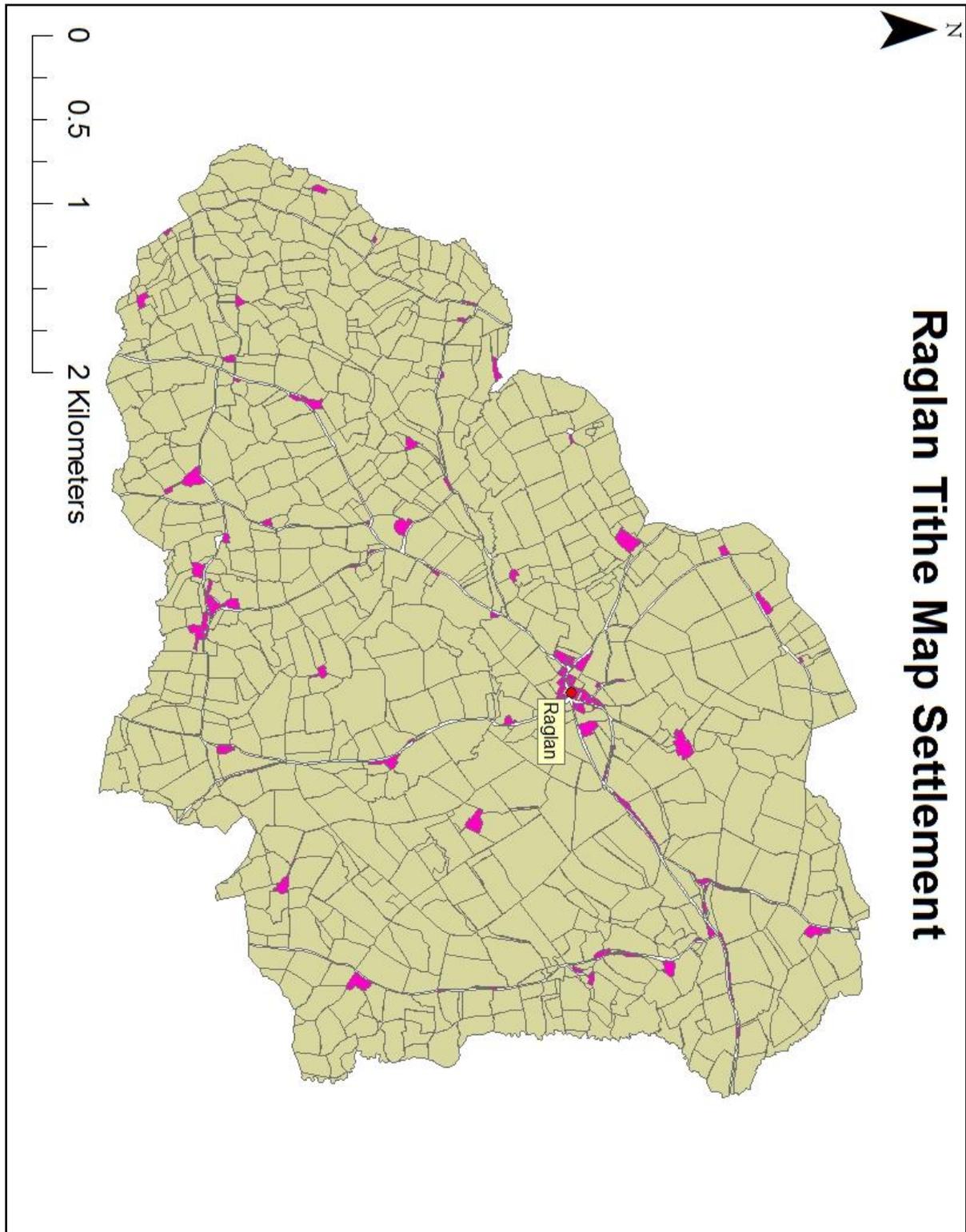


Fig.8.24. The settlement pattern of Raglan according to the 1840 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

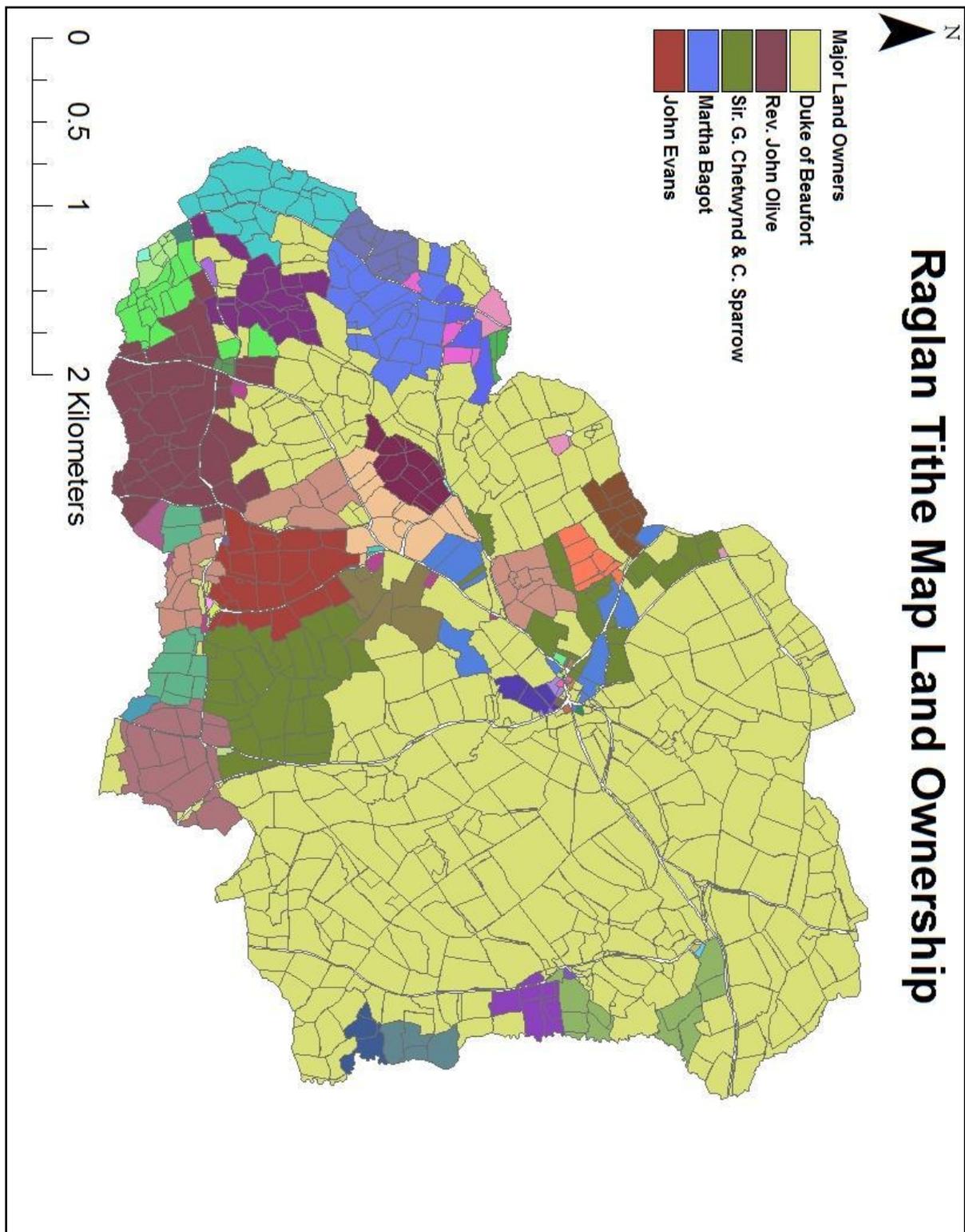


Fig.8.25. The pattern of land ownership for Raglan according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

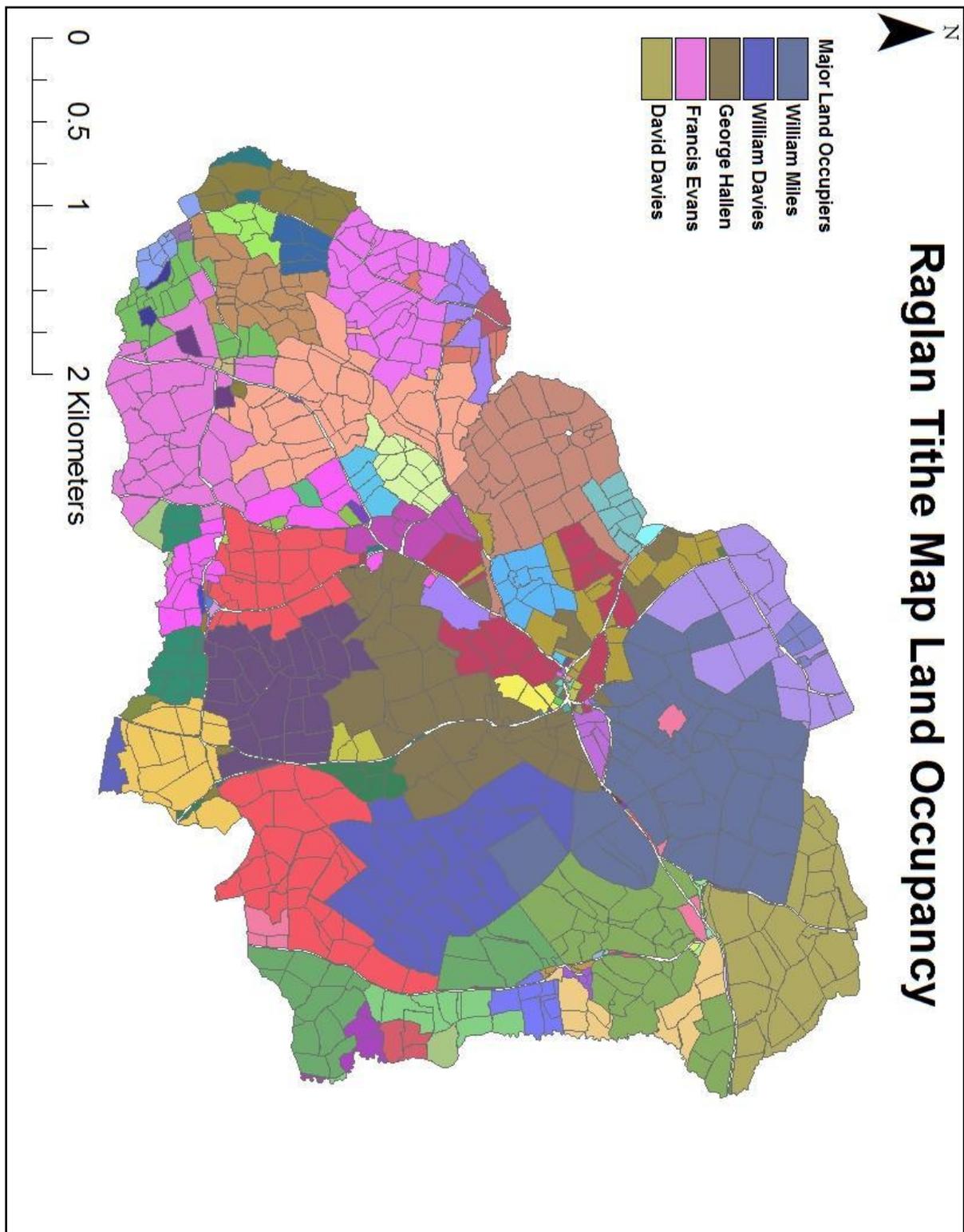


Fig.8.26. The pattern of land occupancy for Raglan according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

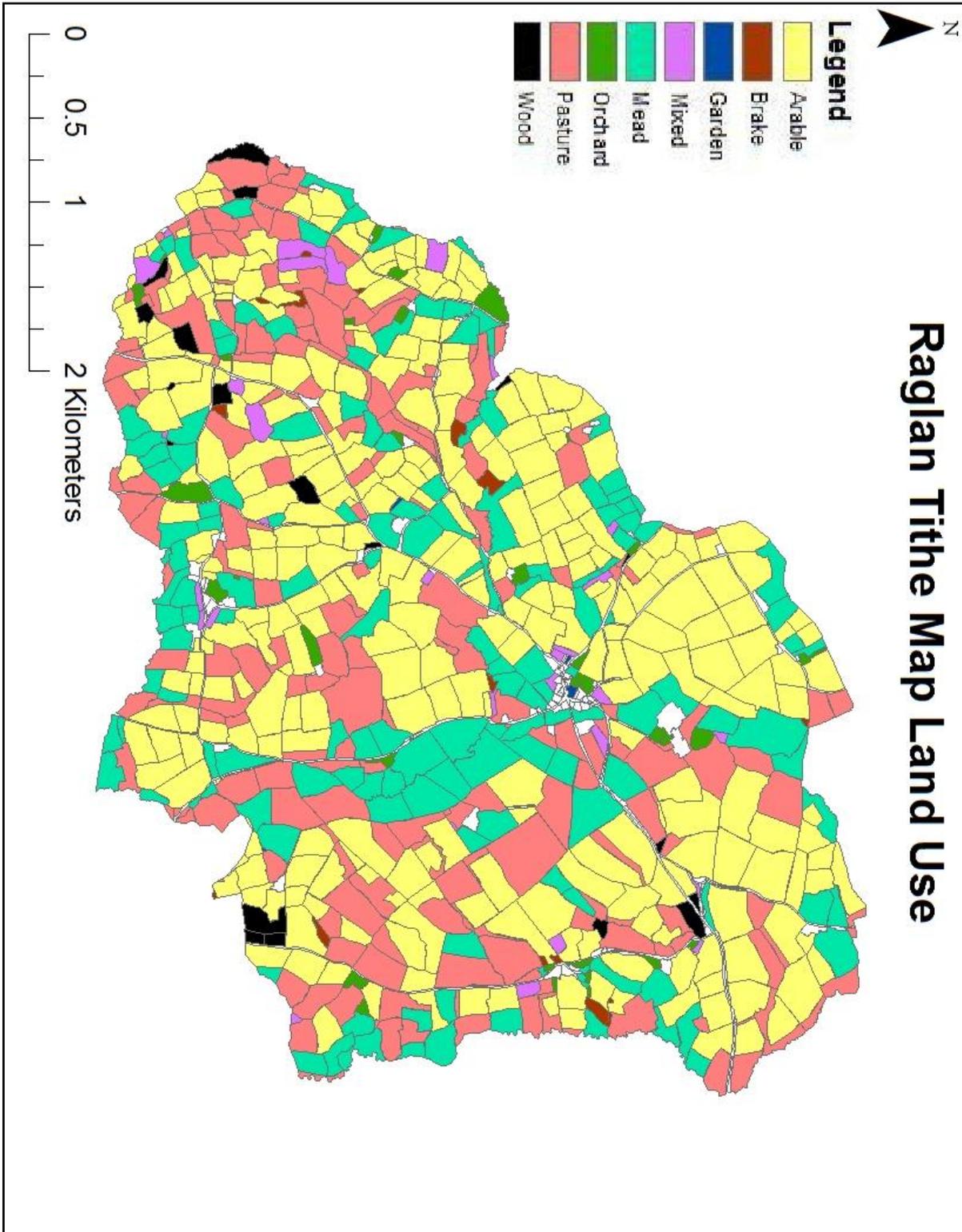


Fig.8.27. The pattern of land use for Raglan according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

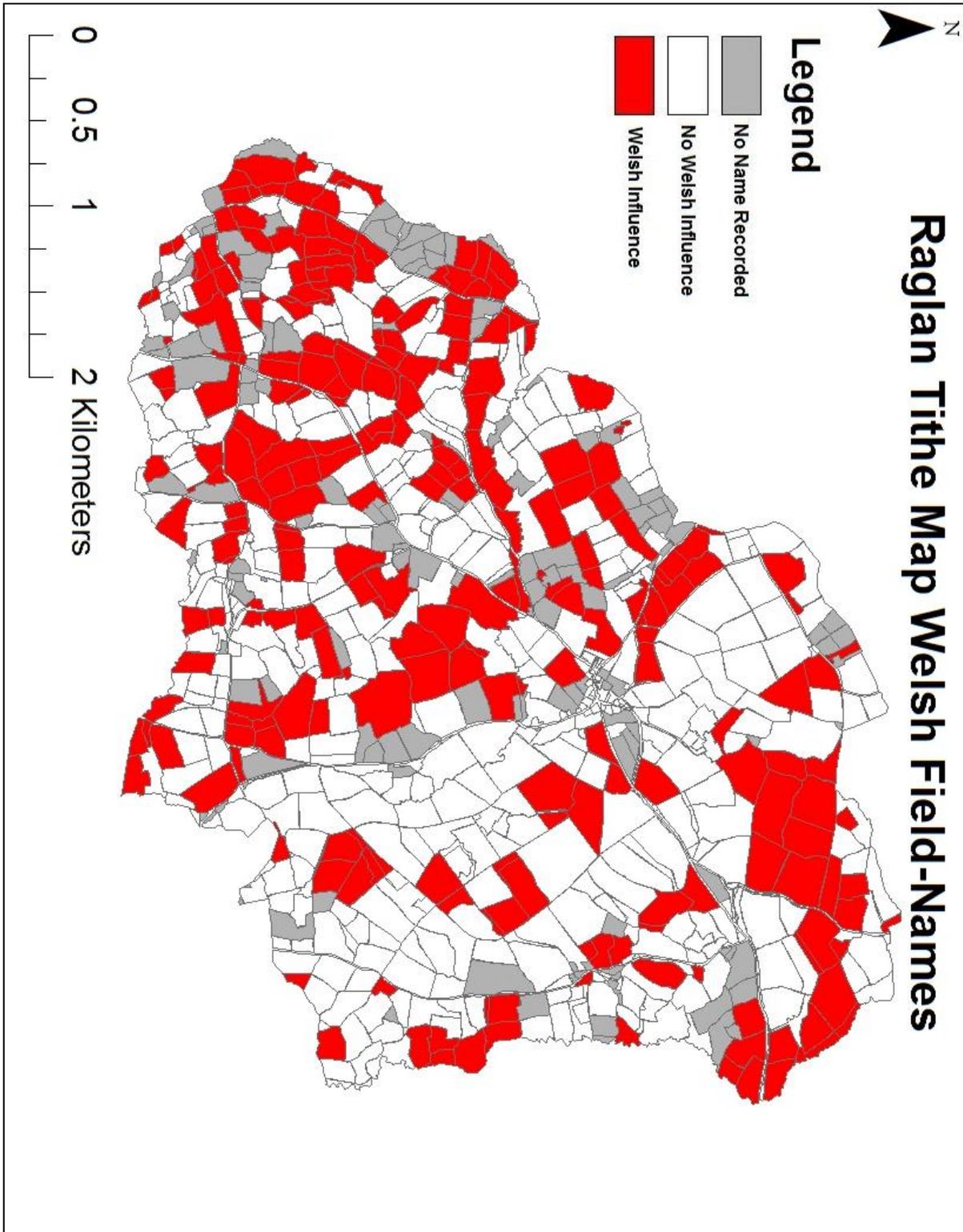


Fig.8.28. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Raglan according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

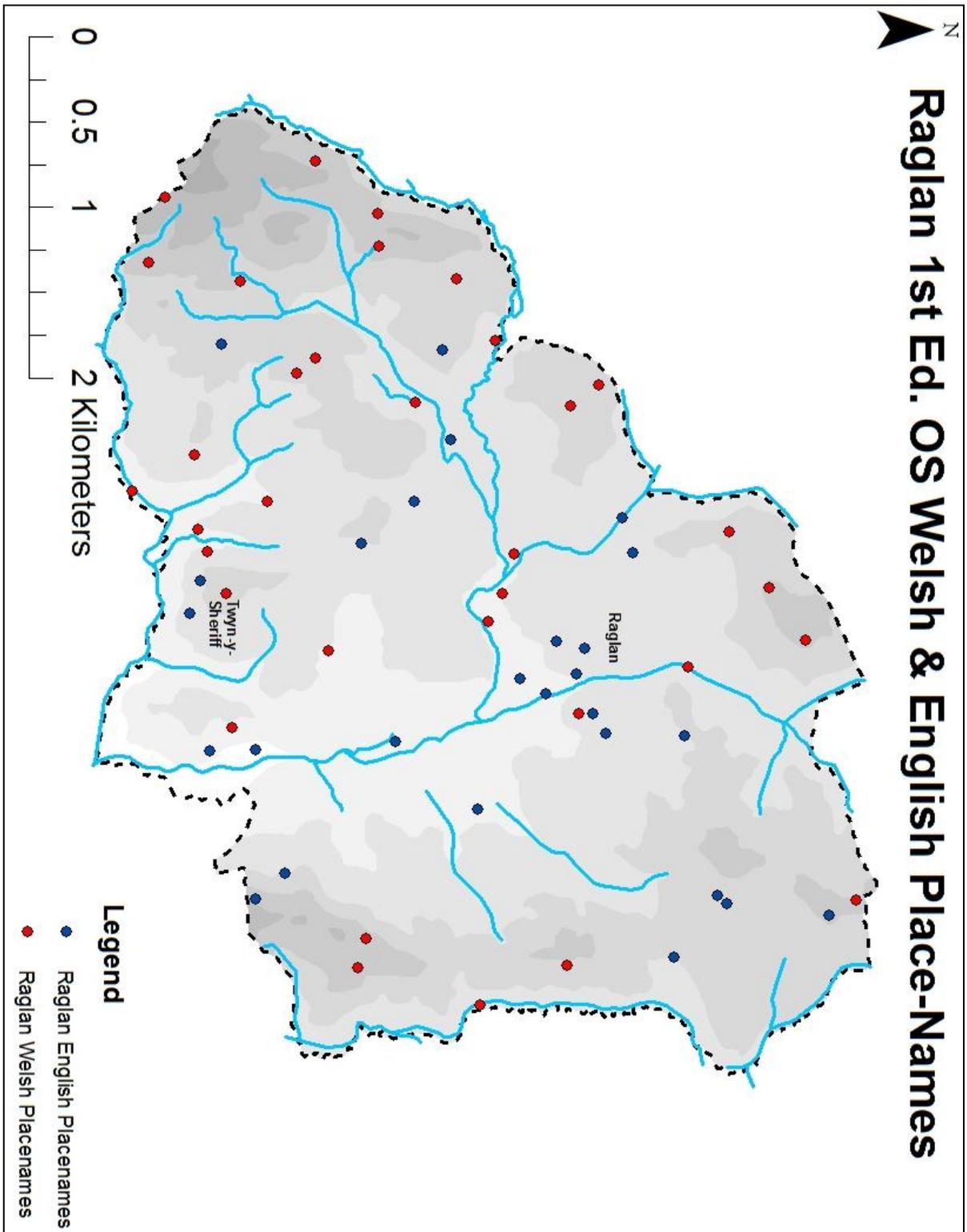


Fig.8.29. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Raglan according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The tithe map field morphology of Raglan (Fig.8.23.) is largely comprised of irregular fields of differing sizes, although there are a number of distinctive patterns visible in the landscape. The south-western corner of the parish is made up almost exclusively of small irregular fields, which vary dramatically in terms of morphology and are suggestive of either former unenclosed common or gradual woodland reclamation. As you move further up towards the north-eastern edge of the parish some larger fields begin to appear in the landscape. However, beyond a few shared curved boundaries, in most of the parish there is little evidence for a former open field. In the very immediate vicinity of Raglan itself, this picture changes slightly and, morphologically, there is the possibility of a very small former open field system surrounding the village. The fields grouped around the village are slightly more rectilinear than elsewhere, and share a number of boundaries. Although, this morphological evidence is not, on its own, enough to firmly suggest a former open field. Therefore, supporting evidence needs to be drawn from the other data sets included in this case study. There is, however, a fairly sparse entry on the Gwent-Glamorgan HER referring to 'ridge and furrow' to the west of Raglan (Archwilio, 02133g), although there is very little further evidence beyond the basic HER entry and it is not visible on any online satellite imagery. This very loose description of 'ridge and furrow' surrounding the town is, therefore, not enough on its own to suggest a former open field. The road network in this parish is clearly focused upon the village, and this is suggestive of the importance of Raglan within the local landscape. Furthermore to this, the field system also appears to have a 'radial' pattern and again this is focused upon the village of Raglan. Neither the field system, nor the road pattern, is suggestive of the small settlement of Twyn-y-Sheriff to the south of the parish being of any particular importance. Raglan's tithe survey settlement pattern (Fig.8.24.), as one would expect, shows a clear nucleation of settlement around the village of Raglan. However, it should be noted that this nucleation is focused upon the church and not the castle. There is also another very small nucleation to the south at Twyn-y-Sheriff. The rest of the parish is fairly evenly covered by a highly dispersed settlement pattern, and importantly there is no 'halo' of land without settlement surrounding the village. Therefore, beyond the nucleation of Raglan itself, the settlement pattern is not particularly suggestive of an extensive former open field, and does not lend much weight to the limited evidence suggested in the previous data set.

The pattern of land ownership recorded in Raglan's tithe survey (Fig.8.25.) is distorted by the domination of the Duke of Beaufort. The Duke owns most of the eastern half of the parish, including most of the land surrounding the village, and this does not allow much analysis of any patterns which could be indicative of former open field systems. The Duke of Beaufort was a descendant of the Somerset Dukes of Beaufort who still held the castle when it was slighted in the seventeenth century, and therefore this pattern of land ownership is linked into Raglan castle. However, moving away from the Duke's landholdings, it can be seen that the rest of the parish seems to be made up of small and medium sized compact blocks of land held by

one land owner, and this suggests that, in these portions of the parish at least, the land was held in severalty.

The pattern of land occupancy taken from the tithe survey (Fig.8.26.) is more useful as it is not distorted by the amount of land owned by the Duke of Beaufort. Here it can be seen that, in terms of occupancy, the land owned by the Duke of Beaufort largely follows the occupancy pattern shown by the areas owned by other individuals. The landscape of land occupancy largely consists of compact blocks of land occupied by one land owner, holding the land in severalty. The exception to this pattern is to the immediate west of the village, where the land occupancy present is more fragmented. Furthermore the larger holdings to the east of the village all 'radiate' out from Raglan in a similar pattern to that seen previously in this thesis at Shirenewton (see Chapter 5), and this could be suggestive of a possible small open field surrounding Raglan. Therefore, both the patterns of land ownership and land occupancy are not suggestive of large scale open field farming, as seen at Monmouth, but there is the possibility of a smaller compact open field being attached to the village.

The tithe survey presents a very mixed pattern of land use (Fig.8.27.), which is fairly evenly distributed between arable, pasture and meadow, with very little woodland present. However, one region of the parish bucks this trend, the area around the castle. Here arable seems to dominate the landscape, and this could be used as further evidence for a very small open field being situated in this region of the parish.

Examining the pattern of Welsh field-names recorded in the tithe survey of Raglan (Fig.8.28.), it can be seen that a large amount of Welsh toponymic evidence is present within the parish, far more than was present in the previous study of Usk. In fact 249 out of 769 fields with a recorded field-name (32%) showed Welsh influence. The 'Welsh' field-names are fairly evenly distributed, with a slightly higher concentration towards the western edge of the parish. The only area where there is a scarcity of 'Welsh' field-names is in the south-eastern corner of the parish, and this could be taken as further evidence for the influence of the proximity to the Anglo-Welsh border, if there was not a large cluster of field-names showing Welsh influence in the far north-east of the parish. Importantly for this study, there is not an area around the village (and castle) devoid of field-names of Welsh origin. However, this possibly might have been because, although there was a lordship site present, it did not develop into a major site until quite late in the period and was owned by a family of Welsh origin and the Herberts were known to have promoted Welsh language and literature (see the background section of this chapter). As with the tithe map field-name evidence, there appears to be an east-west split in the distribution of place-names of differing linguistic origins in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for Raglan (Fig.8.29.). The eastern half of the parish seems to have a higher percentage of place-names of English origin, whilst in the western portion Welsh place-names are dominant. The Ordnance Survey evidence slightly counteracts the

tithe map evidence as there is a distinct cluster of English place-names surrounding the village of Raglan.

In conclusion, looking at the model of the medieval landscape produced by this study (Fig.8.30.) there appears to be a suggestion of a rather small former open field system surrounding the village of Raglan, but the evidence is scant beyond the morphology and the ridge and furrow. If there is a former open field system present at Raglan, it is probably a smaller one, like that seen at Shirenewton. The lack of size of the open field evidence presented may be the result of a reorganisation in the post medieval period as farming intensified, or as a result of the landscape manipulation undertaken with the remodelling of Raglan castle in the fifteenth century. The area surrounding the former open field is largely made up of land held in severalty, but this pattern changes when examining the far south-west of Raglan, where the landscape changes to either former unenclosed common land or woodland, focused on the settlement of Twyn-y-Sheriff.

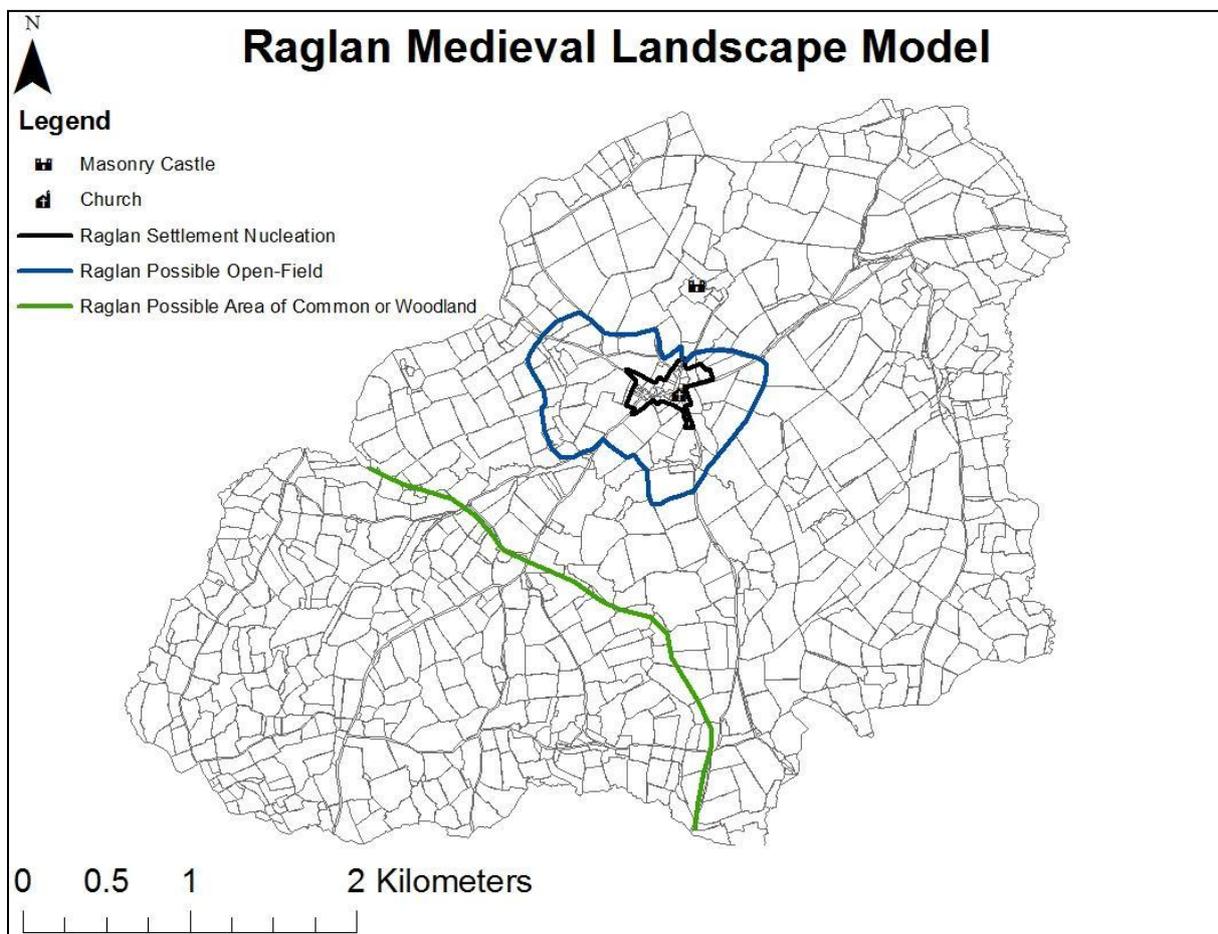


Fig.8.30. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Raglan, based upon the findings of this case study.

8.3.3. Trellech

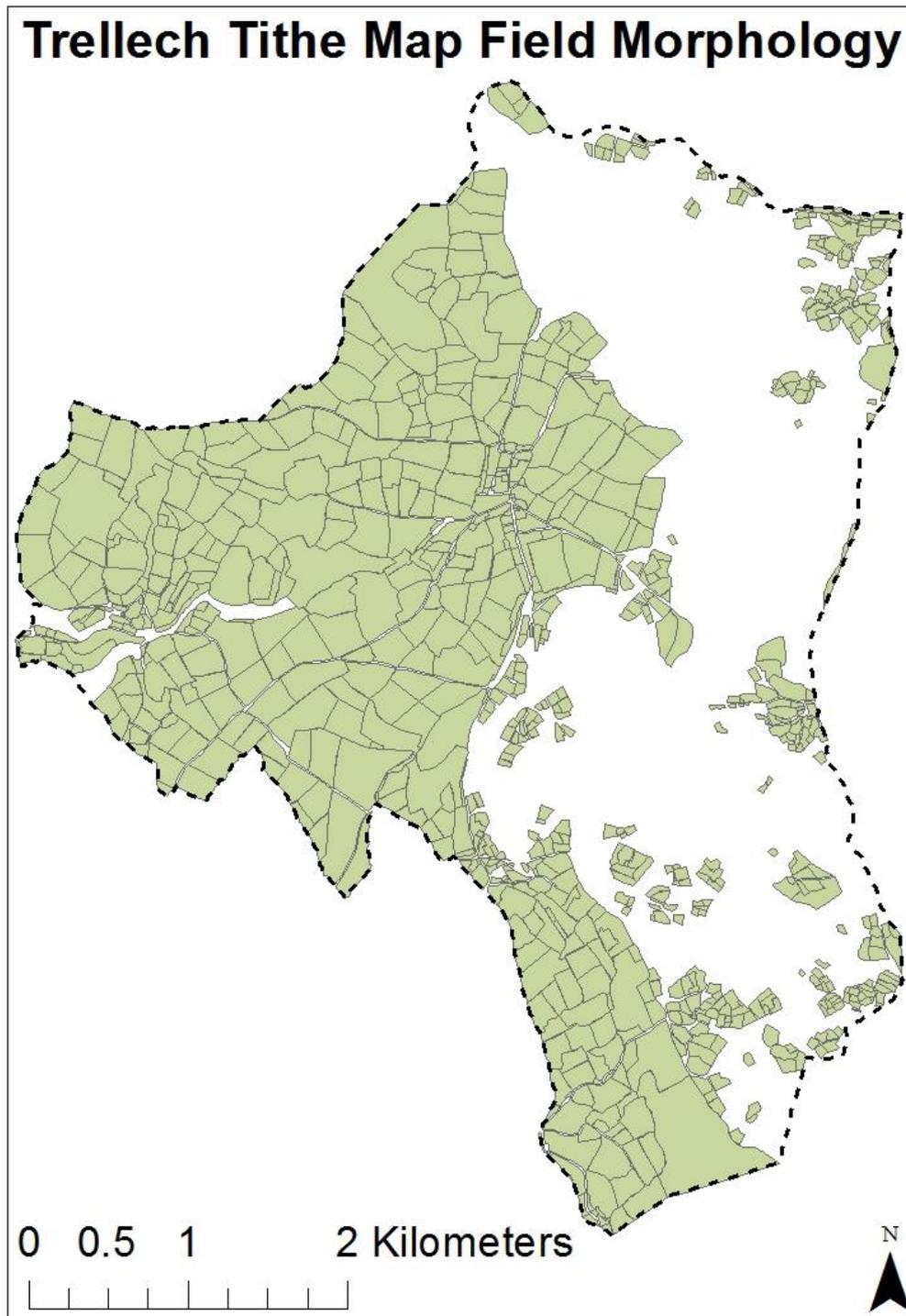


Fig.8.31. The field morphology of Trellech according to the 1845 tithe map survey.

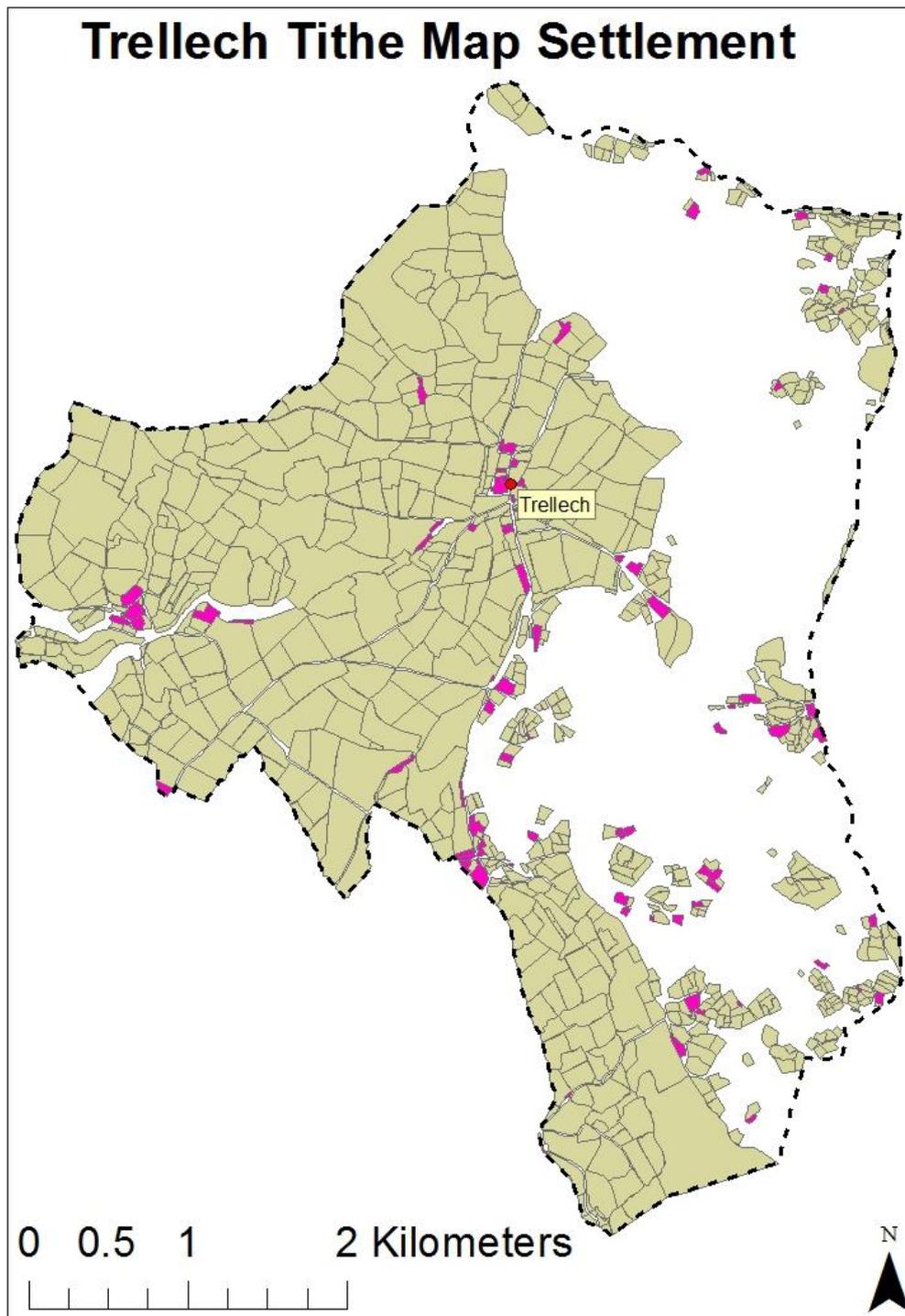


Fig.8.32. The settlement pattern of Trellech according to the 1845 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

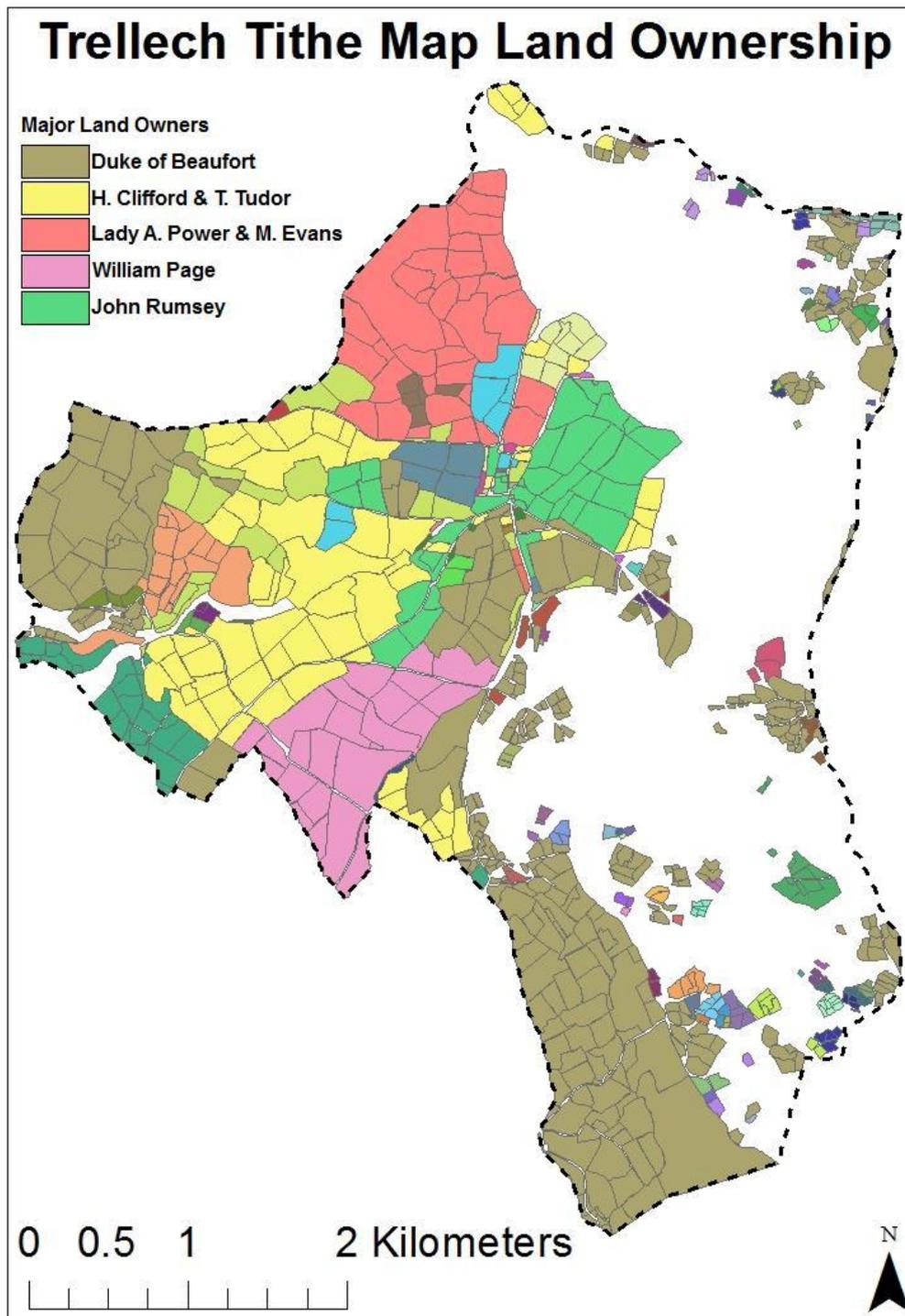


Fig.8.33. The pattern of land ownership for Trellech according to the 1845 tithe map survey.

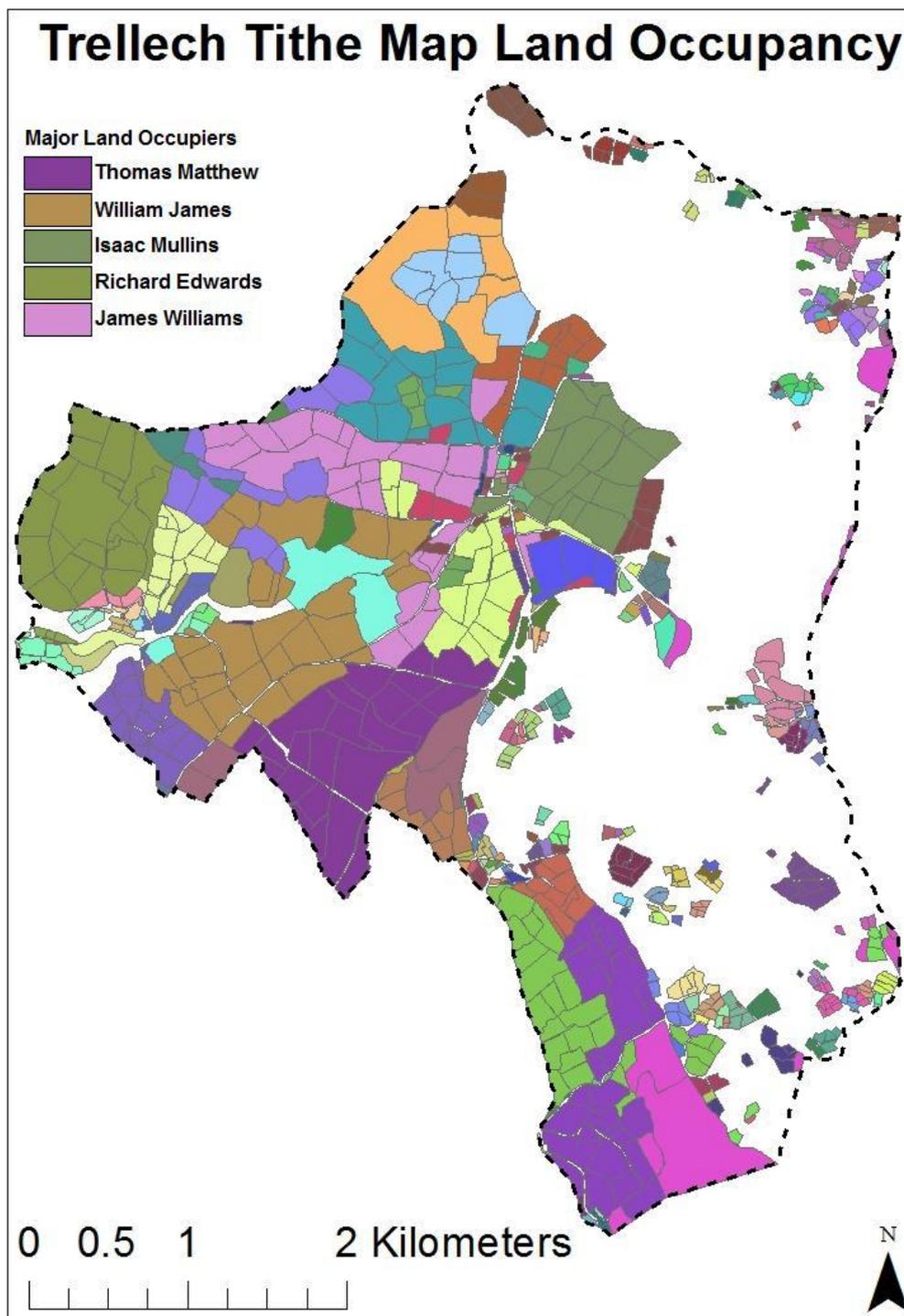


Fig.8.34. The pattern of land occupancy for Trellech according to the 1845 tithe map survey.

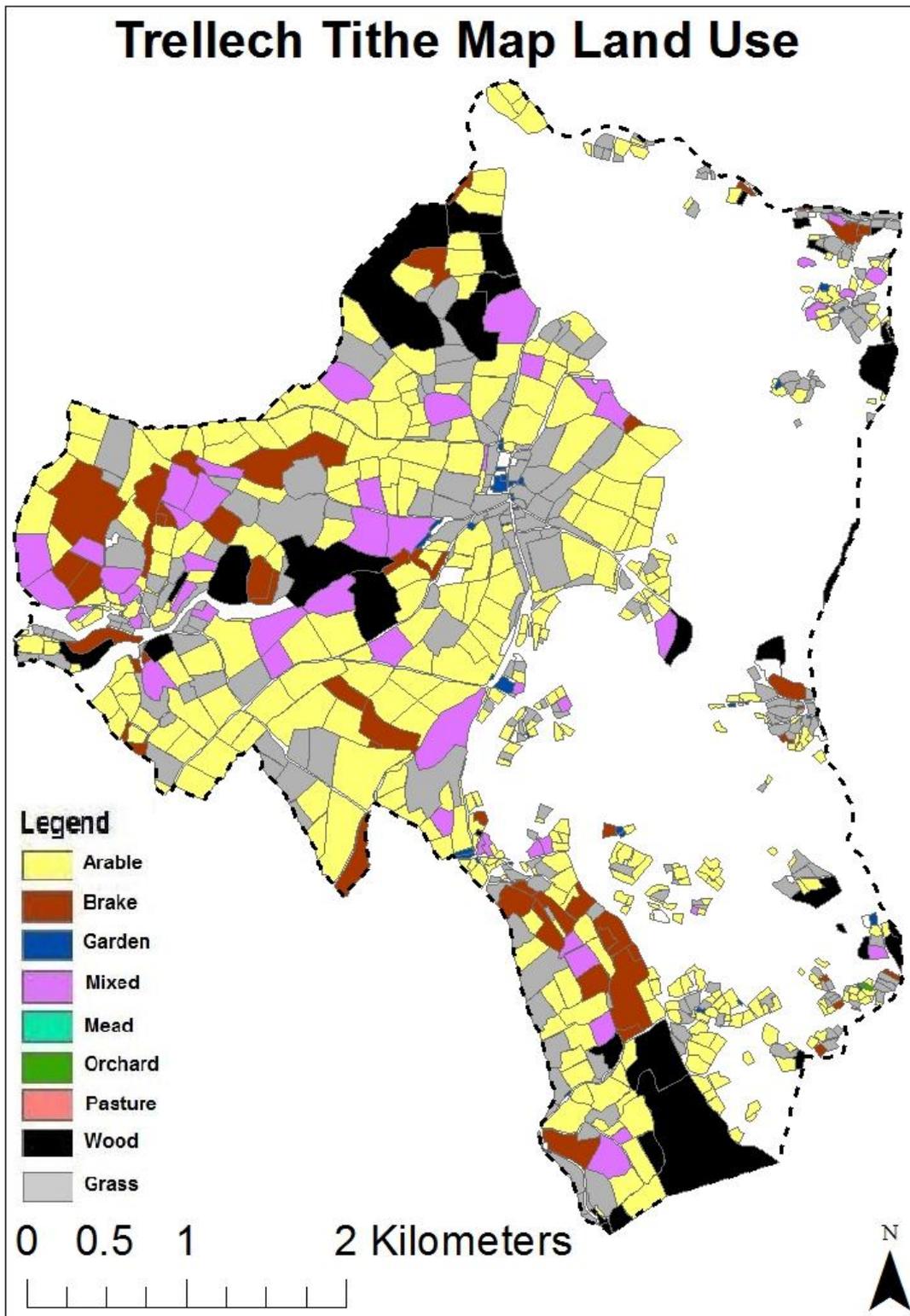


Fig.8.35. The pattern of land use for Trellech according to the 1845 tithe map survey.

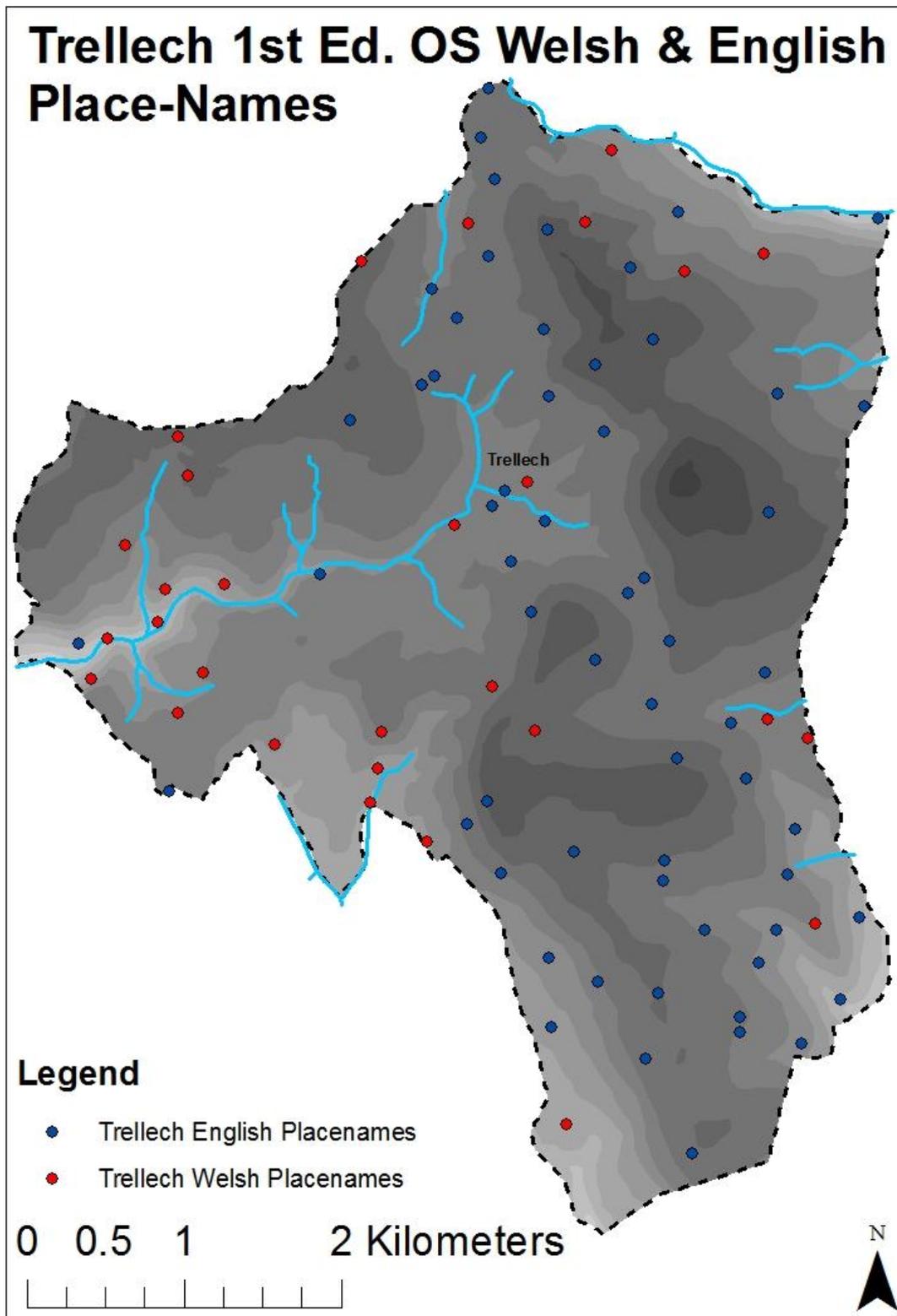


Fig.8.36. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Trellech according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The most notable feature of the field morphology recorded on the tithe map for Trellech (Fig.8.31.) is that a large amount of land is not recorded in the tithe survey due to it being un-titheable common land set in the more upland areas of the parish. In fact at least two fifths of the parish is not included on the tithe map. Of the parts of the parish which were surveyed, what is particularly noticeable is the lack of evidence for any form of open field system surrounding the town/village of Trellech, especially since the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps suggest the slight possibility that some evidence existed (see Chapter 3). Most of the parish is made up of irregularly shaped fields of differing sizes and the environs of Trellech are no different. Furthermore, there is no suggestion of shared boundaries and only the faintest suggestion of strip fields to the east of the village. There is, however, a radial road pattern emanating from Trellech, which can be accounted for by the former size of the town of Trellech. As is to be expected, the pattern of settlement recorded in the Trellech tithe survey (Fig.8.32.) shows that there is a definite nucleation around Trellech itself, and, while there are a few dispersed farmsteads in the vicinity of the town/village, most of the land surrounding Trellech is devoid of settlement. This could be taken as evidence of a 'halo' effect, suggestive of a former open field, but without any morphological evidence to support this idea it is difficult to make this argument. When the rest of the parish is examined what can be seen are a couple of small nucleations, one to the west (near Pant-Glâs) and one to the south (Parkhouse) of Trellech. The rest of the fully recorded portions of the parish are actually fairly devoid of dispersed settlement, with the only area where this type of settlement patterns appears prevalent being along the road leading south out of the town/village. This suggests that the landscape of the eastern portion of the parish, outside Trellech itself, was comprised of multiple small nucleations of no more size than that of a small hamlet. Those parts of the upland eastern half of the parish which are recorded seems to suggest a rather different pattern, with the landscape composed of highly dispersed settlement, made up of individual farmsteads, set amongst common land.

The pattern of land ownership recorded for Trellech in the tithe survey (Fig.8.33.) is dominated, again, by the Duke of Beaufort, who owns most of the southern portion of the recorded area of the parish, as well as the southern half of the town and a large chunk of land on the western border. The Duke of Beaufort also appears to own many of patches of land recorded amongst the common land to the east of the parish. The rest of the recorded land in the parish appears to be made up of large, compact, blocks of single ownership, and this is not, in any way, suggestive of a former open field system being present. As with Raglan, the pattern of land occupancy recorded in the tithe survey (Fig.8.34.) provides a clearer picture as it is not dominated by the Duke of Beaufort. It does, however, largely support the findings of the previous data set, and it can be seen that, in pattern of land ownership of those portions of the parish outside the Duke of Beaufort's possession, the landscape mostly consists of large compact blocks of single occupancy. Again, this does not suggest that there was any form of open field present at Trellech. As with

other, previous, case studies in this thesis (i.e. Monmouth), the tithe surveyor who undertook the survey of Trellech's land use (Fig.8.35.) did not record fields as 'meadow' or 'pasture', only using the generic term 'grass'. What the pattern does show is that the land use of Trellech, outside the unrecorded common land, was dominated by arable. There is a little halo of 'grass' land use around the town/village (which may also be suggestive of the lack of open field), as well as a few scattered fields laid down to grass or mixed use scattered around the parish, but the majority of the land is being used for arable.

The tithe survey for Trellech does not record any field-names, so therefore this form of toponymic analysis is unavailable to this study. However, when the pattern of 'English' and 'Welsh' place-names recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.8.36.) is examined, it can be seen that most of the parish is dominated by place-names of English origin, and certainly this is the case in the centre of the parish, including in the vicinity of the town/village of Trellech itself. In fact, in the eastern portion of the parish the only areas where place-names of a Welsh origin occur in any number are on the northern and western fringes. There is a very different picture on the western portion of the parish, along the valley of the watercourse leading away from Trellech. Here Welsh place-names are clearly dominant and it can be suggested that, once again, this is an example of a parish displaying more 'Welsh' toponymic evidence the further you move from the Anglo-Welsh border. That being said, the presence of an Anglo-Norman lordship centre may also be extending the influence of the border as there are very few 'Welsh' place-names around Trellech itself.

In conclusion, it can be seen that there is not a huge amount of surviving evidence to suggest that there was a former open field system surrounding the planted de Clare town of Trellech. This may be due to the fact that Trellech was a later foundation than many of the Anglo-Norman lordship sites studied so far which display open field evidence (Caldicot, Chepstow, Monmouth etc.), only being founded to exploit the upland resources of the Wye Valley after the Lordship of Usk had been established. The nature of the settlement, focused on the production of iron, must also be taken into account, and may explain the lack of open field, extensive enough to leave a permanent mark upon the landscape, at Trellech. What is significant in the landscape of Trellech is the east-west split. The landscape of the western half of the parish consists of Trellech itself, surrounded by small nucleated hamlets which are ringed by compact blocks of land held in severalty, whilst the eastern portion is almost entirely covered in unrecorded common and dispersed farmsteads. What is noticeable is that the Anglo-Norman lordship centre of Trellech, although clearly extensive at one point, is not exerting any agency upon the physical landscape and is only influencing the linguistic landscape, a pattern seen previously at minor lordship centres in this region, such as Dingestow and Rockfield.

8.3.4. Llandenny

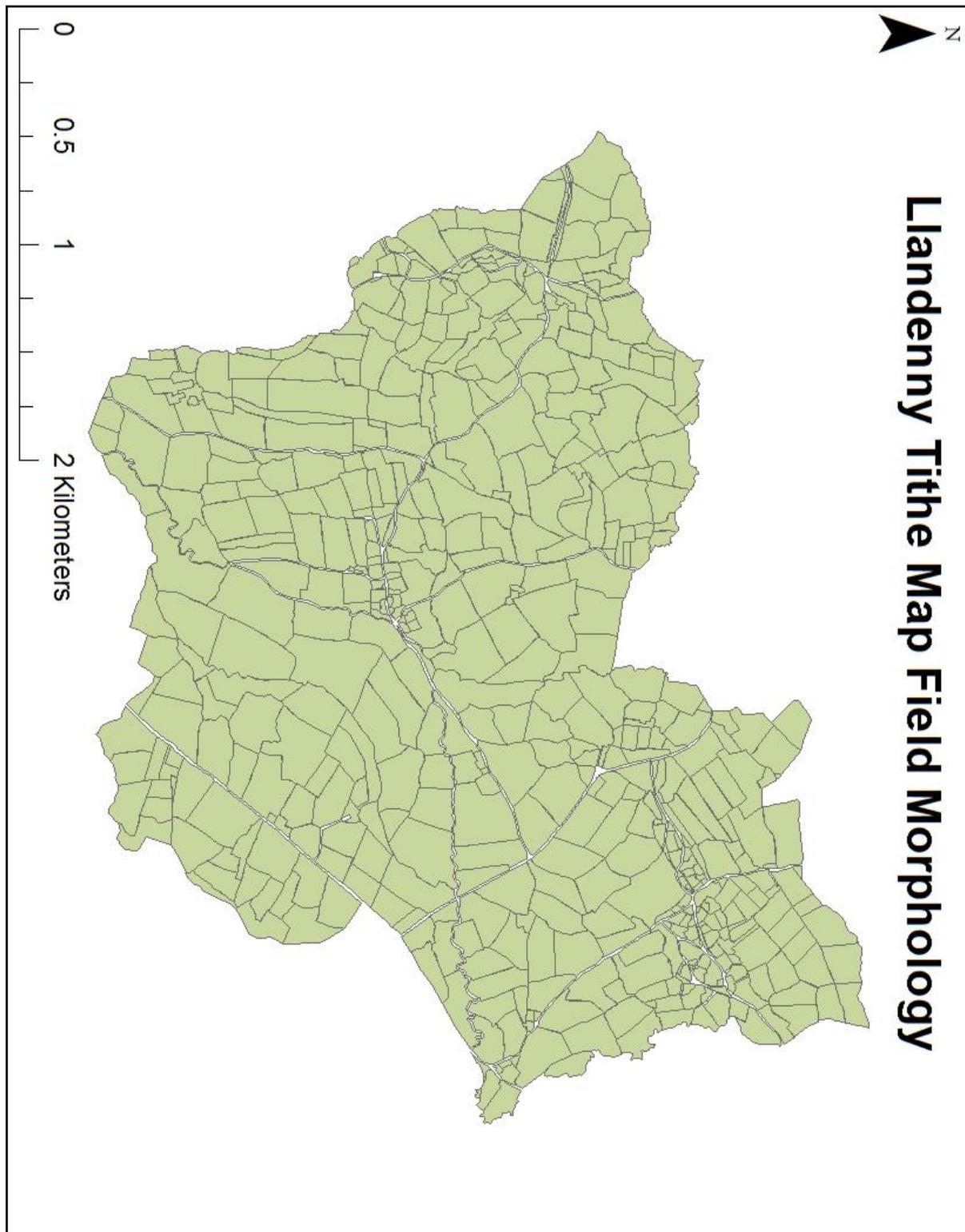


Fig.8.37. The field morphology of Llandenny according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

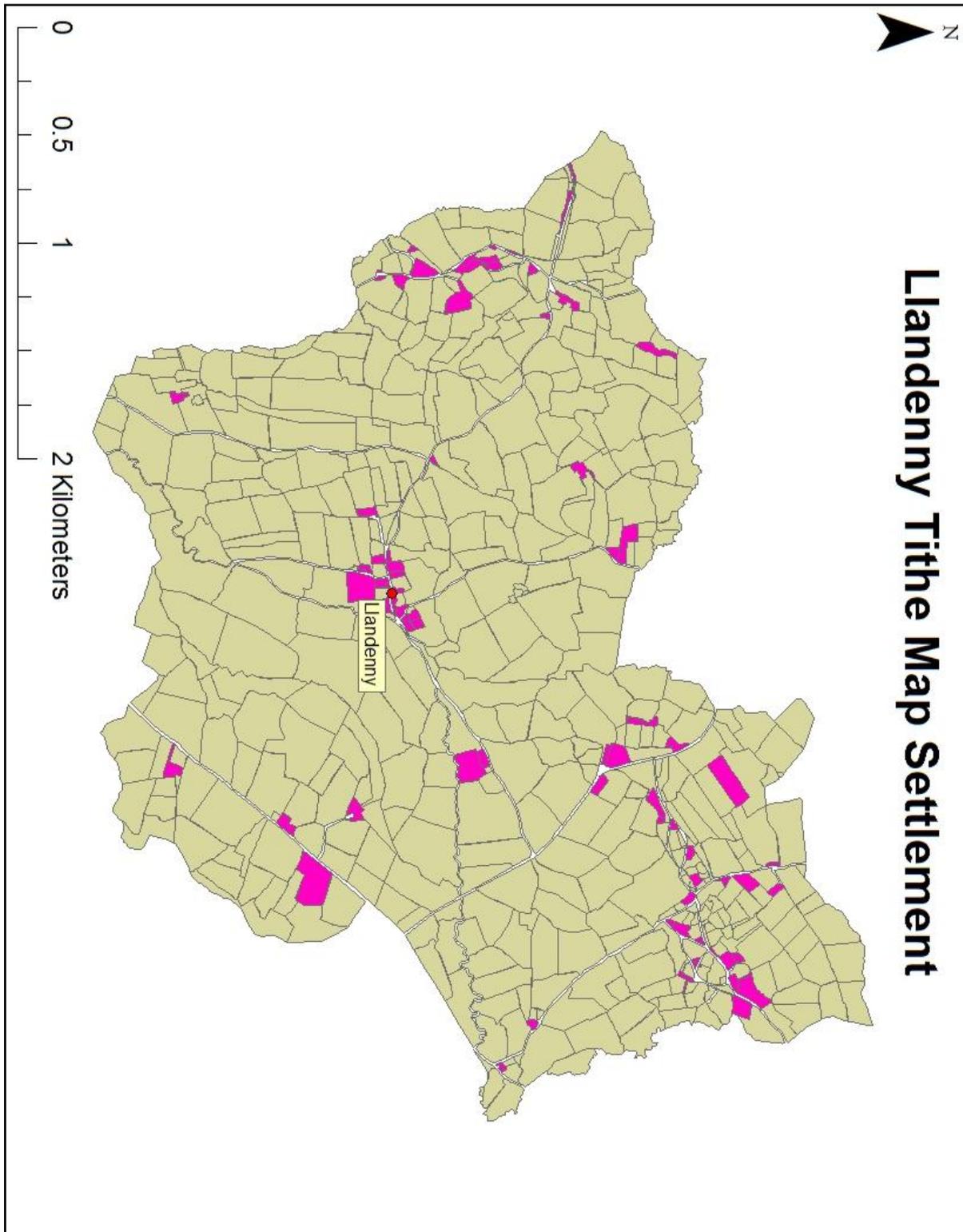


Fig.8.38. The settlement pattern of Llandenny according to the 1840 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

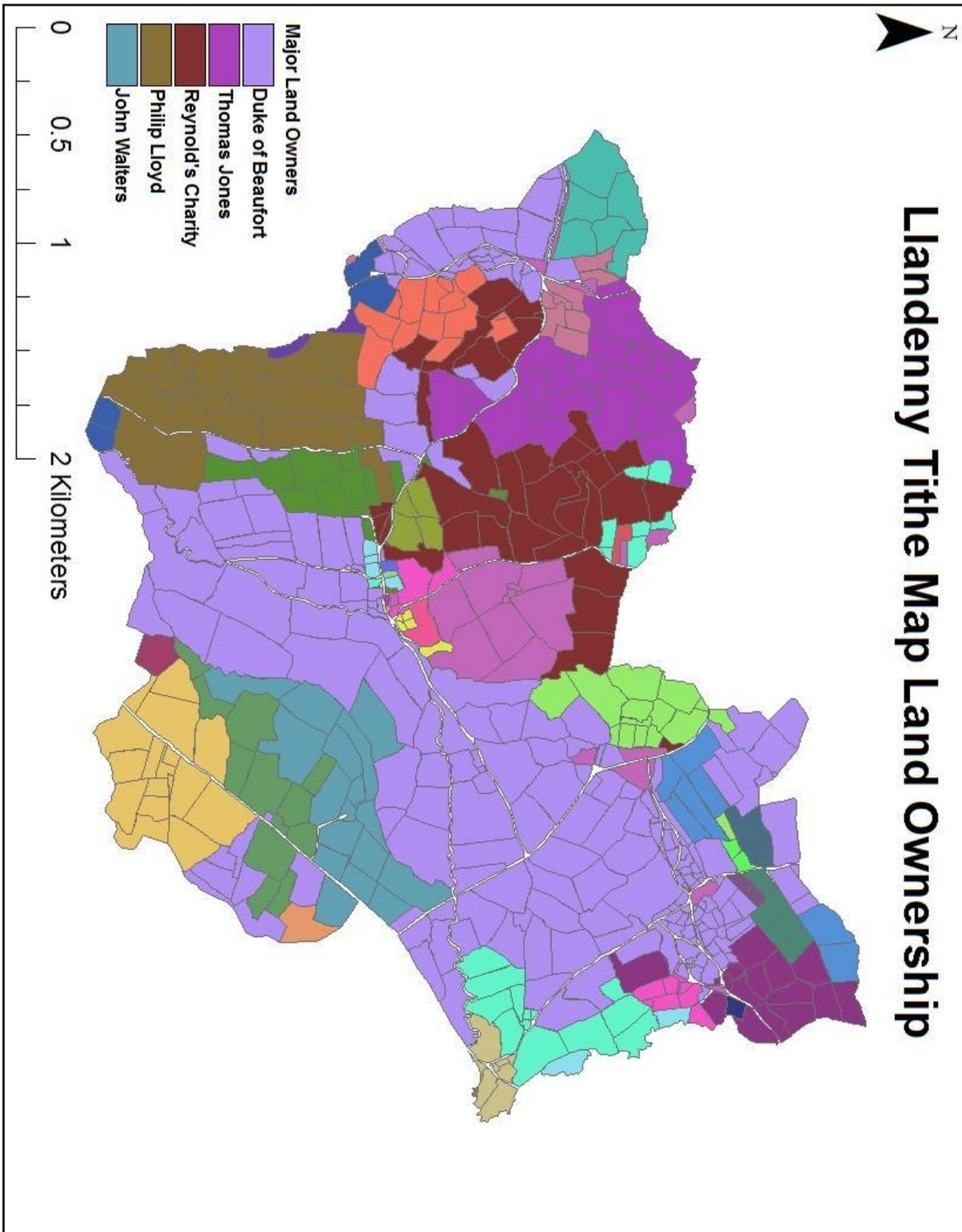


Fig.8.39. The pattern of land ownership for Llandenny according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

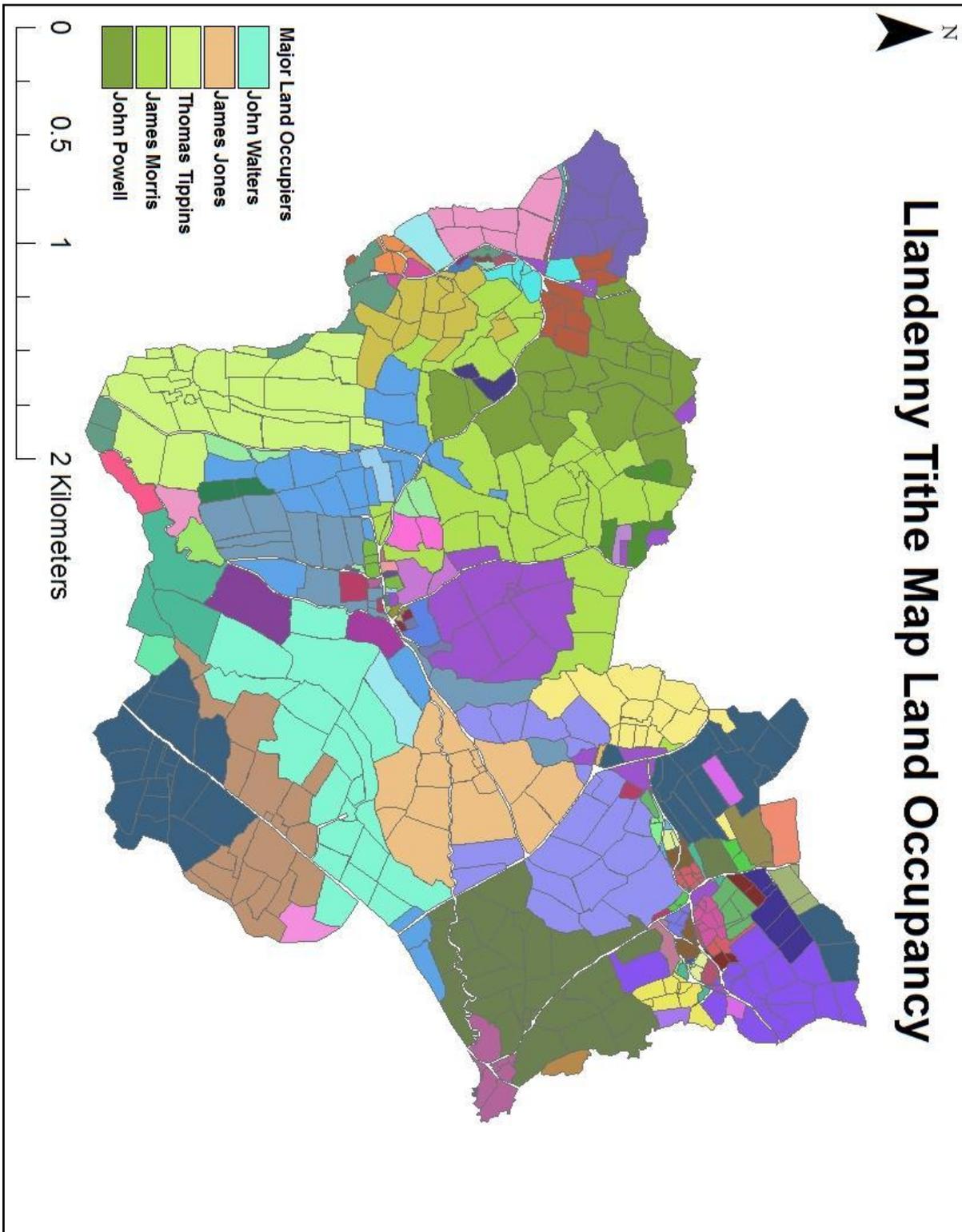


Fig.8.40. The pattern of land occupancy for Llandenny according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

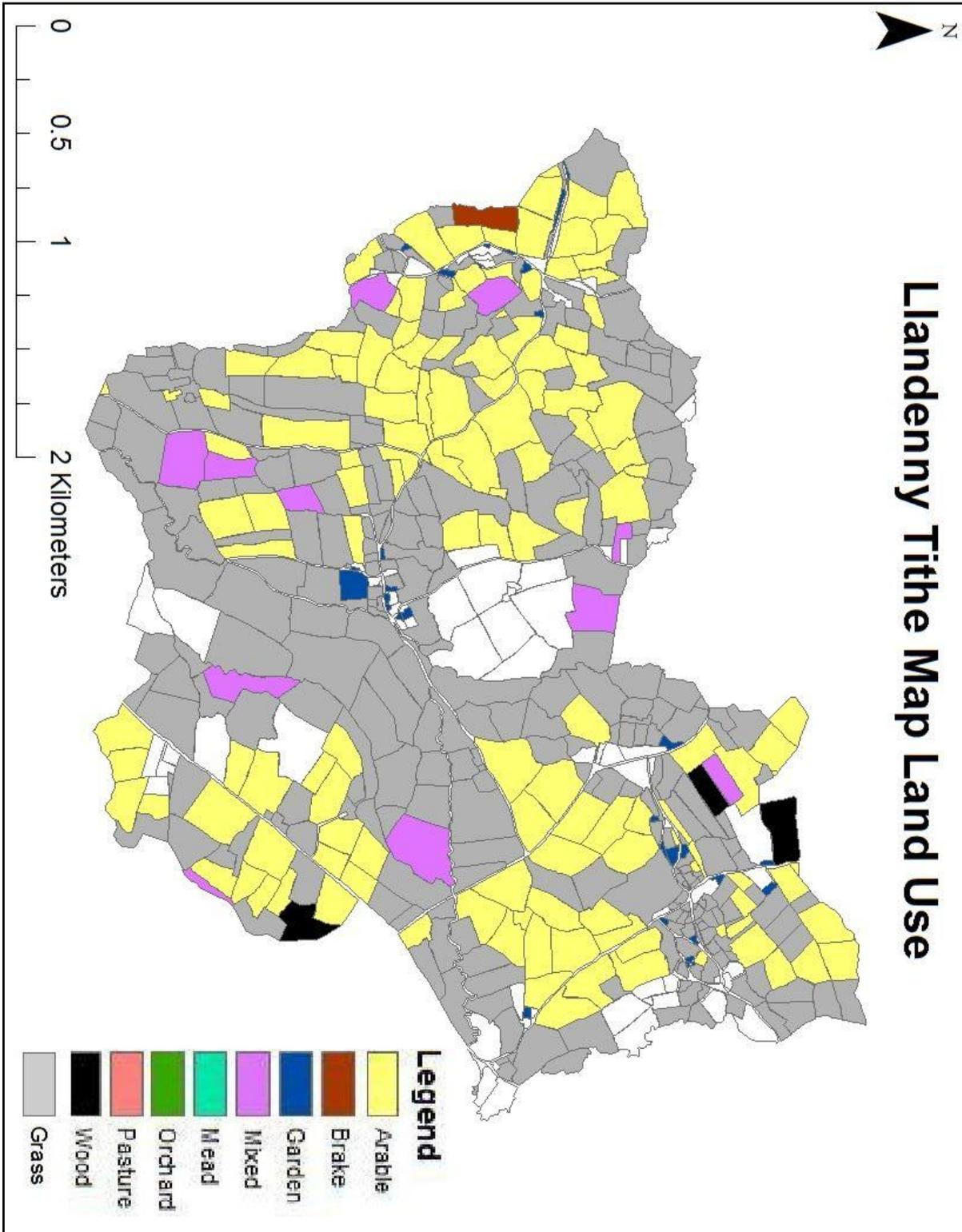


Fig.8.41. The pattern of land use for Llandenny according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

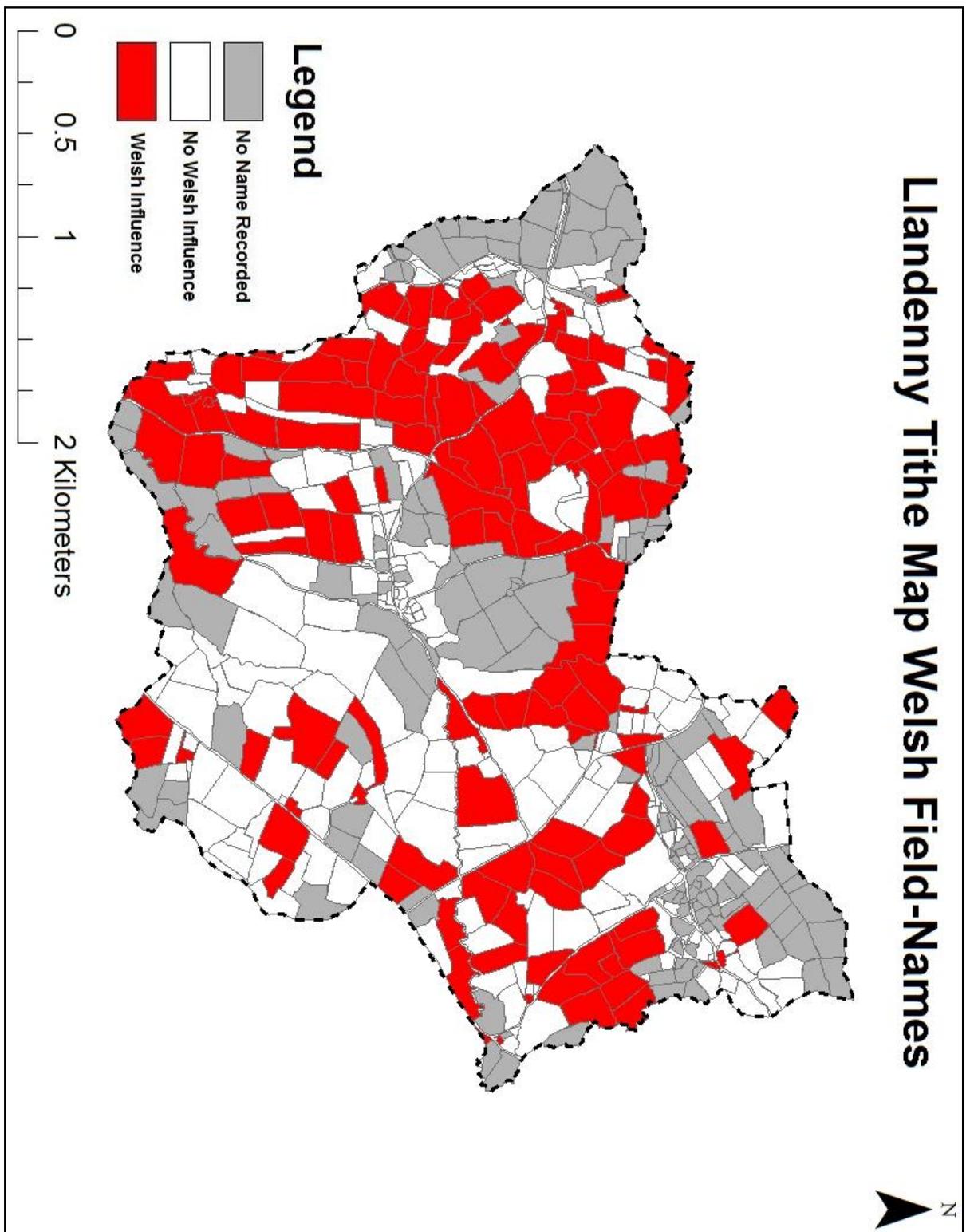


Fig.8.42. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Llandenny according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

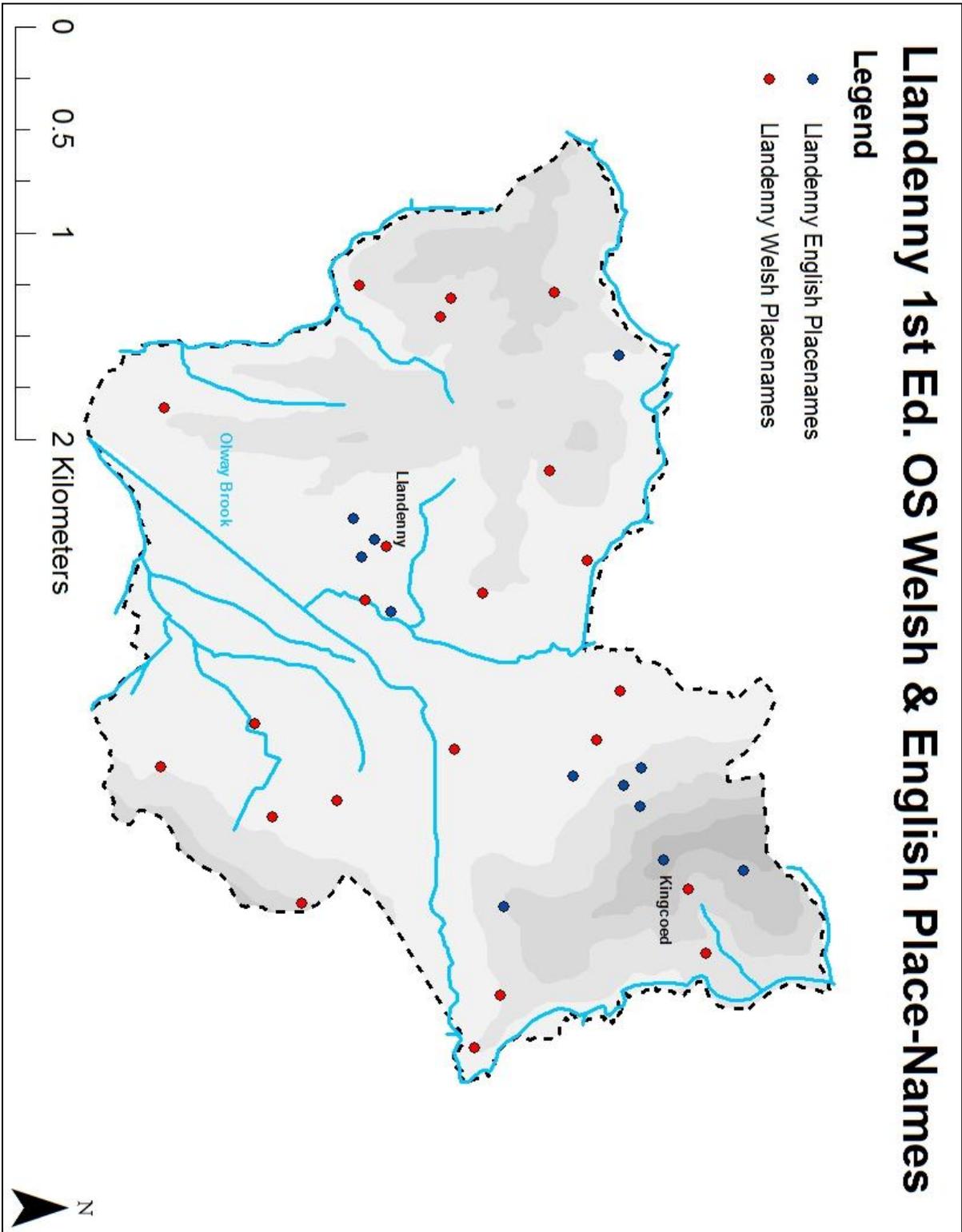


Fig.8.43. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Llandenny according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The pattern of field morphology recorded in tithe map for Llandenny (Fig.8.37.) shows that the parish is largely made up of irregular fields of differing form and size, which do not suggest a large scale open field system. However, this is not the picture for the whole of the parish and there are a number of smaller fields in the vicinity of the settlements of Llandenny and Kingcoed. Furthermore, there are also a few small 'dog-legs', as well as a number of thinner strip-like fields, which could provide evidence for former open field if backed up by other forms of evidence. However, without corroborating evidence from other data sets it could be argued that these morphologies are caused by the later division of larger fields. The evidence provided by the settlement pattern recorded in Llandenny's tithe survey (Fig.8.38.) shows a clear nucleation at Llandenny and, importantly, a marked 'halo' of land without any settlement surrounding the village. Therefore, this could be possibly taken as the corroborating evidence required to support the strip-field evidence from the field morphology data set. There is also another, more dispersed and fairly linear, settlement in the north-east of the parish at Kingcoed, possibly representing settlement of more upland common land within the parish. There are a number of smaller nucleations dotted around the landscape of the parish.

Llandenny's pattern of tithe survey land ownership (Fig.8.39.) presents us with a landscape that is, yet again, dominated by the Duke of Beaufort, who owns a large swath of land across the centre of the parish. However, outside the Beaufort lands the pattern of land ownership is the same as has been seen in many of the parishes in this case study, with the landscape comprising compact blocks of individual land ownership representing land held in severalty. Apart from a very small area to the western edge of the village there does not seem to be any evidence of a confused pattern of land ownership in the vicinity of the village, which counteracts the possible evidence for a former open field provided by the field morphology and settlement pattern data sets. When examining the model of land occupancy for Llandenny (Fig.8.40.), it can be seen that the areas of the parish owned by the Duke of Beaufort show a similar occupancy pattern to the rest of the parish, with compact blocks of individual land occupancy. Around the two settlements (Llandenny and Kingcoed) there is a slightly more confused and fragmented picture of occupancy than that shown in the land ownership model. Although this is what you would expect around a settlement composed of a number of houses, it is not quite strong enough evidence to suggest a large former open field and may only be indicative of a much smaller arable farming system surrounding Llandenny. That being said, it must always be kept in mind the possibility that the pattern of land holding has been reorganised in the post-medieval period. Llandenny is yet another parish where the tithe surveyor did not record 'meadow' or 'pasture' in the pattern of land use (Fig.8.41.), choosing to use the more generic term 'grass' instead. The parish is dominated by 'grass' land use and most of the centre of the parish is laid down to 'grass'. However, there are also large areas of arable around Llandenny, Kingcoed and down towards the south-eastern border of the parish, and these areas of arable could be further evidence to

suggest former open field farming surrounding the settlements. There is also very little woodland within the parish.

When the pattern of the linguistic origin of field-names recorded in the Llandenny tithe survey (Fig.8.42.) is examined, it can be seen that there are plenty of 'Welsh' field-names recorded. In fact, 140 of the 391 fields which have their field-names recorded show Welsh influence (36%), which is the highest number of 'Welsh' field-names returned so far in this study. There appear to be two main areas where 'Welsh' field-names are most prevalent; in the western half of the parish around the village of Llandenny and in the eastern half of the parish around the settlement of Kingcoed. The central belt of the parish, where the land use is almost exclusively recorded as 'grass', is dominated by place-names of English origins. When the distribution of 'Welsh' and 'English' place-names recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.8.43.) is investigated it is clear that the landscape largely dominated by Welsh toponymic evidence, with the exception of the environs of the village of Llandenny and the settlement of Kingcoed. However, as the tithe map field-name evidence does not seem to support this idea that the settlements are linguistically influencing their surrounding landscape, the picture which is ultimately presented is quite confused.

In conclusion it can be argued that this landscape study of Llandenny somewhat muddies the water of this study as it presents possible evidence that there was a small former open field surrounding the village. The nature of this is somewhat similar to that seen at Shirenewton, but without any real link to Anglo-Norman lordship (e.g. a castle or similar seigneurial establishment) and no place-name evidence (Welsh name, no lordship indicator, such as 'Shirenewton'). However, the presence of open field may be attributed to charter evidence which suggests that it was a pre-existing agricultural settlement situated in a prime farming location (Bradney 1914, 40; Davies 1979 117-118; Mein 1986, 8) and, because of this, it can be surmised that this evidence for a small former open field system at Llandenny is echoing the pre-Conquest landscape of the parish.

8.3.5. Glascoed

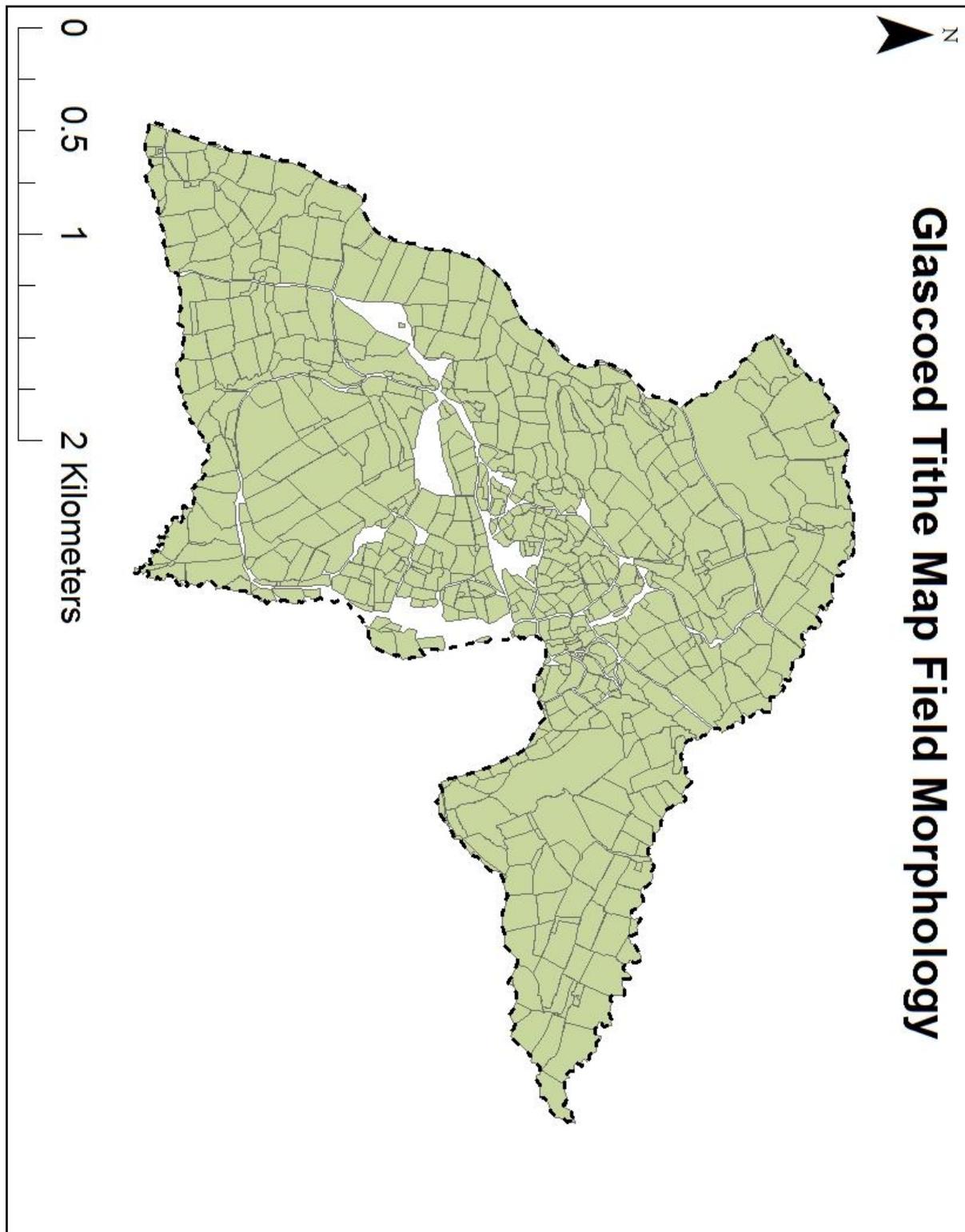


Fig.8.44. The field morphology of Glascoed according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

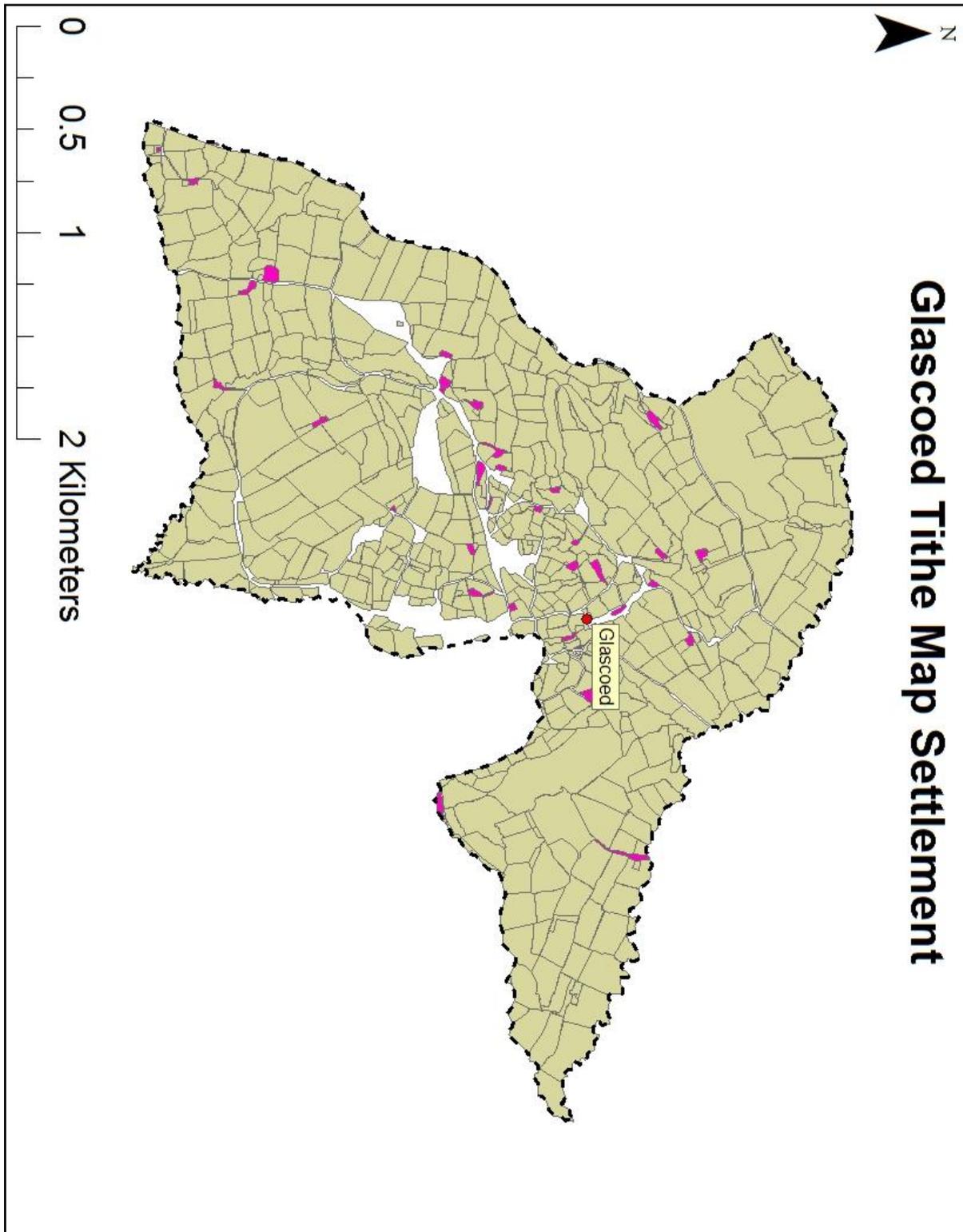


Fig.8.45. The settlement pattern of Glascoed according to the 1840 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

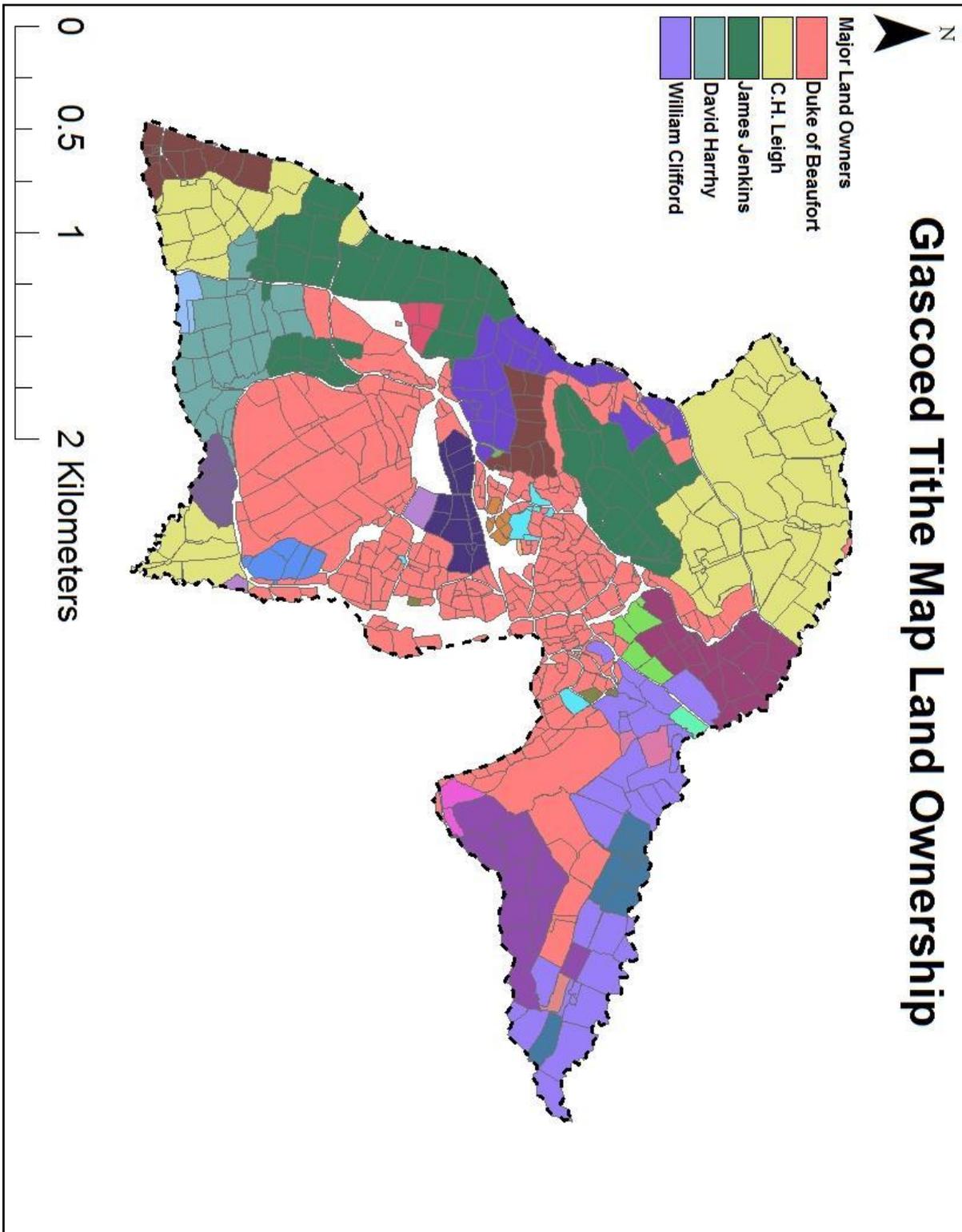


Fig.8.46. The pattern of land ownership for Glascoed according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

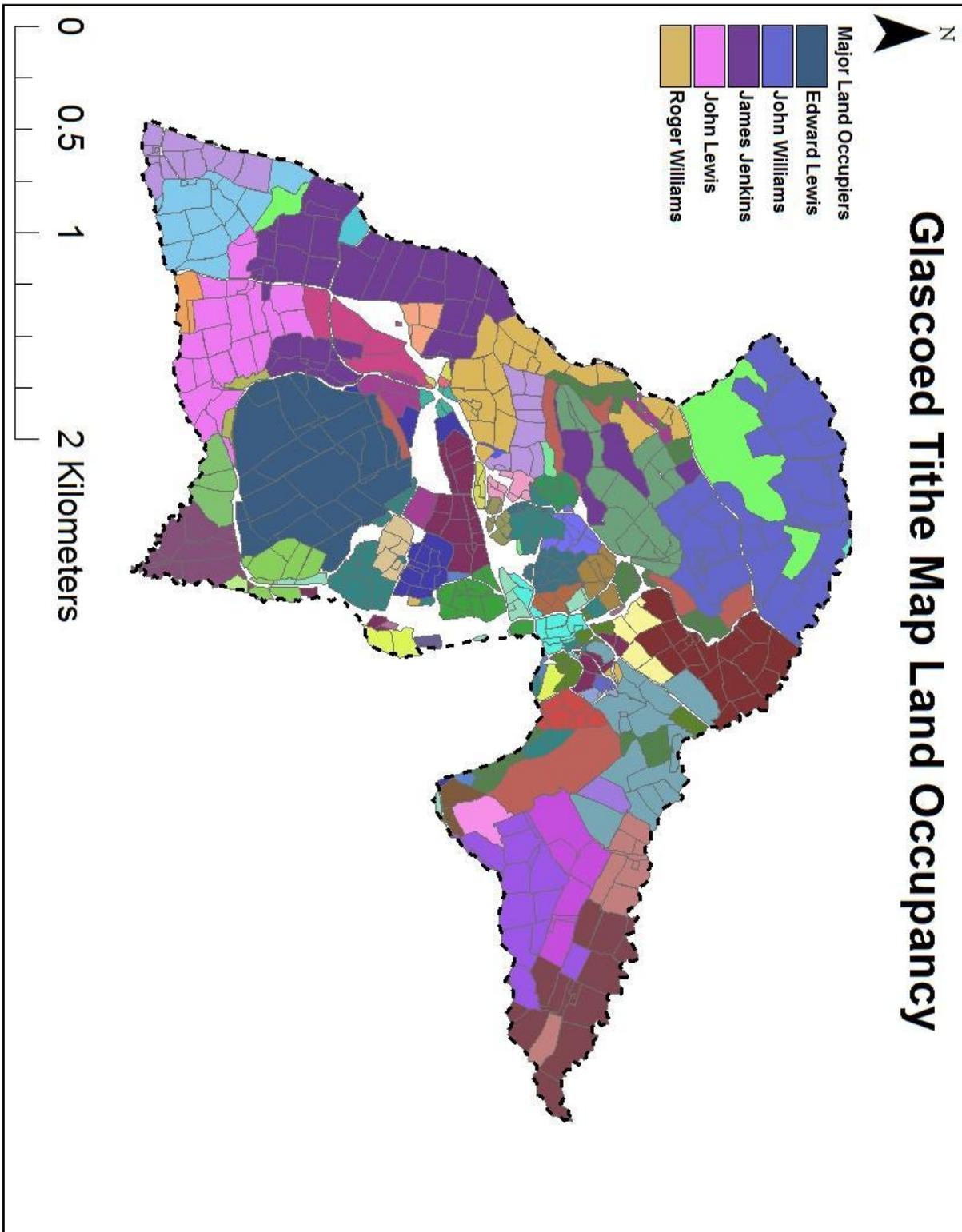


Fig.8.47. The pattern of land occupancy for Glascoed according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

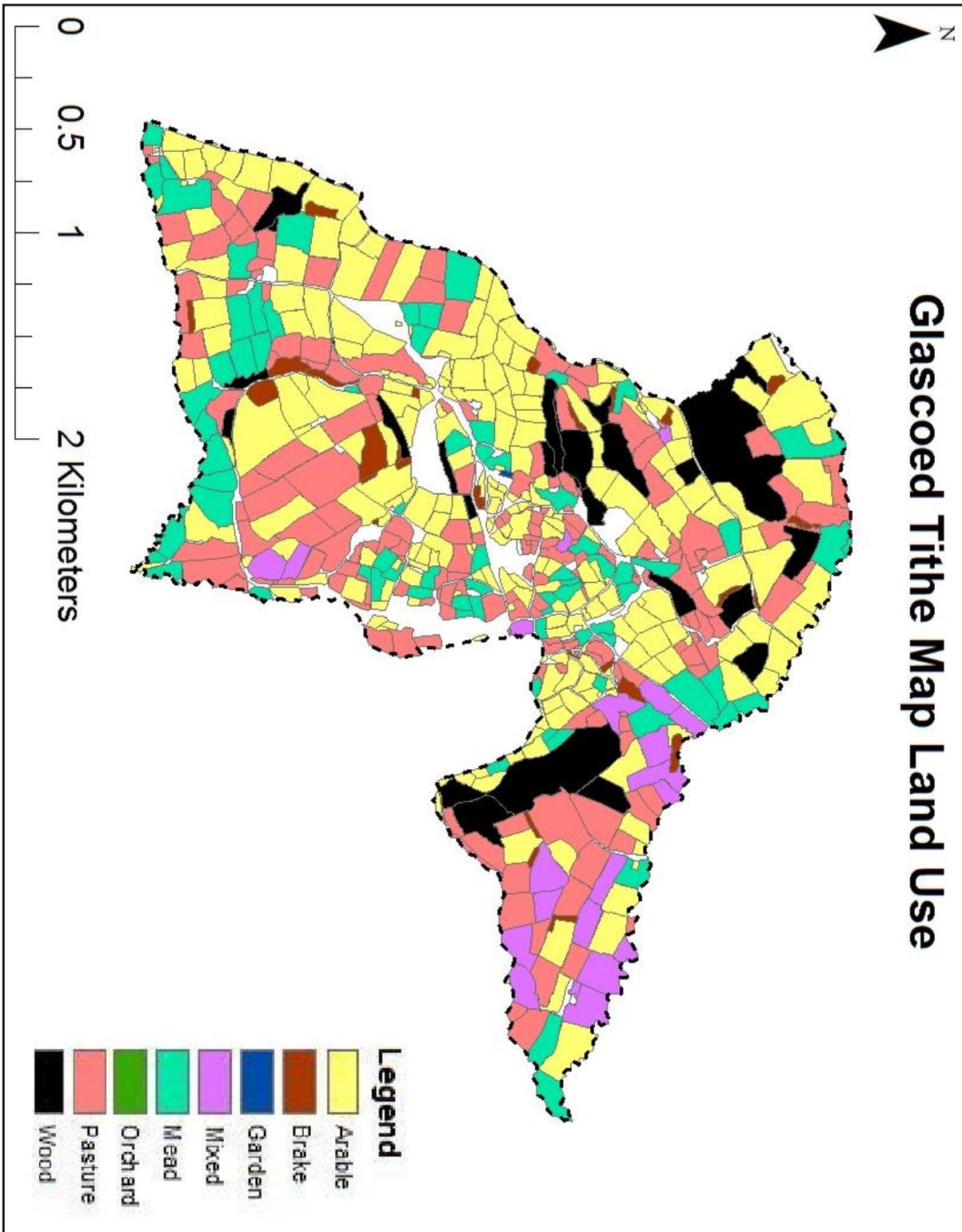


Fig.8.48. The pattern of land use for Glascoed according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

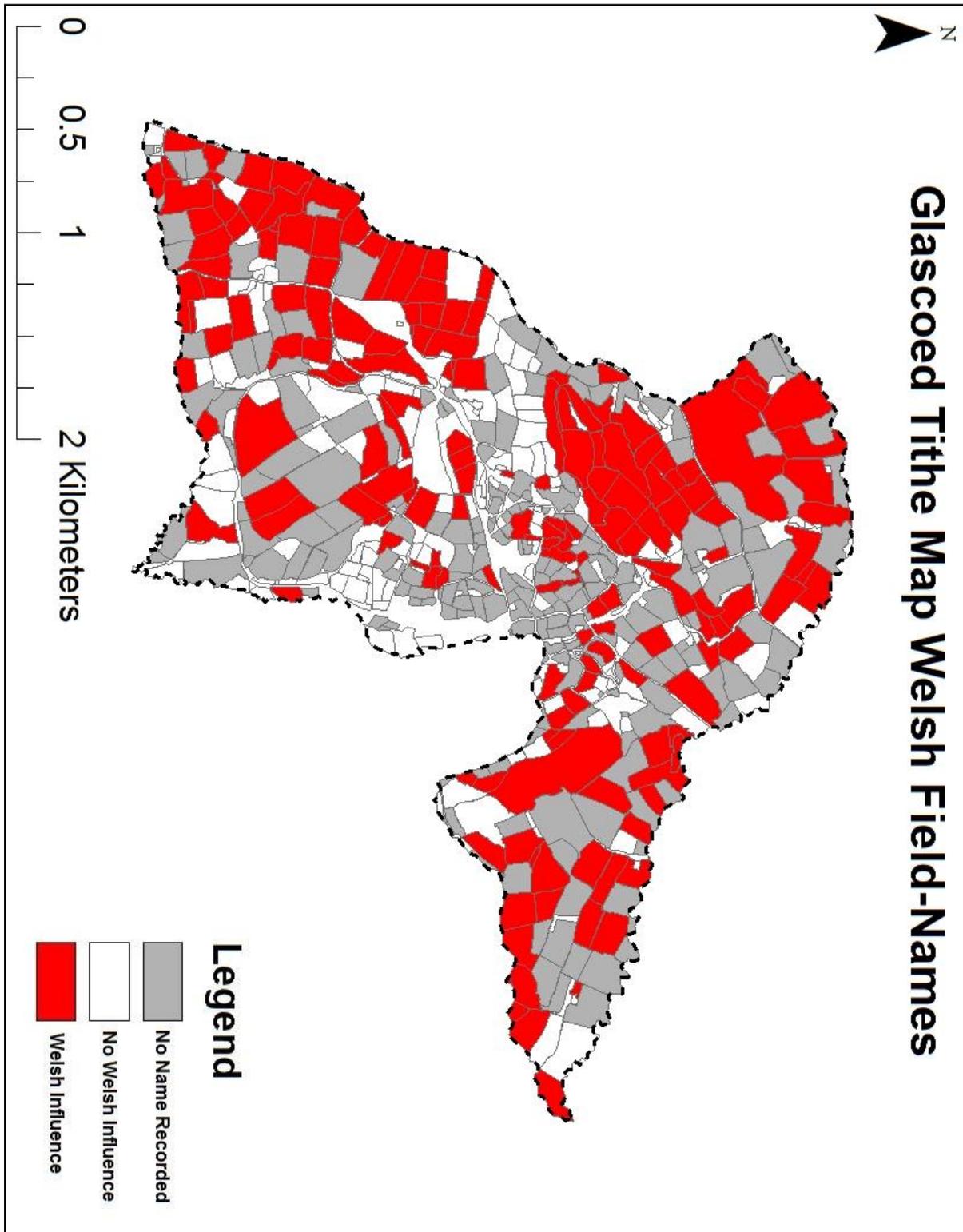


Fig.8.49. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the detached hamlet of Glascoed according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

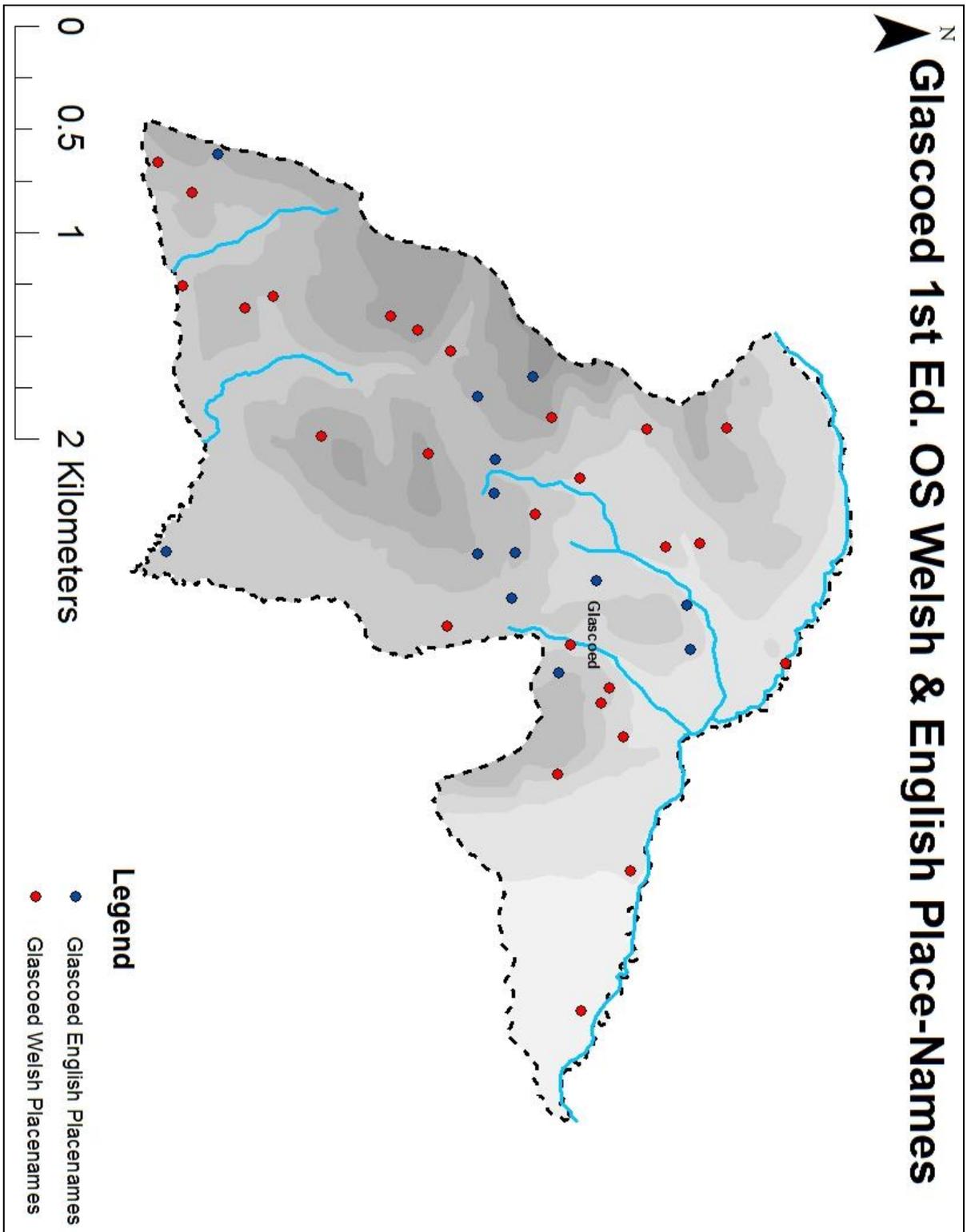


Fig.8.50. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the detached hamlet of Glascoed according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The model of the tithe map field morphology for Glascoed (Fig.8.44.) shows a number of small irregular fields in the centre of the detached hamlet, in the vicinity of Glascoed, surrounding the unrecorded common land. The rest of the hamlet is seemingly mainly comprised of larger irregular fields, some of which are particularly large. Importantly, none of these field morphologies are particularly suggestive of a former open field system. The hamlets's road system is difficult to discern, due to the large amount of common, but from what can be seen, it does not look particularly radial or suggestive of a nucleation. This is supported by the tithe survey settlement pattern (Fig.8.45.), which is fairly dispersed all over the whole hamlet. The hamlet slightly more intensively settled in the centre, near Glascoed where the field morphology is smaller. However, this follows a similar pattern seen in the studies of parishes and hamlets like Gwehelog (Usk) and Trellech, where there seems to have been dispersed nucleations focused on an area of common. The rest of the hamlet is covered in an even more dispersed settlement pattern, apart from the extreme northern, southern and eastern fringes, where there is no settlement.

When examining the pattern of tithe survey land ownership in Glascoed (Fig.8.46.) it can be seen that the hamlet is dominated by one particularly large land owner, the ubiquitous Duke of Beaufort. The Duke owns most of the land around the common at the centre of the hamlet, whilst the rest of the parish seems to consist of large compact blocks of land owned by a single land owner. None of this evidence is at all suggestive of a former open field system. The pattern of land occupancy (Fig.8.47.) presents us with a slightly more confused picture, without the extensive landholdings of the Duke of Beaufort. The landscape around the commons, owned by the Duke, seems to be made up of number of small, compact holdings, which again is indicative of common. The rest of Glascoed follows a similar pattern to the pattern of ownership, with the landholdings on the edges of the hamlet being larger than those around the common whilst still remaining compact. Neither the pattern of land ownership or land occupancy is at all suggestive of a former open field being present. The pattern of land use for Glascoed (Fig.8.48.) also presents us with a very fragmented and confused picture. Around the common land in the centre of the hamlet arable seems to dominate, although there is also a large amount of pasture and meadow present. Towards the south of the parish, meadow and pasture usage appears to become more intensive and on the eastern edge of the parish pasture becomes dominant. Furthermore, woodland is much more prevalent in the northern and eastern portions of Glascoed. This confused pattern is suggestive of compact farmsteads and land held in severalty, and not former open field.

In terms of toponymic evidence, the pattern of 'Welsh' tithe survey field-names (Fig.8.49.) shows a large number of fields displaying Welsh linguistic influence, with 178 out of 404 of the field-names recorded in the tithe survey being 'Welsh' (44%). This is the highest amount seen so far in this thesis, as one would expect as the study is now moving into the more westerly parts of the county. There seems to be little pattern in their distribution around the parish, apart from a slight increase in their

prevalence towards the western edge of Glascoed, again this is to be expected. Having seen how the tithe map field-name linguistic origin model is dominated by 'Welsh' field-names, it is surprising that the Ordnance Survey place-name data set (Fig.8.50.) shows that, in the centre of the hamlet at least, the picture is far more even. Around the common and Glascoed there is a fairly even mix of Welsh and English place-names, with the English place-names even being possibly slightly more prevalent. The rest of the hamlet, however, is dominated by place-names of Welsh origin. In conclusion, there is no doubt that Glascoed presents us with an extremely 'Welsh' landscape, centred on common and presenting very little evidence for former open field farming or the agency of post-Conquest Anglo-Norman lordship. This, therefore, may provide us with evidence for Glascoed, along with Gwehelog, being 'Welshries' attached to the 'Englishry' of the *caput* of Usk.

8.4. Discussion & Summary

When looking at the Lordship of Usk as a whole, it is clear that the case study parishes included in this thesis provide a varied and diverse set of landscapes. In Usk itself there is a classic post-Conquest Anglo-Norman lordship centre, with the 'trinity' of castle, religious foundation and town, and, attached to this, there is also evidence for a former open field farming system. However, the open fields are not as substantial as those seen attached to the *capita* of the Anglo-Norman lordships on the Gwent Levels (Chepstow and Caldicot) or those closer to the border (Monmouth). The rest of the parish seems to be affected by the presence of Usk park and the upland nature of the region, the most noticeable of these being the upland unenclosed commons of the 'Welshries' of Glascoed and Gwehelog, which have a significantly different landscape to that seen around the town of Usk. This difference in the physical landscape evidence does lend weight to the idea of Usk having a 'divided landscape', split between these 'Welshries' and the 'Englishry' of Usk, as suggested by Mein (1986, 7-8).

Raglan, a minor Anglo-Norman lordship site which became more important in the later centuries of the medieval period, presents us with a landscape which, while slightly different, still maintains some similarities with that seen at Usk. Here there is a large village (with some debate about its actual status) with a possible small former open field attached to it. There is no large-scale open field present, possibly because Raglan was not originally a particularly important Anglo-Norman lordship centre. Raglan lacks the monastic foundation to complete the Anglo-Norman 'trinity' as the landscape evidence suggests that the pre-Herbert foundation had a similar stature to a site like Dingestow or Rockfield, although with a larger village, and by the time Raglan became an important seigneurial site in the fifteenth century, the heyday of the open field had passed. Raglan's similarity to Usk lies with its limited open field and large area of unenclosed common set away from the settlement nucleation.

When Trellech is examined, yet another picture emerges. Again, Trellech is a much later foundation than Usk and the town may have been focused largely on iron production and not on the role of a manorial centre for arable farming. Instead Trellech presents a nucleated settlement surrounded by land held in severalty, offering no real evidence for a former open field, and in a parish dominated by unenclosed upland common. The picture is, as has been previously mentioned, confused somewhat by the results presented by Llandenny. Here there is evidence for a possible small open field system surrounding a village that shows little indication of Anglo-Norman lordship, but which probably predates the conquest of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Therefore it can be deduced that the results from the Lordship of Usk show that, despite Anglo-Norman lordship being an important agent of landscape change, it has to be viewed in conjunction with a number of other factors, such as the pre-existing landscape, the physical landscape and the over arching political situation.

What is most notable in this case study is the lack of any of the extensive and obvious former open field systems focused on Anglo-Norman lordship sites, as seen in the previous three chapters (e.g. Magor, Chepstow, Caldicot, and Monmouth). Whilst the more important lordship sites (Usk and Raglan) do show some minor evidence for smaller open field systems being present, it is on a much smaller scale compared to that seen in the lordships of Caldicot, Chepstow and Monmouth. There are two possible reasons for this. The first of these is the effect of the physical landscape, being significantly more upland than that seen at either Chepstow or Caldicot. However, despite the Lordship of Monmouth being significantly more 'upland' than the lordships to the south of the Wentwood Ridge, the *caput* still managed to have a fairly extensive open field system. Usk has similar physical surroundings to Monmouth, being flat and surrounded by the confluence of waterways (although admittedly not in the natural 'bowl' of Monmouth). Therefore, the other element that must have had an effect upon the landscape change is the 'political landscape', with the Lordship of Usk being a later foundation than Monmouth, being situated further away from the Anglo-Welsh border and, for much of its early existence, being located on the frontier between the Anglo-Norman Marcher territories and those still held by Welsh lords. Another important feature of the Lordship of Usk is its multiple lordship *foci*. While most of the Anglo-Norman landscape influence of Monmouth and Abergavenny (see Chapters 7 & 9) seems to have been focused upon the *capita*, Usk appears to have had multiple *foci* (such as the sub-lordship sites of Llangibby and Raglan, as well as the economic focal point of the iron-boom town of Trellech), which may also help to explain the diminished level of agency being exerted by the town, priory and castle of Usk.

At the conclusion of this chapter, as with the previous case studies, the main topic to be considered is what these findings indicate about the character of the landscape of the Lordship of Usk and the degree to which agency was exerted by Anglo-Norman lordship. These results, as expected, show that the landscape of the lordship *caput*,

Usk, displays a great deal of Anglo-Norman influence, with the presence of a castle, a town, a priory and an open field farming system. However, the open field present at Usk is nowhere near as extensive or well preserved as those seen at the previously examined Anglo-Norman *capita*, such as Caldicot, Chepstow and Monmouth. Usk, as a parish broken down into multiple distinct 'hamlets', also provides an interesting view of a landscape divided between 'Englishries' (Usk) and 'Welshries' (Gwehelog and Glascoed), which may provide a snapshot of the landscape of the more upland areas of this region prior to the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship (very little nucleation and large common pasture as opposed to extensive open field arable farming). However, as has already been mentioned, the findings drawn from Llandenny confuse this picture somewhat, as Llandenny provides very little evidence for Anglo-Norman lordship influence, but does present data suggestive of settlement nucleation and small-scale open field farming. This raises the possibility that not all open field farming systems were the product of Anglo-Norman lordship, and some were simply down to the suitability of the landscape to support such an endeavour, as the parish of Llandenny provides excellent arable farmland.

A major difference between the Lordship of Usk and the topographically similar Lordship of Monmouth is the fact that the landscape of the Lordship of Usk is not entirely dominated by the *caput* of Usk itself. Monmouth, with its castle, town, priory and large open field farming system stands out as an 'island' of Anglo-Norman landscape management from the other parishes of the lordship, and seems to have been the major focal point. Conversely, Usk had multiple *foci* outside the *caput* of Usk itself, such as the sub-lordship sites of Llangibby and Raglan, as well as the economic focal point of the iron-boom town of Trellech. This is demonstrated when you compare Raglan, originally a fairly minor Anglo-Norman site before its fifteenth century heyday, and Dingestow (situated within a lordship whose landscape is dominated by the *caput*, Monmouth). The castle at Raglan has an attached nucleated village and a small open field, which you would associate with a minor Anglo-Norman lordship site, whereas none of this evidence is present at Dingestow. This therefore shows that, possibly due to the larger size of the Lordship of Usk, the Anglo-Norman influence upon the physical landscape was not solely focused upon the *caput*. This multiple *foci* system might also explain why none of the obvious surviving Anglo-Norman landscapes that were present in lordships of Caldicot (Caldicot), Chepstow (Chepstow & Magor) and Monmouth (Monmouth) are seen in the Lordship of Usk. Another explanation for the differences in the character of the landscape of the Lordship of Usk and the other lordships studied within this thesis is that, due to the fact that Usk was originally a 'sub-lordship' of Chepstow and later became attached to Caerleon, it did not spend as long as the other major *capita* as the focus of an Anglo-Norman lordship. This would provide further evidence of the political and social situation at the time of the foundation of a lordship affecting the levels of influence it was able to exert upon its surrounding landscape.

The final of these case study chapters will investigate the Lordship of Abergavenny, set in the most upland part of the county. This case study is also the most westerly, moving as far away from the Anglo-Welsh border as possible within Monmouthshire. It will be interesting to see whether there is a similar landscape pattern to that shown in the Lordship of Usk, with small open fields surrounding the *caput* and any other major centres of Anglo-Norman power, but with the rest of the lordship largely untouched ('islands of influence'), or whether a different pattern of Anglo-Norman landscape influence will emerge.

9. Case Study: The Lordship of Abergavenny

9.1. Introduction

This chapter forms the final stage of the case study section of this thesis, and will examine the most westerly and upland Anglo-Norman lordship within the boundaries of Monmouthshire. The mountainous Lordship of Abergavenny was chosen in order to provide a dramatic contrast with the lowland coastal landscape studied in the first two case studies (i.e. Caldicot and Chepstow) as well as the rolling hills of the lordships of Monmouth and Usk. It also allows us to discount the influence of the Anglo-Welsh border, being the furthest west that this thesis examines

As ever it is important to justify the selection of the parishes which will form this case study. Obviously, the first parish chosen was Abergavenny itself, as the *caput* of the lordship. Abergavenny was an important Anglo-Norman lordship site, with an important role in the history of the area and the expansion of the March beyond the coast and the border with England. Furthermore, Abergavenny presents us with an excellent example of the almost perfect post-Conquest urban foundation, having the Anglo-Norman 'trinity'. The first case study parish chosen outside the *caput* was the minor lordship site of Llanfair Kilgeddin, a minor Anglo-Norman lordship site on the border with the Lordship of Usk. Llanfair Kilgeddin contains the earthworks of a small formerly timber castle (St Mary's Yard Mound), a minor lordship site, presumably held for a knight's fee, and provides a contrast with the major lordship site at Abergavenny.

The next parish chosen was Llangattock Nigh Usk which, similarly to Llanfair Kilgeddin, was the site of a minor lordship site, Castell Arnallt. However, importantly, it is not thought of as an Anglo-Norman lordship site and has been traditionally considered to be the remains of the *llys*, or fortified manor house, of Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, the Welsh lord of Gwent *Uwchcoed*. Therefore, Llangattock Nigh Usk provides a useful comparison with both the Anglo-Norman lordships sites within this case study and the Anglo-Norman lordship sites included in the previous studies as it is the only solely 'Welsh' seigneurial site included in this thesis (Monmouthshire having a marked lack of known locations which can definitely be described as such). Whilst Raglan was the seat of a Welsh lordly family, the Herberts, it was situated much more solidly within an Anglo-Norman/English political framework; Castell Arnallt, as shall be seen, had a much less settled history. The final two parishes selected were the 'control' parishes, chosen to provide a contrast with the 'lordship' parishes included in this study. Neither Llanellen, nor Llanddewi Rhydderch, have any known Anglo-Norman lordship sites situated within their boundaries and, as with the previous case studies, it was important to have 'control parishes' which show no evidence for Anglo-Norman seigneurial influence. Llanellen and Llanddewi Rhydderch also sit in dramatically different physical landscapes, with Llanellen sitting at the bottom of the Bloreng mountain, whilst Llanddewi Rhydderch sits in between the river valleys of the Usk and the Trothy.

9.2. Background

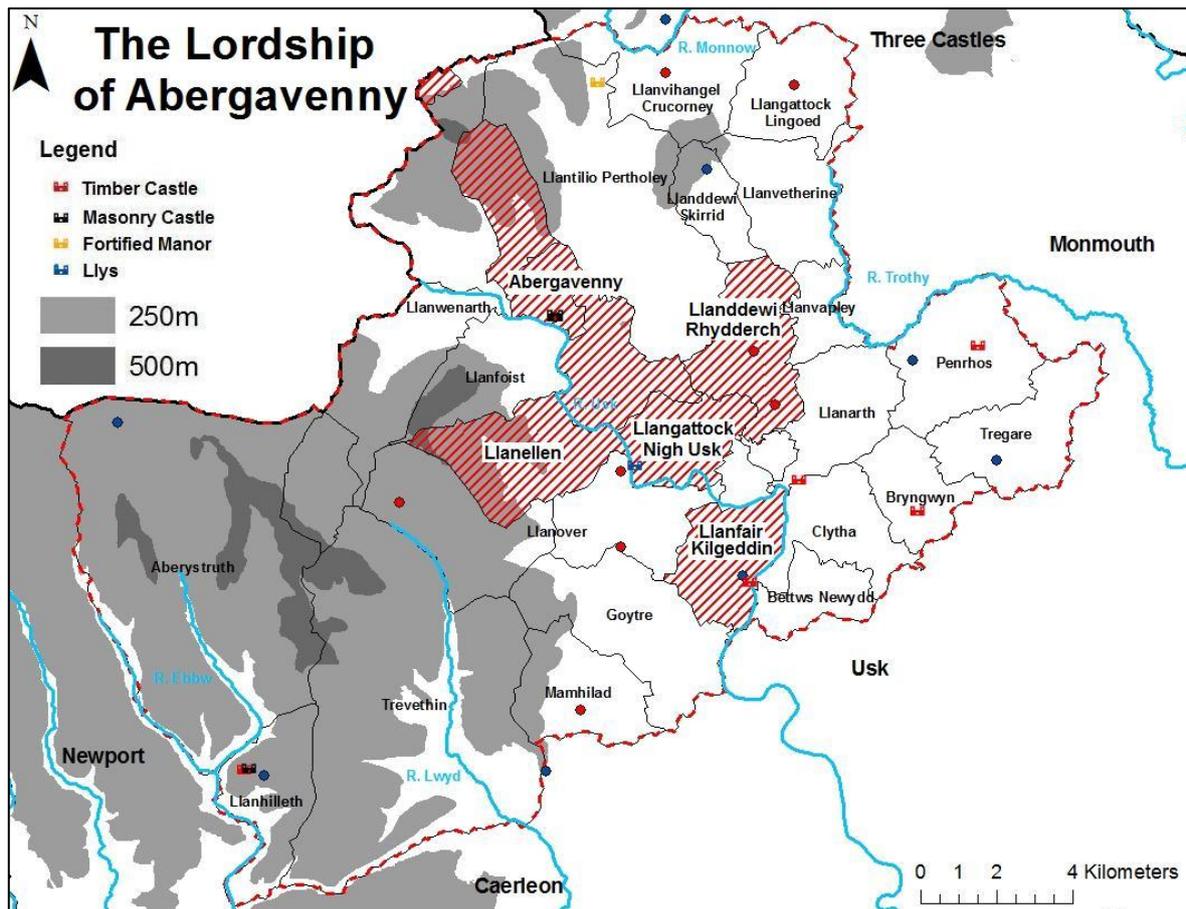


Fig.9.1. The Lordship of Abergavenny. The case study parishes are shaded in red (compiled from the manors listed in the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of John de Hastings, lord of Abergavenny (*Cal. IMP Vol. 6, 18 Edw. II*) and Rees 1959).

Abergavenny was one of the largest of the region's lordships and, in terms of physical topography, its landscape is a mixture of highly mountainous land in its western and northern extent and fertile farmland along the course of the river Usk to the south (Fig.9.1.; Courtney 2008, 60-61). Although the lordship is centred along the Usk valley, it also includes the River Lwyd, running out of the Brecon Beacons, within its boundaries and is bordered to the north by the River Trothy and to the south by the two forks of the River Ebbw (Fig.9.1.). The mountains contained within the Lordship of Abergavenny have already been mentioned, and the most famous of them are the three peaks surrounding the town of Abergavenny: The Sugar Loaf (*Mynydd Pen-y-Fal*), The Bloreng (Blorengs) and The Skirrid (*Ysgryd Fawr*). The place-name Abergavenny (*Y Fenni* in Welsh) translates as the confluence (*aber*) of the River Gavenny (*Gefenni*), in this case with the River Usk (Owen & Morgan 2007, 6), and the town is located in the low lying land around these watercourses (Fig.9.2.). The landscape of the rest of the parish is dominated by the two peaks of The Sugar Loaf and The Skirrid to the north and the east of the town, respectively.

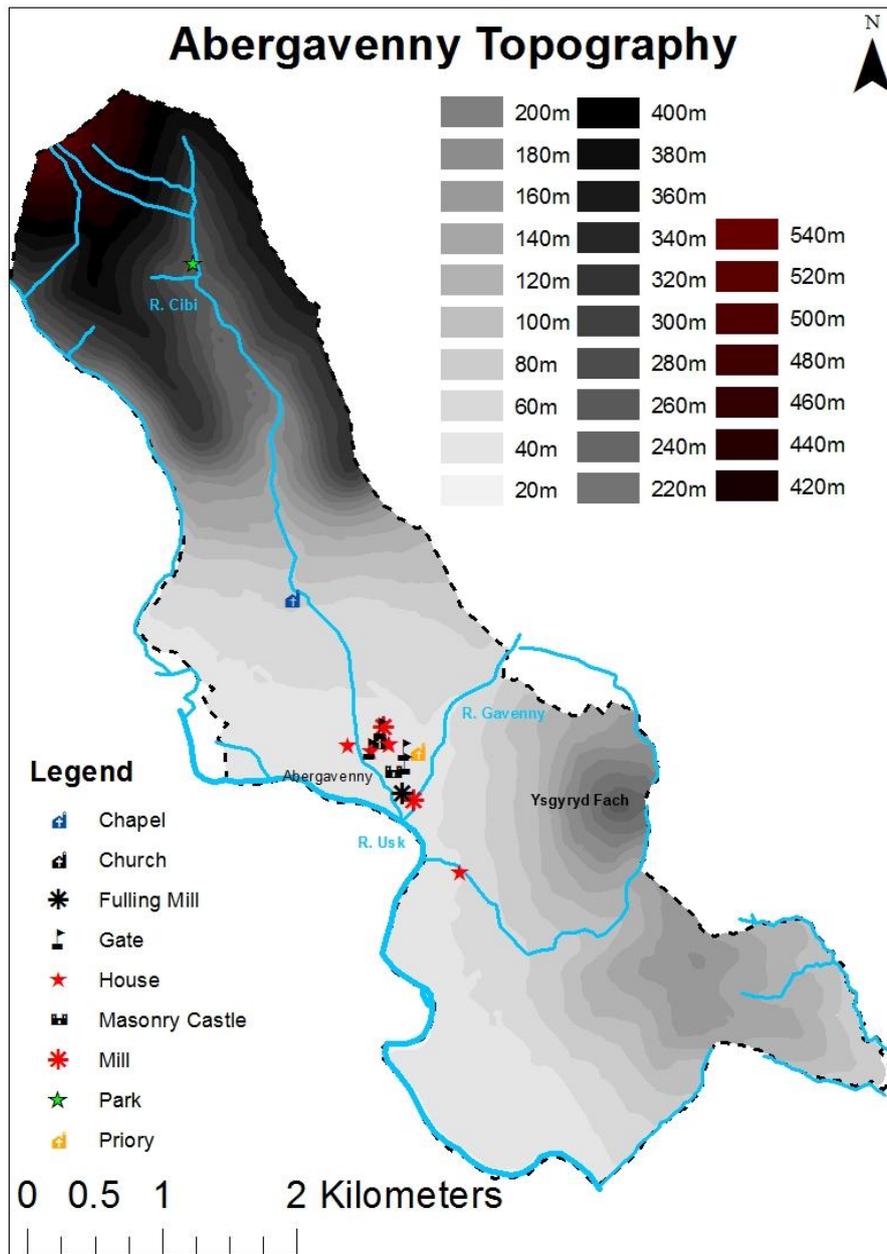


Fig.9.2. Topographic features of the parish of Abergavenny with medieval entries from the HER.

The topography of Llanfair Kilgeddin (Fig.9.3.) is much lower lying, with the parish mostly occupying the land to the south of a bend in the River Usk. There are a number of smaller and unnamed watercourses running through the parish, including one forming the southern border and one running through the centre of the small village where the remains of the castle are located. This lowland topography is echoed by the landscape of Llangattock Nigh Usk (Fig.9.4.), this time to the north of the River Usk, but still with only one major topographic feature and a number of small watercourses. Llanellen presents us with an extremely different physical landscape (Fig.9.5.), in that whilst the village itself is still located in the low lying land adjacent to the Usk, most of the rest of the parish is extremely hilly and even, as you

move west, mountainous. Finally, Llanddewi Rhydderch (Fig.9.6.) presents us with a landscape away from the Usk and slightly hillier than that seen at Llanfair Kilgeddin and Llangattock Nigh Usk. The parish is cut in two by the Pant Brook which flows into the River Trothy, which forms a small valley, and is bordered to the south by the Ffrwd Brook, which flows into the Usk.

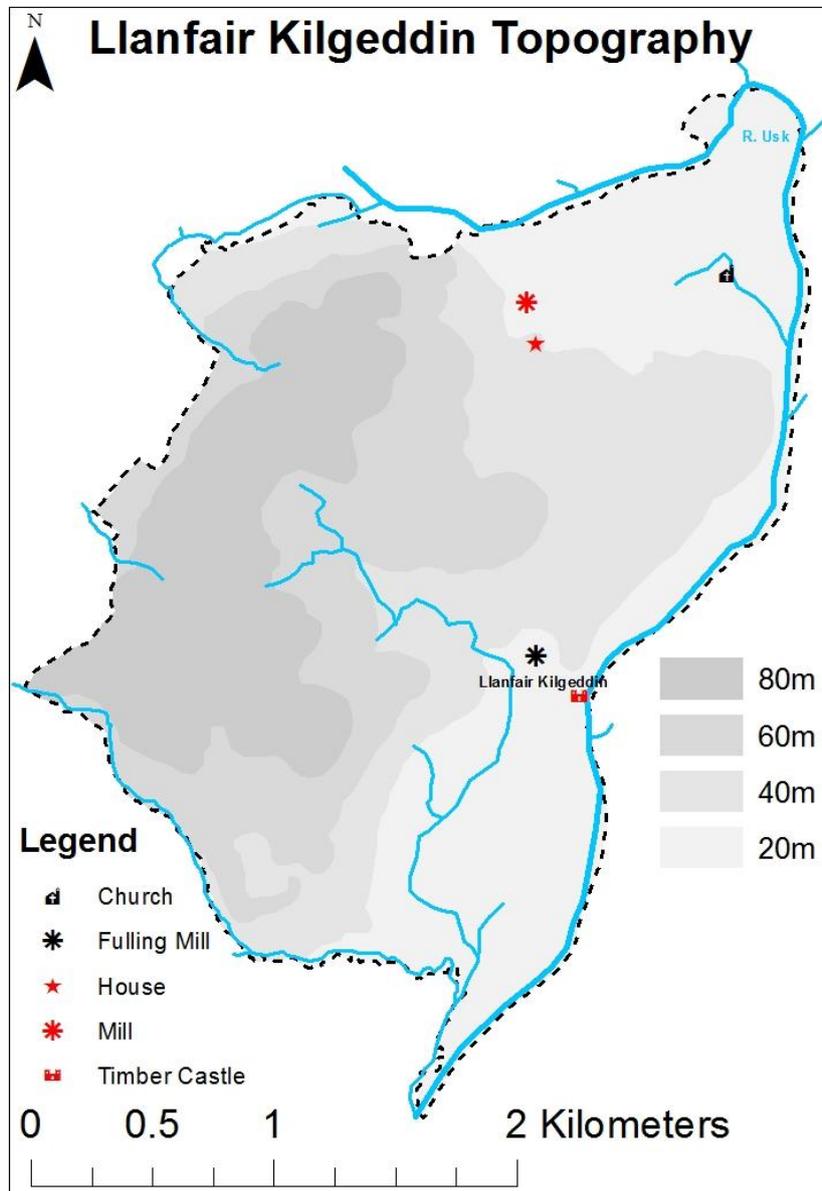


Fig.9.3. Topographic features of the parish of Llanfair Kilgeddin with medieval entries from the HER.

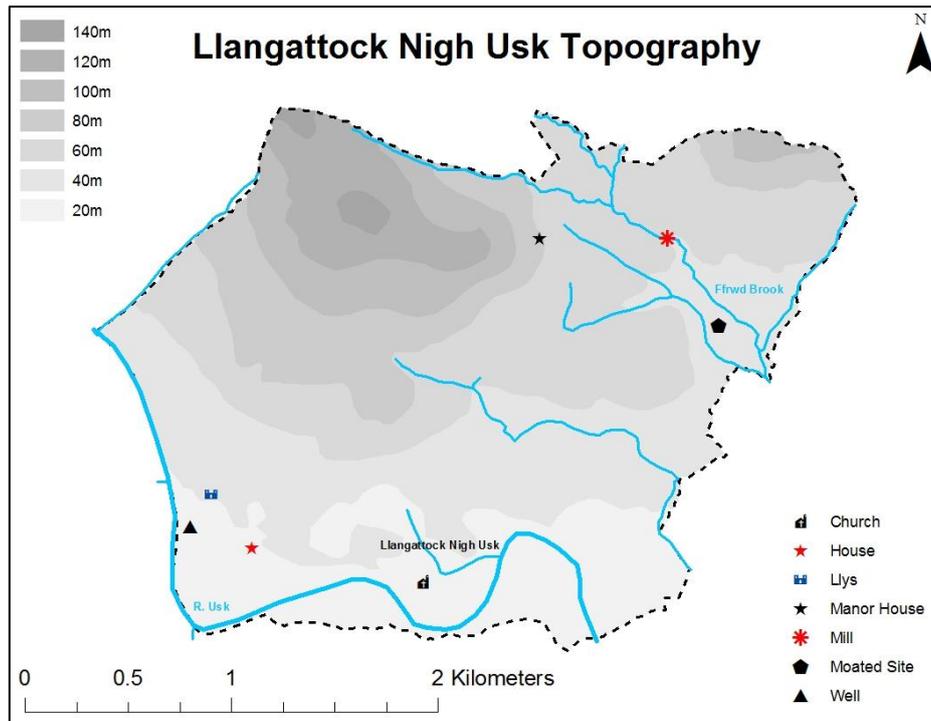


Fig.9.4. Topographic features of the parish of Llangattock Nigh Usk with medieval entries from the HER.

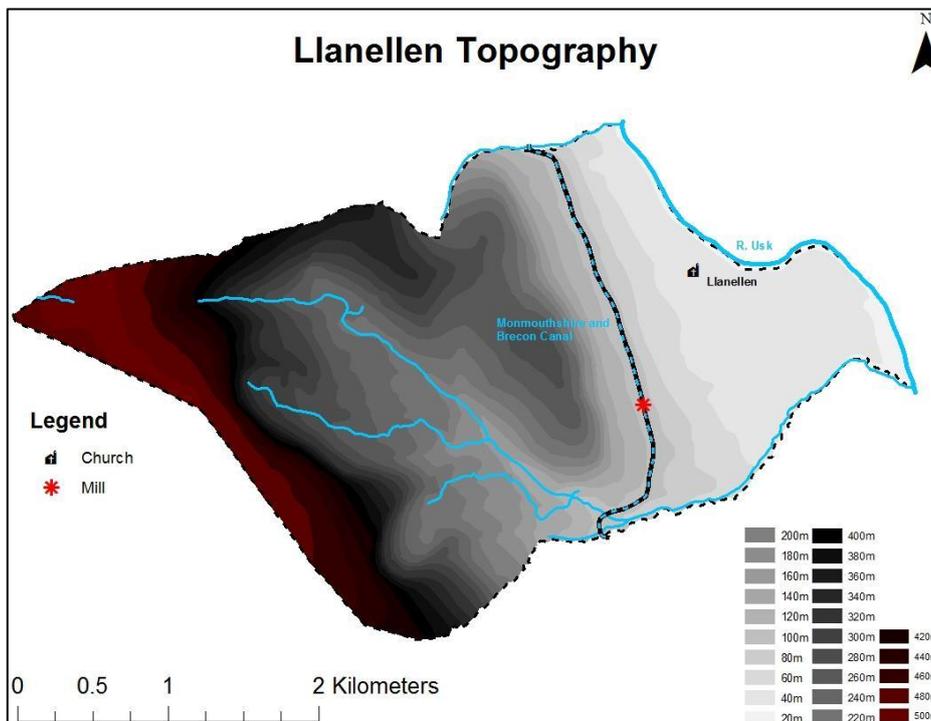


Fig.9.5. Topographic features of the parish of Llanellen with medieval entries from the HER.

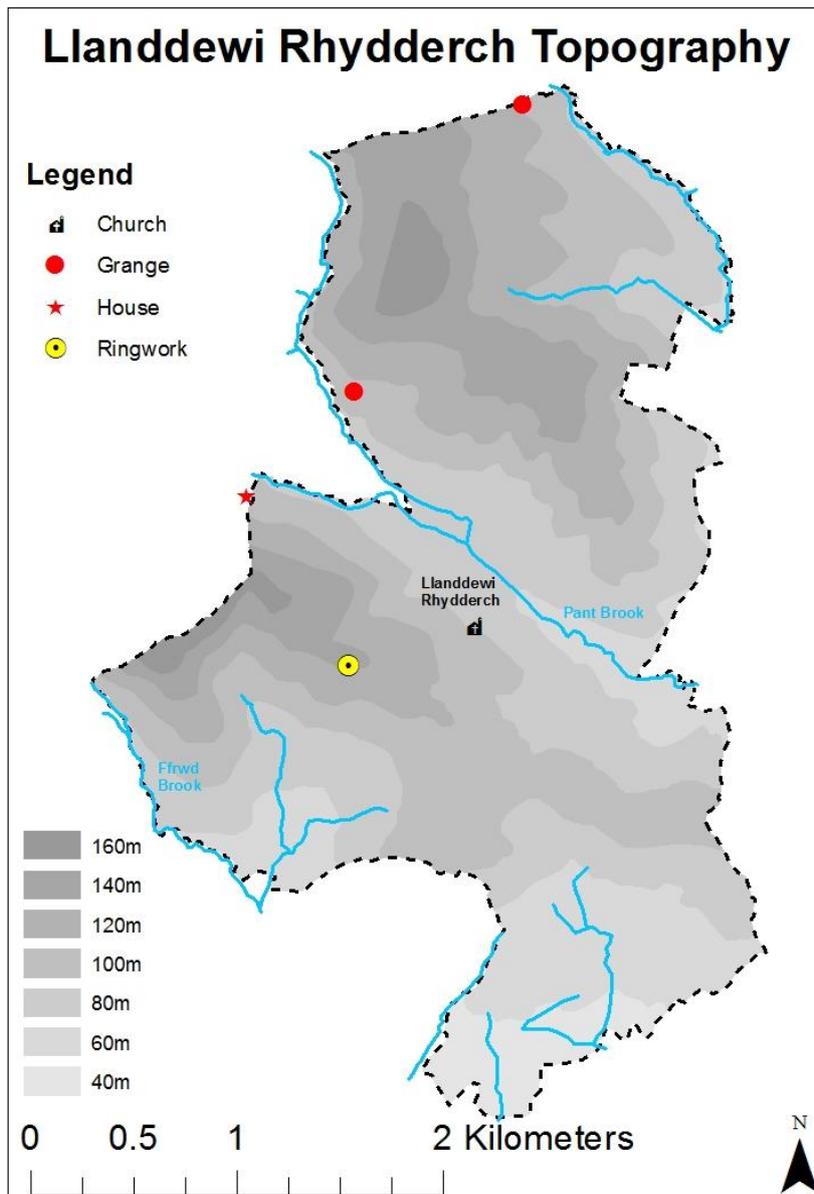


Fig.9.6. Topographic features of the parish of Llanddewi Rhydderch with medieval entries from the HER.

After the Roman Conquest a fort, *Gobannium*, was constructed at the confluence of the Usk and the Gavenny, on the road connecting Caerleon with Chester (Howell 1988, 27-31). The name place-name *Gobannium* hints at the importance of iron working in this period as it can be translated as 'place of the blacksmiths' (Howell 1988, 32). As has already been mentioned, in the post-Roman period this region was known as *Gwent Uwchcoed* (Upper Gwent or "Gwent beyond the (Went)wood") and Abergavenny may have formed the centre of this polity (Reeves 1983, 139), although later it seems to have moved to Castell Arnallt in Llangattock Nigh Usk.



Fig.9.7. Aerial view of Abergavenny Castle (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

The first Anglo-Norman lord of Abergavenny was Hamelin de Ballon, whose name is drawn from Ballon in the French county of Maine, and who appears to have been brought from Normandy by William II (Reeves 1983, 139). Furthermore, a charter recording grants he made to the abbey of St Vincent (in Le Mans, the capital of Maine) notes he was endowed by both William II and Henry I (Courtney 2008, 53). This suggests that there was an Anglo-Norman invasion of the area during the reign of Rufus, possibly launched from a base at Caerleon which was under the control of Hamelin's brother Winebald (Round 1901), as both brothers were favourites of Rufus (Davies 1987, 35). Sometime before 1100, Hamelin de Ballon is thought to have raised the original motte and bailey castle on a strong promontory overlooking the river (Fig.9.7.; Pettifer 2000, 121) and the nascent town, laid out behind an earthen bank (Soulsby 1983, 65). However, despite the foundation of an Anglo-Norman *caput* at Abergavenny, there is no evidence of an English or French immigrant population beyond the knightly classes and in the borough of Abergavenny, a fact supported by the fact the only major English place-names present in the lordship are associated with its home demesne of Abergavenny (Courtney 2008, 60). To complete the Anglo-Norman urban 'trinity', at some point during de Ballon's tenure (sometime between 1087 and 1100) St Mary's Priory, a Benedictine foundation typical of the 'alien' cells established by the early Anglo-Norman lords of the March (see Monmouth, Chepstow etc.), was founded on the opposite side of the river to the castle (Fig.9.8.; Aston 1993, 76) and was attached to the abbey of St Vincent in Le Mans (Thurlby 2006, 4). A separate church of St John's founded to accommodate

the towns people, but this fell into decay once St Mary's opened its doors to those from outside its monastic community (Soulsby 1983, 65).



Fig.9.8. St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny (photograph: author's own).

By 1119 the Lordship of Abergavenny was in the hands of Hamelin's nephew, Brian fitz Count, natural son of Count Alan of Brittany, presumably given to him as a gift by his mentor Henry I (*Giraldus Cambrensis*, 108). This is despite the fact that the de Ballon family continued to hold estates in Wiltshire and this suggests that Hamelin only had a temporary tenure of Abergavenny (Davies 1987, 41; Courtney 2008, 55). By 1135 the town of Abergavenny was well established and provides evidence of an Anglo-Norman mint, hinting at its importance (Davies 1987, 162), and by the end of the twelfth century Abergavenny had outgrown its original Anglo-Norman boundaries and defensible walls (Fig.9.9.; Schofield & Vince 2003) and was beginning to show evidence of suburban development (Davies 1987, 167). Charters dating from 1141-2 record that the lordship was granted by Brian fitz Count, whose sons were lepers to his cousin, Miles de Gloucester, Earl of Hereford and lord of Brecon (d.1143) (Walker 1990, 41). Miles was succeeded, in turn, by his sons, Roger (d.1155), who was deprived of the earldom for treason and died soon after, Walter (d.1159/1160), who died whilst on crusade, Henry (d.1176) and Mahel (d.1176) (Walker 1990, 51; Courtney 2008, 55-56).

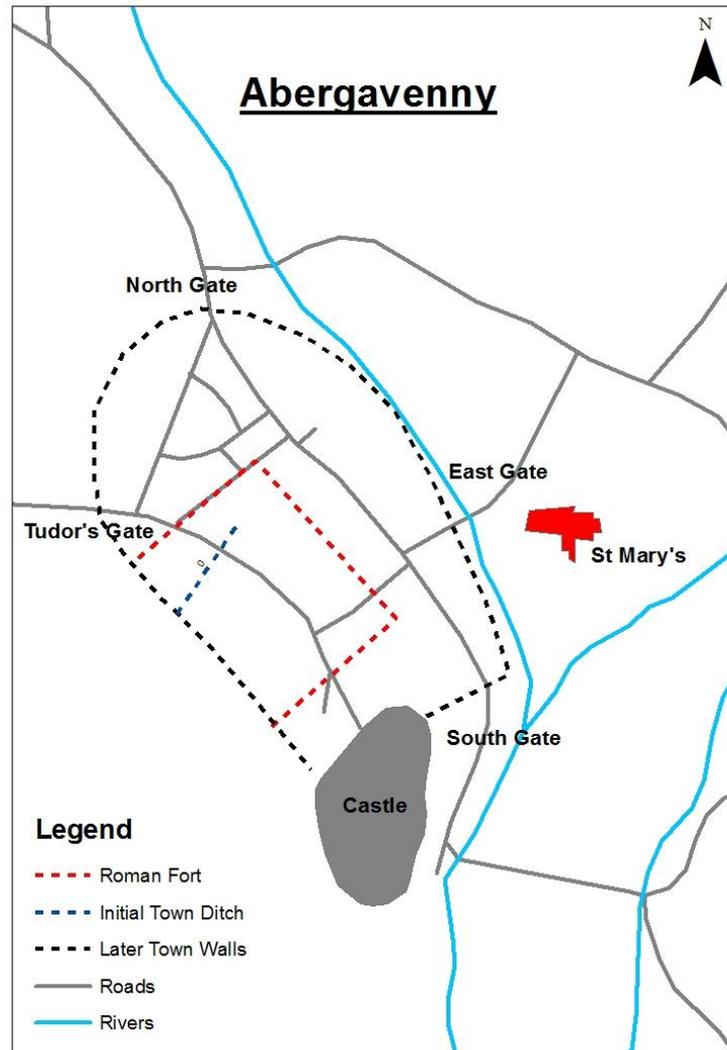


Fig.9.9. Plan of medieval Abergavenny (redrawn by the author from Soulsby 1983, Fig.5).

Henry fitz Miles was killed by the Welsh, possibly commanded by Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, near Castell Arnallt (in the parish of Llangattock Nigh Usk) in 1175 (*Brut – RBH*, 165; Turvey 2002, 45). Seisyll, the leader of the Welsh in Gwent Uwchcoed, was a constant threat to the Anglo-Norman lords of Abergavenny, capturing their *caput* in 1173 after being ‘treacherously’ imprisoned at Abergavenny in 1172 (*Brut – RBH*, 159), and only returning it two years later at the behest the Lord Rhys, Seisyll’s brother-in-law, in order to restore peace (Howell 1988, 58). The final son of Miles de Gloucester, Mahel died in the same year as his brother Henry, killed by falling masonry during a fire at Bronllys castle. The lordship then passed to Mahel’s nephew, William de Braose III (d.1211), husband to his sister, Bertha (Courtney 2008, 56), who was now in possession of quite a hegemony, also holding Brecknock, Builth, Radnor and the Lordship of the Three Castles (Howell 1988, 58). In revenge for Henry fitz Miles’ death (Henry was William’s uncle), Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, his eldest son Gruffudd and their followers were invited by William to a feast in Abergavenny

castle at Christmas 1175, only to be massacred once they had settled in the hall for the banquet (*Brut – RBH*, 165; *Giraldus Cambrensis* 109-111). Seisyll's court (thought to be at Castell Arnallt) was then sacked and his youngest son, Cadwaldr, was cut down aged seven (Howell 1988, 58). Interestingly, Gerald of Wales attempts to absolve William de Braose of any guilt, claiming he had fallen into the castle's moat at the time of the massacre (*Giraldus Cambrensis* 112). Gerald instead blamed first Ranulf Poer, Sheriff of Herefordshire and ultimately Henry II for the massacre which he described as 'the most recent terrifying atrocities committed here with such inhuman slaughter' (*Giraldus Cambrensis* 109).

Certainly these events soured relations between the Welsh and the Anglo-Normans, and the *Brut y Tywysogion* records that from then on 'none of the Welsh dared place their trust in the French' (*Brut – RBH*, 165). These atrocities also led Henry II to lose faith in de Braose, and he cancelled his appointment as royal lieutenant in south Wales due to his involvement in the massacre (Davies 1987, 275). In 1182 the Welsh, understandably, retaliated and Iorwerth of Caerleon and other relatives of Seisyll ap Dyfnwal recaptured Abergavenny (*Giraldus Cambrensis* 110; Howell 1988, 58). After regaining Abergavenny, and presumably due to the volatile local situation, William de Braose is thought to have walled the bailey, with a cross-wall dividing it into two enclosures, sometime prior to his rebellion against King John and flight into exile and alliance with Llywelyn Fawr in 1207 (Pettifer 2000, 121-2). William de Braose eventually died in royal captivity, along with his eldest son William, in 1211 (Davies 1987, 277) and his lands were escheated to the crown (Reeves 1983, 25); the arbitrary nature of his fall may have fed the growing baronial resentment against King John. Certainly, both William de Braose's middle son Giles (d.1215), who became Bishop of Hereford, and his youngest son Reginald (d.1228) were both active during the First Barons' War. In fact, as Reginald ended up attacking Abergavenny with his father-in-law, Llywelyn Fawr (*Brut – RBH*, 203; Howell 1988, 77; Maund 2006, 195). King John eventually acquiesced to Reginald's claims to the de Braose estates in Wales in 1216 (*Brut – RBH*, 209), but in 1230 Reginald's son and successor, another William de Braose, was publicly hanged by Llywelyn Fawr for having an affair with his wife (Joan, daughter of King John of England) and died without male heirs (Howell 1988, 78; Courtney 2008, 56). The de Braose holdings, including the Lordship of Abergavenny, were entrusted by the crown to William Marshal the Younger (d.1231) and then to Hubert de Burgh (d.1243) (Howell 1988, 78), before being inherited by Eve de Braose (d.1255), daughter of the William de Braose hanged by Llywelyn Fawr. Therefore, Eve's husband William de Cantilupe (d. 1254) (Walker 1990, 53) became *jure uxoris* lord of Abergavenny.

During this period, in 1233, Richard Marshal, brother of William Marshal the Younger, in alliance with Owain ap Gruffudd, a supporter of Llywelyn Fawr, attacked through the Wye and Usk valleys capturing a number of castles, including Abergavenny (*Brut – RBH*, 231-233; Howell 1988, 79). Furthermore, in 1248, William de Cantilupe of Abergavenny is recorded as having a territorial dispute with John of

Monmouth over the castle at Penrhos (Davies 1987, 306). Therefore, by 1251, due to the number of attacks on the town and the growing size of the settlement (by 1259 there were 230 burgage plots present), Abergavenny received its first murage grant. However, due to the large number of later grants between 1295 and 1319, it can be suggested that this work was not completed until much later (Soulsby 1983, 65-67). Upon his death, William de Cantilupe was succeeded by his son George (d.1273) and was held by the crown (in the form of Prince Edward, later Edward I) during George's minority (Walker 1990, 145). In 1263 Abergavenny was threatened by the forces of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, and the commander of the royal garrison frantically wrote for help, stating that 'if they are not stopped they will destroy all the lands of the king as far as the Severn and the Wye; they ask for nothing less than the whole of Gwent' (Davies 1987, 312; *Cal. Anc. Corr.*, 30; 53). Abergavenny was attacked again in 1265, this time by Simon De Montfort, as part of his alliance with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Howell 1988, 56). It was during these baronial disputes of the second half of thirteenth century that the demesne of Penrhos, previously disputed with the Lordship of Monmouth, was finally permanently annexed to the Lordship of Abergavenny. This idea of 'disputed land' between the Anglo-Norman lordships shows that their frontiers away from the Welsh were also fluid and care must be taken about assuming the long-term stability of a lordship boundary (Courtney 2008, 56).



Fig.9.10. Effigy of John de Hastings (d.1325) at St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny (photograph: author's own).

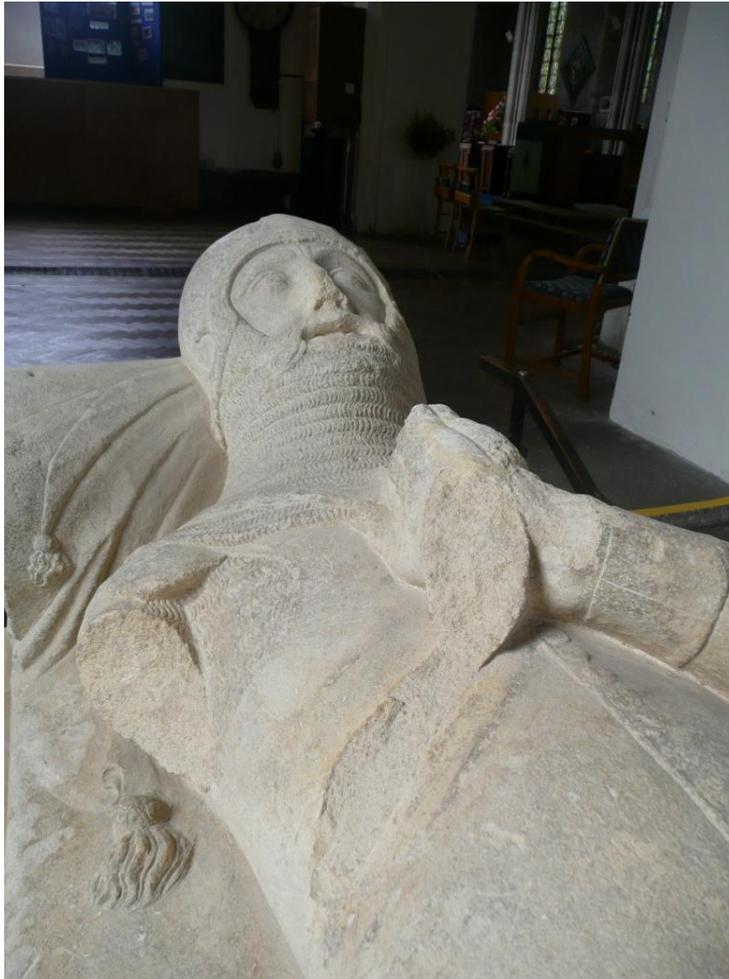


Fig.9.11. Effigy of Laurence de Hastings (d.1348) at St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny (photograph: author's own).

When George de Cantilupe died in 1273, the Lordship of Abergavenny passed to his nephew, John de Hastings (d.1313), and from him to his son, another John de Hastings II (d.1325). The de Hastings family funded the rebuilding of Abergavenny priory, which became the family mausoleum (Fig.9.9. & Fig.9.10), and also added the Solar Tower to the castle (Pettifer 2000, 121). At some point in this period, or possibly previously, the lords of Abergavenny also established extensive areas of forest in the uplands of to the west and the north of the borough, which may or may not be the same as the 'Priory Park' recorded on the HER (Archwilio, 03593.0g). They also had deer parks at Llangatwg Lingoed (on the Sugar Loaf) and Wernerid (Llanfable) (although the latter is only recorded in 1348) (Courtney 2008, 60). The importance of Abergavenny to the local area during this period is shown by the fact that in 1291-2 Edward I summoned a number of Marcher Lords to a great council at Abergavenny aimed at curbing the abuses of lordly power in the March (Davies 1987, 378). In 1324 the younger John de Hastings was succeeded by his son Laurence de Hastings, 1st Earl of Pembroke, who in turn died in 1348 at Abergavenny Castle and whose effigy can still be seen in the Priory Church of St Mary's) (Salter 1991, 10). He was succeeded by his son John Hastings, 2nd Earl of

Pembroke (d.1375), who died in French captivity after the Battle of La Rochelle. The lordship then passed to his son John Hastings, 3rd Earl of Pembroke, who died in a jousting accident in 1389. During this period, in the mid-1300s, the Black Death struck the region, killing one of the sons of the lord of Abergavenny (Mein 2008, 81) and the rents drawn from the manors attached to the Lordship of Abergavenny dropped dramatically (Howell 1988, 88). The suffering caused is testified by the fact that farmers within the lordship were allowed a remittance of £40 in their leases due to the devastation caused by *Y Farwolaeth Fawr* (Davies 1987, 425).

Due to John Hastings, 3rd Earl of Pembroke's untimely death without heirs in 1389, the Lordship of Abergavenny passed to Sir William Beauchamp (d.1411), a younger son of the Earl of Warwick (Reeves 1983, 41) and it is William Beauchamp who added the current gatehouse to the castle (Pettifer 2000, 122). The turbulent history of Abergavenny was not yet over, and in 1402 the townsfolk stormed the castle after the constable attempted to hang three burgesses, resulting in the death of the constable and freeing of the prisoners (Salter 1991, 10; Pettifer 2000, 121). Furthermore, the town was embroiled in the Glyndŵr revolt when, in 1403, forces loyal to Owain Glyndŵr burned the town, leaving the borough in such a prolonged state of dilapidation that Henry VIII was forced to issue a proclamation calling for the town to be rebuilt, over a century later (Soulsby 1983, 67). Furthermore, in 1404 the Glyndŵr rebels were defeated at Campstone, near Abergavenny, but Glyndŵr's forces soon recovered and smashed the English at Craig y Dorth, near Monmouth (Howell 1988, 92). In 1411 Abergavenny passed to Sir William Beauchamp's only son, Richard de Beauchamp, later made Earl of Worcester. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Edward Neville (d.1476), Son of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, younger brother of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury and therefore uncle to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, otherwise known as 'The Kingmaker'. After Richard's death in 1420, fighting the French (Salter 1991, 10) and upon the death of Elizabeth Beauchamp, the Lordship of Abergavenny was inherited by the Neville family (Courtney 2008, 56). Edward Neville was a staunch supporter of the Yorkist cause during the Wars of the Roses, staying loyal even after the defection of his nephew The Kingmaker (Walker 1990, 180). The lordship was held briefly by Jasper Tudor, after the accession of Henry Tudor to the throne, before being returned to the Neville family (Howell 1988, 106; Salter 1991, 10), from whose ranks all the 'Barons Bergavenny' were drawn until the title fell into abeyance in 2000. In 1536 St Mary's Priory was dissolved, although by this point it lost much of its former status, only being home to a prior and four monks (Salter 2002, 12). Finally, in 1645 Charles I ordered the slighting of Abergavenny castle, in order to prevent its use by Parliament during the Civil War (Pettifer 2000, 122). The current neo-Gothic building which stands atop the castle's motte was built as a 'picturesque' hunting lodge in the nineteenth century by Henry Nevill, 2nd Earl of Abergavenny.

Llanfair Kilgeddin

The place-name Llanfair Kilgeddin/Cilgedin is of Welsh origin and is first mentioned in 1254. It translates as the 'Church of St Mary at Cilgedin'. Unfortunately, the meaning of the second part of the name ('Kilgeddin') is unknown (Morgan 2005, 124). The earliest surviving part of St Mary's church (interestingly located quite a way away from the small village) is the thirteenth century north Window (Salter 2002, 29), however, the second font in the church may be of Norman origin (Thurlby 2006, 174). The reason Llanfair Kilgeddin is relevant to this study is the presence of 'St Mary's Yard Mound' to the east of the village (Fig.9.12.). This 'D-shaped mound' represents a minor lordship site, presumably held for a knight's fee, which may have functioned as some form of manorial centre attached to the settlement after the frontier of conquest had passed the area by (Phillips 2006).



Fig.9.12. Aerial view of St Mary's Mound, Llanfair Kilgeddin. (© Bing Maps).

As has been mentioned already, the church is set away from the village and therefore quite some distance from the castle. This could be taken as an indication that whoever was resident in the castle at Llanfair Kilgeddin was not powerful enough to relocate the church closer to their seigneurial centre, which is similar to what has been seen previously at Rockfield. Another similarity to Rockfield is the fact that the castle is not mentioned at all in Bradney, suggesting it was either unknown, or seen as being of little importance, at the beginning of the twentieth century (Bradney 1906). Part of the tithes of the parish went to Abergavenny Priory (Howell 1988, 70) and in 1313 John de Hastings, lord of Abergavenny, is recorded as having 21 Welsh tenants at Llanfair Kilgeddin and in 1348 Lawrence de Hastings is collecting rents from the fishing (6s. 8d), the fulling mill (20s.) and the corn mill (48s.)

(Bradney 1906, 406), therefore demonstrating the links between Llanfair Kilgeddin and Abergavenny and hinting at the castle's manorial function.

Llangattock Nigh Usk



Fig.9.13. Aerial view of Castell Arnallt. The remains are the faint oval-shaped earthworks/crop-marks to the right of the farmhouse. (© Crown Copyright - Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales).

The parish of Llangattock Nigh Usk, alternatively known as Llangattock-Juxta-Usk (In Welsh = *Llangatwg Dyffryn Wysg*) is first recorded in 1254 as *Lancadou iuxta Usk*, 'Church of St Cadog near the Usk' (Morgan 2005, 130). The lordship site within the parish's boundaries, Castell Arnallt (Fig.9.13.), as has already been mentioned, is traditionally thought to be the site of the *llys* of Kings of *Gwent Uwchcoed* and the 'home' of Seisyll ap Dyfnwal. Due to its connections with Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, Castell Arnallt was burned by de Braose's men following the 1175 Christmas massacre at Abergavenny (*Brut – RBH*, 165). After the events of 1175 the manor was held by the lords of Abergavenny, and in 1313 it is listed as being in the possession of John de Hastings, suggesting that there was no remaining semblance of Welsh power in the parish following the death of Seisyll ap Dyfnwal (Bradney 1906, 332). To the north-east of the village is the medieval moated site of Penpergwm (Archwilio, 08587g), a manorial complex with a chapel dating from around 1200-1350, which may have formed the seigneurial centre of the parish after the destruction of Castell Arnallt. By 1349 the manor is recorded as being rented to a branch of the Clifford family, with

the Clifford heiress to the manor eventually marrying Thomas ap Llewellyn, brother of Dafydd Gam (who, famously, died at Agincourt) (Bradney 1906, 332).

The name of Castell Arnallt comes from *Castrum Arnoldi*, recorded in 1348, although the origins of the 'Arnold' are unidentified, but are possibly linked with an Arnold family who provided local MPs in the early seventeenth century (Morgan 2005, 61). The earliest features of the parish church (St Cadoc's) are a thirteenth century font and some fifteenth century tiles (Newman 2000, 303; Salter 2002, 33) and as with Llanfair Kilgeddin part of the tithes of the parish went to Abergavenny (Howell 1988, 70).

Llanellen

The place-name Llanellen is first recorded at the beginning of the twelfth century, and is associated with the empress St Helen, mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great (Morgan 2005, 122), and the parish church (St Helen's) is dedicated to her. It is a small, much rebuilt, perpendicular style church, and the nave windows, roodloft staircase, wagon roof and south doorway are all fifteenth century (Newman 2000, 277; Salter 2002, 29). The parish has contained a bridge over the River Usk 'from time immemorial' (Bradney 1906, 369) and as a rectory of Abergavenny (Howell 1988, 70), probably provided an income through tolls to the Priory of Abergavenny.

Llanddewi Rhydderch

Llanddewi Rhydderch's place-name is of Welsh origin, and is first mentioned in 1254. It translates as the 'Church of St David belonging to Rhydderch', and whilst the exact identity of the 'Rhydderch' mentioned is unknown, it could be a reference to an earlier Welsh lord (Morgan 2005, 118). Bradney suggests that Llanddewi Rhydderch is the site of a *hendre*, or sheltered winter residence, of a pre-Conquest Welsh prince named 'Rhydderch' (Bradney 1906, 282), which may be a reference to the small ringwork enclosure of 'Hendre Hafaidd' to the south-west of the village (Archwilio, 01355g). The parish church of St David's is a small and disused foundation, largely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, but with a chancel showing some fourteenth century evidence (Newman 2000, 268; Salter 2002, 28). Sir Walter de Trevely is recorded as being in possession of Llanddewi Rhydderch soon after the conquest of the region (Bradney 1906, 282), although little is known of the later ownership of the manor, beyond it being a rectory of Abergavenny (Howell 1988, 70). The northern part of the parish is also the location of two granges belonging to Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), dating from the thirteenth century: Morlais (Archwilio, 08332g) and Llan-y-Mynach (Archwilio, 08348g).

9.3. Analysis of the Historic Landscape

9.3.1. Abergavenny

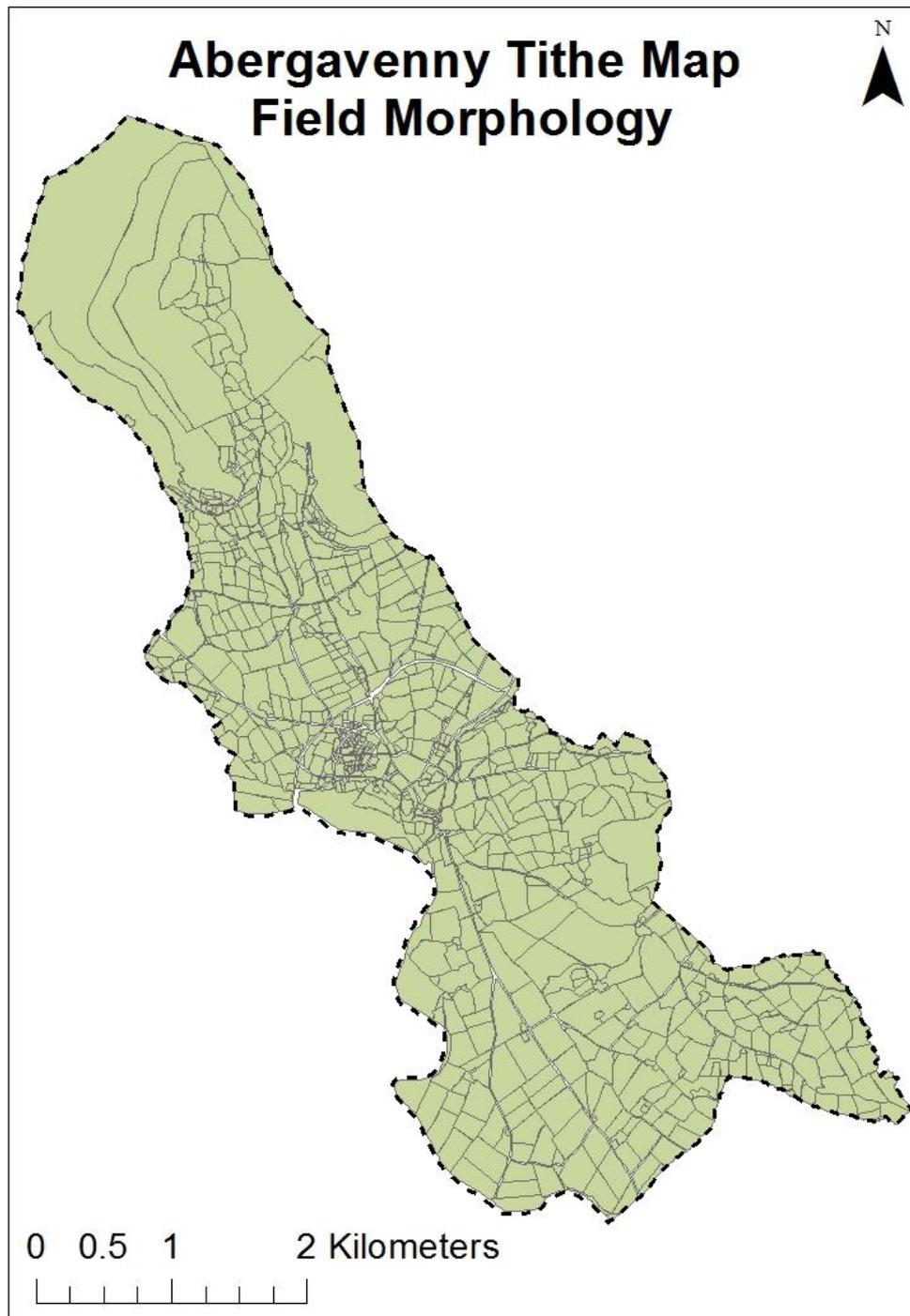


Fig.9.14. The field morphology of Abergavenny according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

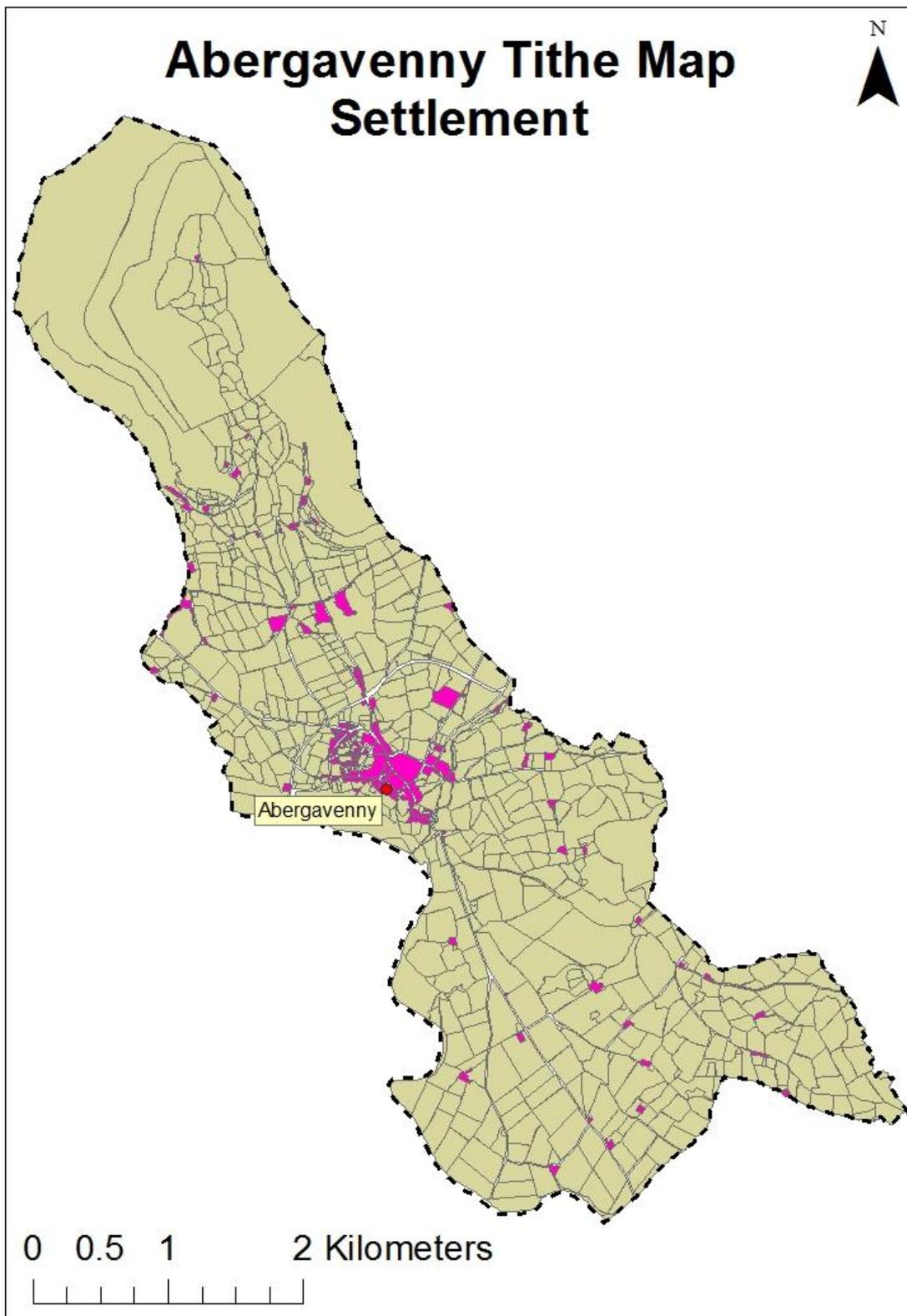


Fig.9.15. The settlement pattern of Abergavenny according to the 1843 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

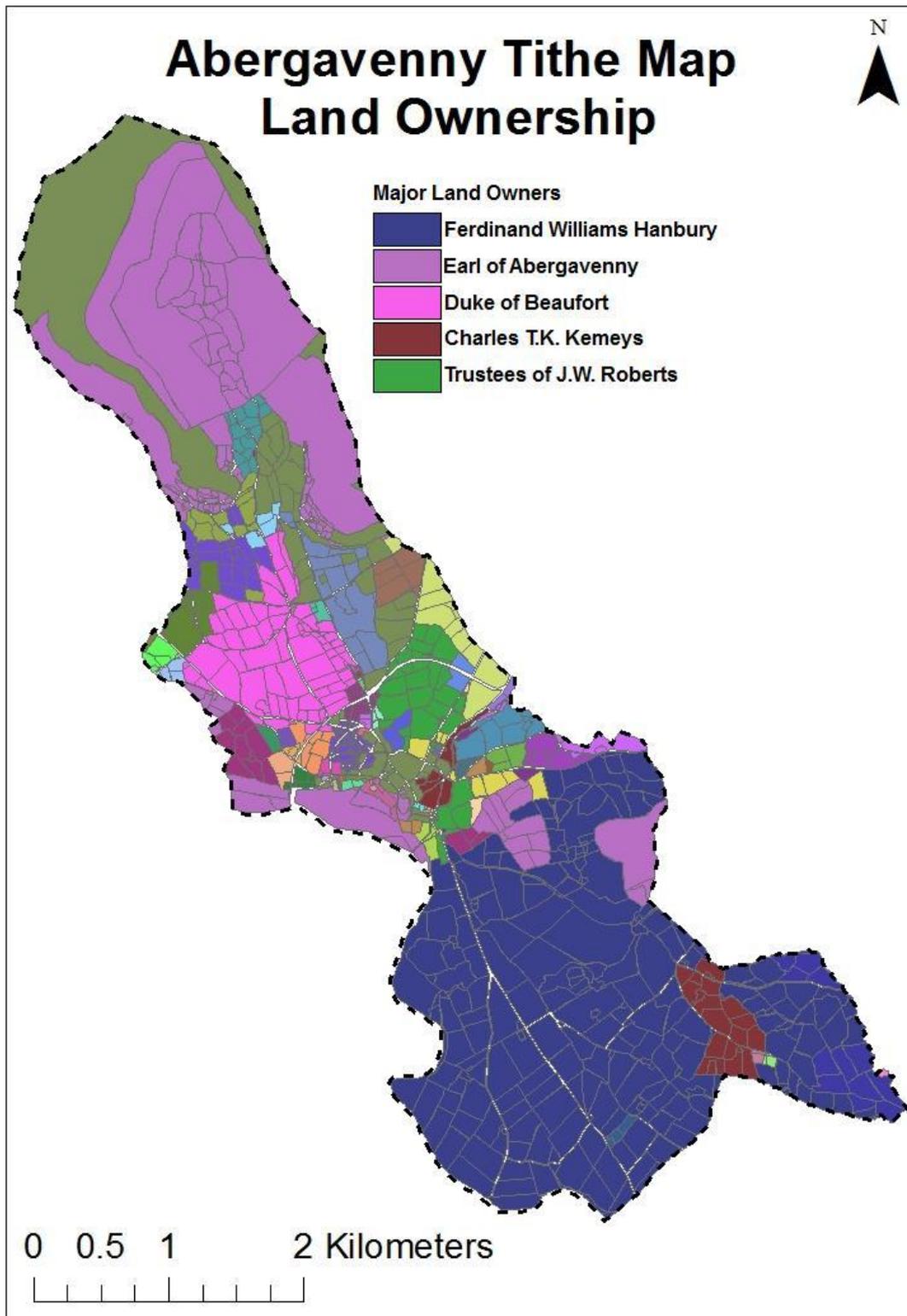


Fig.9.16. The pattern of land ownership for Abergavenny according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

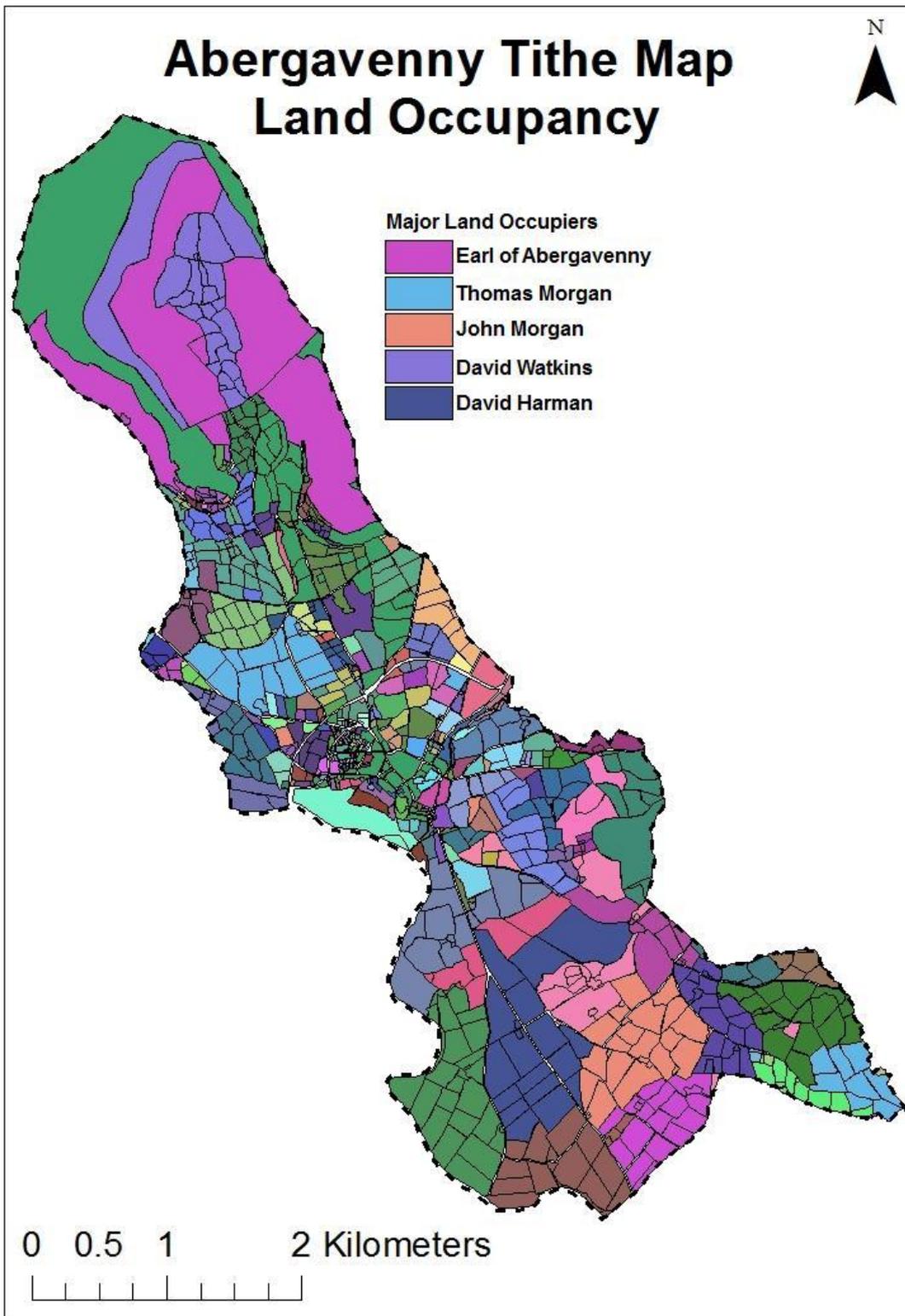


Fig.9.17. The pattern of land occupancy for Abergavenny according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

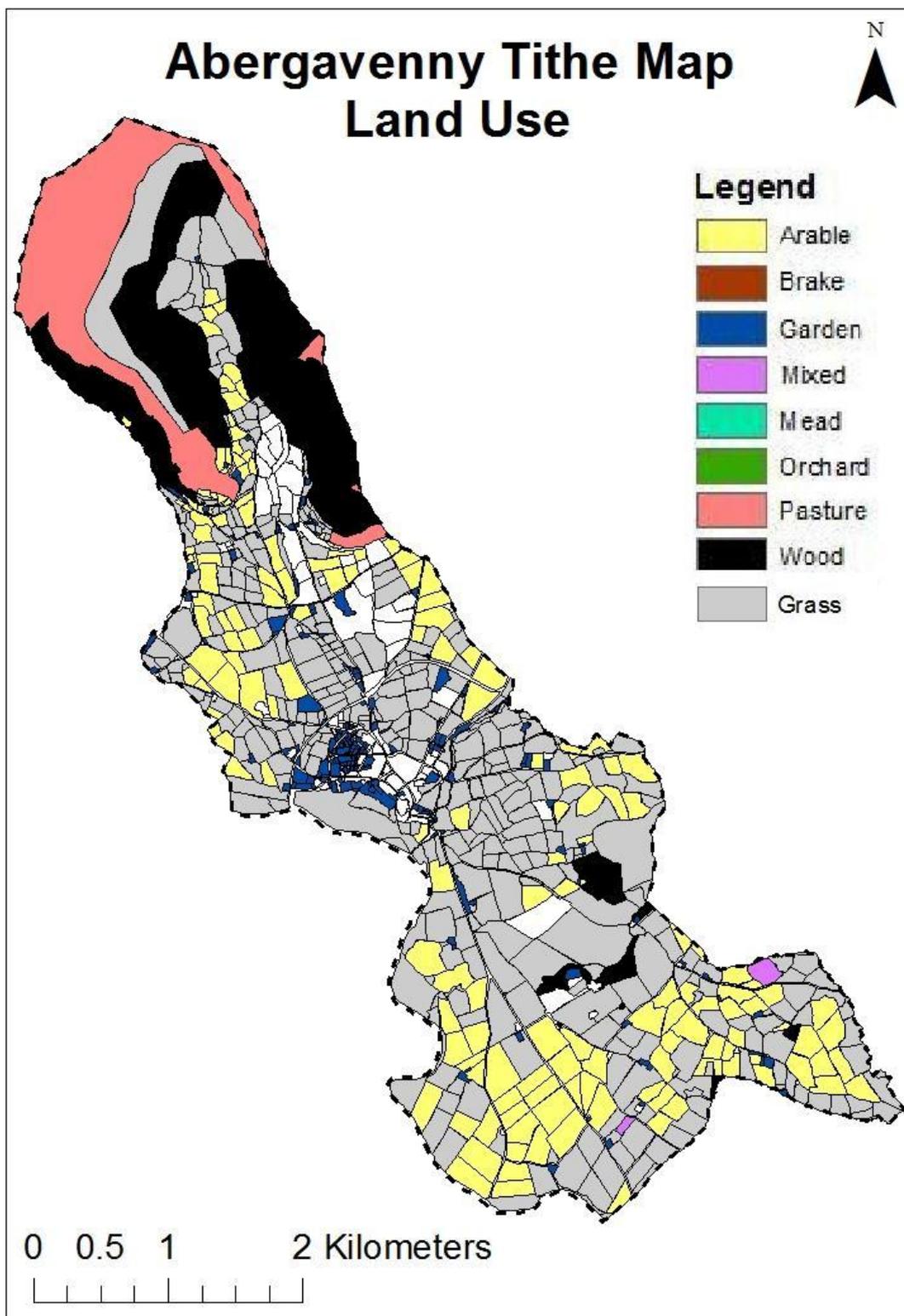


Fig.9.18. The pattern of land use for Abergavenny according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

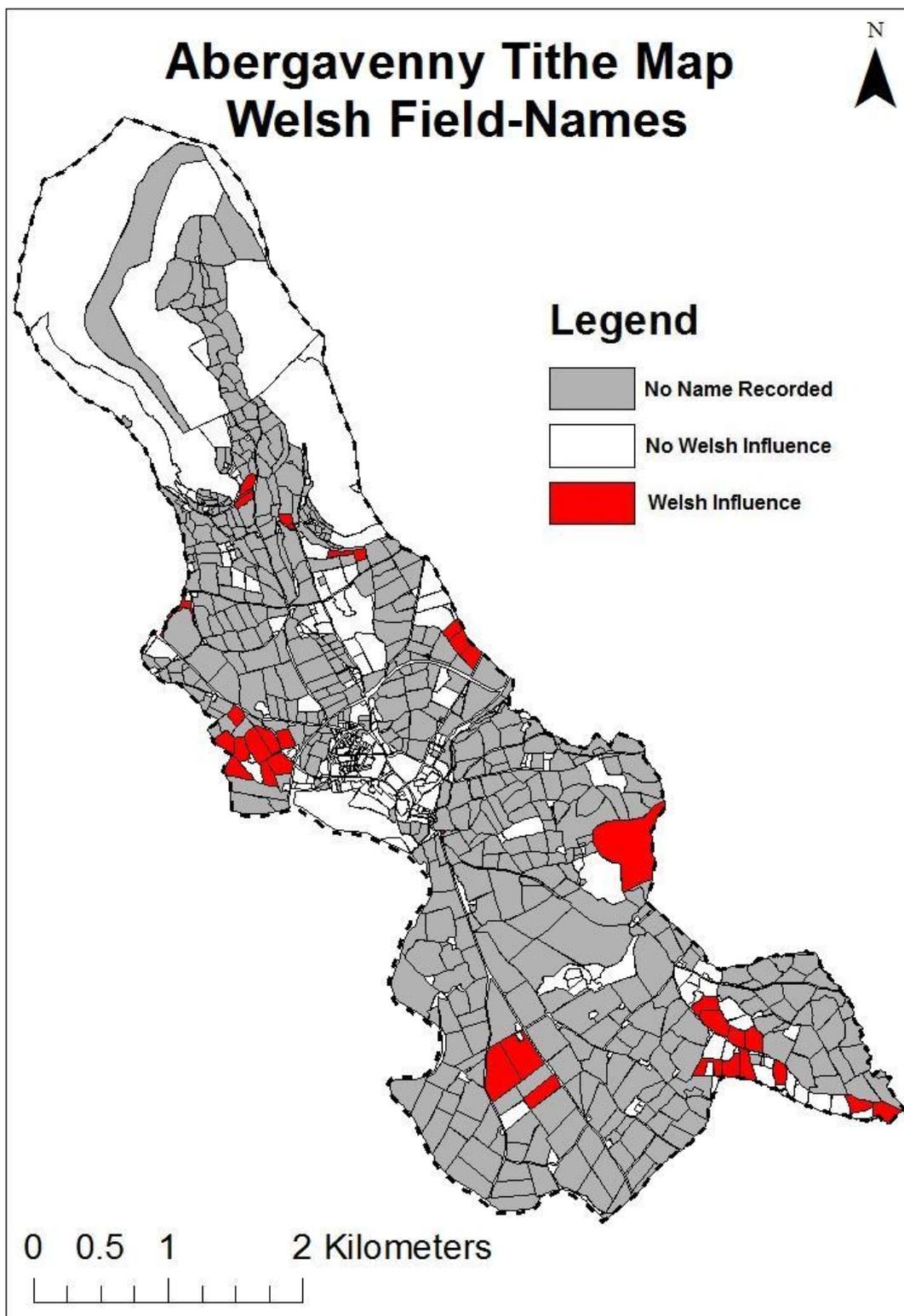


Fig.9.19. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Abergavenny according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

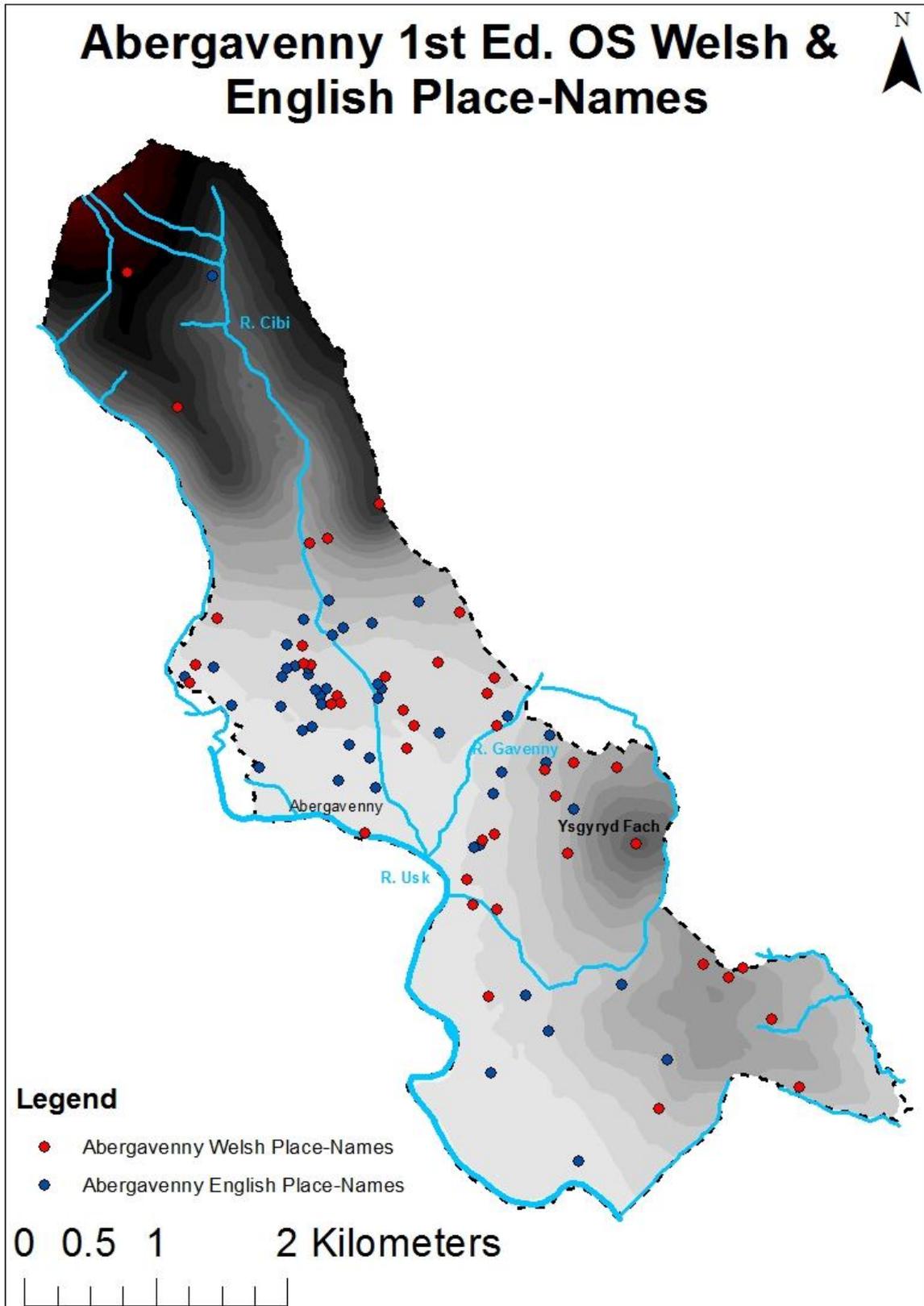


Fig.9.20. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Abergavenny according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The tithe map field morphology of Abergavenny (Fig.9.14.) displays a complicated variety of differing landscapes. In the immediate vicinity of the town centre, as one would expect, a number of very small fields are present, representing the settlements and suburbs of Abergavenny itself. Surrounding the town there is a large area of fairly regular fields sharing similar (rectangular) morphology and orientation. Some of these could be taken as representing 'strip' fields as they have a slightly curved 's-shaped' morphology, follow a 'dog-leg' pattern and share common curved boundaries, indicative of enclosure of larger open fields. Therefore, these could be taken as evidence for a former open field system being present around the town. The north of the parish shows a very distinctive morphological pattern of large areas of open common land, presumably caused by the mountainous terrain and the former parkland that was present. There is a further change of landscape in the south-eastern corner and along the valley floor in the northern portion of the parish, where the morphology changes to areas of small irregular fields. Finally, the south-western edge of the parish seems to have a landscape of large and quite regular fields, which suggests a fairly recent enclosure, either due to a former-open field or a change of land use. Therefore, the morphological evidence certainly suggests that there was an open field system surrounding the town of Abergavenny, which covered most of the lowland areas of the Usk valley, maybe even extending south into the Hardwick area of the parish.

The parish also displays a highly radial road pattern, focused on the town, which reinforces the importance of Abergavenny as a settlement. As one would expect the dominant feature of the settlement pattern recorded in Abergavenny's tithe map survey (Fig.9.15.) is the town of Abergavenny itself, as well as its suburbs spilling beyond the old town walls. However, the field morphology present in other parts of the parish provides evidence of what was once an open field system. The southern portion of the parish is fairly evenly covered in dispersed settlement, with a number of individual farmsteads and cottages standing apart from each other. This pattern, however, stops fairly abruptly when the examination reaches the countryside surrounding the town and here, barring a few exceptions, it can be seen that the 'halo' effect of an area of land devoid of settlement surrounding the town is present, as seen in a number of case studies discussed previously in this thesis (e.g. Shirenewton). This, of course, is highly indicative of a former open field system. The pattern is repeated to the north of the town, although the dispersed settlement at this end of the parish is much less evenly distributed, presumably because of the more difficult terrain. The fact that the southern portion of Abergavenny, around Hardwick, has an evenly dispersed settlement pattern is also important. This is because this suggests that the open field does not reach as far south as the morphology model (with its fairly regular fields) indicated, and therefore it can be stated that this landscape is the result of a fairly recent change of land use and not the enclosure of former open field. Another important feature of this data set is the dispersed nucleation of settlement to the north of the town, on the edge of the upland region of the parish, clustered around the St David's Chapel at Lwynddu. This could simply be

a settlement, set away from the town, designed to exploit the resources of the upland portion of the parish, or it could, intriguingly, be the vestiges of a 'Welshry' settlement on the fringes of Abergavenny attached to a religious foundation dedicated to St David.

The pattern of land ownership for Abergavenny (Fig.9.16.) can largely be broken up into three distinct sections. In the north of the parish there is a landscape dominated by one landowner, with large amounts of land being owned by the Earl of Abergavenny. This is probably a hangover from when there was a deer park to the north of the town and this ownership pattern represents the remnants of this parkland. This theory is supported by the fact that this portion of the parish is all upland and wooded land, and the Earl of Abergavenny's landholdings here are focused on a field named 'The Park Homestead'. The centre of the parish, surrounding the town is, as one would expect, a fairly jumbled and mixed picture showing multiple land owners and this is fairly suggestive of a former open field. However, the picture changes again when the southern half of the parish is examined, as most of the land south of the town is owned by one landowner, a Ferdinand Williams Hanbury. Importantly, this landowner also owns land in the area to the immediate south of the town where, following the evidence presented in the settlement pattern data set, one would expect to see a jumble pattern of ownership, caused by the presence of a former open field system. At some point Hanbury, or his ancestors, bought up much of the land in order to create this large area of compact ownership leading right up to the fringes of the town, or acquired a large block of land previously part of the demesne of the lord of Abergavenny. The pattern of land occupancy recorded for Abergavenny in the tithe survey (Fig.9.17.) backs up this suggestion that the reason for the pattern of land ownership in the southern portion of the parish is due to later purchases. This is because the occupancy pattern shows a landscape which one would expect from a parish with a former open field. The southern half of the parish comprises of compact blocks of land ownership, centred on individual farms, a pattern that is repeated to the north of Abergavenny. However, this area of land held in severalty in the southern portion of the parish does not encroach upon the 'halo' area surrounding the town where one would expect to find evidence for a former open field. Surrounding the town there is a jumbled pattern of land occupancy which suggests the presence of former open field and backs up the morphological and settlement pattern evidence already discussed.

Given all the evidence that has been presented so far in this case study of Abergavenny is so suggestive of a former open field system, it is surprising that the pattern of land use recorded by the tithe survey (Fig.9.18.) shows that the centre of the parish is largely devoid of arable farming, which is possibly a result of the post-medieval growth of Abergavenny. Abergavenny is another parish where the tithe surveyors decided not to distinguish between 'meadow' and 'pasture', and simply to record fields as 'grass' (apart from the large common pastures in the mountainous north of the parish), and this 'grass' land use dominates the landscape. There are

patches where arable appears more prevalent, most notably to the south (in the area with a number of dispersed farmsteads) and along the eastern and western fringes of the parish. There is also a large amount of woodland to the north of the parish, but again this is probably due to the mountainous terrain and the former parkland.

The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names recorded on the Abergavenny tithe survey (Fig.9.19.) is slightly disappointing, in that a large number of fields did not have any field-names recorded at all, and this limits the level of the analysis which can be undertaken. One notable feature of the data that is available is that in the parish of Abergavenny, where field-names were recorded, there is very little evidence of Welsh influence. In fact, in the parish as a whole, of the 558 fields which had a field-name recorded, only 35 displayed any Welsh linguistic influence (6%). This could be taken as further evidence in this study for the linguistic influence of Anglo-Norman lordship sites in Monmouthshire. Furthermore, those Welsh influenced field-names which can be seen on this model are largely located towards the fringes of the parish. Without the full picture of the field-name pattern it is difficult to draw proper conclusions, but with the evidence present it can be suggested that the agency of Anglo-Norman lordship has pushed the effects of Welsh linguistic influence towards the fringes of the parish. This idea of an 'English dominated' toponymic core to the parish is supported by the place-name evidence recorded on the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.9.20.). Here there is a landscape where the lowland areas (e.g. around the town of Abergavenny itself and to the south in the 'Hardwick' area along the River Usk) are dominated by place-names of 'English' origin. Whilst there are some cluster of place-names of Welsh origin in these portions of the parish, 'English' place-names are clearly more prevalent. However, the picture changes rather dramatically when one draws back from the town and vicinity of the River Usk. In the more upland regions of Abergavenny, in the northern and eastern reach of the parish (on the slopes of the Sugar Loaf and Ysgyryd Fach respectively), place-names of a 'Welsh' linguistic origin are far more prevalent and, in fact, above 120m there is only one place-name of 'English' origin recorded, and that is the 'Park Lodge', a remnant of Abergavenny Priory Park, at the head of the Cibi Valley.

In conclusion, Abergavenny provides us with a very interesting and varied landscape (Fig.9.21.). Obviously there is the town of Abergavenny itself, with its extensive suburbs, which may have been built over land which was formerly laid down for open field arable farming. What is certain is that the evidence provided in this study shows that the town was indeed surrounded by an open field farming system, similar, if not quite as extensive, as those seen at Monmouth, Chepstow and Caldicot. However, the evidence present at Abergavenny is not quite as obvious as some of those previous examples, for example the remains of Caldicot and Monmouth's open fields were still visible in the nineteenth century. Abergavenny's open fields are certainly larger in size than that seen at Usk, and with firmer evidence. There is also the possibility that the open field may have been twice the suggested size, depending on

the reason for the extensive reorganisation of the land around 'Hardwick' in the south-western portion of the parish. It is possible that these fields may have originally been open field, however it is equally possible that they may simply be the product of a later reorganisation of a landscape already laid out as land held in severalty. The rest of the southern half of the parish presents a landscape of dispersed farmsteads holding land in severalty. The north of the parish appears to have been dominated by the presence of the deer park, and there is the intriguing possibility of a small dispersed nucleation at Lwynddu centred around 'St David's chapel', which may either represent an upland settlement exploiting the resources of the deer park, or a small 'Welshry', set away from the town.

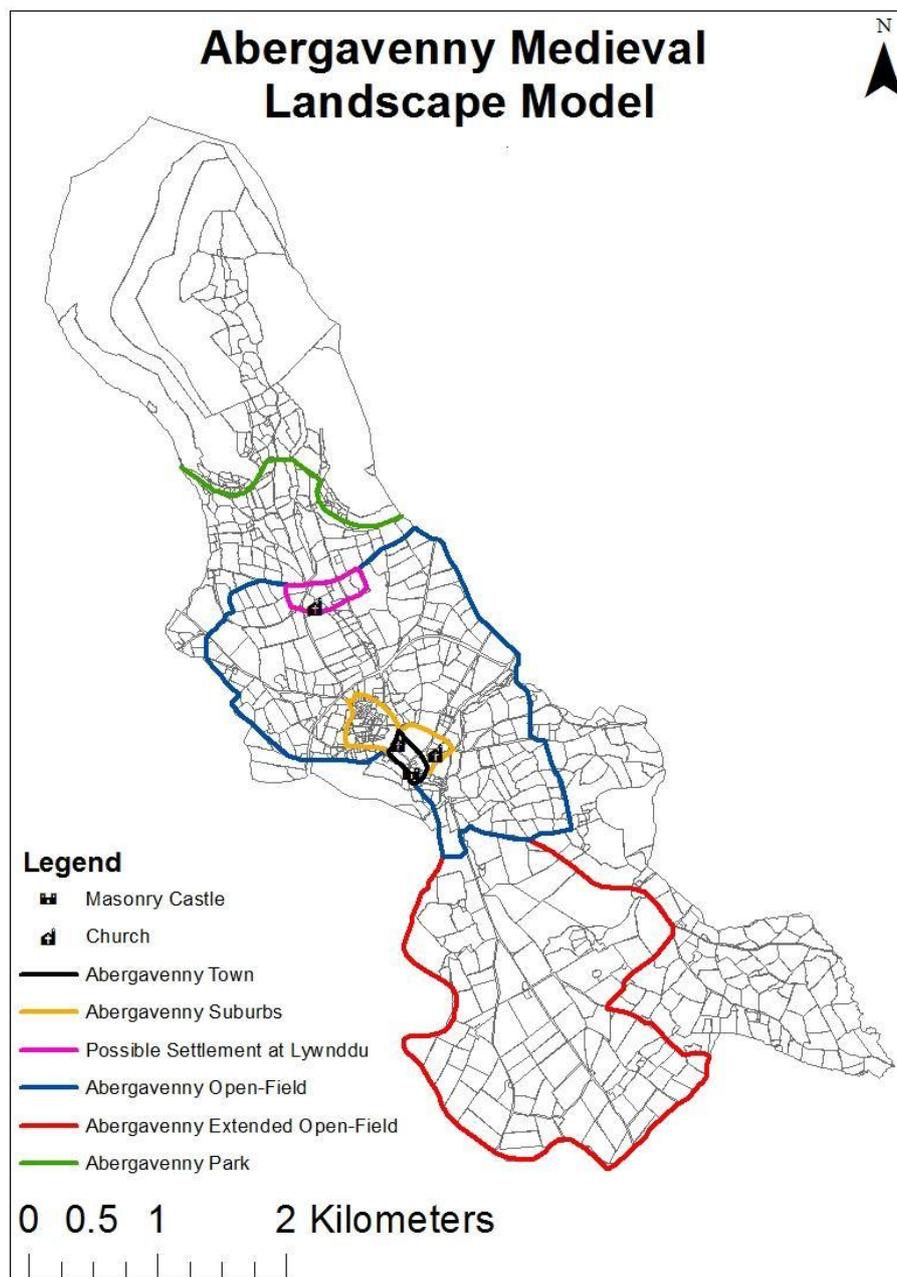


Fig.9.21. A model of the medieval landscape of the parish of Abergavenny, based upon the findings of this case study.

9.3.2. Llanfair Kilgeddin

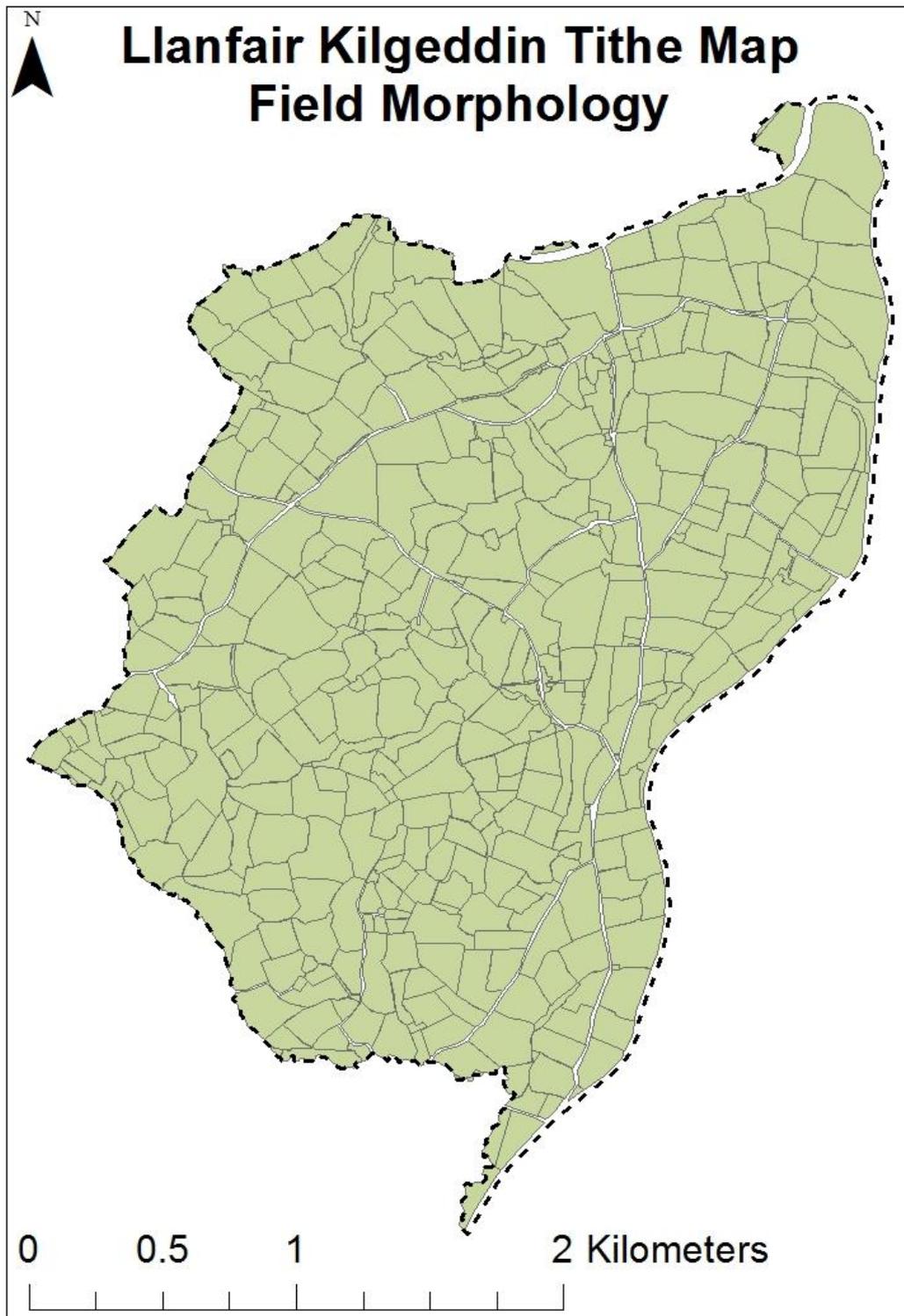


Fig.9.22. The field morphology of Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

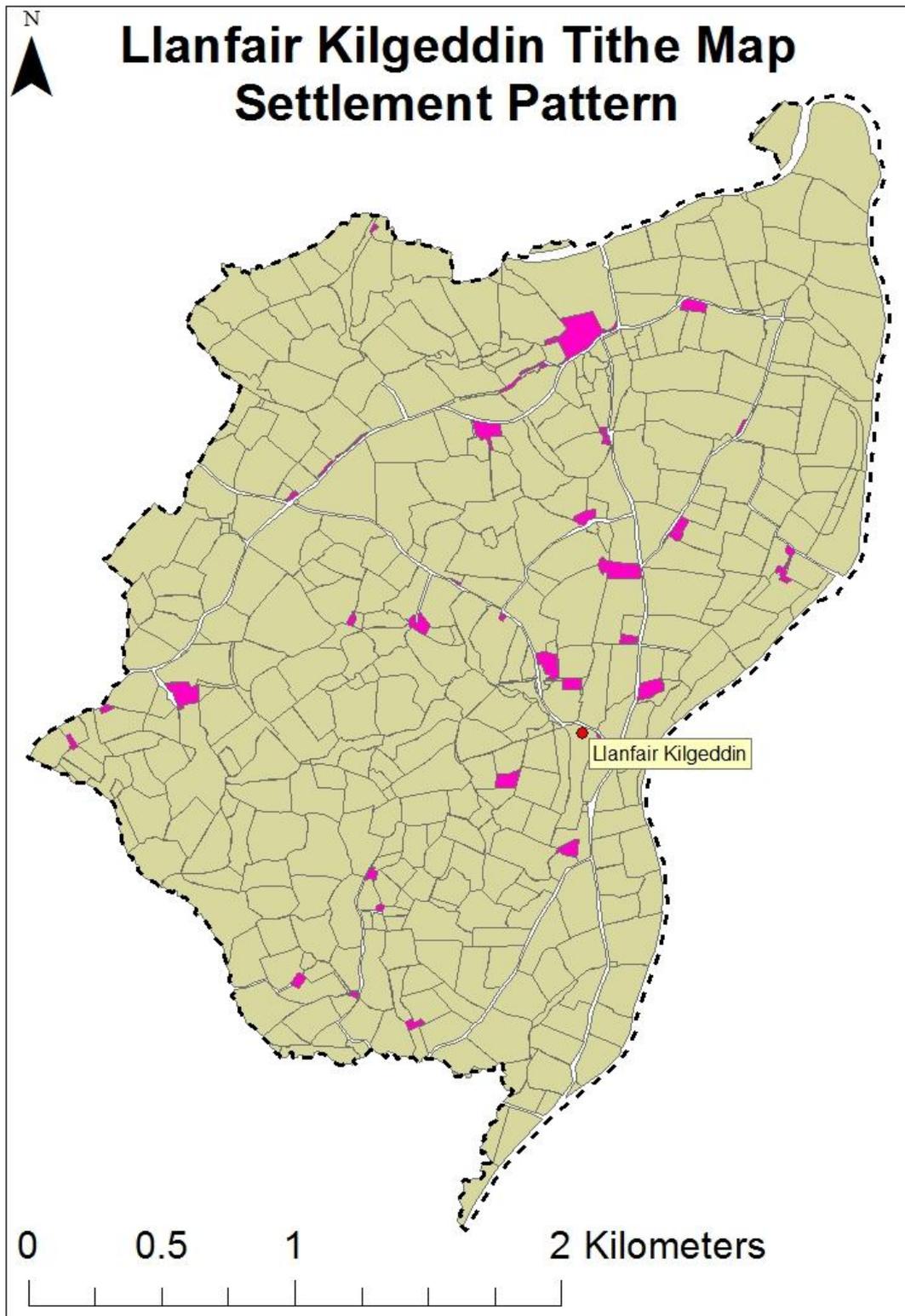


Fig.9.23. The settlement pattern of Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

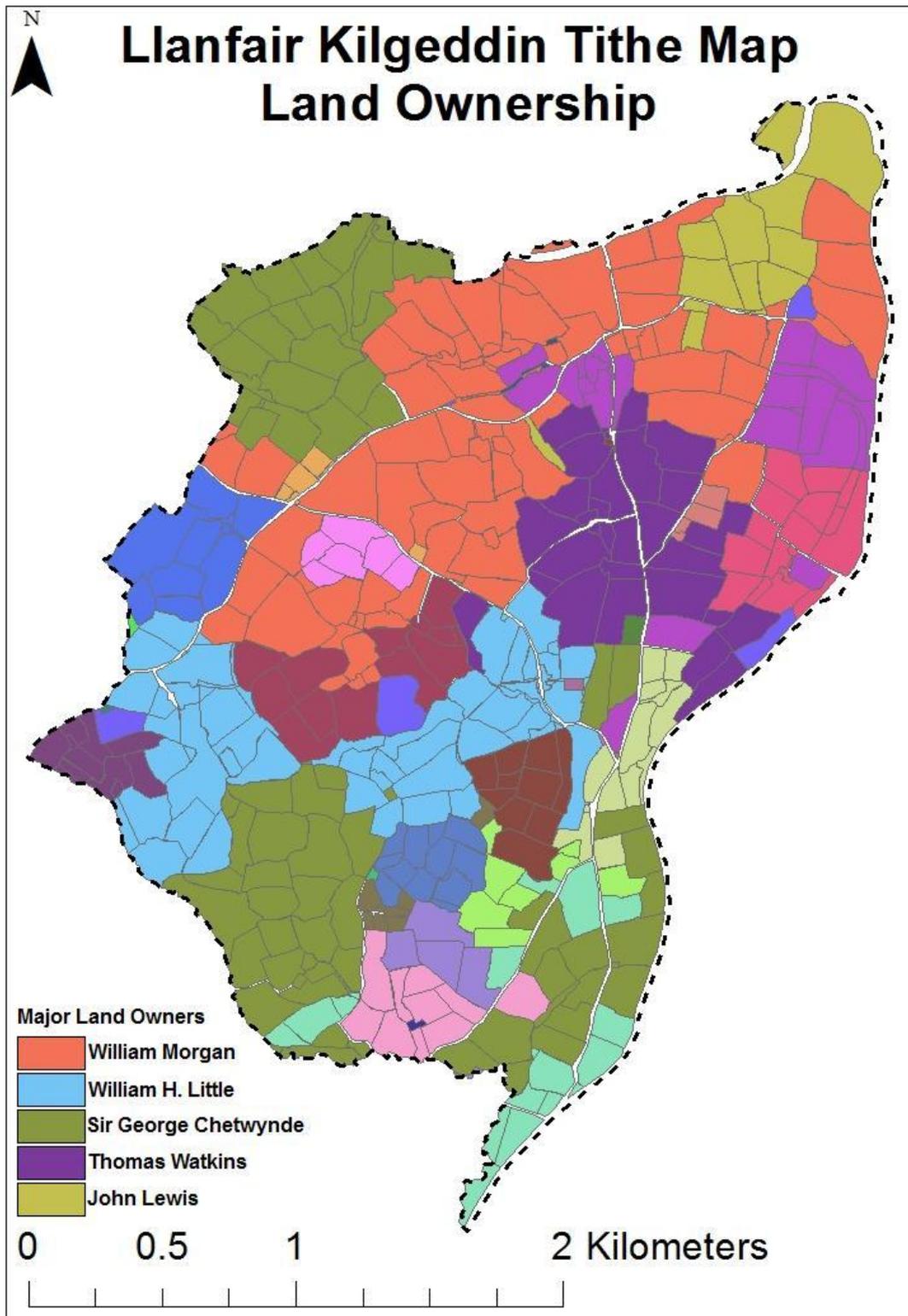


Fig.9.24. The pattern of land ownership for Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

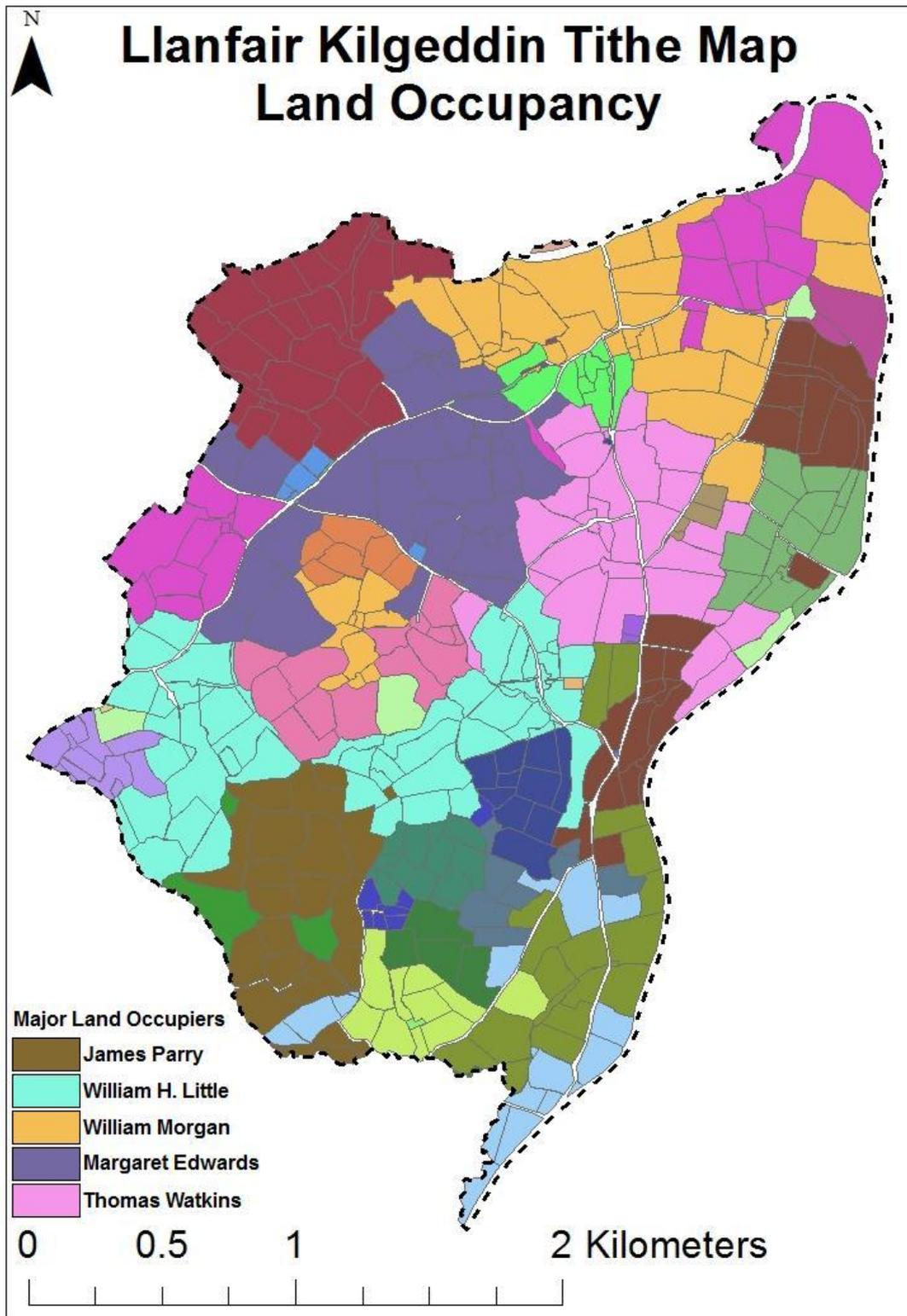


Fig.9.25. The pattern of land occupancy for Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

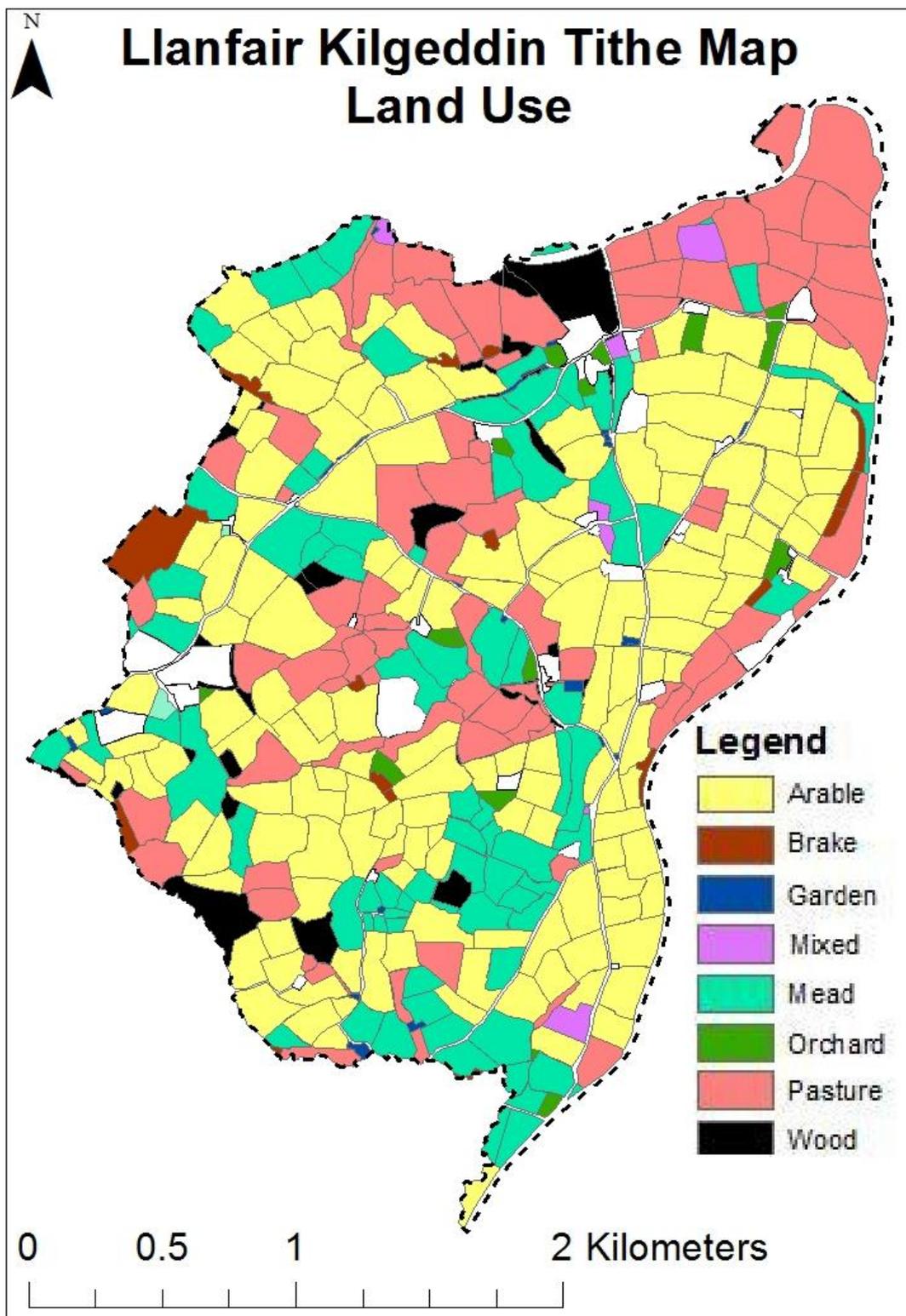


Fig.9.26. The pattern of land use for Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

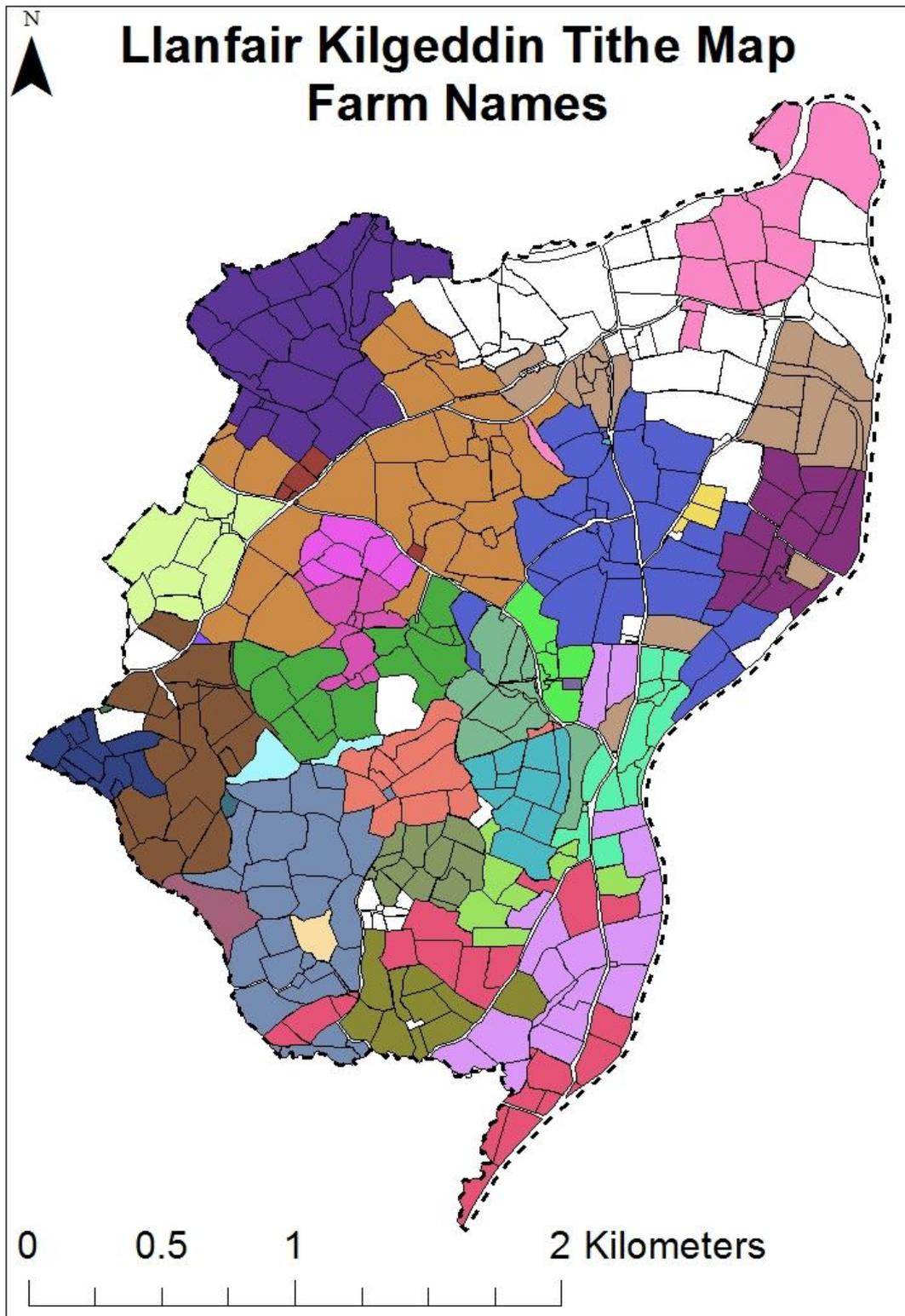


Fig.9.27. The pattern of farm names within the parish of Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

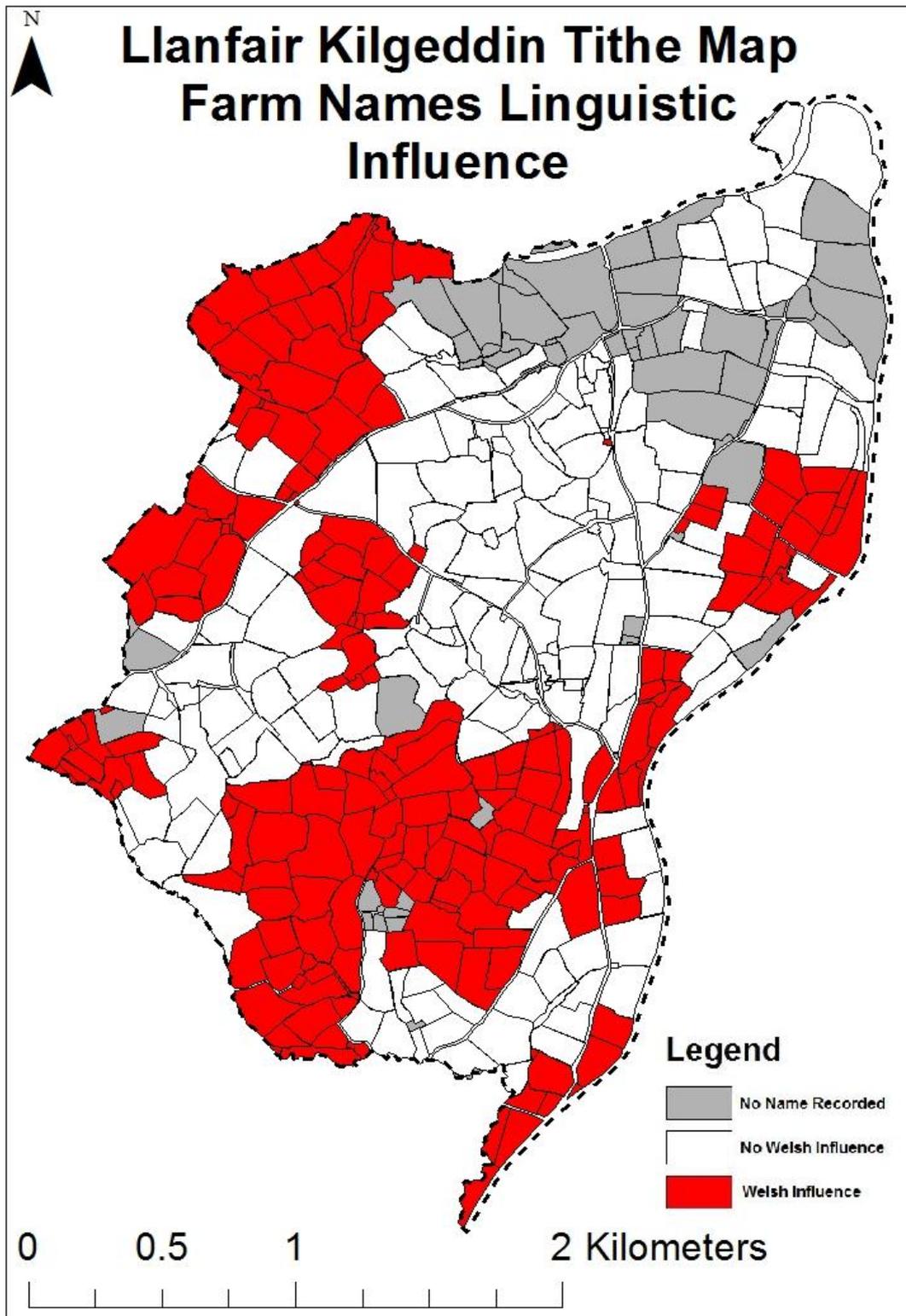


Fig.9.28. The pattern of Welsh influenced farm names within the parish of Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1841 tithe map survey.

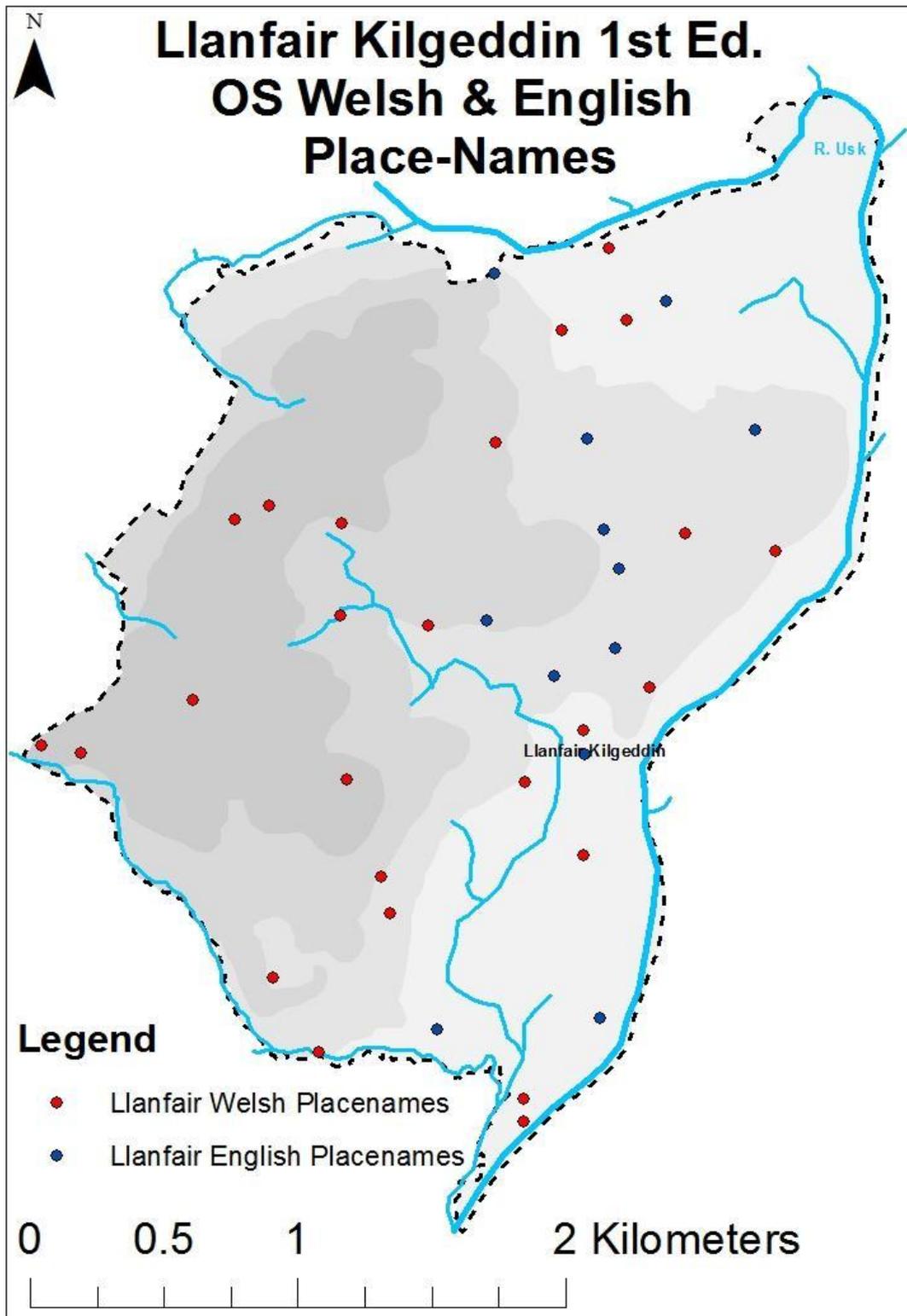


Fig.9.29. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Llanfair Kilgeddin according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The field morphology pattern recorded in Llanfair Kilgeddin's tithe survey (Fig.9.22.) is largely based around irregularly shaped fields of varying size, especially along the western border of the parish. There is a slight shift in morphological form along the river on the eastern edge of the parish, with the fields becoming slightly more rectangular, especially towards the south, and this may be down to later enclosure of meadow along the Usk. Around the small village of Llanfair Kilgeddin itself, and of course the castle, there is some slight evidence which could suggest a very small open field; for instance there are some doglegs present. However, on their own, these fields are not enough evidence and, if there is supporting evidence in the other data-sets, this would be an extremely small example of a former open field. There does appear to be a radial road pattern leading to and from the village, which hints at its importance as a nucleation. However, Llanfair Kilgeddin's tithe survey settlement pattern (Fig.9.23.) does not provide any evidence to support an argument for the presence of a former open field system within the parish. This is because the settlement pattern presented is almost entirely dispersed, with almost no evidence suggestive of nucleation at all. The settlement pattern is fairly evenly spread across the whole parish, and only on the fringes of Llanfair Kilgeddin is it absent. What is noticeable is that there is very little in the way of nucleation around what is now the modern village centre and the vicinity of the castle, and at the most the 'village' of Llanfair Kilgeddin can be described as a 'highly dispersed nucleation'. The parish church is situated about a mile to the north of the village, and this division of focal points in Llanfair Kilgeddin might help explain the lack of nucleation. However, there is no nucleation around the church either.

Both the patterns of land ownership (Fig.9.24.) and land occupancy (Fig.9.25.) for Llanfair Kilgeddin show a similar, and uniform, picture of a landscape both owned and occupied in compact blocks of land held in severalty. This, of course, provides no evidence that backs up any morphological suggestion of a former open field system within the bounds of the parish. Llanfair Kilgeddin's tithe survey pattern of land use (Fig.9.26.) shows that the landscape of the parish is dominated by arable farming, with the southern portion of the parish and the environs of the village particularly showing a prevalence of this type of agriculture. In the areas where arable farming is more extensive, meadow seems to be the main secondary land usage, although there are areas in the centre of the parish where compact blocks of pasture-land are present. On the northern fringes of the parish, however, the landscape changes and pasture becomes the dominant, almost exclusive, land use. This is confusing, as this region of the parish is almost entirely low lying and this is where one would expect to find either arable or meadow. It is particularly troublesome as Llanfair Kilgeddin does not have a nucleation or evidence for an open field which could suggest a ring of pasture surrounding a largely arable core. Therefore, this feature of the land use model must be thought of as probably simply being an anomaly.

The tithe survey for Llanfair Kilgeddin does not record individual field-names. However, it does record farm names and when looking at the distribution of these farms (Fig.9.27.) it can be seen that the parish is made up of a number of small and compact farms, which backs up the pattern seen in the models of land ownership (Fig.9.24.) and land occupancy (Fig.9.25.). When the analysis of this data set is taken a step further, and the distribution of farms in the parish with names linguistically influenced by Welsh (Fig.9.28.) is examined, it can be seen that the southern half of the parish is dominated by farms with a name of Welsh origin, whilst to the north this number drops dramatically. In fact, in the whole of the parish 50% of the fields recorded are included in farms whose name shows Welsh linguistic influence (199 out of 397). Interestingly, the castle is situated in the area where Welsh farm names are dominant, and this data set adds to the generally confused nature of the picture being drawn of the landscape of Llanfair Kilgeddin. The main pattern present in the model of place-name origins recorded in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for Llanfair Kilgeddin (Fig.9.29.), seems to be an east/west split in the parish between a landscape where place-names of an 'English' origin are highly prevalent (in the east) and a landscape which solely consists of place-names showing a 'Welsh' influence (in the west). It is in the east of the parish, in the low lying areas adjacent to the River Usk, and especially to the north-east, that the majority of the 'English' toponymic evidence is found, although, when the low lying regions to the south of the parish (especially around the castle) are examined this influence seems to wane. The rest of the parish exhibits place-names which are solely 'Welsh' in origin; most importantly of all, there are no 'English' place-names above 60m within the parish.

In conclusion, it can be seen that Llanfair Kilgeddin presents us with a very confused landscape, especially in terms of toponymic evidence and land use. Importantly, there is no real evidence for a former open field in the parish and nor is there really a nucleation focused on the Anglo-Norman lordship site. Therefore the castle does not seem to be exerting much in the way of influence upon characteristics of the landscape of Llanfair Kilgeddin. The lack of agency of the lordship site is supported by the fact the church is set a long way away from the castle, in a pattern seen previously at Rockfield, hinting that whoever was the lord of the castle was unable to reshape the landscape to suit his needs. In fact there does not even seem to be any agency being exerted in terms of toponymic evidence, as was seen at Rockfield, although this may be due to the parishes location further west into the county and a long way away from the Anglo-Welsh border. It can be deduced, when comparing the surrounding landscape of Llanfair Kilgeddin to that of Abergavenny in the previous study, that the primary reason for this lack of agency is the fact that, as an Anglo-Norman seigneurial site, it was probably far too minor. Therefore, a pattern is emerging that, in this region at least, only major seigneurial locations seem to be overcoming the overarching physical and political influences in order to impose their agency on the landscape.

9.3.3. Llangattock Nigh Usk

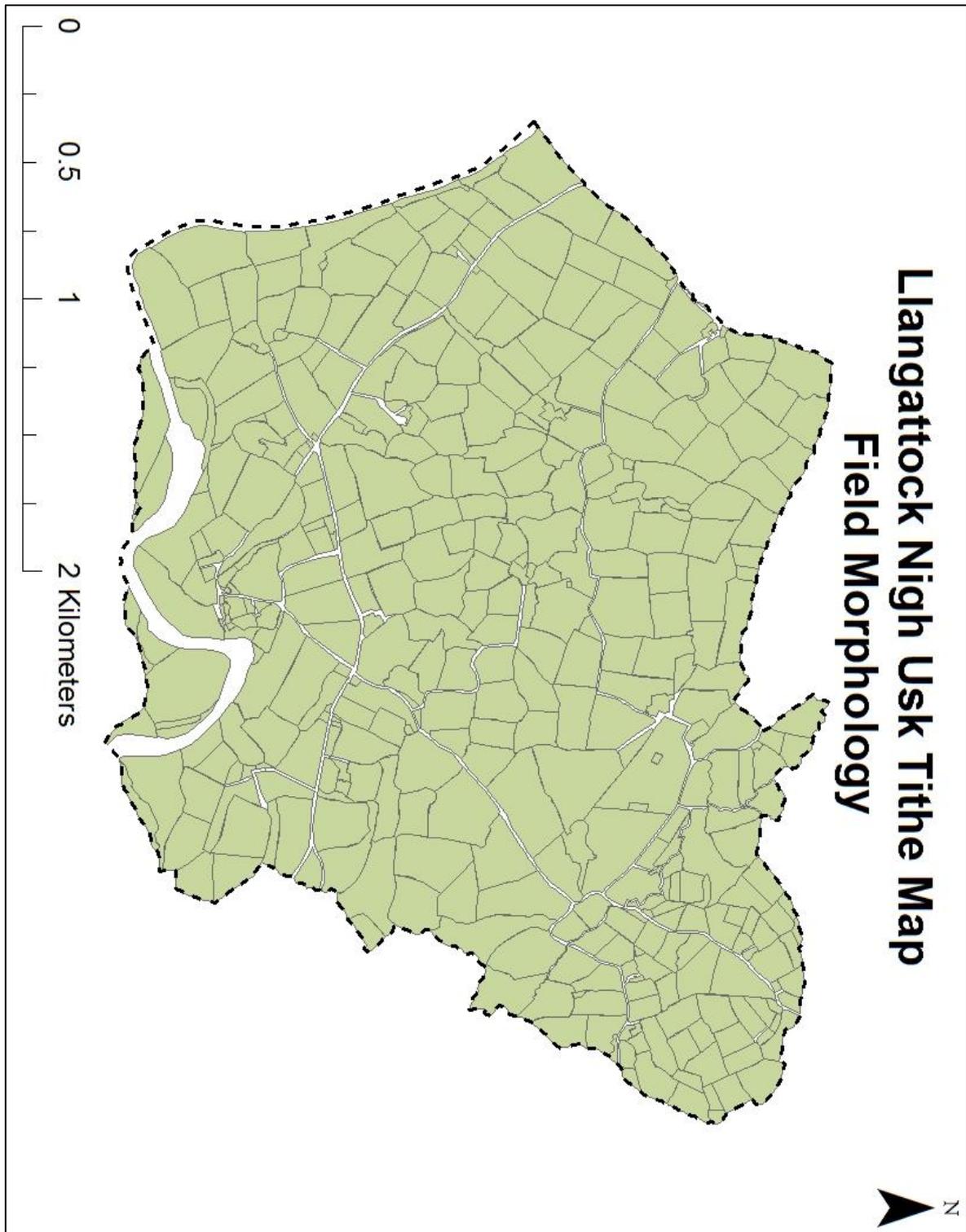


Fig.9.30. The field morphology of Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

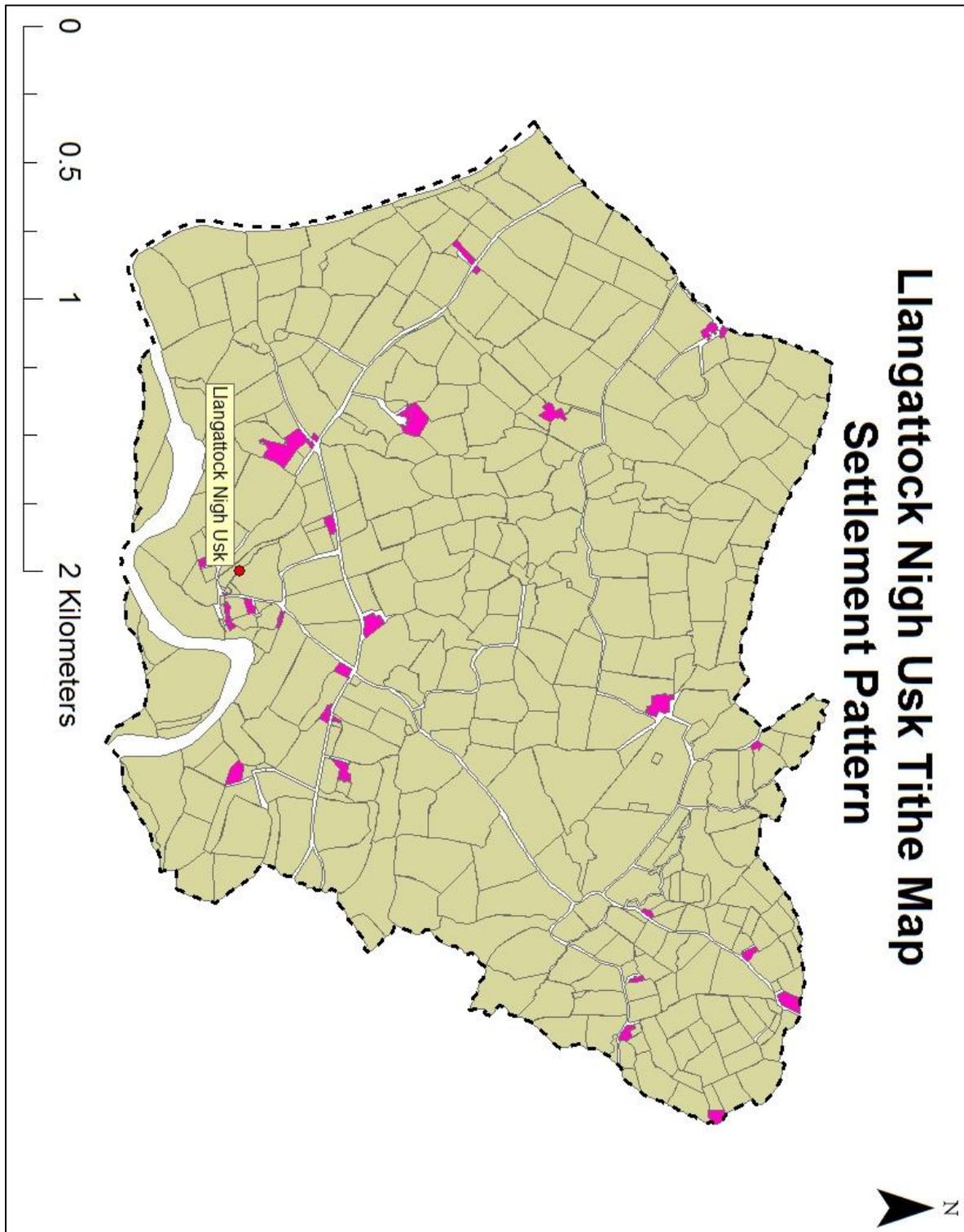


Fig.9.31. The settlement pattern of Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1840 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

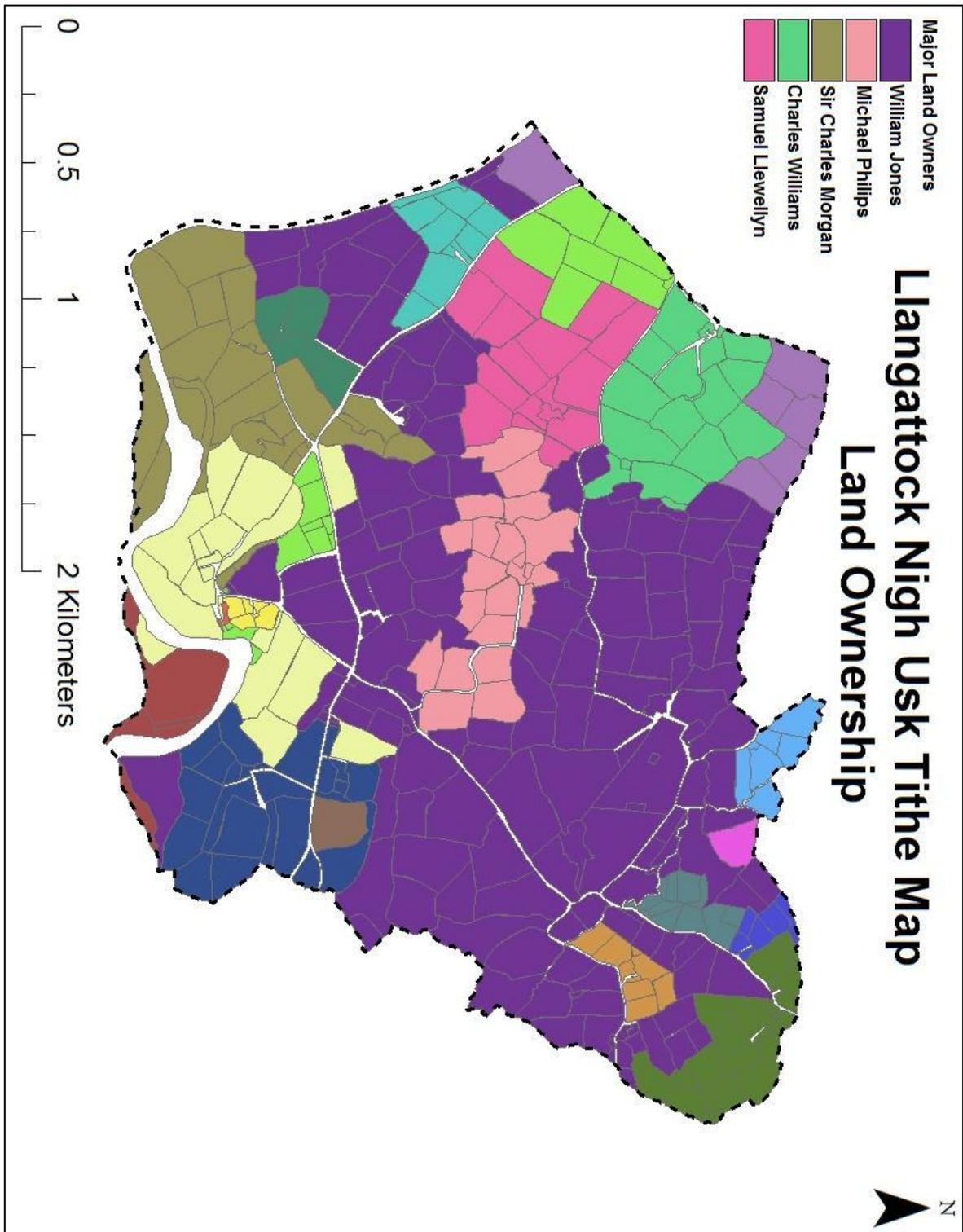


Fig.9.32. The pattern of land ownership for Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

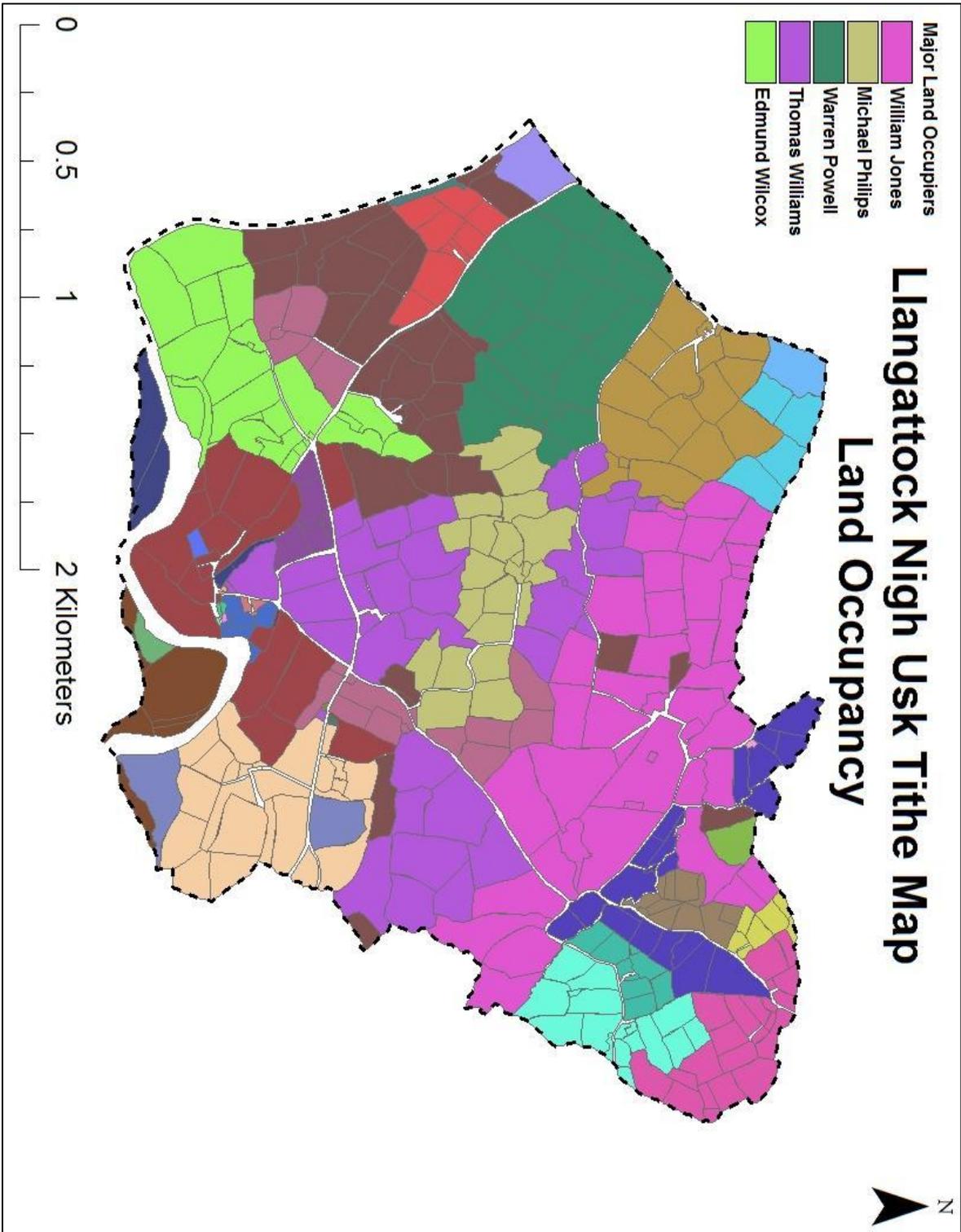


Fig.9.33. The pattern of land occupancy for Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

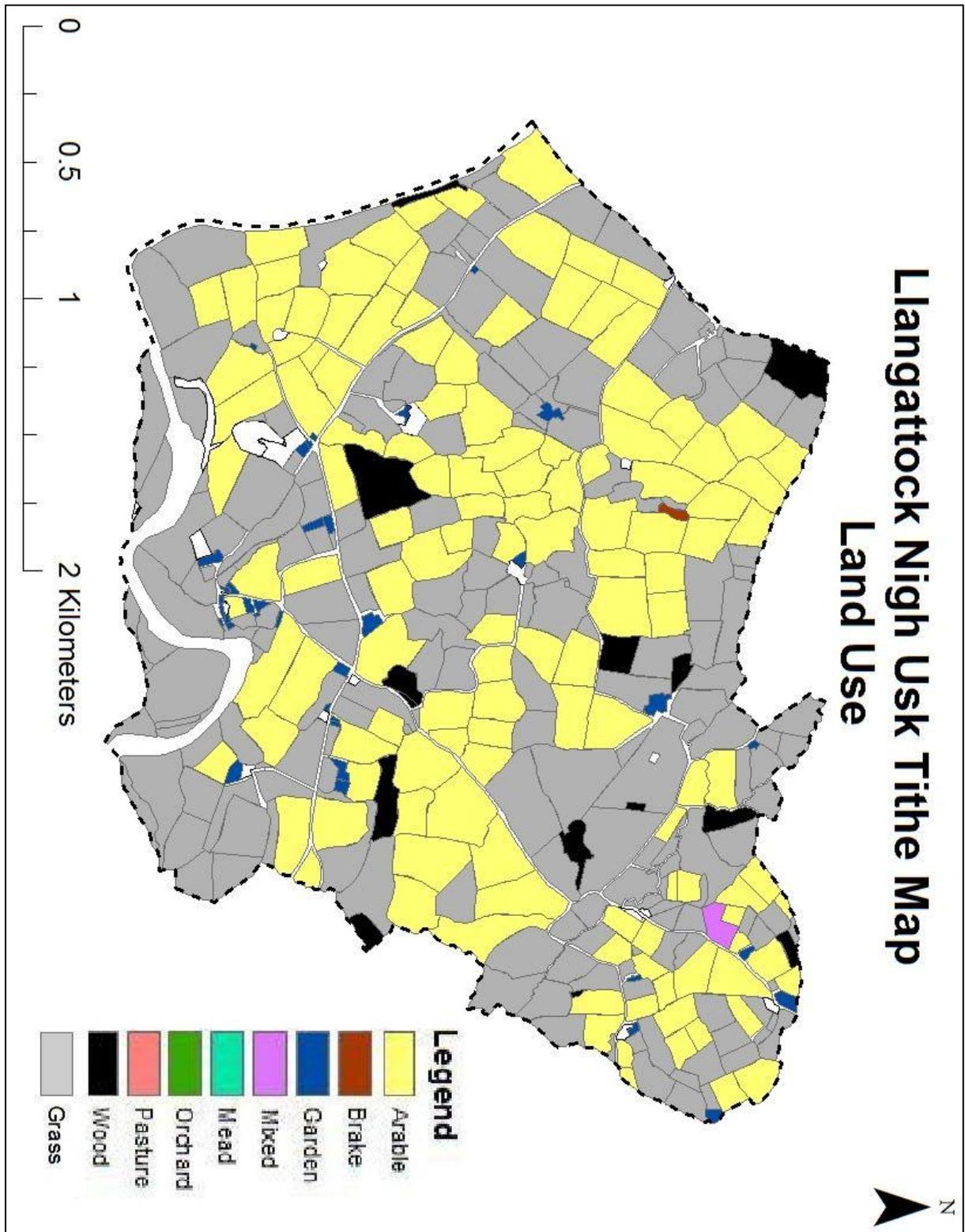


Fig.9.34. The pattern of land use for Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

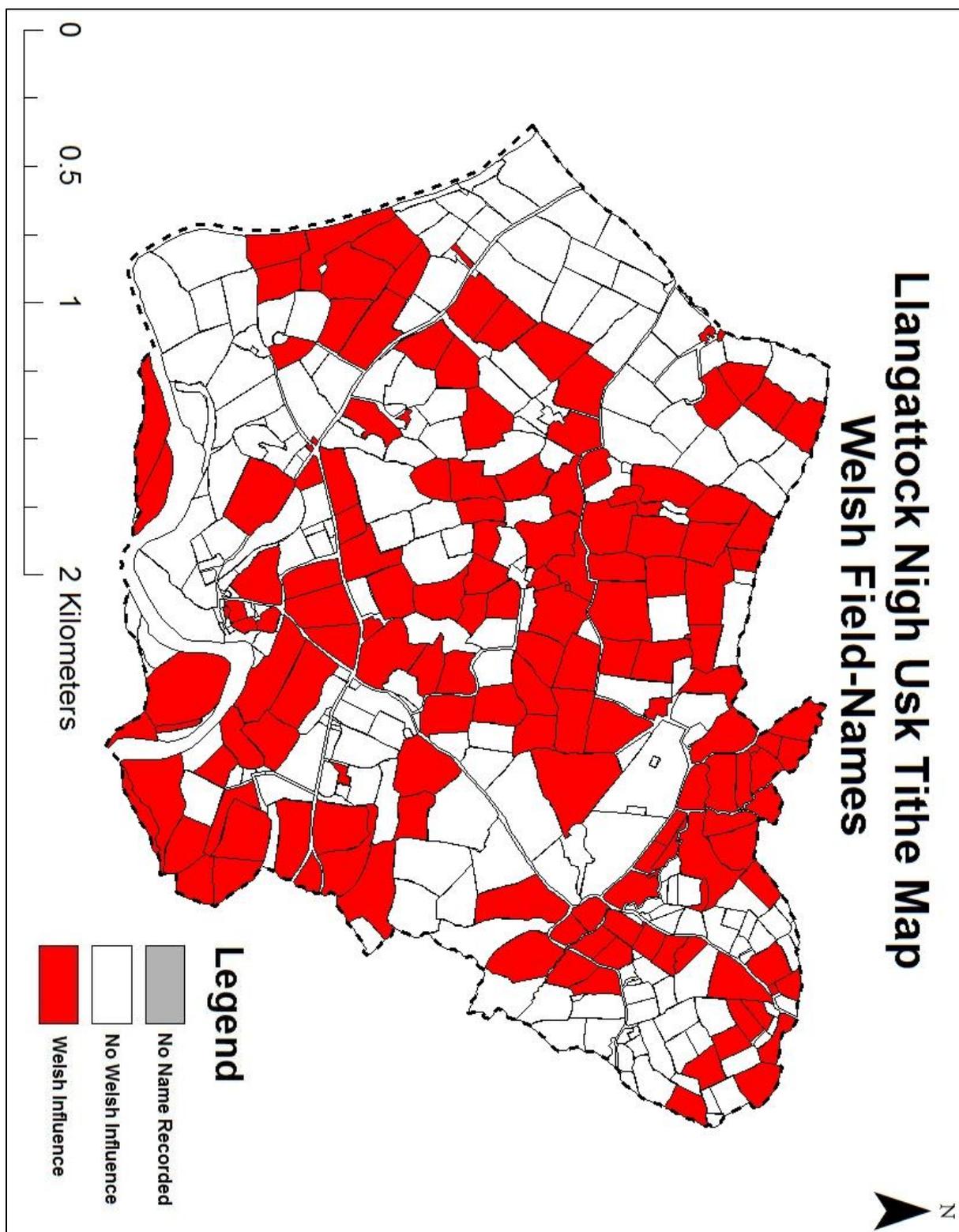


Fig.9.35. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1840 tithe map survey. The rest of the field-names were of English origin.

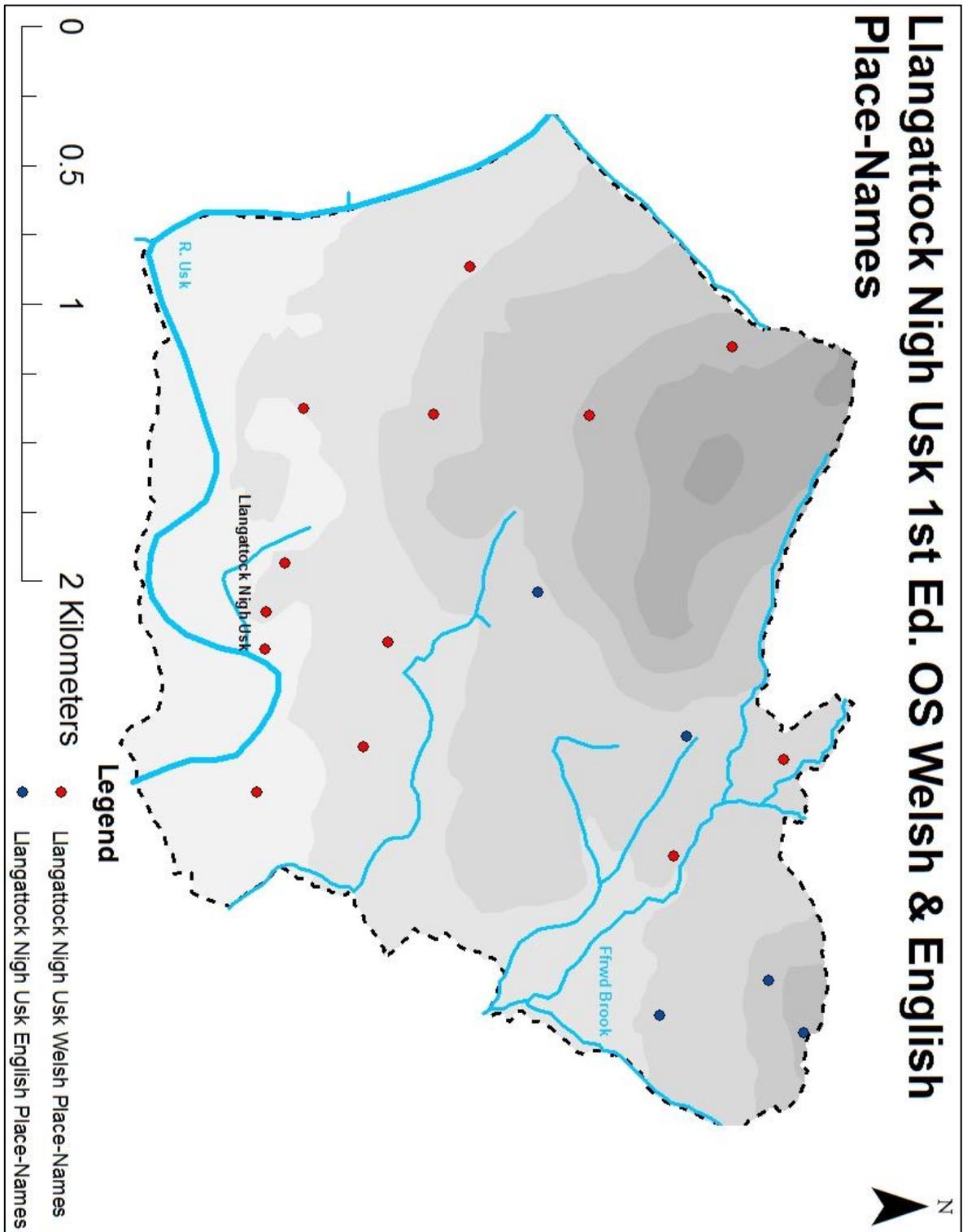


Fig.9.36. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Llangattock Nigh Usk according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

When the field morphology pattern present in the tithe survey of Llangattock Nigh Usk (Fig.9.30.) is examined, it can be seen that the parish is comprised almost entirely of irregularly shaped fields of differing sizes. In fact, the only areas where an alternative pattern is present is in the north-eastern corner of the parish where there seems to be a cluster of smaller irregularly shaped fields, close to the moated site of Penpergwm, and along the river where there are a few larger fields which, morphologically, look like meadows. What is most notable is that there is almost no morphological evidence whatsoever for a former open field system within the boundaries of Llangattock Nigh Usk and there is definitely nothing to suggest that such a landscape was attached to either the village or the Welsh lordship site at Castell Arnallt, on the south-western fringes of the parish. There is a very slight hint of a radial road pattern leading away from the small village of Llangattock Nigh Usk, but most of the parish seems to have a fairly erratic road pattern so whatever nucleation was present is clearly not of great importance. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that Castell Arnallt is set quite a way away from Llangattock Nigh Usk.

Llangattock Nigh Usk's tithe map settlement pattern (Fig.9.31.) shows a largely evenly dispersed settlement pattern, with a few exceptions. Around the village itself, and the church, the distribution is slightly more compacted than was seen in the rest of the parish, but not tight enough to label it as 'nucleated'. Therefore, the best description of this settlement pattern is a 'dispersed nucleation'. There are also two areas within the parish where there appears to be an absence of settlement. The most notable of these is in the south-western corner of Llangattock Nigh Usk, around the site of Castell Arnallt, and the other is across a central horizontal band of the parish. However, neither of these areas show any morphological evidence for former open field and therefore it is unlikely, without further evidence, that this absence of settlement suggests a 'halo effect' indicative of a former open field farming system. There is also no form of nucleation in the vicinity of the moated site of Penpergwm in the north-eastern corner of the parish.

The pattern of land ownership recorded in the tithe survey for Llangattock Nigh Usk (Fig.9.32.) is dominated by one land owner, William Jones, who owns most of the north-eastern portion of the parish. The landscape of the rest of the parish is comprised of small and compact blocks of land held in severalty and this, again, is suggestive of a lack of former open field farming within the boundaries of Llangattock Nigh Usk. The model of tithe survey land occupancy (Fig.9.33.) presents us with a remarkably similar picture, only without the large block of land held by William Jones, and therefore adds further weight to the idea of an absence of open field farming. Llangattock Nigh Usk is another parish where the tithe survey does not record 'meadow' or 'pasture' land usages, instead utilising the more generic 'grass'. The pattern of land use (Fig.9.34.) shows us that the parish had a fairly mixed pattern of land usage, with possibly slightly more 'grass' than arable. This highly mixed land usage is suggestive of a landscape made up of individual farms which held land in severalty, and not any form of settlement nucleation and former open field. What is

also notable is that, apart from a few large blocks, there is very little woodland recorded within the parish.

The pattern of field-names showing a Welsh linguistic influence in the tithe survey for Llangattock Nigh Usk (Fig.9.35.) shows a fairly mixed landscape, with Welsh field-names fairly evenly spread around the parish. In fact, 154 out of the 401 fields which had recorded field-names showed Welsh linguistic influence (38%). There are a few areas, on the fringes of Llangattock Nigh Usk, where there are blocks of land without any Welsh influence, but importantly there are also substantial areas where field-names are almost exclusively of Welsh origin. Furthermore, around the castle, the village and the church a fairly mixed picture can be seen, with field-names whose linguistic origins are both English and Welsh, which suggests that none of these focal landscape features are exerting any linguistic influence upon the landscape. When the model of place-names recorded in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.9.36.) is examined, again there appears to be a split in the landscape, this time along a north-east/south-west axis. The only area of the parish where 'English' toponymic evidence is present is in the north-eastern portion of the parish, around the Ffrwd Brook and the moated site of Penpergwm. The rest of the parish (the south-western portion) presents only 'Welsh' place-name evidence and, importantly, this is the section of Llangattock Nigh Usk which includes the village, church and Castell Arnallt. It could be argued that this is evidence for this being the only data set which would appear to show some degree of influence caused by Castell Arnallt (providing 'Welsh' linguistic influence, in contrast to the other minor seigneurial sites in this study. However, it is also possible that this is more to do with geography, being further away from the Anglo-Welsh border. It is certainly not caused by physical geography, as the areas of the parish with the lowest elevation (around the River Usk) seem to solely present 'Welsh' toponymic evidence.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the results of this study of Llangattock Nigh Usk show that a Welsh lordship site, such as Castell Arnallt, clearly does not impact the landscape in the same way as has been seen at the important Anglo-Norman sites examined previously within this thesis, with no evidence of former open field farming or settlement nucleation. There are a number of possible explanations for this, one being that the events of 1175 stripped Llangattock Nigh Usk of any political importance and brought a halt to any potential landscape change. A second explanation is that Castell Arnallt, despite its links to the Welsh lords of Gwent Uwchcoed, was not of sufficient size or importance to exert any significant agency upon the landscape. The final explanation is that the landscape being presented as Llangattock Nigh Usk is a 'default' 'Welsh' landscape and therefore the presence of a Welsh lordship site, exerting agency that would provoke landscape change towards 'Welsh' methods of landscape management would do nothing to alter this.

9.3.4. Llanellen

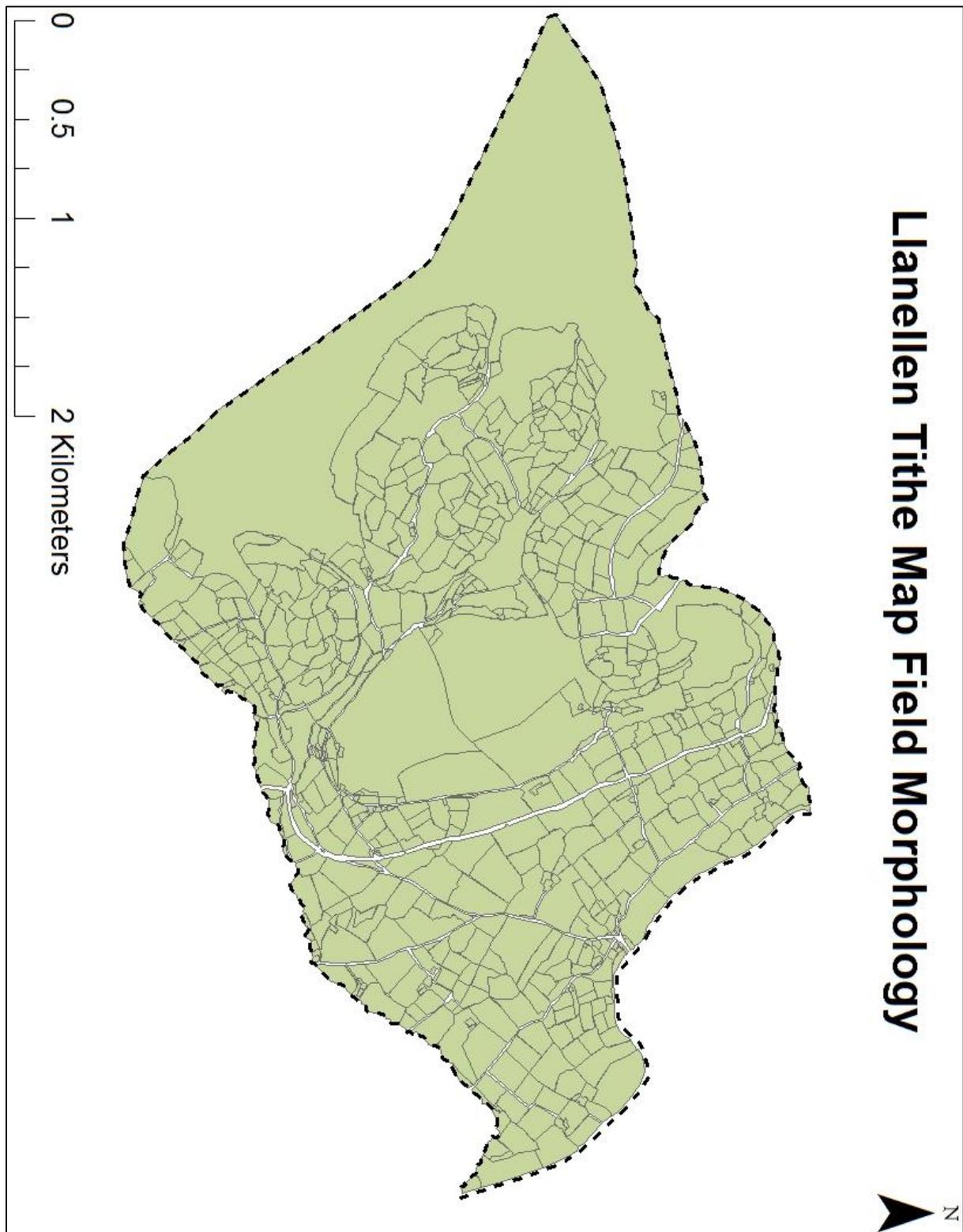


Fig.9.37. The field morphology of Llanellen according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

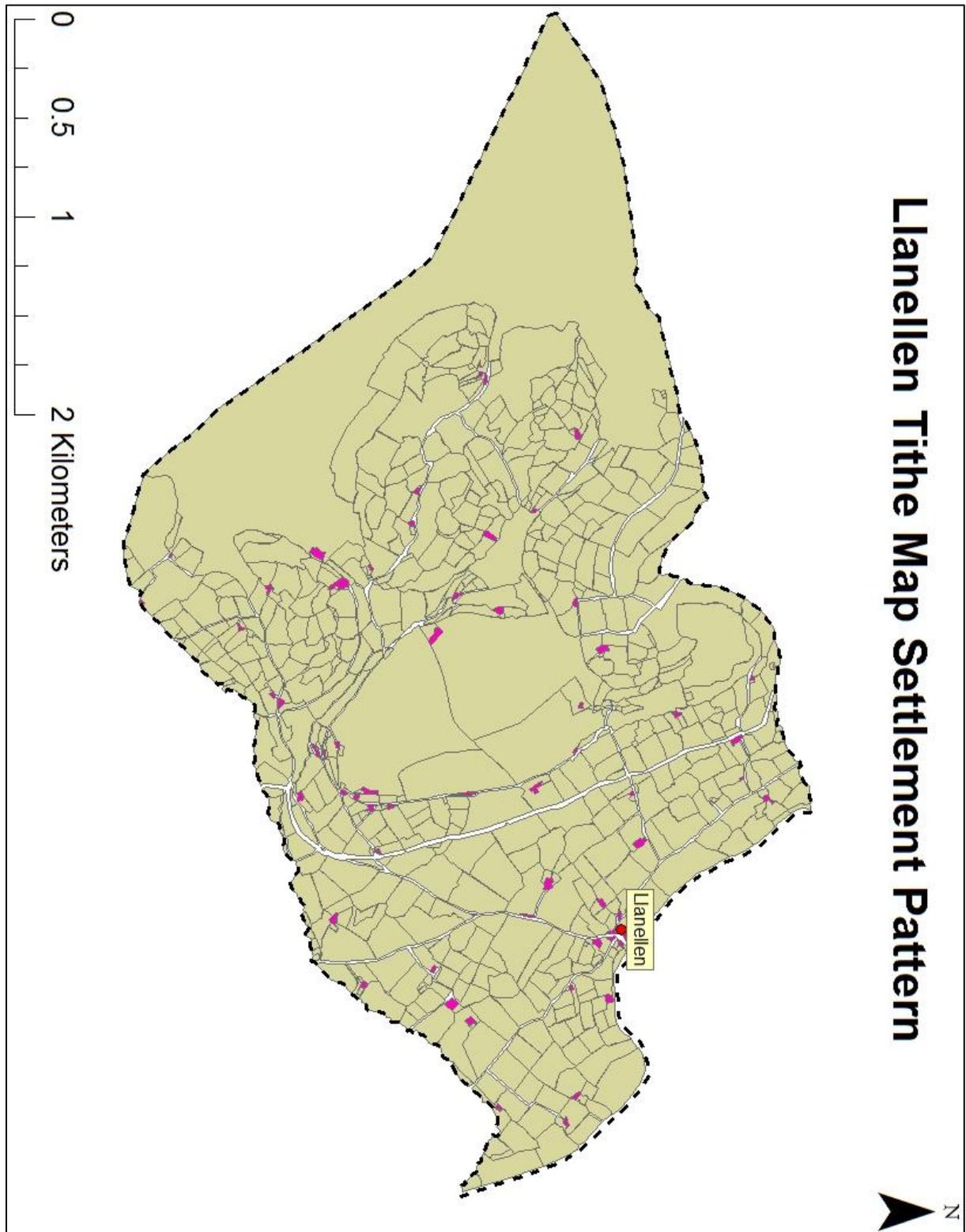


Fig.9.38. The settlement pattern of Llanellen according to the 1843 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

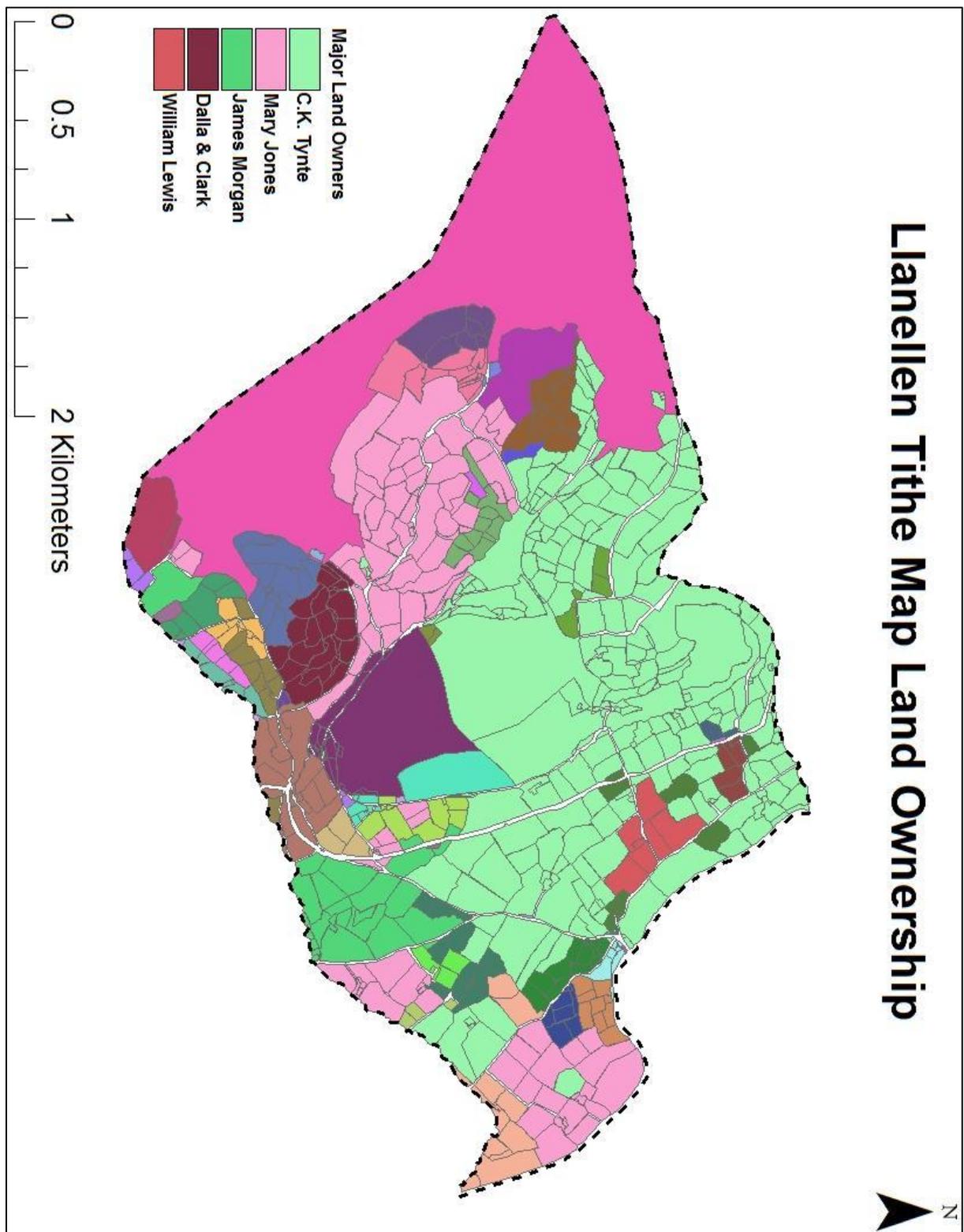


Fig.9.39. The pattern of land ownership for Llanellen according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

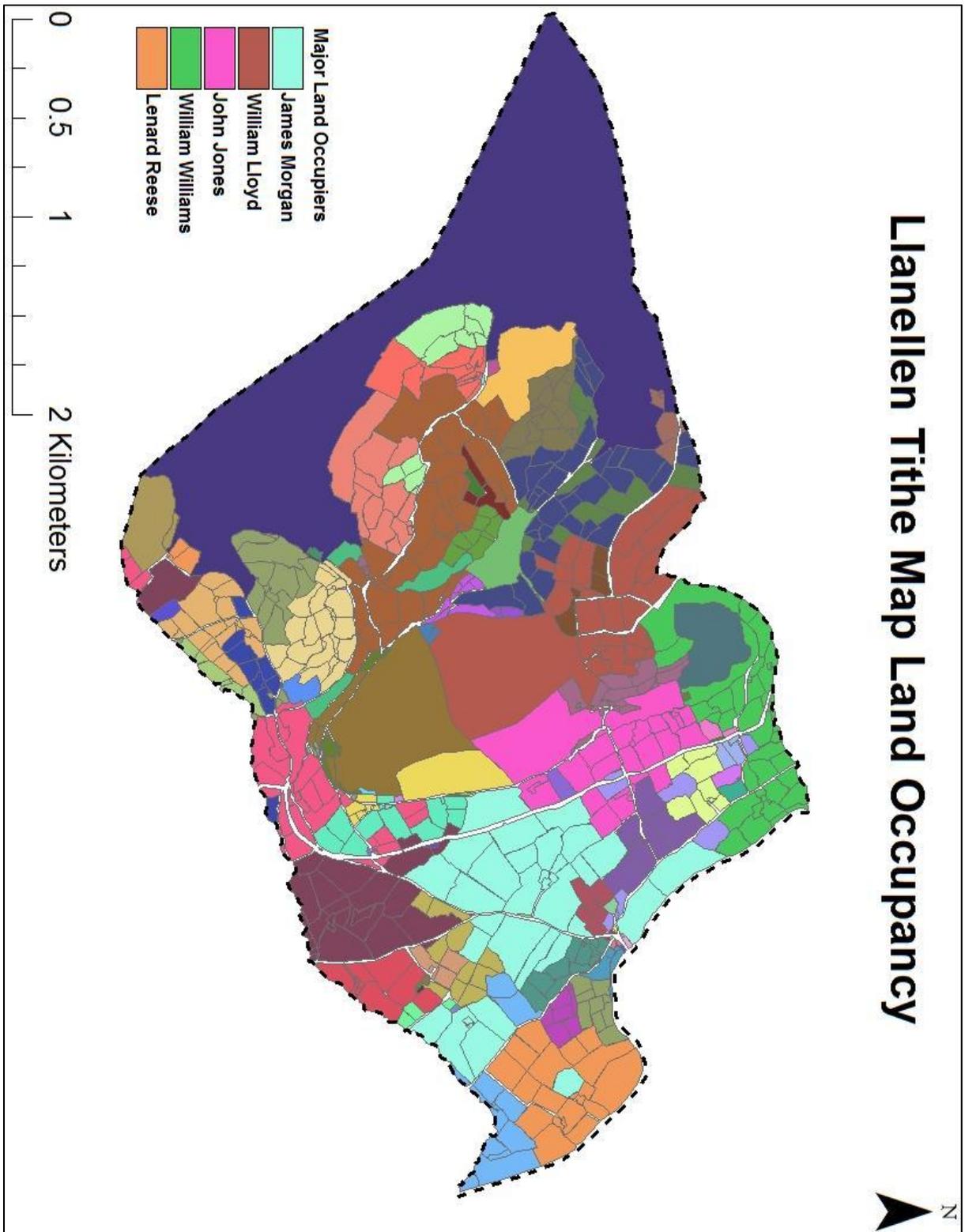


Fig.9.40. The pattern of land occupancy for Llanellen according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

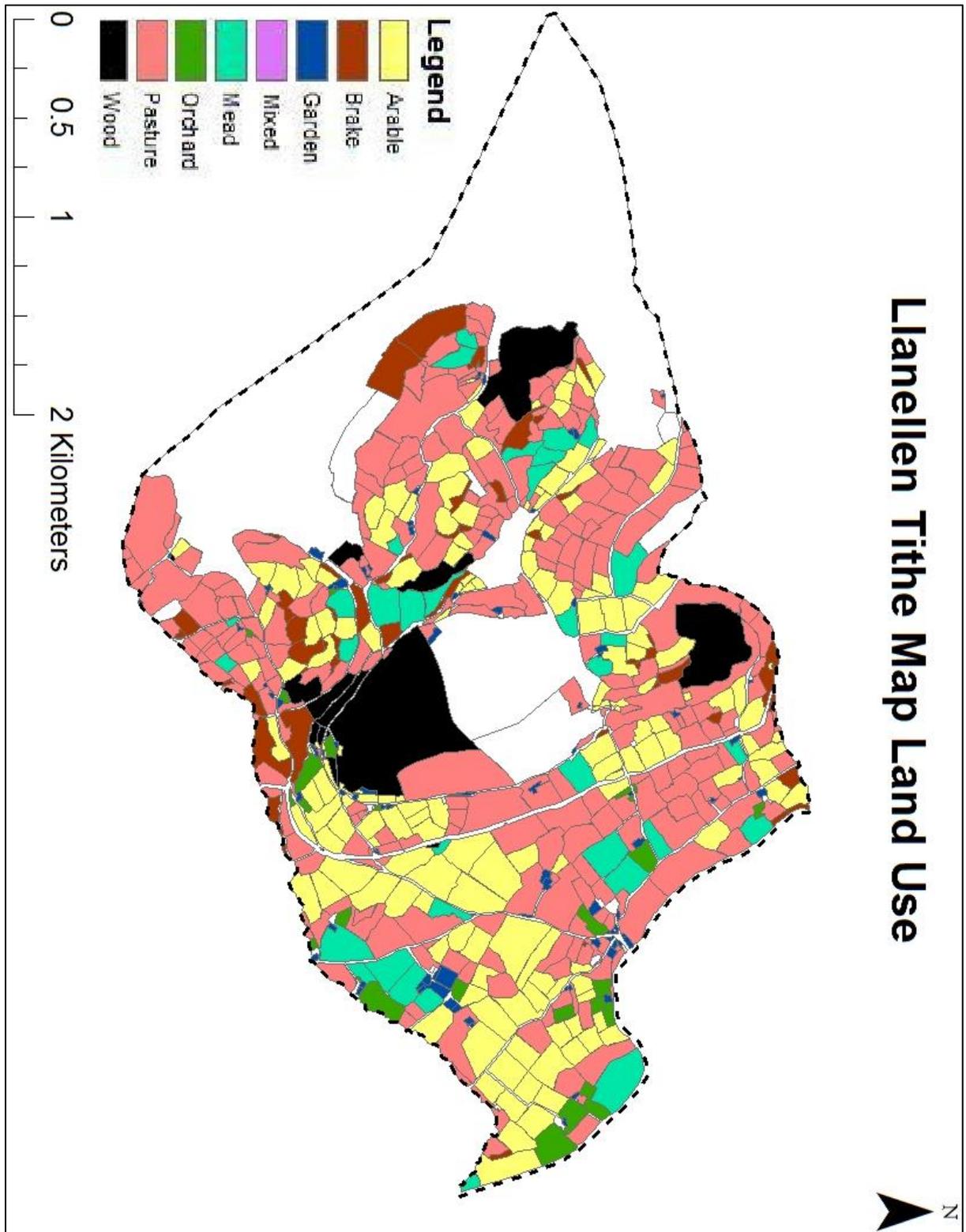


Fig.9.41. The pattern of land use for Llanellen according to the 1843 tithe map survey.

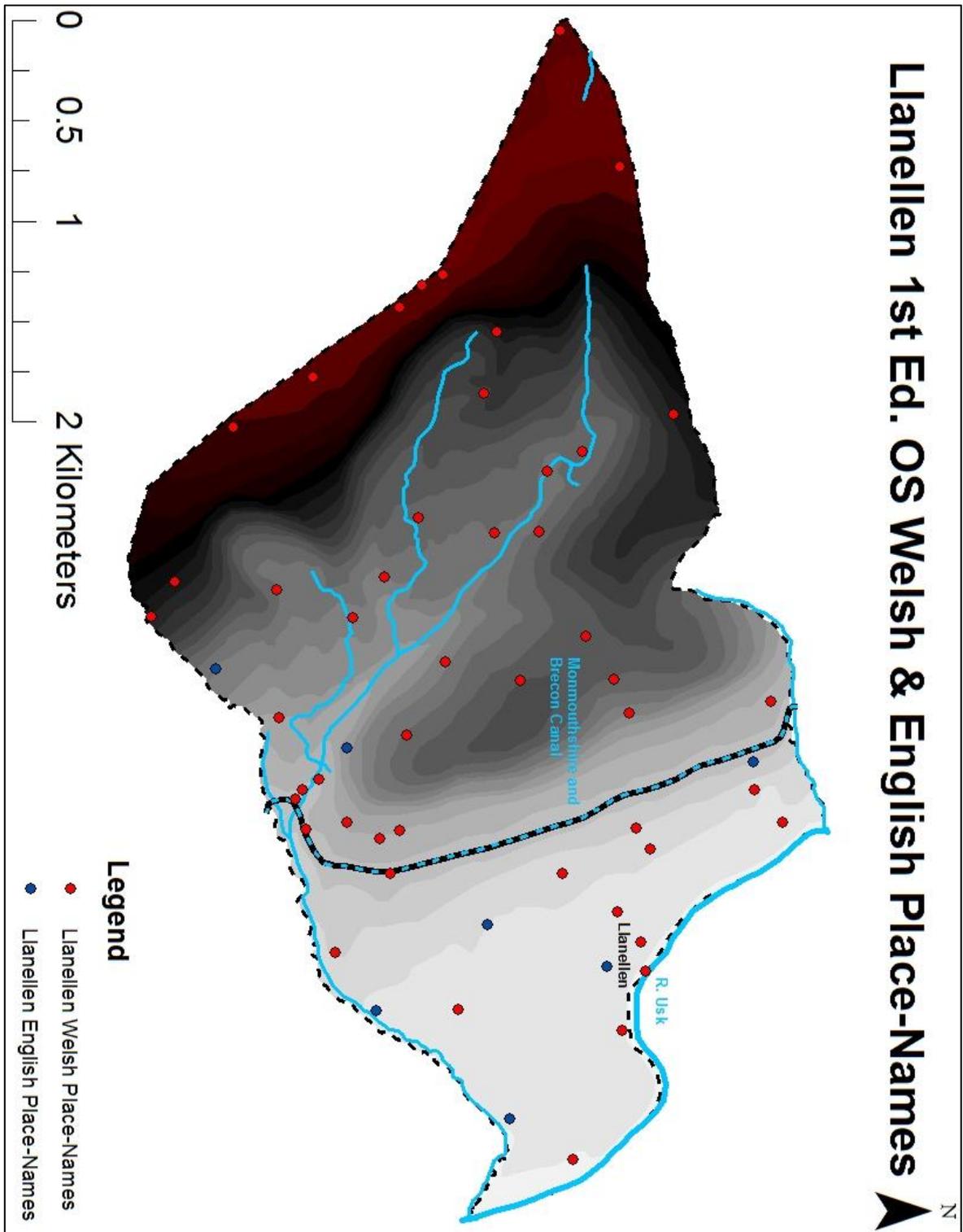


Fig.9.42. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Llanellen according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The field morphology pattern recorded on the tithe maps for Llanellen (Fig.9.37.) appears to show that large areas of the parish are given over to common land. This is probably a result of the mountainous terrain and the difficulties in instigating arable farming. Outside these areas of common land two distinct regions of the parish with differing field morphologies can be seen. The first is in between the two large patches of common land, towards the west of the parish, on the lower slopes of the Bloreng mountain. Here the landscape is made up of very small irregularly shaped fields, interspersed with the odd larger field. Again, the topography seems to be the major influence upon the morphology, with the larger fields being situated in the more upland areas and representing common pasture, whilst the smaller irregular fields in the lowland areas are indicative of land held in severalty reclaimed from former common land or woodland. Along the River Usk (on the eastern border of the parish) a different field morphology can be seen, with the landscape mainly composed of more regularly shaped square and rectangular fields, interspersed with the odd irregularly shaped ones. Importantly, none of these morphologies are suggestive of a former open field as most of the fields are more 'square' than 'strip shaped' and those which do show some form of linear morphology appear to be simply subdivisions of pre-existing large fields. The road pattern for Llanellen shows a slightly radial morphology in the eastern portion of the parish, around the village itself, whilst the rest of the parish (the more upland areas) show a distinctly more irregular pattern. Therefore, providing evidence that the nucleation of Llanellen was not important enough to significantly alter the road pattern for the rest of the parish

Llanellen's tithe survey settlement pattern (Fig.9.38.) is largely dispersed, in a fairly even manner across the whole of the parish. However, there are two notable exceptions to this. The first of these are the areas of common land in the upland portions of the parish which are largely devoid of settlement. The other is the nucleation of Llanellen itself, focused upon the church. This nucleation can probably be safely described as a 'dispersed nucleation', as it is not very large nor is it tightly nucleated in the manner that was seen in villages south of the Wentwood Ridge (Chapters 5 & 6). It is also important to note that there is no 'halo' of unsettled land surrounding the village, which would be indicative of a former open field system.

The tithe survey pattern of land ownership for Llanellen (Fig.9.39.) is dominated by one individual, a 'C.K. Tynte', who owns most of the land to the north and the west of the village. This, sadly, limits the amount of analysis that can take place on the pattern of land ownership in the vicinity of Llanellen itself. The rest of the parish, with a couple of small exceptions, is comprised of compact blocks of land held in severalty. The exceptions are a few small areas on the southern border of the parish where a more jumbled pattern of land ownership can be seen. However, these are not in an area where open field could be located (e.g. too hilly) and there cannot really be taken as evidence to counteract the rest of the evidence for this parish, which suggests that no such open field system was present within the bounds of Llanellen. When the pattern of land occupancy recorded in the Llanellen tithe survey

(Fig.9.40.) is examined, it can be seen that a pattern very similar to that taken from the previous analysis of the model of land ownership is present. The difference with this model is that it fills in the blanks left in the previous data set by the large amount of land owned by 'C.K. Tynte'. This allows us to see that the whole of the parish, in terms of land occupancy and ownership, complies with the model suggested by the analysis of the previous data set. The area around the village comprises of compact blocks of land held in severalty, and this pattern largely continues into the more upland areas of Llanellen, with the exception of a few vicinities where the picture gets a bit more jumbled. Therefore, it can be safely deduced that there is very little evidence, in terms of land holdings, for a former open field within the parish.

Llanellen's pattern of land use (Fig.9.41.) shows a landscape that is, understandably due to its mountainous nature, dominated by pasture with large patches of woodland in the more upland regions. There is, however, an area to the south-eastern corner of the parish where arable is more prevalent. Again, this may largely be down to topographic factors, as this is the flatter portion of the parish and is closer to the river so, therefore, probably provides the best conditions for arable farming. Interestingly, this area of arable dominance is not in the immediate vicinity of the village and therefore there is little evidence in the pattern of land use which is suggestive of a former open field system.

There were no field-names recorded in Llanellen's tithe apportionment, so no analysis can take place for this data set and the 'linguistic' element of this study will have to rely on the Ordnance Survey data. The model of the pattern of linguistic origin for the place-names present in the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps for Llanellen (Fig.9.42.) shows a landscape largely presenting 'Welsh' toponymic evidence. There are only seven 'English' place-names present and these are all, barring two, situated to the east of the Monmouthshire and Brecon canal, in the lowland reaches of the parish (in the vicinity of the church, village and the River Usk). The upland reaches of Llanellen, on the lower slopes of The Bloreng and the large hill in the centre of the parish, are almost exclusively populated by place-names of Welsh origin, with no 'English' toponymic evidence being present above 200m. This pattern of 'Welsh' place-names dominating the upland reaches of parishes is something which has been seen in other parishes in this thesis, such as Abergavenny in this case study.

In conclusion it can be seen that, as expected, there is no evidence for former open field in the upland parish of Llanellen and the settlement present took the form of a very small dispersed nucleation focused on the church. The rest of the landscape of the parish consists of small regular fields in the lowland areas near the village, with the morphology changing to larger and more irregular fields, interspersed with common, as one moves into the more upland reaches of Llanellen. The significance of this is, as a 'control parish' Llanellen provides us with a view of the 'base' landscape of the upland portions of the Lordship of Abergavenny, without the influence of any agency from Anglo-Norman (or Welsh) seigneurial sites.

9.3.5. Llanddewi Rhydderch

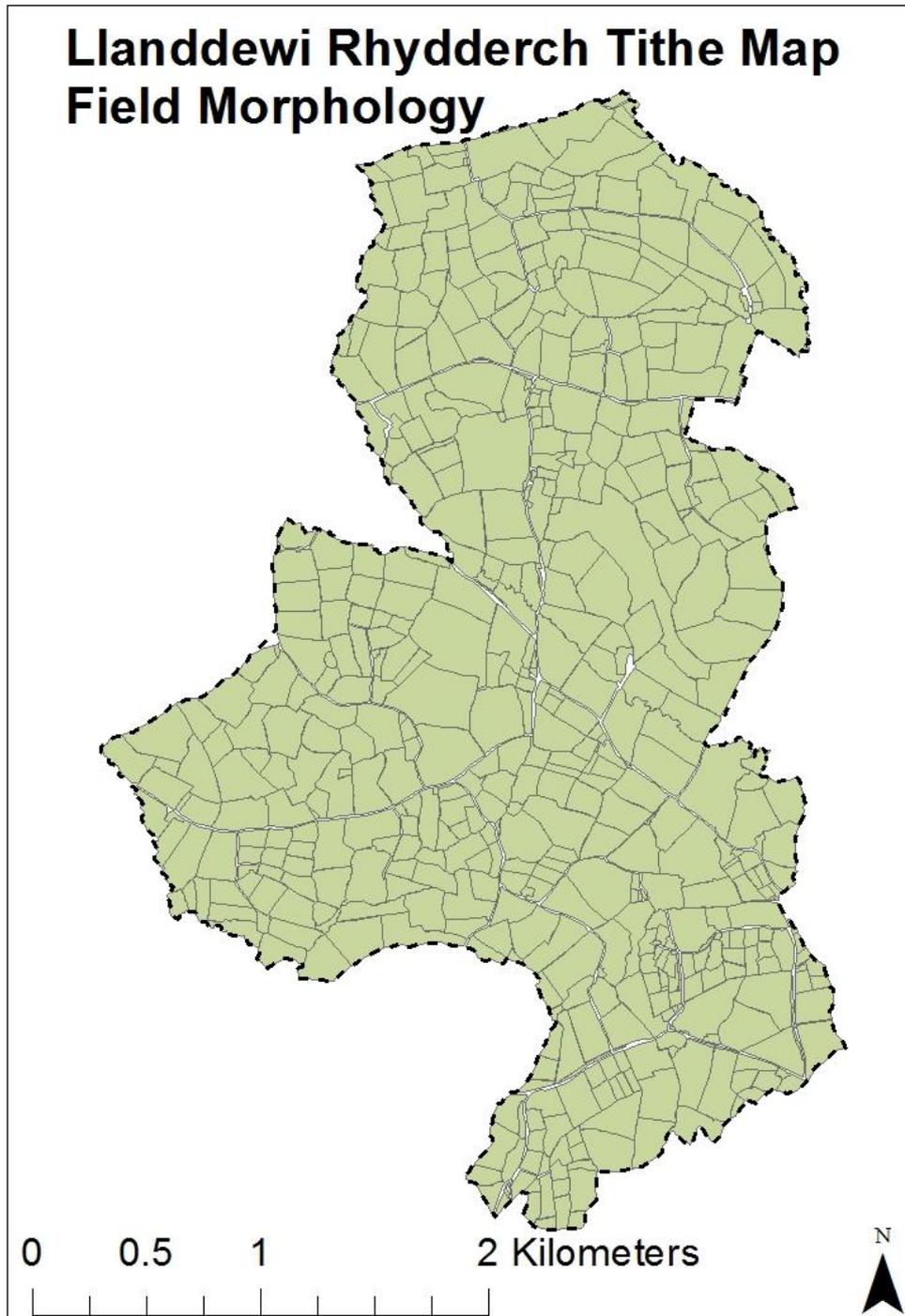


Fig.9.43. The field morphology of Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

Llanddewi Rhydderch Tithe Map Settlement Pattern

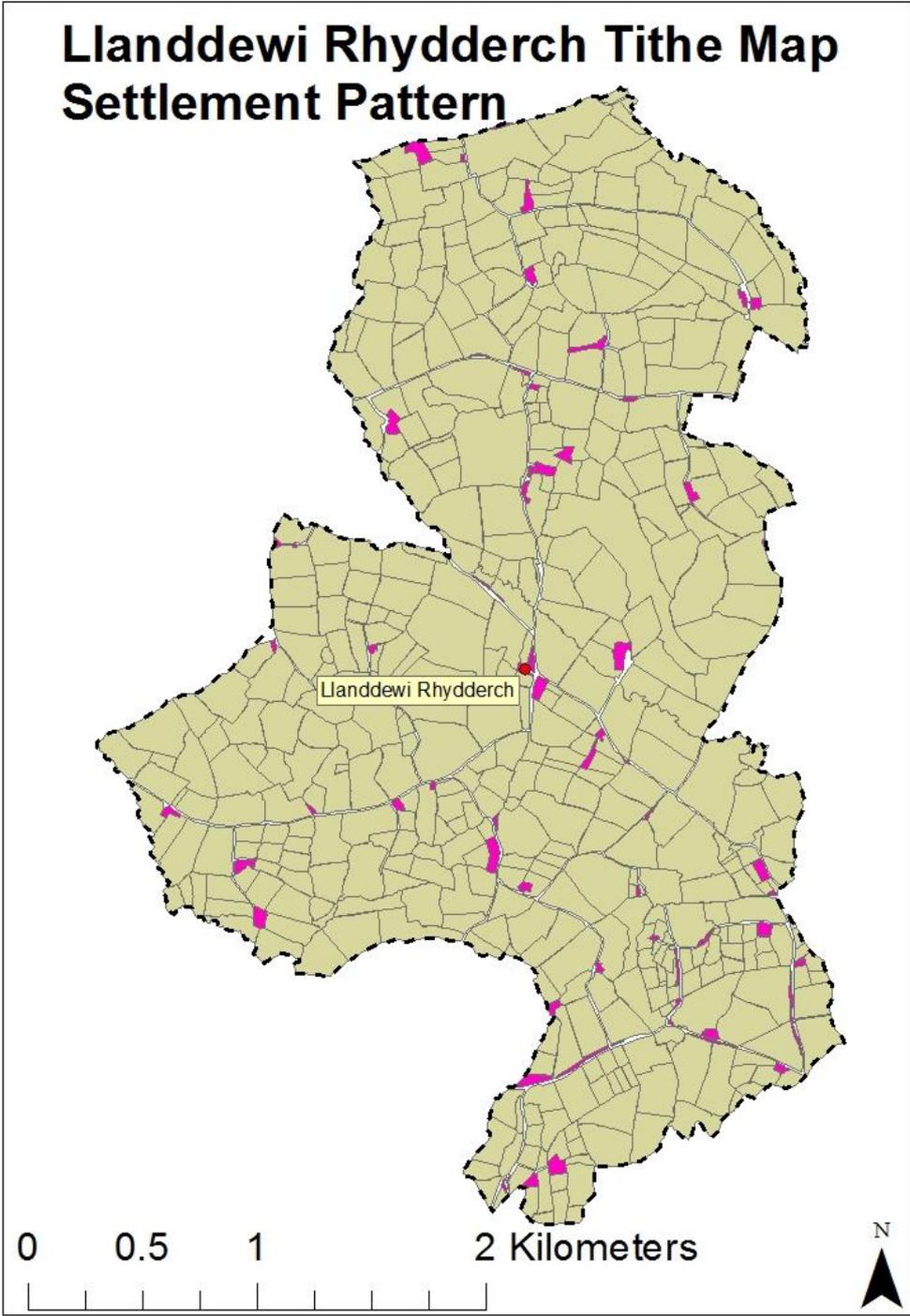


Fig.9.44. The settlement pattern of Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1840 tithe map survey. Fields marked as 'house', 'home', 'homestead', 'cottage' or 'farm' on the tithe apportionment are picked out in pink.

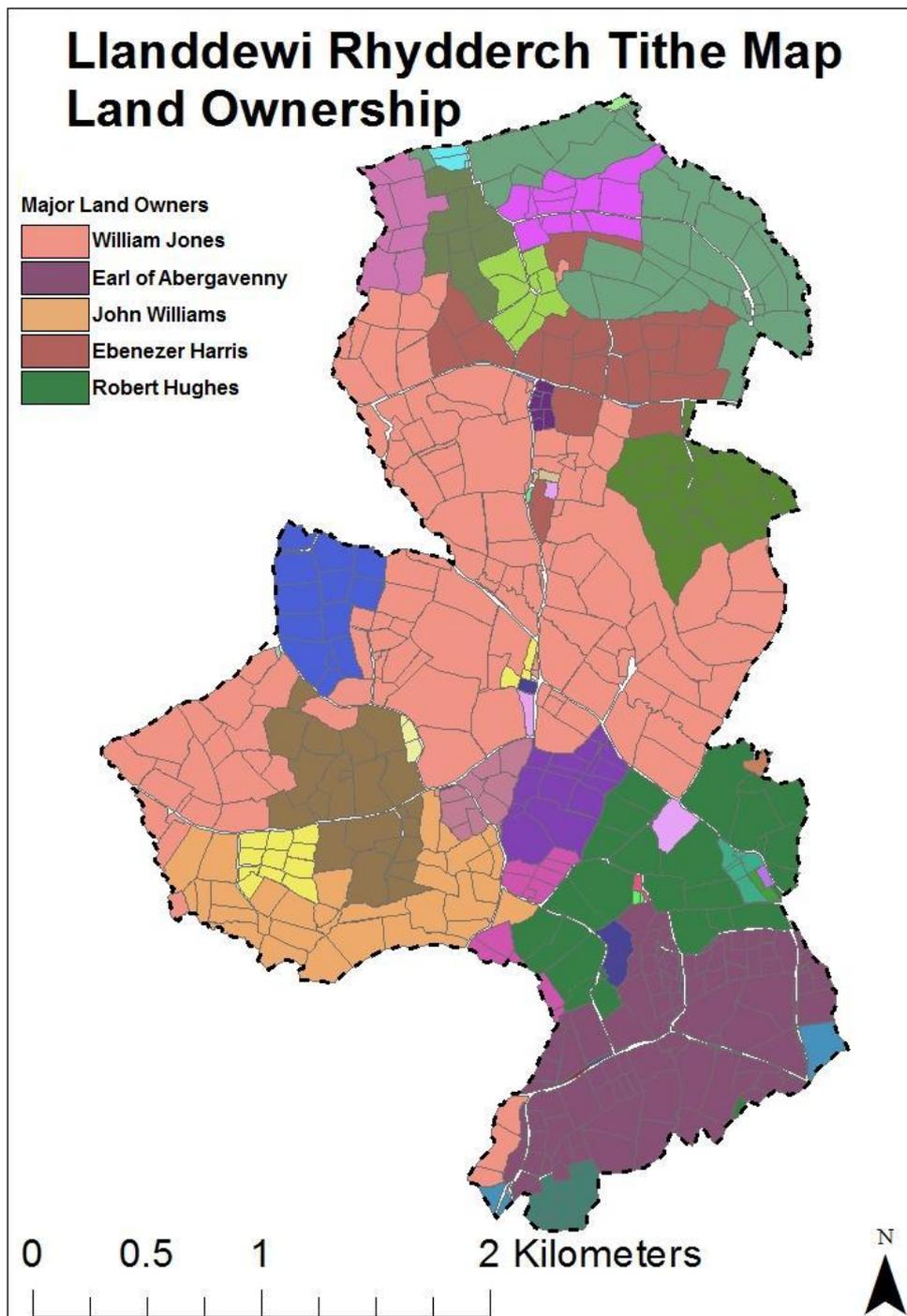


Fig.9.45. The pattern of land ownership for Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

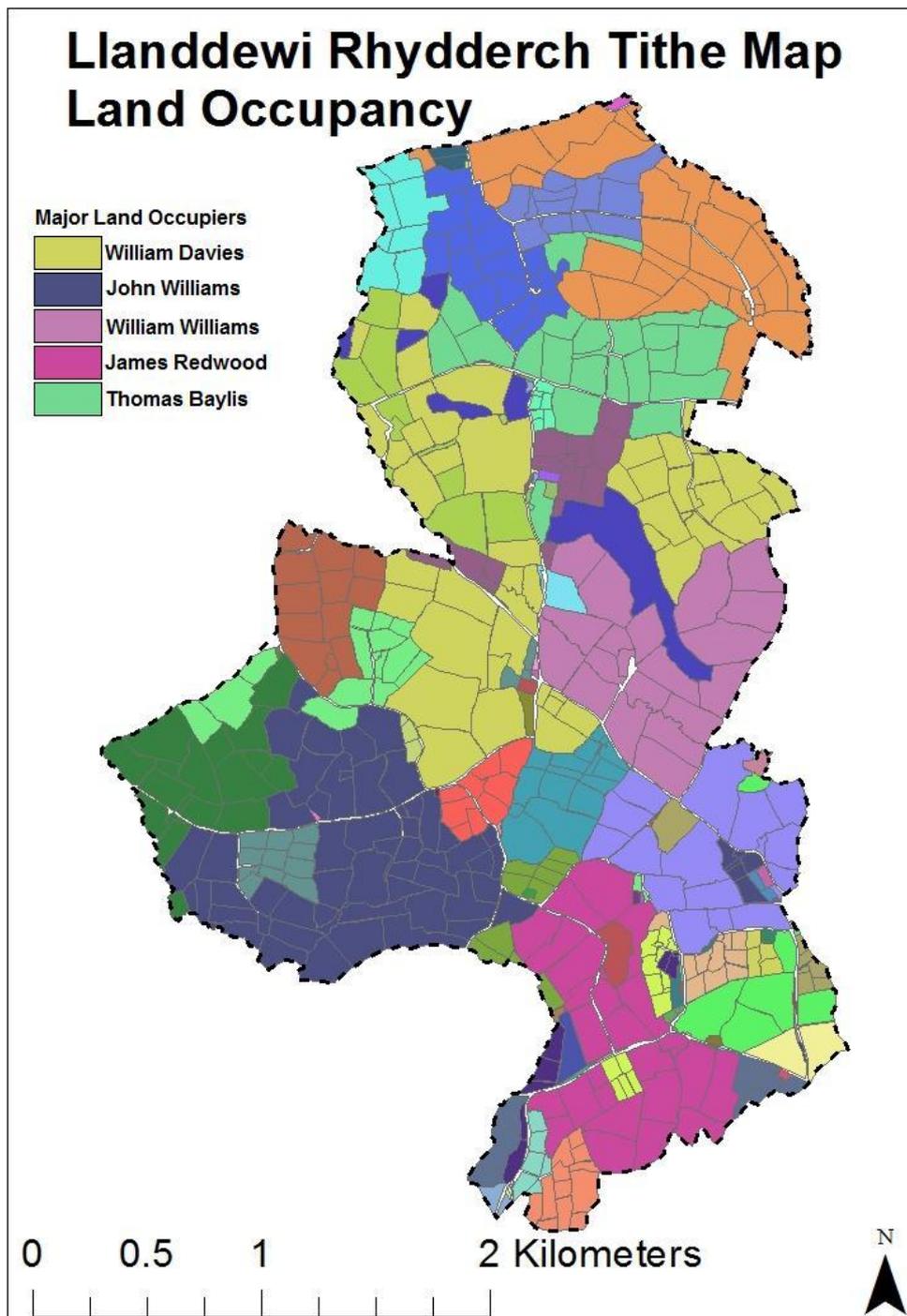


Fig.9.46. The pattern of land occupancy for Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

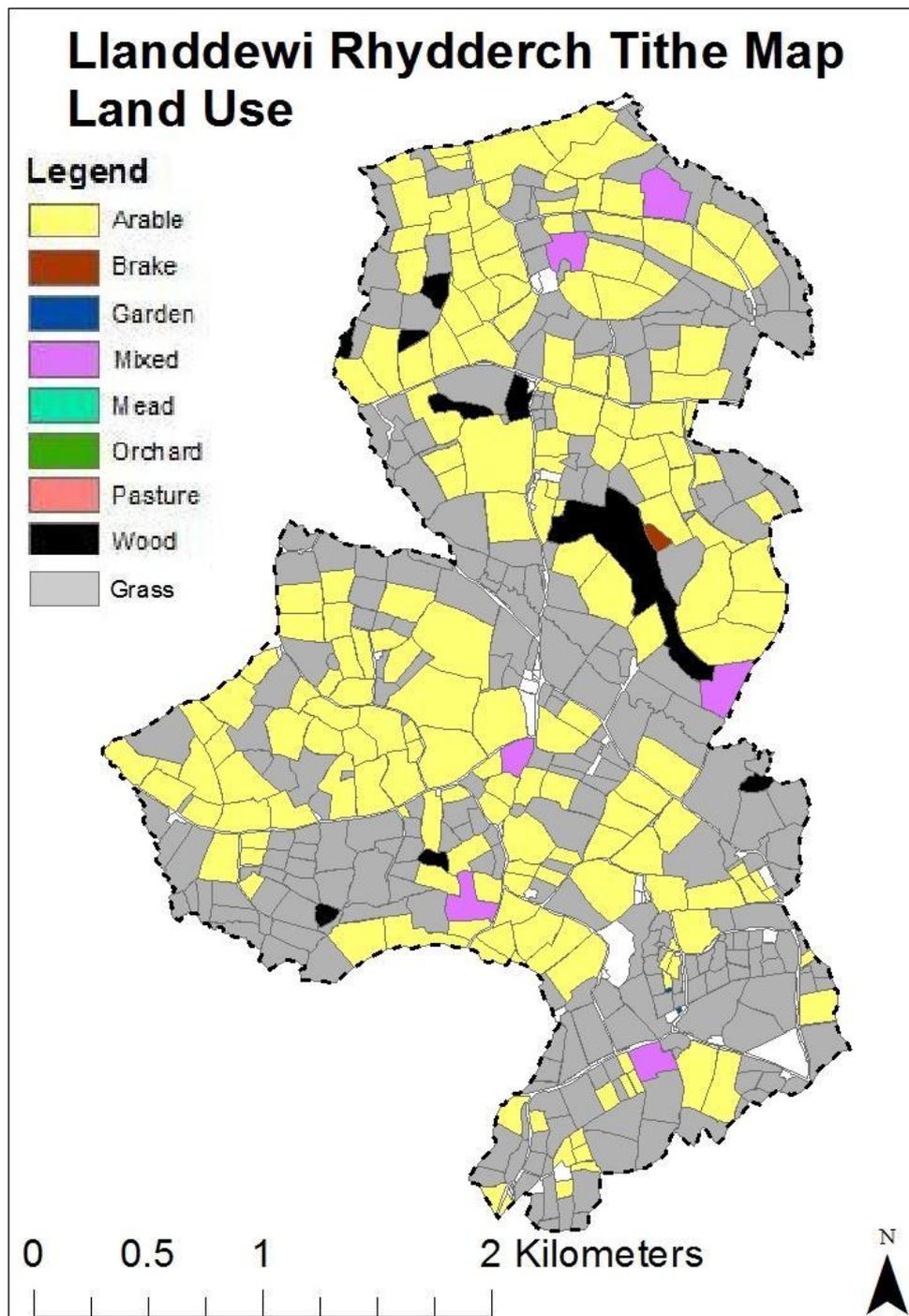


Fig.9.47. The pattern of land use for Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

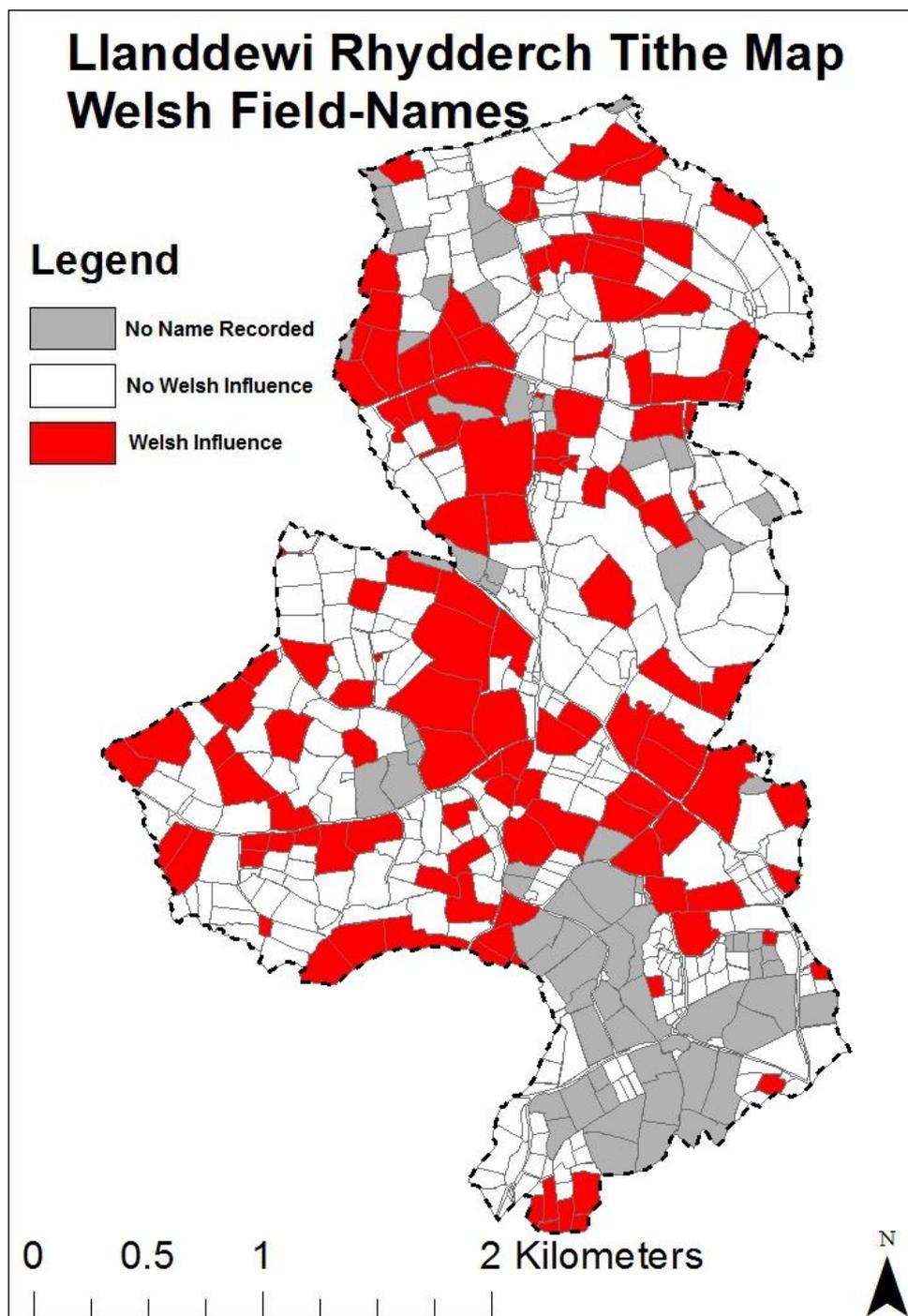


Fig.9.48. The pattern of Welsh influenced field-names within the parish of Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1840 tithe map survey.

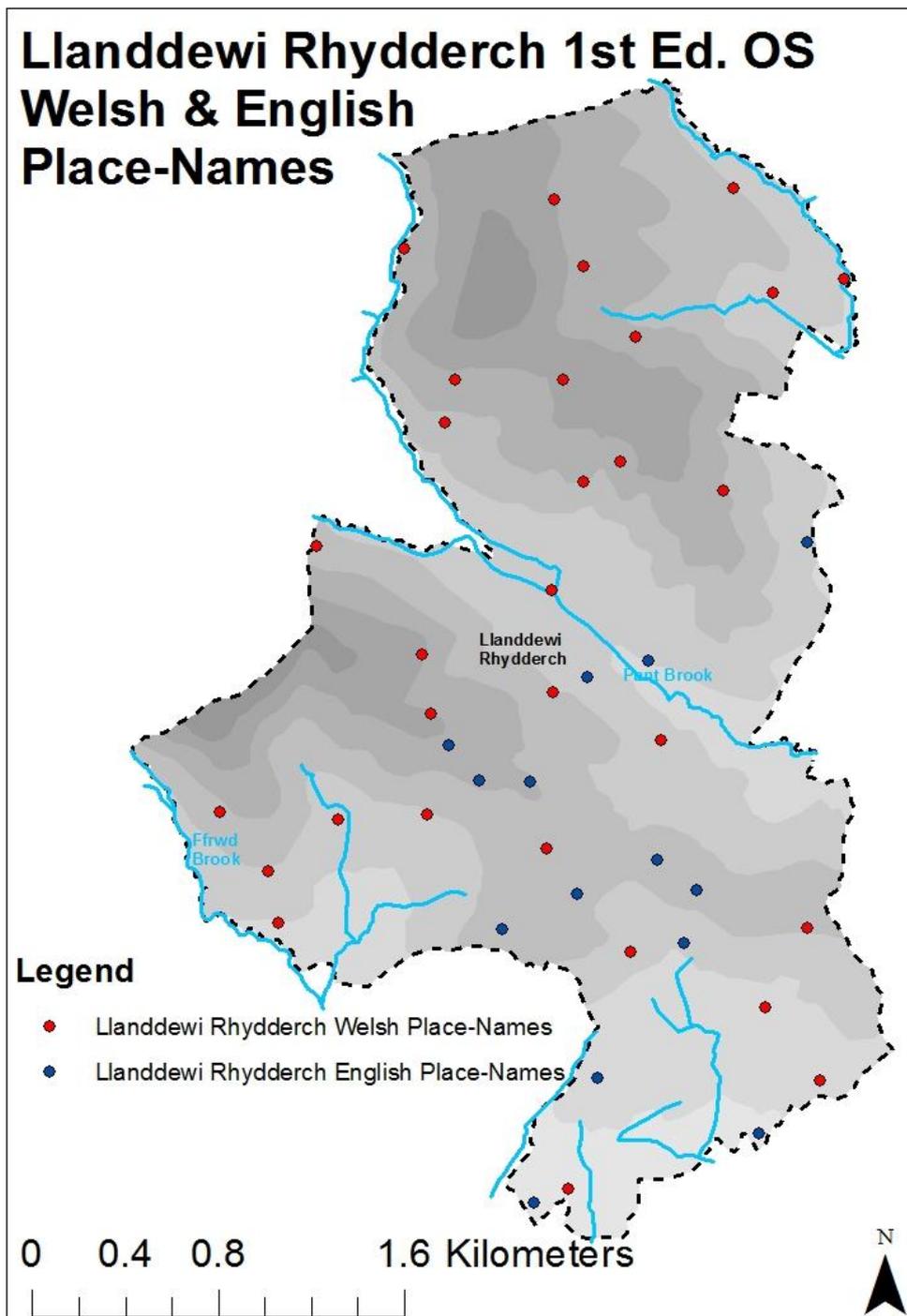


Fig.9.49. The pattern of Welsh and English influenced place-names in the parish of Llanddewi Rhydderch according to the 1st edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps.

The pattern of field morphology present in the tithe map for Llanddewi Rhydderch (Fig.9.43.) shows a landscape largely comprised of irregularly shaped fields of varying sizes. There is no real pattern in the region surrounding the small village of Llanddewi Rhydderch itself. There are a number of areas where there seems to have been a cluster of smaller fields, but on closer examination they appear to be caused by the breaking down of one larger field into a number of smaller ones. What can be said with some certainty is that there is no real evidence in this morphology for a former open field system being present in Llanddewi Rhydderch. There is, however, some larger areas of irregular fields in the vicinity of the two monastic granges in the northern half of the parish. The parish's roads are rather confused, with Llanddewi Rhydderch located on a crossroads rather than at the centre of a radial road system, which suggests that the settlement was not exerting influence on the rest of the parish. The settlement pattern recorded for Llanddewi Rhydderch in the tithe survey (Fig.9.44.) is fairly simple; it is dispersed. Beyond a miniscule nucleation in the vicinity of the church, the rest of the landscape of the parish is covered in highly dispersed individual farmsteads. Furthermore, there are no areas of the parish devoid of settlement that might have been indicative of the 'halo effect' caused by the presence of a former open field system.

Llanddewi Rhydderch's pattern of land ownership, according to the tithe survey (Fig.9.45.), shows that the centre of the parish is dominated by a William Jones, who owns most of the fields surrounding Llanddewi Rhydderch itself. As with Llanellen, this slightly masks the pattern of land ownership around the small village, which makes analysis difficult. However, the landscape of the rest of the parish largely consists of compact blocks of land held in severalty and not the jumbled ownership pattern which would be indicative of a former open field system. The pattern of land occupancy (Fig.9.46.) follows exactly the same pattern and, as with the previous case study of Llanellen, fills in the gaps in the pattern of land ownership caused by one landowner holding a large portion of the parish. The occupancy pattern certainly backs up the conclusion drawn from analysis of the ownership pattern, as well as the other data sets studied so far, in suggesting that there is absolutely no evidence for the presence of a former open field system in Llanddewi Rhydderch. There is however, a small 'halo' of land compact holdings (barring a few exceptions) surrounding the two monastic granges and this, combined with the morphological evidence, could suggest a compact field system surrounding both of these sites. Llanddewi Rhydderch is another parish where the tithe surveyor did not record 'pasture' or 'meadow' as individual land usages, instead opting for the more generic 'grass' (Fig.9.47.). What the model does tell us, though, is that Llanddewi Rhydderch has a fairly mixed pattern of land use, evenly distributed between 'grass' and arable, which is suggestive of a landscape made up of individual farms which held land in severalty, and no form of settlement nucleation or former open field.

When examining the pattern of Welsh field-names recorded in the tithe survey for Llanddewi Rhydderch (Fig.9.48.) it can be seen that 123 out of the 361 of the fields

which have a recorded name (34%) have a field-name of 'Welsh' origin and they are fairly evenly distributed about the parish. Importantly, there is no real evidence that any physical element of the landscape of the parish is influencing the distribution of 'Welsh' field-names. However, the pattern of place-name linguistic origins recorded on Llanddewi Rhydderch's first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey maps (Fig.9.49.) shows a clear north-south divide in the pattern of the landscape, with the Pant Brook, in the centre of the parish, providing the frontier. The southern half of the parish, including the small village, church and the enclosure of 'Hendre Hafaidd' has a fairly mixed landscape, with the vertical centre of the parish showing a dominance of 'English' place-names whilst in the eastern and western fringes 'Welsh' toponymic evidence is far more prevalent. However, in the northern portion of the parish, where the granges are located, the landscape is almost exclusively (barring two examples far to the south) made up of place-names showing 'Welsh' linguistic origins. It is also noteworthy that, as with a number of parishes within this lordship, the higher reaches of the parish (above 120m) are completely devoid of any place-names showing an 'English' linguistic influence.

Therefore, it can be concluded that, similar to Llanellen, Llanddewi Rhydderch has a very 'Welsh' landscape, although set in a much more lowland setting. There are no major Anglo-Norman (or Welsh) seigneurial sites present and no evidence for settlement nucleation or former open field farming systems. The parish also has a fairly mixed linguistic landscape with the only apparent agents of physical change appearing to be the two monastic granges which may have a compact field system associated with them.

9.4. Discussion & Summary

The most noticeable feature of this case study is that only the *caput*, Abergavenny, presented any suggestion of a former open field being present within its tithe survey. The other two castles (at Llanfair Kilgeddin and Llangattock Nigh Usk) studied here were either too small and, therefore, politically insignificant, or, as in the case of Castell Arnallt, from the wrong seigneurial background (being Welsh and not Anglo-Norman). The two 'control' parishes (Llanellen and Llanddewi Rhydderch) provided exactly the 'base' Welsh landscape that was to be expected, with no real evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape change. One of the noticeable facets of this study was the place-name evidence data sets. Abergavenny, as a major Anglo-Norman seigneurial centre, is also clearly influencing the linguistic landscape of its surrounding parish (Fig.9.20.), whilst the other lordship centres studied in this chapter do not seem to be exerting a similar kind of influence and no similar pattern is present at either Llangattock Nigh Usk or Llanfair Kilgeddin. This study therefore provides an excellent exemplar of the importance, and agency, of a major Anglo-Norman lordship site, such as Abergavenny. Contrasting with this, another key feature of the parish's linguistic landscape is the prevalence of 'Welsh' toponymic

evidence at higher altitude, showing evidence that Welsh place-names were much more dominant within 'upland' regions of parishes. This process is most notable in the upland reaches of the parish of Abergavenny and at Llanellen, which may have been caused by the 'anglification' of lowland farmers focused on arable over pasture, or may be part of a later process of linguistic change towards English as the dominant language in the area, with 'Welsh' landscape evidence clinging on in the more remote areas.

The importance of this evidence is exemplified when these results are viewed in conjunction with those drawn from the other case studies. At both of the coastal lordships, situated on or near the Gwent Levels (Chepstow and Caldicot), this study found that all Anglo-Norman lordship centres (both *capita* and minor lordship centres) seem to influence the physical landscape in addition to the linguistic landscape. This landscape agency is also seen in some parishes not traditionally thought of as being focal points of Anglo-Norman lordship, such as Shirenewton. Moving away from the coast, towards the lordships of Monmouth and Usk, it seems that whilst the *capita* are still exerting major influence upon their surrounding parishes (in terms of both the physical and linguistic landscapes), the attached minor lordship centres were agents of only minor landscape change, either affecting solely the linguistic landscape (e.g. Rockfield) or only influencing the physical landscape in a very limited way (e.g. Raglan). In the most upland of these case studies, Abergavenny, only the *caput* seems to have any agency in terms of influencing its surrounding landscape, with the minor lordship sites (e.g. Llanfair Kilgeddin) possessing a landscape that is very similar to that seen at similar lowland parishes without any Anglo-Norman lordship sites, such as Llanddewi Rhydderch. In fact, one of the most important agents of change in this region seems to be the physical landscape, as exemplified by the difference between lowland Llanddewi Rhydderch and upland Llanellen.

It cannot be ignored that most of the physical landscape of the Lordship of Abergavenny was not conducive to a classic Anglo-Norman landscape, complete with an open field farming system, as was seen at Chepstow and Caldicot due to their coastal location and at Monmouth with its natural 'bowl' caused by the confluence of a number of rivers. This 'bowl' effect is in evidence at Abergavenny itself, creating a location nestled between the three peaks of Abergavenny suitable for this type of settlement, and therefore an Anglo-Norman *caput*. However, it must also be noted that the landscape surrounding the minor lordship site of Llanfair Kilgeddin is not exactly a 'dramatic upland' one, and therefore the effects of the physical landscape are only a contributing factor in determining the degree of influence of an Anglo-Norman lordship site in this area, with the other major one being the nature of said seigneurial foundation.

What is also noticeable about the Lordship of Abergavenny, in comparison to the other lordships studied as part of this thesis, is that there are very few minor Anglo-Norman lordship sites of any note located within its boundaries. Monmouth only has

one lordship site which exhibits any major agency upon its surrounding landscape (Monmouth itself), but it does also have the castle at Dingestow, and the lordship itself is significantly smaller than Abergavenny. This may be due to the importance of Abergavenny as an Anglo-Norman *caput* and its domination over the rest of the lordship, but, similarly, the more dramatic history, compared to Chepstow and Monmouth, as well as the later tenure of Welsh lords (e.g. Seisyll ap Dynfnwl) may contribute to this focus on Abergavenny within the lordship. There may also be an element of the physical situation of Abergavenny, on low lying land at the confluence of two rivers, being the only place that such a major Anglo-Norman foundation was possible, and the rest of the landscape of the lordship was not suitable for similar, or lesser, seigneurial sites. It is probably a combination of all of these factors, and the physical, political and cultural influences must be taken into account when explaining the regional dominance of Abergavenny.

In conclusion, as with the previous case studies, the main issue for consideration at the end of this chapter is the degree to which these findings tell us about the character of the landscape of the Lordship of Abergavenny. The landscape of the parish of Abergavenny is extremely indicative of an Anglo-Norman *caput*, with the Anglo-Norman 'trinity' and a substantial open field system occupying the floor of the valley in which the settlement is located. This, therefore, places the landscape of Abergavenny on the same level as that seen at Monmouth, Chepstow and Caldicot in terms of the levels of Anglo-Norman influence and agency seen. However, apart from at the *caput*, there is very little evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape influence in the Lordship of Abergavenny. Therefore, away from the Lordship's centre it has to be concluded that most of the physical landscape of the Lordship of Abergavenny was staunchly 'Welsh' in character, with the 'English' manorial organisation of the parish of Abergavenny standing out as an 'island' of Anglo-Norman landscape management. Importantly, compared to the Lordship of Monmouth, the Lordship of Abergavenny is much larger in size, and therefore the lack of Anglo-Norman landscape agency outside the *caput* cannot simply be down to the lordship being too small to support another major seigneurial centre and therefore other factors must be considered, such as the influence of the physical landscape as well as the cultural, political, economical and historical background of the region. What is certain is that the landscape of this upland lordship is dramatically different from the lowland lordships studied at the beginning of this thesis (e.g. Caldicot and Chepstow), and not just in the obvious physical landscape (e.g. topography), but also in the human and cultural landscapes. Furthermore, without the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border (as seen at Monmouth) there is a far lower proliferation of 'English' place-name evidence within the boundaries of the Lordship of Abergavenny than seen in the Lordship of Monmouth.

With the completion of this chapter, the case study phase of this thesis is finished. Having looked at these lordships as individual entities, it is now time to move away from the micro-level examination of Monmouthshire and to begin looking at all of

these case studies as a whole on the macro-scale, and consider how they fit in with the previous results drawn from the county-wide survey. The next portion of this thesis, the 'discussion' chapter, will tie all these threads together and combine them with theoretical discussions and debates raised by other academic arguments in order to construct a cohesive picture of both the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire and the processes which went into its formation.

10. Discussion

10.1 Introduction

With the completion of the case studies of individual lordships (Chapters 5-9), the next step is to combine the findings of both the county-wide survey (Chapter 3) and the case studies in order to determine whether the parishes and lordships selected for detailed examination support the conclusions presented at the end of the county-wide study, or whether those results need to be reconsidered in the light of what was found in the case studies. These results from Monmouthshire will then be discussed in terms of how they fit into the wider academic debates surrounding Anglo-Norman lordship and the landscape. Before the general conclusions of this thesis are discussed in light of the results of the individual case studies, a quick recap of the key findings will be provided. The county-wide study (Chapter 3; Fig.10.1.) found that the regions of the county of Monmouthshire where the landscape is most influenced by the Anglo-Norman conquest ('category A') are the Gwent Levels, where the landscape is the product of wetland reclamation (providing a blank slate upon which the landscape could be constructed, making the countryside less of a palimpsest: see Chapter 3 and Rippon 2006, 293), the coastal lowlands and the lower reaches of the Monnow Valley, especially around Monmouth. The majority of these areas are close to the Anglo-Welsh border where Anglo-Norman lordship sites (e.g. Caldicot, Chepstow, Monmouth etc.) were established early, before the compilation of the Domesday survey in the late eleventh century. The next level of landscape influence shown in the county-wide study ('category B') was the region surrounding the 'Three Castles' lordship (Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle), as well as the upper reaches of the Lordship of Monmouth, which is situated slightly further upstream, in the Monnow Valley, from Monmouth. Whilst still close to the Anglo-Welsh border, the landscape in this region is slightly less low-lying than that present in the first tier of landscape influence and within this area there are some important Anglo-Norman lordship sites, but none that can claim to be anything more than a small village (e.g. Grosmont).

The third tier of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape ('category C') found in the county-wide study, was the central portion of Monmouthshire, which makes up the majority of the county, including the wide and fertile Usk valley. This region is further away from the Anglo-Welsh border but still relatively low-lying and has good communication links (e.g. the Usk). Here this study found 'islands' of minor Anglo-Norman influence surrounding important lordship centres (e.g. Usk, Abergavenny etc), whilst the majority of the landscape seems to be largely 'Welsh' in character and the Anglo-Norman conquest appears to have had little impact. The final region of Anglo-Norman lordship influence was focused on the more upland regions of Monmouthshire, where the study found that the Anglo-Norman conquest had very little influence upon the landscape ('categories D1 and D2').

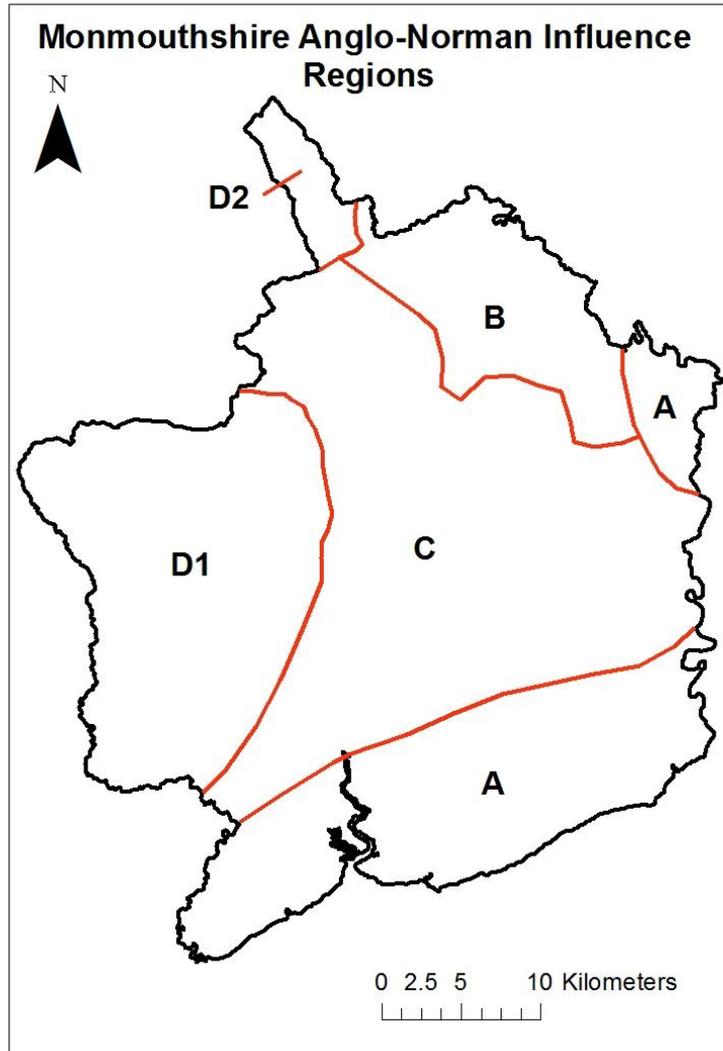


Fig.10.1: The regions of varying degrees of Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape of Monmouthshire (with A being the regions displaying the highest degree of influence), taken from the county-wide study (Chapter 3). For typologies see Table 3.4.

The case study of the Lordship of Caldicot (Chapter 5) found a landscape divided between the coastal *caput* of Caldicot and the more upland parish of Shirenewton. Caldicot presented an extremely ‘anglified’ landscape with an extensive open field attached to a manorial village focused on the seigneurial centre of Caldicot castle, whilst Shirenewton was shown to have a small nucleation and a possible small open field set within a surrounding landscape that was much more upland and ‘Welsh’ than that seen at Caldicot. This pattern of ‘divided landscape’ within the Lordship of Caldicot is repeated on the micro, not just the macro, level, as within the two constituent parishes significant difference in character can be seen, with a landscape characterised by the remains of a small open field surrounded by larger, more irregular fields, in the vicinity of the abandoned church at Dewstow to the north of Caldicot, in contrast to extensive open field evidence present in the south of the parish. There is a north-south divide in the landscape character of Shirenewton, with

the nucleated settlement and attached open field in the south contrasting with a landscape characterised by dispersed settlement and irregular fields in the north of the parish. The Lordship of Chepstow (Chapter 6) continued this theme of landscape division between 'upland' and 'lowland' parts of the lordship, with the majority of the influence for Anglo-Norman agency being focused closer to the coast. Here it was found that the *caput* at Chepstow and the minor lordship site of Magor, both situated close to the coast, displayed a great deal of Anglo-Norman influence with clear settlement nucleations and extensive open fields. The lordship site which was away from the coast, at Caerwent, did not show similar processes and presented a complex landscape, divided between the multiple *foci* of Caerwent, Crick and Mount Ballan, and with an upland region distinctly 'Welsh' in character. In fact, a similar pattern was seen within the historic landscapes of those parishes studied which lacked any tangible evidence for Anglo-Norman lordship (Portskewett, Itton, Howick and Mounon), with only Portskewett showing any sign of nucleation and possible former open field, and with the most northerly and upland of these parishes, Itton, showing the highest degree of 'Welsh' character. The results of these first two case studies seem to suggest that the physical landscape, in terms of topography, seems to be greatly affecting the levels of post-Conquest landscape change present within the lordships of Caldicot and Chepstow, although as the areas where 'anglified' landscape are most prevalent are also those where Anglo-Norman *capita* and lordship sites are found. The question therefore needs to be asked as to whether the agency of the physical landscape is being amplified by Anglo-Norman lordship, or is the influence of Anglo-Norman lordship being augmented (or restricted) by the suitability of the landscape?

The Lordship of Monmouth case study (Chapter 7) moved the thesis away from the coast whilst staying close to the Anglo-Welsh border, and continued the theme of 'divided landscape'. Here the landscape presented showed a picture of a lordship divided between the 'island' of Anglo-Norman influence surrounding the *caput* at Monmouth, and the rest of the lordship where Anglo-Norman influence seems to be far less prevalent. The parish of Monmouth presented a classic Anglo-Norman landscape, with an extensive open field system surrounding a nucleated settlement (town) with a lordship site (castle) and monastic foundation (priory), although this landscape character was not found across the rest of the lordship. Away from the *caput*, the minor Anglo-Norman lordship sites studied (Rockfield & Dingestow) did not seem to exert much in the way of agency upon their surroundings, and the landscapes of these parishes differed little from those seen in 'non-lordship site' parishes (Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern & St Maughans). In fact, the only data sets which showed any major variation in the parishes studied away from the *caput* were those relating to the linguistic landscape, which may have been showing the influence of the Anglo-Welsh border or the proximity of the major lordship site of Monmouth. It was concluded that a possible explanation for this lack of influence over the physical landscape outside the parish of Monmouth itself was due to the small size of the lordship (in comparison to, for instance, Abergavenny), meaning

that it was not viable for the lordship to support more than one large nucleation and open field.

The results drawn from the case study of the Lordship of Usk (Chapter 8) show that the historic landscape of the lordship *caput* displays a great deal of Anglo-Norman influence, with the presence of a castle, a town, a priory and an open field, but that its influence on its surrounding landscape is nowhere near as powerful as that seen at Chepstow and Monmouth. Moreover, the Lordship of Usk presented a landscape of multiple minor Anglo-Norman *foci* outside the *caput* itself (Raglan, Trellech etc.) which influenced the landscape to differing extents, according to the size, date, nature and the importance of the seigneurial site. There was also further evidence of a divided landscape in the March, with Usk having attached 'Welshries' at Gwehelog and Glascoed, which suggests that these pockets of Anglo-Norman landscape agency surrounding the lordship sites may simply be 'islands of influence'. The parish of Llandenny, however, did throw up the intriguing possibility of a pre-Conquest nucleation in a fertile farming area by having an attached open field, which suggests that when the physical and economic situation was right, these methods of farming may have developed organically without the 'top-down' agency of an Anglo-Norman lord.

Finally, the case study of the Lordship of Abergavenny (Chapter 9) demonstrated that the historic landscape of the parish of Abergavenny is characteristic of an Anglo-Norman *caput*, with the 'trinity' as well as a substantial attached open field system, placing Abergavenny on a similar level, in terms of Anglo-Norman influence, as Monmouth, Chepstow and Caldicot. Away from the *caput*, however, there was very little evidence for Anglo-Norman influence and therefore it has to be concluded that most of the physical landscape of the Lordship of Abergavenny was staunchly 'Welsh' in character (apart from the 'island of influence' at Abergavenny itself). The large size of the Lordship of Abergavenny was important, when compared to the Lordship of Monmouth, as the lack of Anglo-Norman landscape agency away from the *caput* cannot simply be put down to the lordship being too small to support another major seigneurial centre. Therefore, other factors, such as the physical landscape and the cultural, political, economic and historical background of the region have to be taken into account to explain this landscape. What is certain is that the historic landscape of this upland lordship is dramatically different, in terms of both physical landscape (e.g. topography) and also human and cultural landscapes, from the lowland lordships studied in the first two case studies (e.g. Caldicot and Chepstow). Another important finding of this case study was that without the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border (as seen at Monmouth), and the more upland geographic setting, there was a far lower proliferation of 'English' place-name evidence within the boundaries of the Lordship of Abergavenny.

It is important that these case studies are now drawn together and viewed as a whole, combining the evidence of the individual lordships with the county-wide survey. Whilst it is undeniable that those areas where the most 'anglified' landscapes

are found are around the major *capita* of Anglo-Norman Monmouthshire, the pattern of influence and agency is not simplistic and varies with the physical, political and cultural landscapes. Within the lordships of Chepstow and Caldicot a very intense level of Anglo-Norman influence can clearly be seen, especially around the lordship centres, both major and minor, although it must be noted that the impact around the *capita* is markedly higher. What is noticeable about the lordships in this south-eastern corner of the county is that there is also some evidence of the imposition of lordship influencing the landscape of parishes without tangible seigneurial features, for instance at Shirenewton. It must be noted, however, that the physical landscape of this region is well suited for these kinds of manorial arrangement (low lying coastal plains) and that while open field manorial farming can be seen as a distinguishing characteristic of those regions of Wales under Anglo-Norman control, they also normally coincide with the lower lying lands with soils more suitable for arable farming (Davies 1973). Furthermore, the lordships of Caldicot and Chepstow are 'south-facing' (or 'English-facing') in more ways than one. Not only are they situated on the south-facing slopes of the Wentwood ridge and the coastal lowlands of the Gwent Levels, but they also have a coastline on the Severn Estuary with strong communication links to Somerset (across the Bristol Channel) and Gloucestershire (through the Forest of Dean, where the Lordship of Chepstow also held land).

The area surrounding the town of Monmouth, on the north-eastern edge of the county provides us with a slightly different landscape to that seen on the south-eastern border of Monmouthshire. Whilst the *caput* at Monmouth still retains its remarkably strong level of Anglo-Norman influence, this agency decreases dramatically when the rest of the lordship is examined, including minor Anglo-Norman lordship sites (such as Rockfield and Dingestow), where the main form of Anglo-Norman landscape influence present is purely linguistic (even this could be driven by the proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border as much as it is by the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship). These patterns are continued when the landscapes surrounding both Usk and Abergavenny are studied. Within the Lordship of Usk islands of influence focused on the Anglo-Norman lordship sites (most notably Usk, but also sub-lordship sites such as Raglan) are found in a sea of landscape displaying a 'Welsh' character, with less of the English linguistic influence seen at Monmouth. One area of the lordship which has a slightly different landscape is around Trellech, where despite there being a fairly substantial lordship site (the much debated 'town' of Trellech itself) the landscape is quite upland in nature, presumably driven by the topography of the Trellech Plateau. Within the landscape of the Lordship of Abergavenny one can see the picture presented by the Lordship of Usk repeated, and in some ways enhanced. There is very little evidence, away from the *caput* of Abergavenny itself, for Anglo-Norman agency in the landscape and open field farming is clearly not a feature of the landscape which has developed organically. This is because the only place where such a field system appears to be located is at Abergavenny itself, and the foundation of a large Anglo-Norman lordship centre is clearly responsible for its presence. There is virtually no evidence

for similar farming systems being present around the minor Anglo-Norman lordship centres. Where the Anglo-Norman Conquest of Monmouthshire appears to have had the most impact upon the landscape, therefore, is within the coastal lowlands and in the immediate vicinity of the Marcher *capita*. The findings for the rest of the county, however, seem to back up the previous statement that, in England at least, the Norman Conquest appears to have had very little tangible archaeological impact upon the rural landscape (Sawyer 1985; Rowley 1997, 26-30; Reynolds 1999, 181-2; Creighton 2002a, 175). Within Wales, therefore, this pattern continues in those regions outside the coastal lowlands and the hinterlands of the major lordship sites.

Due to complex nuances in this pattern of lordship influence, the landscape cannot simply be broken down along the lines of lordship boundaries created by the Anglo-Norman lords of the March, as that would ignore other factors such as the role of the physical geography in shaping the landscape. It is also important to note that many of these culturally-created territories (lordships, parishes and manors) straddled different physical landscapes, such as the Lordship of Chepstow which encompassed the wetlands of the Gwent Levels, the coastal lowlands and the more upland region of the southern slopes of the Wentwood Ridge. A refinement of the 'regions' presented at the end of the county-wide survey (Chapter 3) is therefore required, and the reintroduction of the concept of *pays* (see Chapter 1) into this study may provide a more nuanced approach to the landscape of Monmouthshire. Using the results of both the county-wide survey and the individual lordship case studies, the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire can be broken down into a number of distinctive *pays*, or sub-*pays* represented in the final model of Anglo-Norman landscape influence (Fig.10.2.):

- **The Gwent Levels and Coastal Lowlands** – This *pays*, which occupies the southern coast of the county and incorporates the wetlands of the Gwent Levels along with the south facing slopes of the Wentwood Ridge, provides large amounts of evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape agency. As well as the large scale open fields attached to the major Anglo-Norman *capita* (e.g. Chepstow and Caldicot), there is also evidence of villages with attached open fields of varying sizes being situated away from the *capita* (e.g. Shirenewton, Magor, etc.). The physical landscape is well suited to open field farming, with the lower reaches of the southern slopes of the Wentwood Ridge and the Gwent Levels providing excellent arable farming. The soils of the Gwent Levels consist of loamy and clayey soils of coastal flats with naturally high groundwater, and are moderately fertile. On the southern slopes of the Wentwood Ridge the soils change, and here are found a mixture of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils, which provide a low level of fertility, and freely draining slightly acid but base-rich soils, which are highly fertile.
- **Vale of Usk** – This *pays* comprises most of the central portion of the county and makes up around half of the area of Monmouthshire. It is situated to the north of the Wentwood Ridge and the Usk Estuary, and within it 'islands' of

Anglo-Norman landscape agency, producing large-scale open field systems, can be seen around the Anglo-Norman *capita* (Usk and Abergavenny) and, to a lesser extent, the more important minor Anglo-Norman lordship centres (such as Raglan). Outside these lordship centres, however, there appears to be very little evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape influence, and there is no evidence for the smaller manorial villages, with attached open fields, seen south of the Wentwood Ridge (hence the term 'islands' of Anglo-Norman landscape agency, situated within a 'sea' of Welsh landscape). It must also be noted that the level of Anglo-Norman agency drops significantly west of the River Usk itself. The landscape of this *pays* is, for the most part, largely low-lying (although not as low-lying as that seen in to the south of the Wentwood Ridge) and mainly consists of gently rolling hills and river valleys. It specifically excludes the more upland landscapes of the Trellech Plateau and the mountains around Abergavenny. Aside from a thin strip following the course of the River Usk, where the soils consists of freely draining floodplain soils (with a moderate to high fertility), most of this *pays* consists of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils, with a low fertility rating.

- **The Trellech Plateau** – Despite the presence of the Anglo-Norman lordship centre of Trellech, which was the site of a new town, there is little evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape agency in this *pays*. Whether this is due to the nature of the lordship site at Trellech (with the 'town' being a later foundation than those seen at, for example, Monmouth or Usk, and the settlement having functional focus on the production of iron, or the physical landscape of the Trellech Plateau is open to debate. Certainly, the landscape is not really suitable for villages and open fields as it is significantly more upland than that seen south of the Wentwood Ridge and in the more lowland areas of the Vale of Usk. The pedology of this *pays* consists almost entirely of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils (with low fertility) interspersed with small patches of freely draining very acid sandy and loamy soils (which have very low fertility rating).
- **Monmouth** – The area in the immediate vicinity of the town of Monmouth provides a 'salient' of Anglo-Norman landscape, with a large-scale open field farming system surrounding the *caput* of the Lordship of Monmouth, with its castle, borough and monastic foundation. As Monmouth is situated on the Anglo-Welsh border, and the landscape found around the town is distinctly 'English' in character, it was decided to categorise it as a separate *pays*, apart from the 'islands of Anglo-Norman influence' seen in the Vale of Usk *pays*. The physical landscape is fairly well suitable to open field farming, as it consists of fertile river valleys and the shallow 'bowl' of the confluence of the Monnow and Trothy river valleys with the Wye at Monmouth. The soils present consist of a mixture of freely draining floodplain soils (with a moderate to high fertility) and slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage (again, with a moderate to high fertility).

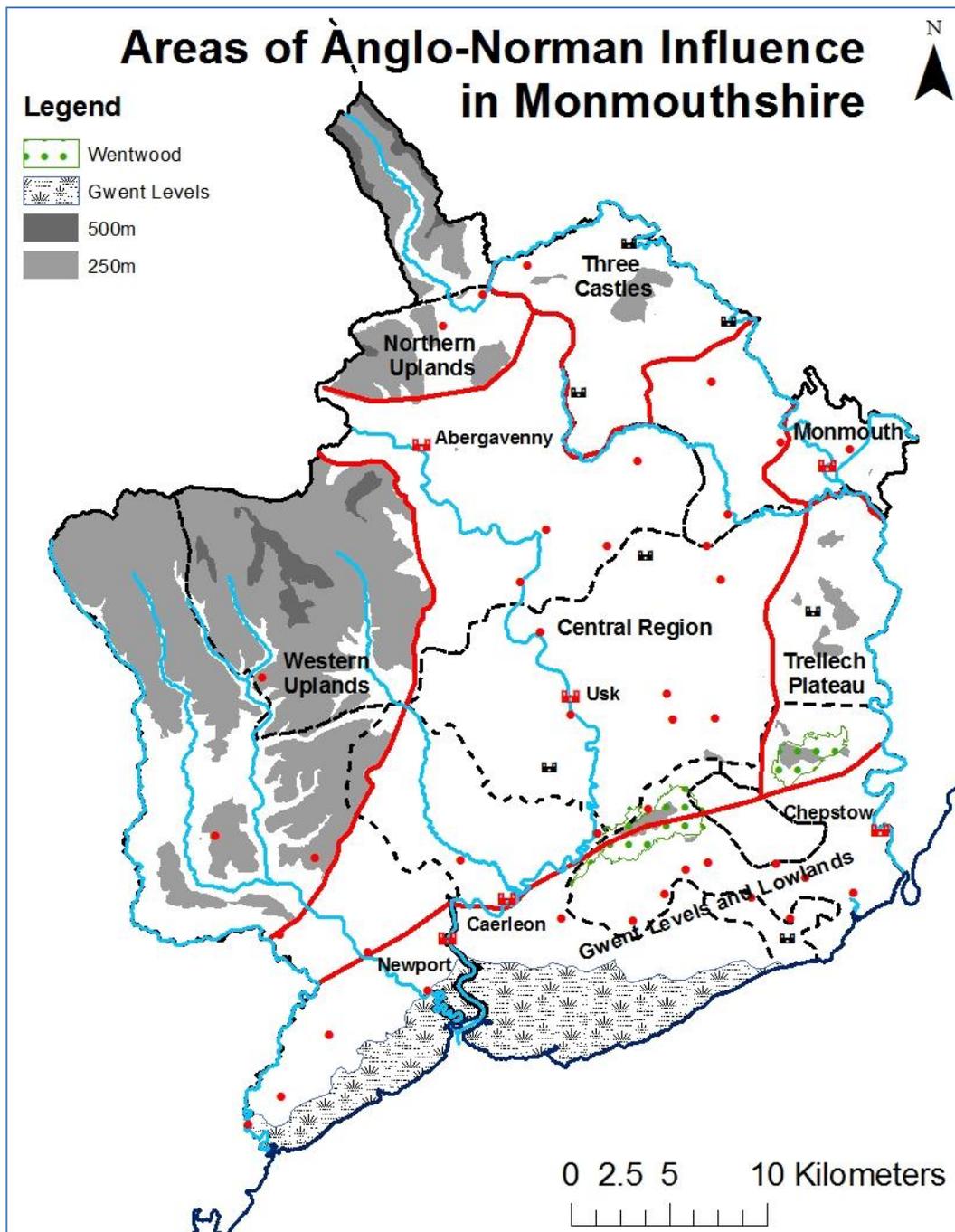


Fig.10.2. The final model of the patterns of Anglo-Norman landscape influence in post-Conquest Monmouthshire drawn from the results of this study. The county has been broken up into a number of *pays*, relating to the levels of Anglo-Norman landscape agency present and the physical geography.

- **The Three Castles** – The *pays* surrounding the ‘Three Castles’ presents us with a similar physical landscape to that seen at Monmouth, consisting of rolling hills between the Rivers Monnow and Trothy on the Anglo-Welsh border. A significant difference, however, between this *pays* and the one further down the Monnow Valley is the lack of the ‘bowl effect’, caused by the

confluence of the three rivers at Monmouth, providing a large area suitable for open field farming. Within this *pays* there are a number of quite substantial Anglo-Norman lordship sites (the three castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle) with possible attached nucleations, but very little evidence of open field systems and no evidence of manorial villages away from the main lordship sites. In terms of the soils, the Three Castles *pays* has slightly acid loamy and clayey soils with impeded drainage (providing a moderate to high fertility) with freely draining slightly acid loamy soils (with a low fertility rating) being found in the more upland areas.

- **The Western and Northern Uplands** – Within these two *pays* there is hardly any evidence for Anglo-Norman landscape agency, beyond the foundation of castles and monasteries (such as Llanthony Priory and *Llanhilleth Castle*). The physical landscape present in these *pays* is not really suitable for Anglo-Norman manorial farming as it consists of the extremely mountainous terrain of the Black Mountains and the Coal Measure uplands. The soils of the Western Uplands are a mixture of freely draining acid loamy soils over rock (providing low fertility), slowly permeable seasonally wet acid loamy and clayey soils (again, providing a low fertility rating), slowly permeable wet very acid upland soils with a peaty surface (with a very low fertility rating) and very acid loamy upland soils with a wet peaty surface (again, providing very low fertility). The soils of the Northern Uplands *pays* are a mix of freely draining slightly acid loamy soils (with low fertility rating) in the more lowland areas and very acid loamy upland soils with a wet peaty surface (with a very low fertility) at higher elevations.

When examining the *pays* of post-Conquest Monmouthshire and their relationship with the pattern of Anglo-Norman landscape agency, one of the major factors to consider is the level of land use capability present in each of the *pays*. What is striking is that the most fertile areas of the county are largely where the highest levels of Anglo-Norman landscape influence are seen (e.g. the Gwent Levels and Coastal Lowlands *pays* and the Monmouth *pays*). It might, therefore, be concluded that this capability is somehow influencing the levels of landscape agency that Anglo-Norman lordship centres were capable of exerting. The level of importance of the Anglo-Norman lordship site, however, does also seem to be affecting the level of landscape change present (for instance, compare the landscape of Raglan with the nearby, but more minor, lordship site of Dingestow), and therefore it is important not to discount the effects of other factors, such as the cultural and political situation. An exception to this picture of the most fertile areas showing the highest degree of landscape agency is provided by the Three Castles *pays*, not included in this study, where the soils have quite a high fertility rating but the landscape does not display a huge amount of Anglo-Norman landscape agency. Therefore, there has to be another factor, beyond the capabilities of the physical landscape in terms of the level of Anglo-Norman landscape agency present, such as the importance of the lordship in the long-term and the nature of the Three Castles as a lordship with multiple

capita (Grosmont, White Castle and Skenfrith) and not one dominant focal point, as in the bordering lordships of Monmouth and Abergavenny.

The most important and noticeable difference, in terms of the results of this study, in the soil fertility is of the soils located to the north and the south of the Wentwood Ridge. To the south highly fertile soils are found, and this suitability for arable farming is reflected by the presence of large-scale open fields at the more minor Anglo-Norman lordship sites, such as Magor and Caldicot as well as some form of evidence for open field present at every parish which has a nucleated settlement pattern (e.g. Portskewett and Shirenewton). To the north of the Wentwood Ridge the soils are of a significantly poorer agricultural quality, with the exception of the immediate vicinity of the River Usk itself, and therefore Anglo-Norman landscape agency seems to be largely limited to the major *capita*, such as Usk and Abergavenny.

With the landscape now broken down into discrete *pays*, these findings will be discussed in relation to the main agents of landscape change in this region, and how these processes influenced the historic landscape. Furthermore, it is crucial that these results are linked into the wider academic debates surrounding the role of human agency and the physical geography in forming the historic landscape of a region. These discussions must keep in mind that the Anglo-Norman Conquest was not just an independently existing force affecting a passive medieval society, but that it was generated, negotiated, manipulated and defined by medieval people themselves (McClain 2012, 142) and by other historical and geographical processes and influences, such as the physical landscape.

10.2. The Effects of Anglo-Norman Lordship Upon the Landscape

One of the overarching themes of this study was to view the role of castles in the post-Conquest landscape of Wales as being more than just purely military artefacts designed for the martial subjugation of their hinterlands. Although this was obviously an important element of their design, it must not be forgotten that for most of their functional life they acted as high status residences, settlements, manor houses, estate centres and symbol of lordship (Creighton 2012, 11). It must also be kept in mind that castles were not the only symbols of Anglo-Norman lordship which were exerting agency upon the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire. This thesis has also found that manorial villages (for example that found at Shirenewton), monastic holdings (for example the multiple granges at Magor) and settlements which do not appear to fit into the Anglo-Norman manorial system (for example Llandenny) also help shape their surrounding physical and cultural landscapes.

What is clear from the results of this study is that, away from the coast and the border (the Gwent Levels and the Wye Valley), there appears to have been very little Anglo-Norman influence upon the landscape of Monmouthshire outside the 'islands'

surrounding the *caput* of the lordship, or possibly some of the more important sub-lordship centres, such as Raglan. In the lowland areas of the county, south of the Wentwood Ridge, however, this picture changes and more minor lordship centres (such as Shirenewton, Crick, Magor etc.) seem to be exerting more agency upon their surrounding landscapes. The picture which appears to be emerging is that, in terms of minor Anglo-Norman seigneurial sites, the suitability of the physical landscape is crucial for any noticeable form of landscape agency to be exerted. The major seigneurial sites (the *capita*), however, appear to be consistently producing hinterlands exhibiting strongly 'Anglo-Norman' lordships, despite their surrounding lordships having landscapes which are firmly 'Welsh' in character (e.g. Abergavenny and Usk). Therefore, it is important that this discussion considers the other factors which may have been impacting upon these levels of influence, and which may also have driven the location of the Anglo-Norman *capita*, which still do seem to be exerting large amounts of landscape agency, regardless of their location within the county. These are factors such as the influence of the physical landscape and the effects of the over-arching political and cultural situation at the time of the Conquest and in the following centuries.

10.2.1. The Influence of the Natural Environment

Clearly, one of the key factors in discussing varying degrees of Anglo-Norman landscape influence in Monmouthshire is the effects of the natural environment on the human landscape and the interaction between this influence and human and social agency in producing the historic countryside of today. However, it is important to avoid taking the discussion down the theoretical avenue of uncritical 'environmental determinism', which has become somewhat of a 'dirty word' amongst some archaeologists (see Dincause 2000, xvii). The concept of environmental determinism was first promoted by culture historical archaeologists in the early part of the twentieth century such as Gordon Childe (1926) to explain the differences between societies and the origin of agriculture in terms of the influence of climatic and geographic factors (Wright 1993, 438). Environmental determinists argued that environmental characteristics determine human behaviour and that culture is a passive, rather than active agent, and that cultural phenomena are explained by the physical environments in which they are found (Reitz & Shackley 2012, 7).

Environmental determinism found further favour with the growth of processual archaeology in the 1950s and 60s, when archaeology moved towards the more empirical nature of the natural sciences, as it provided a strong 'positivist' background to the study of prehistoric societies. Furthermore, environmental determinism aided attempts to create comprehensive 'systems theories', valid across cultural and chronological boundaries, and these tended to emphasise the place of ancient societies within the wider natural environment, even seeing them as part of it (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 216). However, with the rise of post-processual

archaeological thought in the 1980s and 1990s, environmental determinism began to be sidelined, particularly as it underestimated the importance, adaptability and complexity of human societies through its search for solely environmental causes for archaeological phenomena and 'simplistic reductionist thinking was replaced with more complex socio-cultural explanations' (Erickson 1999, 634 and see: Thomas 1993; Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994; 2004; Bender 1998; Edmonds 1999; Bradley 2000). It was also, inadvertently, linked to outdated theories of the superiority of northern cultures over those situated in more arid or tropical locations, which were more prevalent in pre-War academia, but which are now anathema to modern scholarship. Environmental determinist ideas, therefore, are largely no longer accepted by many archaeologists, despite their influence being seen in many older archaeological texts (Reitz & Shackley 2012, 7).

These complex debates have, for the most part, failed to impact upon the studies of the more recent past as medieval archaeologists tend to be reluctant to engage with the theoretical debates surrounding the subject, or to ally themselves with a particular theoretical viewpoint (Austin 1990, 31; Gilchrist 1994, 9; Hadley & Moore 1999, 22; McClain 2012, 131-133). While this is beginning to change, early medieval scholars are still embracing theoretical discourse much more readily than those who study the later Middle Ages, possibly due to the strong documentary history basis of the latter, and its links with the study of the development of art and architecture (Gilchrist 2009, 388; McClain 2012, 132). Medieval archaeology was not at the forefront of the processual movement of the 1960s, adopted so enthusiastically by many prehistoric and scientific archaeologists, although some medieval archaeologists, such as Rahtz and Hodges later attempted to ally themselves with the processual movement in order to move the study of medieval archaeology away from its over-reliance on documents (e.g. Hodges 1982; 1983; Rahtz 1983; 1984; see McClain 2012, 135). This, however, led to an academic backlash, and soon David Austin and Julian Thomas were arguing against the processual agenda, by suggesting that both continuity and change were the product of human agency driven by social, cultural and political factors, and not mere adaptation to the environment (Austin & Thomas 1990, following Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1977). Since then, many studies have rejected the environment as a major component of their explanations for the character of particular landscapes (e.g. Johnson 2006; Jones & Page 2006; Jones 2010), as highlighting the importance of the environment as been viewed as 'determinist', and therefore a denial of the importance of human agency (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 216). Furthermore, the advance of computer technology has also played a role in these theoretical discourses, and David Wheatley (2000) has pointed out that modern GIS technology provides an opportunity to explore the relationship between agency and the larger scale patterns, and not base theoretical discussions on crude environmental determinism.

As has already been mentioned (see Chapter 1), the role of the agency of physical geography in shaping the character of a historic landscape has recently been

reignited, in a landscape archaeology context, by Tom Williamson (2003; Williamson *et al.* 2013). Williamson has argued that the strong post-processual emphasis on human agency and the theoretical movement away from the use of environmental factors to explain archaeological landscapes has “simply gone too far” (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 216). Building on this, Williamson feels that broad landscape patterns can be explained in environmental terms, due to challenges imposed by soils and topography (Williamson 2003, 180), and he argues that, while there may have been more than one possible method of farming a particular area, the numbers of suitable alternatives were not infinite, and therefore the individuals who possessed the agency to change the landscape made intelligent choices, based upon their own experience of agriculture and the suitability of the land (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 216-217). The term ‘neo-environmental determinism’ has been suggested to describe modern archaeological theories which emphasise the importance of the physical landscape in archaeology, whilst taking a more nuanced view, integrating theories about human agency (Erickson 1999). This author, however, feels that the use of the term ‘environmental determination’ within this appellation is unhelpful, due to the strong feelings it elicits within some archaeologists.

What is clear is that Williamson’s theories, derived from the lowland landscape of Northamptonshire, of the influence of the physical landscape acting alongside human agency do find some supporting evidence in the results of this study. Furthermore, these discussions have a great relevance to a region with a highly varied topography, like Monmouthshire. Within post-Conquest Monmouthshire, the areas which were physically most suited to large scale open field farming (the lowland plains close to or on the Gwent Levels and the wider sections of the fertile river valleys) are those regions of the county where evidence of Anglo-Norman lordship imposing upon the landscape is most likely to be found. Furthermore, these ‘open field suitable’ locations are also where Anglo-Norman *capita* are most likely to be located, with Monmouth, Abergavenny and Usk being located in low lying areas of river valley, and Chepstow being situated at the mouth of Wye, near the Gwent Levels. The idea that the physical limitations imposed by the inhospitable mountainous terrain of the centre of Wales resulted in medieval settlement being concentrated on the coastal lowlands and river valleys is an idea which is universally accepted (Edwards 1997, 1).

The agency of the soils present within the county, and their suitability for arable farming must not be discounted either. The best soils for arable farming are to be found along the southern coastal lowlands and in the ‘Monmouth Basin’, and away from these regions (north of the Wentwood Ridge and to the west of Monmouth) the fertility of the soil drops dramatically. It is in these regions (within the lordships of Usk and Abergavenny) that Anglo-Norman *capita* become the sole driving force behind Anglo-Norman landscape agency. The results of this study, therefore, support Williamson’s suggestion that people ‘choose’ to layout their landscapes in a certain way, but that these choices were intelligently made, according to the influence and

suitability of the physical landscape (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 217). However, this model also stressed the importance that, in analysing the location of these Anglo-Norman lordship sites, efforts must be made to avoid solely relying on environmental determinism as an explanation. The landscapes presented are complex and multi-layered, and because of this, the analysis of them must also avoid being simplistic. Whilst the physical landscape clearly influenced the choice of location for open fields in Monmouthshire, the imposition of Anglo-Norman seigneurial power also had a profound effect as the evidence for former open field is most commonly associated with the *capita* sites. Rippon (2008) clearly showed that there are clear differences in landscape character (settlement pattern, field systems and place-name evidence) seen in the eastern and western parts of the Caldicot Level, and that as it is a single wetland with uniform geology, topography and soils, these differences in the cultural landscape created after reclamation have to be due to social agency. So while the physical landscape is clearly creating differences on the macro level within Monmouthshire, contributing to the *pays* discussed earlier in this chapter, social and human agency are evidently influential on the micro level within these geographic regions. The physical landscape, therefore, is not the sole determinant of the levels of influence of Anglo-Norman lordship present, but merely a facet (albeit an important one), along with political, cultural and historical factors, such as the progress of the Conquest at the time of the foundation of the Anglo-Norman lordship site and the pre-existing settlement. In order to understand this period of landscape change the effects of the political situation at the time of the formation of these lordships and their landscapes must be interwoven with the physical evidence in order to produce a synthesis and begin to provide explanations as to why Anglo-Norman *capita* were located where there were and therefore why they went on to influence the landscape in these particular areas.

10.2.2. Historical Influences and the Location of Anglo-Norman *Capita*

As has already been mentioned, when examining the choice of location for Anglo-Norman lordship sites, other factors, apart from the physical landscape, must also be considered in order to produce a holistic interdisciplinary study. One of the most important of these is the overarching political situation at the time of foundation, including:

- The proximity of the Anglo-Welsh border of the lordship site, which also may affect the time of foundations (see Chapter 2, Fig.2.5.).
- The size of the foundation, as minor Anglo-Norman sites, such as Rockfield and Llanfair Kilgeddin, which never developed any of the other trappings of Anglo-Norman Lordship beyond a small timber castle, do not appear to be exerting much agency upon their surrounding landscape.
- The date and type of the Anglo-Norman lordship foundation. For instance, Trellech was clearly a fairly major foundation, with a large population, but it

was established later and for a different purpose than that of simply being a manorial centre (it was an iron production centre exploiting the resources of the surrounding area). Therefore, it seems that Trellech exerted very little agency upon its surrounding landscape and, due to this lack of agency, very little evidence for open field is present surrounding the modern village.

- The type of lord present also appears to be affecting the agency of lordship sites as those seigneurial sites which can be suggested to be the seats of lords with a 'Welsh' cultural background (e.g. Llangattock Nigh Usk or Raglan) do not seem to be affecting the landscape in a similar way to those occupied by Anglo-Norman lords.

Of these 'human' influences, however, the most important appears to be the location of the Anglo-Norman *capita*, which are invariably accompanied by large-scale open field systems. Therefore, consideration needs to be given to the reasons behind the choice of location for these major Anglo-Norman lordship sites. Stuart Prior (2006, 127-129) argues that *capita* were located at strategically significant 'pivotal points' in the landscape, highly defensible sites situated on the junctions of major rivers and Roman roads, were one of the key determining characteristics of the sites chosen for the construction of major Anglo-Norman *capita*. What is clear is that the inland sites which developed into *capita* (Monmouth, Abergavenny, Usk etc.) did share a number of features in common:

- They were all situated either in the bend of a river or at the confluence of two watercourses (Chepstow is in a bend, Monmouth, Abergavenny and Usk are all located at confluences), a choice that was often made when selecting medieval lordship sites (Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Chester etc.) and which provide defensive, social and economic benefits (such as tolls, sewage disposal and the powering of mills), as well as important communication links (see Schofield & Vince 1994, 24-28; This topic is expanded upon in Section 10.6.).
- The Antecedent landscape clearly played a role as they were all constructed on former Roman sites (*Blestium*, *Burrium*, *Gobannium* etc.) which display varying levels of evidence for possible continuation of occupation into the medieval period. This preference for Roman sites can be explained in a twofold manner. Firstly, the importance of co-opting Roman prestige at medieval lordship sites is well documented (e.g. the reuse of the podium of the Temple of Claudius at Colchester and the 'Eagle Tower' at Caernarfon: see Eaton 2000) and it is likely that a similar process took place during the selection of Anglo-Norman *capita* sites in Monmouthshire. Secondly, pre-existing 'lordship' sites (i.e. Roman sites which retained their significance into the early medieval period) may have allowed the Anglo-Norman lords to inherit extant lordship boundaries (see Abergavenny, Chapter 9), and this process of landscape continuity has precedents: the Domesday survey largely records them taking over the Anglo-Saxon administrative system in England,

allowing for the inheritance of both the existing administrative features of the landscape and the prestige and power which went with them. There is also evidence which suggests that many of the early Anglo-Norman timber castles in northern and western Wales were sited on, or near, pre-existing Welsh commotal centres as an expedient takeover method using the existing administrative infrastructure, and the same pattern may have also been true of the conquest of Gwent (Longley 1997, 43-35; 2004, 298).

- They were all situated along, or near, former Roman roads (Prior 2006, Fig.40.; Fig.10.3.) which, depending on the level of preservation, may have either been a coincidence or may have provided pre-existing communication links to supplement those provided by the rivers. There were a number of Roman roads in the region, with one such road connecting *Blestium* with *Burrium* and *Venta Silurum*, another connecting *Venta Silurum* and *Isca* and a final road connecting *Isca* and *Burrium* with *Gobannium*.
- They were all located next to areas of low lying land, even when they were situated within a wider region consisting largely of a fairly hilly landscape (e.g. Abergavenny), providing them with a hinterland suitable for the open field arable farming which was important to support a large nucleated settlement (borough). As has already been mentioned, in Wales these extensive open fields, a distinguishing characteristic of those regions controlled or colonised by the Anglo-Normans, normally coincided with the lower lands with better soils (Davies 1973), and this pattern is clearly continuing in Monmouthshire.

Many important Anglo-Norman *capita* were also situated close to the coast (Williams 1975, 60-61), and in Monmouthshire there are examples of this at Newport and Chepstow (and, to a lesser extent, Caldicot). Both Chepstow and Newport provided ports situated at the mouths of rivers (Wye & Usk), allowing for communications both across the Bristol Channel and upriver into the hinterland of Gwent. Both of these sites lack direct Roman antecedents in the manner of Monmouth, Usk and Abergavenny, but at Chepstow evidence can be seen of a possible attempt to manufacture 'Roman heritage' by using tiles from Caerwent in the construction as part of a lordly display of power linking the temporal authority of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy with that of the Romans (Creighton 2002a, 66-67; 2009, 189; Turner 2004, 309). Furthermore, these *capita* situated along the coast, but lacking in Roman heritage, were all also located along the course of Roman roads. Stuart Prior (2006) has suggested that there was a grand Anglo-Norman strategy for the foundation and location of *capita*, but this author feels that this is a slightly flawed viewpoint as it approaches the issue from a military determinist viewpoint. Whilst the military aspects of castles as *capita* cannot be ignored, the incoming Anglo-Norman lords clearly had an eye for what was economically, politically and culturally viable when it came to founding a *caput* for their lordship, which almost always had a town attached as an 'economic *caput*' for the territory, and a picture of less of a 'grand strategy' and more of a prosaic ability to capitalise on a beneficial situation is emerging. These Anglo-Norman *capita* largely exerted their agency within the

existing framework of the landscape, rather than 'tearing it up' to fit a grand strategy of conquest.

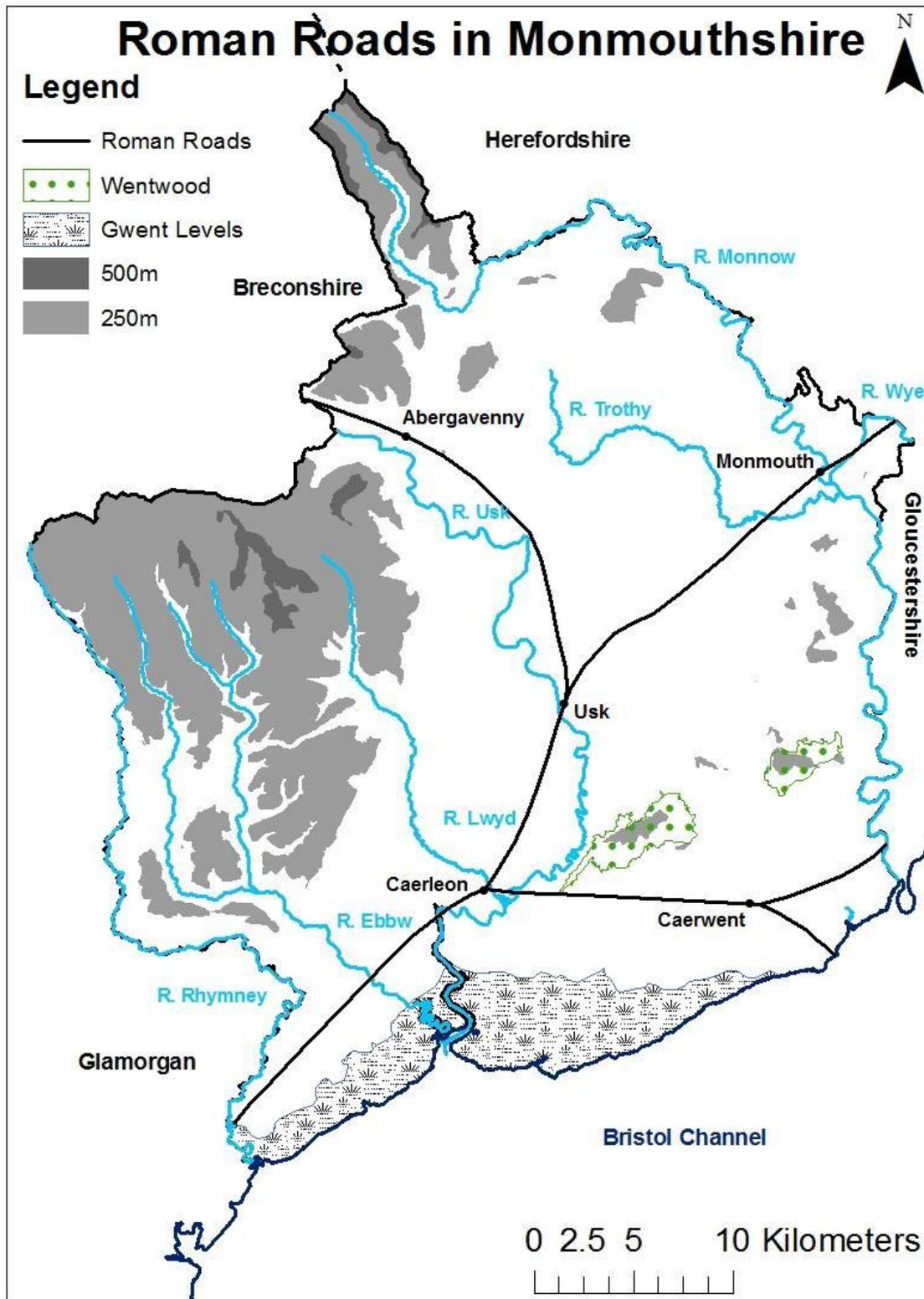


Fig.10.3. The main Roman roads of Monmouthshire (redrawn by the author from Knight 2003).

10.2.3. Who Was Responsible for Driving Landscape Change?

While this thesis has discussed the interwoven role of human agency with environmental factors in producing landscape change, a topic related to this theme which merits debate is the issue of who was ultimately responsible for open fields (where the landscape allowed for them), the populace or the elite? This builds up studies of issues of power and identity conflict within the landscape of the medieval village (Dyer 1985; Saunders 1990) and is fundamentally tied in with debates about the influence of the physical landscape in the formation of open fields as some landscape scholars suggest that emphasising the role of farming in the formation of fields and settlements, underestimates the importance of the demands of local lords, church or state (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 217). The traditional view is that the main agent behind the drive to create open fields and nucleated villages was the lord's need to extract surpluses from the populace and their reliance on extra-economic forms of coercion in order to achieve this (Saunders 1990, 194). Tom Williamson, however, has argued that no clear evidence exists that such arrangements were dictated by manorial lords (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 219) and that, in the context of England at least, little correlation is evident between the 'woodland' and 'champion' landscapes and the varying patterns of different forms of post-Conquest social and tenurial organisation present within these regions. Furthermore, it can be seen that whilst the manorial system of the 'Central Province' of England is usually characterised by the use of open field farming, those regions where dispersed settlement and irregular field systems are more prevalent in the landscape do not necessarily represent areas of weaker manorial power (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 218). A clear example of this is provided by Essex, one of the most manorialised areas of medieval England (with heavy labour services and particularly large demesnes), where the landscape largely consists of dispersed settlement and irregular fields (Campbell 2000, 70-71). Therefore, Williamson argues, the direct re-planning of medieval field systems, in England's 'Central Province' at least, probably arose from the needs of the individuals farming the land, rather than the wishes of their social superiors, although lords and their representatives clearly played a role as overseers, guarantors and arbiters for the processes that created the large-scale open fields (Campbell 1981; Williamson *et al.* 2013, 220). This idea of the farming peasants playing a key role in the creation of open fields is supported by the example of Segenhoe (Bedfordshire) where, in the 1160s, the fields surrounding the village were reorganised by meetings overseen by six old men of the township representing the populace, not the lord (Fox 1981, 96). Furthermore, Rippon (2006) has argued that after the medieval reclamation of the Somerset Levels, on the opposite side of the Bristol Channel, areas of land under the same ownership (the Bishops of Wells) showed different methods of land management, with some being characterised by villages and open fields, while some saw dispersed settlement patterns. Within the framework of one single landowner, and a uniform physical setting, this diversity must be the result of the individual decisions of the local farming communities.

It will be of interest to see whether this model (admittedly based upon a study of England's 'Central Province') of the producers, rather than their non-productive masters, being the main creators of landscapes (Williamson *et al.* 2013, 217) can be applied to the Welsh Marches, where the political and physical situation was very different to that found in the English 'Central Province'. If it can, it raises intriguing possibilities for this thesis, especially in the areas away from the coastal lowlands and the Gwent Levels. As has been seen, here the only examples of open fields present are adjoining the major Anglo-Norman *capita*, which all have boroughs as part of the lordship centre. It has already been seen that many of these 'planted' boroughs in the Welsh Marches had little or no Welsh population (Davies 1978a, 327), and therefore, presumably, the majority of their inhabitants were imported, either from England or the Continent. Therefore, these incomers were probably supporting their new borough with the method of arable farming to which they were accustomed, and this can explain why minor lordship sites in these less fertile areas which did not display any evidence of significant plantation of population (e.g. Rockfield, Dingestow etc.) were not accompanied by a significant open field farming system. Obviously, the creation of these boroughs forms an act of agency from the lordly classes, and therefore Anglo-Norman lordship was indirectly influencing the landscape of post-Conquest Monmouthshire, even if the direct 'human' agency was in the hands of the farming classes.

10.2.4. Agency of Rivers, Estuaries and the Coast on Anglo-Norman Lordship

One of the key aspects of the physical environment in determining the location of Anglo-Norman *capita*, and therefore indirectly the location of open fields north of the Wentwood ridge, is the relationship between lordship sites and watercourses. Stuart Prior (2006, 132-137) discusses the importance of rivers to the foundation of Anglo-Norman *capita*, but his study solely approaches the topic from a military deterministic viewpoint, considering the benefits of a riverside location for construction, supply and providing potable water for the garrison. While these are obviously considerations which will have been taken into account, and the military function of castles must not be discounted, it is also important to consider the economic and agricultural implications of locating a *caput* on a major waterway. Prior's work views rivers solely as barriers and military highways, functions which would have diminished almost as soon as the conquest of a region was complete. It must be kept in mind that for most of their working lives these *capita* were social, economic and political hubs, not daunting fortresses.

Clearly rivers can form significant physical and psychological barriers, which can lead to them often being used as a political frontier and in coastal regions of Britain, rivers and estuaries, along with watersheds, account for most of the county boundaries (Phythian-Adams 1993). For example, the Tamar divides Cornwall from Devon, the Thames divides Kent from Essex, the Stour marks the boundary between

Essex and Suffolk and the Waveney divides Suffolk from Norfolk (Rippon 2007, 24). The Wye and the Monnow were clearly important barriers in the history of pre-Conquest Gwent, and there is a traditional view of the Anglo-Norman Conquest pushing into Gwent 'river by river' (that is, moving from the Wye, to the Usk and on to the Rhymney. Stephen Rippon (2007), however, has discussed the role of estuaries, and their associated river systems, in historic societies and whether they acted as focal points and communication links, rather than barriers within the landscape, concluding that have been both focal locations and frontiers at different times and at the same time, playing a vital, but complex, role in the development of the landscape of Britain (Rippon 2007, 35). Rippon (2007, 24) points to the significance of the Orwell estuary and the Gipping and Lark valleys as a focal point in the development of Early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in East Anglia and it is clear the location of a lordship site on a river provides multiple benefits beyond the simplistic use of the water course as a military and political frontier. River valleys would have been integral to the economy of the region, providing power and economic benefits as well as being integral to lordships as a source of trade. They would also have profound effects on the region's agriculture as, not only do rivers provide water for farming and transport, their valleys usually provide a region's best farmland and, therefore, the land most suitable for open field farming (see Chapter 7 and the 'bowl-like' situation of Monmouth).

As has already been mentioned, the *capita* of the lordships of Monmouth, Chepstow, Usk and Abergavenny are all situated on rivers and, as has been seen, there is a clear pattern of these lordship sites being founded, not only on major waterways, but also within deep bends of rivers, or at the confluence of two rivers. This is a pattern that not only applies to Anglo-Norman *capita* in Monmouthshire, as similar patterns can be seen in other locations in the Marches and along the Anglo-Welsh border, such as at Shrewsbury, Chester and Pembroke. These locations obviously provided a military benefit, lessening the need for a circuit of walls around the *caput* and associated settlements. It also provided a number of economic and cultural benefits in providing a boundary for the borough and limiting economic access to the amenities of the town, as well as allowing for the collection of tolls, the disposal of sewage and the powering of mills. Finally, a situation on a river would have also provided important communication links for the *caput* (see Schofield & Vince 1994, 24-28). The situation of *capita* along the coastline also feeds into this theory. Expanding upon this theme, Moelyn Williams (1975) states that the traditional view of the expansion of Anglo-Norman lordship in south Wales is of it gradually moving along the south coast of Wales (starting at Chepstow and pushing west towards Newport and Cardiff and then joining up disparate coastal Anglo-Norman lordship sites as it moves further west into Deheubarth). As with the rivers, this location on the coast would have provided the settlement with a number of benefits, ranging from food (fish) to communication links with other *capita* and across the Bristol Channel. Furthermore, as has already been discussed, many of these *capita* were located at the mouths of rivers (Wye, Usk, Taff etc.), which apart from the economic

benefits of estuaries and harbours, also allowed for upriver communication and economic contact with other lordship *capita* situated further inland, such as Abergavenny, Usk and Monmouth.

Rippon (2007, 33) suggests that, rather than being a boundary, the Bristol Channel and its tributary rivers were probably viewed as an asset: allowing for the shipping of large quantities of goods that would have posed a problem for land transport. Furthermore, it is clear that by the later medieval period the network of rivers on both sides of the Severn estuary were being used extensively for transport and, as an example of this, that trade is reflected in the wide distribution of Ham Green Ware (produced near Bristol beside the Avon estuary in north Somerset) this extends across Somerset, Gloucestershire, south Wales and even as far as south-east Ireland (McCarthy & Brooks 1988, Fig.37; Rippon 2007; 33-34). The Marcher lordships of Monmouthshire were clearly part of this flourishing trade as evidenced by archaeology at Magor Pill, where the medieval pottery assemblage from this documented port was from a diverse range of locations, and the iron ore in the medieval Magor Pill boat appears to have been shipped across the estuary from the Bristol-Mendip area (Allen 2003; Rippon 2007, 34). What is clear is that these rivers, and their associated estuaries, were not simply employed as frontiers, but were integral to lordships as *capita* are founded on the major watercourses. Therefore it would have been a foolish act to deliberately situate the centre of a lordly estate on a dangerous frontier. The rivers Wye and Usk are crucial to the development of the *capita* at Chepstow, Monmouth, Usk and Abergavenny, not just in terms of the castles themselves, but also the attached towns which supported them and the open fields which, in turn, supported the town.

10.3. Summary

Ultimately, when taking into account the evidence presented by this study, a cyclical argument begins to present itself (Fig.10.4.). The fact that Anglo-Norman *capita*, and to some extent minor lordship sites, influenced their surrounding landscape is undeniable. But, it is likely that the suitability of the physical landscape for open field farming was probably a major factor in site selection and location. Furthermore, once the *capita* were founded, these sympathetic physical surroundings helped amplify its landscape agency, a theory supported by an examination of the differing landscapes surrounding the lowland *capita* of Caldicot and the more upland lordship centres at Usk and Abergavenny. It also helped determine the level to which minor seigneurial sites were able to alter their surrounding landscape (e.g. compare Caerwent to Rockfield). When examining these minor Anglo-Norman lordship centres, however, it must always be kept in mind that the political and cultural landscape also played a key role in this, as does the type of lordship site present (e.g. the difference between a small manorial village, like Shirenewton, and a large sub-lordship castle, such as Raglan).

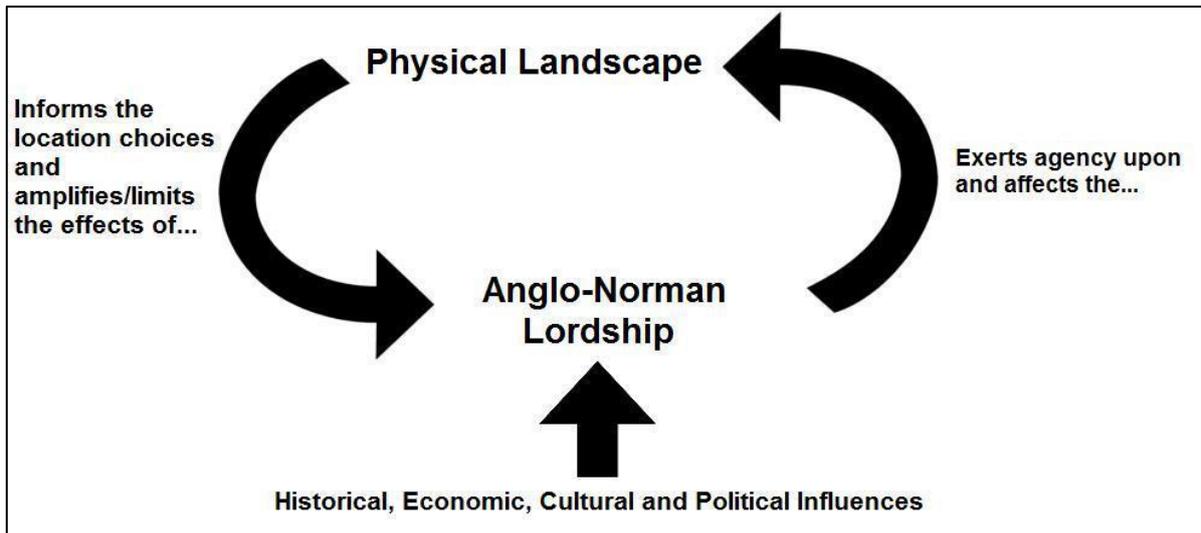


Fig.10.4. Simplified model of the cyclical process of the physical landscape and Anglo-Norman lordship affecting each other.

An excellent example of these processes is provided by the *caput* site at Abergavenny, which presents us with a classic Anglo-Norman lordship site with the ‘trinity’ surrounded by an extensive open field farming system. Abergavenny is situated in an upland area of the county, where one would not expect to find evidence for a large scale open field farming landscape without the presence of an Anglo-Norman *caput* exerting influence and using its agency in order to affect its surrounding landscape. The Anglo-Norman *caput* of Abergavenny castle would not, however, have been located where it was without a number of other factors, which in turn must be said to have affected its landscape agency, and therefore the surrounding landscape. These include:

- The right political conditions (i.e. the power vacuum created after the death of Caradog ap Gruffudd and the support of the English crown) for the expansion of the March.
- The historical importance of the location (*Gobannium* being the site of a Roman fort) imparting prestige upon the *caput* and possibly allowing it to make use of the antecedent landscape and the pre-existing infrastructure (it has been suggested that the site was the centre of pre-Conquest Welsh polity (Reeves 1983, 139)).
- The suitability of the landscape to support the *caput* and, most importantly, farmland suitable for extensive open field arable farming to support the population of the town attached to the lordship site, as the available agrarian framework for a site was primarily conditioned by the physical qualities of the land itself (Williams 1975 62).

This pattern is one that is also seen at other important Anglo-Norman *capita* studied as part of this thesis, such as Monmouth and Usk, with both these sites being former Roman military settlements and Monmouth providing strong evidence of early-

medieval occupation. Where a *caput* was founded in an economically and politically important location without an obvious pre-existing Roman heritage, evidence can be seen of attempts to 'import' prestige by linking Anglo-Norman power to Roman power, for example at Chepstow.

Another key element of this thesis which requires discussion is the degree to which the levels of Anglo-Norman landscape agency varied on a lordship to lordship basis. As has been repeatedly stated in this chapter, the key variation present within the landscape of Monmouthshire is along the axis of the Wentwood Ridge. The landscape of those lordships south of the Wentwood Ridge (Chepstow and Caldicot) is remarkably different to that of the lordships north of this physical barrier. Within these larger groups of lordships, and especially to the north of the Wentwood Ridge, there is also some degree of variation, with the larger older and more politically important Anglo-Norman lordship sites (such as Abergavenny and Monmouth) having hinterlands characterised by more extensive open fields than those seen at the later lordship sites (such as Usk) and less important sub-lordship sites (such as Raglan and Trellech). Therefore, it must be concluded that the levels of agency seen around these lordship sites appears to have been largely due to a combination of the influence of the landscape, the timescale of foundation and importance of the lordship centres.

What this thesis has shown is that the majority of the historic landscape of Monmouthshire north of the Wentwood Ridge is clearly 'Welsh' in character and that Anglo-Norman lordship is evidently exerting agency upon the landscape, albeit in quite a localised manner, as without the foundation of the castles and boroughs which formed the *capita* for each lordship, the large-scale open field systems present at Monmouth, Usk and Abergavenny would not be present. This effect, however, is clearly either amplified or limited by the physical surrounding of the lordship as outside the coastal lowlands of the county there is little evidence for 'satellite' manorial villages attached to minor Anglo-Norman lordship centres. It can be concluded, therefore, that in this portion of Monmouthshire the Anglo-Norman impact upon the landscape is actually surprisingly limited, and almost entirely restricted to the immediate hinterland of the major lordship centres. This allows us, within the context of Monmouthshire at least, to expand the idea of the Anglo-Norman *caput's* 'trinity' (castle, borough and monastic foundation) into a 'quaternary' by including an open field system, as it is clear that in the case of the major Anglo-Norman lordship *capita* (e.g. Monmouth, Abergavenny etc.) a large-scale open field was almost always present, despite it being 'alien' to the surrounding landscape. The landscape north of the Wentwood Ridge is in sharp contrast to the area south of the Wentwood Ridge, and particularly in the coastal fringe, where these 'Anglo-Norman' landscape processes (creation of extensive open fields, nucleation of settlement etc.) are far more widely spread and the nucleation of settlement and the presence of extensive open fields can be seen over quite a wide area. Furthermore, while these processes appear to be amplified by the presence of an Anglo-Norman lordship centre, they are

not exclusively attached to the *capita* and major lordship centres, as can be seen north of the Wentwood Ridge.

11. Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis was to examine whether patterns of political power which are recorded historically in post-Conquest Monmouthshire (and its predecessor, the early medieval Kingdom of Gwent) had an effect that was still visible within the historic landscape when mapped in the nineteenth century and to what extent this influence varied from lordship to lordship. This thesis also aimed to examine the relationship between the effects of the physical landscape and the agency of Anglo-Norman lordship in shaping the countryside, as well as engaging with the recently reignited debates on the role of the physical landscape in the shaping of cultural landscapes. What this study has shown (both through its county-wide survey and case studies of individual Anglo-Norman lordships) is that, while the natural environment clearly influenced decisions about where to site key settlements and *capita*, as well as the development of nucleated villages and attached open fields, north of the Wentwood Ridge (where the landscape is less suitable for open field arable farming) the Anglo-Norman landscape influence was largely limited to the immediate hinterlands of the *capita*, while to the south the 'Anglicisation' of the landscape was far more extensive. This, therefore, shows that these lordship centres were fundamental to the creation of an Anglo-Norman framework for these landscapes to a differing degree, and that they were one of the prime agents, along with the physical environment, in the refiguration of the landscape.

The variations in the degree to which Anglo-Norman landscape agency changed from lordship to lordship, however, appears to have been largely due to a combination of the influence of the natural landscape, and the timescale of foundation and the importance of the lordship centre. This thesis has suggested that the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship clearly had a high degree of influence upon the landscape of Monmouthshire, but that this influence is inextricably linked to other factors, such as the physical landscape and long-term historical trends (such as the political situation in the March at the time of the creation of the lordship). Furthermore, these differing elements are all linked in a cyclical arrangement which produces landscape agency influence by both human and physical elements (see Fig.10.4.). This model presents a 'middle way', avoiding the path of 'pure' environmental determinism, without dismissing the role of the environment and relying entirely upon social agency.

As with any study, there are ways in which the results of this thesis could be expanded upon, in order to take these findings further. The most obvious way to do this would be to explore each of the lordships already studied in further detail. As was stated in the case study methodology (Chapter 4) the constraints of writing a PhD thesis meant that it was impracticable to study the whole of the landscape of each of the lordships, and therefore a compromise was reached whereby selected case study parishes would be used. Therefore, if greater time were available, it would be useful to complete the study of the landscapes of the whole lordship, in

order to provide a comprehensive picture allowing for analysis of every single lordship site present, as well as a far greater number of non-lordship landscapes. This would enhance our viewpoint of the agency exerted by Anglo-Norman lordship in Monmouthshire, as well as influence of the physical landscape upon these processes. There are also two further lordships - Caerleon and Newport – that it has not been possible to study. The methods used in this thesis, as well as the theoretical themes raised in the discussion chapter, could also be used to move the study of the effects of post-Conquest Anglo-Norman landscape agency away from Monmouthshire and see if similar processes are present within the boundaries of other counties in the Welsh Marches (for instance, Denbighshire at the northern end of the Anglo-Welsh border, or Carmarthenshire further west). This could be extended to examine the impact of Welsh lordship in those counties within *pura Wallia* (e.g. Caernarfonshire), as well as the impact of Anglo-Norman lordship in neighbouring counties on the English side of the Anglo-Welsh border (e.g. Herefordshire). Finally, these processes could be examined in the context of other 'liminal' medieval landscapes, such as the Anglo-Scottish borders, the 'Pale' in Ireland or the Franco-Breton frontier.

The findings of this thesis ultimately contribute to the debates surrounding the impact of the imposition of an 'alien' lordship upon the landscape of both Wales and, hopefully, medieval Europe as a whole. It has suggested that the imposition of Anglo-Norman lordship upon the landscape of Monmouthshire, and possibly by extrapolation the Welsh Marches as a whole, did bring with it a high degree of landscape change in some, but not all, areas. This landscape agency is most visible in the vicinity of the Anglo-Norman *capita*, which were one of the prime agents of this transformation. It is important to note, however, that beyond the south-east corner of Monmouthshire (south of the Wentwood Ridge) this agency was limited to the immediate hinterlands of the major lordship sites, and that outside the vicinity of the *capita* and the lower lying areas more suitable for arable farming, the landscape appears to have hardly been affected by the Anglo-Norman Conquest, beyond the construction of minor lordship sites. It has shown that, in this context at least, relying solely on either environmental determinism or human agency as a prime agent of landscape change can lead to problems as it does not take into account the complexities of human agency upon the landscape and that in order to fully understand the correlation between medieval lordship and landscape change an integrated approach must be used. The landscape is a complex and multi-faceted artefact containing invaluable information for an archaeologist, and therefore it must be approached in an interdisciplinary and holistic manner, taking into account every element and process which went into its creation, not just focusing upon one prime motive, such as military determinism.

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