LANDSCAPES IN THE SOUTHERN WELSH MARCHES 600-1100
THE EVIDENCE OF THE CHARTER COLLECTIONS OF LLANDAFF & WORCESTER

BY

CHRISTOPHER HURLEY

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY / UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at reaching a better understanding of the landscape of the southern Welsh Marches and its settlement in the early medieval period up to, and including, the eleventh century by investigating estates described in early medieval charter collections. Use is made of the estates described in charters of demonstrably pre-mid-eleventh century date, preserved in the collections of Llandaff and at Worcester.

Three principal issues are dealt with:

1) The relationship between early medieval estates and the surrounding landscape. In particular, the land uses evidenced within the estates, the type of landscape in which the estates occur and the relationship of the estates with other known features in the landscape.

2) The form and quality of land that the ecclesiastical authorities possessed or laid claim to.

3) The differences and similarities between estates within the two geographically distinct areas in which the properties of Worcester and Llandaff occur.

This project was confronted with a high degree of variability in the quality and quantity of evidence for this period. As a result, the degree to which the current evidence can be used to increase our knowledge of the early medieval landscape is also discussed.

In addition to the above, this research demonstrates the enormous potential of early medieval charter collections to the understanding of the landscape of early medieval Britain and its relationship with the people who lived in it.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Volume 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Objectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Period and Area Studied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Historical and Archaeological Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 The Historical and Archaeological Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Economy and Agriculture in Early Medieval Western Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Archaeology of Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sources and Methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 The Written Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 The Pilot Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Estates in the Wider Context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Estates in Local Regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Conclusions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Volume 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key to Appendix A Maps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Phase 1 Estate Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1. Ballingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2. Daylesford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3. Ewenny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A4. Itton 236
A5. Llanbeder 252
A6. Llanwarne 270
A7. St. Brides-Super-Ely 286
A8. Tidenham 304
A9. Wonastow 323

B. Phase 2 Estate Reports 339
C. Key to Soil Codes 356

List of Figures

Volume 1
1.2.1 Distribution of Estates Granted in the Llandaff Charters 14
2.2.1 Location of Finds of A (Red Slip) and B (Amphorae) Wares in Sixth and Seventh Century Western Britain, with Suggested Routes of Four Individual Voyages 19
2.2.2 The Eastern Character of the Middle Saxon Pottery Industry 21
2.2.3 Possible Pre-Urban Nuclei in Wales 22
2.2.4 Location and Distribution of Eifel Mountain Quernstones 24
2.2.5 Oxygen Isotope Variations in the North-West Greenland Icecap 28
2.2.6 'Leah' Place Names in the Kingdom of the Hwicce 30
2.2.7 The Faunal Assemblage from Dorestad 33
2.2.8 Population Estimated from Domesday Book (Adjusted for Serfs) 40
2.3.1 The Roman landscape within the Study Area 42
2.3.2 Roman settlement in and around Bourton-on-the-Water, Glos. 44
2.3.3 Archaeological Evidence of Possible Early Medieval Settlement in Wales 50
2.3.4 Plan of Dinas Powys 52
2.3.5 Plan of Llangorse Crannog 54
2.3.6 Reconstruction of Llangorse Crannog 55
2.3.7 Latin and/or Ogam Inscribed stones in Wales 57
2.3.8 Cross-decorated Stones in Wales 58
2.3.9 High Crosses in Wales
2.3.10 Plan of Gloucester at the End of the Tenth Century
2.3.11 Pagan Anglo-Saxon Burials in Gloucestershire to AD 600
2.3.12 Wide Ranging Manors with Property at Gloucester and Winchcombe
2.3.13 Plan of Medieval Winchcombe, Glos.
2.3.14 Churches with Pre-Norman (Mid C11) Fabric in the Study Area
2.3.15 Eleventh-Century Castles in the Southern Marches
2.3.16 Castles in the Study Area Built Before 1200
4.1.1 The Relationship Between Estate Size and Date
4.1.2 Summary of the Topography of the Estates
4.1.3 The Estates and Land Quality
4.1.4 The Relationship Between Size and Quality of the Estates
4.2.1 The Estates in the Study Area
4.2.2 The Llandaff Estates- Size & Quality
4.2.3 The Worcester Estates- Size and Quality
Northern Gwent Region
4.3.1 Estates in the region
4.3.2 The Estates and Soil Associations
4.3.3 The Estates and Steeper than Average Slopes
4.3.4 The Estates and Land Quality
The Cotswolds
4.3.5 Estates in the region
4.3.6 The Estates and Soil Associations
4.3.7 The Estates and Steeper than Average Slopes
4.3.8 The Estates and Land Quality
Central Worcestershire
4.3.9 Estates in the Region
4.3.10 The Estates and Soil Associations
4.3.11 The Estates and Land Quality
Volume 2

Ballingham

Map 1 Limits of Estate 191
Map 2 Distribution of Soils 192
Map 3 Topography 193
Map 4 Land Quality 194
Map 5 Land Use 195
Map 6 Tithe Field Boundaries 196
Map 6b Field Groups 197
Photograph 1 Ballingham Church 198
Photograph 2 Houses on Ridge with River Wye Below 199
Photograph 3 Carey 200
Photograph 4 Slope Towards Kilforge House 201

Daylesford

Map 1 Limits of Estate 211
Map 2 Distribution of Soils 212
Map 3 Topography 213
Map 4 Land Quality 214
Map 5 Land Use 215
Photograph 1 Fenced Area of Barrows 216
Photograph 2 Limestone Flags at Edge of Enclosure 216
Photograph 3 Rectangular Moat 217
Photograph 4 Rectangular and Oval/Circular Crop Mark 217

Ewenny

Map 1 Limits of Estate 226
Map 2 Distribution of Soils 227
Map 3 Topography 228
Map 4 Land Quality 229
Map 5 Land Use 230
Map 6 Tithe Field Boundaries 231
Photograph 1 Ogmore Castle
Photograph 2 Pant Mari Flanders from the South
Photograph 3 Sunken Path Between Ewenny Priory and Ewenny
Photograph 4 Bank Facing North
Photograph 5 Bank from the West
Photograph 6 Possible Tumuli

Itton
Map 1 Limits of Estate
Map 2 Distribution of Soils
Map 3 Topography
Map 4 Land Quality
Map 5 Land Use
Map 6 Tithe Field Boundaries
Photograph 1 Common- Grass and Woodland
Photograph 2 Looking South Towards Long Orchard
Photograph 3 Panorama from Rhyd-y-Fedw (left) to Wern House (right)
Photograph 4 Lines Visible in the Weed Growth to the West of the Manor
Photograph 5 Earthwork Platform to the North of Long Orchard

Llanbeder
Map 1 Limits of Estate
Map 2 Distribution of Soils
Map 3 Topography
Map 4 Land Quality
Map 5 Land Use
Map 6 Tithe Field Boundaries
Photograph 1 Site of Camp
Photograph 2 Large Mound and Enclosing Bank of Camp at Rear
Photograph 3 Site of Roman camp
Photograph 4 Remains of Norman Bailey
Photograph 5 Alluvial Plane of the River Usk
Photograph 6 Wentwood with Ridge Rear Left
Map 6 Tithe Field Boundaries 318
Photograph 1 Tidenham from the S.E. 319
Photograph 2 Churchyard Slope 319
Photograph 3 Valley Behind Farm on A48 320
Photograph 4 Valley Reaching Down from Bowspring 320
Photograph 5 Alluvial Plane with Raised Ground Centre Left 321
Photograph 6 Ridge with Hedge at Foot of Valley 322

Wonastow
Map 1 Limits of Estate 330
Map 2 distribution of Soils 331
Map 3 Topography 332
Map 4 Land Quality 333
Map 5 Land Use 334
Map 6 Tithe Field Boundaries 335
Photograph 1 Wonastow Church 336
Photograph 2 Decrease in Slope at Gwern-y-Saint 336
Photograph 3 Slope with Brook on Left at Jingle Street 337
Photograph 4 Trothy Alluvial Plane 337
Photograph 5 Ditch and Bank from the South 338
Photograph 6 Ditch and Bank Further to the North 338
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project could not have been completed without a little help and encouragement from many friends, colleagues and family. However, there is a smaller number of people who have given a great deal of knowledge, time and patience and to whom I am particularly grateful. Professor Wendy Davies has given guidance throughout and has continued to support and encourage above and beyond the call of duty. Likewise Professor James Graham-Campbell has patiently read a great many drafts and guided along the way. Thanks too to the ‘postgrad group’ who gave so much good advice and companionship. Finally I would like to thank Victoria, my wife, who has typed, proof read, drawn and listened with remarkable patience and without whom I am sure I would never have made it this far.
1.1 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this thesis is to reach a better understanding of the landscape of the southern Welsh Marches and its occupation in the early medieval period, by investigating estates described in early medieval charters. Use is made of estates described in charters of pre-mid-eleventh century date, held by the church at Llandaff and at Worcester.

There are three strands of enquiry which dominate this research and which give it shape and direction:

1) How do early medieval estates relate to the surrounding landscape?

   This can be broken down into a number of separate questions. These questions focus on the land use of the estates, the type of landscape in which the estates are found and the relationship of estates with other features in the landscape, both natural (e.g. rivers and valleys) and non-natural (e.g. roads and settlements).

2) What kind of land did the ecclesiastical authorities possess or lay claim to?

3) By taking two different areas, as represented by the two groups of estates claimed by Llandaff and Worcester, what can be learnt by comparing them?

   Comparing the two areas is expected to demonstrate one of the three possibilities below:

   I. that there is little variation between the estates and their relationship with the surrounding landscape.

   II. that there is some variation which can be best explained by reference to the differing landscape of the two areas.

   III. that there is some variation which cannot be explained by reference to the landscape, in which case the reason for the variation must relate to differing social factors in the two areas.

Throughout, this thesis will be confronted with the problem of the highly variable quality and quantity of evidence available for this period. Consequently the question of "what/how much is it possible to learn?" will be addressed alongside those questions set out above.

In addition to tackling these issues, it is hoped that this research will demonstrate the enormous value of charters as a means to understanding the early medieval landscape and its relationship with the people who lived in it.
1.2 PERIOD AND AREA STUDIED.

PERIOD:

This project is primarily concerned with portions of land that are described in the collections of charters held at Llandaff (the Liber Landavensis) and Worcester (Heming's Cartulary). Wendy Davies has demonstrated that the full corpus of the Llandaff charters claiming a pre-eleventh century date was in existence by the mid-eleventh century (Davies, 1979, 23-28). Agreeably the earlier portion of B.M. Cotton Tiberius A xiii, ‘Heming's Cartulary’, is also accepted as dating from the first half of the eleventh century (Sawyer, 1968, 52-3). The earliest charters in these collections describe events dated to the latter part of the sixth century. The dating of the two collections will be discussed further in chapter 3.1- “The Written Sources”.

Both corpora, therefore, provide evidence for the period between the sixth century and the first half of the eleventh century. A mid-eleventh century date is particularly convenient as it coincides with the Norman conquest of England - making the term pre-conquest a useful adjective, though of course the full conquest of Wales did not take place for another three centuries.

AREA:

Just as the period investigated is determined by the two charter collections which form the bulk of the research data, so also the area covered in this project is defined by the geographical scope of the two documents.

The Llandaff charters refer to land that was claimed by the church at Llandaff in the eleventh and early twelfth century. The claims reached from the Gower peninsula in the west to the Wye in the east, with a couple of notable exceptions: the estates at Tidenham and Lancaut which both lie on the eastern bank of the Wye. The southern limit of the Llandaff holdings is determined by the coastline of the Severn Estuary. To the north the estates extend to the region immediately north of the Black Mountains, thus including a sizeable portion of Herefordshire. The region covered, then, consists of much of Gwent, the three Glamorgans, a significant portion of Herefordshire and the southernmost portion of Powys. The distribution of estates mentioned in the Llandaff charters is illustrated in figure 1.2.1 below.

Lands claimed by the church of Worcester cover a very large area that incorporates the counties of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, along with a portion of southern Staffordshire and a portion of western Warwickshire.

The area covered by the two collections, then, includes substantial portions of the counties of Glamorgan, Gwent, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Worcestershire: in all a sizeable tract of land either side of the southern Welsh/English border.

It will be seen that once the pilot study is complete (see chapters 3.2- "Methodology" and 4.1- "The Pilot Study”) the study area is reduced by excluding the area and the estates to the west of the River Usk. This is because the remainder of the study focuses on the spatial relationship
between estates with sufficient evidence to be included, and such estates are too sparsely distributed in this western-most region for analysis to be meaningful. Therefore, it is a better use of resources to focus on the more manageable group of estates east of the Usk.
Figure 1.2.1
Distribution of Estates Granted in the Llandaff Charters (Davies, 1979, op. 97)

- △ SIZE & BOUNDARIES UNKNOWN
- ○ SIZE & BOUNDARIES KNOWN
- □ SIZE KNOWN (40-6,000 acres)


## 2.1 THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

In the following two chapters a summary of the available historical and archaeological evidence which is relevant to the project will be given. In particular two distinct types of information are presented:

1) Evidence for agricultural practice and its role in the economy as a whole.

2) The archaeological record of the study area, with a focus on the evidence of settlement in the region.

Evidence for economic and agricultural practice comes in a number of forms, of which the principal types are:

- The recovery of artefacts and excavation results, including the results of environmental studies
- Written histories and other sources, such as administrative documents
- Place name studies
- Landscape studies, e.g. the study of field patterns.

Such evidence is relatively scarce and is often problematic for the early medieval period. It is useful to draw upon evidence from beyond western Britain. Clearly at this scale it is only possible to form a broad picture, but this will nonetheless provide useful contextual information for this study.

The archaeological record can give information relating to human activity in the area by analysing three distinct types of evidence:

- Settlement structures
- Non-settlement structures, e.g. roads or ditches
- Isolated artefacts

The archaeological evidence from the Roman period until the eleventh century will be discussed. Roman evidence is important even though it predates the earliest charters on which the project focuses, since it gives valuable information and essential background about the distribution of people and their activities in the centuries which immediately precede the early medieval period.
Similarly castles are important, at the end of the period; castles begin to appear during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in this area. Such high status and strategic forms of settlement are valuable indicators of human activity at the close of the period studied. This overview allows a comparison between military and strategic settlement forms at the beginning and end of the period studied and thereby puts the our subject firmly in context.
2.2 ECONOMY AND AGRICULTURE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL WESTERN EUROPE.

This section presents a broad overview of the economy of the period. Beginning with an analysis of trends relating to markets, urban centres and currency in western Europe, it moves on to discuss the importance of agriculture and its organisation and practice in Britain.

MARKETS AND CURRENCY.

The collapse of the Roman Empire in western Europe must have had a significant impact on many people; however for a far greater number it may have had only limited consequences.

Certainly, two important features of the Roman economic world did come to an end with far reaching consequences; well established towns and the widespread use of coin.

By the third century inflation may have led to a decline in the importance of a money using economy. There was an increasing, though by no means uniform, tendency at this time to remunerate troops in kind or with bullion or plate (Salway, 1981, 661). By the fifth century standing army units were giving way to military treaties with immigrants; the wide spread abandonment of low value coin, the collapse of large-scale, mass-producing industry and eventually the decline of any real sense of imperial rule in the west followed on.

In Britain it is visible during the last quarter of the fourth century that whatever market based economy did exist was in decline, with many villa buildings falling into disrepair and populations in towns appearing to decrease, though some were at least partially inhabited in the mid fifth century.

From the fifth century the western Roman empire became increasingly fragmented and power finally passed to the various insurgent Germanic groups, whose traditions were largely, though not exclusively, non-Roman. The resulting political instability saw the continued decline of mass-producing industries and the almost total disappearance of a centralised revenue collection and distribution system. Furthermore, it became increasingly typical that the military were 'paid' through settlement arrangements, a system encouraged by Rome when seeking the aid of Germanic militia, thus negating the absolute need for the production of a food surplus on the proceeds of which the Roman military had relied.
In Britain the collapse of industry seems more thorough than on the continent, leading for example to what appears to be a largely aceramic culture. The majority of surviving ceramics only appearing in a funerary context in the east and as imports, largely used for transporting goods, in the west.

Some people, despite this trend, did continue to inhabit Roman towns and archaeological investigations even point to the continuance of limited industry in such centres as Tours, Trier, Cologne, Utrecht and Winchester. This industry was, however, on a relatively small scale, more comparable with the later Irish monastic centres such as Kildare and Clonmacnoise than with their Roman antecedents (Hodges, 1989, 47-8). No evidence of planned domestic housing has been found at any of these towns during this period.

**TRADE**

It is becoming clear, as a result of archaeological research, that trading centres, of a sort, did exist throughout Europe from the end of the fifth century onwards. Such centres appear as small and probably non-permanent centres serving a primarily trading function. Bantham, Devon is such a settlement, where B-ware amphorae dated to the late fifth or possibly sixth century, a double edged comb, whetstones, spindle whorls and a spearhead have been uncovered (Hodges, 1989, 67). Archaeological evidence suggests a similar role for Ipswich in the seventh century, Dalkey Island in the Irish Sea in the late fifth or sixth centuries; Bede records that in 604 London was a trading centre for many nations -implying a different scale of activity (Bede, 1990, 107-8). Figure 2.2.1 illustrates the distribution of imported pottery into Britain during the fifth to seventh centuries. It is clear from this that the concentration of such early trade was in the south west of Britain. Numerous trading centres are also known on the Continent such as Dorestad, which was occupied by the end of the seventh century, Hamburg, Domburg and Helgö, where a fifth or sixth century hoard may indicate the earliest phase of occupation.

In the Frankish regions silver coins made their re-appearance under the Merovingian dynasty. These coins were of large value and were probably intended primarily for trade with the East (Byzantium and the Arabic world), by whose form they appear to have been influenced. Silver coins in the seventh century largely replaced gold in the west and were being based upon the Germanic weights system rather than the Roman, implying their increased internal use and regulation in the Germanic regions (Hodges, 1989, 108-11).

In England towards the end of the seventh century sceattas began to appear fairly widely throughout Kent and, following the first quarter of the eighth, had extended in use beyond, into other parts of England, on a scale which suggests a genuine practical usage. Before this time the only coins that appear to have been in use in England are bracteates of Danish origin. These gold coins have been found in use as pendants, suggesting that their principal value was ornamental rather than as currency (Myres, 1985, 115-6).
Figure 2.2.1

Location of Finds of A (Red Slip) and B (Amphorae) wares in Sixth and Seventh Century Western Britain, With Suggested Routes of Four Individual Voyages (Thomas, 1990, 14)
By the mid seventh century gold coins were being minted at Canterbury, London, York, Ipswich and Southampton. In the late eighth century (c780's) the first silver pennies appear as the earliest English coins to bear the king's portrait and name: Offa. This reflects a shift from independent moneyers towards a ruler-controlled coinage system. By the early tenth century Athelstan had established a series of royal mints and initiated legislation regarding the illegal manufacture of coin.

Industry, too, was beginning to resume on a larger (though still intrinsically small) scale and with a more sophisticated exchange network than had previously existed. A good example of this in England is that of the pottery industry, where large scale production resumes in certain areas, notably along the east coast (see figure 2.2.2), though western Britain appears to have remained essentially aceramic. It is clear from the eighth century charters of Aethelbald, granting tax immunity to the bishop of Worcester for using the port at London, that the control of trade was important to political authorities. This was so much the case that in the tenth century Edward the Elder legislated that the sum of a sale would be forfeit to the king if trade took place outside a recognised market (Attenborough, 1922, 115).

Such changes - the growth of larger markets which attracted the interest of those in authority, the increase of well organised industry and the increased use of coin as currency - seem to have had very little effect on Western Britain, and in particular on Wales. Here, there is no evidence for the minting of coins before the Norman dominance of the region. Hoards are known from the mid ninth century onwards, such as those uncovered at Pennard, Laugharne and Llandudno, as is the mention of money, used to pay the Vikings for the return of captives, in the Annals and the Brut under the terms nummus and later ceiniog (Davies, 1982, 54-5). Despite this, though, there is no evidence to suggest that coin was used as currency for regular exchange.

Similarly market towns do not appear to have evolved within Wales during this time. Figure 2.2.3 presents a number of possible proto-urban centres, perhaps comparable with those which occurred elsewhere in Europe before the emergence of what may be properly termed urban centres. Specialised manufacturing activity, however, was clearly present in Wales during the Early Medieval Period as is evidenced at the sites of Dinas Powys and Dinas Emrys where jewellery production is clearly visible and iron smelting likely. But despite this, there does not appear to have been any significant advance towards a market economy in Wales during this period, as Wendy Davies notes:

"Distribution of local produce, may well have been entirely effected within the estate system, when there were estates; there may have been very little local commercial exchange. There are, indeed, no references at all to markets......"  
(Davies, 1982, 57).
Middle Saxon pottery industries

Infrequent domestic (?) potting

Probably aceramic

Figure 2.2.2
The Eastern Character of the Middle Saxon Pottery Industry
(Hodges, 1989, 169)
Figure 2.2.3

Possible Pre-Urban Nuclei in Wales (Davies, 1982, 58)
PRESTIGE TRADE:

Despite the lack of evidence for urban markets in the earlier part of this period (and throughout it in Wales), there is plenty of evidence that many goods were exchanged, often over considerable distances. There is likewise evidence for centres of specialised production, along with the production of as yet unprovenanced high quality craft-work. Werner's series of maps (1961) illustrating the widespread discovery of late fifth and sixth century radiate brooches clearly demonstrate this. Another example of long distance trade is seen in the distribution of two major groups of cauldrons and basins which occur in north-west Europe, the smaller group centred on the Meuse Valley whilst the larger and more varied group reflects a Norwegian centre of distribution (Hodges, 1989, 119).

Though there is little evidence for the production of textiles at this early date, gold thread found amongst the graves of Birka make it clear that highly specialised textile production was indeed taking place. The production of glass beads may be put forward as another example of specialised production, occurring not infrequently in Anglo-Saxon graves in England and the Continent (Myres, 1977 and 1969). Later production sites of glass beads have also been located in Scandinavia at centres such as Ribe, Helgö, Haithabu and Kaupang.

It is understood that certain craftsmen and/or women maintained a truly international reputation for their goods. Jankuhn (1952) discusses the fame of Rhenish sword blades, well known not only in the western world but in the east also, and Bede's mention that Frankish glaziers were brought to Jarrow to produce the windows there both illustrate this point.

Specialised high status goods were not the only items to have been traded extensively over Europe. Lava quern stones were much sought after items during our period, and it is clear that a few production centres were trading over large areas at this time; as an example figure 2.2.4 representing the distribution of lava quern stones from the Eifel mountain region is given. This map shows that these quern stones were being shipped to ports in England, Denmark and the Lowlands and then transported inland.

The above, then, presents just a few examples of prestige goods that were traded over large areas of northern Europe. They are by no means exhaustive and no doubt reflect the favourable preservation of certain types of goods as opposed to more perishable items. It should also be borne in mind that perhaps another significant trade network during this period was not in items at all, but in humans (slaves).

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE EXCHANGE OF PRESTIGE GOODS

Many of the most spectacular 'treasures' of the Early Medieval Period to survive are of an ecclesiastical nature. Items such as gospel books, portable altars, chalices and other metal work devotional items. The Codex Amiatinus, now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, is a fine example of the exchange of such items. One of the three bibles put together at Monkwearmouth/Jarrow under Abbot Ceolfrid, it was intended to be presented to the Pope by
Figure 2.2.4

Location and Distribution of Eifel Mountain Quernstones

(Hodges, 1989, 125)
the abbot who journeyed to Rome in 716. Unfortunately, for Ceolfrid at least, it never reached its destination due to the abbot's death in France, eventually finding its way to the monastery of Monte Amiata in central Italy (Webster and Backhouse ed., 1991, 123-6). Though exceptional in its size (very few complete bibles were ever produced at this time) and its story, the idea of such gifts being brought into and out of Rome is by no means unusual. It is well known that Benedict Biscop furnished his newly founded monastery of Monkwearmouth/Jarrow with a library consisting largely of texts brought from Vienne and from Rome.

Gifts also circulated between royalty and representatives of the church. In the mid eighth century king Aethelbald asked Boniface, who was serving as a missionary in Francia at the time, to acquire two falcons which might be trained for hunting. In return Boniface was given a gift consisting of a precious drinking cup and two woollen cloaks. It is this and other similar examples that have prompted Janet Backhouse to note:

"In particular we see the links which they [missionaries] maintained with their native England, exchanging not only letters but books, clothing and even apparently livestock."


Wales is an area which has left no truly great Early Medieval ecclesiastical artefacts, with, perhaps, one possible exception, the Lichfield Gospels (the Gospels of St. Chad), which are as yet unprovenanced, with Wales a possible if not likely candidate. A few less impressive items do survive, such as Rhigyfarch's Psalter, but the overall picture is of an area apparently not producing high quality specialised goods to the same extent as elsewhere in western Europe at the same period.

Regardless of the extent or quality of goods being produced one thing is certain; a surplus of agricultural produce was required as the means of supporting craftsmen and/or women, traders and missionaries, not to mention royalty and ordinary members of the clergy.

This surplus was co-ordinated by means of the collection of food rents by the varying secular and ecclesiastic authorities. Perhaps the best known system for gathering food rent is that presented in the laws of King Ine, king of the West Saxons from 688 to 726. These laws state that for every 10 hides 10 vats of honey, 300 loaves, 12 ambers of Welsh ale, 30 ambers of clear ale, 2 full grown cows or 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, a full amber of butter, 5 salmon, 20 pounds of fodder and 100 eels should be collected (Attenborough, 1922, 59).

Hodges points out that this, based on calculations extrapolated from the predicted production of Gatcombe villa, Somerset by G. Barker and D. Webley (Branigan, 1977, 198-200), is in fact quite a modest rent, considerably more so than later Medieval rents (Hodges, 1989, 136), and comparing well to rents known in continental Europe from sources such as the description of the royal fisc of Annapes and various other polyptics of Carolingian monasteries. He then goes on to extrapolate the size of rent that the kingdom of Mercia would have
produced based on the measurements given in the Tribal Hidage, producing quantities such as: 30000 vats of honey, 90000 loaves, 36000 ambers of Welsh ale, etc., concluding:

"When we consider the slow but inexorable extension of colonised land, the food mountain owed in theory to the West Saxon kings must surely have been of EEC dimensions, and yet still a modest tax. Herein lie the reserves to support an emporium containing as many as a thousand persons for several months."

(Hodges, 1989, 138).

Evidence for rents in Wales also survive, though principally for South Wales. The mere fact that estates, requiring rents to function as such, exist in other regions, including the far north, demonstrate that the collection of rents must have taken place throughout the Welsh territories. As Wendy Davies notes, the amounts collected appear on the whole to be smaller, but:

"..., they [the amounts described] make it perfectly clear that some surplus was being produced, as does the very fact that the estates existed."

(Davies, 1982, 46).
CLIMATE

Before turning to the patterns of agriculture evidenced in early medieval Britain it is helpful to summarise the available climatic information for this period. Whilst climate is not directly referred to in the following section it is, nevertheless, important to understand as it would have had a very real effect on individual agricultural strategies.

The most concrete evidence for the climate of the Early Medieval Period is of a highly scientific nature and has only been developed in the past twenty five years. Other, non-scientific sources of evidence such as the discovery of ice skates in the York excavations, have also only become available in recent decades.

Perhaps the most important single source of climatic information for this period is a group of stable isotope studies that were carried out on layered ice sheets from Greenland. This method is founded upon the difference in weight between two oxygen, $^{16}$O and $^{18}$O, isotopes. The difference in weight leads to the lighter $^{16}$O isotope being more inclined to evaporate from the ocean consequently concentrating in clouds, rain, ground water, rivers and, importantly, ice sheets. The subsequent difference between $^{16}$O and $^{18}$O isotopes in the ice sheets is an indicator of evaporation rates, and hence of temperature. The results of this study are presented in figure 2.2.5. With much talk of the present climate, and in particular global warming, the impact of a change of just one degree centigrade or so is more easily appreciable. Such a change would certainly lead to dramatic changes in the growing seasons and the relative yields of crops in a given area such as Britain.

Hill, after presenting the chart shown in figure 2.2.5, goes on to summarise what he regards as the general climatic trends during the Early Medieval Period. This summary is given below:

"1. It was warmer: summer temperatures may have been one degree centigrade higher.  
2. A Continental effect, with the depression track further to the north of the British Isles, meant that Britain was affected by Continental weather patterns—warmer in summer, much colder in winter—but the average for the year would have been higher than present-day averages.  
3. Bog growth can be taken as an index of wetness. The Tregaron series shows a standstill or very slow growth between AD 900 and 1200, followed by rapid growth indicating a return of wet conditions.  
4. There is some evidence for an increase in storminess in the north sea after AD 1000."

(Hill, 1981, 9).
Figure 2.2.5
Oxygen Isotope Variations in the North-West Greenland Icecap
(Hill, 1981, 9)
RESOURCES AND PRODUCE.

Although the particulars of agricultural and environmental exploitation will vary from area to area (e.g. fish will be more important to coastal communities), there are generalisations which can be made about the resources available to farmers during the Early Medieval Period and about the produce which they either grew or reared. Evidence may be drawn from both written records, such as charters, laws and histories like Bede’s, and from archaeological sources, either directly from excavations or from indirect sources, the analysis of vegetable inclusions in Early Medieval pottery for example.

The way in which land resources are organised will be discussed later in this chapter, but it will be of use to briefly mention two, somewhat specialised, types of landscape at this point as a prelude to the discussion, below, of the actual crops and livestock which were managed during our period.

WOODLAND

The first of these two landscapes is that of woodland and forest. There is a good deal of overlap, here, between landscape and product, since not only were these areas used as land for the rearing of certain livestock, notably pigs, but the wood from the trees themselves was a very important resource for the people.

Forests and woodland held important roles in the raising of foraging animals such as pigs and deer. Pigs, for example, would have fed extensively within the confines of wooded areas, eating mainly acorns and beech-mast in Autumn, fern roots in Winter, perhaps leaving the more dense areas in Spring to feed on new grasses, and on berries and seeds during the Summer months.

Wood was essential for two particular uses. First it served as the primary source of fuel, needed not only for warmth and for cooking, but also for most forms of domestic light industry, such as the smelting of metals and the firing of pottery. The second main use of wood was as a construction material, used not only for buildings, but poles from pollarded trees were also widely used for fencing. The modern word timber testifies to this, with its origin in the Anglo-Saxon verb *ge-timbrian* meaning to build (Sweet, 1980, 124).

Aside from water, woodland may, perhaps, be regarded as the most important resource of all throughout the Medieval Period. Such a prominent role is mirrored in the frequency that woods and forests are mentioned in Medieval charters, laws and in the numerous place names which retain some element referring to their presence. The laws of the West Saxon king Ine stipulate that a 60 shilling fine was to be imposed on anyone found cutting a tree big enough to shelter 30 swine (Attenborough, 1922, 50-1). The wide extent of wooded areas can clearly be seen from the occurrence of place-name elements deriving from the term *leah* such as -ly, -ley and leigh, indicating a small woodland clearing. Figure 2.2.6 illustrates the extensive distribution of *leah* place names in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of the Hwicce by the date 1086, though it should be borne in mind, that the absence of such elements by no means suggests an absence of
Figure 2.2.6

'Leah' Place Names in the Kingdom of the Hwicce (Hooke, 1985, 48)
woodland in the vicinity.

MARSH/FENLAND

The second noteworthy type of landscape occurs mainly in the South West and East Anglia, where marshes and fenlands occupy extensive areas of the countryside. Despite being largely flooded during the Winter months, these areas provided valuable Summer pastures for livestock in the dryer months. Perhaps the most famous example of such landscapes are the Somerset Levels, which have been of economic importance from Prehistoric times, though, it would appear, from evidence derived from tree ring dating sequences, that they may have been largely deserted at the end of the Roman Period and recolonised on a seasonal basis again during the Saxon Period (Aston, 1988, 69-70). Interestingly Somerset derives its name from the Anglo-Saxon word *Sumorsaete* meaning "the Summer dwellers", referring to just such a seasonal pattern of exploitation and settlement (Ekwall, 1936, 410).

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Leaving these two landscape forms aside, the principal livestock and crops which dominated Early Medieval agricultural practice shall now be discussed. Though the relevant proportions of different types of produce will be given where such figures are available, it is important to realise that there are many factors, such as the status of a settlement and its location, which make it clear that these figures can not be widely applied to other sites. They should not be taken to imply that farming methods and strategies were in any way homogeneous over any distance or even between adjacent settlements. Nevertheless, such statistics do give a valuable insight into individual strategies and, when figures for different areas are compared, may give some general indications of the importance of differing crops and livestock.

Pigs

As has been mentioned, woodland was an important resource for the rearing of pigs during our period. The evidence suggests that the pig of the Medieval Period was considerably different from that with which we are familiar today, as Finberg writes:

"The pigs themselves must have been of the long-legged, long-haired, razor-backed type that survived in Britain until the sixteenth century or later."

(Finberg, 1972, 407).

Such beasts appear to be similar to those represented on the famous enamelled shoulder clasps found amongst the Sutton Hoo treasures.

Finberg (1972, 407-8) describes how pigs in more recent history were trained to stay in one area by means of a porcine version of the 'Pavlo's dog' method: food being left successively in the same place, where a shelter had been constructed for the pigs to rest after their feast. The
location of pig-sties, hloes in Early English, are evidenced in place names such as Loose, nr. Maidstone and Luscombe, Devon (Finberg, 1972, 407). Derivatives of the Anglo-Saxon for boar, swine (Sweet, 1948, 294), also indicate the presence of pig rearing, place names such as Swindon, Swinton and Kingswinford (Ekwall, 1936, 435-6).

At the high status Welsh settlement of Dinas Powys it has been calculated that pigs made up some 61% of the livestock consumed by the inhabitants in comparison with only 20% of cattle, though, in fact, these quantities would both give roughly equal amounts of meat (G.R.J. Jones, 1972, 292). Sheep only make up about 13% of the livestock, significantly below that of pig, which is interestingly, and perhaps significantly, mirrored in evidence from the analysis of faunal remains from the Frisian emporium of Dorestad, the results of which are given in figure 2.2.7.

**Sheep**

Sheep, as has been mentioned above, tend to make up a smaller proportion of retrieved faunal remains in the west; although Arnold presents a summary of faunal remains from more easterly sites, such as West Stow, which shows that sheep and goat were often as common as cattle (Arnold, 1997, 35). The evidence for smaller numbers in the west may well be due to the tendency of such data to reflect the deposition of animals butchered within a certain area for food, whereas, perhaps, the principal value of sheep lay in their role as a live commodity. Sheep have been, and to a lesser extent still are, an important source of milk, and it is only in more recent centuries that the cow has taken over as the chief milk-producing animal. Cheese appears almost ubiquitously in lists of food required for rent payments, with sheep likely to have played the dominant role in its production. Wool, too, may have been an important commodity, though the gift of King Aethelbald to Boniface of two woollen cloaks might suggest that wool was not an inexpensive everyday item.

References in the laws of Ine equate the value of 10 wethers with that of two full grown cows, and state that a ewe with lamb was worth a shilling until two weeks before Easter, with two pence deducted if it had been shorn before midsummer (Attenborough, 1922, 54-5). Finberg infers that sheep farming was particularly common in the Cotswolds from Roman times, where a somewhat concentrated number of sheep-related place name elements occur; names such as Shipton for example.

**Cattle**

Oxen appear to have served two main functions during the Early Middle Ages; as meat and as the principal beast of burden. Milk does not appear to have been high on the agenda, as Finberg notes:

"It is probable that cows were kept mainly to breed replacements for the plough-team, and after they had suckled their calves had little milk left for the dairy; hence the Anglo-Saxons looked to ewes and she-goats as their principal source of milk and cheese."

(Finberg, 1972, 410).
Figure 2.2.7

The Faunal Assemblage from Dorestad (Hodges, 1982, 43)
Clearly, despite their role in plough teams, cows and oxen were also valued as a source of meat, though, if consumed after years of hard service, as may well have been the case on smaller, less wealthy holdings, the quality of the meat produced cannot have been particularly high.

The laws of Ine, thorough as they are, include not only fines for the individual thief of cow meat (e.g. an ox tail would result in a shilling’s fine), but also a clause instructing that the wife of the thief, if she swears not to have eaten any of the meat, may retain her proper share of their property (Attenborough, 1922, 54-7).

It is interesting that during excavations of a long house thought to have been in use during the ninth and tenth centuries on Holy Island (Lindisfarne) three fully articulated calf skeletons were recovered from pits with no indication of butchery at all; one possible interpretation being that cattle meat was not greatly prized when plentiful alternatives, seafood in this case, occurred (pers. Com.).

The Anglo-Saxon word for cattle, hrither (Sweet, 1980, 116), occurs in numerous place names, as the element Rother-; Rotherfield and Rotherham for example (Ekwall, 1936, 375), and the earliest charter granting Daylesford, Gloucestershire to the nun Baegia (B 139), refers to a bull’s enclosure, fearhom, in its boundary clause.

Other animals

Numerous other apparently less common animals are referred to in texts or evidenced in the faunal remains of middens, such as geese, hens, goats, dogs and horses, but since they occur only rarely and in small quantities it is difficult to assess their true position in the pattern of husbandry as a whole.

CROP GROWTH

Four crops appear to have dominated Early Medieval agriculture; wheat, rye, barley and oats. Wheat and rye are both often Autumn sown crops whereas barley and oats are Spring sown. The choice of which crop to plant depended on a number of environmental factors. Bede records, for example, that Cuthbert attempted to grow wheat on his island retreat of Farne but the crop failed; however, he was successful when he planted barley instead, a crop more suited to colder and wetter northern climes (Bede, 1990, 258).

Querns are the most obvious indicators of corn harvesting and processing, occurring widely on sites of both high and low status. To give a Welsh example, both the older saddle quern and the more modern (in Early Medieval terms that is) rotary quern have been recovered from the low status site of Pant-y-Saer (G.R.J. Jones, 1972, 293) as well as from the high status site of Dinas Powys.

An interesting approach was taken by K. Jessen and H. Helbaek (1944), who studied grain fragments recovered from the fabric of groups of Anglo-Saxon cemetery vessels, centred around Oxford and Cambridge. Their results produced the following proportions: 3 of Naked...
barley, 80 of hulled barley, 14 of oat (Avena sativa), 1 of wild oat (Avena fatua), 2 of flax and 1 of woad. The lack of wheat and rye in the samples may be due to the small size of the sample, possibly suggesting that these figures may be unreliable, but they nevertheless do indicate the presence of more specialised crops such as woad and flax in this period.

Many other crops, no doubt, were also cultivated. The place name Banstead, for example, indicates the presence of bean crops (Ekwall, 1936, 24). There tends to be little evidence for the production and consumption of vegetables in general though, and for Welsh areas in particular Wendy Davies observes:

"The amount of vegetables consumed seems to have been very limited and gardens are only rarely evidenced."

(Davies, 1982, 35).

Despite this garden vegetables are occasionally mentioned, for example in Medieval penitentials, such as pease porridge in the 'Book of David' and general garden vegetables in the 'Preface on Penance' (Davies, 1982, 35).
TECHNOLOGY AND FIELD SYSTEMS.

The Early Medieval Period in Britain is particularly problematic when it comes to understanding agricultural techniques. There is a relatively good supply of evidence for ploughing strategies and field patterns for the end of the Roman Period and likewise for the central Middle Ages. However, there is very little evidence directly relating to the intervening centuries. What evidence there is tends to be isolated and points to a good deal of variation, not only from region to region, but also on a more local scale. The following outlines, presented below, give certain pointers which need to be considered when trying to understand the landscape and agricultural economy of the period.

PLOUGH TECHNOLOGY

The first issue to be raised is that of plough technology, notably the introduction of the mould board into Britain. This allowed not only grooves to be cut in the soil, but also overturned the top soil, a practice which greatly improved the productivity of the soil in terms of crop growth. Previously during the period of Roman administration in Britain the coulter had been introduced. This device meant that heavy soils, as well as the light soils that had previously been ploughed, could be brought into the agrarian sphere as crop producing zones. The mould-board, mentioned above, was introduced during the Romano-British phase according to Finberg, who goes on to state:

"There is no evidence whatsoever that the Anglo-Saxon immigrants brought with them better ploughs or a more advanced agricultural technique than those they found when they arrived."

(Finberg, 1972, 398).

Christopher Taylor (1975, 69-70) cites the example of a recovered Anglo-Saxon plough blade, which was found at Gwithian, Cornwall. This sixth to ninth century site has also, on account of wind blown sand covering the area, a series of ploughed furrows preserved. These furrows clearly show overturned sods of earth, indicating the use of a plough with a mould-board. Wendy Davies (1982, 37) refers to evidence from Hen Domen in the Welsh Marches, a traditionally non-Saxon area, where ridge and furrow, a by-product of ploughing with a mould board, has been identified, amongst other places, beneath the Norman bailey.

FIELD SYSTEMS

Just as it has become clear that the Anglo-Saxon settlers did not bring with them a new plough technology it is also becoming increasingly clear that they likewise did not bring with them a new field system to impose on their British subjects. That this was the case was suspected from the very outset of detailed writing on Anglo-Saxon England, with both Maitland
and Seebohm suggesting a late origin for the characteristic open field system (e.g. Maitland, 1987, 365). But, as Finberg has pointed out, this view was not shared by many later scholars, for example Stenton (see Stenton, 1971, 280) who was:

"prepared to believe that in eastern Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, the east Midlands, and Wessex, the arable common fields may date from the beginning of permanent English settlement."

(Finberg, 1972, 398).

However, there have been a number of discoveries in the Germanic homelands, that have demonstrated the probable correctness of the earlier view, championed by Maitland and Seebohm. In 1960 A. Krenzlin discovered that in Germany strip-fields did not represent the earliest phases of exploitation, but overlay networks of small Blockfluren, which were identical to the misnamed 'celtic' fields known in Britain. Discoveries made between 1960 and 1962 by D. Zoller at Gristede, north of Oldenburg, make it clear that by the time of the site's desertion in the late fourth/early fifth century there was no trace of an open field system with only Blockfluren being found. Lastly G. Mertins, in 1964, demonstrated that the older buildings of settlements dating from the sixth century in the Rhineland and Ruhr regions were adjoined by similar Blockfluren (all three examples are taken from Finberg, 1972, 398-399).

These examples, along with many others, point to the fact that, both during the period of the Germanic migrations and even a century or so later, the standard field system in use by the Germanic settlers of England in their homeland regions had many similarities with that which they found in the areas where they settled.

In order, then, to explain the field patterns of the Saxon settlers and overlords it is necessary to look at the system which was left for them to inherit from their Romano-British predecessors. Christopher Taylor (1975) outlines three basic field types that were dominant in Roman Britain and which it would seem continued into the post-Roman era. The first type of field is the small sub-rectangular enclosed field commonly referred to as the 'celtic' field. It should be apparent by this point that such a term is quite unacceptable as a descriptive tool, covering as it does not only fields of Prehistoric date, but also of Roman, sub-Roman and Anglo-Saxon contexts in Britain as well as fields in non-'celtic' regions such as the Germanic homelands. The second type are larger enclosed fields that were formed by the agglomeration of smaller sub-rectangular fields. The last type appear to be less common than the other two, and are termed long fields. These were enclosed fields with two narrow and two long sides and were ploughed length-wise in strips. Such long fields tend to be found mainly on the light soils of chalk and limestone uplands, though some lowland examples are known, such as St. Ives, Cambridgeshire.

The pattern of exploitation proposed by Taylor is that of an infield/outfield system, where settlements, be they hamlets or villages, were surrounded by intensively cultivated areas of enclosed fields. Beyond this area lay a region where only temporary cultivation took place,
allowing the land to return to fallow for long periods, and where animals may also have been grazed.

Taylor’s model then goes on to attempt an explanation for the change from this system to the open field system which was later to dominate many areas of the English landscape. The prime motor for change, in his view, was population increase. This increase had two essential effects. First the area of the infield was increased at the expense of the area of outfield, as pressure upon land and food increased. This subsequently decreased the available regions of grazing, with the resulting pressure forcing the inhabitants to reach communal agreements for allowing stock to graze on arable land. Hence a communal sense for land management began to develop. The second factor was that with increased population came an increased pressure amongst heirs for land. This resulted in the development of subdivided strips within fields shared out amongst the original owner’s family. Such subdividing of fields became another feature closely associated with the open or common field system.
The above model is strongly based upon assumptions regarding the population of the period. However, the population of Early Medieval Britain is a most difficult topic to say anything with a degree of certainty.

Though Domesday gives some indication of population, this source ought not be too heavily relied on. It is a tax document and not a census. What is more it is not only internally inconsistent in its treatment of different regions, but does not deal with 'Welsh' Wales at all, which lay outside the early Norman tax machine. Ellis (1833, ii, 514) points out that the actual number of people recorded in Domesday is only 283,242, from which Maitland (1987, 437) has proposed a total population of about 1,375,000, and Poole (1955, 36) not more than two and a half million. Figure 2.2.8, illustrating David Hill's interpretation of the Domesday information, as regards population density, is given, but it must be remembered that this is only an estimate based on a source, Domesday, which is itself not a reliable indicator of population, making it potentially doubly misleading.

Estimations for the size of the British population immediately before the beginning of our period, that is Roman Britain, have varied widely over the years. Collingwood estimated a population between a half and one million, Sir Mortimer Wheeler around one and a half million and more recently Smith between 5-6 million (Salway, 1981, 542-3). Whilst it appears that the larger figures may be more in tune with increasing evidence, there is no way of knowing whether this figure will continue to increase as further evidence comes to light.

It would appear reasonable, then, to regard the population of England during the Early Medieval Period as lying somewhere between these two figures, with a sharp fall following the end of Roman occupation rising to what it appears to have been in the 11th century. More than this it is simply impossible to say.

Domesday, as was mentioned above, does not cover the vast majority of Wales, leaving the population of the region completely unassessable, though, perhaps, a similar pattern might be expected, as Wendy Davies writes:

"Though it is quite impossible even to make guesses at demographic change nothing suggests that the population of Wales in the early medieval period was anything other than exceptionally small; indeed after the recurrent plagues of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries the population level is likely to have suffered major crises, and, as in the rest of Europe, to have dropped."

(Davies, 1982, 41).
Figure 2.2.8
Population Estimated from Domesday Book
(Adjusted for Serfs)
(Hill, 1981, 19)
2.3 ARCHAEOLOGY OF AREA

INTRODUCTION

This section begins with a telling quote regarding the nature of archaeological evidence that is particularly relevant to the study area:

"If the sample revealed on the M5 is representative of the whole area between the Cotswolds and the River Severn then there are about 4500 Romano-British sites in the Vale of which 4400 await discovery." (Me Whirr, 1981, 83).

There is yet a great deal to discover!

THE ROMAN PERIOD:

The types of Roman site found within the area can be broadly classified into five categories: forts, large towns/cities, smaller towns, villas, less-Romanised sites and miscellaneous sites and features such as temples and roads. Each of these, along with its relevance to this study is discussed here.

FORTS:

Sixteen forts or fortresses and one fortlet are found in the study area as illustrated in figure 2.3.1. The distribution of these installations is linked to the penetration of the Roman military into western Britain. They all lie on the banks of principal rivers, at roughly equal distances from each other, where they can both defend river crossings and facilitate the movement of troops and ordnance along the newly constructed military roads, penetrating to the heart of the Welsh uplands and beyond to the western coast. The only exception to the location of forts lying on principal rivers is the fort at Droitwich, which is sited close to the much smaller River Salwarpe.

Generally the location of forts represents earlier rather than later phases of Roman occupation. For example the legionary fortress at Caerleon was constructed in AD 74/5 and was finally abandoned after a prolonged period in the late third century (Whittle, 1992, 59), whilst the earliest fort at Gloucester (Kingsholm) was constructed sometime before AD 60, being replaced by the later fortress which lies beneath the centre of Gloucester city around AD 70 (Mc Whirr, 1981, 14-19). Occasionally, as was the case at Gloucester, Cirencester and Droitwich, earlier military establishments gave rise to later towns. Smaller settlements too commonly grew around and from military forts, as at Cardiff, Usk and Bulmore.

The development of such a military system is likely to have brought about very great changes in the local economy. Not only would land have been required, first for the actual site of the installation and second for the production of food for the military, but also large scale deforestation and quarrying for the construction of the establishments. These practices will have created new areas of cleared land and possibly, depending on the extent to which native Britons were pressganged/enslaved, have taken numbers of people out of the business of providing food. To
Figure 2.3.1
The Roman Landscape within the Study Area
sum up, then, it can be seen that the rural economy underwent a great transformation following the arrival of the Roman military and that the legacy of such changes ought to be borne in mind when considering the origins of the early post-Roman economy.

**LARGE TOWNS/CITIES:**

Of all of the settlements in this region of Britain three stand out as exceptional: Caerwent, Gloucester and Cirencester. Both Caerwent and Cirencester were officially civitas capitals whilst Gloucester was a colonia. These centres served primarily as centres of government, administration and justice (e.g. as foci for the Roman system of tax collection), in addition they also provided opportunities for trade for the surrounding region (Dark and Dark, 1997, 123-125).

As was the case with forts large scale deforestation and quarrying will have been necessary for these centres' construction and upkeep. Thus the above observation regarding the changing economy as a result of large areas of newly cleared land applies in the case of towns also. However, these civilian centres appear to have survived for some time later than their military fore-runners, with evidence, for example, of occupation continuing through the fifth century and even into the sixth century (Mc Whirr, 1981, 42). Consequently their impact on the surrounding countryside and economy will have taken place over a much greater time span with presumably considerably greater effect than the comparatively short lived military complexes.

**SMALLER TOWNS AND SETTLEMENTS:**

As well as larger towns and cities smaller settlements had an important part to play in the pattern of Romanised settlement. It may be argued that they had a more important role, since such settlements are a good deal more common (some 25 occur within the study region) and must have been of direct importance to a greater number of people than the less widespread large urban centres. The distribution of these settlements is illustrated in figure 2.3.1.

Two types of smaller settlement can be distinguished. First, those which grew up outside military establishments, such as at Cardiff where a settlement is recognisable extending from the south gate of the second and third forts (late-first to mid-third century) on either side of the Roman road. Here there is evidence for large-scale industrial activity by the second century, centred on iron working.

A second type of settlement which appears to be more common in the area of the Cotswolds, is the small country town (Cowbridge is, however, a well known example of such a settlement in Glamorgan). Among such settlements are Dorn, Bourton-on-the-Water, Lower Slaughter and Dymock. Bourton-on-the-Water and Lower Slaughter would seem to have developed around the junction the Foss Way and Ryknild and Buckle Streets. Both settlements cover fairly extensive areas, 12 hectares and 10 hectares respectively, as can be seen in the plan of Roman remains at Lower Slaughter in figure 2.3.2.
Figure 2.3.2
Roman Settlement in and Around Bourton-on-the-Water, Gloucestershire (McWhirr, 1986, 63)
VILLAS:

Although many (at least 40 in the study area, and this figure is growing all the time) British villa sites are known, the exact nature of these establishments is still poorly understood, with much debate as to where the function of the typical villa (if such a thing exists) lies between a working farm unit and a country house for the urban elite.

Certainly some villa sites did function as farms. For example the bone assemblage from Whitton in Glamorgan not only demonstrates that this was a farm unit, but is large enough to allow detailed calculations of the proportions of animals killed; with 68.2% of meat weight coming from cows, 10.4% from pig, 10.2% from sheep and the remainder made up of horse, deer and fowl (Jarrett, and Wrathmell, 1981, 235). The frequent recovery of spindle whorls and loom weights also points to significant wool production at these sites, pointing to the possible function of the villa as a secondary production centre, in addition to any primary production role.

The farming role of other villas is less prominent, for example the villa at Woodchester, which may be thought of more as a palace than a farm.

LESS ROMANISED SITES:

Not all of the sites discovered which belong to the first to fifth centuries demonstrate a high degree of Romanisation. Perhaps the best known examples of these are the hillforts which were occupied during this period, such as Cae Summerhouse and Caer Dynnaf in Glamorgan. Such settlements, however, tended to fall out of use during the first century and may reflect the last vestiges of pre-Roman settlement present when the Romans arrived. Two other less Romanised sites have been identified in Glamorgan which belong to the Roman period proper: Goldsland Woods, near Wenvoe, Glamorgan and Lesser Garth Cave, which is referred to below in the summary of medieval evidence since evidence of activity is found in both the Roman and subsequent periods. The cave, set in Carboniferous limestone beneath the ridge of Lesser Garth Hill, contains fragments of Roman pottery and evidence of metal working including a small hearth/forge and crucibles of Roman appearance containing silver residues. The Roman pottery is of third century date and the site, given its inhospitable location, has been interpreted as the workshop of an illicit operation involving the melting down of impure silver (Edwards and Lane, 1988, 86).

First and fourth century coins have also been recovered from St.-Y-Nyll, but no other evidence of Roman provenance has been recovered leading to the strong possibility that the coins relate to a chance loss.

MISCELLANEOUS SITES:

Lastly there are various features of Romanised Britain which do not readily fall into the above categories. The location of temples and religious complexes are a good example of such settlements. Four such establishments are found in Gloucestershire (thus far the only examples in
the entire region), the largest of which is at Lydney, where a large complex occupies the site of an earlier hill fort.

More significant to this study is the great network of roads which were constructed under Roman rule. Roman roads appear in charter bounds relatively frequently and would appear to have served as common markers of property.
SETTLEMENT DISTRIBUTION:

There appears to be a distinction between the pattern of Roman settlement either side of the River Severn. To the west in Gwent and Glamorgan Roman establishments, principally forts and small towns, are clearly closely associated with river valleys, in particular the Usk, or else they are coastal.

There is clearly a choice being made in respect of military installations towards the selection of lower land, even in areas which are dominated by upland such as in the north western establishments like Clyro, Gelli-gaer and Abergavenny (Gobannium). The location of Roman roads leading upwards along the Usk and further north along the upper reaches of the Wye clearly point to the link between the communication network and the forts and fortresses of Roman Wales, with the roads initially serving to connect military units.

Few villa sites are known in this area to the west of the Severn (four in all), but those which are known all occur on the lower coastal lands, as do a small number of other Roman buildings which as yet have not been interpreted, such as those found to the immediate north east of Caerwent, Gwent and at Bowspring, Gloucestershire. If St.-Y-Nyll were to be seen as a part Romanised settlement then it would also be the case that all three known native sites belonging to the Roman period are located in the Vale of Glamorgan, whilst as yet none have been discovered in the upland regions to the north. This reflects the pattern of settlement seen above and strongly suggests a genuine concentration of early settlement on the lower, more fertile lands along the coast.

There is an interesting lack of Roman settlement, though evidence of iron working is widespread, along the lower reaches and confluence of the Wye, Trothy and Monnow rivers, an area where land is of only slightly greater altitude than the lowlands along the coastal region. Only one villa, Huntsham, has thus far been located in the area.

On the eastern side of the Severn, however, the pattern is almost the reverse. Here, though, most Roman remains relate to civil settlements, principally villas. It is the case, as it is in the west, that most of the military establishments and urban centres such as Gloucester (Glevum), Cirencester (Corinium), Worcester and to a lesser extent Droitwich (Salinae) do lie on or near to larger rivers and on lower land, but the vast majority of settlement that is evidenced relates to villa sites which cluster heavily on or adjacent to the uplands of the Cotswolds. The lowlands of the Severn Vale around Worcester and Droitwich are conspicuously devoid of villa sites.

This difference is probably largely the result of the physical and climatic differences between the uplands of Gwent and Glamorgan and the Cotswolds. The uplands to the west of the Severn are considerably more steeply sloped than those in the Cotswolds, though it must be noted that a number of villa sites are located along the scarp side of the hills (e.g. Great Witcombe). Not only are slopes generally greater, but rainfall is considerably higher. The early climate of the area is discussed in chapter 2.2 - "Economy and Agriculture in Early Medieval Western Europe", where it is pointed out that during the early centuries of the first millennium rainfall was noticeably higher than at present. These factors can only combine to make the Welsh uplands more undesirable
than those in the east.

Following the Roman era the archaeological record points to a growing divergence between east and west in terms of material culture, and in particular in the types of settlement which are evidenced. For this reason the evidence for Glamorgan and Gwent will be dealt with separately from that for Gloucestershire and Worcestershire.
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF EAST GLAMORGAN, SOUTHERN POWYS AND GWENT FROM THE FIFTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Within this period only seven settlement sites are evidenced in the archaeological record, and of these only three may be regarded as definite (see figure 2.3.3). The four possible sites are Caerleon, Caerwent, Lesser Garth Cave, and St.-y-Nyll, whilst the three definite sites are Dinas Powys, Glan-y-Mor and Ynys Bwlc (Llangorse). Each of these sites is described in the gazetteer 'Early Medieval Settlements in Wales AD 400-1100' (Edwards and Lane, 1988) and much of the following detail is drawn from this publication, therefore only information from other sources will be acknowledged further.

CAERLEON:

Although no building structures have been found at Caeleon of later date than the fourth century, a single female inhumation located in one of the barrack blocks has been carbon dated to between AD 660 and 940. Furthermore, a ninth century coin of Burgred of Mercia (852-74) and the presence of a tenth century cross slab at St. Cadoc's church have also been recovered. The coin may very well be a chance loss by raiders of either Viking or Mercian origin (Knight, 1984), and the burial and cross slab may imply a site of religious importance, which would accord with a reference to the martyrium of Julius and Aaron by Gildas in the sixth century (Winterbottom, 1978, 10).

CAERWENT:

There is some degree of debate as to the end of 'Roman' Caerwent, with Craster (1951, 4-6) arguing for buildings falling into decay by the mid-fourth century, but Wacher (1974, 388-9) suggesting that there was some building activity into the fifth century. Activity of a later date can be found amongst the 118+ burials located in the Eastgate cemetery. Carbon dates for these burials include 340-650, 420-680, 535-770, 650-980 and 780-1040. Post Roman burials also occur within the walls of Caerwent, though the full extent of any intramural cemetery or cemeteries is unclear.

Post-Roman artefacts include a type G penannular brooch of fifth or sixth century date (Redknap, 1991, 30), two double spiral-headed iron pins of seventh to eighth century date (Redknap, 1991) and a number of English coins, variously of Edmund (939-46), Ethelred II (c. 991-8) and Harthacnut (1040-2).

The situation at Caerwent, aside from a greater amount of material being recovered, is not dissimilar to that encountered at Caerleon. Here also the prime evidence for the early medieval period is from burials. Certainly the ruinous state of Roman structures, the presence of large scale intramural burial and lack of early historical evidence would point away from actual settlement, though the presence of coins and the small number of metal artefacts may be seen as evidence for some degree of activity. Jeremy Knight (1971, 35) pointed to a tradition of a church being
Figure 2.3.3
Archaeological Evidence of Possible Early Medieval Settlement in Wales
(Edwards and Lane, 1988, 16)
founded here in the late fifth or sixth century, which may explain the presence of people, burials and artefacts.

LESSER GARTH CAVE:

Though no early medieval structures have been associated with the site and only a small number of finds point to use during this period. The finds consist of a single sherd of E-ware, a bronze brooch pin of seventh to eighth century date (Redknap, 1991, 33), possible gilt-bronze fragments and an unidentified slotted and pointed object. It is difficult to reach conclusions about the site based on this small amount of evidence, though it has been suggested that the cave was used only occasionally and that the bulk of activity took place above the ridge in which the cave occurs.

ST.-Y-NYLL:

Earthworks representing two small rectangular cells, shallow scoops and remains of dry walling have been recorded at the site and the remains of an undated cross-base shaft have also been recovered. The area is also the subject of a charter dated to the late ninth century (LL216b) which refers to a villa and its ecclesia. How the physical evidence relates to either feature referred to in the charter is unclear, if indeed they are related at all.

DINAS POWYS:

The first of the three definite early medieval occupation sites is Dinas Powys, an enclosed settlement situated high on a limestone ridge in South Glamorgan. A series of four banks and ditches enclose an area of approximately a quarter of an acre, as shown in figure 2.3.4. There is some debate regarding the dating of the banks and ditches, with Alcock (1987) accepting that only one is of early medieval date, but doubting such an early provenance for the remaining earthworks. The interior has been extensively excavated and though no traces of foundations were discovered gullies relating to two structures were identified. A number of hearths were also located, notably three stone built industrial hearths. A large number of finds were recovered from the site including four distinct classes of imported pottery, fragments of some 40 glass vessels and a wide range of personal, domestic and industrial items. The frequency of items such as crucibles, dies and other iron working tools point to significant iron production and working taking place on site. Wood, leather, and bone/antler working, along with spinning and weaving are also evidenced by the occurrence of a range of tools and discarded material.

The imported pottery can be dated from the end of the fifth to the seventh centuries and a zoomorphic penannular brooch can be dated to between the sixth and seventh centuries.

The site is very clearly, then, to be interpreted as an early medieval centre of manufacturing activity, on a scale greater than the purely domestic. Furthermore, the presence of large quantities of imported vessels and of large deposits of animal bones (these remains are discussed in section
Figure 2.3.4

Plan of Dinas Powys (Redknap, 1991, 13)
2.2- "Economy and Agriculture in Early Medieval Western Europe") point to a site of some prestige in which we might expect to find something approaching aristocratic living.

GLAN-Y-MOR:

Glan-y-Mor (Cold Knap) yields clear evidence for the later occupation of a ruined Roman structure. The Roman structure consisting of at least 22 rooms has been described as a short-lived mansio (Evans et. al. 1985, 94) and may not have been completed before demolition prior to the mid- to late fourth century. Evidence from room B in the form of rubble, bone and charcoal set into a clay matrix clearly represents reoccupation of the site, with bone material being carbon dated to AD 600-800. Furthermore, remains of a small round cornered building were found in what had been the central courtyard. The floor of this building was paved and drains were also discernible. Bone from rubble possibly associated with this structure has been dated to AD 780-1045/1155. No recognizably early medieval artifacts were recovered from the site.

YNYS BWLC (LLANGORSE):

Llangorse crannog, a type of structure only otherwise known in Scotland and Ireland, is situated on Llangorse lake (see figure 2.3.5). It is a small island which has been of some interest to scholars for over 120 years. The island is surrounded by the remains of what was once some form of palisade, planks of which became visible when the water level of the lake was lowered in the nineteenth century. Large quantities of bone have been discovered during various phases of work on the crannog along with a few artefacts, evidence of a horizontal wattle and timber 'floor' and a dug out canoe found some 400m east of the island. The wood of the logboat has been radiocarbon dated to c. 814 AD, whilst dendrochronological techniques applied to a section from the oak planked palisade have shown the presence of rings relating to a sequence running from AD 747-859. Fragments of cloth, leather, charcoal and pottery were found on the crannog as were fragments of clay furnace lining. A single bone comb was also recovered. An hypothetical reconstruction of the crannog is given in figure 2.3.6.

It would certainly appear from the evidence that small scale industrial activity was going on at the crannog during the early medieval period. Llangorse is also testified to in historical sources. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 916 reads as follows:

'*Abbot Ecgbriht, innocent, was killed before midsummer, on June 16th, with his companions- the same day that was St. Cricus the martyr's. Three nights later, Aethelflaed sent troops into Wales, stormed into Brecenanmere [the Old English for Llangorse Lake] and took the king's wife, as one of some thirty others....*" (Savage, 1982, 116)

Redknap suggests that this refers to an attack on the crannog itself and that the king referred to is Tewdwr ap Elised (1991, 24). This is also asserted by Campbell and Lane (1989, 678-9), who cite the mention of Llangorse in two separate Llandaff charters, LL 146 and LL 237b, both times in association with a local royal presence. There is thus good reason to link the crannog with the royal line of Brycheiniog and see it as a site of considerable status. This status may also be
Figure 2.3.5
Plan of Llangorse Crannog (Redknap, 1991, 21)
Figure 2.3.6

Reconstruction of Llangorse Cran:og (Redknap, 1991, 25)
suggested by the amount of effort and planning required to maintain the structure of the crannog over any great period of time.

As well as direct evidence of settlement preserved within the archaeological record there are also a small number of stone monuments which are found within the region. Such monuments, of which there are a great many known in more westerly areas of Wales, have been variously classified, though most notably by Nash-Williams (1950) who produced the following classifications: I) inscribed [Latin or Ogam] stones (see figure 2.3.7), II) stones decorated with inscribed crosses (see figure 2.3.8) and III) cross slabs and high crosses (see figure 2.3.9). It is difficult to say anything regarding the location of these monuments since they are relatively little understood, some would appear to function as memorials, whilst others may have served a more exclusively Christian use. It is known that they, not uncommonly, occur at property boundaries, but this does not mean that their presence is indicative of such. As a result these monuments are of little practical use to a study of this nature and particularly this area.
Figure 2.3.7

Latin and/or Ogam Inscribed Stones in Wales (Redknap, 1991, 49)
Figure 2.3.8

Cross-Decorated Stones in Wales (Redknap, 1991, 56)
Figure 2.3.9

High Crosses in Wales (Redknap, 1991, 58)
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND WORCESTERSHIRE IN THE FIFTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURIES:

The continued use of Roman towns in Britain is problematic since, despite evidence that activities took place at various times within the old walls, it is very difficult to either establish the scale of occupation or its continuity with the earlier occupation of the Roman Period. The three principal Roman towns in the area, Gloucester, Cirencester and Worcester, have each provided different levels of evidence for later occupation. This evidence is here summarised.

Excavations in central Gloucester have demonstrated that during the first quarter of the fifth century the fore-court of the forum was enlarged (Heighway, Garrod and Vince, 1979, 165), the main street eliminated and some public buildings demolished. Traces of timber buildings are found to overlie the demolished ruins, which appear to be associated with a number of fragments of sixth century pottery (Heighway, 1987, 5-6). In the south eastern corner of the Roman town pottery is also known up to around sixth century date. Here a large stone-built Roman building appears to have been used/occupied into the sixth century before falling out of use. This building is later used again as is indicated by a second occupation layer dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries (Darvil, 1988, 44-5). Figure 2.3.10 gives a distribution of further evidence of tenth century occupation in the form of pottery fragments found in and around Gloucester, though evidence is also available for limited activity from the eighth century. Darvil postulates that a gap of two hundred years or so, between the sixth and eighth centuries, may be explained not only by the possible decline of urban settlement, but also perhaps by a shift to a hypothetical nearby emporium as witnessed at places such as Ipswich and Southampton (1988, 45). However without further evidence it is impossible to support or detract from either option.

Outside of the walled defences of Gloucester further occupation can be perceived. Domestic items have been recovered from a high status burial of fifth century date from Kingsholm immediately to the north, the site of a later Saxon palace.

At Cirencester, the town's defences were maintained just into the fifth century and the forum apparently kept clean until approximately 430, though it was not being repaired by this time (Reece and Catling, 1975, 9). It would appear, from the presence of the remains of two bodies that lay in what was at this time a road side ditch, that the main road ceased to be cared for in the early fifth century. In the amphitheatre, however, remains of timber buildings, including a single large hall, date from after 400 (Heighway, 1987, 8), suggesting re-use of this smaller defensible unit after the city had become unmanageable.

Here, too, there were burials taking place immediately to the north of the town, somewhere between c. 500 and 550 at Barton Farm. The prime difference being that in this case the burials are clearly of Saxon influence, possibly those of immigrants themselves.

At Worcester, excavations at Deansway have shown that an iron industry, where enough slag was produced to metal nearby roads, had ceased around 300. Roman deposits in this area were overlain by a thick dark earth which indicates that the land fell to pasture. There is little evidence of any activity prior to the establishment of the late Saxon burh; what evidence there is consists of
Figure 2.3.10

Plan of Gloucester at the end of the Tenth Century (Heighway, 1987, 155)
a single sceat datable to 715 and a hearth that has been dated to between 717 and 792. The authors of the report write:

"It seems likely that the limited evidence of middle Saxon or earlier occupation derived from a period when the main use of the site was agricultural." (Dalwood, Buteux and Jackson, 1992, 124).

Beyond the Roman towns there is very little evidence of early medieval settlement in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. The following is a comprehensive summary of what evidence there is.

In only one case in the two counties can a post-Roman structure be shown to occur on the same site as an earlier Roman villa. This is at Frocester villa, where by the late fourth century the villa appears to be in decline from the use of one of its rooms apparently being used as a stable. Later a timber building some 14m by 3m was erected in the courtyard of the villa. A second some 12m by 9m with recognisable internal post holes was put up actually crossing what was the line of the courtyard wall. The former building was associated with fragments of fifth century pottery, but the date of the second structure is unclear, but due to its straddling of the wall line may be of later date (Heighway, 1987, 4).

A second example of early medieval buildings being erected on the site of earlier Roman settlement, though this time a village/small town rather than a villa, is found at Bourton-on-the-Water, where in the 1930s a sunken feature building was discovered along with a stone seat and post hole which was thought to serve as part of a support for a loom, and has been interpreted as a weaving shed (Hooke, 1985, 27). Another SFB is known from Aston Mill farm near Kemerton, which occurs within an Iron Age ring ditch enclosure. Finds at this site included 61 sherds of Anglo-Saxon pottery dated to between the mid sixth and late seventh centuries, iron fragments and a copper alloy belt plate, the design of which would suggest strong links with the cemetery at Broadway and possibly also at Beckford (Dinn and Evans, 1990, 25).

A small number of possible sunken floor buildings have been found in association with cemeteries in the area; at Alveston, Bidford, Blacklow Hill in Leek Wootton and Stretton-on-the-Foss. The evidence for these buildings is characteristically fragmentary and their function quite unclear (Hooke, 1981, 290).

Three more substantial buildings are known within the two counties. In Worcestershire large timber buildings have been found at Fladbury (where querns and a bread oven were also found) and Hatton Rock (Hooke, 1981, 290), whilst in Gloucestershire the massive post holes of a great Hall have been discovered on the site of the old manor house at Tewkesbury (Heighway, 1987, 86). These larger buildings cannot be dated with certainty, but Carolyn Heighway suggests a tenth century origin as likely (1987, 26).
The evidence for secular settlement in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire then is particularly poor. Consequently, it is only possible to infer settlement patterns from what we know to have occurred in other parts of England under Anglo-Saxon influence, however this can be just as problematic. As Della Hooke writes:

"Too little is known about the nature of pre-Conquest settlement to assume that the Anglo-Saxon village was a single nucleated hamlet, although the most thoroughly excavated Anglo-Saxon settlement, at Church Down in Chalton, Hants. [to which we may also now add West Stow, Suffolk], was indeed a settlement of this type. Here charter evidence is important for few major settlements are recorded in the charters near estate boundaries. Yet sparse references to habitations are in the charters, they conclusively indicate the presence of minor settlements which have often not only failed to survive but left no visible trace." (1981,290)

There is also a more fundamental problem to consider when comparisons are considered with examples from other areas of England. This is the extent to which settlement in Worcestershire and particularly Gloucestershire was more English or British in nature during the early post-Roman period.

Figure 2.3.11 illustrates the location of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials in Gloucestershire, representing the period up to around the beginning of the seventh century. It can be seen that their distribution is concentrated in the east of the region with very little penetration to the west of the Cotswold scarp. Whilst the burials found in the east demonstrate a Saxon affinity in terms of material culture (e.g. a group of saucer brooches from Bishops Cleeve) and suggest progression along the Thames valley, the burials in the north appear to be more of Anglian style and would seem to represent a distinct infiltration along the Avon valley (Heighway, 1987, 23)

This evidence, though far from complete, could be used to back up a suggestion that during the earlier post-Roman centuries the Anglo-Saxon penetration into Gloucestershire was marginal. This may suggest that settlement also was only marginally affected by Anglo-Saxon custom, but became increasingly so in time. The degree of assimilation will also depend on the conservatism of the local inhabitants and the numbers of immigrants, neither of which factors are understood with any degree of certainty.

Later in Anglo-Saxon England we see greater move towards nucleation with the development of a system of burhs: small nucleated, defended settlements. The burh defences at Worcester have been mentioned above and were constructed sometime around 890-905 (Dalwood, Buteux and Jackson, 1992, 125). In Gloucestershire the towns of Gloucester and Winchcombe (see figure 2.3.12) arose to hold great influence by the time of Domesday. Winchcombe, already a royal manor in 821, was where the records of the Hwiccian family were kept and was a burial place for the Mercian royal family. In the tenth century it was defended with a rampart, to which a later (tenth/eleventh century) stone fronting was added, and became the shire centre for Winchcombeshire with its own mint by 973. By the tenth century defences at Gloucester were being constructed as part of the burh network and its road network, based upon a grid, was being laid out. It too had a mint before the beginning of the eleventh century (Heighway, 1987, 152-5). Plans of Medieval Gloucester and Winchcombe are given in figures 2.3.10 and 2.3.13.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles tell us that in 879/80 Cirencester was the winter base for a Viking
Figure 2.3.11

Pagan Anglo-Saxon Burials in Gloucestershire to AD 600

(Heighway, 1987, 22)
Figure 2.3.12

Wide Ranging Manors with Property at Gloucester and Winchcombe

(Heighway, 1987, 147)
Figure 2.3.13

Plan of Medieval Winchcombe, Glos. (Heighway, 1987, 152)
force which had arrived in 866 and was to dominate the chronicles for the next twenty years (Savage, 1982, 96), but this episode has left no physical evidence for the archaeologist to ponder.

Another feature of the later Anglo-Saxon period is the increasing trend of church building in stone. A number of these churches have survived in various states of preservation, often with most of the earliest fabric lost to subsequent developments and rebuilds.

A brief survey of the corpus of churches where Anglo-Saxon fabric is visible will be given below, but first it is necessary to point out the difficulty of consistently dating pre-Norman architectural remains. All dates based purely on stylistic grounds, as most are, must be seen as approximate, and because of this I do not intend to pursue any arguments which rely on such dates.

The following is a brief summary of the evidence of Anglo-Saxon building fabric within the study area. All information comes from Taylor and Taylor's gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon churches (1965) unless otherwise stated.

Amönev Crucis: The north door of the nave in the parish church of Holy Rood is of clear pre-Conquest provenance. The long and short quoining is typical of Anglo-Saxon practice and belongs to the recognised 'Escomb fashion' after the famous Anglo-Saxon church in County Durham. The doorway has been blocked for some time and the outer face is now obscured by a heating chamber.

Amönev St. Peter: The nave of this church has been given an Anglo-Saxon provenance on account of its thin walls and the primitive treatment of its round-headed tower arch. No other reason can be given for its pre-Conquest dating and it is pointed out that the treatment of the arch is not only unusual by Norman standards, but also by Anglo-Saxon standards too. This must surely raise doubts despite the apparent certainty of its provenance.

Biburv: Remains of the nave and chancel have survived to be incorporated into the later medieval church. Although little survives by way of characteristic Anglo-Saxon features a single circular double splayed window establishes a pre-Conquest context for the earliest phase of walling in the nave. Furthermore the remains of pilaster strips on the north and south chancel walls, one displaying late Saxon interlaced circles and pellets, also date this part of the building to the same period.

Coin Rogers: A comparatively large amount of the pre-Norman church has been preserved here. The bulk of this non-aisled building made up of nave and chancel is original with characteristic long and short quoining and broad pilaster strips clearly visible. A blocked doorway and the jambs the chancel arch are constructed in the 'Escomb fashion'.

Daglingworth: Here the original Anglo-Saxon nave, chancel and possibly the south porch survive. Long and short quoins survive at all angles of the nave and chancel. Though the porch may also be of pre-Conquest date, it must be later than the nave and chancel, since the former contains an original sundial that would have been rendered useless with the addition of the porch. The sundial
has similarities to three other Anglo-Saxon examples known from churches in Hampshire. The chancel arch jambs at Daglingworth also display 'Escomb fashion' jamb structure. Three carved stones on the interior of the nave wall have been the subject of some disagreement, but Taylor and Taylor prefer a provenance of around the beginning of the eleventh century. Since there is no reason to doubt that these carvings are contemporary with the construction of the nave and chancel this would appear to give a rare case of a possible absolute date for the construction of the original stone church.

**Deerhurst:** Two churches incorporating Anglo-Saxon fabric are found in the small village of Deerhurst. Odda's chapel preserves the original nave of the church and a portion of the chancel which has been incorporated into an adjoining house. 'Escomb fashion' jambs in the chancel arch and north door are the most diagnostic features in evidence. St. Mary's, just a few hundred yards away, contains three different periods of Anglo-Saxon work. Of the earliest period belong the nave, west porch and two side-chapels (or porticus). To a later period, an additional two stories on the west porch and extension of the side-chapels and in a yet later build the chancel (apparently a replacement) and a further extension of the west porch upwards to form a tower. A spectacular display of pre-Norman features may be found in this church, ranging from triangular capped double- and primitively carved-arch windows to a number of Anglo-Saxon sculptures such as an animal head now situated in the west porch.

Surviving fragments of wood scaffolding that had been sealed behind later plaster have been radio-carbon dated. A fragment belonging to the second phase of building, has given a date of 800 AD ± 90, whilst a second fragment taken from higher up in the west porch has given a date of 960 AD ± 80 (Taylor, 1977, 14-15).

**Duntisbourne Rouse:** Although there is some doubt as to whether this church contains Anglo-Saxon work, due to a lack of clearly diagnostic features, the nave is clearly earlier than the chancel which is of comparatively early Norman date. The south doorway is, however, triangular headed which would certainly point in the direction of the pre-Conquest era.

**Edgeworth:** Here part of the nave walls including the blocked north doorway are of Anglo-Saxon build, with 'Escomb fashion' jambs in evidence.

**Gloucester, St. Oswalds:** Excavations at St. Oswalds have revealed the remains of the tenth century foundations (Webster and Cherry, 1975, 160) and a tenth century bell pit including metal fragments and inscribed bellmould. Various pieces of sculptured stone have also been located including two pieces displaying birds intertwined with vine scroll that appear to derive from an Anglo-Saxon period cross (Wilson and Hurst, 1966, 265).

**Leonard Stanley:** The remains of the chapel now serving the community as a barn adjacent to the later Norman church are little in view above ground, with the ground plan including the outline of the eastern apse only defined by excavation. The prime source of evidence which points to a pre-Norman date is a surviving fragment of hood moulding that has survived in a blocked doorway in the north wall. It is of characteristic Anglo-Saxon style having a plain square section.

**Miserden:** All that remains of the pre-Norman work of this church are the remains of two doorways
in the north and south walls of the nave. The south doorway is largely obscured by plaster, but where evidenced it exhibits the same features as the northern blocked doorway with its rudely fashioned impost ornament and typical square sectioned hood moulding.

**Somerford Keynes**: A blocked doorway in the northern aisle wall which displays both 'Escomb fashion' jambs and a primitive carved arch head with what is recognisably Anglo-Saxon inscribed design on the interior tympanum. This inscribed design shows the heads of two monsters opposing each other and has been dated to the first half of the eleventh century.

**Tredington**: Here, the remains of pre-Norman nave walls are preserved above later arcading. Three double splayed windows can be seen just above the arcading on both sides of the church, with a smaller fourth a little higher. A doorway is also evidenced on either side which must once have served a second storey gallery, preserving both hollow moulding and square plain imposts. Clearly the Anglo-Saxon church on this site was of some considerable size and complexity, as must have been St. Mary's, Deerhurst.

**Winston**: The nave at St. Bartholomew's church is of late Anglo-Saxon construction, displaying a sophistication lacking in earlier churches and with a certain character approaching the Norman style. The preserved northern window is similar to that found at Coin Rogers (see above). The northern door is of typical rude construction with massive flat lintel and monolithic jambs, but the south door is in comparison considerably more sophisticated with 'Escomb fashion' jambs and an archivolt-roll which is carried around the whole arched head. 'Escomb fashion' jambs are also in evidence in the chancel arch on the southern side, whilst the northern consists of a single monolith.

Whilst these churches are a fascinating and invaluable insight into the form of pre-Conquest churches in England, it must be remembered that in all likelihood these buildings are the exception rather than the rule in their use of stone. It is generally held, with no evidence to the contrary, that the great majority of church building before the arrival of Norman workmen, foremen and teachers was in wood. It is no surprise then to see that practically all of these churches lie within near reach of or on the Cotswolds, with its vast source of easily worked limestones (see figure 2.3.14). It would therefore be clearly wrong to attempt to use these remains as in any way indicative of the location of pre-mid-eleventh century churches in general.

The absence of any church remains in Wales belonging to this period (with the exceptions of Presteigne which displays strong Anglo-Saxon features and would appear to be culturally of English origin and Capel Maelog, known only from excavation (see Britnell 1989), both of which lie some way out of the study area) would appear to suggest that in the Welsh areas church building was almost exclusively in wood, though it is always possible that there were some exceptions which have been lost to us. One possible explanation for this absence may be the lack of workable soft limestone, with the dominant rocks being the harder Old Red Sandstone and Carboniferous limestones. On the other hand it may be the case that social factors and wealth may have been the controlling factors.
Figure 2.3.14
Churches with Pre-Norman (Mid C11) Fabric in the Study Area
Given the apparent rarity of churches being built in stone before the later eleventh century, it seems reasonable to conclude that quarrying was not an important factor in the economy of the majority of Anglo-Saxon and Welsh communities outside of the Cotswold regions.

**COMPARISON:**

Perhaps the most obvious feature that the two regions have in common is the great paucity of evidence for settlement in this period, and what evidence there is often isolated and fragmentary. In the region of Wales considered only three definite settlement sites can be established during the six centuries covered. The evidence in the English counties is little better.

In both regions there appears to be good evidence to support the assertion that life continued within the confines of the principal Roman centres at least into the sixth century. This evidence is more definite for the cities of Worcester and Gloucester, but the finds encountered at Caerleon and Caerwent, whilst not conclusive, would also seem to point in this direction. The record at Gloucester and Worcester peters out during the sixth century to re-emerge a couple of centuries later with the Welsh Roman cities providing meagre evidence for continued use, though an ecclesiastical context cannot be ruled out.

Outside of the Roman cities a divergence in settlement type can be discerned. In Gloucestershire and Worcestershire sunken feature buildings begin to appear, but are not to be found in Wales. In turn the use of hillforts and crannogs as evidenced at Dinas Powys and Llangorse respectively is absent from the English areas. Though it must be noted that there is no evidence to suggest that these forms were anything other than rare in Wales either.

Lastly the emergence of a gradual move towards nucleation in England in the ninth century, through the construction of the burh network, appears to be particular to England, with no evidence for a similar move towards secular urban settlement to the west of Offa's Dyke in the early medieval period.

In conclusion then, whilst certain distinctions can be made, notably the extent to which settlements were being planned in England during the ninth century and onwards, the evidence for the period as a whole is so poor that it is impossible to make a strong case for any dominant patterns of settlement in this corner of Britain during the early middle ages based on archaeological evidence alone.
CASTLES AND THE NEXT CENTURY.

The preservation of eleventh and twelfth century castles within the research area is far from consistent. Perhaps the best preserved example is Cardiff Castle which is located within the still upstanding Roman walls of the older fort. The present keep belongs to the twelfth century whilst the prominent motte is of eleventh century date (Whittle, 1992, 90). On the other hand nothing remains of Gloucester castle above ground level; it was destroyed in 1791 and lay on the site of the present prison (Renn, 1973, 194-5).

The importance of castles to this study lies in the non-defensive function of the castle. The definition of the castle given by R. A. Brown below goes some way to filling out the multi-faceted function of this type of structure:

"It is the integrated combination of residence and fortress that constitutes a castle and if we add that it was the private residence of a lord (any lord, not necessarily the king or ruler, and private as opposed to public or communal), we point the contrast further between the castle and both the larger, communal fortifications which in western Europe preceded it (and also existed, of course, parallel with it) in the form of fortified towns, and the exclusively military and national fortifications and defences which later took its place." (Brown, 1989, 6)

The castle, then, may be understood as a fortified 'home', and thus require enough food (of lordly quality and quantity) to sustain itself.

Figure 2.3.15 illustrates the castles within the study region, and the region immediately to the north, that belong to the eleventh century, whilst figure 2.3.16 presents the scene within the study area by the end of the twelfth century.

Amongst the eleventh century castles the influence of William fitz Osbern is clearly dominant, being solely responsible for seven out of the eleven castles belonging to the study region. Fitz Osbern was appointed Lord of Herefordshire by William I, being given permission to build castles where needed and was later to receive his authority over the north and west of England during William's first absence in Normandy (Armitage, 1912, 103). He died in 1071. His castles, at Berkeley, Chepstow, Monmouth, Ewyas, Clifford (which Domesday [i., 183a, 2.] specifically states was built on waste ground), Wigmore and his home base of Hereford are a testimony not only to his aspirations to power in this region, but also his success. Of particular interest is the Domesday record referring to Ewyas, which states that William rebuilt the castle making it clear that an earlier castle once stood in its place. As Armitage remarks:

"This is the only case in the survey where we hear of a castle being rebuilt by the Normans. We naturally look to one of King Edward's Norman favourites as the first founder, for they alone are said by history to have built castles on the Welsh Marches before the Conquest." (1912, 150)

There is a striking correspondence between the location of these eleventh century castles and that of the Roman fortifications. This can be seen on two levels: first on the local level and second their overall distribution. Each will be dealt with in turn.
Figure 2.3.15

Eleventh-Century Castles in the Southern Marches (Renn, 1987, 66)
Figure 2.3.16
Castles in the Study Area
Built Before 1200
The early Norman castles are almost always to be found situated on fairly low lying ground, on the banks of a river of moderate size. This is certainly the case at Berkeley, Cardiff, Caerleon, Ewyas, Gloucester, Hereford and Monmouth. The case at Chepstow is less clear since the castle is situated atop cliffs some 40m high above the River Wye. However, in this region it is helpful to bear in mind that the Wye has cut downwards through the Carboniferous limestones to form a high shear sided valley, but that it has left above the cliffs a structure not untypical of many river valleys; a broadly 'V'-shaped valley that extends for approximately a mile or so either side. Within this raised river valley the location of Chepstow Castle is absolutely typical in that it lies close to the river (horizontally speaking) and in the lower reaches of the valley, as is the case with the above examples.

This pattern of location has been noted above in relation to Roman forts and fortresses and can be explained by the fact that certain defensive and tactical aspects were common to both the Roman tacticians and their Norman counterparts. One aspect is that riverside sites are easier to defend since one or possibly more of the approaches to the fortification are essentially cut off to attackers, or else serve as a major hindrance. A second point is that there is a need for a fairly sizeable amount of fresh water for the military personnel and their horses if present. The third important factor, one of accessibility and ease of movement along valleys brings us on to the second level, that of the overall distribution of the sites.

There is a marked similarity in the spatial distribution of the eleventh century castles and the distribution of the much earlier Roman forts and fortresses. This is that great use is made in both cases of river valleys to penetrate into the Welsh highlands, the principal difference being that upland penetration in the Roman fort network was along the Usk whereas in the eleventh century fortifications it was along the Wye and Monnow rivers.

The similarity of the location of the various fortifications between the two periods is accounted for by one important similarity between the rationale of the two invaders. This is the function of these installations not only as defensive and thus passive strongholds, but also as active bases for the further penetration and conquest of Wales along the network of valleys; the principal communication routes both then and now (Brown, 1989, 67).

Apparent similarities in the Welsh coastal lowlands and in England, however, are a slightly different issue. As has been mentioned, at Cardiff the actual site of the Roman fort was used by early Norman builders. The reason for this coincidence no doubt has much to do with the post-Roman history of the centre; it certainly cannot be explained by the availability of stone building materials since the initial castle buildings were of wood. As has been referred to above both Gloucester and Worcester were important towns by the time of the Norman conquest in England. Cardiff, by the late eleventh century, was a newly developing borough, under the direct influence of Robert of Gloucester. The position of Caerleon is less clear in terms of secular or ecclesiastical power.
The comparison between the two episodes of conquest is obvious, but there are many differences, the most important of which is that the initial phase of the Roman occupation of this region was initially purely military, whereas from the outset the Norman conquest brought with it a great many differences in the organisation of land tenure and ownership. The castle then was not merely a defensive military structure, but from the beginning was to be the centre of the lord's power and his estate.

Figure 2.3.16, illustrating the distribution of castles that existed by the end of the twelfth century, displays a landscape far more densely covered with castles. Yet here too the concentration of installations along the Wye and Monnow river valleys is visible as is the lack of development along the Usk. Castle sites can also be seen to be located away from the larger rivers, though rarely do sites lie far from smaller water courses. Those that do lie further from rivers appear to form a distinct type of castle: the hill top castle. In this group are Dinas Powys, Glamorgan; Bwlch y Ddinas, Powys; Llanbeder, Gwent; Herefordshire Beacon, Herefordshire and Upper slaughter in Gloucestershire. With the sole exception of Upper Slaughter, all of these upland fortifications make use of, or in the case of Llanbeder are adjacent to, earlier prehistoric hillfort locations where defensive structures were already present to a lesser or greater degree of disrepair to be made use of. It is interesting to note that only one pre-thirteenth century castle, that of Worcester itself, has been identified in Worcestershire.
CONCLUSION.

For Wales, then, the period covered in this section is a period that lies between conquests. It was begun by the Roman conquest and was ended by the beginnings of a second and possibly even more thorough conquest. In the English regions, however, a third transition, the rise of Anglo-Saxon dominance, complicates matters further. The Roman and Norman military eras have left numerous physical remains. These remains point to a landscape at two distinct times that, although in many respects widely at variance with each other, share a theme of conquest and of penetration from the east to the west. Thus, the waterside location of fortifications and the reliance on the river valleys of Wales that traverse the nation between the inhospitable mountainous highlands is apparent in both periods. Likewise in England we see a density of villa building in the Cotswolds matched by a concentration of stone church building in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

Such similarities, however, cannot be allowed to give the impression of any great continuity between the two periods. We have seen that the evidence for the intervening 600 years is sparse and the settlements discovered so far quite different from those that preceded and succeeded them.
3.1 THE WRITTEN SOURCES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I shall briefly introduce the written sources on which this study is based. It is not intended to be a comprehensive synopsis of charter writing in early medieval Europe or even of the individual texts involved. Rather, I shall focus on the attributes of charters that inform a study of this kind.

At its simplest a charter is a written record of a transfer of property rights between two persons. A further and essential aspect of charters is that their origins are firmly rooted in the Roman legal framework (James, 1982, 85).

Whilst examples can be found of the transfer of different types of property (e.g. buildings, land and rights) between different groups of people (e.g. royalty, freemen and various religious), by far the most common transaction encountered in early medieval charters is the transfer of land (often with buildings [normally a church of some kind]) from a lay individual to the church-often by gift, sometimes by sale. It is this type of charter which forms the majority of evidence for this study. However, by the tenth century, leases of land from church to laity were becoming more common in England and a number of such charters have been drawn upon when considering the area around Worcestershire.

Although charters tended to be written using standard formulae, they can still demonstrate considerable variation in the details they record and the language they are written in. Some accounts contain detailed narratives, giving the background to the transactions they describe: for example LL237b describes how Tewdwr ap Elisedd had stolen bishop Libiau's food-rent and, unable to pay the consequent reparation in gold, was pardoned when he gave Libiau land at Llanfihangel Cwm Du. Most, however, give no background at all, such as LL237a which immediately precedes LL237b above.

Whilst Latin is the dominant language throughout, being as it was the language of the church that possessed a near monopoly on writing, later charters do present a more widespread use of vernacular, particularly of old English. This trend is particularly evident in boundary clauses which use Welsh or old English, often intermingled with Latin words, even where the main text maintains the use of Latin. The use of vernacular in the description of boundaries has clear advantages when the features described are probably best known to those who have local knowledge who may well have little or no grasp of Latin. An understanding of the use of various Latin terms can be of much use when assessing the reliability of charters. An example of this is the use of demonstrably early terms (e.g. uncia and modius) in charters which in other respects
appear to be later, which could reasonably be taken as evidence of an early core to the charter that has subsequently undergone editing (c.f. Davies, 1979, 3).

The structure of charters can be seen to be standard to the extent that they almost always include certain key features, but they differ in the way in which these features are applied. Even the most basic charter must contain the identity of the giver and receiver, what it is that is given and for how long it is given. A number of charters, however, include standard additional data:
- Name of the giver(s)
- Name of the person who must approve the giver's right to give (rarer)
- Name of the recipient
- Name of the witnesses (often not copied in later versions)
- The property transferred
- The bounds of the property (if land)
- The duration of the transfer (usually in perpetuity)
- A narration of the background to the transfer (rarer)
- Some form of date

For a more detailed analysis of the charter formulae witnessed in the Worcester and Llandaff corpora see Davies, W. (1973b).

Having described the common features found within charters, I shall briefly expand on how, by studying the above features, historians can begin to make sense of groups of charters.

Occasionally extant charters appear in their original hand: a noteworthy example of such a charter is B.L. MS. Cotton Augustus II.3, which is referred to in the Pilot Study as corroborating other signatures found in K69 referring to the estate at Daylesford. More typically charters are encountered in collections, cartularies, that have been assembled by religious houses. This is the case with the majority of charters referring to the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire region and all of the charters relating to the Llandaff possessions used in this study.

As will be discussed below these collections can be dated to the eleventh/twelfth centuries—considerably later than the supposed original date of the earliest charters contained within them. The historical context of the collections will be discussed below, but it should be stated here that a strong element of political self-interest can be deduced from their context. This element of self-interest may in itself lead one to think carefully about the authenticity of the charters, but the careful study of the charters themselves also provides much evidence that the final form of a charter may be considerably different from its original form.
Of great value in assessing the authenticity of charter texts are the religious formulae used and the record of witnesses. The following is an example of the way in which witness lists can raise doubts about the integrity of the existing version of a charter:

“There are suspicious elements in the clerical witness list since, though both Tyrchan and Cynfwr have long and active witnessing lives, neither appears until late in the reign of Morgan, except in this charter [LL148]; the presence of the abbots [Concen and Colbrt], however, fixes this charter early in the reign of Morgan. It is therefore highly unlikely that both the abbots and these two witnesses were present at this transaction. It is impossible to be sure which have been added but there may be slightly more reason to suspect the two clerical witnesses; the clerical list Confur, Trychan, Berthguin, Catguare includes the names of three bishops and may have been appropriated from some episcopal list.” (Davies, 1979, 99)

Given this, it can be appreciated that there is considerable scepticism about using early medieval charters as evidence for transactions dating much before the twelfth century. However, formulae can also reveal sub-groups which can be seen to relate to earlier editing phases. Likewise witness lists can corroborate each other even though other features such as the formulae may be demonstrably later. Consequently it is possible to recognise certain ‘early’ elements within a much later edition. It is always important to recognise that because some parts of a charter are clearly later in origin, this does not in itself mean that there is not a reliable origin portion within the same document.

The detailed analysis of charter texts is a complex exercise and beyond the scope of many studies which of necessity must rely upon the evidence they provide. Thankfully, there are a number of standard works, by eminent historians, which can be referred to when considering the authenticity of a charter text. When considering the Llandaff collection Wendy Davies’ “The Llandaff Charters” (1979) is a key text. The work sets out the case for the dating of various phases of editing with comments regarding the authenticity of each charter in turn. As regards the English charters there are often a number of historians who have made comments regarding the authenticity of individual charters, these comments are conveniently summarised in P.H. Sawyer’s “Anglo-Saxon Charters” (1968). Key amongst the historians whose views ought to be consulted are H.P.R. Finberg (1953, 1955, 1957, 1961 & 1964), W.H. Stevenson (1911 & 1912) and D. Whitelock (1955). The way in which this study incorporates concepts of authenticity at its various stages is discussed in the Methodology chapter.

THE LLANDAFF CHARTERS

The Liber Landavensis is a composition written in nine identifiable hands. The central portion, consisting of all the charters and lives of Bishops Dyfrig, Teilo and Euddogwy, is written in a single hand; identified as Hand A by Evans (1893) and dated to around the second quarter of the twelfth century. Christopher Brooke discusses the identity of Hand A in some depth, concluding that the author must have had close links with Llancarfan, the most likely candidate being Caradog (1986, 31), though his argument for the identification of Caradog is quite speculative. The remaining hands appear to date from between the late twelfth and early
The context for the creation of the work centres upon the career of Bishop Urban who was consecrated as bishop 1107 by the Archbishop of Canterbury and who began building the cathedral at Llandaff in 1120. In his role Urban was closely involved in a dispute with the bishops of Hereford and St Davids regarding the diocesan boundaries of the Llandaff bishopric. The argument appeared to have been decided for Urban when Rome ruled in his favour in 1128, but the decision was reversed in 1133 - deciding the issue once and for all.

Davies (1979) and Brooke (1986) come to slightly different conclusions about the position of the bulk of the Llandaff text (the portion in Hand A): Davies sees the work as being compiled to support the claims of Llandaff (i.e. dating to before 1133), whereas Brooke, writing earlier, sees it as a commemoration of the life of Urban's struggle following his death (i.e. after 1133). In either case both see the assembly of the work as consisting of the pasting together of various existing works with some new additions.

In either case the charters can be seen to have been brought together to back up the claims of the Llandaff bishopric. This must raise doubts as to the legitimacy of Llandaff's claim to the properties, but without the records of St. Davids or Hereford, which are now lost, this is a question that cannot be answered. However, whether or not Llandaff was justified in claiming some charters for itself is a different issue from their original authenticity, although some early charters appear to be largely false accounts (e.g. LL76b). The authenticity of individual charters is discussed when relevant in the body of the study text and the estate summaries in the pilot study.

THE WORCESTER CHARTERS

More than one document has been used as a source of charter evidence for the area of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire covered, but all but a small few of the charters belong to B.M., Cotton Tiberius A xiii, often known as Hemming's Cartulary. The whole work was thought to have been produced by a single religious (Hemming) by Hearne (1723), but later investigation has identified eight hands in all, only one of which is still regarded as belonging to Hemming (Ker, 1948, 49). Ker identifies two distinct sections in the work, the first consisting of five hands and the second consisting of three. Of the second section he notes that the scripts-

"...belong to the period of transition from the flat and linear roundness usual to English manuscripts of the middle and third quarter of the eleventh century to the more pointed roundness of the early twelfth century" (Ker, 1948, 50).

Internal evidence supports a date for the second section of the last decade of the eleventh century, whilst using the same techniques the first section is dated to the first half of the eleventh century.
The purpose of the collection is not clearly identified but its content appear to support a view that the bulk of the work was a response to or lament for the alienation of properties away from Worcester. As stated above I have relied heavily on the views of historians, such as Finberg, when considering the reliability of these and other charters relating to Worcester/Gloucestershire which are discussed where relevant in the body of the study text and the estate summaries in the pilot study.
3.2 METHODOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter outlines the approach taken in this project, including:

- An overview of the general approach used to gain more information about the early medieval landscape
- The nature of the decisions made regarding which sources of data to investigate
- How these sources have been used and brought together to reach meaningful conclusions.

It is appropriate here to state the two basic questions that are being asked in this study:

1) What information is available (i.e. what is already known)?
2) What is it that the research is trying to find out?

This section will expand on these two questions. Additionally the way in which different approaches to using the sources (notably by considering individual estates, small clusters of estates and by taking a much larger area) can be combined to present the fullest possible picture of the nature of the estates and their surrounding landscape will be explored. The results of these three approaches are presented in sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

OVERVIEW:

The archaeological survey of the area (section 2.3) has reported that for both the Roman and mid-medieval periods there are numerous sources of evidence which relate to settlement and how people have organised themselves within the natural and semi-natural environment. The term 'semi-natural' is used because much of Britain had been occupied for at least 10,000 years before the period of Roman occupation with, in places where evidence exists, a marked effect on the natural environment.

Though much Roman and mid-medieval settlement is lost, there remains enough evidence to identify certain trends; if only for certain types of settlement. For example, the concentration of Roman towns and cities in south east Wales upon more fertile and gently sloping lowlands has been demonstrated (see section 2.3). At the end of our period it is evident that the greatest density
of late Anglo-Saxon stone churches is to be found on the higher limestone dominated Cotswold complex, no doubt due to the availability of stone in this area (see Figure 2.3.14).

The evidence for settlement sites in the intervening period however is particularly poor. There is not only insufficient evidence to discuss the nature of the overall settlement of the region, but also to discuss with any authority trends relating to particular types of settlement, such as towns or churches. In fact, with the exception of a few isolated examples, it is not even certain what kinds of settlement existed between the sixth and eleventh centuries in western Britain.

The goal of this project is to put to use what are perhaps the greatest sources of settlement evidence for the period between the sixth and eleventh centuries; the charter collections of ecclesiastical centres, in particular those collected at the centres of Llandaff and Worcester. These sources refer to the gifts of churches and land to and occasionally leases made by these ecclesiastical authorities:

- Churches may be seen as manifestations of settlement, even if they do not necessarily possess a resident priest or community. They are nonetheless part of man's activity in the landscape; removing/modifying what is natural and replacing it with what is essentially 'man-made'. In this case a building and presumably some form of enclosure at the very least.

- The gift of land that normally accompanies the church is particularly significant. The descriptions of these units frequently indicate that the land was cultivated, referring not only to agricultural features, but occasionally to man made features such as roads and even less frequently actual settlements.

The charters, then, refer mostly to grants of churches, in association with pieces of land already under human exploitation. This phenomenon poses a number of questions:

1) What is the relationship between the church and the land units?
2) Can the units be linked to any natural features, e.g. rivers or hill tops?
3) What was the quality of these units in agricultural terms?
4) How were these units exploited?
5) How did the units fit into the surrounding landscape?
6) How do the units relate to what we know of the settlement patterns of earlier and later periods?
7) How do the properties claimed by Llandaff and Worcester compare with each other?

These questions require a working method that must first identify which questions the charter evidence can be expected to answer with any degree of certainty. The best way of doing this is to
begin with a pilot study, focusing on a small number of estates for which there is good evidence.

Having identified which of the above questions may be answered by starting with a small number of estates, it will be necessary to identify a greater number of estates and apply the more fruitful lines of research to them.

THE PILOT STUDY:

The pilot study will consider every aspect of the history and physical characteristics of a small number of estates. Certain features will be seen to be of use in the understanding of the estates and the landscape though others, whilst being of interest, will not lend themselves to further study.

Initially this approach requires a means of identifying a group of estates consisting of a small enough number of members to reasonably allow a study of some depth. To this end three criteria have been identified. These criteria will serve a twofold purpose:

• Reducing the number of estates included in the pilot study.
• Giving the greatest amount of firm evidence with which to conduct remainder of the study.

The three criteria are:

1) The charter should be regarded as deriving from a credible early record of the event described.
2) The bounds of the estate should be traceable with a reasonable degree of certainty. Where there is doubt about a portion of the boundary the estate will only be included if the effect on its area is less than 10% of its whole area.
3) The charter should state that the land is donated for the purpose of founding a church/monastery or in the western area of the study region that the estate includes a known church with an enclosure.

The first criterion relates to the nature of the charter itself. It holds that the charter must be regarded as authentic by those historians who in the past have studied them. Therefore, use has been made of the views of Wendy Davies as expressed in “The Llandaff Charters” (1979) as regards the charter collection of Llandaff, whilst for those charters belonging to Worcester the views of various scholars have been taken into account, notable amongst them are H. P. R. Finberg and D. Whitelock (see chapter 3.1 “The Written Sources”).
The second criterion relates to the certainty with which the boundaries of the estates can be identified. It is obviously highly problematic to study the characteristics of a piece of land if its boundaries are not known. Thus secure boundaries are required for estates to be included in the pilot study. However, the matter of tracing estate boundaries on maps and in the field is not an exact science. It is rarely, if ever, possible to identify the exact route taken between two markers (it does not necessarily follow that this was even the case at the time of the transaction) and not infrequently the boundary markers themselves cannot be identified. Despite this, there are a good number of estates where it is possible to identify good approximations of the original boundaries. A limit of error to within 10%, from experience, is satisfactory. Thus an estate of around 500 acres would be included if its area could be identified to within less than 50 acres. This may sound a lot expressed in this way but on a 1:25000 scale map such a difference is barely noticeable.

The final criterion differs depending on the region within the study area as a whole. In the western half of the area the presence of a church which is enclosed by a churchyard in connection with an estate is necessary if it is to be included. The reason for this is that it offers a starting point when it comes to considering the possible antiquity of the church site. This follows work carried out in this area by Diane Brook (1992, 77-89). Brook's work examined the possibility of identifying earlier church sites by studying the form and size of the churchyard; i.e. that churches with circular or curved churchyards may be of early origin. As churches with such churchyards do not occur in the eastern 'English' region a different criterion needs to be used. This second requirement is that the charter should refer to the actual founding of a religious centre as opposed to the gift of an already existing ecclesiastical building or buildings. Thus establishing a fixed historical context for the building.

Having used the above criteria to identify a manageable number of estates, it is necessary to decide which types of data need be collected. The types of data considered can be roughly divided into three groups:

1) Natural physical features (e.g. streams and soils)

2) Non-natural physical features (e.g. roads and ditches)

3) Written histories/surveys (e.g. Domesday)

As regards natural physical features the following aspects of each estate will be mapped and/or considered: its geology, topography, hydrology and soil coverage.

Non-natural physical evidence consists of any archaeological finds and structures located in connection with the estate. The most common being references to, and the known existence of, roads and settlements.

Lastly, written histories/surveys comprise later historical sources which have a bearing on the
understanding of the history and exploitation of the estates: notable are the Domesday survey (late
eleventh century), the tithe maps and apportionments (1830/40s) and the twentieth century land use
and land quality maps published by the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF).

In addition to written summaries for each of the estates studied, a series of maps were created
for each estate indicating the following features. These are given in full in Appendix A.

1) Topography: Contour lines can be added to the base maps, with 10m intervals being chosen as
the most convenient to record. This immediately gives a third dimension to the estate and begins to
define certain distinguishable zones within the area.

2) Geology: Maps illustrating the underlying rocks can be created for those areas with any
discernible geological variation. However, with a significant portion of the study area lying wholly
within the massive expanse of Old Red Sandstone, there will be some estates that do not require
this map.

3) Soil coverage: Soil associations were mapped in accordance with the series of maps published
by the British Soil Survey. This exercise was undertaken in conjunction with the descriptions of the
various soil groups published in a series of regional surveys accompanying the maps. Each soil is
indicated by a three figure number, which is then usually followed by a letter. For example the
Elmton 1 soil association appears on maps as 343a. These codes are a shorthand way of referring
to the soil groups and are only used on maps. In the text however the full name of the soils will be
used. A full list of soils and their codes is given in appendix C.

4) Modern land classification: The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) produce two
key maps relating to the modern landscape. The first being a land quality classification based on
data compiled during the 1970s. This classification uses a five point scale with grade 1 being the
best agricultural land and grade 5 the worst. For example, land of grade 1 will have no or only very
minor physical limitations to agricultural use. The soils will be well drained, loamy or peaty and
occur on gentle slopes. They will be well supplied with nutrients and highly responsive to fertilisers,
thus giving high yields.

5) Modern land use: Another map produced by MAFF presents modern land use, again based on
data attained during the 1970s. This presents a useful compliment to the land classification map,
allowing for comparison between the two and from this a greater understanding of the link between
land potential and use in the modern world.

6) Tithe map: In order to begin to project the agricultural landscape backwards reference is made to
the tithe maps which were produced during the 1830s and 40s. These maps present a landscape
where both the effects of urbanisation are less and field boundaries are often different from their
modern counterparts.
THE IMPACT OF THE PILOT STUDY:

Having completed the pilot study it is evident that certain avenues of investigation are more productive than others. In order to make sense of the choices made regarding the methodology for further research it is necessary briefly to summarise some of the more important results from the pilot study.

NATURAL PHYSICAL FEATURES:

Those natural physical features which were of particular use were topography, hydrology and soil coverage, since they have great consequences in terms of exploitation (this will be returned to below). The underlying geology was of less direct value to understanding the estates - its main impact being its influence over the three useful features identified above.

NON-NATURAL PHYSICAL FEATURES:

The relationship of estates with non-natural physical features (e.g. roads and settlements) was interesting where evidence was available. However, the evidence was far from consistent, difficult to date with any precision and the problems of handling negative evidence suggested that the wider application of such relationships would not be profitable.

WRITTEN HISTORIES/SURVEYS:

The relevance of the historical sources depends greatly on the particular source. Domesday surveys are a valuable record of exploitation and are of great use. Unfortunately, they only cover the eastern half of the study area. The tithe survey is an interesting starting point for considering the historical land use of areas, but the information is patchy, especially in the west and consequently overly time consuming bearing in mind its value. Lastly, the maps regarding modern land classification and use, whilst very interesting, were shown to be inappropriate for a study of the early medieval period. However, out of the difficulties of using modern land classification information came the realisation of the need to develop a new land classification system which could be applied to the medieval period.

So, by the end of the pilot study a number of points could be made (see chapter 4.1 for a detailed summary), though two in particular stand out:

1) In all but one example the location of a pre-Norman church site could not be established and as a result aspects of church location within the estate and any links between church location and
the nature of the landscape should not pursued further. The same problem exists for non-ecclesiastical settlement sites, and the decision not to pursue this line of research further applies here also.

2) There are two fundamental problems in using the series of modern land classification maps for a study of this period. First, the classification is wholly skewed towards arable and vegetable cropping: thus a low grade is given to land because it is not suitable for arable crops, though it may still be of high potential for pasture or meadow. Such a bias is the result of modern economic factors which are unlikely to have existed during the period studied. Secondly, the classification assumes the large scale use of, and the response of land to lime and fertilisers, for which there is no evidence of use on anything approaching a modern scale during the early medieval period.

It is therefore necessary to devise a land classification that can be applied to the early medieval period. The three principal factors in any land classification are topography, soil type and hydrology. Taking into account these three factors with regard to the suitability of the land to produce specific agricultural produce, a five point system has been developed using the following classifications:

1) **Good**: Land capable of producing both high crop and grass yields.

2) **Moderately Good**: Land capable of producing one of either good grass or crop yields, with the remainder capable of moderate, but not poor yields.

3) **Moderate**: Land where moderate yields of both grass and crops could be sustained or a good yield of one with only a poor yield for the other.

4) **Moderately Poor**: Land where one of either crops or grass might be expected to provide a moderate yield, whilst the other would only give a poor yield.

5) **Poor**: Land only capable of producing a poor yield of either crops or grass.

Where applicable other factors must also be taken into account, such as opportunities for significant levels of fishing. For example fish weirs are referred to in charters pertaining to Caldicot of supposedly late ninth century date and to Chepstow of supposed seventh century date.

This scale removes any inordinate bias towards arable based agricultural production, giving equal standing to quality grass land. As regards the natural potential of the soil, recourse has been made to the range of regional soil surveys published by the British Soil Survey. Using these surveys it is possible to assess the value and versatility of a given soil before fertilisers and lime are added.
THE INCLUSION OF A GREATER NUMBER OF ESTATES:

With the pilot study completed a second phase of the research was begun with the goal of identifying a much larger corpus of estates. This phase involved considering all estates which met the first two criteria outlined above. It did not, however, insist on an enclosed church (as stated above the exercise of locating early churches is too problematic) or a charter recording a grant of land on which a church/monastery was to be founded. It also included land held by the Abbeys of Pershore and Evesham, which are also found in the project area. The new land classification could then be applied to a larger corpus and conclusions drawn.

The number of estates arrived at by the second set of criteria was disappointing: raising the total number of sites from nine to thirty. The larger group did, however, prove invaluable in the further development of the modified land classification system. It also stimulated ideas about how to proceed if a yet larger group of estates could be included.

In order to increase the number of estates further other charters were also consulted, as were unattached bounds and leases of church land. As relationships relating to the date of grants had proved inconclusive, the issue of the exact date of charters need not necessarily bar them from this project, since, as discussed in section 3.1 "The Written Sources", they represent lands which were claimed by the relative centres by the eleventh century.

Once a larger group of estates is assembled the data relating to their physical properties will be considered in two ways. First, by examining the distribution of estates throughout the whole study area and second, by focusing on smaller areas with a high concentration of estates.

THE AREA AS A WHOLE:

By looking at as large an area as possible it is proposed to examine the estates as a whole within the landscape. Taking an area of this size will allow comparisons to be drawn between the estates of the two centres at Llandaff and Worcester. The landscape of the two areas of estates (essentially Herefordshire/Gwent and Gloucestershire/Worcestershire) are quite different and it will be especially valuable to examine what effects, if any, the landscape of the two regions has on the nature of land holding.

REGIONAL APPROACH:

Second, it is possible to conduct a study on an intermediate scale: somewhere between individual estates (as in the pilot study) on the one hand and, on the other, comparing trends that
occur throughout the whole region or between the eastern and western regions.

To this end three regions of approximately 100sq miles were identified, each containing a significant number of estates, and having some degree of uniformity of landscape. In this way the estates could be looked at as groups within a local context. This approach will facilitate a fusion between the detailed analysis of the pilot study and the kind of comparison that can only take place on a larger scale.

It is, however, apparent when considering the examination of areas some 100sq miles in size that the five point land classification will tend to over simplify the situation. The five point scale is ideal for small areas such as individual estates where there is only a relatively modest degree of soil and topographical variation, but it is inappropriate when much greater variation is likely.

Therefore, instead of the simple five point scale outlined above, a ten point scale is proposed. In this classification each soil will be given a grade along the same lines as previously (ranging from good to poor). Then each soil division will be subdivided according to slope (gentle or excessive) in the following manner.

1) Good soil with gentle slope
2) Moderately good soil with gentle slope
3) Moderate soil with gentle slope
4) Moderately poor soil with gentle slope
5) Good soil with excessive slope
6) Moderately good soil with excessive slope
7) Moderate soil with excessive slope
8) Moderately poor soil with excessive slope
9) Poor soil with gentle slope
10) Poor soil with excessive slope

A slope is regarded as excessive if it is greater than approximately 35 degrees; such a slope would have presented some difficulty in any cultivation involving human or animals as a source of pulling power and is generally still the limit for modern arable farming methods.

The scale is designed so that the extreme ends of the scale represent either the best or worst land possible. The situation, however, becomes more complex towards the centre of the scale. For example, if in the case of 4), the soil (Moderately poor with gentle slopes) was poor with regard to crops, as is not uncommonly the case, it is practically of no more use than 8) (Moderately poor with
excessive slopes) which due to its greater slopes, regardless of whether the soil is moderate or poor for crops, will be poor for crop growth. This scale must therefore be treated with some caution. The following limits of interpretation are suggested when looking at mapped areas: land classified 1) is the best quality land, followed by 2) and then 3), whilst 9) and then 10) represent the worst land available. Should differences of greater subtlety, involving the central points of the scale be significant they will be discussed in more detail where relevant.

Given this classification it will be possible discuss the location of ecclesiastical estates in terms of the overall quality of the region, thus providing a means of answering the question- 'did the ecclesiastical authorities own land of better or worse quality in a given region than secular land holders?"
4.1 THE PILOT STUDY

This chapter summarises the results of the pilot study as described in chapter 3.2 “Methodology”. In all nine estates met the criteria laid out in that chapter (initially this number was ten but the estate at Ismere had to be rejected when its bounds were shown to be incorrectly identified). Appendix A presents a detailed report with maps for each of the estates included in the pilot study. Reference should be made to these reports when reading this chapter and individual references to them will not be made in the text.

THE SIZE OF THE ESTATES:

The estates selected for the pilot study range in size from approximately 157 acres at Llanwarne to approximately 1700 acres at Ewenny. Just under half of these estates (four) are 1100 acres or over, whilst the reminder are below 700 acres, leaving a range of approximately 400 acres not evidenced by these estates. The approximate size of each estate is presented in the table below, in which the grants are given in date order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Approx. date</th>
<th>Size (acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ballingham</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tidenham</td>
<td>703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ewenny</td>
<td>705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wonastow</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Llanwarne</td>
<td>758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Itton</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>St. Brides-S.-E.</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Llanbeder</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1.1: The Relationship Between Estate Size and Date.
This idea of contrasting the date of grants with their size follows past work carried out by Wendy Davies, who has written of south-east Wales:

"Just as it is the smaller unit (the modius) that became predominant, so the grants themselves tended to be smaller after the late eighth century. There are no grants bigger than 1000 acres (two unciae) after c. 740 (195), and there are only six grants bigger than 250 acres (six modii) which are not confirmations of previous grants after c. 760." (Davies, 1978, 57)

It is clear from the above table that there are within this sample two grants of greater area than 1000 acres which are later than c.740. Neither of these estates has any indication of their size recorded in the relevant charters (LL171b and LL261), and their area has only been realised after extensive work tracing their bounds on maps and in the field.

Figure 4.1.1, contrasts the date and size of the above donations from which it would appear that there is no obvious correlation between the size of an estate and the date of its grant, though it might be argued that there is a decrease over time of the size of the estates over 1000 acres. The fact that two 1000 + acre estates have emerged from this study does suggest that the statement above by Wendy Davies may be revised, though the point Davies makes relates primarily to the fragmentation of earlier larger estates. It will also be seen below (in the "Land Quality and Use" sub-section) that a clear link between the size of an estate and the quality of its land can be demonstrated. This link appears to provide a clearer framework than a relationship with the date of grants for understanding the context of estate size.
THE ESTATES IN GEOLOGICAL CONTEXT:

SUMMARY AND COMPARISON:

By far the most frequently occurring rock formation amongst the estates examined in the pilot study is the Lower Old Red Sandstone (O.R.S.) sequence. This group of iron-rich, and consequently red-stained, sandstones covers an extensive area either side of the present southern border of Wales and England. It is principally within the confines of this formation that the Wye valley and its delta of tributaries are found; the only exception to this being the southern-most reaches of the Wye, where the river carves high and craggy cliffs out of Carboniferous limestones, as can be seen in and around Chepstow.

Three estates lie wholly upon Lower O.R.S. rocks: Llanwarne, Ballingham and Wonastow. A further two (Itton and Llanbeder) are mostly underlain by this formation, but with small portions underlain by other formations. A small strip of land associated with Tidenham also lies upon this rock, but it is of insignificant size.

The occurrence of lower O.R.S. rocks in over half of the land units in the pilot study is of little surprise; it is inevitable in a collection of charters relating to the Ergyng region, which lies at the heart of the massive Lower O.R.S. outcrop in this part of Britain.

Llanbeder lies almost exclusively upon this formation with just the southern-most tip of the land lying on rocks which make-up the much softer Triassic Mudstones. The Triassic Mudstones occur in a narrow band in this region, separating the Lower O.R.S. and the hard, grey Lower Carboniferous Limestones of the Tournaisian and Visean sequences. The amount of the Llanbeder estate that lies upon these mudstones is minimal and probably quite insignificant, having little effect on the landscape.

Itton, on the other hand, is founded upon two additional formations to the Lower O.R.S. Through the centre of the area runs a thin band of Upper O.R.S. Rocks of this sequence are very similar to those of the Lower O.R.S., being differentiated principally by date. The other sequence of rocks associated with the estate consists of Tournaisian and Visean, Lower Carboniferous Limestones (see above). The juxtaposition of these two sequences produces dramatic topographic features with noticeably steep sided valleys. One particular feature of harder rocks such as the Lower Carboniferous Limestones is the effect that their highly jointed and fissured nature has on local hydrology. Springs can appear and disappear at a surprising rate, as can streams, which may disappear underground for part of their course. It is therefore only with caution that hydrological features can be assessed in areas such as this, since change is likely over relatively short periods of time.

The large estate at Ewenny lies entirely upon rocks of the Tournaisian and Visean sequences. Here too a dramatic landscape of topographical contrasts dominates, with large ravines criss-crossing the central region of the estate. There is here also, as with the Itton estate, the necessity for caution when considering local hydrological features due to the
unpredictable nature of the underlying limestones.

At Ewenny, though, the local geology seems to have had a more direct influence on the lives of the medieval inhabitants of the area. The area around Ogmore-by-Sea has been constantly quarried since the Middle Ages for the durable local limestone (SAMR, held at CADW’s offices, Cardiff). It is not certain how early this industry began, but it was clearly very important to those living under Norman influence in the twelfth century, when rock, from this area, was used to build Ogmore Castle and Ewenny Priory. The eleventh-century cross fragment, discovered at Ogmore, may suggest quarrying operations in this region were a pre-Norman feature, but with no other pre-Conquest stonework occurring in the immediate vicinity it seems more likely that the stone was removed from the surface rather than quarried.

Land at St. Brides-Super-Ely shares an interesting feature with the estate at Daylesford, the most easterly site considered. Both these donations straddle two rock sequences, though differing, with each giving rise to clearly discernible spring lines. St. Brides-Super-Ely lies mainly upon soft Upper Triassic Mudstones, but the northern-most extreme of the estate lies upon rocks of the Lower Lias sequence. Roughly three quarters of the Daylesford grant lie upon rocks of the Middle and Upper Lias, whilst the northern corner, making up the remaining quarter, is underlain by rocks of the Inferior and Greater Oolite series. The Oolitic limestones which occur here are well known as typical Cotswold building stone, though as yet there is no evidence that it was used in such a way in the early middle ages. All three of the Liassic formations, the Lower, Middle and Upper, are made up of mostly clay beds with interbedded limestones. The presence of impermeable clay beds beneath permeable limestones and mudstones inevitably leads to the creation of spring lines, where water collects, unable to penetrate down through the impermeable rocks below, which yield a ready supply of fresh water in a fairly predictable pattern.

Such spring lines, as well as isolated springs, may have been of great importance in early medieval societies, when a predictable source of clean water at a distance from rivers and streams may have been desirable. It is particularly interesting to note the occurrence of major routeways in connection with both spring lines. At St. Brides-Super-Ely a road existing in the mid-ninth century followed the line of springs in this area, whilst at Daylesford a cross roads between two major roadways lies just a few dozen yards to the north of the spring line here. It is by no means clear whether these routeways were in fact organised to respect such features, but springs would no doubt have served a useful purpose as watering holes for both people and animals. In early charters associated with both areas (in the case of St. Brides-Super-Ely the bordering and earlier charter of St.-y-Nyll) either a spring or a well is mentioned as a boundary feature, reflecting the prominence of springs in the early landscape.

Similarly river heads, pools and waterlogged areas (the Welsh ‘gwerns’) seem to fit into this pattern of importance. The bounds of the Itton estate mention both a pool (pwllicath) and a ‘gwern’ feature; with at least the pool lying on the ‘great road’ also mentioned. At Llanwarne, the head of the Gamber and the place name Pool Springs, both just outside the limits of the
bounds, lie adjacent to the Roman road mentioned in the boundary clause. Lastly the ridge within the estate associated with Llanbeder, containing pre-Roman, Roman, possibly early medieval and Norman settlement, is well served with nearby stream sources.

As mentioned above the estate at Tidenham contains only a sliver of O.R.S., both Upper and Lower, with the bulk of the land essentially split in two by differing geological sequences. The greater part consists of Upper Triassic Mudstones, which are soft and make up the lower ground along the Severn River in this area. In the north west, towards Lancaut, Lower Carboniferous Limestones cause the land to rise steeply as far as the Wye. Early settlement, as indicated by the later Saxon survey (Grundy, 1935-6, 244-5), in this area, including the area defined in the Tidenham grant, tends to follow the boundary between the higher ground to the north and the lower ground along the Severn, as does the Roman road which runs through this region. Once again it would appear that local geology has only a secondary effect on, in this case second to topography.

CONCLUSIONS:

In general it is difficult to directly link geological factors to the location and arrangement of the estates discussed above. This is perhaps partly a result of many of the sites lying within the confines of the large uniform expanse of the Lower O.R.S. However, the estate of Tidenham which is located on rocks other than the O.R.S. suggests that geological factors may only be of importance in the way in which they influence soils and topography.

Despite the above, it is clear that certain geological factors may well be of importance to this study. The question of quarrying stone for building may be problematic, because of the lack of evidence for building in stone in this period (only a very small number of Saxon stone churches occur in the English area considered, e.g. the two churches at Deerhurst), but the importance of springs and related hydrological features, especially if concentrated in a predictable linear arrangement, is easy to envisage for this period. The relationship of such hydrological features with arrangements of land holding may well be strong, but at present it is difficult to make any conclusions given the small size of the sample included in the pilot study. However, it may be possible to say more with a greater sample. This may be especially fruitful in the area around Daylesford, where a number of Saxon grants with traceable surveys may be found: e.g. Adlestrop (K426 and 1367) and Evenlode (K554).

It would appear, though, that even when springs, pools, etc. are not concentrated, appearing as isolated features, they still have an important influence on early settlement. This is only to be expected when the necessity of a constant water source is considered. It may even be possible, with more evidence, to suggest that settlement sites associated with pool or spring features have a greater chance of being early. However, establishing dated pre-Conquest settlement sites is extremely difficult (see chapter 2.3). Furthermore, springs can be temperamental and depend greatly on the climate of the period. At present there is certainly not
enough evidence to begin to test this theory. It may be possible to look at this relationship for post-Conquest settlements (when there is greater evidence available), but this lies beyond the scope of this study.
THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ESTATES WITH SOILS:

SUMMARY AND COMPARISON:

A wide variety of soils occur in the areas covered by the pilot study. However, it is possible to reduce this number, for ease of comparison, according to the way in which these soils affect the agricultural nature of a given area. When so doing it is important to bear in mind that what is of prime importance is the way any particular soil type would affect the worker of the medieval world. For instance soils which in modern times are regarded as good for crops, because of their favourable response to fertilising or liming, will not have been regarded so favourably in the first millennium, before the advent of modern fertilising and liming techniques and the large-scale availability of such materials.

The nine estates can be broadly divided into three: those where soils are naturally well suited to agricultural use, those only moderately suited and those where soils are particularly hostile to such uses. This is somewhat of a simplification, since most areas contain a variety of soils, so that it is possible for any one estate to contain soils which fall into all of the above categories (both Itton and Ewenny contain examples of all three). It is the case, though, that one or other soil type tends to dominate, allowing an overall judgement to be made about the estate’s agricultural potential.

High Quality Soils

Two of the estates are dominated by soils which are better than average for crop growth. Both Ballingham and Llanwarne are dominated by soils of the Eardiston 1 association, which is possibly the best soil found in any of the areas discussed in the pilot study. This is a well drained soil with little risk of poaching and is ideally suited to both grass and crop growth (though permanent grass may suffer a little from slight droughtiness in dry areas).

Medium Quality Soils

Three of the estates are dominated by what seem to be soils which, whilst not hostile to crop growth, are neither especially well suited to it. These are Daylesford, Itton and St. Brides-Super-Ely.

The two soils which cover most of the Daylesford area, the Elmton 1 and the Oxpasture associations, are only moderately suited to crop growth. The Elmton 1 association is both droughty and stony and only Winter cereals can survive on it, either with or without lime and fertiliser. The Oxpasture group is only moderately suited to wheat and barley, and then only if conducted in rotation with long term grass. The mention of a bull's enclosure somewhere along the south eastern margin of the estate in the charter bounds might be taken to suggest that
cattle rearing was of some importance in this area. The mention of a bull's enclosure on its own need not necessarily imply this, but when taken in conjunction with the undistinguished potential of the land for crop growth such a possibility seems even more likely.

The entire estate of St. Brides-Super-Ely lies upon soils of the Clifton association. This soil is similarly of fair suitability for crop growth, and in more recent times has generally been favoured for grass. This is in direct contrast with land to the immediate north and west of the estate where soils of the Stone Easton association are found; a soil which is particularly well suited to crop growth. It is upon this northern formation that the settlement of St.-y-Nyll is found, also the subject of a grant recorded in the Book of Llandaff.

The third estate is Itton which, whilst containing soils which are not suited to crop based agriculture (e.g. the Oglethorpe association), is dominated by two soils which are regarded as moderate for crops under the right conditions; the Eardiston 1 and East Keswick 3 formations. The East Keswick 3 association surrounds Itton court and reaches to the eastern boundary of the estate. The Eardiston 1 association forms two separated portions of the estate, one in the immediate vicinity of and to the west of Pwll-y-Cath and the other forming a broadly north/south strip on which lie a number of farmsteads and small settlements: Glyn Farm, Lower Glyn, Ty-du and just off the strip Wern House and Rhyd-y-Fedw. However, overall the right conditions for crop cultivation are not found in this area, on account of its hilly topography. These two soils are, despite this, of superior quality to those of the Oglethorpe association in terms of grass growth.

Poor Quality Soils

This leaves four estates which are dominated by soils that are quite unsuitable for crop based agriculture: Llanbeder, Wonastow, Tidenham and Ewenny.

Two soils cover the area of the Llanbeder donation; the Eardiston 2 and Escrick 2 associations. The Eardiston 2 group is largely acidic and even with modern liming techniques is still primarily used for grazing or forestry. The Escrick 2 formation, found only in the extreme east of the region, is a little better, but is still best suited to grassland.

The estate of Wonastow is dominated by two relatively poorly drained soil associations: the Bromyard and the Lugwardine. The soils of the Bromyard association are acidic and require extensive liming to make them suitable for crop growth.

Three soils cover a significant area of the Tidenham estate: the Crwbin, the Newnham and the Whimple 1 associations. Whilst the Newnham formation is moderately suitable for crops it makes up only a small fraction of the whole of the donation. The bulk is covered by the Crwbin and Whimple 1 groups, the former being characteristically thin and decalcified and the latter being particularly prone to water logging, with both being more suitable for grazing.
The Ewenny estate is dominated by soils of the Ston Easton and Malham 2 associations. The Ston Easton association occurs in a small western portion of the region, around Ogmore-by-Sea. It can sustain some crops in this dryer coastal area, with winter wheat the most favoured. The Malham 2 formation, however, covers the bulk of the area of the donation. It is not in itself particularly hostile to crop growth; in fact it is on this soil that the crops to the south of Ewenny have traditionally been grown. However, in the bulk of the region these soils are both shallow, acid and highly prone to waterlogging due to local geology, topography and climate. As a result the largest portion of this area is barely suitable for rough grazing.

A strong positive association of settlement and soil type can be seen to occur on two estates; Daylesford and Ewenny. In both of these areas it would appear that settlements, whilst located to make use of the better soils, are actually situated on considerably poorer soils. At Daylesford, the church and location of the earlier medieval village (the village was rebuilt in the nineteenth century a little to the south, probably to reduce the risk of damp and flooding) occur just within the extent of Fladbury 1 soils. This association is a typical alluvium and suitable for pasture and meadow only. However, just a short distance to the south are the much superior soils of the Oxpasture series, where crops could have been grown with some success.

A similar pattern is found at Ewenny, where both the priory and the Roman camp and Norman castle at Ogmore are built on areas of conspicuously poorer soils. The priory is similar to Daylesford in that it is placed on poorer soils, yet clearly close to better soils where crop growth could succeed. The fortified sites at Ogmore, however, have no near-by soils for crops and were almost certainly placed here for military rather than economic reasons: to guard the ford across the Ewenny River.

It can also be no coincidence that the feature identified with the fossa magna extends southwards only as far as the extent of Malham 2 soils, ending at the boundary between these soils and those of the Ston Easton group and that the settlements of Groes, Heol-y-Mynydd and St. Brides Major all lie along this border, able to make use of the better Ston Easton soils.

CONCLUSIONS:

As has been mentioned a wide range of soils occur in association with these early estates. It is often the case, though, that estates are entirely covered or dominated by soils which are either good, indifferent or poor for various uses. For example, both the Ballingham and Llanwarne estates are ideally suited to crop growth and would have little trouble in supporting themselves and giving up a particularly healthy cereal render. On the other hand, the lands of Llanbeder and Wonastow are well suited to grass and tree growth. It may be the case that these areas specialised in alternative forms of production, for example animal husbandry or woodland management, or that these areas were simply poorer, with relatively low cereal yields and a much higher chance of crop failure.
There is, then, a good deal of variation in the quality of estates as regards the productivity of their soils. Based solely upon those estates included in the pilot study there is no suggestion of a chronological link with soil quality; whilst the link between the size of an estate and its productive potential is discussed in the "Land Quality and Use" section below.

Whilst there are estates with good or moderate soils which contain both nucleated and dispersed settlement and likewise those with poor soils which contain both types of settlement, there would appear to be a link between dispersed settlement and poor crop growing soils. This is evident at Itton, Llanbeder and Wonastow. These estates, with poor soils for cereal cultivation, are the only sites that display a wholly dispersed settlement pattern. In the English estate of Daylesford nucleation has occurred regardless of the suitability for crop growth, whereas in the Welsh regions it only occurs on those estates with moderate to good crop growing soils at a later date.

It is evident that within estates containing differing soil types settlement appears to be closely associated with soil quality. This has been shown for medieval settlement features at Daylesford and Ewenny, but can also be seen in the settlement pattern of nineteenth-century Itton. Most of the areas discussed above are dominated by a single soil type, and thus do not allow this to be tested at greater length without further sites being investigated. It has also been stated that identifying pre-Conquest sites is very difficult and as a result there is not enough evidence to put this relationship to the test.
THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ESTATES:

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS:

Since all of the estates included in the pilot study relate in one way or another to river valleys or the coast (being nearly always bounded by rivers along a portion of their extent), it is not surprising that they all include a range of altitudes within their boundaries. There are relatively low-lying estates, such as Ewenny and Tidenham, nearer to the coast, with progression upwards to the more upland estates such as Daylesford and Itton in more inland areas. The average altitudes of these estates reveal no recognisable patterns, with it being clear that pieces of land from all topographic ranges appear to have been worthy of donation, though none of the estates considered here contains land higher than 230m above sea level. It may be an interesting exercise to find out at which altitude such grants cease, since this might tell us something about the limits of early land exploitation.

All of the estates considered seem to have their form determined, to a lesser or greater degree, by topographic factors. As mentioned all of the sites relate to rivers or coastal areas. Both coastlines and rivers have an obvious effect on topography, eroding slopes and creating valleys. This in turn creates a range of environments (e.g. alluvial valley floors through to high, exposed land with thin soils), each with its own unique environmental properties. All of the estates in the pilot study are defined in such a way that they straddle different environmental zones. There are no linear estates which follow alluvial plains along side rivers, for example. It is quite obvious that if an estate is to strive to be self sufficient (though we do not know whether this was always a goal) it must utilize a range of land uses and therefore would benefit from the kind of 'micro-environment straddling' found in the estates discussed here.

Figure 4.1.2 below is a table presenting some basic topographical statistics for the estates. This table gives the maximum and minimum altitudes of land within the estates and the relative height of the church site in the estate. The inclusion of information regarding the location of known church sites is because churches, on account of their small size, can be more easily classified by altitude than settlements, which will be more likely to cross altitude ranges. In the case of the Ballingham estate the altitude of the Carey site will be given first and the site of the later church second and for Ewenny the height of the priory site will be given first followed by that of the Ogmore site. Altitudes are given to the nearest 5m. Following the height of the church a classification will be given to demonstrate in which third of the range of altitude the church lies, thus H indicates that the church lies in the upper third of the estates height range, M (middle) in the middle range and L (lower) in the lower third. This has been rationalised to within the
nearest 5m. For example Daylesford includes land between 120m and 220m, thus land between 120m and 155m would be regarded as low (L), 155m-190m as middle (M) and between 190m and 220m as high (H). All heights are given in metres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Min. Altitude</th>
<th>max. Altitude</th>
<th>Church Altitude</th>
<th>Church Alt.Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Brides S.E.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballingham</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>50/80</td>
<td>L/M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanbeder</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wonastow</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanwarne</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidenham</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewenny</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15/10</td>
<td>L/L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itton</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1.2 Summary of the Topography of the Estates

There is a total of 7 low-lying churches, 2 (3 including the church at Ballingham) medial and no high churches, suggesting that low sites are stronglyfavoured for church locations. Of the nine churches listed here 4 are situated on slopes, as opposed to ground level or in hollows. These are the churches of Llanbeder, Wonastow, Tidenham and Itton.

Less precisely, what evidence there is for early settlement location points to a somewhat similar pattern to the location of churches. At Ewenny both the site of the Norman castle at Ogmore and the priory point to settlement by the twelfth century. Both of these sites (also the proposed church sites) are low-lying within the estate. At Itton a settlement is actually mentioned within the charter bounds ("Trenguid") and is referred to in the context of a depression or pant. This settlement must have been situated in the region of Wern House at about 105m, also a low altitude site. Early settlement at Llanbeder, however, is evidenced at high altitude where a possibly re-occupied hill-fort and Norman motte and bailey (SMR, held by CADW, Cardiff) point to early medieval centres upon the northern ridge of this estate (above 180m), though it may be argued that these are specialised strongholds and not representative of ordinary domestic settlement.

In conclusion, then, it would appear that all the estates contain a range of topographic zones and that early settlement may have possibly occurred in all such regions. However, the
location of churches is predominantly within lowland areas, with intermediate or higher areas rarely chosen as church sites. However, the link between the earliest known church locations and the location of churches in the study period is far from clear and there is not enough evidence at present to make any sound comparison. Given the absence of firm evidence relating to settlement in the study period, it does not seem profitable to continue this line of research with a larger sample of estates which will possess the same church/settlement dating difficulties.
LAND QUALITY AND USE:

INTRODUCTION

Initially the twentieth-century land Quality maps published by M.A.F.F. were consulted for information regarding the quality of land in individual estates. Reproductions of these maps are presented in Appendix A. However, these maps can be potentially misleading, since they take into account the widespread use of fertilisers and liming. So an area of land will be given a classification of grade 1 not because of the intrinsic quality of the soil, but because it will respond well to fertilisers. This is of limited use when considering the state of affairs in the second half of the first millennium, when there is no evidence to suggest fertiliser or lime being available on anything like the scale of more recent times.

What has been attempted in the exercise below is to reconstruct the quality of land as it may have been in the early medieval period. This has been done by taking natural factors alone into account. Recourse has been made to the regional publications of the British Soil Survey ("Soils and their Uses in ..., 1984), which describe in detail not only the nature of soils after additional treatment, but also their potential without such treatment. For example, a description of the stoniness of the soil is given, along with hydrological details, and the effects these features will have on various potential crops. Data regarding soil quality and characteristics have not been referenced through the text for the sake of continuity, but unless stated otherwise all information is from the above sources. This data was then combined with other types of consideration, such as topography and the wetness of the area, to produce an impression of the potential of the land as it is likely to have been in the early medieval period.

It has been possible, as a result of the above exercise, to infer certain land uses in given areas. This is not to say that it has been possible to determine particular uses for an area solely on account of the land's potential, rather that it has been possible to eliminate certain uses where its presence would be unfeasible, or to point out that a given use is liable to suffer from a higher risk of failure and give a relatively poor yield in the given area. For example, arable cultivation can be ruled out on slopes of extreme gradient, whilst reed-beds or water meadows can be strongly expected in the wettest of areas.

Some evidence of land use can also be found within the charters themselves. The bounds of K69, referring to the estate at Daylesford, mention a bull's enclosure, whilst woodlands are also mentioned in relation to estates, e.g. Tidenham and Llanbeder.

What follows is a summary, by estate, of the varying qualities and potentials of land and, where possible, comments on actual land use.
SUMMARY:

BALLINGHAM:

The majority of the Ballingham estate is made up of land which is ideally suited to the growing of crops as well as for grassland. However, there are particular zones where this would be either impossible or most unlikely. The belt of alluvium around the Wye can be seen clearly from the tithe map to be a zone of reclamation, post-dating the fields above the river valley. A small area of salt marshes may still be found to the south of Carey. It is not possible to date this phase of reclamation at present, but the reclaimed zone, still being relatively wet, may be thought of as a primarily pastoral zone (this is reflected in the occurrence of the “cow leasow” (cow pasture) name element to the south of Carey in the tithe records).

The area to the north of Sisal’s (now Saycell’s) Farm, is of an extreme gradient and is, under woodland. Such a land use is easy to envisage for this zone over a much longer period, where the only alternative must be sheep or goat grazing.

Lastly, there is the region immediately to the north of Carey. This zone is particularly uneven, and is therefore unsuitable for arable use. The tithe map records a group of fields with a “bull’s” element reflecting its pastoral use before the nineteenth century and the area is presently well wooded. It is difficult to infer an obvious medieval land use for this zone, but it is most unlikely that it was arable. The river Wye would have been an ideal source of fish for the region though evidence for such activity in the early middle ages is difficult to establish.

The estate, then, appears to be of particularly high quality, being able to support a wide range of economic activities to a consistently high standard.

TIDENHAM:

LL174b describes the north-western boundary of the estate as IIi’s wood, indicating the land use of the area probably located somewhere between Ashbury and Tidenham.

The zone to the south of the Roman route now marked by the A48 consists of reclaimed salt marsh. It has recently been possible to establish a rough chronology of reclamation along the Severn Estuary (cf. Allen et al. 1992, 31-4 and Rippon, 1992, 358), which may be associated with certain field patterns on the reclaimed Levels. The field pattern in the Tidenham region is not characteristic of the earlier phases of reclamation, which tends to consist of much smaller fields (Stephen Rippon, pers. Com.). It is therefore fairly likely that at the time of the grant this zone was still essentially salt marsh, and thus likely to have been a zone of possible salt production or possibly sheep grazing, though it is not yet clear whether sheep were kept in any great number at this date (see chapter 2.2 “Economy and Agriculture in Early Medieval Europe”).
Beyond this area lies the intertidal zone, which has traditionally been important for large-scale fishing activity. The remains of medieval fish weirs have recently been discovered further along the estuary as a result of investigation related to the second Severn crossing (Godbold and Turner, 1992, 47-9), and an undated, though undoubtedly late Saxon, survey of the area between Beachley to Stroat reports that the area had 65 basket-weirs on the Severn and 36 in the Wye, as well as 4 hackle-weirs in the Wye (VCH, Glos. X, 70 and Grundy, 1935-6, 244). It seems unthinkable that such practices were not going on at the time of the Tidenham grant.

Returning inland, the zone to the north of the Roman road (A48) must be considered. This area is somewhat raised from the flood levels, but is still prone to waterlogging. As yet no arable zone has been allowed for, and if such a zone existed it is to this area that we must look. The tithe map for the area reveals what appears to be a discrete unit of fields to the north west of Tidenham, which may possibly represent an area of open field cultivation. Whilst not suggesting that any possible field exploitation can be traced to the eighth century, it is nonetheless significant that the later inhabitants of Tidenham may have grown crops in this broadly oval zone. If so at best a mediocre yield was likely.

Tidenham, it would appear, was predominantly a pastoral and/or fishing estate. In terms of crop production it must have been of only fair to poor quality, but its pastoral, in particular sheep rearing, and, more importantly, fishing potential make it a site of above average potential.

EWENNY:

The estate at Ewenny is both large and complex. The simplest area to understand in terms of land quality is the northern strip which runs from the area of Ogmore, along the river to the sea. This zone is composed largely of dune material and is essentially uncultivated, being left to scrub.

The bulk of the area is covered by soils of the Malham 2 association. This soil in itself is equally suited to grassland or crop cultivation, but this is modified in this region by the effects of topography and soil depth. A large area, approximately that between Pant Mari Flanders and Afon Alun, and to the north of Ty'n-y-caeau forms an upland zone, which is scarcely even suitable for rough grazing, tending towards heathland in most places. It is quite possible that this area was once wooded before the development of heathland, but there is no evidence to be sure of the extent of tree cover for our period.

To the west of this area a change in soil type has allowed cultivation to take place. The growth of Winter cereals is possible in this area and pasture is also viable here. The field pattern suggests a gradual reclamation eastwards on to the uncultivated uplands, but this progression is impossible to date.

The charter refers to a ditch (fossa) against the sea in this western area. The land here is considerably raised from sea level, and one might speculate that a possible interpretation for the ditch is that it may have been a barrier to prevent livestock wandering too close to the rocky
This would suggest at least a partial reliance on animal husbandry in this zone.

A little to the south, around the region of Heol-y-Mynydd, a more sheltered location also suggests the possible growth of winter cereals or of pasture. Here, early field boundaries have been observed by air photography underlying what would appear to be a later expansion into the uncultivated zone (SMR, held by CADW, Cardiff). This would appear to suggest that at some point in the past cultivation receded from this zone southwards, only to resume in the post-medieval period. The exact dates of this are not known, though earthworks at the associated hamlet at Heol-y-Mynydd suggest a shrunken settlement, which may be possible to date were it excavated.

The remaining zone, lying to the east of Afon Alun, is an area which is not especially hostile to either arable or pastoral usage. No doubt the lowest lying areas nearest to the river were favoured for meadow land, whilst the drier areas to the south may have been mixed. The reference in LL176a to the fossa magna ('the great ditch') may well represent a pastoral boundary, since there would be little need for a large ditch to separate arable lands, though its function may possibly have been defensive/territorial.

Lastly it would seem reasonable to assume that fishing was of considerable importance to the local communities along the estuary and lower river, though no evidence for this has yet been discovered.

Ewenny would appear to be a mainly pastoral estate, though its size also allows for very limited arable use. It would appear that this estate could not have been much smaller without appearing marginal and under productive, but its sheer size appears to have made it an economically viable unit, though it is doubtful whether it was ever regarded as particularly important in terms of production until the development of the quarrying industry.

DAYLESFORD:

It is fortunate that as well as the landscape evidence available this estate is referred to in Domesday, giving an indication of land use in the eleventh century. The physical geography of the region suggests roughly three zones of differing land potential. The alluvial plain following the river and ‘bulging’ around the deserted village of Daylesford and the church, is principally a grassland area. Nearer to the river though meadowland seems the best use of resources, due to the extreme wetness of this area. This would appear to be confirmed by the mention of 20 acres of meadowland in the Domesday record, and it seems likely that this area, little suited to anything other than such use, was meadow from a very early time.

The second zone corresponds to the area of Oxpasture soils, which whilst of not particularly good quality (both areas of Oxpasture and Elmton 1 soils are only of grade 3 even with all that farming technology has offered) can be put to adequate use with cereal and grass rotation. Permanent grass leads to severe poaching and it is unlikely that this area was given over to this.
The remainder of the estate, lying on soils of the Elmton 1 association, is only suitable for winter cereals and grass. It is probably on the fringes of this zone that the bull's enclosure was located. Its presence, taken in conjunction with the poor quality of the soils in respect to arable (poorer than the area to the west), may suggest a pastoral emphasis.

Domesday (though the exact boundaries of the Domesday estate are not given, the mention of surrounding estates suggests a similar area) describes that on apparently half of the area there were 7 ploughs. This is a significant amount given the size of the area. This is part of the same record which records the presence of 20 acres of meadow, and thus may be more likely to refer to the western portion of this area. This is backed up by the fact that this holding (that of Stephen, son of Fulcred) also contained a priest, who may have well been connected to the present Norman-built church or its immediate predecessor.

Despite the appearance of a unit providing land suitable for mixed farming, it must be noted that only the meadowland was likely to have been anything approaching good quality and that the potential of the estate as a whole should be seen as fairly mediocre.

WONASTOW:

The Wonastow estate consists essentially of two environmental zones. The first zone is that of the alluvial lowland. This zone is subject to both winter and spring flooding and is consequently only suitable for permanent grass, though not of high quality due to the tendency for the soil to become acidic. Some woodland can also be grown in this zone.

The remainder of the area consists of soils of the Bromyard association, which has a tendency to become waterlogged and generally requires liming for crops. As a result grass is generally the favoured use, to which the soil is well suited, especially on slopes, although woodland is also significant in this area. It is clear from woodland references in the tithe survey and from the pattern of fields preserved in the tithe map that the large area of woodland to the north of Wonastow extended further south into the estate, probably as an expanded royal forest. However, another early land use is suggested from other sources.

The charter text refers to features which are uncharacteristic of woodland. The bounds for the portion reaching north of modern Wonastow reads as follows: .. trus irford dir ispdatenn inuch irdu tir ... This section, then, refers to two lands and a thorn bush. The term land (tir) does not in itself imply a cleared area, but thorn bushes are well known non-woodland trees and used as boundary markers between open areas. It is clear from the combination of both soil and slope that this northern area is quite unsuited to arable, which would point to a pastoral use. The line of the boundary between the two lands is followed in the present landscape by an obsolete ditch and bank structure and also by the parish boundary. It is not impossible that this ditch feature is contemporary with the date of the grant, but there is no known evidence which might be drawn upon to either prove or disprove this.
Arable may well have been grown in the estate, but probably little beyond subsistence level could have been achieved, given the combination of slope and soil. Despite this, the quality of the grassland is high and suggests a better than average productivity level for this estate.

LLANWARNE:

The small Llanwarne estate is similar to that of Ballingham, but in miniature. It consists of a bow in the River Gamber, with both wet river valley and drier, higher land. As with Ballingham the higher land is of high quality and is ideally suited to arable cultivation or horticulture. It is possible that a relic of an open field system occurs here (preserved in the field boundaries illustrated in the nineteenth-century tithe map), which would suggest a medieval arable use, but the evidence is not conclusive.

The river valley area is interesting, since, because of very steep slopes, it is quite unsuitable for arable. This would suggest either woodland or pasture. The problem relates to the amount of land involved. The strip is particularly narrow and the length of it is also small. As a result it would seem that this strip, if used as a grassland, would only have been suitable for a very small number of sheep. This, however, may have been enough to support the local community, which must also have been small, given the area concerned.

Though it is not possible to say for certain how the estate was used in the early medieval period it would have reached its full potential as a principally arable/horticulturally based estate.

ST. BRIDES-SUPER-ELY:

This estate, though both small and covered by a single soil type, can be seen to be differentiated as a result of hydrological conditions. The Clifton soils are in themselves of mediocre to good quality in terms of their potential for both cereals and grass. However, the tendency of this soil for waterlogging is significant in this area which is relatively wet. The zone in the south and east of the estate, i.e. along the valleys of the Ely and the Dowlais, is particularly so and is only suitable for pasture or meadow.

The north west of the area, however, is well drained by a network of two permanent streams and one seasonal stream/run-off channel. From M.A.F.F. land use and tithe maps it can be seen that arable has been grown here in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the field pattern preserved in the local tithe map makes it clear that this was also the case during the middle ages. Furthermore, it is possible to see a nucleus of fields which appears to have been expanded southwards at a later date on to soils less suited to arable. Since it seems fairly improbable that at the time of the grant, in the mid-eleventh century, any open field system existed in this area, it seems reasonable to assume that this nucleus presents the maximum extent of arable cultivation that was going on before this system was developed and may have been in existence at the time of the grant.
This area corresponds well to the change from a grade 3 to a grade 2 zone in the M.A.F.F.
land quality maps, and makes up about a quarter of the estate as a whole. This being the case
it would appear that this estate was primarily of a pastoral nature, though capable of producing
a reasonable arable yield.

LLANBEDER:

This estate is composed of such poor soils and hydrology that its slopes make little
difference to its agricultural potential. The entire area described in the charter is uniformly
unsuited to arable cultivation. Only with considerable soil treatment with fertilisers and lime has
it been possible to grow crops in this area in the post-medieval period. The entire area, then, is
suitable only for pasture or woodland, both of which are still favoured uses (see M.A.F.F. land
use map).

The charter text mentions the existence of Wentwood in the north of the region (irallt coit
guent), making it clear that this wood extended down the northern slopes in the east of the
estate. The existence of a presumably Iron Age camp (with possible resettlement in the early
medieval period), a Roman military camp and a Norman motte and bailey all testify that the
ridge which runs east/west along the northern boundary was cleared long before the time of this
grant (SMR, held by CADW, Cardiff). However, it would appear that at least some of the
western portion of the lower slopes of this ridge were still wooded at the time of the charter
survey: dirford maur ivinid trui y coit, arhit crib irallt.

This estate then seems to have been essentially divided between areas of pasture and of
woodland. If crops were grown to meet the needs of the local inhabitants, as they are likely to
have been, then all traces of this have been lost, though it is possible to be quite sure that such
activity could have taken place at little more than subsistence level, and then probably only with
difficulty.

ITTON:

Itton is a large estate and is relatively diverse in agricultural zones. Perhaps, the largest
zone of all corresponds to the extent of the Oglethorp soil association in this area. This soil is
most unsuitable for crop growth and is used primarily for grass and woodland. It may be
significant that a belt of wood can still be found in this area, along with a wood associated place-
name: Coed Llifos. The charter text also mentions a place-name that must have existed in this
area: that of Trevguid. It is clear from this that even if woodland did dominate this zone during
our period, that at least one settlement, presumably accompanied by a cleared area around it
also existed in the locality.

The remainder of the area is composed of soils which in themselves could be adapted to
either arable or pastoral use, though they are not particularly good for either. However,
topography appears to play a large role in limiting the range of arable cultivation. One area
which can be pointed to as the most suited to arable in the area is the valley zone to the west of
Itton common. Here slopes are a little more gentle and the area is somewhat more sheltered
than the land to the east. This zone is accompanied by soils of the Eardiston 1 sequence, which is the most crop friendly of all the soils within the bounds of the estate. A number of modern farmsteads lie within this zone, which may also point to its superior quality. Despite this, however, the area is still below average in terms of agricultural potential, though it seems likely that if this estate was producing a significant amount of grain this is the most likely area for it to have come from.

The remainder of the area is far more suited to pastoral use, on account of soil type combined with generally excessive gradients, though woodland too is a viable option. The result, then, is an area generally more suited to woodland management and pastoral use, though with a portion, running broadly north/south through the middle of the estate which could support a meagre cereal crop.

COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS:

It is clear from the above that broad classifications can be arrived at for both land quality and use. It will hopefully be equally clear that the more reliable of the two is that for the land quality, since whilst the suitability of the area for a certain use is significant, there is no way of reconstructing the exact use of the whole estate, though this may be possible for small areas within it (e.g. pasture at Wonastow).

It has been possible to draw conclusions regarding the overall quality of estate lands and thus to classify them. The following table presents just such a classification, using five divisions ranging between good and poor:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ballingham</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanwarne</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wonastow</td>
<td>Moderate/Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Brides S.E.</td>
<td>Moderate/Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidenham</td>
<td>Moderate/Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daylesford</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itton</td>
<td>Moderate/Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llanbeder</td>
<td>Moderate/Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewenny</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1.3 The Estates and Land Quality
For the purposes of this classification the following criteria have been applied:

1) **Good**: Land of good quality is land which is well suited (i.e. giving a reduced risk of failure and good yields) to nearly all cultivation uses.

2) **Moderate/Good**: This implies that the land is well suited to at least one land use and is not exceptionally poor in respect of others. For example, the estate of Wonastow where the land is notably suited to pasture and woodland, but is only of at best moderate suitability for arable production.

3) **Moderate**: This classification refers to land which is neither well nor poorly suited to any given use.

4) **Moderate/Poor**: This includes land which is of moderate suitability for one or two uses, but which is poor for the remainder. For example, the Llanbeder estate is of no great richness even in terms of woodland and pasture to which it is restricted because of slope gradients, and, as a result of these gradients and the wetness of the area, this area is highly unsuited to arable cultivation.

5) **Poor**: Land of poor quality is essentially unsuitable for any cultivation. Ewenny, for example, is dominated by heath uplands with numerous steep sloped ravines, making it unsuitable even for tree growth over most of its area.

This classification of land quality has been plotted against the size of the estates and the results are given in figure 4.1.4. This table shows a clear relationship between the size and quality of grants. It seems reasonable that estates which are of poor quality need to be larger in order to provide a sufficient range and volume of produce to make them economically viable, whilst estates of greater quality need less area to produce a desirable product, whether in terms of quality or high yield. In addition, estates with a high level of arable cover might be expected to be smaller as they would probably have required greater labour and have been more constrained by the distance workers could effectively cover on a daily basis.
Figure 4.1.4: The Relationship Between Size and Quality of the Estates

This graph can also be used to suggest notably rich or poor estates. For example, Ballingham is a comparatively large estate and its land quality is also of very high quality. It seems reasonable to conclude that this estate was an especially important one in terms of economic value. It may also be significant that this estate is associated with a podum, a particular type of church (llan), which whilst occasionally mentioned in the Llandaff Charters is poorly understood.

This tool may potentially be of use in the study of estates where no size is indicated and the bounds are difficult to understand over their whole length. It would perhaps be possible to assess the quality of the land available and to make informed estimates of the likely extent of the grant by comparison with any possible norm which emerges from the expansion of the table given. This is tested further in chapter 4.2 “Estates in the Wider Context”.

The reconstruction of land use is more complex and less complete in its findings. It would appear, however, that some estates probably dominated by a single land use. This would certainly seem to be the case for estates such as Wonastow, Ewenny and Llanbeder, which were predominantly pastoral. The nature of pastoralism is not generally clear despite certain examples to the contrary (such as the mention of the bull’s enclosure at Daylesford). This problem is only likely to be solved by the recovery of animal bones and their analysis in the context of specific estates.
As a rough guide, however, it might be mentioned that the analysis of faunal remains from the high status, early medieval site of Dinas Powys, near Cardiff, has yielded the following proportions of animals killed: pigs-61%, cattle-20% and sheep-13% (Jones, 1972, 292). It would be wrong though to assume that the proportions of animals evidenced at the consumer end of the agricultural economy can directly be applied to the producer end, and so this case is of limited practical use.

If it was the case that the render system involved providing for the broad food needs of those not directly involved in land exploitation, it seems reasonable to suggest that if certain areas were producing largely animal produce then other estates may have compensated by rendering a higher percentage of crops. If this is the case then it may be possible to see estates like Ballingham and Llanwarne making the best use of their resources and being principally arable-based estates.

The question arises of the degree of trade in food stuffs between areas of differing specialisation. An estate like Llanbeder would possibly be better served relying wholly on pastoral agriculture, where its return is relatively assured, and trading its surplus for grain, than by growing cereals within its bounds where not only would returns be lower (perhaps not a major consideration at this period), but the risk of crop failure would be substantially higher. It is, however, difficult to see a way of addressing this question given the data available.

Woodland ought not to be left out of this equation, and it is clear from the evidence of charters that woodland formed a significant land use at this time. It is difficult to assess the extent of woodland during this period, particularly as a result of the extension and subsequent reclearance of the Norman royal forests.

By way of conclusion, then, it may be concluded that it is possible to classify estates into those of lesser or greater quality and into those where pastoralism is likely to have been the dominant land use, though other land uses are less predictable. Also there appears to be a direct relationship between the quality of an estate and its size. This relationship is seen as a useful lead into developing an approach to studying a greater number of estates.
ROADS, FORDS AND WATERWAYS:

Roads and water channels, be they navigable rivers or un-navigable streams, provide the landscape with a network of linear features which will, more often than not, mark boundaries of cultivation. Presented below is a summary of the known roads, fords and water channels which are found in connection with those estates looked at in the pilot study. It is noticeable in this context that often the only evidence which survives for the existence of a routeway is the mention of a ford which lay along its length.

BALLINGHAM:

Ballingham is almost completely bounded by water courses. The greatest extent of its boundary follows the curve of the River Wye. The River Wye is both a wide and relatively deep river, and it is hard to imagine that it was not extensively used for the transport of both goods and people. A smaller stream (named as the Circan in the charter text) forms part of the western boundary of the estate. This stream is small and certainly non-navigable. No roads are mentioned in connection with the estate though a ford on the Circan is mentioned.

DAYLESFORD:

The Daylesford estate is bounded in the west by the River Evenlode. The name of this river has been interpreted by Ekwall (1936,170) as deriving from the phrase 'Eowla's ferry', and implies that it was large enough to require passage by ferry-boat and therefore was probably large enough to be navigable. However, there is no indication of where such a ferry was situated and the river does not appear to be of navigable dimensions in the immediate region of Daylesford.

Two important route-ways run along two of the remaining three estate boundaries. Along the northern boundary, running broadly east/west runs a road described in K623 as the kings military way (cynges ferdstraete). This feature appears to follow a fairly straight route between Stow-on-the-Wold and Banbury, and has been suggested by Grundy (1935-6, 105) to be of possibly Roman origin. The eastern boundary is also marked by a road and is referred to in three separate Saxon charters: K623, 554 and 426 as strete, sealt straete and lodreswei (the beggars Way) respectively. The term which identifies this road as a salt way is the most helpful, and places the road into the well known network of routes in and out of Droitwich used for the transport of salt across the country.

A ford is also mentioned, hence the name Daylesford, and probably refers to the crossing of the Evenlode by the 'Kings military way', though the crossing of some other minor road or path is possible. The presence of a ford confirms that this river was not used for navigation in this vicinity.

In summary, then, this estate was bounded in the north by a broadly east/west running road of possible Roman origin. This road crossed the River Evenlode in the west and another road, identified with the transportation of salt, running roughly north/south in the east. The River
Evenlode flows southwards from the road to the north and forms the western boundary of the estate, whilst the north/south running road forms the eastern boundary.

**EWENNY:**

The estate of Ewenny is bounded on two sides by water: on the west it is bounded by the coast of the Bristol Channel, whilst to the north it is bounded by the Ewenny-Ogmore river/estuary. This would make an ideal location for waterborne transport and it is easy to imagine that this area was an important port and centre for coastal movement, though there is no direct evidence to prove this. The river at Ogmore was forded by the nineteenth century, and the location of the Norman castle and a Roman camp here suggest that such a crossing point existed from at least Roman times. Further more, there are a series of stepping stones along the ford, for which no origin is known (SMR, held by CADW, Cardiff). A group of stones near Ogmore is mentioned in LL212 (referring to the bounds of Merthyr Mawr) and may possibly, though it seems unlikely, refer to the stepping stones, dating this feature to c.862 (Davies, 1979, 119). Such a feature would mean that the river was not navigable along its whole length. The alignment of any route-ways which would have met at this ford remain uncertain.

**ITTON:**

Itton estate would appear to be bounded in the south by a stream known as Mountain Brook. However, this stream is not mentioned in the charter, which describes a course which follows the bottom of the hollow/valley (*pant*). It has been pointed out that this is an area where hydrological changes are to be expected over relatively short periods of time, and consequently it is quite possible that this stream did not exist in the ninth century.

The charter text mentions three road features which from their context would all appear to refer to the same road. These are *fordd maur*, *viam magnam* and a second *fordd*. This road appears to correspond to the modern B4293, and runs broadly along the north western and northern boundary of the estate, leading to Chepstow in the east and possibly abutting the Roman line of the A48, to the east of Caerwent, in the south.

What is particularly interesting about this road feature is that by the time the tithe map was drawn in the 1840’s a section of this gently curving road had clearly been lost and reconnected with what is undoubtedly a later, irregular and slightly mis-aligned, section of road. The description of the bounds, whilst referring to the road at either end of this disturbed section, deviate from its line for exactly the same length as this later re-connection (“...to PwlI Iceth close to the road. From the PwlI downwards as it leads into the pant, Trevguid to the right, to the Garn, to the road...”). Although it is possible that this section of the road was excluded because it lay in land which was not to form part of the donation, its demise taking place later and independently, it seems more likely that its absence from the boundary clause is in some way connected with its loss. It seems likely that it was either wholly lost or in a state of disrepair at the time of the grant and thus a different route is described: perhaps a more convenient path of some kind.
**LLANBEDER:**

Though the Llanbeder estate is criss-crossed by minor streams, it lacks access to the only navigable stretch of water in the area which is the Wye to the north. The estate is crossed, in its southern half, by the Roman road which followed the line of the A48, though no mention of this road is given in the charter; preference being given to streams for boundary markers. This should not be taken to imply that the Roman road had fallen into disuse in this area. The fact that the line of the road was still in use in the nineteenth century testifies to the continuity of this road. Rackham (1986, 257), describing the influx of pest species, notably blackthorn, points out that, once a Roman road is left for a period of about ten years without maintenance, it is most unlikely that its line will ever be cleared again and its line followed: it is technically easier to build a new road.

**LLANWARNE:**

The greater part of the Llanwarne estate is bounded by the River Gamber. This is a small river at this point, the source of which lies less than a mile to the north, and is certainly not navigable in this area. The eastern boundary is marked by the line of a road which is termed the viam iacinthinam in LL200. This would appear to refer to the course followed by the modern B4348, and does not appear to be a very major route-way. LL174a refers to a ford (vadum pallan), which would appear to refer to the point where a small tributary of the Gamber crosses this road at SO504288.

**ST. BRIDES-SUPER-ELY:**

This estate is bounded both to the east and south by rivers which appear to be navigable: the Nant Dowlais and the River Ely. Two further streams are mentioned in charter bounds, the Glesius and Nant Brachan (Nant Rhych), but these are both too small to be used for transport. At least a small part of the northern boundary seems to follow a road which is mentioned in LL216b, dated to c.870 (Davies 1979, 119). This road can be followed in the modern road network and leads directly east to what is now Llandaff cathedral, but at this time (the tenth century) was the monastery of Llandaff. This is the clearest example of estates which belong to Llandaff having a direct road link with it.

**TIDENHAM:**

The Tidenham estate does not reach north as far as the River Wye, but does have access to the Severn estuary along its southern boundary. This gives the estate an excellent position in terms of waterborne transport. It is only a mile or so upstream from Sedbury, which functioned as a port in the late Saxon era (cf. Grundy, 1935-6, 244-5).

The estate is also bisected by the A48, a road of well known Roman origin, though the road is not mentioned in the charter text. However, the Welsh name of the church given in LL174b, Ystrad Hafren, does refer to the road, meaning "Severn Street".
WONASTOW:

This estate is bounded in the south by the Trothy River. This river is both small and forded and cannot have been navigable in this region. The bounds mention a ford on the Trothy and a road (fordd mawr) which leads northwards from it, but it is difficult to give an exact location for either feature, though the most likely route would run just to the east of the manor and church of Wonastow. A second road feature, a ford, is mentioned later in the bounds, which would appear to lie in the vicinity of Gwern-y-Saint. It is possible that this road is the same as that mentioned earlier, but without any directional detail for this second road it is impossible to be sure.

CONCLUSIONS:

None of the estates discussed above appears without association with a road of some kind, whether specifically mentioned, inferred from the presence of a ford, mentioned by a neighbouring charter or known from other sources. However, only half of the estates have direct access to navigable waterways or the coast.

It is interesting that known roads are associated with estates which do not contain references to them, for example Llanbeder, Tidenham (other than in the name Ystrat Hafren) and St. Brides Super Ely. Also it is in only one of the two Saxon charters referring to the Daylesford estate that roads are mentioned. Rackham (1986, 259) attempted to use references to roads and fords in charter bounds to infer relative road densities for England and south east Wales. These statistics imply that roads are significantly less common in Welsh territories (here meaning those territories covered by the Llandaff charter material) than in their English counterparts: 16.2% of English boundary features are either roads or fords, whilst for Wales the figure is 7.2%. The above evidence, relating to the presence of early (pre-tenth century) roads which are not mentioned in the relevant boundary clauses, makes it clear that the use of Welsh and English charter boundaries to try and establish relative road densities is seriously flawed.

It may be argued that the mention of a ford does not necessarily imply a road as such, but may equally refer to a small path, perhaps one of the many paths and tracks which must have connected fields with settlements. It seems unlikely, however, that such features would be recorded as significant landscape features within bounds which were, judging from the language of the charter texts, intended to last for some time to come if not forever. I suspect that a ford which was chosen as a boundary marker is far more likely to refer to the crossing of an established and well-defined route-way, which is fairly permanent, than to a small path-crossing which may well have been more prone to shifting as ownership and possibly field layout changed. Certainly any ford on the Ogmore River was a major construction and would appear to have warranted a range of fortifiable strong points on its southern bank.

It is clear that roads and rivers were important boundary markers. It is possible to see not only the Daylesford estate, but also two estates immediately to the north, Addlestrop and Evenlode, as being almost entirely dependent on the River Evenlode and roads such as sealt
straete and cynges ferdraete for their form. This group of estates thus appears to have been formed at some date after the road network was established.

The example of Llanbeder is interesting in that the site of the church (albeit possibly later than the original grant) and an unusual small sliver of land lie to the south of the Roman road whilst the bulk of the land lies to the north of it. It would perhaps seem more natural to create land units on one side or the other of such highways. It seems reasonable to suggest that the site of Llanbeder church is more likely to be contemporary with the grant, since its location on the narrow piece of land to the south of the road may explain why this tract was included. Though a similar case appears at Tidenham, it is clear why the road was ignored, since access to the coast must have been an overriding concern.

That sites should be connected to the monasteries that owned them was no doubt an important matter, when the collection of render is considered. The estates of St. Brides-Super-Ely and the adjoining estate of St-y-Nyll are the clearest examples of this to be seen because of their proximity to Llandaff: only about 5 miles west. If this example is typical, it may be possible to see centres such as Llandaff, Worcester and later Evesham as not only important in terms of ecclesiastical authority and wealth, but as significant nodes within a road network which appears to be highly developed before the arrival of the Normans in the late-eleventh century.
CHURCH LOCATION:

This section deals with the location of the earliest known church sites in the estates included within the pilot study. Their relationship to the period of the original grants is examined after the evidence for the estates is discussed.

SUMMARY:

BALLINGHAM:

The Ballingham site: The church here is located at almost the centre of the estate, on land which gently slopes northwards. This church also lies upon Eardiston 1 soils. The distance of this church from the Circan stream makes it clear that it is not on the site of the original podum, and is therefore probably of later origin. However, the enclosed churchyard of this church is both large and almost perfectly circular, with the exception of a small section which appears to have been cut through to make way for farm buildings. These are characteristics which Diane Brook (1992, 87) has shown are suggestive, though the link is far from conclusive, of pre-Norman churchyards. It is, therefore, quite possible that though it seems likely that the church is later in origin than the podum in the vicinity of Carey, it may yet still be of pre-Norman provenance. The surviving fabric of the church, however, is all of post-Norman style.

The Carey site: This is situated in a narrow, steep sided valley on the stream once known as the Circan. This location for the site of the podum is derived from a description of the monastery in LL171b, which states: ...idest ecclesia lannbudgualan, inhostio circan .... This describes the location as being at the mouth of the Circan. This is the only stream within the boundary of the estate, part of which follows this stream. It seems most unlikely to have been situated actually on the alluvial plain, which can be seen from the evidence of field patterns in this area to have been reclaimed at a much later date. Before reclamation the alluvial zone in this vicinity is likely to have formed a seasonally flooded delta and marsh area, and it is difficult to see building and habitation taking place in these sorts of conditions. The early monastery (if this is the correct interpretation of the term podum), then, almost certainly lay on the Eardiston 1 soils which dominate this region, yet upon the wettest area of these soils where it would have been of least value for crop growth. It is not entirely clear where the bounds of the survey begin from (the exact location of the ford on the Circan), but the location of the monastery cannot have been very far from the ford. The location of the podum must therefore lie within the extent of what is now the village of Carey.

DAYLESFORD:

The church is architecturally of Norman origin. It is situated on the Fladbury 1 soils, not on the marginally better Oxpasture soils, lying on relatively flat ground, which may be prone to waterlogging and occasional flooding. The site of the now deserted medieval village also occurs in the immediate vicinity, and drainage problems may well be the reason for the village's move.
off the alluvium. The church lies near to the estimated start of the survey (the ford on the Bladene).

EWENNY:

The Norman priory site: The priory lies on poor quality (agriculturally speaking) alluvium of the Ewenny-Ogmore River in a relatively flat area, adjacent to the better Malham 2 soils. The site is tucked neatly into the north eastern corner of the estate, bounded by the river and the proposed line of the fossa magna. The priory now lies within the built-up area of the town of Ewenny, as it did in the nineteenth century.

The Ogmore site: This site is also situated on flat, poor and often waterlogged river alluvium. This is also the site of a Roman camp and the later Norman castle, being the location of the principal crossing point of the river. It is here that part of an eleventh-century cross slab has been discovered, though this need not necessarily imply an ecclesiastical settlement or building.

ITTON:

Itton church is situated high on a south-facing ridge at about 120m. The church is built on a slope, though it is fairly gentle at this point. The area is dominated by the relatively good soils (in comparison with other local soils) of the East Keswick 3 association. The church is associated with the manor which lies immediately to the north, where potentially early medieval field boundaries have been identified by air photography (SMR, held by CADW, Cardiff). The feature which begins and ends the boundary clause (the Mouric) is found some way to the east, but if it were not for the present tree cover the church would overlook this narrow valley. There is no evidence to suggest an early origin for this church.

LLANBEDER:

The now abandoned church of Llanbeder lay at low altitude within a network of converging rivers and streams, running off the steep slopes of the northern ridge. The site does not seem to have become a significant focus of later settlement, though it lay on the Roman road which ran through the area (the line of the present A48). The church lay upon the soils of the Eardiston 2 group, which, though widespread throughout this area, are at their wettest, and thus poorest, in this low area of stream confluences.

LLANWARNE:

This, now ruined, mostly thirteenth-century church lies on a small, fairly flat level of alluvium on the southern bank of the river Gamber. This area forms the floor of a relatively steep sided river valley, which is now heavily terraced and built up with residential homes. The church, lying on the south side of the Gamber, is not actually included within the bounds of the grant of land which accompanied the gift of this church.
ST. BRIDES-SUPER-ELY:

Whilst the Norman-built church of St. Brides-Super-Ely is situated in the higher north of the land donation, it lies in a hollow on the western bank of Nant Rhych, which gives the effect of a low-lying location, being both sheltered and wet. The church lies in a small, largely circular enclosure amongst the other buildings of the village, and just to the east of what appears to be the relic of an area of open field cultivation.

TIDENHAM:

Tidenham church is situated on a large spur, at the edge of alluvial soils on the south facing slopes of the Severn valley. It lies just to the north of the Roman road which follows the valley (the modern A48) and is surrounded by a small village which is recorded in a pre-Norman context (K822).

WONASTOW:

The church is situated at an altitude roughly mid-way between the highlands to the north and the Trothy river valley to the south, at about 70m. It is built upon a terraced platform, to the immediate south of the manor and about 300m away from the edge of the river alluvium, on soils of the Bromyard association. This church would appear to lie close to the supposed site of the ford on the Trothy, at the beginning of the boundary survey.

COMPARISON:

There appear to be two types of site that are most readily identified. Two churches, those at Tidenham and Itton, are placed on prominent spurs. Though Tidenham church is built on a spur, it is a fairly low-lying, though dramatic, spur and does not give a sense of prominence to the church in the landscape.

Four churches are situated either in hollows or in the floors of steep-sided, narrow valleys: St. Brides-Super-Ely, Llanwarne, Llanbeder and the monastery at what is now Carey village, Ballingham. The reason for such a location must have been a strong one, since these sites are prone to waterlogging and in severe conditions flooding too. Shelter may be one possible factor, but another may be suggested based upon another factor of church location. This is that many of the churches (Daylesford, Llanbeder, Tidenham, Ewenny and the two sites mentioned above) are placed in situations which would appear to be those least appropriate to cultivation. What is more, these agriculturally inferior locations are often on stream or river banks, which may suggest that the availability of a constant water source may also be an important factor. It is possible that both factors were important, for example the church at Daylesford is built on what appears to be an inland transgression of alluvium. This suggests that while various sites could have been chosen equidistant from the river bank, an area with the poorest soil cover was chosen. The same is true for the site of Ewenny Priory.

As well as most churches being located near water sources, the same appears to be the case for nearness to road networks. St. Brides-Super-Ely, Tidenham (note the charter name
Ystrad Hafren) and Llanbeder all lie within a few dozen yards of known Roman or early medieval roadways. Llanwarne also lies close (within 300m) to an early route, though set back a little from the road side and Daylesford and Itton both lie within half a mile of known pre-Conquest roads. At Ewenny the Ogmore site lay at an early crossing point of the river, hence the castle and Roman camp, and it is hard to imagine that the priory site was not connected to this network.

The church sites of Wonastow, Daylesford, Carey village, St. Brides-Super-Ely and the Ogmore site, near Ewenny, all lie within a short distance of river and stream crossings. Fords are specifically mentioned in the bounds of Wonastow, Daylesford and the Carey (Ballingham) podium close to the proposed early church sites. Notably in each case it is the ford which marks the beginning of these bounds.

All of the churches which are accompanied by boundary clauses in perambulation form (Itton, Daylesford, Wonastow, Llanbeder and Carey at the Ballingham estate) are situated either at, or overlooking the point which begins or ends the perambulation. Also most church sites lie at the edges of the lands with which they are associated. This follows on from the above point, but is also true for the churches of St. Brides-Super-Ely, Ewenny and Llanwarne, which do not have perambulation style clauses.

Only two churches lie a significant distance from the bounds provided: Tidenham and Itton. Itton though, as has been mentioned, overlooks the Mouric where the perambulation begins, even though it lies some distance from it.

Two churches stand out as exceptional amongst this group of nine. First, there is the church at Llanwarne which actually lies outside the bounds of the grant. This is a little surprising and as far as I know unique. It would seem that the church and its enclosure were given with a piece of land adjacent to, but not including, it.

The text of the charter referring to the church at Tidenham (LL174b) gives separate bounds for the church grounds in addition to the estate as a whole. However, the smaller boundary, though obscure and difficult to interpret, seems to lie within the larger area granted.

The second church which stands out, or more to the point does not stand at all, is that of Llanbeder. This is the only estate of the group which has no church remains, as opposed to Llanwarne and Ballingham where the churches can be shown to have been relocated away from their early medieval locations. It is no doubt significant that of all the churches discussed here the site of the church of Llanbeder is by far the most isolated in terms of known settlement. The other churches discussed here have either been associated with manors (such as Itton and Wonastow) or with villages or hamlets (such as Daylesford and Ballingham). This may have little to do with pre-Conquest church organisation, but is testimony to the pattern of church survival in the later middle ages and early modern period.
CONCLUSION:

The dominant theme which can be seen in the choice of church location is that of the placement of ecclesiastical buildings and enclosures in areas where they are least likely to interfere with agricultural production. Most churches are placed in un-cultivable hollows, on poor quality, wet river alluvium and on un-ploughable spurs. This policy appears so strong that churches would appear to have suffered from constant dampness and regular flooding as a result. This can be seen most clearly at Llanwarne where after some 1000 years the church was finally moved to higher ground.

This might lead to two possible conclusions. The first is that churches were deliberately constructed in areas where they are least likely to interfere with the surrounding agricultural system, be it pastoral, arable or otherwise. It would appear that in order to achieve this churches were constructed in fairly inhospitable locations and that people making use of such establishments may have suffered some degree of discomfort as a result.

The second possible conclusion is that dampness and flooding simply were not regarded as important draw backs to a church. This would suggest that churches were probably not in constant use and were not residential. However, the term podum referring to the 'monastery' at Carey village may suggest the opposite, and that this settlement on poor, wet ground may have been residential. The proximity of many of the churches to water sources might also imply a more constant and possibly residential use, since it is easy to see how the need to be near such features would be necessary in this period for a residential centre. Any explanation involving baptism seems to me to be unlikely since many of the streams on which these churches stand are too shallow or narrow for such use.

That churches accompanied by perambulations are near the starting or end point of the surveys is interesting. The most likely explanation for this is that the location of the church site is known before the perambulation is worked out. If the church already existed then it is easy to see how this would work in practice, and may suggest that charters which demonstrate this feature are likely to refer to churches which are older than the grant.

This is, however, not the case with the church at Daylesford. The charter clearly states that the monastery was yet to be constructed. It would, however, seem likely that the site for the intended monastery was already decided upon when the perambulation was formulated.

Whilst the above summary is interesting and raises several aspects of church location which would no doubt have played a role during the study period, it is not clear how this information may be applied directly to the period of the grants. Just as with other forms of settlement it is all but impossible to demonstrate without doubt that a known church site existed before the twelfth century.

In only one case can a post-Conquest church be shown with any certainty to lie upon its pre-eleventh century site. This is the now deserted church at Llanwarne, the name of which ('the church of the marsh') points to the site of the later, essentially thirteenth-century building,
abandoned because of persistent flooding.

In the case of the estate of Ballingham it is possible to demonstrate that the site of the current church, surrounded by a large broadly circular enclosure, is clearly not in the same location as the *podum* referred to in the relevant charter (LL164), where it is described as being at the mouth of the stream Circan.
THE OVERALL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE PILOT STUDY:

Having examined the geographical location of the nine estates and looked at aspects of their settlement, both ecclesiastical and secular, it is possible to suggest the best way of continuing the study with a greater number of estates. It is evident that there are very great difficulties in pursuing a line of research based upon settlement and church location, since continuity with known features cannot be demonstrated for our period. Without extensive excavation it will be impossible to be certain of the placement of settlement features within the estates, and given that all known evidence points to building being almost entirely in wood, it is even unlikely that excavation would give a full and clear picture.

By far the most promising line of investigation is that of linking the estates to physical properties which are indisputable. That is their size (where their bounds can be traced), physical location and the quality of the land with which they are associated. This direction will allow questions of relative value in terms of agricultural productivity to be examined and thus place the estates into the context of the Early Medieval economy, as well as giving an insight into the way in which the landscape of the study area was partitioned by those who owned and/or worked the land.
4.2 ESTATES IN THE WIDER CONTEXT

In this chapter I shall discuss those aspects of the location, distribution and nature of all of the estates that are best viewed, not in terms of individual estates or of small groupings, but at the scale of a large, extensive area. The vast majority of estates that are available to this study, that is with boundary clauses preserved, lie to the east of the River Usk. Therefore, as explained in chapter 3.2- "Methodology", it has been decided to exclude the area to the west of the River Usk. The area studied, then, is some 80 miles by 60 miles in extent and stretches from the River Usk in the west to the Gloucestershire/Oxfordshire border in the east and from the Worcestershire/Warwickshire border in the north to the Gloucestershire/Somerset border in the south.

The Distribution of the Estates:

Figure 4.2.1 illustrates all of the estates studied, presented on a map which also indicates the broad altitude ranges which are found in the region. It is striking on this map that the estates appear not evenly distributed throughout the region, but instead can be seen to occur in large clusters, though with one or two exceptions. The three clusters most evident occur in the region between the Usk, Monnow and the Wye, in a rough circle of some fifteen miles radius around Worcester and lastly on the Cotswold uplands of Gloucestershire.

Figure 1.2.1 has already illustrated the location of all identifiable Llandaff estates, stretching from the Wye in the east to the Tawe in the west. This map clearly shows the concentration of the greatest number of these estates in the region between the Wye, the Monnow and the Usk, as distinct from the smaller cluster in the environs of modern Swansea and a second cluster in South and southern Mid Glamorgan.

This clustering of the Welsh estates is perhaps the easiest to explain of all the groups identified above. Only the briefest of comparisons between figure 1.2.1 and a topographic map of Wales will demonstrate the coincidence between the large area in which estates are absent and the mountainous highlands of the Brecon complex. This coincidence between upland/lowland regions and the settlement pattern can be seen throughout Wales' history. We see the same pattern during the Roman occupation where only military establishments associated with the extensive road network can be located in the Brecons, whilst villa sites along with the location of a large number of isolated finds are to be found in the surrounding lowlands. At the opposite end of the time scale this pattern is observable in twentieth-century maps of Wales, where it can be seen that, although the empty region of church estates evidenced in the charters has decreased somewhat in size, largely as a result of the great coal mining years, settlement is still extremely scarce in the Brecon region.

The Cotswold complex of estates emerges in the location of some of the earlier grants. By the end of the eighth century the estates of Woodchester, Notgrove, Donnington and Daylesford
Figure 4.2.1
The estates in The Study Area

- Land above 200m
- Land between 150m and 200m
- Land between 100m and 150m

Legend:
- Land above 200m
- Land between 150m and 200m
- Land between 100m and 150m

The map shows the distribution of estates within the study area, categorized by their elevation, with different shades indicating the height ranges.
Figure 4.2.1 - The Estates in the Study Area

Key:
1 Daylesford  
2 Adlestrop  
3 Donnington  
4 Part of Maugersbury  
5 Notgrove  
6 Overbury & Conderton  
7 Kemerton  
8 Part of Bredon's Norton  
9 Caldicot in Bredon  
10 Woodchester  
11 Ballingham  
12 Llanwarne  
13 Wonastow  
14 Tidenham  
15 Itton  
16 Llanbder  
17 Undy  
18 Caldicot  
19 Tintern  
20 St. Maughan’s  
21 Llancillo  
22 Kermeys  
23 Llanarth  
24 Clodock  
25 Dixon  
26 Rockfield  
27 Llantilio Pertholey  
28 Llanfaenor  
29 Aust  
30 Dunhampstead  
31 Hellerelege, King's Norton  
32 Wican (Wick)  
33 Alvechurch (Coton Hackett)  
34 Hartlebury  
35 (Whitlinge)  
36 (Waresley)  
36 (Land at)  
37 Bishop's Cleeve  
38 Llandinabo  
39 Llandogo  
40 Chepstow  
41 Llantilio Crossenny  
42 Llanfable  
43 Bishton  
44 Llanlwyd  
45 Llwynwyd  
46 Cecin PenRhos (Llangynfyl)  
47 Trelleck  
48 Llansoy  
49 Llandenny  
50 Stoke Prior  
51 Broadwas  
52 Hallow  
53 Grimley  
54 Himbleton  
55 Cleeve Prior  
56 Pershore Holdings  
57 Lower Wolverton  
58 Withington  
59 Upton on Severn  
60 Bently Holt  
61 Oddingley  
62 Cotheridge  
63 Pendock  
64 Little Witley  
65 Cudley  
66 Bredicot  
67 Whittington  
68 Clopton St. John’s in Bredwardine  
69 Dumbleton/Kington  
70 Knighton-on-Teme, Newnham & Eardiston  
71 Mathern  
72 Dorstone  
73 Llangorse
were already in the hands of the church at Worcester. Adlestrop was added in the tenth and the portion of Maugersbury in the eleventh. The unattached bounds of Bishop's Cleeve and Withington cannot be dated other than by the eleventh-century date of Hemming's writing, though land at both is referred to in charters belonging the eighth century so it is quite possible, if not likely, that these estates were already in the possession of Worcester by this time.

The group of estates found in the Cotswold complex can be explained to some degree (though how great a degree is difficult to assess) by the physical environment. The eight estates found in this area could be explained by a mechanism that involved the choice of the Worcester authorities, involving a preference for the fairly good quality land here. However, these estates are supposed to be gifts to the church and the extent to which choice was exercised by the ecclesiastical leaders is problematic.

The cluster around Worcester can be seen to be composed almost exclusively of estates which are the subject of charters which either cannot be attributed to a date earlier than the mid-eleventh century or else refer to leases by the church belonging to the late ninth and tenth centuries. Land which is the subject of a tenth-century lease must clearly have passed to the church at Worcester at some time previously and in nearly every case land associated with these properties can be found to be the subject of earlier charters, for example the estate at Alvechurch which is the subject of a late ninth-century lease (S1272). The bounds are referred to in an earlier charter (S117) dated to 780, in which the land is given for the use of the bishop of Worcester. However it does not follow that the bounds of a later lease reflect those of an earlier grant. This is illustrated by the case of Dunhampstead and Oddingly, the estates of which significantly overlap each other (see figure 4.3.9).

It is therefore not possible to attribute this cluster to a period much earlier than the tenth century, making it potentially much later than the other two groups identified above, though an earlier date cannot be absolutely ruled out. Certainly the fact that land mentioned in the leases is referred to in earlier charters, whether with coterminous boundaries or not, would suggest that during the eighth or ninth century some estates did exist in this area.

The situation around Worcester may be typical of a landscape where topography is more uniform. Here we find estates clustering around the focal point of Worcester itself, extending away from the centre notably along river networks and along the Roman road that reaches north east from Worcester through Bromsgrove to the fort at Metchley.

Although the question of choice as exercised by the religious centres is problematic on account of incomplete historical evidence, the organisation of the Worcester estates does appear to support the view that at least some level of choice or planning has taken place. It is difficult to see how such a sensible pattern of estates extending outwards along major route-ways, allowing for a much greater ease of connection, could occur if lands given to the church were wholly dependent on the possessions of the giver. If the givers were local land owners then the pattern would surely appear random to us and if the grants came directly from the crown, unless due consideration were given to the desires and convenience of the church, the pattern would be expected to be more random in an area of such homogeneity.
Thus, whereas the Llandaff estates appear to suggest a distribution that is dictated almost exclusively by the physical environment, the situation of the Worcester possessions is different. Here there is a sense of organisation and choice. The way in which the estates are clustered into groups which are not pre-determined by physical limitations and that they extend along rivers and the Roman road (both principal communication systems) does appear to suggest some planned structure.

A second source of evidence which may be put forward to support a degree of planned expansion is the number of larger estate units which have been assembled from smaller units which are adjacent. On only five occasions can this feature be seen in the properties of Llandaff and in each the situation is one where only two estates have effectively been joined together (though, it is impossible to know whether they were managed separately or as a consolidated whole). These are Llanfaenor/Llanllwyd, Llanarth/Llwynderi, Trelleck/Llandogo, Kemeys/Llanbeder and Chepstow/Mathern.

Amongst the Worcester properties joined estates are more prominent. In the Cotswold complex Adlestrop and Daylesford share an extensive boundary, whilst two of the Hartlebury estates and Cudley/Whittington form double estates. However, the latter two cases are conjoined leases and may represent the splitting up of a single, earlier and larger estate rather than the joining of two earlier grants to the church.

Unique to the Worcester properties are the larger agglomerations of estates. The largest of all properties, that of Pershore abbey, is difficult to imagine without the idea that it is an amalgamation of smaller units, and is itself abutted by the following estates: Lower Wolverton, part of Bredon’s Norton and Kemerton. Kemerton and the estate described as part of Bredon’s Norton are themselves joined and Kemerton is also slotted together with the estates of Caldicotan in Bredon and Overbury and Conderton (a single estate), forming a larger Bredon unit, though its form is somewhat awkward.

The finest example of such consolidation is the estate called Wican nestled between the Severn and the Teme (see figure 4.3.9). The history of this estate is far from certain. The earliest grant of property to Worcester in this area is a charter dated to 757-775, describing the gift of Wican and defining the property of the entire area outlined in this area except for the small western estate of Bredwardine. However, two later grants, one relating to Hallow dated 816 and one to Grimely dated 851, appear to define areas already within the original grant. All other divisions and charters relating to this group are leases. Both of the ninth-century grants, though appearing in ‘Hemming’, have been regarded as spurious by some: Stevenson regards the Hallow grant as spurious and the Grimely grant as genuine, but both Robertson and Finberg regard the Grimely charter as spurious (Sawyer, 1968, 116 and 122). It is difficult to see why charters needed to be written for land already owned and the most likely explanation seems to be that the original grant of Wican referred more specifically to an area within this complex (Henwick would appear a good candidate deriving from the Old English Higna-wic meaning the wick of the monks (Ekwall, 1936, 235)) and that the extensive bounds are a later addition following a process of consolidation of which the later two charters, authentic or not, are the only
remaining evidence. The fact that the leases relating to this property never overlap with the two charters of Grimely and Hallow may be seen as evidence that these leased areas represent estates which existed earlier as individual properties that were included in this period of agglomeration. Such a situation is entirely consistent with that seen elsewhere at Hartlebury and Bredon.

The Estates and River Valleys:

There is a very strong link between the location of estates and river valleys throughout the study region. Twenty of the Llandaff estates are actually bounded by one of the five principal rivers in the region: the Usk, Severn, Wye, Trothy and Monnow. Of the remainder all but two Llandaff estates (see below) share boundaries with smaller streams and rivers that are too small to appear in figure 4.2.1. A similar pattern is seen in the Worcester properties where nine estates border rivers large enough to be indicated on this map and again all but two lie adjacent to smaller channels.

It should be pointed out, however, that there are conspicuous exceptions to this, such as Bishop’s Cleeve and Withington in the Cotswolds and the estates of Trelleck and Llandogo in Gwent. It may well be significant that both Worcester grants are possibly very late, and both Llandaff properties are potentially relatively late (after c. 872).

The Altitude of the Estates:

There is a clear concentration of the ecclesiastical estates on land below 100m. This feature may be largely a result of the estates being frequently located in river valleys.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Llandaff</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Worcester</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of estates</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No land &gt; 100m</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of area &lt;100m</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This relationship can be presented simply by means of the following statistics: 33% of the Llandaff estates contain within their boundaries no land over 100m, with 56% of the Worcester estates containing no land above the same height. In total, then, 43% of the estates encountered
in the region as a whole lie completely at altitudes of less than 100m. Turning to the amount of land above 100m found within the estates we find that 54% of Llandaff estates and 64% of Worcester estates have less than 1/4 of their area over 100m. Thus 60% of the total number of estates possess most (at least 3/4) of their area below the 100m contour. Lastly, it is the case that only 12% of Llandaff estates lie wholly above 150m, and none of Worcester properties occur at this height.

The difference between the Llandaff and Worcester figures is not wholly unexpected as only 33% of the land found between the Usk and the Wye occurs below 100m, 63% of the area in which the Worcester properties occur is below 100m; almost double the proportion.

**Upland/Lowland Divisions within Estates:**

There is a notable lack of any clear upland/lowland division within the estates of the two regions. This can be illustrated in the following way. Four altitude bands were created, with the lowest band consisting of land below 100m, the second of land between 100 and 150m, the third of land between 150 and 200m and the last of land above 200m. Then each estate was considered and any significant amount of land occurring in any of the four bands noted (here significant was taken to be approximately a quarter of the area of the whole estate). For example the estate at Ballingham contains land in the two lowest bands only (see Appendix A).

As a result of this exercise it was found that only 24% of the estates claimed by Llandaff and 33% of the Worcester estates possess land in three or more of the altitude ranges, which might thus be classified into what may be termed upland and lowland zones. Such a feature does, however, occur in isolated cases. For example a small number of estates in the Brecon upland region, where deeply incised river valleys provide a wide range of altitudes over relatively short distances. The estate at Bishops Cleeve (Gloucestershire), half of which lies in the Severn Vale and half above the Cotswold scarp face, is also a good example of a clear altitude division, but in all only 10 estates (7 belonging to Llandaff) fit this pattern.

This finding is particularly interesting given the dominance of the multiple estate model as put forward by G.R.J. Jones (1972, 295) and its emphasis on seasonal movements between permanent lowland settlements and temporary upland settlements. The evidence suggests that this type of estate form was far from typical or even absent in this area of the southern Welsh Marches.
The Size of the estates:

In general the Llandaff estates are small and as we have seen considerably less consolidated than those of Worcester. This may reflect different strategies of acquisition by the respective ecclesiastical centres, in which the varying availability of suitable land plays a part. The amount of agriculturally valuable lowland to be found between the Usk and the Wye is tiny compared with the area of the Worcester properties. In Wales not only is there less lowland, but as a result of greater altitudes, rainfall and a greater proportion of steeper slopes, the uplands within the area in which the Worcester estates occur are of considerably greater potential for agriculture. It is unfortunate that the extent of non-ecclesiastical properties in the two areas is not known, since this would make our understanding of the relationship between properties in general and landscape somewhat clearer.

The relationship between the size of an estate and its overall agricultural potential can be shown to be significantly different between the estates of the two centres. There is a clear and direct link between the size and quality of estates held by Llandaff (see figure 4.2.2): estates of good quality tend to be smaller in size with size increasing as quality deteriorates. This link does not, however, appear in those estates owned by Worcester (see figure 4.2.3), with the size of an individual estate considerably less closely linked to its natural agricultural potential. The exact reason for the difference between these two regions is unclear, though one possible explanation may be suggested. This is that the Llandaff estates were less intensely farmed, whereas the Worcester estates may have been more aggressively managed, perhaps with a greater number of workers (possibly slaves), capable of manipulating the soils natural potential.

In conclusion, then, there is some evidence to support the view that a greater level of planning and management of the estates took place at Worcester than at Llandaff where little evidence of either is visible in the distribution and size of estates.

The Estates and the Archaeology of the Region.

A number of parallels can be drawn between the overall pattern of Roman settlement and the pattern of known estates studied here. It is, however, important to point out that the pattern of estates in this region is by no means complete. Firstly, we know from the number of later leases made by Worcester that an unknown number of properties were given to the church with either no written record or else the record has not survived. Secondly, there are estates for which the boundaries could not accurately be traced and others where boundary details have not been recorded which have not been considered in this survey. As a result it is not possible to base any argument on the negative evidence arising from the absence of estates in a given area. Similarly, it must be remembered that records of the possessions of Gloucester and Hereford have not survived and thus gaps, certainly in the Severn vale and north east of the Wye and possibly further afield, may well result from the poor preservation of records rather than any
The Llandaff Estates - Size & Quality

Land Quality

Figure 4.2.2
Figure 4.2.3
The Worcester estates - Size & Quality

+= Grant to Church
O= Lease from Church

Land Quality
genuine historical reason.

What is noticeable in South Wales is that there appears to be a gradual development of higher than average status settlement in the region of the Monnow river, a development in which the period under study appears to be important.

If the map of Roman remains for the area is considered (figure 2.3.1) it can be seen that the main focus of settlement appears to be along the coast with military settlement and the occasional town, such as Usk, along either the Wye or the Usk. There are no signs of any intervening significant settlement in the region of the Monnow and Trothy rivers. Here only a few occasional finds have been located and the remains of iron workings around the Monnow’s confluence with the Wye.

During the early medieval period there is a clear concentration of estates lying adjacent to the Monnow and Trothy. Eight estates actually border either the Trothy or Monnow rivers with a small number of others nearby. This area corresponds with the Welsh kingdom of Ergyng which is known to have existed during the sixth and seventh centuries (Davies, 1982, 91), having emerged from the post Roman power struggles and centred on the settlement of Ariconium on the eastern banks of the Wye. Additionally, Davies identifies the possibility of a bishopric at Kenderchurch between the late sixth and early seventh century (1982, 158) which also lies close to the Monnow river.

This area was later to be annexed to the English territories as Archenfield. Figure 2.3.16 shows that by the twelfth century five castles had been established on or adjacent to the Monnow (Skenfrith, Monmouth, Grosmont, Ewyas Harold and Kilpeck) and one adjacent to the Trothy (White Castle).

In the area of the Worcester grants it can be seen that on the broadest level there is a correlation between the areas of densest Roman occupation and of the densest concentration of ecclesiastical estates. Figure 2.3.1 illustrates that there is a concentration of Roman activity in the region of Worcester itself in the form of towns at Worcester and Droitwich and also in the presence of pottery and tile kilns to the immediate south west of Worcester. Isolated finds are also more dense here than the surrounding area and the remains of substantial buildings have been identified at Eckington on the River Avon. This area corresponds to the cluster of estates that are located around Worcester. Of particular note is the correlation between the road which extends north-east from Worcester, through Droitwich and a line of estates that also run in this direction. The link is too close to be coincidental and must surely reflect a very real concentration of estate grants to Worcester in which the location of the road was a principal factor. It is interesting to note that the two largest estates in the area, Wick and the holdings of Pershore Abbey and its satellites, are both situated in areas in which Roman evidence is sparse.

The areas of the greatest density of Roman material are the uplands of the Cotswold complex. Villas are comparatively numerous here and a number of towns and smaller settlements are also known. This corresponds with the second of the Worcester estate clusters. The estates of Daylesford, Adlestrop, Donnington, Maugersbury and Notgrove all cluster closely around the Roman settlement at Bourton-on-the-Water, whilst Withington includes two villas
within its bounds and lies adjacent to a minor settlement and two temples. Similarly Woodchester lies close to a Roman temple site.

It is not possible to make any clear connection between individual estates and Roman settlement, but it seems reasonable to point to a degree of continuity at least in the focus of interest from high status members of society in the land of this area. It may be significant to note the absence of leases away from the church in this area, which may be a possible indicator of the high value given to land in this area.

Only a small number of castles occur in the area of the Worcester grants before the end of the twelfth century; at Worcester and at Upper Slaughter (midway between the estates of Notgrove and Maugersbury) and Sudeley castle lies close to the estate at Bishop's Cleeve. As a result it is difficult to discern any strong links between the estates and castle sites.
4.3 ESTATES IN LOCAL REGIONS

This chapter focuses on the way in which early ecclesiastical estates can be understood with their local environment. The strategy for identifying these regions has been set out in chapter 3.2. In this chapter each of the three selected regions (Northern Gwent, the Cotswolds and Central Worcester) will be discussed. First, in terms of their physical geography and second, the pattern of estates in each region will be considered and its relationship with the physical environment. The chapter closes with the three areas being compared and contrasted to highlight the effect the different physical environments have had on the distribution of the estates and to identify where other, less easily identifiable, factors appear to have played a role in defining the ecclesiastical landscape.

DESCRIPTION OF THE REGIONS:

Three regions have been chosen and each is introduced below with a brief outline of its geography before going into more detail regarding the location of estates. The three regions are, 1) an area roughly ten miles from east to west and fifteen north to south in northern Gwent; 2) an area approximately twenty miles from east to west and eight from north to south in the Cotswolds, to the east of Cheltenham in Gloucestershire, and 3) an area broadly ten miles square around the city of Worcester in central Worcestershire.

NORTHERN GWENT REGION:

This region was selected because of the marked concentration of estates in this area: 15 in all (figure 4.3.1), nearly half of the Llandaff estates investigated in this study. As well as the concentration of estates the region is interesting because it occupies an area of mostly low-lying land which is almost completely surrounded by land at significantly higher altitudes. To the north and west of the region lie the Brecon Beacons with its mountainous terrain rising from the surrounding plains of around 100m or below to barren highlands ranging from around 200m to peaks of over 800m. To the east lie the higher lands of the Forest of Dean which, whilst not nearly as high and dramatic as the Brecons and Black Mountains, are of significantly greater altitude than the area under consideration; at least 100m higher. To the south however the land does not rise significantly, but instead gradually opens into the lower Levels of the Severn river valley: the Severn lying some seven or eight miles to the south of the region under consideration.
Figure 4.3.1

Estates in the Region

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

100m
150m
200m

Extent of Estate
The topography of the region itself is largely determined by the surrounding area described above, with the majority of its area lying below 100m but including land rising to 200m in the extreme north and in the east of the area.

In the south-western corner of the region the Olway Brook (Nant Olwy) can be seen as can a small portion of the River Usk (the confluence of the two is situated just to the south of the region). It is the Usk in this area that marks the eastern extent of the highlands, with the lowlands discussed here on its eastern bank. In the east of the region, a little north of its centre lies the major confluence of the Rivers Wye, Trothy and Monnow, where the town of Monmouth is located. This concentration of river valleys provides an extension of lower lands in the east of the region which is surrounded on the north, south and east by higher land. Whereas the rivers Wye and Monnow continue to flow beyond this region, the River Trothy lies almost in its entirely within the boundaries of the area, with only its tributaries extending beyond them. In all six of the fifteen estates are bordered by this river or its tributaries (in all twelve of the fifteen estates are found to be bordered by waterways of various sizes).

Modern settlement is not particularly dense in this area, the two principal settlements being the small towns of Monmouth and Raglan. The rest of the area is dotted with a few small villages and hamlets and a larger number of relatively isolated farms. Consequently urban development has not removed much land from its availability to a study of this kind.

Moving beneath the surface to the geology of the region we find that the area is very uniform with almost the whole extent of the region underlain by rocks of the Old Red Sandstone formation. There are, however, two other formations which are found in this region. In the east the rise in altitude evidenced above the surface is the result of the resistance of the much harder Carboniferous Limestone formation which begins to outcrop along the eastern margin of the area, along with an isolated inlier of this hard limestone which underlies the highland beneath Trelleck. Further west, in the south-western corner of the region there is a significant outcrop of Silurian rocks resulting from a sequence of folding and faulting called the Variscan Orogeny, a mountain-building phase that took place some 280 million years ago at the end of the Carboniferous Period. These rocks consist mostly of limestones and mudstones and are marginally softer than the surrounding O.R.S., which is partly why this corner of the region is the lowest.

Whilst there are a variety of soils found in the area two dominate, covering approximately half the region between them (figure 4.3.2). The first group are those of the Milford association found mainly in the west of the area whilst soils of the Bromyard association dominate in the centre and east. Both soil groups are typical brown earths; the Milford association having a fine loamy nature whilst the Bromyard series tend to be more silty and coarse. Both soils are well drained and are better than average for agriculture. The Milford association has been classified as good in this study whilst the Bromyard series has been classified as moderately good on account of a slight tendency towards acidity under permanent arable crops and towards capping under ploughing. As a result the soils in this area as a whole are quite exceptionally suited to mixed agriculture, the main obstacle for crops in this area, as regards soils, are those soils adjacent to rivers which are generally too wet for crop growth.
Figure 4.3.2

The Estates and Soil Associations (see appendix C for key)

**Extent of Estate**

- 100m
- 150m
- 200m
Despite better than average soils, the area is also characterised by many steeper than average slopes (figure 4.3.3). This is no doubt due to the resistance of the fairly hard O.R.S., which is able to support slopes at greater angles. As a result almost half of the area as a whole may be considered as unsuitable for crop growth on account of excessive slopes. It is also the case that the extent of greater slopes is somewhat dispersed meaning that there are relatively few areas of any great size which could support crops.

A strong contrast in slope is useful to a study like this because a clear distinction can be expected between land on which crop growth is suitable and land on which it is not. This can be seen in figure 4.3.4 where a broad spread can be seen in the land quality classifications given and where the better land, graded 1 and 2 can be contrasted with land with significantly lower grades at the area’s borders.

**THE COTSWOLDS:**

This area, whilst only including seven estates (figure 4.3.5), is interesting because of two factors. First there is the fact that these estates appear to be set apart from the majority of Worcester estates which lie to the north and west in the Severn vale, and hence deserve singular attention. The second reason is the interesting location of the estates spread out along the Cotswold complex of scarp in the west and the dip slope in the east.

The Cotswold limestone mass extends to the north-east and the south-west of this region forming a dramatic boundary in the landscape. To the west lies the low land of the Severn Vale, at the foot of the scarp face, whilst to the east the land slopes gently away onto the clay and chalk formations of south east England. The Severn Vale in this area lies at an approximate altitude of 50m and below, whilst the top of the scarp slope is situated some 200m higher, approaching 300m in places. In the east of the region the slope lowers the land down to a height of between 100-200m.

Most of the water channels in this area are tributaries flowing to the south and east of the region where they eventually combine to form the Upper Thames. Most of these channels are shallow and small - incapable of navigation- the principal channels being the Evenlode, Windrush and Coln.

Modern settlement in the region consists mostly of villages and small country towns such as Stow-on-the-Wold, Bourton-on-the-Water and Winchcombe. The principal settlement is Cheltenham, a medium-sized town which lies in the east of the region just to the west of the Cotswold Scarp. Isolated farms are not common, with nucleated villages more typical.

As mentioned above, the principal geological sequences of this area are dominated by Jurassic limestones. However, to the west of the scarp face clays are the dominant rock; this accounts for only a small portion of land in the north-west corner of the region. The remainder of the area is almost exclusively limestone, but with numerous thin clay layers interbedded within
Figure 4.3.3

The Estates and Steeper than Average Slopes

---
100m
---
150m
---
200m

Extent of Estate
Greater than Average Slopes
Figure 4.3.4

The Estates and Land Quality (1=best, 10=worst)

Extent of Estate

- - - - - 100m
- - - - - 150m
- - - - - 200m

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles
Figure 4.3.5

Estates in the Region

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

100m
150m
200m

Extent of Estate

Bishop's Cleeve
Donnington
Adiestrop
Daviesford
Maugersbury (part of)
Withington
Notgrove
Figure 4.3.6

The Estates and Soil Associations (see appendix C for key)

---

Extent of Estate

- 100m
- 150m
- 200m
Figure 4.3.7
The Estates and Steeper than Average Slopes

Extent of Estate

Greater than Average Slopes

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

100m
150m
200m
Figure 4.3.8
The Estates and Land Quality (1=best, 10=worst)

Extent of Estate

- - - - - 100m
- - - - 150m
- - 200m

100m 150m 200m
the sequence. The beds gently dip towards the east giving the Cotswolds and its river network their characteristic form.

A relatively wide variety of soil associations are found within this region (figure 4.3.6), but most of these occur in the far east of the region along with complications in the underlying rock beds and an increasing influence from water channels. However, approximately half of the region is dominated by a single soil sequence: the Elmton 1 series. This soil has been classified as being of moderate potential. Somewhat unusually it is better suited to arable crops than it is to grass, for which it is very droughty. In modern times grass land in this area has generally been restricted to light sheep grazing. It is the case in this region that a good deal of the soils which occur vary only slightly in quality from the Elmton 1 series. Thus nearly all of the soils lie between the classifications of moderately good and moderately poor. This similarity will mean that distinctions between areas based on soil quality alone will be relatively weak.

Apart from the obviously severe slope of the Cotswold scarp face of the (figure 4.3.7) the area is on the whole relatively flat, with just a gentle downward slope towards the east. This means that, since slope types do not significantly disturb the pattern of classification evidenced by the soil arrangement, the area must be regarded as relatively uniform in terms of agricultural potential.

This uniformity is reflected in the quality classification of the land, combining slope and soil data (figure 4.3.8). The majority of the region is of either grade 3 or 4, with only isolated examples of land of greater and, more commonly, lower potential.

CENTRAL WORCESTERSHIRE:

This large area, some twelve by ten miles (see figure 4.3.9) is centred on Worcester itself and so it comes as no surprise to find a number of estates (10 not counting the divisions within the composite estate of Wican) all clustered around this important centre. Due to the size of the large estate held by Pershore Abbey in the south of the area it has been necessary to bisect this estate with the area's boundary for the purposes of this study: it is too large to make an extension of the region practical. The extent of the region lies wholly within the large expanse of the Severn Vale, which reaches out in all directions for some distance, except to the west where the land rises steeply to form a number of hills, such as Woodbury and Abberley Hills, and the Malvern Hills which lie to the south west of the region. These features result from resistant Silurian and Precambrian rocks being thrust upwards into the surrounding softer rocks. They do not themselves represent limits of the Vale, which continues to the west beyond them.

The region itself is particularly flat and low-lying. The only land above 100m occurs in the extreme west of the region, where the land begins to rise towards the hills mentioned above. There is also a very small area that just reaches above 100m in the north east of the region, but this is so small as to be almost negligible. The bulk of the region is situated within a range of 30-
Figure 4.3.9
Estates in the Region

- Wican
- Little Witley
- Bently Holt
- Grimley
- Hallow
- Clopton St. John's
- Cotheridge
- Broadwas
- Whittington
- Lower Wolverton
- Pershore Holdings
- Bredicot
- Oddingley
- Dunhampstead
- Himbleton
- Dumbleton/Kington
- Clopton St, John's
- Cotheridge
- Whittington
- Lower Wolverton
- Pershore Holdings
- Bredicot
- Oddingley
- Dunhampstead
- Himbleton
- Dumbleton/Kington

Legend:
- Extent of Estate
- 100m
- 150m
- 200m
80m, making this the lowest region of the three in this study.

As expected there are a number of water channels in the area flowing generally north to south or towards the centre of the region where the Severn itself flows southwards. The Severn and the Teme are the largest rivers though neither is navigable within the region. In the east the Piddle and Bow Brooks with their numerous minor tributaries create a subsidiary drainage system, flowing into the Avon and eventually into the Severn some distance to the south of the region.

The city of Worcester is by far the largest modern settlement, situated in the centre of the area. The town of Droitwich, which is sited some five miles north east of Worcester, also takes land out of agricultural use, but is not nearly so large. The remainder of the area is dotted with a number of small villages and farms which seem to fall somewhere between isolated and nucleated, being clustered to only a slight degree.

The geological formations occurring in this area can be simply divided into three. In the extreme north west of the region, where the land rises, the Silurian and Precambrian rocks mentioned above outcrop. In the northernmost quarter of the area undifferentiated sandstones of the Permo-Triassic phase are found. These rocks are fairly soft and are the same as those seen in the red and green banded cliffs from the Severn Bridge. The remainder of the area is underlain by mudstones of the Triassic Period. These rocks are also soft and naturally succeed the Permo-Triassic sandstones, leaving no obvious topographical boundaries, hence the uniformity of the region.

The range of soils represented in this area is relatively diverse, largely on account of the concentration of water channels (see figure 4.3.10). However, particular three soil associations can be seen to occur more frequently than others, these are the Bishampton 2, Bromsgrove and Whimple 3 associations. All three are typical brown earths, though the Whimple 3 series is of slight stagnogleyic form. All three share a loamy texture, with the Bishampton 2 series representing the fine end of the scale and the Bromsgrove representing the coarse end. These soils are better than average, the best being the Whimple 3 series with a classification of good, reflecting its suitability to both grass and crop production. The remaining two have been classified as moderately good on account of both being of only moderate quality with respect to grass. This is a result of the droughtiness of these soils, in turn a result of a deep profile and their both being of a well drained and permeable nature.

Due to the particularly low-lying, level nature of the area there are no slopes to be found in the region which pose a threat to agricultural potential. Therefore the overall classification of the land is the same as that arrived at based on the classification of soils alone (figure 4.3.11). The overall picture is one of better than average quality with the bulk of the region covered by soils of either grade 1 or 2 land, with remainder being almost exclusively comprised of grade 3 and 4 land.
Figure 4.3.10

The Estates and Soil Associations (see appendix C for key)

Extents of Estate:
- Solid: 100m
- Heavy dotted: 150m
- Light dotted: 200m

Legend:
- Extent of Estate
- 0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

Scale: 4 3 1 0 Miles
Figure 4.3.11

The Estates and Land Quality (1=best, 10=worst)

Extent of Estate

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

100m
150m
200m
COMPARISON:

It will be helpful to condense briefly the above summaries into a series of short comparisons which enable an overall view of the range of contrasts and similarities between the three chosen regions. The three regions represent the three areas within the study bounds with the highest concentration of estates. As a result of the uneven distribution of estates to the west of the Wye it has only been possible to take one region in the limits of the property ownership of Llandaff, thus not allowing comparison within this corpus of estates between regions. On the other hand two regions containing Worcester estates have been selected, due to the somewhat concentrated pattern of these estates into distinct clusters.

To give some idea of location, the Gwent region lies approximately 30 miles south-west of the central Worcestershire region and approximately the same distance from the Cotswold region in a broadly westerly direction. The Cotswold estate in turn lies about 15 miles south-east of that in central Worcestershire.

Topographically the three regions are quite different, with the majority of the central Worcestershire region situated below 100m whilst very little of the Cotswold region is below 100m and in places reaches 300m. Both of these regions are made up essentially of gentle slopes which do not infringe on agricultural use or potential. The Gwent region, however, alternates between low and high land, as a result having a greater proportion of steep slopes and thus many areas where agricultural activity is markedly effected and limited by topography.

Hydrologically all three regions are broadly similar, with a relatively even coverage of water-bearing channels over their extent. One distinction which can be made is the lack of any larger channels in the Cotswold area where there is a greater number of river sources giving rise to smaller channels. In contrast the Gwent region is directly influenced in the south west by the Usk river and in the north east by the Monnow, the Wye and to a lesser extent the Trothy. Meanwhile the Teme and Severn both flow through the central Worcestershire region. The larger rivers, i.e. the Severn, Usk and Wye, are all navigable along their lengths in the regions discussed here by smaller craft, whilst the Wye is navigable by larger vessels as far as Llandogo, one of the Gwent estates (pers. com. Paul Courtney): the Wye flows just beyond the eastern limit of the Gwent region. This may well have been of great economic importance to the region in our period, though there is no direct evidence to point to the exact impact of water navigation in this period.

As regards soils, it is clear that the central Worcestershire region is far more diverse than the other two. In the Cotswold region the Elmton 1 soils cover over half of the area and in the Gwent region the Milford and Bromyard associations cover a wide extent. The Cotswold region does however display a greater degree of variation in the east. With such a variation in the extent of homogenous soil coverage represented it should be possible to see how or whether at all the degree of soil variation effects the location, shape and size of estates. It should also be pointed out that the Gwent region is the only one of the three which does not have a large expanse of land removed from agricultural use by urban development. In both of the other regions soil classifications have not been possible in certain areas on account of urban land use, but, whilst
it would be ideal to have a complete record of soil distribution, in neither case does an area of urban development seriously infringe on any estate nor present a significant obstacle in the overall classification of the landscape.

Lastly, turning to the actual land classifications awarded to the different regions, a good deal of variation can be seen between them. The region with the greatest diversity of land quality grades is the Gwent region on account of the extensive slopes that inhibit agricultural potential. This is despite a fairly homogenous soil coverage. On the other hand the Cotswold region has by far the least variation with the vast majority of the area of grades 3 and 4. The central Worcestershire region lies somewhere between the two.

The region with the best land on average, that is land of grades 1 to 3, is the Worcestershire region with much land of grade 2 and a significant amount of grade 1 land. Of the remaining two areas the Gwent region has a significant amount of land which is clearly better than that found in the Cotswold region, but at the same time has a good deal which is of poorer quality. It is therefore difficult to choose between them in terms of overall quality.
ESTATES IN THEIR REGIONAL SETTING:

NORTHERN GWENT:

This region contains fifteen estates in all, claimed by the church at Llandaff. These vary considerably, not only in their physical geography but also in size and the dates which may be ascribed to the charters. The largest of the fifteen is Llanarth, situated in the west of the region and bordering the Usk, with an area of approximately 1560 acres. Conversely the smallest estate is Rockfield with an area of about 65 acres.

The earliest donations are those which concern Llanarth and Llantilio Crossenny, both dated to around 600, though the narration referring to Llantilio Crossenny is not strictly speaking a charter at all being more a narrative of Teilo's actions with no witness list attached and thus its early date is to be regarded with extreme caution. At the other end of the time scale two charters belong to the eleventh century, those of Rockfield and Llangynfyl, dated 1020 and 1030 respectively. It is interesting to note that in this area the earliest estate (with any degree of certainty- Llanarth) is the largest and the two most recent grants are of the smallest estates in the area. Overall, 3 estate charters have been dated to the seventh, 6 to the eighth century and 2 to each of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.

With the exception of Trelleck and Llandogo all of the estates in this region have at least one section of their boundary which is a river or stream. Wonastow and Llantilio Crossenny both lie on the River Trothy, whilst Llwynderi, Llanfable, Llanllwyd and Llanfaenor all lie on one or other of its tributaries. Llangynfyl and Rockfield both lie on the Monnow whilst St. Maughan's is bounded by a small tributary stream that flows into the Monnow in the estate of Rockfield. Dixton is bounded by the Wye to the east of Monmouth, Llanarth is bounded by the Usk and Llandenny and Llansoy are both bounded by the Olway Brook.

The location of water channels appears to be a strong factor in the location of estates in this region. It may well be no coincidence that the largest area without any estates in the region is the expanse in the central west where there are relatively few channels and those which do occur are particularly small having their source within the same area. This is despite about half of this area being of grade 1 land.

As a direct result of the coincidence of estates with river channels, the estates in this region tend to lie on more level ground and avoid the more extreme slopes. Of the fifteen estates here only five are situated so that a large proportion of the estate (at least a third) occurs in areas of extreme slope: Llansoy, Llanllwyd, Llanfaenor, St. Maughan's and Wonastow. This is a significant proportion since approximately half of the area as a whole is classified as being of excessive slope, yet only one third of the estates contain land of any size of steeper slope. Certainly, if we assume all of the land in this area was in cultivation, of one form or another, regardless of slope, the church was owning more than its fair share of lowland. It may, however, be the case that land exploitation in general was biased towards the more accessible slopes, but without any clues to either the population or the extent of agricultural development in this area it is impossible to be sure.
A second consequence of the close relationship between rivers channels and estates is that most estates occur on the lowest available land, often at around or below 100m. However there is a conspicuous exception to this in the case of the estates of Trelleck and Llandogo. The land on which these estates lie is a fairly level plateau above 200m in height, of grade 1 quality and as such is somewhat exceptional for high ground in this region, the norm tending to have steeper slopes and hence poorer quality land as far as crop growth is concerned.

In all six of the estates contain a significant amount of land of grade 1, with five consisting of a majority of such land. These six are Llandenny (containing only about a quarter of grade 1 land), Llanfable, Llwynderi, Llanarth, Trelleck and Llandogo. A further five estates occur on land mostly of grade 2 quality: Dixton, Rockfield, St. Maughan's, Llanfaenor and Llantilio Crossenny. Thus over two thirds of the estates in this region primarily consist of land which is of the best two grades available. This is a clear indicator of the overall status of the church's property within the region as a whole.

There does not appear to be any direct relationship between the size of an estate and the grade of land available in this region. Such a relationship can be shown to be the case in the study area as a whole and it is possibly the presence of Llanarth and Llanfaenor, two exceptional estates, having both large size and high quality, that skews the picture in this area.

THE COTSWOLDS:

This region contains seven estates, all of which belonged to the church at Worcester. These estates are fairly evenly spread throughout the region, with Bishop's Cleeve situated in the north west, Withington in the south west, Notgrove broadly central and the remaining smaller estates lying to the east. The two farthest east estates, Adlestrop and Daylesford, both share a long boundary and combine to form a larger single block of land. There is, however, no evidence that these two estates were ever treated as a single unit before the eleventh century and both were independently held in Domesday.

Three estates in this region are of significantly larger size than the remainder: Bishop's Cleeve- 6660 acres, Withington- 7125 acres and Notgrove- 4420 acres. The smallest estate is that at Maugersbury (referred to as 'part of Maugersbury' in the charter text), being only 285 acres. The remaining three estates range between 686 and 1440 acres being closer to the average size of estates encountered in the study area as a whole.

With only two exceptions all of the estates which occur in this area are recorded in eighth century charters, the two exceptions being the small estate at Maugersbury (1016) and the larger at Adlestrop (949). There are, then, just over two hundred years separating the records of the estates of Daylesford and Adlestrop, which lie side by side between the River Evenlode in the west and what was once the salt road in the east.

Rivers and streams play a vital role in the formation of estate boundaries in this area. The
south western side of Bishop's Cleeve is bounded by the Hyde Brook. Part of the southern boundary of Withington is bounded by the Hilcot brook and further east by the River Cole, as well as other small streams forming parts of the northern boundary. A large portion of the estate of Notgrove follows the River Windrush, whilst nearby the River Dikler, a tributary of the Windrush, forms a major boundary for the Maugersbury estate. In the east the three remaining estates of Donnington, Adlestrop and Daylesford are all bounded by the River Evenlode.

What is particularly interesting in this area is the way in which the form of the estates of Donnington, Adlestrop, Daylesford, Notgrove and to a lesser extent Maugersbury relate to their river boundaries. They form a regular pattern of plots with a narrow edge along their respective rivers (with the exception of Maugersbury) which then extend away from the river onto higher ground. It is tempting to suggest a regular network of estates such as this stretching all along the rivers in this eastern area, but without further examples it is not possible to test such a hypothesis. Whether or not this is the case the importance of water courses in this area for the definition of ecclesiastical estates cannot be overlooked.

As might be expected from the distribution of steeper slopes in the area only those estates found in the western half of the region are directly affected by them. The estate at Notgrove only briefly coincides with an area of high slope, which has little influence on the estate as a whole. However, Bishop's Cleeve and Withington are both more prominently influenced by excessive slopes.

Approximately a third of Withington is coincidental with greater slopes than would be acceptable for crop cultivation, though the estate is large and there is still ample land of gentler slope to provide for this. There is in this case no regular pattern apparent between the form of the estate and the areas of greater slope, which the estate's form seems to ignore completely. This, however, is not the case for the estate at Bishop's Cleeve, which can be essentially divided into two roughly equal halves, each a mirror image of the other, one half lying on essentially level land and the other to the east lying on land of particularly extreme slope: the Cotswold Scarp. This is one of the few estates in the survey area as a whole which exhibits a clear lowland/highland distinction which must have had a significant impact on the land use of the estate. If the steeper slopes were cleared of woodland it is only feasible to imagine upland grazing taking place in the eastern half of the estate. In the western half crop based agriculture or a mixed form of farming (perhaps involving the very same livestock as the eastern half) would appear likely. This is of course assumes woodland clearance which is far more likely in the western portion of the estate.

With the one exception of the estate at Bishop's Cleeve all of the estates in this region are of average quality, mostly consisting of land graded either 3 or 4. Whilst 3 indicates that crops can be grown with moderate results, grade 4 indicates that crops are of poor quality, with a greater than average risk of failure. In general grade 3 accounts for more land within estate boundaries than any other, with land of grade 4 being more dominant at Withington and Donnington, which also contains a small amount of grade 1 land. Bishop's Cleeve, however, is dominated in the west by land of grades 2 and 4 and in the east by land of grades 8 and 7. This is a reflection of the extreme slopes in the eastern half of the estate as discussed above. Overall it is difficult to
claim anything other than an average status for the estates in this region as regards their quality. However, given the very mediocre quality of the land and its homogenous distribution in this region, it is difficult to see how any land could be enclosed in this area and be regarded as anything other than average. Thus, the average status of the church estates is largely a product of the land available in the area.

CENTRAL WORCESTERSHIRE:

Although this region is the simplest in terms of physical geography (being almost completely flat and with little variation in geology and soils), it is the most complex in its pattern of ecclesiastical estates. It is the only one of the three regions to include not only estates for which we have evidence of land being gifted to the church at Worcester, but also estates that are preserved in leases made by the Worcester church to secular persons. It is because of this that the maps show two estates in this region which overlap—Dunhamstead and Oddingly. The smaller of the two estates, Dunhamstead, represents a grant to the church in the ninth century, whilst the larger, Oddingley, is a tenth-century lease which apparently included some of the Dunhampstead property. It is evident from the number of leases in this area that the church controlled a good deal more land than is evidenced from only considering charters containing gifts to the church.

A complication arises in the south of the region, where the bisected land unit, described as 'the holdings of Pershore Abbey', occurs. It is unfortunate that only part (less than half) of the holdings can be considered here, but as explained above the whole is too large to fit into the area. It is not at all clear whether this land represents a single estate or a number of smaller interlocking estates, because no internal divisions are preserved.

However, the greatest complication in this area is the large estate called Wican in the west of the area. This estate, defined in a boundary attached to an eighth-century charter, can be seen to be related to a number of charters containing both grants to the church and leases away from it; the estates of which all lie within the Wican boundary (see figure 4.3.9). The list below
summarises the known documentary history of this composite estate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Grant or lease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>757x75</td>
<td>Wican</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>816</td>
<td>Hallow</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>851</td>
<td>Grimley</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>855</td>
<td>Bently Holt</td>
<td>Grant (no bounds)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>962</td>
<td>Bently Holt</td>
<td>Lease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>963</td>
<td>Cotheridge</td>
<td>Lease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>969</td>
<td>Little Witley</td>
<td>Lease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>985</td>
<td>Clopton St. Johns</td>
<td>Lease</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that there are 'gaps' in the larger unit which are not the subject of either surviving grants or leases. Given, however, that the estate is defined as a whole in the eighth century it seems reasonable to assume that these areas were also, at some point, granted to the church either in lost charters or by transactions that did not prompt charters to be written. The estate of Wican then, may ultimately be discussed on two levels; first as a single, extensive block of land and secondly as a group of smaller estates evidenced either by grants, leases or from 'filling in the gaps'.

The earliest grant of land to the church in this region which is preserved in charter form relates to the estate of Broadwas which is recorded between 786-9. The two remaining grants to Worcester (not including Wican, are both recorded in ninth-century charters: Dunhampstead, 814; Himbleton, 884. The remainder are all tenth-century leases except for Dumbleton/Kington which is recorded in an eleventh-century lease. The charter relating to the Pershore holdings refers to a restoration of lands and privileges and does not state when these lands were first ceded to the church. The size of the various estates can be easily divided into two groups. The two large estates of Wican and Pershore each cover tens of thousands of acres: 18,244 acres and 27,270 acres respectively (the extent of the Pershore holding relating to the whole estate-not just the portion in this area). The remaining estates all have areas below 1700 acres: the largest being Himbleton at 1655 acres and the smallest Cudley with an area of just 295 acres.

Relatively few of the estates in this region feature significantly sized rivers and streams as principal boundary indicators. In all seven of the estates do not include such features. The four estates which do rely strongly on water courses for their form are the Pershore holdings, Lower Wolverton, the Wican estate and Broadwas. The Pershore holdings are defined by a number of small rivers/streams, e.g. the River Avon (just south of the region's boundary), Piddle Brook and the Bow Brook which also forms one of the main boundaries of Lower Wolverton. In the west the rivers Severn and Teme give form to both the Wican and Broadwas.
The general lack of water courses used as boundary features may be explained by the relatively small number of larger channels compared with the greater number of smaller 'brooks' that flow through the estates, but which, it seems, are of too small to be obstacles and hence form natural boundaries. This has also resulted in a higher than average proportion of estates which have streams running through them: four if Wican is taken as a single estate, but seven if the individual Wican units are included. This is in contrast to this relationship only being found in one estate in each of the other regions: Withington, Gloucestershire and Rockfield, Gwent. This situation is probably largely a product of the low lying nature of the vale in this region, which produces a greater number of small streams without creating associated steep sided valleys. As the area is almost completely flat and low lying, there is little or no influence of slope or altitude on the form and placement of estates in this region.

The overall quality of land in this region is particularly good. This is a result of both fertile and relatively well drained soils occurring in conjunction with generally flat land, with no extreme slopes to inhibit crop growth. Approximately three-quarters of the area is of grades 1, 2 and 3, whilst most of the remaining quarter is of grade 4.

There does not appear to be any strong relationship between the quality of soils and the location of estates in this area, though it may be possible to suggest a slight bias towards lower graded land. Seven of the estates contain a significant amount of grade 4 land, whereas only five contain a reasonable proportion of grade 2 land. It is also interesting to note that the large areas of grade 1 land to the north west of Worcester are essentially left free of church estates, the exception being an insignificant amount of the Wican estate. It is also not possible to identify any link between the internal divisions in the estate of Wican and the quality of soils occurring within this estate.

There is also no apparent link between the size of estates and the quality of the soils on which they are found. Both the large Pershore and Wican estates contain mixed land (grades 2 and 4) with the smaller estates also found on soils with these two land grades (as well as grade 3). Neither is there any clear difference in quality between the lands that remained under the church's control and those that were leased out to secular holders.

In all, then, with the exception of a very slight trend towards soils of poorer quality, there appears to be very little direct relationship between the location of church land and the quality of land in this region.
COMPARISON BETWEEN REGIONS:

The most obvious difference between the estates found in the three regions is their size. Those occurring in Gwent are considerably smaller than those occurring in the two regions under the influence of the church at Worcester. The largest estate in Gwent covers only 1,560 acres as compared with 7,125 acres in the Cotswold group and 18,245 acres in Central Worcestershire (this figure is for the Wican estate, which is complete within the area, if the whole of the Pershore holdings are counted then the largest estate is 27,270 acres). This difference can also be seen in the size of the smallest occurring estates: in Gwent the smallest estate covers approximately 65 acres as compared with 285 and 295 acres in the other two regions.

It is not easy to completely explain this phenomenon, but the degree of variation in the landscape is certainly a significant factor. It is clear that a much greater degree of variation in both slope, altitude and quality occurs in the Gwent region compared to the other two, breaking the landscape up into a greater number of physically distinct portions. However, this does not rule out a number of other factors, for example population differences, different patterns of settlement and different approaches to agriculture for which there is little or no direct evidence.

In terms of the relationship between rivers and streams and estates the Central Worcestershire region is atypical. Both the Gwent and Cotswolds regions demonstrate the typical pattern of estates bounded by rivers and streams, rarely being bisected by them as only occurs in Rockfield, Gwent and Withington, Gloucestershire. In both of these cases the results are estates which are ideally located to exploit a range of environments, ranging from the river/stream itself, the banks and valleys, up to the higher and drier land further from the water channel. In Central Worcestershire, in the low-lying plain of the Severn Vale the situation is quite different. In this area we find relatively few estates bounded by streams or rivers, and several which are bisected by them.

This difference between the two situations is almost certainly a direct result of the uniqueness of the hydrology of the central Worcestershire region. The Gwent and Cotswolds regions represent mid- to upland environments and as such have fewer, but generally larger channels. The much lower central Worcestershire region, although including the Severn and Teme rivers, is largely composed of much smaller channels as a result of the lower water-flow energy regime. It would appear that this distinction led to very different attitudes to the definition of estates in the landscape between the people of this region and the other two in relation to water courses.

It is unfortunately not possible to make a comparison between the regions regarding the relationship between estates and steepness of slope since only one of the regions, Gwent,
contains a significant amount of steeper slopes. In fact none of the Worcester estates occur in areas with significant areas of excessive slopes, which are only to be found in the area of the Llandaff properties.

Only the Gwent and Cotswold regions can be compared in terms of the link between altitude and the position of estates. This is because the whole of the Worcestershire estate lies on land almost exclusively below 100m. It has been noted for Gwent that because most estates lie in river valleys they tend to occur on lower lying land. However, whilst estates in the Cotswolds are also often associated with river valleys, the estates nonetheless extend to higher ground. This may be explained by two factors. First, the Cotswold estates tend to be larger, such as Withington and Notgrove, and therefore reach farther up river valley slopes. Second, that on either side of the Cotswold scarp the height of the land differs greatly over a comparatively short distance when compared to the Gwent region.

The relationship between land quality and the location of estates in these regions is particularly interesting. In Gwent, where there is a good deal of variation in quality, two thirds of estates occur on the best two land grades. Conversely, in Central Worcestershire where there is considerably less variation in land quality there is a slight trend towards estates being situated on land of poorer quality. In the Cotswolds, with even less variation in quality, the estates are necessarily of average quality.

There is then a distinct difference between the regions of Gwent and Worcestershire in the relative ranking of the church's properties, with those in Gwent of considerably higher quality relative to the area as a whole than those in central Worcestershire. This is discussed further in chapter 5.
5. CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY OF PURPOSE:

This study began with three basic questions as expressed in chapter 1.1:

1) How do identifiable early medieval estates relate to the surrounding landscape?

2) What kind of land did the ecclesiastical authorities lay claim to or possess?

3) By taking two different areas represented by estates claimed by two centres, what can be learnt by comparing them?

There are two types of issue addressed here. First, how much can be ascertained about the subject matter and second, how far does this information allow us to improve our understanding of the period and place.

FLOW OF DISCUSSIONS:

The format of the study reflects well these two issues. It begins by understanding the context in which the estates occur, focusing on the economic context and the importance of land as the principal source of wealth, whether it be from the extraction of precious resources such as metal ores, the production of agricultural produce (animal and vegetable) or the ability to restrict or grant access, e.g. mooring rights.

The different ways in which land can be exploited are explored in depth with a particular emphasis on agriculture. This is because mineral extraction depends on the presence of ore or other important stone deposits. Such ore deposits are generally lacking in the area and there is no evidence for the widespread use of stone for building in this period. Although there are occasional references to the granting of access rights, there is little evidence to pursue the relative importance of such rights as there are too many unknown factors, such as who used these rights, from where did they come, how much did they benefit from them etc.

Agricultural practice is considerably more transparent to the modern investigator. Despite some evolution in individual crops, the same conditions for successful crop growth hold just as true today as they would have done in the first millennium. It is possible then to "read" the landscape and draw solid conclusions about the relative merits of differing agricultural alternatives.
AGRICULTURAL BACKGROUND:

Excavation and written sources have revealed much of land use practices in specific areas. They also allow comparison from which certain broad conclusions can be drawn. The most common uses of the landscape (excluding construction of buildings) were threefold: woodland, animal husbandry and crop growth. Other uses such as vegetable "gardening" are also known but references appear less frequently.

The value of woodland cannot be underestimated. Woodland provided fuel, timber and a home for animal stock, notably pigs which foraged the woodland floor. It should not be seen as the wild from which humans carve portions for their own use, rather as a land use that involved active decision making and formed an integral part in land use strategies.

It is not clear how important a part of the nutritional intake of the population was made up by animal meat, though it should not be expected to be great except for those with some status in the community. The most commonly found butchered animal is the pig, followed by cattle. The evidence for the consumption of sheep suggests it was not a common meat. Cattle no doubt also served as beasts of burden and animals were kept for their hides and fleeces, though evidence for the extent of these uses is hard to establish.

The staple diet of the majority of the population was certainly foodstuffs based on the common grains wheat, rye, barley and oats. Ploughed fields of some variety must have been a common feature of the landscape in all but the harshest regions, and presumably formed an integral part to the vast majority of settlements. Unfortunately there is poor evidence for the nature of these fields as the landscape has been constantly changed and "overwritten".

THE VALUE OF THE SOURCES:

They key to this study has been the use of charters as a way of identifying particular land units as a means to understanding how such units may have been used by the population. By establishing the boundaries of estates it is possible to study the landscape with at least one extra piece of evidence of the conditions existing in the latter half of the first millennium. By understanding the boundaries of land units it is possible to assess on a macro-level how potential agricultural practice is linked to the way in which people shared the landscape amongst themselves. Equally it can illuminate the choices available to the inhabitants of these units made in terms of their need for food, warmth and for render to those in authority over them.

Often the charter texts provide evidence of land use at the time the boundary clauses were created. For example, the two charters referring to the estate at Daylesford (K69 and K623) pinpoint the location of a road, a spring and a bull's enclosure. Thus highlighting how the units were used by direct evidence as opposed to requiring deductions based on the potential of the land.
SET QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY:

Having discussed the available knowledge regarding agricultural practice in the area and period and having identified the available sources which will allow specific land units to be studied in detail, a number of specific questions were posed in chapter 3.2. These seven questions were to govern the direction of the study as it developed. Other questions which might have been considered were not pursued following the pilot study. These curtailed avenues of investigation will be discussed later, when an assessment is made of how future research would best be focused. The seven specific questions are presented below; each will be taken in turn and discussed in the light of the study findings:

1) What is the relationship between the church and the land units?
2) Can the units be linked to certain natural features, e.g. rivers or hilltops?
3) What quality were these units in agricultural terms?
4) How were these units exploited?
5) How did they fit into the surrounding landscape?
6) How do they relate to what we know of the settlement patterns of earlier and later periods?
7) How do the properties claimed by Llandaff and Worcester compare with each other?

ANSWERS IN TURN:

1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE LAND UNITS

The relationship between the church building/enclosure and the land units associated with it has been extremely difficult to establish. During the pilot study at only one estate could the site of the early medieval church be located with any certainty. Here, at Llanwarne, the church name, which translates as the church of the "wet hollow", allows the location of the site as only one area in the estate fits this description. At Ballingham the location of the original church is suggested by its mention in the boundary clause, but not by any other supporting evidence.

The poor nature of the evidence meant that this question was not pursued beyond the pilot study. As a result this study has not been able to establish enough evidence to answer the question regarding the relationship between the units and church sites.
2. THE LINKS BETWEEN LAND UNITS AND NATURAL FEATURES

Springs, streams and rivers

Two estates within the pilot study included more than one natural spring. However, changes in water levels make it possible that other estates also included springs. The usefulness of such features is obvious, but due to the nature of the evidence it is impossible to draw conclusions about their importance to settlement decisions.

Given that all but two estates in the Llandaff region and all the Worcester estates are bounded by or bisected by streams or rivers, the importance of springs as a source of water may be put into perspective. Access to flowing water was clearly paramount to the definition of early medieval estates. Its uses for drinking water and sanitation are essentials of life.

Additionally, twenty of the Llandaff estates (over half those studied) are bounded by larger rivers, which would have supported fishing and also have been navigable. This is also a common feature in the Worcester estates, though larger rivers are less common in this area. Whether this represents a genuine interest on the part of religious institutions in fishing/shipping rights is unclear, as is the ability of the institutions to pick and choose their gifts. It does however imply a willingness to give over such important locations on the part of those giving the grant.

Valleys and hill-top

The most typical grant given is that of a portion of a river valley. This will usually include access to the river itself and extend upwards along one side of the valley. This arrangement not only gives access to water (see above) but ensures that a range of micro-environments are available for exploitation. Although settlement evidence is poor in this period, what evidence there is suggests settlement was often on the lower areas around the river valley floor, e.g. Ewenny Priory and the Norman castle at Ewenny. This may be connected to access to water, but the benefits of shelter and, in the case of the castle at Ewenny, the control of waterborne access probably also played a part. It is interesting to note that none of the churches observed in the pilot study occurred on hill tops and were typically sited on lower ground (Llanwarne and Carey, Ballingham) or in hollows (St-Brides-Super-Ely).

Despite the prominence of river valley locations there is little evidence to support a distinction between low- and highland divisions within single estates. In only ten of all estates examined were there large enough ranges of altitude to make this distinction (see chapter 4.2). Further, there is a notable absence of estates in the highest regions in the west. Of the Llandaff estates only 33% contain land over 100m, despite 77% of the land in this area being higher than 100m. The figure is higher for the estates belonging to Worcester at 56% (47% of the surrounding area is above 100m), but this is probably due to the drier conditions found in and around the Cotswolds. In the west this may tell us something of the status of land given to the church or it may be an indicator of general patterns of land use. Unfortunately without greater knowledge of secular estates it is impossible to determine which.
3. THE QUALITY OF UNITS IN AGRICULTURAL TERMS

This study outlined the development of a methodology for assessing the agricultural quality of land, as it would have been during the latter half of the first millennium. Agriculture has been defined in broad terms to include crop growth, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing.

In reality the quality of land, as experienced by those who lived off it, would depend on the combination of both natural potential and land management strategies. The relative merits of different land management strategies are difficult to determine without long term experiments. Consequently, this study has concentrated on the natural potential of the units, which, given that soil improvement treatments (such as fertilizer) were not available on anything like the scale they are today, must have constituted the major factor in assessing the quality of land by its inhabitants.

The natural potential of the land is principally made up of a combination of hydrology, topography, geology/soil and a number of other possible features such as ore deposits. Different strategies, for example crop growth versus animal husbandry, will be under optimal conditions with differing combinations of natural features. Whilst it is reasonable that extreme conditions will ensure a given strategy is followed, it is worth pointing out that a wholly deterministic approach should be avoided.

The estates covered in this study display a broad range of differing quality, with all of the 5 quality scores (see Methodology) occurring. However, the majority of estates are of moderate or better quality: 73% of Llandaff estates and 67% of Worcester estates.

The only estates of poor quality belong to the corpus of Llandaff estates (Ewenny and Clodock). Both estates are large - above larger than 1500 acres. This is in line with the clear relationship between quality and size witnessed in the Llandaff estates, with the best quality estates tending towards a smaller size. This relationship does not appear in the estates found in the region of the Worcester holdings. The absence of poor quality estates amongst the Worcester group is a reflection of a general absence of poor quality land in the area, which is much more homogeneous than the land to the west.

It is clear from the study that a range of land was being passed to the church, some (the minority) of poor potential quality, but most could evidently support better than average crop yields and/or quality/numbers of livestock. Certainly the church constituted a major land-owner that held or claimed substantial areas of some value, which it jealously sought to protect.

4. THE EXPLOITATION OF LAND UNITS

The detailed strategies of land use applied during our period, as has been stated, are difficult to identify and impossible to generalise about. This study has been able to show that in certain areas there are real limits to the way in which the landscape can be exploited. However, for the
most part strategies cannot be deduced with any greater certainty from using the charter evidence in the way followed in this study.

There is one possible exception to this, seen when the estates in Wales and England are compared. It has been noted that the clear relationship between size and natural quality evidence in the Llandaff estates is not apparent in the English estates. This may well reflect the greater ability of the estate owners/workers to modify the natural potential of the land. As fertilisers and other soil improvers were not available on anything other than a small scale, we may look to another resource that is known from many sources to be abundant: slavery. It is possible that a greater reliance on un-free intensive labour meant that yields could be improved in way that was not possible further to the west. However, without more direct evidence for the impact of un-free or free labour on agricultural yields it is impossible to put this theory to the test.

5. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LAND UNITS AND THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE

This aspect has been investigated by taking three manageably sized areas (generally some 50 sq. miles), each containing a relatively high number of estates. The three regions, in Gwent, central Worcestershire and the Cotswolds, allow comparisons between the land claimed by the religious centres and land which was not claimed. Care must be taken at this point because we do not know what the status of the land not claimed was: it could have been claimed by some other religious centre or by any number of secular powers – it may have been cultivated, woodland or wasteland. Despite this certain conclusions can be drawn.

It is clear that the Gwent region, which is the most diverse of the three, contains significantly smaller estates than the other regions. Here any kind of land classification, be it based on slope, hydrology or soil, can only be applied to small portions of the landscape, which change in nature in very short distances indeed (see figure 4.3.4). This diversity can easily be seen as a mechanism for the dividing of the land into smaller portions for cultivation, particularly under pressure from a growing population, which may have been higher in the more hospitable areas of South East Wales.

The most interesting result of this investigation arises from the comparison of the general quality of the estates with that of the surrounding landscape. In Gwent, given the diversity mentioned above, there is a much greater diversity in the overall quality of land in the region. On average there is a clear trend for estates to be located on the better land within the region, with 66% of estates in the area being situated on land of the best two (of ten) classifications of land.

In the central Worcestershire region there is a less pronounced trend either to high or low quality land, though a slight tendency towards poorer land can be seen (see figure 4.3.11). There is, though, as has already been mentioned, a much higher average quality of land in this area compared to the Gwent region. Due to the uniformity in land quality of the Cotswolds region there is no clear trend displayed by the estates here.
It is not obvious what the reason for this difference between the estates of the two regions is, but the possibilities can be divided in two. On the one hand the preference for better land in Gwent may be indicative of land possession as a whole, both religious and secular - with land use concentrating on the more easily cultivable lowland gentle slopes. This is certainly a plausible and simple explanation. Alternatively, there may be a genuine difference in the types of land given to religious houses. This could result from differences in the piety of the donors or reflect the different needs and opportunities of the recipients to exert pressure on the donors. This kind of difference will be returned to below. In practice the situation probably involved all of these factors to varying degrees and at varying times.

6. THE RELATIONSHIP WITH KNOWN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF EARLIER AND LATER PERIODS

On the whole there are few known settlements that are earlier or contemporary with the period studied. Those settlements that are known, particularly in Wales, are military in origin, though the situation improves somewhat in the Cotswolds where there are a number of known villa locations.

The picture presented in Wales regarding Roman sites is that of networks and nodes concentrating on the major river valleys. A similar pattern is followed in the location of later Norman castle sites. Thus earlier and later military evidence points to a concentration on the lowland coastal region with routes and installations inland focusing on the comparatively hospitable larger river valleys. Such a concentration is likely to have coincided with the pattern of everyday life in this region for as long as man has cultivated it. Beyond the simple observation that the estates of Llandaff follow a similar pattern - though without the need to transport ordnance and large numbers of people, settlement could penetrate further into the smaller valleys - there is little that can be added here.

The situation is more difficult in the region of the Worcester estates, for without the constraints of such dramatic topography it is difficult to recognise any patterns in the Roman or Anglo-Saxon settlement of the region. The only exception to this is the apparent concentration of villa sites and pre-Norman stone built churches located in the Cotswold region, but any indication of a concentration of wealth between these two periods is difficult to link with the presence of the estates located here.

On a more detailed level, there is some isolated evidence for the continuity of the land units identified as estates into later periods. Such examples are the close relationship between the boundaries of the Ballingham estate and the modern parish boundary, between the county boundary between Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire and the boundaries of the Daylesford and Addlestrop estates and between the concentration of glebe land and the extent of the Llanwarne estate. However, such examples are isolated and do not provide enough evidence for a general statement regarding the continuity of the estates as a whole. This is particularly
interesting given the prevalence in English historiography for theories of settlement continuity (e.g. Finberg's theories of continuity at Withington, Glos. (1955)).

7. COMPARISON BETWEEN PROPERTIES CLAIMED BY LLANDAFF AND WORCESTER

Certain aspects of the comparison between the two regions have been touched on above in this section. It has been noted that a clear relationship between the size of estates and their quality is only evidenced in the Llandaff corpus. It has also been pointed out that the Llandaff estates are generally smaller than those claimed by Worcester. Additionally, the Llandaff estates are much less likely to share any of their borders with another estate: this creation of "conglomerates" is however fairly common in the English areas. Lastly, it has been noted that estates in the Gwent region tend to be located on locally significantly better quality land, whereas the estates of Worcester tend to be found in locations of slightly poorer quality.

An explanation for the use of better land in Gwent may be that it is indicative of settlement in general in this area. If this is the case there is no need to search for any more complex geographical or human factors for the difference between the Gwent and Worcester estates.

Similarly, pressure on the more limited better land in S.E. Wales may well have caused land divisions in general to be smaller. This would in turn have been facilitated by the greater diversity seen in the landscape- allowing smaller blocks of land to include a wider range of potential resources and land types for different exploitation methods.

Whilst this theory fits the results discussed, can it also explain the absence of any relationship between land quality and estate size amongst only the Worcester estates?

It is tempting to wonder whether in the English regions there were enough human resources, free or otherwise, to make the natural potential of the land a less important factor than in the west, though without fertilisers and soil improvers the impact of this is difficult to determine. One way in which this might be explained is through the greater exploitation of marginal areas made possible by increased labour forces. However, at present there is no independent evidence to support or detract from such a theory.

It is, however, possible that the general theory above does address this phenomenon. If, as suggested, settlement was restricted in S.E. Wales to lowland areas and river valleys, then despite the overall low population there could have been some pressure on the use of quality resources. Also given the greater diversity of the land, which meant that if properties were to include sufficient resources they would have to be of a certain size and shape, then it is possible to see how a clear relationship between an estate's size and quality might be expected to form. Without as many physical restrictions land holding patterns in the area of the Worcester estates would have been influenced less by limited resources. Also their form would have had little impact on their productivity due to the greater homogeneity of the landscape, assuming populations were fairly evenly distributed.
In conclusion, then, it seems possible to explain all of the differences witnessed between the estates of the two regions in terms of the significantly different physical geography of the regions. Without wanting to eliminate the idea that people themselves contributed to the uniqueness of the two regions, such a physical approach seems to be a promising starting point for future study in this area.

CRITICISMS:

The easiest aspect of this type of research to criticise is that it has had to contend with such scarce sources of direct evidence. Unfortunately this is often what research into settlement patterns during the early medieval period has to contend with.

There are, however, two aspects of this study that in hindsight could have been handled in a more productive manner. First, there is the problem of the small number of estates in the pilot study, including only one estate from the Worcester corpus (there were initially two, but one [Ismere] was dropped because of problems with its bounds). It would certainly have been helpful to have widened the criteria for the pilot study so as to include more estates. It is possible that certain aspects worthy of analysis on a larger scale have not been identified as a result of the small sample size at the pilot stage.

The second problem with this study is that it has not given any great consideration to the development over time of the estates. There are many problems associated with developing this type of approach centring on the accurate dating of the charter transactions - a complex historical task in itself and beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it may have been possible to have reached some meaningful conclusions regarding the nature of the estates and the date of the original transactions.

OVERALL BENEFIT OF STUDY:

This study has developed a new approach to the use of charter material. Rather than seeing charters merely as indicators of features in the landscape which are actually named in the texts, this study has focused on the whole area defined by the boundary clauses of the texts. As a result it has been possible to study the nature of early medieval estates as a whole.

This approach has facilitated a greater understanding of the division of the landscape and the use of these divisions for the provision of essential resources. It has allowed the nature of
land exploitation to be compared between two physically distinct areas and observed apparent differences in strategy that reach beyond the purely physical; for example the differing relationships between estate size and land quality.

The study has also given an insight into the comparative value of the land units given to religious institutions, and by inference the relative status of these institutions compared to secular land owners. This provides a valuable insight into the early development of ecclesiastic institutions which became major players in the political and economic world following the establishment of Norman authority in the region during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

**ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE USE OF STUDY:**

This study has been unsuccessful in identifying the location of early church sites from the use of charters. However, an understanding of the relationship between the location of church sites and of secular settlements and the surrounding landscape would provide a valuable insight into the relationship between people and their environment. Whether excavation would yield much evidence in all but the most exceptional conditions required for preserving wooden structures seems unlikely at present. However, where early medieval sites are known it is important that emphasis is placed on understanding the surrounding environment, beyond the boundaries of the settlement enclosure itself.

Where this study has been more successful is in using the information gleaned from charter material combined with a study of the physical landscape. Due to practical limitations two areas of south-west Britain have been examined here, but there is much scope for continuing this line of enquiry in other areas of the UK and beyond - wherever sufficient charter evidence can be established.

There is also value in extending the time frame of such a study beyond the eleventh century. Not only do records of land units become more common and detailed, but there is also greater evidence for agricultural practice and, with the increased use of stone for building, greater evidence of ecclesiastic and secular settlement. An example of how a study of this kind might proceed would be to combine the approach developed in this with the study of place-names: in particular looking at the rise of English place-names in the Gwent-Glamorgan region and their relationship with land quality.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT:

B Birch, W de G. 1885-93, Cartularum Saxonicum, London.
G Grundy, G.B. 1935-6, Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire, Gloucester.
VCH, Staffs. Victoria County History of Staffordshire,
VCH, Worcs. Victoria County History of Worcestershire,

Alcock, L. 1987, Economy, Society & Warfare,
Barker, P. 1971, 'A Pre-Norman Field System at Hen Domen, Montgomery', Medieval Archaeology, xv.
Brooke, C.N.L. 1986, The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages, Woodbridge.


Finberg, H.P.R. 1957, “Some Early Gloucestershire Estates” in *Gloucestershire Studies*, 1-16


Heighway, C.M. 1987 Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire, Gloucester.


Hodges, R. 1989, Dark Age Economics: The origins of towns and trade AD 600-1000, London.

Hooke, D. 1981, Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands,

Hooke, D. 1985, The Anglo-Saxon Landscape, the Kingdom of the Hwicce, Manchester.


Jessen, K. and Helbaek, H. 1944, Cereals in Great Britain and Ireland in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times, Copenhagen.


Knight, J.K. 1984, "Glamorgan AD 400-1100: Archaeology and History" in Glamorgan County History Vol. 2, Early Glamorgan, Pre-history and Early History, ed. Savory H.N., Cardiff.


Walker, Rev. M. F. 1992, *St Peter’s, Brierley Hill*.


# TABLE OF CONTENTS:

## APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Key to Appendix A Maps</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Phase 1 Estate Reports</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1. Ballingham</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2. Daylesford</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3. Ewenny</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4. Itton</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5. Llanbeder</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6. Llanwarne</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7. St. Brides-Super-Ely</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A8. Tidenham</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A9. Wonastow</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Phase 2 Estate Reports</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Key to Soil Codes</strong></td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Key to Soil Codes</strong></td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KEY TO APPENDIX A MAPS

Land Quality

Key:

1   Good
2   Moderate-Good
3   Moderate
4   Moderate-Poor
5   Poor
NA  Non-Agricultural Use

Land Use

Key:

A   Arable
F   Forest/Woodland
G   Garden/Orchard
M   Meadow/Grass
W   Wasteground

All Maps

Key:

s   Spring/Well
⇒⇒⇒⇒   Direction of River/Stream Flow
A1. BALLINGHAM, HEREFORD AND WORCESTER.

THE CHARTERS (LL 164 AND LL 171B):

THE TEXT:

Two early charters referring to land in the vicinity of Ballingham ("podum sancti budgualan" [LL 164] and "ecclesia lannbudgualan" [LL 171b]) may be found in the 'Book of Llandaff'. By means of a general chronology established from a comparison of certain elements of the Llandaff charters, such as the occurrence of named witnesses and formulaic interpolations, Wendy Davies has proposed a date for LL 164 of c. 620 and for LL 171b of c. 860 (Davies, 1989, 104 and 107).

The earlier of the charters (LL 164) records the gift of "podum sancti budgualan. cum duabus unctis. et media uncia incircuitu podi" by King Gurcant to Bishop lunabui (technically the gift is to God, Saint Dubricius (Dyfrig) and Saint Teliaus (Teilo) with the phrase "in manu" introducing lunabui (Inabwy) into the transaction).

The later (LL 171b) records the gift of "ecclesia lannbudgualan in hostio circan super guy" along with five other churches by Britcon to Bishop Grecielis. LL 171b notes that ecclesia lannbudgualan previously belonged to Dyfrig, possibly a reference to the status of the church following the transaction described in LL 164.

That the original form of LL 164 was written c. 620 may be given some degree of credence due to the consistency of the witness list, which compares well with those of other charters, notably LL 163b and 165. LL 164 has been placed, along with LL 163b and 165, in category D of Wendy Davies' A-J classification of charter sources, reflecting its Ergyng source and location of grant and its date between the late sixth to early seventh century (Davies, 1979, 13). LL 171b has been placed in category E, on account of its association with grants which refer to areas in Brecon as well as Ergyng and its date between the mid-eighth and ninth century.

THE BOUNDS:

Only LL 164 contains a clause presenting the bounds of the gift, it is theoretically possible that in LL 171b the whole area described by the earlier charter is not meant to be regranted, though its silence regarding the bounds of this grant, given that other grants described in this charter are accompanied with boundary clauses, might suggest that the bounds of the earlier charter are intended to be taken as understood.
The boundary clause of LL 164 reads thus:

"Finis illius est. A vado selinam super transversum usque influmine magno iuxta rivulum circhan incircuitu fluminis guy. totus angulus datus est".

An explanation of these bounds was attempted by Wendy Davies and may be found in her paper "Unciae: Land Measurement in the Liber Landavensis" (1973, 117-8). Her interpretation, following my own visit in the summer of 1993, is here accepted as the most, if not the only, likely interpretation, a summary of which is presented below with additional notes (see map 1).

The first point in the perambulation is vado seiinam (the ford of Selinam). Two fords are indicated on the First Edition O.S. map in this area (compiled around the turn of the twentieth century). One at SO563311, just to the north of Carey village, and one at SO558317, just to the south of the two Witherstone farms. It would appear that Wendy Davies was not aware of the existence of the former ford, since she notes, referring to the latter:

"...the ford is apparently the only one in the vicinity of this angle of the Wye".

It is therefore necessary to discover which of these two fords was intended by the charter.

From the ford the next instruction is to cross as far as the great river (transversum usque in flumine magno). This instruction would be almost impossible to achieve if one were to start from the ford at SO563311, since there is an almost insurmountable slope to climb if one is to make for the Wye which lies north-eastward. The ford at SO558317, however, has no such problem, and it would therefore appear that Wendy Davies identification of the ford at Upper Witherstone remains the most likely interpretation of the charter bounds.

The route between the ford and the Wye cannot be worked out exactly, though a rough line may be suggested which runs just to the north of Kilforge House and joins the Wye at about SO567327. This is both the shortest route to the river and the most easy for someone on foot.

The remainder of the bounds: "iuxta rivulum circhan incircuitu fluminis guy" indicate that the river Wye should be followed round as far as the stream Circhan. This name has not survived, but since the stream is the last in the survey it seems reasonable to assume that it is the same stream on which the ford may be found, from which the survey began. Though not specifically stated, it seems reasonable to assume that the circuit is completed by following the stream back to the ford.

The total area enclosed has been calculated as approximately 1132 acres by W. Davies (1973).
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The entire area lies well within the confines of the vast expanse of Old Red Sandstone which covers an extensive area in south and east Wales and adjacent areas of England. This sequence is made up primarily of reddish, iron-rich sandstones, laid down at the beginning of the Devonian Period, which began approximately 395 m.y.a..

LOCAL SOILS:

The solid geology of the area is covered by two distinct soil associations, with a third at the northernmost border of the area (see map 2). Since the boundaries of such features are never as clear cut as they appear on maps this third group of soils will also be mentioned even though it appears to lie outside the area described in the survey.

The largest single group of soils are those which are collectively called the Eardiston 1 association. This sequence is made up of reddish, well drained coarse loamy and fine silty soils to depths between approximately 40-80cm. This is a relatively good soil for agriculture, with little risk of poaching and only grass potentially suffering from drought on soils deeper than 60cm. It is easily cultivated for cereal crops, being most suited to Autumn crops. Timber also has a capacity for high yields on these soils, with suitability for a wide range of broad-leaf species, a notable exception to this being oak which has a tendency to suffer from ring and star shake.

The second association covers a strip of land that follows the river Wye. This is the Lugwardine association, consisting of reddish fine silty soils on riverine alluvium. Such soils are characteristically deep, stoneless and permeable, though prone nonetheless to winter and spring floods. Such soils are naturally fertile but tend to need lime to combat a tendency to acidity. Due to difficulties with flooding this soil is generally regarded as suitable only for permanent grassland, though in dryer areas crops may be grown without any great difficulty.

The third group, to the north of the area, is known as the Bromyard association. The soils in this formation are well drained reddish silty soils and coarse loamy soils over sandstones. Such soils are generally quite micaceous and produce typical argillic brown earths. Permeability is only moderate and winter waterlogging is common. Grassland is favoured on slopes, but where slope is not a problem wheat and barley are not infrequently sown in limed areas.
TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the area is relatively simple, with the highest point in the vicinity of Kilforge House, around 130m, and descending to the west and south along the stream’s valley and to the north, east and further south to about 40m along the Wye valley (see map 3). Along the north of the region the Wye valley slopes are substantially steeper than elsewhere in the area, as are those in the stream valley in the area of Carey and a little to the north.

LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:

The quality of the land in this area is generally above average, with the majority of the region allocated a grade 2 by the M.A.F.F. (see map 4). As can be seen on the map two areas of grade 1 are situated to the east of Kilforge House. The immediate area of the farm, though, is only grade 3, as is a substantial area around Ballingham and land in the river and stream valleys, no doubt due to limitations caused by seasonal flooding. The strip of N.A. to the north is an area of woodland which has been planted on the steepest slopes here, as also along the steepest slopes of the stream valley.

Map 5 illustrates that a relatively substantial portion of the land is given over to arable, with meadow and pasture mainly situated around the edges of the area, in the river valley. Meadow is also dominant on the highest land, where exposure may inhibit crop growth.
SETTLEMENT:

Ballingham is a somewhat dispersed settlement lying in a bow on the west side of the river Wye, in the county of Hereford and Worcester. The focus of the village may be said to be the church ((SO575318) see photograph 1). Immediately to the east and west of the church are two farms, with a third further to the south west called Lower Ballingham Farm. A little way to the north west of the church are a handful of houses centred around a pond and village green. A little further north, where the road forks, is a small modern baptist hall with a couple of houses nearby. The two forks eventually meet with a road running east west on which are a number of houses perched on the hill side as it begins to descend steeply to the alluvial plains of the river below (see photograph 2).

A second, more nucleated village is also relevant to this study: Carey (see photograph 3). This village consists of about ten houses and a pub, and lies in a valley carved by a stream which runs broadly north west to south east into the Wye about 500m below the village. Just to the east of Carey is Rock Farm, whilst to the north there are about half a dozen farms, such as the two Witherstone farms and Kilforge House.

THE CHURCH:

Ballingham church (see map 1) is in its present build of no great antiquity. One feature which however has brought attention to it is its almost circular churchyard. Diane Brook in her work assessing the potential of largely curvilinear church enclosures to indicate a greater antiquity (1992, 77-89) gave Ballingham a score of 1 indicating a partly curved churchyard. In fact the only part of the enclosure which is not curved is a section at the rear of the yard, which appears to be a later cutting off of part of the churchyard in response to the building of farm buildings nearby. This might suggest, then, that there are grounds for tending to give a pre-Conquest date to this church site. This would certainly be very convenient, but unfortunately a phrase in charter LL 171b would suggest that this assumption is incorrect for Ballingham church. LL 171b records:

"Inprimis ecclesia. idest ecclesia lannbudgualan. inhostio circan..."

This may be translated "The first church, it is the church of lann budgualan at the mouth of the circan..." There can be little doubt that the circan is one and the same as rivulum circhan; the stream running southwards past the ford, vadum Selinam, down into the Wye. This, then, would appear to be describing a church in the vicinity of Carey, not Ballingham approximately one kilometre away. If this is the case then the site of Ballingham church, which may still be of pre-Norman date, does not represent the earliest phase of ecclesiastical settlement in this area.
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APportionMENT:

It is difficult to see any clear evidence of early field systems in the pattern of fields seen in the tithe map of 1839 (see map 6). There are no obvious areas of strip fields with most of the fields in the area being of larger rectangular or irregular form. The pattern of exploitation recorded in the apportionment closely matches that shown in map 5 representing late twentieth century land use (see above).

It is fortunate that, though the patterns of field size and shape reveal no clues to the medieval past, the names of fields recorded in the tithe apportionment for the area do suggest an earlier landscape. It has been revealing to examine areas where adjacent fields share name elements in common which would suggest an earlier pattern of larger units of exploitation.

Map 6b illustrates this. On this map blocks of at least three fields which share a common name element have been highlighted. In this area five name elements in particular seem to be dominant: 'Carey', 'pleck', 'common', 'Gorwalls' ('Gorals') and 'cow leasow'. The 'Carey' element needs no explanation, referring to the village of the same name. The 'pleck' element refers to a small enclosure and occurs in two quite separate areas to the north and south of Carey. The 'common' element probably refers to part of an earlier common or open field system in the area. As yet the term 'Gorwalls' and its associate 'Gorals' is not understood. Lastly 'cow leasow' refers to an area of meadow for cattle grazing.

What is most interesting about this arrangement is that very nearly all of these older and larger units are situated about Carey, the main exception being that of a small area containing a 'Newlands' element which is discussed below. There is a very obvious gap around the area of Ballingham.

One possible explanation of this may be that the area around Carey village represents an earlier phase of concentrated settlement of any size, and of exploitation in the area. The larger units may be seen as representing an agricultural reality before the enclosure of smaller fields witnessed to by the tithe map, whereas the field pattern about Ballingham represents what appears to be largely a later piecemeal expansion.

The element -ingham found in the name Ballingham and its early versions Badelingeham and Baldingham are indicative of a phase of English settlement probably sometime in the pre-Norman (1066) period. It may well be the case that a small English settlement was established in the region of Ballingham (the site of the church and Ballingham farm appears to represent the earliest phase) which was extended at a much later date and necessitating the clearance of a much larger area of cultivated land.

Such a proposed extension would be difficult to date, but a clue may be found in the work of W. G. Hoskins, who writes:
"Most of this woodland was cleared and turned into arable land or pasture by individual peasants in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who thereby created new fields and new farms out of the waste.... Numerous Newlands and Newhalls date from this same period." (Hoskins, 1955, 87-8)

It is interesting to note that fields 165, 166 and 166a contain a 'Newlands' element. It may be no coincidence that the earliest record of a 'Ballingham' place name (Badelingeham) occurs in 1215 (Ekwall, 1960, 24), but any such connection would be impossible to demonstrate.
MAP 2

Distribution of soils

R. Wye

Carey Brook

Ballingham

Carey

MAP 2

0

1km
1. Ballingham church
2. Houses on ridge with River Wye below
4. Slope towards Kilforge House
A2. DAYLESFORD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

THE CHARTERS (K69 / B139 AND K623):

THE TEXT:

The earliest mention of early medieval Daylesford (Dæglesford) may be found upon ff. 31 and 32 of B.L. MS. Cotton Tiberius A xiii (see K69 and B139). This is a complex corpus, dated by the five scripts contained within it to the eleventh century; with ff. 1-118 written in scripts identified as belonging to the first half of the eleventh century and ff. 119 onwards written in a late eleventh-century script. Contemporary events and figures, referred to within the text, indicate that ff. 119 onwards were written in the last decade of the eleventh century.

Cotton Tib. A xiii contains, with the exception of a narrative regarding the alienation of properties belonging to the church of Worcester and a paragraph regarding Oswaldslow, a collection of charters relating to the church at Worcester from the seventh century onwards.

The charter referring to Dæglesford is included amongst the Oxfordshire group of charters in Cotton Tib. A xiii, reflecting its placement within the county network at the time of compilation, i.e. the first half of the eleventh century. From the late eleventh century, however, it was placed within Worcestershire until, finally, it was integrated into Gloucestershire in the nineteenth century.

It is possible to make a strong argument for the authority of the charter based on the comparison of names appearing in the signature list, and of certain phrases with B.L. MS. Cotton Augustus II.3, a charter referring to the grant of land in the region of the Husmere by Æthelbald and on the comparison of the survey element with a later charter referring to Dæglesford (see below in 'Bounds' section).

Not including Æthelbald and Bishop Wilfrid, two names found in the witness list of this charter also occur in Cotton Augustus II.3: Aethelric and Sigebed; a third possible correlation may be Eadberht (Heardberht in B.L. MS. Cotton Augustus II.3). B.L. MS. Cotton Augustus II.3 is written in an undisputed eighth-century hand, establishing that certain 'signatories' of the charter referring to Daylesford were alive and witnessing other charters in the early eighth century.

The Latin of the beginning of the sanction element also correlates well with the Ismere charter: with "Si quis autem hanc donationem...violare temptaverit sciat se in tremendo..." occurring in both. Both also end with an indiction in the same form: "indictione" followed by the relevant roman numeral.
Furthermore, regarding the survey element of the charter G. B. Grundy writes:

"The survey originates undoubtedly in the Saxon age; and its comparatively simple character is in accord with that of the earlier, though not perhaps the earliest, Saxon surveys. The more elaborate surveys are rarely of a date earlier than 900. The extant ms. may have a decent going back to a copy of the date of the grant. It is not a forgery; for the forgers of later date would almost certainly have drawn up a survey of a much more elaborate character. The fact that the descriptive element of it is in Latin is characteristic of surveys of early date." (Grundy, 1935-6, 102)

The above evidence would suggest that a substantial core of this charter is of genuine eighth-century date and may therefore, with due caution, be used within this study.

The charter records the gift of 6 cassati of land close by the ford, called Dæglesford, on the river Bladaen (the Saxon name for the river Evenlode) by the Mercian king Æthelbald to Beagia; "servo Dei". The land was explicitly given for the purpose of founding a monastery to house a group of religious: "ut in ea monasterium construeretur et servorum Dei habitaculum fieret". It is because of this that this charter, along with the similar foundation charter B.L. MS. Cotton Augustus II.3 mentioned above, is included in this study, since no charters explicitly recording the foundation of religious houses have been included from the 'Welsh' area of research.

One interesting point which is worthy of note is that the indiction of this charter is incorrect. The term indictione followed by a roman numeral and usually a superscript 'o', indicating that an ordinal number is intended, refers to the year within a fifteen year cycle which was reckoned from the 1st of September, 312. It therefore follows that the two possible indictions for the year 718 are XV or I. However, the recorded indiction is X. It would seem probable that the end of this charter had been damaged, omitted or lost before the final copy had been made, and that a final V and superscript 'o' were originally present at the end of this charter.

Land in this area is also the subject of a second later charter (K623) and may be found in ff. 99-100 of Cotton Tib. A xiii. This charter records the gift of "tres ... mansas, in loco quem illius terrae solicolae Degilesford vocitant," by Oswald to the monastery at Worcester and has been estimated to belong to the period c. 979. There is no reason to doubt this charter and Finberg in his collection of Anglo-Saxon charters states his belief that it is authentic (Finberg, 1961, 127).
THE BOUNDS:

The bounds of K 69 / B 139 read as follows:

"Hec sunt confinia hujus ante nominati agelluli. hoc est primum of bladene on bægan[w]ellan. inde in montem susibre. urbs antiqua et postea bi þære aldan cestelbyrig on nunnena beorgas. ac deinde on fearhom et sic of fearhom neoðe[w]eardum. iterum on bleadene."

The bounds of K 623 read thus:

"Ærest on Bladene be westan tune and be nordan andlang ðæs sices to Baegenwelle; of Baegenwelle up to cynges ferdstræte; andlang stræte to dunemannes treowe; of dunemannes treowe andlang strete east to nunnena beorge; of ðam beorge west to babban beorge; of ðam beorge eft into bladene be sudantune."

An interpretation of both perambulations has been attempted by G.B. Grundy (1935-6, 102-6) with the result that the same route, being roughly equivalent to the parish boundary, was proposed for both. It is my view that Grundy's interpretations were essentially correct and an overview of his findings is presented below, with additional comments.

(K69 / B139):

The starting point of the perambulation is simply given as the bladene (Evenlode). This may be more precisely located after considering the second element of the survey. The instructions are then to walk from the river to beaganwellan. This spot, Beaga's spring, is difficult to locate exactly, though, the name lives on in Baywell Wood (SP247266). Although this wood covers a very small area at present it has covered a more extensive area in the past (as shown on the Series 4 O.S. maps that Grundy used). However, bearing in mind that the stratigraphy consists of beds, predominantly limestones and clays, dipping gently towards the east one would expect that any springs would be most likely to occur in or near the valley floor which slopes from east to west, running through the centre of the wood.

It seems most likely that the walk from the bladene to beaganwellan follows the valley floor which runs from Baywell Wood to within easy sight from the river, thus suggesting the approximate location of the starting point of the survey (SP242262).

From here the next location mentioned is 'montem susibre, urbs antiqua'. This site may be identified as Chastleton Camp (SP258283). This instruction appears to direct the surveyor to the Camp itself, though this is qualified by the next clause: 'et postea bi þære aldan cestelbyrig on'. It would appear from this that the Camp itself is not to be considered as lying on the boundary, but that the boundary runs near to it.

The next markers are the nunnena beorgas (Nun's Barrows). This feature has been located by Grundy as lying on the eastern-most angle of the modern parish boundary (SP266267). The
site is now fenced off, having been used as a rubbish dump by the local farmer, and is also under substantial tree cover (see photograph 1). As a result it is impossible to locate the remains of any barrow features here. A pile of limestone flagstones, shown in photograph 2, at the edge of this area may, however, be related to such a feature.

The last remaining point in the survey, before returning to the Evenlode, is the most difficult to identify. It is referred to as fearhom which translates as the Bull's Enclosure. There is no discernible modern counterpart of this feature in the landscape. One possible approach to locating this point may be based on the general tendency for boundaries to follow broadly homogeneous landscape features unless otherwise stated. The instruction for the last section of the survey (that is from the Bull's Enclosure back to the river) is simply to proceed downhill. From this it would seem reasonable to place the Bull's Enclosure somewhere roughly along the line of the modern parish, as Grundy has also done (SP260265).

(K623):

The starting point expressed by this later charter is a point on the river to the north west of the village (aerest on bladene be westan tune and be northan). As can be seen on the accompanying maps this correlates well with the proposed approximate location for the start of the perambulation described above.

The next instruction (andlang thaes sices to baegen welle) is to proceed to Baega's well or spring along a feature called the sic. Grundy suggests that this may represent a small stream which flows down from the spring to the Evenlode. No such stream was observed during a visit in the summer of 1993, but both the time of year and changes in the landscape may account for the absence of this feature.

From this spring the instructions are to follow the 'king's military way', also described as a strete, to Dunmans tree (of baegenwelle to cynges ferdstraete andlang strete to dunemannes treowe). Grundy proposes the line of the A436 as the route followed by the strete, which, he points out, meets with a number of 'ancient highways' at Stow-on-the-Wold and continues in the opposite direction to Banbury. He also highlights the straightness of the road in this area and suggests that there is every possibility that this route may follow the line of a road of Roman origin; this is entirely consistent with the use of the epithet stræt (Grundy, 1935-6, 105).

If indeed the line of the A436 is the route intended in this survey then so far both the earlier and later perambulations appear to be identical. Furthermore the existence of a (Roman?) road along the north-west boundary of the early Daylesford properties may well explain the seemingly awkward nature of the K69 / B139 survey in this respect (...inde in montem susibre. urbs antiqua et postea bi þære aldan cestelbyrig on...).

The location of Dunman's tree is, not surprisingly, impossible to locate exactly, but its approximate location can be inferred from the next instruction (...of dunemanne's treowe andlang strete east to nunnena beorge...). The next point to be made for, then, is the nun's
barrow (see above, though this time singular), however this time a second road is to be followed. That the route of the road intended is much the same as the present road running south-east to the site of the nun's barrow is almost certain, since this same routeway is also mentioned in a purportedly tenth-century charter referring to nearby Evenlode (K554 / B1238). The road is called *sealt stræte* in this charter and can be clearly traced at least as far the Four Shires Stone. This same road also features in two charters referring to land at Adlestrop (K426 / B882 and K1367) where it is at one point referred to as *lodreswei* ('the begger's way'). This being the case, it would seem to suggest that the route intended in the earlier Daylesford survey, discussed above, also follows this route, since, as can be seen on the maps provided, the junction of the two route-ways would provide an obvious point "*bi þære aldan cestelbyrig*" from which to make for the nun's barrow.

The survey of K623 then indicates that one should make for Babba's barrow (*of nunnena beorge west to babban beorge...*). As yet no remains of this barrow have been positively identified, although Grundy suggests a location on the high ground around SP260265 (1935-6, 106). However, during my visit to the area in summer, 1993, a feature was visible in a field and photographed which may possibly relate to this barrow (see photograph 4). The feature (at SP253257), which happens to lie on the parish boundary, is visible as a crop mark and takes the form of what appears to be a roughly circular or oval enclosure of a smaller sub-rectangular / square feature. It was difficult to assess the size of the feature from the distance observed, but a rough estimate of about 10m for the diameter of the curvilinear feature seems appropriate.

It is by no means certain that this feature may be associated with *babban beorge*, but it certainly lies on a line between the nun's barrow and the river south of the village which is the desired destination expressed in the last instruction (*...into bladene be suthantune.*). Bearing in mind the identical nature of two surveys as far as the nun's barrows it would not seem implausible that there might also be correlation in this last section.

The total area thus enclosed is broadly that of Daylesford parish and is approximately 670 acres.
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The village and its surrounding area are situated on rocks which straddle Lower and Middle Jurassic sequences: those of the Middle Lias, Upper Lias, Inferior Oolite and Greater Oolite formations, very roughly, as all dates of this magnitude are, 180-190 m.y.a.. The Middle and Upper Lias sequences are made up of interbedded limestones and clays, with clays dominating, whilst the Inferior and Greater Oolite sequences consist essentially of uninterrupted limestone formations. It is these oolitic limestones which are famously known as Cotswold building stone.

The general location of these two distinct rock sequences is suggested by the soils which cover them in this region (see map 2). Immediately about Daylesford House and to the north are soils derived principally from Jurassic limestone, suggesting the location of the oolite sequences, whereas to the east, south and west of this area soils derived from clay rich rocks dominate, suggesting the location of the Lias formations.

LOCAL SOILS:

Soils derived from limestone to the north of Daylesford House are collectively known as the Elmton 1 association. These are mainly shallow brown rendzinas with small areas of deeper brown calcareous earths. These soils are often only about 25cm deep, with slightly to moderately stoney profiles. Being relatively permeable and overlaying well fissured limestones this association tends to be slightly droughty for crops and moderately droughty for grass. Its stoniness is also an agricultural problem, with both these factors tending to limit the uses for these soils to Winter cereals and grass.

The remainder of the area, with the exception of land to the far south west of the parish, along the river's edge, is covered by soils of the Oxpasture association. These are primarily stagnogleyic argillic brown earths in fine drift over Jurassic clays and silts. These soils tend to be slightly stoney near the surface and have only a slowly permeable profile, leading to seasonal water logging. Such soils are moderately good for cereal and grass rotations, with wheat, barley and oilseed rape being favoured. Poaching under permanent grass tends to discourage this use.

Along the alluvial plain of the river are soils of the Fladbury 1 association. These are deep clayey alluvial soils described as pelo-alluvial gley soils. These soils are quite impermeable and are prone to serious waterlogging, with even the most efficient drainage systems only making the soils suitable for summer grazing under permanent grass.

The last soil group in the region occurs just outside of the area under consideration, just to the west of Addlestrop. These are soils of the Denchworth association, described as pelo-stagnogleys and are essentially similar to those of the Fladbury 1 group in terms of agricultural potential and use.
TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the area is very simple, with the land rising from just below 120m on the banks of the river and about 170m in the area around Cornwell to a little over 230m at Chastleton Camp to the north of Daylesford House (see map 3). The rise is fairly gentle throughout but is at its steepest along a narrow, roughly east-west strip just south of Daylesford House. Immediately to the east of the village the land rises quite steeply, but the topography levels somewhat into a wide valley flanked by steeply sloped hills to the north and east of the parish.

LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:

Due to deliberate landscaping, especially around Daylesford House and the approaching roads from the north, a substantial amount of land has been removed from agricultural use and given over to tree cover, hence the amount of N.A. graded land shown on map 4. The remaining land is of relatively low quality, with the most substantial single graded area only being given a grade 3 by the M.A.F.F.. Land covered by the alluvial clay soils on the river banks has only received a grade 4 because of problems with waterlogging. The highest grade achieved is that of 2 for a small strip of Oxpasture soil, where its proximity to the river gives it certain hydrological advantages.

Map 5 illustrates that the majority of the land in the area is given over to pasture and meadow grass. Arable appears to make up large blocks at the fringes of the relevant area, but encroach only a little into the area suggested by the bounds of the grant; to the south east and at the northern most tip of the parish.
The modern village of Daylesford lies approximately 3m east of Stow-on-the-Wold, just off the A436 on the eastern bank of the river Evenlode (SP244259). To the north of the village, on the opposite side of the A436, lies the village of Addlestrop, and to the west, on the opposite side of the river Evenlode, lie the twin villages of Upper and Lower Oddington. Both of these villages are considerably larger than Daylesford. To the north east of Daylesford parish lies Cornwell which, though being larger than Daylesford, is significantly smaller than the other above mentioned villages.

It is a small Cotswold village, comprising about a dozen houses built in characteristic buff Cotswold Limestone, clustered together to the east of the church, which lies close to the banks of the river Evenlode. The present village is of no great antiquity, being wholly constructed in the mid-nineteenth century by Harman Grisewood (VCH, Worcs. iii, 334-7). Only a complex and fragmented series of earthworks remain to give notice of the earlier village, the most prominent of which is a moated platform to the north-west of the village; a roughly 15x10m rectangular ditched enclosure, now planted over with trees (see photograph 3).

There are also two important farms in the parish: the smaller of the two is New Farm, which lies about a third of a mile to the south east of the village centre, and the larger being Hill Farm nearly a mile to the north east, which also functions as a large horse riding centre. A little to the west of Hill Farm is Daylesford House, a large late Georgian style house built c. 1793 for Warren Hastings by the East India Company. The Hastings family have held land in this region since the thirteenth century at least (VCH, Worcs. iii, 335).

Beyond the evidence of the charters the earliest evidence for settlement of Daylesford may be found in Domesday Book. Worcestershire record 2:42 states that Stephen, son of Fulcred, holds three hides at Daylesford and that at that time there were two ploughs, a priest, 6 villagers with five ploughs, four male slaves and one female slave. Record 2:44 for the same county states that the Abbey of Eversham held Daylesford from the Bishops of Worcester, pointing out that: "These lands were for the monk's supplies."
THE CHURCH:

The main body of the church was built, along with the rest of the village, c. 1860 by Harman Grisewood in a broadly Decorated style, to replace the earlier church built in 1816. There are, however, some remains of twelfth-century Norman work in the church, consisting of two capitals and one bay of two square orders (VCH, Worcs, iii, 337). The presence of a priest at Daylesford in Domesday Book, see above, would suggest that a church stood somewhere in the region in the eleventh century. There is no evidence to suggest that this church stood on a different site to the later twelfth-century structure the fabric of which still remains to be seen.

No tithe record was made for the parish of Daylesford, this is presumably the result of parliamentary enclosure, negating the collection of tithes in preference for the new tax.
1. Fenced area of barrows

2. Limestone flags at edge of enclosure
3. Rectangular moat

4. Rectangular and oval/circular crop mark (centre)
A3. EWENNY, GLAMORGANSHIRE.

THE CHARTER (LL176A):

THE TEXT:

Land in the vicinity of Ewenny, Glamorgan is the subject of LL176a, which forms half of a doublet with LL190b. It describes the gift by Conullius, the son of Gwrgenau of *villam inqua sepulcrum est Gurai. idest Uillam Conuc*, that is the villa of Conuc, containing the burial mound of Gurai to Bishop Berthwyn, with the consent of King Morgan and his son Ithel. By means of the comparison of witnesses this transaction has been dated to c. 705 by Wendy Davies (1979, 108).

There is nothing obviously suspicious about the charter, though an incorrect survey was mistakenly attached to LL190b, referring to the initial purchase of *Uilla Conuc*, at Ewenny.

THE BOUNDS:

The bounds of LL176a read as follows:

"*Finis illius Avertice montis gurai usque adamnem Euenhi. Latitudo autem afossa magna usque ad fossam contra mare.*"

This may be translated thus:

"The bounds are from the top of the mound of Gurai as far as the Ewenny brook. And in length from the great ditch as far as the ditch against the sea."

The bounds, then, are expressed in a very simple way, by giving opposing features in the landscape. Two of these features can be identified without any difficulty. These are the Ewenny brook (river is a more appropriate term here) and the ditch against the sea. The ditch, described as against the sea, is itself not preserved, but its location is obvious, lying somewhere along the coast.

The two remaining features are not so easy to identify. The first, the mound of Gurai, most likely refers to *sepulcrum...Gurai* mentioned earlier in the charter. Some kind of burial mound or barrow would seem to be inferred, and the only such features in this area occur as two almost destroyed barrows on Heol-y-Mynydd at SS885752 (see photograph 6). Taking into account the reasonable location of these two tumuli and the absence of any other such features in these areas it is proposed that at least one of these features was associated with Gurai by the author(s) of the charter.
The last feature to be identified is the *fossa magna*, the great ditch. It may be assumed that the ditch's greatness lay either in its size or its age, but either way it must have been a feature of great enough prominence within the surrounding landscape as to be considered without parallel in the immediate area. A feature of this size might well be expected to have survived as some form of linear feature. The only feature in the present landscape which seems possibly to be related to this feature is a large bank and ditch complex which runs from the north eastern corner of the Ewenny Priory enclosure at SS915781 southwards to about SS915767.

This linear feature begins as a path which leads broadly southwards from the north eastern end of Ewenny Priory. This is a sunken path which is wooded and follows a feature called Long Wood (see photograph 3). At points the path shifts sidewards and its straight course is followed by what appears to be a partly infilled ditch-like feature. This path eventually leads to a residential area of Ewenny, but may still be followed by a straight metalled path to fields south of Ewenny. Once the fields are reached it is clear that a large bank, which again runs broadly southwards, is in exactly the same line as the path and ditch (see photographs 4 and 5). This bank runs on, curving slightly westwards, and eventually peters out approximately where it might be expected to if it is the *fossa magna*: i.e. at roughly the same longitude as the above mentioned tumuli.

It may be suggested that this feature is more directly related to the Priory than any earlier phase of settlement, in particular the ditch/path which follows the eastern boundary of the priory enclosure, though its extension southwards is perhaps a little unusual. The site of the priory may, on the other hand, have been located next to any pre-existing ditch structure. It is at present impossible to prove either possibility, but in the absence of any alternative features this feature is here taken as the eastern boundary of *villa Conuc*. 
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The geology of the area is very simple. The entire area is underlain by Tournaisian and Visean limestones. These make up what is termed the Carboniferous Limestone Series, which, with the exception of the relatively thin Basal Conglomerate, are the oldest Carboniferous rocks; the Carboniferous Period following the Devonian around 345 m.y.a. These rocks are particularly hard and are the same as those seen further east in the dramatic grey cliffs at Chepstow and elsewhere in the Wye valley.

LOCAL SOILS:

Four soil associations cover the solid geology of the area, as is indicated in map 2: the Sandwich association, the Malham 2 association, the Ston Easton association and the Denchworth association.

The Sandwich association is a complex group of soils, with a tendency to vary more than most. It consists essentially of deep calcareous and non-calcareous sandy soils formed on beaches and dunes, which vary according to vegetation and dune stability. These soils are rarely used for agriculture and are normally left to scrub and grasses, though in sheltered areas pines may be grown. This association is found around Ogmore and along a strip following the river to the sea.

The Malham 2 association covers the majority of the area, with the exception of a western strip along the coast, around Ogmore-by-Sea and a small area in the extreme north east of the region, east of Ewenny. These soils consist of variable thicknesses of silty aeolian drift overlying limestone and being made up primarily of typical brown earths. The upper part of the profile is stoneless, though with stoniness increasing with depth as the underlying limestone is approached. These soils are, in general, both porous and well drained. Where thickness and hydrological factors allow, this soil can be easily cultivated, providing both good grassland and for a wide range of crops.

The Ston Easton association is found in the west of the region around Ogmore-by-Sea, and also south of the relevant area. It comprises primarily of fine silty over clayey typical argillic brown earths. The profile of this association is stoney and rarely deeper than 60cm. This soil generally tends to be well drained. In drier coastal areas this soil may give reasonable yields of winter wheat and spring barley, where rainfall is higher dairy farming is the favoured use.

The last soil association in the area is the Denchworth association, which occurs to the east of Ewenny. This association is derived from Jurassic clays of the Lower Lias, which occur to the
east and consists mainly of clayey, pelo-stagnogleys. These soils are stoneless, but are waterlogged for long periods in winter, being only slowly permeable. With careful management, in particular liming and extensive drainage, crops and grass can be cultivated, though grass is favoured in lowland regions where drainage is more difficult.

**TOPOGRAPHY:**

The topography of the region is fairly dramatic and quite complex, as can be seen in map 3. Broadly, though, the area is low lying, never exceeding 100m, rising from about 20m along the coast and river plain, in the north and east, to an average of between 70 and 80m throughout the remainder of the region. Into this are carved a number of steep sided, impressive dry valleys, such as Pant St. Brides in the east and Pant Mari Flanders (see photograph 2) in the west, cutting down to about 30m. The Afon Alun, east of Ewenny, also cuts a significant valley as it flows northwards to join the Ewenny River.

**LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:**

Although the size of the area is the largest dealt with in the pilot study the quality of the land is the poorest of all (see map 4). The majority of the area has been allocated grade 5 by the M.A.F.F., on account of the slope and thin soil cover of this region. To the north and south of this poorest area are grade 3 lands, though those in the south probably lie outside of the area described in the charter bounds. Land in the extreme east of the region is also grade 3. To the west lies a substantial area of grade 2 land. This is by far the best land in the region, and this is reflected in the preponderance of farms in this western side of the area as a whole.

The largest area of land in this region is simply wasteland, mainly heath, and pine forest. However, in the more fertile west, on the better soils, and to some extent along the Ewenny River’s alluvial plain substantial areas of meadow and grassland may be found, mostly used for dairy. Small blocks of arable also cluster in the west and south of the region, again associated with the higher number of farms in this half of the area.
SETTLEMENT:

A large number of settlements of various sizes lie within the proposed bounds of this area, and the following summary makes no attempt to be exhaustive, but instead will concentrate on the larger and more important locations. The largest settlement of all is Ewenny itself, a small town which now appears to be as much a suburb of Bridgend in the north as a town in its own right.

To the west lies Ogmore, a small settlement on the southern bank of the Ewenny River as it is joined by the River Ogmore. Here are found the ruins of Ogmore castle (see map 1, no. 1 and photograph 1), originally a Norman stronghold, though this earliest phase has left no trace above ground. A possibly Constantinian bronze coin and an eleventh-century cross slab have been discovered within the limits of the castle according to the SAMR kept at Cadw's headquarters at Cardiff. This record notes that in addition a Vespasian 1 Æ, a 13 Æ of Tetricus and 3 and 2 Æs of Constantine II have been recovered from the present Ogmore settlement area, the site of a supposed Roman camp.

In the extreme west, along the coast, lies Ogmore-by-Sea, a small typical seaside town. The site of this town may be seen on map 1 as the line of quarries and small settlements along the coastal road (map 1, no. 2). A Neolithic and Mesolithic occupation site has been identified from various flint recoveries at Trwyn y March, a little to the north of Ogmore-by-Sea at SS860756 and human skull fragments have been recovered from Craig-y-eos at SS861750, just to the west of Ogmore-by-Sea (SAMR, Cadw).

A number of small farms are dotted throughout the region, and a small cluster of farms and houses, only a handful in all, may be found at the site marked on the maps by two tumuli (see map 1, no. 3). Here there is what appears to be a sort of village green with the houses on its northern and western fringes. There are a number of hummocks of varying sizes on what appears to be the village green. From the extent of the earthworks it is possible that this is the site of a shrunken village, though it is difficult to say anything for certain without a detailed survey of the area.

Lastly, the two settlements of Southern Down and St. Brides Major, of which the latter is by far the largest, both lie to the south of the area under consideration.

A couple of interesting earthworks have also been located in this area which have been ascribed rough dates recorded in the SAMR. A proposed medieval long hut, 10.4m x 5.8m, is now overgrown at the head of Pant Norton at SS875755. A lost square enclosure at SS904765 has been proposed as the site of a Roman camp, from air photographs. There is also a confused and uncheckable record of a tessellated pavement being discovered at SS9077. A promontory fort at the northern edge of Ogmore Down, at SS889768, has been discovered on the scarp face above the modern road. Lastly, a possible Romano-British farmstead has been identified from earthworks and Romano-British and medieval pottery finds at Comtown Farm at SS933762,
which lies just to the east of the area under consideration.

THE CHURCH:

The most renowned aspect of Ewenny is its priory, which was founded in 1141 by Maurice de Londre, Lord of Ogmore, as a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Gloucester. Though only the gate house and the east end of the church survive, it still contains some of the more impressive Norman architecture of Wales, and is reputedly amongst its most haunted monuments!

The presence of remains of an eleventh-century cross in the region and the fact that this area was held by the bishops at Llandaff would both suggest that in all probability a church was sited somewhere within the area under consideration before the establishment of the Norman priory. The location of the priory must be a possible location for any earlier church or ecclesiastical centre. However, the location of the cross remains at Ogmore may suggest that this location is more likely. It is certainly the case that such stonework is highly mobile, but it would seem more natural to move such sculpture to a later church centre, such as the priory, rather than away from it. It is, of course, possible that the cross was never erected in the same location as the church, but this is beyond our knowledge; as must remain the exact location of any earlier ecclesiastical centre.
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

Map 6 represents the field pattern of the area as recorded in the tithe survey of the 1840s.

Two distinct areas can be seen to be under cultivation in this region: a large block of land on the coast, stretching inland as far as Pant Mari Flanders, and a large elongate block along Ewenny River, stretching from Ogmore up to the proposed eastern boundary and beyond (not shown). The majority of the eastern area lies within Ewenny parish whilst the remainder, and bulk of the unit now lies in the parish of St. Bride’s Major, with the boundary illustrated following the Afon Alun.

It is fortunate in this area that the remains of an early field system survive, since it allows comparisons with the other fields of the region. There would appear to be a close similarity between these early remnants and the overall field pattern of the western area of this large unit, and it may be the case that the field pattern here has remained relatively constant in comparison with most other areas. Certainly the relatively large size and strongly rectangular form is paralleled by many of the western fields, though this need not necessarily imply a direct link.

The western group of fields would appear to represent at least two major phases of enclosure. The earlier phase can be seen in the group of fields which are bounded in the east by fields 79, 78, 77, 75, 114, 115, 67 and 66. The pattern south of field 66 becomes unclear. There would then appear to be a later phase, or phases, stretching eastwards onto the downs. The arc described by the fields numbered above would seem to correspond well to the road pattern here, which also appears to follow a concentric course.

There is one difficulty with this pattern though, namely if the earliest cultivation seen in this area appears to be centred on the extreme west and radiating eastwards then why are definite early fields to be found yet further east. There are two possible answers. The first, and less likely, is that most of the fields in this region are of very ancient date and that the early fields in the extreme east, despite being early compared with modern agriculture on the downs, actually represent the end of the eastward expansion, with the fields to the west being of even earlier date still. The second possibility, which seems a good deal more likely, is that the fields identified from air photographs are not connected with those in the west, but rather they relate to a separate settlement centre. The possibility of an early settlement in the immediate vicinity of the two tumuli on Heol-y-Mynydd has already been noted, with such a centre being ideal for the working of these early fields. On the other hand an apparent route-way which runs through the centre of these fields would appear to be making for Ty’n-y-Caeau, making this another possible early settlement location. This, then, would appear to suggest two early centres in this western area; one around the area which has become Ogmore-by-Sea and another at the northern end of Heol-y-Mynydd.
The eastern group of fields can be broadly divided into three regions: the area centred upon Ogmore, the large area dominated by strip fields around Ewenny and the area to the south of Ewenny Priory, where strip fields are not so obvious.

The fields around Ogmore are difficult to interpret. Many fields simply fit into the only land available along the river valley between the water and the southern scarp face. A number of particularly small fields hugging the northern end of Heol y Milwyr are unusual and may possibly be of early date. It is fortunate that in this area, where the field pattern reveals little, that there is ample alternative evidence for an early settlement centre.

In the immediate vicinity of Ewenny elongated fields appear to dominate east and west, though fields in the central area appear to be somewhat more 'block'-like. I think that these strips are more likely the result of later domestic holdings than any early open field system, and tell us little about any earlier field arrangement. It is possible that the central area where sub-rectangular fields dominate relates to an earlier phase, but it is equally possible that this pattern too relates to later urban growth.

The small group of fields to the south of Ewenny Priory do not appear to be urban in the same way as those in the immediate area of Ewenny. Though the fields are shown to end at the feature identified with the fossa magna, they do in fact continue eastwards beyond the area under consideration. It can be seen that most of these fields respect the line of the bank, though there is one exception which clearly does not. The arrangement of these fields is not very revealing, even when those further east are taken into account. However, it seems possible that the boundaries between a small number of fields reveal the presence of now lost strip fields which would have formed part of an open field system in this area.

The field-names recorded in the tithe apportionments for this area are of little import, referring principally to the size of the holding, its geographical location or to its owner e.g. Tri Chwarter, Cae mynydd and Erw Evan Rees. One field-name, however, is noteworthy. It is lies in the parish of St. Bride's Major, which is recorded as Caer llan. This is possibly an incorrect spelling of cæ 'r llan (tr. 'the field of the church'). There are no earthworks in the field and it is almost certain that it takes its name from its position of being held by a church. The field is not glebe land and thus linked clearly with the church of St. Bride's Major, and so may possibly relate to its position in respect of another church in this region, either before or after the foundation of the priory.
Distribution of soils in Southern Down

- Ewenny
- Ogmore
- St. Bride's Major

Scale: 0 - 1km
1. Ogmore Castle

2. Pant Mari Flanders from south
3. Sunken path between Ewenny Priory and Ewenny

4. Bank facing north
5. Bank from west
6. Possible tumuli
THE CHARTER (LL171B):

THE TEXT:

Land in the region of Itton (ST493953), along with five other churches (Lannbudgualan, Methirchinfall, ecclesia Tipallai, Mafurn and ecclesia Mable) and associated lands, is the subject of a charter LL 171b which has been dated to c860 by Wendy Davies (1979, 107), and which purports to record the gift of these lands by Britcon to Bishop Grecielis. Included within this record is another charter which records the gift of Lann Bocha by Britcon and Iliwg, though it is quite unclear whether the Britcon of this inserted charter is the same Britcon who is mentioned in the rest of the record.

There is no specific reason given for the gift in the text and so its background is unclear. The charter consists only of a record of the gift, a witness list and a survey for each of the churches involved, with the exception of Ballingham (Lannbudgualan).

There are, as would be expected, certain late interpolations into the text, but the body of the record does not give rise to any great suspicion, though it is quite impossible to verify whether the charter is an accurate record of a gift that actually took place as described.

THE BOUNDS:

The bounds of lands associated with ecclesia Diniul as presented in LL171b read as follows:

"Finis lann diniul. Mouric digenou pant pull pentic per medium maliduc irpant divinid betiford maur dipull iceth iuxta magnam orpull dirguairet maliduc irpant trefguid ad dexteram dircarn diford. arhit iford cilluen nihit icoit. arhit iford bet Mouric inhisich pull. maliduc mouric divinid arhit bet genou paNT pull pentic ubi incepit."

Evans translates this thus:

"The Mouric, the Pool Merrick, to the mouth of Pant Pwll Pennic, through the middle as the pant leads upwards to the high road, to Pwll Iceth close to the high road. From the Pwll downwards as it leads into the pant, Trevguid to the right, to the Garn, to the road. Along the road, along the Cilluen through the wood. Along the road as far as the Mouric at the Sychbwll, Dry pool. Along the Mouric as it leads upwards as far as the mouth of Pant Pwll Pennic, where the boundary began." (Evans, 1893, 372-3)
The perambulation begins at Mouric (the pool of Merrick (Evans, 1893,173)). Evans' apparent identification of the Mouric with the present settlement of Pwllmeyric is understandable if somewhat misleading. Pwllmeyric is a small settlement to the south west of Chepstow some five miles or so from Itton. The Mouric presumably is the long narrow valley which runs from near Itton to Pwllmeyric, making Pwllmeyric the pool of the Mouric, rather than the pool of Merrick. It is not clear where along this feature one should begin the perambulation from, but, since at the end of the perambulation the instruction is to return to the mouth of Pant Pwll Pennic, (see below) the point is of no importance.

The instruction from the above point is to go to the mouth of Pant Pwll Pennic, the hollow of the pool of Pennic (or of the Pennic). It is clear that this hollow, having a mouth and, as we are told in the next instruction a middle which may be followed, is a linear feature which is large enough to be walked through and which has a recognizable beginning. The location of the hollow is suggested by a number of place-names which run along such a feature as is suggested by contour lines: Pandy Mill, Pant-y-cosyn and Pant-y-cachle. It would appear that there is good evidence to suggest that this is the hollow intended, to this evidence may also be added that it has a mouth near to Itton, which lies upon the proposed Mouric feature, and that from this point it leads towards the features described next in the survey: the high road and Pwll-y-cath.

As has been noted, then, the hollow is to be followed upwards to the high road, and the instruction is then to go to Pwll Iceth, near the high road. The western end of the hollow which has been identified with Pant Pwll Pennic is unclear, but certainly leads up towards the road which forms a large loop around this valley. This road is not indicated as being of Roman origin, as are many of the great roads referred to in early charters, but there can be little doubt that it is the road intended; it is at one end of the hollow from which Pwll-y-cath ought to be visible and it actually loops around so that Pwll-y-cath is also near to it. This road may continue to the south of the valley either straight to Chepstow, or may follow the route of the modern road to the south west, which joins the known Roman road to the south (ST489903) and may have served as a tributary road from an early period. The latter appears, on the map, to be a more probable continuation of the road which then loops around near Pwll-y-cath, and then, as suggested by later in the survey, continues in the direction of Chepstow.

Pwll Iceth survives in the name Pwll-y-cath (ST468970), though the pool is not visible on the map, having been filled in earlier this century (as related by a local resident. The spot is now best equated to a yew tree at ST467964). From here the instruction is to proceed downwards into the Pant Trevguid, the hollow of the overgrown (though possibly also goose, ploughed or tree) farmstead, to the right. Though there is no site at present which may be associated with this feature for certain, though the area of the two Glyn (tr. 'hollow') settlements seems reasonable.
From the above homestead the instruction is to go on to the Garn and then onto the road. The Garn survives in the modern place-name Wern House (ST475963) and the road most likely refers to the road which has been discussed above. The road apparently then leads through the wood and back to the Mouric. The road referred to would appear to meet with the northernmost tip of what may be identified as the Mouric to the immediate south of Howick at ST501955. Finally the instruction is to return to the mouth of Pant Pwll Pennic.

The total area enclosed by these bounds is approximately that of the northern half of the Mountain Brook valley, measuring in the order of 1500 acres.
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The area of land in question straddles three major rock sequences which are aligned in a broadly north-south direction. The oldest rocks, to the west, belong to the Lower Old Red Sandstone sequence. This is a sequence made up primarily of reddish, iron-rich sandstones, laid down at the beginning of the Devonian Period, which began approximately 395 m.y.a. This sequence of rocks covers an extensive area in south and east Wales and adjacent areas of England. To the east of this sequence a thin outcrop of the Upper Old Red Sandstone is found. This group is similarly made up of red, iron-rich sandstones, but was laid down towards the end of the Devonian Period, which ended approximately 345 m.y.a. To the east of these, Tournaisian and Visean rocks, both Lower Carboniferous Limestones, outcrop. These are the hard, light grey limestones which form much of the dramatic scenery of the Wye valley, with its numerous craggy and sheer cliffs, such as those at Symond's Yat and Chepstow. These are well jointed rocks which tend to play 'tricks' with streams, which often appear and then disappear again below the surface, making it difficult to follow small water courses over any distance.

LOCAL SOILS:

The rather complicated geology of this area is matched by the equally complex nature of the soil associations found locally. Three Typical Brown Earth associations cover the solid geology in this area; the Oglethorpe, Eadriston 1 and East Keswick 3 associations (see map 2).

The Oglethorpe group of soils occur in the lowland areas of this region, following the valley of Mountain Brook from the west as far east as Mynydd-bach. From this point it creates a strip heading northwards from the town to the east of the ridge that forms Itton Common and to the west of Croes Bleddyn. This association is composed primarily of drift till with some glaciofluvial deposits. They are coarse loamy soils with a fine, subangular, blocky structure. These soils are permeable and well drained, and vary from a slightly stoney to moderately stoney profile. In areas such as Gwent, with lower rainfall, arable crops may be supported, but grassland is the more favoured use for the soils of this association.

The Eadriston 1 association is characterized by reddish, well drained soils, varying from a coarse loamy to a fine silty texture. It is particularly linked with the Old Red Sandstone sequences. This soil is well suited to cereal crops, but in this area occurs in the area of the Itton Common ridge, where the steepness of slope makes cereal cultivation impractical. Where slope is prohibitive, grassland for grazing and woodland (though not oak) are the generally preferred land uses, as indeed is the case in this area.

The Eadriston 1 association is characterized by reddish, well drained soils, varying from a coarse loamy to a fine silty texture. It is particularly linked with the Old Red Sandstone sequences. This soil is well suited to cereal crops, but in this area occurs in the area of the Itton Common ridge, where the steepness of slope makes cereal cultivation impractical. Where slope is prohibitive, grassland for grazing and woodland (though not oak) are the generally preferred land uses, as indeed is the case in this area.

In the east of the area under consideration, forming a roughly north-south boundary with the Eadriston 1 sequence, slightly to the west of Itton Court and the church, lies the East Keswick 3
soil association. This is, in the main, a slightly stoney, fine loamy drift, with a tendency to thin out, exposing the under lying limestone. This soil group can be of varied quality, though where deep enough is suited to most crops and is ideal for grassland.

TOPOGRAPHY:

As has been mentioned, the steepness of slope in this hilly area is an important factor in the land use of the region. The topography of the area is as complex as its geology and soil coverage and only a rough description will be attempted (see map 3). The region consists, in the west, of a valley which 'begins' at about 220m to the south and east of Pwll-y-cath. This valley runs broadly south-eastwards down to a height of about 80m a little to the north of Mynydd-bach, where it converges with a valley running roughly north-south (this valley includes two farms: Rhyd-y-fedw and Wern House and is shown in the panorama photograph 2). It then continues to the east of Mynydd-bach, but also reaches a little northwards, creating a shallow north-south running valley along the eastern edge of Itton Common. The Common itself thus lies on a wedge shaped ridge, pointing southwards, and rising to above 230m in the north. Moving east there is an area of land which appears, on the ground, as another ridge, but is, in fact, made up of two small hills. It is on the northern of the two hills that Itton Court and Itton church stand. Lastly, to the east of these hills the valley mentioned above reaches northwards again, forming a very narrow valley extending as far as the farm at Howick (see photograph 3). This is a particularly narrow valley, and is known as Long Orchard on account of its woodland cover.

LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:

The hilly nature of the region has meant that land quality in terms of agricultural exploitation is poor (see map 4). The higher areas, being more gentle in slope are mostly graded 3 by the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, with the steeper slopes of the valleys being given grade 4. Not surprisingly fields with arable crops are scarce in this area, with grassland and woodland dominating the region (see map 5).
SETTLEMENT:

Itton is a collection of dispersed farms and residential buildings focused upon the church and manor house. In Welsh Itton is called Llandinol, ‘the church of Daniel’, and first appears with an English name in 1270 as Edyton in a survey of Wentwood (Bradney, 1932, 165). Air photographs have revealed a banked enclosure in the grounds of Itton Court, which according to the SAMR held by Cadw is of early medieval date. Itton Court is an eighteenth-century mansion, with a fifteenth-century tower attached, but is probably on the site of the earlier manor extant in 1270, when it was held by the de Bendevilles. The SAMR also notes that a 3Æ of Honorius has been recovered from the grounds of Itton Court. Whilst the church and manor house provide an ‘authoritative’ focus for the settlement, it is Itton Common that provides more of a centre in geographical terms. The Common is a large area, partly under grass and partly woodland (see photograph 1), of hilly land largely enclosed by roads around which about half a dozen farms and houses stand. There is no road to demarcate the southern boundary of the Common, but Cottage Farm with its east and west bridle-paths make up the fourth boundary.

About half a mile to the north east of Itton Court, the name of the old manor house, lies Howick, a single farmstead on the B4293. Howick House is a sixteenth-century manor house and a manor house was extant here in the fourteenth century. Howick once also had its own parish church. To the immediate south of Howick, in the field here there are a number of faint earthworks which can be made out, and, in particular, what appears to be a levelled, rectangular platform (see photograph 5). This rectangular platform may well be a building platform, but if so the building did not exist at the beginning of the century when the first edition OS maps were made.

To the west of Itton Common lie a number of small, isolated farms, which tend to follow the valley which climbs westwards, eventually petering out about a mile to the west of the Common. The nearest settlements of any size are those of Mynydd-bach (tr. little mountain), to the south of Itton Common, which lies on the B4235 some four miles west of Chepstow and the village of Newchurch which lies in the western-most extreme of the Mountain Brook valley.

THE CHURCH:

The build of St. Deiniol's church is essentially in the Early English style, placing its origins somewhere around the early fourteenth century. It has unfortunately been a great deal restored and repaired and is of little aesthetic interest. A cross fragment has been recovered from the church but is of unknown date. The churchyard is fairly small and of sub rectangular shape.
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

The pattern of fields in this area is presented in map 6. As with a number of Monmouthshire tithe apportionments field-names for Itton parish have not been recorded and only a handful of those of Newchurch are recorded. The area proposed is now divided into two parishes: Itton and Newchurch. Furthermore, the valley suggested to be the Mouric is now excluded from Itton parish and is under woodland, being known as Long Orchard.

The field pattern in this area is both complex and diverse. In the east of the region very large and irregular shaped fields dominate. Most of this area is covered by Itton Common and has probably been enclosed at a relatively late date. However, also in this pattern of large fields falls Itton Court, the site of what has been interpreted as an early medieval enclosure and is certainly the site of later medieval settlement. It may be the case that the pattern of enclosure here has much to do with improvements at the manor during the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and it is difficult to see any trace of early field layouts in what has remained.

Further west and around the settlement around Lower Glyn, an almost concentric pattern of smaller, but still irregular fields can be found. It would appear that cultivation has been increased in steps from a possible centre to the south of Lower Glyn, possibly from the vicinity of Wern House, but at present this expansion is impossible to date. To the south of the above area, roughly from Rhyd-y-fedw to Coed Llifos Farm, is an area of generally larger fields, which are difficult to make sense of especially since the boundary between the two parishes in this area has distorted the field pattern out of all recognition at this point.

To the north, around Pwll-y-cath and to the west of the concentric pattern referred to above, is a pattern of smaller fields separated by a larger irregular, wooded area. Further woodland blocks extend considerably to the south. It would appear, then, that there is a break in the settlement of this area and that cultivation has developed in each half, east and west, from separate centres.

Two distinct field patterns can be seen in the western half of this area. In the south around Coed Llifos is a pattern of small, largely regular and rectangular fields, becoming a little less regular the further west one travels. In the northern half of this area the fields are much larger and consist of a mixture of regular and irregular forms. In the extreme north west lies Newchurch, a probable late settlement. This accords well with the pattern of larger fields, with some of irregular form. It seems likely that whilst the area immediately about Coed Llifos may represent the earliest phase of settlement evidenced here, the rest of the area has been reclaimed from woodland at a more recent date.
1. Common- grass and woodland

3. Looking south towards Long Orchard
2. Panorama form Rhyd-y-Fedw (left) to Wern house (right)
4. Lines visible in the weed growth to the west of the Manor

5. Earthwork platform to the north of Long Orchard
A5. LLANBEBEDER, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

THE CHARTER (LL261):

THE TEXT:

LL261 describes how Caradog the son of Rhiwallon, a comes of King Meurig seized the wife of Seisyll at the church door (presumably of Llanbedr), thus violating the privilege of sanctuary. It goes on to state that Caradog then sought pardon at Llandaff and the result was the gift of Lannpetyr in Henrniu to Bishop Joseph with the guarantee of King Cadwgon.

This event is also presented in LL259 (with Meurig given responsibility for the violation) and is referred to in LL260, though in LL259 Meurig is recorded as returning Uilla Tref Golich (Dyffryn Golych, nr. St Lythan's) and in LL260 Uilla Fratus is given with four pounds of silver.

This charter has been dated by Wendy Davies (1979, 128) to c. 1045 where she comments:

"There is a short narration with standard interpolations. Its essence was probably recorded at or near the time of transaction."

THE BOUNDS:

There is no description of the size of the area of land granted in this charter, but the survey given is not too difficult to follow and furnishes the grant with a well defined boundary. They read as follows:

"Finis est, dubleis. deinde igall nihit betibilain oblain irallt coit guent cecyn irallt nihit divinid bet penarcvieir lann mihacgel dirdord mauro ivinid trui y coit. arhit crib irallt. ocribrallt iniaun diguairet diliyit nant marchnant march arhit bet dyfleis"

Since the above is written mostly in Welsh Evans provides a translation for these bounds which is presented here:

"Its boundary is: The Dubleis, thence to Nant y Gall, along it to its source. From the head of the Altt in Went Wood, along the cecyn of the Altt upwards till opposite to St. Michael's church, Kerneis Inferior, to the high road, upwards through the wood along the ridge of the Altt. From the ridge of the Altt straight downwards to the spring of Nant March. Along Nant March as far as the Dypleis." (Evans, 1893, 383).
The bounds begin at the Dubleis (Dyvilleis later in the survey). It is not clear exactly what is meant by this term, though the dub- (dyv-) element may be interpreted as 'black-'. This location will be left for the present and returned to later, since it occurs again in the survey. From the Dubleis the instructions state that one should proceed to Nant y Gall, and then along to its source, which lies (as we are told by the next part of the survey) on or near the head of the Allt in Went Wood. The river is identifiable by its source on the Allt in Went Wood (ST406923), and runs in a south westerly direction, past Llanbeder, where it turns eastwards (ST383896), continues through Llanmartin, to where it eventually joins the Severn estuary. The Allt is a very dramatic ridge and is easy to follow, but it is unclear whether cecyn means the foot or the top of this ridge, though a comparison with the use of the same term in LL206 would suggest that it is the top of the ridge which is intended.

The cecyn is to be followed until opposite St. Michael's Church at Kemeys Inferior (ST385923), and from this point to the high road. There is a Roman road at the end of the Allt ridge which is almost certainly the high road referred to (ST373908).

The next instruction, to proceed upwards, through the wood, along the ridge of the Allt, must indicate that the spur at the western end of the ridge is to be mounted again, but this time on its southern side. It is interesting that this "looping" around the ridge means that the deserted settlement upon the spur of the ridge (ST378916) is included in this portion of land.

From the ridge of the Allt the instruction is to go straight downwards to the spring of Nant March. It is not exactly clear which river is referred here, though the river which runs from the south of the settlement (the spring being located at ST383915), mentioned above, down to the river which was identified as Nant y Gall appears to be the most likely candidate for Nant March.

Lastly Nant March is to be followed as far as the Dyvilleis (the feature which begins the perambulation). This "missing link" appears, then, to lie on or join with Nant March and from it one may reach Nant y Gall. One possible interpretation is that the lower stretch of Nant March may have been known as the Dyvilleis and that Nant Gall may be taken to be the south westerly running river which the former flows into at ST388905. A second is that the Dyvilleis refers to the actual confluence or a feature nearby the confluence of the two streams. A third and most likely interpretation is that the Dyvilleis is the name of the small south westerly flowing river, and possibly also one of the two streams which flow roughly southwards to the east of Llanbeder; with the larger, on which Mill and Hendrew farms stand, being the most likely. This would mean that Nant y Gall refers only to the upper part of this water course, possibly from just to the east of Llanbeder (ST391907) and certainly the point where the streams part to the south of Hendrew Farm (ST400912).

The reason for favouring this interpretation is made up of two parts. First is the occurrence of another 'Dyvilleis' term applied to a small river in the region of St. Bride's-Super-Ely: the Dowlais (Dubleis in LL216, dated c. 870). This would suggest that this feature is probably also a
river, though it is possible, if less likely, that the Dowlais took its name from an adjacent non-river-associated feature which might also be referred to in this charter. If the Dyvleis is a river or stream name then it may be argued that in a small area such as this which has clearly been settled from at least the late Iron Age it is most unlikely that streams will not have names which are applicable to their whole length, making it less likely that the Dyvleis refers to the lower stretches of Nant March. This, however, does not argue against the limitation of Nant y Gall to the upper stretches of this stream network, since stretches beyond confluences are proposed in this case, where new stream names may be necessary.

The total area thus enclosed is approximately 1249 acres (see map 1).
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The vast majority of the area lies upon the Lower Old Red Sandstone series. This is a sequence made up primarily of reddish, iron-rich sandstones, laid down at the beginning of the Devonian Period, which began approximately 395 m.y.a. This sequence covers an extensive area in south and east Wales and adjacent areas of England. However, the south eastern most fringes of the region lie upon rocks which are collectively known as the Triassic Mudstones. This is a sequence made up of a number of differing beds, notably the 'Keuper Marl', the Dolomitic Conglomerate and the Rhaetic beds, and marks the end of the Triassic Period around 180 m.y.a. It is these beds that are seen in the cliffs at Aust, when crossing the Severn bridge, with their alternating red and green bands.

LOCAL SOILS:

Four soil associations are found in the region (see map 2): the Wallasea 1 association, the Milford association, the Eardiston 2 association and the Escrick 2 association mentioned above.

The soils of the Wallasea 1 association lie within the Usk valley, in the north west of the area. It consists of marine alluvium and pelo-alluvial, non-calcareous, clay rich gley soils. In profile the association is mostly stoneless, but is subject to severe waterlogging, which even the most effective drainage cannot totally eradicate. Such areas are generally only left to grass and are only suitable for summer grazing.

The Milford association appears on the map as a wedge pointing upwards towards Kemeys House in the west of the region. It consists of mainly reddish fine loamy typical brown earths on interbedded siltstone, sandstone and mudstone. It tends to be stoney, especially at depth, but is permeable and well drained. In eastern Wales, where the climate is more sympathetic to agriculture, barley may be grown without too much difficulty, but grass for dairying tends to dominate, especially on slopes.

The region, as a whole, is dominated by soils of the Eardiston 2 association. This consists mainly of well drained course loamy soils, primarily typical brown earths but also with some shallow rankers and brown podzolic soils. These soils tend to be moderately acidic and are not generally suited to crop growth. Grass for sheep grazing is the favoured use of these soils, though forestry is also extensive, including deciduous as well as evergreen trees.

Lastly, in the eastern most fringes of the area are soils of the Escrick 2 association. These soils are mostly coarse and fine loamy brown soils in glaciofluvial drift, mainly typical argillic brown earths. The profile is slightly to moderately stoney and is well drained. Some cereals are grown on these soils, but again dairying and long-term pasture tend to dominate as a result of climatic factors.
TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the region is relatively simple (see map 3). In the north west the Usk runs through a level alluvial plain at about 20m above sea level (see photograph 5). To the immediate east of this protrudes the steep sloped ridge which dominates the landscape here. It rises from about 80m near Cat's Ash in the south west to over 230m in the north east, where it merges with a larger area of upland. This ridge descends less steeply on its south east side to around 50m at Llanbeder. The land rises to the north east of Llanbeder, which eventually also merges into the upland area mentioned above. A small river flows in a south westerly direction to the south of Llanbeder, carving a valley which reduces the altitude to below 30m about a third of a mile south of the Hall. This river has four tributaries that flow down the south eastern slopes of the ridge and south facing slopes of the highland rise. Each of these tributaries creates a small valley in its respective location, the two easternmost being the most significant.

LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:

The quality of the land in this area is rather poor, as is illustrated by map 4. The ridge top and highland areas are graded N.A. by M.A.F.F. and are under forest cover. A strip of grade 5 land marks the steep northern slope of the ridge, whilst the gentler south eastern and western slopes are graded 4, as is a strip of land to the south along the small river. A large area of land of intermediate height, between the ridge and the southern river valley, is graded 3, with strips of grade 4 land tending to follow the river tributaries.

The pattern of land use in the region is somewhat irregular (see map 5), with forest tending to dominate the higher areas, for example Wentwood in the north (see photograph 6), and with meadow and pasture dominating the middle and lower altitudes. Into this twofold system lie a number of isolated patches of wasteland and arable, though a substantial area of arable lies to the immediate north of Great Caer-Licyn.
SETTLEMENT:

Strictly speaking the name Llanbeder refers to Llanbeder Hall, a large house on the eastern fringes of Langstone, Monmouthshire (ST388907). In a broader sense it also refers to the area of settlement around it, but this name is, in any meaningful sense, obsolete with the area now essentially regarded as a part of Langstone. The area under consideration lies to the north of Llanbeder, with the Hall situated in its southernmost angle. Settlement in this area consists of a number of isolated farms and houses, the largest of which is Great Caer-Licyn. To the west of Llanbeder lies the town of Langstone whilst to the north east is Penhow. These two small towns are connected by the A48 which follows the line of the earlier Roman road through this part of the country.

Along the ridge in the north of the area lie three deserted settlements of differing periods of British history. Near the western tip of the ridge (ST378916) is a large enclosed complex (map 1, no. 1), visible in the field as a series of hummocks and banks (see photographs 1 and 2). This site has not been excavated, but is presumed to have multi-period use, from the Iron Age into the early medieval period.

Further east (ST385923) are the remains of what is thought to be a Roman military camp (map 1, no. 2). This is also, at least in part, visible above ground, despite being used as a site for a modern house (photograph 3).

At the easternmost extent of the ridge, where it joins a larger area of higher ground (ST390928), is the site of a Norman motte and bailey, called Caer Licyn (map 1, no. 3). The motte can still be clearly seen above ground (photograph 4).

THE CHURCH:

The site of Llanbeder church is now lost (its position is indicated in map 1, no.4). It was destroyed when the A48 was constructed and survives only in the name of Llanbeder Hall. No trace of the church enclosure remains in the heavily landscaped garden of the Hall, though the owners recall that stonework was discovered earlier this century at the entrance to the driveway. This site is included in this study on the basis of its churchyard appearing in the First Edition OS map, from which it can be seen to have a curvilinear form.
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

Map 6 illustrates the arrangement of fields as recorded on the tithe maps for this area, dating to the 1830s and 40s. The area is covered by four separate maps, representing the parishes of Kemeys Inferior, Langstone, Penhow and Llanbeder itself. Unfortunately only the tithe apportionment for Langstone records any field-names and none of these appear to be of any interest.

The pattern of fields in this area is extremely complex and very difficult to make any sense of. One unit, however, is clear— a broadly rectangular unit in which Caer Licyn forms the northern corner. A number of very irregular fields can be seen in the more easterly parts of the area and are probably of late origin, representing a piecemeal encroachment upon Went Wood.

It is interesting that the parish boundary between Kemeys Inferior and Penhow appears to be deliberately 'kinked' to include Hendrew Farm in Kemeys Inferior. Certainly the name would imply an early settlement (literally meaning 'the old homestead or town') and the presence of a site of a now lost church nearby (ST396914) would also suggest an early settlement of significant size.
1. Site of camp
2. Large mound and enclosing bank of camp at rear
3. Site of Roman camp
4. Remains of Norman bailey

5. Alluvial plane of the River Usk
6. Wentwood with ridge rear left
A6. LLANWARNE, HEREFORD AND WORCESTER.

THE CHARTERS (LL174 AND 200):

THE TEXT:

Two fairly brief charters may be associated with the village of Llanwarne: LL174a and LL200. The earlier of the two charters (LL200) records the gift of three modii by Catuuth, the son of Coffro to Bishop Tyrchan, with the guarantee of King Flernfael. The date of this charter has been calculated at c. 758 by Wendy Davies (1979, 116).

The second and later charter (LL174) also records the gift of three modii, though in this case by Mainerch the son of Milfrith and Guiner the son of Iacuan to Bishop Grecielis. This charter has been ascribed a date of c.855 (Davies, 1979, 108).

The two charters are classified, along with all of the Llandaff charters, by Wendy Davies into groups (A-J) relating to the date and origin of the grants. LL174a has been placed in group E reflecting its Ergyng source and origin between the mid-eighth and mid-ninth centuries. LL200, on the other hand has been placed in group F. This group includes grants of uncertain source relating to the whole of the South East between the late seventh to late ninth and mid- to late ninth centuries.

As will be demonstrated below, the bounds supplied with both grants clearly refer to the same piece of land, suggesting that sometime between the mid-eighth and mid-ninth centuries the land fell out of the possession of Llandaff. It is not at all clear how this might have occurred, but it is possible that the original grant may only have been temporary; the clause "Qui autem ab ecclesia landavie separaverit. anatheme sit" being purely formulaic and / or a later interpolation.

There are no obvious reasons why these charters should not be considered broadly reliable records of the events described, despite certain late interpolations, e.g. cum omni communione incampo et insiluis inaquia et inpascuis (for a discussion of this and other later formulae see Davies, 1973, 459-85). The witness lists give no grounds for suspicion, and the bounds are described in simple terms (providing the three basic elements of the boundary: a stream, a road and a ditch), and not as a complex perambulation, which is quite consistent with its early date. Furthermore, that two quite different boundary clauses describing the same area occur in these charters suggests that the degree of editing may not be so great as to destroy the original nature of the two transactions.
THE BOUNDS:

The boundary clause of LL174a reads thus:

"Finis illius est. vadum pallan ad fossam. fossa ducente ad cumulum glas. et acumulo eregone usque ad amyr flumen cum parte illius agri desilva mamilet."

The boundary clause of LL200 thus:

"Finis illius est inter amyr at viam iacinthinam latitudo eius et longitudo usque ad fossam senem."

The earlier of the two charters (LL200) describes a piece of land between three linear features. The later (LL174a), however, appears to describe the same area by means of a perambulation; presumably the *vadum pallan* marks the crossing of the road (*viam iacinthinam*) and the River Gamber. Given the fact that the two charters describe pieces of land of identical size and the similar use of the ditch and river in both it seems most unlikely that two separate areas are intended here. The piece of land described, then, lies between three linear features: a road (*viam iacinthinam*), a ditch (*fossa* or *fossa senem*) and the River Gamber (*the amyr*).

The River Gamber needs no discussion since this small river flows along its present course with no human interruption and with a sizeable valley which testifies to the antiquity of this course. The remaining two features are more problematic, though their location can be suggested with some degree of certainty.

The opposition of the river and road in the bounds of LL200 (*inter amyr et viam iacinthinam latitudo eius*) would suggest that the two run broadly parallel, though meeting at one point: *vadum pallan*.

From this two approximate lines may be considered that the road may originally have taken, both of which are represented by modern roads. The first of the possibilities is that the line of the A466 (the broadly north/south road to the west of the Gamber) is referred to in the charter. This road may indeed follow the line of the Roman rouetway between Monmouth and Hereford and so seems possible. However, if this road is that referred to in the boundary clause, the ditch described would have to lie somewhere to the south of Llanwarne making the total area enclosed at least 300 acres in size (Rollason, unpublished undergraduate dissertation, 1974, 76). The approximate size of the *modius* unit is discussed in Wendy Davies' paper 'Unciae' (1973), where it is proposed that a size in the order 125 acres is a usable rough guide. It is also demonstrated that in the case of St. Bride's-Super-Ely that it may measure up to about 250 acres. An area in excess of 300 acres, however, is at least twice the expected size and makes the route of the A466 a rather unlikely candidate.

The second route which may be considered approximately follows the line of the B4348, which runs in a north-west/south-east direction on the east side of the river a little to the north of Llanwarne village. Though there is no evidence for the antiquity of this route, as indeed there is
no evidence against its antiquity, this road would delineate, with a ditch somewhere to the east
of Llanwarne, an area roughly equal to 150 acres. This would strongly suggest that the road
described in the grants did indeed follow the approximate line of the present B4348, giving a
rough location for the second of our three linear features.

The exact location of the ditch is also problematical. As might be expected there is no
modern feature which is instantly recognizable as the ditch referred to, with the possible
exception of a small stretch of what is described on the First Edition O.S. map (based on
records collected c.1900) as a dry drain. This feature is particularly visible in the modern
landscape in a large landscaped garden belonging to a property called Brom-y-Court
(SO509282). Within this garden, close to its western boundary, is planted a long gently curving
line of trees, which stretches from the B4348 to the river, at the eastern edge of the village (see
map1). This line of mainly Cyprus trees grows along a course of slightly rougher ground about
3m wide and lies in what may be described as a plateau at the base of the terraced garden (see
photographs 4 and 5).

Furthermore, this feature runs along the line of the ecclesiastic and modern parish
boundaries of Llanwarne. It would therefore appear that this line of trees and rougher ground
representing the remains of an earlier dry drain/ditch was of such antiquity as to be included in
the parish boundary. A ditch of such antiquity may well be closely related to, if not one and the
same as, the original boundary ditch which is described in the charter survey. In the absence of
any alternative features available for consideration this old drain and line of trees will henceforth
be taken as the third and final feature described in the charters.
LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The village and its surrounding land lie on rock which belongs to the Lower Old Red Sandstone sequence, formed at the beginning of the Devonian Period (c. 395-345 m.y.a.). This sequence is made up of a range of highly oxidized iron rich sandstones, giving a characteristic 'rusty' red colour. This sequence is exposed over a wide area of the southern Welsh border lands; stretching from Cardiff in the south to Bridgenorth at its northern extreme, and from Worcester on its eastern fringe to beyond Brecon towards the west.

LOCAL SOILS:

Superimposed on the solid geology are soils which belong to the Eardiston 1 association. This association covers the entire area under consideration with little variation from the dominant Eardiston 1 sequence. This sequence is made up of reddish, well drained coarse loamy and fine silt soils to depths between approximately 40-80cm. This is a relatively good soil for agriculture, with little risk of poaching and only grass potentially suffering from drought on soils deeper than 60cm. It is easily cultivated for cereal crops, being most suited to Autumn crops. Timber also has a capacity for high yields on these soils, with suitability for a wide range of broad-leaf species, a notable exception to this being oak which has a tendency to suffer from ring and star shake.

TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the area (see map 2) is simple with the land rising from approximately 100m about one mile to the west and south of the village to 130m about one mile to the north east. Into this gentle slope has been incised a small river valley, carved out by the river Gamber, which reduces the ground level to below 90m in the immediate area of the village. The valley is made up of relatively steep slopes, though less pronounced towards the north, and a narrow, level alluvial plain at its base. This plain is most extensive in the area of the village and it is on this that the ruined church stands.

LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:

The potential for the area in terms of agriculture is generally good (see map 3). Nearly all the land within the area described by the charter has been classified as grade 2 by the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries. A small area around the farm at Turkey Tump, which lies on the B4348, has been classified as grade 1, though land in the river valley to the immediate west and
south of the village, including the land in and around the village itself, has been classified as grade 3, on account of the steepness of the slope.

The present pattern of agriculture makes full use of the potential of the area (see map 4). Arable crops, wheat and green-leafed vegetables, are grown on the higher and flatter area within the loop of the river, to the north west of the village, and on the steeper slopes of the river valley the land is left to grass, forming a border of meadow on the north, west and south sides of the land described in the charter.
SETTLEMENT:

The village of Llanwarne (SO505282) lies some six miles to the south of the city of Hereford and about the same distance east of Ross-on-Wye, in the county of Hereford and Worcestershire. It is made up of about a dozen houses, a small antiques shop, a village hall and two churches. The core of the village is situated on the steep slopes either side of the river Gamber, with the buildings generally located on small terraces or cut into the slopes usually with highly landscaped gardens. A number of peripheral farms are also associated with the village.

Settlement in the area beyond the village consists of a handful of residential homes scattered along the roads radiating out from it, one house built in the hollow created by an old quarry in the western-most angle of the river and two farms; one at Turkey Tump on the B4348, and one where the river meets the B4348: vadum pallian. In the south western angle of the river there is an area of rough, overgrown ground and the remains of brick work intended to concentrate the flow of the river marking the site of an abandoned mill building, which the first edition OS maps show was still standing at the turn of the twentieth century (see photograph 3).

THE CHURCHES:

Llanwarne has two churches: the first a Victorian built church in present use, and the second an earlier ruined church of thirteenth-century build with later additions. The Romanesque arcade in the nave of the ruined church is shown in photograph 1. The earlier church stands on the low levels of the Gamber's flood plain and was abandoned in 1864 due to persistent flooding. The location of the church makes it clear that flooding was by no means a Victorian problem, and it is most likely that the church has been flooded very many times in its history. It would seem likely that the name of the village Llanwarne, which translates as "the church of the marsh or alder trees (also denoting wet ground)", relates to this church site. This is most important. The text of LL 200 describes the place thus: "idest ecclesiam hennlennic super ripam amyr. idest lannguern." This would appear to demonstrate that, although the fabric of the church may only be dateable at earliest to the thirteenth century, the site of the church is the same as ecclesia hennlennic which was present at some time around the middle of the eighth century. Certainly, even if the ruined church does does not lie directly on the site of the original church, the low lying gwern in which it stands does not extend very far from it limiting the area of the pre-Conquest and presumably wooden church. Why, however, such an inconvenient site was ever chosen and then remained the location of so principal a building in the landscape for around a thousand years is most curious?
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

The field pattern in this area (see map 5) consists largely of average sized sub-rectangular fields with an area of smaller strip fields immediately to the north west of the village. The smaller elongate fields may well represent an earlier open field style organization, but it is also possible that this pattern has more to do with its relationship of the road which these fields seem to follow and the adjoining slope. The fields in this meander of the Gamber are noticeably smaller than those of the surrounding area (not shown on the map) and some would appear to be highly determined by the river’s course. This latter point may not seem very surprising, but it is not uncommonly the case that fields tend to ignore such features and form more regular shapes with a stream running through the centre. This suggests a form of unity in this area which separates it from the surrounding areas which lie in the same parish.

The pattern of field ownership also suggests such a uniformity. Map 5b illustrates those fields which either belonged to the Reverend John Bassett or contain a ‘parson’s’ name element. It can be seen from this that just over half of the entire area is in some way connected with the church, either being actually owned by the serving cleric at the time of the tithe survey or suggesting, by name, to have been owned by a past churchman. This area then would appear to have preserved its discrete status of church land to a high degree, even into the nineteenth century.
Land owned by Rev. J. Bassett

*Parson's* field-name element

MAP 6

Tithe field boundaries
1. Thirteenth century Romanesque arcade

2. Church on level plain
3. Ruined mill

4. Line of cyprus trees
5. Cyprus trees showing rougher ground
THE CHARTER (LL 263):

THE TEXT:

The heading applied to this charter reads as follows: *lann sant breit inmainaur crucmarc*. This may be associated with the small village of St. Bride's-Super-Ely, which lies some three miles from the northern fringes of Cardiff.

The text describes a donation of land by Cadwallon, the son of Gwriad, as reparation for drawing blood during an argument at Bishop Joseph's court at Llandaff. Following his imprisonment he gave "*ecclesiam Sancte Brigide & cum tribus modiis terre*" to Bishop Joseph with the guarantee of his father and King Meurig's agreement.

In her classification of the Llandaff collection of charters into regional and chronological groups Wendy Davies has placed LL 263 in group J, which is defined as follows:

"Gwent source changing to Glamorgan; grants in Gwent and Glamorgan; late tenth to late eleventh century."

(Davies, 1979, 13)

On the basis of analysis of such groupings (A-J) and of individual charters Wendy Davies (1979, 128) has postulated an approximate date of 1040 for the St. Bride's charter: Joseph was Bishop of Llandaff between c. 1022-45.

As to the reliability of the charter one must as in all cases approach with caution. However, the detail and singular nature of this charter have lead Wendy Davies to believe that the charter may well be based on a record written soon after the event described:

"There are some standard interpolations in this narration, but its details are precise and unusual and it is likely that the bulk of it arises from a record written shortly after the transaction."

(Davies, 1979, 128)
THE BOUNDS:

"Finis illius est. latitudine o nantbrachan bet glesius. longitudine ofinnaun liss bet cimer irdounant brachan."

The above is written in a rather jumbled combination of Latin and Welsh, a characteristic of later boundary surveys. Evans translates this section of the charter as follows:

"Its boundary is: In width from Nant Brachan as far as Glesius, Glasswg. In length from Ffynnon Liss as far as the confluence of the two brooks of Brachan."

(Evans, 1893, 383)

Evans' own interpolation Glasswg is an attempt to rationalize the term Glesius and is not part of the original text or its literal translation. Unfortunately the interpolated term is no more readily understood than the original.

The bounds of the donation, then, are presented in what appear to be a cruciform arrangement: that is between the stream called Brachan and the glesius in one direction and between the well (or possibly spring) of Liss and the confluence of the Brachan streams in the other.

In order to understand the orientation of the above features it is necessary to examine the bounds of another charter: LL 216b. This charter describes a grant of land around the modern settlement of St.-y-Nyll, less than a mile north of St. Bride's and has been dated by Wendy Davies to c. 870 (1979, 119-20). Below is given just a portion of the boundary clause of LL216b. It is within this portion that a vital clue is given that will enable the interpretation of the St. Bride's grant to begin.

"Its boundary is: From the valley of Brachan along the high road as far as the spring; from the spring following the high road as far as the ford on the Dulas."

(Evans, 1893, 376)

From this it is clear that the Nant Dowlais (Dulas) cannot be identified with the Nant Brachan. The location of the valley of Brachan along the high road, west of the spring (the modern road between Peterston and St. Fagans still runs just south of the only spring complex in this area, suggesting that the road, at this point at least, approximately follows the route described in LL 216b) strongly suggests that the Nant Brachan may be identified with the stream now known as the Nant Rhych. Certainly no other stream fits this description.

The next feature to be dealt with is the 'confluence of the two brooks of Brachan.' The obvious question which has to be dealt with is where has the other Brachan brook come from? It would appear from the above that the Nant Dowlais is not a candidate, so a brook is needed from somewhere else. An examination of the First Edition Ordinance Survey map of the area, based on information recorded c. 1900, reveals a stream which runs south from a little north of
Forty Farm and joins the Nant Dowlais about 300 metres south of its confluence with the Nant Rhych. This feature is shown as a stream on the maps provided.

During a visit to the area in 1993 it was discovered that the line of this second stream may be followed along what appears to be a small drainage ditch, which at the time, early Summer, was dry. A fossil stream delta complex was also found to the north and west of Brook Cottage which made it clear that in the not too distant past the whole area was considerably wetter. The location of a large reservoir to the north west of St.-y-Nyll no doubt has served to lower the water table in the surrounding area. It is therefore quite likely that what now appears as a seasonal surface run off ditch was once a permanent stream, which ran broadly parallel to the Nant Rhych, only tens of metres distant from it at their nearest point.

Since no other streams are available to suggest an alternative explanation I propose that the above modern ditch be identified as the second stream of Brachan. This stream would appear, from the relative size of channels witnessed in the field, never to have been very large and cannot seriously be confused with the considerably larger Nant Brachan mentioned previously.

The next obvious question is where is the confluence of these two streams? Technically, since neither stream meets but individually flow into the Nant Dowlais, the answer is that there is no confluence. Could it be possible that the bounds may be interpreted as meaning the confluence of the two streams of Brachan -with the Nant Dowlais? This is most unlikely since this would give two different points where clearly only one is intended. It appears to me that the most likely solution to this problem is that what is intended to be meant is the confluence of what is now the Nant Dowlais with the river Ely. It is quite possible that the lower stretch of the Nant Dowlais, after both Brachan brooks have joined it, may also have been regarded as the Brachan and such an interpretation would certainly give a single point.

The above suggestion is admittedly in itself quite weak, however it is also supported by further evidence arrived at from considering the location of the remaining points, in particular the well or spring of Liss. This water source is the opposing point to the confluence discussed above, with the glesius opposing the Nant Brachan. As the accompanying maps demonstrate there is a recognizable line of well and spring features broadly following the route of the road. This line represents the boundary between rocks of the clay rich Lower Lias and the Upper Triassic Mudstones (see below), the spring line being the result of water trapped above clay beds, unable to permeate to the mudstones below. The location of such springs and wells in this area, certainly the area of the location of the original well of Liss, at the north of any area delimited by the Nant Brachan would suggest an opposing point in the south of the same area. The suggested confluence with the Ely alone fits this description.

The identification of the remaining feature, glesius, supports the above hypothesis. The exact meaning of the word is unclear but the gles (Evans' glas) element clearly refers to the colour blue. The only feature which might reasonably oppose the Nant Brachan and contain a blue element is the stream indicated on the map flowing south-eastwards to the east of
Morraine and into the Ely. This stream also marks the western boundary of the modern and ecclesiastic parishes of St. Brides, further supporting its identification with the gesius.

If this interpretation is correct, which I think likely, then this would also suggest that the southern boundary of the grant is the River Ely. This is because the Ely is the only linear feature which can be traced between the 'glesius' stream and the lower reaches of the Nant Brachan/Dowlais. A point near to where the two suggested brooks join the Dowlais would in practice be almost impossible to follow by means of any obvious route from the glesius. Also, unless the Ely forms the southern boundary, there is absolutely no indication of where along the glesius one would start from or aim for.

It is suggested, then, that the piece of land described in the charter is bounded on three sides by water channels; the 'glesius' stream in the west, the River Ely in the south, and the Nant Rhych in the east, and in the north by a point along the spring line roughly followed by the present road. The arguments for such an interpretation are complex and turn what appeared to be a cruciform boundary clause into a composite type clause consisting of two linear features; the glesius and Nant Brachan, and two fixed points the Ffynnon Liss and the more problematic confluence.

Two further 'checks' may be made to test whether the above interpretation is likely or not. First, one may ask whether the suggested area includes a possible site for an early church? The answer to this is affirmative, with the location of the Norman-built church just inside the area on the western bank of the Nant Rhych. This church site will be discussed further below, but it may be said at this point that it is not unlikely that any earlier church was also situated here.

Second, there is the description of the land grant in the charter text as making up three modi. It is therefore possible to measure the area enclosed by the proposed boundary and compare this with the theoretical size of the modius as used in Llandaff texts. For a full discussion regarding such land unit sizes Wendy Davies' paper *Unciae: Land measurement in the Liber Landavensis* (1973) should be consulted. In summary though, Wendy Davies concludes that at Llandaff the uncia consisted of 12 modii and was in the order of 500 acres. She also makes it clear that such definitions are only a rough guide and should not be applied unbendingly. Since it is recorded that the area in question consists of three modii it should therefore equal around 125 acres: a grant of land at Llanwarne also described as made up of three modii contains 157 acres. The area enclosed by the features suggested above is 242 acres. This is perhaps a little large, but when the numerous reasons for such discrepancies are taken into account the error is not so very great and by no means discredits the suggested boundary limits.

Since neither of these so called 'checks' give any reason to doubt the proposed boundary interpretation and since this interpretation is itself internally consistent, it seems reasonable to accept it for the purposes of this study.
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

Two geological sequences dominate this area. To the immediate north and west of the village are rocks of the Lower Lias formation. This sequence is made up of interbedded clays and limestones, and marks the beginning of the Jurassic Period, about 180 m.y.a. On account of the presence of substantial clay beds in this formation these rocks are quite impermeable and can often lead to a concentration of springs and occasional flooding.

The second formation which covers the remainder of the area to the south and east is made up of Upper Triassic mudstones, including the 'Keuper Marl', the Dolomitic Conglomerate and the fossil rich Rhaetic beds, famed for their fish and ichtheosaur bone rich layers. These beds immediately precede those of the Lower Lias formation and are, in contrast, comparatively permeable rocks.

LOCAL SOILS:

Correlating with the two geological sequences in this area are two soil sequences; associated with the Lower Lias the Clifton, and with the Triassic mudstones the Ston Easton association (see map 2).

The Clifton association is dominated by seasonally waterlogged soils of reddish, fine, loamy till and related glaciofluvial deposits. They tend to be dense and slowly permeable, forming typical stagnogley soils with a slightly stoney profile. These soils are slightly droughty for crops and are most commonly used for cereals and short term grass for dairying.

The Ston Easton association comprises primarily of mainly fine silty-over clayey typical-argillic brown earths. The profile of this association is stoney and rarely deeper than 60cm, especially in this region of east Wales. This soil generally tends to be well drained, but is more clayey in this region and so is less permeable than the norm. Due to its relatively high clay content it is a naturally fertile soil and is quite suited mixed farming.

TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the area is relatively simple, with a gentle slope down from north west to south east (see map 3). The region's high points are at Palau farm, 76m, and just to the north of St. y-Nyll, 61m, where a ruined windmill stands. The slope descends to a height of 23m at its lowest point on the banks of the Ely and Nant Dowlais, before rising again on the other side of the two rivers. A panorama of the area is given in photograph 4.
PRESENT LAND QUALITY AND USE:

The land in this region has, as a result of the relatively good soils and comparatively gentle slopes, been graded fairly highly by the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries (see map 4). In areas dominated by the Clifton soil group the land has been given a grade 3 classification, whilst on the Ston Easton areas a grade 2 has been allocated. Despite this, though, only a few fields in the area are given over to arable crops, with meadowland dominating the area, especially to the east and north west of the village (see map 5).
SETTLEMENT:

The village of St. Brides-Super-Ely lies about three miles from the north-western fringes of the Ely region of Cardiff, and immediately to the west of the National Folk Museum at St. Fagans. It is a relatively small village made up of a few houses along its main road (running northwards from St. George's), about a handful of isolated cottages and farm-houses and the church. On the opposite bank of the Ely lies the village of St. George's, whilst only about a third of a mile to the north of St. Bride's is St. y-Nyl, now a large guest and farm-house, though a chapel stood also here at the beginning of the century.

The earliest evidence of settlement in the area comes from the excavation of a Bronze Age cairn that lies to the east of St.-y-Nyll (ST102783). Beneath the cairn the remains of three round huts were discovered along with pottery and faunal remains. The pottery suggested an Early Bronze Age date for the occupation of the huts and faunal analysis revealed that:

"...for every ox and wild boar consumed by the Early Bronze Age inhabitants of Sant-y-Nyll, something like six sheep were eaten."

(Savory, 1962, 24)

No clear evidence of occupation from any later periods occur until the early medieval period, with the exception of the two relevant charters. Stone and human bone remains were found at St.-y-Nyl during landscaping earlier this century, as was a stone cross, kept at the National Folk Museum, St. Fagans, which might possibly pre-date the arrival of the Normans. It is also possible that the church may contain pre-Norman elements.

THE CHURCH:

The church lies in a shallow hollow (see photograph 1) within an almost totally circular stone walled enclosure on the west bank of the Nant Rhych. The church itself is almost entirely of Norman work, with classic Romanesque chancel and porch arches, though most of the windows are later insertions. The inner porch doorway is surrounded by an unusual fish-scale pattern. Perhaps the most curious feature of the church is a small square-ish stone displaying a carved cross which may be found above a crudely carved window in the west tower. Though it is far from clear, it is just possible that this stone is the result of the re-use of pre-Norman fabric from an earlier stone church.
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

The fields of St. Bride's-super-Ely as indicated on the tithe map (c. 1841) are presented in map 6. The remains of an open field system are clearly visible to the west and south-west of the village, whilst to the immediate south and east the landscape is primarily made up of large irregular shaped fields. Though some of the strips to the south-west of the village have been amalgamated into larger sub-rectangular blocks, some strips remain clearly visible today. One of these strips is recorded as being called 'landshare piece' in the tithe apportionment, with heavy overtones of the earlier open field system. It is interesting to note that most of these once arable fields are now under meadow or pasture.

To the south of what appears to form a discrete single open field, lies a series of strips which appear much larger than those to their immediate north. These would appear to mark a later extension of the open system southwards and it might be suggested that this expansion is possibly linked with the integration of St. Bride's into the Norman manor of St. George's and a new phase of productive management or influence. These fields, by the time of the tithe assessment, are, as those to their north, under meadow and pasture.

The two large fields to the immediate east of this group (Didlake Ucha and Didlake isha) are both recorded as arable fields in the apportionment. The boundary between them in their western reaches is suggestive of a former strip formation and this coupled with its ready suitability to arable make it seem likely that this area was also part of an open field system, though it is unclear whether it relates to the proposed earlier or later phases described above.

The land in the immediate vicinity of the village, that is between the two streams has been altered a great deal as a result of the creation of gardens and the expansion of residential areas so that it is not possible to suggest any early origins for the recorded field pattern.

This leaves the fields to the east of the St. George's-St. Bride's road to be considered. In this area only land south of Nant Rhych is included in the grant. The fields here are of a most irregular form and are, with one sole exception, either under meadow or pasture. The pattern of enclosure with its irregular combination of mainly large fields with fewer smaller units is not suggestive of any known early organization of pasture and is probably of later date.

Three fields in the south-east corner, where Nant Dowlais flows into the Ely all contain a potentially significant element in their recorded names: yollan. This element has also been noted in Dinas Powys Hundred and has been interpreted as a corruption of the Saxon 'eald land' meaning either land that has been cultivated from distant memory or possibly signifying land that has been worn out by past cultivation and has since reverted to a more natural state only to be (re)-enclosed at a later date (Barry Davies, J. 1980). This may point to these fields being under cultivation from a period before the eleventh-century grant. It is difficult to conceive, taking into account the wetness of the area, that arable cultivation was ever possible in this part of the village's area of exploitation, making hay production a possible likely candidate along with grass for animal grazing.
MAP 2

Distribution of soils

711n

St.-y-Nyff

571a

St.Bride's

St.-George's

St.-George's

R. Ely

N. Dowlaig

1km

0
MAP 6

Tithe field boundaries

St. Bride's
St. George's
N. Dowlais
R. Ely
St. Y. Nyll
Super Ely

1km
1. St. Bride's church

2. Romanesque porch arch
3. Detail of Norman arch
4. Panorama of St. Bride’s-super-Ely
5. Fossil stream channels

6. Deltaic fossil stream patterns
THE CHARTERS (LL174B AND 229B):

THE TEXTS:

LL174b refers to the gift of "ecclesia Istrat Hafren cum uncia agri" by King Morgan to Bishop Berthwyn. This charter has been dated by Wendy Davies to c. 703 (1979, 108). This date has been arrived at by a comparison of witness lists amongst other charters from the Book of Llandaff. In particular the occurrence of a certain Biuhearn, son of Ibleid in this charter and in LL176 and 183b and of ludhail, the son of Morcant who also appears in LL176a. The occurrence of named witnesses in this charter who are signing broadly contemporary charters would seem to suggest that it is not unreasonable to regard this charter as authentic, if only in part.

This same church, "ecclesiam Strat haffren", is regranted in LL229b, where the gift is made by King Hiuel to Bishop Nud. This charter has been dated by Wendy Davies, by similar means to those described above, to c. 878. The bounds of this second charter, though there is some minor variation (see below), are essentially identical to LL174b in the limits they express. It would not seem unreasonable to suppose that even if the complete authenticity of these two charters cannot be proved beyond doubt the occurrence of essentially the same boundary clause in each would suggest that at least this part may be taken to reflect a pre-Conquest reality. By 956 the lands surrounding Tidenham had passed into English hands and are referred to in very different terms in a Saxon grant recording the gift of land by King Edwy to Wulfgar the abbot of Bath (B927 / K452). Certainly the bounds expressed in the Llandaff collection of charters can not be later than this.

THE BOUNDS:

The Bounds of LL174b read as follows:

"Finis illius est. asilva usque ad mare. et usque ad podum ceuid. & cum sua tota libertate in campo et insiluis inaque et inpascuis. Finis oguarthaf luin iii usque ad mare. et aglasguern behet louern."
The bounds of 229b read thus:

"... ecclesiam Strat haffren cum finibus suis o guarthaf luin ili usque admare. & aglasguern behet longuern."

The bounds of LL174b are presented in a most obscure fashion. They are also, in part, written in Welsh, and are translated by Evans as follows:

"Its boundary is: from the wood right on to the sea, and right on to the place of Ceuid.... The boundary of the uncia of land: From the top of the wood of Ili on to the sea, and from Glaswern as far as Louern." (Evans, 1893, 373).

As can be seen there would appear to be two sets of bounds here. The first half is very difficult to understand. It suggests three points: the first is the wood which is of little use to the modern scholar since this wood is unnamed and even if it were its location would not be expected to have remained at all constant. The second point is somewhere on the coast and the third is some point on the border with another ecclesiastic territory; that of podum Ceuid, modern day Lancaut (from which it is possible to equate the church of Istrat hafren with Tidenham), to the north west of Tidenham. This area is impossible to define, but it seems likely that the bounds of the uncia of land given actually includes this mysterious parcel of land.

The latter part of the bounds are seen by Evans as a description of the uncia given with the church. It is this second element which is also recorded in the later LL229b, which suggests that by this time the only significant parcel is that described as the presumed uncia of LL174b. Should the first clause of LL174b refer to an earlier, smaller parcel of land associated with the church here then such a piece of land can never be reconstructed and is wholly lost to the historian and it is the second element which will be taken as the definitive bounds for these two charters.

The bounds, then, are described in cross form, giving four points referring to the limits of length and breadth. These four points are the top of Ili's wood, which lies opposite the second point somewhere on the coast, a feature named as glasguern (Glaswern) and lastly a feature called louern or longuern. These latter two features are descriptive names and may be translated from the Welsh into feature names which may be recognized in the field. Glaswern (glasguern in the Welsh of the charters) may be translated as the 'blue marsh or bog'. Such a name would infer not just a very wet area, but an area where water collects above ground, forming a shallow pool at least during part of the year. The second feature described in Welsh is the louern (longuern in LL229b), and may be translated as 'the marsh of the deep pool'. The bounds then might be read as follows

"From the top of Ili's Wood as far as the sea and from the blue swamp to the swamp of the deep pool."

The least problematic of these points is that described as 'the sea'. This clearly refers to somewhere on the shore of the Bristol Channel.
The marsh of the deep pool is also fairly easily identified, though the pool no longer exists. This is because a large quarry has been established just to the west of Tidenham village which has destroyed what is indicated on the First Edition O.S. map for the area (based on information collected c. 1900) as a significantly sized body of water at ST554957 (see map 1, no. 5). This is the only such feature in the area making it difficult to see how another is referred to here.

The blue marsh is more difficult to locate. It must lie to the east of Tidenham, and is not likely to refer to an area south of the A48, where a name like blue marsh could refer to a vast area of ground. It may also be inferred that since the area described is represented as one *uncia*, then this feature cannot lie too far to the east, since any land parcel stretching from the coast to the north west of Tidenham (which the location of the deep pool suggests it must) cannot be very wide if it is to lie within the accepted limits of an *uncia* measurement: in the order of 500 acres, after Wendy Davies (1973). No obvious features were noted in a visit during the Summer of 1993, but this might be expected since it is possible that any waterlogging of the area is to some degree a seasonal event. However, amongst the field-names recorded in the tithe survey of the area (c. 1843) is that of ‘pool patch’ (field number 780, map 6), just to the west of Philpot's Farm (ST559965). This is the only field to infer any such pool in the immediate vicinity, east of the village and can be seen to occur in approximately the area expected from the description of the bounds. Indeed, if *ecclesia Istrat hafren* does lie on the same site as modern Tidenham, then it lies upon almost an exact straight line which can be drawn between the two marsh features. As with the marsh of the deep pool it is difficult to find any other feature in the area which might correlate with this feature.

The final point is given as the top of Ill's Wood. This is the most difficult of all the boundary points to locate with any degree of certainty. The feature presumably lies somewhere to the north west of Tidenham, but to the south east of the bow in the Wye, which was held by the monastery at Lancau. The best solution to this problem, albeit a poor solution, is to simply take the three more certain points described above and calculate the rough location of the fourth by forming an area approximately equivalent to an *uncia*. Such an exercise (an area roughly equivalent to 500 acres is enclosed by the dashed line shown in the trace accompanying map1) would suggest that the top of Ill's Wood lay somewhere to the immediate north west of the fork in the road, which leads in the same direction from Tidenham towards Ashbury. It may or may be not significant that the area around this fork is called Cross Hill.
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The geology of the area is slightly complex, with four distinct formations underlying the area. It is very difficult to give an accurate map representing the geology of such a small area because the boundaries between major formations are impossible to locate except in fairly isolated exposures. However, since soils are closely linked to the rocks from which they are derived, map 2, representing the soils of this area, will be referred to as a general guide to the geological structures.

The areas immediately to the south, east and west of Tidenham, associated with the Whimple 1 soil formation, broadly define the extent of Upper Triassic mudstones. This is a sequence made up of a number of differing beds, notably the 'Keuper Marl', the Dolomitic Conglomerate and the Rhaetic beds, and marks the end of the Triassic Period around 180 m.y.a. It is these beds that are seen in the cliffs at Aust, when crossing the Severn bridge, with their alternating red and green bands.

To the north east of Tidenham, associated with the Newnham soil group, lie beds of the Old Red Sandstone formation. This is the dominant formation in south east Wales and consists of beds of iron rich sandstones with a characteristic reddish colour. This sequence is was laid down in the early part of the Devonian Period, which began c395 m.y.a..

Along the north west fringes of the same soil group is a narrow band of Upper Old Red Sandstone, which is essentially the same as the Lower O.R.S. but was deposited towards the end of the Devonian Period, conventionally dated around 345 m.y.a..

The remainder of the area is made up of Tournaisian and Visean limestones. These make up what is termed the Carboniferous Limestone Series, which, with the exception of the relatively thin Basal Conglomerate, are the oldest Carboniferous rocks; the Carboniferous Period following the Devonian around 345 m.y.a. These rocks are particularly hard and are the same as those seen forming the dramatic grey cliffs at Chepstow and elsewhere in the Wye valley. It is these rocks which are responsible for the substantial rise in slope in this area, forming hard resistant hills and ridges.

LOCAL SOILS:

Four distinct soil associations overlay the rock sequences in this area (see map 2); the Crwbin, the Newnham, the Ston Easton and the Whimple 1. Each will be described in turn.

The Crwbin formation dominates in the north west of the area under consideration and is closely associated with the underlying Carboniferous Limestones. It consists, primarily, of loamy brown rankers associated with typical brown earths. This formation is usually made up of thin,
decalcified soils, suitable only for grazing. However, the Wye valley is somewhat of an exception and the soils here are deep enough to allow commercial afforestation, which is ideally suited to the steep slopes of the region.

To the north east of Tidenham are soils of the Newnham association. This formation includes mainly reddish and occasional brownish, generally well drained soils in river deposits and associated drift. This formation can be moderately droughty for grass and slightly droughty for crops, but in this riverside area this does not apply as much as it might in other regions, leaving the soil fairly well suited to both grass and crops.

A small area consisting of soils of the Ston Easton group may be found to the north, between Ashbury and Bowspring. The Ston Easton association comprises primarily of fine silty-over clayey typical-argillic brown earths. The profile of this association is stoney and rarely deeper than 60cm. This soil generally tends to be well drained. Due to its relatively high clay content it is a naturally fertile soil and is quite suited to mixed farming.

Lastly, there are soils immediately around and to the south and east of Tidenham village, which comprise the Whimple 1 association. The Whimple 1 is an association which includes a good deal of variation, but on the whole consists of stagnogleyic argillic brown earths mixed with typical argillic brown earths, also with some loamy and loamy over clayey soils. The profile is slightly stoney and is only slowly permeable, making it prone to seasonal water logging especially in this area. As a result grass would appear the most economic use of areas where this soil dominates, particularly summer pasture on the river-side flats.

TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the area is relatively simple (see map 3), consisting of a low fairly level strip between the A48 and the river’s edge, between 10 and 20m altitude (see photograph 5), and rising steeply to the north west of the road to a height of about 100m.

Within this simple arrangement a number of valleys run down from the north west to the south east, of which the most pronounced in the immediate area runs just to the east of Tidenham, from close to the Wye down to the Severn. It is in this valley that the farm, mentioned below, on the A48 stands, as is shown in photograph 3. It is also in this valley that the deep pool, referred to in the charters, is suggested to have been found.

A second valley is less pronounced and runs down from about the position of Bowspring, petering out before a slight rise to the east of Philpots farm (see photograph 4), though this lies just outside the area proposed.
**LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:**

The quality of the land in this area is quite variable (see map 4), as might be expected in an area of such diverse altitude and soil variation. The lowest areas, 10m and under, have been given a grade 4 by the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, on account of the problem of flooding. A few of the slightly raised and hence drier areas along the alluvial plain, such as around Pill House have received a grade 2, as have extensive areas around Woodcroft and between Ashbury and Bowspring where the slopes are not overly steep. The rest of the area is mainly allocated a grade 3 on account of the steep slopes encountered which limit the potential of the land in terms of agriculture. Forest cover in the north west of the area and the large quarry to the south west of Tidenham account for the two non-agricultural graded areas.

As might be expected, the areas given grade 2 are largely given over to arable crops (see map 5), whilst most of the remaining areas of grade 3 and 4 status are largely used as meadow and pasture. As has been mentioned woodland is extensive in the north west of the area, stretching out along the length of the Wye and also reaching down to a little way north west of Cross Hill. This woodland, though in places it may be extremely old, has certainly been planted after the 8th and early 9th century in others. This is clear from of the location of a fort (map 1, no. 6) and a length of Offa’s Dyke (map 1, no. 7) within the forested area, and necessarily pre-dating the woodland cover here, if not elsewhere. This is entirely consistent with the fact that the whole parish of Tidenham lay within the confines of the Forest of Dean until the thirteenth century, which under the status of Royal Forest was extended under Norman influence well into this area south of the Wye.
SETTLEMENT:

Tidenham is a small village in the Severn valley, about three miles north east of Chepstow, and about one mile to the south west of the river Wye. It lies on the A48, which follows the route of a Roman road that runs broadly parallel to the Severn in this area between Chepstow and Lydney. It is one of a number of villages that lie on or back from this road, such as the nearby villages of Woodcroft, Bowspring, Tutshill, Wibdon and the hamlet of Ashbury.

The village itself is made up of Day farm on the A48 (map 1, no. 1), a concentration of houses and church on the relatively steep slopes about 300m back from the road (map 1, no. 2) and a further group of 3 or 4 houses on Cross Hill (map 1, no. 3), which is perhaps better described as a spur rather than a hill. The hamlet of Ashbury has no church of its own and consists of only about half a dozen houses at the junction of the B4228 and the road leading upwards from the A48 through Tidenham.

Perhaps due to the steepness of slope in the area around Tidenham church there are certain peculiarities in the village’s form. As can be seen in map 1 Tidenham appears to be structured around a bow shaped road which appears to break the south east-north west running road. This pattern is probably of later origin, with a wide, deeply incised path (map 1, no. 4), with walls on either side up to about 10ft and with footbridges across overhead, perfectly joining the two severed ends of what was more than likely once a through road or path.

Two outlying farms lie close Tidenham village; Philpots Farm and Pill House, now doubling as a horse riding centre. Photograph 1 shows Tidenham from the south east. In it can be seen Day farm on the A48 to the left, then, moving right, the church and in the top right some of the houses at Cross Hill.

The surrounding nucleated settlements in Tidenham parish of Woodcroft, Tutshill and Bowspring owe their origins to expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (VCH, Glos. x, 56), as presumably do the numerous roads that connect these settlements. From 956 Lancaut was included in the English manor of Tidenham, though it remained outside of the ecclesiastical parish.

Tidenham parish bears great similarity to the description given in a tenth-century charter of King Edwy who makes a donation of this area to Wulfgar the abbot of Bath (B927 / K452). This parish stretches as far as Beachley in the south west and to the north east as far as Stroat. The parish is divided into four by an undated Saxon survey relating to services due to the monastery at Bath (Grundy, 1935-6, 243), with the above charter referring to the hidages of Stroat, Beachley, Sedbury and Bishton separately. These divisions are preserved as different tithing areas. The Bishton division essentially includes, but is not coextensive with, the area described above in the earlier charters relating to the Llandaff collection. The north east boundary of the division between Bishton and Stroat, though, would appear to bear some relation to the similar boundary described by the Welsh charter.
THE CHURCH:

The earliest physical evidence for a church at Tidenham comes in the form of the eleventh-century font. The church building was largely rebuilt during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the earliest fabric being found at the base of the tower, dating to the early thirteenth century (VCH, Glos. x, 73). It is, however, clear that a church was associated with Tidenham from the early years of the Norman ascendancy at least, from a grant by William Fitzosbern made in 1070 (VCH, Glos. x, 73). The present church is built on a spur with the almost incredible angle of the church yard shown in photograph 2, though the impression given in this photograph understates its true steepness somewhat.
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

The field pattern preserved in the nineteenth-century tithe records is both diverse and highly complex. In order to be brief and to the point, only those fields which fall within the proposed bounds of LL174b and 229b will be discussed. It is important to point out, though, before beginning any discussion that it is clear from the above that this area has undergone an inordinate amount of change in comparison with many of the other charters dealt with in this survey. It would appear that the possession of this area has changed hands many times (at least 5) since the time of the original Llandaff charters. Its proximity to Offa's Dyke cannot be overlooked, nor its frontier relationship with Welsh territories to the south west. It is therefore, perhaps, even more debatable than usual that any evidence of early field patterns in this area can realistically be taken to represent the earliest phase of Welsh settlement as opposed to that of English, Norman or even later phases.

The land in this area may be initially divided in two as regards field coverage (see map 6). The first group of fields lie to the north west of the A48 and are generally small and regular in form. The second group may be found on the opposite side of the road, where the fields are much larger and far more irregular. It is likely that this latter group of fields is largely of late origin, resulting both from pressure to bring more land under cultivation and from increased knowledge and technology allowing such marginal areas to be brought into the productive landscape.

The former group of fields are more difficult to interpret. There would appear to be a definite, discrete group of fields to the immediate north west of Tidenham, made up of small often elongated sub-rectangular fields, surrounded by much larger irregular fields. It seems most likely that this group represents a single open field complex, which was quite possibly bounded by woodland as is suggested by the surrounding names of Ashbury and Woodcroft.

The pattern to the north east of Tidenham is less clear, but may well represent a second fossil open field complex. The fields here are also of a fairly small size, but do not seem to preserve any elongate pattern, indicative of open fields worked in strips. One possible exception to this is field number 763. It is still possible, however, to make out a distinction between this group of fields and those surrounding which are significantly larger and again probably represent a woodland reclamation.

It should also be noted that larger and quite irregular fields also occur in the northern corner of the area proposed and it would seem that at one time this area was under woodland before being enclosed.
1. Tidenham from S.E.

2. Church yard slope
3. Valley behind farm on A48

4. Valley reaching down from Bowspring
5. Alluvial plain with raised ground centre left
6. Ridge with hedge at foot of valley
A9. WONASTOW, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

THE CHARTER (LL201):

THE TEXT:

LL201 refers to Gurthebiriuc Lanngunguarui super Trodi. This may be associated with the settlement and surrounding parish of Wonastow, Monmouthshire, which lies on the northern bank of the River Trothy and is known in the Welsh language as Llanwarw; a contraction of Lanngunguarui. It purports to record the purchase of one and a half unciae of land which is subsequently given to Bishop Trichan. The purchase is secured by Conuur, the brother of Iaco, from King Fernvail. The price which Conuur paid is recorded as being a best horse worth twelve cows, a hawk also worth twelve cows and a dog which can kill birds with another hawk worth three cows.

It is clear that the gift included an existing church, the gift being described as 'ecclesiam gurthebiriuc, cum uncia agri et semiuncia circa se'. Consequently, the most that can be said of this charter is that it records the extent of an area of land associated with a church at the time that it enters into the record. Although this charter does not record a foundation as such, it is still very important and is included in this study as an example of a religious centre with appurtenant land at the point when it enters into the hands of the episcopal church.

The transaction purported to have taken place has been calculated as occurring c750 by Wendy Davies. This date was arrived at following a complex study of the relationships between the various names which appear in the witness lists of the Llandaff charters, in this case the names of king Fernvail and bishop Trichan (Trychan). It would be inappropriate to reproduce the entire argument at this point, it needs only be expressed that this argument is accepted by the present author. Furthermore, the same study of comparisons between the witness lists of this and other charters suggests that this date is quite reasonable.

THE BOUNDS:

The bounds of this charter are placed at the end of the text and are written in Welsh as opposed to the Latin of the rest of the charter. They read thus:

"Finis illius est irford artrodi. artrodi. arhit irford maur di vinid bet ir onnenn. oronnenn trus irford iniaun dir ispidatenn iruch irdou tir dilicat cum cetguinn arhit betiford. trus irford bet inant imeneich arhit bet trodi. maliduc trodi divinid bet ir rit artrodi ubi incepit."

Evans translates the above in the following way:
"Its boundary is the ford on the Trothy. Along the high road upwards as far as the Ash-tree. From the Ash-tree across the road, straight to the Thornbush between the two lands, to the spring of Cwm Cedwin, along it as far as the road, across the road as far as Nant y Meneich, the monk's brook, along it as far as the Trothy. Along the Trothy upwards as far as the ford on the Trothy, where the boundary began." (Evans, 1893, 375)

The boundary of this land has been traced, on the ground, by Wendy Davies and a critical discussion of this interpretation is now presented.

The starting point of the survey is the ford on the Trothy. This has been suggested as the ford at SO494105, where the mill once stood. The instruction is to follow the high road as far as the ash-tree. It is not entirely clear where the high road referred to ran or the exact location of the ash-tree. However, a likely suggestion for the position of the tree may be made by working backwards from the next marker, the thorn bush (identified by the modern hamlet Thorn, SO484117). From the location of this point a possible location for the ash-tree may be proffered as SO488112. This is not entirely in agreement with the interpretation of Wendy Davies who has placed the second point of this survey at SO494109; an area of modern woodland. In either case there is no difference to the bounds since both suggested points lie on the course described by the other.

This course is in part marked by a prominent ditch and bank (between about 3 and 5m wide) which runs broadly north-south leading from the road to the north of Wonastow to Thorn (see map 1, no. 2 and photographs 5 and 6). It is a redundant feature which is broken in places and sheep are allowed to wander across it without any serious restriction. For parts of its length it functions as a bridle path, but in other parts it is too overgrown and can only be descended into with difficulty. It seems probable that this feature marks some form of boundary with lands to the north west, but since this line has been preserved throughout history in the parish boundary it is not possible at present to suggest a date for the ditch and bank.

The next marker beyond Thorn is the spring of Cwm Cedwin which may be associated with the spring near present Gwern-y-Saint, SO470121, since no other feature seems to fit the description. It must, however, be taken into account, from the presence of a series of fossil drainage channels appearing in a delta formation and running down from the slopes of the northern highland between the two south protruding ridges (map 1, no. 1), that in the past the water table in this area was considerably higher than at present. As yet though there is no evidence to suggest a date at which a significant hydrological change took place.

Once the spring has been reached, the next instruction is to follow it (presumably the stream produced) as far as the road and to go across the road as far as Nant y Meneich (the monk's brook). This may refer to the modern hamlet of Gwern y Saint at SO469122, the name of which seems rather apt.

From here the instructions are to follow the stream as far as the Trothy (SO473107) and to return along the Trothy to the original starting point. The total area enclosed is 653 acres, with
one and a half *unciae* being in the order of 750 acres (after Davies, 1973). It would appear, then, that the area proposed is a little smaller than that described in the text, but is arguably insignificantly so.
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:

LOCAL GEOLOGY:

The entire region lies upon the rocks of the Lower Old Red Sandstone formation. This is a sequence made up primarily of reddish, iron-rich sandstones, laid down at the beginning of the Devonian Period, which began approximately 395 m.y.a. This sequence of rocks covers an extensive area in south and east Wales and adjacent areas of England.

LOCAL SOILS:

As a result of this uniformity the soils which are found in this area occur in a relatively simple arrangement (see map 2). Two distinct soil associations are found in the region under consideration: the Bromyard association and the Lugwardine association.

The soils which make up the Bromyard association are well drained reddish silty soils and coarse loamy soils over sandstones. Such soils are generally quite micaceous and produce typical argillic brown earths. Permeability is only moderate and winter waterlogging is common. Grassland is favoured on slopes, but where slope is not a problem wheat and barley are not infrequently sown in limed areas.

The Lugwardine association consists of reddish fine silty soils on riverine alluvium. Such soils are characteristically deep, stoneless and permeable, though prone nonetheless to winter and spring floods. Such soils are naturally fertile but tend to need lime to combat a tendency to acidity. Due to difficulties with flooding this soil is generally regarded as suitable only for permanent grassland, though in dryer areas crops may be grown without any great difficulty.

TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of the region is somewhat more complex than the geological uniformity might at first suggest (see map 3). The highest land lies to the north where it reaches a height of over 200m. It then descends steeply towards the west, before levelling out a little at the head of the brook which runs down into the Trothy, in the vicinity of Gwern-y-Saint (illustrated in photograph 2). As the brook approaches the Trothy its valley steepens as can be seen in photograph 3. To the immediate south of the highest land two ridges project outwards, one towards Little Wonastow Farm and the other towards Wonastow. The angle of the incline tends to decrease away from the summit of the hill to the north, and eventually levels out altogether where it meets the Trothy's alluvial plain at about 45m (see photograph 4).
LOCAL LAND QUALITY AND USE:

The land in this area is essentially of poor quality (see map 4). Steep slopes and a tendency to waterlogging combine to create serious limitations to the productivity of the area. Most of the land has been assessed by the M.A.F.F. as grade 4, though four 'patches' of grade 3 land also occur. To the north a large area has been marked N.A. representing an extent of woodland and forest cover in this area.

Map 5 illustrates that forest, woodland and meadow/pasture are the prime land uses in the region. Forest and woodland tend to have been planted on the steepest and most exposed land, providing shelter from the wind for grazing animals. Three areas of arable are also illustrated, all of which make good use of land assessed as grade 3.
SETTLEMENT:

Wonastow is the name given to a very small settlement some two and a half miles west of Monmouth. Although there are a number of scattered houses and farms in the area, Wonastow itself consists of only the parish church (see photograph 1), a small farm and the old manor house. Aside from a few isolated farms, such as Little Wonastow Farm and Talocher Farm, there are three clusters of residential houses: a row of cottages at Jingle Street, a few cottages and a small Baptist chapel at Worthybrook and a farm and a couple of cottages at Gwern-y-Saint. The nearest settlement of any note is the village of Mitchel Troy which lies on the opposite side of the river Trothy to the south east of Wonastow.

THE CHURCH:

The church has been closely associated with the manor of Wonastow from at least the early sixteenth-century, being until the early twentieth century in the gift of the Milborne family, but is itself of twelfth-century origin. It is built in the Early English style and was substantially rebuilt during the 1860s (from A history of Wonastow Church, a pamphlet available in the church).
EVIDENCE FROM THE TITHE MAP AND APPORTIONMENT:

The tithe map for this parish reveals a field pattern made up almost exclusively of larger than average highly irregular shaped fields (see map 6). The only area containing any significant number of regular shaped enclosures is found to be centred on the settlement of Gwern-y-Saint, in the north west of the region. It is most significant that this area of regular fields preserves such names as 'Great Old Lands', 'Little Old Lands' and 'Lower Old Land'. It is clear that these units and consequently settlement at Gwern-y-Saint represent a very early phase of exploitation in this area. Field 277 ('Old Land') and field 213 ("Tumpy Old Land") also preserve the 'Old Land' element. Both of these fields would seem to be focused on Little Wonastow Farm. It should also be noted that the fields about this farm appear to radiate out from it to the south west, possibly giving a rough indication of what is probably the earliest extent of exploitation.

A good many fields in this area are either under woodland, refer to woodland or to recent enclosure; e.g. field 174- 'Newfoundland'. Clearly then a large proportion of this area has been cleared since the arrival of English speaking people in this area. Such a large scale clearance is typical of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century developments of agriculture in England described by Hoskins (1955, 87-8).

It is impossible to infer anything from the field arrangement in the area of Wonastow itself, since it is clear (see for example the large park- number 330) that the influence of the manor has altered an earlier pattern beyond recognition.
MAP 4
Land quality
1. Wonastow church

2. Decrease in slope at Gwern-y-Saint (photo from south)
3. Slope with brook on left at Jingle Street

4. Trothy alluvial plain
5. Ditch and bank from south

6. Ditch and bank further to the north
APPENDIX B.

PHASE 2 DATA.

ADLESTROP:

Charters (Date): B882/K426 (949); K1367.

Held by: Evesham.


The land: This 1440 acre estate lies immediately north of the Daylesford estate, which also belonged to the House of Worcester. It is bounded in the west by the River Evenlode, from which the land rises fairly gently from around 120 to 230m at the eastern border of the unit.

Four soil regimes are found within the confines of this estate, each forming broadly north/south running bands parallel to the Evenlode. The smallest of these marks the floodplain of the river and consists of Fladbury 1 soils, clayey alluvial soils which suffer from prolonged winter waterlogging and are only suitable for grass cultivation, in particular water meadow.

The next band, just over a kilometre in width, is made up of soils of the Denchworth association. These soils are also clayey and prone to prolonged waterlogging in winter. Despite this, however, they are of moderate quality for both crops and grass.

The largest band of a single soil group may be found immediately to the east of the above soils, being over a mile wide in places. This band contains soils of the Oxpasture group, which are again prone to seasonal waterlogging yet are of moderate suitability for both crops and grass land. A spring line (see report for Daylesford) running broadly north/south runs through the centre of this band of soils.

Lastly, a band of Elmton 1 soils lies in the eastern most portion of the estate. These soils are more permeable than the others found in this unit, consisting of shallow rendzinas, and are of good quality as regards both grass and arable cultivation. Given the presence of these good soils this estate must be regarded as of higher quality than that of Daylesford to the south, and is therefore given a moderate/good classification for overall quality.
Domesday: The Domesday record states that St. Mary's, Evesham held Adlestrop and that it consisted of 7 hides in lordship along with 4 hides held by gift by Jocelin's son, which, given the long-standing guideline of 120 acres to each hide (e.g. Maitland, 1987, 336-7), is broadly consistent with the 1440 acre piece of land described above.

No information is given regarding the 4 hides of Jocelin's son, but the record for the 7 hides held directly by the church is full. 2 ploughs are held in lordship, 3 by 2 smallholders and 10 villagers and a further 2 ploughs by a man at arms, making 7 in all. 4 slaves are also mentioned. The Evesham 7 hides are described as containing a little meadow and was valued as a whole at 4 pounds before the Conquest, though now at 100s.

The church: The parish church of St. Mary Magdalene lies within the present village of Adlestrop, roughly in the centre of the estate boundary. The earliest fabric in this church consists of a thirteenth-century tower arch, whilst the VCH for the county records the presence of a chapel in the twelfth century (VCH, Glos. vi, 14).

AUST:

Charter (Date): B665/K347 (929).

Held by: Worcester.


The land: This estate is around 1080 acres in size and lies on the southern side of the Severn estuary, at the point of the modern Severn bridge. The area consists of a strip of shoreline and higher land separated by cliffs of 30m height in places. The land above the cliff face is relatively flat, ranging from 10 to 40m within its total area.

Three soil groups occur here: the Denchworth association, the Newchurch 2 association (still better known by its earlier name of the Wentloog) and the Worcester association. The Denchworth occurs as the shoreline and as such can be discounted since it cannot be cultivated at all. The majority of the estate, about two thirds, corresponds with the Newchurch 2 soil group. These soils consist of slightly clayey alluvial gleys and can provide moderate yields of both grass and crops without any difficulty. Lastly an area in the north west of the estate is covered by soils of the Worcester association. This group of soils has a tendency to waterlogging and is generally too wet for crops, though quite moderate for grass.
In addition to the potential of the land, this estate was also ideally located to make use of the Severn as a source for fish. No doubt it could have provided considerable numbers of fish by means of weirs along its shore, as is indicated by other charters dealing with estates along the Severn estuary (e.g. LL235b, referring to Caldicot). Taking this into account this estate would appear to warrant a moderate/good classification of its productive capabilities.

Domesday: Domesday records that the manor is held by the Church of Worcester and that Thurston, the son of Rolf holds 5 hides. No other information is given.

**CALDICOT:**

Charter (Date): LL235b (c. 895).

Held by: Llandaff.

The land: This estate covers an area of approximately 620 acres and forms a rough square bounding the Severn Estuary to the south and the Nedern Brook to the east. The land is almost completely level rising from sea level to 20m in the extreme north of the area. Apart from a small area of Conway group soils along the Nedern Brook, the entire area is covered by soils of the Escrick 2 association. These soils are of high quality, being formed upon a large body of glaciofluvial drift. They are normally used for pasture in the modern way of things, but are also good for crops as well. Fishing is also a natural resource available to this area and fish weirs along with ship mooring sites are referred to in LL235b, referring to the situation in the late ninth century. Given these resources this estate must be classed as good in terms of economic potential.

The charter makes interesting references to a settlement called Trev Peren. The boundary of this feature is twice referred to in LL235b. It is first referred to in the north east corner of the estate, in the location of what is now Caldicot Castle. It is referred to a second time, this time associated boundary cairns, in the north west corner of the estate (near to the present north west limits of the town). It is not entirely clear whether Trev Peren was included or excluded by the bounds, though I think it more likely to be excluded, since it is not referred to at all elsewhere along the bounds. Whatever the case, it is clear that here at least the settlement type (or types) called trev can have boundaries at least a mile or so apart, referring surely to the land holding unit of a settlement rather than simply the boundary of the actual settlement area.
**CLODOCK:**

Charter (Date): LL195 (c. 740).

Held by: Llandaff.

The Land: Clodock, an estate of some 1460 acres, lies at the eastern edge of the Black Mountains. In the west it reaches up to a height of 520m, the highest altitude known of any of the estates described by the Llandaff charter collection. The west of the estate consists of extremely mountainous terrain, which gradually decreases in steepness to a moderate slope approaching the River Monnow. The land then rises fairly steeply again on the other side of the river, a portion of which is included within the estate.

Three soil regimes dominate this estate: the Eardiston 2 association, the Lugwardine association and the Bromyard association. The Eardiston 2 soils occur on the extreme slopes of the western part of this estate. In these situations the soil type is irrelevant, only woodland or rough grass/heath can survive on these kinds of slope.

As the slope decreases soils of the Bromyard association take over. These soils also dominate the portion of the estate that lies on the eastern side of the Monnow. They consist of fairly well drained silts, which can still suffer from waterlogging, especially under crops for which they are poor soils. They are moderately suited to grass.

The remainder of the estate, the River Monnow's flood-plain, is made up of soils from the Lugwardine association. These soils, whilst naturally fertile, are subject to both winter and spring flooding. These soils also have a tendency to become acidic. As a result it is difficult to grow crops successfully on these soils, though grass and woodland would fair better, albeit only moderately. This estate, then, as a whole is of quite poor quality.

**DIXTON:**

Charter (Date): LL183a (c. 735).

Held by: Llandaff.


The land: This is a tiny estate, only about 130 acres in all. It lies between two small parallel streams which flow into the Wye just to the east of Monmouth. The ground rises not overly
steeply from 20m in the south to a little over 70m in the north. The area is covered by soils of the Bromyard association, which are both prone to waterlogging and slightly acid under crops. This would make crop growth very difficult on this estate, though grass would have little problem doing well. Fishing may also have been a possible source of food. The site then is not particularly noteworthy, and given its possibility of fishing as well as for good grassland a classification of moderate seems to be just possible.

DONNINGTON:

Charter (Date): B229/K136 (779).

Held by: Abbey.

Bounds: G107-113.

The land: The Donnington estate consists of around 1010 acres of land bounded in the east by the River Evenlode. It is particularly flat within its eastern half as it stretches away from the river, but even in the western portion is of only gentle incline. A cluster of wells and springs are found in the mid-portion of this estate, whilst it is partly bounded by the River Dikler in the west.

In the east soils of the Ashley association dominate. These soils are cleyey and hence slowly permeable. They subsequently suffer from prolonged seasonal waterlogging and are also quite acid. They are quite poor for crops, but of moderate suitability for grass.

The western half of the area is covered by three soil groups. In the south soils of the Sherborne association hold sway. These soils make up roughly a quarter of the overall area of the estate and are of fairly high quality in terms of grass and crop growth, being both permeable and well drained.

The north western quarter of the estate is covered by soils of the Aberford and Denchworth soils groups. The Aberford soils are, like those of the Sherborne group, well suited to both crops and grass. The Denchworth soils, however, are wet and cleyey and of only moderate value for crops and grass cultivation. Given that almost half this estate is of good quality and the remainder of at best moderate, a grade of moderate/good for the overall quality of the estate seems appropriate.

A number of landscape features are referred to in the charter bounds of this donation. Five features associated with ploughland are referred to in the western half of the estate: heafde (a headland of ploughland), fureh (a furrow), ende fureh, heafod stocce (a stake at the end of a
furrow) and heafod londe (a headland of ploughland). In the east a heath is mentioned on both the north and southern sides of the estate adjacent to the Evenlode. A small grass swamp and area of watercress are mentioned in the northern central part of the estate in the vicinity of the spring complex. Lastly a rush pit is referred to in the south western corner of the estate, whilst a wood is mentioned just to the north of it.

The Victoria County History for Gloucestershire puts forward the interesting theory that the elongate form of this estate: "..is probably to be explained by its being a sort of no-man's land..." (VCH, Glos. vi, 142). From the regular occurrence of features in the boundary clause which might reasonably be associated with 'waste land', such as swamp, down and heath, this suggestion may well be the case.

Domesday: The record states that William of Donnington has 5½ virgates of land in Donnington, where he resides in the abbot's manor house by gift of Abbot Walter, despite the chapter's opposition! No other information is given.

**DUNHAMPSTEAD:**

Charter (Date): B349 (814).

Held by: Worcester.

The land: This small estate consists of only 455 acres of almost level ground between about 50 and 70 metres. It is bounded in the east by a small stream called the Dean Brook and an even smaller un-named stream runs roughly north/south through the centre of the estate.

Three soil associations occur in this small area. The first, the Worcester association, lies in a narrow band along the bank of the Dean Brook. This soil group is typically prone to waterlogging and is only suitable for grass. A larger band runs broadly north/south through the centre of the estate, making up about half of the total area, of Brockhurst 2 soils. These consist of slowly permeable gley soils which are poor with regard to crops and only of moderate quality for grass on account of the risk of poaching. Lastly a band of Whimple 3 soils may be found in the western part of the estate, which consist of fairly good soils which despite slight winter waterlogging can support both crops and grass to a reasonably high quality. The overall quality of this estate, then, is moderate/good.

The bounds of B349 refer to a number of land units. Two woodland clearings are referred to along with a grove and an enclosure of some kind. It wood appear that this estate was wooded at least at its southern fringes, but that it was cleared to the extent that a group of trees could be
isolated on the northern borders of the estate.

**HELLEERELEG, KING'S NORTON:**

Charter (Date): B123 (699-709).

Held by: Worcester.

The land: This estate covers some 1880 acres, but unfortunately lies almost entirely under the urban sprawl of Birmingham. This means that there is no soil information for the area and that topographical information is not to be relied upon due to possible urban landscaping. It is, therefore, the case that this estate must remain a 'black box' as far as this study is concerned.

Domesday: It is recorded that King William holds King's Norton as an outlier of Bromsgrove along with a number of other holdings the total hidage of which is 30. Given that King's Norton can only make a fraction of this and that the estate above ought to have a hidage in the order of 15 or so (see Adlestrop above), it seems quite likely that the estate recorded in Domesday is not the same in dimensions as that described in the above charter. No other details are given regarding this holding.

**KEMEYS:**

Charter (Date): LL183b (c. 700).

Held by: Llandaff.

The land: This 1000 acre estate lies immediately to the west of Llanbeder, another estate featured within the Llandaff charters (LL261). This estate follows the Usk valley and escarpment, lying on the eastern bank of the river. About a third of the estate consists of moderately sloping land which rises eastward from the river bank, whilst the majority of it is made up of quite extreme slopes which rise from about 50 to 300m in the space of less than a mile.

Two soil groups correspond to this change in steepness of slope. The gentler, lower reaches are dominated by soils of the Wallasea 1 association. These are gley alluvial soils which suffer heavily from waterlogging. Even grass is difficult to grow here because of reed and rush infestations. On the steeper slopes soils of the Eardiston 2 complex hold sway. These soils are
naturally acidic, but can support grass cultivation with just occasional outbreaks of bracken growth.

Fish too may well have been important to the people who lived off this land; the Usk is a reasonably sized river and is relatively well endowed with fish along its length. Given the possibility of fishing and grass growth (albeit of low quality) here it seems that a classification of moderate/poor is reasonable.

**LLANARTH:**

Charter (Date): LL121 (c. 600).

Held by: Llandaff.

The land: This large estate of around 1560 acres is bounded in the south by the Clawdd Brook and is crossed by a number of channels which flow into it. This area is also fairly evenly covered by a number of wells and springs, especially following what appears to be a clear spring line, running broadly north/south through the western half of the estate. The angle of the south facing slopes which form this estate is not excessive, rising from about 40m in the south to 100m in the north over a distance of around 1½ miles.

Two soils occur in this estate. Along the lower reaches of the estate, flanking the Clawdd Brook lie soils of the Lugwardine association. These soils, whilst naturally fertile, are subject to both winter and spring flooding. These soils also have a tendency to become acidic. As a result it is difficult to grow crops successfully on these soils, though grass and woodland would fair better, albeit only moderately. The remainder of the estate, about three quarters of the whole, is dominated by soils of the Conway association. This association consists of soils quite susceptible to waterlogging though they tend to be well drained by streams and rivers as in this case. Summer waterlogging is, however, still possible. This is a regime fairly hostile to crop growth and poaching can even effect grass yields. Woodland is referred to in the charter text, lying in the west of the estate. Overall the quality of this estate can only be regarded as poor.
**LLANCILLO:**

Charter (Date): LL160 (c. 620).

Held by: Llandaff.


The land: This estate covering approximately 1380 acres is large bounded by rivers and streams, the most significant of which is the River Monnow, which describes the southern border of the estate. The slopes here are moderate, rising from about 80m in the south east to 210m in the extreme north west, towards the foot hills of the Black Mountains.

Two soil regimes are found in this estate: the Lugwardine and the Bromyard associations. The Lugwardine soils occur in a thin band following the flood plain of the River Monnow in the south. This soil group is dominated by silty alluvial soils, which, whilst they have a slight tendency to become acidic, are naturally fertile and are able to support reasonable yields of both grass and crops, though flooding greatly limit the possibility of crop growth.

The remainder of the estate is founded upon soils of the Bromyard association. These soils, although consisting of well drained silts, are still very susceptible to waterlogging, especially under crops. These soils have a tendency to be acidic too. Grass, then, is by far the more suitable use for these soils, particularly on areas of greater slope, though even grass will only produce a moderate yield under these conditions.

The overall assessment of this estate is therefore one of only moderate/poor potential. LL160 refers in its boundary clause to a wood which one ought to pass through on the eastern boundary of the estate. The extent of the wood is of course unknown, but given the quality of the soil wood land may well have been a economical use of the areas resources.

**LLANFAENOR:**

Charter (Date): LL210a (c. 780).

Held by: Llandaff.


The land: The Llanfaenor estate is approximately 700 acres in size and is almost completely
surrounded by water courses. It forms an island between the Croft Hir Brook and the Llýmon Brook and reaches a height of about 170m. Its slopes, whilst not dramatically so, are a little on the steep side in the west and are compounded in the east by a couple of smaller valleys formed by streams running into the Croft Hir Brook in the east.

The entire area is covered by soils of the Bromyard association, which consist of moderately permeable brown earths. These soils have a slight tendency towards waterlogging, and the six wells/springs that lie wholly within the bounds of the estate would suggest that the ground water level may indeed be high here. However, these springs and wells are relatively well served by natural run off channels which may effectively remove a good deal of the excess water.

Given the slope of the land and its possible wetness the most suitable land use would have to be grass land, to which the land is very well suited. However, where slope is less there is no serious obstacle to growing wheat or barley, and therefore this estate can be classified as moderate/good.

LLANTILIO PERTHOLEY:
Charter (Date): LL122 (c. 600).
Held by: Llandaff.

The land: This estate comprises some 1610 acres and lies within a large and fairly steep sided river valley, the river being the Gavenny, that reaches up to mountain peaks to the east and west. The land to the west of the river rises steeply to a height of over 370m and is covered by soils of the Eardiston 2 series, which on these kinds of slopes is particularly acidic and it is likely that this area could only have supported either forestry or heath. Some grass for rough grazing may have been possible on the lower slopes.

In the east the land again rises steeply to a similar height, but here the soils (those of the Milford series) are of much better quality and where slope is not an obstacle crops can grow without any difficulty. Slope, however, is a problem and only a relatively small area can have been suitable for crop growth on these soils.

Lastly, the alluvial plane is covered by soils of the Lugwardine association. These soils are relatively good soils suited to all round use, where not too wet, but with a slight tendency to become acidic.
LL122 mentions a wood in the south west of the area, through which the bounds pass. It is, however, impossible to suggest the extent of such a feature.

Despite being able to support some crops, this estate is markedly dominated by land of quite poor quality and as such must be regarded as moderate/poor in quality.

**PART OF MAUGERSBURY:**

Charter (Date): K723 (1016).

Held by: Evesham.

Bounds: G166-9.

The land: This small estate consists of around 285 acres of land which lies on either side of the Roman road which now links Stow-on-the-Wold and Cirencester. The land here is particularly level, with topography nowhere limiting agricultural practice. The estate is bounded in the west by the River Dikler, a small tributary of the Windrush.

Along this small river a thin band of soils belonging to the Thames association may be found. These soils are relatively well drained and are characteristically good both for crops, though grass may suffer from poaching. These soils make up about one fifth of the total area of the estate. The bulk of the estate is covered by soils of the Denchworth group. These soils are rather cleyey and can suffer from frequent waterlogging. However, with a little drainage these soils can provide moderate yields of both crops and grass. K723 would seem to imply that such drainage measures may well have been implemented with two dykes referred to in the charter bounds, which intentionally or not are likely to have had a beneficial effect on the ground water regime. The overall potential of this estate, then, would appear to be moderate/good.

Domesday: It is recorded that St. Mary's Church of Evesham holds Maugersbury and that before 1066 it consisted of 8 hides and a ninth lying near St. Edward's Church (now within the confines of Stow-on-the-Wold). Domesday records that the whole estate is exempt from tax, thus no inventory is given.

The church: Though of substantially later fabric 2 arcades and adjoining portions of clerestory can be seen to be of twelfth century origins (VCH, Worcs. iii, 472).
NOTGROVE:

Charter (Date): B165/K90 (743).

Held by: Originally Osred, falling to Worcester.

Bounds: G177-181.

The land: This estate is simply huge by comparison with the others found in this survey, covering an area of around 4420 acres. Despite its size this area is fairly uniform both in soil type and topography. The land undulates between 150 and 250m throughout this area, though by far the majority lies between 190 and 230m- a difference of only 40m in an area some 4 miles across and 3 miles north to south! The east of the estate is bounded by the River Windrush and a group of springs and small channels occur in the south west of the area and again in the north of the estate. Other than these this area is devoid of obvious water sources.

Two soil groups are found within the bounds of this unit: the Evesham 1 and the Evesham 1 associations. The Evesham 1 soils occur over an area of 500 acres or so in the west of the estate. These soils tend to be slowly permeable and thus frequently waterlogged, being quite suitable for grass but poor for crops. The remainder of the estate (some 3920 acres), though, is covered by the very good Elmton 1 soil association. These soils, mainly shallow rendzinas, are well drained, permeable and easily workable. This area would be ideal for either mixed farming or specialization and make the classification of the estate overall one of good quality.

OVERBURY AND CONDERTON:

Charter (Date): B541/K308 (875).

Held by: Worcester.

The land: This large estate of some 1835 acres reaches northwards from the Carrant Brook, being also bounded in the south west and east by tributaries of this brook. The land slopes very gently northwards for a little over a mile, before becoming more steeply pitched, rising from 80 to 190m in the ½ miles. The lower portion of this rise is stepper than that to the north and is marked by a cluster of springs all of which are associated with small run off channels.

A thin band along the Carrant Brook and a larger band along the steeper portion of the rise are associated with soils of the Evesham 2 group. These soils are slowly permeable and therefore seasonally waterlogged, being only suited to grass cultivation and then giving only low
yields. The large area of almost level ground to the south of the rise is covered by soils of the Badsey 1 association. These soils are fine and loamy soils which are of moderate quality for crop growth but are draughty for grass. Lastly, to the north of the central ascent lie soils of the Elmton 1 association. These are good soils consisting of shallow rendzinas, which are both well drained and permeable. Both crops and grass will have quite good yields, though slope may well inhibit crop cultivation. This later group of soils, however, covers only a fraction of the overall area, which is thus classified as moderate/poor.

A few landscape features are referred to in the text of the boundary clause. A swamp is mentioned adjacent to the Carrant Brook in the western corner. A horse fold is referred to at the to of the steep rise in the west, whilst in the east a wood is described which appears to correspond with the steep rise. Lastly the tributary which marks the lower part of the eastern boundary is called the hwate broc (wheat brook), suggesting that crops were indeed grown in this district.

Domesday: Domesday records that St. Mary's, Worcester held Overbury with Pendock. Conderton is not mentioned and may well lie within the Overbury holding. The size of the whole is not given and we are told that 6 hides pay tax. Information is given for these 6 hides. 3 ploughs are held in lordship, 11 ploughs by 15 villagers and 7 smallholders, and a final plough by a priest who has $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. This makes a total of 15 ploughs over 6, possibly 6½ hides of land. The record also states that there are 6 male and 2 female slaves. A meadow of 10 acres is referred to along with a piece of woodland 1 league long and wide. The value of this land before 1066 was 6 pounds and this has not been changed.

ROCKFIELD:

Charter (Date): LL246 (c. 1020).

Held by: Llandaff.

The land: Rockfield is an extremely small estate, consisting of only around 65 acres in all. It lies on the western bank of the Monnow at a point where a number of streams converge to flow into the river. The land rises quite steeply in the north west up to a height of between 60 and 70m and is cut by a number of the above mentioned streams which carve their own minor valleys.

The soils here are those of the Bromyard association, which under the best conditions are suited to mixed farming, but can become acidic under wet conditions. It would appear then that this estate was most suited to pastoral or woodland over most of its area. The river Monnow in
this area is not particularly wide or deep and I think unlikely to have been an especially rich
source of fish. LL246 refers to a settlement (Tre Glyiud) which appears to refer to a settlement
of some kind in a woodland clearing, which occurs in the south east of the estate, and
apparently on land far from level (broadly in the same location as a modern day 'Swiss Cottage',
indicated on the OS map for the area). It seems that despite the trend for smaller estates to be
relatively rich in potential, this estate can only be given a moderate/poor classification.

**ST. MAUGHAN'S:**

Charter (Date): LL74 (860).

Held by: Llandaff.

The estate of St. Maughans covers an area of approximately 520 acres. The land
gently descends from around 150m in the west to about 40m in the east where the estate
approaches, but does not reach, the River Monnow. The estate is largely bounded by streams
and has one major stream flowing well within its bounds in the northern half of the estate.

The soils here are those of the Bromyard association, which under the best conditions are
suited to mixed farming. The slope of this area is not a problem in terms of land use and it does
not appear that wetness is a problem either; the land being of intermediate altitude and
apparently well drained. The soils have a tendency to be slightly acidic for crops being regarded
as moderate for crops without treatment and good for pastoral uses. Thus the estate as a whole
is here classified as moderate/good.

LL74 refers to a feature called hendref in the south of the region. This may be translated as
'old settlement' and it is possible that by the time of this charter (the mid-ninth century) this
settlement was no longer in use? Similarly a castle is referred to in the same location as what
has become Newcastle, though the exact nature and date of this fortified feature is unclear.

**TINTERN:**

Charter (Date): LL209 (c. 765).

Held by: Llandaff.

The Tintern estate is small, covering about 200 acres, and lies on the western
bank of the River Wye. The estate with the exception of two small areas, one to the east along
the river bank and the other in the south west corner of the estate, consists of extremely steep
slopes rising from 10m to 120m altitude in only about 70m.

The soils here are of the Eardiston 1 association, a relatively good all round soil, but one
which is often associated with these sorts of slope. Only forestry can be seen to have
dominated this estate, fortunately this soil is noted for the high yields of timber, with the
exception of oak, that it can produce. On the two small level areas referred to above either
crops or grass would have been suitable, but given the size of the area (both measured in tens
of metres) grass for cattle seems a little unlikely, unless they could also have grazed outside of
the area. Fishing will also have been possible and, given the well known richness of the Wye,
highly productive. This is a difficult estate to assess in terms of overall quality, but I think a
grade of moderate/good is not too unreasonable (if you don't mind fish three times a day!).

UNDY:

Charter (Date): LL249b (c. 1015).

Held by: Llandaff.

The land: Undy is a small estate of only 250 acres, lying along the northern edge of the
Severn Estuary. The totally level estate lies on the reclaimed soils of the Newchurch 2
association, still better known by their older name as the Wentlloog. This is, of course, assuming
that the reclamation had taken place by this time (c. 1015), which, though I think likely, cannot at
present be proven.

If reclamation has not yet taken place then this area may be taken to be salt marsh. Salt
marsh is useful for salt production and for the rearing of sheep, though it is doubtful whether
sheep numbers were anything but small at this time. If reclamation has taken place then this
area could be suited to both cropping and grass use, with the appropriate drainage that would
accompany such a reclamation.

Regardless of the above, perhaps the most important productive aspect of this estate is its
fishing capacity. Fish weirs along this stretch coast are known from other charters and in high
numbers too. Bearing in mind this potential for fishing it seems reasonable to classify the estate
at Undy as moderate/good.
WOODCHESTER:

Charter (Date): B164/K89 (741); B547/K1073 (896).

Held by: Worcester.


The land: This 1155 acre estate consists of land of fairly moderate slope divided by a winding, steep ridge which rises from around 100 to 200m in less than half a mile. The less sloping land lies to the north-west and east of the estate, with the ridge dominating the southern portion and a central region stretching upwards to the north of the unit. The estate is bounded in the south by what was once a stream, but is now a connected series of large pools. There also appears to be some form of spring line running north/south in the eastern part of the area.

Two soils are found to occur in the area. In the east, and to the east of the ridge, lie soils of the Curtisdien association. These feature as silty, slowly permeable soils with a tendency for seasonal waterlogging. The soils are poorly suited to crop growth on account of their wetness, and lack of nutrients. Grass, however, has potentially high yields in this portion of the estate.

The remainder of the area, including both the ridge and the western plateau, is covered by soils of the Elmton 1 group. These are good soils consisting of shallow rendzinas, which are both well drained and permeable. Both crops and grass will have quite good yields on the more level area in the west, but the ridge is a problem for cultivation. Though it may well be possible to grow grass fairly successfully on this ridge, its steepness is too great for grazing animals other than sheep or goats. However, since the charter text refers to ten different lea features within the bounds it seems reasonable to conclude that this area is fairly extensively wooded and that in all probability it is this land use which dominates the ridge. Given the problem of the ridge in terms of cultivation an overall grade of moderate seems reasonable, despite the small area where truly good conditions exist.

The charter text describes the estate as ruris silvatici (wooded country). Grundy suggests that this is not to be taken to mean that the whole of the estate was wooded, but rather that woodland was simply the dominant land use (Grundy, 1935-6, 271). The truth is, though, that it is impossible to say which idea is correct with any certainty. By 1588 the area was still heavily wooded, with only 15 acres of open field (VCH, Glos. xi, 298).

Domesday: Two records exist for Woodchester, 1 for Blacklow Hundred and another for Longtree Hundred. It would appear that the ecclesiastical estate did not survive until the dawn of the Norman Conquest since we are told that in Blacklow Hundred Britric holds Woodchester from the king, who held it himself before 1066 and for Longtree Hundred Earl Godwin bought it...
from Azor for his wife living at Berkley (after the destruction of that abbey).

No inventory is given for the land in Longtree Hundred, but the record for Blacklow Hundred states that only 1 hide pays tax and proceeds to give the appropriate details. We are told that the 16 villagers and 12 small holders have 16 ploughs, with none held in lordship. In Gloucester there is a burgess who pays 20 horse shoes and there is a mill valued at 10s. The whole is valued at 100s, unchanged from before 1066.
## APPENDIX C

### KEY TO SOIL CODES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>313c</td>
<td>Crwbin</td>
<td>343a</td>
<td>Elmton</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>Sandwich*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>541a</td>
<td>Milford</td>
<td>541b</td>
<td>Bromsgrove</td>
<td>541c</td>
<td>eardiston1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>541d</td>
<td>Eardiston2</td>
<td>541p</td>
<td>Malham2</td>
<td>541q</td>
<td>Waltham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>541w</td>
<td>Newnham*</td>
<td>541z</td>
<td>East Keswick3</td>
<td>541D</td>
<td>Oglethorpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551a</td>
<td>Bridgenorth</td>
<td>561b</td>
<td>Teme</td>
<td>561d</td>
<td>Lugwardine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>571a</td>
<td>Ston Easton</td>
<td>571b</td>
<td>Bromyard</td>
<td>571q</td>
<td>Escrick2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>572d</td>
<td>Whimple1*</td>
<td>572h</td>
<td>Oxpasture</td>
<td>631b</td>
<td>Delamere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>631e</td>
<td>Goldstone</td>
<td>711n</td>
<td>Clifton</td>
<td>712b</td>
<td>Denchworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>811b</td>
<td>Conway</td>
<td>813b</td>
<td>Fladbury1</td>
<td>813f</td>
<td>Wallasea1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soils marked * demonstrate greater soil variation than average.