

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Reconstructing the upland landscapes of medieval Wales

Delivered at the 162nd Annual Summer Meeting held in Lampeter in July 2015

By DAVID AUSTIN¹

The President for 2015–16 based his inaugural address on work he has been conducting in the landscape archaeologies of England and Wales during his career. This places special emphasis on the upland, but contains observations about the wider roles that these kinds of study have played in understanding some of the historical narratives of social and political development in Europe. This concludes with the outlines of a case study in the parish of Cellan, Ceredigion.

I am deeply honoured to be borrowing the title of President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association for this year and I would like to thank Professor Manning for the splendid work he has done in this role as my predecessor. I will be wanting to talk, however solipsistic that might seem, about my path to becoming what I feel is my best descriptor, a landscape archaeologist. I am doing this not because I want to produce an *apologia pro vita mea*, but rather because the route I have taken explains my sub-discipline and what it might contribute in Wales today. In particular I shall want to focus on one project which intermittently has lasted almost the whole length of my career in Wales: a study of the historic landscape of Cellan Parish, near Lampeter in Ceredigion.

It is absolutely appropriate that I should first acknowledge in this company the hugely important role of antiquarianism, sometimes overlooked in this modern professional world of archaeology, a world which has sprung into existence during my lifetime. This has a particularly strong place in the genealogy of landscape archaeology because of its celebration of the local and because of its emphasis on an holistic understanding of the world we inhabit with all its connectivity between the cultural and the natural. Scholars like Lhuyd and Pennant were the giants on whose shoulders we stand. The honourable recording of phenomena and all forms of enquiry into our environment are part of the vital legacy of the Cambrians and long may it continue with that quiet voice of authority and integrity to be found in the pages of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.

This is where I began, not as an antiquarian per se, but as one interested in excavation and how sites were situated in their particular piece of the world. I began too as a medievalist drawn in by my training in early languages and palaeography. When I began, the archaeologists looking at medieval settlements sites and their landscapes, like Colin Bowen (1961), Peter Fowler (1972 and 1974), Charles Thomas (1958 and 1985), Chris Taylor (e.g. RCHME 1970), David Hall (1981), Mick Aston and Trevor Rowley (1974), were working not only in academic departments but in the Ministry of Works or the Royal Commission and just as often in extramural departments running courses which took people out into their local countryside to read the historical narratives which lay within them. This too is where I cut my teeth as teacher and researcher, in the landscapes of the north-east of England, plodding the ploughed fields with extramural classes.

At the same time historians, like Hoskins (1959) and Finberg (and Skipp 1967), were refining local history into an academic sub-discipline, one cognate with their similar foundation of agrarian history with

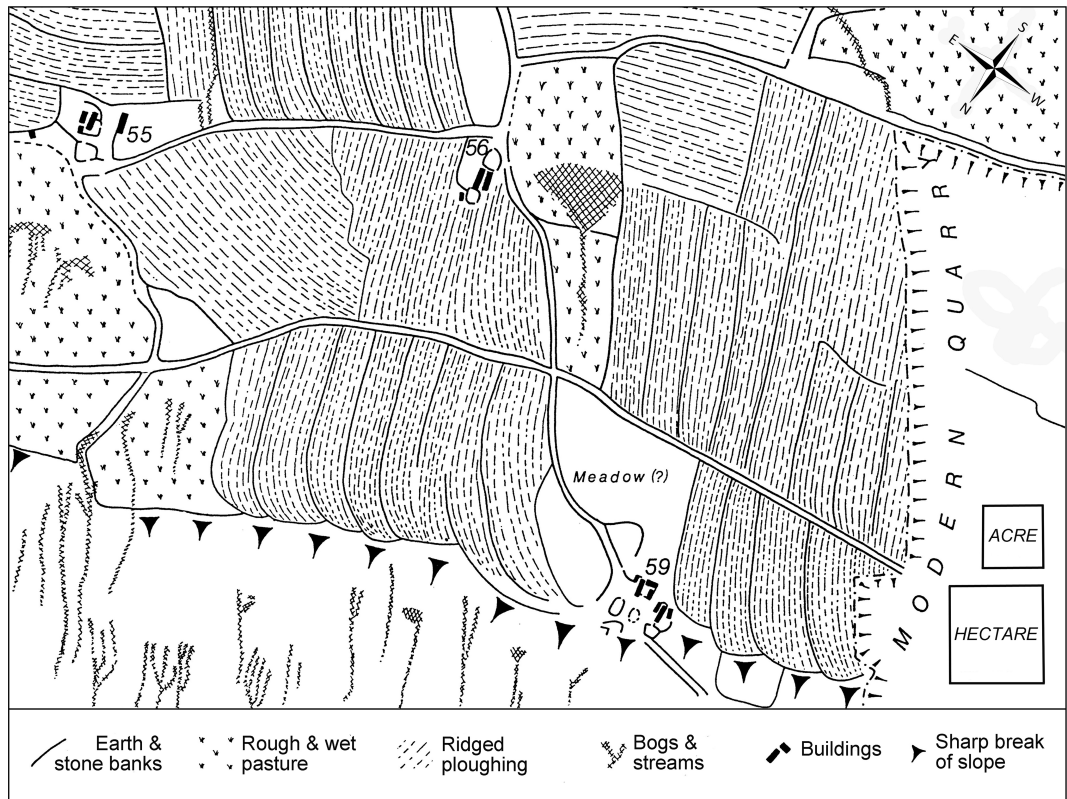


Fig. 1. Part of the earthwork complex in Okehampton Park, Devon (after Austin and Thomas 1989).

other scholars such as Joan Thirsk. Both, in a sense, had been grown out of the antiquarians' perception of the land around them. They built in particular, on the robust foundations of the Victoria County Histories which began to be laid down just a little earlier than their equivalent in the material world, the county inventory volumes of the Royal Commissions on Ancient Monuments. Where these had been done, as in County Durham where I began, the landscape archaeologist, especially those working in historic periods like me, had a kick-start. How disturbing then for me to find that, when I arrived in Wales in 1976, only one half of this pairing was available here and even then an inventory for Cardiganshire had not been produced, or was even intended, by the Commission. It was precisely at this moment, however, that Don Benson, together with our present secretary, Heather James, then Don's deputy, began to construct the Dyfed catalogue of archaeological sites which has become, during the length of my career, through the advances in technology, those vital tools, *Archwilio* and *Coflein*. That these have not been formulated within landscape contexts and are still largely point specific, may be a function of resource, capacity and commercial use, rather than talent. Even the more synthetic work of overview, however, is still largely point orientated in its mapping and site specific in its empirical work of survey and excavation, as for example, the products of the Upland Survey (Browne and Hughes 2003) or the Cadw appraisal of deserted rural settlements (Roberts 2006). On the other hand there are some, more holistic approaches such as those by Bob Silvester in his studies of Powys historic landscapes (e.g. Silvester 2001) and Della Hooke in the Conwy valley (Hooke 1997).

Another essential component of that English landscape training for me were other historians, notably social and economic historians like Paul Harvey (1965), Rodney Hilton (1966), Cicely Howell (1983), Maurice Beresford (1954) and Chris Dyer (1980), who were conducting in-depth studies of individual settlements, estates or other discrete topographical areas often drawing on the vast amounts of medieval monastic documents which have survived, sadly more in England than Wales it has to be said. Many of these were acutely aware that archaeology and the morphology of the landscape itself have much to contribute, especially when considering the world inhabited and used by the 'faire felde full of folk' as Langland described it in *Piers Plowman*. It is indeed no accident that these historians, especially Hilton and Beresford, influenced the efforts of that first generation of archaeologists surveying and digging peasant and manorial sites, notably John Hurst with his seminal work on the village of Wharram Percy on the Yorkshire Wolds (Hurst 1956 and 1984), work which has continued to great effect and with important debate (e.g. Everson and Stocker 2012).

As a medievalist, I had also to acknowledge the foundations laid by key institutional historians of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century such as Maitland (1897), Round (1895), Vinogradoff (1905), Seebohm (1892 and 1897) and Jolliffe (1926 and 1937). They were grappling with, and fiercely debating, the structures and origins of English political society which was then perceived to be the organisational perfection we were delivering to the world as our imperial gift. These institutions included the English village and manor with overlays from the feudal introduced by the Normans. A central debate here was the extent to which the village and manor were introduced into our landscape by the essentially free and democratic Anglo-Saxon invaders described by Bede or had elements of an earlier Roman or even 'Celtic' legacy. The opinion sharply divided between those, the Germanists like Maitland, who saw all our institutions springing essentially from the free Germans as an act of discontinuity with all that had gone before and those, the Celticists like Seebohm and Jolliffe, who saw great continuity both from the Roman *latifundia* and civil administration and from the British social structures which were delineated in the Welsh and Irish law codes, albeit in their late redacted forms. It was here, before I had even come to Wales that I first encountered the debate on the Welsh Law Codes and their interpretation which has, I feel, so bedevilled and hampered the attempts to reconstruct real historic landscapes in the Principality.

A final strand which contributed to my making were historical geographers, like Harry Thorpe (1961), Pierre Flatrès (1957), Glanville Jones (1965), and my mentor Brian Roberts (1972 and 1977) who again took us to the local, albeit by the positivist construction and application of models. Their core methodology was the taxonomy of settlement shape and form (morphology) as discovered through early maps and the increasing number of surveys of deserted medieval villages which confirmed that the layouts to be found on even the nineteenth-century maps were those of at least the later middle ages. Even if at times I thought the models too rigid or derived from evidence that was too late, I did find the classificatory terminologies it created extremely, if deceptively at times, useful.

One such model which I carried with me into Wales was Glanville Jones' multiple estate, a concept derived from the mapping of the socio-economic landscapes seemingly explicated so clearly in the early fourteenth-century extents of north Wales ordered by the English bureaucracy after the Wars of Independence (Jones 1972). This built, as I later found, on a huge scholarship by Jones Pierce (e.g. 1951) and others which strongly suggested that large parts of the settlement patterns of *Pura Wallia* were, and still remain, essentially 'Celtic' in origin unaffected by the German intrusions of the perfidious Anglo-Saxons and the damnable Anglo-Normans. This model Glanville Jones so persuasively argued was to be found also as a substructure of the great royal and baronial estates of the north of England laid out in Domesday Book (Jones 1976). In this and earlier documents, Glanville argued, it was possible to trace the same underlying structures of spatial and social organisation as those described in the Welsh Law Codes. In England they were known as 'shires' and were clearly identifiable as pre-manorial and pre-village, in

places as far apart as Burghshire centred on Knaresborough in Yorkshire and Mallingshire in Kent centred on South Malling. Geoffrey Barrow found them in Scotland as well (Barrow 1973). The framework of the early medieval world looked substantially Celtic, even ‘Welsh’, and persisted through into the society and institutions being reorganised by the state-forming Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings. It was perceived to be a triumph of continuity!

This was all a product of grand positivist theory. I used it in my study of the great Balliol caput and fortress at Barnard Castle in Teesdale whose landscape context was a large early estate stretching from the Tees lowlands high into the Pennines with a clear upland and lowland divide (Austin 2007). The model, of course, was far too simplified, even simplistic, and as soon as I started to look at the background to all this I quickly realised that this was actually very complex, hugely problematic (Hadley 1996) and an over-reduction of long scholarship in Wales, especially on the law codes themselves. This model, however, became linked very quickly with the realisation brought by the morphological work of Brian Roberts, so brilliantly explicated through his partnership with Stuart Wrathmell, that the village was a later and often planned addition to the array of settlement forms in the English landscape (Roberts 1987; Roberts and Wrathmell 2000).

We digging archaeologists were also discovering that the villages with their compact, ‘nucleated’ forms began predominantly in the later ninth to tenth centuries in the heartlands of the English East Midlands with increasing additions in the following three centuries in other parts of England. If there were antecedents underneath them they were smaller, more dispersed and related to landscape forms which had more comparison with later prehistory than the later medieval. Notably we could tie the creation of the village very closely to the laying out of the open fields with their strips and ridge and furrow. This was all coterminous too with what historians were identifying as the appearance of the manor in its full medieval form. It was also becoming clear that the typical village, so much an icon of English historical identity, was actually, in many parts of the country, the exception rather than the rule, and that the dispersed farm and small hamlet, set within a complex array of enclosed fields and common pastures was the norm. This was first set down cogently by Chris Taylor in his *Village and Farmstead* (1983) and thus the Germanist narrative, so jingoistically set down by Hoskins in *The Making of the English Landscape* in 1955 and the Orwins in their 1938 study of the *Open Fields*, was completely overthrown.

The village landscape and the manor to be found in all those medieval later documents were not the product of Anglo-Saxon invasion, but rather were part of a huge change in Western Europe happening during, and in the aftermath of, the Carolingian Empire which included not just the countryside but towns, organised trade and the emergence of the early feudal states. What was also implied was something that Harald Uhlig, a German historical and economic geographer, proposed long before this (Uhlig 1961). He had already argued that in Northern Europe the basic form of settlement in place from the Bronze Age onwards was the dispersed farm and hamlet with tribal hierarchies expressed in the landscape through elite and collective locations such as the hillfort. Onto this was grafted all that came later, during, as we now know, the phase of state formation from the eighth century onwards, notably the village and the town with the earlier patterns still showing through as the many farms, hamlets and isolated manorial centres to be found even today dominating our landscapes. Arguably it is the ‘normal’ way for people to live in the countryside and exploit the natural resources of Northern Europe.

It was this narrative as it was emerging that I carried into the landscapes of Central Wales when I arrived at Lampeter in 1976. I was also beginning to develop what became eventually one of the central themes of my academic life, the landscapes of the upland. This had begun in the Pennines of north-eastern England, and acquired not only experience in Wales, but in the south-west in Devon and Cornwall and in the south-east of France in the Alpes-Maritimes. Both in the Pennines and on Bodmin Moor and Dartmoor, I was working with deserted settlements which had been created largely in the twelfth and early thirteenth

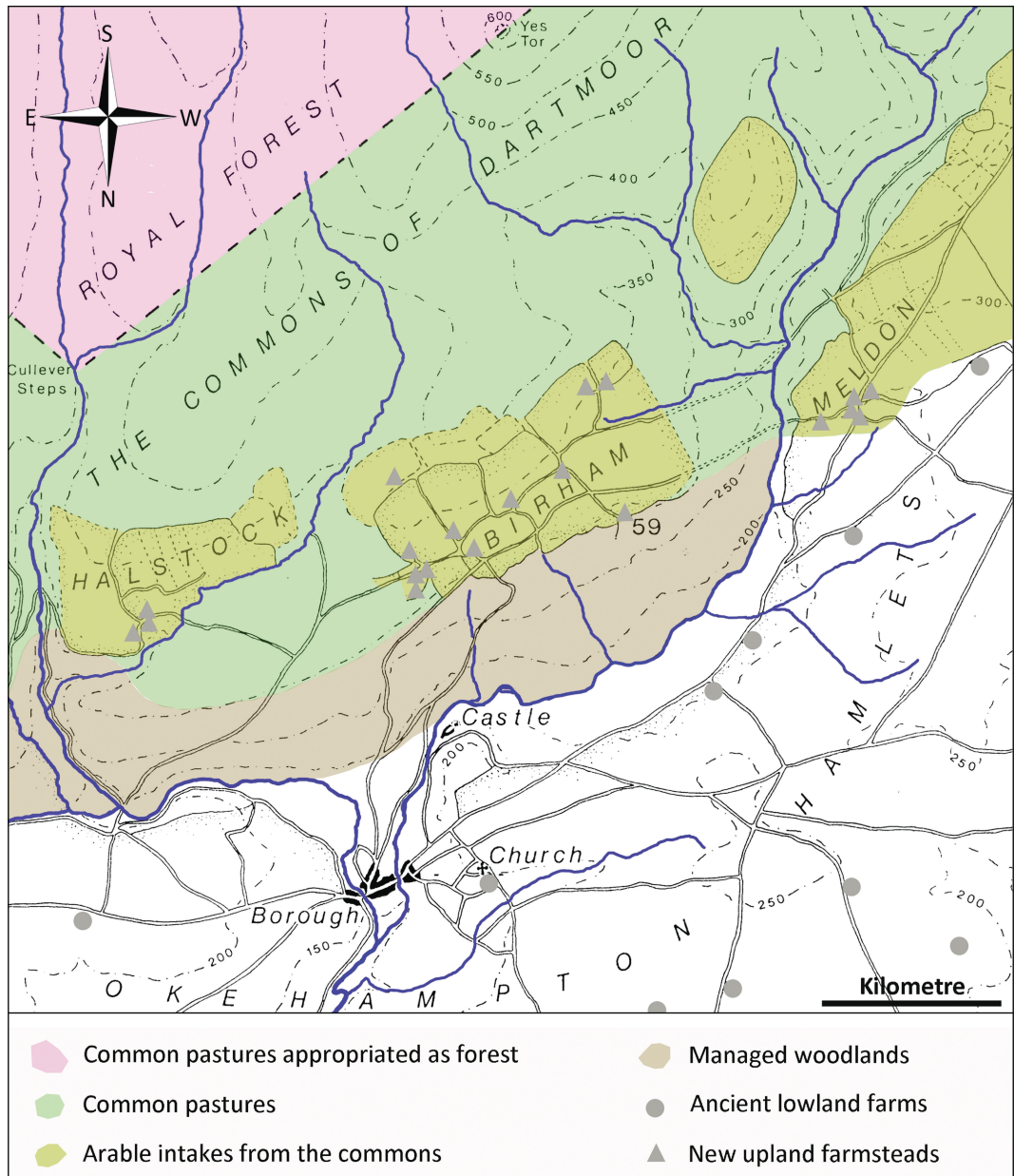


Fig. 2. Holistic reconstruction of the later twelfth- and thirteenth-century landscape of Okehampton, Devon (after Austin and Thomas 1989).

centuries and abandoned by the fifteenth and sixteenth. They lay above the 900-foot contour and in form they were dispersed farms or small hamlets set in quite extensive field systems. As such they represented the high tide of settlement expansion which went with the growth of both populations and economies in

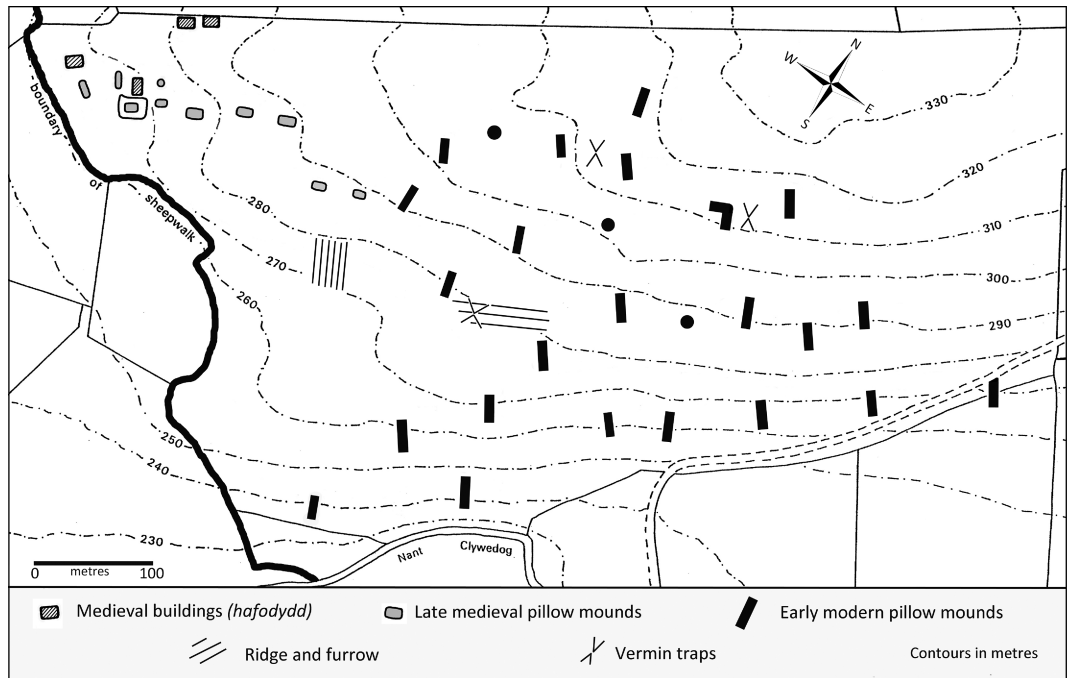


Fig. 3. Survey of the features on Bryn Cysegrfan, Llanfair Clydogau, Ceredigion.

this post-Carolingian period. In this same period, and with the same drivers, came the tightly compacted *villages perchés* I was studying in the Pré-Alpes north of Nice (Austin *et al.* 2013).

My understanding of the uplands in England was at first heavily derived from the seminal work of Catherine Linehan (1966) and Guy Beresford (1979) on Dartmoor. Very quickly, however, I had to reject the notion that these granite uplands were being filled with villages as such, but rather that the Dartmoor margins accumulated dispersed farms, sometimes in a planned format, cultivating land over 1000 feet above sea level during the high medieval climatic optimum. This was encroachment onto the upland with replication of the lowland agrarian economies and societies through the creation of self-sustaining productive farm units. There were substantial buildings surrounded by blocks of fields covered by ridge and furrow interconnected with trackways which also gave access onto the remaining pastoral resources of the high moor. These farms were also locked into the lowland economies including the markets which were beginning to mass-produce commodities such as the pottery which we found in huge abundance around the excavated farm complexes. Because of their early abandonment in the great changes of the later Middle Ages and early modernity these sites existed as prominent earthworks, one of which I studied and excavated in the late 1970s and early 1980s: Okehampton Park on the northern edge of Dartmoor (Fig. 1).

I was able, through the extensive archaeological remains and the early documents to reconstruct a landscape in its entirety (Fig. 2), albeit some elements more speculatively than others. This is the holistic approach I have sought to achieve for landscape and which told me that we cannot explain the upland past without understanding its adjacent lowlands too. This sense of the holism of landscape comes essentially from the very root of our work in western culture, the painterly tradition of representing the appearance of the world which came to life particularly in the Renaissance. Within this tradition the faithful and accurate

reconstruction of what was seen was an important tool in communicating the new and the discovered. The responsibility of the graphic artist, whether as painter or map-maker, was to represent everything that could be seen, a whole world. In the same way I feel that we should attempt to represent the whole of the medieval world, in my case through maps, even though the empirical evidence is often hard to find and we may have to speculate rather more than some colleagues might like to accept, as I have done in Figure 2.

We must also recognise, as we do in the interpretation of landscape painting (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988), that the representation is burdened by our own perceptions influenced by modernity. Other pathways taken by artists using landscape as a form of communicating human values or relationships with the metaphysical or sources of emotion also show us that any comprehension of landscape, even the empirically scientific, is loaded with our own attitudes and values. Hence, for example, note how I (unconsciously to begin with) placed north to the bottom of the map in the publication of the Okehampton findings. I now realise this was because I was viewing the landscape from the bottom up as if looking up towards the moor from the valley floor. This is a modern perception albeit one which perhaps expresses a long-term cultural relationship with upland. It is a recognition too that, to understand the landscape we must also learn to see it as the people of the past would have done. This for me is an essential part of the history of how people lived in these environments. In this, the primary scale of resolution is the community, the parish, the world within which people would habitually work and operate in a traditional society: the familiar. Also, as it is for the painter, there is no distinction to be made in landscape between what is cultural and what is natural. In our world, for a few thousand years, vegetation has grown where we decide it should and we live only where the elements permit. So in our work as landscape historians and archaeologists we must depict and represent everything wherever and however we can win the evidence. All of this is a theorised position which I and Julian Thomas explored in a re-evaluation of the Okehampton Park material (Austin and Thomas 1990), an approach largely shunned by most of my peers working in this field (O’Keeffe 2012, 70).

In the case of the remains in Okehampton Park the community for me, on my representational maps, was the parish of Okehampton. The edge of Dartmoor was part of this, and the expansion onto its ancient commons, a space used as a memorial right by the whole of Devon as a destination for transhumant herds and flocks for generations, was planned to be a bid to extend the productive capacity of lord and peasant alike within this community. At the same time a borough, Okehampton itself, was founded to be a centre for administration, specialist production and commerce in an increasingly complex and organised feudal society. All this was laid down, however, on a lowland landscape of dispersed farms with small clusters of settlement here and there, called, in Domesday Book, Okehampton Hamlets, whose components we can reconstruct from thirteenth-century and later documents. One of the ancient centres of this community was the parish church still out in the open countryside where it had been before the new focus was created as the borough. This was a double-layered landscape with people’s rights and lives lodged in an ancient practice of transhumance beginning to be transformed by the new. In essence, in these uplands such as Dartmoor, I feel that, under the pressure of new economies and social order, communities, guided by their lords, expanded onto the upland pastures, replicating the way their families and ancestors had lived on the adjacent valley floors.

In Wales things were different, however, and there are no Okehampton Park landscapes here: there were no settlements and field systems of the valley floor type on the upland above 800 feet. Rather we have, as the Uplands Survey has so fully demonstrated and confirmed, dwellings which seemed to exploit the upland pastures, *y mynydd*, as an adjunct of the valley floor farms in a way which could be seen as being abandoned elsewhere in Britain in favour of independent and permanent settlements such as those in Okehampton Park. If there is permanency, or rather the intent to create permanent and independent units, to be found on the *mynydd*, it is later and an aspect of deep social change in Wales from the sixteenth

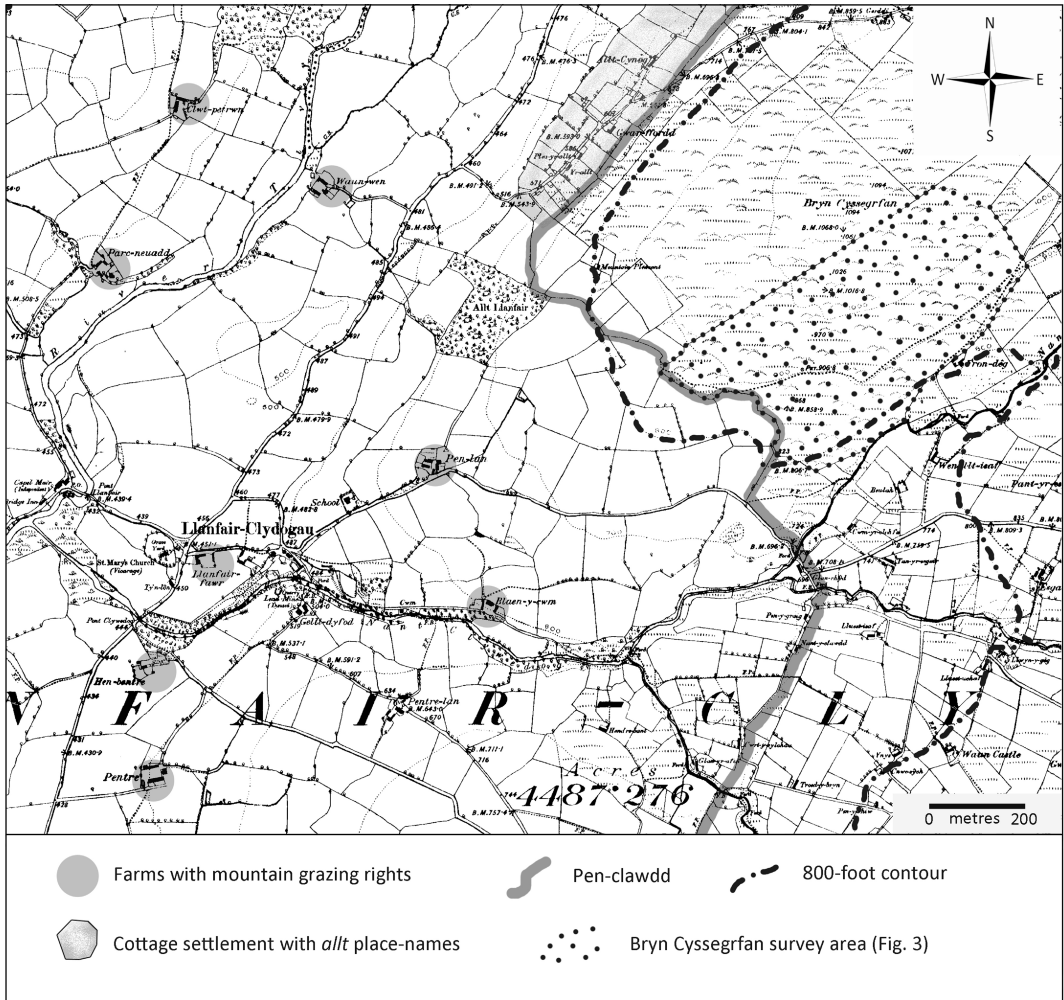


Fig. 4. Llanfair Clydogau: farms with ancient grazing rights on the *mynydd*. Base map 6-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1885. © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited, 2015.

century onwards. I still do not completely understand why, except to believe that there was much more room for expansion still left on the valley floors and that the conservative social system of rural upland Wales was still rooted in extended kins and not in the nuclear families whose rise was a phenomenon, *inter alia*, of the new, post-Carolingian Europe.

I found, I must admit, that it was very difficult to read the Welsh historic landscape of the upland as the documentary source material, the primary analysis like the VCH, the types of site and the chronologies all felt very different. It was even impossible, in the long ploughed-out and largely undocumented landscapes of the valley floors and lower slopes, to find any traces of medieval settlements or field systems. Indeed this is still true (Edwards 1997b, 6–7). In the valleys of upland Wales there is not a single excavated farm which we can say is a site which takes us back into the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries let alone the ninth or tenth. What did they look like? The lowland was utterly opaque both archaeologically and

historically in the middle ages and the upland was stuffed full of *hafodydd* which everyone assumed were medieval but no-one had really proved except in a very few isolated cases, because they were almost utterly bereft of material culture (Fox 1939; Butler 1964; and numerous reports in Roberts 2006) and it was all intermingled with a whole lot of early modern things as well. As a new arrival, a blow-in, back in the 1970s all was unfamiliar and my core methodology of reconstructing holistic past landscapes in map form seemed impossible.

Quite early on I did try to find historic landscapes at Bryn Cysegrfan, in the parish of Llanfair Clydogau, just a little way up the Teifi valley from here. It consisted of a very large field on the mountain edge containing the earthworks of four house sites and a bunch of adjacent pillow mounds of two phases with a small number of other features scattered amongst them (Fig. 3).

These were threatened with being ploughed out in a European-funded drainage scheme, and Don Benson asked me to survey and dig them for the Dyfed Archaeological Trust. The buildings were low in any kind of evidence with just four sherds of pottery, no floors and no surviving wall foundations, just as Fox and Butler had experienced. I was finding this at the same time as I was recovering from Okehampton Park 10,000 sherds from a single farmstead, with 150 years of occupation and the remains of great building complexity. While in England the issues of the upland edge required much thought, it did seem, with the *hafod/hendre* explanation of Sayce (1956 and 1957), Davies (1977) and Jones Pierce (1963) that all was sorted out in Wales. In some respects this is still true, and my work on Bryn Cysegrfan seemed to confirm it, the division being represented by the boundary, usually a massive lynchet or *pen-clawdd*, between the unenclosed upland pastures, called sheepwalks on the Tithe Award schedules, and the lowland farms, the most important of which still jealously held the grazing rights on the *mynydd* in 1840. Place-names also clearly indicated the former location of ancient woodland settled by cottages in the early modern era. This I mapped trying to reach towards some kind of holistic view (Fig. 4).

But this was as far as I got. Nevertheless, following this early start in Llanfair I was able, by chance, to work more fully on the parish immediately to the south, Cellan. Here, in the 1980s, as archaeology started to grow at Lampeter, we started a training project, but we chose it not because of any landscape consideration but because it was close to home base and because it had a rather nice hillfort whose interior had not been ploughed out, Caer Cadwgan (Austin *et al.* 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987). There were at that stage four of us on the staff; myself, Rob Young, Barry Burnham and Martin Bell. A little later Rob left and was replaced by Julian Thomas. We divided up the task with Barry, Rob and then Julian undertaking the central job of digging the hillfort while Martin undertook the environmental science and I decided to teach landscape archaeology by looking at the small parish of Cellan itself. In one sense the choice of landscape was straightforward, although, when I began, I had no idea whether it would generate any data I could use. My intention was holistically to reconstruct as much of the historic landscape as I could and going as far back as I could. Well, we flung ourselves at the task by simply collecting everything of historic interest and everything which my training had taught me, so maps, air photographs. The students loved it and we mapped everything that could be mapped. Only slowly did I begin to recognise that there was a lot going on, but the student project ended before I could properly synthesise it. We all passed on to other things, but it never went away and I kept on looking and thinking with an explanation slowly emerging in my mind. Indeed, as I became more theorised, Cellan became a place where I could exercise my mind to reflect on what actually are the key elements of historic Welsh upland landscapes. I have spent the last thirty odd years walking our dog in this landscape and looking. Now I am rather glad that I did not rush to publish the fragments I knew at the end of our project and have waited till now to put some of this into print. Sometimes, too often we rush to judgement and publish.

My account of Cellan is presented as a commentary on a relatively small number of illustrations drawn from the larger study. We can begin with the general topography (Fig. 5) of what is today a relatively small

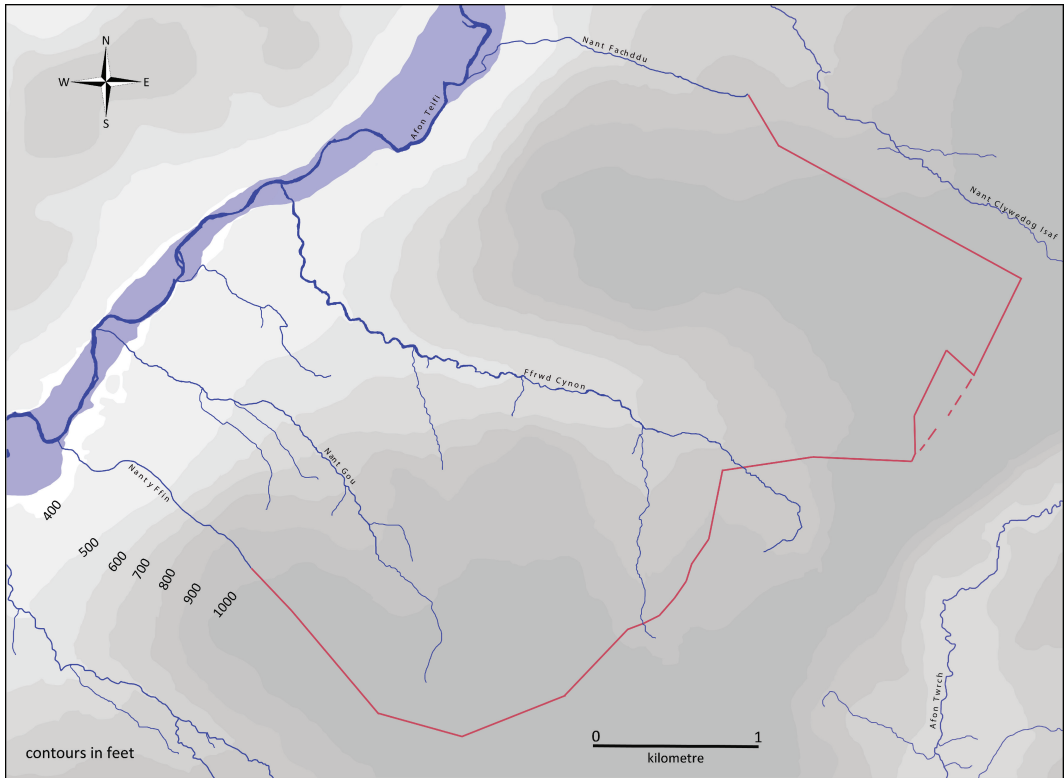


Fig. 5. The parish of Cellan and its topography.

and compact parish lying on the western side of the Cambrian Mountains which are beginning to turn in a more westerly direction as we move south, here rising to over 1300 feet, although the contours on this map stop at 1000 feet. The range serves as a fundamental watershed in the landscapes of Wales with all the water to the west flowing into Cardigan Bay, here via the Teifi, and those in the east flowing into the Bristol Channel, in this case via the Twrch and on into the Tywi. Most parishes in this part of the upland (the majority I think) are so arranged as to lie at right-angles to the mountain (*y mynydd*) and the river. As such it captures a cross-section of the resource types available to communities in these terrains, from the flood plain of the Teifi, through the best lands on the lower slopes and on up to the mountains over 800 feet. The boundaries of the parish are watercourses in the valley and then pass from point to point across the mountain (the red line). At the heart of the parish is the Afon Ffrwd Cynon flowing down a glaciated side valley which creates an embayment, a niche in the Cambrians. The best land for arable lies within this niche and along the lower slopes of the Cambrians above the flood plain.

As with so many upland parishes in Wales we can identify an abundance of burial cairns on the high ground and a number of standing stones. These are often assigned, with little specific evidence, to the second millennium BC which is the time, as pollen diagrams show us, that the land is being extensively cleared and peat begins to form. Unlike other upland parts of Britain settlement sites are virtually invisible and it is hard to avoid the impression that the bulk of the settled farms were already scattered through the optimum lands. Indeed in Cellan we rather exceptionally have evidence of a settlement site of precisely this period found under a later Iron Age enclosure, called *Bryn Maen Caerau*, astride the valley road in

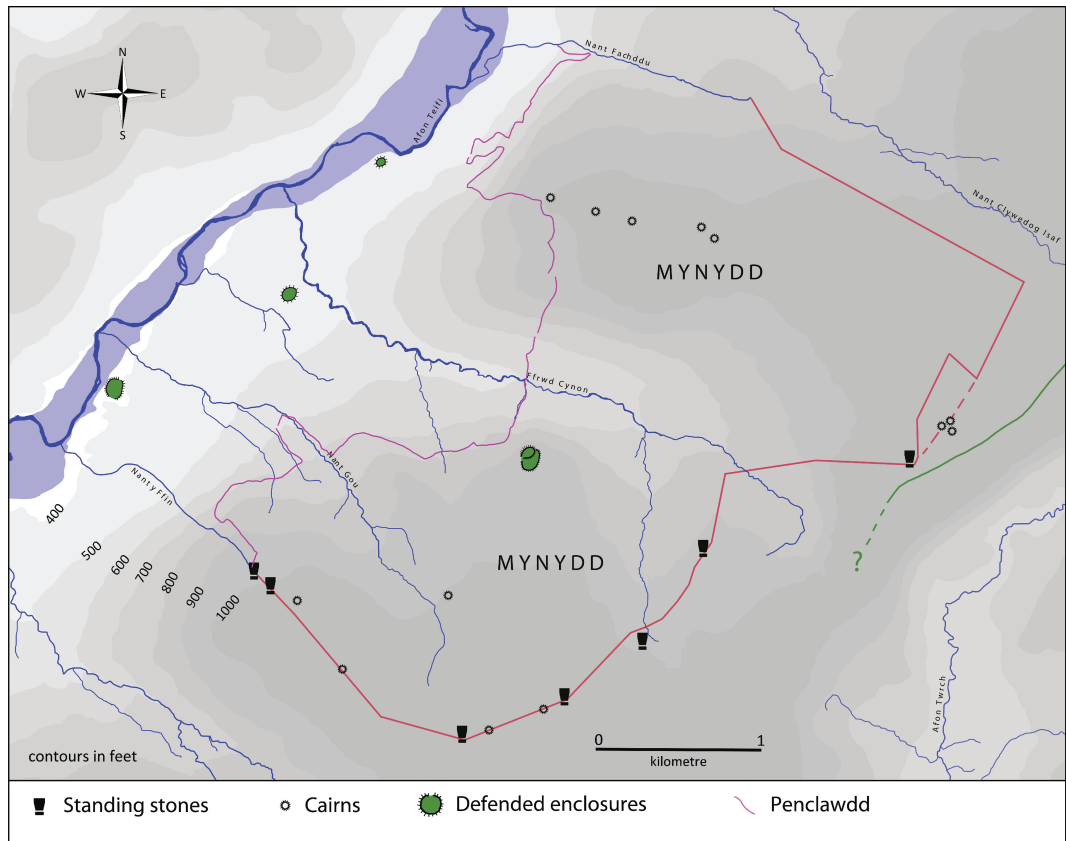


Fig. 6. Cellan and prehistory: marking the bounds.

the western corner of the parish (the westernmost of the green-shaded enclosures on Fig. 6). This was excavated by George Williams in the 1980s (Williams 2001). There are two other embanked enclosures recorded on the lowland, one mentioned in the *Parochialia* returns to Edward Lhuyd (Morris 1909, 86) and relocated in our project, and the other which today contains the church and churchyard at the north end of the parish. What I have also put on this map, but with no certainty of its antiquity is the earliest mapped (1811) version of the *pen-clawdd* which marks the division of the parish into farmland and open upland pastures. We did excavate a stretch of this and it is a lynchet of some depth (up to 2.5 metres) clearly formed over a great length of time, but with no specific dating material. This feels fundamental to any understanding of how the landscape worked and I will always look for it in any landscape study I do in this region.

Above this line are the burial cairns which, as we often find in the Upper Teifi valley, are either on the crest of the ridges which, in this case, embrace the streams flowing off the mountain into the ‘niches’ of good land or they are on the highest skylines to be seen from the lowland below. This too is where we find the standing stones, some massive and clearly prehistoric and some a little less certainly so. The high cairns and the standing stones are often the markers which were still used to set the upland boundaries of the parish of Cellan in the early Vestry Books of the late eighteenth century. One, Hirfaen Gwyddog, is mentioned in the bounds of one of the earliest (c. AD 850) grants of land to be found in the Book

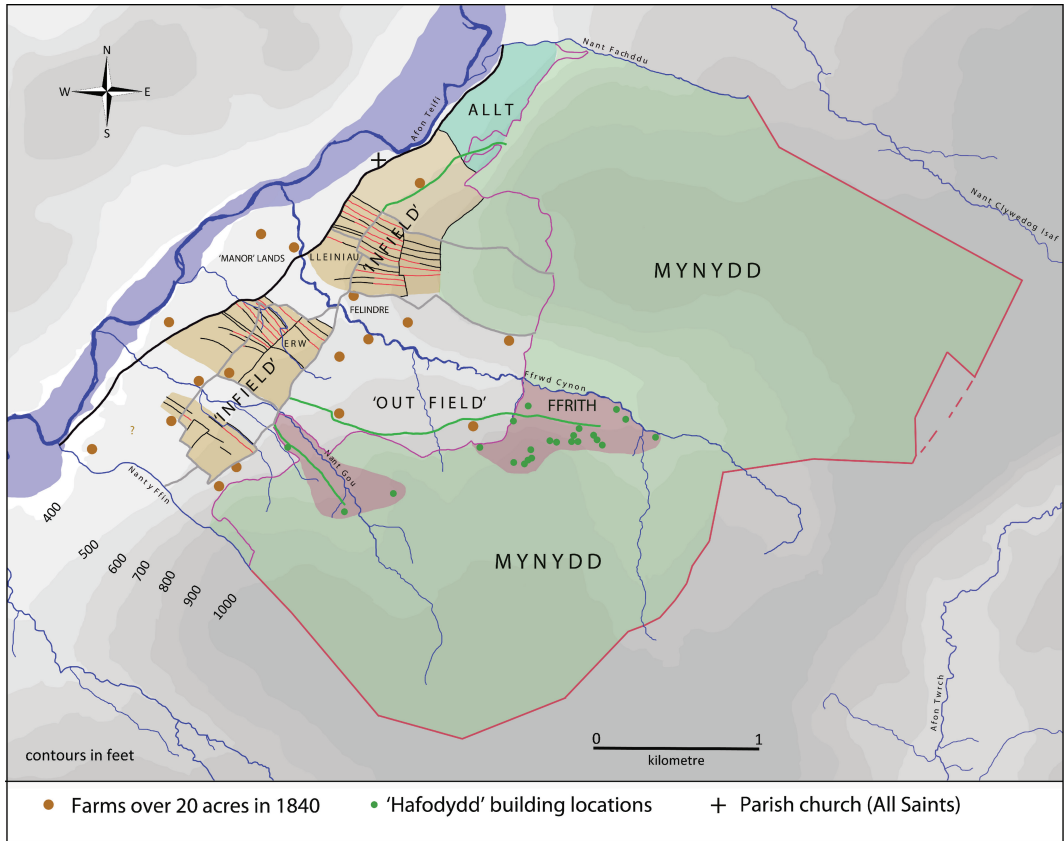


Fig. 7. The later medieval landscape of Cellan parish.

of St Teilo, as discussed by Glanville Jones as part of one of his multiple estates (Jones 1972, 313 and fig. 44). All of this gives me the impression that the bounded territory of the community of Cellan was set very early as the land was taken and opened in middle prehistory. At the heart of this landscape where the lowland met the upland was placed the hillfort of *Caer Cadwgan* controlling the passage to the high pastures and protecting the community's beasts. This is at least Iron Age in date.

The prehistoric map which constitutes Figure 6 is a straightforward record of field monuments, including those still present in the field and those which are lost and only a matter of record from a variety of sources. Apart from the passing of the Roman road *Sarn Helen* across the eastern corner of the parish and the provision of signal stations and practice camps, the next map is a jump forward in time (Fig. 7)

This is a complicated map and represents many years of study and draws on a diversity of evidence which will be published later. Methodologically also it is a blend, familiar to landscape archaeologists, of fieldwork, map regression and documentary research. If pushed, I would say only that this is likely to be a good approximation of how the world of Cellan would have looked to a map-maker of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. However, I do feel that its basic structure is earlier, but I would not hazard a guess as to how early. By the early modern era Cellan was being called a 'manor', but this was a designation that was applied late and perhaps to mimic English terminologies being adopted by local lords as indicators of their shift to newly Anglicised ways and attitudes. Perhaps by the late fifteenth century at least the

lordship land, as it was shown on mid-eighteenth-century maps of the Johns family of Llanfair Clydogau who owned the manor was along the river terrace between the flood plain and the valley road ('Manor lands' on the map). Above the valley road were rectangular blocks of strip fields some of which survive in the field morphology even today. These appear to have existed in three discrete units separated by streams and their flood meadows ('*dolau*'): one to the north where the strips are predominantly called '*lleiniau*' or 'slangs' in English; one in the centre where the term '*erw*' (acre) still persists; and one, rather more indistinct to the south where no place-name predominates. The road system still today among these strips turns frequently through right-angles once probably along the headlands between groups of strips. Above the strips and pressed up against the *pen-clawdd* in the lowland 'niche' of the Ffrwd Cynon is a rather more indeterminate area in which, morphologically, a number of curvilinear or 'lobate' fields exist on early maps, suggesting in their upslope arcs that they have been pushed out as early colonisation above the core arable fields of the strips. Among scholars of field systems these tend to be identified as 'outfield', land more occasionally broken for arable production in contrast to the intensively cultivated core lands of the 'infield' (here the strips).

To the north on the steep slopes of a Cambrian ridge, in precisely the same kind of location as in Llanfair Clydogau (Fig. 4), is an area of former managed woodland colonised by squatters in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and identified by the place-name '*allt*'. Then above the *pen-clawdd* there are two distinct kinds of landscape. The largest by far is the great tract of open rough *mynydd* pastures which began to be occupied, settled and enclosed only in the modern era. There are clear tracks, cattle drifts, leading from the lowland farms onto this shared space, and some are now roads consolidated by the mid-nineteenth-century enclosures. Up here there is no evidence of even temporary sites, although such locations may have been obscured by the enclosure. Where the pastures meet the *pen-clawdd*, however, there is an abundance of such sites. Most of the archaeologically detectable sites cluster around and within the hillfort. They are largely platform structures (at least 19 in all) cut into the slope, some of which were executed as stone buildings. There are traces of small patches of ridged cultivation as there were at Llanfair, suggesting some casual, perhaps adventitious, minor production of crops when time and weather allowed. These, I would assume, represent the *hafodydd*, the places from which the cattle and sheep were managed from *Calan Mai* to Michaelmas and where dairying took place. Their location around the hillfort and on the main drift onto the upland up the valley of the Ffrwd Cynon, perhaps suggests that this too was the main function of Caer Cadwgan in prehistory. I have used the term '*ffrith*' for this and the other much smaller area to the south, a term not found in Cellan itself, but which can be found in other upland parts of Wales applied to similar locations.

One component of this map which is perhaps more speculative than others is the marking of the location of the lowland farm sites which I and others have noted are so difficult to locate archaeologically. In our part of Wales we are largely bereft of medieval sources which identify these places, although, for example, the twelfth-century charters of Strata Florida at the top end of the Teifi valley do provide names many of which are still active farms (Pryce 2005, 171–5). On Figure 7 the locations of the farms have had to be suggested by much later proxy evidence. So, I have plotted all the largest farms (over 20 acres) to be found on the Tithe Apportionment Schedule and Map of 1840. These farms were, and some remain as, substantial locations in the landscape then having access to open mountain pastures. When plotted on to Figure 7, they seem to respect, almost without exception, the precious lands of the infield strips. This is perhaps, for the moment, the closest we can come in this parish to what Sayce would have called the '*hendrefau*'. In terms of locations there appear to be three types: those close to the infield whether internal or just on the edge; those within the outfield; and those which lie close to the *pen-clawdd*. Two closely neighbouring examples of the first are Baylie and Glan-nant-goy (Fig. 8), the sites of which are marked on Figure 7 by the two brown dots just above the southernmost of the two 'INFIELD' indicators on the map.

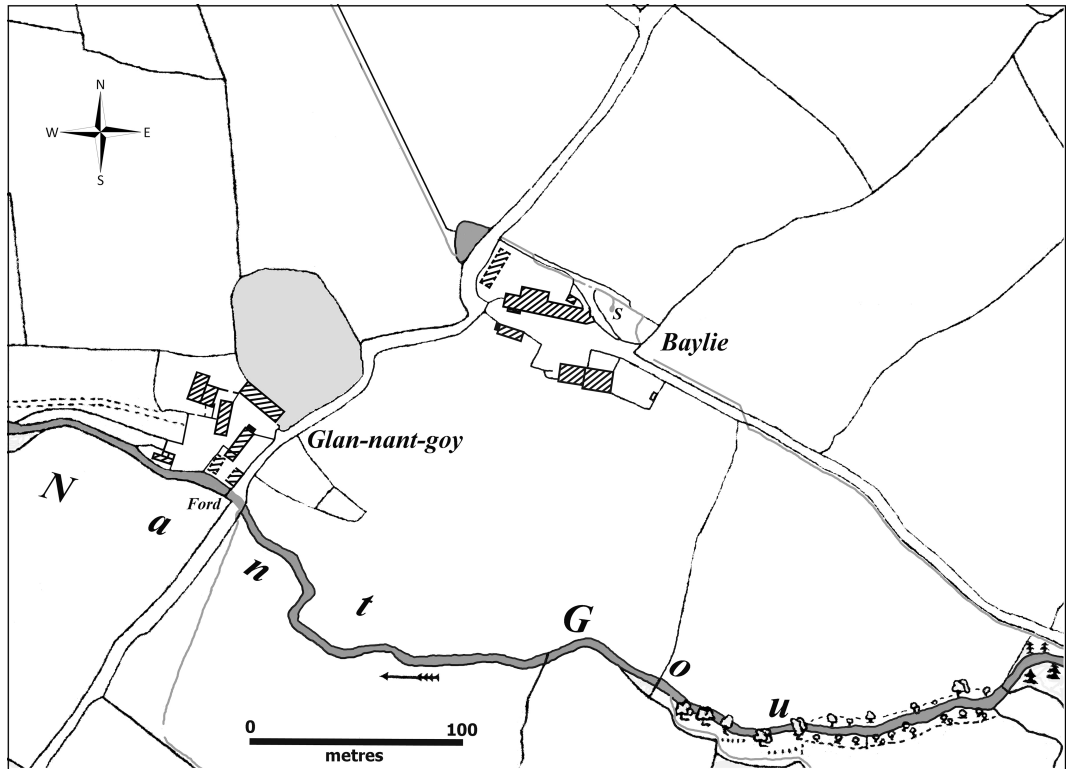


Fig. 8. Baylie and Glan-nant-goy, two of the possibly ‘ancient’ farms of Cellan. Based on the first edition 25-inch Ordnance Survey map of 1895. © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited, 2015.

These have all the feel of ‘ancient’ farms. Baylie has a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century building at its core, out of which were pulled, just before the project started, significant elements of a cruck-frame which may have been earlier than the stone building itself. Glan-nant-goy has a farmhouse of similar date. However, morphologically, next to Glan-nant-goy is a distinctive curvilinear enclosure (light grey shading), a phenomenon to be found widely in central Wales and which Rob Dodgshon, an historical geographer, suggested may be the relic of an original or much earlier farm enclosure, perhaps associated with *tir corddian*, and preceding the present arrangement of buildings (Dodgshon 1994, 356–7).

Another of these farms mapped onto Figure 7 is Tangaer Fawr and is representative of the group whose location is close to, or on, the *pen-clawdd* (Fig. 9). Cut into the slope, the site has echoes of the platform tradition with animal stalls on the downslope and house on the upslope separated by a cross-passage, again all rebuilt *c.* 1700. The location is also very close to the lowest (in altitude) of the platform houses (Fig. 9, A and B) clustered on the *ffrith* around the hillfort (others at C, D and E). The ancient road or ‘drift’ onto the open pastures of the *mynydd* passes through the farmyard just below the *beudy* of the main house (Fig. 9, Ffordd y mynydd).

The map of Figure 7 comes as close as I am yet able to a map of medieval Cellan. It may never be possible to improve much on this, not at least until we can locate an abandoned, albeit entirely ploughed out, lowland farm to excavate. As to what the landscape was like before the later Middle Ages I can only

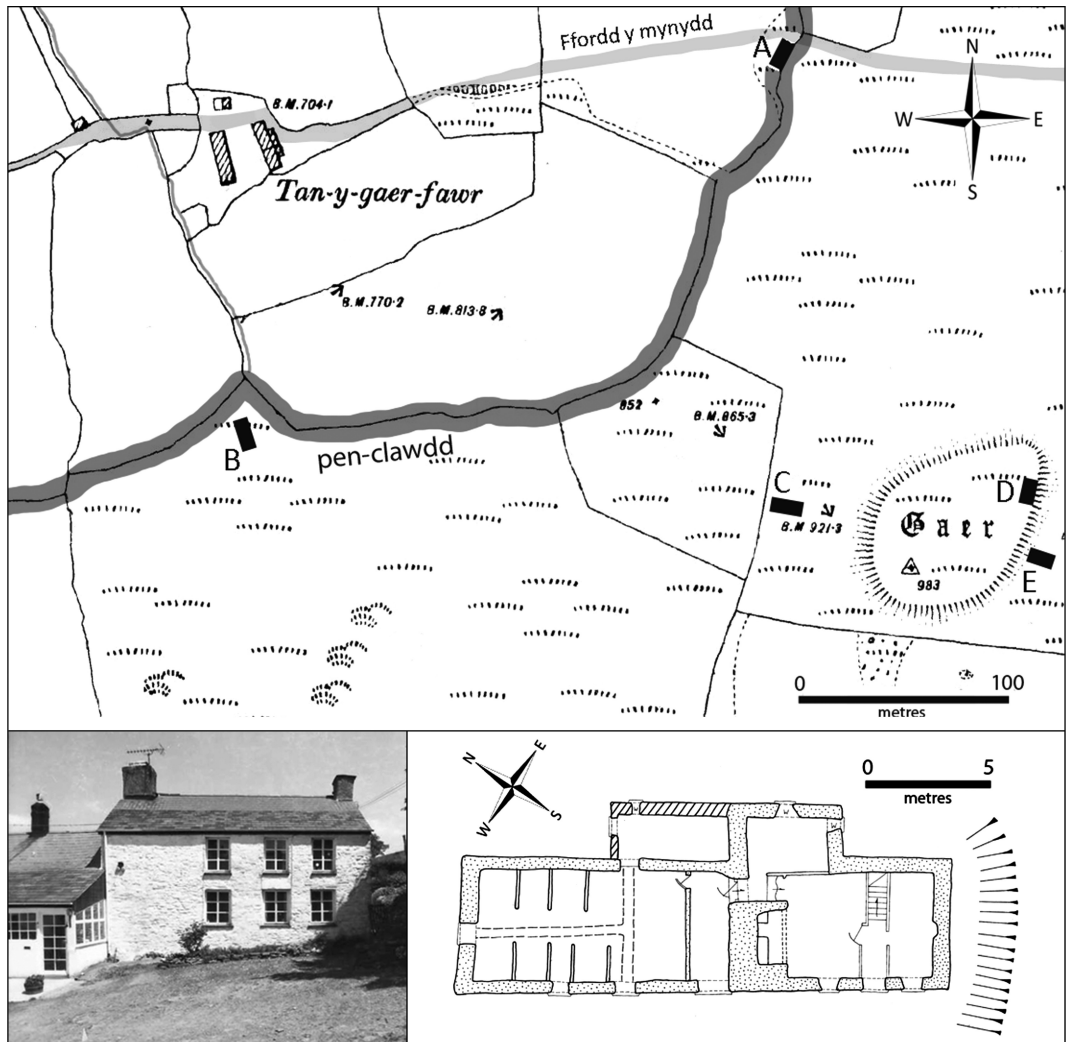


Fig. 9. Tangaer Fawr, a farm close to the *pen-clawdd*. © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited, 2015.

hazard a guess, but one informed a bit by pollen analysis, the best of which for this valley comes from the extraordinary sequence in Cors Caron, a few miles up the road. A relatively recent re-analysis by Morriss (2001) of the upper, historic sequences has confirmed that the late prehistoric settled landscape had been growing by clearance of woodland until the middle Roman period when a rapid decline set in. By the sixth century AD there was extensive wood and scrub regeneration, a near collapse of arable farming and loss of good pasture. This did not start to recover itself until perhaps as late as the tenth century when scrub begins slowly to be cut back and arable begins to reappear. Clearly, however, full recovery, certainly in the upper parts of the Teifi valley, does not really begin until the intervention of the Cistercians of Strata Florida with their new technologies and dynamic, European, market-led perception of the natural

resource. If pushed I would suggest that in the Dark Ages the social economy reached a low ebb, almost a hiatus, a time also when the political economy also may have been forced into a radical readjustment.

In such a sequence the forensic and conceptual landscapes of the Law Codes may have been not an act of total continuity, but a necessary alteration which in the end produced the real landscapes of a place like Cellan. This is the sequence discussed by Rob Dodgshon in his comprehensive overview of this subject in the first volume of the *Cardiganshire County History* (Dodgshon 1994). For him there are clear continuities, but also major adjustments in the organisation and conceptualisation of these landscapes occurring in the centuries on either side of the millennium. I also feel that this was all as much a part of that great European change as produced the ‘English’ village, a theme of my earlier career.

In attempting to apply the terminologies of the law codes to what we can reconstruct for Cellan we must use caution. However, it seems most likely that the strips still to be seen in the Cellan landscape are relics of the *stirpes* of ‘reckoned land’ (*tir cyfrif*) and thus represent a community (*dref*) of bondmen. In such terms we may also place Llanfair Clydogau, a parish with which Cellan was closely associated, with its great central enclosure around the former mansion of the Johnes family, in the category of *maerdref*. However, further discussion of this must wait until the work on this and other pieces of the Welsh landscape comes to full publication.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank Professor Dafydd Johnston, Director of the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies at Aberystwyth whose kind invitation to give the 2014 O’Donnell Lecture led me to turn my attention to this material. This article is offered as part publication of that subject matter.

NOTE

1. The lecture as given in July 2015 was very full of illustrations of Welsh landscapes which the speaker has been studying over the last forty years, in particular the parish of Cellan which he showed in great detail. This latter will appear as a separate study in a subsequent edition of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. This article, therefore, is a slight widening of the background to landscape study which he discussed in the address, as well identifying the broad conclusions of the Cellan work as an exemplar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aston, M. A. and Rowley, T., 1974. *Landscape archaeology. An introduction to fieldwork techniques on post-Roman landscapes* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles).
- Austin, D., 2007. *Acts of Perception, A study of Barnard Castles in Teesdale*, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Research Report 6.
- Austin, D., Burnham, B. C., Bell, M. G. and Young, R., 1984. *The Caer Cadwgan Project: First Interim Report* (Lampeter: Archaeology Unit).
- 1985. *The Caer Cadwgan Project: Second Interim Report* (Lampeter: Archaeology Unit).
- 1986. *The Caer Cadwgan Project: Third Interim Report* (Lampeter: Archaeology Unit).
- 1987. *The Caer Cadwgan Project: Fourth Interim Report* (Lampeter: Archaeology Unit).

- Austin, D. and Thomas, J., 1990. 'The 'proper' study of medieval archaeology: a case study', in D. Austin and L. Alcock (eds), *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology* (London: Unwin Hyman), 43–78.
- Austin, D., Faith, R., Fleming, A. and Siddle, D., 2013. *Cipières: community and landscape in the Alpes-Maritimes, France* (Oxford: Windgather).
- Barrow, G. W. S., 1973. *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London: Edward Arnold).
- Beresford, G., 1979. 'Three deserted medieval settlements on Dartmoor', *Medieval Archaeology* 23, 98–158.
- Beresford, M. W., 1954. *The Lost Villages of England* (London: Lutterworth Press).
- Bowen, H. C., 1961. *Ancient Fields* (London: British Association for the Advancement of Science).
- Browne, D. and Hughes, S., 2003. *The Archaeology of the Welsh Uplands* (Aberystwyth: RCHAMW).
- Butler, L. A. S., 1963. 'The excavation of a long hut near Bwlch-Yr-Hendre', *Ceredigion* 4, 450–57.
- Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds), 1988. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Davies, E., 1977. 'Hendre and hafod in Denbighshire', *Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society* 26, 49–72.
- Dodgshon, R. A., 1994. 'Early society and economy', in J. L. Davies and D. P. Kirby, *Cardiganshire County History, Vol. 1: From the earliest times to the coming of the Normans* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), 343–64.
- Dyer, C., 1980. *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: the estates of the bishopric of Worcester, 680–1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Edwards, N. (ed.), 1997a. *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales*, Oxbow Monograph 81 (Oxford: Oxbow).
- 1997b. 'Landscape and settlement in medieval Wales: an introduction', in Edwards 1997a, 1–11.
- Everson, P. and Stocker, D., 2012. 'A fanfare for the noble man? The rise of Wharram's manorial elite', *Medieval Settlement Research* 27, 12–19.
- Finberg, H. P. R. and Skipp, V. H. T., 1967. *Local History: Objective and Pursuit* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles).
- Flatrès, P., 1957. *Géographie Rurale de Quatre Contrées Celtiques, Ireland, Galles, Cornwall et Man* (Rennes: Librairie Universitaire J. Plihon).
- Fowler, P. J. (ed.), 1972. *Archaeology and the Landscape* (London: John Baker).
- (ed.) 1974. *Recent Work in Rural Archaeology* (Bradford-on-Avon: Moonraker Press).
- Fox, A., 1939. 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common, Glamorgan. Excavations in 1938', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 94, 163–99.
- Hall, D., 1981. 'The origins of open field agriculture – the archaeological evidence', in T. Rowley (ed.) *The Origins of Open Field Agriculture* (London: Croom Helm), 22–38.
- Hadley, D. M., 1996. 'Multiple estates and the origins of the manorial structure of the northern Danelaw', *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1), 3–15.
- Harvey, P. D. A., 1965. *A Medieval Oxfordshire Village, Cuxham, 1240–1400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Hilton, R. H., 1966. *A Medieval Society: the West Midlands at the end of the thirteenth century* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson).
- Hooke, D., 1997. 'Place-names and vegetation history as a key to understanding settlement in the Conwy valley', in Edwards 1997, 79–95.
- Hoskins, W. G., 1955. *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton).
- 1959. *Local History in England* (London: Longman).

- Howell, C., 1983. *Land, Family and Inheritance: Kibworth Harcourt 1280–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hurst, J. G., 1956. 'Deserted medieval villages and the excavations at Wharram Percy, Yorkshire', in R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (ed.), *Recent Excavations in Britain* (London: Routledge), 251–73.
- 1984. 'The Wharram Research Project: results to 1983', *Medieval Archaeology* 28, 77–111.
- Jolliffe, J. E. A., 1926. 'Northumbrian institutions', *English Historical Review* 41, 1–42.
- 1937. *Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London: A. and C. Black).
- Jones, G. R. J., 1965. 'Early territorial organisation in northern England and its bearing on the Scandinavian settlement', in A. Small (ed.), *The Fourth Viking Congress* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd), 67–84.
- 1972. 'Post-Roman Wales', in H. P. R. Finberg (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. 1(ii), AD43–1042* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 281–382.
- 1976. 'Multiple estates and early settlement', in P. H. Sawyer (ed.), *Medieval Settlement* (London: Edward Arnold), 15–40.
- Jones Pierce, T., 1951. 'Medieval settlement in Anglesey', *Transactions Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, 1–33.
- 1963. 'Social and historical aspects of the Welsh Laws', *Welsh History Review*, special number, 33–49.
- Linehan, C. D., 1966. 'Deserted sites and rabbit-warrens on Dartmoor', *Medieval Archaeology* 10, 113–44.
- Maitland, F. W., 1897. *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Morris, R. H., 1909. *Edward Lhuyd. Parochialia: Being a Summary of Answers to "Parochial Queries in Order to a Geographical Dictionary, Etc., of Wales", Parts 1–3*, Archaeologia Cambrensis Supplement.
- Morriss, S. H., 2001. 'Recent Human Impact and Land Use Change in Britain and Ireland: a Pollen Analytical and Geochemical Study', unpublished University of Southampton PhD thesis.
- O'Keefe, T., 2012. 'Writing histories of medieval rural settlement in Ireland and England: an opinion piece', *Medieval Settlement Research* 27, 68–72.
- Orwin, C. S. and Orwin, C. S., 1938. *The Open Fields* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Pryce, H., 2005. *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).
- Roberts, B. K., 1972. 'Village plans in County Durham – a preliminary statement', *Medieval Archaeology* 16, 33–56.
- 1977. *Rural Settlement in Britain* (London: Hutchinson).
- 1987. *The Making of the English Village: A Study in Historical Geography* (London: Longman).
- Roberts, B. K. and Wrathmell, S., 2000. *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England* (London: English Heritage).
- Roberts, K., 2006. *Lost Farmsteads: deserted rural settlements in Wales*, CBA Research Report 148 (York: Council for British Archaeology).
- Round, J. H., 1895. *Feudal England* (Oxford).
- RCHME 1970. *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Dorset, Volume 3, Central* (London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England).
- Sayce, R. U., 1956. 'The old summer pastures, part I', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 54, 117–45.
- 1957. 'The old summer pastures, part II: life at the hafodydd', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 55, 37–86.
- Seebohm, F., 1882. *The English Village Community* (London).
- 1897. *The Tribal System in Wales* (London).
- Silvester, R. J., 2001. 'The landscape and settlement of Trefnant township', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 89, 147–62.

- Taylor, C. C., 1983. *Village and Farmstead* (London: George Philip).
- Thomas, A. C., 1958. *Gwithian: Ten Years' Work (1949–1958)*, West Cornwall Field Club Excavation Staff (Gwithian).
- 1985. *Exploration of a Drowned Landscape: archaeology and history of the Isles of Scilly* (London: Batsford).
- Thorpe, H., 1961. 'The green village as a distinctive form of settlement on the north European plain', *Bulletin de la Société Belge d'Études Géographiques* 30, 93–134.
- Uhlir, H., 1961. 'Old hamlets with infield/outfield systems in western and central Europe', *Geografiska Annaler* 43, 285–307.
- Vinogradoff, P., 1905. *The Growth of the Manor* (London: Macmillan).
- Williams, G., 2001. 'Excavations at Bryn Maen Caerau, Cellan, Ceredigion', *Archaeology in Wales* 41, 10–20.

