

Published (after revisions) as:

Comeau, R. (2014) 'Bayvil in Cemais: an early medieval assembly site in south-west Wales?' *Medieval Archaeology* 58, 270-284 <https://doi.org/10.1179/0076609714Z.00000000038>

Original submitted version below (Authors' Original Manuscript)

Bayvil in Cemais: a pre-Norman assembly site in West Wales?

By Rhiannon Comeau¹

A lacuna in the understanding of early medieval landscapes of authority and assembly exists in Wales, where acid soils, unfurnished burials and aceramic, non-monetarised traditions do little to elucidate scanty written sources. However analysis of the location of a 14th century Pembrokeshire fair charter suggests that it may also be the site of a hitherto unlocated 12th century feast of translation and of a pre-Conquest assembly site. These indications emerge from a contextualisation of the archaeological and historical record within work elsewhere on the function and significance of key points in the early medieval landscape, their relationship with sites of ancestral and prehistoric significance; and the links between the early medieval church, assemblies and popular gatherings.² The site may therefore present the first example (apart from, possibly, Pilar Eliseg on the Welsh border)³ of an early medieval assembly site in Wales, in a landscape setting that lends weight to indications elsewhere in Britain and Ireland of a shared understanding of the spatial expression of early medieval communal interaction and authority.

LOCATION

The area in question is in south-west Wales, in the early medieval *cantref* (hundred: supra-local district) of Cemais in north Pembrokeshire. Ireland is a day's sail away, and the area is generally understood as the locus of post-Roman settlement by the Irish Deisi.⁴ The nature and scale of this settlement is, however, much disputed, and archaeological evidence is effectively limited to the area's Ogham stones.⁵ Early Christian development is similarly

poorly understood, with the first record of Brynach, the area's (possibly Irish) patronal saint, appearing in a Life written c 1200.⁶ Apart from repeated references in the Welsh Annals to raids – by Vikings and competing Welsh dynasties - and to the death in 866 of the otherwise unknown individual Cynan of Nanhyfer (Nevern), no early medieval accounts of the local area survive.⁷ The last Welsh source is an early 12th century poem that eulogises Cuhelyn, the last native Lord of Cemais, who may have ruled as a client of the Normans.⁸ Their arrival in the 1100s signalled the start of a century of poorly-recorded fluctuating Norman and Welsh control; written records begin c 1240.⁹

It is with the landscape setting of one of the area's high-medieval records that this note is concerned – a fair and market charter of 1338 whose specific location has been unidentified until now.¹⁰ The charter grants to John de Langeton and his heirs the right to hold an annual fair and weekly market 'at their manor of Henles' (*apud manerium suum de Henles in Southwallia*). The market day was Thursdays, the same day as the market in the nearby Norman plantation town of Newport (*Novus burgus*), and the fair was on the vigil, feast and morrow of the feast of St Peter and Paul the Apostles, on 28, 29 and 30 June. This was the later of the two traditional celebrations of midsummer, the earlier, and better-known, being the Feast of St John on 24 June.¹¹ There are no other references to this fair or market apart from a brief note of c 1600 indicating that it was 'in decay', and the name *de Langeton* is unknown locally.¹²

Its location, the 'manor' of Henllys (*Henles*), is also at first sight puzzling since 14th century Henllys was an area of intermingled landholdings (the local term being *in rodwallis*) within the high medieval manor of Bayvil.¹³ This sizeable manor (Fig 1), twice the size of the post-medieval parish of Bayvil, was regulated through a court held by the Steward of the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais.¹⁴ It lay between the extensively excavated Iron-Age and Romano-British site of Castell Henllys (NGR: SN 1172 3905) and the early medieval

ecclesiastical site of Nevern (NGR: SN 0833 4002), location of the principal church of Brynach and of a castle which was the Norman caput before the founding of Newport c 1200.¹⁵

LANDHOLDING PATTERNS AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE

Analysis of the pattern of Bayvil's intermingled landholdings casts some light on the possible location of the fair and on its relationship with the pre-Conquest landscape. The status of these landholdings, and of the surrounding manor of Bayvil, is not straightforward. An Inquisition Post-Mortem of 1326 shows that, despite its English-sounding name, Bayvil was administered under Welsh law, and a 1594 Extent lists a number of 'bond' tenants whose communal rent – typical of medieval Welsh bound peasants - is also shown in a Rental of 1469-70.¹⁶ Nonetheless much of its land (including many of these 'bond' tenancies) was actually held by high status Welsh freeholders who traced their descent from Cuhelyn and Welsh princes, as well as by the Anglo-Norman Marcher Lord of Cemais and by the Peverels, an Anglo-Norman family.¹⁷ The core elements of these high status landholdings shared a common pattern of locations for their dispersed lands and grazing rights, which were managed within an infield-outfield system (Fig 2). This suggests that the two Anglo-Norman shares were acquired by negotiation rather than through outright conquest and appropriation, and this process is also indicated by the mid- 13th century 'Charter of Preseli' which grants land to descendants of Cuhelyn who held high office under the Anglo-Normans.¹⁸

Much of the medieval outfield (shared grazing) portion of these landholdings lay in the northern part of Bayvil, in an area defined by barrows and burials (Fig 3) – by the Bronze-Age barrow cemetery at Crugie Cemais (NGR: SN 1253 4160) which lies partially within a large multivallate enclosure at the highest point in Bayvil's landscape, by an isolated barrow at Pantycroes, as well as by a number of other unidentified barrows referred to in late-medieval and 16th century documents: Crug y Gwyr, Crugegluys, Cruge yreleyrch,

Carn Mabli and Crig y Bigelydd.¹⁹ On the edges of the outfield were the late-medieval residences of Cuhelyn's descendants and a number of late-prehistoric/ Romano-British enclosures of defended promontory and univallate ringfort type.²⁰ One of these, the oval defended enclosure of Caer, contains a substantial number of early medieval burials which cross-cut earlier structures and are radiocarbon dated to AD 640-880 at 95% confidence.²¹

Caer (or, in its full form, Caereglismore) is distinctive as a recurring element in the shared grazing rights of Bayvil's medieval Welsh landholdings. It lies on a west-facing escarpment above Pwll Iago, one of the two sources of the Caman river that provided Brynach with water (Fig 3).²² From Caer a hollow-way descends the escarpment to a crossroads between Pwll Iago and the other source of the Caman, Blaen Caman. It then follows the Caman towards Nevern, through the Peverel caput at Tregaman, where a 19th century field name refers to it as a *sarn* (causeway/ road) and passes a late-medieval ecclesiastical landholding called Clastir whose name suggests pre-Norman church land.²³

THE SITE OF THE FAIR

The Peverel lands at Tregaman bring us back to the fair charter. Although unknown locally, *de Langeton* is used elsewhere at this time as an alternative Peverel surname.²⁴ The Peverel lands included a holding at Pantyllech on the edge of the Henllys area - hence, presumably, the fair charter's reference to the 'manor' of Henllys.²⁵ The fair itself was, therefore, either close to Tregaman or Pantyllech, and examination of the landscape suggests a possible location: a crossroads (NGR: SN 1068 4163) on the *sarn* outside Tregaman.

This crossroads is now deserted and in the middle of fields (Fig 4). There are no indications of high-medieval proto-urban activities here apart from its proximity to a shrunken hamlet around Bayvil church, although an early 19th century smallholding at the crossroads has a suggestive name: *Plasmarchand* or *-marthand* which derives from the local

dialect *marshant* – ‘merchant’; *marshanteth* – ‘commerce, business on a large scale’.²⁶

Patterns of past activity are primarily revealed in its location at the heart of a network of tracks within an area fringed by several roads, one of which is referred to as *Yffordd vayn* (the narrow/stone road) and alternatively as *Ffordd y marchoglin* (road of the knights/horsemen) in 1584; one of the tracks through the crossroads is mentioned in a boundary clause of 1427.²⁷ Intersections between these roads and tracks are marked by monumental stones which define a wide arc around the crossroads. These stones, located through fieldwork that the current note draws on, appear in documents of the 14th-17th century as points of reference and boundary markers in the unenclosed landscape (Fig 5, 6).²⁸

THE CHARTER

The rationale for the charter is an interesting question, given the presence, 5 km away, of Newport’s Thursday market and early midsummer (16 June) fair, dedicated to St Curig.²⁹ Bayvil’s market charter may represent 14th century opportunism, perhaps in the context of weak lordship, but the fair itself is less likely to be an initiative *de novo* – the midsummer date, rural setting and network of stone-marked tracks raise the possibility that the charter is legitimising or reviving a traditional festival at a longstanding site. If the fair pre-dates the establishment, c 1200, of Newport, traders’ tolls would have made Tregaman a lucrative landholding for the Peverels in the early Conquest period. Trade may have been affected by the establishment of a regulated market in Newport, referred to in two late 13th century charters which grant freeholders and their tenants certain rights to buy and sell without toll outside the market. One charter, of 1278, allows Cemais freeholders to buy and sell freely between themselves; their tenants had to use the market for sales until midday but could sell unsold goods freely elsewhere after that, and they were excused the duty to attend the market when a fair was held elsewhere on the same day.³⁰ Another broadly contemporary charter

gives various Bayvil freeholders the right to buy and to sell without toll outside Newport except at the time of its fairs.³¹

The Black Death probably triggered the final eclipse of both the market and the fair: it is Newport's midsummer fair, not Bayvil's, that is reflected in the manorial court dates for 1381-2 on Bayvil's only surviving medieval court roll.³²

A FEAST OF TRANSLATION?

The date and location of Bayvil's fair also carry clues to the nature of the traditional, pre-1338 fair. Peter and Paul, the saints of the fair charter, were favoured by English kings, but three days before their feast day, on 26 June, is a saint's day of particular local relevance, the Feast of the Translation of Brynach, raising the prospect of festival processions from Nevern church using the *sarn*.³³ This is the only known Feast of Translation of a Welsh saint, recorded c 1200 using sources that date back to the 1130s, and it is written in the same hand as the Life of Brynach which says that Brynach's (presumably translated) remains lie under the east wall of Nevern church.

The date of translation (a public act, remembered annually on the feastday) is uncertain. If, like other Welsh translations,³⁴ it reflects Norman influence, it must have taken place between the 1100s, when the Normans arrived, and the 1130s when the source material left Cemais. It may have been linked with Matilda Peverel, wife of Robert Fitzmartin, the second Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais, who was an active donor to the church in Cemais, Devon and Normandy.³⁵ Could it be earlier? In the 8th and 9th centuries, when Caer's burial ground was in use, there is ample evidence of the cult of relics in the Irish church, and although the extent of Welsh-Irish connections is uncertain, later contact is evident in the 11th century Welsh Annals and in the style of the late 10th century high crosses at Nevern.³⁶ What may be more relevant is that the Irish evidence shows that Feasts of Translation are part of a

widespread process of Christianising and legitimising traditional popular gatherings through their association with saints' festivals, suggesting that - whenever Bayvil's Feast of Translation was inaugurated – its late midsummer fair may already have been an established fact.³⁷

ASSEMBLIES

Bayvil also appears to share the association, noted in both Britain and Ireland, of traditional rural fairs with outdoor legal and administrative assemblies.³⁸ In 1604 its manorial court was held nearby, at the cross site of Pantycroes - the nearby mound, a presumed Bronze Age barrow, corresponds to the Cruge ereleyrch of 16th century documents.³⁹ This is probably also the venue of the 14th century manorial court which met only in the milder months, when conditions for outdoor assemblies are more favourable. Its dates coincide with major festivals and with the 'open' period of the high-medieval Welsh law of land, indicating the traditional framework within which it operated.⁴⁰

Mounds, constructed as well as natural, figure prominently as meeting places for assemblies in early and high-medieval Ireland and Scotland.⁴¹ Both ancient sepulchral and newly-built 'clean' mounds were similarly used in Viking Age Scandinavia and in Anglo-Saxon areas; special trees, ancient hillforts, stones, boundaries and crossroads are also used.⁴² No sites of pre-Norman assembly have been positively identified in Wales until now, although there are references to legal and administrative gatherings, and the possible association of Pilar Eliseg with an assembly is suggested.⁴³ This pan-regional literature therefore provides vital evidence and, indeed, helps identify possible precursors for Bayvil's medieval fair and manorial court.

Place-names provide hints. *Caer* is an abbreviation of *Caereglismore*, 'Fort of the great church', first referred to (without the *Caer* element) in 1349; it appears as *Caer*

Llysmore, ‘Fort of the Great Court’, in an 18th century document.⁴⁴ Close to it was the 16th century *Llwyn Dyn Waeth*, ‘grove of the fort of proclamation’, and a 19th century field called *Cefn Tomy*, the ‘ridge of the mound/ tumulus’.⁴⁵ Next to the barrow of *Pantycroes* (‘hollow/ valley of the cross’)/ *Cruge ereleyrch* (‘hillock/ barrow of the swan’ - the ‘swan’ element is uncertain) was another portentously-titled 19th century field: *Cefn Hebog*, ‘ridge of the hawk/ falcon/ noble chieftain/ hero’.⁴⁶ *Crug y Gwyr*, one of the barrows mentioned in 15th and 16th century documents, is the ‘barrow of the heroes’, though *gwyr* may alternatively be *gwir*, ‘truth’.⁴⁷ *Crugie Cemais*, ‘hillocks/ barrows of Cemais’, first mentioned in 1349, resembles the Irish *cruach/cruchain* place names that denote inauguration sites.⁴⁸

Tenorial patterns emphasise the significance of these places. Irish sources note that early medieval assemblies took place on the ruler’s land and, indeed, *Llwyn Dyn Waeth* belonged to the Anglo-Norman Lord of Cemais.⁴⁹ The late-medieval pasture rights to the Caer area that were shared between descendants of the pre-Norman rulers suggest that the burial ground was once theirs. The Peverel lands may originate in a pre-Conquest ecclesiastical holding – they were contiguous with late-medieval church land, including *Clastir* whose 15th century right of sanctuary, ‘*Nothvabernach*’, may be of pre-Norman origin.⁵⁰

Spatial relationships are also indicative. The hillside of Caer and *Dyn Waeth* has a marked resemblance to recently identified Anglo-Saxon assembly sites of ‘hanging promontory’ type, which are characterised by domed spurs of land of up to 100 m diameter, accessed by holloways, with extensive viewsheds and ‘mound’ or ‘assembly’ place-names. These sites have complex associations with the hundred in which they are located and it is suggested that they may originally have been infra- or supra-hundredal sites of assembly.⁵¹

GAELIC PARALLELS

The area also has similarities to early medieval Irish and Scottish kingship sites, which demonstrate recurring associations of a set of elements: an assembly area, church, burial ground, fortified enclosure(s) (possibly multivallate), barrows, monumental stones, sacred trees, holy wells and important routeways to the church and/ or high status residences.⁵² Their use is vividly conveyed in descriptions of the early medieval assembly and fair (*óenach*) of Tailtu (Teltown, co. Meath) where races honoured the ancestors in a landscape defined by the royal fort of Ráth Airthir, the holy sanctuary of Domnach Pátraic which was once the home of the king's brother, and the *blai*, the area of the *óenach* where violence was forbidden within a zone demarcated by boundary stones and barrows.⁵³

The same association of elements can be seen at Bayvil, where the incorporation of barrows within the late prehistoric enclosure of Crugie Cemais resembles late prehistoric royal sites in Ireland. Similarities between Bayvil and Gaelic sites extend to the changes, over time, in the spatial relationship of landscape elements, with early medieval residential and ecclesiastical components becoming distanced from inauguration sites. The latter tended to stay in the same place, their 'territorial historicity' exploited by incoming dynasties.⁵⁴ In Scotland, the setting of Scone shows the new Gaelic elite conceptually positioning itself between the power of the new – Ireland and the church – and the authority of the area's prehistory.⁵⁵ In Bayvil the same phenomenon can perhaps be seen in the relationship of the fair area to Crugie Cemais – proximate but separate, and reflecting a deliberate distinction between Christian and pre-Christian sites. Caer itself (which may, like Domnach Pátraic, occupy a former domestic enclosure) replicates the association of ancestral burials with an assembly area.

This dialogue of power reveals itself most strikingly in the topographical settings of Crugie Cemais and Caer. Both occupy elevated positions with magnificent views that stretch from the mountains of the southern part of the *cantref* to the headlands and sea that mark its

western extent. This setting of ancestral burials within the broad sweep of the cantref's landscape carries a deep symbolism that is explicit in early Irish sources, which describe the accession to power over a territory as a symbolic marriage to the land.⁵⁶ There are Irish references of c600 to the role of ancestral burials in defining claims to land that are echoed in later Welsh law⁵⁷. The implications are significant, and suggest that Crugie Cemais and Caer were key symbolic points that underpinned territorial rights – a power utilised by the church in its festival processions along the *sarn*.

LAND, POWER AND ANCESTORS

Pulling together these threads, a tentative timeline can be constructed. It starts with the incorporation of the Bronze Age barrow cemetery of Crugie Cemais within the ramparts of a high status multivallate enclosure which probably combined habitative, burial, inauguration and assembly functions. In the post-Roman period the advent of Christianity coincides with the distancing of some of these functions to Caer and Dyn Waeth on the opposite edge of the Crugie Cemais outfield, where the relationship of the early medieval assembly area with the church at Nevern reflects elite identification with Christianity. Radiocarbon dates show when Caer was used for burials, while the pre-Conquest assembly is indicated by records of archaic place names and perhaps by the Feast of Translation. Subsequent changes in the site's status are signalled through the early 11th century acquisition of the fair area and the hill of assembly by the Anglo-Norman Peverels and Fitzmartins, and in the post 1200 establishment of both legislative and commercial functions in the Anglo-Norman plantation of Newport. The final indication of the site's use for fairs and markets is provided by the charter of 1338, though the site subsequently retains associations with local legislative assemblies through the manorial court held at the nearby barrow of Pantycroes.

This landscape of assembly incorporated the same conscious references to traditional power that are found elsewhere in early medieval Northern Europe, shaped by a shared understanding of the spatial expression of early medieval authority. This spatial vocabulary has a particularly close similarity to that of Ireland and Gaelic areas of Scotland, and raises pointed questions about the identity of Bayvil's elite.

The role of Christianity in the landscape is also significant. Bayvil shares with other areas the embedding of Christianity within the materiality of this landscape of authority, and the close relationship of secular and ecclesiastical power is revealed in the articulation of the Christian cult of relics with the late prehistoric and early medieval use of ancestral authority. It seems that the gods might change, but the material language of power in the landscape endured.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baker, J and Brookes, S 2012, 'Monumentalising the political landscape: a special class of Anglo-Saxon assembly-sites', *Antiq J*, **92** (in press)

Baring-Gould S and Fisher, J 1907, *The Lives of the British Saints, Volume I*, London: Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion.

Bradley, R 1987, 'Time regained: the creation of continuity', *J Brit Archaeol Ass* **140**, 1-17

Brink, S 2004, 'Legal assembly sites in early Scandinavia', in Pantos and Semple, 205-216

Britnell, R H 1978, 'English markets and royal administration before 1200', *Econ Hist Rev* **31**: 2, 183-196

Caple, C 2011, 'Nevern Castle: searching for the first Welsh masonry castle', *Medieval Archaeol* **55**, 326-334

Carroll, J, Reynolds, A and Yorke, B forthcoming, *Power and Place in Later Roman and Early Medieval Europe*, London: Proceedings of the British Academy

- CChR, *Calendar of Charter Rolls, Vol 4 1327-1341 (1-14 Edward III)*, 1912, London: HMSO
- Charles, B G 1948, 'The Second Book of George Owen's Description of Penbrokshire', *Nat Lib Wales J* **5**, 265-286
- Charles, B G 1951: 'The Records of the Borough of Newport in Pembrokeshire', *Nat Lib Wales J* **7**, 33-45, 120-137
- Charles, B G 1971-2, 'Early ancestors of the Owen of Henllys family', *Nat Lib Wales J* **17**, 115-119.
- Charles, B G 1992, *The Place-Names of Pembrokeshire*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales
- Charles-Edwards, T M 1976, 'Boundaries in Irish law', in P Sawyer (ed), *Medieval Settlement*, London: Edward Arnold, 63-90.
- Charles-Edwards, T M 2004, 'Gorsedd, dadl and llys: assemblies and courts in medieval Wales', in Pantos and Semple, 95-108.
- CIPM, *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol 6 Edward II*, 1910, London: HMSO
- Comeau, R, 'The Stones of Bayvil' (in preparation)
- Coplestone-Crow B 1981/2, 'The dual nature of the Irish colonisation of Dyfed in the Dark Ages', *Studia Celtica* **16/17**, 1-24
- Dark, K R 2000, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire*, Stroud: Tempus
- Davies, W 1982, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Driscoll, S T 2004, 'The archaeological context of assembly in early medieval Scotland – Scone and its comparanda', in Pantos and Semple, 73-94
- Edwards, N. 2002: 'Celtic saints and early medieval archaeology', in A Thacker and R Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 225-266.

- Edwards, N 2007, *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Edwards, N 2009, 'Rethinking the pillar of Eliseg', *Antiq J* **89**, 143-77
- Fitzpatrick, E 2004, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c1100-1600: A Cultural Landscape Study*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press
- Gantz, J (trans) 1976, *The Mabinogion*, Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Gibson, D Blair 1995, 'Chiefdoms, confederacies and statehood in early Ireland', in B Arnold and D Blair Gibson (eds) *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, New Directions in Archaeology, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 116-128
- Gruffydd G G 1975, 'A poem in praise of Cuhelyn Fardd from the Black Book of Carmarthen', *Studia Celtica* **10-11**, 199-209.
- Herity, M 1993: 'Motes and mounds at royal sites in Ireland', *J Roy Soc Antiq Ir* **123**, 127-151
- Howells, B (ed) 1973, *Elizabethan Pembrokeshire: the evidence of George Owen*, Haverfordwest: Pembrokeshire Record Society.
- Hughes, J 1991, 'Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1296-1321: his family background', *Nottingham Medieval Stud* **35**, 70-76
- Hughes, K 1958, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A XIV ('Vitae sanctorum Wallensium'): its purpose and provenance', in H Chadwick (ed), *Studies in the Early British Church*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 183-200
- Hutton, R 1996: *The Stations of the Sun*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- James, H 1987, 'Excavations at Caer, Bayvil', *Archaeol Cambrensis* **136**, 51-76.
- Jenkins, D 1990, *The Law of Hywel Dda*, Llandysul: Gomer Press
- Jones, F 1979, 'Bowen of Pentre Ifan and Llwyngwair', *Pemb Hist* **5**, 25-57

- Jones, F 2001, *Historic Pembrokeshire Homes and their Families*, Dinas: Brawdy Books
- Jones, G 2007, *Saints in the Landscape*, Stroud: Tempus
- Jones, T (ed & trans) 1955, *Brut y Tywysogion, or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest version*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Knight, J K 1999, *The end of antiquity: archaeology, society, and religion, AD 235-700*, Stroud: Tempus
- Lyte, Maxwell H C et al (eds) 1894, *Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute in the County of Somerset*, Somerset Record Society Publications, **8**
- MacNeill, M 1962, *The Festival of Lughnasa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Mallery, S 2011, 'The Marriage Well at Teltown: holy well ritual at royal cult sites and the rite of temporary marriage', *Europ Rev Hist* **18**: 2, 175-197
- Meredith Morris, W 1991, *A Glossary of the Demetian Dialect of North Pembrokeshire*, Felinfach: Llanerch Publications
- Miles, D 1997, *The Lords of Cemais*, Haverfordwest: Cemais Publications
- Miller, M 1977/8, 'Date-guessing and Dyfed', *Studia Celtica* **12/13**, 33–61.
- Murphy K, Ramsey R, Poucher P et al 2007, *A Survey Of Defended Enclosures In Pembrokeshire*, 2007 Report No. 2007/01, Cambria Archaeology (DAT) Project Record No. 54269 <http://www.cambria.org.uk/>
- Mytum, H 1998, 'Castell Henllys', *Curr Archaeol* **14**: 5, 164–172.
- Mytum H C & Webster, C J 2001, 'Survey and excavation at Henllys Top Field and Cwm Gloyne enclosures', *Studia Celtica* **35**, 89-108.
- Mytum, H & Webster, C 2003, *Geophysical surveys at defended enclosures in the neighbourhood of Castell Henllys, Pembrokeshire*, http://www.coflein.gov.uk/pdf/AENT17_06/ [accessed 18 February 2013]

- O’Carragain, T 2003, ‘A Landscape converted: archaeology and early church organisation in Iveragh and Dingle, Ireland’, in M. Carver (ed) *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe AD 300-1300*, York: York Medieval Press, 127-152
- Ó Cathasaigh, T 2005, ‘The expulsion of the Déisi’, *J Cork Hist Archaeol Soc* **110**, 13-20
- Owen, G 1862, *Baronia de Kemeys*, ed Sir Thomas Davies Lloyd, London: Cambrian Archaeological Association
- Owen, G 1977, *The Extent of Cemais, 1594*, ed B E & K A Howells, Haverfordwest: Pembrokeshire Record Society
- Pantos, A and Semple, S (eds) 2004, *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Pantos, A 2004, ‘The location and form of Anglo-Saxon assembly-places: some ‘moot points’’, in Pantos and Semple, 155-180
- Poucher, P & Ings, M 2010, *Crugiau Cemmaes, Nevern. Geophysical & Topographical Survey 2010 Report No. 2010/22; Project Record No. 99149* (unpubl rep, Dyfed Archaeological Trust)
- Pryce, H 1993, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Rance, P 2001, ‘Attacotti, Déisi and Magnus Maximus : the case for Irish federates in late Roman Britain’, *Britannia* **32**, 243-70
- Round H J (ed) 1899, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland. Volume 1, 918-1206*, London: HMSO
- Sanmark, A 2009, ‘Administrative organisation and state formation: a case study of assembly sites in Södermanland, Sweden’, *Medieval Archaeol* **53**, 205-241
- Sanmark, A & Semple, S 2008, ‘Places of assembly: new discoveries in Sweden and England’, *Fornvännen* **103**, 245-259
- Simms, K 2000, *From Kings to Warlords*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press

Swift, C 2000, 'The local context of Óenach Tailten', *Riocht Na Midhe (Rec Meath Archaeol Hist Soc)* **11**, 24-50

Thomas, C 1994, *And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?* Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Wade-Evans, A 1944, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Warner, R 1988, 'The archaeology of early historic Irish kingship', in S Driscoll and M Nieke (eds) *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 47-68

Warner, R 2004, 'Notes on the inception and early development of the royal mound in Ireland', in Pantos and Semple, 27-43

Wmffre, I 2007, 'Post-Roman Irish settlement in Wales: new insights from a recent study of Cardiganshire place-names', in K Jankulak and J M Wooding (eds): *Ireland and Wales in the Middle Ages*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 46-61

ABBREVIATIONS

DAT Dyfed Archaeological Trust

HER Historic Environment Record, accessible at <http://www.archwilio.org.uk/>

NLW National Library of Wales

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Professors Andrew Reynolds and Wendy Davies for their helpful comments, to Professor Anthony Carr and Dr Gwen Awbery for their assistance in identifying court dates and place names, and (last but by no means least) to friends in West Wales for their interest and support. All mistakes and misunderstandings are mine.

LIST OF FIGURES

FIG 1

The medieval manor of Bayvil.

Drawing by *R Comeau*.

FIG 2

Intermingled landholdings.

Arrows show lands and pasture rights appertaining to the principal dwelling, where known.

Drawing by *R Comeau*.

FIG 3

The area of the fair and assembly.

19th century tracks and roads: dotted lines; the *sarn*: broken white line; named medieval roads: grey highlight.

Drawing by *R Comeau*.

FIG 4

The crossroads at Plasmarchand.

Photograph: R Comeau.

FIG 5

Monumental stone near Bayvil church, at the junction of medieval roads to Pantycroes and Crugie Cemais.

Photograph: R Comeau.

FIG 6

The fair and assembly area seen from Crug ereyrch.

Monumental stone in right foreground, with Cefn Tomy, Caer and Llwyn Dyn Waeth in the distance. The *sarn* emerges from the central indentation in the hillside and follows the parallel hedge lines to the right.

Photograph: R Comeau.

¹ UCL Institute of Archaeology, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PY. *rhiannon.comeau.10@ucl.ac.uk*

² e.g. Bradley 1987; Carroll et al (eds) forthcoming; Fitzpatrick 2004; MacNeill 1962; Pantos & Semple (eds) 2004, Sanmark 2009; Sanmark & Semple 2008; Swift 2000

³ Edwards 2009

⁴ Edwards 2007, 5, 31-2

⁵ Coplestone-Crow 1981/82; Dark 2000, 184-190; Miller 1977-8; Ó Cathasaigh 2005; Rance 2001; Thomas 1994; Wmffre 2007

⁶ Wade-Evans 1944, 2-15; Hughes 1958

⁷ Jones 1955

⁸ Gruffydd 1975, 199; Miles 1997, 13-14

⁹ Miles 1997, 12

¹⁰ CChR 447; Owen 1862, 76-7

¹¹ Hutton 1996, 311-2

¹² Howells 1973, 79, 46-7

¹³ e.g. NLW Bronwydd 7010 (1349); Owen 1994, 170 ; see also Charles 1971-2

¹⁴ Owen 1977, 49-50

¹⁵ Caple 2011; Mytum 1998

¹⁶ CIPM, 448-9; Rental: NLW Bronwydd 57 (1469-70); Owen 1977, 41-3

¹⁷ Jones 2001, 58, 61-2, 112; Owen 1977, 41-53; cf Rental (ibid)

¹⁸ Jones 1979, 28-9; Owen 1862, 48; 1977, 23

¹⁹ HER 1120, 1141, 1146; Charles 1992, 28, 30-1, 136; NLW Bronwydd 57 (1469); Poucher & Ings 2010

²⁰ Murphy et al 2007; Mytum & Webster 2001.

²¹ James 1987, 59: CAR-291 1290 ± 60BP, calibrated using OxCal v3.10; Mytum & Webster 2003

²² Wade-Evans 1944, 13

²³ HER 12911; James 1987, 68; Pryce 1993, 172, 186-8

²⁴ Hughes 1991, 71

²⁵ Charles 1948, 269, 272

²⁶ Land Tax 1811 onwards; Meredith Morris 1991, 194

²⁷ Charles 1992, 28-9; NLW Bronwydd 821 (1427)

²⁸ Comeau in prep

²⁹ Owen 1977, 13-14

³⁰ Charles 1951, 136; Owen 1862, 57-60

³¹ Charles 1971-2, 115; Owen 1862, 51-2

³² NLW Bronwydd 65 (1381-2)

³³ Baring-Gould 1907, 72; Hughes 1958, 187-200; Jones 2007, 135-6

³⁴ Edwards 2002, 237-8

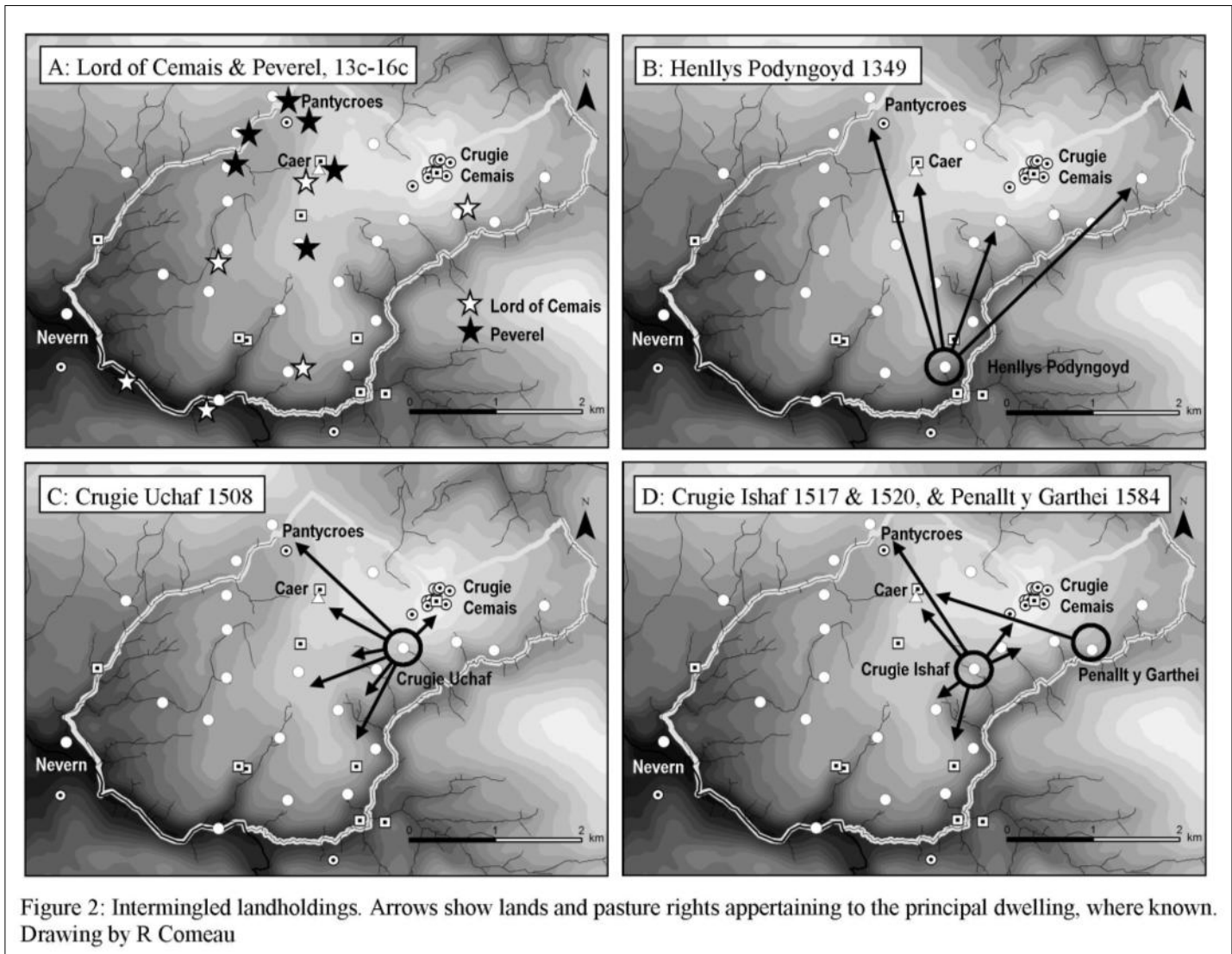
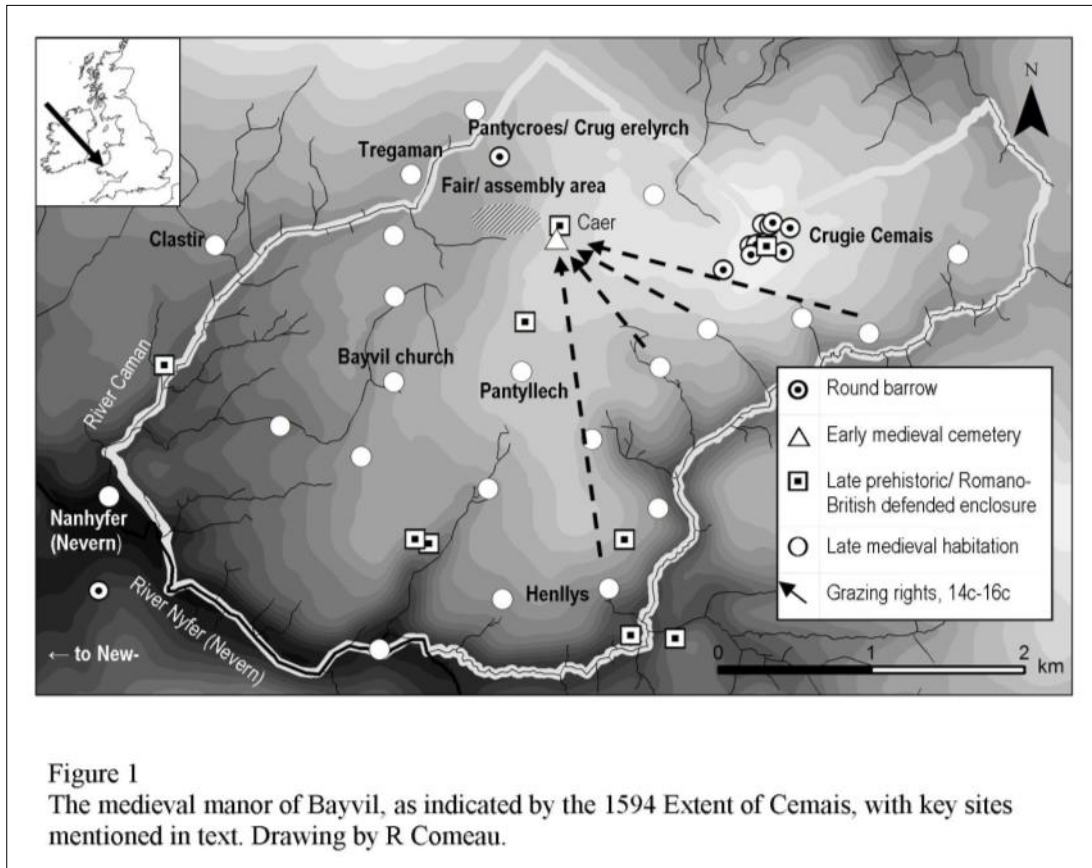
³⁵ Lyte 1894, 171-2; Round 1899, 290

³⁶ Edwards 2007, 307, 396-401; Jones 1955, 31; O'Carragain 2003, 142-3

³⁷ MacNeill 1962, 12-42; Fitzpatrick 2004, 173-4; Knight 1999, 149

³⁸ Britnell 1978; Pantos 2004, 166; Simms 2000, 73-8

-
- ³⁹ Charles 1992, 119; NLW Bronwydd 950 (1508), 1045 (1515) & 1031 (1517)
- ⁴⁰ Jenkins 1990, 83-4; NLW Bronwydd 65 (1381-2)
- ⁴¹ Driscoll 2004, 81-8; Fitzpatrick 2004, 43-8
- ⁴² Baker & Brookes forthcoming; Brink 2004, 207-13; Pantos 2004; Sanmark 2009; Sanmark & Semple 2008
- ⁴³ Charles-Edwards 2004; Davies 1982, 132-4; Edwards 2009, 168-9
- ⁴⁴ Charles 1992, 28
- ⁴⁵ Bayvil Tithe 53; Owen 1977, 44
- ⁴⁶ Bayvil Tithe 57; NLW Bronwydd 950 (1508)
- ⁴⁷ Charles 1992, 28
- ⁴⁸ Fitzpatrick 2004, 32-3
- ⁴⁹ Owen 1977, 44; Swift 2000, 28-9
- ⁵⁰ James 1987, 68; NLW Bronwydd 821 (1427); Pryce 1993, 172
- ⁵¹ Baker & Brookes forthcoming
- ⁵² Driscoll 2004, 79-81; Fitzpatrick 2004, 143-8, 206-9; Gibson 1995, 116-7; Herity 1993, 127; Mallery 2011, 185; Swift 2000; Warner 1988, 52; 2004
- ⁵³ MacNeill 1962, 332-3; Swift 2000
- ⁵⁴ Fitzpatrick 2004, 196-7, 205-7; Gibson 1995, 116-7; Warner, 2004, 39
- ⁵⁵ Driscoll 2004, 90-1
- ⁵⁶ Fitzpatrick 2004, 107
- ⁵⁷ Charles-Edwards 1976



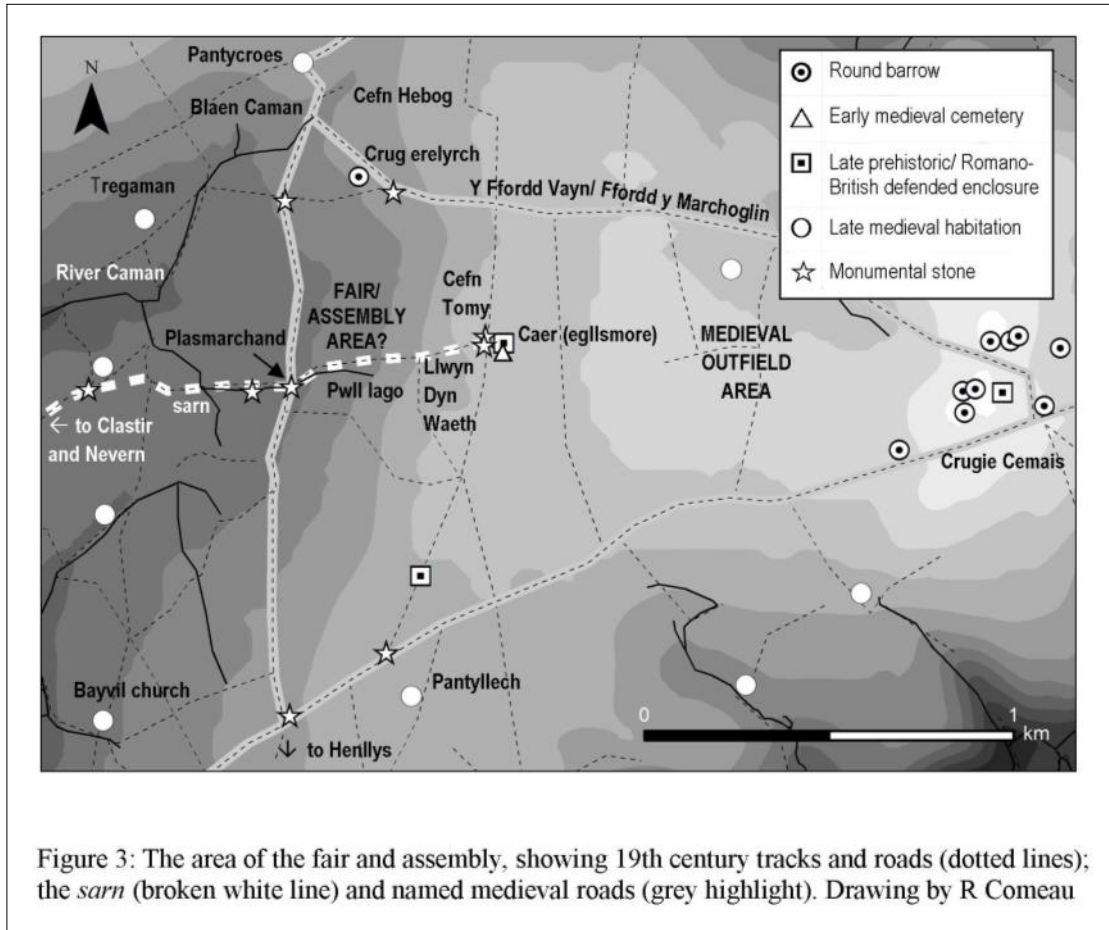


Figure 4: The crossroads at Plasmarchand. Photograph by R Comeau.



Figure 5: Monumental stone near Bayvil church, at the junction of medieval roads to Pantycroes and Crugie Cemais.

Photograph by R Comeau.



Figure 6: The fair and assembly area seen from Crug ereyrch: monumental stone in right foreground, and Cefn Tomy, Caer and Llwyn Dyn Waeth in the distance. The *sarn* emerges from the central indentation in the hillside and follows the parallel hedge lines to the right. Photograph by R Comeau.