The Making of a Frontier Society:

Northeastern Wales between the Norman and Edwardian Conquests

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By

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School,

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NORTHEASTERN WALES BETWEEN THE NORMAN AND EDWARDIAN CONQUESTS

Presented by Alexis Miller

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And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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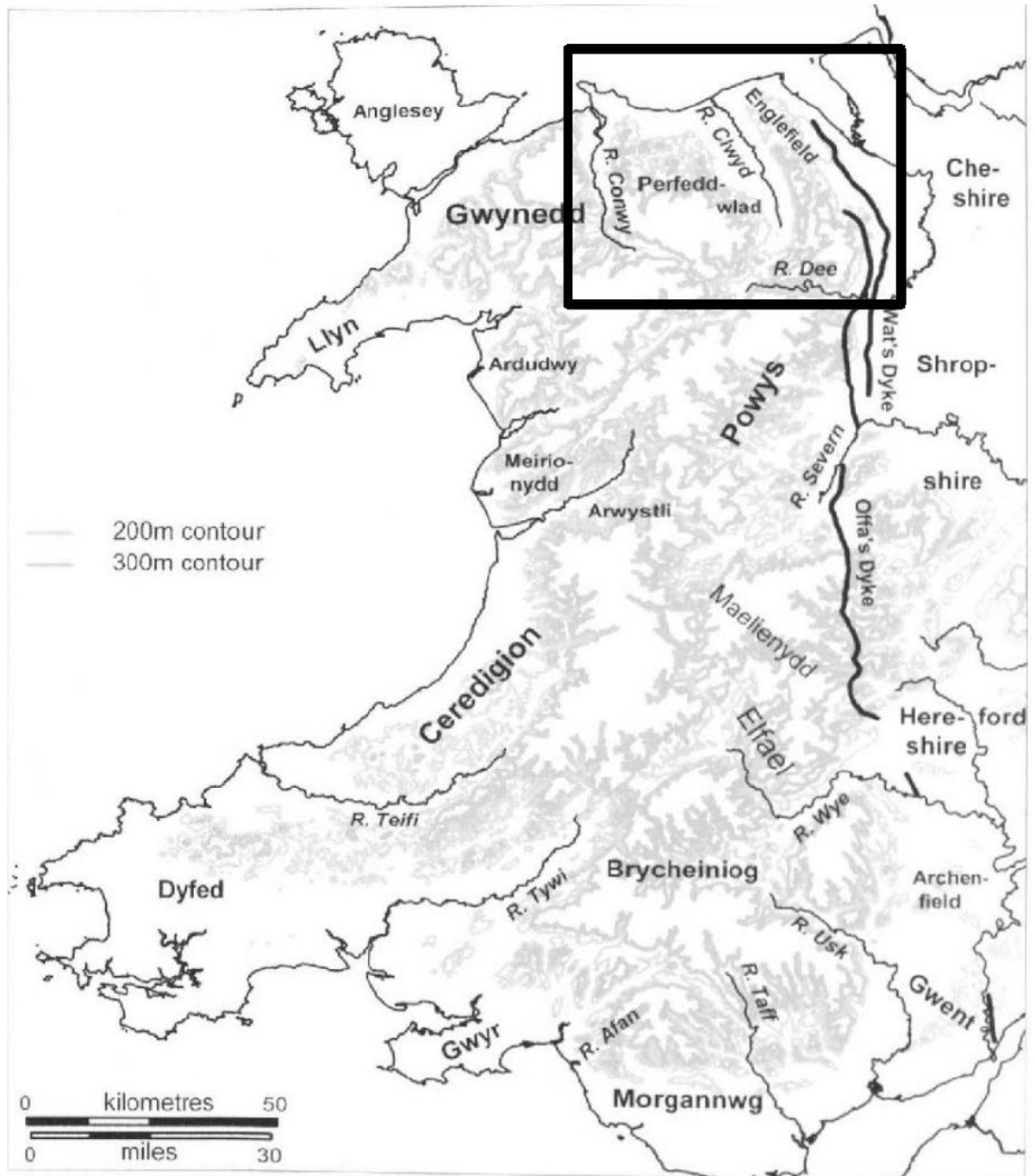
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Introduction

It is one of the duties of the historian to chart changes in the rhythms and perceptions of relationships a well as to detect the continuities in them.[1]

I began this work with a question; the entirely normal way to approach a work of history. Over the last year and a half that question has expanded and contracted and changed so much that at times it felt as if I was searching for the answer to something else entirely. And yet, in the end I came back to my question: I wanted to know how people interacted along the Celtic borders of Anglo-Norman England. Writing a regional study of northeastern Wales from the the late eleventh to the late thirteenth centuries was not how I intended to answer this question. My first thought was to look comparatively at Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; a project entirely too big for a Master's thesis and one that has already been done by a number of historians, including the most recent master of medieval Welsh history, R. R. Davies. A study of the interactions of England and Wales in the border zone of the Welsh March is also a large undertaking, and again the focus of recent scholarship, particularly by Max Liebermann. To make the study I wanted, I needed a smaller area and a question beyond a broad discussion of interaction. I found both while reading a passage written by Hugh the Chanter for the archbishopric of York in the early twelfth century. In narrating a jurisdictional dispute between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, Hugh mentioned an unnamed

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[1] R. R. Davies, ""Keeping the Natives in Order": The English King and The "Celtic" Rulers 1066-1216," in *The North Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe: Vikings and Celts*, ed. James Muldoon, The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 95.

bishopric in northeastern Wales, located between the Welsh diocese of Bangor and the English diocese of Chester, which, "is now vacant, owing to the desolation of the country and the rudeness of the inhabitants."[2] I was intrigued; I wanted to know more about this desolate place, I wanted to know who lived there and why or why not. So, I researched the history of the diocese, St. Asaph. And I studied the people who lived in northeastern Wales, which the Welsh called the *Perfeddwlad* and the English the Four Cantrefs. I studied where the inhabitants came from, how they lived and, if possible, who they were. I learned about the geography and the differences between uplands and lowlands and the medieval cultural perceptions of pastoralism. I learned the names of towns and mapped settlement patterns and studied forms of land tenure. Much of the actual data forms the appendix at the end of this work. By collecting demographic and affiliation data on the different inhabited locations in northeastern Wales, I was able to see patterns in how the Anglo-Normans, the English, and the Welsh developed and maintained communities.

Still, I required a framework within which to describe my findings. And so I returned to my original question, the question of Anglo-Norman and Celtic interactions along a border, the land of northeastern Wales. Northeastern Wales was a frontier in that it was physically a neglected and marginalized land between two rival powers, but was it home to a frontier society? Was it English or Welsh or some kind of

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[2] M. Brett, C. N. L. Brook, M. Winterbottom, ed. *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 206-207.

amalgamation of the two? And why would it matter? What was so important about this particular piece of the English-Welsh border?

To begin, northeastern Wales, as any kind of frontier, is significant in itself. In writing on the importance of the frontier as a method of studying history Robert I. Burns argued that the study of frontiers was useful because a frontier could be broad, encompassing, "the geographical or political frontier zone or boundary, moving or otherwise, but also the interactions in such places between societies or cultures. Organizing interactions in subthemes included settlement, institutions, religion and culture, each specifying the frontier dynamic."[3] Studying an area through the these frontier lenses allows the historian to understand more than a geographic location or a group of people and how they interacted with those around them, but also how their unique geographic, religious, and cultural makeup defined those relationships.

The identification of the population of northeastern Wales and the societal structures to which they adhered is complex. The largest difficulty is the simple fact that northeastern Wales throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was sparsely populated, a community made up of few dispersed settlements and strategic hill forts. It was a desolate land, what *Domesday Book* referred to over and over again as 'waste'. Any distinctions that developed to identify a Welsh or English society must be teased out of facts about land usage and diocesan policy. Church structure and administration were most definitely influenced by Anglo-Norman Canterbury. In fact, there was no

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[3] Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom: Expansion, Contraction, Continuity*, ed. James Muldoon and Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 64.

active diocese in northeastern Wales until Canterbury created one in the twelfth century. While at times the bishops sought freedom from external influence, the diocese of St. Asaph, created in the heart of northeastern Wales, remained an Anglo-Norman institution. Conversely, the non-religious community of the region was mostly Welsh up to the Edwardian Conquest in 1282-1283. Welsh place- and personal-names dominate available records and land holdings were organized according to traditional Welsh tenure and controlled by kin-groups. The region remained predominately Welsh in identity and practice, but began to change with the large-scale English immigration that came with the solidification of English dominance in the region.

For two centuries, the forces that create a frontier society – a society forged by the convergence of Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and English cultures – moved slowly, much slower than in the rest of the Welsh March. To create a frontier society, the population had to grow to the point that outside influences could actually carry some force. Any study of northeastern Wales during this period allows the historian to see the impact of outside influences on the local population in such a way that the transformation of a Welsh community into the mixed and complex society of a frontier is clearly seen.

Northeastern Wales cannot be easily classified as either English or Welsh. Like many frontiers, it was a unique combination of both cultures. Certain areas of life were changed by Anglo-Norman pressure and close contact with England while others, particularly the lifestyle of rural communities, remained culturally Welsh and tied to the Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd. Northeastern Wales, that small corner of the Welsh march

once referred to as vacant and a land without a name, has its own place within the English and Welsh border zone and its own part in the discussion of English and Celtic interactions during the High Middle Ages.

Technical Notes:

All of the extant primary documents relating to northeastern Wales written before the mid-fourteenth century were written in Latin. Unfortunately, Welsh names do not translate easily into Latin, which resulted in multiple spellings for Welsh personal- and place-names within the records. I have generalized the names to their Welsh form most commonly used in Welsh historical scholarship today. For example, the names Gryffudd, Gruffudd, and Gruffyn are all written as Gruffudd. The Latinate spellings are occasionally referred to in the appendix in [ ], but never within the text.

Because this study looks at northeastern Wales over a period of two centuries, the names used to identify certain people groups are confusing. The population of pre-Norman Conquest England is identified as either Mercian or Anglo-Saxon. The term Anglo-Norman is used to identify individuals from England or those working under the jurisdiction of the English crown from 1066 to the end of the twelfth century. By the time of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and John I at the beginning of the thirteenth century, these men have become simply English. Because it was founded in the mid-twelfth century, the diocese of St. Asaph is referred to as an Anglo-Norman institution. By the Edwardian Conquest practices common to England are referred to as English.

Chapter One
The History of a Frontier

The Welsh March, the fluid zone separating England from Wales, is a good example of a frontier. It was a zone of political ambiguity between the Welsh kingdoms and England. Like many other historical frontiers, the March was loosely defined by natural and manmade boundaries. Wales is a mountainous land that can be classified as being environmentally marginal and culturally a periphery; Marc Bloch classified areas with clan-dominated social structures as periphery societies.[4] Subsistence was limited by the small amount of available arable land for farming[5] since the Welsh uplands were for the most part only usable for pasturage. Colin Thomas has identified the region as an agricultural frontier because of its, "economically negative belt [of land]," which in turn reduced demographic pressure, resulting in fewer people moving into the area.[6]

Northeastern Wales is dominated by sharp slopes and narrow river valleys. It was a territory extending from the River Dee in the east and south to the River Conwy in the west, historically the Gwyneddian cantrefs[7] of Rhos, Rhufoniog, and Tegeingl and the *Dyffryn Clwyd* [Clwyd river valley] along with several cantrefs under the jurisdiction

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[4] Marc Léopold Benjamin Bloch, *Feudal Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 137.

[5] Coralie Mills and Geraint Coles, "Clinging on for Grim Life: An Introduction to Marginality as an Archeological Issue," in *Life on the Edge: Human Settlement and Marginality*, ed. Coralie Mills and Geraint Coles, Symposia of the Associaton for Environmental Archaeology No. 13 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1998), viii-x.

[6] Colin Thomas, "A Cultural-Ecological Model of Agrarian Colonization in Upland Wales," *Landscape History* 14 (1992), 38-39.

[7] Welsh administrative areas similar to counties but often more the size of hundreds.

Chester

R. Dee

Maelor

Dee Estuary

Wrexham

Ial

Dudestan

Flintshire

Atiscross

Exestan

R. Alyn

R. Dee

Tegeingl

Dyffryn Clwyd

Rhuddlan

St. Asaph

R. Clwyd

Denbighshire

R. Clywedog

Irish Sea

R. Dulas

R. Aled

Rhos

Rhufoniog

Conwy

R. Conwy
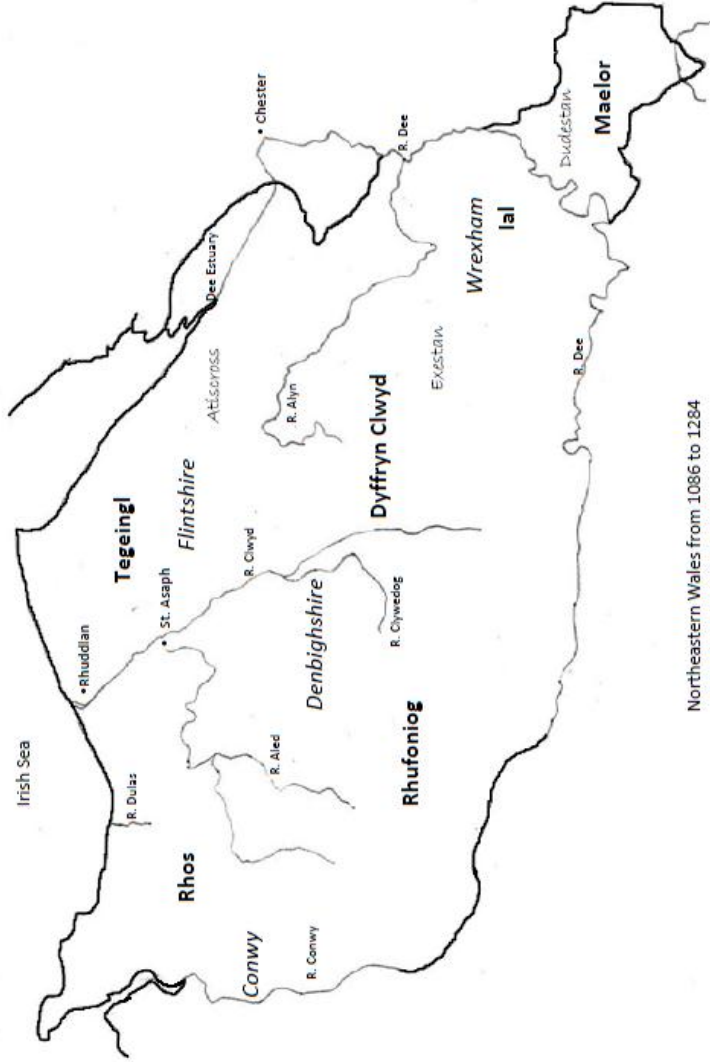
Northeastern Wales from 1086 to 1284
Tegeingl - Welsh Cantrefs
Atiscross - Anglo-Saxon Hundreds
Flintshire - English counties after 1282-1283

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of Powys[8] and is today the county of Clwyd. A narrow strip of land along the Irish Sea to the north is low and flat, but the rest of the territory is mountainous like much of Wales. A part of the Welsh March, northeastern Wales was nominally a frontier. And yet, it took time for the region to develop a frontier society. Changes happened slowly in a land of small, dispersed communities, and few inhabitants.

Because of its geography there were few areas in northeastern Wales where invading armies could easily attack. Such attacks were usually funneled towards fortified gaps and passes. These features also led to restrictions on population migration. In addition, the northern end of the March was dominated by the manmade line of dykes created in the ninth century to facilitate Mercian expansion into the region.[9] Thus, the March served both defensive and offensive purposes; the border itself was what R. R. Davies referred to as zones that were "fully permeable frontier lands of acculturation as much as of confrontation."[10]

In the north, the strip of lowlands became "the great road, where all the armies took their rout, on making incursions from England into these parts of Wales; the inland parts being impassable by reason of hills and forests."[11] The lowland estuaries of the Dee, the Clwyd, and the Conwy rivers also served as useful landing points for the Vikings

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[8] Ial and Maelor in the east and parts of Edeirnion and Penllyn in the south.

[9] Walter Pohl, "Frontiers and Ethnic Identities: Some Final Considerations," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 258-259.

[10] R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 135.

[11] Edward Edwards, ed. *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, Considerably Enlarged and Brought Down to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801), 42.

as they settled the nearby Wirral peninsula. Therefore, this readily accessible part of

northeastern Wales saw a variety of peoples throughout the Early Middle Ages. And

yet, it does not appear to have been highly populated – Hugh the Chanter, writing in

York in the early twelfth century, called the region uninhabited.[12] The result of the

geographical make-up of the region, specifically its role as a path between England and

Wales and its accessibility to Vikings from around the Irish Sea region, was that its

population was small, culturally diverse, and unique from the other peoples of the

Welsh-English frontier in that those who moved into the area before 1282 seem to have

adopted the culture of their surroundings.

There have been many studies about the governance and society of the Welsh

March, most recently by Max Liebermann.[13] However, most of these studies have

focused on the central and southern March since these regions were most heavily

penetrated by the Anglo-Normans and consequently the most well documented.

Additionally, south and central Wales had consistent religious leadership and historical

documentation provided by the Llandaff and St. Davids dioceses. The southern and

central Marches experienced the crucible-like forces that helped to create a unique

Marcher culture: a culture that was both distinctly Norman and at the same time

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[12] M. Brett, C. N. L. Brook, M. Winterbottom, ed. *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 70.

[13] Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales, 1067-1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008), Max Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066-1283* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010),

distinctly Welsh.[14] R. R. Davies pointed out the extent of Anglo-Norman influence in the

south and noted that Glamorgan and Pembroke could be identified as colonial

territories.[15] As a colonizing force in the south, Davies stated, the Anglo-Normans,

"either established an English-style government or Englishries for its colonists. . . or

created the veneer of English institutional rule while reserving all major offices to

Englishmen."[16] In contrast, the northern part of the March was treated differently. A

part of the Welsh March on the periphery of English territory, northeastern Wales

exemplifies even further the concept of a borderland or frontier because of its

geographical isolation and a sparse yet diverse population. It was home to Welshmen,

Vikings, Anglo-Saxons, and, eventually, Anglo-Norman Englishmen. Thus, the region

between the river Conwy and the river Dee was a place of cultural and demographic

exchange between the kingdoms of Powys and then Gwynedd in the west and Mercia

and Wessex, and then later Anglo-Norman England in the east. A place of exchange and

the eventual formation of a frontier society.

Frontiers are places of convergence: political, legal, cultural, religious. The

sociological model most frequently applied to the study of frontiers is that of core and

periphery.[17] The core represents the political and cultural heartland of a population.

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[14] J. G. Edwards, "The Normans and the Welsh March," in *The North Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon, The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 155-156.

[15] R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 3.

[16] Englishries were segregated communities created like an English village and populated, for the most part, by Englishmen.   R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 111.

[17] Dennis Rumley and Julian Minghi, "Introduction," in *The Geography of Border Landscapes*, Commission of the World Political Map Publications (New York: Routledge, 1991), 5.

The areas furthest from the core, and which are at least nominally under the control of the core, are the periphery. The furthest edge of the periphery is the frontier or borderland. Often the periphery has more in common with its borderland neighbors than with the core because of distance and cultural mixing.[18] The convergence of people groups in an area of periphery between two different core societies results in the creation of a frontier society that shares elements of both. As John Augelli pointed out, "Borderlands tend historically to be zones of cultural overlap and political instability where the national identity and loyalties of the people often become blurred."[19] The borderland areas become a crucible for the fusion of both societies, as each society pushes on its own periphery to conform to the leadership of the core while expanding territorially. This is the model, in brief, which historians use to study a borderland or frontier and can, in general, be applied to the Welsh March. It does not, however, accurately describe the northernmost edge of the March. Northeastern Wales was not so much a crucible between two opposing forces as an open land through which each side marched. From the late eleventh to the late thirteenth centuries it was a land of outposts and strategic attacks, but little mingling of cultures or peoples. With the exception of Tegeingl, where Vikings and Anglo-Saxons had settled during the previous century, northeastern Wales did not experience wide-scale cultural mixing or the creation of a new, hybrid frontier culture. Unlike much of the March where, by the

[18] Joachim Henning, "Civilization Versus Barbarian? Fortification Techniques and Politics in the Carolingian and Ottonian Borderland," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 23-36.

[19] Dennis Rumley and Julian Minghi, "Introduction," in *The Geography of Border Landscapes*, Commission of the World Political Map Publications (New York: Routledge, 1991), 3.

thirteenth century, cultural mingling had led to the implementation of three kinds of

law: English, Welsh, and Marcher law, which was a hybrid of the two. Marcher law

evolved as a necessary response to the practice of using Welsh law for Welshmen and

English law for Englishmen in a community where intermarriage was common and

ethnicity was becoming more difficult to determine. Instead, northeastern remained a

frontier of isolated pockets of English and Welsh and outposts continuously lost and

reclaimed. And yet, it was a frontier it was where England and Wales came together

and where, ultimately, the fight for English control over all of Wales would be settled.

Frontier studies as a historical discipline began with the writings of Frederick

Jackson Turner on the American West. Turner theorized that the geographic and

demographic pressures of the American West had come together to create a specific

American culture, a frontier culture unique to its region.[20] Since Turner's work at the

end of the nineteenth century, historians have taken his approach and applied it to the

study of other frontiers and borderlands.[21] The primary focus of frontier study turned

to analysis of the Roman fort lines, the *limes*, as a static border between a civilized

Roman Empire and a barbarian hinterland.[22] Study of the *limes* predominately treated

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[20] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Turner Thesis: Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History*, ed. George Rogers Taylor(Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co. , 1972), 3-28.

[21] A few examples are Robert I. Burns, "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Frontiers of Latin Christendom: Expansion, Contraction, Continuity*, ed. James Muldoon and Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, The Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), in 1981 and Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The American frontier – frontier of what?" in 1946.

[22] Matthias Hardt, "The *Limes Saxoniae* as Part of the Eastern Borderlands of the Frankish and Ottonian-Salian Empire," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005),.

physical borders, either natural or manmade, as clear cultural boundaries. Roman fort

lines were seen as a solid "Frontier-as-barrier" to demographic shifts and acculturation.

In the 1980s the study of frontiers began to shift away from the static *limes* approach to

one focused on borders as fluid zones of communication and cultural exchange. In 1989

Robert Burns called for the expansion of frontier studies in order to understand

American colonization. With this new approach historians have begun to look at

borders as a place of construction instead of separation.[23]

The study of medieval frontiers is problematic because, as Michael Kulikowski

has noted, it "lacks an agreed-upon theoretical basis in its medieval context."[24] Trying to

apply theories originally intended to study the American West or Roman forts is a

difficult task for medievalists. Most often medieval frontiers do not fit into the set

format of *Limes* studies. Medieval political borders were most frequently only vaguely

defined, making it difficult to identify demographics and cultural differences between

frontier peoples.[25] Were they English or Welsh, Saxon or Ottonian, Byzantine or

Bulgarian?   Max Lieberman noted the difficulty of defining the Welsh March in terms of

limes, stating that,

> The March of the Carolingian type, with defensive border commands
> situated on the *hither* side of the frontier, corresponds to the compact
> blocks of mainly English territory found in westernmost Shropshire. On

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[23] Florin Curta, "Introduction," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhaut: Brepols, 2005), 2-3 & 5.

[24] Michael Kulikowski, "Ethnicity, Rulership, and Early Medieval Frontiers," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 247-248.

[25] Nora Berend, "Preface," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend(Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), xiv.

the other hand, the conquest territories in Wales parallel the roman *limes* which commonly consisted of a network of client territories situated on the far side of the border line. [26]

Clearly, the Welsh March as a whole does not fit into one particular approach to frontier studies.

While Turner's Thesis had proposed that the American frontier created the American identity, historians have now begun to look at frontiers and borderlands as places where people groups create a culturally mixed frontier society at the same time as they solidify their own concepts of identity.[27] Historians are now looking at the formation of both frontier societies and frontier cultures. The main areas in which this has been done are in Spain, along the eastern border of the Ottonian Empire, and the Welsh March. [28]

Northeastern Wales had been caught between different cultures and kingdoms long before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Patterns of inhabitation and land usage can be seen when the available written and archaeological data is compiled, as in the appendix at the end of this work. It is known through archaeological evidence that the Romans occupied Chester and the Dee estuary, but after their withdrawal the history of

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[26] Max Lieberman, *The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066-1283* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 19.

[27] Florin Curta, "Frontier Ethnogenesis in Late Antiquity: The Danube, the Tervingi, and the Slavs," in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 176. Robin Frame, "Overlordship and Reaction, C. 1200-C. 1450," in *The North Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon, Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000-1500 (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 70.

[28] Archibald Lewis used Spain to make his economically-driven argument for a closing of the frontiers of Europe after 1250 in his often cited article Archibald Lewis, "The Closing of the Medieval Frontier, 1250-1350," *Speculum* 33 (1958),

the region is difficult to study. From the fifth to the eighth century very little is known; although the Roman settlements at Dinorben, Hiraddug, Prestatyn, and Rhuddlan show signs of continuous inhabitation, particularly the remains of pottery produced in the Cheshire basin.[29] During the seventh century most of Wales experienced regional political consolidation and the border between the Welsh and the English – the area that came to be known as the Welsh March – became more clearly defined in all but the northeast.

That borderline remained fluid, the population remained distinct pockets of English and Welsh, and, "in this area, then, English/Welsh political spheres and the border zone were *not* defined in the seventh century."[30] What is known of northeastern Wales during this period is that the population was active in the upland areas of the Clwyd Mountain Range; prominent hill forts were occupied at Dinorben and Hiraddug at the north end of the range, as well as at Bodfari and at Moel Fenlii further south.[31] Hill forts served as defensive outposts and usually overlooked mountain or river passes. Additionally, Christian burial was practiced in the uplands at Tandderwen, extending the usage of a bronze-age cemetery into the twelfth century.[32]

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[29] Myfanwy Lloyd Jones, *Society and Settlement in Wales and the Marches, 500 B.C. To A.D. 1100*, Bar British Series (Oxford, England: B.A.R., 1984), 435.

[30] Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 63-63.

[31] Dorothy Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 69 & 83.

[32] David Longley, "Early Medieval Burial in Wales," in *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*, ed. Nancy Edwards, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs (London: Maney, 2009), 110-120.

Through the next centuries northeastern Wales was nominally under the control of Powys, but by the ninth century the power of Gwynedd steadily increased at Powys' expense. Gwynedd was soon preoccupied with Viking raids in Anglesey and appears to have had little time or energy to act east of the Conwy river. With Powys trying to consolidate its dwindling power in central Wales and Gwynedd focused on defending its western borders northeastern Wales, on the outer edge of both kingdoms, was ignored. The area from the Conwy to the Dee was increasingly drawn into the sphere of Mercia and, therefore, the English. Offa's Dyke was built by the Mercians along the Welsh March, probably in the late eighth century. Historians have debated whether this boundary was created to keep the Welsh from raiding into Mercia or as an outpost line for Mercian expansion.[33] Regardless, it created a physical boundary around Wales. Offa's Dyke was not, however, continuous and it extended only about halfway through north-east Wales. The dyke did not reach the sea and this lack of fortification implies that people could move more freely between the nominally Welsh and English parts of the region. Later, possibly as late as the tenth century, another dyke was built to fill this gap. Wat's Dyke, positioned north and east of Offa's, cannot be said to have created a firm boundary between English Chester and a Welsh-populated northeastern Wales, in part because the eleventh century English hundred of Atiscross encompassed territory on both sides of the dyke.[34]

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[33] Dorothy Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 99.

[34] Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 64-67.

According to Asser (d. 908/909), the Vikings held Chester for a time in 897. By 907 Edward the Elder (871-924), son of Alfred the Great of Wessex (c. 847-899) and king of the now unified English, reestablished Chester under English control. His rule was not, however, popular among the Welsh, Norse, and English population in and around Chester and Edward died in 924 still trying to consolidate the region.[35] Chester could not have been considered to be a part of Wales at least from the 6th century onward – it was most definitely a part of Mercia, and therefore, of England. How does it relate to a study of northeastern Wales? Chester was the nearest center of governmental administration and of trade and, as the tenth century progressed, it was looking eastward. With Gwynedd and Powys distracted, the English pushed into north-eastern Wales from Chester with enough success to leave a number of Anglo-Saxon place-names such as Aston, Bettisfield, and Coleshill.[36] There were English raids or campaigns to the river Dee in 878 and 881.[37] In 921 Edward created the burh of Cledemutha, or Rhuddlan, at the mouth of the Dee estuary, essentially setting up an English administrative outpost in the heart of northeastern Wales. The burh at Rhuddlan did not remain in English hands for long; it probably reverted to local Welsh, and possibly Scandinavian, control by the end of the tenth century. However, the English retained a presence in the region and throughout the eleventh century Rhuddlan transferred back

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[35] Simon Ward, "Edward the Elder and the Re-Establishment of Chester," in *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill(New York: Taylor and Francis Group - Routledge, 2001), 160-161.

[36] *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003), 721 & 735-736.

[37] Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 68.

and forth between Gwynedd and the English. In 1056 Harold Godwinson (c. 1022-1066)

forced Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (1007- c. 1064), king of Gwynedd, out of Rhuddlan, but

after a short time Gruffudd was back. There were armies marching across northeastern

Wales, wreaking untold havoc on the region.

By 1086, *Domesday Book* recorded a mixed population with some Welsh and

Scandinavian personal and family names living in northeastern Wales.[38] The town of

Aston, held by a man named Hamo, had been split between two men before the coming

of the Normans. These men had the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian names of Edwin and

Thorth. A man named Odin held half of the manor of Bistre, half of that of Mulintone,

and a manor at Wiselei, together worth 10s.[39] The extent of Anglo-Saxon settlement is

difficult to determine because the frequent references to Edwin may be referring to

Edwin, Earl of Chester, who was identified by *Domesday Book* as landholder. Whether

or not he simply collected fees from the Welsh occupants of these lands or settled his

own people on them is unclear, but the earl is recorded as holding property in at least

seven different locations, including Rhuddlan.[40] Because of the limited scope of

Domesday Book in northeastern Wales, it only recorded holdings in the flat lands along

the Dee and the Irish Sea, no similar information is available for the rest of the region. It

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[38] David E. Thornton, "Some Welshmen in Domesday Book and Beyond: Aspects of Anglo-Welsh Relations in the Eleventh Century," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007),

[39] *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003), 735, 737.

[40] According to *Domesday Book* Earl Edwin, presumably of Chester, previously held lands in Aston, Bistre, Burwardestone, Harwarden, Radington, and Worthenbury in addition to Rhuddlan. Both Bistre and Rhuddlan were recorded as 'waste' at the time of the Anglo-Norman takeover. See appendix.

can at least be said that there was an Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian presence before the Normans arrived.

Sometime in the late tenth or early eleventh century the English, to further their hold east of the Dee, had created two hundreds that straddled the English and Welsh boundary zone – Atiscross to the north and Exestan to the south. Atiscross, also known as Englefield, the Angle or English field, extended from the Dee to the Clwyd and was split down the middle by Wat's Dyke. The eastern side of Atiscross was unhidated in 1086 and it seems to have been only nominally under the control of the English, having been rather recently taken from Gruffudd ap Llywelyn in their conflicts during the 1050s.[41] When it was under Welsh, particularly Gwyneddian control, Atiscross was identified as the cantref of Tegeingl and both names are recorded in primary documents.

The records in *Domesday* show a clear attempt by the Anglo-Normans to solidify their position as landholders, at least in Tegeingl and south into Ial and Maelor. The largest areas of land were given to Robert, cousin of the new earl of Chester, Hugh of Avranches. Robert pushed forward into northeastern Wales as far as Rhuddlan, and the town became his base. He is recorded as holding sixty-four separate properties.[42] Of these, many had Welsh names such as Llanelwy, Caerwys, and Gwaenysgor. A few were Scandinavian, like Kelston, or Anglo-Saxon, such as Witestan and Greenfield. Most of his holdings were located along the Irish Sea and in Tegeingl. Today it is impossible to

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[41] C. P. Lewis, "Welsh Territories and Welsh Identities in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 132.

[42] For a complete listing and further information see appendix.

Anglo-Norman holdings seized from specific individuals, as recorded in *Domesday Book*

determine the location of a number of the holdings assigned to the Berewick of

Rhuddlan because they no longer exist under their previous names. However, most are

identified in *Domesday Book* as being in the hundred of Atiscross, which means that

they were located in Tegeingl. Very little background information is given for most of

Robert's holdings. The previous owners are recorded for only five of these locations,

the most prominent being Rhuddlan, which had previously been held by earl Edwin. The

other four were all located directly on the west bank of the Dee Estuary. Bagillt was

taken from a man named Arni. Broughton, Golftyn, and Leadbrook were all previously

held, at least in part, by a man named Leofnoth. Other sections of Broughton had been

the holdings of men named Wulfmear and Hrafnsvartr. A certain Wulfbert also held a

part of Leadbrook. Both Bagillt and Golftyn were later redistributed by Robert to his

own retainers.

Besides Robert of Rhuddlan, the earl of Chester granted lands to other Anglo-

Norman supporters. *Domesday Book* specifically records lands taken from Welsh,

Anglo-Saxon, or Scandinavian control to become Anglo-Norman holdings. One man,

Hamo was given Aston and Lys Edwin, which he, in turn, granted to a retainer named

Osmund. Both holdings had previously been held, at least in part, by a man named

Edwin; it is unclear whether this Edwin was the previous earl of Chester or another man

of the same name. Edwin is also recorded as having lost his holdings in Hope to Gilbert

de Venables. Another Anglo-Norman named Reginald received Erbistock and Gresford.

Erbistock had been held by a Welshman named Rhys, while Gresford had belonged

partially to Thorth and partially to the Church of St. Chad, located in the territory of

Chester. The lands at Gresford were extensive; Reginald received three hides, which included a piece of woodland and was worth 20s. Additional lands in Gresford were divided between men named Hugh and Osbern. These holdings were large, over eleven hides, and included woodland, a mill, a church, and two eyries of hawks. These lands were determined in 1086 to be worth 65s. and the holdings at Gresford were large enough for the earl of Chester to redistribute them among three of his own men.

Hugh fitzOsbern, possibly the same Hugh as mentioned above, received Trevalyn from the same Thorth and Edritone from two men, Almaer and Ramkel. In turn, fitzOsbern divided Edritone between his own retainers: Richard, Osbern fitzTezzon, and Hugh fitzNorman. The lands of Soughton were taken from a Scandinavian man, Esbjorn, and given to an Anglo-Norman named Ralph, and the bishop of Chester received the holdings of Wepre. Wepre had previously belonged to a man named Earnwig; the land was then given by the bishop into the control of William Malbank. It was not only current inhabitants who lost their rights to lands; Bettisfield, an Anglo-Saxon community in the very southeast corner of the region, was taken from the suzerainty of the bishop of Chester and given to Robert fitzHugh. These lands were all held, ultimately, of earl Hugh of Chester, and the earl retained rights to the forests on the holdings at Edritone, Aston, Soughton, Llys Edwin, and Wepre. Thorth appears to have been a major landholder, along with earl Edwin. Otherwise, lands had previously been held by men of apparent Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian descent. These lands were redistributed among a few men under the suzerainty of the new Anglo-Norman earl of Chester. An Anglo-Norman presence in northeastern Wales, therefore, cannot be denied. But that presence was

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restricted to areas areas along the lowland periphery of the region, and a cultural or

administrative change as a result of the transfer of lands is more difficult to determine. The fact

that the earl of Chester retained forest rights on some of his redistributed holdings was a new

concept for northeastern Wales; a sign of Anglo-Norman influence here, as forestry laws were

being implemented throughout the rest of the British Isles. But changes to the way people lived

or worked the land are much harder to determine from the limited scope of *Domesday Book.* As

a land survey,   it can only supply certain types of data, and that information can only illuminate

part of the nature of the region.[43] A further study of this question is addressed in chapter

three.

Northeastern Wales, particularly Tegeingl, was not only the site of continuing

contact between the Welsh and the Anglo-Normans, but also one of the primary sites of

possible Scandinavian settlement in northern Wales. It is difficult for historians to trace

the actual settlement patterns of Vikings in Wales, mainly because the types of physical

evidence that are extant can be signs of both temporary occupation and permanent

settlement. Most evidence of a Viking presence comes from the Scandinavian place-

names and the presence of stone crosses carved in distinctive Scandinavian styles.

Additionally, there are a few Scandinavian graves that have been excavated. The small

peninsula of land to the north of Chester and east of Tegeingle known as the Wirral has

clear signs of Viking settlement. There was a definite Dublin-to-Chester connection

across the Irish Sea by the tenth century.[44] There is evidence that the Vikings spread

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[43] See appendix by place-name.

[44] Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1976), 19.
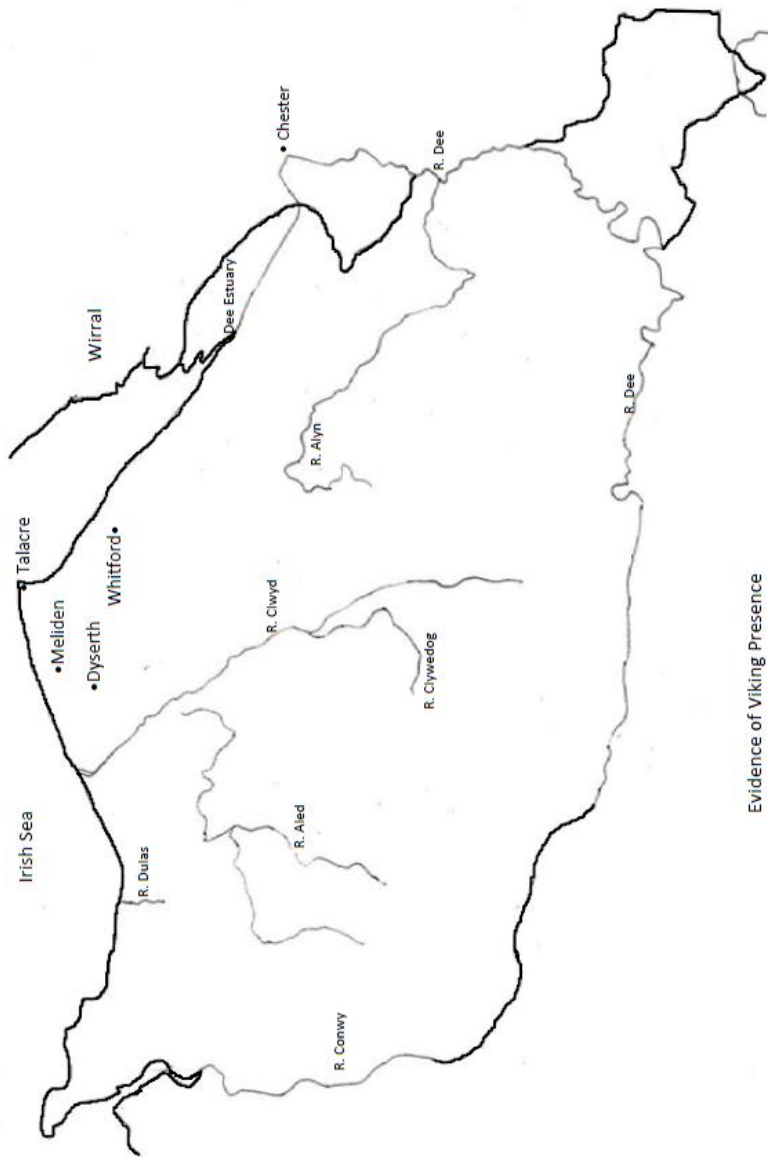
Evidence of Viking Presence

Chester
R. Dee
R. Dee
R. Alyn
Wirral
Dee Estuary
Talacre
Meliden
Dyserth
Whitford
R. Clwyd
R. Clywedog
R. Aled
Irish Sea
R. Dulas
R. Conwy

across the Dee estuary into Tegeingle and perhaps even south into the hundred of

Mersete.[45] It was recorded in the third fragment of the *Annals of Ireland* that a group of

Vikings led by a man named Ingimund were banished from Dublin in 902. Ingimund led

them first to Anglesey and then, apparently within a decade, to the Wirral and the

northern part of the region between the Clwyd estuary, later the site of Rhuddlan, and

the estuary of the Dee.[46] Evidence of Viking influence on the region can be seen in

stone crosses found in Whitford, Meliden, and Dyserth; the Maen Achwyfan cross in

Whitford has recently been proposed as a possible Viking center or crossroads meeting

point. Interestingly, this cross was set up near what are probably Iron Age Welsh burial

mounds and in a region which appears to have had a mostly Welsh population. A little

way to the north a Viking burial has been found near the coast at Talacre.[47]

Place-name evidence is usually used to determine the demographic makeup of a

region, but in northeastern Wales it is more difficult because there are few Scandinavian

place-names; it seems that most settlements and villages continued to use their Welsh

or English names instead of adopting Scandinavian ones. The hamlets that have been

identified as having Scandinavian place-names are Talacre, Linacre, Axton, and Kelston

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[45] Scandinavian presence in the Wirral has been widely documented based on both archaeological and place-name evidence. The presence of a *Thingwall* in the Wirral is noted in David Griffiths, "Maen Achwyfan and the Context of Viking Settlement in North-East Wales," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 155 (2006), 154. For a study of Scandinavian settlement in Mersete see C. P. C. P. Lewis, "Welsh Territories and Welsh Identities in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007),

[46] F. T. Wainwright, "Ingimund's Invasion," *The English Historical Review* 63 (1948), 146.

[47] Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 53. David Griffiths, "Maen Achwyfan and the Context of Viking Settlement in North-East Wales," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 155 (2006), 143-145 & 153-159.

and are all located along the Irish Sea coast in northern Tegeingl.[48] Some historians

have taken the lack of evidence to mean that the Vikings never made permanent

settlements outside the Wirral, but others have argued that the archaeological finds and

available place-name evidence are enough to signify a continuing Viking presence.[49]

Whether or not the Vikings had truly permanent settlements in the region, there

is enough evidence to show that they were present in northeastern Wales from the

beginning of the tenth century up through the Norman Conquest. *Domesday Book*

records property owners west of the Dee with both Scandinavian and Welsh names.

Scandinavians named Leofnoth and Arni held property along the Dee estuary.[50]

Domesday also provides evidence of the presence of Welsh elites and of the continuing

influence of Gwynedd on the region. Welshmen are recorded as holding property

nominally under the county of Chester, including Marchudd ap Cynan at Axton and

Gellilyfdy in Atiscross. Additionally, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, king of Gwynedd, was

recorded as holding Bistre[51] in Atiscross and "land beyond [the] river Dee." Gruffudd

had also been granted Eyton in the southeast corner of the region, but the lands were

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[48] Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales*, The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1976), 23-25. Dorothy Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 103.

[49] Both positions are presented in Nicholas Higham, "Viking-Age Settlement in the Nort-West Countryside: Lifting the Veil? ," in *Land, Sea and Home: Settlement in the Viking Period*, ed. John Hines, Alan Lane, Mark Redknap, The Society for Medieval Archaeology and Authors Monographs (Leeds: Manley, 2004), 298-303. Wendy Davies notes place-name evidence in Wendy Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 53.

[50] David Griffiths, "Maen Achwyfan and the Context of Viking Settlement in North-East Wales," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 155 (2006), 156-157, n. 49 & n. 51.

[51] Bistre is another example of the back-and-forth control of both Gwynedd and the English – The earl of Chester held Bistre as late as the mid-eleventh century.

taken from him after, "King Gruffydd himself wronged [King Edward], [Edward] took this land from him, and restored it to the Bishop of Chester and to all his men who formerly held it." [52]

Thus, by the time of the Norman Conquest, northeastern Wales had become a place with a diverse and scattered population, a place with undefined loyalties and affiliations, to the point that in *Domesday Book* all of Atiscross or Tegeingl was "described as waste before the Conquest."[53] The region was already a point of convergence, a boundary zone between the competing forces of Gwynedd and Chester, of the Welsh and the English, in 1066. The Norman Conquest did not so much create the cultural and political cauldron of a frontier society, as add yet another dimension to it.

William of Normandy was quick to spread his power to the Welsh border. By 1170 he had set up William fitzOsbern in southern Wales, Roger of Montgomery in Shrewsbury, and Hugh of Avranches in Chester. Earl Hugh quickly moved across the Dee through northern Tegeingl and Rhos in what R. R. Davies called a "loose and occasional military hegemony."[54] Hugh placed the area under the control of his cousin Robert, who built fortresses at Degannwy and Rhuddlan near the mouths of the Conwy and the

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[52] David E. Thornton, "Some Welshmen in Domesday Book and Beyond: Aspects of Anglo-Welsh Relations in the Eleventh Century," in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Nick Higham, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), Table 12.1, 146-148. *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003), 717.

[53] David Griffiths, "Maen Achwyfan and the Context of Viking Settlement in North-East Wales," *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 155 (2006), 162 n. 51.

[54] R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change : Wales, 1063-1415*, The History of Wales, [V. 2] (Oxford; [Cardiff]: Clarendon Press ; University of Wales Press, 1987), 30-31.

Clwyd. Technically, Robert of Rhuddlan, as he came to be called, held the territory directly of King William but in reality he held it of the earl of Chester, and his claim was entirely dependent upon his ability to maintain military supremacy in the area. William could not supply very much aid since he was preoccupied with military expeditions into southern Wales.

Robert of Rhuddlan was able to sustain his holdings along the Irish Sea coast for a time, but he was killed in a fight against the Welsh in the 1090s. After the death of earl Hugh in 1101, the territory came under the control of a minor and Chester's hold on northeastern Wales weakened. At the same time, the power of Gwynedd was growing, and during the civil war between Stephen and Matilda the Welsh kingdom was able to expand even further by taking advantage of the distraction of the Marcher lords. During the 1150s and 1160s the Welsh kingdom under Owain ap Gruffudd (1100-1170) pushed the Anglo-Normans out of Rhuddlan and regained control of Tegeingl. The Welsh continued to hold out against England when, in 1157, Henry II marched into northeastern Wales and was defeated at Basingwerk on the Dee. [55]

By the time of the rule of Llwelyn ap Iorworth (1170-1240) at the beginning of the thirteenth century Gwynedd had firmly established demesne holdings at Dinorben, Dinbych, and Ystrad Owen. At the same time the English crown formalized its relationship with Gwynedd as a vassal.   The Welsh kingdom was not always willing to cooperate, however, and Tegeingl, Rhos, Rhufoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd was officially ceded to the English crown in 1247 by Llewellyn's son Dafydd. Dafydd's successor and

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[55] Ibid., 47-48, 51.

nephew Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (1223-1282) renewed the fight against increasing English control of the region, a decision which brought him into conflict first with Henry III and then Edward I. It was not until the campaigns of Edward from 1276 to 1282 that England was able to assert mastery over the area and begin to a strong English presence in northeast Wales. In 1277 northeastern Wales, called the Four Cantrefs by the English, was given over to the English crown for the last time.[56] By the end of the Edwardian Conquest, northeastern Wales was no longer a frontier, but part of an empire.

Northeastern Wales was already a frontier at the Norman Conquest. Over the next two centuries the Anglo-Normans, through the expansionist efforts of the earls of Chester and their vassals, the English crown, and the episcopal hierarchy at Canterbury, pressed in on this society from the east. The twelfth century saw a resurgence of Welsh monarchical power in Gwynedd pushing into the region from the west. Northeastern Wales became a cultural, religious, and political battleground between the two clashing powers. The region transformed from a sparsely populated land frequently referred to as a wasteland and defined by its periphery to the centers of power in Gwynedd, Powys, Chester, and London to a contested border between two powers as they fought for supremacy. While they fought, they slowly influenced the people of northeastern Wales and, over time, created a frontier society.

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[56] Great Britain Public Record Office, "Welsh Rolls," in *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Ad 1277-1326; Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Roles, Scutage Rolls*(London: Kraus, 1976), 159.

Chapter Two
Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical influence in northeastern Wales

At the beginning of the twelfth century the church in Wales was localized and

fragmentary and its organization had much more in common with the Celtic church of

Ireland than the formalized structure of the churches of England or northern France.

While there were Welsh bishops, dioceses in pre-Conquest Wales did not have clear

boundaries and it is difficult to determine whether certain areas were under the

jurisdiction of a particular bishop or, in a few areas, any bishop at all. With the coming

of the Normans, the English church began to make aggressive moves into the frontier

between England and the Welsh kingdoms of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth – the

area known even at that time as the Welsh March. While lords and soldiers extended

Anglo-Norman political and military power, episcopal expansion came directly from

Canterbury, which had quickly fallen under Norman control and just as quickly sought to

assert its primacy over the whole of the British Isles.[57]

It was not uncommon throughout the history of Europe for an expanding power

to use the church to consolidate control over a newly-conquered population. Pippin the

First (714-768) had done this in Frisia in the seventh century when he created the

diocese of Utrecht and supported the missionary efforts of Willibrord.[58] The formation

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[57] Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, Revised ed. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 1-2.

[58] Pierre Riche, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, trans., Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 30, 102 & 104.

of the duchy of Normandy provides yet another example, where ducal support for the restoration of pillaged monasteries was reciprocated by the abbots' support for Norman policies. In addition to providing material support for the duke as he traveled throughout Normandy, these monasteries served to reinforce the legitimacy of Norman rule to the Frankish population. The church became a point of commonality between the conquerors and the conquered.[59] The Normans continued these useful policies when, having successfully invaded England, they began to expand into Wales. The results of the Conquest and Canterbury's subsequent extension of authority into Wales are particularly clear in the northeast through the creation, leadership, and administration of the diocese of St. Asaph.

Even before the coming of the Normans, northeastern Wales had frequently changed hands. This region, extending from the River Dee in the east and south to the River Conwy in the west, was made up of the Gwyneddian cantrefs, or counties, of Rhos, Rhufoniog, and Tegeingle and Dyffryn Clwyd along with several cantrefs under the jurisdiction of Powys.[60] The strip of land along the Irish Sea to the north is low and flat, but the rest of the territory is mountainous, as is much of Wales. This strip of lowlands became the path for invading armies moving both east and west.

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[59] Cassandra Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, vol. 11 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 34-35.

[60] A cantref was a Welsh administrative area similar to a county but more often the size of a hundred. Ial and Maelor in the east and parts of Edeirnion and Penllyn in the south were controlled by Powys. The region was later divided by the English primarily into Flintshire and Denbighshire, and is now the county of Clwyd.
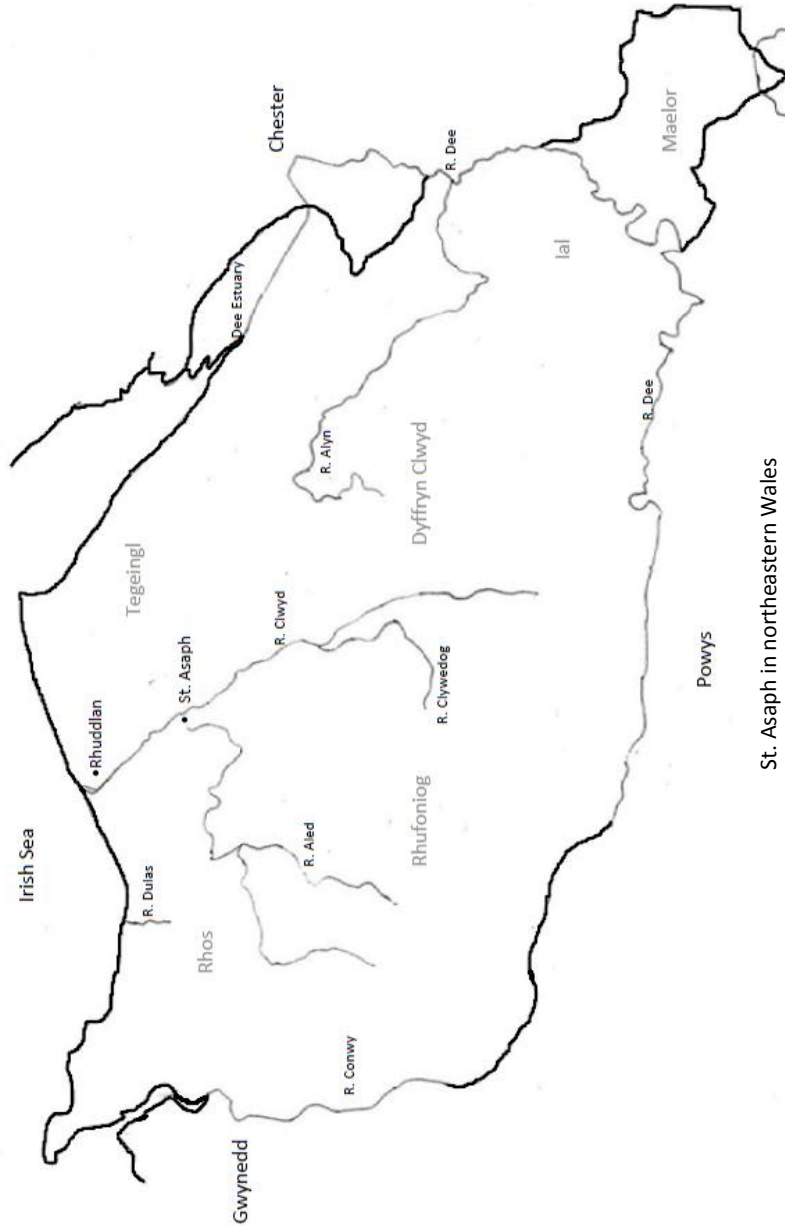
St. Asaph in northeastern Wales

In the tenth century the Mercians had gained a temporary foothold on the Clywd river estuary and made the nearby town of Rhuddlan a borough, but they soon lost ground. Expansion had continued in the eleventh century, and most of the cantref of Tegeingl and part of that of Ial had been incorporated as hundreds under the control of Chester, the town located just across the Dee in England. Yet the territory continued to change hands and some areas, including Rhuddlan, were reclaimed by the Welsh during the resurgence of Gwyneddian power in the mid-eleventh century under Gruffudd ap Llwelyn (1007-1063/64). Gwynedd was not able to hold onto the region for long, in 1063 Harold Godwinson defeated Gruffudd and the area remained fragmented and vaguely affiliated with Gwynedd, northern Powys, and Chester when William of Normandy invaded three years later.[61]

So, at the time of the Norman Conquest northeastern Wales was already in chaos, with little or no stable political leadership, few churches, and no bishop or organized diocese. These factors were quickly exploited by the Anglo-Norman crown and by the archbishop of Canterbury. Within twenty years of their arrival in England, a Norman duke controlled Chester and he and one of his retainers, Robert of Rhuddlan (d. 1093), had advanced Anglo-Norman control along the northern border of the region. They held the area along the Irish Sea from the Dee to the Clwyd and reestablished Rhuddlan as an administrative center. From this stronghold the Normans could launch raids into the heart of Gwynedd. Similarly, the Anglo-Norman church also sought to expand into the region – the largest change was the creation of the diocese of St. Asaph,

[61] R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change : Wales, 1063-1415*, The History of Wales, [V. 2] (Oxford; [Cardiff]: Clarendon Press ; University of Wales Press, 1987), 4, 8-10, 24-27.

but Canterbury's influence can also be seen in the nature of the leadership of the diocese and the affiliation of the diocese as an institution with the Anglo-Norman church.

The region of northeastern Wales did not have a bishop at the time of the Conquest and the situation continued throughout the end of the eleventh century and into the twelfth. Whether the area had ever been organized into a diocese is in question – tradition was that a see had been formed with the founding of a church for St. Kentigern at Llanelwy in 560. This church had later been renamed for one of its former bishops, St. Asaph.[62] However, there had not been a bishop in this part of Wales for some time due to continuous violence in the area. E. Edwards suggests that,

> The continuance of the church of St. Asaph in early times without a
> bishop may be further evinced, from its situation in the great road, where
> all the armies took their route, on making incursions from England into
> these parts of Wales; the inland parts being impassable by reason of hills
> and forests; so that St. Asaph may, before the eleventh century be not
> only supposed to be left without a resident bishop, but almost without
> inhabitants.[63]

Given the situation, the area may have fallen under the nominal jurisdiction of the bishops of Bangor in the west and Chester in the east. Writing in the early twelfth

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[62] P. B. Ironside Bax, *The Cathedral Church of St. Asaph: Historical and Discriptive* (London: Elliot Stock, 1896), Edward Edwards, ed. *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, Considerably Enlarged and Brought Down to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801), 38.

[63] Edward Edwards, ed. *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, Considerably Enlarged and Brought Down to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801), 42.

century, Henry of Huntingdon stated that there were only three dioceses in Wales, those of St. David's and Llandaff in the south and Bangor in the northwest.[64]

The first post-Conquest reference to a diocese in northeastern Wales comes out of an 1125 dispute between archbishop William of Canterbury and archbishop Thurstan of York recorded at York by Hugh the Chanter. Both archbishops were Normans and had been arguing for some time over which archbishopric held primacy in the British Isles. Since the Conquest, Canterbury had increasingly asserted its jurisdiction throughout England and Norman-held areas of southern Wales; the Welsh dioceses of Llandaff and St. Davids had both received Norman bishops who were sworn to obey Canterbury, Urban of Llandaff in 1107 and Bernard of St. Davids in 1115. Given its extensive jurisdiction and its historical ecclesiastical importance, Canterbury claimed primacy over the entire British Isles. York, which historically had held jurisdiction over several large English and Scottish dioceses and itself had a long history of independence, did not want to submit to Canterbury.[65] In 1125 the dispute reached the point that both King Henry I and Pope Honorius II became involved. Henry proposed a compromise: York would yield to Canterbury's primacy, but only after the death of Thurstan, and in exchange Canterbury would cede to York's jurisdiction the bishoprics of

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[64]Henry of Huntingdon, "The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon: Comprising the History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Accession of Henry Ii. Also, the Acts of Stephen, King of England and Duke of Normandy," ed. Thomas Forester (London: H. G. Bohn, 1853). http://www.archive.org/details/chroniclehenryh01foregoog (accessed 01/28/10), 43.

[65] York had tried to extend its power into northern Wales - attempts had been made to appoint a Norman bishop to Bangor in 1096, but bishop Herve, being Norman and the choice of earl Hugh of Chester, had been rejected by his diocese and forced to flee. John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Norman Invasion to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. 2 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004), 65-68.

Chester, Bangor, and "another which lies between those two, but is now vacant, owing to the desolation of the country and the rudeness of the inhabitants".[66] Because neither side was willing to accept this arrangement Honorius summoned both archbishops to Rome.

At Rome, William of Canterbury again refused to accept the compromise because he "stoutly denied having heard even a mention of the third unnamed bishopric". Hugh the Chanter recorded that everyone was stunned by this announcement and that William's attendants knew the truth but "could not decently contradict their archbishop openly".[67] The archbishops left Rome without a decision and the dispute remained. The area between the bishoprics of Bangor and Chester would become, if indeed it was not already, albeit in abeyance, the diocese of St. Asaph. Clearly the government of Henry I, in including this territory in its compromise proposal, thought that there had been a diocese there at some point. It was only in Rome that William denied its existence. In all likelihood, he did this in order to put forward a legitimate reason for rejecting the compromise and not because he truly had a problem with the wording of the compromise. The entire episode emphasizes the confusing and tenuous nature of the Church in northeastern Wales in the years after the conquest.

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[66] M. Brett, C. N. L. Brook, M. Winterbottom, ed. *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 206-207.; John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Norman Invasion to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. 2 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004), 70.

[67] M. Brett, C. N. L. Brook, M. Winterbottom, ed. *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 210-211.

The generally accepted date for the foundation of the diocese of St. Asaph after the Norman Conquest is 1143 with the consecration of a bishop of St. Asaph, a Norman named Gilbert, by Theobald of Canterbury. However, Matthew Pearson has made a compelling argument for the consecration of a Bishop Richard two years earlier.[68] Regardless of whether the diocese began in 1141 or 1143, the question remains why Canterbury chose this time to appoint a bishop. There are several possible reasons. Canterbury may have been concerned about the spiritual welfare of the region's population. The area had, after all, witnessed almost continuous warfare for half a century and "the land was so wasted by the constant ebb and flow of the tide of war and pillage between the Welsh and the earl of Chester that episcopal organization had almost completely broken down".[69] It simply may not have been possible to attempt to organize the region before the 1140s. A substantial element of the Anglo-Norman approach to Wales had been to gain control of the church as soon as possible; it could then be used to put pressure on recalcitrant Welsh lords and to spread Norman culture and organization into Wales.[70] Since 1073 the area around St. Asaph was under Anglo-Norman occupation, but the Norman's power was weakened throughout the 1140s by the campaigns of Owain Gwynedd (1100-1170) to reclaim Welsh territory. It is quite

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[68] Pearson argues that a reference to a bishop Richard in 1141 is not, as most scholars believe, a copyist error, but a reference to an actual man who held the bishopric. M. J. Pearson, "The Creation and Development of the St Asaph Cathedral Chapter, 1141-1293," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (2000), 38-39.

[69] Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, Revised ed. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 3.

[70] Ibid. 2.

possible that the appointment of a bishop of St. Asaph at this time was an attempt to maintain a form of Anglo-Norman control in the area even as they faced a forced military withdrawal. Even with military reversals Wales would still be under Anglo-Norman influence. Another possible reason for the appointment was as a check to the growing power of Bangor. The diocese of Bangor was centered in the heart of Gwynedd and therefore its power often rose and fell with the power of its princes.[71] It may have been for any or all of these reasons that Archbishop Theobald decided to consecrate a new bishop and bring the territory surrounding St. Asaph firmly under Canterbury's, and therefore Anglo-Norman, control.

From its creation, the diocese of St. Asaph was tied directly to the archbishopric of Canterbury. It was not placed under the metropolitan jurisdiction of York or the control of the bishopric of St. Davids. That St. Davids seems to have made little or no move toward incorporating the vacant territory or appointing an archbishop to the region is somewhat surprising.[72] During the first half of the twelfth century successive bishops of St. Davids had fought unsuccessfully for papal recognition as a metropolitan see, which would have given them primacy over the other Welsh dioceses while still remaining subordinate to Canterbury. St. Davids' claim was based on a historical precedent as the most important bishopric in Wales, so a move into the disordered region of northeastern Wales would have been a natural move. The jurisdiction battles

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[71] John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Norman Invasion to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. 2 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004), 90 & 306 fn. 238.

[72] Pearson alone mentions the possibility that the archbishop of St. Davids was considering consecrating a bishop when Theobald of Canterbury preempted him. M. J. Pearson, "The Creation and Development of the St Asaph Cathedral Chapter, 1141-1293," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (2000), 38.

continued throughout the twelfth century, but St. Asaph never really got involved.

Perhaps the reason was that northeastern Wales so frequently transferred back and

forth between Gwynedd and Anglo-Norman control that the loyalty to Canterbury was a

welcome constant.[73]

The creation of a formal structure of a chapter with canons and deacons who

then administered specific areas of the diocese probably took place in the late twelfth

century. The most likely bishop to have begun the chapter was Reiner (1186-1224), who

had both the personality and the time in office to push through a major reorganization.

The first recorded dean served during Reiner's tenure and the existence of other

members of a chapter are recorded soon after. In 1233 a chancellor of a chapter at St.

Asaph was mentioned in the English Patent Rolls and the existence of a precentor was

recorded in 1239.[74]   The introduction of formal, non-Celtic organization was

presumably a change from the somewhat looser organization common to Celtic

churches, in which a *clas* or household of secular canons handled church administration.

In addition, clerical marriage was still very common in Wales at the Conquest, in spite of

the Gregorian reforms of the previous century, and many times ecclesiastical

institutions were dominated by a family for generations. This practice was castigated by

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[73] John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Norman Invasion to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. 2 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004), 87, 91.

[74] M. J. Pearson, "The Creation and Development of the St Asaph Cathedral Chapter, 1141-1293," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (2000), 41-44. J. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, Historical Society of the Church in Wales Publications, V. 1, 3 ([Cardiff]: Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1946), 597-600.

Canterbury and there is no evidence of any family dominating the administration of St. Asaph; the diocese was, in many ways, very English or continental and not Welsh.[75]

Without the Norman Conquest, the diocese of St. Asaph probably would not have existed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The area would likely have continued to be a small, neglected corner of the diocese of Bangor or of Chester. With the creation of the bishopric, an element of stability was introduced into the region and the structure of church administration in northeastern Wales changed. Canterbury was also able to make a claim over the area and promote the papal reforms which it felt were vital to the health of the Welsh church.

With the inclusion of the above-mentioned Richard, four of the first five bishops of St. Asaph were Anglo-Normans: Richard (1141-1143), Gilbert (1143-1152), Richard (1154-1158), and Godfrey (1158-1175). The third bishop, Geoffrey of Monmouth (1152-1154), may not have been Norman but probably owed his appointment to the son of his patron earl Robert of Gloucester, who was himself the natural son of Henry I.[76] The first Welsh bishop of St. Asaph was Adam of Wales, who served from 1175 to 1183. From this time on it appears that the area was sufficiently settled that Welsh or half-

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[75] Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993), 73, 82, 103.; R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change : Wales, 1063-1415*, The History of Wales, [V. 2] (Oxford; [Cardiff]: Clarendon Press ; University of Wales Press, 1987), 177.

[76] Edward Edwards, ed. *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, Considerably Enlarged and Brought Down to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801), 45.

Welsh bishops could be chosen, although these men were required to swear an oath of obedience to Canterbury.[77]

Others held positions in English dioceses. There were no universities in Wales during the Middle Ages and the clergy was required to go to England or the continent to get an education.   A number of them went to Oxford or Paris, and a few to Bologna, Perugia, Rome and Cambridge.[78] The majority attended Oxford, probably for financial reasons as it was much closer to Wales. By the 1170s there were a number of Welsh students at Oxford. Adam of Wales studied there, as did later bishops Llywelyn of Bromfield (1292-1314) and Dafydd ap Bleddyn (1314-1352). In all, there are records of twenty-four Welsh students from the diocese of St. Asaph at Oxford from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Many of these students returned to serve the diocese of St. Asaph as deans, archdeacons, canons, rectors, and vicars. An education at Oxford meant that the Welsh clergy was taught to follow the reformed ideas of church organization and submission that were supported by the English and continental clergy. These Welshmen eventually returned to Wales with the understanding that they were under the jurisdiction of Canterbury and that the pope held primacy over the church regardless of its secular rulers. Given their education then, it was only natural for the

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[77] John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: From the Norman Invasion to the Edwardian Conquest*, vol. 2 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004), 89.

[78] R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change : Wales, 1063-1415*, The History of Wales, [V. 2] (Oxford; [Cardiff]: Clarendon Press ; University of Wales Press, 1987), 193. Rhys Hays, "Welsh Students at Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the Middle Ages," *Welsh Historical Review* 4 (1969), 325-327, 336-340. M. J. Pearson, "The Creation and Development of the St Asaph Cathedral Chapter, 1141-1293," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (2000), 46.

bishops and clergy of St. Asaph to feel a connection to Canterbury which at times superseded their adherence to Gwynedd.

The study of the normalization of the Welsh ecclesiastical structure allows for an understanding of the Welsh church's administrative affiliation with either the kingdom of Gwynedd or with England. As already stated, the diocese of St. Asaph was firmly connected with Canterbury and the other Welsh dioceses had fallen into a similar relationship by the mid-twelfth century, St. Davids having given up on its bid for metropolitan power in Wales and accepted the authority of Canterbury. Beyond an oath of loyalty, records from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries show a solid administrative relationship between the Welsh dioceses and the English church.

The church had been steadily moving towards standardized canonical rules for marriage to govern inheritance and the degrees of relationship between the bride and groom. Many parts of Europe resisted these changes, including Gwynedd. In 1170 archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Becket excommunicated Owain Gwynedd for refusing to annul his marriage to Christina, a first cousin. Clearly Becket felt he had the authority to make such a decision, although the actions of the clergy in Bangor – they later buried the excommunicant in the sacred ground of Bangor cathedral – attest to the limits on Canterbury's actual ability to enforce that authority in Welsh-controlled areas. In contrast, St. Asaph appears to have actively promoted canonical rules for marriage.[79]

Another area in which Canterbury quickly developed a connection with the Welsh church was in the realm of finance. The years during which the administration of

[79] Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993), 82-88, 96.

the diocese of St. Asaph was developing and Canterbury was exerting its authority over

the other dioceses of Wales were also the years of the Second and Third Crusades.

Pope Innocent III's clerical income tax for the support of the crusades was being

collected by the end of the twelfth century. The process for collecting papal tenths or

other papal revenues was highly organized. A resident collector was assigned to

England and he appears to have been in charge of collecting monies from the whole of

the British Isles. The standard procedure was to appoint a bishop or two to oversee

collection and then pass the monies on to the collector. The bishops in turn chose two

deputies to collect from each diocese. Under the auspice of the archdiocese of

Canterbury, the list of deputy collectors of the triennial tenth for 1254-1256 included

two deputies to collect from the Welsh dioceses in general. Interestingly, the deputies

were not native Welshmen but the abbot of Pershore in Worcestershire and the abbot

of Flaxley in Gloucestershire. In 1260 the bishop of St. Davids was appointed by the

pope to collect the hundredth "in aid of the Holy Land for five years in Wales", and by

1267 the list of deputy collectors for the first year of a new papal levy listed collectors

for the diocese of Llandaff – the abbot of Tintern – and St. Davids – the bishop of St.

Davids.[80] Clearly Canterbury's administrative power was growing with the increase of

English occupation of southern Wales. The diocese of Bangor and St. Asaph were not

listed until the collection of the sextennial tenth imposed in 1291, almost a decade after

the final conquest of Wales. Unfortunately there do not appear to be records of how

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[80] William E Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations During the Middle Ages, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1939), 625-627.

papal revenue was collected in these dioceses prior to 1284. It seems likely they were

given to the papal collector in London, but no documentation is available.[81]

One area in which the Welsh church and the diocese of St. Asaph did not fall

under the influence of Canterbury was that of legal practice. Wales had a unique and

historical legal tradition which differed greatly from that of England and Normandy.

There is evidence that the Welsh church continued to follow Welsh laws, at least

concerning theft. There were two kinds of theft; theft punishable by fine and theft

punishable by execution. In the later thirteenth century St. Asaph was willing to follow

native law to the extent of allowing a thief to pay a fine even in the case of capital theft.

In addition, the diocese had worked out a profit-sharing system with Llywelyn ap

Gruffudd (1223-1282) which was mutually beneficial for both the church and prince in

of Gwynedd.[82]

While St. Asaph was tied to the ecclesiastical administration of Canterbury, it

was often associated politically with Gwynedd. This is particularly true in the late

twelfth and thirteenth century when Gwynedd's power grew first under Llywelyn ap

Iorworth (1170-1240) and then under his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd. St. Asaph

owed military services to Gwynedd just as any other landholder. This appears to have

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[81] William E Lunt, "Collectors' Accounts for the Clerical Tenth Levied in England by Order of Nicholas Iv," *The English Historical Review* 31 (1916), 102-103. William E Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, Studies in Anglo-Papal Relations During the Middle Ages, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1939), 614, 617, 631-633.

[82] Huw Pryce, *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1993), 227-229, 250-251.

been in place throughout the thirteenth century because the service agreement was

changed to a straight monetary fee by the 1260s.[83]

In addition the clergy of St. Asaph were frequently involved in diplomatic

negotiations between English and Welsh leaders. In the 1230s and 1240s archdeacon

David of St. Asaph was chancellor to Dafydd ap Llywelyn (1215-1246) and served as a

representative for him in forming a truce with Henry III in 1231 and again in 1241. David

was sent a third time, again in 1241, with bishop Richard of Bangor and chancellor Philip

ab Ifor to try to maintain a peace between Henry and Dafydd.[84] The ecclesiastical

leadership of northeastern Wales was firmly associated with the court in Gwynedd. This

cooperation changed during the later part of the century, when the relationship

between Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, Dafydd's nephew and successor, and the bishops of

both Bangor and St. Asaph became strained. These bishops frequently disagreed with

Llywelyn over jurisdiction and authority. Neither bishop was likely to serve Gwynedd as

an advisor; Anian II of St. Asaph had been confessor to the future Edward I of England

while he was away on crusade.[85] In 1275 Llywelyn wrote to Robert, archbishop of

Canterbury, asking that he intercede in, "the dispute which exists between himself and

the bishop of St. Asaph over certain liberties and customs". Later he wrote to Edward I

regarding a situation in which the justice of Chester and the bishop of St. Asaph had

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[83] Ibid., 220.

[84] K. L. Maund, *Handlist of the Acts of the Native Welsh Rulers, 1132-1283* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), #359, 360 & 363. M. J. Pearson, "The Creation and Development of the St Asaph Cathedral Chapter, 1141-1293," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* (2000), 45.

[85] Edward Edwards, ed. *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, Considerably Enlarged and Brought Down to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801), 56.

worked together to deprive his nephews of their inheritance. [86] Anian II did not always

get along with England either; he complained so much when St. Asaph's cathedral and

the canon's house were burned by English soldiers in 1282 that Edward replaced him

with the bishop of Wells. Archbishop John Peckham of Canterbury stepped in, however,

and Anian was reinstated in 1284. It appears that by the year 1291 the diocese had

stabilized as a subordinate of both Canterbury and London.[87]

From the appointment of a bishop in 1141 to the final conquest of Wales by

Edward I in 1282-1283, the region of northeastern Wales underwent very real and

lasting changes in its ecclesiastical organization. A bishop at St. Asaph provided the area

with both resident spiritual leadership and coherent administration of the various

church lands spread throughout.

In some ways St. Asaph was a typical Welsh diocese; it gave political and military

services to Gwynedd and followed at least some of the traditional Welsh legal practices

which were so vital to what it meant to be Welsh. Moreover, by the thirteenth century

many of its bishops were, if not fully, at least half-Welsh. And yet, the diocese was very

much a product of Anglo-Norman Canterbury. Besides obedience oaths to the primacy

of the archbishopric, the bishops of St. Asaph instituted the administrative and legal

agenda of Canterbury which many of them had learned at Oxford. The diocese was

irrevocably tied to the ecclesiastical administration of the entire British Isles, and the

head of that administration was Canterbury. As a succession of Anglo-Norman kings

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[86] K. L. Maund, *Handlist of the Acts of the Native Welsh Rulers, 1132-1283* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1996), #414 & 445.

[87] Edward Edwards, ed. *Willis' Survey of St. Asaph, Considerably Enlarged and Brought Down to the Present Time*, vol. 1 (London: John Painter, 1801), 58-59.

and their men surged into northeastern Wales throughout the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, Canterbury's control over the church in the region forged the way to making

Wales a part of Anglo-Norman England.

Chapter Three
A Welsh Community: Settlement Patterns

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Anglo-Norman and Gwyneddian control over northeastern Wales grew and diminished through back-and-forth conflict. Although the region was home to Welsh, Scandinavian, and Anglo-Saxon peoples, at *Domesday* it was still sparsely populated in comparison to neighboring territories. The population grew and the cultural makeup of northeastern Wales changed over the next two centuries, yet the area remained a Welsh community. Even though the *Perfeddwlad* was nominally claimed, lost, and regained by Chester, Gwynedd, and the English crown again and again, Norman and English culture and peoples did not spread widely throughout northeastern Wales. Land was used according to traditional Welsh practices and, with the exception of Tegeingl, the population was almost entirely Welsh.[88] Welsh families lived a fairly insular pastoral life in dispersed upland hamlets. Colonization was mainly internal until the the mass-redistribution of territory brought about by the Edwardian Conquest in 1282-1283, and even then the population changed in only a few areas. The pressure from Anglo-Norman expansion after 1066 made few inroads into northeastern Wales and two centuries later, when the campaigns of

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[88] Earlier immigrants of Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon descent can be found almost exclusively in Tegeingl/Atiscross Hundred. This may be because Atiscross was listed in *Domesday*¸ and therefore records are available for that area, but place-name and family-name evidence from outside of this area is rare, and later records refer almost exclusively to Welsh kin-groups. It appears, then, that earlier immigrants to the area had been fully incorporated into Welsh families by the end of the thirteenth century.
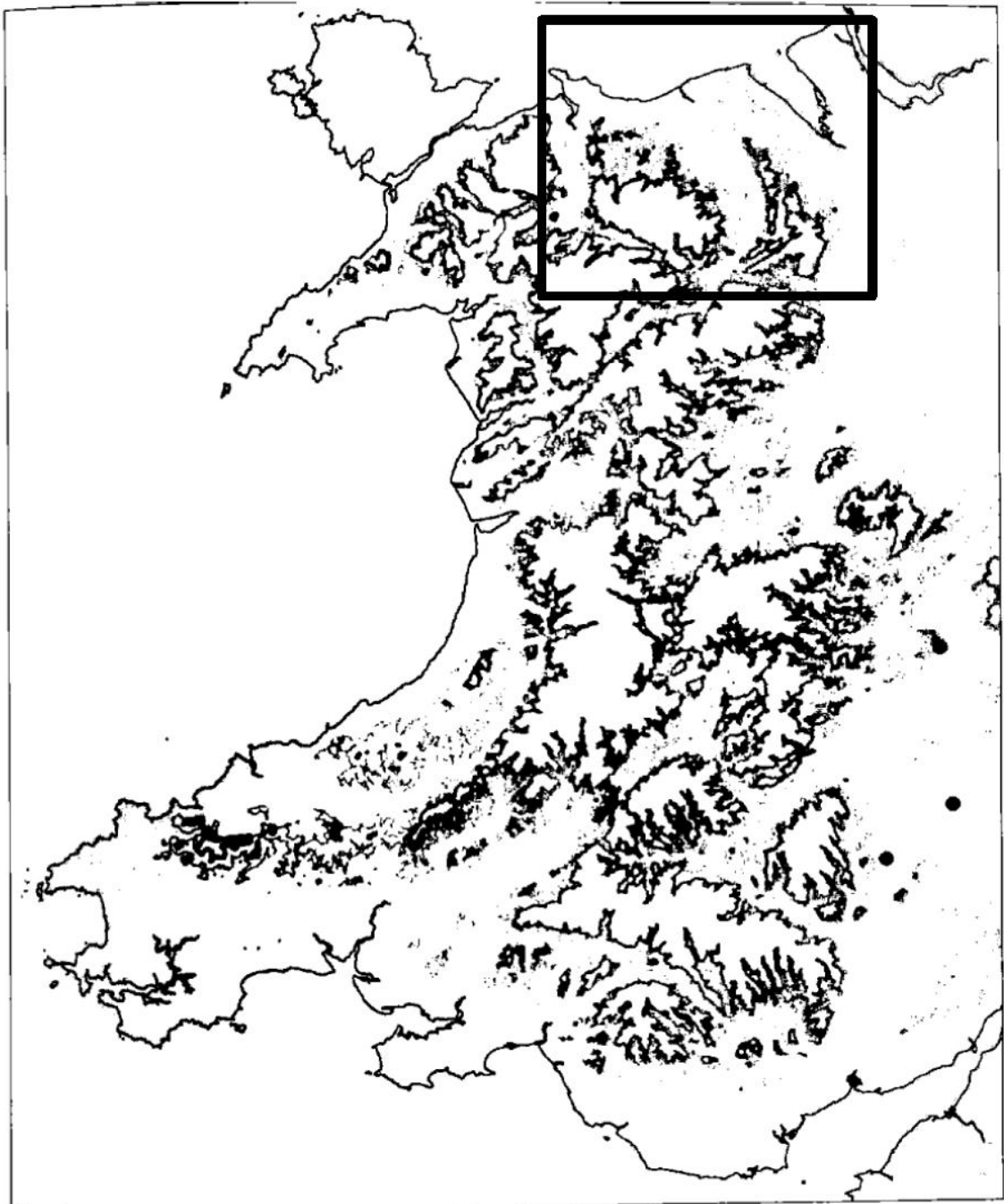
Welsh Topography

Adapted from Max Lieberman, *The March of Wales, 1067-1300: A Borderland of Medieval Britain*

Edward I finally brought Wales permanently into the domain of England, the region still remained a predominantly Welsh community.

Just as the Norman Conquest in 1066 and the Edwardian Conquest in 1282-1293 book-end the scope for this study, so also do the major primary sources. Settlement patterns in northeastern Wales in the years leading up to and immediately following the Norman Conquest are evident from the brief references to land holdings in the hundreds of Exestan and Atiscross that the Anglo-Normans claimed from their Anglo-Saxon predecessors and included in *Domesday*,. Yet these hundreds enclosed only about a fourth of the territory of north-east Wales, and it is much harder to discover demographic and land tenure information about the remaining area. Few records exist for the intervening years until the Edwardian Conquest, after which township charters and taxation records can be found in English chancery and court documents. The most extensive source available is *The Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334*, which recorded the transfers of land in the newly created lordship of Denbigh from 1284 to 1334. Once again there is the difficulty that Denbigh was not equivalent to northeastern Wales; it encompassed roughly a third of the region. But the *Survey* does provide a wealth of information about Welsh landholding before 1284 and the subsequent redistribution of lands to a flood of English settlers. The study of settlements in northeastern Wales therefore must rely heavily upon extrapolation forward and backward from these two documents, as well as archaeological and place-name evidence and the few references to the area in the correspondence and documents of both the English and Gwyneddian courts. A last, surprisingly important, source can be added to this list: environmental

and geographic factors that demonstrate the limiting elements of the terrain on human

subsistence.

Nature is a significant actor upon human events; throughout history geography

has been a determining factor in how land is occupied and used. The terrain of

northeastern Wales was carved by glacial movement into a series of mountain ranges

and deep river valleys, the most prominent being the Clwydian Range and the Vale of

Clwyd. The mountains are not tall by global standards. The highest is Moel Fammau at

1820 ft., but the slopes are steep and the valleys are narrow. Most of the region,

therefore, has a limited amount of arable land.[89] Along the northern coast the land is

flatter, but of varying quality for agriculture, and the area around the estuaries of the

three rivers that dominate the region – the Dee, the Clwyd, and the Conwy – is marshy

and more useful for pasturage than for agriculture. The mountains too are more suited

for raising livestock and there is archaeological evidence of seasonal dwellings for

shepherds called *hafodau.*[90] The Welsh population adapted to this difficult landscape by

creating a community dependent upon cattle and hardy crops like oats or barley.

Settlements throughout the region followed the general Welsh form of

dispersed farmsteads spread across larger tracts of land held by kin-groups. Called

gwelyau[91], these lands could be either bonded or free holdings and were made up of

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[89] Dorothy Sylvester, "Settlement Patterns in Rural Flintshire," *Flintshire Historical Society* 15 (1954), 9.

[90] Colin Thomas, "A Cultural-Ecological Model of Agrarian Colonization in Upland Wales," *Landscape History* 14 (1992), 48.

[91] Colin Thomas, "Social Organization and Rural Settlement in Medieval North Wales," *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 6 (1970), 128-129.

land used for both cultivation and pasturage. Colin Thomas describes *gwelyau* as

settlements that "spread out locally from small clearings to form secondary clusters and

isolated homesteads, all inextricably cemented together by legal ties of community and

family relationships."[92] Another term for lands held by a kin-group, which may have been

used interchangeably with *gwelyau* by medieval clerks, is *gafaelau*. Della Hooke differentiates

between the two by identifying *gwelyau* as "native land units" and *gafaelau* as "township land

units".[93] Colin Thomas and T. Jones Pierce have suggested that the difference between the two

may be that *gafaelau* were holdings that had passed to a second or third generation of heirs

without redistribution and therefore that they had a much more individual nature. This term

seems to have been introduced at a later date than that of *gwelyau*, and may therefore have

been the result of English influence upon Welsh kin-group holdings.[94] When discussing kin-

group holdings, *gwelyau* is the word used most often in today's scholarship. The term g*welyau*

itself can problematic because, in addition to its definition as a physical piece of land, it is also

used to refer to the people of the kin-group who inhabited that land. Thus, the hamlet of

Mochdre in the Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos was said to be made up of three free *gwelyau*

plus one other, possibly bonded, *gwely*.

Over time kin-groups broke up into specific family branches, thereby dividing the

clan's *gwelyau* holdings. However, lands were most often kept by the family branch

from future alienation. According to the Law of Hywel Dda, land holdings were to be

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[92] Ibid., 127.

[93] Della Hooke, "The Effects of English Settlement in Medieval North Wales," in *Rural Settlements in Medieval Europe: Papers from the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference*, ed. Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaeghe(Zellik: Scientific Institute of the Flemish Community, 1997),

[94] Colin Thomas, "Social Organization and Rural Settlement in Medieval North Wales," *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 6 (1970), 128-129.

periodically reapportioned among the members of a kin-group to ensure an even distribution of resources. This practice emphasized the communal ownership of a *gwely*, and pasturage too was held in common, including the seasonal upland *hafodau*. Thus, even though farms could be very isolated, they were not considered to be individually-owned plots of land.

A farmstead was generally comprised of a dwelling and enclosed cultivated land, as well as some form of open land for pasturing cattle and horses. From the little archaeological evidence available, dwellings appear to have been longhouses where a portion was used for a barn. Because of the steep elevation of the land, buildings were often constructed on a man-made flat platform. Houses were surrounded by a yard containing any available arable land as well as open, non-enclosed, lands. These open lands could be woodland or marsh and some farms included hay fields that, when cut, also helped to feed the farm's livestock. In addition, communal pasturage was shared among farmsteads within the hamlet and, at least in summer, animals were moved to communal upland areas. In total, much more land was used for livestock grazing than for cultivation – a clear sign of the pastoral emphasis of the Welsh local economy.[95] Cattle were the most common currency for trade and wealth and agriculture was predominantly subsistence-level. Gerald of Wales, writing his ethnography *A*

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[95] Robert Silvester, "Deserted Rural Settlements in Central and North-East Wales," in *Lost Farmsteads: Deserted Rural Settlements in Wales*, ed. Nancy Roberts(CBA Report, 2006), 21. Colin Thomas, "A Cultural-Ecological Model of Agrarian Colonization in Upland Wales," *Landscape History* 14 (1992), 41-44.

Description of Wales at the end of the twelfth century, wrote that the Welsh lived,

"almost entirely on oats and the produce of their herds."[96]

Given the condition of available land, a three-field system of farming was not

common in northeastern Wales; there simply wasn't the room to allow for cyclical

fallow fields.[97]   What agriculture was attempted was most productive in the Vale of

Clwyd and the flat lands along the river Dee in the east, although this land too varied in

elevation from 320 to 650 ft.[98]   The cereal crops most commonly grown were oats and

barley. To increase yields, some farmers in the Vale of Clwyd used seaweed, sand, or

lime as fertilizer, but the arable land could only be stretched so far. The lower slopes of

the Clwydian Range may also have been used for cultivation – evidence for this is based

solely on place-names including the word *ffridd*, field, and may have referred to fields

for communal pasturage.[99]   Gerald of Wales noted in *A Description of Wales* that the

best land for farming was in Anglesey and Snowdonia in the west and the flat lands of

Cardiganshire and Dyfed in the south – not the lands of northeastern Wales.[100] He

recorded that in Wales, in general, "most of their [the Welsh people's] land is used for

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[96] Gerald of Wales, "The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales," in *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin, 1978), 233.

[97] Dorothy Sylvester, "Settlement Patterns in Rural Flintshire," *Flintshire Historical Society* 15 (1954), 8.

[98] Ian Brown, *Discovering a Welsh Landscape: Archaeology in the Clwydian Range*, Landscapes of Britain (Cheshire: Windgatherer Press for Denbighshire County Council, 2004), 5-6.

[99] Colin Thomas, "Field Name Evidence in the Reconstruction of Medieval Settlement Nuclei in North Wales," *The National Library of Wales Jounal* 21 (1980), 346 & 349-351.

[100] Gerald of Wales, "The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales," in *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin, 1978), 230.

pasture. They cultivate very little of it, growing a few flowers and sowing a plot here and there."[101]

The Welsh process of tenure, centered around kin-group holdings, did not function in the same way as the manorial system emerging in England. Any dues were paid based on the family group itself and not on the size of land held. Kin-groups paid as a unit, even if they had spread branches of the family throughout the region. For example, freeman's dues paid to Gwynedd in the years leading up to the Edwardian Conquest were paid at Deunant for the whole of the Hedd Molwynog clan, even though the clan itself had spread to seven different settlements throughout Rhufoniog.[102] Because so much of the land was held communally, the practice of the personal oath in exchange for land was uncommon. Another difference was that free kin-groups often owned mills attached to specific *gwelyau*. The English manorial practice of requiring everyone in an area to use the local lord's mill did not become common in northeastern Wales until after the Edwardian Conquest.[103]

The exception to manorialism was the requirement during the thirteenth century that bonded *gwelyau* use the prince of Gwynedd's mill. Bonded populations were connected to a particular administrative center called a *maerdref.* They worked the demesne lands of the Gwyneddian rulers and, given the back-and-forth nature of

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[101] Ibid., 252.

[102] D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 120.

[103] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 27, note 60.
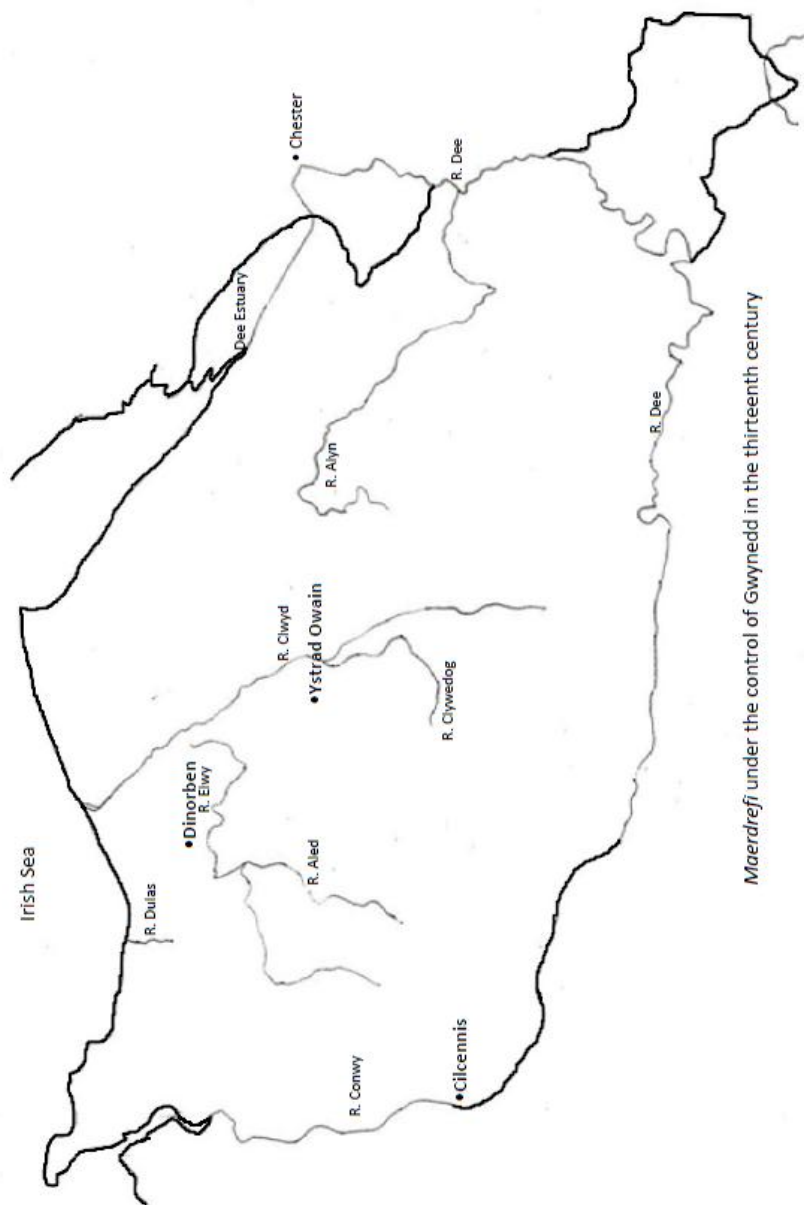
Maerdrefi under the control of Gwynedd in the thirteenth century

Gwyneddian control over the region, evidence for these settlements is slim before the

thirteenth century. As Gwynedd exerted more control over northeastern Wales under

Llywelyn ap Iorworth (1170-1240) and then his grandson Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (1223-

1282), *maerdrefi* were organized at Dinorben in northeast Rhos, Ystrad Owain and

Dinbych on the western edge of the Vale of Clwyd, and Cilcennis on the east bank of the

Conwy River.[104] These sites were administrative centers for local dues collection and

served as stopping points for the court when it traveled. At Dinorben the holdings were

maintained by the bonded population settled at Dinorben Fychan, located immediately

north-east of the *maerdref*.[105] *Maerdrefi* were home to agents of the prince of

Gwynedd, but these agents were focused on collecting subsidy for court visits and not

on developing economic centers.

The landscape of northeastern Wales lent itself to a pastoral lifestyle with few

central meeting or marketing places. Prior to 1282, the only settlement that could be

called a town was Rhuddlan, the historical borough unique for its Anglo-Norman castle,

burgesses, and continental-style charter. For the most part, northeastern Wales was

made up of small hamlets populated by branches of larger kin-groups. Gerald of Wales

recorded that the Welsh did not, "live in towns, villages or castles, but lead a solitary

existence, deep in the woods."[106] While this may appear to be a simplification, there

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[104] Ibid., 36, note 110.

[105] D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 128 & 136-137.

[106] Gerald of Wales, "The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales," in *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin, 1978), 251-252.

are no recorded markets in northeastern Wales until the Edwardian Conquest; the first

was a nine-day fair at Whitsunday ordered by Edward I to be held in Flint beginning in

1278.[107] In addition, the only pre-conquest burgesses lived in Rhuddlan and Thomas

Colin calls the medieval Welsh community a "closed-system" that did not rely on outside

trade or resources.[108]

At the time of the Edwardian Conquest in 1282-1283 northeastern Wales

remained a pastoral society made up of kin-groups holding lands through Welsh tenure

practices. Farming was scattered and predominately for subsistence; even bonded

communities paid their dues in butter, not grain. Northeastern Wales functioned as a

Welsh society, not an English or even a marcher one. Even though it was most definitely

part of a frontier, the region retained its Welsh character.

The population also remained predominately Welsh. During the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, when the English, Flemings, and Anglo-Normans emigrated to

southern Wales at a steady pace, very few non-Welsh moved into the northeast.

Instead, internal Welsh colonization during the twelfth century led to the creation of

new settlements in the uplands east of the Clwyd river. English colonists made no

significant move into the area because northeastern Wales was seen as an unattractive

area for settlement.[109] This was in part because the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

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[107] Great Britain Public Record Office, "Welsh Rolls," in *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Ad 1277-1326; Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Roles, Scutage Rolls*(London: Kraus, 1976), 165.

[108] Colin Thomas, "Field Name Evidence in the Reconstruction of Medieval Settlement Nuclei in North Wales," *The National Library of Wales Jounal* 21 (1980), 345.

[109]R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 4.

saw first an increase in Gwyneddian power and then the growth of conflict between

Gwynedd and England that culminated in the Edwardian Conquest and in part because

the pastoral life of the uplands was viewed as uncivilized and undesirable.

The population of northeastern Wales has always been small. It comes as no

surprise that for 1086 *Domesday*, the earliest extant land and demographic record to

include any part of northeastern Wales, records an average population density of 5.5

persons per square mile. This was roughly half the recorded population density of ten

persons per square mile for the nearby county of Chester, which was itself much less

populous than areas of southern and eastern England.[110] In addition, the Welsh lands

surveyed in *Domesday* were the most densely populated of the region and comprised

the largest stretch of arable land available. It is most likely then that the population

density of the rest of northeastern Wales was even lower than five or six persons per

square mile.

The few non-Welsh settlers to move into northeastern Wales did so soon after

the Norman Conquest. These Anglo-Normans stayed in Tegeingl or parts of Ial, areas

previously held by the Anglo-Saxons, and rarely ventured further into the region.   They

may not even have had much of an impact in these areas, since, as outlined in

Domesday, these lands were held by men whose attention was elsewhere. They were

men with the distinctly non-Welsh names of Robert fitzHugh, Hugh fitzOsbern, and

Gilbert de Venables who, in addition to their Welsh holdings, also held diverse lands

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[110] Dorothy Sylvester, "Settlement Patterns in Rural Flintshire," *Flintshire Historical Society* 15 (1954), 9-
10.

throughout Chester. It does not appear that they themselves lived in Wales, but

maintained their estates through vassals, many of whom were Welsh or Anglo-Saxons

native to the region. Exceptions were specifically pointed out; for example the presence

of Frenchmen as the local vassals of Hugh fitzOsbern.   FitzOsbern held three manors in

Trevalyn, Eyton, and Sutton Green, all in the hundred of Exestan. On these three

manors he had, "half a plough in demesne and 3 slaves: and 7 villans and 5 bordars and

2 Frenchmen."[111] In addition, the lands of northeastern Wales continued to be held

according to traditional Welsh forms of tenure. While Tegeingl probably had a more

diverse population than the rest of the region, it remained predominantly Welsh into

the 1280s. One other sign of the limited number of Anglo-Norman settlers has been

pointed out by David Cathcart King in his study of castle-building in Wales. He noted

that there were very few castles built in northeastern Wales before the Edwardian

Conquest, stating that, "an occupation by Welsh rulers would of course call for fewer

castles; on the other hand, if there had been a settlement of English peasantry, far more

castles would have been required to guard the manors and vills of the settlers."[112]

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although the immigrant

population remained low, the Welsh population of northeastern Wales expanded. The

increase in Gwyneddian power and territorial control that corresponded with the civil

war between Stephen and Matilda in England and the successful rule of Owain ap

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[111] *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, ed. Ann Williams and G. H. Martin (New York: Penguin
Classics, 2003), 730.

[112] David Cathcart King, "Castles and the Administrative Divisions of Wales," *Welsh Historical Review* 10
(1980), 96.

Gruffudd in Gwynedd, opened the way for kin-groups that had outgrown their holdings

to spread out. Most often clans grew through the leadership of the sons or grandsons

of the clan founder, for whom the clans were usually named. These family branches

eventually formed their own smaller clans, but remained associated with each other and

the larger kin-group. The Hedd Molwynog clan originally settled in Deunant, in the

commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog. This was probably between 1135 and 1155, since

Molwynog's son Gwrgi was said to be a contemporary of Henry II. In the thirteenth

century the clan began to spread to new territory led by Hedd Molwynog's great-

grandson Rand Fychan ab Asser. Rand Fychan's four sons formed the four main

branches of the family and settled in seven different hamlets, mostly located on the

banks of the Aled river.[113]

One of the most powerful families in Rhos was that of Edrud ap Marchudd.

Marchudd is thought to have lived in the early twelfth century and the clan had grown

so much in size and power by the later part of the thirteenth century that, during the

Edwardian Conquest, it was the most prominent clan in both Rhos and Rhufoniog.

While the original family holding was at Abergele along the Irish Sea, under the four

branches the family expanded its territory to claim *gwelyau* across the whole of Rhos.

The clan divided into four branches following the migration of Edrud's four sons:

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[113] D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 120.

Chester

R. Dee

Dee Estuary

Irish Sea

Tegeingl

R. Alyn

Dyffryn Clwyd

R. Dee

•Abergele

⁴Dinorben Fychan

R. Clwyd

R. Elwy

Llwytgoed• ¹ R. Dulas

⁴Brynffanugl

Twynnan⁴

²Cilcen

Llaethfan⁴

⁴Trofarth

Rhos

³Hesgyn

R. Aled

⁴Llysaled

Rhufoniog

R. Clywedog

¹Mathebrwd

R. Conwy

Gwynedd

- Expansion of the Edrud ap Marchudd Clan
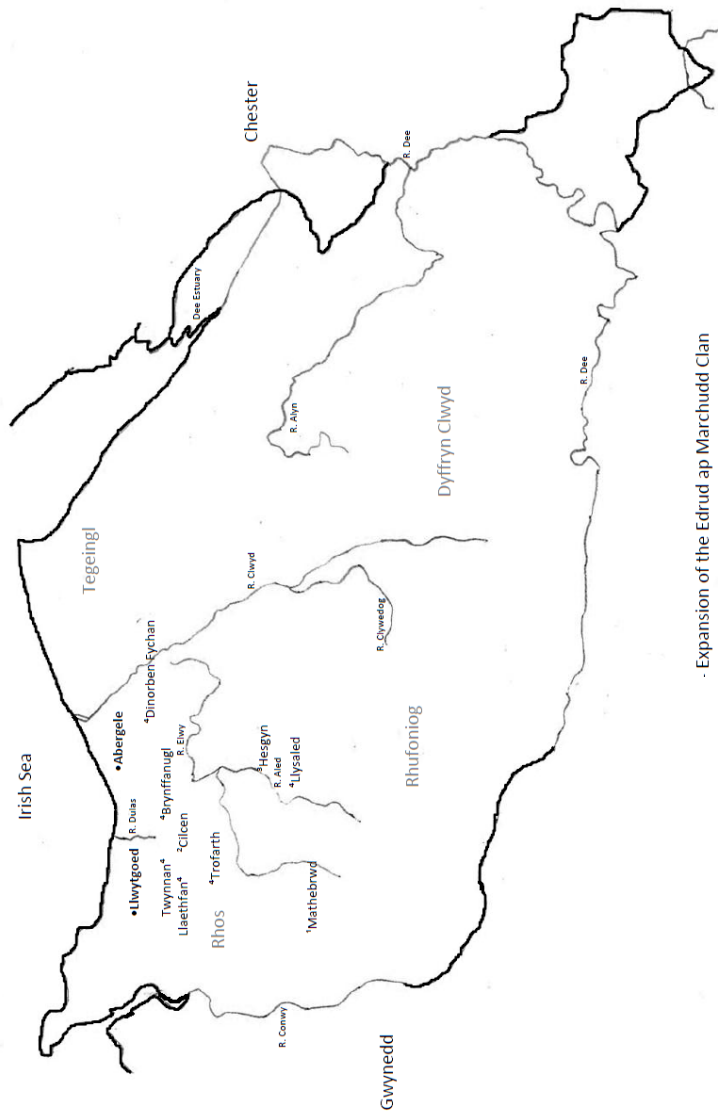
• - Original Settlements [First settled Abergele then Llwytgoed before breaking into branches]

¹ - Towns held by Ithel branch   ² - Towns held by Bleddyn Branch

³ - Towns held by Rhys branch   ⁴ - Towns held by Idnerth Branch

Adapted from D. Huw Owen "Tenurial and economic developments in North Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

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Bleddyn, Rhys, Idnerth, and Ithel. The Marchudd clan also had close ties to Gwynedd;

one member of the kin-group was Ednyfed Fychan, who served as seneschal to Llywelyn

ap Iorworth, and the Iorworth ap Gwrgan branch of the family had special exemption

from dues and was only required to render military service to Gwynedd when called

up.[114]

The Marchweithian and Braint Hir clans also began to spread; they both began in

Prys, along the southern edge of the cantref, and then moved north. Prys had ties to

Gwynedd and the movement of these clans can be seen as a push by Gwynedd to assert

control over territory in the northeast. The Marchweithian settled mainly in the

southeastern corner of Rhufoniog, near Gwynedd, while the holdings of the Braint Hir

were more widespread. While most of these migrations were to new, unsettled areas,

Dincadfel, at the opposite end of the cantref, was purchased by both clans from the

Tangwystl Goch in the early thirteenth century. This purchase itself is evidence of

Gwyneddian activity in northeastern Wales; Tangwystl Goch was the concubine of

Llywelyn ap Iorworth. The holdings at Dincadfel had been the property of the clan of

Ithel ap Cadwgan ab Ystrwyth, which a member of the kin-group had mortgaged to

Llywelyn. Both Llewellyn's claim and Tangwystl's subsequent sale of the lands went

against traditional Welsh land laws against alienation and may have signaled the

beginning of the breakdown of the traditional system in the face of Gwyneddian

expansion. [115]

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[114] Ibid., 123-126.
[115]Ibid., 122 & 131.

The increase of Gwyneddian power was not the only reason for the limited

amount of English migration into northeastern Wales. As Eva Svensson and Mark

Gardiner pointed out in their study of marginal societies, "there was a chain of thinking

which linked pastoralism, and particularly extensive or nomadic pastoralism, to a more

primitive type of society."[116] Outsiders frequently referred to the land and people of

Wales as uncivilized and the pastoral Welsh lifestyle was seen as backward and a sign of

idleness. [117] Gerald of Wales wrote about the "primitive habits of pastoral living"[118] and

noted that cattle grazed freely on the sacred ground of churchyards and that pastoral

life led to the uncivilized practice of partible inheritance and the wanton destruction of

property markers.[119] During the final conflict between Edward I and Llywelyn ap

Gruffudd Archbishop of Canterbury John Peckham attempted a mediation; Peckham

proposed a plan which would allow Gwynedd to take up an official position as a vassal

of England. In order for the plan to work, Peckham suggested a series of reforms to

Welsh society that would civilize it and bring it closer to the social structure of England.

The proposal included a call for ecclesiastical reforms, "ideological cleansing" and

"economic indoctrination" emphasizing the merits of hard work and town life over a

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[116] Eva and Mark Gardiner Svensson, "Introduction: Marginality in the Preindustrial European Countryside," in *Medieval Rural Settlement in Marginal Landscapes*, ed. Jan Kapste and Petr Sommer(Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 22.

[117] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 13-14.

[118] R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 101-102, referring to Gerald of Wales "The Topography of Ireland".

[119] Gerald of Wales, "The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales," in *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. Lewis Thorpe (New York: Penguin, 1978), 254-261.

pastoral lifestyle that was perceived as lazy and indolent.[120]   To the Normans or

Englishmen looking to emigrate to northeastern Wales in the eleventh, twelfth, and

early-thirteenth century, therefore, the uplands were less than appealing. Used to the

three-field farming system, small subsistence level plots of arable land held little

interest to these men. The narrow river valleys were not wide enough to "attract

English settlement above its emergence point into the plain"[121] and only the

economically viable option in most places, seasonally nomadic cattle raising, was not

appealing. Northeastern Wales was not a land likely to attract the English, Norman, or

Flemish immigrants in large numbers.

　　This English perception of the limited value of the uplands continued even after

the Edwardian Conquest, when the English needed to solidify their hold on the newly

claimed areas. R. R. Davies has pointed out that Edwardian colonization focused mainly

on areas, "which had barely been touched by previous generations of colonists and

some which were distinctly unattractive for alien settlers."[122] When Edward I created

two new lordships in northeastern Wales, towns were needed to serve as administrative

centers. Henry de Lacy, the new lord of Denbighshire, chose to build his town of

Denbigh on the site of the former demesne land of Dinbych. Reginald de Grey,

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[120] R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 114. Charles Trice Martin, ed. *Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1882-1885), 466-473.

[121] Dorothy Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London: MacMillan, 1969), 463.

[122] R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 4.
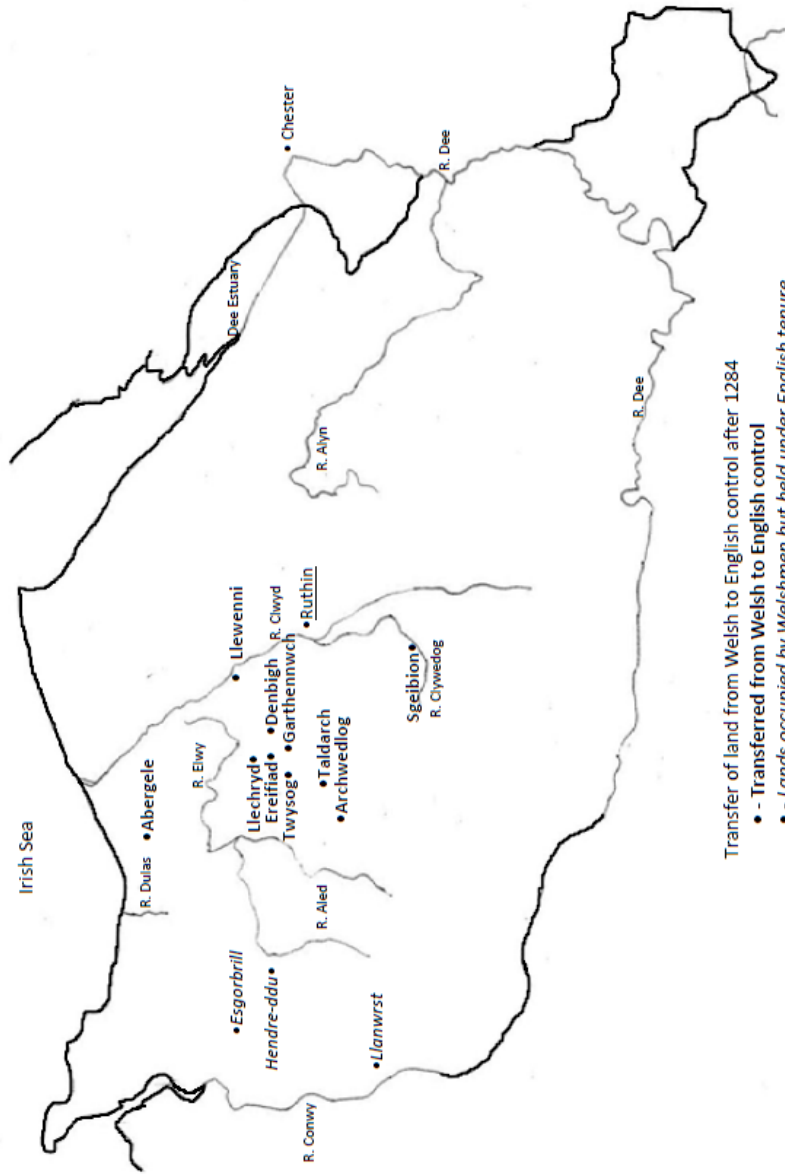
Transfer of land from Welsh to English control after 1284

• – Transferred from Welsh to English control

• – Lands occupied by Welshmen but held under English tenure

– New English Towns

Irish Sea

Chester

Dee Estuary

R. Dee

R. Alyn

R. Dee

R. Dulas

Abergele

R. Elwy

Llewenni

Denbigh

R. Clwyd

Ruthin

Llechryd

Ereifiad

Twysog

Garthennwch

Taldarch

Archwedlog

Sgeibion

R. Clywedog

Esgorbrill

Hendre-ddu

R. Aled

Llanwrst

R. Conwy

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new lord of Dyffryn Clwyd, created the new town of Ruthin along the Clwyd river. The

new lords of these lands needed to be able to grant their retainers land holdings near

the new shire administrative centers. However, there was not a lot of prime land

available, even though both towns were built along the Clwyd river valley in one of the

better-producing agricultural areas of the region. Because of its usefulness for

agriculture, most of the valley was already occupied. In order to solidify their hold over

the region, de Lacy and de Grey needed English colonists. The result was that the

English lords moved most of the surrounding Welsh population to other, less hospitable

areas. For example, the bonded Welsh populations of the hamlets of Ereifiad, Llechryd,

Taldarch, and Twysog, located in a two-mile radius around Denbigh, were moved to

Prys, which was located fifteen miles away and at an elevation of over 1500 ft. in the

Hiraethog mountains. Their lands were then given to English freeholders.[123]

Similar transfers of land-control and population dislocation occurred throughout

northeastern Wales after 1284. The free hamlet of Abergele, held by the Edrud ap

Marchudd, Doyok ab Elidir ap Vuelenw, and Inethlan ap Carewyd clans, passed into the

control of nineteen English burgesses and became the major English holding in the

commote of Rhos.[124] Archwedlog in Rhufoniog had been a free settlement half held by

the Gruffudd ap Maredudd clan in common and half by three members of that clan as

individual holdings. After 1284, 480 of the community's 984 acres were taken over by

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[123] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 18, note 26.

[124] D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 123-124. James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 18, note 28.

the burgesses of Denbigh and another 482 acres were held by twelve other Englishmen. Who controlled the remaining 22 acres is unknown.[125] As half the hamlet's lands was held by men who actually lived in Denbigh, it appears that the Welsh population continued to actually live on and work the land, but were now under English tenure, with its feudal dues and restrictions, instead of under the control of the clan. Denbigh itself was formed on on the site of the *maerdref* of Dinbych. Its bonded Welsh population was removed to create an English borough and English immigrants were encouraged by de Lacy to move to the town by the promise of low rents. Burgesses were drawn by the possible grant of an inland trade monopoly. The process was successful; by 1285 Denbigh had 63 English burgesses and the town was an, "English plantation borough" and an "almost exclusively English township."[126] The other *maerdrefi* of Dinorben and Ystrad Owain were passed over in favor of newer administrative centers; this may have been because earlier *maerdrefi* were often located in strategically dominant areas such as mountain passes or cliffs overlooking rivers, instead of areas where agriculture and trade could flourish. This was true of Dinorben, which was built on a limestone ridge overlooking the river Clwyd on the site of an Iron Age hill fort.[127] The English, having finally conquered Wales, were not as

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[125] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 18, note 28. D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 130-131.

[126] R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 23. James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 18, notes 24 & 25.

[127] Ian Brown, *Discovering a Welsh Landscape: Archaeology in the Clwydian Range*, Landscapes of Britain (Cheshire: Windgatherer Press for Denbighshire County Council, 2004),67, 69.

interested in hilltop defensible positions as in those that could facilitate economic and

administrative organization.

Some areas further from Denbigh and Ruthin retained their Welsh kin-group

structure after 1284, but now held land in direct fee from their new English lord; an

example of this was Esgorebrill, west of the Dulas river, in Rhos. It had been a free

hamlet but, after 1284, the Bleddyn ap Wilym clan held the land according to the English

form of land tenure.[128] English tenure meant an assessment based on the land itself and

involved an oath of fealty in exchange for the use of the land. The clan element was

retained in that the kin-group paid the land fees as a group and not as individual land

holders.   In the settlements of Hendre-ddu some Welsh tenants also held land

according to English custom *ad voluntatem domini*.[129]

The lands in Rhos and Rhufoniog held by kin-groups throughout the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries were taken under English control in several different ways.

Sometimes, as in Ereifiad or Denbigh, the population was simply relocated. Sometime

the relationship of between the population on the land and their overlord was

restructured; the population was now required to pay dues according to English tenurial

practice. In addition some lands were purchased or traded for other holdings while

others, perhaps the most, were claimed as forfeit by the English crown from Welsh clans

that had fought with Gwynedd against Edward I. These lands were then given by the

king to the new lords of Denbighshire, Dyffryn Clwyd, and Wrexham, or retained by the

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[128] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 19, note 30.

[129] Ibid., 19, note 30.

king himself as demesne, as was the case with most of the lands of Flintshire. Hugh de

Lacy of Denbighshire and Reginald de Grey of Dyffryn Clwyd then either granted these

seized lands to their loyal retainers or used them to tempt Englishmen to move into the

area.   The hamlet of Garthennwch, on the eastern edge of Rhufoniog, had been a free

holding of the Gruffudd ap Maredudd clan. After 1284, five-sixths of the land was

claimed as forfeit from Welsh rebels and the remaining portion was exchanged for

another, unknown, plot of land.[130] Llewenni, located on the west bank of the river

Clwyd at the very eastern edge of Rhufoniog, was claimed from the Welsh population

because of forfeiture and land exchange. Some of the inhabitants were relocated to

settlements in the mountains east of Denbigh and only one Welshman, Iorworth ap

Llywarch, was able to retain his lands in Llewenni itself. The rest of the community was

divided between 120 English settlers[131] and 75 acres were given to Robert Hulton of

Cheshire, a retainer of Henry de Lacy, the new lord of Denbigh. The entirety of Serïor

and half of Sgeibion were confiscated because of rebel activity.[132] There are no

mentions in *The Survey of the Honour of Denbigh* as to the fate of their Welsh

populations; they may have remained to work the lands for their new English masters or

have moved on to other areas controlled by their kin-group. The Cynan ap Llywarch

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[130] Ibid., 17, note 21 & 18. D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 136-137.

[131] James Given claims 120 English settlers, while R. R. Davies gives the number as 118. James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 18.   R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 5-6, 8 & 11.

[132] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 17, note 21.

clan lost its land in Ystrad Cynon through forfeiture as well and the hamlet, previously a mixture of bond and free holdings, became entirely English.[133]

The English quickly asserted a presence throughout the Vale of Clwyd and eastern Rhos and Rhufoniog. However, even after 1284, most areas remained almost entirely Welsh. Llanrwst, located on the bank of the Conwy on the far western side of Rhos, was held by the Marchweithian clan and, while some Welsh tenants held land under English tenure, *The Survey of the Honour of Denbigh* only recorded two English tenants in 1334.[134] Relocations were almost exclusively from the area around Denbigh and Ruthin, while the more mountainous, and less populated, portions of northeastern Wales were left to the Welsh cattlemen who could actually make use of such lands. Even in Ruthin, where most of the Welsh population had been removed, there was still a Welsh presence into the fourteenth century; the *Survey of the Honour of Denbigh* recorded that of the seventy burgesses of the town in 1334, forty of them were of Welsh descent.[135]

English migration into northeastern Wales was minimal until the Edwardian Conquest, and even then, while it may look like a large population shift, in reality only a few areas of the region were impacted. Tegeingl, called Flintshire and under royal

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[133] Ibid., 18, note 24. D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 120. R. R. Davies, "Colonial Wales," *Past & Present* 65 (1974), 11.

[134] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 18, note 28 & 19, note 30. D. Huw Owen, "Tenurial and Economic Developments in North Wales in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Welsh History Review* 6 (1972), 122.

[135] James Given, "The Economic Consequences of the English Conquest of Gwynedd," *Speculum* 64 (1989), 19.

control since 1277, saw mainly administrative changes. Rhos, Rhufoniog, and Dyffryn

Clwyd mainly saw the movement of Englishmen into, and Welshmen out of, the Clwyd

river valley. Most communities continued to have predominately Welsh populations,

many kin-groups still held their lands according to traditional practices, and, for a time,

even Welsh law was retained. James Given was correct then when he wrote, in a

discussion of the economic impact of the English on northern Wales, that,

> The distribution of land and the structure of the population in northeastern
> Wales thus seem to have changed relatively little as a result of the English
> Conquest [sic]. Although Englishmen migrated to the area, they did so in small
> numbers. . . English-style tenure spread in these new marcher lordships, but
> most land continued to be held by Welshmen under the old native forms of
> tenure.[136]

English migrations to northeastern Wales began much later than in the south. This was

in part due to internal Welsh colonization, prompted by the growth of Gwyneddian

power, to previously unsettled areas of the uplands. It was also because of the Anglo-

Norman, then English, cultural bias against a pastoral lifestyle. This bias continued

through the end of the thirteenth century when, while there was an upsurge in English

settlement after the Edwardian Conquest, it took place mainly in the lowlands and

northeastern Wales. By the fourteenth century, the region had a mixed population and

culture. The influx of new settlers created a mixture of traditional Welsh upland

pasturage and the creation of new English towns along prominent river routes.

Northeastern Wales was still very much a Welsh territory, but it had changed enough to

be neither Welsh nor English. Instead, it was the beginning of a new frontier society.

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[136] Ibid., 19.

Conclusion

In 1281 Edward I became involved in trying to settle a land dispute between Roger, steward of Mohaut, and Gruffudd ab Madoc, lord of Haal. At the heart of the dispute was a question about how traditional Welsh land law should be applied. To resolve the case, Edward ordered that jurors be called from a number of different areas along the Welsh march; these jurors were called upon to explain how Welsh land law was traditionally practiced. In the thirteenth century a jury was made of the most prominent men of the community. Once they had been brought together, each man was asked to speak on the particular issue involved in the case; this answer was to be based on each man's experience with the traditions of the community. When Edward called for jurors, the most influential men of the cantrefs of northeastern Wales were ordered to meet in Rhuddlan to testify.

According to the Welsh section of the Chancery Rolls of the year, twenty men were summoned from Tegeingl. Of these men, only two did not have Welsh personal-names and patronymics. The exceptions were Sir Geoffrey de Brug and Baldwin, both monks at Basingwerk Abbey. All sixteen men summoned from Rhos had Welsh names as well, although a few had patronymics such as Philip, John, and Roarc[137], which suggests a mixed heritage. The same was true of seven of the eight jurors called up from Dyffryn Clwyd. Only the jurors summoned from the town of Rhuddlan itself were

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[137] The Latin Ririch or Ryryc is quite possibly Roarc, which is Irish. Ireland had a longstanding connection with western Wales, particularly Gwynedd.

Jurors from northeastern Wales summoned to Rhuddlan by Edward I in 1281
[From the Welsh Rolls section of the Chancery Rolls for 1281- Welsh form of names when possible]

Jurors from Tegeingl

Penewrec Seys	Anian ap Roarc	Anian ap Ivor
Ivor ap Tecwaret	Anian ap Dafydd	Llywelyn ap Bleddyn
Gywn ap Madoc	Idenevet ap Ithel	Ririch ap Lewarch
Bleddyn ap Ithel	Ithel ab Howel	Llewellyn ab Maelor
Iorworth ap Madoc	Bleddyn ab Meuric	Gruffudd ab Roarc
Iorworth ab Roarc	Gronw ab Dafydd Vaghan	Gwyn ab Bleddyn

Sir Geoffrey de Brug, monk of Basingwerk

Baldwin, monk of Basingwerk

Jurors from Rhos

Ririch ab Iorworth	Tuder ab Dafydd	Adaf ab Tuder
Tuder ab Madoc	Daffyd ab Anian	Meuric ab Tuder
Heilyn ab Bleddyn	Kenewrec ab Kareweth	Ifan ab Ithel
Kenewrec ab Elidir	Heilyn ab Roppert	Ithel ab Philip
Gronw ab Philip	Denevet ab Eithon	Anian ab Yoyvaf
	Anian ab Rhys	

Jurors from Dyffryn Clwyd

Gruffudd ab Tuder	Gruffudd ab Iorworth	Tudoc Vecham
Kenewrec ab Madoc	Elias de Thlewenny	Anian ab Nest

Tegwared son of John, Judge at Rhuddlan

Candelo son of Gorgene, Justice at Rhuddlan[138]

Jurors from Rhuddlan

Roger son of William, Burgess of Rhuddlan	John de Pelham, Burgess of Rhuddlan
William Wirvyn, a newcomer to Rhuddlan	Alan Colle, Burgess of Rhuddlan
William de Coventre, Burgess of Rhuddlan	Meyler the Mason, Burgess of Rhuddlan

William the crossbowman, Burgess of Rhuddlan

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[138] It is unclear why these two men, both from Rhuddlan and both with obviously non-Welsh names, were included in the list of jurors from Dyffryn Clwyd and not in that of the jurors from Rhuddlan. It may have been an error in the recording.

clearly identified as Englishmen. These men included six of the town's burgesses with

names such as Roger son of William, John de Pelham, William the crossbowman, and

William de Coventre.[139]

The participants in this case are significant. On the cusp of the Edwardian

Conquest of all of Wales, the most prominent men of Tegeingl, Rhos, and Dyffryn Clwyd

were Welshmen, not Englishmen. Tegeingl, occupied so long by Welshmen, Anglo-

Saxons, Scandinavians, and even some Anglo-Normans, had historically maintained a

higher population than the rest of the region. It is no surprise, then, that this cantref

supplied more jurors than any of the others. No jurors are recorded from Rhufoniog,

with its mountains and widely dispersed hamlets. Those from Dyffryn Clwyd most likely

included men from the more populous Clwyd river valley. Conversely, the two religious

men included as jurors were not Welsh; yet another sign of English influence over the

church in northeastern Wales. The jurors were Welsh, but the process of calling a jury

was wholly English. In order to understand the how Welsh land-law worked in practice,

Edward I implemented an English legal practice. It was a convergence of peoples and

traditions that was a part of the slowly-forming frontier society of northeastern Wales.

The chancery rolls did not record the outcome of the cases between Roger from

Mohaut and Gruffudd ab Madoc. In 1282 the fighting between Edward and Llywelyn ap

Gruffudd peaked and Edward's focus changed. Following Llewellyn's death, Edward

claimed all the remaining independent territory of Wales, including the whole of

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[139]For a complete list of names see figure next page. Great Britain Public Record Office, "Welsh Rolls," in *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Ad 1277-1326; Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Roles, Scutage Rolls*(London: Kraus, 1976), 195-201.

Gwynedd. In October of that year he made Henry de Lacy lord of Denbigh and Reginald

de Grey, who had been serving as justice of Chester, lord of Dyffryn Clwyd. Throughout

the next two years these Englishmen sought to exert control over the Welsh

communities in northern Wales. The diocese of St. Asaph, which had worked hand-in-

hand with Canterbury for so long, was an active part of the nominally anglicized

territory in northeastern Wales. But the region was still Welsh. Up through the

Edwardian Conquest, a predominately Welsh population continued to live according to

traditional Welsh laws and practices, organized according to historical kin-groups. Two

hundred years as a frontier between Gwynedd and England had changed the region, but

slowly. People and institutions persisted or changed according to the amount of effort

placed upon their transformation. Canterbury, with its goal to assert principal

jurisdiction over the whole of the British Isles, successfully altered the religious

institution in northeastern Wales. Anglo-Normans and Englishmen wishing to expand

their land holdings beyond the Dee were also successful, to a point. They halted at the

edge of the lowlands and, because it was a rough territory that had few established

settlements and because these men did not perceive a value in uplands useful only as

pasturage, they failed to extend their population into the heart of the region. By the

end of the thirteenth century, northeastern Wales was English and Welsh brought

together to form the beginnings of a frontier society.

Appendix
Known locations in Northeastern Wales to the Fourteenth Century

Place-Name	Date	Affiliation	Purpose
St. Asaph [St. Kentegern's Church, Llanelwy] Flintshire	6th c.+	Celtic	Ecclesiastical place-name – St. Kentigern
	Pre-1000	Welsh	St. Kentigern confirmed as a 'mother church' (Silvester & Evans, 25 & 30)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Llanelwy part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
	1141/1143+		Diocese under jurisdiction of Canterbury
	1291		Mention of Archdeacon Thomas, previously vicar of Llandrinio, near Welshpool, Powys (Silvester & Evans, 28)
Abergele Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	858	Welsh	Records show the death of an 'abbas', a sign of a mother church in control of parishes & tithes (Silvester & Evans, 30)
	Pre-1100		Ecclesiastical - Church (Brown, 107)
			St. Michael's a confirmed 'mother church' site. Built in simple style (Silvester & Evans, 25, 26-27 & 30)
	Pre-1282		¼ town held by Edrud ap Marchudd Clan ½ town held by 'Doyok' ab Elidir ap 'Vuelenw' Clan. ¼ town held by 'Inethlan' ap Carewyd' Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123-124)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	19 English burgesses, the major English holding in the commote (Given 18 n. 28)

Alltfaenan Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed bond and free township. ⅓ town held by the ½ *gafael* Rhys Gryg Clan. ⅔ town held by 3 bond *gwelyau* (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Archwedlog Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	480 of 984 acres controlled by Denbigh burgesses & 482 acres by 12 other English tenants, other 22 acres unknown (Given, 18 n. 28)
Arllwyd Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	13th (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	¾ town held free by Rhys Goch/Idnerth Clan ¼ town held in bond (Owen *Tenurial*, 121 & 128-129)
Aston Atiscross Hundred, Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously Edwin held 1 manor as a freeman. (*Domesday*, 735)
		Scandinavian	Previously Thorth held 1 manor as a freeman. (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	Hamo held 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 radmen, 2 villans and 3 bordars. 1 by 1 league piece of woodland. Worth 10s. Ranulph held 1 virgate. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Auxton [Axton] Tegeingl/Flintshire	9th/10th c.	Scandinavian	Scandinavian place-name (Loyn, 23-25)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Bachymbyd Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Badhanlen In Clwydian Range, Dyffryn Clwyd	13th c.	Cistercian	Ecclesiastical Grange tied to Valle Crucis (Brown, 107)
Bagillt Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Scandinavian	Previously held by Arni (*Domesday*, 735)

		Anglo-Norman	Roger held of Robert of Rhuddlan 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 villans and 4 bordars. Worth 8s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*,735-736)
Bagillt cont.		Anglo-Norman	Roger held of Robert of Rhuddlan 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 villans and 4 bordars. Worth 8s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*,735-736)
Bangor Is-coed Wrexham	Pre-1100	Welsh	Ecclesiastical (Brown, 107)
			Confirmed 'mother church' (Silvester & Evans, 25)
Barrog Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	13th (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Free township partially held by Rhys Goch/Idnerth Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 121, 136-137)
Basingwerk Abbey Tegeingl/Flintshire	Early 12th c.	Anglo-Norman	Not a pre-conquest site, but founded by the earl of Chester. Abbey originally Savigniac before Cluniac merge (Evans, 95-96)
Beidiog Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Berain Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Bettisfield Duddeston Hundred, Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously 2 hides held by Bishop of Chester during reign of King Cnut, at Domesday part of the manor of Robert fitzHugh (*Domesday*, 717)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by Robert fitzHugh of earl Hugh of Chester, 7 hides paying geld. Manor 2 by 2 leagues plus the woodland. Land for 8 ploughs, 1 plough in demesne with 2 slaves, and 3 villans with 1 plough. ½ acre of meadow and woodland 3 by 2 leagues, where 3 knights had 2 ploughs in demesne. 9 villans, 5 bordars, 2 slaves, and 3

Bettisfield cont.			other men held 3 ploughs. A priest held 1 plough. Total worth was £18.17s.4d. At Domesday waste and worth £3. (*Domesday*, 721)
Bistre Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously a manor of earl Edwin – never hidated and never paid geld. Waste. (*Domesday*, 737)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester – waste when he received it – 1 by ½ league of woodland. A hawk's eyrie. Forest retained by the earl. Land apportioned as follows: *Hugh fitzNorman held ½ the manor of Bistre and the whole of Leeswood and Sudfell. Land for 1 plough in demesne, with 2 bordars and 1 acre of meadow. Worth 10s.
		Scandinavian	*Odin held half the manor of Bistre, half of Mulintone, and the whole of Wiselei. Land for 1 plough with 2 slaves and 1 bordar. Worth 10s. (*Domesday*, 737)
		Welsh	King Gruffydd held 1 manor at Bistre. 1 plough of demesne and his men had 6 ploughs. Every plough rendered 200 loaves, 1 vat of beer, and 1 firkin of butter every time the king came – bond land/*maerdref* (*Domesday*, 737)

Bistre cont.		Anglo-Norman	Berewicks of the manor of Bistre held of earl Hugh of Chester as follows: *Hugh fitzNorman held Hendrebifa [in Mold], Weltune, Munentone, 2 parts of Horsepols, and half of Mulintone. Land for 2 ploughs with 3 villans and 2 bordars. Worth 18s. *Warmund the huntsman held Broncoed. Land for 1 plough plus 1 villan with half a plough and 2 oxen. Worth 10s. *Ralph held Rhos Ithel. Land for 1 plough with 4 bordars. Worth 8s. *William held Gwysaney. Land for 1 plough with a priest and 2 villans. 1 by ½ league woodland. Worth 10s. (*Domesday*, 737)
Blorant	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Bodeugon	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Bodfari [Moel y Gaer]	1086 – Domesday	Welsh	Traditional hill-fort (Brown, 99)
		Anglo-Norman	Part of fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Bodeiliog Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Undetermined township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Bodysgawen Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed bond and free township ½ free *gafael* and 2 *gwelyau* holdings (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Bromfield Tegeingl/Flintshire	1164	Anglo-Norman	Castle burned, mentioned in the *Annales Cestriensis*/ Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Werburg, at Chester (Cathcart King, 96)

Broncoed Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bistre held by Warmund the huntsman. Land for 1 plough plus 1 villan with half a plough and 2 oxen. Worth 10s. (*Domesday*, 737)
Broughton Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously 1½ virgates held by Leofnoth as a freeman. Previously ½ hide held by Wulfmaer as a freeman. Previously 1 virgate held by Wulfheah as a freeman. (*Domesday*, 735-736)
		Scandinavian	Previously 1½ virgates held free by Hrafnsvartr (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	Robert of Rhuddlan held of earl Hugh of Chester 1½ virgates paying geld. Land for ½ plough with 1 villan. 1½ virgates of meadow. Held ⅓ of 1 by 1 league woodland. Worth 3s. 1 manor at ½ a hide. Land for ½ a plough with 1 radman, 1 villan, and 1 bordar. Worth 3s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
			Ralph the huntsman held of earl Hugh of Chester 1 virgate of land paying geld Land for 1 plough in demesne with 2 slaves. 1 virgate of meadow. Worth 5s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 736)
			Hugh fitzOsbern held 1½ virgates. Land for ½ plough with 1 radman, 1 villan and 2 bordars. 1 by 1 league woodland. Worth 5s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)

Bryn Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Earl Hugh of Chester held ½ the vill. Land for 3 ploughs and 3 ploughs in demesne with 7 slaves. (*Domesday,* 736)
Brynbagl Denbighshire	1282+	English	Settlement on 160 acres of wasteland (Davies "Colonial Wales" 9)
Brynffanugl Commote of Uwch Aled Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town held in 2 parts by Idnerth branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 123-124 & 136-137)
Brynford Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Bryngwyn	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Bryn Hedydd	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Welsh place name
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester, part of vill of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736)
Brynhyfryd Dyffryn Clwyd	To 4th c.	Roman	Agricultural Settlement (Brown, 88)
Brynlluarth Commote of Ceinmeirch Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Bychton Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Burwardestone Duddeston Hundred, Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously held by earl Edwin [of Chester]
		Anglo-Norman	Held by Robert fitzHugh 5 hides paying geld. Land for 14 ploughs with 1 plough demesne, 12 villans and 2 bordars with 3 ploughs, and 1 knight with 1 plough. 1 knight held ½ hide rendering 12s. Included a salt-pan rendering 24s. Was worth £6.4s., at Domesday worth 54s. 2 by 1 leagues. Found waste. (*Domesday*, 721)

Caerhebenewith Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	½ held free by Runon ap Cadwgan branch of Marchweithian Clan ½ held in bond (Owen *Tenurial*, 128)
Calcoed Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Caledan [Calledan, Colledon] Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
Carn-y-Chain Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Carwedfynydd Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township held by Marchweithian Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 122, 136-137)
Caerwys	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Cefndy	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Welsh place-name
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester as part of vill of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736)
Cegidog Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	13th c. (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Mixed community tied to Gwynedd, became 'predominantly bond' (Owen *Tenurial*, 118)
Cernenyfed Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Undetermined township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137
Chwilbren Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	13th c. (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan, paid freemen dues. (Owen *Tenurial*, 120)
Cilcain	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
	12th/13th		Ecclesiastical – Church of St. Mary, Norman font in early north nave (Brown, 109)
Cilcedig Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Undetermined township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Cilcen Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town held by Bleddyn branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123)

Cilcennis [Kylkenneys] Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	13th c. (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	*Maerdref* of Gwynedd, owed a butter rent, a sign of lack of arable land (Owen *Tenurial*, 118)
Cilffwrn [Kylforn, Kylforne, Kilford] Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
Cil Owen	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Clayton Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Scandinavian	Previously held by Ramkel as a freeman (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	Richard held of William Malbank 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough and 1 plough in demesne with 2 bordars. 1 acre of meadow and 1 by 1 league woodland. Worth 10s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Coleshill Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously held by Edwin as a freeman. Now held by Edwin of Robert of Rhuddlan 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 1 radman, 4 villans, and 2 bordars. Was worth 6s., at Domesday worth 10s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Colwyn [Coloyne] Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
Corwen	Pre-1000	Welsh	St. Sulien's Church confirmed as a 'mother church', built in cruciform style (Silvester & Evans, 25-27)
	13th c.		Portionary church worth £28 (Silvester & Evans, 34)

Creigiog In Clwydian Range, Dyffryn Clwyd		Cistercian	Ecclesiastical Grange tied to Valle Crucis (Brown, 107)
Cwybr	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Welsh place-name
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester as part of vill of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736)
Cwybr Bach	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Cyrchynen Near St. Asaph Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Degannwy	12th c.	Anglo-Norman	Castle built by Robert of Rhuddlan (Brown, 100)
Denbigh [Dinbych] Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	*Maerdref* of Gwynedd, only bond population (Owen *Tenurial*, 119 & 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	English plantation borough and almost exclusively English (Davies "Colonial Wales" 23)
			All Welsh inhabitants removed to create an English borough (Given, 18 & n. 24)
			English immigrants draw to the area by 1d. rent. Burgesses to area by possible trade monopoly inland (Given, 18 n. 25)
	1285		63 English burgesses (Given, 18 n. 25)
Deunant Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan, paid freemen dues. Hedd Molwynog said to be contemporary of Henry II. Most likely the clan's founding township (Owen *Tenurial*, 120, n. 22)

Dincadfe Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free town previously held by Tangwystl Goch, ½ purchased by Marchweithian Clan and ½ purchased by Braint Hir Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 122-123)
Dincolyn	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Dinorben [Dinorben Fawr] Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Iron Age	Welsh	Site grain-consuming and possibly grain-producing (Jones "Society & Settlement", 430)
	Iron Age-1st c.	Celtic	Hill-fort (Brown, 67, 89)
	1st-4th c.	Roman/Welsh	Grain-producing site (Jones "Society & Settlement", 431)
		Roman/Cheshire	Remains of Cheshire-basin very course pottery (VCP) (Jones "Society & Settlement",435)
	260-late 4th c.	Roman/Welsh	Metalworking (Brown, 88)
	13th c.	Welsh	*Maerdref* of Gwynedd. (Given 36 n. 110)
			Demesne center of Is Dulas located on a 'limestone ridge extending from lower Clwyd to Great Orme's Head' (Owen *Tenurial*, 118, n. 7)
	1334 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)		Fallen into disrepair, seems to have been passed over by English for new boroughs (Given 36 n. 110)
Dinorben Fychan North-west of Dinorben, Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Bond township serving as labor for Dinorben (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
			Town held by Idnerth branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123)
			½ town held free by Griffri ap Trehaearn Clan and tied to rulers of Gwynedd.

Dinorben Fychan cont.			½ town held bond by Tegwared ap Cynddelw Clan and tied to *maerdref* at Dinorben (Owen *Tenurial*, 128)
Dyserth Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
	1241		First stone castle in northeastern Wales, covered route between Holywell & Rhuddlan. Destroyed in 1263 by Llywelyn ap Gruffudd (Brown, 104)
	12th/13th c.	Celtic	Ecclesiastical – Christian wheel-headed cross with cusped trefoils (Brown, 109)
Edritone Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously held as 2 manors by Almaer and Ramkel as freemen. (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	Richard held of Hugh fitzOsbern 1½ hides paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 radmen and 3 bordars. 1 acre of meadow. Worth 10s. "Of this land, Osbern fitzTezzon holds 1 hide and Hugh fitzNorman half a hide" *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Efnechtyd Dyffryn Clwyd	1282+	English	Land granted to the Helpston family of masons who emigrated to the area (Davies "Colonial Wales" 7)
Ereifiad Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town made up of 5 *gwelyau*: ⅓ of 2 free *gwelyau* plus 3 and ⅔ of 2 bond *gwelyau* (Owen *Tenurial*,126)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)		Welsh bondholders moved to Prys, 15 miles away and at 1500+ ft. elevation in the Hiraethog mountains (Given, 18 no. 26)

Ereifiad cont.			A Welshman held 58 acres *ad terminum vite* according to English form of land tenure (Given, 19 n. 30)
		English	English freeholders given land (Given 18 n. 26)
Erbistock Exestan Hundred Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Previously held by Rhys as a free man. (*Domesday*, 732)
		Anglo-Norman	Reginald held ½ hide. Land for 1 plough with 1 radman, 1 villan, and 1 bordar. Was waste, later worth 10s., at Domesday worth 9s. (*Domesday*, 732)
Esgorebrill Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Part of Bleddyn ap Wilym kin-group held land in fee from lord according to English form of land tenure (Given, 19 n. 30)
Eyton Exestan Hundred	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Church of St. Chad held 1 hide with 1 villan, ½ a fishery, a ½ acre of meadow, and 2 acres of woodland. Was worth 5s. (*Domesday* 717)
		Welsh	"King Edward gave to King Gruffydd all the land that lay beyond the water which is called the Dee. But after Gruffydd himself wronged him, he took this land from him, and restored it to the Bishop of Chester, and to all his men who formerly held it." (*Domesday 717)*
		Anglo-Norman	Part of estate, with Trevalyn and Sutton Green, held by Hugh fitzOsborn of earl Hugh [of Chester]. ½ plough in demesne and 3 slaves, 7 villans, and5 bordars. 2 Frenchmen

Eyton cont.			had 1½ ploughs. Included a mill rendering 4s., ½ a fishery, 4 acres of meadow, 2 by ½ league woodland, and 2 enclosures. Worth 30s. Could be 4 ploughs or more. Was worth 20s. (*Domesday*, 730)
Flint Flintshire	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	English plantation borough, almost exclusively English township (Davies "Colonial Wales" 23)
Garthennwch Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	⅚ of land seized from Welsh rebels. ⅙ of land taken from Gruffyd ap Maredudd kin-group in exchange for other, unnamed, land (Given, 17-18)
Garthewin Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Garthgyfannedd Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township held by Marchweithian Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 122 & 136-137)
Garthlegfa Dyffryn Clwyd	1300+	Welsh	Welsh inhabitants relocated
Garthserwyd Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Gelli Loveday	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Glust	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Golden Grove	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Golftyn Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously held by Leofnoth as a free man. (*Domesday*, 735)

		Anglo-Norman	Held by Azelin of Robert of Rhuddlan 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 villans and 1 bordar with 6 oxen. 1 by 1 league woodland. Worth 10s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Golftyn cont.			
Gresford Exestan Hundred Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously held by free by Thorth (*Domesday*, 732 & 734)
			Church of St. Chad previously held 1 hide (*Domesday*, 734)
		Welsh	Previously ½ hide lay in "Chespuic" and ½ hide land lay in "Radenoure" (*Domesday*, 734)
		Anglo-Norman	Reginald held of earl Hugh 1½ hides. Land for 2 ploughs, 1 villan with 2 bordars had 1 plough. Worth 20s. 1½ hides part of 4 by 2 leagues of woodland. (*Domesday*, 732)
			Hugh, Osbern, and Reginald (above) held 13 hides paying geld. Land for 12 ploughs: Hugh 5 hides, Osbern 6½ hides, and Reginald 1½ hides. In demesne were 1½ ploughs. A church, a priest, 7 villans, 12 bordars, and 1 Frenchman together held 2½ ploughs. Whole manor had 4 by 2 leagues of woodland and 2 eyries of hawks. Osbern had a mill. Was waste, at Domesday the whole was worth 65s. (*Domesday*, 732)
	1291	Welsh	Church worth £24 at *Taxatio*, may have been newly founded by Trahaiarn ap Ithel family (Silvester & Evans, 34)

Greenfield Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Gronant Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Grugor Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan, paid freemen dues. (Owen *Tenurial*, 120, n. 22)
Gwaenysgor Atiscross Hundred Flintshire	Domesday	Anglo-Saxon	Ecclesiastical – Church of St. Mary Magdalene (Brown, 112)
		Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Gwenynog Cynan [Gwenynog 'Wyntus'] Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Gwespyr Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Gwysaney Atiscross Hundred, Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bistre held by William. Land for 1 plough with a priest and 2 villans. 1 by ½ league woodland. Worth 10s. (*Domesday*, 737)
Gwytherin Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	8th/9th c. Early 12th c., c. 1130 [Date Disputed]	Welsh/Irish [Affiliation Disputed]	Wood reliquary of St. Gwenfrewi at Gwytherin church (Petts & Turner, 286)
			Location of the shrine of St. Gwenfrewi or St. Winefride (Bourke, 375)
	Pre-1282	Welsh	⅔ town held by Cynon ap Llyward branch of the Braint Hir Clan, 2 of 3 *gwelyau* in the town (Owen *Tenurial*, 122-123)
Halkyn	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)

Harwarden Atiscross Hundred, Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously held by earl Edwin. (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester 3 hides paying geld. Land for 4½ plough. In demesne 2 ploughs and 4 slaves. 4 villans and 6 bordars held 2 ploughs. A church held ½ a carucate of land. ½ acre of meadow and 2 by 1 leagues woodland. Worth 40s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
	1282+	English	English plantation borough, almost exclusively English township (Davies "Colonial Wales" 23)
Hen Caerwys Flintshire	Late 13th/early 14th c.		Nucleated settlement with medieval house platform (Silvester, 16 & 26)
Hendenynnid Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	½ town held by Hedd Molwynog Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 120)
Hendre-ddu Denbighshire	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Some Welsh tenants held land *ad voluntatem domini* according to English form of tenure (Given, 19 n. 30)
Hendregyda Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Hendrenynnid Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	½ town held free by Rand Fychan Clan and ½ town held free by Rhys Goch Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 125 & 136-137)
Hesgyn [Hesgin] Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township held by Rhys branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123 & 136-137)

Hiraddug [Moel Hiraddug]	Iron Age	Celtic	Settlement Hill-fort (Brown, 77-82)
			Site was grain-consuming and possibly grain-producing (Jones "Society & Settlement", 430)
	1st-4th c.	Roman/Cheshire	Remains of Cheshire-basin very course pottery (VCP) (Jones "Society & Settlement",435)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Hope Exestan Hundred Wrexham	Pre-1000	Welsh	Confirmed 'mother church' with 9th-11th c. stone crosses (Silvester & Evans, 25 & 36)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously Edwin held as a freeman (*Domesday*, 731)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by Gilbert de Venables 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 villans and 2 acres of woodland. Found waste. Worth 7s. (*Domesday*, 731)
Hoseley Exestan Hundred Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Bishopric of Chester held ½ hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough and 1 villan paying 8d. Worth 3s. (*Domesday*, 718)
Inglecroft	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Kelston Tegeingl/Flintshire	9th/10th c.	Scandinavian	Scandinavian place-name (Loyn, 23-25)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Leadbrook Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously held as 2 manors, 1 by Leofnoth and 1 by Wulfbert as freemen. (*Domesday*, 735)

Leadbrook cont.		Anglo-Norman	Held by Robert of Rhuddlan ½ hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 2 radmen and 2 bordars. 1 by 1 league woodland. Worth 10s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Linacre Tegeingl/Flintshire	9th/10th c.	Scandinavian	Scandinavian place-name (Loyn, 23-25)
Llaethfan Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township held by Idnerth branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123 & 136-137)
Llanarmon yn Ial Dyffryn Clwyd	Pre-1000	Welsh	Church of St. Garmon or St. Germanus possible 'mother church' (Silvester & Evans, 25)
	Late 5th c.		Pilgrimage site mentioned by Bede (Brown, 114)
	1137		Church bequeathed 10s. by Griffith ap Cynan of Powys (Silvester & Evans, 35)
	1149		Castle of Yale built, motte-type castle (Cathcart King, 95)
	12th/13th c.	Anglo-Norman	Toman y Faerdre wooden castle probably built by Hugh, earl of Shrewsbury. Motte castle on cliff overlooking the river Alun. Restored by John in 1212 in campaign against Llywelyn ap Iorworth (Brown, 102-103)
Llandrillo-yn-Rhos [Dinierth]	Pre-1000	Welsh	Site of confirmed 'mother church' (Silvester & Evans, 25)
	1137		Church bequeathed 10s. by Griffith ap Cynan of Powys (Silvester & Evans, 35)
Llanfor	Pre-1000	Welsh	Possible 'mother church' (Silvester & Evans, 25)

Llangollen Wrexham	Pre-1100	Welsh	Ecclesiastical site (Brown, 107)
Llanrwst Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town held by Marchweithian Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 122)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	Only 2 English tenants (Given 18 n. 28)
		Welsh	Some Welsh tenants held land *ad voluntatem domini* according to English form of land tenure (Given, 19 n. 30)
Llanynys On the Clwyd River, Denbighshire	Pre-1000	Welsh	Confirmed 'mother church' site (Silvester & Evans, 25-27)
Llech Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Llechryd Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Welsh bondholders moved to Prys, 15 miles away and at 1500+ ft. elevation in the Hiraethog mountains (Given, 18 no. 26)
		English	English freeholders given land (Given 18 n. 26)
Llech Talhaearn Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bond community tied to Gwynedd (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
Llewenni [Lleweni] Commote of Is Aled, On the Clwyd River Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town made up of 21 *gafaelion*, 3 free and 18 bond (Owen *Tenurial*, 127)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	75 acres granted to Robert Hulton of Cheshire, retainer of Henry de Lacy, lord of Denbigh (Davies "Colonial Wales" 5-6)
			Land/township divided between 118/120 English settlers. Entire vill under English control through escheat and exchange (Davies "Colonial Wales" 8, Given 18)

Llewenni cont.		Welsh	Welsh inhabitants relocated to Llechryd, Erifiad, Tywysog & Taldrach (Davies "Colonial Wales", 11)
			Only remaining Welsh landholder was Iorworth ap Llywarch (Given, 18)
Llewerllyd	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Welsh place-name
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester as part of Berewick of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736)
Llewesog Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial,* 136-137)
Llysaled [Llys Aled] Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free town held by Idnerth branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123)
Llys Edwin Atiscross Hundred Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Welsh	Use of *llys* place-name (*Domesday*, 736)
		Anglo-Saxon	Previously held by Edwin as a freeman (*Domesday*, 736)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by Osmund of Hamo ½ a hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough and 2 villans have ½ plough with 1 bordar. 1 by 1 league woodland. Worth 5s. * Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 736)
Llysfaen Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	Only 4 English tenants (Given 18 n. 28)
Llwynedd	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	¼ knight fee share of land given to Hugh Sprotton, retainer of Reginald de Grey, lord of Dyffryn Clwyd (Davies "Colonial Wales" 6)
Llwytgoed Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free town held by the Edrud ap Marchudd Clan, divided into 4 parts (Owen *Tenurial*, 123-124)

Maen Efa	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Marian Trefedwen	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Mathebrwd Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free town held by Ithel branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123)
Meifod [Meynyot] Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	1137	Welsh	Church bequeathed 10s. by Griffith ap Cynan of Powys (Silvester & Evans, 35)
	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)		Mixed community, later 'predominately bond' (Owen *Tenurial*, 118)
Meincatis	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Melai Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Free township partially held by Rhys Goch/Idnerth Clan Most likely founding township of clan. (Owen *Tenurial*, 121)
Melchaneston	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Meliden Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Merytyn	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Mochdre [Moghedreue] Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd. Town made up of 3 free *gwelyau* and 1 undetermined *gwelyau* (Owen *Tenurial*, 119 & 127)
Mold Flintshire	Pre-1000	Welsh	Possible 'mother church' – early foundation based on circular churchyard remains (Silvester & Evans, 25 & 35-36)
	Early 12th c.	Anglo-Norman	Town & castle probably founded by Montalt family (Silvester & Evans, 35-36)

Mold cont.	1291		Church worth £43 – probably richest in middle or north Wales (Silvester & Evans, 35-36)
Mostyn Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Nant-dinhengroen Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Nantglyn [Nantglyn Cynon, Nantglyn 'Sanctorum'] Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1000	Welsh	Possible 'mother church' site (Silvester & Evans, 25)
	Pre-1282		Nantglyn 'Sanctorum' formerly ecclesiastical site; reference to payment of *abbadaeth* or abbot tax (Owen *Tenurial*, 122-123)
			Free town held by Cynon ap Llyward branch of the Braint Hir Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 122)
Northop	Pre-1000	Welsh	Possible 'mother church' site (Silvester & Evans, 25)
Overton Wrexham	1300	Welsh	Welsh inhabitants relocated to lands @ higher elevation to make room for English settlers (Davies "Colonial Wales" 10)
Penegors	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Pengdeslion	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Penglorgor Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan that paid freemen dues. Hedd Molwynog said to be contemp. of Henry II (Owen *Tenurial*, 120, n. 22)
Penmaen Denbighshire	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Some Welsh tenants held land *ad voluntatem domini* according to English form of land tenure (Given, 19 n. 30)

Pennant-aled [Pennantaled] Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan that paid freemen dues. Hedd Molwynog said to be contemp. of Henry II (Owen *Tenurial*, 120, n. 22)
Pennant Erethlyn Commote Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Penporchell Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	½ held free by Tenyth ap Cynddelw ap 'Cad' ab Ystrwyth Clan, ⅛ held free by Rhys Gryg Clan, ⅛ held free by Ithon Clan, and ¼ bond (Owen *Tenurial*, 125)
Pentre Farm	2nd/3rd c.	Roman	Metalworking (Brown, 86)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	½ held by earl Hugh of Chester, part of vill of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736)
Petrual Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	$^1/_{13}$ of township a holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan, paid freemen dues. Partially held by the Rhys Goch/Idnerth Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 120-121)
Picton	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Postyn [Postu] Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd – 1,010 acres – with the suggestion of a 'bond clan agglomeration' that is distinct in *Survey* (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
Postyn Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Prestatyn [Prestetone, Prestaulton] Tegeingl/Flintshire	46 c.e.-4th c.	Roman	Military site (Jones "Society & Settlement, 414-421)
	Pre-3rd c.	Roman	Metalworking (Brown, 86-87)
	Mid-to late-8th c.	Mercian	Northernmost point of Offa's Dyke
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)

Prestatyn cont.	1164		Wooden castle with a short motte and causeway over marsh, built by Robert de Banastre. Destroyed in 1167, probably by Owain Gwynedd (Brown, 102)
Prion [Peryon] Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd, held 1,208½ acres (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
Prys [Prees, Pres, Trebrys] Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Mixed township at least partially held by members of the Cynan ap Llywarch Clan and at least partially held by members of the Runon ap Cadwgan branch of Marchweithian Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 120-121)
Prysllygod Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	⅓ of township a holding of Hedd Molwynog Clan that paid freemen dues. Township partially held by Rhys Goch/Idnerth Clan. Town in three parts associated with the Rand Fychan Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 120-121 & 125)
Radington Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously held by earl Edwin. (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough. Waste. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 735-736)
Rahop	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Rhiwiau [Rue, Rhiw] Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	⅙ knight fee share of vill given to Adam Verdon, retainer of Reginald de Grey (Davies "Colonial Wales" 6)

Rhos Ithel Atiscross Hundred Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bistre held by Ralph. Land for 1 plough with 4 bordars. Worth 8s. (*Domesday*, 737)
Rhuddlan On Clwyd River	4th c.	Roman/Welsh	Agricultural Settlement (Brown, 88)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously called Englefield and held by earl Edwin. Was waste. (*Domesday*, 736)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by earl Hugh of Chester from the king[of England]. Was waste. ½ castle of Rhuddlan held as demesne, 8 burgesses, ½ of the church and mint, ½ of every iron-mine, ½ of the river Clwyd and of any mills and fisheries, ½ the forests not a part of any vill, ½ the toll, and ½ the vill of Bryn. Total renders £6.10s. (*Domesday*, 736)
			Robert of Rhuddlan held of earl Hugh of Chester ½ the castle of Rhuddlan, ½ of the borough – 10 burgesses – ½ the church and mint, ½ of every iron-mine, ½ of the river Clwyd and any fisheries and mills, ½ of forests not in another vill, ½ the vill of Bryn including Llewerllyd, Penegors, Rhydorddwy, Tredueng, and Cwybr Bach. Land for only 3 ploughs held in demesne with 6 slaves and a mill, rendering 3 modii of corn. Worth £3. Also held the the Berewicks of Rhuddlan. Total rendered £17.3s. (*Domesday*, 736-737)

Rhuddlan cont.			18 Burgesses of the borough of Rhuddlan "granted laws and customs which are [enjoyed] in Hereford and Breteuil, that is to say that throughout the year they shall give only 12d. for any forfeiture, except homicide and theft and premeditated housebreaking." Toll for the borough 'let at farm at 3s' (*Domesday*, 737)
	1282+	English	English plantation borough, almost exclusively English township (Davies "Colonial Wales" 23)
Ruthin Dyffryn Clwyd	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	4 burgages given to Helpston family of masons when they emigrated from England (Davies "Colonial Wales" 7)
			English plantation borough, almost exclusively English township (Davies "Colonial Wales" 23)
	1324		Only 1 burgess held rural land (Given, 19 n. 32)
		Welsh	40 of 70 burgesses Welsh (Given, 19 n. 32)
Rhydeidion Commote of Uwch Aled Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Rhydorddwy	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Ruargor	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Segrwyd [Segroit, Segrot, Segroyt] Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Bonded community tied to Gwynedd, held approximately 1,700 acres (Owen *Tenurial*, 119)

Serïor Denbighshire	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	Entire land confiscated from Welsh rebels (Given, 17 n. 21)
Sgeibion Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	English	½ land confiscated from Welsh rebels (Given, 17 n. 21)
Soughton Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Scandinavian	Previously held by Esbjorn as a freeman (*Domesday*, 736)
		Anglo-Norman	Ralph the huntsman held 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough with 1 radman and 4 bordars. ½league by 4 acres woodland. Worth 5s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 736)
Sutton Green Exestan Hundred, Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of estate, with Eyton and Trevalyn, held by Hugh fitzOsborn of earl Hugh [of Chester]. ½ plough in demesne and 3 slaves, 7 villans, 5 bordars, and 2 Frenchmen had 1½ ploughs. Included a mill rendering 4s., ½ a fishery, 4 acres of meadow, 2 by ½ league woodland, and 2 enclosures. Worth 30s. Could be 4 ploughs or more. Was worth 20s. (*Domesday*, 730)
Taldrach Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	½ town held by Seisyllta ap Cynan Clan "*que ne dicitur pure libera nec pure nativa*' and ½ town held in bond (Owen *Tenurial*, 125)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)		Welsh bondholders moved to Prys, 15 miles away and at 1500+ ft. elevation in the Hiraethog mountains (Given, 18 no. 26)
		English	English freeholders given land (Given 18 n. 26)

Talgarth Commote of Is Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Bond township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Talhaearn [Talhaiarn, Talehern, Talhern, Trahairn] Commote of Uwch Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Tallwyn Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Talybryn Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Tandderwen Dyffryn Clwyd	400-1100	Welsh	Early Christian burial site with dug graves, which later included a Bronze Age mound within site. 2 graves dated 11th-13th c. (Longley, 105, 110-115, 125)
Tan-y-Fron	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Tomen y Rhodwydd Near Nant y Garth Pass through Clwydian range connecting Clwyd Valley to Dee Valley, Dyffryn Clwyd	c. 1149	Welsh	Wooden castle with a tall motte, bailey, and causeway. Built by Owain Gwynedd. Destroyed in late 12th c. by Iorworth ap Goch ap Maredudd of Powys. Restored in 1212 by John in campaign against Llywelyn ap Iorworth (Brown, 102)
Trebwll Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Tredueng	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Bryn (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Trefraith	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Trelawnyd Near Moel Hiraddug, Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
	14th c.	English	Ecclesiastical – Church of St. Michael with a churchyard cross (Brown, 109)

Trellyniau	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Tremeirchion Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Trevalyn Exestan Hundred	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously held by Thorth 3 hides paying geld. (*Domesday* 730)
		Anglo-Norman	Part of estate, with Eyton and Sutton Green, held by Hugh fitzOsborn of earl Hugh [of Chester]. ½ plough in demesne and 3 slaves, 7 villans, 5 bordars, and 2 Frenchmen had 1½ ploughs. Included a mill rendering 4s., ½ a fishery, 4 acres of meadow, 2x½ league woodland, 2 enclosures. Worth 30s. Could be 4 ploughs or more. Was worth 20s. (*Domesday*, 730)
Trofarth Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town held by Idnerth branch of the Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123)
Twt Hill	1073	Anglo-Norman	Wooden castle with a tall motte and bailey, built by Robert of Rhuddlan (Brown, 102)
Twynnan Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Town held free by Idnerth branch of Edrud ap Marchudd Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 123)
Twysog Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Bond township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Welsh bondholders moved to Prys, 15 miles away and at 1500+ ft. elevation in the Hiraethog mountains (Given, 18 no. 26)
		English	English freeholders given land (Given 18 n. 26)

Ty-brith Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	Free township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)
Ulchenol	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Valle Crucis [Mwster Grange]	Pre-1086	Anglo-Saxon	Site previously called Mwster Grange, an Anglo-Saxon monastic place-name (Evans, 96-99)
	Late 13th/early 14th c.	Cistercian	Cistercian monastery (Evans, 96-99)
Wenfesne	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Wepre, Atiscross Hundred, Tegeingl/Flintshire	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian	Previously Earnwig held ⅓ of a hide with land for a third of a plough (*Domesday*, 735)
		Anglo-Norman	William Malbank held of the [bishopric of Chester] 2 parts of 1 hide paying geld. Land for 1 plough, with 1 villan and 1 bordar. Was worth 4s., at Domesday worth 5s. William also held ⅓ of a hide paying geld. Land for a third of a plough with 1 radman and 1 villan. Worth 10s. *Forest retained by earl Hugh of Chester (*Domesday*, 718 & 735-736)
Whitford Tegeingl/Flintshire	c. 10th century	Northumbrian with Scandinavian influence	Ecclesiastical – Maen Achwyfan circle cross (Brown, 109)
	Pre-1000	Welsh	Possible 'mother church' site (Silvester & Evans, 25)
	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Widhulde	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Wigfair [Wicwer] Commote of Uwch Dulas, Rhos/Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Anglo-Saxon	Possible Anglo-Saxon place-name
		Welsh	Mixed township (Owen *Tenurial*, 136-137)

Witestan	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the fief of Robert of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Worthenbury Duddeston Hundred, Wrexham	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Saxon	Previously held by earl Edwin [of Chester] (*Domesday*, 721)
		Anglo-Norman	Held by Robert fitzHugh 5 hides paying geld. Land for 10 ploughs with 1 plough in demesne and 1 slave, 3 villans, 3 Frenchmen, and 1 radman with 4 ploughs. Included a new mill and an acre of land. *Part of Robert fitzHugh's manor held by a knight, 1½ hides equaling 1 plough, with his men. Was worth 12 orae which the villans paid, now worth 30s. Found waste. 2 by 1 leagues. (*Domesday*, 721)
Wrexham	Pre-1000	Welsh	Possible 'mother church' – possibly began as demesne chapel (Silvester & Evans, 25, 34)
Ysceifiog	Pre-1086 (Domesday)	Anglo-Norman	Part of the Berewick of Rhuddlan (*Domesday*, 736-737)
Ystrad Cynon Commote of Is Aled, Rhufoniog/Denbighshire	Pre-1282 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)	Welsh	Mixed township at least partially held by members of the Cynan ap Llywarch Clan (Owen *Tenurial*, 120 & 136-137)
	1282+ (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)		Previously demesne land of Cynan ap Llywarch. Welsh inhabitants relocated because lands forfeit for fighting for Welsh king against the English (Davies "Colonial Wales" 11)
		English	Entire vill under English control through escheat and exchange (Given, 18 n. 24)

Ystrad Owain Commote of Ceinmeirch Denbighshire	Pre-1282	Welsh	*Maerdref* or bonded community tied to Gwynedd (Owen *Tenurial*, 119 and Given 36 n. 110)
	1334 (Survey of Denbigh, 1334)		Fallen into disrepair, seems to have been passed over by English for new boroughs (Given 36 n. 110)

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