Red Kite

The Princes of Deheubarth Interpretation Plan
Prepared for Cadw

June 2010

The Princes of Deheubarth
Interpretation Plan

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The Princes of Deheubarth

The March of Power in Southern Wales

Red Kite

TOUCHSTONE
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1 Introduction

Dinefwr Castle *RKE*

1.1 Background to the study

Red Kite Environment, Touchstone Heritage Management Consultants and Anglezarke Dixon Associates were appointed by Cadw, at the beginning of 2010, to prepare two Interpretation Plans as part of Cadw's overall strategy to develop and implement a programme of interpretation for its medieval properties throughout Wales.

The first of the plans was commissioned to encompass the Princes of Deheubarth, a dynasty of Welsh rulers whose territorial boundaries changed over the years but were rooted in the south west of Wales. The second plan was commissioned, in parallel, to encompass the areas of southern Wales which were ruled by, or under the influence of, the Anglo-Norman marcher lords.

The consultancy team is grateful to members of Cadw staff and to representatives of many other organisations who have provided information, advice, guidance and historical expertise during the course of preparing these Interpretation Plans. In particular, we acknowledge with thanks the guidance of our two expert advisers, Roger Turvey and Rick Turner, whose knowledge of, respectively, the princes and the lords, has kept us on a secure historical footing as well as providing a series of insights into both topics. We should also like to thank PLB Consulting Ltd and Siân Shakespear Associates for agreeing to share information about their own, parallel, interpretive planning work.

This document is an interpretation plan for telling the stories of the Princes of Deheubarth (c930 to 1287). It is not a plan for the interpretation of individual castles and other monuments within the Deheubarth study area. That would require separate, site-related interpretation plans.

All the stories pre-date all or, in some cases, almost all, the physical evidence now at these sites – the stonework that remains is of Anglo-Norman origin and much of it was built after the 13th century. The stories will be brought alive, therefore, through the interpretive text and illustrations of graphic and digital media, and through activities such as self-guided trails, family activities, re-enactments and storytelling, rather than by explaining the physical significance of the relict monuments on the ground.

At some of the sites where we have recommended interpretation should be provided, the stories of the Princes of Deheubarth will relate to a very short period of time in the history of the site – from just a few months to 100 years or more. We recommend, therefore, that this needs to explained very clearly in the interpretation of the sites. We have also made recommendations for branding the interpretation of the Princes of Deheubarth – again, the branding is for the Princes of Deheubarth story, not for the interpretation of other features and stories at each site.

The title of this plan reflects the changing influences over 350 years or so but it is simply the name of this report and may or may not have a place in future interpretation.

The plan has been prepared following extensive site and desk research, discussions with our advisers, consultative meetings with a range of interests and feedback from Cadw.

Sections 1 to 3 and **11** to **14** appear in both reports, illustrating clearly the **integration** between the stories of the Princes of Deheubarth and of the Lords of the Southern March. **Sections 4 – 10** inclusive appear in appropriate versions in each report.

1.2 Inter-relating the stories

The story of the Princes of Deheubarth is a stirring tale of Celtic fervour, tribal rivalry, territorial ambition and defence, castle-building, marriages of convenience, pragmatic pacts, law-making, loyalty, treachery, patronage of the church and the arts, and dynastic rise and fall. The Princes of Deheubarth emerged as rulers of one group of the Brythonic people that gave Wales its language and the basis of its nationhood. Their culture was, of course, open to influences from elsewhere, not least from Europe and from Ireland.

The story of the Lords of the Southern March has a number of parallels. Their tale also embraces ambition for land and power; in addition, it includes building great castles and founding fine abbeys, founding new towns, introducing elements of the feudal system and their legal system. The Anglo-Norman lordships reflected a long history of invasion and settlement by Teutonic peoples, royal favour and disfavour, and internecine jealousies. Their supremacy in southern Wales led to the widespread adoption of the English language, new forms of land management and the power of the state for centuries to come. But they too were subject to influences from Europe.

A Double Helix of History[1]

| 410 | 700 | 785 | 871 | 930 | 1066 | 1197 | 1282 | 1301 | 1415 | 1536 |
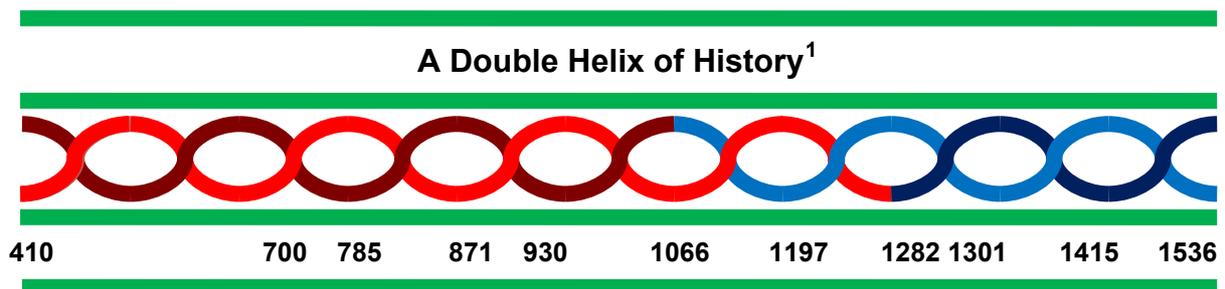
However, the two stories cannot simply be matching accounts of two overlapping periods in history. The stories are intertwined for several hundred years, sometimes bloodily, much of the time expediently. Indeed, the Normans themselves integrated with their Anglo-Saxon predecessors as rulers of what became England and the results of their conquests are seen not only in the consolidation of that country as a nation but, paradoxically, in the affirmation of Wales and Scotland as separate nations.

The power, and very existence, of the Princes of Deheubarth eventually disappeared under the aegis of the English crown, but so too, later, did the supremacy of the marcher lords. It is one of the ironies of history that Henry VII, partly descended from a distinguished Welsh prince, gave the last of England's great royal dynasties its Welsh name: the House of Tudor.

The story of the princes and the story of the marcher lords represent two interwoven strands in the annals of Wales which began, for the purposes of this document, with the emergence of the early Welsh kingdoms after the Romans left in 410 and ended with the Act of Union between Wales and England in 1536 although the word 'union' is still disputed in some quarters. The stories of these 1100 years still help to bind the history of both countries.

It is for that reason, although we have compiled two reports relating to the interpretation of the stories of the princes and of the lords, this and the section in Appendix 14.2 on the

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[1] The bright red line represents the Princes of Deheubarth and the bright blue line the Lords of the Southern March. The deeper red line represents other Welsh princes with whom the Princes of Deheubarth were in conflict or alliance at any given time and the deeper blue line the rump of the Princes of Deheubarth after their influence ended during the hegemony of the Lords of the Southern March.

historical context appear in both reports in order to provide a framework for the findings and recommendations that follow.

1.3 Common strands

In parallel with the development of the interpretation plans for the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March, plans are also in preparation for:

- The Princes of Gwynedd

- The Edwardian Castles

- Owain Glyndŵr

Just as there are common strands that link the stories of the princes and the Lords, so are there similar strands that link all five topics. After discussion with our colleagues in the consultancies responsible for the other plans, we have agreed a series of seven strands that are common to all. These strands are not themes or storylines; they are, however, important elements in all the stories and should always play a part, as appropriate, in interpreting the principal topics. The strands are, in no order of importance:

- The geography of Wales

- The topography of sites

- The dynasties of rulers

- The role of religion

- Social and cultural life

- The physical evidence: buildings, artefacts and documents

- The influence of Europe

- The timeline

2 Key events and timeline

Nevern Castle *RKE*

2.1 Timeline

In order to synthesise and simplify the previous three sections, we have developed a timeline to identify the 'turnkey' events in Wales in terms of the two stories which have to be told. This 'events line' can then form the basis for drawing out the principal stories under the respective headings of the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March. We have included events relating to both in this report because of the inter-relationships between the two stories for several hundred years.

Some events and / or dates will be referred to frequently; others will merit occasional, but important mention. Some will be dates of defining events (in the context of the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March) which could appear on a graphic timeline in interpretive media.

c410	Roman Army abandons Britannia, including Wales
c500	The formation of the Celtic Church
c700	Wales' principal territories defined
	Welsh language established in current form
c785	Offa's Dyke separates the Princedoms of Powys and Brecon from Mercia
871	Rhodri Mawr unites most of Wales, defends Wales from Vikings
	Alfred becomes king of Wessex
877	Rhodri Mawr dies; most Welsh princes acknowledge King Alfred the Great as overlord
c900	St David's accepts supremacy of Roman church
930	Hywel Dda becomes king of Deheubarth
950	Wales reverts to four princedoms
1057	Gruffudd ap Llywelyn unites most of Wales
1063	Harold Godwinson defeats Gruffudd who is killed
1066	Harold Godwinson marries Gruffudd's widow
	William the Conqueror invades England and creates Norman Marcher Lords
1067	William fitz Osbern starts building Chepstow Castle, but not its great tower
1081	Rhys ap Tewdwr confirmed as Prince of Deheubarth
1086	Domesday Book compiled
1093	Rhys ap Tewdwr killed; Normans establish a foothold in south west Wales
1094	Normans repelled from Gwynedd and Dyfed (other than Pembrokeshire)
1143	Cistercian abbey founded at Whitland
1188	Gerald of Wales
1172	The Lord Rhys, Rhys ap Gruffudd's rights to Deheubarth are confirmed by Henry II
c1200	Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (the Great) rules as Prince of Gwynedd and later Prince of (most of) Wales
1215	Magna Carta sealed

1218	Treaty of Worcester
1265	Llywelyn ap Gruffudd recognised as ruler of much of Wales by Simon de Montfort
1267	Treaty of Montgomery – Henry III acknowledges Llywelyn as Prince of Wales
1270s	Completion of Caerphilly Castle
1277	Llywelyn signs Treaty of Aberconwy, reversing gains of Treaty of Montgomery
1282	Death of Llywelyn; Treaty of Rhuddlan agreed by Edward I sometimes called the conquest of Wales
1287	Maredudd ap Gruffudd's rebellion fails and Edward I effectively extinguishes Deheubarth as a princedom
1301	Edward I bestows title of Prince of Wales on his son
1348	Black Death
1415	Owain Glyndwr thought to have died after his rebellion against English rule fails
1485	Henry VII becomes king of England and Wales and establishes the Tudor royal line
1536	Henry VIII dissolves the monasteries
	Act of Union, uniting Wales with England

3 The interpretive resources

Talley Abbey *RKE*

3.1 The castles, the abbeys and the landscape

In the course of our initial work on the two interpretation plans, we have encountered references to many more castles and other sites than anticipated. Many are important, some less so; all contribute – or could contribute – to the stories of the Princes of Deheubarth and / or the Lords of the Southern March.

The sites are well known to Cadw, of course, including those in the ownership of other bodies or individuals. For convenience, we have grouped them in one table in the form of an overall audit. Further details and comments have yet to be added as we continue our site visits and other research.

What is clear is that the physical interpretive resources are extensive and range from the substantial mottes in St Clears and in Nevern to the majestic fortresses like Caerphilly and Pembroke. There is interpretation of various kinds at many of the sites, much of it in need of refreshing, but the potential to link many of the sites into a cohesive, and contextualised, story.

Allied to the physical resources represented by the buildings is the landscape in which they are set. Many are in rural surroundings (by today's standards) but most of the great Norman castles stand in the towns which were created around them. The choice of location for the castles was not a matter of chance. They followed the age-old pattern of building fortresses where they could be of most value. In many cases this was in high ground with Carreg Cennen and Dinefwr being prime examples. Frequently they guarded rivers or river crossings as at Laugharne, sometimes from eminences high above as at Chepstow. Transport by water was as important in medieval times as that on land. In all cases, the sites provided views and, very often largely impregnable positions to which there was only one approach route, such as at Cilgerran.

The Cistercian monasteries, dedicated to religious service, were built in remote places away from the distractions of secular life. The monks' régime of austere, and, later, astute nature, led to the monasteries becoming profitable agricultural enterprises . The land around them was fertile and ideal for growing crops and rearing sheep and was served by good supplies of running water. Their sites in open country were surrounded by land in the ownership and under the protection of their patrons.

And so, to the interpretive resource of the historic structures we can add the landscape in which they stand. The rural settings are always appealing and the urban settings are full of interest. The intrinsic value of the monuments as visitor attractions is greatly enhanced by their surroundings and this has the additional benefit of appealing to two, of overlapping, markets – those with an interest in the landscape and those who enjoy visiting buildings and towns.

Castles and other sites in southern Wales associated with the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March

No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	POD links	LSM link	Staff	Visitor numbers	Atkins plan	Local cons	Associated sites / potential links	Location / accessibility	Interpretation on site / guide	Personal associations	Ranking / potential
1	Abergavenny Castle							Abergavenny Priory	Museum / park	Panels	De Braose family	
2	Ammanford Castle								Accessible	Interpretive panels due 2010		
3	Bronllys Castle							Tretower	Accessible	Panels		
4	Caerphilly Castle				107,000			Cardiff Castle Castell Coch	Town centre, fully accessible	Visitor centre, panels, guide book, audio tour	Gilbert de Clare I&II Hugh Despenser	Outstanding site, very important
5	Caldicot Castle							Chepstow		Guidebook	Bohun family	
6	Cardiff Castle							Castell Coch	City centre, fully accessible		Robert Fitzhamon	Important
7	Cardigan Castle							Cilgerran Nevern St Dogmaels, Newport (P)	Town centre fully accessible, castle currently closed		Lord Rhys	Important
8	Carew Castle							Carew Cross Pembroke	Good accessibility, car parks	Panels, guide book	Gerald de Windsor, Rhys ap Thomas	Important
9	Carew Cross							Carew Castle	Accessible	Guidebook		
10	Carmarthen Castle							Kidwelly	Accessible	Interpretive panels Guidebook	William Fitz Baldwin The Lord Rhys	
11	Carreg Cennen							Dinefwr Dryslwyn	Rural, hilltop, moderately accessible	Leaflet, guide, panels	Rhys Fychan John Giffard	Important
12	Castell Coch							Cardiff Caerphilly	Urban fringe, fully accessible	Guidebook	Gilbert de Clare	Important

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	Castles and other sites in southern Wales associated with the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March											
No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	POD links	LSM link	Staff	Visitor numbers	Atkins plan	Local cons	Associated sites / potential links	Location / accessibility	Interpretation on site / guide	Personal associations	Ranking / potential
13	Cilgerran Castle							Nevern, Cardigan, Newport (P)	Village centre, moderately accessible	Panels Guidebook	Lord Rhys William Marshall	Medium
14	Chepstow Castle				65,000			Caldicot, Tintern Monmouth	Town centre, fully accessible	Leaflet, panels Guidebook	William fitz Osbern, William Marshall	Outstanding site, very important
15	Coity Castle							Newcastle Ogmore Llanblethian	In village, moderate parking	Panels Guidebook	De Turbeville	Medium
16	Dinefwr Castle				55,000			Dryslwyn, Newton House Carreg Cennen	Rural hilltop, moderately accessible	Guide, panels, NT exhibition	Lord Rhys	Iconic site, very important
17	Dryslwyn Castle							Dinefwr Carreg Cennen	Rural hilltop, difficult access	Interpretive panels Guidebook	Lord Rhys	Important
18	Grosmont Castle							Skenfrith, White	In village, poor parking	Panels Guidebook	Hubert de Burgh	Medium
19	Kidwelly Castle				30,000			Laugharne Llansteffan	Town centre, fully accessible	Visitor centre, Interpretive centre, panels, guidebook	De Chaworths Henry IV & V Gwenllian	Outstanding site, very important
20	Laugharne Castle				10,000			Kidwelly, Llanstaffan	Town centre, fully accessible	Interpretive centre, panels, guidebook	Rhys ap Gruffudd	Important
21	Llanblethian Castle							Caerphilly			De Clare	Low
22	Llandovery Castle								Town centre, accessible	Panels		
23	Llansteffan Castle							Kidwelly	Walking access	Panels	Rhys ap	Important

No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	POD links	LSM link	Staff	Visitor numbers	Atkins plan	Local cons	Associated sites / potential links	Location / accessibility	Interpretation on site / guide	Personal associations	Ranking / potential
								Laugharne	from village	Guidebook	Gruffudd	
24	Llawhaden Castle							Wiston, Narberth	Accessible	Panels Guidebook	Bishops of St David's	Medium
25	Loughor Castle							Weobley, Oxwich, Oystermouth Swansea		Guidebook		Low
26	Monmouth Castle							Raglan Chepstow		Panels	Henry V	
27	Narberth Castle							Wiston Llawhaden	Easy access from village	Good panels		Medium
28	Neath Abbey								Accessible	Guidebook	De Clare	Important
29	Nevern Castle							Newport (P) Cardigan Cilgerran	Rural hilltop, moderately accessible	Panels	Lord Rhys Robert Fitz Martin	Very important
30	Newcastle Castle							Ogmore Coity, Llanblethian	Accessible	Guidebook		Low
31	Newcastle Emlyn							Cilgerran	Accessible			
32	Newport Castle (G)											
33	Newport Castle (P)							Nevern, Cardigan Cilgerran				
34	Ogmore Castle							Coity, Newcastle, Llanblethian Ewenny Priory	Good access, parking Good location on river, with stepping stones	Poor on-site interpretation Guidebook	William de Londres	Medium

Castles and other sites in southern Wales associated with the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March

	Castles and other sites in southern Wales associated with the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March											
No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	POD links	LSM link	Staff	Visitor numbers	Atkins plan	Local cons	Associated sites / potential links	Location / accessibility	Interpretation on site / guide	Personal associations	Ranking / potential
35	Oxwich Castle							Weobley, Oystermouth, Loughor, Swansea	Good access	Guidebook	Largely 16th C	Low
36	Oystermouth Castle							Weobley, Oxwich, Loughor, Swansea	Close to town	Interpretation to be installed during 2010/11	De Braose	High
37	Pembroke Castle							Carew Carew Cross	Town centre, fully accessible	Panels, guide book, etc	Henry VII, William Marshall	Outstanding site, very important
38	Penalli Cross											
39	Raglan Castle				56,000			Monmouth	Rural access	Panels Guidebook	William Herbert	
40	St Clears Castle							Whitland	Village centre, moderately accessible	Panel at gate		Modest importance
41	St Davids Cathedral							Llawhaden	City centre, fully accessible	Panels	Bishops of St David's	Important
42	St Dogmael's Abbey							Nevern	Village centre	Guidebook	Robert Fitz Martin	
43	Skenfrith Castle							Grosmont, White	In village, good access, car park, river	Panels Guidebook	Hubert de Burgh	important
44	Strata Florida Abbey				4,000			Dinefwr Talley	Rural land, fully accessible	Panels Exhibition (2010) Guidebook	Cistercian Lord Rhys Burial ground for many Welsh princes	Important

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No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	POD links	LSM link	Staff	Visitor numbers	Atkins plan	Local cons	Associated sites / potential links	Location / accessibility	Interpretation on site / guide	Personal associations	Ranking / potential
45	Swansea Castle							Oystermouth Oxwich, Loughor, Weobley		Guidebook	Henry de Beaumont	Medium
46	Talley Abbey								Rural land, moderately accessible	Panels Guidebook	Rhys ap Gruffudd	Important
47	Tenby Castle							Pembroke	Town centre		William de Valence Jasper Tudor	
48	Tintern Abbey							Chepstow		Guidebook	Gilbert de Clare Roger de Bigod	Important
49	Tretower Castle							Abergavenny		Guidebook	Vaughan Herbert	
50	Weobley Castle				5			Oxwich Loughor Oystermouth Swansea		Guidebook		
51	White Castle				9			Grosmont Skenfrith	Rural land, good access, small car park, on Offa's Dyke	Panels, Bluetooth access Guidebook	Hubert de Burgh	Important
52	Whitland Abbey							St Clears			Strata Florida established from here	Important
53	Wiston Castle				0.5			Wiston Church Llawhaden	Village edge, moderately accessible	Panels	Wizo	important

Castles and other sites in southern Wales associated with the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March

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3.2 Community pride in its local monuments – the wider context

In January 2007, Cadw commissioned a series of Community Profiles, of communities living near to monuments in Cadw's care, to inform work and publicity priorities for individual monuments as well as for area-based partnership-working. The profiles summarise information, outlining the:

- demographic, social, economic and environmental context of the communities

- local priorities and problems

- local networks, groups and initiatives

- community benefits and issues associated with the monument

- community use of the monument

It is clear from the Community Profiles that many communities have considerable pride in, and a 'sense of ownership' of, many of the castles and other sites. This has many benefits, not least in the overall marketing and care of the sites. However, in some cases, local people have, perhaps, unrealistic ambitions and expectations for the role their monuments might have in developing tourism within their area. The development of clusters or groups of castles within a small geographical area offers some opportunities for economic benefit to the local area as the marketing and interpretation of clusters may attract more visitors to the area and also encourage visitors to stay longer and spend more.

Developing overall stories relating to the Princes of Deheubarth and / or the Lords of the Southern March, and setting them in a wide context, will help to embrace what are often relatively isolated sites and give them a role within the bigger picture and therefore a greater prominence.

The Community Profiles also highlight communities' concerns about the role of 'their' monuments, for example, the people of Skenfrith do not want any additional visitors in their village because car parking is already at capacity.

Community Profiles exist for the following sites:

Bronllys Castle	Loughor Castle
Caerphilly Castle	Neath Abbey
Carew Cross	Newcastle Castle
Chepstow Castle	Raglan Castle
Coity Castle	St Quentin's Castle
Dinefwr Castle	Strata Florida Abbey
Dryslwyn Castle	Weobley Castle
Grosmont Castle	White Castle

4 The market

Tiles at Strata Florida *RKE*

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4.1 Main divisions of audiences

Because the principal interpretive resources, as we have defined them above, are both dramatic and varied, with locations ranging from the coast to the hills, across much of southern Wales, they have the potential to attract a heterogeneous market, ranging from families on holiday with a passing interest to those individuals and groups with a lively and informed interest in the stories and / or the many sites associated with them.

It is clear from the results of community consultation that there is strong local interest in most of the identified sites and great pride in their potential for attracting visitors, whether or not the actual numbers reflect the enthusiasm and sense of ownership among local people. Specific visitor numbers are available for only some of the identified sites and these are noted on the table in the previous section.

In summary, the current market segments for interpretation of the Princes of Deheubarth story, on- and off-site include the following:

By social group and age, predominantly:

- Socio-economic groups ABC1
- Over 35 years of age

By type, predominantly:

- Families with younger children on holiday or day outings
- Adult couples and small groups on holiday or day outings

By origin, predominantly:

- Visitors to the area, mainly from other parts of Wales and of the UK

By interest, predominantly:

- With a general interest as part of a 'day out'
- Making a first visit.

In addition, and importantly, the current market includes, in smaller numbers:

- Repeat visitors
- Local people
- Those with a specialist interest

4.2 Widening the audiences

In devising interpretive approaches and media for the future, it is important to consider mechanisms for widening the audience base although experience over many years suggests this will present considerable challenges except in special cases. Target groups include, in no order of priority:

1. Socio-economic groups C2DE – there are frequently financial, transportation, mobility, cultural and intellectual impediments

2. Younger people – there are impediments arising, principally, from life-style choices but also financial, domestic and cultural circumstances, and the way history is taught

3. Older people – the principal impediments arise from life-style choices and from mobility, transportation and financial circumstances

4. Black and ethnic minority groups – the principal constraints are cultural and social attitudes and circumstances, but also financial and domestic circumstances

5. Overseas visitors – the principal impediment is the lure of well-known and / or high-profile regions and sites, exacerbated by lack of awareness and fore-knowledge

6. People with severe mobility, sensory and learning impairments – additional impediments include cultural, financial and social circumstances

Apart from the impediments relating to financial circumstances and availability of personal transport which affect a number of the categories above, there is a common strand that links all categories and that has an intellectual basis although its nature varies. It encapsulates:

- Intellectual achievement –categories 1, 4 and 6

- Intellectual ability – mainly category 6

- Intellectual interest – categories 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6

- Intellectual exposure – mainly categories 1, 4, 5 and 6

Most if not all of these four groups are also affected by cultural circumstances some of which – for example the continuing integration of black and ethnic minorities – may change over time. As younger people develop their interest in their heritage in later years, for many older people it no longer has the same significance.

Improving general education, encouragement and good interpretation can draw in people who didn't think they had, or didn't even want to have, an interest in their heritage and surroundings. Good television programmes supported by DVDs, books and the internet, are constantly widening people's horizons, awareness and understanding.

The market for heritage interpretation is widening – but so are the competing attractions. Realistically, it will be possible to broaden the appeal and success of interpretation aimed at the general public only by degrees and, even then, at a cost which, other than for reasons of inclusivity, may not be wholly justified.

Our proposals go, we hope, some way down the inclusivity line without, at the same time, 'losing' the interest of those who are already part of the market.

5 Issues and opportunities

Strata Florida *RKE*

5.1 Issues and opportunities

In considering our approach to the interpretation of the Princes of Deheubarth, a series of issues has emerged, some of which we have referred to under previous headings. There are also associated opportunities and it is worth recording both because addressing them and seizing the opportunities is, in effect, the substance of our interpretive approach.

We have presented them simply as bullet points and grouped them under a number of headings:

- Overall story

- Wider context

- Links with other interpretive plans

- The range of sites

- Complementary sites

- Community involvement

5.2 Overall story

The principal issues that have arisen in terms of the overall story are:

- Awareness and understanding of the Princes of Deheubarth is very limited;

- At best, only a few key – and more widely important – figures are known to Welsh people and few others; many of the key (and often conflicting) characters were related through marriage and many of their names were similar as they followed a system of patronymics

- The period when the princes flourished initially is a victim of the 'dark ages' and little is known about it

- Many of the sites associated with the princes are not ranked as important visitor attractions – but there are major exceptions

- The history of the princes is relatively convoluted and potentially confusing, with many shifting allegiances and alliances; it is also closely related to that of other early Welsh rulers, again few of whom are familiar names

- The later history of the princes is embroiled with that of the Anglo-Norman Lords of the Southern March

- The social history of the main period of the princes' hegemony, while most important, is not widely known with the possible exception of Hywel Dda's law-giving and Lord Rhys's eisteddfod

- The day-to-day story of ordinary people who were widely dispersed in the landscape is not well recorded and little is known of it

However, the opportunities that exist include:

- Telling a story wider than that of the princes alone, setting them in a broader geographical, historical, social and political context

- Using key characters as 'pegs' upon which to tell the wider story

- Relating the story of the princes to local communities where feasible

- Integrating, where appropriate, the story of the Princes of Deheubarth with that of the Lords of the Southern March

- Revealing the 'everyday story of Welsh folk' in describing, from what is known, how life was lived in early medieval times

5.3 The wider context

The principal issues that have arisen in terms of the wider context are:

- How the geography and topography had a decisive impact on civilian and military life and how the princes and their strongholds impacted on the landscape

- When the overall story is not well known, it needs its own explanation before it can be related to a wider context

- Perception of wider historical contexts is not within the grasp of many people

However, the opportunities that exist include:

- Relating the story of the princes to today's political geography of Wales can help understanding as broad boundaries have changed little

- Relating the story of the princes to more universal concepts of leaders and followers, conquest and collaboration can help understanding

5.4 Links with other interpretive plans

The principal issues that have arisen in terms of linking interpretation of the princes with other interpretive plans (for the Princes of Gwynedd and for Owain Glyndŵr) are:

- The links between the two groups of princes require a basic understanding of the context in which both ruled

- The link with Owain Glyndŵr is slender

However, the opportunities that exist include:

- Using the context of modern Wales's geo-political boundaries to help explain the relationships between the princes

- Using the 'celebrity status' of Glyndŵr as peg upon which to help tell the story of the Princes of Deheubarth

5.5 The range of sites

The principal issues that have arisen in terms of the range of sites are:

- By no means all are in the care of Cadw

- Coordinated on-site interpretation is likely to be limited to Cadw sites without making special arrangements

- The major sites will continue, largely, to dominate visitor patterns

- Few sites are staffed but visitor numbers at unstaffed sites are assessed from footfall information

- A number of sites are relatively less easy to reach either in terms of their location away from main centres or in terms of immediate physical access

- Many are relatively less prominent – or appear so – when seen against the major monuments

- The part some play in the story of the princes may need more explanation than is feasible

However, the opportunities that exist include:

- Linking all sites through interpretation of different kinds, using printed or digital media where on-site media are impracticable for a variety of reasons

- Creating 'publicity' for lesser known sites by including them in printed or digital media

- Involving communities in on-site interpretation by developing local confidence in their awareness and understanding of the wider stories

5.6 Complementary sites

The principal issues that have arisen in terms of complementary sites are:

- Little if any consideration of 'grouping' complementary sites has been undertaken

- Many visitors are not interested enough to visit more than one site however strong the story links are

However, the opportunities that exist include:

- If the stories are strong enough, they can encourage visitors to take in more than one site on a day's outing

- Complementary sites, not part of princes' story but close by, could be promoted as a 'package' of contrasting sites for visitors, encouraging them to stay longer

5.7 Community involvement

The principal issues that have arisen (as reported in a series of Community Profiles) in terms of community involvement are:

- Some communities have greater hopes for the tourism value of local sites than is reasonable or practicable

- Some communities expect Cadw to do far more than is feasible to promote the sites

- Some communities expect to be able to use local sites at will and at no cost

However, the opportunities that exist include:

- Many communities are keen to help promote local sites and could provide informal interpretation with appropriate training

- Local communities, proud of the sites, will contribute to publicising them

6 Interpretive aim and objectives

Dinefwr Castle *RKE*

6.1 Aims and objectives

We propose that the aim for the interpretation of the Princes of Deheubarth should be:

To help visitors and local people understand the story of the Princes of Deheubarth and the role they played in the making of Wales.

To support this aim, we have set out five interpretive objectives:

- To widen understanding of how the Princes of Deheubarth became important Welsh rulers before and after the arrival of the Normans

- To widen awareness of the important contribution of the princes to the story of Wales

- To help people learn more about Welsh cultural life in medieval times including the role of women

- To widen awareness of the impact of the Norman conquest on the princes and people of southern Wales

- To help people to discover more about the princes through visiting key sites associated with them

These interpretive objectives can be supported by specific learning, behavioural and emotional objectives.

Learning objectives

There are six intellectual or learning objectives to help visitors to:

- Understand that the Norman invasion of Wales, as part of their invasion of Britain, had a significant impact on the people and landscape of Wales

- Understand that the Princes of Deheubarth were powerful and influential leaders and that they built castles and founded abbeys and other religious organisations within their territories

- Understand that the story of the Princes of Deheubarth is intertwined with the story of Lords of the Southern March

- Appreciate that the Princes of Deheubarth had an important role in developing the culture of Wales, especially the arts

- Understand that Cadw is the Welsh Assembly Government's official guardian of the built heritage in Wales

- Understand that Cadw cares for and protects the built heritage in Wales, encouraging people to enjoy and appreciate historic buildings, ancient monuments, historic parks, gardens and landscapes of Wales

Emotional objectives

There are five emotional objectives to help visitors to:

- Enjoy the experience of visiting an historic building or landscape and to understand its significance and value

- Choose to visit other similar historic properties and their nearby villages or towns and surrounding landscapes

- Want to return to historic buildings to enjoy further events or activities

- Be inspired to think about the fascinating and complex history of the Lords of the Southern March and its legacy today

- Support the work of Cadw throughout Wales

Behavioural objectives

There are two behavioural objectives to encourage visitors to:

- Respect the special environment of Cadw's historic buildings and landscapes and to treat the properties with care and consideration

- Minimise their impact on the historic buildings and landscapes

7 Our approach

Cilgerran Castle *RKE*

7.1 Knowing the unknown

Few people have more than a passing grasp of their own history and fewer than that of other countries. Even most of neighbouring English people would admit to knowing little of the history of Wales and have possibly not even heard of Owain Glyndwr, let alone Hywel Dda, Rhodri Mawr, the Lord Rhys or any of the other Princes of Deheubarth. Their knowledge of the Norman marcher lords is likely to be limited to awareness of the immense Norman castles and, possibly, the impact of Edward I. They will, of course, be familiar in principle with the Norman Conquest and 1066, the date it began.

It is clear, from anecdotal evidence that not many people in Wales have heard of the Princes of Deheubarth although the names of individual leaders such as Rhodri Mawr, Hywel Dda or Lord Rhys will have resonance for some. Owain Glyndŵr is still celebrated as a great Welsh hero and remembered in a number of ways, not least by the National Trail named after him. The great castles associated with the princes are better known but their builders and occupiers are largely lost in the mists of the past. Some will be aware that the tradition of national eisteddfodau began in Cardigan at the behest of Lord Rhys in the 12th century?

This does not make southern Wales substantially different from other countries or their regions. Nevertheless, what makes the stories of both the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March less widely known is that, generally speaking, they had little significant impact beyond Wales and the eastern marches. The exceptions are the Tudor monarchy of England (but how many people associate that with Wales?) and the continuing designation of a Prince of Wales, the origin of whose title is not widely known.

However, there are common issues which are familiar to people such as the struggle to survive and the fight to retain power and identity. We are dealing with six hundred years of Welsh history that is known well to a few, in outline to many, and not known at all to most visitors at least and to many of those who are more recent newcomers to Wales. This sets a lot of challenges for interpreters but in meeting them we are helped by the presence of many outstanding historical monuments, much admired and respected by local people and visitors alike. They are the focus for the story which is what lies, of course, behind Cadw's wish to see the stories told largely through the medium of its, and others', medieval properties.

7.2 A double helix of history

As we indicated in our opening section, we see the story of the Princes of Deheubarth as being important in itself but also inextricable from the story of the Lords of the Southern March. During the periods of influence of both groups, there was internecine strife, jockeying for power and shifting alliances, all part of everyday life in medieval Wales – or medieval life anywhere for that matter.

The two stories with, at any given time, the changing fortunes of the Welsh rulers and of the Lords of the Southern March are largely intertwined. For that reason, we see them best represented as a double helix, linked to a timeline to help people to set the interlinked stories in historical perspective.

The Double Helix of History

| 410 | | 700 | 785 | 871 | 930 | 1066 | 1197 | 1282 | 1301 | 1415 | 1536 |
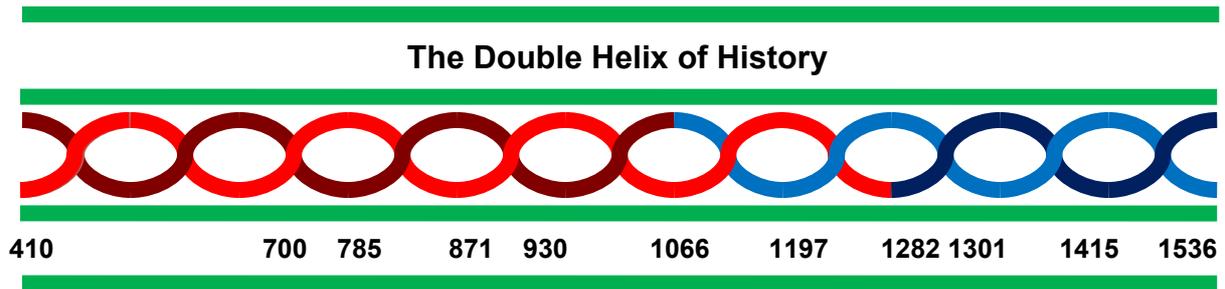
The diagram above is a rough representation of this approach and could, with proper design treatment, form a visual and thematic emblem for all printed and graphic interpretation. The dates are simply illustrative at this stage but indicate that the helical timeline on the lines of that above could be viable.

As a sophistication of this, it would be possible, where appropriate, to use the same approach to encapsulate the struggles – and liaisons – among the Welsh princes as a whole, particularly those between Deheubarth and Gwynedd. However, we would wish to avoid the danger of the graphic convention dictating the storytelling and so, at this stage, we would limit the use of the spiral emblem to the principal stories.

7.3 People to people

However, this is still a largely theoretical approach with a practical twist, so to speak. In order to bring to life the Double Helix of History, and the dates, we would propose to follow the most obvious course of employing historical characters to lead the interpretation, with key figures acting, as we suggested earlier, as 'pegs' upon which to hang the various stories and the links between the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March.

The characters, wherever possible, would be real people but in many cases they would need to be augmented by named but generic characters in other roles. In effect, the interpretation becomes a drama, with stars and supporting cast. This approach provides the opportunity for a whole variety of presentational techniques from conventional panels to role-play, from website theatre to lively audio tours.

We have identified a number of potential 'stars' among the Princes of Deheubarth[2]. They include the following, but not all are included in our later proposals.

- Rhodri Mawr

- Hywel Dda

- Rhys ap Tewdwr

- Lord Rhys

- Rhys Fychan

- Rhys ap Maredudd

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[2] As we were preparing to despatch this report, we received a copy of the newly-published book, *Twenty-one Welsh Princes*, by Roger Turvey. This is likely to suggest additions to the list of key characters that could be chosen to 'represent' the Princes of Deheubarth. We shall amend the list in the final version of this report.

- Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, wife of Gerald de Windsor
- Gerald of Wales

We have also identified a 'supporting cast' in a later section to involve a number of women including historical figures and generic characters, the latter representing the ordinary people around whose lives much of the story can be told.

7.4 People in the landscape

Apart from qualities of the castles and other monuments themselves, most if not all enhance, and are enhanced by, the topography of the land around them. Many of the castles stand on eminences or high above natural defences such as rivers and ravines. The abbeys lie surrounded by fertile land; castles too. They are features in the own landscapes, often visible from miles away, but the landscape (or townscape in some instances) around them is also an important feature in their appeal to visitors.

Clearly, the siting of castles and other monuments has obvious and immediate connotations – security and display of power from high places, access to fertile land, the agricultural importance, eg, of the Tywi valley, nearness to river and sea routes and transport, guarding of communication routes and so on. In other words, the landscape tells part of the story; it helps to explain the choices of site made by the great military, and ecclesiastical, leaders. There are, therefore, three key elements in telling the story of the Princes of Deheubarth:

- People – first and foremost. Visitors are most interested in the people who bring stories alive, to whom they can relate and whom they can remember.
- Buildings – the conventional attraction for most visitors, but best explained in terms of the people who built them, lived in them, defended (and attacked) them and so on.
- Places – the setting for the buildings and their people. Visitors relish exciting or enchanting landscapes and fascinating towns.

We will root our interpretive proposals for the sites, therefore, in proposing that they answer some or all of the following questions:

- *Who* is associated with this castle or abbey?
- *Why* is it here?
- *How* did it function?
- *When* was it built?
- *What* was it like to live there?
- *What* are the principal and enduring stories (of people) associated with them?
- *What* are the challenges people faced over the centuries?
- *What* is it like now?
- *Where* else is linked to this site?

The answers should help visitors to develop an empathy with the sites they visit and to understand their contemporary cultural resonance.

8 Thematic approach

Dinefwr Castle *RKE*

8.1 Themes

Themes are a valuable part of an interpretation plan because they provide a valuable basis for determining the framework and content of interpretive media. They reflect, of course, the interpretive objectives and also determine the key messages that must be conveyed.

We propose the following themes for the story of the Princes of Deheubarth:

- The Princes of Deheubarth played a vital part in the history of Wales before and after the arrival of the Normans

- The relationships among the Welsh princes and with the Norman marcher lords were characterised by frequent strife and shifting alliances

- The Norman conquest had a permanent impact on the Princes of Deheubarth and people of southern Wales

- Social and cultural life in early medieval Wales had many characteristics and qualities that owed their origins to Celtic traditions including the role of women, the flat social structure, Gavelkind etc

- Many castles, abbeys and other sites help to tell the long and fascinating story of the Princes of Deheubarth and the landscape in which they lived

These themes are generic and embrace interpretation at all sites associated with the Princes of Deheubarth, although not all may be employed at every site. In addition, however, it will be necessary to determine sub-themes for each key site and these will be shown in the action plan in our final report. Many of these sub-themes have been usefully articulated in the Atkins reports and we will draw upon them.

In the next section, we identify key elements of the overall story that are applicable to clusters of sites or to individual sites which support the themes above.

9 Media, mechanisms and locations

Cilgerran Castle *RKE*

9.1 Principles

Creating a 'brand'

As we have stated in earlier sections, the stories of both the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March are relatively complex and the combined story is convoluted. Neither story is known, to any degree, to those outside Wales, and knowledge of both is patchy even among people in Wales. For that reason, we recommend that the two stories should be 'branded' together in a way that allows each to be told where only one is apposite and for both to be told where that is the appropriate approach.

The name of this report is simply a working title and not intended to be a 'brand name' While **The March of Power in Southern Wales** encompasses the combined story with its shifting alliances and changing tides of influence and can be used in conjunction with either or both the sub-titles of **The Princes of Deheubarth** and **The Norman Marcher Lords** if there is a need to present the stories as one. However, it is not appropriate as a 'brand

As branding for the two stories, as separate entities, we propose the following:

- The Princes of Southern Wales – their struggle for power

- The Marcher Lords of Southern Wales – their struggle for power.

The name Deheubarth is historically accurate but is unfamiliar to most people and certainly to potential visitors from outside Wales and we suggest that the name is introduced in telling the story but not used as a brand as unfamiliar names and words can be off-putting. Using similar wording for the two brands makes it easier to draw the stories together where this is appropriate. Design sketches of the wording are attached in Appendix 4.

However, simply the words are insufficient, in our view, to provide adequate information and we therefore recommend that the branding should always include one, or where appropriate, two representative characters and, similarly, one or two stylised maps to show the extent of Deheubarth and the broad territory of the Southern March.

The characters could be generic for universal use or could be selected to echo a key part of the story told at a given site – for example the Lord Rhys at Dinefwr. The maps would always show the same area but could be augmented at specific sites with a mark to show its location. However, simplicity is essential.

Allied to this should be a clear but simplified timeline that will be generic but will also, at any given site, indicate the broad period or periods reflected in the story. In summary, therefore, the graphic branding for use on interpretive material, on site, on paper or in digital form, will always include the following:

- The overall title

- A strapline

- One or two characters

- A map

- A timeline

Design sketches to illustrate this approach are attached in Appendix C. The inclusion of graphic images in any branding should not preclude the use of other characters or maps / plans within accompanying interpretive material.

A people-centric approach

We proposed that all interpretation should be related to people, either known individuals where practicable or generic characters where appropriate. The story of buildings should be related to people, not the reverse, We have already identified a number of personalities as examples of those around whom stories could be told but in addition we also identify supporting characters such as servants, tradespeople, farmers, carters etc.

The cast of characters could be used in a wide range of circumstances including:

- On-site media
- Printed media
- Websites
- Digital media
- Self-guided trails
- Events and performances
- Learning material and community activities
- Storytelling

Integrating the Princes story with existing interpretation

There are issues of how best to introduce and integrate interpretation about the Princes with existing interpretation at castles and other monuments. When visitors arrive at a site their interest is usually focused on the immediately obvious features, such as the Norman castle at Dinefwr or William Marshall the Younger's early 13th century twin round towers at Cilgerran. These are the features which they want to know more about and so should be the primary interpretation. Once visitors' initial questions have been answered, it is then possible, with intriguing and provoking interpretation, to introduce other concepts and elements. These concepts and elements may not be immediately obvious or even visible but are significant in the story of the Princes of Deheubarth, such as the role of Dinefwr as their seat of power in the 1100s or the abduction of Nest from Cilgerran in 1109.

Because there are few unaltered monuments from the era of the princes, interpretation about the princes will rely on effective use of media with evocative illustrations and text in the individual property leaflet and on-site panels supported by more detailed interpretation through the cluster leaflets, audio and audio-visual materials and the website. At smaller sites which are not staffed, on-site interpretation about the Princes of Deheubarth is likely to be restricted to panels supported by the individual property leaflet, the cluster leaflet and the website. At staffed sites there are opportunities to offer a greater variety of interpretive media including audio tours, audio visual tours and guides, and 'mystery history' packs.

9.2 Delivering the interpretation – general

Content and design principles

Before considering specific media and mechanisms, we believe it is important to set down a number of principles relating to content and design of interpretation.

We would recommend that interpretation of the Princes of Deheubarth in whatever form, should be implemented:

- using a story-telling approach rather than presenting formal descriptions and explanations

- using first-person and / or second-person narrative and active verbs wherever possible

- ensuring that all the various interpretive media are cross-referenced where feasible so that each interpretive item points users to other interpretive material or to sites where they can find out more

- avoiding 'organisation-speak' and using technical terms only where essential, and then with clear explicit or implicit explanation of their meaning within written or recorded text

- relating all topics to people, ie to their human interest or connections, in order that visitors and local people may relate more easily to otherwise unfamiliar or unknown facts and concepts

- ensuring that written and recorded text is explanatory and not simply informative

- ensuring that written and recorded text is accurate in fact and inference

- ensuring that written and recorded text is edited by an acknowledged interpretive writer to ensure that information from experts is effectively explained for lay audiences

- ensuring that all graphic design meets the needs of the interpretation rather than simply those of presentational style

- ensuring that all text in graphic displays meets the requirements of the interpretive writer in presentation style and layout

- ensuring that all the interpretation is fully bi-lingual in accordance with the Welsh Language Act and Cadw's bi-lingual policy

- ensuring that all interpretive facilities, static media and graphic displays meet the requirements and recommendations of the Disability Discrimination Acts and advisory organisations

Illustrations

The quality and content of illustrations used in media will be critical for understanding the stories of the princes. At most sites the visible evidence will be from its Anglo-Norman history while one of the stories will be about the princes for which there will be limited or no visible evidence. This is a significant challenge for site interpretation which can be partially overcome by the quality of illustrations in the various media, alongside intriguing and informative text and supported by other interpretive materials. Illustrations need to be evocative, relate closely to what can be seen now and show the operation of the site relating to the way people lived at that time. They need to provoke a leap in imagination for the reader to understand rapidly how the site would have appeared compared with what is there today. Illustrations should include artist's reconstruction drawings of the site with, say, earth and timber features and images of battlements and weapons. They should also include people, such as the key character, or characters, telling the stories, people inhabiting the site and others managing the land or animals.

A common style for Welsh versions

It is important that any text, written or spoken is sensitive to the nuances of Welsh language, and to Welsh culture and identity. All the consultants involved with the Interpretation Plans for the Princes of Deheubarth and Gwynedd, the Lords of the Southern March, the Edwardian Castles and Owain Glyndŵr are agreed that Welsh versions should adopt a consistent style and be under the supervision of an appropriate Welsh speaker. It is vitally important that a proper degree of 'Welshness' is reflected throughout (including in the English versions) and that any text, written or spoken does not offend or irritate people in Wales.

A cohesive package

We propose that the interpretation offered for both the Princes of Deheubarth and the Lords of the Southern March should be **multi-layered** so that it offers a clear and succinct overview, slightly more detailed layers of information as well as the opportunity to 'drill down' to more comprehensive material with links and pointers on where to go for more information.

The interpretive media developed for each site and for the site clusters should be **cross-referenced** so that it is easy for visitors to navigate between different media and different sites. For example panels and leaflets should tell readers that there is more information on the Cadw website and give web addresses, the website should list events and activities at sites and include leaflet downloads where applicable and so on. Similarly, when a **timeline** is developed for both the princes and the Lords, it should be included on panels, in relevant leaflets and on the websites. Much of this cross-referencing already exists and should continue with any new interpretation.

The interpretive media should also be arranged so that they meet visitors' needs, where appropriate, **before, during and after** their visit. For example, material on the Cadw website is likely to be accessed before and possibly after a visit. It could also be accessed during a visit by visitors with digital media that can connect to the internet. Leaflets are used before and during a visit. Interpretive panels tend to be accessed only during a visit. Interpretive maps are multi-purpose. They can be used prior to a visit, during the visit to navigate, explore and understand the sites and also as souvenirs, to be re-read and enjoyed after the visit.

We have identified a series of characters associated with key sites from the history of the Princes of Deheubarth. These characters are a mix of **real** and **generic** people who collectively tell the stories of the castle or abbey, peopling the monuments and helping visitors to see them as vibrant with their former communities. This 'peopling' will enable visitors to relate to the people of the time and will aid understanding of the way the monuments worked in their heydays. At each site, the interpretation should include the characters so that visitors are 'meeting the same people' through printed materials, panels, audio and audio-visual materials, silhouette figures and so on.

Our suggested interpretation of the Princes of Deheubarth story represents a comparatively short period in the history of the castles and other historic monuments in southern Wales. At many sites the princes story may be for only a few years, for example during their occupation by the Lord Rhys, whereas they may have been built by Norman lords and all their remaining physical evidence is of Anglo Norman origin. This needs to be explained very clearly at each site and in each interpretive medium, to avoid confusion and to provide the necessary contexts for the history of the sites.

Media and mechanisms

The media which could be employed in implementing this Interpretation Strategy include the following in no particular order of importance:

- Interpretive panels
- Printed media
- Websites
- Digital media
- Events and performances
- Storytelling, music, song and theatre
- Learning material and community activities
- Displays
- Silhouette figures
- Self-guided landscape trails
- Family trails
- Audio posts
- Audio / video tours and guides
- Banners
- 'Mystery history' packs

We describe below how each of these media might be applied.

Interpretive panels

We propose that all sites connected with the Princes of Deheubarth should host one or two specially-designed **interpretive panels** to tell the story of the site in its historical and geographical contexts and to relate this story to the broader story of the princes and, where appropriate to the Lords of the Southern March. The panels will include both English and Welsh text, but the texts should be developed jointly by Welsh and English speakers and should contain the same information but not necessarily as direct translations.

These panels would be augmented by further panels at the **cluster sites** (see 9.3 below) to explain the parts of the story relevant to those sites and the relevance of the features to that story. The stories should be told through the characters identified in 9.3 and include graphic illustrations of the site both then and now, the characters telling the story and the people who might have inhabited the site and the landscape.

At major sites, where there is indoor or covered space available, we propose that one or both stories should be told in greater detail, perhaps through a display, providing a broader overview, but always with awareness that too much information or interpretation is often worse than none at all.

Interpretive panels at all sites should be located with care beside a specific feature explained in the panel where appropriate, or located at the entrance or in a car park. Panels should not interfere with the views from the site or be intrusive in views *of* (or from) the site.

These panels, about a specific period in time, would **complement** the existing or future interpretation of the site. The primary interpretation needs to answer initial questions about the site, specifically about the evidence visible today, while the interpretation panels recommended in this plan explain a key story in its history. Together, they would provide a comprehensive explanation of the site's history.

Printed media

We propose the following range of printed media in addition to the existing site specific marketing leaflets:

- An **Interpretive map**, in English and Welsh, telling the story of the Princes of Deheubarth in English and Welsh, one language on each side; the map would be designed for family audiences but would be equally acceptable to adults; it could include a 'been there' check list for people to keep score of their visits. The Map would focus on explaining the **story of the princes** expressed through a variety of sites – it would not focus on interpreting the history of the sites themselves.

And / or:

- **Interpretive maps** of the clusters of castles (see later section), to include oblique aerial reconstruction illustrations of the area in medieval times and a smaller contemporary map showing touring and walking routes. The medieval view should include illustrations of the **key characters** that are associated with each site and a brief biography to introduce them and to make the connection with web-based and on-site media. It should also include illustrations of relevant activities, such as people working the fields and forests, soldiers and horses, settlements, etc. The leaflet should include details of access to sites, opening times and sources of information on accommodation, pubs and other services Again, the maps interpret primarily the **story of the princes**, rather than the history of the castles and other sites.

In addition:

- An **interpretive guide**, in English and Welsh, telling the story of the Princes of Deheubarth, aimed at children of around eight to ten years, highlighting the cast of characters used in other interpretive media and using them to explore the stories. This 'Findoutabout' guide would be highly illustrated and with sufficient information to appeal to many adults; it could include a 'met them' check list of characters from different sites for children to track their visits.

Or, alternatively

- One **interpretive guide**, as above, but telling both stories; this is likely to be too complicated for children for whom one clear storyline is usually more effective.

To widen awareness of the stories:

- A series of **'character cards'**, possibly in the form of bookmarks or playing cards, using a character on each side to tell his or her part of the story but in the context of the whole story.

A paragraph should be included in every site leaflet referring to clusters of sites related to the Princes of Deheubarth and also to appropriate websites and sources of further information.

We do not propose a new guidebook as there are already guides to all the major sites and many books published by Cadw and others which record the history of both the princes and the lords.

Many of the sites for the Princes of Deheubarth have an **individual property marketing leaflet**. We suggest that when these are reprinted they should include a 'must see' or a 'don't miss' list of the most important or fascinating features of the site. Ideally these 'must see' items would be a mix of architectural elements and quirky features, associated with the princes.

A paragraph should be included in every site leaflet referring to clusters of sites related to the Princes of Deheubarth and also to appropriate websites and sources of further information.

Websites

The continuing phenomenon of internet use – at least 70% of the UK population now has access to the internet – has meant that websites have a front-line position in informing potential and actual visitors about the Princes of Deheubarth, in explaining the many features and characteristics of the sites and in encouraging visitors to spend time there. They also have a role for local people who wish to know more.

There is considerable scope for developing dedicated websites for the Princes of Deheubarth clusters of castle to provide more interpretation, as distinct from information, to reflect, support and extend the interpretation that will be provided in on-site, printed and other media. There is no reason why the same basic content – downloadable where appropriate – should not be used, with the website providing more detail – as well as links to a range of other websites that can add to awareness and understanding.

Websites in general have not yet developed their potential role in interpretation and that gives Cadw the opportunity to take a lead and move beyond simply fact into explanation – using the storyline principles to enliven the website material from the purely visual.

We propose, therefore:

- Two, **interlinked and comprehensive websites** (or sub-sets of the existing Cadw website), using the characters and other sites highlighted in graphic and printed media to tell the interlinked stories of the Princes of Deheubarth and of the Lords of the Southern March; they could include downloadable material (see Digital media below) but not the content of otherwise saleable material. The websites would focus on the **story of the princes** rather than the history of individual sites.

Digital media

Audio tours, digital video tours, and those based on access by mobile phone or MP3 and MP4 players could all play a part in helping visitors (and indeed local people) to enjoy the castles and other sites. Cadw already uses digital technology at a number of sites.

With the rapid development of hand-held digital equipment, some audio tours are now being superseded by tours with still and / or video pictures. It is likely that these will have an increasingly important role as technology, and access to it, improves. However some caution is advisable before significant investment is made in any one type of digital media.

Digital media are still relatively new and there are some teething problems associated with downloading interpretive material onto different mobile phones and networks. There are also problems associated with viewing images on screens in bright daylight. However, once these initial problems have been overcome there are exciting opportunities for developing MP3 and MP4 materials at and for key sites, alongside other new media such as podscrolls, at the majority of the castles.

Bluetooth technology is developing rapidly and there are a number of systems are on the market. Some are powered on site by solar energy and back-up battery power to link with MP4 equipment.

We propose, therefore:

- **'Talkabout'** interpretive materials at key sites offering visitors to take a personal guided tour with the curator of the site or another knowledgeable local person; audio and visual materials developed for children could be introduced and narrated by children

- **Bluetooth** or similarly activated text and visual material for trails at major sites

Events and performances

Live events of various kinds including castle festivals, medieval jousts, son-et-lumière, theatrical pieces, 'street' theatre, music, song and storytelling, and more participative activities such as topic-based outings and treasure hunts can all add to the interpretation of the sites associated with the Princes of Deheubarth. There are many potential events, using the thematic approach that could provide an entertaining means of involving visitors and local people in understanding more about the sites – providing 'hidden' interpretation. Many such events are already part of Cadw's interpretation programme but there are opportunities for extending their range and scope.

We also suggest an annual event at appropriate sites in each cluster that would offer a series of linked activities for local people and visitors to enjoy and understand the historical significance of the castles and the landscape in which they are sited. These would include guided walks and cycle tours between the sites, performances by costumed interpreters explaining the links between the sites. An example could be the **Lord Rhys** travelling between his newly re-acquired castles and estates, talking with guests and staff and celebrating the restoration of the Kingdom of Deheubarth. This could culminate in an evening feast with Welsh food, music and dance.

Storytelling, music, song and theatre

Our overall interpretive approach is to make use of storylines to give a focus for explaining the stories of the Princes of Deheubarth. The thematic base has been set out in an earlier section and detailed topics for each site are given in a later section. Themes are not intended for public use – they are there to guide the interpreter who can use them to create storylines which are more adaptable.

In order to give even more weight to the stories, one way of presenting them is to use storytellers, or tale-tellers, identifying a key generic character with each storyline. We have set out above suggested characters from the past who could act as 'tale-tellers' but this is only one possible approach.

There is also scope to use poetry, music and song in performances by tale-tellers and this would reflect the powerful Celtic heritage of Wales in particular.

Learning material and community activities

We distinguish between interpretational and educational material as the first is used primarily during leisure visits while the latter is generally linked to curricular studies. However, the same characters would provide a very strong basis for good educational and community material of all kinds – printed, graphic, audio-visual, web-based and so on.

Indeed, the practice of using characters is long-established in educational material and what works for children very often works, with modification, for adults. This applies also to animations, which children can now develop on computers, to tell their own stories.

Children love role-playing and, as for educational material, the creation of strong storylines and tale-tellers offers a range of opportunities for role playing either on school visits or during school holidays when programmes could be arranged for local and visiting children.

Diplays

Some of the major sites have existing visitor centres, shops, or enclosed spaces that can be used for displays. These sites are often staffed and many charge for admission. Where these sites are included in a cluster, and particularly if they are owned and managed by Cadw, we propose that a display should be installed to relate the key part of the princes story relevant to the cluster theme. The display would need to integrate with any existing exhibition both in style and content, or, if it is to be held in a separate room from an existing exhibition, it could have a 'stand-alone' design.

Silhouette figures

We suggest that some simple life-size cut-out silhouette figures of people and animals who would have lived at the castles and religious buildings could be located at various points around the monuments, helping to 'populate' the site. They should be subtly placed so that visitors glimpse them out of the corner of their eyes, and get an impression that someone – a monk or a soldier or a cook – is just coming out of a door or around a corner. The silhouette figures should be simply but accurately shaped, and linked to the key characters for each site, looking like any illustrations that are drawn of these characters. They could be made from metal or *wood*, and either left as matt black metal or untreated wood or painted in colour. They could be made as part of a family activity workshop, with families working with an artist to design the shapes, guided by a costumed re-enactor. They could also be used as supports or frames for interpretive panels and for photograph opportunities.

Self-guided landscape trails

At many of the key sites for the princes there are opportunities to develop trails to link the castle or buildings with their surrounding area, especially to features such as villages, churches and farms that have been built as a result of the presence of the castle or ecclesiastic building. These trails will help visitors to understand the position and location of the castles or buildings and their roles in the surrounding landscape, and encourage visitors to explore the area and use local services such as village shops, pubs and inns.

We propose, therefore, 'Hikeabout', 'Bikeabout', 'Driveabout' and even 'Boatabout' self-guided trails for clusters of sites which combine active exercise with enjoyment of countryside and visiting castles and other sites

Family trails

Many of the monuments offer exciting opportunities for discovering secret hideaways or excellent sites where families can imagine past events such as storming a castle, hiding from attackers, defending the gatehouse with boulders, arrows and hot oil!. At the key sites for the Princes of Deheubarth, family trails should be developed, using the key characters, with special emphasis given to the role of the child characters who should lead the trail, giving a child's viewpoint of the monument and the way it worked.

These village and family interpretive trails could be produced in a variety of ways depending upon budget, and existing and potential audiences for each site. They could be printed trails available for sale at the entrance and/or local outlets, or audio, or audio visual trails available for hire at the site entrance building on receipt of a credit card or deposit.

The trails should use the key characters of the site to explain the various features, relating these to their life or work at the monuments wherever possible. The characters should include children who lived or worked at the sites, presented as lively, colourful illustrations for leaflet and audio visual trails.

Audio posts

Audio posts offer opportunities to give visitors a personal view of an aspect or feature of a monument or site. The voice or voices on an audio post could be an actor speaking in role as one of the site's key characters, explaining his or her role in the castle's history. Alternatively, or additionally, the voice or voices could be of contemporary people such as the site manager, a local historian or archaeologist talking about the feature and its significance.

Audio posts help to make interpretation more inclusive and accessible. Sound is a good medium for many people. It has obvious advantages for visually impaired visitors but it also makes interpretation much more accessible to children, people with learning difficulties and those for whom Welsh or English is not their first language. Often, young children cannot read easily but can understand the spoken word. Audio posts can also include hearing aid loops to assist those with impaired hearing. It is comparatively easy to offer audio in a number of languages, depending on the range of visitors at a site. Audio interpretation can also include music, poetry, bird song and other sound effects as well as the spoken word. Outdoor audio posts, powered by long-life batteries or solar panels, could be sited as individual units or incorporated into interpretive panels and silhouette shapes of people and their belingings.

Audio and Audio visual tours and guides

Tours and guides involving the key characters of the site giving a personalised tour of the site or sites, explaining their role in the site's history and particular aspects of its design or location which made it particularly suitable for their needs could be an evocative means of interpretation. Tours could include, for example, Lord Rhys undertaking a tour of his castles at Dinefwr, Dryslwyn and Carmarthen in their heyday, or William Marshall talking about his fortification of Chepstow Castle explaining how he used his knowledge of castle design and structure in the Holy Land to improve the defences at Chepstow. These packages could be produced as audio guides for hire on site, or downloaded from the web. An audio visual guide on an iPod would enable illustrations and film to add to the experience, with opportunities for enhanced reality images to show structures as they were at the time of building as well as how they exist now.

Banners

We suggest that Cadw host workshops for families, schools and for community groups to develop banners and even tapestries for key castles, showing the key events that have happened at the monument associated with Deheubarth. The finished artwork could be displayed at the site perhaps in the café or beside seating, and printed onto a suitable weatherproof fabric to be flown from the flag post. This could be done annually, as banners will inevitably weather.

'Mystery history' family packs

These packs, which can be cotton backpacks or commercially available bags, could contain a collection of items which make discovering the history of the monument an exciting detective adventure. The items within the packs could vary according to the characteristics of the site, but could include:

- A pair of (inexpensive) binoculars to enable families to find architectural features located high on the buildings

- An I-spy spotter's trail with key items to find or see (linked to the 'must see' and 'don't miss' features of the site)

- An audio tour led by one of the key characters identified for each site

- One or two play or 'dressing up' items linked to the history of the site, such as a cape or shawl made of woven Welsh wool, a hat or headdress that would have been worn by a woman working or living at the site, a soldier's helmet, sword or shield or a small musical instrument that was played at events at the monument,

- A simple board game and another item which is linked to an event at the castle such as replica keys or a bag of replica coins

The rucksack should have a list of items within it, with short interpretive text, or a label with interpretive text, explaining its role and use.

9.3 Delivering the interpretation – Castle clusters

In this section we develop the principles and media proposed in 12.1 and 12.2 into site specific packages that will collectively provide a context for the overall story of the princes and explain elements of the story relevant to each site. We approach this through developing a series of **clusters of sites** where a theme, or themes, is developed and each site tells an element of the story.

Clusters of sites provide opportunities to tell a more complex story in small packages around a series of related sites. The complete story can be accessed through a tour of the sites, either on foot, on bike, by car or even by boat, although the individual elements of the story are sufficiently robust to provide a vivid, 'stand alone' experience of the site, its history or its inhabitants. Each site within a cluster embodies a different storyline, or set of storylines, and the complete story from each cluster will explain a significant part of the overall theme.

Interpretation of each cluster requires a combination of off-site introductory and summary material, and on-site media using traditional and new technology methods. The package of materials would also include maps of routes, information about other facilities and attractions that can be experienced in the tour and details of where to find accommodation and shops/pubs. At each site we have selected at least two **key characters** that will usually represent people from the upper and lower classes. They will help to explain the significance of the site and some of the activities that happened there at their time. These characters will welcome the visitor into the site and explain a 'snapshot' of that story that will link with other sites within the cluster.

Cluster sites have been chosen for the following reasons:

- They are easily accessible

- They have strong stories to tell and interesting characters associated with them

- They are geographically close to allow an easy tour over a couple of days

- They have a known history that can contribute to building a coherent story for the whole cluster

Each cluster should tell a specific but broad story, and each site within the cluster should contribute an element of that story. The clusters should be pitched at a time that can tell that story, even though the history of the site spans a much longer period of time. We have chosen the periods because they work well for the sites and because they are critical periods in the **history of Deheubarth**. Other on-site and off-site interpretation for the site, which is beyond the scope of this plan, may already explain other aspects of the site's history, which adds to an overall appreciation of its heritage value.

The chosen characters should represent important aspects of the princes' history. The lead character will be recorded in the historical records and be closely associated with the site, while the other character, or characters, should tend to be lower in the social strata but nevertheless have important stories to tell about the site. These characters may be real or fictitious and will help to evoke some of the more 'everyday' aspects of life at that time. They have been chosen to give a mix of male and female characters and a mix of social strata. At the cluster sites where family 'mystery history' packs and trails are proposed the characters also include one or more children who lived and/or worked at the castle who will be the main narrators in the family and learning materials.

The interpretation package for each cluster needs to be seen as a whole with the various parts – website, interpretive maps, digital media, events, etc – being integrated and interdependent. It is important that delivery of the elements is coordinated to ensure there are no significant gaps in coverage. So, for example, the key characters identified for each monument need to appear, or be referred to, in the printed materials, in the audio and audio-visual materials, in the materials on the website, in the trails, in the 'mystery history' packs, in the spotters' trails and as silhouette figures. Where appropriate and feasible they should also be included in any events that interpret their period of time at the monument.

The structure of these clusters together with the stories, characters and sites provide a **framework** for interpretation delivery for the princes. During the development of the interpretation other sites, stories and characters may come to light which could provide better opportunities than those suggested here. We strongly recommend that appropriate changes are made to enhance the framework provided here and tell more appropriate aspects of the story.

The clusters will provide an exciting and cohesive explanation of a part of the history of Wales while also encouraging people to spend more time in the area and sample the richness of its attractions, food and accommodation. This will bring additional local economic benefit.

We have identified two clusters of sites that help to develop the stories of the **Princes of Deheubarth**. The table in Section 13 shows a detailed listing of clusters and sites. These clusters are:

The Heart of Deheubarth

- Carreg Cennen Castle

- Dinefwr Castle

- Dryslwyn Castle

- Talley Abbey

- Llandovery Castle

- Carmarthen Castle

The Flowering and Fading of Deheubarth

- Cardigan Castle

- Cilgerran Castle

- Nevern Castle

- Strata Florida Abbey

The Heart of Deheubarth

The linking story strand of this cluster is:

- ***The heart of Deheubarth at height of its powers and focus of its resistance to the Normans***

This cluster (approximately 1050 – 1300) comprises the principal castle of the Princes of Deheubarth, **Dinefwr**, the associated **Dryslwyn Castle** which was one of the largest masonry castles built by a Welsh prince, the spectacular **Carreg Cennen Castle** built by Lord Rhys but alternating frequently between Welsh and Norman lords, and the centre of Christian monasticism in the region from the time of Rhys ap Gruffudd, **Talley Abbey**. It also includes **Llandovery Castle**, one of the first to be taken by the Lord Rhys in his bid to restore Deheubarth, and **Carmarthen Castle**, the Norman 'capital' of the region. Each of these sites plays a significant role in telling the stories of the Princedom of Deheubarth from the perspectives of the princes themselves, the Norman lords in their aspirations to control the area, the common people who sought livelihoods from the land and from craft skills, and the religious communities that provided a spiritual leadership for the community and were an economic entities in their own right.

The part of the princes' story to be told at these four sites include events in the period (1078 – 1197) embracing the reign of Rhys ap Tewdwr to that of the Rhys ap Gruffudd. It includes the conflict with the Norman lords who took over most of the kingdom after Rhys ap Tewdwr's death, the subsequent rise in power of the princes while expelling the lords and the consolidation of this power by the Lord Rhys to become one of the most powerful of the Welsh kingdoms. The story also includes the role of the Princes of Gwynedd in helping to liberate Deheubarth from Norman rule and the lives of ordinary people who continued to make a living from the land.

Key elements

- How the princes, including key figures such as Rhys ap Tewdwr and the Lord Rhys, brought the princedom of Deheubarth together as a powerful entity

- How the changing allegiances between Welsh princes and the Norman lords impacted on the boundaries of the princedom and on the lives of ordinary people

- How the religious community of Talley Abbey provided spiritual guidance to the leaders and the community, and generated its income from agriculture

- How ordinary people in dispersed settlements in the princedom lived from the land and from their craft skills

- How the landscape influenced the lives of the people, and determined the location of the castles and the abbey and the neighbouring town of Llandeilo

Carreg Cennen Castle

Topics

- The castle was probably built by one or more of the sons of Lord Rhys and fought over by them for many years

- The castle changed hands amongst the Deheubarth dynasty and between the princes and the Norman lords – a site of conflict.

- **Key character 1 – Rhys Fychan**, descendent of Rhys ap Gruffudd, whose mother had given it to the Norman English, but who seized it back into Welsh hands; Rhys Fychan was often in dispute with his uncle, Rhys ap Maredudd, of Dryslwyn Castle who were both fighting for control of Deheubarth (cross ref with Dryslwyn Castle)

- **Key character 2 – a feisty nursemaid** who was close to Rhys' mother

- **Key character 3 – a kitchen boy** who stokes the oven and has a 'fetch-it carry-it' role in the castle

Carreg Cennen Castle *RKE*

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panels** – The castle as the focus of conflict between princes and lords, and its dramatic location in the landscape

- **Panorama panel** – explaining the importance of the location of the castle in the landscape, the geology of the area and how erosion of the limestone has created both the cliff and the cave and the location of other princes' castles such as Dinefwr and Dryslwyn

- **Display** in café – the castle and its strategic location. The dramatic events of frequent changes in control and the struggles of Rhys Fychan and his uncle in trying to maintain control of the castle and of Deheubarth.

- **Website and digital downloads** – battles, dominance changing hands frequently between Rhys and his uncle Maredudd, and between Welsh and Normans; (This should be in addition to the existing audio tour)

- **Family trail** – involving Rhys Fychan explaining the importance of location for Carreg Cennen castle and why the castle has such spectacular defensive qualities, and the kitchen boy talking about his work in the gatehouse tower and the use of the cave under the castle

- **'Mystery history' pack** – a pack with a range of items to help interpret the castle suitable for families. Items could include binoculars to see the view from the castle, some headwear from the time of the princes, a piece of limestone, the family trail guide, an illustrated spotters game matching people to key structures in the castle (eg the gatehouse, the chapel tower and the King's chamber), and a model pigeon (dovecot). The pack could include the family trail guide

Dinefwr Castle

Topics

- Chief seat of the principality of Deheubarth from the time of Hywel Dda

- Commanding view over the Tywi valley, with its prosperous agriculture

- **Key character 1– The Lord Rhys**, Rhys ap Gruffudd, who held Dinefwr as his base having rebuilt Deheubarth following its dispersion to Norman lords

- **Key character 2 – a mason** who master-minded the rebuilding of the castle

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panels** – Castle as 'capital' of Deheubarth until the time of Rhys ap Gruffudd – the 'powerhouse' for the re-establishment of Deheubarth following Norman control

- **Panorama map panel** interpreting the view from the castle – view to west in the 12th century with people working the land and river, with Dryslwyn Castle in the distance

Dinefwr Castle *RKE*

- **Website and digital downloads** – importance of the site as the centre of the princedom

- **Audio trail** – update the existing audio tour to include stories of the princes. Include material used in digital downloads

- **Learning materials** – Life in a medieval castle, and particularly the seat of a great kingdom; the role of Rhys in building the kingdom from the Norman lordships.

- **Events** – events and storytelling about life in a medieval castle, the roles of different people in society at the time of the Welsh princes; family activities should include banner-making and other craft work, music and theatre events

- **Self-guided landscape trail** – a route exploring the landscape around Dinefwr Castle and linking it with Dryslwyn, noting the role of the river and geological features and their importance in the location of the castles

- **'Mystery history' pack** – a pack containing binoculars, an I-spy spotter's guide, a time-travellers' detective game looking at the location of the castle in the landscape, a toy horse (the journeys between the castles along the valley), a toy boat, a toy fish (the importance of the river in providing food) and other items relative to the story.

Dryslwyn Castle

Topics

- Central to the security of the Deheubarth Kingdom but frequently changing hands between princes and Marcher lords.

- An impressive stronghold and scene of a siege when it was occupied by Rhys ap Maredudd and then taken by the armies of Edward I.

- **Key character 1– Rhys ap Maredudd**, grandson of the Lord Rhys, who augmented the castle's defences and who, in 1287, revolted against English rule but lost the castle the following year when it was captured by the forces of Edward I (cross reference with Rhys Fychan of Carreg Cennen).

- **Key character 2 – a soldier** with the military base but who was made prisoner by the Normans

Contents of media

- **Interpretive panel** – Life in a medieval castle as perceived by Rhys ap Maredudd who had control of the castle and improved its defences to resist attack from Norman lords.

- **Panorama panel** interpreting the view from the castle to the east in the mid 13th century illustrating the strategic importance of the castle with Dinefwr in the distance.

Talley Abbey

Topics

- Re-founded by Rhys ap Gruffudd as a centre of Christian monasticism in Deheubarth.

- Self sustaining community with fish farms and agricultural land.

- **Key character 1 – the Abbot** who was 'managing director' of an economic, as well as a spiritual, community.

- **Key character 2 – a cannon** who worked the fields and fished the lakes to serve his beliefs and his religious community.

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panel** – reconstruction of the Abbey illustrating life in a monastery, including the importance of the lakes and surrounding agricultural land. The role of the cannon in managing the land and fishing the lakes.

Talley Abbey *RKE*

- **Website and digital downloads** – life in a 12th century monastery; An account of the cannon and his role in working at the monastery.

- **Audio posts** – similar stories to those available in digital downloads.

- **Events** – re-enactments of the life and times of a Premonstratensian monastery including storytelling about the role of the monks, music, theatre, banner-making and other craft activities

- **Self-guided landscape trail** – a trail from the Abbey into surrounding landscape to look at its location in the valley, the mound between the lakes (site of a motte and bailey castle), the village including the church, and the pastures, lakes and woodland

that the monks would have tended. Link this trail with the existing Carmarthen Country Walks leaflet of the Talley area

Llandovery Castle

Topics

- A Norman castle seized by Rhys ap Gruffudd in 1162 in his quest to restore Deheubarth, and which remained largely in Welsh hands for over a century.

- The Lord Rhys captured a castle that had recently been partly re-built in stone (over £300 spent on the reconstruction between 1159-62), in order to consolidate his hold on Deheubarth and defend his kingdom

- **Key character 1** – **Gerald de Barri** (known as Gerald of Wales), cousin of the Lord Rhys, visits the castle at Llandovery in 1185 to speak with the prince on behalf of the monks of the town; they were accused of rude behaviour by the townsfolk, some of whom are considering moving back to England unless something is done

- **Key character 2** – A **monk** of the town's Benedictine priory defending himself and his monastic brothers at the priory

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panel** – The Lord Rhys seizing and maintaining control of this nearly new (at the time) castle, as told through one or more of the characters above

- **Website and digital download** – similar to above with more on the stories of the characters and their role in helping to shape the rebuilt kingdom of Deheubarth

- **Learning materials** – the story of the epic struggle to rebuild a kingdom and maintain a period of peace and stability, albeit short, in a period characterised by violence and change.

- **Self-guided landscape trail** – A tour of Llandovery including the castle and its history, the statue of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd Fychan, a Welsh patriot of the Glyndwr rebellion, and the Roman fort.

Carmarthen Castle

Topics

- A royal castle seized by Rhys ap Gruffudd and his elder brothers, Cadell and Maredudd, in 1143 in their quest to restore Deheubarth, and which remained in Welsh hands for around ten years until it was surrendered to King Henry II.

- The castle stood as a visible symbol of royal power at the very edge of the kingdom of Deheubarth. To eliminate this reminder of the power of the English Crown the Lord Rhys besieged the castle in 1189 and briefly captured it in 1196

- **Key character 1** – **Prince John** journeys to Carmarthen to negotiate a peace. He tries in vain to persuade Rhys to end his attacks on the town and castle

- **Key character 2** – The castle's Anglo-Norman **constable** who fled the fortress on its capture by the Welsh in 1196

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panel** – The Lord Rhys besieging and eventually capturing this important castle. The role of Prince John as a peace negotiator (not so *bad* after all)

- **Website and digital download** – similar to above with more on the stories of the characters and their role in helping either to negotiate a peace and save Carmarthen or to defend the kingdom of Deheubarth

- **Learning materials** – the story of the epic struggle to protect a kingdom in war by taking a powerful symbol of royal power in south Wales. John's role in trying to broker a peace deal between Rhys and Richard I

- **Self-guided landscape trail** – A tour of Carmarthen, with I-spy tick list, including the castle and its history, the statue of the soldier Sir William Knott, the story of Merlin after whom the town is named, and the Roman town of Maridunum and its amphitheatre, as told by the **constable** of the castle

The Flowering and Fading of Deheubarth

The linking story strand of this cluster is:

- *The celebration of Welsh culture, and the decline of Deheubarth*

This cluster (approximately 1150 – 1300) comprises **Cardigan Castle**, the site of Rhys ap Gruffudd's first 'national' eisteddfod in Wales; **Cilgerran Castle** associated with the abduction of Nest, the wife of Gerald of Windsor; **Nevern Castle**, the castle where the Lord Rhys was imprisoned by his sons; and **Strata Florida** the Cistercian monastery re-founded by the Lord Rhys. Cardigan Castle, managed by the Cardwgan Building Preservation Trust, could form a significant 'gateway' for visitors to this cluster and provide an interpretive framework for the site themes.

The story of the princes to be told at these sites includes the role of the Lord Rhys in forging a powerful kingdom, his support for Welsh culture, and the splitting of the kingdom between his sons. After its absorption into Gwynedd, Deheubarth was never the same again.

Key elements

- How Cardigan castle, built by the Norman lord Gilbert Fitz Richard, was taken by the Lord Rhys as his 'capital' of Deheubarth and held until his death

- How conflict between the determination of the Welsh princes and the expansionist ambitions of the Norman lords gave way to coexistence, mutual cooperation and periods of stability

- How the in-fighting among the sons of the Lord Rhys dissipated power and eroded the territory of Deheubarth

- How the division of inherited land under Welsh law often fragmented Rhys's princedom and ultimately led to its decline and demise

- How the landscape influenced the lives of the people, and helped to determine the location of the sites

Cardigan Castle (subject to agreement with the Trustees)

Topics

- Built by a Norman lord but taken over by the Lord Rhys as his centre of power, and rebuilt by him in stone with approval of Henry II

- Site of the first ever Eisteddfod of Wales

- **Key character 1** – **Rhys ap Gruffudd**, the Lord Rhys, who moved his 'capital' to Cardigan and held the first Eisteddfod here

- **Key character 2** – **a performer** at the eisteddfod

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panels** – built by Gilbert fitz Richard, handed down to his son Gilbert de Clare in 1136 but captured by Rhys ap Gruffudd in 1166; site of the first Eisteddfod – a celebration of Welsh culture. Illustration of possible activities held at the Eisteddfod.

- **Website and digital downloads** – centre of a kingdom and of Welsh culture for a critical time in its existence. The role of Rhys in encouraging Welsh culture.

- **Family trail** – a trail that encourages families to explore the site looking for specific objects at the castle and the features of its renovation. The trail should include other features in the town including its many buildings of historic interest.

- **Learning materials** – role playing activities for the Lord Rhys hosting his first Eisteddfod, including the many cultural activities that he could have supported.

- **Website and digital downloads** – Life in a medieval castle and the role they took in defending the kingdom of Deheubarth.

- **Audio posts** – similar stories to those available in digital downloads.

Cilgerran Castle

Topics

- One of a number of sites established by the princes as earth and timber castles to delineate the limits of their rulership

- In 1109, the likely scene of the abduction of Nest, the wife of Gerald of Windsor, by Owain ap Cadwgan

- **Key character 1** – **Nest**, wife of Gerald of Windsor and daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, who was kidnapped, probably at this castle, and carried away by Owain ap Cadwgan of Powys. Nest was regarded as the 'Helen of Wales' for her beauty

- **Key character 2** – **Nest's maidservant** who can tell the story of the abduction of her mistress

Cilgerran Castle *RKE*

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Proposals

- **Interpretation panels** – fortified by Rhys ap Gruffudd to help defend the territory of Deheubarth. Scene of a kidnap – Nest by Owain ap Cadwgan

- **Website and digital downloads** – Life in a medieval castle and the role they took in defending the kingdom of Deheubarth

- **Family trail** – a trail looking at the castle's location in the gorge of the river Teifi, the significance of the river and Welsh coracles, the abduction of Nest , the latrine boy describing his horror at Gerald de Windsor escaping the castle through the latrine chute

- **Audio posts** – similar content to the digital download.

Nevern Castle

Topics

- Built by the Norman, Robert fitz Martin, it changed hands several times between Norman lord and Deheubarth prince.

- Believed to be the site of Rhys ap Gruffudd's imprisonment in 1194.

- **Key character 1**– The **castle castellan** who maintained the castle and who had the **Lord Rhys** as a prisoner for a few months

- **Key character 2** – A **servant boy** who can describe life below stairs and how they didn't worry much about who was the boss.

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panels** – changing times and changing hands; built by a Norman

Nevern Castle *RKE*

lord, controlled by Deheubarth prince and then abandoned when William fitz Martin founded the nearby town of Newport; the role of the castle custodian in looking after it and keeping prisoners, including the Lord Rhys.

- **Website including downloads / digital media including Bluetooth** – similar content to that of the interpretation panels. Life as a custodian and as a prisoner in a medieval castle.

- **Self-guided landscape trail** – including the castle, St Brynach's church and the 'new port' of Newport

Strata Florida

Topics

- Re-founded by Rhys ap Gruffudd in 1164 after St David's was firmly occupied by the Norman lordship of Pembroke.

- The burial place for many Deheubarth princes.

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- Farms belonging to Strata Florida were spread across Wales and its influence extended throughout Wales.

- **Key character 1** – A **prior** to talk about the religious importance of the Abbey and its significance as the resting place of 11 princes of Deheubarth.

- **Key character 2** – A **choir monk** who worked on the many illuminated manuscripts produced at the Abbey.

- **Key character 3** – A **lay brother** who minded the sheep and who helped to dig the graves of the descendents of Lord Rhys.

Contents of media

- **Interpretation panels** – Foundation of a Cistercian monastery – the patronage of a Deheubarth prince and the power of the monastic community. The role of the monk in keeping the sheep and helping to prepare the burial grounds of the princes

- **Website including downloads / digital media including Bluetooth** – similar content to interpretation panels.

- **Events** – re-enactments of the roles of monks in the running of a Cistercian monastery, and family workshops making replica tiles with different designs, such as griffins, fleurs de lys, birds and heraldic tiles, as well as a character who would have lived at the Abbey, and banners with heraldic designs

Strata Florida *RKE*

- **Learning materials** – role playing activities for monks and others, who contributed to the running of a medieval monastery

- **Family trail** – a trail that encourages families to explore the site looking for specific objects such as the stone carvings, the decorative stone string course, carved headstone, the floor tiles, and the location of the Abbey in the landscape. The trail should include suggestions for other places to visit, such as Cors Caron National Nature Reserve, a significant wetland today, but also at that time.

Other sites

In addition to the sites we have incorporated within the clusters, there are four more in Cadw's ownership or in the ownership of others. We propose that as many as feasible of these should be marked by a single bi-lingual interpretive panel or a pair of panels (in Welsh and English) to relate each site to the Princes of Deheubarth and to the Lords of the Southern March where appropriate – marked LoSM). As funds become available, additional interpretive material could be produced. The sites are:

Penalli Castle [LoSM]   Whitland Abbey [LoSM]

St Dogmael's Abbey

10 Action table

Clusters map for Princes of Deheubarth and Lords of the Southern March *Anglezarke Dixon Associates*

The following comprehensive table summarises the proposals in Section 9. Because many of the castles and other sites associated with the Princes of Deheubarth also have associations with the Lords of the Southern March, these latter sites have been included after those associated with the Princes of Deheubarth.

No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Princes of Deheubarth															
The Heart of Deheubarth – *The heart of Deheubarth at height of its powers and focus of its resistance to the Normans* Creation of Deheubarth ❖ Changing allegiances and boundaries ❖ Role of monasteries ❖ Life of ordinary people ❖ Influence of landscape															
1.1	Carreg Cennen		█	█				█	█	█		Built by the sons of Lord Rhys Castle keeps changing hands	Rhys Fychan Nursemaid	Interpretive panels Panorama panel Display Website & digital media Family trail 'Mystery history' pack	Medium
1.2	Dinefwr Castle	█	█	█	█		█	█	█	█		Chief seat of Deheubarth Commanding view over Tywi Valley	Lord Rhys Mason	Interpretive panels Panoramic panel Website & digital media Audio trail Learning materials Events Self-guided trail 'Mystery history' pack	High
1.3	Dryslwyn Castle	█	█	█		█	█	█	█			Central to security of Deheubarth	Rhys ap Maredudd	Interpretive panel Panoramic panel	Low

No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
												Impressive stronghold and scene of siege	Soldier		
1.4	Talley Abbey											Centre of Christian monasticism in Deheubarth Self-sustaining community	Abbot A cannon	Interpretive panel Website & digital media Audio posts Re-enactments Self-guided trail	Medium
1.5	Llandovery Castle											One of the first castles seized by Lord Rhys Rhys partly re-built the castle in stone	Gerald de Barri Monk	Interpretive panel Website Digital media Learning materials Self-guided trail	Medium
1.6	Carmarthen Castle											Seized by Lord Rhys in 1143	Prince John Constable	Interpretation panels Website & digital media Learning materials Self-guided trail	Medium
The Flowering and Fading of Deheubarth – *The celebration of Welsh culture and decline of Deheubarth*															
Capital at Cardigan ❖ Loyalty of common people ❖ Conflict and coexistence ❖ Dissipation of power ❖ Fragmented inheritance ❖ Influence of landscape															
2.1	Cardigan Castle											Norman castle taken over by Lord Rhys	Lord Rhys Performer	Interpretive panels Website & digital	Medium

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		Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords								
No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		X	X		X	X						First 'national' eisteddfod in Wales		media	
2.2	Cilgerran Castle		X					X	X			Earth and timber castle to defend to Rhys's territory Scene of the abduction of Nest by Owain ap Cadwgan	Nest Maidservant	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Family trail Audio posts	Medium
2.3	Nevern Castle	X	X	X		X		X		X		Frequent changes between Norman and Welsh occupation Scene of imprisonment of Rhys ap Gruffudd	Castellan Servant boy	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Self-guided trail	Low
2.4	Strata Florida Abbey	X		X								Founded by Rhys ap Gruffudd Burial place of many princes Extensive influence of Abbey's land holdings	Prior Choir monk Lay brother	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Events Learning materials Family trail	High

Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Princes of Deheubarth

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No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
	Penalli Cross St Dogmael's Abbey Whitland Abbey	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	✓ ✓	Various topics but principally links with the overall story; Two sites have links with the Lords of the Southern March	Links with overall story will be principal content	Standard Interpretive panel or panels	Low

Individual castles and other sites associated with the Princes of Deheubarth

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No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
**The Marcher Lords secure the border – *the start of the conquest of south Wales and the struggle to maintain supremacy*** Containing the Welsh ❖Castles as assertions of power ❖ Towns established as trading centres❖Role of religious communities ❖ Influence of landscape														
1.1	Chepstow Castle											Built by William Fitz Osbern as early statement of dominance Important trading centre between England and Wales	William fitz Osbern & his wife Isabella William Marshall Female cook Reginald the Engineer Boy	Interpretive panels Display Website & digital media Events Learning materials Family trail Audio tour 'Mystery history' pack	High
1.2	Tintern Abbey											Walter de Clare found first Cistercian monastery in Wales Important centre of spiritual and economic activity	Choirmaster Monk Shepherd boy	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Events Learning materials Self-guided trail Display Audio tour	High
1.3	Monmouth Castle											Commissioned by William Fitz	Lord of Monmouth	Interpretive panels	Medium

Table title: **Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Lords of the Southern March**

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		Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords								
No	**Site (non-Cadw sites)**	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	**Topics at individual sites**	**Key Characters**	**Principal Media**	**Priority**
												Osberne Seat of Lords of Monmouth	Another	Website & digital media	
1.4	Grosmont Castle											One three fortresses, home and administrative centre of Pain Fitz John Later fortified by Hubert de Burgh	Hubert de Burgh Mason	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Learning materials Three Castles trail	Medium
1.5	Skenfrith Castle											One of three fortresses guarding key trading route using latest architecture Moated defence against Welsh raiders on River Monnow	Mater mason Seamstress	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Three Castles trail	Medium
1.6	White Castle											One of three fortresses guarding key trading route using latest architecture Part of territory under one lord's control	Ralph of Grosmont Archer	Interpretive panels Panorama panel Website & digital media Events Three Castles trail	Medium
	The Marcher Lords secure the west – *building a secure Norman stronghold in south west Wales*														
	Forging a stable settlement ❖ Impact of Norman law ❖ Influence of Bishops ❖ Peace and coexistence with Deheubarth ❖ Influence of landscape														
2.1	Carew Castle											Strategically important and long-held Norman castle Importance of the de Windsor and de Carew families	Gerald de Windsor Nest de Windsor Miller	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Events	High

Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Lords of the Southern March

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No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
												Consolidation of Marcher society		Learning materials Self-guided trail Audio posts	
2.2	Llawhaden Castle											Impact of power of bishops of St David's	Bishop Bernard Clerk	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Learning materials	Low
2.3	Pembroke Castle											Founded by Roger of Montgomery as heart of Norman lands Home of William Marshall	William Marshall Maid of the Bedchamber	To be agreed with Trustees	High if agreed with Trustees
2.4	Wiston Castle											Settlement by Flemings and building of castle by Wizo	Wizo the Fleming Weaver	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Events Self-guided trail	Medium
	The Marcher Lords secure the coast – *creating strongholds to dominate access from the sea*														
	Robust defence ❖ Shifting control and allegiances ❖ Visible domination ❖ Welsh recapture area ❖ Castles return to Norman rule ❖ Influence of landscape														
3.1	Kidwelly Castle											Importance of military architecture Changes in control between princes and lords and impact on community	Maurice de Londres Gwenllian Soldier Drummer boy	Interpretive panels Panorama panel Website & digital media Events Learning materials	High

Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Lords of the Southern March

No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				

Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Lords of the Southern March

														'Mystery history' pack Self-guided trail Audio tour	
3.2	Laugharne Castle											Frequent changes of control between lords and princes	Steward of Laugharne Boatman	Interpretive panels Panorama panel Website & digital media Events Learning materials	Medium
3.3	Llansteffan Castle											Importance of defensive military design Changes in ownership and impact on community	Maurice fitz Gerald Carter	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Panorama panel	Low

The Marcher Lords secure their status – *three castles built to defend and dominate, restored to delight and impress*
Defending, dominating and intimidating ❖ Changes in architectural style ❖ Major restorations in the 19th and 20th centuries

| 4.1 | Caerphilly Castle | | | | | | | | | | | Largest medieval castle in Wales
Concentric moated design and leaning tower
Impressive restoration | Gilbert de Clare
Isabella de Clare
Military engineer
Young assistant
Hugh Despenser
3rd Marquess of Bute
William Burges | Interpretive panels
Display
Website & digital media
Audio trail
Events
Learning materials
'Mystery history' | High |

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No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
	top: **Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Lords of the Southern March**													pack	
4.2	Cardiff Castle											Original motte and bailey castle built by the Normans Alteration and extension over many centuries Restoration by the Bute family	Robert fitz Hamon Baker 3rd Marquess of Bute William Burges	To be agreed with Trustees	High – if agreed with Cardiff Council
4.3	Castell Coch											Originally Welsh princes fortress Rebuilt in stone by Gilbert de Clare Romantic revival	Gilbert de Clare Gatekeeper Marquess of Bute William Burges Servant girl	Interpretive panels Website & digital media Events Learning materials 'Mystery history' pack	High (as agreed with Cardiff Council)
**The Marcher Lords secure Gower – *Consolidating the lordship of Gower and preparing for attack by the forces of Owain Glyndwr*** Consolidating the Lordship ❖ The role of Knights and officials ❖ Preparing for attack by Owain Glyndwr															
5.1	Swansea Castle											Quality of the building Associations with Henry of Gower Preparing for attack by Owain Glyndwr	Lord Mowbray A building foreman Sir Hugh Waterton	Interpretive panels Website & digital media	High
5.2	Oystermouth Castle											Comfort and standard of living Decline in importance	William de Braose III	Website & digital media	High

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No	Site (non-Cadw sites)	Themes – Princes					Themes – Lords					Topics at individual sites	Key Characters	Principal Media	Priority
		Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc				
													Aline de Braose	Display Self-guided trail Audio tour	
5.3	Oxwich Castle											Held by Robert de Penres Role of Knights in Norman society Site altered and moved to become Tudor mansion	Robert de Penres A Knight's servant	Interpretive panels Website & digital media	Medium
5.4	Weobley Castle											The castle as a fortified manor built primarily as a residence The castle taken by the forces of Owain Glyndwr	David de la Bere The Castellan	Interpretive panels Website, digital media Panorama panel Self-guided trail	Medium

The table is titled **Clusters of Castles associated principally with the Lords of the Southern March**

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		Themes - Princes					Themes - Lords								
No	**Site (non-Cadw sites)**	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	Role in history	Strife and alliances	Impact of Lords	Social and cultural	Role of castles, etc	**Topics at individual sites**	**Key Characters**	**Principal Media**	**Priority**
	Ammanford Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Various topics but principally links with the overall story; Two sites have links with the Princes of Deheubarth	Links with overall story will be principal content	Standard Interpretive panel or panels	Low
	Bronllys Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Caldicot Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Carmarthen Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Coity Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Llanblethian Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Llandovery Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Loughor Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Narberth Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Neath Abbey						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Newcastle Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Newcastle Emlyn						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Newport Castle (Gwent)						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Newport Castle (Pembs)						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Ogmore Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Penalli Cross						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Raglan Castle	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	St Clears Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	St David's Cathedral						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Tenby Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Tretower Castle						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Whitland Abbey	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					

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11 Monitoring and evaluation

Cilgerran Castle *RKE*

11.1 Monitoring and evaluation

As a precursor to monitoring and evaluation of interpretation, it is important to set targets and performance measures, not least to give yardsticks against which to judge performance. The number of visitors both to the castles and other sites is recorded in most cases; comparative figures should be recorded formally as a constant base against which to judge changes over a period.

Mechanisms for judging the success of new interpretive initiatives will need to be put in place and these are proposed below.

We recommend the following action:

- Pre-testing of new interpretive media

- Monitoring of the use of interpretive media (including use by different audiences and those with accessibility challenges)

- Evaluation of media

- Evaluation of the interpretive approach as a whole

There are many methods that can be used to undertake each of these activities and we identify a number of them below. The list is not exhaustive but indicates some of the methods that can be employed to take stock of different elements of the interpretive approach. Wherever possible, pre-change data should be obtained in order to provide for immediate comparisons and to establish base lines of 'graphs' for continued monitoring and evaluation.

11.2 Pre-testing

Pre-testing is something that many organisations fail to do because 'deadlines' are cited as the need to get things on the ground, or out in the public domain. On the principle of 'getting it right, rather than getting it now', we advocate strongly that the Cadw tests out new media, from our proposals for printed material and panels to audio-guides and events before committing final expenditure and implementation work. A further benefit of this approach is in ensuring that the local community is given a chance to feed into the development process both by commenting and by participating. However, Cadw already has considerable experience of implementing interpretation and some pre-testing may not be necessary.

In terms of printed and similar material, this process is now simpler and cheaper with the availability of computer-derived artwork that can be produced inexpensively and circulated, if testing printed material, or set up with suitable lamination if testing text or plaques. Reactions can be sought from selected or random users / viewers, from 'focus groups' or otherwise chosen groups of people, or by other means that ensure wide pre-implementation appraisal and approval.

With any new video or audio tour, sample scripts or 'sound bites' should be tested by visitors over a period to ensure, as far as possible, that they meet visitors' expectations of a visit to the castles and other sites as well as promoting the team's aspirations.

11.3 Monitoring

Once media are in place, then monitoring their use and / or success can be done in a variety of ways, often in conjunction with evaluation. For example, the following largely quantitative checks could be instituted:

- Maintaining accurate checks of questions asked – and the type of questioners – as well as of material issued and advice given at visitor centres where these are in place

- Maintaining accurate records of printed material distributed and replenished

- Maintaining accurate records of publications issued and / or sold, audio / video tours issued and / or sold, and comments made (many audio / video units now incorporate a comprehensive level of monitoring automatically, with feedback available on, for example, length of time used and areas of particular interest)

- Maintaining records of contact with members of the public expressing an interest in the castles by origin and profile of visitor

- Making observation of visitors' use, behaviour, time spent etc when viewing interpretation at castles and other sites

- Making observation of visitors' use of graphic and printed material.

- Maintaining records of numbers at selected times of visitors to castles and other sites and issuing appraisal sheets / questionnaires for completion.

- Maintaining records of number of visitors to castles other sites and special events.

- Making systematic counts of website hits

11.4 Evaluation

The more time-consuming and, therefore, costly, aspects of the work of appraising success are those that involve qualitative research, which can include:

- Face-to-face interviewing of visitors (and non-visitors) using (or not) the visitor centres, the external interpretation and / or attending events or guided walks / tours / trips

- Distribution of questionnaires for self-completion

- Use of focus groups, private and public meetings etc

- Analysis of questions asked and answered (or not) by visitors to visitor centres

- Analysis of unsolicited written communications by email, letter or otherwise

Some of this work may well be in progress at selected sites.

Few organisations undertake any or more limited monitoring and evaluation of interpretation and only occasional pre-testing. In a commercial environment, such appraisal of the potential success, as well as actual success, of a product would be undertaken as part of the overall marketing function. The same should be done by any organisation responsible for spending substantial sums on activities of public benefit. In the case of the castles and other sites, where the principal benefit is in securing revenue as part of overall economic viability, it will be important to evaluate the success of the results of new interpretive initiatives.

Pre-testing, monitoring and evaluation provides essential data and anecdotal material that informs the interpretive approach and guides it throughout its implementation over the years. It is particularly recommended that the Cadw dedicates appropriate time and resources to the evaluation process in order to determine those initiatives that are successful in developing and maintaining the audience for interpretation as a whole. This will help to ensure that resources can continue to be effectively targeted.

12 Appendix 1 – Those consulted

Rick Turner	Cadw
Roger Turvey	Historian and author
Ken Murphy	Dyfed Archaeological Trust
Louise Austin	Dyfed Archaeological Trust
Andrew Marvell	Gwent Glamorgan Archaeological Trust
Neil Maylan	Gwent Glamorgan Archaeological Trust
Peter Cole	Capital Region Tourism
Gary Davies	South West Wales Tourism
Paul Falkner	The National Trust
Elaine Jones	Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority
Phil Bennett	Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority
Andrea Clenton	Swansea City Council
Sian Seabrooke	Swansea City Council

13 Appendix 2 – The historical context

Since the arrival, after the last Ice Age, of the first people in what is now Wales, the political history of the country – as far as it is known from more recent times – has been characterised by **shifting alliances**. This is as evident in the tussles for ascendancy among the early tribes as it is in the last days of the Princes of Deheubarth. It is not, of course, a peculiarly Welsh characteristic, it is one shared with peoples all round the globe.

However, in Wales, it was a particularly potent feature of the struggle for power during the rise – and demise – of the **Welsh princes** and throughout the hegemony of the **Norman-English marcher lords**. It was frequently a case of 'my enemy's enemy is my friend' but this caused as much discord as harmony among ambitious leaders. However, apart from a few alarms and excursions during the brief period of civil war in the 17th century, and attacks by German bombers in the Second World War, Wales has been free from armed conflict for nearly 600 years.

To understand the complexities of medieval Wales, it's essential to go back in time, first to when the Romans had arrived in what they called Britannia, a long island stretching north into the far seas on the edge of Europe and, importantly, on the periphery of the Roman Empire. It was their most distant frontier and has left Britain, including Wales, with a **lasting legacy**.

The Common Era was half a century old when the first Roman incursions into Wales began with defeats of the Deceangli on Deeside and the Silures in Gwent. Tacitus's later account of the first of these, which took place in 47, was the **first written record** of an event in Wales. It took the might of the legions another 30 years before the country became a compliant part of the mighty Roman Empire. And so it was for over three hundred years, controlled from a series of forts in places that would become familiar in later conflicts – **Chester**, **Caerleon, Carmarthen and Caernarfon**. In **410**, the Romans abandoned Britain in order to defend more important frontiers of their Empire.

13.1 The rise of the Welsh princes

Thereafter, for about 650 years, the people of Wales managed their own destiny but they were not untroubled by external forces. Once the Romans departed, leaving roads, other substantial physical evidence of their occupation, Latin script, and a few loan words, Wales entered what is erroneously called the '**Dark Ages'**, a soubriquet stemming largely from the lack of written (but not oral) records. It is thought that the concept of being a distinct group of *Brythoniaid* emerged at this time although the term *Cymry*, 'compatriots' or 'our people' was not used widely until much later. It was the Anglo-Saxons who called them *Waelisc*, or foreigners, and their lands as *Wēalas*.

By two hundred years after the Romans left, Britannia had begun to change fundamentally. Julius Caesar, using Gaul as his model, might have described it as *Britannia in tres partes divisa es*t. The Angles, Saxons and Jutes occupied the east and south and the Gaels from Ireland embarked on their slow conquest of the north.Ireland, a land then of five provinces and many petty kingdoms, was partly subject to Norse rule during this period and both Viking and Irish invaders made brief incursions into Wales from time to time.

One of the most pervasive changes in Welsh society was the spread of **Christianity** largely by Irish monks. The Romans had introduced the rituals of the Roman Church but it was the

Celtic Church which held sway, particularly in Wales for nearly 300 years from around the year **500**. Of the great leaders of Christianity in Wales, **St David** is clearly the foremost and, as the patron saint, he is now an integral part of **the Welsh psyche** whatever beliefs or none that people hold. The Welsh Church appears to have had less influence during the latter part of the early Middle Ages than its counterparts elsewhere in Britain but the proliferation of place names prefixed by **llan** are testimony to the many locations of monks' cells or chapels across the country.

The Welsh kingdoms, or princedoms, became increasingly defined, as did those in the land of the **Anglo-Saxons**, and by around **700**, Wales was divided, with frequently-changing affiliations, into Gwynedd in the north west, Seisyllwg and Dyfed in the south west (which became parts of Deheubarth), the former Roman stronghold of Morgannwg / Gwent in the south east and Brycheiniog and Powys in the centre and east. The powerful Saxon kingdom of **Mercia** rubbed uncomfortable shoulders with Powys and the equally powerful Wessex threatened from the south east.

The people in the Welsh princedoms lived in small communities in a land that was still substantially wooded despite felling for grazing and sowing over many millennia. There were no towns and, for most people, life was pastoral. Land was divided amongst sons on the death of the father but land 'ownership' was not a concept – it was occupation. However, this was not a period when records were kept, as they were to be under the Normans, and so little is really known about daily life in Wales.

13.2 The delineation of the early English March

Historian John Davies asserts that it was the western border of Mercia which determined the eastern border of Wales and that this boundary was at the expense (to Wales) of the agricultural lowlands in Powys. First came Wat's Dyke to protect the northern area of Mercia's settled territory and then, after about **785**, the remarkable **Offa's Dyke** which, using long stretches of the Severn, effectively **defined Wales** as it is today. Its route was at least partly agreed between Offa and the Welsh princes of Powys and Gwent to leave the Welsh with lands traditionally associated with their princedoms, west of the rivers Severn and Wye.

Whether an increasing sense of Welshness, expediency, or simple love was the cause, a series of marriages in the ninth century, following the building of Offa's Dyke, led to the unification of most of Wales under Rhodri ap Merfyn, later known as **Rhodri Mawr**, the Great. He was a contemporary of **King Alfred of Wessex** who ascended his throne in **871**, the year Rhodri became ruler of Gwynedd, Powys and Seisyllwg, together forming the greater part of Wales. Part of the regard in which Rhodri was held stemmed from his victory in Anglesey over the **Vikings** who were settling lands in Scotland, Ireland and England, where they ruled everywhere that was not in Alfred's control.

These Danish invaders made little impression on Wales but they certainly did in northern France where in 911 they took possession of what became known as **Normandy**. One hundred and fifty five years later they were to undertake their historic crossing of the English Channel and, one year after that, to make their first impact on Wales.

Rhodri Mawr was killed in battle with the English in **877**, His lands were divided between his two sons, as was the Celtic custom, and the notional-unity of the nation was lost for 65 years. At this time, however, most of the Welsh princes were seeking the patronage of the powerful King Alfred who became, de facto, '**overlord' of Wales**, as well as of England, a factor that was to play a part in years to come.

At this time too, around **900**, the Celtic church in Wales finally accepted the practices of the Roman Church and this would lead, in time, to the building of the great abbeys.

13.3 The Princes of Deheubarth

Hywel the Good

In **930**, Rhodri Mawr's grandson, **Hywel Dda**, ruler of Seisyllwg, gained possession of Dyfed and Brycheiniog, two of the princedoms that had sought Alfred's protection against the predatory notions of Gwynedd's ruler. His new, enlarged, territory was known as **Deheubarth** and this enlarged princedom became, according to John Davies, 'a unit of central importance in the history of Wales during the following four centuries'.

Only 12 years later, in 942, **Hywel united Deheubarth with Gwynedd and Powys**, lands that had belonged to another of Rhodri Mawr's grandsons, and so Hywel had nominal control over all of Wales except Morgannwg whose rulers were also descended from Rhodri Mawr, in this case through his daughter Nest. For a second time in two generations, most of Wales was **under the rule of one man**.

Hywel, as far as can be deduced from scanty records, demonstrated the same aggression and thirst for blood as his Brythonic ancestors but he is credited, on limited evidence, as the man who **codified the laws of Wales**. For that, if for nothing else, he was accorded the title of 'the Good' and so Hywel Dda established his place in history not simply as a master of much of Wales but a wise law-giver. He also visited the English court on several occasions and made a pilgrimage to Rome.

It is suggested that the wise and the good met at Whitland, where the ruins of the later Abbey still stand, to consolidate and agree the Law of Wales. As Davies says, the law of any country is a **powerful symbol of its identity**, on a par with its language, and centuries later, the law of Hywel Dda was still in use. Welsh law differed from that of some other nations in that it was based upon ancient law with the principal objective of **achieving reconciliation** rather than on punishing wrongdoers. Dispensing justice in criminal cases lay largely in the hands of the local rulers.

Another important aspect of the law in Wales was the **law of succession**. Whereas primogeniture – the right of the first-born to inherit – was a characteristic of many cultures, among the Celtic peoples of Britain land and possessions were usually divided among male heirs on the death of their father. The effect of this on landholdings often meant that more and more people had less and less land.

However, among the ruling classes in Wales, conquest and marriage frequently re-united divided territory as was evidenced by, for example, the creation of Deheubarth and, later, of Hywel Dda's extended empire. However, the choice of the first, or indeed any son, to rule after his father was not set in stone; it was often determined by **the man's suitability,** rather than his relationship, although the throne was always kept within the greater family unit.

Within this rule, Hywel's only son Owain inherited Deheubarth in **950** – but Gwynedd and Powys reverted to the line from Rhodri Mawr through his grandson Idwal. Glamorgan continued to remain as a separate princedom. Wales now had three princedoms at this point. In his turn, Owain's son **Maredudd**, managed to recreate his grandfather's extensive princedom but his short reign were not easy, not least because of persistent attacks by the Vikings from Ireland who, in the year of Maredudd's death in 999, attacked St David's.

Succeeding princes of Deheubarth came from different blood lines and little is known of them other than what can be deduced from the *Brut y Tywysogyon*, the **Chronicle of the Princes**. These were troubled times in Wales until Maredudd ab Edwin restored Deheubarth to the line of Rhodri Mawr in 1033. His son, **Llywelyn prince of Seisyll**, then seized Gwynedd and Powys and, later, the remainder of Deheubarth in 1055.

Unity and disunity

A couple of years after that in **1057**, his son **Gruffudd ap Llywelyn** united Wales when he captured Morgannwg (modern Glamorgan). For six years, until his death, Gruffudd was the first, and last, ruler of the **whole of Wales**. He had achieved this singular feat of kingship largely through force which had included battles with his English neighbours and his re-possession, after many centuries, of lands beyond Offa's Dyke.

Sweet revenge for the Anglo-Saxons came in **1063**. **Harold Godwinson** of Wessex defeated Gruffudd who was killed, according to the *Brut*, by his own men, although the *Ulster Chronicle* tells a different story. Harold, who claimed the throne of England on the death of **Edward the Confessor** in January 1066, had married the widow of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn (and granddaughter of Lady Godiva) who, therefore, was successively, **queen of Wales and queen of England.** She and her new husband were to enjoy this status for only nine months. After Harold despatched a Norwegian army at Stamford Bridge, he raced south only to lose his life while attempting to repulse his cousin **William of Normandy** who had sailed across the Channel to Hastings in October **1066** to launch the last successful military **invasion of England.**

What the Normans introduced, above all else, was a form of **civil administration** that remains to a large degree intact to this day. The **feudal system** quickly brought a new order to England (but less so in Wales and not for many years), the **shire counties** defined land boundaries (only later in Wales) and the law became an instrument of the state. In **1067**, Wales was to feel the first effect of the **Norman Conquest** when the new English king created his **marcher lords** and William fitz Osbern began building the first castle at **Chepstow.**

The princes after the Norman Conquest

For more than 200 years after the Norman lords first set foot in Wales, the native princes continued to rule most of mid- and west Wales with the exception of Dyfed, part of which has been referred to, at least since the 16th century, as *Anglia Transwalliana* (**Little) England beyond Wales**. It might equally have been called *Little Flanders* as a result of the English king's invitation to Flemish people to settle there. The princes and the marcher lords lived cheek by jowl and, for most of the time, aggression was less in evidence than tolerance and even cooperation. It was a time of more **shifting alliances** within and between the two camps.

The princes and the lords had, of course, a lot in common. They were, at least for the time being, the top dogs in their own backyards but their power was largely inherited or won, in the case of the princes, and largely granted, in the case of the lords. Both needed strongholds to defend their borders – and to be seen to be doing so. For these military and political reasons, as Roger Turvey cites them, the princes constructed their own monumental castles, albeit on the borrowed lines of their Norman neighbours. Among these are **Carreg Cennen**., **Dinefwr** and **Dryslwyn**, strongholds of the princes of Deheubarth, but also **Cardigan, Cilgerran and Llandovery** and **Nevern**.

If castles come, can abbeys be far behind? The princes, mindful both of their symbolism and their potential for ensuring an untroubled afterlife for their benefactors, endowed religious centres at such places as Cardigan, Llandovery, Talley and, most famous of all, **Strata Florida** which became the burial place of choice for many of later princes. These and other abbeys were established by four different orders of monks and one of nuns from France in exactly the same way as they did for their Norman patrons.

The Welsh princes and the new Norman lords were all aristocrats in their respective territories, but to the new rulers the princes were a lesser breed and in the years following the Battle of Hastings, they fought among themselves, with skirmishes resulting in many deaths. By **1081**, peace was restored with Gruffudd ap Cynan acknowledged as Prince of Gwynedd and **Rhys ap Tewdwr** as Prince of Deheubarth.

When William I visited St David's that year, in a political move that implied respect but showed power, he recognised the new Prince of Deheubarth who, according to the *Domesday Book*, paid to William an **annual tribute** of £40. Gruffudd was less fortunate and spent 12 years as prisoner of Hugh the Fat, **Earl of Chester**. Powys was under constant threat from Roger, **Earl of Shrewsbury**.

Although the princedoms had little future as independent entities, William was not interested in taking over Wales as a whole, although he **claimed suzerainty** over the country and annexed parts of it He left the **management of the frontier** to his barons who built their great castles along the frontier that William had created by pushing back the earlier boundaries into parts of Wales.

William Rufus succeeded his father in 1087 and everything changed a year later. Five years after that, Bernard of Neufmarché attacked **Deheubarth** and captured **Brycheiniog** where he began building a castle at **Brecon**, Rhys ap Tewdwr died in battle, in **1093**, resisting him. Roger of Shrewsbury marched into **Ceredigion** and built his castle at **Cardigan** before going on to annex southern **Dyfed**. His son Arnulf annexed Penfro and built the great fortress of **Pembroke Castle**. Rhys's oldest son was given refuge in Ireland but the youngest, Hywel, was imprisoned. It could have been the end of the Welsh princes because **Glamorgan** was also lost to the Normans at this time.

However, Wales was held uneasily by the invaders and it was always subject to incursion by the many **disaffected Welsh** who were sorely treated by what were clearly nervous marcher lords. By the time William II died in 1100, the princedoms were largely back in the **hands of native leaders**, partly as a result of uncoordinated but successful rebellions against the Normans and partly with the help of a Norse army led by **King Magnus Barefoot** who killed the Earl of Shrewsbury. Gruffudd ap Cynan now ruled Gwynedd **while Cadwgan ap Bleddyn** held Powys and the remains of Deheubarth.

13.4 'Welsh Wales' defined

Despite their achievements, **southern Dyfed, Glamorgan, Gwent and eastern Powys** remained firmly in Norman hands. And this situation remained more or less unchanged until the depredations of Edward I extended English rule. There was no realistic chance of all Wales ever returning to Welsh rulers. The march was effectively established with a defined and largely stable boundary between *Pura Wallia* **and** *Marchia Wallia* which lasted for **four hundred years**.

As an important sidelight on the history of this period, Henry I invited colonists from various places to live in parts of Wales. Most importantly, a number of **Flemish** people under the leadership of **Wizo**, were given land in southern Dyfed. The *Landsker Line* marked the division between Welsh and Flemish speakers. At this time, too, **boroughs** became a feature of marcher southern Wales but most remained as small towns for reasons of geography, restricted fertile land and an overall small population. Most grew up round the new castles.

As the twelfth century, and the reign of Henry I progressed, so did the territorial ambitions of the Welsh princes. Three leaders emerged in the 1130s: **Gruffudd ap Rhys ap Tewdw**r in Deheubarth, Madog ap Maredudd in Powys and Gruffudd ap Cynan in Gwynedd who also became ruler of Ceredigion in 1137. It is said that he had been accorded the title *king of*

kings of Wales by Rhys ap Tewdwr but Gruffudd ap Cynan failed to prove it. This was the age of **Geoffrey of Monmouth**, a Breton Bishop of St Asaph, who wrote *Historia Regum Britanniae.* His history of the kings of Britain is, however, based at least in part on his own imaginings.

13.5 The Lord Rhys

Rhys ap Gruffudd, grandson of Rhys ap Tewdwr, was less than happy that the marcher lords had taken possession of much of his dynasty's lands and had killed his mother **Gwenllian** and brothers in a battle outside Kidwelly. He campaigned against **Henry II** during the monarch's unhappy time with, and then without, Thomas à Becket, and during his later invasion of **Ireland** with the support of some Welsh princes and Marcher Lords. However, Rhys reassembled much of the lost territory of Deheubarth.

During Henry's, eventual, successful attempt to secure the fealty of the Irish kings, Rhys was appointed as Henry's deputy in south Wales – for such strange alliances characterise history – and his **rights to Deheubarth** were formally recognised. From **1172**, Rhys was now in charge of many of his kinsmen and his primacy was underscored by an eisteddfod held at Cardigan Castle at his behest.

Around this time, however, it was Owain, the ruler of Gwynedd, with the support of Henry II, who claimed to be *princeps Wallensium*, **prince of the Welsh**. His son Dafydd preferred to be *princeps Norwallia* while **Rhys ap Gruffudd** was the prince of south Wales, *princeps Sudwallia*. They were now self-proclaimed major princes, rather than minor rulers of parts of Wales, but higher up the pecking order than Norman barons. They **swore allegiance** to the kings of England and increasingly used the new **feudal system** to reinforce their regained power.

It is another irony of this period that the flowering of the princedom of Deheubarth took place with the Normans at the door, even given Rhys's position of strength. The **Lord Rhys**, as he became known, encouraged the arts through that first recorded eisteddfod in Cardigan and, at least as importantly, supported the church through his endowment of, among others, **Cistercian monasteries**.

And the minor rulers around him all followed suit. Many of the new abbeys were daughter houses of **Whitland** and **Strata Florida**, established by Norman lords although there were distinct differences between those founded by the princes and the lords. In these and many ways, not least in their building or extending of great castles, did the new prince of south Wales display his influence and his power.

Among Lord Rhys's fortresses were those mentioned earlier: **Cardigan, Cilgerran** and **Dinefwr** and the first of these, the 'stone and mortar' fortress of Cardigan, became his principal seat, but it was from Dinefwr that he was master of all he could survey – and quite a bit beyond. His sons and grandsons built **Dryslwyn** and **Carreg Cennen** castles, along with others, to maintain their family's control over their lands. He chose to be buried at St David's but many other of the Welsh princes chose **Strata Florida** as their final resting place.

The wayward behaviour and rivalry of Lord Rhys's sons caused him (and each other) much grief and his troubles increased when his concord with England's king ended on the succession of **Richard I** to Henry II's throne in 1188. Not many years later, **Lord Rhys** the much respected, and probably greatest, prince of Deheubarth, died in his sleep in **1197**. The right of Gruffudd, his son and heir, to succeed his father was challenged by two other sons, **Rhys Gryg** and **Maelgwn**.

13.6 The demise of the princes

Maelgwn emerged as the winner with the support of **King John** who himself had succeeded his brother Richard. John, through marriage, became lord of Glamorgan, the most powerful of the marcher lordships, but gave Ceredigion to Maelgwn in return for his loyalty and the rights to Cardigan Castle. From then onwards, the authority of the princes of Deheubarth waned and, according to John Davies, they became pawns in the tussles between the princes of Gwynedd and the English king.

In **1200**, **Llywelyn ap Iorwerth** became ruler of Gwynedd. He swore allegiance to King John and married John's illegitimate daughter. In 1208, he took possession of much of Powys and drove Maelgwn from northern Ceredigion. He supported King John on his invasion of Scotland but, by 1211, John adjudged Llywelyn to be more an enemy than a friend. He invaded Gwynedd and greatly reduced Llywelyn's power base. However, Llywelyn's fortunes changed again when he was chosen by other Welsh princes as their leader. This was the time of **Magna Carta**, sealed in **1216.** and Llywelyn took advantage of John's struggles with his barons to take **control of much of southern Wales** including what had been Deheubarth.

This led to the **Treaty of Worcester** in **1218** which, according to John Davies, recognised Llywelyn's pre-eminence in Wales and there was relative peace between him and his brother-in-law, King Henry III. This was a time of social change as the boroughs grew and trade expanded. The Welsh princes were becoming more like their Marcher counterparts and both groups became part of the wider tradition of lordship across Europe and religious life centred on Rome. When Llywelyn died in 1240, Henry III recognised his son as ruler of territory held by right but insisted on the lesser princedoms paying homage directly to him; these included the lords (they were no longer princes) of **Deheubarth**.

Yet another change occurred in 1258 when Llywelyn ap Gruffudd conquered all of *Wallia Pura* to become another prince of all 'Welsh Wales'. King Henry had other worries which prevented his taking action and in **1267**, by the **Treaty of Montgomery**, Llywelyn's de facto position as Prince of Wales was confirmed through the Pipton Agreement in return for a substantial payment of nearly £20,000.

However, an exception to his hegemony was **Maredudd ap Rhys** of Dryslwyn who was exempt from paying homage to him – but he sold out in 1270. Llywelyn was now the de jure Prince of Wales and Wales, in effect, had become a **Principality**. It was later described as part of the empire of the king of England but not of the dominion of the kingdom of England, a nice distinction but an important one which had ramifications throughout later centuries.

Llywelyn was at the peak of his powers, but not without internecine problems, when he attacked the stronghold of the powerful **Clare** family at **Caerphilly**. In 1271, he was lord of most of Wales but not of most of its population and he was short of money and of any permanence of homage from the minor Welsh rulers. This may have been his motivation for marrying Elinor, a daughter of Simon de Montfort. Henry III clearly suspected his motives and imprisoned Elinor in Windsor. The next year the most far-reaching event of all, in many ways, took place.

Edward I became king of England in 1272 but was 'out of the country', crusading, until 1274. Llywelyn did not attend his coronation and disregarded many summonses to pay homage. He enlisted the help of the Pope but this increased the ire of Edward who declared him a rebel and marched into Wales. In the following year, **1277**, by the Treaty of Aberconwy, Llywelyn lost much of his power and prestige but not, strangely, his title.

Edward now took control of **Deheubarth** and the rest of southern Wales through the acquiescence of the Welsh lords and, by 1282, Edward ruled all Wales despite rebellion and intrigue. He began to impose English law and other systems.

In a final gesture, Llywelyn's head was sent to London as proof of the king's success in quelling the 'war' of 1282-3. However, **Maredudd ap Rhys** must have affirmed his loyalty to Edward and survived that conflict; he was promised **Dinefwr** but never received it. He then rebelled in **1287** but the last portion of his lands was absorbed into those of marcher lords and the princedom of Deheubarth was effectively **extinguished** and, in time, even its name was forgotten by most people.

While the former 'royal' lines continued in Deheubarth and elsewhere, they were in name only and Wales became wholly subjugate to a 'foreign' power. In **1301**, Edward bestowed the title '**Prince of Wales**' on his eldest son and the practice by England's, and later Britain's, monarch has remained unchanged for over seven hundred years.

However, a scion of the princes of Deheubarth, Gwynedd and Powys was the great hero of Welsh nationhood, Owain Glyndŵr, descended from Rhodri Mawr, and led the Welsh – with considerable support from the English kings' enemies – to initial success against the Henry IV in the early 15th century. However, his achievements became increasing sporadic before finally petering out and nothing more was heard of Glyndŵr after **1416**. We say more in the section on the Lords of the Southern March.

13.7 The Lords of the Southern March

Nothing would ever be the same

The arrival of William the Conqueror's new breed of ruler barons changed Wales forever, as their lord and master's all-embracing supremacy left a lasting mark on much of the rest of Britain and Ireland. The **Normans** were a self-confident and extremely potent force who, by the time they arrived at Hastings, had centuries of successful invasion and colonisation behind them.

They were **master mariners, highly trained soldiers** and **skilful administrators**. Over time, although they integrated with the native population, their achievements of conquest and control stayed with them. In the case of Britain, much of what they instituted still remains in force nearly a millennium later, albeit adapted over the centuries. In Wales, the **Welsh March,** established by William I soon after the **Battle of Hastings in 1066,** lasted for 470 years until another celebrated English monarch, Henry VIII, remodelled the administration of Wales.

The continuing legacy of the frenetic period of invasion, subjugation and lengthy domination can still be seen in Wales in the great **castles** that remain and have become, to a large degree, a trademark of the country. In south Wales, **Chepstow, Caerphilly, Kidwelly** and **Pembroke**, for example, are major **landmarks** as well as important **tourism** and **local economic drivers** supported by many more castles, monasteries and other monuments.

The Norman lords, with their heritage in northern France where great abbeys and cathedrals were being established at the time of the Conquest, endowed a number of **important religious sites** within the marcher lands of south.

Keeping the Welsh at arm's length

However, when he arrived, **William I** had no territorial ambitions about Wales. What he wanted was a **frontier** that could be defended to keep the troublesome Welsh princes at bay and, more importantly, disunited. To do this, he simply moved the existing eastern march

further west and created a new southern march. He then granted lands along the new border to his allies and kinsmen in return for their loyalty. Many also had lands in England and, in the early days, in Normandy. In the Welsh Marches, however, they were free from many of the obligations placed upon William's new lords of the shires in England.

The marches were not regarded as part of England and the marcher lords were given a wide range of privileges that included the right to build castles, raise military forces, set up hunting forests, found boroughs and raise taxes. They were responsible for administering their lands, however, and maintaining order. **Welsh law** as codified many years before by **Hywel Dda** still prevailed although the lords put their own cast on it and were generally regarded as punitive masters.

They were also free to wage war on their neighbours from their strongholds along the marches if they wished. Fealty to the English king was measured, to a large degree, by their success in containing the Welsh princes within what became known as *Wallia Pura*. The new lords were, like their Welsh counterparts, princes in their own land. Many of them also had substantial lands in England, Scotland and France and, as a result, spent little time in Wales. They left the administration of their estates and the law to **stewards or constables**, some of whom, over time, were Welsh. It was a pragmatic solution which suited successive English kings as they strove to maintain England united under one rule.

Securing control

Although the impact of the marcher lords, under the orders of King William I, was immediate, it was not all-embracing. It was more than 200 years before the then English king, **Edward I,** could feel confident that the Welsh rulers were under his thumb. Even then, they slipped out from time to time. It was a time of shifting borders and alliances with revolution by the disaffected Welsh princes a constant threat. Even the marcher lords were not always 'on side' and their lands were repossessed and redistributed as the king thought fit.

In the first fifteen years of William's supremacy, he had little to fear from the Welsh princes who had spent the time since the defeat of **Gruffudd ap Llywelyn** in 1063 (by Harold Godwinson, soon to be the short-lived King Harold) fighting among themselves. However, in 1081,Gruffudd ap Cynan was acknowledged as Prince of Gwynedd and **Rhys ap Tewdwr** as Prince of Deheubarth. King William paid a visit to St David's later that year and endorsed Rhys's position – on payment of an annual tribute – but Gruffudd was captured and imprisoned by one of William's favourites, **Hugh** (the Fat) of Avranches, **Earl of Chester**.

That remarkable document of 1086, the *Domesday Book*, treated north Wales, as far west as the River Clwyd, as part of Hugh's territory and Hugh's cousin Robert, installed in Gwynedd, paid £40 a year to the king, a similar arrangement to that agreed with Rhys ap Tewdwr. At the same time, Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury began to take over much of **Powys**.

William Rufus, William II, was not able to sustain the patronage of Rhys ap Tewdwr who was killed when Bernard of Neufmarché captured Brycheiniog and the Normans began further territorial advances. **Roger of Shrewsbury** annexed Ceredigion, built **Cardigan Castle** at Aberteifi and marched on into Dyfed which was the 'garden' of south west Wales. Arnulf, heir to the Shrewsbury empire, took over the *cantref* of Penfro. Cantrefs were divisions of land under Welsh law. He built **Pembroke Castle**, one of the most imposing of Welsh citadels, and imprisoned the youngest son of Rhys ap Tewdwr.

At this time, **Robert fltz Hamo**, one of William's henchmen in Gloucestershire, succeeded in taking possession of Glamorgan and the conquest of Wales seemed to be nearly complete. However, the Normans' grip was tenuous in many areas, particularly in the uplands and the power of the marcher lords was not sufficient to ensure total dominance. Indeed, by 1100,

the Welsh had regained control of much of Wales with the help of a Norse army led by Magnus Barefoot . The Normans were driven out of Gwynedd, Ceredigion and much of Powys.

Their strongholds in southern and south west Wales remained impregnable, however, and the English kings, William II and his son Henry I, made greater efforts to sustain their marcher lords even if they could not conquer all the Welsh princedoms. This compromise led to the effective establishment, in 1105, of **Welsh Wales** *(Pura Wallia)* and **Norman Wales** *(Marchia Wallia)* and confirmed the march that lasted, more or less unchanged, for four hundred years.

Among the leading marcher lords in the two hundred years following the Norman Conquest were **Roger Montgomery**, Earl of Shrewsbury, scourge of Powys, **William Marshall**, Earl of Pembroke and **Hugh de Burgh**, Earl of Kent. Their titles indicate their wide landholdings. In the early days of the invasion, William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford a kinsman of William I, had been responsible for the earliest of the Norman fortresses, **Chepstow Castle**.

Consolidating authority

The marcher lords, with their wide-ranging powers, set about consolidating what began as timber baileys on earthen mottes. The age of castle-building in stone must have left the native people of Wales in awe at the scale and invincibility of the new citadels. Their fortresses were often matched by the harsh rule of the lords and their apparent disdain for their Welsh neighbours. The marcher lords also began to develop the manorial system of land tenure, already in use throughout most of England. This allowed people a number of rights such as those of turbage (cutting turf), pannage (forage for pigs) and loppage (cutting timber). However, it was not as clear cut as this suggests. Many Welsh people were happy to serve in the households of their Marcher lords and in their armies. Welsh leaders took advantage of local alliances with Marcher lords to further their own interests. It was only at the behest of Edward I that draconian measures followed his settlement of 'Welsh Wales'.

There was, therefore, a pragmatic truce between lords and local people who were employed in the **building** of the fortresses, who **tilled** the land and practised most of the **trades** necessary for day-to-day living. Many held positions of minor responsibility. Expert masons were brought in to provide the necessary skills for tackling such huge building projects and other incomers were encouraged to relocate to Wales.

As the masonry castles were built on what were usually already imposing sites, boroughs were created around them and trade developed. The coast of Wales, with its many natural harbours, made the transport of goods and men relatively straightforward and many of the castles guarded the seaways and harbours. **These included Chepstow, Kidwelly, Laugharne, Llansteffan** and **Pembroke**, Great inland fortresses included those at **Caerphilly, Cardiff** (in part), **Tretower** and, later, **Raglan**.

At the behest of **Henry I**, foreigners were invited to settle within the lands of the marcher lords and possibly the most significant of these was a group of people from Flanders including **Wizo the Fleming** who set up home at **Wiston** in southern Dyfed, in what is now Pembrokeshire. Other Flemings were also granted land holdings. After a revolt by Robert, Earl of Shrewsbury, Henry had taken over **Pembroke Castle** and built **Carmarthen Castle**, to demonstrate his supreme lordship over Deheubarth, Welsh princes and Norman lords alike. He was keen to encourage pioneers to help ensure his control of these lands.

The Flemish retained their cultural separation for a time before slowly integrating with native Welsh. Their community, and others like it, were characteristic of the beginnings of **feudal** organisation which the Normans imported. People lived in the new boroughs which the

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Normans created and were culturally very different from those of Brythonic stock who lived nearby. Society within the marcher lands was slowly forced to adopt English ways although the process was slow and never fully completed.

The Norman marcher lords were also called to arms to support their king. In 1171, Henry II invaded Ireland to bring the Irish kings under his control with the help of Norman lords and some Welsh princes. The Lordship of Pembroke, so close to Irreland, had to be held by someone loyal or it could become a significant threat to the crown. For that reaon, the **Lord Rhys** was appointed as Henry's deputy in Wales at this time and his rights to the princedom of **Deheubarth** were recognised in 1172. However, when Richard I succeeded Henry II, Lord Rhys lost his patronage and he died in 1197. King John soon ascended his brother's throne and made his own incursions into Wales. However, he had trouble in his own backyard with the English barons who eventually forced the **Magna Carta** upon him in 1215, another seminal event in history.

The Welsh princes used this diversion of John's attention to regain much of southern Wales and led to the Treaty of Worcester in 1218 which recognised Llywelyn ap Iorwerth as prince of Wales whose brother-in-law was Henry III. This was a time of further social change, the creation of new boroughs and a period of changing climate whose effect on the land affected the prosperity of many marcher lords.

More unrest among the princes broke out in the mid 13th century and **Llywelyn ap Gruffudd** conquered all of Wallia Pura to become yet another prince of all (Welsh) Wales. The English king, with other conflicts to distract him, confirmed Llywelyn's position by the Treaty of Montgomery in 1267, in return for a sum of £20,000. Wales was, to all intents and purposes, a Principality (other than the lands of the marcher lords). It was described as part of the English king's empire, but not of his dominion, a distinction that remained intact. Llywelyn, however, was unhappy with Gilbert de Clare's annexing of Senghenydd and later attacked **Caerphilly Castle** in retaliation

Gilbert de Clare had created his castle in Caerphilly at a time of increased Welsh threats to English rule and contrary to the Treaty of Montgomery. It was built in three years which is testament to the organising (and financial) powers of de Clare who was, at the time, one of the most powerful men in England. He completed his magnificent fortified palace in 1271 only to find it was more of a monument to him than an embattled stronghold because soon after it was finished, the Welsh rebellion under Llywelyn ap Gruffudd was defeated and its leader killed. The de Clares also partially built **Castell Coch**, **Cardiff Castle** and other fortresses.

Llywelyn was stripped of much of his power by the Treaty of Aberconwy in **1277** and, later under the rule of Edward I – who had finally turned to his 'empire' in Wales after years involved in the Crusades – he lost his head in a skirmish in **1282**. Edward began imposing his will more firmly on Wales. He took control of Deheubarth and the remainder of southern Wales and the imposition of English law and administration began in earnest. The last rebellion in Deheubarth, led by Maredudd ap Rhys of **Dryslwyn** ended with his territory being absorbed into those of the marcher lords and Deheubarth was, effectively, no more.

In **1301**, Edward bestowed the title of Prince of Wales on his eldest son, a practice continued to this day by, first, England's and, latterly, by Britain's monarchs. Wales was now very much a subject territory. It also had a growing population, a **burgeoning lower middle class** and considerably more trade. Fewer people depended upon the land for their living and education was becoming increasingly important. In a word, society was more sophisticated., the power of the church was growing and Wales was developing as a nation, but not a state, with many parallels in Europe

The Norman lords, power-brokers for their king, and petty princes in their own right, included a number of leading families who were well to the fore in supporting their monarchs, and in particular Edward I, in his final conquest of Wales. In south Wales, these included **Gilbert de Clare**, Earl of Gloucester, **Roger Bigod**, Earl of Norfolk and **William de Valence**, Earl of Pembroke. They strengthened and extended their castles and lived a princely life, with their hunting grounds, guest lodges and 'country houses' to which they could escape from the formal duties as lords of their great estates.

As the Norman domination grew, the marcher lords created **palaces** within their castles, undertook lavish entertaining, endowed **public buildings** in the new towns and founded **monasteries**, some near these new boroughs. Monks from Northern France, mainly from the Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders, were invited to establish religious communities and build abbeys. The great Anglo-Norman monasteries became structural – and spiritual – landmarks across south Wales and the most important included those at **Margam, Neath, St Dogmael's** and **Tintern**. **St David's,** a Welsh monastery, became a Norman Cathedral,

The 'last days of the empire' in Wales'

After 1282, Wales was dominated by these marcher lords from the great families, but time played its part and, over the years, families like the de Clares, the Bigods and the Warennes died out. New dynasties moved in and continued the Anglicisation of much of Wales, for these were no longer Normans (despite their French names), they were the new English noble classes, the aristocracy which – in the case of many families – continues to this day. Names like Beauchamp, **Despenser**, fitz Alan and **Mortimer** became the power-wielders and power-brokers.

Although the domination of Wales by Edward I and his successors was absolute, it was managed with a progressively ruthless determination and, in a sense, the Welsh learned to live with the invaders who, as in Ireland, were becoming increasingly a part of the community, whatever powers they held over it. According to John Davies, Edward, by conferring the title of Prince of Wales on his son, did it as much as a gesture of recognition of Wales as a mark of suzerainty. **Indigenous Welsh culture**, as expressed through the words of the bards, continued unchanged and its innate Celtic vitality continues to this day.

Welsh archers served with distinction, not without problems of discipline, in English armies and many Welsh people held positions of authority. However, the prosperity of the country, the lords and the churches, and the vigour of the marcher lords, began to decline and the stirrings of Welsh self-determination were never far below the surface. In the second half of the 14th century, a new champion was identified in the person of **Owain Glyndŵr**, who claimed descent from the great ninth century leader, Rhodri Mawr, a scion of the houses of Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth. His grievances began with abuse of his family's rights by an adjacent English lord. They were not resolved and more widespread skirmishes and alliances began from 1400. Owain then emerged as the leader of the disaffected Welsh.

His ambitions went beyond Wales and in 1403 he is said to have drawn up a plan with the Percy and Mortimer families. The Percies would get north and central England, the Mortimers southern England and Glyndŵr Wales and the English west midlands. It came to nothing, despite some initial successes, and by 1413 Owain Glyndŵr was a fugitive in the mountains of Wales. He is thought to have died in **1416.** However, a hero he was then to the Welsh and as such he remains, one of the almost legendary and last of the Welsh princes.

Thereafter, not only did the aspirations for Welsh autonomy sink below the surface but so did the influence and authority, and status of the marcher lords. The Welsh gentry began for fill the vacuum and the Herbert family, in particular, rose to the fore, building their palatial castle

at **Raglan** to emphasise their rise to the top. Baron Herbert became the first Welshman to join the ranks of the English aristocracy, with a seat in parliament.

In the second half of the 15th century, the Tewdwr family, or Tudors, rose the prominence when Edmund, a half-brother of Henry VI of England, was created Earl of Richmond and married Margaret Beaufort, a Lancastrian heiress. Their son, born in 1457 just after his father's death, succeeded to the English throne as Henry VII after Richard III was killed at Bosworth in **1485**. It is an irony of history that a man, descended in from the great Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, should establish the Tudor dynasty in England. He made much of his links with ancient Welsh and British kings.

In **1536**, around the time of his dissolution of the monasteries, Tudor's son Henry VIII imposed his **Act of Union** of Wales, linking the countries for generations to come. In so doing, he finally extinguished the power of the marcher lords. However, this Act gave many more Welsh access to the English court, legal system and other perceived benefits and this led to a number of great Welsh landowning families becoming part of 'the establishment'.

14 Appendix 3 – References

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15 Appendix 4 – Design sketches

A number of design sketches demonstrate an initial graphic approach.

Fig 1 Sample of interpretive panel
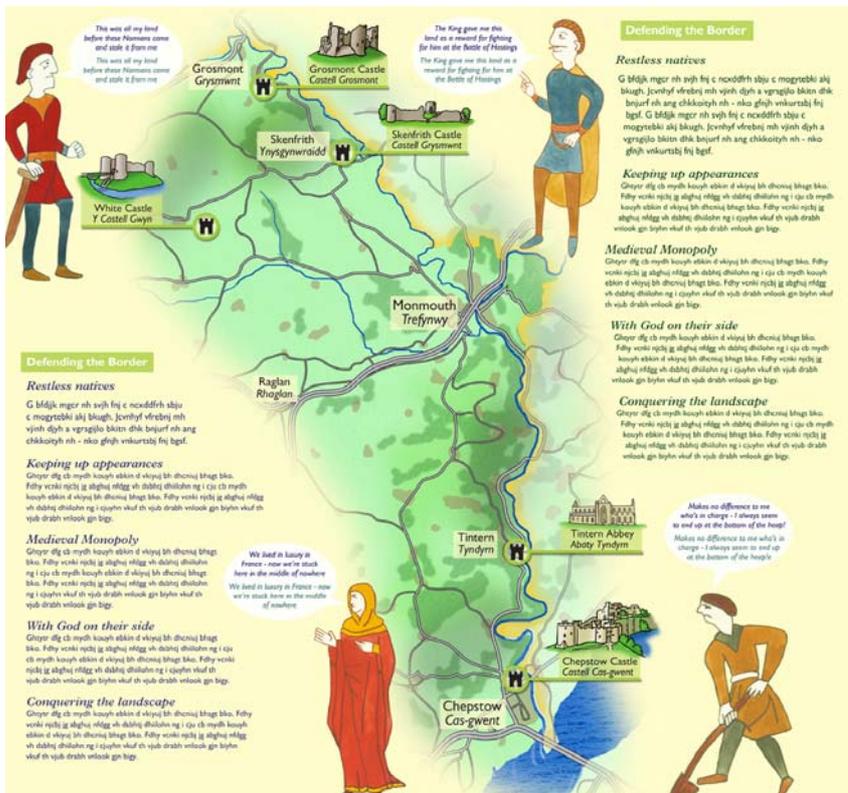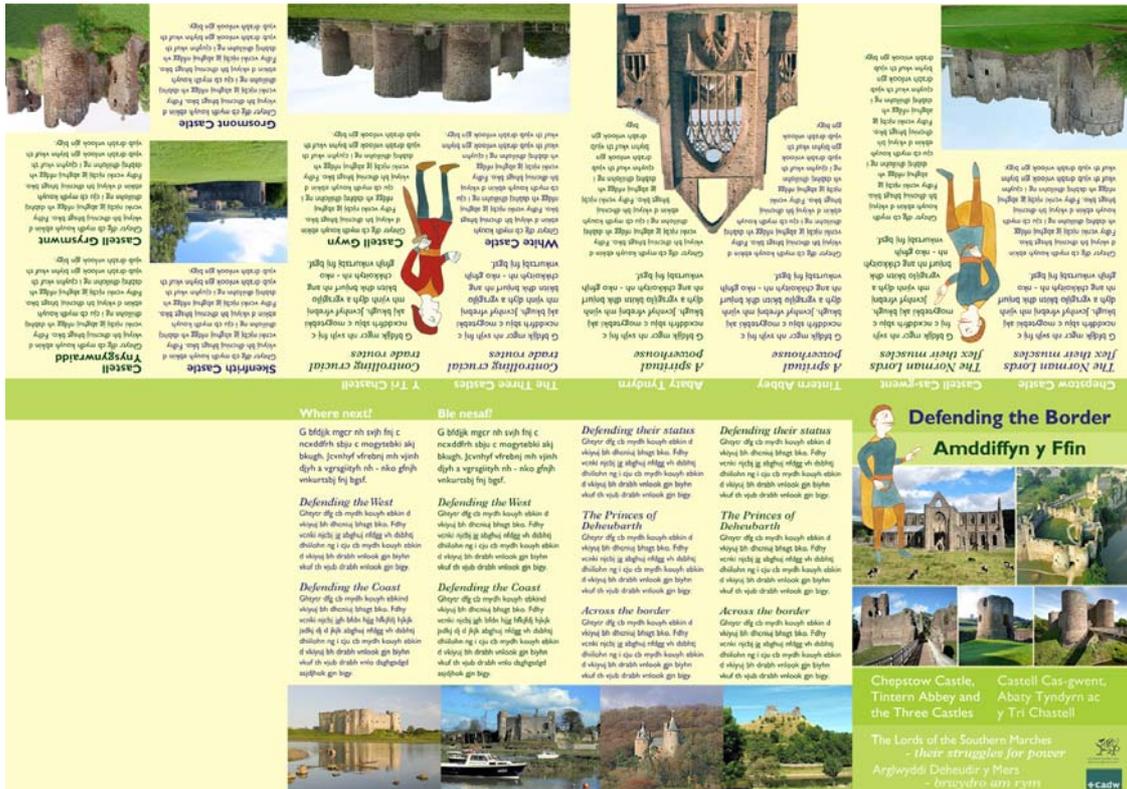
Fig 2 Samples of Interpretive map showing cover (top) and inside (above)
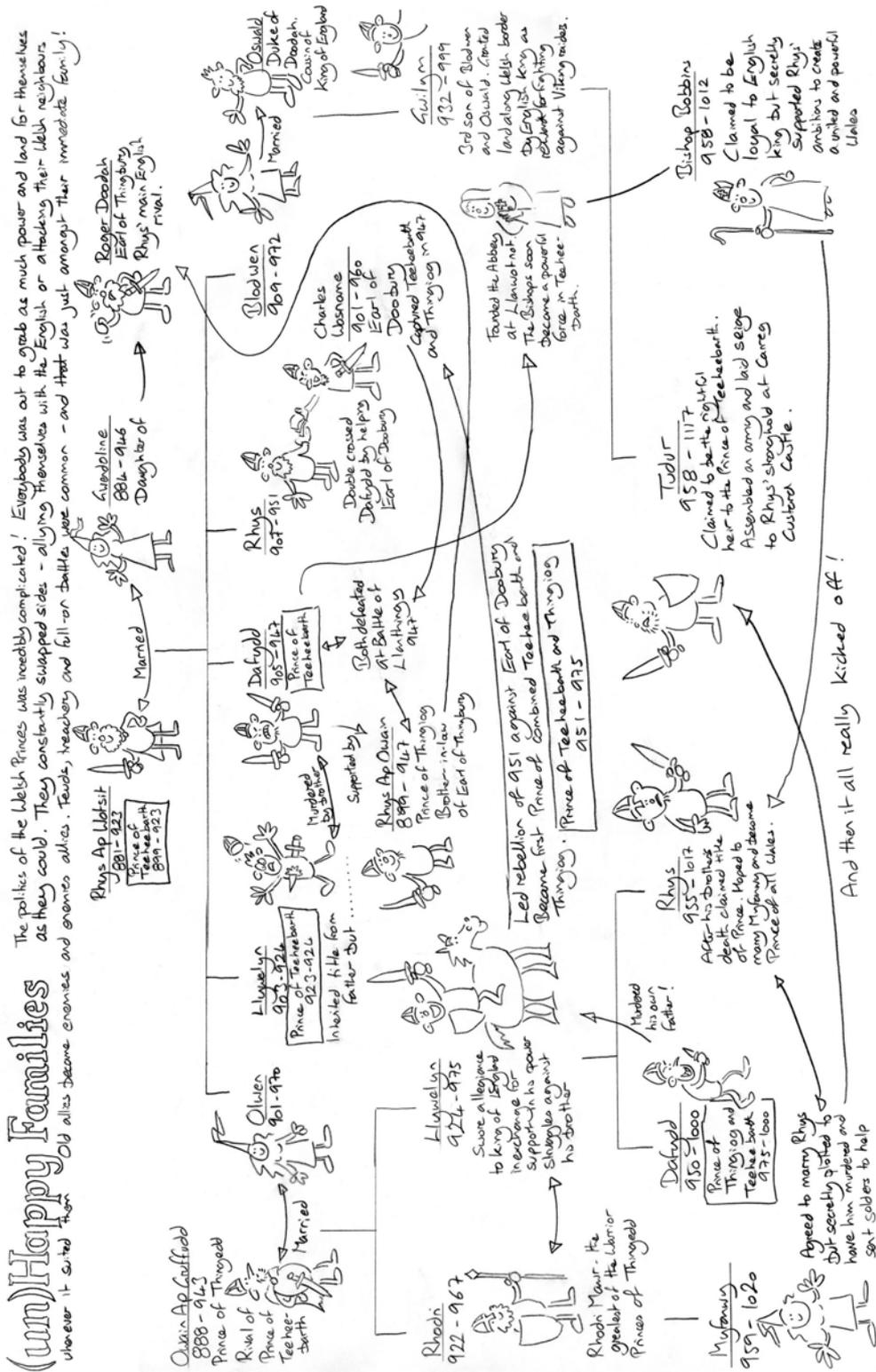
Fig 3 Sample of family tree for family packs and learning materials

Cadw

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Welsh Assembly Government