

Bangor University

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

**The making and remaking of Gwent:
tribe, civitas, kingdom and lordship. Cultural transition or outside imposition?**

Thomas, Paul

Award date:
2022

Awarding institution:
Bangor University

[Link to publication](#)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 19. Apr. 2024

The making and remaking of Gwent: tribe, *civitas*, kingdom and lordship. Cultural transition or outside imposition?

Paul Edgar Thomas

A submission presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bangor University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

'I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. All other sources are acknowledged by bibliographic references. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree unless, as agreed by the University, for approved dual awards. I confirm that I am submitting this work with the agreement of my supervisor'.

August 2022

Contents	
Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
Aims and objectives	6
Study introduction	7
Chapter 1: foundational literature.....	11
Introduction.....	12
Gwentian studies	14
Celticity.....	18
Continuity or discontinuity after Rome?	25
Early medieval Wales.....	28
Arthur.....	32
Chapter 2: forebears and enduring traditions.....	35
Introduction.....	36
The Silures	36
The Silures in Classical literature	36
Silurian monumentality	37
Transhumance farming and Gwent	57
Living well	63
Living together	84
Silurian material culture	98
Silurian rituals, hoards, deposition and feasting.....	100
Silurian funerary ritual.....	115
Silurian holy ground and indigenous divinities	117
The Silurian-Roman war	124
The aftermath of the Silurian-Roman war and <i>Venta Silurum</i>.....	135
Silurian and Roman acculturation	141
Conclusion	142
Chapter 3: the matter of Gwent.....	150
Introduction.....	151
Western Britain	154
Military organisation in Wales <i>circa</i> CE 410 and the <i>comes tractus maritimis per Britannias</i> (Count of the Coastal Zones for Britain)	159
The emergence of Gwent	161
The built environment.....	164
<i>Venta Silurum</i>.....	164
<i>Isca</i> and its <i>canabae</i>.....	179
Other urban settlements.....	184

Rural settlement forms	185
Oligarchy to aristocracy?	195
The <i>Liber Landavensis</i>	227
Paramount kings, mesne kings, overkings and lordships: patterns of power?	231
Early Church development in Gwent.....	236
Holy wells and springs: unofficial Christianity? (1).....	256
Yew trees: unofficial Christianity? (2)	259
Official Christianity	261
The early medieval landscape of Gwent (1): environmental evidence	268
The early medieval landscape of Gwent (2): boundaries	278
The early medieval landscape of Gwent (3): cantrefi and cwmydoedd	280
The early medieval landscape of Gwent (4): new settlement patterns?.....	291
Economy, subsistence and society (1): the Cyfnerth code	335
Economy, subsistence and society (2): faunal evidence	341
Economy, subsistence and society (3): material culture	359
Economy, subsistence and society (4): wider production and exchange networks..	437
Economy, subsistence and society (5): money and exchange.....	467
Economy, subsistence and society (6): the multiple estate system and Gwent	481
Gwent's monarchy before the Normans: an early state?.....	503
The Church in Gwent: development and effects	517
Wars between Welsh kingdoms, Anglo-Saxon raids and the Norman incursion	531
Conclusion	542
Chapter 4: continuity, celticity and Gwent	546
Introduction.....	547
Inherited traditions (1) myths.....	547
Inherited traditions (2) Arthur and Gwent	554
Inherited traditions (3) personal names	559
Inherited traditions (4) multiple images, triplism and triads	561
Inherited traditions (5) aspects of material culture over time	567
Inherited traditions (6) Silurian monumentality and the Silurian landscape.....	573
Inherited traditions (7) a Celtic Church?	577
Inherited traditions (7) customs and laws.....	578
Study conclusion	594
Glossary of Welsh words used within the text	609
List of abbreviations	611
List of figures	612
Bibliography	621

Appendix 1	773
Defended enclosures located in Gwent.....	774
Appendix 2	795
Romano-British settlement sites in Gwent	796
Appendix 3	797
The charters of the <i>Liber Landavensis</i>	798
Appendix 4	807
Early church sites of Gwent.....	808
Appendix 5	828
Triads in the Cyfnerth code.....	829

Acknowledgements

This study is the result of many years of research. I recognise the debt I owe to my supervisors Doctor Euryng Roberts and most especially Professor Raimund Karl for their unstinting encouragement and advice. Other former tutors and mentors I would like to express my appreciation to are Professor Miranda Aldhouse-Green, Dr Richard Allen, Professor Martin Bell, Dr Nick Carter, Professor Chris Evans, Professor Madeleine Gray, Les James, Professor Raymond Howell and Dr Rachel Lock-Lewis. I thank my examiners Dr Christopher Snyder and Dr Gary Robinson along with Professor Tony Claydon for their time and consideration. However, this study is dedicated to my wife Kathleen whose love, patience and practical support without doubt has allowed me to research and produce it.

Abstract

This investigation into Silurian identity over time and the wider academic debates surrounding the multiple estate and Celticity consists of an introduction, four chapters and study conclusion supported by appendices. The study places emphasis on patterns of long-term cultural continuity and their relationship with Gwent. These are drawn from a variety of sources derived from material culture, other evidence of land management strategies, the comments of Classical authors, later medieval documents and secondary interpretations over time to the present.

Whether certain ancient British communities could be termed Celtic or not has been an ongoing debate since data appeared which challenged older interpretations from at least the 1950s onwards. The literature demonstrates that British Iron Age and early medieval studies continually redefines itself as new evidence emerges. This study is related to this debate as it attempts to determine if Gwent could be considered Celtic or not, and one consequence of ongoing discussion means that subsequent studies of this period must engage with this question.

The data provided by earlier research suggests that defining Gwent as Celtic is possible, and that its landscape was managed through multiple estates provides a starting point. However, when combined with newer evidence and analysis, a picture of Siluria and the Silures from the earliest Iron Age until the coming of the Normans emerges which suggests, with caveats that both should probably be considered so.

Aims and objectives

The primary aims of this study of Gwent and its early history from *circa* BCE 650 to *circa* 1300 CE:

1. is to investigate evidence of discrete and wider Gwentian identity derived from prehistory and Roman control onwards;
2. to ascertain as far as possible, if the emergence of the Gwentian kingdom and its considerable longevity could be viewed as a consequence of cultural continuity from earlier periods;
3. to determine the causes of its slow decline.

Study introduction

As will be discussed, Gwent appears to be a product of earlier Silurian ethnogenesis and later Celtic influences, Roman occupation and cultural conflation, followed by a transition resulting in an independent and occasionally semi-independent entity which functioned successfully for many centuries. Trends emerging from archaeological and textual evidence can be measured and interpreted until its eventual extinction in the thirteenth-century CE. Overall, the evidence suggests long-term cultural continuity.

The chronological span of this survey of Gwent is vast and exactitude is problematical. Furthermore, select references to other locales are essential in furthering the story of Gwent. For chronological purposes, Gwent's Iron Age can be considered as beginning with the watery depositions at Llyn Fawr (*circa* 650 BCE) and ending with its Romano-British interlude (*circa* CE 48 – *circa* CE 400). The Gwentian Middle Age can be measured from the point formal Roman control began to end and *circa* 400 CE serves as a marker for the beginning of this part of the study. The period is subdivided into the earlier Middle Age *circa* CE 400-1000 and the later Middle Age (*circa* CE 1000-1500).

Moreover, this approach engages this study with wider ongoing academic debates of Celticity to (i) evaluate and explain earlier historical periods; (ii) continuity or discontinuity before, during and after Rome and (iii) the validity of Welsh law and other Welsh sources when applied as a primary source (especially in the form of multiple estates and post-Roman Celticity). Each will be considered in Gwentian and wider contexts in this study.

In terms of the former, presenting an explanatory model of Celtic identity in a Gwentian context is difficult as this classification has meant different things within different contexts over an extended period. For this study, the terms Celtic and Celticity are viewed as a signifier for Iron Age peoples who shared some commonalities (although it is clear, they often displayed particular traits). Examples could include being called Celts by others in the historical sources; producing or sharing similar material culture forms; sharing similar cultural or ritual practices; building similar monuments; appearing to have adopted a certain physical appearance; speaking similar languages and who were located outside of the Classical world of Greece and Rome within Europe and the Near East.

It does this without implying any specific interrelations or connections between any of these elements by using the terms and does so in the absence of any other acceptable alternative model, nor a shared emic (ethnic or other) identity between all communities referred to as Celtic in this study. Therefore, from the perspective of this research, retaining the Celtic description provides a useful conceptual framework to work within. Consequently, this study will argue, in terms of Gwent and the Silures that the most attractive interpretative model is one of a durable insular society, but one, which was influenced by external factors and should be considered on balance as Celtic.

The debate of continuity or discontinuity after Rome and the validity of certain Welsh primary sources which this study attempts to address have received considerable attention. However, the range of blanket explanations which have been produced to account for the profound transformation which occurred are unacceptable within the context of what were quite diverse regions. In a Gwentian context and in the light of

the available material culture, the notion of long-term continuity from the Iron Age to the earlier Middle Age and onwards, may be supported in at least five main ways:

1. The evidence indicates that the tribal identity of the Silures people was maintained throughout the Roman interlude despite long-term cultural conflation during the Romano-British period. For example, the Latin name *Venta Silurum* for the *civitas*-capital at Caerwent confirms the tribal name described by the Romans had been retained despite the long and bitter conflict between the local Silures and Romans described by Tacitus.¹
2. The Paulinus inscription recovered from Caerwent offers an indication that the *civitas* should be seen as the centre of the tribal territory which was run by an *ordo* or council, which could pass some local laws or decrees on behalf of all Silures rather than just for the town.²
3. Roman gods were twinned with local deities rather than displacing them, as demonstrated by the Mars-Lenus and Mars-Ocelus combinations found in Caerwent and the retention of much older separate Iron Age deities which were represented by the Caerwent stone head and mother goddess figures found at this site.³
4. In post-Roman times, there was a regional king who *circa* CE 490-540 gifted land at Caerwent to the Church; his name was Caradoc ap Ynyr. Caradoc or Caradog is the Welsh form of Caratacus, the British prince who had previously led the Silures and other tribes against the Claudian invasion in CE 43 and afterwards. This name was important in Gwent's early Middle Age

¹ (Chapter 2: 124-135)

² (Figure 43: 138)

³ (Chapters 2: 120-124, 4: 561-566)

history and other Caradocs and other key Welsh personal names are discussed in the text.⁴

5. Finally, multi-period archaeological assemblages from excavated sites such as Thornwell Farm, Chepstow and other sites provide good evidence of cultural continuity from before, during and after the Roman occupation.⁵ This evidence may indicate aspects of the unique tribal identity of the Silures that survived into the medieval period. If this was so, it is possible their laws and customs did so too and were subsequently incorporated into the medieval Welsh law codes.⁶

It should be noted that Gwent as a geographic unit is now defined by the boundaries of the present preserved county. However, flexibility for the purpose of discussion and analysis is required, as over time the borders of the Gwentian kingdom changed and it was intermittently in union with Glywysing (later Morgannwg or Glamorgan), Ergyng (later Archenfield, Herefordshire) and at least some parts of Cantref Coch (Gloucestershire).

In addition, the work is cross-referenced throughout (i.e. Chapter and page number or figure and page number in the footnotes). This study utilises the Harvard in text citation system, with longer references entered as a footnote for ease of reading. Welsh words are not italicised within the text as they have an established use in English when writing about Wales and matters Welsh. A glossary provides clarification for those unfamiliar with these terms.⁷

⁴ (Chapter 4: 559-561)

⁵ (Figure 10: 53)

⁶ (Chapters 2: 57-98, 3: 195-227, 335-340, 4: 577-591)

⁷ (Glossary: 609-610)

Chapter 1: foundational literature

Introduction

A version of the progress of prehistoric and ultimately Iron Age study in Wales is offered by Donald Moore (1976) in which he considered how prehistoric monuments were first recognised, recorded and how they were explained (Moore, 1976: 191-221). Moore's (1976) overview has been furthered by accounts of archaeological excavations and newer historical research in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries CE. This research has produced a body of literature which allows a useful narrative to be constructed of research into Gwent's Iron Age, Roman interlude, its re-emergence as an independent polity and slow decline. Evidence derived and measured over this *longue durée* (e.g. Braudel, 1982) reveals how this culture functioned, persevered and was transformed over time. Furthermore, the social processes and social structures which evolved allow detailed interpretive models to be derived.

However, interpretations of the past are often debated and shape how history is reported. For example, the study of the Celts has been the subject of historical and Classical research for at least five hundred years. In offering an interpretation of Europe's Celtic Iron Age past, earlier scholars developed a narrative based on basic primary source material associated with social and archaeological theories which developed contemporaneously from the sixteenth-century CE onwards.⁸ Consequently, a cumulative historical narrative developed, based on an accretion of concepts and suppositions. In Britain, research has challenged these views and has

⁸ (e.g. Abercromby, 1921; Bale, 1546; Buchanan, 1582; Camden, 1586; Crawford, 1922; Enderbie, 1661; Evans, 1890; Hawkes, 1931; Kenyon, 1952; Leeds, 1933; Lhyud, 1707; Parsons, 1767; Peake, 1922; Pezron, 1703; Pritchard, 1813, 1831; Rhys, 1882; Rice-Holmes, 1907; Wheeler, 1935, 1936, 1937) (for a full discussion see Thomas, 2019: 293-363)

generated considerable debate determining if it is justifiable to use the term Celt or Celtic to describe certain ancient British communities.⁹

In addition, interpretative issues have arisen over the mechanism or mechanisms which brought about the ending of Roman Britain and what followed. Older culture models promulgated invading Germanic barbarians as a prime causation of systemic change.¹⁰ However, when archaeology demonstrated abandonment and neglect, rather than cataclysmic raiding was responsible for the demise of many late fourth-century CE towns and villas other explanatory models were devised. Some concepts suggested Roman Britain underwent a socio-economic collapse in the early fifth-century CE and led to a power vacuum which Anglo-Saxons exploited. In this modelling Anglo-Saxons were no longer viewed as invaders or migrants and were seen as an elite who offered identity, ideology and leadership.¹¹ Other models have argued some regions of Britain free of Anglo-Saxon material culture must have taken a different path or older Celtic societies re-emerged and in a Gwentian context is an attractive model (e.g. White, 2007). Further refinement of the evidence has seen the end of Roman Britain polarised into those who favour a short and sharp end and those who consider *romanitas* continued in other forms (e.g. Dark, 1994, 2000; Faulkner, 2004a, 2004b: 5-12).

Early units of landholding in early medieval Britain have become known as multiple estates. A body of research developed by Glanville Jones since the 1960s has shown the importance of the concept of the multiple (sometimes known as the composite, federal, complex or discrete) estate. The term has been used to describe

⁹ (e.g. Chapman, 1997: 1-265; James, 1999: 26-31, 41-42; Collis, 2011: 56, 63, 81-83, 93-98, 102)

¹⁰ (e.g. Alcock, 1971; Bryce, 1851; Collingwood & Myres, 1936; Myres, 1989)

¹¹ (e.g. Esmond-Cleary, 1989; Halsall, 2007: 367; Higham, 1992; Hills, 2003; Lucy, 2000: 155-186)

a highly regular system of ownership and production. Its structure was drawn from descriptions of royal estates in Welsh law and its most distinctive feature of hierarchies of settlement describes links between outlying settlements and important central places. These, sometimes enduring over extended periods, reveal a landscape organised in the interests of a minority able to control and exploit groups of its inhabitants.¹² However, this model has been criticised since its inception.¹³ The chief reason appears to be Jones' use of examples from the later Middle Age (*circa* 1000-1500 CE) when the relationships within them had been transformed by changes in the status of the peasantry and the nature of lordship in the post-Conquest period. More recent research has argued for the term to be removed from narratives of Welsh history which consider the early medieval period (Seaman, 2012, 182-184).

Gwentian studies

The historiographical and archaeological record of south-eastern Wales is at first slight and has chiefly focused on Glamorgan which has been the subject of a survey by the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments in Wales (RCAHMW, 1976 a & b) and a Glamorgan County History volume (Savory, 1984). Conversely, no such survey has been undertaken for Gwent and its own equivalent County Histories were only published at the beginning of this century (i.e. Aldhouse-Green & Howell, 2004). This literature has been further developed with other studies of the Silures (Gwilt, 2007; Howell, 2006).

¹² (Jones, 1961a: 221-232, 1961b: 174-181, 1961c: 174-181, 1971a: 251-267, 1972: 291-382, 1975: 15-40, 1976: 15-40, 1985a: 352-363, 1985b: 155-169, 1989: 177-197, 1992: 95-118)

¹³ (e.g. Alcock, 1961: 51-55; Davies, 1990, 2001: 1-18; Gregson, 1985: 339-351; Hadley, 1996: 3-15; Seaman, 2012: 163-185)

Another study (Lancaster, 2014) offers a model of a possible local socio-political structure for southern Wales during the period under review and suggests the Silures maintained several independent local groups whilst sharing many commonalities which united them within a single culture (Lancaster, 2014: 3-54). Furthermore, there is good artefactual evidence supporting this view. For example, research suggests patterns of martial display in Siluria (Davis & Gwilt, 2008) which take the form of helmets, chariot or cart fittings, shale bracelets, shale armlets and torcs have been recovered all over the Silurian region at Caldicot, Caerleon, Caerwent, Cowbridge, Dinas Powys, Llanmaes, Loughor and Seven Sisters. In addition, if this kind of display was related to feasting there is further good evidence in the form of decorated tankard handles. All can be linked to Silurian resistance to Rome (Thomas, 2019: 116-186).

In a Gwentian context, more recent research (Thomas, 2019) plotting Iron Age sites, (commonly called hill or promontory forts) revealed extensive morphological diversity of enclosed settlements in Gwent where small, medium and large sizes were located in both defensive and non-defensive situations alongside the variable occurrence of vallate, bivallate and multivallate examples (Thomas, 2019: 48-76). Ray Howell and Joshua Pollard (2004) consider these sites 'while visibly defensive' could represent 'statements of community effort and mobilisation'.

They further argue their appearance may reflect changes in Gwent's social structure from being built around 'relatively independent family groups' living in farmsteads to 'one in which the definition of larger social groups became more marked' possibly to form a backdrop for displays of 'conspicuous consumption' or a 'bounded space' for socially exclusive or inclusive events (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 147).

Only five of Gwent's larger enclosed settlements have been excavated on any significant scale and only one to modern standards. These were Llanmelin (1933 and 2012), Sudbrook (1939), Twyn y Gaer (1960s-1970s), Coed y Bwnydd (1977) and Lodge Wood (2000).¹⁴ In addition, a geophysical survey was undertaken in 2005 at the Great House enclosure in Llansoy (Belcher, 2005: 1-86). Defended enclosures are considered in prehistoric, Roman and early medieval contexts in this study.¹⁵

Furthermore, environmental factors have preserved the organic remains of wooden structures which rarely survive in the area's associated dry-land contexts and represent in archaeological terms, Gwent's best understood landscape from the Bronze Age onwards.¹⁶ In addition, beyond this coastal fringe in southern Gwent, there is evidence of a variety of settlement sites including Abernant Farm, Church Farm, Thornwell Farm and Stoop Hill. Excavations have revealed datable phases of circular buildings, locally made ceramics and faunal remains.¹⁷

Such sites from the Levels and its associated landscape beyond the coastal plain seemingly represent examples of lower hierarchical settlement. Combined, they provide information contextualising roundhouse occupation over an extended period and facilitate an understanding of the strength of native tradition and cultural continuity in smaller rural locations between the Iron Age, Romano-British and early Middle Age periods. Overall, findings suggest central and northern Gwent through the Usk river valley was densely settled and farmed during the later Iron Age with a dearth of visible **upland settlement** (Thomas, 2019: 48-76). These and other aspects

¹⁴ (Babbidge, 1977; Howell & Pollard, 2004; Nash-Williams, 1933; Nash-Williams, 1939a; Pannet & Pudney, 2013; Probert, 1976)

¹⁵ (Chapters 2: 37-56, 3: 291-335)

¹⁶ (Bell, 2013; Bell & Caseldine & Neumann 2000: 136-154; Bell & Neumann, 1997: 95)

¹⁷ (Davies & Lynch, 2000: 171; Howell & Pollard, 2004: 146; Hughes, 1996: 89-90; Vyner & Allen, 1988: 67-84; Thomas, 2019: 48-76; Yates, 2001: 13)

of Silurian material culture and monumentality demonstrate apparent cultural continuity from the Iron Age to the late Middle Age and are examined in detail.¹⁸

Studies of Gwent during the Roman interlude generally comprise research focusing on either Caerleon and the Roman army, or Caerwent and its role as the *civitas*-capital.¹⁹ Others tend to be part of wider regional studies or histories of south Wales or Wales generally,²⁰ whilst some use Gwentian artefactual evidence as part of thematic research.²¹ Combined the evidence reveals after the extended Silurian-Roman war, changes to Silurian society included impositions such as the *territorium*, fort construction, urbanisation, roads and the introduction of a money-based economy. All these factors must have wrought changes in how Silurian culture functioned and how they perceived themselves. However, despite long cultural conflation other evidence indicates tribal identity survived.²²

Likewise, studies of Gwent after Rome have been neglected and tend to reflect wider research concerns with only some regional synthesis evident. Continuity (Howell, 2000, 2004, 2006) and transition (Seaman, 2010a) have been discussed as has the emergence of the Church and some societal aspects of pre-Norman Gwent, Glamorgan and Wales.²³

¹⁸ (Chapters 2: 37-56, 3: 291-466)

¹⁹ (e.g. Brewer, 1993, 2006; Burnham & Wachter, 1990; Casey, 2010; Guest, 2004; Guest, Luke & Pudney, 2011; Nash-Williams, 1954, 1956; Simpson, 1963; Wachter, 1964, 1997, 1998)

²⁰ (e.g. Arnold & Davies, 2000; Aldhouse-Green & Howell, 2004; Howell, 2006)

²¹ (e.g. Davies, 1995; Green, 1992; Guest, 2008; Jarrett, 2014; Manning, 2004; Symons, 2009; Thomas, 2019; Webster, 2003)

²² (Chapters 2: 141-142, 4: 546-578)

²³ (Davies, 1970, 1973, 1978, 1982, 1990; Knight, 2004, 2013; Longley, 2004; Nelson, 1966; Petts, 2009; RCAHMW 1976; Wood, 2004)

Celticity

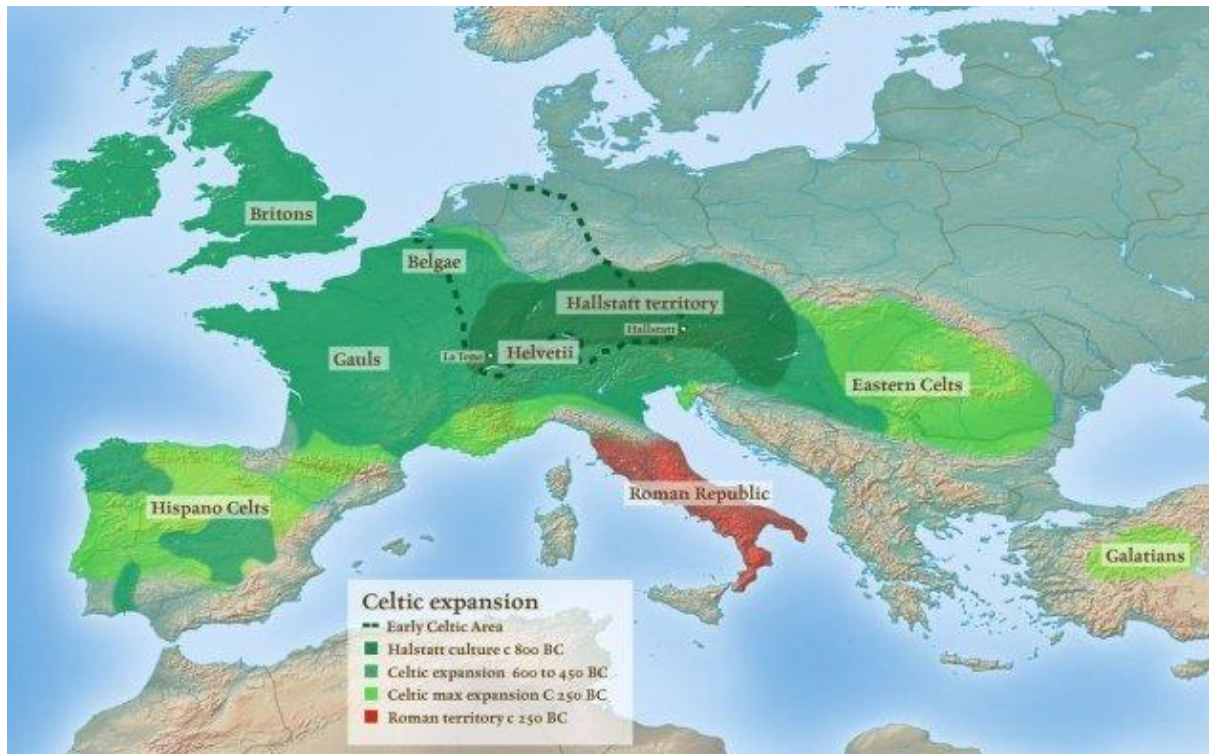


Figure 1

The traditional view of the Celtic world as described in the text (Journal. IE)

Since the abandonment of the ABC scheme (Hawkes, 1931: 60-97, 1959: 170-182; Hodson 1960: 138-140 1962: 140-155, 1964: 99-110), the scrutiny of data and its interpretation from 1960 onwards²⁴ has seen authors offering conclusions which could be categorised as (i) those including theories placing the Celts in Britain based on information gleaned from various combinations of Classical sources, linguistics and chiefly continental archaeology;²⁵ (ii) those offering theories which abandoned Classical sources as factual and instead chiefly relied on combinations of archaeological finds linked to linguistic evidence to place the Celts in Britain (e.g. Cunliffe, 1999, 2001; Raftery, 1994); (iii) those offering theories containing the idea

²⁴ (for a full discussion see Thomas, 2019: 293-363)

²⁵ (e.g. Chadwick & Dillon, 1967; Ó hÓgáin, 2006; Powell, 1958, 1980)

that the Celts never came to the British Isles at all (e.g. Chapman, 1992; Collis, 2011) and (iv) those offering theories which suggest Britain and other certain Atlantic communities were the original Celtic homeland (e.g. Koch & Cunliffe, 2012, 2013, 2016).

Authors from the first category reflect earlier theories linked to invasions, which Thomas Powell (1958, 1980) referred to as migrations (Powell, 1980: 49-58). Powell's (1958) study was originally written before the invasion theory was discredited and the second revised edition was hardly changed. Furthermore, it does not mention any developments which occurred in British Iron Age studies between 1958 and 1980. Nora Chadwick and Myles Dillon's (1967) joint study followed earlier theories and argued that 'from their homes in central Europe' the Celts spread westward to the Atlantic coast, then south to Spain and north to Britain. They observe that Celtic settlement of Britain was difficult to trace and repeat the invasion hypothesis in detail but note contemporaneous archaeologists were 'of the opinion' there were no large-scale immigrations into Britain between 2000-600 BCE. They instead suggest the invasions occurred before or after these dates (Chadwick & Dillon, 1967: 3-6). Dáithí Ó hÓgáin's (2006) account recounted the period from the late Bronze Age to the early medieval period. His discussion of the earliest part of his study to La Tène (*circa* 100 BCE) employs some archaeological evidence (Ó hÓgáin, 2006: 1-7), thereafter relied exclusively on Classical sources. (Ó hÓgáin, 2006: 13-16) to support an invasion hypothesis. However, he does not evidence his interpretation of events after Pytheas' time with sources.

These studies indicate the invasion theory did not fall out of use but was modified by some prehistorians as the years progressed. Ó hÓgáin's (2006) interpretation was the most archaic since he relied almost exclusively on Classical sources and

especially so, when compared to Powell (1958, 1980), Chadwick and Dillon (1967) whose works were written much earlier. In addition, he ignored contemporaneous and readily available source material of other scholars. This must have been a conscious choice as there is little possibility of any researchers in this field being ignorant of the discussion and arguments put forward since the 1960s. If this was so, then he chose to restate what was already known, even though it was no longer held to be dependable in wider academic circles and did so using the same research angle and sources as those who had gone before him. Furthermore, his writing contains no references to the Celticity debate.

The second group of interpretations reflect a more diverse base of knowledge as the growth and examination of sources available for study increased. Many of these works were published in the last years of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries CE. A characteristic of these authors is a tendency to acknowledge the conclusions reached may not be definitive, that further research was required, and in this way, they separate themselves from the other categories.

Barry Raftery's (1994) interpretation provided evidence of archaeological research beginning to change studies of the Celts and argued against invasions as there was no definitive proof (Raftery, 1994: 26). In terms of Celticity, his discussion of the terms Celt and Celtic suggested the main problem was not the terminology, but rather there was too little material evidence to draw definite conclusions and what was available was too differentiated (Raftery, 1994: 226). Barry Cunliffe in his older (1999) work consistently described the inhabitants of Ireland and Britain as Celts. He emphasised this was not derived from the Classical sources as they never described them in this way (Cunliffe, 1999: 145-147). In his later (2001) study, he abandoned the invasion theory on the basis that it was not necessary and there was no

archaeological evidence to support it. Instead, he proposed that Atlantic coastal communities were linked together through maritime trade, and this was important enough for a common culture and language to emerge locally. He hypothesised if communities had close contact over four thousand years or more, this could explain the emergence of Celts in the west of Britain and could be proved archaeologically (Cunliffe, 2001: 293-297). Celticity is discussed in both studies, and he separated the terms Celt and Celtic, suggesting the former is a historic term and the latter a linguistic one (Cunliffe, 1999: 146-147; Cunliffe, 2001: 295).

These studies represent a change in focus when compared to earlier works presented above (including Ó hÓgáin) from largely considering written sources, supplemented with archaeology and philology, to predominantly archaeological ones to reach an informed judgement. In addition, they represent an accumulation of research gathered in the second half of the twentieth-century CE dependable enough to challenge older assumptions.

The new discoveries have led other scholars to reach other conclusions suggesting theories for example, which contained the idea that the Celts never came to the British Isles at all. This trend in Celtic studies of Celtic denial consists of definite statements and gives little room for doubting their veracity. The theories derived from the authors of this category appear to be designed to provoke, with archaeology and social anthropology supplying the greater part of the evidence supporting their models.

For instance, Malcolm Chapman's (1997) anthropological study concluded the Celts were never in Britain and Ireland. His focus was to overturn the theories as they stood, he thought the sources available to him suggested they never existed properly

as a people at all, that their archaeological trace did not prove anything and consequently, there was no need to believe any aspect of the theories which had gone before (Chapman, 1997: 1-265). His study was the inspiration for Simon James' (1999) and John Collis' (2011) reinterpretations of Britain's pre-Roman past. James (1999) argues the Celts were a modern construct originating from the eighteenth-century CE, that there was no basis for their existence and especially so in the British Isles where he claimed, 'the insular Ancient Celts never existed' (James, 1999: 16). Furthermore, the naming of insular languages as Celtic 'around CE 1700 was no inevitable choice' and depended on contemporary assumptions about the remote past (James, 1999: 18). He rejected or discredited any form of invasion or migration theory and offered an alternative early history of the British and Irish islands, where the population developed independently to a large degree of continental influences (James, 1999: 26-31, 41-42). This conclusion has parallels with Cunliffe's (2012a) suggestion of the Celts appearing in the west of Britain.

Collis' (2011) study differs from Chapman and James' as he does not offer an alternative theory, nor directly attack or attempt to discredit other models. In addition, he described Classical, linguistic and archaeological sources to determine who the Celts were, where they were located and when they existed. However, he is most critical in his explanation of the way modern theories have been formed based on eighteenth and nineteenth-century CE ideas which he asserts laid the foundations of modern views of the Celts, Celtic languages and interpretations of Celtic material culture. He suggested these were uncritical at best, occasionally nothing more than a jumble of ideas based on coincidences or misunderstandings and saw them as an accumulation of the social, cultural, historical or political views of certain individuals. Simply categorised, these were Henri de Jubainville for archaeology, George Buchanan, Paul-Yves Pezron and Edward Lhuyd for the terms now associated with

modern Celts and Pezron for links between language and race. In terms of material culture, he argues that notions of Celtic art were defined on the continent, but the link to Britain and Ireland was created using the Tara brooch and Battersea shield out of the idea that certain art forms had to be Celtic, therefore the languages spoken in the areas were Celtic too (Collis, 2011: 56, 63, 81-83, 93-98,102).

Differences in modern theories are illustrated by Collis' (2011) inclusion of several maps. His division is primarily based on views of Celtic locations in the fifth-century BCE and offered three general interpretations (Collis, 2011: 97-128). The first interpretation placed the Celts in central and northern France and was based on information derived from Christopher Pare and Amédée Thierry (Collis, 2011: 98). The second tranche placed the Celts in northern Gaul and southern Germany and equated to the knowledge derived from historical sources and the spread of La Tène art. It was connected to authors including the Megaws, Raftery and Pierre-Marie Duval. He thought of this as the most common interpretation (Collis, 2011: 93, 96). The third placed the Celts in northern Gaul, southern Germany and Bohemia and was associated with Cunliffe, James and Simon Haywood. It was chiefly based on archaeological finds supplemented with tribal names and other elements of Classical evidence (Collis, 2011: 97). He favours the first, has reservations about the second and thought the third was 'least likely' (Collis, 2011: 127-128). In terms of the insular Celts, he followed the discussions of Cunliffe, James and Colin Renfrew and acknowledged common cultures on both sides of the English Channel but rejected population movements implied by invasion or migrationist theories (Collis, 2011: 182-183).

These works reveal a dissatisfaction with what Collis (2011) has termed 'flawed models' (Collis, 2011: 229) and the idea the term Celt proposed by Chapman and

James should be reduced to one of little importance is a recent one. It appeared because research advances led to aspects of the subject matter's terminology becoming regarded as obsolete. However, the certainty with which Celtic sceptics make their claims is likely to see this phenomenon a short-lived one, as theories associated with Celtic studies change relatively quickly and unwavering and determined stances such as these will need to adapt accordingly when faced with new evidence.

An example could include the recent developments suggesting Britain and other certain Atlantic communities were the original Celtic homeland. John Koch and Cunliffe's collaborations *Celtic from the West I-III* (2010-2016) present several multi-discipline explorations of Celticity through mediums including archaeology, genetics, language and literature. They aim to initiate a paradigm shift from a central-eastern European origin of the Celts and their language to a western one. Cunliffe based his supporting argument for this assertion on interaction and exchange evidence in his Atlantic Zone. Here technological innovations and new forms of material culture did not necessarily follow an east-to-west diffusion pattern and contact from the Neolithic on, may have allowed Celtic to develop as a trade language in the west which then moved eastwards (Cunliffe, 2012a: 23-39).

Koch (2012, 2013) in his studies supports this notion and notes the Tartessian inscriptions from southwestern Iberia represent the earliest attested evidence of one of these Celtic languages and that Celtic originated in the Bronze Age (Koch, 2012: 185-30; Koch, 2013: 1-16). Philip Freeman (2012) supported this supposition in his study (Freeman, 2012: 303-334) and in terms of genetics, Stephen Oppenheimer (2012) argued genetic evidence did not support the traditional paradigm of an Iron

Age Celtic migration originating in Central Europe (Oppenheimer, 2012: 121-150; Røyrvik, 2012: 83-106). Raimund Karl (2012) has identified different sets of cultural features which when combined with older evidence, reveal a historically attested druidic origin of Celts from Britain, a linguistic Celtic origin from the Atlantic Zone and an archaeological La Tène origin in central Europe. His model revealed possible spreads and counter spreads into other parts of Europe and could suggest the various types of culture associated with the Celts originated in different times, places and directions over thousands of years (Karl: 2012: 42-43, 59-63).

Christopher Snyder (2003) notes medievalists have largely avoided this debate and continue to use the term Celtic to describe the peoples and cultures of medieval Wales, Brittany, Ireland and Scotland (with the exception of the Celtic church)²⁶ and wonders why the Celts were chosen rather than other groups such as the Romans, the English, the French or the Germans who could be equally susceptible to such a debate (Snyder, 2003: 1-6).

Continuity or discontinuity after Rome?

British studies of the fall of the Roman Empire appear to reflect the contemporary concerns of its authors from Edward Gibbon in the eighteenth-century CE onwards (Gibbon, 1776-1778). For example, for the larger part of the nineteenth-century CE reporting saw scholars stressing England's Germanic roots and supposedly ancient democratic institutions in contrast to the tyrannical and imperial ambitions of the French.²⁷ By its end, Rome offered a clear parallel to Britain's own imperial destiny.²⁸

²⁶ (Chapter 4: 577-578)

²⁷ (Bruce, 1851: 40-41, 449-450; Hingley, 2000: 19-20; Kingsley, 1864: 17; MacDougall, 1982: 116; Sheppard, 1861: 104-105)

²⁸ (e.g. Baden-Powell, 1908; Balfour, 1908; Bryce, 1914; Church, 1896; Cramb, 1900; Cromer, 1908; Curzon, 1907; Fletcher & Kipling, 1911; Haverfield, 1910a, 1910b, 1911, 1912; Henderson, 1903;

The earlier twentieth-century CE narrative was influenced by experiences of two long global conflicts which recast Germanic invaders as genocidal enemies of civilisation who had swept the Britons into Wales and Cumbria. In the aftermath of conflict, this interpretation was deconstructed and presented as migration and assimilation.²⁹ Ensuing interpretations such as the final chapters of *Britannia* (Frere, 1967), *Roman Britain* (Salway, 1981) or *Arthur's Britain* (Alcock, 1971), *The Age of Arthur* (Morris, 1973) and *The English Settlements* (Myres, 1989) demonstrate continuance of this trend.

The resultant histories have been criticised by others in two main ways. Firstly, the written sources they relied on were often shown to be the product of much later times (Sims-Williams, 1983) and could not be viewed as dependable witnesses to fifth and sixth-century CE events. Secondly, improved archaeological methods prompted questions about the nature of society and its organisation rather than just the geographical and chronological spread of material culture.³⁰

This was followed by advances in field archaeology which saw increased data derived from infrastructure and other construction projects begin to unlock the complexity of the period.³¹ The main result was a debate concerning the mechanism or mechanisms which brought about the ending of Roman rule in Britain.

Older historical models after the removal of historical sources and with the introduction of new archaeological data were adapted to produce alternative conclusions. Some concepts suggested Roman Britain underwent a socio-economic

Henty, 1893; Hingley, 2000: 22-25; Hobson, 1902; Kipling, 1906; Lee-Warner, 1894; Lucas, 1912; Sands, 1908; Seeley, 1883: 238; St Hobart, 1912)

²⁹ (Babcock, 1916: 149-169; Collingwood & Myres, 1936; Haverfield & MacDonald, 1924: 264; Higham, 2007: 2; Stenton, 1971: 314-315)

³⁰ (Arnold, 1997: 14-15; Clarke, 1978; Scull, 1993: 65-82)

³¹ (Dickenson, 1982: 4-68; Millet, 1990; Young, 1977)

collapse in the early fifth-century CE and led to a power vacuum which Anglo-Saxons exploited.³² In this modelling Anglo-Saxons were no longer viewed as invaders or migrants and instead seen as an elite who offered identity, ideology and leadership.

Interpretations of the fall of Rome in which provincials and Germanic overlords came to mutually beneficial accommodations have been restated. It has been suggested the fifth-century CE in Europe was brutal and consisted of endemic violence and a catastrophic decline in living standards (Ward-Perkins, 2005). Other accounts support this restatement and assert this time was dominated by large-scale barbarian migration and warfare (Heather, 2005). Other models have argued some regions of Britain free of Anglo-Saxon material culture must have taken a different path or older Celtic societies re-emerged.³³

Further refinement of the evidence has seen the end of Roman Britain polarised into those who favour a short and sharp end and those who consider *romanitas* continued in other forms (Dark, 1994; 2000; Faulkner, 2004a, 2004b: 5-12). An attempt to construct a framework which reconciled these points of view through the adoption of the term 'late antiquity' failed as it became a synonym for the continuity approach (Bowles, 2007; Esmonde-Cleary, 2001b: 90-97). In addition, debates over the Anglo-Saxons had become fractious as advances in scientific techniques in areas including mitochondrial DNA and isotopic data analysis were deployed in some studies.³⁴

³² (Esmond-Cleary, 1989; Halsall, 2007: 367; Higham, 1992; Hills, 2003; Lucy, 2000: 155-186)

³³ (Alcock, 1995; Barker et al, 1997; Dark, 1994; 2000; Rahtz et al, 1993; White, 2007)

³⁴ (Hills, 2009: 123-140; Lucy, 2000; Pattison, 2008: 2423-2429; Thomas & Stumpf & Härke, 2006)

Approaching the end of Roman rule in Britain should not be seen only in insular terms. It can be considered as part of wider research into how the end of the Roman Empire was precipitated in western Europe. Works dealing with this include *Later Roman Empire* (Jones, 1964) and *The World of Late Antiquity* (Brown, 1971) which argued the post-Constantinian period should not be viewed as a period of decline. This approach saw researchers begin to consider the ending of Roman hegemony as a positive sequence of events rather than the last gasp of Classical civilisation (Bowersock, 1996: 29-43). It resulted in a new paradigm of the fourth and fifth-centuries CE being understood as a time of transition or transformation in which Rome and the Germanic peoples were fused with the foundation of the modern nation states of Europe (Mathisen, 1993; Van Dam, 1985).

More recently, other approaches have been developed which highlight alternative potential political and social trajectories.³⁵ These introduce more complex explanations into current analysis as newer evidence appears, rather than seeking blanket reasons to account for a period of profound change.

Early medieval Wales

Investigations since Wendy Davies' (1970) synthesis of early medieval textual and archaeological evidence³⁶ suggest an improving situation in how Wales during the early Middle Age period is understood. However, knowledge of settlement during this period is concentrated on a number of sites comprising Coygan Camp, Dinas Powys,

³⁵ (e.g. Collins, 2012, 2013, 2017; Collins & Breeze, 2012; Cool, 2006; 2010, 2014; Gerrard, 2016, 2016; Matthews, 2014; Petts, 2003, 2014, 2016; Walton, 2011; Walton & Moorhead, 2016)

³⁶ (e.g. Charles-Edwards, 2014; Comeau & Seaman, 2019; Davies, 1970, 1973a, 1973b, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1990, 2001, 2004, 2009; Sims-Williams, 2019; Wickham, 2005, 2010)

Llanbedrgoch, Llandough and Llangors crannog.³⁷ Moreover, analysis of archaeologically attested early medieval settlement patterns in Wales has been influenced by interpretations of how post-Roman settlements (*circa* fifth-seventh centuries CE) may have functioned.³⁸

For example, consideration of material culture in Wales during the early Middle Age is limited by the evidence available. Discussion has focussed on imported pottery and glass during the late fifth to early eighth-centuries CE and apparent links with western France and the eastern Mediterranean.³⁹ In a wider Welsh context, archaeological understanding of material culture is restricted by limited developer-led and university investigations, acid soils, unfurnished burials and a largely aceramic and coin-free material record (Edwards, Lane & Redknap, 2011). However, environmental information consisting of limited pollen and plant-based evidence has been collected from upland and lowland sites.⁴⁰ Faunal remains have been recovered from Dinas Powys and Llangors (Gilchrist, 1988: 50-62; Mulville & Powell, 2019: 174-190). These are considered in Chapter 3.⁴¹

Approaches to landscape history has tended to focus on upland landscapes between the high and later Middle Age periods (*circa* 1000-1500 CE) in Wales.⁴² Lowland landscapes where much of the population probably lived has received little attention

³⁷ (e.g. Edwards, 1979: 1-12; Edwards & Lane, 1988: 1-13; 45-46, 59-61, 88-90; Edwards, Lane & Redknap, 2005: 33-46; Holbrook & Thomas, 1994: 1-92) Johnstone, 2000: 251-295; Knight, 1994: 93-107; Longley, 1997: 41-45; Redknap, 2004: 139-175; Redknap & Lane, 1994: 189-205; Seaman, 2013 1-23; Silvester & Kissock, 2012: 151-171)

³⁸ (e.g. Campbell, 2007a: 117, 123-4; Dark, K. 2000: 164-70, 184-5; Seaman, 2016: 37-50; White 2007, 156-168).

³⁹ (e.g. Campbell, 1991, 2007; Campbell & Lane, Davies, 1982: 50-58; Duggan 2016, 2018, Griffiths 2003a, Griffiths 2003b; Redknap, 2009; Wooding, 1996a, 1996b)

⁴⁰ (Carruthers, 2010: 164-181; Davies, 2004: 206; Davies, 2011: 70-73, 2019: 174-198; Kelly, 1980: 859-908; Seaman, 2019b: 153-173)

⁴¹ (Chapter 3: 341-359)

⁴² (e.g. Roberts, 2006; Silvester & Kissock, 2012: 151-171; Silvester, 2000: 47-60, 2006: 13-40; Thomas, 1980: 340-356, 1992: 37-50)

(Kissock & Silvester, 2012: 168). Early medieval studies have focussed on placenames and landscapes associated with ritual or the early Church⁴³ and only a few regional investigations have been undertaken to date.⁴⁴ As a consequence, there is little to compare with other multi-disciplinary studies in England and Scotland⁴⁵ and this appears to have had the effect of discouraging the development of the multiple estate model in a Welsh context.

Models of settlement patterns and landscape organisation provide conceptual tools for understanding the fragmentary evidence of the past. One of the most extensively used British early medieval models, the multiple estate, was created from Welsh exemplars.⁴⁶ It identifies economic and territorial relationships which link a high-status centre with interdependent subsidiary territories. When it first appeared, it formed an effective challenge to the dominant earlier twentieth-century CE archetypes of the Anglo-Saxon village and Celtic nomadic pastoralists.⁴⁷

The model's chief originator, Glanville Jones, defined it as 'a territorial entity containing a hierarchy of settlements, settlements which were in part functionally differentiated and whose occupants, supervised by a ministerial aristocracy, owed rents and services for the support of a lord' (Jones, 1985a: 354). Its distinctive detailed structures based on the administrative and fiscal arrangements drawn from the medieval Welsh law books have been widely used in studies of the early medieval British landscape; however, its relevance has been questioned. The basic principle of the multiple estate model of early medieval central places exploiting a

⁴³ (e.g. Edwards, 2007, 2009, 2013; Edwards & Lane, 1992; James, 2007; Knight, 2013; Petts, 2009; Redknap & Lewis, 2007)

⁴⁴ e.g. Austin, 2005: 54-5, 59-61; Kissock, 1993; 1997; Rippon, 2008: 247)

⁴⁵ (e.g. Brookes, 2007; Driscoll, Geddes & Hall, 2011; Everson & Stocker, 2006; Turner, 2006)

⁴⁶ (Jones, 1961a: 221-232, 1961b: 174-181, 1961c: 174-181, 1971a: 251-267, 1972: 291-382, 1975: 15-40, 1976: 15-40, 1985a: 352-363, 1985b: 155-169, 1989: 177-197, 1992: 95-118)

⁴⁷ (e.g. Childe, 1940; Clark, 1940; Dawkins, 1912; Fleure, 1951; Fox, 1932; Hawkes & Hawkes, 1943; Hoskins, 1955)

range of landscape resources has been criticised since its initiation.⁴⁸ For example, Andy Seaman (2012) whilst conceding the model offers a useful framework for understanding how rural settlement patterns were related to the exploitation and administration of the early medieval landscape, argues it presents a series of interpretational difficulties. These include a reliance on back-projection from 'inappropriate sources' and a series of assumptions made about the nature of economic and political organisation which he considers are not applicable to the early medieval period, including the fluid nature of territorial boundaries, the nature of Welsh kingship and laws during the period under review. Consequently, he considers the term should be removed from narratives of early medieval Wales to explain contextual perspectives more effectively (Seaman, 2012: 182-184).

Some argue early medieval territorial divisions were political divisions rather than estates (Bassett, 1989: 20, 52, 242-243). Others consider the maenor as an administrative unit rather than an estate and view the application of the multiple estate system to land units of varying size from an entire cantref to a small parish as problematic (Charles-Edwards: 2014: 283, 291). Another view challenges the chronological validity and modelling of the multiple estate model as too prescriptive.⁴⁹ However, tentative links with the earlier Iron Age and Romano-British interlude have been made (Dark, 1994, 2000, Moore, 2012: 391-417) and hint at the viability of a back-projection model from the Iron Age or earlier, towards the early medieval period and later.

⁴⁸ (e.g. Alcock, 1961: 51-55; Davies, 1990, 2001: 1-18; Gregson, 1985: 339-351; Hadley, 1996: 3-15; Seaman, 2012: 163-185)

⁴⁹ (Faith, 2008:12; Wickham, 2005: 319-320; Williamson, 1993: 21-25; Comeau, 2019: 43-53)

Furthermore, it is important to note the concept of the multiple estate model embraces several characteristics.⁵⁰ One of Jones' (1976) main accounts of the theory was derived from the *Llyfr Iowerth* and cited examples from both England and Wales (Jones, 1976: 15-40). His argument in an Anglo-Saxon settlement context supported something approximating the model which must have existed before Anglo-Saxon control and was therefore inherited. The evidence presented in this study appears to support a similar conceptual model in Silurian and later Gwentian contexts.⁵¹

Arthur

The importance of the Arthurian cycle in a Gwentian context relates to how real personages regarded Arthurian legends during the early and late medieval periods. Therefore, engaging in debates proving or disproving his existence is irrelevant (e.g. Halsall, 2014: 137-154; Snyder, 2003: 93-94).

However, examples of germane primary sources, include later copies of a sixth-century CE manuscript *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* (often attributed to Gildas), which mentions the battle of Badon but has significantly acknowledged this victory as Ambrosius Aurelianus' rather than Arthur's to whom later sources claimed it belonged (Gildas, 25-26). The first reference to Arthur was made by Nennius in *Historia Brittonum circa* CE 830 (Nennius, 56, 73). He was mentioned in the *Gododdin* poem by Aneirin thought to be composed towards the end of the sixth-century CE (Aneirin, 102) and in other examples of early Welsh literature such as *Culhwch and Olwen* and *The Dream of Rhonabwy (Mabinogion)*. Although written

⁵⁰ (Chapter 3: 481-503)

⁵¹ (Chapters 2: 63-98, 3: 481-503)

down much later they can be seen as examples of a much earlier oral tradition supporting Arthur's existence.

Another contemporary source was the Easter Annals or *Annales Cambriae*. These consisted of ecclesiastic tables designed to calculate the date of the movable Christian Easter feast within which were noted other contemporary events. It included the death of Maelgwn Gwynedd who was an authentic historical personage of the period. Interestingly, these tables mention Arthur on two occasions (*Annales Cambriae*: Harleian manuscript).

This record must be considered with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Angolorum* (circa CE 731) in which he accounts for the arrival of the supposed ancestors of the English people and critiques Gildas' earlier work to justify his hostility to the British. Significantly, Bede mentions the Saxon defeat at Badon and markedly fails to mention Arthur's role, again attributing the victory to Ambrosius Aurelianus (Bede, 16).

Another body of evidence includes Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (circa CE 1139). Geoffrey used earlier written and contemporary oral sources to invent the mythical King (which inspired the later Arthurian fantasies such as Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*). Furthermore, there are the works of Gerald of Wales who certainly believed that Arthur had been a great king after his visit to Caerleon in CE 1188 (Gerald, 5). It can be seen with the passing of time the Arthur of some sources had become associated with kingship.

Likewise, Arthur was mentioned in several Brythonic Latin *vitae sanctorum*. These include those of Cadoc, Carantoc, Eflam, Gildas, Illtud, Padarn and Uuohendnou.

Two important accounts were the Llifris of Llancarfan's Life of Cadoc and Caradoc of Llancarfan's Life of Gildas, each having two developed Arthurian episodes and links with the *Mabinogion*. This group of literature shows content unaffected by Geoffrey of Monmouth and it is probable they predate the publication of his *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Arthur is usually portrayed in this hagiography as the ruler of Britain and his role in these Lives is as a tyrannical foil to the saint (Koch, 2006a: 117).

Finally, there is scant documentary or verbal evidence which alludes to the existence of Arthur as a historical character. In this study, he is considered a composite figure derived from early medieval primary sources. His importance in a Gwentian context is considered in Chapter 4.⁵²

⁵² (Chapter 4: 554-559)

Chapter 2: forebears and enduring traditions

Introduction

Chapter 2 examines Iron Age Silurian monumentality, aspects of its material culture and a prospective farming model between the Iron Age and Romano-British periods based on transhumance in what was to become Gwent. It provides an account of the coming of Rome, the establishment of the *Civitas Silurum* and considers the implications of the changes wrought during this transition. It offers the conclusion of older Silurian traditions staying strong throughout the Roman interlude despite cultural conflation with Rome. It is possible these traditions led to the later emergence of the kingdom of Gwent.

The Silures

The Silures were a powerful Iron Age tribe or tribal confederation. Their tribal territory is commonly placed in the historic counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire, with natural boundaries provided by the rivers Wye and Tywi (Howell, 2006: 16) of which modern-day Gwent formed a part.

The Silures in Classical literature

Four accounts and one inscription constitute the entire body of evidence from which historians can identify the people known as Silures. Publius (or Gaius) Cornelius Tacitus (*circa* CE 56-120) was a senator and historian of the Roman Empire. He was the first to mention the Silures in his biography of Gnaeus Julius Agricola and provided an account of the protracted Silurian-Roman war (*circa* 48 – 76 CE) (Tacitus (a), 11, (b), 12:32-12:33). Ptolemy or Claudius Ptolemaeus (*circa* CE 85-178) was a Greek-Egyptian geographer, astronomer and mathematician. His *Geography* identified *Bullaeum/Burrium*, (Usk) and named the Silures (Ptolemy,

2:3:12). Gaius Julius Solinus probably flourished in the early third-century CE and was the author of *De Mirabilibus Mundi*. He claimed the Silures maintained a traditional way of life and did not use money (Solinus: 34). Jordanes (*circa* CE 550) was a Goth historian, who wrote in Latin. His work was the last Classical source to describe the Silures (Jordanes, 10-15) and mirrored Tacitus' earlier comments. The writings of these four authors and the Paulinus inscription from Caerwent⁵³ offer the sum of written historical sources referring to the Silures.

Silurian monumentality

The most visible monuments the Silures constructed were various enclosed earth-built fortifications often described as hillforts. These are readily identifiable by the remains of their ramparts and ditches. In Gwent, these were placed on hilltops, slopes and promontories and certainly dominate large parts of its landscape (Thomas, 2019: 54-55). They were largely concentrated in its east and south.⁵⁴

The increasing reliance on enclosed settlements in the Iron Age (*circa* 900 BCE – CE 55) may suggest a social shift of expression of identity in Gwent. Their precise roles in Iron Age society remain a matter of archaeological debate and may never be satisfactorily answered. However, what seems certain, unlike in earlier periods of prehistory, was these monuments were not associated with death and remembrance. The terms 'enclosure' or 'enclosed settlement' defended or otherwise, rather than 'fort' has been adopted in relation to Gwent and Glamorgan, simply because the latter term carries connotations which were far too narrowly militaristic

⁵³ (Figure 43: 138)

⁵⁴ (Figure 2: 38)

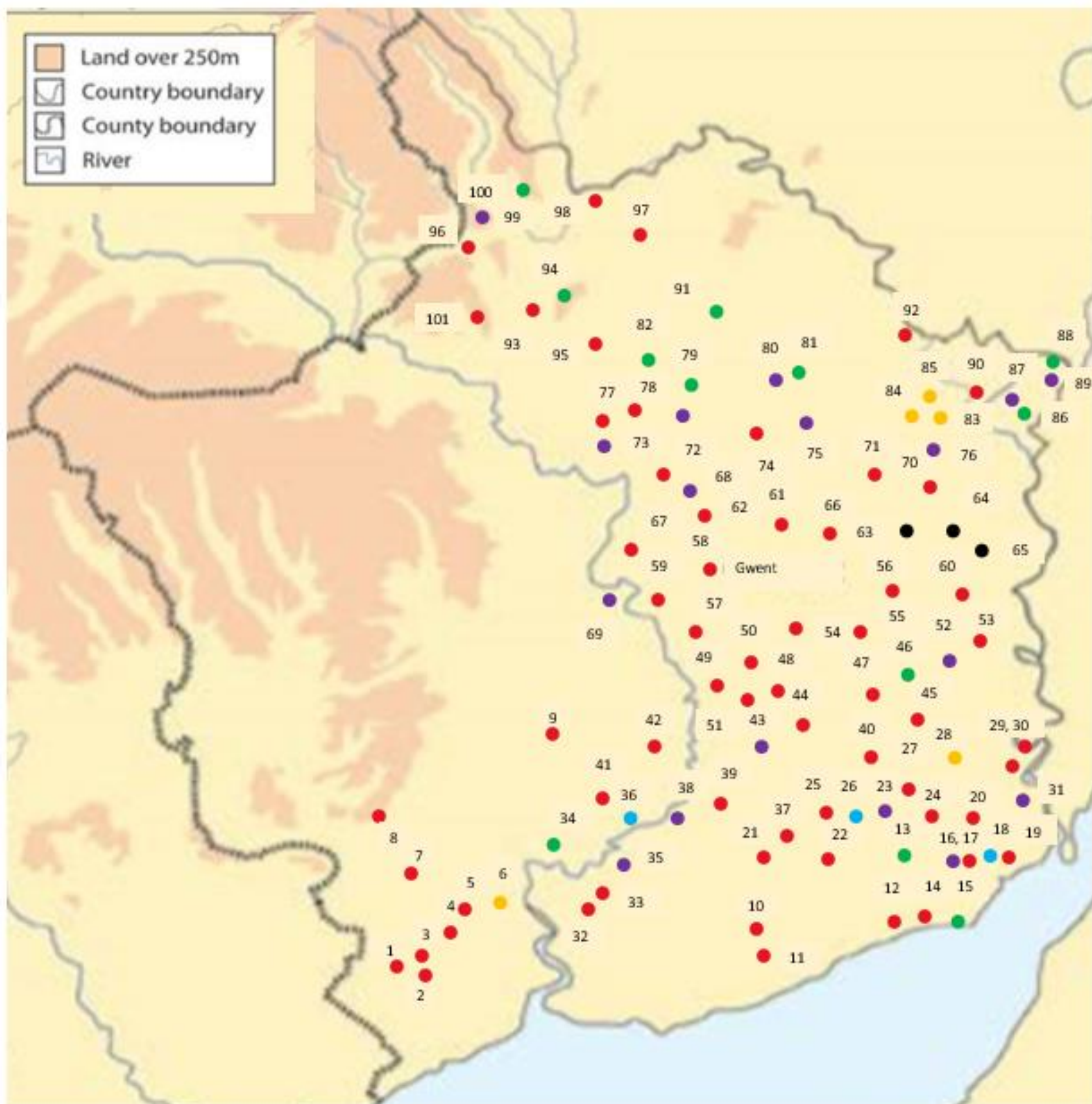


Figure 2

Distribution of defended enclosures in Gwent and categorised by vallation characteristics (see Appendix 1: 772-793 for individual site details)

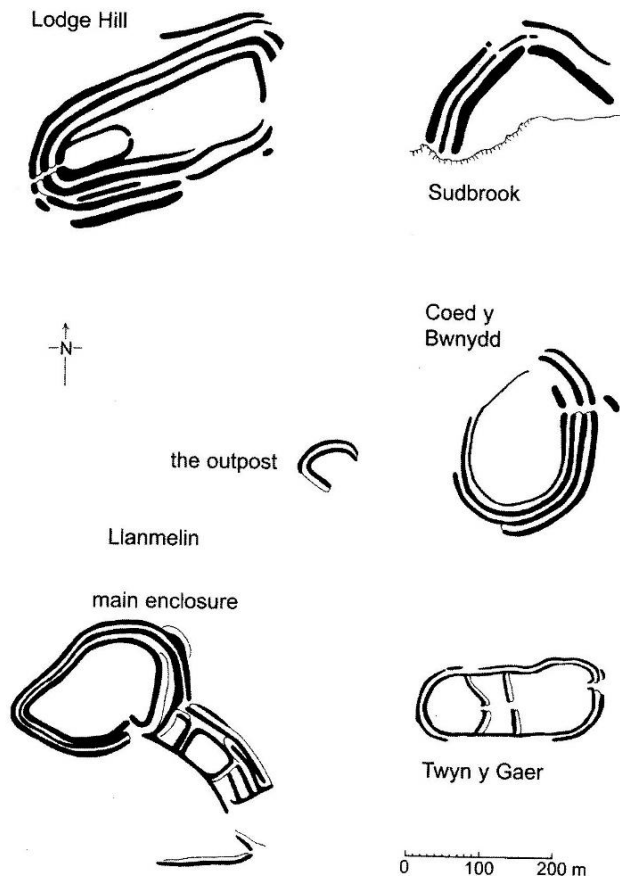


Figure 3

Partially excavated defended Gwentian defended enclosures (Aldhouse-Green & Howell, 2004: 149)

to offer an unbiased description. Interpretation of a myriad of disparate sites with many possible uses and contexts are described below even though it is quite clear that some possessed well-constructed defences. Some enclose more than a hectare and were clearly sited with a view to defence and have substantial defences. Others were smaller with insubstantial defences and are poorly sited in terms of defensibility (Thomas, 2019: 48-76). Moreover, the exact number of such sites will probably never be known. For instance, Hannah Wiggins (2006) has compiled a table of ninety-nine certain, probable and possible prehistoric defended enclosure sites in Gwent in her study (Wiggins, 2006: 29-32) and Paul Thomas (2019) notes 101 in his study

(Thomas, 2019: 258-271).⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ Conversely, George Children and George Nash list forty-three examples (Children & Nash, 1996: 87,123-124).

Llanmelin was excavated by Victor Nash-Williams in 1930-1931. This multivallate enclosure had a single entrance located to the southeast with the most substantial defences on its north-eastern side. Its banks are two and in some areas three deep alongside its associated ditches which enclosed a total area of approximately 2.2 hectares. An interesting feature outside the main enclosure which abutted into the defences was a series of three sub-rectangular enclosures and an additional length of bank and ditch (known as the Annexe) to the south-east and a small earthwork enclosure, 250 metres to the north-east (known as the Outpost) (Nash-Williams, 1933: 237-315). Narrow trenching techniques which only allow for limited archaeological interpretation of a site were employed during this excavation in the early 1930s.

Daryl Williams (2004)⁵⁷ considers this enclosure began as a univallate enclosed settlement with a stone revetted bank and simple entrance. Occupation material later sealed by the banks of the Annexe revealed extra-mural settlement between Phase 1 and the construction of the Annexe. The site was redefined, possibly during the second-century BCE by the construction of a multivallate enclosure with glacis-type defences. These extensions were followed by a third phase which saw the entrance remodelled to make it in-turned with a curving passageway created through an inward extension of the inner bank on its northern side. The entrance banks were stone-faced and topped with a platform and palisade constructed of timber (Howell,

⁵⁵ (Figure 2: 38)

⁵⁶ (Appendix 1: 773-794)

⁵⁷ (Figures 4: 43, 5: 43)

2013). It seems the Outpost was constructed during the first phase and the Annexe was constructed during the third phase (Nash-Williams, 1933: 279). Material culture found within the settlement included evidence of metalworking, ceramics and personal adornments in the form of copper bracelets. Bones excavated included cattle, sheep or goat, pig and horse and may be indicative of a mixed economy (Cowley *in* Nash-Williams, 1933: 310). Howell and Pollard (2004) have suggested the Annexe's function might have been either funerary or possibly as a dyke system associated with an *oppidum* or a combination of both (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 150).

During 2003, Williams undertook a topographical and geophysical survey of Llanmelin. He listed twelve and twenty-six features respectively⁵⁸ with the aim of 'building' on Nash-Williams' work (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 62-67). Based on his findings, Pollard *et al* (2006) suggest this enclosed settlement had a long complex history 'with numerous major and minor episodes of re-modelling' of five phases. Phase 1 began with one or more smaller, sub-rectangular, enclosures of an 'insubstantial' nature associated with farmsteads rather than a conventional large enclosure. In Phase 2, a 'massive remodelling' occurred with the creation of a univallate enclosure with a timber laced rampart and two entrances to the west and south and the possibility of a third to the southeast. Phase 3 saw an extension of the enclosure to the west with the remodelling of the southern entrance and added circuits of banks and ditches, creating a multivallate site with the western entrance being lost. Phase 4 included the construction of rectilinear enclosures which formed the annexe to the south-east of the main entrance, with its southernmost part being further subdivided at a later date. Finally, in Phase 5, there was limited medieval occupation in this area (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 67).

⁵⁸ (Figures 4: 43, 5: 43)

Further small-scale investigations were undertaken under the direction of Caroline Pudney in 2012 as part of a Cadw-funded community event. The excavations focused on five trenches in and around Nash-Williams' original excavations. These revealed a large midden heap, post holes and gullies. Dating evidence derived from pottery sherds suggested the main enclosure was in use between *circa* 400 BCE and CE 100 (Pannet & Pudney, 2013).

Nash-Williams (1939a) conducted other excavations at Sudbrook, a promontory enclosed settlement on the Severn Estuary, in 1939. His study confirmed the multivallate defences consisted of a massive inner bank, two further outer banks, a ditch and a counterscarp bank beyond. The outer banks were a 'dump' construction with no evidence of stone or timber revetment. Nash-Williams (1939a) reported the inner bank may have had four construction phases, with only two represented in his excavation, both fronted with stone and timber revetments. The ditches showed no signs of re-cutting with evidence of pre-bank occupation in the form of Middle Iron Age ceramics and cattle, sheep or goat and pig bones (Nash-Williams, 1939a: 45-47). Occupation deposits were recovered from quarry hollows behind the inner rampart bank. These included stratified surfaces interpreted as floors with the lowest level producing finds such as querns, various animal bones including cattle, pig and sheep or goat and middle and late Iron Age ceramics. Brooches dated to the first-century CE alongside evidence of iron and glass working were also reported. The site seemed to be of comparatively late construction and occupation probably beginning in the second-century BCE with continued Roman or Romano-British occupation in the centuries which followed (Nash-Williams, 1939a: 50-54). A geo-

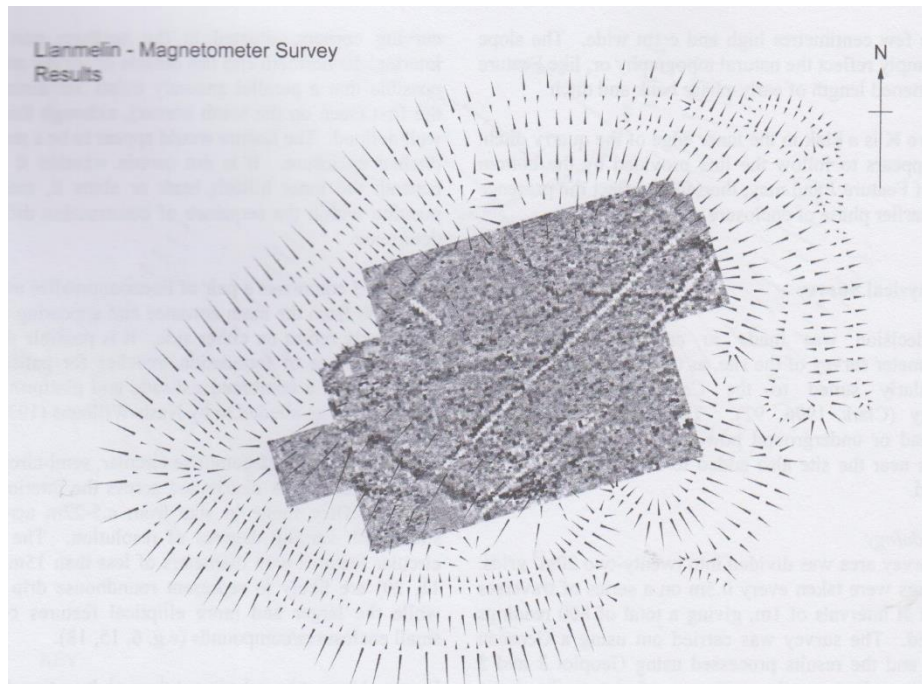


Figure 4

Magnetometer survey results from Sell's (2001) survey at Llanmelin (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 66)

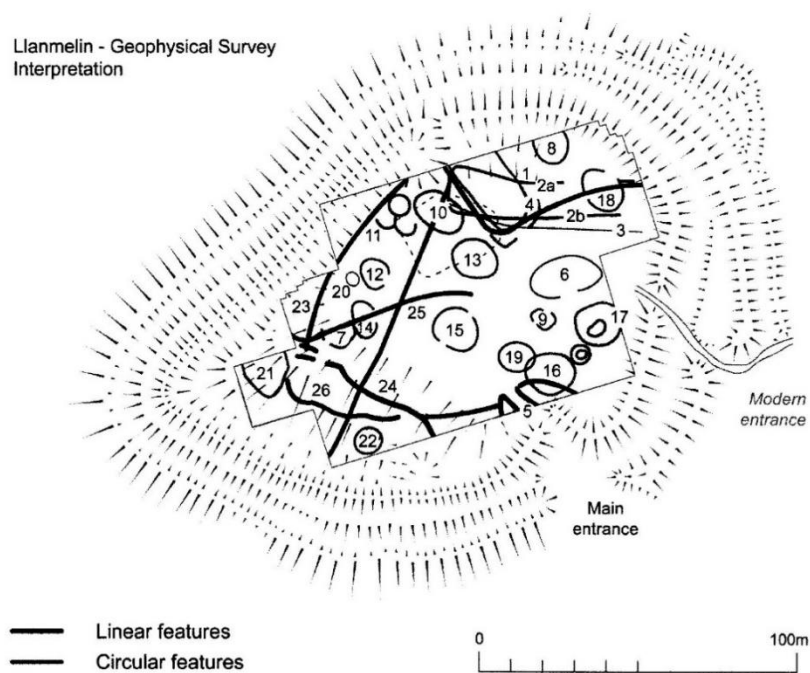


Figure 5

Geophysical survey interpretation from Llanmelin (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 66)

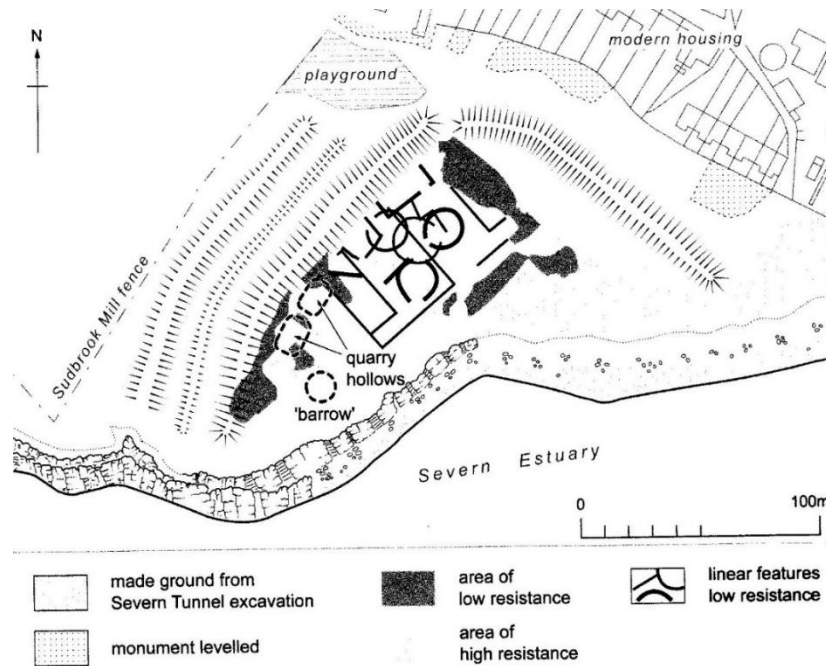


Figure 6

Features revealed through excavation and geophysical survey at Sudbrook (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 55)

physical survey undertaken by Steve Sell (2001)⁵⁹ suggested the presence of circular and rectangular structures within the interior (Sell, 2001: 54-55).

The Twyn y Gaer enclosed settlement was excavated over an extended period under the direction of Leonard Probert during the 1960s and 1970s.⁶⁰ Probert (1976) described an oval enclosure subdivided by banking which created three distinct zones enclosing a total area of 1.7 hectares. The settlement's entrances faced eastwards with the main and most westerly entrances being in-turned whilst the middle one was simple in structure. Probert's (1976) excavations revealed an extended and complex pattern of construction and occupation, beginning with the oblong enclosure and middle bank associated with a fenced 'annexe' further east

⁵⁹ (Figure 6: 44)

⁶⁰ (Figure 3: 39)

whose stakes were replaced in sequence over time and has been interpreted as an area for corralling animals. This first phase produced radiocarbon dating evidence suggesting *circa* fifth-century BCE occupation. Subsequent expansion saw the annexe enclosed and the development of a stone revetted gate and passageway which further refined this feature. The main rampart was revetted in stages and eventually fitted with a rampart stone walkway. The final phase saw the creation of the most westerly bank and smallest of this site's enclosures (Probert, 1976: 105-109). Occupation evidence was provided in the form of ceramics, Droitwich briquetage, iron and copper alloy artefacts and glass beads. There was also posthole evidence revealing site layout alongside burnt daub and a platform. Probert (1976) has interpreted the site as one which may represent evidence of cultural and political expansion by the Silures. Pottery sherds associated with the final construction phase consisted of the Llanmelin–Lydney type (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 152; Probert, 1976: 118).

Adrian Babbidge (1977) excavated the Coed y Bwynydd enclosed settlement between 1969-1971.⁶¹ It enclosed 1.4 hectares and Babbidge's excavations targeted the northern third of the interior and defences on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides. This enclosed settlement was multivallate on the east and south, where it fronts on to the hilltop plateau and is univallate on its steeper western side. It had a straight entrance leading through the defences, however direct access was blocked by a lunate earthwork. Babbidge (1977) believed this enclosure was originally bivallate, offering evidence for re-cutting of the ditches and indications of two phases of bank construction with evidence of timber revetment on the inner one. Four roundhouses were found from quarry scoops towards the rear rampart, alongside other post and stake structures suggesting extensive occupation and

⁶¹ (Figure 3: 39)

supply dating evidence ranging from *circa* 800-200 BCE, in the Early and Middle Iron Age. Activity on the site seemed to have ended in the third-century BCE with some slighting of defences towards the end of the Iron Age, after which there was a paucity of other kinds of finds (Babbidge, 1977: 173-177). In the face of this, Howell and Pollard (2004) have suggested the possibility that the site was used temporarily, despite the apparent high density of buildings, possibly for either festivals or transhumance purposes (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 153).

Another excavation was undertaken under Pollard and Howell's direction in 2000 at Lodge Wood near Caerleon.⁶² The settlement enclosed an area of 2.2 hectares and was triple banked. It had an entrance on its western side and another possible one in the south-eastern corner. Three principal areas were investigated by excavation. Trench 1 targeted a part of the western interior close to the southern rampart. It revealed a sequence of features suggesting a phase of intensive occupation. These included cobble and stone surfaces, a small rectangular structure, some post settings and two shallow trenches associated with one side of a small enclosure within the interior. Associated ceramics and metalwork finds including a La Tène I brooch suggested a Middle Iron Age date (*circa* 400-100 BCE). The structure defined by postholes measured 3 metres by 2.2 metres and had an irregular paved floor surface made up of set sandstone pieces. Howell and Pollard (2006) have suggested this structure had parallels with the Gwent Levels⁶³ as there were no hearth or obvious occupation deposits (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 154; Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 19-25).

⁶² (Figure 3: 39)

⁶³ (Chapter 2: 79-81)

Trench 2 was placed across the inner bank and adjacent ditch to the south-west of trench 1. It revealed a long and complex sequence of construction and remodelling events. Deposits recovered here suggested the inner bank was made up of earth and rubble reinforced by timber lacing with stone revetments and ramparts on the outer facing wall which may have been slighted after the Roman invasion (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 154; Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 19-25).

Excavations at trench 3 demonstrated a sequence beginning with the construction of a low stone revetted bank and possibly a recessed 'guard chamber' at the rear. It consisted of a cobbled surface of rounded sandstones set in clay. Howell and Pollard (2004) reported this surface may have been a little-used or short-lived feature due to the 'lack of weathering or erosion'. Alongside this, the archaeology showed heightening of the bank at some point with the 'guard chamber' and its associated entrance being blocked and in-filled. They consider this entrance was later reinstated, with a passage being cut through the second phase rampart. The only artefacts reported from this later phase were a fragment of probable Roman tile and a piece of modern glass just below the topsoil. Howell (2006) has concluded this 'materially impoverished' phase may relate to post-Iron Age reoccupation (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 156; Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 26-32).

Great House Camp was investigated by Mark Belcher in 2005.⁶⁴ His resistivity survey revealed 37 features within the remains of the main enclosure (Belcher, 2005: 27-46) which were categorised into five sets. His interpretation suggested changes in architectural construction over 2500 years ranging from roundhouses (building set 1), rectilinear structures (building set 2) and other linear structures (building set 3).

⁶⁴ (Figure 7: 48)

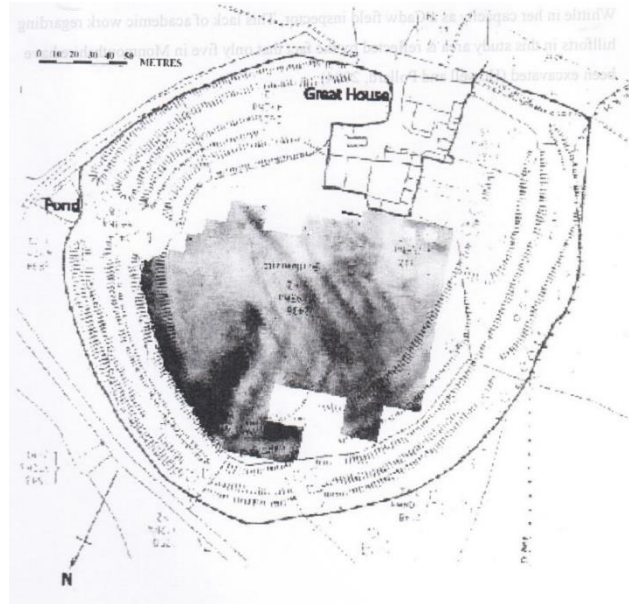


Figure 7

Image showing the extent of Belcher's (2005) survey area in relation to the remaining enclosure at Great House (Belcher, 2005: 24)

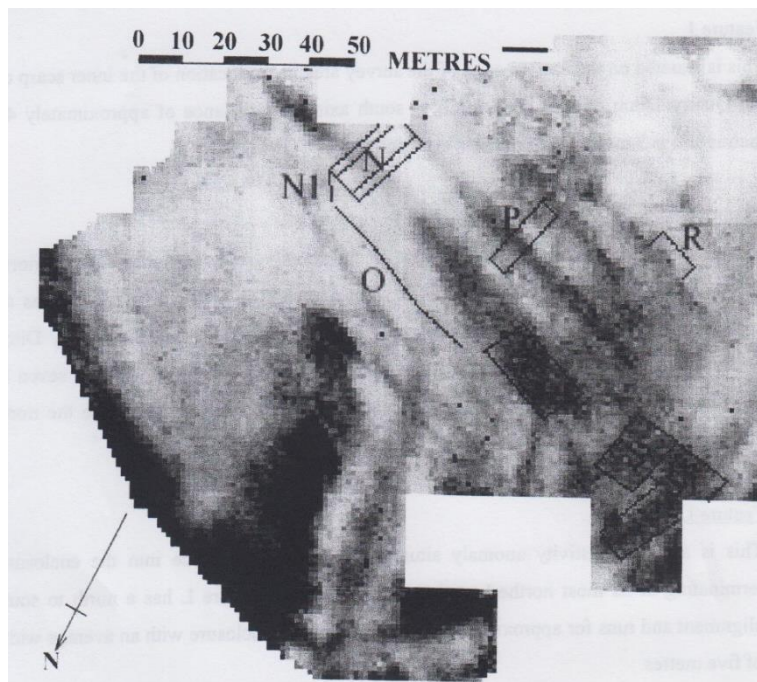


Figure 8

Geophysical survey showing Belcher's proposed Roman phase at Great House (Belcher, 2005: 30)

He considered feature set four as the result of ridge and furrow ploughing and set five as a possible land drain scheme (Belcher, 2005: 48-60). He further considered his feature N⁶⁵ as a possible aisled hall of possible Roman design and date (Belcher, 2005: 40).

The evidence derived from the earthworks of these six sites represents extended periods of construction and occupation. However, situating these within a regional Iron Age sequence is challenging because so few have been subject to comprehensive investigation. However, Howell and Pollard (2004) suggest despite the lack of archaeological excavation in this area, the main phase of construction for Gwent's hill forts occurred in the sixth and fifth-centuries BCE. From excavations elsewhere, they surmise early Gwentian settlements tended to enclose small areas of approximately 2.5 hectares or less, were usually univallate and faced with timber-framed ramparts (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 147; Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 56).

Discussion of defended enclosures in Gwent and south-eastern Wales in recent years has focussed on enclosure shape, vallation, entrances, internal size, internal buildings, annexes, topographical settlement location, inter-visibility and clustering.⁶⁶ The results from these studies suggest discrete Silurian distinctions within Gwent and elsewhere in Glamorgan, southern Powys, western Herefordshire and western Gloucestershire.

In a Gwentian context, the data derived from these studies allow a range of interpretations. For example, the Silures appeared to prefer constructing circular and

⁶⁵ (Figure 8: 48)

⁶⁶ (e.g. Davis, 2017: 1-25; Gwilt, 2007: 298-327; Lancaster, 2014: 1-52; Oatley & Howell, 2013: 11-35; Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006; Thomas, 2019: 48-76; Wiggin, 2006: 1-54)

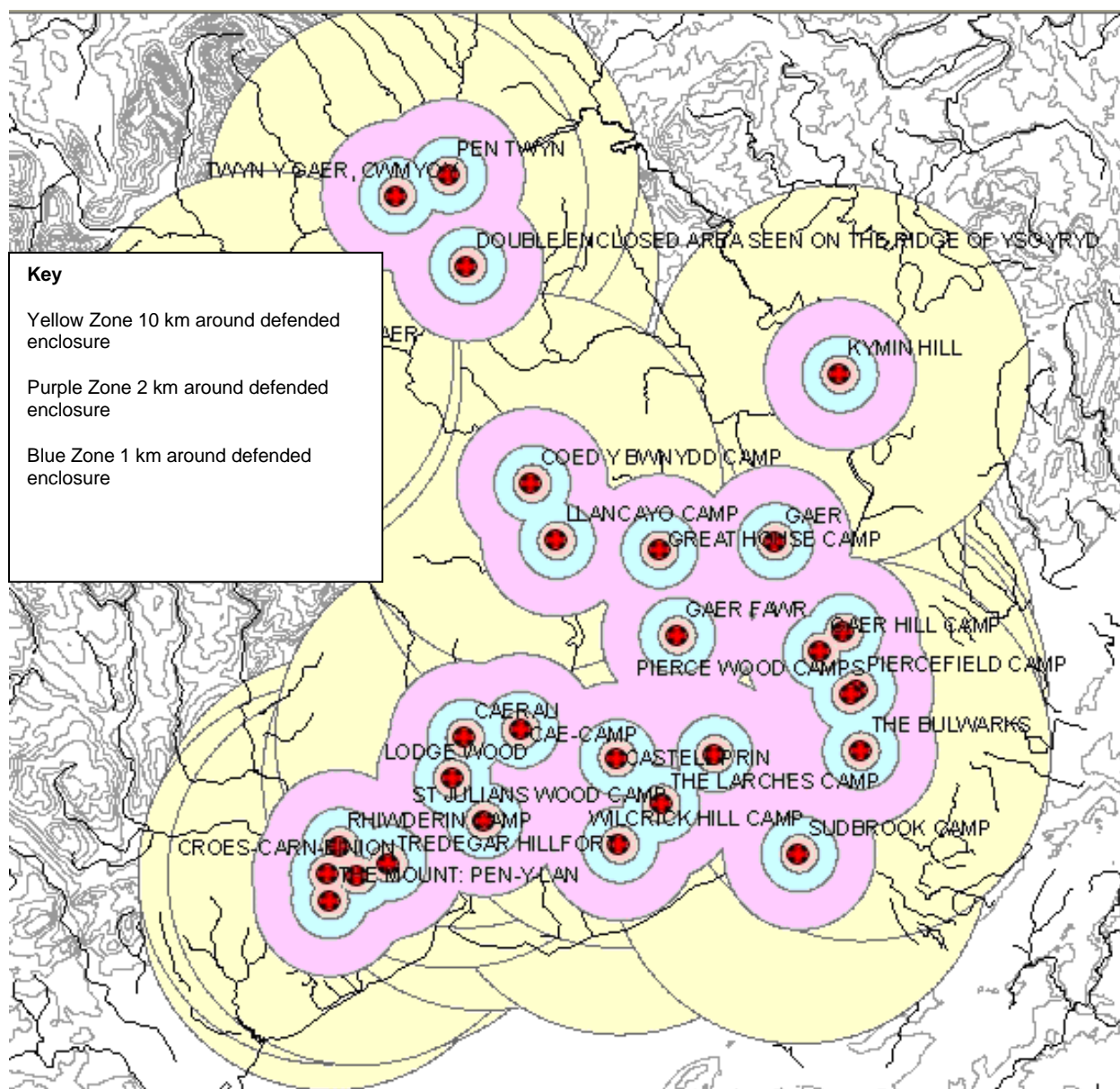


Figure 9

Probable viewsheds from selected defended enclosures in Gwent (Oatley & Howell, 2013)

rectangular defended enclosures with the majority of other shapes apparently decided by local landscape restrictions. Furthermore, there appeared to be a preference for constructing univallate defences and it is possible bivallate and multivallate sites may be indicative of the status of a site and the existence of a

Silurian elite.⁶⁷ The twenty-three known entrances suggest a preference for simple entrances identified as gaps in the vallation, although the greater variety of examples found in the Usk valley ridge and its hinterland may be representative of very local particularism or a tribal elite (Thomas, 2019: 48-115).⁶⁸

In terms of topographic situations, the Silures appeared to favour elevated locations for these monuments even in the generally low-lying Gwent Levels and south-eastern Gwent. Other possible links are apparent through site inter-visibility⁶⁹ which may be indicative of possible discrete Silurian sub-group divisions. Moreover, the congestive nature of defended enclosures (Oatley & Howell, 2013: 11-35) in much of the study area could be indicative of Silurian or sub-regional cooperation. Furthermore, their construction may be indicative of an indigenous process of inclusiveness which apportioned the landscape for its economic exploitation (Thomas, 2019: 77-115). Matthew Stout's (1997) investigation of Ringforts provides a model of transition from the Iron Age until the early Middle Ages in an Irish context (Stout, 1997: 14-134) and may suggest this practice and others may have been continued in the early Middle Age in Gwent. A range of possibilities is considered in Chapter 3.⁷⁰

In archaeological terms, the best-understood landscape of Gwent is its Severn Estuary coastline. Areas such as the Gwent Levels and those of nearby Somerset are subject to a range of riverine, coastal and environmental factors and preserve the organic remains of wooden structures which rarely survive in the area's

⁶⁷ (Appendix 1: 773-794)

⁶⁸ (Appendix 1, sites 32-83: 773-794)

⁶⁹ (Figure 9: 50)

⁷⁰ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

associated dry-land contexts as Martin Bell and others have demonstrated (Bell & Neumann, 1997: 95; Bell, Caseldine & Neumann 2000: 136-154).

Stephen Rippon (1996) has provided a detailed analysis of this landscape over time and offered a careful examination of phases of inundation and land reclamation. He notes that the earliest settlement areas appeared to be linked by trackways (Rippon, 1996: 6). These features survive well in the archaeological record alongside timber buildings dated to the Iron Age, some of which were traditional round houses alongside others which were rectangular with rounded corners. Howell and Pollard (2004) have set out possible interpretations of these building styles (Howell, 2006: 44-45; Howell & Pollard: 2004: 145) and are considered below.⁷¹ The sites have been dated to the Middle Iron Age or earlier and according to Howell's research (2004, 2006) are indicative of other similar sites in the area.⁷²

Beyond this coastal fringe, there is evidence of a variety of settlement sites including Thornwell Farm, near Chepstow. Here, excavations under the direction of Gwilym Hughes (1996) revealed several datable phases of circular buildings.⁷³ These structures, throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages, took the form of large roundhouses which were initially unenclosed. Later, the archaeological record shows the settlement was enclosed by a low stone bank or drystone wall with the site further subdivided with an internal bank without a ditch during the first-century CE (Hughes, 1996: 89-90). The site's ceramic assemblage was largely produced locally and was indicative of 'an occupation of relatively low social status' (Hughes, 1996: 95). It seems mixed animal farming was practised from the presence of large quantities of

⁷¹ (Chapter 2: 79-81)

⁷² (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 143; Howell, 2006: 44-45; Locock, 1999: 128-129)

⁷³ (Figure 10: 53)

animal bones such as cattle, pig, sheep or goat, horse, deer, domestic fowl and wild duck. Cattle apparently provided more meat than other animal types during all phases of occupation and from dental evidence many animals were kept beyond

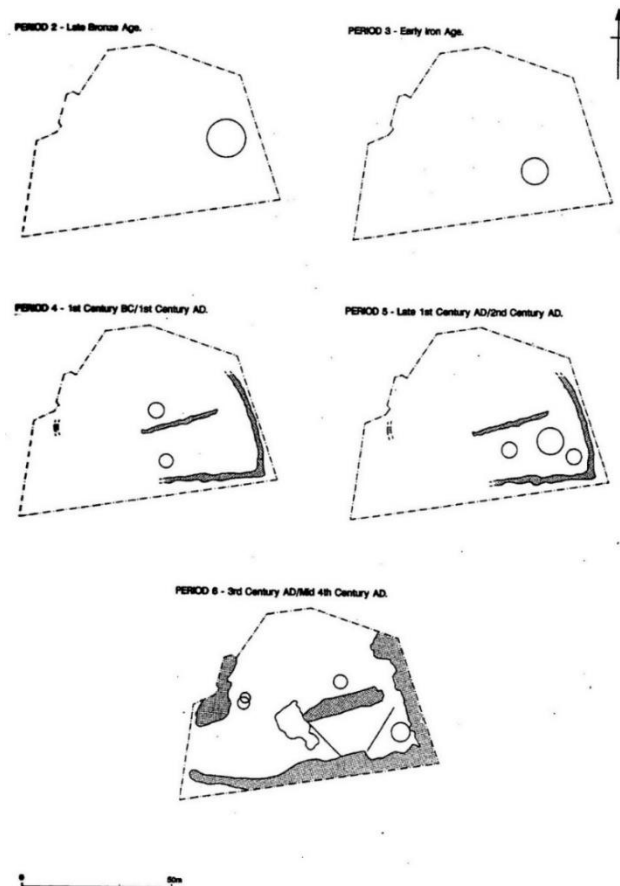


Figure 10

Occupation phases at Thornwell Farm (Hughes, 1996: 90)

their prime which could indicate a 'multi-purpose role'.⁷⁴ Hughes' (1996) assessment considered there was 'very little' change in the characteristics of the building types at Thornwell Farm after the Roman conquest (Hughes, 1995: 95). Howell (2004) has noted a similar kind of embanked settlement may have existed near Abernant Farm where a cist burial associated with the Iron Age was recovered near the river Usk at

⁷⁴ (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 142; Howell, 2006: 50-51; Hughes, 1996: 33-45, 89-93)

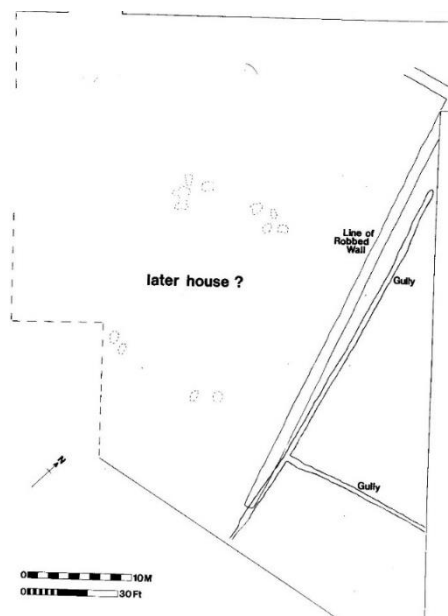


Figure 11a

Phase I and II of the Caldicot farmhouse site thought to date to the second half of the first-century CE (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 87)

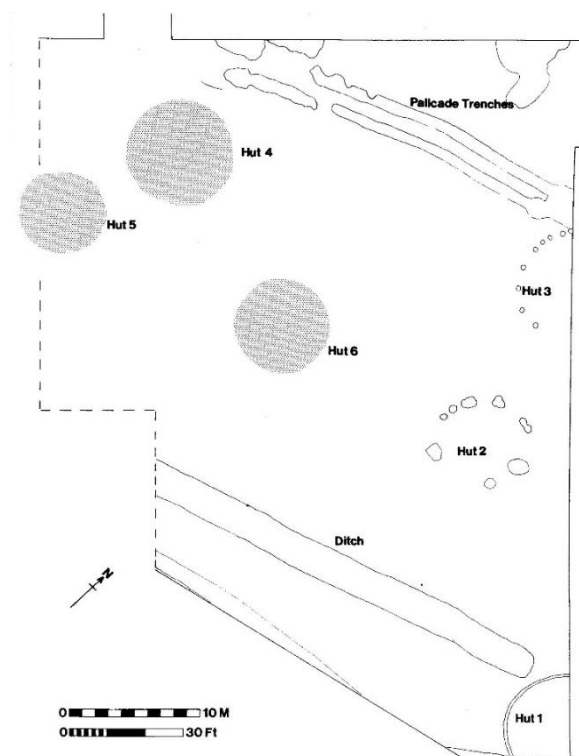


Figure 11b

Outline of phases III and IV of the Caldicot farmhouse site circa fourth-century CE (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 88)

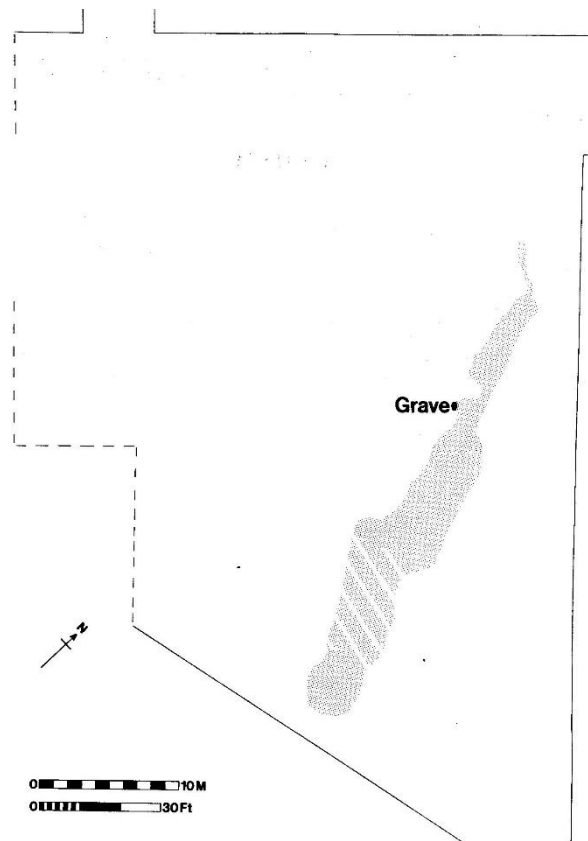


Figure 11c

Phase IV of the Caldicot farmhouse site (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 89)

Bulmore. Adam Yates (2001) has confirmed prehistoric activity here but was unable to identify any features (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 146; Yates, 2001: 13).

The evidence from Thornwell Farm provides particularly useful information contextualising roundhouse occupation over an extended period and helps scholars to understand the strength of native tradition alongside cultural continuity in smaller rural locations during the period under review. Howell (2006) has suggested that post-built houses of this type 'can be easily missed by techniques such as aerial photography and can even prove ephemeral in geophysical survey' (Howell, 2006: 45-49). David Robinson (1988) supports this view as such settlement types may be indicative of a 'submerged majority' and the consequences of the unexpected

discovery at Thornwell Farm might be indicative of a settlement pattern in southern Gwent reflecting the density recorded in the Vale of Glamorgan (Robinson, 1988: xv-xviii).

Another extensive excavation of a farmhouse in southern Gwent was undertaken near Caldicot and Caerwent after the discovery of a Dobunnic silver coin. B. Vyner and D. Allen's (1988) evaluation of the material culture of this multi-period settlement described a site consisting of up to six round houses, two small structures, a single four-post setting and evidence of other possible larger structures which was enclosed by palisade trenches and banking (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 67-84). The earliest dating evidence, in the form of a coin, hearths, rubbish pits and ceramics suggested a late Iron Age context between *circa* CE 20 and 30. The archaeological record revealed five main phases of development⁷⁵ representing continued occupation from just before the Roman conquest until the fourth-century CE (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 85-90).

Such sites from the Levels and its associated landscape beyond the coastal plain, seemingly represent examples of lower hierarchical settlement (possibly farmsteads). There is other evidence, particularly from Glamorgan, of high-status buildings whose sites were originally occupied in prehistory and redeveloped such as Whitton (Jarret & Wrathmell, 1981), Biglis (Parkhouse, 1988: 1-64), Ely (Wheeler, 1921: 65-85) and Llandough (Owen-John, 1988: 123-178). In Gwent, examples could include others such as Church Farm and Stoop Hill near Caldicot.⁷⁶ In a Gwentian context, Davies and Lynch (2000) consider such sites could be multiplied many times over (Davies & Lynch, 2000: 171).

⁷⁵(Figures 11a, b, c: 53-55)

⁷⁶ (Figure 49: 165)

Transhumance farming and Gwent

Cunliffe (2005) has indicated that the pairing of settlements in his 'South Western' zone, consisting of Cornwall, large parts of Devon, south and west Wales may reflect archaeological evidence of a system of partible heritage. He argued many of the Iron Age sites described were contemporary and presented little evidence of 'rigorous territoriality'. He considers this may support a 'social model' with centralisation of power and services not extending above the level of a dispersed aristocracy. He proposed the natural boundaries of the distinct geographical areas occupied by peoples such as the Dumnonii, Silures, Demetae and Ordovices at the beginning of the historic period would have minimised inter-ethnic strife between them, consequently leading to, and reinforcing their geographical stability as distinct entities. Associated social, economic and religious systems once established were maintained 'throughout the Late Iron Age into the Roman period' (Cunliffe, 2005: 594-596). This was certainly the case in Wales which maintained a system of partible inheritance until its slow repeal up to the Act of Union in CE 1536 and is reflected in Gwent's early Middle Age.

Post-Roman documentation particularly relevant is Hywel Dda's codification of the laws of Wales. These offer a documentary link to an early system which fits well with Cunliffe's archaeological model of the Iron Age. John Davies' (2007) overview of the law codes argued these were 'the systemization of the legal customs which had developed in Wales over the centuries' and should be viewed as 'folk' rather than 'state' law (Davies, 2007: 84-92).

Research has been neglected and Dafydd Jenkins' (1986) study is amongst the most recent detailed published scholarly analysis of a range of works undertaken since the

January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Over wintering birds	Over wintering birds		Spring bird migrations	Spring bird migrations			Autumn bird migrations	Autumn bird migrations		Over wintering birds	Over wintering birds
				Salt production	Salt production	Salt production	Salt production		Salting and smoking	Salting and smoking	
Calving and lambing	Calving and lambing	Calving and lambing	Calving and lambing								
Animals in dry pasture	Animals in dry pasture	Animals in dry pasture	Animals in dry pasture	Grazing on saltmarsh Hafod settlements	Grazing on saltmarsh Hafod settlements	Possible continuation of grazing on saltmarsh settlements or grazing in uplands	Possible continuation of grazing on saltmarsh settlements or grazing in uplands	Grazing in uplands	Grazing in uplands	Animals in dry pasture	Animals in dry pasture
Arrival of spring salmon	Arrival of spring salmon	Arrival of spring salmon, Elver eels arrive	Adult salmon caught, Elver eels arrive	Adult salmon caught	Adult salmon caught			Eels migrate seaward, other fish species now abundant	Eels migrate seaward, other fish species now abundant		
	Deer Hunting	Deer Hunting									
Coppicing, ditching and building maintenance	Coppicing, ditching and building maintenance	Coppicing, ditching and building maintenance				Fodder pollarding, winter fodder preparation	Fodder pollarding, winter fodder preparation	Fodder pollarding, winter fodder preparation	Winter fodder preparation	Coppicing, ditching and building maintenance	Coppicing, ditching and building maintenance
		Crops growing	Crops growing	Crops growing	Crops growing	Crops growing	Harvest autumn sown crops	Harvest spring sown crops	Autumn sowing Winter fodder preparation	Spring sowing	Spring sowing

Figure 12

Conjectural annual cycle of food gathering strategies/opportunities in Iron Age Gwent (After Bell, 2013: 32)

early nineteenth-century CE on Welsh law⁷⁷ and used the lowerth Redaction from north Wales as his chief source. He considers this version of the code was one of several produced by lawyers between the early thirteenth and sixteenth-centuries CE and considers the ultimate foundations for all seem to lay in a 'small core of material' assembled sometime in the middle of the tenth-century CE. He cautions that 'great care' must be taken in historical interpretation as much was added after its conception. However, he added 'lawyers were very slow to discard obsolete material' and asserted the laws 'were recorded in books compiled by professionals. Whether practitioners or teachers, these men were working out of the customary principles of their people: they were not recording the authoritative legislation of a sovereign'. He also considered law reforms were conducted by a succession of lawyers from the time of Hywel to the days of Henry VII and adapted to meet 'the varying needs of a living community' and were constructed in such a way to see where Hywel's 'work ended and where theirs successively begins'. He makes distinct reference to the prehistoric past when these laws were transmitted orally and 'central authority was so weak that men relied on social pressure to conform to these principles' (Jenkins, 1986: ix-x, xv, viii).

Aside from the role the laws played in societal arbitration and in defining its contemporary hierarchical organisation, these texts offer glimpses of settlement, travel and exchange patterns alongside agricultural systems in parts of Britain, all of Wales and Gwent particularly. They demonstrate a cohesive and continuous society, overwhelmingly rural in character, whose economy depended on mixed farming, associated skills such as metalworking or pottery, working as it may have done a thousand years or more, earlier. It can be reasoned past practitioners of mixed

⁷⁷ (e.g. Ellis, 1926; Owen, 1841; Wade-Evans, 1909)

farming required access to different types of farms and woodland for a myriad of different requirements such as procurement of building materials, general foraging, hunting, cultivation, gathering, storage and distribution of crops as well as facilitating livestock movement for activities such as watering or to exploit fresh pastures for fodder. It is clear all farming systems, (both ancient and modern) of necessity follow an agricultural calendar and there is good reason to think the society described in these tracts had many similarities with that which had gone before, with roots in the pre-Roman period as the conjectural annual cycle of food gathering strategies/opportunities in Bronze and Iron Age Gwent suggests.⁷⁸

This evidence shows the importance of boundaries, trespass and rights of way throughout the law texts and both Thomas Ellis (1926) and Arthur Wade-Evans (1909) refer to Aneurin Owen's (1841) translation of the Cyfnerth redaction⁷⁹ for Gwentian practice which first defined them and fixed a neutral space between areas of cultivated land if they belonged to different people.

An example of possible ancient origins for the laws is Dyfnwal Moelmud, who, according to the law texts was a British king 'before the crown of London and the sceptre were taken by the English'. *The Law* suggests he was 'a man who first made good laws in this island' which lasted until the time of Hywel. Dyfnwal measured the island of Britain 'to know its tribute and its mileage and its journeys by days' for he 'was the best of measurers' (Jenkins, 1986: 120). Another example is the citing of three customs in the *Law*. The first kind followed law; a second kind that preceded law and finally customs which 'mars' law. Medieval judges were advised to uphold

⁷⁸ (Figure 12: 58)

⁷⁹ (Chapter 4: 577-594)

the former and to disregard the latter (Owen, 1841: 587). A further possible example of ancient origins was Welsh taxation and privilege, throughout the section of the tracts dealing with the laws of the court, there is a tendency to see food renders taken and distributed rather than money to all members of the court from the king downwards, and there is good reason to think that the origins of such customs derived from older traditions (Jenkins, 1986: 3-43).

These arguments suggestive of long-term continuity are further reinforced by Gerald of Wales' *Descriptio Cambriae* and the Domesday Book. Gerald claimed the common people of Wales lived in dispersed settlements of 'wattled huts on the edge of woods' in the twelfth-century CE (*Descriptio Cambriae*, 1: 12) and *Domesday* acknowledged and respected the differences between the Welsh in Herefordshire and Gwent and the English common laws (*Domesday*, Folio 179). These sources could indicate the way the Welsh of CE 1086-1188 chose to live and exploit their landscape may have been a traditional and agrarian one and may have differed significantly from post-conquest patterns and could have traced its descent from Silures forebears.

This possibility is supported by Karl's (2020) research relating to the possible emergence of a court and the office of the porter at the long-lived Meillionydd site (*circa* BCE 800-200) on the Llŷn peninsula in north-west Wales. His analysis of the design choices made during the later phases of construction offers archaeological evidence which appears to reflect the operations of the later Welsh medieval court (Karl, 2020: forthcoming).

Moreover, the Cyfnerth law code provides compelling evidence of boundaries, penalties for trespass and rights of way alongside defined dimensions of physical spaces separating cultivated areas. In Iron Age Gwent and earlier periods, structured mobility may have been set within clearly defined limits, probably with the intention of avoiding disputes with neighbours whilst managing finite reserves of hay and grazing land efficiently. Certainly, this was the land use pattern described in Wade-Evans' (1909) study of Hywel Dda's later early medieval codification of the laws of Wales:

Whoever shall breach a meer between two trefi, or shall plough a highway, is to pay six score pence to the king; and let him restore the meer to its former state. The breadth of land between two trefi, if it be of land, is a fathom and a half; between two rhandairs, four feet; between two erws, two furrows. The breadth of king's highway is twelve feet. (Wade-Evans, 1909: 206)

This passage clearly describes an artificial neutral zone between occupied areas in existence *circa* CE 945 which may, allowing for at least a measure of land use continuity, allow theoreticians to construct a model for tracing a prehistoric internal communication network which facilitated a lifestyle which combined transhumance and sedentism. This possibility is strengthened by the assumption these laws were based on ancient tradition and precedence when they were written down.

This idea of long-term cultural continuity is further supported by Gerald of Wales who noted the common people of Wales inhabited 'neither towns, villages or castles' but were 'scattered all over the countryside' unlike their contemporaries in England (*Descriptio Cambriae*, 1: 17). This could indicate the way the Welsh of CE 1188 chose to live and exploit their landscape was a traditional one. Again, if this were so,

it is reasonable to assume some elements of this lifestyle in Gwent and Glamorgan could have had Iron Age or earlier origins.⁸⁰

Furthermore, the archaeological evidence confirms the importance of livestock. It suggests the possibility that well-planned route ways were being built from the Bronze Age in south-eastern Wales to exploit grazing. Moreover, several trackways excavated under the direction of Martin Bell (2000) on the Gwent levels have been dated to the first millennium BCE (Bell, Caseldine & Neumann 2000: 136-154). These features are considered below⁸¹ and all available evidence suggests the Silures and their forebears pursued a lifestyle based on a combination of transhumance and sedentism.

Living well

Mobile livestock strategies have been outlined, assessed and evidenced in several studies. Although there is a great deal of variance, these activities can be simply categorised as nomadism and transhumance. Rainer Luick (2008) describes nomadism and its practitioners as consisting of whole familial or tribal groups, who with their belongings and livestock move steadily or are driven by climatic factors from one grazing area to the next and grow no crops. He cites the seasonal movements of the Sámi people in northern Scandinavia as the closest analogue in modern times within Europe (Luick, 2008: 1).

Rodger Blench (2001) differentiates transhumance from nomadism as a livestock system which moves herds or flocks between fixed points to exploit the seasonal availability of pastures. He notes transhumant pastoralists often have a permanent

⁸⁰ (Chapter 2: 43-98)

⁸¹ (Chapter 2: 80-83)

homestead at which older members of the community remain throughout the year. These permanent sites often form a base at which several crops are grown primarily for personal use rather than for market or to provide fodder. Another characteristic feature of transhumance identified by Blench is herd splitting. Essentially, men take much of the stock away in search of grazing and leave a nucleus of lactating female animals for the resident community to exploit (Blench, 2001: 12).

Direct evidence of dairying from absorbed organic residues has been proved from fourteen Neolithic sites in the British Isles through testing 958 ceramic samples. The results of M. Copley's (2003) research confirm ruminant dairying was a widespread activity at all Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age settlements in Britain investigated in her joint study. More significantly, studies of pottery sherds from the early Neolithic sites at Windmill Hill, Hambledon Hill and Eton Rowing Lake demonstrate dairying was probably already well developed when farming was introduced in the fifth-millennium BCE (Copley, Bersten, Docherty *et al*, 2003: 1-6). In Siluria there is much confirmatory evidence of a combined lifestyle of transhumance and sedentism within an organised landscape. A variation of this model can be applied to Iron Age Gwent. All available evidence suggests it was chiefly exploited by people to manage animals and is demonstrated in the following way.

In terms of prehistoric Gwentian animal husbandry, Claire Ingre (2013a) offers an analysis of 346 animal bones and antlers recovered from eight paleochannels at Peterstone.⁸² Of these, 294 (84.9 %) were recovered from stratified contexts during excavation with a further fifty-two (15.1 %) from sifting. Overall, the sample included two horse bones (0.6 %); one hundred cattle bones (28.9 %); four other ruminant

⁸² (Figure 13: 65)

bones (1.2 %); thirty-one pig bones (8.9 %); three dog bones (0.9 %); six roe deer bones (1.7 %); thirty-two red deer bones (9.2 %); fifty-six large indeterminate mammal bones (16.0 %); thirty-eight medium indeterminate mammal bones (11.0 %); fifteen unidentifiable bones (4.3 %); one red fox bone (0.3 %); one stoat/weasel bone (0.3%); four bird bones (chiefly duck) (1.2 %); two salmon/trout bones (0.6 %); six eel bones (1.7 %); ten stickleback bones (2.9 %); twenty-one unidentified fish

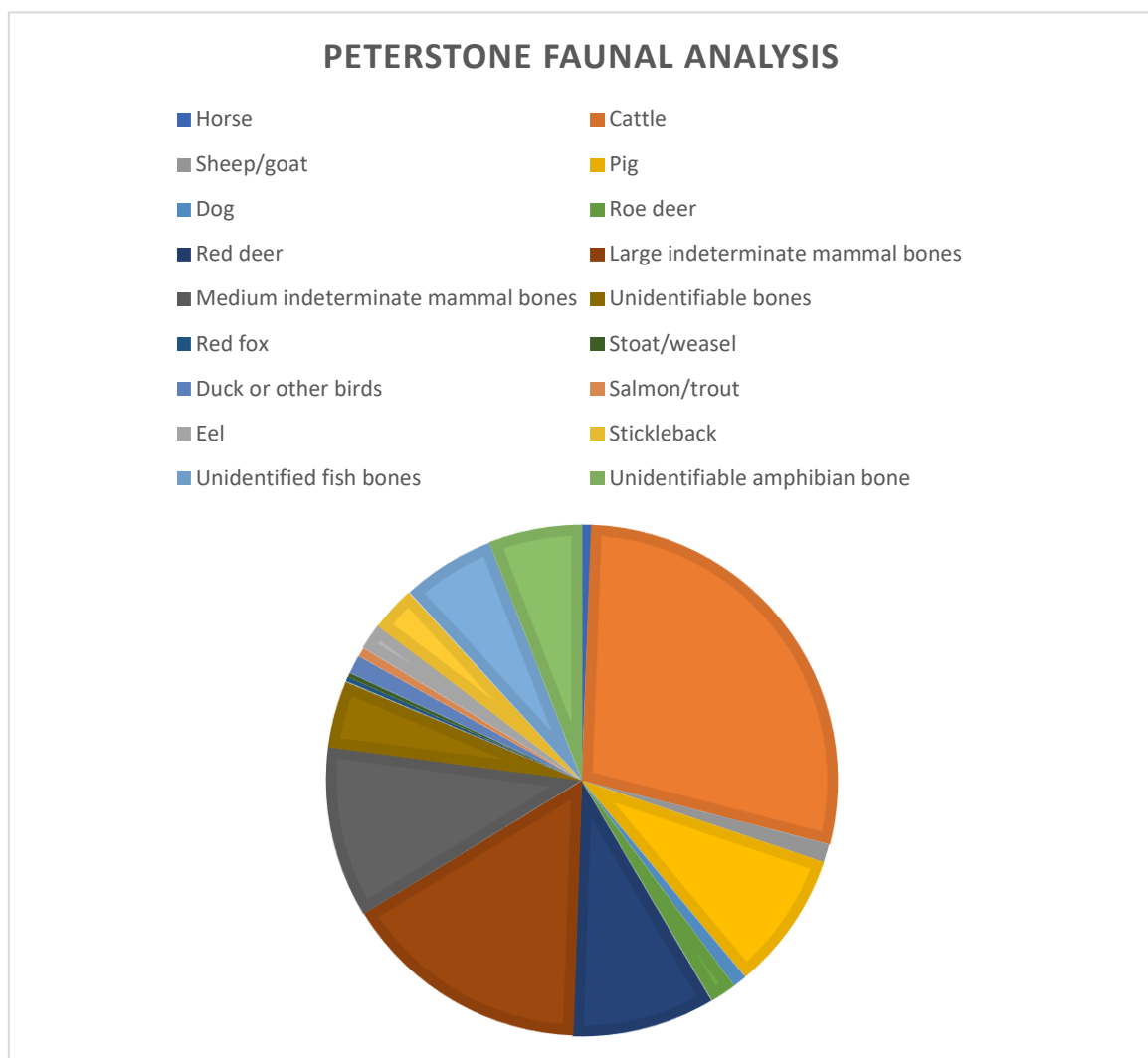


Figure 13

Faunal assemblage recovered from eight paleochannels at Peterstone (Ingram, 2013a: 141,143)

bones (6.0 %) and one unidentifiable amphibian bone (0.3 %) (Ingrem, 2013b: 243-4).

These samples were dated from the early phases of the later Neolithic to the later phases of the middle Bronze Age. They indicate both domestic and wild animals were being exploited in the form of cut marks resulting from primary butchery and the later stages of food preparation. About half of the red deer assemblage consisted of antlers, with five out of six antlers having intact bases. Ingrem (2013b) considers these may have been collected rather than deliberately removed from hunted animals. This could suggest deer herds were closely observed and possibly dates their occupation of the site between late winter and early spring. Furthermore, in terms of the age sets of larger animals recovered at Peterstone, the majority of the remains from the cattle, goat or sheep and pig samples were either juvenile or immature having died before reaching two years of age (Ingrem, 2013b: 244-245). The presence of young cattle provides evidence of the site being occupied for feeding and dairying purposes in the spring and summer months.

Ingrem (2013a) offers further analysis of bone assemblages consisting of 127 samples from sites east of the River Usk at Redwick and Cold Harbour Pill⁸³ which were associated with the Bronze Age. These come chiefly from around Redwick buildings 1-5 and other minor sites between Redwick and Cold Harbour. They consisted of twenty-eight cattle bones (22.0 %); fifteen sheep or goat bones (11.8 %); fourteen pig bones (11.0 %); one dog bone (0.8 %); ten large mammal bones (7.9 %); eighteen medium mammal bones (14.2 %); one small mammal bone (0.8 %); one goose bone (0.8 %); three duck or goose bones (2.4 %) and thirty-six

⁸³ (Figure 14: 67)

unidentifiable bones (28.3 %). Whilst she noted the sample was too small to determine a detailed analysis of animal husbandry practices, she does suggest the data indicates that the economy was focused on domestic animals. The presence of young calves' bones and almost full skeletons butchered at this location has been interpreted as indicative of spring and summer occupation with animals arriving on the hoof (Ingram, 2013a: 141,143).

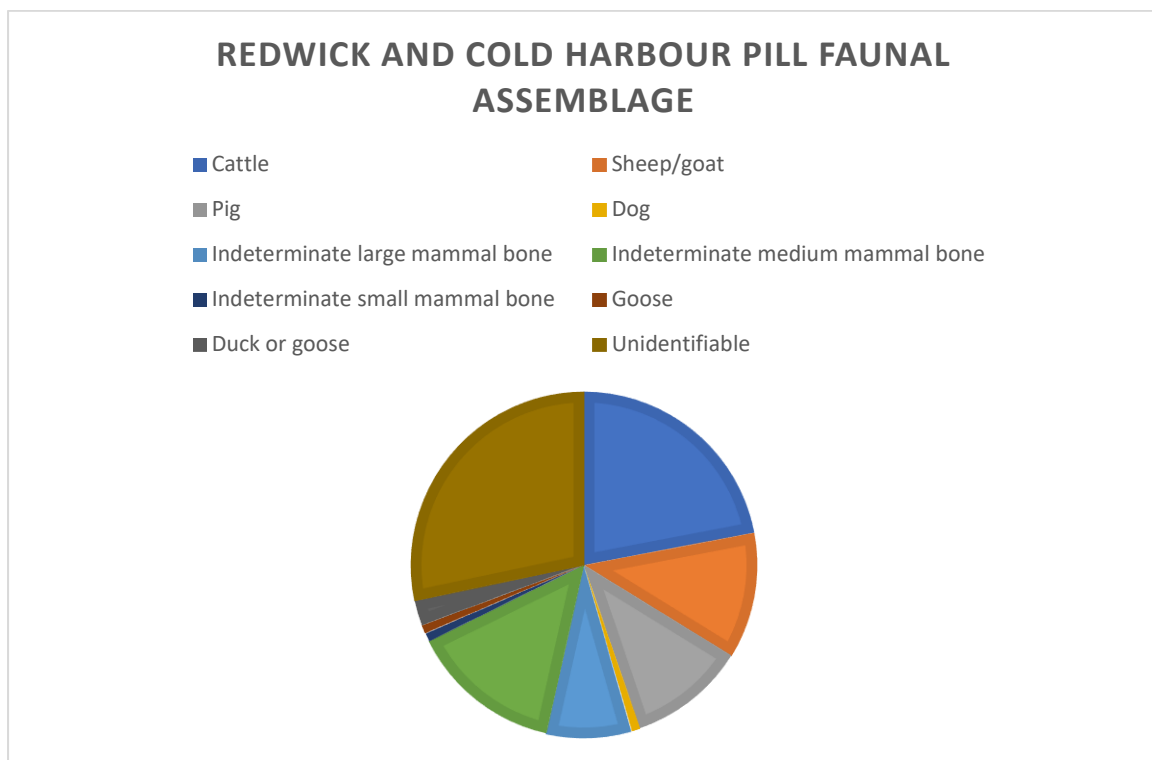


Figure 14

Faunal assemblage from sites east of the River Usk at Redwick and Cold Harbour Pill (Ingram, 2013a: 141,143)

Other related research at the intertidal area at Redwick⁸⁴ identifies by species and age sets, several animal footprints in distinct contexts, of the 243 distinct footprints samples recovered here, 173 were identified as cattle (71.1 %); fifty-five were identified as other ruminants, such as goats or sheep (22.6 %); one was identified as

⁸⁴ (Figure 15: 68)

a horse (0.4 %); four were identified as pigs (1.6 %) and four were identified as human (1.6 %). The age ranges from the cattle sample revealed 154 adults and nineteen juveniles, the goat or sheep sample revealed thirty adults and twenty-three juveniles, and the human sample revealed three adult humans with one human child respectively (Bell, Scales & Barr, 2013: 151).

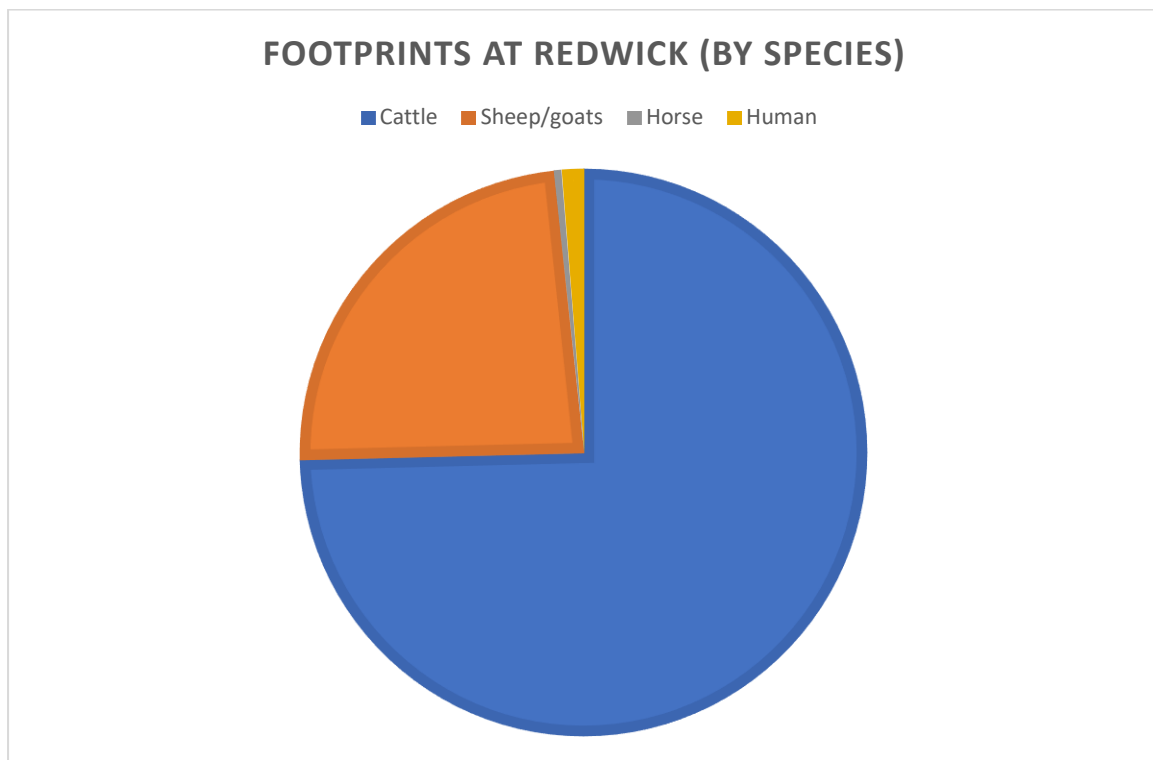


Figure 15

Footprint occurrence at Redwick by species (Bell, Scales & Barr, 2013: 151)

Beyond Gwent's coastal fringe other excavated sites provide other confirmatory evidence of prehistoric animal husbandry. The excavations at Caldicot revealed a series of distinctive phases across the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age (Nayling, 1997: 257-278). The animal bone report provided a detailed overview of this extended period at this location. Its first phase of occupation offered no evidence of human activity in the Neolithic with the bone assemblage consisting of a single

piece of broken antler tine and some amphibian samples. Conversely, the cattle femur samples of the second phase of occupation assemblage appear to have been split for marrow extraction.⁸⁵ This second phase sample of six bone fragments, consisted of five cattle (83.3 %) and single red deer (16.7 %) bones respectively.

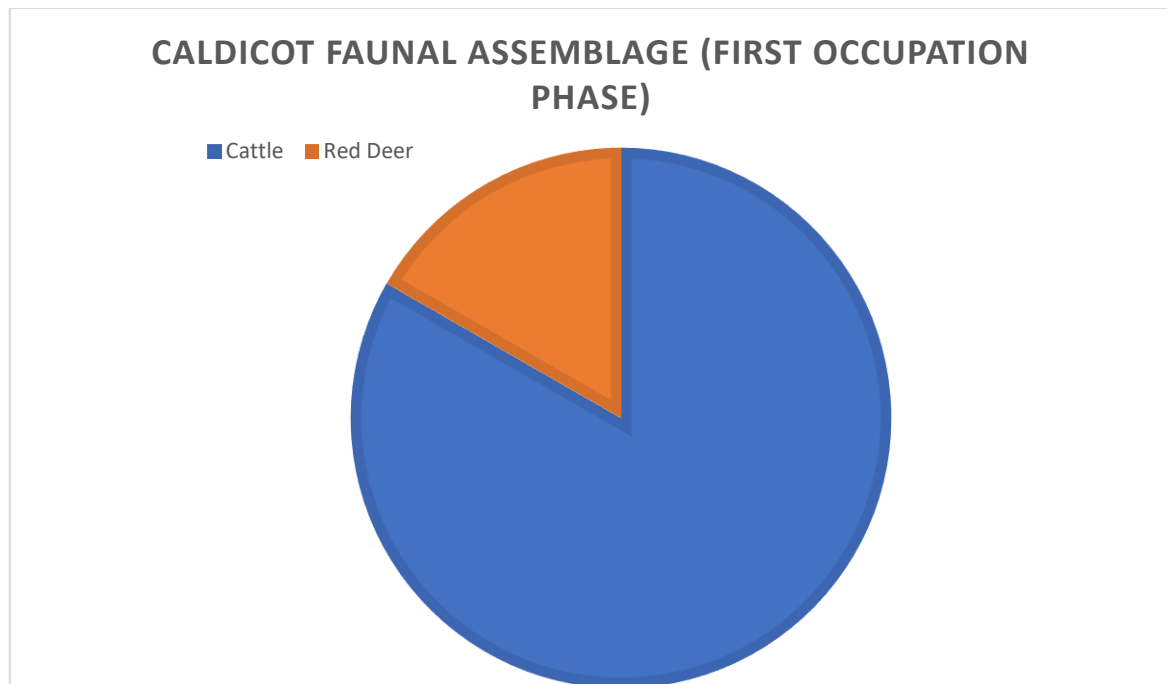


Figure 16

Faunal assemblage from first occupation phase at Caldicot (McCormick, 1997: 219-220)

⁸⁵ (Figure 16: 69)

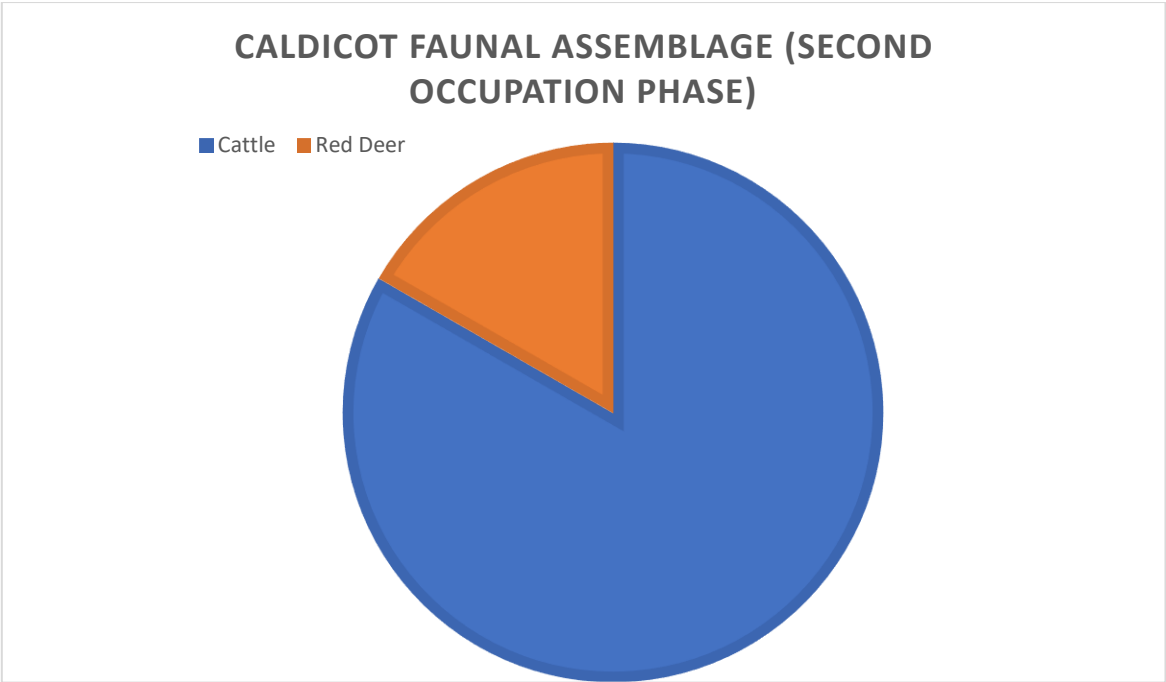


Figure 17

Faunal assemblage from second occupation phase at Caldicot (McCormick, 1997: 219-220)

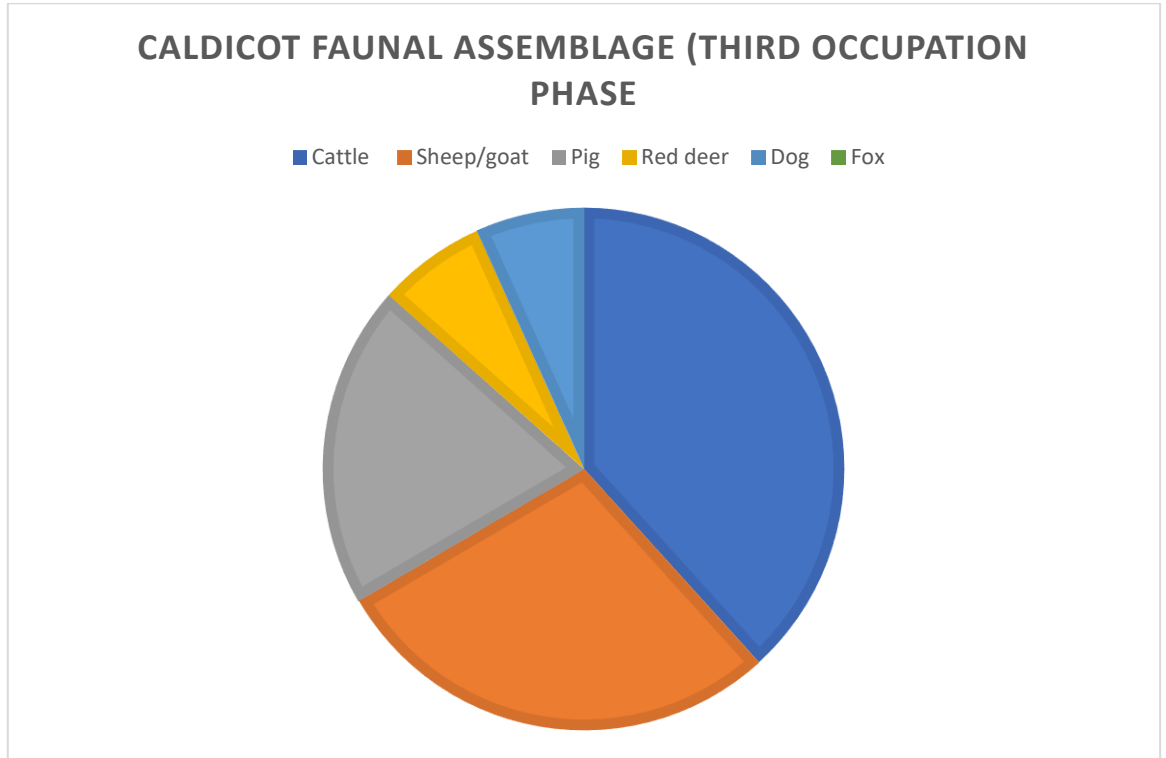


Figure 18

Faunal assemblage from third occupation phase at Caldicot (McCormick, 1997: 219-220)

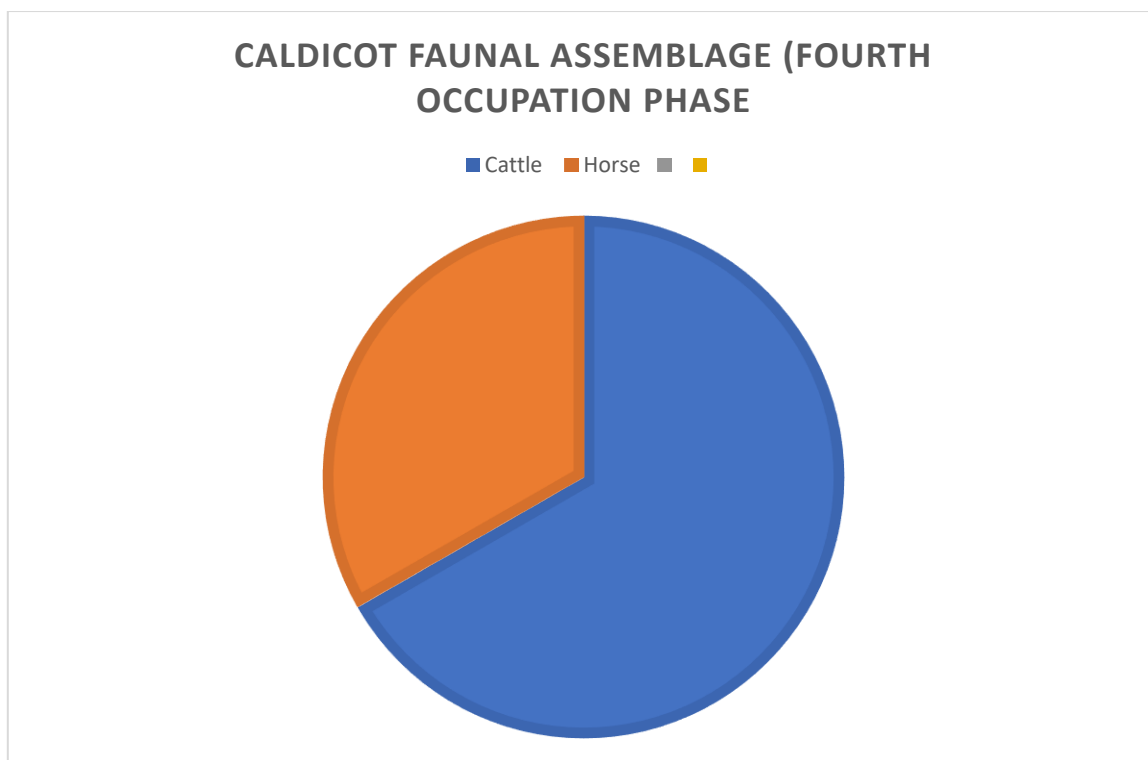


Figure 19

Faunal assemblage from fourth occupation phase at Caldicot (McCormick, 1997: 219-220)

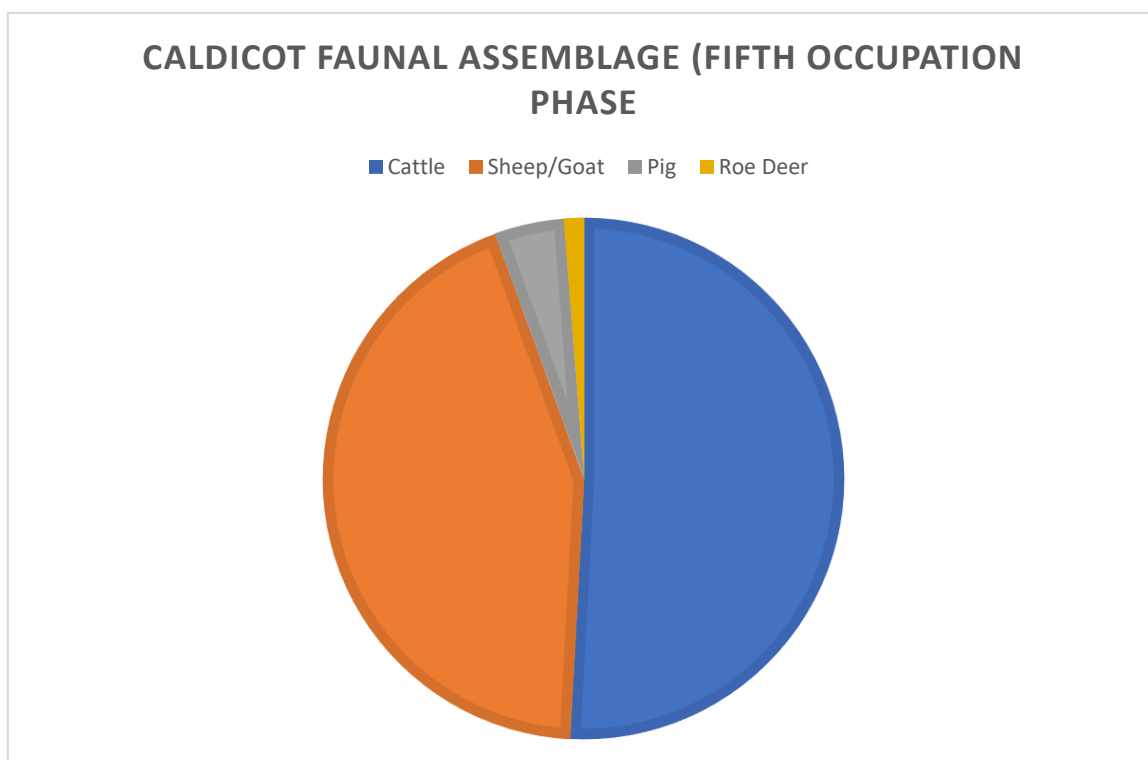


Figure 20

Faunal assemblage from fifth occupation phase at Caldicot (McCormick, 1997: 219-220)

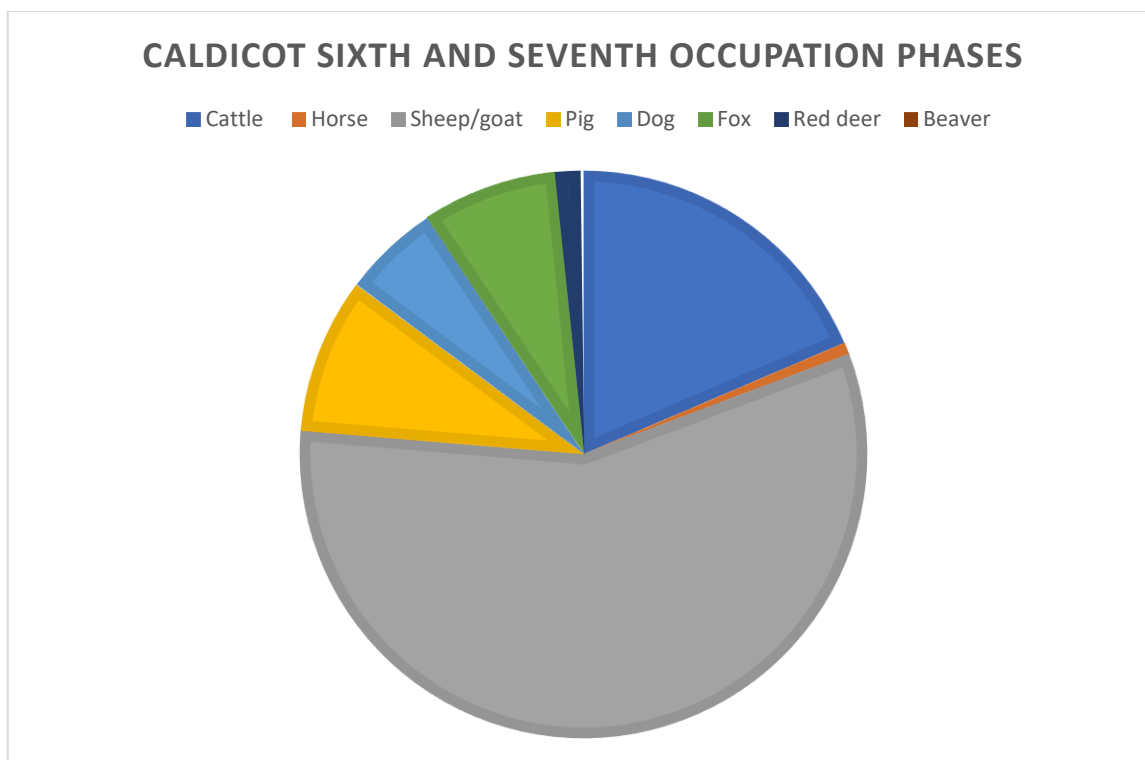


Figure 21

Faunal assemblage from sixth and seventh occupation phases at Caldicot (McCormick, 1997: 219-220)

Finbar McCormick (1997) asserts that the majority of the sixty-one bones recovered from the third occupation phase chiefly represent food refuse.⁸⁶ These include approximately twenty-three cattle bones (37.7 %); seventeen other ruminant bones (27.9 %); twelve pig bones (19.70 %); four red deer bones (6.6 %); four dog bones (6.60 %) and one fox bone (1.6 %). The fourth phase assemblage was scant,⁸⁷ producing two cattle bones (66.7 %) and a single horse bone (33.3%) respectively. The fifth phase sample⁸⁸ consisted of thirty-five cattle bones (50.7 %); thirty goat or sheep bones (43.5 %); three pig bones (4.3 %) and one roe deer bone (1.4 %), with much evidence of marrow extraction of the larger cattle bones through

⁸⁶ (Figure 18: 70)

⁸⁷ (Figure 19: 71)

⁸⁸ (Figure 20: 71)

fragmentation. The sixth and seventh phases⁸⁹ revealed 109 cattle bones (18.6 %); four horse bones (0.7 %); 335 goat or sheep bones (57.1 %); fifty-two pig bones (8.9 %); thirty-two dog bones (5.5 %); forty-five fox bones (7.7 %); eight red deer bones (1.4 %) and one beaver bone (0.2 %), and unlike the earlier occupation phases there was a predominance of sheep or goats at this location (McCormick, 1997: 219-220).

The excavation at Thornwell Farm produced 894 animal bones ranging from the later Bronze Age/earlier Iron Age until the later Iron Age/early Roman conquest (541 and 353 samples respectively). It is difficult to make direct comparisons with the evidence presented above because of the nature of the methodology and reporting used in the animal bone report. Stephanie Pinter-Bellows' (1996) ⁹⁰ select analysis of sixty-four identified bones from the earlier chronological period and thirty-seven from the latter recovered from this site revealed firstly, an assemblage consisting of twenty-three cattle bones (36.0 %); thirty other ruminant bones (46.9 %); ten pig bones (15.6 %); one red deer bone (1.6 %) and one dog bone (1.6 %). Her second sample consisted of fifteen cow bones (40.5 %); two horse bones (5.4 %); sixteen goat or sheep bones (43.2 %); three pig bones (8.1 %) and one duck bone (2.7 %). However, this appears unrepresentative of the whole sample recovered as Pinter-Bellows (1996) kept a separate (unpublished) tally of unrecorded skeletal elements.⁹¹ From this data, she reported the overall evidence suggested cattle provided more meat than other ruminants during both phases and that the majority of these were kept beyond their prime meat years (Pinter-Bellows, 1996: 81-84). This could imply that cattle had other possible roles as breeding, draught or dairy animals and sheep or goats, were raised or kept for wool and dairying.

⁸⁹ (Figure 21: 72)

⁹⁰ (Figure 22: 74)

⁹¹ (Figure 23: 74)

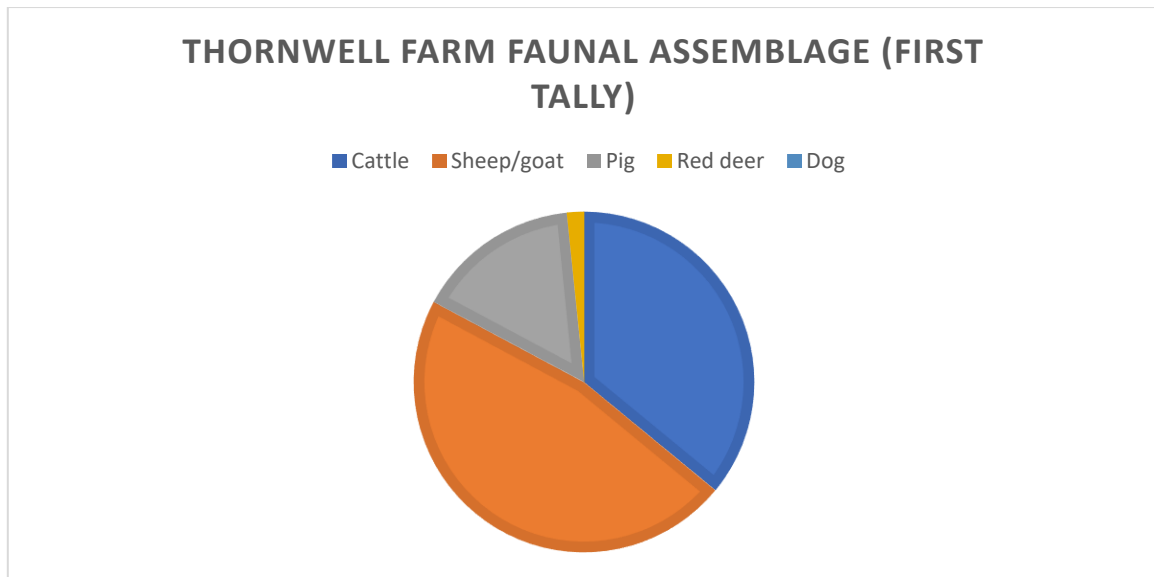


Figure 22

Thornwell Farm faunal assemblage (Tally 1) (Pinter-Bellows, 1996: 81-84)

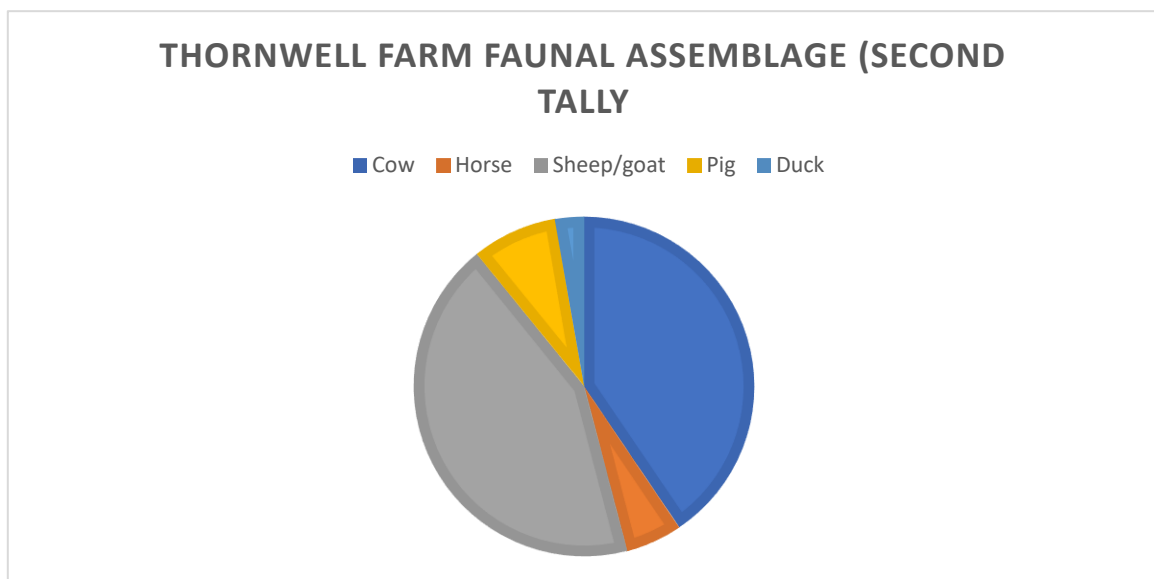


Figure 23

Thornwell Farm faunal assemblage (Tally 2) (Pinter-Bellows, 1996: 81-84)

Similarly, limitations in terms of interpreting bone assemblages from other excavations are also apparent. For example, Vyner and Allen's (1988) excavation report at Caldicot Quarry only briefly refers to 'burnt bone' or 'bone-filled' and the only species identified was 'dog' (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 86). Likewise, J. Parkhouse

(1988) provided only a summary of the results of his study's bone assemblage investigation at Biglis in Glamorganshire. He suggested there appears to have been a mixed economy throughout the occupation of the site; some cattle and sheep were kept beyond the optimum slaughtering age for wool, dairy or draught purposes and marginal food resources such as small birds, and deer were also exploited by the Biglis residents in a locale near the edge of this study's target area (Parkhouse, 1988: 64).

Parkhouse's (1988) findings were supported in more detail by Ian Kinnes' (1981) animal bone report.⁹² He noted that out of a total of 16,693 recovered fragments from the Glamorganshire site, only 6,238 could be attributed to distinct species. These consisted of goat or sheep bones (34.4 %); cattle bones (31.6 %); pig bones (21.8 %); horse bones (4.4 %); red deer bones (2.5 %) and roe deer bones (1.0 %). He translated this in terms of overall meat weights as cow (68.2 %); sheep and goats (10.2 %); pig (10.0 %); horse (8.4 %); red deer (2.5 %) and roe deer (0.1 %). Furthermore, in terms of mature and immature animals, he estimated the ages of animals in the bone assemblage in approximate ratios of ruminants 3:1; cattle 13:1; pig 33:1 and horse 2:1 respectively. Kinnes (1981) concluded overall, the assemblage represented primary butchering residue from domestic herds supplemented with a much smaller degree of hunting. He proposed emphasis at this time was on cattle raising with sheep only playing a minor role in the Iron Age economy of this settlement and the gradation of animal ages does not suggest autumn killing (Kinnes, 1981: 232-238).

⁹² (Figure 24: 76)

Research conducted at the large-defended enclosure at Caerau, Cardiff⁹³ revealed the large assemblage of bones recovered in 2013, were predominantly Iron Age or Roman in origin. Of the samples identified to date, Iron Age examples consisted of thirty-three cattle bones (46.5 %); twenty-one pig bones (29.6 %); sixteen other ruminant bones (22.5 %) and one red deer bone (1.4 %). Due to poor preservation conditions at the site, ageing was problematic and only three examples could be dated with any confidence (two cattle and one sheep). Regarding cattle, one specimen was an adult and the other a juvenile under two years of age. The sheep sample, identified from a mandible, was approximately three to four years of age. There was also evidence of butchery from an Iron Age context which was consistent with filleting meat from the bone (Jones: 2014: 49-53).

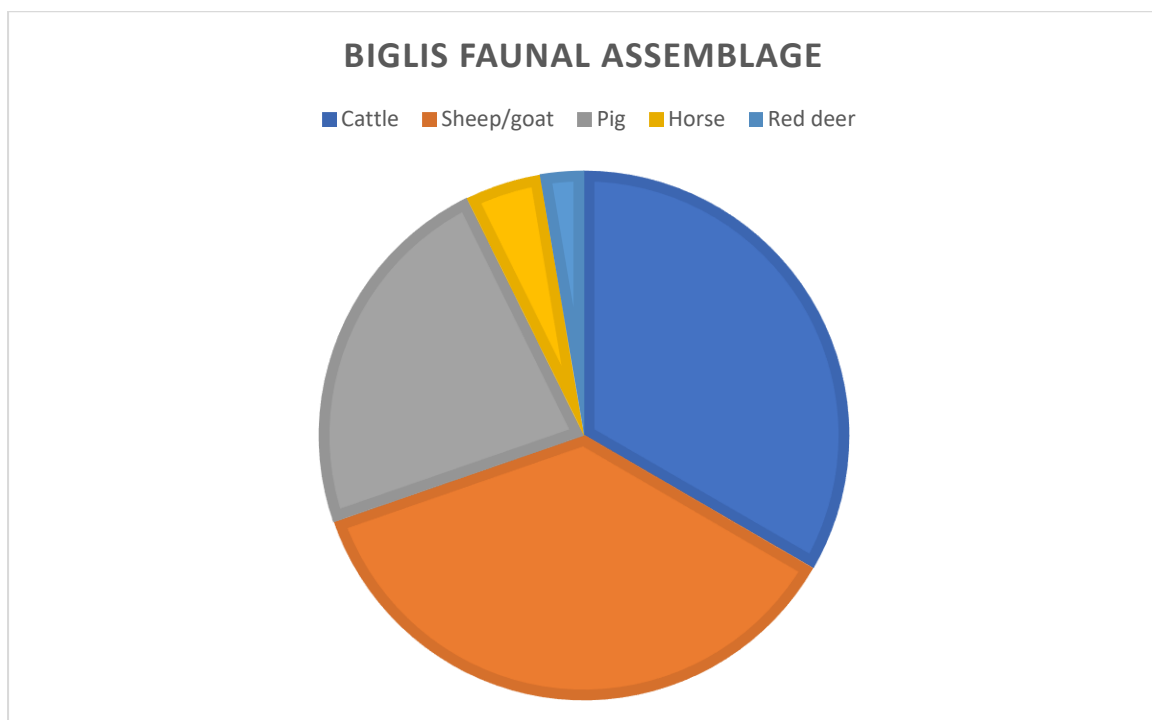


Figure 24

Biglis faunal assemblage (Kinnes, 1981: 232-238)

⁹³ (Figure 25: 77)

Further evidence of prehistoric animal husbandry was recovered by Nash-Williams' (1933, 1939) excavations at Llanmelin and Sudbrook. He referred to 'ox and red deer' fragments at Llanmelin (Nash-Williams, 1933: 282) and 'bones of ox, pig, sheep (or goat) and red deer' at Sudbrook in Iron Age contexts (Nash-Williams, 1939a: 51). Babbidge (1977) and Probert (1976) reported no bone finds at Coed y Bwnydd (Babbidge 1977: 159-178) or Twyn y Gaer, although three horse teeth were recovered (Probert, 1976: 105-120). Pollard, Howell, Chadwick and Leaver's (2006) excavation at Lodge Wood reported 'burnt bone' in trench 2 and a range of calcified fragments. Identified species included sheep and chicken (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 23, 42). The paucity of finds reflects the acidic nature of the soil at these locations.

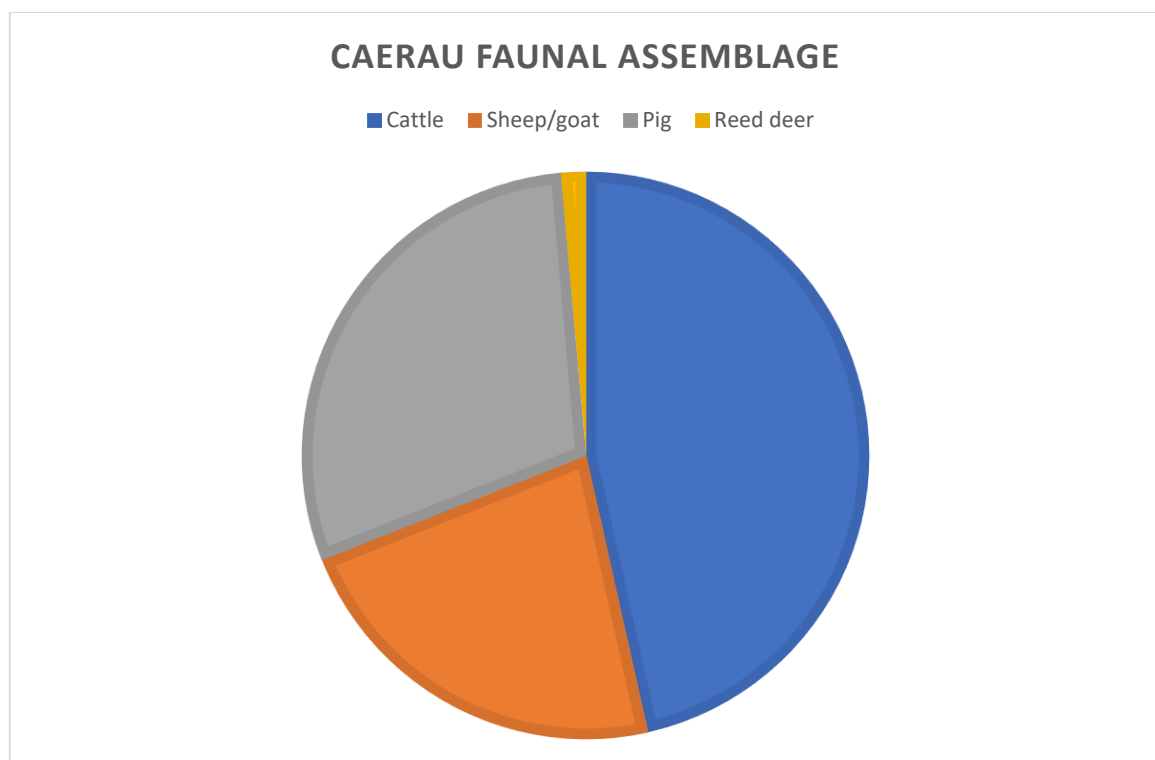


Figure 25

Caerau faunal assemblage (Jones: 2014: 49-53)

The evidence from Gwent's coastal settlements such as Peterstone, Redwick and Cold Harbour reveal significant remains of young or juvenile animals. The presence of young calf bones and almost full skeletons butchered at Redwick supports a mobile livestock strategy and is indicative of animals arriving on the hoof for spring and summer occupation. Inland, the evidence suggested there was a mixed economy favouring cattle, where significant numbers of cattle and sheep were kept beyond the peak meat slaughtering age for breeding, wool, dairying or perhaps draught purposes. This is possibly confirmed by the age ratios from the Whitton finds, although it is clear marginal food resources such as small birds and deer were also utilised. Such evidence may demonstrate a degree of continuity with hunting and gathering supplementing a farming economy. This gradation of animal ages indicates autumn killing may not have been normal farming practice and suggests pasture or fodder was available through the winter months at inland locations such as Biglis, Caldicot, Caldicot Quarry, Thornwell Farm, Whitton and other places. Another important factor is most of the sites featured above, saw canine bones recovered which may indicate stock or herding dogs. On balance, it seems likely the landscape was managed in ways which combined transhumance and sedentism.

Seasonal transhumance in the British Isles has generally been thought of in terms of upland use. However, in areas like the Gwent levels, it is highly probable that it also applied to locations where there were seasonally available coastal pastures. Bell (2013) has argued that transhumance here originated in the Bronze Age (Bell, 2013: 321). If this is accepted, it is remarkable similar cyclical activities were still being followed in the nineteenth-century CE as Charles Hassall in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Monmouth* (1815) confirmed:



Figure 26

Outline of rectangular building 6 at Goldcliff (Bell, 2000a: 111)

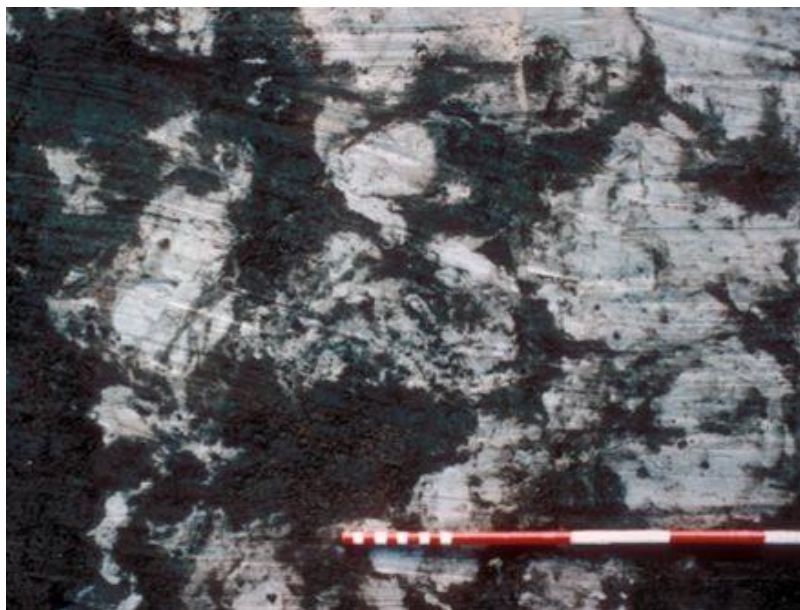


Figure 27

Sample of cattle footprints beside building 6 (Bell, 2000a: 119)

A considerable number of calves are reared in the Level of Wentloog, and much of it is let to farmers who live in the high grounds, for the maintenance of their young cattle and colts during the summer; which is a great advantage to an upland farmer, by enabling him to rear a much larger stock than he otherwise could, but the cattle and colts are so much better kept in the Level than they would be at home. The difference in the value of a two-year-old beast is not less in general than from thirty to forty per cent in favour from the animal from the Level. (Hassall, 1815: 85)

Furthermore, a large body of evidence suggested that Iron Age houses in Gwent, in keeping with British tradition generally, were round in form. However, several subrectangular structures have also been excavated; these are almost certainly ancillary in function, often being used for keeping animals.⁹⁴ Such structures, particularly on the Gwent Levels may have been elements in a transhumance system and were linked by trackways, which allowed livestock to be driven from the permanently occupied higher lands by the coast to seasonal pastures in the back-fen and on the remaining intertidal salt marshes (Rippon, 1994: 7-20, 1996: 6). They also emerge in other settings in Gwent. For example, contained within Gwent's defended enclosures three subrectangular structures have been identified to date at Lodge Wood in the Usk river valley area, and two in the north of the county at Ysgyryd Fawr (Thomas, 2019: 66).

Additionally, there was a total of nineteen possible wooden trackways associated with the Goldcliff intertidal zone recovered by a series of excavations undertaken in the 1990s. Bell (2000a) has categorised and described these in the following ways. Type A was composed of brushwood with pegged roundwood laterals and included

⁹⁴ (Figures 26: 79, 27: 79)

trackways 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, linear structure 9050 and possibly linear structure 9060. Type B was comprised of brushwood only, and included trackways 2, 5, 1311 and 1330. Type C consisted of a cradle of cross pieces and included the single example linear structure 1108. Type D was constructed of a corduroy surface which included trackway 1130 alongside a possible extension in the form of trackway 9051. Type E consisted of a double post row 970 (although Bell considers that this may not have been a trackway). Type F was described as a woven mat and consisted of a single example trackway 1103 (Bell, 2000a: 154). Bell (2000a) explained this diversity of styles in terms of the environment in which they were situated. For example, the brushwood tracks of type A were restricted to areas of reed peat only; types B and D occurred on both reed peat and the surface of blanket bog; type C, E, and F occurred on fen wood peat (Bell, 2000a: 106, 154, 156). In terms of dating, the trackways were all firmly placed in the Iron Age (Bell, 2000a: 138).

Moreover, excavations in 1999 and a monitoring visit in 2008 at the Bronze Age site designated as Redwick 2 have revealed several cattle footprints and a wood structure consisting of five wooden pegs forming two parallel lines. Between these two lines were some broken pieces of roundwood on a track approximately 0.65 m wide. Bell (2013d) suggests that there may be another possible eroded trackway or other wooden structure approximately 100 metres east at Redwick Site 15 (Bell, 2013d: 56-57). Likewise, an analysis of a sample of twenty-six pieces of wood recovered from the Cold Harbour Pill Site 11 has also been interpreted as a possible trackway (Bunning, Nayling, Pearson *et al*, 2013: 77).

The intertidal area of Chapeltump represented a third concentration where trackways occurred on the Gwentian foreshore, with continuity being demonstrated with the

presence of both Bronze and Iron Age structures (Bell, 2000b: 339; Bell, 2013f: 301). In terms of trackways, Chapeltump 5 (the Upton Hurdles) was excavated in 1985 and dated to circa 450 BCE, consisted of at least 3 metres of 1-metre-wide woven hurdles secured by five pegs which were driven vertically into the ground through the hurdle.⁹⁵ These short lengths of trackways allowed people to cross wet areas to exploit pasture. Importantly, they can be seen as tangible evidence of an organised network of constructed communication routes which connected the Levels to other parts of Gwent.

At the other end of this possible ancient transhumance trail, much of upland south Wales seems to have been cleared of trees from an early date and the region can be characterised as a predominantly open environment over many thousands of years. Palynological data evidencing this characterisation was collected from extensive sampling at Merthyr Tydfil, the Rhondda Valley and the Black Mountains (all near the study area) by means of pollen analysis and radiocarbon dating and provides evidence of several vegetational changes over an extended period.⁹⁶

This process started with woodland plant species progressively declining from *circa* 8000 BCE onwards. These were replaced by an upland heath/moorland environment which in turn began to decline from *circa* 4000 BCE onwards. This landscape was then replaced by secondary growth of new woodlands, which then subsequently declined and was in turn replaced with another new upland heath/moorland area which survives to the present from *circa* 2650 - 900 BCE onwards.⁹⁷ In addition, there was a paucity of cereal pollen reported from any of these studies' findings.

⁹⁵ (Bell, 2000b: 339; Locock, Trett & Lawler, 2000: 36-41; Neumann, Bell & Woodward, 2000: 309)

⁹⁶ (Chambers, 1982: 445-459; Chambers, 1983: 475, 486-487; Smith & Cloutman, 1988: 159)

⁹⁷ (Chambers, 1982: 445-459; Chambers, 1983: 475, 486-487; Smith & Cloutman, 1988: 159)

Moreover, Alex Brown (2013a) observes clearance cairns in upland locales such as south Wales were 'often located so close to one another as to hinder ploughing' (Brown, 2013a: 286). These factors may suggest pasture rather than arable land improvement and offer evidence of facilitating an upland phase of a 'herd splitting' strategy. They may also offer an economic reason for the location of the large-defended enclosures in the northern Gwent and the Black Mountains such as Pentwyn and Twyn y Gaer which would have facilitated the model of combined transhumance and sedentism.

Knowledge of how-to live-in Gwent with others in this prospective organised landscape had to be learnt. For instance, where to go at specific times of the year for the best grazing or to access or prepare alternative food and fodder sources without offending others and having your rights respected could not be achieved passively. However, it could have been accomplished by people following the backs of cows, sheep or goats over many seasons and years of droving, generation after generation. Repeated patterns were also learnt by livestock and their young and can be demonstrated by hefting and herding. For example, hefting was a traditional method of managing flocks of sheep on large areas of common land and communal grazing. Initially, sheep had to be kept in an unfenced area of land by constant shepherding. Over time this became learned behaviour, passed from ewe to lamb over succeeding generations. Lambs graze with their mothers on the 'heaf' belonging to their farm. This instils a lifelong knowledge of where optimal grazing and shelter such as favoured sheep scrapes for scratching or resting alongside the best-sheltered spots for lambing can be found throughout the year (DEFRA: 2014). Similarly, cattle matriarchs commonly demonstrate strong rhythms of grazing, watering and milking which the rest of the herd imitate (RSPCA: 2014). Tim Ingold

(2000) considers this ambulatory knowledge arose because of an unfolding relationship between people and animals during regular episodes of tending, guarding and guiding throughout human history (Ingold: 2000: 219-242).

Living together

In some societies, these learnt behaviours were eventually codified. A case in point, the Cyfnerth codes of Hywel Dda demonstrated how landscape features were respected in native Welsh society. Examples from the Cyfnerth law code suggest transhumance, combined with sedentism, was an accepted practice in early medieval Gwent. Examples which may indicate a seasonal farming pattern and transient use of native dwellings Include:

XXXXII Breaching Boundaries

Whoever breaches the boundary of land belonging to another person; will pay a standard fine of three cows to the king and will have to restore the boundary to its former state.

If a large river has changed its course; the original course of a river is the actual boundary between two cantrefi (a district notionally of 100 farmsteads).

The value of boundary markers of all sorts is set at 120 pence.

The width of a land boundary between two trefi (farmsteads) is to be nine feet (2.75 metres).

The width of a land boundary between two rhandiroedd (an area of land equivalent to 312 erw) is to be four feet (1.2 metres).

The width of a land boundary between two erw (approximately 324 x 36 feet/ 98.7 metres x 11 metres) is to be two furrows (2 feet/ 0.6 metres).

The breadth of the king's highway is to be twelve feet (3.66 metres).

Whoever ploughs land illegally will have to pay eight pence to its owner in compensation plus a further penny for every furrow turned up by the offender's plough. Besides this, the king will take the offender's oxen, their plough and other equipment, plus a fine equivalent to the worth of the right foot of the ploughman and the right hand of the driver.

Whoever erects a concealed animal stall, on the land of another will have to pay four pence compensation to the owner of the land. Any animals found within the stall will be given to the landowner. In addition, the offender will also pay the standard fine of three cows to the king.

If a kiln-pit is dug without permission on another person's land, then the offender will have to pay four pence compensation to the land's owner. In addition, the offender will also pay the standard fine of three cows to the king.

Anyone who builds a house on the land of another person, without permission will have to pay the standard fine of three cows to the king. In addition, the offender will pay the landowner four pence compensation and will be allowed to keep the house if the building timber was sourced from his land. If the building timber came from elsewhere then the offender has nine days to remove it. Failure to do so will result in the house being forfeit to landowner.

Whoever manures land with the owner's permission will be entitled to have the land for three years; afterwards it reverts to its owner.

Whoever clears woodland, with the permission of the owner will be entitled to have the land for five years; afterwards it reverts to the owner.

Whoever manures land with fold dung with the owner's permission will be entitled to have the land for two years, afterwards it reverts to its owner.

Whoever prepares fresh land for cultivation with the landowners' permission, will be entitled to all of the land for one year and conjointly for the second; afterwards it reverts to its owner.

Tearing down a yard fence is evidence of theft.

Regarding the worth of a winter house: the main roof beam is valued at thirty pence.

Each spar which supports it is also worth thirty pence

The benches, the side posts, the door, the hatch, the lintels, the beams and the sills are each valued at one legal penny.

Whoever opens a closed winter house is to pay one third of its worth.

An autumn house with a well, is valued at twenty-four pence. An autumn house without a well is valued at twelve pence.

A summer house is valued at twelve pence.

The fork (main supporting column) of a summer house or an autumn house is valued at one legal penny.

A door hurdle (fence gate) is valued at two legal pence.

A gap hurdle (fence panel) is valued at one legal penny.

If anyone lights a fire in another's property, he must promise in front of witnesses that before he leaves it is safe or has been put out

The barn of a king is the worth is 120 pence in value.

The barn of a breyr (a nobleman) is sixty pence in value.

The barn of the king's taeog (villein) is thirty pence in value.

Everyone should leave their barns open so air can circulate until All Saints Day (1 November). If cattle enter it and cause any damage, their owner must pay for this. After this date unless access can be easily gained at three places in the wattling wall of the barn any damage incurred shall not be paid for.

(*The Law*: translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841: 691,721,722)

The sample of laws from the Cyfnerth redaction infers there was an artificial neutral zone between occupied areas in existence from *circa* 945 CE until the laws' slow decline from 1282 CE to the Acts of Union in 1536 CE. As has been seen, it is assumed these laws were based on ancient tradition when they were written down.⁹⁸ The prescriptive nature of the evidence seen in the form of dimensions of physical space to separate either property or cultivated areas is significant. The defined space is consistent with the width of modern-day paths or hedgerows, lanes and roads which presumably, were designed to provide access whilst respecting and protecting common interests.

Moreover, between the Levels and its upland areas, most of Gwent was (and is) composed of fields. This study defines them as an area of land, enclosed or otherwise, which was (or is) used for agricultural purposes such as cultivating crops, as a paddock to enclose livestock and (or) as land left lying fallow. Gwent has many thousands of small fields of possible great antiquity. The exact dating of the origins of these common features is problematic, but landscape characterisations may be indicative.

For instance, Oliver Rackham (2000) has offered a range of basic subdivisions of the British Isles and its various landscapes. Essentially, he has categorised much of the British archipelago in terms of highland (or upland), ancient and planned countryside zones. The chief features of Britain's ancient countryside he considered were hamlets and small towns; ancient isolated farms; ancient hedges which consisted of a myriad of mixed cultivars laid out irregularly; many roads which were often sunken and circuitous and many footpaths. There were also many small woods; occasional

⁹⁸ (Chapter 2: 57-63)

isolated pollard trees; many antique features; much heathland; many ponds and open field systems either absent or of modest extent. Conversely, he sets out the features of a planned countryside as including nucleated villages; isolated farms which can be traced to the eighteenth or nineteenth-centuries CE; straight hedges consisting mainly of hawthorn; few roads, which were often straight and lay on top of the land's surface; few footpaths; occasional heathlands; large tracts of woodland or none at all; few ancient sites; few ponds; pollard trees (if present) located near villages and a strong tradition of open field systems which began early and lasted into the Enclosure Act period (Rackham, 2000: 4-5). Many parts of Gwent fit into both characterisations.

Historically, fields have been demarcated by various types of hurdle fences, stone walls, ditches, banks and hedges. Rackham (2000) has hypothesised the origins of hedges and suggests they occur in two main ways, either through deliberate planting or as a natural consequence of fencing. Essentially, tree saplings become naturally established near fences and have eventually replaced them as they rot away. He cites evidence of this process occurring on a massive scale in various parts of the United States in recent times (Rackham, 2000: 182).

Once established, hedges must be cropped and plashed to keep them dense, compact and stock proof. This kind of maintenance can be traced to prehistory. For example, Francis Pryor (2010) has described an early example of a laid hedge from Fengate, Peterborough. From here, a preserved twig which had a side shoot growing off at a right angle which he reported were 'usually found in trimmed hedges' was carbon dated to circa 2500 BCE (Pryor, 2010: 101).

Other examples drawn from the Cyfnerth redaction suggest how land, its management and access in early medieval Gwent was regulated. Extracts include:

XXVIII The law of corn and impounding

If corn is damaged in any way from the time it is planted until it is ready to be harvested money payment has to be made for it at the price of a sound sheaf.

For every fettered or clogged horse, a penny for the day, and two for the night.

If the horse is entirely free of restraint, a halfpenny the day, and a penny the night.

If the taker unfetter it, when caught upon the corn, let him pay three kine camlwrw (three times the standard fine) to the king; let him, however, put the two clogs on the same foot of the horse, and thus he forfeits nothing.

For every fold ox, a halfpenny a day, and two for the night.

Of the legal herd of swine let him catch the sow of his choice, with the exception of the three special ones which if caught are to be returned. He can take a penny for every other sow. He can offer the sow to the original owner for money in the presence of witnesses. If the original owner does not redeem it then he can keep the sow.

The lawful herd of the swine is twelve animals and a boar.

A pig, when it first turns up dung with its snout is under the same law as its mother.

Of the lawful herd of the swine, if they are found damaging hay land at any time, four legal pence are paid for them.

Anyone who finds swine doing damage in his woods, let him kill one of them every time he finds them, unto the last; excepting the three special animals: those three are, the principal of the swine; the herd boar; the sow and the Gwestfa (the food render due to the king).

Of the lawful flock of the sheep a sheep is taken; and a farthing for every five sheep.

The amount of the lawful flock of the sheep is thirty sheep and a ram.

For every lamb, there is paid a hen egg, unto the legal flock; and then a lamb out of them is paid.

For goats and kids, the same is paid.

Whoever finds geese in his corn, let him cut a stick, in length from his elbow to the end of his little finger, and as thick as he will. Let him kill the geese in the corn with the stick. However, any he kills out of the corn he must pay for.

Geese that are found damaging corn through a rick-yard fence, or through a barn fence, let him tighten a rod round their necks and leave them there until they die.

Whoever finds a hen in his barn, or in his flax garden, let him detain the hen until redeemed by an egg; or if he catch the cock, let him cut off one of the claws, or let him be liberated by an egg for every hen there was in the house.

Whoever shall catch a cat mousing in his flax garden, let its owner pay for the damage.

Whoever finds calves in his corn, let him keep them from one meal to another, without the milk of their mothers, and then set them free.

If the corn of any person bordering upon a hamlet is damaged, and if no animal is caught, let him take the relics and come into the hamlet; and if they swear an oath of ignorance; let them pay for the corn, by the average of the animals: and that law is called, paying after a polluted oath.

If a person catches an animal upon his corn, and there is contention between the impounder and the owner of the animal; it belongs to the impounder to swear to finding the foremost and hindmost animals in the corn.

If a person catches animals strange to each other in his corn, or in his hay, and they fight in the pinfold, and one animal kill the other; the owner of the animal is bound to pay for the animal killed; and the impounder is free.

If the animals of a hamlet kill a beast, and it not be known whose it was who killed it; let the owner come to the people, and let them swear an oath of ignorance; and let them pay for the beast, by the average of the oxen; and if it be a cush (black) ox, let there be a share of two oxen on it: and that law is called, complete payment after complete swearing. If one ox be acknowledged to have killed the other, let the owner pay without delay.

If there is a hamlet herdsman, his testimony is to be credited, as to which beast killed the other: for the ninth person whose testimony is to be credited is the hamlet herdsman concerning his charge.

Whoever breaks the foot of an animal belonging to another person, or its thigh, or inflict a wound that causes an ailment, provided the animal is clean, so that its flesh may be eaten; he is to take it himself, and apply remedies, until it shall be well: and if it die, let him pay the worth of it.

Whoever shall hire or engage an animal, either to carry a load, or to plough; unless it be used unlawfully, although it loses its life is not to be paid for.

If an animal bites a person, the bitten person has the animal that has bitten him; or let the owner of the animal pay the sarhaed (insult or insult fine) of the person, and the worth in blood.

Whoever reports that animals have damaged his corn, the owner of the animals is to exculpate them, upon his oath, as to the amount of the damage they have done; and, for what he will not swear to, he is to pay for the damage.

Whoever shall have right for corn damaged by animals, is to have neither payment for, nor detain animals on land containing worthless straw.

A rhandir (shared land) consists of 312 erws (approximately 20.97 square acres/ 8.48 square hectares). It includes clear and brake, wood and field, wet and dry and a supernumerary tref in the uplands as an addition.

Three events for which no reparation can be made: a stag in corn, a wild colt in corn and a dog in corn.

Three animals whose acts are not cognizable by law during the rutting season, a stallion, a hamlet bull and herd boar.

(*The Law*: translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841: 721, 741-747, 769, 783).

These laws based on custom and practice, established everyone regardless of status was expected to observe the laws of animal trespass and recognise the property of others. This model applied to a society where people and animals appear to move from winter, summer or autumn dwellings over the course of the year. It seems to have been divided into woods, pasture (for grazing), arable (for cereals), meadows (for hay) and gardens.

It is especially interesting that according to the Cyfnerth code, the rhandir measure of land appears not to have been contiguous and its structure suggested there was exploitation of different kinds of landscape resources.⁹⁹ It also has parallels with the multiple estate model discussed in detail in Chapter 3.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the Cyfnerth law code specifically referred to dwellings and gardens being fenced but does not refer to fields. This possibly confirmed the existence of fields bounded by hedges in Gwent during the early medieval period and possibly before. The society described in these tracts has many similarities with what had gone before and could have had its roots in the pre-Roman period. It offers further confirmatory evidence of a transhumance-based economy of small fields exploited for resources such as pasture, hay and cereals. The laws dealt with the minutiae of life too, for example, the code stated barns were to be 'aired' possibly to dry grain or fodder for storage,

⁹⁹ (Chapter 3: 278-280)

¹⁰⁰ (Chapter 3: 481-503)

with cattle excluded in the milder months of the year. This could suggest a combined use for these structures and further suggests lifestyles of combined transhumance and sedentism.

Nevertheless, no prehistoric granary pits or buildings interpreted as granaries have yet been recorded in Gwent. According to Alan Sylvester (2004), the only site with evidence of possible pits in the wider Silurian region was the Bulwarks enclosure site at Porthkerry in Glamorgan. This was partially excavated in 1968 but the excavation report only noted 'deep post-holes' (Davies, 1968: 85-94). The other site described by Sylvester (2004) at nearby Whitton appears to have structures which could be interpreted as granaries and were dated to the very end of the Iron Age and into the early Romano-British period (Jarrett & Wrathmell, 1981: 75-78). In addition, Sylvester (2004) has described a range of other structures near the study area at Glastonbury and Cadbury which were also rectangular with possible raised floors whose function has been interpreted as either sheds or granaries. He observed the paucity of evidence in Gwent may be indicative of a society which followed a predominantly pastoral lifestyle and cited the large enclosure at Llanmelin as evidence of a site with extensive occupation evidence without evidence of grain storage (Sylvester, 2004: 14).

However, prehistoric fragments of quern stones have been recovered by excavation and these are usually indicative of cereal crop cultivation. These include an example from Sudbrook in Gwent (Nash-Williams, 1939: 55) and another from Mynydd Bychan near Cowbridge in Glamorganshire (Martin, 2003: 64, 66; Savory, 1955: 45-47). In both cases, these fragments were recovered from the later phases of Iron Age/early Romano-British occupation. More recently, Davis and Sharples (2013)

have described three fragmentary quern stone examples recovered by excavation in 2012 which were associated within a possible prehistoric context (Wessex Archaeology, 2013: 11), a possible four post rectangular structure (Davis & Nayling, 2014: 12) and a possible corn drying kiln (Davis & Nayling, 2014: 34). All of which provide supportive evidence suggesting cereals may have been exploited before the Roman interlude within or near the study area of Gwent. Still, each of these examples from Gwent and Glamorgan have yet to be firmly dated and therefore, the evidence for widespread cereal cultivation in pre-Roman Gwent is inconclusive at this stage and offers further evidence of a discrete Silurian lifestyle based on a combination of transhumance and sedentism.

Moreover, Caesar referred to foraging grain from nearby fields to feed his troops after his first incursion into Britain. These were located near his landing place on the coast of Kent and led to a serious clash with the local Britons who opposed him in 55 BCE (Caesar, 4: 31, 32). However, during his second campaign in 54 BCE, he contrasted the habits of these Britons who lived in Kent with those who lived inland. His observations offered a degree of supportive evidence (although this must be taken with a measure of caution as he may have been simply barbarising the natives for political reasons) that some British tribes possibly had a diet and types of clothing which would support a model based on transhumance:

Most of the tribes living in the interior do not grow grain; they live on milk and meat and wear skins. (Caesar, 5: 14)

Other plants may have been cultivated and support this model of a life of combined transhumance and sedentism even if cereals were not yet grown. This notion is supported by many features of Gwent's landscape. For example, Paul Stokes and

Peter Rowley-Conwy (2002) argue that the role of plants in prehistoric economies was of major importance in understanding the role of how prehistoric societies worked. They described archaeological finds of fat hen (*Chenopodium Album*) from later prehistoric sites in Europe and discuss a series of experiments involving the collection and processing of the plant and have calculated a prospective rate of return. It appears this was similar to those of cultivated cereals with far less processing being involved. Therefore, Stokes and Rowley-Conwy (2002) suggest this plant (also known as Good King Henry or Goosefoot) was a viable potential cultigen which was certainly deliberately collected, easy to grow and probably cultivated in large quantities. It was eaten as either a leafy vegetable, was dried as animal fodder and whose seeds (as an alternative to cereals), could be ground into flour or eaten as a gruel (Stokes & Rowley-Conwy, 2002: 95-99; McIntosh, 2009: 105).

Alternative crops include pulses such as Celtic beans (*Vicia Faba Minor*) and other vetches. Peter Reynolds (1992) has noted the abundance of carbonised seeds recovered from Iron Age excavations at diverse settlement sites and suggests this was a staple and important class of crop (Reynolds, 1992: 386). Alongside these, nuts and berries could be gathered by either farmers or hunter gatherers. For example, hazels were (and are) encouraged for nuts for food, fodder and wood (McIntosh, 2009:106-107) and interestingly, the examination of the second body recovered from Lindow showed stomach contents which chiefly consisted of them (Brothwell & Brothwell, 1998: 202).

Moreover, the preponderance of small woods across much of the study area offers the possibility that these may have been utilised for woodland grazing, pollarding for

winter fodder and building materials. A variety of agroforestry land-use systems have been described in studies such as H. Read's *A Brief Review of Pollards and Pollarding in Europe* (2006) and J. Smith's *The History of Temperate Agroforestry* (2010). Read (2006) reported fodder pollards were found widely across northern Europe in various forms and further south in the Alps, Pyrenees, the Basque country and Romania. The harvesting process simply involved stripping all branches with leaves in the summer and then drying and storing them until winter when they were fed to livestock. Typically, fodder trees were cut on a two to six-year rotation before the woody material exceeded the amount of leaf. The fodder trees were habitually small and rarely reached a great age as they were generally felled when they became less productive and were replaced with new stocks. In mountainous areas of Europe, these were characteristically located in small clusters near temporary shepherds' dwellings or farms. In addition, in Scandinavia, they occurred in substantial numbers across landscapes associated with pastoralism (Read, 2006: 2). Smith's (2010) overview listed a variety of deciduous species which were utilised as fodder material, these included ash (*Fraxinus Excelsior*), downy birch (*Betula Pubescens*), goat willow (*Salix Caprea*), oak (*Quercus*), Scots elm (*Ulmus Glabra*) and silver birch (*Betula Pendula*) (Smith, 2010: 7).

Another source of traditional pollard fodder was holly (*Ilex Aquifolium*) which J. Radley drew attention to in *Holly as a Winter Feed* (1961). His study suggested this was an important resource from at least the thirteenth-century CE up to the early eighteenth-century CE in the Pennines and English north Midlands (Radley, 1961: 89-92). Another scholar M. Spray, whose study *Holly as a Fodder in England* (1981) reinforced Radley's earlier research into holly, also considers other fodder crops including broom (*Sarothamnus Scoparius*), gorse (*Ulex Europaeus*) and ivy (*Hedera*

Helix). His place-name distribution map suggested holly harvesting may have been widespread across northern and western parts of England (Radley, 1981: 97-110). In Wales, H. Hyde in *Welsh Timber Trees: Native and Introduced* (1961) identified what Spray has termed possible 'relict stands of pure holly' in the Black Mountains near Brecon (Hyde, 1961: 87-90; Spray, 1981: 102). Place names in Gwent containing the word celyn (the Welsh word for holly) include Celyn Brithion, Celyn Cottage, Celyn Farm, Coed Llwyn-y-celyn, Cwmcelyn, Fron Celyn, Llywn Celyn, Llwyn-y-Celyn, Maes-y-Celyn, Pant-y-Celyn, Twyn-y-Celyn and were located in the county's uplands (Ordnance Survey, 1805). Moreover, holly was referred to in early Welsh literature in a cattle byre structure in Rhonabwy's Dream:

And when they approached the house, they could see a very old building with a straight gable end, and plenty of smoke coming from it. When they came inside, they could see an uneven floor, full of holes; where there was a bump in the floor, scarcely good a man stand up, so slippery was the floor with the dung of the cattle and their piss. Where there was a hole, a man could go over on his ankle, what with the mixture of water and cattle-piss. And there were branches of holly in abundance on the floor, with their tips eaten by cattle. (*Rhonabwy's Dream*, translated by S. Davies, 2008: 214)

Additionally, there is good evidence in the form of place names describing possible summer and winter grazing locales across Gwent. These may have their antecedents in prehistory and are termed in Welsh as hafod and hendre of which there are six examples in Gwent. Derived from the 1805 Ordnance Survey 1:50000 edition and including the four-figure map grid reference these were, Hafod Tudur Cottage (2091), Hafodyrynys (2298), Hafod yr Ysclawdd Isaf, Hafod yr Ysclawdd Ganol, Hafod yr Ysclawdd Uchaf (1801) and Hafod-y-dafal Isaf (2003). All were located in Gwent's uplands. Furthermore, there are ten locations mentioning hendre.

These were Hendre (2380), Hendre Farm (3588), Hendre Glynn Farm (2807), Hendre Isaf, Upper Hendre, (3207), Great Hendre, Lower Hendre (4512), Lower Hendre (4513), Upper Hendre (4514) and Hendre (3520). Each was located in lower elevations.

Additionally, a 'snapshot' of the landscape features can be gleaned from the fields in which these locations lay. The earliest available Ordnance Survey (1886-1917), six inches to the mile scale, reveal hafod sites were located in irregularly shaped fields consisting of a combination of moorland and woodland whilst, the hendre locales were situated in irregular shaped fields of pasture which all contained pockets of woodland. This evidence appears to offer further support to a model applied to a society where people and animals appear to move from winter, summer or autumn dwellings over the course of the year utilising a mixture of fodder resources locally and seasonally available.

Furthermore, as has been discussed,¹⁰¹ models of settlement patterns and landscape organisation provide conceptual tools for understanding fragmentary evidence of the past. The faunal and monumental evidence presented above facilitates the projection of the multiple estate model backwards and forwards over time in a Gwentian context and is considered in detail in Chapter 3.¹⁰²

Silurian material culture

A rich source of visible evidence offering insights into Silurian culture in both discrete and wider forms rests in the sphere of its material culture. This material represents a collection of objects including personal adornments, weapons or armour, horse and

¹⁰¹ (Chapter 1: 30-31)

¹⁰² (Chapter 3: 481-503)

chariot accountments, cooking vessels and paraphernalia, assorted ceramics, door-furniture, fire-dogs, mirrors, razors, sickles, spindle whorls, spoons, tankards, various tools, currency-bars or ingots, coins, a sandstone statuette, a disembodied stone head and carved image, some inscribed dedications, a range of antefix images, the remains of a boat, funerary artefacts and faunal remains. This evidence has been previously considered.¹⁰³

Combined, they suggest at the very least, Silurian society was able to produce and sustain a substantial artistic range, provide the considerable economic surplus required to maintain artisans and was able to produce or obtain the necessary raw materials or trade goods before and during the Roman interlude. It seems certain art played a prominent part in how the Silures expressed identity in the late prehistoric and early historic periods even though it is impossible to ascertain whether Silurian craftworkers such as artists, smiths, designers or its commissioners were different individuals or genders. Nonetheless, some tentative answers can be gleaned from the region's material culture if it is considered with other strands of evidence and hints at how Silurian society may have been organised at various points in its history alongside its longevity before, during and after the Roman interlude.

For example, a metalworking tradition was apparent across Iron Age Siluria and has been described by Aldhouse-Green (2004: 165-168), Gwilt (2007: 306-309) and Howell (2006: 58). In Gwent, evidence of bronze working during the Iron Age has been recovered at both Llanmelin (Nash, 1933: 279) and Twyn y Gaer (Probert, 1976: 105-109). Whilst at Lodge Hill and Thornwell Farm waste iron production slag

¹⁰³ (for a full discussion see Thomas, 2019: 107-159)

was recorded during excavation (Hughes, Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 1-18; Starley: 1996: 77-78).

Production-based artefacts recovered in Gwent and Glamorgan demonstrate a society which created its own discrete objects, and much evidence comes from artefact deposition. These activities could be interpreted as representing ritual abandonment, sacrifice or possibly propitiation from the very early Llyn Fawr hoard and examples of later structured depositional behaviour. They could represent continuity from the Bronze Age as the manufacture and distribution of the highly distinctive South Wales Axe (Moore, 1978: 57-66) which may be indicative of Silurian territory or discrete practice. Some of the elaborate metal objects found in Gwent including coins, represent imports and establish Silurian links with the wider world (Thomas, 2019: 117-182, 197-205).

Silurian rituals, hoards, deposition and feasting

Watery and dry deposition are coverall terms and can refer to a variety of different environments and context types. The former can be applied to natural and fabricated environments including running water, standing water, types of wetlands, built structures and could consist of features such as rivers, streams, lakes, ponds, pools, bogs, marshland and wells. The latter could include terrestrial deposits in caves, ditches, pits or material spreads in association with built features such as earthworks. Artefact depositions occurred in Siluria and are viewed as structured activities (ceremonial or placed) in this study as their concentration suggests their deposition was intentional and probably not random losses.

Llyn Fawr is an important very-early Iron Age watery deposition site located in the Glamorgan uplands. A hoard of twenty-four items was recovered in the early part of the twentieth-century CE after the natural lake was drained. The whole hoard can be regarded as a possible unitary deposit. All objects date to the Late Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age (*circa* 650 BCE). The two cauldrons designated class B1, show similarities with some contemporary Irish examples and are indicative of seaborne trade. Furthermore, research shows they were considered to be several generations old when they were deposited.¹⁰⁴ The iron sickle proves iron production had been established at an early stage, however, its similarity to the bronze examples suggests this was a gradual change and a cultural transition. The iron spearhead is of a common and simple type and cannot be related to either local manufacture or continental imports. However, the Hallstatt C sword was probably an import and suggests wider Silurian cultural connections. Similarly, the Cardiff Hoard consisted of eleven pieces of bronze metalwork and has been assigned a similar date range as the Llyn Fawr assemblage because of the Hallstatt-type razors (Martin, 2003: 18-19).

At Llanmaes in Glamorgan, ongoing surveys and excavations undertaken since 2003 have revealed a large and materially rich midden deposit feasting site dated to the Earliest and Early Iron Age. An assemblage of sherds, distinctive Armorican and Sompting socketed axes, horse gear, bowl, cup and cauldron fragments were recovered. The faunal assemblage consisted of 73,501 bone samples of which 16,786 (22.8 %) were identifiable.¹⁰⁵ Of these, pigs, represented 71.0 % of the identifiable domesticates and were of wide-ranging ages (Gwilt, Lodwick, Deacon *et al*, 2016: 307-309).

¹⁰⁴ (Cunliffe, 2005: 455-458; Jope, 2000: 226; Savory, 1976: 19-75)

¹⁰⁵ (Figure 28: 103)

Analysis suggests pigs arrived on the hoof and were raised in different areas by multiple communities using a range of food sources as fodder. These included animal proteins associated with household waste and human faeces. Butchery occurred on-site and the remains revealed a preference for the right forelimb (68.5 %). Furthermore, the most common butchered fragments were right-sided vertebral portions (79.0 %) This was species selective and only related to pig bones and necessitated the carcasses being split down the middle with care taken to divide the right and left sides equally. This suggests the pigs were processed and the residues deposited in a highly formalised and perhaps socially circumscribed way. Furthermore, it appears to be evidence of feasting (Gwilt, Lodwick, Deacon *et al*, 2016: 307-309) and consumption of the choice portions described by Diodorus (Diodorus, 5: 28).

Llanmaes is located approximately 2.5 km from the Bristol Channel and this coastal location given the origins of some of the metalwork finds, demonstrates possible wider Silurian cultural connections through seaborne exchange. The excavations revealed the midden accumulated on the site of a long-lived open settlement dated to the late Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age. Later, it appears there was a deliberate cutting of a two-phased pit into the centre of the midden into which further depositions were made. The excavators suggest the site was 'still well remembered as being a significant place' during the second-century CE (Gwilt, Lodwick, Deacon *et al*, 2016: 309-318) and could be interpreted as evidence of Silurian cultural continuity from the Late Bronze Age/Earliest Iron Age to the Romano-British period. Aside from the animal bones, the assemblage recovered to date included:



Figure 28

Part of the faunal assemblage recovered from the Late Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed site at Llanmaes (National Museum of Wales, 2005.5H: 2019)

Llanmaes hoard

1. the remains of a minimum of five cauldrons
2. the remains of nine ring handled bowls
3. forty socketed axes and small axe fragments
4. a bronze cup or ladle
5. two bronze wagon fittings
6. a bronze dirk
7. three pins
8. three bronze bracelets
9. an iron punch

10. an iron chisel
11. a fragment of iron band
12. 4404 sherds dated between the Middle Bronze to the Late Iron Age
13. at least two funerary urns

(Gwilt, Lodwick, Deacon *et al*, 2016: 309-318)

Understanding feasting practices in south-eastern Wales during the Late Iron Age is hindered by a lack of evidence in the form of macrofossil and faunal evidence assemblages (Gwilt, 2008: 315). However, the faunal assemblage recovered from the Late Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed site at Llanmaes to the south-east of the midden comprised 662 identifiable fragments and held far higher proportions of sheep or goat and cattle (79.0 %) than the nearby midden. Richard Madgwick (2016) considers the pig bone quantity (21.0 %) is abnormally high for late Iron Age Romano-British sites where he quotes a range of between 5 and 10 % being more common and may provide a potential link with the midden feasting site (Gwilt, Lodwick, Deacon *et al*, 2016: 307-309). This is further reinforced by faunal evidence in the Gwentian sites where cattle bones provide the majority of finds during this period.¹⁰⁶

Moreover, given the scarcity of querns recovered from excavations in Glamorgan and Gwent, two possibilities are raised during the Late Iron Age. Firstly, a diet based on meat and dairy, derived from pastoral production processes, may be likely. Secondly, prior to the Roman interlude alcohol consumption may have been based

¹⁰⁶ (Chapter 2: 57-98)



Figure 29

Late Iron Age / Roman wooden tankard recovered from Langstone (National Museum of Wales 2008.15H, 2019)



Figure 30

Late Iron Age strainer recovered from Langstone (National Museum of Wales 2010.23H/3, 2019)



Figure 31

A bronze bowl of Late Iron Age date recovered from Langstone. Decorated in the La Tène Art style it has a decorated escutcheon (cast) with red glass insets, which is perforated to hold a suspension ring. (National Museum of Wales 2010.23H/1, 2019)



Figure 32

Iron Age copper alloy bowl from Langstone (National Museum of Wales, 2010.23H/2, 2019)

on locally produced alternatives to beer (based on cereals). These could include mead, cider, perry or country wines based on seasonal fruits such as blackberry or elderberry which do not necessarily require the addition (or cultivation) of sugar for fermentation. Material culture including a tankard, tankard handles, cauldrons and other vessels provide some insight.

Tankards first appeared in the Late Iron Age and continued to be made and deposited throughout the Romano-British period (e.g. Cochran, 1952: 85-102; Gwilt, 2007: 313). In the Silurian region, the five tankards of the Seven Sisters hoard (Davis & Gwilt, 2004: 24) constitute the largest group. Two tankard handles were found in Caerleon in first to third-century CE contexts (Webster, 1975: 231-236) and another recovered from Caerwent was estimated to be dated at *circa* CE 50-75 (Simpson,

1972: 49-80). Gwilt in his (2007) study identified thirty-five examples in Britain overall. Of these, nine were recovered from south-eastern Wales and eleven from south-western England (Gwilt, 2007: 313). This represents a strong south-westerly British preference and along with Gwentian coin finds (Thomas, 2019: 21), may reveal something of the political relationships between the Silures and Dobunni at the end of the Iron Age and the beginning of the Romano-British period.

Furthermore, evidence in the form of a deposited tankard and hoard discovered near the Ford Farm defended enclosure at Langstone in December 2007 is of importance. The finds consisted of a large-decorated tankard, a broad-rimmed strainer and two decorated bowls all located in close proximity. The tankard¹⁰⁷ was constructed of six staves of yew-wood and was bound with two broad sheets of copper-alloy with a

¹⁰⁷ (Figure 29: 105)

continuous alloy strip forming a rim. Dating this artefact is problematic because yew is such a slow-growing tree and it is possible the wood may have been formed hundreds of years prior to its construction (Gwilt, 2009). The vessel had a circumference of 52.3 cm around its mid-height and was bound with staves. Other important measurements were its internal diameter (15 cm) and depth (15 cm). From these dimensions it is possible to calculate the approximate amount of liquid it could hold and which equates to 2.9 litres (or nearly five pints). Its handle was undecorated, cast from copper-alloy and fixed to the vessel by two pairs of bronze rivets (Gwilt, 2009). However, its copper alloy (i.e. brass composition) raises several questions about divergent Silurian practices when comparisons are made with the Seven Sisters hoard and other contemporaneous tankard fittings. This is further considered below.¹⁰⁸

The larger bowl¹⁰⁹ was shallow and squat in form. It had a rounded base, upright neck and everted flat-topped rim which was decorated with four pairs of close-set incised grooves. Between each pair of grooves, a wavy line appeared to be punched to create a stitch-work decorative effect. There were further grooves on the interior neck surface and around its waist. The bowl was made from copper-alloy sheet and had a copper-alloy escutcheon which had a perforation underside to accommodate a bronze ring thought to be designed for hanging or storing. It had been shaped to fit the curves of the bowl and had been decorated with red glass. The vessel's internal diameter (19.7 cm) and depth (9.9 cm) suggest a capacity of 2.7 litres (4.7 pints) (Gwilt, 2009). Similarly, the smaller bowl¹¹⁰ appeared shallow and squat in form and had a rounded base. The rim was everted and decorated with four incised grooves.

¹⁰⁸ (Chapter 2: 98-115)

¹⁰⁹ (Figure 31: 106)

¹¹⁰ (Figure 32: 106)

There were other incised lines, set at right angles to the grooves giving a decorated ladder effect around the rim. It too, had a decorated cast bronze escutcheon with a perforation to accommodate a small bronze ring. This vessel's diameter (16.4 cm) and depth (8.7 cm) suggest a possible capacity of 1.8 litres (3.1 pints) (Gwilt, 2009). The copper alloy strainer¹¹¹ was decorated with a perforation pattern occupying a circle and consisting of triskele designs within. It had a simple looped bronze escutcheon and suspended bronze ring attached to a decorated flange (Gwilt, 2009).

Gwilt (2009) has characterised the two bowls as possible southern British Rose Ash forms and as a recognised Late Iron Age and native type with finds located at several locations in Britain that may demonstrate wider Silurian cultural links with other Iron Age people outside the Silurian home area. He suggests dates of 50 BCE-CE 50 for this class of artefact and notes an element of possible Romanisation on the Langstone finds. Furthermore, he considers the strainer 'as one of a small group' with no handles and decorated flanges located in Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Surrey, Sutherland and Yorkshire. Combined the bowls and strainers appear to have a widespread distribution and similar chronological contexts (Gwilt, 2009). Likewise, he considers the tankard as an example of a native form of communal drinking vessel especially prevalent across western Britain (Gwilt, 2007: 313-314). Overall, he estimates a date of manufacture between CE 40-60 and subsequent burial between CE 40-75 of this assemblage.

The Lesser Garth-Pentyrch and Seven Sisters hoards¹¹² are both dated to the Late Iron Age and may have been abandoned for later retrieval, but on balance the

¹¹¹ (Figure 30: 105)

¹¹² (Figures 33: 110, 34: 111)

evidence suggests a structured placing was most plausible. They respectively consisted of:



Figure 33

Terret from the Lesser Garth-Penttyrch hoard in Glamorganshire (National Museum of Wales 0.4125, 2019)

Lesser Garth-Penttyrch hoard

1. an iron cauldron ring and attached staple
2. an iron cauldron hanger
3. a bronze terret ring
4. an iron bridle bit
5. an iron lynch pin
6. two iron knives
7. an iron chisel

8. an iron latch lifter
9. an iron ring
10. an iron billet (Martin, 2003: 24-26)



Figure 34

The Seven Sisters Hoard (Davis & Gwilt, 2008: 224)

Seven Sisters Hoard

1. two copper alloy terminal rings
2. three copper alloy terrets
3. four copper alloy strap unions
4. a copper alloy buckle
5. a copper alloy slide mount
6. two bronze pendant hooks

8. five bronze tankard handles
9. a bronze sheet and three folded bronze sheets
10. a bronze ring and a bronze circular fragment
11. a bronze helmet crest knob
12. fragments of two copper alloy bells
13. a copper alloy balance weight
14. two bronze ingots and two bronze billets
15. two casting jets (Martin, 2003: 20-23)

The Lesser Garth-Pentyrch hoard consists chiefly of iron objects and includes tools, production pieces and cauldron attachments. The best-known object is a bronze enamelled terret.¹¹³ Savory (1966) considered the objects to be a deposition made by a metalsmith (Savory, 1966: 27-44). Gwilt and Davis (2008) see this hoard as one of a group buried in Britain at a similar time and cite examples at Polden Hills, Mellonsby, Middleby, Saham Toney, Seven Sisters and Tal-y-Llyn (Davis & Gwilt, 2008: 145-146).

Davis' (2008) metallurgical analysis, functional and stylistic interpretations of the Seven Sisters hoard suggest two distinct types of Late Iron Age traditions occurring contemporaneously which were very different from the Roman material present (consisting of horse equipment, a buckle and two casting jets made from impure brass copper alloy, gunmetal and impure bronze). Her first categorisation of curvilinear La Tène artefacts made from bronze had consistent levels of tin of 12.0

¹¹³ (Figure 33: 110)

%, were cast using the lost wax technique and consisted of the drinking, feasting, manufacturing military and scrap objects. Her second geometric categorisation consisted entirely of horse-related artefacts made of copper alloy with a consistent level of zinc of 17.0 % (Davies & Gwilt, 2008: 148-151,158). The presence of a balance weight and standard composition of the metals used in the hoard could suggest that Silurian metalsmiths followed proscriptive composition practices and produced a standard metal product. This is further evidenced by Davis' (2008) comparisons of assemblages recovered from Camerton in Somerset and Melsonby in Yorkshire. Both sites provide evidence that a small range of alloys was used for similar native objects (Davis, & Gwilt, 2008: 153-154) and provides further evidence of Silurian cultural links with the wider world.

Various decorative techniques were applied to the Seven Sisters metalwork including the addition of glass, enamel and niello to recesses and the use of inscribed and punched decoration directly to some of the metal surfaces. Davis (2008) notes even though these could produce numerous combinations of effects there were discernible patterns which included red glass on the curvilinear artefacts, red polychrome enamel on the geometric examples with tinning and niello on the Roman material (Davis & Gwilt, 2008: 154-155).

The five tankard handles recovered from the Seven Sisters hoard alongside the other Gwentian examples discussed above, provide particularly good evidence of feasting or at least communal meals during the Late Iron Age in Siluria. Davis (2008) notes brass was not used in the tankard handles and all feasting equipment was made of bronze. She considers native artefacts displayed a consistent measure of 'control and purity' (Davis & Gwilt, 2008: 151) which was not evident in the Roman artefacts. However, this was not the case with the Langstone hoard where all the

metal objects were made of copper alloy more commonly described as brass. Gwilt (2008) places the hoard in the context of other metalwork from the Late Iron Age, Romano British transition period.

The Lesser Garth-Pentyrch and Seven Sisters hoards although very different in composition from the earlier depositions and each other, do have many features in common. For example, both contained horse gear and feasting paraphernalia. In addition, the presence of specific production items in both hoards suggests metal production for metal material goods had become a significant part of Silurian life by the Late Iron Age. Furthermore, additional feasting evidence is provided by cauldrons and associated paraphernalia. In Siluria, fragments of cauldrons and bowls have been found at Llyn Fawr and Llanmaes, both Early Iron Age in date. However, cauldron remains from the first-century CE Seven Sisters and Lesser Garth-Pentyrch hoards show continual use of such vessels and demonstrate a measure of cultural continuity in the form of communal feasting from the Early to the Late Iron Age and Roman interlude in Siluria. The evidence from Llanmaes raises questions about whether feasts such as these included all Silures, free Silures only, or men only at certain important and presumably ritual events.

In Gwent, as well as the Langstone hoard, additional depositions may have occurred at the Caldicot Lake site. This is possibly evidenced by the sewn plank boat fragments dated to the Earlier Bronze Age recovered from this site, alongside animal bones and Late Bronze Age metalwork (Nayling & Caseldine, 1997: xiv, 261-264). Moreover, the boat recovered from Barland's Farm near Magor dated to the fourth-century CE and is considered to have been abandoned to stabilise the river edge in response to sea-level rise which occurred in the area at this time alongside an associated bridge or jetty (Nayling & McGrail, 2004: 223-224) could equally have

been a votive deposition in response to climate change. Importantly, these finds may also be indicative of cultural continuity in Gwent from the Early Bronze Age until the Romano-British period.

Likewise, evidence from Dinas Powys derived from middens and recovered in early medieval contexts may have originated from feasting events (Campbell, 2007: 99), whilst deposition in the form of coins at Rogiet in Gwent may represent a form of communal deposition (Besley, 2006: 46-125). In addition, many wells in Wales and the west of Britain were dedicated to Celtic saints and are situated within churchyards associated with documented pre-Norman foundations.¹¹⁴ Each may represent a continuum from Gwent's deep past.¹¹⁵

Silurian funerary ritual

Iron Age funerary practices are evident in the Silurian region and have been recovered from various contexts. These include inhumation, cremation and possible excarnation examples. For instance, incomplete skeletons were found at RAF St. Athan in the Vale of Glamorgan. Here, two adults were buried in the internal bank of an enclosure and juvenile leg bones were recovered from a nearby pit. These remains were dated to the Late Iron Age at *circa* 170 BCE-CE 60. Moreover, 70 metres west of the enclosure, two probable female inhumation burials consisting of complete skeletons were discovered five metres apart and have been dated 400-200 BCE firmly in the Middle Iron Age (Barber, Cox & Hancocks, 2007: 64, 66, 155). Other Iron Age inhumation burials were found at Mynydd Bychan and Merthyr Mawr Warren, with both described as being deposited haphazardly manner in both

¹¹⁴ (Edwards, 1996: 58; Evans, 2003: 44; Petts, 2009: 142-144)

¹¹⁵ (Chapter 3: 256-259)

instances (Savory, 1954a: 85-108; Savory, 1954b: 53-54). Skeletal deformities often occur amongst Iron Age burials in Britain (Brothwell & Bourke: 1995: 56-57). However, this is not the case in south Wales where only one such burial has been found at Castle Ditches near Llanccarfan where the second and third cervical vertebrae of the skeleton were fused. The deceased's arms and head had also been damaged, possibly from the force of placing the skeleton into a small hollow (Martin, 2003: 53).

In Gwent, the annexe at Llanmelin, contained incomplete skeletons of a male and female and are thought to be dated to the first-century CE (Howell & Pollard, 2004: 150). At Thornwell Farm, a minimum of seven late-foetal-early-neonatal individuals and one older child or early adolescent were recovered during excavations. Each of the skeletons was incomplete. Of the seven infants, it was impossible to determine gender or if they were either stillborn or died in the immediate post-natal period. One individual was carbon dated to *circa* 60 BCE (Pinter-Bellows, 1996: 80). In addition, a cremation burial dated to 550-200 BCE at Trostrey, although considered more common among Iron Age burials, is rare in the inhumation burial tradition of the period in south Wales (Gwilt, 2007: 315).

Furthermore, on the Gwent Levels, two skulls, one Middle Bronze Age and one Early Iron Age in date were found less than two metres apart in an area also containing animal skulls. This and a Bronze Age femur found at Chapeltump suggest a continuation of ritual practices in the Levels. The Bronze Age skull dating overlaps a period of climatic change in the area and may have been a factor in the demise of this ritual practice in Gwent (Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 164; Gwilt, 2007: 316). Howell (2006) considers this may be evidence for funerary practice and offers a possible explanation of excarnation. He cites a cluster of twelve posts consisting of six

species of wood in a close association which could be an apparent platform defined by posts where these remains were recovered as evidence of discrete selection and possible ritual behaviour (Howell, 2006: 28-29). Overall, the archaeological record in Glamorgan and Gwent demonstrates changes over time in relation to how the Silures treated the remains of those who died. During the Late Iron Age, it appears the burial of incomplete skeletons may have become more frequent. This may be due to the ritual use of some bones of the deceased during this period. One reason why this occurred may be in relation to warfare and the necessity for quick burials during the Silurian-Roman war.¹¹⁶

Silurian holy ground and indigenous divinities

Silurian monumentality has been discussed.¹¹⁷ However, if differential construction can be considered as an identifier of Silurian identity then the apparent well-defined structure identified by aerial photography at Gwehelog may be of importance.¹¹⁸ Aldhouse-Green (2004) refers to the structure as a 'shrine' or 'sanctuary', and notes the easterly orientation of both the porched entrance of the sanctuary, and the gatehouse and eastern entrance of the *temenos*, potentially continuing the ritual importance of eastward orientation also found in Iron Age and earlier houses and shrines (Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 162). The RCHAMW considers the architecture of the Gwehelog structure as being unique in Wales. It was approximately 8 metres in diameter, appeared to have possessed a porched entrance orientated towards the east and was asymmetrically set in a rectilinear precinct 56 metres north-south by 50 meters east-west. Cropmark evidence reveals a 20-metre-long by 5 metres wide corridor or range of buildings on the north side of the *temenos*. These are associated

¹¹⁶ (Chapter 2: 124-135)

¹¹⁷ (Chapter 2: 37-57)

¹¹⁸ (Figure 35: 118)

with a pair of clear subdivisions within the corridor or range outlining a room 5 metres square and is matched by an offset solid footing of a further building or room 5 metres by 3 metres on the inner side of the north *temenos* wall. There are traces of other stone anomalies within the *temenos*, conceivably structural features or patches of collapsed stonework (RCHAMW, 2019).

One of the most interesting features was the fragmentary remains of a large circular structure of approximately 16 metres in diameter, partly visible in the southern part of the *temenos* to the south of the shrine but cut by, and presumably earlier than, the south *temenos* wall. This structure indicates a possible pre-Roman cult building on the site (RCHAMW, 2019). Davies (2000) considers the temple may have been built

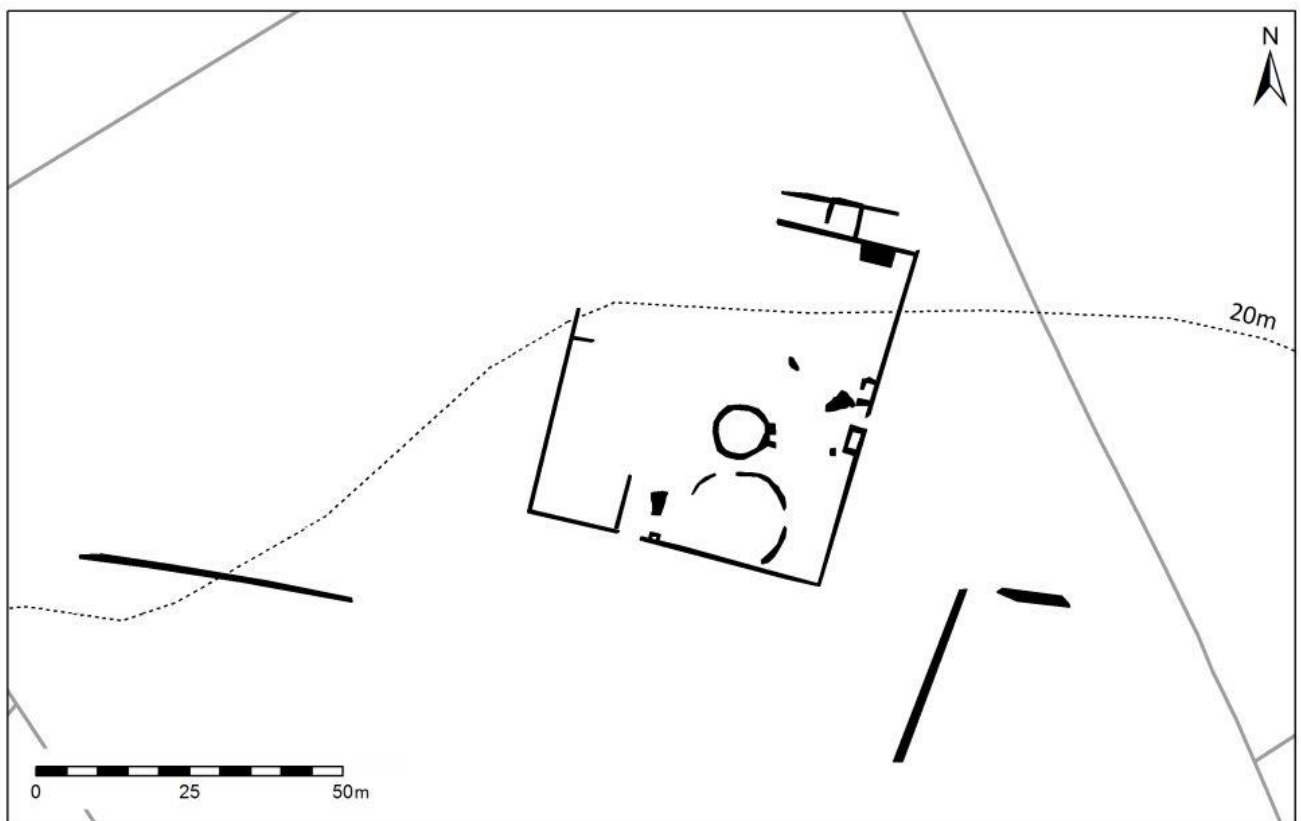


Figure 35

Site plan of Gwehelog Romano-British shrine (RCHAMW, C622095, 2019)

as a result of Roman military patronage of a pre-Roman cult focus or in view of its resemblance to the early/mid first-century BCE site at Hayling Island in Hampshire as a purely native temple of western Gallic architectural form (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 130; King & Soffe, 1998: 35-47). If this is so, the Gwehelog shrine may be indicative of wider Silurian cultural practice during the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period. Other elements evidencing possible Silurian ritual transition into the early Middle Age are considered in Chapter 3.¹¹⁹

As has been mentioned,¹²⁰ the evidence from Thornwell Farm provides particularly useful information contextualising roundhouse occupation over an extended period and helps scholars to understand the strength of native tradition alongside cultural continuity in smaller rural locations during the period under review. Whilst neither the building itself nor the associated finds suggest a religious function for the site, its layout suggests certain distinctive features which may imply a symbolic dimension. These take the form of construction variation of its wall with the eastern side far more robustly constructed than the western and through plotting the spatial patterning of artefacts a significantly denser concentration was found in the eastern half and specifically clustering around the south-easterly facing entrance. From this evidence, the excavators considered that the roundhouse had been organised into dichotomous sacred and secular zones (Hughes, 1996: 20-21).

Research to enhance interpretation of organised spatial orientations of roundhouses has been undertaken since the 1960s.¹²¹ This growing body of research into the socio-cosmological patterns provided by later prehistoric circular buildings suggests that they were laid out in specific ways to utilise the natural movement of sunlight

¹¹⁹ (Chapter 3: 256-261)

¹²⁰ (Figure 10: 53)

¹²¹ (e.g. Boast & Evans, 1986; Chadwick, 1960; Hill, 1995; Oswald, 1997; Parker-Pearson, 1996; Pope, 2007; Wait, 1985)



Figure 36

Severed human head from a shrine associated with a house of late Roman date at Caerwent (Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 172)



Figure 37

Seated female figure recovered from a pit at Caerwent (Aldhouse-Green & Howell: 2000:89)

around the circular space on a daily, monthly or annual basis. Furthermore, it appears that the living space was possibly divided into oppositional halves. Aldhouse-Green (2004) considers these may have been light or dark, public or private, male or female, and living or sleeping areas (Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 162-163). These possible practices were not just limited to Iron Age Britain and have been identified in a range of several traditional communities (Oswald, 1997: 87-95).

In the Roman period, forms of Silurian cultural and ritual continuity appear to be maintained using the new iconographic habit introduced by *romanitas* after the Silurian-Roman war¹²² and is evidenced in a range of ways. Examples include the Caerleon sandstone fragment¹²³ which provides evidence for continental, arguably Celtic influences in its depiction of a Silurian (Thomas, 2019: 118-122) and appears to confirm Tacitus' description of the Silures (Tacitus (a): 11:2).

The two Caerwent statuettes consisting of a disembodied human head¹²⁴ and a seated female figure,¹²⁵ again carved of local sandstone were both found in an archaeological context (Boon, 1976: 163-75; Aldhouse-Green, 2012: 115-134). The stone head was found placed on a platform within a chamber set away from the main dwelling. Aldhouse-Green (2004) notes whilst its chronological context is late Roman, it may well have been very old when it was deposited and 'therefore charged with archaic, ancestral meaning'. Furthermore, the statue's face is asymmetrical with the left eye being much shallower and less well carved than the right. This appears to be deliberate and recurring slighting on the left side of faces has been noted in several locations in Britain and Europe (Aldhouse-Green, 2004:

¹²² (Chapter 2: 124-141)

¹²³ (Figure 39: 128)

¹²⁴ (Figure 36: 120)

¹²⁵ (Figure 37: 121)

172; Coles, 1990: 315-333). The seated female features a pear-shaped face and disproportionately small body and limbs and was recovered from near the temple towards the bottom of a deep pit. The figure appears to be hooded with her hands resting on her lap around fruit and an up-right fir branch. Howell (2006) considers this statue as a possible symbol of fertility and eternity, which although Roman in date, expresses much older beliefs. Aldhouse-Green and Howell (2000) draw parallels with the Alesia statue, which had been placed in a subterranean space beneath a house which may reflect a chthonic or netherworld dimension (Aldhouse-Green & Howell, 2000: 89). In addition, the reused stone relief, thought to be Roman in date, which was built into the Norman Hall-Keep at Chepstow castle depicting three male figures, with the largest wearing an animal headdress perhaps expressed beliefs in other local spirit-forces whose origin was much older (Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 172; Howell, 2006: 30).¹²⁶

Moreover, the branch and fruit may be representative of the yew. Fred Hagender's (2011) research into the importance of this tree to many cultures over an extended period has suggested the six-pointed rosette (dated to the second-century CE) recovered from Chepstow¹²⁷ represents the tree (Hagender, 2011: 155). In addition, the brooch is roughly contemporaneous with the yew-wood tankard recovered from Langstone.¹²⁸ Even though tankards appear to be representative of particular southwestern British practice, the brooch may be representative of wider Silurian ritual connections. It is interesting many churchyards in Gwent contain yew trees of possible great antiquity and may be representative of continuity into the early Middle

¹²⁶ (Figure 231: 485)

¹²⁷ (Figure 38: 124)

¹²⁸ (Figure 28: 103)



Figure 38

Flat and plain edged brooch dating from the second-century CE associated with yew recovered from Chepstow (Hagender, 2011: 155)

Age and beyond. This phenomenon is investigated in Chapter 3. ¹²⁹

The Silurian-Roman war

In CE 43, Emperor Claudius launched his invasion of Britain. The consequences arising from the Roman conquest and subsequent occupation of much of Britain and ultimately Siluria, compelled the natives to adapt to a new way of life involving changes to their local politics, economy and society. Roman tactics varied according to circumstances and appeared flexible enough to include decentralised tribal structures.

The Classical writers show some tribes became pro-Roman and retained a degree of independence, albeit on a restricted level. One such example was Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus) a client king of Rome who became a full Roman citizen, who changed his name to include that of the emperor and retained much of his

¹²⁹ (Chapter 3: 259-261)

power by simply demonstrating a willingness to collaborate (Tacitus, (a): 14). Tribes less willing to give in easily, were persuaded to concede to Roman rule either through diplomacy or the threat of force (Diodorus, 60: 20, 60: 21). Through these tactics, tribes were probably given less independent rule, and forced to give tribute and possibly hostages, as described by Caesar during his earlier campaigns (Caesar, *Gallic Wars*: 4: 21, 4: 27, 4: 36; 5: 20, 5: 22; Tacitus, (b) 11: 19). Other tribes who waged war with Rome and who were eventually beaten were initially treated more severely than their neighbours. However, they were generally reconciled with the Romans who needed some cooperation with tribal elites after pacification (Millet, 1990: 44).

Following the initial Roman invasion of CE 43 under the leadership of Aulus Plautius fighting continued in southern Britain until around CE 47 when the second governor of Britain, Publius Ostorius Scapula arrived (Tacitus, (b) 12: 31). Tacitus' record of British affairs from CE 47-77 noted thirteen campaigns directed at the communities who then inhabited what was to become modern Wales and the Marches (Tacitus, (b) 12: 33-12: 37). Although often imprecise in terms of time and place, his accounts provide historians with a framework with which the archaeological evidence can be compared.

It seems after first putting down the revolt in the east, Scapula turned his attention towards the Deceangli in north-east Wales (Tacitus, (b): 12: 32). This strategy was probably adopted to protect and secure Roman allies (*socii*) in the western Midlands which could not be completed without the pacification of Wales (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 4; Tacitus, (b): 12: 31). This process was initially facilitated by moving *Legio*

XX (*Valeria Victrix* after CE 61) from Colchester to Kingsholm in Gloucestershire in CE 49 to help pacify the area which included the territory of the Silures (Jarrett, 1994: 16; Tacitus, (b): 12: 32).

Under their system of hegemonic controls, the Romans were prepared to fight recalcitrant tribes 'for rarely will two or three states confer to repulse a common danger; accordingly, they fight individually and are collectively conquered' (Tacitus, (a): 12) to maintain their conquests. In the ensuing years, advances into Silurian territory resulted in several confrontations, most of which involved guerrilla warfare tactics instigated by the Silures. Caratacus the son of Cunobeline, after fleeing in defeat from the battles of CE 43, fled west and inspired the support of the Silures, along with the Ordovices, 'through memories of his ancestors' victories over Caesar (Tacitus, (b): 12: 32). It is possible that Caratacus was able to enlist Silurian aid because of some cultural connection to the Silurian region which brought out a strong desire to defend southern Wales from the Roman attack.

In CE 51, Caratacus was firmly defeated at an unknown location in mid-Wales but managed to escape and flee to northern Wales and then into Brigantian territory. He then appealed to Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes, but because of her alliance with Rome, he was taken captive and turned over to the Romans (Tacitus, (b): 12: 35-12: 37, (d): 3: 45). Finally subdued, he was taken to Rome to be paraded as a monument to Roman determination and military prowess before being pardoned by Claudius (Tacitus, (b): 12: 36; Webster, 2003: 36). However, Caratacus' defeat did not end the hostilities with the Silures.

It can be reasoned that Caratacus' removal from the scene would have led the Roman leadership to consider the threat of more trouble from the Silures to be much reduced or now eliminated. However, the Silures seized the initiative which took the form of raiding Roman detachments and led to many Roman reversals. As a consequence, Roman military strategy toward the Silures appears to have changed at this point perhaps because of their unwillingness to concede or come to terms (Mattingly, 2006: 103).

A new tactic of ethnocide was proposed by Scapula who insisted the Silures 'must be utterly exterminated' (Tacitus, (b): 12: 39) hints at a close direct and brutal military assault which can be shown in the archaeological record. Between CE 51-52 Silurian attacks surprised Roman forces and gave them the upper hand. These encounters consisted of planned attacks on legionary cohorts building forts in Silurian territory and chance encounters. It would take the sequential governorships of Didius Gallus, Quintus Veranius and Suetonius Paulinus and the application of overwhelming force to defeat or come to terms with them (*circa* CE 77). Scapula suddenly died in CE 52 (Mattingly, 2006: 104; Tacitus, (b):12: 38-12: 39) and Aulus Didius Gallus was sent to replace him as the Roman governor. However, the Silures took advantage of this interlude by stepping up their attacks which included defeating a Roman legion commanded by Manlius Valens in open battle (Tacitus, (b): 12: 40). After taking up his appointment, Tacitus reported Gallus followed a policy of containment and 'merely held his own' (Tacitus, (b): 14: 29). In CE 57, Quintus Veranius was appointed governor of Britain. Previously, he had been governor of Lycia (south-western Turkey) and had gained a reputation for successfully prosecuting mountain warfare. It is possible the topography of Wales was in Emperor Nero's mind when

this appointment was made (Mattingly, 2006: 178). Tacitus notes that Veranius conducted 'minor raids against the Silurians when death terminated his operations' within a year (Tacitus, (b): 14: 3).



Figure 39

Image interpreted as a possible bound captive recovered from amongst rubble from the 2010 Priory Field excavation at Caerleon thought to date from the later phases of the site (circa third-century CE) perhaps celebrating the earlier Roman victory over the Silures (Cardiff University: 2010)

The death of Nero in CE 68 and the chaotic Year of the Four Emperors which followed, saw Britain governed by Marcus Vettius Bolanus, whom Tacitus credits with having some military successes (Tacitus, (b): 16). In CE 71, Quintus Petillius Cerialis was appointed governor and in turn, was replaced by Sextus Julius Frontinus in CE 74 who began his time by completing the legionary fortresses at Caerleon and Chester where *Legio II Augusta* and *Legio II Adiutrix* were respectively

garrisoned alongside *Legio XX* who remained at Wroxeter in Shropshire (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 13).

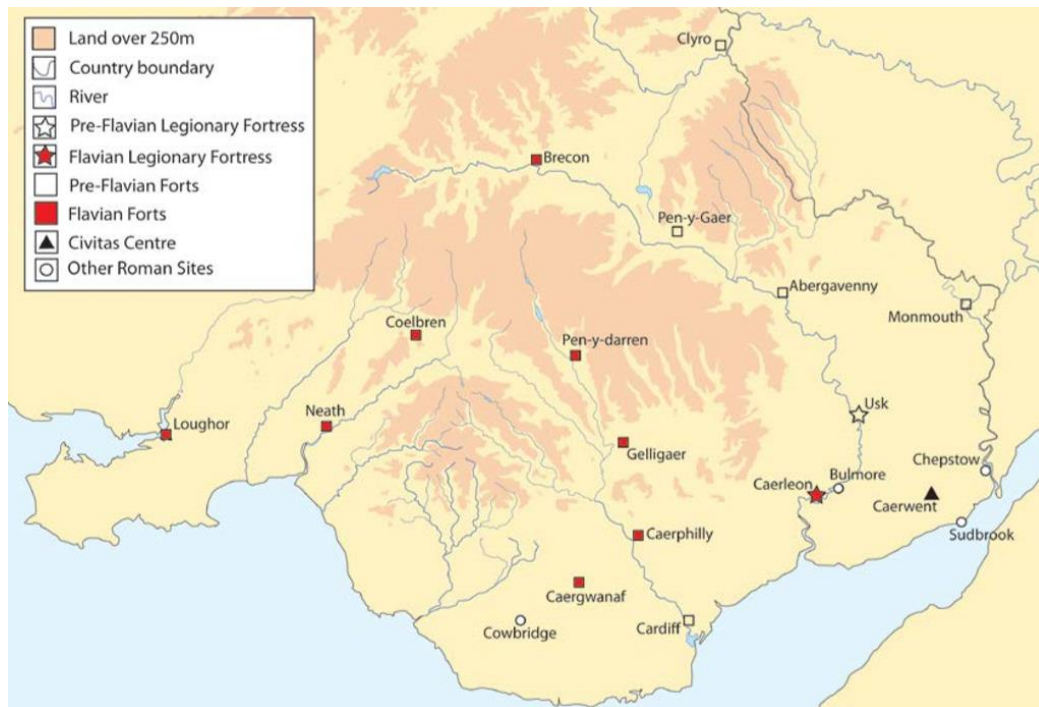


Figure 40

Major Roman sites in south Wales (after Lancaster: 2014: 13)

With the three legionary fortresses in place by the mid CE 70s it must have been obvious to the natives what Roman intentions were. By CE 76, Tacitus reported the longstanding conflict with the Silures was over and by CE 77, thirty years after Scapula first brought arms against the Deceangli and Wales was under Roman military rule. Tacitus makes little mention of Frontinus' success, but the process of conquest can be partly retraced through the remaining archaeological evidence (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 13-14) and the result of the war is confirmed in the depiction

borne on the carved sandstone fragment from Caerleon interpreted as a possible bound Silurian captive.¹³⁰

The Roman assault of Siluria and its effects can be retraced and interpreted through archaeology and the use of selected documents. For example, these can illustrate the direction of the Roman advance and offer indications of the Roman military commitment in Gwent over time. Moreover, they can demonstrate possible Silurian responses to the invasion. In addition, the invasion can provide evidence of Silurian and Roman acculturation and Silurian cultural continuity.

Although Publius Ostorius Scapula's defeat of Caratacus in Wales probably ushered in new Roman military initiatives against the Silures, it is likely Aulus Didius Gallus was, as governor, responsible for the first concerted effort to pacify south Wales. It was during this time the initial fort construction in eastern south Wales, possibly begun by Scapula, was completed.¹³¹ For example, one possible direction of the Roman invasion of Gwent is evidenced through the initial placement of forts at Monmouth and Clyro along the banks of the river Wye. In addition, an early Roman period settlement and possible fort were believed to have been situated at what has been interpreted as a ferry crossing over the river Wye at modern Chepstow (Shoesmith, 1991: 156-160). Furthermore, Cardiff's fort on the southern coast, about four kilometres from the Bristol Channel, would have facilitated another Roman garrison on the Bristol Channel and provided a safe moorage for Roman ships on the way to the fortress at Usk from Somerset (Simpson, 1963: 69-72). Combined,

¹³⁰ (Figure 39: 128)

¹³¹ (Figure 40: 129)

these sites suggest another possible maritime Roman assault from the direction of the West Country or Gloucestershire.

Research shows Usk (*Burrium*) was constructed *circa* CE 55 and may be symbolic of the initial movement into Glamorgan and Gwent and the extent to which the first campaigns by *Legio XX* reached (Manning, 2004: 180-191). Abergavenny is believed to have been built two years later in *circa* CE 57, possibly to protect the territory between the northern River Usk and the Brecon Beacons (Manning, 2004: 188). Little is known about the pre-Flavian forts at Monmouth and Pen-y-Gaer beyond pottery and coins which demonstrate they were contemporaneous with Usk and Abergavenny (Manning, 2004: 188; Symons, 2009: 53-54). Whilst the Iron Age occupation at Sudbrook, on the coast of the Severn Estuary has been considered,¹³² early Roman period occupation evidence has been recovered and commenced from *circa* CE 50 (Nash-Williams, 1939a: 50-54).

The movement of *Legio XX* from Usk *circa* CE 66/67 to Wroxeter and the transfer of *Legio II Augusta* to Gloucester at about the same time, suggests Roman strategy relating to south Wales was suspended or a lull in hostilities may have occurred. Archaeological evidence indicates the systematic dismantling of the Usk fortress and reuse of its timbers and stone in the building of Caerleon in the mid-CE 70s and it is possible that the Legionary Fortress at Usk was never completely garrisoned. A smaller Flavian fort was constructed later within the north-western corner of the fortress foundations and has been interpreted as a metalworking depot or boundary marker to control or administer the northern boundary of Caerleon's *territorium*. At

¹³² (Chapter 1: 42-44)

Abergavenny, the evidence suggests a period of abandonment in CE 60s, then reconstruction of the fort in the later first, mid to second and mid to third-centuries CE by *Legio II Augusta* with periods of neglect in between and soon afterwards. A



Figure 41

The Arch of Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna was erected circa 203-209 CE. The Caerleon structure erected may have been similar in design (Judaism and Rome: 2019)

date of abandonment at Monmouth is not known for certain, though nothing suggests use after the early Flavian period (Clarke, 1993: 61; Brewer, 2004: 215). In Gwent, the initial Roman military strategy of attempted control through a network of forts seems to have been short-lived as the military establishments of the CE mid-50s quickly fell into disuse. This may have been in response to new military objectives set by Julius Frontinus in CE 74.

These initiatives included moving the legionary fortress from Usk to Caerleon. This may have been for reasons of topography as the former site is considered to have been prone to flooding. The choice of Caerleon (*Isca*) may have been made because it had been part of the *territorium* of Usk twenty years before and the river was more navigable at this point. The initial timber construction is thought to have been completed by *circa* CE 75-76 (Manning, 2004: 189-201). Stone walls, towers and gates began to replace these from *circa* CE 86 onwards (Zienkiewicz, 1993a: 85). From this, the evidence strongly suggests the Roman military had a strong hold over Gwent by the end of the first-century CE and was under the direct control of *Legio II Augusta*. The new fortress and the possible re-assimilation of its *territorium* would have affected the Silures in two main ways. Firstly, it would have required less land to be commandeered through the reincorporation of existing Roman military features and was perhaps designed to avoid antagonising what must have been thought of as an implacable foe. Secondly, it created new boundaries separating Silurian territory possibly with the intention of undermining tribal cohesion.

Shortly after this consolidation of Gwent, military operations elsewhere in Britain and the wider Roman Empire took detachments of *Legio II Augusta* away from their garrisons in south Wales. These included Agricola's campaigns in the north CE 83

and the subsequent Hadrianic (*circa* CE 122 onwards) and Antonine fortification construction (*circa* CE 142 onwards). The net result was the eventual abandonment of most garrisons in Siluria. Caerleon remained the headquarters of *Legio II Augusta*, but detachments are noted at different locations throughout the Roman world from the late first-century CE and into the third-century CE.¹³³ This trend was to continue until the end of Roman rule in Britain.

Another important factor was the erection of a tetrapylon at the centre of *Isca* (Howell, 2000: 387-395). This substantial triumphal arch straddled the junction of *via principalis* and *via praetoria*.¹³⁴ It would have provided an imposing central focus for



Figure 42

Site map of *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent) (Welsh Government: 2019)

¹³³ (Burnham & Davies, 2010: 48-62; Casey, 2010: 62-66; Davies, 2004: 100-104)

¹³⁴ (Figure 41: 132)

the fortress and was probably designed to demonstrate Roman political intent in the aftermath of the Silurian-Roman war. Furthermore, there is much evidence proving its considerable longevity, which with the fortress baths, stood well into the later medieval period. This feature and its later significance are examined in Chapter 4.¹³⁵

The aftermath of the Silurian-Roman war and *Venta Silurum*

Urban centres were a key Roman import into Britain during the first-century CE. Roman government of conquered territory was based on *coloniae*, *municipia* and *civitates*. These classifications appeared to vary across the empire and appeared to depend on the status of the inhabitants (Wacher, 1997: 15-16). Each *civitas* was designed as a tribal centre which facilitated provincial organisation, administration, amenity, commerce and entertainment. Arnold and Davies (2000) further emphasise they may have reflected political maturity, trustworthiness and a willingness on the part of tribal elites to copy Romanised institutions (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 45).

In Siluria a *civitas*-capital was established at *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent). It was referred to as *Venta Silurum* in the *Antonine Itinerary* and *Ventaslurum* in the *Cosmology of Ravenna*. Details of Caerwent's beginnings are scant, however, the first timber structures date from *circa* CE 100 and ceramic evidence indicates a Roman context from the second half of the first-century CE (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 49; Brewer, 2004: 219). Construction of Caerwent was along perpendicular roads

¹³⁵ (Chapter 4: 554-559)

creating twenty *insulae*.¹³⁶ It appears much of the gridwork has been maintained over time and modern excavations are recorded within these numbered *insulae*.

The existence of a forum-basilica is usually regarded as an indicator of a Roman Britain *civitas*-capital. Nash-Williams (1954) first placed the existence of the forum-basilica (*insula VIII*) at Caerwent by the end of the first-century CE and evidenced this on the basis of excavated mint-condition coins from the reign of Nerva (CE 96-98) (Nash-Williams, 1954: 163). However, a Hadrianic foundation has also been proposed due to other finds dated to the second-century CE (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 49; Brewer, 1993: 221; 2004: 221). This dating fits well with the redeployment of parts of *Legio II Augusta* and suggests the Silures required less military control and some powers were being devolved to the tribe itself.

The dating evidence establishes the approximate founding of Caerwent but the reasoning for doing so is questionable. For example, *canabae* and *vici* settlements developed around most forts of Roman Britain, unless the military occupation was short-lived. From these locations, towns could become established for provincial administration into a *civitas* and for many towns in Roman Britain this was the case. It was thought the origin of *Venta Silurum* came from the existence of a fort which pre-dated the *civitas* (Millet, 1990: 102-103; Brewer, 2004: 219) but on balance, the archaeological evidence makes this supposition unlikely as confirmatory evidence such as barracks is lacking (Webster, 2003: 214-220; Brewer, 2004: 217-219). Moreover, the proximity of the legionary fortress at Caerleon would have sufficiently controlled the area in which *Venta Silurum* was placed and would have made a fort located there superfluous.

¹³⁶ (numbered I to XX on Figure 42: 134)

The evidence from *Corinium Dobunnorum* (Cirencester) and *Durnovaria* (Dorchester) shows forts were placed near tribal centres. The natives eventually abandoned these tribal centres presumably drawn by the pecuniary opportunities provided by the nearby *vicus* and from these *vici*, *civitas*-capitals were later established (Wacher, 1997: 29, 234). The same process did not occur in Glamorgan or Gwent probably because there was not one recognised predominant tribal centre. The only nearby possible situation would have been the defended enclosure at Llanmelin which lay two kilometres to the north-west, with a possible riverine connection with Sudbrook through the Nedern brook. Nash-Williams (1930) viewed the area as a Silurian habitation and cited the small settlements located at Llanmelin as evidence (Nash-Williams, 1930: 230-232, 1954: 164, 1956: 108; Wacher, 1997: 379).

Other *civitas*-capitals were placed at abandoned fortresses. For example, the Dumnonii and Cornovii tribes' *civitas* were placed at *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter) and *Virvonium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter) respectively (Wacher, 1997: 335-337, 362-363). It can be reasoned the *vici* presented the largest concentration areas for each tribe at the time. Following this, the logical location for the Silurian *civitas*-capital should have been Usk after its abandonment in CE 70. However, it is possible the site was not chosen because the Romans were still in conflict with the Silures during this period and the new fortress at Caerleon required a *territorium* which included much or all the land belonging to Usk to make it a sustainable settlement.

Furthermore, the possible establishment of *Venta Silurum* at Caerleon after garrison reductions commenced by *Legio II Augusta* would have been reasonable, yet this



Figure 43

The Paulinus inscription from Caerwent offers an indication that the civitas should be seen as the centre of the tribal territory which was run by an *ordo* or council (RIB 311: 2019)

is not the situation, despite extensive ongoing building works including a harbour facility and growing *canabae* (Guest, Luke & Pudney, 2011: 87-94) which could suggest the Roman authorities were urbanising the area for eventual release to the Silures. Ultimately though, the choice of Caerwent may have been governed by the resources available and the motivation of certain groups such as retired legionaries and the local Silurian elites who were appointed to the *ordo* to provide the settlement with essential services (Jones, 2004: 169). This evidence may give a late first-century CE credence, as a foundation of *Venta Silurum* at this time was practicable.



Figure 44

Triangular clay antefix bearing the motif of a human head flanked by star-shaped symbols and solar wheel at the apex recovered from Caerleon (Aldhouse-Green 2004: 169)

However, there are good reasons to think it was incorporated as a *civitas*-capital for political reasons after the defeat of the Silures by Julius Frontinus. For example, it is likely the tribe was probably viewed by the Romans as *dediticii* (surrendered people) and in Roman eyes, this would have seen them as having no rights. If the Silures were then treated in a similar way as the Frisii had been by the Roman General Corbulo, this would have resulted in them being confined to a general reservation and being forced to settle with a Roman-appointed senate, magistracy and set of laws (Tacitus, (b): 11: 19). If this were so, the location of *Venta Silurum* could have been chosen as being the nearest to a clan centre in a Roman designated reservation alongside Rome not being prepared to abandon its base in Caerleon.

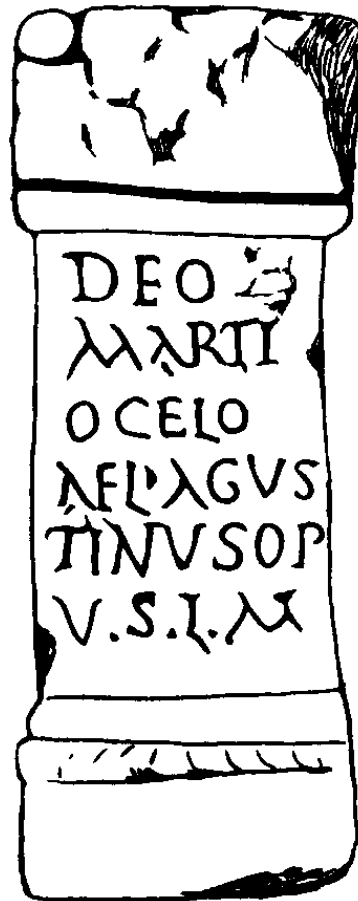


Figure 45

Stone altar with an inscribed dedication to Mars-Ocelus from Caerwent (RIB 310: 2019)

Moreover, a later foundation date may be justified if the evidence provided by troop reductions is considered. For instance, in the first half of the second-century CE, some forces were withdrawn to assist with the construction of Hadrian's Wall and other commitments. The establishment of the *civitas*-capital during this period could suggest the Roman authorities compensated for the smaller military presence by devolving some administrative power to the Silures. This transfer of power may have been part of a reward for continued peace over time and could be indicative of a new generation of Romanised Silurian leaders had now come to the fore or as a necessary expedient now that a smaller military force was available (Arnold &

Davies, 2000: 45-46; Davies, 1995: 695). It is also possible Caerleon or Usk may have been rejected because of the views of retired veterans. Nonetheless, Rome was not prepared to abandon Caerleon at this time and if a *civitas* was considered a necessary requirement then an alternative location was required. Caerwent may even have been chosen because of its roadside position and had grown into a settlement of importance independently.

Likewise, keeping the *civitas*-capital to the eastern side of the legionary *territorium* may have simply been ordered to police the Silures more efficiently in case their newfound freedoms and responsibilities became problematic. Nevertheless, whatever the reason by the end of the second-century CE, the Silures were integrated into the civil governing structure of a Roman province which was based at the tribal centre of Caerwent. This is evidenced by the dedication to Tiberius Claudius Paulinus a former commander of *Legio II Augusta* and governor of *Britannia Inferior* in CE 220.¹³⁷

Silurian and Roman acculturation

After the Roman conquest, Silurian and Roman acculturation is evident. For example, triangular clay *antefixa* bearing various motifs have been recovered in Caerleon. Seven of these depict combinations of male heads with distinct cat-ears and cat-fur whilst others have an apparent non-human head surrounded by celestial symbols such as an eight-spoked wheel.¹³⁸ The former combination has been linked to earlier deities by Aldhouse-Green (2004), whilst Howell (2006) speculates the

¹³⁷ (Figure 43: 138)

¹³⁸ (Figure 44: 139)

latter provide artefactual evidence of assimilation (Aldhouse-Green, 2004: 170; Howell, 2006: 32-33). Furthermore, Roman gods were twinned with local deities rather than displacing them, as demonstrated by the Mars-Lenus and Mars-Ocelus combinations¹³⁹ found in Caerwent (Howell, 2006: 29-30, 79). This evidence indicates the tribal identity of the Silures people was maintained throughout the Roman interlude despite long-term cultural conflation. Additionally, the Latin name *Venta Silurum* for the *civitas*-capital confirmed the tribal name described by the Romans had been retained despite the long and bitter conflict between the local Silures and Romans described by Tacitus.

Conclusion

As has been noted, only four accounts and one inscription constitute the entire body of evidence from which historians can identify the people known as Silures (Jordanes, Ptolemy, Solinus, Tacitus and the Paulinus inscription).¹⁴⁰ Each of these are chronologically placed from CE 48 to *circa* CE 550. Combined, they show the Silures resisted the Roman invasion fiercely, were eventually beaten, were probably initially treated more severely than their neighbours and were eventually reconciled with the Romans.¹⁴¹

The monumentality data derived from Gwent's enclosed sites allows a range of inferences to be made.¹⁴² For example, the Silures appeared to prefer constructing circular and rectangular defended enclosures with most other shapes being decided by local landscape restrictions. There appeared to be a preference for constructing univallate defences. Bivallate and multivallate sites may be indicative of the status of

¹³⁹ (Figure 45: 140)

¹⁴⁰ (Chapter 2: 36-37)

¹⁴¹ (Chapter 2: 124-141)

¹⁴² (Chapter 2: 37-56)

a site and the existence of a Silurian elite.¹⁴³ The twenty-three known entrances suggested a preference for simple entrances identified as gaps in the vallation, although the greater variety of examples found around the Usk valley ridge and its hinterland may be representative of very local particularism or a tribal elite.¹⁴⁴

In terms of topographic situations, the Silures appeared to favour elevated locations for these monuments even in the generally low-lying Gwent Levels. Other possible links are apparent through site inter-visibility and may be indicative of possible Silurian sub-group divisions.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the congestive nature of defended enclosures in much of the study area could be indicative of Silurian or sub-regional cooperation.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, their construction may be indicative of an indigenous process of inclusiveness which apportioned the landscape for its economic exploitation.¹⁴⁷

In addition, structures have been found within defended enclosures. For example, the Usk river valley ridge and its hinterland provided rectangular and circular forms at Lodge Wood (Caerleon), Coed y Caerau (Langstone) and Gaer (Trellech). Furthermore, some sites in northern Gwent provide evidence of both circular and rectangular constructions at Twyn y Gaer in Crucorney, circular buildings at Tredam in Llantilio Crossenny and a further rectangular type at Ysgyryd Fawr in Llantilio Pertholey.¹⁴⁸ Combined, internal space measurements, internal structures and annexes may be indicative of what uses defended enclosures were put to.

¹⁴³ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

¹⁴⁴ (Appendix 1, sites 32-83: 774-794)

¹⁴⁵ (Chapter 2: 49-51)

¹⁴⁶ (Figure 2: 38)

¹⁴⁷ (Chapter 2: 51)

¹⁴⁸ (Appendix 1, sites 34, 38, 80, 91, 94: 772-793)

Ultimately, in Gwent, the evidence is still slight, and distinctions beyond differences in size or shape are difficult to make on the basis of HER evidence alone.

However, the evidence does suggest Gwent's landscape prior to the Roman incursion was well organised and predominantly concerned with herding livestock. To exploit this landscape in ways which combined transhumance and sedentism, people would have had to move their animals from one habitat to another in turn at different times of the year for fresh fodder. As each stage of this mobile food strategy was reached, they would then have conducted a range of necessary tasks associated with subsistence farming according to their agricultural calendar.^{149 150}

Further evidence in the form of diverse subrectangular structures offers further confirmatory evidence of different groups exploiting the same locales in common alongside possible salt extraction.¹⁵¹ Additionally, the Gwent Levels also had a range of preserved trackways, sections of which have been recovered from the intertidal zone and could be physical links from the wider world across the study area to the Gwentian uplands which palynological data has revealed were being cleared of trees from circa 8000 BCE onwards.¹⁵²

As has been mentioned, these kinds of behaviour must be learnt, and this knowledge appeared to have become customary and then codified in the much later law codes of Hywel Dda. These laws suggested how property, boundaries and accessibility were respected and actioned in the early medieval period in Wales and possibly earlier. It was especially interesting that according to the Cyfnerth law code,

¹⁴⁹ (Chapter 2: 56-98)

¹⁵⁰ (Figure 12: 58)

¹⁵¹ (Chapter 2: 79-81)

¹⁵² (Chapter 2: 81-83)

the rhandir measure of land appeared not to be contiguous and its structure suggested there was the exploitation of diverse kinds of landscape.¹⁵³

Moreover, alternative cultivation models discussed above, and the preponderance of small woods across much of the study area offers the possibility these may have been utilised for woodland grazing, pollarding for winter fodder and construction materials. Additionally, these small woods may also have been used as practical natural alternatives to barns for sheltering animals during the winter months and may offer another possible explanation for the lack of a substantial number of buildings in inland contexts in Gwent.¹⁵⁴

Combined, these factors offer further confirmatory evidence of a combined transhumance and sedentism-based economy which was successful because it was a well-organised landscape which linked and respected its disparate parts in earlier prehistory, the Iron Age and as will be shown, possibly afterwards.¹⁵⁵

Silurian deposition evidence appears to fall into three broad categories. These can be characterised as (i) Late Bronze Age/ Early Iron Age transitional depositions; (ii) longer-term continuity in the form of faunal and feasting paraphernalia remains and (iii) first-century CE Late Iron Age/Roman-British transitions. The contents of both the Llyn Fawr and Cardiff hoards fall into the first category and the Llyn Fawr iron sickle proves iron production had been established at an early stage, but its similarity to the bronze examples recovered there demonstrates gradual change and provides an indication of cultural transition. The presence of two cauldrons which show similarities to some contemporary Irish examples is indicative of seaborne trade and of feasting or communal eating being important. Overall, the evidence of watery

¹⁵³ (Chapter 2: 84, 92-93)

¹⁵⁴ (Chapter 2: 87-88, 96-98)

¹⁵⁵ (Chapter 3: 341-359)

deposition at Llyn Fawr and Cardiff suggests at the beginning of the Iron Age people in at least one area of the region which was to comprise Siluria were observing cult practices which were widespread throughout Europe and demonstrates wider Silurian cultural practice.¹⁵⁶

The Llanmaes hoard provides evidence of longer-term continuity in the form of feasting from the Late Bronze Age/Earliest Iron to the Romano-British period on a very large scale. The faunal remains prove a preference for pig meat and particularly the right forelimb. Continuity, in the form of at least five cauldrons suggest feasting was a long-term cyclical activity repeated over many generations at this locale. Other evidence found from this coastal location shows seaborne exchange in the form of Armorican axes. Moreover, this evidence poses questions whether feasts such as these included all Silures, or free Silures only, or men only, at certain important and presumably ritual events. This aspect is worthy of further research and may demonstrate the tribal cohesiveness which was so important in facing the Roman invasion.¹⁵⁷

Ritual deposition as a form of cultural continuity could have parallels in Gwent and may have occurred at Caldicot Lake. Here, artefacts include sewn plank boat fragments firmly dated to the Earlier Bronze Age, animal bones and metalwork dated to the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, the boat recovered from Barland's Farm near Magor and considered as being abandoned to stabilise a river edge could equally have been a votive deposit. Combined these artefacts are indicative of cultural continuity from the Early Bronze Age until the Romano-British period.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ (Chapter 2: 98-100)

¹⁵⁷(Chapter 2: 100-115)

¹⁵⁸ (Chapter 2: 98-115)

During the Later Iron Age, deposition of tankards and other paraphernalia including some cauldron fittings occurred and represents a third category. They have been interpreted as evidence of native resistance during what must have been viewed as the equivalent of a modern national emergency. This phenomenon continued into the Romano-British period in Siluria and south-western Britain. Furthermore, it hints at possible cultural or political connections between the Silures and Dobunni around the period of the Silurian-Roman war.¹⁵⁹

Decorative choices of the colour red are a distinctive feature of Silurian finds and further differentiation between native and Roman material has been identified through metallurgical analysis of the Seven Sisters hoard.¹⁶⁰ However, these raise questions about some Gwentian examples. For instance, the Ford Farm tankard, strainer and bowl finds have been dated to *circa* 40-75 CE and can be linked chronologically to the period of the Roman invasion but were formed from copper-alloy brass. The alloy composition was one which appeared to be favoured by the Romans in Wales. Subsequently, this could be seen as evidence of native acculturation or collaboration, rather than native resistance in Gwent. Conversely, the choice of yew for the tankard's body may be indicative of wider Silurian cultural links.¹⁶¹ Other Gwentian deposition practice in the early Middle Age is considered in Chapter 3.¹⁶²

Funerary remains in Glamorgan and Gwent suggest changes occurred over time. Practices included inhumation, cremation and possible excarnation as methods of

¹⁵⁹ (Chapter 2: 100-108)

¹⁶⁰ (Chapter 2: 108-114)

¹⁶¹ (Chapter 2: 104-109)

¹⁶² (Chapter 3: 256-259)

disposing of the deceased. At the end of the Iron Age, the burial of incomplete skeletons appears to become more frequent. This may be due to the ritual use of some bones of the deceased during this period. One other plausible reason why this occurred may be in relation to the Silurian-Roman conflict and the necessity for quick burials during wartime.¹⁶³

Silurian monumentality has been examined in Chapter 2,¹⁶⁴ but the structure at Gwehellog and aspects of the layout of the roundhouse at Thornwell Farm offer evidence of organised sacred places in a possible temple and a domestic setting.¹⁶⁵ Other further evidence of ritual activity is evidenced during the Romano-British period by the adoption of *romanitas* iconographic habit in the form of a carved sandstone fragment, two Caerwent statuettes and several *antefixa*. Furthermore, Roman gods were twinned with local deities rather than displacing them, as shown by the Mars-Lenus and Mars-Ocelus inscriptions¹⁶⁶.

It can be seen the extended Silurian-Roman war and its aftermath wrought changes on Silurian society in other ways. These included the construction of forts, the imposition of a *territorium*, the introduction of a money economy, urbanisation and roads. However, the Paulinus inscription from Caerwent offers an indication that the *civitas* should be seen as the centre of the tribal territory which was run by an *ordo* or council. This evidence shows the tribal identity of the Silures people was maintained throughout the Roman interlude despite long-term cultural conflation during the Romano-British period. Additionally, the Latin name *Venta Silurum* for the *civitas*-

¹⁶³ (Chapter 2: 115-117)

¹⁶⁴ (Chapter 2: 37-56)

¹⁶⁵ (Chapter 2: 117-119)

¹⁶⁶ (Figures 36: 120, 37: 121; 39: 128, 43: 138, 44: 139, 45: 140)

capital confirmed the tribal name described by the Romans had been retained despite the long and bitter conflict.¹⁶⁷

Overall, the evidence examined in Chapter 2 represents an attempt to provide a better understanding of Gwentian Siluria (and where necessary wider Siluria's) distinctive regional character, alongside its wider cultural links during its late prehistoric and early historic periods. Trends identified in the research presented above, appear to have been factors which led to the emergence of the Gwentian kingdom and are considered in the following chapters.

Furthermore, Silurian monumentality and material culture allow aspects of continuity and change to be traced throughout the late prehistoric and Roman periods in Gwent and Glamorgan. From these, particular and more universal patterns of Silurian life can be discerned and provide evidence to affirm or refute whether these traditions were later important factors in the emergence of Gwent.¹⁶⁸

In addition, the faunal and monumental evidence presented above¹⁶⁹ facilitates the projection of the multiple estate model backwards and forwards over time in a Gwentian context and is further considered in Chapter 3.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ (Chapter 2: 121-142)

¹⁶⁸ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

¹⁶⁹ (Chapter 2: 56-98)

¹⁷⁰ (Chapter 3: 480-502)

Chapter 3: the matter of Gwent

Introduction

Chapter 3 discusses a range of possibilities. For instance, the polity known as the kingdom of Gwent may have been the product of a re-emergence of Silurian tribal political authority after Rome. Alternatively, it may have been the product of the Roman institution of *civitas*. However, if it is accepted that *civitas* rule was based on the tribe, it is probable each were important factors.¹⁷¹ Evidence presented in Chapter 2¹⁷² forms the basis of a long-term continuity pattern for Silurian society. Models accounting for Gwent's emergence and decline is considered below.

Long-term continuity from the Iron Age may supported in at least five main ways.¹⁷³ The evidence indicates that the tribal identity of the Silures people was maintained throughout the Roman interlude despite long-term cultural conflation during the Romano-British period.¹⁷⁴ Another important inheritance from the late Roman period was Christianity and the initial response to this belief system was hostility.¹⁷⁵ One consequence was a series of persecutions and two of the three named early martyrs in Britain, Julius and Aaron probably died in Caerleon. In addition, there is archaeological evidence that one of the centres of early British Christianity may have been at Caerwent (Howell, 2004: 259-260).¹⁷⁶

Furthermore, the *Liber Landavensis* (Book of Llandaff) provides other evidence of the importance and influence of the Church in early Middle Age Gwent (Davies, 1979: 6-28, 73-80). Additionally, the historical evidence for the period it provides may be consistent with continuity after Rome. For example, although it was mostly written

¹⁷¹ (Chapter 2: 135-142)

¹⁷² (Chapter 2: 35-150)

¹⁷³ (Study introduction: 7-10)

¹⁷⁴ (Chapter 2: 141-142)

¹⁷⁵ (Chapter 3: 261-262)

¹⁷⁶ (Chapter 3: 161-171)

in the twelfth-century CE, the charters purport to run in chronological order from Dyfrig, supposedly consecrated as its bishop in the mid-fifth century CE to Herewald who died in CE 1104. Much of the text relates to grants of land and Davies (1979) has demonstrated charters of different provenance were collected at several locations in south-eastern Wales before the Norman conquest. In these, rural units of settlement of approximately 120 acres (48.6 hectares) were often described as villas and are sometimes used interchangeably with the Welsh term tref. The survival of the term villa to describe rural sites may support a model of site continuity.¹⁷⁷

Other medieval charter material which provides valuable insight include the *Vita Cadoci* (Wade-Evans, 1932: 151-165, 1944), the Lichfield Gospels (Evans, 1979) and two charter inscriptions recorded on inscribed stones (Redknap & Lewis, 2007: 434-438, 494-497). Combined these sources allow a detailed understanding of some aspects of early medieval society and enable them to be reconstructed. However and as will be shown, each require considerable critical analysis and must be used with great caution whilst extracting applicable historical information.¹⁷⁸

Another aspect of settlement hierarchy is evidence of reoccupation of Iron Age enclosures during the late fourth and early fifth-century CE. This phenomenon occurs in both Glamorgan and Gwent (Howell, 2004: 250-251) and is considered with other secular types of settlements such as possible courts of Welsh lords (collectively known as llys). In addition, the Llandaff charters provide a sequence of the main Gwentian¹⁷⁹ and Glywysing ruling dynasty (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 253; Davies, 1979: 6-28, 73-80). Together, they describe a society dominated by its aristocracy. Moreover, they appeared to have functioned through fluctuating

¹⁷⁷ (Chapter 3: 242-248)

¹⁷⁸ (Chapter 3: 227-231)

¹⁷⁹ (Figures 79a: 241, 79b: 242-243)

structures such as the region's two main kingdoms and transient sub-kingdoms which at times emerged as independent or semi-independent polities.¹⁸⁰

The possibility of persistent settlement patterns surviving into the early medieval period is attractive.¹⁸¹ However, the abandonment of sites in the fourth-century CE such as Thornwell Farm and Church Farm (Hughes, 1996: 91; Insole, 2000: 2-33) may have been a reaction to increasing instability in the late Romano-British period. This view is possibly supported by the erection of defensive towers (Casey, 1983: 49-77) between the mid to fourth-century CE at Caerwent and could suggest segments of society had retreated behind walled settlements. Both factors argue against an interpretation of continuity. However, continuity after Rome is supported by the recovery of material culture including coins, personal adornments, military equipment¹⁸² and other material culture from Glamorgan and Gwent in the form of ceramics. These confirm continuing links with the wider world (Alcock, 1963: 61, 125-130, Howell, 204: 252-253).

There is evidence suggesting Gwent was influenced by the physical remains of its Romano-British past.¹⁸³ For instance, at Caerwent, excavations have shown late changes to the forum and that the function of the basilica was changed to metalworking sometime in the fourth-century CE (Brewer & Guest, 1994: 55-56). Furthermore, other evidence of continuity is provided by burials in early Middle Age cemeteries near this location (Brewer, 1993: 31) In addition, there was activity at the Caerleon barrack buildings during the early medieval period (Evans & Metcalf, 1992:

¹⁸⁰ (Chapter 3: 227-231, 502-516)

¹⁸¹ (Chapter 3: 291-335, 480--502)

¹⁸² (Brewer, 1993: 28, 34; Knight, 1996: 9; Knight & Lane, 1988: 35-38; Mein, 1997a: 75)

¹⁸³ (Chapter 3: 164-195)



Figure 46

Suggested tribal areas of Britannia Prima (Higham, 1994b: 112)

54-56). Crucially, perceptions of the Caerleon *tetrapylon* are significant after Rome until the coming of the Normans.¹⁸⁴

Western Britain

At the end of the Roman interlude, Britain was organised into four provinces under the direction of a *vicarius* who administered the Diocese of the Britains.¹⁸⁵ These were *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, *Flavia Caesariensis* and *Maxima Caesariensis*. It is possible there was a fifth named *Valentia*. However, its position

¹⁸⁴ (Chapter 4: 553-560)

¹⁸⁵ (Figure 47: 155)



Figure 48 (EBK: 2019)

Possible political divisions of Britain circa CE 450

or even existence is open to scholarly debate. The province of *Britannia Prima* probably extended from the River Dee to Cornwall and encompassed what was to become the whole of Wales, the western Midlands and south-western England. Under Roman rule, the province comprised eight distinct peoples (and their clients) centred with some exceptions, around *civitas*-capitals, Roman fortresses or other urban centres.¹⁸⁶ These were the Cornovii, Deceangli, Demetae, Dobunni, Dumnonii, Durotriges, Ordovices and Silures (White, 2007: 38-41).

Civitas Cornoviorum (Cornovii) was located around Viroconium (Wroxeter) and perhaps consisted of modern-day Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire and parts of north-eastern Wales (Rivet & Smith, 1981: 342-343). The *civitas* of the Deceangli in north-eastern Wales appears to be without an urban centre although the *civitas* name appears on lead pigs dated to *circa* CE 70s recovered from Chester and Hints Common (Staffordshire) (Jarret & Mann, 1969: 161-171; Rivett & Smith, 1981: 330). *Civitas Demetarum* (Demetae) lay in south-western Wales and was centred on its capital *Moridunum* (Carmarthen) (White, 2007: 143). *Civitas Dobunnorum* (Dobunni) occupied modern Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, northern Wiltshire and Warwickshire. Its capital was located at *Corinium Dobunnorum* (Cirencester) alongside a second major urbanised legionary *colonia* at Gloucester (Hurst, 2005: 293-305; Jones & Mattingly, 50-51). *Civitas Durotrigum* (Durotriges) lay to its southwest and consisted of parts modern-day Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Somerset and southern Wiltshire. The Durotriges had their capitol at *Durnovaria*, (Dorchester) (Wacher, 1997: 323-335). In this area, inscriptional evidence reveals an administrative subdivision with *Civitas Durotrages Lindiniensis* (the Durotrigans of

¹⁸⁶ (Figure 46: 153)

Lindiniae) centred on *Lindinis*, (Ilchester) (Collingwood & Wright, 1965: 1673). *Civitas Dumnoniorum* (Dumnonii) lay in the far south-west of the province and encompassed modern day Cornwall and parts of Devon with the former legionary fortress of *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter) serving as its *civitas*-capital (Wacher, 1997: 335-343). Much of central and parts of north-western Wales has been traditionally assigned to the Ordovices. Despite their lack of an urban centre, resistance to the Roman incursion and the prospect of colonisation, Tacitus regarded them as a *civitas* (Tacitus, *Agricola*: 18.2). Their heartlands were probably Arfon and Môn with the province's administration probably being conducted from *Segontium* (Caernarfon) (Casey & Davies & Evans, 1993: 1-346). It is also possible two tribal sub-groups, the Decantae and Gangani may have been Ordovician clients (Jarret & Mann, 1969: 161-171; Rivett & Smith, 1981: 330).

In modern south-east Wales lay *Civitas Silurum* which was administered from *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent). Furthermore, Silurian territory was home to *Legio II Augusta* at *Isca* (Caerleon). The place and role of Siluria and the Silures in the Roman empire was probably one of marginality. Geographically in Roman eyes, *Venta Silurum* stood beyond the ends of the earth and its peripheral status is more widely reflected in Britain's role as a place of exile, political discontent and religious particularism during the latter part of Roman rule.¹⁸⁷ Placed within the wider circumstance of their position as an imperial people, the peripheral status of Britain and Siluria particularly, coupled with its geographic and intellectual distance from the imperial court meant Britons never achieved positions within Roman society attained by their counterparts in Gaul and elsewhere. This could be the result of the infrequent visits of the imperial court to Britain, a factor which would have prevented the rise of a fully integrated

¹⁸⁷ (Chapter 2: 135-141)

British imperial aristocracy. Therefore, it is possible older Celtic characteristics remained or were maintained throughout the Roman interlude.¹⁸⁸ After Rome, the evidence suggests these persevered in the west and eventually failed in the east.

Military organisation in Wales *circa* CE 410 and the *comes tractus maritimis per Britannias* (Count of the Coastal Zones for Britain)

The possibility of a fourth military command in western Britain, headquartered at Chester, has been proposed (Martin, 1969: 408-428; White, 2007: 57–59). This notion is based on Ammianus Marcellinus' reference to the *comes tractus maritimis per Britannias* (Count of the Coastal Zones for Britain) (Ammianus, 27:8; 28:3). However, no formal military command has been attested in the late Roman west of Britain and another interpretation considers his remarks were a literary periphrasis for the post of *comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias* attested in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Birley, 2005: 428). Therefore, in the absence of firm confirmatory evidence any assessment of official Roman arrangements in western Britain generally and Wales in particular, remains speculative.

For example, military occupation at the legionary fortress of Chester seemed to continue into the early fifth-century CE and beyond (Mason, 2012: 230-238). Furthermore, there is evidence of activity at Caerleon from the fourth-century CE and after.¹⁸⁹ Here, established explanations have traditionally interpreted the site as having been given over to civilian use after this date (Boon, 1987: 43). However, distinguishing civilian from military activity is problematical and the fortress may have continued to fulfil some military role (Gardiner, 2017: 176-177; Seaman, 2010: 43-

¹⁸⁸ (Chapter 2: 135-142)

¹⁸⁹ (Chapter 3: 179-184)

44). In addition, other forts such as Caerhun continued to be occupied to *circa* CE 400/410 although there is no reasonable evidence for later fifth-century CE occupation. Whilst newer fortifications built adjacent to the coast at Caernarfon, Caer Gybi and at Cardiff were all occupied until *circa* CE 400/410 (Collins & Breeze, 2012: 67).

Other evidence derived from tracing how the late Roman state operated and how its officials were recognised after Diocletian's (reigned CE 284-305) reforms were instigated in Britain. The reorganisation of the provincial structure of Britain into four provinces saw its civil service and military arms established as servants of the state. A consistent feature of their post Diocletian roles is signalled by the wearing of specific items which made their roles explicit to the wider population (White, 2007: 49-72). For men, these included tunic and trousers worn with a military belt (*cingulum militare*) and specific brooch types including the crossbow brooch which pinned a *sagum* (military cloak) (Swift, 2010: 139-148, 159-185).

Although it cannot be proved whether a fourth military command existed, it is clearly possible there was some senior command structure functioning in *Britannia Prima*. If it did exist, questions as to where troops were stationed and why so, are raised as any perceived military threat to the province must have been perceived as low. It is possible the motivation was pecuniary as it is apparent the state's control of the Empire's money supply had one key role of ensuring its military and civil branches were paid during this period (Cleary, 1989: 11). Therefore, it is feasible the primary role of troops may have been to protect other state officials such as tax collectors, to ensure civil discipline and to maintain, protect and redistribute the *annona*. This may suggest troop numbers were small and scattered. They may have been stationed in

towns or smaller settlements where they would have been of most use in protection and policing roles. In a Gwentian context, this interpretation is attractive and is further considered with other evidence.¹⁹⁰

The emergence of Gwent

Two features of the early Middle Age kingdom of Gwent are its name was derived from *Venta Silurum* or ‘the Market town of the Silures’ and the term *Silurum* was abandoned. In addition, it is often considered two main kingdoms emerged from its *civitas* territory. The transition from *Venta Silurum* to Gwent could suggest in the early medieval period *Venta Silurum* lost its association with wider Siluria and had become instead, symbolic of a specific territory. This view appears to be supported by Nennius in his reference to *regio Guent* in the eighth-century CE *Historia Brittonum* (Nennius, 70).

It is interesting the term *regio* was applied to kingdoms regardless of their geographic size or power in copies of a sixth-century CE manuscript *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* often attributed to Gildas and those by Nennius in the eighth-century CE. Some of these were named from former urban centres, of varying status, size and level of architectural sophistication. Gildas refers to twenty-eight cities within Britain during his own time (Gildas, 3:2). These may have consisted of the known fifteen *civitas*-capitals within diocesan Britain; the provincial capital of London; the *coloniae* at Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln and York and possibly the *canabae* of the legionary fortresses at Caerleon and Chester. The remaining six may have emerged during the later or sub-Roman period and could include Ilchester (Dorset), Meole Brace (Shropshire) and Rochester (Kent) as possible candidates.

¹⁹⁰ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

The mention of the 'stone wall' linking several *civitates* must also be taken into consideration (Gildas, 3:2). Moreover, Nennius' later clarification included defended enclosures (hillforts), former Roman towns and forts within the list of twenty-eight and suggests later perceptions of what constituted a *civitas* had by then changed (Nennius, 66).

This could imply a process was under way in sub-Roman Gwent and elsewhere which affected the perpetuation of large-scale ancestral identities within or because of the urbanised centres they contained. These appear to have culminated in fragmentation or decentralisation of the *civitates* as socio-political territorial and identity units.¹⁹¹ This loss of coherence seems to have led to particularism which became manifest in the form of much closer regional territories. For example, the fragmentation of Durotrigan *civitas* may have occurred because it consisted of two social and economic centres at Dorchester and Ilchester. Likewise, a similar disintegration in the Dobunnic *civitas* may be explained because of the occurrence of several economic centres including the *colonia* at Gloucester and the *civitas*-capital *Corinium Dobunnorum* (Cirencester). In a Gwentian context, it may explain the emergence of *regio Ercing* as an independent polity from the small (probably Dobunni) town of *Ariconium* (Weston-under-Penyard, Herefordshire) as the Dobunni *civitas* lost its unity in the post-Roman period under both internal and external pressures. Furthermore, this transformation seems to have occurred elsewhere in the former diocese where Britons retained political control such as *Lindum* (Lincoln) which became known as *regio Linnuis* (Green, 2008: 3-7) and possibly *Cataranctocum* (Catterick) which became Catraeth (Hustwitt, 2015: 334-336).

¹⁹¹(Figure 48: 156)

Throughout the Roman empire the *civitates* facilitated provincial governance and usually were comprised of an urban centre and a surrounding hinterland. Within these, power was exercised through an *ordo* or *curia* comprised of local landowners termed *decuriones* or *curiales* and were considered to be a single social class. However, variances in size and splendour of urban and rural dwellings in *Britannia Prima* could suggest this class was hierarchical.¹⁹² By the third-century CE membership of this class was hereditary and included obligations to perform civic duties. These included underwriting and collection of tax and these obligations were frequently resisted by those with the wealth and influence to do so (Jones, 1964: 737-738, 748-752) and several constitutions were enacted to ensure compliance.

The study of towns and their public buildings has been central to many studies of the later Roman period and are often considered as indicators of the impact of Roman values on its provinces (Esmonde Cleary, 2004: 218). Therefore, changes to towns have usually been taken to represent the end of these values and an indication of the decline of the Roman influence or rule as a whole (e.g. Liebeschuetz, 2000; Ward-Perkins, 2005). Interpretation of changes in the urban landscape has been a major issue in the story of the later Roman period and is discussed in a Gwentian context below.¹⁹³

¹⁹² (Chapter 3: 195-227)

¹⁹³(Chapter 3: 164-185)

The built environment

Venta Silurum

The reasons for the foundation and location choice of *Venta Silurum* at Caerwent has been considered ¹⁹⁴ and continuity is evident after CE 410. Caerwent did not develop as a medieval town and the absence of modern urban sprawl has seen a series of archaeological excavations. These have revealed much of its topography¹⁹⁵ and have begun to illuminate the detail and chronology of its urban sequence over time.¹⁹⁶

The excavation between 1987-1989 (Brewer, 1993: 60-66) of the forum-basilica in *insula* VIII revealed a large rectangular room, identified as the *curia* council chamber.¹⁹⁷ Its surviving features suggest it consisted of a raised dais at its eastern end and along the long walls of the structure, shallow channels in the floor were indicative of timber benches for councillor seating. The space in between was floored with mosaic panels. This arrangement was depicted on a third-century CE coin struck in the eastern Mediterranean and was presumably repeated in towns and cities across the Roman empire.¹⁹⁸ The forum-basilica represents an architectural framework for institutionalised local power and confirmed by the Paulinus inscription.¹⁹⁹

At Caerwent the main hall was used for metalworking from *circa* CE 300 until it was demolished *circa* CE 360 (Brewer, 1993: 63-66). However, other rooms within the

¹⁹⁴ (Chapter 2: 135-141)

¹⁹⁵ (Figure 42: 134)

¹⁹⁶ (Figure 49: 165)

¹⁹⁷ (Figure 42: 134)

¹⁹⁸ (Figure 50: 166)

¹⁹⁹ (Figure 43: 138)

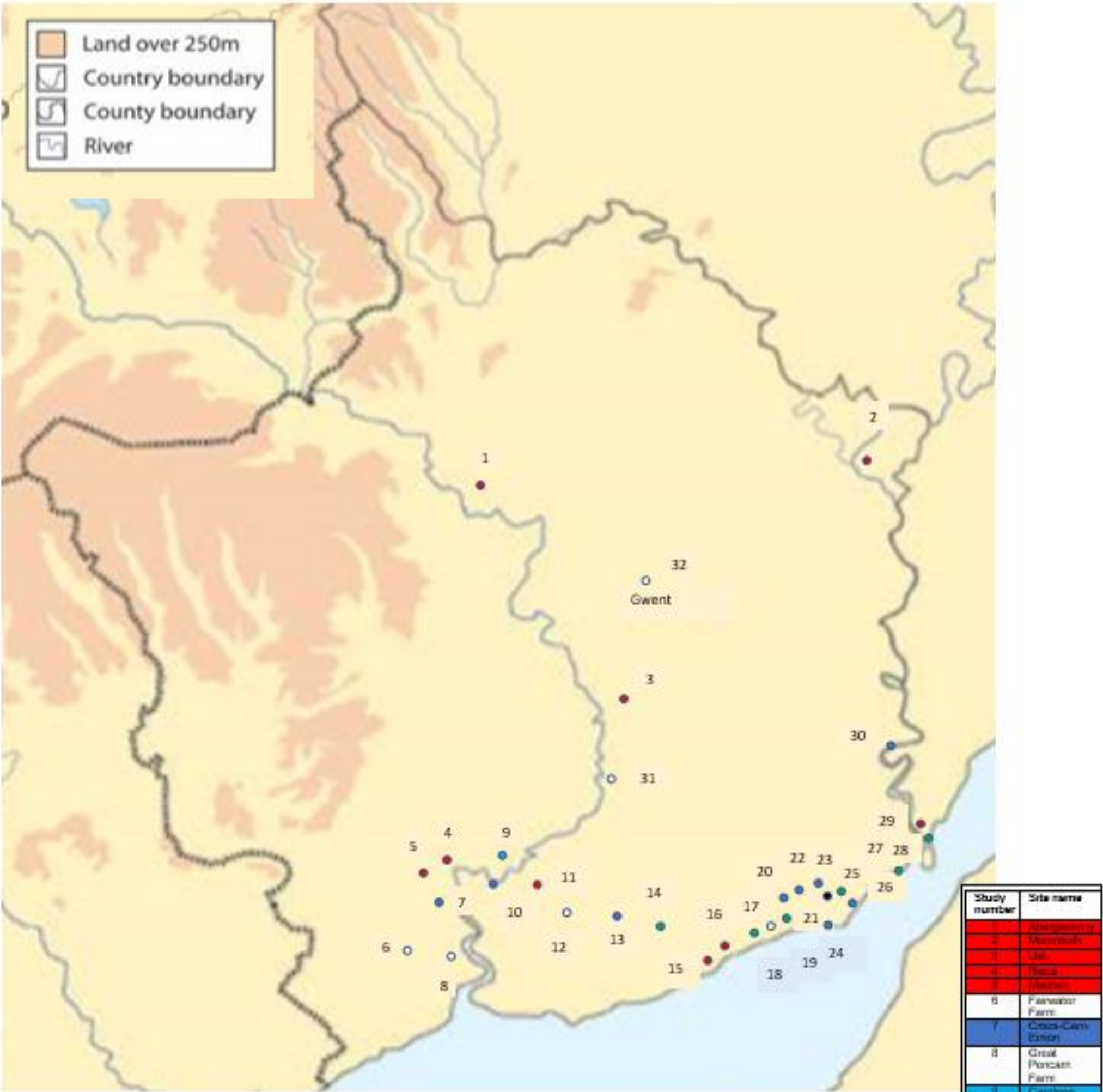


Figure 49
Distribution of Romano-British Settlement sites (Author, 2020)



Study number	Site name
1	Redwings
2	Marston
3	Ull
4	Bliss
5	Bliss
6	Bliss
7	Bliss
8	Bliss
9	Bliss
10	Bliss
11	Bliss
12	Bliss
13	Bliss
14	Bliss
15	Bliss
16	Bliss
17	Bliss
18	Bliss
19	Bliss
20	Bliss
21	Bliss
22	Bliss
23	Bliss
24	Bliss
25	Bliss
26	Bliss
27	Bliss
28	Bliss
29	Bliss
30	Bliss
31	Bliss
32	Bliss



Figure 50

Reverse of a bronze coin of Trebonianus Gallus (CE 251-253) issued at Alexandria Troas depicting the local council in session (Besly, 1997:10)

complex continued to be used, with at least one room receiving a hypocaust and mosaic as late as *circa* CE 370 (Guest, *In* Gerrard, 2016: 132). Furthermore, graffiti scratched on the walls of the *curia* have been assigned to the fifth-century CE (Watcher, 1983: 388). Similar patterns demonstrating changes of use occur at other Romano-British urban centres in Cirencester (Holbrook, 1998: 121), Lincoln (Jones & Gilmour, 1980: 61-72), London²⁰⁰ and Silchester (Fulford & Timby, 2000: 576-581) and have been interpreted as reflecting the decline of urban life (Rogers, 2005: 31).

However, in these examples, the structures continued in use during the fourth-century CE. Therefore, it is possible if retained structures continued to function, they did so as centres of power, even if the scale of activity was much reduced or was quite different from what went before. This could be further interpreted as either a decline in wealth of individual urban communities or a decline in euergetic practice

²⁰⁰ (Brigham, 1990: 77; Dunwoodie, 2004: 34; Marsden, 1987: 67)

of elites and either is possible. Another possibility of the emergence in metalworking inside major public buildings may be a conscious social choice which reflected earlier Iron Age practices. Alternatively, the diminishing status or transformed significance of public structures in the fourth-century CE may reflect other forms of elite display had emerged and had assumed greater importance.

The Romano-British temple in *insula IX*²⁰¹ built *circa* 330 CE can be considered as a late development (Brewer, 1993: 61). This and other aforementioned evidence in the form of a crude stone head and seated female figure may have been housed in a domestic shrine in a fourth-century CE house within the town²⁰² suggest pagan practices were present in the late Roman period when Christianity had become the official state religion (Boon, 1976: 163-175).

There is good evidence Christianity was present by the fourth-century CE. Excavation of a large courtyard house (House VIIN) in *insula IX* revealed fragments of painted wall plaster, a tessellated ambulatory around the courtyard and heating by hypocaust. In a room opening onto the courtyard a large grey-ware urn was recovered. The vessel had been buried level with the floor surface and was covered by a *mortarium*. It contained a flanged pewter bowl²⁰³ incised with a *chi-rho* (Boon, 1962: 338-344), a pewter plate, a blade, three red ceramic bowls, a double swivel hook and scraps of woollen twill (Ashby, 1907: 111-130). These artefacts have been interpreted as utensils used in the early Christian *agape* meal held in private homes

²⁰¹ (Figure 52: 169)

²⁰² (Figures 36: 120, 37: 121)

²⁰³ (Figure 53: 170)

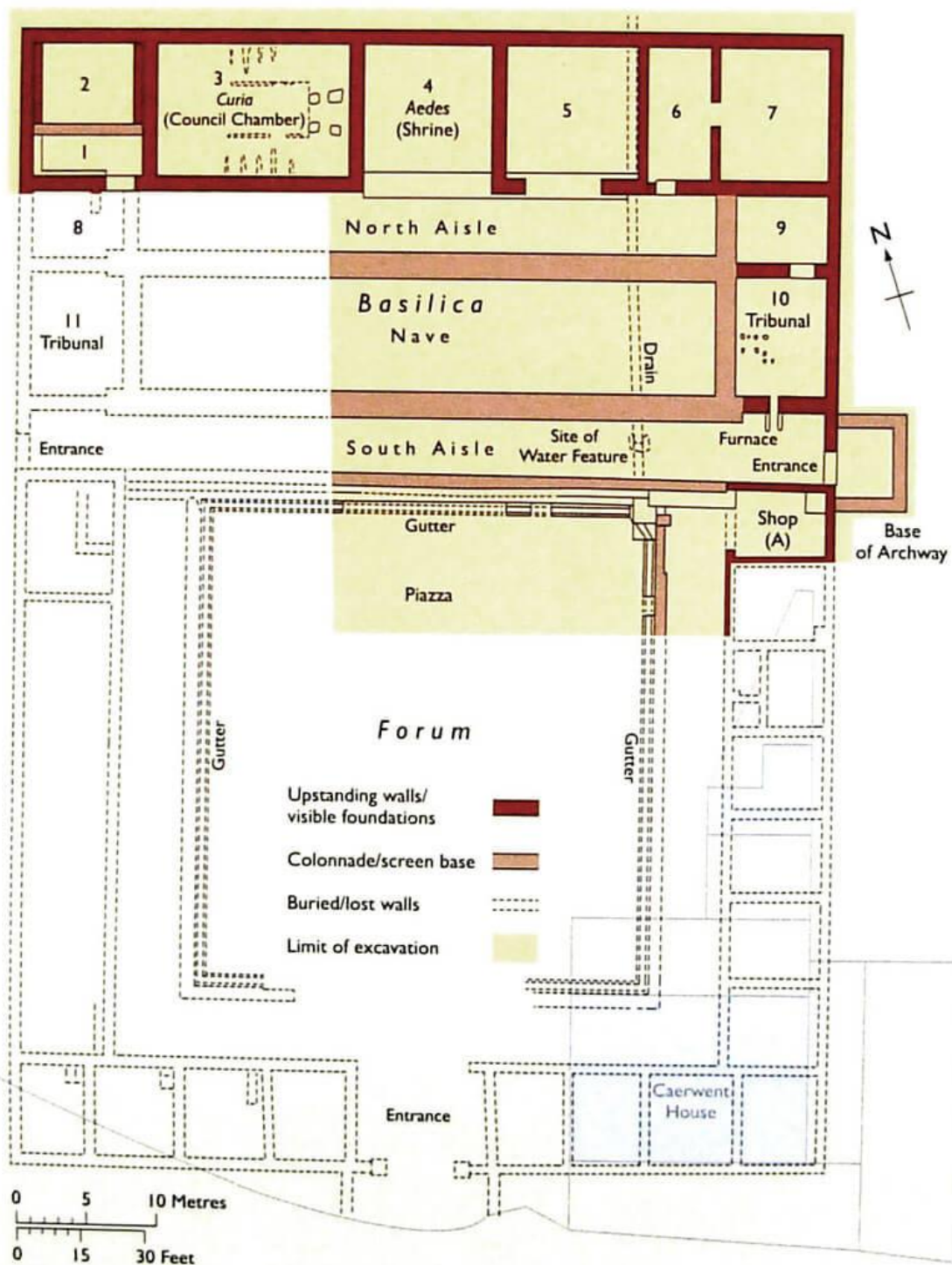


Figure 51

Ground plan of the forum-basilica at Caerwent (Brewer, 2006: 39)

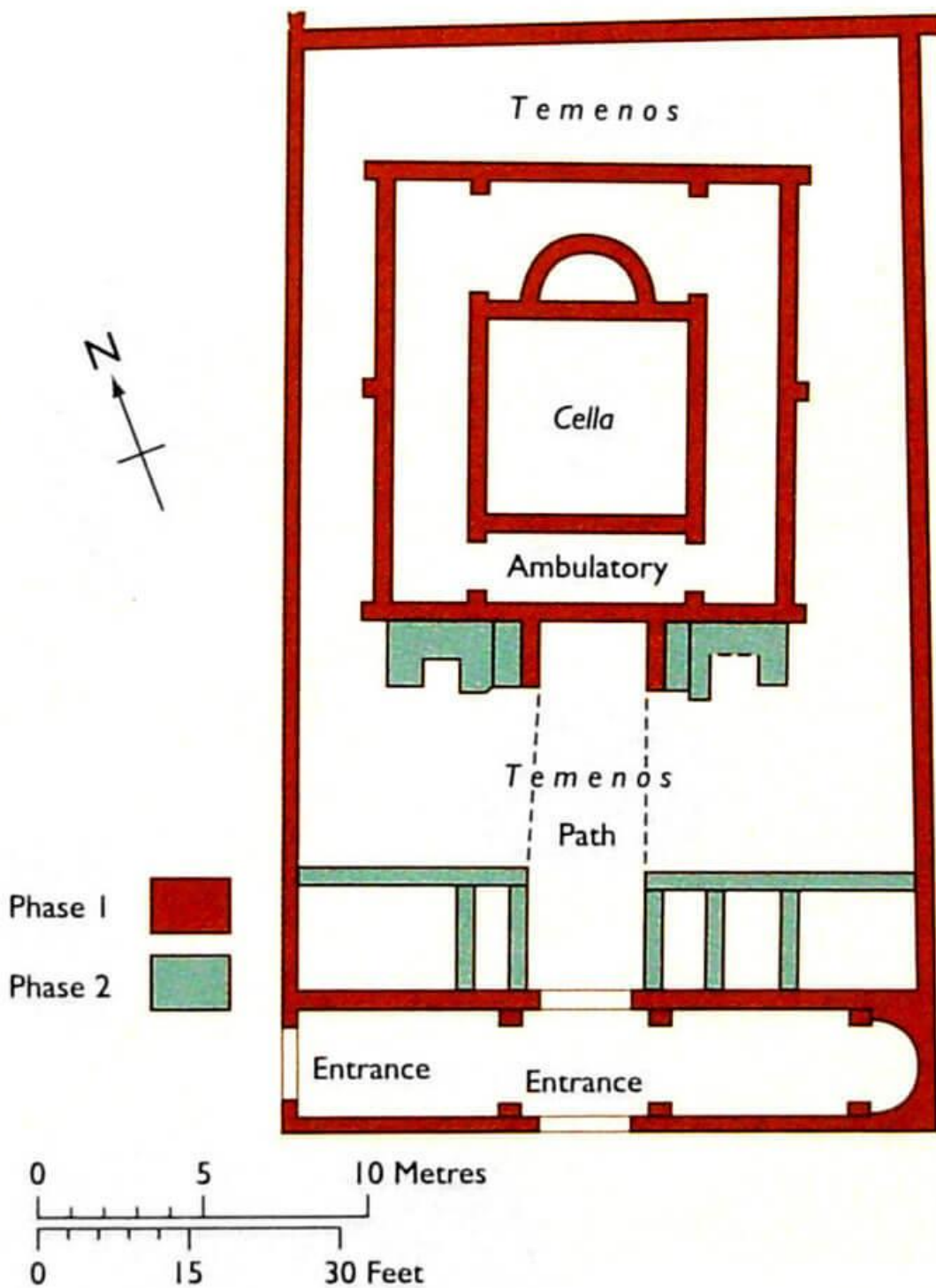


Figure 52

Ground plan of the Romano-British temple at Caerwent (Brewer, 2006: 45)



Figure 53

Pewter dish inscribed with a chi-rho from House VII N near the forum basilica in Caerwent. It was found within a large urn with another pewter vessel, five pots, a scrap of cloth, an iron blade, an iron hook and was covered by a mortarium. An associated grey-ware jar dates the chi-rho to CE 370 and represents the earliest evidence for Christianity in Wales (Newport Museum and Art Gallery, 2020)

for celebration of the Eucharist (Boon, 1992: 11-24) and it is possible House VIIN may be an example of a house-church (Bowes, 2008: 61-123).

Moreover, it has been suggested House XXIIN in *insula* V was the site of a church. This structure appears to have been adapted in the fourth-century CE to accommodate Christian worship and took the form of a large easterly facing apse added to a room on the north side of the house. Decoration consisting of plain red mosaic formed the floor of the room, whilst fine coloured work was introduced in the apse. Other adjoining rooms might have been a narthex, catechumens and baptistery. During this period, the sacrament of baptism was only administered by a bishop (Boon, 1992: 11-24) and may imply a bishop was present in Caerwent.

While the presence of a bishop is possible and Caerwent may have been Christianised, there is ample evidence for paganism in the *civitas*. This suggests there was a measure of coexistence and this situation is reflected across western Britain.²⁰⁴ However, by the time of Gildas, it appears the Britons were guilty of every sin except paganism. It could be the transformation of *Venta Silurum* to Gwent saw a shift in religious belief by a community which saw itself as Indigenous and Romanised as opposed to the German pagans in the east. It is interesting despite the collapse of Imperial administration, Gildas appears to address Aurelius Caninus, Cuneglasus, Constantinus, Maglocunus and Voritporus as kings of a wider (western) *Britannia Prima* (Gildas, 28-36). This political geography is further reflected by



Figure 54

Caerwent: south wall and towers (National Museum of Wales, 2020)

Taliesin's praise poem *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn* which lauded the late sixth-century CE ruler Cynan Garwyn's triumphs in Gwent, Môn, Dyfed Brycheiniog and Cernyw (Taliesin, (a)). Combined they suggest contemporary Latin and vernacular

²⁰⁴ (Fulford, 2001: 199-218; Henig, 1984: 207-219; King, 2005: 329-360)

sources continued to view western Britain as a distinct Christian and geographic entity although it had by Gildas' time become transformed into a myriad of separate polities.²⁰⁵

Civilian fortifications in Roman Britain present an alternative process of development to those of military settlements. Gerrard (2016) notes that by the end of the fourth-century CE most urban centres had been girthed by walled circuits of varying types and designs. This process began with the erection of earthen banks in the later second-century CE, supplemented with walls inserted into the faces of ramparts in the third-century CE and the addition of projecting bastions in the fourth-century CE which were often absent in the north (Gerrard, 2016: 43).

This phenomenon has been interpreted along two separate lines. The first has attempted to connect constructions with known historical events such as invasions, usurpations and imperial visits²⁰⁶ and was based on a view that the function of city walls was defensive.²⁰⁷ The second, influenced by considerations of material culture suggested town walls were less to do with defence and were primarily projections of local prestige.²⁰⁸ The later Roman period has largely been bypassed by these debates. For example, the provision of projecting towers is still linked to a declining security situation (Johnson, 1983: 115-116; Mattingly, 2006: 225-252), the militarism of the later Roman period (Faulkner, 2004: 126-137) or particularism in the form of civic pride (Esmonde-Cleary, 2003: 72-85).

Two important factors, the blocking of gates and the addition of projecting towers, need to be considered with these contradictory interpretations. At Caerwent,

²⁰⁵ (Figure 48: 156)

²⁰⁶ (e.g. Corder, 1955; Frere, 1984; Wacher, 1964, 1998)

²⁰⁷ (Bachrach, 2000: 195-196; Lyons, 2007: 46; Myres, 1969: 65; Rivet, 1964: 96; Webster, 1983)

²⁰⁸ (e.g. Esmonde-Cleary, 2003; Guest, 2000; Wilson, 2006)

Silchester (Fulford, 1984: 66-73) and Kenchester (Burnham & Wachter, 1990: 73-76) town gates were blocked. This pattern is taken as evidence of a worsening security situation in fourth-century CE Britain. Projecting towers have been seen as a reflection of a society under military pressure (Elton, 1996: 163-165). Combined with the provision of wide U shaped rather than the older V shaped ditches of the earlier Roman period they illustrate the defensive measures being undertaken by the inhabitants of later Roman Britain and are explained away as part of the grand narrative of Roman decline. However, a more nuanced explanation is considered below²⁰⁹ as the interpretation of defensive walls and their embellishment must depend on who commissioned them and what their motivations were.

Studies of the defences of Caerwent²¹⁰ have been preoccupied with its apparent late construction and later provision of polygonal towers (e.g. Casey, 1983: 49-77; Manning, 2003: 168-183). Furthermore, research has tended to associate the building of defences with a threat of coastal raiding by the Irish in the Bristol Channel.²¹¹ The structures probably began with the erection of an earthen rampart and timber palisade fronted by a V-shaped ditch in the late second-century CE and by *circa* CE 330 the town was enclosed by stone walls. During or soon after the construction of the city wall counterforts were added to its interior. These rectangular platforms were situated on all four sides of the defences and have been interpreted as either a means of access to the ramparts or as settings for *ballistae*. Afterwards, the south gate was completely closed with regular masonry blocks, whilst the north was largely closed with only a small entrance retained (Brewer, 1993: 56-65; Manning, 2003: 180). Later, the northern and southern walls were strengthened by

²⁰⁹ (Chapter 3: 173-178)

²¹⁰ (Figure 54: 171)

²¹¹ (Brewer, 2004: 229; Casey, 1983: 71-76; Howell, 2007: 83-86; Manning, 2003: 177)

the construction of external hexagonal towers *circa* CE 349-350 which were abutted to the walls and placed at irregular intervals. These fixtures have been linked to the provision of artillery (Casey, 1983: 49-77; Manning, 2003: 182).

The absence of projecting towers on the eastern and western sides of the walled circuit has been explained as an *ad hoc* system which should be seen as operating in tandem with the counterforts and was a 'compromise' designed to provide locations of enfilading artillery. These were further supported by *ballistae* positioned on the counterforts (Manning, 2003: 182). Indeed, the presence of projecting towers on the northern and southern walls suggests their defence was of paramount importance to the *civitas*. However, if both gates were blocked before the construction of the projecting towers, then the southern and northern walls were the town's most secure. An alternative interpretation suggests the original intention was to provide projecting towers along the entire perimeter and resources or will to complete the task were lacking (Hobley, 1983: 81). If this view is correct, it raises the question why did they build the projecting towers on the north and south walls which lacked gateways?

The rationality behind these interpretations appears to be a desire to reconstruct these monuments as primarily defensive in function. Interpreting the Caerwent defences offers no simple answers. It seems difficult to believe they were constructed solely for defensive purposes in the absence of projecting towers on the eastern and western walls. Furthermore, it is difficult to suppose they were primarily constructed for prestige and display as the structures did not overlook the sides of the town which most travellers would have approached during the fourth-century CE. In addition, there is no evidence of Caerwent ever being attacked and these

embellishments seem to be poorly designed and a phenomenon which has been misunderstood.

Moreover, linking the towers with the provision of artillery, despite the recovery of a *plumbata* or *martio-barbuli* is problematic.²¹² *Plumbata* were a characteristic late Roman army weapon described by Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus circa CE 379-395 in *Epitoma Rei Militaris* and the anonymous author of *De Rebus Bellicis* written in the fourth or fifth-centuries CE. These sources describe two types of projectiles. One was the traditional weapon *plumbata mamillata* (Vegetius, 1:17, 2:15, 2:16, 2:23, 3:14, 4:21, 4:29, 4:44) and the *plumbata tribolata* which was adapted to function as a caltrop if it missed its target (*De Rebus Bellicis*, 10,11). In *Britannia Prima*, *plumbata* have been recovered at other towns including Kenchester, *Segontium* and Wroxeter (Barker, 1975: 115; Knight, 1996: 55, 2013: 29). Research suggests it was chiefly used as an infantry throwing dart which was designed to disrupt enemy formations, rather than as a crossbow projectile (Kezi, 2018: 21-32).

Furthermore, it seems unlikely the late Roman army could have provided the necessary trained garrisons or expensive weaponry to man these projecting towers across Britain (Guest, 2002: 76-89). In this context, it is difficult to see what useful purpose they served if they were not constructed around the entirety of the town's walled circuit. One explanation which considers the projecting towers were designed as an image of deterrence to the north and south to the coast is too simplistic (Guest, 2002: 76-89).

²¹² (Figure 55: 176)



Figure 55

Replica plumbata constructed by David Sims (Sims, 2012)

The indefensibility of the walls at Caerwent undermines the notion they were constructed to deter raids by Irish pirates or because of political instability. In addition, evidence for raiding is slight and is based on Julian the Apostate's remark that one of the principal enemies of the Britons were the Hibernians (Julian the Apostate (c): 11:4). Moreover, evidence of Irish pirates looting another *civitas*-capital *Viroconium Cornoviorum* (Wroxeter) during the fourth-century CE is no longer accepted (White & Barker, 1998: 19) or Germanic piracy was endemic on the Saxon shore has been disputed (Pearson, 2005: 73-88, 2006: 347-350). These factors support a model which suggests there may have been barbarian threat which was constant but not substantial (Collins & Breeze, 2012: 63-64). Hence, in a Gwentian context it is possible its inhabitants were secure, and its communities were confident in that security and this continued after the end of Roman rule. Consequently, the towers may part of a Silurian architectural reflection of earlier tribal practices, such



Figure 56

Buckle loop dated to the late fourth-century CE with decoration including confronting dolphins and outward-facing horses' heads recovered from the forum-basilica site at Caerwent (National Museum of Wales, 2007.35H/2.49: 2020)

as obligatory labour service to members of the Silurian elite. This practice appears to be transmitted forward after Rome. This hypothesis is discussed below.²¹³

Material culture of a late Roman date which may be associated with a possible militia or garrison providing such security has been recovered from Caerwent. These include an assemblage of buckles or buckle fragments from unrecorded contexts (Hawkes & Dunning, 1961: 41-42, 51), a decorated buckle and plate of a late fourth century CE narrow belt recovered from the forum-basilica²¹⁴ and the aforementioned *plumbata* projectile (Brewer & Guest: 1994: 54).²¹⁵

²¹³ (Chapters 2: 14-17, 3: 205-216, 291-335)

²¹⁴ (Figure 51: 168)

²¹⁵ (Chapter 3: 175-176)

Furthermore, the recovery of post CE 394 coins may reinforce this impression.²¹⁶ Other examples of penannular brooches from the town are late and may be post-Roman. Two double spiral-headed pins are possibly seventh-century CE in date and two late loose-ring pins may indicate links with Ireland (Knight & Lane, 1988: 35-38). Further evidence of activity which crosses the divide between late and post-Roman times is provided by two large medieval cemeteries. Although its extent is uncertain, an intramural cemetery was located around the site of the present parish church where over 150 burials have been recorded. Some respect the lines of Roman buildings, whilst others cut across demolished walls or were cut into the main east-west road (Brewer, 1993: 31). One inhumation contained a Roman coin *circa* CE 335-348 and a late Roman bracelet. However, the radiocarbon date for the grave was CE 540-740. This implies the use of Roman objects continued well into the early Medieval Period (Knight & lane, 1988: 37).

Similar inferences can be deduced from the Eastgate cemetery located just outside the eastern gate of the town where 148 inhumations have been examined. One grave contained a bronze penannular brooch dating from the fifth or sixth-century CE.²¹⁷ The graves were aligned from east-west and several were stone lined. Radiocarbon dates indicate burial here from the fourth to the ninth-century CE (Knight, 1996: 49-50). The inhumations from Caerwent indicate the town remained a population focus of some significance during Gwent's early Middle Age.

²¹⁶ (Chapter 3: 466-480)

²¹⁷ (Figure 57: 179)



Figure 57

Bronze penannular brooch from the Eastgate cemetery, Caerwent
(National Museum of Wales, 92.29H: 2020)

Isca and its *canabae*

Evidence of activity at Caerleon from the fourth-century CE and after has been recovered (see Evans & Metcalf, 1992). Established interpretations have traditionally interpreted the site as haven been given over to civilian use after this date (Boon, 1972: 67-69, 1987: 43). However, distinguishing civilian from military activity is problematical considering the much smaller legions of the late Roman period and the fortress may have continued to fulfil some military role (Gardiner, 2017: 176-177; Manning, 2004: 199-201). Whilst the site²¹⁸ did not receive substantial late Roman modifications to its defences such as protruding towers or gate towers, this has

²¹⁸ (Figure 58: 180)

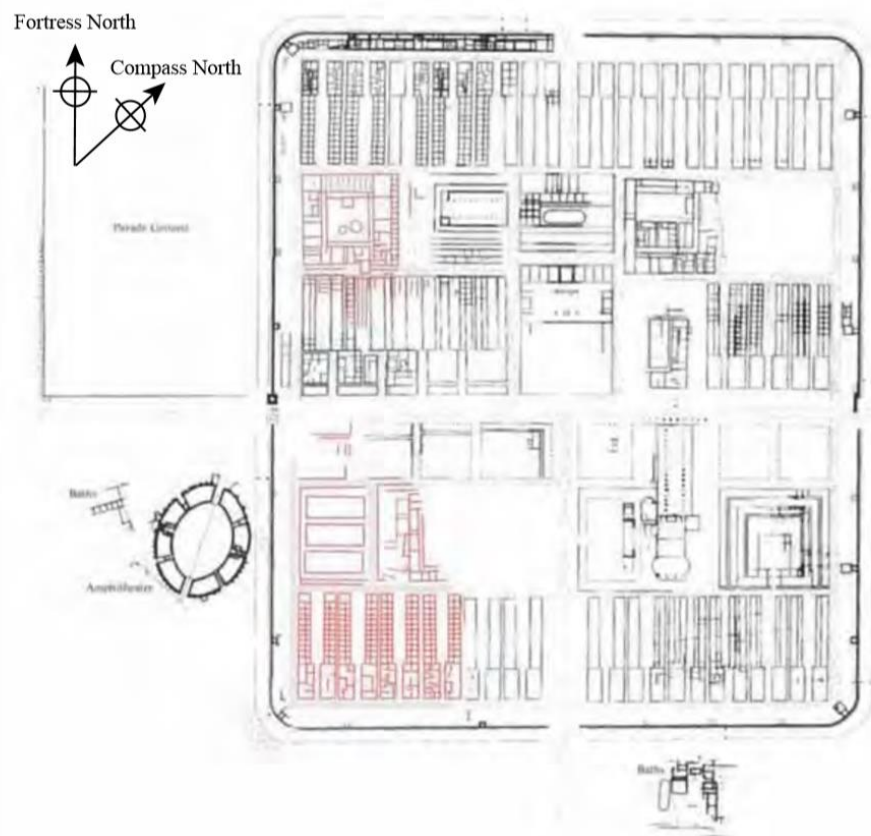


Figure 58

Updated plan of Isca after geophysical surveys from 2006 to 2008 (newly discovered buildings shown in red) (Guest & Luke & Pudney, 2012: 5)

parallels with Caernarfon which was occupied until the end of the fourth-century CE (Casey & Davies & Evans, 1993).

Furthermore, excavations at the Roman Gates site in the north-east of the fortress demonstrate apparent early Middle Age construction had replaced dismantled barrack blocks sometime after *circa* CE 350. In addition, at least one barrack block of

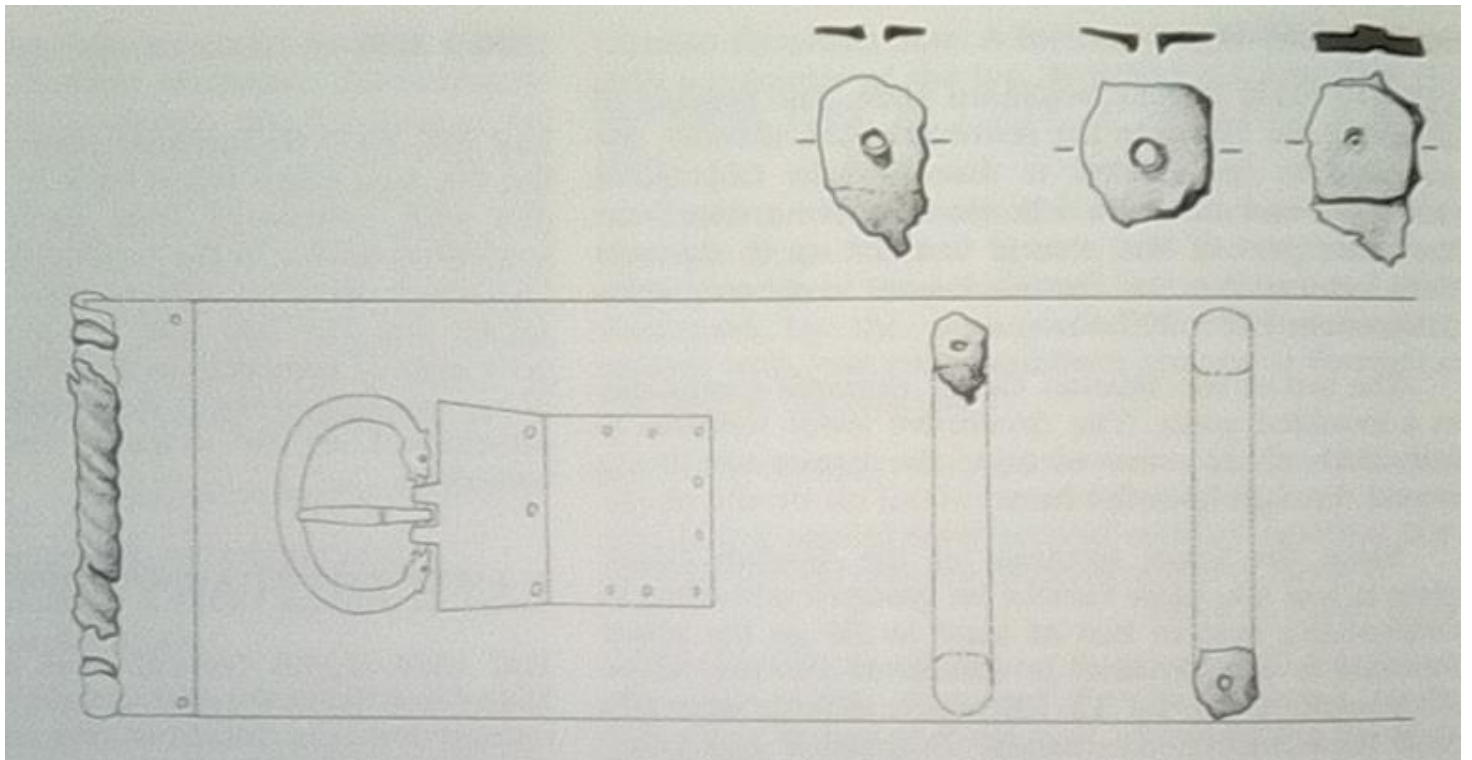


Figure 59

Possible wide two-strap fourth-century CE belt fitting reconstructed from fragments recovered from Roman Gates (Evans & Metcalf, 1992:130)

Roman construction based on inhumation evidence was standing as late as the eighth-century CE (Evans & Metcalf, 1992: 72-75). Moreover, three fragments of fittings from a wide two-strap belt were recovered from Roman Gates.²¹⁹ The style of belt is fourth-century CE and is generally interpreted as a military form.²²⁰ The fragments seem to have been deposited sometime after *circa* CE 340 and suggests some kind of late garrison was present (Evans & Metcalf, 1992: 129-131). Likewise, twenty-two Theodosian coins²²¹ suggest occupation did continue until *circa* CE 388-408 (Seaman, 2010: 44).

²¹⁹ (Figure 59: 181)

²²⁰ (Chapter 3: 160)

²²¹ (Chapter 3:466-479)



Figure 60

Reconstruction of the fortress baths circa CE 80 (National Museum of Wales, 2020)

This early Middle Age occupation would have developed alongside imposing surviving Roman structures. Two of the largest of these were the fortress baths and the *tetrapylon*.^{222 223} On the basis of ceramic evidence, both appeared to have been systematically demolished sometime during the thirteenth-century CE (Howell, 2000: 387-395; Zienkiewicz, 1986a: 262-268).²²⁴

Caerleon's extra mural settlement²²⁵ has been investigated on three sides of the fortress (Evans, 2000: 1-537; Guest, Luke & Pudney, 2012: 1-114) and on the east bank of the Usk at Bulmore, which appears to have been abandoned in the third-century CE (Vyner, 1978: 25-34). The southern *canabae* reveals little post-Roman activity and it appears it was robbed of stone before those of the fortress (Guest &

²²²(Figure 41: 132)

²²³ (Figure 60: 182)

²²⁴ (Chapter 4: 553-558)

²²⁵ (Figure 61: 183)

Luke & Pudney, 2011: 92). Excavations on the Allotments, Cambria House, Riding School Field and the Smallholding locations show marked decline in the amounts of coarse pottery vessels recovered from *circa* CE 370-400 (Evans, 2000: 199, 204, 224, 246, 253). Overall, occupation does not seem to have lasted long into the fourth-century CE. However, an inhumation dated to the sixth or seventh-century CE was recovered from the Cambria House site and was cut through the remains of a wall of Building 3, which appears to have gone out of use in the fourth-century CE (Evans, 2000: 171-173).



Figure 61

Reconstruction of Isca and its canabae including Bulmore viewed from the south (Guest & Luke & Pudney, 2012: 110)

Other urban settlements

The closure of the Flavian fort at Usk did not mean the end of Roman occupation at Usk (*Burrium/Bullaeum*).²²⁶ Excavations around Maryport Street revealed areas of occupation and industrial activity from the second until the late fourth-century CE (Manning, 2010: 187-192). Later occupation is confirmed by the recovery of an East Gaulish samian sherd and a buckle tongue of possible Valentinianic or later date (Marvell, Crowther, Sell & Dickinson *et al*, 1996: 89, 92). Pottery and coins from the third and fourth-centuries CE have dominated late Roman assemblages recovered from Monmouth (*Blestium*). The settlement appears to have been of an industrial nature and was composed of largely timber buildings (Clarke, 2010: 264-265). The *vicus* at Abergavenny (*Gobannium*) probably originated with construction of the Neronian fort and continued to the Antonine period. Civilian occupation, based on occupation material seemed to continue until the close of the fourth-century CE (Olding, 2010: 196-198).

Vici at Chepstow and Risca are possibilities.²²⁷ However, the nature of Roman occupation at Chepstow is poorly understood and can only remain no more than conjecture at this time (Evans, 2001: 21, 2010a: 92; Shoesmith, 1991: 35-43, 92). A building at Risca dated from the second-century CE is consistent with a bathhouse or as a possible settling tank for an aqueduct serving Caerleon. An alternative explanation suggests the building was related to lead or iron ore extraction (Evans, 2010b: 309; Zienkiewicz, 1983a: 49).

²²⁶ (Figure 49: 165)

²²⁷ (Figure 49: 165)

Other settlement evidence with urban characteristics includes Lower Machen, Barland's Farm and the intertidal zone at Magor.²²⁸ At Lower Machen pottery (dated between the first and second-centuries CE), masonry walls, floors, carved stonework, metalworking debris and lead pieces have been recovered. Lead mining occurred at nearby Draethen where various counterfeit coins of Tetricus I (CE 271-273) in various stages of production were discovered.²²⁹ The jetties or bridges at Barland's Farm were built using stonework and massive timbers (Nayling & McGrail, 2004: 221- 226). Another concentration of finds from the Magor intertidal zone suggest there was a possible quay or harbour located here (Rippon, 1997: 54).

Rural settlement forms

Comprehensive surveys of Romano-British settlement patterns have set Wales in context,²³⁰ while regional studies have highlighted variations and post-Roman developments in Welsh rural settlements.²³¹ Some rural settlement in Gwent appears to reflect the continuation, as well as the development of social trends evident in the latter first millennium BCE in the form of individual farming settlements clustered on better quality soils (Lynch *et al*, 2000: 162-172).

Villas are an architectural form which exist in a bewildering variety and are often regarded as the Roman counterpart to the native roundhouse (Smith 1997: 10-19). They were not evenly spread across Roman Britain and are largely absent from the Weald, are rare around London, parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. There are concentrations in the West Country and can be identified in a broad swathe from the

²²⁸ (Figure 49: 165)

²²⁹ (Boon, 1971: 311-312; Giblin, 1999: 106; Nash-Williams, 1939b: 108-110; 1939c: 375-378)

²³⁰ (e.g. Allen, Blick, Brindle *et al*, 2020; Allen, Lodwick, Brindle *et al*, 2017; Hingley, 1989; Taylor, 2007)

²³¹ (e.g. Burnham & Davies, 1990: 5-7, 102-137; Comeau & Seaman, 2019; Davies, 1980)

WHITEWALL BRAKE

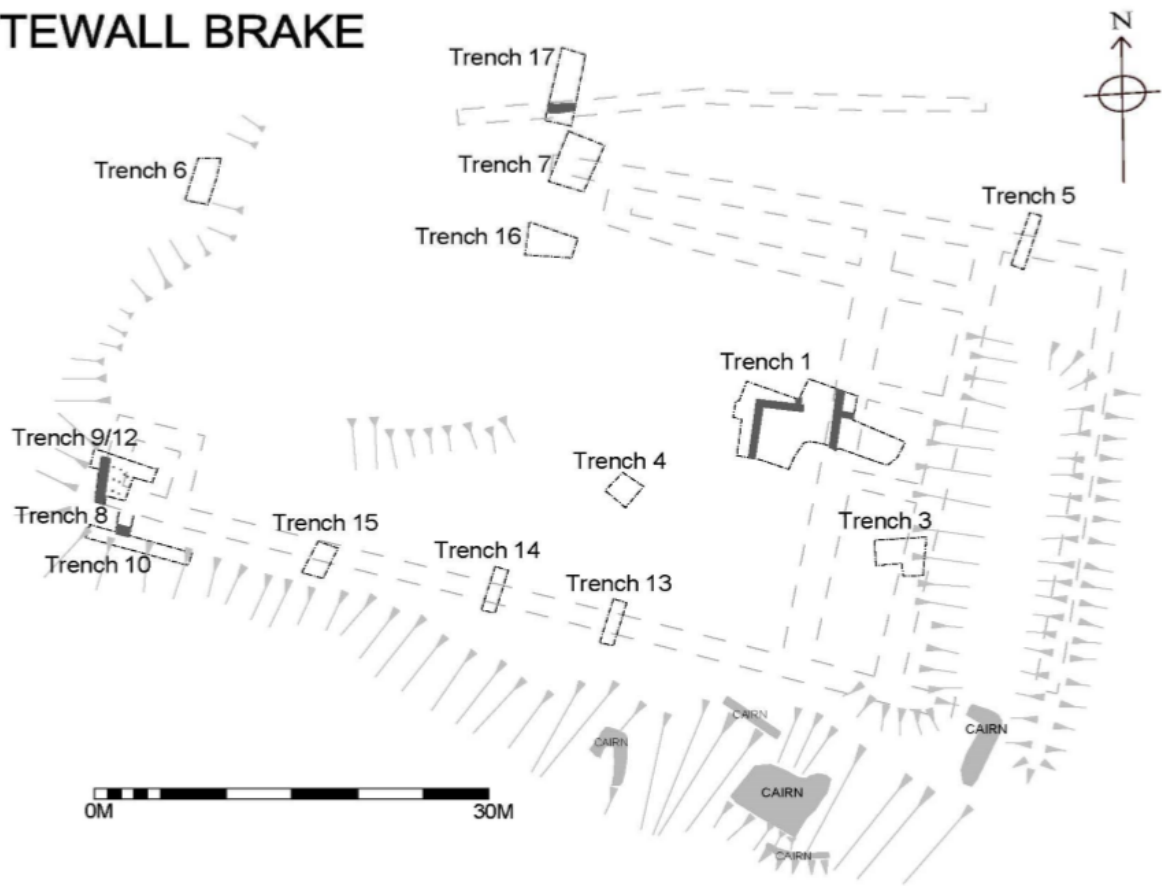


Figure 62

Trench locations of 2011-2014 excavations at Whitewall Brake (Castle Tump) and outline of the villa complex (Clapton, 2017:10)

Exe to the Wash (Taylor, 2007: 34). They are present in Gwent and Glamorgan; however, problems occur whilst tracing their distribution and ordering their categorisation as there is little consistency in descriptive terms.

Three potential or actual villa sites surround the *civitas*-capital at Caerwent.²³² Castle Tump (Whitewall Brake) comprises of the remains of a building complex and

²³² (Figure 49: 165)

overlooks the town's north wall 600 metres to the south-west.²³³ An excavation in the nineteenth-century CE revealed 'some coins, yellow and terracotta coloured pottery and tessellated bits of pavement' had been found. A site plan was also drawn; however, it and the artefacts appear to have been lost (Tuck: 2005).

Other investigations between 2011 and 2017 conducted geophysical and LIDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) surveys and excavated seventeen trenches over an approximate area of 60 metres east-west by 30 metres north-south. The excavations suggested a rectangular plan with parallel northern and southern boundary walls. No trace of a western boundary was located, and a possible eastern wall or veranda was found in Trench 1. The structure had a series of small rooms on its eastern side and the excavator categorised it as a courtyard villa (Clapton, 2017: 10,16-25, 61).

Within the complex evidence for two structures was identified. Trench 1 provided evidence for a room with faced walls and evidence for possible floor surfaces. Another room uncovered in trenches 9 and 12 revealed a hypocaust, flue tiles, high quality plaster and fragments of polychrome mosaic consistent with a fourth-century CE date. However, the angles of the wall suggest the structure was remodelled and the feature may never have been used. Furthermore, both ceramic and stone roof tiles found here, support distinct phases. In addition, stone roofing slabs were identical to those used on the forum basilica at Caerwent in the later fourth-century CE. Overall, the building materials and building techniques were similar to those observed at Caerwent. The presence of an early Black B1 dish indicates occupation into the fifth-century CE (Clapton, 2017: 16-25, 35-42, 62-67).

²³³ (Figure 62: 186)



Figure 63

RCAHMW colour oblique photograph of Five Lanes Roman Villa (RCHAMW, 2020:C906256)

Roman artefacts were discovered at Five Lanes Roman Villa in the mid nineteenth-century CE when excavators unearthed pieces of a white tessellated pavement, brick fragments and pieces of roof tiles (Morgan, 1855: 427). This site lays approximately 2.5 kilometres to the west of Caerwent (Evans, 2001: 28). Located within a ditched enclosure, cropmarks clearly indicate the presence of a winged-corridor Roman villa. It featured five rooms with wings projecting eastwards from each of the end rooms²³⁴ and had been built over an earlier construction without wings. Other cropmarks suggest additional masonry buildings were present (Mien, 1995: 54-55).

²³⁴ Figure 63: 188

The remains of a Roman building at Portskewett Hill lays 3.5 kilometres to the south-east of Caerwent.²³⁵ It was situated on the summit of a hill and the site has extensive views over the *civitas*, the higher ground beyond towards Grey Hill and the Severn Estuary. The structure has been associated with mid third and fourth-century CE coins (Wheeler, 1923: 340). Other finds have included South Wales greyware and Severn Valley ware and a Romano-British brooch dated from *circa* CE 50 (RCHAMW, 2020). The site has been described as a possible temple site (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 130). However, there appears to be no definite evidence for this, apart from the hilltop location. Furthermore, the presence of evidence for ironworking nearby, suggests it may instead be another villa (Evans, 2001: 71).

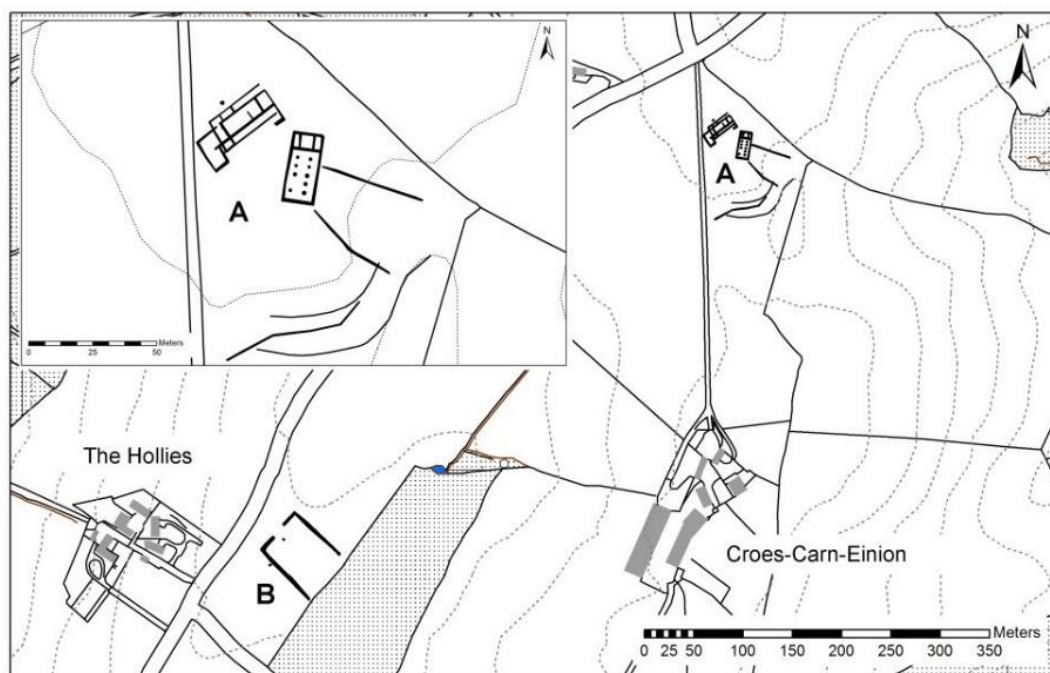


Figure 64

Situation map of Croes-Carn-Einion villa sites A and B (RCHAMW, 2020: C622110)

²³⁵ (Figure 49: 165)

Two prospective villa sites appear to have a spatial relationship with the legionary fortress at Caerleon, its canabae and the settlement at Bulmore.²³⁶ These were located at Penrhos Farm and St Julians and were situated at approximately 1 and 1.5 kilometres from the fortress respectively (Evans, 2001: 28). However, evidence for the former is derived from an antiquarian account (Coxe, 1801: 95) and the possible bath building associated with a villa has been suggested at St. Julians in Beechwood was based on Roman coins and building debris such as bricks and jasper tesserae (Evans, 2001: 27-28).

The villa site at Croes-Carn-Einion near Bassaleg²³⁷ lays approximately 3 kilometres to the south-east from Machen (Evans, 2001:28). It was comprised of at least two stone-built elements aligned south-west to north-east²³⁸ to a maximum length of thirty-four metres. The first (A) was a *domus* divided into at least five rooms with a projecting pavilion at the south-west end and possibly another at the north-eastern end. The structure was fronted by a corridor or porticus with a projecting central porch. The second (B), lay towards the south-east and on a different alignment was an aisled building. Its northern end was divided into three rooms and the remainder comprised of an aisled hall, supported by two rows of columns. No datable material culture has been recovered from this site (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 84-85; Evans, 2001: 15, 27, 2018).

There is another possible villa site approximately 3 kilometres towards the south-east of Croes-Carn-Einion at Fairwater Farm.^{239 240} Here, negative cropmarks show

²³⁶ (Figure 49: 165)

²³⁷ (Figure 49: 165)

²³⁸ (Figure 64: 189)

²³⁹ (Figure 49: 165)

²⁴⁰ (Figure 64: 189)

the north side and north-west end of a rectangular building about 30 metres long (RCHAMW, 2020: 409187).

Another high-status site at Ford Farm near Langstone lay approximately 3 kilometres to the south-east of Bulmore and has provided dating evidence from the first to fourth-century CE.²⁴¹ Trenching recovered a variety of Roman building material including *opus signinum*, box tiles, mosaic tesserae, tegulae, imbrices, painted wall plaster and some human remains. The main villa building appears to be a single range, had estimated dimensions of at least 12 metres by 38 metres and was aligned south-west of east to west. The mosaic pavement in the south-east corner was estimated at 30 by 10 metres and what was interpreted as a possible walled garden to the east was 40 metres by 35 metres and the geophysical survey described the villa as L shaped. On the east side, there were two rectangular enclosures aligned east to west measured at 60 metres by 35 metres. There were indications of other structures to the north of the main building.²⁴²

These two locations alongside an indistinct cropmark at Llangybi Walks (Evans, 2010: 172)²⁴³ may reveal information regarding the extent of the legionary fortress *territorium* towards its south and south-west as such sites would probably have laid outside legionary territory. Therefore, their location could suggest the *territorium* or later *prata* did not extend significantly towards Caerwent and could be used as a model to identify which parts of Gwent were still administered by the Silures after the coming of Rome. This notion is further supported by arguments suggesting the Satorius Maximus inscription recovered from near Goldcliff²⁴⁴ may be such an

²⁴¹ (Figure 49: 165)

²⁴² (Evans, 2018; Macdonald, 2001b: 138-139; Williams, 2005)

²⁴³ (Figure 49: 165)

²⁴⁴ (Figure 65: 192)

example and served to mark the limits of military ownership of reclaimed wetlands in the Gwent Levels (Brewer, 2006: 12-13; Arnold & Davies, 2000: 58, 79).

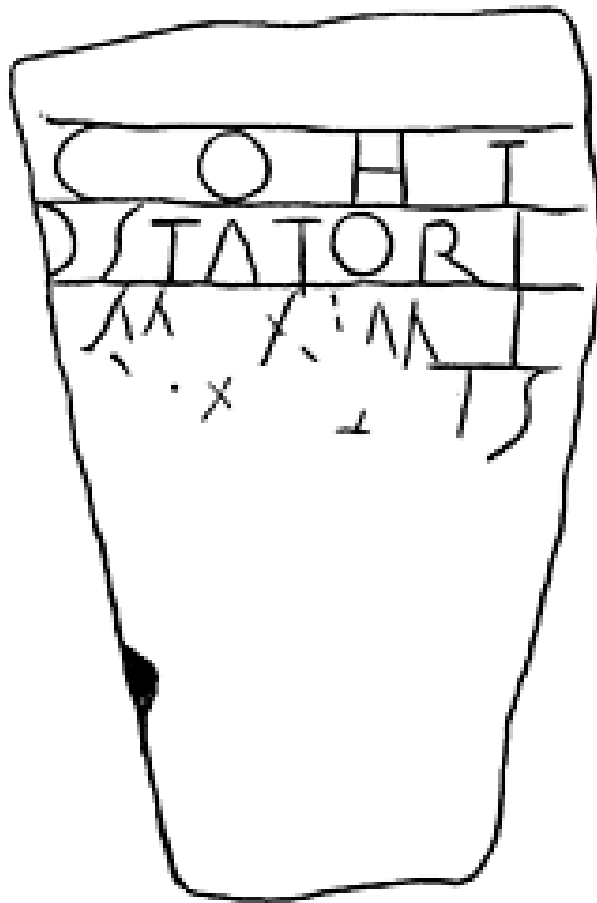


Figure 65

Statorius Maximus inscription from near Goldcliff (RIB: 395)

Cropmarks found at Wyndcliff, approximately 4 kilometres from the possible *vicus* at Chepstow suggest the remains of another villa complex.²⁴⁵ Evidence of a rectangular structure with corridors and internal rooms with no apparent wings,²⁴⁶ partly bounded with a ditch to its north and west have been revealed by geophysical and aerial

²⁴⁵ (Figure 49: 165)

²⁴⁶ (Figure 66: 193)

surveys. However, fragments from a bronze statuette of Mars may suggest this building functioned as a temple (GGAT, 2020: 06146g).

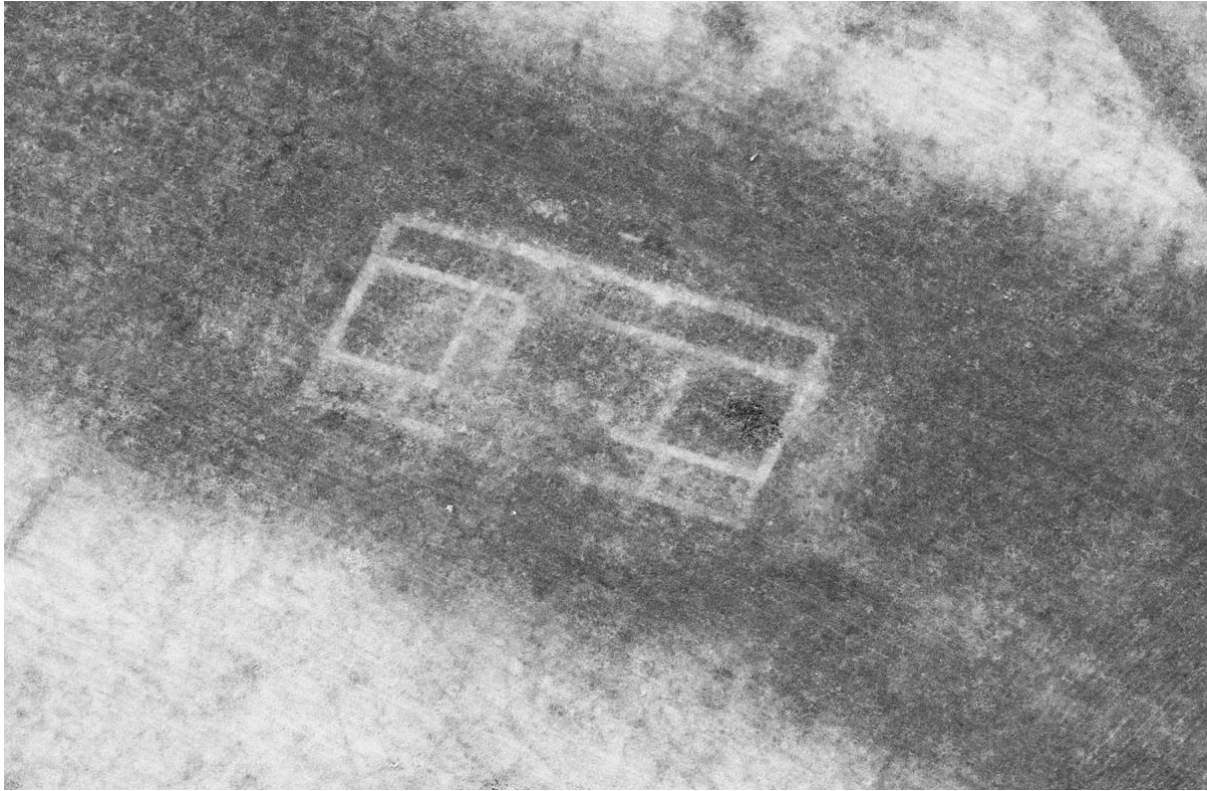


Figure 66

Wyndcliff Farm Roman villa taken on the 19th July 2018 during the 2018 drought (RCHAMW, 2020: C669319)

Other sites in Gwent which have produced material culture in the form of masonry, brick and tiles include Dewstow Farm, Llanwern, Gaer Fawr, Great House, Great Pencarn Farm, Stoop Hill and Rogiet²⁴⁷ and may warrant being considered as villas.²⁴⁸ Of these, Great Pencarn can be geographically associated with Fairwater Farm and Croes-Carn-Einion, whilst the others could be possibly considered as part of Caerwent's hinterland.

²⁴⁷ (Figure 49: 165)

²⁴⁸ (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 85; Belcher, 2005: 41-43, Evans, 2001: 111)

Although Gwent lacks excavated sites demonstrating transition from native settlement patterns to villa forms such as Whitton in Glamorgan (Jarrett & Wrathmell, 1981), it is likely Gwent developed a villa economy. However, the excavated low-status sites of Gwent exhibit common features which may suggest several important points about the rural social system prevalent at the end of the Roman period. For example, the multi-period settlement at Thornwell Farm provides evidence of six phases and suggests possible continuous or near continuous occupation from the Bronze Age to the late Romano-British period.²⁴⁹ Here, the final phase of occupation has been dated from the third to fourth-century CE. The assumed date is based on ceramic evidence and a coin from Magnentius (CE 350-353) recovered from a late phase rubble bank. As many as four round structures, two of which could not be contemporary as one cuts through the other are attributed to this period. The continuity and retention of the roundhouse form from the Bronze Age into the mid-fourth century CE suggests this settlement pattern was traditional and persevered right through the Roman period (Hughes: 1996: 91).

The evidence from Thornwell Farm is consistent with material recovered from other excavations. For instance, occupation at the Woodlands Cottages site near Caerwent Quarry, began with the cutting of a ditch in the second-century CE and continued until the mid-fourth-century CE where at least five roundhouses were identified (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 67-122). Likewise, excavations at the nearby Church Farm site (Insole, 2000: 2-33), finds at Dewstow Farm and Sudbrook Road, Portskewett suggest a measure of continuity (Evans, 2003: 71-73). In addition, the

²⁴⁹ (Chapters 2: 52-53)

subrectangular enclosure at Llanmartin,²⁵⁰ considered as Iron Age in origin has seen some Roman and medieval material recovered (Evans, 2003: 110).

Overall, it seems likely an organised farming framework was maintained in Gwent throughout the Roman period with a gradation of settlement sites. Furthermore, it is possible these native farmsteads may have been linked to high-status sites nearby. Additionally, typological similarities to the Iron Age seems to have been maintained. Other possible relationships alongside post-Roman continuity are considered below.²⁵¹

Oligarchy to aristocracy?

The ending of Roman Britain is a subject of few facts and many theories (Mattingly, 2007: 529). Furthermore, in Gwentian and wider Welsh contexts its history, derived from collections of texts assembled after the Norman conquest has to be written from the twelfth-century CE backwards and is discussed below. However, there are a number of elements which, when combined characterise the early Middle Age centuries in Gwent. One of these was the emergence of an independent aristocracy. In the absence of definitive sources, how their personal rule became manifest after the Roman interlude allows only for conjecture. Nevertheless, what was to become Wales certainly had kings as attested by Gildas by the sixth-century CE (Gildas, 27). Furthermore, in Gwent, the sources demonstrate the existence of kings was a constant feature throughout the early medieval period.²⁵²

It may be the elevation of its aristocratic class was facilitated by the demise of Roman central government. One possible way this transformation in Gwent occurred

²⁵⁰ (Figure 49: 165)

²⁵¹ (Chapter 3: 359-476)

²⁵² (Figures 75a: 223, 75b: 224)

was as a consequence of the Diocletian reforms and resultant collapse of the tax-pay cycle which eventually occurred.²⁵³ However, it should be noted the collapse of Roman rule between CE 409-410 appears to have had one crucial difference between the earlier cessation phases of the third and fourth-centuries CE where in each case Britain had been continued to be run as if it was still Roman territory.²⁵⁴

A tipping point is suggested by the expulsion of Constantine III's governors and the fact they were not locally replaced by an effective shadow administration. It can be further reasoned if urban government by the fifth-century CE was an unwelcome and obligatory duty for local elites (Fulford, 1979: 120-132; Jones, 1964: 737-738, 748-752) then it is reasonable to suppose the removal of the upper tiers of Roman provincial and Diocesan government may have created a cascade effect at the level of the *civitates*.

However, the nature of sub-Roman government which replaced Roman rule is unclear. For instance, Gildas mentioned a British council appealing for help to the Roman general Flavius Aetius in Gaul towards the mid fifth-century CE in the letter *Agitio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum* (Gildas, 20) sometime between CE 446 and 454. On the other hand, his other references suggest an increasing local dominance of tyrants and warlords. For example, Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern) is first referred to, albeit obliquely, as *superbus tyrannus* (Ward: 1972: 273) and is credited with inviting the Saxons Hengist and Horsa into Britain as his allies (Gildas, 23).

The situation appears consistent with parts of Britain no longer defended by Roman armies or governed by Roman officials. It indicates the Britons had ceased to pay

²⁵³ (Bang, 2007a: 35; Millett, 1990: 178-180; Reece, 1984: 44-46)

²⁵⁴ (e.g. Fleming, 2011: 1-30; Gerrard, 2016: 15-72; Mattingly, 2006: 529-539; Millett, 1990: 212- 230)

taxes to a central government and in an economic sense confirms Britain was lost to Rome. However, the letter to Aetius presupposes some form of allegiance to the Western Empire and that the emperor was still in place. Furthermore, that the *superbus tyrannus* of Gildas was able to promise Hengist and Horsa *annonae* and a monthly *epimenia* (or dole) which appear to have been paid for some time (Gildas, 23:5) suggests taxes in kind were still levied and paid in some parts of Britain during this period. Other possible causational factors can be expressed in repeated legislation on certain questions which may reflect the contemporary preoccupations of the western Roman government.

The law and tax system of the late Roman period was a product of institutional arrangements developed in previous centuries and recorded in a compilation of Roman laws established by Emperor Theodosius II (reigned CE 402-450) and his co-emperor Valentinian III (reigned CE 425-455). Published as a constitution in CE 429 and known as the Theodosian Code or *Codex Theodosianus* it consisted of laws derived from the reign of Constantine I onwards (reigned CE 306-337). It was superseded by the Code of Justinian or *Codex Justinianus* in the sixth-century CE. Both provide indicative evidence of imperial priorities towards the end of the western Empire.

For instance, customary arrangements recognised by the imperial government as legally binding, often involved tenants remaining on their land in open-ended leases and having firmer rights to their land than formally accorded tenants in conventional Roman lease law (Kehoe, 2010: 167). In the fourth-century CE, the imperial government took the step of interpreting customary arrangements as permanently binding on landowners and tenants. An example of this trend included Constantine's

ruling whereby landowners could not raise customary rents and at the same time established a process for tenants to seek address against landowners who had raised rents in contravention of existing arrangements (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 11:50:1). This strongly suggests the existence of many long-term tenure arrangements across the empire. It may also indicate local and traditional processes of land management were respected.²⁵⁵

Furthermore, a constitution written by Constantine I in CE 319 to Pacatianus, *vicarius* (deputy of the praetorian prefect) of Britain, suggests by this time *coloni* (tenant farmers) were already registered for fiscal purposes on the estates owned by decurions (*Codex Theodosianus*, 11:7:2). It dealt with the fiscal obligations of decurions and assumed farmers termed *coloni* or *tributarii* (tribute payers) might be registered on the land belonging to decurions. The situation presupposed in this constitution was in clear contrast to the conventional system of assessing tax liability in the early empire, when under normal circumstances, the landowner alone bore tax liability and the presence or absence of tenants did not affect this liability (Kehoe, 2010: 168).

A similar conception of longer-term tenure arrangements appears to rest behind a ruling of Valentinian I (*circa* CE 364-375) addressed to the governor of Tripolitania. Here, landowners were compelled to accept rents in kind and could not demand cash unless it had been the previous custom of the estate (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 11:48:5:365).

The earliest text which refers directly to the binding of *coloni* to particular land was a constitution of Constantine I from the year CE 332. It established penalties for

²⁵⁵ (Chapters 2: 56-98, 3: 268-335)

landowners who harboured *coloni* under the legal authority of another landowner (*Codex Theodosianus*, 5:17:1). This seems to have been a gradual process and was established in Illyricum in CE 371, Palestine in *circa* CE 386 and in the west by Honorius (reigned CE 393-423) in CE 399 (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:53:1). In addition, Honorius' formulation made distinctions between landowners in order to establish fiscal liabilities between *coloni* who were and were not bound to land (*Codex Theodosianus*, 11:1: 26).

Moreover, in the view of the Roman state, continued access of *coloni* to livestock was crucial to their ability to cultivate land productively. This policy revealed in a constitution issued by Valentinian I which concerned land grants to veterans, who depending on rank, received differing amounts of land as well as the oxen and seed needed to cultivate it (*Codex Theodosianus*, 7:20:8:364). It modified an earlier policy of Constantine, who had provided cash to veterans to buy necessary equipment needed to cultivate their land, as well as a pair of oxen and one hundred *modii* (one *modius* of wheat = 1 peck or 9 litres) of seed (*Codex Theodosianus*, 7:20:3:325).

These constitutions provide a statement of the obligations of and protections in place for *coloni*. They suggest (i) they were not to abandon those lands by whose harvest they were maintained or whose cultivation they had undertaken; (ii) they could not move about freely and were bound to the owner of the estate and (iii) any landowners who transferred them was subject to punishment, whilst the owner of their estate of origin had the right to recall them. In defining the obligations of *coloni*, the imperial government applied to this class of cultivators a policy which considered it the duty of the farming population of the empire to cultivate their land and so contribute to the empire's revenues.

This policy of the Roman state appears to have found expression in many places. One example was Caracalla's (reigned CE 198-217) formulation expelling Egyptians in CE 216-217 from Alexandria which ordered them to return to their villages of origin to 'fulfil their duty towards the state' (*Sel.Pap II* in Schubert, 2001: 208). Additionally, farmers who provided revenues to the state by cultivating their land diligently were to be spared imposts or other duties which interfered with their performance of this basic obligation. Likewise, Diocletian in a letter thought to be addressed to provincial governors prohibited the imposition of extra liturgical duties on farmers who contributed to the *annona* through the payment of their capitation taxes (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:55:1).

Furthermore, protecting farmers against fiscal or liturgical demands which interfered with these duties seems to have been a concern of Constantine I who established sanctions against those who took oxen away from farmers for the use of the *cursus publicus* (public post). In this text, oxen were characterised as 'serving the cultivation of the land' (*Codex Theodosianus*, 8:5:1: 315). Similarly, he exempted from *vectigalia* (custom duty) farmers transporting agricultural equipment (*Codex Theodosianus*, 4:13:2-3) and further ruled farmers should not be summoned for liturgical duties at the busiest agricultural seasons, such as sowing or harvest times (*Codex Theodosianus*, 2:30:1). In addition, it seems Constantine I sought to protect state revenues by outlawing the pledging of crucial resources for farming, including slaves, livestock and ploughing equipment as security for loans (*Codex Theodosianus*, 2:30:1).

Moreover, the co-emperors Valentinian I (reigned CE 375-392) and Valens (reigned CE 364-375) imposed severe penalties, including the loss of property and exile, on imperial officials who used the labour of slaves, or draft animals of farmers for their

own purposes. Similar penalties were also inflicted on those who cooperated with imperial officials for these illegal purposes (*Codex Theodosianus*, 11:11:1).

In the formulation of the quaestor of Honorius (CE 395), *coloni* under no circumstances were to be pulled away from the cultivation of their land because of fiscal debts (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:48:15:414).

Other measures evidenced in a constitution from CE 423 imposed restrictions on the sale of agricultural property by *curiales* (*Codex Theodosianus*, 12:3:2). This statute, clarifying an earlier law of CE 386 of Theodosius I (*Codex Theodosianus*, 12:3:1) only allowed sales of agricultural or urban property by *curiales* to proceed if the seller could demonstrate legitimate reasons for separating property to the satisfaction of the provincial governor. These initiatives appear to have been designed to provide the cumulate effect of protecting the financial resources of a particular social group with the aim of preserving their ability to generate tax revenue and performance of other key liturgies.

In addition, the reason for limiting the mobility of *coloni* by the government was because it recognised, they brought resources to the estates of large landowners on which they were registered and were regarded as crucial to the ability of these landowners to keep their land productive and thereby meet their fiscal obligations. The evidence suggests the later Roman state held the view that the economic value of *coloni* consisted solely of their ability to cultivate the land to which they were bound. This was reinforced by a ruling of Constantius II (reigned CE 337-361) in which someone selling an estate could not retain the *coloni* under a private agreement to transfer them to other property which stated, 'those who believe *coloni* to be useful should either keep them with the property or leave them to profit others,

if they themselves lose hope that the property might profit them'. This textual evidence confirmed, *coloni* were to remain on any land which was sold (*Codex Theodosianus*, 13:10:3).

A later edict issued by Valentinian I, appears concerned with closing a loophole 'where some landowners might separate a small portion of the estate and sell this with all of the estate's *coloni* or slaves', thereby rendering the remaining estate useless for agriculture (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:48:7:371). Moreover, a person seeking to acquire slaves or *coloni* in this way had no recourse to regain the purchase price, whilst the seller could claim back the slaves and their families (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:48:7:2). Such sales may have been viewed as a thinly disguised method of transferring control over slaves or *coloni* to a new owner. However, it is clear this kind of action was viewed as a compromise of the state's ability to collect taxes from a large amount of land which would now be depleted of its workforce. The illegality of such sales was underscored by the removal of the *longi temporis praescriptio*. Therefore, no purchaser could benefit from this prescription because the acquisition of slaves or *coloni* in this way was deemed as fundamentally fraudulent (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:48:7:3).

It appears, in the view of the Roman legal authorities, *coloni* were an economic resource to landowners only in a limited sense. Landowners could not freely dispose of their *coloni*, even when doing so might enhance their ability to profit from their estates. In these laws, the *coloni* were bound to the land and any relationship between them and the landowner was of less consequence than their relationship to the land. The landowner only exercised power over *coloni* if he or she retained control of the land the *coloni* cultivated. Importantly, the landowner could not abrogate the obligation of the *coloni* to remain on this land.

Although the landowner exercised control over the disposition of the property of the *colonus*, this control was like that of a creditor and not dissimilar from the control a landlord in a conventional Roman lease exercised over the property of a tenant. In restricting the mobility of *coloni*, the imperial government seems to prioritise imposing a legal regime on the countryside rather than an economic one and is evidenced by the division of the landowners and *coloni* working the land for the former group for fiscal purposes. It is possible these structures were transmitted forward into the sub-Roman period.²⁵⁶

However, this clear-cut demarcation has limitations and ignores many complexities of the rural economy in the empire. For instance, it should be recognised not all tenants on the estates of large landowners may have been subject to the power of their landlords. Although it is impossible to determine which proportions of tenants were subject in this way, it is probable many tenants continued to occupy land under more conventional lease arrangements and held it for limited periods of time with rents which could be negotiated. Such tenants, if they held land of their own, might be registered for tax purposes under their own names and not subject to the authority of a landowner.

The persistence of 'conventional' tenancy arrangements is suggested by the continued importance of Roman lease law for the later empire and for the Byzantine Empire which followed. However, Roman legislators showed little interest for the law of Classical farm tenancy in the fourth-century CE. This can be deduced both by the apparent absence of any treatment of private *locatio-conductio* (lease-hire) from the *Codex Theodosianus* and by the fact the section in the *Codex Justinianus* dealing with tenancy (4:65) includes no citation of a text also included in the Theodosian

²⁵⁶ (Chapter 3: 205-218)

code. Nevertheless, this lack of concern on the part of late Roman legislators for the Classical law of lease does not mean small-scale tenancy had disappeared. This relationship is described in terms of the Classical *precarium* and the new language refers to the request for land (*preces*) theoretically made by the cultivator may suggest the relationship between landowner and cultivator was now formally hierarchical.

Other evidence reflecting the fiscal concerns of the late Roman government was a recognition the categories of *coloni* and small landowners might be obscured. This was demonstrated by legislation of Valentinian I and Valens which required people who owned any land whatsoever, to be registered for fiscal purposes under their own names and not under the landowners for whom they might also cultivate land (*Codex Theodosianus*, 11:1:1:14; *Codex Justinianus*, 11:48:4:371). Clearly the author of this law understood some tenants and small landowners were overlapping groups and it seems the aim of this legislation was to maintain the rigorous distinction between landowners and *coloni* which demarcated liability for fiscal purposes.

Another factor, in keeping with a long-maintained policy of monopolising the resources of farmers cultivating imperial land, Constantine I ruled *coloni* registered for fiscal purposes on the *res privata* (property of the emperor) could not be required to perform civic liturgies (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:68:325). In another enactment consistent with this policy Constantine prohibited imperial *coloni* from engaging in private business arrangements. It can be reasoned this included leasing land from private owners (*Codex Justinianus*, 11:68:2:319).

One drawback of this policy was the state's monopoly on the services of its cultivators might deprive towns of suitable candidates for liturgical duties.

Constantius II addressed the problem of potential liturgical candidates hiding behind their service on imperial estates to avoid civic liturgies and ruled that any imperial tenant who also owned twenty-five *iugera* (about 6 hectares) of private land would be subject to serve on municipal councils. Likewise, also subject to nomination for civic posts were cultivators who owned fewer than twenty-five *iugera* but apparently still had substantial holdings when their imperial land was reckoned. Penalties were prescribed for those who sought to circumvent the law by fraudulent sales (*Codex Theodosianus*, 12:1:33: 342).

These extracts derived from the late Roman period suggest later Roman governments followed a policy which sought to reserve the resources of farmers for its own use on an empire-wide basis. This was achieved by protecting farmers against any circumstance which might threaten their capacity to cultivate their land. Furthermore, the effect of an increased legal emphasis on the status of the *coloni* may be seen to have reinforced social links strained by the embedded exchange system of surpluses. The net result was a more rigid system of obligation between landowner and tenant. In sum, all but slaves and perhaps *coloni* were individually responsible for their taxes to the local administration (*Codex Theodosianus*, 11:14).

However, those with imperial patronage gained tax exemptions and their share of the tax burden was spread across the remainder of the community (Higham, 1992: 45). For example, bureaucrats who reached retirement could expect to 'be deluged with privileges' and were granted immunity from taxation (*Codex Theodosianus*, 6:36:1:326; *Codex Justinianus*, 12:30:1). In addition, those 'entitled to be involved in official business, and to approach the oracle' were to enjoy whilst in office and afterwards a superior rank in their own communities (*Codex Theodosianus*, 6:22:8:1). Furthermore, where land fell out of use the tax burden was automatically

increased while others were able to commute payments to cash (*Codex Theodosianus*, 10:25:1, 11:20:6) and avoided the cost of delivery of tax in kind.

Combined, the legislation reveals the importance the Roman state placed on the continued cultivation of land for maintaining tax revenues and the performance of liturgies. By the beginning of the early fifth-century CE, the defeat of Constantine III and Honorius' precarious position in Gaul and elsewhere combined to separate Britain from the rest of the Western Empire and the tax-pay cycle was broken. Without gold or silver to underwrite the value of the base metal currency the system of market exchange became defunct and the economy rapidly collapsed (Fulford, 1979: 120-132; Mattingly, 2007: 497). This scenario in some interpretations is supplemented by accounts of plague (e.g. Wachter, 1997: 411-415), famine (e.g. Jones, 1996) and localised internecine warfare (e.g. Laycock, 2008). When the tax-pay cycle eventually broke down raises the question as to what adaptations to this hierarchical structure of social controls occurred in Gwent when imperial rule ended and is examined below.²⁵⁷

There are several mechanisms how Roman land law and fiscal policies may have become familiar in what was to become Gwent. For example, the expropriation and administration of land for military use and imperial estates alongside the imposition of *civitas* government,²⁵⁸ may represent an element in a multifaceted process of acculturation. In addition, from Caracalla's reign all provincials were considered as Roman citizens (CE 212) and subject to Roman courts. Subsequently, it is probable Siluria's (and the wider British) provincial elites adopted Roman law during this part of the Roman interlude.

²⁵⁷ (Chapter 3: 209-220)

²⁵⁸ (Chapter 2: 135-141)

Assessing the extent to which Roman law operated in the villa landscape of Britain generally and Gwent in particular, is problematic. However, at Chew Valley Park in Somerset a larch-wood tablet,²⁵⁹ inscribed in ink and only partly legible was recovered from a well and appears to be part of a legal transaction and dealt with the transfer of land. Stylistically it appears to adhere to the form of law laid down in the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (Edict of Caracalla or the Antonine Constitution) issued in CE 212) and attests to the use of Roman civil law in western Britain (Turner, 1956: 115-118). Another example dated to CE 118 records part of a court case and involves the full Roman law ownership of 15 *arepenia* (approximately 2 hectares) of woodland (Tomlin, 1996: 209-215).

Other measures enacted included reforming the whole fiscal and monetary system after disorder, recessions and inflation wreaked havoc on tax revenues during the third-century CE (Esmonde-Cleary 2005: 1-5; McCarthy, 2013: 61). The Roman state attempted to rectify tax shortfalls in various ways. To tackle inflation, new coins were issued with a higher silver content to replace previous debased issues. However, the government soon debased its own coins to increase their yield. Another attempt to counter inflation was devised and *De Prettis* (Diocletian's Price Edict) was introduced in CE 301. The policy consisted of a tariff of fixed prices for an extensive list of commodities which was largely ignored by the end of Diocletian's reign. The result was long-term price stability proved impossible to attain. Consequently, Roman authorities changed the focus of tax collection from cash to taking goods and services in kind. Even though the Roman Empire had always

²⁵⁹ (Figure 67: 208)

collected some taxes in this way, it was during the third and fourth-centuries CE the practice became dominant.²⁶⁰

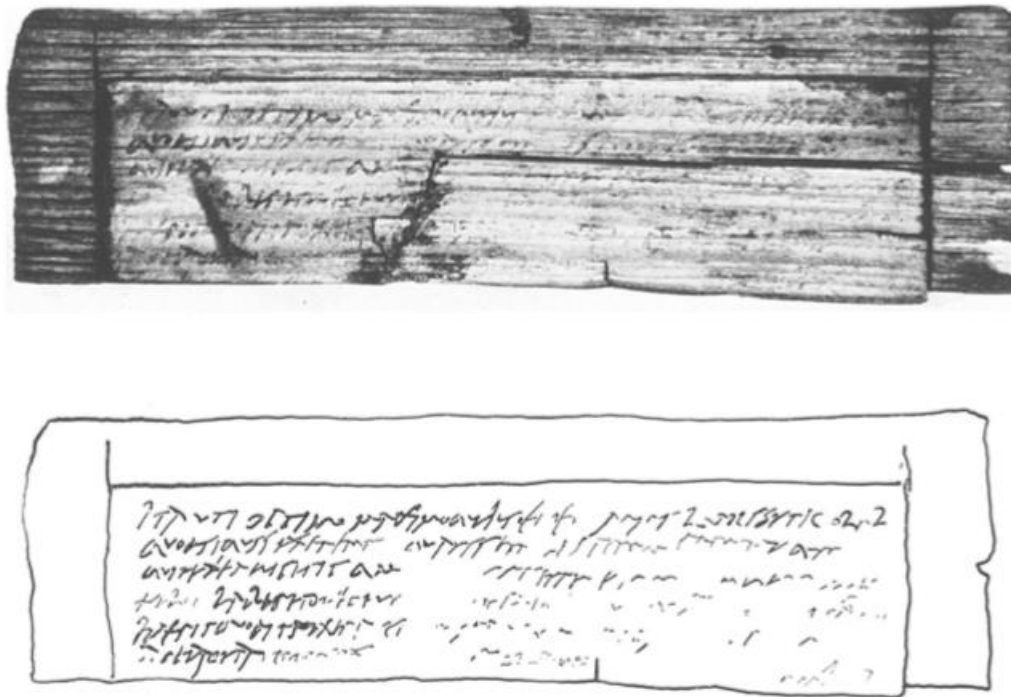


Figure 67

Writing tablet of larch-wood found in the well at Chew Valley Park, Somerset *circa* CE 212 (Turner, 1956: 117)

In this instance, the Roman state's objective was to protect itself against shortfalls in taxation receipts. Its solution was to proscribe how much each producer was to pay. This was determined by the introduction of an empire-wide system of tax-assessment. A unit of tax (*annona*) was due on each area of cultivable land (*iugum*) which could be worked by one man (*caput*) and provide his sustenance. The total tax

²⁶⁰ (Corcoran, 2006: 116; Faulkner, 2004: 111-112; Williams, 1985: 128)

which could be levied depended on the extent of one man's ownership of land and his control of labour and was a combination of a property and poll tax. Crucially, the amount of *annona* could be varied annually in line with changing requirements of the state. The result was automatic tax increases became a corollary for falling or inadequate receipts (Faulkner, 2004: 113).

Alongside the collection of tax revenue, the Diocletianic system was designed to mobilise labour. For example, the state required workers for the maintenance of public buildings, the erection of defensive walls, the repair of roads or bridges and the transportation of military supplies to be completed on a regular basis. Whilst it is probable slaves and convicts were assigned to do some of the work, slaves derived chiefly from foreign conquests were not available in adequate numbers during this period of Roman history (Esmonde-Cleary, 2005: 5-7). The Diocletianic solution was to conscript its citizenry and this initiative affected every strata of Roman society from top to bottom in different ways. For example, groups of traders and specialised craftsmen were formed into guilds. Membership was compulsory and became hereditary with members enjoying local monopolies. Alongside tax contributions, they were also held liable for the labour and service imposts of the state (Williams, 2000: 126-139).

Moreover, in the first and second-centuries CE service on the *ordo* had been seen as an honour and in some parts of the empire a tradition of public service emerged. This led to the provision of public buildings and services through displays of civic euergetism by local aristocracies (Johnson, 1985: 105-125). For the later empire, a quite different situation appears to have arisen. A whole series of imperial enactments suggest *curial* duties had become increasingly unattractive to the landowning classes. At the end of the third-century CE, Diocletian legislated to make

membership of the *curial* class and performance of *curial* duties hereditary (Esmonde-Cleary, 2005: 10-11) with all but the most senior aristocracy being required to undertake public duties. This in turn, set in train a process which may explain the emergence of Gwent and other British kingdoms.

Germane examples relevant in a Gwentian context could include attempts to recruit and avoid desertions of its soldiery (*Codex Theodosianus*, 7:18:9-7:18:15 CE 396-406); continually reaffirming control of taxation and money supply (*Codex Theodosianus*, 6:2:16-6:2:20 (CE 395-398); 8:8:15 (CE 395); 7:4:23 (CE 396); 7:4:24 (CE 398), 7:4:26 (CE 401); 1:15:15 (CE 400); 1:10:6 (CE 401); allocating municipal funds for local defence (*Codex Theodosianus*, 5: 14:35; 15:1:32-15:1:33 (CE 395); limiting some forms of expenditure by restricting the number of bureaucrats (*Codex Theodosianus*, 15:1:37 (CE 398); 11:20:3 (CE 405) and curbing repairs to, or the construction of public buildings (*Codex Theodosianus*, 6: 30:17 (CE 399). Furthermore, several redeployments of troops revealed in the army lists of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Jones, 1964: 355) on the continent are suggestive of a situation where the Imperial government in the west was unable to meet its obligations. Other confirmatory evidence of this trend is presented in constitutions issued by the emperor Honorius in CE 406 encouraging civilians and even slaves to take up arms against the barbarians (*Codex Theodosianus*, 7:13:16-7:13:19). In addition, this body of evidence can be related to the Honorius rescript whether it applied to Britain or Bruttium or not, as an instruction for self-defence suggests provincial elites had been authorised to raise local military forces.²⁶¹

In Gwent, it is impossible to determine the relationship between taxation and local defence and only a hypothesis can be offered. One possible implication of the

²⁶¹ (Frere, 1967: 366; Mattingly, 2006: 530; Young, 1982: 445-462)

urgings of the imperial government for civilians to take up arms was the traditional divide between soldier and civilian was eroded. This may have been seen as soldiering no longer being a paid profession and instead as a duty of all able-bodied



Figure 68 (RIB 1843)



Figure 69 (RIB 1844)



Figure 70 (RIB 1672)



Figure 71 (RIB 1673)



Figure 72 (RIB 1962)

Figures 69-72 *Civitas* building inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall

men. Military service may have evolved into an aspect of gender and status based on conscripted labour service to a local official or aristocrat.

Such conscription of labour has been attested to by Tacitus during the first-century CE in Britain (Tacitus (a), 13). Although there is no British textual evidence for later periods, Eumenius mentions British artisans were sent to Autun (Lyon) in Gaul by Constantius in CE 278-279 and this may be suggestive of compulsory service

(Eumenius, 9:4). Furthermore, several short inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall work by tribal *civitates* dated to the fourth-century CE may refer to drafts of pressed labour. Two mention the Dumnonii, two the Durotriges, one the Catuvellauni²⁶² and one the Brigantes (RIB 2022). Significantly, three of these tribal peoples were located in southern Britain and is symptomatic of a labour obligation which could be directed to perform duties over extended distances.

Overall, the evidence is indicative of tenants becoming tied to the land and to estates both by custom and law, who were directed by individual *decuriones* or the *curiales* acting in concert. Even though the condition of *coloni* and other tenants is far from clear, this system became hereditary and it is *de facto* feudal in practice. This raises the question of whether some early kingdoms are representative of an evolution from local aristocratic hierarchy which supported the imperial bureaucracy to a local nobility after Roman rule eventually ended based on local lordship. One possibility may be suggested by Saint Patrick's (*circa* CE 385-CE 461) whose *Confessio* indicated he was brought up on small estate near the village of Bannavem Taburniae and was the son and grandson of clerics (Confession: 1). Additionally, in his *Letter to Coroticus*, Patrick also reports his father was a decurion (Coroticus, 10). Although the location has not been located, the sources offer an impression of a prosperous family who were connected to a town and who had a nearby estate. It further suggests the existence of a social hierarchy.

If this is what happened, it is possible the emergence of an independent Gwentian aristocracy and the polity of Gwent rested on an ability to conscript, supply and ensure the allegiance of an armed band (or bands) for extended periods. Furthermore, if the proposed fourth military command existed in *Britannia Prima*, the

²⁶² (Figures 68-72: 211-212)

suggested dispersed deployment of troops and their possible primary function of protecting civil servants or provincial notables would have provided a military *cadre* to ensure their local primacy.²⁶³ In addition, continuation of the collection and redistribution of the *annona* would have been facilitated and maintained.

However, the absence of statistical data relating to agricultural production in late Roman Britain means Gwent's agrarian economy can only be modelled along lines proposed for the Roman Empire in its entirety.²⁶⁴ Gerrard's' (2014) model derived from this research dividing agricultural production between resources needed for subsistence and potential surpluses (Gerrard, 2016: 96-100) has applications in a Gwentian context.²⁶⁵

One limitation of the *Codex Theodosianus* and *Codex Justinianus* as source material was their focus on tax evasion or tax exemptions. Little was written about tax rates and none pertained to Britain (e.g. *Codex Theodosianus*, 7:6:3; 11:5:3; 11:3:1). However, it has been estimated an expenditure of 15 per cent of the empire wide disposable surplus occurred during the second-century CE (Bang, 2007b: 87). According to Gerrard's modelling this equates to a gross tax rate of 7.5 per cent (Gerrard, 2016: 97) who considers it unlikely late Roman taxation rates were any lower than those of the earlier period. For the late fourth-century CE, he envisages 10 per cent of gross production (20 per cent of surplus) as appropriate figure for tax and rent costs.²⁶⁶

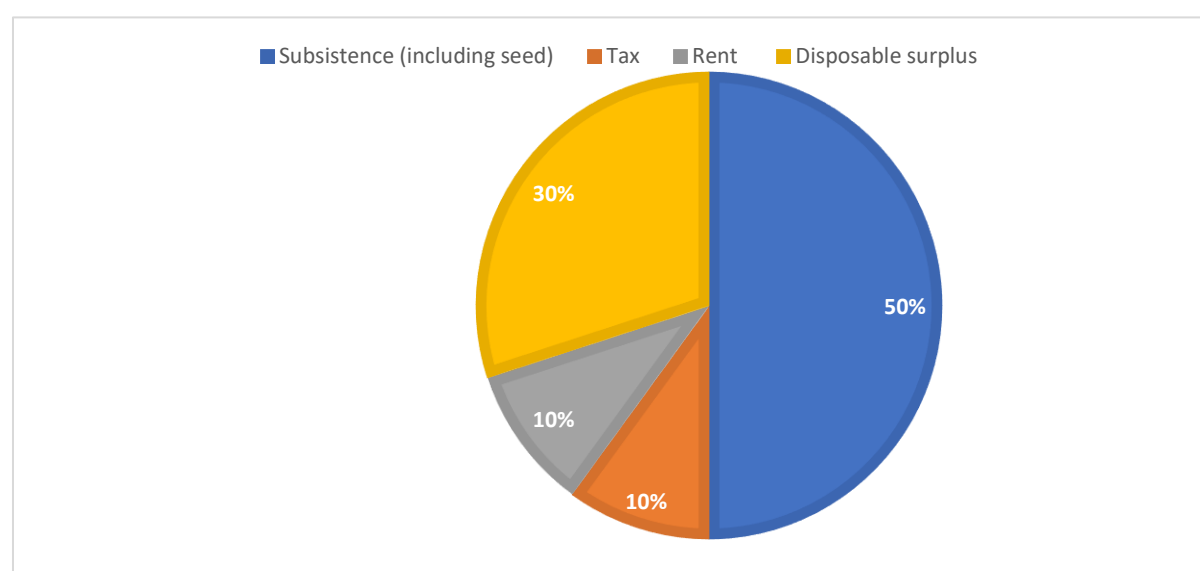
²⁶³ (Chapter 3: 159-161)

²⁶⁴ (e.g. Bang, 2007a: 3-54; Hopkins, 1980, 1995-6; 41-75; Jones, 1964: 462-469, 820-823; Scheidel & Friesen, 2009: 61-91)

²⁶⁵ (Figure 73: 215)

²⁶⁶ (Figure 73: 215)

His method of modelling rates of tax and rent as percentages may not have reflected contemporary realities if taxes and rents were levied in fixed quantities and considers what may have happened during poor and good years when overall production may have increased or decreased by as much as 25 per cent. The table (attached to Figure 73: 215) demonstrates in an average or good year the agricultural producer would have few problems in meeting the demands of subsistence, tax and rent. In a poor year, there was a slender buffer between the cumulative charges. Gerrard acknowledges if the state raised tax in the short term in response to a particular



	Bad year (-25%)	Average year	Good year (+25%)
Subsistence (including seed)	50	50	50
Tax	10	10	10
Rent	10	10	10
	5	30	55
Total gross production	75	100	125

Figure 73

Hypothetical reconstruction of the division of agricultural production between subsistence, tax, rent and disposable surplus. In an average year in the agricultural economy in this model is given a notional value of 100. Good and bad years are modelled as +/- 25 notional (After Gerrard, 2016: 97-98)

event (such as a war) and if these increases coincided with a poor harvest, then the agricultural producer would become hard pressed to meet these obligations (Gerrard, 2016: 98). Furthermore, if the state were inefficient in collecting its dues, or taxes were distributed unevenly, then paying taxes would prove ruinous for some elements of society (Brown, P. R., 1971: 36).

In a Gwentian context, one possible consequence of the collapse of the tax-pay cycle was its local elite continued to extract and keep both tax and rents under a lease system which as has been shown, had become increasingly formalised during fourth-century CE from their tenants.²⁶⁷ Therefore, the Romano-British elite may have found themselves the recipients of a greater portion of their tenant's production. This would have given an elite group the wherewithal to maintain armed bands conscripted from their tenants or hired as mercenaries as described by Gildas.²⁶⁸ Moreover, if Gwrtheyrn is accepted as Gildas' *superbus tyrannus* then a son of Gwrtheyrn, Gwerthefyr (Vortimir) (died *circa* CE 442) (Nennius, 31, 36-38, 43-44) left a daughter named Madrun (*Bonedd y Saint*: 44-45). Her husband was Ynyr Gwent,²⁶⁹ an early local ruler of the eastern part of the former *civitas*. It is conceivable Ynyr Gwent was the beneficiary of local taxes and rents collected after the demise of Roman rule just as Gildas' *superbus tyrannus* appeared to be and offers an explanation of how Silurian and local Roman elites may have assumed control after the removal of the upper tiers of Roman rule.

This model is further supported by evidence derived from Belcher's (2005) resistivity survey of the Iron Age enclosure at Great House where feature N²⁷⁰ was considered

²⁶⁷ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

²⁶⁸ (Chapter 3: 195-196)

²⁶⁹ (Figure 75a: 223)

²⁷⁰ (Figure 8: 48)

to be a possible aisled hall (or fort) of Roman design and date (Belcher, 2005: 40-41; Driver, 2020: 21) and Roman brick fragments recovered from the nearby enclosure at Gaer Fawr (Evans, 2001: 111). An explanation for both sites could be as locations of granaries for the storage of the *annona* at the end of the Roman period and afterwards in a traditional pre-Roman Silurian setting of a defended enclosure.²⁷¹

The social and political position of this class may have been undermined in the first half of the fifth-century CE. With no taxation system or professional army in Britain to consume their produce, control the native populace, or defend against potential aggressors, the effectiveness of Romano forms of aristocratic power was removed (Halsall, 2007: 351). It would not have been possible or profitable to maintain large and scattered estates, nor to gain wealth from their profits (Halsall, 2007: 366-368). Furthermore, the efficiency of territories held directly by the Empire would have lapsed. This must have brought about a period of political and social turmoil which severely disrupted local power structures (Wickes, 2005: 309). Despite these changes, the landscape remained populated and it is likely some form of military presence remained.²⁷² The landowning class, or if they had left, their custodians, would have remained and would have wished to retain their position within society. In addition, with the collapse of the Western Empire, which had been a source of wealth for groups outside of its boundaries, may also have been a catalyst for barbarian settlement, as groups sought to replace wealth which had previously been derived from the Roman Empire (Halsall, 2007: 371-375). Therefore, to achieve

²⁷¹ (Figure 2: 38)

²⁷² (Chapter 3: 159-160, 180-181)

primacy, both incomers and the former Romano-British elite would have had to establish a new basis of local power structures.²⁷³

These possibilities appear to be supported in the later Welsh laws in several ways. Laid out in tractates, sub-tractates and sub-sub-tractates, the laws deal with particular subjects and as has been discussed, the manuscripts survive in the form of several redactions.²⁷⁴ The king's gwestfa and his dues set out in the Cyfnerth code are revealing. For example, food and drink renders were required, alongside horses and military service at particular times of the year. Furthermore, the quantities, standards and activities specified were proscribed by social status, timetabled and included the provision of buildings.

XXXIV The king's gwestfa

The measure of the king's gwestfa is from every trev, from which the king's gwestfa shall be paid, a horse-load of wheat flour; an ox; seven threaves of oats, bound with one length of straw; and what will suffice for one vat of honey, nine hand breadths to be the height of the vat, when measured diagonally from the off groove to the near edge; and twenty-four of silver.

A pound is the worth of the king's gwestfa: six score pence in lieu of bread; three score pence in lieu of the liquor; it is so paid, however, unless it be furnished at the right time; to wit, in the winter.

From the tref of a maer-ship, or canghellor-ship, mead is paid.

From a free tref, without office, bragod (a combination of ale and mead) is paid.

²⁷³ (Chapter 3: 218-220)

²⁷⁴ (see Chapter 2: 56-98)

From a taeog-tref, ale is paid.

Two vats of ale are paid for one of bragod.

Two vats of bragod, or four of ale, are paid for one of mead.

Neither silver, nor provender for horses, is paid with the summer gwestfa to the king.

Two dawn-bwyds is a sow of three fingers thick in the shoulder, and in the long ribs, or in the ham; and a salted flitch; and three score loaves of them to be of fine flour, six for the hall, and three for the chamber, each of them to be as broad as from the elbow to the wrist; if they be oaten, let the nine loaves be of groats, they are to be so thick as not to bend when held by the edge; and the fill of a tub of ale; and twenty sheaves of oats bound with one length of straw; and a penny from every rhandir to the servants.

The summer dawn-bwyd is butter and cheese: to wit a tub of butter; and twelve cheeses; the tub of butter is nine handbreadths in width, and a handbreadth in thickness with the thumb standing; and a meal's milk from all the taeogs in one day is exacted to make the cheese: and is paid along with the bread.

There are thirteen trefi in the maenor.

XXXV (of dues)

Neither maer, nor canghellor, has share or quarters, from a free man.

Once in the year it is a requisite for everybody to go into a border country, in the army, along with the king, if he will it; and then the queen is entitled to a lady-progress.

Always, however, when the king shall will it, he is to be accompanied in his army, within his own country.

The huntsmen, the falconers, and the grooms, once in the year, have a progress among the king's taeogs: each party, however separately.

A taeog-tref is not to begin ploughing until each taeog shall have his co-tillage appointed.

The taeogs are to make nine buildings for the king: a hall, chamber, kitchen, chapel, barn, kiln-house, necessary (latrine), stable, and dog kennel.

The taeogs are to furnish sumpter-horses to the army for the king: and from every taeog-tref he has a man, and horse, and hatchet, at the cost of the king.

(*The Law*: translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841: 769, 771, 773)

The system of obligations laid out in the law, appear to resemble those of the late Roman period in their aims and objectives.²⁷⁵ They offer an indication of how the Gwentian elite may have functioned and delegated authority after formal Roman rule ended. The focus of both sets of laws on agricultural and taxation yields coupled with conscription or obligatory military service, strongly suggest continuity from Roman to local rule was facilitated by similar or inherited systems of social management of people, land and of the resources it was able to produce.

Furthermore, it is interesting some field names listed in the apportionment books for the parish of Mathern and Runston in Gwent include 'Shoulder of Mutton', 'Shoulder of Veal' and 'Marrow Bone Patch' may be reflective of this system (Apportionment for Monmouthshire, 1836: Mathern and Runston) and were all owned by the diocese of

²⁷⁵ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

Llandaff. However, other laws contained within the Cyfnerth code appear to reflect aspects of Gwent's wider social hierarchy and its older Celtic characteristics. These are considered below.²⁷⁶

Combined, each of these factors support the emergence of an independent aristocracy, which retained and extended control of land and much of its food production after Rome. Some of these aristocrat's estates probably became the basis of mesne kingdoms within parts of former Silurian *civitas* investigated below.²⁷⁷

It is reasonable to suppose some of the later Romano-British elite established themselves as post-Roman rulers of Siluria.²⁷⁸ It is possible they were descendants of those who constructed and occupied villas or sat on the *ordo* of *Venta Silurum* or performed some role in the provincial administration or military. Through integration with, or manipulation of Roman economic structures²⁷⁹ these aristocrats may have been able to amass substantial private landholdings and grew wealthy and powerful as a consequence. This power and status may have been portrayed by drawing upon Roman forms of architecture and material culture, such as villa settlements and styles.²⁸⁰ How this may have become manifest is examined below.²⁸¹ As has been noted, the earliest reference to kings in Wales and Britain during the early Middle Age was made by Gildas.²⁸² The five kings he mentioned belonged to dynasties which had been established for approximately two generations (Winterbottom, 1978: 29-36).

²⁷⁶ (Chapter 4: 546-578)

²⁷⁷ (Chapter 3: 221-222)

²⁷⁸ (Chapter 3: 195-222)

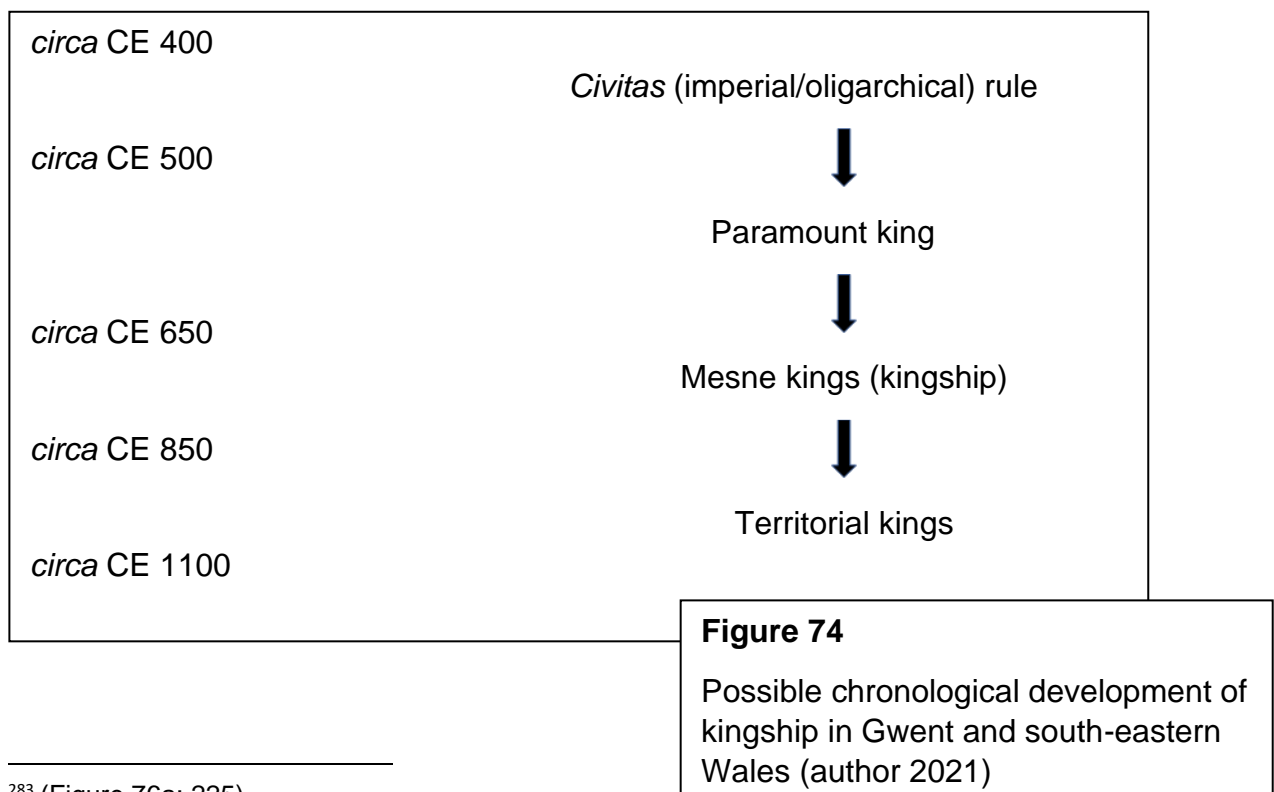
²⁷⁹ (Chapter 3: 195-222)

²⁸⁰ (Chapters 2 :135-141, 3: 164-220)

²⁸¹ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

²⁸² (Chapter 3: 161-162)

Gildas located three of his kings and their kingdoms; Constantine (Dumnonia), Vortipor (Dyfed) and Maglocunus (Gwynedd or Anglesey). The remaining two, Aurelius Caninus and Cuneglasus' realms were not located. It has been suggested Aurelius Caninus, based on the geographical logic of Gildas' order, was in south-eastern Wales (Higham, 1994b: 191-192; James, 2001: 144). Nevertheless, there is no corroborating evidence, and his kingdom may have located elsewhere in western Britain. However, the *vita* of Saint Samson of Dol (*circa* CE 485- *circa* CE 565) reveals Samson's father Amon belonged to the aristocracy of Demetia (Dyfed) and his mother Alice was of that of *Venetia* (Gwent), territories which apparently bordered each other (*Vita I Sancti Samsonis*, (i)) at the beginning of his lifetime. This evidence suggests after Roman rule ended, the *civitates* of *Morodunum* (Carmarthen) and *Venta Silurum* were transformed intact into kingdoms. Over time, Gwent appeared to have fragmented into several separate polities which were then reconsolidated under several kings.²⁸³



²⁸³ (Figure 76a: 225)

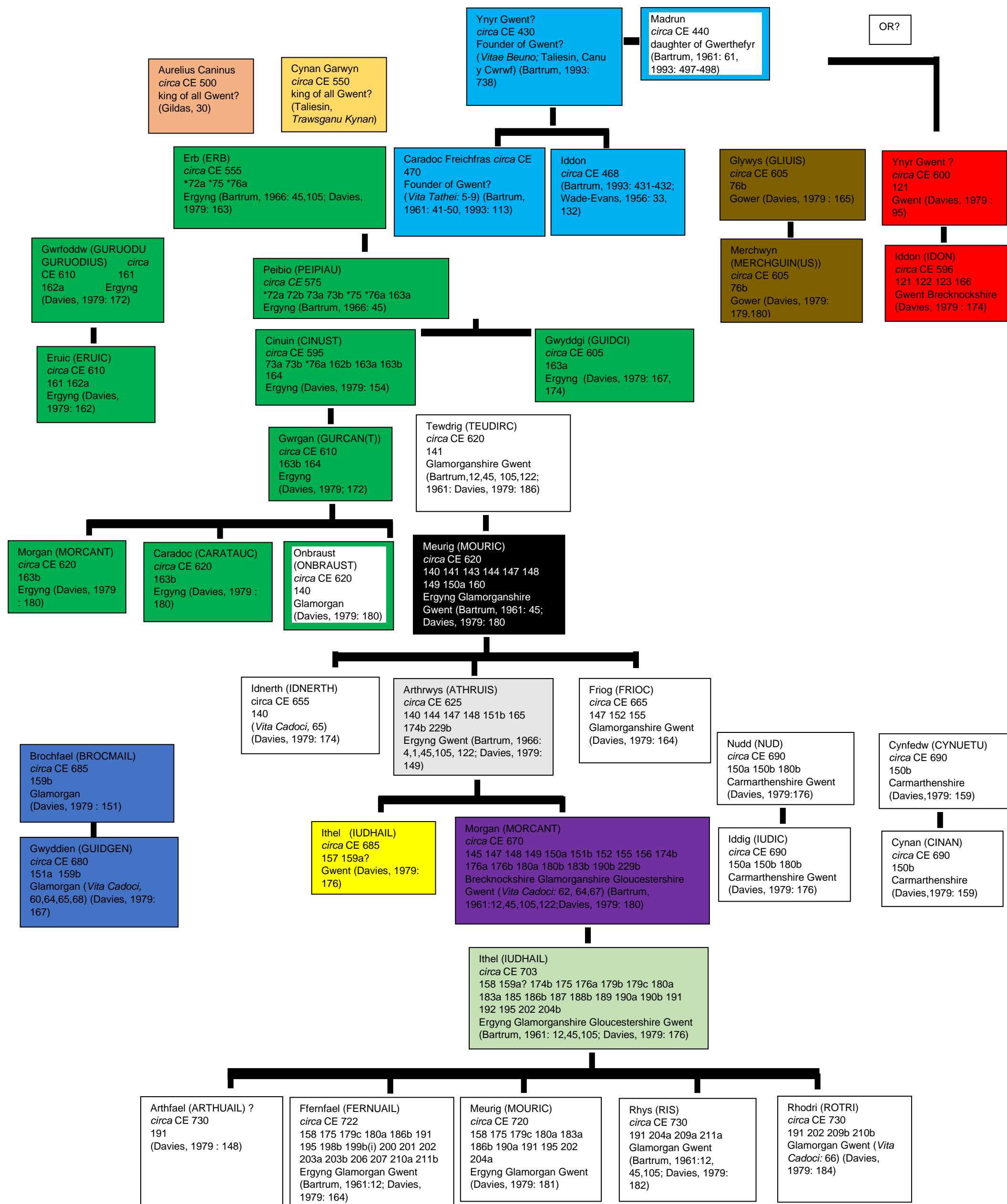
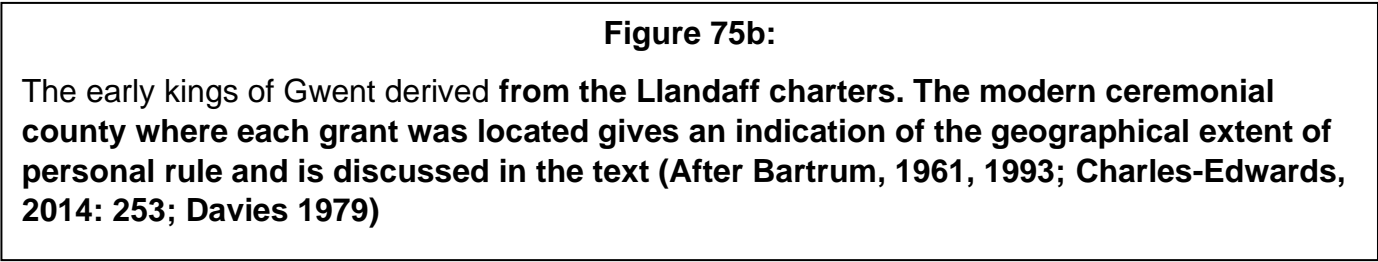


Figure 75a

The early kings of Gwent derived from the Llandaff charters. The ceremonial county where each grant was located gives an indication of the geographical extent of personal rule and is discussed in the text (After Bartrum, 1961, 1993; Charles-Edwards, 2014: 253; Davies 1979)



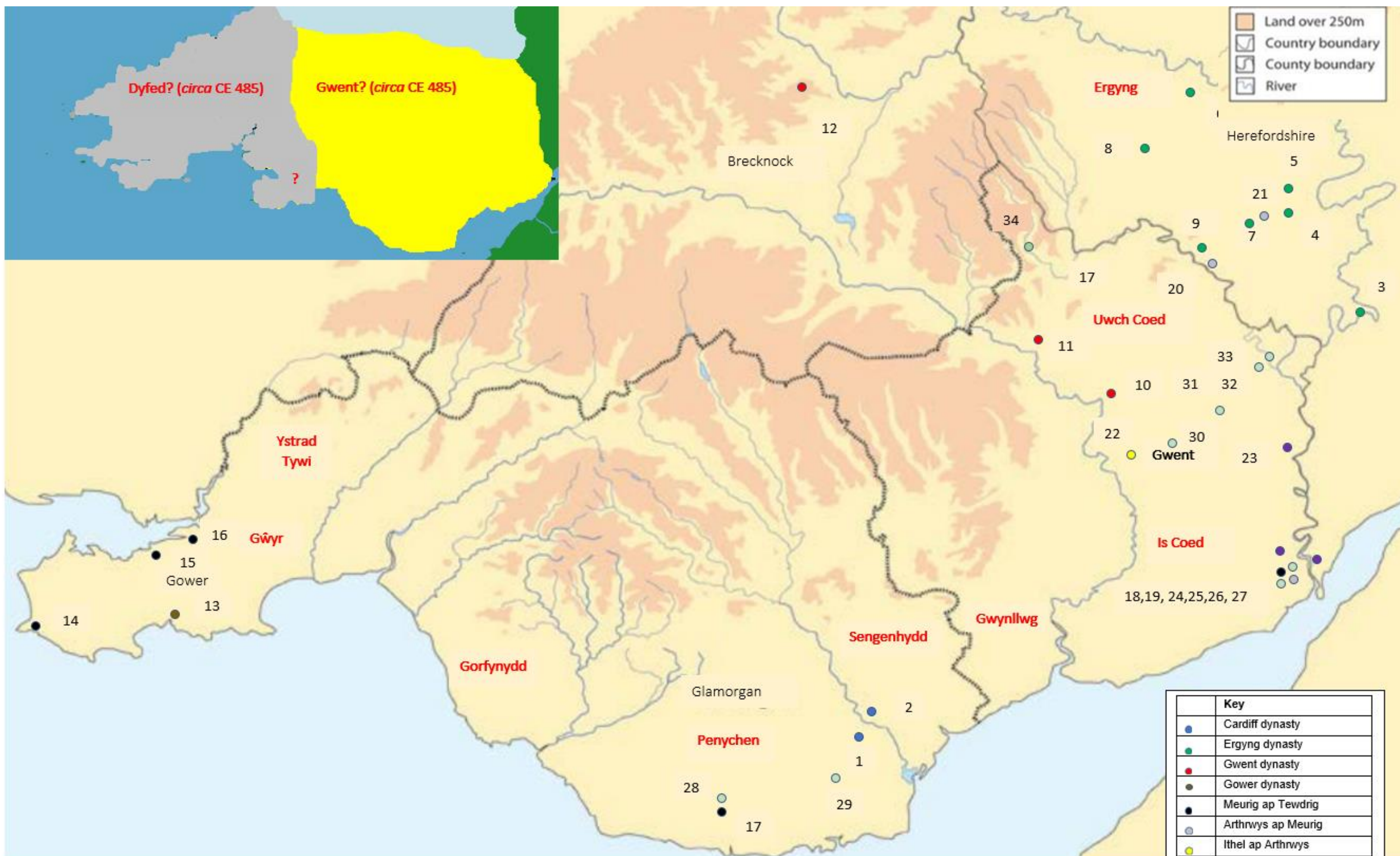


Figure 76a (Author 2021)

Selected grants made by very early post-Roman kings and Meurig, his sons and grandsons (derived from Davies, 1979) in the historic counties of Herefordshire, Carmarthenshire, Glamorgan, Gwent (Monmouthshire) and Brecknock. A possible early post-Roman division of south Wales is illustrated in the inset and the region's later cantrefi (with Ergyng) are identified in red type (Appendix 4: 813). The status of Gower during this period is uncertain and is discussed in the text (Chapter 3: 227-228)

Site number	Colour code	Grant number	Early locales and possible later over kings	Locale	Date (circa)
1		151a	Cardiff	Gabalfa	CE 680
2		159b	Cardiff	Llandaff	CE 685
3		*72a	Ergyng	Dorstone	CE 580
4		73a	Ergyng	Llandinabo	CE 585
5		*75	Ergyng	Pencoyd	CE 555
6		*76a	Ergyng	Madley	CE 575
7		166	Ergyng	Garway	CE 615
8		161	Ergyng	Bellimoor	CE 610
9		162a	Ergyng	Garway	CE 615
10		121	Gwent Uwch Coed	Llanarth	CE 600
11		162a	Gwent Uwch Coed	Madley	CE 615
12		166	Gwent Uwch Coed	Llangoed	CE 595
13		76b	Gower	Bishopston	CE 605
14		144	Meurig ap Tewdrig	Llanrhidian	CE 650
15		144	Meurig ap Tewdrig	Pennard	CE 650
16		140	Meurig ap Tewdrig	Llandeilo Talybont	CE 665
17		147	Meurig ap Tewdrig	Llansannor	CE 655
18		143	Meurig ap Tewdrig	Howick	CE 660
19		*165	Arthrwys ap Meurig	Chepstow	CE 625
20		*165	Arthrwys ap Meurig	Ballingham	CE 625
21		*165	Arthrwys ap Meurig	Valley Dore?	CE 625
22		159	Ithel ap Arthrwys	Llanerthill	CE 685
23		156	Morgan ap Arthrwys	Llandogo	CE 698
24		150a	Morgan ap Arthrwys	Porthcasseg	CE 693
25		174a	Morgan ap Arthrwys	Lancaut	CE 703
26		179b	Ithel ap Morgan	Mounton	CE 703
27		191	Ithel ap Morgan	Mounton	CE 703
28		190b	Ithel ap Morgan	River Ewenny?	CE 705
29		188b	Ithel ap Morgan	Fairwater	CE 710
30		187	Ithel ap Morgan	Llansoy	CE 733
31		179c	Ithel ap Morgan	Kilgwrrwg	CE 722
32		183a	Ithel ap Morgan	Dixton	CE 735
33		186b	Ithel ap Morgan	Monmouth	CE 733
34		195	Ithel ap Morgan	Merthyr Clodock	CE 740

Figure 76b

Selected grants made by early and very early post-Roman kings and Meurig, his sons and grandsons (derived from Davies, 1979) (Author: 2021)

Kingship and its characteristics can be modelled in Gwent through tracing phases which occurred over time.²⁸⁴ However, the western part of the civitas in what was to become Glywysing (later Morgannwg/Glamorgan) and Eryng to its east, has to be taken into consideration in furthering Gwent's story, and as a transformational model may be made viable from examination of the texts of the *Liber Landavensis*.²⁸⁵

The *Liber Landavensis*

A rich source of available knowledge of the period which supports the emergence of kings who continued to control the tax-pay cycle after Rome can be drawn from the *Liber Landavensis*. It consists of a mixture of elements which began with a copy of St Matthew's Gospel, followed by two saint's Lives of St Elgar and St Samson. Next, were texts pertaining to Bishop Urban's attempts to extend the boundaries of the diocese in opposition to the bishops of St David's and Hereford. The documents belong to the period CE 1126-1132 and it is a point of reference for historians who have considered aspects of post-Roman land tenure, the development of the Welsh language, as a basis for researching accounts of ecclesiastical politics, medieval diplomacy and fraud.²⁸⁶ A third major element of the *Liber Landavensis* consisted of 159 charters which purport to date from the fifth to the eleventh-centuries CE.²⁸⁷

However, interpretation of these charters is contentious. For example, Davies' (1970, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1982) studies have attempted to model their content and provide 'a coherent framework within which others can approach them' (Davies,

²⁸⁴ (Figure 74: 221)

²⁸⁵ (Chapter 3: 227-231)

²⁸⁶ (e.g. J. Davies, 1997, 1998; W. Davies, 1978; 1979; Doble, 2013; Morey & Brooke, 1965; Sims-Williams, 2019)

²⁸⁷ (Appendix 3: 797-806)

1978b: vii). Her approach has been accepted by some,²⁸⁸ critiqued and modified by others²⁸⁹ or rejected outright.²⁹⁰

Essentially, two views of the Llandaff charters have been proposed. One considers the compilation as a whole was concerned to maintain a false view of an unbroken series of bishops at Llandaff and suggests the charters were not in general twelfth-century CE forgeries and were rather versions of genuine documents edited to support the claims of Llandaff (e.g. Davies, 1978b,1979). A second considers the degree of editorial interference with whatever earlier texts may have been available makes any attempt to identify reliable texts before *circa* CE 1050 impossible (e.g. Brooke, 1986: 44-48).

The former view is attractive and validated in various ways. These include arguments of minor miscopying of older texts; to a comprehensive view of the evolution of charters based mainly on their formulaic composition; the composition of the witness lists; details of the contents which suggest an origin preceding the twelfth-century CE; the topography of the charters which indicate the texts were assembled from different places and linguistic evidence from the dates of the charters.²⁹¹

Although the charters were compiled in association with Bishop Urban's campaign on behalf of his see and reflect his twelfth-century CE concerns and have come to be regarded as largely false by some, they present an account of a series of events which happened in the past in south-eastern Wales and its borders after Rome and

²⁸⁸ (e.g. Higham, 1992: 92; Howell, 2007: 94; Snyder, 1998: 46-47)

²⁸⁹ (e.g. Charles-Edwards, 2014: 245-272; Sims-Williams, 2019: 1-5)

²⁹⁰ (e.g. Dark, 1994: 140-148; Maund, 1997: 173-193)

²⁹¹ (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 250; Davies, 1973a: 335-331, 1973b: 111-121, 1979:1-80, 2006: 403-407)

before the coming of the Normans. Therein, lay their value as a primary source within the context of this study. That the charters were undated presents a clear limitation, however, Davies' (1978) examination of their diplomatic formulae and witness lists allow apparent identification of the original content of the original texts (Davies, 1978: 3-5).

The charters fall into nine groups (A-J).²⁹² What purport to be the earliest charters (A and B) appear to originate from separate sources.²⁹³ Charles-Edwards (2014) has constructed a check (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 253) on the chronological sequence of the charters derived from Llandaff by placing them in a sequence offered by the genealogy of the ruling dynasties of Gwent and Glywysing. A prospective genealogy of Gwent's earlier kings chiefly derived from the *Liber Landavensis* and other select sources is laid out above.²⁹⁴

Stage 1	A (Dyfrig), B (Teilo churches), C, D, E, F
Stage 2 (after CE 872)	D+E (Ergyng), C+F, G+H (Gwent and Ergyng)
Stage 3 (after CE 872)	DE + CF combined at Llancarfan
Stage 4 (after CE 975)	G+H augmented by J (Gwent)
Stage 5 (<i>circa</i> CE 1022-1046)	DECF+GHJ (J still expanding)
Stage 6 (<i>circa</i> CE 1107-1128)	Minor glossing influenced by Worcester practice
Stage 7 (<i>circa</i> 1124-1128)	AB+CDEFGHJ

Figure 77 Collection of archives of the charters of the *Liber Landavensis* (after Charles-Edwards, 2014: 252; Davies, 1979: 11-12)

²⁹² (Figure 77: 229)

²⁹³ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

²⁹⁴ (Figures 75a: 223, 75b: 224)

As has been discussed, Gwent (and Glywysing) may be considered as having common Romano-British political past based on *Civitas Silurum*.²⁹⁵ However, the place name of each kingdom indicates a sub-Roman origin with Gwent being derived from *Venta Silurum*. This evidence is supported by the continued use of Romano-British sites in Gwent²⁹⁶ and Glywysing (derived from its legendary ancestor Glywys) as ecclesiastical foci and possibly as secular sites at Cold Knap, Llandough and Llantwit Major.²⁹⁷ The place-name origin of Ergyng appears to be derived from the small aforementioned (probably Dobunni) Roman town of *Ariconium*.²⁹⁸ The sequence of rulers and associated grants²⁹⁹ derived from the *Liber Landavensis* suggest power was concentrated in the hands of these individuals from an early point of Gwent's Middle Age. What followed was a process of change which can be measured over time. For example, all genuine grants (as defined by Davies, 1979) before *circa* CE 700³⁰⁰ were made by kings and their immediate family such as wives and sons (Davies, 1978b: 50).³⁰¹

Between *circa* CE 700-710 changes can be detected when other members of royal dynasties made grants with the consent of the king (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 183b, 190b), followed by the wider laity beginning to make grants with the consent of the king.³⁰²

The first grants by layman alone without any expression of royal consent or appearance of the king among the witnesses began after *circa* CE 738 (*Liber*

²⁹⁵ (Chapter 3: 161-162, 221-222)

²⁹⁶ (Chapter 3: 164-195)

²⁹⁷ (Edwards & Lane, 1992: 35-38, 76-78; Hogg & James, 1974: 225-250; James, 1992: 90-103)

²⁹⁸ (Chapter 3: 162)

²⁹⁹ (Figures 75a, 223, 76a: 225, 76b: 226)

³⁰⁰ (Figure 77: 229)

³⁰¹ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 76b, 127a, 127b, 204b)

³⁰² (e.g. *Liber Landavensis* charters: 204b *circa* CE 715, 187 *circa* CE 725, 191, *circa* CE 730, 186b *circa* CE 733, 184 *circa* CE 738 until the end of the series in CE 1075)

Landavensis charter 188a). However, the 15 grants made by layman was proportionately small, when compared to royal gifts, and none were made between *circa* CE 868 (*Liber Landavensis* charter 169a) and *circa* CE 1038 (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 258). These lay grants came from all areas and there appears to be no difference in the practise in Ergyng, Gwent or Glywysing (Davies, 1978b: 50).

Davies (1978b) has noted nearly all the recorded transactions are apparently gifts from one owner to the other and further suggests in some cases this may have amounted to a diversion of food renders from king to the church (Davies, 1978b: 49). There are examples of the sale of property rights.³⁰³ It is interesting these were chiefly concentrated between the period *circa* CE 705-765 and in these cases were purchased to be directly passed on to the Church. Another factor was the vendors in each case were all royal. The properties were chiefly *villae* with a single *ager* and *ecclesia*, respectively.³⁰⁴

Paramount kings, mesne kings, overkings and lordships: patterns of power?

Vernacular sources including *Canu Aneirin* and *Canu Taliesin* from the *circa* sixth-century CE depict paramount kings who directed others. Davies (1990) notes words describing these rulers included ‘mynawg’, ‘gwledig’ and ‘rhwyfadur’ and are referred to in the singular. Terms describing lesser rulers such as ‘teryn’, ‘rhi’, ‘brenin’, ‘iud’ and ‘unden’ repeatedly occur in the plural. These rulers were often led by the former (Davies, 1990: 13). Despite changes in the words used in poems such as *Canu*

³⁰³ (e.g. *Liber Landavensis* charters: 190b *circa* CE 705, 204b *circa* CE 715, 191 *circa* CE 730, 185 *circa* CE 740, 202 *circa* CE 745, 201 *circa* CE 750, 203a *circa* CE 752, 203b *circa* CE 758, 209b *circa* CE 765, 239 *circa* CE 925)

³⁰⁴ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 190b CE *circa* CE 705, 204b *circa* CE 715, 191 *circa* CE 730, 185 *circa* CE 740, 202 *circa* CE 745, 201 *circa* CE 750, 203a *circa* CE 752, 203b *circa* CE 758, 209b *circa* CE 765)

Llywarch Hen and *Armes Prydein* later in the Middle Age there does not appear to have been any change in the principle of greater and lesser kings (Davies, 1990: 14).

Candidates as the earliest paramount kings of Gwent could include the aforementioned Aurelius Caninus or Cynan Garwyn.³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ If any of the accounts relating to them reflect the actuality, and their contemporary Gwent included all of the former territory of the Silures³⁰⁷ (and possibly an annexed or allied Eryng) then the emergence of dependent lesser kings³⁰⁸ with much smaller territories under their control (e.g. Erb (Eryng) *circa* CE 555, Ynyr Gwent (Gwent Is Coed) *circa* CE 600, Glywys (Gower) *circa* CE 605) and Gwyddien (Cardiff) *circa* CE 680) is a reasonable hypothesis, as the basis of any king (or lord's) subsistence was principally drawn from their own bond dependents (taeogion) who occupied land in lieu of certain services and renders.³⁰⁹ These subdivisions would have been essential for the effective running of the wider kingdom, in terms of defence and the extraction of taxes, in the absence of other formal administrative structures.

The early kings and kingdoms are difficult to identify in the archaeological or historical record. However, early grants by kings between the sixth and eighth-centuries CE have been used to identify at least four early medieval kingdoms ³¹⁰ which may have been in existence by the sixth-century CE in south-eastern Wales (Davies, 1982: 93). Although no early dynasty can be attributed to Gwent Is Coed, the cluster of later charters may be indicative of a kingdom which originated as an amalgam of

³⁰⁵ (Chapter 3: 171)

³⁰⁶ (Figure 76a: 225)

³⁰⁷ (Chapter 2: 36-37)

³⁰⁸ (Figures, 75a: 223, 76a: 225 76b: 226)

³⁰⁹ (Chapter 3: 227-231)

³¹⁰ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 151a, 159b (Cardiff), *72a, 73a, *75, *76a, 166, 161, 162a (Eryng), 121, 162a, 166 (Gwent Uwch Coed), 76b (Gower))

Caerleon's *territorium* and land attached to Caerwent.³¹¹ It is possible the area was formerly the kingdom of one the supposed founders of Gwent, Caradoc ap Ynyr (Caradog Freichfras).^{312 313}

The beginning of the seventh-century CE saw a process of gradual consolidation of the various mesne kingdoms of southern Wales into an over-reaching kingdom under a single familial dynasty. This process appears to commence with Meurig (*circa* CE 625) who started making grants in the first quarter of the seventh-century CE.³¹⁴ These included diverse geographical locales including Llanrhidian, Pennard and Llandeilo Talybont in the Gower peninsular, Llansannor in Glamorgan and Howick in Gwent.³¹⁵ These grants are in direct contrast to those made by the minor kingdoms which appear to be very localised.³¹⁶

Likewise, Meurig's son Arthrwys³¹⁷ in a single charter (*Liber Landavensis* Charter: *165) conferred land at Chepstow in Gwent, Ballingham and the Valley Dore in Herefordshire.³¹⁸ Meurig's grandson Ithel (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 159a c) granted land at Llanerthill in Gwent.³¹⁹ His brother Morgan,³²⁰ donated land at Llandogo and Porthcasseg in Gwent and Lancut in Gloucestershire.³²¹ Meurig's great-grandson Ithel,³²² awarded land near the River Ewenny and at Fairwater in Glamorgan, at Dixon, Kilgwrrwg, Llansoy, Monmouth and Moun-ton in Gwent and

³¹¹ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b study sites 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 27: 226)

³¹² (*Vita Tathe*: 5-9) (Bartrum, 1961: 41-50; Wade-Evans, 1944: 5-9)

³¹³ (Figure 75a: 223)

³¹⁴ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 140, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150a, 160)

³¹⁵ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b sites 14, 15, 16, 17, 18: 226)

³¹⁶ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b sites 1-12: 226)

³¹⁷ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 140, 144, 147, 148, 151b, *165, 174b, 229b)

³¹⁸ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b sites 19, 20, 21: 226)

³¹⁹ (Figure 76a: 225, 76b site 22: 226)

³²⁰ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 145, 147, 148, 149, 150a, 151b, 152, 155, 156, 174b, 176a, 176b, 180a, 180b, 183b, 190b, 229b)

³²¹ (Figure 76a: 225, 76b sites 23, 24, 25: 226)

³²² (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 158, 174b, 175, 176a, 179b, 179c, 180a, 183a, 185, 186b, 187, 188b, 189, 190a, 190b, 191, 192, 195, 202, 204b)

Merthyr Clodock in Herefordshire.³²³ Ithel's final grant has been dated to *circa* CE 740 and after this point, no evidence of the early smaller local dynasties occur.³²⁴

Whilst it is difficult to determine the geographical extent of Gwent within these points in time, inferences can be made. For example, the kings and kingdoms of the sixth and early seventh-centuries CE appear to be found in small distinct areas. For example, the descendants of Erb for four generations between *circa* CE 555-620 are referred to as kings of Ergyng and were confined to Ergyng. Their lands contained, Llandinabo, Llanlowdy, Madley, Pencoyd, Welsh Bicknor, Valley Dore.^{325 326} Likewise, Gwrfoddw and his successor Eruic (*circa* CE 610) contemporaneously appeared to control land nearby at Bellimoor and Garway (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 161, 162a).³²⁷ Other contemporary locales (*circa* CE 605) included Bishopston in the Gower peninsula, ruled by Glywys and heir Merchwyn (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 76b),³²⁸ Llandaff and Gabalfa in modern day Cardiff (*circa* CE 680), ruled by Brochfael and later Gwyddien (*Liber Landavensis* charters 151a, 159b).³²⁹ Llanarth, Llantilio Pertholey, Llantilio Crossenny, in northern Gwent and Llangoed in Breconshire (*circa* CE 596) ruled by Ynyr and afterwards Iddon (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 121, 122, 123, 166).³³⁰ Combined the evidence is indicative of quite restricted geographic and distinct entities. However, these appear to have been contained within what had been a larger Silurian whole.

³²³ (Figure 76a:225, 76b sites 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33: 226)

³²⁴ (Figure 75a: 223)

³²⁵ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: * 72a, 72b, 73a, 73b, *75, *76a, 163a, 163b, 164)

³²⁶ (Figures 76a:225, 76b sites 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: 226)

³²⁷ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b sites 8, 9: 226)

³²⁸ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b: site 13: 226)

³²⁹ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b sites 1, 2: 226)

³³⁰ (Figures 76a: 225, 76b: sites 10, 11, 12 :226)

For instance, the later spread of the charters³³¹ suggest its borders appear to roughly coincide with the whole of what was *Civitas Silurum*³³² and the older prehistoric tribal area of the Silures at the beginning of the early Middle Age until *circa* CE 740.³³³ In addition, Glywysing, first attested *circa* CE 685 (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 157) and clearly employed as the name of a kingdom, seems to have consisted of, and controlled south-eastern Wales³³⁴ to the same extent as Samson's Gwent³³⁵ (Coe, 2010: 310). The implications of long-term Silurian cultural continuity transmitted forward over time which this evidence offers is investigated below.³³⁶

Furthermore, whilst the Llandaff grants clearly indicate Meurig's descendants eventually controlled all of Gwent (as topographically defined by the *Vita I Sancti Samsonis*, (i)),³³⁷ an indication of how Meurig's dynasty achieved this consolidation and maintained its pre-eminence can be drawn from the charters. Examples of their methods include dynastic marriage between Meurig and Ombraust of the Eryng dynasty (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 140); violence, as evidenced by the murders of Cynfedw and Friog (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 147, 152); control of important economic resources such as livestock, fishing or woodlands (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 158, 183a, 187, 190b, 191) and possible confiscation as evidenced by the return of land to the Church (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 156, 180a, 192, 229b). The charters indicate linear succession within the dynasty was uncommon and kingship was usually shared, normally between brothers such as Morgan and Ithel ap Arthrwys or Meurig and Rhys ap Ithel in the latter parts of the seventh and eighth-

³³¹ (Figures 75a, 223, 76a: 225, 76b: 226)

³³² (e.g. Figure 40: 129)

³³³ (Chapter 2: 36)

³³⁴ (with some variations, Chapter 3: 502-516)

³³⁵ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 137, 156, 157, 190, 191, 195, 204, 206, 209, 212, 214, 230)

³³⁶ (Chapter 3: 502-578)

³³⁷ (Chapter 3: 221-222)

centuries CE respectively.³³⁸ Other developments which occurred later in the Middle Age in relation to Gwent's kings probably account for the longevity and ultimate demise of the kingdom are examined below.³³⁹

Early Church development in Gwent

A second inheritance projected forward from Roman rule to the early Middle Age was the Church. Jeremy Knight, (2007) considers the evidence suggests Christianity spread from urban to rural settings during the later western Roman Empire. He has made comparisons with Gaul and the evangelisation of the Touraine countryside by Bishop Martin of Tours described by his contemporary Sulpicius Severus in the *Vita Martini* (circa CE 397) and has proposed the Christian deposit from House IX7 N³⁴⁰ at Caerwent was contemporaneous with Martin's activities (Knight, 2007: 271).³⁴¹

The expansion of the Church in Gwent in its early centuries is evident.³⁴² How then was this institution managed and organised during the period of transition after Rome? Aspects of its wider early organisation can be discerned in the following ways. Firstly, after Christianity became the dominant religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth-century CE, its organisation was made to reflect Roman civil administration. Each semi-self-governing city and territory appeared to have its bishop. His see was to be the city itself and his authority was deemed to extend as far as the bounds of the city's territory (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 583).

³³⁸(Figure 75a: 223)

³³⁹ (Chapter 3: 502-516)

³⁴⁰ (Figures 42: 134, 53: 170)

³⁴¹ (Boon, 1962: 338-334, 1992: 11-24; Knight, 2007: 271; Thomas, 1994: 197-204)

³⁴² (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240, 79a: 241, 79b: 242-243)



Figure 78a

Locations of Gwentian ecclesiastical sites mentioned in the Liber Landavensis (Author 2021)

	Charter locations dated <i>circa</i> CE 600-699
	Charter locations <i>circa</i> CE 700-799
	Charter locations dated <i>circa</i> CE 800-899
	Charter locations dated <i>circa</i> CE 900-1045

Study site number	Public record number	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> Charter	Date of grant	Map Reference	Location	Dedication	Category	Grantor (king or laity)	Enclosure shape	Yew trees present (see note below)	Early medieval name	Approximate size (where recorded)	Approximate size (hectares)	Description
1	03819g	74 (5) A	Circa CE 860	461171	St Maughan's	St Meugan	Monastery	Meurig	Curvilinear	3CY 408	Lann Mocha Ecclesia Tipallai or Lann Typallai	6 modii (240 acres)	98	<i>Ecclesia</i>
2	01282g	121 (10) B	Circa CE 600	375109	Llanarth	St Teilo	Monastery	Iddon	Curvilinear	8CY 818	Lanngarth Aper Menei	Given with its territorium	49?	<i>Territorium</i>
3	01480g	122 (11) B	Circa CE 600	311163	Llantilio Pertholey	St Teilo	Church	Iddon	Curvilinear	7CY 597	Lann Teiliau Port Halauc or Lann Maur	900 acres	364	<i>Territorium</i>
4	01303g	*123 (12) B	Circa CE 600	398149	Llantilio Crossenny	St Teilo	Church	Iddon	Indeterminate	11CY 281	Lann Teiliau Cressinych or Lann Teiliau Crissinic	3 modii (120 acres)	49	Place name
5	01212g	*141 (18) C	Circa CE 620	523908	Mathern	St Tewdric	Church	Meurig	Curvilinear	4CY 334	Mertyr Teudiric	Given with its territorium	49?	<i>Territorium</i>
6	00770g	143 (19) C	Circa CE 660	504955	Howick	St Warmet	Chapel	Meurig	Indeterminate	None	Ecclesia Guruid	525 acres	212	<i>Ecclesia</i>
7	08366g	150a (26) C	Circa CE 693	524981	Porthcasseg	Unknown	Chapel	Morgan	Indeterminate	None	Unknown	Unstated	Unknown	<i>Ager</i>
8	00741g	156 (33) C	Circa CE 698	526040	Llandogo	St Oudoceus	Monastery	Morgan	Polygonal	1CY 492	Llannenniaun or Lannoudocui Villa sancti Tauauc cum ecclesia	2100 acres	850	Place name
9	Estate	*158 (35) C	Circa CE 722	535940	Chepstow	N/A	N/A	lthel	N/A	N/A	Emricorua	3 unciae (1440 acres)	583	Place name
10	00938g	*159a (36) C	Circa CE 685	434043	Llanerthill	St Eurddil	Church	lthel	Unknown	None	Lann Efrdil	Unstated	Unknown	<i>Territorium</i>
11	(see 9)	*165 (45) D	Circa CE 625	535940	Chepstow	(See 9)	(see 9)	Athr wys	(see 9)	(see 9)	(see 9)	(see 9)	(see 9)	<i>Ecclesia</i>
12	01108g	171b (53) E	Circa CE 860	493953	Itton	St Dieniol	Church	Meurig	Curvilinear	None	Lann Diniul	Given with its territorium	49?	<i>Ager</i>
13	(see 1)	171b (53) E	Circa CE 860	461171	St Maughan's	(see 1)	(see 1)	Meurig	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)
14	00911g	173 (54) E	Circa CE 860	425999	Llangwm Uchaf	St Jerome	Church	Laity	Curvilinear	3CY 403	Lanncum	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ager</i>
15	Estate	175 (57) F	Circa CE 733	510130	Monmouth	Unknown	Unknown	lthel	N/A	N/A	Unknown	4 modii (160 acres)	65	<i>Podium</i> <i>Ecclesia</i>
16	05012g	179b (62) F	Circa CE 730	513927	Mounton	St Audoenus	Church	lthel	Quadrangular	2CY 544	Villa Guinnoui	Unstated	Unknown	Villa
17	01086g	179c (63) F	Circa CE 722	462984	Kilgwrrwg	Church of the Holy Cross	Church	lthel	Curvilinear	1CY 355	Villa Gurnoc	3 unciae (1440 acres)	583	Villa
18	(see 2)	180a (64) F	Circa CE 720	375109	Llanarth	(see 2)	(see 2)	lthel	(see 2)	(see 2)	(see 2)	(see 2)	(see 2)	(see 2)
19	00243g	180b (65) F	Circa CE 710	368872	Bishton	St Cadwaladr	Church	Laity	Curvilinear	1CY 288	Lann Catgualtyr or Lann Catualader	Given with its tellus	49?	<i>Tellus</i> Villa
20	01223g	183a (66) F	Circa CE 735	519135	Dixton	St Peter	Monastery	lthel	Quadrangular	2CY 190	Hennlann or Sancti Tituuc	4 modii (160 acres)	65	<i>Podium</i>
21	00408g	183b (67) F	Circa CE 700	381928	Kemeys Inferior	St Michael	Monastery	Morgan	Indeterminate	None	Lann Mihacgel	2 unciae (960 acres)	388	<i>Ager</i>
22	(see 15)	186b (71) F	Circa CE 733	510130	Monmouth	(see 15)	(see 15)	lthel	(see 15)	(see 15)	(see 15)	4 modii (160 acres)	65	(see 15)
23	00915g	187 (72) F	Circa CE 725	442024	Llansoy	St Tysoi	Monastery	Laity	Curvilinear	5CY 850	Lann Tisoi	500 acres	202	<i>Podium</i>
24	(see 16)	191 (78) F	Circa CE 730	513930	Mounton	(see 16)	(see 16)	lthel	(see 16)	(see 16)	(see 16)	(see 16)	(see 16)	(see 16)

25	(see 10)	*192 (79) F	<i>Circa CE 745</i>	434045	Llanerthill	(see 10)	(see 10)	lthel	(see 10)	(see 10)	(see 10)	(see 10)	(see 10)	(see 10)
26	Estate	*196 (82) F	Undatable	Unknown	River Monnow	N/A	N/A	lthel	N/A	N/A	Unknown	Unstated	Unknown	Place name
27	00309g	199a (86) F	<i>Circa CE 750</i>	338958	Llandegfedd	St Tegfeth	Monastery	Laity	Curvilinear	5CY 495	Merthyr Tecmed	half an uncia (240 acres)	97	<i>Terra Tref Villa</i>
28	00690g	199b (87) F	<i>Circa CE 755</i>	500055	Trellech	St Nicholas	Church	Ffernfael	Quadrangular	6CY 199	Unknown	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ecclesia</i>
29	04209g	201 (89) F	<i>Circa CE 750</i>	485107	Wonastow	St Wonow	Church	Ffernfael	Curvilinear	4CY 234	Ecclesia Lanngunguarui Gurthebiriuc super Trodi	1 and a half an uncia (720 acres)	291	<i>Ecclesia</i>
30	00860g	206 (96) F	<i>Circa CE 755</i>	457055	Llangovan	St Govan	Church	Gurgauarn	Curvilinear	2CY 682	Ecclesia Mamouric or Llanuuien	6 modii (240 acres)	970	<i>Ecclesia</i>
31	00932g	207 (97) F	<i>Circa CE 760</i>	416039	Llandenny	St John the Apostle	Church	Ffernfael	Curvilinear	None	Ecclesia Mathenni	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ecclesia</i>
32	(see 31)	*208 (98) F	<i>Circa CE 785</i>	416039	Llandenny	(see 31)	(see 31)	Athrwys	(see 31)	(see 31)	(see 31)	(see 31)	(see 31)	(see 31)
33	00728g	209b (100) F	<i>Circa CE 765</i>	531008	Tintern Parva	St Michael and All Angels	Church	Rhodri	Irregular	3CY 388	Ager Louhai	3 modii (120 acres)	49	Measurement
34	01539g	210a (101) F	<i>Circa CE 780</i>	435158 433161	Llanfaenor	<i>Sancto Waynardo</i> Unknown	Church Chapel	Athrwys	Unknown	None	Lann Vannar Caer Riou	one unica (220 acres)	89	<i>Villa Territoria</i>
35	00990g	211b (104) F	<i>Circa CE 775</i>	434918	Llanvaches	St Dubritius	Church	Gurgauarn	Curvilinear	1CY 510	Merthyr Maches	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ecclesia</i>
36	(see 19)	214 (106) F	<i>Circa CE 862</i>	387873	Bishton	(see 19)	(see 19)	Meurig	(see 19)	(see 19)	(see 19)	(see 19)	(see 19)	(see 19)
37	04912g	216a (107) F	<i>Circa CE 872</i>	390258	Llangua	St James	Church	Brochfael	Curvilinear	8CY (stumps)	Lann Culan	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ager</i>
38	00947g	217 (109) G	<i>Circa CE 960</i>	492017	Trellech Grange	Unknown	Monastery	Nowy	Curvilinear	None	Ecclesia Mainuon, Ecclesia Trylec, Lann Mainuon or Villa Guicon	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ecclesia Territorium Villa</i>
39	00762g	218 (110) G	<i>Circa CE 955</i>	522998	Penterry	St Mary	Church	Nowy	Curvilinear	2CY 359	Lann Bedui or Lann Vedeui	With 'the whole ager of kindred'	49?	Place name
40	Estate	222 (112) G	<i>Circa CE 942</i>	215950	Abercarn	N/A	N/A	Cadell	N/A	N/A	Villa Treficarn Pont	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Villa</i>
41	Estate	225 (115) H	<i>Circa CE 864</i>	3390	St Julians	N/A	N/A	Laity	N/A	N/A	Merthir ivn et Aaron/Martires Iulii et Aaron	Given with its territorium	49?	<i>Territorium</i>
42	02468g	227b (118) H	<i>Circa CE 872</i>	458104	Dingestow	St Dingat	Church	Hywel	Curvilinear	None	Ecclesia Dincat Merthir Dincat	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ecclesia</i>
43	02512g	228 (119) H	<i>Circa CE 876</i>	363172	Llanvetherine	St James	Church	Hywel	Curvilinear	1CY 260	Ecclesia Gueithirin or Lann Gueithirin	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Ecclesia</i>
44	(see 15)	231 (124) H	<i>Circa CE 910</i>	510130	Monmouth	(see 15)	(see 15)	Brochfael	(see 15)	(see 15)	(see 15)	(see 15)	(see 15)	(see 15)
45	00489g	233 (127) H	<i>Circa CE 905</i>	452878	Llanfihangel Rogiet	St Michael	Church	Brochfael	Curvilinear	None	Tref Peren or Lann Mihacgel Maur	6 modii (240 acres)	98	<i>Villa</i>
46	01198g	234 (128) H	<i>Circa CE 895</i>	519925	Pwllmeyric	St Michael	Church	Brochfael	Indeterminate	None	Lann Mihacgel i Pwll	3 modii (120 acres)	49	<i>Territoria</i>
47	(see 19)	235a (129) H	<i>Circa CE 900</i>	387873	Bishton	(see 19)	(see 19)	Laity	(see 19)	(see 19)	(see 19)	3 modii (120 acres)	49	(see 19)
48	00509g	235b (130) H	<i>Circa CE 895</i>	483886	Caldicot	St Mary	Church	Brochfael	Irregular	None	Ecclesia Castell Conscuit	6 modii (240 acres)	98	<i>Ecclesia</i>

49a	01533g	*240 (135) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 970	416179	Llanllywd	St Liwit	Church	Morgan	Indeterminate	None	Lann Liuit or Ecclesia Machmur		49?	<i>Territoria</i>
49b	(see 34)			431170	Llanfaenor	(see 34)	(see 34)		(see 34)	(see 34)	(see 34)		(see 34)	(see 34)
49c	02506g			482149	Rockfield	St Cenedlon	Church		Curvilinear	5CY 370	Lann Guoronoi	(see 51)	73	<i>Territoria</i>
49d	08304g			383130	Llwynderi	Unknown	Church		Indeterminate	None	Lann Tituil		49?	<i>Territoria</i>
49e	02244g			325207	Crucorney	St Michael	Church		Quadrangular	1CY 575	Lann Michacgel Cruc Cornous		49?	<i>Territoria</i>
49f	(see 46)			519925	Pwllmeyric	(see 46)	(see 46)		(see 46)	(see 46)	(see 46)		(see 46)	(see 46)
49g				476032	Llanishen	St Denis	Church		Curvilinear	2CY 244	Lann Isien or Lann Nissien		49?	<i>Territoria</i>
49h	00953g			371879	Llanwern	St Tivauc	Church		Curvilinear	4CY 213	Lann Guern Tivauc		49?	<i>Territoria</i>
49i	05011g													
50	08139g	244 (137) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 980	460920	Llanmelin	Unknown	Church	Arthfael	Unknown	None	Lann Mihacel Lichrit	4 modii (160 acres)	65	Villa
51	(see 49c)	246 (139) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 970	482149	Rockfield	(see 49c)	(see 49c)	Rhys	(see 49c)	(see 49c)	(see 49c)	1 and a half modus (180 acres)	73	(see 49c)
52	Estate	249b (140) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1015	440878	Undy	N/A	N/A	Edwin	Quadrangular	N/A	Villa Elcu	3 modii (120 acres)	49	Villa
53	Estate	251 (142) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1005	454998	Llangynog	N/A	N/A	Rhodri and Gruffudd	Unknown	N/A	Pencelli Guehnhuc	Unstated	49?	Place name
54	00251g	261 (149) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1045	371891	Langstone	Unknown	Church	Meurig	Curvilinear	None	Lanpetyr	625 acres	253	Place name
55	Estate	262 (150) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1022	488901	Crick	N/A	N/A	Laity	Unknown	N/A	Villa Carnou or Villa Crucou Leuguim	2 modii (80 acres) 3 modii (120 acres)	32 49	Villa
56	(see 1)	264b (153) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1025	461171	St Maughan's	(see 1)	(see 1)	Laity	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)	(see 1)
57	(see 27)	272 (157) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1072	339958	Llandegfedd	(see 27)	(see 27)	Caradog	(see 27)	(see 27)	(see 27)	(see 27)	(see 27)	(see 27)
58	00912g	274 (158) J	<i>Circa</i> CE 1075	433007	Llangwm Isaf	St John	Church	Roger fitzWilliam fitzOsbern	Triangular	3CY 403	Villa Guinnuc	100 acres	40	Villa

Figure 78b

Locations of Gwentian ecclesiastical sites and other locatable grants mentioned in the Liber Landavensis
(Colour coded as Figure 78a) (Author 2021)



Figure 79a

Locations of Gwentian ecclesiastical sites dedicated to Welsh saints derived from Historical Environment Records (HER) (colour coded as Figure 79b) (Author 2021)

Site	Public Record number	Location	Map reference	Name/ dedication	Classification	Early medieval name	Source	Enclosure shape	Yew trees	Earliest recorded date
1		Bassaleg	277871	St Gwladys	Chapel	Urbs/Cair Guenti Tathui	(Crouch, 1988: 2)	Irregular	2CY 317	circa CE 1146
2	01168m 01937m	Bedwas	171891	St Barrwg	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	3CY 324	Unknown
3	01971g	Bedwellty	166003	St Sannan	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	3CY 303	circa CE 1535-1536
4	00153g	Bettws	289903	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	CE 1348
5	01836g	Bettws Newydd	370093	St Aeddan	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	3CY 1025	CE 1188
6	00243g	Bishton	386872	St Cadwaladr	Church	Lann Catgualtyr or Lann Catualader	HER	Curvilinear	1CY 288	circa CE 710
7	00555g	Caerleon	339906	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	5CY 396	Pre-Norman
8	01064g	Caerwent	468904	St Tatheus	Monastery	Urbs/Cair Guenti Tathui	HER	Quadrangular	2CY 493	circa CE 955
9	02467g	Cwmcarvan	477074	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	16CY 650	CE 1348
10	02468g	Dingestow	457104	St Dingat	Church	Ecclesia Dincat Merthir Dincat	HER	Curvilinear	None	circa CE 872
11	00770g	Howick	504955	St Warmet	Chapel	Ecclesia Guruid	HER	Indeterminate	None	circa CE 650
12	01108g	Itton	493952	St Dieniol	Church	Lann Diniul	HER	Curvilinear	None	circa CE 860
13	01282g	Llanarth	375109	St Teilo	Monastery	Lanngarth	HER	Curvilinear	8CY 818	circa CE 600
14	01836g	Llanarth	370093	St Aeddan	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	Unknown
15	01996g	Llanbadoc	376000	St Madoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 240	CE 1254
16	00311g	Llanddewi Fach	332958	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 430	CE 1254
17	00106g	Llandderfel	263953	St Derfel	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	CE 1412
18	00309g	Llandegfedd	338957	St Tegfeth	Monastery	Merthyr Tecmed	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 495	circa CE 750
19	03243g	Llandewi Rhydderch	349129	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	4CY 651	CE 1254
20	03237g	Llandewi Skirrid	340170	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	3CY 323	CE 1254
21	00741g	Llandogo	526040	St Oudoceus	Monastery	Llannenniaun or Lannoudocui Villa sancti Tauauc cum ecclesia	HER	Polygonal	1CY 492	circa CE 625
22	00938g	Llanerthill	434043	St Eurdil	Church	Lann Efrdil	HER	None	None	circa CE 685 or circa CE 745
23	01309g	Llanfapley	366140	St Mabli	Church	Ecclesia Mable	HER	Indeterminate	10CY 396	circa CE 860
24	00618g	Llanfdechfa	320936	St Brechfa	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 474	CE 1535
25	02501g	Llangattock Lingoed	361200	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 525	CE 1254
26	01506g	Llangattock Vibon Avel	456156	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	1CY 392	CE 1186
27	02503g	Llangattock-juxta-Usk	330096	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	7CY 723	CE 1254
28	02051g	Llangeview	396006	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	CE 1254
29	00860g	Llangovan	456054	St Govan	Church	Ecclesia Mamouric or Llanuuien	HER	Curvilinear	2CY 682	circa CE 755
30	00352g	Llangybi	374966	St Cybi	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	4CY 303	CE 1100
31	02511g	Llanhilleth	217019	St Illtud	Church	Llanhellyd (St Hellyd)	HER	Curvilinear	8CY 794	circa ninth/tenth century CE
32	00331g	Llanllowell	392985	St Llywel	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	3CY 790	First recorded CE 1254
33	01533g	Llanllywd	415178	St Liwit	Church	Lann Liuit or Ecclesia Machmur	HER	Indeterminate	None	circa CE 970

34	03245g	Llansantffraed	357100	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	7CY 467	CE 1348
35	00915g	Llansoy	442023	St Tysoi	Monastery	Lann Tisoi	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 850	circa CE 725
36	01303g	Llantilio Crossenny	398149	St Teilo	Church	Lann Teiliau Cressinych or Lann Teiliau Crissinic	HER	Indeterminate	11CY 281	circa CE 600
37	01480g	Llantilio Pertholey	311163	St Teilo	Church	Lann Teiliau Port Halauc or Lann Maur	HER	Curvilinear	7CY 597	circa CE 600
38	00990g	Llanvaches	434917	St Dubritius	Church	Merthir Maches	HER	Curvilinear	1CY 510	circa CE 775
39	05011g	Llanwern	370878	St Tivauc	Church	Lann Guern Tivauc	HER	Curvilinear	4CY 213	circa CE 925
40	02504g	Mamhilad	305034	St Illtud	Monastery	Mammeliat	(Wade-Evans, 1944: xi, 120-121 cited in Evans, 2003:10) HER	Curvilinear	11CY 1165	circa CE 1100
41	01212g	Mathern	523908	St Tewdric	Church	Mertyr Teudiric	HER	Curvilinear	4CY 334	circa CE 620
42	01224g	Monmouth	508129	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	1CY 237	circa CE 1075
43	05012g	Mounton	513927	St Audoenus	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	2CY 544	CE 1348
44	00082g	Mynydd Islwyn	193939	St Tudor	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	6CY 840	CE 1102
45	00166g	Newport	309876	St Wollos	Monastery	Eggllis Guunliu	(Wade-Evans, 1944: xi, xii, 90-91, cited in Evans, 2003:10) HER	Curvilinear	None	circa CE 1100
46	02505g	Penrhos	416117	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	3CY 668	CE 1254
47	08380g	Ponthir	337929	St Gwnog	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	CE 1291
48	00833g	Raglan	413076	St Cadoc	Church	Raclan	Rhigyfarch's Life of St David	Curvilinear	3CY 480	Circa CE 1093-1095
49	02506g	Rockfield	481148	St Cenedlon	Church	Lann Guoronoi	HER	Curvilinear	5CY 370	circa CE 970
50	01041g	Runston	495916	St Kene	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	None	CE 1245-1253
51	01696g	Skenfrith	456203	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	1CY 462	CE 1206
52	00774g	St Arvans	516965	St Arvan	Church	Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmen et Febric	HER	Curvilinear	1CY 135	circa CE 955
53	00471g	St Brides Netherwent	428895	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Ecclesia Brigidae	HER	Polygonal	None	circa CE 895
54	00017g	St Brides Wentlooge	292823	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	CE 1230-1240
55	01463g	St Dials	497115	St Duellus	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	CE 1186
56	02507g	Trevethin	283020	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	23CY 265	23CY 265
57	02032g	Trostrey	359044	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	1CY 408	circa CE 1348
58	04209g	Wonastow	485107	St Wonow	Church	Ecclesia Lannngunguarui Gurthebiriuc super Trodi	HER	Curvilinear	4CY 234	circa CE 750

Figure 79b

Gwentian ecclesiastical sites dedicated to Welsh saints derived from Historical Environment Records (HER) (Colour coded as Figure 79a) (Author 2021)



Figure 80 Locations of Gwentian early medieval cemetery sites derived from the Historical Environment Record (HER) (Author 2021)

Site	Public Record number	Location	Map reference	Description	HER estimated date
1	222553	Abernant	371917	Cemetery	<i>circa</i> second to third-century CE
2	08359g	Caerleon Mill Street	341909	Cemetery	<i>circa</i> sixth to seventh-century CE
3	08358g	Caerleon Roman Gates	340907	Cemetery	<i>circa</i> CE 705
4	03173g	Caerwent Vicarage Orchard	471904	Cemetery	Unknown
5	01069g	Caerwent intermural cemetery	467905	Cemetery	Unknown
6	08357g	Ifton	465878	Cemetery	Early medieval

Site	Publio Record number	Location	Map reference	Description	HER estimated date
1	0211g 03723g	Bulmore	3248997	Decorated cross-slab	circa tenth- century CE
2	00555g 00556g	Caerleon	339906	Decorated cross-slab	circa tenth or early eleventh- century CE
3	08314g	St Julians	324899	Shrine	circa CE 864
4	08457g 01082g	Caerwent	468904	Slab with cross	Unknown
5	03723g	Great Bulmore	3691	Cross-slab	circa tenth- century CE
6	00466g	Merthyr Garn	427884	Shrine	circa CE 805
7	00775g	St Arvans	516965	Decorated cross-slab	circa CE 955
8	02466g	Srynawyn	360093	St Peter's Well	CE 1254
9	00352g	Llangybi	374966	Fynnon Gybi	CE 1100
10	01212g	Mathem	523908	St Tewdric's Well	circa CE 820
11	01168g	Pwll Meurig	518927	Pwll Meurig	circa CE 970
12	00767g	Rogerstone Grange	506968	St John's Well	CE 1261
13	01041g	Runstn	495918	Lavant Well	CE 1245- 1253
14	01696g	Skenith	456203	St Ffraed's Well	CE 1206
15	01463g	St Dials	497115	Holy Well	CE 1186
16	03819g	St Maughan's	461171	St Maughan's Well	circa CE 860
17	02507g	Trevethin	263020	Fynnon Wened	CE 1254

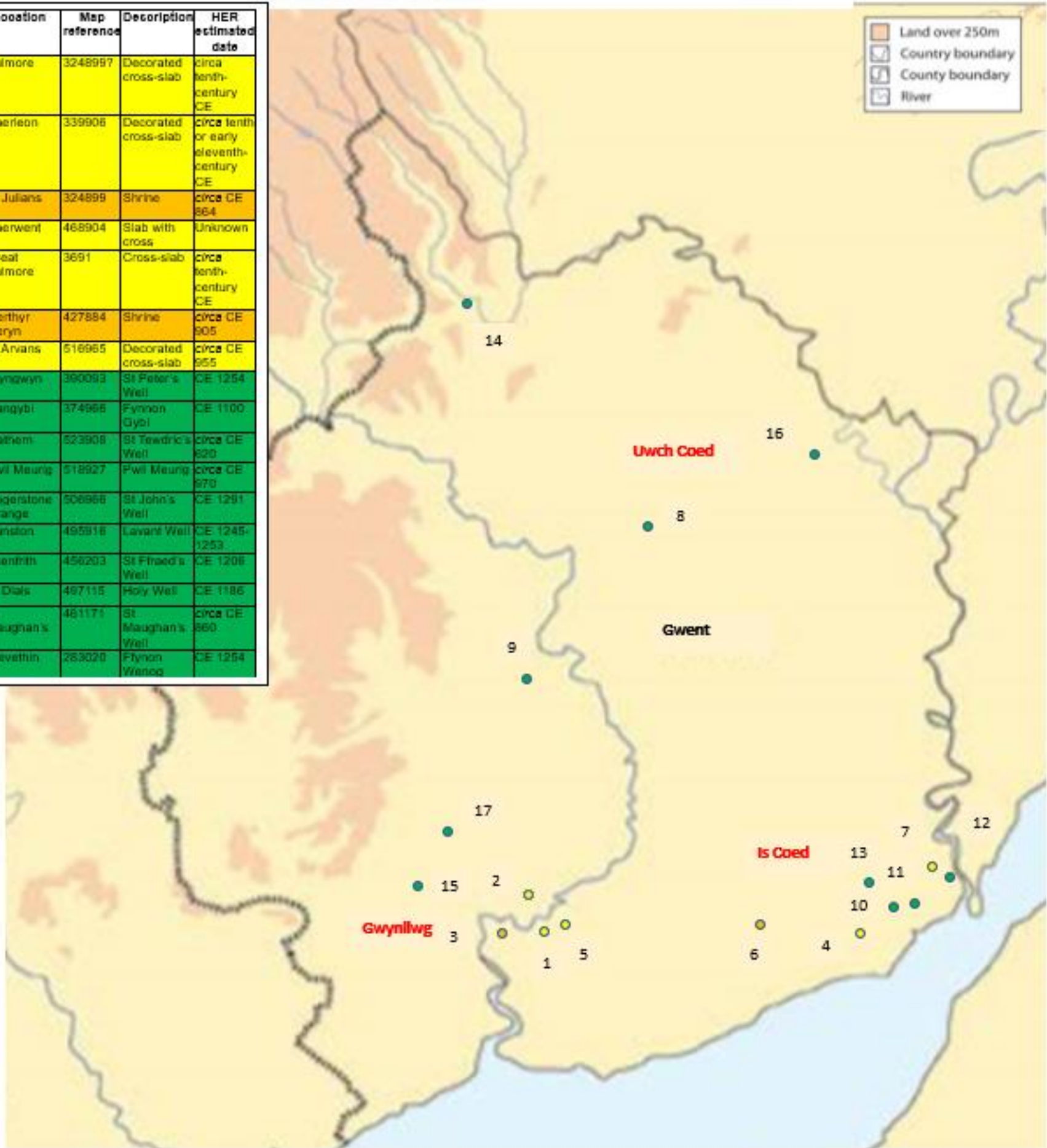


Figure 81

Location of Gwentian early medieval cross, shrine and holy well sites derived from the HER (Historic Environment Record) (Author, 2021)

●	Cross and cross-slabs recorded in the HER
●	Religious shrines recorded in the HER
●	Holy wells recorded in the HER

The writings of Patrick and Gildas confirm bishops continued to function in western Britain in the fifth and sixth-centuries CE and seven of these came to a meeting with Augustine *circa* CE 601 on the borders of the kingdom of the West Saxons and the Hwicce. Participants included monks from the monastery of Bangor-on-Dee in Powys and implies *Britannia Prima* was still a functioning as a unit of Church organisation, although as Barbara Yorke (2006) has pointed out there was no indication of a bishop of metropolitan status present (Yorke, 2006: 150).

Furthermore in a Gwentian context, Knight (2013) suggests any bishop of Caerwent³⁴³ would have been by definition a bishop of *Civitas Silurum*. He reasons this functionary would have been a member of the local Silurian land owning elite who would have travelled from rural villa estates to town houses at Caerwent in order to carry out their duties as members of the local *ordo*. He considers this possibility may help to explain the origins of rural Christianity in the more Romanised parts of Wales and Gwent in particular. He reinforces this view with evidence derived from Gaul where bishops founded churches in *vici* or small towns within the *civitates* alongside Christian landowners building private chapels on villa estates. A Gallic church council of CE 535 at Arvenum (Clermont) details possible categories of churches in late or post-Roman Britain which seem to have consisted of those of the city clergy, those in a *vicus* and ‘those who live in a villa and celebrate the divine mysteries there’ (*Decretum Gratiani*, 15). These could be categorised as *ecclesia* or cathedral churches within the walls of a Roman town, *basilicae* (basilicas) as major churches housing the body of a saint (*basilicae sanctorum*) or cemetery church outside the walls of a Roman town and *oratorium* (often small rural churches)

³⁴³ (Chapter 3: 167-171)

founded by a landowner on his estate (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 583; Knight, 2013: 37).

Moreover, Knight's modelling suggests the spread of Christianity from Roman towns and cities depended on the patronage of landowners who alone would have been able to furnish the resources for rural *oratorium* churches. In Britain, he evidences this through the apparent pairing of many British royal sites with early churches of high status. His examples included the Northumbrian royal seat of Bamburgh and Lindisfarne; the Mercian capital at Tamworth and the cathedral at Litchfield; Dinefwr and Llandeilo Fawr; Aberffraw and Llangadwaladr; Tenby with Caldy island and Penally; (Knight, 2013: 68). The northern Welsh exemplar was demonstrated by an inscription commemorating Catamanus (Cadfan) a king of Gwynedd who reigned between *circa* CE 616-625 (Koch, 2006c: 314; Nash-Williams, 1950: 13) whilst the one from western Wales was derived from the ninth-century CE praise poem *Etmic Dynbich* referring to the 'generous lord' Bleidudd and an oaken church or oaken enclosure (Taliesin (b)).

Knight's view is consistent with data provided by the *Liber Landavensis* where land grants and charters were collected at several centres in Gwent³⁴⁴ and other parts of south-eastern Wales before the Norman conquest (Davies, 1978b, 1979; Knight, 2004: 281). Some appear to be sixth-century CE in date and has been noted, provide a sequence of named rulers³⁴⁵ and along with material derived from the surviving hagiographical accounts of lives of early saints reveal the aristocratic nature of early leaders of the Church in in post-Roman Siluria.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁴ (Figure 78a: 237 78b: 238-240)

³⁴⁵ (Figures 75a: 223, 75b: 224, 76a: 225, 76b: 226)

³⁴⁶ (Figure 82: 249)

For example, personalities such as Saint Cadog and Saint Dyfrig were of royal or noble lineage (Melville Richards, 1971: 333-349; Wade-Evans, 1956: 33)³⁴⁷ and as demonstrated in the *Liber Landavensis* charters, suggest a system where grants of land, made by the kings of Gwent (Ergyng and Glamorgan) were personally gifted (and sometimes regifted) to individual bishops rather than to the Church itself from the beginning of, and which was perpetuated to the end of the series³⁴⁸ (Davies, 1979: 90-130).

Bishops were served by lesser clerics and it was only bishops who could consecrate priests. Little was known about the internal composition of these early institutions apart from references to their officers. In Gwent, Davies (1978b) has listed abbots (*abbates*), priests (*presbiter*) and 'the holder of a priestly office' (*sacerdos*) as being mentioned during the seventh-century CE (Davies, 1978b: 125-128). In addition, there appear to be several prominent clerical families. For instance, Davies (1978b) has identified family control for much of the period covered by the charters at Llandaff, Llancarfan and across the study area (Davies, 1978b: 128-129). In Ergyng there were at least two such families in the earlier grants (Dewi *sacerdos* son of Circan *sacerdos* (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 161, 162a) and Uuelauc, son of Guordbrit *equonimus* (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 161) *circa* CE 610. In Gwent, Guernonoe and his son occur in a clerical witness list at Bishton *circa* CE 862 (*Liber*

³⁴⁷ (Figure 82: 249)

³⁴⁸ (e.g. *Liber Landavensis* charters: *72a, 72b, 73a, 73b, 74, *75, *76b, *77 and 121 to Dyfrig; 122, *123, *125a, *125b, *127a and *127b to Teilo, 140, *141, 143, 144, 145, *146, 147, *148, 149, 150a, 150b, *151a, 151b, *154, 155, 156, *157, *158, *159a and 159b to Euddogwy; 160, 161, 162a to Ufelfyw; 162b to Aidan; 163a to Elgistus; 163b and 164 to Inabwy; *165 to Comereg; 166 to Arwystl; *167 to Gwrfan; 168 to Guodloi, 169a to Eddylfw; 169b, 170, 171a, 171b and 174a to Grecielis; 174b, 175, 176a, 176b, 178, 179a, 179b, 179c, 180a, 180b, 183a, 183b, 184, 185, 186a, 186b, 187, 188a, 188b, 189, 190a, 190b, 191, *192, and 195 to Berwyn; 197, 198a, 198b, 199a, 199b, 200, 201, 202, 203a, 203b, 204a, *204b and *205 to Tyrchan, 206, 207, *208, 209a, 209b, 210a, 210b, 211a and 211b to Cadwared; 212, 214, 216a and 216b to Cerennyr; 217, 218 and 221 to Pater; 222, 223 and 224 to Wulfrith; 225, 227a, 227b, 228, 229a, 229b, 230a and 230b to Nudd; 231, 232a, 232b, 233, 234, 235a, 235b, 236 and 237a to Cyfeillio; 237b, and 239 to Libiau; *240, 244 and 245 to Gwgon; 246 and 249b to Bledri; 249a, 251, *253, 255, 257, 258, 259, *260, 261, 262, 263, 264a and 264b to Joseph; 267, 269, 271, 272 and 274 to Herewald)

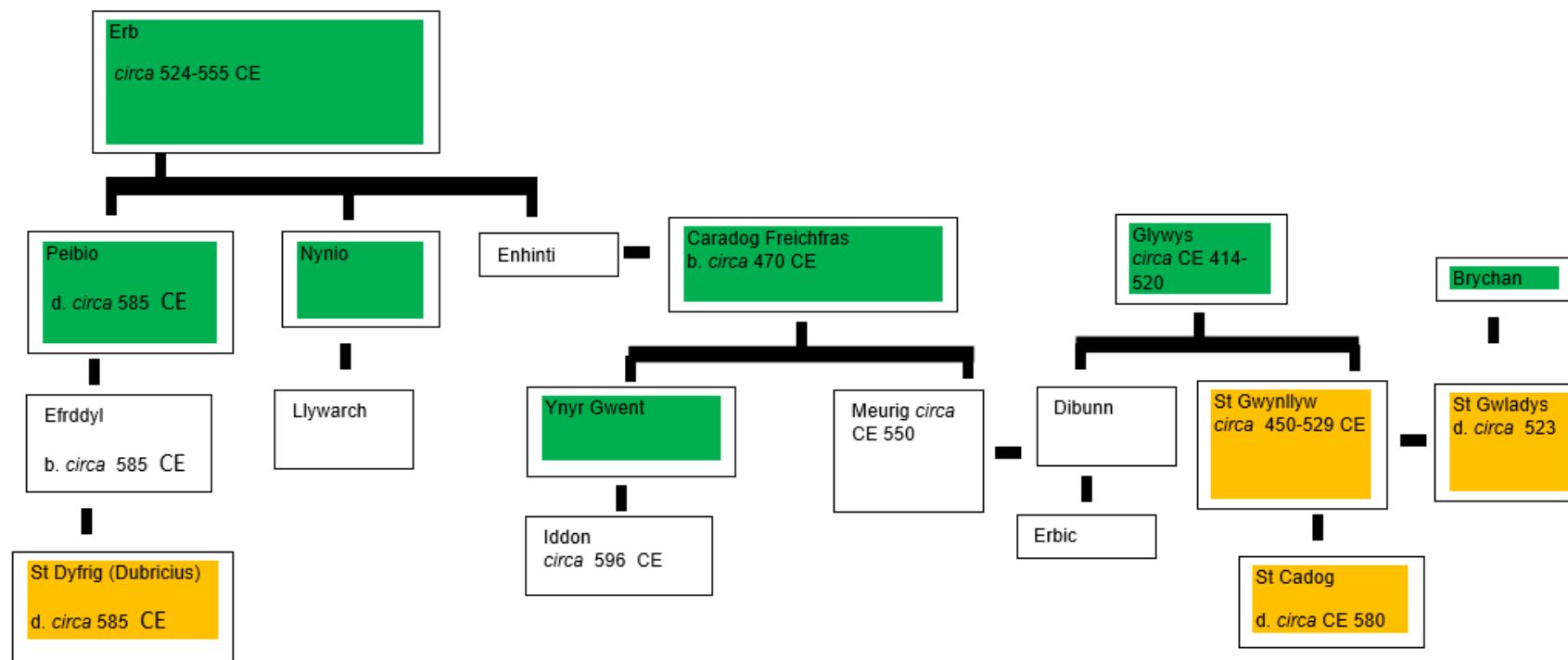


Figure 82

Wade-Evans' chronology of St Cadog from the early fifth to sixth centuries CE reveals the aristocratic pedigrees of early Welsh saints in Gwent (After Wade-Evans, 1956: 33)

●	Early Welsh saints
●	Early Welsh kings

Seemingly, clerical marriage and the family possession of clerical offices was not uncommon and there are other indications of the hereditary nature of ecclesiastical institutions. Churches and monasteries were property as well as religious institutions. They were therefore, in the possession of the laity and presumably subject to the normal rules of inheritance and passed from father to son. For example, the estate at Howick was associated with its church and was given with the consent of the *heres* (heir) Liliau *circa* CE 660 (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 143) and Llandenny was given with the consent of the *heres* Cron, *circa* CE 760 (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 207).

Maintenance and income from the incumbents must have been derived from the land which invariably accompanied the donation of churches and monasteries. There is no evidence in the charters to suggest the land was worked by clerics or monks. Therefore, it is probable it was worked by lay dependents. Whilst the charters are concerned chiefly with the affairs of bishops and abbots, evidence of their relationships with the non-aristocratic laity is lacking. It is probable they knew clerics as landlords, but whether they knew them as the key to salvation in the very early Gwentian Middle Age may be unlikely.³⁴⁹

Combined this evidence allows a model of particularism to be derived whereby, the local Church operated and expanded on a hereditary basis in tandem, and with the support of the local aristocracy based on kinship (Melville Richards, 1971: 333-349). In western Siluria, Llandough (Holbrook & Thomas, 1994: 1-92; Knight, 1994: 93-107) with Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963; Seaman, 2013: 1-23; Seaman & Lane, 2019: 109-135; Seaman & Thomas, Forthcoming), Caerau (Davis & Sharples, 2014: 20, 56, 72; 2015: 14, 49; Evans, 2001: 63; 2003b: 14) with Ely (RCAHMW, 1976a: 114-118) and Llantwit Major (Evans, 2001: 22, 27; RCAHMW, 1976a: 111-114) with

³⁴⁹ (Chapter 3: 236, 249)

Castle Ditches in Glamorganshire (RCAHMW, 1976a: 20-21) present three collective strands of evidence which may be representative of a process of transformation from *civitas* to kingdom in association with the Church. These appear to be combinations of a Roman villa or other Roman site or a former or reoccupied Iron Age defended enclosure and early church in close proximity. Research demonstrates clusters of this kind appeared to have existed in the research area of Gwent³⁵⁰ and are categorised alongside factors of as to why they emerged.³⁵¹

Aspects indicative of cultural continuity or cultural transition could include the presence of Roman material culture, the site's dedication and function, its early medieval name, enclosure shape, the presence of yew trees and later textual evidence. Research has identified early ecclesiastical and Christian funerary sites in Gwent³⁵² which provide evidence from which a range of inferences can be drawn.

For instance, within the study area, the *Liber Landavensis* records 58 grants which to some extent are identifiable³⁵³ and consist of 51 Gwentian sites. The grants are described by a number of terms which include one referred to by its measurements only (1.9 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 209b), seven by simple place names (13.8 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charters: *123, 156,*158, *196, 234, 251, 261); six as *ager* (11.8 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 150a, 171b (two locales), 173, 183b, 216a), eleven as *ecclesia* (21.6 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 74, 143, 179b, 179c, 210a, 222, 233, 244, 249b, 262, 274), two as *podium* (3.9 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 183a, 187), six as *territoria* (11.8 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charter: *240), five as *territorium* (9.8 %) (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 121, 122, *141, *159a, 225) and

³⁵⁰ (Figures 2: 38, 49:165, 91a: 292, 91b: 293-294)

³⁵¹ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

³⁵² (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240, 79a: 241, 79b: 242-243, 80: 244, 81: 245)

³⁵³ (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240)

eight (15.7 %) as villas (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 179b, 179c, 210a, 222, 233, 244, 249b, 262, 274). Five other sites (9.8 %) were described in combinations of names and include *podium* with *ecclesia* (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 175), *tellus* with villa (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 180b), *terra*, tref and villa (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 199a), *ecclesia*, and villa (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 217) and tref with villa (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 272). These latter sites demonstrate different terms as being interchangeable within the same charter and may be suggestive of cultural continuity. In addition, seven other charters can be associated with Gwent as the donative kings are known. However, these locations are geographically unidentifiable (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 155 (with Morgan), 203a, 203b (with Ffernfael), 221 (with Nowy), 223 (with Cadell), 232a, 232b (with Brochfael)).

Davies (1978b) has interpreted *ecclesia* as signifying a church or religious community and *podum* as describing religious settlement(s). She links the latter term with later usage of *monasteria* from eleventh and twelfth-century CE interpolations recorded within the *Liber Landavensis* Davies, 1978b: 121). Her interpretation of the latter suggests they do not represent distinct categories and the words simply reflect the accepted usage from different time periods. Furthermore, as many *podum* became placenames beginning with 'Llan' it is possible each may denote former churches or monasteries. In addition, some monasteries were alternatively referred to as *ecclesia* and therefore a proportion, or all these donations were monasteries from their initial foundation (Davies, 1978b: 122). However, there appears to be no way of determining which *ecclesia* housed a religious community or if the priests who served were members of larger communities. It is also possible the nature and function of churches may have changed over time and this is potentially implied with changing terminology (Davies, 1978b: 123).

The Gwentian grants were made over an extended period³⁵⁴ and why this tradition was initiated deserves consideration. In Gwent, the distribution of apparent pre-Norman churches³⁵⁵ and associated estates³⁵⁶ appears to suggest a network overwhelmingly centred on small scale lesser foundations, which consisted of non-contiguous spheres of jurisdiction established by the donations of its kings and lay aristocracy throughout the series. In addition, territorial dioceses in the form of parishes controlling pastoral provision and the religious allegiance of its inhabitants appear not to have existed in Wales before the eleventh or twelfth-century CE.³⁵⁷ Therefore, the system which preceded it may have been limited to a foundation's immediate dependents and the motivations of those who established it (Pryce, 2003a: 148). Furthermore, it has been envisaged wider pastoral care was operated through the cultural influence of monasteries (Blair, 2005: 221), rather than churches or chapels. If this view is correct, it is probable adherence to Christianity in the period after Rome was limited to those who lived in a foundation's immediate proximity.

In Gwent likely monastery sites identified by Davies (1978b)³⁵⁸ have a *terminus post quem* of *circa* CE 698 (Llandogo), *circa* CE 735 (Dixton), *circa* CE 700 (Kemeys Inferior), *circa* CE 725 (Llansoy), *circa* CE 750 (St Tegfeth) and *circa* CE 960 (Trellech Grange) respectively. Llandogo and Kemys Inferior were located in Gwent Is Coed, whilst the others lay in Gwent Uwch Coed. Overall, the chronology and distribution of these Gwentian grants do not correlate in any simple way in terms of locale or estate size³⁵⁹ and their relatively late date would suggest they had no

³⁵⁴ (Figure 78b: 238-240)

³⁵⁵ (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240, 79a: 241, 79b: 242-243)

³⁵⁶ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

³⁵⁷ (Blair, 2005: 426; Carr, 1995: 51; Pryce, 1988a: 30)

³⁵⁸ (Figure 78b sites 8, 20, 21, 23, 27, 38: 238-240)

³⁵⁹ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

conceivable impact during the early Roman to post-Roman transition within the study area.

Therefore, if a model of religious adherence based on proximity is true, it could suggest any church or chapel established by a Gwentian aristocrat did not have the pastoral responsibilities of those of the later medieval parish (Petts, 2009: 188). It further supports Knight's (2013) modelling of *oratorium* churches founded by a landowner on his estate.³⁶⁰ Additionally, it may imply a wide diversity in the religious life of Gwent in its early Middle Age and a quite small Christian population.

Christianity was present in Roman Britain from at least the third-century CE until the end of Roman administration in the early fifth-century CE (Petts, 2003: 29; 2016: 660-681). Tracing its development and determining its extent is problematical as much academic study has chiefly focused on wider questions of ritual, religion and cult behaviour.³⁶¹ Furthermore, archaeological evidence of Christianity is slight (Petts, 2003: 7; Watts, 1991: 11).

In CE 313, the Western Emperor Constantine and Eastern Emperor Licinius issued the edict of Milan and ended persecution of Christians throughout the empire and saw Christianity begin to be treated favourably by the imperial court (Petts, 2003: 36; Watts, 1991: 133). In CE 314, under Constantine's influence, the Council of Arles was held to discuss the impact of the Donatist schism on the Empire's Christian community. A text discussing the council, the *Acta Concilii Arelatensis*, revealed three British bishops, had been in attendance. These were Eborius, Bishop of the city of York, Resitutus, Bishop of the city of London and Adelphius, Bishop of *Colonia Londinensium* (Petts, 2016: 660-681). It has been suggested there were British

³⁶⁰ (Chapter 3: 235, 236, 246-247)

³⁶¹ (e.g. Henig, 1984; Watts, 1991; Watts, 1998)

bishops at the Council of Serdica in CE 343, however this fact has been disputed (Sharpe, 2002: 77). In addition, according to Sulpicius Severus (Severus, *Gospel*: 41-45) at least three bishops attended the Western Council at Rimini in CE 359 (Sharpe, 2002: 78). Their presence confirms the Romano-British Christian community was regionally organised and was hierarchical in character.

Another important factor was the revival of paganism following the reign of Julian (CE 361-363). His reign was too short to have an immediate effect on Christianity and his successors did not legislate against paganism. Consequently, it seems Britain experienced a resurgence of paganism between CE 360 and CE 391 (Watts, 1998: 133). Dorothy Watts (1998) considers this factor may have had the effect of slowing the growth of even the abandonment of Christianity in some places (Watts, 1998: 133). She argues there were inherent weaknesses in Christianity in Britain, including its concentration in urban areas, an absence of a parochial system and the toleration of pagan practices, which in combination weakened its appeal or hold (Watts, 1998: 134).

However, by the second half of the fourth-century CE it is evident some Christians were holding senior administrative positions within the government of Britain (Petts, 2003: 42-43). This is attested by the Roman poet Ausonius who corresponded with Flavius Sanctus, a British Christian provincial governor (Ausonius, 4:7-4:10, 10:22-10:30). Other prominent Romano-British Christians during this period were Pelagius and Saint Patrick (Petts, 2003: 45, 81).

There are references confirming the presence of Christianity in the late fourth and early fifth-centuries CE. For example, in the CE 390s Victricius, the Bishop of Rouen in *De Laude Sanctorum* (Victricius: 443-444) referred to a priesthood existing in

Britain (Petts, 2003: 46; Sharpe, 2002: 78-79). Furthermore, the *Life of Saint Germanus (Vita Germani)*, reveals Pope Celestine I despatched Germanus of Auxerre, a bishop from Gaul as an envoy, to deal with a British bishop named Agricola who was promoting Pelagianism in the CE 390s. This was followed by a possible undated second visit to Bishop Severus (*Vita Germani*, 3:12, 3:15, 3:16; Barrett, 2009: 197-217).

It seems therefore, Christianity in the fourth-century CE seems to have been a widely spread cult in late Roman Britain. It appears to have been adopted by wealthy individuals, some of whom would have been in positions of influence and power. Although the evidence is slight and difficult to interpret and in terms of worshipers it may never have been the dominant religion in terms of numbers.

Holy wells and springs: unofficial Christianity? (1)

In Gwent there is evidence polytheism or paganism was a significant religion during the late fourth-century CE at Caerwent. As has been discussed, the Romano-British temple³⁶² can be considered as a late development (Brewer, 1993: 61). This and other evidence in the form of a crude stone head and seated female figure may have been housed in a domestic shrine in a fourth-century CE house within the town³⁶³ suggest pagan practices were present in a Gwentian context when Christianity had become the official state religion (Boon, 1976: 163-175). This hypothesis is further supported by contemporaneous renovations of the Roman temple at Nodens in Lydney (Green, 1986: 147-148, 164-165).

Ecclesiastical settlements were probably considered as special places and it was thought the saints to which they were dedicated to resided within (Davies, 2002:

³⁶² (Figure 52: 169)

³⁶³ (Figures 36: 120 & 37: 121)

393). There is other evidence of plurality of sacred sites within the early medieval landscape with some local cult sites possibly originating in the pre-Christian period.³⁶⁴ Knowledge of folk sites probably resided within memory and local tradition. It is only when they start to become condemned by bishops in the tenth and eleventh-centuries CE they begin to become prominent features in the sources (Blair, 2005: 225-226). However, it is difficult to determine the extent to which folk cult features were brought within the official orbit of the Church. It is known from the fourth-century CE bishops in Gaul such as Martin of Tours began to re-sacralise the landscape through the consecration of healing springs and associating trees with the graves of saints. It suggests popular cult sites were tolerated as long as their power was seen as being derived from God (Blair, 2005: 226, 483). Investigation of cult sites has limitations as they are often independent of any human modification (Blair, 2005: 182) and therefore are a very intangible feature of the archaeological record.

However, the HER records ten holy wells in Gwent.³⁶⁵ Archaeological investigation of such features is rare and the identification of wells which were venerated during the early Middle Age is difficult. Five of the Gwentian sample were dedicated to Welsh saints and may be suggestive of a pre-Norman emphasis.³⁶⁶ Petts (2009) has noted links between wells, other saints and claims of various regenerative powers of water derived from holy wells in other parts of Wales (Petts, 2009: 142-144). The Gwentian distribution is spread across the study area with a close concentration in Gwent's

³⁶⁴ (Blair, 2005: 182, 226, 473; Pearce, 2004: 161-162; Petts, 2009: 133; Pryce, 2003a: 141; Turner, 2006: 132)

³⁶⁵ (Figure 81 sites 8-17: 245)

³⁶⁶ (Figure 81, sites 9 (St Gybi), 10 (St Tewdrig), 14 (St Ffraed), 15 (St Duellus), 16 (St Maughan), 17 (St Wenog): 245)



Figure 83

Sample of three Roman ships portrayed on the reverse of coins recovered from the Rogiet hoard (Besley, 2007: 45-146)

south-east.³⁶⁷ It is probable there were many more, though this is difficult to determine.

Water-symbolism was probably an essential element of the pre-Christian religions of Britain. This is suggested the healing springs of Romano-British religion and the apparent identification of rivers with goddesses. It was also associated with lakes, bogs, depictions of boats with waterfowl and vessels for holding liquid (Green, 1986: 138-166). This has parallels with Gwent's Silurian prehistoric past in the form of cauldrons and other artefacts recovered from a watery context at Llyn Fawr,³⁶⁸ the cauldrons recovered from the midden at Llanmaes,³⁶⁹ artefacts associated with Caldicot Lake,³⁷⁰ the drinking paraphernalia recovered from Ford Farm³⁷¹ and the boat recovered from Barland's Farm.³⁷² These depositions over time range from the late Bronze Age to sometime in the fifth-century CE respectively. Moreover, the location of Caldicot Lake, the boat and concentration of wells in the south-east of Gwent may be suggestive of a local *foci* in Gwent Is Coed. This is further reinforced by the deposition of 3813 coins at Rogiet thought to have been stored in a wooden

³⁶⁷ (Figure 81: 245)

³⁶⁸ (Chapter 2: 98-100)

³⁶⁹ (Chapter 2 102-104)

³⁷⁰ (Chapter 2: 114)

³⁷¹ (Chapter 2: 104-108)

³⁷² (Chapter 2: 114)

box. They have been dated between CE 253 to CE 296 and were representative of twenty-two emperors. Of particular interest were the depictions of at least 426 Roman war galleys and other ships (Besley, 2007: 54-146). Whilst little contextual evidence was able to be determined from its location, the deposition of coins over several reigns spanning four decades may be indicative of communal deposition and longer-term cultural continuity.³⁷³

Yew trees: unofficial Christianity? (2)

The prevalence of common yew trees (*taxus baccata*) throughout the study area is worthy of consideration. Research reveals 100 churchyard locations where common yews occur in Gwent.³⁷⁴ Although dating of these trees is problematical and contentious, there are seventeen examples with girths exceeding 700 centimetres. The most common method of dating trees is dendrochronology (ring counting) or carbon dating. However, this is problematic with the yew as it hollows out as it ages and if there is no wood there is nothing to count. Furthermore, yews may not always produce annual rings. Nonetheless, several historic yews have been consistently measured and recorded (Meredith & Fry, 2016: 269-274). Paul Tabbush and John White (1996) have examined ancient yews at Kingley Vale in Sussex and elsewhere. Their scale when applied to Gwentian churchyard yews³⁷⁵ offers the suggestion of a range of approximate tree dates from the present day to at least the end of the Roman period in Britain. Whilst no precise dating of these trees has been recorded in this study's survey, this evidence is suggestive of a tradition of venerating yews extending from the beginning of Gwent's early Middle Age and perhaps before,

³⁷³ (Figure 83: 258)

³⁷⁴ (Appendix 4: 807-827)

³⁷⁵ (Figure 84: 260)

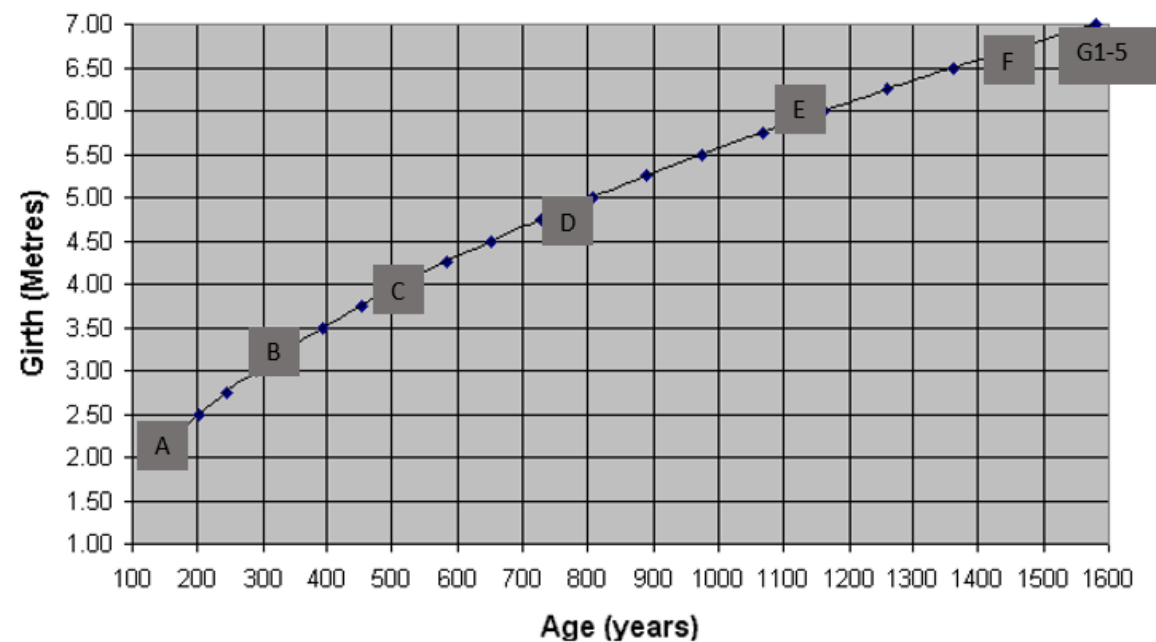


Figure 84 (after Tabbush & White, 1996: 197)
 Estimation of Common Yew (*taxus baccata*) tree age in Gwentian churchyards derived from the HER and Evans, 1985:161-164

Group	Size (cms)	Study site numbers (Appendix 4: 770-813)	Possible age range	Total
A	0-199	1,12,42,63,74,87,94,98,99	0-100	9
B	200-299	6,14,17,20,47,57,59,61,66,71, 81,89,95,97,100	200-300	15
C	300-399	2,3,4, 7,8, 11,18,24, 29,31,32,34,39,45,50,55,64,69,70,77, 79,82,83,85,90,91	300-500	26
D	400-499	15,16,21,22,25,37,43,44,51,54,67,80,86,88,93,96	500-800	16
E	500-599	26,30,33,35,38,49,53, 56,58,72,84	800-1250	11
F	600-699	10,23,36,41,62,78	1250-1600	6
G1	700-799	27,40,44,46,48, 68,75,76,92	1600+	8
G2	800-899	9,13,19,28,52,73	1600+	6
G3	900-999	60	1600+	1
G4	1000-1099	5	1600+	1
G5	1100-1199	65	1600+	1

if the feasting tankard made of yew wood³⁷⁶ and brooch symbolising the yew³⁷⁷ are considered. Overall, the evidence (although not definitive) offers the possibility of cultural continuity over an extended period. Furthermore, their distribution across Gwent reflects the churches considered early.³⁷⁸

Official Christianity

Official Christian monuments such as inscribed stones, common elsewhere in Wales are absent from Gwent (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 116-173). Others including preaching crosses are infrequent and have only been recorded in Gwent Is Coed. They may have been associated with the provision of pastoral care of the laity outside of church structures. Overall, their estimated dating is confined to the ninth-century CE onwards and as a consequence their importance in terms of a cultural continuity or transition from the early Middle Age can be discounted.³⁷⁹ The cemeteries at Caerwent and Caerleon (with Bulmore) discussed above represent physical evidence of continuity from the Romano-British interlude in what appears to be both Roman and Christian contexts.^{380 381} In rural settings there is evidence for small inhumation cemeteries at Abernant and Ifton. These sites provide evidence of people burying their dead in possible small kin clusters in parts of Gwent.³⁸² However, at both rural sites there is little close dating evidence. Consequently, they present interpretational difficulties.

Another stage of transformation may have occurred by the way some Christian elites began to understand the theology of purgatory in terms of the self and soul. This

³⁷⁶ (Figure 29: 105)

³⁷⁷ (Figure 38: 124)

³⁷⁸ (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240, 79a: 241, 79b: 242--243)

³⁷⁹ (Figure 81 study sites 1-7: 245)

³⁸⁰ (Chapter 3: 178,183)

³⁸¹ (Figure 80 sites 1-6: 244)

³⁸² (Arnold & Davies, 2001: 137; Knight, 2007: 131; Pollock, 2006: 73-74)

theology emerged in Ireland from the sixth-century CE and was centred around the concept of the destination of the soul following death. Instead of a simple journey to heaven after death, it was envisaged there was a transitional stage between death and heaven when an individual's fate was decided (Evans: 2007: 45). Concern over the destination of the soul after death appears to have provoked a need for the living to continue to intervene in the affairs of the dead to ensure a satisfactory entry into heaven. Moreover, the living therefore had to prepare for their own death and provided individuals with an opportunity to invest in their own futures by planning for the saying of masses after their death (Petts, 2000: 40). It is possible this deeper Christianisation was reflected in the pattern of donations in the *Liber Landavensis* by individuals who were not kings³⁸³ from *circa* CE 860. Furthermore, the making of grants of land to the Church by laymen of non-royal status implies a major change in early medieval power structures which may have been associated with the consolidation of power by Meurig's dynasty.³⁸⁴ Purgatory may have been one motivating factor for this shift and offers one explanation as to why Gwent's kings and its subordinate elite undertook to grant lands to the Church which after initiation continued until the end of the series. The locations chosen for each of these grants, however, appears to be strategical and economical.³⁸⁵

The 'Llan and Saint' combination in naming ecclesiastical sites became predominant from the sixth-century CE onwards (Davies, 2002: 393). Petts (2000) has suggested the enclosures and cemeteries around such settlements marked a wider conceptual division between the sanctified enclosure of the ecclesiastical establishment and the wider world. The people who dwelt within these boundaries having distinct social identity (Petts, 2000: 151, 2009: 150-151). This may be borne out by the later fact of

³⁸³ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 173, 180b, 187, 199a, 225, 235a, 262, 264b)

³⁸⁴ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

³⁸⁵ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

ecclesiastical sites possessing powers of legal sanctuary (Davies, 1995: Petts, 2009: 150-151).³⁸⁶

It has been suggested these enclosed cemeteries represent primary field monuments of early Christian north and western Britain (Thomas, 1971: 50; Petts, 2009: 117). Charles Thomas (1971) has interpreted the enclosure of cemeteries and ecclesiastical sites as a traditional way of defining sacred space which appeared to stretch back into prehistory (Thomas, 1971: 50, 62). He considered most cemeteries from the early Middle Age were enclosed and drew attention early Irish medieval texts which attested to this (Charles Thomas, 1971: 66). He categorised these as 'undeveloped' which were smaller and may have consisted of a cross incised slab, pillar or special grave (Thomas, 1971: 50-51) and 'developed' which during the six, seventh and eighth-centuries CE acquired internal divisions of space including oratories, chapels and living quarters (Thomas, 1971: 51). Thomas (1971) further proposed within developed enclosures a sequence could be identified based on parish churches often dedicated in 'honour of obscure local saints, which stand within their raised circular or oval graveyards' (Thomas, 1971: 51, 68). It is this form of enclosed cemetery which the common ecclesiastical place-name element Llan may have referred to (Pearce, 2004:152; Petts, 2009: 123).

Opinion has shifted as many apparent pre-Norman institutions do not have curved enclosures and *vice versa* (Brook, 1992: 83) For example, Diane Brook (1992) has noted the curvilinear churchyard at Moccas in Herefordshire (*Liber Landavensis* charter: *192), identified by Davies (1978b: 135) as the site of an early monastery was the result of landscaping work undertaken by Capability Brown (Brook, 1992: 79). Likewise, the enclosure at Llandough appears to be nineteenth-century CE in

³⁸⁶ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

origin (Holbrook & Thomas, 1996: 6). In addition, Brook (1992) cites examples of certain pre-Norman enclosures in the West Country which do not have curved enclosures (Brook, 1992: 83). Petts (2002) distinguishes between boundaries which enclosed entire ecclesiastical settlements and those enclosing only cemeteries (Petts, 2002: 26). He considers there is little convincing evidence for the enclosure of simple cemeteries before the eighth-century CE (Petts, 2002: 30) and has instead proposed it was only from after this time and often much later, there is evidence available for the enclosure of cemeteries (Petts, 2002: 30, 44). Another possibility he raises is later medieval tenurial systems which focussed on central features such as churches or cemeteries may also have resulted in the development of curvilinear churchyards (Petts, 2000: 28).

There are fifty-eight church sites in the study area with local Welsh saint dedications.³⁸⁷ However, in Gwent, Thomas' (1971) hypothesis cannot be accepted in its entirety. Firstly enclosed cemeteries may not have been a common feature in western Britain before the eighth-century CE; secondly pre-Norman conquest churches can be represented by a variety of churchyard types. Furthermore, a comparison of curvilinear churchyards must make assumptions which include placenames being correct and of continuity on the same site throughout. However, as with the yew trees some of the sites they contain³⁸⁸ may be indicative of long-term cultural processes. The raw data derived from the Gwentian sites³⁸⁹ reveals 34 (58.8 %) of these were located within curvilinear enclosures, 11 (18.9 %) within quadrangular enclosures, 4 (6.9%) within polygonal enclosures, 1 (1.7%) within an irregularly shaped enclosure, whilst the other 8 (13.7 %) were either indeterminate or unenclosed.

³⁸⁷ (Figure 79b: 242-243)

³⁸⁸ (Chapter 3: 256-259)

³⁸⁹ (Figure 85: 265)

	Curvilinear churchyards	Quadrangular churchyards	Polygonal churchyards	Irregular churchyards	Indeterminate	None	Total
Quantity	34	11	4	1	7	1	58
%	58.8	18.9	6.9	1.7	12.0	1.7	100

Figure 85

Ecclesiastical foundation enclosure shapes of Gwentian churches derived from the HER (Author, 2021)

Yet, these simple inferences can be refined and strongly suggest a native tradition of preference for curvilinear churchyards. For example, the ecclesiastical foundations at Bassaleg, Caerleon, Caerwent and Llangybi³⁹⁰ all lay on Roman roads or were associated with Roman settlements³⁹¹ and appear to be influenced by the boundaries of Roman grid systems. The polygonal situations at Llandogo, Runston, St Brides Netherwent,³⁹² are the non-subjective classification by various archaeologists who entered each site's details on the HER and could equally be interpreted as either curvilinear or quadrilinear. The indeterminate classification reflects sites no longer in existence or where no enclosure can now be discerned at Howick, Llanarth, Llanfapley, Llanllywd, Llantilio Crossenny and St Dials.³⁹³ Finally, only Llanerthill appears to have been constructed without an enclosure.³⁹⁴ The limitation is identifying how they functioned and whether (or if) they enclosed entire ecclesiastical settlements and or cemeteries. They may also reflect the status of bivallate or

³⁹⁰ (Figure 79b study sites 1,7,8,10: 242-243)

³⁹¹ (Figure 49: 165)

³⁹² (Figure 79b study sites 21, 50, 53, 56: 242-243)

³⁹³(Figure 79b sites 11, 14, 23, 33, 36, 42, 55: 242-243)

³⁹⁴ (Figure 79b site 22: 242-243)

multivallate enclosures and former Roman sites in Gwent's early Middle Age considered below.³⁹⁵

Another earlier place-name element included Merthyr (martyr). In Gwent and Wales more generally, the Merthyr element was usually combined with a personal name and traditionally seen as being derived from the Latin *martyrium* (Roberts, 1992: 42). Merthyr names have usually been interpreted as evidence of an early church or chapel associated with the burial of a named martyr. Richard Sharpe (2002) has reported Merthyr placenames tend to occur where no primary martyr cult could have existed (Sharpe, 2002:141), that the Welsh word appears to have been derived from the Latin plural *martyres* and which in early medieval Irish usage had the meaning 'relics. He proposes this usage emerged from a period of formulation of a Christian vocabulary when the most commonly encountered and installed relics with ecclesiastical foundations were those of martyrs and dates this period to the fifth and sixth-centuries CE (Sharpe, 2002: 142-143, 147). Significantly, this occurred before the development of Llan with saint names.³⁹⁶ This view supported by supported by Susan Pearce (2004) who has suggested an accurate interpretation of Merthyr place names may be a church or cemetery holding the physical remains of a saint or martyr (Pearce, 2004: 139).

In a Gwentian context there was a notable cult devoted to the martyred Saints Julius and Aaron (Seaman, 2015: 201-219). Gildas' reference to them presents the earliest written evidence for the presence of Christians within the study area. He does this in his section relating to the history of Roman Britain and named three Christian martyrs (Aaron, Julius and Alban) alongside other anonymous men and women who

³⁹⁵ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

³⁹⁶ (Chapter 3: 259-261)

were also martyred (Gildas, 10:2). He associates the former two with the 'City of the Legions' and this has traditionally been accepted as Caerleon³⁹⁷ although this has been disputed by others (e.g. Dark, 2006: 2; Field, 1999). There are no other sources referring to them until *circa* CE 864 contained within the Llandaff charters (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 225).

Although there is no direct reference to a church or monastery within the text of the grant, the place name element Merthyr in the title implies the presence of a church, possibly founded in the fifth or sixth-centuries CE which may have contained the saints' relics. Knight (2001) has suggested the proximity of this grant to a Roman cemetery may refer to the site of the actual martyrdom of the pair (Knight, 2001: 13-29). Furthermore, the localisation of cult of Julius and Aaron from the ninth-century CE supports the traditional identification (Sharpe, 2002: 118-119) and offers evidence of cultural continuity from the Roman-British period forward towards Gwent's early Middle Age. Likewise, Mathern (*circa* CE 620), Llandegfedd (*circa* CE 750) and Llanvaches (*circa* CE 775) appear to be derived from martyr place name elements (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 199a, 211b, *141).

In addition, there is only one Basilica placename within Gwent at Bassaleg. This name appears may be derived from the Latin *basilica*, meaning church.³⁹⁸ Sharpe (2002) offers the interpretation of a church holding major relics and has dated it to a primary fifth or sixth-century CE phrase of Christian vocabulary (Sharpe, 2002: 137-141). The term appears to have ceased as a productive place-name element after the seventh-century CE (Knight, 1999: 144).

³⁹⁷ (e.g. Edwards, 1996: 50; Stephens, 1985: 326; Thomas, 1981: 48-50)

³⁹⁸ (Chapter 3: 246-247)

The distribution of pre-Norman foundations which can be identified from the Llandaff charters has been plotted.³⁹⁹ There is a bias of foundations lying to the east of the Usk (96.1 %)⁴⁰⁰ and Davies (1978) has questioned whether the charter distribution is a true representation of the religious landscape (Davies, 1978: 123). A second survey of ecclesiastical sites dedicated to Welsh saints may offer a more accurate representation of earlier Christian site distribution with 34.9 % of this sample being located to the west of the Usk.⁴⁰¹ It is interesting these appear to reflect older Iron Age distributions of enclosed settlements⁴⁰² and in Gwent Is Coed, former Roman rural and urban sites.⁴⁰³ Their relationships along with early medieval estates, land use and organisation is discussed below.⁴⁰⁴

In addition, it is during this period Christianity appears to become involved in secular politics and became part of court culture. It achieved this by providing support and enhancing the position of kingship and legitimised it through Christianity's association with its Roman past. From this point onwards, kingship could possibly be seen as a divinely ordained office whose holders were expected to discharge responsibilities to their subjects and who had a religious duty to respect his position and obey his commands (Yorke, 2006: 238). Ultimately and as will be shown, this involvement was a major factor in Gwent's decline.⁴⁰⁵

The early medieval landscape of Gwent (1): environmental evidence

Research of the character of the vegetation and cultural landscape of Britain between the late first millennium BCE and the first millennium CE has focused on the

³⁹⁹ (Figure 78a: 237)

⁴⁰⁰ (Figure 79a: 241)

⁴⁰¹ (Figures 79a: 241, 79b: 242-243)

⁴⁰² (Figure 2: 38)

⁴⁰³ (Figure 49: 165)

⁴⁰⁴ (Chapter 3: 291-335, 480-502, 516-530)

⁴⁰⁵ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

extent to which Roman rule and particularly its army's role resulted in the widespread removal of woodland across Britain and the evidence of continuity and decline in established patterns of land use into the early medieval period. The corpus of existing pollen evidence suggests much of what was to become England and Wales had already experienced widespread clearance of woodland and had developed a predominately agricultural landscape before the Roman conquest.⁴⁰⁶

The situation at the end of Roman rule is less clear. In some areas it was characterised by woodland regeneration, whilst others demonstrate land use continuity (Brown, 2013b: 250). However, pollen study coverage has focused on north Wales, north-west and northern England.⁴⁰⁷ South-eastern Wales and Gwent in particular, despite containing an abundance of Iron Age and Roman activity⁴⁰⁸ has been neglected by comparison.

Here, paleoenvironmental research has tended to focus on extensive prehistoric deposits within the Gwent Levels and earthwork and lithic scatter evidence from upland south-east Wales (e.g. Bell, Casseldine & Neumann, 2000; Locock, 2000). However, Brown's (2010, 2013b) research of the Wentwood provides an important wider landscape context for Romano-British activity.

Modern day Wentwood is comprised of approximately 400 hectares of continuous woodland. The area has retained extensive concentrations of remnant semi-planted ancient woodland.⁴⁰⁹ Examination of woodland clearance over time reveals both

⁴⁰⁶ (Dark, P. 2000: 115-129, 150-156; Dumayne, 1994: 165-173; Hanson, 1996: 354-358)

⁴⁰⁷ (Dark, 1999: 247-272; Dark, 2005: 601-618; Dumayne, 1994: 165-173; Dumayne & Barber, 1994: 165-173)

⁴⁰⁸ (Chapters 1 & 2)

⁴⁰⁹ (Figure 86: 272)

patterns of continuity and decline in established patterns of land use (Brown, 2013b: 252).

Radiocarbon dates derived from Wentwood⁴¹⁰ suggest moss-rich peat layers (111-66 and 63-42 cm) formed over a period of between 380 and 670 years between cal AD 10-680. Pollen and microscopic charcoal were described in three local pollen assemblages (LPAZ) showing only the key plant taxa associated with human activity. A radiocarbon date of 1910 \pm 40 (CT01-A) suggests peat formation began between the early first and third-centuries CE. The subsequent date of 1900 \pm 40 (CT01-B) implies an extremely rapid accumulation rate. It is therefore equally possible sediments underlying the peat (zone LPAZ C-1, 124-114 cm) were of late Iron Age or early Romano-British date (Brown, 2013b: 252).

During this period, the Wentwood was characterised by a semi-wooded landscape. It was comprised of mixed broadleaf woodland dominated by oak (*Quercus*), hazel (*Corylus*) and Alder (*Alnus Glutinosa*). Areas of cultivated, grazed and disturbed ground were suggested in the vicinity by the presence of pollen of ribwort plantain (*Plantago Lanceolata*), buttercups (*Ranunculus*), goosefoots (*Chenopodiaceae*), dandelions (*Lactuceae*), cereal-type pollen of oat-wheat (*Avena-Triticum*) and possibly either barley (*Hordeum*) or wild grasses (Brown, 2013b: 252).

Wentwood is significant in retaining its substantial woodlands. Numerous pollen studies from the Gwent Levels, Brecon Beacons and Black Mountains⁴¹¹ indicate substantial woodland clearance from the early to middle Bronze Age, with both

⁴¹⁰ (Figures 86: 272, 87: 273)

⁴¹¹ (Figure 86: 272)

upland and lowland landscapes remaining open into the Romano-British period.⁴¹² The presence of several Bronze Age monuments considered to be typical of open environments within and along the edges of Wentwood implies this area was not heavily wooded during the Bronze Age and experienced subsequent regeneration into the Iron Age.⁴¹³ Brown (2013b) considers lower concentrations of Iron Age and Romano-British sites along the Trellech-Wentwood plateau suggests this area may have been peripheral to the main settled areas adjoining the coastal plain. However, the presence of cereal type pollen and taxa indicative of disturbed ground could suggest otherwise (Brown, 2013b: 253).

Large-scale clearance of woodland and evidence for arable and pastoral activity (LPAZ C-2)⁴¹⁴ has been dated to just prior 1910 \pm 40 (CT01-A).⁴¹⁵ At this juncture, oak pollen values decrease sharply, whilst pollen of grasses (*Poaceae*) and ribwort plantain increase. Local fires are suggested by an increase in both microscopic and macroscopic charcoal within the base of the peat (*circa* 113 cm). Although the radiocarbon date is imprecise, the evidence for clearance can be viewed against a background of intense military, urban, rural and industrial activity in the surrounding landscape from the first-century CE.⁴¹⁶

Timber would have been an important construction material, particularly in the early decades of Roman involvement in Wales, before timber gave way to stone

⁴¹² (Bell, Casseldine & Neumann, 2000: 226-241; Chambers, 1982: 454-457, 1983: 484-485; Chambers, Lageard & Eliot, 1990: 243-244; Smith & Green, 1995: 172-183; Walker, Bell, Caseldine, Cameron *et al*, 1998: 75-76)

⁴¹³ (Chadwick, Pollard, Peterson & Hamilton *et al*, 2003: 1-3; Laws & Brooks, 2007: 118-119)

⁴¹⁴ (Figure 86: 264)

⁴¹⁵ (Figure 88a: 274)

⁴¹⁶ (Chapter 2: 124-141)

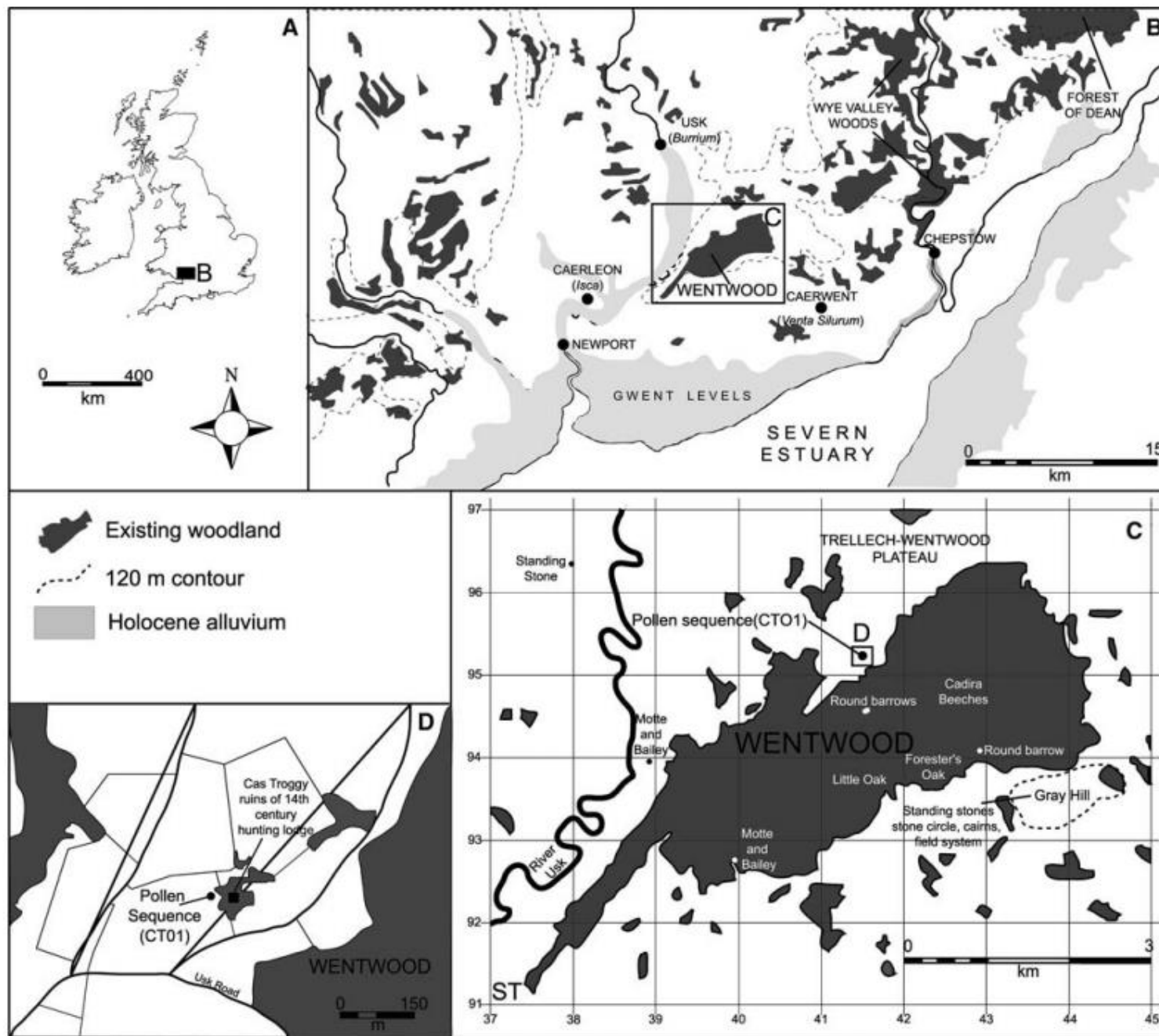


Figure 86

Map showing (A) location of the part of south-east Wales shown in (B). (B) The location of the Wentwood and distribution of existing woodland in south-eastern Wales in relation to the main Romano-British names (*italicised and in parentheses*) and medieval towns. (C) and (D) detailed maps showing the location of the pollen sequence CT01 (black dot), archaeological features 'named' trees and ruins of fourteenth-century hunting lodge Cas Troggy (Brown, 2010: 80)

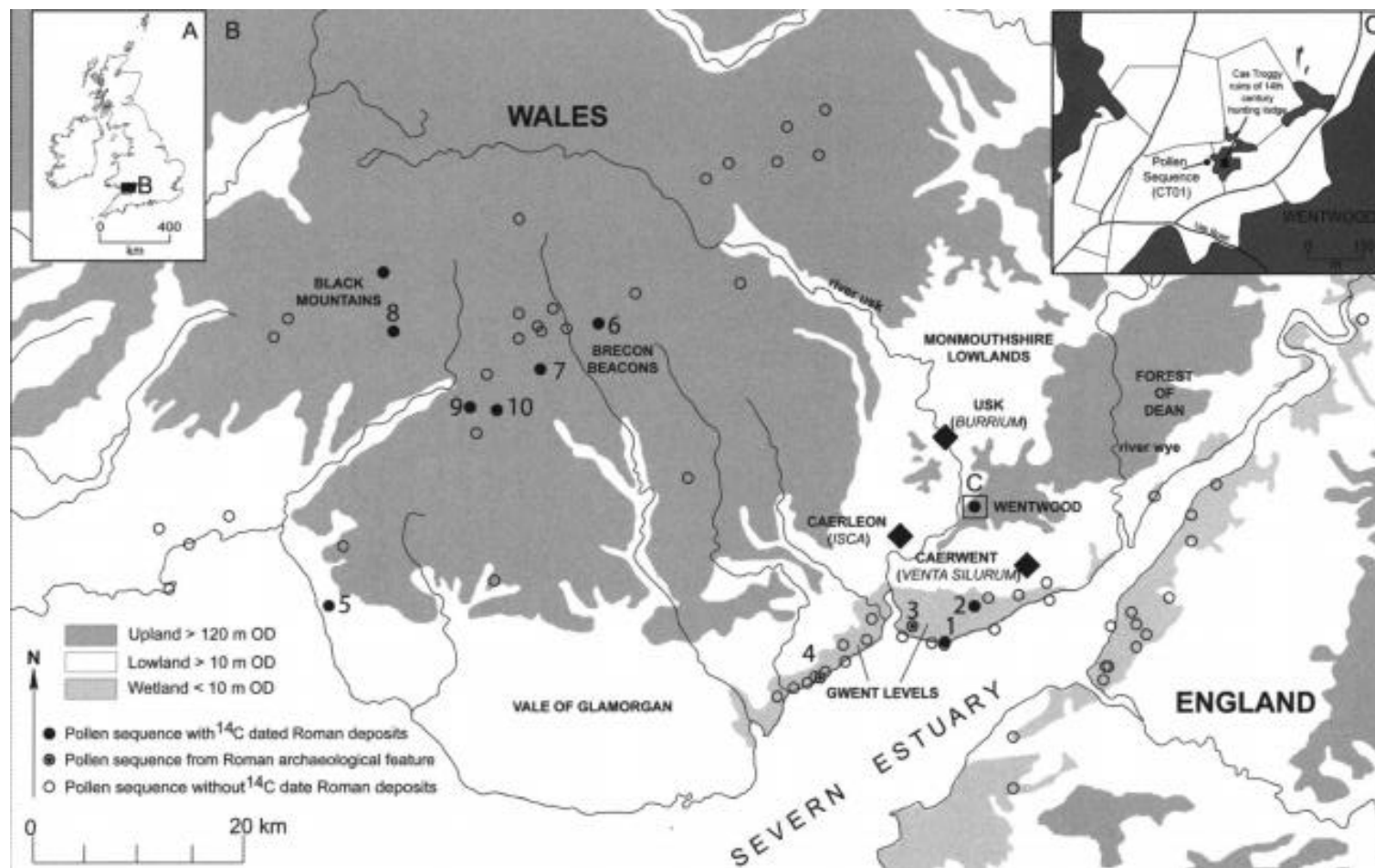


Figure 87 Map showing (A) location of south-eastern Wales shown in (B). (B) south-east Wales showing on the location of pollen studies discussed by Brown (2013b). (C) detailed map showing location of sequence CT01 (Figure 86: 265). Pollen studies (1) Goldcliff (Bell, Casseldine & Neumann, 2000); (2) Barland's Farm (Nayling & McGrail, 2004); (3) Nash Waste Water Treatment Works (Meddens & Beasley, 2001); (4) Wentlooge (Fulford, Allen & Rippon, 1992); (5) Crymlyn Bog (Hughes & Dumayne-Peaty, 2002); (6) Brecon Beacons (Chambers, 1982; Chambers & Blackford, 2001); (7) Coed Taf (Chambers, 1983) (8) Nant Helen (Chambers, Lageard & Eliot, 1990); (9) Cefn Fford (Chambers, 1982) (10) Cefn Glas (Smith & Green, 1995); derived from (Brown, 2013b: 251)

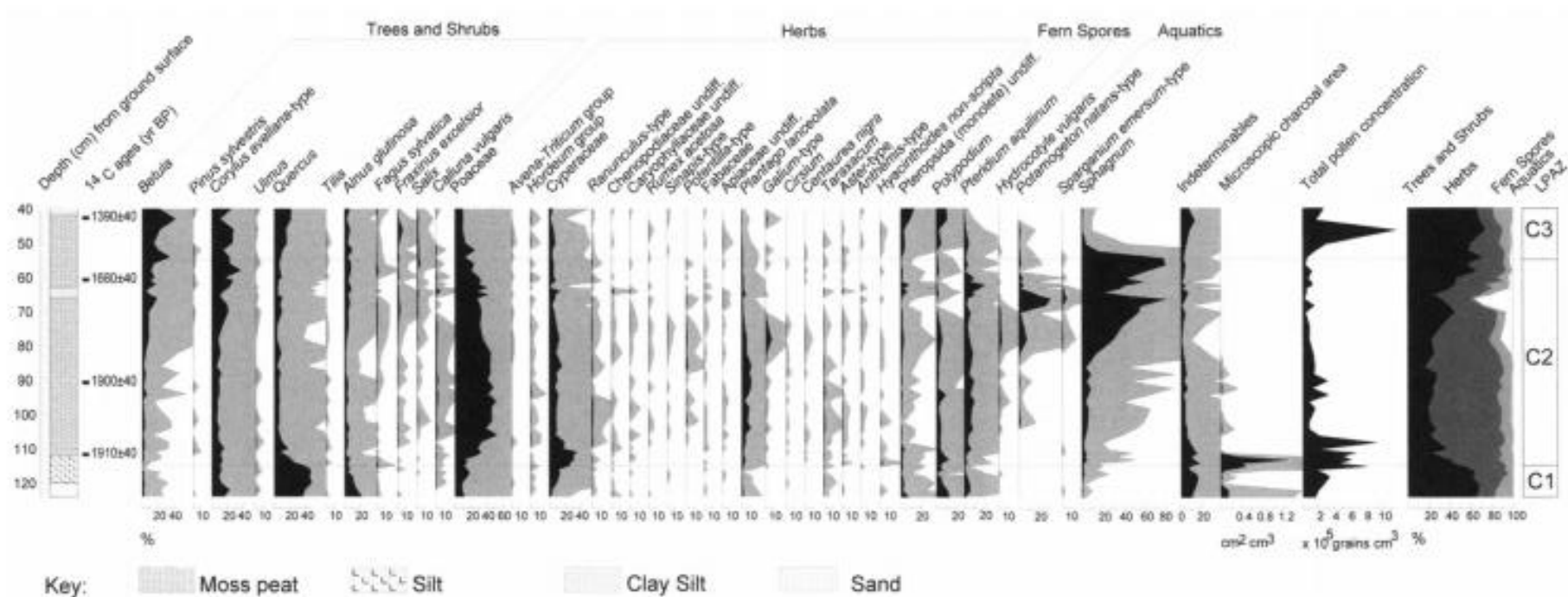


Figure 88a

Pollen percentage and microscopic charcoal area diagram, CT01, Cas Troggy (Brown, 2013b: 254)

Sample	Depth (cms)	Age (BP)	Age range (cal AD)
CT01-D	42-43	1390 \pm 40	600-680
CT01-C	60-61	1680 \pm 40	250-430
CT01-B	90-91	1900 \pm 40	20-220
CT01-A	111-112	1910 \pm 40	10-220

Figure 88b

AMS radiocarbon dates profile CT01-A to D from Wentwood (after Brown, 2013b: 252)

construction.⁴¹⁷ Furthermore, at Caerleon, the basal parts of timber buildings and a timber lined well were preserved *in situ* and date the earliest phase of construction of the legionary fortress to *circa* 74-90 CE (Zienkiewicz, 1993a: 27-140). Plant macrofossils from the well, infilled prior to Phase 2 *circa* CE 85-100 indicated a relatively open landscape of marsh and both damp and dry grassland (Casseldine & Busby, 1993: 136-138). Likewise, pollen evidence from deposits associated with Roman-British activity at Barland's Farm suggest an open landscape with only occasional stands of oak and hazel on dry ground (Nayling & McGrail, 2004: 34-40). It can be reasoned in each of these contexts Wentwood would have provided a convenient source of suitable construction timber for shipping downstream the River Usk to Caerleon or for being transported via smaller waterways such as Nedern Brook towards Caerwent.

⁴¹⁷ (Chapter 2: 124-135)

The growing military and urban and rural populations were likely to have created an increased demand for agricultural land.⁴¹⁸ This factor appears to have had a direct impact on the landscape beyond the clearance of woodland. The importance of cereal cultivation is well established for Roman Britain, with few excavated sites in Wales failing to provide evidence for the processing or consumption of cereals (Caseldine, 2010: 147-156) although notably not earlier in Gwent where animal husbandry can be regarded as being more important during the Iron Age.⁴¹⁹

Widespread banking of the Gwent Levels occurred from the first-century CE (Rippon, 1996: 25-35). Here, extensive networks of ditches were cut and enclosed fields which were used chiefly as pasture. This is confirmed by the pollen, macrobotanical evidence and dominance of cattle bones recovered from Nash and Wentlooge. Furthermore, it is clear beef formed a major part of the diet at Caerleon.⁴²⁰

The logistical and engineering requirements of embanking and managing the Gwent Levels have been taken to imply work here was conducted by the Roman army. This view is supported by the inscription on the aforementioned Goldcliff Stone which records the work of the legionnaires on a linear earthwork (Rippon, 1996: 32-34).⁴²¹ The evidence of coastal embanking suggests a need to utilise all available land. It further raises the possibility of major military and urban centres with extended hinterlands. These may have included places such as Wentwood. The small quantities of cereals in core CT01⁴²² are suggestive of a pastoral focus for land use in these uplands.

⁴¹⁸ (Chapters 2: 124-141; 3: 164-184)

⁴¹⁹ (Chapter 2: 56-98)

⁴²⁰ (Evans, 2000: 249-250; Fulford, Allen & Rippon, 1992: 202-205; Meddens & Beasley, 2001: 167-168)

⁴²¹ (Figure 65: 192)

⁴²² (Figures 88a: 274, 88b: 275)

Timber would have been vital for industrial purposes such as Iron smelting and would have required large amounts of managed woodland to produce enough charcoal for fuel. Intensive mining of iron ores in the Forest of Dean from the early Roman period is accompanied by widespread evidence for iron making on Romano-British sites adjacent to the Levels (Allen, 2009: 74; Allen & Fulford, 1987: 237-289). Despite the evidence for woodland clearance from Wentwood, pollen of bluebells (*Hyacinthoides Non-scripta*) and wood anemone (*Anemone Nemorosa*) are both ancient woodland indicators and suggest areas of remnant woodland. Woodland survives either because it is marginal to agriculture or has practical uses, and although there is no evidence the Wentwood was managed, wood anemone does respond to regular coppicing (Peterken & Game, 1984: 155-182).

Woodland, mainly hazel, oak, birch (*Betula*), ash (*Fraxinus*) and beech (*Fagus*) began to regenerate in the third to fifth-centuries CE (LPAZ C2).⁴²³ This may reflect land use changes related to widespread evidence for settlement abandonment at this time. Most villa and lower status sites in Gwent appear to have been abandoned by the fourth-century CE and include those of the Gwent Levels.⁴²⁴ Evidence for early fifth-century CE activity at Caerleon and Caerwent suggest some continuity.⁴²⁵ Despite the evidence for woodland regeneration, the Wentwood was probably still only a semi-wooded landscape (Brown, 2013b: 255). The presence of occasional cereal-type pollen grass hints at continued arable activity within the vicinity whilst heather pollen (*Calluna Vulgaris*) suggests patches of heathland which are typically managed through grazing activity.

⁴²³ (Figure 88a: 274)

⁴²⁴ (Chapter 3: 153, 184-195)

⁴²⁵ (Chapter 3: 164-195)

A key issue of studying the early medieval period in Wales is the near complete invisibility of settlement and lack of characteristic artefact types. The identification of early medieval metalwork from Gwent and the Vale of Glamorgan could indicate the location of potential sites (Edwards, Lane & Redknap *et al*, 2011). Some ditches on the Gwent Levels were maintained during the early medieval period, whilst a fish trap from Redwick dated 1500 \pm 60 BP is indicative of continuity in activity in Gwent's coastal zone (Allen & Bell, 1999: 53-64). This activity lacks an environmental context and the nearest comparable pollen sequences from Crymlyn Bog, a floodplain in the Swansea Valley and high-altitude sites in the Brecon Beacons indicate a largely deforested landscape from the Romano-British to the early Medieval Period.⁴²⁶ The picture is clearly variable with open conditions persisting at some sites and woodland regenerating in others.

The evidence from Gwent's Wentwood is consistent with the paleoenvironmental picture for continuity/discontinuity patterns for south Wales, south-east England and the Midlands. However it contrasts with northern England where there is considerable evidence for woodland regeneration at this time (Dark, 2000: 145-146).

The early medieval landscape of Gwent (2): boundaries

It is important to consider a number of theoretical considerations characteristic of the study of boundaries and the territories they contain. The early medieval landscape could be considered as a palimpsest of layered, contested and transformative areas. It seems the understanding of boundaries resided within the embodied experience and knowledge of the landscape (e.g. Whyte, 2009). In addition, boundaries were not viewed as fixed lines across the landscape and were regarded rather, as

⁴²⁶ (Chambers, 1983: 475-487; Chambers, Lageard & Eliot, 1990: 215-246; Hughes & Dumayne-Peaty, 2002: 456-471; Smith & Green, 1995: 172-183)

connections between certain places. Knowledge of these boundaries resided within the habitual practises of daily life including agriculture and customs (Franklin, 2006: 144-161). It is probable the understanding of boundaries was highly subjective and those most central to daily life would have been contested.

Boundary clauses contained within the *Liber Landavensis* have been investigated by Jonathan Coe (2001) and in most cases were later additions to the charters (Coe, 2001). However, Coe (2001) has shown them to be pre-Norman in origin (Coe, 2001: 9-18). Some clauses offer brief descriptions and only give the extent of the estate as lying between two named places. For example, the boundary of charter 73b was from 'the valley of stone: the length. The width from the stone to Petra Crita' (Coe, 2004: 960). The majority, however, consist of extended descriptions of a consecutive series of landmarks. For instance, *Liber Landavensis* charter 225 was described:

The end of the dyke on the Usk. As the dyke leads. Along it to the breast of the hill. Along the dyke as far as the source of the Nant Merthir, that is Humir. From the source to the hollow, upwards as far as the source of the stream Lechou. As the Lechou leads downwards as far as the entrance of the hollow on its southern side. Along the hollow upwards as far as its summit, to the dyke. Along it towards the west shoulder of the hill, to the source of the Nant Bed ir Alltudion. Along the stream as far as the Usk. Along the Usk (including its weirs) as far as the end of the dyke where it began.

(*Liber Landavensis* charter: 225).

These clauses appear to have been written through the process of perambulation. It seems the act of writing them down would have fixed something which had previously been inscribed in memory into something more permanent. It can be reasoned boundary clauses gave greater efficiency to the enforcement of boundaries

and are significant due to tenorial nature of the estates and the rights claimed over them by proprietors.⁴²⁷

Another consideration is how important boundaries may have been regarded in everyday life. Cantrefi boundaries may have been important for administering the early medieval landscape, but in patterns of everyday life it is possible these were superseded by later developments of the commote, parish, maenol, tref and parish.

⁴²⁸ In addition, all would have been crossed as part of cyclical transhumance practices.⁴²⁹

Identifying how this landscape was shared between emerging polities which emerged during Gwent's early Middle Age presents a range of problems. Whilst it is possible to identify early territorial units which possibly became the cantref and cwmwd (commote) administrative units of the Welsh lawbooks,⁴³⁰ issues arise relating to the representation of these medieval boundaries and their depiction is problematical.

The early medieval landscape of Gwent (3): cantrefi and cwmydoedd

Welsh medieval lawbooks reveal the main units of landscape organisation and administration were the cantref, commote, maenol and tref (Jenkins, 1986: 121). The largest of these, the cantref and commote feature prominently in the literature. The earliest usage of the term yet found in Wales, was contained within the *Liber Landavensis* at Cantref Mawr in Ystrad Tywi (*Liber Landavensis* charter: *253) circa CE 1025.

⁴²⁷ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁴²⁸ (Chapter 3: 280-291)

⁴²⁹ (Chapter 2: 56-98)

⁴³⁰ (Figures 89: 282, 90: 283)

The term commote is absent from the earliest sources and cantref is considered to be the older unit.⁴³¹ This view has been consistently promoted since the early twentieth-century CE (Lloyd, 1911: 302) and parallels have been drawn between the early Welsh kingdoms and Irish *túath* which research has supposed to predate the Norman conquest by as much as 700 years.⁴³²

This system can be traced to historical sources from the twelfth-century CE. For example, the preface of Lifris' Life of Saint Cadog, described how the children of King Glywys (*circa* CE 605) divided his kingdom between them after his death.⁴³³ His eldest son Gwynllyw taking the principal seat of his father's kingdom identified as Gwynllog (later the cantref of Gwynllwg), whilst his younger brothers divided the remainder of the kingdom between them with their names forming the name of the given province. Seru gave his name to Seruguunid (the later cantref of Senghenydd), Mar to Margan (the later cantref of Margam) and Gurai to Gurinid (later the cantref of Gwrinydd) (Wade-Evans, 1944: 25). Likewise, a similar pattern emerges in the story recounted in the Life of Saint Gwynllyw (Wade-Evans, 1944: 173) dividing Glywysing into seven cantrefi, within the fourth branch of the *Mabinogion* (Davies, 2007: 47) and was also recorded in the *Liber Landavensis* (Evans, 1893: xxi, 247-249).

It is possible commotes and their boundaries may have been based on earlier divisions of the cantrefi or whatever preceded them. For example, David Longle

⁴³¹ (Lloyd, 1911: 300; Jones, 1992: 100; Jones, 1998a: 174)

⁴³² (Charles-Edwards, 1970-1972: 247-262; Davies, 2007: 49; Jones, 1992: 100; Longley, 2004: 290)

⁴³³ (Chapter 3: 222)



Figure 89

This map gives an approximate indication of the boundaries of the larger cantrefi of Wales as described by Grufudd Hiraethog in NLW Peniarth MS. 147 (RCAHM, 2020)



Figure 90

This map gives an approximate indication of the boundaries of the smaller commotes of Wales as described by Grufudd Hiraethog in NLW Peniarth MS. 147 (RCHAM, 2020)

(1997) has suggested a number of thirteenth-century CE maerdrefi in Gwynedd, which formed the administrative centre of the commotes at Aberffraw, Degannwy, Dinorben and Rhuddlan were located on or near sites interpreted as early medieval courts (Longley, 1997: 45-47). However, it is uncertain whether these sites were centres of early commote type units. For instance, no early medieval evidence has been recovered from excavations undertaken at llys sites at Aber (near Bangor), Llanfaes (Anglesey) and Rhosyr (Anglesey) (Johnson, 1997: 52-53; 2000: 167-210). Therefore in Gwynedd, some early llysoedd sites developed into maerdrefi, albeit with some minor shifts in location to less well defended situations whilst others were developed *de novo* during the twelfth-century CE or later.

Research interpretations differ as to how cantrefi originated. However, two general factors appear to have general acceptance. Firstly, these were established by kings such as Rhodri Mawr or his descendants in Gwynedd and afterwards Dyfed and secondly, they were not recorded before the ninth-century CE (Jones, 1992: 100; Jones, 1998: 173). The law texts of the thirteenth-century CE known as the Book of Iorwerth provides the most comprehensive model of land division for north Wales (Jones, 1976: 15). Here, its major components considered each cantref should contain two commotes. There were to be twelve maerdrefi (territorial estates), within these there were to be four trefi (townships) which were further subdivided into four holdings (gafaelion), four shareland (rhandirs) and 100 homesteads (tyddynod) (Longley, 2004: 291-292).

Within each commote two trefi (or townships) were assigned to the king. One was land reserved for the reeve's tref or settlement (maerdref or maenor). This was the mensal land cultivated under the guidance of the lesser reeve for the sustenance of the royal court. The second was regarded as being the king's waste and summer

pasture. Of the twelve multiple estates of each commote, four were reserved for the king's bondmen (taeogs) and consisted of sixteen trefi. The chancellor (greater reeve), an important royal officer was assigned a similar estate. The other six were assigned to other free notables (Jones, 1976: 15-17). The numerical precision in the model was schematic and reveals how early Welsh medieval lawyers appreciated the importance of landed resources. They further reflect the mixed nature of the agrarian economy then prevalent and the integration of lowland and upland resources which in combination were regarded as the ultimate source of all wealth.⁴³⁴

Longley (2004) has identified various perspectives which provide a degree of context. For instance, the presentation of land division serves as a paradigm rather than an ideal. He notes they do not reflect an accurate picture of how things actually were. Furthermore, the content and arrangement of the texts appears to be chronologically rather than geographically arranged. Furthermore, there is the added complication that no two manuscripts are the same (Longley, 2004: 290).

The Cyfnerth code presented a simpler organisational model:

XXXIII Rhandiroedd

There are to be four rhandiroedd in the tref, from which the king's gwestfa shall be paid.

And there are eighteen feet in the rod of Hywel the Good; and eighteen such rods are to be the length of the erw, and two rods in breadth.

Three hundred and twelve erws, according to that are to be the rhandir, between clear and brake, wood and field, and wet and dry; except a supernumerary tref the upland has in addition.

⁴³⁴ (Chapter 3: 335-341)

There are to be thirteen trefi in every maenor and the thirteenth of these is the supernumerary tref.

In each free tref with office, and free tref without office, there are four rhandiroedd; three for occupancy, and the fourth for pasturage for the three rhandirs.

There are three rhandiroedd in the taeog-tref; there are three taeogs in each of the two, and the third pasturage for the two.

There are seven trefi in the maenol of the taeog-tref.

(*The Law*: translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841: 767, 769, 771)

This extract from the laws suggests there were two kinds of estates in a Gwentian or southern Welsh contexts. One consisted of a maenol and seven trefi, whilst the other was comprised of a maenor and thirteen trefi. Within both categorisations smaller territorial subdivisions were described when compared to those of Gwynedd. They also make a distinction between the components of taeog and free,⁴³⁵ lowland and upland maenoraau (Longley, 2004: 292).

There were four rhandiroedd within each free tref and three rhandiroedd within each taeog tref. As has been noted, each rhandir contained 312 erw, ⁴³⁶ which was based on the rod measurement of Hywel where a foot was the equivalent of nine inches (23 cms) and would have contained approximately 47 acres (19 hectares) (Jones, 1986: 179). The description 'between clear and brake, wood and field, and wet and dry' suggest the apportionment contained arable, pasture and woodland and may not have been contiguous.⁴³⁷ Of the four rhandirs contained within a free tref, three were for occupancy and the fourth served as pasture for the other three. Within the three

⁴³⁵ (Chapter 3: 480-502)

⁴³⁶ (Chapter 2: 83-86)

⁴³⁷ (Chapter 2: 88-86)

trefi reserved for taeogs, two were reserved for bondmen and a third for pasturage requirements.

It can be seen the Cyfnerth code incorporates within the concept of rhandiroedd tracts of ploughland, pasture and wood, whilst the lowerth text assesses the acreage of the tyddyn alone. Longley (2004) considers partible inheritance of these shared lands was a factor in both codes and had an impact over time. He considers the sharing of these lands must have led to the rise of new holdings of closely related family within the boundaries of what were originally extensive trefi. He suggests there must have come a point beyond which the integrity of the tref could not be compromised and further subdivision entailed the creation of components within the tref rather than creation of new trefi. The process is recorded in Gwynedd after the Norman conquest of CE 1283 with smaller settlements termed gwelyau which apparently reveal the latest form of hierarchy of settlement (Longley, 2004: 292-293). This term does not exist within the Cyfnerth texts and therefore, these could describe an earlier stage where subdivision was still occurring within the tref, rather than subdivision of patrimonial land leading to the creation of new trefi.

The model depicted within the Cyfnerth code is supported by records embedded in the *Domesday Book*. For example, in Gwent four distinct groups of upland trefi 'Under Waswic the reeve are thirteen vills: Under Elmui fourteen; under Bleio are thirteen vills: under Iudichael fourteen vills' (*Domesday*, Folio: 1#62V) are listed. Another group which had contained fourteen trefi had been subdivided by CE 1086 so that 'three vills were held by Berdic the king's jester; two vills by the Abraham the priest' and six vills were held by other individuals. The text confirms these were

‘placed within the customary dues of King Gruffydd’ (*Domesday*, Folio: 162V).⁴³⁸

Another group of seven demesne vills belonging to Alvred d’Epaignes were recorded in Gwent (*Domesday*, Folio: 162V). Combined these appear to offer an outline of centres of pre-existing territorial lordships of later early medieval Gwent and are discussed below.⁴³⁹

The boundaries of the kingdom of Gwent can be seen to have been fluid over time. At its maximum extent it was comprised of the cantrefi of Gwent Is Coed, Gwent Uwch Coed, Gwynllwg (which was occasionally considered a cantref of Glamorgan), Ergyng between the rivers Monnow and Wye and parts of Cantref Coch in Gloucestershire. Subdivisions of the larger areas included the commotes of Gwynllwg (later known as Magor), Machen, Llebenydd and Is Coed in Gwent Is Coed and in the view of some Edlogan, Brynbuga (Usk), Tregrug (Llangybi) and Trellech (RCHAMW: 2021; Rees, 1951: Plate 28; Richards, 1969: 81).⁴⁴⁰ Others consider ‘Coit Gwent’ (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 262) separated Gwent Is Coed from the cantref of Gwent Uwch Coed which contained the commotes of Abergavenny, Ewias and Teirtref (Courtney, 1983: Volume 2, Figure 4; Lloyd, 1911: 278-280). Gwynllwg and Machen comprised the two commotes of Gwynllwg (Richards, 1969: 86).

Longley (2004) has suggested the designation ‘Is’ in Welsh administrative geography carries the connotation ‘this side’ or ‘nearer’ rather than the literally correct ‘lower’ as did *cis* in Latin toponymy. He considers Gwent Is Coed may describe the region’s administrative superiority as much as it describes its geographic location (Longley, 2004: 290). If this is true, its placename may be indicative of the original powerbase

⁴³⁸ (Chapter 3: 221-222)

⁴³⁹ (Chapter 3: 291-33)

⁴⁴⁰ (Figures 88a: 274, 89: 282)

of the kingdom and may also partly explain why this region was the first to be targeted by the Anglo-Saxons and Normans.⁴⁴¹

Contentions arise when attempts to back-project cantrefi into the post-Roman period are made in order to provide territorial context for earlier medieval secular and ecclesiastical settlements.⁴⁴² It has been suggested some cantrefi may have originated as separate post-Roman kingdoms.⁴⁴³ In Gwent, there is evidence of these early kingdoms persisting into the geography of the expanded kingdoms under the stewardship of sub-kings or lords.⁴⁴⁴ As a consequence it may be possible to back-project some cantrefi from the later Gwentian Middle Age to its earlier post-Roman phase.⁴⁴⁵

References to early territories in Gwent and south-eastern Wales have survived in a number of sources.⁴⁴⁶ Although these present an inconsistent image of pre-Norman territorial organisation, this may be due to real ambiguity and the contested nature of the territorial organisation of what was then a former kingdom. However, the political contexts of these sources should be taken into consideration. For instance, three later fifteenth-century CE manuscripts, *Cotton Domitian VIII*, *The Red Book of Hergest* and *Peniarth 50* contain lists of the cantrefi and commotes of Wales which are again inconsistent with each other and the earlier sources. Furthermore, it may be possible that by the time these were compiled they may have represented no more than contemporaneous endeavours to reconstruct the administrative structure of what was then an already distant past (Davies, 2000: 20; Smith, 1971: 12). In

⁴⁴¹ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

⁴⁴² (Davies, 2007: 49; Jenkins, 1988: 31-50; Knight, 1995: 36-45)

⁴⁴³ (Charles-Edwards, 1970-1972: 247-262; Davies, 2007: 49; Wade-Evans, 1909: 329)

⁴⁴⁴ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

⁴⁴⁵ (Chapter 3: 280-335)

⁴⁴⁶ (e.g. *Cotton Domitian VIII*; *Historia Regum Brittonum*; *Descriptio Cambriae*; NLW *Peniarth 50*; NLW *Peniarth MS. 147*; *The Red Book of Hergest*)

addition, it is clear before and after the Norman conquest local divisions of kingdoms were revised and redivided (Jenkins, 1988: 38-50).

Philip Jenkins (1988) has argued for the antiquity of the boundaries of Glamorgan by identifying seventh and eighth-century CE Llandaff grants referring to land on or near rivers. These later served as cantref boundaries (Jenkins, 1988: 39). He notes these units do not appear to have been exactly the same ones which emerged as the cantrefi of the eleventh-century CE and suggests some change over time was to be expected. Furthermore, he asserts the coincidence of the cantref boundaries and grants to the Church was not a random factor, nor simply determined by prominent natural features and does not believe the boundaries of the cantrefi were drawn by employing pre-existing episcopal estates as boundaries. Instead, he suggests the distribution of charters portrays a policy of developing blocks of ecclesiastical land along secular boundaries (Jenkins, 1988: 38-39). If this view is correct, when the estates were granted, their boundaries lay between other older administrative or territorial units, some of which later became cantrefi or commotes (Jenkins, 1988: 41).

Jenkins (1988) is uncertain as to why estates were concentrated along secular boundaries and considers it possible kings may have wanted to create 'demilitarised zones, along contested borders, where violation of oaths or treaties would be particularly likely to incur Church censure' (Jenkins, 1988: 41). To support this interpretation he cites a number of charter narrations recording land disputes and secular conflicts (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 155, 176a, 190b, 216b, 224) which he considers occurred on the actual estates to which the narrations were appended (Jenkins, 1988: 42-44).

There is textual evidence in the Cyfnerth code supporting his model. For example, 'stays of boundaries' were used to settle disputes over the demarcation and adjustment of boundaries.⁴⁴⁷ Important 'stays' included those demarcating the extent of an individual's property and contained features such as rivers, buildings, kilns and barns. The lawbook reflects hierarchy and proffers preference to claimant of higher status when settling a boundary dispute. However, if both claimants were of equal status, preference went to the party who had the longest occupation. Length of occupation was determined by the party on whose land contained a building or evidence of cultivation (Ellis, 1926: 264). The Cyfnerth code provides evidence of rivers being considered as major boundaries and the construction of buildings alongside and next to boundaries of strengthening property claims. If this situation was back projected into Gwent's early Middle Age there are good grounds for ecclesiastical and secular leaders wanting to establish estates along the boundaries of their territories.⁴⁴⁸

The early medieval landscape of Gwent (4): new settlement patterns?

The major cantref divisions of Gwent in the pre- and post- Norman conquest period, (with approximated boundaries) appear to have been Gwynllwg from the river Rhymney to the river Ebbw, the Nant Milwr or Afon Llwyd and river Usk; Gwent Is Coed, from the river Usk to the river Wye, south of Wentwood; Gwent Uwch Coed from the river Ebbw and Nant Milwr or Afon Llwyd to the river Wye and river Monnow, north of Wentwood (Rees, 1972: 24-25, Plate 28; Richards, 1969: 277, 281).⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁷ (Chapter 2: 83-84)

⁴⁴⁸ (Chapter 2: 83-84)

⁴⁴⁹ (Figure 89: 282)



Figure 91a (Author 2021)

Early grants derived from the *Liber Landavensis*, Roman settlements, bivallate and multivallate defended enclosures derived from Figures 2, 40, 78a

■	Charter locations dated <i>circa</i> CE 600-699
■	Charter locations <i>circa</i> CE 700-799
●	Roman sites
●	Bivallate enclosures
●	Multivallate enclosures
■	Gwentian cantref names
■	Gwentian commote names

Study number	Location and name	Classification	Time period
1	Llanarth (St Teilo)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 121	Early medieval
2	Llantilio Pertholey (St Teilo)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 122	Early medieval
3	Llantilio Crossenny (St Teilo)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter *123	Early medieval
4	Mathern (St Tewdric)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter *141	Early medieval
5	Howick (St Warmet)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 143	Early medieval
6	Porthcasseg (unknown)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 150a	Early medieval
7	Llandogo (St Oudoceus)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 156	Early medieval
8	Llanerthill (St Eurddil)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter *159a	Early medieval
9	Chepstow (unknown)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter *165	Early medieval
10	Monmouth (unknown)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 175	Early medieval
11	Mounton (St Audoenus)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 179b	Early medieval
12	Kilgwrrwg (Church of the Holy Cross)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 179c	Early medieval
13	Bishton (St Cadwaladr)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 180b	Early medieval
14	Dixton (St Peter)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 183a	Early medieval
15	Kemeys Inferior (St Michael)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 183a	Early medieval
16	Llansey (St Tysoi)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 187	Early medieval
17	River Monnow (unknown)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter *196	Early medieval
18	Llandegfedd (St Tegfeth)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 199a	Early medieval
19	Trellech (St Nicholas)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 199b	Early medieval
20	Wonastow (St Wonow)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 201	Early medieval
21	Llangovan (St Govan)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 206	Early medieval
22	Llandenny (St John the Apostle)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 207	Early medieval
23	Tintern Parva (St Michael and All Angels)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 209b	Early medieval
24	Llanfaenor (<i>Sancto Waynardo</i>)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 210a	Early medieval
25	Llanvaches (St Dubritius)	<i>Liber Landavensis</i> charter 211b	Early medieval
26	Abergavenny	Roman urban	Roman
27	Monmouth	Roman urban	Roman
28	Usk	Roman urban	Roman
29	Risca	Roman urban	Roman
30	Machen	Roman urban	Roman
31	Fairwater Farm	Possible villa site	Roman
32	Croes-Carn-Einion	High status villa/temple site	Roman
33	Great Pencarn Farm	Possible villa site	Roman
34	Caerleon	Legionary fortress	Roman
35	St Julians	High status villa/temple site	Roman
36	Bulmore	Roman urban	Roman
37	Llanwern	Possible villa site	Roman
38	Ford Farm	High status villa/temple site	Roman
39	Llanmartin	Low status site	Roman
40	Magor intertidal zone	Roman urban	Roman
41	Barland's Farm	Roman urban	Roman
42	Dewstow Farm	Low status site	Roman
43	Rogiet	Possible villa site	Roman
44	Woodland Cottage	Low status site	Roman
45	Five Lanes	Roman villa	Roman
46	Caerwent	<i>Civitas</i> Capital	Roman
47	Oaklands Farm	High status villa/temple site	Roman
48	Castle Tump	High status villa/temple site	Roman
49	Stoop Hill	High status villa/temple site	Roman
50	Church Farm	Low status site	Roman
51	Portskewett Hill	High status villa/temple site	Roman
52	Portskewett	Low status site	Roman
53	Thornwell Farm	Low status site	Roman
54	Chepstow	Roman urban	Roman
55	Wyndcliff	High status villa/temple site	Roman
56	Llangybi Walks	Possible villa site	Roman
57	Great House	Possible villa site	Roman
58	Caldicott (Ifon Manor I)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
59	Caerwent (Larches)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
60	St Arvans (Blackfield Wood)	Bivallate (wide)	Iron Age
61	Chepstow (Bulwarks)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
62	Caerleon (Priory Wood)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
63	Langstone (Coed y Caerau)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
64	Penhow (Castell Prin)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
65	Llanhennock (Cae Camp)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
66	Shirenewton (Grondre)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
67	St Arvans (Gaer Hill)	Bivallate (wide)	Iron Age
68	Usk (Great House)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age

69	Llanbadoc (Twyn Bell Camp)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
70	Raglan (Gwernesey)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
71	Trellech (Gaer)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
72	Mitchel Troy (Tregare)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
73	Mitchel Troy (Taloche)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
74	Monmouth (Kymin Hill)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
75	Crucorney (Twyn y Gaer)	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age
76	Tredegar (Gaer)	Multivallate (wide)	Iron Age
77	Bishton (Wilcrick Hill)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
78	Portskewett (Sudbrook)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
79	Caerleon (Lodge Wood)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
80	Caerwent (Llanmelin)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
81	Llanhenock (Glen Usk)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
82	Llangwm (Gaer Fawr)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
83	Gwehelog Fawr (Ffosyddu)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
84	Gwehelog Fawr (Coed y Bwynydd)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
85	Mitchel Troy (Mitchel Troy)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
86	Monmouth (Buckholt Wood)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age
87	Llantilio Crossenny (Tredam Enclosure)	Multivallate (wide)	Iron Age
88	Llantilio Pertholey (Ysgyryd Fawr)	Multivallate (wide)	Iron Age
89	Crucorney (Pent-wyn)	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age

Figure 91b

Early grants derived from the *Liber Landavensis*, Roman settlements, bivallate and multivallate defended enclosures (derived from Figures 2:38, 40:129, 49: 165, 79a: 237, 91a: 292 and Appendices 1: 753-774, 2: 775-776, 3: 777-786, 4: 787-820) (Author 2021)

Candidates for very early ecclesiastical sites derived from dates contained within the *Liber Landavensis* charters in Gwent include Llanarth *circa* CE 600, Llantilio Pertholey *circa* CE 600, Llantilio Crossenny *circa* CE 600, Mathern *circa* CE 620, Chepstow *circa* CE 625, Howick *circa* CE 660, Llanerthill *circa* CE 685, Porthcasseg *circa* CE 693 and Llandogo *circa* CE 698.^{450 451} Others from the early eighth-century CE include Kemeys Inferior *circa* CE 700, Bishton *circa* CE 710, Kilgwrrwg *circa* CE 722, Llansoy *circa* CE 725, Mounton *circa* CE 730, Monmouth *circa* CE 733, Dixon *circa* CE 735, Llandegfedd *circa* CE 750, Trellech and Wonastow *circa* CE 750, Llangovan *circa* CE 755, Llandenny *circa* CE 760, Tintern Parva *circa* CE 765, Llanfaenor *circa* CE 780 and Llanvaches *circa* CE 775.^{452 453}

⁴⁵⁰ (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 121, 122, *123, *141, 143, 150a, 156, * 159a, *165)

⁴⁵¹ (Figures 78b: 238-240, 91a: 292, 91b: 293-294)

⁴⁵² (*Liber Landavensis* charters: 175, 179b, 179c, 180b, 183a, 183b, 187, *196, 199a, 199b, 201, 206, 207, 209b, 210a, 211b)

Stout's (1997) modelling of early Christian settlement based on a survey of south-western Antrim north of Loch Neagh⁴⁵⁴ has revealed groups of ringforts within townland units. A townland may be defined a small geographical division of land used in Ireland and the Western Isles of Scotland and is considered to predate the Norman invasion. One historical landscape model of Ireland can be seen as subdivisions of counties into baronies, baronies into parishes and parishes into townlands. Whilst townland origins remain obscure, they existed long before the parishes and counties which were recorded in anglicised form and as they sounded to English scribes. They originally consisted of a number of sub-divisions such as gneeves and plough lands.⁴⁵⁵ Churches were located either at the margins of these groupings or in areas lacking secular settlement (Stout, 1997: 70). This centripetal influence of ringforts on church location in Ireland appears to be reflected in the distribution of several earlier charters from the sixth and seventh-centuries CE within a Gwentian context of defended enclosures and former Roman sites.⁴⁵⁶

For example, between *circa* CE 600 and *circa* CE 760 the study area of Gwent appears to be divided east to west between *Liber Landavensis* charters 121, 122, *123, *159a, 175, 183a, 187, 199b, 201, 206 and 207.⁴⁵⁷ Furthermore, the grants were situated in a consistent way. Llanarth (*Liber Landavensis* charter 121) was bounded to its south and east by the Clawdd Brook (Coe: 2001: 183). Similarly, the bounds of Llantilio Pertholey (*Liber Landavensis* charter 122) locate the place in the vicinity of the river point of the bounds of Llanerthill begin at a ford on the Olway brook (*Liber Landavensis* charter *159a) (Coe, 2001: 67). The land grant made at Monmouth (*Liber Landavensis* charter 175) lay near the confluence of the rivers

⁴⁵³ (Figures 78b: 238-240, 91a: 292, 91b: 293-294)

⁴⁵⁴ (Figure 92: 297)

⁴⁵⁵ (Carmichael, 1914: 40-54; Brian, 2003: 149; Colfer, 2004: 29; Terry, 2000: 14)

⁴⁵⁶ (Chapter 3: 285-288)

⁴⁵⁷ (Figures 91a: 292; 91b study sites 1, 2, 3, 8, 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22: 293-294)

Monnow and Wye (Davies, 1979: 108). Likewise, nearby Dixton (*Liber Landavensis* charter 183a) had bounds between two (unnamed) streams (Coe, 2001: 319). Llansoy (*Liber Landavensis* charter 187) had bounds set between the Olway and Pill brooks (Coe, 2001: 533). Trellech (*Liber Landavensis* charter 199b) had bounds between two streams identified as fawr and fechan (Coe, 2001: 846). Wonastow (*Liber Landavensis* charter 201) was possibly bounded by two streams to its east and west which ran into the river Trothy (Coe, 2001: 643). Llangovan (*Liber Landavensis* charter 206) was bounded to its east by the Llangofen Brook (Coe, 2001: 467). Llandenny (*Liber Landavensis* charter 207) was bounded by the Nant y Wilcae and Olway Brook (Coe, 2001: 579).

Charters granted located north of these grants (*Liber Landavensis* charters *196, 210a)⁴⁵⁸ appear to separate Gwent Uwch Coed from what was to become south-western Herefordshire. The undated grant probably associated Clodock refers to bounds somewhere alongside the river Monnow (*Liber Landavensis* charter *196) (Coe, 2001: 587) whilst Llanfaenor (*Liber Landavensis* charter 210a) appears to be largely enclosed by the Croft Hir Brook which flows into the River Monnow and has been dated *circa* CE 780 (Coe, 2001: 222).

The southern cantrefi of Gwynllwg and Gwent Is Coed appear to be separated by three grants dated between *circa* CE 700 and *circa* CE 750 (*Liber Landavensis* charters 180b, 183a, 199a).⁴⁵⁹ Bishton (*Liber Landavensis* charter 180b) may have been bounded by the Llan Allen Winter Sewer which may have previously been known as Nant Alun and lay adjacent to marshland to its south (Coe, 2001: 151, 621). The bounds of Kemeys Inferior (*Liber Landavensis* charter 183a) placed it on

⁴⁵⁸ (Figures 91a: 292; 91b study sites 17, 24: 293-294)

⁴⁵⁹ (Figures 91a: 292; 91b study sites 13, 15, 18: 293-294)

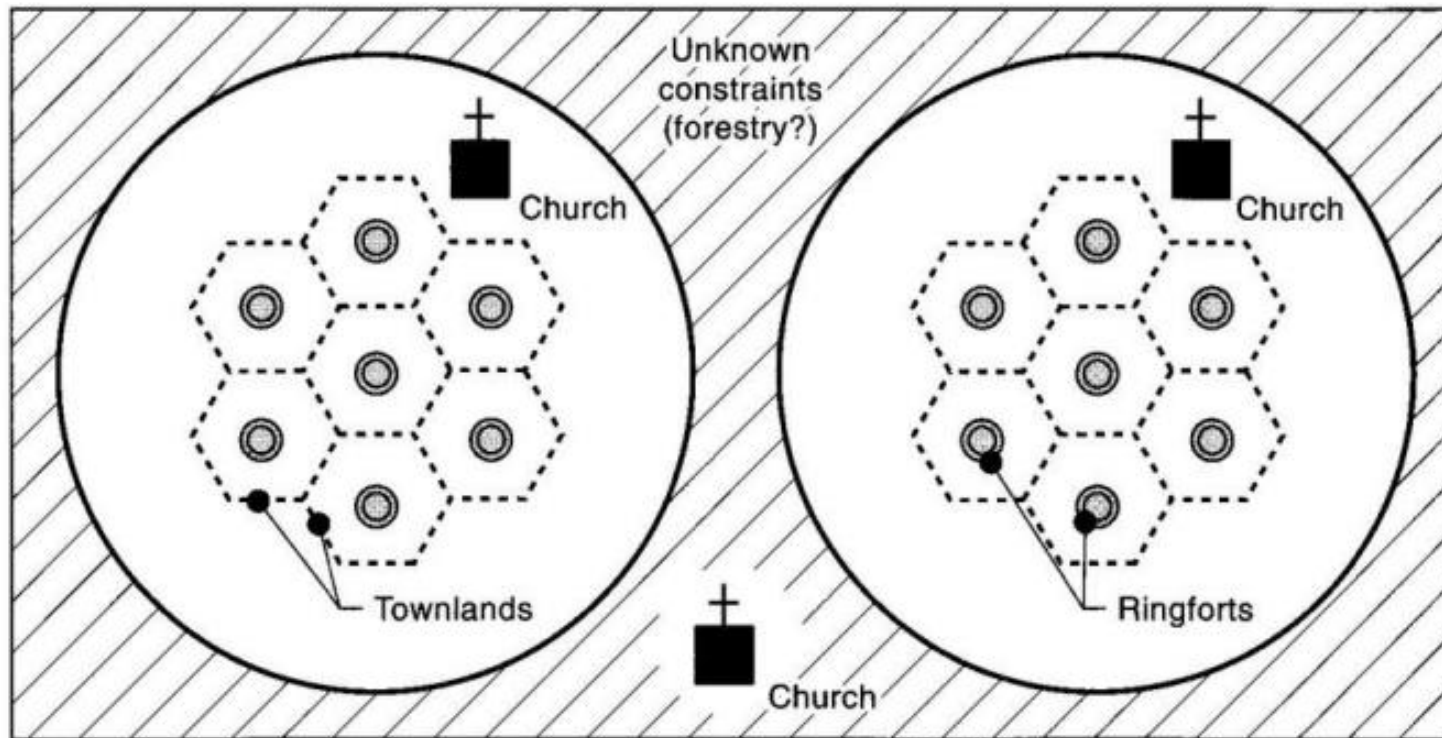


Figure 92

Stout's (1997) model depicting early Christian settlement of south-western Antrim north of Lough Neagh. Ringforts are located in groupings within townland units. Churches were located either at the margins 752 of these grouping or in areas of secular settlement. He considers unknown constraints such as large areas of woodlands may account for areas without ringforts (Stout, 1997: 70)

the eastern side of the river Usk (Coe, 2003: 155). Whilst Llandegfedd (*Liber Landavensis* charter 199a) has no bounds and has been identified as a place name only (Coe, 2001: 593-594). If this place name was correct it lay near a confluence of several springs.

The eastern part of Gwent Is Coed appears to have been separated from what was to become western Gloucester by nine grants dated between *circa* CE 620 and *circa* CE 775.^{460 461} The land grants at Mathern, Howick, Porthcasseg and Chepstow can all be associated with the river Wye. However, Llanvaches (*Liber Landavensis* charter 211a)⁴⁶² has no bounds listed, or explicit references to its charter's location. Identification rests only on the probable association with the word *Maches* (Coe, 2001: 592).

It appears within Gwent; earlier charters were located (with the exception of Llanvaches) alongside or approximately within a kilometre of a river boundary and may form the basis of a model to identify earlier medieval boundaries within the study area of Gwent. Furthermore, it seems possible Gwent was divided into something approximating Gwent Is Coed, Gwent Uwch Coed and Gwynllwg from *circa* CE 600 onwards. In addition, the grants being located alongside so many water side locations may be suggestive of an asset which may have been regarded as agriculturally marginal by their donors.

The known or possible Roman sites of Gwent occur south of Abergavenny, Usk and Monmouth⁴⁶³ and are concentrated across the south of the study area. As has been

⁴⁶⁰ (*Liber Landavensis* charters *141, 143, 150a, 156, *165, 179b, 179c, 209b, 211a)

⁴⁶¹ (Figures 91a: 292; 91b study sites 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 23: 293-294)

⁴⁶² (Figures 91a: 292; 91b study site 25: 293-294)

⁴⁶³ (Figures 91a: 292; 91b study sites 26-57: 293-294)

discussed, during the Roman period, it seems likely there was a flourishing rural economy, revenues from which supported the military establishment centred around Caerleon and *ordo* at Caerwent.⁴⁶⁴ The land between these represents the tribal land within easy reach of Roman officialdom and offers a pattern of dispersed settlement across Gwynllwg and Gwent Is Coed.⁴⁶⁵ The evidence suggests there was a wide diversity of Romanisation which ranged from the fully Romanised *civitas* capital at Caerwent and villas such as Five Lanes⁴⁶⁶ to sites which were barely Romanised at all such as Thornwell Farm.⁴⁶⁷ General characterisations include low levels of surviving material culture and a high proportion of excavated sites demonstrating continuity from the later prehistoric period.

More extensive excavation may reveal a pattern similar to that established by George Williams (1988) in Dyfed (Williams, 1988: 30-54) with settlement characterised by general stability. Therefore, the situation in Gwent probably reflected the mass of the population described by Arnold and Davies (2000) with an extra tier of more highly Romanised society, more similar to that of southern England. Some people were clearly integrated into Roman life, whilst others remained on its fringes (Arnold & Davies, 2000: 65-76). It is feasible the end of the Roman period may have seen little in terms of cultural change and the general dearth of later fourth-century CE material anywhere but in urban areas may signal withdrawal from the market economy rather than the abandonment of sites. In the countryside of south-eastern Wales some evidence of continuity of settlement is

⁴⁶⁴ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁴⁶⁵ (Figure 91a: 292)

⁴⁶⁶ (Chapter 3: 188)

⁴⁶⁷ (Chapter 2: 52-54)

provided by evidence of continuity of burial at Llandough from the late Roman period onwards (Thomas & Holbrook, 1994: 67-68), Caerleon and Caerwent.⁴⁶⁸

At least two possibilities from the settlement pattern and other evidence are suggested, one which can be defined as economic and the other as social. In the former, the continued presence of a military garrison of some type, may have led to taxation of the local community in kind providing agricultural produce directly for the forts rather than a taxation in money which was then used by the military to buy supplies. Monetary taxation may have functioned as a stimulus to production, with the introduction of the production of a surplus which could then be sold for money.⁴⁶⁹

If this were not the case in areas with a strong military presence, the production of a surplus would have been necessary to meet levy requirements but would not have led into a market economy. This social model presupposes only the upper levels of society interacted directly with the state or markets, obtaining their wealth in the form of rent or customary dues paid in kind. The presence of traded goods or even coinage on low status sites might not necessarily imply a direct connection with the market and might have arrived there by gift exchange or largesse.⁴⁷⁰

As has been noted Davies' (1979) circumstantial evidence suggests late Roman landholdings may be represented by those Llandaff charters of and before the eighth-century CE.⁴⁷¹ She considered Roman villas were more likely to be lying alongside the estates of the *Liber Landavensis* rather than within them (Davies, 1979: 161). In a Gwentian context some estates have been identified (Evans, 1893: Appendix 4; Evans, 2001: 141-148). However, although a significant number of the

⁴⁶⁸ (Chapter 3: 177-184)

⁴⁶⁹ (Chapter 3: 214-216)

⁴⁷⁰ (Chapter 3: 335-502)

⁴⁷¹ (Chapter 3: 236-256)

estates were provided with perambulations these appear to have been added much later and may not be the original bounds and present a limitation (Davies, 1979: 163). Three early charters at Bishton, Kemeys Inferior, and Mathern are of particular interest (*Liber Landavensis* charters *141, 180b, 183b).

Mathern *circa* CE 620 (*Liber Landavensis* charter *141)⁴⁷² had boundaries described as:

From the mouth of the Pool Merrick brook upwards to the pool, to Lybiaw's stone. From the pool to the stone, to the head of the higher ground, along the higher ground to the well of Elichguidd, upwards along the brook to the well of Crug Llewym. From the well of Crug Llewym near to the mouth of Nant Bywguan. Along Nant Biwguan as far as the pools of Rhinion, to the two pools. From the two pools straight downwards to the Cam. From the Cam downwards to the ditch on the ridge of the mountain. From the ditch towards the east transversely across the head of the pant of Nant Ruisc. Along the dyke as far as Lunbiw's Kiln. From the Kiln downwards along the dyke as far as the cam of Perth yr Onn, downwards to the ruins, to the pool. Along the pool to the mouth of Pwll Neuynn [Hunger Pill] on the Wye. Along the Wye and the Severn, with its wears and its landing-places for ships, as far as the mouth of the Merrick brook (Evans, 1893: 369).

Tracing the boundaries of this estate is problematical. However the section describing the Wye/Severn shore appears to be traceable.⁴⁷³ Evans (2001) has noted one of the landmarks along the boundary not far inland from the mouth of the Wye is given as 'the ruins', hints at the possibility of a Roman building. Despite the detailed perambulation probably being a later addition to the seventh-century CE charter, she considers the probability of the ruins given as a landmark being of Roman date is high, as available evidence suggests early medieval buildings were

⁴⁷² (Figures 91a: 292, 91b: 293-294, 92: 297)

⁴⁷³ (Figure 93: 303)

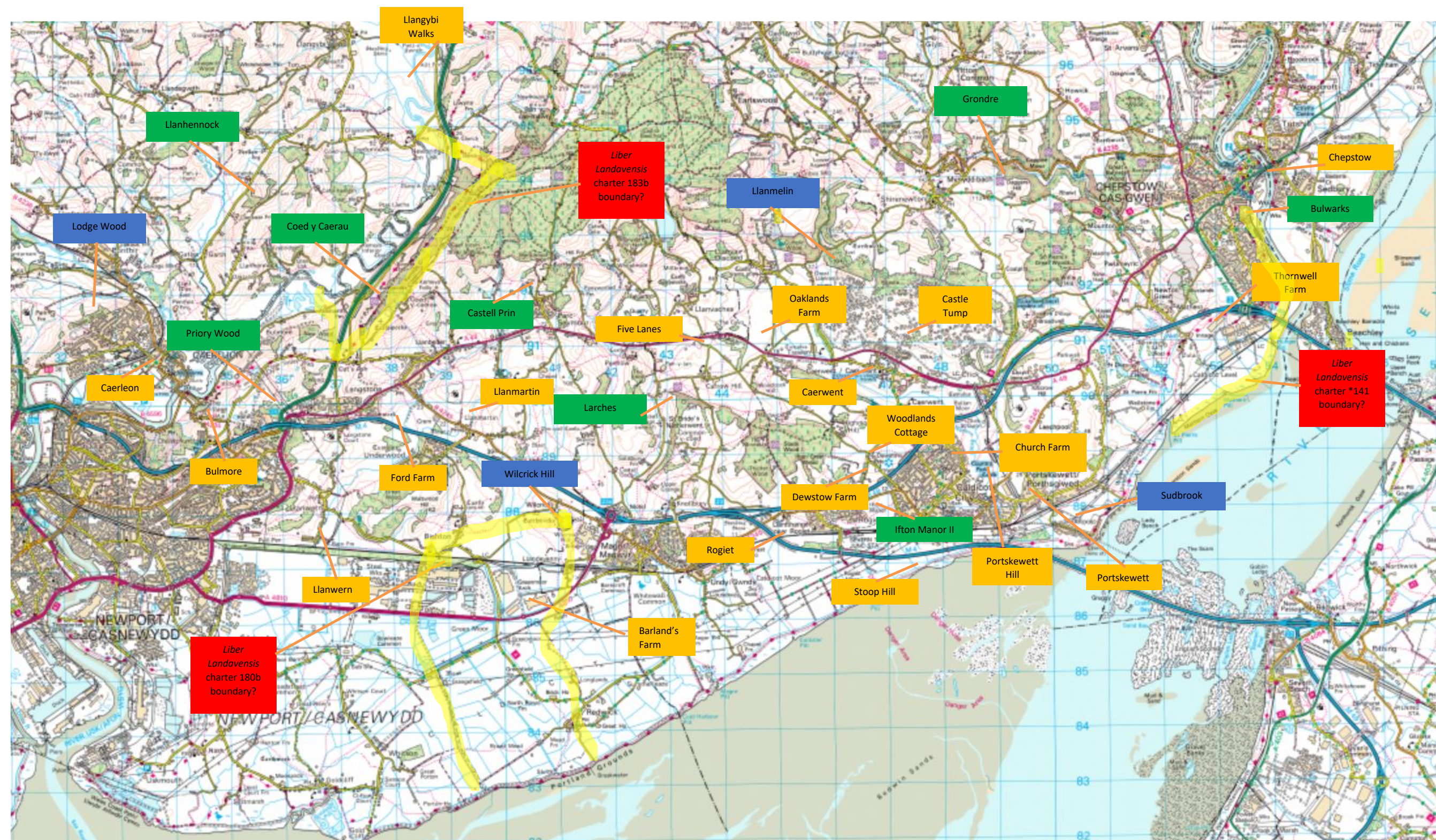
not of stone (though she accepts the ruins of a timber framed structure are equally conceivable) (Evans, 2001: 143).

There is some evidence for the existence of an undiscovered substantial structure with a tile or stone slate roof and glass windows in the vicinity of Thornwell. Hughes (1996) has suggested Pwll Neuynn was 'the now canalised stream which runs down centre of Mathern Level and marks boundary between Mathern and Chepstow' (Rippon, 1996: 35) rather than Hunger Pill as suggested by Evans (1893). If this is the case there may be another landholding between Mathern and Thornwell. The charter was granted with its *territorium* although its size was not listed. It is possible the grant if Rippon (1996) was correct extended almost to or included the bivallate enclosure at Bulwarks.

The grant associated with Bishton (*Liber Landavensis* charter 180b) *circa* CE 710 lay at the interface of the Gwent Levels and higher ground⁴⁷⁴ and was described:

From Aber Nant Alun into the marsh as the brook leads upwards to its source. From its source over the Cecn straight on at once to the top of the Sychnant, Drybrook, on another part of the Cecin. Along the Sychnant downwards as far as the pant in the wood. Along the Sychnant towards the right as it leads downwards as far as the ridge of the Allt near Cestill Dinan. Along the Cecin of the ridge of the A lit to Rhiw Merchiau. Along the Rhiw, slope, downwards as far as the spring of the Gyble. Along the Gyble downwards as far as the marsh. Through the marsh straight making for Hendre Merchitir. From the Hendre to the Dead Pools, westwards along the Cecin of Cethin through the marsh as far as Lontre Tunbwllch. From the Lontre of Tunbwllch straight through the marsh as far as Aber Nant Alan, where the boundary began' (Evans, 1893: 373-374).

⁴⁷⁴ (Figures 91a: 292, 91b: 293-294)



■	Charter locations
●	Roman sites
●	Bivalent enclosures
●	Multivalent enclosures

Figure 93 (Ordnance Survey 1: 25000)

Part of the possible boundaries (marked in yellow) of *Liber Landavensis* charters *141, 180b and 183b set within the context of Iron Age bivalent and multivalent enclosures alongside those sites considered or thought to be Roman

The western part of the boundary which lay on the Llan Allen stream is traceable.⁴⁷⁵ It appears the estate included land on both the higher and lower ground at this point and may have extended as far as Bishton Castle (Cestill Dinan) (Evans, 1893: 373-374. However Coe (2001), considers the multivallate enclosure at Wilcrick to be a more likely possibility (Coe, 2001: 746). Evans (2001) has suggested the Gyble was the watercourse in whose paleochannel the Barland's Farm boat⁴⁷⁶ was recovered (Evans, 2001: 144). Rippon (1996) considers this estate extended to the River Severn with the Llanallen stream now flowing into the Elver Pill Reen (Rippon, 1996: 36).

The grant located at and around Kemeys Inferior (*Liber Landavensis* charter 183b) *circa* CE 700 was described⁴⁷⁷:

From Aber Humir on the Usk along the Humir to its source. Along the Usk as far as Aber Nant Vychan as it leads upwards to the breast of the Allt towards the right to the Ardd through the Dou Civiw. Along the Ardd throughout its length to the breast of the Allt, making for the source of Nant Humir, that is Nant Merthyr, where the boundary began ' (Evans, 1893: 374)

This estate lay north of Bulmore and the boundaries can be followed reasonably well as the topography is dominated by the ridgeway above the river Usk. Evans (2001) considers the Aber Nant Vychan may be the stream which has given the name to Abernant Farm. There are other streams near this locale and may indicate the Nant Humir is probably the stream to the south of Bertholey House (Evans, 2001: 145). This boundary also seems to include the bivallate enclosure

⁴⁷⁵ (Figure 93: 303)

⁴⁷⁶ (Chapter 2: 146-147)

⁴⁷⁷ (Figures 91a: 292, 91b: 293-294)

at Coed y Caerau. However, the course of the south-eastern boundary along the escarpment is less certain and it is difficult to estimate its position from the hectareage of the estate in relation to the river Usk as this river has certainly changed course since Roman times. As well as possible associations with boundaries which divided the early kingdom of Gwent, these grants appear to be peripheral to earlier Iron Age defended bivallate or multivallate defended enclosures.

Furthermore, an important aspect of the excavation of Lodge Hill was evidence of possible re-occupation of the site during Gwent's early Middle Age. Powell, Howell, Chadwick *et al* (2006) consider the small oval inner enclosure may have been a late addition.⁴⁷⁸ Their 2000 CE excavation revealed a series of narrow terraces and post hole settings with a small and potentially significant assemblage of late Roman pottery. Several sherds were highly abraded and the preponderance were dated between the third and late fourth-century CE (Powell, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 58).

Other excavations at Llanmelin⁴⁷⁹ provided 19 sherds identified as Roman (Nash-Williams, 1933: 294, 296-298) and Phase 5 of Williams' (2003) geophysical survey suggested limited medieval occupation in the annexe area of the (Pollard, Howell, Chadwick *et al*, 2006: 67).

Evidence has also been recovered at Sudbrook⁴⁸⁰ where 41 sherds of Romano-British pottery were found (Nash-Williams, 1939: 66-72). There was subsequent medieval occupation of the site in the form of pottery (Nash-Williams, 1939: 53-54)

⁴⁷⁸ (Figure 3: 39)

⁴⁷⁹ (Figure 3: 39)

⁴⁸⁰ (Figure 3: 39)

and a small quantity of glazed roof tile (Sell, Gwilt & Webster, 2001: 116). Combined, the evidence from these three sites fit well within a pattern of defended enclosure reuse or continuity in Romano-British south-eastern Wales.

For instance, Roman pottery has been found on a number of defended enclosure sites in Glamorgan (RCAHMW, 1976a: 8). Although assemblages have generally been slight, in several instances sherds have been recovered from primary deposits. For instance, at Llwynheiernin near Llansamlet, Roman material appeared to be incorporated into its rampart where two second-century sherds which were sealed beneath an inner bank (RCAHMW, 1976a: 32). In addition, two Gower promontory enclosures excavated by Audrey Williams (1939) produced Roman material from apparent primary deposits (Williams, 1940: 23-30; 1941: 23-30).

Another site, Caer Dynnaf near Llanblethian, and approximately only one kilometre south-west of Cowbridge (*Bovium*) saw settlement within enclosure and during the Roman period took the form of six contiguous farmsteads defined by walls. Associated Romano British pottery was dated between the first and fourth-centuries CE (Davies, 1967a: 77-78).

A similar date range was indicated at Porthkerry Bulwarks where excavation revealed three successive rectilinear buildings within a trapezoidal enclosure. The first phase was undated, the second was first to second-century CE and the third was third to fourth-century CE (RCAHMW, 1976a: 41-42).

At Cae Summerhouse near Tythegstone a small almost square inner enclosure (0.2 hectares) was placed within a larger (0.9 hectares) trapezoidal enclosure. Excavation suggested three pre-Roman phases and at least two Romano-British

phases. Ceramic evidence associated with the later occupation were dated from the second to fourth-century CE (Davies, 1967b: 75-77).

Other excavations of the boundaries at Caerau, near Cardiff have provided a sequence of construction over an extended period which reveal three phases.⁴⁸¹ Phase 1 consisted of a timber post fence running along the top of the slope of the northern and southern sides of the enclosure. Davies and Sharples (2015) consider it is most likely early Iron Age and associated with the sites' early occupation although it could be earlier. Phase 2 consisted of a rampart defined by a timber revetment or fence with a dump of rampart material behind. Phase 3 appears as a dump of green clay placed slightly inside the original face of the primary rampart. Importantly, it is stratigraphically later than the Romano-British period and is considered to be early Medieval period in date (Davies & Sharples, 2015: 48).

Reoccupied or continuously occupied enclosed sites were not the only important late/post-Roman *foci*. A new class of apparently undefended high status secular site has been suggested following excavation at Longbury Bank near Tenby. Comparable sites have been recorded in Dyfed and Glamorgan (Campbell & Lane, 1993: 15-77).

However, none of these sites have produced evidence on the scale of Dinas Powys. Located on a limestone ridge approximately 6.5 kilometres from to the south-west of Cardiff, Dinas Powys was excavated by Lesley Alcock (1963). Stone revetted banks and ditches cut off the 'neck' of the promontory to form an enclosure within which

⁴⁸¹ (Figure 94:308)

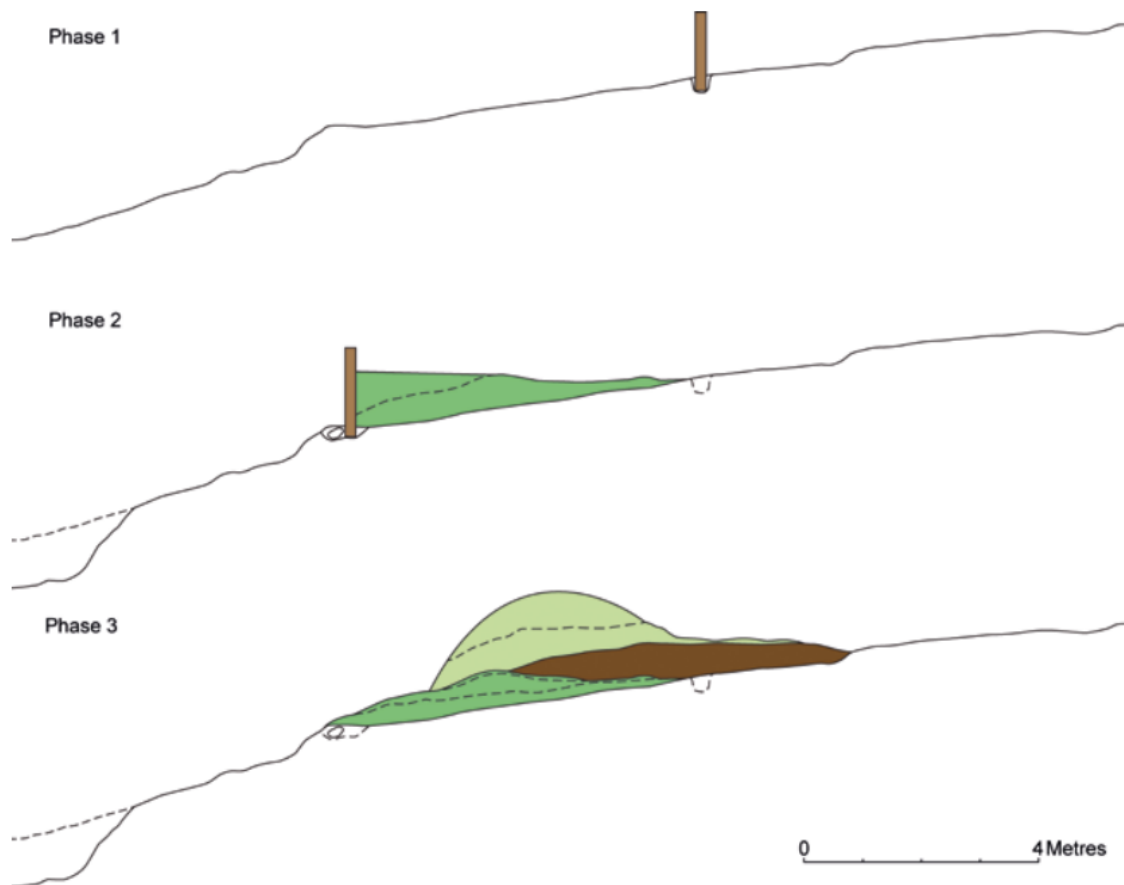


Figure 94

Suggested sequence of boundary construction at the large defended enclosure at Caerau from the Iron Age or earlier, the Romano British and early medieval period (Davies & Sharples, 2015: 48)

drip gullies defined two subrectangular early medieval buildings.⁴⁸² These structures have been interpreted as a hall and barn (Alcock, 1963: 33, 1987: 31). Material culture recovered from the site⁴⁸³ demonstrates Dinas Powys formed part of an extensive trade network. This evidence and obvious high-status of the site have led to its description as a llys, the court of the Welsh lord (Alcock, 1963: 61). This interpretation as a llys, or proto llys is attractive with the general arrangement of the

⁴⁸² (Figure 99: 314)

⁴⁸³ (Chapter 3: 359-466)

site having parallels with excavated llysoedd sites such as Rhosyr in Anglesey (Smith, 1988: 129).

Research has shown other models can be applied. For example, reappraisal of animal bones from Dinas Powys by Roberta Gilchrist (1988) has led to the suggestion this site may have had a role as the centre of an emerging local exchange system.⁴⁸⁴ Gilchrist's (1988) model suggests factors such as a decline in population and attendant labour shortages resulting from plagues may have stimulated new administrative initiatives from centres such as defended enclosures between the fifth and seventh-centuries CE (Gilchrist, 1988: 50-62). Such modelling could be applied to situations such as Dinas Powys, Longbury Bank or the Gwentian enclosures and appears to strengthen Alcock's (1963) interpretation. However, the sequence and chronology of Dinas Powys has been debated and few absolute scientific dates have been obtained.

The site consists of a flat area bounded to the north and west by the steep sides of a ridge and was enclosed by a series of four banks and ditches, one of which skirts the eastern and western sides. Two banks and ditches facing the promontory enclosure and situated approximately 140 metres to its south, partially enclose the southern end of the ridge. These are known as Southern Banks A and B or Ty'n y Coed earthworks⁴⁸⁵ and have received the most recent archaeological attention (Seaman, 2011: 1-18; 2013: Seaman & Lane, 2013, 2014: 1-51, 2019: 109-135).

⁴⁸⁴ (Chapter 3: 341-343)

⁴⁸⁵ (Figures 96: 311, 97: 312)

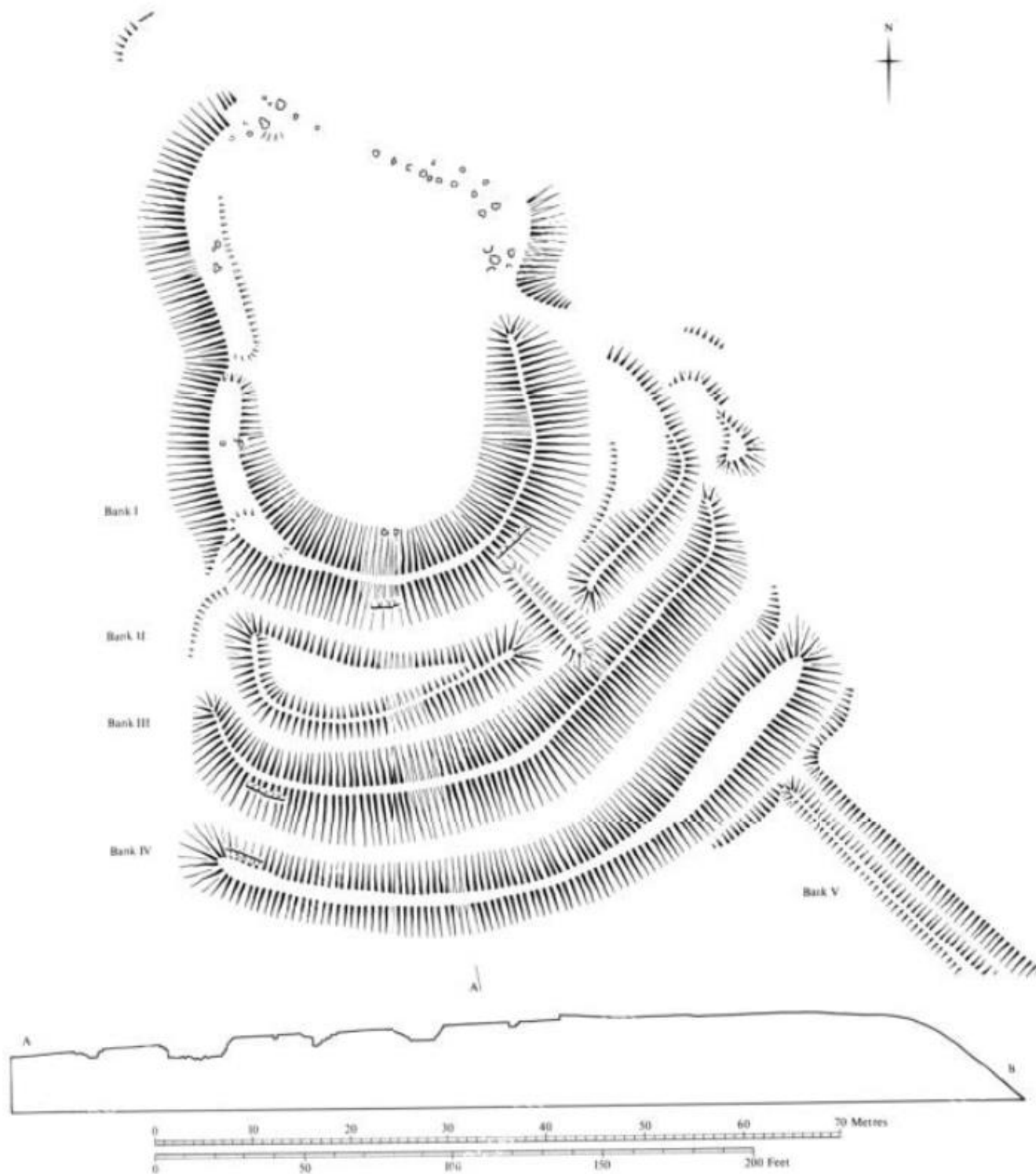


Figure 95

Measured drawing of Dinas Powys (RCAHMW: 2021)

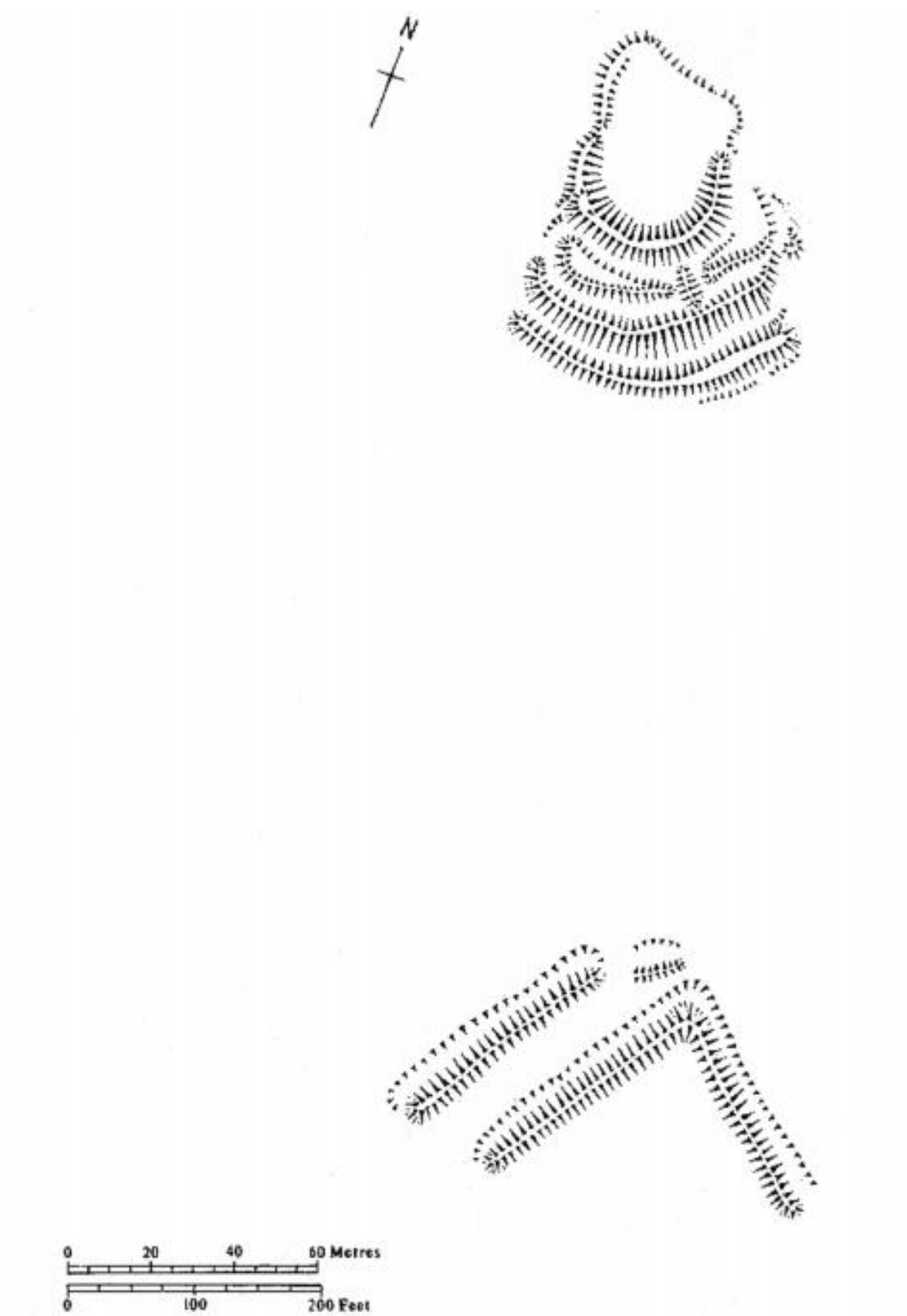


Figure 96

Site plan of Dinas Powys and Southern Banks (RCAHMW: 2021)

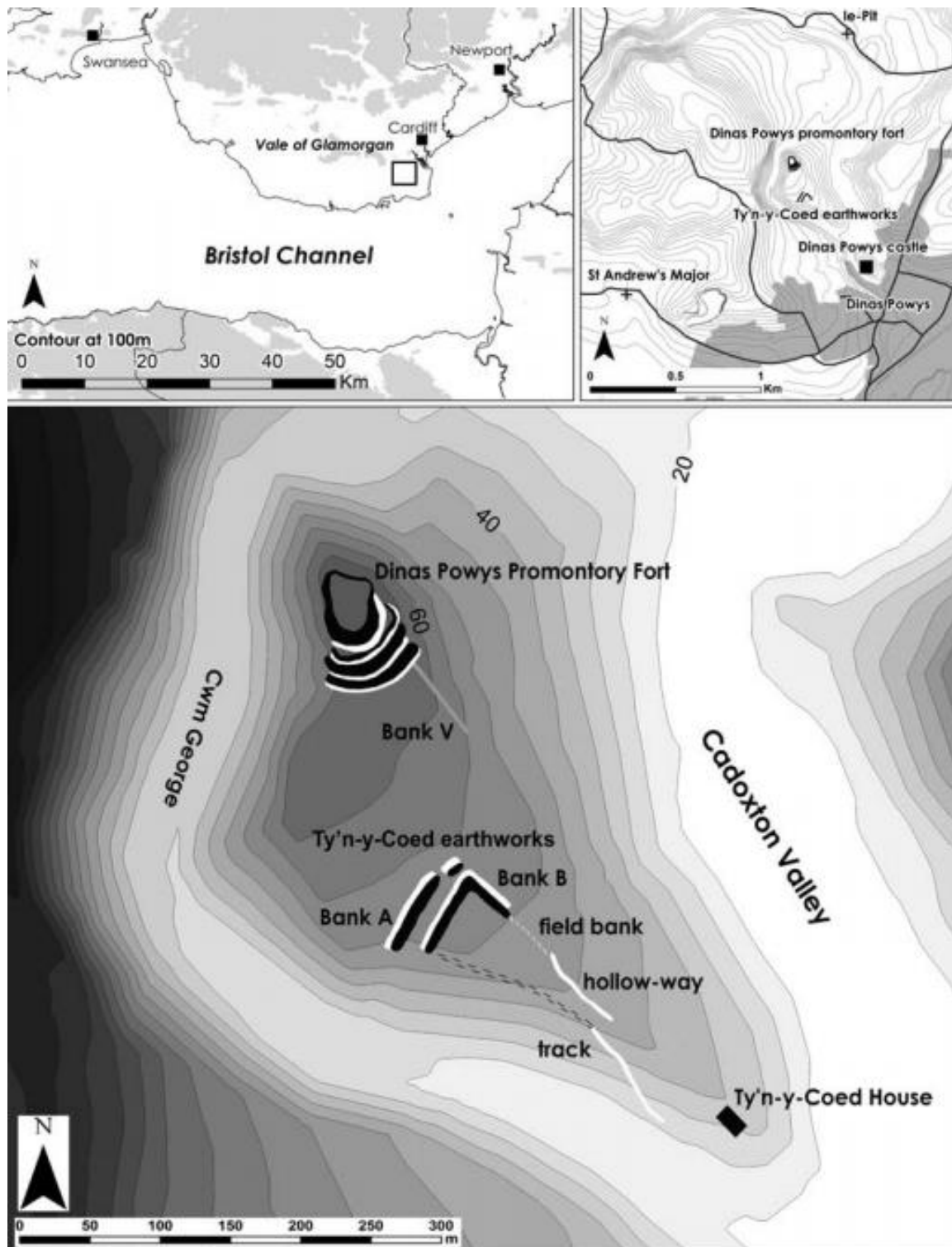


Figure 97

Location map of Dinas Powys and Ty'n y Coed (the Southern Banks) with contours (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 110)

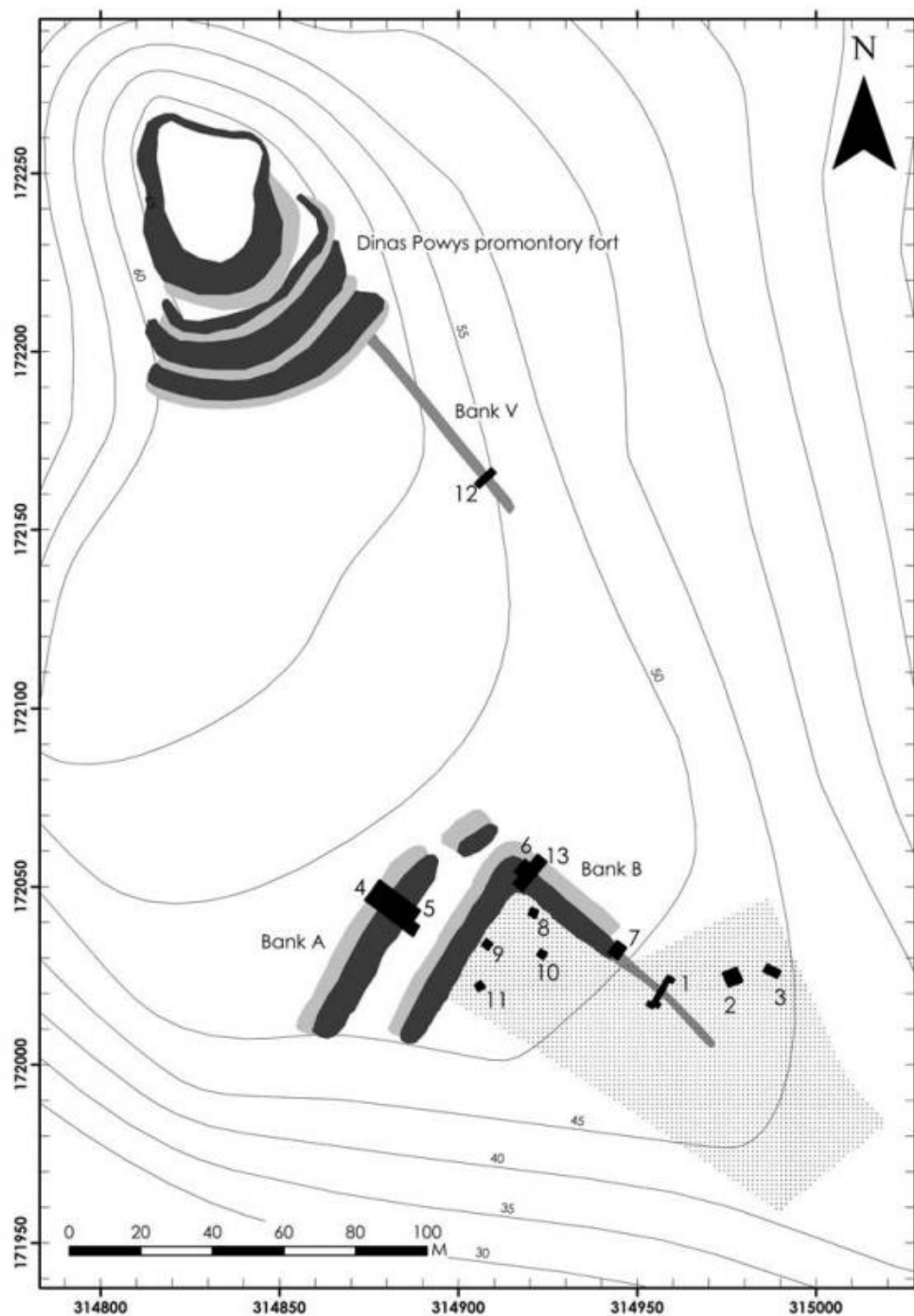


Figure 98

Location map of Dinas Powys and Ty'n y Coed (the Southern Banks) trenches excavated between 2011-2014. The stippled area of Bank B was subject to a resistivity and magnetometer survey, however no archaeological features were identified (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 112)

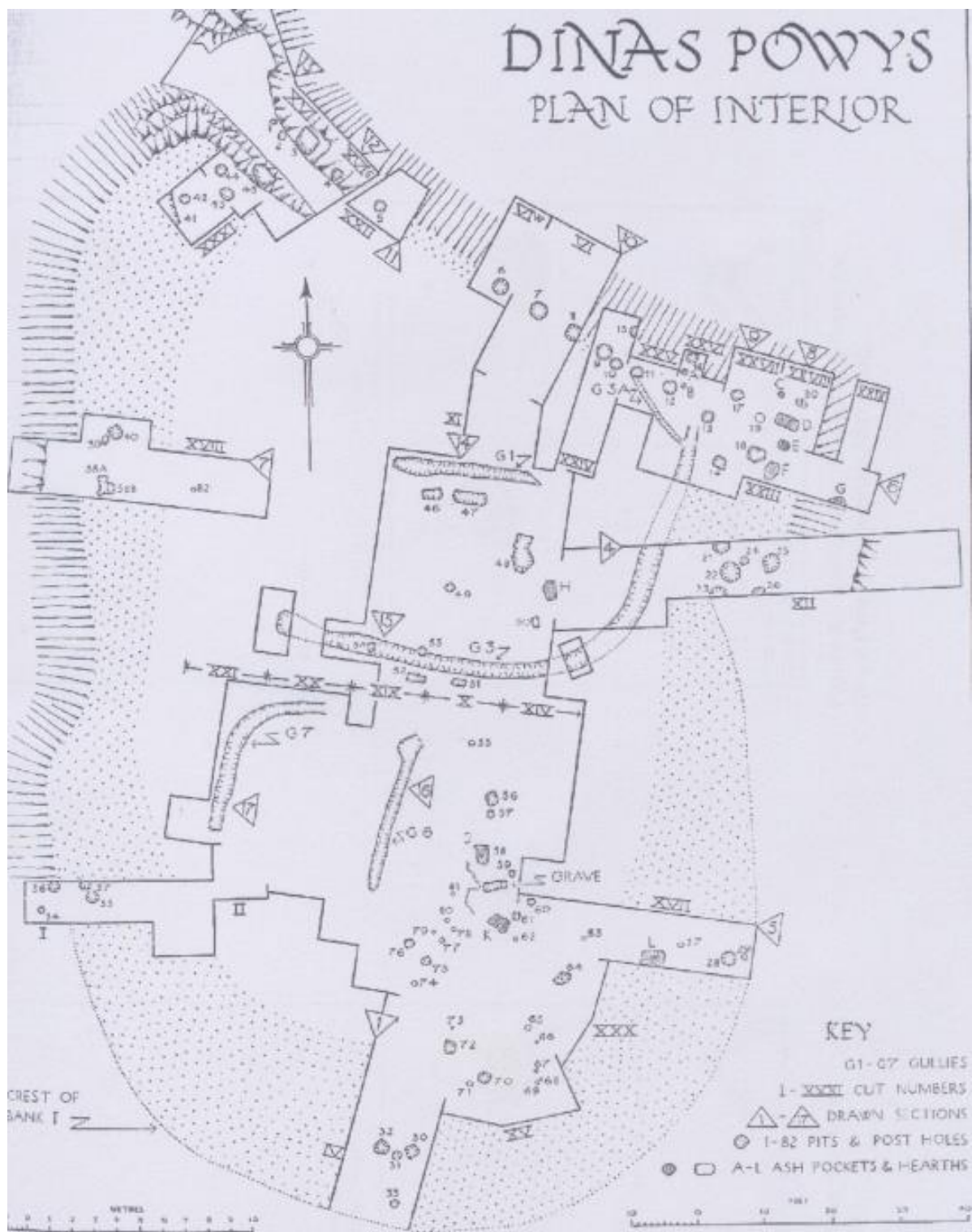


Figure 99

The internal features of Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 101)

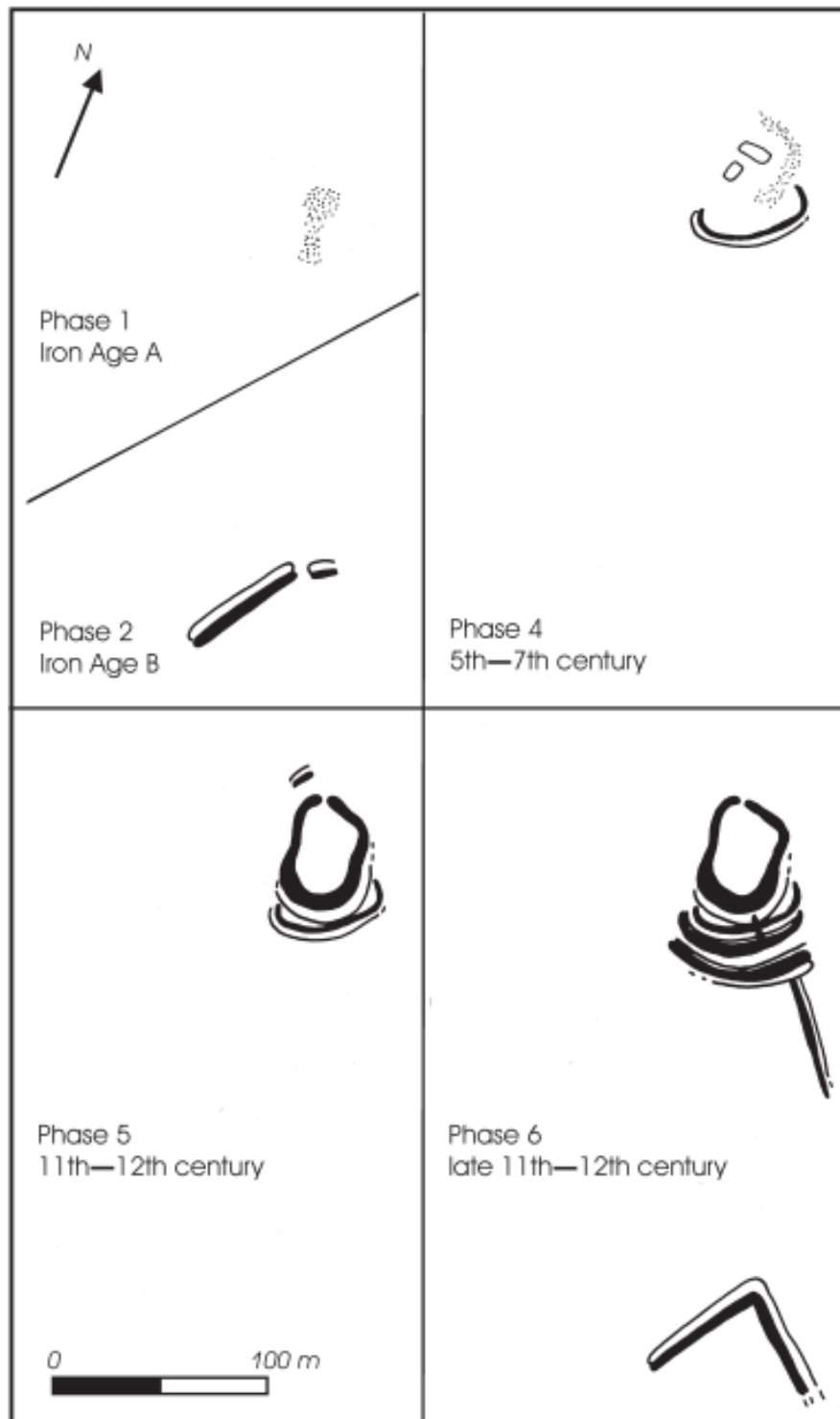


Figure 100

Alcock's (1963) sequence for Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 96)

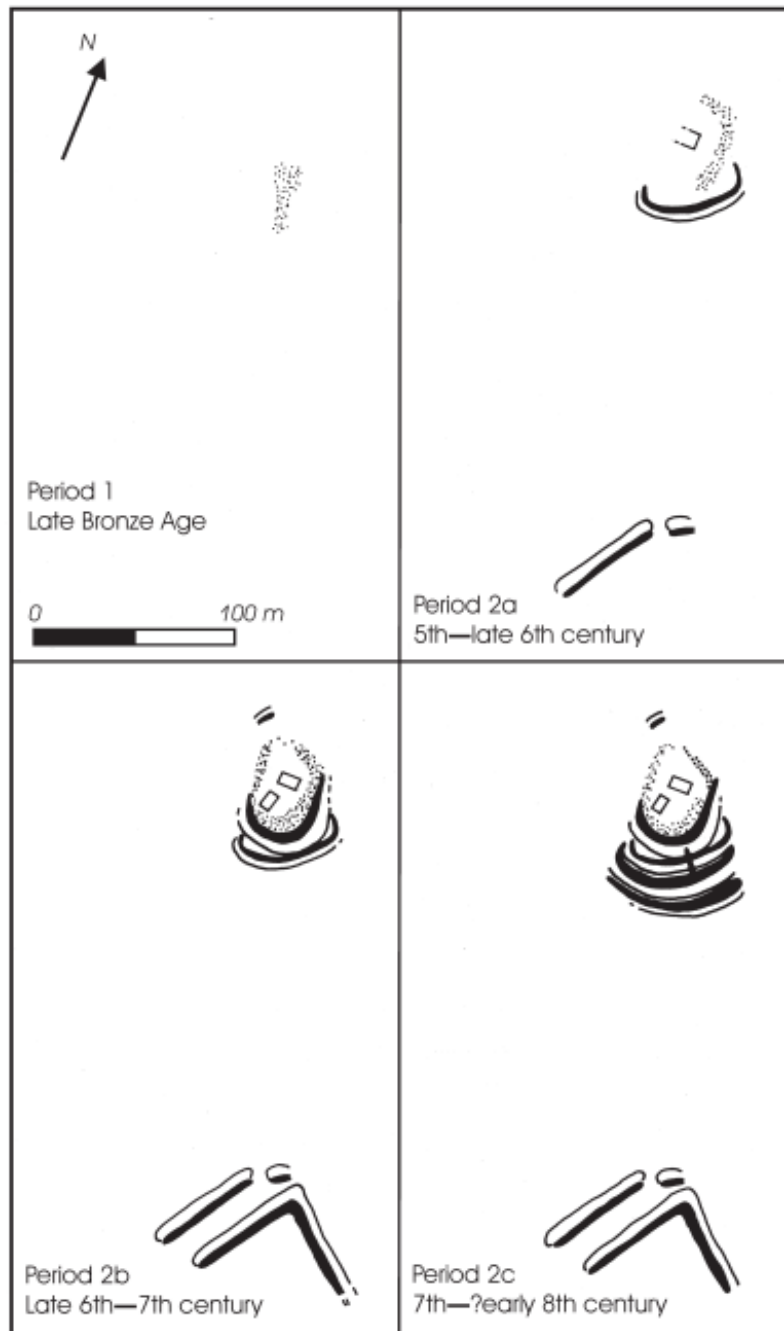


Figure 101

Campbell's (2007a) revised sequence for Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 96)

was presented by the construction of Southern Bank A (Iron Age B) which he interpreted as an uncompleted hill-slope enclosure. Phase 3 was represented by Romano-British pottery which he considered had been brought to the site sometime after its manufacture. Phase 4A saw the northern edge of the ridge enclosed (Bank 2) within a low rampart of dump construction. Phase 4B was represented by early medieval material which Alcock (1963) considered had been scraped up much later during Phase 5 and deposited on Bank 1. After Phase 4B, the site was abandoned until the eleventh/twelfth-century CE, when it was fortified by the addition of Bank 1. He dated the construction of Bank 1 to the Norman period based on four sherds of Norman pottery recovered from its upper layers and interpreted it as a native Welsh fortification constructed in response to the Norman incursion into south Wales. He dated Phase 6 to the late eleventh to twelfth-centuries CE, which comprised of a multivallate ringwork and consisted of the addition of Bank 3 and linked by a causeway to Bank 1. In this interpretation, Banks 4 and 5 were considered to be part of an uncomplete bailey constructed whilst the enclosure was under attack from a Norman siege work represented by Southern Bank B (Alcock, 1963: 16-30, 73-83).

This sequence was accepted at the time of publication and although Alcock (1987) discussed the possibility of alternative phasing when he re-examined the site, he remained with his initial chronology (Alcock, 1987: 20-66, 83-96). It is notable the RCAHMW (1991) survey also followed Alcock's (1963) sequence (RCAHMW: 1991: 95-100).

However, reinterpretations of Alcock's (1963) sequence have questioned the validity of his Norman phases⁴⁸⁶ and analysis of the finds have initiated a major consideration of the sequencing. For example, Campbell (2007b) has assigned

⁴⁸⁶ (e.g. Dark, 1993: 69; Edward & Lane, 1988: 59-61).

Alcock's (1963) Iron Age A pottery to the late Bronze Age (Campbell, 2007b: 13-14). Moreover, in terms of the later chronology of Dinas Powys (Phases 5 and 6) he has noted no other native Welsh defensive works are known in Glamorgan in the period before the Norman invasion. In addition, the medieval vessel from Bank 1 which Alcock (1963) constructed the chronology of Phases 5 and 6 was locally made and therefore, could not have predated the Norman conquest. Furthermore, no other Norman earthworks in south Wales have stone revetted banks. Likewise, the very steep entrance and multivallation at Dinas Powys are unparalleled among Norman period sites. Similarly, he considered the siege work represented by Southern Bank B as showing no relationship to other Norman siege works in south Wales (Campbell, 2007c: 2-3).

On this basis, Campbell (1991, 2007a) has suggested the bulk of the evidence reveals Dinas Powys was neither a Norman ringwork or Welsh work of the same period (Campbell, 1991: 85-109, 2007a: 96-97, 2007c: 3-4). His alternative sequence⁴⁸⁷ for the development of Dinas Powys was represented by unenclosed late Bronze Age activity on the site of the later enclosure. After a long hiatus, early medieval activity commenced in Period 2 which Campbell (2007a) divided into three phases, a, b and c. In Period 2a judged to be fifth to late sixth-century CE, the northern end of the ridge was enclosed within Bank 2, with an entrance to the south-east. This was associated with Mediterranean imported pottery. On this basis of its similarity to Bank 2, Bank A was assigned to this period (Campbell, 1991: 97, 2007a: 96, 2007c: 6).

⁴⁸⁷ (Figure 101: 308)

Period 2b was associated with the use of continental imported pottery, *Dérivées sigillées paléochrétiennes* (DSPA) formerly known as D ware and E ware⁴⁸⁸ and was considered to be dated between the late sixth to seventh-centuries CE. During this phase, the enclosed area appears to have been reduced as a consequence of the construction of Bank 1 over earlier midden deposits inside Bank 2. The original south-eastern entrance was blocked at this stage and he presumed the main entrance was relocated up the very steep slope to the north-west of the site. This entrance was flanked by two large post-holes and was associated with a horn-work constructed towards the top of the slope (Alcock, 1963: 95).

Period 2c was the final phase of permanent occupation. During this period, Banks 3 and 4 were added outside the line of Bank 2. Banks 1 and 3 were linked by a causeway across Bank 2 and a structure may have been constructed inside of Bank 1 and along the northern slope. Dating evidence for period 2c is weak and no material later than the seventh-century CE has been recovered (Campbell, 2007c: 6). The coherence of the ceramic groups on the rear of Bank 1 could be suggestive of the site being abandoned by the early eighth-century CE, sometime after E ware⁴⁸⁹ was brought to the site. Campbell's (1991, 2007a) chronology was far from secure and was based only on his reinterpretation of a complex and very disturbed stratigraphic sequence. However, his revised chronology was confirmed by targeted radiocarbon dating undertaken by Seaman (2013) of material from Bank 1. This consisted of charcoal samples recovered from below and cut into Bank 1 from which a prospective date of *circa* CE 563-647 was derived (Seaman, 2013: 5-7). Consequently, this appears to confirm the site was abandoned sometime in the

⁴⁸⁸ (Chapter 3: 359, 385)

⁴⁸⁹ (Chapter 3: 385)

seventh-century CE and Alcock's (1963) Norman interpretation for the later phasing of the site may be viewed as redundant.

Seaman and Lane's (2019) excavation report of the Ty'n y Coed (Southern Banks) Bank A and associated ditch,⁴⁹⁰ despite being relatively impoverished in terms of material culture, provided datable material from the lower deposits within the ditch. These consisted of hazel charcoal and three radiocarbon dates of *circa* CE 582-661, *circa* CE 660-770 and *circa* BCE 795-542⁴⁹¹ were obtained. However, the samples were small and Seaman and Lane (2019) caution these may well have been older (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 119-120). The bank was approximately 7.5 metres wide and survived to a maximum height of approximately 1.5 metres above the bedrock. A traverse section excavated across the bank deposits revealed a clear construction sequence.⁴⁹² This demonstrated the feature had been constructed on top of a layer of dark buried soil (712) and was indicative of a pre-bank phase of agriculture in part of the hilltop between the main promontory enclosure and Bank B as this layer was not found under Bank B (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 114). It consisted of four distinct dumps of material (715, 707, 714 and 713), two of which had been quarried from the adjacent ditch and appeared to have been constructed from north-east to south-west. The higher banks were highly bioturbated, with patches of limestone rubble (704) surviving in places and considered to be possible remains of a rubble capping. A large spread of limestone rubble (705) lay at the base of the eastern side of the bank and extended beyond it for approximately 3 metres. Although this may represent rubble which had slipped from the steep sides of the bank, it may have

⁴⁹⁰ (Figures 97: 312, 98: 313, 102: 321)

⁴⁹¹ (Figure 102: 321)

⁴⁹² (Figure 102: 321)

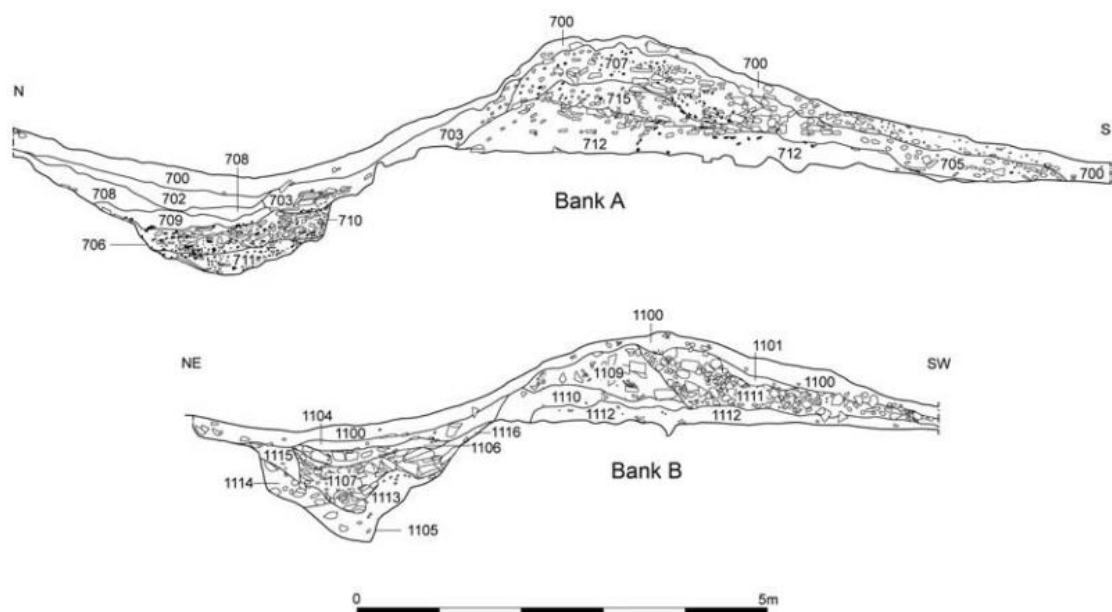


Figure 102 Section drawings of Bank A and B (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 120)

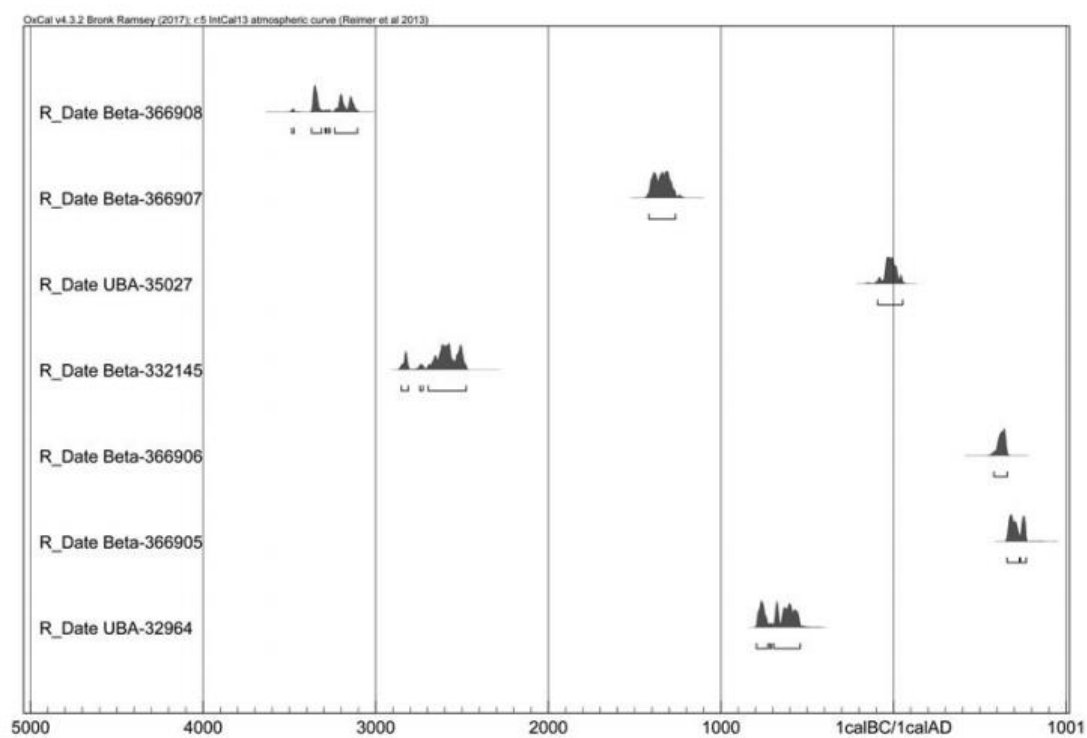


Figure 103

Plot of calibrated radiocarbon dates derived from Dinas Powys (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 120)

been a laid surface to the rear of the rampart and has been interpreted as a possible path running behind the bank. However, no wear or resurfacing evidence was observed (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 114). Furthermore, this excavation failed to produce evidence of revetment, postholes or timber-slots associated with this bank.

The ditch was rock-cut and although some irregular fracturing of the bedrock gave it uneven sides at places, it had a U-shaped profile. The ditch was approximately 4.85 metres at its widest point and cut to a depth of approximately 1.22 metres below the current ground surface. The top of the ditch lay approximately 0.5 metres from the base of the rampart and only a little berm between bank and ditch was evident. The sequence of deposits found, were broadly similar to those observed by during the earlier Alcock (1963) excavation (Alcock: 1963: figure 4; Seaman & Lane, 2019: 114-115).

Bank B lays to the south of Bank A and runs roughly parallel to Bank A before then turning clockwise and running on a south-east alignment for approximately 50 metres.⁴⁹³ The feature was fronted by a ditch, with no visible berm between bank and ditch. This bank is smaller than Bank A and the ditch of the south-east aligned segment was progressively shallower along its length. After the ditch terminated, the line of the bank continued for approximately another 11 metres and became progressively smaller before fading away. Seaman and Lane (2019) estimated the earthwork to have enclosed an area of 0.2 hectares (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 117-118).

The feature shared the revetted construction technique of Bank 1 and Campbell (1991, 2007) has suggested its construction may have necessitated an expansion of

⁴⁹³ (Figures 97: 312, 98: 313, 102: 321)

settlement outside of the enclosure's defences (Campbell, 1991: 100, 2007c: 6). Seaman and Lane's (2019) Trench 13 indicated Bank B's surviving dimensions being approximately 5.3 metres wide, with a height of approximately 1.13 metres above the bedrock. Bank B had a noticeably different form of construction to Bank A and was constructed on top of a layer of buried soil (1112) which showed no evidence of disturbance through agriculture. The core of the bank was comprised of two dumps of clay and rubble (1109 & 1110) which appears to have been derived from quarrying the adjacent ditch (1107 & 1116). This clay and rubble core was overlain by extensive deposits of limestone rubble (1108 & 1111) and included blocks of quarried stone. Similar deposits were observed in the adjacent ditch (1107 & 1116) and were interpreted as the disturbed remains of collapsed revetment. No postholes or slots for timber facing were identified (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 117).

The ditch fronting the bank was V shaped. It was cut to a depth of approximately 1.43 metres below the current ground surface. However, uneven fracturing and degradation of the bedrock produced an irregular profile. Deposits within the bank included very large quarried blocks of limestone. Seaman and Lane (2019) consider these must have derived as a consequence of collapse of the bank revetment and the quantity of stone alongside the presence of large voids, suggest these accumulated quickly and was possibly the result of the deliberate destruction of the bank (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 117). The revetment collapse was sealed by reddish-brown clayey silt (1104) from which several sherds of Glastonbury Ware were recovered along with two fragments of hazel charcoal provided radiocarbon dating evidence of *circa* 92 BCE-CE 54 (Deacon, 2019: 120-123).

Alcock's Bank 5 set between the main enclosure and his Southern Banks has been dismissed as a post-medieval field boundary (Alcock, 1963: 83; Seaman, 2013: 6;

Seaman & Lane, 2019: 119). Seaman and Lane's (2019) consideration of the function and interpretation of the Southern Banks (Ty'n y Coed earthworks) evidence further challenges Alcock's (1963, 1987) explanations of the site. For instance, they consider Bank A may have been associated with early medieval occupation of the main enclosure as its ditch was located to the north of the bank and appears to 'face' the promontory above. The possible stone laid surface to the south of the bank (705) may suggest the focus of activity was on its inside. Furthermore, it was from this area Alcock (1963) reported a quantity of burnt daub (Alcock, 1963: 21). They note however, the monument may have been unfinished and therefore, it is not certain what function was intended for its final form. It is possible Bank A formed the southern part of an unrealised bifocal arrangement of settlement which aimed to reoccupy the interior of Bank B as suggested by Campbell (1991). A possible parallel may be the site at Crickley Hill, where a timber palisaded enclosure containing rectilinear houses located towards its centre and a small cluster of rectilinear sunken floored houses, associated with glass tempered pottery approximately 200 metres to its south-east which have been interpreted as juxtaposed high/low status settlements.^{494 495}

The conclusions reached by Seaman and Lane (2019) regarding Bank B are more definitive and appear to offer a degree of cultural continuity from the pre-Roman period. For example, whilst the rock cut ditch and revetted bank represent substantial investments of labour, its south-eastern arm gets progressively smaller along its length until it faded away. Therefore, it did not form a complete enclosure. This may mean its builders abandoned their scheme prior to its completion or it may represent an example of a small incomplete/partial enclosure of a distinct settlement

⁴⁹⁴ (Campbell, 1991: 100; Dixon, 1983: 73-78; Jarret, 2011:5, Seaman & Lane, 2019: 127-128)

⁴⁹⁵ (Chapter 3: 333)

type in existence during the Bronze and Iron Age in south-eastern Wales (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 128). These include Blaen-cwm Bach, Cefn Morfudd, Coed y Cymdda, Gron Gaer, Gwersyll, Mynydd y Fforest and Tor-Gro which occupy similar topographic positions to Bank B, are of comparable size to Ty'n y Coed and curvilinear in form (RCAHMW, 1976b: 13). Oliver Davis' (2017) analysis of aerial photography and LIDAR data has identified rectilinear examples in Glamorgan at Cowshed Field, Derry Farm, Green Down and Lavernock although these are represented by three rather than two sides of enclosure (Davis, 2017: 12). Other incomplete enclosures of less than one hectare are known through aerial photography in the Bristol/Avon area (Powlesland, 2009:48) and near Danebury, Hampshire (Palmer, 1984: 54).

Seaman and Lane (2019) note the Southern (Ty'n y Coed) Banks are distinct in the way they fade away rather than ending abruptly. In addition, a geophysical survey and trial trenching failed to reveal features within Bank B. They viewed this as unsurprising, due to the small size of the permitted excavation and the fact the area had been ploughed during the post-medieval period. However, the recovery of Glastonbury Ware, fragments of burnt daub, flint and a possible sling stone from below the buried soil layer below Bank B were suggestive of a site which was in occupation and remained so, for a considerable period. This is further supported by charcoal rich soil preserved below Bank A (712) from which pottery fragments similar to Glastonbury Ware were recovered. Overall, they consider the monument could be described as a univallate L-shaped enclosure of approximately 0.2 hectares which was occupied in the later Iron Age and potentially into the early Romano-British period (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 128-129).

Material culture and stratigraphy⁴⁹⁶ provides a possible sequence of settlement on the hilltop and banks. The earliest phase was represented by an assemblage of flints⁴⁹⁷ from the promontory enclosure (Alcock, 1963: 168-175) and two late Neolithic/Bronze Age radiocarbon dates from soil sealed by Southern (Ty'n y Coed) Banks A and B.⁴⁹⁸ Sherds of prehistoric pottery⁴⁹⁹ recovered from pre-rampart contexts in the promontory enclosure, included forms which have been dated between the middle to late Bronze Age (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 129). Other examples recovered from Banks 1 and 3 have a later character and have been dated to the beginning of the Iron Age (Deacon, 2019: 120-124). In addition a number of cattle, pig and sheep/goat bones were recovered from pre-rampart deposits⁵⁰⁰ and it is possible postholes and stakeholes in the south-eastern part of the promontory and below Bank 3 were associated with prehistoric activity (Alcock, 1963: 27; Campbell, 1991: 55). Alcock (1963) and Campbell (1991) have discussed the possibility of Bank 2 being prehistoric in date, although both have favoured construction occurring sometime in the fifth or sixth-centuries CE (Alcock, 1963: 27; Campbell, 1991: 55).

Seaman and Lane (2019) suggest whilst the dating evidence should not be overstated, do point out the distributions of prehistoric sherds which extended either side of Bank 2, could mean occupation was not constrained by the feature and evidenced by the fact only two small sherds were recovered from below it (Campbell, 1991: Illustration 90). However Alcock (1963), when discussing a single sherd of early medieval import ware, also recovered from Bank 2 noted the area was heavily disturbed by animal burrows (Alcock, 1963: 27) and this could mean Bank 2 was effectively undated. Although Alcock (1963) argued the focus of prehistoric

⁴⁹⁶ (Chapter 3: 341-344, 359-391)

⁴⁹⁷ (Figure 166: 382)

⁴⁹⁸ (Figure 103: 321)

⁴⁹⁹ (Figure 152: 374)

⁵⁰⁰ (Chapter 3: 341-344)

settlement probably lay outside of the excavated area (Alcock, 1963: 18-19), Seaman and Lane (2019) consider it a strong possibility Bank 2 was associated with occupation on the northern end of the promontory between the middle Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 129-130). However, the only evidence for Bronze Age and Iron activity were radiocarbon dates derived from hazel charcoal.⁵⁰¹ Furthermore, no later Iron Age material has been recovered from the promontory, when the Southern (Ty'n y Coed) Banks appear to have been constructed and may mean a shift in the focus of occupation occurred away from the promontory during this period. This phase of occupation may have extended into the second-century CE, however there is little evidence for Romano-British occupation for either the promontory or Southern (Ty'n y Coed) Banks during the third or fourth-centuries CE (Seaman & Lane, 2019: 130).

Post-Roman occupation of the promontory enclosure appears to have commenced in the mid to late fifth-century CE and was probably enclosed by Bank 2. During the mid to late sixth century CE Bank 1 was constructed inside of Bank 2, reducing the occupied area to below 0.1 hectare. This was followed by the addition of Banks 3 and 4 at later dates. It is possible Southern (Ty'n-y-Coed) Bank A may have been instigated as a second lower status settlement focus or successor to the promontory fort.

In either setting, it appears not to have been completed. No material culture has been recovered from the site dated after *circa* CE 700 and this may mark the end of occupation at this place. Other high-status defended settlements known in Wales were also abandoned around this time and may be possibly seen as part of wider

⁵⁰¹ (Figure 103: 321)

processes of socio-political and economic change which took place during the 'long eighth century' (Seaman, 2016: 43).

Alcock's (1963) interpretive model for Dinas Powys was predominately drawn from literary sources including the medieval Welsh law books. He concluded the early medieval phase of occupation was representative of a 'llys or court of a local ruler with its neuadd or hall (House 1) surrounded by subsidiary buildings of stone and timber forming the centre of a range of agricultural, industrial and domestic pursuits' (Alcock, 1963: 55. 1987: 50, 83-95). There is good evidence for this interpretation and the settlement as has been mentioned, was possibly the centre of a petty kingdom which existed before Meurig's dynastic consolidation of south-eastern Wales.^{502 503}

This possibility can be demonstrated in the following ways. For example, the limited number of buildings of the settlement's interior is suggestive of accommodation being restricted to a certain number of permanent or semi-permanent occupants. It seems the group went to particular lengths to separate themselves and stress their differences from the rest of society with whom they lived. This may reflect their identity as real or aspired local rulers. Moreover, all phases of early medieval activity were enclosed by earth and stone ramparts and rock cut ditches. In addition, the emphasis of the enclosure appears to have increased over time with the monumentality of the walls growing in phases 2b and 2c. The dimensions of Bank 1 (bank 6/9 metres by 1.5/1.8 metres, ditch 5.5 metres by 1.5 metres) and Bank 3

⁵⁰² (Chapter 3: 231-236)

⁵⁰³ (Figures 75a: 223, 76a: 225, 76b: 226).

(bank 6 metres by 1.8 metres, ditch between 7 metres and 1.8 metres) appear to have been particularly monumental.

Alcock (1971, 1987) has offered an interpretation of post-Roman defended settlements in terms of warfare (Alcock, 1971, 1987: 181). Violence and warfare appear to have been a very common aspect of the early Middle Age although defence need not be the sole reason for the construction of ramparts around settlements (Bowden & McOmish, 1987: 79-84; Collis, 1996b: 95-116). Furthermore, not all high-status sites were defended or enclosed (e.g. Longbury Bank) (Campbell & Lane, 1993: 15-77). It seems the choice to enclose or not, by means of a physical barrier may reflect a desire to define a particular space or social group (Collis, 1996: 88-90; Hingley, 1990: 96-103; Sharples, 2007: 181). It may be indicative of cultural continuity in south-east Wales.

For example, Iron Age and Roman settlements in the south-east of Wales including Biglis, Thornwell Farm and Whitton (Hughes, 1996: 8-12; Jarrett & Wrathmell, 1981: 7-12; Parkhouse, 1988: 7-12; Vyner & Allen, 1988: 69-74) were fully or partially enclosed by banks or ditches comparable to the Phase 2A enclosure at Dinas Powys. These enclosures tended to remain static over time and once the initial enclosure was formed there is little evidence for later boundary elaboration. In some cases the boundary was only partial such as the one at Thornwell Farm and may have been simply symbolic in nature (Hughes, 1996: 96-97).

In the earliest post-Roman period at Dinas Powys (Phase 2A), the occupants appear to have defined their settlement by constructing an enclosure formed of a single earth and rubble bank and ditch (Bank and Ditch 2). It is possible this enclosure served a defensive function, although the dimensions of Bank and Ditch 2 were

similar to those of apparent non-defensive enclosures surrounding Roman settlements at Caldicott Farm (Vyner & Allen, 1988: 69-72) and Whitton (Jarrett & Wrathmell, 1981: 6-7). In addition, the Dinas Powys enclosures were smaller than the banks which partially enclosed the farmsteads at Biglis (Parkhouse, 1988: 10-12) and Thornwell Farm (Hughes, 1996: 8-13).

In contrast to these Romano-British settlements, Dinas Powys was located on a defensible hilltop and was naturally defended on three sides. In addition, it appears as well as having a possible defensive purpose, the Phase 2A earthworks may have been part of the process by which the settlement and the community which lived within it may have been defined. This bank and ditch could have served to differentiate those who dwelt within the enclosure from those outside.

The size of the area enclosed in Phase 2A was approximately 0.17 hectares. This equates to roughly half the size of the area enclosed at Whitton (Jarret & Wrathmell, 1981:183) and may be indicative of a smaller population at Dinas Powys or may mark a change of attitudes towards former Roman communal living and private space practice. Furthermore, the lack of specialist agricultural buildings such as cattle byres, barns, bakehouses or granaries may suggest Dinas Powys was not directly involved in the maintenance of an agricultural estate. However, it is possible agricultural structures were located within the Southern (Ty'n y Coed) Banks (Campbell, 1991: 105).

The multiplication and increase in size of the vallation in Phases 2B and 2C at Dinas Powys is significant. Alcock (1963) argued this was in response to pressure from the Normans and was related to the growing need for defence (Alcock, 1963: 73-83). Seaman's (2013) evidence dismisses this assertion on chronological grounds

(Seaman, 2013: 5). It can be seen the addition of Bank 1 in the late sixth or early seventh-century CE and Banks 3 and 4 in the later seventh-century CE certainly made the promontory enclosure more defensible. However, it could be viewed their addition made the site more monumental and other, more nuanced explanations may lay behind the reasons for their construction.

For example, the construction on Dinas Powys' ramparts would have required the mobilisation of a labour force much larger than could have been provided solely by its inhabitants. This demand for labour may imply the removal of able-bodied individuals from agricultural production and an agricultural surplus to provision the construction work (Alcock, 1988: 26). The role of the rampart construction may have fulfilled other roles including increasing the social isolation of the enclosed community, enhancing the prestige of its inhabitants and settlement (Bowden & McOmish, 1987: 78).

The process of multivallation may have been more than a passive reflection of the prestige of the inhabitants. It is possible the material and cultural practices were part of the various processes by which high and royal status were achieved, portrayed and contested. References contained within the Irish legal tract *Crith Gablach* suggest the construction of ramparts at a king's fort was a labour due expected from royal clients. It also appears the ability to extract this due was one-way royal status was defined, the labour due being a measured portion of the ramparts (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 345, 2000: 150; Warner, 1988: 59).

Construction work at a king's llys was part of the tenure of the king's taeogs in the

Cyfnerth code.⁵⁰⁴ Irish evidence indicates a wider tradition of royal labour dues which were paid by conducting construction work on royal forts during the seventh-century CE (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 366-369). This activity may have served to isolate the royal settlement from the surrounding landscape and simultaneously restate the royal status of the household.

It is possible the practice of work on a king's llys was related to a system of gift exchange between kings and freemen which were central to early medieval power relations (Moreland, 2000: 1-35). The giving of labour for construction of the rampart could be seen as a gift given by the client to the king which was then reciprocated. It may have been a process which bound king and client together and established mutual identities (Sharples, 2007: 174-184).

The multivallation of Dinas Powys occurred between the late sixth and late seventh-centuries CE, with Bank 1 being constructed over several episodes. It is possible these may have been linked to periods of political strife such as the death or succession of a king, when systems of clientship were at risk and needed reinforcement, which was demonstrated through gift exchange. After construction, the ramparts would have been permanent reminders to anyone passing or entering the enclosure of the relationships between the royal household and its surrounding communities. The vallation was physical and may have been seen as lasting monuments to intangible personal relationships (Sharples, 2007: 180).

A major consequence of the construction on Bank 1 in Phase 2b was a significant reduction of the total area then enclosed within the ramparts from approximately 0.17 hectares to 0.09 hectares. This may have had significant impacts on the settlement

⁵⁰⁴ (Chapter 3: 218-220)

and its household. For instance, it is possible the retraction in the area necessitated an expansion of the settlement outside the vallation and Campbell (2007b) has suggested Southern Bank B (Ty'n y Coed B) was constructed at this time (Campbell, 2007b: 6). A similar bifocal high and low status settlement form has been reported at Crickley Hill in Gloucestershire. Here, a juxtaposition has been identified between a timber palisaded enclosure which contained rectilinear houses located towards the centre of the enclosure and a small cluster of rectilinear sunken-floored buildings associated with glass-tempered pottery 200 metres away (White, 2007: 170-171). The reduction of the settlement area and growing monumentality of the vallation would have served to strengthen the contrasts between the size of the resident population and its monumentality. It may have presented a dichotomy between inside/outside and inclusion/exclusion. This could have promoted the sense of social isolation and prestige implied by the ramparts, with the aim of enhancing the status and aspirations of its occupants.

Internally, it is possible there was a division of space between a front public/clean and rear dirty/private zones defined by the courtyard formed by Buildings 1B and 2 (Campbell, 2007a: 99-100). If the entrance into the buildings was from the north (House 1B) and west (House 2), movement into the rear zone may have been quite restricted. The overall impression, however, is one of separation between the inside and outside of the settlement, rather than any form of strict internal differentiation.

Building 1A which Campbell has assigned to his Phase 2A was only partially excavated by Alcock (1963) who suggested it may have been left incomplete (Alcock, 1963: 28-33; 1987: 26). Campbell (1991) has noted, similar vague house structures at Biglis (Parkhouse, 1988: 23-26) and suggests it is more plausible as a timber framed building with posts which were only partially earth fast. In Phase 2B,

Building 1A was replaced by Building 1B with approximate dimensions of 15 metres by 8 metres and another Building 2 with approximate dimensions of 10 metres by 6 metres (Campbell, 1991: 103-104, 2007a: 92).

None of the structure of these buildings survive and Alcock (1963) reconstructed them based on a series of drainage gullies cut into the bedrock. A single hearth may have been associated with Building 1B; however it is impossible to prove this through stratigraphy (Alcock, 1963: 28-33). Alcock (1963, 1987) argued buildings 1b and 2 were round-ended stone-built buildings which followed the curve of the drainage gullies. The stone from these buildings was then deposited on the rear of bank 1 in his phase 5 (Alcock, 1963: 28-33, 1987: 28-31). Campbell (1991) has suggested on the basis of gullies being designed to carry water away downslope, then these need not have followed the walls of the buildings. Furthermore, in the light of evidence from timber buildings reconstructed on ephemeral evidence from Wroxeter, he has suggested it was equally likely the drip gullies enclosed timber framed rectangular buildings (Campbell, 1991: 104-106). Alternatively, it is possible the buildings were turf walled with an internal post supported roof (Campbell, 1991: 104).

Possible parallels for Building 2 may include two undated round ended stone buildings which overlay the latest Roman layers at the Roman Gates excavation at Caerleon (Evans & Metcalf: 1992: 54-56), a group of four drystone structures grouped around the north-west corner of Insular XII at Caerwent (Knight, 1996: 60), a similar structure overlying a Roman building at Cold Knap which measured approximately 4.7 metres by 5.2 metres externally and was dated from bone between *circa* CE 565-695 (Evans & Dowdell & Thomas, 1985: 68; Jones, 1985d: 122).

It is possible eating, drinking and sleeping may have taken place in both buildings. Midden material including animal bone, fragments of glass vessels and Late Roman Amphorae (LRA) (Chapter 3: 374) on the northern edge of the settlement opposite the potential entrance to Building 1B which may have been derived from feasting. Similarly, it is possible the midden material on the rear of Bank 1 in the south-west corner of the site was derived from feasting in Building 2 (Campbell, 2007a: 99).

This body of evidence from Glamorgan and Gwent is strongly suggestive of continuity or reuse of Iron Age sites throughout the Romano-British period and afterwards. Factors including site stability overtime strongly suggest the boundaries of Gwent may have originated at a very early stage. Furthermore, earlier Gwentian charters from the *Liber Landavensis* appear to be located at the fringes of later (secular) cantref boundaries and near the Gwentian border with what was to become England.⁵⁰⁵ One reason these earlier grants may have been located in such places could be a king's control over his territory was intermittent and uneven. In addition, and as has been noted, this distribution of charters may be indicative of a policy of developing blocks of ecclesiastical land along secular boundaries as buffer zones for the avoidance of conflict (Jenkins, 1988: 38-39).⁵⁰⁶

Economy, subsistence and society (1): the Cyfnerth code

The society reflected in the Cyfnerth law code was hierarchical in structure and each individual had an economic value. Each person had a galanas (life value) and a sarhaed (injury value) and the kin group or community was at its centre. If a man was free and of native descent, he was considered a bonheddig (nobleman). If he was the freeholding head of a household, he acquired the more elevated status of

⁵⁰⁵ (Figure 89: 282)

⁵⁰⁶ (Chapter 3: 280-291)

uchelwr (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 364-365). This status appeared not to be dependent on wealth, nor did it depend on the possession of taeogs (bond tenants). Research has shown in early medieval Ireland, noble status depended not just on birth but also on having clients who paid food renders. It has been argued a similar situation may have prevailed in Wales at an earlier period (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 364; Howells, 1973-74: 48-67). It is clear certain Welsh uchelwr did possess taeogs and as Longley (2004) has indicated the possession of such, if not a criterion of rank, was regarded as a mark of rank (Longley, 2004: 297).

The Cyfnerth law tracts reveal agriculture was an essential and cyclical activity and reflected the social organisation of a largely agrarian society. The laws provide an insight of the affairs of a people who lived in the countryside and who lived off the land. It is apparent farming was central to the lives of the people to whom the laws applied. This too, appears to have been the case during the Iron Age and Roman interlude.⁵⁰⁷

Although consideration has been given to the buying or selling of animals, (e.g. Jenkins, 1983: 177; Wade-Evans, 1909: 216, 220-223), there are no direct references to commerce or markets in the Cyfnerth code. Instead, the texts were structured around the requirements of ploughing, sowing, harvest and animal husbandry. Additionally, Sara Roberts (2019) has noted a considerable amount of the material relating to agriculture embedded within the law texts were often mentioned in passing, as parts of discussions on other topics, rather than as tractates specifically concerned with farming law (Roberts, 2019: 79). This is demonstrated within sections of the Cyfnerth code dealing with contracts, dues,

⁵⁰⁷ (Chapter 2: 56-98)

tenure, claims, accidents, property and theft, where each tractate discussed matters related to agriculture (Owen, 1841: 686-775).

Although, the primary focus of the laws may not have been on farming, it appears the way agriculture was embedded across the texts, strongly suggests the centrality of the land and of living off the land to all aspects of Gwentian society during this period and as has been discussed, probably before.⁵⁰⁸ Welsh law is considered in this study as a law of the people, made by lawyers and may be viewed as an indigenous system (Jenkins, 1977: 63; Roberts, 2019: 479) which may have had its origins in the prehistoric and Romano-British periods. Within the Cyfnerth code, references to agriculture can be divided between animal classification (domestic or wild), animalistic traits, animal husbandry, arable farming and a calendar regulating its practice.⁵⁰⁹ The tractate termed 'the three columns of law and the worth of wild and tame' (Owen, 1841: 686–795) considered the characteristics of various animals and appears to be the only piece of writing in Cyfnerth medieval Welsh law redactions which dealt with animal husbandry. In the tractate, each animal discussed had a dedicated sub tractate. In each of these details of how the animals were reared, utilised and who looked after them was mentioned. Furthermore, terminology for animals of different ages is fairly precise and may have been inherited from a Celtic pre-Roman past⁵¹⁰ and provide evidence of cultural continuity. The word 'worth' appears to be used within the context of what animals should or not do in relation to the human use of animals.

Whilst the tractate included both 'wild' and 'tame' within its title, its main focus was on domestic animals. These included cattle, horses, goats, pigs, sheep and poultry

⁵⁰⁸ (Chapters 2: 56-63, 83-98, 3: 280-291)

⁵⁰⁹ (e.g. Figure: 12: 58)

⁵¹⁰ (Chapter 4: 571-576)

such as chickens, ducks and geese (Owen, 1841: 704-719, 728-739). Dogs occur in three roles as pet, farm or hunting dogs alongside cats who were viewed as 'guards' of both homes and barns (Owen, 1841: 728-731). The main wild creatures were deer, hawks, falcons and bees (Owen, 1841: 734-739). The hare was not assessed and foxes or wolves were considered as vermin (Owen, 1841: 735). It seems the values given for the animals in the tractate were laid out for compensation purposes if for example, an animal had been stolen or killed. No distinction was made for buying or selling livestock (Owen, 1841: 733-736). Moreover, it is interesting animals without the complete legal characteristics would not be worth the full specified amounts.

The two main sections of law which considered arable farming were tractates which dealt with animal damage to crops and the organisation of ploughing (Owen, 1841: 741-747, 772-773).⁵¹¹ For example, ploughing had to respect route ways,⁵¹² was only carried out in approved areas (Owen, 1841: 765) and taeog-trefi were not to begin ploughing until each taeog had been apportioned an appropriate 'share' (Owen, 1841: 773). Animal trespass was not allowed (Owen, 1841: 741-746) and incurred a range of penalties dependent on the time of the year.⁵¹³

The list of food renders is valuable evidence of food production in medieval Gwent and indicates a variety of food stuffs. According to the Cyfnerth law code, the king's nobles and taeogs owed the royal court food renders as well as money with specific obligations listed in the texts.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ (Chapter 2: 88-91)

⁵¹² (Chapter 2: 60-63, 83-86)

⁵¹³ (Chapter 2: 88-91)

⁵¹⁴ (Chapter 3: 217-219)

Gwestfa can be translated as ‘hospitality’ or more literally as a ‘sleeping place’ (Owen, 2009: 7). Arian is the Welsh word for money or silver and when gwestfa was discussed in financial terms, it was referred to and valued as shares of gwestfa silver (Owen, 1841: 641, 643, 661, 663, 665, 667, 669, 671). Gwestfa as a term is suggestive of origins which encompassed the practical action of hosting the king and his household in a literal sense. It was payable by the king’s free subjects and the financial sum was also explained in commodities. Obligations included wheat, flour, an ox, honey, mead and bragod as being due from a free tref in lieu of his right to claim lodging and provision in a noble’s hall. In contrast, the unfree taeog owed renders called dawnbwyd (literally a food-gift) which included a sow, high quality bread, oats, ale, cheese and butter. These charges were payable to the king on a biannual basis.⁵¹⁵

The Cyfnerth code indicates taeogs appeared to live in hamlets, with some of their number moving according to the season. There are references to winter, autumn and summer dwellings which provide details of their values and some construction elements (Owen, 1841: 721).⁵¹⁶ The descriptions are of wooden buildings and it appears the winter dwelling was of better quality. Other types of farm buildings or structures were evident in the texts and include barns for keeping grain and folds (Owen, 1841: 709, 721, 741). Roberts (2019) considers these would have belonged to higher status men, with the taeogs probably keeping their animals in outhouses rather than purpose-built buildings (Roberts, 2019: 86). It is further evident animals were free to wander as gardens and arable fields occasionally needed protection from straying animals or domestic fowl (Owen, 1841: 715, 721, 741, 743, 745, 747).

⁵¹⁵ (Chapter 3: 217-219)

⁵¹⁶ (Chapter 2: 83-86)

In Gwent, it seems trefi may have been organised communally. For instance, the Cyfnerth code notes there were communal herders in taeog settlements who cared for a large number of animals and who had the assistance of a herding dog all seemingly contained within the 'legal herd' of either cows or pigs (Owen, 1841 741, 743, 745, 789, 795).

It seems the Cyfnerth code appears to have been intended to work around Gwent's agricultural calendar.⁵¹⁷ For example, Law was said to be 'open' for land cases at particular times of year which appear to have fitted around ploughing, reaping and ripening of crops in the land and in periods when Law was 'closed' where no land cases could be held at all (Owen, 1841: 759). It is possible this was linked to practices for claiming land which involved the parties visiting and holding at least part of the land under dispute, which may have been problematic when land was in use for arable farming.

Furthermore, the code seems to have been designed to ensure the wellbeing of the populace in order to guarantee the king's revenues. This wellbeing rested on the success of the crop and the good husbandry of livestock. Animals were the most valuable procession a person could own and laws were necessary to safeguard property and crop production. They also ensured the king's revenues as in previous periods and whilst they only hint at contemporary farming practices, they do demonstrate the methods used to regulate behaviours and exchanges in the form of renders. The similarities of these controls to former later Roman laws are remarkable and is suggestive of continuity.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁷ (Chapter 2: 60)

⁵¹⁸ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

Economy, subsistence and society (2): faunal evidence

Extensive faunal assemblages from the early medieval period have been recovered from two locations near the study area of Gwent at Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog. Excavations at Dinas Powys have yielded a significant number of animal bones due to the alkaline burial environment. The level of preservation provides opportunities to discover aspects of the relationship of the site to its wider landscape, economy and the status and lifestyles of its occupants. The assemblage has received attention,⁵¹⁹ there are however, severe interpretational limitations.

Alcock (1963) has attributed the main basis of the Dinas Powys economy during the early medieval period as stock rearing, although he considers the site was not viable in itself or was involved in animal husbandry (Alcock, 1963: 34, 37). He cites as evidence the large quantities of whole and fragmentary bones recovered from what he supposed was chronologically derived from his Phase 4 sometime between the fifth and seventh-centuries CE (Alcock, 1963: 34-37).⁵²⁰ His original discussion of the animal bone evidence was framed by descriptions of food renders in the medieval Welsh law books and noted the contradictions between the apparent young age of the animals from the assemblage⁵²¹ and the older animals recorded in the law books as gwestfa payments paid to the nobles (Alcock, 1963: 38-40). He later reviewed his arguments but still drew the same conclusion of Dinas Powys receiving its meat through food renders (Alcock, 1975: 117-122). Gilchrist's (1988) re-examination of the assemblage concluded the community was not self-sufficient and proposed the settlement may have been obtaining beef from outside producers who were operating a dairying economy (Gilchrist, 1988: 58-61).

⁵¹⁹ (Alcock, 1963: 34-40, 1975: 117-122; Chaplin, 1975: 123; Gilchrist, 1988: 50-62; Haglund-Calley & Cornwall, 1963: 191-194; Seaman, 2003: 8)

⁵²⁰ (Figure 104a: 342)

⁵²¹ (Figure 104b: 342)

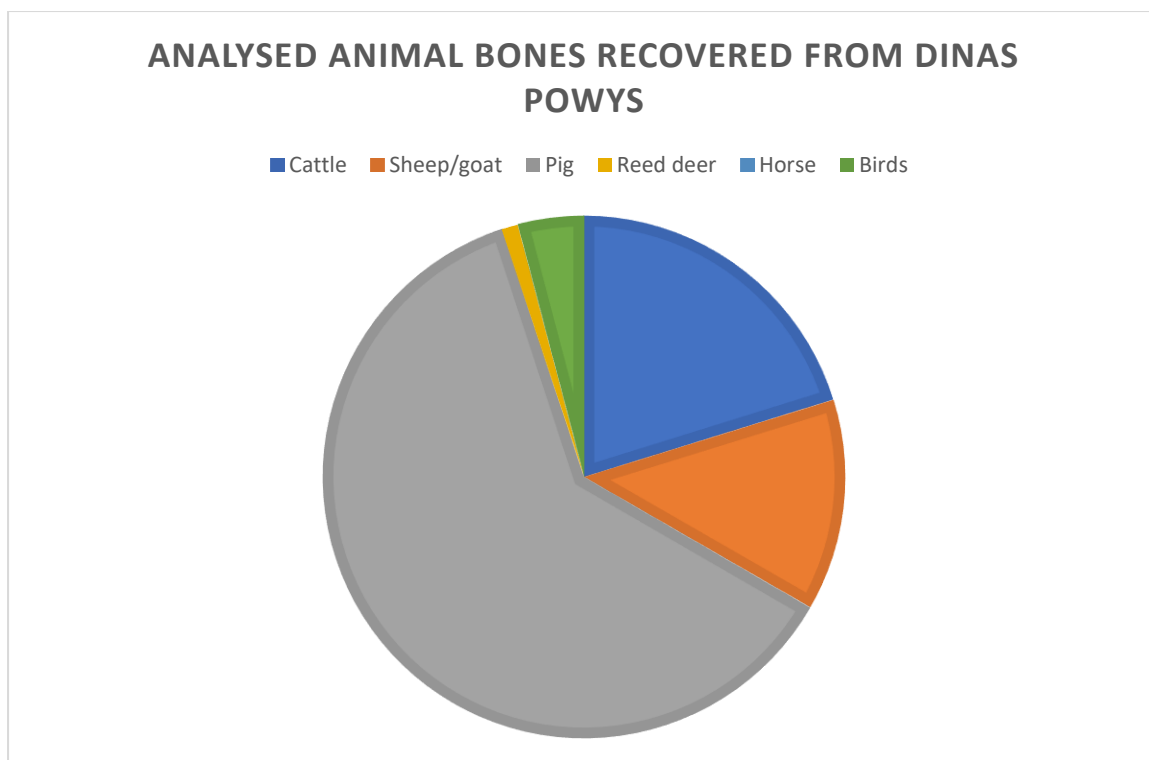


Figure 104a

Proportions by percentage of animal bones recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 36)

Age at death of animals (years)	<1	1-1.5	1.5-2	1-2	2-2.5	2.5-3	>2	2.5-3	Total
Cattle				10	25			15	50
Sheep	5	11	22						38
Pig	85			309	7				401

Figure 104b

Age of animals at death from a sample of animal bones recovered from Dinas Powys (Haglund-Calley & Cornwall, 1963: 192)

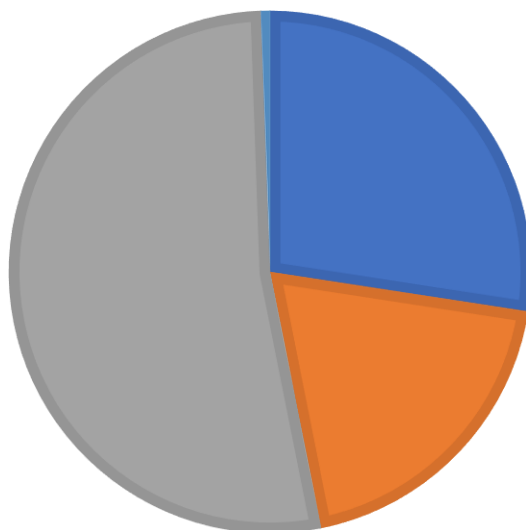
However, problems of interpretation occur because of Alcock's original sampling strategy which saw only a sample of the animal bones retained. The basis of his collection policy varied between the deposits with the intention of 'determining the order and frequency of species and age of slaughtering of the Dinas Powys stock' (Alcock, 1987: 191). The result was to introduce biases into the dataset which prevent the retrieval of statistically viable interpretations as approximately two-thirds of the assemblage was discarded. For example, in some deposits all samples were kept, whilst in others only 'jaws and teeth and those long bones which retained their angular surfaces were retained' (Alcock, 1975: 117). The resultant data⁵²² only allows for the identification of the main species present, that cattle, pigs and sheep were consumed at the site and its community was not practicing self-sufficient animal husbandry (Alcock, 1963: 36). It does not allow for the production of data by species, age by death or sex profiles which can be compared with other assemblages or to form conclusions about contemporary husbandry regimes.

Analysis of faunal material recovered from the crannog at Llangorse lake has been conducted to modern scientific standards and has been precisely dated (Nayling & Tyers, 2019: 102-107). A total of 40,679 fragments have been recorded and analysed by Jacqui Mulville, Adrienne Powell and Julia Best (2019). Of these, 4,302 (10.57 %) were identified to species with most of the assemblage being collected from underwater research corridors and associated zones. The assemblage was effectively unstratified as a consequence. However, significant quantities of identifiable bone were recovered from stratified deposits which confirm the ancient nature of the bone deposits to the brief occupation phase of the crannog and allow

⁵²² (Figure 104a: 342)

DOMESTIC ANIMAL BONE ASSEMBLAGE RECOVERED FROM LLANGORSE CRANNOG

■ Cattle ■ Sheep/goat ■ Pig ■ Horse



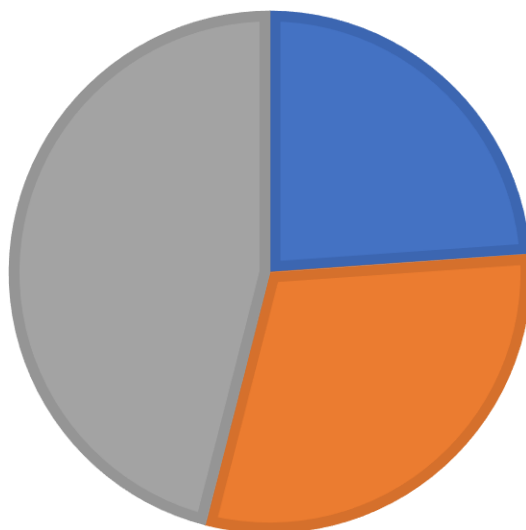
Species	Quantity	%
Horse	20	0.6
Cattle	987	27.4
Sheep	88	
Sheep/goat	607	
Goat	5	
Total sheep/goat	700	19.4
Pig	1892	52.6
Total	3599	100

Figure 105

Major domestic animal bone assemblage recovered from Llangorse crannog. Identification of sheep or goat bones as separate species was not possible in the majority of examples. Where this was possible this has been shown, however for calculation purposes they are shown as a sheep/goat in their entirety (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 175)

MINIMUM INDIVIDUALS ESTIMATES RECOVERED FROM LLANGORSE CRANNOG

■ Cattle ■ Sheep/goat ■ Pig



Element	Cattle	Sheep/goat	Pig
Horn core	5	2	
Skull	2	1	12
Mandible	26	22	102
Atlas	5	3	14
Axis	4	3	0
Scapula	21	15	71
Humerus	41	45	77
Radius	23	59	23
Ulna	20	9	38
Pelvis	32	27	39
Sacrum	1	1	1
Femur	17	17	24
Tibia	20	63	24
Astragalus	38	25	15
Calcaneus	32	9	23
Metacarpal	24	9	23
Metatarsal	26	13	8
Phalanx I	34	3	4
Phalanx II	18	1	15
Phalanx III	4	1	6
Total	393	328	512
MNI	27	34	52

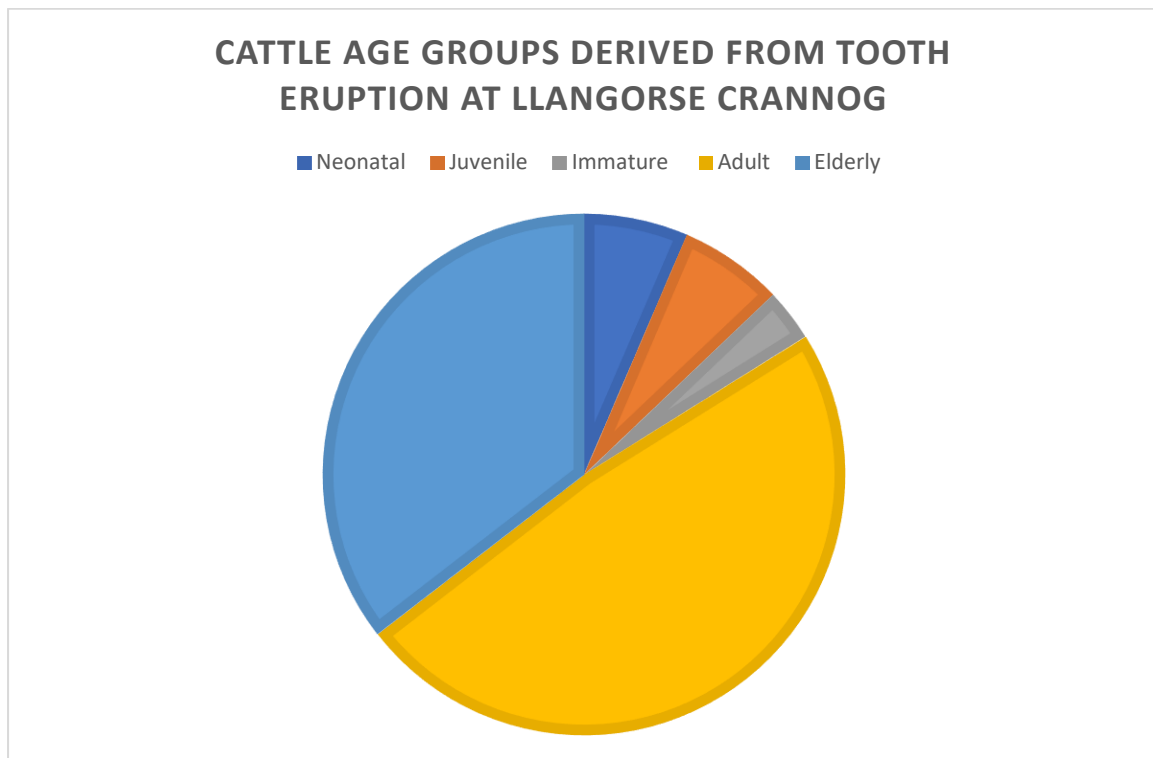
Figure 106

Minimum number of elements (MNE) present for key species and minimum number of individuals (MNI) as calculated by Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 180)

Species	Element	Female	Male	Total ratio by species
Cattle	Pelvis	13	1	13:1
Sheep/goat	Horn core	1	2	
	Pelvis	12	13	13:15
Pig	Maxillary canine	32	6	
	Mandibular canine	63	22	3.4: 1

Figure 107

Sex ratio in the main domestic mammals recovered from Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 178)



Cattle	Neonatal	Juvenile 8-12 months	Immature 1-4 years	Adult 5-8 years	Elderly > 8 years	Total
	2	2	1	15	11	31

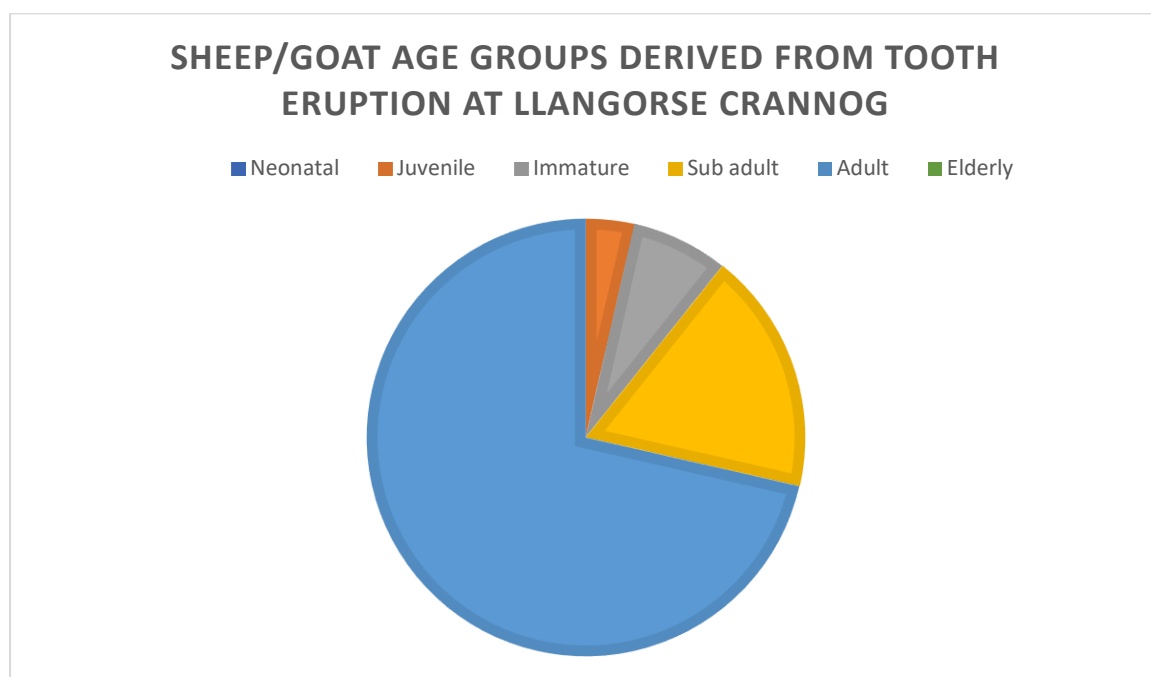
Figure 108

Cattle age groups derived from tooth eruption at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177)

Age at fusion (months)	Element	Fused	Unfused	Total	Percentage unfused	Age group
7-10	Scapula	18	0	18	0.0	<1 year
7-10	Pelvis	29	1	30	3.3	<1 year
12-15	Radius, p	29	1	30	3.3	< 2 years
15-18	Phalanx II	17	1	18	5.5	< 2 years
15-20	Humerus, d	24	0	24	0.0	< 2 years
20-24	Phalanx I	37	0	37	0.0	< 2 years
24-30	Tibia, d	16	2	18	11.1	< 3 years
24-30	Metapodial, d	24	4	28	14.3	< 3 years
36	Calcaneus	3	3	6	50.0	< 4 years
36-42	Femur, p	1	3	4	75.0	< 4 years
42-48	Humerus, p	1	1	2	50.0	< 4 years
42-48	Radius, d	8	1	9	11.1	< 4 years
42-48	Ulna, p	0	1	1	100	< 4 years
42-48	Femur, d	3	5	8	62.5	< 4 years
42-48	Tibia, p	10	1	11	9.1	< 4 years

Figure 109

Cattle aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 178)



Sheep/goat	Neonatal	Juvenile < 1 year	Immature < 2 years	Sub adult < 3 years	Adult < 4 years	Elderly > 4 years	Total
	0	1	2	5	20	0	28

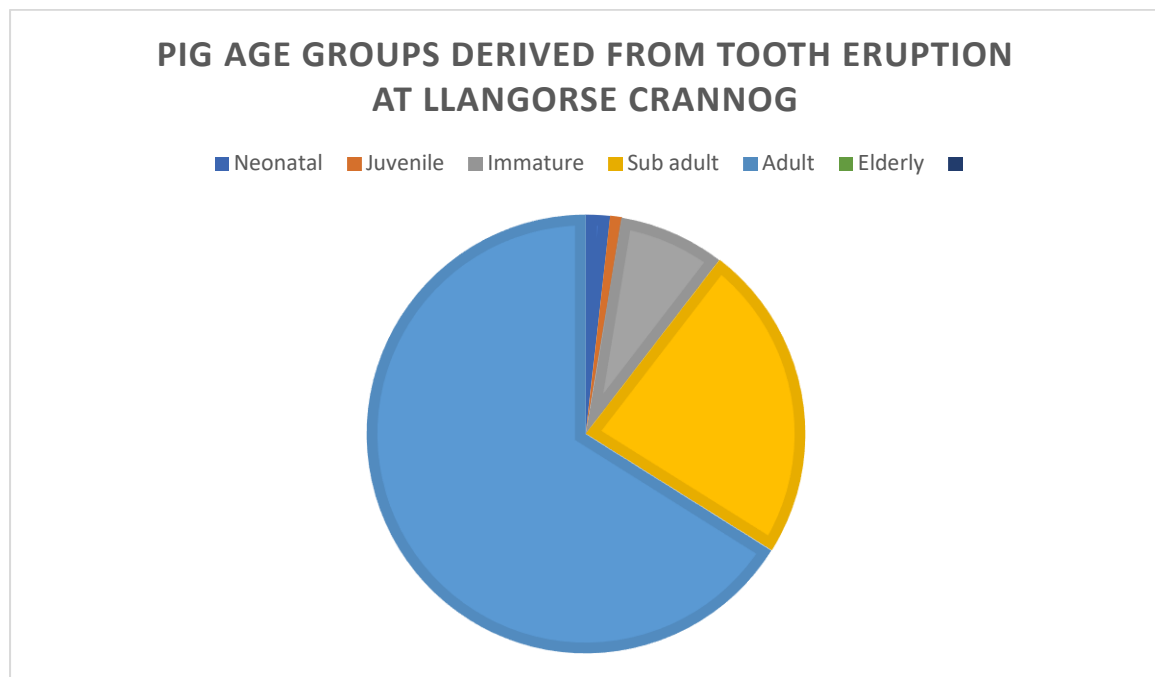
Figure 110

Sheep/Goat age groups derived from tooth eruption at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177)

Age at fusion (months)	Element	Fused	Unfused	Total	Percentage unfused	Age group
3-4	Humerus, d	34	0	34	0.0	< 1 year
3-4	Radius, p	29	0	29	0.0	< 1 year
5	Scapula	10	0	10	0.0	< 1 year
5	Pelvis	31	0	31	0.0	< 1 year
5-7	Phalanx II	0	0	0	0.0	< 1 year
7-10	Phalanx I	2	0	2	0.0	< 1 year
15-20	Tibia, d	30	5	35	14.3	< 2 years
20-24	Metapodial, d	6	3	9	33.3	< 2 years
36	Calcaneus	2	2	4	50.0	< 3 years
36-42	Femur, p	1	6	7	86.0	> 3 years
42	Humerus, p	1	1	2	50.0	> 3 years
42	Radius, d	4	5	9	55.5	> 3 years
42	Ulna, p	0	1	1	100	> 3 years
42	Femur, d	0	2	2	100	> 3 years
42	Tibia, p	0	2	2	100	> 3 years

Figure 111

Goat/sheep aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 178)



Pigs	Neonatal	Juvenile < 1 year	Immature < 2 years	Sub adult < 3 years	Adult < 4 years	Elderly > 4 years	Total
	2	1	9	27	76	0	115

Figure 112

Pig age groups derived from tooth eruption at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177)

Age at fusion (months)	Element	Fused	Unfused	Total	Percentage unfused	Age group
12	Scapula	40	0	40	0.0	< 1 year
12	Humerus, d	32	3	35	8.6	< 1 year
12	Radius, p	23	3	26	11.5	< 1 year
12	Pelvis	28	0	28	0.0	< 1 year
12	Phalanx II	15	0	15	0.0	< 1 year
24	Tibia, d	8	6	14	42.8	< 2 years
24	Metapodial, d	12	11	23	47.8	< 2 years
24	Phalanx I	1	3	4	75.0	< 2 years
24-30	Calcaneus	0	10	10	100	< 3 years
36-42	Ulna, p	0	3	3	100	> 3 years
36-42	Femur, p	1	7	8	87.5	> 3 years
42	Humerus, p	1	3	4	75.0	> 3 years
42	Radius, d	0	2	2	100	> 3 years
42	Femur, d	1	3	4	75.0	> 3 years
42	Tibia, p	1	2	3	66.6	> 3 years

Figure 113

Pig aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177)

Species	Withers height (centimetres)	Element calculated from
Horse	137	Metacarpal
Cattle	106	Metacarpal
Sheep/goat	60	Metacarpal
Pig	69	Tibia

Figure 114

Withers height calculation derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 181)

Species	Quantity	%
Red Deer	295	78.0
Roe Deer	83	22.0
Total	378	100

Figure 115

Deer bones recovered from Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 175)

Element	Red deer	Roe deer
Skull	1	0
Mandible	4	3
Scapula	7	9
Humerus	12	9
Radius	13	4
Ulna	9	1
Pelvis	15	4
Femur	14	2
Tibia	37	7
Astragalus	25	0
Calcaneus	29	7
Metacarpal	1	2
Metatarsal	3	4
Phalanx I	6	1
Phalanx II	3	0
Phalanx III	1	1
Total	180	20
MNI	20	6

Figure 116 Minimum number of elements (MNE) present for Red deer and Roe deer and minimum number of individuals (MNI) as calculated by Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 180)

Age at fusion	Element	Fused	Unfused	Total	Percentage unfused
Early fusing	Scapula	7	0	7	0.0
Early fusing	Pelvis	14	1	15	6.6
Mid fusing	Radius, p	13	0	13	0.0
Mid fusing	Phalanx II	3	0	3	0.0
Mid fusing	Humerus, d	10	0	10	0.0
Mid fusing	Phalanx I	5	0	5	0.0
Late fusing	Tibia, d	38	0	38	0.0
Late fusing	Calcaneus	16	1	17	5.9
Late fusing	Femur, p	7	0	7	0.0
Late fusing	Humerus, p	0	0	0	0.0
Late fusing	Radius, d	11	1	12	8.3
Late fusing	Ulna, p	0	0	0	0.0
Late fusing	Femur, d	8	1	9	11.1
Late fusing	Tibia, p	4	1	5	20.0

Figure 117 Deer aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 179)

Species	Chopped	Chopped and cut	Cut	Split	Sawn	Worked	Total
Cattle	39	1	34	3	3		80
Sheep/goat	8		31				39
Pig	15	2	51			1	69
Red deer	14	3	15				32
Roe deer			3	1			4
Large mammal	7	1	1				9
Medium mammal	7	1	5				13
Unidentified						4	4
Total	90	8	140	4	3	5	250

Figure 118 Summary of butchery characteristics by frequency and species recovered from Llangorse Crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 181)

BIRD BONE ASSEMBELAGE RECOVERED FROM LLANGORSE CRANNOG

■ Grebe ■ Comorant ■ Anatidae ■ Swan ■ Goose ■ Duck
■ Chicken ■ Galliformes ■ Coot ■ Moorhen ■ Wader ■ Passerine

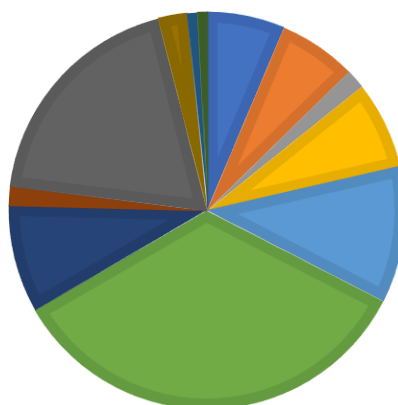


Figure 119

Bird species recovered from Llangorse Crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 175)

Species	Quantity	%
Pike	88	59.8
Salmon/trout	2	1.4
Bream	4	2.8
Perch	8	5.5
Roach	37	25.1
Cyprinid	8	5.5
Total	147	100

Figure 120

Fish species recovered from Llangorse Crannog (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 175)

an acceptance the general percentages of species as accurate depictions of activity (*circa* CE 890-CE 916) (Redknap & Lane, 2019: 188).

Much of the bone was recovered in good condition, however in some cases the surface cortex was damaged due to water damage and post excavation drying out. This appears to have had the effect of affecting the survival of butchery and gnawing marks on the bone surfaces with butchery marks being present on 3 % of the identifiable material. Of these, cutting and chopping were the most common marks left by carcass processing. Sawing, splitting and working were noted on a small number of bone with knife marks being more frequent than chop marks.⁵²³ Another difficulty caused by dark staining after emersion has made it difficult to distinguish reliably between bones which were unburnt or those which had been charred. Despite the effects of surface degradation, carnivore gnawing damage, probably from dogs occurred in at least 715 of the identified bones. (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 175-176, 181). Cattle, pigs and sheep account for 3599 samples (83.0 %) of identifiable samples.⁵²⁴

The cattle bone assemblage consisted of 987 (27.4 %) examples. Tooth eruption and wear data was derived from thirty-one cattle specimens and provides evidence for a broad spectrum of age ranges which were categorised as neonatal, juvenile animals just past weaning (8-12 months, immature adults (1-4 years), adults (5-8 years) and elderly animals (> 8 years). These consisted of approximately six (19.3 %) younger animals, fifteen adult (48.4 %) and ten (32.3 %) elderly animals. Mulville,

⁵²³ (Figure 118: 350)

⁵²⁴ (Figure 105: 344)

Powell and Best (2019) have estimated the age range for adult animals as between five and eight years (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 176-177).⁵²⁵

The epiphyseal analysis consisted of 220 elements and revealed a moderate kill-off for third year animals (13 %), a much greater number of animals killed in their fourth year (24 %) and nearly two-thirds of animals (63 %) surviving beyond their fifth year. This evidence was consistent with the dental data. However, no younger specimens were present (Mulville, Powell & Best: 2019: 176-178).⁵²⁶

There appears to have been a marked preference for female animals to males with a respective ratio of 13:1 (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 178).⁵²⁷ From the cattle bone assemblage, Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) estimate there were a minimum number of twenty-seven cattle recovered from Llangorse crannog. However, individual cattle heads were poorly represented with only two skulls recovered, whilst there was an abundance of elements from the extremities. Furthermore, they note there were slightly more hind limbs than forelimbs (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 179-180).⁵²⁸

The majority of sheep and goat bones could not be identified by species and provided a total sample of 700 (19.4 %) bones. However in those which could be determined, sheep were considerably more frequent and were more prevalent than goats by a ratio of 17.6 to 1 (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 175).⁵²⁹ The dental data for sheep/goat consisted of a sample containing twenty-eight individuals. These were categorised by the Llangorse study as neonatal, juvenile (< 1 year), immature (< 2 years), sub-adult (< 3 years), adult (< 4 years) and elderly (> 4 years). Of these,

⁵²⁵ (Figure 108: 346)

⁵²⁶ (Figure 109: 347)

⁵²⁷ (Figure 107: 346)

⁵²⁸ (Figure 106: 345)

⁵²⁹ (Figure 105: 344)

there were approximately one juvenile (3.6 %), two immature (7.1 %), five sub-adults (17.9 %) and twenty adults (71.4 %). There were no neonatal examples present (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177-176).⁵³⁰

The sheep/goat epiphyseal analysis consisted of 178 elements and broadly correlates with the dental data. There was an absence of very young animals (0 %), a number of animals dying in their second year (4.5 %), followed by very substantial kill-offs of third and fourth-year animals (95.5%). No elderly animal samples were present (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177-178). In terms of gender the sheep/goat profile was balanced at a ratio of 4.8: 5.2 female to male respectively (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177-178). Sheep/goat body parts were more evenly distributed between hindlimb and forelimb. The representation of heads and extremities was also comparable; however these elements were not numerous.⁵³¹

Pigs were the most abundant species and 1,892 (52.6 %) fragments using all methods of quantification were recovered.⁵³² Tooth eruption and wear data was derived from 115 pig specimens and Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) categorised them in age sets as neonatal, juvenile (< 1 year), immature (< 2 years), sub-adult (< 3 years), adult (< 4 years) and elderly (> 4 years). There were approximately two (1.7 %) neonatal, one (0.9 %) juvenile and nine (7.9 %) immature examples. However, wear on third molars on twenty-seven (23.5 %) sub-adult and seventy-six (66.0 %) adult pigs indicated a preference for animals of between two or three years of age. There were no elderly examples present (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 176-177).⁵³³

⁵³⁰ (Figure 110: 347)

⁵³¹ (Figure 111: 348)

⁵³² (Figure 105: 344)

⁵³³ (Figure 112: 348)

This preference for older animals was confirmed by epiphyseal analysis. Mulville, Powell and Best's (2019) fusion evidence consisted of 209 elements. There were a small number of animals dying in their first year (2.9 %), followed by sizeable kill-off in the second year (9.6 %). Large scale mortality in the third and fourth years (87.5 %) was evident and is suggestive of few animals surviving beyond their fourth year (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177).⁵³⁴ The pig remains show a weighting towards female animals at a ratio of approximately 4: 1 respectively.⁵³⁵ They note there was a disparity in the representation of body parts, with head and forelimb being more abundant than hindlimb elements and extremities (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177-179).⁵³⁶

Horse bones were rare in this assemblage (0.6%)⁵³⁷ with evidence from two specimens comprising of unworn deciduous incisors which indicated the presence of very young animals (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177).

Red deer and Roe deer comprised a substantial proportion of the bones at Llangorse crannog with 295 and 83 fragments respectively. The assemblage data indicated twenty Red deer and six Roe deer individuals were present. Three fragments of antler were recovered. The fusion data demonstrates the animals were overwhelmingly adult (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 178).⁵³⁸

Other wild mammals present in the assemblage included fox, otter and hare (Mulville, Powell & Best: 179). The possibility of wild boar being present in the pig assemblage was indicated but unproven (Mulville, Powell & Best: 178). In addition,

⁵³⁴ (Figure 105: 344)

⁵³⁵ (Figure 106: 345)

⁵³⁶ (Figure 113: 349)

⁵³⁷ (Figure 105: 344)

⁵³⁸ (Figures 115: 349, 116: 350, 117: 350)

dogs were present and provided a sample of eighteen bones with evidence of smaller and larger breed types (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 177-178).

Furthermore, Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) note the fragmentation and taphonomic modifications on the assemblage have limited the number of measurements which could have been taken. For example, complete bones were scarce and as a consequence few withers heights for single individuals could be calculated (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 181).⁵³⁹

The majority of the bird species were wild and 126 examples were recovered. Ducks was the most common group (34.1 %), Coot was well represented (19.1 %), with geese (11.2 %), swans (7.1 %) and cormorants (6.3 %) being present in the finds. Due to the location of the site, it is possible waterfowl may have been non-anthropogenically incorporated into the assemblage. However, cut marks upon two ducks indicate a range of birds may have been captured in the surrounding environments. Chickens appear to be uncommon at this site (Mulville, Powell & Best: 2019: 175, 182).⁵⁴⁰

Fish bone appear to be relatively rare considering the location of this site. They mainly came from the underwater deposits and Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) consider it is likely their occurrence was intrusive. Most of the fish bones present were pike (59.8 %), cyprinids including roach (30.6 %), perch (5.5 %) and salmon or trout (1.4 %). Each of these species were species which would have lived locally in the lake. It is therefore difficult to determine if they represent natural mortalities,

⁵³⁹ (Figure, 114: 349)

⁵⁴⁰ (Figure 119: 351)

recent fishing activities or ancient food waste (Mulville, Powell & Best: 175,182-183).⁵⁴¹

Overall, the animal bone assemblage reveals a site which relied chiefly on the main domestic animal breeds for its food. However, there was a significant proportion of hunted deer. Pork appears to have been the prominent meat consumed, followed by beef and mutton with smaller quantities of venison. Mulville, Powell and Best (2019) consider the age and sex profiles of the mammals in the Llangorse crannog assemblage do not reflect the economy of a self-sufficient producer site, which would see an abundance of young stock animals comprising natural fatalities or culled males surplus to milk, breeding or traction requirements. Within the pig group, there was an overwhelming preference for adult females and a lack of elderly individuals. The quantity of the assemblage formed by pigs, whose secondary products are limited to manure, may suggest a focus on high status food and feasting at Llangorse crannog. If so, the site can be identified as a consumer site, with the occupants enjoying a diet rich in mature pork, younger mutton and older beef. In the cattle group, there appears to have been a preference for the slaughter of mature or elderly cows who may have been worn out breeding stock or poor milkers. A proportion of young sheep/goat were present, although there were no very young animals. It therefore seems likely on-site breeding was not occurring in any quantity. Furthermore, the near parity of the sexes could suggest mutton and wool production were important in the wider economy (Mulville, Powell & Best, 2019: 184).

It is interesting the age profiles retrieved from the assemblage appear to be reminiscent of animals given as part of *dawnbwyd* and *gwestfa* renders due to the king in medieval Wales. In the *Cyfnerth* code, the age and sex of a required food

⁵⁴¹ (Figure 120: 351)

render animal was recorded as a sow of 'three fingers thick in the shoulder', an ox, a fat wether or a cow of three years (Owen, 1841: 743, 771). The age profile at Llangorse crannog indicates many pigs were killed in their third and fourth year and the law texts included provision for payment of older less useful cattle which the laws reveal were still considered as being in their prime from their second until their ninth calf or males until their sixth season of ploughing (Owen, 1841: 715).⁵⁴² In an economic context, the evidence may indicate animals consumed at Llangorse crannog were being surrendered as food renders at the end of their useful lives. In addition, the contribution of deer at Llangorse crannog may be reflective of elite expression and the apparent prevalence of Red deer may indicate a hunting preference or local availability.⁵⁴³

The body part evidence may be suggestive of certain processing protocols were being observed as meat was procured for the settlement and appears to reflect gwestfa and dawnbwyd laws.^{544 545} This is further supported by the discovery of deposits of charred grains during the excavations of Llangorse crannog. Here, archaeobotanical evidence suggests bread wheat, barley, oats, beans and flax were grown in the locale in the late ninth and early tenth-century CE. However, the grain was largely processed before being taken to the crannog and the presence of corn querns confirm food preparation at the site. These may have been used to make bread, ale and porridge or used for animal feed (Caseldine & Griffiths, 2019: 158-173). This archaeological evidence is reflected in the Cyfnerth code in the form of the

⁵⁴² (Figures 106: 345, 107: 346, 108: 346, 109: 347, 110: 347, 111: 348)

⁵⁴³ (Figures 115: 349, 116: 350)

⁵⁴⁴ (Chapter 2: 217-221)

⁵⁴⁵ (Figures 106: 345, 110: 347)

king's gwestfa. For example, bread, wheat flour, oats, ale or bragod along with butter and cheeses were all listed as being part of the 'dues' to the king.⁵⁴⁶

Economy, subsistence and society (3): material culture

The assemblage of finds recovered from Dinas Powys include fifth to early eighth-century CE imported pottery and glass. This material and similar finds from other sites in western Britain and Ireland have been investigated by Campbell (1991, 2007a). His examination of the imported material can be broadly classified into two phases both of which were represented at Dinas Powys. The first phase was represented by fine tableware vessels from the Mediterranean including Phocaean Red Slipware (PRS) from western Turkey and a range of dishes and bowls known as African Red Slipware (ARS) from Carthage.⁵⁴⁷ At least four vessels were recovered from Dinas Powys and appear to have reached western Britain *circa* CE 525 (Campbell, 2007a: 19-22). Likewise, at least six storage vessels known as Late Roman Amphorae (LRA)⁵⁴⁸ occurred alongside the African and Aegean wares which appear to have been contemporaneous (Campbell, 2007a: 18-24).

A second trading system developed *circa* CE 550 which has been associated with traders from production centres near Bordeaux and further subdivided into two chronological and geographical groups. At Dinas Powys these included a group of at least nine reduced black-slipped greywares consisting of plates, bowls, cups and *mortaria* known as DSPA or D ware.⁵⁴⁹ These were recovered alongside later E ware and earlier Mediterranean imports.⁵⁵⁰ Campbell (2007a) has argued this evidence

⁵⁴⁶ (Chapter 3: 217-226)

⁵⁴⁷ (Figures 122: 361, 123: 361, 152: 374, 153: 374, 155: 375)

⁵⁴⁸ (Figures 124: 362, 125: 362, 126: 363, 153: 374, 155: 375)

⁵⁴⁹ (Figures 127: 363, 128: 363, 129: 364, 130: 365, 131: 365, 132: 365)

⁵⁵⁰ (Figure 155: 375)

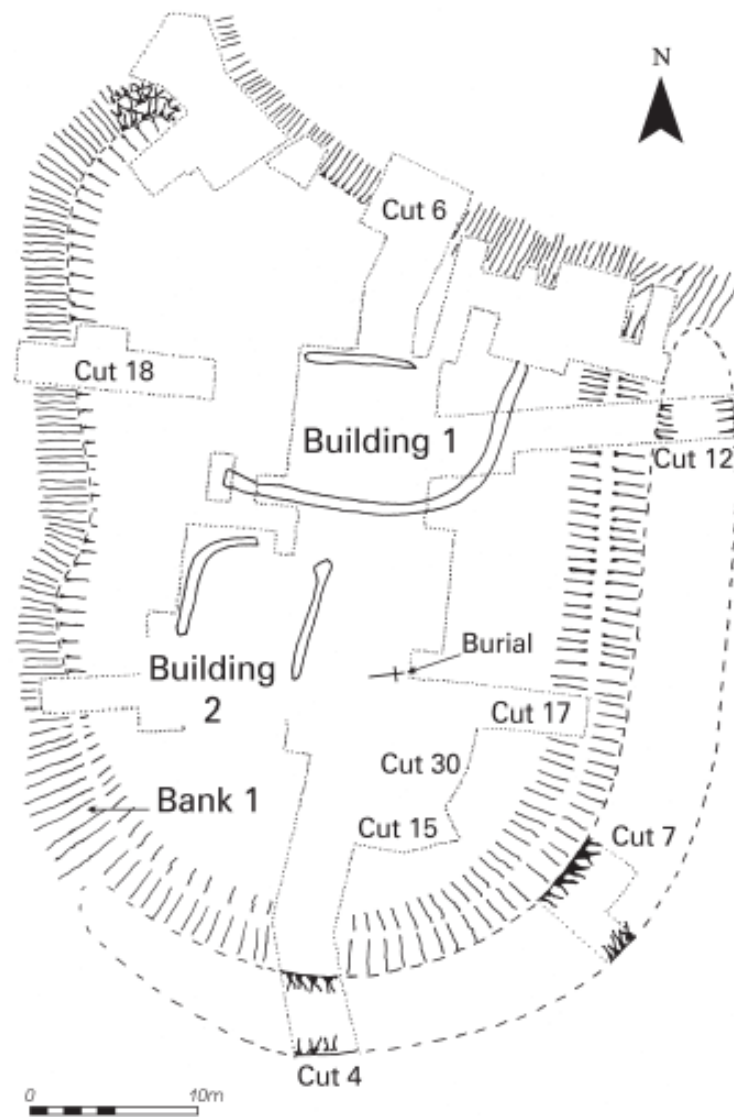


Figure 121

Main features of Dinas Powys promontory enclosure, showing the inner rampart (Bank 1), the two buildings outlined by drip gullies, the child burial and Alcock's (1963) main excavation trenches (cuts) (Campbell, 2007a: 88)

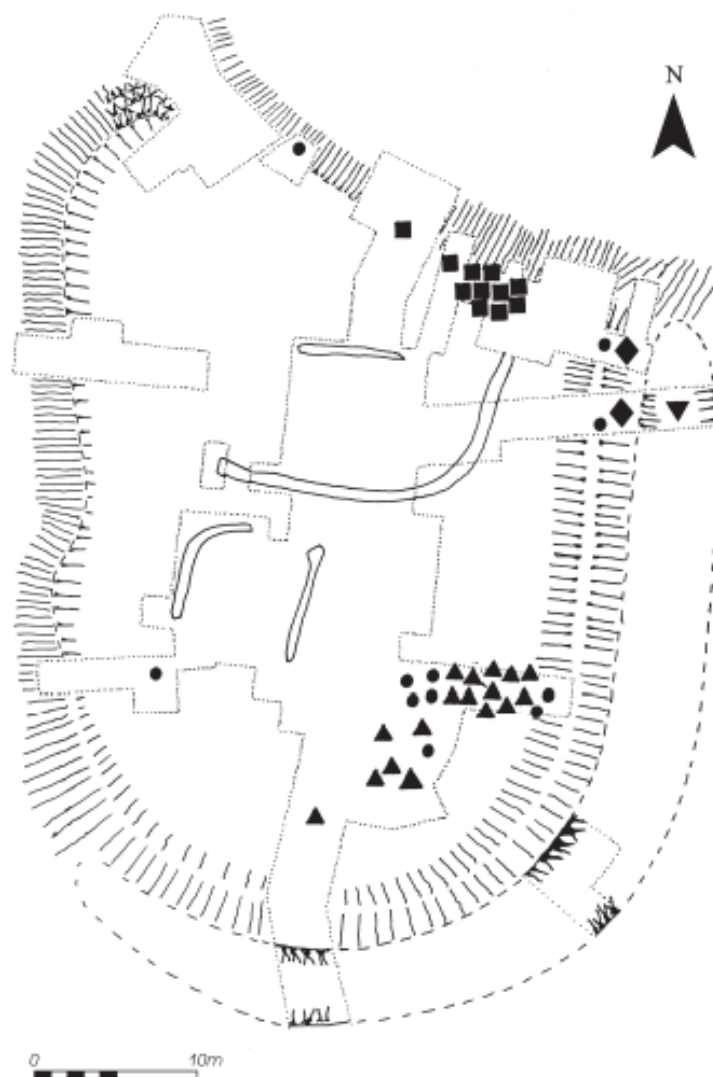


Figure 122

Distribution of individual PRS vessels at Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 88)

P13	▲
P15	■
P16	◆
Unassigned	●



Figure 123

Phocaean Red Slipware (PRS) from Dinas Powys. P13 Hayes Form 3C/E: P13 (left)
African Red Slipware from Dinas Powys: A6 Fulford & Peacock Form 50/52 (right)
(Campbell, 2007a: 15,17)

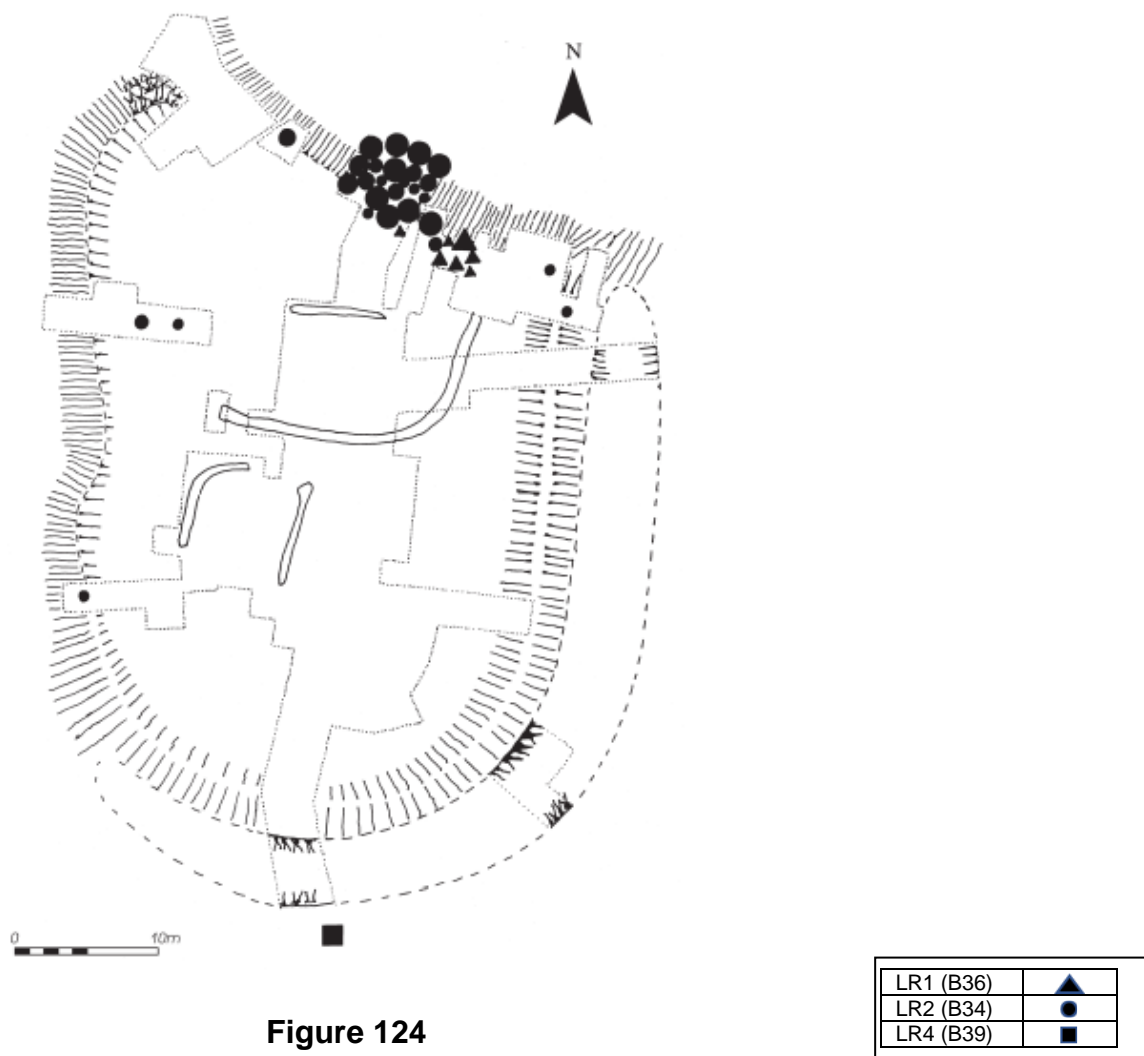


Figure 124

Distribution of sherd from three Late Roman amphorae (LRA) vessels at Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 89)

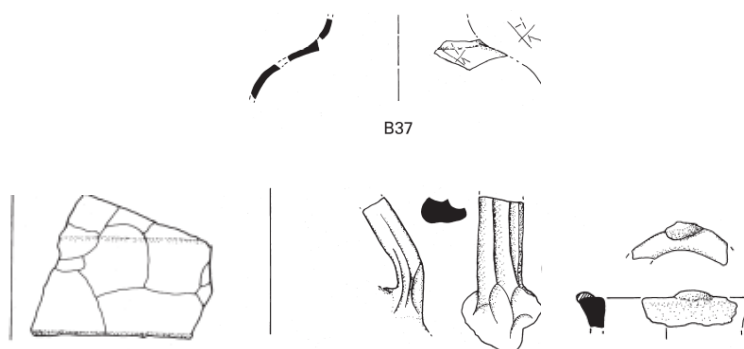


Figure 125

Late Roman Amphorae from Dinas Powys: LRA, LR1 B35, B37, LR4 B39 (Campbell, 2007a: 22)

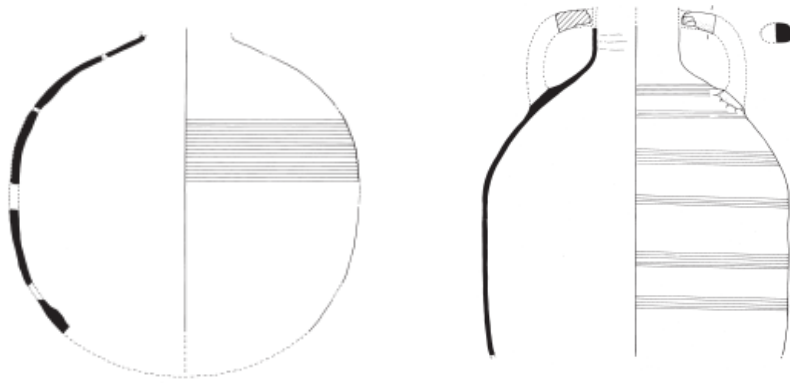


Figure 126

Reconstruction of unidentified LRA (left) B34 and LRA2 (right) B38 amphora from Dinas Powys: B34 (Campbell, 2007a: 20)

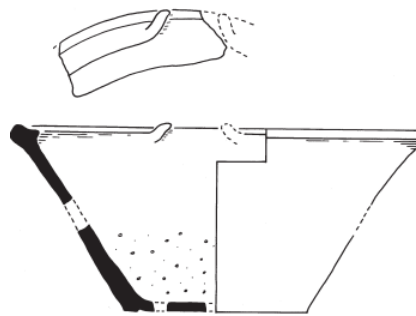


Figure 127

DSPA from Dinas Powys: Mortaria, Rigoir Form 29: D2 (Campbell, 2007a: 30)

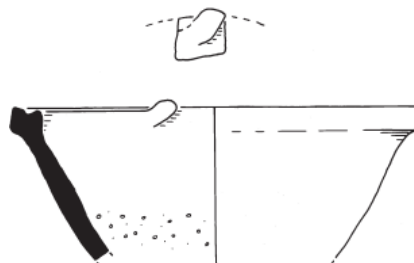


Figure 128

DSPA from Dinas Powys: Mortaria, Rigoir Form 29: D3 (Campbell, 2007a: 30)

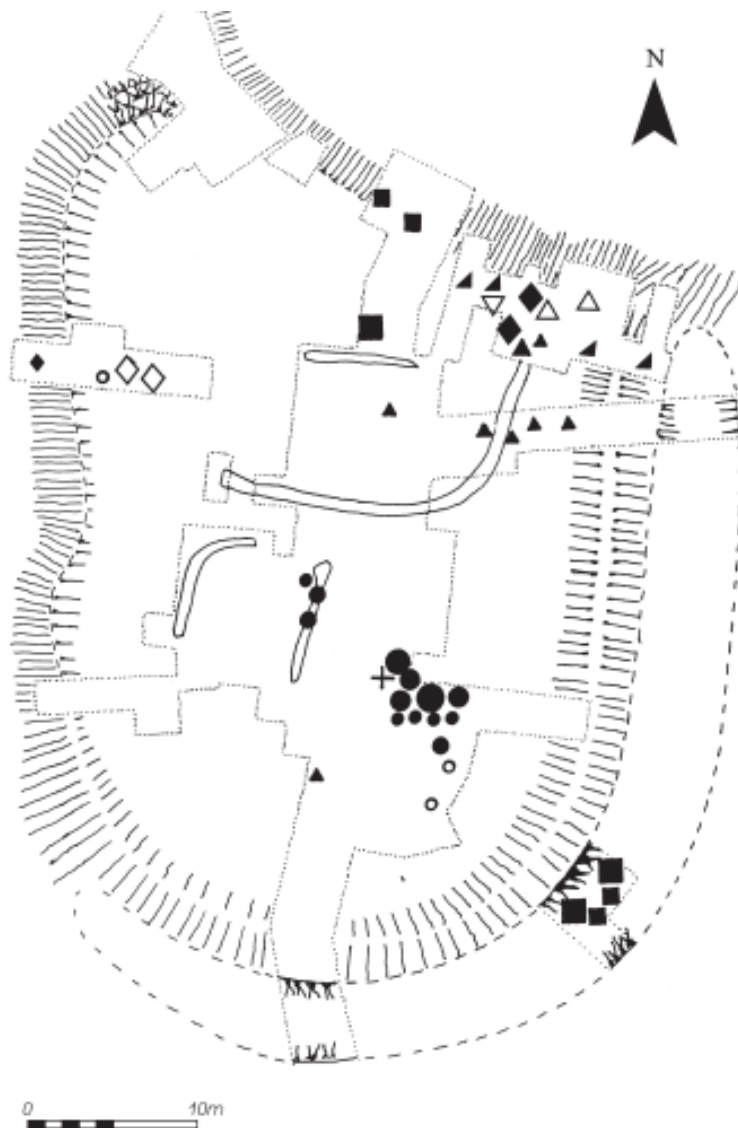


Figure 129

Distribution of DSPA vessels at Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 90)

D2	●
D4	◆
D5	□
D6	▲
D8	△
D10	▲
Unassigned	○

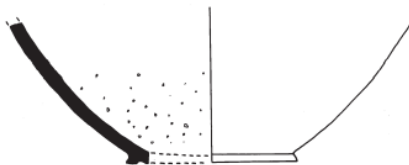


Figure 130

DSPA from Dinas Powys: Mortaria, Rigoir Form 29: D4 (Campbell, 2007a: 30)

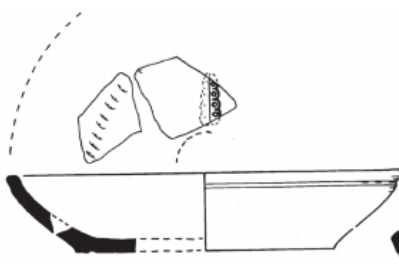


Figure 131

DSPA from Dinas Powys: Rigoir Form D6 (Campbell, 2007a: 29)

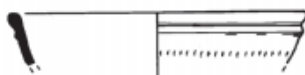
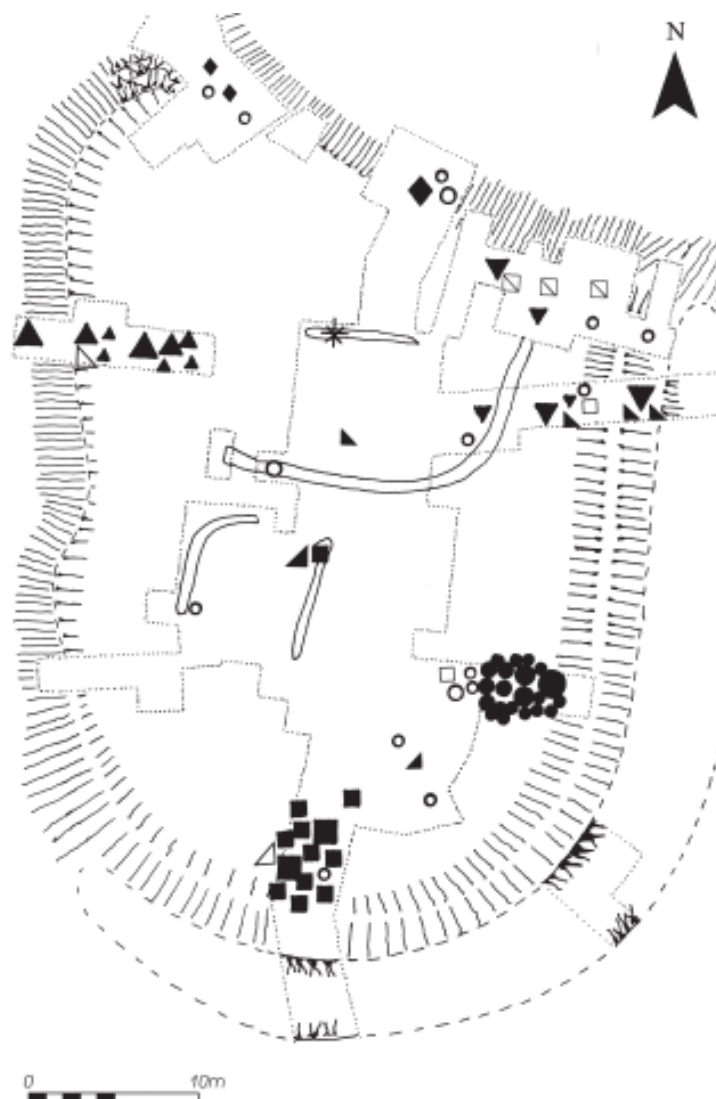


Figure 132

DSPA from Dinas Powys: Form 16/30 D15 (Campbell, 2007a: 29)



E37	●
E38	■
E40	□
E41	◆
E42	▼
E43	▲
E44	△
E45	▶
E46	▷
E47	—
E48	*
E49	○

Figure 133

Distribution of E ware vessels from Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 90)



Figure 134

E Ware from Dinas Powys: E43 (left) E44 (right) (Campbell, 2007a: 37)

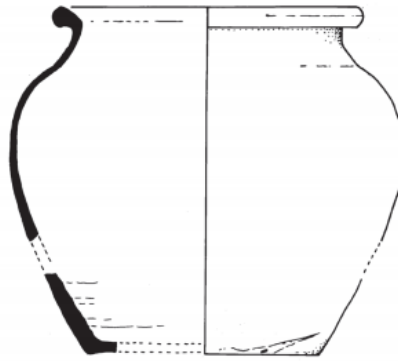


Figure 135

E Ware from Dinas Powys: Form E1 jars, E37 (Campbell, 2007a: 40)

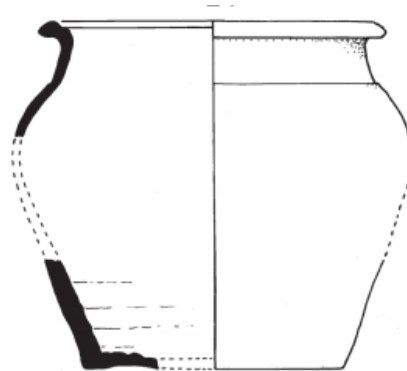


Figure 136

E Ware from Dinas Powys: Form E1 jars, E39 (Campbell, 2007a: 40)



Figure 137

E Ware from Dinas Powys: Form E3 bowls, E38 (Campbell, 2007a: 42)



Figure 138

Distribution of glass vessel sherds recovered from Dinas Powys (size of symbol proportionate to size of sherd) (Campbell, 2007a: 93)

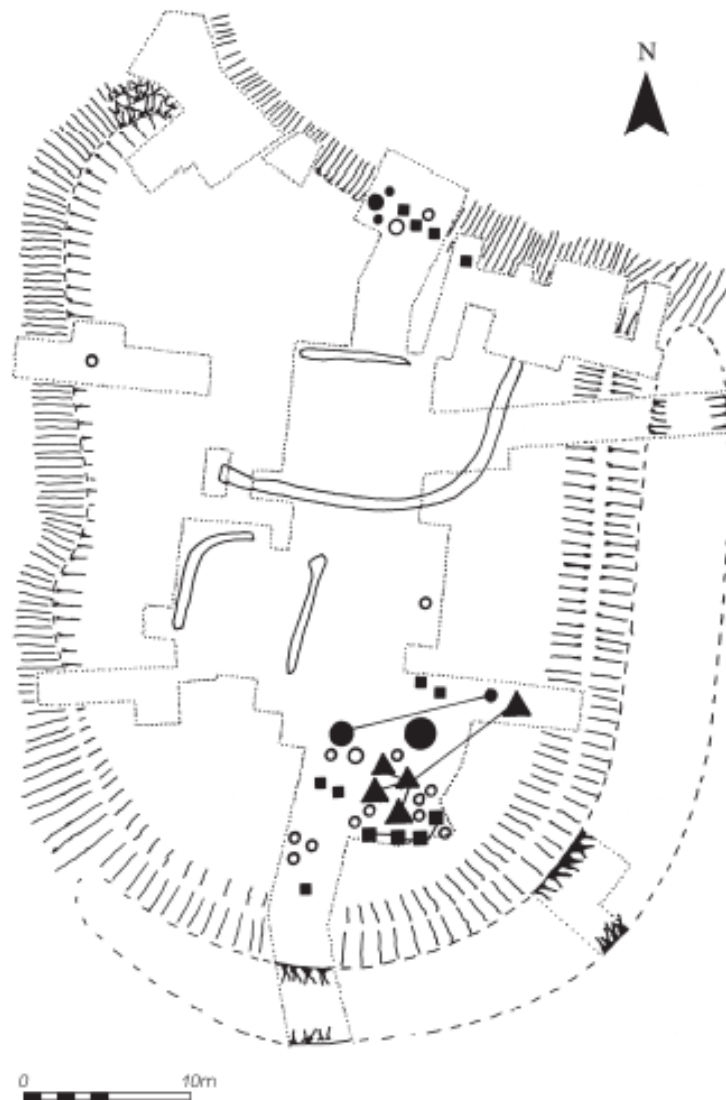


Figure 139

Distribution of individual Group C glass vessels with chevron tails
(Campbell, 2007a: 94)

G97	▲
G98	●
G117	■
Unassigned	○



Figure 140

Imported glass recovered from Dinas Powys: Group B Germanic tradition G95 (Campbell, 2007a: 59)



Figure 141

Reconstruction of a cone beaker from Dinas Powys: Group Cb (Campbell, 2007a:54)

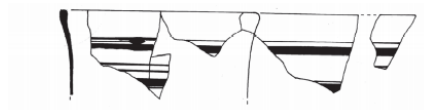


Figure 142

Imported glass cones recovered from Dinas Powys: G100, 101,102 decorated Atlantic tradition (Campbell, 2007a: 66)

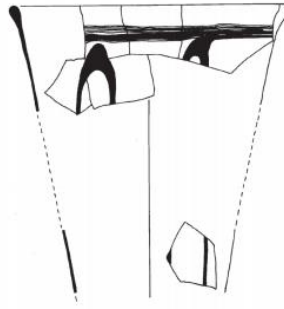


Figure 143

Imported glass cones recovered from Dinas Powys: G97, Group Cb decorated Atlantic tradition, cones with vertical chevrons (Campbell, 2007a: 67)

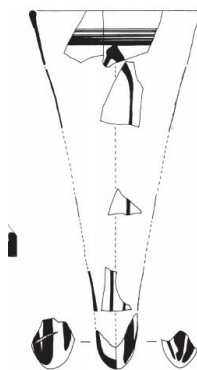


Figure 144

Imported glass cones recovered from Dinas Powys: G87, Group Cb decorated Atlantic tradition, cones with vertical chevrons (Campbell, 2007a: 67)

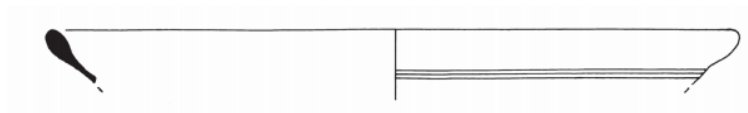


Figure 145

Imported glass bowl recovered from Dinas Powys: G104 decorated Atlantic tradition (Campbell, 2007a: 66)

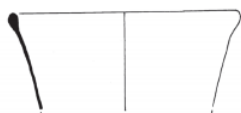


Figure 146

Imported glass cone recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition
Group D G110 (Campbell, 2007a: 70)

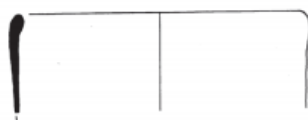


Figure 147

Imported glass cone recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition
Group D G111 (Campbell, 2007a: 70)

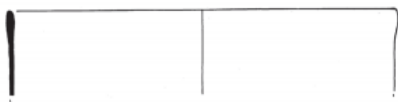


Figure 148

Imported glass cone recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition
Group D G114 (Campbell, 2007a: 70)



Figure 149

Imported glass bowl recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition
Group D G107 (Campbell, 2007a: 70)

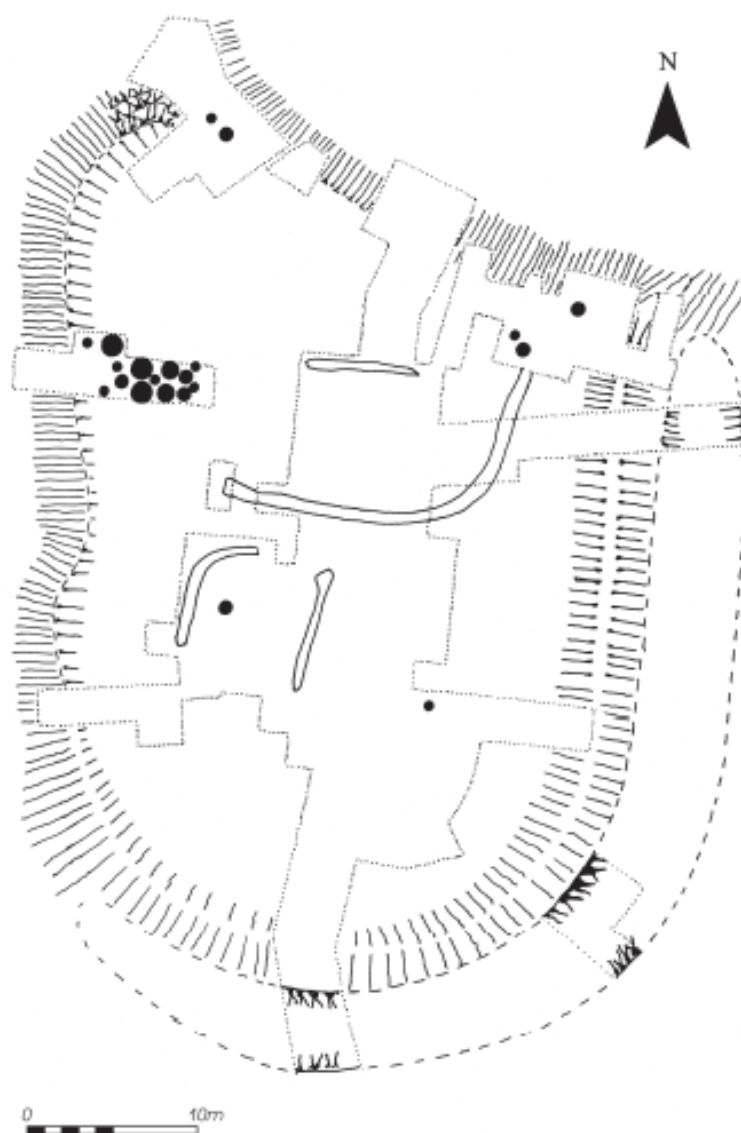


Figure 150

Distribution of fused glass at Dinas Powys (size of symbol proportionate to size of sherd) (Campbell, 2007a: 95)

Colour	Fused	Unfused	Fused (%)
Blue	21.8	4.9	81.6
Green	6.9	6.0	53.5
Brown	10.3	7.5	57.9
Pale yellow	4.5	95.0	4.5

Figure 151

Weight (in grams) of fused and unfused glass recovered from Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 95)

Type	Sherds	Vessels	Ratio
Iron Age	56	13	1:4:3
Romano-British	69	37	1:1:9
Samian	18	6	1:3
African Red Slipware	18	4	1:4:5
Phocaeen Red Slipware	40	4	1:10
Late Roman Amphora	184	<i>circa 6</i>	1:31
DSPA	46	9	1:5:1
E ware	73	12	1:6:1

Figure 152

Vessel to sherd ratios for different categories at Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 87)

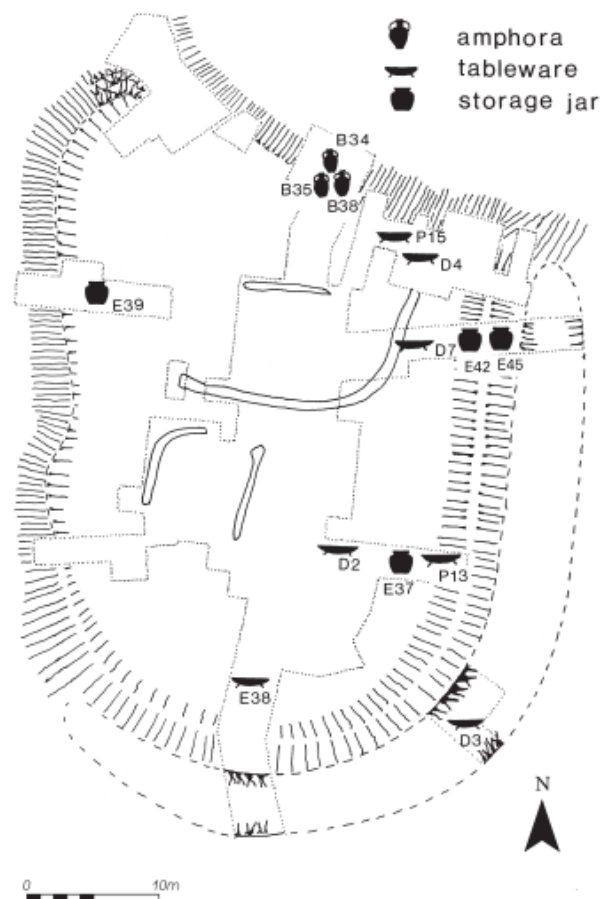


Figure 153

Distribution of pottery vessels by function recovered from Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 91)

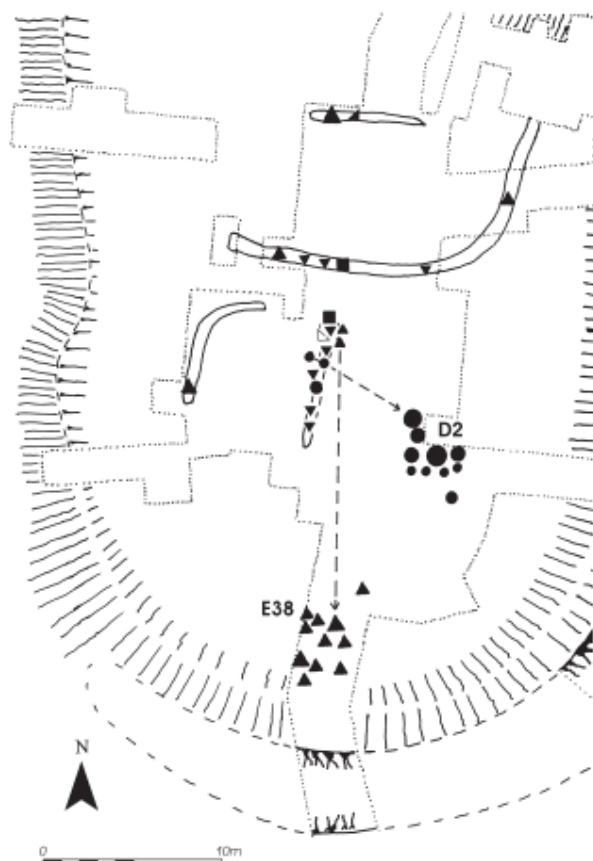


Figure 154

DSPA	●
E ware	▲
Glass	▼
LRA	△
Samian	■
PRS	▲

Distribution of sherds in building drip gullies revealing fanning out of material from artefact traps around Building 2 to the midden areas (Campbell, 2007a: 91)

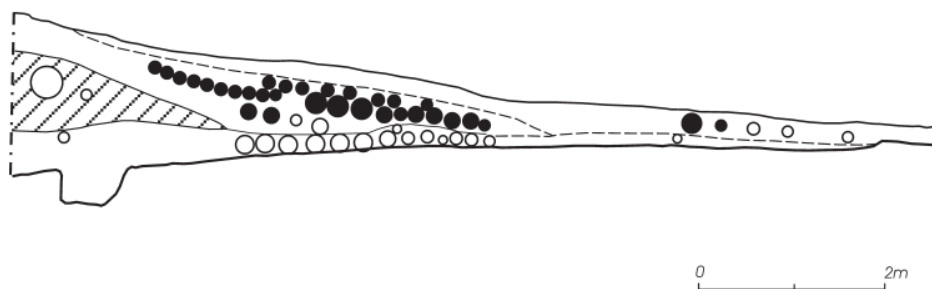
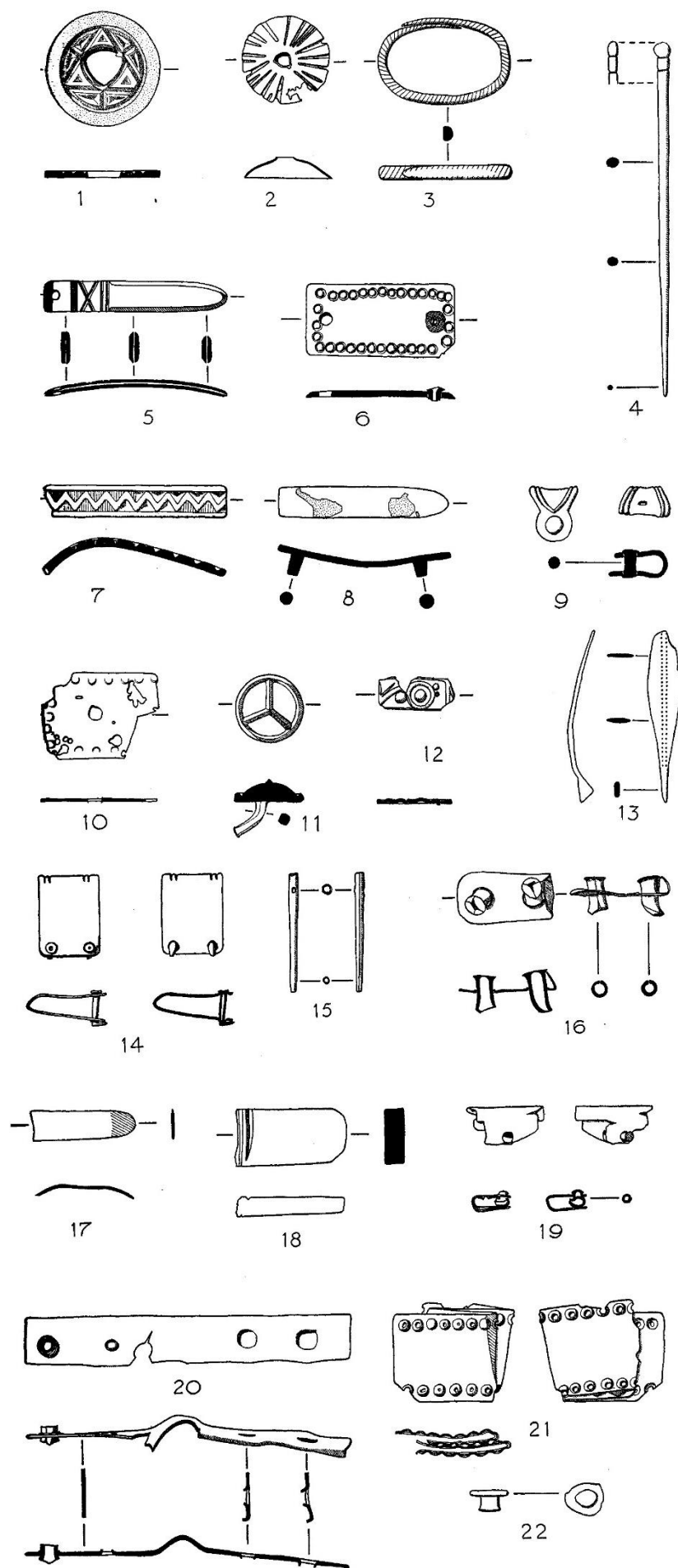


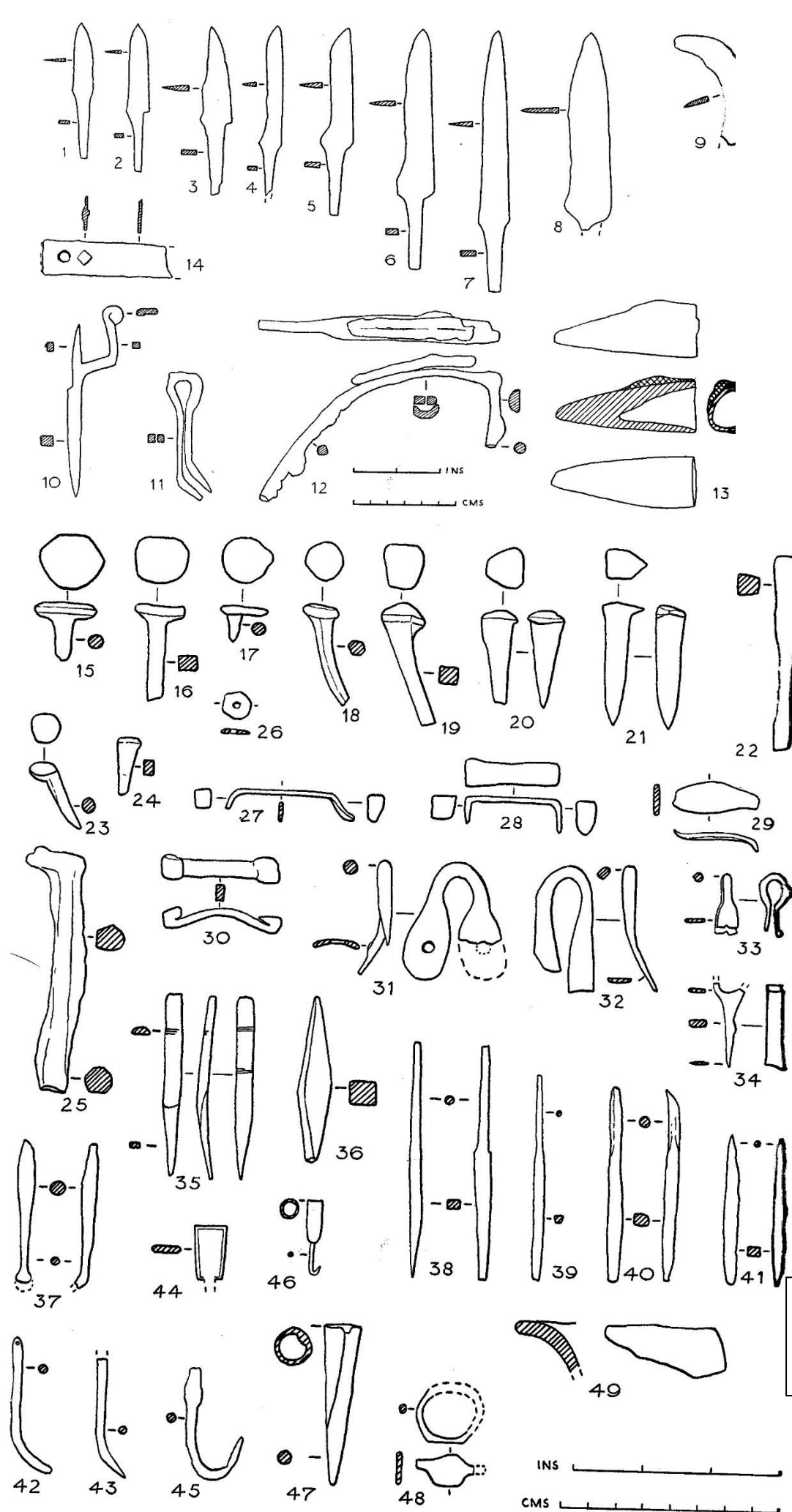
Figure 155

Alcock's (1963) Trench (cut) 17 at Dinas Powys. Schematic section with individual imported vessels, showing stratigraphic differentiation between Mediterranean (open circles and continental (solid circles) imports (Campbell, 2007a: 97)



	Description
1	Bronze disk with an equilateral triangle set within a circle.
2	Shallow domed cover with a central perforation punched out from underneath.
3	Large ring of semi-circular section with an outer face decorated with incised diagonal lines
4	Bronze pin
5	Strap-end constructed of two strips of metal soldered together
6	Rectangular plaque with two rivet holes on the long axis, possibly for fixing on a belt
7	Fragment of bronze strip ornamented with a chevron pattern against an enamelled background
8	Ornamental bronze fitting with two stubby shanks for possible fixing to a backing of cloth, leather or wood
9	Small clamp for fastening a rim-binding strip to a bucket, drinking horn or cup
10	Thin plate or strip of bronze, decorated with punch crescents
11	Gilt bronze stud with shank for fixing to a backing to a material such as leather
12	Fragment of silvered bronze strip with repousse decoration
13	Fragment from the bow and part of a catch plate of a brooch
14	Clamp for attaching the rim binding of a wooden bucket
15	Fine slightly tapering tube of bronze, constructed by lapping over a thin sheet of metal
16	Bronze backing plate with two tubular rivets
17	Thin strip of bronze
18	Thick bronze strip
19	Fragment of a rim binding strip from a bucket or other vessel
20	Binding strip or bracket with a pair of rivet holes
21	Ornamental bronze strip decorated with a row of repousse bosses along each edge
22	Small bronze stud

Figure 156 Bronze objects (1-22) recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963:106-112)



	Description
1	Very small, tanged knife
2	Small knife with blade similar to 1
3	Small knife with thin tang and pronounced shoulders
4	Medium sized knife with straight back and weak shoulders
5	Medium sized knife with straight back and sloping shoulders
6	Large knife with straight back and pronounced shoulders
7	Knife with long narrow and symmetrical blade narrowing uniformly to shoulders
8	Wide bladed knife, with slightly curving back and missing its tang
9	Tip of a curved blade from a bill hook or a sickle
10	Pronged iron object
11	Hasp or eye
12	Bent iron fragment possibly part of a bucket handle
13	Socketed object
14	Iron strip broken at one end with one empty bolt or rivet hole
15-25	Various nails and studs representing a sample of those found on the site
26	Irregular disc with central perforation
27-28	Two angled strips. Considered as possible staples or binding strips
29	Cleat or staple. Considered to be a possible boot cleat
30	Iron strip with recurved ends
31-32	Hoop or eye
33	Iron eye or strap loop
34	Iron eye with tang
35	Small file of plano-convex section
36	Elongated double pyramid of iron. Considered to be part of a drill bit
37	Tapering circular shaft or shank. Considered to be part of a drill bit.
38-41	Awls with quadrangular tangs and points of circular section
42-43	Two heavy needles with curving points
44	Tanged iron object
45	Large iron hook
46	Small iron hook
47	Hollow cone shaped point or ferrule
48	Fragment of ring
49	Thick curved fragment of iron

Figure 157 Iron objects (1-49) recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 112-120)

Layer	Quantity	Alcock's (1963) catalogue number (Figure 158)
N		
O	1	4
A	4	6,14,27,31
B	1	5
C	5	9,23,43,45,46
C/D	17	1,2,3,7,8,11,16,17,19,29,32,35,36,38,41,42,47
D	6	3 (two examples), 4,10,28,39
H		
U	23	

Figure 158

Stratification of iron objects (1-49) recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 114)

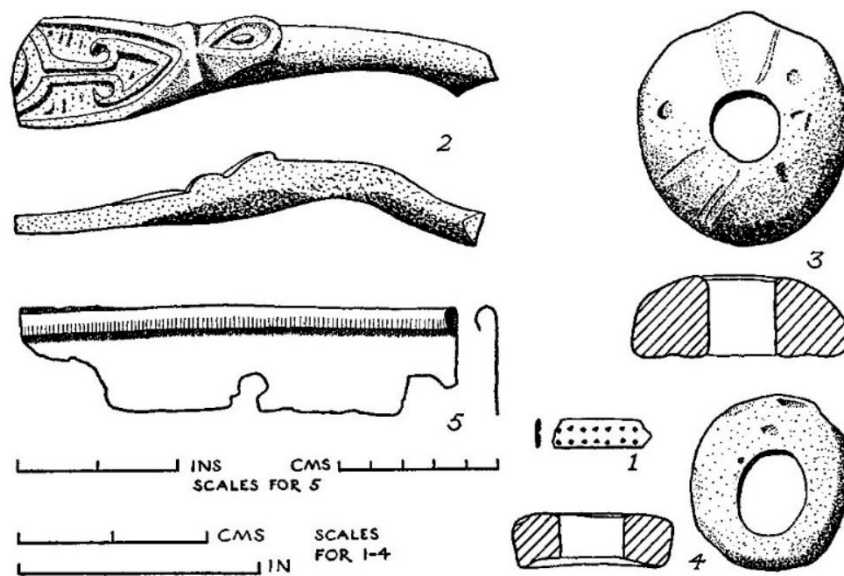


Figure 159

Objects of silver (1), lead (2-4) and zinc (5) recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 121)

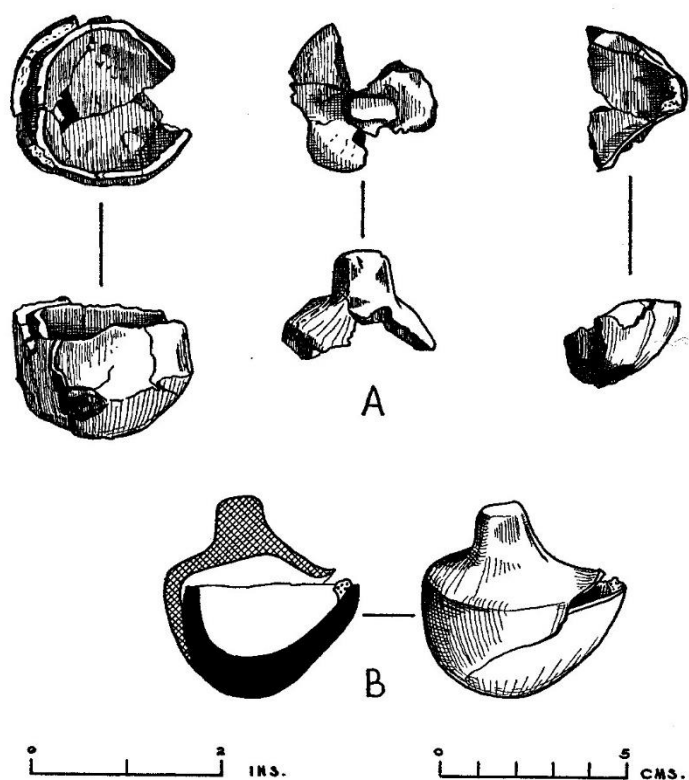


Figure 160

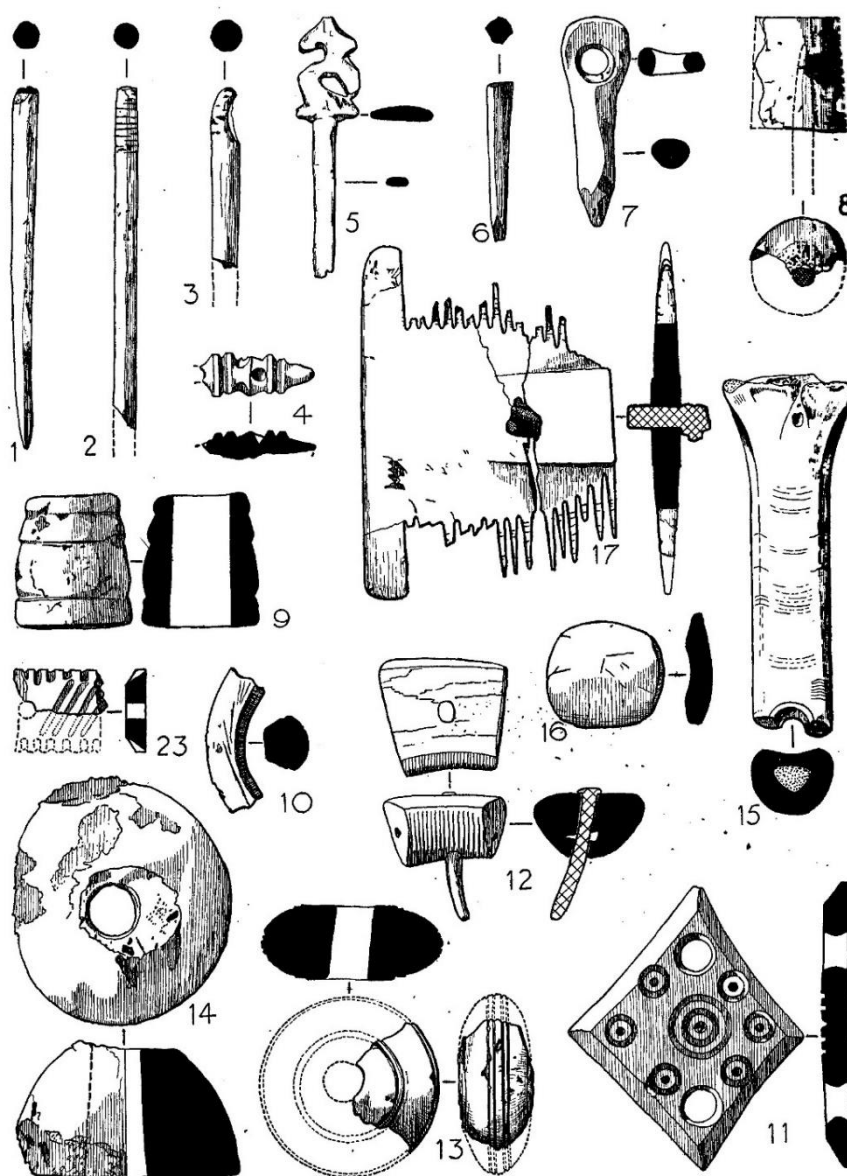
Reconstruction of a lidded crucible from Dinas Powys. A: fragments of lidded crucibles; B: suggested reconstruction (Alcock, 1963: 142)

Layer	N	O	O/A	B	B/C	C	C/D	D	H	U	Total
Number of sherds	3*	11	2	5	6	22	38	12	11	13	46

* Vitrified clay not certainly from crucible

Figure 161

Overall stratification of crucible sherds recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 145)



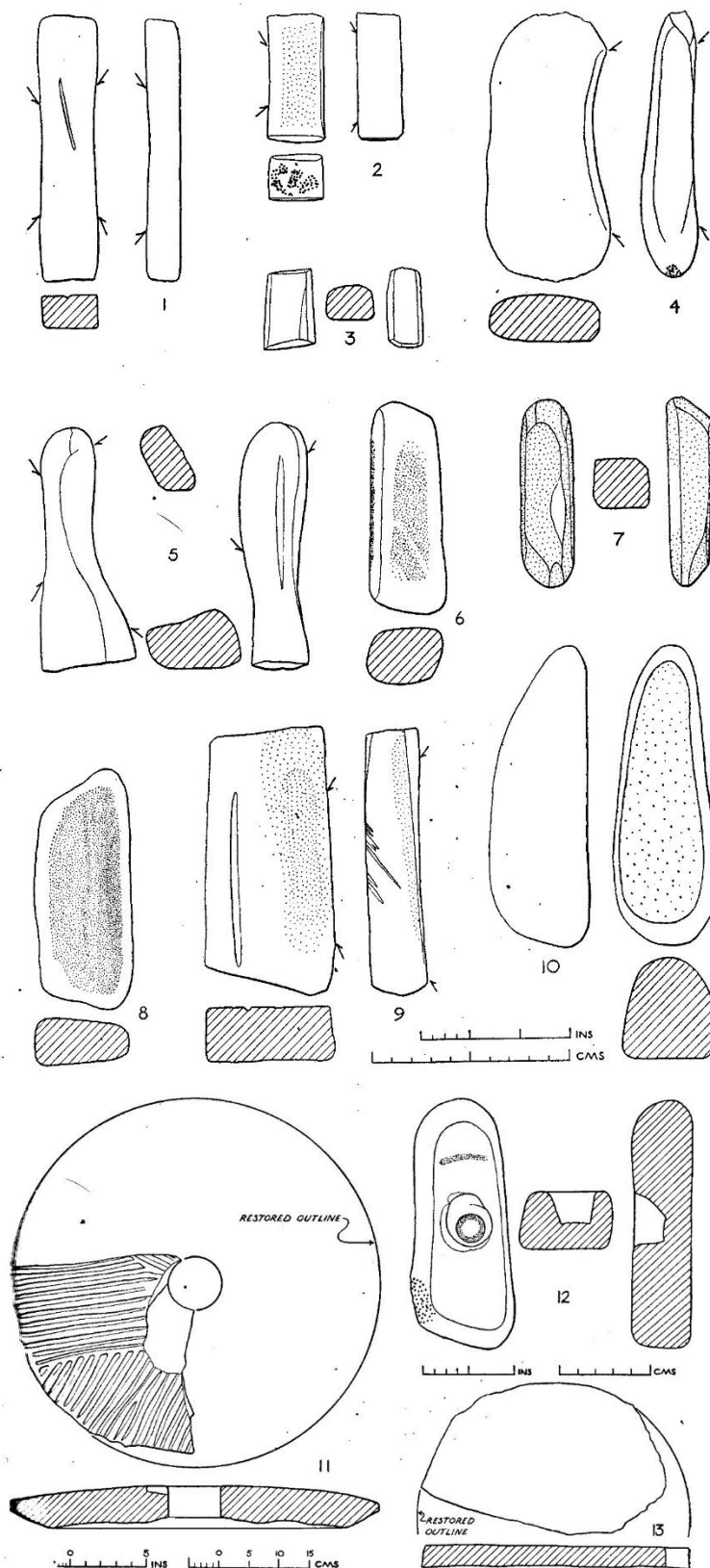
1	Polished bone pin with plain head
2	Bone pin with plainhead and ornamented with finely incised lines in the form of an irregular spiral
3	Pin with hooked head
4	Elaborately ornamented fragment from the head of a pin
5	Animal headed bone pin
6	Crudely carved bone peg
7	Bone needle with broad flat head with circular perforation
8	Bone cylinder with socket to take a shank
9	Tubular bone object ornamented with shallow grooves
10	Fragment of a bone ring
11	Bone plaque ornamented with dot and circle motifs. Perforated for fixing to some larger object
12	Segment from the tusk of a boar, perforated with an iron nail
13	Bun shaped spindle whorl or bead and ornamented with fine concentric grooves
14	Spindle whorl made from the head of a femur
15	Metacarpal of sheep or goat with transverse perforation in the proximal end
16	Irregular bone disc
17	Composite bone comb

Figure 162

Objects of worked bone recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963:151)

Layer	N	O	O/A	A	B	B/C	C	C/D	D	H	U	G1	G6
Bone objects				2	1	2	6	8	4	3	5		1
Combs		1	1	1			3	8	1	1	3	1	
Utilised bone				1			4	2			1		

Figure 163 Stratification of worked bone objects recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963:150)



1	Top, side and transverse section views of a long slender whetstone
2	Top, side and end views of a working stone
3	Top, side and transverse section views of a sandstone pebble shaped for use as a whetstone
4	Top, side and transverse section views of an Old Red Sandstone whetstone
5	Top, side and transverse section views of an Old Red Sandstone whetstone of irregular form
6	Top, side and transverse section views of a polished natural sandstone pebble rubbing stone
7	Top, side and transverse section views of a quartzite rubbing stone
8	Top, side and transverse section views of an Old Red Sandstone rubbing stone
9	Top, side and transverse section views of a working stone
10	Side, bottom and transverse section views of an Old Red Sandstone rubbing stone
11	Quarter view of the lower stone of a rotary quern of sandstone
12	Old Red Sandstone bearing for a rotating spindle
13	Fragment from a disc of Old Red Sandstone

Figure 164

Utilised stones recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963:164-169)

Rock	Function	O	A	B	C	D	C/D	H	U
Sandstone	Whetstones	0.74	0.94		0.40	0.23	0.59	0.13	0.57
	Rubbing stones	1.47	0.94	0.35	0.35	5.10	9.24	0.37	7.10
	Bake stones	0.42	0.53		0.23	0.20	1.67	0.37	0.17
	Rotary quern						8.16		1.33
	Saddle quern					4.30	3.85		
	Unclassified	1.15	0.85		0.68	2.49	8.0	1.52	11.85
	Total								
Lias limestone			0.13			0.09	0.28		0.08

Figure 165 Stratification of foreign stones (excluding slingstones) as collected from Dinas Powys in kilograms (layers O-U) (Alcock, 1963: 160)

Layer	N	O	O/A	A	B	B/C	C	C/D	D	H	Holes	Gullies	U
Number of flints	7	2	1	3	13	2	14	24	6	23	5	3	66

Figure 166 Stratification of flints recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 169)

Implements	Iron Age levels	Early Christian levels	Unassigned
Arrowheads		1	
Blades with edge retouch	1?	3	6
Retouched flakes	2?	8	8
Notched flakes			2
Scrapers	1?	6	3
Awls			3

Figure 167 Composition of flint implements recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 169)

Flint bye-products	
Nodules	3
%Cores	9
Waste flakes	113

Figure 168 Flint bye-products recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 169)



1	Kimmeridge shale core or waster from lathe manufacture of armlets
2	Section of a triangular flint lathe tool
3	Fragment of a shale cylinder
4	Lignite bobble head for a small pin
5	Fragment of a jet bead,

Figure 169
Objects of shale and lignite with a flint lathe tool recovered from Dinas Powys (Alcock, 1963: 167)

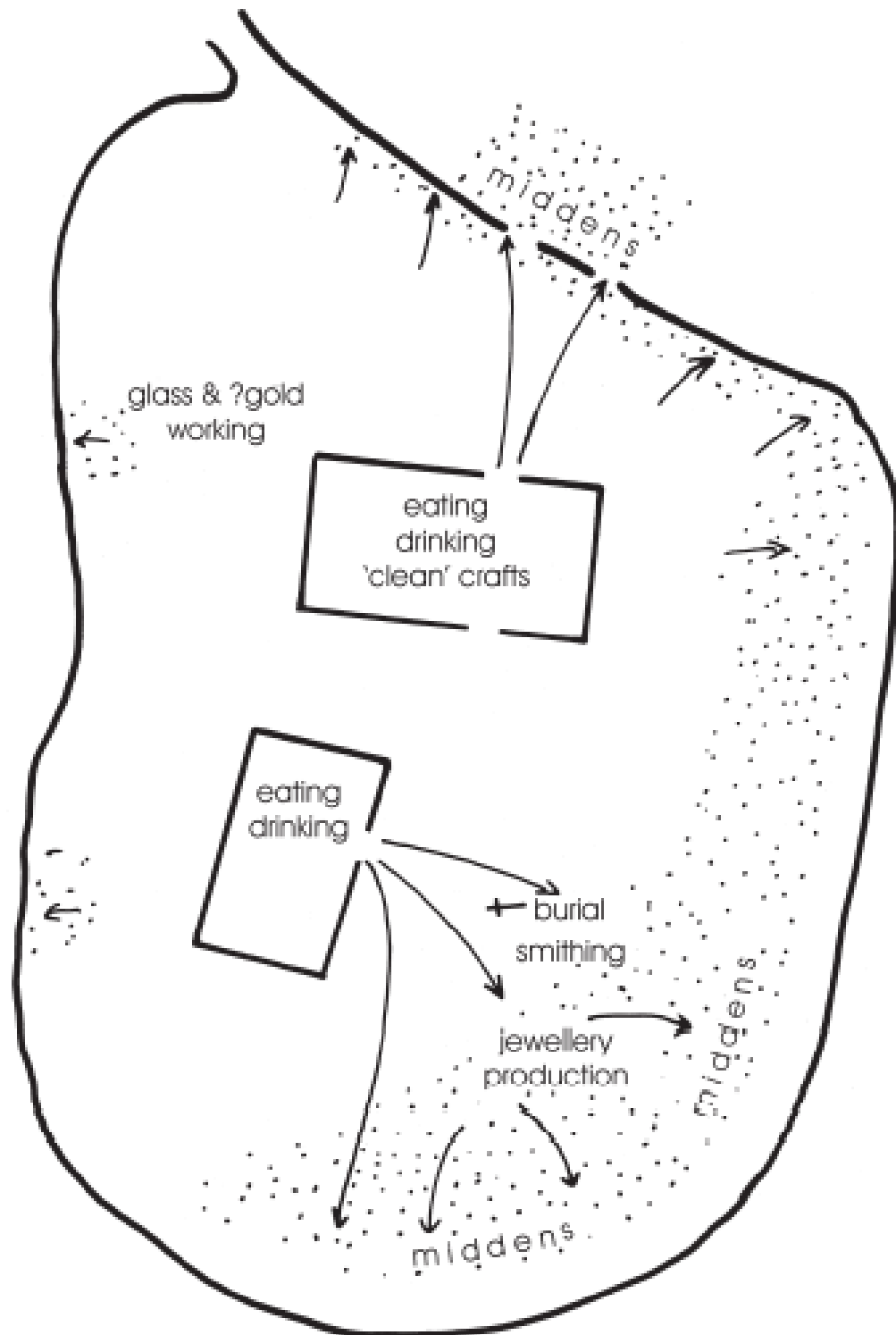


Figure 170

Campbell (2007a) suggested activity areas at Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 99)

spanned the intervening period between the mid and later sixth-century CE (Campbell, 2007a: 27-32).

The main period of imports from the continent was represented by coarseware jars, bowls and jugs made from a distinctive gritty fabric from an unidentified production area of France and known as E ware.⁵⁵¹ Thirteen vessels were represented at Dinas Powys and it appears to have been imported to Britain between the late sixth and late seventh-centuries CE (Campbell, 2007a: 25-36, 32-52).

PRS, ARS and DSPA⁵⁵² appear to have been imported as tablewares. E ware and LRA⁵⁵³ could be regarded as containers for other goods. Possible foodstuffs and other consumables imported in these vessels may have included dyes, dried fruits, olive oil, spices and wine. They then may have been used for a range of secondary functions after their initial contents had been consumed. These imported vessels and their contents may well have been components in a wider range of imported goods as other imported organic items including textiles, books and wine in barrels are only rarely represented in the archaeological record (Campbell, 2007a: 23-24, 49-52).

Imported glass vessels classified by Campbell (2007) as Groups B, C and D were present at Dinas Powys.⁵⁵⁴ Group B glass⁵⁵⁵ included fragments of two claw beakers and a blue squat jar was characterised as Germanic and may have come to the site from the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Campbell (2007a) has dated this material to the mid sixth to early seventh-centuries CE (Campbell, 2007a: 60-61). Atlantic

⁵⁵¹ (Figures 133: 366, 134: 366, 135: 367, 136: 367, 137: 367, 152: 374, 153: 374, 155: 375)

⁵⁵² (Figures 122: 361, 123: 361, 127: 363, 128: 363, 129: 364, 130: 365, 131: 365, 132: 365, 152: 374)

⁵⁵³ (Figures 124: 362, 125: 362, 126: 363, 133: 366, 134: 366, 135: 367, 137: 367)

⁵⁵⁴ (Figures 138: 368, 150: 373, 151: 373)

⁵⁵⁵ (Figure 140: 370)

tradition glass sherds with and without decoration (Group C and D)⁵⁵⁶ appear to span both the Mediterranean and continental import systems. The Group C⁵⁵⁷ and D sherds⁵⁵⁸ at Dinas Powys consisted of two bowls and at least twenty cone beakers. Alcock (1963) originally interpreted the fragments of glass as cullet imported for manufacture into glass ornaments and inlays. However, Campbell (2007a) has been able to demonstrate glass fragments represent whole vessels which were originally brought to the site intact (Campbell, 2007a: 92-96).

The assemblage of imported pottery and glass offer an opportunity for exploring the status and identities of Dinas Powys' inhabitants. Campbell (2007a) considers the internal coherence of the Mediterranean material on British sites and the lack of similar vessels on western Mediterranean sites is indicative of direct trade between the Eastern Roman Empire and western Britain (Campbell, 2007a: 108). However, whether the trade was direct with Dinas Powys is difficult to determine as it contains a relatively small number of Mediterranean vessels when compared with other sites such as Tintagel (Campbell, 2007a: 102-103). A more feasible model may regard the site as one which was a secondary rather than a primary import centre. However, the continental imports from western Gaul portray a consistency indicative of trade by Frankish merchants which appeared to be directed at primary import centres in Britain (Campbell, 2007a: 134-136). After these imported items had reached Dinas Powys through either direct or redistributed trade they could then have been used for redistribution to client settlements in the surrounding area (Campbell, 2007a: 136-138). It is probable the Dinas Powys imports did not arrive through casual trade with itinerant merchants as the logistics required for the voyage and subsequent

⁵⁵⁶ (Figures 142: 370, 143: 371, 144: 371, 145: 371, 147: 372, 148: 372, 148: 372, 149: 372)

⁵⁵⁷ (Figures 139: 369, 141: 370)

⁵⁵⁸ (Figures 141: 370, 143: 371, 144: 371)

accumulation of the material may imply there was a substantial organisational structure behind the trading systems.

Interpretations by Dark (2000) and Anthea Harris (2003) suggest the Mediterranean trading system evident at Dinas Powys was primarily related to the Eastern Empire's attempts to establish diplomatic relations with rulers in western Britain in the late fifth and sixth-centuries CE rather than mercantile profit. This may have reflected a wider campaign of re-establishing control of the former Western Empire (Dark, 2000: 130-131; Harris, 2003: 144-152). Campbell (2007a) contests this view after considering the length of time over which the trade took place, the lack of evidence for Byzantine gift money and a fragmented British political situation would combined, have mitigated against Dark (2000) and Harris' (2003) model (Campbell, 2007a: 131-132).

If however, the quantity and quality of material recovered from Dinas Powys hints at a centre at which trade with merchants took place and this is accepted, then for trade to have occurred, the community must have been able to have exchanged goods in return for the imports. What was exchanged at Dinas Powys is difficult to determine. However, possible commodities may have included animal furs, textiles, slaves, iron or lead (Campbell, 2007a: 128-130). The ability to accumulate such surpluses may imply the small community at Dinas Powys controlled an economy much larger than its own individual capability.⁵⁵⁹ The accumulation of the necessary surplus must therefore, have resulted from the community receiving goods from an extended area. These may have taken the form of renders from clients.⁵⁶⁰ Receipt of renders from clients may have necessitated reciprocation from the elite group. One way this may

⁵⁵⁹ (Chapter 3: 308-336)

⁵⁶⁰ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

have occurred, perhaps through a tradition of feasting⁵⁶¹ with the redistribution of a portion of the elite goods (White, 2007: 163).

Furthermore, the construction of ramparts,⁵⁶² the circulation of renders and imported goods may have been intertwined with the establishment and maintenance of social relationships. Likewise, it is possible a system of gift giving may have extended at times, over areas larger than the enclosure's immediate hinterland. This may be exemplified by Campbell (2007a) who has made the case for a blue quat jar recovered from Dinas Powys may be indicative of direct contact with Anglo Saxon groups from the Upper Thames Valley (Campbell, 1989: 59-66, 1991: 225).

It is generally accepted evidence of tablewares being produced in Wales from the fourth and until the eleventh or twelfth-centuries CE is slight. Given this factor, the use of tablewares was likely to have been seen as unusual and may be significant. It is possible the imports reflect a desire to emulate Roman culinary practice and may have been related to the identity and aspirations of the site's occupiers (Bowles, 2006: 234-235; Campbell, 2007a: 135). Distributing rare or exotic contents of amphorae including olive oil or wine may have heightened the importance of feasting events. Imported pottery, its contents and other organic imported goods alongside them, could have been used to convey a prestigious identity (Bowles, 2006: 234-235). The end of the Mediterranean trading system and shortly afterwards that of DSPA coincided with or brought about a shift in culinary customs and the significance of ceramics. Campbell (2007a) has suggested E ware may not have primarily used as cooking vessels or as table wares and their significance appears to

⁵⁶¹ (Chapter 2: 100-115)

⁵⁶² (Chapter 3: 335-341)

have been in the contents the vessels contained, rather than the vessels themselves (Campbell, 2007a: 49-52).

After the contents of the amphora or E ware vessels had been consumed, Campbell (2007a) has considered the possibility of the continued importance of these artefacts. This is evidenced by the large number of LRA found alongside later DSPA, E ware and glass in midden deposits from cut 6⁵⁶³ on the northern edge of the settlement, which implies they may have been (re)used for a considerable period after their initial arrival at the site. This reuse may not have been purely functional and the symbolic importance of drawing water from a metal or ceramic container rather than an organic vessel should be considered.⁵⁶⁴ Further possibilities may include the importance of broken vessels which were no longer functional having their sherds retained as symbolic remainders of previous feasting and of the relationships cemented by these activities.

Prehistoric middens may have carried important monumentality and symbolism (e.g. Mulville, 2008: 138-139).⁵⁶⁵ Such an interpretation may be applicable to the early medieval midden material at Dinas Powys (Campbell, 2007a: 108). For instance, the middens containing fragments of broken imported vessels also contained the remains of foodstuffs. It may be these remains bolstered the monumentality and symbolism of the ramparts against which they were dumped, with the intention of creating a visible testament of conspicuous consumption.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶³ (Figure 121: 360)

⁵⁶⁴ (Chapter 3: 256-259)

⁵⁶⁵ (Chapter 2: 101-103)

⁵⁶⁶ (Figures 122: 361, 124: 362, 129: 364, 133: 366, 138: 368, 139: 369, 150: 373, 153: 374, 154: 375)

Other material culture in the form personal items and tools appear to have been manufactured at Dinas Powys.⁵⁶⁷ There is also evidence of differentiation of craft activities across the site. Glass working appears to have occurred in Campbell's (2007a) clean front south-western part of the site (Campbell, 2007a: 95-96).⁵⁶⁸ In Phase 2A non-ferrous metalworking associated with a series of hearths was indicated by scarp bronze a brooch die, crucible and mould fragments from pre-bank 1 deposits in the north-east corner of the settlement (Campbell, 2007a: 97).⁵⁶⁹ After the construction of bank 1, the focus of metalworking shifted to the south-eastern dirty corner of the site, within the courtyard formed by buildings 1b and 2. This later phase of metalworking was represented by ferrous and non-ferrous activity and as with the phase 2A evidence was associated with the accumulation of midden deposits (Campbell, 1991: Figures 110, 112,113,114).

Over twenty composite bone comb fragments were recovered from Dinas Powys.⁵⁷⁰ Alcock (1963, 1987) drew attention to their potential symbolic significance and it is possible these items were more than just functional (Alcock, 1963: 156-158; 1987: 129-132). For example, bone combs may have been worn as hair accessories as part of elaborate and culturally significant hair styles. It may be other personal items including scissors, razors and mirrors were intertwined with symbolic rituals associated with the trimming of the hair and the establishment and maintenance of kinship relationships. Charles-Edwards (1993) has noted the trimming of hair appears to have been a rite of passage linked to creation of symbolic or ritual fatherhood (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 180-181) and has drawn parallels with medieval Welsh literature. For instance, the early Welsh poem *Culhwch and Owen* described

⁵⁶⁷ (Figures 156: 376, 157: 377, 158: 378, 159: 378, 160: 379, 161: 379, 162: 380, 163: 380, 169:380, 164: 381, 165: 382, 166: 382, 167: 382, 168: 382, 169: 383)

⁵⁶⁸ (Figure: 170: 384)

⁵⁶⁹ (Figure 101: 316)

⁵⁷⁰ (Figures 162: 380, 163: 380)

trimming of hair as a symbolic act in knitting together the kinship of the characters Arthur and Culhwch, although it must be noted the poem appears to have taken its present form sometime in the ninth-century CE. Another example Charles-Edwards (1993) considers was the rite of trimming hair with a comb, razor and scissors portrayed by both physical and adoptive fathers in the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 180-181). It is possible the fragments of early bone comb retrieved from Dinas Powys may offer evidence of early kingship rituals intertwined with the practice of fosterage and the maintenance of clientship relationships.

Excavation and underwater survey on and in the vicinity of the Llangorse crannog have revealed evidence of a ninth and early tenth-century CE royal llys (Lane & Redknap, 2019).⁵⁷¹ The island was constructed of sandstone boulders overlain on a bed of brushwood. This in turn was laid on a peat surface which formed the core of the island. The structure of the island was fixed by post and wattle fencing supported by oak palisading (Lane & Redknap, 2019: 30-35). Dendrochronological dating suggests the palisading was felled between *circa* CE 889-893 and used shortly thereafter (Nayling & Tyers, 2019: 102-110). The crannog is the only example so far identified in England and Wales and the settlement form displays an Irish influence and the likely presence of Irish craftsmen or Irish royal dynasty (Lane & Redknap, 2019: 407-408).

It is clear the resources which were required to construct the edifice must mean it was a product of a group who were able to command extensive resources. The assemblage from Llangorse offers primary evidence for a range of ferrous and non-ferrous metalworking activities demonstrated by the presence of by-products, waste

⁵⁷¹ (Figure 171: 393)

or scrap for recycling, with most being associated with the working of iron. The landscape of the area afforded a wide range of agricultural potential⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ and although pasture is now predominant, this was unlikely to have been the case during the early medieval period. Research suggests a considerable amount of arable farming may have occurred, with plants including barley, oats, bread wheat, beans and flax being of local importance (Caseldine & Griffiths, 2019: 173). Llangorse crannog and its hinterland would have probably included a significant uchelwr and taeog population whose work and render supported the high-status household of the crannog. In terms of material culture, much of the evidence derived from Llangorse crannog supports such a model.

Mark Redknap's (2019) analysis of the artefacts recovered from the site and its vicinity artefacts were considered in prehistoric, Roman, early medieval, medieval and post medieval contexts. Roman artefacts included six sherds of pottery, a fragment of Box flue tile, gaming counters and two brooches. The objects appear to represent diverse origins. The flue tile from a hypocaust was recovered from the lake approximately six metres from the crannog's shoreline. The nearest recorded Roman villa bath house was at Maesderwyn and lay approximately five kilometres west of the lake at Llanfrynach. A possibility raised by this find is an as yet undiscovered Roman building with a hypocaust near the lake. The gaming counters may represent the reuse of antique objects of interest, as do the brooches which may have been kept as curiosities or collected for recycling. No Roman coins or worked stone characteristic of Roman buildings was recovered during the excavation (Redknap, 2019a: 205-208).

⁵⁷² (Chapter 3: 341-359)

⁵⁷³ (Figure 171: 393)

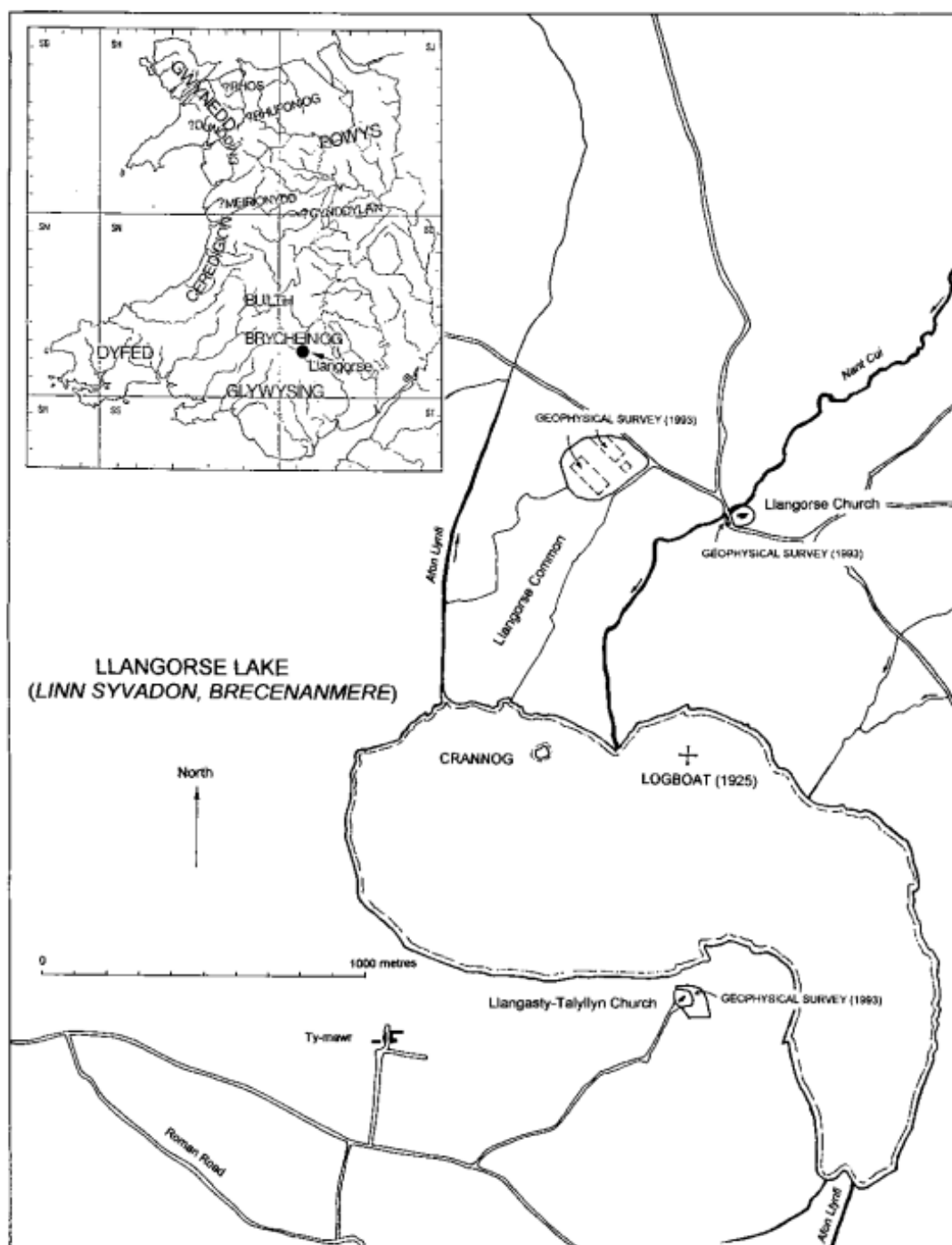


Figure 171

The location of Llangorse crannog. (Inset: the known kingdoms of early medieval Wales (after Davies 1982) (Redknap & Lane, 1994: 192)

	Description	Iron	Cobalt	Nickel	Copper	Zinc	Arsenic	Antimony	Tin	Silver	Bismuth	Lead	Gold	Sulphur
2501	Carrying hinge for reliquary	0.04	0.00	0.02	86.71	0.03	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.14
2503	Tweezers	0.18	0.00	0.00	89.68	1.63	0.57	0.00	7.41	0.29	n/a	1.17	0.00	n/a
2506	Faceted mount	0.84	0.01	0.03	80.64	0.08	0.20	0.00	12.49	0.30	0.03	5.15	0.00	0.22
2508	Brooch pin	0.24	0.00	0.02	84.90	3.30	0.66	0.02	9.87	0.16	0.03	0.70	0.04	0.04
2509	Pin	0.26	0.01	0.08	86.92	0.20	0.20	0.01	10.42	1.47	0.06	0.24	0.12	0.02
2510a	Small semi-recycled sheet	0.02	0.00	0.02	88.41	0.00	<2.00	0.00	11.08	0.11	0.02	0.23	0.06	0.01
2510b	Large semi-recycled sheet	0.01	0.01	0.27	85.73	0.00	0.18	0.00	13.73	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01
2512	Shield binding strip	0.03	0.01	0.02	89.19	0.01	<0.02	0.00	10.55	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.05
2513	Pseudo-penannular brooch	0.07	0.01	0.06	90.40	0.01	<0.02	0.00	8.96	0.00	0.01	0.17	0.06	0.25
3293	Semi-recycled sheet	0.02	0.01	0.00	85.23	0.00	0.10	0.01	14.45	0.18	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.01
3295	Roof binding strip	0.25	0.10	0.55	85.66	0.03	0.57	0.00	10.29	0.03	0.03	0.42	0.10	1.94
3297	Recycled sheet (a)	0.03	0.03	0.30	80.82	0.03	0.18	0.00	18.36	0.02	0.03	0.13	0.02	0.02
3297	Recycled sheet (b)	0.47	0.02	0.46	97.25	0.02	0.73	0.18	0.09	0.08	0.01	0.24	0.02	0.47
4005	Disc-headed pin	0.03	0.00	0.01	86.29	0.00	0.03	0.00	13.24	0.01	0.01	0.28	0.06	0.03
4387	Y-shaped mount	0.23	0.00	0.06	85.21	3.80	0.33	0.05	6.57	0.40	0.00	3.20	0.08	0.06
4391	Y-shaped mount	0.16	0.01	0.06	86.80	4.31	0.46	0.11	4.83	1.23	0.01	1.85	0.02	0.15
8815	Drinking horn terminal	0.00	0.01	0.04	89.50	0.07	0.38	0.00	10.9	0.06	n/a	0.12	0.00	n/a
8819	Zoomorphic penannular brooch	0.25	0.01	0.01	89.80	0.83	0.36	0.00	9.28	0.05	n/a	0.17	0.00	n/a
8821	Roman penannular brooch	0.11	0.01	0.00	90.67	1.12	0.28	0.00	8.77	0.05	n/a	0.07	0.00	n/a

Figure 172

Analysis of copper alloys from Llangorse crannog (shown by percentage) (after Northover & Davis, 2019: 231)

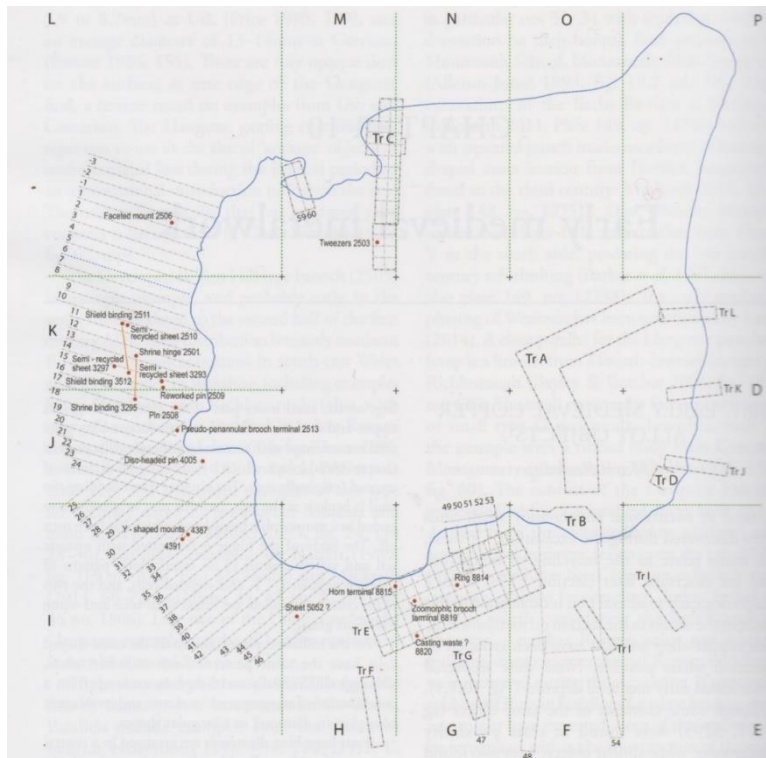


Figure 173

Distribution of early medieval metalwork from the vicinity of Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019b: 210)

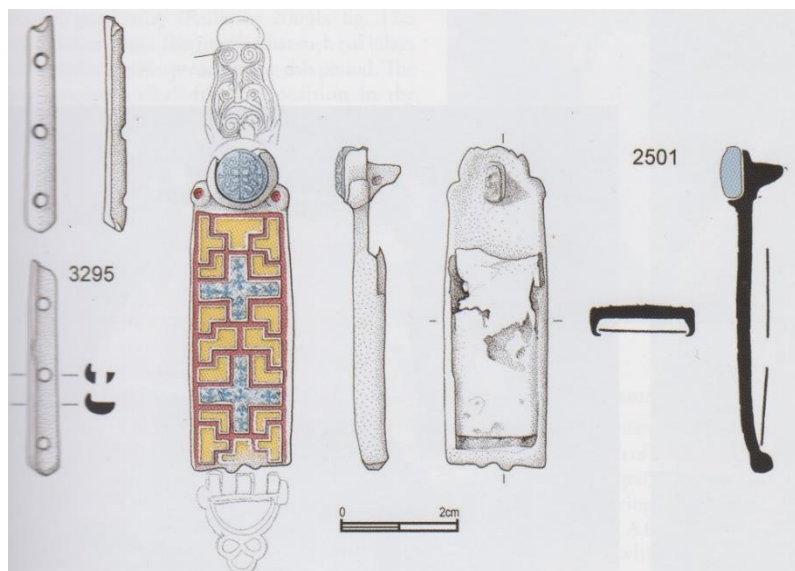


Figure 174

Part of portable reliquary (2501) from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019b: 211)



Figure 175

End view of shrine mount recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019b: 212)

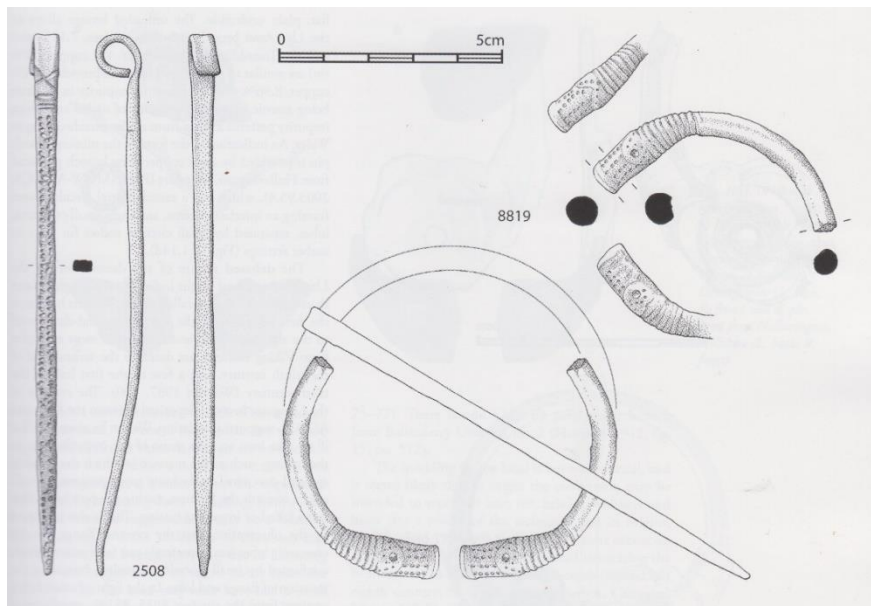


Figure 176

Zoomorphic penannular brooch (8819), possible brooch pin (2508) and provisional construction of both as a single brooch recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019b: 219)

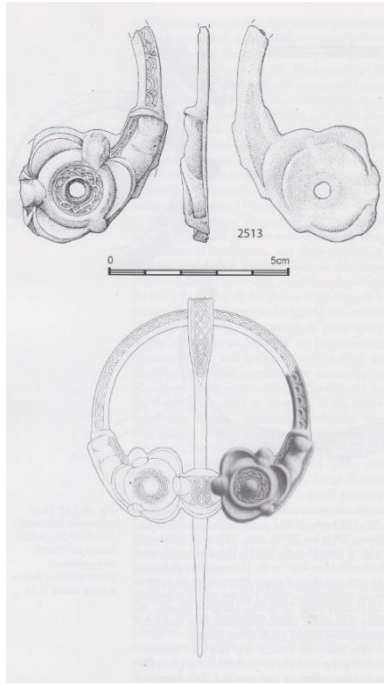


Figure 177

Pseudo-penannular brooch (2513) and reconstruction below recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019: 220)

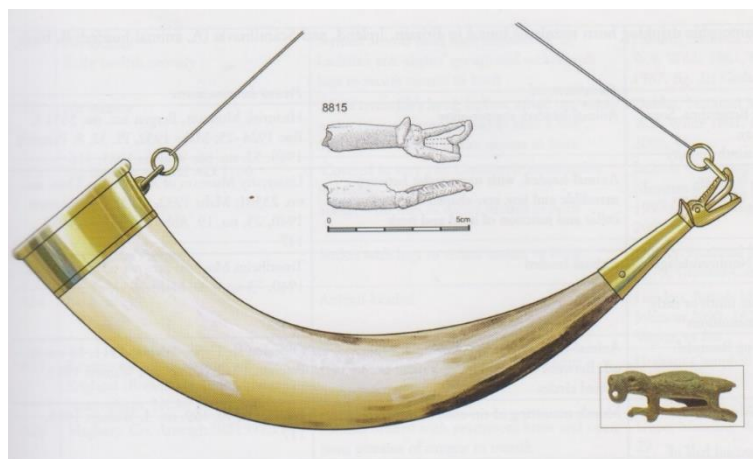


Figure 178

Zoomorphic horn terminal recovered from Llangorse crannog (8815) and possible reconstruction. Inset: zoomorphic drinking horn from Ballywass, County Kildare, Ireland (Redknap, 2019: 227)

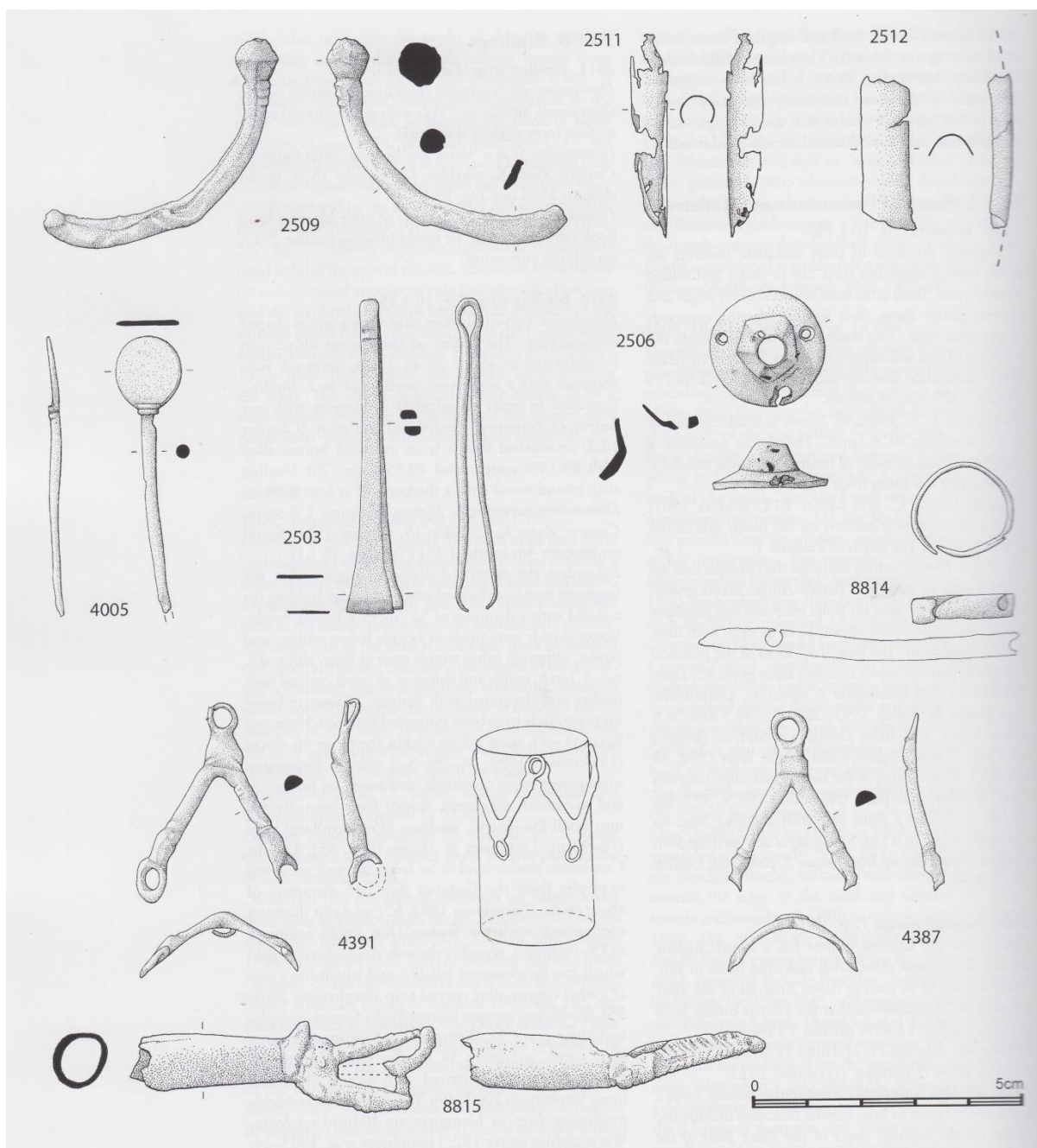


Figure 179

Copper alloy pins (2509, 4005), tweezers (2503), mounts, 2506, 4387, 4391) ting (8814) and possible shield binding (2511, 2512) (Redknap, 2019b: 224)

Early medieval metalwork finds consisted of the remains of religious paraphernalia including a portable house-shaped reliquary (2501)⁵⁷⁴ and its apparent roof binding (3295).⁵⁷⁵ Dress accessories included a brooch pin (2508), a pseudo-penannular brooch terminal (2513), a brooch terminal (8819),⁵⁷⁶ a biconical headed pin (2509) and a disc-headed pin (4005).⁵⁷⁷ Personal toiletry items in the form of tweezers (2503) and a faceted mount (2506)⁵⁷⁸ were recovered, alongside two binding strips (2511, 2512)⁵⁷⁹ and a ring (8814).⁵⁸⁰ Another two objects of uncertain function were found and described as Y-shaped mounts (4387, 4391).⁵⁸¹ In addition, evidence of hospitality in the form of terminals (8815) for a possible drinking horn was retrieved.⁵⁸²

The elaborate carrying hinge was embedded with glass inlays.⁵⁸³ These consisted of four types of glass and have been categorised as opaque red glass/enamel, opaque yellow enamel, a translucent blue glass stud and millefiori of combined opaque white and translucent to opaque blue. There were also two other unidentified corroded inlays present (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman *et al*, 2019: 210-211).

Fragments of red enamel occurred in a single continuous cell which surrounded the yellow enamel and millefiori cells.⁵⁸⁴ These were comprised of significant quantities of lead and copper and are indicative of red cuprite glass forms. The lack of sodium in the glass make up was indicative of a composition used in Britain and Ireland

⁵⁷⁴ (Figure 173: 395)

⁵⁷⁵ (Figure 174: 395)

⁵⁷⁶ (Figures 176: 396, 177: 397)

⁵⁷⁷ (Figure 179: 398)

⁵⁷⁸ (Figure 179: 398)

⁵⁷⁹ (Figure 179: 398)

⁵⁸⁰ (Figure 179: 387)

⁵⁸¹ (Figure 179: 398)

⁵⁸² (Figure 178: 397)

⁵⁸³ (Figures 174: 395, 175: 396)

⁵⁸⁴ (Figure 174: 395)

during the early medieval period (Stapleton, Freestone & Bowman, 1999: 913-921). Comparable compositions have been noted on two Carolingian period brooches (Stapleton, Freestone & Bowman, 1999: 914) and in an enamel/glass from the early medieval site at Llanbedrgoch (Redknap, 2019b: 213). The data provided from these studies appears to imply such red inlays were relatively widespread between the sixth and ninth-centuries CE (Stapleton, Freestone & Bowman, 1999: 916). The relatively alkaline-free composition of the objects may well represent the use of glass-like slag materials from metalwork refining processes, particularly silver being used as a red enamel (Rehren & Klaus, 1999: 263-272).

The composition of the Llangorse example was close to metallurgical slag from the tenth-century CE Anglo-Saxon site at Netherton (Stapleton, Freestone & Bowman, 1999: 919) and to crucible slag from a Roman silversmith's workshop at Xanten (Rehren & Klaus, 1999: 268). The item displays similarities to many early medieval inlays analysed by Colleen Stapleton *et al* (1999) with relatively high levels of lime, phosphorus and zinc. However, the composition of both the slags and inlays were very heterogeneous when compared to true glass or enamel, with a very wide range of values for many constituents. Therefore, the red inlay in the shrine mount, unlike many early medieval glasses and enamels was not formed from the colouration of soda-lime-silica glass and may represent the reuse of highly coloured lead rich slag from metallurgical refining processes. This may particularly include cupellation which can produce red cupriferous litharge (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 213). As with Iron Age sealing wax glass, the red colour of these glasses was produced by dendritic cuprite crystals formed within the matrix and it should be noted the overall composition is significantly different from true glass. Rounded quartz grains appear to add further evidence of the inlay materials originating from metal refining processes (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 213).

The opaque yellow enamel occurred within the T, L, S and Z shaped cells of the object.⁵⁸⁵ Testing⁵⁸⁶ revealed the presence of lead and tin with relatively small amounts of antimony and suggests lead-tin yellow was the colourant and the opacifier. The enamel/glass was devitrified although in some areas retained its colour with more cohesion. Analysis of these areas of the artefact show large quantities of lead with tin and no presence of antimony (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 213). Research has demonstrated tin based opacifiers were used extensively from the fifth to the ninth-centuries CE in the production of white glass beads in Anglo-Saxon England, Early Christian Ireland, Merovingian Germany, Viking Jutland and Lombardic Italy (Tite, Pradell & Shortland, 2007: 67). The choice of tin rather than antimony probably reflected its availability through its use in metal production (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 214), whilst the base composition of the yellow glass/enamel appears to a soda-lime-silica glass and was probably originally derived from the eastern Mediterranean. However, it is believed there was a switch to the use of lead stannate as a colourant as supplies of lead antimonate became disrupted from the Mediterranean and northern Europeans took to importing clear rather than coloured glass (Heck, Rehren & Hoffmann, 2003: 33-34; Tite, Pradell & Shortland, 2007: 68). Significantly, it seems likely the colouring of the glass occurred in a northern European workshop. Therefore, the production of both red and yellow glass/enamel may have elements associated with relatively local manufacture (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 214).

The translucent blue glass stud⁵⁸⁷ with recessed geometric patterns was well preserved relative to the red and yellow enamels. Most of the stud was dark blue with several areas of lighter blue translucent glass. The composition determined by

⁵⁸⁵ (Figure 174: 395)

⁵⁸⁶ (Figure 172: 394)

⁵⁸⁷ (Figure 174: 395)

testing indicated it was coloured by cobalt ions. The significant presence of antimony detected in this part of the object suggests white calcium antimonate crystals were present and would have made the glass lighter in colour and more opaque. In addition, the patterning of recessed grooves on the original convex outer face of the blue glass stud contained small amounts of granular white material with similar looking material was noticed on the millefiori. Analysis indicated this was predominately calcite, possibly derived from lakebed shell marl of Llangorse after submersion (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 214).

The millefiori consisted of a combination of triangular and diamond shaped opaque white and translucent to opaque light blue glass which occurred in two cross shaped cells.⁵⁸⁸ In most of the pieces, some of the upper surface of the white glass was missing and the surfaces of the blue glass were pock marked from corrosion. In a number of neighbouring blue pieces, the colour grades were from mainly translucent light blue to an opaque blue-white where they bordered the white pieces. This appears indicative of the glass mingling together when the millefiori rods were made, rather than when they were fixed into position in the cell. Samples from the blue stud and the millefiori cross reveal the two glasses were broadly similar in composition and were classified as mineral soda-lime-silica glasses, coloured with cobalt and opacified with calcium antimonite (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 214-215).

The chemistry and physical characteristics of the object offered an indication about the number and types of steps which might have been used to fix the glass into their cells.⁵⁸⁹ The amount of lead present would have affected the behaviour of the

⁵⁸⁸ (Figure 174: 395)

⁵⁸⁹ (Figure 172: 394)

glasses, with higher lead resulting in lower melting temperatures. Testing has shown the Llangorse red enamel contained major amounts of lead. Analysis of the yellow opaque yellow glass/enamel has also indicated it was a highly leaded glass/enamel. The high lead contents of these glass/enamels suggest it would have been possible to soften these through heating and press them into their cells. All the millefiori were still present and securely fixed. This coupled by the fact they were laid proud of the cells is indicative of the pieces being cut and fused in *situ*. The millefiori contained much less lead than the red and yellow glass/enamel and would have needed much higher temperatures to be fixed into the cells in the same way (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 215).

It was possible the blue glass was fixed in place using a method for fixing coloured glass to metal in the later Iron Age as the material was held in position by using enamel as an adhesive. Red enamel was generally used for this purpose (Spratling, 1972: 274) and analysis of the Llangorse portable reliquary has shown where a cell wall was missing, it seems the wall and the stud were in close contact with each other as might have been expected from the heating process. The contact of these particular cells was obscured by a red material considered to be red/glass enamel which covered both the metal and parts of the stud edges. This material appears to have used to adhere the glass stud in position (Stapleton, Sheridan, Bowman & Davis, 2019: 215).

The makeup of this object does appear to have parallels with older Silurian material culture. For example, these include the decorative techniques applied to the Seven Sisters metalwork⁵⁹⁰ such as the addition of glass, enamel and niello to recesses of

⁵⁹⁰ (Figure 34: 110)

some metal surfaces⁵⁹¹ and the larger bowl⁵⁹² recovered from Langstone.⁵⁹³ However, it has commonalities with other contemporaneous reliquary caskets from Ireland and elsewhere. For instance, examples include the Emly shrine (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 2021) and Lough Erne shrines (The Met Museum, 2021). Redknap (2019b) considers these offer a reminder of a possible Irish link for the origins of the crannog (Redknap, 2019b: 218).

It is interesting many of the examples cited by Redknap (2019b) were attached to box-like wooden bases and in the case of the Emly shrine to yew wood (Redknap, 2019b: 218). The tankard⁵⁹⁴ recovered alongside the larger Langstone bowl was also constructed of yew⁵⁹⁵ and in a Silurian setting the bowl and tankard may offer evidence of cultural continuity of material choice from a pre-Christian context. Analysis of the copper alloy objects retrieved from Llangorse crannog⁵⁹⁶ offer evidence which can be compared to those recovered from other locales. For example, the bronze of the pseudo penannular brooch (2513)⁵⁹⁷ was unleaded (90.40 % copper, 8.96 % tin, 0.01 % zinc, 0.17 % lead) and bore similarities to stylistically related brooches from Llys Awel (86-91 % copper, 8-12 % tin, 0.04 % zinc, 0.03-0.89 % lead) and Trearddur Bay (86.38 % copper, 11.95 % tin, 0.0 % zinc, 0.73 % lead). The principal impurity in the brooches from Llys Awel and Trearddur Bay was arsenic, with some amounts of nickel and silver. These though, were absent from the examples recovered from Llangorse crannog. For instance, the zoomorphic penannular brooch (8819)⁵⁹⁸ consisted of 89.8 % copper, 9.28 % tin,

⁵⁹¹ (Chapter 1: 111-114)

⁵⁹² (Figure 31: 106)

⁵⁹³ (Chapter 1: 107-108)

⁵⁹⁴ (Figure 29: 105)

⁵⁹⁵ (Chapter 1: 104-107)

⁵⁹⁶ (Figure 172: 394)

⁵⁹⁷ (Figure 177: 397)

⁵⁹⁸ (Figure 172: 394)

0.83 % zinc and 0.17 % lead. By comparison, analysis of an early penannular brooch from Tullahennell in Ireland gave a low lead bronze composition of 75.2-82.9 %, 14.7-21.2 % tin, 0.95-1.83 % lead and 0.57-0.64 % zinc (Mullarkey, 2010: 26). The evidence suggests some workshops must have used unleaded bronze for both cast and wrought products as this alloy choice permitted a higher standard of surface finish (Northover & Davis, 2019: 231). Other material from Llangorse, including the reliquary shrine monuments (2501, 3295)⁵⁹⁹ were also comprised of unleaded bronze (Northover & Davis, 2019: 230-231).⁶⁰⁰ This technique appears to have been a long-lived method of production in south-eastern Wales.⁶⁰¹

The recovery and distribution of early iron artefacts⁶⁰² presents some limitations as none of the diagnostic iron work was recovered from sealed early medieval deposits.⁶⁰³ Early medieval iron artefacts recovered included personal dress accessories, other personal items, knives, tools, nails and various fittings. Dress accessories included three strap-guides (2514, 8822, 4408) a strap end (4408),⁶⁰⁴ a looped fitting (2162)⁶⁰⁵ and a buckle loop fitting (8994).⁶⁰⁶ Various implements including slotted pointed tools (e.g. 79),⁶⁰⁷ early medieval knives,⁶⁰⁸ possible vessel handles (e.g. 57)⁶⁰⁹ and nails.⁶¹⁰ Of particular interest was the scarcity of forged nails from the site as this contrasts with evidence from contemporary phases at Llanbedrgoch in Anglesey, where they have been recovered in abundance and may

⁵⁹⁹ (Figures 173: 395, 174: 395)

⁶⁰⁰ (Chapter 3: 392, 399)

⁶⁰¹ (Chapters 2: 111-114, 3: 394, 4: 566-571)

⁶⁰² (Figure 172: 394)

⁶⁰³ (Figure 181: 406)

⁶⁰⁴ (Figure 181: 406)

⁶⁰⁵ (Figure 181: 394)

⁶⁰⁶ (Figure 181: 406)

⁶⁰⁷ (Figures 181: 406, 182: 407)

⁶⁰⁸ (Figure 183: 407)

⁶⁰⁹ (Figure 184: 408)

⁶¹⁰ (Figure 185: 408)

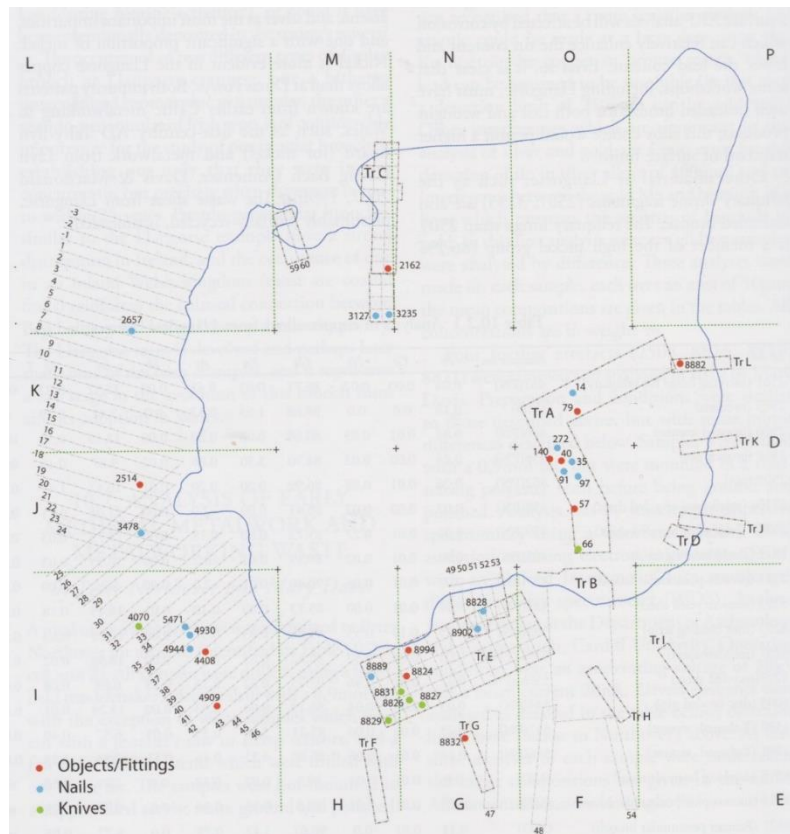


Figure 180

Distribution of early medieval ironwork from Llangorse crannog, categorised as objects and fittings, nails and knives (Redknap, 2019c: 233)

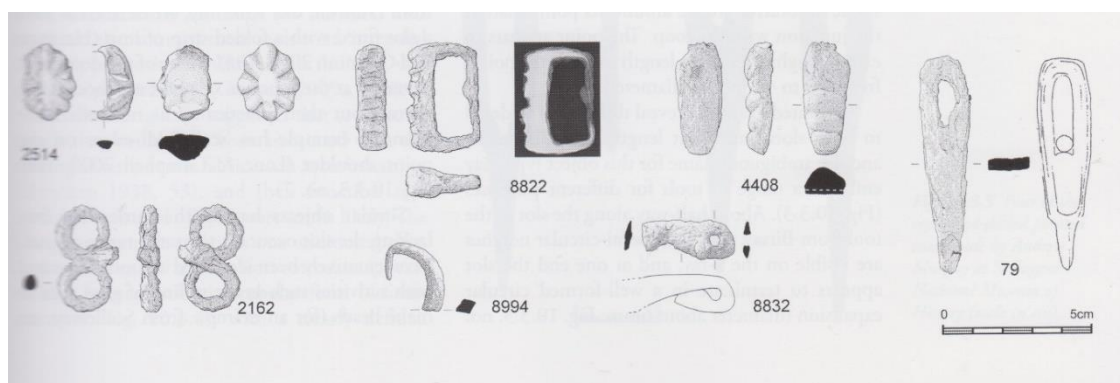


Figure 181

Early medieval ironwork recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019c: 233)



Figure 182

X radiograph of slotted pointed tool (79) from Llangorse crannog (left) and surface of slotted pointed tool (79) (right) (Redknap, 2019c: 235)

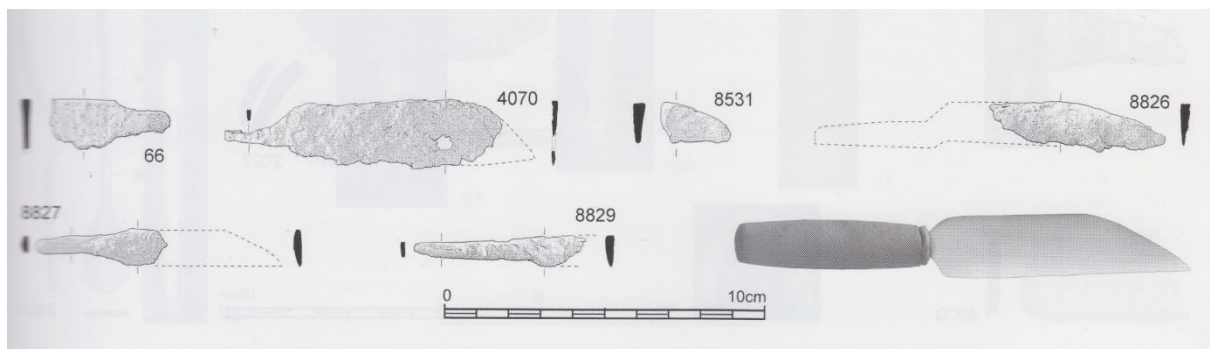


Figure 183

Medieval iron knife blades recovered from Llangorse crannog. The reconstruction (bottom right) incorporates a contemporary bone knife handle from Llanbedrgoch (Redknap, 2019c: 239)

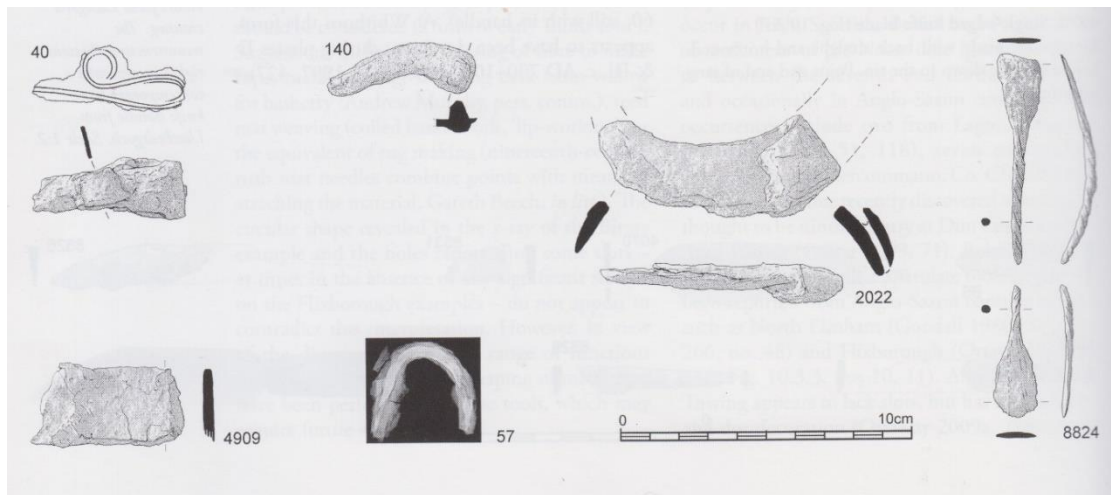


Figure 184

Medieval ironwork recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019c: 240)

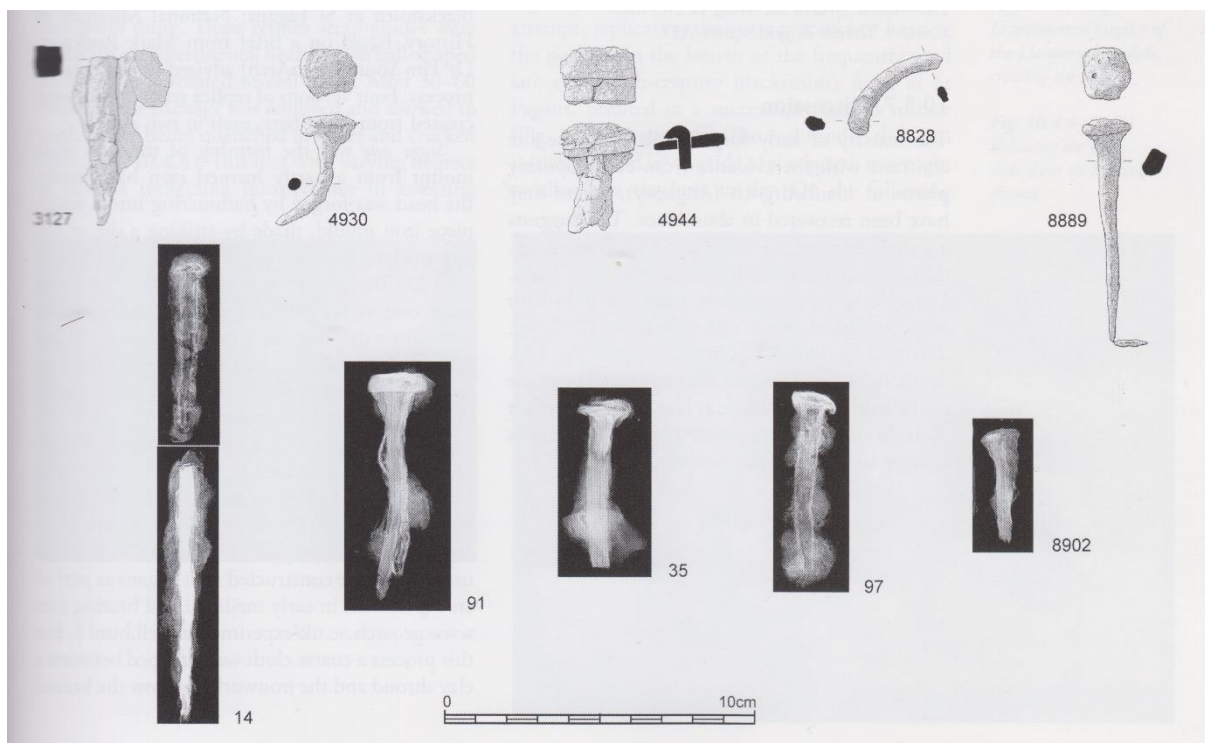


Figure 185

Medieval nails and roves (with X-radiographs at bottom) recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019c: 241)

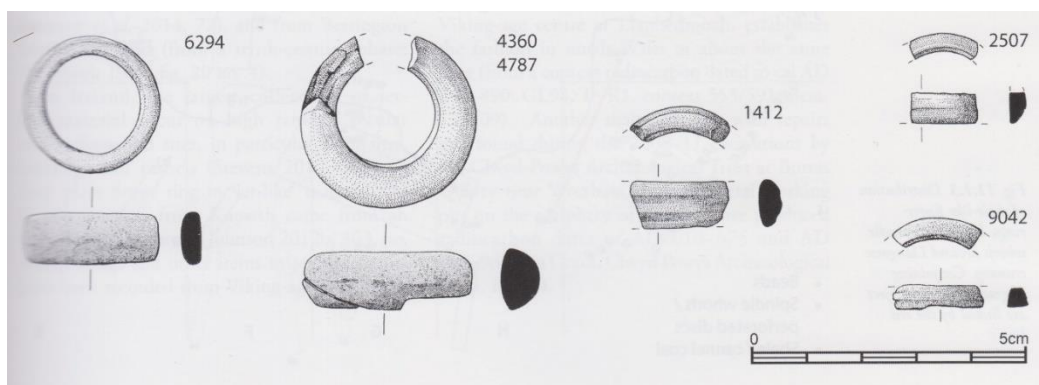


Figure 186

Shale-like finger rings recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019c: 245)

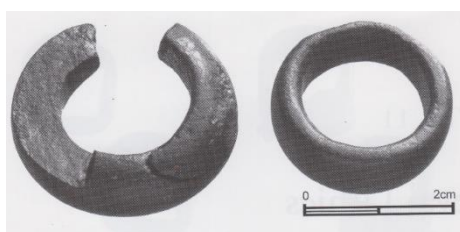


Figure 187

Shale-like finger rings (4360/4787, 6294 recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019c: 246)

suggest a greater reliance on the use of pegs, dowels and treenails for structural fixing.⁶¹¹

The excavation at Llangorse crannog recovered one complete and four incomplete finger rings made of black lithic material (shale). Each example was recovered from disturbed deposits.⁶¹² The black lithic materials were difficult to identify precisely, but each of the Llangorse crannog examples reveal qualities seen in oil shales and

⁶¹¹(Figure 198: 419)

⁶¹² (Figure 186: 409)

related materials. Finger rings 1412 and 4360/4787⁶¹³ were similar in form, whilst finger rings 6294 and 2507⁶¹⁴ may also originate from the same source. All have simple forms with smooth finished surfaces and can be paralleled by similar finds from Anglo-Scandinavian York, Berrington, Herefordshire and Cumwhitton, Cumbria (Redknap & Davis, 2019a: 245-246). Evidence for manufacture of similar artefacts has been found at Dinas Powys⁶¹⁵ where central cores were removed by lathes in the manufacture of armlets (Alcock, 1963: 167). Previous research (Thomas, 2019: 116-186) has suggested patterns of martial display in Siluria included shale armlets and torcs which have been recovered from all over the Silurian region at Caldicot, Caerleon, Caerwent, Cowbridge, Dinas Powys, Llanmaes and Loughor. These appear to be related with other objects to Silurian resistance to Rome and their recovery at both Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog in the early medieval period are suggestive of cultural continuity from the Iron Age onwards.⁶¹⁶

The excavations at Llangorse crannog yielded forty-seven definite examples of utilised stone considered to be early medieval. These included spindle whorls (1),⁶¹⁷ quern stone fragments (2),⁶¹⁸ whetstones, grind and slipstones (44).⁶¹⁹ The forms and radial groove patterns of the Llangorse crannog quern stones (3307, 8775)⁶²⁰ were considered to be very similar to those of Roman querns/milling stones made of local sandstone which have an external diameter of between 40-50 cms (Welfare, 1995: 215-237). An early medieval date has been established for this form with radial

⁶¹³ (Figures 186: 409, 187: 409)

⁶¹⁴ (Figures 186: 409, 187: 409)

⁶¹⁵ (Figure 169: 383)

⁶¹⁶ (Chapter 4: 566-571)

⁶¹⁷ (Figure 209: 427)

⁶¹⁸ (Figure 188: 411)

⁶¹⁹ (e.g. Figure 187: 409)

⁶²⁰ (Figure 188: 411)

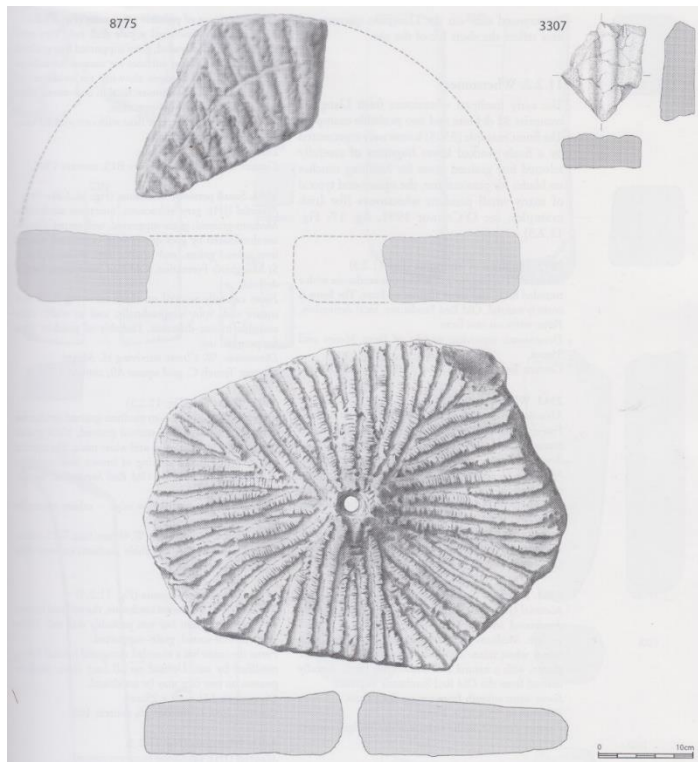


Figure 188

Quern stones recovered from Llangorse crannog (3307, 8775) (Redknap, 2019c: 249)



Figure 189

Selection of early medieval whetstones (2342, 3303, 8400b, 5362, 8716, 8776) recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019c: 258)

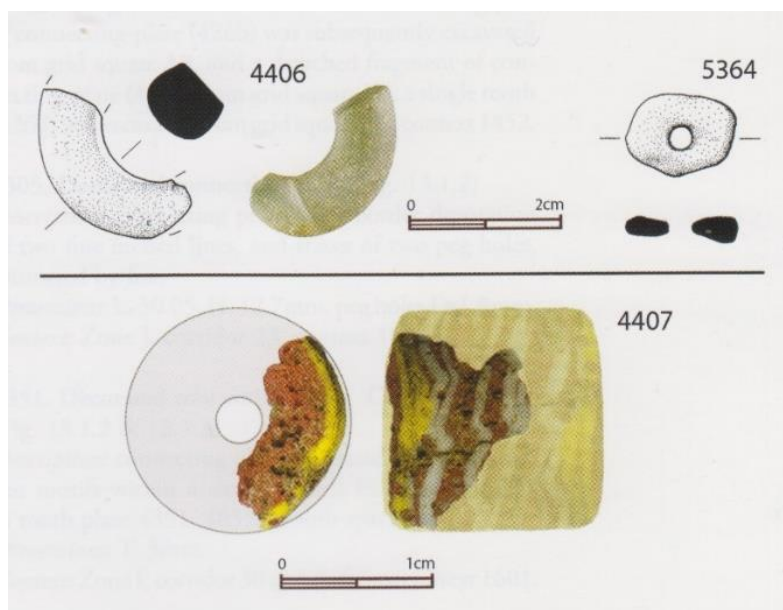


Figure 190

Early medieval beads (4406, 4407, 5364) recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap & Davis, 2019b: 261)

grooves and large diameter (approximately 70cms) from Dinas Powys (Redknap & Horák, 2019: 248).⁶²¹ It is possible the quern stones may have reached the Llangorse crannog as recycled material for the rubble core of the crannog. However, their large size and careful tooling supports an alternative context. For example, severe heat damage on 3307⁶²² was likely to have been caused by the conflagration which created the charred timbers found nearby within the early tenth-century CE destruction horizon for the crannog and support its use within the llys rather than as a building material (Redknap & Horák, 2019: 248-249).

Three beads were recovered from underwater contexts at Llangorse crannog. Stylistically these were comprised of a clear glass ring bead (4406),⁶²³ a fragment of

⁶²¹ (Figure 164: 381)

⁶²² (Figure 188: 411)

⁶²³ (Figure 190: 412)

large red terracotta cylindrical bead with an opaque red frit base and zig zag decoration (4407)⁶²⁴ and an irregular ceramic oval bead, cut from wall sherd of fine Roman orange-ware (5364).⁶²⁵ Analysis of the glass comprising bead 4406 gave a suggested date of *circa* CE 550-750 (Redknap & Davis, 2019b: 260).

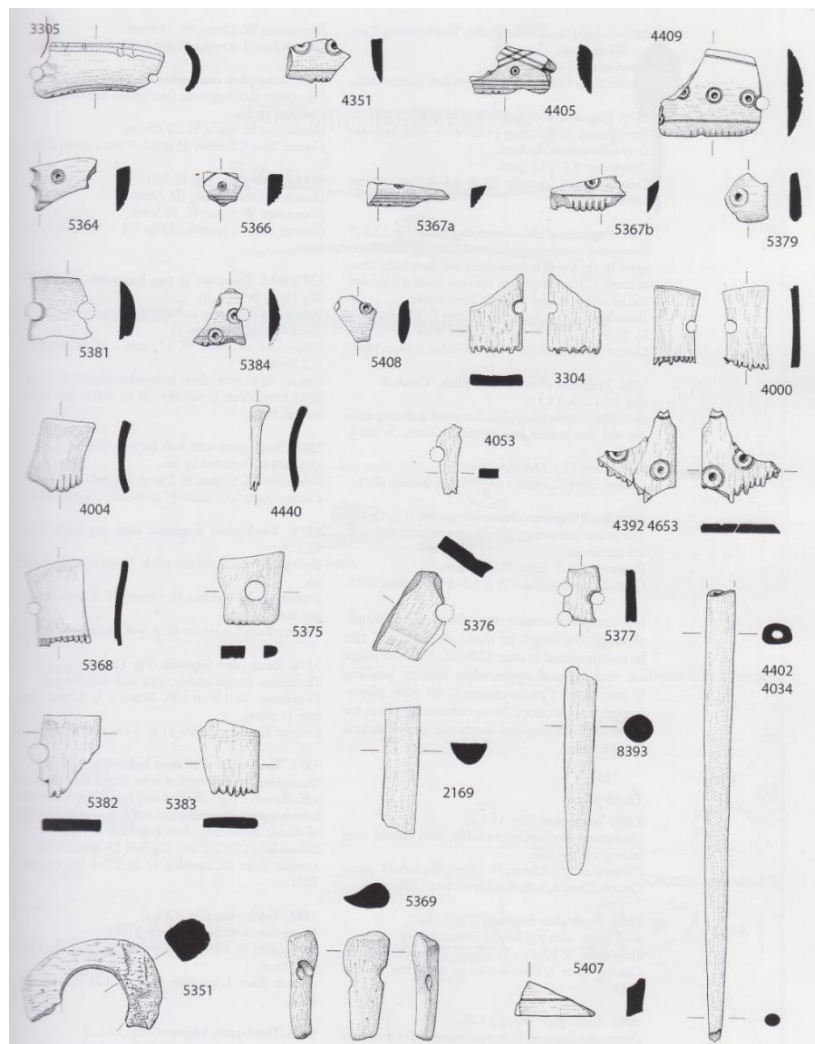


Figure 191

Early medieval worked bone recovered from Llangorse Crannog (Redknap, 2019d: 265)

⁶²⁴ (Figure 190: 412)

⁶²⁵ (Figure 190: 412)

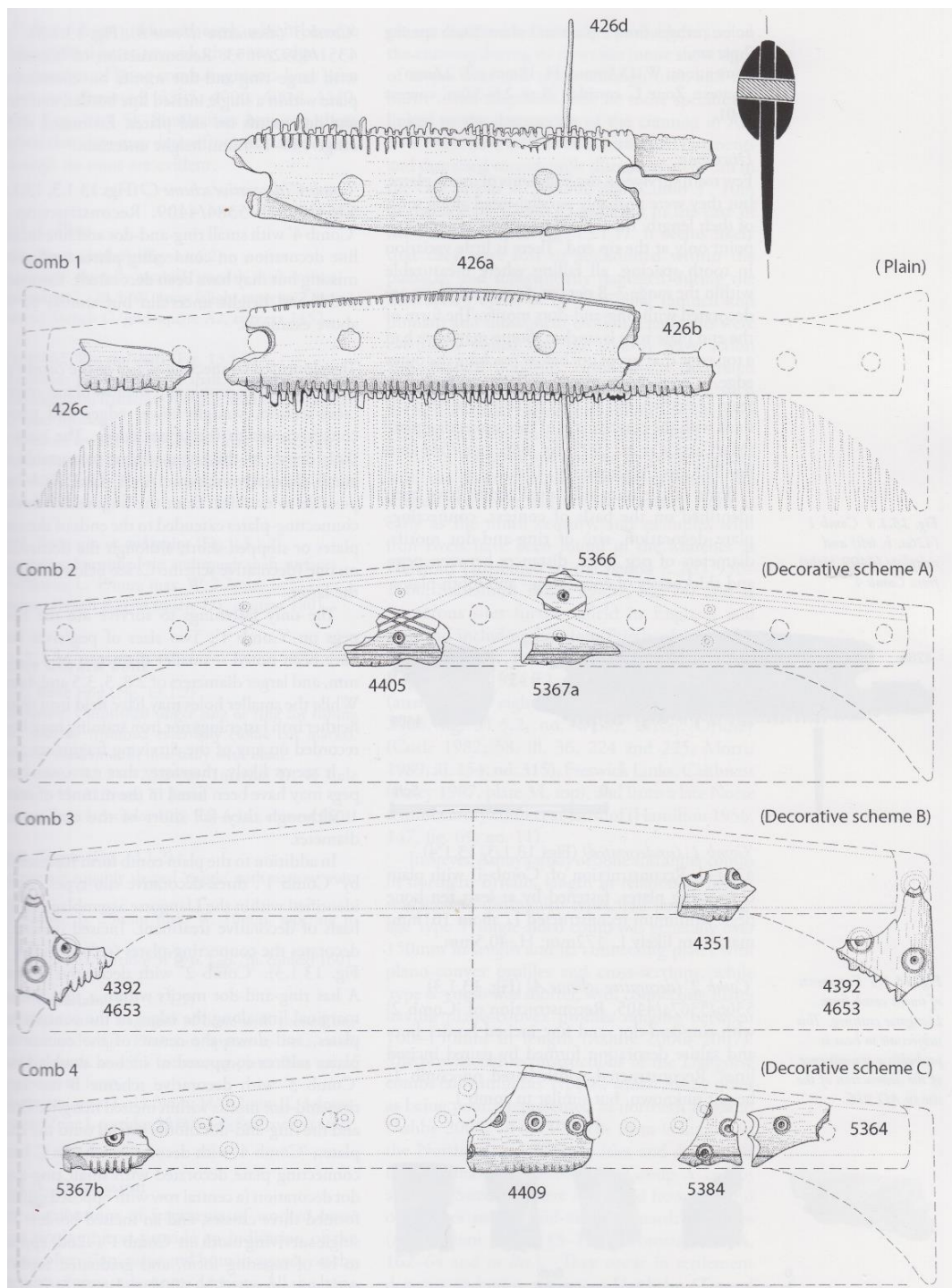


Figure 192

Reconstruction of early medieval combs recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019d: 267)



Figure 193 Comb 1 (426a, b, left) and side plate (4409, right) from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019d: 268)



Figure 194 Fragments of burnt comb recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019d: 268)



Figure 195 (a) Single-sided bone comb from Draethen, showing bone peg fastenings and (b) fragment of tooth plate from Minchin Hole with ring and dot decoration (Redknap, 2019d: 270)

Composite bone combs represented the largest category of the worked bone artefacts recovered from the crannog. All were single sided and of straight overall form. The largest section of the most complete comb (426a) consisted of a central body, connecting plates and three pegs and was undecorated.⁶²⁶ Other examples were decorated in various ways, including with ring and dot motifs within fine incised border lines (e.g. 5366, 5367a, 4405),⁶²⁷ with large ring and dot motifs within a fine incised border decoration on connecting plates, with additional ring and dot motifs on the end plates (e.g. 5364, 5367b, 5384, 4409)⁶²⁸ and with small ring and dot, within a fine incised border (e.g. 5364, 5367b, 4409).⁶²⁹

Overall, few teeth survive on the fragments recovered and of those that did, there was minor variation in tooth spacing. The combs from Llangorse crannog are significant as they provide an important benchmark in their type typology as all appear to be contemporary to the short occupancy of the llys (Redknap, 2019d: 261-270). The single sided form had a wide distribution from as early as the ninth-century CE and examples with iron rivets have been found at Hereford (Shoesmith, 1980: 29-31), London (Pritchard, 1991: 197) and York (MacGregor, Mainman & Rogers, 1999: 1924ff).

It is uncertain whether the Llangorse combs were manufactured on the crannog or not. However, as with some of the metalwork, the well-made combs retrieved from Llangorse crannog reflect the existence of a complex web of contacts and an aspect of grooming fashion over a wide area of the British Isles during between the ninth

⁶²⁶ (Figures 191: 413, 193: 415)

⁶²⁷ (Figure 192: 414)

⁶²⁸ (Figure 191: 413)

⁶²⁹ (Figure 193: 415)

and early tenth-centuries CE. Furthermore, another single sided comb fastened by bone pegs was recovered in Gwent from the cave at Draethen.⁶³⁰ Its pegs were larger than the Llangorse range and its end plate was horned (Tuck 1971: 32-33). Redknap (2019d) has identified a similar example from Jarrow (Redknap, 2019d: 270). Overall, it seems early medieval combs in Wales, of earlier date appear to have very different forms and include the aforementioned Dinas Powys examples⁶³¹ ⁶³² which were double sided with iron rivets (Alcock, 1963: 154-159). Other bone items included pins (2169, 4034, 4402, 8393), a ring (5351) and a toggle (5369).⁶³³ The bone pins, may be indicative of local craft activities as awls for piercing fastening holes taking place at the crannog.

A few fragments of leather were obtained from waterlogged contexts at Llangorse crannog.⁶³⁴ Analysis demonstrates these were all bovine in origin and probably represent waste from larger pieces (Redknap, 2019: 272). It can be reasoned leather was widely used by people on the crannog during its existence, having applications on a wide range of objects including belts, harness equipment, shoes, sheaths, scabbards or fastenings.

Redknap (2019f) has noted the relatively few wooden objects recovered from Llangorse crannog reflects the short occupancy of the site, as well as its nature and the consequence of environmental factors such as erosion of the crannog platform.

⁶³⁰ (Figure 195: 415)

⁶³¹ (Chapter 3: 390-391)

⁶³² (Figures 162: 380, 163: 380)

⁶³³ (Figures, 191: 413)

⁶³⁴ (Figure 196: 418)

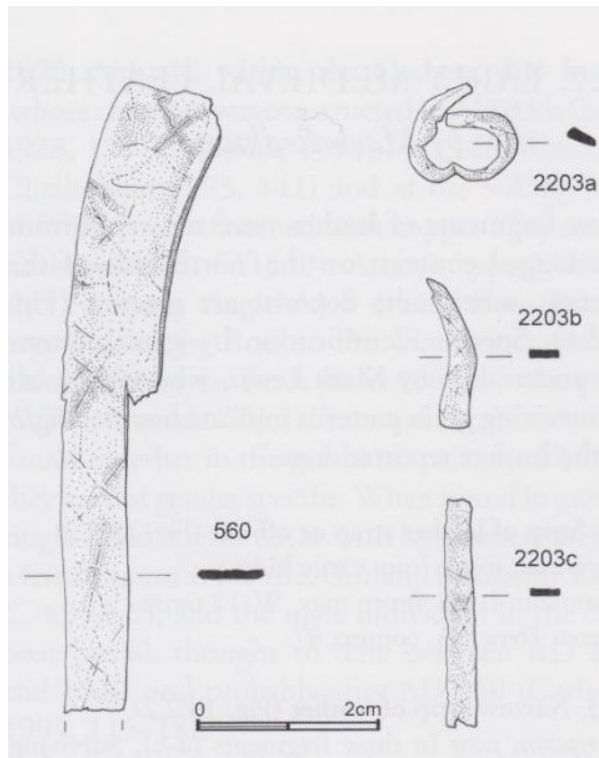


Figure 196

Early medieval leather (560, 2203a-c) recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019e: 272)



Figure 197

Wooden knee (2002) recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019f: 274)

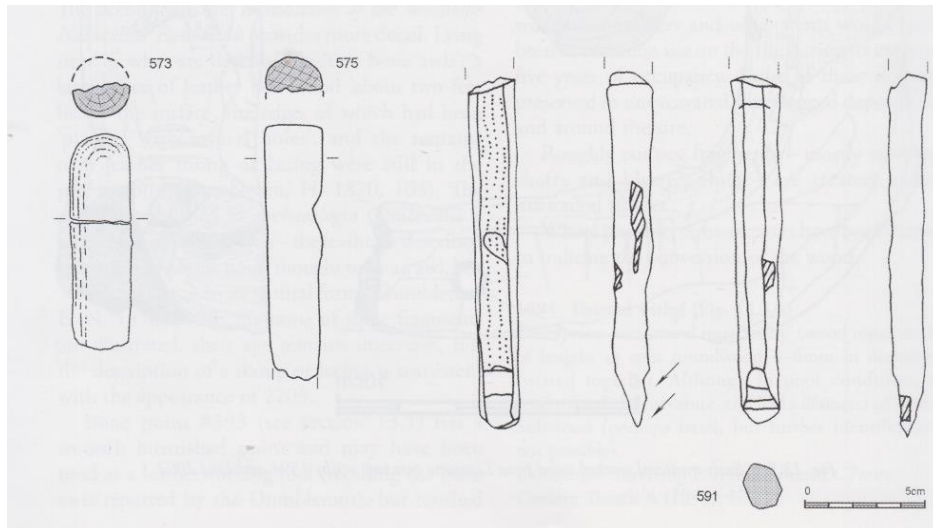


Figure 198

Early medieval worked wood from Llangorse crannog (handle 573, and treenails 575, 591) (Redknap, 2019f: 274)

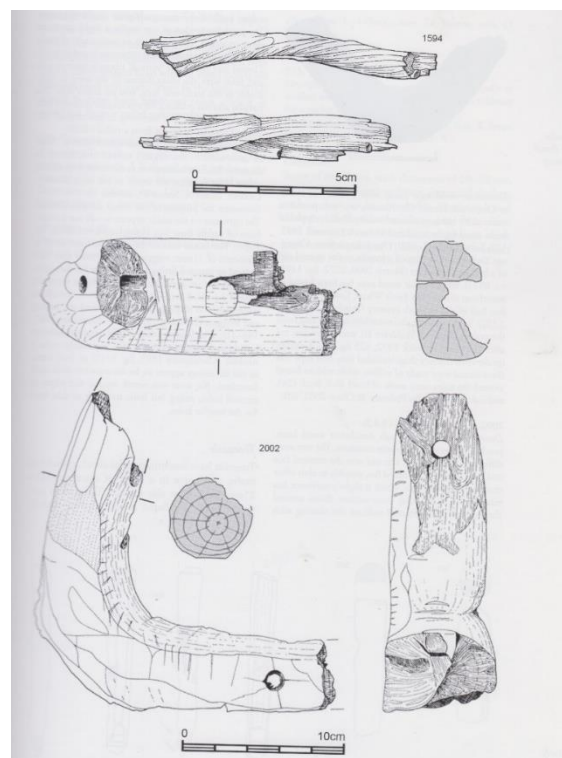


Figure 199

Early medieval worked wood recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019f: 273)

He has assumed in the absence of ceramic containers, wooden containers and other items would have been in use during the twenty-five years of the crannog's occupation. Objects recovered included a twisted two strand withy, possibly of hazel (1594);⁶³⁵ a wooden knee, bracket or part of a composite structure (2002);⁶³⁶ tree nails made from split oak, which may have been used to fasten structural timbers (575, 591)⁶³⁷ and a worked roundwood handle (573)⁶³⁸ (Redknap, 2019f: 272-275).

The discovery of a significant quantity of textile from this period is unusual in Wales. Eight locations on or around the crannog produced evidence for textile.⁶³⁹ The largest and most significant find was textile bundle 412 which contained the Llangorse garment.⁶⁴⁰ The bundle consisted of approximately 40 layers of textile, with silt and small fragments of charcoal between the layers (Redknap, 2019g: 276). The Llangorse garment preserved a number of constructional elements and is considered to be a tunic or part of a dress. Its base material was a very fine plain-weave linen. Silk and linen thread was used to decorate the textile with birds and other creatures. These were contained within a framework of vines and with borders containing repeating patterns of lions (Redknap, 2019g: 312-316).

From the evidence presented above, a wide range of craftworking activities on site appears to be a distinct possibility. For example, the artefacts included 538 finds of possible metallurgical residues. Of these there were 189 items of probable

⁶³⁵ (Figure 199: 419)

⁶³⁶ (Figure 198: 419)

⁶³⁷ (Figure 198: 419)

⁶³⁸ (Figure 198: 419)

⁶³⁹ (Figure 200: 421)

⁶⁴⁰ (Figure 201: 422)

metallurgical origin, 186 pieces of indeterminate fired clay and ninety-eight items associated with the burning of coal such as coal, coke or clinker (Young, 2019: 319).

Investigation of archaeometallurgical residues has suggested most were probably associated with the working of Iron. For example, one complete and several substantial fragments of small smithing hearth cakes indicate end use ironworking (i.e. blacksmithing).⁶⁴¹ Twenty-three pieces were identifiable and those pieces for which a size could be estimated for the original smithing hearth cake all indicated small cakes. One example (3082), cited in the excavation report was complete and weighed 209 grammes.⁶⁴² Four incomplete examples suggested original weights of

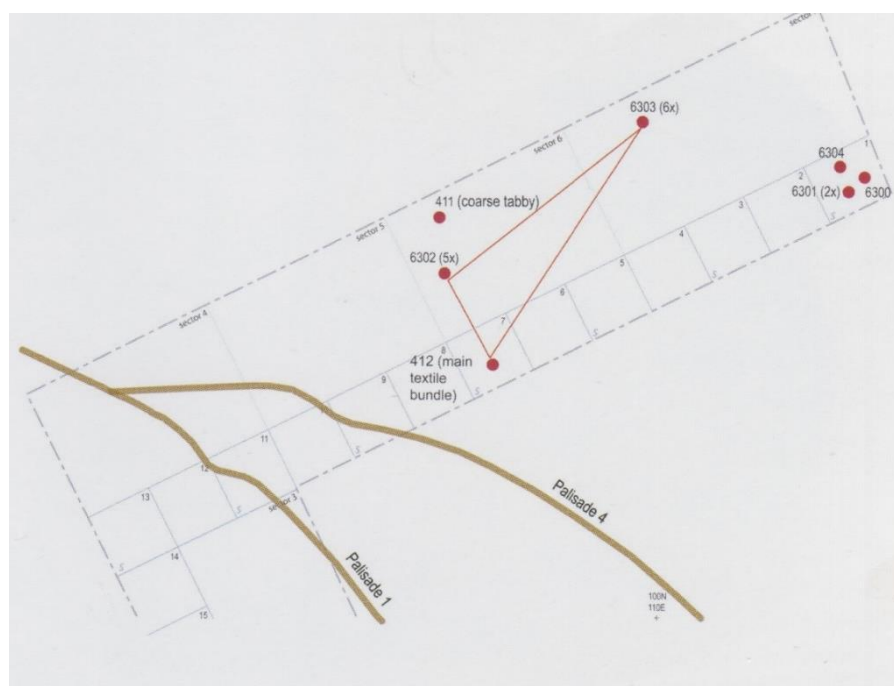


Figure 200

Early medieval textiles recovered from Trench A at Llangorse crannog. Red lines link identical textiles (Redknap, 2019: 277)

⁶⁴¹ (Figure 204: 425)

⁶⁴² (Figure 204: 425)

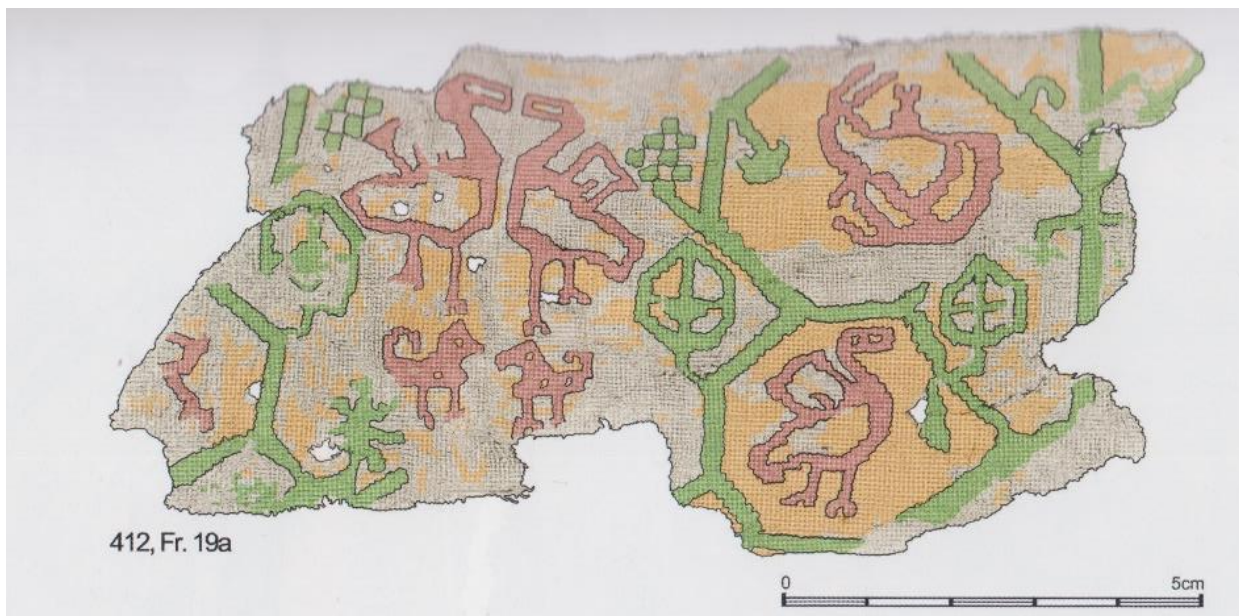


Figure 201

Early medieval textiles recovered from Llangorse crannog (reconstruction showing the extent of surviving embroidery in colour (Redknap, 2019: 285)

between 100 and 200 grammes. One piece (650) was from the burr of a smithing hearth cake and weighed 128 grammes and gave an indication of a slightly larger smithing hearth cake of probably more than 200 grammes.⁶⁴³ The other seventeen specimens were small fragments with textures which allowed attribution to smithing hearth cakes but were too small to allow an estimate of original size (Young, 2019: 318).

⁶⁴³ (Figure 203: 424)

Most of the indeterminate dense slags were probably derived from the fragmentation of similar cakes and approximately ninety-four examples were recovered from Llangorse crannog. Most of these consisted of small fragments of highly bloated pale grey ceramic with an external wood ash glaze, which may be fragments from the clay coatings applied to iron objects in order to braze them with a copper alloy. Tim Young (2019) considers the most likely possibility was most of this material was comprised of smithing hearth cakes which had become too fragmented to be recognisable with any confidence (Young, 2019: 318, 328).

The large body of fired clay fragments was not particularly indicative of any originating process. Some may have been derived from metallurgical hearths, however, lack the distinctive internal vitrified surface, whilst others may have been from domestic hearths or be fired daub make a diagnosis problematical. Other fragments may possibly be from moulds, but there were no pieces with diagnostic features and only two fragments with clear partial impressions (3119).⁶⁴⁴

Examples of low-density fuel ash slags were relatively abundant but were not indicative of a particular process. These consisted of sixty-five pieces and such slags were typically formed through the fluxing action of the fuel ash on particles of fine-grained soil or clay from the substrate into which a hearth had been cut, from impurities within the fuel or from hearth materials. It is likely this group embraces materials from a variety of different processes. Young (2019) considers these may include pieces of clinker from coal or shale burning, some may be genetically close to the lining slags, but different in having a more vesicular glass, whilst others may be associated with the partial melting of small isolated derived particles within a

⁶⁴⁴(Figure 203: 424)

hearth (Young, 2019: 328). Another limitation may be some fuel ash slags may also form in non-metallurgical hearths and kilns, but they would also be expected to be produced in other forms of hearths and kilns (Young, 2019: 329).

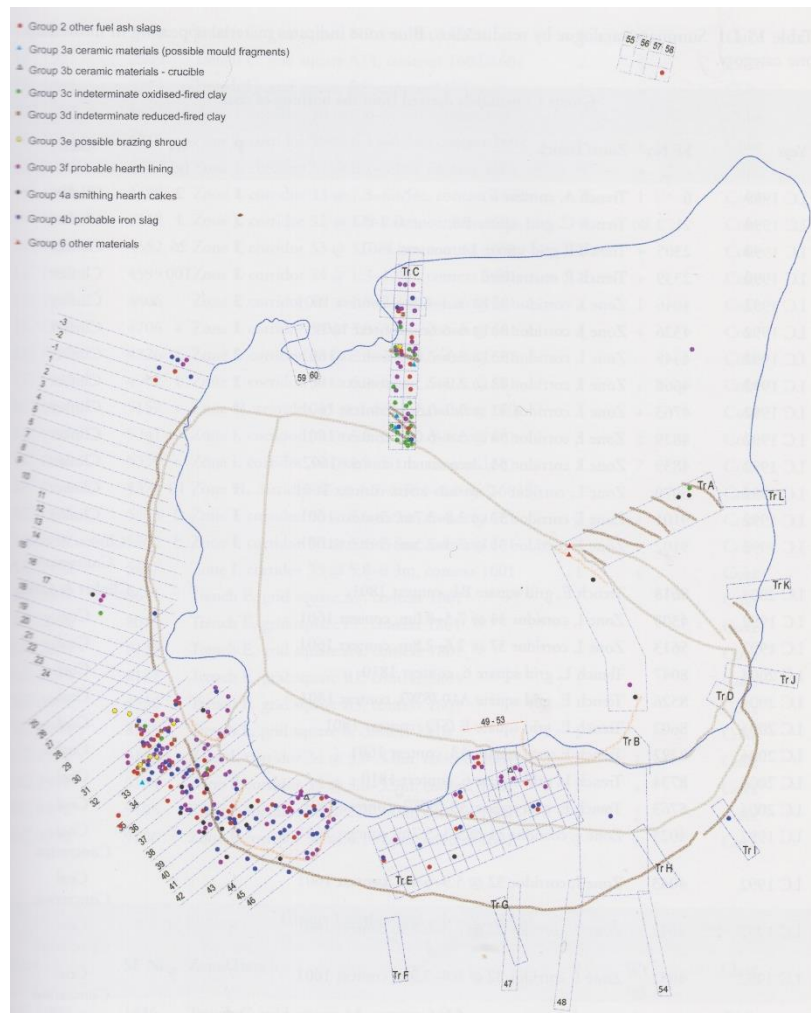


Figure 202

Distribution of metallurgical residues (Groups 2-4) around Llangorse crannog (Young, 2019: 319)

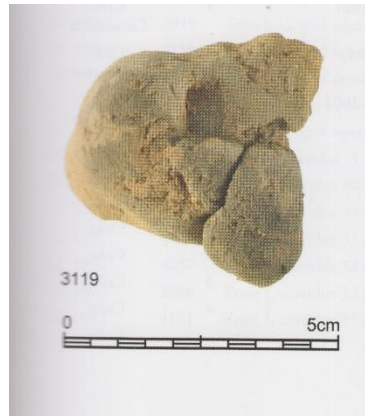


Figure 203

Possible mould fragment (Group 3a) recovered from Llangorse crannog (Young, 2019: 319)

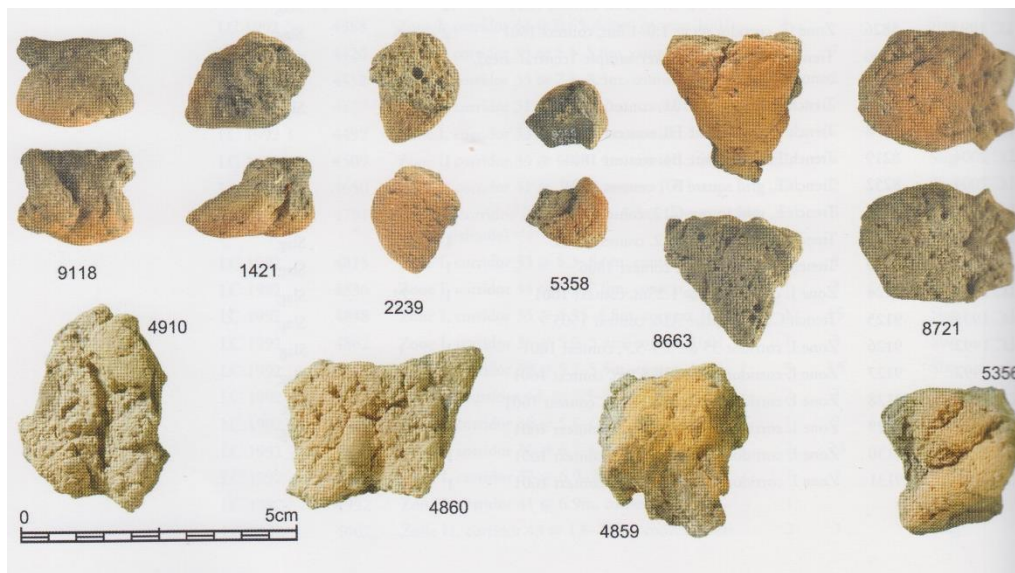


Figure 204

Hearth lining fragments recovered Llangorse crannog (Young, 2019: 328)

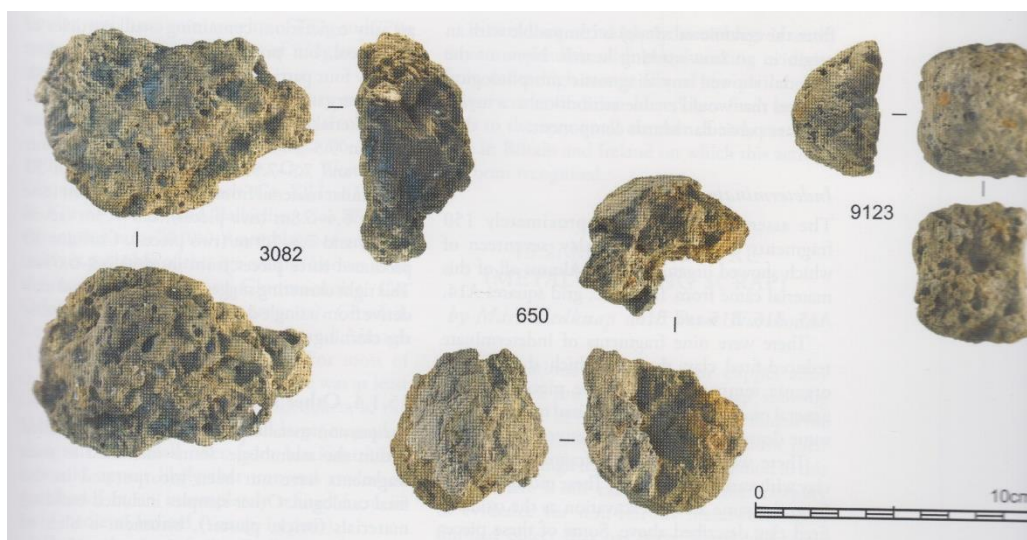


Figure 205

Smithing hearth cake fragments (Group 4a) from Llangorse crannog (Young, 2019: 329)

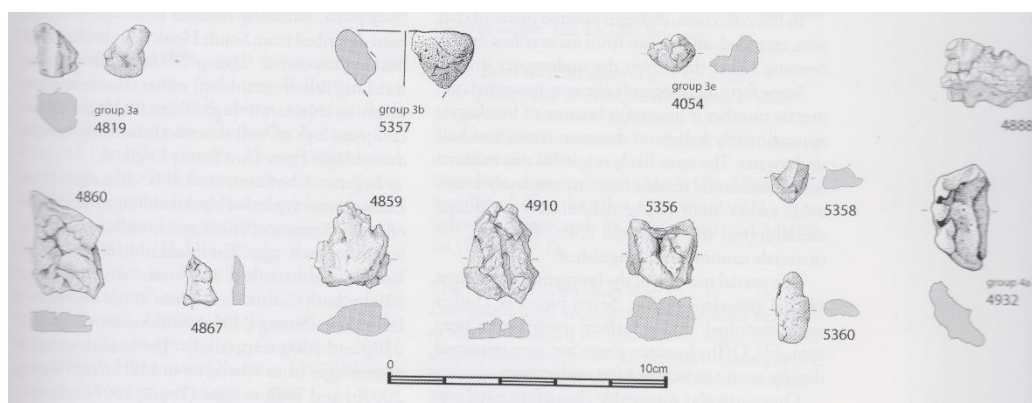


Figure 206

Examples from group 3a, 3b, (crucible), 3c, 3f and 4a recovered from Llangorse crannog (Young, 2019: 329)

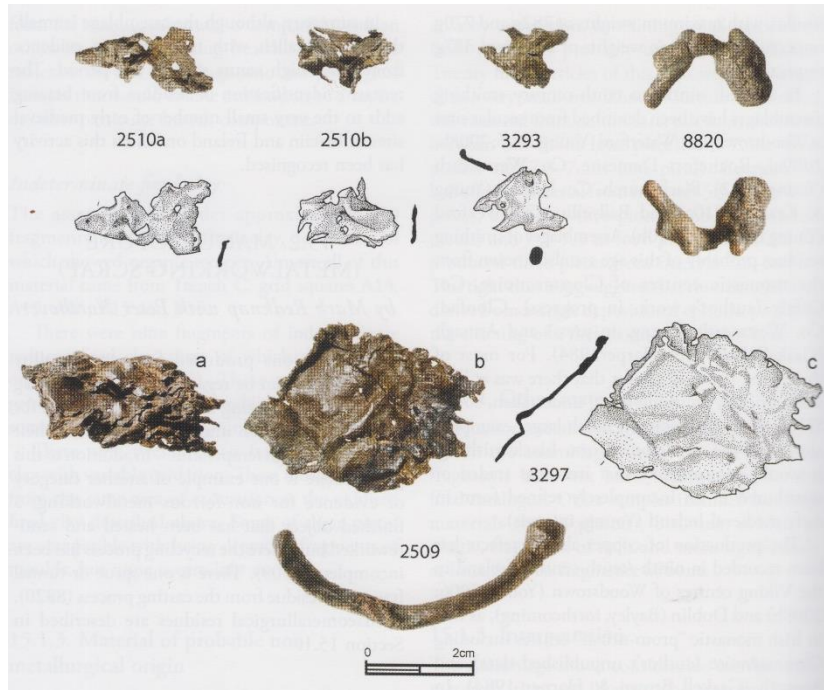


Figure 207

Evidence for the recycling of copper-alloy objects took the form of semi-molten scarp sheet metal. Copper-alloy pin 2509 displays a hammer blow and shaft end (Redknap & Northover, 2019: 332)



Figure 208

Lead waste from early medieval/insecure contexts recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap & Northover, 2019: 333)

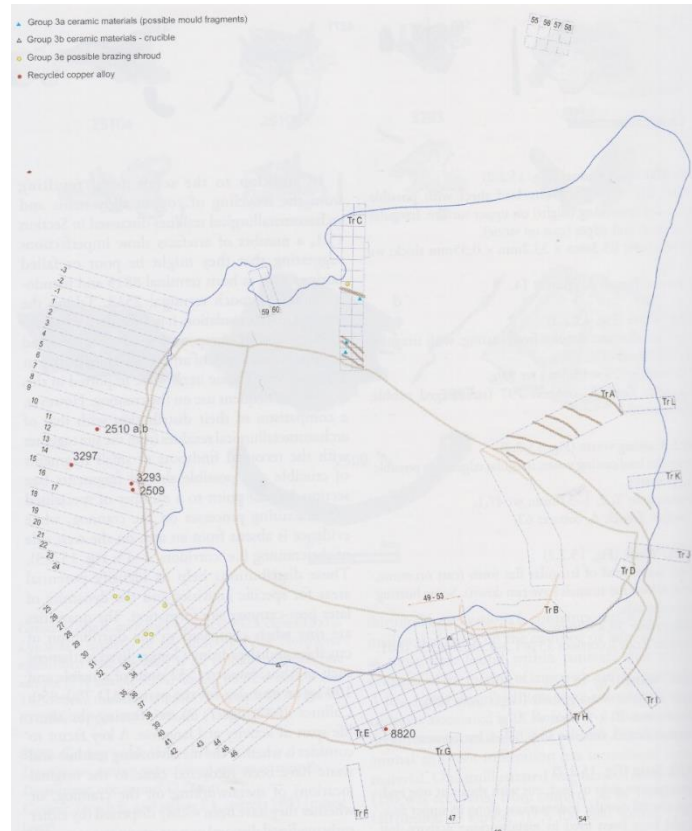


Figure 209

Comparative distribution of copper-alloy waste, lead waste and material relating to the working of copper alloys around Llangorse crannog (Redknap & Northover, 2019: 334)



Figure 210

Spindle whorls and pierced roundel recovered from Llangorse crannog (Redknap, 2019: 337)

Sixty-one fragments of fired ceramic with features often consisting of a vitrified surface with dark glass were recovered from Llangorse crannog. The material was almost oxidised fired, although show signs of a superficial darker and possibly reduced-fired layer.⁶⁴⁵ A minority of the specimens reveal evidence for organic tempering. Most of the material bore fine sand grains with only a few examples showing coarser grains which Young (2019) considers may have been a deliberate addition. The dark colour of the glass is comparable with an origin in an iron working hearth (Young, 2019: 329-330) and possibly indicative of manufacture on site.

The assemblage included approximately 150 fragments of oxidised fired clay, with seventeen of these showing organic temper. There were nine fragments of indeterminate reduced-fire clay, three of which showed fine organic temper. These samples were in general more fired than the oxidised material and several showed signs of vitrification. In addition, twenty-seven fragments of fired clay with variable oxidation were recovered. Some appeared to be compatible with being degraded fragments of moulds (Young, 2019: 330).

Many finds from Llangorse crannog were identifiable as residues associated with the burning of coal. However, there were no confirmed association of any of this material with metallurgical materials, where the fuel for this activity was charcoal wherever an identification could be made. In this assemblage, eighteen isolated pieces of coal were recorded. These consisted of sixteen pieces retrieved from the crannog, with the remainder from the underwater survey. Some forty pieces of coke were recovered, with approximately half from excavation and half from underwater contexts. Young (2019) considers the most likely origin for this material was as an

⁶⁴⁵ (Figure 203: 424)

incidental residue from incompletely burnt coal, rather than being deliberately produced metallurgical or household coke. Partial melting of the inorganic component of coal generates clinker. Seven pieces were identified at the site and another seven were considered as probable examples. Of these, five were recovered during excavations and nine from underwater. One particular distinctive class of material was an ashy concretion, containing small particles of fresh coal, likely to have been cemented by clinker. Twenty-four particles of this class were recovered in a very report to have been derived from steam boilers (Young, 2019: 318, 330) and must be considered modern depositions.

The investigation of Llangorse crannog produced four copper-alloy objects showing clear evidence of being broken up or folded for direct insertion into crucibles and for their direct subjection to high temperatures and were regarded by the excavators as scrap (2510a, 2510b, 3293, 8820, 3297).⁶⁴⁶ Another example of evidence for non-ferrous metalworking was an object (2509)⁶⁴⁷ interpreted as a copper pin, which had been heated and semi-reworked, but where the recycling process was incomplete (Redknap & Northover, 2019: 331-332).

At Llangorse crannog it was not possible to confirm through stratigraphy, whether much of the chronologically undiagnostic lead sheet and waste lead⁶⁴⁸ found during the excavations was contemporary with early medieval activity or can be regarded as being later in date. Though, a flat lead runnel (16) was recovered from context 14 and was part of the rubble mound in Trench A and may be early medieval in date. However, the upper part of this context was loose voided rubble which extended

⁶⁴⁶ (Figure 207: 427)

⁶⁴⁷ (Figure 207: 427)

⁶⁴⁸ (Figure 208: 428)

above the soil in many places and was very disturbed. Three examples of casting waste (580, 4371, 4586)⁶⁴⁹ were recovered from the mixed rubble layer resulting from crannog collapse and erosion are suggestive of early medieval use. It is further possible the present forms of some lead waste, if contemporary to the crannog, may have resulted from modification by fire during the destruction of the site (Redknap & Northover, 2019: 331-333).

Evidence for hand spinning natural fibres into yarn at Llangorse crannog took the form of light spindle whorls which were once attached to drop spindles. A total of five spindle whorls were recovered, three of pottery and two of stone.⁶⁵⁰ Spindle whorls found on early medieval sites occur in a range of materials including pottery, bone, stone and lead. The excavation report suggests the Llangorse whorls were probably used during the occupation of the crannog, although some show parallels with some recovered from Roman Wroxeter (Redknap, 2019h: 337-338). Examples cut from pot sherds (1407, 8406, 8407) have similar profiles to those found at Dinas Powys made from sherds of Romano-British greyware, Phocaean or ARS (Campbell, 1991: 430-431) and bone.⁶⁵¹ Redknap (2019h) considers differing sizes reflected the yarns of different fineness and strength and the sizes of spindles used in the home manufacture of textile (Redknap, 2019h: 336-338).

The failure to find early medieval midden deposits or surface structures militates against the recovery of material culture from the offshore Llangorse crannog excavations.⁶⁵² However, the artefacts recovered do present evidence of the material

⁶⁴⁹ (Figure 208: 427)

⁶⁵⁰ (Figure 210: 428)

⁶⁵¹ (Figure 162: 380)

⁶⁵² (e.g. Figures, 173: 395, 180: 406, 200: 421, 202: 424, 209: 428)

in use at the site and offer a measure of independent dating evidence. The textile,⁶⁵³ brooches and pins⁶⁵⁴ provide a link to the types of clothing worn at Llangorse crannog during the late ninth and tenth-centuries CE. A projected appearance of some of the crannog's inhabitants is further enhanced by the recovery of jewellery in the form of beads,⁶⁵⁵ lathe turned shale/lignite rings⁶⁵⁶ and the possible uses composite bone combs were put to.⁶⁵⁷ Other items in the form of the small personal iron knives⁶⁵⁸ which may have had wooden or bone handles and whetstones⁶⁵⁹ give other hints into personal lifestyles during this period.

The close dendrochronological dating of Llangorse to the CE 890s (Nayling & Tyers, 2019: 102-110) has been associated with name Breconamere, the location of Æthelflæd's CE 916 attack in which the queen and 30 others were taken prisoner.⁶⁶⁰ Coupled with evidence of a royal estate mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis* (*Liber Landavensis* charter 237b), it seems Llangorse crannog was a royal site.

However, much of the artefactual evidence recovered by excavation might not seem to be of very high-status. For example, a site with no coins, gold, silver or evidence of impressive buildings would not appear to be particularly elite. Two particular items, the reliquary^{661 662} and the richly embroidered tunic^{663 664} do suggest extensive contacts beyond the kingdom and people of considerable status. Furthermore, the

⁶⁵³ (Figures 200: 421, 201: 422)

⁶⁵⁴ (Figures 176: 396, 176: 396, 191: 413)

⁶⁵⁵ (Figure 190: 412)

⁶⁵⁶ (Figures, 186: 409, 187: 409)

⁶⁵⁷ (Figures 192: 414, 193: 415, 194: 415)

⁶⁵⁸ (Figure 183: 407)

⁶⁵⁹ (Figure 189: 411)

⁶⁶⁰ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

⁶⁶¹ (Chapter 3: 401-405)

⁶⁶² (Figures 174: 395, 175: 396)

⁶⁶³ (Chapter 3: 420)

⁶⁶⁴ (Figure 201: 422)

richness of the faunal assemblage, with its large component of deer bones may be suggestive of an aristocracy which hunted and feasted.⁶⁶⁵ Likewise, the grain deposits present little evidence of processing debris⁶⁶⁶ and further suggest it was a consumer site.

Evidence of patronage may be demonstrated in the manufacture of objects in copper alloy, shale/lignite and iron. These items may have been commissioned by a ruler and were probably intended for use either by the ruler himself, his family or as gifts for somebody outside the dynasty. The giving of gifts such as brooches or rings by or from rulers appears to have developed in the early medieval period and the presence of a gilt embellished drinking horn⁶⁶⁷ may be interpreted as mirroring their use by the elite in contemporary Irish and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. It is possible their use may have been associated with rank or office and a practical demonstration of an owner to provide hospitality. They may also represent a contemporary refinement of older feasting traditions represented by cauldrons and the Langstone drinking apparel.^{668 669} The ability of rulers to control men and resources appears to have relied on the expression of royal power through the exchange of lavish gifts or services. These may have been seen as enhancing the prestige of both giver and receiver and may have taken form in reciprocal arrangement. The evidence suggests gifts ranged from property, land and as the Llangorse metal work assemblage suggests, may have taken other forms such as horses, swords, jewellery, clothing. A tradition enabling the collection of such wherewithal to deliver these possible

⁶⁶⁵ (Chapter 3: 348-358)

⁶⁶⁶ (Chapter 3: 358)

⁶⁶⁷ (Figure 178: 397)

⁶⁶⁸ (Chapter 2: 100-115)

⁶⁶⁹ (Figures 29: 105, 30: 105, 31: 106, 32: 106)

practices may have been derived from the later Roman period or earlier.⁶⁷⁰ Another gift considered below may have included the composition and performance of praise poems.⁶⁷¹

The mobilisation of resources required for constructing Llangorse crannog included an array of materials including several split oak trees used to assemble its palisades, wattle for fence lines and tons of rubble which was ferried across water to lay out the island. As with Dinas Powys,⁶⁷² such organised construction and supply appear to be indicative of centralised power. This evidence reinforces an interpretation of royal control of local resources which was able to direct labour and material.

The Cyfnerth code contained a list of possessions and each had a separate value.⁶⁷³ Some items' values were enhanced according to an individual's status, (i.e. a king or a breyr) though the majority had a fixed price regardless of ownership. Where evidence in the form of material culture is scant, the entries contained within the code provide a valuable insight into what may have been common or elite possessions during Gwent's Middle Age. The most valuable possession was a king's cauldron. Only a king's specific possessions including his cloak, throw-board and harp, alongside cups or swords decorated with silver or gold, which were to be appraised on an individual basis possibly approached it in value. Their inclusion in the sub-tractate reinforces the model of an individual who maintained his paramountcy over subordinates through hospitality and gift giving or exchange.

⁶⁷⁰ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁶⁷¹ (Chapter 4: 546-553)

⁶⁷² (Chapter 3: 387)

⁶⁷³ (Figure 211: 434)

Item	Value
Millstone	24 pence
King's throw-board	60 pence
King's harp	60 pence
King's cloak	60 pence
King's cauldron	1 pound
King's throw-board (made of a bullock's horn)	24 pence
Breyr's throw-board	60 pence
Throw-board of wood	4 pence
Taeog's throw-board	30 pence
Throw-board made of stag's horn	30 pence
Uchelwr's plaid	60 pence
Bolster	20 pence
Broad axe	4 pence
Fuel hatchet	2 pence
Large auger	1 penny
Medium auger	1 penny
Wimble	Halfpenny
Bill hook	Halfpenny
Adze	1 penny
Spade	1 penny
Draw knife	Halfpenny
Shears	1 penny
Comb	1 penny
Whetstone	Halfpenny
Churn	4 pence
Bowl	4 pence
Yew pail	4 pence
White pail	2 pence
Weeding spud	1 farthing
Cooler	1 penny
Trough	1 penny
Baking board	1 penny
Cooler (made of one piece of wood)	4 pence
Spindle	1 farthing
Cup (to be individually appraised if it was decorated with gold or silver)	4 pence
Flesh-dish	1 penny
Winnowing sheet	4 pence
Sieve	1 penny
Riddle	1 penny
Hair rope	1 penny
Elm bark rope	1 penny
Share	2 pence
Coulter	4 pence
Collar of a king's greyhound	8 pence
Collar of a breyr's greyhound	4 pence
Leash of a king's greyhound	4 pence
Leash of a breyr's greyhound	2 pence
Leash of a tracker	8 pence
Couple	4 pence
Iron gauntlet	4 pence
Salmon net	24 pence
Grayling net	16 pence
Bow net	4 pence
Coracle	8 pence
Shield (coloured gold, silver or blue)	24 pence
Shield (of any other colour)	12 pence
Sword (to be individually appraised if it was decorated with gold or silver)	12 pence
Sword (white hafted)	24 pence
Spear	4 pence
Battle axe	2 pence
A bow with twelve arrows	4 pence
Knife	1 penny
Wooden bowl	1 penny
Plough	2 pence
Long yoke and bows	1 penny

Figure 211

The worth of petty utensils as designated in the Cyfnerth code. Each item is listed as it appeared in the sub tractate (derived from Owen 1841: 723-728) (Author: 2021)

Weapons were listed and included various grades of swords and shields. Other forms included battle axes, spear, bow, arrows and presumably hand protection in the form of iron gauntlets. Tools and implements including augers, adzes, draw knives, hatchets and axes, shears, whetstones and wimbles show the importance of woodworking. Whilst, types of food production can be identified through the inclusion of the coracle and various fishing nets, the plough, yoke, coulter, sieve and riddle, winnowing sheet, weeding spud, bill hook and spade. Food preparation or preservation was evidenced by mention of a mill stone, cooler, flesh-dish, trough, churn, wooden bowl and pails. Homemade textiles were evidenced by the inclusion of spindles and mention of uchelwr's plaid (woollen cloth). Leisurely pursuits appear to have included indoor games facilitated by a throw board or outside by hunting with dogs. Utility fastenings were made of ropes derived from tree barks. It is interesting the only reference to furniture was the bolster. The cash values of these items are discussed below.⁶⁷⁴

Other personal possessions indicative of material culture types was mentioned in the Laws of Women in the Cyfnerth code. Under certain circumstances marriages could be dissolved and demarcations in who would keep what kinds of property were described. Items included women's clothing such as mantles, head cloths, shifts, shoes and bonnets. Home furnishings included the bolster and bed clothes. Utensils included dishes, meat hooks and storage vessels (presumably pails) for cheese or butter (Owen, 1841: 753).

⁶⁷⁴ (Chapter 3: 466-480)

**Economy, subsistence and society (4): wider production and exchange
networks**

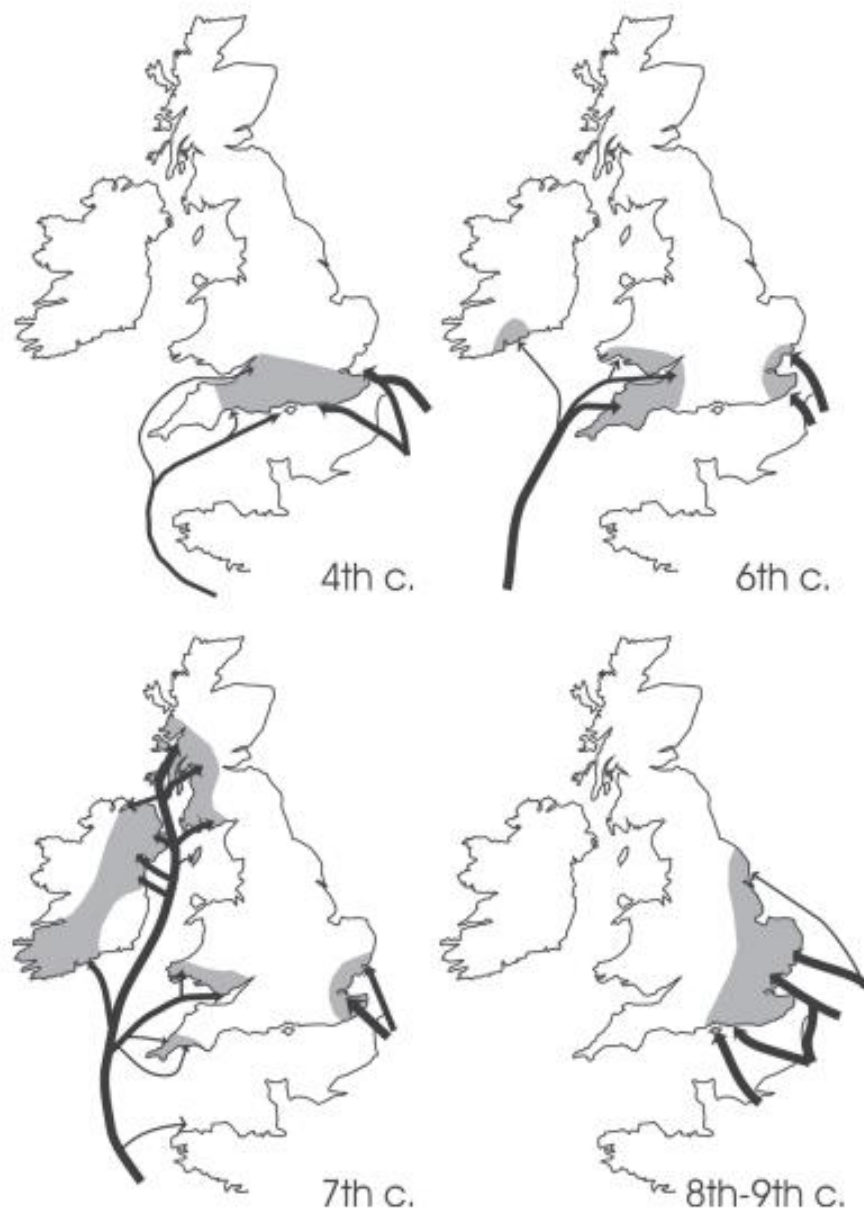


Figure 212

Changing distribution systems for imported pottery (Campbell, 2007: 125)

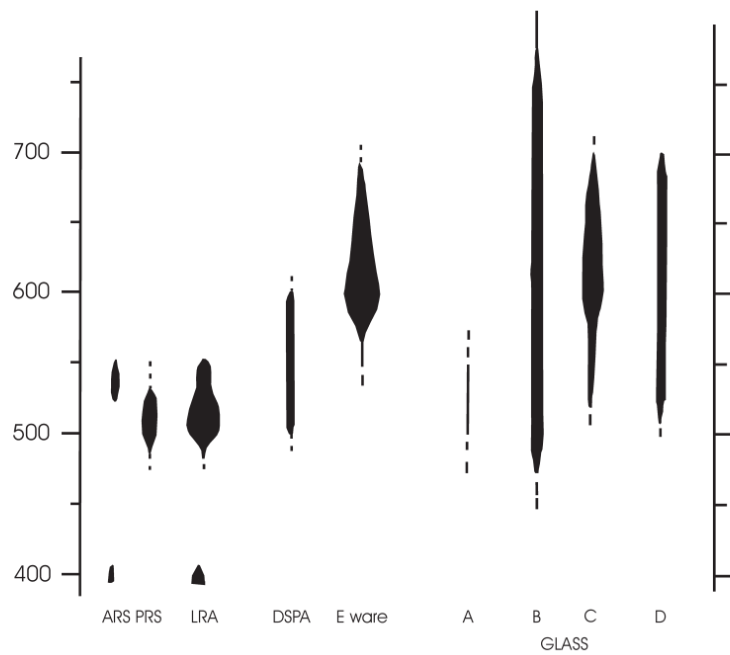


Figure 213

Campbell' (2007a) suggested date range for imported pottery and glass (Campbell, 2007a: 139)

Similarities and differences are apparent between the assemblages recovered from Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog. However, transformations and their impacts appear to be nearly always happening in society. Tracing and interpreting these from a limited corpus of archaeology is clearly problematical. One significant difference was a lack of ceramic evidence from the Llangorse excavation. How this might be explained is problematic, however changing distribution patterns over time and considering the mechanisms which enabled these to occur, may offer an account as to why this change occurred.

For example, during the later fourth-century CE fine tablewares were imported to Britain from continental sources. These included Mayen ware from the Rhine,

Argonne ware from northern France and *céramique à l'éponge* from western France (Fulford, 1977: 35-83, 1978: 59-69). The distribution of these wares was concentrated in southern Britain.⁶⁷⁵ These distributions appear to reflect the proximity of these areas to the continental sources and the relative prosperity of southern England in the latest Roman period. In addition, a number of ARS and LRA vessels from the Mediterranean have been recovered in Roman contexts.⁶⁷⁶

Campbell (2007a) has noted whilst the dates of these imports cannot be precisely dated it was possible to detect a stratum of late fourth and fifth-century wares (Campbell 2007a: 125). This evidence was comprised of Argonne ware forms dated to the fifth-century CE (Hübener, 1968: 241-298), AFS of similar date (Bird, 1977: 269-278) and LRA (Peacock & Williams, 1986: 28, 54-80; Tyers, 1996). Other LRA examples have been recovered from the latest occupation sites of London and at Bush Lane, north African amphorae were found in a late fourth to fifth-century CE midden with Roman pottery (Marsden, 1980: 180-184). Likewise, in Gloucester at the New Market Hall site, north African and Palestinian amphorae were retrieved from dark earths in an early fifth-century CE context (Hassall & Rhodes, 1974: 28). Furthermore, a combination of north African and Palestinian amphorae, *céramique à l'éponge* were discovered in a late fourth-century CE dark earth site in Exeter (Bidwell, 1979: 188).

Each of these sites can be characterised as urban and offer a contrast to the distribution of tablewares where Campbell (2007a) considers there was an increase in the number of Mediterranean imports towards the end of Roman urban life.

⁶⁷⁵ (Figure 212: 436)

⁶⁷⁶ (Bird, 1977: 269-278; Campbell, 2007: 125; Tyers: 1996)

Distribution show how these amphorae reached Britain by the Rhine/Rhone route (Tyers, 1996a) as was the case with earlier amphorae (Fulford, 1977: 35-83). There appears to be a westward shift in the distribution of imports at the end of the Roman interlude with Exeter, Gloucester, Cirencester and Chester all receiving late imports.⁶⁷⁷ In addition, a general increase in prosperity in the west may be evident by the depositions of coin hoards in areas including Cornwall which had earlier used little coinage (Thomas, 1976: 182-193). It is possible this prosperity may have been connected with an increase in the exploitation of tin and the manufacture of pewter during the late third and fourth-centuries CE. It seems likely the contents of these amphorae were oil or wine. It seems unlikely any tablewares accompanied these amphorae as none have been recovered in associated contexts (Campbell, 2007a: 126).

The Mediterranean trading system envisaged by Campbell (2007a) identifies two main sub-groups of pottery imports. These consisted of an earlier one with provenance in the north-eastern Mediterranean and a later one with provenance in north Africa. He considers there are good grounds for seeing both as part of one trading system. There was also a small component of glass ware (Group A) which appear to have accompanied these pottery vessels (Campbell, 2007a: Plate 21, 56-58, 136). His interpretation of their distribution suggests they arrived as some form of package of wares and were imported in a restricted period between CE 475-550. Research shows four types of pottery found in Britain were known to have been manufactured in the Aegean or the north-eastern Mediterranean region. These included PRS tableware, LRA1, LRA2 and LRA3 amphorae.⁶⁷⁸ Combined, they

⁶⁷⁷ (Figure 212: 436)

⁶⁷⁸ (e.g. Figures 125: 362, 126: 363)

make up 71 % of all Campbell's (2007a) Atlantic Mediterranean import sample and offer an indication of the importance of this trading system (Campbell, 2007a: 126-127). His research of the western Mediterranean notes these were also found in association with each other and with other wares (LRA4, LRA5, LRA6 and LRA7) which were almost entirely absent from Atlantic sites (Reynolds, 1995b: 80). They were also recognised as a feature of western Mediterranean sites (Riley, Sidebotham, Hany, Hamroush *et al*, 1989: 151). The north-western package appeared to be supplemented or replaced by a package of wares from Tunisia for a short period *circa* CE 525-550 and contained ARS tableware and north African cylindrical amphorae (Campbell, 2007a: 127).

LRA2 amphorae constitute a difference between the western Mediterranean and Atlantic sites and formed 37% of Campbell's (2007a) sample from Atlantic sites compared to a maximum of 7% from Mediterranean sites. A low proportion of ARS to PRS and a lack of Cypriot Red Slipware (LRD) from the Atlantic sites provides other differences, where ARS dominates and PRS and LRD are often found side by side (Reynolds, 1995b: 36).

Interestingly, the actual quantities of PRS recovered in Britain, measured by the minimum numbers of vessels was comparable with those sites in Spain, despite being much further from the source area. In addition, the date range for the Atlantic imports was more restricted than in the Mediterranean, where LRA1 ranged from *circa* CE 425-600 and LRA2/PRS from *circa* CE 450-600. These factors reveal differences between the two trading systems. Campbell (2007a) has suggested the western Mediterranean one can be accounted for by normal commercial activities

involving the transport of commodities such as foodstuffs (Campbell, 2007a 127). To offer an answer to this conundrum, Campbell (2007a) has considered various factors including possible trading routes. He suggests the sea route through the Straights of Gibraltar was utilised and the distribution of PRS demonstrates this (Campbell, 2007a: 127), although others suggest an alternative overland transport route through the Narbonne/Carcasson gap from the southern coast of France (Bowman, 1996: 101). However, it is clear the imports came to sea by Britain and the question was whether this occurred through direct sailings, a series of cabotage voyages, or a mixture of the two?

Arguments have been made against a cabotage model of distribution and in favour of a direct sailing for at least most of the journey. The internal coherence of the Aegean package and the lack of LRA 4, LRA 5, LRA6 and LRA7 amphorae and LRD tableware may demonstrate a likely single provenance for the cargoes reaching Britain. The evidence is reinforced by a lack of other amphora types regularly retrieved from western Mediterranean sites (Campbell, 2007a: 128). This may be suggestive of Byzantine trade being directed towards an Atlantic destination. Although the vessels may have stopped and resupplied at intermediate ports, it appears they did not trade at these ports (Campbell, 2007a: 128).

Cargo types may be determined by examining the contents of amphorae, their form and comparing the resulting data with documentary evidence. However, form which had been thought to have been seen as a guide to contents has been proved to be an unreliable guide (Campbell, 2007a: 128). Another limitation is the fact little chemical analysis of Atlantic amphorae has been carried out. One study has

revealed the presence of olive oil in some LRA2 amphorae. Alongside these there was another unidentified commodity in an LRA2 vessel and from signs of tartaric acid may have been indicative of wine (Barrowman *et al*, in Campbell, 2007a: 128-129). This evidence makes clear wine was not the only commodity which the British received. Documentary sources indicate amphorae generally contained low value contents and this may suggest such voyages to Britain could have been considered unprofitable (Campbell, 2007a: 129; Mango, 2001: 99). However, large profits may have resulted from the exchange of goods which were of low value in the eastern Mediterranean but were unobtainable in the Atlantic west in exchange for commodities available in the west (Harris, 2003: 54).

The best-known ship of the period was the seventh-century CE Yassi Ada B wreck. It carried a cargo of amphorae, mainly LRA2, some LRA1, a few LRA3 and PRS dishes probably used by the crew (Bass & van Doorninck, 1982). This cargo is of interest because it consisted of the same package of types as found in Britain. In addition, the *Life of St John the Almsgiver* mentions two types of ship sailing from Alexandria in the sixth-century CE. These classifications were the *dromos* (runner), one of which traded with Gaul and the *dorkona* (gazelle), one of which was reputed to have sailed to Britain and could carry 20,000 *modii* of grain (approximately 120 tonnes) (Mango, 2001: 96-99). Evidence from wrecks offers the suggestion both low value commodities such as oils and wine were traded along with a selection of high value merchandise. Such items may have included precious metals, silks, books or dried goods such as spices or medicine (Mango: 2001: 98).

Conversely, the nature of exported goods exchanged for imports is problematical. Campbell (2007a) notes with the possible exception of some lead (Farquhar & Vitali, 1989: 39-45) there is no archaeological evidence for any British goods being exported to the Mediterranean. He considers slaves may have been one possible export (McCormick, 2001: 752-759) and from values derived from the eighth and ninth-centuries CE, slaves may have been worth approximately 500 grammes of silver (McCormick, 2001: 759) compared to the 70 *solidi* estimated for the value of the entire Yassi Ada B ship (Campbell, 2007a: 129). These prices would have made the transport of ten slaves per ship or more profitable. Cargoes of between 63 and 221 slaves have been recorded and a *dorkona* could have carried at least thirty slaves in its hold. Provisions for a voyage would have been relatively low cost (Bass & van Doorninck, 1982: 315) and offer confirmatory evidence a Byzantine ship could carry enough slaves to Britain to be profitable. It is known slaves from Britain were reaching Mediterranean markets during the sixth-century CE, although Frankish and Slav sources were more readily available (McCormick, 2001: 738-739). It therefore seems unlikely Byzantine traders felt a need to come to Britain for slaves when others were available from nearer sources. However, they may have made a convenient additional part of a return cargo (Campbell, 2007a: 129) or alternatives including leatherware, sealskins and furs (Alcock, 2003: 91).

Campbell (2007a) considers British tin extraction areas had a close correspondence between some British import sites including Chun (Thomas, 1956: 1-18) and Tregurthy (Quinnell, 2004: 73) in Cornwall, where ingots have been found with imports. Other examples include wrecks near Bantham, Mothecombe and Praa Sands where cargoes of tin ingots have been recovered (Biek, 1994: 57-70;

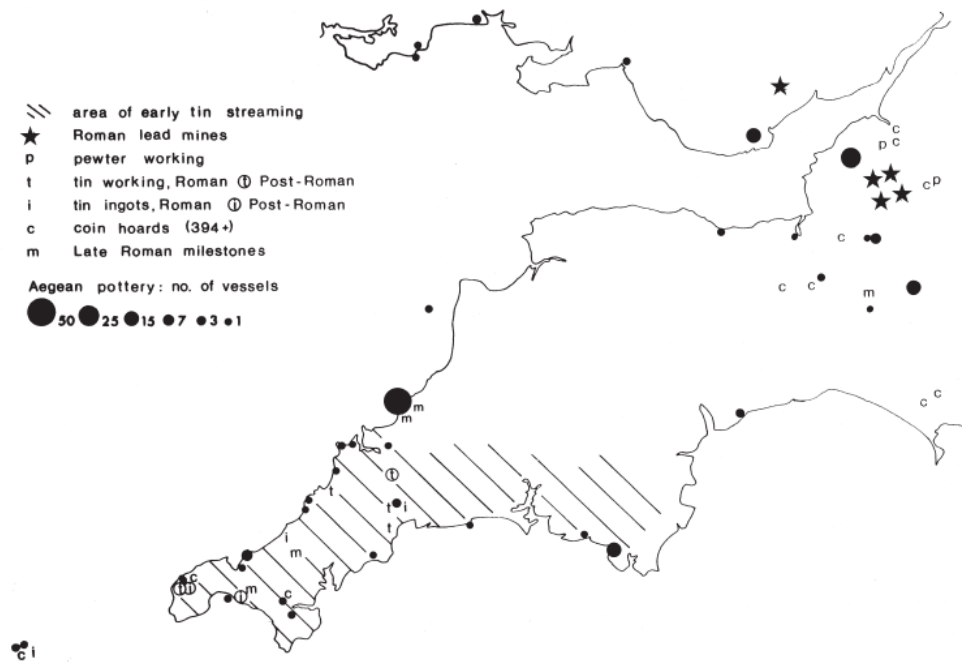


Figure 214

Association of Mediterranean imports with tin and lead production (Campbell, 2007a: 130)

Campbell, 2007a: 129; Fox, 1995: 11-23). It was not just the association with tin during this period in this locale, but rather its relative scarcity in world terms during between the fifth and sixth-centuries CE onwards. For example, an examination of sources suggests the sources of tin closest to the Byzantine Empire during the fifth and sixth-centuries CE were those of Brittany and Cornwall, as mines in Spain had gone out of production during the third-century CE (Penhallurick, 1986: 237). This scarcity is demonstrated by the fact that low value Byzantine coinage was reported as ceasing to have any tin content after the reforms of Anastius in CE 498, with some brass content appearing in the sixth-century CE. These reforms resulted in the introduction of a new low value coinage, with issues consisting of millions of coins overall (Campbell, 2007a: 129-130; Grierson, 1982: 15).

Furthermore, hammered copper sheet metal vessels became important during this period and more expensive cast copper-alloy vessels were being exported (Mango: 2001: 93). In addition, there appears to have been an upsurge in the volume of production of metalwork for export during the sixth and seventh-centuries CE (Mango: 2001: 89-95). Other analysis notes the stripping of Rome's metal statues and roofs by the Byzantine Empire, the breakup of the Rhodes Colossus and scientific evidence for a decline in metal production (Kingsley, 2004: 28). This evidence signifies scarcity of supply and if there were tin mines in Asia Minor, it seems they did not have sufficient output to meet demand and Britain was the nearest alternative source. Tin would also have been a suitable ballast for a ship and would have left plenty of cargo space for additional goods (Campbell, 2007a: 130).

Likewise, it is also possible other metals were exported during this period. For instance, the importance of Mediterranean imports was not just with tin producing areas but with areas of important Roman lead and silver mining such as the Mendips and south Wales.⁶⁷⁹ Campbell (2007a) points out these would have been useful adjuncts to tin in return cargoes, if his view of an upsurge in demand for metals during the sixth-century CE in the Eastern Empire was correct (Campbell, 2007a: 130).

Determining the scale of this trade is problematical. Campbell (2007a) has compared minimum number values of amphorae and PRS finewares in order to determine possible levels of importation. He views the trade was regular and cyclical as the task of mining, smelting of the ores and collecting the cargoes from a central place would have taken a considerable time to organise. Therefore, he considers both

⁶⁷⁹ (Figure 214: 444)

parties would wish to be sure the transaction would take place and which may imply a regular cycle of contact. This model is further underpinned by seasonal sailing times which indicate narrow windows of opportunity (Campbell, 2007a: 131).

The question who carried out the trade and its purpose may have been closely linked. Arguments have been made supporting documentary evidence mentioning Syrian traders in France and Spain should be taken at face value and as a consequence many of the Byzantine merchants were Syrian (Harris, 2003: 62-64). In the west, other evidence mentions merchants or merchant owners, rather than ship captains only (Wooding, 1996a: 47). Another alternative based on Procopius, the Byzantine historian has been interpreted as evidence of trade between the Eastern Empire and Britain during this period as being diplomatic, with merchants acting as agents for the Byzantine authorities who aimed to bring Britain into the orbit of the Byzantine Empire (Dark, 2000: 130; Harris, 2003: 152; Middleton, 2006: 313-358; Wooding, 1996a: 46-47). However, Campbell (2007a) rejects this interpretation chiefly on the basis of trade continuing over a period of 75 years, during which at least five emperors ruled and the lack of 'gift money' in Britain (Campbell, 2007a: 132).

Moreover, the presence of Christian symbols on some PRS dishes has led to speculation of a religious inspiration for Byzantine contacts with Britain. Artefacts recovered included some PRS dishes bearing Christian symbols being considered as altar vessels, with communion wine being imported in the amphorae (Radford, 1956: 59-70) or associated with the spread of monasticism (Haseloff, 1987: 45). Campbell (2007a) notes these interpretations were made on the basis of stamps on

the pottery and that changes in these marks reveal a changing fashions in the stamps. For example in the early period, animals were the favoured symbols, such as the Dinas Powys hares, while after *circa* CE 500 crosses and human figures become prevalent. This was a general change and does not imply the vessels had any religious function (Campbell, 2007a: 132; Hayes, 1972: 346-349). In the case of communion wine, sources closer to Britain, such as France could have supplied the Church and must have done after the cessation of Mediterranean imports. Furthermore, each of the concentrations were recovered from high status secular sites which contained features including defences and enclosure, evidence of metalworking and the presence of precious metals and glassware. Whilst Campbell (2007a) does not refute the model of church-leaders exchanging luxury goods, or whether the Church was involved in transporting the products of dispersed estates to the major monastic centres as there is evidence of this practice. However, he argues there is no evidence for these particular activities in sixth-century CE Britain (Campbell, 2007a: 131-132).

Therefore, Campbell (2007a) has offered a modified interpretation of how and why trade was organised during this period between the Byzantine Empire and the British south-west. His starting point was a consideration of the unusual combination of amphorae types found in the here, with its larger percentage of LRA2 than was normal. Research has shown this type of vessel was associated with Imperial supply to the military on the Danube (Karagiorgou, 2001: 129-166). Campbell (2007a) considers this implies trade of this kind had official state sanction and it was therefore directed. The directed nature of the trade, focusing on tin producing areas appears to be indicative of a primary motivation of tin procurement. His evidence of

tin scarcity and other metals in the Eastern Empire explains why the empire would wish to keep supplies for official purposes, including the supply of copper-alloy for military use. Therefore, the late surge in north African imports which have been dated to the second third of the sixth-century CE, could be associated with Justinian's reconquest of Carthage in CE 533. As this important port came under Byzantine control it is reasonable to suppose it might have been more practicable to start the long voyage to Britain from Carthage as it would ensure the voyage could be completed in one sailing season (Campbell, 2007a: 132). He explains the sudden end of trade in the mid sixth-century, when trade continued in the western Mediterranean ports until the seventh-century CE in the following way. One historical event which could have impacted on trade was the outbreak of plague during CE 540s and appears to have had a devastating effect on shipping and sailors (McCormick, 2001: 109). Furthermore, it seems this was precisely the time the plague reached Ireland which Campbell (2007a) considers was probably carried there by Mediterranean traders. He evidences this with entries from *The Ulster Annals* which record the deaths of numerous kings and bishops in CE 545, 549 and 554 (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill, 1983: 75-79). If this view is correct, it is possible Byzantine merchants killed off their client base and it seems import sites in south-western Britain never recovered their position (Campbell, 2007a: 132). Jonathan Wooding (1996) has criticised economic explanations for social change during this period as placing too much importance on the imports (Wooding, 1996: 53-54). However, Campbell (2007a) has emphasised the importance of commodities being actively used to develop social stratification and to engineer power relationships. He stresses the loss of these exotica may have had serious short-term consequences and noted some fortified sites did not see continued occupation into the seventh-

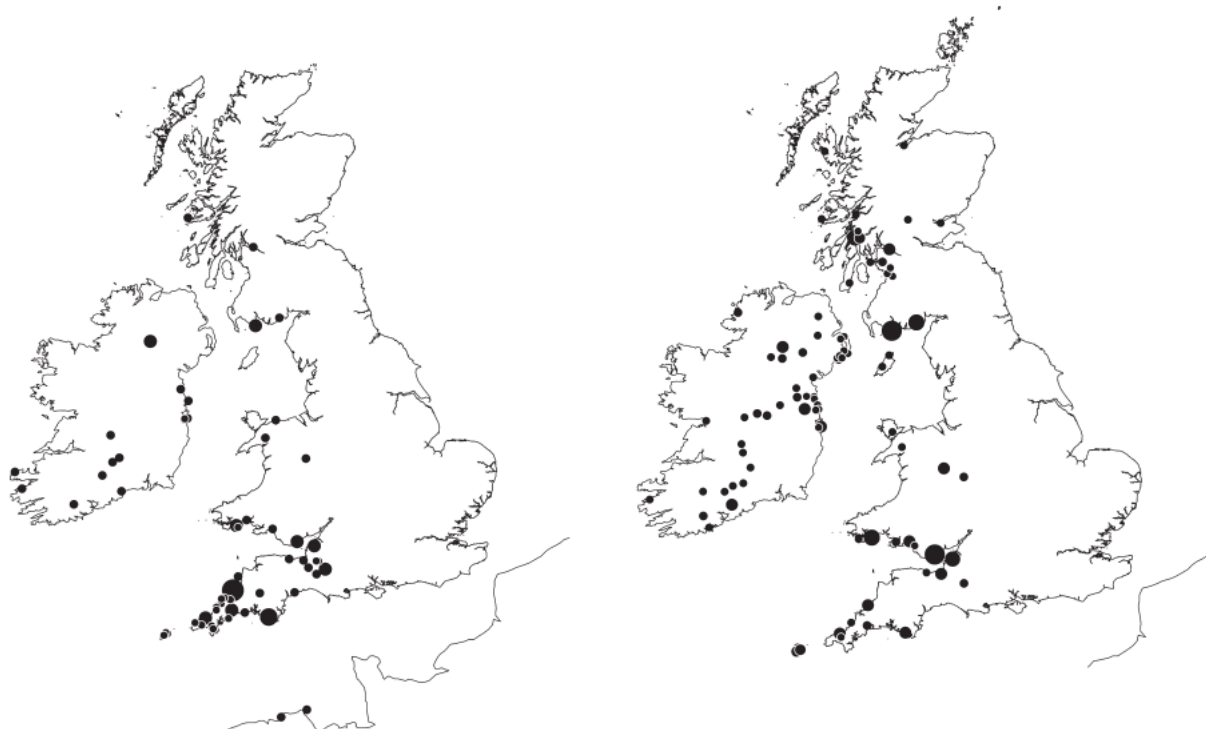


Figure 215 Campbell's (2007a) distribution of all Mediterranean (left) and continental imports (right) (Campbell, 2007a: 133)



Figure 216 Campbell's (2007a) distribution of E ware (left) and DSPSA (right) (Campbell, 2007: 17, 46)

century CE and is evidenced by the fact they did not participate in his succeeding continental trading phase (Campbell, 2007a: 132).

Campbell's (2007a) research shows pottery imports from the continent were mainly of E ware (*circa* 230 vessels) alongside a smaller component of DSPA (*circa* 27 vessels) which he considers may be transitional in date between the Mediterranean and continental systems (Campbell, 2007a: 132-133). Glass (*circa* 340 vessels) was imported in this system but presents some interpretational problems as it is uncertain whether this material was from the same source. Groups C and D may have been of a similar provenance as the E ware and DSPA, but not every vessel can be securely placed within these groups (Campbell, 2007a: 135-136).

The distribution map of sites where E ware has been recovered reveals differences between these and the earlier Mediterranean wares.⁶⁸⁰ The sites occupy a broad swathe of Ireland and western Scotland with sites in south-western Britain being mainly restricted to the Scilly Isles and western Cornwall. It is possible different processes and mechanisms of distribution were at work. E ware has been retrieved at approximately 80 sites. Half of these were located in Ireland and may reflect the greater number of visible monuments such as ringforts and crannogs of the period. However, the apparent spread of E ware in Britain was essentially coastal and in both islands 85 % of vessels were found within 5 kilometres of the coast (Campbell, 2007a: 46, 134).

The patterns revealed by DSPA appear to compliment the general pattern of E ware distribution. However, the fourteen known sites are located on western British shores

⁶⁸⁰ (Figure 215: 449)

and concentrated towards south Wales rather than further north.⁶⁸¹ Campbell (2007a) considers this may be a chronological difference as it has been suggested DSPA may have been a transitional overlap from the Mediterranean to the continental system. As many of the DSPA forms were tableware and included mortaria it is possible to suggest culinary practices dictated the consumption pattern. In addition, the main concentrations appeared to be centred on primary locations, principally Dinas Powys.⁶⁸² The only other concentration was at Hen Castell, situated further west and on the south Wales coast. This site had little E ware which may be indicative of the site going out of use by the main period of its importation but may have been an import centre for a brief period during the sixth-century CE (Campbell 2007a: 135).

Campbell (2007a) had located imported glass at approximately 50 sites.⁶⁸³ The overall distribution of sites appears to be similar to those containing E ware, with concentrations in the main import centres. This contrasts markedly with Anglo-Saxon sites where glass is usually very rare. Most of the glass distributions recorded by Campbell (2007a) appear to be of certain continental origin with no concentrations of glass found in Ireland or Argyll (Campbell, 2007a: 135). This may have been due to social factors which discriminated against the use of glass in these locales. As with the DSPA mortaria, glass tablewares may have particularly appealed to the Britons of the west who practiced an imagined form of Roman continuity of culinary usage.

Limitations in interpretation of the mechanisms of distribution of E ware, DSPA and glass is apparent in terms of the numbers of vessels found. During this period,

⁶⁸¹ (Figure 216: 449)

⁶⁸² (Figures 127: 363, 128: 363, 129: 364, 130: 365, 131: 365, 132: 365)

⁶⁸³ (Figure 217: 453)

consideration of who was conducting this trade and why is problematic. For example, relevant contemporary documentation is sparse (Wooding, 1996a: 46-53). Previous interpretations linked to a wine trade (Zimmer, 1909: 430-476 *in* Campbell, 2007a: 136) have been effectively overturned by Wooding (1996a, 1996b) who has shown the sources were not contemporary (Wooding, 1996a: 46-53, 1996b: 67-82).

Campbell's (2007a) interpretation of who was carrying out this trade was formed by the evidence provided by variety in the imports. For instance, the pottery assemblage was dominated by E ware, most of which were was a uniform technique and fabric (96% Fabric E1) and suggestive of mass production from a single centre. He supposes if the trade were driven by traders coming from all the separate polities of Atlantic Britain and Ireland, it is difficult to see why they would go to one, and only one, particular site in Gaul for their goods. If this had been the case, it could be expected to see a wide variety of pottery to have been picked up from different centres and brought to insular sites. He notes there was some variety of unclassified wares, however these only amounted to approximately 5 percent of the total and may be accounted for by personal possessions or goods picked *enroute* to western sites (Campbell, 2007a: 136).

The lack of variety was not so marked in the glassware. However, 75 percent of identified forms were cones or bowls and 60 percent were of groups C or D. Campbell (2007a) considers this an especially homogeneous collection, given the

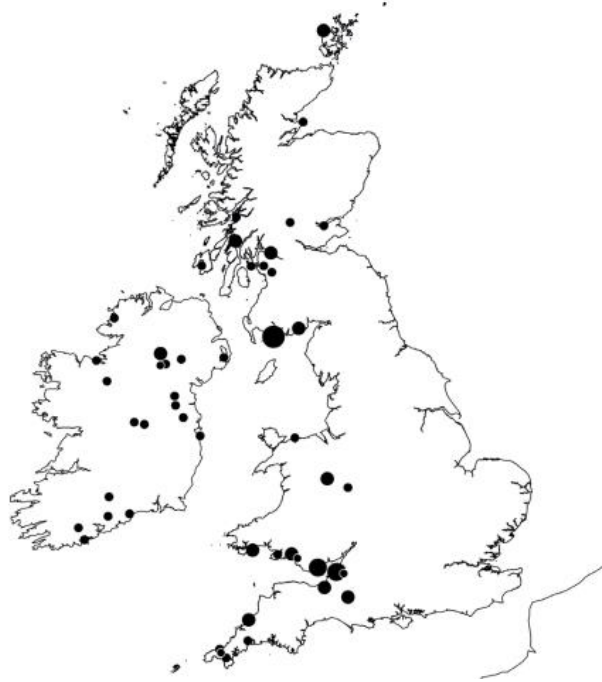


Figure 217

Campbell's (2007a) distribution of glass imports (Campbell, 2007: 55)

huge variety of forms retrieved from Frankish cemeteries. Furthermore, if glass is considered as a much more valuable commodity than pottery, it may be more likely to have been passed from one trader to another. This implies the driving force for the trade came from western Gaul and the traders being Frankish merchants or merchants based in the area. He cites evidence for a merchant class in the area in the form of charter evidence for taxes and tolls and the writings of Gregory of Tours (Campbell, 2007a: 136).

Some of these merchants may have been of Mediterranean origin (Harris, 2003: 59-64) and by way of contrast, whilst there was no mention of a trading class in any of the contemporary Irish legal documentation (Kelly, 1988: 1-358), this does not preclude the occasional voyage of British or Irish ships to the continent. For

example, the *Vita* of St Philibert mentioned Gaelic ships arriving at Noirmoutier bringing leather shoes. The account is believable given the quantity of leather shoes found in Ireland and Scotland (Campbell, 2007a: 136) although the historical context may mask the reliability of the ethnic identification of the sailors (Wooding, 1996a: 67). Campbell (2007a) has suggested there may have been a transitional phase between the Mediterranean and E ware trading systems which was centred on the Bordeaux area. He offers the speculation of some merchants, some of whom had Mediterranean connections were familiar with the Mediterranean ships trading with Britain and perhaps having acted as intermediaries, translators or pilots, then used their knowledge of insular sites, potential markets and sailing routes to undertake their own trade when the Mediterranean system collapsed (Campbell, 2007a: 136).

One possibility was the Church initiated the E ware trade (Hodges, 1977: 239-256) and there is documentary evidence of churchman moving quantities of goods between their estates in Gaul (James, 1977: 223). It seems they were also sending high status goods such as the package of colourants sent from one Bishop to another (Roosen-Runge & Werner, 1960: 261-262). Campbell (2007a) has argued against this interpretation, as very few imports have been found on ecclesiastical sites and the evidence of a colourant orpiment which was intended for use in monastic *scriptoria* was imported through the royal site of Dunadd rather than nearby Iona (Campbell, 2007a: 137). He also rejects whether the aristocracy or royalty of Gaul were responsible for instigating this trade on the grounds of lack of evidence and that trade had a diplomatic purpose (Campbell, 2007a: 137).

Furthermore, almost no artefacts of British or Irish origin have been recovered which

offer an indication as to what type of commodity was being exchanged for the continental imports. Organic commodities may have included furs, sealskins, eiderdown, freshwater pearls, quartz, garnets, leather goods and slaves (Alcock & Alcock, 1990: 128). However, whether these commodities were valuable enough to stimulate this trade is impossible to determine (Campbell, 2007a: 137).

As with the preceding Mediterranean trading system the longevity of the continental system militates against any minimalist interpretation of the exchange involved. These imports were arriving over a period of at least a century and may be suggestive of structured trade. Wooding (1996a) has suggested a 'tramping' model where merchants went wherever cargoes were available (Wooding, 1996: 96). Campbell (2007a) has rejected this interpretation on the basis of the consistency of the assemblages and considers such a model would have produced a much greater variety of imports on Atlantic sites (Campbell, 2007a: 137).

The model applied to the earlier Mediterranean trade⁶⁸⁴ may be applicable to the continental trade. This may have entailed merchants and clients requiring a stable and accepted yearly time of trade to avoid unnecessary delays in the transaction process. Campbell (2007a) considers any such exchange process became a sustained pattern of trade and the E ware and glass probably constituted a small visible part of cargoes of other materials (Campbell, 2007: 138).

The modelling offers an indication of trade patterns being affected by a series of

⁶⁸⁴ (Chapter 3: 439)

continental and Mediterranean imports at the major urban centres of southern England. Two routes were apparent, one from western France (*céramique à l'éponge*) and a second from the Rhone/Seine/Rhine (Argonne ware). This appears to change with the ending of Roman rule in Britain in the early fifth-century CE.

There is an apparent gap until the later fifth-century CE when an entirely new distribution centred on the south-western peninsula appeared. During the intervening period Campbell (2007a) suggests some form of contact was maintained between Britain, Ireland and the continent. However, no trace of traded goods now survives (Campbell, 2007a: 138).

The Mediterranean system continued from the later fifth-century CE until the middle sixth-century CE⁶⁸⁵ and was centred on large enclosed sites of high status and of possible royal associations including Tintagel and Dinas Powys with redistribution to smaller sites.⁶⁸⁶ The imported goods were represented by an earlier phase of eastern Mediterranean or Aegean amphorae (LRA1, LRA2, LRA3) with PRS, ARS fine tableware and later phases of north African amphora and ARS. The dynamic for this trade may have been generated by a need for the metals found in the south-west including tin from Cornwall and lead or silver from the Mendips and south Wales. The impetus for this trade appears to have come from the Mediterranean and possibly under imperial direction (Campbell, 2007a: 138).

In the latter part of the sixth-century CE a new system developed to bring goods to

⁶⁸⁵ (Figure 213: 437)

⁶⁸⁶ (Chapter 3: 387-389)

Ireland, western Scotland and the west coast of Britain.⁶⁸⁷ It is possible there was a short chronological overlap when DSPA pottery and glass possibly from the Bordeaux region, was found on sites of each of these regions. The new distribution appears to have avoided previous centres in the south-west. It seems the inhabitants of western Britain and Ireland were constantly responding to external influence in the development of trade. However, they do not appear to have initiated this phenomenon at any point. This may be because of the peripheral nature of these regions when compared to the economic cores of the Frankish kingdom and Byzantine empires which replaced Rome. This does not imply the Atlantic polities were passive recipients of the products of what may be termed more advanced economies. After the cessation of imports, whilst sites such as Dinas Powys and their hinterlands were affected by change, these were insular and very local in character. It is clear they were not dependent on foreign input for their existence and internal social development was taking place.

This development did not, however result in the development of an urban society with coinage or merchants and should not be seen as a sign of backwardness. Culturally, the area was at the forefront of artistic and literary merit. It is possible surplus wealth was directed into these areas of endeavour rather than economic growth. This pattern can be detected in the consolidation of Glywysing and Gwent under Meurig ap Tewdrig's dynasty from the seventh-century CE onwards.⁶⁸⁸ Likewise, much of the material culture of Llangorse Crannog reflects royal acquisitions from without, which could then be redistributed as gifts.⁶⁸⁹ These imports could be viewed as forming part of the process by which the post-Roman successor

⁶⁸⁷ (Figure 215: 449)

⁶⁸⁸ (Chapter 3: 232-235)

⁶⁸⁹ (Chapter 3: 390-430)

states began to use their surplus wealth at an early stage to develop more recognisably early medieval types of hierarchical power structures. This process appears to have continued into the ninth and tenth-centuries CE onwards, and supports the post-Roman economic model outlined in this study.⁶⁹⁰

Research during the 1970s took a view that ceramic production was faltering or had ceased after *circa* CE 410 (Fulford, 1979: 120-132; Gillham, 1979: 103-118). This phenomenon was considered to be symptomatic of a wider late Roman economic collapse in the first part of the fifth-century CE.⁶⁹¹ Alternative interpretations suggesting a collapse in demand may have been a cause for the disappearance of the Romano-British potting tradition neglect to offer an explanation as to why communities who had used pottery vessels for generations suddenly decided they had no need for them in the early fifth-century CE (Evans, 1990: 91-103).

However, doubts have been expressed about the sudden disappearance of this form of material culture and that production appeared to continue into the fifth-century CE (Dark, 1996, 2000: 102-3; Whyman 1993: 61-68). One piece of evidence supporting this hypothesis was the recovery of a complete, misfired Anglo-Saxon urn in the ashes of a Romano-British kiln near Lincoln (Dark, 1996: 58, 2000: 103). The evidence for this assertion was uncertain and has been contended (Esmonde-Cleary, 2001: 289; Reece, 1998, 471-472). Models have been subsequently designed to argue that pottery production continued after CE 410.

Identifying diagnostic fifth-century CE Romano-British pottery would represent a major step towards understanding of the ending of Roman Britain and could be

⁶⁹⁰ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁶⁹¹ (Cooper, 1996: 85-98; Ward-Perkins, 2005: 87- 117; Wickham, 2005: 307)

interpreted as evidence of continuity or an extended period of Romanisation. Gerrard (2014) considers such conclusions are flawed and believes ceramic manufacture did not make an individual or community Roman. He suggests it was the social and economic choices that communities made are important as identifiers (Gerrard, 2016: 90).

The identification of Roman type ceramics produced during the early fifth-century CE could provide an opportunity to identify and date sites, phases and assemblages of both artefacts and ecofacts to *circa* CE 400–450. This material culture could facilitate the process of social, economic and political change during the fifth-century CE to be studied at a finer level of resolution (Gerrard, 2016: 90). How this process

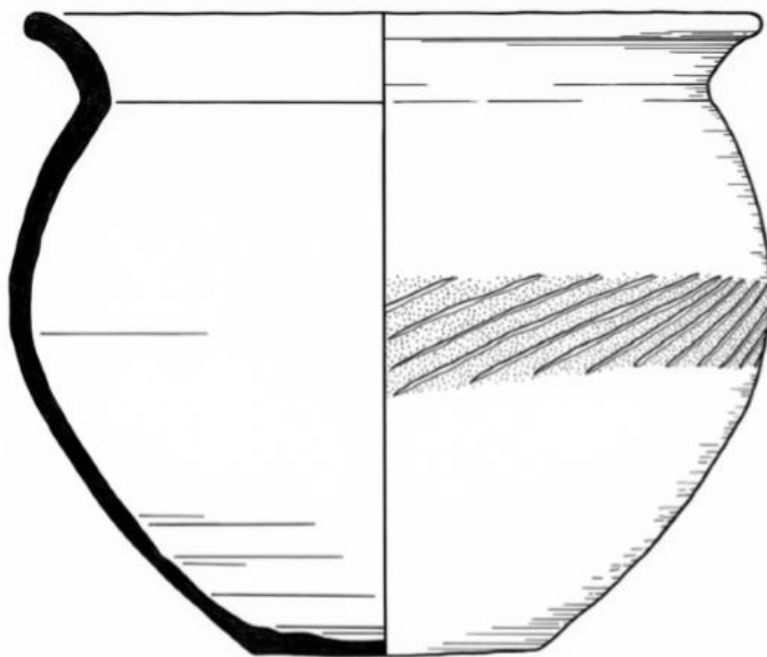


Figure 218

Type 18 Black Burnished bowl (Gerrard, 2016: 92)

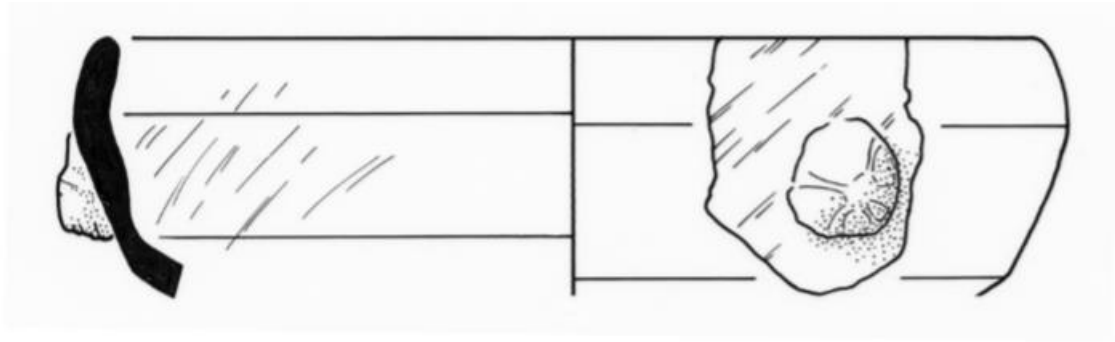


Figure 219 Convex sided dish (Gerrard, 2016: 92)

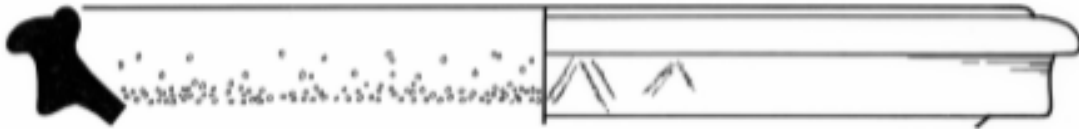


Figure 220 Late mortarium form (Gerrard, 2016: 93)

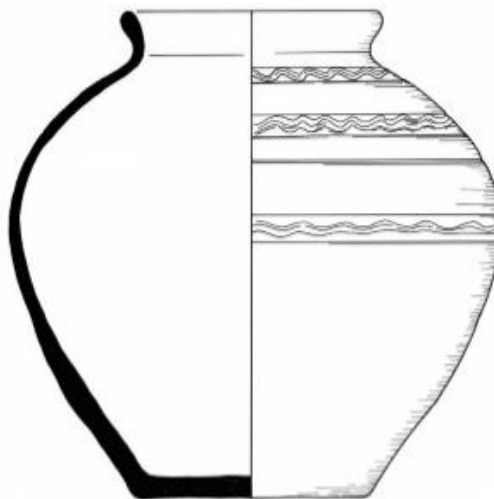


Figure 221 Romano-British jar from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Cleatham (Gerrard, 2016: 93)



Figure 222

Fragment of Huntcliff ware type from the body of a large vessel (Portable Antiquary Scheme, 2020: YORYM-196201)

transformation was manifested in material culture is an important factor in understanding the end of Roman Britain (Cool, 2000: 47-65, 2006: 223-235). Gerrard (2014) has suggested one way of conclusively demonstrating fifth-century CE Romano-British pottery production would be to excavate a kiln loaded with misfired vessels securely stratified above demonstrably fifth-century CE dating evidence such as coins or metalwork. However, he notes no such site has yet been discovered and cites the excavation of Kiln Z998 at Bestwall Quarry (Dorset) as the closest example (Gerrard, 2016: 91-92; Ladle, 2012: 54).

This feature was cut into the fills of a backfilled sunken building. The fills of this structure produced a number of corroded and illegible coins of perhaps mid- to late fourth-century CE date as well as Oxfordshire and New Forest colour-coated vessels which appeared to be no earlier in date than *circa* CE 340 (Ladle, 2012: 71–2; Lyne, 2012: 229–34). However, no final products were recovered. The dating evidence might superficially suggest a late fourth-century CE date for the kiln. The pottery, however, represents some of the latest forms produced by the Oxfordshire and New Forest industries and could have been manufactured in the CE 390s as easily as the

CE 340s. Gerrard (2014) considers there remains a strong possibility that this kiln was in operation during the fifth-century CE (Gerrard, 2016: 92).

In the absence of evidence from production sites, Gerrard (2014) cites a corpus of other assemblages recovered from other sites of consumption. He suggests it is possible by carefully considering stratigraphic sequences, pottery assemblages and other dating evidence, to produce a strong circumstantial case that pottery was being not only used but produced and supplied during the early fifth-century CE. He asserts evidence could be derived from either typological study or the analysis of assemblage composition and cites a number of case studies supporting his supposition (Gerrard, 2016: 91-94).

These include finds from Dorset and Somerset which demonstrated particular Black Burnished bowl form decorated with burnished diagonal lines⁶⁹² described as a half lattice (Seager-Smith & Davies, 1993: Type 18), commonly occurred in association with coins from the Valentinian and the Theodosiusian periods (Gerrard 2004: 65-76). Other examples of the form have been identified in Dorset at Betswell Quarry, Dewlish Villa and Dorchester (Gerrard, 2016: 92).

Other possibly late fourth-/early fifth-century CE forms could include a series of convex-sided dishes⁶⁹³ decorated with external bosses in a variety of fabrics (Fulford, 1975: Type 114; Lyne, 1999: 285–6). These vessels appear to be consistently associated with the latest Roman deposits at a number of locations including Dorchester on Thames (Gerrard, 2016: 92). Furthermore, a mortarium form

⁶⁹² (Figure 218: 459)

⁶⁹³ (Figure 219: 460)

excavated from Carlisle⁶⁹⁴ may have a fifth-century CE date from its stratigraphic context (Gerrard, 2016: 93).

Another example from Cleatham (Lincolnshire) consisted of four vessels from a large Anglo-Saxon cemetery.⁶⁹⁵ These were considered to be Romano-British in style and manufactured in a local fabric. None of these jars were easy to parallel in local assemblages and the excavation report concluded that may have been the product of sub-Roman pottery kilns (Leahy, 2007: 126–127).

Furthermore, excavations at Wellington Row in York reveal a significant stratigraphic sequence which began with a series of deposits within a stone building which contained coins to CE 348. This was followed by a further six phases of activity associated with significant quantities of material culture including large pottery assemblages (Whyman, 2001: 285–301). The first of these subsequent phases contained coins dated CE 364–378 and a coin of CE 388–402. In addition, the remaining five phases all contained coins of CE 388–402 (Whyman, 2001: 300). Detailed analysis of the calcite-gritted pottery from the structure revealed changes in the Huntcliff jar through this sequence.⁶⁹⁶ Moreover, the fabric of these calcite-gritted vessels changed in relation to the stratigraphic sequence (Whyman 2001, 306–342). This suggests the material could not be residual or redeposited from an earlier phase of activity. It further demonstrates new vessels were being manufactured as the variations in fabric were chronological.

At some point in the fifth-century CE Romano-British style ceramics stopped being produced (Gerrard, 2016: 94). However, Romano-British pottery appeared to remain

⁶⁹⁴ (Figure 220: 460)

⁶⁹⁵ (Figure 221: 460)

⁶⁹⁶ (Figure 222: 461)

a consistent feature of some post-Roman assemblages. One example cited by Gerrard (2014) was an intact Black Burnished ware jar of probable fourth-century CE date used to contain an Anglo-Saxon cremation of fifth- to sixth-century CE date from Alton (Hampshire) (Evison, 1988: 42). Others included a large sherd of an Oxfordshire red colour-coated ware bowl in a *grubenhaus* at St Mary Cray, Orpington (Kent) (Hart, 1984), Black Burnished ware sherds found in a pit containing a Migration period knife at Cadbury Castle (Somerset) (Burrow, 1981: 280) and hundreds of sherds redeposited by post-Roman earth moving at Wroxeter (Symonds, 1997: 269-318). He notes each of these situations might be the result of different process that led to these Romano-British vessels and sherds occurring in post-Roman contexts and offers possible reasons why this may be so.

These include the possible retention and curation of vessels from the late Roman period. Under this model, Gerrard (2014) asserts a vessel produced during the late fourth-century CE could have become cherished once ceramics stopped being easily available. Furthermore, this would have extended its useful life into the fifth-century CE. He suggests this phenomenon was demonstrated from sites producing vessels which display evidence of repairs and when this occurs in the latest Roman deposits might imply the careful retention of vessels. However, this interpretation has limitations as repairs have been exhibited on other vessels, such as finewares, during the first, second, third and fourth-centuries CE (Gerrard, 2016: 94; Wickenden, 1988: 70).

In addition, Gerrard (2014) considers post-Roman communities, operating in a largely aceramic society, may have recovered substantially complete or complete vessels from abandoned Roman sites such as waster heaps associated with pottery production may have been targets for salvage (Clough & Myres, 1973: 74–6;

Gerrard, 2016: 94-95). Furthermore, the presence of a possible greyware waster from the Congresbury kilns (Usher & Lilley, 1964: 172-174) in a post-Roman context at Cadbury-Congresbury (Rahtz *et al*, 1993: 147) may offer evidence of this process. Another factor may be late Roman inhumation burials were sometimes accompanied by ceramic grave-goods. For example, the excavators of London's eastern cemetery (Gerrard, 2016: 95) suggested that during the Roman period gravediggers who encountered earlier vessels 'recycled' these as grave goods accompanying later burials. Gerrard considers a similar process could easily have occurred during the fifth and sixth-centuries CE. There is a further possibility of fragments of Roman vessels being deliberately recovered by post-Roman communities. For instance, red and decorated sherds (such as samian) would have been particularly noticeable and their decoration, stamps and hard glossy fabrics may have led to post-Roman interest.

Explaining why this material was collected is problematic. Gerrard (2014) suggests sherds may have been selected as curios, as raw materials for spindle whorls or as tools of opportunity. Another reason may be highly decorated and brightly coloured sherds might have been imbued with magical or symbolic significance as the depictions of humans, animals, deities or even writing could all have implied ritual significance (Eckardt & Williams, 2003: 155–157). Moreover, there are examples of Anglo-Saxon vessels where Roman inspiration has been inferred (Mackreth, 1996: 237) and may suggest Roman sherds could have been used as prototypes by experimental potters in the fifth and sixth-centuries CE.

Other research⁶⁹⁷ tracing trends from the first to the fifth-century CE in glassware and pottery suggests changes of focus from tableware to cookingware may represent a social shift in functional profiles of artefacts over time, rather than an economic collapse caused by Roman withdrawal. This notion could simply imply that personal taste had changed, consequently methods of tracing cultural continuity have to be adapted.

Another possibility may be Roman exchange networks, underpinned by mass production and wide-ranging distribution had undermined local skills and exchange. With the ending of Roman rule, replacing this material may have been impossible as no equivalent local skills were available to take their place (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 221).

Economy, subsistence and society (5): money and exchange

The ending of Roman rule saw a reduction in the complexity of Gwentian economic activity between *circa* 300 CE and *circa* 500 CE. Some established models addressing causes for the collapse have considered the economy of the late Roman Empire as a cohesive system of monetised markets.^{698 699} Furthermore, much Roman material culture can usually be accurately dated by association with other types of chronological measures. These could include known historical events such as Boudican resistance or the construction of Hadrian's Wall, samian, dendrochronological evidence from structures, grave goods and coinage. However, the available chronological measures have limitations which become apparent when attempting to offer interpretations of the Roman period and afterwards in part or as a

⁶⁹⁷ (e.g. Bidwell & Croom, 2010; Cool, 2010; Cool & Baxter, 1999; Evans, 1993; Evison, 2000; Gerrard, 2004; Millet, 1979; Price & Cottam, 1998)

⁶⁹⁸ (Fulford, 1979: 120-132; Mattingly, 2007: 506; Ward-Perkins, 2005: 124-137)

⁶⁹⁹ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

whole. For example, there are few historical events which have left an unequivocal trace in the archaeological record. Moreover, ceramics are not particularly sensitive to chronological changes (Tyers, 1996b: 1-228; Young, 2000: 1-391), dendrochronological evidence can be sparse or absent in particular periods or locales (Tyers, Hillam & Groves, 1994: 18-19), burials with grave goods are rare (Philpott, 1991: 1-472) and coins only become abundant in the late third and fourth-centuries CE (Portable Antiquary Scheme, 2020: Reece periods 13-24). Therefore, it seems researchers of later Roman Britain have an extremely common diagnostic tool in the form of coinage which those studying the earlier or later periods do not.

Moreover, how coins are dated and how coins have been used to provide dates on archaeological excavations presents problems. As individual artefacts they can often be dated, for example on the basis of its portrait or proclamations. For example, a *denarius* of Trajan (*RIC* 238) proclaims: IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS VI PP SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. This celebrates Trajan's victories over the Germans and the Dacians as well as being made Consul for the sixth time. From the historical sources a date of CE 112-114 can be deduced. Even if dating evidence is not present, dating sequences can often be ascertained from portrait groups. For instance, the coins of Nero show a progression from portraits of Nero as a young boy through to the last image which reveals a double-chin (Burnett, 1987: 71-5) and provides evidence of a relatively dated group. Seriation, using the presence and absence of issues in hoards is another method used by numismatists to determine coins in relative datable sequences (Lock, 2012: 194). Conversely, limitations become apparent when coins do not follow these patterns such as those of Augustus whose portrait did not age over his forty-five-year reign (Burnett, 1987: 144).

Furthermore, coins are rarely sufficiently abundant to provide the only source of dating (Lock, 2012: 195). Other factors including the difference between the date of manufacture and the date of deposition or residuality can affect dating. In addition, the use-life of coins can see them remain in use for an extended period of time in ways other artefacts such as pottery or other vessels which can break does not (Lock, 2012: 195). In combination, these factors can challenge established chronological interpretations.

For instance, the latest coins most often recovered in Britain are issues associated with the Theodosiusian period (CE 388-402) (Portable Antiquary Scheme, 2020: Reece period 21).⁷⁰⁰ These coins appeared not to have been counterfeited and this has been taken as evidence of monetary collapse by *circa* CE 410.⁷⁰¹ This assertion is reinforced by the appearance of a coin bearing the reverse legend VRBS ROMA FELIX in CE 403 which did not reach Britain in quantity (Brickstock, 2000: 35).

Research shows this may not be the case, as possible counterfeit versions, characteristically small and poorly struck may have been identified as authentic coins (Wells *in* Gerrard, 2016: 81). Others suggest the Patching Hoard which includes continental coinage of the CE 460s (White, Manley & Jones *et al*, 1997: 301-315) and the widespread distribution of clipped *siliquae* evidences official or semi-official attempts to maintain the circulation of silver currency until the middle of the fifth-century CE (Dark 2000, 55).

Furthermore, coin use in Britain seems to have become uneven by the fourth-century CE (Walton, 2011: 24-35, 184; Walton & Moorhead, 2016) and the distribution of

⁷⁰⁰ (Figure 223: 470)

⁷⁰¹ (Esmond Cleary, 1989: 141; Frere, 1987: 363; Mattingly, 2006: 530; Millett, 1990: 227; Salway, 1997: 351-352; Reece, 1988: 151; Rivet, 1964: 97)

coins appears to be biased towards particular types of sites and regions (Walton 2011: 172-208). Therefore, many late Roman assemblages are correlated from the same regions and types of sites. Critically, material culture associated with these coins is often dated to the period of minting, rather when it was deposited or lost. Consequently, it is possible to assume once the link between precious-metal coinage and base-metal coinage had failed that this was the time that this occurred.

Contentions arise as the actual date this occurred can only be a matter for speculation. It has been suggested *circa* CE 430 may have some validity (Brickstock, 2000: 33-37; Moorhead & Walton, 2014: 99-114). If this was the case, then many of the deposits and assemblages currently dated to *circa* CE 400 might be up to three decades later. The implications are clear when what appears as a dramatic and rapid collapse over the course of a decade may actually represent a more prolonged period of change over fifty years or more.

Consequently, other possibilities need to be considered as the latest Roman assemblages can only be dated CE 388 or *circa* CE 400. This has clear implications for chronological interpretation as a coin can only be used as evidence from the date it was struck. As a source, it cannot provide the date at which it was lost. The chronological ending of Roman Britain has blurred edges and it is possible objects recovered with coins may be associated with coins struck perhaps thirty to fifty years earlier. Therefore, a lack of bronze coins may not be indicative of catastrophic economic collapse.

Additionally, hoarding appears to have been an important and almost discrete phenomenon of late fourth and fifth-century CE Britain. These may have been buried for a variety of reasons and cannot be critically accepted as evidence of a



Figure 223 Roman copper-alloy nummi of Theodosius II dating to the period AD 404 to 406 (Rees Period 21) (Portable Antiquary Scheme, 2020: IOW-D05764)



Figure 224 The Hoxne find, which is the largest British coin find from this period, included 15,234 coins: 580 gold solidi, 60 silver miliarenses, 14,565 silver siliquae, five rare silver half-siliquae and 24 bronze coins (British Museum, 2020)



Figure 225 Twenty-three gold solidi and two gold rings from the Patching hoard (White, Manley, Jones & Orna-Ornstein, 1999: 316)

deteriorating security situation or catastrophic economic collapse. For instance, they may equally have been a social response to other kinds of stimuli which had other economic, political or religious motivations (Hobbs, 1997: 124-139).

Furthermore, although hoards which are comparable to British examples (e.g. the Kaiseraugst Treasure) have been recovered from Gaul, Germany, Italy and Spain, no other part of the Roman world exhibited a similar tradition for the burial and non-recovery of metal objects during this period to such a degree. In addition, research suggests the British Isles may have produced approximately one-quarter of all gold and silver dating to the last half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth-centuries CE from the Roman world (Hobbs, 1997: 142). Likewise, a similar picture emerges when gold coins are considered. There are far more *solidi* recovered from Britain than from other parts of the Roman world for which comparable records exist (Bland & Loriot, 2010: 16-27).

By the 1980s there was a consensus which suggested burial and non-recovery of hoards had taken place sometime between *circa* CE 390 and after the defeat of Constantine III in CE 410-CE 411. This view was based on the sequence of the latest coins found in many hoards which often ended with coins of Honorius, Arcadius and occasionally Constantine III. Furthermore, the hoarding of late Roman objects was interpreted as a precaution by worried Roman-Britons who hid their valuables in order to protect them from barbarian raiders (Collingwood & Richmond, 1969: 230-2; Guest, 2015: 101-116; Grierson, 1975: 124-59; Robertson, 1974: 13-15). These interpretations generally accepted the intention was for buried hoards to be recovered after the barbarian threat had passed. They further assert those recovered to date must have belonged to people who for some reason, were not able to retrieve their valuables from the ground and cite this as evidence of a

catastrophic economic collapse.

This interpretation was further used to explain the absence of finds in the western and northern parts of Britain. In these regions, it was considered the populations were too distant from the homelands of the raiders from northern Germany to be subjected to the same external threats. For these reasons, the hoarding of Roman metalwork was placed either in the years just prior or immediately after the ending of Roman Britain.⁷⁰²

This perception of hoards of late Roman objects belong to the archaeology of later Roman Britain rests on two main assumptions. Firstly, they form a single group which were all buried closely together in time from CE 380-CE 390 to CE 410-CE 420. Secondly, the discovery of most hoards and other finds of Roman metalwork in the eastern and southern parts of England demonstrated widespread insecurity among the Romano-British population at this time.

However, this model may be erroneous. For example, the Hoxne Treasure⁷⁰³ represents the largest collection of late Roman gold and silver objects from Britain and comprises of 15,234 coins. Its deposition must have occurred after the date of the eight most recent silver *siliquae*, which were struck at Ravenna for Honorius between CE 404 and CE 408 or at Arles for Constantine III between CE 407- CE 408.

Guest (2014) has noted approximately 46 % of the silver coins recovered from Hoxne were at least 20 years old by this time. He further reasons had it only contained *siliquae* and had the latest coins been absent (representing 0.05 % of the

⁷⁰² (Archer, 1979: 29-31; Burnett, 1984: 168; Frere, 1987: 364; Guest, 2005: 16-21; Kent, 1994: lxxxii; Robertson, 1974: 33-4)

⁷⁰³ (Figure 224: 470)

hoard's contents) its deposition date would be considered as CE 402 at the earliest, rather than CE 408 or later (Guest, 2014: 119). This problem of chronology is particularly apparent at the beginning of the fifth-century CE as the supply of new Roman coinage to Britain appears to have almost stopped entirely. Consequently, there are very few later coins to provide an indicative *terminus ante quem* for the group of Theodosian hoards.

Whilst there are some coins struck after CE 402 from British hoards (including the Hoxne Treasure), almost all were struck prior to the death of Arcadius in CE 408. The number of gold and silver coins from Britain this date to the remaining nine decades of the fifth-century CE represents a small proportion with what had been produced before. Furthermore, they were almost exclusively either single finds or excavated finds from settlements and later burials (Moorhead & Walton, 2014: 101-114).

Studies examining the contents of Theodosian coin hoards indicate it was probable they were buried over a longer duration than had been previously considered. John Kent (1994) first distinguished 'early' and 'late' hoards within this group (based on the relative proportions of coins of Arcadius and Honorius), while the analysis of the silver and bronze coins from the Bishops Cannings hoard from Wiltshire identified significant differences in the compositions of hoards closing with coins of the House of Theodosius which confirm they were not all deposited at the same time.⁷⁰⁴ Therefore, they should not be seen as evidence for a short period of intensive hoarding as the only certainty is deposition occurred after the date of the latest coins.

⁷⁰⁴ (Guest, 1997: 411-422; Guest, 2014: 119; Kent, 1994: lxxxi - lxxxiii, 451-476)

Although the practice of hoarding late Roman objects has been placed the early fifth-century CE by many archaeologists, the recovery of the Patching hoard⁷⁰⁵ suggests the possibility of this activity continuing after CE 450. This assemblage from West Sussex contained 23 *solidi*, 27 silver coins (of which 23 were late Roman *siliquae*), 54 pieces of scrap silver (or *Hacksilber*) and two gold rings. Furthermore, the late-fourth and fifth-century CE coins consisted of Roman and pseudo-imperial issues (attributed to a Visigothic mint in Gaul). Of these, the latest coin was a pseudo-imperial *solidus* struck in the name of the Roman emperor Severus III (CE 461–CE 465).⁷⁰⁶

The small group of late Roman *siliquae* struck *circa* CE 364–411 from Patching have some similarities to the contents of several hoards dated to the early fifth-century CE. At the time of its burial it is possible the hoard was constructed of older coins and a batch of more recent continental issues only available immediately prior to its deposition in the CE 460s onwards. If this was the case, one conclusion is some Theodosian *siliquae* must have been in available to be hoarded or in circulation in the second half of the fifth-century CE. This raises the further possibility of other late Roman hoards containing coins also could have been deposited after CE 450 rather than the years immediately before or after *circa* CE 410. However, the peculiarity of the Patching hoard could mean it is not representative sample of hoarding or coin use in Britain in the fifth-century CE as subsequent recoveries of hoards closing with coins of CE 388-402 suggest the Patching hoard may be unique. This has been explained by the populations in these areas having been spared the violence and insecurity of major barbarian incursions. The coin evidence could suggest distribution is better explained by the differential supply of Theodosian bronze

⁷⁰⁵ (Figure 225: 470)

⁷⁰⁶ (Abdy, 2006: 75-98, 2013: 107-115; Orna-Ornstein, 2009: 389-392; White *et al*, 1999: 301-314)

coinage rather than any barbarian threats. For example, in Wales the latest Roman coins struck between CE 388-CE 402 are absent from this part of Britain except for sites such as Caerwent and Caernarfon (Guest, 2010: 24-33). The same appears to be the case in south-western and north-western England (Guest, 2014: 120).

Therefore, the absence of hoards of late Roman coins in the west and north of Britain may be explained by the general unavailability of Theodosian coins in these regions rather than lying beyond the range of raiders and invaders. Moreover, those hoards which have been recovered from southern and eastern England also appear to comprise of different regional clusters rather than representing a single group with shared key features. For instance, gold jewellery and silver plate, are recovered most often in East Anglia, whilst those from south-western England appear to consist chiefly of coins only, particularly silver *siliquae* rather than being combined with other objects (Guest, 2014: 120; Hobbs, 2006: 55-8). In summary, the differences in numerous hoard contents suggest they were buried for different reasons and at different times.

Some hoards are known from other parts of the Western empire. However, they occur far less frequently than those of Britain. This factor challenges the supposition that if the reason for their burial and non-recovery was the insecurity caused by the fear of incursions or invasion as the same effect did not manifest itself in other areas also threatened by barbarians. These events include the Alans, Suebi and Vandals crossing the Rhine and devastating some cities in northern Gaul and Germany in CE 405 or CE 406 or the invasions of the Goths in CE 408 and CE 410 which culminated in the sacking of Rome did not lead to endemic hoarding that a

catastrophic economic collapse might have induced.⁷⁰⁷ This further suggests models advocating economic collapse may be an invalid interpretation of the British evidence. Other explanations could include their possible function as a treasury for emergent British politic entities including Gwent.⁷⁰⁸

Between this period and until *circa* CE 1000, the use of coinage as a means of exchange appears to have declined and then ceased in most parts of Wales (Davies, 1982: 31-58). It seems Gwentian and wider Welsh society of early medieval Wales was predominately non-commercial and non-urban. For example, within the Cyfnerth code and *Liber Landavensis* there are no references to markets. However, it is clear from sales, values, obligatory payments and grants embedded within these texts, it was not an economy without exchange mechanisms.^{709 710 711}

Furthermore, by the eighth-century CE both cattle and silver were both regarded as standards of value (e.g. *Liber Landavensis* charters 201, 202, 203a, 203b) and appear to have consistent application (Davies, 1973: 59-60). Even if there is little evidence of a market, the existence of a cattle standard was significant even if payments during this period appear to have comprised of anything of value which was portable including horses and clothing as payment for land at Tintern (*circa* CE 765) (*Liber Landavensis* charter 209b). Later, precious metals in the form of gold (*circa* CE 905) (*Liber Landavensis* charter 233) and silver (*circa* CE 955) (*Liber Landavensis* charter 218) were mentioned and appear to have replaced mention of payment in other objects by the tenth-century CE. This trend is reflected by grants

⁷⁰⁷ (Curran, 1998: 78-110; Heather, 2005: 191-232; Jones, 1964: 182-7; Kulikowski, 2000: 325-345; Moorhead & Stuttard, 2010: 92-114)

⁷⁰⁸ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁷⁰⁹ (Chapter 3: 213-216, 326-333, 420-455)

⁷¹⁰ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 191, 201, 209b)

⁷¹¹ (Figure 211: 434)

where land was sold in Ergyng or Glamorgan (*Liber Landavensis* charters 185, 191, 201, 202, 203a, 203b, 204b) from the early eighth-century CE until almost the end of the series in CE 1060 when King Gruffudd promised alms in precious metals (*Liber Landavensis* charter 269).

The role of precious metal recorded in the *Liber Landavensis* was contemporaneous with other sources and finds from the period. These included coin hoards of the Viking period in Wales. For instance, one was recovered from Pennard (*circa* CE 830) and consisted of one English and two Carolingian coins. Another was found at Penrice (*circa* CE 1008) and included coins of Æthelred II (Knight, 2013: 81-38) with both sites located in Glamorgan. Other tenth-century CE English coins have been recovered from the walled areas of Caerwent. These included a penny of Eadmund (CE 939-946) which was struck by the moneyer Boiga in the south-eastern midlands, a Lincoln penny of Æthelred II (CE 991-998) and a Chester penny of Harthacnut (CE 1039-1042).^{712 713}

There is also the example of the single Hywel Dda penny thought to have been minted in Chester (Davies, 1973: 59-60). In addition, between CE 926 and CE 927 Athelstan demanded an annual tribute from the Welsh of 20 lb of gold and 300 lb of silver, 25000 cattle as well as hounds and hawks. Moreover, the Domesday Archenfield and Gwent rendered hawks, dogs, honey, cattle, pigs and some money to their landlords (*Domesday*, Folio: 162V). This evidence may be suggestive of commercial activity in the century before the Norman conquest. However, it is impossible to determine or estimate the amount of such activity. Although the Welsh must have used coins issued by others, there is nothing to suggest they minted coins

⁷¹² (Blunt, 1971: 17-21; Dolley, 1960: 191-193; Dolley & Knight, 1970: 76-77; Knight, 1996: 55-56)

⁷¹³ (Figures 226: 478, 227: 478)



Figure 226

South midlands penny of Eadmund (CE 939-946) found at Caerwent (Blunt, 1971: 22)



Figure 227

Chester penny of Harthacnut (CE 1039-1042) found at Caerwent (Dolley, 1960: 191)

themselves before the coming of the Normans. It is likely coinage was used by weight, perhaps viewed as a commodity and no standard currency was available.

In a Gwentian context the specification of landing rights in some charters may be representative of commercial activities. This occurred on the Severn at Caldicot,

Mathern, Pwllmeyric (*Liber Landavensis* charters 141, 234, 235b) and Portskewett⁷¹⁴ from the late ninth-century CE onwards. Other germane examples included land given at Chepstow (*Liber Landavensis* charter *158) which was associated with the navigable stretches of the Wye (*circa* CE 722) and the inclusion of sea rights at Bishton and Caerleon (*Liber Landavensis* charters 190b, 255) may have had the same significance, although fishing may have been their primary focus. However, there is enough evidence to suggest it was customary for ships to come to the lower reaches of the rivers Wye and Usk as well as the coast of Gwent Iscoed from the Roman period onwards (e.g. Nayling, 1998; Nayling & McGrail, 2004). It is possible these may have had in part, a commercial function.

Caerwent was referred to as *Guetonia Urbs* and was the meeting place for King Nowy and Bishop Pater in CE 955 (*Liber Landavensis* charters 218, 221, 243) and later became known as a caer (*circa* CE 1075) (*Liber Landavensis* charter 274). Davies (1973) has pointed out the term *urbs* may signify a large monastic settlement, rather than a secular one and it is known Caerwent housed an important monastery. She considers it must have been a significant agglomeration to occasion the unusual term and though primarily religious, may well have performed an urban or proto-urban function. Likewise, the number of grants in and around Monmouth from the eighth-century CE onwards (*Liber Landavensis* charters 175, 183a, 186b, *196, 231), may suggest a similar nucleus there (Davies, 1973: 61-62). However, firm indications of sub-Roman and early medieval urban development and the use of money afterwards and until the coming of the Normans in Gwent are at this time negligible. The reasons why society developed this way after Rome and before the

⁷¹⁴ (Chapter 3: 499-500)

coming of the Normans may well relate to older Silurian elite practices such as those described by Solinus.⁷¹⁵

Economy, subsistence and society (6): the multiple estate system and Gwent

The multiple estate model has been a highly influential interpretive model and its basic principle of early medieval central places exploiting a diversity of landscape resources provides a way for historians to understand estate structures and settlement patterns. Furthermore, it provides a framework which facilitates the integration of archaeological evidence and its chronological depth allows change to be examined over extended time periods. The detail of this hypothesis was derived from a late medieval Welsh fiscal model and its assumption was patterns of proprietorship went unchanged for centuries (Jones, 1976: 15-40). It envisaged a large estate comprised of several constituent settlements with associated landholdings, paying rent to the owner, each single estate having a religious centre, court and place of refuge. The model is highly schematised and it has been censured as static, prescriptive and anachronistic.⁷¹⁶ However, as a conceptual model and in the absence of valid alternatives, the generality of the idea may be applied to any estate.

The multiple estate as a conceptual framework attempts to deal with questions of social, territorial organisation and continuity. It helps scholars understand how rural settlement patterns were related to the exploitation and administration of the early medieval landscape. It is a model which relies on back-projection from a variety of sources and undoubtedly present major interpretive difficulties.⁷¹⁷ These are the result of archaeological and historical sources which are limited, poorly dated and

⁷¹⁵ (Chapter 2: 36-37)

⁷¹⁶ (Study introduction: 13-14)

⁷¹⁷ (Study introduction: 13-14)

difficult to understand. Therefore, any attempt to reconstruct the economy of an early medieval estate must remain speculative.

In a Gwentian context three principal components are considered. Firstly, there is the possible contribution of estate workers engaged in agricultural work on the demesne.⁷¹⁸ It is conceivable each tenant worked additional small plots of their own. It seems they may have had no inheritable interest in the land they worked and were tied hereditarily to their tenancies. Secondly, there were tenants who lived away from the estate centre who worked the land, had an inheritable interest and had a tenurial relationship with a lord. Obligations included owing food renders, building and transportation. These dues were generally payable at the lord's principal residence. Thirdly, there was the privilege of other noblemen to provide gwestfa for their king or superior lord. In Wales, royal gwestfa was traditionally levied on the land of an uchelwr. High ranking lords such as kings with demesne holdings dispersed in several locations would travel between these and demesne lands for the benefit of estate management and in the expectation of store houses victualled against their arrival.⁷¹⁹

In later records one possible indication of the presence of a former maenol or manor might be the association of a number of dependent hamlets with a particularly important township. In the north-west Longley (2004) has identified possible former maenol or maenor associated with a number of dependent hamlets and cites Bodafan, Conysiog, Llys Dulas and Porthamel in Anglesey as extensive settlement groupings within the orbit of a single township. In this instance these townships appear to represent particularly extensive territories and the tref has persisted

⁷¹⁸ (Chapter 3: 212-220)

⁷¹⁹ (Chapter 3: 217-219)

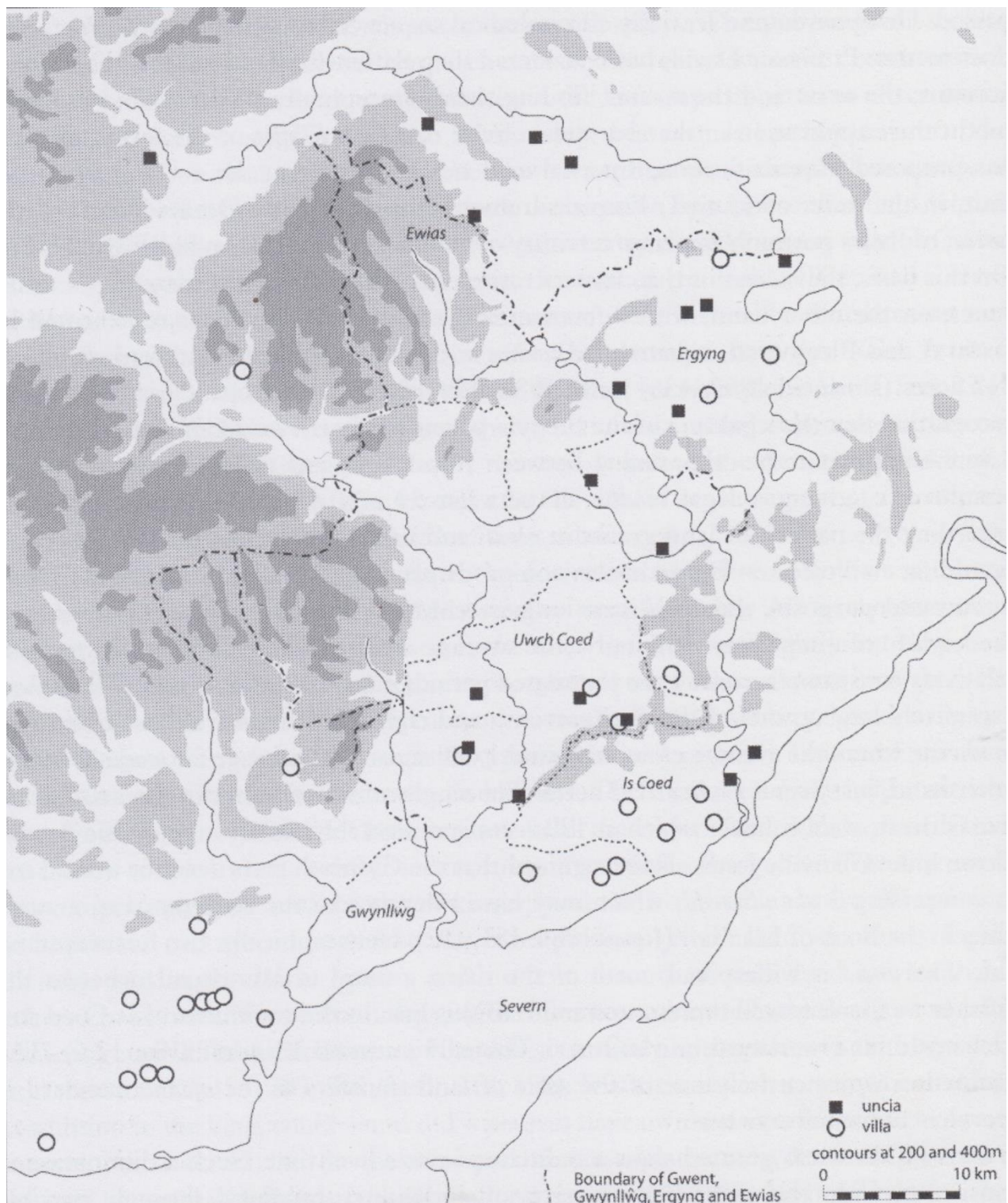


Figure 228

The distribution of *unciae* and *villas* (Longley, 2004: 308)

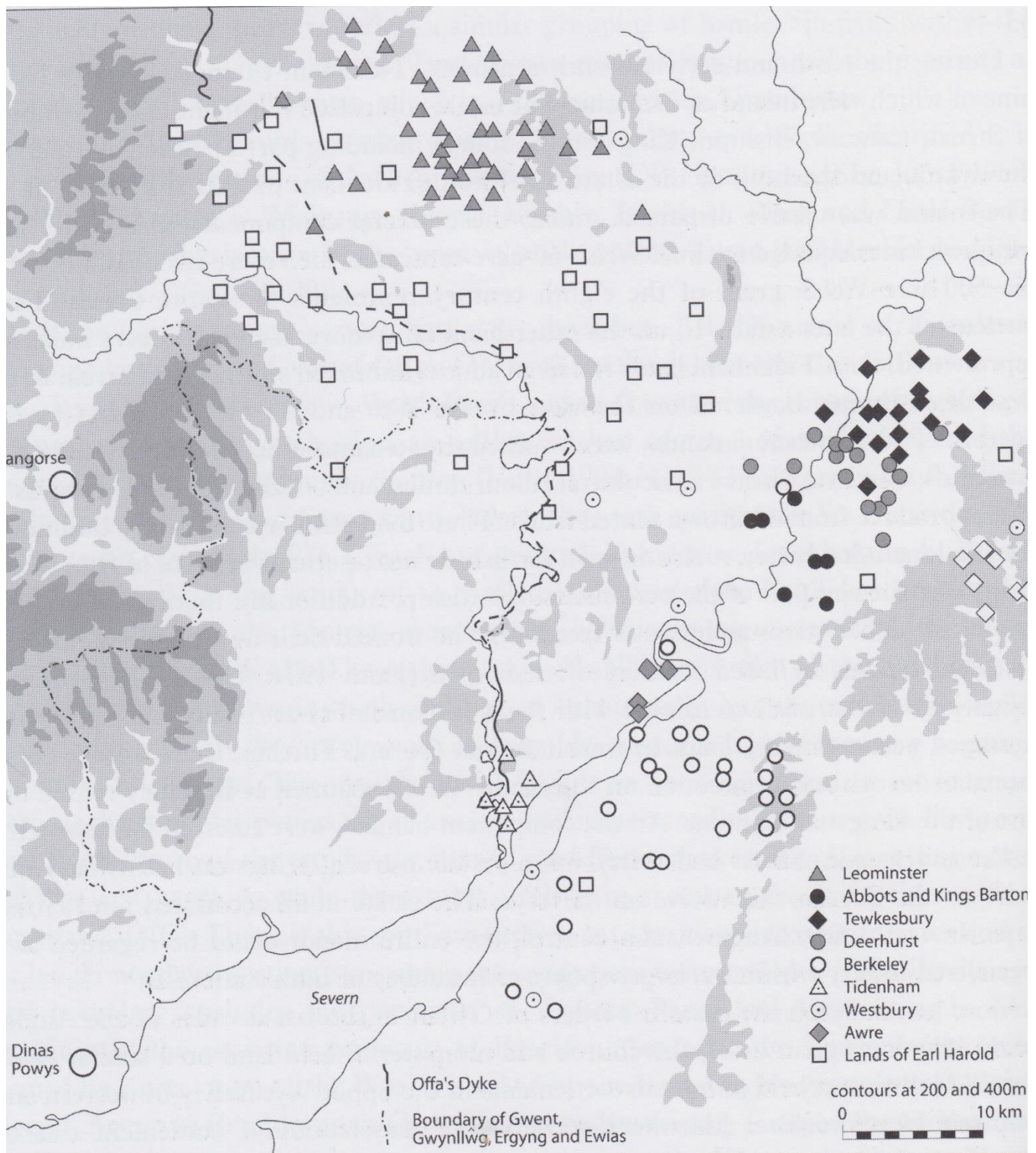


Figure 229

High status estates on the borders of Gwent (Longley, 2004: 304)

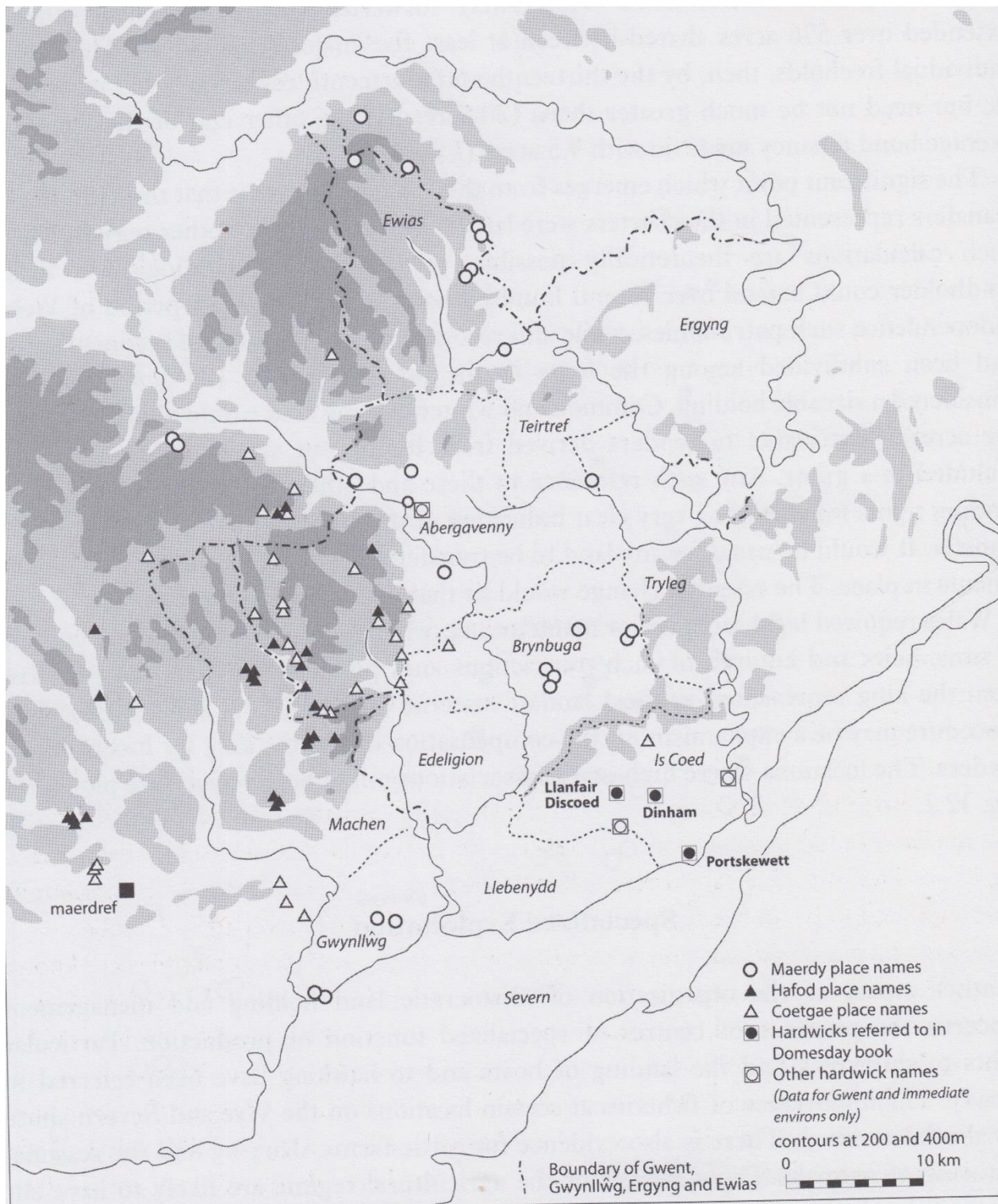


Figure 230

Cattle farms and pastures (Longley, 2004: 310)

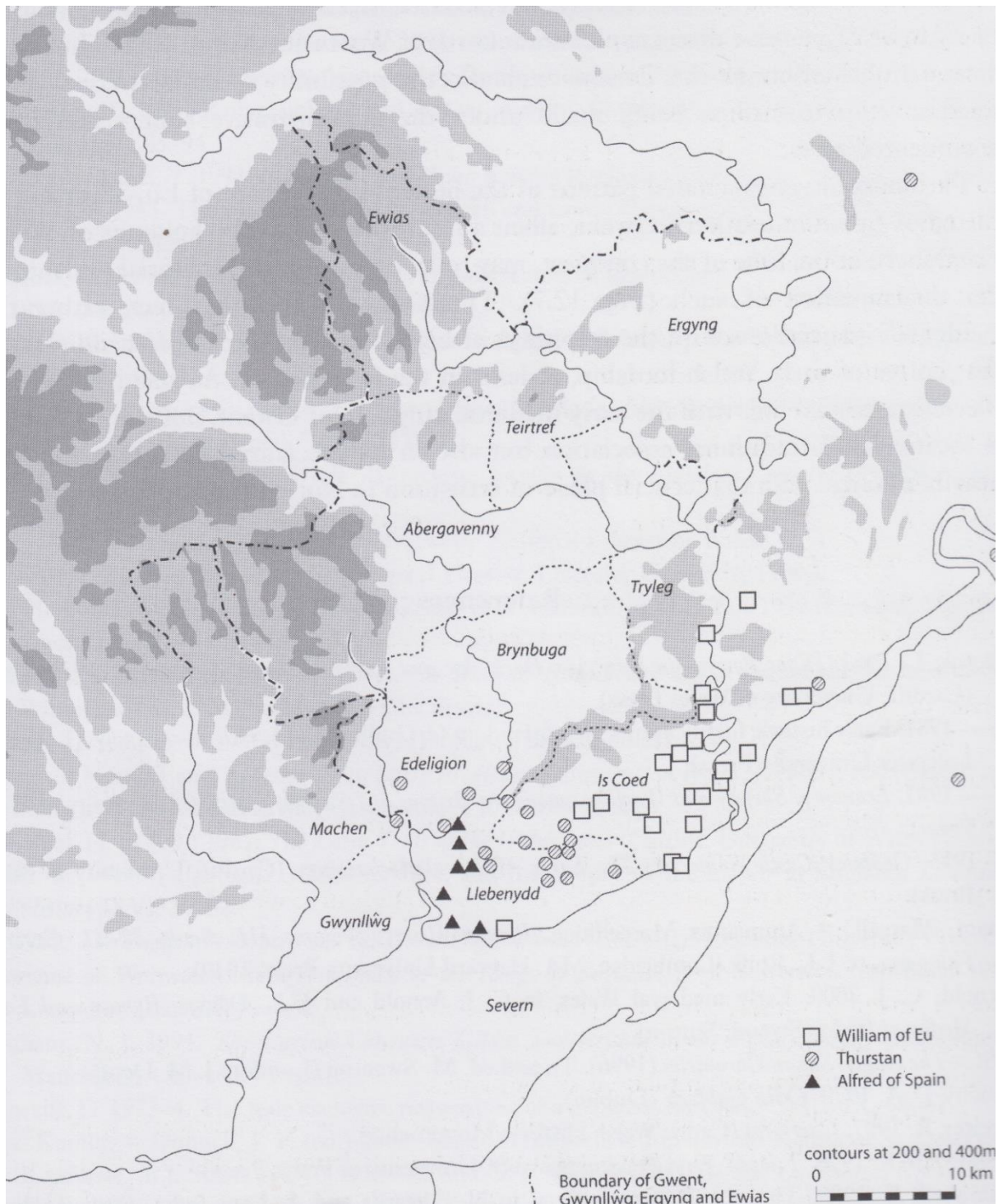


Figure 231

The holdings of William of Eu, Thurstan and Alfred of Spain in Gwent (Longley, 2004: 313)

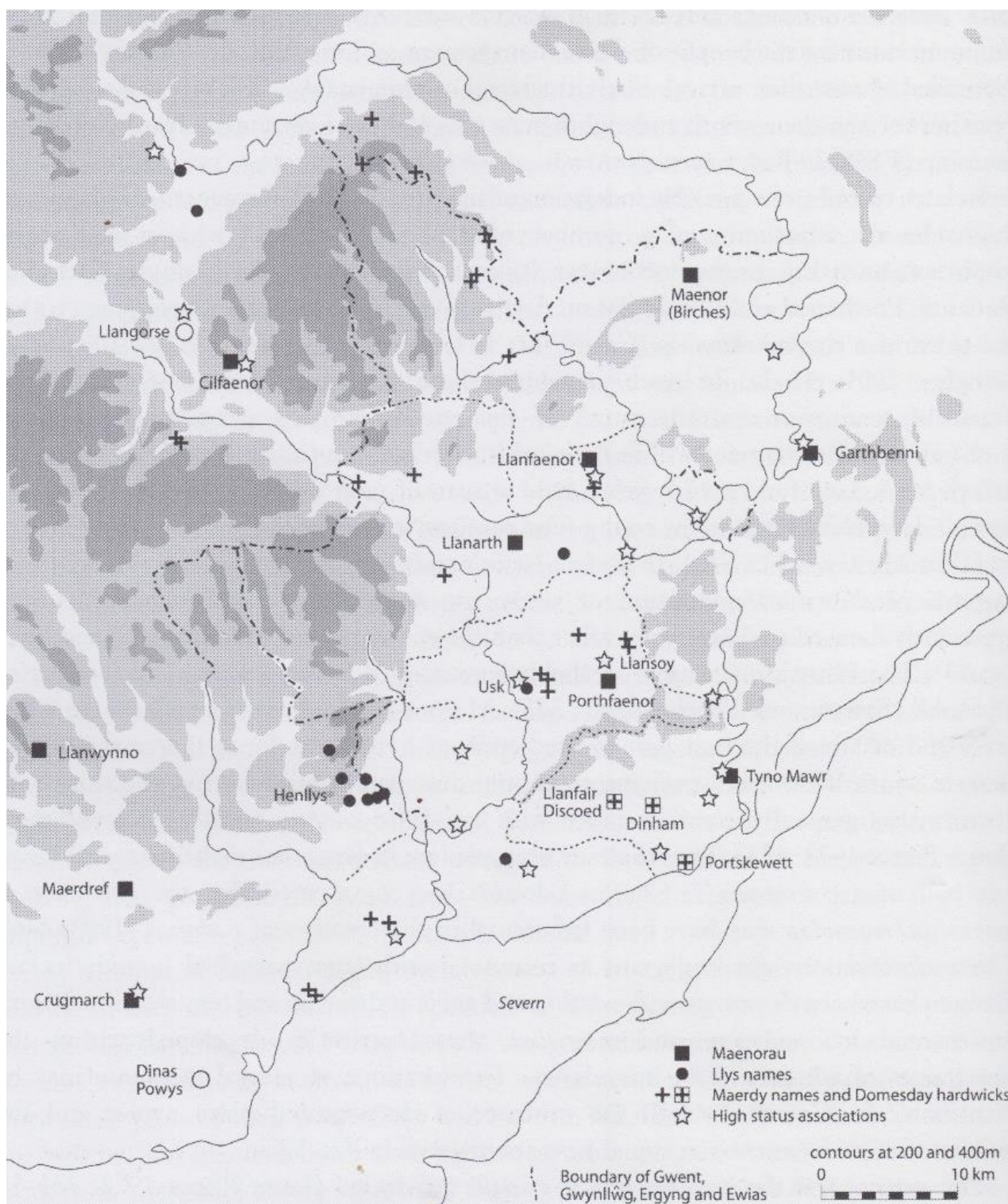


Figure 232

High status associations in Gwent (Longley, 2004: 296)

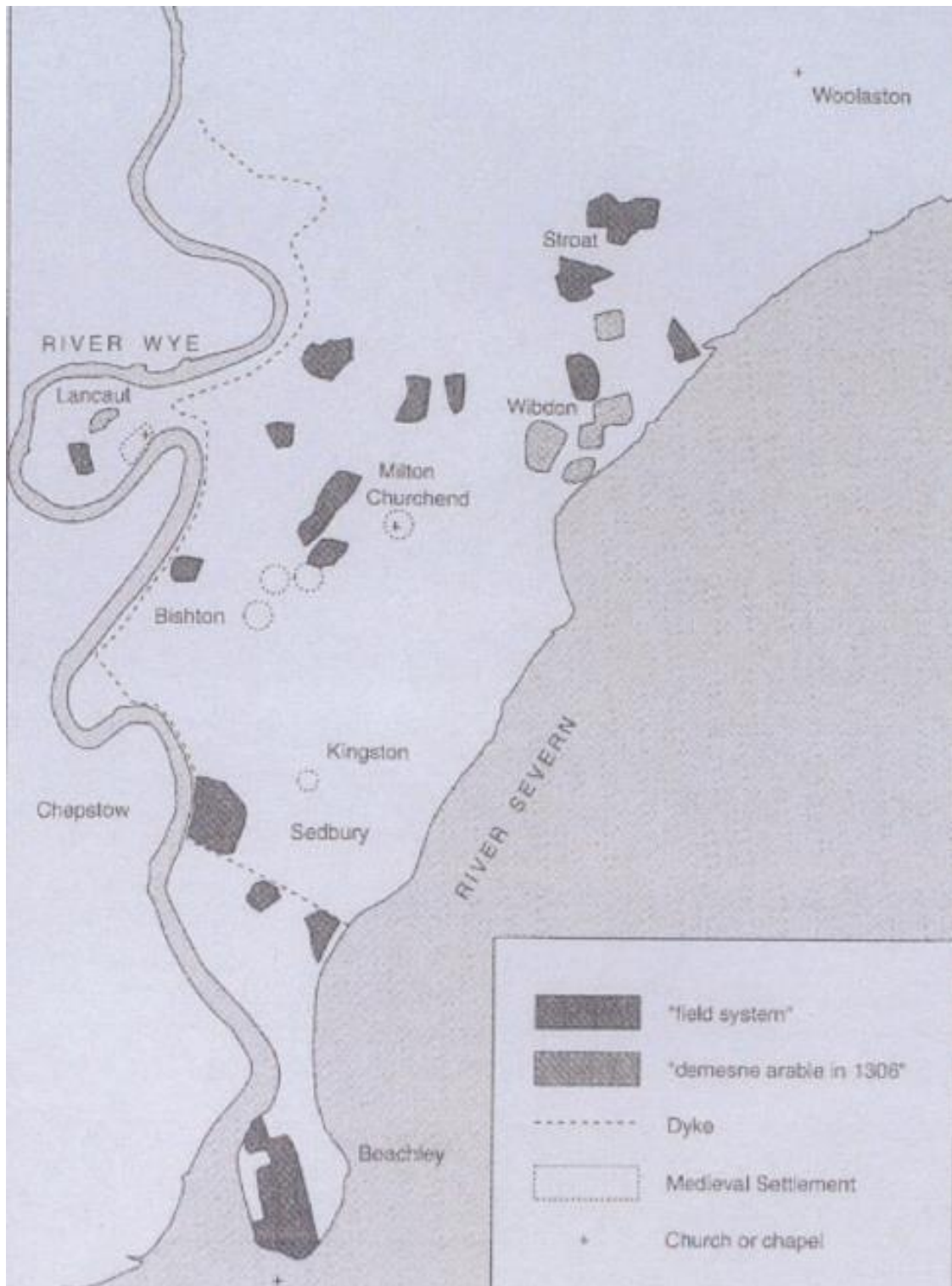


Figure 233

The early medieval estate of Tidenham (Faith, 1994: 47)

despite the proliferation of settlement within their orbit. These examples were large and the way they were dispersed have been estimated to have covered half of one commote.⁷²⁰

Likewise, in Flintshire before CE 1066, Gruffudd ap Llewelyn held a manor with demesne land at Bistre and several settlements owing food renders to the king. This area appears to correspond with the ancient parish of Mold (Longley, 2004: 295; Sawyer & Thacker, 1987: 335, 369).

In Dyfed, Jones' (1972) reconstruction of Maenor Meddyfnych has mapped a pre-Norman association of settlement comprising seven identifiable trefi apparently focused on Llandybie. This maenor has been estimated as extending over 9,000 acres and as occupying the greater part of the parish of Llandybie (Jones, 1972a: 279-382 figure 43). Charles-Edwards (1993) has commented the existence of maenora/maenolau may have been instrumental in the creation of parishes (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 446). Longley (2004) argues these observations are important as it is possible commotal and later parochial boundaries may have been drawn around existing, ancient and tenurial associations, with constraints represented by maenora and maenolau administrative boundaries. He has identified several maenora in Gwent through the evidence of documented place names and incidence of gwestfa (Longley, 2004: 295-296).⁷²¹

The maenor/maenol was the area in which the gwestfa was levied (Jones Pierce, 1972: 324-325) and concerned the requirements and privileges of an uchelwr to

⁷²⁰ (Carr, 1982: 144-145; Jones Pierce, 1972: 87-101, 253-256; Longley, 2001: 41-43, 2004: 295).

⁷²¹ (Figure 228: 483)

provide hospitality for his king or conceivably for a very high-ranking lord or ecclesiastical authority. This aristocratic food render appeared to have conveyed status on its provider, who would also have shared companionship with the king or lord in his own hall (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 376-377).

Dawnbwyd was also a food render and was presented to a lord whether regal or not by his bond tenants. It can be interpreted as a servile render delivered by the donor to the recipient lord's hall. There were common constituents in both gwestfa and dawnbwyd including a drink, bread and something to go with the bread such as meat, butter or cheese. There were significant differences between gwestfa and dawnbwyd and these were chiefly concerned with what was considered an appropriate drink and accompaniment to bread (Charles-Edwards, 1993: 376-377).⁷²²

Identifying centres of lordship in Gwent and elsewhere in Wales is problematic and is characterised by a paucity of evidence. However, indications of such locations are available from the evidence of research from the immediately adjacent kingdoms which illustrate the potential character of settlements. Sites include Dinas Powys,⁷²³ Llangorse crannog⁷²⁴ and Hen Castell near Briton Ferry on the estuary of the river Neath. Hen Castell which was in receipt of exotic commodities in amphorae from the eastern Mediterranean during the first half of the sixth-century CE (Wilkinson, 1995: 1-50). During the sixth and seventh-centuries CE trade with western France brought black slipped table ware (DSPA ware) and wheel-made utilitarian pottery (E ware)

⁷²² (Chapter 2: 217-221, 358-359)

⁷²³ (Chapter 3: 308-336, 342-343, 359-391)

⁷²⁴ (Chapter 3: 341-359, 390-432)

which may have served as containers for other goods and as in Dinas Powys high quality glass drinking vessels.^{725 726}

Beyond the northern and eastern boundary of Gwent⁷²⁷ the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia and later the Wessex dynasty grew in importance and power. Ergyng and the northern shore of the Severn as far as the Wye had succumbed to Anglo-Saxon expansion by the mid ninth-century CE (Davies, 1978b: 28).⁷²⁸ *Domesday* (e.g. *Domesday*, Folios 179b, 180a, 180b, 180c) preserves an indication of the organisation, extent and complexity of aristocratic and ecclesiastical estates in the eleventh-century CE.⁷²⁹

Longley (2004) cites as an example the former ecclesiastical estate at Leominster. Here the abbey was dissolved in CE 1046 (*Domesday*, Folio 180a, 180b, 180c) and the lands were taken over by the crown (*Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (c) s a 1046; *Florence of Worcester*, i. 201-202). The components during the time of Edward the Confessor included sixteen hamlets of demesne land worked by servile tenants and at which bond tenants with their own land paid customary dues. The hamlets were managed and supervised by eight reeves and eight beadles, there were eight riding-men and eight mills. The whole accounted for pasture and woodland dues with additional cash and labour commutations. Traditional renders included renders of eels from its fisheries and sesters of honey. Further components of the original demesne had been let out by CE 1086 and beyond this core lay several dispersed components of the greater estate let to individuals and often in groups of two. This appears to reflect a similar grouping of hamlets in pairs within the manorial demesne.

⁷²⁵ (Chapter 3: 359-391)

⁷²⁶ (Figures 140-149: 370-372)

⁷²⁷ (Figure 229: 484)

⁷²⁸ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

⁷²⁹ (Longley, 2004: 300-301; Moore, 1982; Thorn & Thorn, 1983)

He considers the holding of land as two manors may conceal the presence of original and earlier smaller estates which had coalesced around Leominster (Longley, 2004: 301-302). Another pairing of settlements specifically identified as a maenor was recorded in *Domesday* within the bounds of Archenfield (Ergyng) were Much Birch and Little Birch (*Domesday*, Folio 179b) and situated close to the possible location of the siremot at Wormlow Tump (Longley, 2004: 302).

Tidenham⁷³⁰ which was still a Welsh controlled settlement in the early eighth-century CE and possibly later, extended both west and east of Offa's Dyke and was located where the dyke meets the Bristol Channel at Beachley. Mercian settlement had encroached Lydney and the Forest of Dean by the ninth-century CE and the expansion of Wessex resulted in Saxon control along the north coast of the Severn to the Wye by the tenth-century CE. In CE 956, King Edwy granted thirty hides of land at Tidenham to St. Peters' Abby, Bath. Rosamond Faith's (1994) analysis presents detailed analysis of the tenurial organisation, associations and development of the estate. This shows continuity of estate management into the period of Norman control in the late eleventh-century CE (Faith, 1994: 39-51).

The Tidenham story can be considered as beginning in the more distant past. The estuary of the Wye was economically important and at the Beachley peninsula a ferry crossed the Severn to Aust Rock. North of the estuary, the Roman road from Gloucester to Caerwent crossed the Wye at Chepstow, while the estuary gave access to the Severn and its hinterland. Offa's Dyke, if this southern part is considered part of the longer northern section, ran along the crest of the eastern section of the Wye gorge. The boundary excludes the peninsula of Tintern Parva, Lancaut and the estuarine peninsula at Beachley. Access to the Lancaut peninsula

⁷³⁰ (Figure 233: 488)

formed by a loop of the Wye was controlled by Spital Meend, an Iron Age multivallate promontory defended enclosure (Pastscape, 2021a). Access to Beachley was similarly marked by Buttington Tump (Pastscape, 2021b) at the point where the dyke traverses in a south-easterly direction from the Wye to the Severn. It is possible these excluded areas represented territories which had retained their integrity into Gwent's early Middle Age with both subsequently assessed as components of the greater estate at Tidenham (Longley, 2004: 302).

Ecclesia Istrat Hafren (Ystrad Hafren) and an *unica* of land were recorded as subject of grants in the *Liber Landavensis* by King Morgan, *circa* CE 703 and King Hywel *circa* CE 878 (*Liber Landavensis* charters 174b, 229b). Ystrad Hafren lay between Lancaut and the sea and has been equated with Tidenham (Davies, 1979: 108) and the church at Churchend (Faith, 1994: 43-44). During the tenth and early eleventh-centuries CE, Tidenham extended to thirty hides of land, nine of which were inland or demesne. The estate was comprised of five identifiable members of Stroat, Lancaut, Bishton, Kingston (Sedbury), part of Beachley (outside of the dyke) and the head of the estate at Milton (Tidenham) (Faith, 1994: 43-44). The inland was dispersed among these components and if the pre-conquest hides equated to small Welsh 60-acre carucates, then it is possible the 500-acre Welsh grant of the eighth-century CE represents the entire demesne and nucleus of the entire estate. If on the other hand, 120-acre hides were represented, then Tidenham lands ran in an almost unbroken swathe from Stroat to the Beachley isthmus and was bordered on the west by the Wye and on the south-east by the Severn (Longley, 2004: 302-303). The demesne inlands were worked by tenants, who in return for their yardlands, owed agricultural and building labour duties along with produce from their own land. Longley (2004) has noted these rents were of a traditional kind and included honey, malt and yarn for fishing nets. Furthermore, there were tenants of higher status and greater

freedom present termed *geneatas*. These men were obligated with duties including acting as riding-men whose additional responsibilities included carrying messages, accompanying loads and as drovers. They worked their own holdings and it is possible they may have had tenants of their own (Faith, 1994: 45-46; Longley, 2004: 303).

Each of the component hamlets were assessed for fish weirs, basket and hackle. For example, Stroath had thirty-one weirs on the Severn and twelve on the Wye, and in total the estate accounted for 105 fish traps. Longley (2004) considers the whole manor under Anglo-Saxon control was a specialised fishery within the larger sphere of the Abbey of Bath's interests (Longley, 2004: 303).

Other sites included in Longley's (2004) study on the eastern border of Gwent were held on a similar basis in the last decades of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. For instance, recognisable associations of settlement were identified which appear comprised multiple holdings Deerhurst, Tewkesbury, Berkley and Westbury. Whilst comparable levels of documentation are unavailable for Gwent in the pre-Norman period, he has made adaptations regarding inheritance and offers the conclusion of very similar broad patterns of landscape organisation here and most particularly, in the case of Tidenham. In view of the evidence provided in the Llandaff charters (*Liber Landavensis* charters 174b, 229b), it is possible the estate was developed on the foundations of a Gwentian establishment (Longley, 2004: 303-305).

The size of Gwentian estates granted in the *Liber Landavensis*⁷³¹ appear indicative of status. There are elements which allow historians to understand the organisation of estates in early Medieval Gwent. As well as land, they provide circumstantial

⁷³¹ (Figure 78b: 238-240)

details of items of what was considered valuable,⁷³² economic assets ⁷³³ and specific references to men of high status⁷³⁴ as well as well as kings.

Many donations in Gwent were of churches with *territoria*⁷³⁵ and associations between churches and major churchmen indicates they could and did acquire extensive and widespread landholdings. These holdings were as rich as, and kings appear to have conferred as much power onto them, as their secular counterparts.⁷³⁶ It seems the patronage of secular lords and the requirement for churches to serve communities may link the distribution of churches in the landscape to patterns of territorial lordship and settlement. Furthermore, their overall distribution, alongside other early possible church locations mirror those of older Silurian sites⁷³⁷ though precise relationships are difficult to define their non-contiguous nature may reflect the organisation of the multiple estate and is worthy of further investigation.

The secular basis of original grants is clearest where the property is identified as a villa or tref. Davies (1978b) considers these were essentially the same class of sites throughout the early Middle Age until the *Domesday* survey was undertaken (Davies, 1978b: 40). An additional factor was the distinction between uchelwr and taeog tenants. Uchelwr tenancies were invariably larger than taeog tenancies which appeared to fall into two general categories. The first was comprised of estate workers who were hereditarily tied to the estate with no hereditary right in a particular plot of land. Tenure of this kind of land tended towards a nucleation of hamlets. The second category held their land as tir gwelyog. These tenants held their own land

⁷³² (*Liber Landavensis* charters 191, 201, 218)

⁷³³ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 150a, 156, *158, 180b, 183a, 187, 210a, 218, 225, 228, 235b)

⁷³⁴ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 143, *158, 179b, 183b, 186b, 187, 191, *196, 199a, 201, 206, 207, *208, 209b, 210a, 211b, 214, 216a, 218, 222, 225, 227b, 228, 235a, 246, 261, 262, 264a, 264b)

⁷³⁵ (Figure 78b: 238-240)

⁷³⁶ (Chapter 3: 246-256)

⁷³⁷ (Figures 2: 38, 78a: 237, 79a: 241)

which passed from generation to generation and was subject to the rules of partible inheritance. Free trefi could also comprise gwelyau and the ties of kingship and the heritable nature of the land were an important concept in both uchelwr and taeog gwelyau. Welsh land was rarely legally alienable and in the Latin extents and surveys, tenants of such land were referred to as heirs. This terminology, with reference to kindred and the heir of the land is appropriate to the context of land transfer (*Liber Landavensis* charters 207, 218, 264b). The texts reveal major landowners in addition to the king, could possess their own tenants.

Davies (1973b) has considered the relationship between *unica* and *modius*. She considers these two units of account were conceptually different and differed in their application in the Llandaff charters to more common usages and terms and has proposed a quantification. Internal evidence suggests *unica* were the larger unit in the order of 12:1. Her observations have recorded *unica* or 'heirs' portion' as a large territory of 500 acres or more (Davies, 1973: 111-121). On this basis, the *modius* of the charters seemingly represents approximately 16.2 hectares (40 statute acres). Jones (1985c) with reference to the Welsh laws (Latin A and Blegywryd texts) has equated the *modius* with the theoretical southern rhandir of 312 acres (Jones, 1985c: 179-180). Longley (2004) has resolved this discrepancy by recognising the legal acre of the Welsh texts requires to be calibrated at between 10 and 15 percent of a modern statute acre. This he estimates gives a legal *modius* of between 33 and 47 acres. Furthermore, the data regarding the pattern of land grants in *modii* and *unciae* when presented in sequence appear to present an internal consistency. Whilst the *unica* were no longer recorded in use in the grant transactions after the eighth-century CE, the average areas transferred in *modii* remains relatively consistent after the sixth-century CE. The very large grants of the sixth, seventh and eighth-centuries CE were those quantified in *unciae* consist of grants of approximately 1000 acres.

The average for *modii* for this period was around 3 *modii* or 132 acres. The single most common 3 *modii* transfer at 120 acres is remarkably close to the Anglo-Saxon hide (Longley, 2004: 307).

In addition, Jones (1985c) noted the Gwentian texts described a bond tref as comprising three rhandiroedd and may be linked to the reoccurrence of 3 *modii* units in the *Liber Landavensis*. (Jones, 1985c: 181, 192). Geographically, the *unica* were widespread north of the Wentwood and the villa or tref is well represented to its south in the commotes of Iscoed and Llebenydd. Longley (2004) notes the distinction is not one of the scale of land transfers as the *modius* standard is prevalent almost everywhere across the study area (Longley, 2004: 307). The areas granted indicate a reduction in size over time. This diminution may be consistent with the reduction in size of individual holdings through partible inheritance.

By the thirteenth-century CE trefi had been rationalised into administrative townships. In north Wales it is possible to quantify the scale of holdings. For example, on Anglesey 176 trefi are documented as being in the possession of the king, the bishop of Bangor and other church or monastic interests (*the Record of Caernarvon* cited in Longley, 2004: 307). Here, the average gwely extended over 30 acres and there were between two and three gwelyau in each tref. Sizes of tref varied considerably and in a particularly large free tref such as Porthamel on the Menai Straits, there were seven gwelyau. Each gwelyau could have several heirs. For instance, the Gwely lowerth ap Llywarch in Porthamel extended to over 576 acres shared between at least five major landowners. By the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries CE the largest individual freeholds may not have been much greater than 120 acres. Longley (2001) notes at the other end of the scale an average taeog tenancy was 4.5 acres (Longley, 2001: 39-59).

The sources reveal Gwentian charters were large, when comparisons are made to other regions of Wales where theoretical comparisons can be made. During the final period of Welsh independence patrimonies, while still recognisable and capable of reconstruction had been subdivided among the heirs to the point 120 acres could be considered a sizeable holding. Common and winter grazing land would not form part of the acreage, although rights to renders derived from letting out spare capacity could be included in a grant. Such reference to these and other rights, such as wreck or landing rights for ships offers an indication of the royal or aristocratic basis of the transfer. It seems usual for any land to be transferred as a viable concern, with taeogs in place. The essential change was the landlord. The alienation of any land in Wales required legal sanction and this explains the necessary consent of sons, heirs and kindred to such transactions and purchase from the kings mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis*. Longley (2004) suggests this procedure may have been a euphemism for the compensation due to the king for the loss of future renders.

Another aspect of the organisation of landholding and its management concerns was the centres of specialised centres of production. These appear to revolve around rights to shipwreck, landing rights for shipping and fisheries.⁷³⁸ Furthermore, there is evidence of cattle farms, dairying and the seasonal pasturing of animals.⁷³⁹ This animal husbandry regime was likely to have crossed all levels of society,⁷⁴⁰ although the evidence is most often associated with royal lands. It is most clearly demonstrated in the lawbook provision for hafotir and suggests the management of cattle farms was intensive in character. This is portrayed in general terms as hafod and coetgae place names (Longley, 2004: 310) which represent locational indicators of summer pasturing including uncultivated scrubland often on the edge of mountain

⁷³⁸ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 150a, 156, *158, 180b, 183a, 225, 234, 235b)

⁷³⁹ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 187, 191, 201, 207, 209b, 210a, 218, 244)

⁷⁴⁰ (Figure 230: 484)

woodland.^{741 742} The occurrence of such place names cannot be taken at face value and where evidence exists it requires individual scrutiny. However, their distribution in Gwent may be indicative of the general location of traditional areas of summer pasture, particularly upland pasture unsuitable for ploughing and inaccessible or inhospitable in winter.

Seasonal pasturing was not restricted to the uplands in Gwent.⁷⁴³ Its coastal wetlands were almost certainly used as well during the early Gwentian Middle Age as they had before and since.^{744 745} In addition, place names derived from the word *maerdy* may have a direct association with a royal estate (Jenkins, 1986: 363-364) although with which aspect of the estate is unclear. For example, its officials included the *maer biswail* (often translated as the cow dung *maer*), was, as was the *maer* an officer of the royal court (Jones, 2000: 319). However, unlike the high ranking *maer*, the *maer biswail* was unfree and exercised his authority over the unfree *taeog* tenants. He was also associated with cattle and their management and most particularly with *maerdy* lands (Jenkins, 1986: 33). It is possible the *maer biswail* may have has a particular responsibility for royal cattle herds and *maerdy* place names could offer an indication of potential locations where these operations were conducted in the past.

Maerdy place names are found close to the rising ground in north and north-western Gwent, along the upper Usk and in Ewais. *Hafod* names are generally found at elevated locations in Gwynllwg and Uwch Coed. Other *maerdy* names occur on the margins of low-lying wetlands in Gwynllwg and Coedkernew west of the Usk and to

⁷⁴¹ (Chapter 2: 96-97)

⁷⁴² (Figure 12: 58)

⁷⁴³ (Figure 230: 484)

⁷⁴⁴ (Chapter 2: 96-97)

⁷⁴⁵ (Figure 12: 58)

its east on the Caldicott Levels it is thought the reclaimed land here provided grazing land within the legionary *territorium* (Davies, 2000: 58). Rippon (2001) considers Caldicott Moor at the far eastern end of the Gwent Levels may always have been reserved for cattle grazing during the early medieval period (Rippon, 2001: 153, 158).

Portskewett, located immediately to the east of the area, has been identified with one of three hardwicks or cattle farms referred to in *Domesday* as being held by William of Eu (*Domesday* folio 162a) and it is possible this role for the site may have been of much longer standing. It was regarded as a significant place, noted by Gerald of Wales as one of the two places by which the length of Wales was measured (Gerald 1:1) and along with Porth Wygyr and Porth Wyddno in northern Wales was noted as one of the three chief ports of the Island of Britain (Bromwich, 2014: 229, 236-237). Longley (2004) considers such locations were significant by association. Porth Wygyr was at Cemais, the royal maerdref of the commote of Talybolion (Longley, 2004: 312).

There is good reason to consider Portskewett as a royal site too, as it associated with the description of Caradog ap Ynyr's removal of his royal seat from Caerwent to the bank of the Severn possibly refers to the establishment of a llys here or perhaps the defended Iron Age enclosure at Sudbrook (*Vita Tatheï*: 5-9). Furthermore, in CE 1065 Harold Godwinson ordered the construction of a building at Portskewett now 'he had won it' as a hunting lodge (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, CE 1065).⁷⁴⁶ He also held lands along the Welsh border which were concentrated near Hereford and in Ergyng (*Domesday*, Folios 179b, 180a, 180b, 180c). Portskewett's status as a hardwick is consistent with its association with hunting. There is evidence to suggest

⁷⁴⁶ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

summer pasturing and hunting utilised the same or similar tracts of ground. For instance, the upland pastures of north Wales were once part of, or adjacent to the royal hunting grounds of Snowden. When these lands were appropriated by the English crown after the Edwardian conquest, certain rights linked to hunting were leased separately from the townships associated with them (*Record of Caernarvon*, cited in Longley, 2004: 312). It is possible whether in the uplands or the coastal wetlands of Gwent, pasture in the summer and hunting in the winter may be seen as complimentary activities.

Portskewett formed part of the extensive holdings of William of Eu in Gwent by CE 1086 and were held directly or in lieu of revenue. In addition to the hardwick at Portskewett, he held two others at Llanfair Discoed and Dinham. All three sites were located within the commote of Gwent Iscoed. From these, he received customary renders of honey, pigs, cows and hawks from fifty-four *villae* under the administration of four *prepositi* translated as meiri (singular maer) (Longley, 2004: 312).

Research suggests there is a strong possibility the meiri were in post and serving Welsh lords before the coming of the Normans (Moore, 1982: w2). It seems the renders and rights taken by William of Eu were continuing royal rights and the settlements referred to under his control, could be regarded as having been formerly Welsh royal taeog townships, including Portskewett and under Gwentian kingship. Extensive, direct exploitation north of the Wentwood cannot yet be demonstrated before CE 1086.

The compact and consolidated nature of William of Eu, Thurstan and Alfred of Spain's lands in Gwent in southern Gwent, although representing a fragmentation of

the holdings of William FitzOsbern at the time of the Norman conquest⁷⁴⁷ may reflect pre-existing territorial lordships or their amalgamation.⁷⁴⁸ Of the sites mentioned in the medieval sources, Portskewett is of primary importance as it was associated with Gwentian kingship, the early medieval kingdom of Gwent and afterwards. It was not just because it can be regarded as being of high status in character, but also because it had a highly specialised economic role as both a port and appeared to have environs which produced an important source of wealth, cattle. Over the long *durée* investigated in this study, the medieval documentary evidence is supported by archaeology⁷⁴⁹ and appears to present a pattern of land usage over time based on central places where consumption, rather than production was the norm.

Outside of the study area, sites include the multivallate enclosure at Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog. Portskewett aside, the frequency of bivallate and multivallate enclosed sites in Gwent, their possible use in the collection of the Roman *annona*,^{750 751} the reoccupation of some in sub-Roman and early medieval contexts,⁷⁵² the apparent boundaries of some estates (*Liber Landavensis* charters *141, 180b, 183b) which contained Iron Age bivallate and multivallate enclosures⁷⁵³ and the role of the Church⁷⁵⁴ appear to support a framework within which the multiple estate system could be applied as an interpretive model. Its validity is considered below within the contexts Silurian, Roman and early medieval cultural continuity.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁴⁷ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

⁷⁴⁸ (Figure 231: 485)

⁷⁴⁹ (Chapters 2: 56-83, 3: 341-359)

⁷⁵⁰ (Chapter 2: 37-56)

⁷⁵¹ (Figure 2: 38)

⁷⁵² (Chapter 3: 291-335)

⁷⁵³ (Figure 93: 303)

⁷⁵⁴ (Chapter 3: 493-494, 516-530)

⁷⁵⁵ (Chapter 4: 571-576)

Gwent's monarchy before the Normans: an early state?

The division of *Civitas Silurum* into the various component kingdoms of Glywysing and Gwent may lay in the urban and rural divisions inherited from Rome. Alternatively, it may have been a consequence of peripatetic kingship, partible inheritance or delegation of royal authority.⁷⁵⁶ Sub-Roman social hierarchies may have been coextensive with both pre-Roman tribal structures, the Roman *civitas* and the later early medieval kingdom of Gwent. The Romano-British groups involved in dynastic settlement after Roman rule ended, may have been urban, rural, a re-emergent tribal dynasty or intrusive in character. Archaeological evidence from defended secular centres such as Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog indicate royal households were able to control sufficient resources to patronise skilled craftsmen on site and acquire exotic imports.⁷⁵⁷ However, power appears to be embedded into systems of clientship and personal dependence which may have underpinned regal power. The distribution of land grants associated with seventh-century CE kings in the *Liber Landavensis* described earlier polities which were very small geographic units (Davies, 1982: 93, 97) and the consolidation of these under Meurig ap Tewdrig's dynasty from the seventh-century CE onwards, suggests they were inherently unstable entities.⁷⁵⁸ These kingdoms have been characterised as *mesne* in this study.^{759 760}

One of the most important changes which occurred during the Middle Age was one where societies changed from being controlled by concepts of kinship to being ordered around the power exercised by kings over defined territories. After Rome,

⁷⁵⁶ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁷⁵⁷ (Chapter 3: 308-330, 359-466)

⁷⁵⁸ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

⁷⁵⁹ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

⁷⁶⁰ (Figure 74: 221)

many early states in Europe first appeared in the form of kingdoms. The political power of these kingdoms appears centred on kings and as a consequence rulers in these societies no longer controlled groups of people and became lords over territorially defined areas of jurisdiction.⁷⁶¹ Rhys Jones' (1998b) modelling suggests a ruler's domain of authority began to be set down within a demarcated area of operation and by controlling territory, such rulers also controlled its inhabitants. This meant an individual's rights of property within a particular society were not defined by being a member of a kin group or tribe, but rather by being born within a particular territory (Jones, 1998b: 667).

There is contention as to when the formation of Welsh kingdoms began to occur. One hypothesis considers kingdoms appeared within Wales in the immediate sub-Roman period.⁷⁶² These kingdoms were thought have been based on Roman *civitates* and were viewed as part of a common process which occurred throughout the whole of western Europe from the fifth-century CE onwards (Wolfram, 1970: 1-20). Essentially as Roman *civitates* began to lose imperial status, local rulers took over the reins of power and converted it into a rule based on the absolute power of a king. Possible components of a Gwentian model supporting this possibility are evident⁷⁶³ and may have seen local rulers returning to a societal arrangement which was familiar to them from the period before the coming of the Romans (Brun, 1995: 13-25).

Conversely, Robert Davies (1988) has argued Welsh kingdoms did not appear in Wales until the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries CE. He describes the political

⁷⁶¹ (e.g. Claessen & Skalnik, 1978: 20; Dodgson, 1987: 166-192; Gledhill, 1988: 1-29; Jones, 1998b: 668-667; Sahlins, 1968: 5)

⁷⁶² (Chadwick, 1954: 27; Chadwick, 1959: 50-59; Davies, 1990: 80; Lloyd 1911: 214)

⁷⁶³ (Chapter 3: 291-336)

arrangements in Wales during this period as kingships rather than kingdoms (Davies, 1988: 20). In this interpretation, political landscape was dependent to a large extent on the personal power of an individual king and was not divided into a set of defined early states. The instability of political units has been supported in a European context by Susan Reynold's (1981, 1984) research. She has emphasised it was not until the twelfth-century CE or even later, that societies in western Europe saw a definition of what territorial kingdoms entailed and it was not until this period did kings begin to monopolise the process of law and order. These views imply early states did not appear in western Europe until around the twelfth-century CE onwards (Reynolds, 1981: 204, 1984).

These differences appear centred on what constitutes an early state. Theories which emphasise the role of conflict in the state making process, maintain early states were formed due to a process of conquest or in order to reduce friction and conflict between different classes of society through integration and alliance.⁷⁶⁴ Jones (1998b) has identified problems with the former and cites evidence from well-documented examples of state formation where processes of conquest did not play a role in their creation (Claessen & Skalnik, 1978: 10; Jones, 1998b: 668). He considered the latter theory as one similar to those created by sociologists to explain the nature of the modern state, whereby the state acts as the means to ease the process of capital accumulation.⁷⁶⁵

The contentions between these two schools of thought are considered unnecessary to a large extent by Jones (1998b). He reasons there are clear strengths and weaknesses contained within both sets of theories and therefore, it was perfectly

⁷⁶⁴ (e.g. Dodghson, 1987: 139; Fried, 1978: 35-47; Service, 1978: 21-34)

⁷⁶⁵ (Fried, 1978: 45; Jones, 1998b: 668; Taylor, 1995: 115-156)

possible conflict or alliance may have had an equally significant role to play in the state making process (Jones, 1998b: 669). It seems impossible to denote one process or another which has been instrumental to the formation of all state systems. In view of the variety of contexts which must have occurred in both historical and geographical contexts this standpoint is reasonable. State formation may be seen as being a common outcome to a variety of different pressures which affected pre-state societies.

Another factor for consideration is a need to differentiate between the processes which led to the formation of primary and secondary states (Price, 1978: 161-186). Primary states were those which formed independently of each other and were the first examples of a society being organised around concepts of territorial rule in a particular region. According to Jones' (1998b) research many societies which experienced the state making process were secondary and formed as result of being in close proximity to other societies using state institutions and reasons it was geographical proximity of 'simpler' societies to the neighbouring state which led to the diffusion of state institutions to the surrounding societies (Jones, 1998b: 669-670). Renfrew's (1984) early state module theorises early states were often formed when one large polity encompassed approximately ten smaller political units. He further suggests it was then possible for each of the smaller political units which later form the large early state to develop state institutions themselves diffusing from one society to another. This process of diffusion then leads to a growth of state institutions within the smaller political units as well as the development of more advanced state institutions within the larger political unit (Renfrew, 1984: 86-134).⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁶ (Figure 234: 508)

The model is pertinent in a Gwentian and wider Silurian or south-eastern Welsh context. It is possible state institutions may have diffused between these units before leading to the development of mature state institutions within a united Welsh kingdom. The description of political units within medieval Wales as kingdoms is critical in this respect (Jones, 1998b: 670). The case made for societies not progressing from chiefdoms to being early states ignores the possibility of transitional modes existing in these polities, a kingdom or inchoate early state could represent an institutional link between a chiefdom and an early state. It is further possible these kingdoms were societies where rules of kinship were still regarded as important in the political arena.

This may be demonstrated by simple taxation systems and a lack of full-time specialists (Claessen & Skalnik, 1978: 23) and is significant in a Gwentian context as the timing of the appearance of the early states in Wales have been centred on kingdoms.⁷⁶⁷ Jones (1998b) considers it possible a better understanding of the exact definition of a kingdom would improve any attempt to furnish a date for the appearance of the early state in Wales. The empirical evidence from Welsh contexts may resolve differences between Renfrew's (1984) early state module and Claessen and Skalnik's (1978) designation of a kingdom as inchoate early states. Whilst both theories authors believe kingdoms were immature forms of early state, Renfrew (1984) maintains it was possible for smaller political units, possibly kingdoms to develop mature institutions. The existence of mature state institutions within medieval regional kingdoms would undermine the notion of kingdoms being inherently immature institutional and political organisations (Jones, 1998b: 670).

⁷⁶⁷ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

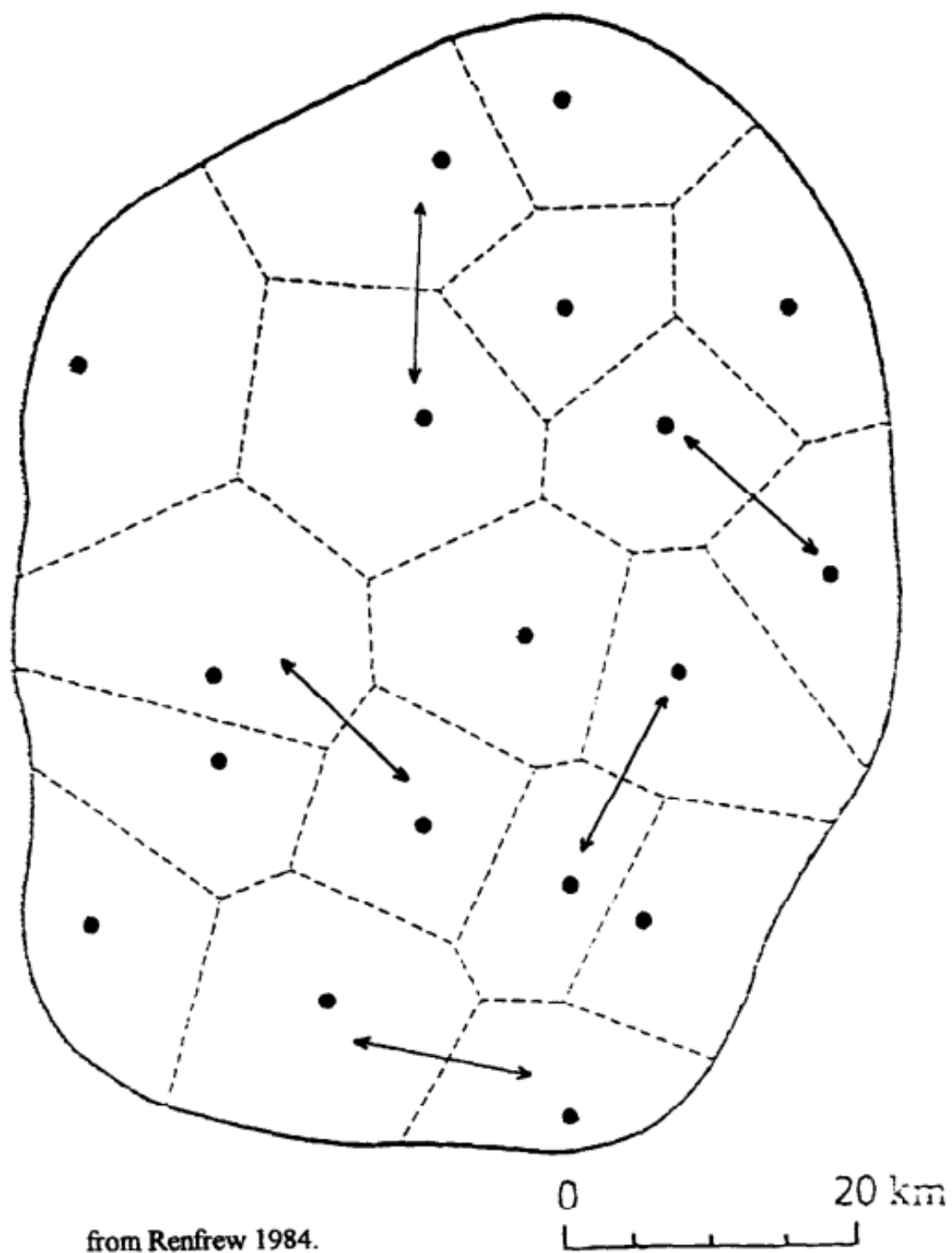


Figure 234

Renfrew's early estate module cited in Jones (1998b) of small political units which interact to create a large and more mature early state (Jones, 1998b: 671)

Other problems of interpretation occur despite the existence of numerous theories attempting to explain the origins of early states. One common problem identified by Jones (1998b) was most of the theories only attempt to elucidate the reasons behind the formation of early states and do not offer precise descriptions of their characteristics. Therefore, the conclusions reached by individual research are dependent upon personal perceptions of the extent to which societies are organised as early states (Claessen & Skalnik, 1978; Jones, 1998b: 670). It seems they are attempting to discover reasons for the formation of early states without defining exactly what they believe constitutes an early state. One set of criteria proposed by Claessen and Skalnik (1978) and refined by Jones (1998b) could be applied in Gwentian contexts. This three-way model consisted of citizenship being determined by being born or living within a particular territory; a centralised government with the ability to administer law and order and agricultural productivity sustained at level to ensure a regular food surplus. (Claessen & Skalnik, 1978: 21; Jones, 1998b: 671-678).

Evidence of indications of citizenship and a sense of an individual belonging to a particular area during Gwent's early Middle Age can be inferred. For instance, there is an occurrence of territory in relation to individuals throughout the *Liber Landavensis* series and dated between *circa* CE 600 and CE 1072.⁷⁶⁸ Whilst most grants refer to *ager*, *territorium* or *tellus* these estates would probably have contained bonded taeogs.⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ Particular examples of named individuals who were not kings included donors such Iddig ap Nudd (150a); Bywonwy (171b); Elias, who gave land along with its *census* (a royal payment) (175); Clodri (183b), Another Elias

⁷⁶⁸ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 74, 121, 122, *141, 143, 150a, *159a, *165, 171b, 173, 175, 180b, 183b, 186b, 199a, 210a, 216a, 217, 218, 225, 235a, *240, 261, 264b, 272)

⁷⁶⁹ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 121, 122, *141, 143, *159a, *165, 173, 180a, 217, *240)

⁷⁷⁰ (Chapter 3: 285-286)

(perhaps the same individual) whose gift included a *tellus* (186b); Brij ap Idfyw (199a); Lleufryd who was allowed to stay on his land provided he supplied an appropriate food render each year (210a); Cinuin ap Gwrgan (216a); Idwallon ap Morudd and the three sons of Ceredig, Gwynan, Jonathan and Wilfrith along with the 'whole kindred' of Guorot were handed over to the Bishop Pater (218); Wulferth, Hegoi and Arwystl (225); March ap Peibio (235a); Caradog ap Rhiwallon surrendered land for violating Church sanctuary (261) and Rhiwallon ap Tudfwlch who was forced to give up his hereditary lands after attacking St Maughan's with his retinue (264b). Such evidence suggests society in Gwent and south-eastern Wales generally was organised around notions of territory and supports a model of territorial administration based on cantrefi and estates.⁷⁷¹

Furthermore, the Cyfnerth and other Welsh law codes could imply there existed law which was common to all of the kingdoms of Wales (Jenkins, 1970: 3; Owen, 1841: 1, 338, 620). The sources give an impression of Welsh law as public or folk law, administered on the basis of small kingdoms and which varied over small distances.⁷⁷² This law with the codification attributed to Hywel Dda appears to have evolved into a common public law for the whole of Wales by the tenth-century CE. The existence of a common Welsh law, administered by kings may suggest legal institutions were beginning to develop on a unified Welsh scale. However, even if Hywel Dda had managed to regulate laws throughout the whole of Wales, regional variations soon followed as evidenced in the various redactions which followed.⁷⁷³ This indicates law and its practical application in terms of judgements was further reformed and carried out on a local scale. Therefore, in Gwent, the organisation of

⁷⁷¹ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

⁷⁷² (Chapter 2: 51-62)

⁷⁷³ (Chapter 2: 56-91)

the kingdom and its system of obligations can be considered as those of an early state.

The evidence from the Cyfnerth code indicates Gwent and south-eastern Wales was productive enough to create an agricultural surplus in the form of renders. There is ample evidence where excavations have been conducted at Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog of material culture which demonstrates these were consumer rather than producer sites.⁷⁷⁴ The early faunal evidence and earlier artefactual evidence related to feasting and monuments⁷⁷⁵ suggests Silurian society may have been able to sustain state institutions well before the coming of the Normans in the latter tenth-century CE.

Larger kingdoms emerged during the eighth and ninth-centuries CE in what was to become known as Wales. The charters of the *Liber Landavensis* indicate linear succession within the dynasty was an uncommon occurrence⁷⁷⁶ and kingship was normally usually shared between brothers (e.g. Morgan and Ithel ap Athrwys in the late seventh-century CE and Meurig and Rhys ap Ithel in the mid to late eighth-century CE). The dynasty retained and shared power over Glywysing until Morgan ap Owen appears to have been able to establish himself as sole king of south-eastern Wales. Morgan witnessed grants at the English court and appears to have been regarded as the region's principal king (Maund, 2006: 71). Davies (1978b, 1982) has suggested it was Morgan who gave his name to the kingdom which became known as Morgannwg or Gwlad Morgan (Morgan's land) (Davies, 1978b: 95, 1982: 103). It has alternatively been suggested Morgan ap Arthrwys, the grandson of Meurig ap Tewdrig may have given his name to Morgannwg (Smith

⁷⁷⁴ (Chapters 2: 83-91, 3: 213-221, 268-278, 335-341, 359-466)

⁷⁷⁵ (Chapter 2: 36-115)

⁷⁷⁶ (Figures 75a: 223, 75b: 224)

(1971: 2). This possibility may be unlikely as Asser writing much later in the ninth-century CE still knew the area as Glywysing (Davies, 1982: 103).

The extent of Gwent and Glywysing (later Morgannwg) is difficult to estimate and appear to be contained within what had previously been a Silurian whole.⁷⁷⁷ There is evidence suggesting it contracted over the course of time. For example, except for one single grant *circa* 925 CE (*Liber Landavensis* 239), there is an absence of post late seventh-century CE grants from the Gower or Glamorgan west of the Ogmore river. This may imply control of these areas may have been lost to the polities of Ystrad Tywi or Dyfed by the eighth-century CE. However, the relative paucity of grants from Glamorgan make this interpretation tentative, as Gower appears to have been controlled as part of Morgannwg during the later tenth-century CE, when Owain ap Hywel of Deheubarth attempted to secure its possession.⁷⁷⁸ The evidence suggests control over Gower may have been intermittent and by the end of the tenth-century CE was firmly controlled by Deheubarth and formed part of the diocese of St David's rather than Llandaff (Maund, 2006: 71).

The status of lands to the east were ambiguous and it is possible these were transferred between English and Welsh control several times (Maund, 2006: 71). For instance, it is known the part of Eryng north of the Worm and Tar's Brook were under the control of the Eryng dynasty during the seventh-century CE.⁷⁷⁹ However, by the late ninth-century CE, this area now known as Anergyng (meaning not Eryng in Welsh) (Sims-Williams, 1990: 45) was under English control and appears to have been fully Anglicised by the time of the Domesday survey in the eleventh-century CE (*Domesday* folio 181r). Tewdrig's dynasty were making grants in this area up to the

⁷⁷⁷ (Chapter 3: 234-235)

⁷⁷⁸ (Davies, 1978b: 78; 1982: 93, 103; RCAHMW, 1991: 25; Smith, 1971: 3; Smith & Pugh, 1971: 206)

⁷⁷⁹ (Figure 75a: 218)

870s CE, the lack of tenth and eleventh-century CE grants here and in Archenfield, in contrast to Gwent, implies they were no longer under Welsh control by this time.⁷⁸⁰

781

However, Gwent's status during this period is uncertain as to whether it then formed a separate kingdom or not. For example, the *Life of King Alfred* records King Hywel ap Rhys of the kingdom of Glywysing with Kings Brochfael and Ffernfael ap Meurig of the kingdom of Gwent petitioning King Alfred for protection (Keynes & Lapridge, 1983: 96). Furthermore, the *Annales Cambriae* record a king of Gwent, Ithel ap Arthwys was killed in CE 848 (Morris, 1980: 48) and the Anglo-Saxon chronicle refers to King Owain of Gwent in CE 926 (Swanton, 2000: 107).

Kings of Gwent were recorded throughout the tenth and early eleventh-centuries CE in the *Liber Landavensis*.⁷⁸² The charters of Hywel ap Rhys (styled king of Glywysing) reveal he was active in both Gwent and Glamorgan. Brochfael's (styled king of Gwent) activities were restricted to Gwent. However, his father Meurig granted over the whole of the south-east of Wales. It is further possible Ithel ap Arthwys, known as the king of Gwent in the *Annales Cambriae* was commemorated on an inscribed cross-shaft from Llantwit Major (Davies, 2003: 14) although this identification is uncertain (Redknap & Lewis, 2008: 381). Davies (2003) considers it is curious a king of Gwent should be commemorated so far west and acknowledging Hywel ap Rhys' activities in Gwent has suggested Glywysing was an over-kingdom which encompassed Gwent at this time (Davies, 2003: 14).

⁷⁸⁰ (e.g. *Liber Landavensis* charters *240, 244, 246, 249b, 251, 261, 262, 264b, 272, 274)

⁷⁸¹ (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240)

⁷⁸² (*Liber Landavensis* charters 222, 224, 249b, 251, 261)

It would appear although Gwent did have some form territorial coherency after the seventh-century CE and may have had its own kings or sub-kings, it may have always been regarded as the eastern province of the kingdom of Glywysing (Davies, 1978b: 95, 1982: 102-103; Sims-Williams, 1990: 46-47). Coe (2001) has suggested control of Gwent may have been given to the junior branches of the main Glywysing dynasty and may be similar in form to the later English imposition of the sovereign's oldest son as Prince of Wales. For example, in charter 261 of the *Liber Landavensis*, Cadwgon ap Meurig was recorded as the king of Gwent (CE 1045). Later, in charter 271, he was recorded as the king of Morgannwg (CE 1070) (*Liber Landavensis* charters 261, 271).

Between the fifth and early-seventh-centuries CE, in both the Anglo-Saxon and British areas, there appears to be a relative lack of economic distinction between nobles and peasantry. It seems power had to be negotiated and fought for. In addition, political institutions and kingdoms remained small (Charles-Edwards, 1989a: 30). From the middle Anglo-Saxon period onwards, the establishment of an aristocratic landowning class and the institutionalisation of Church and state structures allowed Anglo-Saxon kings to consolidate effective controls over territories larger than their kin heartland (Wickham, 2005: 342-345).

A process of state formation appears to have started in Wales during the early Middle Age. However, it did not reach a comparable stage to England before the Anglo-Norman conquest. The dynasty of Meurig ap Tewdrig was able to establish client/patron relationships with former petty kings, who then became landed aristocrats. Although there were isolated grants in Brycheiniog and Ystrad Tywi,⁷⁸³ the Glywysing dynasty were never able to expand their kingdom beyond the extent

⁷⁸³ (Chapter 3: 234-235)

of Gwent and Glamorgan. Furthermore, the kings of south-eastern Wales do not feature prominently in the Welsh annals (Maund, 2006: 69). In addition, it is probable the former petty kings of Gwent and Glamorgan benefitted materially and politically from entering into relationship of clientship with the kings of Glywysing. However, they would have had to forfeit some of their status.

From the early eighth-century CE, the power structures of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon kings of Wessex and Mercia were able to institutionalise the position and administrative infrastructure of kingship. They were therefore able to develop firm territorial control of large kingdoms through close relationships with the aristocracy and the Church. Such degrees of control never seem to have been exercised by the early Welsh kings (Stafford, 2003: 23-35; Wickham, 2005: 351).

It seems kingly power was arrested in Gwent and Glamorgan by the Welsh kings inability to turn a class of largely independent landed nobles into aristocrats within a state administrative structure. The next stages in the development of kingly power were the expansion of some of the tribal kingdoms into larger over-kingdoms. These consisted of the equivalent of several modern counties and were much less stable than their English counterparts. The development of these over-kingdoms can be traced to the aggressive policy of Rhodri Mawr (*circa* CE 820-878), king of Gwynedd, who after marrying into the ruling family of Powys was able to extend his control over the kingdom of Ceredigion and was thus able to exert pressure on the kingdoms of the south-east (Davies, 1982: 106; Maund: 2006: 50-54). This policy of expansion continued into the tenth-century CE with Rhodri's son and grandsons, who were able to bring south-western Wales into their sphere of influence and eventually

established the enlarged over-kingdom of Deheubarth.⁷⁸⁴ Gwent, Glywysing and Brycheiniog appear for the most part to be subject to, rather than part of this process of expansion. Reasons for this could be English and Viking aggression, an inherently weak internal powerbase and an inability to expand agricultural productivity (Davies, 1990: 67-68).

The over-kingship of Rhodri Mawr and his dynasty appears to be characterised by extensive and intermittent rule. The territorial rule of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings was regular and in depth (Davies, 1990: 27; Stafford, 2003: 22). The kingdoms of Wales were constructed through tactical marriage, warfare and coercion, rather than by firm administrative infrastructure. Consequently, they were unstable and only lasted for one or two generations before they collapsed. The differences between the kinds of kingship prevalent in both Anglo-Saxon England and Wales during the early Middle Age appear to have arisen from the influence of external power structures, the lightness of links between kings and aristocracies, the growth of economic differentiation and the establishment of aristocratic landed power (Wickham, 2005: 345).

By the end of the tenth-century CE, it seems Gower and Ergyng had been removed from the power of Morgannwg. During the mid to late ninth-century CE Hywel ap Rhys and Meurig, both members of the original Meurig ap Tewdrig dynasty were described as kings in the *Liber Landavensis*⁷⁸⁵ and the *Life of King Alfred* (Keynes & Lapridge, 1983: 96). However, intrusive local dynasties and external kings and nobles (Gruffydd ap Llewellyn and Harold Godwinson) were now granting land and claiming territory in Gwent and Glamorgan up to the eve of the Norman invasion

⁷⁸⁴ (Davies, 1982:107; Davies, 2007: 79-83; Maund, 2006: 54-59)

⁷⁸⁵ (Figure 76a: 225, 76b: 226)

(Crouch, 2008: 1-2; Davies, 1982: 103). A major factor which retarded state development of, and in, Gwent during this period appears to be the impact of the Church on the rule of the Gwentian kings.

The Church in Gwent: development and effects

Research suggests the establishment and early operation of the Church in Gwent was based on aristocratic kinship relationships during the initial phases after Roman rule ended. Furthermore, incumbency at the sites appears to be hereditary.^{786 787}

In Anglo-Saxon England, a well attested medieval system of pastoral care centred on a network of local churches with burial rights, administered through a diocesan structure of parishes and deaneries appears to have emerged between the eighth and eleventh-centuries CE. Consolidation of this system has been linked with the cellulation of landscape and society into smaller and more controlled units through the growth of magnate power which ultimately led to the development of the feudal state (Blair, 2005: 157, 233-304, 368-385, 426-427, 440-451; Pryce, 2003a: 149). Their organisation and distribution appear to be reflected in the close relationship between minster *parochia* and Domesday hundreds identified in Wessex (Turner, 2006: 109-110).

Conversely, the distribution of churches recorded in pre-Norman contexts in Gwent^{788 789} suggests the Gwentian distribution of churches was established before the Anglo-Saxon proliferation which occurred in England. This factor need not reflect regular pastoral care as a private church or chapel established by a Gwentian aristocrat may not have had, nor need have had, the pastoral responsibilities of the

⁷⁸⁶ (Chapter 3: 236-256)

⁷⁸⁷ (Figure 82: 249)

⁷⁸⁸ (Chapter 3: 235-256)

⁷⁸⁹ (Figures 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240, 79a: 241, 79b: 242-243)

medieval parish (Petts, 2009: 188). In addition, the extended period over which kings and the lay aristocracy established the foundations indicate the establishment of a network of local churches in Gwent was not related to the development of the feudal state. The actuality appears to reflect on the one hand, the small-scale local nature of the lesser foundations and the non-contiguous and intermixed jurisdictions of its bishops and monasteries.⁷⁹⁰

Self-contained ecclesiastical territorial units consisting of dioceses and subunits of parishes controlling pastoral provision to its inhabitants and claiming their religious allegiance appear not to have existed in Wales before the twelfth-century CE.⁷⁹¹ Ministry to the laity was ultimately the responsibility of bishops and this function was delegated to their networks of priests, deacons and monastic houses. However, identifying how systems of pastoral care was delivered on a day-to-day basis is problematic (Pryce, 1992a: 41-62). For example, the provision of regular pastoral provision to all laity was expected by the eighth-century CE according to Bede (Bede 32, 34). In practice and as has been noted, ministry may commonly only have been limited to the foundation's immediate dependents.⁷⁹²

The distribution of greater foundations in south-eastern Wales during the pre-Norman period does not correlate in any simple way to what can be constructed of the secular administration. Seaman (2010) has noted possible early ecclesiastical *foci* at Llandeilo Talybont which was later replaced by Llangyfelach in Gower, Margam and Llantwit Major which may have been mother churches (a distinction based on hierarchical importance) of the cantrefi of Margam and Gwrinydd. He suggests this simplistic picture is made more complex by a number of other

⁷⁹⁰ (Chapter 3: 253-254)

⁷⁹¹ (Blair, 2005: 436; Carr, 1995: 51; Pryce, 1988a: 30, 2003: 142)

⁷⁹² (Chapter 3: 253-254)

foundations in these areas including Baglan, Bishopston, Cadoxton-juxta-Neath and Merthyr Mawr. Furthermore, Llancarfan and Llandough in the east of Glamorgan, not only lay in the same cantref of Penuchan and possible kingdom⁷⁹³ centred around Dinas Powys; they were also located in the same commote. In Gwent, St Woolos or Bassaleg may have been early ecclesiastical *foci*, but were not attested before the eleventh or twelfth-centuries CE. There are potential mother churches at Caerwent (Gwent Is Coed), Welsh Bicknor (Ergyng and Clodock (Ewais)). However, he considers any coherent pattern of ecclesiastical organisation is difficult to discern.⁷⁹⁴

Much other knowledge of the Church in early Gwent has been derived from material presented in the surviving hagiographical accounts of lives of early saints. However, there are challenges in using early medieval hagiography as much of the *Vita* were not written contemporaneously as the events they record. Therefore, as sources they cannot be considered as simple historical records or contemporary reportage. However, as has been discussed⁷⁹⁵ they recount events which happened in the past in south-eastern Wales and its border after Rome and before the coming of the Normans.

The earliest generally accepted *Vita* is St Samson of Dol (*Vita Sancti Samsonis*) and although written about a Welsh saint was a product of a Breton monastery at Landévennec (Petts, 2009: 44). The earliest version *Vita Ia* is considered to date from the eighth-century CE. However, its author identifies an earlier source, the *Acta* of St Samson which had been brought overseas by the deacon Henoc (presumably from Wales to Brittany) (Sowerby, 2011: 1-33) and this may be indicative of an earlier tradition of biographical writing. Other works from Brittany include the *Vita* of

⁷⁹³ (Chapter 3: 307-330)

⁷⁹⁴ (James, 2007: 70; Knight, 1995: 39-51; Seaman, 2010: 156)

⁷⁹⁵ (Chapter 3: 227-231)

St Paul Aurelian (Cuissard, 1883: 413-460) and the *Vita* of St Guénolé (Petts, 2009: 44) are considered to be ninth-century CE in date.

Early British hagiographical material included passages relating to Saint Garmon (Germanus) embedded in the *Historia Brittonum* (Nennius, 32-35, 39, 47-48, 50-51). Others include the two versions of Rhigyfarch's *Vita* of Saint David (Vespasian and Gerald of Wales) written in the late eleventh-century CE (Sharpe, 2007: 90-105). Likewise, the two *Lives of Cadog* (*Vita S. Cadoci*) by Lifris and Caradog of Llancarfan were produced in the twelfth-century CE.

The arrangement of the *Liber Landavensis* charters was based upon a succession of twenty-nine bishops of Llandaff from Dyfrig in the sixth-century CE to Herewald in the eleventh century CE. Hence the standard charter in the *Livre Landavensis* reported by Charles-Edwards (2014): 'to God and Saints Dyfrig, Teilo, and Euddogwy and in the hand of Bishop X and his successors in the church of Llandaff for ever' (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 251). However, in the charters assigned 4-13 in the official list, Euddogwy is regularly and Teilo is occasionally omitted. Furthermore, in 163a all three saints were absent. This offers some indication this sequence was largely false in the sense these bishops did not belong to Llandaff, but instead to churches in Ergyng and Gwent. The official list is headed by three patron-saints claimed by Llandaff: Dyfrig, Teilo and Euddogwy.⁷⁹⁶ Therefore, Charles Edwards (2014) asserts there should be two parallel episcopal successions based on Dyfrig and Euddogwy. This factor may be representative of how the kingdoms of Gwent and Glamorgan were viewed as separate entities by ecclesiastical authorities at some point in their respective pasts.

⁷⁹⁶ (Figure 77: 229)

Other evidence including the section of Seven Bishop Houses of Dyfed has been interpreted by some as the first documentary reference to an archaic system based upon folk or kindred territories with their own bishops or conversely, as a product of the ninth or tenth-centuries CE (Petts, 2009: 162-163; Seaman, 2010: 157). Furthermore, James' (2007) analysis of the cult of St David has shown how the Norman diocese evolved over an extended period whilst subsuming and transforming local cults of obscure origin. This included an early bishopric based at Llandeilo Fawr which it contested with Llandaff (James, 2007: 74). Any or all interpretations are possible.

There may be parallels between early medieval Gwent, Cornwall and Ireland. Sam Turner's (2006) research has indicated in contrast to Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, that Cornwall hundreds often contain no recognisable superior churches, whilst in others there was more than one (Turner, 2006: 115). This may be due to the combined effects of a greater number of early minor churches in Cornwall and Gwent than in Wessex and administrative reorganisations associated with Anglo-Saxon and Norman conquests (Turner, 2006: 118). The evidence from south-western Britain appears similar to that presented in Colmán Etchingham's studies (1999a, 1999b). Here, Etchingham (1999a, 1999b) has argued whilst territorial bishoprics and an episcopal hierarchy were a reality, spheres of jurisdiction may have encompassed non-contiguous units, which were characterised by fluctuation rather than long-term stability (Etchingham, 1999a: 459).

The monasteries of Gwent's early Middle Age and elsewhere in south-eastern Wales, were not enclosed communities of monks and nuns living to a fixed rule under an abbot or abbess which were typical of the reformed houses of the major later medieval orders. During the early medieval period these institutions were

diffuse, comprised secular clergy and even bishops who had not taken any form of monastic vow, they might also be married and included a significant lay element.⁷⁹⁷

In Ireland during this period Etchingam (1999a) has described coarbial, episcopal and abbatocial authorities coexisting as parts of a single multifaceted organisational model. He has highlighted similarities between the ecclesiastical structures of Ireland, Wales and England and considers distinctions made between monastic and non-monastic foundations as misleading (Etchingam, 1999a: 457).

Making distinctions between types of foundations such as *podum* or *ecclesia* mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis* based on how they are described in a single source is problematic.⁷⁹⁸ Etchingam (1999a) has suggested characterisations which differentiate between different types of early medieval foundation on the basis of the size and importance of the monastery. In this conception he argues 'greater' centres were more likely to have been multifunctional and indications were those sites which contained monks, secular clergy, a bishop and held extensive lordship over temporalities (Etchingam, 1999a: 457).

This modelling provides a convenient method of approaching and understanding the evidence in south-eastern Wales. For example, the major foundations of Llandough, Llantwit Major, Llancarfan and possibly Welsh Bicknor⁷⁹⁹ can be contrasted against Foy, Bishopston and Llandegfedd.⁸⁰⁰ Both sets of foundations were attested in the *Liber Landavensis* by *podum* names and references to abbots in the witness list and can therefore be described as monasteries. The abbots of the major foundations

⁷⁹⁷ (Blair, 2005: 73; Davies, 1978b: 149-152, 1982: 149; Dumville. 1997: 107; Etchingam, 1999a: 458; Pryce, 1992a: 51-52; Yorke, 2006: 159)

⁷⁹⁸ (Chapter 3: 252-253)

⁷⁹⁹ (*Liber Landavensis* charters *72a, 140, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 151a, 151b, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159b, 163b, 164, *165, 175, 176a, 176b, 178, 179c, 180, 184, 186b, 190b, 195, 204b, 205, 212, 215, 230b, 243, 258, 267, 271, 272, 274)

⁸⁰⁰ (*Liber Landavensis* charters 144, 145, 199a 230b, 239, 272)

appear to witness grants from across the whole of south-eastern Wales, they seem to have had bishops at some point and were subject to royal patronage. The lesser foundations appear not to have attracted the patronage which resulted in the groups of early Christian monuments from Llantwit Major to Margam,⁸⁰¹ nor did they have their own cartularies as did Llandough or Llancarfan. Furthermore, the occurrence of their abbots in the charter witness lists indicates they had a much more restricted sphere of influence. Davies (1978b) has concluded the monastic houses of Glamorganshire had more influence than those of Gwent (Davies, 1978b: 146).

The Church in Gwent was endowed with productive estates from perhaps the sixth-century CE onwards.⁸⁰² It can be inferred taeog and uchelwr tenants⁸⁰³ of these estates were subject to the jurisdiction of their ecclesiastical lords from this time onwards (Pryce, 1992b: 27-30). They also appear to have acquired rights of temporal jurisdiction over its aristocracy and kings.

This may be indicated by what appears to be quite ferocious defence of their lands and privileges from lay encroachment over time. This process emphasised the immunity of lands given to the Church from secular services as well as invoking divine vengeance on rulers who committed sacrilege against ecclesiastical property (Pryce, 2003b: 234-235). However, the Welsh saint's Lives of the eleventh and twelfth-centuries CE along with the charters of the *Liber Landavensis* give little indication of the positive rights and obligations possessed by the ecclesiastical landowner. An important exception indicating temporal rights pertaining to the Llandaff churches was recorded in the *Braint Teilo* preserved in the *Liber Landavensis*. The text was concerned with the 'law and privilege' of Llandaff which it

⁸⁰¹ (Chapter 3: 261-268)

⁸⁰² (Figure 78a: 237, 78b: 238-240)

⁸⁰³ (Chapter 3: 217-220, 284-288)

declared had been granted by kings and princes and later confirmed by popes. Davies (1976) has argued its text was comprised of two parts, with the first and longer dated to *circa* CE 1110-1129, sometime between Roger of Gloucester's lordship in Glamorgan and the second probably from the episcopate of Bishop Joseph CE 1022-1045. The earlier section laid out firstly, the procedure if the king of Morgannwg injured the bishop and church of Teilo and secondly, it claims for the Church the same rights of jurisdiction possessed by the king in his court (Davies, 1976: 123-137, 1979: 17-20). Additional claims included immunity from secular law and services, with full rights over the exploitation of its land holdings. The second earlier section contains terms unique to Welsh law and it is possible the first part does not mirror pre-Norman conditions (Pryce, 2003b: 235-236). However, the document as a whole offers an insight into the Llandaff clergy's perceptions of their rights in the early twelfth-century CE and these appeared to be regalian jurisdiction. Furthermore, the possibility of the document existing prior to the compilation of the *Liber Landavensis* is indicated by it being written on an inserted folio (Huws, 1987: 133-166).

It is impossible to ascertain how far this document reflected the actuality. However a plausible context for its earlier section were the attacks by secular rulers on the churches and lands of the see of Llandaff during the tenth and eleventh-centuries CE. These were recorded elsewhere in the Llandaff charters⁸⁰⁴ and Huw Pryce (2003b) considers the later part was possibly an attempt to pre-empt such actions by the new Norman lord of Glamorgan (Pryce, 2003b: 236).

⁸⁰⁴ (e.g. *Liber Landavensis* charters: 231, 233, 261, 264b, 272)

A major and important difference between the *Brant Teilo* and other contemporary saint's Lives⁸⁰⁵ was the preference for a legal formulation in Welsh, as opposed to admonitory Latin examples. It is possible earlier combinations of law and sanction was thought of as an appropriate expression of the Church's position in relation to the kings of Gwent and Glamorgan. Since these kings appear not to have exercised authority very effectively, the scope for temporal jurisdiction may have been greater under native rule than under Norman lords (Davies, 1982: 162).

The earliest source cited by Pryce (2003) was an unambiguous reference in the mid-tenth century CE poem *Armes Prydein*, which asked why the enemies of the Welsh trampled on the braint of their saints (Pryce. 2003: 238). The term 'braint' is significant as it provides an insight into how Welsh lawyers perceived and categorised the privileges pertaining to Welsh churches in general. Pryce (2003) notes the braint of a saint and his church was mirrored in the laws as well as other sources. He considers its semantic range and usage has two meanings. His more general definition was defined as the 'status of persons, land and offences'. He further considers the word's etymology suggests this meaning developed from a more specific concept of privileged status. Braint appears to belong to a group of words for 'freedom' and in this sense meaning the enjoyment of full legal status. Of pre-Christian and of common Celtic origin braint was adapted to the ecclesiastical establishment of medieval Wales. This particular kind of privilege as distinct from status and kind in general survived into Middle Welsh and was associated with royal grant and protection. The concept is illustrated in the Welsh lawbooks both by tractate on the court and passages referring to the Church (Pryce, 2003b: 237-238). Therefore to have braint in the early Middle Age was to be entitled to special

⁸⁰⁵(Chapter 3: 518-519)

privileges. Regarding the Church these included a right to give sanctuary, another was the royal privilege granted to each ecclesiastical lord of holding pleas over his laymen under the laws of Wales, and an immunity from royal jurisdiction, taxes and services (Pryce, 2003b: 238-239).

Pryce (2003b) acknowledges there are no means of verifying whether the Church exercised regalian jurisdiction which it claimed for itself in the eleventh-century CE. However, whilst these claims could be interpreted as constituting special pleading on behalf of Llandaff's churches in response to challenges faced by those churches and therefore quite possibly exaggerated the extent of their temporal powers. However, it is unlikely they lacked any substance whatsoever. It is possible pressure from secular rulers may have provoked the written definition of rights, which may hitherto have been unwritten and conveniently elastic for the ecclesiastical lords in question. If so, this makes it difficult to establish the nature of the temporal jurisdiction before the twelfth-century CE (Pryce, 2003b: 239).

Whilst the *Braint Teilo* recognised the existence of jurisdictional powers held specifically by the kings of Morgannwg (and by implication Gwent), the document does not make it clear whether or how far those powers exceeded or overrode those of other lords. It may be that elements of a distinctly royal jurisdiction only began to be defined in Wales from the twelfth-century CE and before this, rights to high and low justice were exercised by all lords. Another possibility was such rights may have been regarded as regalian in the sense of land over which they were exercised had originally been royal.

If as may have been the case of Gwent and Glamorgan where kings retained a monopoly on the power to alienate land until the eighth-century CE,⁸⁰⁶ the earliest ecclesiastical estates may have all originated from royal lands. If this happened it may be in making grants to churches, kings made no distinction between the land and the rights which went with it. This situation could have meant rights of jurisdiction went with a grant and were deemed inherent in the estates which were alienated. Therefore, temporal jurisdiction would not have differed from those of kings, even though the title of churches to those lands over which the jurisdiction was exercised would have depended on a royal grant.

A limitation of the model is it is uncertain if non-royal layman were unable to endow churches in the sixth and seventh-centuries CE with or without royal consent, still less that all land had been under royal control in the sub-Roman period, with the result that title to any estate, whether lay or ecclesiastical would have ultimately derived from a king and in some sense all property was royal (Davies, 1978a; 16-19).

Davies (1978a) has made links with changing property laws of the late Roman period which made alienation difficult in the fourth and fifth-centuries CE. These were concerned with distinctions between separate property rights of ownership and possession becoming confused and ownership becoming something divisible. This was manifest both in an increasing number of perpetual leases on imperial property and in the increasing interference of the state in the rights of the private owner (Davies, 1978a: 18). This meant in many areas covered by perpetual leases, alienation was considered impossible and restrictions on alienation only became

⁸⁰⁶ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

rescindable by direct imperial action. It is likely there were large estates in Gwent in the late Roman period. These would have had tenants (*coloni*) and many tenures.⁸⁰⁷

Restrictions on the alienation of tenures may have occurred after Rome in south-eastern Wales during the fourth and fifth-centuries CE simply because they were tenures and would have been subject to legislation affecting the *coloniae*. However, even if the number of tenants was large, there must have been some owners. If the reason for the lack of mobility is not clear, the royal capacity to override this was evident. One way of understanding this is within the context of the late Roman past as emperors had almost unlimited powers as long as they commanded support. After them, it is known the range of their powers was influential on the political concepts of the western kingdoms which replaced imperial rule. For instance, early German kings assumed imperial powers of command and imperial functions with respect to control over coinage and law making in order to secure their own positions.⁸⁰⁸

If the early kings of Gwent and Glamorgan had peculiar powers with respect to property, it is possible they may have assumed quasi-imperial powers to release their own unalienable lands and to eventually consent to non-royal alienation. They may have become in some sense 'emperors' and when families assumed kingship for the first time, used their knowledge of former imperial function to define their concept of their own political powers. Circumstantial evidence in the form of inscribed monuments from south and north-west Wales (Nash Williams, 1950) and the naming of Gwent after *Venta Silurum* demonstrate the continued application of

⁸⁰⁷ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁸⁰⁸ (Davies, 1978a: 19; Jones, 1964: 247-265; Thompson, 1963a: 105-126, 1963b: 3-33; Wallace-Hadrill, 1962: 176-181, 1971: 33-39, 44)

Roman political concepts and terminology until the late sixth and seventh-centuries CE.

Furthermore, Davies (1978a) notes records of donations in Gwent were records of a type which owe their form to late Roman practice and to changes in the mechanisms of donation in the fourth-century CE. These changes involved the registration of property transfer, a conscious recording of the act and of witnesses to that act (Levy, 1951: 130-146) and formulae of a class documents which owe their genesis to late Roman models (Davies, 1978b: 20). If this explanation is correct, two principal inferences can be made. Firstly, it suggests the perpetuation of late Roman attitudes to mechanisms of alienation for two or three centuries in Gwent and wider Siluria after Roman rule ended. Secondly, it suggests the stimulus which provoked a reversal of this procedure was powerful. By the end of the seventh-century CE, non-royal laity began to make grants. To do so they either purchased land from the king or else may have alienated their royal tenures.⁸⁰⁹ What happened in Gwent is clear, the laity acquired once royal land for the specific purpose of alienation. This process, once begun seems to have led to much freer donation of inherited lands. Identifying reasons why it occurred is problematic and may have its roots in monastic activity (Davies, 1978a: 21) which occurred and continued from *circa* CE 698 until the dissolution in Tudor times.⁸¹⁰

It appears several types of restriction on alienation of tenures and inherited land were superseded by the combination of royal and apparent religious pressures. The charter evidence shows wider scale lay donation of economic units by reference to a single settlement. Development may have been forced by a need to endow the

⁸⁰⁹ (Chapter 3: 493-495)

⁸¹⁰ (Chapter 3: 253-254)

Church. Davies (1978a) considers whether or not this development involved the fragmentation of earlier kindred dominated blocks as an open question as late Roman estates appeared to be scattered. In an area which has produced little evidence of movement or change in the patterns of ownership, the disturbance must have represented considerable upheaval. There was widespread social and political upheaval in the later ninth, tenth and eleventh-centuries CE, despite the attempts of the clerics to assume some moderating function. It seems the two phenomena were related. Was the large-scale donation of lay properties in the eighth and ninth-centuries CE effectively destroying the self-regulating mechanisms of that society and did it allow the development of social and political chaos? If so, this chaos occurred when the landed possessions of the kingship were too depleted to allow for the development of an alternative system. Could it be in Gwent and what was wider Siluria, was a kingship initially modelled on a perception of imperial powers, without administrative machinery, the establishment of which effectively prevented any real political development?

These speculations attempt to address certain problems. These include providing an explanation for the royal monopoly of donation until the eighth-century CE, identifying what was the stimulus of change at that period, considering the role of alienation in stimulating social and political change and the nature of law under the later Roman Empire in Britain. It is probable early similarities in the powers of Welsh, English and continental Germanic kings reflect the influence of the Roman political system on early royal development. The later differences may reflect the varying capacities of different dynasties.

The early medieval development of Gwent clearly has its roots in a late Roman past. There is clear evidence of disturbance in the established patterns of ownership of

property and local cooperation and in the shape of properties in and after the ninth-century CE, which was subsequent to, if not the consequence of the substantial transfer of property in the eighth-century CE. Furthermore, the patterns of political, social and economic development diverged considerably from those of the rest of western Europe, partly because Gwent did not share in the European experience and repercussions of the Carolingian kingdom and empire. It moved away from political consolidation towards greater fragmentation, with no corresponding tendency to feudalism, manorial or urban development. In addition, Gwent and Glamorgan experienced no significant Germanic immigration in the early Middle Age and influence of its earlier Silurian and Roman past was therefore undiluted. In many ways, the Gwentian situation offers a picture of devolving late Romano-British society from the sub-Roman period to the beginning of the late Middle Age. The acquisition of land by the Church over time, and in particular the changes between the eighth and tenth-centuries CE represented the real breakup of late Roman society in Gwent. The fragmentation and disunity this process caused, was to make the kingdom of Gwent vulnerable in the face of aggression from other Welsh kingdoms alongside Anglo-Saxon and later Norman England.⁸¹¹ Whether the Church in Gwent could be considered as Celtic is considered below.⁸¹²

Wars between Welsh kingdoms, Anglo-Saxon raids and the Norman incursion

In CE 1055 Gruffudd ap Llewelyn defeated Gruffudd ap Rhydderch who had effectively been king of all of south Wales (Maund, 2006: 87-97) to become the only Welsh leader to unite all of the kingdoms of Wales under one king. His campaign of CE 1055 and CE 1056 attached the one part of Wales which had remained outside his hegemony since his rise to power began in the CE 1040s. Gruffudd ap

⁸¹¹ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

⁸¹² (Chapter 4: 576-577)

Rhydderch⁸¹³ was killed, probably somewhere in Gwent, before Gruffudd ap Llewelyn advanced up the Wye valley. Here, he devastated parts of Archenfield and then defeated a large army at Hereford, which he then proceeded to lay waste. He returned to south-eastern Wales, consolidated his position and there it is possible he met Edward the Confessor at Beachley, near Chepstow to formulate a treaty recognising his border conquests in a number of districts east of Offa's Dyke considered Welsh (Maund, 2006: 91-97).

Gruffudd ap Llewelyn's rise to power began in CE 1039 with his conquest of Gwynedd, Deheubarth and defeat of a Mercian army at Rhyd y Groes near Welshpool. By the mid CE 1050s he had eliminated each of his Welsh rivals and was able to exert his influence over the whole of Wales and large tracts of the English borderlands. Throughout his reign, Gruffudd exploited weaknesses and divisions in England to maintain his primacy (Maund, 2006: 87-97).

Gruffudd ap Llewellyn's father was Llywelyn ap Seisyll who was described in the *Brut y Tywysogyon* as the supreme king of Gwynedd and 'the most praiseworthy king of all the Britons' and recalled how Wales enjoyed a period of remarkable prosperity during his reign (*Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brut Red Book*: 21; *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 58-59). Llewelyn's sphere of influence was in Gwynedd, yet it is apparent his interests extended into south Wales. This was demonstrated in his marriage to Angharad, the daughter of Maredudd ab Owain ap Hywel Dda of Deheubarth (Maund, 2006: 83-85).

When Llywelyn ap Seisyll died in CE 1023, the Welsh sources do not explain the circumstances of his death, however there was a tradition preserved by the

⁸¹³ (Figure 75b: 224)

sixteenth-century CE historian David Powel, which attributed his demise, along with his brother Cynan to Hywel and Maredudd ap Edwin (Powel, 1584: 86-88). These men became the rulers of Deheubarth after the death of Rhydderch ap Iestyn (the father of Gruffudd ap Rhydderch) at the hands of the 'Irish' in CE 1033.⁸¹⁴ Powel (1584) claimed the sons of Edwin hired these Irish mercenaries (Powel, 1584: 88). Powel (1584) as a source is suspect, however, Michael Davies (2004) considers his interpretation of the events may have some merit. For instance, the *Brut y Tywysogyon* record of CE 1035 notes Maredudd ap Edwin was slain by the sons of Cynan. It is conceivable this may have been an act of revenge for the killing of their father and the same records show the sons of Edwin were in conflict with the sons of Rhydderch soon after the death of Rhydderch.⁸¹⁵ Furthermore, it is known Hywel ab Edwin had links with Hiberno-Scandinavian mercenaries and used them against Gruffudd ap Llewelyn in CE 1044.⁸¹⁶ When this evidence is considered Powel's (1548) evidence seems plausible and this event led to the descendants of Iestyn establishing their main power base in Gwent (Davies, 2004: 331-333).

There is no evidence of rivalry between the descendants of Seisyll and the descendants of Iestyn until the Welsh chronicles record the 'treachery' of the sons of Rhydderch ab Iestyn against Gruffudd ap Llewelyn in CE 1045 and before this event was mentioned both families had a common enemy in the sons of Edwin. It is possible the accession of Hywel and Maredudd to Deheubarth was an affront to the descendants of Seisyll. It appears at this time, Gruffudd ap Llewelyn's primary concern in the earlier part of his reign was the overthrow of Hywel.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁴ (*Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brut Red Book*: 23, *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20, 13; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 57)

⁸¹⁵ (*Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brut Red Book*: 23, *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20, 13; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 57)

⁸¹⁶ (*Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brut Red Book*: 25, *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20, 13; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 57)

⁸¹⁷ (*Brut y Tywysogyon*, *Brut Red Book*: 23, *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20, 13; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 59)

The victory at Rhyd y Groes (CE 1039) established Gruffudd ap Llewelyn's authority over Powys. He then went on to attack Deheubarth, where he was able to expel its ruler Hywel ab Edwin in the same year and is described as holding 'rule over Deheubarth' in the *Brut y Tywysogyon*.⁸¹⁸ His position in Deheubarth was consolidated when he won a comprehensive victory over Hywel in CE 1044. Though, it is possible the death of Hywel ab Edwin facilitated the return of Rhydderch ab Iestyn's line in the person of Gruffudd ap Rhydderch. However, there is no evidence of him ever doing so, unlike his father who was specifically mentioned in the Welsh records⁸¹⁹.

Between CE 1045 and CE 1055, it seems Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ruled over Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth, whilst Gruffudd ap Rhydderch controlled Glamorgan and Gwent. This is indicated by John of Worcester who styled Gruffudd ap Llewelyn as *Rex Walonorum* and Gruffudd ap Rhydderch as *regis Australium Brytonum* (*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*: 550, 566, 576, 580, 584, 596).

In CE 1049, southern Gwent was attacked by Gruffudd ap Rhydderch in alliance with a Viking fleet. Davies (2004) considers this may have been a reaction against the expansion of Meurig ap Hywel of Glamorgan who appeared to have then controlled Gwent Is Coed (*Liber Landavensis* charter 255). From southern Gwent, Gruffudd ap Rhydderch crossed the Wye, attacked the manor at Tidenham⁸²⁰ and defeated an Anglo-Saxon force under Bishop Aldred (*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*: 55-553) (Davies, 2004: 334). Kari Maund (1991) has suggested the *Liber Landavensis* charter which described Gruffudd ap Rhydderch as *rex morchanhuc* may be linked to this victory (Maund: 1991: 197).

⁸¹⁸ (*Brut Red Book*: 23; *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20,13; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 58-59)

⁸¹⁹ (*Brut Red Book*: 22-23; *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20,12; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 54-55)

⁸²⁰ (Chapter 3: 490-493)

These events may suggest by CE 1050 Gruffudd ap Rhydderch had been accepted as the over king of Gwent and Glamorgan. The fact he is recorded in contemporaneous English sources during the CE 1050s is significant, as this marked him out as an important Welsh ruler with considerable power (*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, 573). He was only dislodged by the full assault of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn's forces which also led to his death.⁸²¹

The Welsh chronicles record no internal events apart from the death of Owain ap Grufudd, who may have been the son of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn between CE 1058 and CE 1063.⁸²² Davies (2004) has interpreted this as a general period of peace occurring during the last years of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn's reign (Davies, 2004: 341). However, the death of Earl Ælfgar *circa* CE 1062 may have upset the *status quo*. Shortly after Christmas of this year or in early CE 1063, Earl Harold launched a surprise attack on Grufudd at Rhuddlan. It seems King Edward ordered the attack from his Christmas court held at Gloucester and Grufudd ap Llewelyn only narrowly escaped by ship (*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*: 593). This attack was followed up by a campaign in the spring of CE 1063. Gruffudd was forced to retreat to Snowdonia where he met his death at the hands of his own men. His body was dismembered and his head and the figurehead of his ship were sent to Earl Harold (Davies, 2004: 340-341).

In terms of Gwent, Caradog ap Grufudd ap Rhydderch⁸²³ began to reassert the claims of the line of Rhydderch ap Iestyn. The situation was complicated by Earl Harold who seems to have attempted to apply a degree of territorial overlordship.

⁸²¹ (*Brut Red Book*: 23-25; *Brut Peniarth MS*: 13,14; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 57-58, 70-71)

⁸²² (*Annales Cambriae*, versions B & C: 170-171; *Brut Red Book*: 26-27; *Brut Peniarth MS*: 20,15; *Brenhinedd y Saeson*: 70-71)

⁸²³ (Figure 75b: 224)

This is emphasised by his building of a hunting lodge, which may possibly have been intended to act as a manorial court at Portskewett.⁸²⁴ In addition, Harold had become earl of Hereford after the death of Earl Ralf in CE 1057 and it is possible he believed he had some claims over some other parts of Gwent after he had engineered the downfall of Llewelyn ap Grufudd in CE 1063. It is conceivable Caradog ap Grufudd had supported Harold's campaign against Gruffudd ap Llewelyn. If so, the ferocity of Caradog ap Grufudd's response to Earl Harold's intrusion into Gwent may be explained by a belief that Earl Harold had betrayed an accord between them. Alternatively, Caradog ap Grufudd may have been acting as sub-king for Grufudd ap Llewelyn and following his demise had assumed full control of Gwent.

Paul Courtney (1986) has suggested Earl Harold may have tried to negotiate with Caradog ap Grufudd's cousin, Rhydderch ap Caradog⁸²⁵ who was the ruler of Gwent Is Coed. He considers it was possible Earl Harold's intention was to gain permanent control of Gwent Is Coed either as part of his earldom or under the client rule of Rhydderch ap Caradog. Furthermore, his interpretation of the sources indicates Earl Harold's status in Gwent was one which may have provided the motivation for his Norman successor's later occupation of southern Gwent (Courtney, 1986: 297-313).

The events of CE 1066 saw an end to the incursions of (the then) King Harold may have had planned for Gwent. The Norman conquest of England led to new challenges for the rulers of Gwent. Following his victory at Hastings, King William decided on a policy of controlling the borders of his kingdom at least until he had consolidated his position in England. This was achieved by creating three marcher

⁸²⁴(Chapter 3: 498-500)

⁸²⁵ (Figure 75b: 224)

earldoms along the Welsh border. At the centre of each earldoms he placed trustworthy lieutenants (Bates, 1982: 117-118; Davies, 2004: 342-343).

The death of Grufudd ap Llewelyn had seen his kingdom of Welsh overlords fragment and the subsequent situation in Wales was complex (Maund, 2006: 96-97). For example, Caradog ap Grufudd was king of Gwent Uwch Coed and Gwynllwg, while his cousin Rhydderch ap Caradog was king of Gwent Is Coed and Ewias.⁸²⁶ Both were to face challenges when William FitzOsbern was appointed earl in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire in CE 1067. FitzOsbern was one of King William's closest lieutenants and his father was Osbern FitzArfast, who had been one of Duke William's protectors after the death of his father. Furthermore, Duke William had been present when Osbern died saving him from an assassination attempt. FitzOsbern followed his father as steward to the duke and may have been his closest friend. He was also the first of the marcher earls to be appointed. This may have been because the former Anglo-Saxon earldom had been associated with the former King Harold (Bates, 1982: 117-118; Davies, 2004: 343-344).

Research has indicated throughout the reign of King William I (CE 1066-CE 1087), the tenure of William FitzOsbern (CE 1067-CE 1071) and afterwards of his son Roger (CE 1071-CE 1075) as earls of Hereford, of Norman policy in Gwent being geared towards diplomacy and considered settlement in the least contentious parts of the kingdom, rather than direct conflict and aggressive conquest of the whole kingdom.⁸²⁷

Other evidence of Norman policy saw FitzOsbern construct a series of castles along the western borders of his lordship. Two of these can be considered as being within

⁸²⁶ (Figure 75b: 224)

⁸²⁷ (Courtney, 1986: 297-313; Crouch, 1986: 20-41; Davies, 2004: 343)

the confines of Gwent. Chepstow has usually been regarded as the first Norman stronghold to be constructed in Wales and was sited in a strategic position on the river Wye. A. Williams (1993) has argued despite the imposing nature of the castle a less intrusive site would be hard to find. Furthermore, it was not well placed to rebuff assault or support colonial development on any of the lands west of the river Wye to which FitzOsbern laid claim (Williams, 1993: 450). Likewise, Monmouth has been viewed as an attempt to strengthen the river frontier between the two polities (Crouch, 1986: 24). In addition, Caerleon has been considered as unlikely to have been built until after the death of Caradog ap Grufudd in CE 1081 (Williams, 1993: 451). As a consequence it may be, much Norman direct settlement was initially limited to the region around Chepstow and Caldicot in Gwent Is Coed. This area could have been seen during this period as being in Anglo-Saxon territory and therefore legitimately under their control.

FitzOsbern did exert some apparent authority in Gwent. Both Caradog ap Grufudd and Rhydderch ap Caradog appear to have submitted to some degree of Norman overlordship. This is evidenced in the *Life of St Gwynllyw* which described the former as *subregulum* and the *Liber Landavensis* which described both as ‘servants’ of King William (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 279; *Vitae Sanctorum*: 187-189). Davies (2004) asserts it is likely Caradog ap Grufudd in particular, realised recognition of Norman overlordship may have been of benefit to his ambitions of extending his personal authority in south Wales. FitzOsbern too, would have recognised the importance of having a stable Gwent as a buffer region between his border and the more volatile factions of Glamorgan and Deheubarth (Davies, 2004: 343-344). Moreover, he notes it was possible the native rulers of Gwent accepted the premise of overlordship from across the border more readily than might be expected. For instance, from before

the tenth-century CE, the people known as the Dunsæte who occupied parts of Hereford and Gloucestershire claimed a hegemony over the Wensæte or people of Gwent (Coplestone-Crow, 1998: 5). In addition, after Gruffudd ap Llewelyn's assumption of rule over a wider Gwent from CE 1055 and his subsequent demise, it is possible Earl Harold may have wished to assert Anglo-Saxon claims to the region and offers an explanation for his presence in Gwent in CE 1065. Davies (2004) contends FitzOsbern may have adopted an approach more favourable to Caradog ap Gruffudd than the one Earl Harold had envisaged (Davies, 2004: 344). Crouch (1986) believed there was an accord between the two communities which saw them on good terms. Therefore, any idea of Gwent being conquered outright by the Normans during this period should be rejected (Crouch, 1986: 20-41).

Assessing the full extent of FitzOsbern's influence on Gwent is problematic. It is possible by the time of his death in CE 1071 he had occupied much of the lowlands of Gwent Iscoed and was Caradog ap Gruffudd's overlord in Gwynllwg and Gwent Uwch Coed. It seems unlikely he asserted power in any direct way over land held directly by Caradog ap Gruffudd.

FitzOsbern's son Roger succeeded as earl in CE 1071. It is possible Earl Roger was more aggressive in his policy towards Gwent. For example, Christopher Lewis (1985) has noted the annual render the earl was able to obtain from the castle and borough at Chepstow rose from £2 in FitzOsbern's time to £16 under the control of his son and suggests Earl Roger contributed more to the eventual conquest of Gwent than his father (Lewis, 1985: 201). However, this may not be the case.

It seems reasonable to suppose Norman influence was felt throughout the CE 1070s and perhaps gained a new direction under Earl Roger, it seems relations between

Caradog ap Grufudd and the earl remained cordial. Evidence such as Caradog ap Grufudd's presence at the consecration of the church at Monmouth castle would have been unlikely if any significant Norman incursions into his territory had occurred (Courtney, 1986: 310).

In addition, Caradog ap Grufudd fought a battle with Maredudd ap Owain somewhere near the River Rhymney in CE 1072. The result was a victory for Caradog ap Grufudd who in turn annexed Morgannwg to his territories in Gwent. This was achieved with the aid of Norman troops. Moreover, it seems likely the loyalty displayed towards Earl Roger during his rebellion against King William I in CE 1075 by Caradog ap Grufudd was linked to his gratitude to Norman support he had received a few years earlier. This is further evidenced by Caradog ap Grufudd refusing to hand over to the king a number of knights who were loyal to the rebel earl and who had sought his protection. It is quite possible these men had fought with him in CE 1072 (Coplestone-Crow, 1998: 6). This demonstration of mutual support is suggestive of a similar arrangement for the government of Gwent formulated between the Welsh king and FitzOsbern was maintained between Caradog ap Grufudd and Earl Rodger.

A consequence of Caradog ap Grufudd's action was for King William I to send his second son William to south Wales with instructions to destroy Caradog's kingdom. It seems this campaign led to increased Norman activity in Gwynllwg and Gwent Uwch Coed. Coplestone-Crow (1998) believes the foundation of the first castle in Newport on Stow Hill occurred at this time along with Prince William's acquisition of the church of St Gwynllyw. It is further possible by the end of CE 1075 Norman encroachment in south-eastern Wales had advanced beyond the river Usk as far as

the river Ebbw and possibly as far as the River Rhymney (Coplestone-Crow, 1998: 6).

However, in CE 1078 Caradog ap Grufudd defeated Rhys ab Owain, the brother of Maredudd (Maund, 2006: 107-109). The next mention of Caradog ap Grufudd is in CE 1081 where his presence at the battle of Mynydd Carn was recorded (*The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*: 66). Here, he was described as being from both Gwent Uwch Coed and Gwent Is Coed and as being supported by men from Morgannwg. There was also a Norman contingent in his forces. It is therefore probable Caradog ap Grufudd had come to terms with King William I in order to retain his lands in Gwent and maintain some authority in Glamorgan.

At Mynydd Carn Caradog ap Grufudd's forces were defeated and he was killed. It may be his death was the main reason for King William's progress through south and west Wales in CE 1081. He negotiated a settlement with Rhys ap Tewdwr who was now considered the new ruler of south Wales. This consisted of accepting King William I as overlord and the payment of an annual render of £40. Although Rhys ap Tewdwr was now recognised as the ruler in south Wales, it seems unlikely he had much direct authority in Gwent. At this point it seems probable the Normans took advantage of the state of affairs here to extend their control over western Gwent, Gwynllwg and Glamorgan. What appears certain from Domesday evidence, was Norman control was evident in the region around Caerleon, where a castle had been established by CE 1086 (*Domesday Folio 162a*).

Caradog ap Grufudd's son Owain does appear to have inherited some kind of authority in Gwynllwg. However, his influence in the region was considerably diminished. It may be the concordat between the Normans and Welsh of Gwent

continued to function as Owain Wain was certainly in alliance with them during the reign of Henry I when he was killed by his own countrymen while performing castle-guard duty at Carmarthen in CE 1140 (Williams, 1993: 463). Furthermore, his son Morgan ab Owain was recognised as Lord of Caerleon by King Henry II until his death in CE 1145. He in turn was succeeded by his brother lowerth ab Owain. Caerleon was to remain under his descendants' apparent control until William Marshall took the castle from Morgan ap Hywel in CE 1217 and effectively extinguished the kingdom of Gwent.⁸²⁸

Conclusion

The principal focus of Chapter 3 was to trace the emergence and later decline of Gwent after Roman rule had ended. It considers factors as to why this process occurred. At each turn the sources suggest a range of possibilities. For example, it can be seen the Gwentian polity was to have an extraordinary longevity and the evidence suggests it was the product of older Silurian traditions and Roman political authority. This became manifest in the form of its kings⁸²⁹ and later the Church.⁸³⁰ Supporting evidence consists of a range material culture over time,⁸³¹ monumental remains,⁸³² settlement patterns⁸³³ and bodies of surviving texts.⁸³⁴

Combined, they suggest the kingdom of Gwent was a hierarchical society whose elite exploited and controlled the lives of its inhabitants to an extraordinary degree. This was achieved through formal control of the kingdom's chief wealth which

⁸²⁸ (Chapters 3: 541-545, 4: 553-558)

⁸²⁹ (Chapter 3: 227-231)

⁸³⁰ (Chapter 3: 236-268)

⁸³¹ (Chapter 3: 341-466)

⁸³² (Chapter 3: 161-184, 291-335)

⁸³³ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

⁸³⁴ (Chapter 3: 227-231, 236-256, 335-341)

primarily consisted of cattle.⁸³⁵ Throughout the early Middle Age the position of Gwent's kings was maintained through periods of conflict, submission or coexistence with its neighbouring kingdoms (Welsh, English and Norman).⁸³⁶ It appears the kingdom's later stability was partially undermined by its relationship with the Church and the privileges it claimed over the laity.⁸³⁷

That this kingdom and others, was able to come into being after formal Roman rule over western Britain ended is suggested by the likely fragmentation of *Britannia Prima*.⁸³⁸ This initially may have taken the form of decentralisation centred around its main socio-political territorial *civitas* units. The loss of coherence appears to have led to even smaller territorial and identity units based around Roman towns, military installations or villa estates.⁸³⁹

The provincial Roman government formerly provided by the *civitates* consisted of an elite of individual *decuriones* and *curiales*. This social class, whose positions were hereditary included underwriting and collecting taxes. Therefore, it seems likely they continued to control the tax pay cycle.⁸⁴⁰ Furthermore, if the *comes tractus maritimus per Britannias* existed and its troops were employed to protect tax collectors and were stationed in dispersed sections or companies, this would have given local notables the economic and military wherewithal to protect their own positions and to exert local control.⁸⁴¹

The sources suggest patterns which indicate the likelihood of cultural continuity over an extended period. Examples include a farming economy based on

⁸³⁵ (Chapter 3: 341-359, 466-479)

⁸³⁶ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

⁸³⁷ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

⁸³⁸ (Chapter 3: 154-159)

⁸³⁹ (Chapter 3: 161-184)

⁸⁴⁰ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁸⁴¹ (Chapter 3: 159-161, 213-222)

transhumance,⁸⁴² a tradition of labour service to a lord⁸⁴³ and the reoccupation of Iron Age sites⁸⁴⁴ during the very early medieval period. This factor may also be reflected in early church sites in Gwent where there are 17 common yew trees with girths exceeding 700 cms which may well predate the church yards within which they are contained.⁸⁴⁵ Combined, the evidence appears to have enveloped the Iron Age, Roman interlude and the whole of the early medieval period. Furthermore, some of these traditions extended into the later Middle Age when Norman control began.⁸⁴⁶

Gwent and its boundaries changed over time. Initially, it seems likely the kingdom of Gwent was contained within the boundaries of, and included all of *Civitas Silurum*.⁸⁴⁷ The term '*Silurum*' was abandoned and this may mean *Venta Silurum* lost its association with wider Gwent and came to represent the specific cantrefs of Gwent Is Coed, Gwent Uwch Coed, Ergyng and possibly Gwynllwg as the other main kingdom of Glywysing emerged in the western part of the former *civitas*.⁸⁴⁸ The exact extent of Gwent and whether it always formed a separate kingdom is difficult to determine. It clearly had its own kings or sub-kings and Gwent may have been given to the junior branches of the main Glywysing dynasty.⁸⁴⁹ It is equally possible the grants made to the Church were so located between the cantrefi of south-eastern Gwent in order to promote stability between the various commotes and cantrefi of Gwent.⁸⁵⁰ In addition, there appeared by the time of the coming of the Normans two kinds of estates in Gwentian contexts which exploited upland and lowland locales

⁸⁴² (Chapters 2: 56-98; 3: 261-278, 359-466)

⁸⁴³ (Chapter 3: 176-177, 209-216, 220, 291-335)

⁸⁴⁴ (Chapter 3: 291-335)

⁸⁴⁵ (Chapter 3: 259-261)

⁸⁴⁶ (Chapter 3: 480-502, 530-541)

⁸⁴⁷ (Chapter 3: 161-164)

⁸⁴⁸ (Chapter 3: 161-164, 231-236)

⁸⁴⁹ (Chapter 3: 510-516)

⁸⁵⁰ (Chapter 3: 290-291)

and as an organisational model and could be considered as multiple estates.⁸⁵¹ Furthermore, it appears the institution of kingship was provided for by food renders from such estates.⁸⁵²

From evidence derived from Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog it can be inferred the kingdom of Gwent probably had trading or exchange contacts throughout the early Middle Age.⁸⁵³ However, it is clear the ending of Roman rule led to a reduction in the complexity of Gwentian economic activity. For instance, coinage appears not to be used as currency and the evidence for its use afterwards is slight.⁸⁵⁴ Other questions could include identifying why the region became aceramic after Rome and is worthy of further research. Additional aspects of Gwent's story during the early Middle Age which suggest this society remained Celtic in character is considered in Chapter 4.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵¹ (Chapter 3: 287-288)

⁸⁵² (Chapter 3: 217-219)

⁸⁵³ (Chapter 3: 359-466)

⁸⁵⁴ (Chapter 3: 466-480)

⁸⁵⁵ (Chapter 4: 545-578)

Chapter 4: continuity, celticity and Gwent

Introduction

Traditionally labels of Celtic and celticity appear to be restricted to non-Mediterranean pre-Roman societies of the Britain, Ireland, western and central Europe. Alternatively, in modern contexts they appear as labels for the non-English parts of the British Isles and Ireland and are outside the scope of this study. Chapter 4 considers whether sub-Roman Gwent should be characterised as Celtic from the ending of Roman rule to the coming of the Normans. This notion is explored through what appear to be a range of inherited traditions. Research suggests Gwentian elite groups, whether laity or ecclesiastical, and therefore Gwentian society as a whole, retained characteristics which could be termed as Celtic.⁸⁵⁶

Inherited traditions (1) myths

Many sources relevant to this question have been relayed to the present time in the form of myths. Whilst there appears to be a rich mythological tradition in early Wales, it is poorly documented and there is little in the sources which is demonstrably very early. The mythology is present but has largely been reshaped within different contexts, so as to be barely recognisable. The material most relevant consists of the *Mabinogi*, *Culhwch and Olwen* and related poems such as the *Spoils of Annwn*.

The Mabinogi refers to four separate but related stories colloquially referred to as 'Branches'. These are generally known as *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed*, *Branwen Ferch Llŷr*, *Manawydan Fab Llŷr* and *Math Fab Mathonwy*. In Welsh, they are collectively known as the *Pedair Cainc y Mabinogi*. Another seven stories, *Peredur son of Efrog*; *The Dream of the Emperor Maxen*; *Lludd and Llefelys*; *The Lady and the Well*; *Geraint son of Erbin*; *How Culhwch won Olwen* and *Rhonabwy's Dream* are included in the collection (Davies, 2007: i-xiii).

⁸⁵⁶ (Study introduction: 8-9; Chapter 1: 18-25)

The earliest complete texts of the *Mabinogi* are found in the White Book of Rhydderch (*circa* CE 1350) and the Red Book of Hergest (*circa* CE 1400) although portions of the second and third Branches appear in *Brut Peniarth* 6 (*circa* CE 1250). These stories were probably first compiled in the eleventh-century CE from material which may have been a few hundred years older. In earlier times, it is likely they were circulated orally and their author is unknown, although Bishop Sulien and his son Rhygfarch have been suggested (Davies, 2006: 1207-1208).

Their content is variable and resonances of Celtic mythology are apparent in each of the four branches (Davies, 2006: 1207). Despite their differences, the tales of the *Mabinogion* draw heavily on oral material and on the story telling techniques of medieval cyfarwydd. Performance features were probably an integral part of their fabric, partly because the authors inherited pre-literary modes of narrating and partly because the written tales were composed for oral delivery (Davies, 2006: 1207-1208). A brief description of the content of each is provided as it is possible these sets of stories allude to traditions going back many centuries before their compilation.

Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed (Pwyll, prince of Dyfed) opening section tells of Pwyll's encounter with Arawn, the king of Annwn (the otherworld) where they changed places for a year and a day. In the second section Pwyll saw a beautiful woman riding a magical white horse. She was Rhiannon, daughter of Hefeydd and after several tribulations Rhiannon and he were married. The third and final section tells of how a son is born to the couple and disappears on the night of his birth. Rhiannon was accused of murdering the child and was punished by being forced to carry visitors on her back at court. Teyrnnon, the lord of Gwent Is Coed discovers the child under strange circumstances. Teyrnnon and his wife adopted the child, who give him

the name Gwri of the Golden Hair. Eventually he was returned to his father's court and renamed Pryderi. After Pwyll's death Pryderi rules Dyfed and marries Cigfa (Davies, 2006: 3-21).

Branwen Ferch Llŷr (Branwen daughter of Llŷr) centres on the triangle of the giant Brân (or Bendigeidfran), king of Britain, his sister Branwen and their evil half-brother Efnisien. Branwen was given in marriage to Matholwch, king of Ireland. Efnisien, enraged at not being consulted about the marriage, mutilated Matholwch's horses as an act of revenge. Brân pacified the insulted Matholwch with replacement horses and gifts. These included a magic cauldron which was able to resurrect the dead. Matholwch returned to Ireland with Branwen at his side and began to mistreat her. Branwen was sent to work in the kitchen and each day the butcher beat her. She sought help by training a starling to take a message to Brân at Caernarfon. Brân gathered his army to invade Ireland and rescue his sister. Brân waded across the Irish Sea while his men followed in ships.

Matholwch wanted peace and offered the kingship of Ireland to his son Gwern, by Branwen and offered to build Brân a new palace. At the coronation feast, the Irish hung 100 deerskin bags in the new banqueting hall. The bags supposedly containing flour, held armed Irish lords intending to kill the Welsh. Efnisien foiled the plot by crushing the men's skulls as they hid and threw Gwern headlong into the hall's fire. Fighting between the Welsh and Irish broke out and seeing the Irish using the magical cauldron to revive their dead, he hid beneath a pile of Irish bodies. Efnisien was thrown into the cauldron and broke it into pieces by pushing against its sides. However, the physical strain of breaking the cauldron cost him his life. With the Irish defeated, only seven Welsh soldiers survived, with Brân mortally wounded by the thrust of a poisoned spear into his foot. He ordered his soldiers to cut off his head

and take it to be buried in London. Branwen returned with her countrymen and soon died of heartbreak. The Welsh soldiers, with the still living head of Brân, travelled to Harlech where they stayed for seven years feasting and listening to the birds of Rhiannon in order to forget their pain and loss. They then travelled to the island of Gwales and stayed at another royal palace for a further eight years. After this interlude, the men set off for London to bury (it must be assumed) the then dead Brân's head (Davies, 2007: 22-34).

Manawydan Fab Llŷr (Manawydan son of Llŷr) tells the tale of Manawydan, the brother of Brân, who along with Pryderi was one of the seven survivors of the second branch. Upon his return he discovered his nephew Caswallon had seized the throne of Britain. At Pryderi's suggestion he accepted land in Dyfed and married Rhiannon, widow of Pwyll of the first branch.

An enchantment fell on Dyfed and Manawydan together with Rhiannon, Pryderi and Cigfa travelled to England to seek work. Upon their return to Dyfed, whilst out hunting, Manawydan and Pryderi encountered a shining white boar. The animal led them to a magic fortress where Pryderi, and afterwards his mother, were imprisoned after touching a golden cauldron. Manawydan later secured their release by capturing the wife of Llwyd, the son of Cilcoed a magician who had placed the enchantment on Dyfed to punish Rhiannon for the ill treatment of his friend Gwawl, son of Clud and a jilted suitor of Rhiannon in the first branch (Davies, 2007: 35-46).

The fourth branch, *Math Fab Mathonwy* (Math son of Mathonwy) was set in and around the Llyn peninsula. Math was described as lord of Gwynedd and as a magician. He relied on two nephews Gilfaethwy and Gwydion, another magician to help him rule the land. Gilfaethwy had fallen in love with Math's beautiful foot servant

Goewin. Gwydion, conspired to start a war so Gilfaethwy could be alone with her. To achieve this end, Gwydion swindled a herd of special pigs from Pryderi ruler of Dyfed, which had been a gift from the king of Annwfn, to give them to Math. He facilitated this by turning some toadstools into twelve horses and twelve hounds, which he exchanged for the pigs. However, the following day they reverted to toadstools. The cheated Pryderi assembled his army to retrieve the pigs from Gwydion. However, Math set out to meet Pryderi's attack and while he was away from his court, Gilfaethwy raped Goewin in Math's bed.

A truce was called after the battle and Pryderi realising Gwydion was his real enemy, challenged him to hand-to-hand combat. Gwydion used magic and was able to kill Pryderi. Math returned to his court and promised to marry Goewin after she revealed Gilfaethwy had raped her. Gwydion and Gilfaethwy went into hiding. By way of punishment, Math turned Gilfaethwy into a hind and Gwydion into a stag. Each year for the next three years, Math turned them into different animals and they were forced to give their young to Math. After this, Math returned his nephews to human form and asked them to recommend another maiden to rest his feet on.

Gwydion proposed his sister Arianrhod. When Math used magic to test her virginity, it revealed a golden-haired child. Arianrhod ran away in disgrace and dropped something small, which Gwydion hid in a chest at the foot of his bed. One morning, he woke to hear a small child crying. Later, Math followed Gwydion to Arianrhod's stronghold where he revealed the boy was her son. She refused to acknowledge or name the boy. The following day, Gwydion conjured a ship out of seaweed and leather and he and the boy set sail for Arianrhod's court. Math changed their appearance to prevent Arianrhod from recognising them and once in view of the castle, they begin making beautiful shoes on the deck of their ship. Arianrhod saw

the shoes and ordered them to make a pair for her. As Gwydion measured her feet, a wren landed on the ship's deck. The boy aimed a needle at the bird's leg and broke it. Arianrhod commented 'the fair boy has a deft hand', which provided his name, Llew Llaw Gyffes (fair skilled hand). Angry at being tricked, Arianrhod swore he would never carry weapons unless she gave them to him.

When Llew reached his majority, Gwydion disguised them as storytellers and tricked Arianrhod into believing the kingdom was at war. In panic, she gave him armour and weapons. However, when she realised who they were, she swore Llew would never have a human wife. Gwydion and Llew went to Math and told him about Arianrhod's curse.

They created a wife for Llew out of flowers of the oak, meadowsweet and broom of the woods and named her Blodeuwedd. Llew and Blodeuwedd were married and Math gave them the lands of Eifionidd and Ardudwy to rule. They moved their court to Mur Castell where Blodeuwedd fell in love with a neighbouring lord, Goronwy Peifr of Penllyn and they plotted to kill Llew. Their attempt failed when Llew was transformed into an eagle. Later, Llew recovered and planned his revenge on Blodeuwedd and Goronwy Peifr. She attempted to run away, but Gwydion caught her at Llyn Morwinion, where he turned her into an owl and Goronwy was killed with a spear (Davies, 2007: 47-64).

The tale of *Culhwch and Olwen* is a quest story, in which Culhwch, after being cursed by his stepmother has to perform a series of seemingly impossible tasks, set by Olwen's father, the giant Ysbaddaden, before he can marry his daughter. Juxtaposed with the story of Ysbaddaden's daughter Olwen, is Arthur.⁸⁵⁷ The list of

⁸⁵⁷ (Chapter 4: 553-558)

tasks included retrieving the sword of another giant Wrnach; finding Mabon ap Modron and the hunting dog Drudwyn; to hunt down, kill and take the tusk of the boar Ysgithyrwyn and to retrieve the scissors, comb and razor of Prince Tared of Ireland, who had been cursed to take the form of another boar called Twrch Trwyth (Davies, 2007: 179-213).

The *Preiddeu Annwfn* (The Spoils of Annwfn) is a cryptic poem of sixty lines found in the *Book of Taliesin*. The text recounts an expedition made by Arthur to Annwfn and is significant as it included early references to several characters, episodes and themes which find full expression in later medieval Welsh tales and Arthurian literature.⁸⁵⁸ The recurrent theme of the poem was a sea-borne raid on otherworldly strongholds on Arthur's ship Prydwen. As in the second branch, only seven returned. The chief treasure mentioned in the poem was a pearl rimmed cauldron (Koch, 2006d: 1456).

It seems the tales chronicle the activities of euhemerised supernatural beings, whose divinity is not overt but is betrayed by their physical and moral stature. There were also a number of magic animals, shapeshifters, heads with divine powers, cauldrons which can resurrect the dead and the pagan otherworld called Annwn. Some heroes and heroines of this Welsh tradition may be related to known Celtic divinities. For example Rhiannon may be Rigantona (Great Queen) or Epona; Mabon could be Maponus and Modron the Great Mother goddess (Green, 1997b: 20-21).

There are clear links between the Welsh material and the great continental cycle of Arthurian romance. Arthur appears as a superhuman hero, who braves the underworld and tries to acquire the magic cauldron of renewal. Within the Welsh

⁸⁵⁸ (Chapter 4: 553-558)

tradition, it is possible to distinguish material which can be associated with pagan traits observable in archaeology or other sources, but the inclusions which are clearly alien to pagan Celtic tradition must be left out of account (Green, 1997b: 21). That the older tales appear to be remembered in the later Middle Age is suggestive of cultural continuity from before the coming of Rome. They also appear to be a marker of ongoing celticity transmitted forward into the early Middle Age.

Inherited traditions (2) Arthur and Gwent

Arthur is an enigma. There is scant documentary or verbal evidence that has either alluded to or proved the physical existence of Arthur as a historical character.⁸⁵⁹ Despite the dearth of documentary evidence to conclusively support the physical existence of Arthur, there is evidence of a body of clear material culture which could have supported a sophisticated hierarchical post-Romano British society during this period.⁸⁶⁰ In addition, the existence of such supportive political entities (whether led by Ambrosius, Maelgwn or Arthur for instance) would have been essential in supplying any prospective or actual ruler with the necessary material means to prosecute serial warfare on the scale which has been consistently described throughout the documentary evidence of this period against the Anglo-Saxons or their contemporaries.

These entities which were eventually to become kingdoms in some of the modern regions of Scotland, England and throughout all of Wales may have been possibly (and certainly in the case of Wales) administered under the Llys and Llan system with its emergent territorial units of cantrefi, commotes, maenolau/maenorau and

⁸⁵⁹ (Chapter 1: 32-34)

⁸⁶⁰ (Chapter 3: 359-391)

townships (Green & Howell, 2004: 94; Harvey & Jones, 1999: 224).⁸⁶¹ This system can probably be seen as the successors to the pre-Roman and later villa and nascent urban economy of Roman Britain (Brewer, 2004: 205-244), coupled with the continuation of far older unique tribal identities including the Silures in Gwent and Glamorgan specifically (Howell, 2006: 30-31).⁸⁶²

It is evident land was managed in productive ways as demonstrated in customary and later codified laws such the book of Cyfnerth for Gwentian practise which was based on kinship, food renders and compensation (Longley, 2004: 287-316; Wade-Evans, 1909: introduction).⁸⁶³

It can be seen these realms were successful and had extraordinary longevity whilst maintaining social norms which would have certainly inspired social cohesion and enduring support from each kingdom's subjects during Arthur's supposed lifetime.⁸⁶⁴

Physical evidence of this historical process has been demonstrated by the finds of Alcock's (1963) excavation at Dinas Powys alongside others in south-eastern Wales such as Llandough, Llanmelin, Lodge Hill and elsewhere in what were to become the mutable Welsh kingdoms of Gwent and Glamorgan which emerged at this time. The archaeology demonstrates long-term reoccupation of older sites and has shown this region had extensive trading links with mainland Europe.⁸⁶⁵ Other physical examples have included scores of inscribed stones which have been found chiefly across modern Wales and south-western England can be seen as evidence of various new,

⁸⁶¹ (Chapter 3: 268-335)

⁸⁶² (Chapter 2: 35-150)

⁸⁶³ (Chapters 2: 56-98, 3: 341-359)

⁸⁶⁴ (Evans, 1974; Harvey & Jones, 1999: 223-233; Henkham, 1987: 226-232; Higham, 1994a: 229-232; Jones, 1999: 65-78; Pryce, 2001: 775-801)

⁸⁶⁵ (Alcock, 1971: 1 - 364; Alcock, 1987: 1 – 311; Evans, 1974: 126 – 128; Green & Howell, 2004: 80 - 101; Howell, 2006: Chapter 7; Snyder, 1998: xiii - xix)

literate, regulated and continuous successors to Roman rule.⁸⁶⁶ All in all, it can be seen the political will, social cohesion and wherewithal to oppose Anglo-Saxon incursions at this time was certainly available.

The medieval tales known collectively as the *Mabinogion*⁸⁶⁷ present a complex multi-dimensional view of Wales and Arthur in particular. Juliette Wood's (2004) research of how these relate to Gwent suggests they include wider elements of British myths, the early Christian world of the old British kingdoms and the political realities of Anglo-Norman Wales. She notes the actual locations cited in the tales was not necessarily the point of origin and many of the tales of medieval Gwent contain material of international provenance (Wood, 2004: 317-318).

Gwent, Glamorgan and the southern Marches were open to Norman influence from *circa* CE 1090 onwards.⁸⁶⁸ By this time the region contained both Welsh and Norman lordships and in the twelfth-century CE many lordships allied themselves to the princes of Deheubarth and to Lord Rhys, who although independent, held authority under the crown. This cultural mix further provided for a channel for the transmission of continental influence into south Wales. Furthermore it was a place where the Normans encountered Welsh tradition (Roberts, 1976: 220). It can be reasoned tales of Arthur played an important role in the narrative world of medieval Gwent during this period.

For example, three native Welsh romances, *Iarlles y Ffynon*, *Peredur ab Efrog* and *Gerieint ab Erbin* locate Arthur's court at Caerleon. Wood (2004) considers the geography of these romances appear to reflect the general view of medieval

⁸⁶⁶ (Evans, 1974: 69-72; Davies, 2007:45; Pryor, 2004: 187-190)

⁸⁶⁷(Chapter 4: 546-553)

⁸⁶⁸ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

cosmology and medieval maps contain the same topographical features which were important in traditional narratives. For instance, she cites the elaborate *Mappa Mundi* at Hereford which depicts islands, mountains and enclosed regions as part of terrestrial geography and considers these features as schematic rather than individualised. It and other *mappa mundi* were often pictorial representations of the medieval cosmos and assist in the understanding of landscape in narratives such as these. Cities were depicted as small vignettes with prominent buildings and churches noted, whilst some areas of water have illustrations of fish or sea monsters. In addition, she notes the Hereford map despite being compiled in Britain, Ireland and northern Europe is more schematic than exact. Furthermore, these maps were often glossed by inscriptions about strange inhabitants, plants, climates and events (Wood, 2004: 318-319).

This medieval view of geography did not necessarily conflict with a more accurate one. Gerald of Wales constructed a map of Wales which has since been lost (Wood, 2004: 319). His writings contain precise observations on links between real topography and culture.⁸⁶⁹ Regarding Caerleon, Gerald derived its importance from its connection to the Roman world, where he perceived a more stable past, which was more ordered, noble and civilised than his present. Geoffrey of Monmouth⁸⁷⁰ may have exploited this view when he chose to situate Arthur's court there (*Historia Regum Britanniae*, 7: 9: 7, 11-14). This transformed Arthur from the warlord of *Culhwch and Owen* of the saint's Lives into something more acceptable to Cambro-

⁸⁶⁹ (Chapter 1; 33-34, 61-62)

⁸⁷⁰ (Chapter 1: 33-34)

Norman culture. This was a court focussed on heroic and courtly behaviour, which had a world of adventure laying just beyond its borders.⁸⁷¹

What then were the consequences of this historical process in south-eastern Wales in later centuries? How was this viewed politically? The answers are uncertain, complex and multi-faceted. For instance, it can be seen there was continuation of previous traditions and promotion of old legends. Rhys Harvey and David Jones (1999) have suggested many rulers during the early medieval period promoted a series of foundation legends to justify the political units they controlled (Harvey & Jones, 1999: 223-233). An example was the Cunedda legend (*circa* CE 800) which may have been a fabrication created to maintain Merfyn ap Gwriad's tenuous hold of the throne of Gwynedd (Davies, 2007: 49-50). It can also be reasoned in Gwent with its diverse verbal and documentary records, related material culture in the form of physical buildings or sites which had been previously associated with Arthur would have been exploited by its rulers to promote notions of identity, memory and resistance in this region after the coming of the Normans.

Howell (2000) has made this assertion in relation to the demolition of Caerleon's ancient tetrapylon and fortress baths by William Marshall during the thirteenth-century CE. He argues the marcher lord adopted this destructive policy after seizing this part of Gwent from the lords of Caerleon. These native lords were direct descendants of the former kings of Gwent who had appropriated these imposing structures as symbols of kingship. Furthermore several kings of Gwent appear to have names which appear to derive from the personal name Arthur (e.g. Arthrwys *circa* CE 625, Arthfael *circa* CE 730, Arthrwys *circa* CE 785, Arthfael *circa* CE 848,

⁸⁷¹ (Chapter 1: 33-34)

Arthfael *circa* CE 885, Arthfael *circa* CE 980).⁸⁷² It seems logical Marshall removed both tetrapylon and baths in a show of military might to highlight his version of 'permanent regime change' (Howell, 2000: 387-395) defying the prospect of Arthur's return and reducing opposition to his imposed rule. This view seems likely given the Plantagenet's kings apparent fixation with Arthur, whose members including Henry II, his queen Eleanor and each of his sons all showed enthusiasm for the Arthurian legends (Snyder, 2003: 236-239).

Inherited traditions (3) personal names

Davies (1979) has recorded approximately 850 different personal names from the *Liber Landavensis*. She notes the overwhelming majority were Welsh, with about fifty English and twenty-five biblical examples (Davies, 1979: 145-187). Analysing these is problematical as no apparent standard orthographic convention was used throughout the period covered by the charters. These difficulties are further compounded by manuscript corruption. However, certain personal names appear to offer a measure of cultural continuity from pre-Roman times to the end of the series whilst others gained a measure of importance as the Middle Age progressed.

For example, Cynfelyn (Bartrum, 1993: 174-175) is the Welsh form of Cunobeline. He was a king in pre-Roman Britain from *circa* CE 9 whose reign ended between CE 40-43. He was mentioned by the classical authors Suetonius (*Caligula*, 44), Dio Cassius (*Roman History*, 60:21:4) and Strabo (*Geography* 4:5) and was known to Geoffrey of Monmouth (*Historia Regum Britanniae*, 4: 11-12). Two possible orthographic versions of the name within the *Liber Landavensis* were Cinuelin and Conuelin (Davies, 1979: 154, 157). This personal name occurs firstly, as a lay

⁸⁷² (Figure 75a: 223, 75b: 224)

witness for King Meurig's grant at Howick (*circa* CE 660) (*Liber Landavensis* charter 143). A second reference to this name was the purchase by Cynfelyn ap Cynwg (*circa* CE 760) of three *modii* of land at Tintern for two valuable horses and two sets of clothing from King Rhodri, which he subsequently donated to Bishop Cadwared (*Liber Landavensis* charter 209a). He made a further purchase and donation of three *modii* of land (*Liber Landavensis* charter 210b) at Dinbirrion (possibly in the Vale of Glamorgan) in the same year (Coe, 2004: 217-218). This Cynfelyn appears (*circa* CE 755) as a lay witness to another grant of land 'in the presence of the elders of Gwent and Ergyng' of Tir Dimuner (*Liber Landavensis* charter 198b). A third reference to this personal name was the donation by Cynfelyn of an ager of land at Llangwm to Bishop Grecielis (*circa* CE 860) (*Liber Landavensis* charter 173).

Caradog is the Welsh form of Caratacus.⁸⁷³ He was a son of Cunobeline (Cynfelyn) and the brother of Togodumnus. The two brothers opposed the Romans and Togodumnus was killed. Caratacus continued to resist the Romans with varying success and appeared to gradually gain pre-eminence over other native leaders. By the year CE 50, Caratacus was engaged in organising resistance among the Silures.⁸⁷⁴ This personal name appears in different forms in the *Liber Landavensis* and variants include Caratauc and Caratocvs (Davies, 1979: 152). However, the potentially earliest reference to this personal name during Gwent's early Middle Age (*circa* CE 480) was in the *Life of St Tatheus* where the orthography used was Caradoci who was known 'as the king of both Gwents and son of Ynyr'.⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ The king later granted Caerwent to Tatheus (*Vita Tathei*: 6, 9).

⁸⁷³ (Study introduction: 9-10)

⁸⁷⁴ Chapter 2 124-135)

⁸⁷⁵ (Chapter 3: 216, 232)

⁸⁷⁶ (Figure 75a: 223)

This personal name appears next in relation to a grant at Llanlowdy from King Gwrgan to Bishop Inabwy (*circa* CE 620) as a lay witness (*Liber Landavensis* charter 163b). A third example of the use of this personal name occurred in relation to a grant at St Maughans where Caradog and his brother Cincu acquiesced to the gift made by Britcon and Iliwig (*Liber Landavensis* charter 74). Another Caradog was a clerical witness in relation to the grant (*circa* CE 862) made by Eli to Bishop Cerennyr of Villa Guliple near Bishton (*Liber Landavensis* charter 214). In addition, there was a Caradog who was the father of a lay witness to a grant made in relation to an estate (*circa* CE 1038) which lay on the banks of the river Ely (*Liber Landavensis* charter 258). During *circa* CE 1040, Caradog ap Rhiwallon a companion of King Meurig, violated sanctuary (*Liber Landavensis* charters 259 & 261). He was also a lay witness to grants made between *circa* CE 1060-1075 and as a donor of an estate near Llangwm *circa* CE 1075 as penance for the murder of his brother (*Liber Landavensis* charters 267, 269, 271, 272, 274). It is interesting the last king of Gwent was named Caradog (*Liber Landavensis* charter: 272).⁸⁷⁷ The use of Cynfelyn and Caradog as personal names from the late Iron Age until the beginning of the later Middle Age represents long-term cultural continuity and is a marker of ongoing Gwentian celticity in the early medieval period.

Inherited traditions (4) multiple images, triplism and triads

Study of stone and bronze iconography of any Romano-Celtic province reveals diversity of stylistic treatment in the imagery expressed. Whilst many religious depictions in the pagan Celtic world made during the Roman occupation display classical realism, this is balanced by a significant proportion of cult-images which Green (1986) argues owe little to Graeco-Roman traditions of verism or naturalism.

⁸⁷⁷ (Chapter 3: 530-541)

Stylisation, schematism and abstraction which she argues were Celtic traits (Green, 1986: 191).

Furthermore, number played an important role in Celtic symbolism and offer evidence of cultural continuity transmitted forward into the early Middle Age. The most sacred or magical was the number three. The ideas of threeness were a common feature of Indo-European culture and Indo-European society itself, was structured according to a tripartite classification of priests, warriors and cultivators. Threeness was particularly prominent in the pagan Celtic iconography of western Europe. In Britain, triplication or multiplicity is demonstrated in the pre-Roman period by the deposition of three horse heads together in Iron Age settlements including Winklebury Camp in Wiltshire (Green, 1997b: 214). Celtic triplism however, manifested itself more fully during the Roman interlude in Britain (Green, 1997b: 214-215).

Two main types of triplism have been identified by Green (1997b). These consist of part of a human or animal form multiplied or where the whole form of a deity is repeated three times. One of the most distinctive of the first category is the triple faced or triple headed image. These may appear in iconography in several ways. Sometimes the image consisted of the triplicated head alone. Others comprised an entire human body surmounted by three conjoined heads or faces. Several triple heads occur in British contexts and have been recorded at Wroxeter in Shropshire, Bradenstoke in Wiltshire, Sutherland in northern Scotland and Corleck in County Cavan (Green, 1997b: 114-116; Ross, 1967: 53-56). The second category consist of animal imagery in the form of a bull with a third horn. These bull images are sacred in character and are recovered from shrines or graves. In Britain they have been

found at Colchester, Maiden Castle, Dorset and Willingham Fen in Cambridgeshire (Green 1997b: 52-53).

Of the deities whose entire beings were triplicated, the most distinctive male image was the 'hooded spirit' (*genius cucullatus*).⁸⁷⁸ The figures appear in continental and British contexts, but only in Britain in triadic form. Their distribution in Britain occurs near the study area of Gwent in the Cotswolds and further afield at Hadrian's Wall (Green, 1997b: 214-216). In addition, female deities were often represented in triple form in Celtic iconography. The mother goddess (*deae matres*) inscriptions were a common type of Celtic divinity treated in this way and triadic form appears to have played an important role in her worship and cult expression (Green, 1986: 76-77).

Moreover in a Gwentian context, the aforementioned reused stone relief,⁸⁷⁹ thought to be Roman in date and built into the Norman Hall-Keep at Chepstow castle depicted three male figures.⁸⁸⁰ This was similar to another triad recovered from Wycombe where a central male rested two huge arms on the heads



Figure 235 Romano-British limestone votive relief depicting three cloaked godlets (*genius cucullate*) recovered from Cirencester (Corinium Museum 2021)

⁸⁷⁸ (Figure 235: 563)

⁸⁷⁹ Chapter 2: 122)

⁸⁸⁰ (Figure 236: 564)



Figure 236

Reused stone relief from Chepstow Castle depicting three male figures (Green, 1997b: 95)

of two diminutive beings. Both may represent a superior deity and acolytes (Green, 1992: 184).

Furthermore, the arrangement of ideas in groups of three is common in the literatures of the Celtic speaking peoples. The form, function and subject matter of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* (Triads of the Island of Britain) typify the oldest native strata of records detailing the mythology and legendary peoples of insular Brythonic culture. It is possible they were devised and developed as aids to memory. Moreover, the names contained in these triads represent the largest and most diverse record of epithets and onomastic lore in the Welsh language. Their obscurity and mystery attracted poets and storytellers and both *cynfeirdd* and *gogynfeirdd* poets made use of names and narrative elements as triads. These were poetic structures with which to make sound and sense in *cynghanedd*. They were used as epithets for praise and the

inferred glory of their patrons. Moreover, they served as an indispensable source of native lore and poetic training. They also provide much of the native Welsh material concerning Arthur (Bromwich, 2014; Grooms, 2006: 1687-1688).

The title itself gives commemorative status to the Island of Britain as a whole and implies an ideal unity and portrays the disruption to that unity being caused by successive waves of invaders. A difficulty of interpretation occurs as many of the names and creatures featured in the triads remain obscure and allusive as to their context and meanings as the traditions, histories and even the landscapes they described and signified have long since passed from oral memory. Medieval audiences may have recognised and appreciated the presence of materials from the triads in the performance of tales and poems as both authoritative, esoteric and as an extant fragment of a complete body of native knowledge. The earliest grouping and order of the texts which appeared in manuscript and are dated between the thirteenth and sixteenth-centuries CE (Grooms, 2006: 1687-1688).

This predilection for triadic arrangements was embedded into the Cyfnerth code and included fifty-six examples.⁸⁸¹ There has been debate whether the triads were developed for teaching purposes and therefore, were not part of the original law texts (e.g. Powell, 1937-1939: 27-39 discussing the Blegywryd texts).

Roberts (2011) refutes this view and has suggested the triads may represent an oral collection written down for posterity, or for practical use by a lawyer (Roberts, 2011: 13-15). She argues the triads included in the older Cyfnerth code, where during this period, there were less emphasis on legal training or for the provision of trained

⁸⁸¹ (Appendix 5: 828-837)

lawyers, that men of status used them to make judgments or to assist with pleading (Roberts, 2011: 15). This viewpoint is possible as the Cyfnerth triads present evidence of societal order or organisation and were a vehicle for transmitting proverbial and ethical statements. For example:

6. The three nets of the king are: his household, and there is no reparation on account of that net, but the mercy of the king; the second net is his stud, for every horse caught among his stud, the king has four legal pence; the third is, the cattle of his maer house, for every beast among them, the king has four legal pence.

7. The three nets of a breyr are: his stud; his cattle; and his swine: because, if an animal be found among them, the breyr has four legal pence for every animal.

8. The three nets of a taeog are: his cattle; his swine; and his homestead; from his calends of May until the end of September, he has four curt pence for every animal he shall find therein.

10. There are three shames of a kindred, and the three on account of woman: one is, to abduce a woman against her will; the second is, where a man takes another woman into the house of his wife, against her will, and turns her out; the third is, the despoiling of his wife, being more pleased to spoil her than to be connected with her.

19. There are three universalities of a country: armament; pleas; and church; for everybody is under a summons to them.

20. There are three secrets better revealed than conceded: one of them, losses to a lord; waylaying; and a person killing his father, if acknowledged in confidence.

21. The three presentials of a country: a lord; a priest; and law: and they cannot be dispensed with, as formerly.

26. The three disgraceful faults of a man: the being a faithless friend; feeble in pleadings; and a man to a bad lord.

(Appendix 5: 827-836)

The nets referred to sources of revenue from the king downwards (6, 7, 8), whilst others reinforce hierarchy (19, 20, 21). Some offered general protection to its inhabitants (10, 26). The written triads present powerful symbolism and share a characteristic feature already discernible with ancient Celtic imagery from Britain and beyond. Combined, the evidence provided by groupings of three appear to be indicative of long-term cultural continuity from at least the Roman period into the thirteenth and sixteenth-centuries CE when these manuscripts were written down (Grooms, 2006: 1687-1688). As with the various Welsh myths⁸⁸² they represent long-term markers of ongoing celticity.

Inherited traditions (5) aspects of material culture over time

Artefactual evidence and textual references appear to demonstrate links between the early Middle Age and its pre-Roman past in south-eastern Wales. One way this seems to be confirmed was feasting and the utilisation of communal cooking paraphernalia, wearing a range of certain personal adornments, written descriptions and the apparent practice of gift exchange, usually based around consumer or occasionally deposition sites over time. Combined, they evidence social institutions,

⁸⁸² (Chapter 4: 553-558)

which evolved with the object of promoting the identity and coherence of a dispersed rural tribal group. The aim may have been to reinforce the status of individuals and sub-groups within the tribal whole. The result was to promulgate long-term continuity, which in a Gwentian context provides a post-Roman and early Middle Age marker of Celticity.

For example, cauldrons are of particular interest as the archaeological and literary evidence have many features in common. There is evidence for pork being cooked in cauldrons at sites such as Danebury (Green, 1997b: 58). In addition, the remains of at least five cauldrons were recovered from Llanmaes in Glamorganshire which were contained within a materially rich midden heap which consisted predominately of pig bones, and most especially the right-sided vertebral portions of the animals. This site was in use between the late Bronze Age until second-century CE.⁸⁸³ Even earlier, were the two cauldrons recovered from a watery context at Llyn Fawr.⁸⁸⁴

As well as practical vessels for the preparation and consumption of foodstuffs, other aspects may include rejuvenation or resurrection as suggested by the example cited in *Branwen Ferch Llŷr*⁸⁸⁵ or one of the repousse plates on the Gundestrup Cauldron circa 200 BCE which depicted a scene where a god accompanied by warriors holds a man over a vat of liquid. Green (1997b) considers this may be representative of the act of resurrecting a dead warrior (Green, 1997b: 58). They may also represent plenty or bounty as in *Culhwch and Olwen* where Arthur obtained Diwrnarch's cauldron which held all of the treasures of Ireland (Davies, 2007: 179-213).⁸⁸⁶ This

⁸⁸³ (Chapter 2: 101-104)

⁸⁸⁴ (Chapter 2: 100-101)

⁸⁸⁵ (Chapter 4: 545-553)

⁸⁸⁶ (Chapter 4: 545-553)

can be compared to the one recovered from Duchcov in the Czech Republic which contained approximately 2000 pieces of bronze jewellery and dated to the fourth-century BCE (Danielisová, Pajdla, Bursák *et al*, 2021: 1-18). Other cauldron remains from the first-century CE Seven Sisters and Lesser Garth-Pentyrch hoards show continual use of such vessels and demonstrate a measure of cultural continuity in the form of communal feasting from the Early to the Late Iron Age and Roman interlude in Siluria.⁸⁸⁷ In a later Middle Age context, this continuity is reinforced by the value set on the king's cauldron in relation to other listed domestic items.⁸⁸⁸

The Langstone drinking apparel,⁸⁸⁹ the five tankards of the Seven Sisters hoard, two tankard handles found in Caerleon and another recovered from Caerwent have been dated from the late Iron Age and well into the Roman interlude in Siluria. The size of the Langstone vessel suggests the importance of sharing and imbibing alcohol on a lavish scale over time.⁸⁹⁰ Feasting was remembered in *Pwyll Pendefig Dyfed*. An account of Pwyll changing places with Arawn saw him experience lavish feasting in the form of hunting, carousing, singing and conversation on a scale he had never seen before for a year and a day.⁸⁹¹ In the Welsh texts the idea of conferring and displaying status at feasts through drink was well developed. For example, in the saga *Englynion* a privilege awarded was 'the chief of men who deserves a cup of wine (*Canu Llywarch Hen*, 1:48c). In the *Gododdin* mead was compared to 'the gold he deserved' (*Gododdin*, A64.798). Such lavishness appears to have been displayed by the use of various glass vessels at Dinas Powys⁸⁹² and parts of a drinking horn

⁸⁸⁷ (Chapter 2: 109-114)

⁸⁸⁸ (Figure 211: 434)

⁸⁸⁹ (Chapter 2: 98-115)

⁸⁹⁰ (Chapter 2: 103-109)

⁸⁹¹ (Chapter 4: 547)

⁸⁹² (Chapter 3: 370-373)

recovered from Llangorse crannog⁸⁹³ between the fifth and ninth-centuries CE and is indicative of cultural continuity which could be described as Celtic.

Shale bracelets, armlets and torcs have been recovered all over the Silurian region at Caldicot, Caerleon, Caerwent, Cowbridge, Llanmaes, Loughor and Seven Sisters.⁸⁹⁴ The material recovered from Dinas Powys suggest the tradition continued into the early Middle Age,⁸⁹⁵ whilst the shale ringlets from Llangorse crannog appear to confirm a long-term tradition.⁸⁹⁶ Torcs were mentioned in *Culhwch and Olwen* which described Olwen as wearing a large neck ring (Davies, 2007: 179-213) and Gerald of Wales, who mentioned a well in Pembrokeshire which contained a torc once owned by Cynog ap Brychan (born *circa* CE 500?) of Brycheiniog (Gerald, 2). Although both items were reputed to be made of gold, the design and their wearing was remembered in a late medieval context.

The Seven Sisters hoard contained several bronze/copper alloy artefacts which appeared to represent two distinctive Iron Age traditions. One, composing of entirely of horse related finds had a consistent level of zinc of approximately 17% appears to be discontinued after the coming of Rome. The second characterised as curvilinear La Tène artefacts, had a consistent level of tin of approximately 12.0% and comprised of drinking, feasting, manufacturing military and scrap objects.⁸⁹⁷ This provides evidence of a small range of alloys being used to produce native products at the end of the Iron Age in south-eastern Wales. No comparable analysis of the bronze artefacts found at Dinas Powys has yet been completed. However, it is

⁸⁹³ (Chapter 3: 399)

⁸⁹⁴ (Chapter 1: 15)

⁸⁹⁵ (Figure 169: 383)

⁸⁹⁶ (Figure 187: 409)

⁸⁹⁷ (Figure 34: 110)

interesting most of several bronze items collected from the more precise survey undertaken at Llangorse crannog had similar levels of tin in their chemical makeup. These included artefacts described as a faceted mount (2506) (12.49 %); a pin (2509) (10.42 %); a small semi-recycled sheet (2510a) (11.08 %); a large semi-recycled sheet (2510b) (13.73 %); a shield binding strip (2512) (10.55%); a semi-recycled sheet (3293) (14.45 %); a roof binding strip (3295) (10.29 %); recycled-sheet (a) (3297) (18.36 %); a drinking horn terminal (8815) (10.9 %) and a disc headed pin (4005) (13.24 %).⁸⁹⁸

Other items with lower tin values included a carrying hinge for a reliquary (2501) (0.00 %); a brooch pin (2508) (9.87 %); a pseudo-penannular brooch (2513) (8.96 %); recycled sheet (b) (3297) (0.09 %); Y-shaped mount (4387) (6.57 %); Y-shaped mount (4391) (4.83 %); a zoomorphic penannular brooch (8819) (9.28 %) and a Roman penannular brooch (8821) (8.77 %).⁸⁹⁹ It seems the majority of unfinished or recycled pieces in the Llangorse crannog sample were made in a similar way to those of the much earlier native south-eastern Welsh pieces of Severn Sisters and may be suggestive of an enduring tradition of metalworking processes. In addition, adaptations to artefacts of a long-standing nature appear to be the use of red enamel to embellish various objects from the late Iron Age and until the end of the early medieval period in south-eastern Wales.⁹⁰⁰

Iron production was apparent in Gwent and south-eastern Wales in pre-Roman contexts⁹⁰¹ and on a much-increased scale at specialist centres for much of the

⁸⁹⁸ (Figure 172: 394)

⁸⁹⁹ (Figure 172: 394)

⁹⁰⁰ (Chapters 2: 107-108, 112, 147-148, 3: 399-404)

⁹⁰¹ (Chapter 2: 98-100, 109-113)

Roman period.⁹⁰² Furthermore, it seems likely towards the end of the Roman interlude changes in use were made to public buildings which entailed metalworking.⁹⁰³ Tools and personal items continued to be made at Dinas Powys ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ and Llangorse crannog⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ and again represents an ongoing tradition. One way this is demonstrated in particular, was by the use in of small personal knives and whetstones ⁹⁰⁸ and is an area worthy of further study.

Likewise, the utilisation of bone and antlers as tools, fasteners or for grooming aids can be traced in Gwent and the wider Silurian area from the Bronze Age until the late Middle Age. However, it is clear early medieval composite bone combs of south-eastern Wales appeared in different forms and they may be indicative of culturally distinctive hairstyles which may trace their origin to the Iron Age.⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ This is suggested by the sandstone fragment of a bound captive⁹¹¹ which bore striking similarities to the Ragstone Head, Welwyn bronze, Dying Gaul and Ludovisi Gaul head images, which reinforce a possible 'Celtic' appearance not only across a wide part of Europe but also much of Britain (Thomas, 2019: 119-122).

Combined the evidence suggests there were traditional ways of doing things, some of which were remembered in the medieval texts and others confirmed by archaeology. The timescales involved demonstrate this occurred over an extended

⁹⁰² (Chapter 3: 183-184

⁹⁰³ (Chapter 3: 164, 166)

⁹⁰⁴ (Chapter 3: 390-391)

⁹⁰⁵ (Figure 157: 377)

⁹⁰⁶ (Chapter 3: 405, 409)

⁹⁰⁷ (Figures 180: 406, 181: 406, 182: 407, 183: 407, 184: 408, 185: 408)

⁹⁰⁸ (Chapter 3: 377, 405)

⁹⁰⁹ (Compton, 1997: 242; Foster, 2013a: 94, Foster, 2013b: 220, Ingre, 2013b: 250)

⁹¹⁰ (Chapter 3: 380, 390, 414-415)

⁹¹¹ (Figure 39: 128)

period and in terms of Gwent and the wider Silurian region could be described, on balance as being Celtic.

Inherited traditions (6) Silurian monumentality and the Silurian landscape

The reoccupation of defended enclosures coincided with the abandonment or reorganisation of villas, farmsteads and urban settlements in Gwent and south-eastern Wales generally.⁹¹² It may be linked to the evolution of power structures and this transformation was probably linked to end of Roman Imperial control.⁹¹³

It can be reasoned the post-Roman Gwentian elite was probably directly descended from their Silurian forebears and may have reconstituted older traditions. One conceivable way this could be demonstrated is the small size of the promontory enclosure at Dinas Powys where the limited number of buildings indicate the accommodation there was constrained. This group appears to have gone to particular lengths to stress their separateness and difference from the rest of society and could represent a reflection of the identities of local rulers and memories of an Iron Age past. For example, all phases of activity during Dinas Powys' early Middle Age were enclosed by earth and stone ramparts and rock cut ditches. Banks and ditch 1 were particularly monumental and the settlement appears to have grown over time, with the multivallation indicating growing monumentality during phases 2B and 2C.⁹¹⁴ This appears to reflect early construction practices at other multivallate sights in Gwent.⁹¹⁵ Furthermore, Dinas Powys and the larger enclosed site at Caerau's elevated position demonstrates they were intervisible. This was a common

⁹¹² (Chapters 2: 47, 3: 151-152, 307-308, 554-556)

⁹¹³ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁹¹⁴ (Chapter 3: 330-333)

⁹¹⁵ (Chapters 2: 37-56, 3: 291-335)

topographical occurrence for many of the Iron Age enclosures in Gwent and appears to be an inherited tradition.⁹¹⁶

In western and northern Britain, many Iron Age defended enclosed sites have been regarded as the *foci* for elites who appear to have exercised patron-client relationships through feasting, the manufacture of elite items, collection of renders with compulsory labour service and gift exchange in later and post-Roman contexts.⁹¹⁷ Excavations coupled with occasional documentary references provide evidence of fine metalworking residues and imported pottery and glass.⁹¹⁸ Furthermore, there is an occasional suggestion of ceremonial activity associated with sacral kingship.⁹¹⁹ Moreover, in a Gwentian context, this process was associated with the early Church.⁹²⁰ It seems this process focussed on local intensive systems of power controlled by Gwent's elite during the fifth and sixth-centuries CE.⁹²¹

It is clear people have successfully exploited Gwent's landscape for thousands of years. The evidence shows it was well organised prior to the Roman interlude and predominantly concerned with herding livestock which appears to have been managed through transhumance.^{922 923} Furthermore, the environmental and faunal evidence suggests this system appears to have continued during the post-Roman, early and later medieval periods.⁹²⁴ During Gwent's early Middle Age the landscape appears to have been organised into estates probably originating during the Roman period. Some of these were granted to the Church⁹²⁵ and from charter records some

⁹¹⁶ (Chapter 2: 49-51)

⁹¹⁷ (Chapter 3: 335-336, 432-433, 490-491)

⁹¹⁸ (Chapter 3: 359-392)

⁹¹⁹ (Chapter 3: 388-389)

⁹²⁰ (Chapter 3: 236-256)

⁹²¹ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

⁹²² (Chapter 2: 56-98)

⁹²³ (Figure 12: 58)

⁹²⁴ (Chapter 3: 268-278, 341-359)

⁹²⁵ (Chapter 3: 227-256)

prospective boundaries can be identified. For instance, Welsh medieval lawbooks reveal the main units of landscape organisation and administration was the cantref, commote, maenol and tref.⁹²⁶ Most earlier Llandaff charters were located near a river boundary and as discussed, may have been so situated to avoid conflict between neighbouring entities. They may also form the basis of a model to identify earlier medieval boundaries. It seems possible Gwent was divided into something approximating Gwent Is Coed, Gwent Uwch Coed and Gwynllwg from *circa* CE 600 onwards⁹²⁷ or earlier as the settlement pattern appears to be characterised by general long-term stability.

For example, pre-Roman stability is indicated by the number and proximity of Iron Age defended enclosures which appear to cluster in the southern and eastern parts of Gwent⁹²⁸ and the extended tribal cohesion when faced with the coming of Rome.⁹²⁹ In addition, the later known Romanised settlements of Gwent occurred towards the south of Abergavenny, Usk and Monmouth and were concentrated across the south of the study area. This indicates the land in between may have remained tribal and the evidence suggests a wide diversity of Romanisation which ranged from the fully Romanised *civitas* capital at Caerwent and villas such as Five Lanes⁹³⁰ to sites which were barely Romanised at all such as Thornwell Farm.⁹³¹

This could mean some people in Gwent were highly Romanised whilst others remained on its fringes and remained Celtic. The evidence therefore suggests little cultural change occurred anywhere except in urban areas which may signal

⁹²⁶ (Chapters 2: 60-63, 3: 278-291)

⁹²⁷ (Chapter 3: 291-307)

⁹²⁸ (Chapter 2: 37-41)

⁹²⁹ (Chapter 2: 124-135)

⁹³⁰ (Chapter 3: 187)

⁹³¹ (Chapter 2: 52-54)

withdrawal from the market economy rather than the abandonment of sites at the end of Roman control. There is also some evidence of continuity of settlement in areas of south-eastern Wales.⁹³²

Two main post-Roman possibilities have been discussed and are considered as being economic and social in character.⁹³³ The modelling presupposes only the upper levels of society interacted directly with the state or markets and obtained and maintained their wealth in the form of rent or customary dues paid in kind. Furthermore, the presence of traded goods on low status sites might not necessarily imply a direct connection with the market and might have arrived there by gift exchange.⁹³⁴ The evidence from Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog demonstrate that at its apex settlement hierarchy during the early to late Middle Age in south-eastern Wales can be characterised as being controlled through high status consumer sites in terms of food production where local lords or kings resided.

Furthermore, the ending of formal Roman control appears to have led to the emergence of a greater Gwent which incorporated all Siluria, ruled by over and sub-kings. Although fragmentation occurred within Gwent and what was later to become Glywysing/Glamorgan and Gwent. It appears its constituent parts in the form of cantrefi, may have remained largely intact over an extended time period, although further subdivision into commotes, maenorau and trefi were a later development and were largely self-sufficient agricultural units. These kings' rule was underpinned by cattle and taxation in kind.⁹³⁵ This proved to be an enduring system, managed through a system of multiple estates which exploited different kinds of settlements in

⁹³² (Chapter 3: 291-335)

⁹³³ (Chapter 3: 305-307)

⁹³⁴ (Chapter 3: 335-502)

⁹³⁵ (Chapter 3: 161-164, 195-227)

diverse ways. The system apparently survived the ending of native rule with aspects appearing to have continued after the coming of the Normans.⁹³⁶ Its origins and management can be traced to probable pre-Roman Silurian beginnings and could be described as Celtic in character.

Inherited traditions (7) a Celtic Church?

Celtic Christianity or the Celtic Church are terms used, with varying degrees of specificity to designate several features considered as common to the Celtic speaking regions of Britain and Europe during the early Middle Age. There appears to be two main ways in which in which a discrete Celtic Church was conceived. Firstly, as a separate Christian institution or denomination and secondly, as a body which had distinctive beliefs and practice and suggests the Celtic Church before its acceptance of the Roman method of calculating Easter could be contrasted with the Roman or Orthodox Churches of the East.⁹³⁷

These views have been refuted as a result of an increasing understanding of the complexity of the evidence from the early Middle Age and the occurrence of different generations manipulating the concept of a Celtic Christianity or Celtic Church to suit their own contemporary purposes and debates. These have included the rise of Protestantism, Celtic revivals and nationalism from the fifteenth-century CE onwards.⁹³⁸ There is considerable evidence for divergent Irish and British practice within Celtic areas from the sixth-century CE onwards. However, these seem only to have characterised specific regions and were not uniformly present in the Celtic West. Indeed, it seems the only peculiarly Celtic characterisation which can be

⁹³⁶ (Chapter 3: 480-502)

⁹³⁷ (e.g. Chadwick, 1961; Hardinge, 1972; Porter, 1971; Victory, 1977; Warren, 1881)

⁹³⁸ (e.g. Davies, 1974-75; Hughes, 1981; Thomas, 1971)

applied was the reform programme instigated by Pope Gregory VII reached the Celtic west later than it did in other parts of Europe (Carey & O'Loughlin, 2006: 432-435). It seems then, a uniform Celtic Church and wider Celtic Christianity can be regarded as a myth (Petts, 2009: 10-11).

However, in a Gwentian and wider Silurian context there are particular aspects of the Church which may be linked or mirror celticity. For example, the see of Llandaff appears to be approximately coterminous with Siluria, *Civitas Silurum*, the kingdoms of Gwent and Glywysing.⁹³⁹ In addition, some of its early saints have been recorded as Gwentian or Silurian (and therefore probably Celtic) aristocrats.^{940 941} Furthermore, the Church possibly appears to have respected or coexisted with other Celtic traditions including controlling estates associated with older Iron Age enclosures;^{942 943} a possible association with cult features such as springs or wells and yew trees.^{944 945} It seems utilising celticity as a descriptor must ultimately depend on the context of the narrative being discussed and is worthy of future research.

Inherited traditions (7) customs and laws

Linking Welsh medieval law texts with pre-Roman and Roman sources and more especially Siluria's archaeological record, presents a range of challenges. In addition, using them as a source requires justification, as the lack of written evidence concerning Britain as a whole, and Gwent in particular, before the coming of Rome

⁹³⁹ (Figures 40:129; 76a: 225) 93: 303)

⁹⁴⁰ (Figure 82: 243)

⁹⁴¹ Chapter 3: 249-251)

⁹⁴² (Figure 93: 303)

⁹⁴³ (Chapter 3: 300-303)

⁹⁴⁴ (Chapter 3: 256-259)

⁹⁴⁵ (Chapter 3: 259-261)

means virtually nothing can be known about the law and customs by which earlier inhabitants of this island or Gwent lived.

The first firm written evidence which has survived of law and its enforcement relates to the Roman period⁹⁴⁶ and in a Gwentian context includes the Paulinus and Statorius Maximus inscriptions from Caerwent and Goldcliff.⁹⁴⁷ The earliest written evidence of specifically Welsh laws are arguably derived from the tenth-century CE and survive in manuscripts compiled in the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries CE.⁹⁴⁸ This factor leaves open the possibility there had been interpolation or even whole scale re-composition in the intervening period. Even if it is accepted these were the laws of the tenth-century CE ruler Hywel Dda, and that they contain material relating to the customs of the Welsh of earlier times, the fact remains the sources are separated from the pre-Roman age by at least a thousand years.

However, it must be remembered for much of the Roman interlude, large parts of Britain were not part of a militarily occupied territory and considered a component of the empire.⁹⁴⁹ After CE 212, its free inhabitants were regarded as Roman citizens and entitled to utilise and live by Roman law.⁹⁵⁰ Additionally, there is widespread evidence that after Roman rule had ended of some citizens continuing to retain and live by Roman laws or customs as part of their Roman heritage in some areas of the abandoned empire.⁹⁵¹ Two examples from Wales could include Christianity⁹⁵² and the dragon flag of the legions (Simmons, 2006: 609). Therefore, the possibility that the people of what was to become Wales (and particularly Gwent) continued to use

⁹⁴⁶ Chapter 2: 195-227)

⁹⁴⁷ (Figures 43: 138, 65: 192)

⁹⁴⁸ (e.g. Charles-Edwards, 2014: 272; Jenkins, 1981: 323-348, 1986: xii-xxxvii, 2000: 10-14; Owen & Jenkins, 2017: 1-6; Pryce, 2003b: 1-15)

⁹⁴⁹ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁹⁵⁰ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁹⁵¹ (Chapters 1: 25-28, 3: 151-157)

⁹⁵² (Chapter 3: 236-256)

Roman rules requires serious contemplation and has been examined in Chapters 1 and 3.⁹⁵³

Yet, the influence pre-Roman customs, Roman law, the law of the Church, the law of the Bible, immigration from Ireland and the impact of Anglo-Saxon England from the time of Alfred onwards, may have led to the importation of legal practice and must be taken into account in any analysis (Charles-Edwards, 2014: 267-273). This means if anything of pre-Roman native customs are to be found in the laws of Wales of the early medieval period, all elements which are of, or may be derived from Roman, canon, biblical or Irish law must be stripped away. What would be left at the end of such an exercise is likely to be scant. Moreover, what is left, may be left because of the incomplete nature of modern knowledge of in particular, Irish law and presents another limitation.

Nonetheless, in Gwent some things may remain, and are persuasive if they correspond to what is known about life in pre-Roman, Roman and early medieval Wales from archaeological and later literary sources discussed in this study.⁹⁵⁴ These could include what the Romans recorded about native societies or elements of what the pre-Roman, post-Roman Celts and later the Welsh, recorded about themselves.⁹⁵⁵ Therefore, although little may have survived, and as this study contends, it is possible all may not have been lost.

One possible example of this may relate to the use of triads within the later legal texts. As has been noted, this is the device of grouping things in threes, with the

⁹⁵³ (Chapters 1: 27, 3: 161-195)

⁹⁵⁴ (Chapters 1: 57-124, 3: 291-335)

⁹⁵⁵ (For full discussion see Thomas, 2019: 293-363)

intention of rendering the subject matter more memorable.⁹⁵⁶ Thomas Watkin (2007) notes whilst such devices are common in medieval texts such mnemonic strategies were originally composed with a view to oral rather than written transmission. While such triadic devices exist in Irish literature, the significance of threes in wider Celtic art confirms triads were not exclusively an Irish phenomenon (Watkin, 2007: 3). Their presence may also indicate a technique which survived from the time before the Romans brought a written culture to Britain.

Druids were certainly among those educated in the oral tradition of the Celtic peoples. Caesar described those of Gaul as judges and advisers to rulers. He claimed Britain was the centre of Druidic study. Although this description can be doubted, it is important to remember Caesar was writing for a Roman audience and expressed himself in ways they would understand (Caesar, 6: 13). They were also described by other Graco-Roman authors including Diodorus (Diodorus, 5:28, 5:31), Timagenes (Ammianus, 15:19), Strabo (Strabo, 4:4:3-5), Tacitus (*Annals*, 14:29-30), Clement of Alexandria (*Miscellanies*, 1:15), Diogenes Laertius (Laertius: Prologue), Ammianus Marcellinus (citing Timagenes above) and Flavius Eutropius in the late fourth-century CE (*Alexander Severus*, 60:3-8; *Aurelian*, 44:3-4; *Carus, Carinus, Numerian*, 14:1-15:6).

In medieval Ireland, druids (*druid*) were differentiated from poets (*filid*), legal scholars (*brithemín*) and those entrusted with genealogies or histories (*senchaid*). Each group were part of a protected intellectual class who memorised their traditions in the form of songs. Furthermore, the chief druid was considered as an equal of the king in status (Watkin, 2007: 3).

⁹⁵⁶ (Chapter 4: 560-566)

This seems to be mirrored by Strabo in the first-century BCE who said bards, vates and druids were 'especially revered' (Strabo, 4:4:3-5). The bards composed and chanted hymns. The vates were prophesiers who 'occupied themselves with sacrifices and the study of nature'. The druids joined 'to the study of nature that of moral philosophy', arbitrated over public and private disputes, murder cases and could stop armed conflict even when the protagonists had assembled ready for immediate battle (Strabo, 4:4:3-5). Furthermore, Pliny the Elder relayed a story concerning what is thought by some to be an oak apple gall (Watkins, 2007: 4) and was believed in druidic lore to grant the processor powers of victory in litigation (Pliny, 16:10: 28-29). In addition, it is known the Romans believed in the value of the curse (Bradley & Bradley, 2011) and in the *Lives* of the later Welsh saints, there is strong emphasis of the power to cause miraculous damage by cursing (Henken, 2006: 876-878). This could be interpreted as the re-emergence of a native druidic tradition or equally as an Irish influence (Davies, 1982: 177).

Whilst there is no evidence of British druids having a political role, they are recorded as having exercised religious functions including cursing the advancing Roman army of Suetonius Paulinus on the shores of Menai Straits in CE 60 (Tacitus (b) 14:29-30). In early medieval Wales, it seems many of the functions attributed to the Irish *filid*, *brithem* and *senchaid* were the concern of the bardd teulu (court poet) who sang, recited, and preserved the genealogy and history of his patrons in poetic and later written form (Watkin, 2007: 3). Watkin (2007) notes the structure of the Welsh princely court as recorded in the law texts emphasises the place of the poet, the priest and jurist alongside the ruler (Watkin, 2007: 4). This seems to reflect older pre-Roman practice.

Moreover, druids were implicated in human sacrifice and believed to have taken place in sacred groves as affirmed by Caesar, Posidonius of Apamea, Strabo and Tertullian.⁹⁵⁷ Strabo reports they officiated at human sacrifices which appeared to have had many forms. For instance, victims could be stabbed in the back, have nails driven through their temples, be pierced with arrows or burnt to death in 'a colossus of straw and wood' to observe their death throes. He said each of these groups believed human souls were indestructible (Strabo, 4:4:3-5).

Sopater of Paphos was the first to note the Celts sacrificed captives taken in battle sometime in the fourth-century BCE (Athenaeus, 4:160e). Diodorus Siculus (*circa* 90-20 BCE) told of how they cut off the heads of their enemies and hung them on their horses and houses or embalmed them in cedar oil (Diodorus, 5:29). Furthermore, Tacitus reported the blood of captives taken in war, was poured over altars in such places and the entrails of the sacrificed were examined for divine portents (Tacitus (b) 14:29-30).

Other evidence of the Celts sacrificing living things to their deities included Diodorus' observation of the druids 'keeping criminals for five years after which, they were sacrificed to the gods' (Diodorus, 5:33-38). Another was Mestrius Plutarchus or Plutarch of Chaeronea's (*circa* CE 46 – *circa* 120) reference to Celtic religious beliefs where he reported the Celtic people believed their gods delighted in human sacrifice (*Moralia*, Superstitions: 13). Moreover, Tertullian (*circa* CE 46 – *circa* 120) noted human sacrifices of elderly people to the Gallic god Mercury were carried out (*Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting*: 2; *Apologies*, 9). Likewise, Trogus who was active at the end of the first-century BCE and early first-century CE, described one instance

⁹⁵⁷ (Caesar, 6: 13; Diodorus 5:33; Strabo, 4:4:3-5, 4:5:4; Tertullian, *Antidote for the Scorpion's Sting*: 2; *Apologies*, 9)

where Celtic warriors slaughtered their own wives and children to appease the gods whilst using their entrails to divine the outcome of a forthcoming battle (Trogus, 26:2).

The written and archaeological record bears witness to the Celts hoarding other spoils in consecrated places as gifts to their gods. For example, Trogus, reported the Tectosagi tribe threw 110,000 pounds of silver and 150,000 pounds of gold into a lake on the advice of their 'soothsayers' to change their luck (Trogus, 32:30). Diodorus wrote that the Gauls deposited large amounts of gold in their temples which 'no one stole' because of their religious beliefs (Diodorus, 5:27). These comments could be linked to the later Iron Age Gwentian depositions at Langstone and those at Pentyrch or Seven Sisters in Glamorgan, albeit on a smaller scale, when considering the Roman invasion of Gwent and Glamorgan.⁹⁵⁸

Additional relevant lacustrine and dry deposits in the form of cauldrons include the afore mentioned examples from Llyn Fawr and Llanmaes in Glamorgan.⁹⁵⁹ Cauldrons are known from the Cyfnerth code as amongst the most important possessions of Welsh men. Other items included the harp and brycan (blanket or plaid).⁹⁶⁰ The three items were known as the 'three indispensables of the goodman' and when a husband separated from his wife, she was always allowed to keep both brycan and cauldron. Furthermore, on a man's death the cauldron, with his homestead was passed on to the youngest son. It is possible to ascribe these traditions to Irish influence in the law texts (Watkin, 2007: 5). However, the archaeology suggests this was a native element in the Welsh laws. The importance of the cauldron appears to be a survival of the pre-Roman period.

⁹⁵⁸ (Chapter 2: 100-114)

⁹⁵⁹ (Chapter 2: 110-114)

⁹⁶⁰ (Chapters 3: 433-435, 4: 538-552)

An interesting hypothesis can be developed from this evidence as to why such valuable objects which were meant to be retained in the family were deposited in such places. As has been mentioned, booty taken in war was sometimes thrown into lakes. Lakes and rivers were regarded as places under the special protection of the gods, so that vows or agreements made in their vicinity were thought to achieve divine protection (Webster, 1986: 110). Interestingly, Gildas writing after the Romans had left, was aware of the ancient belief in the numinous of such watery locations (Gildas, 4:1).

In the Blegywryd code, the ruler was described as being a recipient of certain forms of bounty and were described as his pack horses. These were eight in number and referred to as wyth pynuarch (Jenkins, 1986: 40). Among these were things carried to land by the sea, which were the ruler's provided he took them within three ebbs and three flows. If water was thought as sacred, then such gifts may have been regarded in effect as divine gifts to the king, the converse of things being cast into water by humans. Likewise, the property of aliens passing through the realm were seen as being the ruler's and may reflect an idea that all aliens were originally enemies and their goods and lives were forfeit to the gods, whereas now not all aliens were enemies and those who were not hostile enjoyed the protection of the king for their lives and their possessions. A thief was also included in the king's pack horses, in that his goods were forfeited to the king, as well as a man who died with no heirs, including in both cases, it can be assumed the deceased's cauldron (Watkin, 2007: 6).

It is tempting to think these, now given to the king as a divine gift, were originally sacrificed to the gods, so that the property of a thief or a deceased person without heirs, including their cauldrons might have been cast into sacred lakes or rivers. It

seems then the Celtic viewpoint was all spoils were reserved for the gods, probably on the basis that victory had been given by them, and therefore to them belonged the profit. Thus, to retain goods taken in war or to spare a captive may have been deemed a sacrilege (Webster, 1986: 120-121).

In addition, the bodies recovered from Lindow Moss were human beings killed in the first and second-centuries CE are those of sacrificial victims (Brothwell & Brothwell, 1998: 202). It seems they were dispatched as they entered life, naked. This may be a sign they had been passed into the protection of the divinity and there is evidence in pre-Roman peoples across Europe regarding nakedness as an outward physical sign of divine protection. Furthermore, Diodorus and Livy described Celtic warriors termed *gaesatae* who fought naked or semi naked, apart from a torc around their to display their scars and would disfigure themselves if a fresh wound were too small (Diodorus, 5: 29, Livy, 38:21).

This practice preserved one which Watkin (2007) asserts occurred in other ways in other cultures. For example, in republican Rome, the owner of stolen property might call upon the occupier of premises of which he believed the stolen property to be hidden to allow him in to search for it. If the occupier refused, the owner could then remove all his clothes and claim the right to search carrying only a platter and a halter. If the occupier refused the naked man the right to search, he became liable to the fourfold penalty exactable from a thief caught in the act. The nakedness of the searcher is sometimes ascribed to the need to guarantee that he was not secreting goods into the premises, but a ritual dimension based on religion may be likely. By the second-century CE the Roman jurist Gaius thought the whole proceeding as ridiculous, but it occupied a role in the law relating to one of the most serious crimes (Watkin, 2007: 6).

Despite the difficulties of identifying pre-Roman remnants of the customs and laws of the ancient British among the laws of the Welsh people, the task is not hopeless. Although the removal of all material which is compromised by similarity to other legal orders with which the Welsh had been in contact with in the thousand years separating the coming of the Romans from the first surviving law texts, nevertheless, it is occasionally the case that the general historical record as gleaned from Roman and other literary remains and archaeological finds confirm that elements in the later laws correspond to much earlier British practice. Some awareness of the customs of ancient British can be derived, although it is unlikely to be extended other than by significant archaeological discovery.

An outline of aspects of Roman law during the Roman interlude and its possible effect has been provided in Chapter 3.⁹⁶¹ In addition, Watkin (2007) points out whilst the practice of killing enemies captured in war was commonplace in the ancient world, it was significantly, abhorrent to the Romans. Roman law provided for the enslavement of enemies taken during wartime. This rule was ascribed *ius gentium* (the law of nations), but in reality only the Romans and Greeks stopped short of killing their captives. This law ascribed the condition of slavery from two sources, hostile capture and birth to a slave woman. He notes in Latin, the word for a slave, *servus* was derived from the verb *servare* meaning to save. The Roman slave was therefore one who had been saved (i.e. saved from execution) and thereafter was destined to serve (*servire*) his captors. Seemingly, the fate of an enemy captured by the Romans was markedly different from that of one taken by the Celts (Watkin, 2007: 4).

⁹⁶¹ Chapter 3: 195-227)

Clear evidence of reoccupation of pre-Roman and Roman settlements in Gwent has been presented in this study.⁹⁶² In addition, the remains of Iron Age settlements in south-western Wales suggest partible inheritance by which all sons of a deceased ancestor benefited equally was a feature of pre-Roman and not just post-Roman arrangements (Aldhouse-Green & Howell, 2017: 58-60) and has been described by Posidonius of Apamea (Diodorus, 5:33; Strabo, 4: 5:4).

Overall, it is therefore likely that there may be legal survivals. However great caution is required in attempting to identify them. For example, more than 500 years separate the withdrawal of Roman government from Britain and the supposed date of the promulgation of the laws of Hywel Dda. However in Gwent, continued Romanism is apparent. Chief among these factors was the Church and the Christian faith. As has been considered, archaeological evidence from the study area confirms Christian Roman influence persisted into the fifth-century CE and beyond.⁹⁶³ A model of transition has been proffered,⁹⁶⁴ which considers how the Cyfnerth law code reflects an archaeological interpretation of how Gwent's landscape was exploited and regulated over an extended period.⁹⁶⁵

This code has been used throughout this study in attempt to demonstrate aspects of cultural continuity from the Iron Age to the end of the early medieval period. Following Owen's (1841) edition of the laws, the vernacular lawbooks are conventionally divided into three families of redactions and are now usually referred to as the Cyfnerth, Blegywryd and lowerth Redactions. The textual history of these and their relationship with each other are far from being perfectly understood.

⁹⁶² (Chapter 3: 164-195, 268-335)

⁹⁶³ (Chapter 3: 164-194, 236-256)

⁹⁶⁴ (Chapter 3: 195-227, 229-231)

⁹⁶⁵ (Chapters 2: 57-98, 3: 268-359)

Therefore, any attempt to generalise about them is perilous. Nevertheless, understanding of the subject has advanced substantially and current scholarly opinion, while no means unanimous on all salient points is in agreement to permit the following generalisations (Pryce, 2003b: 4)

The Cyfnerth redaction is named so because some of the manuscripts containing versions of it declare that the lawbook was compiled by Morgenau and his son Cyfnerth. This Cyfnerth has been identified with an agnatic kinsman lowerth ap Madog, the jurist to whom the Judge's Test Book of the lowerth book is attributed. Since this family held lands in Arfon and Anglesey and most manuscripts of the Test Book state lowerth's sources included Cyfnerth ap Morgenau's book, it has been argued that one branch of the Cyfnerth redaction was produced in north Wales, but that its development was cut short early in the thirteenth-century CE by the compilation of the lowerth Redaction which superseded it.⁹⁶⁶

Apart from the attribution to Morgenau and Cyfnerth there is no other evidence to connect the Cyfnerth Redaction with north Wales. Both Jenkins (2017) and Pryce (2003b) note that at least four surviving manuscripts dating from the early fourteenth-century CE or earlier, are of southern provenance (Jenkins, 2017: 69-92; Pryce, 2003b: 5). Importantly, both the prologue and the laws of the court give precedence to the southern Welsh kingdom of Dehuebarth. This emphasis probably reflects the political hegemony of Rhys ap Gruffudd, the ruler of Dehuebarth in the late twelfth-century CE and reflects the political situation in Gwent at this point.⁹⁶⁷ Other factors include references to Builth Wells, a familiarity to Radnorshire and the cantref of Maelienydd, whose ruler acknowledged Rhys' overlordship. Therefore, in its present

⁹⁶⁶ (Charles-Edwards, 1989b: 47; Jenkins, 1973: 121-133; Pryce, 2003b: 5)

⁹⁶⁷ (Chapter 3 530-541)

form, the Cyfnerth Redaction derives from south Wales and its prologue suggests its compilation may date from the last quarter of the twelfth-century CE (Pryce, 2003b: 6).

Moreover, scholarly analysis of the chronology of the main families of medieval lawbooks further suggest the earliest of all, was the Cyfnerth Redaction. This is judged by its political and geographical preferences set out in the prologue; the diffuse nature of the vernacular, and the variability of content between individual manuscripts. Combined, this suggests at the time the manuscripts were copied in the fourteenth-century CE that they stood at a considerable remove from their archetype (Owen, 1986: 179-200). By contrast, Pryce (2003b) points out the other families of Welsh lawbooks originated in the thirteenth-century CE. He considers the lowerth Redaction and Latin A,B, and C were extant by *circa* CE 1250 with Latin D, followed by the Blegywryd Redaction, sometime in the middle or second half of the same century with the lowerth Redaction being produced contemporaneously or a little later (Pryce, 2003b: 8).

A significant limitation occurs because any chronological scheme can only apply to the lawbooks in their existing form. No assumptions can be made about whether there were any earlier lawbooks or not, nor about how these may have related to the lawbooks which have survived. Furthermore, the variations between manuscripts containing versions of the same redaction suggest they were usually edited rather than copied. This could mean the editor drew on different sources for different parts of his compilation. This means the textual history of the tractate on women on a particular lawbook, may differ from that of that lawbook's tractate on land law (Pryce, 2003b: 9).

Ultimately, Pryce (2003b) has identified a fundamental division in the corpus of medieval Welsh law texts between the traditions of the Cyfnerth and lowerth Redactions. Therefore, if the southern provenance of the Cyfnerth Redaction is accepted, then this division was also geographical, between north and south Wales. Thus, Latin D and the Blegywryd Redaction constitute a later evolution of the southern tradition which drew in part upon the Cyfnerth Redaction, whereas the lowerth Redaction and Latin Redactions B and C represented the legal tradition of Gwynedd in the north.⁹⁶⁸ Therefore, in the absence of more reliable sources this study has adopted Cyfnerth Redaction as translated by Owen (1841) as the Gwentian Code.

Conclusion

Gwent before, during and after the end of Roman rule could be characterised as Celtic. Despite limitations, ultimately retaining the Celtic description provides a useful conceptual framework to work within. Consequently, the most attractive interpretative model regarding Gwent and the Silures is one of a very durable insular society, but one, which was influenced by external factors and should be considered on balance as Celtic. After Roman control ended, a range of inherited traditions suggests this descriptor should be applied to Gwent and its inhabitants throughout its Middle Age.

These include this society's myths which were first written down during the eleventh-century CE or afterwards. Much content in the *Mabinogion* echoes Celtic mythology throughout. Recurrent themes included superhuman heroes, supernatural beings with overtly divine traits and a tradition of feasting. One such superhuman being was Arthur and several Gwentian kings appear to have names which appear to be

⁹⁶⁸ (Pryce, 2003b:7-8)

derivatives of Arthur.⁹⁶⁹ Subsequent Norman influence transformed Arthur from the warlord of *Culhwch* and *Olwen* and how the earlier Arthur was remembered by the Welsh of Gwent may have led to Marshall's destruction of the baths and tetrapylon at Caerleon during the thirteenth-century CE. The fact these stories were remembered and continued to be communicated well after the ending of Gwent's political independence can be viewed as a marker of celticity in both early and late Middle Age contexts.⁹⁷⁰

Another way cultural continuity can be seen to have been transmitted forward from the Iron Age towards the early and later Middle Age was in the occurrence of certain personal names. Most prominent were Cynfelyn (Cunobeline) and Caradog (Caratacus). Both occurred in contexts predating Roman rule and Caradog was the name of Gwent's supposed founder and its last king. The long-term use of these personal names again provides evidence for post-Roman Gwent being considered as a Celtic society.⁹⁷¹

Number and the arrangement of ideas in groups of three has played an important role in Celtic symbolism and is important in the literatures of the Celtic speaking peoples. The triads typify the oldest native strata of records detailing the myths and legends of British culture, although some difficulties in interpretation occur. Importantly, the predilection for triadic arrangement was embedded into the Cyfnerth code and provide insight into how society was ordered when the texts were written down from *circa* CE 945 onwards. The combined source material represents a trend predating and postdating Roman influence and represents long-term Celtic traditions

⁹⁶⁹ (Chapter 4: 546-553, 558-560)

⁹⁷⁰ (Chapter 4: 553-558)

⁹⁷¹ (Chapter 4: 553-558)

which appear to be transmitted forward from the late Iron Age to the medieval period.⁹⁷²

The process of continuity appears in the archaeological record and is occasionally confirmed by textual records referring to a range of objects. For example, cauldrons, drinking vessels, items of personal adornment, grooming objects and extensive faunal remains have been recovered in the Silurian region, some of which are described in the medieval texts. Another tradition was ferrous and non-ferrous metalworking, alongside a preference for decorating certain artefacts with red enamel, which appear to be made in a traditional way and could be deemed Celtic.⁹⁷³

The reoccupation of older defended enclosures and the reorganisation of villa and urban sites after Rome may be indicative of cultural continuity and Celtic identity. For instance, a possible preference for multivallate enclosures and the discrete practices of elites at both Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog may be a reflection of former Iron Age practice. Both locations appear to be centres where patron-client relationships were exercised. This system was underpinned by herding cattle and managed through transhumance in an organised landscape. Faunal evidence suggests this originated in the Iron Age or earlier and continued until the later Middle Age.⁹⁷⁴

The Church was a beneficiary from land grants and early charters, alongside the law codes indicate south-eastern Wales consisted of estates, set in administrative units known as cantref, commote, maenol and tref. The evidence implies Gwent was

⁹⁷² (Chapter 4: 560-566, 579-580)

⁹⁷³ (Chapters 2: 98-100, 3: 359-466, 566-572)

⁹⁷⁴ (Chapters 2: 37-56, 3: 164-195, 4: 572-576)

divided into cantrefi from *circa* CE 600 or earlier, and the settlement pattern can be characterised as being stable over an extended period which may have been managed through, or what can be interpreted as multiple estates. The clustering of Roman urban and villa sites in the southern parts of Gwent suggests the possibility of a large tribal area being in existence throughout the Roman interlude in its central and northern parts. These may have been only marginally Romanised and retained older Celtic traditions which re-emerged in wider contexts after the ending of Roman rule.⁹⁷⁵

In terms of Christianity, it appears there was never a Celtic Church or version of Celtic Christianity and later arguments supporting this notion were erroneous. However, it is clear the Church in south-eastern Wales was influenced by Silurian and Gwentian material culture and traditions even though it can be considered as a Roman inheritance.⁹⁷⁶

It is possible aspects of Celtic and Roman laws were transmitted forward over time and the sources suggest this was likely. The Cyfnerth law code appears to reflect archaeological evidence and the comments of some Classical authors. The component parts of Silurian and later Gwentian society was fundamentally stable and cultural continuity is apparent. Therefore, providing analysis is critically applied its use as a source is acceptable within the parameters of this study.⁹⁷⁷

Study conclusion

The Iron Age, Roman interlude and early Middle Age has been viewed by prehistorians and historians as periods of dynamic change, although the reasons for

⁹⁷⁵ (Chapters 2: 227-231, 236-256, 261-335)

⁹⁷⁶ (Chapter 4: 576-577)

⁹⁷⁷ (Chapter 4: 577-593)

change have been modified over the years.⁹⁷⁸ This study presents a range of evidence which investigates aspects of Gwentian identity over these chronological periods. The sources reveal aspects of a cultural and geographic unit which was the product of earlier Silurian ethnogenesis and later Celtic influences, Roman occupation and cultural conflation, followed by a transition which resulted in an independent and occasionally semi-independent entity which functioned successfully for many centuries. The evidence suggests Siluria and its post-Roman Gwentian/Glywysing successor was a stable and cohesive society which was successful over a considerable period.⁹⁷⁹ This was achieved by basing its economy on animal husbandry, exploiting its natural geographic features in a sustainable way⁹⁸⁰ and appears to be confirmed by pre- and post-Roman environmental evidence.⁹⁸¹

Politically, this stability is not apparent as the borders of the early medieval kingdom of Gwent were continuously modified over time. Therefore, what constituted Gwent differed over time in a post Roman context to different generations of its inhabitants. These changes can be explained in the following ways. Firstly, it is usually considered the Silures were an Iron Age tribe or tribal confederation, with their territory most commonly placed between the natural boundaries of the rivers Wye and Tywi in the historic counties of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire.⁹⁸² Secondly, after the Silurian-Roman war, civitas rule which was usually based on the tribe was centred sites in south-eastern Wales offers confirmatory evidence of the likely

⁹⁷⁸ (Chapter 1: 11-34)

⁹⁷⁹ (Chapter 4: 571-576)

⁹⁸⁰ (Chapters 2: 56-83, 3: 341-359)

⁹⁸¹ (Chapters 2: 56-83; 3: 268-278, 3: 341-359)

⁹⁸² (Chapter 2: 36)

geographic extent of Siluria.⁹⁸³ Fourthly, with the formal ending of Roman control, there is evidence suggesting local oligarchies may have taken personal control of the Roman tax-pay cycle.⁹⁸⁴ Initially this may have been under the rule Aurelius Caninus or Cynan Garwyn⁹⁸⁵ and the emergent Gwent (a corruption of *Venta Silurum*)⁹⁸⁶ appears to have probably transformed from a Roman *civitas* to independent kingdom intact.⁹⁸⁷ This appears to be further confirmed with the later spread of land grants recorded in the *Liber Landavensis*, which appear to roughly coincide with what was considered as *Civitas Silurum*.⁹⁸⁸

Fragmentation of this greater Gwent did occur and appeared to take the form of dependent lesser kings and their kingdoms.⁹⁸⁹ A sequence of rulers derived from the Llandaff charters suggest power was concentrated in the hands of such individuals from an early point of Gwent's Middle Age. These territories, although distinct, formed quite small geographic entities and were contained within a larger Silurian whole. The process also indicates an apparent territorial expansion of the Gwent described in the *vita* of Saint Samson of Dol, into what had formerly been part of *Civitas Dobunnorum* or Dobunnic tribal territory and at least some parts of Cantref Coch (Gloucestershire) between the sixth and seventh-centuries CE.⁹⁹⁰

A phase of consolidation can be identified with the rise of King Meurig's dynasty whose descendants gained control over all of this earlier territorial version of Gwent and Eryng. This appears to have been achieved through a combination of diplomacy or coercion which resulted in the control of important economic

⁹⁸³ (Chapter 2: 128-133)

⁹⁸⁴ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

⁹⁸⁵ (Chapter 3: 171, 232)

⁹⁸⁶ (Chapters 2: 149, 3: 160-161)

⁹⁸⁷ (Chapters 3: 160-161, 220-221, 4: 574-575)

⁹⁸⁸ (Chapters 3: 224-225, 4: 574-575)

⁹⁸⁹ (Chapter 3: 231-236)

⁹⁹⁰ (Chapter 3: 154-159, 221-226, 231-236, 490-493)

resources.⁹⁹¹ The later division of *Civitas Silurum*/Gwent into its component kingdoms of Glywysing/Morgannwg and Gwent may lay in the urban and rural divisions inherited from Rome. Alternatively, it may have been a consequence of peripatetic kingship, partible inheritance or delegation of royal authority or a combination of each.⁹⁹²

It seems the later (much smaller) kingdom of Gwent, came to represent the specific cantrefi of Gwent Is Coed, Gwent Uwch Coed, Ergyng and Gwynllwg as the other main kingdom of Glywysing emerged in the western part of the former *civitas*⁹⁹³ with Gwent remaining part of the older Silurian whole. These divisions of landscape organisation and administration were further subdivided into commotes, maenolau and trefi. Although this system can only be traced from historical sources dated to the twelfth-century CE, there is good reason to think they, or whatever preceded them were much older and were therefore, quite stable units of landscape organisation.⁹⁹⁴ However, Gwentian territory was reserved for junior branches of the main Glywysing dynasty who reigned as sub-kings, or occasionally for its main heir, as in the case of Cadwgon ap Meurig who was recorded as king of Gwent in CE 1045 and as king of Morgannwg in CE 1070 who could be, and were changed over time.⁹⁹⁵ Inferences of instability occur because the terminology of kingship portrays a highly fragmented political geography rather than one in which sovereignty was shared, flexible and continuous.

The evidence indicates Gwentian society was hierarchical in character from the Iron Age onwards. For example, the monumentality data derived from Gwent's enclosed

⁹⁹¹ (Chapter 3: 235)

⁹⁹² (Chapters 3: 195-227; 4: 502-516)

⁹⁹³ (Chapter 3: 161-164, 231-236)

⁹⁹⁴ (Chapters 2: 60-63, 3: 278-291, 543)

⁹⁹⁵ (Chapter 3: 512-516)

sites reveal a preference for constructing univallate defences and could suggest the bivallate and multivallate examples were indicative of the status of a site and the existence of a Silurian elite.⁹⁹⁶ Furthermore, during the period of Roman control there is the possibility the *annona* was collected in at least two bivallate defended enclosures.⁹⁹⁷ In addition, the presence of a number of Roman forts, *civitas*-capital, other urban and villa sites certainly indicate a measure of participation in wider Roman economic life occurred and towards its end it is likely this system was locally delegated for the local elite to manage.⁹⁹⁸ After Roman control ended it is apparent some defended enclosures were reoccupied.⁹⁹⁹ Furthermore, it is interesting where boundaries can be approximately ascertained in modern day Gwent, selected grants made to the early medieval Church, appear to include an Iron Age multivallate enclosure.¹⁰⁰⁰

One other way cultural continuity appears to be demonstrated was new post-Roman construction of multivallate banks undertaken at Dinas Powys sometime between the late sixth and late seventh-centuries CE.¹⁰⁰¹ This site was at the apex of an apparent consumer system which appears to have been sustained through patron-client relationships. The evidence demonstrates its small resident community went to some lengths to isolate and define themselves,¹⁰⁰² controlled the local trade of exotic goods, manufactured elite good on site, and made gifts in exchange for renders and services.¹⁰⁰³ This model appears to have been replicated in a tenth-century CE

⁹⁹⁶ (Chapters 2:37-56, 3: 291-335, 4: 571-576)

⁹⁹⁷ (Chapters 3: 216-217)

⁹⁹⁸ (Chapter 3: 172-184, 195-227)

⁹⁹⁹ (Chapter 3: 47, 151-153, 307-308, 554-555, 4: 573-576)

¹⁰⁰⁰ (Chapter 3: 300-307)

¹⁰⁰¹ (Chapter 3: 327-333)

¹⁰⁰² (Chapter 3: 332-335)

¹⁰⁰³ (Chapter 3: 359-466)

context at Llangorse crannog.¹⁰⁰⁴ Likewise, in Gwent, Portskewett which controlled important economic resources and included the reoccupied multivallate enclosure at Sudbrook was an important royal centre. It was also later contested by the Anglo-Saxon and Normans.¹⁰⁰⁵

The Cyfnerth code records contemporary Welsh society was regulated, stratified between taeog and uchelwr and along with property everybody had a personal worth which could be regarded as a reflection of individual economic usefulness.¹⁰⁰⁶ It appears to have been intended to work around Gwent's agricultural calendar, and the similarities of these controls to those laid out in former later Roman laws is remarkable and suggestive of continuity.¹⁰⁰⁷

The organisation of societal echelons within Gwent's early medieval society appears to have its origins in the Romano-British period, aspects of which may have been derived from earlier practices. It has been shown tenants had probably become tied to land in particular estates and were directed by individual *decuriones* or the *curiales* acting in concert. This situation was proscribed in Roman law and the system once embedded became hereditary. It offers a possible explanation of how local aristocrats who had supported imperial bureaucracy evolved into a local nobility after Roman rule ended. If this occurred, the emergence of an independent Gwentian aristocracy and the polity of Gwent rested on an ability to conscript, supply and ensure the allegiance of followers for extended periods to ensure their primacy.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰⁴ (Chapter 3: 392-466)

¹⁰⁰⁵ (Chapter 3: 477-480, 499-501)

¹⁰⁰⁶ (Chapters 2: 83-87, 3: 217-220, 285-288, 335-341, 566-571)

¹⁰⁰⁷ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

¹⁰⁰⁸ (Chapter 3: 159-161, 195-227)

Labour service was one-way dependent clients were possibly made to demonstrate this. For example, it is unlikely the construction of the multivallate walls around the defended enclosure at Dinas Powys were the individual work of its small resident community in an early medieval context.¹⁰⁰⁹ Likewise, the construction of the masonry walls around Caerwent may have originated from a similar tradition.¹⁰¹⁰ Furthermore, the presence of 34 bivallate and multivallate Gwentian Iron Age defended enclosures which were likely to have required a similar input of labour for their construction suggests this tradition was inherited from Silurian forebears and each presents a possible marker of cultural continuity.¹⁰¹¹

The exploitation of people and management of the landscape of Gwent in this way produced an economic surplus. Over time, it allowed at least some Silures to produce or obtain the necessary raw materials or trade goods before, during and after the Roman interlude to acquire a range of material culture¹⁰¹² which appear to form the basis of a variety of traditions. This is demonstrated in several ways and include the abandonment of production-based artefacts, possibly placed as a consequence of ritual propitiation from the very early Llyn Fawr hoard;¹⁰¹³ the feasting associated with the long lived Llanmaes midden deposits;¹⁰¹⁴ the drinking paraphernalia from Ford Farm;¹⁰¹⁵ the Lesser Garth-Pentyrch and Seven Sister's hoards;¹⁰¹⁶ the earlier Bronze Age sewn plank boat fragments, late Bronze Age metalwork and animal bones from the Caldicot Lake site; the Romano-British Barland's Farm ship and 426 coins from the Rogiet hoard depicting images of

¹⁰⁰⁹ (Chapter 3: 329-337)

¹⁰¹⁰ (Chapter 3: 171-178)

¹⁰¹¹ (Appendix 1: 773-794)

¹⁰¹² (Chapters 2: 98-115, 3: 359-466)

¹⁰¹³ (Chapter 2: 98-100)

¹⁰¹⁴ (Chapter 2: 100-101)

¹⁰¹⁵ (Chapter 2: 104-109)

¹⁰¹⁶ (Chapter 2: 108-113)

ships;¹⁰¹⁷ the midden heap and exotic evidence from Dinas Powys¹⁰¹⁸ and offshore finds derived from Llangorse crannog¹⁰¹⁹ all demonstrate long-term cultural trends.

An important factor evident throughout each chronological phase between the Iron Age, Roman interlude, early and later Middle Age phases was Gwent's economy and social systems were underpinned by animal husbandry. It can be shown a farming system based on transhumance had its origins in the Iron Age or earlier, from evidence derived from Gwent and Glamorgan and appears to have continued after the coming of the Normans. This economy favoured cattle, with considerable numbers of cattle and sheep (or goats) being kept beyond the best meat slaughtering age. This meant one aspect of diet from Gwent and the wider Silurian region of beef and mutton was generally derived from older animals and suggests meat production was of secondary importance to other primary uses such as dairying, wool, traction or breeding.¹⁰²⁰

Pigs on the other hand, appear to have been regarded differently by the Silures from other domesticates. For instance, apart from being used domestically, they were used in feasting contexts throughout the time period considered in this study. The Llanmaes midden heap prevalently consisted of pig bones from the right forequarter of the animals and suggests a long lived selective feasting pattern.¹⁰²¹ Likewise, at Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog the evidence shows another prevalence of pig bones over other domesticates at both chronological extremes of the early medieval period.¹⁰²² At Llanmaes the pigs were walked and butchered on site and were raised in different areas by multiple communities using a range of food sources as

¹⁰¹⁷ (Chapters 2: 113, 3: 258)

¹⁰¹⁸ (Chapter 3: 389-390)

¹⁰¹⁹ (Chapter 3: 431-432)

¹⁰²⁰ (Chapters 2: 56-98, 100-103, 3: 268-278, 3: 341-359, 480-502)

¹⁰²¹ (Chapter 2: 100-103)

¹⁰²² (Chapter 3: 341-359)

fodder.¹⁰²³ In addition, it is unlikely both of the small communities at Dinas Powys and Llangorse crannog could have raised the pigs on each of the respective sites. All three locations provide evidence of elite consumption of the kinds outlined in the king's gwestfa.¹⁰²⁴ Furthermore, pigs were consistently mentioned in association with feasting or hunting in several medieval Welsh texts.¹⁰²⁵ It could be pigs were associated with wild boar and the presence of deer bone in both prehistoric and early medieval contexts confirm hunting activities and its importance.¹⁰²⁶

Although the basic principle of the multiple estate model of early medieval central places exploiting a range of landscape resources has been criticised since its inception, continuity in the form of defended enclosures, evidence of rectangular ancillary structures, bone assemblages and environmental evidence suggesting transhumance occurred in Gwent and south-eastern Wales from the late Bronze Age onwards and after former Roman rule ended is apparent. Settlement patterns, the extraction of gwestfa or dawnbwyd in southern Wales and beyond the northern and eastern borders of Gwent offer an indication of consumer centres supplied by specialised outlying settlements. These appear fossilised in local arrangements prevalent in Gwent Is Coed after the coming of the Normans and recorded in both *Domesday* and the Cyfnerth code. Differentiation between uchelwr and taeog, maer and maer biswail, distinguishing place name evidence within an economy based on animal husbandry can be understood within the modelling of the multiple estate.

¹⁰²³ (Chapter 2: 101-104)

¹⁰²⁴ (Chapters 2: 88, 3: 217-219, 3: 342)

¹⁰²⁵ (Chapter 4: 566-571)

¹⁰²⁶ (Chapters 2: 58, 65, 71-77, 3: 339, 342, 348-350, 356, 358-359)

Therefore, the model in the absence of any reasonable alternative is valid within a Gwentian, southern Welsh and western English context.¹⁰²⁷

Silurian deposition rituals occurred in both watery and dry contexts.¹⁰²⁸ In addition, two possible sites of pre-Roman worship have been identified in Gwent reflecting both high and low status practices¹⁰²⁹ as well as the two Caerwent statuettes.¹⁰³⁰ Silurian and Roman acculturation occurred in the form of clay *antefixa* carrying various motifs from Caerleon¹⁰³¹ and Roman gods were twinned with local deities.¹⁰³² Furthermore, material related to boats range from the Bronze Age to the end of the Roman period¹⁰³³ may relate to the water symbolism of pre-Christian religions of Britain and holy wells and springs which may be associated with early Christianity in Gwent.¹⁰³⁴ Another possible transformational feature was the prevalence of yew trees in 100 Gwentian churchyards of churches considered early, some of which may predate Christianity.¹⁰³⁵

The Church once established in Gwent¹⁰³⁶ appears to be led by members of aristocratic families with some church lands and positions apparently becoming hereditary and passed on to members of the same family.¹⁰³⁷ An ongoing accumulation of land from the sixth-century CE led to the establishment of productive estates which controlled taeog and uchelwr land holdings who appeared to have been subject to ecclesiastical lords. The Church also appears to have acquired

¹⁰²⁷ (Chapters 1: 13-14, 1: 29-31, 2: 56-98, 3: 268-359, 3: 480-502)

¹⁰²⁸ (Chapter 2: 98-115, 142-150)

¹⁰²⁹ (Chapter 2: 115-117)

¹⁰³⁰ (Chapter 2: 117-122)

¹⁰³¹ (Chapter 2: 138-139)

¹⁰³² (Chapter 2: 138-139)

¹⁰³³ (Chapter 2: 146-147, 258)

¹⁰³⁴ (Chapter 3: 256-259)

¹⁰³⁵ (Chapter 3: 259-261)

¹⁰³⁶ (Chapter 3: 236-256)

¹⁰³⁷ (Chapter 3: 248-251)

temporal jurisdiction privileges over Gwentian aristocracy and kings from this time. One effect of the continuing acquisition of land by the Church over time, was an increased incidence of fragmentation of land holdings within Gwent which appears to have created disunity and made the kingdom of Gwent vulnerable to encroachment from other rulers.¹⁰³⁸

What constituted Gwentian society before, during and after Rome appears to be one which was coherent and resilient although this was later undermined or reformed by the Church to some extent. For example, despite resisting Rome in a war lasting approximately 30 years,¹⁰³⁹ the tribal name survived with the founding of *Venta Silurum*.¹⁰⁴⁰ This in turn provided the later name of Gwent.¹⁰⁴¹ The Roman interlude in Gwent saw significant changes which included the construction of forts, the imposition of a *territorium*, urbanisation, roads and the introduction of a money economy.¹⁰⁴² Despite this, it is clear tribal identity was maintained and transmitted forward into the early Middle Age.

The later division of *Civitas Silurum* into the mutable kingdoms which chiefly comprised Glywysing and Gwent between the sixth and thirteenth-centuries CE may have been an inevitability in what appears to have been a clan or kin based confederation who practiced partible inheritance which was clearly taken advantage of by the early medieval Church.¹⁰⁴³ The kingdom of Gwent in its earlier history was subsumed or redefined by its dynasties.¹⁰⁴⁴ Moreover, whether it formed a separate

¹⁰³⁸ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

¹⁰³⁹ (Chapter 2: 124-135)

¹⁰⁴⁰ (Chapters 2: 138-40, 3: 161-179)

¹⁰⁴¹ (Chapters 2: 135-141)

¹⁰⁴² (Chapter 2: 135-141)

¹⁰⁴³ (Chapters 2: 51, 2: 56, 2: 141, 3: 195-227, 3: 280-291, 3: 48, 3: 480-516)

¹⁰⁴⁴ (Chapter 3: 195-227)

kingdom, or was regarded as part of Glywysing is difficult to determine.¹⁰⁴⁵ Furthermore, how Church lands were regarded in relation to the Gwentian whole is problematic. The privileges claimed in the *Braint Teilo* may have made the kingdom's independence untenable by the tenth-century CE.¹⁰⁴⁶

However, this does not seem to have stopped later Gwentian kings from asserting control within their own lands and attempting to widen their control over others. For example, Caradog ap Grufudd was in conflict with Harold Godwinson over the control of Portskewett.¹⁰⁴⁷ He and his cousin Rhydderch ap Caradog appear to have reached an accommodation with the first Norman marcher lord William FitzOsbern, who certainly had some authority in Gwent in the early phases of the Norman conquest. This was evidenced by the military support given to Caradog ap Grufudd in his battle with Maredudd ap Owain in CE 1072 by his son Roger and which was reciprocated during Roger's rebellion against King William I in CE 1075. However, the result was further encroachment of Gwentian land after the death of Caradog ap Grufudd at the battle of Mynydd Carn in CE 1081. Subsequent attempts by Grufudd's descendants to assert their independence saw further Norman consolidation under William Marshall who took Caerleon in CE 1217 and whose destructive policy effectively extinguished the kingdom and ended what remained of post-Roman native rule.¹⁰⁴⁸

Throughout this study it is apparent a Celtic label may be applied as a descriptor of Gwentian characteristics. These include describing it as a geographical entity, the material culture of its inhabitants over time, laws and customs, its mythology, the

¹⁰⁴⁵ (Chapter 3: 502-516)

¹⁰⁴⁶ (Chapter 3: 516-530)

¹⁰⁴⁷ (Chapter 3: 535)

¹⁰⁴⁸ (Chapters 3: 530-541, 4: 553-558)

long-standing use of certain personal names, triplism and triadic arrangements, Gwentian monumentalism, its economy and landscape exploitation. All appear to be transmitted forward over time from the Iron Age, after Rome and throughout Gwent's Middle Age.¹⁰⁴⁹

Bringing together the two elements of Celtic identity and Gwentian archaeological evidence presented above into alignment has been a challenging process. A primary reason is an evidence base both fragmentary and quite distant in space and time. Hence, available data has occasionally made definitive responses to the links set out in the research question impossible and has only allowed for conjecture. Consequently, in terms of Celtic identity, the conclusions reached must be treated with a measure of caution, as the investigation has been partly hamstrung by its own geographic parameters. Therefore, the research findings would benefit from further confirmatory investigation of neighbouring locales.

Furthermore, out of necessity this study has chased 'ghosts. These ghosts reflect the nature of available evidence as surviving Classical literature and archaeological sources represent only a small fraction of what might once have been in circulation. Likewise, after deconstructing the available subject matter and interpretations made to date, other limitations have become apparent. For example, although Gwent (and south-eastern Wales generally) is noted for the survival of prehistoric earthworks and contains dense concentrations of various types of enclosed sites, their study has lagged behind other areas of Britain. The HER demonstrates extensive ongoing fieldwork; however discoveries have seldom been followed up with detailed investigation. The cause was too few archaeologists and the effect has been a dearth of recovered prehistoric material assemblages to assess.

¹⁰⁴⁹ (Chapters 1: 18-25, 2: 37-56, 2: 98-141, 3: 268-530, 4: 546-576)

This situation has been fostered since Cyril Fox placed Wales into his culturally retarded Highland Zone in 1932 until the present day. This has led to a weak chronological framework and a poor understanding of settlement pattern and landscape exploitation. Furthermore, regional studies described in Chapters 1 such as the *Gwent County History* (2004) and *Searching for the Silures, An Iron Age Tribe in South-East Wales* (2006) tend to preserve the earlier culture-history paradigms which led to the contentions of the ongoing Celticity debate.¹⁰⁵⁰

The reasons for this reporting are symptomatic of the nature of academic study in Gwent (and Glamorgan). These can be characterised as short periods of intensive research coupled with extended periods of inactivity. This pattern has resulted in a failure to capitalise on previous gains. Furthermore, despite the increase in evidence over time, interpretations of the evidence have not kept pace. Another consequence of this neglect was revisionist theories for Gwent (and Siluria as a whole) were never written to replace or challenge the older culture-history viewpoints. This has fostered a situation of generalisation when a detailed critical interpretation of the evidence was required.

The evidence examined in this study represents an attempt to provide a better understanding of Gwent's (and where necessary wider Siluria's) distinctive regional character, alongside its wider cultural links during its late prehistoric and early historic periods. Furthermore, the methodology employed in conducting this study could provide a model for other scholars to pursue and develop. In terms of regional synthesis additional areas could include Glamorganshire, southern Powys, western Herefordshire and western Gloucestershire. Finally, the local and ephemeral nature of the available evidence has constantly led to this testing question 'Am I left with

¹⁰⁵⁰ (Chapter 1: 14-18)

discrete Gwentian subject matter to study which is separate to some degree from other aspects of the available evidence?’ As the findings of this study has shown in the text and conclusions of each chapter presented above, the answer has been ‘Yes’ and therefore the thesis has achieved its aims and objectives in furthering Gwent’s story.

Glossary of Welsh words used within the text

Alltud	Foreigner
Arian	Silver or money
Bonheddig	Nobleman
Braint	Privilege
Breyr	Nobleman
Caeth	Slave
Cantref (plural cantrefi)	Medieval Welsh territorial unit notionally made up of a hundred townships
Cwmwd (plural cwmydoedd)	A subdivision of a cantref also known as a commote
Cyfarwydd	Name given in medieval Welsh tradition to storytellers
Cynfeirdd	Term used to describe early Welsh poets (fifth to eleventh centuries CE)
Cynghanedd	A strict intricate system of alliteration and rhyme used in Welsh poetry
Dawnbwyd	A food gift payable by the taeogs to the king twice a year
Erw	Customary acre
Fawr	Greater or larger
Fechan	Lesser or smaller
Gafael (plural gafaelion)	Subdivisions of a tref
Galanas	Compensation paid by a murderer to the victim's family
Gogynfeirdd	Term used to describe Welsh poets (twelfth to thirteenth centuries CE)
Gwestfa	The food render due to the king
Gwelyau	Subdivisions of trefi which occurred in north Wales
Hafod (plural hafodydd)	Welsh summer dwelling usually associated with transhumance
Hendref (plural hendrefi)	Welsh winter dwelling or established habitation generally associated with transhumance
Llan (plural Llannau)	The Welsh word now generally translated as a church or parish, originally describing the enclosure of the churchyard
Llys (plural Llysoedd)	Welsh court
Maenor (plural maenolau) (south Wales variation)	Welsh for manor, an important early medieval fiscal unit of administration consisting of seven trefi
Maenol (plural maenolau) (north Wales variation)	Welsh for manor, an important early medieval fiscal unit of administration consisting of thirteen trefi
Maer (plural meiri)	A king's steward and an important officer of the court
Maer biswail	A king's steward and under-officer of the maer
Neuadd	A king or nobleman's hall
Rhandir (plural rhandiroedd)	An allotted amount of inherited land or shared land

Sarhaed	An insult or the fine for insult
Taeog	Villein or serf
Tref (plural trefi)	Welsh for town, in the early medieval period used to describe agricultural estates of approximately 120 acres (48.5 hectares)
Tyddyn (plural tyddynod)	Homestead
Uchelwr	Nobleman

List of abbreviations

ARS	African Red Slipware
DSPA	<i>Dérivées sigillées paléochrétiennes</i>
GGAT	Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust
HER	Historic Environmental Record
LIDAR	Light Detection and Ranging
LRA	Late Roman Amphorae
PRS	Phocaeen Red Slipware
RCAHMW	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
SELRC	Severn Estuary Levels Research Committee

List of figures

Page number	Figure
18	Figure 2 The traditional view of the Celtic world as described in the text
38	Figure 2 Distribution defended enclosures in Gwent and categorised by vallation characteristics
39	Figure 3 Partially excavated defended Gwentian defended enclosures
43	Figure 4 Magnetometer survey results from Sell's (2001) survey at Llanmelin
43	Figure 5 Geophysical survey interpretation from Llanmelin
44	Figure 6 Features revealed through excavation and geophysical survey at Sudbrook
48	Figure 7 Image showing the extent of Belcher's (2005) survey area in relation to the remaining enclosure at Great House
48	Figure 8 Geophysical survey showing Belcher's proposed Roman phase at Great House
50	Figure 9 Probable viewsheds from selected defended enclosures in Gwent
53	Figure 10 Occupation phases at Thornwell Farm
54	Figure 11a Phase I and II of the Caldicot farmhouse site thought to date to the second half of the first-century CE
54	Figure 11b Outline of phase III and IV of the Caldicot farmhouse site circa fourth-century CE
55	Figure 11c Phase IV of the Caldicot farmhouse site
58	Figure 12 Conjectural annual cycle of food gathering strategies/opportunities in Iron Age Gwent
65	Figure 13 Faunal assemblage recovered from eight paleochannels at Peterstone
67	Figure 14 Faunal assemblage from sites east of the River Usk at Redwick and Cold Harbour Pill
68	Figure 15 Footprint occurrence at Redwick by species
69	Figure 16 Faunal assemblage from first occupation phase at Caldicot
69	Figure 17 Faunal assemblage from second occupation phase at Caldicot
70	Figure 18 Faunal assemblage from third occupation phase at Caldicot
71	Figure 19 Faunal assemblage from fourth occupation phase at Caldicot
71	Figure 20 Faunal assemblage from fifth occupation phase at Caldicot
71	Figure 21 Faunal assemblage from sixth and seventh occupation phases at Caldicot
73	Figure 22 Thornwell Farm faunal assemblage (Tally 1)
74	Figure 23 Thornwell Farm faunal assemblage (Tally 2)
76	Figure 24 Biglis faunal assemblage

77	Figure 25 Caerau faunal assemblage
79	Figure 26 Outline of rectangular building 6 at Goldcliff
79	Figure 27 Sample of cattle footprints beside building 6
102	Figure 28 Part of the faunal assemblage recovered from the Late Iron Age and Romano-British enclosed site at Llanmaes
105	Figure 29 Late Iron Age / Roman wooden tankard recovered from Langstone
105	Figure 30 Late Iron Age strainer recovered from Langstone
106	Figure 31 Bronze bowl of Late Iron Age date recovered from Langstone
106	Figure 32 Iron Age copper alloy bowl from Langstone
110	Figure 33 Terret from the Lesser Garth-Pentyrch hoard in Glamorganshire
110	Figure 34 The Seven Sisters Hoard
118	Figure 35 Site plan of Gwehelog Romano-British shrine
120	Figure 36 Severed human head from a shrine associated with a house of late Roman date at Caerwent
121	Figure 37 Seated female figure recovered from a pit at Caerwent
124	Figure 38 Flat and plain edged brooch dating from the second-century CE associated with yew recovered from Chepstow
128	Figure 39 Image interpreted as a possible bound captive recovered from amongst rubble from the 2010 Priory Field excavation at Caerleon
129	Figure 40 Major Roman sites in south Wales
132	Figure 41 The Arch of Septimius Severus at <i>Lepcis Magna</i>
134	Figure 42 Site map of <i>Venta Silurum</i> (Caerwent)
138	Figure 43 The Paulinus inscription from Caerwent
139	Figure 44 Triangular clay antefix bearing the motif of a human head flanked by stat-shaped symbols and solar wheel at the apex recovered from Caerleon
140	Figure 45 Stone altar with an inscribed dedication to Mars-Ocelus from Caerwent
153	Figure 46 Suggested tribal areas of <i>Britannia Prima</i>
155	Figure 47 Probable political divisions of Britain circa CE 410
156	Figure 48 Possible political divisions of Britain circa CE 450
165	Figure 49 Distribution of Romano-British settlement sites
166	Figure 50 Reverse of a bronze coin of Trebonianus Gallus (CE 251-253) issued at Alexandria Troas depicting the local council in session
168	Figure 51 Ground plan of the forum-basilica at Caerwent
169	Figure 52 Ground plan of the Romano-British temple at Caerwent
170	Figure 53 Pewter dish inscribed with a chi-rho from House VII N near the forum basilica in Caerwent
171	Figure 54 Caerwent: south wall and towers
176	Figure 55 Replica plumbata constructed by David Sims
177	Figure 56 Buckle loop dated to the late fourth-century CE with decoration including confronting dolphins and outward-facing horses' heads recovered from the forum-basilica site at Caerwent

179	Figure 57 Bronze penannular brooch from the Eastgate cemetery, Caerwent
180	Figure 58 Plan of Isca after geophysical surveys from 2006 to 2008
181	Figure 59 Possible wide two-strap fourth-century CE belt fitting reconstructed from fragments recovered from Roman Gates, Caerleon
182	Figure 60 Reconstruction of the fortress baths <i>circa</i> CE 80
183	Figure 61 Reconstruction of <i>Isca</i> and its <i>canabae</i> including Bulmore viewed from the south
186	Figure 62 Trench locations of 2011-2014 excavations at Whitewall Brake (Castle Tump) and outline of the villa complex
188	Figure 63 RCAHMW colour oblique photograph of Five Lanes Roman Villa
189	Figure 64 Situation map of Croes-Carn-Einion villa sites A and B
192	Figure 65 Statorius Maximus inscription from near Goldcliff
193	Figure 66 Wyndcliff Farm Roman villa
208	Figure 67 Writing tablet of larch-wood found in the well at Chew Valley Park Somerset <i>circa</i> CE 212
211	Figure 68 <i>Civitas</i> building inscription from Hadrian's Wall
211	Figure 69 <i>Civitas</i> building inscription from Hadrian's Wall
211	Figure 70 <i>Civitas</i> building inscription from Hadrian's Wall
212	Figure 71 <i>Civitas</i> building inscription from Hadrian's Wall
212	Figure 72 <i>Civitas</i> building inscription from Hadrian's Wall
215	Figure 73 Hypothetical reconstruction of the division of agricultural production between subsistence, tax, rent and disposable surplus
221	Figure 74 Possible chronological development of kingship in Gwent and south-eastern Wales
223	Figure 75a The early kings of Gwent derived from the Llandaff charters
224	Figure 75b The early kings of Gwent derived from the Llandaff charters
225	Figure 76a Selected grants made by very early post-Roman kings and Meurig, his sons and grandsons
226	Figure 76b Selected grants made by very early post-Roman kings and Meurig, his sons and grandsons
229	Figure 77 Collection of archives of the charters of the <i>Liber Landavensis</i>
237	Figure 78a Locations of Gwentian ecclesiastical sites mentioned in the <i>Liber Landavensis</i>
238-240	Figure 78b Locations of Gwentian ecclesiastical sites and other locatable grants mentioned in the <i>Liber Landavensis</i>
241	Figure 79a Locations of Gwentian ecclesiastical sites dedicated to Welsh saints
242-243	Figure 79b Gwentian ecclesiastical sites dedicated to Welsh saints
244	Figure 80 Locations of Gwentian early medieval cemetery sites

245	Figure 81 Locations of Gwentian early medieval cross, shrine and holy well sites
249	Figure 82 Wade-Evan's chronology of St Cadog from the early fifth to sixth-centuries CE reveals the aristocratic pedigree of early Welsh saints in Gwent
258	Figure 83 Sample of three Roman ships portrayed on the reverse of coins recovered from the Rogiet hoard
260	Figure 84 Estimation of Common Yew (<i>taxus baccata</i>) tree age in Gwentian churchyards
265	Figure 85 Ecclesiastical foundation enclosure shapes of Gwentian churches
272	Figure 86 South Wales and Gwentian environmental evidence
273	Figure 87 South Wales and Gwentian environmental evidence
274	Figure 88a Pollen percentage and microscopic charcoal area diagram
275	Figure 88b AMS radiocarbon dates profile CT01-A to D from Wentwood
282	Figure 89 The cantrefi of Wales as described by Grufudd Hiraethog
283	Figure 90 The commotes of Wales as described by Grufudd Hiraethog
292	Figure 91a Early grants derived from the Liber Landavensis, Roman settlements, bivallate and multivallate defended enclosures
293-294	Figure 91b Early grants derived from the Liber Landavensis, Roman settlements, bivallate and multivallate defended enclosures
297	Figure 92 Stout's (1997) model depicting early Christian settlement of south-western Antrim north of Lough Neagh. Ringforts are located in groupings within townland units
303	Figure 93 Part of the possible boundaries (marked in yellow) of <i>Liber Landavensis</i> charters *141, 180b and 183b set within the context of Iron Age bivallate and multivallate enclosures alongside those sites considered or thought to be Roman
308	Figure 94 Suggested sequence of boundary construction at the large defended enclosure at Caerau from the Iron Age or earlier, the Romano British and early medieval period
310	Figure 95 Measured drawing of Dinas Powys
311	Figure 96 Site plan of Dinas Powys and Southern Banks
312	Figure 97 Location map of Dinas Powys and Ty'n y Coed (the Southern Banks) with contours
313	Figure 98 Location map of Dinas Powys and Ty'n y Coed (the Southern Banks) trenches excavated between 2011-2014
314	Figure 99 The internal features of Dinas Powys
315	Figure 100 Alcock's (1963) sequence for Dinas Powys
316	Figure 101 Campbell's (2007a) revised sequence for Dinas Powys
321	Figure 102 Section drawings of Bank A and B

321	Figure 103 Plot of calibrated radiocarbon dates derived from Dinas Powys
342	Figure 104a Proportions by percentage of animal bones recovered from Dinas Powys
342	Figure 104b Age of animals at death from a sample of animal bones recovered from Dinas Powys
344	Figure 105 Major domestic animal bone assemblage recovered from Llangorse crannog
345	Figure 106 Minimum number of elements (MNE) present for key species and minimum number of individuals (MNI) at Llangorse crannog
346	Figure 107 Sex ratio in the main domestic mammals recovered from Llangorse crannog
346	Figure 108 Cattle age groups derived from tooth eruption at Llangorse crannog
347	Figure 109 Cattle aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog
347	Figure 110 Sheep/Goat age groups derived from tooth eruption at Llangorse crannog
348	Figure 111 Goat/sheep aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog
348	Figure 112 Pig age groups derived from tooth eruption at Llangorse crannog
349	Figure 113 Pig aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog
349	Figure 114 Withers height calculation derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog
349	Figure 115 Deer bones recovered from Llangorse crannog
350	Figure 116 Minimum number of elements (MNE) present for Red deer and Roe deer and minimum number of individuals (MNI)
350	Figure 117 Deer aging information derived from epiphyseal fusion data at Llangorse crannog
350	Figure 118 Summary of butchery characteristics by frequency and species recovered from Llangorse Crannog
351	Figure 119 Bird species recovered from Llangorse Crannog
351	Figure 120 Fish species recovered from Llangorse Crannog
360	Figure 121 Main features of Dinas Powys promontory enclosure
361	Figure 122 Distribution of individual PRS vessels at Dinas Powys
361	Figure 123 Phocaean Red Slipware (PRS) from Dinas Powys
362	Figure 124 Distribution of sherd from three Late Roman amphorae (LRA) vessels at Dinas Powys
362	Figure 125 Late Roman Amphorae from Dinas Powys
363	Figure 126 Reconstruction of unidentified LRA (left) B34 and LRA2 (right) B38 amphora from Dinas Powys: B34
363	Figure 127 DSPA from Dinas Powys: Mortaria, Rigoir Form 29: D2
363	Figure 128 DSPA from Dinas Powys: Mortaria, Rigoir Form 29: D3
364	Figure 129 Distribution of DSPA vessels at Dinas Powys

365	Figure 130 DSPA from Dinas Powys: Mortaria, Rigoir Form 29: D4
365	Figure 131 DSPA from Dinas Powys: Rigoir Form D6
365	Figure 132 DSPA from Dinas Powys: Form 16/30 D15
366	Figure 133 Distribution of E ware vessels from Dinas Powys
366	Figure 134 E Ware from Dinas Powys
367	Figure 135 E Ware from Dinas Powys: Form E1 jars, E37
367	Figure 136 E Ware from Dinas Powys: Form E1 jars, E39
367	Figure 137 E Ware from Dinas Powys: Form E3 bowls, E38
368	Figure 138 Distribution of glass vessel sherds recovered from Dinas Powys
369	Figure 139 Distribution of individual Group C glass vessels with chevron tails
370	Figure 140 Imported glass recovered from Dinas Powys: Group B Germanic tradition G95
370	Figure 141 Reconstruction of a cone beaker from Dinas Powys: Group Cb
370	Figure 142 Imported glass cones recovered from Dinas Powys: G100, 101,102 decorated Atlantic tradition
371	Figure 143 Imported glass cones recovered from Dinas Powys: G97, Group Cb decorated Atlantic tradition, cones with vertical chevrons
371	Figure 144 Imported glass cones recovered from Dinas Powys: G87, Group Cb decorated Atlantic tradition, cones with vertical chevrons
371	Figure 145 Imported glass bowl recovered from Dinas Powys: G104 decorated Atlantic tradition
372	Figure 146 Imported glass cone recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition Group D G110
372	Figure 147 Imported glass cone recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition Group D G111
372	Figure 148 Imported glass cone recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition Group D G114
372	Figure 149 Imported glass bowl recovered from Dinas Powys: undecorated Atlantic tradition Group D G107
373	Figure 150 Distribution of fused glass at Dinas Powys
373	Figure 151 Weight (in grams) of fused and unfused glass recovered from Dinas Powys
374	Figure 152 Vessel to sherd ratios for different categories at Dinas Powys
374	Figure 153 Distribution of pottery vessels by function recovered from Dinas Powys
375	Figure 154 Distribution of sherds in building drip gullies revealing fanning out of material from artefact traps around Building 2 to the midden areas
375	Figure 155 Alcock's (1963) Trench (cut) 17 at Dinas Powys
376	Figure 156 Bronze objects recovered from Dinas Powys
377	Figure 157 Iron objects recovered from Dinas Powys

378	Figure 158 Stratification of iron objects recovered from Dinas Powys
378	Figure 159 Objects of silver, lead and zinc recovered from Dinas Powys
379	Figure 160 Reconstruction of a lidded crucible from Dinas Powys
379	Figure 161 Overall stratification of crucible sherds recovered from Dinas Powys
380	Figure 162 Objects of worked bone recovered from Dinas Powys
380	Figure 163 Stratification of worked bone objects recovered from Dinas Powys
381	Figure 164 Utilised stones recovered from Dinas Powys
382	Figure 165 Stratification of foreign stones (excluding slingstones) as collected from Dinas Powys
382	Figure 166 Stratification of flints recovered from Dinas Powys
382	Figure 167 Composition of flint implements recovered from Dinas Powys
382	Figure 168 Flint bye-products recovered from Dinas Powys
383	Figure 169 Objects of shale and lignite with a flint lathe tool recovered from Dinas Powys
384	Figure 170 Campbell (2007a) suggested activity areas at Dinas Powys
393	Figure 171 The location of Llangorse crannog and other sites. (Inset: the known kingdoms of early medieval Wales)
394	Figure 172 Analysis of copper alloys from Llangorse crannog
395	Figure 173 Distribution of early medieval metalwork from the vicinity of Llangorse crannog
395	Figure 174 Part of portable reliquary (2501) from Llangorse crannog
396	Figure 175 End view of shrine mount recovered from Llangorse crannog
396	Figure 176 Zoomorphic penannular brooch (8819), possible brooch pin (2508) and provisional construction of both as a single brooch recovered from Llangorse crannog
397	Figure 177 Pseudo-penannular brooch (2513) and reconstruction below recovered from Llangorse crannog
397	Figure 178 Zoomorphic horn terminal recovered from Llangorse crannog (8815) and possible reconstruction. Inset: zoomorphic drinking horn from Ballywass, County Kildare, Ireland
398	Figure 179 Copper alloy pins (2509, 4005), tweezers (2503), mounts, 2506, 4387, 4391) ring (8814) and possible shield binding (2511, 2512)
406	Figure 180 Distribution of early medieval ironwork from Llangorse crannog, categorised as objects and fittings, nails and knives
406	Figure 181 Early medieval ironwork recovered from Llangorse crannog
407	Figure 182 X radiograph of slotted pointed tool (79) from Llangorse crannog and surface of slotted pointed tool (79)

407	Figure 183 Medieval iron knife blades recovered from Llangorse crannog
408	Figure 184 Medieval ironwork recovered from Llangorse crannog
408	Figure 185 Medieval nails and roves recovered from Llangorse crannog
409	Figure 186 Shale-like finger rings recovered from Llangorse crannog
409	Figure 187 Shale-like finger rings recovered from Llangorse crannog
411	Figure 188 Quern stones recovered from Llangorse crannog
411	Figure 189 Selection of early medieval whetstones recovered from Llangorse crannog
412	Figure 190 Early medieval beads recovered from Llangorse crannog
413	Figure 191 Early medieval worked bone recovered from Llangorse Crannog
414	Figure 192 Reconstruction of early medieval combs recovered from Llangorse crannog
415	Figure 193 Comb 1 (426a, b, left) and side plate (4409, right) from Llangorse crannog
415	Figure 194 Fragments of burnt comb recovered from Llangorse crannog
415	Figure 195 (a) Single-sided bone comb from Draethen, showing bone peg fastenings and (b) fragment of tooth plate from Minchin Hole with ring and dot decoration
418	Figure 196 Early medieval leather recovered from Llangorse crannog
418	Figure 197 Wooden knee recovered from Llangorse crannog
419	Figure 198 Early medieval worked wood from Llangorse crannog
419	Figure 199 Early medieval worked wood recovered from Llangorse crannog
421	Figure 200 Early medieval textiles recovered from Trench A at Llangorse crannog
422	Figure 201 Early medieval textiles recovered from Llangorse crannog
424	Figure 202 Distribution of metallurgical residues around Llangorse crannog
424	Figure 203 Possible mould fragment recovered from Llangorse crannog
425	Figure 204 Hearth lining fragments recovered Llangorse crannog
425	Figure 205 Smithing hearth cake fragments from Llangorse crannog
426	Figure 206 Crucible examples recovered from Llangorse crannog
427	Figure 207 Evidence for the recycling of copper-alloy objects took the form of semi-molten scarp sheet metal
427	Figure 208 Lead waste from early medieval/insecure contexts recovered from Llangorse crannog

428	Figure 209 Comparative distribution of copper-alloy waste, lead waste and material relating to the working of copper alloys around Llangorse crannog
428	Figure 210 Spindle whorls and pierced roundel recovered from Llangorse crannog
434	Figure 211 The worth of petty utensils as designated in the Cyfnerth code.
436	Figure 212 Changing distribution systems for imported pottery
437	Figure 213 Campbell' (2007a) suggested date range for imported pottery and glass
444	Figure 214 Campbell's (2007a) association of Mediterranean imports with tin and lead production
449	Figure 215 Campbell's (2007a) distribution of all Mediterranean and continental imports
449	Figure 216 Campbell's (2007a) distribution of E ware and DSPSA
453	Figure 217 Campbell's (2007a) distribution of glass imports
459	Figure 218 Type 18 Black Burnished bowl
460	Figure 219 Convex sided dish
460	Figure 220 Late mortarium form
460	Figure 221 Romano-British jar from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Cleatham
461	Figure 222 Fragment of Huntcliff ware type from the body of a large vessel
470	Figure 223 Roman copper-alloy nummi of Theodosius II dating to the period AD 404 to 406
470	Figure 224 The Hoxne find
470	Figure 225 The Patching Hoard
478	Figure 226 South midlands penny of Eadmund (CE 939-946) found at Caerwent
478	Figure 227 Chester penny of Harthacnut (CE 1039-1042) found at Caerwent
483	Figure 228 The distribution of <i>unciae</i> and villas
484	Figure 229 High status estates on the borders of Gwent
484	Figure 230 Cattle farms and pastures
486	Figure 231 The holdings of William of Eu, Thurstan and Alfred of Spain in Gwent
487	Figure 232 High status associations in Gwent
488	Figure 233 The early medieval estate of Tidenham
508	Figure 234 Renfrew's early estate module cited in Jones (1998b) of small political units which interact to create a large and more mature early state
563	Figure 235 Romano-British limestone votive relief depicting three cloaked godlets (genius cucullate) recovered from Cirencester
564	Figure 236 Reused stone relief from Chepstow Castle depicting three male figures

Bibliography

Primary sources

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*

In: Rolfe, J. ed. (1982) *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Annales Cambriae: Harleian Manuscript

In: Ingram, J. (1912) ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, London: Everyman Press

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

In: Swanton, M. ed. (1996) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, London: Dent

Aneirin, *Gododdin*

In: O'Grady, D. (1977) *The Gododdin*, Dublin: Dolmen Press

Anonymous, *Chronica Gallica*

In: Mommsen, T. ed. (1892) *Chronica Minora Saec. IV, V, VI, VII vol. 1*, pp. 629-666,

Anonymous, *De Rebus Bellicis*

In: Thompson, E. (1952) *A Roman Reformer and Inventor, Being a New Text of the Treatise De Rebus Bellicis*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Constitutio Antoniniana,

In: Imrie, A. (2018) *The Antonine Constitution: An Edict for the Caracallan Empire*, Boston: Leiden

Appian of Alexandria, *Foreign Wars*

Appian of Alexandria, *Civil Wars*

In: White, H. ed. (1982) *Appian's Roman History*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*

In: Seaton, R. ed. (1912) *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica*, London: Heinemann

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*

In: Yonge, C. ed. (2016) *The Deipnosophists*, [WWW]

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2013.01.0003> (18 July 2016)

Aristotle (a), *Eudemian Ethics*

Aristotle (b), *Laws*

Aristotle (c), *Nicomachean Ethics*

Aristotle (d) *Politics*

In: McKeon, R. ed. (2001) *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, New York: Random House

Arrian (a), *Anabasis*

Arrian (b), *Hunting*

Arrian (c), *Indica*

Arrian (d), *Tactics*

In: Chinnock, E. & Robson, E. eds. (2011) *Arrian, Complete Works*, London: Delphi

Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*

In: Yonge, C. ed. (2016) *The Deipnosophists*, [WWW]

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2013.01.0003> (18 July 2016)

Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*

In: Ponder, P. (2012) *Noctes Atticae, Or Reveries in a Garret: Containing Short, and Chiefly Original, Observations on Men and Books*, London: Ulan Press

Ausonius, *Commemoratio Professorum Burgidalensium*

In: Bolgar, R. (1954) *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Avienus, *Ora Maritima*

In: Murphy, J. (1977) *Ora Maritima: Or, Description of the Seacoast from Brittany Round to Massalia*, Ares: Chicago

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*

In: Farmer, D. & Sherley-Price, L. eds. (1990) *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, London: Penguin

Bonedd y Saint

In: Parry, J. ed. (1821) *Genealogy of the Saints, The Cambro-Briton, Volume III*, London: Simpkin & Marshall pp. 7-11 81-87, 137-140, 201-204, 266-269, 335-338, 394-396, 455-458

Caesar, *The Gallic War*

In: Wiseman, A. & Wiseman, P. (1980) *The Battle for Gaul*, London: Chatto & Windus

Cassius Dio, *Roman History*

In: Foster, H. ed. (2014) *The Complete Works of Cassius Dio*, Hastings: Delphi Publishing

Cato, *Origines*

In: Rankin, D. (2003) *The Celts and the Classical World*, London: Routledge

Cicero (a), *Catilinam*

Cicero (b), *De Divinatione*

Cicero (c), *Letters to Atticus*

Cicero (d), *On Behalf of Fonteius*

In: Middleton, C. ed. (2014) *The Complete Works of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, London: Books on Demand

Claudius Claudianus (a) *Against Rufinus I*

Claudius Claudianus (b) *Against Rufinus II*

Claudius Claudianus (c) *Stilicho's Consulship II*

Claudius Claudianus (d) *Stilicho's Consulship III*

Claudius Claudianus (e) *The Fourth Consulship of Honorius*

Claudius Claudianus (f) *Against Eutropius II*

Claudius Claudianus (g) *Panegyric on the Third Consulship of the Emperor Honorius: VII*

In: Delphi Classics (2017) *The Complete Works of Claudian*, Hastings: Delphi

Clement of Alexandria (a), *The Instructor*

Clement of Alexandria (b), *Miscellanies*

In: Patrick, J. ed. (2015) *Clement of Alexandria*, Toronto: Scholar's Choice

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

In: Johnson, A. & Coleman-Norton, P. & Bourne, F. eds. (1961) *Ancient Roman Statutes*, Austin: University of Texas Press

Culhwch and Olwen

In: Davies, S. (2007) *The Mabinogion, A New Translation* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Diodorus Siculus, *Histories*

In: Oldfather, C. ed. (1935) *Diodorus Siculus*, London: Heinemann

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*

In: Rivers, C. ed. (2012) *Diogenes Laertius, Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, New York: HardPress Publishing

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*

In: Cary E & Spelman E eds. (1950) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Antiquitates Romanae*, Massachusetts: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Eumenius, *For the Restoration of the Schools*

In: Rees, R. ed. (2002) *Layers of Loyalty in Panegyric, AD 289-307*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*

In: Forster, E. ed. (1984) *Lucius Annaeus Florus, Epitome of Roman History*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Firmicus Maternus, *The Error of the Pagan Religions*

In: Forbes, C. (1970) *Firmicus Maternus: The Error of the Pagan Religions (Ancient Christian Writers)* 37, London: Longmans

Flavius Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*

Flavius Eutropius (a) *The Deified Aurelian*

Flavius Eutropius (b) *The Two Gallieni*

Flavius Eutropius (c) *Probus*

In: Watson, J. ed. (1886) *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius*, London: Bell

The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester

In: Forester, T. ed. (1854) *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, London: Bohn

Gildas Sapiens, *De Excidio Britanniae*

In: Create Space (2018) *On the Ruin of Britain*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform: Charleston

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Brittonum*

In: Thompson, A. & Giles J. eds. (1999) Geoffrey of Monmouth Historia Regum Brittonum, Ontario: In Parentheses Publications

Gerald, *Descriptio Cambriae*

In: Thorpe, L. ed. (2012), The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales, London: Penguin

Decretum Gratiani

In: Thompson, A. ed. (1993) Gratian, The Treatise on Laws (Decretum DD. 1-20), Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press

The History of Gruffudd ap Cynan

In: Jones, A. ed. (1910) The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan: The Welsh Text with Translation, Introduction and Notes, London: Banes & Noble

Hecataeus of Miletus, *Periodos Ges*

In: Hunter, R (2006) The Prologue of the Periodos to Nicomedes ('Pseudo-Scymnus') In Hüsing, G. (2007) 'Die Kassiteriden', Orientalistsche Literaturzeitung, 1 (1) pp. 25-26

Herodotus, *Histories*

In: Godley, A. ed. (2016) Herodotus, The Histories [WWW]

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0126%3Abook%3D2%3Achapter%3D33%3Asection%3D3> (3 July 2016)

Hesiod, *Catalogue of the Women (Ehoiai)*

In: Most, G. ed. (2007) Hesiod: The Shield Catalogue of Women, Other Fragments, Volume 2, Harvard: Harvard University Press

Homer (a), *Iliad*

In: Jones, P. ed. (2003) Homer: The Iliad, London: Penguin

Homer (b), *Odyssey*

In: Heubeck, A. & West, S. & Hainsworth, J. eds. (1990) A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hieronymus of Cardia, *Diadochi*

In: Hornblower, J. (1981) Hieronymus of Cardia, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*

In: Barney, S. & Beach, J. & Berghof, O. eds. et al (2006) The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

St John the Almsgiver

In: Leontios of Neapolis, Vita Sancti Joannis Eleemosynarii, PG 93, col. 1623; Acta Sanctorum, t. II (January), p. 501b

Jordanes, *The Origins and Deeds of the Goths*

In: Mierow, C. (2014) The Origins and Deeds of the Goths, London: Books on Demand

Julian the Apostate (a), *Heroic Deeds*

Julian the Apostate (b), *Misopogon*

Julian the Apostate (c), *Panegyric*

In: Wright, W. (2017) Complete Works of Julian, Hastings: Delphi Classics

Justinus, *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic histories*

Attalus (2016) *Justinus: Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' 'Philippic histories'* [WWW]
<http://www.attalus.org/info/justinus.html> (2nd November 2016)

Justinian, *Codex Justinianus*

In: Frier, B. ed. (2016) *The Codex of Justinian, Three Volume Set*, Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press

Juvinal, *Satires*

In: Green, P. ed. (1967) *Juvenal, the Sixteen Satires*, London: Penguin

Libanius, *Orations*

In: Norman, A. (1969) *Libanius Selected Orations*, Cambridge: Harvard University
Press

Lamblichus of Apamea, *Life of Pythagoras*

In: Taylor, T. ed. (1818) *Life of Pythagoras*, Vermont: Inner Traditions

Lebor Gabála Éirenn

In: Alexander, R. & Macalister, S. eds. (2012) *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the
Taking of Ireland*, Dublin: Ulan Press

Livy (a), *Ab Urbe Condita*

Livy (b), *Periochae*

In: Warrior, W. (2006) *Livy, The History of Rome, Books 1-5*, London: Hackett Classics

Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsalia*

In: Ridley, E. ed. (1896) *Pharsalia*, [WWW] <http://omacl.org/Pharsalia/> (28th December 2016)

Lucian of Samosata (a), *Alexander the Oracle-Monger*

Lucian of Samosata (b), *Dialogues of the Dead*

Lucian of Samosata (c), *Heracles, an Introductory Lecture*

Lucian of Samosata (d), *The Liar*

Lucian of Samosata (e), *The Way to Write History*

Lucian of Samosata (f), *Zeuxis and Antiochus*

In: Fowler, H. & Fowler, G. eds. (1905) *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Thomas Mallory, *Morte d'Arthur*

In: Glaser, J. ed. (2015) *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Cambridge: Hackett

Martial, *Epigrams*

In: Nisbett, G. ed. (2012) *Martial, Epigrams*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Maximus of Tyre, *Whether Images Should be Set up in Honour of the Gods*

Trapp, M. ed. (1997) *Maximus of Tyre: The Philosophical Orations*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Nennius Historia Brittonum

In: Giles, J. ed. (2000) *Nennius Historia Brittonum*, Ontario: In Parenthis Publications

Notitia Dignitatum

In: Seeck, O. ed. (1876) *Notitia Dignitatum Accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ovid (a), *Ex Ponto*

Ovid (b), *Amores*

In: Riley, H. (1899) *The Collected Works of Ovid*, London: McKay

Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

In: Jones, W. & Omerod, H. eds. (1918) *Pausanias, Description of Greece*, London: Heinemann

Patrick, St Patrick's Confessio [WWW]

https://www.confessio.ie/etexts/confessio_english# (29th November 2022)

Patrick, Letter to the soldiers of Coroticus [WWW]

https://www.confessio.ie/etexts/epistola_english# (29th November 2022)

Philibert, *Vita Filiberti*

In: Krusch, B. ed (1905) Vita Filiberti, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, Rerum Merovingicarum V pp. 568-606

Plato, *Laws*

In: Pangle, T. ed. (1980), The Laws of Plato, London: University of Chicago Press

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*

In: Healey, J. ed. (1991) Pliny the Elder: Natural History, London: Penguin

Plutarch (a), *Moralia*

In: Struick, A. ed. (2012) Moralia, London: CreateSpace

Plutarch (b), *Lives*

In: Rodgers, T. ed. (2005) Plutarch: Greek and Roman Lives, Mineola: Dover

Polyaenus, *Stratagems of War*

In: Shepherd, R. (1793) Polyaenus, Stratagems, [WWW]

<http://www.attalus.org/info/polyaenus.html> (16 July 2018)

Polybius, *Histories*

In: McGing, B. ed. (2010) Polybius' Histories, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Procopius

In: Dewing, H. ed. () Procopius, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Loeb Classical Library

Propertius, *Elegies*

In: Katz, V. ed. (2004) The Complete Elegies of Sextus Propertius, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Pseudo-Aristotle (a), *De Mundo*

In: Forster, E. ed. (1914) *De Mundo*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Pseudo-Aristotle (b), *De Mirabilibus*

In: Librarium (2016) [WWW] <https://sites.google.com/site/librariumdatabase/greek-sources-3/greek-sources---philosophy/pseudo-aristotle---philosophy-and-science> (13 July 2016)

Pseudo-Scymnus

In: Hunter, R (2006). The Prologue of the *Periodos* to Nicomedes (Pseudo-Scymnus)

In: Harder, M. & Regtuit, R. & Wakker, G. eds. *Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry: Beyond the Canon. Hellenistica Groninga. 11*, Leuven: Peters Publishers pp. 123–140

Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus*

In: Shipley, G. (2011) *Pseudo-Scylax's Periplus: Text, Translation, and Commentary* Exeter, Bristol Phoenix Press

Ptolemy, *Geography*

In: Toomer, G. (1970) Ptolemy, *Geography*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius

In: Peter, H. (2016) *Annalium Reliquae*, Charleston : Bibliobazaar

The Dream of Rhonabwy

In: Davies, S. (2007) The Mabinogion, A New Translation Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rhigyfarch, The Life of Saint David

In: James, J. ed. (1985) Rhigyfarch's Life of Saint David, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

In: Sharpe, R. & Davies, J. eds. (2007) Rhigyfarch's Life of St David, In: Evans, J. & Wooding, J. eds. (2007) St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation, Woodbridge: Boydell Press pp. 107-155

Sallust, Catiline

In: Librarium (2016) [WWW] <https://sites.google.com/site/librariumdatabase/greek-sources-3/greek-sources---philosophy/pseudo-aristotle---philosophy-and-science> (13 July 2016)

Vita I Sancti Samsonis

In: Thomas, T. ed. (1925) The Life of St. Samson of Dol, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

Julius Solinus, De Mirabilibus Mundi

In: Smith, J & Ross, W. eds. (1909) De Mirabilibus, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Justinus, Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Philippic histories

Strabo, Geographica

In: Roller, D. (2014) The Geography of Strabo: An English Translation, with Introduction and Notes, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica*

In: Russell, J. & Cohn, R. eds. (2012) *Stephanus of Byzantium*, London: Books on Demand

Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues*

In: Goodrich, R. ed. (2016) *Sulpicius Severus (ACW 70): The Complete Works*, Edinburgh: Paulist Press

Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*

In: Burton, P. ed. (2017) *Sulpicius Severus' Vita Martini*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Tacitus (a), *Agricola*

Tacitus (b), *Annals*

Tacitus (c), *Dialogue*

Tacitus (d), *Histories*

In: Grant, M. (1985) *Annals of Imperial Rome and the Agricola*, London: Penguin

Llyfr Taliesin (a) *Trawsganu Kynan Garwyn*

Llyfr Taliesin (b) *Etmic Dynbich*

In: Lewis, G. & Williams, R (2019) *The Book of Taliesin: Poems of Warfare and Praise in an Enchanted Britain*, London: Penguin

Tertullian (a), *Apologies*

Tertullian (b), *The Instructor*

Tertullian (c), *To His Wife*

Tertullian (d), *Miscellanies*

Tertullian (e), *On the Veiling of Virgins*

In: New Advent, The Works of Tertullian (2016) [WWW] <http://www.newadvent.org> (7 December 2016)

Codex Theodosianus

In: Pharr, C. & Davidson, T. & Pharr, M. eds. (2001) *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, New Jersey: Lawbook Exchange

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*

In: Hammond, M. ed. (2009) *Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain

In: Bromwich, R. ed. (2014) *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: The Triads of the Island of Britain*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press:

Trogus, *Historiae Philippicae*

In: Attalus (2016) *Justinus: Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' 'Philippic histories'* [WWW] <http://www.attalus.org/info/justinus.html> (2nd November 2016)

The Annals of Ulster,

In: Mac Airt, S. & Mac Niocaill, G. (1983) *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies

Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*

In: Miner, N. (2001) *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, Liverpool University Press

Velleius, *The Roman History*

In: Yardley, A. ed. (2011) *Velleius Paterculus: Roman History: From Romulus & the Foundation of Rome to the Reign of the Emperor Tiberius*, Indianapolis: Hackett

Victricius, *De Laude Sanctorum*

In : Migne, J & Migne, P. eds. (1845) *Patrologia Latina*, New Jersey: Ridgewood

Virgil, *Aeneid*

In: Harrison, S. (2003) *Virgil, the Aeneid*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Vita Germani

In: Hoare, F. ed (1965) *The Western Fathers*, New York: Torch Books

The Chronicle of John of Worcester

In: Thomas, F. ed. (1854) *The Chronicle of John Of Worcester*, London: Bohn

Xenophon, *Hellenica*

In: Cawkwell, G. ed. (1979) *Xenophon: Hellenica*, London: Penguin

Zosimus, *Historia Nova*

In: Ridley, T. ed. (1982) *Zosimus, New History*, London: Green and Chaplin

Secondary sources

Abercromby, J. (1922) *A Study of Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its Associated Grave Goods*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Abdy, R. & Williams, G. (2006) A Catalogue of Hoards and Single Finds from the British Isles c. 410–675, *In*: Cook, B. & Williams, G. eds. (2006) *Coinage and History in the North Sea World c. 500–1250 (Essays in honour of Marion Archibald)*, Boston: Leiden pp. 11–74

Abdy, R. (2013) The Patching Hoard, *In*: Hunter, F. & Painter, K. eds. (2013) *Late Roman Silver: the Traprain Treasure in Context*, Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland pp. 107–15

Abraham, P. & James, S. & Walsh, D. (2013) *Whitewall Brake Romano-British Site: Archaeological Interim Report Excavations 22 Apr-4 May 2014*, London: MOD Publication

Abraham, P. & James, S. & Walsh, D. (2013) *Whitewall Brake Romano-British Site: Archaeological Interim Report September 2013*, London: MOD Publication

Ager, B. (1996) A Late-Roman buckle or Belt-plate in the British Museum, said to be from Northern France, *Medieval Archaeology*, 40 (1) pp. 206–11

Ager, B. (2012) A Note on the Objects Decorated in the Quoit Brooch Style from the Burials at Saint Marcel, *In*: Le Boulanger & Simon 2012, pp. 240–2

Alcock, L. (1962) Settlement Patterns in Celtic Britain, *Antiquity* 36 (1) pp. 51-55

Alcock, L. (1963) *Dinas Powys: An Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement Site*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Alcock, L. (1971) *Arthur's Britain*, London: Penguin

Alcock, L. (1975) Dry Bones and Living Documents, *In*, Evans, J. & Limbrey, S. & Cleere, H. eds. (1975) *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Highland Zone*, York: CBA pp. 117-122

Alcock, L. (1987) *Economy, Society and Warfare Among the Britons and Saxons*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Alcock, L. (1995) *Cadbury Castle, Somerset: The Early Medieval Archaeology*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press

Alcock, L. (2003) *Kings and Warriors, Craftsmen and Priests in Northern Britain AD 550-850*, Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries

Alcock, L. & Alcock, E. (1990) Reconnaissance Excavations on Early Historic Fortifications and other Royal Sites in Scotland, 1974-84: 4, Excavations at Alt Clut, Clyde Rock, Strathclyde, 1974-75, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 120 (1) pp. 95-149

Aldhouse-Green, M. (2012) Singing Stones: Contexting Body-Language in Romano-British Iconography, *Britannia* 43 (1) pp. 115-134

Aldhouse-Green, M. and Howell, R. eds. (2004) *The Gwent County History Volume 1, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell, R. (2000) *Celtic Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell, R. (2017) *Celtic Wales 2nd Edition*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Allason-Jones, I. (2010) Personal Appearance, *In*: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 78–85

Allen, D. (1944) The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 90 (1) pp. 1-46

Allen, D. (1961a) The Origins of Coinage in Britain: a Reappraisal, *In*: Frere, S. ed. *The Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, London: Council for British Archaeology pp. 75-149

Allen, D. (1961b) A Study of Dobunnic Coinage, *In*: Clifford, E. ed. (1961) *Bagendon: A Belgic Oppidum*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 75-149

Allen, D. (1962) Celtic Coins, *Ordnance Survey Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age*, London: HMSO

Allen, D. (1967) Iron Currency Bars in Britain, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 33 (1) pp. 307-335

Allen, D. (1970) The Coins of the Iceni, *Britannia* 6 (1) pp. 1-19

Allen, J. & Bell, M. (1999) 1999: A Late Holocene Tidal Palaeochannel, Redwick, Gwent: Late Roman Activity and a Possible Early Medieval Fishtrap, *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary* 10 (1) pp. 53-64

Allen, M. & Lodwick, L. & Brindle, T. & Fulford, M. *et al* eds. (2017) *The Rural Economy of Roman Britain, New Visions of Roman Britain, Volume 2*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies

Allen, M. & Blick N. & Brindle, T. & Evans, T Fulford, M. *et al* eds. (2020) *The Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: An Online Resource* [WWW]

<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/romangl/> (16 April 2020)

Annius of Viterbo, (1552) *Antiquitatum Variarum*

Applebaum, E. (1954) The Agriculture of the Iron Age as Exemplified at Figheldean Down, Wiltshire, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 20 (1) pp. 103-114

Apportionment for Monmouthshire (1836), Mathern and Runston

Apps, A. (2011) *Gaius Julius Solinus and His Polyhistor*, Macquarie: Macquarie University

Ap Simon, A. (1964–5) The Roman Temple on Brean Down, Somerset, *Proceedings of the Speleological Society*, 10 (1) pp. 195–258

Archer, S. (1979) Late Roman Gold and Silver Coin Hoards in Britain: a Gazetteer, *In: Casey, P. ed. (1979), The End of Roman Britain*, Oxford: BAR pp. 29–62

Arnold, C. (1997) *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, London: Taylor & Francis

Arnold, B. & Gibson, D. eds. (1995) *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State. The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Arnold, C. Davies J. (2000) *Roman and Early Medieval Wales*, Sutton: Stroud
- Ashby, T. (1906) Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of *Venta Silurum*, *Archaeologia*, 60, pp. 111-130
- Ashe, G. (1987) *The Landscape of King Arthur*, London: Guild
- Austin, D. (2005) Little England Beyond Wales: Re-defining the Myth, *Landscapes*, 6 (2) pp. 30-62.
- Babbidge, A. (1977) Reconnaissance Excavations at Coed Y Bwnydd, Bettws Newydd, 1969-1971, *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 3 (3 & 4) pp. 159-178
- Babcock, W. (1916) The Races of Britain, *The Scientific Monthly*, 2 (2) pp. 149-169
- Bachrach, B. (2000) Imperial Walled Cities in the West: An examination of their Early Medieval *Nachleben*, In: Tracy, J. ed. (2000) *City Walls: The Urban Enceinte in Global Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Baden-Powell, R. (1908) *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook of Instructions in Good Citizenship*, London: Peterson
- Bale, J. (1546) *The Actes of English Votaryes*
- Balfour, A (1908) *Decadence, the Henry Sidgwick Memorial Lecture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bang, P. (2007a) Trade and Empire: In Search of Organizing Concepts for the Roman Economy, *Past & Present*, 195 (1) pp. 3-54
- Bang, P. (2007b) *The Roman Bazaar: A Comparative Study of Trade and Markets in a Tributary Empire*, Cambridge University Press

Barber, B. & Bowsher, D. (2000) *The Eastern Cemetery of Roman London*, London: Museum of London Archaeology Service

Barber, A. & Cox, S. & Hancocks, A. (2007) A Late Iron Age and Roman Farmstead at RAF St. Athan, Vale of Glamorgan. Evaluation and Excavation 2002-03, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 155 (1) pp. 49-115

Barber, A. & Cox, S. & Hancocks, A. (2007) A Late Iron Age and Roman Farmstead at RAF St. Athan, Vale of Glamorgan. Evaluation and Excavation 2002-03', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 155 (1) pp. 49-115

Barker, G. (1985) *Prehistoric Farming in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Barker, P. (1975) Excavations on the Site of the Baths Basilica at Wroxeter 1966-1974: An Interim Report, *Britannia* 6 (1) pp. 106-117

Barker, P. & White, R. & Pretty, K. *et al.* (1997) *The Bath Basilica Wroxeter: Excavations 1966-1990*, London: English Heritage

Barnes, T. (1998) *Ammianus Marcellus and the Representation of Historical Reality*, London: Cornell

Barrett, A. (2009) Saint Germanus and the British Missions, *Britannia* 50 (1) pp. 109-217

Barron, W. ed. (2001) *The Arthur of the English, The Arthurian Legend in Medieval English Life and Literature*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Barrow, G. (1981) Wales and Scotland in the Middle Ages, *Welsh History Review*, 10 (3) pp. 302-19

Barry, T. (2000) *Rural Settlement in Medieval Ireland, A History of Settlement in Ireland*, London: Routledge

Bartholomew, P. (1984) Fourth-Century Saxons, *Britannia* 15 (1) pp. 169-185

Bartrum, P. (1993) *A Welsh Classical Dictionary: People in History and Legend up to about A.D. 1000*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales

Bass G. & van Doorninck, F. (1982) *Yassi Ada, A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck*, Texas: Texas A & M University Press

Basset, S. (1989) In Search of the Origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, *In: Bassett, S. ed. (1989) The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 3-27

Bates, D. (1986) *Normandy Before 1066*, Harlow: Longman

BBC (2018): *Pembrokeshire treasure hunter unearths Celtic chariot*, [WWW] <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-46294000> (9th July 2019)

de la Bédoyère, G. (2013) *Roman History, A New History*, London: Thames & Hudson

Belcher, M. (2005) Great House Camp, Llansoy, Monmouthshire, A Geographical and Topographical Survey, its Description and Interpretation, Newport: University of Wales, Newport Thesis

Bell, M. (2000a) Trackways and Other Linear Structures at Goldcliff *In: Bell, M. Casseldine, A. & Neumann, H. eds. (2000) Prehistorical Intertidal Archaeology in the Welsh Severn Estuary*, York: Council for British Archaeology pp. 136-154

Bell, M. (2000b) Discussion and Conclusions *In: Bell, M. Casseldine, A. & Neumann, H. eds. (2000) Prehistorical Intertidal Archaeology in the Welsh Severn Estuary*, York: Council for British Archaeology pp. 322-349

Bell, M. ed. (2013) *The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA

Bell, M. & Neumann, H. (1997) Prehistorical Intertidal Archaeology in the Welsh Severn Estuary, *Riverine Archaeology* 29 (1) pp. 95-113

Bell, M. Casseldine, A. & Neumann, H. eds. (2000) *Prehistorical Intertidal Archaeology in the Welsh Severn Estuary*, York: Council for British Archaeology

Bell, M. & Scales, R. & Barr, K. (2013) Foot-print Tracks of People and Animals at Redwick, *In: Bell, M. ed. (2013) The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA pp.144-153

Bergholm, A. & Ritari, K. (2015) Introduction: 'Celtic Religion': Is this a Valid Concept? *In: Bergholm, A. & Ritari, K. eds. (2015) Understanding Celtic Religion: Revisiting the Pagan Past*, Cardiff University of Wales Press pp. 1-9

Besley, E. (1997) *Loose Change: A Guide to Common Coins and Medals*, Cardiff: National Museums & Galleries of Wales

Besley, E. (2007) The Rogiet Hoard and the Coinage of Allectus, *The British Numismatic Journal*, 13: 1 pp. 45-146

Bidwell, P. (1979) *The Legionary Bath-House and Basilica and Forum at Exeter*, *Exeter Archaeological Report 1*, Exeter: Exeter City Council

Bidwell, P. (1985) *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda at Chesterholm, Northumberland*, London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England

Bidwell, P. & Croom, A. (2010) The Supply and Use of Pottery on Hadrian's Wall in the 4th century AD, *In: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 20–36

Biek, L. (1994) Tin Ingots Found at Praa Sands, Breage, in 1974, *Cornish Archaeology*, 33 (1) pp. 57-70

Bindler, R. & Renberg, R. & Rydberg, J. *et al* (2009) Widespread Waterborne Pollution in Central Swedish Lakes and the Baltic Sea from Pre-Industrial Mining and Metallurgy, *Environmental Pollution* 157 (7) pp. 2132-2141

Bird, J. (1977) African Red Slipware in Roman Britain, *In: Dore, J. & Greene, K. eds. Roman Pottery Studies in Britain and Beyond; Papers Presented to John Gillam*, Oxford: BAR pp.269-278

Birley, A. (2005) *The Roman Government of Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Birley, A. (2009) *Vindolanda: A Roman Frontier Fort on Hadrian's Wall*, Stroud: Amberley

Birley, A. (2013) *The Vindolanda Granary Excavation*, Brampton: Roman Army Museum

Birley, A. & Blake, J. (2007) *Vindolanda Excavations 2005–2006*, Hexham: Vindolanda Trust

Birley, R. & Blake, J. & Birley, R. (1998) *Vindolanda 1997 Excavations: Praetorium site, Interim Report*. Bardon Mill: Vindolanda Trust

Blair, J. (2005) *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bland, R. (1997) The Changing Patterns of Hoards in the Late Roman Empire, *L'Antiquite Tardive* 5 (1) pp. 29-55

Bland, R. & Loriot, X. (2010) *Roman and Early Byzantine Gold Coins Found in Britain and Ireland*, London: Royal Numismatic Society

Blench, R. (2001) *Pastoralism in the New Millennium, Paper 150*, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/005/y2647e/y2647e00.HTM> (11 November 2014)

Blockley, R. (1980) The Date of the Barbarian Conspiracy, *Britannia* 11 (1) pp. 223-225

Blunt, C. (1970) The Crowned Bust Coinage of Edmund, *British Numismatic Journal* 40 (1) pp. 17-21

Boast, R. & Evans, C. (1986) The Transformation of Space: Two Examples from

Boon, G. (1976) The Shrine of the Head, Caerwent, *In: Boon, G. & Lewis, J. eds.*

(1976) *Welsh Antiquity*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales pp. 163-175

Boon, G. (1962) A Christian Monogram from Caerwent, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 19 (1) pp. 338-344

Boon, G. (1971) Roman Counterfeit Coins from Monmouthshire and the Mendips, *Antiquaries Journal* 51 (1) pp. 311-312

- Boon, G. (1972) *Isca; The Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon, Mon.* Cardiff: National Museum of Wales
- Boon, G. (1976) The Shrine of the Head, Caerwent, *In: Boon, G. & Lewis, J. eds. (1976) Welsh Antiquity*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales pp. 163-175
- Boon, G. (1987) *The Legionary Fortress of Caerleon-Isca: A Brief Account*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales
- Boon, G. (1992) The Early Church in Gwent, i: The Romano British Church, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 8 (1) pp. 11-24
- Bowden, M. & McOmish, D. (1987) The Required Barrier, *Scottish Archaeological Review*, 4 (1) pp. 79-84
- Bowen, H. (1969) The Celtic Background, *In: Rivet, A. ed. (1969) The Roman Villa*, London: Country Homes pp. 1-48
- Bowersock, G. (1996) The Vanishing Paradigm of the Fall of Rome, *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 49 (8) pp. 29-43
- Bowes, K. (2008) *Private Worship, Public Values and Religious Change in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bowles, C. (2006) Rebuilding the Britons: The Post-Colonial Archaeology of Culture and Identity in the Late Antique Bristol Chanel, Glasgow: Glasgow University Thesis
- Bowles, C. (2007) *Rebuilding the Britons: The Post-Colonial Archaeology of Culture and Identity in the Late Antique Bristol Channel Region*, Oxford: BAR

Bowman, A. (1996) Post-Roman Imports in Britain and Ireland: A Maritime Perspective, *In: Dark, K. (1996) External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer pp. 97-108

Bradley, C. & Bradley, M. (2011) *Romano-British Curse Tablets: The Religious and Spiritual Romanization of Ancient Britain*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform: California

Braudel, F. (1982) *On History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Breeze, D. (1984) Demand and supply on the northern frontier, *In: Milet, R. & Burgess, C. eds. (1984), Between and Beyond the Walls: Essays on the Prehistory and History of North Britain in Honour of George Jobey*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 264–86

Breeze, D. (2011) *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome*, Barnsley: Pen & Sword

Brewer, R. (1993) *Venta Silurum: A Civitas-Capital*, *In: Greep, S. ed. (1993) Roman Towns, The Wheeler Inheritance*, York: CBA pp. 61-65

Brewer, R. ed. (2002) *The Second Augustan Legion and the Roman Military Machine*, Cardiff: NMGW

Brewer, R. (2004) The Romans in Gwent, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell, R. eds. (2004) The Gwent County History Volume 1: Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press pp. 205-243

Brewer, R. (2006) *Caerwent Roman Town*, Cardiff: Cadw

Brewer, R. & Guest P. (1994) Caerwent, Venta Silurum- Forum/Basilica, *Archaeology in Wales*, 34 (1) pp. 55-56

Brickstock, R. (2000) Coin Supply in the North in the Roman Period, *In*; Wilmott, T & Wilson, P. eds. (2000) *The Late Roman Transition in the North*. Oxford: BAR pp. 33-38

Brickstock, R. (2010): Coins and the Frontier Troops in the Fourth-Century', *In*: Collins, R. and Allason-Jones, L. (2010), *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 86–91

Brigham, T. (1990) A Reassessment of the Second Basilica in London AD 100-400: Excavations at Leadenhall Court, 1984-86, *Britannia*, 21 (1) pp. 53-97

British Museum, (2013) Welwyn Bronze Head [WWW]
http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/bronze_model_of_a_human_head.aspx (20 October 2013)

British Prehistory, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 5 (1) pp. 193-205

Bromhead, E. (2018) The landslip-damaged Roman fort at Lympe in SE England, *Geological Society*, 473 (1) pp. 31-34

Bromwich, R. and Jarman, A. and Roberts, B. eds. (1991) *The Arthur of the Welsh, The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Welsh Literature*, Cardiff: University of Wales press

Brook, D. (1992) The Early Christian Church East and West of Offa's Dyke, *In*:

Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1988) *Early Medieval Settlements in Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales

Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1992) *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 77-89

Brooke, C. (1986) *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press

Brookes, S. (2007) *Economics and Social Change in Anglo-Saxon Kent AD 400-900: Landscapes, Communities and Exchange* Oxford: Archaeopress

Brothwell, D. & Bourke, J. (1995) The Human Remains from Lindow Moss 1987- 8, *In: Turner R. & Scaife R. eds. (1995) Bog Babies: New Discoveries and New Perspectives*, London: British Museum Press pp. 56-57

Brothwell, D. & Brothwell, P. (1998) *Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples*, London: John Hopkins University Press

Brown, A. (2005) Wetlands and Drylands in Prehistory: Mesolithic to Bronze Age Human Activity and Impact in the Severn Estuary, Southwest Britain, Reading: Reading University Thesis

Brown, A. (2010) Pollen Analysis and Planted Ancient woodland Restoration Strategies: a Case study from the Wentwood, Southeast Wales, UK, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 19 (7) pp. 79-90

Brown, A. (2013a) Bronze Age Vegetation History and Human Activity at Llandeenny and in the wider Severn Estuary Region, *In: Bell, M. ed. (2013) The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA pp. 274-286

Brown, A. (2013b) From Iron Age to Early Medieval: Detecting the Ecological Impact of the Romans on the Landscape of South-East Wales, *Britannia* 44 (1) pp. 250-257

Brown, P. D. (1971) The Church at Richborough, Kent, *Britannia* 2 (1) pp. 225-231

- Brown, P. R. (1971) *The World of Late Antiquity*, London: Thames & Hudson
- Brown, T. (1946) Euhemerus and the Historians, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 39 (4) pp. 259-274
- Bruce, J. (1851) *The Roman Wall: A Historical, Topographical and Descriptive Account of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus, Extending from the Tyne to the Solway*, London: John Russell Smith
- Brun, C. (2003) The Antonine Plague: Rome and Ostia, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (1) pp. 426-434
- Brun, P. (1995) From Chiefdom to State Organisation in Celtic Europe, *In*: Arnold, B. & Gibson, D. eds. (1995) *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State. The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 13-25
- Bruning, R. & Nayling, N. & Pearson, C. *et al* (2013) The Wood and Other Artefacts from the Redwick and Cold Harbour Sites, *In*: Bell, M. ed. (2013) *The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA pp. 64-94
- Bryant, R. (1980) Excavations at St Mary De Lode, Gloucester 1978–1979, *Glevenis*, 14 (1) pp. 4–12
- Bryce, J. (1914) *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India: The Diffusion of Roman and English Law throughout the World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Buchanan, G. (1582) *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Antwerp: Van de Ray

Büntgen, U. (2011) 2500 Years of European Climate Variability and Human Susceptibility, *Science*, 331 (1) pp. 578-582

Burnett, A. (1987) *Coinage in the Roman World*, London: Seaby

Burnett, A. (1984) Clipped *Siliquae* and the End of Roman Britain, *Britannia* 15 (1) pp. 163–168

Burnham, B. & Wachter, J. (1990) *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*, Berkley: University of California Press

Burnham, B. & Davies, J. eds. (1990) *Conquest, Co-existence and Change, Recent Work in Roman Wales*, Trivium: Lampeter

Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW

Burrow, I. (1981) *Hillfort and Hilltop Settlement in Somerset in the First to Eighth Centuries AD*, Oxford: BAR

Bushe-Fox, J. (1925) *Excavations of the Late-Celtic Urn-field at Swarling, Kent*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Busse, P. (2006) Enclosures, In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) *Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 699

Cadw and Communities Search for the Silures (2012) [WWW]

<https://www.heritagedaily.com/2012/11/cadw-and-communities-search-for-the-silures/62569> (29 September 2019)

Caius, J. (1568) *De Antiquate Cantabrigensis Academiae*

Cambry, J. (1799) *Voyage dans le Finistère*, Paris : Etat de Ce Departmente

Camden, G. (1586) *Britannia*, London: Layton

Cameron, A. (1993) *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395-600*, London: Routledge

Campbell, E. (1991) *Imported Goods in the Early Medieval Celtic West, With Special Reference to Dinas Powys*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Thesis

Campbell, E. (2007a) *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland AD 400–800, Research Report 157*, York: CBA

Campbell, E. (2007b) Appendix 6: Catalogue and Reassessment of Unpublished Metalwork and Other Finds from Dinas Powys [WWW]

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/campbell_cba_2007/downloads.cfm (16 August 2020)

Campbell, E. (2007c) Appendix 9: Catalogue and Reassessment of Unpublished Metalwork and Other Finds from Dinas Powys [WWW]

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/campbell_cba_2007/downloads.cfm (16 August 2020)

Campbell, E. (2007d) Appendix 13: Catalogue and Reassessment of Unpublished Metalwork and Other Finds from Dinas Powys [WWW]

https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/campbell_cba_2007/downloads.cfm (16 August 2020)

Campbell, E. & Lane, A. (1989) Llangorse: A 10th century Royal Crannog in Wales, *Antiquity* 63 (1) pp. 675-881

Campbell, E. & Lane, A. (1993) Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed and Early Medieval Settlement in South Wales, *Medieval Archaeology*, 37 (1) pp. 15-77

Capitoline Museum, The Dying Gaul (2019) [WWW]

<http://www.museicapitolini.org/en/>

(2 May 2019)

Carey, J. & O'Loughlin, T. (2006) Celtic Christianity *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 431-434

Carmichael, A. (1914) Grazing and Agrestic Customs of the Outer Hebrides, *Celtic Review*, 10 (37) pp. 40-54

Carter, S. & Hunter, F. (2003) An Iron Age Chariot Burial from Scotland, *Antiquity* 77 (1) pp. 531-535

Carr, A. (1982) *Medieval Anglesey*, Llangefni: Anglesey Antiquarian Society

Carr, A. (1995) *Medieval Wales*, London: Macmillan Press

Carroll, J. & Reynolds, A. & Yorke, B. eds. (2019) *Power and Place, in Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy

Carruthers, W. (2010) Charred Plant Remains, *In: Crane, P. & Murphy, K, An Early Medieval Settlement, Iron Smelting Site and Crop-Processing Complex at South Hook, Herbranston, Pembrokeshire, 2004-05, Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 159 (1) pp. 164-181

Carver, M. (1995) Roman to Norman at York Minster, *In: Phillips, D. & Heywood, B. 1995) Excavations at York Minster* London: HMSO pp. 177–221.

Carver, M. (2009) Early Scottish Monasteries and Prehistory: A Preliminary Dialogue, *The Scottish Historical Review* 88 (2) pp. 332-351

Carver, M. (2012) Intellectual Communities in Early Northumbria, *In*; Petts, D. & Turner, S. eds. (2012) *Early Medieval Northumbria, Kingdoms and Communities, AD 400-1100*, Turnhout: Brepols pp. 185-206

Carver, M. (2019) *Formative Britain, An Archaeology of Britain, Fifth to Eleventh Century AD*, London: Routledge

Caseldine, A. & Busby, P. (1993) Plant Remains, *In*: Zienkiewicz, J. ed. (1993a) Excavations in the *Scamnum Tribunorum* at Caerleon: The Legionary Museum site 1983-5, *Britannia* 24 (1) pp. 136-138

Caseldine, A. & Davies, J. (2010) The Military Impact on the Environment and Economy, *In*: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMS pp. 147-156

Caseldine, A & Griffiths, J. (2019) The Plant Remains, *In*: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 159-173

Casey, P. (1983) Caerwent (Venta Silurum): The Excavation of the North-West Tower and an Analysis of the Structural Sequence of the Defences, *Archaeologica Cambrensis*, 132 (1) pp. 49-77

Casey, P. (1993) The End of Fort Garrisons on Hadrian's Wall: A Hypothetical Model, *In*: Vallet, F. & Kazanski, M. eds. (1993) *L'armée Romaine et les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe Siècle*, Rouen: Musée des Antiquités Nationales pp. 259-267

Casey, P. (2010) The end of the Roman army in Wales and the Marches, *In*: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW pp. 62-66

Casey, P. & Davies J & Evans J. (1993) *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*, Oxford: CBA

Chadwick, A. & Pollard, J. & Peterson, A. & Hamilton, M. *et al*, (2003) The Gray Hill Research Project, *Past* 44 (1) pp. 1-3

Chadwick, H. (1954) The Foundation of the Early British Kingdoms, *In*: Chadwick, K. ed. (1954) *Studies of Early British History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 47-60

Chadwick, N. (1959) The Welsh Dynasties in the Dark Ages, *In*: Roderick, A. ed. (1959) *Wales through the Ages*, Llandybie: Christopher Davies pp 50-59

Chadwick, N. (1960) *The Age of Saints in the Early Celtic Church*, Burnham-on-Sea: Llanerch Press

Chadwick, N. (1967) *Celtic Britain*, London: Thames & Hudson

Chadwick, N. (1972) *The Celts*, London: Pelican

Chadwick, S. (1960) Early Iron Age Enclosures on Longbridge Deverell, Cow Down, Wiltshire, *In*: Frere, S. ed. (1960) *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, London: Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper pp. 18-20

Chadwick, N. & Dillon, M. (1967) *The Celtic Realms*, London: Phoenix Press

Chambers, F. (1982) Two Radiocarbon Pollen Diagrams from High-Altitude Blanket Peats in South Wales, *Journal of Ecology*, 70 (2) pp. 445-459

Chambers, F. (1983) Three Radiocarbon-Dated Pollen Diagrams from Upland Peats North-West of Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales, *Journal of Ecology*, 71 (2) pp. 475-487

Chambers F. & Lageard, J. & Eliot, L. (1990) Field Survey, Excavation and Pollen Analysis at Mynydd y Drum, Ystradgynlais, Powys, 1983 and 1987, *Bulletin Board of Celtic Studies* 37 (1) pp. 215-214

Chaplin, R. (1975) Comments on Professor Alcock's Paper, *In*, Evans, J. & Limbrey, S. & Cleere, H. eds. (1975) *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Highland Zone*, York: CBA p. 123

Chapman, M. (1980) *The Celts, The Construction of a Myth*, London: Macmillan

Charles-Edwards, T. (1970-1972) The Seven Bishop-Houses of Dyfed, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 (1) pp. 247-262

Charles-Edwards, T. (1989a) Early Medieval Kingdoms in the British Isles, *In*: Bassett, S. ed. (1989) *The Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, Leicester: Leicester University Press pp. 28-39, 245-248

Charles-Edwards, T. (1989b) *The Welsh Laws, Writers of Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Charles-Edwards, T. (1993) *Early Irish and Welsh Kingship*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Charles-Edwards, T. (2000) *Early Christian Ireland*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Charles-Edwards, T. (2014) *Wales and the Britons 350-1064*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Charles-Edwards, T. Owen, M. & Walters, D. eds. (1986) *Lawyers and Laymen*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Charles-Edwards, T. Owen, M. & Russell, P. eds. (2000) *The Welsh King and His Court*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Charlton, K. (2013) Rituals of Resistance? Hope and Hoarding in Late Iron Age Wales, *Studia Celtica* XLVII (1) pp. 25-39

Chateaubriand, F. (1809) *Les Martyrs*, Paris : Vermont

Childe, V. (1940) *Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles*, London: Chambers

Children, G. & Nash G. (1996) *Prehistoric Sites of Monmouthshire*, Melksham: Logaston

Church, A. (1896) *Stories from English History: from the Lord Protector to Victoria*, London: Seeley

Cizmár, M. (2006) Staré Hradisko, *In*: Koch, J. ed. (2006) *Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 1625-1627

Claessen, H. & Skalnik, P. (1978) The Early State: Theories and Hypothesis, *In*: Claessen, H. & Skalnik, P. eds. (1978) *The Early State*, The Hague: Mouton pp. 3-

Clapton, A. (2017) *Excavations at Whitewall Brake Romano-British Site*, Leicester: University of Leicester

Clark, C. & Haswell, M. (1970) *The Economics of Subsistence Agriculture*, London: Palgrave

Clark, G. (1940) *Prehistoric England*, London: Batsford

Clark, J. (1952) *Prehistoric Europe, The Economic Basis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Clarke, D. (1978) *Analytical Archaeology*, Michigan: Methuen

Clarke, G. (1966) The Invasion Hypothesis in British Archaeology, *Antiquity*, 40 (1) pp. 172-189

Clarke, S. (1993) Monmouth, The Gloucestershire House, St Mary's Street. (SO 505126), *Archaeology in Wales*, 33 (1) pp. 66

Clarke, S. (2010) Monmouth, *In: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW pp. 264-265

Clough, T. & Myres, J. (1973) Roman Pottery Used for Anglo-Saxon Cremations *In: Myres, J. & Green, B. eds. (1973) The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Caistor by Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk*, London: Society of Antiquaries of London pp. 74–76

Cochran, J. (1952) Tankards and Tankard Handles of the British Early Iron Age, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, pp. 85-102

Coe. J. (2001) *The Place Names of the Book of Llandaff*, Aberystwyth: University of Wales Thesis

Coflien, Fairwater Farm, [WWW]

<https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/409187/details/fairwater-farm-possible-roman-villa> (22 April 2020)

Coflien, Gwehelog Roman Temple, [WWW]

<https://www.coflein.gov.uk/en/site/405805/details/gwehelog-roman-templellancayo-farm#images> (7 June 2019)

Coflien, Portskewett Hill Roman Building, [WWW]

<https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/307944/details/portskewett-hill-roman-building-site-of>

(21 April 2020)

Coles, B. (1990) Anthropomorphic wooden figures from Britain and Ireland, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56 (1) pp. 315-333

Colfer, B. (2004) *Prehistoric and Early Christian Landscapes, The Hook Peninsula*, Cork: Cork University Press.

Collingwood, R. (1930) *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, London: Methuen

Collingwood, R. & Richmond, I. (1969) *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*, London: Methuen

Collins, R. (2006) Late Roman Frontier Communities in Northern Britain: A Theoretical Context for the 'End' of Hadrian's Wall, *In*: Croxford, B. & Goodchild, H.

& Lucas, J. & Ray, N. eds. (2005): *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, Birmingham 2005, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 1-11

Collins, R. (2010) Brooch use in the 4th- to 5th-century frontier, *In*: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 64-77

Collins, R. (2012) *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries*, New York: Routledge

Collins, R. (2013) Soldiers to Warriors: Renegotiating the Roman Frontier in the Fifth-Century, *In*: Hunter, F. & Painter, K. eds. (2013) *Late Roman Silver: The Traprain Treasure in Context*, Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries

Collins, R. (2017) Decline, Collapse, or Transformation? The Case for the Northern Frontier of Britannia, *In*: Roymans, N. & Heeren, S. & Clerq, W. eds. (2016) *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press pp. 203-230

Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA

Collins, R. & Breeze D. (2012) Limitanei and Comitatus: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain, *In*: Haarer, F. ed. (2014) *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp. 61-72

Collingwood-Bruce, J. (1880) *A Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities Chiefly British at Alnwick Castle*, Newcastle: Reid

Collingwood, R. (1937) *Roman Britain and English Settlements*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Collingwood, R. & Wright, R. (1965) *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Volume I: Inscriptions on Stone* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Collis, J. (1996a) Across the Great Divide, *In: Champion, T. & Collis, J. eds. The Iron Age in Britain: Recent Trends*, Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press pp. 1-4

Collis, J. (1996b) Hill-Forts, Enclosures and Boundaries, *In: Champion, T. & Collis, J. eds. The Iron Age in Britain: Recent Trends*, Sheffield: University of Sheffield Press pp.95-116

Collis, J. (1998) *The European Iron Age*, London: Routledge

Collis, J. (2010) *Celts: Origins, Myths and Inventions*, Stroud: Tempus

Colyer, C. & Jones, M. (1979) Excavations at Lincoln, Second Interim Report. Excavations in the Lower Town, *Antiquaries Journal*, 59 (1) pp. 50–91

Comeau, R. (2019) Land, People and Power in Early Medieval Wales: The Cantref of Cemais in Comparative Perspective, London: UCL Thesis

Comeau, R. & Seaman, A. eds. (2019) *Living off the Land, Agriculture in Wales, c. 400-1600 AD*, Oxford: Windgather Press

Compton, J. (1997) The Bone Artefacts, *In: Nayling, N. Caseldine, A & Neumann, H. (1997) Excavations at Caldicot, Gwent: Bronze Age Paleochannels in the Lower Nedern Valley*, York: CBA p. 242

Cook, J. (2004), *Early Anglo-Saxon Buckets. A Corpus of Copper Alloy- and Iron-bound, Stave-built Vessels*, Oxford: Oxford School of Archaeology

Cool, H. (2000) The Parts Left Over: Material Culture in the Fifth Century, *In*: Wilmott, T. & Wilson, P. eds. (2000) *The Late Roman Transition in the North*, BAR: Oxford pp. 47-65

Cool, H. 2006: *Eating and Drinking in Roman Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cool, H. (2010) A Different Life, *In*: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 1-9

Cool, H. (2014) Which ‘Romans’; What ‘Home’? The Myth of the ‘End’ of Roman Britain, *In*: Haarer, F. ed. (2014) *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp. 13-22

Cool, H. & Baxter, M. (1999) Peeling an Onion; an Approach to Comparing Vessel Glass Assemblages, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (1) pp. 72-100

Cool, H. & Mason, D. (2008) *Roman Piercebridge: Excavations by D W Harding and Peter Scott, 1969–1981*, Durham: Architectural & Archaeological Society of Durham & Northumberland

Cooper, N. (1996) Searching for the Blank Generation: Consumer Choice in Roman and Post-Roman Britain, *In*: Webster, J. & Cooper, N. eds. (1996), *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*, Leicester: University of Leicester Press pp. 85–98

Coplestone-Crow, B. (1998) Robert De La Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllwg: The Norman Settlement of a Welsh Cantref, *Gwent Local History*, 85 (1) pp. 3-46

Copley, M. & Bersten, R. & Docherty G. *et al* (2003) Direct Chemical Evidence for Widespread Dairying in Prehistoric Britain, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States*, 100 (4) pp. 1524-1529

Corder, P. (1955) The Reorganisation of the Defences in Romano-British Towns in the Fourth Century, *Archaeological Journal*, 112 (1) pp. 20-42

Corinium Museum, Romano-British Limestone Relief Depicting Three Cloaked Men

[WWW] <https://coriniummuseum.org/2021/07/matres-and-genii-cucullati/> (19 December 2021)

Cosh, S. (2004) A Possible Date for the Silchester “Church”, *Britannia*, 35 (1) pp. 229–233

Cosh, S. & Neal, D. (2006) *Roman Mosaics of Britain. Volume II. South-West Britain*, London: Society of Antiquaries of London

Cotterill, J. (1993) Saxon Raiding and the Role of the late Roman Coastal Forts, *Britannia* 24 (1) pp. 227-239

Cotton, M. (1961) The Pre-Belgic Iron Age Cultures of Gloucestershire, *In*: Clifford, E. ed. (1961) *Bagendon, a Belgic Oppidum*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 22-42

Coulston, J. (2010) Military Equipment of the “Long” Fourth Century on Hadrian’s Wall’, *In*: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 50–63

Courtney, P. (1983) The Rural Landscape of Eastern and Lower Gwent c. AD 1070-1750, Cardiff: Cardiff University Thesis

Courtney, P. (1986) The Norman Invasion of Gwent, a Reassessment, *Journal of Medical History*, 12 (1) pp. 297-313

Coxe, W. (1801) *An Historical Tour of Monmouthshire*, London: Cadell & Davies

Crane, P. & Murphy, K, An Early Medieval Settlement, Iron Smelting Site and Crop-Processing Complex at South Hook, Herbranston, Pembrokeshire, 2004-05, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 159 (1) pp. 117-196

Crawford, O. (1921) A Prehistoric Invasion of England, *Antiquary*, 2 (1) pp.27-35

Crawford, O. & Wheeler, R. (1921) The Llynfawr and Other Hoards of the Bronze Age, *Archaeologia*, 71 (1) pp. 133-140

Crerar, B. (2006) Votive Leaves from Roman Britain, *In: Henig. M. ed. Roman Art, Religion and Society: New Studies from the Roman Art Seminar, Oxford 2005*, Oxford: Archaeopress, p.71

Crerar, B. (2012) Contextualising Romano-British Lead Tanks: A Study in Design, Destruction and Deposition, *Britannia*, 43 (1) pp.135–166

Cramb, J. (1900) *Reflections on the Origins and Destiny of Imperial Britain*, London: Macmillan

Crawford, O. (1921) A Prehistoric Invasion of England, *Antiquary*, 2 (1) pp. 27-35

Crawford, O. & Wheeler, R. (1921) The Llynfawr and Other Hoards of the Bronze Age, *Archaeologia*, 71 (1) pp. 133-140

Cromer, Earl of (Baring, E.) (1908) *The Government of Subject Races*, Edinburgh Review, January 1908

Crouch, D. (1986) The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan, 1067-1158, *Morgannwg*, 5 (1) pp. 20-41

Crouch, D. ed. (1988) *Llandaff Episcopal Acta, 1140-1287*, Cardiff: South Wales Record Society

Crouch, D. (2006) Cardiff before 1300, *In*: Kenyon, R. & Williams, D. eds. (2006) *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff*, London: Meaney pp. 34-41

Crouch, D. (2008) The Transformation of Medieval Gwent, *In*: Griffiths, R & Hopkins, T. & Howell, R. eds. (2008) *The Gwent County History, Volume II, The Coming of the Marcher Lords, c. 1070-1536*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 1-45

Crow, J. (1995) *The English Heritage Book of Housesteads*, London: Batsford

Crow, J. (2004) *Housesteads: A Roman Fort and Garrison on Hadrian's Wall*, Stroud: Tempus

Croxford, B. (2003) Iconoclasm in Roman Britain? *Britannia*, 34 (1) pp. 81–95

Crump, G. (1973) Ammianus and the Late Roman Army, *Historia*, 22 (1) pp. 91-103

Crummy, P. & Crummy, N. & Crossan, C. (1993) *Colchester Archaeological Report 9: Excavations of Roman and Later Cemeteries, Churches and Monastic Sites in Colchester 1971–88*, Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Society

Cuissard, C. (1883) Vie de Saint Pol de Léon de Bretagne, *Revue Celtique*, 5 (1) pp. 413-460

Cunliffe, B. (1968) *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent* London: Society of Antiquaries of London

Cunliffe, B. (1975) *Excavations at Portchester Castle, Volume 1*, London: Royal Society of Antiquaries

Cunliffe, B. (1999) *The Ancient Celts*, London: Penguin

Cunliffe, B. (2001) *Facing the Ocean, The Atlantic and its Peoples*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cunliffe, B. (2005) *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, London: Routledge

Cunliffe, B. (2011) *Danebury Hillfort*, Stroud: The History Press

Cunliffe, B. (2012a) Celticization from the West: The Contribution of Archaeology, *In*

Cunliffe, B. (2012b) *Britain Begins*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2012) *Celtic from the West, Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 13-38

Cunnington, M. (1923) *The Early Iron Age Site at Canning's Cross*, Devises: Simpson

Cunnington, M. (1932) Was there a Second Belgic Invasion Represented by Bead-Rim Pottery? *Antiquary*, 12 (1) pp. 27-34

Curle, A. (1923) *The Treasure of Traprain Law*, Glasgow: Maclehose & Jackson

Curran, J. (1998) From Jovian to Theodosius, *In*: Cameron, A. & Garnsey, P. eds. (1998) *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume XIII: The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 78-110

Curzon, G.N. (Lord Curzon of Kedleston) (1907) *Frontiers, The Romanes Lecture 1907*, delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, November 2, 1907, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Danielisová, A. & Pajdla, P. & Bursák, D. *et al*, (2021) Claiming the Land or Protecting the Goods? The Duchcov hoard in Bohemia as a Proxy for 'Celtic migrations' in Europe in the 4th century BCE, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 127 (1) pp. 1-18

D'Arbois de Jubainville, H. (1902) *Principaux Auteurs de l'antique a Consulter sur l'histoire des cletes. Cours de Littterature Celtique*. Volume 12. Paris: Fontemoing

Dark, K. (1993) *Discovery by Design; The Identification of Secular Elite Settlements in Western Britain*, Oxford: BAR

Dark, K. (1994) *Civitas to Kingdom, British Political Continuity 300-800*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

Dark, K. (1996) Pottery and local production at the end of Roman Britain, *In*: Dark, K. ed. (1996) *External Contacts and the Economy of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press pp. 53–65

Dark, K. (2000) *Britain at the End of the Roman Empire*, Stroud: Tempus

Dark, K. (2006) *Archaeology and the Origins of Insular Monasticism*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge

Dark, K & Dark, P. (1996) New Archaeological and Palynological Evidence for a Sub Roman Reoccupation of Hadrian's Wall, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 24 (1) pp. 57–72

Dark, K. & Dark, P. (1997) *The Landscape of Roman Britain*, Stroud: Sutton

Dark, P. (1999) Pollen Evidence for the Environment of Roman Britain, *Britannia* 30 (1) pp. 247-272

Dark, P. (2000) *The Environment of Britain in the First Millennium AD*, London: Bristol Classical Press

Dark, P. (2005) Mid- to late-Holocene Vegetational and Land-use change in the Hadrian's Wall region: a Radiocarbon-dated Pollen Sequence from Crag Lough, Northumberland, England', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32 (1) pp. 601-618

Darling, M. & Gurney, D. (1993) *Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-1955*, Dereham: Norfolk Archaeological Unit

Davies, J. (1967a) Excavations at Caer Dynnaf, near Llanblethian, Glam. 1965-67, *Morgannwg* 11 (1) pp. 75-77

Davies, J. (1967b) Excavations at Cae Summerhouse, Tythegstone, Glam.: Second Interim Report, *Morgannwg* 11 (1) pp. 75-78

Davies, J. (1980) Aspects of Native Settlement in Roman Wales and the Marches, Cardiff: Cardiff University Thesis

Davies, J. (1995) The Early Celts in Wales, *In: Green, M. ed. (1995) The Celtic World*, London: Routledge pp. 671-700

Davies, J. (2002) The Saints of South Wales and the Welsh Church, *In: Sharpe, R. & Thacker, A. (eds. (2002) Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 361-39

Davies, J. (2003) *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press

Davies, J. (2004) Soldier and Civilian in Wales, *In: Todd, M. ed. (2004) A Companion to Roman Britain*, Oxford: Blackwell pp. 91-113

Davies, J. (2007) *A History of Wales*, London: Penguin

Davies, J. & Lynch, F. (2000) The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age *In: Lynch F. Aldhouse-Green, S & Davies, L. eds. (2000) Prehistoric Wales*, London: Sutton pp. 139-218

Davies, J. & Lynch, F. (2000) The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age *In: Lynch F. Aldhouse-Green, S & Davies, L. eds. (2000) Prehistoric Wales*, London: Sutton pp. 139-218

Davies, N. (1996) *Europe a History*, London: Macmillan

Davies, N. (1999) *The Isles, a History*, London: Macmillan

Davies, M. (2004) The Coming of the Normans, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. and Howell, R. eds. (2004) The Gwent County History Volume 1, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 331-352

Davies, R. (1988) In Praise of British History, *In: Davies, R. ed. (1988) The British Isles 1100-1500, Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, Edinburgh: John Donald pp. 3-21

Davies, R. (1994) The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100-1400. Names, Boundaries and Regional Solidarities, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1) pp. 1-20

Davies, R. (2000) *The Age of Conquest 1063-1415*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Davies, S. (2014) *War and Society in Medieval Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Davies, S. (2006) Mabinogi/Mabinogion, *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clío pp. 1207-1208

Davies, S. (2007) *The Mabinogion, A New Translation* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Davies, T. (2011) Llanfor South Fieldwork and Dating Analysis, *Medieval Settlement Research* 26 (1) pp. 70-73

Davies, T. (2019) Culture, Climate, Coulter and Conflict, Pollen Studies from Early Medieval Wales *In: Comeau, R. & Seaman, A. eds. (2019) Living off the Land, Agriculture in Wales, c. 400-1600 AD*, Oxford: Windgather Press pp. 174-198

Davies, W. (1970) *The Early Charter Memoranda of the Book of Llandaff*, London: University of London Thesis

Davies, W. (1973a) Liber Landavensis: Its Construction and Credibility, *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1) pp. 335-351

Davies, W. (1973b) *Unciae*: Land Measurement in the "Liber Landavensis" *The Agricultural History Review*, 21 (2) pp. 111-121

Davies, W. (1974/1975) The Celtic Church, *Journal of Religious History*, 8 (1) pp. 406-411

Davies, W. (1976) Brant Teilo, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 26 (1) pp. 123-137

Davies, W. (1978a) Land and Power in Early Medieval Wales, *Past & Present*, 81 (1) pp. 3-23

Davies, W. (1978b) *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters*, London: Royal Historical Society

Davies, W. (1979) *The Llandaff Charters*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales

Davies, W. (1982) *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

Davies, W. (1990) *Patterns of Power in Early Wales*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Davies, W. (1992) The Myth of the Celtic Church, *In: Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1992) The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 1-21

Davies, W. (1995) Adding Insult to Injury: Power, Property and Immunities in Early Medieval Wales, *In: Davies, W. & Fouracre, P. eds. (1995) Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp.137-164

Davies, W. (2001) Thinking About the Welsh Environment a Thousand Years Ago, *In: Jenkins, G. ed. (2001) Cymru a'r Cymry 2000, Wales and the Welsh 2000*, Aberystwyth: Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, pp. 1-18

Davies, W. ed. (2003) *From the Vikings to the Normans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Davies, W. (2004) Looking Backwards to the Early Medieval Past: Wales and England, a Contrast in Approaches, *Welsh History Review*, 22 (2) pp. 197-221

Davies, W. (2006) Medieval Celtic Charter Tradition, *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 403-407

Davies, W. (2009) *Welsh History in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Societies*, London: Routledge

Davies, W. & Fouracre, P. eds. (1995) *Property and Power in the Early Middle Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Davies, W. & Graham-Campbell, J. & Handley, M. & Kershaw, P. *et al* (2000) *The Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany / Les Inscriptions de la Bretagne du Haut Moyen Âge*, Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications

Davis M. & Gwilt A. (2008) Material, Style and Identity in First century AD Metalwork, with Particular Reference to the Seven Sisters Hoard, *In*: Garrow, D. & Gosden, C & Hill, J. eds. (2008) *Rethinking Celtic Art*, Oxford: Oxbow Books

Davis, O. & Sharples, N. (2014) *Excavations at Caerau Hillfort, Cardiff, South Wales, 2013: An Interim Report*, Cardiff Studies University in Archaeology Specialist Report 34, Cardiff: Cardiff University

Davis, O. & Sharples, N. (2015) *Excavations at Caerau Hillfort, Cardiff, South Wales, 2015: An Interim Report*, Cardiff Studies University in Archaeology Specialist Report 36, Cardiff: Cardiff University

Davis, O. (2017) Filling the Gaps: The Iron Age in Cardiff and the Vale of Glamorgan. *Proceedings the of Prehistoric Society* 83 (1), pp. 325-256

Dawkins, B. (1912) Certain Fixed Points in the Pre-History of Wales, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 12 (1) pp. 61-108

DEFRA, (2014) Assessment of the impact of hefting (heafing or learing) [WWW] <http://randd.defra.gov.uk/Default.aspx?Menu=Menu&Module=More&Location=None&Completed=0&ProjectID=15631> (16 December 2014)

Diarte-Blasco P. & Christie, N. (2018) *interpreting Transformations of People and Landscapes in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Archaeological Approaches and Issues*, Oxford: Oxbow

- Dickinson, T. (1982) Fowler's Type G Penannular Brooch Reconsidered, *Medieval Archaeology*, 26 (1) pp. 41-68
- Dinan, W. (1911) *Monumenta, Historica Celtica*, Volume 1, London: Hutt
- Doble, J. & Evans, D. ed. (2013) *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Dodgson, R. (1987) *The European Past: Social Revolution and Spatial Order*, Basingstoke: MacMillan
- Doggett, N. 1986, The Anglo-Saxon See and Cathedral of Dorchester-on-Thames: The Evidence Reconsidered, *Oxoniensia* 51 (1) pp. 9–61
- Dolley, C. (1960) An Unpublished Chester Penny of Harthacnut Found at Caerwent, *Numismatic Chronicle* 20 (1) pp. 191-193
- Dolley, M. & Knight, J. (1970) Some Single Finds of Tenth and Eleventh Century English Coin Finds from Wales, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 119 (1) pp. 75-82
- Douglas, A. & Gerrard, J. & Sudds, B. (2011) *A Roman Settlement and Bath House at Shadwell: Excavations at Tobacco Dock and Babe Ruth's Restaurant, The Highway, London*, London: Pre-Construct Archaeology
- Draper, S. (2004) Roman Estates to English Parishes? The Legacy of Desmond Bonney Reconsidered, *In*: Gerrard, D. & Collins, R. eds. (2004) *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain, AD 300-700*, Oxford: BAR pp. 55-64

Drinkwater, J. (1983) The Pagan Underground, Constantius II's Secret Service and the Survival and Usurpation of Julian the Apostate, *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, 3 (1) pp.348-387

Drinkwater, J. (1999) Ammianus, Valentinian and the Rhine Germans, *In: Drijvers, J. & Hunt, D. eds. (1999) The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellus* pp. 127-137

Drinkwater, J. (2007) *The Alamanni and Rome 213-496: Caracalla to Clovis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Driscoll, S. & Geddes, J. & Hall, M. eds. (2011) *Pictish Progress: New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill

Driver, T. (2018) New Perspectives on the Architecture and Function of Welsh Hillforts and Defended Settlements, *Internet Archaeology* 48
<http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue48/9/1.html#box2> (18 March 2019)

Driver, T. & Burnham, G. & Davies, J. (2020) Roman Wales: Aerial Discoveries and New Observations from the Drought of 2018, *Britannia* 51 (1) pp. 117-145

Dumayne, L. (1994) The Effects of the Roman Occupation on the Environment of Hadrian's Wall: a Pollen Diagram from Fozzy Moss, Northumbria, *Britannia* 25 (1) pp. 217-224

Dumayne, L. & Barber, K. (1994) The Effect of the Romans on the Environment of Northern Britain: Pollen Data from Three Sites Close to Hadrian's Wall, *The Holocene* 4 (1) pp. 165-173

Dumville, D. (1997) The Origins and Early History of Insular Monasticism: Aspects of Literature, Christianity, and Society in Britain and Ireland AD 400-600, *Bulletin of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies*, 30 (1) pp. 85-107

Duggan, M. (2016) Ceramic Imports to Britain and the Atlantic Seaboard in the Fifth Century and Beyond, *Internet Archaeology* 41

<https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue41/3/index.html> (10 June 2020)

Duggan, M. (2018) *Links to Late Antiquity: Ceramic Exchange and Contacts on the Atlantic Seaboard in the 5th to 7th Centuries AD*, Oxford: BAR

Dunning, G. (1934) The Swan's-Neck and Ring Headed Pin of the Early Iron Age in Britain, *Archaeological Journal* 91 (1) pp. 269-295

Dunwoodie, L. (2004) *Pre-Boudican and Later Activity on the Site of the Forum: Excavations at 168 Fenchurch Street, City of London*, London: MOLAS

Eagles, B. (2018) *From Roman Civitas to Anglo-Saxon Shire: Topographical Studies on the Formation of Wessex*, Oxford: Oxbow

Earwood, C. (1993) *Domestic Wooden Artefacts in Britain and Ireland from the Neolithic to Viking Times*, Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press

Edwards, G. (1963) Studies in Welsh Law Since 1928, *Welsh History Review Special Number : The Welsh Laws* (1963) 1 (1) pp. 1-17

Edwards, H. (1985) *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, Glasgow: University of Glasgow Thesis

Edwards, N. (1979) *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales: An Introduction*, In: Edwards, N. ed. (1979) *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales*, Oxford, Oxbow, pp.1-12.

Edwards, N. (1996) Identifying the Archaeology of the Early Church in Wales and Cornwall, In: Blair, J. & Pyrah C. eds. (1996) *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*, York: CAB pp. 49-62

Edwards, N. (2001) Early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture in Wales: context and function, *Medieval Archaeology* 45 (1) pp. 15–39

Edwards, N. (2007) *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales, Volume II, South-West Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Edwards, N. (2009) *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*, Leeds: Maney

Edwards, N. (2013) *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales, Volume III, North Wales*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press

Edwards, N. ed. (2019) *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*, London: Routledge

Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1988) *Early Medieval Settlements in Wales AD 400-1100: A Critical Reassessment and Gazetteer of the Archaeological Evidence for Secular Settlements in Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1992) *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxford: Oxbow

Edwards, N. & Lane, A. & Bapty, I. & Redknap, M. (2005) Early Medieval Wales: A Framework for Archaeological Research, *Archaeology in Wales*, 45 (1) pp. 33-46

Edwards, N. & Lane, A. & Redknap, M. (2011) Early Medieval Wales: An Updated Framework for Archaeological Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales, <https://www.archaeoleg.org.uk/pdf/earlymed2011.pdf> (11 June 2020)

Ellis T. (1926) *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Elton, H. (1996) *Warfare in Roman Europe AD 350–425*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Enderbie, P. (1661) *Cambria Triumphans*, London: Andrew Crooke

Engleheart, G. (1922) On Some Roman Buildings and Other Antiquities in a District of North-West Hants, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 9 (1) pp. 214–218

Esmonde-Cleary, A. (2001a) Review of K. Dark, Britain and the End of the Roman Empire, *Antiquity* 75 (1) pp. 289

Esmonde-Cleary, A. (2001b) The Roman to Medieval Transition, *In*: James, S. & Millett, M. eds. (2001) *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, Oxford: CBA pp. 90-97

Esmonde-Cleary, A. (2003) Civil Defences in the West under the High Empire, *In*: Wilson, P. (2003) *The Archaeology of Roman Towns: Studies in Honour of J.S. Wacher*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 72-85

Esmonde-Cleary, A. (2005) *The Ending of Roman Britain*, London: Routledge

Etchingam, C. (1999a) *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650-1000*, Maynooth: Laigin

Etchingam, C. (1999b) Bishoprics in Ireland and Wales in the Early Middle Ages: Some Comparisons, *In: Guy, J. & Neely, W. eds (1999) Contrasts and Comparisons: Studies in Irish and Welsh Church History*, Welshpool: Welsh Religious History Society pp. 7-25

Etting, V. (2013) *The Story of the Drinking Horn, Drinking Culture in Scandinavia during the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark

Evans, A. J. (1890) On a Late-Celtic Urn-field at Aylesford, Kent, *Archaeologia*, 52 (1) pp. 315–88

Evans, D. & Metcalf V. (1992) *Roman Gates*, Oxford: Oxbow

Evans, E. (2001) *Romano-British South East Wales Settlement Survey: Final report*, Swansea: GGAT

Evans, E. (2003a) *The Prehistoric Funerary and Ritual Monument Survey of Glamorgan and Gwent: Overviews*, Swansea: GGAT

Evans, E. (2003b) *Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites in Southeast Wales*, Swansea: GGAT

Evans, E. (2010) Chepstow, *In: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW pp. 304

Evans, E. (2010) Risca, *In: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW pp. 309

- Evans, E. (2018) Romano-British Settlement in South-East Wales, *Internet Archaeology* 48 (1) [WWW] <https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue48/8/index.html> (19 April 2020)
- Evans, E. & Dowdell, G. & Thomas, H. (1985) A Third-Century Maritime Establishment at Cold Knapp, Barry, South Glamorgan, *Britannia*, 28 (1) pp. 169-244
- Evans, E. & Locock, M. (1994) *RAF Caerwent Archaeological Desk-Based Assessment*, Swansea: GGAT
- Evans, G. (1974) *Land of My Fathers*, Swansea: Penry
- Evans, G. (2007) *The Church in the Early Middle Ages*, London: Tauris
- Evans, J. (1981) Wheat Production and its Social Consequences in the Roman World, *Classical Quarterly*, 31 (2) pp.428-442
- Evans, J. (1990) From the end of Roman Britain to the “Celtic West”, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 9 (1) pp. 91–103
- Evans, J. (1993) Pottery Function and Finewares in the Roman North, *Journal of Roman Pottery Studies* 6 (1) pp. 95-122
- Evans, J. & Wooding, J. eds. (2007) *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press
- Evans, P. (2003) Excavations in Cardiff Castle 2003, *Archaeology in Wales* 44 (1) pp. 43-40
- Evans, T. (1716) *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, Bangor: Jarvis & Foster
- Evans, A. & Metcalf, V. (1992) *Roman Gates Caerleon*, Oxford: Oxbow

Everson, P. & Stocker, D. (2006) *Summoning St. Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire*, Oxford: Oxbow

Evison, V. (1988) *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alton, Hampshire*, Stroud: Hampshire Field Club

Evison, V. (2000) Glass Vessels in England AD 400-1100, *In*: Price, J. ed. *Glass in Britain and Ireland, AD 350-1100*, London: British Museum pp. 47-104

Faith, R. (1994) Tidenham, Gloucestershire, and the History of the Manor in England, *Landscape History* 16 (1) pp. 39-52

Faith, R. (2008) Forms of Dominance and the Early Medieval Landscape, *Medieval Settlement Research* 23 (1) pp. 9-13

Farquhar, R. & Vitali, V. (1989) Lead Isotope Measurements and their Application to Roman and Lead and Bronze Artefacts from Carthage, *Masca Research Papers in Science and Archaeology*, 6 (1) pp. 39-45

Farwell, D. & Molleson, T. (1993) *Poundbury Volume 2: The Cemeteries*, Dorchester: Dorchester Natural History and Archaeological Society

Faulkner, N. (2004a) *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain*, Stroud: Tempus

Faulkner, N. (2004b) The Case for the Dark Ages, *In*: Collins, R. & Gerrard, J. eds. (2004) *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain, AD 300-700*, Stroud: Archaeopress pp. 5-

12

Ferris, I. & Jones, R. (2000) Transforming an Elite: Reinterpreting Late Roman Binchester, *In: Wilmott, T. & Wilson, P. eds. (2000) The Late Roman Transition in the North*, Oxford: BAR pp. 1-11

Ferris, J. (2010) *The Beautiful Rooms are Empty. Excavations at Binchester Roman fort, County Durham 1976–81 and 1986–91*, Durham: Durham County Council

Field, P. (1999) Gildas and the City of the Legions, *The Heroic Age* (1) (1) [WWW] <https://www.heroicage.org/issues/1/hagcl.htm> (accessed 7th May 2021)

Fisher, D. (2010) *Royal Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Fleming, A (2007) 1955 and All That: Prehistoric Landscapes in The Making, *In: Fleming, A. & Hingley, R. eds. Prehistoric and Roman Landscapes*, Macclesfield: Windgather Press pp. 1-15

Fleming, R. (2011) *Britain after Rome*, London: Penguin

Fleure, H. (1951) *A Natural History of Man in Britain*, London: Collins

Fletcher, C. and Kipling, R. (1911) *A School History of England*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Forbes, R. (1967) *Archaeologia Homerica Part 2*, Göttingen: Göttingen University Press

Ford, D. (1994) The Silchester Church: A Dimensional Analysis and a New Reconstruction, *Britannia*, 25 (1) pp.119–126

Foster, J. (2013a) Bone Artefacts, *In: Bell, M. ed. (2013) The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA p. 94

Foster, J. (2013b) Bone Artefacts, *In*: Bell, M. ed. (2013) *The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA p. 289

Forsyth, K. (2005) HIC MEMORIA PERPETUA: the inscribed stones of sub-Roman southern Scotland' *In*; Forster, S. & Cross, M. eds. (2005) *Able Minds and Practised Hands: Scotland's Early Medieval Sculpture in the Twenty-First Century*, Leeds: Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 23, Leeds pp. 113-134

Fox, A. (1995) Tin Ingots from Bigbury Bay, *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society*, 53 (1) pp. 11-23

Fox, C. (1923) *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fox, C. (1932) *The Personality of Britain; Its Influence on Inhabitant and Invader in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales

Fox, C. (1958) *Pattern and Purpose: A Survey of Early Celtic Art in Britain*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales

Fox, C. & Hyde, H. (1939) A Second Cauldron and an Iron Sword from the Llyn Fawr Hoard, Rhigos, Glamorganshire, *Antiquary* 19 (1) pp. 369-404

Franklin, L. (2006) Imagined Landscapes, Archaeology, Perception and Folklore in the Study of Medieval Devon, *In*: Turner, S. ed. (2006) *Medieval Devon and Cornwall: Shaping an Ancient Countryside*, Macclesfield: Windgather pp. 144-161

Fraser, J. (2009) *The New Edinburgh History of Scotland, Volume 1: From Caledonia to Pictland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Freeman, P. (1993) Homer, Callimachus, Lucilius, and Virgil: The Classical Poet's View to the West, *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 13 (1) pp. 145-155

Freeman, P. (1999) Homeric κασσίτερος, *Glotta*, 75 (3) pp. 222-225

Freeman, P. (2012) Ancient References to Tartessos *In*: Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2012) *Celtic from the West, Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 303-334

Fried, M. (1978) The State, the Chicken and the Egg: or What came First? *In*: Cohen, R. & Service E. eds. (1978) *Origins of the State: the Anthropology of Social Evolution*, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues pp. 35-47

Freund, W. (1955) Religion in Roman Britain in the 4th Century, *Journal of the British Archaeological Society*. 3rd ser 18 (1) pp.1–18

Freund, W (1968) The Christianisation of Roman Britain, *In*: Barley, M. and Hanson, R. eds, *Christianity in Britain 300–700: Papers Presented to the Conference on Christianity in Roman and Sub-Roman Britain, 17–20 April 1967*, Leicester: Leicester University Press pp. 37–50

Freund, W. (1979) Ecclesia Britannica: Prelude or Dead End? *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 pp. 129–144

Freund, W. (1984/5) Syrian parallels to Water Newton, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 27/28 pp. 146–50

Frere, S. (1967) *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, London: Routledge

Frere, S. (1976) The Silchester Church: Excavations by Sir Ian Richmond in 1961, *Archaeologia* 105 (1) pp. 277–302

Frere, S. (1984) British Urban Defences in Earthwork, *Britannia* 15 (1) pp. 63-74

Fry, P. (1984) *Roman Britain*, Newton Abbot: Charles & Fry

Fulford, M. (1975) The Pottery, *In: Cunliffe, B. ed. (1975) Excavations at Portchester Castle Volume 1* London: Society of Antiquaries of London pp. 270–367

Fulford, M. (1977) Pottery and Britain's Foreign Trade in the Late Roman Empire, *In: Peacock, D. ed. Pottery and Early Commerce. Characterization and Trade in Roman and Later Ceramics*, London: Academic Press, pp. 35–84

Fulford, M. (1978) The Interpretation of Britain's Late Roman Trade: the Scope of Medieval Historical and Archaeological Analogy, *In: Taylor, J. & Cleere, H. eds. (1978) Roman Shipping and Trade: Britain and the Rhine Provinces*, London: CBA

Fulford, M. (1979) Pottery Production at the End of Roman Britain, *In: Casey, P. ed. (1979) The End of Roman Britain*, Oxford: BAR pp. 120-132

Fulford, M. (1984) *Silchester Defences 1974-1980*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies

Fulford, M. (2001) Links with the Past: Pervasive 'Ritual' Behaviour in Roman Britain, *Britannia* 32 (1) pp. 199-218

Fulford, M. & Allen, J. & Rippon, S. (1992) The Settlement and Drainage of the Wentlooge Level, Gwent: Excavation and Survey at Rumney Great Wharf, *Britannia* 25 (1) pp. 175-211

Fulford, M. & Allen, J. (1996), The Distribution of South-East Dorset Black Burnished Category I Pottery in South-West Britain, *Britannia* 27 (1) pp. 223–281

Fulford, M. & Timby, J. (2000) *Late Iron Age and Roman Silchester: Excavations on the Site of the Roman Basilica, 1977, 1980-86*, London: Britannia Monograph

Gardiner, A. (2001) Identities in the Late Roman Army: Material and Textual Perspectives, *In*: Davies, G. & Gardner, A. & Lockyear, K. eds. (2001) *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, London 2000*. Oxford: Oxbow

Gardiner, A. & Guest, P. (2010) Exploring Roman Caerleon: New Excavations at the Legionary Fortress of Isca, *Archaeology International* 12 (1), pp. 47-51

Gardner, A. (2016) *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain*, California: Walnut Creek

Garrow, D & Lucy, S. & Gibson, D. (2006) *Excavations at Kilverstone, Norfolk: An Episodic Landscape History*, Dereham: East Anglia Archaeology

Gelling, M. (1992) *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

Germany, M. (2003) *Excavations at Great Holts Farm, Boreham, Essex 1992-1994*, Dereham: East Anglia Archaeology

Gerrard, J. (2004) How Late is Late? Pottery and the Fifth-Century in South-Western Britain, *In*: Collins, R. & Gerrard, J. eds. (2004) *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300-700*, Oxford: BAR

Gerrard, J. (2007a) The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath and the End of Roman Britain, *The Antiquaries Journal* 87 (1) pp.148–64

Gerrard, J. (2007b) Rethinking the Small Pig Horizon at York Minster, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26 (1) pp. 303–307

Gerrard, J. (2011) Cathedral or Granary? The Roman Coins from Colchester House (PEP89), *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 62 (1) pp. 81–88

Gerrard, J. (2014) Roman Pottery in the Fifth Century: A Review of the Evidence and Its Significance, *In: Collins, R. & Haarer, F. & Matthews, K. & Moorhead, S. et al eds. (2014) Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp. 89-98

Gerrard, J. (2016) *The Ruin of Britain, An Archaeological Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

GGAT, (2020) Fragments of Roman Statuettes, [WWW]
<https://archwilio.org.uk/arch/query/page.php?watprn=GGAT06146g&dbname=ggat&dbname=core&sessid=CHI227zy73f&queryid=Q714367001587484990> (21 April 2020)

Gibbon, E. (1776-1781) *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
In: <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/gibbon-the-history-of-the-decline-and-fall-of-the-roman-empire-vol-1-12> (18 February 2020)

Giblin, J. (1999) Lower Machen, *Archaeology in Wales* 39 (1) pp. 106

Gibson, A. & Wood, A. eds. (1997) *Prehistoric Pottery for the Archaeologist*, Leicester: University of Leicester Press

Gilchrist, R. (1988) A Reappraisal of Dinas Powys: Local Exchange and Specialised Livestock in Fifth-Seventh Century Wales, *Medieval Archaeology* 32 (1) pp. 50-62

Gillam, J. (1979) Romano-Saxon pottery: An alternative Interpretation, *In*: Casey, P. ed. (1979) *The End of Roman Britain*, Oxford: BAR pp. 103–18

Gledhill, J. (1988) Introduction: The Comparative Analysis of Social and Political Transitions, *In*: Gledhill, J. & Bender, B. & Larsen, M. eds. (1988) *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralisation*, London: Unwin pp. 1-29

Golding, A. (1587) *The Excellent and Pleasant Worke of Iulius Solinus Polyhistor*, London: Printed by I. Charlewoode for Thomas Hacket

Graham, B. (2003) Ireland: Economy and Society, *In*: Rigby, S. ed. (2003) *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell pp. 142-161

Graham, T. (2002) A *Rho-Cross* Engraved on a Jet Finger-Ring from Bagshot, Surrey, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 21(1) pp. 211–216

Graham-Campbell, J. (1991) Dinas Powys Metalwork and the Dating of Enamelled Zoomorphic Penannular Brooches, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 38 (1) pp. 220-232

Granger, H. & Pritchard, F. (2019) The Context of the Llangorse Textile within the History of Insular Embroidery, *In*: Redknap, M. (2019) *Early Medieval Metalwork*, *In*:

Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 307-311

Green, M. (1976) *A Corpus of Religious Material from the Civilian Areas of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Archaeopress

Green, M. (1986) *The Gods of the Celts*, Stroud: History Press

Green, M. (1992) *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art*, London: Routledge

Green, M. (1992) *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*, London: Routledge

Green, M. ed. (1997a) *The Celtic World*, London: Routledge

Green, M. (1997b) *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*, London: Thames & Hudson

Green, T. (2007) *Concepts of Arthur*, Stroud: Tempus

Green, T. (2008) The British Kingdom of Lindsey, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 56 (1) pp. 1-43

Green, T. (2020) *Britons and the Anglo Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400-650*, Lincolnshire: History of Lincolnshire Committee

Greenberg, J. (2003) Plagued by Doubt: Reconsidering the Impact of a Mortality Crises in the 2nd Century AD, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (1) pp. 413-425

Greep, S. ed. (1993) *Roman Towns: The Wheeler Inheritance, A Review of 50 Years' Research*, York: CBA

Gregson, N. (1985) The Multiple Estate Model: Some Critical Questions, *Journal of Historic Geography* 11(4) pp. 339-351

Grierson, P. 1975: *Numismatics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Grierson, P. (1982) *Byzantine Coins*, London: Methusen

Griffiths, D. (2003a) Exchange, Trade and Urbanisation, *In*: Davies, W. ed. (2003) *From the Vikings to the Normans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 73-106

Griffiths, D. (2003b) Markets and 'Productive' Sites: A View from Western Britain, *In*: Pestell, T. & Ulmschneider, K. eds. (2003) *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, Macclesfield: Windgather Press pp. 62-72

Grooms, S. (2006) Trioedd Ynys Prydain, *In*: Koch, J. ed. (2006) *Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 1688-1689

Guest, P. (1997) Hoards from the End of Roman Britain, *In*: Bland, R & Ornstein, J. eds. (1997) *Coin Hoards from Roman Britain X*, London: British Museum Press pp. 411-422

Guest, P. (2002) Manning the Defences, *In*: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Webster P. eds. (2002) *Artefacts and Archaeology: Aspects of the Celtic and Roman World*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 76-89

Guest, P. (2005) *The Late Roman Gold and Silver Coins from the Hoxne Treasure*, London: British Museum Press

Guest, P. (2008) The Early Monetary History of Wales: Identity, Conquest and Acculturation on the Imperial Fringe, *Britannia*, 39 (1) pp. 33-58

Guest, P. (2010) Coins from the Roman frontier in Wales, *In*: Burnham, B. & Davies, J. eds (2010), *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW pp. 24–33

Guest, P. (2014) The Hoarding of Roman Metal Objects in Fifth-Century Britain, *In*: Haarer, F. ed. (2014) *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp.117-129

Guest, P. (2015) The hoarding of coins in Roman Britain, *In*: Bland, R. & Naylor, J. eds. (2015) *Hoarding and Deposition of Metalwork: a British Perspective*, Oxford: BAR pp. 101-116

Guest, P. & Luke, M. & Pudney C. (2011) *Archaeological Evaluation of the Extramural Monumental Complex (The Southern Canabae) at Caerleon, 2011*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press

Guest, P. & Wells, N. (2007) *Iron Age and Roman Coins from Wales*, Wetteren: Moneta

Gwilt, A. (2004) Late Bronze Age Societies (1150-600 BC) Tools and Weapons, *In* Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell R. eds. *The Gwent County History, Vol. 1, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 111-139

Gwilt, A. (2007) Silent Silures? Locating People and Places in the Iron Age of South Wales, *In*: Haselgrove, C. & Moore T. eds. (2007) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 297-328

Gwilt, A (2009) Portable Antiquities Record Number NMGW-9C0216

Gwilt, A. & Haselgrove, C. eds. (1997) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies; New Approaches to the British Iron Age*, Oxford: Oxbow

Gwilt, A. & Lodwick, M. & Deacon, J. *et al*, (2016) Ephemeral Abundance at Llanmaes: Exploring the Residues and Resonances of the Earliest Iron Age Midden and its Associated Archaeological Context in the Vale of Glamorgan, *In*: Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2016) *Celtic from the West 3*, Oxford: Oxbow Books

Haarer, F. ed. (2014) *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies

Hadley, D. (1996) Multiple Estates and the Origins of the Manorial Structure of the Northern Danelaw, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 22 (1) pp. 3-15

Hagender, F. (2011) *Yew, A History*, Stroud: History Press

Haglund-Calley, L. & Cornwall, I. (1963) The Animal Bones, *In*: Alcock, L. (1963) *Dinas Powys: An Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement Site*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp.191-194

Halsall, G. (2007) *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Halsall, G. (2014) *Worlds of Arthur*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hamilton, M. (2004) The Bronze Age, *In* Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell R. eds. (2004) *The Gwent County History, Vol. 1, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 84-110

- Hamilton, S. and Manley, J. (2001), Hillforts, Monumentality and Place: a Chronological and Topographic Review of First Millennium BC Hillforts of South-East England, *European Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1) pp.7-42
- Hammon, A. (2011) Understanding the Romano-British-Early Medieval Transition: A Zooarchaeological Perspective from Wroxeter (Viroconium Cornoviorum), *Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies* 42 (1) pp. 275-305
- Handley, M. (2001) The origins of Christian commemoration in late antique Britain, *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2) pp.177–199
- Hanson, W. (1996) Forest Clearance and the Roman Army, *Britannia* 27 (1) pp. 354-358
- Hardinge, L. (1972) *The Celtic Church in Britain*, London: SPCK
- Harries, J. (2012) *Imperial Rome AD 284-363: The New Empire*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Harris, A. (2003) *Byzantium, Britain and the West, The Archaeology of Cultural Identity AD 400–650*, Stroud: Tempus
- Hart, F. (1984) Excavation of a Saxon Grubenhaus and Roman ditch at Kent Road, St Mary Cray, Orpington, *Archaeologia Cantiana* 101 (1) pp.187–216
- Harvey, D. & Jones, R. (1999) The Meaning of Traditions and Legends in Early Medieval Western Britain, *Swedish Society for Anthropology*, 81 (4) pp. 223-233
- Haselgrove, C. (1992) Warfare, Ritual and Society in Iron Age Wessex, *Archaeological Journal* 149 (1) pp. 407-415

Haselgrove, C. (1993) The Development of Iron Age Coinage, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 155 (1) pp. 57-64

Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. eds. (2007) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent*, Oxford: Oxbow

Haselgrove, C. & Moore T. eds. (2007) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and Beyond*, Oxford: Oxbow

Haseloff, G. (1987) Insular Animal Style with Special Reference to Irish Art in the Early Medieval Period, *In: Ryan, M. (1987) Ireland and Insular Art AD 500-1200*, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy pp. 44-55

Hassall, C. (1815) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Monmouth*, London: McMillan

Hassall, M. & Rhodes, J. (1974) 1974 Excavations at the New Market Hall, Gloucester, 1966-7, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 93 (1) pp. 15-100

Hassall, A. (2004): The Defence of Britain in the 4th Century, *In: Le Bohec, Y. & Wolff, C. eds. (2004), L'Armee Romaine de Diocletien a Valentinien 1er Actes du Congres de Lyon (12-14 Sept 2002)* pp. 179-189

Haverfield, F. (1910a) Introduction: Roman Empire, *Classical Review* 24 (1) pp.105–107

Haverfield, F. (1910b) *Military aspects of Roman Wales, Paper Read before the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion at 20 Hanover Square, on Thursday 18 March 1909*, Oxford: Ashmolean Library

Haverfield, F. (1911) Appendix: The Indian Customs' Hedge, *In: Haverfield, F. ed. (1911) Essays by Henry Francis Pelham*, Oxford: Clarendon Press pp. 323-324

Haverfield, F. (1912) *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Haverfield, F. & MacDonald, G. (1924) *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Hawkes, C. (1931) Hillforts, *Antiquity*, 5 (1) pp. 60-97

Hawkes, C. (1939) The Caburn Pottery and its Implications, *Sussex Archaeology*, 80 (1) pp. 217-262

Hawkes, C. (1959) The ABC of the British Iron Age, *Antiquity*, 33 (1) pp. 170-182

Hawkes, J & Hawkes, C. (1943) *Prehistoric Britain*, London: Collins

Hawkes, S. (1973) A Late Roman Buckle from Tripontium, *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society*, 85 (1) pp.145–159

Hawkes, S. & Dunning, G. (1961) Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, Fourth to Fifth Century: with a Catalogue of Animal-Ornamented Buckles and Related Belt-Fittings, *Medieval Archaeology*, 5 (1) pp. 1-70

Hayes, J. (1972) *Late Roman Pottery*, London: British School

Heather, P. (2005) *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians*, London: MacMillan

Heck, M. & Rehren, T. & Hoffmann, P. (2003) The Production of Lead-Tin Yellow at Merovingian Schleithem (Switzerland), *Archaeometry* 45 (1) pp. 33-44

Helbaek, H. (1953) Early Crops in Southern England, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 18 (1) pp. 194-233

Henderson, B. (1903) *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, London: Methuen & Co

Henken, E. (1987) Aspects of Welsh Hagiography, *Folklore*, 98 (2) pp. 226-232

Henken, E. (2006) Hagiography in the Celtic Countries (Welsh) *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 876-877

Hencken, T. (1938) The Excavation at the Iron Age Camp on Breedon Hill, Worcestershire, 1935-1937), *Archaeology Journal*, 95 (1) pp. 1-111

Henig, M. (1984) *Religion in Roman Britain*, London: Batsford

Henig, M. (1993) Votive Objects: Weapons, Miniatures, Tokens and Fired Clay Accessories, *In: Woodward, A. & Leach P. (1993) The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977–9*, London: English Heritage and British Museum Publications pp. 130–147

Henig, M. (2006) Neither Baths nor Baptisteries, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 25 (1) pp.105– 107

Henig, M. & Booth, P. (2000), *Roman Oxfordshire*, Stroud: Sutton

Henig, M. & Brown, C. (2003). A Romano-British Buckle Plate from East Challow, near Wantage Oxoniensis, 67 (1) pp. 363–365

Henty, G.A. (1893) *Beric the Briton: A Story of the Roman invasion*, Glasgow: Blackie

- Higham, N. (1992) *Rome Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*, London: Seaby
- Higham, N. (1994a) Literary Evidence for Villas, Towns and Hillforts in Fifth-Century Britain, *Britannia*, 25 (1) pp. 229-232
- Higham, N. (1994b) *The English Conquest, Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century*, Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Higham, N. (2007) Britons in Anglo-Saxon England: An Introduction, *In*: Higham, N. ed. (2007) *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, Michigan: Boydell Press pp. 1-15
- Hill, J. (1995) *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*, Oxford: BAR
- Hills, C. (2003) *The Origins of the English*, London: Duckworth
- Hills, C. (2009) Anglo-Saxon DNA? *In*: Sayer, D. & Williams, H. eds. (2009) *Mortuary Practices and Social Identities in the Middle Ages*, Exeter: Exeter University Press pp. 123-140
- Hinchcliffe, J. & Sparey Green, C. (1985) *Excavations at Brancaster 1974 and 1977*, Dereham: Norfolk Archaeological Unit
- Hingley, R. (1989) *Roman Settlement in Roman Britain*, London: Seaby
- Hingley, R. (2000) *Roman Officers and English Gentleman: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology*, London: Routledge
- Hirst, S. & Clark, D. (2009) *Excavations at Mucking 3: The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries*, London: MoLAS
- Hobbs, R. (1997) Late Roman Precious Metal Deposits c. 200-700: Changes over Time and Space, UCL Thesis: London

Hobbs, R. (2006) *Late Roman Precious Metal Deposits c. 200-700*, Oxford: BAR

Hobley, B. (1983) Roman Urban Defences: A Review of Research in Britain, *In*: Maloney, J. & Hobley, B. ed. (1983) *Roman Urban Defences in the West*, York: CAB pp. 77-84

Hodges, R. (1977) Some Early Medieval French Wares in the British Isles: An Archaeological Assessment of the Early French Wine Trade with Britain, *In*: Peacock, D. *Pottery and Early Commerce*, London: Academic Press pp. 239-256

Hodgson, N. (1991) The Notitia Dignitatum and the later Roman garrison of Britain, *In*: Maxfield, V. & Dobson, M. eds. (1989) *Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 84–92

Hodgson, N. & Bidwell P. (2004) Auxiliary Barracks in a New Light: Recent Discoveries on Hadrian's Wall, *Britannia* 35 (1) pp. 121-157

Hodson, F. (1960) Reflections on the 'ABC' of the British Iron Age, *Antiquity*, 34 (1) pp. 138-140

Hodson, F. (1962) Some Pottery from Eastbourne, the 'Marnians' and the Pre-Roman Iron Age in Southern England, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 28 (1) pp. 140-155

Hodson, F. (1964) Cultural Groupings within the Pre-Roman Iron Age, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 30 (1) pp. 99-110

Hogg, A. & Smith, J. (1974) The Llantwit Major Villa: A Reconsideration of the Evidence, *Britannia*, 5 (1) pp. 225-250

Holbrook, N. (1998) *Cirencester: The Roman Town Defences, Public Buildings and Shops*, Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust

Holbrook, N. & Thomas, A. (1994) An Early Medieval Monastic Cemetery at Llandough, Glamorgan. Excavations in 1994, *Medieval Archaeology* 49 (1) pp. 1-92

Hollinrake, N. (2007) Dark Age Traffic on the Bristol Channel, UK: A Hypothesis, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 36 (2) pp. 336-343

Hooke, D. (1985) *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Kingdom of Hwicce*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Hopkins, K. (1980) Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 BC-AD 400), *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 70 (1) pp. 101-125

Hopkins, K. (1995/6) Rome, Taxes, Rents and Trade, *Kodai* 6/7 pp. 41-75

Hoskins, W. (1955) *The Making of the English Landscape*, London: Hodder & Stoughton

Howell, R. (2000) The Demolition of the Roman Tetrapylon in Caerleon: An Erasure of Memory? *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 19 (4) pp. 387-395

Howell, R. (2004) From the Fifth to the Seventh Century, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell, R. eds. Gwent County History, Volume I, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 244-268

Howell, R. (2006) *Searching for the Silures, An Iron Age Tribe in South-East Wales*, Stroud: Tempus

Howell, R. (2013) pers. comm. 28 October 2013

Howell, R. & Pollard J (2000) *Interim Report: Excavation of Lodge Wood Camp Summer 2000*, SCARAB and University of Wales Newport [WWW] <http://www.caerleon.net/history/lodge/page2.html> (23 November 2008)

Howell, R. & Pollard, J. (2004) The Iron Age: Settlement and Material Culture *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell, R. eds. Gwent County History, Volume I, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 140-159

Howells, D. (1973-74) The Four Exclusive Possessions of a Man, *Studia Celtica* 8-9 (1) pp. 48-67

Hübener, W. (1968) Eine Studie zur Spättrömischen Rädchensigillata, *Bonner Jahr*, 168 (1) pp. 241-298

Hughes, G. (1996) *The Excavation of a Late Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement at Thornwell Farm, Chepstow*, Oxford: BAR

Hughes, K. (1981) The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept, *Cambridge Medieval Studies*, 1 (1) pp. 1-20

Hughes, P. & Dumayne-Peaty, L. (2002) Testing Theories of Mire Development Using Multiple Successions at Crymlyn Bog, West Glamorgan, South Wales, UK, *Journal of Ecology* 90 (1) pp. 456-471

Hurley, C. (2000) Landscapes in the Southern Welsh Marches, 600-1100: The Evidence of the Charter Collections of Llandaff and Worcester, London: University College London Thesis

Hurst, H. (2005) Roman Cirencester and Roman Gloucester Compared, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24 (1) pp. 293-305

Hüsing, G. (1907) 'Die Kassiteriden', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1 (1) pp. 25-6

Hustwitt, E. (2015) The Britons in late Antiquity: Power, Identity and Ethnicity, Bangor: Bangor University Thesis

Hutton, R. (2014) *Pagan Britain*, London & Newhaven: Yale University Press

Huws, D. The Making of *Liber Landavensis*, *National Library of Wales Journal*, 25 (2) pp. 133-166

Hyde, H. (1961) *Welsh Timber Trees: Native and Introduced*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales

Ingrem, C. (2013a) Animal Bones from the Redwick and Cold Harbour Pill Sites, *In*: Bell, M. ed. (2013) *The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA pp. 243-251

Ingrem, C. (2013b) Animals at Peterstone, *In*: Bell, M. ed. (2013) *The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA pp. 139-144

Ingold, T. (2000) To Journey along a Way of Life: Maps, Wayfinding and Navigation, *In*: Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of Environment Essays in Livelihood Dwelling and Skill*, London: Routledge pp. 219-242

Insole, P. (2000) The Archaeological Excavation of a Romano-British Farmstead at Church Farm, Church Road, Caldicot, Monmouthshire, *Archaeology in Wales*, 40 (1) pp. 20-33

Jackson, D. (1999) Variation in the Size Distribution of Hillforts in the Welsh Marches and its implication for Social Organisation, *In* Bevan, B. ed. (1999) *Northern*

Exposure: Interpretive Devolution and the Iron Ages in Britain, Leicester: Leicester Archaeology Monographs, 4, 197- 216

James, E. (1977) *The Merovingian Archaeology of South-West Gaul*, Oxford: BAR

James, E. 2001: *Britain in the First Millennium*, London: Arnold

James, H. (1992) Early Medieval Cemeteries in Wales, *In*: Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1992) *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 90-103

James, H. (2007) The Geography of the Cult of St. David: A Study of Dedication Patterns in the Medieval Diocese, *In*: Wyn Evans, J. & Wooding, J. eds. (2007) *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer pp. 41-83.

James, S. (1984) Britain and the late Roman army, *In*: Blagg, T. & King, A. eds. (1984) *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain*, BAR British Series 136, Oxford pp. 161–186

James, S. (1998) Celts, Politics and Motivation in Archaeology, *Antiquity*, 72 (1) pp. 200-209

James, S. (1999) *The Atlantic Celts, Ancient People or Modern Invention?* London: British Museum Press

James, S. (2005) *Exploring the World of the Celts*, London: Thames & Hudson

James, S. (2011) *Rome and the Sword: How Warriors and Weapons Shaped Roman History*, London: Thames & Hudson

Jarret, K. (2011) *A Summary of Roman and Early Medieval activity at Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire*, Published by the Author

Jarrett, M. (1994). *Early Roman Campaigns in Wales. The Seventh Annual Caerleon Lecture*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales

Jarrett, M. & Mann, J. (1969) The Tribes of Wales, *Welsh History Review*, 4 (1) pp. 161-171

Jarrett, M. & Wrathmell, S. (1981) *Whitton, An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Jenkins, D. (1970) *Cyfraith Hywel*, Llandysul: Gomer Press

Jenkins, D. (1973) A Family of Welsh Lawyers, *In: Jenkins, D. ed. (1973) Celtic Law Papers: Introductory to Welsh Medieval Law and Government*, Bruxelles: Les Editions de la Librairie Encyclopédique

Jenkins, D. (1977) The Significance of the Law of Hywel, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion*, (1) pp. 54-76

Jenkins, D. (1981) The Medieval Idea of Welsh Law, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiednis*, 49 (1) pp. 323-348

Jenkins, D. (1986) *The Law of Hywel Dda, Law Texts from Medieval Wales, Translated and Edited*, Llandysul: Gomer Press

Jenkins, D. (2000) Excursus, The Lawbooks and Relation, *In: Charles-Edwards, T. Owen, M. & Russell, P. eds. (2000) The Welsh King and His Court*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 10-14

Jenkins, D. (2010) *Conspectus of the manuscripts of the Cyfnerth redaction*, Cambridge: Texts and Studies in Medieval Welsh Law 1

Jenkins, D. (2017) Property Interests in the Classical Welsh Law of Women, *In*: Jenkins, D. & Owen, M. eds. (2017) *The Welsh Laws of Women*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 69-92

Jenkins, P. (1988) Regions and Cantrefs in Early Medieval Glamorgan, *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 5 (1) pp. 31-50

Johns, C. (2010) *The Hoxne Late Roman Treasure: Gold Jewellery and Silver Plate*, London: British Museum Publications

Johns, C. & Potter, T. (1983) *The Thetford Treasure: Roman Jewellery and Silver*, London: British Museum Publications

Johns, C. & Potter, T. (1985) The Canterbury Late Roman Treasure, *Antiquaries Journal*, 65 (1) pp. 312–352

Johnson, D. (1985) Munificence and Municipia: Bequests to Towns in Classical Roman Law, *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1) pp. 105–25

Johnson, N. (1997) An investigation into the Locations of the Royal Courts of Thirteenth-Century Gwynedd, *In*: Edwards, N. (1997) *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales*. Oxford: Oxbow pp. 41-69

Johnson, N. (2000) Llys and Maerdref: The Royal Courts of the Princes of Gwynedd, *Studia Celtica* 34 (1) pp. 167-210

Johnson, P. (1983) *Late Roman Fortifications*, London: Barnes & Noble

Johnson, S. (1976) *The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore*, London: Elek

Johnstone, N. (2000) Llys and Maerdref: The Royal Courts of the Princes of Gwynedd, *Studia Celtica*, 34 (1) pp. 167-210

Jones, A. (1964) *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, Oxford: Blackwell

Jones, B. & Mattingly, D. (1990) *An Atlas of Roman Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Jones, G. (1961a) Settlement Patterns in Anglo-Saxon England, *Antiquity* 35 (1) pp. 221-232

Jones, G. (1961b) Early Territorial Organization in England and Wales, *Geografiska Annaler*, 43 (1/2) pp. 174–181

Jones, G. (1961c) The Tribal System in Wales: A Reassessment in the Light of Settlement Studies, *Welsh Historical Review*, 1 (2) pp. 111–114

Jones, G. (1971) The Multiple Estate as a Model Framework for Tracing Early Stages in the Evolution of Rural Settlement, *In: Dussart ed. (1971) L 'Habitat et les Paysages Ruraux d'Europe*, Liège: Les Congrès et Colloques de l'Université de Liège, pp. 251–267

Jones, G. (1972a) Post Roman Wales, *In: Finburg, H. (1972) The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume 1*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 281-382

Jones, G. (1972b) Early Territorial Organisation in Gwynedd and Elmet, *Northern History* 10 (1) pp. 15-49

Jones, G. (1976) Multiple Estates and Early Settlement, *In: Sawyer, P. ed. (1976) Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change*, London: Arnold pp. 15–40

Jones, G. (1985a) Multiple Estates Perceived, *Journal of Historical Geography* 11 (4) pp. 352-363

Jones, G. (1985b) Forms and Patterns of Medieval Settlement in Welsh Wales, *In*: Hooke, D. ed. *Medieval Villages: A Review of Current Work*, Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology pp. 155–69

Jones, G. (1985c) The Dark Ages, *In*: Owen, D. ed. *Settlement and Society in Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 177–97

Jones, G. (1985d) Animal Bones and Shell, *In*: Evans, E. & Dowdell, G. & Thomas, H. (1985) A Third-Century Maritime Establishment at Cold Knapp, Barry, South Glamorgan, *Britannia*, 28 (1) pp. 57-125 (p.122)

Jones, G. (1992) The Models for Organisation in *Llyfr Iorwerth* and *Llyfr Cyfnerth*, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 39 (1) pp. 95–118

Jones, G. (2000) Llys and Maerdref, *In*: Charles-Edwards, T. Owen, M. & Russell, P. eds. (2000) *The Welsh King and His Court*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 296-319

Jones, J. (2014) The Animal Bones *In*: Davis, O. & Sharples, N. (2014) *Excavations at Caerau Hillfort, Cardiff, South Wales, 2013: An Interim Report*, *Cardiff Studies University in Archaeology Specialist Report 34*, Cardiff: Cardiff University pp. 49-54

Jones, M. (1996) *The End of Roman Britain*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Jones, M. (2004) Cities and Urban Life *In*: Todd, M. ed. (2004) *A Companion to Roman Britain*, Oxford: Blackwell pp. 162-192

Jones, M. & Gilmour, T. (1980) Lincoln, Principia and Forum: A Preliminary Report, *Britannia*, 11 (1) pp. 61-72

- Jones, R. (1997) *The Archaeology of Identity*: London: Sage
- Jones, R. (1998a) The Formation of the Cantref and Commote in Medieval Gwynedd, *Studia Celtica* 32 (1) pp. 169-177
- Jones, R. (1998b) Early State Formation in Native Medieval Wales, *Political Geography*, 17 (6) pp. 667-682
- Jones, R. (1999) Mann and Men in Medieval State: The Geographies of Power in the Middle Ages, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, 24 (1) pp. 65-78
- Jones, T. ed. (1952) *Brut y Tywysogyon, or The Chronicle of the Princes*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Jones, T. ed. (1955) *Brut y Tywysogyon: Red Book of Hergest Version*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Jones, T. ed. (1971) *Brenhinedd y Saeson*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Jones Pierce, T. (1972) *Medieval Welsh Society: Selected Essays by T Jones Pierce*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press
- Joep, E. (2000) *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Joyce, G. (1881) Third Account of Excavations at Silchester, *Archaeologia*, 46 (1) pp.344–365
- Judaism and Rome (2019) Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna <http://www.judaism-and-rome.org/arch-septimius-severus-lepcis-magna-203-209-ce> (15 December 2019)

- Karagiorgou, O. (2001) LR2: A Container For the Military *Annona* on the Danubian Border? In: Kingsley, S. & Decker M. eds. (2001) *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 129-166
- Karl, R. (2012) The Celts from Everywhere and Nowhere: A Re-evaluation of the Origins of the Celts and the Emergence of Celtic Cultures In: Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2012) *Celtic from the West, Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 39-64
- Kehoe, D. (2010) *Law and Rural Economy in the Roman Empire*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press
- Kelly, C. 2004: *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, London: Harvard University Press
- Kelly, F. (1988) *A Guide to Early Irish Law, Early Irish Law Series 3*, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
- Kelly, R. (1980) The Excavation of a Medieval Farmstead at Cefn Graeanog, Clynnog, Gwynedd, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29 (1) pp. 859-908
- Kemble, J. (1863) *Horae Ferales or Studies in the Archaeology of the Northern Nations*, London: Lovell Reeve
- Kent, J. (1994) *The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. X: The Divided Empire and the Fall of the Western Parts A.D. 395–491*, London: Spink & Son
- Kenyon, K. (1950) Excavations at Breedon-on-the Hill, 1946, *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society* 26 (1) pp. 17-82

Kenyon, K. (1952) A Survey of the Evidence Concerning the Chronology and Origins of Iron Age A in Southern and Midland Britain, *London Institute of Archaeology*, 8 (1) pp. 29-78

Kerlouegan, F. (1987) *Le De Excidio Britanniae de Gildas*, Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne

Keynes, S. & Lapidge, M. eds. (1983) *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, London: Penguin

King, A. (1983) The Roman Church at Silchester Reconsidered, *Archaeology* 2(1) pp. 225-237

King, A. (2005) Animal Remains from Roman Temples in Britain, *Britannia* 36 (1) pp. 329-369

King, A. & Soffe, G. (1998) Internal Organisation and Deposition at the Iron Age Temple on Hayling Island, *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 53 (1) pp. 35-47

Kingsley, C. (1864) *The Roman and the Teuton: A Series of Lectures Delivered Before the University of Cambridge*, London: Macmillan

Kingsley, S. (2004) *Barbarian Seas, Late Rome to Islam*, London: Periplus

Kinnes, I. (1981) The Animal Bones *In: Jarrett, M. & Wrathmell, S. (1981) Whitton, An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 232-238

Kipling, R. (1906) *Puck of Pook's Hill*, reprinted 1989, London: Macmillan

Kissock, J. (1993) Some Examples of Co-axial Field Systems in Pembrokeshire, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 40 (1) pp. 190-198

Kissock, J. (1997) God Made Nature and Men Made Towns: Post-Conquest and Pre- Conquest Villages in Pembrokeshire, *In: Edwards, N. ed. (1997) Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 123-138

Kissock, J. (2014) Llannau, Llysoedd, and Llociau: Identifying the Early Medieval Landscape of Gower, *Landscape History* 35 (2) pp. 5-20

Knight, J. (1994) From Villa to Monastery: Llandough in Context, *Medieval Archaeology* 49 (1) pp. 93-107

Knight, J. (1995) Hen Castell in its Contemporary Setting, *In: Wilkinson, P. ed. (1995) Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan 1991-1992*, *Medieval Archaeology* 39 (1) pp. 36-45

Knight, J. (1996) Late Roman and Post-Roman Caerwent: Some Evidence from Metalwork, *Archaeologica Cambrensis*, 145 (1) pp. 35-66

Knight, J. (2001) Britain's Other Martyrs: Julius, Aaron and Alban at Caerleon, *In: Henig, M. & Lindley, P. eds. (2001) Alban and St Albans: Roman and Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, London: Meany pp.13-29

Knight, J. (2003) *Caerleon Roman Fortress*, Cardiff: MWL

Knight, J. (2004) Society and Religion in the Early Middle Ages, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell R. eds. Gwent County History, Volume I, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 269-286

Knight, J. (2007) *The End of Antiquity: Archaeology, Society and Religion AD 235–700*, Stroud: Tempus

Knight, J. (2010) An Inscription from Bavai and the Fifth Century Christian Epigraphy of Britain, *Britannia*, 41 (1) pp. 283–292

Knight, J. (2013) *South Wales, from the Romans to the Normans, Christianity Literacy and Lordship*, Stroud: Amberley

Knight, J. & Lane, A. (1988) Caerwent, *In: Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1988) Early Medieval Settlements in Wales, AD 400-1100: A Critical Reassessment and Gazetteer of the Archaeological Evidence for Secular Settlements in Wales*, Bangor/Cardiff: U.C.N.W. Research Centre

Koch, J. (1987) A Welsh Window on the Iron Age: Manawydan Mandubracios, *Cambridge Medieval Studies* 14 (1) pp. 17-52

Koch, J. (2006a) Arthur in Saints' Lives, *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 117

Koch, J. (2006b) Hallstatt [I] & Hallstatt [II], *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 884-889

Koch, J. (2006c) *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Cadfan ab Iago, In: Koch. J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio p.314

Koch, J. (2006d) *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio p. 1456

- Koch, J. (2012) Paradigm Shift? Interpreting Tartessian as Celtic, *In: Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2012) Celtic from the West, Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 185-301
- Koch, J. (2013) Ha C1a \neq PC ("The earliest Hallstatt Iron Age cannot equal proto-Celtic") *In: Koch, J. & Cunliffe, B. eds. (2013) Celtic from the West 2: Rethinking the Bronze Age and the Arrival of Indo-European in Atlantic Europe*, Oxford: Oxbow
- Koch, J. & Cunliffe, B. eds. (2013) *Celtic from the West 2: Rethinking the Bronze Age and the Arrival of Indo-European in Atlantic Europe*, Oxford: Oxbow
- Kolb, M. & Snead, J. (1997) It's a Small World After All: Comparative Analysis of Community Organization in Archaeology, *American Antiquity* 62 (4) pp. 609-628
- Krause, R. (2006), Bopfingen, *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 228-230
- Krautheimer, R. (1986) *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Kulikowski, M. (2000) Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain, *Britannia* 31 (1) pp. 325-345
- Ladle, L. ed. (2012) *Excavations at Bestwall Quarry Vol. 2: The Iron Age and Late Landscape*, Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society
- Lancaster, J. (2014) A Model of Decentralised Political Structure among the Silures, *Studia Celtica*, 28 (1) pp. 3-54

- Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow
- Lane, A. & Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Historical Sources, *In*: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 404-422
- Larpi, L. (2008) Prolegomena to a New Edition of Gildas Sapiens *De Excidio et Conquestu Britannie*, Manchester Theses: University of Manchester
- Laws, K. & Brooks, I. (2007) Wentwood, *Archaeology In Wales* 47 (1) pp. 118-119
- Lawrence, S. & Smith A. (2009) *Between Villa and Town: Excavations of a Roman Roadside Settlement and Shrine at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire*, Oxford: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies
- Laycock, S. (2008) *Britannia the Failed State: Tribal Conflicts and the End of Roman Britain*, Stroud: The History Press
- Laycock, S. (2009) *Warlords, The Struggle for Power in Post-Roman Britain*, Stroud: The History Press
- Leach, P. (1982) *Ilchester: Excavations 1974–5*, Bristol: Western Archaeological Trust
- Leach, P. (1994). *Ilchester Volume 2: Archaeology, Excavations and Fieldwork to 1984*, *Sheffield Excavation Reports*, 2. Sheffield: Collis
- Leahy, K. (2007) *Interrupting the Pots: The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*, York: Council for British Archaeology

- Lee-Warner, W. (1894) *The Protected Princes of India*, London: Macmillan
- Leech, R. (1981) The Excavation of a British-Romano Farmstead and Cemetery on Bradley Hill, Somerset, *Britannia* 12 (1) pp. 177-25
- Leeds, E. (1927) Excavations at Chun Castle in Penwith, Cornwall, *Archaeologica*, 76 (1) pp. 204-240
- Leeds, E. (1933) *Celtic Ornament*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Levy, E. (1951) *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property*, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society
- Lewis, A. (2015) *Iron Age and Roman-era Vehicle Terrets from Western and Central Britain: An Interpretive Study*, Leicester: University of Leicester Thesis
- Lewis, C. (1985) The Norman Settlement of Herefordshire Under William I, *In*: Brown, R. ed. (1985) *Anglo-Norman Studies, Volume VII*, Woodbridge: Boydell pp. 195-213
- Lhuyd, E. (1707) *Archaeologia Britannica*, Oxford: Oxford Theatre
- Liebeschuetz, J. (2000) *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Lloyd, J. (1911) *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest, Volume I*, London: Longmans
- Lock, G & Ralston, I. (2017) *Hillforts of Britain and Ireland* [WWW]
<https://hillforts.arch.ox.ac.uk> (10 April 2019)

Locock, M. (1999) Iron Age and Later Features at Green Moor Arch, (Gwent Europark), Newport, *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary* 10 (1) pp.128-130

Locock, M. (2000) *Prehistoric Settlement in Southeast Wales: The Lithic Evidence*, Swansea: GGAT

Locock, M. & Walker, M. *et al.* (1998) Hill Farm, Goldcliff: Middle Iron Age Drainage on the Caldicot Level, *In*: Rippon, S. ed. *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary, 1998, Volume 9*, Exeter: Short Run Press

Locock, M. & Trett, B. & Lawler, M. (2000) Chapeltump, Magor, Monmouthshire: Chapeltump II and the Upton Trackway, *Studia Celtica*, 34 (1) pp. 17-48

Lockyear, K. (2012) Dating coins, Dating with Coins, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 31 (2) pp. 191–211

Locock, M. (1999) Iron Age and Later Features at Green Moor Arch, (Gwent Europark), Newport, *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary* 10 (1) pp.128-130

Lodwick, (2003) Portable Antiquities Record Number NMGW-DA9283

Löffler, M. (2007) *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morgannwg 1826–1926*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Longley, D. (1997) *The Royal Courts of the Welsh princes in Gwynedd*, AD 400-1283. *In*: Edwards, N. ed. (1997) *Landscape and Settlement in Medieval Wales*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 41-54

Longley, D. (2001) Medieval Settlement and Landscape Change on Anglesey, *Landscape History* 13 (1) pp. 39-59

Longley, D. (2004) Status and Lordship in the Early Middle Ages, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell R. eds. Gwent County History, Volume I, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 287-316

Lucas, C. (1915) *The British Empire: Six Lectures*, London: Macmillan

Lucy, S. (2000) *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death: Burial Rites in Early England*, Stroud: Sutton

Luick, R. (2008) Transhumance in Germany, European Forum on Nature Conservation and Pastoralism

http://www.efncp.org/download/Swabian_Al_b_F_F_Download.pdf (11 November 2014)

Lyne, M. (1999) The End of the Saxon Shore Fort System in Britain: New Evidence from Richborough, Pevensey and Portchester, *In: N. Gudea ed. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* Zalău: Museum of History and Art Zalău pp. 283–92

Lyne, M. (2012): The Late Iron Age and Roman Black Burnished Pottery, *In* Ladle, L. ed. (2012) *Excavations at Bestwall Quarry Vol. 2: The Iron Age and Late Landscape*, Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society pp. 198-240

Lyons, J. (2007) *Within these Walls: Roman and Medieval Defences North of Newgate at the Merrill Lynch Financial Centre, City of London*, London: MoLAS

MacDonald, P. (1999) St. Brides Major, *Archaeology in Wales*, 39 (1) pp. 94

MacDonald, P. (2001a) Caerleon, Malthouse Road, *Archaeology in Wales*, 41 (1) pp. 137-138

MacDonald, P. (2001b) Ford Farm Roman Villa, Llanmartin, *Archaeology in Wales*, 41 (1) pp. 138-139

MacDougal, H. (1982) *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons and Anglo-Saxons*, Montreal: Harvest House

MacGregor, A & Mainman, A, & Rogers, N. (1991) *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn from Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, York: CBA

Macpherson, J. (1777) *Poems of Ossian*, Boston: Philips & Samson

Maddicott, J. (1997) Plague in Seventh Century England, *Past and Present*, 156 (1) pp. 7-24

Madgwick, R. (2016) New Light on Feasting and Deposition: Exploring Accumulation History, *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, 8 (2) pp. 329-341

Madgwick, R & Mulville, J. (2015) Feasting on Fore-Limbs: Conspicuous Consumption and Identity in Later Prehistoric Britain, *Antiquity* 89 (1) pp. 629-644

Maier, B. (2003) *The Celts, A History from Earliest Times to the Present*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Mango, M. (2001) Beyond the Amphora: Non-Ceramic Evidence for Late Antique Industry and Trade, *In: Kingsley, S. & Decker, M. eds. (2001) Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean During Late Antiquity* pp. 87-106

Mann, J. (1965) City Foundations in Gaul and Britain, *In: Jarrett, M. & Dobson, B. eds. (1965) Britain and Rome: Essays Presented to Eric Birley*, Kendal: Titus Wilson pp. 109-113

Manning, W. (2003) The Defences of Caerwent, *In: Wilson, P. (2003) The Archaeology of Roman Towns: Studies in Honour of J.S. Wacher*, Oxford: Oxbow pp.168-183

Manning, W. (2004) The Romans: Conquest and Army, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell, R. eds. (2004) The Gwent County History Volume 1: Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press pp. 178-204

Manning, W. (2010) Usk, *In: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMW pp. 187-192

Marincola, J. ed. (2007) *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography Volume 1*, Oxford: Blackwell

Marsden, P. (1980) *Roman London*, London: Unwin

Marsden, P. (1987) *The Roman Forum Site in London: Discoveries Before 1985*, London: HMSO

Martin, C, (2003) *Iron Age Artefacts in Wales*, Oxford: BAR

Martin, K. (1969) A Reassessment of the Evidence for the *Comes Britanniarum* in the Fourth Century, *Latomus* 28 (2) pp. 408-428

Marvell, A. & Crowther, S. & Sell, B. & Dickinson, D. *et al*, (1996) Excavations at Usk 1986-1988, *Britannia* 27 (1) pp. 51-110

Mason, D. (2012) *Roman Chester: Fortress at the Edge of the World*, Stroud: History Press

Mathisen, R. (1993) *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul: Strategies for Survival in the Age of Transition*, Austin: University of Texas Press

Mattingly, D. (2006) *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire*, London: Penguin

Matthews, J. (1989) *The Empire of Ammianus*, London: John Hopkins University Press

Matthews, J. (1990) *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Maund, K. (1991) *Ireland, Wales and England in the Eleventh Century*, Woodbridge: Boydell

Maund, K. (1997) Fact and Narrative Fiction in the Llandaff Charters, *Studia Celtica*, 31 (1) pp. 173-193

Maund, K. (2006) *The Welsh Kings, Warriors, Warlords and Princes*, Stroud: Tempus

Martin, C. (2003) *Iron Age Artefacts in Wales*, Oxford: BAR

Mawer, F. (1995) *Evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain: The Small Finds*, Oxford: BAR British Series, 243. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum

Mayerson, P. (1984) Roman Wheat Production: An Addendum, *Classical Quarterly*, 34 (1) pp. 243-245

McCarthy, M. (2013) *The Romano-British Peasant, Towards a Study of People, Landscapes and Work During the Roman Occupation of Britain*, Oxford: Windgather Press

McCormick, M. (2001) *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

McCormick, N. (1997) The Animal Bones *In*: Nayling, N. Caseldine, A. & Neumann, H. (1997) *Excavations at Caldicot, Gwent: Bronze Age Palaeochannels in the Lower Nedern Valley*, York: CBA pp. 218-242

McIntosh, J. (2009) *Handbook to Life in Prehistoric Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

McWhirr, A. (1986) *Houses in Roman Cirencester*, Cirencester: Cirencester Excavation Committee

Meates, G. (1979) *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone. Volume 1: The Site*, Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society

Meates, G. (1987) *The Roman Villa at Lullingstone. Volume 2: The Wall Paintings and Finds*, Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society

Meddens, F & Beasley, M. (2001) Roman Seasonal Wetland Pasture Exploitation near Nash on the Gwent Levels, Wales, *Britannia* 32 (1) pp. 143-184

Megaw, R. & Megaw, V. (1996) Ancient Celts and Modern Ethnicity, *Antiquity*, 70 (1) pp.175-81

Megaw, R. & Megaw, V. (1998) The Mechanism of (Celtic) Dreams? 'a partial response to our critics' *Antiquity*, 72 (2) pp.432

Megaw, R. & Megaw, V. (2001) *Celtic Art*, London: Thames & Hudson

Megaw, R. & Megaw, V. (2006) La Tené, [I] & [II] *In*: Koch, J. ed. (2006) *Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 1069-1076

- Mein, A. (1995) Gazetteer of Sites Explored: Five Lanes, Caerwent, *Archaeology in Wales* 35 (1) pp. 54-55
- Mein, A. (1997a) Trostrey Castle, Trostrey, *Archaeology in Wales*, 37 (1) pp. 75
- Mein, A. (1997b) Abernant Farm, *Archaeology in Wales*, 37 (1) pp. 71
- Melville Richards, G. (1971) Places and Persons of the Early Welsh Church, *The Welsh History Review*, 5 (1) pp. 333-349
- Meredith A & Fry, J. (2016) Ageing the Yew, *In: The Journal of the Royal Forestry Society*, 4 (1) pp. 269- 274)
- Merrifield, R. (1977) Art and Religion in Roman London: An Inquest on the Sculptures of Londinium, *In: Munby, J. & Henig, M. (1977) Roman Art and Life in Britain*, Oxford: BAR pp. 375-397
- Met Museum (2021) Lough Erne Shrine [WWW]
<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/463141> (18th September 2021)
- Middleton, J. (1881–1883) [Proceedings: 2 February 1881] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 9 (1) pp. 66–70
- Middleton, N. (2006) Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls on Foreign Trade, *Early Medieval Europe*, 13 (1) pp. 313-358
- Miles, D. & Smith, A. & Perpetua-Jones, G. (2007) *Iron Age and Roman Settlement in the Upper Thames Valley: Excavations at Claydon Pike and Other Sites within the Cotswold Water Park*, Oxford: Oxford Archaeology
- Miller, M. (1975) Bede's use of Gildas, *English Historical Review*, 90 (1) pp. 241-261
- Miller, P. (1975) Stilicho's Pictish War, *Britannia* 6 (1) pp. 141-145

- Millett, M. (1979) An Approach to the Functional Interpretation of Pottery, *In: Millett, M. (1979) Pottery and the Archaeologist*, London: Institute of Archaeology pp. 35-48
- Millett, M. (1990) *The Romanization of Britain*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Millett, M. (1995) An Early Christian Community at Colchester?', *Archaeological Journal*, 152 (1) pp.451–454
- Mommsen, T. (1884) Ordo salutationis sportularumque sub imp. Iuliano in provincia Numidia, *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 5 (1) pp. 629–646
- Mommsen, T. (1898) *Gildas Sapiens*, Berlin: Berlin Academy
- Moore, C. (1978) The South Welsh Axe: Its Origins and Distribution, *Archaeological Journal*, 135 (1) pp. 57-66
- Moore, D. (1976) Cambrian Antiquity: Precursors of the Prehistorians, *In: Boon, G & Lewis, J. eds. (1976) Welsh Antiquity*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales pp. 190-222
- Moore, J. ed. (1982) *Domesday Book, Gloucestershire*, Chichester: Phillimore
- Moore, T. (2007) Perceiving Communities: Exchange, Landscape and Social Networks in the Later Iron Age of Western Britain, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 26 (1) pp. 79-102
- Moore, T. (2012) Beyond the Oppida: Polyfocal Complexes and Late Iron Age Societies in Southern Britain, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 31 (4) pp. 391-417

- Moorhead, S. (2005) The Hinton St Mary Head of Christ, *In: Crummy, N. (2005) Image, Craft and the Classical World. Essays in Honour of Donald Bailey and Catherine Johns* Michigan: Mergoil pp. 209-212
- Moorhead, S. & Stuttard, D. (2010) *AD 410: The Year that Shook Rome*, London: British Museum Press
- Moorhead, S. & Walton, P. (2014), Coinage at the End of Roman Britain, *In: Collins, R. & Haarer, F. & Matthews, K. & Moorhead, S. et al eds. (2014) Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp. 99-116
- Moreland, J. (2000) Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy, *In: Hansen, I. & Wickham, C. eds. (2000) The Long Eighth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand (Transformation of the Roman World)*, Leiden: Brill pp. 1-34
- Morey, A. & Brooke, C. (1965) *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Morgan, K. (2001) *The Oxford History of Britain*, Oxford University Press: Oxford
- Morgan, O. (1855) Excavations Within the Walls of Caerwent, *Archaeologia* 36 (1) p. 427
- Morris, F. (2010) *North Sea and Channel Connectivity during the Late Iron Age and Roman Period (175/150 BC–AD 409)*, Oxford: BAR
- Morris, J. (1973) *The Age of Arthur*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Morris, J. (1980) *Historia Brittonum and the Welsh Annals*, London: Phillimore

Morton, A. (2009) *Trees of the Celtic Saints, the Ancient Yews of Wales*, Llanrwst: Carreg Gwlach

Muhlberger, S. (1992) Looking Back from the Mid-Century: the Gallic Chronicler of 452 and the crises of Honorius' reign, *In: Drinkwater, J. & Elton, H. eds (1992) Fifth Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 28-37

Mullarkey, P. (2010) XRF Analysis of the Tullahennell Brooch, *In: G. Murray (2010) A Zoomorphic Penannular Brooch from Tullahennell North, Co. Kerry, North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, 50 (1) pp. 25-26

Mulville, J. (2008) Footways and Social Ecologies from the Middle Bronze Age to Late Iron Age, *In: Pollard, J. (2008) British Prehistory*, London: Blackwell pp. 138-151

Mulville, J. & Powell, A. (2019) The Animal Bone from Llangorse Crannog (2019), *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 174-190

Mumford, L. (2019) Conserving and Recoding the Textiles, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 277-283

Mumford L. & Redknap, M. (2019) Summary Catalogue of Textile Fragments, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 283-293

Mratschek, S. (2007) *Et ne Quid Coturni Terribilis Fabulae Relinquerent Intemptatum...* In : Boeft, J. & Drijvers, D. & Hengst, D. & Teitler, H. eds (2007) *Ammianus after Julian : The Reign of Valentinian and Valens in Books 26-31 of the Res Gestae*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2021) Emly Shrine, [WWW]
<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/52287> (18th September 2021)

Myres, J. (1969) *Anglo Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Myres, J. (1989) *The English Settlements*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Mytum, H. (1996), Hillfort Siting and Monumentality: Castell Henllys and Geographical Information Systems, *Archaeology in Wales* 36 (1) pp.3-10

Nash Williams, V. (1930) Further Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire 1923-1935, *Archaeologica* 80 (1) pp. 237-315

Nash-Williams V. (1933) An Early Iron Age Hill-Fort at Llanmelin, near Caerwent, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 88 (1) pp. 237-315

Nash-Williams, V. (1939a) An Early Iron Age Coastal Camp at Sudbrook, Near the Severn Tunnel, Monmouthshire, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 88 (1) pp. 237-315

Nash-Williams, V. (1939b) A New Roman Mining Site at Lower Machen, Monmouthshire, *Archaeologica Cambrensis* 94 (1) pp. 108-110

Nash-Williams, V. (1939c) A New Roman Mining Site at Lower Machen, Monmouthshire, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 9 (1) pp. 375-378

Nash-Williams, V. (1950) *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Nash-Williams, V. (1954) The Forum Basilica and Public Baths of the Roman Town of *Venta Silurum* at Caerwent in Monmouthshire, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 15 (1) pp. 153

Nash-Williams, V. (1956) The Roman Town of *Venta Silurum* and its Defences, In: Swoboda, E. ed. (1956) *Carnuntina: Ergebnisse der Forschung über die Grenzprovinzen des römischen Reiches Vorträge beim internationalen Kongreß der Altertumsforscher, 1955*, Graz: H. Böhlau Nachf pp.100-16

National Museum Rome, The Ludovisi Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife (2019) [WWW] <http://www.arte.it/calendario-arte/roma/mostra-lo-sguardo-verso-l-alto-fotografie-di-stefano-castellani-59101> (2 May 2019)

Nayling, N. Caseldine, A & Neumann, H. (1997) *Excavations at Caldicot, Gwent: Bronze Age Paleochannels in the Lower Nedern Valley*, York: CBA

Nayling, N. (1998) *The Nayling Pill Medieval Wreck*, York: CBA

Nayling, N. & McGrail, S. (2004) *The Barland's Farm Romano-Celtic Boat*, York: CBA

Nayling, N. & Tyers, C. (2019) Dating of the Site, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 102-107

Nelson, L. (1966) *The Normans in South Wales 1070-1171*, London: University of Texas

- Neumann, H. & Bell, M. & Woodward, A. (2000) The Intertidal Peat Survey, *In: Bell, M. ed. (2013) The Bronze Age in the Severn Estuary*, York: CBA pp. 282-322
- Nicasie, M. (1998) *Twilight of Empire: The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople*, Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
- Nickel, H. (2006) About the Saxon Rebellion and the Massacre at Amesbury, *Arthuriana*, 16 (1) pp. 65-70
- Ó hÓgáin, D. (2006) *The Celts, A Chronological History*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press
- Oatley, G & Howell R (2011) G/S Viewsheds and Social Network Analysis for Archaeological Interpretation of Iron Age Hillforts, forthcoming in: *Environmental & Planning B: Planning & Design*
- O'Brien, C. (2010) The Emergence of Northumbria: Artefacts, Archaeology and Models, *In: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 110-119
- Olding, F. (2000), *The Prehistoric Landscapes of the Eastern Black Mountains*, Oxford: British Archaeological Report 297
- Olding, F. (2010) Abergavenny, *In: Burnham, B. & Davies J. eds. (2010) Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*, Aberystwyth: RCAHMS pp. 196-198
- Oppenheimer, S. (2012) A Reanalysis of Multiple Prehistoric Immigrations to Britain and Ireland Aimed at identifying the Celtic Contributions *In: Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2012) Celtic from the West, Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 121-150

Okasha, E. (1993) *Corpus of Early Christian Inscribed Stones of South-West Britain*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

Ó Ríordáin, S. (1947). Roman Material in Ireland, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 47 (1) pp. 77–150

Orna-Ornstein, J. (2009) Patching, West Sussex, 23 AV and 27 AR (Mixed Roman and Pseudo-Roman) to c. AD 465, *In: Abdy, R. & Ghey, E. & Hughes, C. and Leins, I. eds. (2009) Coin Hoards from Roman Britain Vol. XII*, Wetteren: Moneta, pp. 389–92

Owen, A. (1841) *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, London: Commissioners of Public Records

Owen, D. ed. (1989) *Settlement and Society in Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Owen, M. (1986) The 'Cyfnerth' Text, Edited and Translated by Morfydd E. Owen, *In: Charles-Edwards, T. Owen, M. & Walters, D. eds. (1986) Lawyers and Laymen*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 179-200

Owen, M. (2009) The Animals of the Law of Hywel, *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, 45 (1) pp. 5-27

Owen, M. (2000) The Laws of Court from Cyfnerth, *In: Charles-Edwards, T. Owen, M. & Russell, P. eds. (2000) The Welsh King and His Court*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 425-477

Owen, M. & Jenkins, D. eds. (2017) *The Welsh Law of Women*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Owen-John, H. (1988) Llandough: The Rescue Excavation of a Multi-Period Site Near Cardiff, South Glamorgan, *In: Robinson, D. ed. (1988) Biglis, Caldicot & Llandough*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series pp. 123-178

Painter, K. (1967) The Roman Site at Hinton St Mary, Dorset, *British Museum Quarterly*, 32 (1–2) pp. 15–31

Painter, K. (1999) The Water Newton Silver: Votive or Liturgical? *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 152 (1) pp.1–23

Painter, K. (2010) A Roman Silver Jug with Biblical Scenes from the Treasure Found at Traprain Law, *In: Henig, M. & Ramsay, N. eds (2010) Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England, 400–1200*, Oxford: Archaeopress pp.1–24

Palmer, R. (1984) *Danebury, An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire: An Aerial Photographic Interpretation of Its Environs*, London: RCHME

Pannet, A., and Pudney, C. (2013) Llanmelin Hillfort Excavations: Assessment Report, Cardiff: Archaeology Wales Report for Cadw

Pardoe, H. (2019) The Pollen and Earliest Environmental Data, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 152-173

Parker-Pearson, M. (1996) Food, Fertility and Front Doors in the First Millennium BC, *In*: Champion, T. & Collis, J. eds. (1996) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, Sheffield: Collis pp. 117-132

Parkhouse, J. (1988) Excavations at Biglis South Glamorgan, *In*: Robinson, D. ed. (1988) *Biglis, Caldicot & Llandough*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 188 pp.1-64

Parsons, A. & Newman, J. & Penning, P. & Harvey, A. & Orr, R. (1994) Diet Preference of Sheep: Effects of Recent Diet, Physiological State and Species Abundance, *Journal of Animal Ecology* 63 (1) pp. 465-478

Parsons, J. (1767) *Remains of Japhet*, London: Printed for the Author

Pastscape, (2020) The Anglian Tower, [WWW]
https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=536743 (4 January 2020)

Pastscape, (2021a) Lancaut Promontory Fort [WWW]
<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1004858> (9 November 2021)

Pastscape, (2021b) Offa's Dyke: section known as Buttington Tump, 100m west of Buttington Lodge [WWW]
<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1020642> (9 November 2021)

Pattison, J. (2008) Is it Necessary to Assume an Apartheid-Like Social Structure in Early Anglo-Saxon England? *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, B275: 2423-2429

Peacock, D. (1968) A Petrological Study of Certain Iron Age Pottery from Western England, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 34 (1) pp. 414-427

Peacock, D. & Williams, D. (1986) *Amphorae and the Roman Economy*, London: Longman

Peake, H. (1922) *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, London: Benn Bros.

Pearce, S. (2004) *South Western Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

Pearce, S. (2008) The Hinton St Mary Mosaic Pavement: Christ or Emperor? *Britannia*, 29 (1) pp. 193-218

Pearson, A. (2002) *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defence of Southern Britain*, Stroud: Tempus

Pearson, A. (2005) Barbarian Piracy and the Saxon Shore, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24 (1) pp. 73-88

Pearson, A. (2006) Piracy in Late Roman Britain: A Perspective from the Viking Age, *Britannia* 37 (1) pp. 337-353

Penhallurick, R. (2010) *Ancient and Early Medieval Coins from Cornwall and Scilly* (ed. P. Guest and N. Wells), London: Royal Numismatic Society

Perring, D. (2003) Gnosticism in Fourth-Century Britain: The Frampton Mosaics Reconsidered, *Britannia*, 34 (1) pp. 97–128

Peterken, G. & Game, M. (1984) Historical Factors Affecting the Number and Distribution of Vascular Plant Species in the Woodlands of Central Lincolnshire, *Journal of Ecology* 72 (1) pp. 155-182

Petts, D. (1997) Elite Settlements in the Roman and Sub-Roman Period, *In*: Meadows, K. & Lemke, K. & Heron, J. eds. (1997) *TRAC 96, theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 101-112

Petts, D. (2003) *Christianity in Roman Britain*, Stroud: Tempus

Petts, D. (2004) Early Medieval or Late Antique? Burial in Western Britain AD 410 to 600, *In*: Collins, R. & Gerrard, J. eds (2004) *Debating Late Antiquity AD 300–700: Proceedings of the York Conference*, Oxford: Archaeopress pp. 77–87

Petts, D. (2009) *The Early Medieval Church in Wales*, Stroud: History Press

Petts, D. (2014) Christianity and Cross-Channel Connectivity in Late and Sub-Roman Britain, *In*: Collins, R. & Haarer, F. & Matthews, K. & Moorhead, S. *et al* eds. (2014) *Late and Post-Roman Britain*, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp.73–88

Petts, D. (2016) Christianity in Roman Britain, *In*: Millett, M. & Revell, L. & Moore, J. eds (2016) *The Oxford handbook of Roman Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 660-681

Pezron, P. (1706) *The Rise and Fall States and Empires; or the Antiquity of Nations, more particularly of the Celtae and Gauls*, London: Jones

Philip, R. (2005) *The Excavation of the Roman Fort at Reculver, Kent*, Dover: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit

Phillips, N. (2004) Earthwork Castles of Gwent and Ergyng, AD 1050-1250, Sheffield: University of Sheffield Thesis

Philpott, R. (1991) *Burial Practices in Roman Britain: a Survey of Grave Treatment and Furnishing*, Oxford: BAR

Pinter-Bellows, S. (1995) The Animal Bone, *In*: Hughes, G. (1996) *The Excavation of a Late Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement at Thornwell Farm, Chepstow*, Oxford: BAR pp. 81-84

Pokorny, J. (1913) Griechiasch Kassiteros 'Zinn', *Zeitschrift für celtische philology* 9 pp. 164-165

Pollard, J. & Howell, R. Chadwick, A. Leaver, A. *et al* (2006), *Lodge Hill Camp, Caerleon and the Hillforts of Gwent*, Oxford: Archaeopress

Pollio, T. (2018) *Ancient Rings: An Illustrated Collector's Guide*, London: McFarland

Pollock, K. (2006) *The Evolution and Role of Burial Practise in Roman Wales*, Oxford: BAR

Ponsford, M. (2006) Archaeological Excavations at Castle Street Car Park (1999) and Ewers' Garden (1968-72), Abergavenny, with a Reconsideration of the Early History of the Roman Fort, *Archaeology in Wales*. 46 (1) pp. 49-78.

Pope, R. (2007) Ritual and the Roundhouse: A Critique of Recent Ideas on the Use of Domestic Space in Later British Prehistory, *In* Haselgrove, C. & Pope R. eds. (2007) *The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 204-228

Porter, H. (1971) *The Celtic Church in Somerset*, Morgan Books

Powel, D. (1584) *The Historie of Cambria now Called Wales*, London: Rafe Newberie & Henrie Denham

Powell, J. (1937-1939) Floating Sections in the law of Howell, *Bulletin for the Board of Celtic Studies* 9, (1) pp. 27-34

Powell, T. (1958) *The Celts*, London: Thames & Hudson

Portable Antiquary Schemes, (2020) *Reece Periods*,

[WWW] <https://finds.org.uk/romancoins/reeceperiods> (26 January 2020)

Powlesland, I. (2009) *The Later Prehistoric Landscape of the Bristol Avon Region*, BAR: Oxford

Price, B. (1978) Secondary State Formation: an Explanatory Model, *In*: Cohen, R. & Service, E. eds. (1978) *Origins of the State: The Anthropology of Social Evolution*, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues pp. 161-186

Price, J. & Cottam S. (1998) *Romano-British Glass Vessels: A Handbook*, York: CBA

Price, J. (2010) Late Roman Glass Vessels in the Hadrian's Wall Frontier Region *In*: Collins, R. & Allason-Jones, L. eds. (2010) *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th–5th Centuries*, York: CBA pp. 37-49

Price, T. (1842) *Hanes Cymru a Chenedl y Cymryo'r Cynoesoedd hyd at Farwolaeth Llywelyn ap Gruffydd*, London: Williams

Pritchard, F. (1991) Small Finds, *In*: Vince, A.G. (1991) *Aspects of Saxon and Norman London 2: Finds and Environmental Evidence*, London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper 12 (1) pp. 120-178

- Pritchard, J. (1813) *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, London: Arch
- Probert, L. (1976) Twyn-y-Gaer Hill-Fort, Gwent: An Interim Assessment, *In*: Boon, G. & Lewis, J. eds. (1976) *Welsh Antiquity*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales pp. 105-120
- Pryce, H. (1988a) Church and Society in Wales: An Irish Perspective, *In*: Davies, R. (1988) *The British Isles 1100-1500: Comparisons, Contrasts and Connections*, Edinburgh: Donald pp. 27- 47
- Pryce, H. (1988b) Gerald, King Arthur and the Legendary History of Britain *In*: Kightly, C. ed. (1988) *Gerald of Wales and His Journey of 1188*, Cardiff: Cadw, pp. 37-37
- Pryce, H. (1992a) Pastoral Care in Early Medieval Wales, *In*: Blair, J. & Sharpe R. eds. (1992) *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, Leicester: Leicester University Press pp. 41-62
- Pryce, H. (1992b) Ecclesiastical Wealth in Early Medieval Wales, *In*: Edwards, N. & Lane, A. eds. (1992) *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 22-32
- Pryce, H. (2001) British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth Century Wales, *The English Historical Review*, 116 (468) pp. 775-801
- Pryce, H. (2003a) The Christianization of Society, *In*: Davies, W. (2003) *From the Vikings to the Normans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 139-162
- Pryce, H. (2003b) *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Pryor, F. (2004) *Britain BC*, London: Harper

Pryor, F. (2004) *Britain AD*, London: Harper

Pryor, F. (2006) *Farmers in Prehistoric Britain*, Stroud: Tempus

Pryor, F. (2010) *The Making of the British Landscape, How We Have Transformed the Land from Prehistory to Today*, London: Allen Lane

Quensel-von Kalbern, L. (1999) The British Church and the Emergence of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 10 (1) pp. 89–98

Quinnell, H. (2004) *Trethurgy: Excavations at Tregurthy Round, ST Austell, Community and Status in Roman and Post Roman Cornwall*, Truro: Cornwall County Council

Rackham, O. (2000) *The History of the Countryside*, London: Phoenix

Radley, J. (1961) Holly as a Winter Feed, *Agricultural History Review*, 9 (1) pp. 89-92

Radford, C. (1955) The Tribes of Southern Britain, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 20 (1) pp. 1-26

Radford, C. (1956) Imported Pottery found at Tintagel Cornwall, *In: Harden, D. (1956) Dark Age Britain*, London: Methuen & Co pp. 59-70

Raftery, B. (1994) *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The Enigma of the Celtic Iron Age*, London: Thames & Hudson

Rahtz, P. & Woodward, A. & Burrow, I. & Everton, A. *et al* (1993) *Cadbury Congresbury 1968–73: A Late / Post-Roman Hilltop Settlement in Somerset*, Oxford: BAR

Rance, P. (2012) Epiphanius of Salamis and the Scotti: New Evidence for Late Roman-Irish Relations, *Britannia* 43 (1) pp. 227-242

Rankov, B. (2002) Now You See it, Now You Don't. The British Fleet in Vegetius [V.37], *In*: Freeman, P. & Bennet, J. & Fiema, Z. & Hoffmann, B. eds. (2002) *Limes XVIII*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 921-924

Rankov, B. (2009) A Secret Empire (*Imperii Arcanum*): An Unacknowledged Factor in Roman Imperial Expansion, *In*: Hanson W. ed. (2009) *The Army and Frontiers of Rome: Papers Offered to David J. Breeze on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday and his Retirement from Historic Scotland*, Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology pp. 163-172

Rawlinson, C. (1877) On the Ethnography of the Cimbri, *Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 6 (1) pp. 150-158

RCAHME, (1989) *The Classification of Cropmarks in Kent*, London: HMSO

RCAHME, (1976a), *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, Vol. I: Pre-Norman, Part II: The Iron Age and the Roman Occupation*, Cardiff: HMSO

RCAHME, (1976b), *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, Vol. I: Pre-Norman, Part III: The Iron Age and the Roman Occupation*, Cardiff: HMSO

RCAHME, (1991) *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, Vol. 3, Medieval Secular Monuments, Part 1a, The Early Castles, from the Norman Conquest to 1217*, Cardiff: HMSO

RCAHMW (2020) The Cantrefws and Commotes of Wales [WWW]

<https://rcahmw.gov.uk/mapping-the-historic-boundaries-of-wales-commotes-and-cantrefws/> (12 September 2020)

RCAHMW (2021) Dinas Powys Line Drawing [WWW]

<https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/301314/images?term=dinas%20powys&pg=3>

(21 August 2021)

Read, H. (2006) A Brief Review of Pollards and Pollarding in Europe, *1er colloque europeen sur les trognes*, Vendome, 26, 27 octobre 2006 pp. 1-6

Redknap, M. (1998) On broken letters scarce remembered: Nash-Williams and the Early Christian Monuments of Wales, *In: Hill, J. & Swan M. eds. The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, Turnhout: Brepols pp. 391–427

Redknap, M. (2004) Viking Age Settlement in Wales and the Evidence from Llanbedrgoch, *In: Hines, J. & Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2004) Land, Sea and Home: Settlement in the Viking Period*. Leeds: Maney pp. 139-175

Redknap, M. (2007) Crossing Boundaries, Stylistic Diversity and External Contacts in Early Medieval Wales and the March: Reflections on Metalwork and Sculpture *Cambrian Medieval Studies*, 53 (1) pp. 68-86

Redknap, M. (2009) Silver and Commerce in Viking-Age North Wales, *In: Graham-Campbell, J. & Philpott, R. eds. (2009) The Huxley Viking Hoard: Scandinavian Settlement in the North West*, Liverpool: Liverpool National Museums pp. 29-41

Redknap, M. (2019a) The Roman Artefacts, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 205-208

Redknap, M. (2019b) Early Medieval Metalwork, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 209-231

Redknap, M. (2019c) Early Medieval Ironwork, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 232-242

Redknap, M. (2019d) Early Medieval Organic Artefacts, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 263-271

Redknap, M. (2019e) Early Medieval Leather, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 271-272

Redknap, M. (2019f) Early Medieval Wooden Objects, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 272-275

Redknap, M. (2019g) The Imagery of the Llangorse Textile and its Place in Insular Art, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M.*

eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 312-316

Redknap, M. (2019h) Textile Production, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 337-338

Redknap, M. (2019i) The Significance of Llangorse Crannog, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 440-452

Redknap, M. & Davis M. (2019) Early Medieval Lithics, *In: In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 245-258

Redknap, M. & Daly, T. (2019) Interpreting the Motifs and Composition of the Llangorse Textile, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 294-300

Redknap, M. & Davis, M. (2019a) Shale Lignite and Cannel Coal Rings, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 245-247

Redknap, M. & Davis, M. (2019b) Early Medieval Beads, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 259-262

Redknap M. & Horák J. (2019) Early Medieval Utilised Stone, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 248-258

Redknap, M. & Lane, A. (1994) The Early Medieval Crannog at Llangorse, Powys: An Interim Statement on the 1989-1993 Seasons, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 23 (3) pp. 189-205

Redknap, M. & Lane, A. (2019) Comments on Bone Data and the Spatial Distribution, *In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 186-191

Redknap, M. & Lewis, J. eds. (2007) *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales Volume I: South East Wales and the English Border*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Redknap, M. & Northover, P. (2019) Manufacture (Metalworking Scrap), *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 331-336

Reece, R. (1988) *My Roman Britain*, Cirencester: Cotswold Studies

Reece, R. (1998) Review of K. R. Dark (ed.), *External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman Britain* and M. E. Jones, *The End of Roman Britain*, *Britannia* 29 (1) pp. 471–472

Reece, R. (2008) Satellite, Parasite or just London? *In: Sheldon, J. & Clark, J. & Cotton, J. et al, eds. (2008) Londinium and Beyond: Essays on Roman London and its Hinterland*, London: pp. 46-48

Reece, R. (2010) *The Coinage of Roman Britain*, Stroud: History Press

Rees, W. (1972) *An Historical Atlas of Wales, From Early to Modern Times*, London: Faber & Faber

Reid, A. 1996: Cattle Herds and the Redistribution of Resources, *World Archaeology*, 28 (1) pp. 43-57

Renfrew, C. (1984) Trade as Action at a Distance, *In: Renfrew, A. ed. (1984) Approaches to Social Archaeology*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press pp. 86-134

Reynolds, P. (1987) *Ancient Farming*, Aylesbury: Shire Archaeology

Reynolds, P. (1992) Crop Yields of the Prehistoric Cereal Types Emmer and Spelt: The Worst Option, *In: Anderson, P. (1992) ed. Préhisteire de l'Agriculture, Nouvelles Approches Expérimentales et Ethnographiques*. Paris : Monographie du CRA pp. 383-393

Reynolds, P. (1995a) The Foods of the Prehistoric Celts, *In: Wilkins, J. & Harvey, D. & Dobson, M. eds. (1995) Food in Antiquity*, Exeter: Exeter University Press (no page numbers listed)

Reynolds, P. (1995b) *Trade in the Western Mediterranean AD 400-700: The Ceramic Evidence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Reynolds, S. (1981) Law and Communities in Western Christendom, c. 900-1140, *American Journal of Legal History*, 25 (1) pp. 205-224

Reynolds, S. (1984) *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rehren, T. & Klaus, K. (1999) Cupel and Crucible: the Refining of Debased Silver in the *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, Xantan, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 12 (1) pp. 263-272

Rhys, J. (1904) *Early Britain, Celtic Britain*, London: SPCK

RIB 310/311. Altar dedicated to Mars-Ocelus, Paulinus Inscription [WWW]
<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/310/311> (7 June 2019)

Rice-Holmes, T. (1907) *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, Oxford: Clarendon House

Richards, M. (1969) *Welsh Administrative and Territorial Units: Medieval and Modern*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press

Riley, J. & Sidebotham, A. & Hany, A. & Hamroush, A. *et al* (1989) Fieldwork on the Red Sea Coast: the 1987 Season, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 26 (1) pp. 127-166

Rippon, S. (1994) The Evolution of a Historic Wetland Landscape: The Gwent Levels Historic Landscape Study, *In*: Bell M. ed. (1994) *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary (Volume 5)*, Exeter: Short Run Press pp. 13-20

Rippon, S. (1996) *The Gwent Levels: The Evolution of a Wetland Landscape*, Oxford: BAR

Rippon, S. (1997) *The Severn Estuary, Landscape Evolution and Wetland Reclamation*, Leicester: Leicester University Press

Rippon, S. (2001) The Historic Landscapes of the Severn Estuary Levels, *In*: Rippon, S. ed. (2001) *Estuarine Archaeology: The Severn and Beyond (Archaeology in the Severn Estuary 11*, Exeter: Severn Estuary Research Group pp. 145-162

Rippon, S. (2018) *Kingdom, Civitas, and County: The Evolution of Territorial Identity in the English Landscape*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rippon, S. & Smart, C. & Pears, B. eds. (2015) *The Fields of Britannia, Continuity and Change in the Late Roman and Early Medieval Landscape*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Rivett, L. (1964) *Town and Country in Roman Britain*, London: Hutchinson

Rivett, A. & Smith C. (1979) *The Place Names of Roman Britain*, London: Batsford

Robinson, D. ed. (1988) *Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough: Three Late Iron Age and Romano British Sites in South-East Wales*, Oxford: BAR

Roberts, B. (1976) Tales and Romances, *In*: Jarman, A. & Hughes, G. eds. (1976) *A Guide to Welsh Literature Volume I*, Swansea: Christopher Davies pp. 219-256

Roberts, B. (2011) The Multiple Estate of Glanville Jones, *In*: Barnwell, P. & Roberts, B. eds. *Britons, Saxons and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R.J. Jones*, Turnhout: Brepols pp. 25-128

Roberts, K. ed. (2006) *Lost Farmsteads: Deserted Rural Settlements in Wales*, York: CBA

Roberts, S. (2011) *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Roberts, S. (2019) Living off the Land in Medieval Welsh Law, *In: Comeau, R. & Seaman, A. eds. (2019) *Living off the Land, Agriculture in Wales, c. 400-1600 AD*, Oxford: Windgather Press pp. 78-92*

Roberts, T. (1992) Welsh Ecclesiastical Place-Names and Archaeology, *In: Edwards, N & Lane, A, eds. (1992) *The Early Church in Wales and the West*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 62-76*

Robertson, A. (1974) Romano-British Coin Hoards; Their Numismatic, Archaeological and Historical Significance, *In: Casey, P. & Reece, R. eds. (1974) *Coins and the Archaeologist*, Oxford: BAR pp.12–36*

Robinson, D. ed. (1988) *Biglis, Caldicot and Llandough: Three Late Iron Age and Romano British Sites in South-East Wales*, Oxford: BAR

Rogers, A. (2005) Metalworking and Late Roman Power: A Study of Towns in Later Roman Britain, *In Bruhn, J. & Croxford, B. & Grigoropoulos eds. *TRAC (2004), Proceedings of the Fourteenth Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Durham 2004*, Oxford: Oxbow*

Rogers, A. (2011) *Late Roman Towns in Britain. Rethinking Change and Decline*, Cambridge; Cambridge University Press

- Roosen-Runge, H. & Werner, A. (1960) The Pictorial Technique of the Lindisfarne Gospels, *In: Brown, T. & Bruce-Mitford, R. eds. (1960) *Evangeliorum Quattuor Codex Lindisfarnensis Volume 2*, Berne: British Museum pp. 261-267*
- Ross, A. (1967) A Celtic Three-Faced Head from Wiltshire, *Antiquity* 41 (1) pp. 53-56
- Røyrvik, E. (2012) Western Celts? A Genetic Impression of Britain in Atlantic Europe *In: Cunliffe, B. & Koch, J. eds. (2012) *Celtic from the West, Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 183-106*
- Rushworth, A. (2009) *Housesteads Roman Fort: The Grandest Station. Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954–95, by Charles Daniels, John Gillam, James Crow and Others*, Swindon: English Heritage
- Russell, J. (1968) That Earlier Plague, *Demography*, 5 (1) pp. 174-184
- Russell, M & Laycock, S. (2010) *UnRoman Britain, Exposing the Great Myth of Britannia*, Stroud: History Press
- Salway, P. (1997) *A History of Roman Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Sahlins, M. (1968) *Tribesmen*, Englewood: Prentice Hall
- Samms, A. (1676) *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, London: Thomas Roycroft
- Sanderson, I. (1993) Exciting Find Helps Throw Light on 'Dark Ages', *Clwyd Archaeology News*, 92–3 (2) p. 2
- Sands, P. (1908) *The Client Princes of the Roman Empire Under the Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sankey, D. (1998) Cathedrals, Granaries and Urban Vitality in Late Roman London, *In: Watson, B. ed. (1998) *Roman London: Recent Archaeological Work*. JRA*

Supplementary Series, Number 24, Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology
pp. 78-82

Savory, H. (1954a) The Excavation of an Early Iron Age Fortified Settlement on Mynydd Bychan, Llysworney (Glam.), 1949-50: Part I *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 103 (1) pp. 85-108

Savory, H. (1954b) Early Iron Age Discoveries on Merthyr Mawr Warren (Glam.) *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 16 (1) pp. 53-54

Savory H. (1955) The Excavation of an Early Iron Age Fortified Settlement on Mynydd Bychan, Llysworney (Glam.), *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 104 (1) pp. 14-51

Savory, H. (1966) A Find of Early Iron Age Metalwork from the Lesser Garth, Pentyrch (Glam) *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 115 (1) pp. 27-44

Savory, H. (1976) *Guide Catalogue of the Early Iron Age Collections*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales

Savory, H. (1980) *Guide Catalogue of the Bronze Age*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales

Savory, H. (1984) Early Iron Age Glamorgan (c 500 B.C. – 100 A.D.) *In* Savory, H. ed. (1984) *Glamorgan County History, Volume II Early Glamorgan, Pre-History and Early History*, Cardiff: Glamorgan History Trust pp. 237-275

Sawyer, P. & Thacker, A. (1987) The Cheshire Domesday, *In*: Harris, B. & Thacker, A. (1972) *The Victoria History of the County of Cheshire Volume 1*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 293-341

Scaliger, J. (1610) *Diatriba de Europaeorum Linguis*, In: Scaliger, J. (1610) *Opuscula Varia Antehac non Edita*, London: Jerome Drovert pp. 119-122

Schleicher, J. (1863) *Die Darwinsiche Theorie und die Sprachwissenschaft*, Weimar: Published for the Author

Scheidel, W & Friesen, S. (2009) The Size of the Economy and the Distribution Income in the Roman Empire, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 99 (1) pp. 61-91

Schubert, P. (2001) *A Yale Papyrus (P Yale III 137) in the Beinecke Rare Book Room and Manuscript Library III*, Oakville: American Studies in Papyrology 41

Scott, W. (1814) *Waverley*, London: Penguin

Scott, W. (1816) *Antiquary*, London: Penguin

Scott, W. (1817) *Rob Roy*, London: Penguin

Scull, C. (1993) Archaeology, Early Anglo-Saxon Society and the Origins of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 6 (1) pp. 65-82

Seager-Smith, R. & Davies, S. (1993) Black Burnished Ware and Other Southern British Coarsewares, In: Woodward, P. & Davies, S. & Graham, A. (1993) *Excavations at Greyhound Yard, Dorchester 1981–4*, Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society pp. 229–89

Seaman, A. (2010a) The Roman to Early Medieval Transition in South-East Wales, Cardiff: Cardiff University Thesis

Seaman, A. (2010b) Towards a Predictive Model of Early Medieval Settlement Location: A Case Study from the Vale of Glamorgan, *Medieval Settlement Research*, 25 (1) pp. 11-20

Seaman, A. (2011) *Geophysical Survey at Ty'n y Coed Enclosure, Dinas Powys, South Glamorgan, Interim Report, Cardiff Studies in Archaeology Specialist Report* 33 Cardiff: Cardiff University

Seaman, A. (2012) The Multiple Estate Model Re-Considered: Power and Territory in Early Medieval Wales, *Welsh History Review* 26 (1) pp. 15-40

Seaman, A. (2013) Dinas Powys in Context: Settlement and Society in Post-Roman Wales, *Studia Celtica*, 47 (1) pp. 1-23

Seaman, A. (2014) *Tempora Christiana?* Conversion and Christianization in Western Britain AD 300-700, *Church Archaeology*, 16 (1) pp. 1-23

Seaman, A. (2015) Julius and Aaron 'Martyrs of Caerleon': In Search of Wales' First Christians, *Archaeologica Cambrensis*, 164 (1) pp. 201-220

Seaman, A. (2016) Defended Settlement in Early Medieval Wales, Problems of Presence, Absence and Interpretation, *In: Christie, N. & Blasco, P. eds. (2016) Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe: Defended Communities of the 8th-10th Centuries*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 37-51

Seaman, A. (2017) Further Research on a Predictive Model of Early Medieval Settlement Location in South Wales: Exploring Data, *Medieval Settlement Research* 32 (1) pp. 27-34

Seaman, A. (2018a) The Church of Julius, Aaron and Alban at Caerleon, *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 34 (1) pp. 3-15

Seaman, A. (2018b) Landscape, Economy and Society in Late and Post Roman Wales, *In: Christie, N. & Blasco, P. eds. (2018) Interpreting Transformations of Landscapes and People in Late Antiquity*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 123-136

Seaman, A. (2019) Landscape, Settlement and Agriculture in Early Medieval Brycheiniog: the Evidence from the Llandaff Charters, *In: Comeau, R. & Seaman, A. eds. (2019) Living off the Land, Agriculture in Wales, c. 400-1600 AD*, Oxford: Windgather Press pp. 153-173

Seaman, A. & Lane, A. (2013) *Topographic Survey at Ty'n y Coed Earthworks, Dinas Powys, Vale of Glamorgan, 2012-2013*, Aberystwyth: RCHAMW

Seaman, A. & Lane, A. (2014) *Archaeological Excavations at Ty'n y Coed Earthworks, Dinas Powys, South Glamorgan, June/July 2013*, Aberystwyth: RCHAMW

Seaman, A. & Lane A. (2019) Excavations of the Ty'n-y-Coed earthworks 2011-14: the Dinas Powys 'Southern Banks', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 168 (1) pp. 109-135

Seaman, A. & Thomas, L. (2020) Hillforts and Power in the British Post-Roman West: A GIS Analysis of Dinas Powys, *European Journal of Archaeology*, 23 (4) pp. 547-566

Seaton, R. ed. (1912) *Apollonius Rhodius. Argonautica*, London: Heinemann

Seeböhm, F. (1904) *The Tribal System in Wales* (2nd ed.), London: Longmans

Seeley, J. (1883) *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures*, London: Macmillan

Sell, S. (2001) *In: Pollard, J. & Howell, R. Chadwick, A. Leaver, A. et al (2006), Lodge Hill Camp, Caerleon and the Hillforts of Gwent*, Oxford: BAR pp. 54-55

Sell, S. & Gwilt, A. & Webster P. (2001) Recent Excavation and Survey Work at Sudbrook Camp, Portskewett, Monmouthshire (ST 507873), *Studia Celtica*, 35 (1) pp. 109-141

Service, E. (1978) Classical and Modern Theories of the Origins of Government, *In: Cohen, E. & Service, E. eds (1978) Origins of the State: the Anthropology of Social Evolution*, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues pp. 21-34

Sharpe, R. (2002) Martyrs and Local Saints in Late Antique Britain, *In: Thacker, A. & Sharp. R eds (2002) Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 75-154

Sharpe, R. (2007) Which Text is Rhigyfarch's 'Life' of St David? *In: Evans, J. & Wooding, J. eds. (2007) St David of Wales: Cult Church and Nation*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press pp. 90-105

Sharples, N. (2007) Building Communities and Creating Identities in the First Millennium BC, *In: Haselgrove, C. & Pope, R. eds. (2007) The Earlier Iron Age in Britain and the Near Continent*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 174-184

Sheehan, J. 2009: A Peacock's Tale: Excavations at Caherlehillan, Iveragh, Ireland, *In: Edwards, N. ed. (2009) The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches*, Leeds: Many Publishing pp. 191–206

Sheppard, J. (1861) *The Fall of Rome and the New Nationalities: A Series of Lectures on the Connections between Ancient and Modern History*, London: Routledge, Warne & Routledge

Sherman, A. (2011) Recently Discovered Trackway in Swansea Bay, *Studia Celtica*, 45 (1) pp. 1-25

Sherman, A. & Evans, E. (2004) *Roman Roads in Southeast Wales*, Swansea: GGAT

Shoesmith, R. (1985) *Hereford City Excavations. Volume 3. The Finds*, London: CBA

Shoesmith, R. (1991) *Excavations at Chepstow 1973-1974*, Bangor: Cambrian Archaeological Association pp. 156-160

Shotter, D. 1990: Roman Coins from North-West England, Lancaster: Centre for North West Regional Studies

Shotter, D. (1995) *Roman Coins from North-West England. First supplement 1995*, Lancaster: Centre for North West Regional Studies

Silvester, R. (2000) Medieval Upland Cultivation on the Berwyns in North Wales, *Landscape History* 22 (1) pp. 47-60

Silvester, R. (2006) Deserted Rural Settlements in Central and North-East Wales, *In*: Roberts, K. ed. *Lost Farmsteads: Deserted Rural Settlements in Wales*, York: CBA pp. 13-40

Silvester, B & Kissock, J. (2012) Wales: Medieval Settlements, Nucleated and Dispersed, Permanent and Seasonal, *In*: Christie, N. & Stamper, P. eds. *Medieval*

Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600, Oxford: Windgather Press pp. 151-171

Sim, D. (2012) *Plumbatae*, Reading: Vulcanus

Simmons, V. (2006) Draig Goch, *In: Koch, J. ed. (2006) Celtic Culture, a Historical Encyclopaedia*, Santa Barbara: ABC Clio pp. 609

Simpson, G. (1963) Caerleon and the Roman Forts in Wales in the Second Century AD, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 112 (1) pp. 13-76

Simpson, M. (1972) An Iron Age Tankard Fragment from Caerwent, *Antiquaries Journal*, 52 (1) pp. 330-331

Sims-Williams, P. (1983) The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle, *Anglo-Saxon England* 12(1) pp. 1-41

Sims-Williams, P. (1990) *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sims-Williams, P. (2019) *The Book of Llandaff as a Historical Source*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press

Skelton, R. (1988) The Llandaff Charters, *Herefordshire Archaeological News*, 49 (1) pp. 9-12

Smith, A. & Cloutman, E. (1988) Reconstruction of Holocene Vegetation History in Three Dimensions at Waun-Fignen-Felen: An Upland Site in South Wales, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 322 (1202), pp. 159-219

- Smith, A & Green, C. (1995) Topogeneous Peat Development and Late Flandrian Vegetation History at a Site in Upland South Wales, *The Holocene* 5 (1) pp. 172-183
- Smith, B. (1971) The Kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman Conquest of Glamorgan, *In: Pugh, T. ed. (1971) Glamorgan County History Volume III, The Middle Ages*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press pp. 1-43
- Smith, B. (1991) Disputes and Settlements in Medieval Wales: The Role of Arbitration, *The English Historical Review*, 106 (421) pp. 835-860
- Smith, B. & Pugh T. (1971) The Lordship of Gower and Kilvey in the Middle Ages, *In: Pugh, T. ed. (1971) Glamorgan County History Volume III, The Middle Ages*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press pp. 205-283
- Smith, G. (1988) Llys Rhosyr, Newborough, *Archaeology in Wales*, 37 (1) pp. 129
- Smith, J. (1997) *Roman Villas: A study in Social Structure*, London: Routledge
- Smith, J. (2010) *The History of Temperate Agroforestry*, London: Ashden Trust
- Smith, J. (2011) Glanville Jones: An Appreciation, *In: Barnwell, P. & Roberts, B. eds. Britons, Saxons and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R.J. Jones*, Turnhout: Brepols pp. 9-24
- Snyder, C. (1998) *An Age of Tyrants, Britain and the Britons AD 400-600*, Stroud: Sutton
- Snyder, C. (2003) *The Britons*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Snyder, C. (2011) *Exploring the World of King Arthur*, London: Thames & Hudson

Sowerby, R. (2011) The Lives of St Sampson: Rewriting the Ambitions of an Early Medieval Cult, *Francia*, 38 (1) pp. 1-31

Sparey-Green, C. (1993) The Mausolea Painted Plaster, *In*: Farwell, D. & Molleson, T. eds. (1993) *Poundbury Volume 2: The Cemeteries*, Dorchester: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society pp. 135–150

Spratling, M. (1972) Southern British Decorated Bronzes of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age, London: University of London Thesis

Spray, M. (1981) Holly as a Fodder in England, *Agricultural History Review*, 29 (1) pp. 97-110

Stafford, P. (2003) Kings, Kingships and Kingdoms, *In*: Davies, W. (2003) *From the Vikings to the Normans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. 11-39

Stapleton, C. & Freestone, I. & Bowman, S. (1999) Composition and Origin of Early Medieval Opaque Red Enamel from Britain and Ireland, *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 26 (8) pp. 913-921

Stapleton, C. & Sheridan, G. & Bowman, X. & Davis, M. (2019) Scientific Analysis of the Glass Inlays of the Carrying Hinge, *In*: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) *The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 210-216

Starley, D. (1996) The Metal Working Debris, *In*: Hughes, G. (1996) *The Excavation of a Late Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement at Thornwell Farm, Chepstow*, Oxford: BAR pp. 77-78

- Steane, K. (2006) *The Archaeology of the Upper City and Adjacent Suburb*, Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Stephens, G. (1985) Caerleon and the Martyrdom of SS. Aaron and Julius, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 32 (1) pp. 326-335
- Stenton, F. (1971) *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Stevens, M. (2019) *The Economy of Medieval Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Stevenson, J. (1987) Introduction to the 2nd Edition of Warren, 1881, *In*: Warren, F. (1881) *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press pp. ix-cxxviii
- Stobart, J. (1912) *The Grandeur that was Rome: A Survey of Roman Culture and Civilization*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson
- Stokes, P. & Powley, P. (2002) Iron Age Cultigen? Experimental Return Rates for Fat Hen? (*Chenopodium Album L.*) *Experimental Archaeology*, 7 (1) pp. 95-99
- Stout, M. (1997) *The Irish Ringfort*, Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Stuckley, W. (1724) *Itinerarium Curiosum, Or an Account of the Antiquities and Remarkable in Nature or Art, Obsrv'd in Travels Thro' Great Brittan*, London: Baker & Leigh
- Swanton, M. (2000) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, London: Dent
- Swift, C. (1997) *Ogham Stones and the Earliest Irish Christians*, Maynooth: National University of Ireland

Swift E. (2009) *Style and Function in Roman Decoration: Living with Objects and Interiors*, Farnham: Ashgate

Sylvester, A. (2004) Settlement and Structures of the Severn Estuary as Evidence of Wetland-Dryland Interaction in the Iron Age, *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary* 15 (1) pp. 9-30

Symons, S. (2009) *Fortresses and Treasures of Roman Wales*, Derby: Breedon Books

Symonds, R. (1997) Appendix 4: Roman pottery, *In*: Barker, P. & White, R. & Pretty, K. & Bird, H. *et al* (1997), *The Baths-Basilica Wroxeter: Excavations 1966–90*, London: English Heritage pp. 269–318

Symonds, M. (2015) Fourth-Century Fortlets in Britain: Sophisticated Systems or Desperate Measures? *In*: Collins, R. & Symonds, M. & Weber, M. eds. (2015) *Roman Military Architecture on the Frontiers*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 46-61

Tabbush, P. & White J. (1996) Estimation of Tree Age in Ancient Yew Woodland at Kingley Vale, *Quarterly Journal of Forestry*, 90 (3) pp. 197-206

Taylor, C. (1967) The Later History of the Roman Site at Hinton St. Mary, Dorset, *The British Museum Quarterly*, 32 (1/2) pp. 31-35

Taylor, J. (2007) *An Atlas of Roman Rural Settlement in England*, York: CBA

Taylor, P. (1995) *Political Geography: World Economy, Nation State and Locality*, Harlow: Longman pp. 115-156

Tedeschi, C. (2001) Some Observations on the Palaeography of Early Christian inscriptions in Britain, *In*: Higgitt, J. & Forsyth, K. & Parsons, D. eds. (2001) *Roman*,

Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent,
Donnington: Shaun Tyas pp.16–25

Temple, N. (2002) Heritage and Forgery: Annio da Viterbo and the Quest for the Authentic, *Public Archaeology*, 2 (3) pp. 151-162

Thomas, B. (2000) Communication and Lines of Sight: An Interpretation of the Inter-visibility of Hillforts and Related Earthworks of Usk and Lower Wye River Valleys, University of Wales, Newport MA Dissertation in Celto-Roman Studies: Newport

Thomas, C. (1956) Excavations at Gwithian, Cornwall 1956, *Proceedings of the West Cornwall Field Club*, 1 (1) pp. 59-72

Thomas, C. (1971) *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Thomas, C. (1976) The End of the Roman South-West, *In*: Brannigan, K. & Fowler, P. eds. (1976) *The Roman West Country*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles

Thomas, C. (1980) Field Name Evidence in the Reconstruction of Medieval Settlement Nuclei in North Wales, *National Library of Wales Journal*, 21 (4) pp. 340-56

Thomas, C. (1981) *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500*, London: Batsford

Thomas, C. (1992) A Culture-Biological Model of Agrarian Colonisation in Upland Wales, *Landscape History* 14 (1) pp. 37-50

Thomas, C. (1993) The Early Christian Inscriptions of Southern Scotland, *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 17 (1) pp. 1–10

Thomas, C. (1994) *And Shall Those Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Roman Britain*, Cardiff: Cardiff University Press

Thomas, M. & Stumpf, M. & Härke, H. (2006) Evidence for an apartheid-like social structure in early Anglo-Saxon England, *Proceedings of the Royal Society* <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/doi/10.1098/rspb.2006.3627> (29 April 2020)

Thomas, P. (2019) *Silures Revealed? Carving out a Celtic identity in Iron Age and Roman South Wales with Special Reference to Gwent*, University of South Wales Thesis: University of South Wales

Thompson, E. (1963a) The Visigoths from Fritigern to Euric, *Historia*, 12 (1) pp. 105-126

Thompson E. (1963b) The Barbarian Kingdoms in Gaul and Spain, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 7 (1) pp. 3-33

Thompson, E. (1982) Zosimus 6.10.2 and the letters of Honorius, *The Classic Quarterly*, 32 (2) pp. 445-462

Thompson, I. (1979) Wheathampstead Revisited, *Bulletin of the London Institute of Archaeology*, 16 (1) pp. 159-185

Thorn, F. & Thorn, C. eds. (1983) *Domesday Book, Herefordshire*, Chichester: Phillimore

Tite, M. & Pradell, T. & Shortland, A. (2007) Discovery, Production and Use of Tin-Based Opacifiers in Glasses, Enamels and Glazes from the Late Iron Age Onwards: a Reassessment, *Archaeometry*, 50 (1) pp. 67-84

- Toft, L. (2001) The Nineteenth Century Recovery and Loss of the Ogmere Helmets, *Archaeology in Wales*, 147(1) pp. 68-79
- Tomlin, R. (1974) The Date of the Barbarian Conspiracy, *Britannia* 5 (1) pp. 303-309
- Tomlin, R. (1996) A Five Acre Wood in Roman Kent, *In: Bird, J. & Hassall, M. & Sheldon, H. eds. (1996) Interpreting Roman London: Papers in Memory of Hugh Chapman*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 209-215
- Toynbee, J. (1964) The Christian Roman Mosaic, Hinton St Mary, Dorset, *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological Society*, 85 (1) pp. 116–121
- Trett, R. & Hudson R. (1988) Newport Museum Recent Acquisitions, *Archaeology in Wales*, 28 (1) p. 56
- Trett, R. (1989) Newport Museum Recent Acquisitions, *Archaeology in Wales*, 29 (1) p.48
- Tuck, M. (2005) *Caerwent Training Area, Army Training Estate. Monmouthshire: Archaeological Survey*, Swansea: GGAT
- Tuck, M. & Leaver, A. (2003) Abernant, *Archaeology in Wales*, 43 (1) pp. 120-123
- Tuck, M. & Leaver, A. (2003) Abernant, *Archaeology in Wales*, 46 (1) pp. 195-198
- Tuck, N. (1971) Roman Mine Draethen, Glamorganshire, *Bristol Exploration Club, Caving Report*, 15 (1) pp. 32-33
- Turner, E. (1956) A Roman Writing Tablet from Somerset, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 1956, 46, (1 & 2) pp. 115-118

Turner, R. (1999) *Excavations of an Iron Age Settlement and a Roman Religious Complex at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, 1978–83*, Chelmsford: East Anglian Archaeology

Turner, S. (2006) *Making a Christian Landscape, The Countryside in Early Medieval Cornwall, Devon and Wessex*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Tyres, P. & Hillam, J. & Groves, C. (1994) Trees and Woodland in the Saxon Period: The Dendrochronological Evidence, *In*: Rackham, J. ed. (1994) *Environment and Economy in Anglo-Saxon England*, London: CBA pp. 12-22

Tyers, P. (1996a) Roman Amphoras in Britain, *Internet Archaeology* 1 (1) [WWW] https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue1/tyers_index.html (8 October 2021)

Tyers, P. (1996b) *Roman Potteries in Britain*, London: Batsford

Usher, G. & Lilley, D. (1964) A Romano-British Kiln Site at Venus Street, Congresbury, *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 108 (1) pp. 172–174

Van Dam, R. (1985) *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Berkley: University of California Press

Vera, F. (2000) *Grazing Ecology and Forest History*, Oxford: CABI Publishing

Victory, S. (1977) *The Celtic Church in Wales*, London: SPCK

Vyner, B. (1978) Excavations at Great Bulmore, near Caerleon, *In*: Boon, G. ed. (1978) *Monographs and Collections, Roman Sites*, Cardiff: Cambrian Archaeological Association pp. 25-34

- Vyner, B. & Allen, D. (1988) A Romano-British Settlement at Caldicot, Gwent, *In*: Robinson D. ed. (1988) *Biglis, Caldicot & Llandough*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, British Series 188 pp. 65-122
- Vyner, B & White, J. (1985) Romano-British Fields and Farms in the Vale of Glamorgan, *Britannia*, 16 (1) pp. 245-246
- Wacher, J. (1964) A Survey of Romano-British Town Defences of the Early and Middle Second Century, *Archaeological Journal* 119 (1) pp. 101-113
- Wacher, J. (1997) *The Towns of Roman Britain*, London: Routledge
- Wacher, J. (1998) The Dating of Town Walls in Roman Britain, *In*: Bird, J. ed. (1998) *Form and Fabric: Studies in Rome's Material Past in Honour of B. R. Hartley*, Oxford: Oxbow
- Wade-Evans, A. (1909) *Welsh Medieval Law, Being a Text of the Laws of Howel the Good*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Wade-Evans, A. (1934) *Welsh Church Origins*, Oxford: Alden Press
- Wade-Evans, A. (1944) *Vitae Sanctorum Britannie et Genealogiae*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press
- Wade-Evans, A. (1956) *The Emergence of England and Wales*, London: De Meester
- Wade-Evans, A. (2019) *Parochiale Wallicanum*, New Delhi: Alpha Editions
- Wait, G. (1985) *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*, Oxford: BAR

Walker, M. & Bell, M. & Caseldine, A. & Cameron E. *et al* (1998) Paleoenvironmental Investigations of Middle Late Flandrian Buried Peats on the Caldicot Levels Severn Estuary, Wales, *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association*, 109, pp. 51-79

Walton, P. (2011) Rethinking Roman Britain: An Applied Numismatic Analysis of the Coins Recorded in the Portable Antiquities Scheme, University College London Thesis: University College London

Walton, P. & Moorhead, S. (2016) Coinage and Collapse? The Contribution of Numismatic Data to Understanding the End of Roman Britain, *Internet Archaeology* 41 (1) [WWW] <https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue41/8/toc.html> (26 January 2020)

Ward, J. (1972) Vortigern and the End of Roman Britain, *Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies*, 3 (1) pp. 227-289

Ward-Perkins, J. (1938) An Early Iron Age Site at Crayford, Kent, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 4 (1) pp. 151-168

Warner, P. (1988) The Archaeology of Early Historic Irish Kingship, *In*: Driscoll, S. & Níeke, M. eds. (1988) *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Warren, F. (1881) *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (2nd Edition, 1987)

Watkin, T. (2007) *The Legal History of Wales*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Watts, A. (2007) *Preserving the Provinces: Small Town and Countryside in the Work of Honoré de Balzac*, Bern: Peter Lang

- Watts, D. (1991) *Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain*, London: Routledge
- Watts, D. (1998) *Religion in Late Roman Britain: Forces of Change*, Routledge: London
- Webster, G. (1983) The Function and Organisation of Late Roman Civil Defences, *In: Maloney, J. & Hobley, B. eds. (1983) Roman Urban Defences in the West*, London: CBA pp. 118-120
- Webster, G. (2003) *Rome Against Caratacus: The Roman Campaigns in Britain AD 48-58*, London: Routledge
- Webster, G. (1986) *The British Celts and their Gods Under Rome*, London: Batsford
- Webster, J. (1981) The Bronzes, *In: Jarrett, M. & Wrathmell, S. eds. (1981) Whitton, An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 163-188
- Webster P. (1975) Roman and Iron Age Tankards in Western Britain, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 26 (2) pp. 231-236
- Webster, P. (2003) An Early Fort at Caerwent? A Review of the Evidence, *In: Wilson, P. ed. (2003) The Archaeology of Roman Towns: Studies in Honour of John S Wacher*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 214-220
- Welch, M. (2007) Anglo-Saxon Kent, *In: Williams, J. ed. (2007) The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*, Woodbridge: Kent County Council pp. 187–248
- Welfare, A. (1995) The Milling Stones, *In: Manning, W & Price, J. & Webster, J. (1995) Report on the Excavations at Usk, 1965-1995, The Roman Small Finds*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 215-237

Wessex Archaeology (2013) *Caerau, Cardiff, South Wales*, Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology

West, S. & Plouviez, J. (1976) The Roman Site at Icklingham, *East Anglian Archaeology*, 3 (1) pp. 63–125

Wheeler, M. (1921) A Roman Fortified House Near Cardiff, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 11 (1) pp. 67-85

Wheeler, M. (1923) Current Work in Welsh Archaeology, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 1 (1) p. 340

Wheeler, M. (1935) The Excavations of Maiden Castle, Dorset, First Interim Report, *Antiquity*, 15 (1) pp. 265-275

Wheeler, M. (1936) The Excavations of Maiden Castle, Dorset, Second Interim Report, *Antiquity*, (16) (1) pp. 265-283

Wheeler, M. (1937) The Excavations of Maiden Castle, Dorset, Third Interim Report, *Antiquity*, (17) (1) pp. 261-282

Wheeler, M. (1943) *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

White, S. & Manley, J & Jones, R. & Orna-Ornstein, J. *et al* (1999) A Mid-Fifth Century Hoard of Roman and Pseudo-Roman Material from Patching, West Sussex, *Britannia* 30 (1) pp. 301–314

White, R. (2007) *Britannia Prima: Britain's Last Roman Province*, Stroud: Tempus

White, R. (2014) A Brave New World? The Archaeology of Western Britain in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries *In: Haarer, F. ed. (2014) AD 410: The History and*

Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies pp. 155-164

White, R. & Barker, P. (1998) *Wroxeter: Life and Death of Roman Town*, Stroud: Tempus

Whyman, M. (2001) *Late Roman Britain in Transition: A Ceramic Perspective from East Yorkshire*, University of York Thesis: University of York

Whyte, N. (2009) *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place Custom and Memory, 500-1800*, Macclesfield: Windgather Press

Wickenden, N. (1988) *Excavations at Great Dunmow, Essex*, Chelmsford: East Anglian Archaeology and Chelmsford Archaeological Trust

Wickham, C. (2005) *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Wickham, C. (2010) Medieval Wales and European History, *Welsh History Review*, 25 (1) pp. 201-218

Wiggins, H. (2006) Southeast Wales *Prehistoric Defended Enclosures: Prehistoric Defended Enclosures in Gwent*, Swansea: Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust

Wilkinson, P. ed. (1995) Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan 1991-1992, *Medieval Archaeology* 39 (1) pp. 36-45

Williams, A. (1940) The Excavation of Bishopston Valley Promontory Fort, Glamorgan, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 95 (1) pp. 23-30

Williams, A. (1941) The Excavation of High Pennard Promontory Fort, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 96 (1) pp. 23-30

Williams, A. (1993) Norman Lordship In South-East Wales During the Reign of William I, *Welsh History Review*, 16 (4) pp. 445-466

Williams, G. (1976) *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press

Williams, G. (1988) Recent Work on Rural Settlement in Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Dyfed, *Antiquaries Journal* 68 (1) pp. 30-54

Williams, S. (2000) *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, London: Routledge

Williamson, T. (1993) *The origins of Norfolk, (Origins of the Shire)*, Manchester: Manchester University Press

Williamson, T. (2013) *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England: Time and Topography*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press

Wilmott, T. (1997) *Birdoswald, Excavations of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and its Successor Settlements: 1987–92*, London: English Heritage Archaeological Report 14

Wilmott, T. (2009) Conclusions: The History of the Fort', *In*: Wilmott, T. ed. (2009) *Hadrian's Wall: Archaeological Research by English Heritage 1976–2000*, Swindon: English Heritage pp. 387–95

Wilson, P. (2002) *Cataractonium; Roman Catterick and its Hinterland, Excavations and Research 1958-1997*, London: CBA

Winiarczyk, M. (2013) *The Sacred History of Euhemerus of Messen*, Boston: De Gruyter

Winterbottom, M. (1978) *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works by Gildas*, London: Phillimore

Wolfram, H. (1970) The Shaping of the Early Medieval Kingdom, *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1) pp. 1-20

Wood, J. (2004) The Narrative World of Early Medieval Gwent, *In: Aldhouse-Green, M. & Howell R. eds. Gwent County History, Volume I, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press pp. 317-330

Wooding, J. (1996a) *Communications and Commerce Along the Western Sea-Lanes AD 400-800*, Oxford: BAR

Wooding, J. (1996b) Cargoes in Trade along the Western Seaboard, *In: Dark, K. (1996) External Contacts and the Economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain*, Stroud: Tempus pp. 67-82

Woodward, A. & Leach, P. (1993) *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a Ritual Complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977–9*, London: English Heritage and British Museum Publications

Woolf, A. (2007) *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Worsaeae, J. (1843) *The Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, London: Parker

- Yates, A. (2001) *Celtic Manor: The New Championship Course Archaeological Field Evaluation Interim Report*, Swansea: GGAT
- Yenner, K. (1994) *The 1993 Excavation Season at Göltepe, Turkey, The Oriental Institute Annual Report, 1993-94*, pp. 31-30
- Yorke, B. (2006) *The Conversion of Britain, Religion, Politics and Society in Britain* London: Longman
- Young, C. (2000) *The Oxfordshire Roman Potteries*, Oxford: BAR
- Young, T. (2019) Early Medieval Crafts, *In: Redknap, M. (2019) Early Medieval Metalwork, In: Lane, A. & Redknap, M. eds. (2019) The Llangorse Crannog: An Early Medieval Island Residence of the Kings of Brycheiniog*, Oxford: Oxbow pp. 318-331
- Zaluckyj, S & Zaluckyj, J. (2006) *The Celtic Christian Sites of the Central and Southern Marches*, Woonton Almley: Logaston
- Zeuss, J. (1853) *Grammatica Celtica*, Leipzig: Published by the Author
- Zienkiewicz, (1983) Risca, *Archaeology in Wales*, 23 (1) p. 49
- Zienkiewicz, J. (1986a) *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon, The Buildings*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales
- Zienkiewicz, J. (1986b) *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon, The Finds*, Cardiff: National Museum of Wales
- Zienkiewicz, J. (1993a) Excavations in the *Scamnum Tribunorum* at Caerleon: The Legionary Museum site 1983-5, *Britannia* 24 (1) pp. 27-140

Zienkiewicz, D. (1993b) Museum Garden 1992 context records and notes held at the
Legionary Fortress Museum Caerleon

Appendix 1

Defended enclosures located in Gwent

Study Site Number	OS Map Grid Reference	Locale and Site Name	Enclosure Shape	Entrance Type	Annexes	Internal Area Size (Hectares)	Internal Buildings	Topographic Location	Vallation	Period	Primary Reference Number
1	252841	Michaelstone-y-Fedw New Park	Subrectangular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	30119 08952g
2	261843	Coedkernew Gwaunshonbrown Farm	Circular	Unknown	None	Unknown	None	Natural terrace	Univallate	Iron Age	02140g
3	258848	Michaelstone-y-Fedw The Mount	Circular	None	Detached	1.56	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	307830 00005g
4	279857	Coedkernew Craig Y Saeson	Subcircular	Simple	None	1.0	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	301117 00057g 07560g
5	273862	Coedkernew Coed-y-Defaid	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	307812
6	289868	Tredegar Gaer	Subrectangular	Simple	Lobate	9.28	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (wide)	Iron Age	93429 00049g
7	264877	Rhiwderin Graig	Circular	None	None	1.19	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	94880 00039g
8	242926	Risca Twmbarlwm	Subcircular	Entrance passage	None	4.20	None	Ridge	Univallate	General/ Iron Age	307848 00114g

9	313954	Llanyrafon Waun-y-Pwll Farm	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Unknown	6272g
10	403847	Redwick North Row	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Level	Univallate	Roman/ Prehistoric	409491
11	414856	Magor with Undy Pill Farm	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Level	Univallate	Iron Age	8960g
12	471868	Caldicot Ifton Reen	Circular	None	None	Unknown	None	Level	Univallate	Prehistoric	04500g
13	411878	Bishton Wilcrick Hill	Subcircular	Entrance passage	None	1.10	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	307946 00474g
14	457877	Caldicot Rogiet	Unknown	None	None	unknown	None	Unknown	Univallate	Iron Age	08008g
15	505873	Portskewett Sudbrook Fort	Triangular	None	None	3.21	None	Coastal promontory	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	94873 01142g
16	466880	Caldicot Ifton Manor I	Subcircular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Level	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age/ Roman	301128
17	469880	Caldicot Ifton Manor II	Subrectangular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Level	Univallate	Iron Age/ Roman	301129
18	461882	Caldicot Burness Castle Quarry	Irregular	None	None	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown	Prehistoric	07753g

19	485885	Caldicot Caldicot Castle West	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Spur	Univallate	Prehistoric	301132
20	494888	Caldicot Farthing Wood	Complex	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	4506g
21	389897	Langstone Ford Farm	Polygonal	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age/ Roman	40490
22	396898	Langstone Llanmartin	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age/ Roman	04889g
23	432899	Caerwent Larches	Subcircular	Entrance passage	None	1.24	None	Hilltop	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	307950 00473g
24	457892	Caldicot Rogiet Ifton Great Wood	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Unknown	Univallate	Prehistoric	07752g
25	415903	Penhow Delly's Brake	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	07749g
26	424904	Penhow The Knoll	Triangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Unknown	Iron Age	415833
27	447910	Caerwent Five Lanes	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	405454
28	529989	St Arvans Blackfield Wood	Triangular	None	None	0.46	None	Inland promontory	Bivallate (wide)	Iron Age	00748g

29	532957	St Arvans Pierce Wood	Subrectangular	Barbican Horn-work	None	Unknown	None	Inland promontory	Univallate	Iron Age	307997 00773g
30	536959	St Arvans Pierce Field	Subrectangular	Simple	None	0.20	None	Inland promontory	Univallate	Iron Age	307998 00772g
31	537927	Chepstow The Bulwarks	Subcircular	Simple	None	2.06	None	Estuarine cliff	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	301207 01193g
32	329886	Beechwood Maindee	Circular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	307858
33	340891	Beechwood Christchurch (St Julians)	Subrectangular	None	None	0.15	None	Ridge	Univallate	Iron Age	94860 00220g
34	323913	Caerleon Lodge Wood	Subrectangular	Simple	None	9.58	Rectangular	Ridge	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	93396 00597g
35	360904	Caerleon Priory Wood	Subrectangular	Simple	None	3.87	None	Hilltop	Bivallate (close)	Unknown	00426g
36	365919	Caerleon Great Bulmore	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	401834
37	409886	Langstone Waun Arw	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	08572g
38	378915	Langstone Coed y Caerau	Subcircular	Barbican Horn-work	None	0.40	Circular	Ridge	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age/ Roman/ Early Medieval	307891 00414g

39	384921	Langstone Kemys Folly	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Ridge	Univallate	Unknown	03293g
40	440915	Llanvaches The Cayo	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	405807
41	323924	Caerleon Malthouse Road	Polygonal	Inturned	None	None	None	Ridge	Univallate	Prehistoric	413962
42	351939	Caerleon Colomendy Farm	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	River terrace	Univallate	Iron Age	301127 03983g
43	409923	Penhow Castell Prin	Subrectangular	Barbican Horn-work	None	0.25	None	Hilltop	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	307974 01022g
44	429920	Llanfair Discoed/ Llanvaches Windmill Farm	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	07754g
45	493923	Mathern The Briars	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Level	Univallate	Unknown	01050g
46	461925	Caerwent Llanmelin	Complex	Simple	Subrectangular	6.56	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	301559
47	456927	Caerwent Cuhere Wood	Subsquare	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Prehistoric	07448g
48	371941	Llanhennock Coed-y-fon	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Saddle	Univallate	Iron Age	06163g

49	329934	Llanhennock Caerau-Candwr	Subcircular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	220952 00645g
50	359938	Llanhennock Cae Camp	Subcircular	Simple	None	1.59	None	Ridge	Bivallate (close)	Unknown	307883 00387g
51	362931	Llanhennock Glen Usk	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	91984 08576g
52	492937	Shirenewton Daggers Hill, Grondre	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	30118 7562g
53	519941	Mathern Bishop Barnet's Wood	Subrectangular	Entrance passage	None	0.08	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	01161g
54	375952	Maes-Llech Llanhennock	Subrectangular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	08951g
55	392979	Llantrisant Coed-y-Prior	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Unknown	06264g
56	399955	Llantrisant Fawr Dyffryn Farm	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Valley side	Univallate	Unknown	06273g
57	334968	Llangybi Walnut tree enclosure	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	05681g

58	358968	Llangybi Pen-y-Parc	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Unknown	06268g
59	396962	Llantrisant Fawr Cefn Wood	Sub rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Unknown	0626g
60	451961	Shirenewton Upper Pink	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	03298g
61	392979	Llantrisant Fawr Coed- Prior	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Unknown	06264g
62	425975	Llangwm Golden Hill Earthwork	Circular	Simple	None	1.0	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	221433 01129g
63	516979	St Arvans Gaer Hill	Subcircular	Causeway	None	0.50	None	Hillslope	Bivallate (wide)	Iron Age	307991/ 00745g
64	441988	Llangwm Gaer Fawr	Subcircular	None	Lobate	3.50	None	Ridge	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	300081 00942g
65	528989	Tintern Blackcliff Wood	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Spur	Univallate	Prehistoric	94864
66	414997	Llangwm Pentwyn	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Ridge	Univallate	Unknown	03309g
67	359008	Llanbadoc Coed-Duon	Subrectangular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	30115 07559g
68	387002	Usk Great House	Unknown	None	None	Unknown	None	Ridge	Bivallate (close)	Unknown	08942G

69	375000	Llanbadoc Twyn Bell Camp	Subcircular	Entrance passage	None	0.06	None	Inland promontory	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	91946 01995g
70	489019	Trelleck Grange Tintern	Polygonal	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Prehistoric	130112 07564g
71	484010	Devauden New Inn Brake	Subcircular	None	Detached	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Prehistoric/ Unknown	301123 07563g
72	363027	Gwehelog Fawr Llancayo Farm	Polygonal	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Flood plain	Univallate	Iron Age/ Roman	409327
73	348055	Gwehelog Fawr Ffosyddu	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	04439g
74	408893	Raglan Pen-Coed	Subcircular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	406215 08946g
75	413029	Raglan Gwernesey	Subcircular	Simple	None	1.60	None	Flood plain	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	08585g
76	493026	Tintern Llan y Nant	Sub rectangular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	301120
77	378038	Gwehelog Fawr Llancayo Camp	Subcircular	Complex	None	2.0	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	306434 2166g
78	414030	Raglan Llandenny Bottom	Subcircular	Simple	None	Unknown	None	Flood plain	Univallate	Iron Age	86828
79	432033	Llangwm Great House	Subcircular	Entrance passage	Detached	2.37	None	Natural terrace	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	306492 00942g

80	493037	Trellech Gaer	Circular	Simple	Lobate	3.50	Circular	Hillslope	Bivallate (close)	Unknown	306487 00972g
81	493027	Trellech Trelleck Grange enclosure	Subcircular	Simple	Lobate	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Prehistoric	07566g
82	348055	Gwehelog Fawr Ffosyddu	Subcircular	Unknown	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	04439g
83	365068	Gwehelog Fawr Coed y Bwynydd	Subcircular	Guard chamber	None	6.39	None	Hilltop	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	306420 02171g
84	417102	Mitchel Troy Tregare	Subcircular	None	None	0.20	None	Hilltop	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	01560g
85	406107	Mitchel Troy Llwyn-y-Gaer South	Rectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	08953g
86	490107	Mitchel Troy Mitchel Troy	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	86820 08941g
87	484115	Mitchel Troy Taloche	Subrectangular	None	Detached	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	86932 8964g
88	502159	Monmouth Buckholt Wood	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Summit	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	1461g
89	526125	Monmouth Kymin Hill	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Summit	Bivallate (close)	Unknown	01263g
90	490136	Monmouth Croft-y-Bwla	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Unknown	08961g

91	380161	Llantilio Crossenny Tredam Enclosure	Circular	None	None	1.50	Circular	Hilltop	Multivallate (wide)	Iron Age	301114 04436g
92	482159	Llangattock-vibon-avel Perth Hir West	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Ridge	Univallate	Iron Age	08954g
93	311175	Llantilio Pertholey Pentwyn Trilley	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Level	Univallate	Unknown	08965g
94	331182	Llantilio Pertholey Ysgryd Fawr	Complex	None	None	1.40	Rectangular	Ridge	Multivallate (wide)	Iron Age	400378 01497g
95	360152	Grosmont Chapel Farm	Subcircular	None	None	0.60	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	413954
96	349228	Grosmont Wern Gounsel	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hillslope	Univallate	Iron Age	409062
97	356223	Grosmont Campston Hill/ Pwll y Bala	Subrectangular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	306453/ 01652g
98	369234	Grosmont Gaer House	Subcircular	None	None	Unknown	None	Hilltop	Univallate	Iron Age	409088/ 09221g
99	348250	Crucorney Pent-wyn	Complex	Entrance Passage	Lobate	4.17	None	Spur	Multivallate (close)	Iron Age	94878 01607g

100	294219	Crucorney Twyn y Gaer	Complex	Entrance Passage	Cross ridge	2.98	Circular Rectangular	Summit	Bivallate (close)	Iron Age	300043 01713g
101	296163	Llantilio Pertholey Twyn yr Allt	Subrectangular	None	None	0.10	None	Summit	Univallate	Iron Age	401661 04356g

Defended enclosure shapes across Gwent (summary)

Settlement shape	Enclosures	%
Circular	9	8.9
Subcircular	41	40.9
Rectangular	7	6.9
Subrectangular	28	27.9
Subsquare	1	0.9
Triangular	3	2.9
Complex	5	4.9
Polygonal	4	3.9
Irregular	1	0.9
Unknown	2	1.9
Total	101	100

Vallation characterisations of defended enclosures in Gwent (where recorded)

Multivallate	%	Bivallate	%	Univallate	%	Unknown	%	Total	%
16	15.9	18	17.8	64	63.4	3	2.9	101	100

Defended enclosure entrances in Gwent (where recorded)

Simple	%	Barbican Horn- Work	%	Causeway	%	Complex	%	Entrance Passage	%	Guard Chamber	%	Inturned	%	None	%	Unknown	%	Total	%
23	22.8	3	2.9	1	0.9	1	0.9	8	7.9	1	0.9	1	0.9	61	60.4	2	1.8	101	100

Gwentian enclosure entrance types (where a shape has been specified)

Simple	%	Barbican Horn-Work	%	Causeway	%	Complex	%	Entrance Passage	%	Guard Chamber	%	Inturned	%	Total	%
23	60.5	3	7.9	1	2.6	1	2.6	8	21.2	1	2.6	1	2.6	38	100

Gwentian enclosures internal area size (where recorded)

Study site number	Defended Enclosure Locale/Name	Internal Area Size (Hectares)
6	Tredegar Gaer	9.28
8	Risca Twmbarlwm	4.20
3	Michaelstone-y-Fedw The Mount	1.56
7	Rhiwderin Graig	1.19
4	Coedkernew Craig Y Saeson	1.00
15	Portskewett Sudbrook Fort	3.21
31	Chepstow The Bulwarks	2.06
23	Caerwent Larches	1.24
13	Bishton Wilcrick Hill	1.10
28	St Arvans Blackfield Wood	0.46
30	St Arvans Pierce Field	0.20
34	Caerleon Lodge Wood	9.58
46	Caerwent Llanmelin	6.56
83	Gwehelog Fawr Coed y Bwynydd	6.39
35	Caerleon Priory Wood	3.87
80	Trellech Gaer	3.50

79	Llangwm Great House	2.37
77	Gwehelog Fawr Llancayo Camp	2.00
51	Llanhennock Cae Camp	1.59
75	Raglan Gwernesey	1.60
62	Llangwm Golden Hill Earthwork	1.00
63	St Arvans Gaer Hill	0.50
38	Langstone Coed y Caerau	0.40
43	Penhow Castell Prin	0.25
33	Beechwood Christchurch (St Julians)	0.15
53	Mathern Bishop Barnet's Wood	0.08
69	Llanbadoc Twyn Bell Camp	0.06
34	Caerleon Lodge Wood	9.58
46	Caerwent Llanmelin	6.56
83	Gwehelog Fawr Coed y Bwynydd	6.39
35	Caerleon Priory Wood	3.87
80	Trellech Gaer	3.50
79	Llangwm Great House	2.37
77	Gwehelog Fawr Llancayo Camp	2.00

51	Llanhennock Cae Camp	1.59
75	Raglan Gwernesey	1.60
62	Llangwm Golden Hill Earthwork	1.00
63	St Arvans Gaer Hill	0.50
38	Langstone Coed y Caerau	0.40
43	Penhow Castell Prin	0.25
33	Beechwood Christchurch (St Julians)	0.15
53	Mathern Bishop Barnet's Wood	0.08
69	Llanbadoc Twyn Bell Camp	0.06

Internal buildings contained within Gwentian defended enclosures (where recorded)

Defended enclosure	Building
Caerleon Lodge Wood (study site 34)	Rectangular
Langstone Coed y Caerau (study 38)	Circular
Trellech Gaer (Study site 80)	Circular
Llantilio Crossenny Tredam Enclosure (Study site 91)	Circular
Llantilio Pertholey Ysgyryd Fawr (Study site 94)	Rectangular
Crucorney Twyn y Gaer (Study site 100)	Circular Rectangular

Annexe sites associated with Gwentian defended enclosures (where recorded)

Detached	%	Lobate	%	Subrectangular	%	Cross Ridge	%	None	%	Total	%
4	3.9	5	4.9	1	0.9	1	0.9	90	89.4	101	100

Topographical locations of Gwentian defended enclosures

Type	Quantity	%
Coastal promontory	1	0.9
Estuarine cliff	1	0.9
Flood plain	3	2.9
Hillslope	25	24.8
Hilltop	32	31.7
Inland promontory	4	3.9
Level	7	6.9
Natural terrace	2	1.8
Ridge	12	11.9
River terrace	1	0.9
Saddle	1	0.9
Spur	3	2.7
Summit	4	3.9
Valley side	1	0.9
Unknown	4	3.9
Totals	101	100

Appendix 2

Romano-British settlement sites in Gwent

Study number	OS Map Grid Reference	Site Name	Classification	Primary Reference Number
1	2914	Abergavenny	Urban	96275
2	5012	Monmouth	Urban	33172
3	3700	Usk	Urban	93470
4	236911	Risca	Urban	307846
5	228877	Machen	Urban	00023g 00024g 2139g 4386g
6	281835	Fairwater Farm	Possible villa site	05684g
7	257864	Croes-Carn-Einion	High Status villa/temple site	6176g
8	281836	Great Pencarn Farm	Possible villa site	05667g 05684g
9	3390	Caerleon	Legionary fortress	00514
10		St Julians	High Status villa/temple site	00225g
11	3590	Bulmore	Urban	04058g
12	369880	Llanwern	Possible villa site	03717g
13	383895	Ford Farm	High Status villa/temple site	310034
14	396898	Llanmartin	Low status site	02141g 04889g 06261g
15	432842	Magor intertidal zone	Urban	00445g
16	404865	Barland's Farm	Urban	04703g 04704g 04705g
17	4688	Dewstow Farm	Low status site	05445g 08000g
18	456877	Rogiet	Possible villa site	05296g
19	473893	Woodland Cottage	Low status site	02169g 06157g
20	446910	Five Lanes	High Status villa/temple site	0983g
21	4690	Caerwent	<i>Civitas Capital</i>	93753
22	449913	Oaklands Farm	High Status villa/temple site	
23		Castle Tump	High Status villa/temple site	01034g
24	483874	Stoop Hill	High Status villa/temple site	00482g 05443g
25	481892	Church Farm	Low status site	06143g
26	498887	Portskewett Hill	High Status villa/temple site	00495g
27	498887	Portskewett	Low status site	05313g
28	54009198	Thornwell Farm	Low status site	04441g
29	5393	Chepstow	Urban	01182g 01190g 01191g 03287g 03739g 06145g
30	527976	Wyndcliff	High Status villa/temple site	06146g
31	383977	Llangybi Walks	Possible villa site	06265g
32	432033	Great House	Possible villa site	00942g

Appendix 3

The charters of the *Liber Landavensis*

Charter and hand (see notes below)	Date	Map reference	Location	County	King	Kingdom	Summary
*72a (1) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 575	593177	Welsh Bicknor	Herefordshire	Peibio	Ergyng	Peibio made a grant to Dyfrig of Mainaur Garth Benni
72b (2) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 580	315418	Dorstone	Herefordshire	Peibio	Ergyng	Peibio made a grant with an <i>uncia</i> of land to Dyfrig of Lann Cerniu
73a (3) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 585	519285	Llandinabo	Herefordshire	Peibio	Ergyng	Peibio made a grant with an <i>uncia</i> of land to Dyfrig of Podum Junabui
73b (4) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 595	318341	Dorstone	Herefordshire	Cinuin	Ergyng	Cinuin and Gwyddgi made a grant of three <i>unciae</i> of land to Dyfrig at Cum Barruc
74 (5) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 860	461171	St Maughan's	Gwent	Meurig	Gwent	Britcon and Iliwig gave Lann Mocha Dyfrig with the consent of Meurig, together with the gift of Caradog and Cincu, sons of Guoleiduc. (The grant is a doublet (see 171b))
*75 (6) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 555	517266	Pencoyd	Herefordshire	Erb	Ergyng	Erb gave a <i>tellus</i> called Cil Hal (Pencoyd) to Dyfrig
*76a (7) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 575	420388	Madley	Herefordshire	Peibio	Ergyng	Peibio made a grant with four <i>unciae</i> of land to Dyfrig at Conloc (Madley)
*76b (8) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 605	578893	Bishopston	Glamorganshire	Merchwyn	Glywysing	Gwrddwg gave his daughter Dulon (Bishopston) and four modii of land to Dyfrig in the time of Merchwyn
*77 (9) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 625	118992 630223 255147	Penally Llandeilo Fawr Llanddowror	Pembrokeshire Carmarthenshire Carmarthenshire	Nowy	Dyfed	Nowy gave land at each of these situations to Dyfrig
121 (10) B	<i>Circa</i> CE 600	375109	Llanarth	Gwent	Iddon	Gwent	Iddon gave Lanngarth (Llanarth) and its <i>territorium</i> , previously owned by Dyfrig to Teilo
122 (11) B	<i>Circa</i> CE 600	311516	Llantilio Pertholey	Gwent	Iddon	Gwent	King Iddon gave Lann Maur (Llantilio Pertholey) and its <i>territorium</i> to Teilo
*123 (12) B	<i>Circa</i> CE 600	398149	Llantilio Crossenny	Gwent	Iddon	Gwent	King Iddon gave three modii of land around the mound in the middle of Crissinic (Llantilio Crossenny) to Saint Teilo, in thanks for the reversal of the Saxons
*125a (13) B	<i>Circa</i> CE 785	494204 6322	Llanegwad Llandeilo Fawr	Carmarthenshire Carmarthenshire	Maredudd	Dyfed	Maredudd gave Mainaur Brunus, Telichclouman (Llanegwad) and Trem Canus (Llandeilo Fawr) to Teilo
*125b (14) B	<i>Circa</i> CE 500	1300	Tenby	Pembrokeshire	Aergol	Dyfed	Aergol gave three <i>uillae</i> at sites, Tref Carn, Laith ty Teilau and Menechi (near Tenby) to Teilo as a reward for suppressing unruly behaviour.
*127a (15) B	<i>Circa</i> CE 500	1300	Tenby	Pembrokeshire	Aergol	Dyfed	Tudwug gave himself, his children and his two <i>uillae</i> , Ciltutuc and Penclecir (near Tenby) with the king's consent to Teilo
*127b (16) A	<i>Circa</i> CE 500	879320 2641	Indeterminate	Pembrokeshire/ Carmarthenshire	Aergol	Dyfed	Cynguaiu's seven sons gave land previously given to them by Aergol to Teilo with his consent
140 (17) C	<i>Circa</i> CE 655	6004	Llandeilo Tal-y-Bont	Glamorganshire	Meurig	Glywysing	Meurig and his wife Ombrast granted three <i>modii</i> of land at Cilcyuhynn and six <i>modii</i> at Conuoy (Llandeilo Tal-y-Bont) to Euddogwy
*141 (18) C	<i>Circa</i> CE 620	523908	Mathern	Gwent	Meurig	Gwent	Meurig gave Tewdric's <i>territorium</i> to Euddogwy
143 (19) C	<i>Circa</i> CE 660	504955	Howick	Gwent	Meurig	Gwent	Meurig gave <i>ecclesia</i> Guruid with its <i>tellus</i> to Euddogwy with the consent and gift of the <i>heres</i> Liliau
144 (20) C	<i>Circa</i> CE 650	417880 567887 578894 497922	Rhossili Pennard Bishopston Llanrhidian	Glamorgan Glamorgan Glamorgan Glamorgan	Meurig Athrwys	Glywysing	Athrwys, under his father Meurig awarded an <i>ager</i> consisting of these sites to Euddogwy
145 (21) C	<i>Circa</i> CE 695	587894	Bishopston	Glamorgan	Morgan	Glywysing	Morgan returned <i>ecclesia</i> Cyngur Trosardi (Bishopston) with its <i>territorium</i> to Euddogwy, together with Meerwald <i>princeps</i> of the church
*146 (22) C	<i>Circa</i> CE 720	135276	Llangorse	Brecknockshire	Awst	Brycheiniog	Awst, with his sons Eiludd and Rhiwallon gave Lann Cors (Llangorse) with its <i>territorium</i> to Euddogwy

147 (23) C	Circa CE 665	994775	Llansanwyr	Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing	Meurig gave four villas to Euddogwy in penance for the murder of Cynfedw consisting of twenty-four modii in total
*148 (24) C	Circa CE 688	Unknown	Near the River Thaw	Glamorgan	Morgan	Glywysing	Morgan with his <i>hereditarius</i> Gurhytyr gave <i>Uilla</i> Guilbiu (near the River Thaw) to Euddogwy
149 (25) C	Circa CE 680	193418	Llowes	Brecknockshire	Morgan	Brycheiniog	Morgan gave <i>podum</i> Liuhesi (Llowes) to Euddogwy
150a (26) C	Circa CE 693	524981	Porthcasseg	Gwent	Morgan	Gwent	Morgan with Iddig ap Nudd gave <i>ager</i> Porthcassec (Porthcasseg) along with its two weirs to Euddogwy
150b (27) C	Circa CE 690	519214	Llangewad	Carmarthenshire	Iddig ap Nudd	Dyfed	Iddig ap Nudd and Cynan ap Cynfedw gave (two <i>agers</i>) at Redoc and Hiernin (Llangewad) to Euddogwy
*151a (28) C	Circa CE 680	165784	Gabalfa	Glamorganshire	Gwyddien ap Brochfael	Glywysing	Euddogwy received the <i>Uilla</i> Greguri (Gabalfa) and its <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> from Gwyddien ap Brochfael
151b (29) C	Circa CE 675	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Morgan	Gwent/ Glywysing	Morgan gave <i>Uilla Lath</i> to Euddogwy
*152 (30) C	Circa CE 670		Llancarfan Llantwit Llandough	Glamorganshire Glamorganshire Glamorganshire	Morgan	Glywysing	Morgan confirmed the freedom of Llancarfan, Llantwit and Llandough from royal extractions in penance for the murder of his uncle Friog
*154 (31) C	Circa CE 720	896347	Llandeilo'r Fan	Brecknockshire	Awst	Brycheiniog	Awst and his sons Eiludd and Rhiwallon returned Lannguruat (Llandeilo'r Fan) to Euddogwy
155 (32) C	Circa CE 675	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Morgan	Gwent/ Glywysing?	Morgan gave Lann Cincirill and <i>ager</i> Cynfall this land to Euddogwy for the soul of Friog
156 (33) C	Circa CE 698	526040	Llandogo	Gwent	Morgan	Gwent	Morgan returned Lannenniaun (Llandogo), with its four weirs Euddogwy
*157 (34) c	Circa CE 685	110729 122728	St Lythan's Wenvoe	Glamorgan Glamorgan	Ithel ap Athrwys	Glywysing	Ithel ap Athrwys gave <i>ecclesia</i> Elidon and <i>Uilla</i> Guocof (St Lythan's and Wenvoe) to Euddogwy
*158 (35) C	Circa CE 722	535940	Chepstow	Gwent	Ithel ap Morgan	Gwent	Ithel ap Morgan with his sons Ffernfael and Meurig together with Gurdocius <i>hereditarius</i> , son of Catdem, gave three <i>unciae</i> of land on the navigable stretches of the Wye
*159a (36) C	Circa CE 685	434043	Llanerthill	Gwent	Ithel	Gwent	Ithel gave Lann Efrdil (Llanerthill) with its <i>territorium</i> to Euddogwy
159B (37) C	Circa CE 685	1578	Llandaff	Glamorgan	Brochfael ap Gwyddien	Glywysing	Brochfael ap Gwyddien gave Euddogwy <i>Uilla Meneich</i> with six <i>modii</i> of land, bordering on the <i>Uilla Giurgii</i> (previously granted) and a further three <i>modii</i> with its <i>territorium</i> (near Llandaff)
160 (38) D	Circa CE 620	367255	Llancillio	Herefordshire	Meurig	Ergyng	Meurig gave <i>podum</i> Lann Suluiu (Llancillio) with its <i>tellus</i> to Ufelfyw
161 (39) D	Circa CE 610	394407	Bellimoor	Herefordshire	Gwrfoddw	Ergyng	Gwrfoddw gave an <i>ager</i> called Bolgros (Bellimoor), measuring three <i>unciae</i> to Ufelfyw, who founded a church there
162a (40) D	Circa CE 615	455255	Garway	Herefordshire	Gwrfoddw	Ergyng	Gwrfoddw gave an <i>ager</i> of one <i>uncia</i> to Ufelfyw where he founded a church and put his <i>sacerdos</i> , Guoruoe there to serve
162b (41) D	Circa CE 605	33	Valley Dore	Herefordshire	Cinuin	Ergyng	Cinuin gave Mafurn (Valley Dore) to Aidan
163a (42) D	Circa CE 595	318341	Valley Dore	Herefordshire	Cinuin	Ergyng	Cinuin and his brother Gwyddgi returned three <i>unciae</i> of land (at) Cumbarruc (Valley Dore), formerly given to Dyfrig by Peibio to Elgistus
163b (43) D	Circa CE 620	498298	Llanlowdy	Herefordshire	Gwrgan	Ergyng	Gwrgan gave <i>podum</i> Loudeu (Llanlowdy) and three <i>unciae</i> of land to Inabwy
164 (44) D	Circa CE 620	498208	Ballingham	Herefordshire	Gwrgan	Ergyng	Gwrgan gave <i>podum sancti</i> Budgualan (Ballingham) and two and half <i>unciae</i> of land around it to Inabwy
*165 (45) D	Circa CE 625	535940 483311 519825 455255 33 315418	Chepstow Dewchurch Llandinabo Garway Valley Dore Dorstone	Gwent Herefordshire Herefordshire Herefordshire Herefordshire	Athrwys	Gwent Ergyng	Athrwys gave <i>ecclesia</i> Cynmarchi (Chepstow) with its <i>territorium</i> , Manaur Tnoumur and Lann Deui (Dewchurch), Lann Iunabui (Llandinabo), Lann Guoruoe (Garway), <i>podum</i> Mafurn (Valley Dore), Lann Calcuch (Valley Dore?) and Lann Cerniu (Dorstone) to Comereg

166 (46) D	Circa CE 595	113394	Llangoed	Brecknockshire	Iddon	Brycheiniog	Iddon gave Lanncoit (Llangoed) with three <i>unciae</i> of land and hawking rights to Arwystl
*167 (47) E	Circa CE 750	180239	Cwm Du	Brecknockshire	Tewdwr	Brycheiniog	Tewdwr gave Lann Mihacel Tref Ceriau (Cwm Du) and its <i>terra</i> to Gwrfan
168 (48) E	Circa CE 866	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Cuchein	Glywysing?	Cuchein gave <i>Uilla</i> Uallis, with its three <i>modii</i> to Guodloiu with Gwynwal and his progeny to serve it
169a (49) E	Circa CE 868	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gwrgan	Ergyng?	Gwrgan gave <i>partem agri trans uiam</i> to Eddylfyw and Bonus gave another <i>ager</i> from his <i>uncia</i> as Gwrgan had done
169b (50) E	Circa CE 850	445305	Kilpeck	Herefordshire	Meurig	Ergyng	Fauu gave <i>ecclesia</i> Cilpedec (Kilpeck) and its <i>ager</i> to Grecielis, he and Gideon proclaimed it free, with the guarantee of Meurig who had ordered everyone to release all the churches in his land from obligations
170 (51) E	Circa CE 850	529318	Little Dewchurch	Herefordshire	Meurig	Ergyng	GuinnCum freed <i>ecclesia</i> Cum Mouric (Little Dewchurch) with King Meurig's guarantee and returned it with its <i>tellus</i> to Grecielis. Morien gave an additional piece from his villa across the road
171a (52) E	Circa CE 855		River Monnow	Gwent	Gwrgan	Gwent	Gulferi and Cinuín and Nyr, sons of Gwrgan, and Bonus and his sons, gave an <i>ager</i> in <i>deserto super ripam Meinbui</i> , with two <i>modii</i> , to Grecielis
171b (53) E	Circa CE 860	576317 495167 493953 33 367141 461171	Ballingham Llangynfyl Itton Valley Dore Llanvapley St Maughan's	Herefordshire Herefordshire Gwent Herefordshire Gwent Gwent	Meurig	Ergyng Gwent	Britcon son of Deuon gave six churches with their <i>territoria</i> to Grecielis, <i>ecclesia</i> Lannbudgualan (Ballingham) which previously belonged to Dyfrig, Methirchinfall (Llangynfyl) with its <i>tellus</i> , consisting of three <i>modii</i> , and an <i>ager</i> which lthel gave and an addition which Bywon(wy) made, <i>ecclesia</i> Tipallai (Itton), <i>ecclesia</i> Diniul (Valley Dore) and <i>ecclesia</i> Mable (Llanvapley) with six <i>modii</i> ; and Britcon and llwg gave Lann Bocha (St Maughans) with its <i>ager</i> to Bishop Grecielis with King Meurig's guarantee
173 (54) E	Circa CE 860	425999	Llangwm Uchaf	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Cynfelyn freed Lann Cum (Llangwm Uchaf) and gave it with its <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> , to Grecielis
174a (55) E	Circa CE 855	52	River Gambler	Herefordshire		Ergyng	Mainerch son of Milfrit and Guiner son of Iacuan gave an <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> to Grecielis
174b (56) F	Circa CE 703	556959	Lancaut	Gloucestershire	Morgan	Gwent?	Morgan gave lstrat Hafren (Lancaut) with an <i>uncia</i> of land to Berthwyn
175 (57) F	Circa CE 733	510130	Monmouth	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	Elias gave a <i>podium</i> with four <i>modii</i> of land around it and its <i>census</i> to Berthwyn, with the consent of lthel and his sons
176a (58) F	Circa CE 705	Unknown	River Ewenny	Glamorganshire	Morgan	Glywysing	Conuilius ap Gwrgenau gave the <i>Uilla</i> Conuc to Berthwyn with the consent of Morgan and his son lthel. He ordered his son Cynwg and his sons after him to serve the Church (of Llandaff) from that land. Doublet of 190b
176b (59) F	Circa CE 700	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Clodri	Ergyng?	Clodri gave <i>ager</i> Helic with three <i>unciae</i> of land and <i>ager</i> Tencu with two <i>unciae</i> to Berthwyn
178 (60) F	Circa CE 743	Unknown	Unknown	Herefordshire	Laity	Ergyng?	Conblus ap Iago gave an <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> , on the River Wye, to Berthwyn, and the grant was made at <i>ecclesia</i> Garthbenni (Welsh Bicknor)
179a (61) F	Circa CE 710	138779	Fairwater	Glamorganshire	Laity	Glywysing	Elffin gave <i>Uilla</i> Strat Hanner (Fairwater) to (unknown). A fragment of a doublet of 188b
179b (62) F	Circa CE 730	513927	Mounton	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	lthel and Iddon <i>hereditarius</i> gave <i>Uilla</i> Guinnoui (Mounton) to Berthwyn. Doublet of 191
179c (63) F	Circa CE 722	462984	Kilgwrrwg	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	lthel and his sons Ffernfael and Meurig gave three <i>unciae</i> to Berthwyn
180a (64) F	Circa CE 720	Unknown	Llanarth	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	lthel gave <i>Aper Menei</i> (possibly Llanarth) previously given to him by Morgan to Berthwyn
180b (65) F	Circa CE 710	368872	Bishton	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Gwyddnerth gave Lann Catgualatyr (Bishton) with all its <i>tellus</i> and woodland and shore rights to Berthwyn
183a (66) F	Circa CE 735	519135	Dixton	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	lthel gave <i>podium</i> Hennlann (Dixton) with land of four <i>modii</i> around it and its weirs, to Berthwyn, for the soul of his son
183b (67) F	Circa CE 700	381928	Kemeys Inferior	Gwent	Morgan	Gwent	Clodri gave the <i>ager</i> at <i>ager</i> Cemeis (Kemeys Inferior) with two <i>unciae</i> of land to Berthwyn, with the consent of Morgan
184 (68) F	Circa CE 738	565249	Peterstow	Herefordshire	Laity	Ergyng	Masbu gave <i>Uilla</i> Iuduiu (Peterstow) to Berthwyn and he made over the food rent to him in an assembly of the better men of Ergyng and commended that villa to him be free from all tribute

185 (69) F	Circa CE 740	Unknown	Unknown	Herefordshire	lthel	Ergyng	Rhiadaf bought an <i>uncia</i> of land at Guruarch (unknown) from Gwyddgi and Conuin, sons of Clodri, for twenty-four unspecified objects, a Saxon woman, a precious sword and a valuable horse, with the consent of lthel and the elders of Ergyng; then Rhiadaf in the presence of the king and the two brothers, gave <i>terra</i> Guruarch to Berthwyn
186a (70) F	Circa CE 743	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Laity	Unknown	Rhiadaf bought an <i>uncia</i> of land, <i>Uilla Nis</i> (unknown) as the price for his brother Catgen whom Cynfor had murdered. Cynfor then made a grant to Berthwyn for Catgen's soul together with the gift of Elias
186b (71) F	Circa CE 733	510130	Monmouth	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	Elias gave a <i>podium</i> (at Monmouth) with land of four <i>modii</i> around it and its <i>census</i> to Berthwyn with the consent of lthel and his sons Ffernfael and Meurig. Doublet of 175
187 (72) F	Circa CE 725	442024	Llansoy	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Conhae gave <i>podum</i> Sancti Tisoi (Llansoy), with its wood and pannage, and hawking rights, which formerly belonged to Dyfrig, to Berthwyn
188a (73) F	Circa CE 738	Unknown	Senghenydd?	Glamorgan	Laity	Glywysing	Elffin gave <i>ager</i> Pennhelli (Senghenydd?) to Berwyn
188b (74) F	Circa CE 710	138799	Fairwater	Glamorgan	lthel	Glywysing	Elffin gave an <i>ager</i> Tollcoit at Fairwater with six <i>modii</i> of land to Berthwyn with the consent of lthel
189 (75) F	Circa CE 735	505005	Llanelli	Glamorgan	lthel	Glywysing	Gwrgan gave <i>terra</i> Machinis (Llanelli), an <i>ager</i> of six <i>modii</i> to Berthwyn and took back his proper wife
190a (76) F	Circa CE 728	Unknown	Unknown	Glamorgan	lthel	Glywysing	lthel in the presence of his son Meurig and the elders of Glywysing gave <i>Uilla Bertus</i> (unknown) to Berthwyn
190b (77) F	Circa CE 705	Unknown	River Ewenny?	Glamorgan	Morgan	Glywysing	Conuil bought an <i>ager</i> , the villa at which Gurai was buried, from Morgan and his son lthel and wife Ricceneth. He then gave it, with its woodland and shore rights and the king's consent to Berthwyn
191 (78) F	Circa CE 730	513930	Mounton	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	Iddon ap Cerio bought the <i>Uilla</i> Guennonoe (Mounton), formerly belonging Dyfrig, from lthel and his sons Ffernfael, Meurig, and Rhodri for twenty-two wild horses; he then gave it free of tribute to Berthwyn
*192 (79) F	Circa CE 745	SO33 315418 455255 519825 483311 358433 434045 394407 498208 530211	Valley Dore Dorstone Garway Llandinabo Dewchurch Moccas Llanerthill Bellimoor Llanlowdy Llangarren	Hereford Hereford Hereford Hereford Hereford Gwent Herefordshire Herefordshire Herefordshire	lthel	Ergyng Gwent	lthel returned eleven churches, previously belonging to Dyfrig to Berthwyn, after Saxon devastation in the Hereford area: Valley Dore, Dorstone, Garway, Llandinabo, Dewchurch, Moccas, Llanerthill, Bellimoor, Llanlowdy, Llangarren (early medieval names in the text above)
*193 (80) F	Undatable	327275	Merthyr Clodock	Herefordshire	Pennbargaut	Ergyng	Pennbargaut gave <i>territorium exutraque Myngui</i> to the brothers Libiau and Gwrfan and their sororius Cynfwr, at the church of the martyr Clydog
195 (81) F	Circa CE 740	327275	Merthyr Clodock	Herefordshire	lthel	Ergyng	lthel gave <i>territorium</i> Merthirclitauc (Merthyr Clodock) to the martyr Clydog and to Berthwyn with the guarantee of his sons Ffernfael and Meurig and consent of the <i>hereditarii</i> lthel and Ffreuddwr
*196 (82) F	Undatable	Unknown	River Monnow	Gwent	lthel	Gwent	lthel gave a <i>partum super ripam Mingui</i> to martyr Clydog. The sons of Cinbleidiou gave Lechluit
197 (83) F	Circa CE 748	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Laity	Unknown	Erfyg ap Elffin gave <i>Uilla</i> Ellcon (unknown) to Tyrchan
198a (84) F	Circa CE 745	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Laity	Unknown	Erfyg gave <i>Uilla Cathouen filii Hindec</i> (unknown) with its <i>census</i> to Tyrchan
198b (85) F	Circa CE 755	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	lthel	Ergyng Gwent	Ffernfael gave a <i>terra</i> of one <i>uncia</i> of land called Tir Dimuner, to Tyrchan in the presence of the elders of Gwent and Ergyng at Kemeys

199a (86) F	Circa CE 750	338958	Llandegfedd	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Brii ap Idfyw gave Merthir Tecmed (Llandegfedd), with half an <i>uncia</i> of land around it, to Tyrchan, with the consent of the two sons of Rhydderch, Ceredig and Iddig, and their kindred
199b (87) F	Circa CE 755	500055	Trellech	Gwent	Ffernfael	Gwent	Ffernfael, at Kemeys, gave <i>ecclesia</i> Trilecc (Trellech), with three <i>modii</i> of land, to Tyrchan King Meurig ap Arthfael freed this church in the presence of his sons Brochfael and Ffernfael and returned it to Cerennyr
200b (88) F	Circa CE 758	505281	Llanwarne	Herefordshire	Ffernfael	Ergyng	Catuuth filius Coffro gave an <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> (i.e. a quarter of an <i>uncia</i>) at Lannguern (Llanwarne) to Tyrchan with Ffernfael's guarantee
201 (89) F	Circa CE 750	485107	Wonastow	Gwent	Ffernfael	Gwent	Cynfor ap Iago bought <i>ecclesia</i> Gurthebiriuc (Wonastow), with one and a half <i>unciae</i> of land around it, from Ffernfael, for a best horse worth twelve cows, a dog that killed birds with the hawk worth twelve cows, and another horse worth three cows; and then with Ffernfael's guarantee, he gave it to Tyrchan
202 (90) F	Circa CE 745	994798	Llanharry?	Glamorgan	lthel	Glywysing	Cynwg son of Conuil bought <i>Uilla Breican</i> also known as <i>Uilla Ellgnou</i> (Llanharry?) from lthel for two horses worth eight and three cows respectively, a sword worth twelve cows, a horn worth ten cows and one worth fourteen. With lthel's guarantee, he then gave it to Tyrchan
203a (91) F	Circa CE 752	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ffernfael	Gwent?	Bricon son of Guincon bought an <i>ager</i> of three <i>unciae</i> , <i>Uilla Tancour filii Condu</i> , <i>Uilla Deui filii lust</i> and <i>Uilla Ilman filii Samson</i> (unknown?) from Ffernfael and his sons Meurig and Gwrgan, for seven horses worth twenty-eight cows, clothing worth fourteen cows, a sword worth twelve cows and four dogs worth fourteen cows. After this, with Ffernfael's guarantee he freed them for Tyrchan
203b (92) F	Circa CE 758	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ffernfael	Gwent?	Madoc ap Gwynan bought an <i>unciae</i> of land called Turion (unknown) from Ffernfael in the presence of the king's sons Meurig and Gwrgan for a hawk worth twelve cows, two horses worth six cows, a horn worth six ounces of silver, a <i>scripulum</i> (possibly a valuable coin?) worth twelve cows and red linen. Afterwards with the guarantee of the king and his sons, he gave it to Tyrchan
204a (91) F	Circa CE 748	132763	Ely	Glamorgan	Ffernfael Rhys	Glywysing	Cors ap Garfan gave four <i>modii</i> of land at <i>Strat Elei</i> (Ely?) with all its fisheries to Tyrchan with the consent of kings Meurig and Rhys
204b (94) F	Circa CE 715	Unknown	River Thaw	Glamorgan	lthel	Glywysing	Conuil son of Gurgeni and his son Gurniuet bought <i>Uilla Procliuii</i> (unknown) from lthel for two horses worth eight cows, a trumpet worth twenty-four cows, a cloak given to the queen worth six ounces and a horse worth four ounces. After this they gave it to Tyrchan
*205 (95) F	Circa CE 708	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Brochfael	Unknown	Elivid, Conone, Guoidcen and Erdtbiu, sons of Euguen, gave Lann Helicon (unknown) to Tyrchan with Brochfael's guarantee
206 (96) F	Circa CE 755	457055	Llangovan	Gwent	Gurgauarn	Gwent	Gafran son of Cors gave <i>ecclesia</i> Mamouric (Llangovan) with six <i>modii</i> of land around it to Cadwared with Gurgauarn's guarantee
207 (97) F	Circa CE 760	416039	Llandenny	Gwent	Ffernfael	Gwent	Ffernfael gave his wife Ceingaer, Brinnluguni (Llandenny) with the <i>heredes</i> Crin filius Morciuanv, with all its animal stock and Mathenni with three <i>modii</i> of land. After this with the king's guarantee, she gave them with their inhabitants and offspring to Cadwared
*208 (98) F	Circa CE 785	416039	Llandenny	Gwent	Athrwys	Gwent	Morcimbris returned <i>ecclesia</i> Mathenni (Llandenny) with three <i>modii</i> of land, with Athrwys' guarantee
209a (99) F	Circa CE 770	0309957	Llanwonno	Glamorgan	Rhys	Glywysing	Rhys together with Dyfnwared, <i>hereditarius</i> , gave three <i>modii</i> of land at Guinna (Llanwonno) to Cadwared

209b (100) F	Circa CE 765	531008	Tintern	Gwent	Rhodri	Gwent	Cynfelyn ap Cynwg bought the <i>ager</i> Louhai (Tintern) consisting of three <i>modii</i> from Rhodri for two valuable horses and two sets of clothing. After this with the king's guarantee he gave it to Cadwared
210a (101) F	Circa CE 780	435158	Llanfaenor	Gwent	Athrwys	Gwent	Athrwys gave Cariou (Llanfaenor), with an <i>uncia</i> of land to Cadwared. Lleufryd received the land from the bishop on condition he return six <i>modii</i> of beer every year, with the due bread, flesh and a sester of honey
210b (102) F	Circa CE 765	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rhodri	Unknown	Cynfelyn ap Cynwg gave Dinbirrion (unknown) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Cadwared, with Rhodri's guarantee
211a (103) F	Circa CE 765	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rhys	Glywysing?	Rhys gave <i>Uilla</i> Gueruduc (unknown) with nine <i>modii</i> of land to Cadwared and made that land a sanctuary
211b (104) F	Circa CE 775	434918	Llanvaches	Gwent	Gurgauarn	Gwent	Cors ap Erfyg gave <i>ecclesia</i> Merthirmaches (Llanvaches) with three <i>modii</i> of land around it to Cadwared with the agreement and confirmation of Gurgauarn
212 (105) F	Unknown	884776	Merthyr Mawr	Glamorgan	Hywel	Glywysing	Hywel gave Merthyr Buciel and Merthyr Miur (Merthyr Mawr) with four <i>modii</i> of land around it to Cerennyr
214 (106) F	Circa CE 862	387873	Bishton	Gwent	Meurig	Gwent	Eli, son of Conblus gave <i>Uilla</i> Guliple Minor (near Bishton) to Cerennyr with Meurig's guarantee
216a (107) F	Circa CE 872	390258	Llangua	Gwent	Brochfael	Gwent	Ciruin ap Gwrgan gave Lannculan (Llangua), with its <i>ager</i> and three <i>modii</i> of land, with its <i>tellus</i> and sanctuary rights to Cerennyr with Brochfael's guarantee
216b (108) F	Circa CE 870	097782	St Bride's Super Ely	Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing	Agud ap leuaf gave <i>Uilla</i> Penn Onn with its church (St Brides) and three <i>modii</i> of land and six <i>modii</i> of corn to Cerennyr with Meurig's guarantee
217 (109) G	Circa CE 960	492017	Trellech Grange	Gwent	Nowy	Gwent	Nowy gave <i>Uilla</i> Guidcon (Trellech Grange) with its <i>territorium</i> of three <i>modii</i> of land to Pater
218 (110) G	Circa CE 955	522998	Penterry	Gwent	Nowy	Gwent	In CE 955, Idwallon ap Morudd and the three sons of Ceredig, Gwynan, Jonathan and Wilfrith, along with the whole <i>ager</i> of the kindred of Lann Bedui (Penterry), with woods and hawking rights and the <i>census</i> previously paid to the king, were handed over to Pater and into the power of the church of Teilo, with Nowy's affirmation
221 (111) G	Circa CE 950	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Nowy	Gwent?	Bledrys ap Gwollwyn gave Cairmonui (unknown) with one and half <i>unciae</i> of land (half of the whole <i>ager</i>) and its weirs to Pater with Nowy's consent
222 (112) G	Circa CE 942	215950	Abercarn	Gwent	Cadell	Gwent	Llywarch ap Cadwgon gave <i>Uilla</i> Treficarn Pont (Abercarn) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Wulfrith with Nowy's consent
223 (113) G	Circa CE 940	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Cadell	Gwent?	Asser ap Maredudd and his father gave <i>Uilla</i> Segan (unknown), with nine <i>modii</i> of land to Wulfrith and Cadell's agreement
224 (114) G	Circa CE 935	884776	Merthyr Mawr	Glamorgan	Cadwgon	Glywysing	Cadwgon gave <i>Uilla</i> Ret (Merthyr Mawr) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Wulfrith
225 (115) H	Circa CE 864	3390	St Julians	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Wulferth, Hegoï and Arwystl, sons of Belli gave the whole of the <i>territorium</i> of the martyrs Julius and Aaron with its weirs and shore rights, previously given to Dyfrig to Nudd
226 (116) G	Circa CE 860	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Hywel	Gwent?	Engistol gave <i>castellum</i> Dinducil or Cairduicil (unknown) with its church and three <i>modii</i> of land with Hywel's guarantee
227a (117) H	Circa CE 864	196788	Splott	Glamorgan	Laity	Glywysing	Eliau son of Acheru gave an <i>ager</i> of one <i>modius</i> to Nudd
227b (118) H	Circa CE 872	458104	Dingestow	Gwent	Hywel	Gwent	Tudfab gave <i>ecclesia</i> Dincat (Dingestow) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Nudd, for the soul of his father Paul, with Hywel's guarantee
228 (119) H	Circa CE 876	363172	Llanvetherine	Gwent	Hywel	Gwent	Cors and Morudd gave <i>ecclesia</i> Gueithirin (Llanvetherine) with an <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> around it, and later Cors gave another three <i>modii</i> across the road beside the other <i>ager</i> , with its wood and <i>plactis</i> to Nudd, with Hywel's guarantee
229a (120) H	Circa CE 874	566208	Goodrich	Gwent	Hywel	Gwent	Hywel gave Penncreic (Goodrich) with its <i>tellus</i>
229b (121) H	Circa CE 878	556959	Lancut	Gloucester	Hywel	Gwent?	Hywel returned Strat Hafren (Lancut) to Nudd

230a (122) H	Circa CE 880	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Laity	Unknown	Gvorai ap Iddig returned <i>ecclesia Riu</i> , with three <i>modii</i> of land around it, which formerly belonged to Dyfrig to Nudd
230b (123) H	Circa CE 866	5222	River Gambler	Hereford	Laity	Ergyng	Abraham gave <i>Uilla</i> Branuc (unknown) with two <i>modii</i> of land to Nudd and with it he gave the monks' field as well as the arable, at the influx of the Gambler and his ploughs and ploughlands
231 (124) H	Circa CE 910	510130	Monmouth	Gwent	Brochfael	Gwent	Brochfael ap Meurig gave <i>ecclesia</i> Sanctae Mariae, with three small <i>modii</i> of land around it, to his daughter, a holy virgin. There was then a dispute over the church between Brochfael and Cyfeillio and judgement was made in favour of Cyfeillio and endorsed by Brochfael
232a (125) H	Circa CE 900	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Brochfael	Gwent?	Nudd ap Gwrgynnif gave <i>ager</i> Cinir (unknown) to Cyfeillio, with Brochfael's guarantee
232b (126) H	Circa CE 910	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Brochfael	Gwent?	Eiset gave Tref Ili (unknown) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Cyfeillio with Brochfael's guarantee
233 (127) H	Circa CE 905	452878	Llanfihangel	Gwent	Brochfael	Gwent	After disagreement between Brochfael's <i>familia</i> and Cyfeillio's at Llandaff, it was judged that the bishop should receive the worth of his face, lengthways and breadthwise, in pure gold and reparation should be made to his <i>familia</i> in accordance with their status and of the nobility of their kindred. Brochfael could not meet this requirement and paid the gold in another way by giving <i>Uilla</i> Tref Peren (Llanfihangel) with six <i>modii</i> of land. The bounds show the estate was divided in two parts, one near the coast
234 (128) H	Circa CE 895	519925	Pwllmeyric	Gwent	Brochfael	Gwent	Brochfael ap Meurig returned Yscuit Cyst (Pwllmeyric) with three <i>modii</i> of land and with its weirs on the Severn and on the Meurig on both banks, with free landing rights on the Meurig, and with rights of shipwreck to Cyfeillio
235a (129) H	Circa CE 900	387873	Bishton	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	March ap Peibio gave and returned <i>Uilla</i> Cyst (Bishton) an <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i> and part of the <i>territorium</i> of Merthir Teudiric to Cyfeillio having been pardoned for killing his cousin Beorhtwulf
235b (130) H	Circa CE 895	483886	Caldicot	Gwent	Brochfael	Gwent	Brochfael ap Meurig gave two churches <i>ecclesia</i> Castell Conscuit and <i>ecclesia</i> Brigidae (Caldicot) both with six <i>modii</i> of land and with free landing rights for ships at the mouth of the Troggy, and with their weirs to Cyfeillio
236 (131) H	Circa CE 885	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Hywel	Gwent?	Hywel gave Ermit and Catharuc, sons of Cremic, and their progeny to Cyfeillio for the souls of his wife Lleucu, sons Owain and Arthfael and daughters Ermitridh and Nest
237a (132) H	Circa CE 890	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Arthfael	Gwent?	Arthfael gave <i>Uilla</i> Cair Birran (unknown), with four <i>modii</i> of land to Cyfeillio
237b (133) H	Circa CE 925	180239	Cwm Du	Brecknockshire	Tewdwr ap Elisedd	Brycheiniog	After a dispute between Bishop Libiau and King Tewdwr ap Elisedd of Brycheiniog, who stole the bishop's food rent, they eventually met in the monastery at Llangorse and it was judged that the bishop receive five times the worth of the bishop (seven mancuses of gold). Tewdwr could not meet this requirement, but by intercession of Lunberth, the Bishop of St David's he was pardoned and gave <i>Uilla</i> Tref Ceriau (Cwm Du) to bishop Lunberth
239 (134) H	Circa CE 925	446865	Paviland	Glamorgan	Gruffudd	Glywysing	Gruffudd gave four <i>modii</i> of land at Pennibei (Paviland) to Libiau because of three offences against God and the saints including holding Idfab in the monastery of St Cynwal and violating sanctuary, attacking Ciuarheru son of Crashaiau in the monastery of St Cinnuuri (Bishopston) and selling one of Dyfrig's churches at Paviland

*240 (135) J	Circa CE 970	416179 431170 482149 383130 325207 519925 476032 371879	Llanllywd Llanfaenor Rockfield Llwynderi Cruorney Pwllmeyric Llanishen Llanwern	Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent	Morgan	Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent Gwent	Morgan returned all <i>territoria</i> to Gwrgan and the following churches: Llanllywd, Llanfaenor, Rockfield, Llwynderi, Cruorney, Pwllmeyric, Llanishen, Llanwern and many more (early medieval names listed above) with the consent of his sons Owain, Idwallon, Cadell and Cinuín
243 (136) J	Circa CE 980	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	I Meirchion ap Rhydderch give two brothers Gustin and Ebba, with their inheritance and with fishing rights, to the abbot of Llancafan for the souls of my wife and of my parents Rhydderch and Angharad
244 (137) J	Circa CE 980	460920	Llanmelin	Gwent	Arthfael	Gwent	Arthfael gave Lann Michacgel Lichrit (Llanmelin) with a third of the meadow and four <i>modii</i> of land at <i>Uilla</i> Stifilat to Gwgon
245 (138) J	Circa CE 975	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Idwallon	Glywysing?	Llawr and his son Deheueint gave <i>Uilla</i> Seuan (unknown) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Gwgon in penance for the killing of Merchi, with Idwallon's guarantee
246 (139) J	Circa CE 970	482149	Rockfield	Gwent	Rhys	Gwent	The four <i>alumni</i> of Eli: Elmoín, Nudd, Melwas and Arwystl gave Lannguronoi (Rockfield) with a <i>modius</i> and a half of land to Bleddri with Rhys' guarantee
249a (140) J	Circa CE 1040	1578	Llandaff	Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing	Meurig returned <i>Uilla</i> Elcu (near Llandaff) with one and a half <i>modii</i> of land to Joseph
249b (140) J	Circa CE 1015	440878	Undy	Gwent	Edwin	Gwent	Edwin gave <i>Uilla</i> Elcu (Undy) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Bleddri in recompense for spilling blood
251 (142) J	Circa CE 1005	454998	Llangynog	Gwent	Rhodri and Gruffudd	Gwent	Rhodri and Gruffudd gave Pencelli Guehnhuc (Llangynog) to Beddri
*253 (143) J	Circa CE 1025				Rhydderch	n/a	Rhydderch confirmed Bishop Joseph and Llandaff in procession of all their churches and territories, even those within the diocese of St David's, with the support of Ethelnorth, Archbishop of Canterbury and letters from Cnut ruling in England
255 (144) J	Circa CE 1035	146835 196768	Cwm Nofydd Splott	Glamorgan Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing Glywysing	Meurig gave <i>Uilla</i> Penn (Cwm Nofydd) and another villa Tref Eilau (Cwm Nofydd) and Lann Tiuauc (Splott) an <i>ager</i> of three <i>modii</i>
257 (145) J	Circa CE 1033	1382	Tongwynlais	Glamorgan	Hywel	Glywysing	Rhiwallon ap Rhun fought with the Bishop Joseph's <i>familia</i> and wounded one member of it, eventually he and his family reached agreement with the bishop and the wounded man's family and he gave his hereditary land Riubrein (Tongwynlais), with a third of a wood Ynis Peithan (Tongwynlais) to Joseph with the guarantee of Hywel
258 (146) J	Circa CE 1038	Unknown	River Ely	Glamorgan	Gwrgan	Glywysing	Gwrgan ap Ithel gave <i>Uilla</i> Tref Ginhill (unknown) to Joseph on the River Ely
259 (147) J	Circa CE 1040	0972	Dyffryn	Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing	Meurig violated Llandaff's sanctuary by seizing Seisyll's wife and wounding one of Joseph's <i>familia</i> . Eventually he was pardoned, returned the woman and <i>Uilla</i> Tref Gulich (Dyffryn), with three <i>modii</i> of land to the saints at Llandaff, whose it had been since the time of Ithel ap Athrwys
*260 (148) J	Circa CE 1040	Unknown	River Thaw	Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing	Meurig gave <i>Uilla</i> Fratus (unknown) to the above saints and pounds of silver to Joseph and bound his sons Cadwgon and Rhys and all his family to keep it safe for ever
261 (149) J	Circa CE 1045	371891	Langstone	Gwent	Meurig	Gwent	Caradog ap Rhiwallon a <i>comes</i> of Meurig violated sanctuary by seizing Seisyll's wife at the church door while in Meurig's retinue. He sought pardon in Llandaff and gave Lannpetyr in Hennriu (Langstone) to Joseph with King Cadwgon's guarantee
262 (150) J	Circa CE 1022	488901	Crick	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Meirchion ap Rhydderch and his son Gwrgan gave <i>Uilla</i> Carnou (Crick) with two <i>modii</i> of land and <i>Uilla</i> Crucou Leuguirm (Crick) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Joseph

263 (151) J	Circa CE 1040	098776	St Brides Super Ely	Glamorgan	Meurig	Glywysing	Cadwallon ap Gwriad quarrelled with Rhydderch ap Beli at Bishop Joseph's court in Llandaff and drew blood. The bishop imprisoned him and in the presence of his father Gwriad and cousin Gwrgan ap Ithel and many others, Cadwallon sought pardon and offered Mainaur Crucmarc (St Brides Super Ely) with three <i>modii</i> of land to Joseph, with his father's guarantee and Meurig's agreement
264a (152) J	Circa CE 1030	495168	Llangynfyl	Gwent	Gruffudd	Gwent	Seisyll son of Gistlerth gave Cecin Penn Ros on the Monnow on the other side of Llangynfyl to Joseph and to the church of Cynfyl with Gruffudd's guarantee
264b (153) J	Circa CE 1025	461171	St Maughan's	Gwent	Laity	Gwent	Rhiwallon ap Tudfwlch attacked St Maughan's with his following. However, he was thrown from his horse and broke his arm on leaving. He therefore gave up his booty and gave his hereditary land <i>Cecin Pennicgelli</i>
267 (154) J	Circa CE 1070	1578	Llandaff	Glamorgan	Cadwgon	Glywysing	Cadwgon gave Henriugunua (Llandaff) to Herewald in penance for the attack made on Berthutis, nephew of the bishop at Llandaff by his <i>familia</i>
269 (155) J	Circa CE 1060	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gruffudd	n/a	Gruffudd proclaimed the freedom of all territories belonging to Llandaff and Lann Teliaumaur and Penn Alun with many other churches and their lands, and those in Brycheiniog which were in the diocese of St David's and gave Uilla Pennros (Unknown) to Herewald
271 (156) J	Circa CE 1075	0283	Garth Maelwg	Glamorgan	Iestyn	Glywysing	Iestyn ap Gwrgan gave <i>Uilla</i> Miluc (Garth Maelwg) to Herewald in penance for the raping of the virgin Ourdilat, daughter of Cynwal by two of his retinue at Llandaff, Turguert and his nephew Einion
272 (157) J	Circa CE 1072	339958	Llandegfedd	Gwent	Caradog	Gwent	Caradog gave <i>Uilla</i> Tref Rita in Edelicion, near Llandegfedd, to Herewald in penance for his <i>familia</i> 's consumption of the bishop's food rent at St Maughan's
274 (158) J	Circa CE 1075	433007	Llangwm Isaf	Gwent	Roger fitzWilliam fitzOsbern	Gwent	Caradog ap Rhiwallon, remembering his evil deeds on his sickbed and especially the killing of his brother Cynan, gave <i>Uilla</i> Gunnuc in Guarthaf Cum (Llangwm) to the four saints of Llangwm: Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen and to Herewald, with the guarantee of Roger fitzWilliam fitzOsbern, Count of Hereford and Lord of Gwent, in the time of William the elder

Appendix 4

Early church sites of Gwent

Study site	Public Record number	Location	Map reference	Name/dedication	Type	Early medieval name	Reference	Enclosure shape	Wells	Yew tree (see note below)	Foundation date	Remarks
1	01758g	Abergavenny	298141	St John	Church	Unknown	HER	None	None	None	Unknown	
2	02338g 01325g	Abergavenny	301141	St Mary	Church/Priory	Unknown	HER	None	None	3CY 224	circa CE 1087-1100	
3	02077g	Aberystroth	200079	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	None	First mentioned CE 1535	
4		Bassaleg	277871	St Gwladys	Chapel	Urbs/Cair Guenti Tathui	(Crouch, 1988: 2)	Set in St Basil's churchyard	None	2CY 317	circa CE 1146	
5	00045g	Bassaleg	277871	St Basil	Church	Bassalec	<i>Benedictus presbiter Bassalec</i> appears as a clerical witness in LL272, dated to circa 1075 HER	Irregular	None	See above	circa CE 1075	
6	01168m 01937m	Bedwas	171891	St Barrwg	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	3CY 324	Unknown	

7	01971g	Bedwellty	166003	St Sannan	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	3CY 303	First mentioned <i>circa</i> CE 1535-1536	
8	00153g	Bettws	289903	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	None	First mentioned CE 1348	
9	01836g	Bettws Newydd	370093	St Aeddan	Church	Unknown	HER	D-shaped	None	3CY 1025	First mentioned CE 1188	
10	00243g	Bishton	386872	St Cadwaladr	Church	Lann Catgualtyr or Lann Catualader	LL 180b HER	Oval or U-shaped	None	1CY 288	<i>circa</i> CE 710	
11	0211g 03723g	Bulmore	324899?	n/a	Decorated cross-slab	n/a	HER	n/a	n/a	n/a	<i>circa</i> tenth-century CE	Findspot only. Exact location not recorded
12	02466g	Bryngwyn	390093	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U-shaped	St Peter's Well	4CY 320	First mentioned CE 1254	
13	08350g	Bryngwyn Grange	398083	None	Grange	Unknown	HER	Almond-shaped	None	None	Unknown	
14	00555g	Caerleon	339906	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	5CY 396	Pre-Norman	
15	08359g	Caerleon Mill Street	392909	n/a	Cemetery	n/a	HER	n/a	None	None	<i>circa</i> sixth to seventh-century CE	
16	08358g	Caerleon Roman Gates	340907	n/a	Cemetery	n/a	HER	n/a	None	None	<i>circa</i> CE 705	

17	00555g 00556g	Caerleon	339906	n/a	Decorated cross-slab	n/a	HER	n/a	None	n/a	<i>circa</i> tenth or early eleventh-century CE	
18	08314g	Caerleon	324899	n/a	Shrine	Merthir ivn et Aaron/Martires Iulii et Aaron	LL 225 HER	n/a	None	n/a	<i>Circa</i> CE 862	
19	01064g	Caerwent	468904	St Tatheus St Stephen	Monastery	Urbs/Cair Guenti Tathui	LL 218 HER	Quadrangular Double enclosure	None	2CY 493	<i>circa</i> CE 950-1075	
20	03173g	Caerwent Vicarage Orchard	471904	n/a	Cemetery	n/a	HER	n/a	None	n/a	Unknown	
21	1069g	Caerwent intermural cemetery	467905	n/a	Cemetery	n/a	HER	n/a	None	n/a	Unknown	
22	08457g 01082g	Caerwent	468904	n/a	Slab with cross	n/a	HER	n/a	None	n/a	Unknown	
23	00509g	Caldicot	483886	St Mary	Church	Ecclesia Castell Conscuit	LL235 (Davies, 1978b: 137; 1979: 123) HER	Irregular	None		<i>circa</i> CE 895	
24	01183g	Chepstow	535939	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular/irregular	None	None	First recorded CE 1071	
25	00014g	Coedkernew	276834	Unknown	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal Double-enclosure	None	None	First recorded CE 1102	

26	00019g	Coedkernew or Pencarn	285840	All Saints	Church	Pencarnou	(Wade-Evans, 1932:154-155, cited in Evans, 2003: 9) HER	Unknown	None	None	circa CE 1100	
27	02467g	Cwmcarvan	477074	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	16CY 650	First recorded in CE 1348	
28	01715g	Cwmyoy	299233	St Martin	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	1CY 334	First recorded in CE 1291	
29	08353g	Dewstow	467890	Unknown	Church	Sanctus Dewin	Doomsday Book HER	Curvilinear	None	None	Unknown	Possible centre of a Gwentian bishopric
30	02468g	Dingestow	457104	St Dingat	Church	Ecclesia Dincat Merthir Dincat	LL227b	Circular and polygonal	None	None	circa CE 872	
31	01223g	Dixton	519135	St Peter	Monastery	Hennlann or Sancti Tituuc	LL183a HER	Square	None	2CY 190	circa CE 866	
32	08391g	Glencourt Farm	402986	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	HER	Double-enclosure	None	None	Unknown	
33	02868g	Goetre	327059	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal Double-enclosure	None	5CY 850	First mentioned CE 1348	

34	00274g	Goldcliff	365831	St Mary Magdalene	Church	Lontre Tunbwllch	LL180b HER	Circular and polygonal	None	None	circa CE 710	
35	08341g	Grangefield	389849	n/a	Medieval grange	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	None	Unknown	
36	03723g	Great Bulmore	3691	n/a	Cross-slab	n/a	HER	n/a	n/a	n/a	Circa tenth- century CE	
37	01675g	Grosmont	404243	St Nicholas	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	2CY 238	First mentioned CE 1254	
38	00905g	Gwernesney	414018	St Michael and All Angels	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	1CY 493	First mentioned CE 1254	
39	05013g	Henllys	267910	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular (with a curved SW corner)	None	5CY 429	First mentioned circa CE 1230-1240	
40	00770g	Howick	504955	St Warmet	Chapel	Ecclesia Guruid	LL143 HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 655	
41	00490g	lfton	465879	St James	Church	Ecclesia Santbriet or Ecclesia	LL235b HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 895	
42	08357g	lfton	465878	n/a	Cemetery	n/a	HER	n/a	None	None	Early medieval	
43	01108g	lfton	493952	St Dieniol	Church	Lann Diniul	LL171b HER	Curvilinear	None	None	circa CE 860	
44	01812g	Kemeys Commander	349048	St John the Baptist All Saint's Church	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 215	First mentioned CE 1254	Nothing to indicate a pre- Norman foundation

45	00408g	Kemeys Inferior	381927	St Michael	Monastery	Lann Mihacgel	LL261 HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 1045	
46	01086g	Kilgwrrwg	462984	Church of the Holy Cross	Church	Villa Gurnoc	LL 179c HER	D-shaped	None	1CY 355	Circa CE 720	
47	00251g	Langstone	371891	Unknown	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	First recorded circa CE 1230-1240	
48	00417g	Langstone	395915	St John the Baptist in the Wilderness	Church	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate and set on a low hillock in a paddock	None	None	First Recoded in CE 1119	
49	01282g	Llanarth	375109	St Teilo	Monastery	Lanngarth	LL121 HER	Almond-shaped Double-enclosure	None	8CY 818	circa CE 600	
50	01836g	Llanarth	370093	St Aeddan	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Undefined	None	None	Unknown	
51	01996g	Llanbadoc	376000	St Madoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	5CY 240	First recorded CE 1254	
52	00423g	Llanbedr	388590	St Peter	Church	Lanpetyr in Hennriu or Hennriu in Lebinid	LL 261 HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 1045	
53	00311g	Llanddewi Fach	332958	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	5CY 430	CE 1254 as a prebend	
54	00106g	Llandderfel	263953	St Derfel	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	None	First noted CE 1412	

55	00309g	Llandegfedd	338957	St Tegfeth	Monastery	Merthyr Tecmed	LL199a HER	Circular and polygonal	None	5CY 495	circa CE 750	
56	00932g	Llandenny	415039	St John the Apostle	Church	Ecclesia Mathenni	LL 207 HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	circa CE 785	
57	03243g	Llandewi Rhydderch	349129	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	4CY 651	First noted CE 1254	
58	03237g	Llandewi Skirrid	340170	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Almond-shaped Double-enclosure	None	3CY 323	First noted CE 1254	
59	00418g	Llandeuvaud	396909	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	None		
60	00741g	Llandogo	526040	St Oudoceus	Monastery	Llannenniaun or Lannoudocui Villa sancti Tauauc cum ecclesia	LL165 HER	Polygonal	None	1CY 492	circa CE 625	
61	02469g	Llanelen	303109	St Helen	Church	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	None	2CY 535	First noted CE 1254	
62	04913g	Llanelli	232148	St Elli	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None		Brecknockshire before the 1976 reorganisation
63	00938g	Llanerthill	434043	St Eurdil	Church	Lann Efrdil	LL159a LL 192 HER	Unknown	None	None	circa CE 685 or circa CE 745	

64	01539g	Llanfaenor	430170	Sancto Waynardo	Church	Lann Vannar	LL 240 HER	Unknown	None	None	circa CE 925	
65	01535g	Llanfaenor (Chapel Farm)	433161	Unknown	Chapel	Caer Riou	LL 240 HER	Unknown	None	None	circa CE 780	
66	01001g	Llanfair Discoed	446242	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Partly curvilinear	None	2CY 700	First recorded CE 1348	
67	02182g	Llanfair Kilgeddin	355086	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Irregular	None	4CY 880	First recorded CE 1254	
68	01309g	Llanfapley	366140	St Mabli	Church	Ecclesia Mable	LL 171b HER			10CY 396	circa CE 860	
69	02244g	Llanfihangel Crucorney	325205	St Michael	Church	Lann Michacgel Cruc Cornous	LL 240 HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 575	circa CE 970	
70	03225g	Llanfihangel Gobion	346092	St Michael	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 392	First recorded CE 1254	
71	02470g	Llanfihangel Pontymoile	301011	St Michael and All Angels	Church	Kilgoigen	HER	Quadrangular	None	10CY 580	First recorded CE 1254	
72	00486g	Llanfihangel Rogiet	451878	St Michael	Church	Tref Peren or Lann Mihacgel Maur	LL 233 HER	Quadrangular (trapezoid)		None	circa CE 905	
73	00963g	Llanfihangel Tor-y-Mynydd	464018	St Michael	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 339	First recorded CE 1254	

74	02471g	Llanvihangel-Ystern-Llewern	432139	St Michael	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	4CY 586	First recorded CE 1254 or 1291	
75	01782g	Llanfoist	286132	St Faith	Church	Unknown	HER	Almond-shaped	None	3CY 617	First recorded CE 1254	
76	00618g	Llanfrechfa	320936	St Brechfa All Saints	Church	Unknown	HER	Partly curvilinear	None	5CY 474	First recorded CE 1535	
77	02501g	Llangattock Lingoed	362200	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	5CY 525	First recorded CE 1254	
78	01506g	Llangattock Vibon Avel	456156	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	1CY 392	First recorded CE 1186	
79	02503g	Llangattock-juxta- Usk	330309	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Square	None	7CY 723	First recorded CE 1254	
80	02051g	Llangeview	396006	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	None	First mentioned CE 1254	
81	00860g	Llangovan	456054	St Govan	Church	Ecclesia Mamouric or Llanuuien	LL 206 HER	Circular and polygonal	None	2CY 682	circa CE 755	
82	04912g	Llangua	389257	St James	Church	Lann Culan	LL 216a HER	Curvilinear	None	8CY	circa CE 872	
83	00912g	Llangwm Isaf	429006	St John	Church	Unknown	HER	Triangular	None	8CY (stump)	circa CE 1119	

84	00911g 08456g	Llangwm Uchaf	432005	St Jerome	Church Lamp holder	Lanncum	LL 173 HER	Oval or U shaped	None	3CY 403	circa CE 860	
85	00352g	Llangybi	374966	St Cybi	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	Fynnon Gybi	4CY 303	First recorded CE 1100	
86	02511g	Llanhilleth	217019	St Illtud	Church	Llanhellyd (St Hellyd)	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	8CY 794	circa ninth/tenth century CE	Also known as
87	00390g	Llanhenock	353926	St John the Baptist	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	First recorded CE 1491	
88	00953g	Llanishen	490322	St Denis	Church	Lann Isien or Lann Nissien	LL 240 HER	Oval or U shaped	None	2CY 244	circa CE 925	
89	00978g	Llanishen	466040	St Mary	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	None	First recoded CE 1295	
90	08351g	Llanlawrence	451057	St Lawrence	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	Unknown	
91	00331g	Llanllowell	392985	St Llywel	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	3CY 790	First recorded CE 1254	
92	01533g	Llanllywd	415178	St Liwit	Church	Lann Liuit or Ecclesia Machmur	LL 240 HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 925	
93	00254g	Llanmartin	394894	St Martin	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	2CY 560	First Recorded CE 1254	
94	08139g	Llanmelin	461925	Unknown	Church	Lann Mihacel Lichrit	LL 180b HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 710	Llan y gelli

95	02502g	Llanover	318094	St Bartholomew	Church	Movor in CE 1285	HER	Polygonal	None	3CY 390	First recorded CE 1285	
96	03245g	Llansantffraed	357100	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	7CY 467	First recorded CE 1348	
97	00915g	Llansoy	442023	St Tysoi	Monastery	Lann Tisoï	LL 187 HER	Oval or U shaped	None	5CY 850	circa CE 725	
99	00622g	Llantarnam	307931	St Michael and All Angels	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	3CY 588	First recorded CE 1348	
100	01737g	Llanthony	288278	St David's Church	Church	Unknown	HER	Rectangular	None	2CY 480	First Recorded CE 1148	
101	01303g	Llantilio Crossenny	398149	St Teilo	Church	Lann Teiliau Cressinych or Lann Teiliau Crissinic	LL 123 HER	Indeterminate	None	11CY 281	circa CE 600	
102	01480g	Llantilio Pertholey	311516	St Teilo	Church	Lann Teiliau Port Halauc or Lann Maur	LL 122 HER	Circular	None	7CY 597	circa CE 600	
103	00359g	Llantrisant	391969	SS Peter, Paul and John	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	1CY 280	First recorded CE 1254	
104	00978g	Llantrisant	466040	St Mary	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Kidney-shaped	None	None	First recoded CE 1295	
105	00990g	Llanvaches	434091	St Dubritius	Church	Merthyr Maches	LL 211b HER	Oval or U shaped	None	1CY 510	circa CE 775	

106	02512g	Llanvetherine	364172	St James	Church	Ecclesia Gueithirin Lann Gueithirin	LL 228 HER	Curvilinear	None	1CY 260	circa CE 876	
107	04211g	Llanwenarth Citra	275148	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Polygonal and curvilinear	None	2CY 930	First recorded CE 1254	
108	05011g	Llanwern	370878	St Mary St Tivauc	Church	Lann Guern Tiauc	LL 240 HER	Oval or U shaped	None	4CY 213	circa CE 925	
109	08304g	Llwynderi	382130	Unknown	Church	Lann Tituil	LL 240 HER	Indeterminate	None	None	circa CE 970	
110	08307g	Llyncoed/Campston Grange	360221	Unknown	Church	Lanncoit	LL 166 HER	Curvilinear	None	None	circa CE 595	
111	05014g	Machen	228880	St Michael	Church	Unknown	HER	Double- enclosure	None	5CY 610	First recorded CE 1102	
112	08325g	Maestir Grange	239899	n/a	Grange	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	None	Unknown	
113	00451g	Magor	425869	St Mary/St Leonard	Church	Unknown	HER	D-shaped	None	14CY 189	First recorded CE 1239	
114	00641g	Malpas	302901	St Mary	Church	St Gwladys	HER	Curvilinear Double- enclosure	None	3CY 310	First recorded CE 1122	

115	01978g	Mamhole/Manmoel	179031	Unknown	Monastery	Mac Moilo or Mapenoil	(Wade-Evans, 1932: 153, cited in Evans, 2003: 10) HER	Indeterminate	None	None	<i>Circa</i> CE 1100	
116	02504g	Mamhilad	305703	St Illtud	Monastery	Mammeliat	(Wade-Evans, 1944: xi, 120-121 cited in Evans, 2003:10) HER	Curvilinear	None	11CY 1165	<i>circa</i> CE 1100	
117	00010g	Marshfield	261825	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	9CY 282	First recorded CE 1254	
118	08392g	Marshfield (Vicarage House)	257825	Unknown	Enclosure	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	Early medieval	
119	01212g	Mathern	523908	St Tewdric	Church	Mertyr Teudiric	LL 141 HER	Almond-shaped	St Tewdric's Well	4CY 334	<i>circa</i> CE 620	
120	00466g	Merthyr Geryn	427884	Unknown	Shrine	Merthyrgerein	LL 233 HER	Oval or U shaped	n/a	n/a	<i>circa</i> CE 905	
121	04456g	Michaelston-y-Fedw	240846	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear Quadrangular Double-enclosure	None	4CY 704	First recorded CE 1254	

122	05015g	Mitchel Troy	492103	St Michael	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	8CY 393	circa CE 1230-1240	
123	01810g	Monkswood	346027	St Matthew	Church	Unknown	HER	Irregular	None	4CY 304	circa CE 1348	
124	01224g	Monmouth	508129	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	See below	circa CE 1075	Pre-existing church
125	01231g	Monmouth	508129	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	1CY 237	circa CE 1075	
126	05012g	Mounton	513927	St Audoenus	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	2CY 544	First recorded CE 1348	
127	00082g	Mynydd Islwyn	193939	St Tudor	Church	Unknown	HER	D-shaped	None	6CY 840	First recorded CE 1102	
128	00266g	Nash	343183	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular Double- enclosure	None	None	First recorded CE 1113	
129	00166g	Newport	309876	St Wollos	Monastery	Egglis Guunliu (Wade- Evans, 1944: xi, xii, 90-91, cited in Evans, 2003:10) HER		Almond- shaped	None	None	circa CE 1100	
130	01090g	Newchurch	454975	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	First recorded CE 1348	
131	01605g	Oldcastle	324245	St John the Baptist	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	Unknown	

132	01258g	Overmonnow	504124	St Thomas	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 198	Founded as a chapel CE 1186	
133	00296g	Panteg	310799	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	5CY 705	First recorded CE 1254	
134	01273g	Penallt	521107	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 730	First recorded CE 1254	
135	01631g	Penbiddle (St John's Chapel)	339222	St John the Baptist	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	Fourteenth- century CE	
136	01013g	Penhow	424908	St John the Baptist	Church	Unknown	HER	Irregular	None	1CY 330	First recorded CE 1254	
137	02505g	Penrhos	416117	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear Double- enclosure	None	3CY 668	First recorded CE 1254	
138	00762g	Penterry	519987	St Mary	Church	Lann Bedui or Lann Vedeui	LL 218 HER	Curvilinear	None	2CY 359	circa CE 955	
139	00020g	Peterstone Wentlooge	268801	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	None	First recorded CE 1291	
140	08380g	Ponthir	337929	St Gwnog	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	None	None	Unknown	Field named Cae Chapel

141	08366g	Porthcasseg	5398	Unknown	Chapel	(Wade-Evans, 1911: 54)	HER	Indeterminate	Unknown	None	Unknown	An extinct chapel listed by Wade Evans
142	00506g	Portskewett	498881	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear polygon	None	None	First recorded CE 1254	
143	01198g	Pwll Meurig	518927	St Michael	Church	Lann Mihacgel i Pwll	LL 240 HER	Indeterminate	Pwll Meurig	None	circa CE 925	
144	08455g	Radyr	363021				HER			None		Place name
145	00833g	Raglan	413076	St Cadoc	Church	Raclan	Rhigyfarch's Life of St David	Circular and polygonal	None	3CY 480	Circa CE 1093-1095	
146	00437g	Redwick	412841	St Thomas/St Michael	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	1CY 268	First recorded CE 1270	
147	00117g 00119g	Risca	236911	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Oval or U shaped	Unnamed	1CY 343	First recorded circa CE 1230-1234	Previously a Roman site Risca bath house
148	02506g	Rockfield	481148	St Cenedlon	Church	Lann Guoronoi	LL 246 HER	Oval or U shaped	unknown	5CY 370	circa CE 970	
149	00767g	Rogerston Grange	506966	St John's Chapel	Church	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	St John's Well	None	First recorded CE 1291	
150	00490g	Rogiet (see Ifton above)			Church	Brigida	LL235b HER				circa CE 895	

151	00489g	Rogiet	456876	St Mary/St Hilary	Church	Unknown	HER	Double-enclosure	None	None	First recorded CE 1254	
152	00702m	Rudry	193865	St James	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	6CY 567	First recorded CE 1254	
153	00137s	Rumney	214791	St Augustine	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	None	First recorded CE 1163-1183	
154	01041g	Runston	495916	St Kene	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	Lavant Well	None	First recorded CE 1245-1253	
155	01044g	Shirenewton	478935	St Thomas Becket	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular and polygonal	None	7CY 344	First recorded CE 1254	
156	01696g	Skenfrith	456120	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	St Ffraed's Well	1CY 462	First recorded CE 1206	
157	0653g	St Aaron's Chapel	341391	Unknown	Chapel	Iulii et Aaron	HER	Circular	None	None	Unknown	Possible location noted in Antiquarian accounts
158	00774g 00775g	St Arvans	516895	St Arvan	Church Decorated cross-slab	Ecclesia Sanctorum Iarmon et Febric	LL 218 HER	Circular and polygonal	None	1CY 135	circa CE 955	
159	00471g	St Brides Netherwent	428895	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Ecclesia Brigidae	LL235b HER	Polygonal	None	None	circa CE 895	

160	00017g	St Brides Wentlooge	292382	St Bride (Bridget)	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular with curved sides	None	None	First recorded CE 1230- 1240	
161	01463g	St Dials	497611	St Duellus	Chapel	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	Holy Well	None	First recorded CE 1186	
162	0211g	St Julians	324899	Unknown	Shrine	Merthir lun et Aaron or Mrtires	LL 225 HER	Indeterminate	None	n/a	<i>circa</i> CE 862	
163	01163g	St Kynemark	526942	Unknown	Church Priory	Ecclesia Cynmarchii	LL 165 HER	Almond- shaped	None	None	<i>circa</i> CE 625	
164	03819g	St Maughans	461171	Unknown	Monastery	Lann Bocha	LL 74 LL 171b HER	Oval or U shaped	None	3CY 408	<i>circa</i> CE 860	
165	08294g	St Maughans	4617	Unknown	Church	Ecclesia Tipallai or Lann Typallai	LL 171b HER	Indeterminate	St Maughan's Well	n/a	<i>circa</i> CE 860	
166	001272s	St Mellons	228581	Unknown	Church	Unknown	HER	Circular or polygonal	None	23CY 206	First recorded CE 1254	
167	00637s	St Mellons	220819	St Edryn	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	None	First recorded CE 1173	

168	05465s	St Mellons	220820	St Edryn	Monastery	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	None	circa sixth-century CE	
169	01219g	St Pierre	514905	St Peter	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	1CY 364	First recorded CE 1254	
170	01145g	Sudbrook	506587	Holy Trinity	Church	Unknown	HER	Indeterminate	None	None	Twelfth-century CE	Church located in promontory defended enclosure
171	00751g	Tintern	530996	St Mary Chapel Hill	Church	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	None	None	First recorded CE 1506	
172	00728g	Tintern Parva	531007	St Michael and All Angels	Church	Unknown	HER	Irregular Polygonal	None	3CY 388	First recorded circa CE 1348	
173	00375g	Tredunnoc	379948	St Andrew	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	4CY 761	First recoded CE 1254	
174	02509g	Tregaer bhhye`	417102	St Mary	Church	Lann Meiripen Ros or Ecclesia Sanctae Mariae	LL 231 (Davies, 1978b: 137; 1979: 122) HER	Oval or U shaped Double- enclosure	None	4CY 400	circa CE 910	Earthworks noted in the twentieth-century CE
175	00690g	Trellech	500054	St Nicholas	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular	None	6CY 199	First burnt by the Welsh in CE1296	

176	00947g	Trellech Grange	491171	Unknown	Monastery	Ecclesia Mainuon, Ecclesia Trylec, Lann Mainuon or Villa Guicon	LL199b LL 217 HER	Circular	None	None	<i>circa</i> CE 755 <i>circa</i> CE 960	
177	02507g	Trevethin	283020	St Cadoc	Church	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	Ffynon Wenog	23CY 265	First recorded in CE 1254	
178	02032g	Trostrey	359044	St David	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular Slightly curved	None	1CY 408	First recorded <i>circa</i> CE 1348	
179	00463g 04734g	Undy	439869	St Mary Possible earlier Celtic dedication	Church	Unknown	HER	Quadrangular with a curved SW corner	None	None	First recorded in CE 1254	Evidence of earlier Roman occupation Roman pottery
180	02018g	Usk	378200	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	L-shaped	None	2CY 230	First recorded CE 1256	
181	00475g	Wilcrick	410879	St Mary	Church	Unknown	HER	Curvilinear	None	3CY 236	First recorded CE 1254	
182	01083g	Wolvesnewton	454997	St Thomas Becket	Church	Unknown	HER	Polygonal	None	4CY 212		
183	04209g	Wonastow	485107	St Wonow	Church	Ecclesia Lanngunguarui Gurthebiriuc super Trodi	LL 201 HER	Kidney-shaped	None	4CY 234	<i>circa</i> CE 750	

Appendix 5

Triads in the Cyfnerth code

1. There are three women against whose issue are to be no pleas respecting the inheritance of their mother: a woman who shall be given in pledge for land, and who bears a son whilst she remains as a pledge; and a woman who shall be given, with consent or kindred, to an Alltud; and a woman whose son shall avenge a man of his mother's kindred, and shall lose his patrimony on account of that crime; with whom there ought to be no disputing concerning the inheritance of his mother.

2. There are three stays of boundary: privilege; proprietorship; and prior conservancy on waste: no person who has inferior rights to those is to meer to them.

3. There are three whose car-removals are without return: a doubted son after he shall have once been rejected by a kindred; a man after he shall have once been ejected from landed property; such ought not to obtain land afterwards; and a woman after she shall have once been expelled from her bed lawfully; she is not ever to come back to that bed again, according to law.

4. There are three calamitous losses of a kindred: one is, a doubted son, without being affiliated, and without being denied by a kindred, who should kill a man of another kindred, owing him nothing; the whole of that galanas must be paid; and then he is to be denied, lest he should commit a second crime; the second is, payment of the whole galanas, excepting a penny halfpenny; there should be a failure of that sum, and a person of the kindred be killed, on account of that failure, there is to be no claim for him: the third is when an innocent one is scandalised concerning a murder, and he proceeded against, and does not deny it by a period lawfully fixed; if a person of the kindred be killed, no reparation is to be made for it.

5. There are three periods lawfully fixed to avenge murder: between the two kindreds, who are not natives of the same country, the claim is to be preferred on the first day of

the ensuing week after the homicide; and at the end of a fortnight, unless an answer come, the law exonerates the avenging: the second is, if the two kindreds be in the same cantref, the claim is to be preferred on the third day after the homicide; and, unless an answer come by the end of the ninth day, the law exonerates the avenging: the third is, if the two kindreds be in the same cwmwd, the claim is to be preferred on the third day after the homicide: and, unless an answer come by the end of the sixth day, the law exonerates the avenging.

6. The three nets of the king are: his household, and there is no reparation on account of that net, but the mercy of the king; the second net is his stud, for every horse caught among his stud, the king has four legal pence; the third is, the cattle of his maer house, for every beast among them, the king has four legal pence.

7. The three nets of a breyr are: his stud; his cattle; and his swine: because, if an animal be found among them, the breyr has four legal pence for every animal.

8. The three nets of a taeog are: his cattle; his swine; and his homestead; from his calends of May until the end of September, he has four curt pence for every animal he shall find therein.

9. The three dirwys of the king are: a diwry for acknowledged fighting; the diwry for violence; a gold rod, as described in the beginning; and a diwry on account of a cry or blood.

10. There are three shames of a kindred, and the three on account of woman: one is, to abduce a woman against her will; the second is, where a man takes another woman into the to his wife, against her will, and turns her out; the third is, the despoiling of his wife, being more pleased to spoil her than to be connected with her.

11. There are three excitements to revenge: one is, seeing the bier of their relative going to church; the second is, the screaming of female relations; the third is, seeing the grave fresh in the church yard without having reparation.

12. There are three thrusts not to be addressed: one of them, a person demanding right from his enemy, in three courts, on account of his relative, and not obtaining right; and afterwards meeting with the enemy, and thrusting him with a spear, so that he die; there is to be no reparation to him for that thrust: the second is jealousy caused to a married woman, by another woman, concerning her husband; and the two woman meeting together, and the married woman making a thrust at the other woman with her hands, so that she die; there is no reparation to her: the third is, giving a maiden to a man, with surety as to her virginity; and he making the thrust, and once having connexion with her, and finding her a woman; he then is to call the marriage guests to him, candles are to be lighted, and her shift cut behind her to her buttocks, and before her to the height of her pubes; which is the law for a deceitful maid; and to send off with that thrust, without any reparation to her.

13. Three persons to whom galanas is paid, and who pay galanas to no one: a lord; for he received a third for exacting every galanas; the second is, the chief of a kindred; for according to his privilege galanas to relations is paid; the third is, a father; for a share comes to him of the galanas of his son, to wit, one penny; since his son is no relative to him: and no one of those three are to be killed for galanas. A sister pays half a brother's share of galanas, and she received no share of galanas.

14. There are three persons free to travel the road, and out of the road: a priest, to visit he sick, along with his messenger; the second is, an apparitor, upon his lord's commission; the third is, a medicine, along with the messenger of the sick.

15. Three fires, the effects of which are not subject to law: heath-burning from the middle of March until the middle of April; the fire of a hamlet bath; and the fire of a hamlet

smithy, which shall be nine paces distant from the tref, with a roof of broom, or a roof of sods thereon.

16. There are three legal vessels of a generation; that of a cat; of a bitch; and a squirrel; because they can retain, and disengage at will.

17. The three bugle-horns of the king, the value of each of which is one pound; the horn of carousal; the horn of mustering; and the hunting horn, in the hand of the chief huntsman.

18. There are three one-footed animals: a stallion; a hawk; and a covert-hound: whoever shall cut off the foot of one of them, let him pay its entire worth.

19. There are three universalities of a country: armament; pleas; and church; for everybody is under a summons to them.

20. There are three secrets better revealed than conceded: one of them, losses to a lord; waylaying; and a person killing his father, if acknowledged in confidence.

21. The three presentials of a country: a lord; a priest; and law: and they cannot be dispensed with, as formerly.

22. Three things, which if a person find on the way, he is not to answer for to any owner of them: a horse-shoe; a needle; and a penny.

23. Three casts for which no reparation is to be made: a cast at a stag in corn; at a wild colt in corn; and at a dog in the corn.

24. Three scowls for which no reparation is made; the scowl of a husband at a wife given to him as a maid, and being a woman; the second is, when a person is ruined by law, and his kindred scowl at him who ruined him; the third is, the scowl of a man at a dog attacking him.

25. There are three legal needles: the needle of a seamstress to the queen; the needle of the mediciner of the court, for sewing the wounds; and the needle of the chief huntsman, for sewing the torn dogs: for each of them four legal pence are paid.

26. The three disgraceful faults of a man: the being a faithless friend; feeble in pleadings; and a man to a bad lord.

27. The three signs of inhabitancy of a country: little children; and dogs; and cocks.

28. There are three distresses not to be restored: a distress for theft; and on a surety who will not enforce right; and for galanas.

29. The three saraads to a dead body are: when it shall be killed; when despoiled; and when thrown to the ground.

30. The three reproaches of a dead body are: the asking, Who killed this? To whom belongs this bier? and the asking, To whom does this new grave belong?

31. There are three pieces of flesh of a hundred recurrences: one is, theft, whatever way a share of it may travel; for there are nine accessories to it; the king's hart; whoever may cut it up; and a carcase left by a wolf; whoever may do wrong with it.

32. There are three free timbers in the forest of the king: the roof-tree of a church; wood for a bier; and shafts which go for the use of the king.

33. There are three places where a person is not to give the oath of an absolver: one is, on a bridge of a single timber, without a hand-rail; the second is, at the porch of a church yard; for the 'Pater' is to be there chaunted for the souls of the Christians of the world ; and at the church door ; for the 'Pater' is there to be chaunted before the rood.

34. There are three causes of blushing to a maid : one is, the being told by her father: 'Maiden, I have given thee to a husband;' the second is, the desiring her to go to her husband to sleep; the third is, seeing her rising in the morning from her husband: and, on account of those three, her husband pays her amobyr to the lord, and her cwyll and her agweddi to herself.

35. There are three stays of blood: the breast; the middle girdle; and the trousers girdle.

36. There are three free hunts in every country, since there is no property in them: an otter; a fox; and a roebuck.

37. The three indispensables of a kindred: the representative; the avenger of the kindred; and its avoucher.

38. The three lawful rests of a spear during pleadings: one is, thrusting its butt end in the earth with one hand, so that it scarcely can be drawn out with both hands ; the second is, thrusting its point in a bush till the blade be hidden; the third is, the placing it upon a thicket, that shall be of the height of a man: and unless it be on one of those three rests, and a person encounter it so as to cause his death; the third of his galanas falls upon the owner of the spear.

39. By three ways is a son to be affiliated to a father: one of them, when a woman of bush and brake shall be pregnant, upon arrival at her full time, let her parish priest visit her, and let her swear before him, in this manner: 'May I be delivered of a snake by this pregnancy, if any father has begotten it on a mother, other than that man ;' and naming

him ; and so she affiliates him lawfully: the second is, the chief of kindred, with the hands of seven of the kindred, affiliate him: the third is, if there be no chief of kindred, the oaths of fifty men of her kindred affiliate the issue to the man: °and the son himself first swears, for the mother's oath is not legal but in the first case.

40. By three ways is a son disowned by a kindred: one is, the man is to take the boy, said to be his son, and place him between himself and the altar ; and put his left hand upon the boy's head, and the other hand upon the relics on the holy altar; and swear that he has not begotten him on his mother, and that there is not one drop of his blood in him; and deny him: the second is, if the father be not living, the chief of kindred, with the hands of seven of the kindred, deny him : the third is, if there be no chief of kindred, the giving the oaths of fifty men of his kindred denies him; and the eldest son of the man, to whom the child was pledged, is to swear first.

41. The three molestations of the wise are: drunkenness; and adultery; and bad disposition.

42. Three persons who are entitled to an advocate for them in court: a woman; an alltud not knowing the language; and one of imperfect utterance: the person to choose the advocate is the lord.

43. Three animals whose acts are not cognizable by law, during the rutting season of each, towards mute beasts: a stallion; a hamlet bull; and a herd boar.

44. There are three fours: the four causes by which judgment is perverted : the fear of the powerful; the hatred of foes; the love of friends ; and the lust of lucre: the second four are: the four shields which interpose between a person and a raith of country against a charge of theft: one is, to guard a guest law fully; to wit, from the time of nightfall, until the following morning, by placing the hand over the party three times during that night, and so swearing, joined by the people of the house; the second is, to: guard before loss; to

wit, swearing, with two men equal with himself in privilege, to the thing being in his possession three nights before it was lost by the claimant; the third is, birth and rearing; to wit, the owner swearing, with two men equal with himself in privilege, to seeing the birth and rearing of the animal in his possession, without its going from him three nights and three days; the fourth is a warrant; a warrant goes not beyond the third hand, and let that establish custody before loss; and that defends a person from a charge of theft: the third four are, the four persons to whom there is no protection, either in court, or in church, against the king: one of them, a person who shall violate his protection at any one of the three principal festivals in the court; the second is, a person who shall be pledged willingly to the king; the third is, the king's supperer, a person who ought to provide for him, and leaves him that night without food; the fourth is, his bondman.

45. In three ways a silver rod is paid to the king, and a golden vessel with a golden cover to it: for violating a woman; for breaking the protection of the road towards a beggar without a home; and for saraad to the king.

46. There are three properties secure without surety: property which the king shall give to a man, and which comes to him by law; property which a wife shall have from her husband as wynebwerth, when the husband shall have connexion with another woman; and property taken in a war between two lords.

47. There are three cases, in the law of Howel, in which proof occurs: one of them, it belongs to a woman to prove a rape against a man ; the second is, it belongs to a debtor to prove, over the grave of the surety, his being surety, and that his suretyship was not exonerated whilst he lived; the third is, the proving a shepherd dog.

48. The three plagues of a kindred: the nursing of a son of the lord; the affiliating a son wrongfully to a kindred; and to guard supreme authority.

49. Three things which break a contract: sickness; the call of the lord; and poverty.

50. Three things which protect a person against a summons to pleadings: the shouting and sound of horns before a border country host; flood in a river, without a bridge, and without a cobble; and sickness.

51. Three persons who will reduce a country to poverty: a prevaricating lord; an iniquitous judge; and an accusing maer.

52. There are three animals whose tails, eyes, and lives are of the same worth: a calf; a filly for common work; and a cat; excepting the cat that shall watch the king's barn.

53. Three persons hated by a kindred: a thief; and a deceiver; since they cannot be depended upon; and a person who shall kill another of his own kindred; since the living kin is not killed for the sake of the dead kin, everybody will hate to see him.

55. Three common to a kindred: a chief of kindred; a representative; and the son of a woman given by the consent of kindred to their enemy; he is to be in common between the two kindreds.

56. There are three animals whose teithi exceed their legal worth: a stallion; a hamlet bull; and a herd boar: for the breed is lost, if they be lost.

(*The Law*: translated by Aneurin Owen, 1841: 778-791).

