

# Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991–92

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*With contributions by*

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*EXCAVATIONS on the summit of a prominent hill overlooking the river Neath revealed evidence for high status occupation from the 6th century to the 10th century, based on the finds of imported pottery and glass. A subsequent reoccupation in the later 12th century has also been identified.*

Hen Gastell ('Old Castle') was located on a small, steep-sided hill on the W. of the river Neath near Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan (Fig. 1). Much of the top of the hill had been removed by quarrying in the 1930s and 1940s but the potential of what remained had been recognized by Mr Jack Spurgeon, of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, in the 1970s.<sup>1</sup> It was identified as the possible location of a castle built by Morgan ap Caradog ab Iestyn, the Welsh lord of Afan, in the second half of the 12th century. Excavation of the remaining areas available revealed that the site had previously been occupied from the first half of the 6th century.

The site of the castle lay on the proposed route of the Baglan to Lonlas section of the M4 motorway, at the point where a new bridge was to be built across the river Neath. Archaeological assessment was not undertaken on this section until the spring of 1991, when construction work along most of the route was already well advanced. It was at this stage that the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust was commissioned by the Welsh Office Highways Directorate to carry out an assessment of the archaeological implications of the road scheme. Although work had not yet started on the section in which Hen Gastell lay, it was not possible to modify the route to avoid the site, as the hill on which it lay was the only point at which the new bridgehead could be constructed. The small area of its summit which remained, and a lower spur to the S., were to be seriously affected by the construction. An initial field visit, made during the assessment, showed that the probable ditch recorded by Mr Spurgeon was flanked by a bank. Following consultations with the Highways Directorate and Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, the Trust was commissioned to clear the site of vegetation, survey it, and carry out a limited trial excavation in July 1991. As a result of this work, the Trust

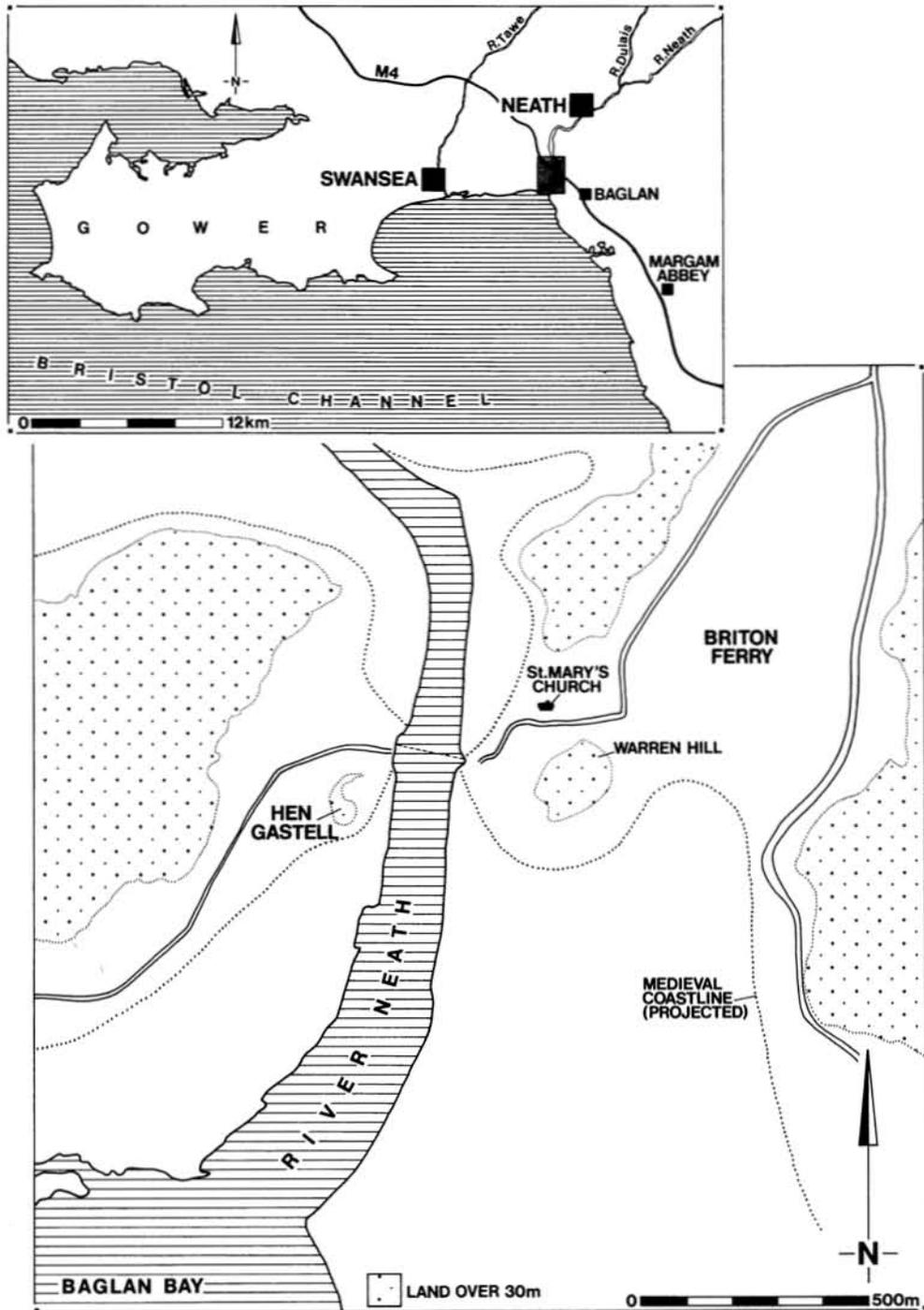


FIG. 1  
Location plan

was commissioned to undertake more extensive excavation which took place between August and December 1991.

All of the remains of the summit, the spur, and a large part of the ditch which separated them were excavated. In addition, smaller-scale excavation, funded by Neath Borough Council, was carried out N. of the quarry on an adjacent small hill to the SW. of the site, and in the dunes which lay between the two hills. Owing to the nature of both the terrain and the deposits, all of the excavation was carried out by hand.

The excavation was divided into ten areas (Fig. 2); these are described below in numerical order. As there was very little stratification, the finds were crucial in providing the interpretation and dating offered here. The more significant finds are reported in detail, others are noted in the text where appropriate. The full reports can be found in the project archive, deposited at Neath Museum.

#### TOPOLOGY AND GEOLOGY (Figs. 1–2)

The main excavation areas (1, 2, and 3) were located on and around the summit of a steep-sided rocky promontory on the W. bank of the river Neath, close to the mouth of the river. It lies immediately to the SW. of a crossing point of the river, from which the name Briton Ferry is derived. At this point, the river is confined by rock outcrops to a channel *c.* 170 m wide. To the N. and S. of the ferry point no such confinement occurs and the river is bounded by wide areas of saltmarsh and mud flats which, until the 19th century, made crossing the river impossible upstream from the ferry point as far as Neath, *c.* 4 km away.

South of the site, the estuary of the river Neath appears to have meandered through an area of saltmarshes and quicksands prior to dredging operations and the construction of artificial riverfronts in the last two centuries. In the 12th century the river crossing at Briton Ferry was described as the most dangerous in Wales.<sup>2</sup> It appears from the line of the coast shown on later maps that the high water mark at that date would probably have been at, or near, the bases of the outcrops at Hen Gastell on the W. bank, and Warren Hill on the E. bank. It is possible that to the E. of Warren Hill the high tides reached as far inland as Pant-yr-Heol (NGR SS 745 955), leaving Briton Ferry on a peninsula. Until the middle of the 19th century, when the construction of sea-walls allowed the development of docks and industrial works to the S. and E. of Warren Hill, the high tide could reach as far as Warren Hill and the base of Hen Gastell on its southern and eastern sides.

To the S. and W. the site was surrounded by sand dunes which have reached their present extent over an extended period, like the better documented areas in the Gower and the Vale of Glamorgan, where sand encroachment is recorded as a problem from the 14th century.<sup>3</sup> Saxton's map of 1578 shows the dunes to have covered only about half as extensive an area as they do today.

The hill on which the site was located is roughly oval in plan, aligned N.–S., and is over 30 m in height. Its top is fairly level but is surrounded by precipitous slopes. Most of the central part of it had been removed by quarrying from the eastern side. The hill is formed of sandstone of the Rhondda Beds which are part

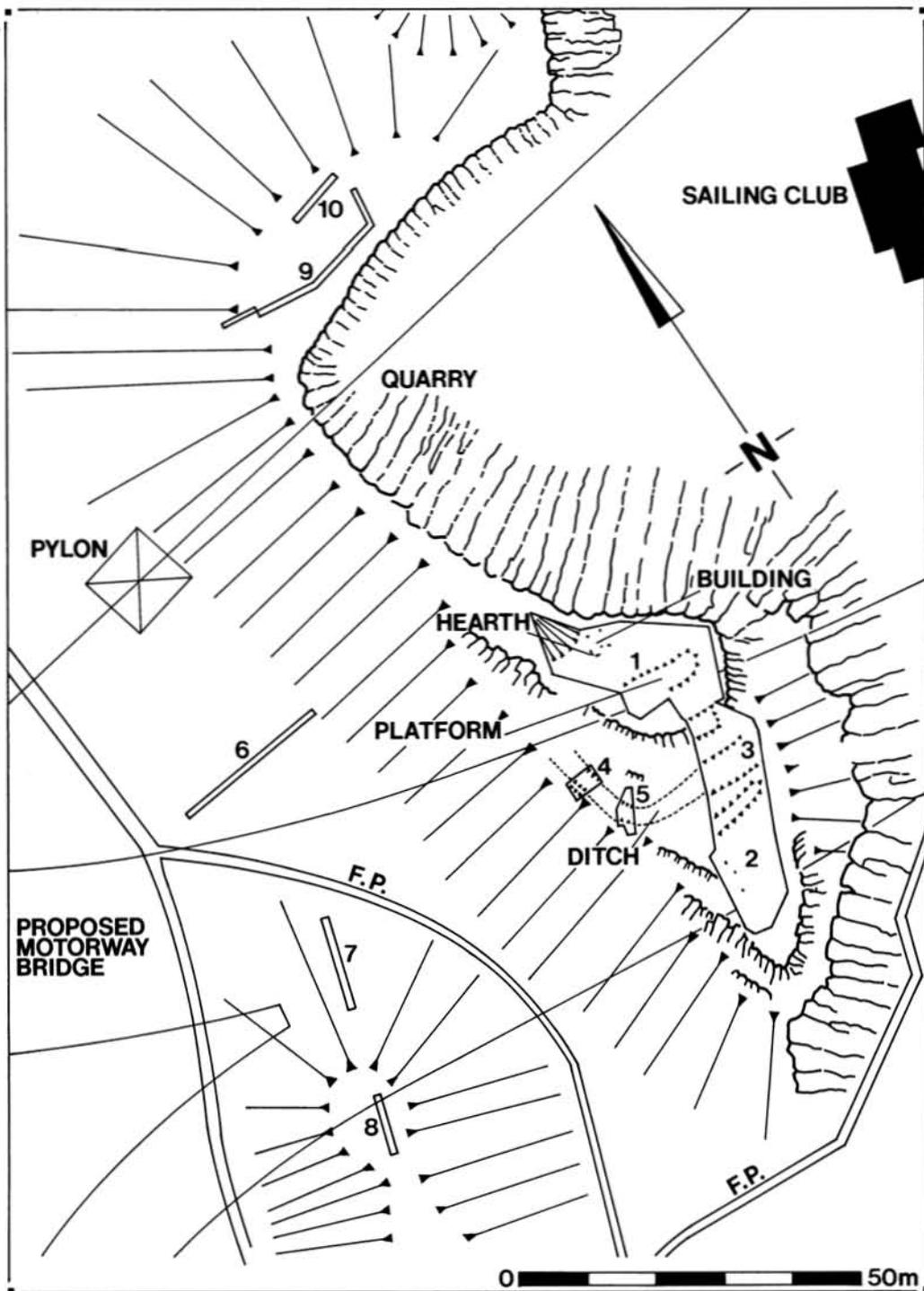


FIG. 2

Location of excavation areas

of the Lower Pennant Measures of the Upper Coal Measures. These beds dip towards the N. at this point. Before excavation commenced most of the site was covered by heather, shrubs and short trees. The soil on the summit and southern spur was very thin, and in many places the bedrock was exposed.

#### THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prior to its excavation the principal reason for the site's identification as the possible location of a 12th-century castle was a description of such a castle in Merrick's *Morganiae Archaioographia*<sup>4</sup> which he started to write in 1578. Citing as his source the Register of Neath Abbey, which has since been lost, he noted '... upon a steep hill near to the passage of Briton Ferry, sometime stood a [...] castle, builded by Morgan ap Caradog ab Iestyn and fortified with men, that none of the then late conquerors durst pass that way without a strong guard'. Lhuyd transcribed Merrick adding the name '... een castle' from which later writers have derived the name 'Hen Gastell' (Old Castle).<sup>5</sup> Merrick described the castle as lying within the parish of Llangatwg (Llangatwg Nedd = Cadoxton-juxta-Neath), which he said extended '... from the entrance of Neath to Severn in the south bordering always upon the west of the river Neath'.

It is known that Morgan, who was the Welsh lord of Afan, which lay E. of the river Neath, held lands W. of the river. It is recorded that he granted to Neath Abbey common of pasture on land between the Neath and the Tawe. Merrick, again citing the Register of Neath Abbey, asserts that Morgan's father and predecessor as lord of Afan, Caradog ab Iestyn, had also held land in this area.<sup>6</sup>

The area W. of the river Neath had become the domain of Richard de Granville before 1130, for in that year he granted it to Neath Abbey, which he had recently founded. Also by 1130 Robert, Earl of Gloucester had established a demesne lordship to the east of the river Neath which he administered from a castle at Neath. It is not clear from available documentary sources, how Caradog ab Iestyn and Morgan, who succeeded his father in about 1147, were able to gain lands formerly held by Granville, to the west of those held by Earl Robert. It is recorded that Morgan was in rebellion against Earl William of Gloucester who became chief lord in 1147. It has been suggested<sup>7</sup> that Morgan's uncle, Rhys ap Gruffydd of Deheubarth, was acting on his behalf when he attacked and destroyed a castle, which was presumably Norman, at Aberafan in 1153.

The writings of Gerald of Wales appear to confirm that the ferry crossing was in the control of Morgan in 1188. In March of that year Gerald and Archbishop Baldwin were escorted across in a boat by Morgan ap Caradog who is described as 'prince of those parts'.<sup>8</sup> Gerald makes no mention of a castle in the area. He appears, however, to have covered a considerable distance in very difficult conditions in order to reach Swansea Castle that day. A small castle which he probably did not visit might, therefore, have seemed unworthy of mention. It has been suggested<sup>9</sup> that Hen Gastell could not have been built until after Morgan and his uncle, Rhys ap Gruffydd, had established military control of the area in or after 1153, but had probably been built by the time Gerald passed that way in 1188.

There is, however, a possibility that Gerald's failure to mention the castle might indicate that it had not yet been constructed.

The lords of Afan appear to have administered their territory from a stronghold 3 km away to the SE. at Plas Baglan, whilst also holding, or having control over, the nearby Castell Bolan. It is likely, therefore, that the function of Hen Gastell would have been purely the strategic one of controlling the ferry-crossing, and thereby E.-W. traffic along the coast, and the access to the river Neath.

Other than the scant historical references to the site noted above, no other documentary references of medieval date have been found. The name 'Hen Gastell' does not appear on any surviving maps or documents and appears to have been used only by Lhuyd. On Saxton's map of 1579 the site appears only as a hill, and this is the case on all subsequent maps.

The title map and apportionment of 1840 show the site by then to have been part of the estates of the Earl of Jersey. A photograph of the site, taken from the opposite bank of the river *c.* 1905, shows the hill prior to quarrying. The bank and ditch to the south of the summit are clearly visible, whilst banks and ditches also appear to continue around the northern end of the summit, in the area which has since been destroyed by quarrying. The quarry, which first appears on Ordnance Survey maps in 1937, had almost reached its present extent by the time it was recorded on RAF aerial photographs in 1949. It appears that quarrying ceased *c.* 1955.

## THE EXCAVATIONS

### THE AREA ON THE SUMMIT AND SIDES OF THE HILL

Area 1 covered all of the surviving part of the summit of the hill. Area 2 covered the lower spur to the S. These two areas were separated by a bank and ditches (Area 3). Two further areas of ditch were excavated to the west of this, Areas 4 and 5. The areas are all described separately, with detailed information on features given in Table 1.

#### *Area 1* (Figs. 3-5 and Pl. 1, A)

Area 1 covered the summit of the hill, an area of *c.* 200 sq. m. This area was delimited on its E., S., and W. sides by the top edges of near-vertical slopes, and on the N. side, by the vertical face of the quarry (Fig. 3).

The highest part of Area 1 lay close to its southern edge and consisted of a roughly rectangular area of bedrock which, at about 39 m aOD, stood about 0.5 m above the general level of the surrounding surface. It measured *c.* 12 m E.-W. by 5 m N.-S. Its surface was flat and appeared to have been artificially levelled. Three features cut the bedrock of this platform. Two were postholes (124, 126). The third (054) was cut into the eastern side of the platform to form a narrow 'step' across. This might also possibly have served as a posthole, given the proximity of the others, but appeared more likely to have been a step to ease access onto the platform.

There was a gully (011) at the southern foot of the platform, and a strip of uneven ground up to 3 m wide sloped gently southwards to the edge of the scarp above the ditch in Area 3. As elsewhere on the site, the bedrock, which dipped to the N., formed a series of

TABLE I  
SUMMARY OF CUT FEATURES  
N.B. The length of linear features could not always be established

<i>Context</i>	<i>Shape</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Width</i>	<i>Depth</i>	<i>Fill</i>
<i>Postholes</i>					
057	Oval	0.45m	0.36m	0.09m	Sandy silt
080	Sub-rectangular	1.20m	0.80m	0.20m	Soil and stone slabs
082	Sub-square	0.70m	0.70m	0.35m	Soil and stone slabs; Frag of quartzite joining with one in gully 116
084	Oval	1.16m	0.70m	0.20m	Soil and stone slabs
087	Sub-square	0.50m	0.40m	0.20m	Packing of thin sandstone slabs around void
090	Circular	0.30m	0.30m	0.15m	Soil and thin stone slabs, some on edge
092	Rectangular	0.70m	0.40m	0.20m	Soil and rubble, including flat slabs on edge; Charcoal
117	Circular	0.50m	0.45m	0.30m	Packing of thin sandstone slabs around void
124	Square	0.40m	0.40m	0.36m	Soil; some rubble
126	Irregular	0.25m	0.19m	0.20m	Soil
134	Oval	0.60m	0.40m	0.20m	Sandy loam
136	Triangular	0.30m	0.20m	0.20m	Stone frags and sandy loam
138	Sub-square	0.50m	0.40m	0.20m	Sandstone slab packing; loose sandy loam
<i>Posthole or step</i>					
054	Open one side	0.67m	0.50m	0.33m	Sandy loam
<i>Pits</i>					
088	Circular	0.58m	0.58m	0.05m	Topsoil
096	Nearly square	0.65m	0.65m	0.50m	Topsoil
<i>Ditches</i>					
070	Stepped base	?	c. 6.0m	c. 1.8m	Rubble, including stacked stone; v little soil
072	Vertical N. face	c. 10m	2.50m	1.89m	Soil and rubble
150	V-shaped	?	3.50m	> 2.1m	Rubble with a little sandy loam
239		?	2.10m	1.00m	Loose rubble
<i>Gullies</i>					
011		?	0.30m	0.20m	Rubble and topsoil
049/116	Uneven bottom	c. 13m	0.65m	0.30m	Soil and rubble; Frag of quartzite joining with one in posthole 082
<i>Grooves</i>					
034	Multiple	?	0.1-0.2m	0.05m	
048	Arc-shaped	?	0.10m	0.05m	

ridges with hollows or gullies between them. The only other structural evidence in this area S. of the platform were three sandstone slabs laid flat in a similar fashion to the small area of post-medieval flagging close to the NE. edge of the summit (see context 022 below p. 10).

The area E. of the platform was again composed of ridges of bedrock interspersed with stone and soil-filled gullies. The bedrock was cut by a possible posthole (057); there was another posthole 0.75 m to its S.(117), with a well-defined post-pit and packing for a post of 0.10 m diameter.

To the N. of the summit platform there was a 3-4 m wide area of rough bedrock ridges covered in places by a thin layer of topsoil. A gully with an uneven bottom (116 and 049) which skirted the base of the northern edge of the platform, appeared, at least in places, to be of man-made origin (Pl. II, A).

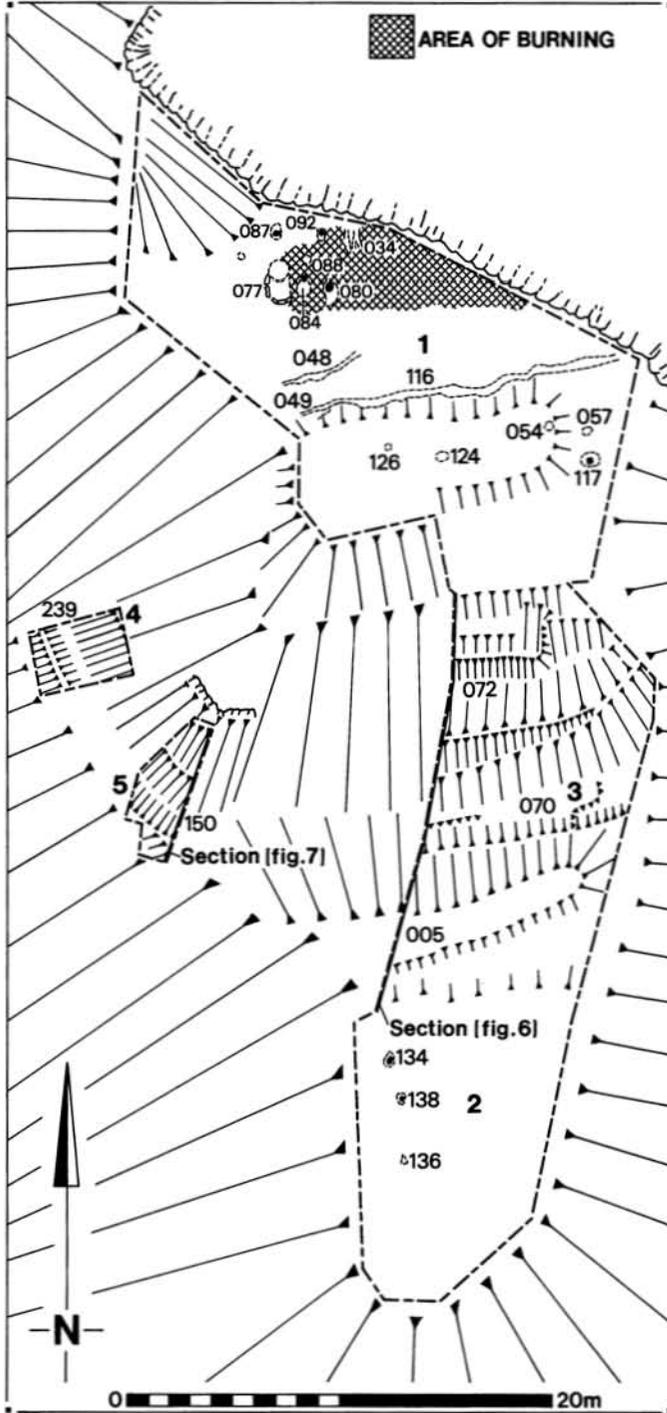


FIG. 3  
Main areas of excavation

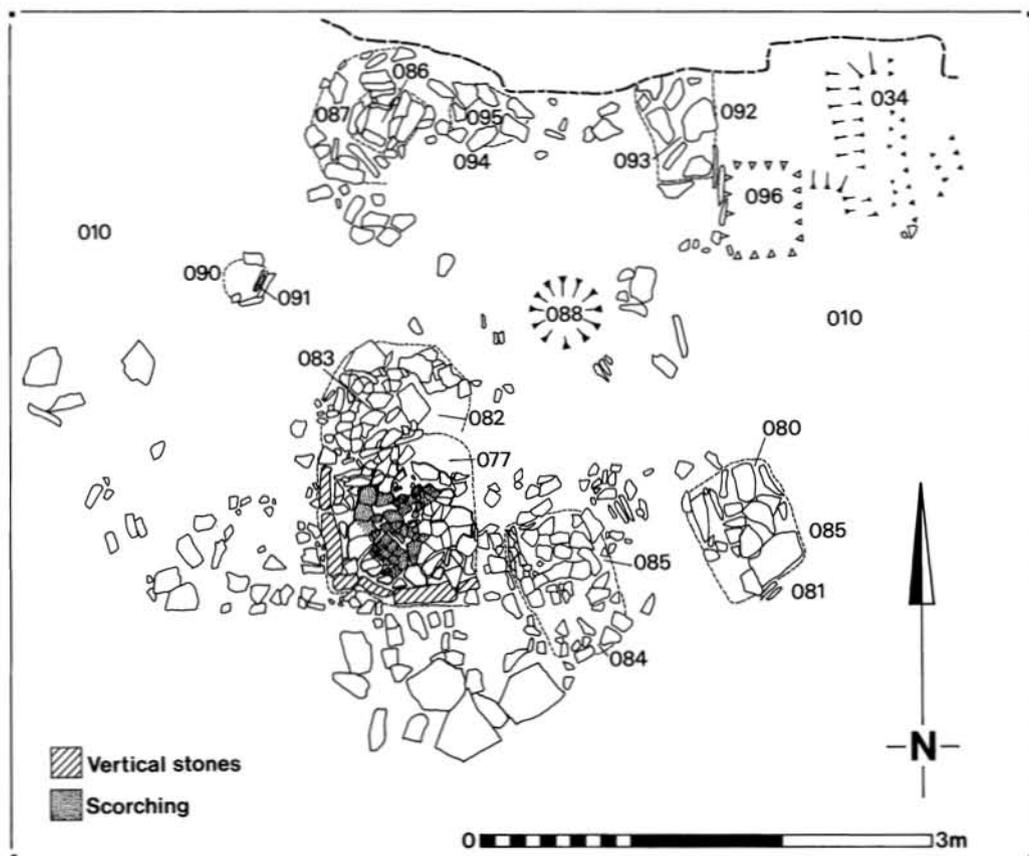


FIG. 4

Area close to the northern edge of the summit showing the hearth (077) and postholes prior to the removal of their fills

The northernmost part of the surviving area of the summit, adjacent to the edge of the quarry, was composed of bedrock which appeared to have been artificially levelled (Figs. 4 and 5). It was overlain by shattered rock which, in turn, was overlain by a varying depth of soil. The bedrock was cut by a number of features, including several pits (088, 096) and postholes (080, 082, 084, 087, 090, 092). These formed a cluster near the edge of the quarry. The most definite posthole (087) contained packing for a post 0.10–0.15 m in diameter. None of the others was so clearly defined, though two (080, 084) had one sloping side which might indicate the deliberate provision of a ramp to allow a post to be slid into place.

Immediately NE. of this feature the bedrock was cut by a number of shallow grooves (034), at least three in number, roughly parallel to each other and aligned N.–S. Their northward extent could not be assessed because they appeared to have been cut by the edge of the quarry. There was another, similar groove (048), some way to the SW. and on a different alignment; this was arc-shaped and intermittent. A circle projected on the basis of this arc would have a radius of *c.* 5 m with its centre roughly in the position of the hearth (077) described below.

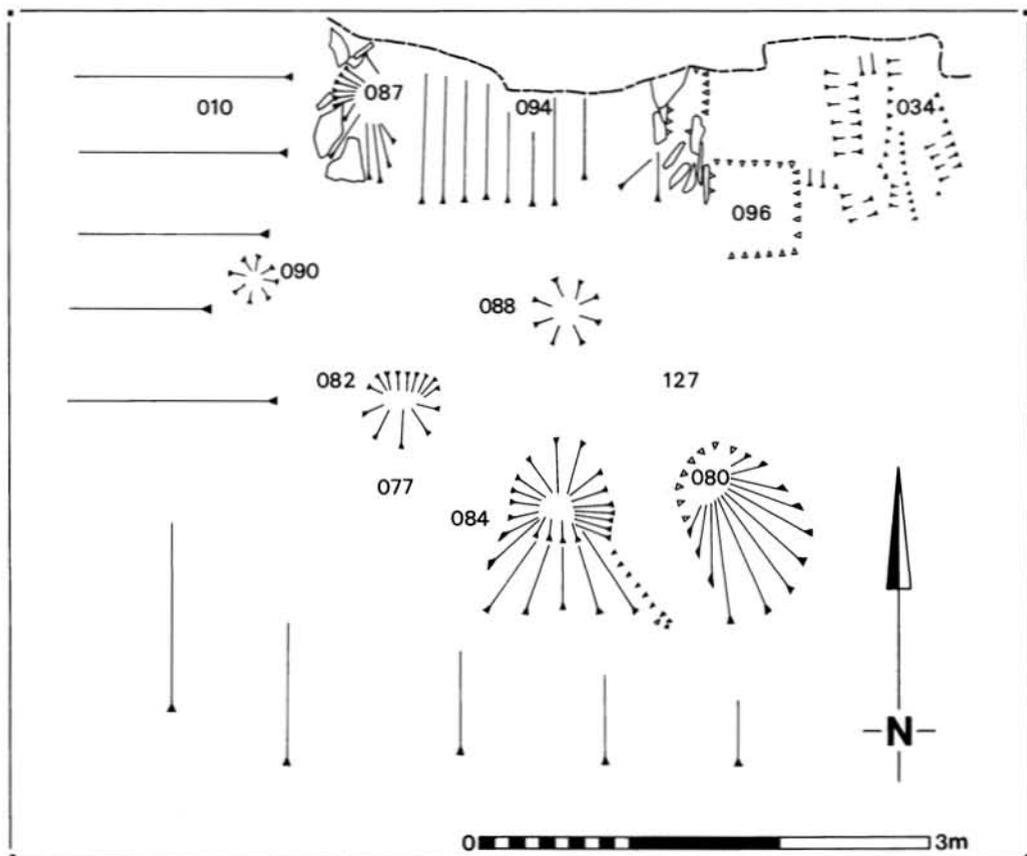


FIG. 5

Area close to the northern edge of the summit after excavation of all features

The area in and around the cluster of postholes had clearly been subjected to intensive burning. The bedrock was scorched and was overlain by a thin layer of burnt soil and shattered rock fragments. This scorching extended into the postholes. The packing stones and other fills described above overlay this burning. This clearly showed that the pits had been dug before the burning took place, and had then been used, apparently to support posts, after the pits had been scorched.

A stone hearth (077, bedding 153), measuring *c.* 1 m square, overlay both the layer of burnt soil and shattered rock, and part of the fill of one of the pits (082). It consisted of several stone slabs set on edge to form three sides of a rectangle. This enclosed an area of flagstones which had been cracked and shattered by heat. When damp, most of the central area of stones displayed evidence of scorching. This feature was similar to a hearth found in excavations at Dinas Powys.<sup>10</sup> Apart from a fragment of quartzite conglomerate found in the fill of pit 082, there were no finds in any of the features or in the layer of burnt soil and shattered rock described above. All of these features were overlain by topsoil which contained artefacts from a variety of periods from Roman to the 20th century, as well as a small area of stone flagging (022) close to the NE. edge of the summit. This can be dated to 19th century, and might have been part of a path or some similar surfaced area.

Despite the lack of artefactual evidence from most of the features, it is possible to establish a relative dating sequence for some of them, which can be related to an absolute chronology for the site provided by archaeomagnetic dating.

The definite and possible postholes 080, 082, 084, 087, 092, and 088 had been dug prior to the occurrence of the burning which scorched the bedrock. All but 088 were then packed with stones, apparently for use, or re-use, as postholes. After 082 had been filled in, the hearth was constructed.

In order to allow this sequence to be related to an absolute chronology, samples for archaeomagnetic dating were taken from both the scorched bedrock and the hearth. This indicated that the scorching of the bedrock had occurred *c.* A.D. 900 and the scorching of the hearth was about 30 years earlier. It can be seen from the stratigraphy that this relationship is improbable since the hearth overlies the scorched bedrock. The gap between the two dates is, however, within the tolerances which might be expected for samples of this type. It appears, therefore, that the two episodes of scorching were broadly contemporary. The fragments of quartzite found in the fills of 082 and 116 suggest that the fills of these two features might also be broadly contemporary.

Interpretation of the features in Area 1 is difficult, but some suggestions may be put forward. The uneven bottom of gully 116/049 at the northern foot of the platform suggests that it was not for drainage. It appears more likely to have been the foundation trench for a wall which has since been robbed. If this is the case, this wall might have been related to the other, parallel, gully (011) found S. of the platform, which was suitably positioned to act as a foundation trench for any stone or turf structure around the platform. The surviving evidence was, however, insufficient to allow any firm conclusions to be drawn. The function and date of the arc-shaped groove (048) are unclear. It could be seen as the foundation trench or the eaves-drip gully of a round building. If this were the case, however, much of the building would have stood on a fairly steep slope W. of the summit.

The nature and distribution of the pits and postholes suggests that those in the area of the hearth related to a wooden structure. Its plan, however, is not clear from the surviving evidence. It is probable that more of this structure lay in the area which had been removed by quarrying. It appears likely that the pits were dug as the postholes of a structure which stood on the site prior to the fire which caused the scorching of the bedrock. It is possible that the scorching was caused by the burning down of this structure. After the fire it was rebuilt using the same postholes. It cannot, however, be stated with certainty that all the postholes and pits are contemporary, and the structural history of this part of the site may be more complex than can be deduced from the surviving evidence. Given the paucity of the evidence, it is not possible to suggest a function for these structures.

This area of the site produced a relatively high proportion of finds, but most of them were residual.

#### *Area 2 (Fig. 3)*

Area 2 was a flat-topped spur to the south of the bank and ditch to the south of the summit (Area 1). This spur consisted of an area of *c.* 200 sq.m of thin, heather-covered soil and exposed bedrock, inclined upwards towards the S. Removal of the patchy topsoil revealed two probable postholes (134, 138) and a similar, but less clear, feature (136). These three features were aligned in a row, running roughly N.-S., near the western edge of the spur. They indicate the likely presence of a timber structure but the surviving evidence was insufficient to give any clear indication of its layout or function. They contained no finds, and there was no evidence of their date. Finds from the topsoil of Area 2 (067) included flints, whetstones (cat. nos. 5, 7 10), and single sherds of Romano-British pottery (cat. no. 1) and early medieval glass (not published).

*Area 3* (Figs. 3, 6; Pls. II, A, B; III, A)

Area 3, which lay between Areas 1 and 2, was occupied by the bank and ditches. The northern side of the area was bounded by a very steep, and in places vertical, rock face with patches of overlying soil. There had been quarrying of a ledge on this face to form a small ditch (072), and at the foot of the slope a wide area had been quarried to form a larger ditch (070). The lines of the latter ditch, and a bank (005) S. of it, were apparent on the surface prior to excavation.

The smaller ditch (072) appeared to extend over a length of *c.* 10 m, of which 8.50 m was excavated. It had clearly been formed as the result of quarrying the bedrock of what had probably been a fairly flat ledge. Its northern face was almost vertical whilst its S. face sloped at a more gentle angle along the bedding-planes of the bedrock. It was filled with stone rubble and soil. There were finds of several periods, from early medieval to post-medieval, close to the upper surface of the fill.

To the S. of 072 lay a wide, shallow ditch (070) which appeared to have been produced by the hewing out of the rock in what might already have existed as a natural hollow in the surface of the hill. The bottom was uneven, although generally flat, with the northern half about 0.50 m higher than the southern half. On this shelf there was a collection of stone slabs (024) which had been stacked up against the near-vertical northern face of the ditch. These were probably flagstones which appeared to have been quarried from the ditch and stacked in preparation for removal from the site but, for some reason, had not been removed. It was noted, however, that the stack of stones filled in what would otherwise have been a blind-spot in the ditch when viewed from the summit, and might, therefore, have been placed there as part of the defences. It was not possible to determine which, if either, of these interpretations might be correct. The spaces between the stones were filled with small stones and silt with numerous voids (009). The only find in this area was a 'Fowler type G' penannular brooch which was found resting on the bedrock beneath the stones (see below, p. 24).

Overlying the stacked stones, and S. of them, the ditch was filled with a number of layers of fill (017, 038 — Fig 7; 023 — not on section). These were mostly composed of very loose rubble with little soil content. Resting on the bottom of the ditch there were several very large blocks of stone which appeared to have been left there when the ditch was dug. Only towards the top of the fill was there fairly compact soil. The nature of the fill suggested that the ditch might have been filled largely with waste stone, perhaps from quarrying. It was known before excavation commenced that the ditch had been the subject of excavation of a geotechnical test pit in January 1980 (144). It was not possible to recognize its position precisely, but its approximate position showed up as areas of disturbance of the fill of the ditch. In these areas the fill contained finds of a variety of dates including some which were clearly modern. Elsewhere, although there were finds of earlier periods, the latest datable finds were medieval. In view of the difficulty of defining the exact extent of the test pit, the possibility remains that some of the post-medieval finds were stratified in the ditch-fill prior to 1980. The upper layers of fill, just below the topsoil, contained post-medieval and modern finds as well as finds of earlier dates.

Immediately S. of the ditch, and parallel to it, there was a bank (005) which survived to a maximum height of 0.70 m and was *c.* 2.50 m wide. It could be traced for a length of *c.* 13 m, and petered out at both ends. Parts of the bank had been heavily disturbed by the geotechnical test pit. Some of the upcast from this had been deposited on the surface of the bank. Excavation of the bank showed it to be constructed mainly of what was clearly redeposited natural subsoil (021), stone rubble and stone-dust (018). In places it overlay a compact surface of otherwise undisturbed subsoil (132) which might have been produced by trampling.

The northern side of the bank appeared to have been cut by the ditch. If the bank had originally been built of material from the ditch, the ditch must have been re-cut at some time. The only finds from the body of the bank were a modern nail and a fragment of clay tobacco pipe, but these came from an area which appeared to have been disturbed by the

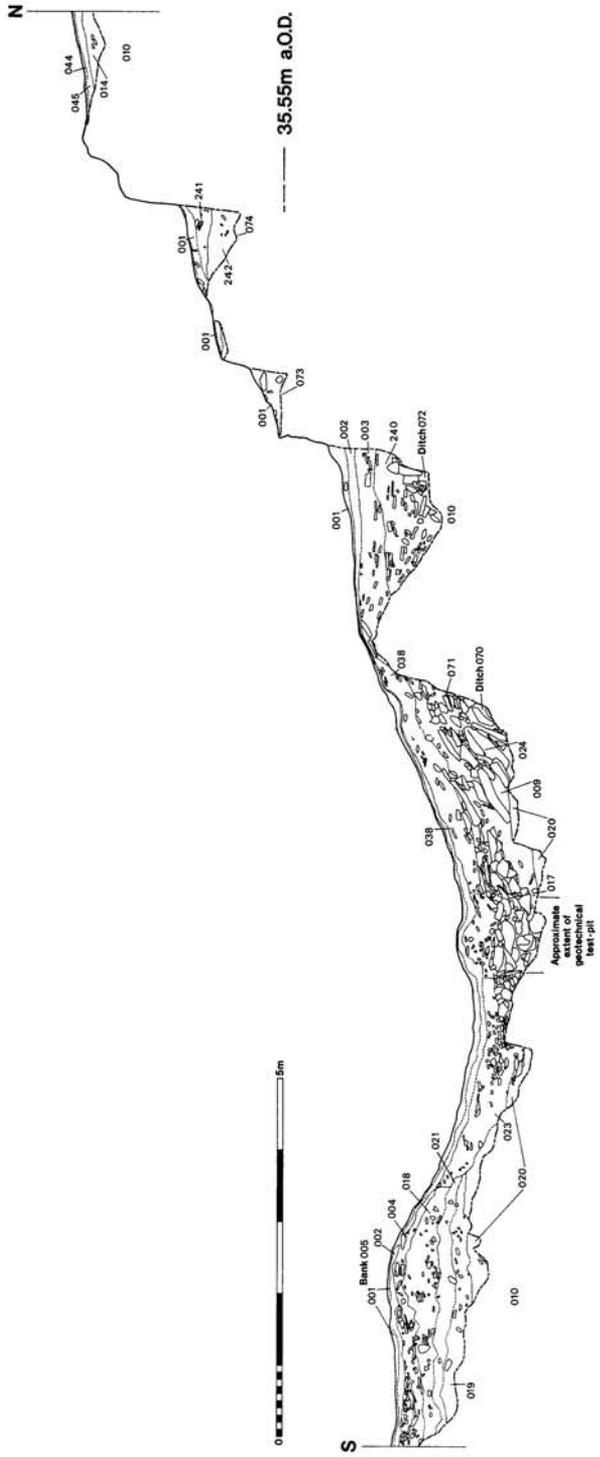


FIG. 6  
Area 3: Section through bank (005) and main ditches (070, 072)

test pit (144). It appears likely, therefore, that the bank was broadly contemporary with the ditch.

#### *Area 4 (Fig. 4)*

Areas 4 and 5 were excavated in order to examine the extent and nature of the ditch where it extended around the western side of the hill. The steepness of the slope on this side of the hill made the excavation of large areas difficult and hazardous. These two excavation areas were, therefore, confined to relatively narrow trenches, 1 m in width, across the ditch.

The ditch (239) in Area 4 survived to a width of 2.1 m, but its depth was only 1 m at its mid-point. It appeared that this might have been partly a result of the erosion of the outer lip of the ditch, but was mainly an indication that the ditch had originally been shallower at this point because of the natural defensive qualities of the steep slope. There was no indication of any upcast material from the ditch on this outer lip. The ditch was found to be cut through exclusively natural deposits. It was filled here, as it was elsewhere, mostly with loose rubble (027, 028, 029 and 066). It appeared that much of this material was scree derived from the slope above it.

These deposits contained numerous finds including a large quantity of animal bone, as well as pottery, daub, ferrous objects, a spindle-whorl made from Romano-British pottery (cat. no. 2, p. 17), and a pierced disc or bead of amber (p. 23). The pottery included early medieval and medieval material. There were no finds which could be positively dated to any period later than the Middle Ages. This part of the ditch was located beneath an almost vertical slope below the summit of the hill. It would seem likely, therefore, that the concentration of finds in this area was the result of rubbish dumping over the side of the hill.

#### *Area 5 (Figs. 3, 7; Pl. III, B)*

Area 5 was located between Areas 3 and 4. It provided a section across the ditch (150). The profile of the ditch was well-preserved but no trace of a bank was found. If there had once been a counterscarp bank outside the line of the ditch it might have been removed by erosion on this very steep slope. At this point the ditch ran diagonally up the slope towards Area 3 where it crossed the top of the ridge.

The ditch had a V-shaped profile which had survived to a width of 3.5 m and a depth of more than 2.10 m. For reasons of safety it was not possible to excavate the lower part of the fill, but the full depth of the ditch appeared to be *c.* 2.40 m.

The ditch was filled with stone rubble (140) with a small amount of sandy loam; larger stones were concentrated towards the lower part of the fill. There were many voids between the stones. The finds from this context included animal bones, one sherd each of Romano-British and early medieval pottery, and a piece of bottle glass and parts of two clay pipes. The last mentioned, post-medieval, finds were found in the voids between the stones and might have been deposited some time after the rest of the fill.

The northern side of the ditch was cut through subsoil and bedrock. On its southern side, however, the ditch also cut three layers which overlay the subsoil. The lowest of these layers (147) consisted of a 0.35 m thick mixture of creamy-grey sticky clay, sandstone chippings, and what appeared to be redeposited subsoil. The upper surface of this context was compacted, in a similar way to 132 (Area 3, above). It was overlain by a loose dark grey-black loam which may be interpreted as a buried soil (146), and was itself overlain by loose sandy loam with sandstone fragments (149).

The only finds from the layers cut by the ditch were an animal bone in context 146, and burnt and unburnt animal bone, charcoal, daub, and two sherds of early medieval glass from 147 (cat. nos. 21, 22).

The compaction of the top of 147 suggests that this formed the surface of the hillside, perhaps in the early Middle Ages. There was then a sufficiently long period for the soil,

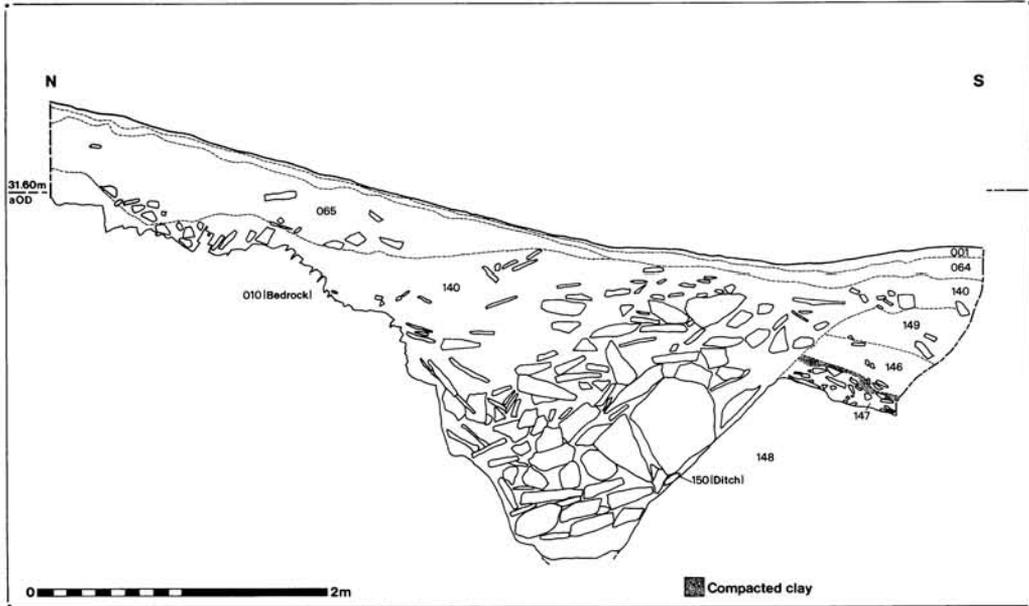


FIG. 7

Area 5: Section through ditch 150

146, to develop before 149 was deposited over it. All three layers were then cut by the ditch. It is, of course, possible that 149 had been formed of upcast from an earlier ditch which was later re-cut.

#### EXCAVATIONS AT THE BASE OF THE HILL AND TO THE NORTH OF THE QUARRY

To the W. of the hill, the sand dunes were investigated by means of two further areas of excavation, Areas 6 and 7. Area 8 covered a small area on the top of the small hill to the SW. of the main site, and Areas 9 and 10 were cuttings made to the N. of the quarry.

#### Area 6 (Fig. 5)

At the foot of the western slope of the hill a bank was visible running northwards from the northern slope of the small hill to the SW. of the site. There was also a semicircular area of flat ground which appeared to cut into the foot of the western slope below the site. In order to ascertain the nature and function of these features a trench, Area 6, was excavated. It was positioned so as to provide a cross-section of these features. It measured 17.3 m by 1 m, and was aligned roughly E.-W.

A 0.30 m layer of topsoil overlay hillwash on and just beyond the foot of the slope. Along the rest of the length of the trench the topsoil overlay sand (101) which varied in thickness up to a maximum of *c.* 1 m. This in turn overlay hillwash towards its eastern end, and glacial till elsewhere. There was no indication of any land boundary marker, such as a fence or hedge, which might have caused the sand to accumulate along this line. The bank and the level area both appeared to be of natural origin. The sand, like most of the sand deposits in the vicinity of the site, was clearly wind-blown. It appears likely that the bank was formed by the channelling of the wind between the two hills. The sand overlay the glacial till with no evidence of an intervening buried soil. This would appear to indicate that either the sand was glacial or early post-glacial in origin, and would indicate either

that sand encroachment started to take place much earlier than it is generally believed to have occurred in S. Wales, or that the underlying surface had been scoured prior to the deposition of the sand. The latter, presumably by either marine or riverine action, is probably the more plausible explanation, but there was no clear evidence to prove this. No evidence of the date of these deposits was found.

#### *Area 7*

Area 7 was a trench measuring 14 m × 1 m and aligned approximately N.-S., running down the northern slope of the small knoll to the SW. of the main site. Its stratigraphy was similar to that of Area 6 but in places the sand overlay bedrock. The only feature found was a pit which could be identified as one of the geotechnical test-pits dug in January 1980. All the other contexts appeared to be of natural origin. Sampling of the deposits in Areas 6 and 7 for environmental analysis showed little or no preservation of suitable materials.

#### *Area 8*

An area of 1 m × 9 m, aligned N.-S., was excavated on the northern end of the summit of the knoll to the SW. of the main site. Natural subsoil and bedrock were overlain directly by a thin layer of topsoil. No evidence of human activity was found.

#### *Areas 9 and 10*

In March 1992 two trenches N. of the quarry, Areas 9 and 10, were excavated with funding generously provided by Neath Borough Council. Their purpose was to investigate what appeared to be defensive banks and ditches. Evidence from their excavation suggested that these features were probably related to, or at least severely disturbed by, the nearby quarrying operations, and no features of early date could be positively identified.

## THE FINDS

Contexts with published finds are listed in Table 2, cross-referenced to the appropriate part of the structural report where applicable. Most of the finds were found in contexts which were clearly not their original place of deposition, and which are therefore not normally described above. In most cases, such finds were associated with post-medieval or modern material (indicated by an asterisk) or were stratigraphically later than deposits which contained such material. The exceptions were the deposits 009, 095, 102, 115, and 153. Three of these (095, 102, 115) appeared to have formed through processes unaffected by human activity. Of the two remaining deposits, 009, containing a brooch of Fowler Type G, was one of the fills of the main defensive ditch 070 which is most likely to be of later medieval date; and 153, containing a fragment of early medieval glass, was the bedding of the hearth dated archaeomagnetically to the 9th–10th century.

The finds are numbered as follows: catalogue number, context number, individual find number where applicable (this last in brackets). In the report on the glass, each recognizable vessel has been identified with a letter.

#### THE ROMAN POTTERY *By* DAVID R. EVANS

The collection of Roman pottery from this site consists of a small number of badly eroded sherds, almost all from different vessels, of which three are reported here.

TABLE 2  
CONTEXTS WITH PUBLISHED FINDS

<i>Context</i>	<i>Area</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
004	3	Engineers' test trench	Finds residual*
009	3	Fill of ditch 070	(p. 12) Finds residual
013	1	Fill of gully 116	Finds residual*
014	1	General spread of soil/rubble	Finds residual*
017	3	Fill of ditch 070	p. 12
027	4	Fill of ditch 239	p. 14
028	4	Fill of ditch 239	p. 14
029	4	Fill of ditch 239	p. 14
040	1	Modern burning	Finds residual*
045	1	Topsoil	Finds residual*
046	1	Modern posthole cutting 014 (qv)	Finds residual
053	1	Spread of soil/rubble	Finds residual*
062	1	Rubble	Finds residual*
066	4	Fill of ditch 239	Finds residual
067	2	Topsoil	Finds residual*
093	1	Fill of pit 092	p. 9
095	1	Fill of hollow in bedrock	Natural silting
102	6	Hillwash	Natural silting
115	1	Fill of hollow in bedrock	Natural silting
123	1	Topsoil	Finds residual*
129	1	Part of 053 (qv)	Finds residual
140	5	Fill of ditch 150	p. 14
147	5	Under buried soil	p. 14
153	1	Below hearth 077	Finds residual
214	9	Rubble	Finds residual*

The finding of small quantities of Romano-British pottery on sites with no other evidence of contemporary occupation during the 1st–4th centuries can be explained by its import at the same time as the import of other robbed material, as at Capel Maelog, in Powys, or on its own as at Rumney Castle.<sup>11</sup> At Coygan Camp,<sup>12</sup> however, the greater part of the Roman material comes from the seemingly short-term occupation of the site during the later 3rd century. At Hen Gastell, it is possible that it arrived during either or both of the main periods of occupation, and the proximity of the Roman fort at Neath provides a local source for the material.

1 Flagon in a hard red fabric, badly weathered 067 (131) (026) (098) (128). It is part of a type known as 'Hofheim derivative', and the form can be paralleled at a number of sites in South Wales, for example at Usk.<sup>13</sup> It is of broadly Flavian date, i.e., the last quarter of the 1st century. (Not illustrated).

2 About half of a pierced roundel formed from Oxfordshire ware 028 (003). This item is well-smoothed and unweathered. It is probably a true spindle-whorl.<sup>14</sup> Spindle-whorls formed from Romano-British vessels occur at a number of early medieval sites, e.g., Capel Maelog and Dinas Powys.<sup>15</sup> Fig. 8.



FIG. 8  
Roman pottery (Scale 1:2)

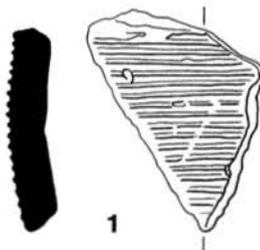


FIG. 9  
Mediterranean pottery (Scale 1:2)

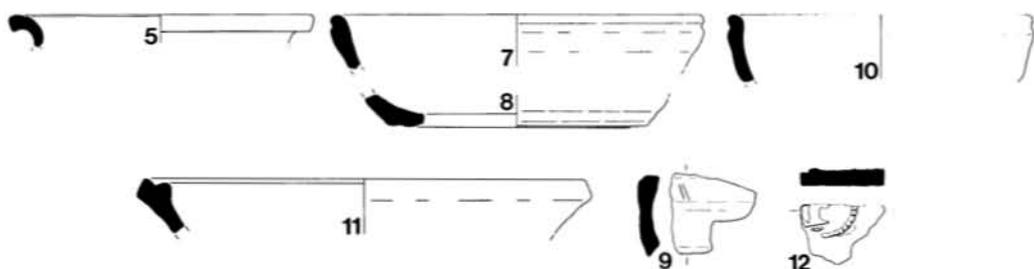


FIG. 10

Continental pottery (Scale 1:4)

3 Badly eroded base sherd in Oxfordshire ware 027 (070). Too little survives to be sure of the exact type represented — either a copy of samian form 31 or a shallow bowl<sup>16</sup> seem probable. c. A.D. 270–400+. (Not illustrated.)

Ewan Campbell notes that, of the pottery submitted for examination as early medieval imports (see below), a total of ten sherds were too undiagnostic for certain identification but the majority were likely to be of late Roman or early post-Roman date. Five of these came from context 014 and one each from contexts 003, 053, 065, 115, and 227.

#### EARLY MEDIEVAL POTTERY *By* EWAN CAMPBELL

##### *Mediterranean pottery*

Eastern Mediterranean amphorae are represented by two sherds of B<sub>i</sub>, produced in the Argolid region of Greece, and one possible B<sub>ii</sub>, perhaps from southern Turkey. The period of importation of these vessels can be dated to the first half of the 6th century by associated finewares.<sup>17</sup> The amphorae would have contained a variety of commodities, principally perhaps wine and olive oil. The trading system which brought these goods from the Byzantine Empire was directed at a number of major fortified sites in areas of SW. England associated with tin and lead/silver production. The smaller numbers of finds at sites along the S. Wales coast and further N. probably result from more local trading contacts with these sites across the 'Severn Sea'.

1 B<sub>i</sub> amphora bodysherd from shoulder with combed decoration 014 (126). Fabric soft, buff with scattered quartz and golden mica. Size 60 mm × 47 mm, thickness 12 mm. Fig. 9.

2 Bodysherd of B<sub>ii</sub>? amphora 140 (132). Abraded, with traces of 30 mm wide external grooving. Fabric pale orange/buff interior, with abundant tiny quartz in a variety of colours and weathered-out limestone. Size 52 mm × 40 mm, thickness 8 mm. (Not illustrated).

3 Flake from combed surface of B<sub>i</sub> amphora 153 (148). Size 22 mm × 16 mm. (Not illustrated).

##### *Continental pottery*

There are three sherds of E ware, all from separate vessels. Two are certainly E<sub>1</sub> jars and the third is from an indeterminate large vessel, all in the characteristic undecorated white gritty fabric. E ware can be dated to the later 6th or 7th centuries and has an origin in western or NW. France.<sup>18</sup> It has a widespread distribution, being found on at least 65 early medieval sites in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and SW. England. Recent research suggests that the pottery was used as containers for a variety of luxury goods, including dyestuffs and possibly foreign delicacies.<sup>19</sup>

Uniquely for an early medieval Insular site, the sherds of E ware are outnumbered by those of the much rarer D ware which is found on only nine other sites. The eleven sherds present include at least two deep plates and a mortarium. D ware was produced, possibly at a number of centres, in W. France and can be dated to the 6th century.<sup>20</sup> It consists of fine black-slipped tableware in the Late Roman tradition, the plates often decorated with stamped animals and other motifs. One sherd (12) retains part of a circular stamp, but unfortunately it is too abraded to be identifiable. The only other stamped plates known

from Britain are from Dinas Emrys, Gwynedd, and Dinas Powys, South Glamorgan.<sup>21</sup> The Hen Gastell sherds form the second largest assemblage known after Dinas Powys, most sites producing only one or two sherds.

Except for one sherd (11), which retains the characteristic black slip and grey fabric, all of the D ware is badly affected by chemical weathering and/or burning, producing fabrics which are buff-coloured with no signs of the original slip. In addition, the fabric inclusions differ from those in the standard D ware fabric seen at Dinas Powys in that they are a variety of black rock fragments rather than decayed yellow limestone. The Hen Gastell vessels clearly come from a different source area, although the forms are identical. It was originally supposed that all D ware came from one source near Bordeaux, but it has recently been proposed that there were several production areas<sup>22</sup> and the Hen Gastell evidence supports this theory. The only other sherd which has similar inclusions comes from the Irish royal fort at Clogher, Co. Tyrone. The buff fabric is also seen in the stamped sherd from Dinas Emrys, confirming that this is indeed D ware and not a Mediterranean lamp as was originally thought.<sup>23</sup> It is difficult to assess whether the buff colour is the original colour at firing or the result of later post-depositional processes, though the fact that one sherd retains the normal colour and slip suggests the latter. It can be said that most of the Hen Gastell D ware is extremely decayed and would be difficult to recognize were it not for the distinctive form of the vessels.

There are a number of indeterminate sherds, perhaps from Roman amphorae and other vessels, which superficially resemble the D ware sherds because of similar conditions of burial. Some of these could be of early medieval date, but none is identifiable with known types of imports.

#### *E ware*

- 4 Bodysherd of E<sub>1</sub> jar from shoulder 027 (071). Heavily abraded. Fabric orange, coarse, with abundant large quartz and iron ore grits and few highly polished round quartz grains. Size 58 mm × 39 mm, thickness 5 mm. Maximum body diameter 160 mm. (Not illustrated.)
- 5 Rim of E<sub>1</sub> jar. Rim everted with faint lid-seat 017 (076). Abraded and decayed. Fabric pale orange with buff skin, abundant red iron ore and large angular quartz grits. Size 29 mm × 21 mm, thickness 4 mm.
- 6 Bodysherd from lower part of large vessel. Unstratified (149). Fresh and unabraded. Fabric hard, almost stoneware, off-white with grey patches, a little iron ore, and much tiny sparkly quartz. Size 24 mm × 16 mm, thickness 7 mm. (Not illustrated.)

#### *D ware*

- 7 Rim of plate, Rigoir f.4.<sup>24</sup> 014 (012). Simple beaded rim with single groove below. Badly decayed and abraded. Fabric soft buff with cavities and scattered black rock inclusions. Size 40 mm × 30 mm, thickness 6 mm.
  - 8 Basal angle of plate, Rigoir f.4. 014 (013). Base with typical shallow pseudo-footring. Sherd badly decayed, burnt and abraded; consolidated. Fabric with limestone and black grits. Size 40 mm × 40 mm, thickness 9 mm.
  - 9 Wall sherd of plate Rigoir f.4. probably the same vessel as no. 4. 053 (023). Abraded and decayed. Fabric soft buff with large black grits. Size 50 mm × 40 mm, thickness 6–9 mm.
  - 10 Rim of plate, Rigoir f.4. 004 (072). Simple beaded rim with two grooves below. Abraded. Fabric soft pinkish-buff, with large round grey inclusions. Size 40 mm × 30 mm, thickness 6–7 mm.
  - 11 Rim of mortarium, Rigoir f.29, with internal flange and squared rim. 066 (073). Abraded but not decayed. Fabric soft, grey, with large round black inclusions. Black slip on exterior and interior. Size 30 mm × 40 mm, thickness 7–8 mm, rim diameter 220–240 mm.
  - 12 Basal sherd of plate, Rigoir f.4. 115 (097). Abraded sherd with remains of decorative circular stamp containing embossed ?animal or ?cross. Fabric soft buff with large greenish-black grits. Size 40 mm × 30 mm, thickness 9 mm.
  - 13 Bodysherd from bowl or plate, shallow external groove. 014 (121). Badly abraded and decayed. Fabric soft, buff with greenish grey fine-grained rock fragments. Size 40 mm × 25 mm, thickness 7 mm. (Not illustrated.)
  - 14 Fragment of bead rim 014 (122). Sherd badly burnt, decayed; consolidated. Fabric with large round black rock grits. Size 20 × 10 mm. (Not illustrated.)
- Three small bodysherds in D ware were also noted, two from context 014 and one from context 013.

#### CONTINENTAL GLASS *B* BY EWAN CAMPBELL (Fig. 11)

This is an important assemblage of Continental glass, the third largest in Wales after those of Dinas Powys and Longbury Bank, Dyfed.<sup>25</sup> The fragments, 38 in all, are all small

as is usual in these assemblages, but in contrast to the pottery it is in excellent condition. The vessels represented are mainly for drinking: cone-beakers decorated with opaque white marvered trails. This is the commonest type found on Celtic sites and the vessels are quite different from contemporary Anglo-Saxon types.<sup>26</sup>

The source of the glass is unknown, though it may well be northern or western France, and it can be dated only by its associations in Insular contexts which place most vessels in the later 6th or early 7th century. There is a strong association with E ware, suggesting that the glass was traded at the same time and carried by the same merchants.

Six different rims of cone beakers are present but a minimum of nine beakers can be distinguished from variations in metal colour and quality. Colours include olive green, pale amber, pale green, pale blue/green, and colourless. Pale greens predominate rather than the commoner pale yellows. Five of the beakers have bands of fine horizontal opaque white marvered trails below the rim and at least four also have vertical running chevrons. This type of decoration is typical of the Insular glass but at present it is not matched by Continental finds. These vessels can be dated to the second half of the 6th or early 7th century.

There is also a tiny fragment of a deep 'cobalt' blue glass (no. 23) which appears to be part of a decorative unmarvered trail. This may be from a vessel of early 7th-century Kentish manufacture such as the squat jar from Dinas Powys,<sup>27</sup> though it is not impossible that it is also of Continental origin. Vessels in this deep blue colour are rare and may represent prestigious gifts between aristocrats.<sup>28</sup>

It was formerly believed that the glass found on Celtic sites was imported as cullet intended for melting down but new research has shown that glass vessels were in use on these sites.<sup>29</sup> However, it is also true that the sherds from broken vessels were collected and melted down to make items such as beads, and evidence of this is found on most sites which produce glass.<sup>30</sup> Striking evidence for this practice is provided by two large lumps of partially fused glass from Hen Gastell, both of which betray their origin in the presence of opaque white trails within the fused glass. One (24), can be matched to vessel A, and the other (25), to vessel B on the basis of their colours. This shows how sherds from these vessels were collected together for melting down after the vessels were broken. Although no joins could be found, the scatter of sherds from each vessel again supports the view that these were from vessels in use on the site.

The different vessels can be summarized as follows, with the sherds which can be assigned fairly definitely to each:

#### Individual vessel

- A. Cone, pale amber, with white vertical chevrons. Rim 20, basal 2 and 14, fused 24 and a plain bodysherd from context 074.
- B. Cone, olive green, with white horizontal trails and vertical chevrons. Base 1, decorated bodysherds 3 and 4, fused 25 and a plain bodysherd from context 067.
- C. Cone, greenish yellow, with white horizontal trails. Rim 21, and three bodysherds from context 014.
- D. Cone, pale green, with white horizontal trails. Rim 15.
- E. Cone, pale amber. Rim 16.
- F. Cone, Pale green. Rim 5.
- G. Cone, very pale green, with horizontal white trails. Rim 17.
- H. Cone, pale bluish-green, with white vertical chevrons. Decorated bodysherd 9, and a bodysherd from context 014.
- I. Cone, pale green, with white horizontal trails and vertical chevrons. Decorated bodysherds 11 and 13.
- J. ?Jar or ?cone, deep blue, with self-coloured unmarvered trails. Bodysherd 23.

1 Base of cone beaker, with bottom of two opaque white marvered vertical chevron trails 014 (002). Metal good with many bubbles, exterior heavily abraded. Colour olive green. Part of a pontil scar survives and extends

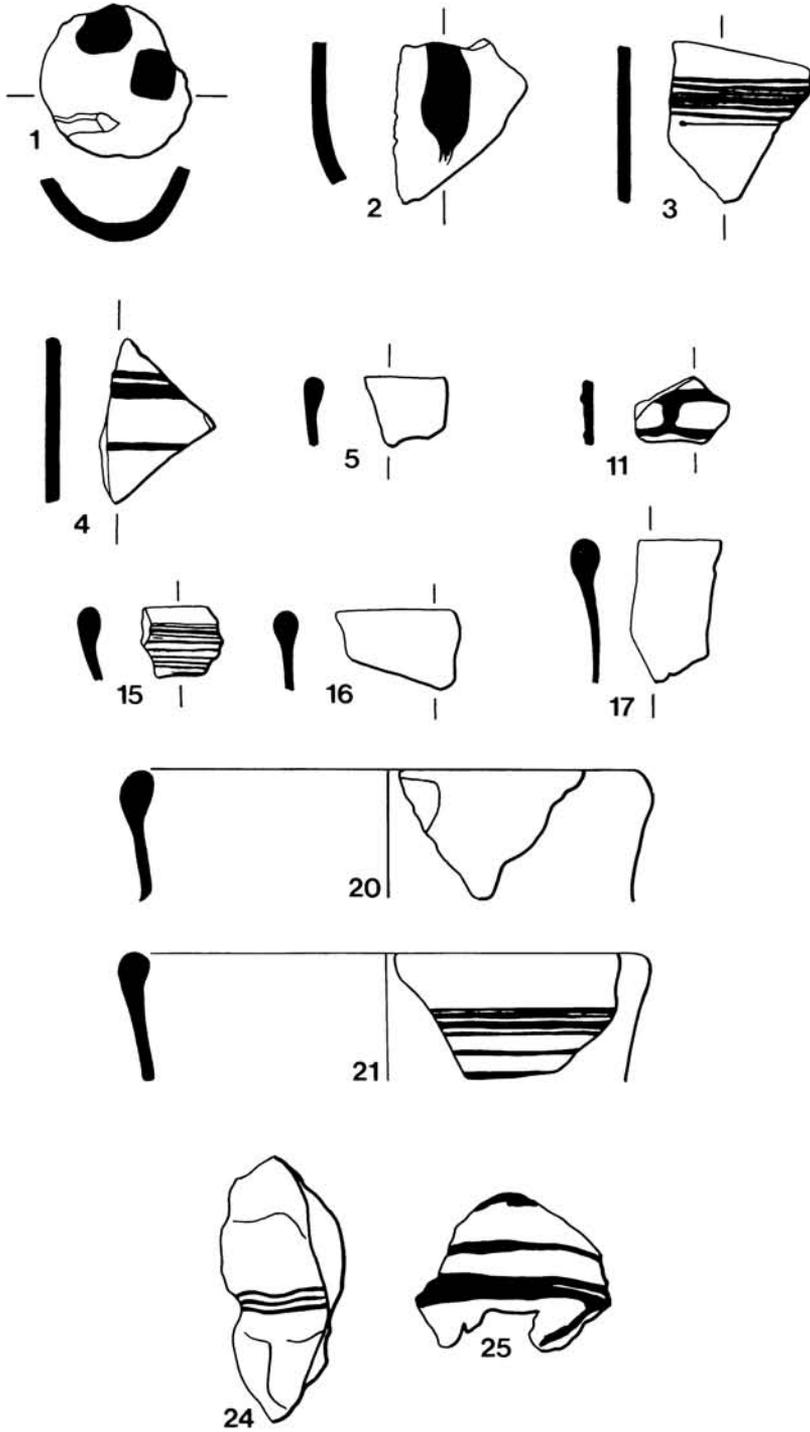


FIG. II  
Continental glass (Scale 1:1)

over part of a trail, showing that the pontil was attached after marvering. Size 19 × 24 mm, thickness 1.5–3 mm, basal diameter 20 mm.

2 Near base of cone beaker, with bottom of opaque white marvered vertical chevron trail 014 (019). Colour pale amber. Size 23 × 17 mm, thickness 2 mm.

3 Sherd from near rim of thick-walled vessel, with band of fine opaque white marvered horizontal trails 053 (040). Metal fine, few bubbles, surface scratched. Colour olive green. Size 22 × 18 mm, thickness 2 mm, diameter c. 9 cm.

4 Sherd from near rim of thick-walled vessel, with three thick opaque white marvered horizontal trails 053 (041). Colour olive green. Size 21 × 19 mm, thickness 2 mm.

5 Rim of cone beaker, fire-rounded, thickened, and inturned 053 (045). Undecorated. Abraded and decayed, original colour ?pale green. Size 10 × 9 mm, thickness 1 mm.

6 Near rim of cone beaker, with two fine opaque white marvered horizontal trails 014 (056). Metal bubbly. Colour pale green. Size 16 × 17 mm, thickness 1 mm. (Not illustrated).

7 Tiny sherd with part of a thick opaque white marvered vertical trail. 053 (077). (Not illustrated).

8 Tiny sherd with one thick opaque white marvered vertical trail 014 (079). (Not illustrated).

9 Sherd from near base of cone, with a wide opaque white marvered vertical trail 014 (081). Metal pale blue-green. Size 11 × 8 mm, thickness 1 mm. (Not illustrated).

10 Tiny sherd with opaque white marvered vertical trail 014 (083). Colourless. (Not illustrated).

11 Sherd from near rim, with two thick opaque white marvered horizontal trails and part of a partially marvered vertical trail, probably the top of a chevron 014 (084). Metal bubbly. Colour very pale green. Size 11 × 9 mm, thickness 1 mm.

12 Tiny sherd with opaque white marvered horizontal trail 014 (087). Pale yellow-green. (Not illustrated).

13 Sherd with one opaque white marvered vertical trail 014 (090). Colour very pale green. Size 15 × 16 mm, thickness 1 mm. (Not illustrated).

14 Near base of cone beaker, with bottom of opaque white marvered vertical chevron trail 014 (091). Colour pale amber. Size 10 × 10 mm, thickness 1–1.5 mm. (Not illustrated).

15 Rim of cone beaker, fire-rounded, thickened, and inturned 053 (100a). Band of very fine opaque white marvered horizontal trails just below rim. Metal fine, pale green. Size 11 × 9 mm, thickness 0.75 mm.

16 Rim of cone beaker, fire-rounded, thickened, and inturned 053 (100b). Undecorated. Metal discoloured, perhaps burnt, original colour ?pale amber. Size 16 × 10 mm, thickness 1 mm, rim diameter 70–80 mm.

17 Rim of cone beaker, fire-rounded and inturned, with edge of band of opaque white marvered horizontal trails 17 mm below rim 123 (120). Metal fine, surface abraded. Pale green. Size 19 × 10 mm, thickness 1 mm, rim diameter 60–80 mm.

18 Sherd with two opaque white marvered vertical trails 093 (124). Colourless. Size 10 × 9 mm, thickness 0.5 mm. (Not illustrated).

19 Sherd with one opaque white marvered horizontal trail 095 (125). Colourless. (Not illustrated).

20 Rim of cone beaker, fire-rounded, thickened, and inturned 014 (129). Undecorated, metal fine, few bubbles. Pale honey colour. Surface abraded. Size 23 × 22 mm, thickness 1 mm, diameter 70 mm.

21 Rim of cone beaker, fire-founded, thickened, and inturned, with a band of opaque white marvered horizontal trails 147 (137). Metal exceptionally fine. Colour pale greenish-yellow. Size 29 × 16 mm, thickness 1 mm, rim diameter 7 cm.

22 Sherd with two opaque white marvered vertical trails 147 (140). Metal fine, colourless. Size 21 × 18 mm, thickness 0.3 mm. (Not illustrated).

23 Tiny fragment of cobalt blue glass, perhaps part of a decorative marvered trail (see above, p. 20) 014 (030). Size 8 × 5 mm, thickness 2 mm. (Not illustrated).

A further fifteen sherds had no distinguishing features. Of these, nine were from context 014 and one each from contexts 027, 038, 053, 067, 093, and 123.

#### Fused Glass

24 Lump of melted and folded vessel glass of amber colour with the remains of three opaque white trails from near of vessel 014 (020). Colour as vessel A.

25 Irregular droplet of melted glass, one surface with large bubbles 014 (086). Colour olive green, with remains of four thick opaque white trails. Colour as vessel B.

#### BEADS *By* EWAN CAMPBELL (Fig. 12)

1 About one third of a very large annular bead of D-shaped section ornamented with raised cable decoration 014 (051). The body is of mixed glass types wound around the central core, the colours used being pale green, cobalt blue, wine red, and opaque blue, though the exterior appears mainly dark blue. The cable ornament consists of an equatorial band crossed by V-shaped elements with a 'knot' at the cross-over point. The cable is mainly of opaque yellow twisted with an opaque brown which close inspection shows to be formed from finely mixed strands of opaque white and purple-brown glass. Estimated original diameter c. 35 mm, Height 17 mm, hole diameter 10 mm.

This is a striking example of a large bead of the type generally referred to as 'string-beads' on account of their decoration with twisted cables. These beads occur in a large

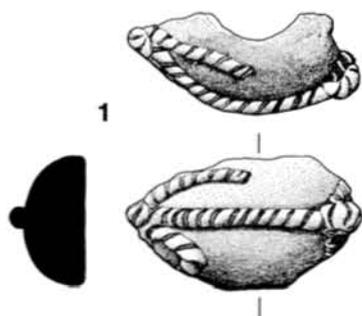


FIG. 12  
Glass bead (Scale 1:1)

variety of colours, forms, and decorative patterns, but all are characterized by the use of applied trails of twisted bichrome glass rods. The beads are an Irish type, mainly found in Hiberno-Norse contexts and Scandinavia. Callmer illustrates several similar, but not identical, examples from Scandinavian graves.<sup>31</sup> This bead is unusual in having an annular form rather than the more normal tripartite barrel-shaped form, in the use of opaque yellow rather than blue and white, and is of exceptionally large size. The type is usually dated to the 9th to 10th centuries on the basis of occurrences in Viking graves, but there are few from other reliable dated contexts and grave finds are often old when buried. The use of bichrome twisted rods, especially using opaque yellow, is also characteristic of beads of the 6th to 7th centuries in Anglo-Saxon contexts and in glass vessels of the 8th to 9th centuries<sup>32</sup> and there is no reason why beads utilizing the same rods should not be of the same date. The construction of the body of the bead is of interest as it shows the use of a number of different colours of glass, including deep blue, wound together. This raises the possibility that the bead was manufactured on site using the glass sherds described above. However, the use of wine red glass in the bead suggests that it is of at least 8th-century date, later than the Hen Gastell glass and most of that from Celtic sites.

2 Tiny annular bead of flattened cylindrical shape 014 (054). Opaque turquoise. Diameter 3 mm, height 2 mm. (Not illustrated).

This bead lies at the opposite end of the size range of early medieval beads from no. 1. The simple form cannot be certainly assigned to an early medieval date, although turquoise beads have been found at the early medieval royal Scottish site of Dunadd.<sup>33</sup>

#### AMBER *B* EWAN CAMPBELL (Fig. 13)

1 Amber perforated disc, with one side flat and the other with rounded bevelled edges 027 (042). Shape irregular, apparently cut down from larger object such as a bead. Diameter 21 mm, thickness 5–6 mm, hole diameter 4 mm.

This disc is too light to be a spindle whorl but is unusually flat for a bead. One surface appears to have been rubbed down to provide a flat surface and the other edges are crudely bevelled, suggesting that the disc was cut down from a larger object, probably a bead of the more normal globular or annular form. The disc may then have been used as a gaming counter. Amber beads are common in Anglo-Saxon graves of 6th–7th-century date<sup>34</sup> but are not common in Celtic contexts. In the Celtic areas amber was used as insets in jewellery from the late 7th century to the 9th century<sup>35</sup> and is common in Norse contexts as beads and other objects. The only comparable amber beads from South Wales were part of a necklace from Bacon Hole Cave on the Gower which was found with an 8th-century brooch, though unfortunately both are now missing. This suggests that the disc may belong to the same period as the string-bead, and it could be originally of Hiberno-Norse or Irish origin.

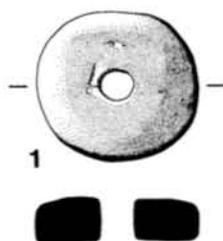


FIG. 13  
Amber bead (Scale 1:1)

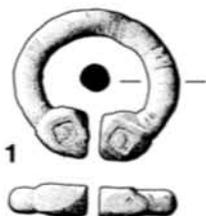


FIG. 14  
Copper alloy penannular brooch (Scale 1:1)

OBJECTS OF COPPER ALLOY *By* G. LLOYD-MORGAN (Fig. 14)

1 A penannular brooch with solid square terminals faceted at the corners, and a central dot on the upper face (009 (001)). The hoop is circular in cross-section and on the upper face has traces of worn, ribbed decoration, originally extending along the whole length of the hoop. The pin is lost. Diameter approximately 22 mm, cross-section of hoop approximately 3.1 mm.

The brooch belongs to Fowler's Type G<sup>36</sup>, and more specifically, despite the wear it seems likely that it should be classed as Type G1.5, which, with other sub-groups and variants, was discussed by Dickinson, who noted four examples of this type, three from Anglo-Saxon cemetery contexts.<sup>37</sup> Other finds of Fowler's Type G brooches are not common in Wales as a whole, though Dickinson notes the clustering of examples in the Avon and Somerset areas as being of some interest,<sup>38</sup> to which may be added the Type G1.4 brooch from Lydney Park.<sup>39</sup> There are two outliers, one which is said to have been found at an unknown site close to the Trevor Rocks above Llangollen, Denbighshire, and is a Type G1.1, partially ribbed round the hoop and with multiple dots in the terminals;<sup>40</sup> the second, from the Roman fort at Castell Collen, Radnorshire, came from a context dated to the late 3rd or 4th century, and belongs to Group G1.2, with a partially ribbed hoop and a single dot terminal.<sup>41</sup> The only examples from South Wales are another G1.2 brooch from a midden at Twlc Point, Llangennith, West Glamorgan, with miscellaneous items including sherds of pottery dated roughly to between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D.<sup>42</sup> The final example came from the surface levels above a cemetery area outside the east gate, Caerwent. It is a G1.6 type with ribbed hoop and plain terminals.<sup>43</sup> The cemetery was dated by radiocarbon techniques to the 5th to 9th century. Dickinson argues that the G1 brooches were probably manufactured in the 4th or early part of the 5th century, with the Severn Basin as one of the probable centres of manufacture of the G1.5 and G1.6 types.<sup>44</sup> Although the present number of penannulars belonging to the former sub-group is very small, the discovery of another example at Hen Gastell cannot but help support her general hypothesis, and emphasize the continuing importance of trade and contact within the coastal regions of southern Wales and the Severn Valley during the late and sub-Roman periods.

THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY *By* MARK REDKNAP (Fig. 15)

The medieval pottery from Hen Gastell has been divided into glazed and coarsewares although, as a result of weathering and poor soil conditions, many of the former have little

or no glaze surviving. Both glazed and coarsewares are all handmade, although some of the former show evidence of wheel finishing.

The group is further subdivided into three groups (Bristol, Cotswold/N. Wilts, and local) which between them represent a total of six fabric types (Hen Gastell fabric types A to Diii).

#### *Glazed wares*

##### Group 1. Bristol wares

##### Hen Gastell fabric A

*Fabric:* hard with irregular fracture, grey core (10YR 5/1) with very pale brown margins (10YR 7/3) and oxidized very pale brown to reddish-yellow inside surface (10YR 7/4 to 7.5YR 7/6). Abundant angular dark grey inclusions (<0.2 mm, occ. 3 mm.). Moderate sub-angular white opaque inclusions (<1.5 mm). Abundant sorted, fine sub-angular and rounded white quartz (clear and white), moderate very fine rounded voids (up to 0.3 mm, possibly leached limestone?).

*Surface treatment:* usually an uneven green to olive yellow glaze, and stabbing/applied strips.

*Source:* the fabric has been described as characteristic of the carboniferous marls of the Bristol area,<sup>45</sup> and closely resembles Loughor Castle Group 2,<sup>46</sup> described as Ham Green Group B. It also resembles Ham Green from Aberystwyth Castle.<sup>47</sup> Ponsford has pointed out an apparent omission in previous descriptions of the frequent occurrence of dark, often shiny fragments which are described by Gerrard as slag or clinker, but may be iron ore which frequently stains the glazes with brown or dark green flecks.<sup>48</sup>

1 Fragments, probably from the same jug or from two similar vessels, with patchy mottled green or yellowish-green glaze and pale outer surface 017, 027, 066. There is a slight ridge-like collar below the rim, and grouped horizontal ribbing on the shoulder. Decoration on the body is of applied curved strips, self-coloured. The handle has a single line of vertical stabbing.

2 Fragments, probably from the same jug, with patchy mottled green glaze and grey inner surface 027, 029, 066. The base is thumbed. Traces of decoration include multiple horizontal grooves on the neck (not illustrated), a ?single girth groove and diagonally-placed combed stabbing.

3 Bridge-spout with flat rim top, collar, and thumb-pressed strip beneath edge of rim 053.<sup>49</sup> Surfaces buff or pale orange, patchy.

4 Strap-handle with single line of vertical stabbing (one of which pierces handle) bordered by a series of short diagonal slash-like grooves and terminating in three horizontal stabs 014, 027. Surfaces pale grey or pale orange-buff, patchy.

5 Neck and top of shoulder with shallow horizontal grooves above a zone of irregular horizontal combing 053. Surfaces as no. 3 but even buff.

6 Wall sherd with a series of short horizontal staggered lines of comb-stabbed decoration in the form of rows of inverted triangles 129. Surfaces as no. 4.

7 Jug with a series of horizontal grooves on the neck with a small area of comb-stabbed decoration into the lowest (surviving) groove 053. There is slashing between the top of the upper handle attachment point and the flat-topped rim. Compare examples from Bristol castle well;<sup>50</sup> other handle attachments from Hen Gastell show both stabbing and slashing. Surfaces light greyish-brown.

8 Wall sherd with two areas of comb-stabbed decoration. Surfaces as no. 7 but lighter; fabric has frequent medium or larger inclusions of dark, rounded material 014. (Not illustrated).

9 Wall sherd with applied strip decoration as no. 1 above and nos. 11 and 12 (in fabric B) below 014. Surfaces as nos. 3 and 4 but greyer internally. (Not illustrated).

10 Flat-topped rim fragment with collar ridge 014. Surfaces pale grey.

##### Hen Gastell fabric B

Similar to 'A', with abundant angular ill-sorted opaque white quartz or chert (mostly <1 mm, occasionally up to 2 mm) on surface. Sometimes grey inner surface. Similar to Ham Green ware from Gwbert.<sup>51</sup>

Nos. 11-12 are fragments from two or three jugs with traces of decayed glaze and applied strip decoration.

11 Wall sherds with applied curvilinear strips over a series of horizontal grooves, with indentations on the applied strip in the manner of some zoomorphic designs. Surfaces brownish-grey. (Not illustrated).

12 Wall sherds from ?one vessel; decoration as no. 11 but without indents 123. Surfaces (a) pale grey and (b) buff.

#### *Coarsewares*

##### Group 2. Cotswold/N Wilts wares

##### Hen Gastell fabric C

*Fabric:* light grey with light brown margins. Abundant rounded voids (<1 mm, occasionally very coarse (5 mm)); occasional sub-angular clear quartz (<1 mm, occ 1.5 mm), sparse angular red sandstone (<1.5 mm).

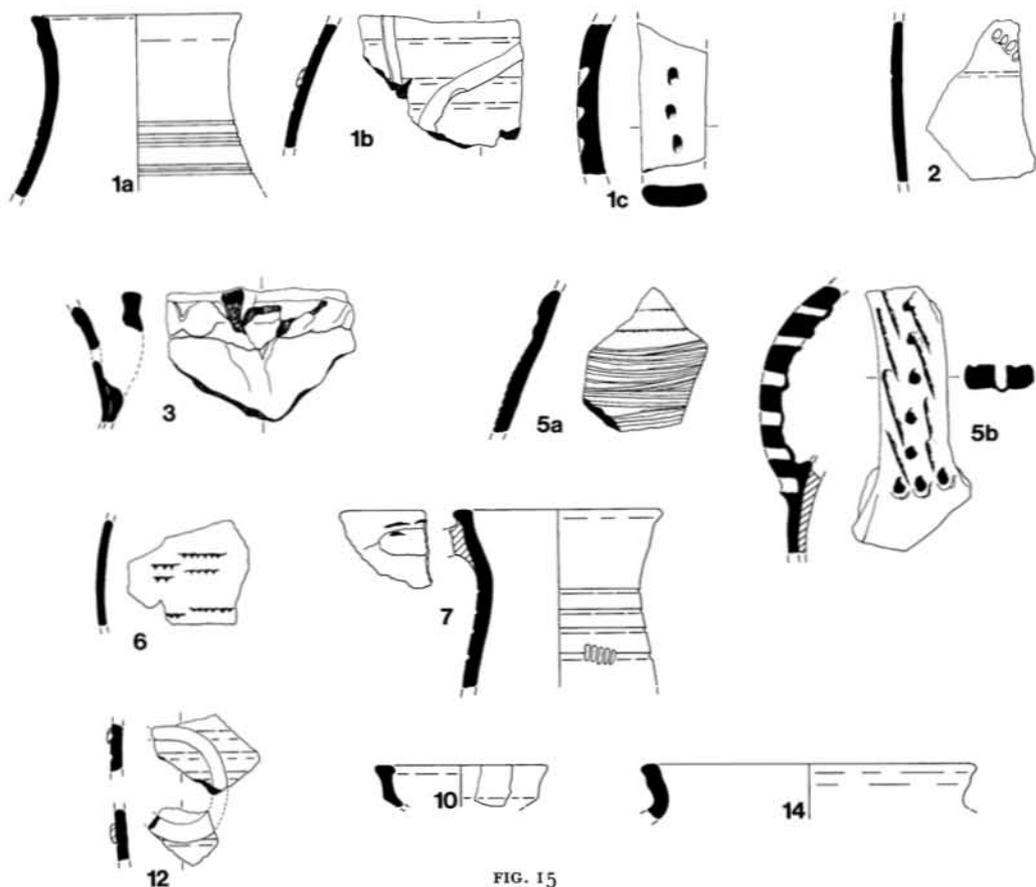


FIG. 15  
Later medieval pottery (Scale 1:4)

*Source:* similar to Loughor Castle Group 4, 'Minety-type fabric', and sherds from the Minety kilns excavated by Musty.<sup>52</sup>

13 Sherds probably from the upper part of the same tripod pitcher, lightly decorated with alternating broken bands of wavy and straight combing on the upper half of the body 014, 027, 123. Only one of the eight sherds has anything more than the merest traces of decayed glaze, a neck sherd with a thin, patchy lime-green glaze on both surfaces. A complete example from Loughor castle was associated with its phase 3, dated from the late 12th century to c. 1215;<sup>53</sup> the ware was also represented at Rhossili.<sup>54</sup> (Not illustrated.)

### Group 3. Sandy wares

#### Hen Gastell fabric Di

*Fabric:* hard chocolate-brown, sometimes brown (7.5YR 5/4) with dark reddish-grey surface (5YR 4/2), yellowish red margins (5YR 6/8) and very dark grey core (5YR 3/1). Abundant very fine sub angular white and opaque quartz sand (<0.5 mm), red clay ? particles (<1 mm), dark brown core, grey margins, and sooted surfaces.

*Source:* resembles Vale fabric and Penmaen ware A from phase 1 at Penmaen.<sup>55</sup> Also similar to Loughor group 5, attributed to the Avon area, which is first found at Loughor in period 2 (c. 1151-late 12th/early 13th century). It is the dominant fabric at West Glamorgan sites such as Rhossili.<sup>56</sup> Vyner sees the Penmaen fabric as precursor to Vale fabric proper, which he believes does not appear before the end of the 12th century.<sup>57</sup>

14 123 Rim of a cooking pot.<sup>58</sup> Two wall sherds in this fabric were also noted from context 014.

## Hen Gastell fabric Dii

*Fabric:* grey core (2.5Y N5/0) and dark grey to reddish brown surface (10YR 4/1 to 5YR 5/4). Abundant opaque fine white and opaque ill-sorted quartz sand (<0.5 mm), similar to fabric Di with sparse coarse red sandstone (<2 mm) and sparse red angular inclusions (clay?).

*Source:* similar fabric from Llantrithyd Castle;<sup>59</sup> also resembles Loughor group 5.

Sherds in this fabric were noted in contexts 003, 027, 029 and 102. The basal fragments from 027 show external sooting.

## Hen Gastell fabric Diii

As fabric Dii, but coarser. Red outer margin and surface (10YR 5/8), greyish-brown inner margin and surface (2.5YR 5/2). Ill-sorted, very coarse grey inclusions, sandstone lumps (up to 2 mm) and angular white quartz (<2 mm). Similar fabric at Penmaen.<sup>60</sup>

Two sherds from the same cooking pot were noted in contexts 045 and 046.

*Discussion*

In view of the small scale of the archaeological investigation, and the effect of quarrying on the site, it has not been considered worthwhile presenting more than a general quantification of the pottery, based on sherd count:

Group 1 Minimum 8 vessels represented 197 sherds

Group 2 Minimum 1 vessel represented 8 sherds

Group 3 Minimum 3 vessels represented 17 sherds

While this provides information on ceramic supply, the likelihood of rubbish disposal in other areas, some now lost, reduces the representative nature of the material. A limited range of forms are represented in the material recovered. The dominance of jugs over cooking pots, the reverse of the usual pattern as seen at Rhossili,<sup>61</sup> is unlikely to reflect social status or patterns of use, but more probably patterns of disposal and recovery.

All the pottery can now be dated, on the basis of new evidence from other sites, to the second half of the 12th century or early 13th century. None of the forms and decorative characteristics of Ham Green A jugs are present in this assemblage, but Ham Green B jugs with thumb bases, thought to appear c. 1180, are well represented. The earliest appearance of Ham Green wares at Loughor Castle is in periods 2-3, dated to c. 1151-c. 1215.<sup>62</sup> Cotswold wares are also represented at this period.

This *floruit* in the second half of the 12th century supports the attribution of the castle to Morgan ap Caradog between 1153 and 1188.<sup>63</sup> It is interesting to note the similarities between the pottery found in this Welsh castle and those found in the Norman ringworks at Loughor, Llantrithyd (abandoned c. 1200) and Penmaen, which indicate a network of supply common to this section of the S. Welsh coast, regardless of allegiance. The Hen Gastell assemblage, though small, forms a valuable, coherent ceramic group from an early Welsh castle, apparently devoid of later material.

OBJECTS OF STONE *By* MARK REDKNAP (Figs. 16-18)*The hones and whetstones*

The hone stones from Hen Gastell comprise 15 examples, covering a wide range of sizes, from small well-shaped personal hones for knives to large slip- and whetstones for iron-edged tools or weapons.

The stones were assigned to three geological groups on the basis of visual appearance, with the advice of Dr R. E. Bevins, Department of Geology, National Museum of Wales.

Group 1, the largest of the three groups, comprises local Pennant Sandstone similar to the outcrop on which the castle is situated. Group 2 is the second largest group with four examples, formed of Old Red Sandstone, which is not locally available, but found at the heads of the valleys to the N. Group 3 comprises three examples of iron-rich siltstones (shales) from the Coal-Measures areas, one being a dark grey/black siltstone of Carboniferous or possibly Lower Palaeozoic origin.

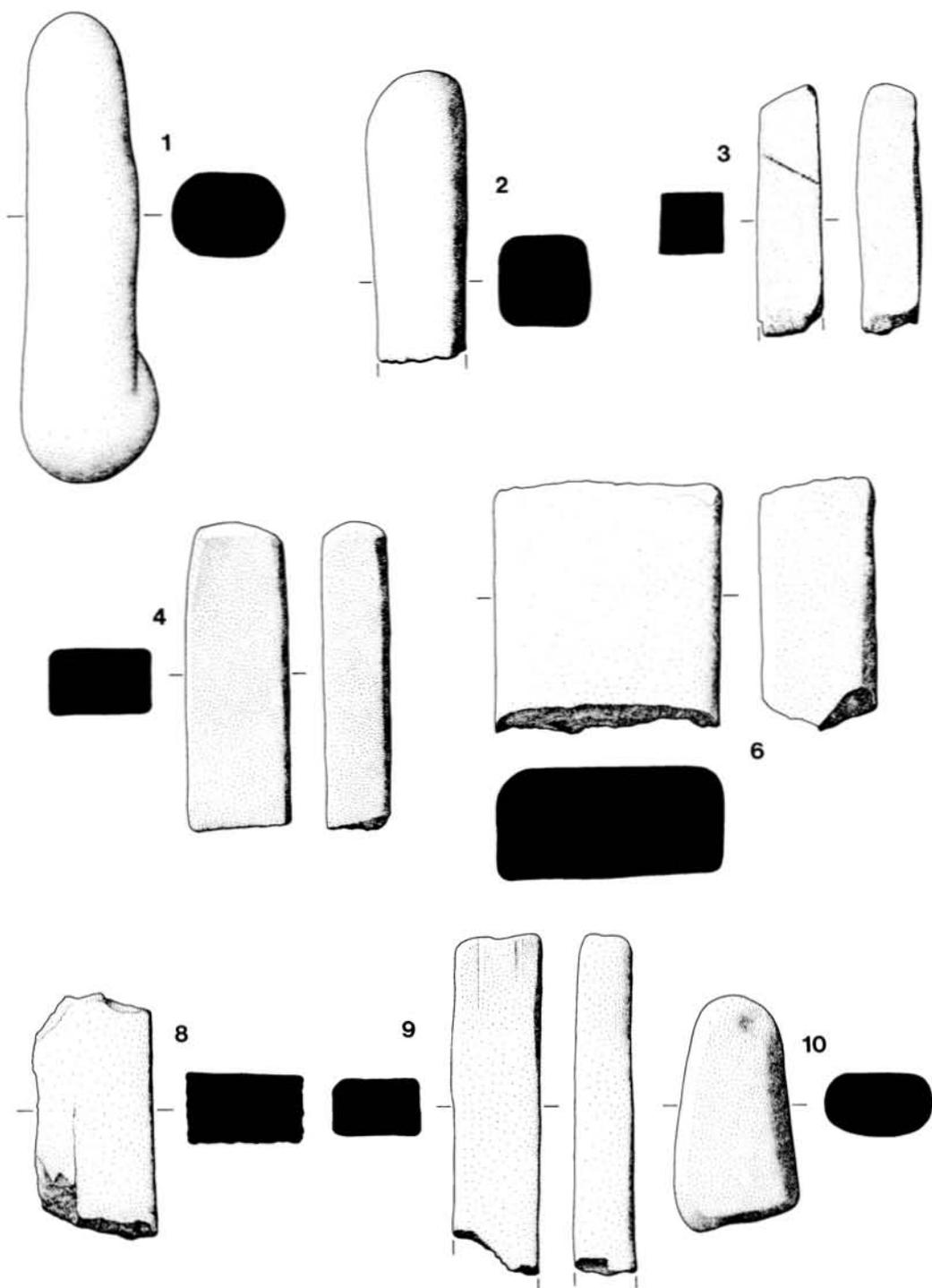


FIG. 16  
Objects of stone (Scale 1:2)

TABLE 3  
SUMMARY OF HONE STONE DIMENSIONS

Number	Context	IF no	Length	Width	Thickness	Type
1.	027	133	138	39	24	Group 1
2.	027	005	87 (inc)	36	36	Group 1
3.	123	117	75 (inc)	17	17	Group 1
4.	013	112	92 (inc)	30	17	Group 1
5.	067	115	208	56	18	Group 1
6.	014	094	75 (inc)	69	32	Group 1
7.	067	114	153	66	20	Group 1
8.	014	078	78 (inc)	35	20	Group 1
9.	014	093	101 (inc)	26	18	Group 2
10.	067	052	70	37	22	Group 2
11.	014	130	125	75	30	Group 2
12.	053	113	150 (inc)	73	38	Group 2
13.	062	118	51 (inc)	27	22	Group 3
14.	027	004	96	56	20	Group 3
15.	027	075	85 (inc)	30	11	Group 3

All lengths are given in mm; inc = incomplete

Of the three groups of hones represented, the local stone is the largest (with eight examples), followed by the Old Red Sandstone group (with four examples, though no. 11 may only have a slightly polished surface). Most show considerable wear — such as nos. 5, 6, and 7 — and one displays cross wear on one of its three polished sides (no. 5). Nine display wear on all sides, three on three sides, and a few on two or one sides only. Most appear to have been used for sharpening metal-bladed tools or knives; none display grooves characteristic of the sharpening of metal or bone points. Group 2 hones display the natural irregular shape of the stone. One example in group 1 is very well shaped with a neatly finished end (no. 4) and may have been a personal hone, although no clear examples of the small, regularly shaped personal hones with suspension holes are among the collection.

Typologically the whetstones could belong to both early medieval and later 12th-century phases of activity on the site. Similar forms have been found in Old Red Sandstone at the 5th/7th-century princely site of Dinas Powys and at the 9th/10th-century crannog at Llangorse, Powys,<sup>64</sup> while later examples are known from other castle sites in S. Wales.

#### *Other utilized stones (excluding flint)*

Other stone recovered from the site falls into two geological groups. The four fragments of slate are all of Lower Palaeozoic slate, possibly from the Pembrokeshire area (Carmarthen westwards or Llandovery northwards). The roof tile is of local Pennant Sandstone.

16 Slate disc with faint traces of incised pattern or motif, and a later hole perforating the centre 053 (053). The design is composed of a circular field framed by two lines, which are not cut by compass but by hand. Pointed leaves at the four quarters in foliate motif join the inner circle, and short additional lines infill gaps on the outside. The whole design has been bisected by two slightly converging lines. Maximum diameter of slate 87 mm, maximum thickness 4 mm.

The motif shows similarities to some of the pattern drawings from Ireland, though no identical designs have yet been identified.<sup>65</sup> The date of the Hen Gastell piece may be early medieval, but the motif shows no elements which are specific to this period. It is interesting to note, however, that the motif piece thought to come from a site near Aberglaslyn, Gwynedd, is also on a trimmed slate disc of similar size (with a diameter of approximately 50 mm).<sup>66</sup>

17 Fragment of slate with traces of two small nail holes, 32 mm apart 214 (103). (Not illustrated.)

18 Small fragment of slate, with perforation on one edge 053 (116). (Not illustrated.)

19 Small fragment of slate, with perforation 053 (104). Thickness 4 mm. Found in association with no. 16. (Not illustrated.)

20 Fragment of roof tile in Pennant Sandstone, with traces of one nail hole 001.

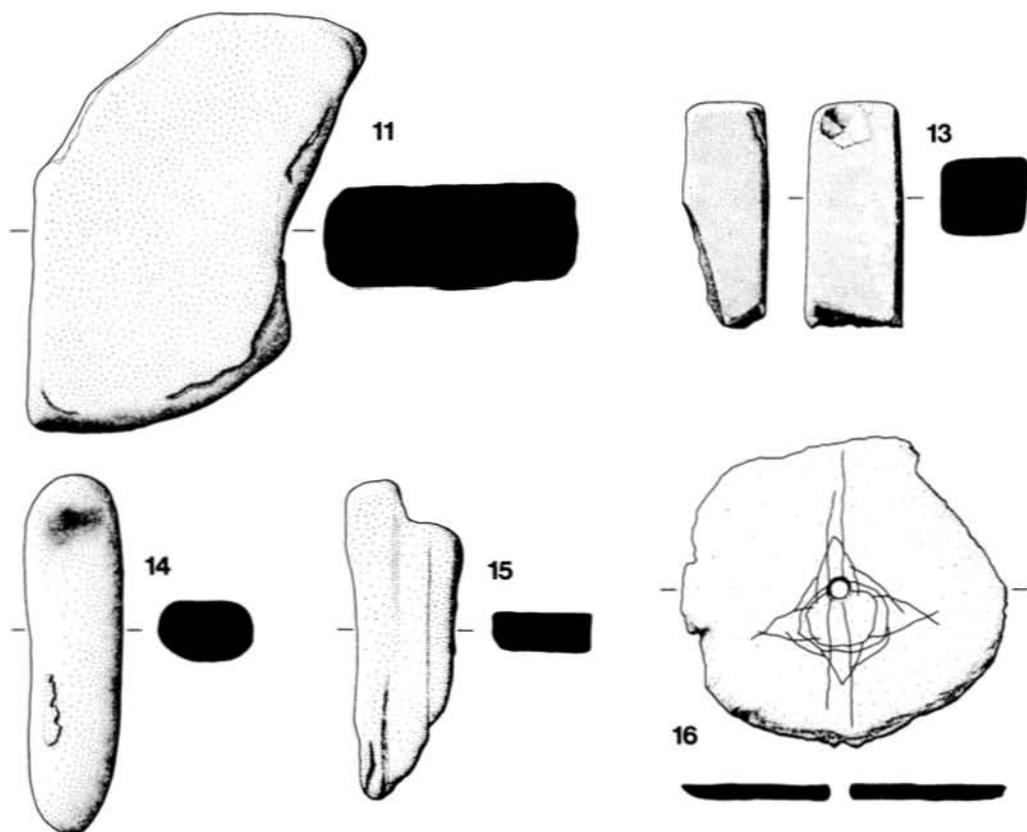


FIG. 17  
Objects of stone (Scale 1:2)

#### ANIMAL BONE *By* MARTIN LOCOCK

##### *Introduction*

An assemblage of one thousand animal bones was recovered, mostly from the fill of the 12th to 13th-century ditch. However, the number of bones was too small for many conclusions to be drawn.

##### *Method*

The entire assemblage was first assessed for quality, size, and nature and the contexts were grouped into high, medium, and low potential, depending on the date, number of bones, and state of preservation. For the contexts with high potential, a bone-by-bone record was made,<sup>67</sup> with no further work done on the other groups. The bones were examined by context, and identified using comparatives and atlases.<sup>68</sup> Sheep/goat were not distinguished. Where bones could not be assigned to species, they were recorded by size class, following Shackley.<sup>69</sup> Ribs and vertebrae were recorded by size class only. Tooth wear was recorded by the wear stages of Grant.<sup>70</sup> Completeness was recorded numerically, with each bone divided into 5 units.<sup>71</sup> Age (based on fusion of epiphyses) was recorded by four groups.<sup>72</sup> Unidentified fragments were counted if any of their dimensions exceeded

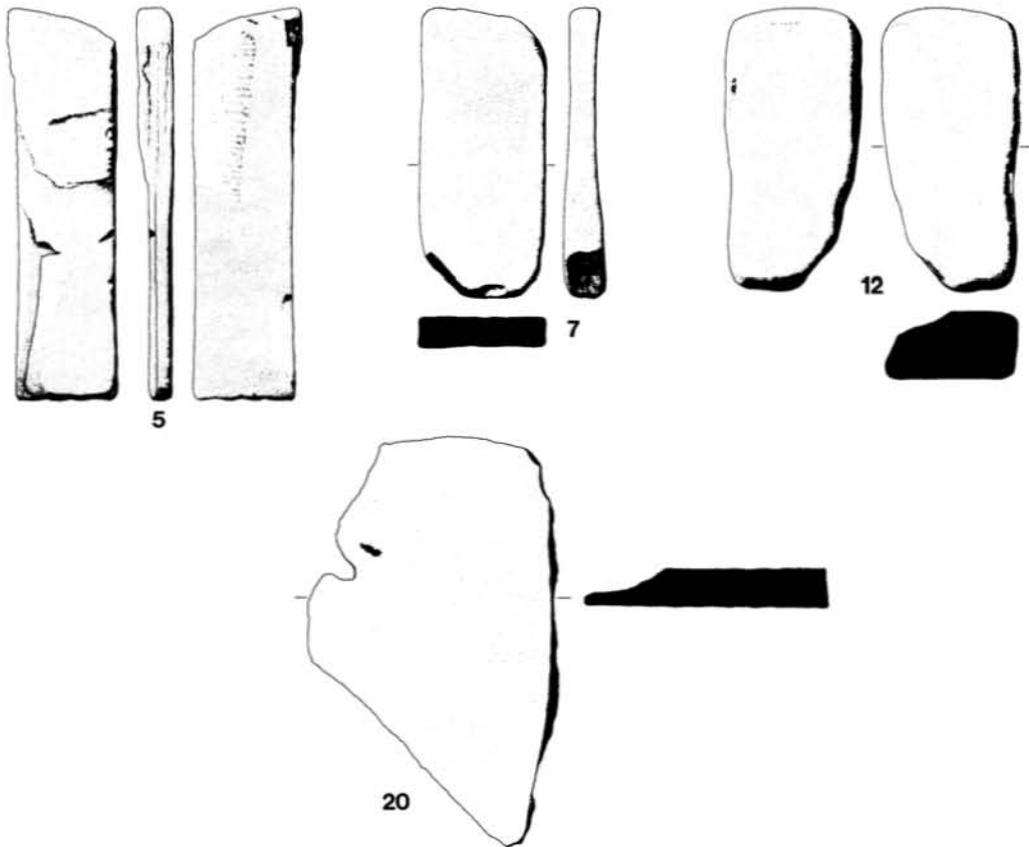


FIG. 18

Objects of stone (Scales 1:4)

10 mm. Where possible, standard measurements were taken.<sup>73</sup> For statistical analysis, loose teeth were counted separately to bones (which included mandibles and maxillas containing teeth).

#### *Species represented*

The assemblage contained bone from the four main domestic species, but no small mammals or birds. Owing to heavy fragmentation, of the 890 bones studied in detail, only 136 (15.2%) were identifiable to species; a further 542 (60.9%) were assigned to size class, while 212 (23.8%) were unidentifiable; there is no reason to suppose that the unidentifiable bone was not also from the four main species. In general, the assemblage reflects the presence of large numbers of cow and pig, with a few sheep/goat and horse.

#### *Preservation*

The bone was in general in a poor condition, with splitting and powdering prevalent. In many cases there were traces of gnawing on the bone surfaces. Eighty-five of the bones had been calcined by exposure to fire. The large numbers of loose teeth suggest that the

TABLE 4  
NUMBER OF IDENTIFIED SPECIMENS BY SPECIES

	<i>Teeth</i>	<i>Bones</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% identified</i>
Cow	27	36	63	46.3
Pig	43	11	54	39.7
Sheep/goat	1	10	11	8.1
Horse	7	1	8	5.9
IDENTIFIED	78	58	136	100.0
Medium mammal	5	330	335	
Large mammal	13	194	207	
UNIDENTIFIED	12	200	212	
TOTAL	118	772	890	

A further 97 bones, from later contexts, were not studied

bone assemblage has been heavily eroded. The state of the recovered bone would give it a high susceptibility to damage by mechanical attrition.

*Evidence for depositional and post-depositional processes*

The assemblage is likely to have been severely affected by taphonomic processes. The contrast between the numbers of loose pig teeth and the number of bones suggests that many pig bones have been destroyed. Pig teeth are fairly robust, and it is likely that sheep/goat teeth and bones have been destroyed. Whether this destruction took place before or after deposition cannot be decided. The burned bones and teeth show a strong bias towards medium-sized mammals, and it may be that the smaller waste bones were burned prior to dumping, while the cow bones (and perhaps large waste elements such as skulls) were buried in the ditch without burning. The assemblage is too small to allow the formal study of element representation, but there is no obvious absence of waste or meat joints.

*Evidence for butchery and diet*

Almost all the bone had been cut or broken into small units, of maximum dimensions of 100 mm. Despite the poor state of the bone, cut- and chop-marks were often visible. This suggests an intensive approach to meat recovery, and a reluctance to discard joints as waste. The diet suggested by the bones is of monotonous beef and pork, with occasional mutton. It is impossible to say whether the horse-meat was eaten, but it was probably not.<sup>74</sup>

*Evidence for husbandry strategy*

In a heavily-eroded assemblage, the age structure of a population will be biased towards mature animals, since bones from younger animals are smaller and weaker, and thus are more prone to destruction. The small number of immature bones of cow, sheep, and pig may well be misleading. The loose teeth found are in a variety of wear-stages, implying a range of ages-at-death, rather than a rigid 1-year or 3-year slaughter. The absence of hunted animals is surprising, perhaps explained by the presumed destruction of small bird and mammal bones.

The degree of fragmentation means that very few measurements could be made. In general, it would seem that the cattle were small and stocky and the sheep/goat were large and stocky, compared to English late medieval examples. The three cow astragali are similar in size and shape to Roman examples from Cowbridge.<sup>75</sup> There is little to suggest that the pig are wild.

*Comparison with other sites*

The site of Dinas Powys is crucial to a discussion of early medieval economy in Wales. Two studies of the bones have been made, initially by Cornwall, and more recently by Gilchrist.<sup>76</sup> The original study identified high proportions of pig, with a very young age profile for all species. The later research showed that Cornwall had been studying largely waste deposits, which may not have correctly represented the diet of the inhabitants. Sheep bones represented *c.* 10% of the animals in Phase 4b. As far as the assemblage from Hen Gastell can be relied upon, it would support the original interpretation of the importance of pig, although the ageing evidence is too limited to be applied.

The assemblage can be compared with that of the 12th to 13th century from the Rumney Castle excavations,<sup>77</sup> where again cattle and pig predominated, but with a significant contribution from hunted animals, particularly deer. Hen Gastell would seem to be a 'poor relation' of this castle.

*Summary*

Examination of the animal bones from Hen Gastell revealed the presence of cattle, pig, sheep, and horse. The bone assemblage had suffered from erosion, and biases due to differential destruction render detailed analysis problematical. Nevertheless, a beef- and pork-dominated diet can be suggested for the inhabitants. This pattern is closer to the early medieval occupation of Dinas Powys than to that of contemporary occupation at Rumney Castle.

*Other finds*

The project archive includes specialists' reports on the clay tobacco pipes, flints, coins, and ferrous objects.

THE SITE: A GENERAL DISCUSSION *By* P. F. WILKINSON *and* EWAN CAMPBELL<sup>78</sup>

The features defined by excavations and the finds which they contained show that Hen Gastell was the site of human activity over the course of a considerable period. By relating the finds to the structural and stratigraphic evidence it is possible to propose a chronology for the site's development, even though widespread disturbance in the modern period had destroyed most of the original stratification, leaving only a handful of deposits *in situ*. The earliest activity on the site is probably represented by a scatter of flints and a fragment of a polished stone axe, which may indicate prehistoric activity.<sup>79</sup> They were mostly concentrated on the spur S. of the ditch, and might, therefore, indicate activity in the relatively sheltered hollow which the ditch later occupied. It is possible that the site was used during the Roman period, but the sparse occurrence and abraded nature of the Roman pottery suggests that it was probably deposited at a later date. It is only in the post-Roman period that it is possible to postulate that the finds were contemporary with the activity registered in the structural record, and possibly features in the medieval period, at a date compatible with the suggested occupation by Morgan ap Caradoc. The presence of later finds such as clay tobacco pipes and bottle glass suggest casual use of the site since the Middle Ages.

*The early medieval activity*

Only three of the *in situ* deposits could be shown, on stratigraphic grounds, definitely to pre-date the cutting of the ditch (in Area 5: 146, 147 and 149), and only one of these (147) produced any datable finds (glass cat. nos. 21 and 22). This context, a compacted subsoil, underlay a buried soil, which in turn underlay another context. All three contexts were cut by the ditch. It is possible that this context was related to a similar one (032) found under the bank (005). The glass was the only datable material in these contexts and suggests that the soil might be a surviving fragment of an early medieval land-surface, although the ditch itself may be considerably later (see below).

The fragments of glass from context 147 are only part of a substantial quantity of imported material, which also includes pottery, of the 6th to 8th centuries. A pierced slate disc with scratches on one of its faces, possibly an early medieval 'motif-stone', was also found (stone objects cat. no. 16). Only the glass from 147, however, was securely stratified. Most of these finds were in contexts which contained later material and had obviously been disturbed or redeposited, although they occurred mostly on the summit, suggesting that this was the main area of early medieval activity within the part of the site which survived. It should be borne in mind that cartographic and photographic evidence suggests that a substantial part, perhaps 70–80%, of the summit of the hill has been lost to modern quarrying. Both the structural and the artefactual evidence recovered by the excavations therefore probably represent only a small fraction of what was originally present.

The Hen Gastell site is one of a number of important new early medieval sites found in S. Wales in recent years.<sup>80</sup> The early medieval finds form an important assemblage which suggests that the site was a major aristocratic stronghold occupied at least throughout the 6th to 8th centuries. If the outside limits of dating of the Type G brooch and the string-bead are taken into account, an occupation date range of the 5th to 9th centuries is possible. Although only a small area of the site survived to be excavated, examples of all the major classes of imports, except for the Mediterranean finewares (A ware), were recovered. The minimum number of vessels of each class is two B ware amphorae, three D ware tableware vessels, three E ware jars, and ten glass drinking vessels. In addition there is a pennanular brooch of Fowler's Type G, an amber disc and a very fine bead of local Welsh or Hiberno-Norse type.

This assemblage is comparable to a series of major settlements such as Dinas Powys and Longbury Bank in Wales, Dunadd and Dumbarton Rock in Scotland and Clogher in Ireland. Analysis of the characteristics of these sites suggests that they were under royal control and acted as redistributive centres for imported luxuries.<sup>81</sup> Most examples of this class of sites lie close to the coast, often by an estuary or harbour, as at Hen Gastell.<sup>82</sup> It can therefore be suggested that Hen Gastell was also a royal or aristocratic site with similar functions. Unlike at most of the other sites, there is no evidence for the use of precious metals or fine metal-working, but as this type of activity tends to be concentrated in specific areas of these sites, the restricted excavation area could have missed the appropriate deposits.

Use of the site at a later period, but before the Norman incursion into S. Wales, is indicated by the 9th to 10th-century-archaeomagnetic dates produced from the scorched bedrock and the hearth found on the summit. In this area the evidence suggests a sequence of events in which some postholes were dug. There was then an episode of burning which scorched the bedrock and the insides of the postholes. The postholes were then used to house posts, and a hearth was constructed and used. It is clearly possible that the scorching was caused by the burning of a structure indicated by the postholes and that this structure was then rebuilt and the hearth constructed within it. There is, however, no positive evidence to support such a hypothesis. The archaeomagnetic dates show that the scorching of the bedrock and the last use of the hearth probably occurred at the end of the 9th century. The layout of the structure represented by the postholes could not be ascertained from the surviving evidence. It is probable that some of such a structure would have been destroyed by the adjacent quarrying.

The evidence of early medieval activity on the site suggests a date-range of at least the 5th or 6th to early 10th centuries. Whether this activity was continuous or intermittent cannot be deduced from the evidence which survives. Generally, sites of this period are difficult to detect because of the aceramic nature of the early Middle Ages in Wales. In this case most of the evidence is in the form of imported luxury items, mostly from France, similar to collections found at only a limited number of sites in S. Wales, principally Dinas Powys and Longbury Bank. The nature of the material would seem to indicate the presence of a site of high status which might be described as 'aristocratic'; its location is comparable with broadly contemporary sites of similar nature, and within its immediate topography its position was probably chosen to take advantage of the defensive and strategic qualities of this hill, and to act as a control point for the crossing of the river Neath, as later in the Middle Ages.

#### *The later medieval period*

The excavations also produced a substantial quantity of pottery of the second half of the 12th to early 13th centuries. Like the early medieval material, most of it was found in disturbed deposits on the summit. No contemporary features could be positively identified.

In Area 5 the main ditch cut, and therefore post-dated, deposits which overlay an apparent early medieval buried land-surface. It was also found that the ditch cut the side of the bank (005) in Area 3 and a deposit of what might have been upcast in Area 5 (149). This might indicate a recutting of an earlier ditch, the date of which could not be determined. However, the stratigraphic relationship in Area 5 of the context containing the early medieval glass fragments and the possible upcast indicates that such a ditch would probably not have been earlier than the 6th century.

The fill of this ditch contained finds of a range of dates. Those which were post-medieval came from two places, one which had been disturbed by the test-pit of 1980, and the other in an area where artefacts could have filtered down through the voids between loose stone rubble. If this material is discounted, the latest

artefacts in the ditch fill were medieval. This would suggest that the fill, and probably the ditch itself, dated from the 12th to 13th centuries, or shortly afterwards. It should be recognized, however, that the post-medieval finds cannot with certainty be attributed to later intrusion.

It is most likely that the function of the ditch was primarily defensive, but it probably also served as a quarry for building materials, perhaps illustrated by the stack of stone slabs found in its fill.

In assessing the nature of the later medieval occupation, caution must be exercised with regard to the loss of most of the summit. However, the quantity of pottery of the second half of the 12th and early 13th centuries indicates substantial activity on the site. This, combined with its natural defensive qualities and the possibility that the ditch, and perhaps the bank, are of a similar date, would lend some credence to its identification as the site of Morgan ap Caradog ab Iestyn's castle. The site was occupied, and apparently defended, at around the time that Morgan was in control of the ferry-crossing. In the absence of more specific documentary evidence, however, Morgan's connection with the site cannot be proved.

## HEN GASTELL IN ITS CONTEMPORARY SETTING

By JEREMY K. KNIGHT

Hen Gastell is one of a distinctive series of early medieval defended sites in the western, Celtic speaking, areas of Britain and Ireland. They are usually promontory or ring forts, set near but not usually on the coast, often on rocky or cliff bound sites, with easy access to navigable water or estuaries.<sup>83</sup> Their material culture is characterized by imported Mediterranean amphorae and dishes and western French black slipped wares.<sup>84</sup> A later, probably separate phase brought E ware and glass vessels from sources somewhere in western France.<sup>85</sup> There is often evidence for the production of fine metalwork and enamel, and other craft activities. Where there has been sufficient excavation and fieldwork, as in Glamorgan around Dinas Powys, or around Cadbury Congresbury in Somerset, the sites seem to be unique within that area. They are usually close to a natural harbour. Of those along the S. Wales coast, Carew Castle lies on an inlet leading off Milford Haven; Coygan Camp on the estuary of the Taf or Cynin, overlooking Carmarthen Bay; and Hen Gastell on the estuary of the river Nedd (Neath). Dinas Powys is midway between the Taff estuary at Cardiff and the natural harbour at Barry. Longbury Bank is somewhat anomalous since it is undefended, but it lies on the now silted-up estuary of the Ritec. Similar import wares are known in small amounts from two monastic sites, Caldy island and Llandough, but these are close to Longbury Bank and Dinas Powys respectively. Adomnan describes Gaulish traders arriving in their *Barcae* or trading ships *ad caput regionis* — 'the head place of that region' somewhere near Iona, and possibly at Dunadd,<sup>86</sup> and the sites are normally seen as the seats of local rulers, chieftains or *potentates*,<sup>87</sup> who controlled surrounding territories and their resources, and exchanged those resources for prestige imported goods, used to maintain clients and a warband.

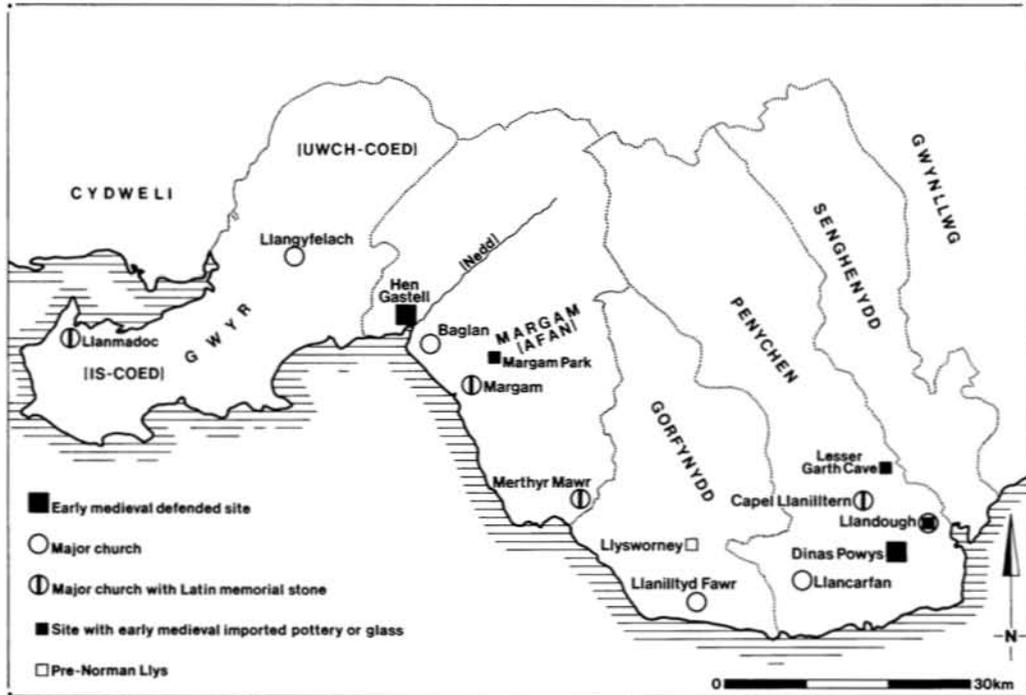


FIG. 19  
Cantrefi of Morgannwg

The finds from Hen Gastell, though a meagre remnant from the areas of the site which escaped quarrying, are sufficient to allow the site to be interpreted as a royal or aristocratic seat serving as a redistributive centre for imported goods and locally-produced products from its hinterland. What follows attempts to discuss this interpretative model at three levels — that of local and regional topography, that of early medieval Insular archaeology and society, and that of the Atlantic interface of western Europe, including its links with the Mediterranean.

#### GLYWYSING AND THE CANTREF OF MARGAM (Figs. 19 and 20)

Hen Gastell is sited in the W. of the early kingdom of Glywysing, said to have taken its name from an eponymous early king, Glywys. In the 10th century, this changed to Morgannwg, from its ruler Morgan Hen (Morgan the Old, c. 930–74) and later to Glamorgan (*Gwlad Morgan*, ‘Morgan’s Land’), the name of the medieval honour and lordship and of the historic county. 12th-century sources claimed that the constituent *cantrefi* of Glywysing had been named after the sons of Glywys (Fig. 19), though the list of cantrefi involved varied between sources, and there are very evident signs of attempts to fit them to a notional ‘Seven cantrefi of Glamorgan.’<sup>88</sup> As historical figures, the eponymous founders are of variable credibility. Gwynllyw, king of Gwynllio, between the Usk and the Rhymney, is

patron saint of St Gwynllyw's church (*anglice* St Woolos), now Newport Cathedral, and his *Vita*, written in the interest of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, in the 1130s tells how he lay there *in pavimento ecclesie*.<sup>89</sup> Poul, ruler of Penychen, between the Taff and the Thaw in eastern Glamorgan, appears as a *subregulus* in Lifris's *Life of St Cadoc*, and as the donor of the site of Cadoc's monastery at Llancarfan, the principal church of Penychen. He also appears as Poulentius, ruler of Glamorgan, in the *Life of St Illyd*, founder of Llanilltyd Fawr (Llantwit Major), principal church of Gwrinydd, west of the Thaw. Illyd was allegedly his *magister militum* before conversion.<sup>90</sup> Such traditions survived best where a major church could claim such ancestor figures as their founder or patron. Some *cantrefi* incorporate personal names like Gwrin (Gwrinydd, Gorfynydd) or \*Sangan (Senghennydd)<sup>91</sup> but other alleged founders, like Etelic of Etellicon (Edlogan) in central Gwent, Cettil of Chettgueli (Kidwelly) or Mar of Margam seem to be back-formations from the name of the *cantref*. The way in which both early medieval sources and modern pre-literate or proto-literate societies edit and revise genealogies and similar origin documents to bring them in line with contemporary political patterns is well known<sup>92</sup> and the neat pattern of *cantrefi*, each with its usually eponymous founder, must be basically a 12th-century learned construct. However, these late sources at least preserve a tradition of *subreguli* ruling the *cantrefi* of Glwysing at an early date, and even where any genuine early tradition have been lost, the individual *cantref* units are strikingly similar to the *provinciae* or *regiones* which Steven Bassett has suggested may have been an early element in Anglo-Saxon formation in the 7th to 8th centuries. These may have been in origin the territory of an extended family or kin-group and, like the Glamorgan *cantrefi*, are named after the usually eponymous founder, for example Stoppa of the Warwickshire Stoppingas, whose *regio* comprised some eleven later parishes<sup>93</sup> (the *cantref* of Margam contained twelve). Like the *cantrefi*, these *regiones* coalesced into early kingdoms and, again like the *cantrefi*, became the *parochia* of a mother church or minster. Bassett notes the similarity to the Irish *tuath* and it would seem a reasonable assumption that units of such widespread distribution must have been of very early origin within the British Isles.

Hen Gastell lay in the *cantref* of Margam (Fig. 20) and, as Philip Jenkins has pointed out, the most widely-used map of early Welsh *cantrefi*, and their subdivisions or commotes (*Cymydau*), that of Professor William Rees<sup>94</sup> presents problems so far as Margam is concerned, Rees does not show Margam *cantref* on his map, but instead an unnamed *cantref* centred on the valley of the river Neath, and divided into the two commotes of Nedd, W. of the river, and Afan to the E. In each case, the river gave its name to the commote which forms its southeastern boundary. The pre-Norman monastic site and medieval Cistercian Abbey of Margam lies outside this unnamed *cantref* to the SE. Though early lists of the *cantrefi* of Glywysing vary, they usually include Margam and have no trace of an unaccounted-for *cantref* which could be Rees's anonymous one. It is a simple emendation to move the boundary of the latter SE. to the river Cynfig or to the Ogmor (the boundary of the medieval rural deanery of Kenfig) and so restore Margam to its proper *cantref*. This emendation is confirmed, as Gwynedd Pierce has pointed out, by references

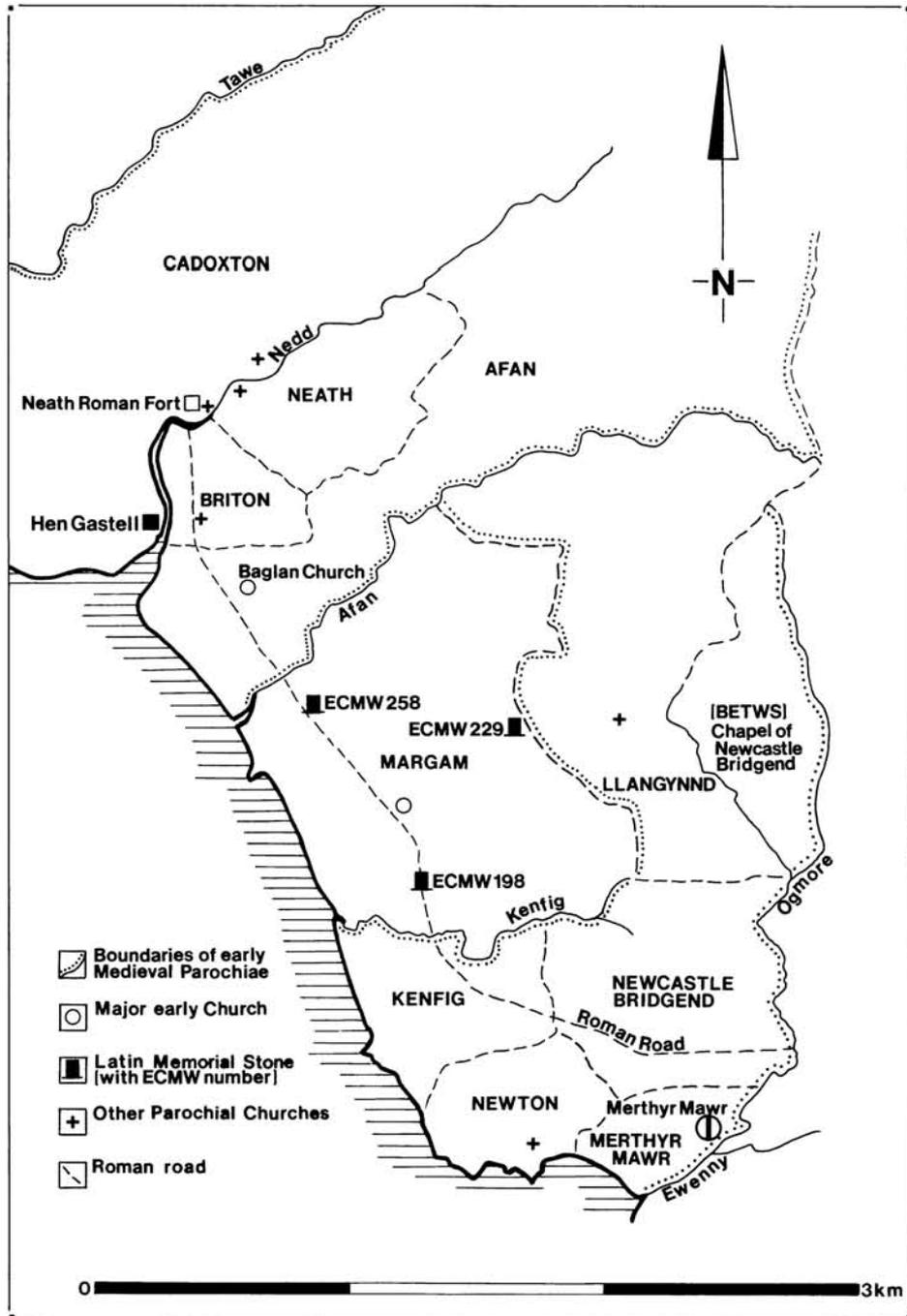


FIG. 20  
The cantref of Margam

to Merthyr Mawr and Newton Nottage as being 'in Marcan';<sup>95</sup> the confusion in the medieval sources probably arose because most of the land between the Afan and the Cynfig belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Margam, and was extra-parochial. This emendation restores the area around Hen Gastell to its early political geography, and provides a hinterland within which to discuss the site. In terms of human settlement, it also relates the two commotes to the valleys of the Neath and the Afan and their settlements, rather than to areas of upland bounded by those rivers.

The links between the principal church of each *cantref* and the traditions of its ruling house have already been noted. Unfortunately Glamorgan lies on the distributional fringe of the Latin-inscribed memorial stones of Nash-Williams Class 1, the main body of archaeological evidence contemporary with the imported wares seen at Hen Gastell.<sup>96</sup> It is difficult therefore to know how much weight to put on the absence of this pottery from such early monastic sites as Llandough and Llancafarn (in Penychen), or Llanillyd Fawr (in Gorfynydd), despite the presence in all cases of later classes of sculpture. Margam *cantref* on the other hand has four such stones, two associated with early church sites. Of the churches associated with Latin memorial stones, Merthyr Mawr (E.C.M.W. 238) had a large pre-Norman *parochia* covering the southeast of the cantref between the Ogmores and the Cynfig;<sup>97</sup> and Eglwys Nynnid (E.C.M.W. 198) is a now deserted church site some 1.6 km S. of the pre-Norman monastic site and Cistercian Abbey of Margam, alongside a Roman road known as Water Street. Of the stones not associated with church sites, the Bodvoc stone (E.C.M.W. 229) stood on high moorland NE. of Margam Abbey, one of a small group of such stones from upland Glamorgan associated with prehistoric round barrows. The memorial of Cantusus, a re-used Roman milestone (E.C.M.W. 258) originally stood alongside a Roman road 4 km NW. of Margam. If Hen Gastell did have any territorial connection with what became the later *cantref* of Margam, we may conclude that the latter included at least two high-status churches, one of them bearing the name of the *cantref*, though these did not as yet have exclusive rights as burial places of the elite. Both retained their importance, and their *paruchiae*, down to the high medieval period. Neither shows conclusive evidence of having been the principal church of the *cantref*, equivalent to an English hundredal minster, and they may have served its geographical sub-divisions, Merthyr Mawr from the Ogmores to the Cynfig, Margam from Cynfig to Afon. The area W. of the Afon, which included Hen Gastell, may have been served by Baglan, close to the castle of the medieval lords of Afon at Plas Baglan. In 1690, the church was described as 'by some of the former days thought more than ordinary sacred' and it retained an important saint cult and the crozier of its patron down to post-medieval times.<sup>98</sup> The site has produced a 9th-century inscribed and sculptured cross slab of the Glamorgan 'Crux-Xpi' group (E.C.M.W. 191).

An important recent development for the relationship between early medieval fortified sites and early churches of high status is the recognition, as a result of excavations by the Cotswold Archaeological Trust, of sherds of B ware amphorae at the early monastic site of Llandough, 2 km from Dinas Powys.<sup>99</sup> However, any model suggesting the existence in each *cantref* of linked high-status secular and

ecclesiastical centres serving as the *caputs* of that territory presents, as we have already seen, difficulties in practice, not wholly because of the incompleteness of the evidence. Until the discovery of Hen Gastell, any such model would probably have placed both secular and ecclesiastical centres for this *cantref* at Margam, its eponymous centre, which has a cluster of Latin-inscribed memorial stones, an important group of later pre-Norman sculptured crosses and a major concentration of presumptively Iron Age, but unexcavated, fortified sites. The rim of a 7th-century glass cone beaker with white marvered trails, similar to those from Hen Gastell, has been found on a site in Margam Deer Park as a stray find associated with fragments of late medieval glazed floor tile. This might suggest a high-status site, either monastic or secular, in the vicinity.<sup>100</sup> Margam however has no ready access to an estuary or harbour, the nearest being the mouth of the Nedd (and Hen Gastell) *c.* 10 km away. This raises the question whether Hen Gastell was sited where it is not because it was a pre-existing royal or high status centre, but because of its situation on an estuary providing excellent natural harbourage. Any secular *caput* for the area could have lain elsewhere, or alternatively Hen Gastell could have been the centre for a much smaller area, perhaps corresponding to the commote of Nedd, W. of the Afon, with its ecclesiastical centre at Baglan. Such questions test current models for such sites, and raise queries about the nature of the trade which brought Gallic and Mediterranean goods to Hen Gastell, and in whose hands such trade lay.

#### FORTS AND LLYSAU: SOME TYPES OF HIGH STATUS SETTLEMENT

Glwysing and its notionally seven *cantrefi* can be seen either as an early kingdom, or as a 12th-century learned construct. Similarly, Hen Gastell can be seen as the seat of the permanently resident *subregulus* of an area perhaps corresponding to a later *cantref* or commote; as that of a king of Glamorgan itinerant between a number of such centres with his clients and warband; or as a specialized trading centre, fortified and under royal control, but not necessarily part of a hierarchy of administrative centres of the kind discussed. These alternatives need not be mutually self-exclusive, and a few conclusions can perhaps be drawn from the archaeological evidence. Dinas Powys, Hen Gastell and Longbury Bank<sup>101</sup> have all produced Roman pottery. Hen Gastell has produced fourteen sherds from eight vessels. Five are from a 1st-century redware flagon, two are tiny scraps of the same samian vessel and two are from an Oxfordshire ware bowl, one being shaped into a spindlewhorl. The other five vessels are all represented by single, usually eroded, sherds. This is a pathetically small sample from which to draw conclusions, but Alcock's discussion of the Roman material from Dinas Powys, and comparable pottery from similar early medieval sites in S. Wales makes it clear that this was salvaged material brought to the site in post-Roman times, as was the case with most of the Roman pottery from early Anglo-Saxon graves.<sup>102</sup> Unlike Coygan Camp,<sup>103</sup> occupied in late Roman times and with a few sherds of post-Roman import wares, it does not include latest Roman wares, particularly that gritted with fossil shell from the English E. Midlands, which is not uncommon

on late 4th-century sites in the S. Welsh coastal zone, and is present at Coygan.<sup>104</sup> In total, this suggests that, like the contemporary Latin memorial stones with their formulae of 5th-century Gallic inspiration, the status of any *subreguli* may have been a new post-Roman development, not something derived from the Roman past.

One central problem presented by this select group of early medieval fortified sites is their relationship to other types of settlement. Similar small fortified settlements serving as the seats of groups of high-status warriors are known (in some cases with their associated cemeteries) in other areas of post-Roman western Europe, as in Gallia Belgica,<sup>105</sup> but far more widespread are royal or noble estate centres without strong defences. If equivalents to the Anglo-Saxon *villa regalis* could be identified in Wales, this would help to explain the present paucity of early medieval settlement sites there. Campbell and Lane have drawn attention to some undefended sites with imported wares in Dyfed, and suggested that these may have a different function from sites like Hen Gastell 'perhaps royal residences . . . (with) . . . small peripatetic courts . . . (utilizing) . . . estate centres for part of the year, whilst using more important defended sites when required to by the social calendar or the exigencies of warfare'.<sup>106</sup> Similarly, Alcock discusses a possible hierarchy of royal sites in N. Britain: the *civitas* or main royal fortress; the *castellum* or royal fort, which might be in the charge of a *praefectus* or reeve, and the royal township (*villa* or *vicus*), and cites the example (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 6) of Edwin of Northumbria riding around his cities, townships, and sub-kingdoms with his thanes.<sup>107</sup> In such a hierarchy, Hen Gastell would no doubt rank as a *castellum*, but any such system might be expected to change over time. Thomas Charles Edwards, in discussing the 'pitifully slight evidence' for food-renders and royal circuits in early medieval Wales, makes the important suggestion that 'By the 12th century, hospitality dues appear to have been largely converted into food-renders paid to the royal hall, which was the focus of the commote, the local administrative district. By then the king went on circuit largely round his own halls, whereas at an earlier date hospitality provided by the nobles was of greater importance'.<sup>108</sup>

On this basis, one possible model for Hen Gastell might be as the seat of a tributary noble or *subregulus* owing tribute and entertainment to a king of Glywysing. As in Saxon England, such men might be absorbed within a larger kindom, and their fortified seats might in time be replaced by a royal hall or *llys* on a separate site. In Gwynedd, the *llysau* of the pre- (Edwardian) conquest period were, as recent fieldwork has shown, generally unfortified,<sup>109</sup> and what evidence there is for later pre-Norman *llysau* in Gwent and Glamorgan, as at Portskewett (Gwent-Is-Coed) or Llysworney, the *llys* of Gorfynydd, agrees with this.<sup>110</sup> Sites like Longbury Bank do not really solve the problem of identifying early medieval high-status Welsh sites which did not attract import wares. Castell Dwyran in Carmarthenshire may however suggest some possible approaches. Here, the royal memorial stone of Votepor of Dyfed (E.C.M.W. 138 *Memoria Voteporigis Protictoris*), one of the 6th-century kings castigated by Gildas, is associated with an obscure minor church, with no known dedication, and a tiny parish of 680 acres. This is clearly not a major church of high status, equivalent to an English hundredal

minster, and the suggestion that the stone reflects the presence of a royal estate, rather than the status of the church, is not a new one. There has been no excavation at Castell Dwyran, but the Anglo-Saxon site at Cowage Farm near Malmesbury has some similarities. Here, a group of rectangular timber buildings, including a large hall and a church with apsidal E. end may be associated with a royal or noble estate centre, and with a tiny later parish.<sup>111</sup> Castell Dwyran could have been a similar undefended *villa regalis*.

Hen Gastell is one of the relatively few early medieval fortified sites in western Britain which became castles in the high medieval period. Tintagel, Carew, and Deganwy are other examples. In the late 12th century it was the seat of the local ruler of a territory much like that we have postulated for its early medieval owner. The possibility of continuity this raises is not really invalidated by the clearly circular argument. Archaeologically, the problem is that after the end of the importation of E ware, the latest of the import wares, probably in the 7th century, Wales enters a wholly aceramic phase which makes the identification and dating of settlement sites very difficult.<sup>112</sup> Hen Gastell was occupied in the 9th to 10th centuries and in the late 12th, but as Wilkinson and Campbell have stressed, it is not possible on the archaeological evidence to determine whether this occupation was continuous or not. The burning of the site *c.* 900 and the Hiberno-Norse glass bead coincide with a quickening of activity along the S. Welsh coasts from *c.* 840 onwards as a result of Viking and Hiberno-Norse contacts, reflected W. of Hen Gastell by the coin hoards from Minchin Hole (*c.* 845) and Penrice (1003–09) in Gower and from Laugharne (*c.* 975),<sup>113</sup> and by a scatter of Viking-period coins and metalwork eastwards as far as Caerwent. This could have led to the re-use of earlier fortified sites but Hen Gastell, on its prominent rock in the estuary of the Nedd, would have been a foolish place to hide from Vikings, and if its burning was a hostile act, it was probably a continuously occupied settlement, perhaps since its early medieval phase. The way in which the destroyed building was re-built using existing postholes points to the same conclusion, and bearing in mind the tiny quantity of material which survived its quarrying to enter the archaeological record, it is perhaps not surprising that this contains no material to fill the gap between the Hiberno-Norse phase and that of Morgan ap Caradoc 'prince of those parts' in the 12th century.

#### GLYWYSING, GAUL AND THE PILLARS OF HERCULES

There is then perhaps just enough evidence in total to show that Hen Gastell was the seat of local rulers, perhaps continuously, from the 6th to the 12th centuries. The nature of its external links in Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Saxon times can be understood with reasonable clarity, since these lay within historic times. The nature of the links which brought Mediterranean and Gallic trade goods to it in the 6th and 7th centuries is less clear. Fulford and Thomas have both argued that the Mediterranean elements arrived in Britain on ships direct from the Aegean and Constantinople, and Thomas that the import wares were the products of two separate trading enterprises, one Mediterranean, the other Gallic, directed

at particular entry points, from which secondary distribution would convey the imported goods to other centres.<sup>114</sup> The problems presented by the two groups of import wares are so different that they are in any case best considered separately.

The trade from Atlantic Gaul has much in common with medieval and later maritime commerce in the Atlantic seaways, and is best understood in that light. The Irish ships, *scothorum naves*, present at Noirmoutier in the time of St Philibert (674–84) are discussed by Thomas, but the *Vita Filiberti*<sup>115</sup> contains more about 7th-century Atlantic commerce. Noirmoutier, a tidal island, is on the estuary of the Loire, but the *Life* was written at his other monastery of Jumieges on the lower Seine above Rouen, and contains not only Irish sailors, but *Brittones nautici* and *naves Brittanicae*, Bretons, if not insular Britons. The port at which they were calling was one of the major salt ports of the Atlantic coasts down to the 19th century, suggesting why Irish sailors were bringing their clothing and shoes there. The *Life* also tells how Philibert received 40 *modii* of olive oil (c. 365 litres) on a ship from Bordeaux, a gift from friends or kinsmen there (his father had been bishop of Aire in Landes). The olive tree does not grow in SW. France, and the oil must have come from Spain or Languedoc. The links shown in the *Life* are enough to document the western French trade which brought pottery and glass to Hen Gastell, though as both Fulford and Alcock have stressed, the archaeologically visible element must represent only the trace element of a much larger whole.

The attention given to ceramic imports has to some extent obscured the fact that the most common individual class of imported material, at least on S. Welsh sites, is not pottery, but glass, particularly the cone beakers with marvered white trail decoration.<sup>116</sup> Hen Gastell has nine cone beakers represented, Longbury Bank at least fifteen, and Dinas Powys c. 40 vessels in all, proportions which reflect the extent of excavation on each site.<sup>117</sup> Unlike the pottery imports with their coastal distribution, a few individual glasses of Gallic/west British type are found inland in Powys and Shropshire.<sup>118</sup> Both Thomas and Campbell have pointed out their frequent association with E ware, and they probably belong to the late phase of import wares, a conclusion supported by the sherd from a vessel of this type from Much Wenlock Priory, founded c. 680.<sup>119</sup> Like E ware, their source within Gaul is unknown, but it has long been recognized that they drew on a differing source from that which supplied the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of eastern England. Two cone beakers with marvered white horizontal trails and swags from *grübenhäuser* in the Merovingian village of Brebieres (Pas-de-Calais)<sup>120</sup> suggests that their distribution was not confined to Aquitaine, and may well be widespread, making it more difficult to identify a single source.

For the Mediterranean imports, Fulford's case for direct maritime contact is based in part on the ratios of western and eastern Mediterranean material among the insular material, in part on epigraphic and literary evidence for contacts between Byzantium and Britain. The epigraphic evidence can be discounted. The Penmachno inscription (E.C.M.W. 104), with a post-consular dating clause, shows specific links with the Lyon area, not further afield, and such dating clauses are commonplace in 6th-century Gaul, particularly in Burgundy.<sup>121</sup> Discussion of literary evidence for contacts between Byzantium and Britain began in the 1950s,

citing an episode in the 7th-century *Life* of the Alexandrian Patriarch John the Almsgiver.<sup>122</sup> This episode is now generally recognized as non-historic and neither Fulford or Thomas for example cite it. It closely follows Vladimir Proop's morphology of the folk tale<sup>123</sup> and it shares with sources such as Procopius the difficulty that 'Britain' or 'the islands of Britain' was often used in late classical sources as a rhetorical topos for 'the ends of the earth', rather like the modern colloquial use of 'Timbuctoo' or the like. One passage from Procopius cited by Fulford for example is probably rhetorical — Justinian paid monetary subsidies indiscriminately 'East, west, north and south, as far as the inhabitants of Britain and the people of every part of the known world.'<sup>124</sup> The same problem arises with Tertullian's well known references to Christians in late 2nd century Britain.<sup>125</sup> It may be safer to regard the ceramic evidence in its own right.

Fulford demonstrates that whereas on Insular sites, eastern imports substantially outnumber N. African wares, on Mediterranean sites eastern wares form a small minority. He therefore concludes that the eastern wares must have travelled direct from the Aegean or Turkey, rather than being trans-shipped at western ports, where they would have been diluted to a greater extent with Tunisian amphorae and African Red Slip Ware. There is a wide distributional gap between the classical sites in the Mediterranean where large assemblages of late Roman pottery have been studied, and those in Britain and Ireland which have produced similar wares. This has now to some extent been narrowed by the identification of sites on the S. Spanish coast at Benalua near Alicante<sup>126</sup> and on the Isla de Frailas (Aguilas, Murcia)<sup>127</sup> which have produced large amounts of the relevant pottery types, and by excavations at sites such as Cartagena<sup>128</sup> and Marseille.<sup>129</sup> The first two may be coastal trading centres. Detailed quantitative studies are available from Benalua, and from the Marseille Bourse site. They show the same pattern as that emphasized by Fulford, with eastern wares in a distinct minority, but in southern Spain they also differ markedly in distribution and function from the African imports. Phocian Red Slip (P.R.S.) Ware in particular is almost entirely coastal in distribution, unlike African wares, which travel inland in bulk, their distribution being only limited by that of the 'late samian' pottery of central Spain, with which they are mutually exclusive.<sup>130</sup> The many African lamps in the area usually show burning and other traces of use and the African wares were thus for local consumption, whereas the P.R.S. ware, with its coastal distribution, may have been associated with long-distance trade. However, in the absence of relevant published pottery groups from the Atlantic coasts of Spain and France, Fulford's pattern would still be consistent with cargoes being traded or trans-shipped by eastern traders at coastal centres in SW. Spain or Morocco (e.g. Ceuta), much as much post-medieval Atlantic trade originated at Sanlucar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Conimbriga in northern Portugal shows what seems to be a higher proportion of P.R.S. ware,<sup>131</sup> which has now been reported from the 6th-century levels at the St Christoly site at Bordeaux<sup>132</sup> (where D ware probably originated). We perhaps still do not fully understand the mechanisms of the traffic which brought eastern wares to our Insular sites like Hen Gastell, but the evidence from the Atlantic coastlands may prove central to our understanding.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> C. J. Spurgeon and H. J. Thomas, 1974, *Archaeology in Wales*, 14 (1974); C. J. Spurgeon, 'Medieval Glamorgan: An Interim Report on Recent Fieldwork', *Morgannwg*, 22 (1978).

<sup>2</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Journey Through Wales* Book 1, Ch. 8.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of sand encroachment in this area in the Middle Ages, see L. A. Toft, 'A study of coastal village abandonment in the Swansea Bay region, 1270-1540' *Morgannwg* 33 (1989).

<sup>4</sup> R. Merrick, *Morganiae Archaiographia: A Book of the Antiquities of Glamorganshire*, Ed. Brian Ll James 109. (1983).

<sup>5</sup> E. Lluyd, *Parochalia*, III; Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments for Wales (1911), *Inventory of Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, Volume III Part 1a: The Early Castles from the Norman Conquest to 1217* (London, 1991), 139-41 (hereafter R.C.A.H.M.W.).

<sup>6</sup> R.C.A.H.M.W., op. cit. in note 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>8</sup> Giraldus, op. cit. in note 2.

<sup>9</sup> R.C.A.H.M.W., op. cit. in note 5.

<sup>10</sup> L. Alcock, *Dinas Powys: an Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1963), 26 (hearth D).

<sup>11</sup> P. V. Webster, 58-59 in W. J. Britnell, 'Capel Maelog, Powys: Excavations 1984-87', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 34 (1990); K. W. B. Lightfoot, 'Rumney Castle, a ringwork and manorial centre in South Glamorgan', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 36 (1992), 99.

<sup>12</sup> G. J. Wainwright, *Coygan Camp, A Prehistoric, Romano-British and Dark Age settlement in Carmarthenshire* (Cardiff, 1960).

<sup>13</sup> W. H. Manning, *Report on the excavations at Usk: The fortress excavations 1968-71* (Cardiff, 1981), fig. 92, no. 1.

<sup>14</sup> N. Crummy, *The Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-79* (Colchester Archaeological Reports 2, 1983), 67 and 94 for a discussion of these classes of objects.

<sup>15</sup> Britnell, op. cit. in note 11, Fig. 10, 6-8; Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 148-49.

<sup>16</sup> C. J. Young, *Oxfordshire Roman pottery* (Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 43) (Oxford, 1977), C35; C40.

<sup>17</sup> E. Campbell, 'The post-Roman pottery', in N. Edwards, and A. Lane (eds), *Early Medieval settlements in Wales AD 400-1100* (Cardiff and Bangor, 1988); id., *Imported goods in the early Medieval Celtic West: with special reference to Dinas Powys* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Wales College of Cardiff, 1991), 184-89; id., 'The archaeological evidence for contacts: imports, trade and economy in Celtic Britain AD 400-800', in K. R. Dark (ed.), *External contacts and the economy of Late Roman and Post-Roman Britain AD 400-800* (forthcoming).

<sup>18</sup> Campbell in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17, 125.

<sup>19</sup> Campbell *Imported goods and Campell Evidence for contacts*, op. cit. in note 17.

<sup>20</sup> J. Rigoir, Y. Rigoir, and J.-F. Meffre, 'Les dérivées paléochrétiennes du groupe atlantique', *Gallia* 31 (1973), 364-409; Campbell in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17, 125.

- <sup>21</sup> Campbell in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17, fig. 29, 12; fig. 29, 34.
- <sup>22</sup> Campbell *Imported goods*, op. cit. in note 17, 30.
- <sup>23</sup> Campbell in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17, 126–27.
- <sup>24</sup> Reference is to Rigoin et. al., op. cit., in note 20.
- <sup>25</sup> Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 178–88; E. Campbell, and A. Lane, 'Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 37 (1993), 15–77; E. Campbell, 'A review of glass vessels in western Britain and Ireland AD 400–800', in J. Price (ed.), *Glass in Britain AD 350–800* (forthcoming).
- <sup>26</sup> Campbell in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17, 125.
- <sup>27</sup> E. Campbell, 'A blue glass squat jar from Dinas Powys, South Wales', *Bull. Board Celtic Studs.*, 36 (1990), 239–45.
- <sup>28</sup> P. Rahtz and L. Watts, 'Pagan's Hill revisited', *Archaeol. J.* 146 (1989), 330–71.
- <sup>29</sup> Campbell *Evidence for contacts*, op. cit. in note 17.
- <sup>30</sup> Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 187.
- <sup>31</sup> J. Callmer, 'Trade beads and bead trade in Scandinavia c. 800–1000 AD', *Acta Archaeol. Lund.*, II (1971), 1–217, 86, Pl. 9.
- <sup>32</sup> V. I. Evison, 'Bichrome glass vessels of the seventh and eighth centuries', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung*, 3 (1982), 7–21; J. Hunter, 'The glass', 59–72 in P. Holdsworth, *Excavations at Melbourne St, Southampton 1971–76* (C.B.A. Res. Rep. 33) (London, 1980); U. Näsman, 'Vendel period glass from Eketorp II, Öland, Sweden. 'On glass and trade from the late 6th to the late 8th centuries AD', *Acta Archaeologica*, 55 (1984).
- <sup>33</sup> E. Campbell, and A. Lane, 'Celtic and Germanic interaction in Scottish Dalriada: the 7th century metalworking site at Dunadd', in J. Higget, and M. J. Spearman (eds.) *The age of migrating ideas* (Edinburgh, 1991).
- <sup>34</sup> J. W. Huggett, 'Imported grave goods and the early Anglo-Saxon economy', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 32 (1988), 64–66.
- <sup>35</sup> S. Youngs (ed.), *The work of angels: masterpieces of Celtic metalwork, 6th–9th centuries AD* (London, 1989), 208.
- <sup>36</sup> E. Fowler, 'The origins and development of the penannular brooch in Europe', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 26 (1960), 153, fig. 1.
- <sup>37</sup> T. M. Dickinson, 'Fowler's Type G penannular brooches reconsidered', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 26 (1982), 48–49, fig. 4.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–53.
- <sup>39</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, and T. V. Wheeler, *Report on the excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman and Post Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* (Rep. Research Comm. Soc. Antiq., 9) (London, 1932), 78–79.
- <sup>40</sup> E. Davies, *The Prehistoric and Roman remains of Denbighshire* (Cardiff, 1929), 274–75; Dickinson op. cit. in note 37, 47, fig. 3.29.
- <sup>41</sup> H. G. Evelyn-White, 'Excavations at the Roman fort of Castell Collen, Llandrindod Wells: Interim report', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 6th Ser., 14 (1914), 36, 43.
- <sup>42</sup> T. K. Penniman, 'Twic Point shell-heap, Broughton Bay, Llangennith, Gower', *Bull. Board Celtic Studs.* 8 (1936), 275–76; Dickinson op. cit. in note 37, 48, Fig. 3.28.
- <sup>43</sup> Dickinson op. cit. in note 37, 99, Fig. 4.7.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 56–57.
- <sup>45</sup> A. G. Vince, 'Early Medieval English pottery in Viking Dublin', *Kemeila. Studies in Medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney* (1988), 260.
- <sup>46</sup> B. Vyner, 'The pottery', in J. M. Lewis, 'Excavations at Loughor Castle', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* (forthcoming).
- <sup>47</sup> Acc. No. 47.164/63.
- <sup>48</sup> M. Ponsford, 'Dendrochronological dates from Dundas Wharf, Bristol and the dating of Ham Green and other medieval pottery', in E. Lewis (ed.), *Custom and ceramics, essays presented to K. Barton* (1991), 101.
- <sup>49</sup> K. J. Barton, 'A medieval pottery kiln at Ham Green, Bristol', *Trans. Bristol Glos. Archaeol. Soc.*, 82 (1963), Fig. 1 nos. 18 and 19).
- <sup>50</sup> Ponsford, op. cit. in note 48, Fig. 5b nos. 6 and 7.
- <sup>51</sup> N.M.W. Acc. No. 73.33H/15.
- <sup>52</sup> J. Musty, 'A preliminary account of a medieval pottery industry at Minety, North Wiltshire', *Wilt. Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Mag.*, 68 (1973), 79–88.
- <sup>53</sup> Vyner, op. cit. in note 46.
- <sup>54</sup> S. H. Sell, 'The pottery', in Davidson et al., *Excavations at the sand covered medieval settlement at Rhossili, West Glamorgan*, *Bull. Board Celtic Studs.*, 34 (1987), 265.
- <sup>55</sup> N.M.W. 66.517; E. J. Talbot, 'The pottery', 199–200 in L. Alcock, 'Castle Tower, Penmaen: A Norman ring-work in Glamorgan', *Antiq. J.*, 46 (1966); also Bristol Type 114.
- <sup>56</sup> Rhossili fabric A: Sell, op. cit., 262.
- <sup>57</sup> B. E. Vyner, 'Medieval and later pottery production in south Wales', 23–37, in B. E. Vyner, and S. Wrathmell (eds), *Studies in medieval and later pottery in Wales presented to J. M. Lewis* (Cardiff, 1987), 31; C. Papazian and E. Campbell, 'Medieval pottery and roof tile in Wales AD 1100–600', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 13 (1992).
- <sup>58</sup> cf. C. Price, and R. Newman, 'Vale fabric: A reevaluation', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 8 (1985), 10–19 fig. 1, no. 2 for an example in Vale fabric.
- <sup>59</sup> P. V. Webster, 'The pottery', in P. Charlton, J. Roberts, and V. Vale (ed.), *Llantrithyd: A ringwork in South Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1977), no. 157.
- <sup>60</sup> PN A/5, 4; N.M.W. Acc. No. 66.517/1.

<sup>61</sup> Davidson *et al.*, op. cit. in note 54, 262.

<sup>62</sup> Vyner in Lewis, op. cit. in note 46.

<sup>63</sup> R.C.A.H.M.W., 139.

<sup>64</sup> Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 160f; M. Redknap, 'Llangorse Crannog', *Archaeology in Wales*, 31 (1991), 38.

<sup>65</sup> For example, U. O'Meadra, *Early Christian, Viking and Romanesque art motif pieces from Ireland* (Stockholm, 1979), no. 107 A1 from Early Christian settlement at Gransha, Co. Down and no. 113 B2 from the Early Christian and medieval monastic site at Inis Cealtra, Co. Clare.

<sup>66</sup> F. Lynch, *Catalogue of archaeological material, Museum of Welsh Antiquities, University College of North Wales* (Bangor, 1986).

<sup>67</sup> The context bone records will be found in the site archive.

<sup>68</sup> E. Schmid, *Atlas of animal bones for prehistorians, archaeologists and quaternary geologists* (Amsterdam, 1972); T. Amorisi, *A post-cranial guide to domestic neo-natal and juvenile animals* (Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. 533) (Oxford, 1989).

<sup>69</sup> M. Shackley, *Environmental archaeology: An introduction* (London, 1981), 181.

<sup>70</sup> Reprinted in Amorisi, op. cit. in note 63.

<sup>71</sup> 1—proximal epiphysis, 2—proximal diaphysis, 3—medial diaphysis, 4—distal diaphysis, 5—distal epiphysis.

<sup>72</sup> N—Neo-natal; A—Juvenile; B—Immature; C—Mature.

<sup>73</sup> A. von den Dreisch, *A guide to the measurement of animal bones from archaeological sites* (Peabody Museum Bulletin 1, 1976).

<sup>74</sup> Horse sacrifice was a part of the Germanic pagan tradition, and as such was attacked by Christians. St Boniface, during his missionary work in Germany in the 800s, asked Pope Gregory III to re-affirm the Old Testament prohibition on eating horse (and numerous other animals), apparently in order to stop the practice of religion-related eating of animals. While this would probably not have affected the Welsh church directly, Gregory's ruling was in agreement with the independent tradition of asceticism and fasting of the Celtic church.

<sup>75</sup> G. G. Jones, 'Animal bones from 75 High St', in J. Parkhouse and E. M. Evans (eds), *Excavations in Cowbridge 1978-86* (forthcoming).

<sup>76</sup> Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 191-95; R. Gilchrist, 'A reappraisal of Dinas Powys: local exchange and specialized livestock production in 5th- to 7th-century Wales', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 32 (1988), 50-62.

<sup>77</sup> G. J. Jones, 'The animal bone', in Lightfoot, op. cit. in note 11, 151-54.

<sup>78</sup> EC provided the assessment of the early medieval finds and the review of comparable sites; PFW was responsible for the remainder.

<sup>79</sup> These are not reported upon here, but full details can be found in the archive.

<sup>80</sup> E. Campbell, 'New finds of post-Roman imported pottery and glass from South Wales', *Archaeol Cambrensis*, 138 (1989), 59-66; Campbell and Lane, op. cit. in note 25.

<sup>81</sup> Campbell in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17.

<sup>82</sup> L. Alcock and E. A. Alcock, 'Reconnaissance excavations on early historic fortifications and other royal sites in Scotland, 1974-84: 4, Excavations at Alt Clut, Clyde Rock, Strathclyde, 1974-75', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 120 (1990), 119-30.

<sup>83</sup> For a recent catalogue of these sites see Alcock in S. T. Driscoll and R. Nieké (eds), *Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1988), 40-46.

<sup>84</sup> Quantitative catalogue in C. Thomas, *A Provisional List of Imported Pottery in Post-Roman Western Britain and Ireland* (Redruth, 1981).

<sup>85</sup> C. Thomas, 'Gallici Nautae de Galliarum Provinciis—A Sixth/Seventh century trade with Gaul, reconsidered', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 34 (1990), 1-26. The characteristic forms of E ware belong to a widespread continuing—Roman tradition found alongside Merovingian carinated-rouletted forms over much of post-Roman Gaul. The use of thrown jug handles, folded at the edge, links with later western French ceramic traditions, but the ubiquity of the forms means that the ware can only be identified in the hand specimen not from published drawings. Isolated vessels have been reported from Tours, Poitiers, and Herpes (Charente).

<sup>86</sup> A. D. Anderson and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnan's Life of Columba* (London, 1961), I, c 28.

<sup>87</sup> L. Alcock, 'The activities of *Potentates* in Celtic Britain, A D 500-800: A positivist approach', in Driscoll and Nieké, op. cit. in note 83, 22-46.

<sup>88</sup> *Vita Cadoci* in A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), Preface, 24-25; *Vita Gundleii* c 1 (id., 172-75).

<sup>89</sup> *Vita Gundleii* (ibid., 172-93); J. K. Knight, 'St Tatheus of Caerwent, an analysis of the Vespasian Life', *Monmouthshire Antiq* 3: 1 (1970-71), 29-35.

<sup>90</sup> *Vita Codoci* Preface and cc, 8, 19 (Wade-Evans op. cit. in note 83, 24-25, 40-45, 62-65) *Vita Illtuti* cc 2-3 (id., 196-99).

<sup>91</sup> G. O. Pierce, 482-83 in H. N. Savory (ed.), *Glamorgan County History Vol 2, Early Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1984).

<sup>92</sup> D. Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal lists', 72-104 in P. H. Sawyer and I. N. Wood (eds), *Early Medieval Kingship* (Leeds, 1977); D. P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition: The Quest For a Chimera* (Oxford, 1974).

<sup>93</sup> S. Bassett, 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms', 18-23 in S. Bassett (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (Leicester, 1989).

<sup>94</sup> P. Jenkins, 'Regions and cantrefs in early medieval Glamorgan', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studs.* 15 (1988), 31-50; W. Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (Cardiff, 1959), pls 22, 28, following J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (London, 1911), 1273-80.

- <sup>95</sup> Pierce, op. cit. in note 91.
- <sup>96</sup> V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), fig. 2; catalogue numbers henceforth cited as E.C.M.W.
- <sup>97</sup> F. S. Cowley, 116–17 in T. B. Pugh (ed.), *Glamorgan County History Vol 3, The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971).
- <sup>98</sup> Anthony Thomas, letter to Edward Lhuuyd *Parochialia III* (Cambrian Archaeol. Assoc. 1911), 27–28; J. K. Knight, 373–74 in Savory, op. cit. in note 91.
- <sup>99</sup> I am very grateful to Neil Holbrook and the Cotswold Archaeological Trust for permission to refer to this material in advance of publication.
- <sup>100</sup> A. Fox and C. Fox, 'Forts and farms on Margam Mountain, Glamorgan,' *Antiquity*, 8 (1934), 395–413; E. Campbell, op. cit. in note 80, 63–65.
- <sup>101</sup> L. Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 22–25; Campbell and Lane, op. cit. in note 25, 15–77.
- <sup>102</sup> R. H. White, *Roman and Celtic Objects from Anglo-Saxon Graves: A Catalogue and an Interpretation of their use* (Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 191) (Oxford, 1986).
- <sup>103</sup> Wainwright, op. cit. in note 12, 157–58.
- <sup>104</sup> J. K. Knight, 'Pottery in Wales: The pre-Norman background', 9–21 in B. Vyner and S. Wrathmell, op. cit. in note 57; A. Vince, 'Did they use Pottery in the Welsh Marches and the West Midlands between the 5th and the 12th centuries AD', 41–43 in A. Burl (ed.) *From Roman Town to Norman Castle: Papers in Honour of Philip Barker* (Birmingham, 1988), misquoting (p. 43) the previous paper.
- <sup>105</sup> J.-P. Lemant, *Le Cimetière et la Fortification du Bas Empire de Vireux-Molhain, Dept Ardennes* (Mainz, 1985); J. Nenquin, *La Necropole de Furfooz* (Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses 1) (Bruges, 1953.) For a map of these sites see E. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London, 1985), 54–55, fig 42.
- <sup>106</sup> Campbell and Lane, op. cit. in note 25, 66–69.
- <sup>107</sup> L. Alcock, *Economy, Society and Warfare Among the Britons and Saxons* (Cardiff, 1987), 162–63, 211–13.
- <sup>108</sup> 'Early medieval kingships in the British Isles', in S. Bassett, op. cit. in note 93, 33.
- <sup>109</sup> I am grateful to Dave Longley for information on the Gwynedd Archaeological Trust Llys and Maerdref project.
- <sup>110</sup> J. K. Knight, 'Welsh fortifications of the first Millennium AD', *Chateau Gaillard: Etudes de Castellology XVI, Luzembourg* (University of Caen, 1994), 277–84.
- <sup>111</sup> J. Hinchcliffe, 'An early medieval settlement at Cowage Farm, Foxley, near Malmesbury', *Archaeol. J.*, 143 (1986), 240–59.
- <sup>112</sup> Knight, op. cit. in note 104.
- <sup>113</sup> Knight, op. cit. in note 93, 351–53; G. C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979–81* (Cardiff, 1986), passim.
- <sup>114</sup> M. Fulford, 'Byzantium and Britain: A Mediterranean Perspective', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 33 (1989), 1–6; Thomas, op. cit. in note 85.
- <sup>115</sup> *Vita Filiberti Abbatis Gemeticensis et Heriensis*, W. Levison (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingiarum* 5 part 5, 568 ff. Levison identifies Sidonius, the cellarer at Noirmoutier, who appears in the oil miracle, with St Saens, 'Sidonius the Irishman'. If so, the Irish sailors would have had no language problem there.
- <sup>116</sup> Campbell in Campbell and Lane, op. cit. in note 25, 40–49.
- <sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, Harden in Alcock, op. cit. in note 10, 178–86.
- <sup>118</sup> H. Woods, 'Excavations at Wenlock Priory, 1981–86', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 140 (1987), 64–65 and fig. 18, 2; Lane in Edwards and Lane, op. cit. in note 17, 97–98.
- <sup>119</sup> The founder was Merewalh, king of the Magonsaete, whose name means 'Illustrious Welshman'. H. P. R. Finberg, 'Mercians and Welsh', 66–82 in *Lucerna: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London, 1964); K. Pretty, 'Defining the Magonsaete', in Bassett, op. cit. in note 93, 171–83.
- <sup>120</sup> P. Demolon, *Le Village Merovingien de Brebieres, VI e–VII e siècles* (Arras, 1972), 55, fig. 14, 1332 and 87–88 fig. 25, 81 and pl. 36. There is also a bowl with similar decoration (pl. 35).
- <sup>121</sup> J. K. Knight, 'Penmachno revisited: The Consular inscription and its context', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studs.* (forthcoming).
- <sup>122</sup> C. A. R. Radford, 'Imported pottery found at Tintagel', Cornwall, in D. B. Harden (ed.), *Dark Age Britain: Studies Presented to E. T. Leeds* (London, 1956), 68. The *Life* was originally by Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem (633–37). The ship episode is in a supplement by Leontius, bishop of Neapolis (Sicily?). For an English translation see E. Dawes, and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948).
- <sup>123</sup> V. Proop, *The Morphology of the Folk Tale* (1926, ed. and trans L. Scott, 1970).
- <sup>124</sup> Procopius *Anekdotai*, XIX, 13.
- <sup>125</sup> C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, 1981), 42–43.
- <sup>126</sup> P. Reynolds, *El Yacimiento Tardorromano De Lucentum (Benalua-Alicante): Las Ceramicas Finas* Catalogo de Fondos del Museo Arqueologico Provincial II (Alicante, 1987).
- <sup>127</sup> A. Gonzalez Bianco, *Del Conventu Cathaginiensis a la Chora de Tudmir: Perspectives de la Historia de Murcia Entre los Siglos III–VIII*. (University of Murcia *Antiquedad Y Cristianismo*, 2 (1985).
- <sup>128</sup> R. Mendez Ortiz, and S. Ramallo Asensio, *Ceramicas tardias (SS IV–VII) De Carthago Nova Y Su Entorno*, in Blanco, op. cit. in note 127, 231–54, and R. Mendez Ortiz, *El transito a la Dominacion Bizantina en Cartagena: Las producciones ceramicas de la Plaza de las Tres Reyes, Artes Y Poblamiento en el S E Peninsula durante los Ultimos siglos de Civilizacion Romana (Antiquedad Y Cristianismo*, 5, 1988), 31–164.
- <sup>129</sup> M. Bonifay and J.-P. Pelletier, *Elements d'évolution de ceramiques de l'Antiquite tardive a Marseille d'apres les fouilles de la Bourse*, *Rev. Archaeol. de Narbonne*, 16 (1983), 285–346.

<sup>130</sup> For example at El Monastil near Elda (Prov Alicante), a site with a good assemblage of A.R.S. ware and amphorae, only one vessel of P.R.S. has been identified. A. M. Poveda Navarro, *El Poblado Ibero-Romano de El Monastil* (Elda, 1988). I am very grateful to Dr Poveda for very useful discussions on the distribution of late Roman wares in Southeast Spain.

<sup>131</sup> M. Delgado, F. Mayet, and A. Moutinho de Alarcao, *Fouilles de Conimbriga IV: Les Sigillees* (Paris, 1975).

<sup>132</sup> F. Mayet, and M. Picot, *Une sigillée Phocéenne tardive (Late Roman C) et sa diffusion en Occident, Figlina*, 7 (1986), 130 no. 7 and pl. iv, 19.