

From Villa to Monastery: Llandough in Context

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THE EXCAVATIONS at Llandough have revealed a large Early-medieval cemetery in close proximity to the site of a Roman villa and Early-medieval monastery. This paper examines the evidence for the re-use of villa sites for burial in the post-Roman period. The documentary evidence for the monastery at Llandough is also presented, and the site discussed within the context of the Early-medieval political geography of South Wales.

ROMAN VILLAS AND EARLY-MEDIEVAL CEMETERIES

The re-use of the sites of Roman villas for Early-medieval cemeteries and churches is a phenomenon found in many areas of western Europe. There has been much debate about its significance, and a number of possible models have been suggested.¹ Particularly characteristic of South-West Gaul, such cemeteries occur through most of Gaul and northern Spain, and eastwards into the Danubian provinces. Convincing examples are fairly rare in Britain,² and as we shall see, these few provide even fewer exact parallels for Llandough. Much previous discussion has centred on problems of 'continuity', though it is recognised that several kinds of continuity are involved. Llandough offers a new factor in this equation through the proximity of the high-status Early-medieval defended site of Dinas Powys.³ However, radiocarbon dates show that a number of graves with hobnails or with Roman coins, which might be thought Late-Roman, are Early-medieval, and there is no evidence that the cemetery begins in late Roman times.

If one thing is clear, it is that no one monocausal explanation will fit the wide range of observed phenomena. A range of possible models is needed to fit individual cases. Percival has discussed several case histories, mostly from southern France, and others can be cited in order to illustrate the range of possibilities. In considering post-villa burials, we shall need to exclude such things as burials from an adjacent pre-villa settlement, as with the Iron-age cremations from Folkestone

¹ J. Percival, *The Roman Villa: An Historical Introduction* (London, 1976), 169–99 is the best introduction to these complex problems. See also his 'The fifth century villa: new life or death postponed?', 156–64 in J. Drinkwater and H. Elton (eds.), *Fifth Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (Cambridge, 1992), and 'Villas and monasteries in Late Roman Gaul', *J. Ecclesiastical Hist.*, 48 (1997), 1–21.

² S. Applebaum, *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, I, ii (ed. H. P. R. Finberg) (1972), 256 and 259, and Percival (1976), op. cit. in note 1, 183 and 217, n. 1.

³ L. Alcock, *Dinas Powys: An Iron Age, Dark Age and Early Medieval Settlement in Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1963).

(Kent),⁴ normal villa cemeteries, and casual infant burials.⁵ Excluding these, the following range of possibilities can be suggested:

CEMETERIES WITHOUT ASSOCIATED CHURCHES

One possibility is casual burial on a deserted villa site on one specific occasion, e.g. battle or execution burials. An example is given in Constantius of Lyon's life of St Germanus of Auxerre, written about 470–80, where the bishop and his clergy camp overnight in a largely ruined Roman villa and are disturbed by ghosts. These prove to be two executed criminals, buried in the ruins of the villa. Though the episode has been lifted from a well-known ghost story by Pliny, it was clearly a credible state of affairs in 5th-century Gaul. The two shallow face-down burials on the Well House (Berks.) villa, or the skeleton with sword cuts to the skull lying in the rubble of a ruined hypocaust on the Kings Weston (Avon) villa may be other examples, and massacre or battle burials has been suggested for the initial phase of the Llantwit Major (Vale of Glamorgan) villa burials.⁶

The other possibility is the establishment of an Early-medieval cemetery, without an associated church, on a deserted villa site, perhaps because the land was unfit for agriculture or the plough. The presence of the cemetery however implies a contemporary settlement nearby. Llantwit Major is perhaps a typical example. The siting of Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries on or near Roman villas raises other problems, not considered in detail here. They would normally fall within this category, though at Eccles (Kent), the place-name could imply the presence of a sub-Roman British church in the vicinity, if it does not simply indicate land in church ownership. In both these models no associated church or chapel will be present, and neither would fit the case of Llandough.⁷

CEMETERIES AND CHURCHES

All other options involve the presence of a Christian church or chapel, whatever the nature and origin of that church, and whatever its relationship to the

⁴ S. E. Winbolt, *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 37 (1925), 209; 38 (1926), 45; *Antiq. J.*, 5 (1925), 65.

⁵ Casual infant and neo-natal burials: D. Watts, *Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain* (London, 1991), 42–51 suggests that formal infant burials in adult cemeteries could indicate Christian influence.

⁶ Constantius of Lyon, *Vita Germani*, 247–83 in W. Levison (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicorum*, 7 (Berlin, 1920), c. 10. Ghost story: Pliny, *Letters*, VII, 27, to Licinius Sura. Well House: *Victoria County History, Berkshire*, 1 (1906), 209. *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 17 (1861), 336; 19 (1863), 60–3. G. C. Boon, 'The Roman villa in Kingsweston Park, Gloucestershire', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 69 (1950), 5–58, and 'Kingsweston villa revisited: the East Wing murder and other burials', *Trans. Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, 111 (1993), 77–83. V. E. Nash-Williams, 'The Roman villa at Llantwit Major', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 102 (1953), 89–163, and A. H. A. Hogg, 'The Llantwit Major villa: A reconsideration', *Britannia*, 5 (1974), 225–50.

⁷ R. Shaw, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Eccles: preliminary report', *Archaeol. Cantiana*, 114 (1994), 165–88; H. Williams, 'The ancient landscape and the dead: The re-use of Prehistoric and Roman monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 41 (1997), 1–32, at p. 13, fig. 8; K. Cameron, 'Eccles in English place-names', 87–92 in M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (eds.), *Christianity in Britain 300–700* (Leicester, 1968), and M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past: Place-names and the History of England* (1978), 82–3 and 96–9. The name could mean 'land belonging to the church' like the later Welsh *Mynachty* 'land belonging to a monastery, or occupied by monastic tenants': for the latter meaning see T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'The church and settlement', 167–75 in *Próinséas Ní Chatháin and M Richter* (eds.), *Irland und Europa: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1984). If so, the church concerned need not be at Eccles. For a French parallel see Saint-Maguerite-sur-Mer (Seine-Maritime), with a Frankish cemetery with many grave goods in the garden area of a large Roman courtyard villa: Cochet, *La Seine-Inférieure Historique et Archéologique* (Paris, 1864).

owners of the villa, or of the estate. Though Christian villa chapels of the Roman Period are archaeologically elusive, literary references show that they were not uncommon. Ausonius, in the late 4th century, mentions a private oratory within the domestic apartments of his villa near Bordeaux, matching the evidence from Lullingstone (Kent),⁸ and two 4th-century Christian tombstones from villa sites in western Gaul imply the presence of Christian cemeteries, perhaps with associated chapels.⁹ From the later 5th century onwards, Gallic church councils refer frequently to *oratoria villara* and it would be anachronistic to consider whether this should be translated as 'villa chapel' or 'estate church'. The Council of Clermont in A.D. 535 divided the diocesan clergy into three categories — those of the city; those of the rural parishes (equivalent to the later minsters); and those who live in a villa and celebrate divine service there.¹⁰ Anyone wishing to establish a rural church on their estate must provide enough land, property and clergy for its proper endowment; relics were not to be placed in such churches unless clerics from a nearby minster were available to sing psalms over them, and proper provision made for a priest. Landowners were not to celebrate the great Christian feasts at their estate chapels, but with the bishop in the city.¹¹ For the 6th century, these rulings can be supplemented by numerous anecdotal accounts by Gregory of Tours of the foundation of rural estate churches by private landowners in central and western Gaul.¹² Whether any of these were on the sites of what an archaeologist would recognise as a Roman villa is unknown.

In some cases, the later church and cemetery may have developed from a late Roman domestic chapel like that of Ausonius. The 'Villa of Fortunatus' near Fraga in the Ebro Valley in northern Spain has a 4th-century mosaic with the name of the presumed owner, Fortunatus, flanking a central chi-rho monogram. Over the angle of the same range (recalling the position of the villa-chapel at Lullingstone) is a 6th- or 7th-century Visigothic church, which attracted a small cemetery.¹³ Possibly a late Roman villa chapel preceded the church.

Such a sequence has been suggested at Séviac (Gers), one of the large late Roman luxury villas of Aquitania, equipped with luxurious spreads of mosaic, which may have continued to have been laid well into the 5th century.¹⁴ Here, three stages in the Christianization of the villa buildings have been claimed. In the first, a large oval room in the south-west corner of the villa contained the base of a

⁸ Ausonius, *Ephemeris*, 'The daily round', II–III, in H. G. Evelyn-White (ed.), *Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1919–21).

⁹ From St Croix du Mont (Gironde) and St-Cyr-en-Talmondois (Vendée): *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIII, 912; E. Le Blant, *Nouveau Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule* (Paris, 1892), no. 256.

¹⁰ Council of Clermont (535), c. 15; C. de Clercq, *Concilia Galliae 511–569 (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 148 A.)* (Tournhout, 1963).

¹¹ 4th Council of Orleans (541), c. 33; Council of Epaon (517), c. 25; Council of Clermont (535), c. 14. 4th Council of Orleans (541), c. 3. For a fuller discussion see J. K. Knight, *The End of Antiquity: Archaeology, Society and Religion in Early Medieval Western Europe 235–700* (London, 1999), 112–46.

¹² Gregory of Tours, in M. G. H. Krusch (ed.), *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, 1 (Hanover, 1885); in *Gloria Martyrum*, 484–561; *Vitae Patrum*, 661–744; *Gloria Confessorum*, 744–820. Translations by R. Van Dam, *Gregory of Tours, Glory of the Martyrs* and *Gregory of Tours, Glory of the Confessors* (Translated Texts for Historians, 3–4, Liverpool, 1988), and E. James, *Gregory of Tours, Lives of the Fathers* (Translated Texts for Historians, 1, Liverpool, 1985).

¹³ J. C. Serra-Rafols, 'Villa de Fortunatus', *Ampurias*, 5 (1943), 1–35.

¹⁴ C. Balmelle, *Recueil General Mosaiques de la Gaule IV-Aquitaine*, 1 (10th supplement to *Gallia*, 1980), Vol. 2, 151–93. For discussion of the site see N. Duval, 'Le contexte archéologique: les villas du Sud-Ouest', 41–4 in Y. Christe and N. Duval (eds.), *Les Sarcophages d'Aquitaine* (Antiquité Tardive, 1, 1993).

circular *labrum* for ablutions at one end, and the entry to a hypocausted room at the other. This has been identified as a baptistery with font, used whilst the villa was still in use. However, it is often difficult to distinguish between Christian baptisteries and other forms of ablution, ritual or otherwise. Centrally planned structures very like later baptisteries can be found in bath buildings of the early Empire,¹⁵ while conversely Christian parallels for the oval Séviac baptistery are not easy to find. Despite the site-sequence, its identity as a Christian baptistery must remain problematic. A small private bath suite would not be out of the question. Later, a structure of several periods with a square 'nave' and eastern apse was built projecting from the baptistery. It is uncertain whether the villa was still in use. In the third phase, an unmistakable small church, with rectangular nave and square chancel, was built closely adjacent, and burials took place around it.¹⁶ There are rather similar sequences from the villas of Valentine (Haute Garonne), Montcaret (Dordogne) and Sorde-l'Abbaye (Landes). In the former, a small late 4th-/early 5th-century mausoleum seems to have developed into a single celled 6th-century chapel and thence into the Merovingian and medieval monastery of Arnesp. All phases of this sequence were associated with contemporary burials.¹⁷

Sidonius Apollinaris' descriptions of the villas of his friends refer to chapels, sometimes free-standing buildings. There may have been a functional distinction between a private oratory for the owner and his family, like that of Ausonius, and an estate chapel for the wider community — a distinction known indeed in much later English country houses.¹⁸ Of the many 5th- to 6th-century private estate chapels known from literary sources, some may have been surviving villa oratories, but others were no doubt new, or replacements for older structures. An example is St Julien-en-Genevois (Haute-Savoie), where the initial period of a church 200 m from a Roman villa comprised a rectangular nave with eastern apse dated somewhere between the late 5th and the early 7th century. This was identified as the private funerary chapel of a family, 'perhaps the successors, indigenous or not' of the villa owners. A monolithic sandstone sarcophagus was in a 'privileged position' in the nave. Use of the church continued until the 8th century.¹⁹

We can therefore identify several other options for burials on villa sites, to add to the two above which do not involve the building of a church:

¹⁵ E.g. the octagonal *laconicum* with corner niches of the Carignan (Ardennes) villa, a good architectural parallel for the 5th-century baptisteries of South Gaul. P. Van Ossel, *Établissements Ruraux de l'Antiquité Tardive dans le nord de la Gaule* (51st supplement to *Gallia*, 1992), 319, fig. 124. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, II, II.8, describes the large outdoor swimming pool (holding some 40,000 gallons) in his villa of *Avitacum* as 'a *piscina* or if you prefer the Greek word *baptisterium*'. I owe this reference to Dr Richard Reece.

¹⁶ J. Lapart and J.-L. Paillet, 'Ensemble paléochrétien et mérovingien du site de Séviac à Montréal de Gers', 171–80 in P. Périn (ed.), *Gallo-Romains, Wisigoths et Francs en Aquitaine, Septimanie et Espagne* (Rouen, 1991).

¹⁷ Montcaret: J. Formigé, 'Fouilles de Montcaret de 1921 à 1938', *Congrès Archéol. France*, 102 (1939), 182–95; Percival (1976), op. cit. in note 1, 188–90. Valentine: *ibid.*, 187–8 and fig. 55. Sorde l'Abbaye: Percival (1997), op. cit. in note 1, 12–15.

¹⁸ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, VIII, 13, describing the villa of his friend Consentius at Octavian (Ornaisons, Aude). The villa estate is believed to have survived as the monastic estate of the Domaine d'Octavian, covering most of the present communes of Ornaisons and Boutenac: É. Griffé, *La Gaule Chrétienne à l'Époque Romaine*, III (Paris, 1965), 145–6 and 292, n. 79. Percival (1992), op. cit. in note 1, 158 argues that Sidonius' descriptions are simply literary exercises and need not reflect reality. However, it is hard to believe that he would have invited his friends to visit a place which did not exist.

¹⁹ R. and M. Colardelle, 'St Julien en Genevois', *Archéol. Médiévale*, VII (1977), 274–5.

- (3) The continuance of a Roman period villa chapel, whether integral with the main villa buildings, or free standing. Later, it may be replaced by another church.
- (4) The continuance of a Roman period villa cemetery, to which a church is at some stage added.
- (5) The building of a new post-Roman estate chapel, as at St Julien-en-Genevois. Such cases are clearly envisaged in Merovingian church legislation (see above). This then attracts burials, perhaps initially the 'privileged burials' of the landowning family.
- (6) The building of a church or chapel on a deserted villa site followed by the growth of a cemetery around the church. Abbot Senoch (ob. 576) rebuilt a chapel on a ruined Roman site near Tours (possibly a villa) because St Martin was said to have prayed there.²⁰
- (7) The continuance of a villa site as the centre of an estate in royal or noble hands. The villa may later become the seat of a minster serving the estate centre, the latter perhaps being relocated to a fresh site. This recalls the common *topos* in saints lives where a ruler gives his palace for the site of a church and moves elsewhere. Such cases are too late and too much of an hagiographical commonplace to be used as evidence, though they can reflect an attempt by the 12th-century writer to explain the situation existing in his own day, when the minster and nearby *villa regalis* stood on separate but nearby sites.²¹
- (8) The estate may be granted to a monastery, and the villa site re-used for the monastery and its associated cemetery. This is basically similar to (7) save for the type of church community involved, and the fact that the Church acquires not simply the estate church, but the entire estate. The possible survival of villa estates into Early-medieval times, whether in ecclesiastical or secular hands, has been much discussed since Finberg's pioneering study of Withington (Glos.). Llantwit Major provides a possible local example, but the topic is too broad for detailed discussion here.²²

These alternatives may at least give us parameters for discussing individual cases such as Llandough, though elements of more than one explanation may be present in particular cases.

²⁰ Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, 15.

²¹ Percival (1976), op. cit. in note 1, discusses French examples of villas on later monastic sites, with a catalogue of sites. At Portskewett (Mons.) recent excavation by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust has revealed a Roman villa on the site of the documented *villa regalis* of the pre-Norman kings of Gwent and of the 'hunting lodge' built by Harold Godwinson in 1063; J. K. Knight, 'St Tatheus of Caerwent: an analysis of the Vespasian Life', *Monmouthshire Antiq.*, 3 (1970-1), 29-36. A probable villa has also been identified from the air at Bassaleg (Mons.), near the major early church of Bassaleg, the only British example of the place-name element *Basilica* (pers. comm., Christopher Musson).

²² H. P. R. Finberg, 'Roman and Saxon Withington', in *Lucerna: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (1964), 21-65. For a more recent discussion see S. Pearce, 'Estates and church sites in Dorset and Gloucestershire: the emergence of a Christian society', 117-43 in S. Pearce (ed.), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* (BAR Brit. Ser., 102, Oxford, 1982).

Post-Roman burials on Roman villa sites are not as common in Britain as is sometimes supposed, and few are closely similar to Llandough.²³ Leaving aside for the moment the other Glamorganshire site of Llantwit Major, most known examples fall within three areas — the Oxford region, the East Midlands, and Somerset-Wiltshire. It may be significant that these are all areas of overlap between Early Anglo-Saxon settlement and possible sub-Roman survival. Those from the Thames Valley are all old discoveries, sometimes difficult to interpret. The two skeletons ‘a couple of feet below the surface, with the faces downwards’ at Well House, Hampstead Norris (Berks.) sound like execution burials. Larger scale excavations in the 1860s failed to locate any further graves.²⁴ The ‘small skeleton placed north and south . . . on the centre of the pavement’ in the baths of the Wiggington (Oxon.) villa is one of the casual child burials not uncommon on some late Roman sites, rural and urban.²⁵ The 1811 Great Tew (Oxon.) discovery could have been E.-W. long-cist burials of re-used Roman roof tiles cut through the mosaic floor and hypocaust of a bath building, but a late Roman mausoleum of some kind is not out of the question.²⁶ The discovery in 1685 at Steeple Aston (Oxon.) of a tiled pavement with alleged ‘Roman urns’ and nearby, ‘many skeletons’ at depths of 1–2 feet, could, as reported, have been medieval, but a subsequent find of a skeleton with two bronze bracelets, one now in the Ashmolean museum, sounds Late-Roman.²⁷ None of the Thames Valley cases, save perhaps Great Tew, provide parallels for Llandough. Two involve burials cut into the remains of bath buildings, and we shall meet other examples in the East Midlands. They may have been demolished (as was often the case) whilst the villa was still occupied.

In the East Midlands, the presence of an apparent Roman villa under Southwell Minster (Notts.) is closer to Llandough. The post-Roman occupation included a stamped Saxon pot, timber structures, and a possible Wroxeter-style make up of rubble and dark soil over the mosaics, but the excavator was careful to point out that the post-holes had been cut from a higher level and were not associated with any sub-Roman occupation of the villa buildings. Similarly all burials found were regular Christian interments, or reburials of disturbed bodies, relating to the Minster rather than to any sub-Roman phase of the villa.²⁸ The presence of Early Anglo-Saxon burials on villas at Denton and Worlaby in Lincolnshire raise other questions, but the former is unique in having both intact Saxon burials in the villa, and three post-Roman inhumations in the bath house 90 m away. The latter had been disturbed when the hypocaust was robbed for its tiles,

²³ Applebaum, *op. cit.* in note 2, 256 and 259; Percival (1976), *op. cit.* in note 1, 183 and 217, n. 1. I am very grateful to Bruce Eagles for help with English cases of burial on villa sites, including a number of references.

²⁴ See note 7 for references.

²⁵ *Victoria County History [VCH] Oxfordshire*, 1 (London, 1939), 309. Percival (1976), *op. cit.* in note 1, 169.

²⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1811, I, 388; *VCH Oxfordshire* 1, 310–11.

²⁷ Anthony a Wood in Plot, *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1705), 335; *VCH Oxfordshire* 1, 311–12.

²⁸ C. M. Daniels, ‘Excavations on the site of the Roman villa at Southwell, 1959’, *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, 70 (1966), 13–52. For earlier discoveries see *VCH Nottinghamshire* 2 (London, 1910), 34.

but had been cut through its floors after the disuse of the bath house, probably when it still stood largely intact.²⁹

In Wessex, human remains are known from a number of villas, though few seem to constitute cemeteries. The groups of three to five people whose bodies were tipped down wells at Brislington near Bristol and at North Wraxall (Wilts.), and sealed with building debris, were possibly victims of late 4th-century raiders, and the story in the *Vita Germani*, with the ghosts of the unburied dead, may indicate one reason for disposing of their remains in this way. Branigan has argued that Brislington was cleaned up and re-occupied, which is precisely what happened to the villa in the *Vita Germani*.³⁰ The skeleton found among wall collapse at Keynsham (Avon) may be another such victim, but references to thick beds of dark earth within some of the rooms (in one case with a floor or hearth of re-used tiles above it) indicate continuing post-Roman occupation, as at Southwell or at Whitley Grange (Shrops.). More regular cemeteries are known at Bowood House (Wilts.) and Thruxton (Hants.), but the excavation at Bowood, which produced six skeletons, was of limited extent. The five burials from Thruxton were interpreted at the time of excavation in 1823 as the villa cemetery, but a more recent study has suggested that 'after the demolished or collapsed building had passed from memory into a heap of rubble . . . in the sub-Roman or Anglo-Saxon period the site was used as a cemetery'.³¹

There are thus few close British parallels for Llandough, and for its neighbour at Llantwit Major where the most recent excavator considered that the numerous burials, some cut through mosaic pavements, represented the burial of about 30 massacre or battle victims some time after the disuse of the villa, followed by the use of the site for regular burials. The very scarcity of parallels elsewhere in Britain suggests that the Llandough and Llantwit cemeteries (to which we may add the two Early-medieval cemeteries at Caerwent) may relate to specific local conditions within the former tribal territory of the Silures in the sub-Roman or Early-medieval period.

²⁹ Denton villa: J. T. Smith, 'The Roman villa at Denton', *Lincolnshire Archaeol. Architect. Soc. Rep. Papers*, 10, pt. 2 (1964), 75. Bath house: E. Greenfield, 'The Roman villa at Denton, Lincolnshire: Part II', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.*, 6 (1971), 29–57. Worlaby: C. Knowles, 'Excavations at Worlaby', *Lincolnshire Hist. Archaeol.*, 1 (1966), 45.

³⁰ Brislington: K. Branigan, 'The Romano-British villa at Brislington', *Somerset Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Soc.*, 116 (1972), 78–85. North Wraxall: G. P. Scrope, 'On a Roman villa discovered at North Wraxall', *Wiltshire Archaeol. Magazine*, 7 (1862), 59–75; *VCH Wiltshire 1* (London, 1957), 92–3.

³¹ Keynsham: A. Bullied and E. Horne, 'The Roman house at Keynsham, Somerset', *Archaeologia*, 75 (1926), 109–38. Bowood House: M. E. Cunnington, 'Romano-British Wiltshire', *Wiltshire Archaeol. Magazine*, 45 (1930), 180–210, at p. 181, no. 46. Thruxton: Sir R. Colt-Hoare, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 93, pt. 2 (1823), 229–30; M. Henig and G. Soffe, 'The Thruxton Roman villa and its mosaic pavement', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, 146 (1993), 1–28 at p. 19. For discussion see K. Branigan, *The Roman Villa in South-West England* (1977), 94–6. I have not included isolated infant burials, e.g. Yeovil (*J. Roman Studs.*, 47 (1957), 222) 'in a small coffin of re-used lead': R. Leech, 'The excavation of a Romano-British farmstead and cemetery at Bradley Hill, Somerton, Somerset', *Britannia*, 12 (1981), 177–252. The single child burials recall the modern superstition or folk belief that the soul of the first person to die in a new house becomes in some way its guardian spirit. For a higher status villa burial see the iron-bound wooden coffin with a coin of Victorinus from Borden (Kent): *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, IV (1849), 68–9; VI (1851), 448.

LLANDOUGH: THE VILLA AND THE MONASTERY

Until 1978, the only ancient feature known at the Victorian church of St Oudoceus was a sculptured cross of the 10th or early 11th century standing in the churchyard. As a result of the excavations of 1978 and 1994, we now know, despite the difficult circumstances of rescue or salvage excavations around the churchyard, that this concealed an archaeological sequence running through from the pre-Roman Iron Age to recent times. A circular building of pre-Roman date underlay the Roman villa, and a possible burial to go with this early phase is now known. The subsequent history of the villa is best interpreted in the light of its neighbours at Ely, Whitton and Llantwit Major, excavated on greenfield sites in far more favourable circumstances.³² Numismatic and ceramic evidence from these does not run beyond about 340–50, though at Llandough the sherds of East Midlands shell-gritted ware and perhaps the unexpectedly high incidence of Late-Roman wares indicate that here occupation continued into the following decades. Though the end of Roman coin and pottery evidence does not prove that the sites were abandoned, their separation from the circuit of the local market economy may well mark the end of their use as estate centres whose owners could afford the trappings of a Roman life-style.

The ceramic evidence suggests that by the 6th century, the post-Roman cemetery at Llandough was well established, and in amicable contact with the nearby fortified high-status site of Dinas Powys. The most probable explanation is that a religious community had settled on the villa site, perhaps amid the surviving remnants of the wider villa community, with the consent or co-operation of whatever *regulus* or *subregulus* controlled Dinas Powys. There is no reason to question the tradition that its founder, whether an archpriest (head of a secular minster community) or a monastic abbot, was a man named Dochdwy. Sherds of Bii amphorae are known from other Insular monastic sites and again the literary evidence comes to our help. The 8th-century life of St Philibert of Noirmoutier tells how he received, in 674–84, a present of 365 litres of olive oil from kinsmen in Bordeaux for lighting the monastic lamps, and for guests.³³ In an Insular context, a jar of olive oil, or of wine, would make an acceptable, indeed princely gift from a ruler to 'his' monastery.

³² R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Roman buildings and earthworks on the Cardiff racecourse', *Trans. Cardiff Naturalists Soc.*, 55 (1922), 19–45. Whitton: M. Jarrett and S. Wrathmell, *Whitton: An Iron Age and Roman Farmstead in South Glamorgan* (Cardiff, 1981).

³³ *Vita Filiberti*, 674–84, c. 37, in B. Krusch and W. Levison (eds.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicorum*, 5, pt. 5 (Berlin, 1910). The olive tree does not grow in SW. France, and the oil must have been brought to Bordeaux from Spain, Provence or further afield.

THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The Irish *Annals of Ulster* contain an entry '*Quies Docci episcopi sancti Britonum abbatis*' on 1 January *sub anno* 473.³⁴ If the death date of this 'holy British bishop and abbot' gives even an approximate *floruit* for Dochdwy, the implications of a monastic settlement on the site of the Roman villa in the second half of the 5th century would be considerable. However, quite apart from the obvious impossibility of a contemporary record using an *anno domini* dating, the entry does not occur in other versions of the Irish annals, and there is no reason to think that it formed part of the ancestral *Chronicle of Ireland* (with a core of contemporary entries probably from the late 7th century onwards). The earlier post-Patrician entries of the *Annals of Ulster* from 431–585 differ considerably from the equivalent sections of other Irish annals, and Kathleen Hughes considered them to be late. The absence of any parallel entry in the *Annals of Tigernach* suggests that it was not present before the *Annals of Tigernach* and the *Annals of Ulster* diverged in 910x13. In theory, the entry could be as late as the two extant manuscripts of the *Annals of Ulster* (both in the same hand) of 1489 and 1510, but Llandough fell into obscurity in the 11th century, and its community became extinct. After this, any such entry, however antiquarian, is very unlikely. The early post-Patrician section of the *Annals of Ulster* is a 'world chronicle', with calibration of sorts from the dates of Popes and Byzantine Emperors, which would have formed an obvious framework for retrospective entries. The entry relating to Dochdwy follows immediately after events of October 473–February 474 recorded under the same year — the accession of Leo II as Caesar, the death of Leo I, and the appointment of Zeno as Caesar. Significantly, there are no other entries relating to Wales, or to Welsh saints, and though there is some evidence that *obits* were being recorded in the Welsh church by the 6th century, probably as 'heavenly birthdays', i.e. calendrical death dates, rather than by the year, the Dochdwy entry is an isolated 'floating' date of uncertain provenance, with no evidence of any earlier source behind it. Its source is an intriguing puzzle, but it can throw no light on the early history of Llandough. Doccus does however occur in other early Irish sources, in the 9th- or 10th-century *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae*, where he is bracketed with David and Gildas, and in the *Life of Cainnech*, where he is confused with the better known St Cadoc.³⁵

More informative are the 31 charters in the Book of Llandaff in which clergy of (Sanctus) Docguinnus or Docunnus appear as witnesses, together with several further references in the similar Llancarfan charters, deriving from St Cadoc's

³⁴ S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (eds.), *The Annals of Ulster to A.D. 1131* (Dublin, 1983), 51. In a footnote, Professor Mac Niocaill suggests that 'Docco' could be St Cadoc of Llancarfan. There is certainly evidence that Cadoc was better known in early Ireland than Dochdwy. However, as Professor Charles Thomas has pointed out to me (pers. comm.), Cadoc is an already hypocoristic (shortened or pet) form of the name Catmail or *Catu-maglos: *Vita Cadoci*, ch. 1, 'nomenque eius Catmail vocabitur'; *ibid.*, ch. 6, 'sanctus Cadmail, qui et Cadocus': A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), 29 and 35. Both entries refer specifically to Cadoc's baptism, and give his baptismal name. Since it is impossible to form a further hypocoristic form from one already so shortened, the equation of Docco and Cadoc can be ruled out. I am extremely grateful to Professor Thomas for resolving this point.

³⁵ K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (1972), 142–6; C. Brooke, 'St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadoc of Llancarfan', 297–8 in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963).

monastery there.³⁶ The earliest is Abbot Eudeyrn, who appears in three charters dated by Professor Wendy Davies to 625–85.³⁷ His successor Abbot Sulien attests four more, covering the period 640–700,³⁸ whilst Abbot Iudhubr attests four charters of 655–710.³⁹ These are all of Professor Davies's Group C, thought to derive from an unknown 7th- or early 8th-century source in SE. Wales. This also contains three charters of the slightly later Abbot Sadwrn, who witnesses nine Group F charters, a late 7th- to 9th-century collection. He recurs in one of the Llancarfan charters, a grant of Bishton (Mons.), as 'Saturn, princeps of the altar of Docgwin'. His floruit can be placed in the period 660–770.⁴⁰ 'Cethig, praepositus of the altar of St Docgwin' appears in another Llancarfan charter, a grant of Roath (Cardiff). Its personnel implies a date around 625–75, and he may have been the predecessor of Eudeyrn.⁴¹

A later donation to Llandough was the composite standing pillar cross in the present churchyard. Of carboniferous limestone from Sutton near Ogmere, it stands 2.9 m high in its present incomplete state. Its four elements, joined by mortice and tenon joints, comprise a truncated-pyramidal base with sculptured figural decoration amid interlace, and two sections of interlace-decorated shaft with heavy corner mouldings, joined by a heavy crozier-like central knop. The uppermost part and cross-head are missing. The name IRBIC appears on the plain abacus-like upper border of the lower shaft. Nash-Williams dated the cross to the late 10th or 11th century.⁴² The figural decoration comprises a horseman, a row of five standing figures, and two facing busts. The only close parallel is the upper shaft and head of a similar cross found over a well in the precincts of Llandaff cathedral in 1870, now preserved in the cathedral.⁴³ This implies a close connection between the two sites, but the Llandaff fragment is so similar to the Llandough cross as almost to raise the suspicion that it might be the missing upper part of the latter. It resembles in its form and cross head a sculptured cross from Llanynis (Powys)⁴⁴ and more generally a number of contemporary Glamorgan crosses with similar heavy angle mouldings.

The Llandough and Llandaff crosses emphasise the links between these two major churches. Llandaff cathedral is 4.8 km north of Llandough, on the left bank of the River Taff, in a very similar position to Llandough on the River Ely, whilst the combined shape of the two parishes suggests that they once formed a single

³⁶ For the texts of the charters see J. G. Evans with J. Rhys (eds.), *The Text of the Book of Llandaff* (Oxford, 1893, reprinted National Library of Wales); W. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (Royal Historical Society London, 1978) and eadem, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979). In both the latter, the charters are numbered by the page reference in Evans and Rhys. The Llancarfan Charters are an appendix to Llifris', *Vita Cadoci* (cc. 55–68 'De Cartis'). They probably derive from entries in a Gospel Book, almost certainly the 'Gospels of Gildas' referred to several times in the text, Wade-Evans, op. cit. in note 34, 124–37.

³⁷ Abbot Eudeyrn: Charters 140, 143, 144. Dates from Davies (1979), op. cit. in note 36, 97.

³⁸ Abbot Sulien: Charters 147, 151b, 152, 155. Ibid., 98–101.

³⁹ Abbot Iudhubr: Charters 149, 151c, 157, 159b. Ibid., 103 and 38 and 12–13.

⁴⁰ Wade Evans, op. cit. in note 34, 134 (*Vita Cadoci*, ch. 67).

⁴¹ Ibid., 132–3 (*Vita Cadoci*, ch. 65). Cethig's name appears immediately after the bishop's, and before the witnesses from the grantee monastery, Llancarfan. The grant could originally have been to Llandough, and later 'edited' in favour of Llancarfan. Roath was later within the Llandaff/Llandough *parochia*.

⁴² V. E. Nash Williams, *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), no. 206.

⁴³ Ibid., no. 205.

⁴⁴ Ibid., no. 65.

unit. Wendy Davies has suggested that Llandaff was adopted as the seat of a pre-existing bishopric in the late 10th or early 11th century, perhaps in the time of Bishop Joseph (1022–45).⁴⁵ The previous seat of the see is not known, and whilst there is no evidence that it was at Llandough (Davies thinks it to have been somewhere in Gwent), there is evidence that Llandough was ‘asset-stripped’ in order to provide for the enhanced dignity of its neighbour.

A number of sources emphasise that by the 11th century, Llandough was a place of little importance, ecclesiastically or tenurially. From the time of Bishop Joseph of Llandaff, its abbots are replaced as charter witnesses by priests, and it had evidently lost its monastic status. Two charters of 1008–58 and 1015–60 referring to land near Llandaff are witnessed by Catguaret *sacerdos sancti docunni*, who also appears in a charter of the time of Bishop Herewald (1056–1104).⁴⁶ About five years later he had been succeeded by John ‘priest of St Docunn’.⁴⁷ Shortly after this, Robert fitz Hamon (Lord of Glamorgan 1093–1107) gave to Tewkesbury Abbey *inter alia* the parish church of St Mary in Cardiff, the chapel of the castle of Cardiff, the ‘little vill’ (*villulum*) called Landoch and the mill of Rath (Roath). These, with the parish of the new cathedral of Llandaff, form a major demesne holding of the lordship of Glamorgan, stretching from the River Rhymney on the eastern outskirts of Cardiff to west of the River Ely.⁴⁸

Even more eloquent of the total eclipse of Llandough is a remarkable claim in the 12th-century *Vita Cyngari*, the life of St Cyngar of Congresbury in Somerset. This was probably the work of Caradoc of Llancarfan, one of the ecclesiastical dynasty displaced at Llancarfan when St Cadoc’s monastery was granted to St Peter’s Abbey at Gloucester. The canons of Wells cathedral were in dispute with the crown over Congresbury church, and commissioned Caradoc, who had previously written a life of Gildas for the monks of Glastonbury, to write the life of its patron. He told how Congresbury had been founded by King Ine of Wessex and how later kings had respected the grant, but he knew little of Somerset, or of Congresbury. The life was obviously written in Glamorgan, and the only ‘local colour’ relates to sites there—Aberthaw, Llandough on its hill above the seaplain, and the other Llandough south of Cowbridge. The shortage of genuine material on Cyngar is very obvious, and this is presumably why Caradoc claimed that Cyngar and Docguin of Llandough were one and the same person, Cyngar being known as Doccinus among the Welsh. The equation has nothing to recommend it, and its main interest lies in the implication that Llandough was at this time vacant

⁴⁵ Davies (1978), *op. cit.* in note 36, 155: ‘Everything combines to suggest that Llandaff was adopted as the new home of the Gwent bishopric in the tenth or early eleventh century . . . The establishment of a single bishopric in the south-east, based on Llandaff, seems to date essentially from the episcopate of Joseph.’ Bishop Joseph: Charters 249a and 257. Bishop Herewald: 267. Dating from Davies (1979), *op. cit.* in note 36, 129.

⁴⁶ Davies (1979), *op. cit.* in note 36, Charter 267 (c. 1070).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Charter 271 (c. 1075).

⁴⁸ G. T. Clark, *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent* (2nd ed., Cardiff, 1910), vol. 1, nos. XXXVI and XXXVII, pp. 39–40.

ecclesiastical property, where such claims could be made without fear of effective protest.⁴⁹

THE EARLY-MEDIEVAL SECULAR CONTEXT

The church of Llandough is only 2.2 km distant from the Early-medieval fortified site of Dinas Powys excavated by Professor Leslie Alcock.⁵⁰ The two are also linked by the sherds of Bii amphora similar to those from Dinas Powys found in several of the Llandough graves. It has been suggested above that the sherds could represent a gift of olive oil or wine from the lord of Dinas Powys to the clerical or monastic community settled on the site of the Roman villa. This relationship of linked high-status secular and religious sites can be matched elsewhere in western Britain and Ireland. St Materiana's church at Tintagel has produced Bii ware compacted into an old land surface contemporary with early graves, and sherds of other amphorae have been found in disturbed contexts.⁵¹ Numerous other examples could be cited of the pairing of high-status Early-medieval secular and ecclesiastical sites, in Ireland and in western Britain,⁵² but Llandough is unique in that the sequence begins with a high-status Roman secular site, i.e. a villa.

12th-century tradition explained the origins of the Early-medieval kingdom of Glywysing (later Morgannwg or Glamorgan, the 'land of Morgan' after a 10th-century king) in terms of the 'seven cantrefts of Glamorgan', named from the seven sons of its eponymous founder, Glywys. Whilst this origin story itself is no more than a learned construct, the idea of an early kingdom comprising a series of smaller units can be matched elsewhere, in early Anglo-Saxon and Welsh contexts,⁵³ and probably reflects a much earlier historical reality. The six ancient hundreds of Cornwall, thought to be of early origin, are similar,⁵⁴ as are the cantrefi of SW. Wales, with their 'seven bishop houses', equivalent to hundredal

⁴⁹ J. Armitage Robinson, 'A fragment of the life of St Cungar', *J. Theol. Stud.*, 20 (1918–19), 97–108; idem, 'The lives of St Cungar and St Gildas', *J. Theol. Stud.*, 23 (1921–2), 15–22; G. H. Doble, 'St Congar', *Antiquity*, 19 (1945), 32–43 and 85–95; J. K. Knight, 'Sources for the early history of Morgannwg', 390–1 in H. N. Savory (ed.), *Glamorgan County History. Vol. 2: Prehistory and Early History* (Cardiff, 1984).

⁵⁰ Alcock, op. cit. in note 3.

⁵¹ C. Thomas, *Tintagel, Arthur and Archaeology* (London, 1993); J. Nowakowski and C. Thomas, *Excavations at Tintagel Parish Churchyard, Spring 1990 Interim Report* (Cornwall Archaeological Unit and Institute of Cornish Studies, 1990) and idem., *Grave News From Tintagel* (Truro, 1992).

⁵² The following list of Welsh examples makes no claim to be definitive: 1. *Coygan Camp*, Carmarthenshire (SN 284092), an Iron-age hillfort with Late Roman occupation and Insular A and B wares: G. J. Wainwright, *Coygan Camp* (Cardiff, 1967). Llansadurnen church with Latin memorial stone (Nash Williams, op. cit. in note 42, 166) lies 2.5 km to the north. 2. *Tenby Castle*, Pembrokeshire (SN 138005) is the subject of the 9th-century praise poem *Eitmic Dinbych* ('In praise of Tenby') describing the 'fine fortress'. Penally church, 2.5 km south-west, has 9th-/10th-century sculptured crosses (ibid., 363–6). 3. *Deganwy Castle*, Caernarvonshire (SH 782794), an Iron-age hillfort with Late Roman occupation, Insular B ware and Early-medieval glass. Bodafon inscribed stone reading *Sanctinus Sacerdos* (ibid., 83), probably from a lost church site, lies 4 km north-east. 4. *Aberffraw*, Anglesey (SH 355690), was the royal seat of the princes of Gwynedd. An early 7th-century memorial stone of King Cadfan of Gwynedd ('*Catamanus Rex*'; ibid., 13) occurs 3 km east at Llangadwaladr church.

⁵³ For discussion see J. K. Knight, 37–41 in P. F. Wilkinson, 'Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan 1991–2', *Medieval Archaeol.*, 39 (1995), 1–50.

⁵⁴ C. Thomas, *And Shall these Mute Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Britain* (Cardiff, 1994), 216–18 and fig. 13.2.

minsters.⁵⁵ Though documentary evidence for the existence of commotes and *cantrefi* is much later, and commotes in particular are usually thought to be no earlier than early Norman times, the very ubiquity of such a pattern suggests the possibility of an earlier origin. In several of the Glamorgan *cantrefi* it is possible to identify a major early church associated with a Latin memorial stone of the 5th to 7th century, and with evidence of an early parochia far larger than the existing parish, covering a large area of the cantref, or of its subdivision the commote. These include Llansaint in Cydweli (Carmarthenshire), Llanmadog in Gwyr (Swansea) and Merthyr Mawr in Margam (Bridgend).⁵⁶ In the most easterly cantref, Gwynllwg, the church of Bassaleg (Newport), the only British example of the place name element *Basilica*, fulfilled the same role, though it lies outside the distributional range of early memorial stones.⁵⁷ Of the two known Early-medieval high-status defended sites in Glamorgan, Dinas Powys is close to Llandough and Hen Gastell close to Baglan (Neath Port Talbot), an important early church which may have served Nedd, the commote forming the western half of Margam, as Merthyr Mawr served Afan, its eastern half.⁵⁸ Other high-status defended secular sites no doubt await discovery.⁵⁹

Llandough lies in the cantref of Penychen. The lowland areas of this and its western neighbour Gorfynydd occupy the fertile lowland plain of the 'Vale of Glamorgan', exploited in Roman times by villas and their associated estates. In medieval times Llantwit Major (Llanilltyd Fawr) in Gorfynydd, site of the post-Roman monastery of St Illtyd, was the centre of a large parish some 8 km N.-S. and over 6 E.-W., including much of the best cornland in the Vale of Glamorgan, and enjoying a particularly favourable micro-climate. The post-Roman cemetery cut into the remains of the large Roman villa has already been mentioned. The 7th-century life of St Sampson of Dol refers to the existence of this monastery in the previous century, and its abbots, like those of Llandough, can be documented in the Llandaff charters from the 7th century onwards. The church of St Illtyd has no early Latin memorial stones (which here are near the eastern limits of their range), but does have a series of sculptured crosses from the 8th or 9th century onwards referring to Kings Hywel ap Rhys, Sampson and Juthahel of Glamorgan and to Abbot Sampson.⁶⁰ The *llys* or court of the pre-Norman kings of Glamorgan can be located a few miles north of Llantwit, within the parish, at Llysworney ('the

⁵⁵ T. Charles Edwards, 'The seven bishop-houses of Dyfed', *Bull. Board Celtic Studs.*, 24 (1971), 247-62. On the evidence for the origins of commotes and *cantrefi* see J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (1911), 229-81 and 300-8, and W. Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1982), 82-4 and 235 n. 68.

⁵⁶ Llansaint, with two Latin memorial stones (Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 42, nos. 174 and 175) was the predecessor of the medieval Priory of Kidwelly. On Llanmadog (ibid., 215) see Knight, op. cit. in note 49, 372-3. Merthyr Mawr: ibid., 374-5. Such churches find an Irish parallel in the *princhells na túaithe* 'chief church of the tuath': Charles-Edwards, op. cit. in note 7.

⁵⁷ Bassaleg: J. K. Knight, 'The early church in Gwent II: The early medieval church', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 9 (1993), 9-11. C. Doherty, 'The basilica in early Ireland', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 303-15, and idem, 'The use of relics in early Ireland', 89-101 in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and M. Richter, op. cit. in note 7, 92. I am also grateful to Dr Kieran O'Connor for information about Baslick, Co. Roscommon.

⁵⁸ Baglan: Knight, op. cit. in note 49, 373-4 and idem, op. cit. in note 53, 40.

⁵⁹ On the possibility of predicting Early-medieval high-status fortified sites on the basis of field evidence see K. R. Dark, *Discovery by Design* (Oxford, 1994).

⁶⁰ Nash Williams, op. cit. in note 42, nos. 220-3. Knight, op. cit. in note 49, 375-6.

court of Gorfynydd').⁶¹ As at Llandough, we have a major Roman villa, with burials cut into its ruins; some evidence that the territory around it passed at an early date into royal hands; and which later became the site of a major Insular monastery. Unlike Llandough this was not physically on top of the Roman villa. The large medieval parish of Llanilltyd Fawr may represent a similarly large pre-Norman royal estate, though it would be going beyond the evidence to suggest that it represented in any meaningful way the former villa estate.

At Llandough, the recovery of any similar ancient geography is more difficult. The cantref of Penychen lies between the rivers Taff and Thaw. Its northern half is occupied by the huge upland parish of Llantrisant, which may have formed a separate civil and ecclesiastical unit. The southern half, in the Vale of Glamorgan, comprises, in contrast, a mosaic of often tiny parishes, some of them clearly the result of the creation of small Anglo-Norman manors out of larger units.⁶² The western part of this mosaic, around the small extra-parochial area of Llancarfan, preserves traces of the large pre-Norman estate of the monastery of St Cadoc of Llancarfan. This, in its early form, pre-dating the grant of Llancarfan to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester in 1141, comprised a number of small townships, each with its township chapel.⁶³

The only church in Penychen associated with a Latin memorial stone is Capel Llanillterne, an obscure chapelry of the parish of St Fagans, west of Llandough.⁶⁴ We do not know if the great demesne manor of Robert fitz Hamon, covering Cardiff, Llandaff, Llandough, and several adjoining parishes, had any pre-Norman predecessor, but St Fagans lay outside both this and the cathedral lands of Llandaff, and the early context of Capel Llanillterne and its memorial stone remain obscure. However, the shape of the adjacent parishes of Llandaff and Llandough shows clearly that they once formed a single unit, confirming the close relationship between the two.

Llandough thus has an important contribution to make to two related problems: the significance of post-Roman burials on Roman villa sites and the broader question of the survival of Roman villa estates into Early-medieval times. By about two hundred years after the apparent end of the villa occupation at Llandough, a religious community under a man named Dochdwy had taken over the site and established a relationship with a local ruler based on the nearby defended site at Dinas Powys (himself seemingly a post-Roman migrant into the area). The late John Morris envisaged a sub-Roman St Illtyd still living in the Llantwit villa in the manner of one of the friends of Sidonius,⁶⁵ and this fanciful picture, all too obviously derived from Gallic literary models, is perhaps one possibility. However, the continuity of the use of Llandough for religious purposes, and for burial, to the present day is assured. The establishment of the new cathedral

⁶¹ Melville Richards, 'Gwrinydd, Gorfynydd and Llyswyrny', *Bull. Board Celtic Studs.*, 18 (1960), 383–6.

⁶² E.g. St Nicholas (by its dedication) or names like Bonvilston and Peterston which combine an English or French (Bonneville) personal name with the Anglo-Norman suffix *-ton*. These can be shown to be late in the process of parish-formation. For a useful map see *Glamorgan County History Vol. 3* (Cardiff, 1971), Map 4.

⁶³ Knight, *op. cit.* in note 49, 395–8.

⁶⁴ Nash Williams, *op. cit.* in note 42, no. 214.

⁶⁵ J. Morris, 'The dates of the Celtic saints', *J. Theol. Stud.*, n.s., 17, (1966), 379–80, and *idem*, *The Age of Arthur* (London, 1973), 367.

of Llandaff under Bishop Joseph and his Anglo-Norman successors led to the eclipse of Llandough, and its reduction to a small parochial church, but at least assured that something of its early history remained available for excavation.

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