

EARLY MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN BRITAIN AND IRELAND: CULTURAL UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Harold MYTUM

Introduction

Archaeological research in western Britain and Ireland has had two contradictory threads which have run through much of the interpretations offered for much of later prehistory and the early medieval period. On the one hand there has been a desire to consider countries or regions separately, and on the other hand a pan-Celtic unity has been espoused, often using the epithet the 'Irish Sea Province'.

Geographical and cultural context

Western Britain and Ireland share a similar temperate climate and topography, though soil fertility and variations in altitude allow for a wide range of agricultural strategies to be employed. However, the cultural histories of the various regions differ greatly. Ireland was never part of the Roman Empire, nor was it greatly affected by Roman culture. Most of Wales and Cornwall were within the province of Britain, but were not heavily Romanised. Conditions varied within these regions, however, with north Wales being under military control but south-west Wales and Cornwall being left much more to their own devices. In contrast Somerset, Gloucestershire and south-east Wales were heavily Romanised.

With the withdrawal of the Roman military from Britain in the early 5th century, the degree of disruption - economic, social and psychological - clearly varied from region to region. In all areas of the west there was some period of sub-Roman continuity, perhaps even for generations. However, there were clearly newly established power structures, though these largely grew out of the existing elites who had previously been working within a Romanised administrative system. Features such as villa estates continued even if the settlement foci shifted, and the use of Roman titles continued or even expanded. In contrast to this theme of continuity, there was widespread folk movement around the Irish Sea during the early medieval period. Irish groups moved from southern Ireland to Wales, and perhaps to south-west England (either directly or via Wales), and also from north-east Ireland to south-west Scotland. Peoples moved from Cornwall to Brittany, and at a later date the Norse settled in western Scotland, Isle of Man, parts of western England, and founded urban centres in Ireland.

There are clear similarities in all regions with regard to elite material culture, largely associated with feasting. Craft production sponsored by the elite is also well represented on such sites, with evidence in the form of crucibles, tuyères, moulds, slag, scrap and partly finished objects. The behaviour of aristocratic groups would therefore seem to have some significant similarities throughout the 'Irish Sea Province'. How-

ever, the forms of the settlements vary from region to region, and the workings of the wider economy are difficult to ascertain for most areas because few lower status sites are known, except perhaps in Ireland.

Secular elite sites in western Britain

Within south-west Britain, work in Somerset has been dominated by the publication of older excavations. The excavations at the hillfort of Cadbury Castle (Alcock 1985) were amongst the most important of the late 1960s, and the interim volume by Alcock (1972) has been much used to date; they also gave inspiration to others searching for post-Roman hillfort reoccupation (for example Burrow 1981). What is most important about Cadbury Castle is the evidence for investment in large building works on the site - the defensive elements, such as the rampart and gate, and also the internal buildings. The hall, though open to varying

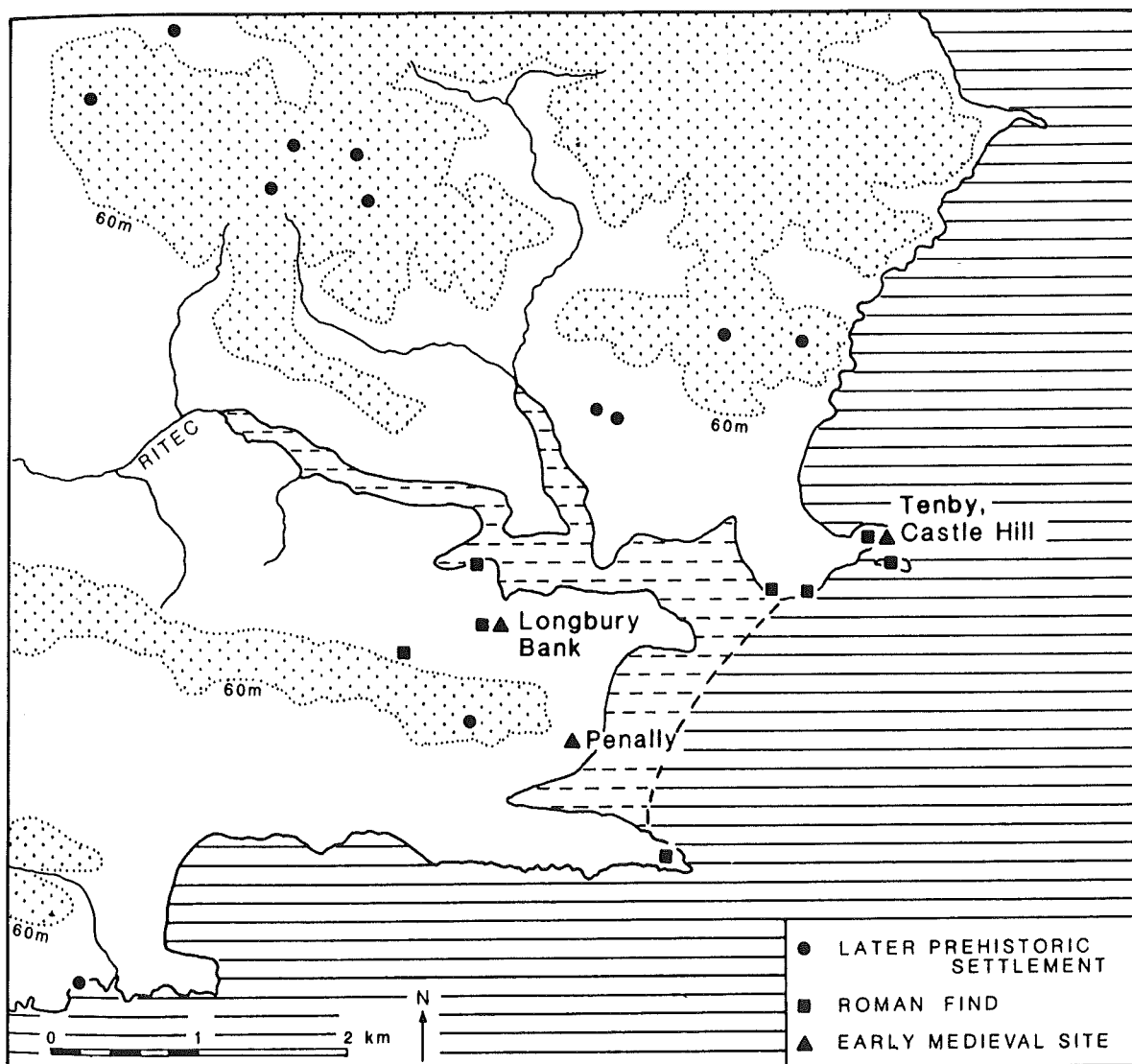


Fig. 1. Longbury Bank and its region (from Campbell - Lane 1993, courtesy of the Society for Medieval Archaeology).

interpretations, is convincing and is one of the most substantial buildings of this date from anywhere in western Britain and Ireland. Cadbury-Congresbury was the other major hilltop excavation of the late 1960s and early 1970s, again published after a long delay (*Rahtz et al. 1992*). There is evidence of ritual activity (with probable shrines) as well as domestic structures and finds. Both sites have produced a mass of data which will be used by many researchers in the future.

The last decade much work has been undertaken at Tintagel. Following a fire that cleared vegetation from much of the promontory, a detailed survey revealed the complexity of structures there (*Thomas 1988*). Moreover, excavations at the nearby church has revealed contemporary burials. Observations during consolidation of the site, and some selective research excavations have further clarified the nature and extent of occupation during the 5th to early 7th centuries. This has led Thomas to review the whole complex and consider that it was a major importation site for Mediterranean goods, particularly wine and oil, and a centre for its consumption and redistribution, though only occupied for part of the year. It may have had various ceremonial functions associated with kingship (*Thomas 1993*).

In Wales, there has been much effort in attempting to locate and study settlements, but with mixed success. The overall number of secular settlements remains stubbornly small (*Edwards - Lane 1988*). Reinterpretation of the classic 'Ilys' site of Dinas Powys has been undertaken, with some dispute as to its economic basis (*Alcock 1987; Gilchrist 1988*). Another defensive high status site found at Hen Gastell, overlooking the Severn estuary, has yielded an impressive range of imported material, particularly glass (*Wilkinson 1995*).

Two unusual sites have been located and studied, however, which are important in consideration of the overall pattern of elite settlement. Although Llangorse crannog has been long known, little fieldwork has been undertaken there until recently because so much of the site and its environs were under water. However, excavation and survey have revealed a crannog and artefacts in the Irish style (*Redknap 1991*). There is little doubt that this is a royal site; dendrochronological dates are of the 9th century, but artefactual material covers a wider date range. This is the only crannog known from Wales, and it is found in an area which was already noted for Irish settlement evidenced by earlier inscribed stones. Longbury Bank is unique at present in being an undefended but apparently high status site. Geophysical survey and excavation failed to find any defining features for the site, and only slight structural evidence survived (*Campbell - Lane 1993*). However, comparison with Dinas Powys (*Alcock 1963*), where preservation was much better, easily explains this as differential preservation. The site has been examined in its regional context (*Fig. 1*). The range of imported pottery and glass indicates a high status site of a type that will be difficult to locate, particularly in those parts of south-west Britain where the imported goods did not reach.

Work in Scotland has been largely limited to a series of evaluation excavations by Alcock on high status sites known from documentary sources. This has been an elegant and effective campaign in confirming the presence of elite sites, usually in dominating and highly defensive positions (*Alcock 1981*). Finds of imported material, weapons, and occasionally craft working debris fit the expected pattern assemblage, but the organisation and function of such sites is still unclear. At Dunadd has more extensive work been undertaken, but remains unpublished. Efforts to give a wider interpretative framework have been attempted for south-west Scotland (*Nieke - Duncan 1988*).

In western Britain as a whole, Viking period sites have been little studied recently, though the promontory fort at Porth Trefadog is a possibility (*Longley 1991*). A newly discovered site on Anglesey would seem to be a significant earlier Viking site on the basis of metal detector finds and now excavated evidence (*Nenk - Margeson - Hurley 1995*). In Scotland, Viking studies have concentrated on the Orkneys and the north of the mainland, rather than on the western coast (*Ritchie 1993*).

Other settlements and religious sites in western Britain

Late Roman and early medieval cemeteries have been excavated in Somerset at sites such as Cannington, but the final report is still awaited; recent excavations in South Wales such as at Barry (*Price 1987*) will provide important comparative material, and analysis of cist-burials continues (*James 1992*). Burial sites from a dif-

ferent tradition have been found in Wales, with unusual square ditches; they have been excavated at Plas Gogerddan (Murphy 1992) and Tandderwen (Brassil *et al.* 1991). Significant development can be noted on churches and churchyards, particularly with regard to their morphology and location in the landscape and in relation to other settlement, in Cornwall (Preston - Jones 1992), and south-east Wales (Brooke 1992). Excavations at Welsh churches and monasteries has been limited. At Bangor, burials and a ditch have been found (James 1992), at Capel Maelog extensive excavations revealed a sequence of burial and a church (Britnell 1990), and at Lanychlwydog the association between burial and a cross inscribed stone was demonstrated (Murphy 1987).

Monasteries in western Scotland have received some attention, particularly at Iona (RCHMS 1982), and at the long-running and extensive excavations at Whithorn, yet to be published, which should become the best understood excavated early medieval monastic site in the whole of western Britain and Ireland.

Overall settlement patterns in western Britain

In south-west England and Wales, elite sites of the period up to the 7th century have been identified, with some burial sites and ecclesiastical centres, but the mass of settlement remains unknown. From perhaps the late 7th century onwards, however, the amount of archaeological information dramatically decreases, and

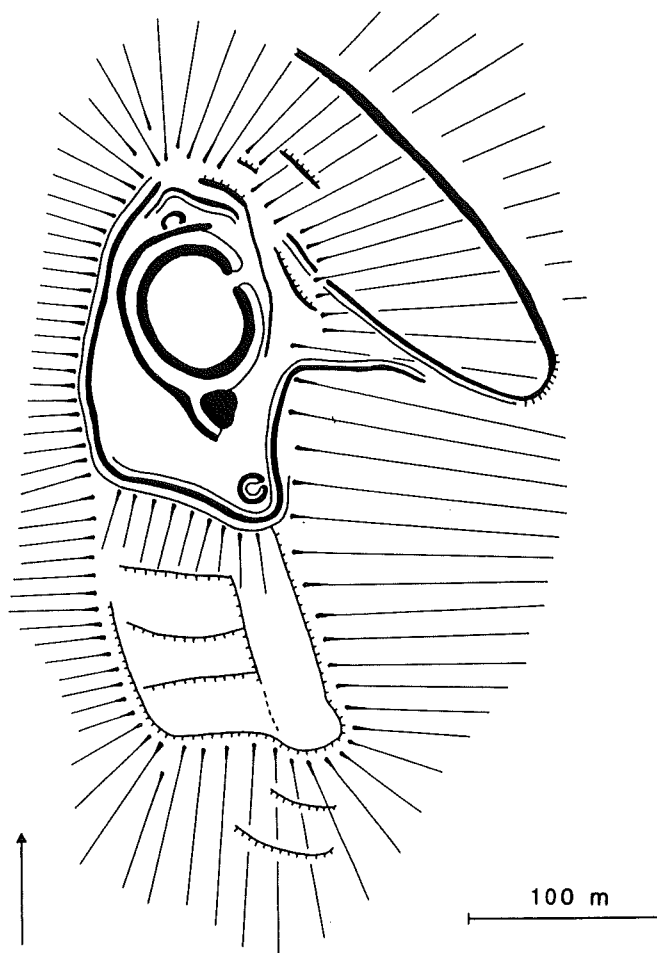


Fig. 2. Upland settlement of Ballyutuag, County Antrim (after Warner 1988).

few settlements are known. Sites such as Mawgan Porth, Cornwall, are rare, and greater emphasis has been placed on placenames and the use of documentary sources to identify political units and estates (*Preston-Jones - Rose 1986*). Some of these may have been in existence earlier, but how this could be confirmed with only archaeological sources has yet to be resolved. Some multi-period landscape studies have revealed important early medieval material, for example on Bodmin Moor where the peripheral pattern of pre-Norman settlement could be identified through placenames, even though little physical evidence was found (*Johnson - Rose 1994*).

Placenames suggest a shift from the sites of the post-Roman period, often on rolling plateau tops and more defensible locations used from the early Iron Age, to valley-side and valley-bottom locations where rural settlement can still be found. The appearance of tre- placenames in Cornwall, and tref- in Wales can be seen as examples of this shift. From the 10th century onwards, Saxon political and economic forces become important in much of south-west England, and not only burhs but villages become a feature of the landscape (*Todd 1987*). It is in the latter part of the early medieval period that the settlement pattern so familiar in western Britain today was created. Continuity from that time has had a detrimental effect on the archaeology, since most sites of the period are probably buried under or have been destroyed by the existing settlement complexes.

Overall, archaeological research in western Britain can claim considerable progress in the location and interpretation of elite sites and the patterns of distribution of imported material, whether ceramics (and their contents) from the Mediterranean, or later ceramics and glass from the Continent. General patterns of culture and settlement are now being approached through burial (despite many being in acid soils with poor skeletal preservation) and religious sites, a previously neglected field. Results have been impressive and may yet lead to identification of associated settlements. The lower status populations still largely remain invisible in settlements, though some may be present in burials. Perhaps only in Cornwall, where grass-marked and then bar-lug pottery was in use, may the lower status sites be identified relatively easily. This would seem to be a priority research area for the future.

Elite secular sites in Ireland

Extensive excavation on early medieval sites has not been common in recent Irish research, but there have been limited excavations to a high standard that have given a new quality of information on sequences, associations of artefacts and structures, and environmental data. Moreover there has been reassessment of key sites excavated earlier this century, and extensive field survey.

Relatively few wealthy sites have been discovered in the last decade, many of the ringforts being subject to excavation prior to destruction from agriculture or development having produced relatively small collections of finds and limited structural evidence. An exception to this has been Deer Park Farms, which though not yet fully published is clearly a site which will be of great value. The preservation of the lower layers in the platform ringfort was such that parts of wattle walls of double-walled conjoined roundhouses were found (*Lynn 1988a*), together with rich environmental evidence. The stratigraphy within the mound has been most useful for providing some chronological depth, and can be compared with that from Big Glebe with its massive stone revetted ramp, Gransha, and the excavations at Rathmullen (*Lynn 1982*). Research excavations at Lisleagh have provided new insights into ironworking and also through extensive environmental sampling, the role of plants in the subsistence economy (*Monk 1988*). Promontory forts have received little attention, apart from the excavations at Dunbeg with its massive stone walling, smaller external banks, and drystone rectangular house with rounded corners (*Barry 1981*), a common type also paralleled in timber in the Norse towns (*Wallace 1992*).

Very few Irish crannogs have been excavated in recent years, but a continuing programme of dendro-chronological dating of known sites by sampling subsurface timbers has yielded important indications regarding their chronology, particularly in the northern part of Ireland (*Baillie 1979*). Dendrochronology has also been vital at the excavations on Moynagh Lough crannog, where a sequence of structures has been uncovered, with some associated with high quality metalworking, including the use of gold (*Bradley 1991*).

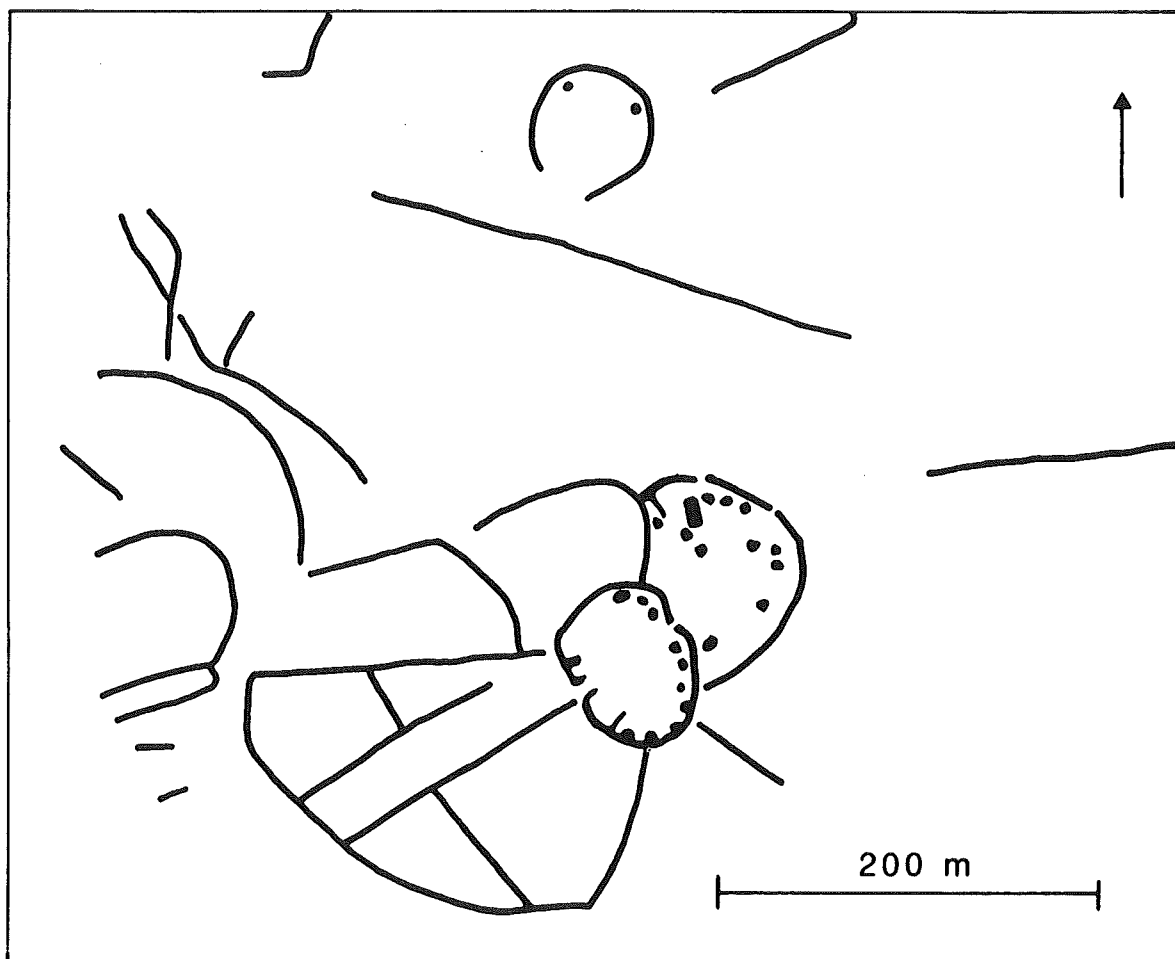


Fig. 3. Clogher hillfort, County Tyrone (after Williams 1984).

Numerous mould fragments have been recovered, and the quality of material recovered under modern scientific conditions reminds us what has been lost from the earlier crannog excavations at Ballinderry 1 and 2, and at Lagore. However, some reassessment of the stratigraphy and finds from these key sites has been recently undertaken, which allows the material to be appropriately considered today (Lynn 1983; Warner 1986b). The royal significance of Lagore can still be supported, even if the dating methods associating particular layers with events recorded in the Annals is no longer valid. The possible ritual aspects of the human remains at Lagore (Hencken 1950), and indeed at Cahercommaun stone fort (Hencken 1938) has yet to be appreciated.

The role of kingship, and the study of royal sites, has been a matter of interest due to the work at Clogher (Fig. 2; Warner 1988) and the recent campaign of geophysical survey at Tara, though as yet which features if any are early medieval has not been determined. However, it is clear that many early features such as burial mounds and large enclosures were used as foci for royal ritual behaviour, and the symbolic reading of the landscape is now something appreciated by prehistorians (Bradley 1987) and becoming more recognised by early medievalists. Survey and plotting of monuments in the area around the royal centre of Rathcroghan has highlighted the complexity of such foci (Herity 1987; Waddell 1983).

Other settlements and religious sites

Open settlements have been found in considerable numbers in the west by field survey, but there has been little excavation. Some partially enclosed sites, such as Ballywee are also known (Lynn 1988a). Upland large enclosures are rare, though some have been identified in County Antrim (Williams 1983) and excavations at Ballyutuog (Fig. 3) confirmed an early medieval date (Williams 1984). Mills, of both horizontal and vertical types, are now known from Ireland from the 7th century, on the basis of dendrochronology (Rynne 1989). The level of investment, and the control of technology, has important implications for control of labour and production during this period in Ireland.

Souterrains, underground chambers of varying levels of size and complexity, continue to be found and recorded; some are partially excavated. They occur on most types of site including open houses, ringforts, promontory forts, and monasteries, and may have been for storage, refuge or both (Warner 1979). Normally rock-cut or stone-built, some were of timber, such as that at Coolcran (Williams 1985).

Monasteries form a significant element in the Irish settlement pattern; excavation and survey has largely concentrated on the smaller monasteries in the far west, with the large scale excavation at Reask being most significant (Fanning 1981). Field survey has contributed to discussion of site plans and the recognition of different functional areas including ritual and domestic zones (Herity 1984).

The most powerful monasteries in Ireland would have been the largest centres of population prior to the establishment of Viking towns along the coasts and until the Norman foundations inland. For the native populations they functioned as central economic as well as religious centres. Excavation at Clonmacnoise, in an area close to the river Shannon, contains much evidence of craft activity (King 1992); limited work in the religious core of the site has produced a fine if small sequence of burials. Ongoing geophysical survey using a wide range of methods is currently being employed to assess the extent of occupation at the site (Mytum forthcoming). Armagh has been the focus of a series of excavations with significant results coming from the Scotch Street area. A boundary ditch, burials, and remains of structures have been found, together with a wide range of artefactual material including craftworking debris, some derived from very high quality work (Lynn 1988b).

The numerous large enclosures, which often now contain the ruins of a medieval church and a modern burial ground, may have once been monastic centres (Fig. 4). These have been identified in large numbers throughout the midlands and south of Ireland through aerial photography and cartographic study (Hurley 1982; Swan 1983). Only limited excavation has yet been undertaken; some sites produce little remains of any kind, others evidence of ironworking and other craft activity and burial. One site has been excavated to produce a complete cemetery - the inappropriately named Dunmisk fort. The arrangement of burials, including those placed head-to-tail, is noteworthy; skeletal analysis suggests poor diet. A glass-making workshop was also present on the site (Henderson 1988).

The range of religious institutions indicated by the documentary sources (Ó Corráin 1981) have not yet been adequately identified in the archaeological record (Hurley 1982). Nevertheless, progress has been made on both the isolated sites in the west and some of the major power centres elsewhere.

Overall settlement patterns in Ireland

Settlement patterns are emerging through the publication of county inventories. Though not as detailed as the Royal Commission volumes in Britain, they are being produced at a much faster rate. They cover all periods, but the early medieval is well represented. So far, Down has been published in the North and the other counties are to be held in archive; in the Republic, all of Donegal (Lacy 1983), Louth (Buckley - Sweetman 1991), Meath and Monaghan have been published, and parts of Kerry (Cuppige 1986), Tipperary (Stout 1984), Cork (Power 1992) have appeared in print.

Studies have been undertaken considering sites in relation to topography, particularly that of ringforts, with a common pattern of distribution on lower slopes and on or near agricultural soils such as

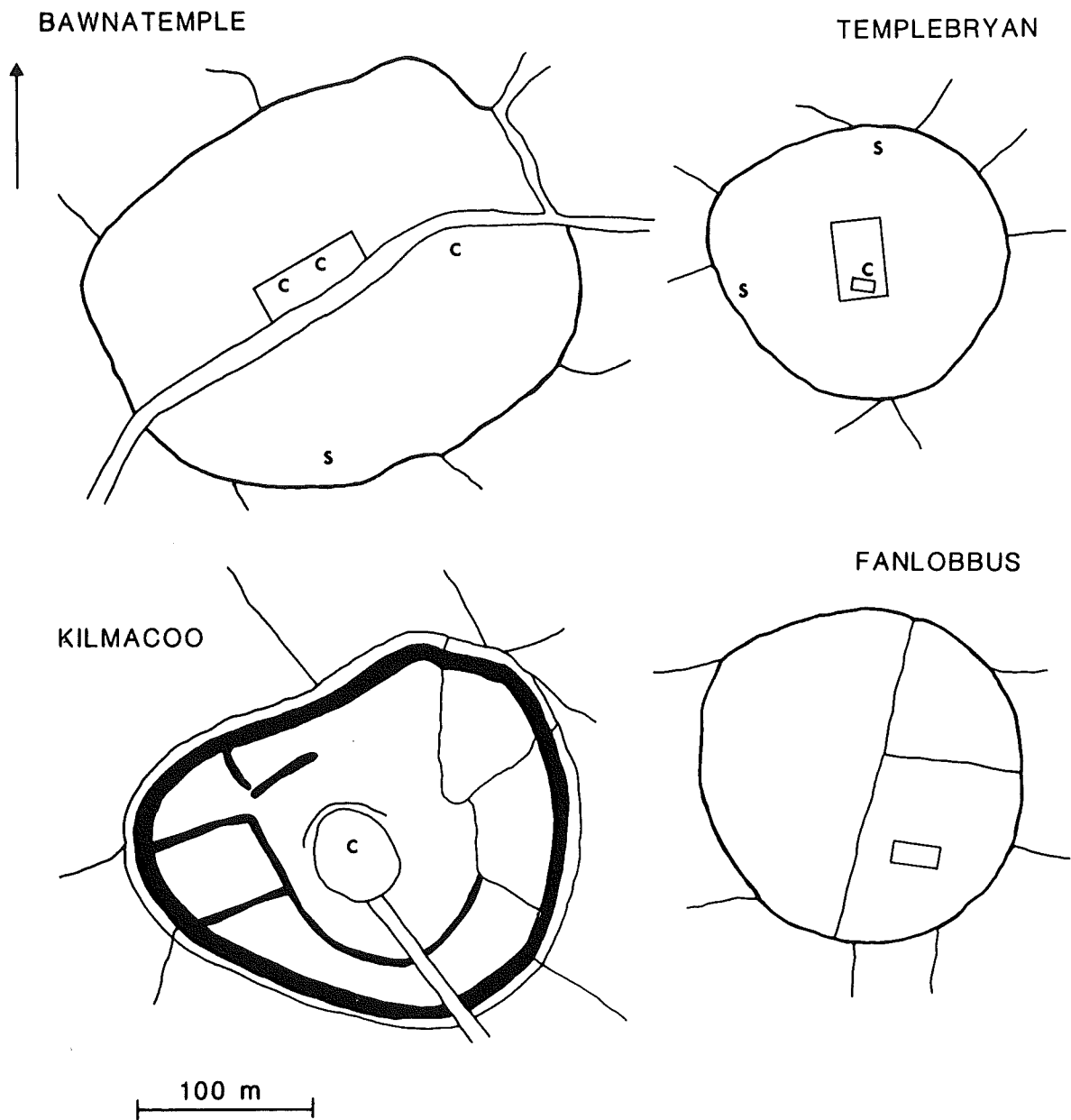


Fig. 4. Large enclosures in County Cork (after Hurley 1982).

brown earths a common finding (Bennett 1989). The functions of ringforts has been the matter of some debate, with views ranging from that of moderately successful farmers (Edwards 1990) to those of some level of aristocracy, with symbolism to be recognised not only in the number of enclosing banks and ditches but also the height of platform ringforts (Mytum 1992). Distributional patterns of souterrains and indeed ringforts have been interpreted as having a possible political or sub-cultural significance (Buckley 1986; Warner 1986a).

Conclusions

Future work on settlement needs to take place on a number of fronts. Within the elite settlements that are already known, the 'Ilys'/aristocratic model of Alcock needs to be refined and used for explanation rather than merely identification. The explanatory roles of long distance trade or craft production, distribution and consumption have yet to be developed. Moreover, the role of monasteries in these activities, particularly as the period progresses, needs further analysis. Indeed, the lack of elite sites in many areas after the settlement shifts of the 7th/8th century onwards highlights the partial nature of the patterns as yet emerging, as does the discovery of open elite sites.

Dating is still a problem on many sites, but the use of dendrochronology, and the development of archaeomagnetic dating (as yet hardly used for this period in western Britain and Ireland) should offer some possibilities. Environmental sampling will allow a better appreciation of subsistence economy and patterns of social relations based on the payments in kind known from documentary sources.

The identification of lower order settlements can probably only be achieved by extensive field survey using a wide range of geophysical and geochemical testing, followed by selective excavation to recover cultural and dating evidence. Where ceramics were in use, in north-east Ireland and Cornwall, a wider settlement pattern may be recognisable.

The regional differences in settlement evidence in western Britain and Ireland needs to be explained. It is unlikely to be variation in survival, and more likely is due to past variation in settlement types. Explanations need to go beyond just the ethnic to consider socio-economic systems, and investment and signalling in material culture; both settlement structures and portable material culture are relevant here. Emphasis needs to be placed above all on regional studies, from which the deeper understanding of individual sites will come, and from which the overall patterns of homogeneity and diversity within the 'Irish Sea Province' will be identified and explained.

References

- Alcock, L. 1963*: Dinas Powys. Cardiff.
- 1972: 'By South Cadbury is that Camelot...'. Excavations at Cadbury Castle 1966-70. London.
- 1981: Early Historic fortifications in Scotland. In: Guilbert, G. (ed.): Hillfort Studies. Leicester, 134-142.
- 1987: Economy, Society and Warfare among the Britons and Saxons. Cardiff.
- 1995: Cadbury Castle, Somerset. The Early Medieval Archaeology. Cardiff.
- Baillie, M. G. C. 1979*: An interim statement on dendrochronology at Belfast, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 42, 72-84.
- Barry, T. 1981*: Archaeological excavations at Dunbeg promontory fort, County Kerry, *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy* 81C, 295-329.
- Bennet, I. 1989*: The Settlement Pattern of Ringforts in County Wexford, *Journal Royal Society Antiquaries Ireland* 119, 50-61.
- Bradley, J. 1991*: Excavations at Moynagh Lough, county Meath, *Journal Royal Society Antiquaries Ireland* 121, 5-26.
- Bradley, R. 1987*: Time regained: the creation of continuity, *Journal British Archaeological Association* 140, 1-17.
- Brassil, K. S. - Owen, W. G. - Britnell, W. J. 1991*: Prehistoric and Early Medieval Cemeteries at Tandderwen, near Denbigh, Clwyd, *Archaeological Journal* 148, 46-97.
- Britnell, W. 1990*: Capel Maelog, Llandrindod Wells, Powys: excavations 1984-87, *Medieval Archaeology* 34, 27-96.
- Brooke, D. 1992*: The Early Christian church east and west of Offa's Dyke. In: Edwards, B. - Lane, A. (eds.): *The Early Church in Wales and the West*. Oxford, 77-89.
- Buckley, V. M. 1986*: Ulster and Oriel Souterrains - an indication of tribal areas?, *Ulster Journal Archaeology* 49, 108-110.
- Buckley, V. M. - Sweetman, P. D. 1991*: Archaeological Survey of County Louth. Dublin.
- Burrow, I. 1981*: Hillfort and Hill-top Settlement in Somerset in the First to Eighth Centuries A.D., *British Archaeological Report British series* 91. Oxford.
- Campbell, E. - Lane, A. 1993*: Excavations at Longbury Bank, Dyfed, and Early Medieval Settlement in South Wales, *Medieval Archaeology* 37, 15-77.
- Cuppige, J. 1986*: Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula. Ballyferriter.
- Edwards, E. 1990*: The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland. London.
- Fanning, T. 1981*: Excavation of an Early Christian cemetery and settlement at Reask, Co. Kerry, *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy* 81C, 3-172.
- Gilchrist, R. 1988*: A Reappraisal of Dinas Powys: Local Exchange and Specialized Livestock Production in 5th- to 7th-Century Wales, *Medieval Archaeology* 32, 50-62.

- Hencken, H. O'N. 1938:* Cahercommaun. Dublin.
- 1950: Lagore crannog: an Irish royal residence of the seventh to tenth centuries, *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy* 53C, 1-247.
- Henderson, J. 1983:* The nature of the Early Christian glass industry in Ireland: some evidence from Dunmisk fort, County Tyrone, *Ulster Journal Archaeology* 51, 115-126.
- Herity, M. 1984:* The layout of Irish Early Christian Monasteries. In: *Ní Chatáin, P. and Richter, M. (eds.): Ireland and Europe.* Stuttgart, 105-116.
- 1987: A survey of the royal site of Cruachain in Connacht, III: ringforts and ecclesiastical sites, *Journal Royal Society Antiquaries Ireland* 117, 125-141.
- Hurley, V. 1982:* The early church in the south-west of Ireland: settlement and organisation. In: *Pearce, S. (ed.): The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland.* British Archaeological Reports British series 102. Oxford, 297-332.
- James, H. 1992:* Early medieval cemeteries in Wales. In: *Edwards, E. - Lane, A. (eds.): The Early Church in Wales and the West.* Oxford, 90-103.
- Johnson, N. - Rose, P. 1994:* Bodmin Moor. An Archaeological survey. Vol. 1. London.
- King, H. 1992:* Excavations at Clonmacnoise, *Archaeology Ireland* 6, No. 3, 12-14.
- Lacy, B. 1983:* The Archaeological Survey of County Donegal. Lifford.
- Longley, D. 1991:* The Excavation of Castell, Porth Trefadog, A Coastal Promontory Fort in North Wales, *Medieval Archaeology* 35, 64-85.
- Lynn, C. J. 1982:* The excavation of Rathmullan, a raised rath and motte in County Down, *Ulster Journal Archaeology* 44-45, 65-171.
- 1983: Some "early" ring-forts and crannogs, *Journal Irish Archaeology* 1, 47-58.
- 1988a: Ballywee, Gransha, Big Glebe, Deer Park Farms. In: *Hamlin, A. - Lynn, C. (eds.): Pieces of the Past.* Belfast, 32-35; 38-47.
- 1988b: Excavations at 46-48 Scotch Street Armagh, 1979-80, *Ulster Journal Archaeology* 51, 69-84.
- Monk, M. 1988:* Excavations at Lisleagh Ringfort, North County Cork, *Archaeology Ireland* 2, No. 2, 57-60.
- Moore, D. (ed.) 1970:* The Irish Sea Province in Archaeology and History. Cardiff.
- Murphy, K. 1992:* Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed: A Multi-period Burial and Ritual Site, *Archaeological Journal* 149, 1-38.
- Mytum, H. C. 1992:* The Origins of Early Christian Ireland. London.
- forthcoming: Survey at Clonmacnoise, *Archaeology Ireland*.
- Nenk, B. S. - Margeson, S. - Hurley, M. 1995:* Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1994, *Medieval Archaeology* 39, 280-281.
- Nieke, M. R. - Duncan, H. B. 1988:* Dalriada: the establishment and maintenance of an Early Historic kingdom in North Britain. In: *Driscoll, S. T. - Nieke, M. R. (eds.): Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland.* Edinburgh, 6-21.
- Ó Corráin, D. 1981:* The early Irish churches: some aspects of organisation. In: *Ó Corráin, D. (ed.): Irish Antiquity.* Cork, 327-341.
- Power, D. 1992:* Archaeological Inventory of County Cork. Vol. 1. West Cork. Dublin.
- Preston-Jones, A. 1992:* Decoding Cornish churchyards. In: *Edwards, E. - Lane, A. (eds.): The Early Church in Wales and the West.* Oxford, 104-124.
- Preston-Jones, A. - Rose, P. 1986:* Medieval Cornwall, *Cornish Archaeology* 26, 135-185.
- Price, C. 1987:* Atlantic Trading Estate, Barry, *Archaeology in Wales* 27, 60-61.
- Rahitz, P. et al. 1992:* Cadbury Congresbury 1968-73. British Archaeological Report British series 223. Oxford.
- RCAHMS (Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments Scotland) 1982:* Argyll, 4. Iona.
- Redknap, M. 1991:* The Christian Celts: treasures of late Celtic Wales. Cardiff.
- Ritchie, A. 1993:* Viking Scotland. London.
- Rynne, C. 1989:* The Introduction of the Vertical Watermill into Ireland: Some Recent Archaeological Evidence, *Medieval Archaeology* 33, 21-31.
- Stout, G. T. 1984:* Archaeological Survey of the Barony of Ikerrin. Roscrea.
- Swan, L. 1983:* Enclosed ecclesiastical sites and their relevance to settlement patterns of the first millennium AD. In: *Reeves-Smyth, T. - Hamond, F. (eds.): Landscape Archaeology in Ireland.* British Archaeological Reports British series 116. Oxford, 269-294.
- Thomas, C. 1986:* Celtic Britain. London.
- 1988: Tintagel Castle, *Antiquity* 62, 421-434.
- 1993: Tintagel, Arthur and Archaeology. London.
- 1994: And Shall These Mute Stones Speak? Post-Roman Inscriptions in Western Britain. Cardiff.
- Todd, M. 1987:* The South West to AD 1000. London.
- Waddell, J. 1983:* Rathcroghan - a royal site in Connacht, *Journal Irish Archaeology* 1, 21-46.
- Wallace, P. 1992:* The Viking Age Buildings of Dublin. Vol. 1, 2, Dublin.
- Warner, R. B. 1979:* Irish souterrains and their background. In: *Crawford, H. (ed.): Subterranean Britain.* London, 100-144.
- 1986a: The date of the start of Lagore, *Journal Irish Archaeology* 3, 75-77.
- 1986b: Comments on Ulster and Oriel souterrains, *Ulster Journal Archaeology* 49, 111-112.
- 1988: The archaeology of early historic kingship. In: *Driscoll, S. T. - Nieke, M. R. (eds.): Power and Politics in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland.* Edinburgh, 47-68.
- Wilkinson, P. F. 1995:* Excavations at Hen Gastell, Briton Ferry, West Glamorgan, 1991-92, *Medieval Archaeology* 39, 1-50.
- Williams, B. B. 1983:* Early Christian landscapes in County Antrim. In: *Reeves-Smyth, T. - Hamond, F. (eds.): Landscape Archaeology in Ireland.* British Archaeological Reports British series 116. Oxford, 233-246.
- 1984: Excavations at Ballyutuog, County Antrim, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 47, 37-49.
- 1985: Excavation of a rath at Coolcran, County Fermanagh, *Ulster Journal Archaeology* 48, 69-80.