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SETTLEMENT STUDIES IN DARK AGE WALES: ARCHAEOLOGY AND SOCIAL HISTORY

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It has long been recognized that the beginnings of archaeology lie in eighteenth and nineteenth century British antiquarianism — which in turn arose from a fascination with that island's great monuments such as Stonehenge and Pentre Ifan, and sites like Skara Brae and Maiden Castle. It is understandable then why, in many respects, British archaeology has been reluctant to leave behind a site-oriented approach. Only a limited number of scholars at a few universities have engaged in the model-building approach of "the new archaeology" and adopted a regional outlook. Even where this progress has taken place in the medieval field, it has tended to be for the purpose of authenticating the recorded history of rich and well-documented cultures such as Anglo-Saxon Kent or the Norman Midlands.

Wales, therefore, suffers under a double burden. It is generally neither rich nor well-represented in the literary and epigraphical sources. The neglect of history has been compounded by modern scholars, who tend to ignore Wales due to what one writer has deemed "exaggerated ideas of cultural retardation of the Highland Zone, of which Wales as a whole was thought to be a part" (Savory 1976:238). While the difficulties presented by the paucity of material are indeed formidable, at the same time, the archaeological scene presents unique challenges in excavation, dating, and interpretation, as well as rewards commensurate with those challenges.

A thorough investigation of the fifth through eighth centuries could provide information about economic and social organization in times of crisis and renewal. It would help to understand the fate of a primitive society¹ when the infrastructure of an imperial state collapses and the natives are left to reconstruct a culture whose ability to support itself has been weakened by centuries of colonialism. One means of investigating this process is through the study of settlement types and their spatial and temporal distribution. This kind of analysis can also inform on crucial issues such as demography and subsistence which must be understood if a social history of the early medieval period is

ever to be achieved.

The goal of this article is to address these issues with specific reference to Wales and the fall of the Roman Empire in the early fifth century. After a brief historical introduction, we can proceed to a presentation of the typological categories for Welsh settlement sites and then examine the data base. Since any full treatment of this topic would require a much larger work, the final section will deal with some preliminary hypotheses and suggestions for further research.

There is not, nor has there been, any systematic plan for investigating early medieval remains in Wales. Nor is there any source which synthesizes the data we have, with the possible exception of the Ordnance Survey's Map of Britain during the Dark Ages, but even that is incomplete and out-of-date. The information contained in this report then, has been obtained chiefly from the archaeological survey of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments for Wales and Monmouthshire (RCAHMW) and selected site excavation reports. Further, additional information will be provided in the Appendix.

Historical Summary

Topography and Climate

Wales is dominated by the Cambrian Mountains, which are surrounded by the coastal areas to the Northwest, the West, and the South. These strips of land are narrow, though, and it is worth remembering that nearly three-quarters of the country lies above 600 feet, and more that one-quarter of it above 1000 feet (see fig. 2). This altitude combines with high rainfall to create a condition which has traditionally had an adverse effect on agriculture, since it is conducive neither to the accumulation of a rich topsoil, nor to a long growing season.

Roman Period

It is ironic that these very factors of topography and climate — which have limited the country's agricultural productivity and kept regions culturally isolated — are what served as Wales' defense against the Roman onslaught. Just as Napoleon and Hitler were driven from Russia by its natural defenses, so did the inhospitable nature of the Welsh landscape keep the bulk of Roman settlement east of the Wye and Dee valleys.

There, the extent of Romanization was great. The region was conquered in a series of military campaigns in the first part of the first century A.D. The invading armies debilitated native fortifications and relocated some regional

groups, forcibly settling them in specially founded towns (Laing 1979:111). In this way, within a generation, a semi-pastoral people, living in a tribal society, were converted to a completely stationary and dependent people, living in towns with a money economy and trade, under the surveillance of the greatest state in the known world.

Much of the military and administrative elite lived in other types of towns, surrounded by smaller settlements: military forts, official establishments such as posting stations, and industrial communities. Still other Romano-Britons lived in great country villas which formed the basis of huge estates.

Celtic Wales

Our concern, however, is with the native homesteads, in which the majority of the population lived. They vary from single-home sites to agglomerations covering as much as 200 acres, and according to Stephen Johnson they represent "an undercurrent of basic subsistence farming, continuing the traditions of the Iron Age through the Roman period, often with surprisingly little change from first to last (1980:18). The relation of native homesteads to the estates is not clear: while Celtic tribal organization would have allowed tenurial status, it may be that Celtic and Roman farming patterns coexisted independently.

This pattern was followed in Wales only in the lowlands of the Southeast, an area which has always been geographically and culturally more related to the lands to the east (and even today, contains the fewest Welsh speakers of any of the regions of Wales). In the rest of the country, the Celtic way of life fared better. Particularly in the interior, the natives kept to their mountain fastnesses and the Romans to the lowlands and valleys. Some hillforts were never attacked and thus remained in constant occupation throughout the Imperial period.

The degree of cultural influence brought to these isolated communities by trade contact is difficult to determine, but whatever effect the Romans had on life in Celtic Wales certainly declined as the Empire entered the difficult times of the third and fourth centuries. In Gaul, encroachments by hostile tribes forced Rome to delegate the defense of its northern border to more friendly barbarians known as *foederati* (federates). There is some evidence that a similar policy was followed in Britain, pitting one native group against another. In South Wales, the Irish tribe of the Dessi were settled in Pembroke (Wainwright 1967:73); in the North, the Roman general Magnus Maximus may have brought Cuneda and his tribe of Votadini from the fort of Traprain Law in southern Scotland to Gwynedd around the year A.D. 380 (Laing 1979:133). The purpose of all of these actions was to stabilize the local situation and provide defense against more damaging raids by the uninvited.

Nonetheless, the uninvited came anyway. When this happened, Rome protected its richest and most valuable territories first — which meant decreasing or eliminating the number of troops in areas like Wales. In such instances, native customs once again became active, so that when the Imperial army finally abandoned Britain ca. A.D. 410, Wales was, in many ways, better prepared to deal with her independence than were other areas which had been more continually well defended by Rome.

The Settlement Types

This deterioration of the Imperial system created the potential for great change in patterns of land holding and settlement. Thus, in the sub-Roman period, the native Britons had a number of options: (1) they could revert to pre-Roman Iron Age ways, (2) they could continue in the life the Romans had established, or (3) they could arrive at some new pattern through cultural evolution. When one examines the evidence, it seems that, in effect, they did all three: there was reoccupation of pre-Roman hillforts, there was continued use of stone huts from during the Imperial period, and finally, there was the emergence of a new defended site type.

There may have been other activity as well, but it is as of yet poorly documented. Specifically there is a suggestion that "small promontory forts may have played a role in this period. One of the excavated examples at Castell, Porth Trefadog, Anglesey has produced radiocarbon dates consistent with such an early medieval designation (personal communication, Mr. David Longley, Gwynedd Archaeological Trust, Bangor, Wales). We also need to consider the potential role of sites like Cefn Gelligaer and Cefn Y Brithdir, the first of which was excavated by Aileen Fox in 1938. They may represent the *hafotai* or summer encampments of pastoralists, and therefore be of importance in the study of early subsistence. And third, there is evidence for the occupation of caves (e.g., Longbury Bank, Pembrokeshire [Alcock 1963a:131]).

The understanding of these other sites, however, is hindered by the size of the data base and by problems of chronology, so that at present it is more productive to focus on those types which have produced concrete evidence of substantial use during the early medieval period.

Hillforts

For the present purpose, hillforts are most important as representatives of the economic and ceremonial centers of Celtic Britain. Since these bank and ditch enclosures also served as tribal capitals, they were natural targets of the Roman generals. There is evidence, however, that some of the Welsh ones

escaped attack — most likely on account of their remote position. It is not a question of the inability of the invading army to bring down certain forts, but rather the willingness of the administration to allow the continuation of native settlement in those areas where the Romans had no interest in going: the mountains of Snowdonia, for example. The sites of Tre'r Ceiri (Hogg 1960) (see fig. 3) and Dinorben (Savory 1958; Alcock 1963b:299-300) in North Wales may have had such a history. More frequently, however, hillforts were abandoned after the slighting of their defenses. This refers to the fact that the Romans merely destroyed enough of a fort to make it unusable as a defensive enclosure; it was neither dismantled nor razed.

Reoccupation

It was to these decrepit fortifications that settlement began to return in the chaotic times accompanying the decline of the Roman Empire. In the latter part of the third century, we find renewed occupation at Y Breiddin, Montgomeryshire (Musson 1976); South Cadbury, Somerset (Laing 1975:128-29); and Coygan Camp, Carmarthenshire (Wainwright 1976). This would coincide with the period of economic and civil unrest which culminated with the promulgation of the Edicts of Diocletian in 293. In the time of crisis, citizens of Roman Britain fled to sites which offered a prospect of the surrounding territory and which had traditionally been associated with defense.

While there is no evidence to suggest that, at least in Wales, any site was ever refortified, the re-use could extend so far as to provide the nucleus for early medieval communities, as happened at Coygan Camp and South Cadbury. Elsewhere, at Lydney Park in Gloucestershire reoccupation was accompanied by a revival of Celtic religion: excavations discovered a shrine to the god Nodens, whose cult brought many pilgrims to the site (Wheeler 1929; Johnson 1980:34-36; Laing 1975:131; Laing 1979:112).

Hillforts continued to be occupied into the fifth century, and we can add to the list Castle Ditches, Eddisbury and Old Oswestry (Varley 1948; Alcock 1963b:296-97). The excavated examples show an end to their use between the middle of the fifth and the turn of the sixth centuries. Those still occupied into the late Middle Ages were usually altered in some way which effectively ended their use as hillforts per se.

Hut Groups

Stone-built huts of various kinds occur in great numbers on the mountain slopes of northwest Wales, and related structures can be found in parts of the South as well. At their simplest, they are plain circles of drystone masonry,

ranging from 5 to 25 feet in diameter, originally probably covered with a conical roof of thatch, supported by a central ring of six posts. Excavation at Cors y Gedol in Merionethshire is responsible for much of what we know about the construction of these huts (Griffiths 1960). Single huts are not uncommon, but usually they are grouped together in what archaeologists have called "homesteads." Unenclosed homesteads have their huts spread out, whereas the huts of enclosed homesteads are nucleated and joined by a thick perimeter wall.

Determining the chronological designation for these sites is extremely difficult. While we are occasionally fortunate to have Romano-British pottery (Samian and pseudo-Samian) or numismatic evidence, this kind of material is never recovered in sufficient quantity to provide a reliable pattern of dates. And other pottery, such as the native coarse ware, is so crude as to be of no help at all. Therefore, it is chiefly on the basis of association with a brooch found at Pant y Saer, Anglesey, that the range of hut occupation has been assigned to the period 250-450 A.D. \pm 50 years (Alcock 1963b).

Enclosed groups may be placed either at the beginning or end of this period on the basis of the shape of their surrounding wall. It has been recognized that Celtic building styles are based on round shapes, and Roman styles on rectilinear planning. Enclosed hut groups show a great range of plans (see fig. 4), and it has been suggested that the more angular examples are due to Roman influence, and are therefore later. While Roman influence can be safely postulated, the use of this criterion to establish date has its weaknesses.

One notable feature of hut groups of both plans is the association of terraced fields for agriculture, such as at Ty Mawr, Holyhead, Anglesey (RCAHMW 1937:lxvii). The role that this agriculture would have played in the subsistence of post-Roman Wales is exceedingly difficult to evaluate since ploughs and other agricultural artifacts have not been recovered from these sites. For many years it was thought that farming played almost no role, the medieval Welsh being committed instead to pastoralism. But Leslie Alcock, discussing the site of Dinas Powys, points out that "plough-shares and other implements diagnostic of arable farming are found so rarely on settlements where farming is known to have been practised that their absence is no proof that it was not" (1963a:41). In addition, we have the existence of grinding stones to show that the processing of grains took place. The terraced fields of the hut groups should be taken as one more piece of evidence.

A mere look at the county inventories of ancient monuments (RCAHMW) will alert the scholar to the enormous number of huts (single, as well as enclosed and unenclosed groups) still extant on the Welsh hillsides, though it is clear that there were originally many more. Since they obviously form a central

part of Dark Age settlement in Wales an effort must be made — both through remote sensing and surface survey — to reconstruct their original numerical representation.

Walled and Embanked Settlements

The final type of settlement to be considered here is the first that can be called uniquely medieval, since both hillforts and hut groups have their origins in the Roman period or earlier. Beginning in the fifth century, a new kind of defended site emerges: one which uses short lengths of rather weak walling or small banks (nothing compared to those of the hillforts) in combination with natural features to delineate more than fortify the interior. These have been called "walled or embanked settlements" (Alcock 1963b:298) and are located on rock outcroppings or promontories. They provide the most extensive finds of any early Welsh sites, so we may look to them as centers of power in the early Middle Ages.

Dinas Emrys

One of the first of this type of site to be investigated was Dinas Emrys in Caernarvonshire (see fig. 5) — by Major C.E. Breese in 1910. He was excavating out of curiosity about the veracity of a legend concerning Vortigern, a Celtic war-lord who rose to power in the period of Roman decline, and a child seer named Ambrosius (Welsh, Emrys) (contained in Nennius 1980:29-31). Central to the story are the foundations for a fortress and a pool in which swam a red dragon and a white one, locked in combat as representatives of the British and Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of the island. During the excavation, two such structures were in fact uncovered, a fact which attests to the general reliability of Welsh folk legend (Savory 1960:49-56).

A site plan of Dinas Emrys allows us to recognize some of the identifying characteristics of walled or embanked settlements, one of which is that the rampart is not continuous, existing only where the natural steepness of the rocky outcrop is insufficient. In this aspect, it is closely related morphologically to the sites of Dundurn and Dunadd, Argyll, Scotland (Christison 1930; Craw 1905). Many scholars have hypothesized about this connection, and the involvement of Cunedda and his Scottish immigrant tribe has been suggested (Savory 1960:ibid.).

Dinas Powys

For the complement to the walled site of Dinas Emrys, we now turn to Dinas Powys in Glamorgan (Alcock 1963a) (see fig. 6), which experienced its flu-

orescence in the late fifth century. Material recovered from this period includes extensive middens showing heavy reliance on stock raising, but also remains of fish, shellfish, and fowl. Early Christian pottery and metalwork show Roman, Teutonic, and Irish trade connections. There is evidence of craftsmanship in bronze and iron, and much of the glass found at Dinas Powys may have been related to a jewellery industry. Leather was also worked intensively — to such a degree that it appears that much of it was for export. In short, we are dealing with a highly developed site whose economic power was wide reaching and which may have had a comparable social and political status.

It is not clear whether Dinas Powys was only an industrial site or whether there was domestic occupation as well. Sherds of *mortaria*, used in food preparation would suggest that there was. We would be better equipped to form a hypothesis if we knew the form and purpose of the large building that once existed in the center of the site. Its presence has only been detected by the gullies formed by rain running off its eaves (the stone fabric of the building was robbed for the construction of additional fortifications in the Norman period).

From this information we can tell its shape: it was a round building in the Celtic tradition. The site's excavator Leslie Alcock suggests that it was the *neuadd*, or great hall of a local chieftain, and that Dinas Powys was his *llys*, or court. We would then have archaeological evidence for the beginnings of native political structure in post-Roman Wales.

On the basis of the lack of late Roman pottery, Alcock gives a date no earlier than A.D. 400 for the rise of Dinas Powys. It is very difficult to use pottery to date the end of site occupation since its importation ceases around A.D. 700. Instead, Alcock uses the lack of metalwork from the eighth through eleventh centuries to suggest an abandonment of Dinas Powys just after A.D. 600.

Some Hypotheses and Suggestions for Further Research

Taken all together the excavated examples of early Welsh sites show a general chronological development (see figs. 8, 9), thereby giving us an answer to the original question regarding the fate of Welsh settlement in the post-Roman period. The next step is to consider what kinds of studies can be performed to explain both the succession and temporal overlap of the settlement categories. One way of approaching this topic is by considering the differences and similarities of each type to the others.

Distribution

The clearest way in which the types differ is in their distribution. Since regional topography plays such a great role in the location of sites in ecological niches, it is not feasible to make comparisons across topographic zones. Caernarvonshire contains all three types, making it a convenient unit for study. Looking at the examples there, it becomes apparent that two of the types cluster around certain elevations. On the mountain peaks, the hillforts of Braich y Dinas and Tre'r Ceiri are located at 1520 and 1600 feet above sea level respectively.

Further down the mountainside are the hut groups: the unenclosed type begins at about 1200 feet, while the enclosed variety cluster with amazing regularity between the 500 and 600 foot contours. One can relate this preference for certain types of terrain to subsistence methods of the inhabitants of the two kinds of huts: those in the unenclosed groups needed grazing land for their pastoral ways, while those in the enclosed groups required land more suited to agriculture (see Gresham 1944:186).

In the flatter areas of North Wales like Anglesey and the Llyn peninsula, all types of settlement are found at lower elevations than in Caernarvonshire, though the fundamental relationship does not change. Walled and embanked settlements do not tend to cluster around any particular altitude, but instead they take advantage of suitable promontories wherever they are to be found.

Temporal Coincidence

When we begin to look at the similarities between the groups, one readily apparent relationship is the temporal coincidence of the major part of hillfort reoccupation with the heyday of the hut groups. It is natural to want to know if there were economic and political connections between them. Subsistence methods may give a clue. The hillforts show evidence of a high degree of pastoralism, but almost no agriculture, although we know that they processed grains. The hut groups, on the other hand, had significant agricultural activity but, with the exception of the Anglesey examples, no stock-raising. It is possible that there was some cooperative arrangement for the exchange of resources.

The current state of knowledge does not allow an answer to the hypothesis. Perhaps a series of investigations undertaken with precisely this matter in mind might be successful. There are a number of sites suitable for study, particularly the hillfort and hut group complex at Mynydd Llwydiarth (RCAHMW 1937:141) and Caer y Twr (Gardner 1934), both in Anglesey. In the two cases, we have a hillfort which suggests continued or renewed activity in the post-

Roman period, surrounded by huts or homesteads. Extensive survey, surface collection, and selective excavation could help develop an idea of the regional economy.

At first, the populations of hillforts and hut groups do not seem to be comparable. There are hundreds of hut groups, each of which may represent one or more families, while the evidence for the reoccupation of hillforts suggests quite a meager population. It must be remembered, though, that if hillfort inhabitants were pastoralists, much of their activity would have taken place outside of the site, perhaps in temporary dwellings. Therefore, the archaeological remains at a site would not reflect the true number of people who used it as their home base.

There is also the problem that we do not really have a clear idea of how many hillforts were reoccupied, and it is impossible to look actively for evidence from this period. As it is, what we know of hillfort reoccupation today comes from excavations which were investigating the Iron Age activity on these sites. Any significant progress would require a broader base of data, and should include the promising sites of Moel Fenlli, Castle Ditches at Llanancarfan, and Caer Ddynaf at Llanbeithian.

This study of economic interrelationships could be extended to investigate the progression from pastoralism and terrace agriculture of the period A.D. 250-450 to what seems to be the emergence of a land tenure system under the walled and embanked settlements of the sixth century. Sites like Dinas Powys have no associated fields of their own, and indeed sites like Dunadd could have had none due to their topographical location. It is possible that they obtained their resources through a system of taxation. In fact, the collection of the king's food-rent or, *gwestfa*, documented in medieval Welsh lawbooks, may have had its origins in such a practice. In this regard, Wales could be seen as part of a general European pattern, in which war-chiefs rose to positions of wealth during the Dark Ages by receiving goods in return for protection from the chaotic times.

Demography

One of the pieces of information one hopes will result from a study of settlement is an estimation of ancient population size. At the moment, this is not a realistic goal for the Dark Age archaeology of Wales. First of all, we do not know what percentage of original settlements survive for our study. Nor do we always know the number of inhabitants for each kind of site.

For example, Iron Age hillforts could accommodate hundreds of people, and some of the larger examples in southwest England as many as one thousand. Even the hillfort of Tre'r Ceiri could have had as many as six hundred

occupants, assuming 4 people per each of the 150 huts contained in its interior (Hogg 1960:22). The problem is in determining whether these sites were used to their full capacity during the sub-Roman and post-Roman period, or whether it was merely a group of squatters who left the remains on which we base our statement of reoccupation.

Huts probably housed one family each, while the estimates for walled and embanked settlements vary: Dinas Emrys, perhaps 50; Dinas Powys, somewhere from 60 to 100; and at Dunadd, Christison suggests 700 on the basis of how many men it would take "to man the defenses" (1905:310). Estimates of population for Dark Age sites which have a firm base in statistics are rare: Hogg made a fine attempt in his excavation report on Garn Boduan and Tre'r Ceiri (1960), but the applicability of his figures to other sites cannot be assumed.

A Framework for Understanding

Upon close study it can be seen that each of our three settlement types had its origin in a particular political situation, and whatever discoveries are made about the economic status of various sites or their relationships to each other must be understood within this framework.

The reoccupation of hillforts took place in the late third and fourth centuries, when nearly three hundred years of order was threatened by economic collapse and invasion. Just as the Roman army was unable to fend off incursions by Germanic peoples and Irish tribes like the *Ui Liathain*, so was it unable to prevent a native return to the very sites whose occupation had been forcibly curtailed at the beginning of Roman rule.

It is likely that the hut groups too were related to political instability. To understand this connection, we need to know the circumstances of their origin. The Welsh name for them is *cytiau'r Gyddelod*, or Irishman's huts, so for many years parallels were sought in Ireland — to no avail. Instead, we should seek an explanation that relates to the curious fact that they are so concentrated, both spatially and temporally. A.H.A. Hogg has suggested that they represent deliberate Roman resettlement of an area which had been depopulated by punitive action, superimposed on a relatively sparse indigenous population (1966:33). This notion would fit well with our image of the Welsh as a people troublesome to the Romans. Furthermore, it allows us to understand the difference between the round hut groups and the rectilinear ones not chronologically, but in terms of the ethnic status of the persons who caused the hut group to be built.

It was the walled and embanked settlements which were the inheritors of the political upheaval which accompanied the departure of the Romans. In the

early medieval period, they became the foci of reassertion of power by native chieftains who were attempting to quell the unrest, though not without benefit to themselves. This theory that they are associated with the origins of political order is supported by the adoption of at least one site, Castell Degannwy, as a royal center by later Welsh princes.

Although the artifacts recovered from Dinas Powys and Dinas Emrys are of the greatest interest, the walled and embanked settlements represent a larger and more important phenomenon than is indicated by merely an aggregation of their material culture. They represent the culmination of a period of great change. In their wealth and status, they contrast sharply to the earlier simple settlements of the hillforts and hut groups, and therefore very likely represent the development of social, political, and economic complexity and the emergence of an elite class; in other words, the end of "primitive society." Accompanying this development were other remarkable changes: among them, the evolution of the Welsh language and the institutionalization of Christianity. Further investigation of cultural evolution as represented in settlement might allow us to determine the *cause* for these changes.² A statement of the processes involved would have ramifications for other Celtic countries and the early medieval history of Europe as a whole.

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NOTES

1. In this case, "primitive society" refers to one lacking centralizing institutions for the control of the economy, social structure, and political life of the group. Primitive societies are also characterized by the absence of an elite class and the lack of consolidation of authority in an office which can be considered separate from the personality of the individual occupying it.

2. Much of the work currently underway in Anthropology is particularly helpful in this regard. Specifically, see Earle (1978) for his consideration of the development of social complexity in Hawaii, and Service (1962) and Carneiro (1981) for some theoretical background to the issue.

APPENDIX

The information contained in this report is based on investigation of a number of excavated and unexcavated sites. The excavated ones were used to establish chronology, while the others provided additional information on subjects such as size variability, morphology, location, and distribution of the site types. Some non-Welsh sites have been included as comparisons because of their clear typological and chronological connections.

REOCCUPIED HILLFORTS

Dinorben, Caerns.	Moel Fenlli, Denbs.
Braich y Dinas, Caerns.	Bwrdd Arthur, Anglesey
Tre'r Ceiri, Caerns.	Castle Dore, Cornwall
Y Breiddin, Mont.	Maiden Castle, Dorset
Parciau Llaneanrad, Anglesey	Lydney Park, Glos.
Castle Ditches, Eddisbury, Ches.	Old Oswestry, Salop.
South Cadbury, Somerset	Coygan Camp, Carm. s.

HUT GROUPS

Cors y Gedol, Merioneth.	Porth Dafarch, Anglesey
Caerau, Clynnog, Caerns.	Ty Mawr, Anglesey
Hafoty Wern Las, Caerns.	Pont Sarn Las, Anglesey
Cefn Graeanog, Caerns.	Din Lligwy, Anglesey
Cae'r Mynydd, Caerns.	Pant y Saer, Anglesey

WALLED AND EMBANKED SETTLEMENTS

Dinas Emrys, Caerns.	Carreg y Llam, Caerns.
Dinas Powys, Glam.	Moel y Gest, Anglesey
Dunadd, Argyll	Garn Boduan, Caerns.
Castell Degannwy, Caerns.	Margam Mountain, Glam.

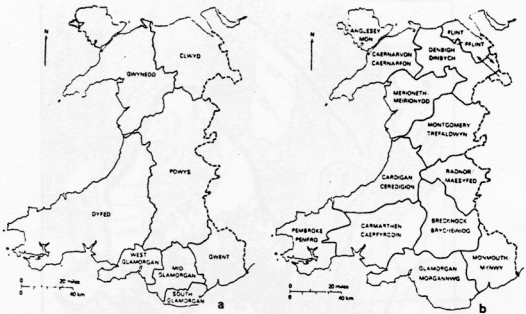


Fig. 1 Modern counties and shires of Wales.

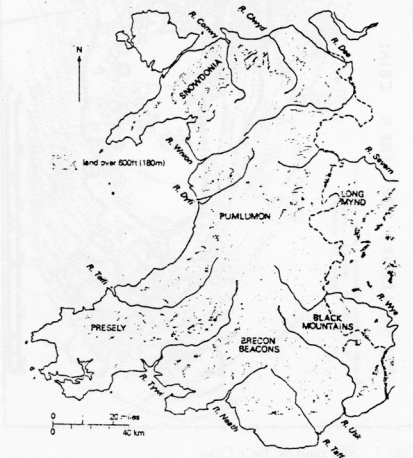


Fig. 2 Topographical Map of Wales.

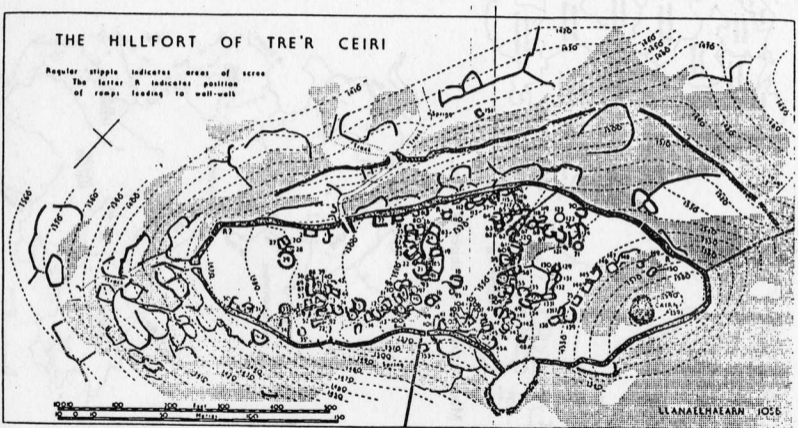


Fig. 3 Site plan of Tre'r Ceiri.
From Hogg 1960.

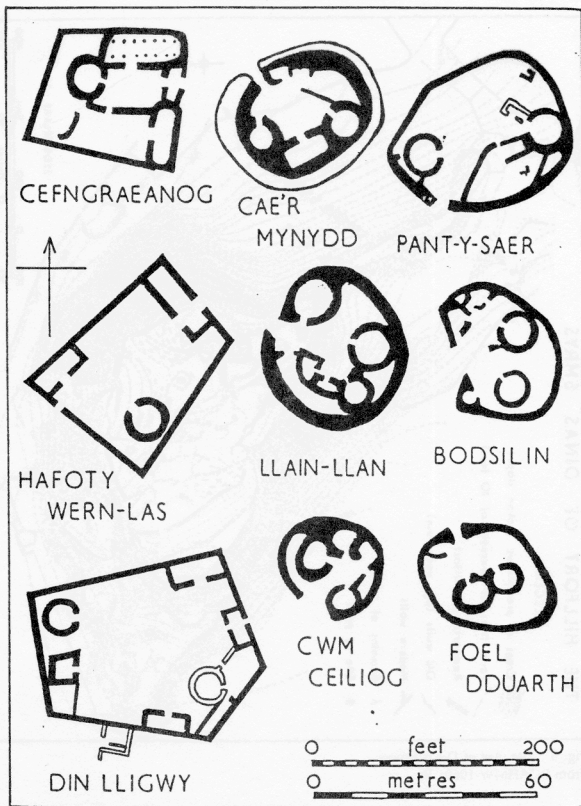







Fig. 4 Some typical enclosed hut groups.
From Hogg 1966: 34.

THE HILLFORT OF DINAS EMRYS

LEGEND

-  Crags or precipitous broken slopes
-  Form lines (at intervals of 10 feet)
-  Ramparts of hillfort
-  Old walls (age uncertain)
-  Modern walls
- A** Remains of tower
- B** Site of pool

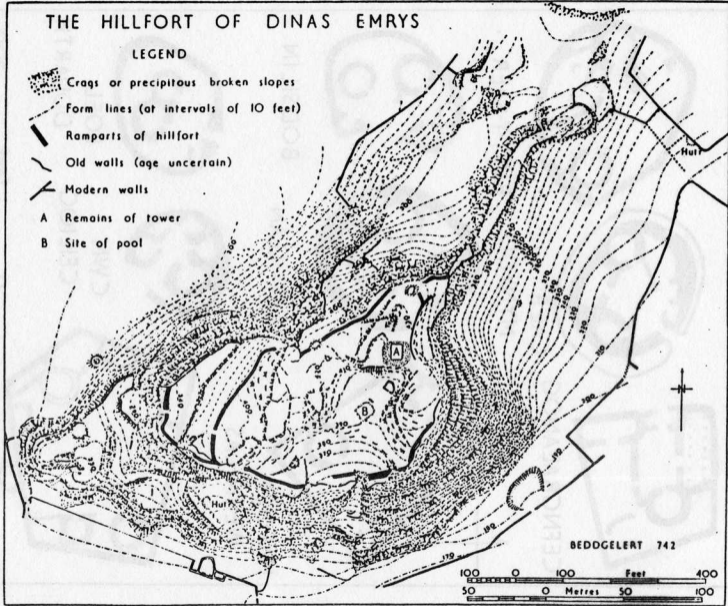


Fig. 5 Site plan of Dinas Emrys.
From RCAHMS 1960: 26.

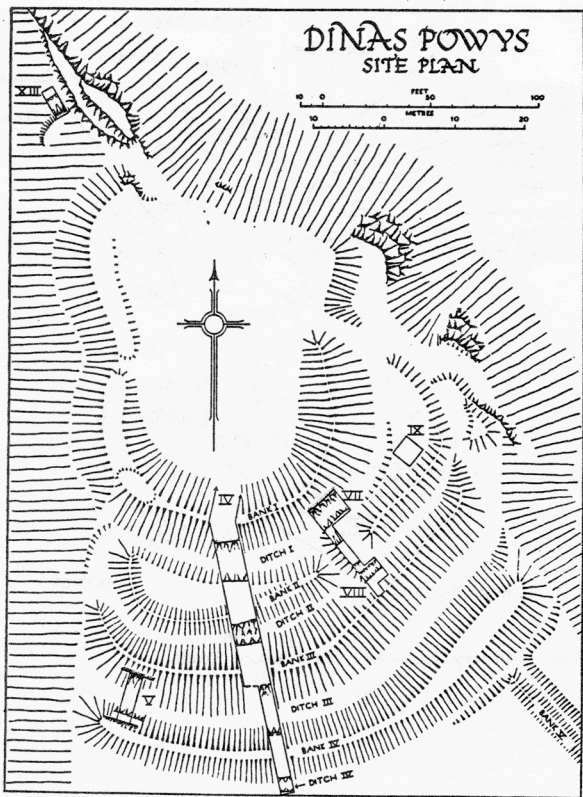
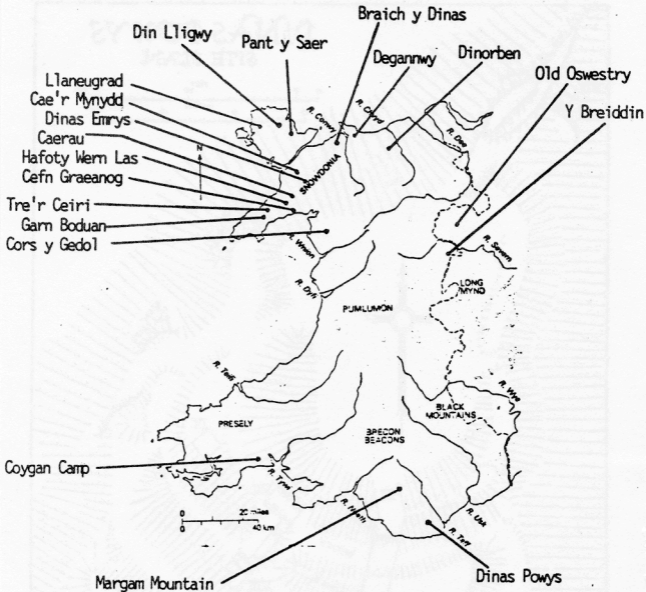


Fig. 6 Site plan of Dinas Powys.
From Alcock 1963a: 95.



Not shown: Eddisbury, Lydney Park, South Cadbury, Dunadd.

Fig. 7 Locations of sites used in the research.

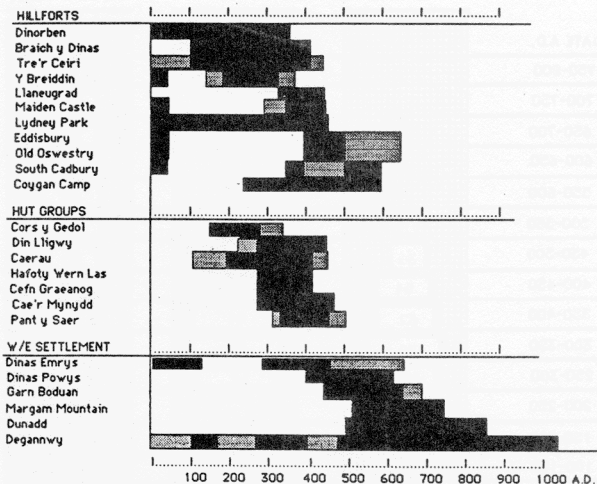


Fig. 8. Dates of site occupations

- occupation certain
- ▨ occupation likely or possible

Fig. 8 Dates of site occupations.

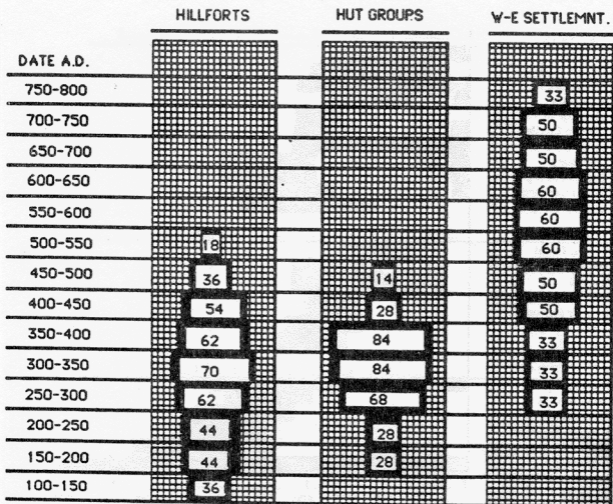


Fig. 9 Chronological distribution of site types, showing the percentage of sample (see Fig. 8) occupied during each period. Each grid square represents 5% of sample.

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