Capel Maelog, Llandrindod Wells, Powys: Excavations 1984–87

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THE FOUNDATIONS of the small parochial church and its associated enclosure and cemetery were extensively excavated between 1984 and 1987. The first evidence of activity is represented by a sub-rectangular enclosure of 4th- to 5th-century date, with other elusive evidence of activity in the 6th to 9th centuries, possibly of a domestic or agricultural nature. A small cemetery dating to a period between the 9th to 12th centuries, but most probably to the late 11th and 12th centuries, was immediately superseded by a simple two-cell stone church, apparently set out with regard to features within the early cemetery. Apses were added to the E. and W. ends in the 13th century, and the church remained of this plan until its abandonment in about the early 16th century.

The church of Capel Maelog lay on a low hill, at a height of about 244 m (800 ft.) above Ordnance Datum, in what is now the outskirts of the modern town of Llandrindod Wells (SO 06886126). The siting, with the hill dropping down steeply to the Arlais Brook on the E., and more gently in other directions (Figs. 1, 2), is similar to some other churches in the region. The underlying geology comprises boulder-clay containing fragments of shale and occasional rounded boulders of harder rocks.

The site was extensively excavated between 1984 and 1987 by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust in advance of housing development. Funds were provided by Cadw/Welsh Historic Monuments and the Community Programme of the Manpower Services Commission. A short preliminary season concentrating on the northern side of the site was carried out on behalf of the Trust in June 1984 under the direction of Dr C. J. Arnold. Little additional time was allowed by the developer for the examination of the remainder of the site at that stage, and in August the area was rapidly extended to the S., under the direction of the author. This revealed for the first time the location of the church, whose upper levels, due to time restraints, were examined in less than ideal circumstances. Permission was granted for more extensive work once the existence of the church had been proved, and between 1985 and 1987 the examination of the church and areas surrounding it was completed.
The limits of excavation on the E. were determined by the extent of recent disturbance; elsewhere they were circumscribed by modern property boundaries, topsoil dumps and trees.

The present report provides a synthesis of the main results of the excavation, and has been prepared in conjunction with a more extensive archive report (see details in Appendix 2). For the sake of simplicity, context and find numbers are normally only quoted in this report as a concordance to the archive report. Radiocarbon dating has been used extensively in order to provide a chronological framework. For convenience, dates within the main text have been calibrated to calendar years, and are quoted at a 1 sigma (68%) level of probability (see further details in Appendix 1, and Fig. 22). The approximate location of dated samples is shown in Figure 3.

Finds from the excavations have been deposited in the Museum, Temple Gardens, Llandrindod Wells. The site archive has been retained for the time being in the offices of the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust.

Almost all of the surviving stone foundations of the church were removed from the site during the course of excavation, and have been reconstructed at another site near the lake in Llandrindod Wells (SO 062607).

**DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE**

Documentary sources relating to the church were first reviewed by T. E. Morris in a note published in 1917. The *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of c. 1291 contains the names of two churches in the Deanery of *Maelenith* (Maelienydd) — Lando and Lonvayloir (or the form Landemaylon given in a footnote) — which have been identified as churches in and near the present parish of Llandrindod. The joint value of the livings at that date is given as £4 3s. 4d. The present parish church of Llandrindod was opened in 1871, superseding the old parish church, 1.2 km to the S.; both are now dedicated to the Holy Trinity (Llandrindod), but Lando (a corruption of Llanddw—the Church of God) was the former dedication of the earlier church, seemingly renamed between 1517 and 1535.

The name of the second church is likely to be a corruption of *Llanfaelon* or *Llandyfaelon*, with the initial element *Llan* signifying 'church', or literally 'enclosure' plus a personal name. The secondary elements *vayloir* or *demaylon* probably represent corruptions of *faelon* and *dyfaelon* respectively, and derive from the well-attested personal name *Mael* with the suffix -on, and in one case with the hypoclastic prefix ty-. This has been thought to be a miscopying of the more common *Maelog* (an early Welsh saint whose name is attested elsewhere in Wales), but many early Welsh personal names are recorded infrequently, and quite possibly *Maelon* was the correct form.

Appointments made to the combined prebend of Lando and Llando Vaylon in 1399 and to Lando and Landovaylon in 1400 in the collegiate church of Abergwili, are also taken to refer to the two churches. The church of Llandyvaylan in the deanery of Maelienydd was exempt from the collection of ecclesiastical benefices and possessions in a royal writ issued to the bishop of St Davids in 1513, and similar exemptions were made to the churches of Llando and Llanwaylor, issued in 1517. The *Valor*
Ecclesiasticus of 1535 only mentions the church of Llandynddod, presumably either because the second church had ceased to be a place of worship, or because it was of little value. Llanvailon is given in 1732 as the alternative name of a nearby farm known as Glan Bongam Isaf (Llwyn-bongam), midway between the churches at Cefnllys and Llandrindod and once used as a rectory serving them (Fig. 1). By the early 19th century the site fell within the tenancy of Gorse Farm (Fig. 1).

The earliest occurrence of Maelog in the site name appears in an account composed by the Revd J. Williams in the early 19th century, where he records the tenant’s recollection that ‘the foundations and walls of a very ancient chapel, named Llanfaelog ... were a short time ago dug up in the centre of a corn-field in this parish’. Williams made no precise record of its location on the farm, however, or when the discovery took place. The tenant’s grandson recalled that in about 1825 his grandfather had raised ‘pitchings of graves there, and that at one time a lot of stuff had been hauled from the spot to build old Llandrindod Church’. Morris doubts the latter assertion, but suggests that it may refer to a local tradition that the old parish church was a later foundation. ‘Pitchings’ most probably refer to settings of pebbles associated with graves.

The name Capel Vaelon first appears in Lewis’s Topographical Dictionary of 1833 (which also makes reference to the discovery of foundations), and is probably therefore a 19th-century invention. Capel seems to make a relatively late appearance as a Welsh place-name element, and is often, as here, applied to an abandoned church with an earlier llan-name. The form Capel Maelog first appears in Morris’s account of 1917.

Earlier this century Morris located the field in which foundations had been discovered by talking to the tenant’s grandson, and also documented some otherwise unrecorded local field-names of apparent significance (Fig. 2). The church field was known as Capel, fields across the stream to the E. were known as Cartre Faelog (Maelog’s farm) and Cwm Vicar, and a wood further to the E. was Capel Lan. None of these appear on the Tithe Award Schedule of 1840, by which time the W. edge of Capel formed part of the boundary between Gorse and Barchygraig farms, and all the relevant fields are recorded as being under pasture. The antiquity of the field-names might be in some doubt, however, due to the late appearance of the Maelog and Capel elements in other sources.

Morris identified the northern and southern sides of a banked enclosure within Capel field which he associated with the church site. Its western side was overlain by the later farm boundary, already in existence in 1840, but Morris makes no specific mention of an earthwork on the eastern side, which was marked by ‘a steep declivity’. More recently the enclosure had been further obscured by a fence set up roughly along the line of the northern bank, and by the gradual encroachment of Llandrindod Wells suburbia on the S., to the extent that by the 1980s Ordnance Survey investigators were no longer able to confirm the existence of the earthworks.

Part of the southern side of the site is bounded by the lane linking Llandrindod with the now deserted medieval borough of Cefnllys, first mentioned in a market
boundaries shown on 1902 edition 25 inch OS map

field names recorded by T.E. Morris

FIG. 2
charter of 1297, which developed adjacent to the stone castle most likely to have been started in about 1242 for Ralph Mortimer.26

Arlais Brook is now culverted where it is crossed by Cefnllys Lane, just to the E. of the site. There appears to be no detailed plan of the site before the 1904 edition of 25-in. Ordnance Survey, but the way in which the ground level falls away steeply to the E. side of the early sub-rectangular enclosure beneath the chancel (Fig. 2) strongly suggests that part of this area had been quarried away at some earlier date in order to build up the road across the stream.

THE EXCAVATIONS

PRE-CHURCH ACTIVITY

Prehistoric activity

Early prehistoric activity at the site is represented by an assemblage of about 100 pieces of flint of late Neolithic to early Bronze Age date,27 which suggests some form of settlement in the immediate vicinity at that period.28

The rectangular enclosure and arc of curving ditch

The earliest activity of any substance began in the late Roman or early post-Roman period. This appears to have centred on the sub-rectangular enclosure (423–24) found to underlie the E. end of the church (Fig. 3, Pl. II, A), and seemingly sited on the edge of a steep slope overlooking the Arlais Brook.29 The enclosure appears to have been approximately 18 m across internally, with a single ditch about 2 m wide and 1 m deep, and probably with an internal bank,30 but no trace of an entrance causeway was found. There was no clear evidence that the ditch had been recut, and several sections suggest a prolonged period of natural silting (Fig. 5, Section B).

A charcoal sample from the primary filling has been dated to cal. A.D. 392–538 (no. 13, CAR–1080), and samples from upper layers to cal. A.D. 543–645 (no. 12, CAR–1079) and cal. A.D. 689–887 (no. 3, CAR–938). Several sherds of late Roman pottery were found in the filling of the ditch (including Fig. 10, nos. 3, 5), dating to the 3rd to 4th century, but there were also a number of sherds of 2nd-century Samian Ware whose presence on the site is unexplained. This small assemblage of finds is stratigraphically quite distinct from the Roman building materials brought to the site during the construction of the second phase church, described below. Only a small amount of Roman pottery is present elsewhere at the site: this is largely distributed towards the SE. side,31 and includes a number of sherds (e.g. Fig. 10, no. 4), and a spindlewhorl (Fig. 10, no. 6) which come from undoubted medieval contexts. Other Romano-British finds include fragments of Roman glass,32 including a fragment from a square bottle of 1st- to 3rd-century date, from the upper filling of the rectangular enclosure ditch; other fragments of Roman glass were scattered across the site, and were probably all residual in medieval contexts.

Charred plant remains from samples from the silts of the early enclosure include grains of barley, but these are few in number, and since they might be residual, are consequently unhelpful in determining the function of the enclosure.33
stone surfaces stippled

- radiocarbon samples, numbered as in Appendix
- distribution of medieval pottery, excluding church interior

FIG. 3
The radiocarbon dates and scatters of charcoal throughout the ditch silting might be taken to indicate a more or less continuous period of activity from about the 5th to the 7th centuries, but there is no other substantive evidence in support of this interpretation. Much of the interior of the enclosure was taken up with graves and no positive evidence of contemporary structures was found inside it. Similarly, although none of the graves are certainly contemporary with the enclosure, it is uncertain whether it was primarily domestic, defensive or religious in origin.

Just within the western side of the early enclosure was a curving ditch (472–73), 7.4 m long, 1.6 m wide and 1 m deep, cut through by the foundations of the E. apse of the second phase church, and by graves belonging to the later cemetery (Fig. 4a; Pl. ii, b foreground). The ditch had steep sides and a narrow flat base, and was stepped along its length to slightly varying levels (Fig. 5, Section A). It had probably been cut into the tail of the bank belonging to the early enclosure, and had evidently silted up gradually by natural processes.

The ditch had steep and neatly squared-off butt ends, and formed an arc of a circle with an external radius of 5.6 m, whose centre-point fell precisely on the axis of the church. Consequently, it seemed possible that the ditch might be related to the early religious use of the site. Charcoal samples from the secondary silting, however, produced radiocarbon dates of cal. A.D. 427–596 (no. 9, CAR-1076) and cal. A.D. 576–658 (no. 6, CAR-942), and it therefore seems that the arc of ditch was associated with activities taking place within the early enclosure. Charred plant remains from a layer within the uppermost filling of the ditch (above the layers producing the radiocarbon dates but pre-dating the construction of the E. apse of the church), include a significant number of grains of six-row hulled barley. 

The full complement of features belonging to the earlier phases at the site is uncertain due to the small amount of pottery or other dating evidence that was present, although some have been identified by means of radiocarbon dating. A curving drainage gully (299) recorded under salvage conditions beyond the northern side of the excavation (Fig. 3) yielded a charcoal sample dated to cal. A.D. 429–599 (no. 7, CAR-1074). This was about 0.3 m across and 0.12 m deep and formed an arc of a circle about 8 m in diameter, and although it was not possible to record the stratigraphic relationship with the church enclosure bank, its form and siting suggested an earlier structure of some kind. A pit pre-dating the W. apse of the church (Fig. 4a, 244) gave a sample dating to cal. A.D. 410–560 (no. 2, CAR-937).

Two shallow drainage gullies (1006 and 1009), part of a complex of similar features (453), were about 0.2–0.7 m wide and 0.03–0.3 m deep to the W. of the church. They have produced dates of cal. A.D. 644–768 (no. 10, CAR-1077), cal. A.D. 689–887 (no. 11, CAR-1078). Finds from this complex include a spindle-whorl made from Romano-British pottery (Fig. 10, no. 7), and a sharpening stone (Fig. 20, no. 123).

A careful search was made for structural evidence in the vicinity of the gullies in the western group in particular, in anticipation that they might have been drainage gullies associated with timber buildings. Four widely scattered post-holes (1109) were found, but they are undated, and their size and spacing will not permit reconstruction into any intelligible building form.
Other gullies on the N. and W. sides of the church enclosure appear to be contemporary with the use of the graveyard (see description of the pre-church cemetery and churchyard below), but several on the S. side are undated.

Thus, whilst a number of radiocarbon dates appear to provide evidence of activity on the site from between the 5th and 9th centuries, it is uncertain whether this represents a continuous phase of activity, or intermittent episodes. There is little structural evidence to show precisely how the site was being used, but on balance it would appear to have been in connection with domestic or agricultural activities of some kind.

Two sections excavated across the enclosure bank, on the N. and S., revealed earlier ploughmarks running approximately E. to W. (see Fig. 6, Section 1 for the S. side). These are not closely dated, but a sample taken from a dense charcoal scatter towards the base of buried soil beneath the church enclosure bank near the ploughmarks on the N. side of the enclosure has been dated to cal. A.D. 885–996 (no. 1, CAR-936). This shows that the enclosure bank itself was probably built in the 10th century A.D. or later.

THE CEMETERY AND CHURCH

THE EARLY CEMETERY

The first indication of religious activity is represented by a small inhumation cemetery (599, Fig. 4a) consisting of up to fourteen graves which are cut by the foundations of the first phase church, and possibly by up to a further eight graves from amongst those lying within the area of the church. It may have included other graves outside the church whose stratification is less clear, but the evident clustering of graves suggest that there may not have been many more.

One grave of the early cemetery (787) was cut into the upper filling of the early enclosure ditch, showing that it had all but silted up by the time that the cemetery was established. There are suggestions from the varying depths, orientation and distribution of graves in the eastern part of the later medieval cemetery, however, that the bank and ditch of the early enclosure remained visible as slight earthworks throughout much of the life of the church.

Other elements which appear to belong to the early cemetery include a cross-ditch (565), which divides the graves into eastern and western groups (Fig. 4a). The ditch was about 1 m wide and 0.4 m deep, and had a central undug causeway 2 m wide just to the N. of the axis of the subsequent church. The initial cutting of the ditch had partly cut away one or possibly two graves belonging to the pre-church cemetery, showing that it was not a primary feature of the early cemetery.

The ditch appears to have had some enduring significance: the northern and southern ends were recut on one or more occasions after the construction of the

FIG. 4

(Opposite:) Phases of activity in vicinity of church
a  pre-church cemetery (and earlier features)

b  first phase church

c  second phase church
church (Fig. 4c), and it seems to have defined a western limit for the external cemetery attached to the church during at least its early phases (Fig. 3). There is no positive evidence of the siting of a bank formed from the upcast of the cross-ditch, but the distribution of graves attributed to the early cemetery suggests that if one had existed it is more likely to have lain on the eastern side of the ditch.

Slightly further to the W. was an irregular shallow depression (568) with an intermittent stone surface (567) at its base (Fig. 4a, partly visible in Pl. iv, b top right), which had been partly cut away at the western end by the foundations of the first phase church. It produced no dating evidence, but its siting suggests that it represents a surface leading towards the early cemetery from the W.

Aligned on the causeway through the cross-ditch, and forming a focus to the eastern group of graves, was an exceptionally large and elaborate grave (241), 2.1 m long and 0.6 m wide and 0.57 m deep, partly cut through at the western end by the chancel-arch wall-footing of the first phase church (location on Fig. 4a; plan on Fig. 8; Pl. iv, a). The grave contained poorly preserved traces of the upper and lower planks of a coffin separated by a layer of grey clay, but there were no surviving traces of a skeleton. The upper edges of the grave were defined by a setting of edge-set stones, resting on the upper filling at about the level of a buried soil (273) beneath the floor (262) of the second phase church, which may well have still been visible when the first phase church was constructed. Inside the stone setting were scattered 24 white quartz pebbles about 80 mm across. Only one other grave at the site was found to have a setting of this kind (271/543); this appears to have been cut away at its western end by the pre-church cross-ditch (or at least by its later recutting), and might therefore also belong to the pre-church cemetery.

Grave 241 was surrounded on all except the western side by a close grouping of about nine other early graves, and by a number of unexplained pits. Two intercutting graves, towards the S. (949, 1120), were also cut by the foundations of the first phase church; they were on slightly different alignments to the special grave, and one had been cut away at the western end by the pre-church cross-ditch.

Other graves belonging to this eastern complex may have been entirely cut away by the church foundations, or could be counted amongst otherwise insecurely stratified graves outside the church. It appears to be significant, however, that the eastern limit of this early group is approximately defined by the early enclosure ditch.

The group of about eleven early graves to the W. of the cross-ditch is more or less limited to a single row, clustered between the western stone setting and the central causeway. Five of this group were cut by the foundation trenches of the nave walls. The remaining six fell within the area of the nave of the first phase church; the absence from their fills of flecks of Roman brick and tile from the floor of the second phase church (see Fig. 7a, and below) indicates that they pre-date this. Whilst it is possible that some may have been contemporary with the first phase church (and have been the only internal graves of that phase), their siting suggests that they also belong to the pre-church phase. It would also seem improbable that the only graves pre-dating the first phase church were those which had been cut through by its wall footings.
The surviving traces of a coffin in one of these graves (Fig. 4a, 478, for which a radiocarbon date is given below) appeared to be broader at the E. end than at the W., suggesting that it may have been buried with the head to the E. It is possible, however, that this was an illusion caused by later disturbance to the grave.36

The intercutting of some of the graves attributed to the pre-church cemetery, and the intersection of some of the graves with the cross-ditch, indicate that the cemetery was in use for some period of time. Although the special grave appears to have formed a focus by the later stages, there is no evidence that it formed a primary or founding burial on the site.

There are no finds from the pre-church cemetery, and other dating evidence is sparse. Part of the side of an oak coffin within grave (478) has been dated to cal. A.D. 891–1016 (no. 4, CAR-939). This gives a terminus post quem for the individual grave, but there is no evidence of the relationship of this grave to the foundation of the early cemetery. The wood is likely to have been derived from mature timber, and might conceivably have been reused.

Special measures were taken to strengthen the foundations of the N. and S. walls of the nave where they bridged the early cross-ditch (see below), and the stretches of the ditch both inside and outside the church (clear of later recuts) had been deliberately backfilled with clean clay. Only a thin layer of natural silting was visible on the base of the ditch, and it seemed that the backfilling was carried out with material dug from the foundation trenches of the church. This shows that the cross-ditch was probably still open when the first phase church was built, which in turn suggests that the early cemetery was still in use at that time.

A burnt stick,37 from the base of the backfilling of the southern arm of the cross-ditch just inside the nave, and a piece of wood,38 from the base of the backfilling beyond the S. side of the church, have provided radiocarbon dates of cal. A.D. 1193–1278 (no. 5, CAR-940) and cal. A.D. 1001–1159 (no. 14, CAR-1081) respectively. The younger of the two dates is to be preferred, since the sample from which it is derived is less likely to represent reused structural timber. This suggests that the first church was built over the early cemetery in about the late 12th or early 13th century.

Radiocarbon dating is unhelpful in indicating whether the church enclosure was first constructed to enclose the church or the early cemetery, but the way in which the enclosure appears to be bisected approximately N. to S. by the cross-ditch belonging to the early cemetery suggests that it pre-dates the construction of the church.

The early burials are discussed more fully below, but several points of immediate interest may be noted here. A high proportion of the graves contained coffins of which one appears to have been vertically-sided, while three others appear to have had a triangular cross-section (e.g. Pl. iv, b), of which only one other unphased example was found at the site. Head-support stones were present in one grave, and two graves (the only two examples at the site), were given stone edgings and settings of quartz pebbles.

The general absence of bone in graves belonging to the early cemetery is not readily explained. Few of the later graves of the external cemetery contained
surviving bone, due to acid soil conditions, although tooth enamel had survived in some instances. Bone was preserved, however, in about 80% of the burials inside the church and contemporary with it (Figs. 4c and 9.1; Pl. iv, c). Here, the survival of bone must be explained by the graves having lain within a roofed building, but the poor survival of bone in graves within the area of the church, but attributed to the pre-church cemetery (faint traces within one burial in the later area of the nave, and
the more tangible survival of a skeleton in a burial underlying the S. wall of the nave, Fig. 4a) suggests that the graves were sited in the open air, and remained so for some period of time. Alternatively, some burials were disinterred before the construction of the church. This appears less likely in the case of the special focal grave, since the top and base of the coffin, and the upper stone setting showed no signs of disturbance, but might have happened in the case of other burials, including some where there were traces of only the lower parts of a coffin.

If burials had been disinterred from some of the pre-church graves, this might explain an unusual pit immediately to the N. of the first church (555; 'charnel pit' marked on Fig. 3). This was about 6 m long, 1.9 m wide and 0.47 deep, with a flat bottom and square-cut ends. It had been deliberately refilled with clay, and therefore seems unlikely to have been used as a quarry. There were no surviving traces of bone, but the presence of a basal layer of grey clay, similar to that found in some graves in the external cemetery, suggests that it may have been used as a charnel pit. Its stratigraphic relationship with the church is uncertain, but a burnt stick\(^{39}\) from the fill of the pit, dated to cal. A.D. 891–1016 (no. 8, CAR–1075), suggests that it may pre-date or be broadly contemporary with the construction of the first phase church. In the absence of any other dating evidence, the plan suggests that a recut curving gully (177) on its western side might have been contemporary with both the trench and the church. The gully was about 0.4 m wide and 0.15 m deep; it appears to have encircled the northern uphill side of the pit, and to have been intended for drainage.

THE CHURCH ENCLOSURE

The church was sited just below the highest point of the hill, overlooking the steep slope down to the Arlais Brook on the E., and at the centre of the llan about 50 m across, represented by a horseshoe-shaped enclosure.

A series of early gullies on the W. margins of the enclosure have already been discussed in the context of pre-church activities above. Other features include two possible, though poorly dated post-holes (1138), set about 2 m apart, about 4 m to the SE. of the church, which may represent individual posts or part of a single structure, and a large boulder found within a pit (990) on the W. side of the enclosure (Fig. 3). The boulder had probably been buried during more recent clearance (see later history of the site below), but it may conceivably, like the large standing stone at Llanwrthwl, Brecknockshire, originally have been a standing stone within the churchyard.

Extensive areas of stone on the western and southern sides of the church (368) all appear to have been contemporary with the building (Fig. 3, Pl. iii, b). This is probably the case with smaller isolated patches elsewhere, including an area to the NE. of the church (371) which seems to have formed a slight causeway across the early enclosure ditch. Many of these deposits have been disturbed by later ploughing, with the exception of surfaces sealed beneath a thin layer of demolition rubble immediately adjacent to the church walls and within the hollow-way leading from the SE. entrance.
The spread of stone beyond about 2 m from the W. end of the church formed a diffuse layer whose function and dating are less clear. The only finds associated with it are two horseshoes of medieval type (Fig. 15, 69–70). The deposit might be contemporary with the church, or belong to periods of construction or demolition.

The better preserved spreads of stone next to the southern side of the church clearly represent paths a metre or more wide associated with an assumed S. door. The path skirted round the second phase W. apse (Pl. III, B) and gradually petered out towards the NW., and may have been associated with a building set against the N. bank of the church enclosure (see below). There was no evidence of a similar path at this point contemporary with the first phase church.

Possible evidence of a building consists of a curving gully (24), a scatter of small pits and possible post-holes, and a hearth producing fragments of charcoal and calcined bone associated with a scatter of stake-holes also containing charcoal fragments. A linear feature 3.3 m long, 0.3 m wide and several centimetres deep (25), with possible stake-holes along its base, along the E. side may represent a further structural component. Had there been a timber structure here, possibly of sill-beam construction, its maximum size, defined by the enclosure bank and other features, seems unlikely to have exceeded 5 m by 10 m. Similarly insubstantial structural evidence and associated domestic debris to the NW. side of the church at Asheldham, Essex, for example, is seen as representing a priest's house, possibly in this instance of mid 12th- to mid 13th-century date. 40

None of the relevant features at Capel Maelog produced dating evidence, but there was a notable concentration of medieval pottery sherds in this area (Fig. 3) representing at least six vessels (including Fig. 11, nos. 23–24; see also Table 4 in pottery report below). None of the diagnostic sherds belong to any of the more numerous vessels found in association with the church, and do not therefore seem to be explained as rubbish thrown out from the church.

The path around the W. apse had been cut through by several later graves, suggesting that it probably went out of use during the life of the second phase church. This, together with the absence of late Malvernian oxidized wares of the sort found in association with the church, suggests that a structure here may only have lasted until the later 13th and 14th centuries.

The well-preserved stone surfaces immediately S. of the church produced a wide range of medieval pottery and other finds contemporary with the building (see distribution on Figs. 3 and 13). They incorporated some building materials belonging to the second phase church, and also a spread of crushed tile probably surviving from the mixing of materials for the floor of the second phase church (see Fig. 7a, and description below).

The surface had been disturbed by later ploughing at a distance from the building, but seems to have joined with a path leading from the hollow-way at the SE. entrance, and possibly continuing towards a second entrance at about the centre of the southern side of the enclosure, where the enclosure bank is now obscured beneath modern gardens.

The cross-ditch contemporary with the pre-church cemetery had been recut immediately outside the N. side of the nave, and from a point several metres away
from the church on the S. side. There is no evidence of dating for the N. recut, but the primary filling of the recut on the S. produced numerous chippings of Roman brick and tile whose advent on the site is seen to be contemporary with the second phase church. The gap between the ditch and the church wall appears to have permitted access to the church from the SE., but if there had been a second entrance on the S. (as suggested above), the SE. entrance may have been principally designed to give access to the cemetery. The cross-ditch appears to have defined the extent of the cemetery during a large part of the church’s history (see discussion of cemetery below), but it may also have served to prevent surface water from inundating the cemetery during periods of torrential rain.

One of the gullies (978) to the W. of the church was cut into the tail of the enclosure bank, and would therefore seem to be fairly late in the sequence, and yet had been cut through by two graves. Unlike the other gullies at the W. side of the enclosure it contained a high proportion of burnt clay, calcined animal bone (identified as cattle, sheep/goat and possibly antler), which might again suggest an association with domestic activities. Charcoal from the gully has been dated to cal. 1431-1610 (no. 15, CAR-1188).

A relatively small amount of metalworking debris was found widely scattered across the northern and eastern sides of the excavated area — consisting of fragments of furnace lining, lumps of fuel-ash slag, smithing slag and other iron-working slags, and a fragment of crucible. These finds point to iron and bronze metalworking having taken place within the area of the enclosure. The dating of this activity is uncertain, however, and the finds might belong to a pre-church phase.

The enclosure bank and the SE. entrance

Much of the enclosure bank was visible before excavation as a low, broad bank, noticeably much slighter to the N. and NW. It was obscured on the W. by the superimposition of a later stone-faced field boundary (340), and on part of the S. side by a brick shed and gardens. The excavation of narrow sections on the N. and S. sides showed that the bank was 4–5 m wide and 0.4–0.5 m high and formed of low, unrevetted upcasts of clay and shale (779; 626 in Section 1 on Fig. 6). Distinct dumps of material suggested that it might represent more than one phase, but this was not firmly established.

In each section, the bank was accompanied by a narrow outer ditch (780; 625 in Section 1) only about 0.8 m wide and 0.4 m deep. Sections across the S. side of the enclosure also revealed a much larger ditch whose secondary silting produced sherds of medieval pottery. This ditch was more than 2 m wide and 1.4 m deep, and its outer edge extended beyond the limits of excavation (775; 383 in Section 1). It was not detected in the sections excavated on the N. side, possibly because they continued for too short a distance beyond the bank, and it proved impossible to test for its presence on the W. side. The larger ditch seems likely to have been associated with the church enclosure bank, not least because of the apparent heightening of the bank, but had it only existed on the S. side of the enclosure it may conceivably have joined the cross-ditch at the conjectured S. entrance so as to drain water away from the interior of the enclosure.
FIG. 6

Sections of enclosure bank and hollow way (location shown on Fig. 3)
At one period the churchyard was entered by a rough trackway worn into a hollow-way (711) up to 3.5 m wide and 0.4 m deep, descending by more than 2 m from the level of the church in the direction of the Arlais Brook, and skirting the bank terminal at the SE. corner of the enclosure (Fig. 3; Fig. 6, Section 2). No evidence of a gate was found. A shallow gully (710), cutting across the top of the hollow-way, and a further curving gully (786), both sloped to the NE. as if intended to drain water away from the entranceway.

The track continued uphill as an irregular stone surface leading towards the S. side of the church. Its contemporaneity with the church at one period is suggested by the relatively small amount of grave-digging in this area, but the fact that some of the graves to the S. of the church are overlain by the stone surface suggests that the path may only have been one of several entrances to the enclosure, and perhaps only built at a relatively late stage. A large clay pit which lies directly on the line of the path, which is attributed to the second phase church (Fig. 3), suggests that the entrance post-dates the second building phase of the church.

THE CHURCH

THE FIRST PHASE CHURCH (Fig. 4b)

The earlier stone church (260) consisted of a simple rectangular nave and narrow rectangular chancel, with an overall length of 13.2 m (43 ft.). The nave was about 6.5 m by 9 m (21 ft. by 29 ft. 6 in.) externally, and about 4.4 m by 6.9 m (14 ft. by 22 ft. 6 in.) internally, representing a floor area of about 30.4 sq. m (315 sq. ft.). The chancel was approximately 4.4 m (14 ft.) square externally, and measured 2.3 m by 3.2 m (7 ft. 6 in. by 11 ft.) across internally, representing a floor area of only about 7.4 sq. m (83 sq. ft.) — about a quarter the size of the nave. Only one or two courses of the nave footings had generally survived, and although there is therefore no direct evidence of the siting of the door, the pattern of stone surfaces and the distribution of finds clearly suggest that this was positioned near the centre of the S. side of the nave (see below).

Some proportions of the building appear significant: the internal length and width of the nave are approximately in the proportions 3:2; the internal widths of the nave and chancel are approximately in the proportions 2:1; and the external measurements of chancel and nave are in the proportions 2:1.

The footings, between 0.9 m and 1.2 m (3–4 ft.) wide, had generally been set in shallow foundation trenches (266) cut to a depth of only about 0.1–0.2 m into the underlying clay subsoil. Traces of the slightly inset basal course of the walls, surviving in parts of the chancel (Pl. 1), show that these were about 0.9 m (3 ft.) thick. There was a slight deepening of the foundations at the point of junction between the nave and the chancel, but there were clear indications from the bonding of stones that the two were contemporary.

The foundations were principally composed of angular blocks of dolerite, 0.1–0.7 m across, some of which had been set along the line and some across the entire width of the foundations. Most of the stone had an unweathered appearance,
and probably originated from sub-surface quarries 500 m or more to the north-east of the site. 43

The foundations at the E. end of the chancel were cut through the full depth of the earlier enclosure ditch, and consequently survived here to a depth of 1.3 m (Fig. 5, Section D, Pl. ii, A). They had also been slightly deepened on the northern and southern sides of the nave where they crossed the earlier cross-ditch (565). At these two points, the basal foundations included large rounded boulders, of a kind found within the boulder clay on the site; this suggests that special provision was made for strengthening these two points during initial site preparation. As has already been mentioned, the cross-ditch to either side of the footings had been deliberately backfilled with clay at this stage, possibly with clay dug from the foundations.

The foundations were generally bonded with clay, although in places the basal courses were voided. No medieval lime mortar was found during excavation, and it is most probable that the walls had been bonded with clay to their full height. 44 It is considered improbable that the foundations were sleeper-walls for a timber-framed building. There is no further evidence of wall or roofing materials, or fittings contemporary with this phase of church building. Nails and roofing tile fragments were absent from contexts pre-dating the second phase church, and it therefore seems likely that the first phase church was roofed with thatch, known to have remained in common use elsewhere until the early 13th century, 45 or possibly with shingles or planks.

There were no clear indications of an original floor belonging to the first phase church, and unless this had been dug out when the floor of the second phase church was laid, it seems that this would simply have been formed at the surface of a layer of buried topsoil about 0.15 m thick (390), preserved beneath the second phase floor except where cut away by graves and other features. This surface dropped by about 0.5 m from the W. end of the nave to the E. end of the chancel. Edging stones around the special early grave (Fig. 8, grave 241, Pl. IV, A) were first identified at the surface of this soil layer, and it is therefore possible that they remained visible within the floor of the first phase chancel.

Apart from a single base sherd of a medieval cooking pot (not illustrated) from the surface of the buried soil at the W. end of the nave, the only other finds consisted of fragments of prehistoric flintwork and scattered fragments of charcoal. There were no finds from the first phase foundation trenches, but the construction clearly post-dates the radiocarbon dates of cal. A.D. 1001–1159 (no. 14, CAR-1081) and cal. A.D. 1193–1278 (no. 5, CAR-940) from the deliberate filling of the cross-ditch, mentioned above.

There is little tangible evidence of the internal arrangement of the church at this period, especially since so much of the nave floor had been cut away by graves contemporary with the second phase church. Chancel and nave are likely to have been divided by an arch, however, and it is assumed, on the basis of evidence relating to the second phase church, that the building was entered by a door towards the middle of the S. wall of the nave.

The possibility has already been considered that a number of graves within the body of the nave, which appear to pre-date the floor of the second phase church,
might either belong to the pre-church cemetery, or have been contemporary with the first phase church (Fig. 4a). On balance, it appears that the interior of the church was probably devoid of contemporary burials.

Only one external structure provides some evidence that it was contemporary with the first phase church. This is a stone pavement (264, Fig. 4b) formed of large flattish stones overlying the upper filling of the early enclosure ditch immediately next to the external face of the E. wall of the chancel. This was sealed by a thin layer of grey water-lain clay, and subsequently by flooring of the second phase church (see below). It is clear from the varying depths and orientations of graves belonging to the external cemetery that the earthworks of the earlier enclosure were still visible throughout much of the life of the church, and the stone pavement against the end of the church may have been designed to provide hard-standing in waterlogged ground at this point. From its surface came a silver-plated copper alloy belt plate with inscribed decoration (Fig. 17, 97).

The eastern apse (265) was cut through at least seven graves which were either contemporary with the pre-church cemetery, or more probably with the first phase church. Bones belonging to one burial (579) had been reinterred in the base of the apse foundations on the N. side. The absence of other stratigraphic information precludes the secure identification of further graves which might be contemporary with the first phase church.

THE SECOND PHASE CHURCH (Fig. 4c)

There is no precise dating evidence for the date of construction of the second phase church. The only reliable evidence is the terminus post quem of the late 12th to early 13th century provided by radiocarbon dates (quoted above) pre-dating the first phase church, and an estimated terminus ante quem of the mid to later 13th century given by coins from the floor of the second phase church, the earliest of which are two halfpennies of Henry III which were probably in circulation between 1250 and 1280. There is little evidence to suggest the interval of time between the two building phases, but a date of construction for the second phase within the first half of the 13th century would seem probable. This is in clear conflict with its stylistic affinities, which would favour a date a century earlier (see below).

Documentary evidence suggests that this church, basically unaltered in form, continued as a place of worship until at least 1517. Negative evidence provided by the absence of late coins and pottery, suggests a date of abandonment in the early 16th century.

The form and structure of the building

The chancel and W. wall of the first phase nave were demolished, and apses added to both the E. and W. ends, springing in both cases from the N. and S. walls of the nave (Pls. i and iii, b). The lower courses of the early chancel were left standing up to between 0.3 m and 0.4 m above the ground surface in the church (390/273), whereas the W. wall of the nave was taken down to within about 0.1 m of this level.

These alterations extended the second phase church (261) by about 6.5 m externally to 19.6 m (65 ft.) and internally to 17.3 m (56 ft.). The chancel arch of the
first phase church would have been demolished, in effect creating a single-cell building, and at the same time almost doubling the floor area of the first phase building to about 74 sq. m, principally to the advantage of the chancel. The use of distinctive building materials for both apses suggests that they were built at the same time (see below).

The footings of the new E. apse (258) were about 1.2–1.4 m (4 ft. to 4 ft. 6 in.) wide, within a carefully dug foundation trench (266) generally about 0.35 m deep from the surface of the natural clay; there was a gap of only 0.05–0.2 m from the walls of the earlier chancel on the N. and S. sides (Pl. 1). Where they cut through the earlier enclosure and arc of curving ditch, the foundations had been deepened by up to 0.55 m below subsoil level (Fig. 5, Section C, Pl. II, A).

The foundations were carefully constructed of courses roughly 0.18 m thick, in some instances formed of edge-set stones, separated by layers of clay about 0.05 m thick. At the E. end of the apse this bonding was clearly formed of greyer material derived from the earlier ditch silts. Parts of the foundations had been robbed below the level of the contemporary ground surface, and there was no clear indication of the original wall thickness above the foundation courses.

Basal layers of the foundations, particularly where they overlay the earlier ditches, contained a high proportion of large rounded boulders, up to 0.8 m across. In marked contrast to the materials used in the construction of the first phase church, three distinct stone types were noted in the foundations of the E. apse (the following percentages giving the approximate proportions in the fully excavated parts of the footings): rounded boulders probably of glacial origin, between 0.2 m and 0.5 m across (10%); squared blocks of dolerite, between 0.2 m and 0.3 m across (20%); and irregular angular blocks of dolerite, between 0.2 m and 1 m across (70%, similar to the stone used in the construction of the first phase church). Fragments of Roman brick and tile up to about 0.15 m across were found in the robber trenches (309) above the surviving footings, and occasionally in lower undisturbed layers.47

As noted above, numerous squared blocks of dolerite were found scattered throughout the rubble core of the foundation. On the S. side of the apse a regular arc of squared dolerite blocks survived along the inner face of the foundation just E. of the junction with the earlier nave, which perhaps represented the original wall-face, set directly above the inner face of the footings. Even here, little or no attempt had been made to set the prepared facing of the stones on the external face of the wall, however, which clearly showed that recycled building materials were being used. The ordered layering of stone in the footings suggested that above ground, however, the reused squared blocks may have been used to better effect in order to produce a neatly coursed outer face.

Lime mortar was limited to occasional traces on these squared blocks as well as the Roman brick and tile, and it seems highly probable that as in the first phase church, stones of the apse had been bonded with clay.

Like the brick and tile, the squared blocks, and even some of the more amorphous building stone within the foundations, are likely to have been taken from a neighbouring Roman site. The most probable source was the stone gateways and
internal buildings of the Roman fort at Castell Collen, about 2 km to the NW. (Fig. 1). The footings (259) and foundation trench (267) of the W. apse were similar in most respects to those at the E.: the footings were between 1.3 m and 1.4 m wide, and in this instance were composed of 80% rounded boulders, 5% reused squared masonry, and 15% of angular blocks of dolerite (Pl. III, B).

There was no surviving structural evidence for the church door or threshold, but the position of probably the only door, towards the centre of the S. wall of the nave, is clearly indicated by external stone surfaces (discussed above) and by the distribution of finds in this area (Fig. 13).

Other building materials belonging to this and later phases of the church comprise abundant fragments of stone roofing tile with drilled peg or nail holes, consistently made from a distinctive sandstone with a highly micaceous facies, and numerous iron nails. Some fragments of roofing tile came from the initial filling of some of the large quarry pits (1143) which have been attributed to the second building phase (see below), which indicates that the apses at least were roofed with stone when newly built. The source of the stone has not been identified, but it matches the description of tilestones present in the Downton Castle Sandstone, whose exploitation has influenced the distribution of this traditional roofing material in SE. Powys. The nearest outcrops lie about 20 km to the E., between Presteigne and Hay-on-Wye.

A small fragment of window-lead (Fig. 18, 105), from a late deposit on the S. side of the church, suggests that some of the church windows were glazed at some stage.

Large shallow pits (1143) set at each of the four corners of the church appear to have been used as a source of clay for bonding the apse walls (Fig. 3). The subsoil has a distinct upper band of fairly stone-free clay, 0.3–0.4 m thick, below which there is a notable increase in the amount of shale which would be less suitable. At the SE. corner lay a single large sub-rectangular pit (849) about 3.5 m by 5.9 m across and up to 0.5 m deep, as well as possibly a much smaller pit (848). On the remaining corners were complexes of less regular pits, of a similar depth, but only about 2–3 m across. Their siting, and fragments of Roman brick and tile in their fills, clearly links them with the construction of the second phase church. They were each left open for a time, and then (with the possible exception of the NE. group) eventually capped with deposits of stone.

A further group of pits towards the SE. side of the church contained no Roman brick and tile, and might represent quarry pits of an earlier period.

Internal arrangements within the second phase church

A distinctive new floor (262) was laid throughout the entire length of the church (Fig. 7a), consisting of a mixture of sand and gravel, and about 5% of finely-crushed fragments of Roman brick and tile which gave it a distinctive reddish-brown appearance. The flooring varied in thickness from about 0.05 m in the W. apse to 0.4 m in the E. apse, where it filled the hollow left between the demolished stubs of the first phase chancel walls. This had the effect of reducing the fall in ground level
a  crushed tile floor

b  charcoal areas

c  later surfacing
from the western end of the church to eastern end to about 0.3 m. As a result of wear or sinkage, some of the upper stones of the demolished early chancel slightly protruded through the floor.

A large deposit of finely-crushed brick and tile weighing about 12 kg (569) was found immediately outside the assumed position of the S. door (Fig. 7a). This deposit was partly sealed by later surfaces, and almost certainly represents the working area where these materials were prepared for incorporation into the new floor.

Much of the second phase floor had been cut away by later graves, six in the W. apse, 29 in the nave, particularly concentrated towards its W. end, and three within the chancel, details of which are discussed more fully below. Care was taken in many instances to reinstate the tile-flecked floor above the graves, and there is no evidence that the position of graves inside the church was marked in any special way. Broadly speaking, there appears to have been a phase during which burials were inserted below the church floor, followed by a phase during which the resultant sinkages were periodically patched with sand and gravel (1180). With the exception of the chancel, the practice of burials within the church seems to have come to an end during this later phase, and before the church went out of use.

One of the few identifiable fixtures contemporary with the second phase church is part of a stone setting (268), partly destroyed by a recent pipe-trench. This appears to represent an altar base placed centrally within the chancel, and set forward of the extreme E. end of the apse by 1.5 m. It was sited more or less directly above the E. wall of the first phase chancel (see Section D in Fig. 5), but separated from it by a layer of flooring (262). The setting was composed of a group of flattish stone slabs, 0.3–0.4 m across and 60–70 mm thick, which formed a rectangular platform 1.94 m long and 0.8 m wide. It was flanked by two graves, and respected by a third placed directly in front of it. The relationship of these graves with areas of burning and patching, described below, suggests that they were relatively late in the sequence. Their siting clearly distinguishes them from other graves within the church, and they may therefore be either those of clerics or lay dignitaries.

The only other notable features within the second chancel were two stake-holes (shown on Fig. 4c, 7a). One (296), 0.15 m in diameter and 0.3 m deep, was set directly in front of the altar base, and 1.4 m from it. The other (226) was 0.12 m in diameter and 0.1 m deep, and 2.6 m to the W. of the NW. corner of the altar base.

The earliest floor level of the second phase church was continuous between the W. apse and the nave, but at a later stage, evidently after the interior of this part of the church had ceased to be used for burial, an abrupt line in a layer of reflooring (corresponding almost precisely with the outer face of the original W. wall of the nave, see Fig. 7c), shows that the apse was partitioned off, probably by a screen founded on a sill beam.

Areas of later gravel patching in the E. part of the nave, and within the chancel, partly sealed considerable evidence of burning represented by areas of scorching.
within the central and E. parts of the nave. This burning extended to within about 0.2 m of the suggested altar base, accompanied by a dense layer of ash and charcoal (263), up to 0.05–0.1 m thick and particularly marked on the N. and E. sides of the chancel (Fig. 7b). The floor of the chancel was fairly uneven due to sinkage where it was not underlain by the foundations of the first phase chancel, and it appears that the charcoal may have collected in slight hollows as settlement took place, particularly to the E. and W. of the altar position. A further area of reddening towards the W. end of the nave, but not in this instance associated with a layer of charcoal or ash, had been largely cut away by later graves.

It is uncertain whether the scorching and charcoal deposits represent a single, possibly destructive event, or alternatively the debris resulting from recurrent religious or secular activity, but it is clear that the building remained in use as a church subsequently. The identification of the charcoal (a mixture of oak, field maple, hazel, blackthorn, poplar, elm, ?rowan and ash) appears more likely to represent kindling or the debris of domestic or industrial fires rather than the accidental burning of structural elements or internal fittings.

At least some of the burning appears to have been associated with a steep-sided circular pit (399) near the centre of the E. end of the nave (Fig. 4c). The pit, about 0.6 m in diameter and about 0.35 m deep from the surface of the tile-flecked floor, was filled by several layers of soil containing flecks of charcoal, burnt clay, fuel-ash slag and calcined bone. The base of the pit appeared to be hardened, and although there were no indications of reddening it seemed that this could have been due to heat. The pit appears to have been deliberately refilled, and was cut through by two later graves; it had clearly gone out of use at some stage during the history of the church.

Slightly to the E. of this pit was one possible (282) and one certain (583) post-hole (Fig. 4c), the latter about 0.35 m in diameter, and with packing stones suggesting an original post 0.17 m in diameter. The possible post-hole was largely cut away by a later grave contemporary with the second phase church; in neither instance is there any evidence of phasing, and it is possible that either or both might belong to the first phase church, or indeed to some earlier period.

The pit might have been a casting-pit for a small bell, of which other similar examples are known from church interiors. Alternatively, and more speculatively, its form and siting recalls the *sacra ria* discussed by Parsons, known from some early medieval churches in Britain and on the Continent, as for example at St Mary’s chapel, Brentingby, Leics. These have been considered to be intended for the disposal of spoilt or redundant consecrated objects or materials used in the liturgy, and for ablutions, though they are assumed to have been sited beneath or immediately in front of the principal altar of the church.

Much of the floor in the W. end of the nave had been cut through by later graves, and consequently no evidence of permanent fittings survived in this part of the building. The church would almost certainly have had baptismal rights, but no evidence of a font or font drain had survived, nor is its siting indicated by the distribution of graves within the nave or W. apse. Consequently, the font appears to have either been freestanding, and moved to different positions, or was wall-mounted.
Much of the remaining evidence for the internal arrangements rests on the interpretation of finds distributions (Fig. 13). The discovery of two small keys (Fig. 14, nos. 59, 62) within the S. side of the chancel appears significant, and might suggest that a wooden chest for the storage of valuables was sited in this part of the church. Other keys and locks found elsewhere within the church, and in the area immediately outside, also probably derive from chests, and in the case of one larger key (Fig. 14, no. 63), probably the church door itself.

The discovery of a lead plug at the centre of the E. apse (Fig. 18, no. 98a, and b), and a small lead spout outside the S. side of the church (Fig. 18, no. 103), point to the existence of containers for liquid, which in the former instance might have been a piscina. A bronze vessel which may have been used inside the church may be represented by the fragment of a cast leg found just outside the door (Fig. 17, no. 93).

By far the most numerous finds are pottery sherds, whose distribution within the church present interesting patterns which appear to emphasize functional differences between different areas (see Table 4 and Fig. 13). The high proportion of fragments of jugs from the chancel suggests an association with liturgical practice. The high number of sherds of cooking pot from the W. end of the nave may point to activities of a secular nature within the church (see pottery report). There is a relative scarcity of sherds in the W. apse, which suggests that whilst the evidence for the partitioning off of this area is late in the sequence, the apse may none the less have been reserved for special functions soon after its construction.

Other finds from the W. apse include a fragment of a pricket candlestick (Fig. 16, 80) and two of the three whetstones found within the church (Fig. 19, nos. 116, 121), which may conceivably point to its use as a vestry.

THE CEMETERY

Few graves contained surviving skeletal material or evidence of coffins, and most of those outside the church had been simply refilled with the natural clay. It is therefore highly improbable that the total original number has been correctly identified even inside the excavated area. Some will have remained unidentified beyond the E. and S. limits of excavation, but it is considered unlikely that a significant number have been missed in this way. A total of 393 probable and a further 113 possible graves was recorded — ‘possible graves’ including those instances where the feature had been cut away by later ones to the extent that identification became uncertain. In order to avoid repetition, and to simplify interpretations made here and later in the report, it is assumed that the total original number of graves was about 500, taking uncertainties into account.

The graves can be subdivided into three broad groups: firstly, about 22 attributed to the pre-church cemetery (599); secondly, 449 graves belonging to the external cemetery, and thought to be contemporary with one or other phase of the church (275); lastly, 35 graves found inside the church, which it has been argued were contemporary with the second phase church (276).
Bone survival was extremely poor due to the acidity of the soil (Fig. 9.1), but as has been noted above in the description of the pre-church cemetery, it appears that no single explanation for bone survival at the site is adequate. The general coincidence of survival within the roofed area of the church suggests that water percolation was the most dominant single factor. Only 36 graves contained surviving bone,59 of which 29 lay within and were contemporary with the church (e.g. Pl. iv, c), one lay beneath the foundations of the first church and is attributed to the pre-church cemetery, and only six lay outside the church. Twenty-six other external graves contained only traces of human tooth enamel, in five cases accompanied...
by silhouettes representing the remainder of the body. Up to a further eight external graves produced silhouettes of inhumations (or possibly of coffins in four instances).

To judge from the 16 instances which furnished a clear indication of the arrangement and stature of the corpse, all burials were placed in an extended supine position, with the heads to the W. Of these, all but one came from the interior of the church. Discernible body positions were as follows: in four cases the right arm was placed across the chest and the left arm across the stomach area or pelvis; in four cases both arms were placed across the chest (in three instances at least with the right arm either vertically or horizontally above the left); in four cases both arms were crossed above the stomach area or pelvis (in one instance with the right arm slightly above the left); and in one case the right arm was placed across the stomach area and the left arm was straight. There were no instances where the legs were seen to be crossed.

The majority of the graves appear to have been dug to fit the body closely, and were sub-rectangular and rounded at both ends. In only 23 cases (4.6% of graves) was there any definite evidence of a coffin, with a further thirteen (2.6%) possible instances; it is uncertain what proportion of graves may have had coffins of which no trace had survived. Of certain and possible examples, ten (28%) lay inside, and 26 (72%) outside the church, clustering around the S. and E. side of the chancel (Fig. 9.2). Of the coffins inside the church, seven (20% of total number of certain and possible coffins) are thought to belong to the pre-church cemetery, and only three (8%) to the church, or more particularly to its second phase.

The precise construction of the coffins is uncertain in most cases since generally all that had survived was a fragile tissue of wood grain, but all the samples of wood which could be identified seem to have been of oak. One uncertainly dated coffin (639) had a base formed of a single piece of bark, probably oak, 2 m long and 0.25 m to 0.45 m wide, and dished to a depth of 30–100 mm, which seemed unlikely to be all that had survived of a bark-covered plank. Traces of an upper lid had also survived in this instance, which appeared to consist of a single plank of wood.

At least four coffins appeared to be triangular in cross-section (cf. Pl. iv, b). The best-preserved example (499, just on the SE. corner of the second phase E. apse) had a single trapezoidal base plank, with two side planks meeting at a central ridge which diminished in height from head to feet (Fig. 8). The lower edges and ends of the side planks failed to meet the edges of the basal plank, which suggested that the coffin was constructed of boards which had been simply propped up against each other once the plank supporting the corpse had been lowered into position. Traces of a triangular board were visible at the western end of the grave, but no trace was found of a corresponding board at the eastern end. This particular grave cannot be closely dated, but the other three examples of this type are all thought to belong to the pre-church cemetery. Similar 'gable-shaped' coffins, of late Saxon date, have been recorded at Barton-upon-Humber, of which at least some were held together with iron clenchess.

In other instances there were surviving traces which suggested that the coffins were again unshouldered, but with vertical sides. Few graves produced iron nails,
but two examples produced several nails, suggesting that coffins were nailed together in these instances.

Two more elaborate graves, mentioned above, appear to have been specially marked at ground level, of which one (Fig. 8, 241, Pl. IV, A) certainly belonged to the pre-church cemetery, and the other might have done. Both were defined on the surface by edge-set stones enclosing an area covered by a thin scattering of large quartz pebbles.

Thirteen certain and one possible burial had two or three large stones set on edge around the head of the body, presumably to keep it in an upright position (see Fig. 8, 499 and Fig. 9.2). In two cases these were associated with coffins, one of which was of the triangular-sectioned type mentioned above, and the other of uncertain form. Like the distribution of coffins at the site, these were all found in the area close to the E. and S. sides of the chancel. One example was in a grave belonging to the pre-church cemetery, and cut by the foundations of the church; this, given the absence of any examples inside the church (contemporary with the second building phase), suggests that the form may be relatively early at the site.

A similar use of head supports is recorded in both coffined and uncoffined graves at the earlier and probably later Saxon cemetery at Barton-upon-Humber, and in association with 9th- to 10th-century charcoal burials and other uncoffined burials of the 10th to 12th century at Castle Green, Hereford. In the case of head supports associated with coffins at Hereford, Shoesmith argues that the body may have been lowered onto the base of the grave on a flat wooden platform. A similar procedure may well have been adopted in the case of at least some of the triangular-sectioned coffins at Capel Maelog, the upper parts of which appear to have been assembled after the body was placed in position.

None of the certain coffins at Capel Maelog were associated with iron nails, and as has been shown elsewhere the presence of nails is an unreliable guide to the former presence of a coffin (but see discussion of nails in the ironwork report below).

In attempting to quantify the original number of coffins it is unfortunate that there is a strong coincidence between parts of the site where conditions for preservation are likely to have been at an optimum and the likely higher status areas — the interior of the church, and the areas immediately adjacent to the E. and SE. side of the chancel. However, since the provision of coffins would require a larger grave, the site evidence suggests that the possible missing proportion of graves originally accompanied by a coffin is not likely to have been vastly in excess of the number recorded.

It does seem significant that a relatively high proportion of graves attributed to the early cemetery were provided with coffins, which either implies that some special status was accorded to burials belonging to the early cemetery, or alternatively that, as in the case of Castle Green, Hereford (the nearest medieval cemetery group with which comparisons can be made), there was a gradual diminution in the elaboration of burial ritual over the period represented.

An otherwise featureless and not closely datable grave to the S. of the chancel (1019) contained two distinct plates of charcoal near the base of the grave towards the W. end: it is the only example which might qualify as a 'charcoal burial'. One
grave at the W. end of the nave had apparently random vertical and horizontal iron-panned 'pipes' in its fill, which might have resulted from the decay of brushwood or some similar organic material placed within the grave above the burial.

Most of the graves are very shallow: 95% were only up to 0.3 m deep from the surface of the natural clay, 40% were between 0.1 m and 0.2 m deep from this level, and only 5% were deeper than 0.3 m. More precise indications of the original depths from the contemporary ground surface can be determined in the case of three groups
of graves: firstly, those belonging to the pre-church cemetery (probably cut from at or near the surface of a buried soil layer sealed beneath the church floor — 390), which ranged in depth from about 0.35 m to 0.6 m; secondly, those inside and contemporary with the second phase church (cut from the surface of the second phase floor inside the church — 262), which ranged from as little as 0.2 m to 0.6 m in depth; and thirdly, a small number of graves cut through the stone surfaces outside the S. and W. sides of the church, which were between 0.2 m to 0.4 m in depth. In each group, shallow graves tended to be shorter ones appropriate to infant or juvenile burials.

DEVELOPMENT AND DIVISIONS WITHIN THE CEMETERY

The layout of graves in both the internal and external cemeteries suggests that few were permanently marked, and many were cut away by later graves once their position became obscured. It is probably also significant that there is little sedimentary stone in the immediate vicinity which would be suitable for memorial stones. The establishment of relationships between graves was made difficult by the general scarcity of skeletal remains and coffins, and the nature of the subsoil through which they were cut and subsequently backfilled.

The phasing of a number of graves can be established by their stratigraphic relationship with one or other phase of the church, or with associated external stone surfaces, but these remain the exceptions, and it is consequently only possible to establish general trends in the development of the cemetery as a whole. A scattering of Roman brick and tile occurs across the site, particularly to the S. and E. of the church, some of which found its way into grave fills: since the arrival of this material at the site corresponds with the construction period of the second phase church, the relative phasing of a proportion of graves can be established. The presence of the clay pits near the four corners of the church (Fig. 3), contemporary with the second phase of construction, up to 1.5 m and 2.5 m from the church on the NW. and SW., and up to 5.5 m away on the NE. and SE., suggests that these areas were at that time unavailable or not in demand for burial. Clay pits on the NE. and SE. had cut through earlier graves, but these areas were subsequently avoided, possibly since they continued to be marked by hollows in the ground.

Most of the graves in the external cemetery lie to the E. of the pre-church cross-ditch (565), subsequently recut to both the N. and S. sides of the nave, suggesting that this boundary continued to be respected during the development of the later cemetery. The relatively small number of burials W. of this line may represent later expansion of the cemetery, with the church falling into disuse before this area was greatly used. This appears to be borne out by the fact that two graves here cut through a gully (978) which contained charcoal that has been dated to cal. A.D. 1431-1610 (no. 15, CAR-1188).

An analysis of the orientation of graves (Fig. 9.3) shows considerable variation, but with a norm of between 265 and 300 degrees (accounting for 81% of measured graves), the church itself being aligned at 289 degrees. Although some of the variation could be due to the changing azimuthal position of the sun, it seems in the case of the later medieval graves at least, that the orientation of the church and
the topography of the churchyard exerted the strongest influence. Most graves near the church are roughly parallel with it, though some near the S. side of the chancel appear to be slightly deflected and partly tangential to the second phase apse; some of the graves at a further distance from the church appear to be deflected by the early enclosure ditch beneath its E. end, which appears to have been still visible at this time; some appear to have been deflected by the path leading from the SE. entrance. Some close clusters of graves lying on a similar orientation in various parts of the cemetery might represent particular kinship groups.

There is insufficient evidence to phase the cemetery on the basis of orientation alone, particularly since the orientation of the church broadly follows that of the pre-church cemetery. A small number of graves and possible graves to the N. and E. of the church, however, lie on an almost N. to S. orientation. Whilst it is possible that these form a distinct earlier cemetery, the stratigraphical evidence is insufficient to demonstrate this. It is unknown whether burial ceased when the church finally went out of use.

In order to examine the distribution of different grave sizes in different parts of the site the cemetery area was subdivided into four areas: the area N. of the church, the area S. and E. of the church, the area W. of the church, and the church interior (see Table 1, Fig. 9.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>South and East</th>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 1.0 m</td>
<td>17 (30%)</td>
<td>7 (30%)</td>
<td>25 (16%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>49 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0–1.6 m</td>
<td>21 (37%)</td>
<td>8 (35%)</td>
<td>32 (21%)</td>
<td>9 (22%)</td>
<td>70 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 1.6 m</td>
<td>19 (33%)</td>
<td>8 (35%)</td>
<td>97 (63%)</td>
<td>31 (78%)</td>
<td>155 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
<td><strong>154</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>274</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis clearly shows a preponderance of graves < 1.6 m in length on the N. (67%) and W. (65%) of the church, and a preponderance of graves > 1.6 m in length on the S. and E. of the church (63%) and within the church interior (78%).

This implies that the areas within the church and to the S. and E. of the chancel were favoured for adult burial. This conforms with the distribution of graves with coffins, and graves with stone head supports: all can be regarded as denoting higher status, in terms of wealth as well as age. Similar evidence of the biased distribution of adult male burials has been cited at Castle Green, Hereford, on the basis of skeletal evidence, and of wealth (as denoted by coffins) at St Oswald’s, Gloucester.

LATER HISTORY

By the first decade of the 19th century the ruins of the church had been demolished and robbed to its foundations (309). Only two sherds of post-medieval pottery, and very few other finds of this date were found in the upper levels at the site.
The church was last mentioned in 1517, and although it would be rash to infer that it was necessarily abandoned soon after that date, there is certainly no archaeological evidence to show that it did survive much longer.

Demolition layers around the church were formed of clay, small fragments of stone and numerous chips of micaceous sandstone roofing tile. The area above the church itself was sealed by a layer of yellow clay (203), which formed a low and almost imperceptible mound, perhaps largely deriving from the wall bonding.

A system of hand-dug stone-filled field drains cut across the southern side of the church enclosure are not closely dated, but the abundance of stone roofing tile within their filling, identical in every respect to the material used for roofing the church, suggests that they were dug at a time when this stone would still have been to hand from the demolition of the church. A further undated feature which might also belong to the later agricultural use of the site was a large pit (990), adjacent to the western side of the church enclosure, within which had been buried an enormous boulder, 1.9 m by 1.2 m across and 0.8 m thick (location on Fig. 3), the former siting of which has not been determined (see above).

THE FINDS

A full list of catalogues which appear in the archive report, covering all classes of finds recovered during excavation, will be found in Appendix 2.

ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY (Fig. 10). By P. V. Webster

Only about 40 sherds of Roman pottery were found. In addition to the illustrated sherds these include the following: two sherds of Oxford colour coated ware bowl, one probably of late 3rd or 4th century date; four sherds of Black Burnished Ware, including 2nd, late 2nd to early 3rd, and 2nd- to 4th-century types; six sherds of Southern Gaulish samian, including two sherds of a pre-A.D. 85 form 29. With the exception of one sherd of grey ware, the remainder of the sherds are of Severn Valley or other orange ware types.

Most of the material is poorly stratified, or is residual within medieval contexts. Apart from the illustrated sherds, the only other usefully stratified finds are a possible tankard handle in Severn Valley Ware from the upper filling of the early sub-rectangular enclosure ditch, and two sherds of Southern Gaulish samian from the primary silting of the same ditch. These, together with nos. 3, 5, 7 and 8 below, all came from deposits which most probably pre-date the arrival at the site of Roman material from the fort at Castell Collen during the construction of the second phase church. The status of the remainder of the material is ambiguous: some sherds might be residual from earlier periods of activity; some, like no. 6, might represent curios brought to the site individually during the medieval period.

1 Severn Valley Ware jar. From topsoil to E. of church (Context 638, Find 970, Vessel 64).
2 Severn Valley Ware jar, 3rd to 4th century. From topsoil to E. of church (Context 1052, Find 1347, Vessel 159).
3 Severn Valley Ware jar, 3rd to 4th century. From upper filling of early enclosure ditch, to SE. of church (Context 424, Find 1173, Vessel 143).
4 Burnt (light brown) Black Burnished Ware dish, late 2nd to early 3rd century. From medieval deposits to S. of church (Context 318, Find 871, Vessel 60).
5 Oxford mortaria in creamy white ware, late 3rd century. From upper filling of early enclosure ditch, to SE. of church (Context 1147, Find 1644, Vessel 142).
6 Spindlewhorl made from sherd of Southern Gaulish Samian. From second phase floor of nave (Context 253, Find 298, Vessel 62).
Medieval Coinage. By P. Courtney

Five silver coins were found. All came from deposits above the second phase floor inside the church, but cannot otherwise be closely attributed to phases of activity. The two earliest coins (nos. 9-10), cut halfpennies of Henry III, dating to 1248-51 and 1251-54 respectively, are unlikely to have been current for long after the recoinage of 1279. It is unlikely that they were disturbed from an earlier deposit, and therefore provide a reasonably secure terminus ante quem for the floor, and thus for the second phase church of between c. 1250 and 1279.

The two Edward I farthings (nos. 11-12) were found face-to-face on the floor, and although they may have been deliberately concealed, there is no further evidence that this was the case. They could theoretically have continued in use into the late 14th century, on the evidence of hoards of that date which contain numbers of Edward I pennies, but small denomination coins are less likely to have been hoarded, and the degree of wear they exhibit argues for a probable date of loss within the late 13th century, and not later than the early decades of the 14th century. The degree of wear on no. 13, a Richard II penny of 1377-99, suggests that is likely to have been lost before about the end of the second decade of the 15th century: similar pennies from the Attenborough hoard of c. 1420, for example, show considerably more wear. Wear patterns can, however, only give a rough guide to date of loss, especially where individual coins are concerned.

The presence of four small denomination coins of Henry III and Edward I is of some interest with regard to the penetration of a monetary economy into a Welsh area, although the English borough of Cefnllys was nearby. Further excavation of Welsh native sites will, however, be necessary to place these finds in perspective.
9 Cut halfpenny of Henry III. It is not clear whether it had a sceptre but the obverse legend starts to the right of the crown. Date 1248-51. Weight 0.45 g (6.94 gr). Die axis ? degrees. Wear: one quarter is illegible but this is due to corrosion in the ground, while little wear is evident on the other quarter. Mint uncertain. From second phase floor in E. apse (Find 239, Context 203).

Obv: HE(NRICUS) (REX I)II
Rev: OH(?H), H may be a substitute for N

10 Cut Henry III halfpenny, Dublin mint by the moneyer Richard, date 1251-54. Weight 0.53 g (8.18 gr). Die axis 170 degrees. Wear slight. From second phase floor at W. end of nave (Find 553, Context 343).

Obv: (H)ENRI/(CUSR)/II(I)
Rev: (RIC)/ARD/OND/(IVE)

11 Edward I farthing. Date 1279-80. London mint. Die axis 0 degrees. Corroded, slight wear is evident. Found together with no. 12, from second phase floor within chancel (Find 396, Context 203).

Obv: EDW(ARDUS) REX
Rev: LONDONIENSIS

12 Edward I farthing. Date 1280-81. London mint. Weight 0.29 g (4.47 gr). Die axis 40 degrees (first strike) 20 degrees (second strike). The reverse was struck twice at a different angle, probably due to the die slipping, or being poorly positioned during the first strike. Wear, slight. Found together with no. 11, from second phase floor within chancel (Find 396, Context 203).

Obv: E.R.ANGLIE
Rev: LONDONIENSIS

13 Penny of Richard II. York ecclesiastical mint. Date 1377-99, probably 1388-96. Weight 0.95 g (14.66 gr). Die axis 0 degrees. Wear, moderate. From second phase floor in E. apse (Find 193, Context 203).

Obv: (RICAR)DUS REX ANGLIE
Rev: CIVITAS EBOR(ACL)

MEDIEVAL POTTERY (Figs. 11-12). By P. COURTNEY, N. W. JONES and W. J. BRITNELL

A total of 795 (5986 g) sherds of medieval pottery were recovered from the site, of which 477 (4396 g) of the more diagnostic sherds are attributed to a minimum of 127 vessels. A selection of about a third belonging to each fabric group is illustrated in this report. About 55 (43%) vessels are distinguished by rims, 52 (41%) are vessels distinguished by bases, 16 (13%) are vessels distinguished by handles or distinctive body sherds, and only four (3%) are vessels probably or certainly represented by both rims and bases. There are four (3%) instances where rims and bases are considered likely, because of their distribution, to belong to the same vessel (but where individual vessel numbering has been maintained).

Linking of non-joining rims and bases is more difficult in the case of cooking pots than glazed jugs, and although some vessels may be counted twice — by both rim and base — the figures shown for number of sherds, weight, and percentage of surviving rim in Table 2 below, suggests that this does not have a significant effect on the calculation of minimum vessel numbers.

The vessels were subdivided macroscopically into 13 fabric groups, which fall into three main types on the basis of petrological inclusions. Five sherds of fabric MB and one example of fabric MC were also studied in thin section. The fabrics are coded in accordance with the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust Pottery Fabric Series, as follows:

Fabric MB1-11: sandy fine micaceous wares: Figs. 11-12, nos. 14-44

Fabrics with inclusions of quartz, fine muscovite mica and rare to abundant rock fragments of igneous or sedimentary rocks of Ordovician or Silurian origin from the Welsh Basin rocks of mid Wales. This group forms the bulk of the pottery from Capel Maelog, and has been further subdivided into eleven sub-groups. The nearest outcrops of igneous rocks occur between Llandrindod and Builth, which lies 5 km to the S.; this suggests that the fabrics are all from a fairly local source.

Fabric MC: sandy coarse micaceous: Fig. 12, nos. 45-47

Fabric with quartz and plagioclase felspar inclusions, large flakes of biotite mica and sedimentary rock fragments, which can be assigned to a clay of Devonian (Old Red Sandstone) derivation.
Devonian rocks occur in the Clun Forest in N. Radnorshire and in N. Brecknock, S. Radnorshire and W. Herefordshire area. The latter area is the most accessible, at a distance of about 18 km to the S. along the Wye valley, and represents a possible source for the pottery. The fabric is the same as Fabric B6 from Montgomery Castle, and is similar to Hereford Fabric A4, assumed to have a source in N. Herefordshire or S. Shropshire.

Fabric MF: Malvern Wares: Fig. 12, nos. 48-50

Fabric with quartz sand and fragments of sandstone, igneous and metamorphic rock inclusions. Late Malvernum oxidized wares, dating from the last quarter of the 14th to the 16th century, Hereford Fabric B4.

The numbers of vessels and types in each of the broad fabric groups is shown in the following table: this emphasizes that the overwhelming proportion of the pottery (93%) is of relatively local origin, and that about 76% of the vessels are cooking pots, 21% jugs, and 3% bowls and other related forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>Min Vess</th>
<th>No. Sherds (plus % in each fabric)</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
<th>Rim %</th>
<th>Cook Pots (% of type in each fabric)</th>
<th>Jugs</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>118 (93)</td>
<td>739 (93)</td>
<td>5627 (94)</td>
<td>477 (92)</td>
<td>91 (77)</td>
<td>23 (20)</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
<td>37 (5)</td>
<td>247 (4)</td>
<td>20 (4)</td>
<td>5 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
<td>19 (2)</td>
<td>110 (2)</td>
<td>20 (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (75)</td>
<td>1 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>5984</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>96 (76)</td>
<td>26 (20)</td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note
1 including 1 ? dripping dish

The site has produced what might be considered a relatively large assemblage of pottery for a church site, but it is interesting to note that the figure of about 5.6 sherds per square metre from within the church at Capel Maelog compares with a figure of 4.8 at St Martins, Wharram Percy. The proportions of different kinds of vessel are broadly comparable to those from several domestic sites of the 11th to 14th centuries from a similar cultural background in the Welsh Marches. It is clear that many of the cooking pots have also been used in a domestic fashion, as shown by the incidence of sooting given in the following table.

Little pottery was present in deposits associated with the first phase of the church. Plentiful pottery was found in association with the second phase church, which suggests that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>Exterior²</th>
<th>Exterior + Interior</th>
<th>Interior</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MB</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes
1 quantified by minimum vessels
2 sooting normally seems to extend over the whole exterior
it only became commonly used at the site in the period from about 1250. There were no major building phases following the mid 13th century, and few significant stratigraphic horizons which provide a control on the internal phasing of the pottery. The latest pottery on the basis of external evidence are the sherds of late, oxidized Malvernian wares, including a bowl, no. 48, which is probably a 15th century and later form. Documentary evidence suggests a date of abandonment some time after 1517: the absence of Transitional or post-medieval wares, such as Midland Purple or Cistercian wares, suggests that pottery ceased to be deposited within and around the church by the early 16th century at the latest, and might argue for abandonment at the time, but too little is known of the local ceramic sequences to be certain of this.

A detailed spatial analysis of the pottery has been carried out by plotting the distribution of sherds attributed to individual vessels. In most instances it is easier to identify sherds belonging to the same glazed or decorated jug or bowl rather than coarse cooking pots: as a consequence the average number of sherds attributed to a single jug is 6.5, whereas the average number attributed to a cooking pot is only 3. Where a vessel is composed of several sherds, the distribution is often seen to be limited to within the same or adjacent contexts, and in some instances this is confirmed by joining sherds. A small number, however, show a much wider distribution, which questions the validity of their attribution to a single vessel.

Apart from a thin scatter of sherds across the site as a whole, there are several distinct groupings which appear to be of functional significance. These include a large group from the chancel, nave, and contemporary deposits immediately outside the southern side of the church (Fig. 13, which altogether accounts for 86% of the vessels), and a small group from a restricted area on the northern side of the church enclosure (summarized in Fig. 3 and Table 4). Some vessels are shared between nave and chancel, and some between the interior and immediate exterior of the church, but it is notable that the vessels found towards the northern margin of the enclosure form an exclusive group which is not represented by sherds found in deposits within or close to the church.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cooking Pots</th>
<th>Number of Vessels</th>
<th>Jugs</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chancel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nave and W. apse</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. of church</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancel and nave</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancel and exterior</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nave and exterior</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancel, nave and exterior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. margins of enclosure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>96 (76%)</td>
<td><strong>Number of Vessels</strong></td>
<td>26 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (4%)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cooking Pots</th>
<th>Number of Vessels</th>
<th>Jugs</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chancel</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>Nave and W. apse</td>
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<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. of church</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chancel and nave</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancel and exterior</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chancel, nave and exterior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. margins of enclosure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cooking Pots</th>
<th>Number of Vessels</th>
<th>Jugs</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chancel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nave and W. apse</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. of church</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancel and nave</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chancel and exterior</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nave and exterior</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancel, nave and exterior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. margins of enclosure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cooking Pots</th>
<th>Number of Vessels</th>
<th>Jugs</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chancel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nave and W. apse</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. of church</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chancel and nave</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chancel, nave and exterior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. margins of enclosure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Cooking Pots</th>
<th>Number of Vessels</th>
<th>Jugs</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chancel</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nave and W. apse</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. of church</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chancel and exterior</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chancel, nave and exterior</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. margins of enclosure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

1 vessels with sherds in more than one of the areas indicated are attributed to the one where the majority were located.

2 including one ?dripping dish.
A total of 41 vessels are exclusively from contexts inside the church, mostly either upper floor levels or from graves. Comparing the vessel types from different parts of the church, it is notable that there is a high proportion of jugs from the chancel, and a predominance of cooking pots in the nave; the pottery within the nave is largely concentrated towards the W. end, but with relatively few sherds from the W. apse (Fig. 13).

A total of 53 vessels comes exclusively from outside the S. side of the church, including contemporary surfaces extending around the eastern and western apses, but principally within about 6 m of the assumed position of the church door, towards the centre of the S. side of the nave. The proportions of different kinds of vessels here is comparable with that of the site assemblage as a whole.

Precise details of the deposition of pottery inside the church are difficult to determine with certainty. None came from the make-up of the second phase tile-flecked floor, and little if any came from areas of deliberate patching with sand and gravel which were largely composed of clean materials. Some clearly came from layers above the second phase floor, or above the patching, some came from grave fills. Other sherds came from what turned out to be the upper fills of graves cut through the second phase floor, and which in some instances were sealed beneath later patching. In addition there were few certain stratigraphic controls which are helpful in phasing the material, although the presence of some large and uneroded sherds (e.g. fragments of jug, Fig. 11, 28) suggest that residual material imported with the patching is unlikely to have played a very significant role, and that much of the assemblage probably derived from vessels broken in or near the church.

There is no evidence that material excavated from within the church had been redeposited in the area outside the door as a result of floor repair or grave-digging, for example, and the concentration of sherds in this area would seem partly the result of cleaning the church interior, and partly the result of contemporary breakages just outside the church.

Relatively few vessels are from contexts shared by the chancel and the nave, with a slightly higher proportion either shared between the nave and exterior, or the church interior and exterior as a whole. Sherds of cooking pot 45, for example, are shared between chancel and nave; sherds of jugs 17, 19, 27 and 29 are shared between nave and exterior; and sherds of jugs 25 and 28, and cooking pot 46 are shared between chancel, nave and exterior.

The presence of so many cooking pots in association with the church, of which a sizable number had clearly been used for this purpose before breakage (Table 3), is not readily explained. Pots may have been reused simply as storage vessels, but the number of jugs from within the chancel, including Figs. 11–12, nos. 20, 25, 28, 49, and 50, suggests that these may have been used in offices performed in this part of the church. Specific instances of the use of pottery in medieval churches include vessels for the storage of oil for fueling lamps burnt before the altar (for which glazed jars might be preferred), possibly for ablutions carried out before the altar, for holding water and wine to be mixed for the Mass, or even as flower vases. Whilst it is possible that some of the pottery might derive from secular activities carried out within the church, the stratigraphical evidence clearly shows that this was within the context of a continuing ecclesiastical function rather than, for example, representing a later phase of secular activity.

From the northern margins of the enclosure came a group of six vessels, mostly cooking pots, and including Figs. 11–12, nos. 23 and 34. The concentration of sherds at this point is largely within an area 5 m across, and extending up to 4 m from the church enclosure bank (Fig. 3); it seems unlikely to represent a midden resulting from activities directly related to the church, since none of the vessels are certainly represented by sherds found inside or within the vicinity of the church; this combines with other evidence to suggest that a domestic structure, possibly a priest’s house, may have been sited in this area.

14 Cooking pot, external sooting, from grave in nave. Fabric MB1. Rim 2%. (Vessel 50.)
15 Cooking pot, external sooting, from nave floor. Fabric MB2. Rim 3%. (Vessel 55.)
16 Cooking pot, from floor at W. end of nave. Fabric MB1. Rim 3%. (Vessel 35.)
17 Jug, worn green glaze, from nave floor, graves cutting nave floor and contemporary surfaces to S. of church. Fabric MB2. Rim 25%. (Vessel 1.)
FIG. 11

Medieval pottery. Scale 1:4
18 Jug, incised green glazed body sherds, from stone deposits outside E. apse, including demolition rubble. Fabric MB2. (Vessel 31.)
20 Jug, green glaze, from upper floor levels in chancel. Fabric MB3. Base 37%. (Vessel 13.)
21 Cooking pot, from gully pre-dating E. apse foundations. Fabric MB4. Rim 8%. (Vessel 52.)
22 Cooking pot, from medieval deposits outside S. side of church. Fabric MB4. Rim 9%. (Vessel 45.)
Distribution of medieval pottery and small finds in vicinity of church

**POTTERY FORMS**

- jugs
- cooking pots
- bowls

**SMALL FINDS** numbered as in report

- coin
- copper alloy
- iron
- lead
- stone

**FIG. 13**
Cooking pot, internal and external sooting/carbon deposits, from N. margin of church enclosure. Fabric MB4. Base 8%. (Vessel 82.)

Jug, unglazed, from grave in nave. Fabric MB5. Rim 13%. (Vessel 61.)

Jug, green glaze, from upper floor levels in chancel, late gravel floor in nave, graves in nave, and contemporary deposits outside S. side of church. Fabric MB5. Rim 15%. (Vessel 19.)

Jug, Cu streaked green glaze, from contemporary deposits to S. of church. Fabric MB6. Rim 10%. (Vessel 130.)

Jug, rouletted decoration, Cu streaked green glazed body sherds, from late gravel floor in nave, graves in nave, and contemporary deposits outside S. side of church. Fabric MB6. (Vessel 5.)

Jug, green glaze, from graves in W. end of nave, upper floor levels, charcoal deposit and late gravel floor in chancel, contemporary deposits outside S. side of church, and in layer of upper filling (380) of wide ditch (775) outside S. side of enclosure. Fabric MB7. Rim 47%, base 14%. (Vessel 10.)


Bowl or curfew, 160–230 mm in diameter, from contemporary deposits outside W. apse, and upper filling of clay pits (388, 389) to SW. of church. Fabric MB8. Rim c. 5%. (Vessel 17.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from contemporary deposits and demolition rubble outside S. side of church. Fabric MB8. Rim 38%. (Vessel 21.)

Cooking pot, immediately outside N. side of church. Fabric MB8. Rim 9%. (Vessel 41.)

Cooking pot, from topsoil. Fabric MB8. Base 4%. (Vessel 109.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from S. side of church enclosure. Fabric MB9. Rim 10%. (Vessel 47.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from graves in nave. Fabric MB9. Rim 19%. (Vessel 7.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from contemporary deposit outside S. side of church. Fabric MB9. Rim 11%. (Vessel 25.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, and pierced rim, probably for repair, from contemporary deposits and grave to S. of church. Fabric MB9. Rim 24%. (Vessel 126.)

Cooking pot, extensive external sooting, from grave in nave. Fabric MB9. Rim 5%. (Vessel 56.)


Cooking pot, external sooting, from S. margins of church enclosure. Fabric MB10. Rim 4%. (Vessel 49.)

Cooking pot, from N. side of church enclosure. Fabric MB10. Base 6%. (Vessel 106.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from demolition rubble to SW. of church. Fabric MB11. Rim 7%. (Vessel 26.)

Cooking pot, from modern drainage trench. Fabric MB11. Rim 10%. (Vessel 133.)

Cooking pot, from charcoal deposit in chancel, and grave in nave; possibly same vessel as no. 47. Fabric MC1. Rim 5%. (Vessel 11.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from upper floor level in chancel, charcoal deposit in chancel, graves in nave, floor in nave, grave in W. apse, contemporary deposits S. of church. Fabric MC1. Rim 10%. (Vessel 43.)

Cooking pot, external sooting, from charcoal deposit in chancel. Fabric MC1. Base 9%. (Vessel 86.)

Bowl, green glaze, from upper floor level in chancel. Fabric MF1. Rim 7%. (Vessel 14.)

Jug, from robbing above E apse, floor in chancel, grave to E of church, and contemporary deposits outside S. side of church. Fabric MF1. (Vessel 15.)

Jug, glaze mostly worn away; also some body sherds with Cu streaked green glaze, from various contexts in chancel — upper floor level, charcoal deposit, grave cutting charcoal deposit, and late gravel floor, and filling of quarry pit (849) to SE. of church. Fabric MF1. (Vessel 3.)

MEDIEVAL IRONWORK (Figs. 14–16). By N. W. JONES and P. COURTNEY

The assemblage of ironwork from the site includes over 600 nails, of which about 40% have been classified into four types according to the size and shape of the head and length and cross-section of the shaft (see Table 5 and Fig. 16, 89–92). In addition, a single horseshoe nail of distinctive form is illustrated in Fig. 15, no. 68.

A majority of the nails came from contexts contemporary with the medieval church, either from floors within the church (20%) or from contemporary layers and surfaces outside
### Table 5

**Nail Types and Frequency**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Weight (g)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>large rounded head c. 20 mm in diam. and rectangular shaft</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>oblong head and square shaft</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>small rounded head c. 12 mm in diam. and square shaft</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>large round head c. 18 mm in diam. and square shaft c. 25 mm long</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td></td>
<td>391</td>
<td>1639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>661</td>
<td>2928</td>
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</tbody>
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**Note**

1. Estimated number from fragments

---

It (20%); a significant number (20%) came from either internal or external graves, with the remainder largely coming from either the clay pits contemporary with the construction of the second phase church (90%) or from demolition rubble and robbing trenches (20%). The vast majority from outside the church come from the areas immediately to the S. and SE. There are no examples certainly contemporary with the pre-church cemetery or the first phase church, and only 6 nails came from the filling of the pre-church sub-rectangular enclosure ditch.

There are no clear distribution patterns of distinctive kinds of nails with particular context types. It is clear that generally a positive equation cannot be made between graves containing nails and the existence of coffins. Only three graves containing certain or possible coffins contained nails, but not even in these instances was there a certain association with the coffin. Furthermore, it is likely that some nails became accidentally incorporated in the fills of graves, especially inside the church and in the areas immediately to the S. and SE. In one instance, however, five nails were found around the lower edges of a grave with no visible trace of a coffin, which suggests that some coffins may otherwise have disappeared without trace. It may be significant that this grave, at the extreme E. end of the site, falls within the only area of the cemetery in which a significant proportion of graves were found to contain nails, even though in other instances there is no evidence of their function.

51 Lock plate, 70 mm long and 45 mm wide, with spring and bolt in situ. This type of simple 'back-spring' lock did not have a tumbler. The wading mechanism, for preventing unauthorized keys from being inserted, is lost. Two projections on the underside of the bolt served for the key to engage on. The bolt was held in the locked position by the spring. The bolt is probably in the locked position, or nearly so. Outside S. side of church (Find 581, Context 318).

52 Base of barrel padlock, 29 mm long and 23 mm in diameter. It originally had three spines each with two spring leaves. Two spines and a single spring leaf survive. Outside S. side of church (Find 636, Context 318).

53 Barrel padlock hasp fragment, 45 mm long, with signs of brazing on terminals of long stem. From stone surface to SE. side of church (Find 1005, Context 823).

54 Barrel padlock hasp, 60 mm long. From filling of clay pit to SE. of church (Context 864, within quarry pit Context 849, Find 1103).

55 Hasp, c. 145 mm long, with hooked terminal, for use in conjunction with a padlock. From grave towards centre of nave (Context 404, Find 769).

56 Possible handle of barrel padlock key, 64 mm long, with flared stem and hooked terminal. Outside S. side of church (Find 946, Context 377).
FIG. 14
Ironwork. Scale 1:2
FIG. 15
Ironwork. Scale 1:2
FIG. 16
Ironwork. Scale 1:2
57 Key, 54 mm long. It had a solid shank and two broken symmetrical bits at right-angles to the stem. Outside S. side of church (Find 606, Context 366).
58 Key, 45 mm long, with circular bow. From floor level towards W. end of nave (Find 566, Context 341).
59 Key handle, 61 mm long. From upper floor level on E. side of E. apse (Find 241, Context 203).
60 Key, 47 mm long. The solid shank splits into two near the tip, the lower half carrying the single bit. Goodall lists a series of similar examples from 11th-13th century contexts. Its date of origin could be earlier but it is unlikely to have been current in the 14th century, when numerous dated groups are available. Outside S. side of church (Find 605, Context 366).
61 Key, 81 mm long. It has a solid shank and two broken symmetrical bits at right-angles to the stem. From upper floor level towards E. end of nave (Find 326, Context 203).
62 Key, 48 mm long. Solid projecting shank with asymmetrical bit. From upper floor level on SE. side of E. apse (Find 238, Context 203).
63 Key, 175 mm long. It has a solid projecting shank, with asymmetrical wards for use on a lock with a single collar. Unlike keys with asymmetrical bits it can be used from both sides of the lock. Outside S. side of church. (Find 610, Context 357).
64 Scale-tanged knife in three fragments, 117 mm long with two rivet holes visible on X-ray. 13th-16th century type. From clay pit on SW. side of church, contemporary with construction of the second phase church (Find 755, Context 413).
65 Scale-tanged knife in several fragments up to 135 mm long; three rivet holes with iron rivets in situ. 13th-16th century. From N. side of church enclosure (Find 156, Context 4).
67 Whittle-tanged knife in two pieces, 235 mm in length. Medieval type. From stone deposit next to outside face of E. apse (Find 513, Context 320).
68 Horseshoe nail with D-shaped head, 25 mm long with head up to 15 mm wide. Norman type. From robbed debris above E. apse (Find 236, Context 203).
69 Horseshoe (5 fragments). Overall width 102 mm, up to 7 mm thick, with a web of 24 mm. The X-ray shows four nail holes, two with the nails in situ. It is too corroded to show the shape of the nail or nail holes. The countersunk nail holes and wavy outer edge suggest an 11th-13th century date. From stone deposit W. of church (Find 701, Context 355).
70 Horseshoe fragments, 6 mm thick and web of 25 mm, with calkin at terminal. The X-ray shows three countersunk oval nail holes. 11th-13th century type. From stone deposit W. of church (Find 702, Context 355).
71 Horseshoe with calkins on both heels, three rectangular countersunk nail holes on each branch with a nail fragment still in one hole. Overall width 100 mm, 8 mm thick with a web of 28 mm. Probably 14th century or later. From path leading towards hollow-way on SE. side of church (Find 606, Context 686).
72 Possible fragmentary horse bit. One piece 48 mm long and 10 mm wide (?mouthpiece), has tinned decoration of parallel lines around the upper part of its stem and possesses a broken loop terminal which rotated around the narrow section of the second rod (? cheekpiece), which is 48 mm long and 8 mm diameter. The two pieces were found interlinked in the ground. However, the tinning on the supposed mouthpiece may argue against its being a bit as mouthpieces are normally plain and decoration would be invisible during normal use. Outside S. side of church (Find 633, Context 318).
73 Socketed attachment, 66 mm long and 31 mm wide, with buckle loop and pin at one end. A nail in the socket would have attached a wooden shaft. However, apart from being for the attachment of a leather strap to a wooden piece the function is unclear. From upper floor level near centre of chancel (Find 170, Context 203).
74 Belt or strap end, 32 mm long and 14 mm wide, consisting of two plates joined by two iron rivets. Outside S. side of church (Find 404, Context 252).
75 Trapezoidal iron plate c. 30 mm in length with rolled over end. From floor towards W. end of nave (Find 551, Context 341).
76 Broken iron object, 64 mm long and up to 22 mm wide, with traces of tinning at points indicated on drawing. From floor towards centre of nave (Find 297, Context 233).
77 Trapezoid shaped iron plate, c. 33 mm long with blade-like edge 20 mm wide, tapering and broken at narrow end. From demolition rubble to SW. of church (Find 627, Context 312).
78 Iron rod, 40 mm long, with rectangular cross-section. Possible buckle pin. From upper floor on N. side of chancel (Find 158, Context 203).
Folded over piece of iron bar 53 mm long and up to 20 mm wide, with a nail head protruding from the outermost side of the angle. The X-ray shows that the nail pierces right through the bar. Near outer face of SE. wall of chancel (Find 807, Context 318).

Pricket candlestick fragment, 80 mm in length, with single side scroll and part of main stem. Identified from X-ray. From floor in W. apse (Find 431, Context 235).

Trapezoid, tinned iron fitting, 26 mm across, 20 mm high, and 2 mm thick, with single cross-bar joining two diagonally opposed corners, although the cross bar is detached at one corner probably due to damage. The X-ray shows tinned or silvered decoration on the outer frame, which along with its fragile nature suggests a decorative function. The object may have held enamelled pieces, of which no traces survive. From upper floor on SE. side of E. apse (Find 200, Context 209).

Spike, 67 mm in length and 9 mm diameter, tapering to a broken point. Outside SW. side of church (Find 1048, Context 839).

Socketed hoe, 130 mm long, with blade up to 73 mm wide, with remains of mineralized wood in the socket. The join is visible in the folded-over socket. From filling of grave at W. end of nave (Find 572, Context 351), but not directly associated with burial.

Ring 20 mm in diameter with square cross-section. From floor towards centre of nave (Find 716, Context 348).

Staple 40 mm long with broken terminals. From stake-hole in chancel (Find 275, Context 226).

Staple 22 mm long with broken terminals. From grave at W. end of nave (Find 559, Context 342).

Staple c. 40 mm in length. From stone deposit outside SW. side of church (Find 1037, Context 839).

Staple 60 mm long with broken terminals. From grave at W. end of nave (Find 552, Context 342).

Nail Type A, (Find 1051, Context 840).

Nail Type B, (Find 1494, Context 310).

Nail Type C, (Find 1102, Context 864).

Nail Type D, (Find 729, Context 396).

Fragment of poorly cast leg, 37-43 mm wide and up to 15 mm thick, from bronze vessel of indeterminate form, which has either become detached through a fault in the casting, or is a replacement leg which has been broken off. One side shows an external strengthening rib and the other a concave hollow at the point of attachment to the body of the vessel. Outside S. side of church (Find 580, Context 318).

Ring, 23 mm in diameter, of circular cross-section with soldered joint. From upper floor level in chancel (Find 222, Context 203).

Ring fragment, 25 mm in diameter, with both curved and flat surfaces in cross-section. From robbing trench above E. apse (Find 358, Context 207).

Fragment of copper alloy sheet, 43 mm by 16 mm across, with two rivet holes, one containing the remains of an iron rivet. From robbing trench above E. apse (Find 450, Context 212).

Silver-plated copper alloy belt plate with inscribed decoration, slightly tapering in shape, 34 mm long. One rivet hole with iron corrosion remains. From clay layer above surface of stone pavement outside and probably contemporary with E. wall of first phase chancel (Find 397, Context 220).

Perforated lead disc (a) c. 75 mm diameter, with hollow central plug (b) (found in situ within the disc). It may have been the plug of a font, or more probably from its find-spot from a piscina. It seems likely that the hollow central plug would have encased an organic core. From upper floor at centre of E. apse (Find 215, Context 203).

Lead plug, 30-40 mm in diameter. From towards centre of nave floor (Find 255, Context 253).

Lead weight or plum bob, 30 mm long and up to 13 mm in diameter, formed of folded over sheet. The perforation, c. 2.5 mm diameter, contains coarse animal fibres, probably wool, suggesting that it was attached to a length of line. From upper filling of trench (555) outside N. side of church (Find 963, Context 556).

Rolled over length of lead sheet, 24 mm long and up to 9 mm diameter, probably forming a weight similar to no. 100. Outside S. side of church (Find 788, Context 318).

Rolled over length of lead sheet, 19 mm long and up to 8 mm diameter, possibly forming a weight similar to no. 100. From stone surface within SE. hollow-way (Find 1001, Context 765).
Spout, 25 mm long and up to 28 mm wide; channel 9 mm in diameter, with socket possibly for an iron pin and a projection for attachment to a flush surface. From modern pipe-trench outside S. side of church, but probably of medieval date (Find 1216, Context 919).

Hemispherical weight, 16 mm long and up to 17 mm in diameter, with perforation 6 mm in diameter. From floor at W. end of nave (Find 271, Context 215).

Fragment of H-shaped window came, 24 mm long and 6 mm wide, made by casting and cutting away flash and outer part of diamond-shaped flange to give vertical outer edges to flange. Outside S. side of church (Find 588, Context 911).

Disc-shaped lead weight, 38 mm in diameter and 11 mm thick, with central perforation 4 mm in diameter. From filling of quarry pit (849) on SE. side of church, contemporary with construction of second phase apses (Find 1123, Context 864).
FIG. 18
Lead small finds. Scale 2:3
FIG. 20
Stone artefacts. Scale 1:4

FIG. 19
(Opposite:) Stone artefacts. Scale 1:2
Cast chess piece, in the form of a rook, 25 mm high, and with a basal diameter of 19 mm. The hollowing of the base is probably due to contraction on cooling. Comparable pieces in lead-alloy appear to be unknown. From shallow disturbed area immediately adjacent to S. wall of nave (Find 1060, Context 841).

Piece of folded lead sheet, 43 mm long and up to 30 mm wide. From base of topsoil (Find 1060, Context 841).

Fragment of a thin disc, 1 mm thick, and originally c. 32 mm in diameter. From base of grave at W. end of nave, adjacent to right hip of inhumation (Find 625, Context 351).

**STONE ARTEFACTS (Figs. 19–20). By N. W. JONES**

110 Highly polished siltstone pebble ?linen smoother, 72 mm in diameter and 19 mm thick. From upper floor area within chancel (Find 171, Context 203).

111 Flat circular disc, 36 mm in diameter and 21 mm thick. Fine grit. From filling of grave at W. end of nave (Find 564, Context 342).

112 Spindlewhorl, 37 mm in diameter and 9 mm thick, drilled from both sides. Shale. From N. side of enclosure (Find 4, Context 4).

113 Spindlewhorl, 40 mm in diameter and 8 mm thick, drilled from one side. Shale. From N. side of enclosure (Find 13, Context 4).

114 Stone disc, 48 mm in diameter and 11 mm thick, with chipped central hollow on one face; possible roughout for a spindlewhorl. Silts tone. From stone surface outside N.E. side of church (Find 671, Context 369).

115 Whetstone, 78 mm long, 14 mm wide and 12 mm thick, well shaped and smoothed. Mudstone. From upper floor level within nave (Find 680, Context 348).

116 Whetstone, 120 mm long, 10 mm wide and 9 mm thick, finely shaped and smoothed with hole for suspension drilled part-way through at one end. Mudstone. From floor within S. apse (Find 426, Context 235).

117 Whetstone, 132 mm long, 21 mm wide and 11 mm max. thickness, hollowed and smoothed with sharpening groove on one surface. Mudstone. Found in two separate fragments outside NW. side of W. apse (Finds 692, 964, Contexts 356, 313).

118 Whetstone, 61 mm long, 27 mm wide and 15 mm thick, smoothed and broken, rounded at one end. Silts tone, Outside S. side of church (Find 655, Context 318).

119 Whetstone, 88 mm long, 43 mm wide and 19 mm max. thickness, well smoothed and broken. Micaceous siltstone. From base of topsoil towards SE. of church (Find 1129, Context 1101).

120 Whetstone, 95 mm long, 20 mm wide and 20 mm thick, smoothed and hollowed. Mudstone. From topsoil outside S. side of church (Find 1179, Context 890).

121 Whetstone, 116 mm long, 33 mm wide and 16 mm thick, smoothed with sharpening groove on one surface. Silts tone. Found just outside right knee of inhumation burial in W. apse (Find 539, Context 274).

122 Smoothed and burnished siltstone pebble 124 mm long, 61 mm max. width and 33 mm thick, cracked by heat. From filling of gully pre-dating W. side of churchyard enclosure (Find 1279, Context 978).

123 Sharpening stone, 268 mm long, 96 mm wide and 36 mm thick, well worn, hollowed and polished, Fine grit. From gully beyond W. end of church (Find 766, Context 452).

124 Fragment of saddle quern (?or sharpening stone), 240 mm long, 176 mm wide and c. 60 mm thick. Grit. From filling of gully to SE. of church (Find 1476, Context 850).

125 Fragment of rotary quern, with traces of oblong rynd-chase and hopper, c. 170 mm diameter and 72 mm thick. Grit. From soil layer to SE. of church (Find 1015, Context 822).

126 Possible door pivot or mortar, Triangular grit pebble, up to 98 mm across and 42 mm thick, with central circular hollow on upper surface c. 40 mm in diameter and 10 mm deep. Grit. From stone surface to N. of church (Find 670, Context 369).

**DISCUSSION**

**THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT By C. J. SPURGEON**

The region in which Capel Maelog lies was one of considerable turmoil in the earlier medieval period, and a review of the historical background is important in
attempting to determine the cultural background within which the site was founded and developed.

Capel Maelog lies within Maelienydd, which from the early 8th century was a constituent cantref of *Rhwng Gwy a Hafren* (‘between Wye and Severn’), the peripheral and southernmost division of the ancient Kingdom of Powys (Fig. 21). This territory incorporated the cantrefs and commotes that would later constitute Radnorshire, together with the cantref of Builth (Brecknock) and the commote of Ceri (Montgomeryshire). Little is known about this region between the late 3rd- or 4th-century refurbishment of the Roman fort at Castell Collen and the emergence of the native Kingdoms. In 721, when Mercia was ruled by Ethelbald, the Welsh defeated a Mercian force at Garth Maelog, which has been identified with a place of that name some 12 km NNE. of Capel Maelog, near Llanbister in Maelienydd. Despite this transitory success, however, Powys remained vulnerable to Mercian incursions, though at present the large rectilinear earthwork at Cwrt Llechrhyd is the only site which may be identified with these hostilities.

On the eve of the Norman Conquest *Rhwng Gwy a Hafren*, along with most of South Wales, had been incorporated within the dominions of Gruffydd ap Llywelyn of Gwynedd. But after his death in 1063 it had little time to recover from the hostilities between Gruffydd and Earl Harold, under its new ruler, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, before the Norman invaders appeared. Nevertheless, during the crucial periods when the church at Capel Maelog was constructed and rebuilt, the region witnessed a long and bitter struggle of continually alternating fortunes before Anglo-Norman control was finally assured by Edward I in the late 13th century.

The Normans generally utilized Welsh cantrefs and commotes as ‘units of penetration’, within which they assumed the regality of the indigenous rulers in creating their marcher lordships co-terminous with those ancient territories. In the case of Maelienydd, there is little doubt that Norman annexation was first achieved by Ralph Mortimer, between his acquisition of Wigmore (Herefordshire) in c. 1075 and his death in c. 1104. To Ralph is attributed the castle of *Dinyetha*, now identified with the castle-ringwork at Old Castle Farm, close to and presumed predecessor of the later Mortimer castle at Cefnllys, its name being equated with *Swydd Dinieithon*, the southern commote of Maelienydd. The duration of this early Norman ascendancy in Maelienydd is uncertain, but it presumably terminated in the general and largely successful Welsh uprising following the death of Henry I in 1135. It is certain that Madog ab Idnerth had established his rule over Elfael and Maelienydd before his death in 1140, founding dynasties which would contest for these cantrefs almost until the final Edwardian campaigns. Madog’s five sons were all destined to fall in battle with the Normans, three soon after their father’s death, and in 1144 the chronicler records that Hugh Mortimer conquered Maelienydd ‘a second time’.

The second Norman occupation under Hugh was short-lived. Before 1160 Madog’s son, Cadwallon, had recovered Maelienydd, which under him enjoyed a rare phase of comparative peace assured by the concord and mutual respect between Henry II and Cadwallon’s protector, the great Rhys ap Gruffydd of Deheubarth. Cadwallon refounded Abbey Cwmhir, and though he was treacherously murdered
by followers of Roger Mortimer in 1179, his sons Maelgwn and Hywel were able to retain possession of Maelienydd until 1195. In that year Roger Mortimer expelled the brothers and inaugurated the third Norman occupation of the territory.136

In 1215, Brut y Tywysogyon records a widespread and devastating campaign by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd against the bases of Norman power in Wales. Llywelyn’s successes included the restoration of Maelienydd to Cadwallon and Maredudd, the sons of Maelgwn ab Cadwallon, one of the brothers ejected in 1195.
With Llywelyn’s protection, these descendants of Madog ab Idnerth were able to retain their patrimony despite strong claims asserted by the Mortimers.

Maelienydd fell to the Mortimers for the fourth time in 1241, the year after death had claimed its protector, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth. Maredudd ap Maelgwn and his nephews were inadequately compensated by the grant of the commote of Ceri, while in 1242 Ralph Mortimer ‘strengthened’ an unnamed castle in Maelienydd, probably founding the first and northernmost stone castle on the hill at Cefnllys.\(^\text{137}\)

From 1256 Llywelyn ap Gruffydd of Gwynedd gradually asserted his authority over the Central Marches. Elfæl, Builth and Gwerthrynion had already submitted to him, when in 1262 he assumed control of Maelienydd after the destruction of Cefnllys Castle by the local community. The Treaty of Montgomery (1267) conceded the surrounding cantrefs to Llywelyn, but dealt ambiguously with Maelienydd; his possession was subject to his establishing a legal right to the territory, pending which Roger Mortimer was permitted to ‘repair’ Cefnllys Castle. Roger exceeded this concession, as Llywelyn complained to the King in 1273 or 1274, raising a new castle that was no doubt the southernmost stone castle on Castle Bank, Cefnllys.\(^\text{138}\) The Welsh War of 1277 finally enabled Roger Mortimer to establish a permanent hold on this long-disputed cantref, together with neighbouring Gwerthrynion, his position being greatly improved in 1279 with his acquisition of Ceri and Cydewain on their northern flank, and confirmed by the Statute of Rhuddlan in 1284.

Maelienydd was briefly taken from Roger Mortimer in 1322 for his part in the baronial uprising against Edward II, but restored to him in 1327. Owain Glyndŵr established effective control over Maelienydd in the period 1402 to 1407, though castles such as Cefnllys may have maintained isolated English garrisons. With the death of Edmund Mortimer, without issue, in 1424, Maelienydd and his other Marcher possessions passed to his nephew, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and in 1461 to the Crown in the person of Richard’s son, Edward IV. These lands remained with the Crown until the 19th century, Maelienydd falling within the hundred of Cefnllys from the Act of Union (1536).

The choice of the Welsh name associated with the church site might suggest a foundation date during a period of Welsh rule, and in view of the archaeological evidence this may perhaps have been before the annexation of Maelienydd by Ralph Mortimer in c. 1075, or under Madog ab Idnerth (c. 1136–40), or during the long period of unbroken Welsh rule under Cadwallon ap Madog (ob. 1179) and his sons (c. 1160–95). Despite its unparalleled form, it would seem preferable to attribute the second church at Capel Maelog to a period of Anglo-Norman rule. This might imply that its 13th century reconstruction was carried out under Ralph Mortimer or his successors, either during the period 1241 to 1262 or after the first defeat of Llywelyn ap Gryffydd in 1277.

**General Discussion**

The original name of the site is most likely to have taken the form *Llandyfaelon*, deriving from *llan* (church enclosure) and the personal name *Mael* with the suffix -on. Whilst it has been suggested that this is a corruption of *Maelog*, a supposed
6th-century Welsh saint, and a brother of Gildas, whose name is more commonly recorded in Wales, particularly in the south, it is equally possible that the form Maelon is genuine.

Other local place-names have similar roots. Maelienydd, the cantref in which Capel Maelog lies, contains the personal name Maelien (a derivative of Mael) with the territorial suffix -ydd. Other similar and reasonably local church dedications are Llandefaelog Fach, possibly St Mailig at Llowes, Llandefailog Tre’r-graig, and St Maelog’s at Llandefalle, also in the archdeaconry of Brecon. Mael also occurs as an element of place-names in Maelienydd, as in the second element of Nantmel (Mael’s brook), and certainly in the form with the suffix -og in Cae Faelog (Maelog’s field) and Garth Maelog (Maelog’s enclosure), both near Llanbister.

It is uncertain whether the site is likely to have been first named as a cemetery, or only once a church had been built. The dedication of the site suggests a date of foundation during a period of Welsh rule, but both new and existing churches were being dedicated to early saints during the reform of the Welsh ecclesiastical system in the 11th and 12th centuries, and the appellation based on a derivative of the name Mael need not by itself imply an earlier foundation.

There is little evidence of the earlier parochial boundaries in the area. Capel Maelog lies almost midway between Cefnllys church and Llandrindod Old Church, which are now incorporated within a single parish. Already, by 1399, Llandrindod and Capel Maelog formed a combined prebend, a union which probably explains the extinction of the latter.

The origins and development of the church and churchyard

The early enclosure beneath the eastern end of the church appears, on the basis of radiocarbon dating evidence, to have originated in the 4th century to early 5th century, though some sherds of Romano-British pottery are earlier. Its ditch subsequently underwent a long period of silting, as demonstrated by radiocarbon dates from the upper filling which fall within the 6th and 7th centuries (Fig. 22). There is also slight evidence for other activity at the site during this period towards the W. and N. of the early enclosure. Further evidence of activity, possibly of an agricultural or domestic nature, is associated with a series of gullies towards the western side of the site, for which radiocarbon dates of the 7th to 9th centuries have been obtained. These appear to pre-date the church enclosure bank, which on the basis of radiocarbon evidence was built in the 10th century or later. The gullies might conceivably represent drainage around domestic structures of which no other evidence has survived. Little is known about local settlement history in the region at this time, and given the uncertain function of the early enclosure and other features, it is difficult to place in a contemporary setting.

The first clear evidence of religious activity is provided by the small cemetery of at least 22 graves, probably approached by a path from the W., which at some stage clustered around an especially significant grave, edged with stone and capped with quartz pebbles (Fig. 4a). No other foci were identified within the early cemetery, but there is no archaeological evidence that this grave was a primary feature, even though this is strongly suggested by the distribution of the graves.
It is clear that the earlier enclosure ditch was still visible at this time. The arc of curving ditch (Fig. 4a) demonstrably pre-dated the E. apse of the second phase church. It was first assumed, from its siting, that this ditch also post-dated the early enclosure, and that it was either contemporary with the pre-church cemetery or with the first phase church. Radiocarbon dates from the ditch, however, fall within the 5th to mid 7th centuries, and indicate an association with the later phases of the early enclosure.

There is clear evidence of subdivision within the early cemetery, marked by a cross-ditch with a causeway in line with the focal grave, which suggests an element of social ranking or kinship grouping. There is little evidence for dividing ditches of this kind at other church sites in Britain, although a parallel might be drawn with the internal subdivisions known from the Early Christian cemetery at Reask, Co. Kerry (where a dividing wall with an entrance partitions off a burial area from one apparently devoted to secular activities), other sites on the western seaboard of Ireland, and the internal divisions known from some of the early Manx burial grounds which have been held to denote social divisions.

The focal grave, presumably that of either a clerical or lay dignitary, seems to fall within a tradition of specially-marked graves within both open and enclosed cemeteries from at least the 6th century, which sometimes, though not invariably, appear to have culminated in the construction of a church.

There is little evidence to pin-point the precise foundation and duration of the early cemetery. It was certainly in use after the early enclosure ditch had almost silted up, and therefore after about the 7th century, and would appear on the basis of radiocarbon dating evidence to have still been in use when the foundations of the first church were laid, probably in the later 12th to earlier 13th century. A coffin attributed to this phase has been dated to about the 10th century, but there is no evidence of the age of the timber from which the sample was taken, or of the chronological position of the grave in the early cemetery. The intercutting of graves and ditches suggests that it existed for some time, but a relatively short duration might be inferred from the small number of burials represented, even though there is some question of whether its full complement of graves is known. Yet again, it is possible that they represent an élite group (on the basis of the relatively high proportion of coffins present and the absence of obvious child burials), which consequently might take longer to assemble than in the case of a normal population. Indeed, it is evident from other sources that burial privileges certainly existed in Wales in the 11th century.

Assuming a longer chronology, it might be argued, for example, that the cemetery was first established at a date between the 9th to 11th centuries as an adjunct to a secular residence or estate which had been continuously maintained since the 7th to 9th centuries and earlier. This argument is not sustained by supporting evidence, however, and our limited knowledge of the form and development of early settlement and ecclesiastical sites in Wales neither confirms nor precludes such a possibility. Whatever its antecedents may have been, the early cemetery was still in use about the mid to the later 12th century, and may only have lasted in this form for a generation or so before the church was built.
Radiocarbon dates from Capel Maelog, calibrated to calendar years. The results are plotted at 1 sigma, which gives a 68% level of probability that the true age of the dated sample lies within the range shown.

Nos. 3, 12–13 are from the early enclosure ditch; nos. 6 and 9 are from the early curving ditch beneath the E. end of the church; no. 2 is from a pit pre-dating the W. apse; no. 7 is from a curving ditch pre-dating the enclosure bank; nos. 10–11 are from early gullies on W. side of the enclosure; no. 1 is from buried soil beneath the church enclosure bank; no. 4 is from a coffin attributed to the pre-church cemetery; no. 8 is from the charnel pit; nos. 5 and 14 are from the refilling of the early cross-ditch; no. 15 is from a late gully on the W. side of the enclosure (see also approximate locations shown on Fig. 3, and further details in Appendix 1).

Radiocarbon evidence suggests that the church enclosure was built at some time during or following the 10th century; it is uncertain whether it was built to enclose the early cemetery or to enclose the church, although the manner in which it is apparently bisected by the cross-ditch might favour the former. In shape, it appears to be related to that of circular churchyards of a type frequent in Wales and elsewhere, the open side on the E. presumably being dictated by the topography. Circular churchyards have been assumed to denote an early foundation, but examples which enclose Welsh churches that are known to have been newly created during the 12th century advise caution. 153

Once the church had been built the site becomes fully 'developed', in the sense outlined by Thomas,154 but the late date at which this transition took place is notable, and implies that other relatively 'undeveloped' cemeteries also survived in Wales until this period.

There is evidence of ploughing beneath the northern and southern sides of the enclosure bank, but nothing to suggest that this relates to contemporary land-divisions. The curvilinear form of the enclosure, like numerous other examples in
Wales, suggests that it is more likely to have been set up on open, unenclosed ground, rather than in a landscape already rigidly partitioned by linear field boundaries.

Transition from early cemetery to church

There is no evidence that the first stone church was preceded by one of timber construction, or by a timber mortuary chapel, and although these possibilities cannot be entirely ruled out, it seemed likely that some evidence would have survived.

However, it is notable that the various elements of the pre-church cemetery seem to be disposed in a pattern which is mirrored by the layout of the church. Determining factors appear to be the entrance through the cross-ditch and the focal grave with which it is aligned. Both would appear to have been still visible when the church was built.

Part of the special grave had been removed by the church foundations, but without disturbing the coffin it contained. At ground level, the new foundations seem to have been butted against the surviving edging stones with some care (Pl. IV, A). Had the church been sited slightly further to the W., the special grave would have been avoided altogether, as would the difficulty of laying foundations across the early enclosure ditch. Several hypotheses are possible: that space for an altar was left beyond the foot of the grave; that the head of the grave was deliberately sited beneath the chancel arch; that the entrance through the cross-ditch and its associated bank was consciously translated into the chancel opening. Certainly, the arrangement of the early cemetery, with its cross-ditch separating eastern and western groups of graves, appears to prefigure a boundary between laity and clergy, or indeed some other proprietary or liturgical distinction later represented by the division between nave and chancel.

Traces of both upper and lower planks of a coffin within the special grave, and the setting of quartz pebbles at its surface, suggest that the burial remained intact when the church was built. There appears to be no single explanation for the presence or absence of bone within graves at Capel Maelog. However, the absence of bone in this instance, by contrast with other later burials inside the church, might argue that this grave had previously either been sited in the open air, or was of considerably greater antiquity. Only a single grave of the early cemetery retained any substantial trace of an inhumation burial, this being one underlying the S. wall of the nave (Fig. 4a). Rather than being accidentally hidden, it may have been deliberately concealed beneath the entrance to the church, for example. The absence of bone in all but one other grave of the early cemetery may suggest that they were exhumed before the church was built; an association has been suggested with the possible charnel pit, immediately to the N. of the church, unless this resulted from hostilities or an unrecorded epidemic.

Building history of the medieval church

Radiocarbon dates of cal. A.D. 1001–1159 and A.D. 1193–1278 were obtained from contexts pre-dating the construction of the first phase church (no. 14, CAR–1081; no. 5, CAR–940, of which the later date is from a more reliable sample). Two
slightly worn halfpennies of Henry III, current between c. 1250 and 1279, came from above the floor of the second phase church. This clearly suggests that the first phase church was probably built in the late 12th or early 13th century, and that the second phase probably followed by the third quarter of the 13th century, after an unknown interval of time. In the absence of radiocarbon dating, both phases of construction might well have been placed a century or more earlier on stylistic grounds: apsidal chancels comparable to that of the second phase church had become popular in local churches in Britain by around the middle of the 11th century, but were rapidly going out of fashion by 1200, to be commonly replaced by square E. ends — the reverse of the sequence at Capel Maelog.

The church was small, and remained so throughout its history. It is notably smaller than surviving medieval churches in the neighbourhood, but smallness by itself may have had little significance in a Welsh parochial context at this period. The apsidal church at Llandaff, for example, which the first Norman bishop, Urban, chose to transform into his cathedral church following the reorganization of his diocese, was of a comparable size: it was only 28 ft. long and 15 ft. wide and 20 ft. high when he started rebuilding it in the summer of 1120.155

The first phase church probably had a single door on the south, an earth floor, a roof possibly of thatch or shingles, and unplastered clay-bonded walls built of ragstone from a local quarry. The division between nave and chancel was no doubt spanned by a chancel arch. There is little evidence for the internal arrangement of this simple primary church, and no certainty that burials were made within it. Their apparent absence, as well as the postulated exhumation of burials in the early cemetery, would have respected contemporary practice.156 Here, as elsewhere, the interior of the church may not have been used as a place of burial until at least the middle of the 13th century.157

The form of the second phase church appears to be unique in a British context. The few examples of western apses known in Britain are mostly confined to larger foundations of pre-Conquest date, such as the 7th to 8th century cathedral church at Canterbury, and the monastic church at Abingdon, which are known to have had both E. and W. apses.158 Excavations have shown that the late 9th-century priory church of St Oswalds, Gloucester, had a rectangular chancel and a W. apse.159 None of the major pre-Conquest churches of this form were still standing by the end of the 11th century, and none in any case are relevant to a remote provincial church like Capel Maelog. A more appropriate parallel is the small parish church of Norman date at St Giles, Langford, Essex;160 this originally had an E. apse, and is the only example in Britain which still retains a W. apse. Few E. apses are known on lesser churches in Wales, and there are no other known examples of western ones.161

Attention has been drawn, however, to the frequency of E. apses in the neighbouring medieval diocese of Hereford, about 35 km to the E., as well as to the sculptural enrichment of a group of mid 12th-century Herefordshire churches,162 attributed to the patronage of Hugh Mortimer.163 Some influence on church architecture in the Welsh territories held by the Mortimers is probably to be seen in the survival of an outlying example of the Herefordshire school of carving at Llanbadarn Fawr, 3 km to the NE. of Capel Maelog, where the ornate early
12th-century doorway of St Padarn's church has been reset in the fabric of the present Victorian church.\textsuperscript{164} The choice of style for the second phase church, rapidly going out of fashion in England at this time, may likewise have been influenced by the high proportion of churches of apsidal form evidently still standing in the neighbouring diocese.

Building materials of the second phase church were quarried from the Roman fort of Castell Collen, about 2 km away, on the far bank of the R. Ithon. Some of the robbed gateways are of a distinctive double-portal form, with semicircular flanking guard-rooms projecting beyond the line of the rampart face.\textsuperscript{165} Though marginally smaller than the apses at Capel Maelog, these again invite speculation, since they may have provided both raw materials and added inspiration for the unexpected architectural embellishment of the second phase church.

A possible local parallel for the re-use of Roman building materials may be represented at Llanbadarn Fawr, where a Roman centurial stone was found during the demolition of the medieval church in 1878.\textsuperscript{166} Although little of the medieval fabric survives, it seems probable that this church too may have been built of stone from Castell Collen.

The new walls, like the old, appear to have been bonded with clay, and remained unplastered. The significant quantities of Roman brick and tile from the robber trenches above the apse suggest that this material may have been used either for decorative string courses or for door or window surrounds.\textsuperscript{167} A new reddish floor was laid along the entire length of the church which incorporated crushed fragments of Roman brick and tile, which, though lacking mortar, may have approached the appearance of Roman \textit{opus signinum}.\textsuperscript{168} By the time the church was abandoned it had a stone roof, and at least some windows were glazed. A possible casting pit for a small bell may be represented in the nave of the church, and consequently the church may have had a roof-mounted bellcot at the junction with the W. apse — a distinctive feature of later churches of the eastern Borderland.\textsuperscript{169}

\textit{Liturgical arrangements and other activities within the church}

The addition of the apses during the second building phase had the effect of trebling the floor area of the chancel from about 7 sq. m to 21 sq. m, presumably to facilitate changes in liturgical practice. It is likely that both apses were added more or less simultaneously, and possibly both at the expense of the clergy.\textsuperscript{170} The position of the altar in the first phase church is unknown, but in the second phase it appears to have been free-standing, and set towards the E. end of the chancel. Other tangible evidence of contemporary liturgy is possibly represented by a lead plug found at the centre of the E. apse, and by the high proportion of jug fragments from the general area of the chancel.

Activities carried out during a relatively early period of the second phase church may have produced areas of burning and deposits of charcoal in the nave and chancel, associated with a pit sited towards the E. end of the nave. The pit, as mentioned above, may have been for casting a small bell, although it recalls the liturgical \textit{sacraaria} discussed by Parsons, intended for cleansing vessels used during the sacrament.\textsuperscript{171}
There is no positive evidence for a font within the nave, but it is possible that any trace of its former position became obscured when graves were inserted below the church floor. Parallels for the function of the W. apses in larger Continental churches, and for the siting of subsidiary altars or shrines, are clearly inappropriate at Capel Maelog. The apse was certainly partitioned off from the nave at a late period, and possibly used as a vestry. It may well have originally been intended as a baptistery, or even conceivably to house high-status burials at a date before the practice of making interments within the nave was permitted.

The numerous sherds of cooking pot from the nave, and in the areas immediately outside the southern door, together with other finds such as a lead chess-piece and bronze cauldron leg, seem to point to a variety of secular activities focused on the church.

**Demography and social structure**

Limited evidence suggests that the earlier burials contemporary with the medieval church were concentrated around the chancel, within an area roughly bounded on the W. by the recut early cross-ditch. At least some of the burials beyond these limits were contemporary with or later than the second phase church, and the remainder are not closely datable.

In the absence of a representative sample of skeletal remains, an analysis was made of grave lengths, to see whether this would show the approximate proportions of different age-groups represented, and whether there were significant variations in different parts of the cemetery (Fig. 9.4).

Only about 274 (54%) of the graves of all periods had measurable lengths, ranging from about 0.46 m to 2.40 m. These were subdivided into three groups: those less than 1.0 m (18%), those between 1.0 m–1.6 m (25%), and those over 1.6 m (57%), which, despite all the uncertainties inherent in this process, might broadly correspond with infants, juveniles and adults respectively. There appears to be little data with which this may be directly compared, but skeletal analysis at Llangar, Clwyd, for example, gives the population structure at death as 17% infants less than 2 years, 22% children less than 16 years, and 61% young adults. The close correspondence between these figures suggests that there is some validity in assuming that a normal population structure is represented at Capel Maelog, purely on the basis of grave lengths.

Whilst there is uncertainty about the total number of graves, there is possibly sufficient evidence to determine the order of magnitude of the community served by the church. On the assumption that the total original number of burials was 500, and that the cemetery in both its pre-church and later phases remained in use for a period of about 500 years (c. 1050 and c. 1550), an average of only about one burial per year is reached. (These dates presume a short chronology for the early cemetery, and an abandonment roughly coinciding with the last documentary references to the site.) Furthermore, assuming a uniform rate of mortality throughout this period of about 3% per annum, the average population size of the community would have been about 33 individuals. The absence of any increase in the size of the nave suggests either a stable population or one in decline: the floor area devoted to the laity
remained constant at about 30 sq. m throughout the medieval period, and of a size which might comfortably accommodate a congregation drawn from the estimated population.

The siting of a limited number of graves within the chancel, and in a position respecting the altar, suggests either the burials of clergy or an elite amongst the laity, but appears to be a distinction that was only made at a relatively advanced stage in the internal sequence within the second phase church. The preponderance of larger graves, and ones containing coffins or head-support stones, either within the church, or immediately outside the E. and S. sides of the chancel, suggest that these areas were favoured for adult burials, and possibly also for persons of rank, although there is nothing which suggests an overtly aristocratic element.

There is slender evidence of domestic activity for a time during the 13th to 14th centuries towards the NW. side of the enclosure which may represent a priest's house. A curving gully on the SW. side of the enclosure, dating to perhaps the 15th or 16th century, contained an appreciable amount of burnt clay and calcined bone; again, it may have been associated with domestic activity, and might even represent a shift of earlier activity of this kind from the NW. side of the enclosure.

Like many medieval churches and chapels in Wales, Capel Maelog is likely to have served a dispersed rural community;\textsuperscript{177} the church is unlikely to have formed part of a nucleated settlement at any stage during its history, but it may have provided a vital focus for secular as well as religious activities.

It is not possible to establish the precise status of the church or its relationship with centres of ecclesiastical or lay authority at any period during its history. The evidence of earlier activity between the late 4th and 10th centuries, and the proprietorial nature of the foundation of many churches in the 11th and 12th centuries\textsuperscript{178} hint that the church owes its origins to the existence of a secular estate of some antiquity. The period between its foundation and final abandonment, however, is one of such dynamic change in the political and ecclesiastical geography of the region that its status is unlikely to have remained unaltered throughout this time. By 1399 it formed a combined prebend with Llandrindod, to which it may have become subsidiary. Documentary evidence attests its survival until at least 1517, but its proximity to Llandrindod may partially explain its eventual abandonment within the 16th century, when the general decline of subsidiary chapels in Wales appears to have become commonplace.\textsuperscript{179}

\textbf{Acknowledgements}

The Trust is most grateful to Edwin Tully and the late Michael Rowlands for their permission and assistance throughout the project. Funding for excavation work was made available jointly by Cadw/Welsh Historic Monuments, and the Community Programme of the Manpower Services Commission (partly with the assistance of the Powys Jobs Agency); post-excavation work was funded by Cadw. Smaller contributions were made by Radnorshire District Council and the Welsh Psychiatric Association. Supervision was undertaken at various times by Dr C. J. Arnold, Kenneth S. Brassil, Jenny Britnell, Peter J. Dorling, Nigel W. Jones, Chris Musson, Glyn W. Owen, and thanks are also due to all those who took part in the excavations. Other assistance was given by Mr and Mrs R. E. Stumbles
of ‘Maelog’, and John Forrester-Addie and Harry Jones of the Planning Department, Powys County Council. Thanks must also be given to Geraint Hughes and members of his congregation for their enthusiastic encouragement during the course of several wet summers. Conservation of finds was undertaken by Kate Hunter, of the Conservation Laboratory, School of History and Archaeology, University of Wales College of Cardiff. Radiocarbon dating was undertaken by Dr P. Quentin Dresser of the Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory, Department of Plant Science, University of Wales College of Cardiff. Specialist reports and advice during post-exavagation work have been given by Dr Denise Allen, Kevin Blockley, Mike Bowmer, Kenneth Brassil, Astrid Caseldine, Dr Paul Courtney, David R. M. Gaimster, Dr H. Stephen Green, Gillian Jones, John Lewis, Graham Morgan, Dr Stuart Needham, Tomos Roberts, James Thorburn, and Peter Webster. Finds drawings for this publication have been carried out by Brian Williams, who also gave assistance with some of the plans. Considerable help with the preparation of this report and the research archive was given by Nigel W. Jones. Finally, I must give sincere thanks for the helpful comments on this report from Chris Arnold, Philip Barker, David Hinton, Lawrence Butler, Richard K. Morris, Chris Musson, Jack Spurgeon and Sian Rees, although individually they may not fully subscribe to the excavator’s interpretation of each and every element of the site.

APPENDIX 1
SUMMARY OF RADIOCARBON DATING
The approximate location of dated samples is shown on Fig. 3; see fuller details of provenance and identification of samples in Research Archive, Section 2.13. Calibrations of dates to calendar years quoted at a 1 sigma level of probability (68%) are derived from the University of Washington, Radiocarbon Calibration Program Rev. 2, based on data published in Stuiver and Becker.180

1 CAR-936: 1100 ± 60 B.P. = ad 850 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 885-906; from dense charcoal scatter towards base of buried soil (4) beneath church enclosure bank (779).
2 CAR-937: 1570 ± 70 B.P. = ad 380 ± 70 ad = cal. A.D.410-580; from dense charcoaly layer within pit (244) pre-dating W. apse of second phase church.
3 CAR-938: 1220 ± 60 B.P. = ad 730 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 689-887; dense charcoaly layer (247) within secondary filling of early enclosure ditch (244) pre-dating first phase church.
4 CAR-939: 1080 ± 60 B.P. = ad 870 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 891-1016; part of side of coffin (478) within grave thought to belong to pre-church cemetery.
5 CAR-940: 790 ± 60 B.P. = ad 1160 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 1193-1278; charcoal within deliberate refilling (513) of cross-ditch (563) immediately pre-dating the first phase church.
6 CAR-942: 1420 ± 60 B.P. = ad 530 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 576-658; charcoal within secondary filling (471) of the curving ditch (473) pre-dating E. apse of second phase church.
7 CAR-1074: 1530 ± 60 B.P. = ad 420 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 429-599; charcoal filling of curving gully (299) on line of NE. arm of church enclosure bank and presumably pre-dating it (stratigraphical relationship not observed).
8 CAR-1075: 1080 ± 60 B.P. = ad 870 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 891-1016; charcoal within deliberate fill (557) of large ?charnel pit (555) to the N. of the church.
9 CAR-1076: 1540 ± 60 B.P. = ad 410 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 427-596; charcoal within secondary filling (471) of curving ditch (473) pre-dating E. apse of second phase church.
10 CAR-1077: 1330 ± 60 B.P. = ad 620 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 644-768; charcoal scattered within filling of shallow gully (1006) towards W. side of church enclosure.
11 CAR-1078: 1220 ± 60 B.P. = ad 730 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 689-887; charcoal scattered within filling of shallow gully (1006) towards W. side of church enclosure.
12 CAR-1079: 1450 ± 60 B.P. = ad 500 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 543-645; charcoal concentration within secondary filling (1148) of early enclosure ditch (424) pre-dating first phase church.
13 CAR-1080: 1600 ± 60 B.P. = ad 350 ± 60 = cal. A.D. 392-538; charcoal scatter within primary filling (1152, 1164 in two adjacent sections) of early enclosure ditch (424) pre-dating first phase church.
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14 CAR-1081: 950 ± 60 B.P. = AD 1000 ± 60 = cal. AD. 1001-1159; wood within deliberate refilling (964) of cross-ditch (563) immediately pre-dating the first phase church.

15 CAR-1188: 410 ± 60 B.P. = AD 1540 ± 60 = cal. AD. 1431-1610; charcoal scatter within filling of shallow gully (978) towards W. side of church enclosure and probably partially cut through enclosure bank.

16 CAR-1187: modern result; sample from charcoal deposit (217) within second phase chancel. This anomalous result from stratified medieval deposits is unexplained. A second sample from the context has been submitted for re-counting, and will be reported upon in Radiocarbon and Archaeology in Wales (C.B.A. Group 2) in due course.

APPENDIX 2

CONTENTS OF RESEARCH ARCHIVE

This report is prepared in conjunction with a more detailed supplementary report, as follows: 181

1 Context archive and analysis
   1.1 The context recording system
   1.2 Context catalogue
   1.3 Reordered context catalogue
   1.4 Index to context types
   1.5 Index of key-words used in context descriptions

2 Finds archive catalogues
   2.1 The finds recording system
   2.2 General finds catalogue
   2.3 Pottery analysis, prepared with assistance from Dr P. Courtney
   2.4 Ironwork catalogue, prepared with assistance from Dr P. Courtney
   2.5 Copper alloy and silver coins, prepared with assistance from Dr P. Courtney
   2.6 Lead catalogue, prepared with assistance from Dr P. Courtney
   2.7 Roman brick and tile, by N. W. Jones
   2.8 Stone roofing tile, by N. W. Jones
   2.9 Flintwork, prepared with assistance from Dr H. S. Green
   2.10 Glass, prepared with assistance from Dr D. Allen
   2.11 Stone artefacts, by N. W. Jones
   2.12 Human and animal bone remains (non analytical)
   2.13 Radiocarbon dating, prepared with assistance from Dr P. Q. Dresser
   2.14 Wood and charcoal, prepared with assistance from Mr G. C. Morgan
   2.15 Metalworking residues, prepared with assistance from Mr J. Thorburn
   2.16 The charred plant remains from Capel Maelog, by Dr A. E. Caseldine
   2.17 Other samples

3 Research archive drawings
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   3.2 Stone areas. 1:100
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   3.6 Church phase plans. 1:50
   3.7 Finds distributions. 1:100

4 Catalogue of site archive

The Society acknowledges with gratitude a publication grant for this paper received from Cadw/Welsh Historic Monuments
NOTES

1 The Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, 7a Church Street, Welshpool, Powys, SY21 7DL.
2 Additional contributions by Dr Denise Allen, Michael Bowmer, Astrid E. Caseldine, Dr H. Stephen Green, Graham C. Morgan and James Thorburn are to be found in the Research Archive; see details in Appendix 2.
4 The work was carried out by the Powys Jobs MSC Agency, with financial assistance from Radnor District Council, under the supervision of Mr John Forrester-Addie of the Department of Architecture and Planning of Powys County Council.
6 Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctitate Papae Nicholai IV (Record Commission, 1802), 274b.
7 Both churches are referred to jointly as ecclesia; together, or singly, they are amongst the poorest parishes in the Archdeaconry of Brecon.
8 I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Tomos Roberts, Department of Manuscripts, The Library, University College of North Wales, Bangor, in the interpretation of the name.
9 The name Maelon is mentioned several times in the Iolo MSS (The Welsh Manuscripts Society, Llandover, 1848, p. 137), once in the form Maelon (as one of the sons of Caw) suggesting that it is probably a miscopying of Maelog (see S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher, The Lives of the British Saints (1911), vol. 3, The Cymrodorion Society, 401, fn 3; J. Fisher, ‘A Note’, Archael. Cambrensis 17 (1917), 404–05). Whilst the reliability of Iolo Morgannwg is often suspect, one reference in the Iolo MSS (p. 84; see also Baring-Gould and Fisher, op. cit., p. 388) is said to have been copied from a manuscript book of Huw Huws of Anglesey, which may lend greater credence to the existence of the form.
10 Cf. E. Anwy, ‘Notes on some Radnorshire Place-names’, Archael. Cambrensis 11 (1911), 158.
11 R. F. Isaacson, The Episcopal Registers of the Diocese of St David’s (1397 to 1518) (Cymrodorion Society Record Series No. 6, 1917), 112–13, 152–53).
13 Valor Ecclesiasticus, iv (1821), 406.
15 According to R. C. B. Oliver, The Centenary of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Llandrindod Wells (Llandrindod Wells, 1971), p. 2, this farm has been known more recently as Glan Bongam and Llwyn Bongam, and now as Llwyn-bongam, SO 07556150.
16 SO 06986152; Oliver 1971, op. cit., 15.
18 The discoveries had taken place before 1811, since N. Carlisle’s, A Topographical Dictionary of The Church of Wales (1811), unpaginated) mentions the foundations of ‘Llan Faelon’ having been ‘lately dug up’.
19 Morris, op. cit. in note 5, 399–400.
20 See J. D. K. Lloyd, ‘A note on some cobbled gravestones formerly in Llanidloes churchyard, Montgomeryshire’, Archael. Cambrensis 100 (1949), 281–82, Ps. II–III. Similar graves have recently been identified within the churchyard at Llandinam, and in the case of probably 18th century and earlier graves at Pennant Melangell, both in Montgomeryshire, in northern Powys. Two early graves at Capel Maelog discussed in the text were found to have diffuse settings of quartz pebbles at their surface, but it seems more probable that the ‘pitchings’ referred to were areas of cobbling, perhaps just to the S. of the church.
22 See Tomos Roberts, ‘Ecclesiastical place-names and Archaeology’, proceedings of conference The Early Church in Wales and the West held at University of Wales College of Cardiff, April 1989 (forthcoming).
23 Morris, op. cit. in note 5, 398–401.
24 Morris records the folklore about a boulder in this field, which is said to go ‘to the brook to drink every time it appears that the eastern slope here may have been artificially steepened and quarried away when Cefnlys Lane was culverted where it crossed the brook: see Introduction.
25 Morris introduces some errors in equating field numbers on the 1904 edition of the 25-in. Ordnance Survey and those in the Tithe Award Schedule.
27 Identifications by Dr H. S. Green, Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. See Research Archive, Section 2.9.
28 See distribution in Research Archive, Section 3.7.
29 It appears that the eastern slope here may have been artificially steepened and quarried away when Cefnlys Lane was culverted where it crossed the brook: see Introduction.
30 Some of the medieval graves just inside the line of the enclosure ditch were noticeably shallower, suggesting that they had been dug through the remnants of an internal bank: see description of cemetery below.
31 Research Archive, Section 2.7.
32 Research Archive, Section 2.10.
33 Report by Astrid E. Caseldine in Research Archive, Section 2.16.
34 Research Archive, Section 2.16.
35 Contexts 31, 32, 620.
36 Only after 1600 were priests buried with their heads to the E. (see P. Rahtz, ‘Grave orientations’, Archael. J., 135 (1978), 4–5.)
The extreme selectivity of preservation of human remains from the site made it difficult to justify detailed analysis of the human remains, except in the case of the skeleton remains in grave 787. See report by J. Thorburn in Research Archive, Section 2.15.

Faint traces of lime mortar found adhering to some of the Roman masonry re-used in the second building phase were of Roman date; one small fragment in robbing above the eastern apse may have derived from Roman building material, as may two small fragments from floors of the medieval church, which also included Roman brick and tile (see Research Archive, Section 2.7).

The nearest dolerite, which only occurs as localized outcrops in the region, is at SO 064615; see J. Pringle and T. N. George, British Regional Geology: South Wales (H.M.S.O., 1948), 41-42.


See identifications by G. Jones in Research Archive, Section 2.12.

See report by J. Thorburn in Research Archive, Section 2.15.

Charcoal (914) recorded on site as probably representing a single stick 480 mm long and 70 mm wide, and subsequently identified as hazel, representing about 20 years' growth; see Research Archive, Section 2.14.

Timber at least 80 mm in diameter representing more than 20 years' growth was found in the site area. See index of head support stones in Research Archive, Section 1.5.

See research on skeleton by M. Bowmer in Research Archive, Section 2.12.

Faint traces of lime mortar found adhering to some of the Roman masonry re-used in the second building phase were of Roman date; one small fragment in robbing above the eastern apse may have derived from Roman building material, as may two small fragments from floors of the medieval church, which also included Roman brick and tile (see Research Archive, Section 2.7).


Contexts 475, 498, 530, 830, 831, 911.

Fuller details of the assemblage are presented in the Research Archive, Section 2.7.


Research Archive, Section 2.8.

Research Archive, Section 2.4.


Contexts 853, 854, 862, 898, 899, 900.

See Research Archive, Section 2.17.

See fuller details in Research Archive, Section 2.14.


See index of inhumations in Research Archive, Section 1.5, drawings in Section 3.5, and catalogue of collected samples in Section 2.12. The extreme selectivity of preservation of human remains from the site made it difficult to justify detailed analysis of the human remains, except in the case of the skeleton remains in grave 222 which proved too slight for radiocarbon dating (see report on skeleton by M. Bowmer in Research Archive, Section 2.12).

See index of coffins in Research Archive, Section 1.5.

See identifications by Mr G. C. Morgan in Research Archive, Section 2.14.

Graves 490, 570, 771, 787.


See ironwork report below.

See index of head support stones in Research Archive, Section 1.5.

Rodwell, op. cit. in note 63, 301.

Rodwell, op. cit. in note 63, 301.

Shoesmith, op. cit. in note 58, 11.

Shoesmith, op. cit. in note 63, 301.

Shoesmith, op. cit. in note 58, 11.

Context 1019, see plan in Research Archive, Section 3.5. There is no clear dating evidence for the grave, but it is one of a number of graves, just to the S. of the chancel, whose orientation might be deflected so as to be tangential with the apse of the second phase church.

Context 397.

Research Archive, Section 3.5.

Cf. Rahtz, op. cit. in note 36, 11.

Cf. similar instances at Barton-upon-Humber (Rodwell, op. cit. in note 63, 302), and at Rivenhall (Rodwell 1966, op. cit. in note 49, 93).

Shoesmith, op. cit. in note 58, 52.


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106 Ibid., no. 77.

107 Parsons, op. cit. in note 113, 115.

108 Cf. the more specialized vessels noted in J. M. Lewis, 'Medieval church cruets in pottery', Medieval Archaeol., 12 (1968), 147-49.

109 Le Patourel, op. cit. in note 100, 159.


111 See distribution in Research Archive, Section 3.7.

112 See table in Research Archive, Section 2.4.

113 Contexts 293, 410 and 1125.

114 Context 1199.


116 Ibid., 82-85.

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125 Cf. fig. on vessel illustrated in J. A. Gilks, A Fifteenth-Century Skillet from near Pateley Bridge, Yorks Archaeol. J. 51 (1979), 147–50. Thanks are due to Dr Stuart Needham (The British Museum) and John M. Lewis (National Museum of Wales) for their comments.
126 F. Bond, Medieval Fonts and Font Covers (1905), 1–21 and 94–95.
127 Information from K. Hunter.
128 B. Knight, unpublished notes for H.B.M.C. (1984); see also D. J. King, 'The window glass and lead' in A. Rogerson, S. J. Ashley, P. Williams, and A. Harris, Three Norman Churches in Norfolk (East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 32, 1987), fig. 35.
129 Comparable pieces in lead-alloy appear to be unknown, although cf. late 12th-century chalcedony gaming pieces, from Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk in J. D. Coad and A. D. F. Streeten, 'Excavations at Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk, 1972–77', Archaeol. J. 139 (1982), fig. 51, 25–27. Thanks are due to David R. M. Gaimster and John Cherry (Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, The British Museum) for their comments on this piece.
131 Nash-Williams, op. cit. in note 48, 74–77, which also reports evidence of some activity in the vicinity of the bath-house outside the fort in the mid 4th century.
138 Brown, op. cit. in note 10, 165–66; E. Owen, Catalogue of MS Relating to Wales in the British Museum, 2 (1903), 504, a note; Brycheiniog (Brecon) is similarly named after St Brychan, while Eifionydd and Meirionydd (Merioneth), respectively derived from sons of Cunedda, are closer parallels in terms of name formation.
139 Baring-Gould and Fisher, op. cit. in note 9, 401–06; see also note by Fisher in Morris, op. cit. in note 5, 394–06, and dedications to members of the Gildas family in E. G. Bowen, Saints, Seaways and Settlements in Celtic Lands (1969), Univ. Wales Press, 172–73.
140 Anwyl, op. cit. in note 10, 165–66; E. Owen, Catalogue of MS Relating to Wales in the British Museum, 2 (1903), 504, a note; Brycheiniog (Brecon) is similarly named after St Brychan, while Elfionydd and Meirionydd (Merioneth), districts in Gwynedd, reputedly derived from sons of Cunedda, are closer parallels in terms of name formation.
141 A. W. Wade-Evans, Parochiale Wallieitanum, i, Y Camrawdd 22 (1910), 36, 39, 44.
142 For Cae Faelog see Wade-Evans op. cit.; for Nantmel see Anwyl, op. cit. in note 10, 168; for Garth Maelog, the location of the Welsh victory over the Mercians in 721, see references in note 130.
144 The foundation date of St Michael's church at Cefnllys is unknown. It contains fittings of 14th- to 15th-century date, but it may originate from at least the late 13th century when the borough was in existence (see note 26).
145 Cf. use of quartz pebbles at St Patrick's and St Justinian's, both near St Davids, Pembrokeshire (A. E. Brown, 'The Castle, Borough and Park of Cefnllys', Trans. Radnorshire Soc. 42 (1972), 12; D. J. C. King, Castellarium Anglicanum ii (1983), 406, 412. The castle ringwork and Cefnllys are respectively 3 km NE. and 2 km E. of Capel Maelog.
146 A possible parallel from Wales might be represented by a ditch possibly underlying the fabric of the 12th-century nave of the church at Pennant Malangell (see note 145).
150 W. Davies, Wales in the Early Middle Ages (Leicester, 1982), 187.
152 Cf. similar problems of interpretation at Caer, Bayvil (H. James, 'Excavations at Caer, Bayvil, 1979', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 136 (1987), 64.  
153 Morris, op. cit. in note 110, 58: the foundation of Llanfihangel-y-Traethau (Gwynedd) is based upon an inscribed stone, the founder of Bettws Gwerful Goch (Gwynedd) is an historic figure, and at Llanfair Treligen (Dyfed) the Latin dedication and castle site suggest a newcomer in an established pattern of Celtic dedications (Lawrence Butler pers. comm.).  
154 Thomas, op. cit. in note 149, 51.  
157 Cf. St Oswald's, Gloucester, where no burials were made inside the church before A.D. 1230 (Heighway, op. cit. in note 77, 116), and Barton-upon-Humber, where the incidence of indoor burial is said to be low before the 13th century (Rodwell, op. cit. in note 63, 303).  
161 Butler, op. cit. in note 155, 385.  
166 The visible squared masonry is of dolerite rather than the 'local limestone' mentioned.  
168 For examples of the medieval re-use of Roman building materials in the Vale of Glamorgan see note by H. J. Hughes in *Morgannwg* 27 (1983), 73; Roman tiles were also extensively used in the c. 1170 keep at Chepstow (Mon.), and to a lesser extent in the early 12th-century keep at Kenfig (Glam.) (C. J. Spurgeon pers. comm.).  
170 Both apses were built of materials from a similar source, and on the assumption that the clergy were responsible for the maintenance of the chancel, they too, rather than the laity, may have undertaken the reconstruction of the W. end of the church: cf. D. Owen, 'Documentary Sources for the building history of churches in the middle ages', in P. V. Addyman and R. K. Morris (eds.), *The archaeological study of churches* (C.B.A. Research Report No. 13, 1976), 24.  
171 Parsons, op. cit. in note 57.  
172 Parsons, op. cit. in note 156, 312-15.  
175 Cf. Morris, op. cit. in note 110, 77.  
176 Davies, op. cit. in note 150, 88.  
177 Davies, op. cit. in note 150, 88.  
180 For details about availability contact The Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust.