The ceramic evidence for economic life and networks from 12th- to 17th century settlement sites in South Glamorgan

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Summary

Using well stratified ceramic assemblages from eight settlements across South Glamorgan this thesis places archaeology at the centre of interpretations of medieval and early post-medieval economic networks in this area. Comparative analysis and the contextualisation of the material have enabled archaeological evidence to develop new ways of understanding and interpreting the region during the 12th to the 17th centuries.

Chapter 3 re-evaluates previous studies of the local ceramics, Vale Ware, and conducts further petrographic analysis on sherds from excavations at Llandaff Cathedral School, Cosmeston and Kenfig.

Chapters 4 and 5 are detailed studies of the medieval and early post-medieval ceramic assemblage from Cosmeston. They discuss the contextual significance of the ceramics from the manor and its associated settlement and the changes that affected the manorial estate over 500 years.

Chapter 6 focuses on assemblages from the small town, Cowbridge. This chapter develops ideas concerning the role of markets and fairs as central trading places in South Glamorgan.

Chapter 7 looks at six comparative case studies: rural settlements at Barry, Sully and Rumney, the towns of Cardiff and Kenfig and the ecclesiastical centre at Llantwit Major. By comparing the assemblages from these sites to both Cosmeston and Cowbridge,

interpretations are further developed on the role settlements had within the local and wider regional economic networks. The results emphasise the importance of the Bristol Channel to the movement of goods and people in South Glamorgan.

Assessing and analysing the ceramic assemblages in their full archaeological context has enabled a better understanding of medieval and early post-medieval South Glamorgan than has previously been achieved. The results challenge traditional historical interpretations of settlement and identify distinct regional trading patterns that rely on the Bristol Channel to connect South Glamorgan to local, regional and European economic networks.

Acknowledgments

Keep working - you have the rest of your life for having holidays (Paul Courtney pers comm. 06.03.12)

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Chapter 1: Medieval and Post-Medieval Pottery in Wales: Fabric and Contextual Analyses

There is a long tradition of research into medieval and post-medieval pottery in Wales. During the early development of ceramic studies a number of Welsh assemblages were used as key evidence to emphasise the use and importance of ceramic material: *Kidwelly Castle, Carmarthenshire; including a Survey of the Pottery found there and elsewhere in Britain* (Fox and Radford 1933) and *White Castle and the Dating of Medieval Pottery* (Hurst 1961). Analysis of these assemblages contributed to the development of the use of pottery as a dating tool. The identification of regional medieval ceramic industries and imported ceramics was also an area to which the Welsh assemblages contributed. The notion of regional potteries has influenced the way in which pottery is still identified and analysed today. Papazian and Campbell's research on the Welsh medieval ceramic fabric series, *Medieval Pottery and Roof Tile in Wales AD 1100 – 1600* (1992) as well as the regional studies, *The Rural Landscape of Eastern and Lower Gwent c.A.D.1070-1750* (Courtney 1983), *The Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Severn Valley* (Vince 1987) and *Mapping the Composition and Distribution of Medieval Pottery in South East Wales* (Anthony 2004) have all contributed to the identification of and knowledge about medieval and post-medieval fabrics found in Wales.

Whilst ceramic research has continued at apace in some regions, more recently in South Glamorgan there has been comparatively little new work. This is very different to the situation in 1979 – 1992 when the *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* group was meeting regularly and publishing research annually. Despite the increase in material available for analysis from developer-funded archaeological excavations, little recent research has been conducted to take advantage of this. There are, however, a number of excavated sites which have received attention: the work at the Grey Friars site in Carmarthen was fully published as a grey literature report (James 1995) and limited work has been conducted on the assemblages from excavations in Swansea (Freeman 2006; Courtney 2010). However, this material has not been published beyond the developer-funded reports and is not widely known or referred to.

This thesis brings together ceramic evidence from over seventy years of excavation in South Glamorgan, re-visiting the fabric analysis of Vale Ware, the locally produced medieval pottery in South Glamorgan, as well as placing assemblages into context, something that has not previously been done in the analysis of pottery in this area. Whilst fabric identification is a major element of the work and will be discussed in full, placing the assemblages into their settlement context is also considered to be essential. This approach has been applied to other assemblages: for example from Southampton (Brown 2002; Jervis 2008), Exeter (Allan 1984) and Wessex (Gutiérrez 2000).

In order to begin addressing the issue of the ceramic evidence for economic networks apparent in South Wales, contextualising the assemblages is necessary. Context not only with a matter of concerns a site's stratification and phasing but also of the way in which settlements are defined. Ceramic material and settlement identification are directly related but rarely discussed in association with each other. In order to enable

focused analysis the ceramic assemblages will be discussed within their site as well as their settlement contexts. As a result, interpretation of the ceramic assemblages will enable a greater understanding of the economic roles settlements played both locally and regionally.

This chapter will introduce the range of fabrics typically found in South Glamorgan and discuss the way in which different settlement types have been interpreted in the past. Medieval and early post-medieval settlement in South Glamorgan has been discussed at length with regards to identifying typologies of settlement (Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments In Wales 1976, 1982, 1991, 2000; Phillips 2006; Soulsby 1983). Although a complete revision of that work will not be attempted here, discussion and critical analysis of settlement typology will be carried out, as misconstrued ideas of the role and identity of settlements directly affect the interpretation and analysis of the ceramic assemblages.

There are a number of key assemblages which have directed and developed the study of ceramics from sites in South Glamorgan. There are also non-local ceramic assemblages central to understanding the development of ceramic use and the networks within which pottery was traded. In the 12th century, ceramic assemblages from sites in South Glamorgan are dominated by vessels produced and traded from the southern side of the Bristol Channel, in particular ceramic vessels produced in Bristol, Somerset and North Devon.

The reliance on non-local ceramics in South Glamorgan in the 12th century is due to regional patterns of pottery production and consumption recognisable from the 4th century AD onwards. Post-Roman and Early Medieval sites in South Glamorgan are not

well represented in the archaeological record. Typically ceramic material is relied on as an identifier for settlement of a particular date and the largely aceramic post-Roman and Early Medieval periods in Wales are therefore hard to recognise. There are a few sites, Dinas Powys (Alcock 1963), Llandough (Holbrook and Thomas 2005) and Longbury Bank (Campbell and Lane 1993), where imported Mediterranean and Continental ceramics of 5th- to 7th-century date are present in low numbers (Campbell 2007). However, there is no evidence for locally produced pottery, although there are moulds and crucibles from Dinas Powys (Campbell 2007). This pattern of use appears to continue up until the Norman Conquest in the final decade of the 11th century (Crouch 2010), at which point ceramic material starts to appear in the archaeological record in association with new settlers to the area and consequent changes in household behaviours and practice.

By the 13th century, the majority of the ceramics used in South Glamorgan were produced locally and this pattern of local production and consumption continued until the 15th century. The reliance on local pottery changed in the post-medieval period when it is apparent that local production ends and a reversion to a reliance on importing ceramics from Somerset and Devon continues until at least the mid-17th century.

Although a list of fabrics found in Wales was revised in 1992 (Papazian and Campbell), more recent studies have clarified and defined an additional number of fabrics which dominate South Glamorgan assemblages not identified in the 1992 work. Some fabrics will be further discussed here in detail but Appendix 1 contains a full list of the fabrics identified in the assemblages for this thesis and includes the fabric codes (CFS00) which are used throughout in combination with the full fabric name. The terminology used

here to describe vessel forms follows the guidelines set by the Medieval Pottery

Research Group (1998).
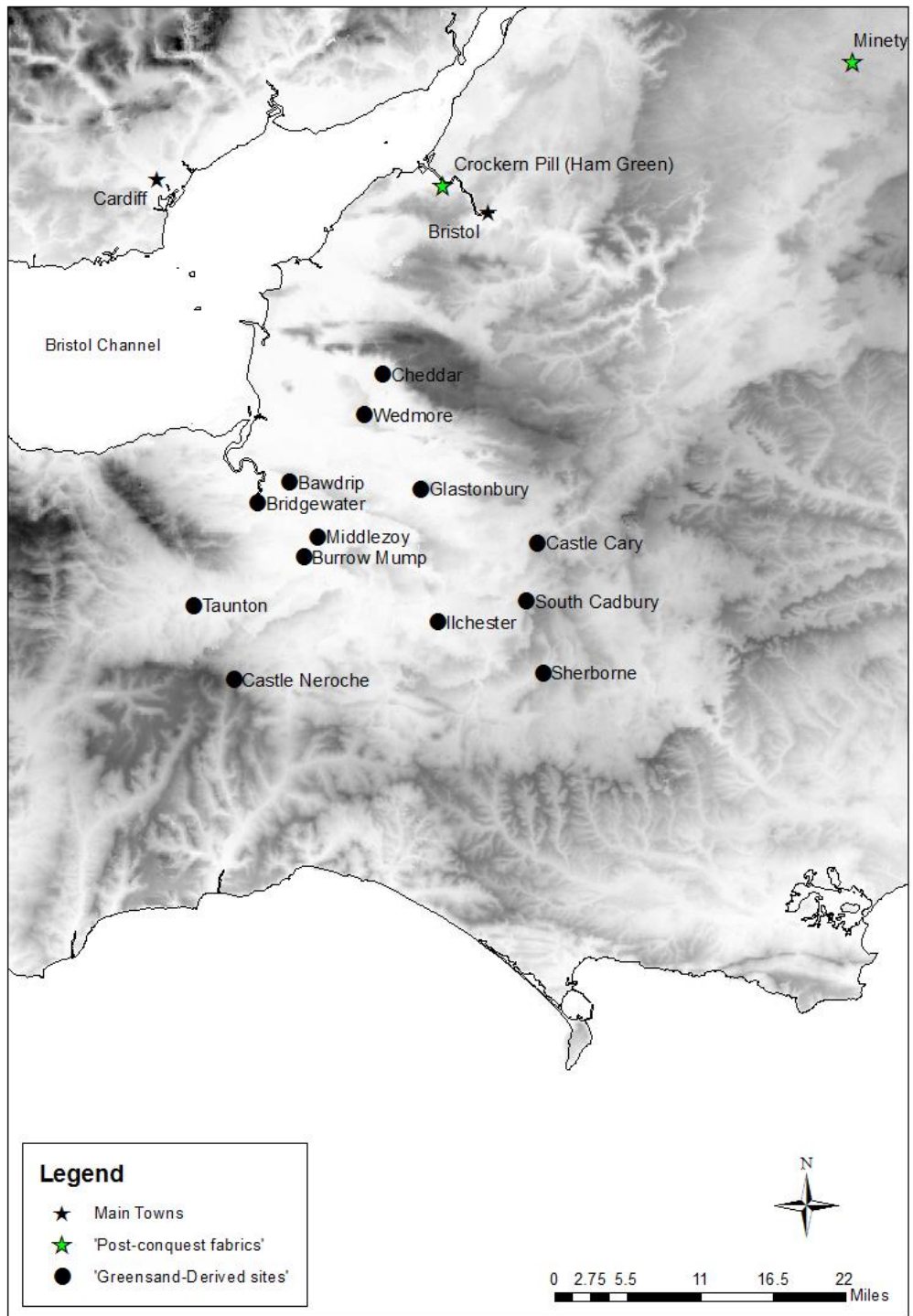
Figure 1.1 Map showing early post-Conquest sources of pottery including sites from which Greensand-Derived sherds have been recently analysed

1. Medieval Ceramics

1.1 Early post-Conquest fabrics

Due to the absence of a ceramic tradition in South Glamorgan in the 5th to early 12th centuries, the earliest post-Conquest vessels are non-local (Figure 1.1). There are three main fabric types which appear on early sites: Greensand Derived (Allan et al 2011), Minety Ware (Vince 1991) and Ham Green (Barton 1969; Vince 1988; and Ponsford 1991 and 1998).

1.1.1 Upper Greensand-Derived Wares (CFS08) – Blackdown Hills, Somerset and Devon

Upper Greensand-Derived wares are a group of fabrics common to the Blackdown Hills in Somerset and East Devon. Sherds from various sites across Somerset, which were identified as part of this group, recently received detailed study with hand identification, petrography and ICP analyses, in order better to define the fabrics (Allan et al 2011, 166). Greensand-Derived wares are dated from the late 10th to early 14th centuries and are an example of a fabric type that, although not all produced in the same kiln or production site, are given the same name as they represent a regional potting tradition. Local geology identifies them as such, and they share similar forms and production methods. Prior to the 2011 study, the Greensand-Derived fabrics were assigned a variety of names associated with the sites where they were found: Ilchester, Cheddar, and Glastonbury to name the most prominent.

Greensand-Derived vessels are distinct not only with regards to fabric but also their forms. The majority of the vessels are jars, but you do find jugs, wide bowls, lids, lamps

and spouted vessels and they are hand-made rather than wheel-thrown (Allan et al 2011, 169). The rims are described as Saxo-Norman rims, influenced by the Normans and replicated in the local ceramics. Many of the squared rims have a scored line in the centre of the rim running round the circumference. This is a particularly distinct feature and likely to be associated with production techniques. As well as the squared rims, there are also wide, rounded, outflaring rims, characteristic of post-Conquest vessels.

The significance for South Glamorgan of this regional pottery tradition in Somerset is that in the absence of a local pottery production tradition, vessels were imported across the Bristol Channel. The presence of the fabric is an indicator of early post-Conquest settlement. A good example of this is at the early moated site at Llantrithyd (Charlton et al 1977) which has the largest collection of excavated early post-Conquest ceramics from the Vale of Glamorgan. The post-excavation analysis of the ceramics identified a number of similarities between the sherds from Llantrithyd and those from Penmaen, Bleckley, and Cheddar. The early date assigned to the assemblage was also supported by an associated 12th-century coin hoard. The general lack of pottery dating to before the 12th century in South Glamorgan, despite the Somerset kilns producing vessels in the 10th century (Gutiérrez 2007, 602), emphasises the introduction of ceramic vessels to the region after the Conquest.

Sherds from Greensand-Derived vessels have been retrieved from a number of other sites in South Glamorgan, including Cosmeston, Kenfig, Llantwit Major and Cardiff and are discussed further in Chapters 4 and 6. Papazian and Campbell (1992) did not identify this group of early wares as a distinctive Somerset fabric. Instead a limestone-tempered fabric is included in the list as an early, locally produced fabric from South Glamorgan. This fabric should be defined as a Greensand-Derived ware rather than a

local product. Therefore, as a consequence of the recent work on the Greensand-Derived wares (Allan et al 2011), the material from Wales, exemplified by the fabrics in the Llantrithyd assemblage, can be paralleled with that from sites in Somerset as indicative of the trade between the two areas in the 12th century.
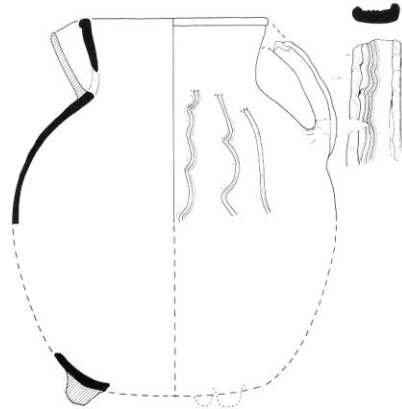
Minety Ware jug from excavations at Dundas Wharf, Bristol (Ponsford 1991, 86)
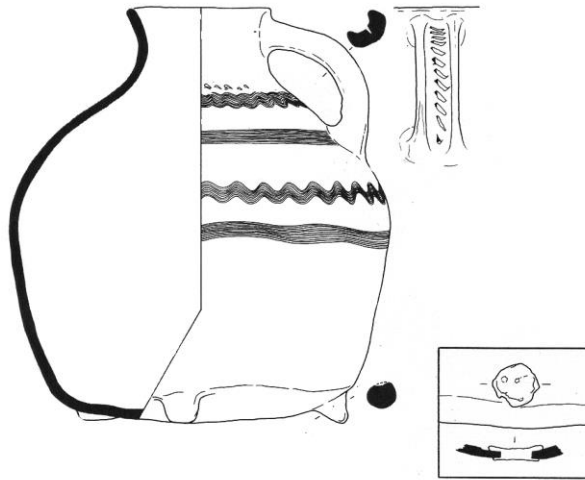
Minety Ware jug from excavations at Loughor Castle, West Glamorgan (Lewis 1993, 141)

Figure 1.2 showing two examples of Minety Ware Tripod Pitchers. Above from Dundas Wharf, Bristol, below from Loughor, West Glamorgan.

1.1.2 Minety Ware (CFS09) – Wiltshire (Figure 1.2)

Minety Ware, as with the Greensand-Derived wares, is typically found in earlier contexts from sites in South Glamorgan and the two fabrics are generally associated

with one another. Vince (1991, 115) identified Minety Ware as a North Wiltshire product. The fabric is petrologically identical to later 15th-century vessels found at a kiln site in Minety although evidence for earlier kilns or production has not been forthcoming. The fabric contains abundant angular and rounded fragments of limestone. Calcite and Oolitic limestone inclusions with a sparry matrix, angular chert or flint, burnt-out organic inclusions and shell fragments are rare. There is also sparse rounded quartz up to 0.4mm (Vince 1984). The identification of the fabric is a result of ceramic analysis of an assemblage from Chepstow rather than a kiln site, where the type in question is known as fabric 'La' in the report (Vince 1991, 115). Minety Ware is found in a similar distribution pattern to the Greensand-Derived wares, with sherds identified in early assemblages across South Glamorgan at Llantrithyd, Cosmeston, Kenfig and Llantwit Major.

Minety Ware is only found as tripod pitchers with a distinct pale brown-green thin glaze and combed wavy decoration (Figure 1.2). The vessels are made from a limestone tempered fabric and during the firing much of the limestone is burnt out leaving a cork-like clay body. The glaze is also notably different from other vessels in this area. Unlike the contemporary jugs which have a thick green glaze, the thin 'watery' finish to the tripod pitchers provides a different and clearly identifiable style of decoration.

Minety Ware was included in the fabric series by Papazian and Campbell (1992, 35) and dated to the late 12th – 13th century due to its discovery in 13th-century contexts at Chepstow. Whilst this dating reflects the pattern of use at Chepstow, at other sites in South Glamorgan Minety Ware is typically associated with Greensand-Derived and Ham Green A sherds (see below for an introduction to the latter fabric). It is suggested here

that Minety Ware was arriving in South Glamorgan in association with the other earlier fabrics. This will be further discussed in Chapters 4 and 6.

1.1.3 Ham Green Ware (CFS11 – CFS13) - Pill, Bristol (Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4)

Ham Green Ware was first identified as a result of excavations at Ham Green and Crockern Pill, kiln sites south of Bristol near to Avonmouth (Barton 1963). Ham Green is one of the better known and recognisable ceramic fabrics found on medieval sites in South Glamorgan. This is a result of the quantity and detail of analysis having been conducted as well as its proliferation on medieval sites throughout the Bristol Channel area as well as large quantities in Dublin (Vince 1988; McCutcheon 2005). Detailed fabric analysis has been carried out in association with the excavations in Dublin (Vince 1988) and further work, including dendrochronology, conducted on material from excavations in Bristol (Ponsford 1991; 1998). The excavated kilns and groups of wasters further support the analyses conducted on the various excavated assemblages providing a greater knowledge for identifying and contextualising the vessels.
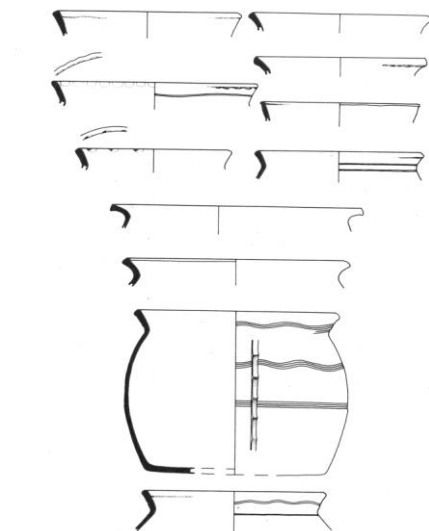
Figure 1.3 showing Ham Green jars excavated at Loughor Castle (Vyner 1993, 130)
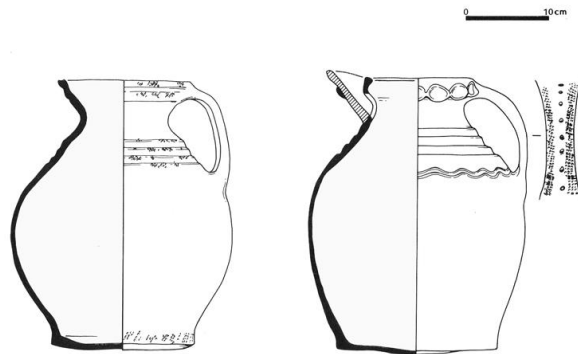
Ham Green A jugs. 1. Pill waster. 2. from Ham Green kiln 1959 (Ponsford 1991, 92)
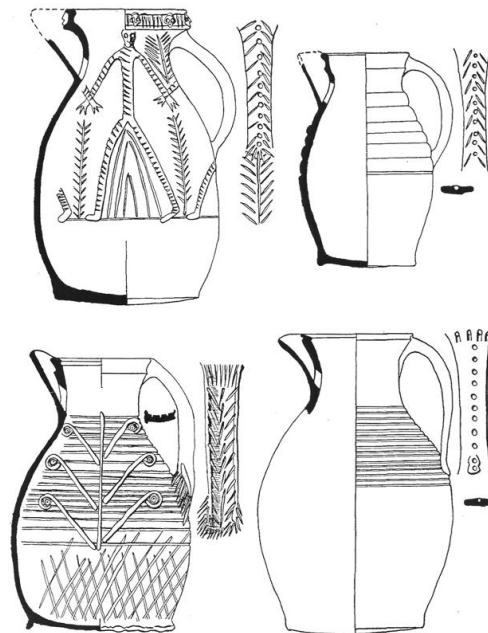
Jugs from excavations at the Ham Green kiln (Barton 1963, 106)

Figure 1.4 showing the range of Ham Green glazed jugs. Above (Ponsford 1991, 92) and below (Barton 1963, 106)

The dendro-dating has enabled the development of a stylistic seriation and chronology

for the jugs (Ham Green A and B – fig 1.3), tracing the changing forms and decorative

styles seen on the vessels (Ponsford 1991). For South Glamorgan, Ham Green wares are

ubiquitous in medieval ceramic assemblages. However, this interpretation has to be treated with caution, as the dendrochronology project indicates that by 1275 production at these kilns had finished, with Standard B jugs ending earlier in 1250 (Ponsford 1991, 98). By the later 13th century, production was centred on the Redcliffe area of Bristol (see below) rather than at Crockern Pill.

Although the majority of the chronological framework uses the jugs for dating, the jars are distinguishable between the two kiln sites (Figure 1.3). The Pill jars are typically plain whereas the Ham Green jars have fingered rims and combed wavy decoration (Ponsford 1991, 95). Jars are also found on sites in South Glamorgan but in fewer numbers than jugs. There would appear to be a preference in South Glamorgan for jars made in the Greensand-Derived kilns.

Ham Green vessels have been found on sites throughout South Wales as well as sites in South East Ireland, particularly Dublin. As with the Greensand-Derived and Minety Ware vessels, Ham Green is found on early settlement sites. The three fabrics provide a complementary group of vessels: jars (Greensand-Derived and some Ham Green), jugs (Ham Green) and tripod pitchers (Minety Ware). Ham Green, Minety Ware and Bath A pottery were considered by Vince (1983, 663) probably to have been traded together. However, the very small numbers of Bath A sherds found in South Glamorgan in comparison to Greensand-Derived vessels would suggest that the latter were more regularly part of the group. This pattern has been noted in most of the main early assemblages, at Llantrithyd as well as Cosmeston and Kenfig (Chapters 4 and 6).

1.2 12th-13th-century fabrics

There is a marked shift in the use of ceramics in South Glamorgan in the early 13th century. Whereas the majority of the pottery from sites in the 12th century is non-local, Vale Ware begins to appear in contexts throughout the area by the 13th century. Whilst local production dominates ceramic assemblages there are still a few imported and non-local wares being traded and used on sites, although these are all glazed tablewares rather than utilitarian jars.

1.2.1 Local fabrics

Vale Ware (CFS14 – CFS17) (Figure 1.5)

The local medieval fabric type is known as Vale Ware, typically dated from the 13th and up to the late 14th centuries and found on all sites from this date in South Glamorgan. Details of Vale Ware will not be discussed here as Chapter 3 is devoted to this particular subject.

It is important to note, however, that this is the only locally produced medieval fabric and that it does not appear to be produced until the early 13th century. Prior to this, as discussed above, the overwhelming majority of the ceramic material is 'non-local', from Somerset and Wiltshire although there are a few sherds from Cosmeston and Kenfig that represent early local production (see Chapters 4 and 6).
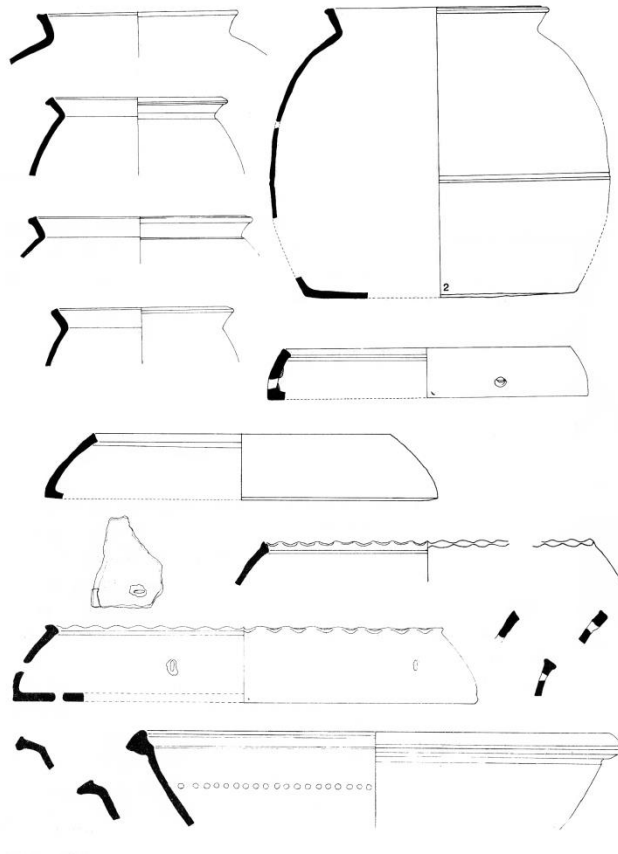
Figure 1.5 Vale Ware unglazed vessels (Price and Newman 1985, 12)

1.2.2 Non-local fabrics

Redcliffe Ware (CFS27) – Bristol (Figure 1.6)

Redcliffe Ware is a Bristol fabric which appears in late 13th-century contexts. The fabric

is typically dated 1250 – 1500 and the jugs supersede Ham Green vessels on sites in

South Glamorgan. Wasters found on Redcliffe Hill in 1970 (Ponsford, unpublished), at

St Peter's church, Bristol (Dawson et al 1972) and St Thomas Street, Bristol (Burchill

2004), have located a general area of the town for ceramic production. To date, the

actual kilns associated with the wasters have not been discovered although

petrographic analysis indicates that despite the pits being spread out over 400m from each other, the vessels were all made with the same clay and tempering materials (Burchill 2004, 28).
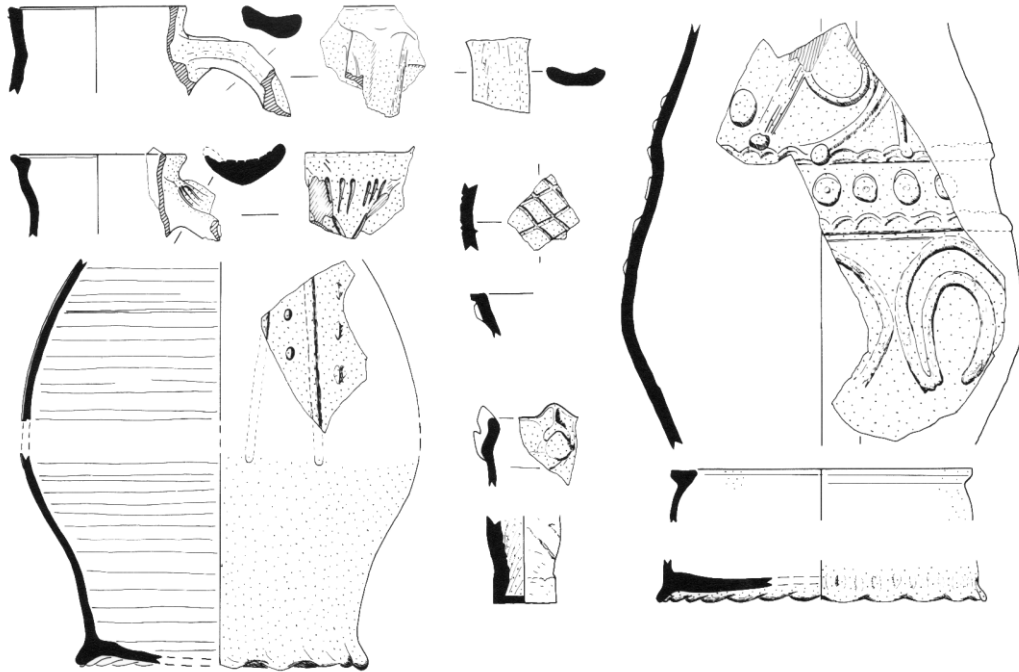
Figure 1.6 Bristol Redcliffe jugs from excavations at Chepstow (Vince 1991, 106)

The kilns appear mostly to have produced jugs (Fig 1.5). Unlike the Ham Green vessels, the Redcliffe jugs are wheel-thrown, although features such as thumbed bases, applied spouts and strap handles are continued techniques used also at the Ham Green and Pill kilns. There is no clear explanation for the ending of pottery production at Ham Green and the establishment of a pottery production site in Bristol, but the two provide good chronological markers for the later 13th century not only for sites in Bristol but also South Glamorgan where both fabrics are found.

1.2.3 Imported fabrics

Saintonge Ware (CFS24) - Gascony, France (Figure 1.7)

Saintonge Ware is the most common and more often than not the only medieval imported fabric in South Glamorgan. Typically, Saintonge Ware is associated with high-status households and sites, as noted by Papazian and Campbell (1992, 16-18). Excavated material from Wales was pivotal to dating Saintonge Ware in South Glamorgan as well as interpretations of the associated trade links (Fox and Radford 1933). Whilst there are fewer known vessels from South Glamorgan compared with the regions connected to the North Sea trade or the ports at Southampton and Exeter, Saintonge Ware vessels are still a feature of medieval assemblages particularly from castle (White Castle), manor (Cosmeston) and port (Carmarthen and Haverford West) sites (Papazian and Campbell 1992 18).

The two main types of medieval Saintonge Ware which appear in the archaeological record in South Glamorgan are polychrome and 'all-over' green glazed vessels (Figure 1.7). Polychrome vessels have in particular been considered as high-status vessels. This is due to the lower number of vessels found in comparison to all-over green glazed examples and their typical presence at ports and castles (Papazian and Campbell 1992, 18). This interpretation is now thought to be misleading and rather the higher proportion of 'all-over' green glazed to polychrome vessels is a result of the length of production. Polychrome vessels were only in production for a short period, a date range of either 1280-1320 or 1280-1300 (Evans 1987), whereas other green glazed Saintonge vessels were produced over a much longer period of time continuing to at least AD 1430 (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975; Evans 1987).
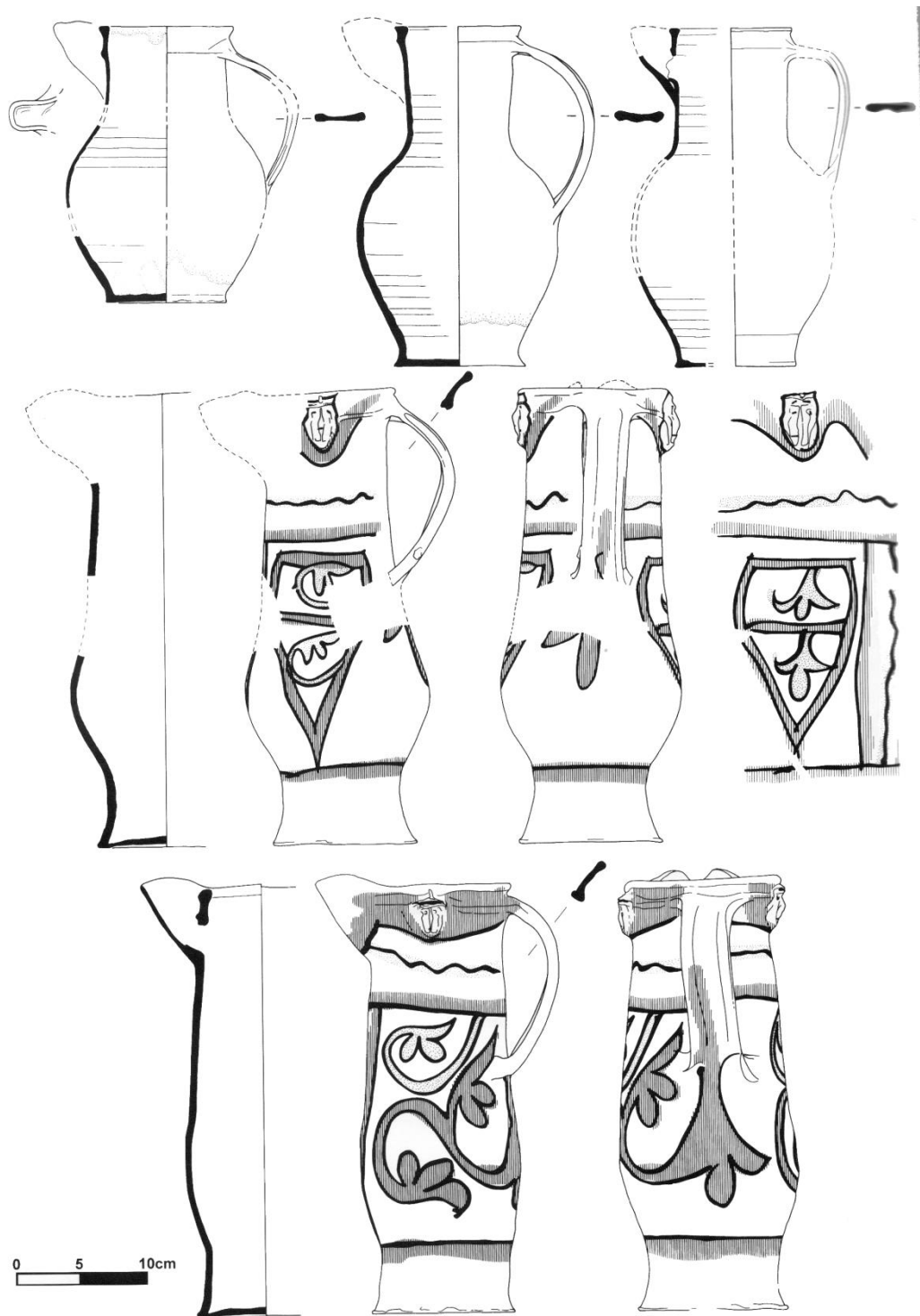
Figure 1.7 Saintonge All-Over Green Glazed jugs and Polychrome jugs from excavations in Southampton (Brown 2002, 60)

Saintonge Wares have been directly linked to the Gascony wine trade (Watkins 1978, 44) which further explains their association with high-status contexts. They are also typically found in quantity at ports. Excavations in Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975) and Exeter (Allan 1984) recovered large assemblages although not equal in volume to the apparent trade with Hull (Watkins 1978 and 1983).

1.3 Post-medieval ceramics

There has been comparatively little research into post-medieval ceramics found in South Wales. This lack of knowledge was discussed by Talbot in 1968 and later by Campbell in 1992. Talbot was more optimistic than Campbell as he viewed the research being carried out at Ewenny as central to understanding post-medieval ceramics in Glamorgan. This, however, was not as enlightening as he had hoped (see below). Whilst there are a number of topics which have been more thoroughly studied, such as the imported and more exotic ceramics, the day to day, widespread redwares or earthernwares have been given little attention and this has led to mis-interpretation of post-medieval ceramic assemblages.

In South Glamorgan, later 15th- and 16th-century ceramic material has been subject to mis-identification with the assumption that redwares or vessels identified as local coarsewares are actually local products. There are a few assemblages published in the early 1980s, one from Cliffwood Cottage, Barry (Dowdell and Thomas 1980), and the other from East Orchard Castle (Beaudette et al 1981), that begin to discuss and interpret the range of 17th-century ceramics from rural settlement. As can be seen from these publications, it is generally believed that the ubiquitous red clay vessels are Ewenny or local products (Dowdell and Thomas 1980, 16-19; Beaudette et al 1981 32-

33; Lewis 1982). This mis-identification is for the most part due to a lack of archaeological evidence for local ceramic production in the 16th and 17th centuries, and an assumption that by the post-medieval period there must have been a local potting tradition as illustrated by the brief interpretation of the post-medieval ceramics from Wrinstone (Vyner 1981, 9). As a result, for example at East Orchard, despite the dating of the tobacco pipes for the most part to the 17th century, the 'plainware vessels' have been considered as 18th-century and of local manufacture (Beaudette et al 1981, 31).

There is good documentary evidence supported by archaeological evidence for 18th- and 19th-century kilns at Ewenny. There is also a reference to the grant of 'Potters' land' to Ieuan ap Dafydd ap Gwilym by Sir John Stradling in 1427 and this has been used as decisive evidence for pottery production in the area around Ewenny at this earlier date (Talbot 1968). The lack of archaeological evidence both in the form of kilns and wasters as well as the absence of locally produced ceramics from excavations does not support the suggestion of a large industry. The ceramic assemblages provide evidence of the use of redwares from Somerset rather than local pottery. This indicates a reversion to importing ceramic vessels, a very similar pattern to the one identified in the 12th century.

1.3.1 Somerset Wares (CFS31 – CFS42): Donyatt, Wanstrow, Nether Stowey, Wrangway, Langford Budville and Crowcombe (Figure 1.8)

Somerset is the main regional producer of post-medieval vessels not only for South Glamorgan but also for Bristol in the 16th and 17th centuries (Good 1994, 26). For South Glamorgan it is clear that advantage was taken of the readily accessible pottery produced at kilns such as Nether Stowey and Wanstrow and traded via small landing

places, such as Watchet and Bridgwater as well as the port at Bristol (Allan 1984;

Andersen et al 2012) (Figure 1.8). Acquiring ceramic vessels from established kiln sites

was clearly easier than building and firing a local ware. The use of the Bristol Channel as

a route through which to trade pottery was something that had gone on continuously

for at least 300 years by the 15th century.
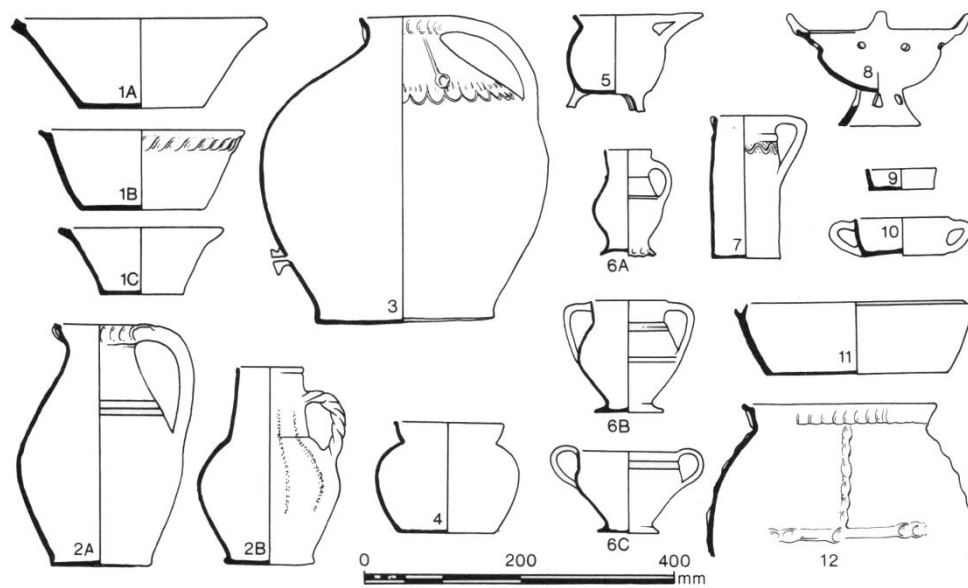
Figure 1.8 15th/16th-century South Somerset ceramic forms (Allan 1984, 150)

The trading network identified by the distribution of Somerset wares on sites in South

Glamorgan is very different to that recognised to the east in Monmouthshire and the

Severn Valley. In this region the Malvern kilns and those surrounding Monmouth are

the dominant producers of local post-medieval ceramics (Vince 1983; Clarke et al 1985;

Clarke et al 1986). This is reflected in excavated assemblages from Usk (Courtney

1994), Abergavenny (Radcliffe and Knight 1973) and Monmouth (Clark et al 1986).
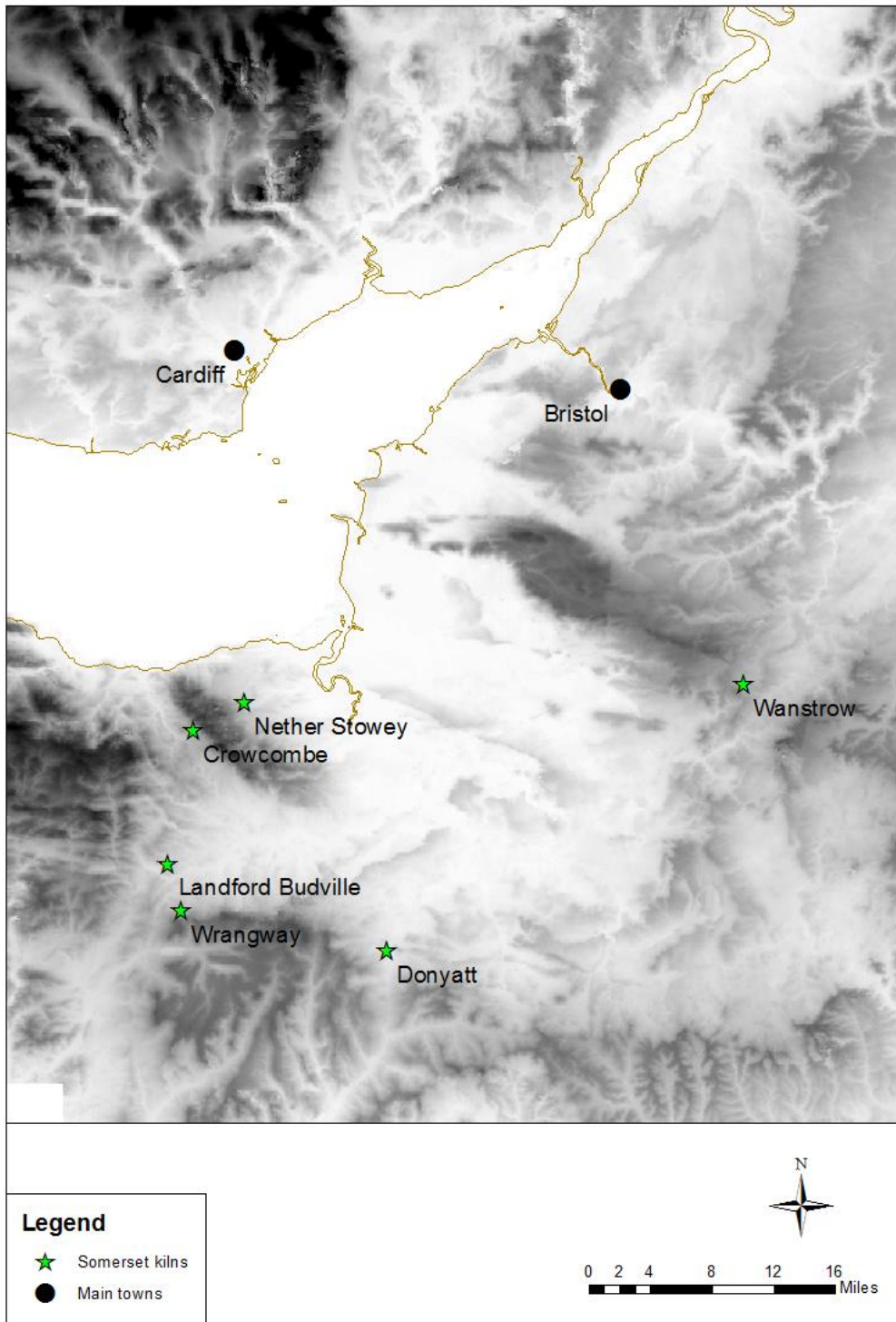
Figure 1.9 map showing the known post-medieval Somerset pottery kiln sites

Excavations at Bristol (Good 1987) and Penhow (Wrathmell, forthcoming), however, illustrate the point at which the South Glamorgan and Severn Valley pottery traditions met. In the earlier 15th century, Bristol, favoured the Malvernian ceramics; however this pattern changes by the mid-15th century when the Somerset kilns begin to provide the main supply for the town (Good 1987). This change is not a result of the end of the industry in the Malverns as they continue alongside the Monmouth kilns. Rather it represents the apparent continuity of the local and regional economic networks and the different ceramic regions. South Glamorgan focused on the connections via the Bristol Channel and Monmouthshire with the Severn Valley network.

There are a number of known post-medieval kilns in Somerset; closest to South Glamorgan is Nether Stowey which is situated in the north near to the river Parrett (Figure 1.9). Although the kilns in West and South Somerset at Wrangway, Langford Budville and Crowcombe, Donyatt, and Wanstrow were further away from South Glamorgan than Nether Stowey their products still reached most sites. There are clear distinctions between the vessels from the southern and the northern kilns although the differences at a more local level are harder to distinguish.

A difficulty with the Somerset redwares is that they all look very similar under a low-powered microscope. This has long been recognised as a problem and which is also seen with the vessels coming out of the South Somerset Donyatt kilns (Allan 1984; Good 1987). Recent analyses of the Somerset redwares have been conducted using petrography and electron microscopy to identify the mineralogical differences between the production sites. Simple hand-identification of the fabrics does not produce clear distinctions between the various fabrics as they are very similar, due to the homogeneity of the local geology and the fine nature of the inclusions (Andersen et al

2012). Detailed analysis has resulted in the ability to identify some differences between the various kilns. There are clear distinctions between the southern kilns (Donyatt and Wanstrow) and the western kilns (Nether Stowey, Wrangway, Langford Budville and Crowcombe). Identifying the differences amongst the western Somerset kiln products is more difficult as they are so similar mineralogically and therefore in many cases not uniquely identifiable (Andersen et al 2012).
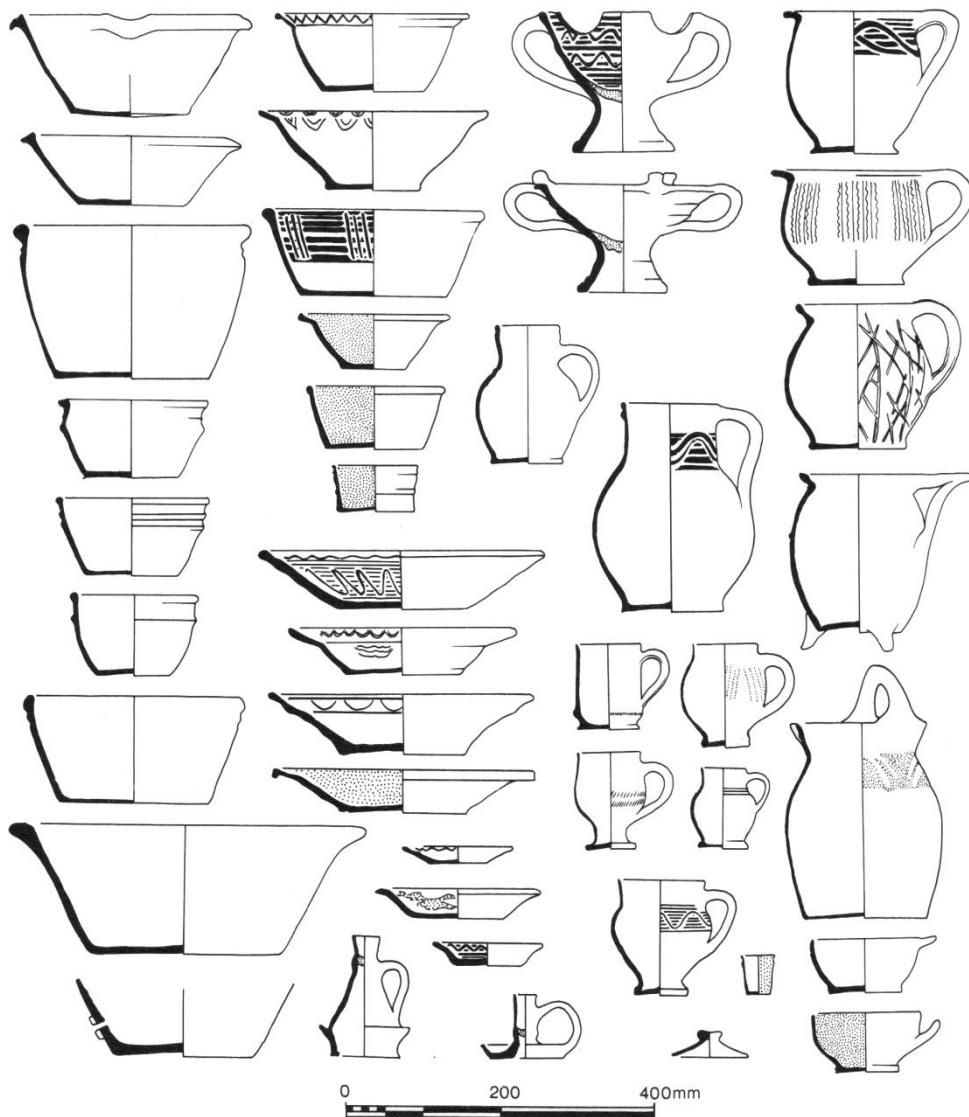
Figure 1.10 17th-century South Somerset ceramic forms (Allan 1984, 151)

The changes that took place in the post-medieval household are significant and the Somerset wares directly reflect them. Ceramic material came to be associated with highly decorative, high-status items such as stove tiles and stonewares (Gaimster 1994, 289-294). Although there had been a tradition of highly decorated tablewares such as the knight jugs and aquamaniles in the medieval period, post-medieval ceramics reflect a greater emphasis on dining, display and tableware, not just in high-status but in all households (Gaimster 1997, 126-127). The Somerset ceramics epitomise this shift, and the range of vessels, chaffing dishes, cups and highly decorated dishes reflects the new and growing demand for brightly coloured fine tablewares (Figure 1.10). The dominance held by the Somerset kilns did, however, change in the 17th century, as the North Devon pottery industry grew and developed.

1.3.2 North Devon Gravel-Tempered Ware (CFS43 – CFS45), Barnstaple and Bideford, Devon (Figure 1.11)

North Devon Gravel-Tempered Ware developed out of the medieval pottery industries at Barnstaple and Bideford (Allan et al 2005, 167). The North Devon products were traded widely, particularly in the 17th century, overtaking the Somerset products and dominating assemblages in South Glamorgan as well as being highly sought after in North America, with large assemblages discovered at places such as Jamestown Fort and Ferryland, Newfoundland (Allan 1999, 279).
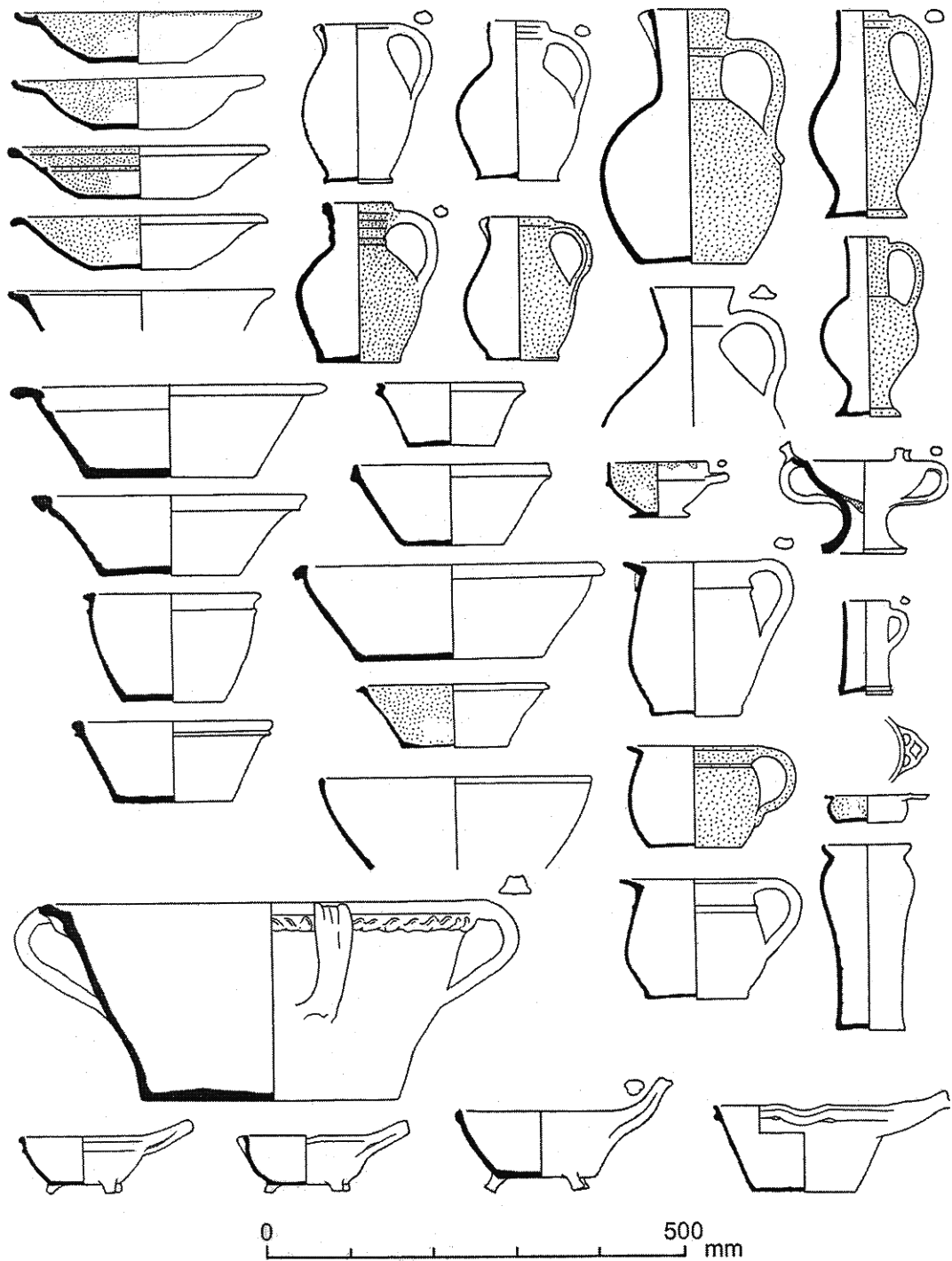
Figure 1.11 Range of forms found in North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware (Allan et al 2005, 191)

Whilst the majority of the vessels produced in North Devon were utilitarian wares,

large pancheons, cisterns and bowls, there are also finer vessels, in particular the

Sgraffito Wares which include dishes and jugs (Figure 1.12).
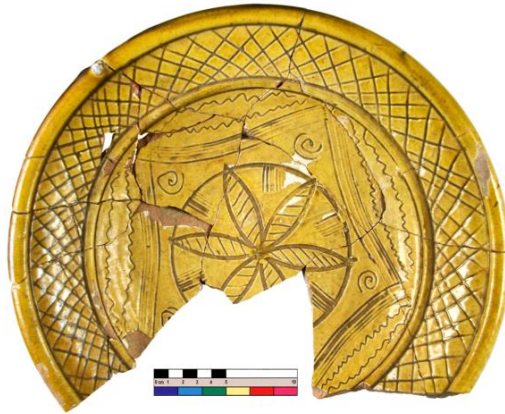
Sgraffito Ware dish found in the post-medieval, late 17th and early eighteenth century yard surfaces in the Lower Area of the site

1. Six Petals

2. Pair of Leaves

3. Expanding Cross

4. Combed Wavy Lines

5. Jamestown Complex Floral

6. 'William Oliver' style

7. Swansea Bird

8. Stella Maris Bird

9. Stella Maris Tulip

0   500
                     mm
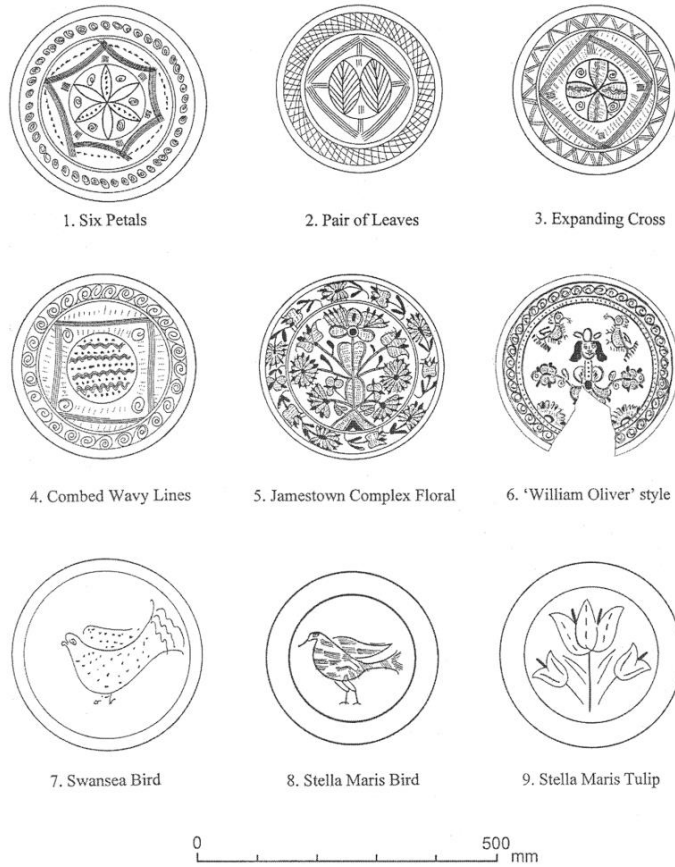
Common patterns featured on Sgraffito Ware dishes (Allan et al 2005, 190)

Figure 1.12 A range of Sgraffito Ware decorative motifs and an example from Cosmeston (above = photo courtesy of Matt Nicholas); (below = Allan et al 2005, 190)

These fine wares are made from finer, less heavily tempered clay. Other vessels which are also finely tempered but simply glazed rather than highly decorated are cups and jugs. In the second half of 17th century, rather than the West Somerset vessels, the North Devon wares (Gravel-Tempered, Sgraffito and Gravel-Free) are characteristic of the Welsh ceramic assemblages. The 16th-century Somerset fine wares are replaced by Sgraffito Ware[1] and Bristol Tin-Glazed vessels in the 17th century.

1.3.3 Bristol Tin-Glazed (CFS49)

The development of tin-glazed vessel production in Britain was a result of the influence of vessels from places such as Spain, Italy and the Low Countries. They were desirable and high-status objects, although used for utilitarian purposes as well for display (Archer 1997, 5-7). In the first instance, production was centred in London with the earliest potteries known from c. 1571 (Stephenson 1999, 264). Later, in the mid-17th century, kilns were established in Bristol and Liverpool.

The first and earliest known reference to tin-glazed pottery production outside London is from 1658 associated with the kiln at Brislington, Bristol (Jackson, Jackson and Price 1991, 89). By the early 18th century there were at least three kilns producing tin-glazed vessels and the demand for them had secured the growth of the business in Bristol.

The 17th-century vessels were more simply decorated, typically only with blue decorative motifs, whereas the later vessels had other colours included in the patterns. Plates, bowls, chamber pots and drug jars were all common forms.

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[1] Graffiata is the source term and typically used by Italian archaeologists. Sgrafitto Ware is the accepted term used not only for the North Devon sgraffito decorated wares but also in reference to all post-medieval sgraffito decorated wares from Europe (Hurst et al 1986).

Vessels from the Bristol kilns are found from sites across South Glamorgan and it is clear that households were following fashions set by the ceramic market. In association with stonewares, drinking vessels and highly decorated dishes such as the North Devon Sgraffito Ware, the Brislington tin-glazed vessels were a complementary addition to the suite of ceramics being used in households in the late 17th century.

1.3.4 Exotic ceramics in South Glamorgan

Whilst Somerset and North Devon Wares dominate assemblages in South Glamorgan, work has been done to emphasise the range and quantity of imported wares from sites. Stonewares which are considered to have heavily influenced the preponderance for highly decorated tablewares (Gaimster 2003) are not found in the same high numbers as at Norwich (Jennings 1981) or London but have been found on various sites throughout South Wales. Towns such as Carmarthen (James 1995) and castles at Penhow (Wrathmell 1990) and Montgomery (Knight 1982) have notable assemblages of imported ceramics not typically found on sites in South Glamorgan (Figure 1.13).

One problem with regards to imported post-medieval wares is identifying them. Although there has been considerable work done in bringing attention to the examples of imported wares found on sites in South Wales (Lewis and Evans 1982; Courtney 1987; Williams 1987) knowledge is still limited (Knight 1981, 24) despite the surveys of pottery (Lewis and Evans 1982; Evans 1983). Due to the lack of knowledge regarding post-medieval ceramics in South Glamorgan sherds are regularly mis-identified and as a result incorrectly dated. There is also a bias in the assemblages available for analysis. There are more assemblages from castle (Penhow) and town (Carmarthen) excavations than from rural settlements. This is, in part, due to the mis-identification of earlier

post-medieval ceramics thought to be later vessels. The lack of knowledge is in many

cases the result of a lack of interest in post-medieval rural settlement.
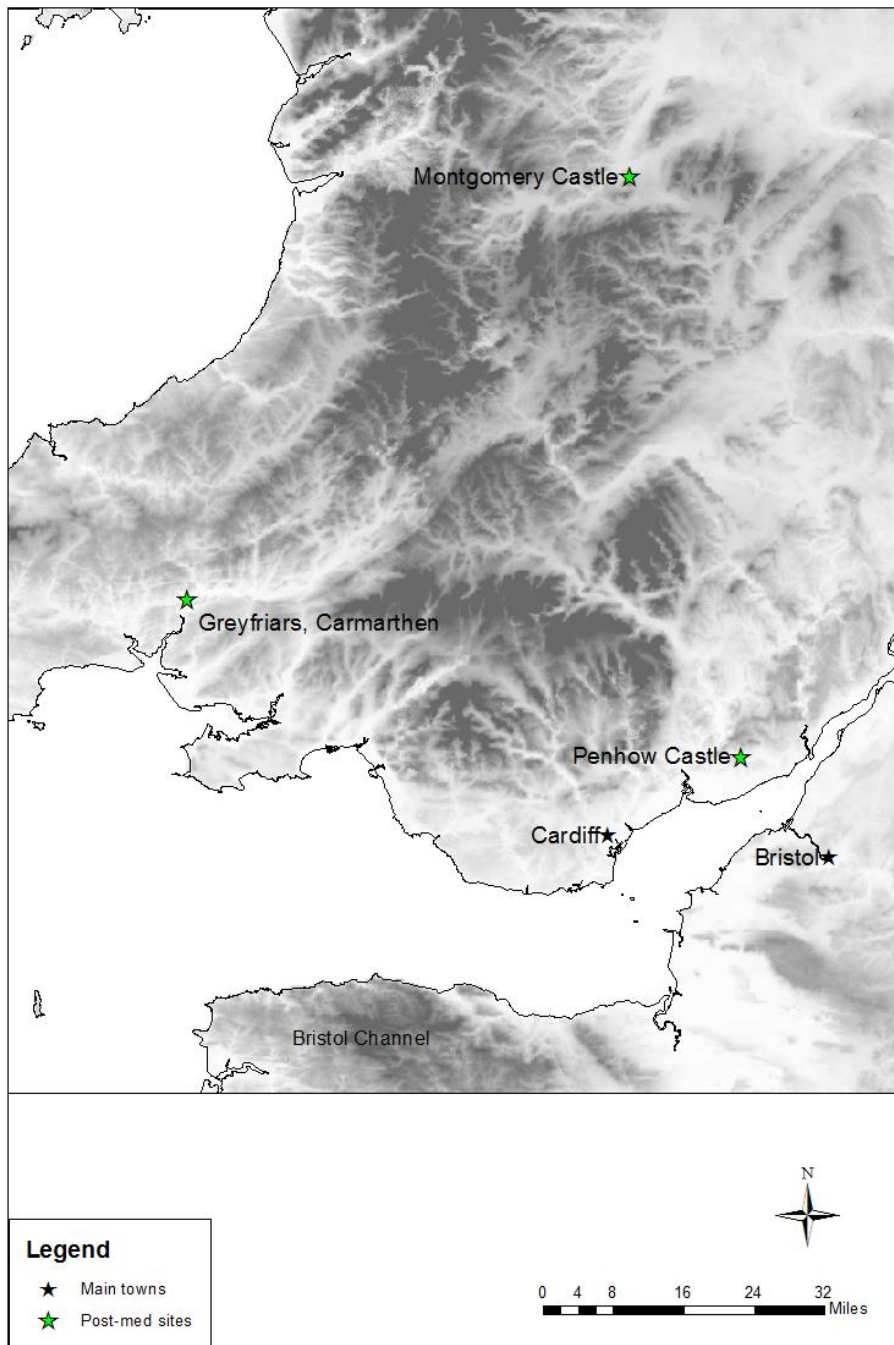
Figure 1.13 map showing the three main post-medieval assemblages discussed here indicated by the green stars

1.3.5 Grey Friars Carmarthen

The Grey Friars site, in Carmarthen, is part of a different regional trading network to South Glamorgan. This is not surprising due to its close-proximity to North Devon. Whilst close connections are apparent between South Glamorgan and Somerset, Carmarthenshire looked to Devon and Cornwall and this is reflected in the ceramic material from excavations. The post-medieval ceramics retrieved from the Grey Friars excavations, dated to the 16th to 17th centuries, are for the most part North Devon fabrics. There are, however, both South Somerset (Donyatt and Wanstrow) and Malvern sherds within the assemblage. The Malvern sherds are particularly distinct as they are not commonly found in assemblages in South Glamorgan and typically they are present on sites in Gwent and Bristol. Carmarthen was an important, large port with a greater range of ships docking then at Cardiff and Chepstow (James 1995). Access to imported ceramics was therefore easier than at other ports.

The more exotic ceramics are representative not only of the official port status held by Carmarthen but also of the places the ships were coming from or had contact with. Merida Ware is found throughout South Glamorgan but at Carmarthen the number of sherds and vessels present within the assemblage is significantly greater than seen elsewhere (Wrathmell, forthcoming). There were strong trade links between Carmarthen and both Spain and Portugal and the high number of Merida sherds is therefore not surprising. Other Spanish wares, Cuerda Seca, Lustreware and Isabela Polychrome ware have been found in small quantities but their presence within the assemblage represents the access Carmarthen had to ceramics not available to the whole of the South Welsh coast. Saintonge and Beauvais wares were also found and German stonewares are represented in low numbers compared with the eastern ports

in England. Their presence again is indicative of the networks with which Carmarthen was involved.

The assemblage from Carmarthen represents the suite of imported ceramics typically found throughout South Glamorgan. Whereas other sites have one or two sherds indicating that there was a market for these objects, Carmarthen's role as both a market centre and a port, meant availability was higher than in many other places.

1.3.6 Penhow

Excavations at Penhow were focused on the castle ditch which produced well stratified dumping layers (Wrathmell 1990; Wrathmell, forthcoming). Malvern and then Somerset wares dominate the assemblage within the later layers. This is very similar to the pattern identified from sites in Bristol but unlike South Glamorgan the Malvern Wares were being traded and used at Penhow. As well as the non-local imports, there is a large assemblage of the more exotic material. Similarly to Carmarthen, German Stonewares and Spanish and Italian Maiolicas are well represented in the assemblage.

Whilst Penhow is neither a port nor town, and did not have an associated market or fair, it did have access to goods which are usually assumed to be more readily available at market centres. However, it is close to the ports of Newport, Magor and Chepstow. Although proximity to a market and port is important to obtaining luxury goods, it is likely that the imported ceramics were also more readily available to high-status households regardless of proximity to ports and markets.
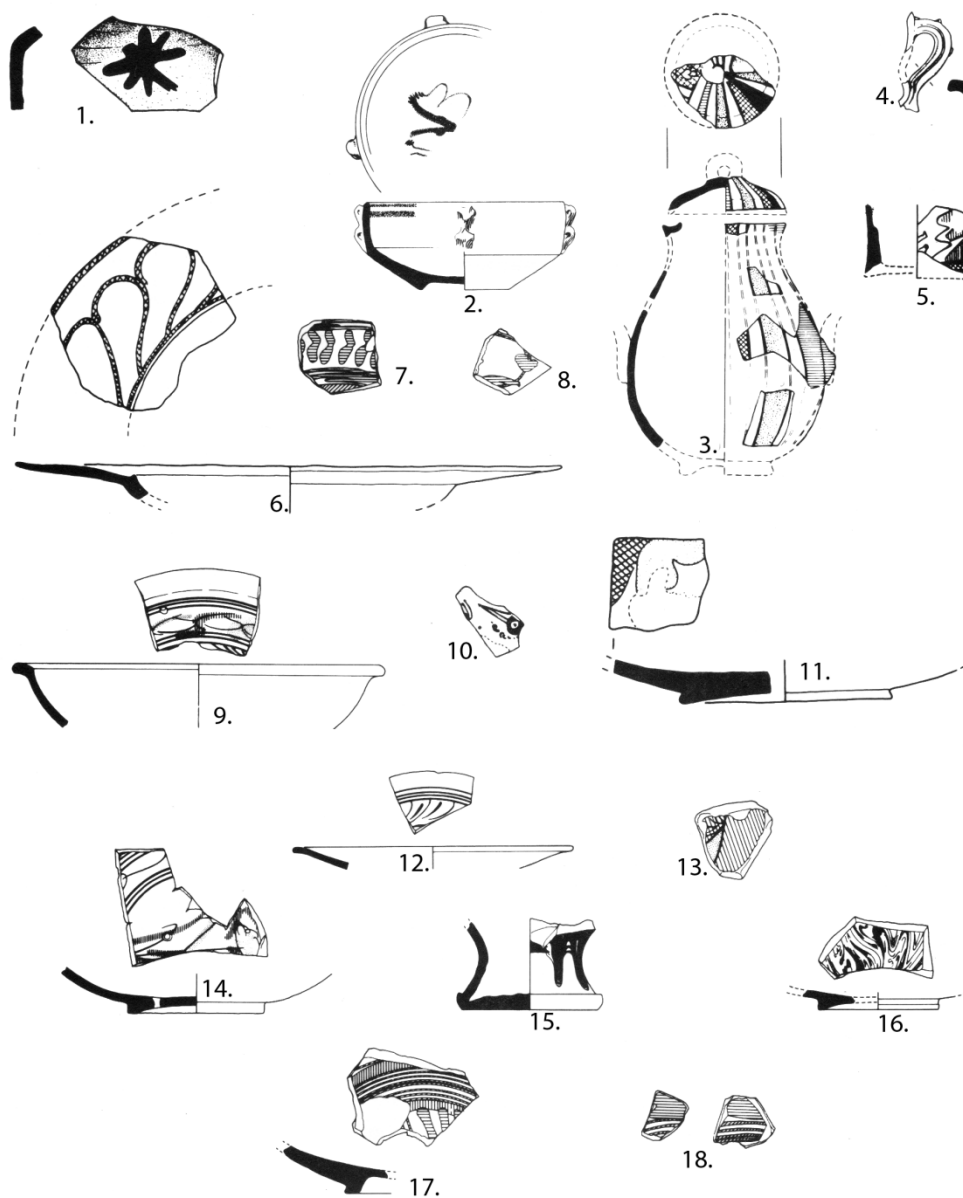
Figure 1.14 showing a range of imported ceramics found from sites in Wales (Evans 1982, 81)

1. Starred costrel from Montgomery Castle (early 17th century)

2. Vertical sided bowl with blue decoration from Pembroke Castle (early 16th century)

3. Small handled jar with lid: blue, yellow and green cuerda seca decoration from Penhow Castle (late 15th-early 16th century)

4. Small handled jar from St John's Priory excavations, Carmarthen.

5. Albarello with green and white cuerda seca decoration from Caerleon fortress baths excavations (late 15th- early 16th century)

6. Plate with gadrooing and blue linear decoration, Valencian, from Penhow Castle (16th century)

7. Plate rim sherd of Isabela polychrome with formal blue and purple design, from Usk (mid-16th century)

8. Sherd of Valencian lustreware with blue foliage design on a white background from Usk (mid-15th century)

9. Pisan bowl with yellow-brown glazing from Benton Castle (17th century)

10. Montelupo dish sherd with yellow and brown floral decoration from Llandough (16th – 17th century)

11. Montelupo dish with blue and yellow decoration from Penhow Castle (16th century)

12. Pisan bowl from Swansea (17th century)

13. Sherd from Montelupo cavalier dish with the chest and arm-pit of a figure painted in brown and yellow from Swansea (17th – 18th century)

14. Pisan bowl from Benton Castle (17th century)

15. North Italian Lion head flask with brown glaze and white marbling from Cardiff (17th century)

16. North Italian marbled ware dish with green and white marbling on the internal surface from Cardiff (17th century)

17. Foot-ring of a plate or dish with formal design in blue, green and purple from Llawhaden

18. Bowl sherd with blue and purple decoration from Benton castle

1.3.7 Montgomery Castle

Excavations at Montgomery Castle were guided by well-documented historical events.
As a result, phases of occupation in well-sealed stratigraphy were historically attested
and the ceramics therefore datable relative to these. Due to the demolition of the
castle and house in 1649, and the resulting destruction deposits sealing the site, a firm
termini post quem is available for the site (Knight 1982, 44).

The range of both medieval and post-medieval pottery is wide (Figure 1.14), with
medieval Mediterranean Maiolica and Saintonge polychrome vessels present within
the assemblage. The post-medieval assemblages are representative of the castle's
network of connections. Unlike South Glamorgan and Carmarthen, which both look to
the Bristol Channel, Montgomery is part of the Severn Valley and Midlands networks.
The more utilitarian vessels are from the Malvernian and Staffordshire kilns and the
number of the 'Cistercian' and Midlands-type vessels is significantly greater than that
seen in South Wales (Knight 1982).

The imports, however, are similar to those found generally on sites in South
Glamorgan. Merida Ware and German Stonewares are the main imports from the site
as well as a Spanish starred costrel and sherds from a Mediterranean olive jar (Knight
1982, 50-51). Importantly, the Spanish tin-glazed vessels that are apparent at both
Carmarthen and Penhow do not appear to be matched in the excavations at
Montgomery. This is likely to be a result of its distance from a port rather than its social
and economic status or distance from a market. The presence of the starred costrel,
olive jar and stonewares do, however, indicate that the household at Montgomery did
have access to markets which involved imported goods but that the absence of certain

vessels cannot necessarily be used as indicative of social status. For example, Spanish and tin-glazed vessels in this region may have been more readily available in coastal markets, and therefore the presence of exotic imported ceramics is not necessarily indicative of wealth on inland sites such as Montgomery.

It is more accurate in this area to associate the exotic pottery with coastal trade and to take into account the geographic position of the sites, thereby considering the ceramic assemblages within a regional context and not just in association with the feature from which they were retrieved. This is demonstrated by the assemblage from Montgomery where, although there is an absence of Spanish and Italian tin-glazed vessels, the presence of Stonewares, Cistercian wares and the olive jar locally constitute a high-status ceramic group. This is not a new idea, as discussed by Courtney (1997, 11). This interpretation is, however, is countered by the work conducted by Gutiérrez (2000, 166) on Mediterranean pottery in Wessex households, where imported vessels appear to be distributed more widely, beyond the coast, among high-status households. The assemblage from Montgomery does, however, place the identification and interpretation of the ceramics in context and emphasises a real local and regional economic network identifiable from the ceramic material.

Although the examples provided above for imported assemblages are associated with high-status sites or settlements with greater access to imported ceramics, the case studies following in Chapters 4-6 provide a slightly different interpretation of access to and use of ceramic material in the post-medieval period. A significant problem associated with the later material is that less is known and this causes problems with identification. By improving knowledge of post-medieval pottery, the earlier post-medieval sites will more likely be recognised.

1.4 Excavations and ceramic retrieval

Ceramic analysis has typically concentrated on the organisation of assemblages into different fabric groups, emphasising rim forms and variations in decoration. This is the initial exercise for anyone sorting a ceramic assemblage. Up until the late 1960s – early 1970s, with the development of urban excavations and a more formalised excavation policy, excavations had for the most part been more concerned with wall-chasing than with uncovering and recording the full extent of the buildings including internal floors and pits. Good examples for this approach can be seen in Nash-Williams' work at Llantwit Major (1952). Ceramics collected during excavation were either the best or most interesting examples sampled for retaining rather than one hundred percent collection.

1.4.1 Castle clearance

During the 1930s the Ministry of Works conducted a series of castle clearances and consolidation work in South Wales (St J. O'Neil 1935; Radford 1946), and Ogmore castle was one of these sites. The work resulted in the discovery of an inscribed stone, dated to the 11th century, found built into the 19th-century limekiln (St J. O'Neil 1935; RCAMW 1991). A small group of medieval and post-medieval pottery sherds was also retrieved during the work and unlike the stone, which received significant attention and has had papers devoted to its translation (RCAMW 1976), the pottery was considered of 'not much importance' (St J. O'Neil 1935, 322). The pottery is unstratified and as the thesis has specifically concentrated on stratified assemblages, this makes the group of ceramics from Ogmore not suitable for this work.

Despite this, it is worth noting that although the pottery from Ogmore was not considered of much importance, the assemblage from White Castle was given very different treatment. The highly decorated jugs from White Castle formed majority large part of the paper which details the finds from Coity, Ogmore, Grosmont and White Castles (St J. O'Neil 1935, 322). The list of sherds for Ogmore is very telling with regards to the attitude towards the plain, and less decorative vessels. Two examples:

1. Neck and shoulder of pitcher including very small pinched spout. Glaze brighter green and more brown than usual; three irregular series of grooves on neck, etc.
2. Similar, but the spout is larger and the fabric is rougher and the glaze more dull.

(St. J. O'Neil 1935, 322).

Although the sherds are useful in providing information regarding the type of fabrics being found at Ogmore, the lack of contextual information, particularly when considering the various functional and social areas the castle would have embodied, means that very little else can be interpreted from the ceramics.

1.4.2 Excavations

As well as the castle clearance works, a high number of excavations were carried out on medieval sites throughout South Glamorgan in the 1960s and 1970s and post-PPG16 (Wales) in the 1990s. A significant amount of this early work was carried out by the local group, the Barry Archaeological Society. When villages and small towns such as Barry, Sully, Dinas Powys and Penarth were being developed with new roads and expanding housing estates this small group, led by local boys, Gareth Dowdell, later the

director of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, and Howard Thomas, went out and watched the machining and building works. This led to the discovery of a number of medieval sites, particularly small homesteads and individual houses. These sites are recorded in the local journals but any material excavated or paper records have been lost. The ceramic material from these excavations is only given a cursory note: 'finds include glazed and coarse wares' (for example Dowdell 1971, 28). Whilst knowledge was gained with regards to the types of buildings excavated and their location, the lack of any other information about the artefacts or any further details makes the information limited with regards to further research.

During the same time the University College, Cardiff, Department of Archaeology, carried out a number of excavations throughout South Glamorgan, led by people such as Leslie Alcock, and Stuart Wrathmell and Peter Webster from the Extra-Mural Department. This included sites at Dinas Powys (Alcock 1963), Llantrithyd (Charlton et al 1977), Cardiff (Webster 1974; 1977; 1978) and Wrinstone (Vyner and Wrathmell 1978). The archives from these sites are better curated as they reside in the National Museum Wales and are accompanied by comparatively detailed publications.

1.4.3 Fieldwalking

Although not always considered as important in comparison to excavation, fieldwalking in many areas produces evidence for settlement and farming activity. Work at Rhoose by the National Museum Wales and Monknash by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, areas typically associated with arable farming today, appears to reveal an absence of pottery or manuring scatters datable to the medieval period. This is unusual in comparison to England where medieval pottery features highly in the

collected material from fieldwalking. The lack of material found during fieldwalking

activities in South Glamorgan can be compared with projects in the West of England

such as the North Somerset Levels, where medieval pottery collected from fieldwalking

made up approximately 47% of the finds from the site at Church Field (Gutiérrez 2006,

215). The South Glamorgan data are different from the material collected as a result of

the long-term research projects at Raunds and particularly the work conducted in

South Lincolnshire and North Norfolk.

Of note is the site at Monknash, a large ecclesiastical grange situated on the South

Glamorgan coast. The scale of medieval agricultural work apparent there is extensive.

There are large barns which would have provided space for storage and the extent of

the buildings indicates that the settlement was an important ecclesiastical agricultural

producer. The fields surrounding the site are today ploughed annually and three Bronze

Age barrows in the adjacent field were identified as monuments under threat (Sherman

2010). Although the grange is a significant archaeological site, the Bronze Age

archaeology was the main focus of the project.

The results from the fieldwalking are scant. Only two medieval sherds were retrieved

during the fieldwalking exercise. This is significantly low particularly when there is a

large settlement complex situated in the neighbouring field. This pattern of deposition

suggests that despite the deep ploughing from the 19th century onwards, few medieval

archaeological finds are within the plough soil. This would indicate that medieval

manuring practices were unlikely to have been used in these fields.

This pattern is mirrored by the fieldwalking project in Penmark and Porthkerry (Evans

2001). An area of 15km^2 was fieldwalked and in total 240 sherds of medieval pottery

were retrieved. The fieldwalking produced a large quantity of post-medieval pottery (1135 sherds) and very little Roman (7 sherds). When compared with the fieldwalking projects in the Somerset Levels (Rippon 2006) and at Shapwick where, for the latter project, 598 sherds on average per hectare were being retrieved (Gerrard 2007, 176). There is a significant pattern apparent, with fewer finds, and in particular pottery sherds, in the South Glamorgan data.

There is further evidence of a lack of medieval manuring scatters from the PAS data. Whilst in Somerset medieval pottery is regularly found by metal detectorists (see map below for distribution), in South Glamorgan there is an apparent absence of ceramic material being found (Lodwick, pers comm). This is not due to the negligence of detectorists as they regularly find worked flint; rather it is believed to be a pattern associated with the medieval farming practices in South Glamorgan.

There is a small number of fieldwalking assemblages which do, however, provide evidence for manuring patterns such as the work at Wrinstone (Vyner and Wrathmell 1978). The fieldwalking at Wrinstone produced results which indicate that manuring was conducted within the boundaries of the crofts rather than in the open fields (Vyner and Wrathmell 1978, 25). It is suggested that the fertility of the open fields used a fallow and fold system. It may however rather be an indication of a rural economy reliant on pastoralism. The manuring pattern at Wrinstone is supported by some of the results from the Penmark fieldwalking project, particularly next to medieval settlement.

Although not evidence from fieldwalking, another example of restricted manuring practice is associated with the area next to Old Cogan. Over 10 years, monitoring work

in the scheduled area provided various opportunities to identify any potential

archaeology (Table 1).

Assessment	HER number	HER box number	Contracted unit	Pottery
Excavation		94/01	Wessex	Yes
Watching Brief	480	97/05	GGAT	Yes
Evaluation	578	98/02	GGAT	Yes
Excavation	597	98/03	GGAT	Yes
Watching Brief	1056	201/02	GGAT	Yes
Watching Brief	742	202/01	GGAT	
Watching Brief	1155	202/04	GGAT	Yes
Evaluation	1156	202/04	GGAT	
Evaluation	1639	202/09	GGAT	
Evaluation	1256	203/01	GGAT	Yes
Watching Brief	1276	203/02	GGAT	
Watching Brief	1324	203/03	GGAT	
Evaluation	1638	203/12	GGAT	
Watching Brief	1632	204/06	GGAT	Yes
DBA	1845	205/05	GGAT	
Watching Brief	2228	207/08	GGAT	
Watching Brief	2698	209/07	GGAT	Yes
Watching Brief	2699	209/07	GGAT	

Table 1.1 the fieldwork events at Old Cogan listed within the HER

Not only were few archaeological features revealed during the work but also very few

sherds of pottery were found, suggestive of the fields being used more regularly for

pasture rather than for crops. The features excavated during the monitoring work were

ditches (Evaluation and watching brief report 203/01: Sell 2003), representative of field

systems associated with Old Cogan. Other work, although devoid of archaeological features, still revealed a thin spread of pottery. For example, a watching brief in 2001 (Sell) led to 10 sherds of pottery being picked up during a walk over of the stripped area. This is a similar pattern for two other watching briefs (Sell 2002; 2009).

The importance of the fieldwalking material is not to be underestimated. A number of studies into the medieval field-systems of the Gower (Kissock 1986), as well as hypothetical models for South Glamorgan (Kissock 1991),have followed a traditional view of open-field farming. Physical evidence for arable farming such as ridge and furrow is also poorly represented in South Glamorgan. Whilst field systems are apparent throughout the Midlands as well as in the Somerset levels, it does not appear that land was being used as extensively for crops as is typically assumed.

The three examples presented here indicate that although some manuring was clearly happening, it was not to the same extent as that seen in the Somerset fieldwalking projects (Rippon 2006; Gerrard and Aston 2007). The possibility that arable farming was not as extensive in the medieval period is one interpretation of the archaeological evidence. It is more likely that pastoralism was practised on a wider scale and this is important to the ceramic evidence not just in respect of the manuring patterns but also to the types of pottery used in households which may reflect agricultural practice.

1.5 Methodology

This thesis will address two main areas of research. Firstly, in order to identify the ceramic evidence for economic networks in South Glamorgan, the production of local ceramics and their distribution needs to be further analysed. Secondly, the ceramic assemblages will be analysed with direct reference to their context. 'Context', here,

means not only the specific deposit the material was found in, but also the building or identifiable household they are associated with. This will, in turn, inform interpretation in association with general site typologies: town, manor and dispersed settlement. The contextual analysis will enable a greater understanding of the deposition of the material. Interpretation will not focus solely on the distribution of ceramics within the manor in comparison to that within the peasant settlement area. Instead consideration will be given to providing information on the household or functional area the material is directly associated with. In turn this will enable analysis regarding a settlement's economic status as well as evidence for economic connections and relationships between households and other settlements. The networks will not just be a series of distribution maps but considered in terms of the economic relationships between towns and manors and their association with formal (markets and fairs) and informal (intra-settlement and landing places) marketing structures.

It is recognised that the term 'manor' is a problematic one. Medieval historians emphasise the administrative and legal function of the manorial court, and consequently define manors in these terms. Archaeologists, by contrast, are understandably more concerned with the physical features and contexts of manorial settlement hierarchy. A manor must, however, be associated with a lord, or seigneur, who has rights to revenue or rent from subordinate peasant or villein tenants. A manor house and the dependent households are defined here as the manorial estate. The dependent households are termed the associated settlement rather than the village, as villages are typically recognised by archaeologists as nucleated settlements. There are a number of examples, as discussed later, which highlight examples where the associated settlement was not necessarily nucleated. Rather there are outlying homesteads or the

settlement is formed from a series of dispersed households placed away from the

manorial centre.

The study area, South Glamorgan, is defined as being bounded to the east by Cardiff

and the River Rumney and in the west by the Ogmore River. The Bristol Channel

represents the southern boundary and the northern extent lies at the point where the

uplands meet the lowland, corresponding with the modern day M4. This corresponds

with the 13th-century Lordship of Glamorgan and the modern unitary authority

boundaries for Cardiff City, and the Vale of Glamorgan. Whilst Vale Ware has been

identified as the main ceramic type on sites as far west as Penmaen (Alcock and Talbot

1966) and Pennard (Moorhouse 1985) on the Gower, the main case studies, all apart

from one, come from the area defined above.

1.5.1 Re-examining Vale Ware: Chapter 3

To date, a number of studies have been conducted on Vale Ware. They discuss the

variations in the fabric (Vyner 1982; Price and Newman 1985) and ideas regarding

systems of regional production rather than one production centre in South Glamorgan.

This was particularly apparent in the initial analysis of the stratified assemblage from

Cosmeston (Price and Newman 1985). These studies, however, focused for the most

part on the colour of the fired vessels rather than on the variations in the additional

tempering material. Colour should not be relied on as varying conditions within kilns

result in extreme colour changes even on one individual vessel.

More recently, attempts were made to identify production areas based on the chemical

composition of the vessel clay from South Glamorgan (Anthony 2004). This provided a

positive result in that there was evidence for chemical variations between sherds from

different sites. However, the resulting interpretations discussed the role of the ceramics within an official market structure and as a result any further ideas regarding possible areas of production and distribution were overlooked.

Therefore, to further develop our understanding of Vale Ware and the possible patterns of production and networks within which vessels were distributed, petrographic analysis will be conducted on sherds from a range of sites across South Glamorgan.

1.5.2 Ceramic evidence for economic networks

Analysis of Vale Ware provides one strand of evidence in understanding the networks within which pottery was being produced and traded. More broadly, the second area of analysis focuses on the range of ceramic forms and fabrics used in the medieval and post-medieval periods in South Glamorgan.

The assemblages have been chosen as they represent stratified ceramic material, associated with particular households or buildings. A number of assemblages were not included, including the assemblage from Ogmore, as this was collected during castle clearance (as discussed above). The importance of context is considered central to the thesis. This is not only with regards to recognising the importance of understanding what type of settlement the ceramics are from but where in the settlement they were found. This is not new to site interpretations (Schifffer 1987) but has not been discussed in association with medieval and post-medieval ceramic assemblages from South Glamorgan. As a result pottery has generally been interpreted within a distributional framework: what sort of pottery, local or non-local, and the sites where these fabrics have been recovered (Papazian and Campbell 1992). Here interpretation

will discuss further the importance of intra- and inter-site ceramic deposition, emphasising the range of economic relationships and networks apparent from the ceramic material.

1.5.2a Cosmeston: Chapter 4

The main case study is the site at Cosmeston, initially excavated in the 1980s and with further work conducted between 2007 and 2011. Cosmeston is a manorial settlement with a central manor house and associated households. The site has the largest excavated assemblage of medieval and post-medieval pottery in South Glamorgan and is central to understanding the development of the use of pottery from the Post-Conquest period.

1.5.2b Cowbridge: Chapter 5

The second case study focuses on the analysis of pottery from Cowbridge, a small rural town in the central Vale of Glamorgan. The range and scale of work that has been carried out in the town, particularly in the 1970s (Parkhouse and Evans 1996), provides an opportunity to analyse a number of ceramic assemblages associated with various households and burgage plots from the town. This allows direct comparison to the manorial assemblage from Cosmeston. The comparative study identifies the differences between ceramic assemblages from varying settlement sites which in turn represent the economic networks the settlements were involved in.

1.5.2c Comparable Assemblages: Chapter 7

Chapter 7 broadens the discussion to a number of other manorial settlements (Barry, Sully and Rumney) and town assemblages (Cardiff) as well as a rural ecclesiastical settlement (Llantwit Major) in South Glamorgan. Another settlement, the town site of Kenfig, which is on the edge of the study area, has also been included in the case

studies presented here. This is due to the presence of a well stratified and available ceramic assemblage. It is also a significant site in that it is one of the earlier sites to be established in the early post-Conquest phase providing evidence of the changes in the sourcing and later production of ceramics in South Glamorgan.

1.5.3 Analysis

Each case will discuss the ceramic assemblages with deposition as central to their interpretation. The range of fabrics and forms, with respect to the features they were retrieved from, will provide the foundation for this.

1.5.3a Household

Within each study the households are the firstly identified. For the rural settlement this takes into account the ceramic deposition within floor layers as well as the extensive yard surfaces that are characteristic of both Cosmeston and Barry working areas. As with other excavated rural settlement such as Raunds and Wharram Percy, there are no rubbish pits, which are typically associated with towns. Therefore in the case of South Glamorgan rural settlement the use of pottery as hardcore is associated directly with the household or working area. This in itself has a number of problems associated with it. Firstly, the ceramics may not have actually been used in those households and therefore may be misleading when attempting to use the evidence to directly interpret economic and social meaning from the ceramics.

Another issue that has required consideration is the process of quantification. It is very difficult to get beyond sherd count to vessel equivalents with the medieval assemblages due to the levels of fragmentation and dispersal of material. This has also been an issue with other ceramic assemblages, for example at Southampton (Brown

2002, 5). The system of quantification applied here is influenced by Brown's work and therefore each assemblage is catalogued based on fabric, form, and sherd type and where possible rim and base diameters are provided.

The pits, typically associated with a particular household and situated to the rear of the burgage plots, are not only a feature of Cowbridge's waste disposal but also seen in towns across Britain. Unlike some other towns such, as Exeter and Southampton, the pits in Cowbridge do not contain near-complete sherds, barely abraded from deposition and post-deposition movement (Allan 1984, 1-2; Brown 2002, 152). The pit groups at Exeter can have the Estimated Vessel Equivalent (EVE) and minimum number of vessels calculated successfully as the proportion of the vessels remaining are large enough and the number of vessels is clear to apply this technique. The Southampton groups, however, were recorded and presented mostly using sherd count and weight due to the volume and varied conditions of the ceramic material therefore providing a general proportional representation of the sherds (Brown 2002, 4-5). This method of analysis, although open to criticism for being too simplistic (Orton 1990), is appropriate to the assemblage and it is because of similar issues with the Cowbridge assemblages that a similar methodology has been employed here. Despite this, a more detailed analysis of two pits will be conducted here focusing on the vessel forms present and using minimum number of vessels and EVEs. The basis of EVEs relies on the ability to use identifiable features such as rim and basal sherds as well as handles to indicate or label one vessel be that either a complete vessel or a proportion of a vessel. The two pit groups discussed here will highlight the fragmented nature of the assemblages and provide evidence to show that if this technique were to be attempted on the complete assemblages from Cowbridge that this would be a fruitless task.

There are a number of instances where particular vessels have been identified and a minimum number of vessels provided but in these cases they are recognised as unusual and this is explicitly discussed. One example is a pit group from the Cowbridge Grammar School site (Chapter 6) excavated in 2005. Here the ceramics are suited to the identification of a minimum number of vessels and it is clear that this should be the method employed for the analysis of this group. It is difficult however to produce a clear framework in which to place the material that is not suitable to the MNV model. Simply counting the number of rims, bases, handles or other unique identifiers, is not sound, as many of contexts only contain body sherds, and in those which do contain rims or bases there may only be one or two within a large group of body sherds and what are clearly many different vessels represented.

By identifying households and their assemblages in both rural and urban settlement the economic, relationships within a settlement between households can be identified. For rural settlement this may indicate the variations in economic status between particular households and this further related to their role within the settlement economy. For urban settlement, this can provided similar interpretations.

1.5.3b Settlement

Beyond the household, each settlement will be interpreted as economically distinct and the ceramic assemblages used to express this. These interpretations affected the way in which settlement is distinguished, whether this is within the very broad and general rural and urban terms or more distinct defining characteristics. In order to do this, a revision of the different settlement types in South Glamorgan will be conducted in general and more specifically at the beginning of each case study. In doing this, an understanding, both archaeological and historical, of how their identities have been

defined by past interpretation will be determined. As a result of this, the ceramic evidence will be used primarily to define the economics central to the settlements and the consequent interconnected relationships.

1.6 Accessing archaeological archives

From 1990 excavations in South Glamorgan were subject to the Planning Policy Guidance 16 (Wales), which in turn was superseded in 1996 by Welsh Office Circular 60/96 (Planning the Historic Environment: Archaeology). With tighter control on archaeological excavation, regarding who is permitted to carry out work, and stricter laws for heritage protection, there is a greater degree of professionalization and consequently higher standards to which archaeologists must adhere. Despite the requirement for archaeological archives to be maintained and curated there is a real problem in Wales as museums no longer accept such archives unless they are deemed important and this has greatly reduced the number of archives available for research. Many of the assemblages that would have been useful to this thesis were unavailable as they no longer existed. This is mostly due to the GGAT warehouse fire in 1983 where a number of large assemblages were being stored and were subsequently destroyed. Access to assemblages held by the now folded Cambrian Archaeology Unit, despite the continued care of collections by Archaeology Wales, was not possible. It was not made clear whether the archive still remained or if in fact the material no longer existed. There have also been problems accessing archives from GGAT, particularly from smaller sites which appear to have been lost. Despite the creation of the 'What's in Store' group (Henderson and Parkes 2005), and the guidance within the *National Standards in Wales for Collecting and Depositing Archaeological Archives* (What's in Store Project working group 2008)*, the absence of a central museum where archives can be

deposited in most areas in Wales has led to a serious lack of control over the deposition stage of the process.

As a result of this there is a bias here in the material that has undergone analysis. The majority of the material is from old excavations, particularly those housed at the National Museum Wales in Cardiff. Other assemblages have been provided by excavations directed and run by Cardiff Archaeological Consultants and the most substantial archive analysed here was being held at the Cosmeston Medieval Village.

There are no local museums accepting archaeological material in the Vale of Glamorgan and this is likely to be the main reason for the loss of archives from watching briefs, trial trenching and excavations which are not considered as important to substantiate the maintenance of the archives. This has had a detrimental effect on the range of assemblages available. As discussed in association with the work at Cogan, although each project was relatively small, the incremental ceramic assemblage would, if retained, have provided a useful group of pottery to compare with places such Cosmeston, Barry and Wrinstone.

Despite the issues associated with the accessing of archives, the assemblages available for analysis have enabled the regional study of the ceramic evidence for economic networks.

Chapter 2: Settlements, economic networks and connections

2.1 Medieval and post-medieval economy

Identifying the elements which characterise the medieval economy is essential to understanding the networks and markets that influenced and effected the movement of pottery both locally and regionally. The growth in population, the development of towns, and a move towards a more monetised system are identified as the three important facets of the medieval economy. These represent the commercialisation of medieval society, with people becoming 'increasingly dependent on buying and selling for their livelihood' (Britnell 1996, xiii).

The term 'Medieval' is used here for the period from the Norman Conquest in Glamorgan (1093) to the Reformation/Dissolution (1536). The Norman Conquest has been identified by Smith (1971, 10) as likely to have been circa 1093. The date 1093, is still considered a reasonable suggestion for the Conquest in South Wales (Crouch 2006, 35).Certainly, by 1096 Robert Fitzhamon, who was a member of the retinue of William Rufus (the son of William the Conqueror and later King), was presiding over Glamorgan (Crouch 2006, 35).

The Norman Conquest in Wales not only introduced a more formalised manorial system but also towns. This changed the organisation of settlement and the way in which local populations lived and traded. There is very little evidence for proto-urban

settlements in South Wales in the 11th century, unlike in England at places such as Bristol, Winchester, Gloucester (Astill 1991, 104) and Exeter (Allan 1984). Place-name studies have identified Swansea, Kenfig and Milford Haven as being Scandinavian in origin (Davies 1982, 57), but there is no archaeological evidence to corroborate this interpretation. Although AD 1000-1300 is given by historians as the first phase of change with the development of towns and changes in economy in England (Britnell 1993, 362), in South Wales these dates would more realistically be from c. AD 1100 (Courtney 2009, 181).

Whilst the period from the 12th century to the end of the 13th century witnessed a period of economic growth, that from the 14th to the early 16th century was characterised by decline. Only in the early to mid-16th century did the population begin to grow again. During the period of decline there was a change in the way people used towns and markets. Whilst the post-Conquest and pre-Black Death period looked to the production of grain for wealth, wool became the dominant product in the later 14th to 16th centuries (Britnell 1996).

Landowners moved away from the direct management of the cultivation of demesne lands in favour of farming them out for fixed rents; this, and the discontinuance of unpaid labour services, allowed former peasants to become more mobile and some to acquire larger holdings and so socially and economically to move up the ranks to the position of yeomen, farmers and graziers (Dyer 2005, 4). This change was also paralleled by an increase in wage dependency which in turn led to the population having the ability to develop the trend for at least moderately conspicuous consumption (Britnell 1993, 364; Gaimster 1997, 115; Gaimster 1994, 287).

The economic background to the period under study here is central to understanding the changes in ceramic use in South Glamorgan and the networks which enabled this. Whilst the analysis of ceramic assemblages can simply be the process of cataloguing an archive there are far more useful analytical approaches which can support and direct analysis. An integrated analysis of the pottery with the settlement or site enables consideration to be made of the assemblages within the local and regional economic networks. If a ceramic assemblage is to be fully understood as well as used comprehensively as archaeological evidence, the interpretations associated with the site or settlement need to be accurate.

Medieval settlement in the form of nucleated villages and the development of urban communities centred on towns are two areas of research that have been widely discussed in association with settlement in South Glamorgan. It is believed that due to the lack of holistic analysis and interpretation, with the relegation of artefact studies to the back of the reports, any full analyses of the sites that have been excavated have omitted critical evidence. The ceramics should not solely be used as a dating tool; rather they are as important to the stratigraphic report as are the archaeobotanical, zooarchaeological and small finds. Whilst ideally interpretation of the economic networks in South Glamorgan would include all the elements of the excavated sites, this is beyond the scope of the thesis. It is in this spirit, however, that an inclusive interpretation of the settlements in association with the ceramic archive will be provided. This will also change the way in which certain settlements are considered and a brief discussion of these different settlement site types is presented here.

2.2 The economic role of settlement and their networks in South Glamorgan

2.2.1 Towns

2.2.1a The medieval foundation and establishing of towns

The study of medieval towns has received considerable attention in both England and Wales. Medieval towns in Britain are typically viewed as representative of a developing consumer economy associated with the rise in the use of coinage, the organisation of guilds and the control of goods through markets and fairs (Vince and Schofield 1994; Dyer and Lilley 2011). The increase in surviving historical documentation, particularly port books from the late 15th century, and the abundance of pottery and small finds, has meant that towns in the later period have been subject to research on trade and connections represented by both historical and archaeological sources: for example Exeter (Allan 1984) and Southampton (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975). The dichotomy between town and country throughout this period has been emphasised by polarised research objectives which tend to focus on one or the other. Whilst there have been attempts to rectify this as exemplified by the Town and Country conference and publication, organised by the Society of Medieval Archaeology (Dyer and Giles eds. 2007), the majority of work still focuses on one or other of these two settlement types.

Research on towns in Wales has mostly focused on their individual historical narratives; this includes the foundation of towns (Griffiths 1971), tracing the changes to the layout of settlements in response to historical events, and identifying the buildings representing this (Dimmock 2005; Spurgeon 2001). The reliance on historical records and early maps has for the most part ignored the potential of the archaeological record. Whilst research on the medieval history of towns in South Glamorgan has

focused on defence and the role of the Lords of Glamorgan, the post-medieval period has received slightly different attention due to the survival of port and customs records. Consequently little has been done to incorporate the excavated archaeological evidence for towns and develop interpretations beyond the historical narratives.

Using central-place theory (Galloway 2007, 112-113), towns have been identified as the focus for local economic networks, with the rural communities providing food and raw materials to be traded and made into items in the towns. A town's markets and fairs were strategically organised to take advantage of these networks, as high revenues could be made from tolls and the control of certain resources. Whilst this pattern can be seen in Cambridgeshire for example (Galloway 2007, 112-113), in South Glamorgan the archaeological evidence suggests that there is a slightly different pattern as will be discussed here in Chapters 4-6. The economic system here does not always include markets in towns. Instead, landing places, fairs and 'hidden trade' (Dyer 1992) may be of greater significance and influence to regional networks.

There are two main research areas that have occupied historians and archaeologists researching towns. Firstly, foundation histories of towns have been a focus for research, in part as a result of the scale of development in town centres in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as the more recent economic boom in the early 21st century which enabled further excavation. Unlike in England, where places such as Winchester were developing into later Saxon towns or recognisable urban centres, in Wales the archaeological evidence indicates that many of the earliest towns were established after the Norman Conquest in the early 12th century. One interpretation is that these towns were founded as trading posts (Griffiths 1971, 338; Crouch 2008, 12); ports were situated near to and on the Bristol Channel in order to control trade using the rivers.

Whilst the earliest towns in South Glamorgan were founded as a result of the Norman Conquest, there is evidence for earlier settlement at all three of the sites under study here: Cardiff has an earlier Roman fort, Cowbridge was a Roman small town, and there is evidence at Kenfig for both Roman and post-Roman activity with finds such as Roman coins, pottery and a pennanular brooch found in the area (Spurgeon 2001). These towns, however, do not display the pre-Conquest proto-urban features, such as a planned street layout or evidence for the minting or the use of coins that have been identified at Anglo-Saxon towns such as Winchester and Gloucester (Astill 1991; Dyer 2003, 86).

As well as the early post-Conquest towns, the 13th century saw a rise in the number of rural small towns. In England numerous small towns were created and between 1270 and 1525 there were 600 small towns in England at any one time (Dyer 2003, 81). The number of towns founded in this period varies between counties: Devon had a high number of small towns (50) established by competing lordships. This contrasts with Worcestershire where only 10 towns were founded during the same period. These new towns were being established with the founding lords' aim to gain control of the markets and influence trade in the local areas (Dyer and Lilley 2011, 82). In comparison, there were only 70 small towns in existence between 1270 and 1525 in the whole of Wales (Dyer 2003, 81). In South Glamorgan there were only three official borough towns that had been established by the mid-13th-century, Kenfig, Cardiff and Cowbridge, and only the latter fits into the small town category. This number is significantly lower than that in Gwent where a higher proportion of towns were established during this period. Here there were towns at Newport, Chepstow, Monmouth, Grosmont, Abergavenny, Trelech and Usk (Figure 2.15).
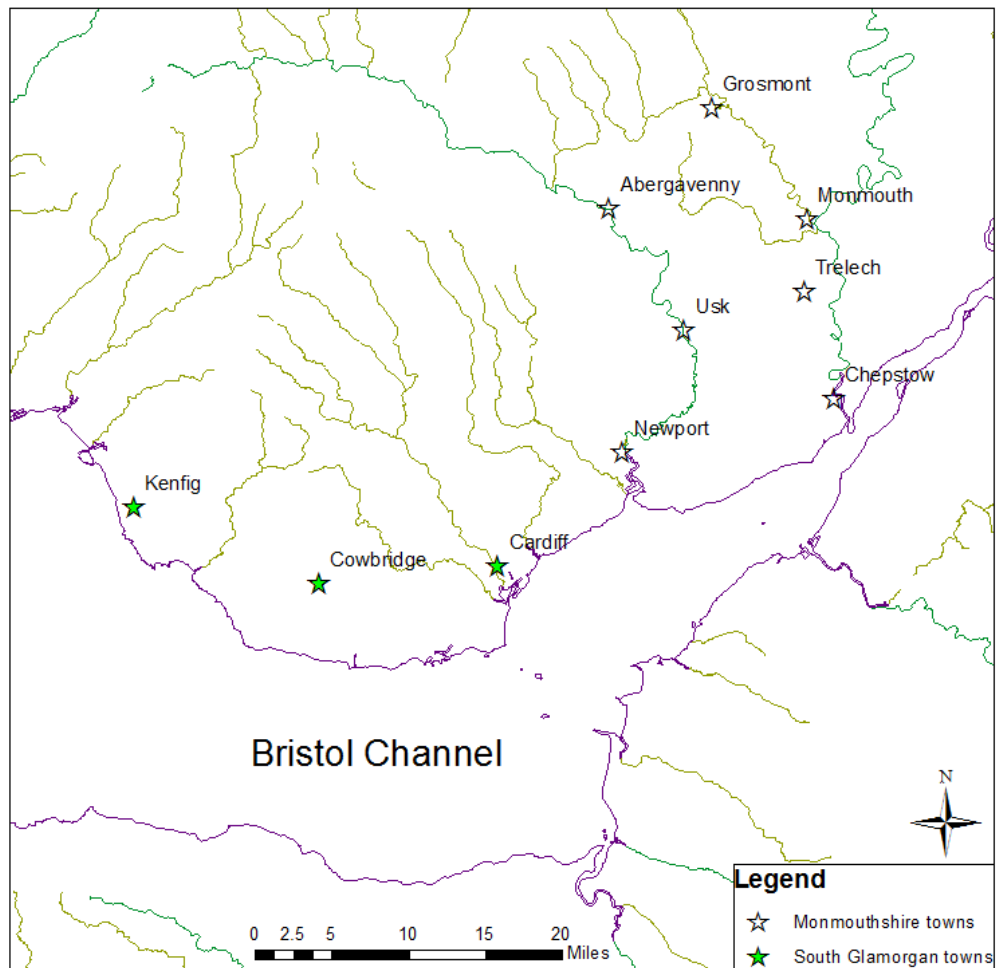
Figure 2.15 map showing the medieval official towns in South Glamorgan and Monmouthshire

The second area of research identifies what constitutes a town. The layout of the towns, particularly those discussed by Spurgeon (2001), suggests that, on the basis of town plans that the sites in South Glamorgan were, in principle, very similar to those in England. This includes a planned system of streets divided into equal burgage plots, a main high street, town walls and gates, a parish church and a designated and defined market place. Whilst a standard projected plan is suggested, the research has taken very little or no account of the available archaeological evidence. Borough status, authorised weekly markets, and annual fairs are used as evidence that the towns were

urban, controlling agricultural resources and directing regional trade. Whilst elements of this ordered and organised system may be supported by archaeological evidence, it is also clear that these interpretations do not allow for variations or exceptions.

Borough records have been heavily relied on for many of the studies of towns in Wales, for example Haverfordwest (Dimmock 2005), Usk (Courtney 1994) and Cowbridge (Robinson 1981). Assumed population density from the number of recorded burgages has been used as an indicator for the commercial success of these towns with no regard for the archaeological evidence. This information has also been used to determine and propose the layout of towns and their development throughout the medieval and into the post-medieval period. This is exemplified by Spurgeon's paper on town defences (2001), Robinson's book on the development of Cowbridge (1981), and the work by Soulsby (1983) on towns in Wales, all of which have used town layouts to structure their research.

The above-mentioned studies use either limited archaeological evidence or none at all. Whilst the scale of re-development in towns in Wales has not necessarily been equivalent to that in places like Bristol or Southampton, excavations in Chepstow (Shoesmith 1991), Swansea (GGAT Historic Environment Grey literature reports)), Cardiff (Webster 1974; 1977; 1978; Evans et al 2003) and Carmarthen (James 1996) have all produced large archaeological archives and data. The more recent research on towns has not used this material and relies on the historical documentation.

The archaeological evidence for towns identifies excavated streets, burgage plots and buildings, providing physical evidence that supports and adds to, and at times contradicts, historical interpretations. The use of burgage plots, as discussed above, is a

historical tool regularly used to predict the size and therefore the assumed success and wealth of a town. The archaeological evidence, however, particularly from Cowbridge (see Chapter 5) directly contradicts the burgage model set out by Robinson (1981). This is a good example where the use of historical evidence has provided a misinformed interpretation of a medieval town.

The archaeological material associated with towns is representative of professions and everyday life not always identified in the historical documentation. Archaeological evidence within towns is characterised by rubbish pits representing the concentration of inhabitants and craft activities. The same concentration of material is generally not seen in rural settlement due to rubbish deposition on the fields as manuring scatters. Recent research comparing archaeobotanical, zooarchaeological, ceramic and small finds found in rural and urban settlement has proved that there is very little difference between the two with regards to the range of finds. Rather it is the concentration of finds in towns that, for the most part, distinguishes the two (Egan 2007).

The material evidence suggests that town and country had access to the same products, but craft-specialisation such as the production of metal dress accessories, tanning and leather and bell and cauldron production are all activities associated with urban rather than rural settlements. The development of these specialist areas led to the creation of guilds and here historical and archaeological evidence complement each other. The absence of guilds in a supposedly urban settlement could suggest that the scale or level of urbanism associated with the settlement, despite the burgage records, was less than the historical records would suggest (Weeks 2008). A productive town with guilded professions, such as the glove makers as at Cardiff, may be considered as larger and more productive commercial centre than somewhere such as

Cowbridge where it appears that the low number of people within a particular skilled profession did not warrant a guild.

Whilst industries such as metal-working and tanning are typically associated with towns (Dyer 2005, 4), ceramic production is exclusively associated neither with urban nor rural settlement. In Monmouth, medieval pottery production has been identified near to the castle and in Bristol the medieval Redcliffe Ware kilns were situated close to the main urban core. Other production centres at Scarborough and Coventry all used their position within or next to urban centres to distribute ceramic vessels. This is not always the case though as many production centres were situated within rural communities such as the kilns in Lyveden and Stanion in Northamptonshire (Dyer 2003, 99; Mellor 2007).

There are so few fully published excavations for towns in Wales and the published reports, where they exist, do not comprehensively catalogue or discuss the material evidence. It is therefore difficult to provide comparisons between assemblages from settlements in general. The analysis of the ceramic material and the comparison between different urban centres will primarily provide information concerning the scale of economic activity.

2.2.1b Continuation and growth: Post-medieval towns

By the early 15th century, many of the small towns founded in the 13th and 14th centuries had failed. These settlements no longer functioned as central market places and whilst towns such as Manchester and Birmingham grew, others shrank to villages. Cowbridge was the only small town in medieval South Glamorgan and it appears to have remained a very similar size through to the post-medieval period. Cardiff also

continued as a port and town during this period. The only town to fail completely was Kenfig but this was due to the sand inundation rather than economic factors (see Chapter 7 for further discussion). Our knowledge of early post-medieval South Glamorgan relies heavily on historical records with little having been done to assess the archaeological evidence for economic networks and relationships that existed between town and country during this period.

The study of post-medieval towns in Wales is dominated by the port records. Analysis has focused on the range of goods being transported in and out of the ports and mapping where ships were going to and coming from. Carmarthen and Chepstow (Rees 1954; Dimmock 2005b) have in particular been the focus of research as the records for them are some of the better surviving and more detailed. Discussion associated with inland towns is less exhaustive and as a result there is a bias in knowledge towards the larger ports.

This is in contrast to the research on some towns in England. For example, Bristol, Exeter and Birmingham have all been the subject of detailed research as a result of excavations. Birmingham lies within the group of towns whose post-medieval history is more apparent and extensive than the medieval and as a consequence this has been the main focus for research (Patrick and Ratkai 2008). Exeter has also received attention due to not only the excavated material but also its port records as they are some of the more detailed historical documents available (Allan 1984; Kowalewski 2002). This is very similar to the focus of research in Bristol, where as a result of the port records and the scale of archaeological investigation, the post-medieval history and archaeology for the town is better understood than in other places (Taylor 2009).

Material evidence for towns in the post-medieval period is similar to that for the Middle Ages, with the quantity of finds indicative of the density of population and the range of items available to those living in these settlements. Evidence of a town issuing 17th-century trading tokens is a good indicator of economic activity and the roles it played in economic networks. As a consequence of the instability of England and Wales during the years preceding and during the Civil War, the amount of official coinage being produced was greatly reduced and as a result merchants in towns began to have their own coinage struck (Dykes 1966). Towns produced trading tokens in order for people to be able to participate in the market centre's economy. There are few tokens known from Welsh towns. Carmarthen (8), Chepstow (7) and Wrexham (11) have the highest number of issuers. This is in comparison with Cowbridge and Swansea, each of which have two known issuers, and Neath and Llantwit Major, which have only one issuer each (Dykes 1966, 44). Cardiff has no known issued tokens from this period. The preponderance of Bristol tokens, however, as illustrated by metal-detected finds as well as those from excavations, emphasises the volume of trade between Bristol and Wales. For example from the excavations at Cowbridge, a Bristol and a Cowbridge token were found (Lloyd-Fern et al 1996, 182) and at Cosmeston, Bristol and Taunton tokens have been found in 17th-century contexts. As can be seen from the distribution map of tokens found in South Wales over the last 20 years, although locally issued tokens are relatively regularly identified, it is the Bristol, and Somerset tokens which dominate the collection (Figure 2.16).[2]

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[2] Many thanks to Edward Besly (Curator of Numismatics) and Mark Lodwick (Finds Liaison Officer for Wales) of the National Museum Wales for a current list of known 17th-century trading tokens.
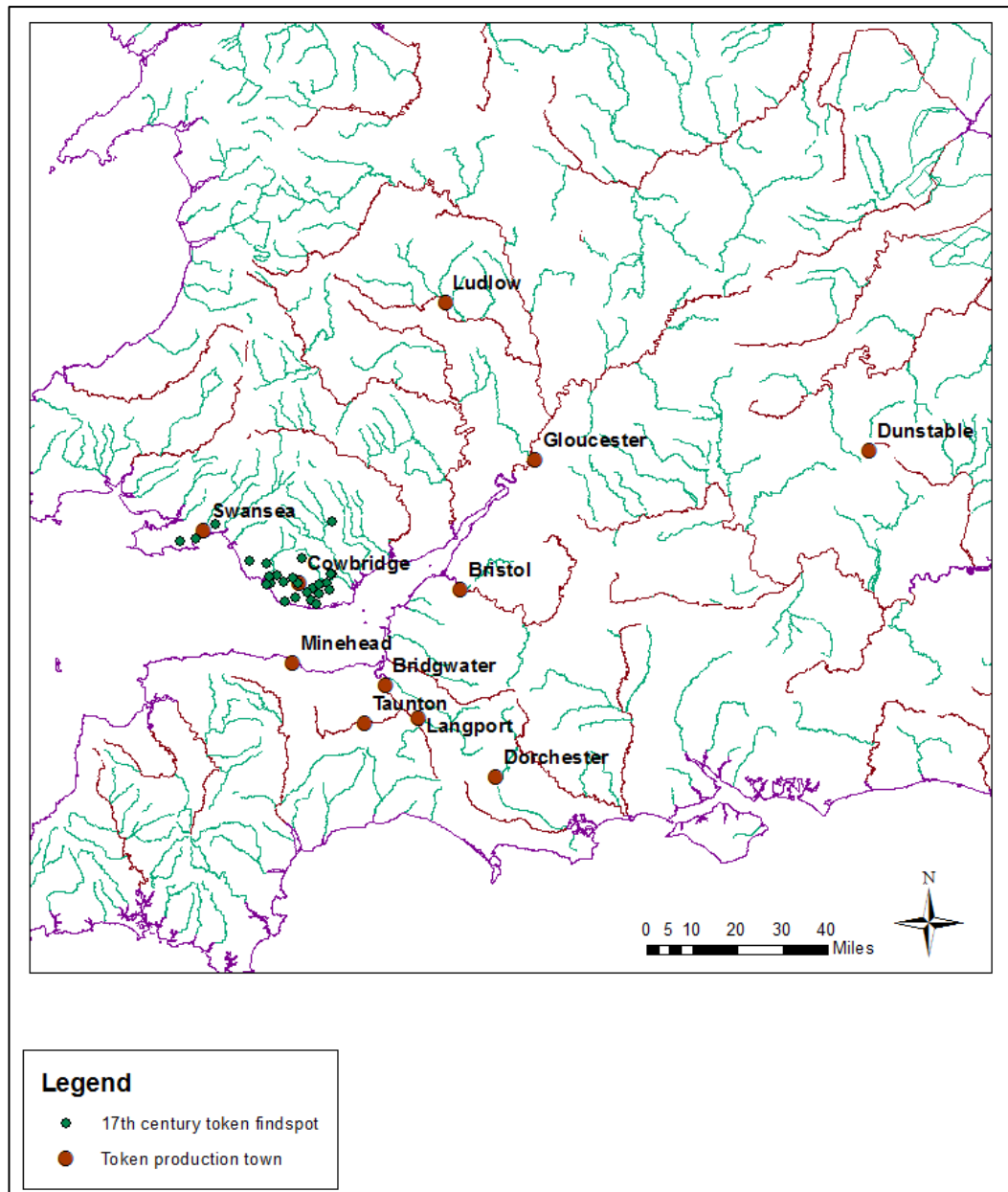
Figure 2.16 showing the distribution of 17th century tokens found in south Glamorgan and the towns where these tokens were produced.

Post-medieval ceramics are, as with the medieval period, prolific on urban sites. The increase in the use of ceramics in the household beyond food storage and preparation is particularly apparent in towns with the introduction of decorative tablewares. Rubbish pits and dumping deposits provide most finds contexts. The increase in material culture represents the developments in mass production of portable wealth

and property. This is evidenced by the archaeological material uncovered during excavations. As with the medieval material from excavations in Wales, very little has been published and therefore no comparable material to the ceramics is available.

When identifying the economic networks in South Glamorgan from the 13th to the 17th centuries, recognising a town's economic status is essential. Towns are typically believed to be the market centres, controlling the movement of goods and directing regional trading patterns through the organisation of markets and fairs. South Glamorgan is slightly different. With few towns and the association of markets and fairs with settlements which do not have official borough status and are therefore not technically towns, the economic networks are not as straightforward as central-place theory would postulate. Although towns were significant settlements, there appear to be other systems in place which do not necessarily respect or regard towns as central to the local and regional economies.

2.2.2 Rural settlement

Rural settlement in South Glamorgan is typified by manorial estates. Evidence for pre-Norman Conquest settlement is not apparent, for the most part due to the ephemeral nature of the archaeological evidence. For example, the burial site at Llandough does provide some indication of the post-Roman communities living in South Glamorgan prior to the Norman Conquest although he evidence for where these people were living is still not forthcoming(Holbrook and Thomas 2005). As a result the medieval archaeology is distorted towards recognisable structures and manorial landscapes.

The early history of the post-Conquest period has been the focus of attention for historians from as early as the 16th century as indicated by Rice Merrick and his book

Morganiae Archaiographia (1578) (edited version James 1983). The use of foundation histories to justify and support entitlement was fashionable with families seeking to validate their history in Wales. This can be seen in the work by Merrick, who created a list of the first twelve knights of Glamorgan who were given land by Robert Fitzhamon (Merrick 1578 in James 1983). This list is not accurate and includes a number of 16th-century local gentry, the Stradlings, and Berkerolles for example, who wanted to validate their position in South Glamorgan at this time (Table 2.2).

De Londres	Ogmore
De Granvilla	Neath
Robert of Saint Quintin	Llanblethian
Richard Syward	Tal-y-fan
Sir Gilbert Humfreville	Penmark
De Sully	Sully
Berkerolles	East Orchard
Le Sore	St Fagans and Peterston
Fleming	Wenvoe, Llanmaes
St John	Fonmon
Stradling	St Donats

Table 2.2 listing the twelve knights identified by Merrick (1578) as those enfeoffed by Fitzhamon (ed. James 1983, 27)

A more accurate list is provided by Smith (1971, 17) who uses the 1262 extent of Glamorgan (G.T. Clark 1910, 649-51) as well as other charter evidence (Table 2.3).

Le Sore	*St Fagans*
De Umfraville	*Penmark*
De Somery	*Dinas Powys*
De Londres	*Ogmore*
Nerber	*St Athan*
Winton	*Llandow*
De Cardiff	*Llantrithyd*
Pincerna	*St Donats*
Constantin	*Cosmeston*
Walensis	*Llandough*
Cogan	*Cogan*
Norris	*Penllyn*

Table 2.3 listing the twelve knights identified as holding land in Glamorgan in 1166 using the extent of Glamorgan made after the death of Richard de Clare, early of Glamorgan in 1262 (G.T. Clark 1910, 649-51) and other charter evidence (Smith 1971, 17)

The earliest archaeological evidence for medieval rural settlement is from the site at Llantrithyd (Charlton et al 1977), dated to the 12th century by the ceramic assemblage and a coin hoard. Supporting the archaeological evidence, Llantrithyd is also one of the twelve manors in the list of foundation settlements and fits into the category of 'Early defended settlement' in the Royal Commission's settlement typology (RCAHMW 1991). These early settlements are considered to be evidence for Anglo-Norman settlers, residing in pioneering castles (RCAHMW 1991, 10); defended outposts in the initial phase of the gradual take-over of Welsh land. As a result of this, excavation research questions have further sought to identify 12th-century settlements in South Glamorgan, many of which are believed to underlie the later 13th- and 14th-century manorial centres. To date there is no further firm evidence from excavated sites for this early defended form of settlement. Excavations at Sully revealed an earlier ditch underlying the 13th century stone buildings, (Dowdell 1990). The ditch has been used as evidence to suggest that there was an early ringwork at Sully, but there is an absence of any supporting material evidence from that date. Whilst there is a lack of evidence from early defended settlements other than at Llantrithyd, there is equally early evidence from different types of site elsewhere in the study area (see Chapters 4 and 6).

Rural settlement in South Glamorgan has been characterised as part of the Central Province pattern of nucleated villages and open fields (Rippon 2006,3; Kissock 2008). Nucleation in economic terms is representative of the organisation and control of land and those who work it. This form of settlement represented a hierarchical system whereby through taxes, services and the production of food and other goods the lords who controlled the manors benefitted from the peasants who lived within their

demesne. Manors are considered to have developed in the Midlands in the later part of the pre-Conquest period (Lewis, Mitchell-Fox and Dyer 1997, 12) but for South Glamorgan this process was unlikely to be as advanced as that seen in the Gwent Levels at places such as Portskewett (Kissock 2008, 71-72). Rather manorial settlement was introduced as a result of the Norman Conquest and the early foundation settlements discussed above are likely to have been part of that process as illustrated by the archaeological evidence from Llantrithyd.

Maps of champion land and the development of the medieval village tradition, regularly include the Vale of Glamorgan (Rippon 2006). The fertile plain has been seen as typical of an area which developed similarly to areas such as Northamptonshire and Leicestershire with regards to settlement nucleation. The models generally include a manor house at the centre of the settlement with an associated village and church and an open-field system (Kissock 1991). Whilst there is possible evidence for small-scale nucleation at places such as Cosmeston and Wrinstone, dispersed settlement appears to be the predominant form of settlement in South Glamorgan, as seen at Barry (RCAHMW 1982) despite assumed nucleation. Rather than being characterised within the Central Province model, it is more accurate to view the medieval landscape in South Glamorgan as similar to North Devon, Somerset (Rippon 2006, 70), North Dorset and north-west Wiltshire, with a mix of both nucleated and dispersed settlement (Roberts and Wrathmell 1998) as will be shown.

Whether a settlement is nucleated or dispersed is important when recognising its economic function or role within the region. Size has been taken into account when identifying a village or nucleated settlement as well as hierarchy between settlements (Lewis, Mitchell-Fox and Dyer 1997, 7). Methods of defining a settlement by the

number of households have identified 6 as the lowest number to define a settlement as nucleated. Based on this, few manorial settlements could actually be termed nucleated in South Glamorgan.

At the centre of many of the manorial estates were stone 'castles'. These were conspicuous medieval structures, dominant in the landscape. Whilst there are large castles in South Glamorgan at places such as Cardiff, Ogmore, and Llanblethian, the majority of structures identified as 'castles' are much smaller. For example, buildings at Cosmeston, Sully and Rumney have structural elements which are associated with castles. Possible evidence for a strongly built, masonry main tower or keep can be seen at all three and each has associated buildings attached to and extending from the main building. The keep or tower feature is common to many of the smaller castles in South Glamorgan. Whilst indicative of the ability for structural development during peaceful times they are symbolic of both the threat and actuality of violence between first the Anglo-Norman and later English settlers with the Welsh (Kenyon 2008, 93).

As well as a defensive element, the buildings would have provided the main living space for the lord. The keeps at Sully and Dinas Powys are 12th-century in date (RCAHMW 1991, 314). Whether Cosmeston also had a similar building is not out of the question, particularly when comparing the three sites, as there appears to be a number of similarities in the structure and development of the castles' areas. For example, the tower is the earliest stone structure, and at Cosmeston, the earliest ceramics have been retrieved from the clay floors within this building. Later, in the 13th century, there appears to be a phase of expansion. This can be seen in both Cosmeston and Sully in particular and both have very similar additional structures built at this point. These three sites can also be compared to the medieval castle at Dinas Powys (Figure 2.17).

Here, a very similar arrangement is apparent. Again, the earliest phase of building in stone is with the tower and in this particular case a large curtain wall. The additional buildings are likely to be later in date. Excavation at the site has occurred (Dowdell 1965, 26) although there is no excavation report or ceramic assemblage available for analysis.

The small castles have been interpreted as built to defend and protect the manorial estates they governed but this is not necessarily the primary reason for these structures. The defence/status argument will not be entered into here (Creighton and Higham 2005; Platt 2007; Creighton and Liddiard 2008). There are a number of cases where it appears that the castles did require defensive elements, such as at Ogmore, Newcastle and Kenfig. The attacking and destruction of these castles is historically attested and at Kenfig this has also been archaeologically proven (see Chapter 7), but this is not visibly the norm for the majority of castles in South Glamorgan, particularly the smaller manorial centres.
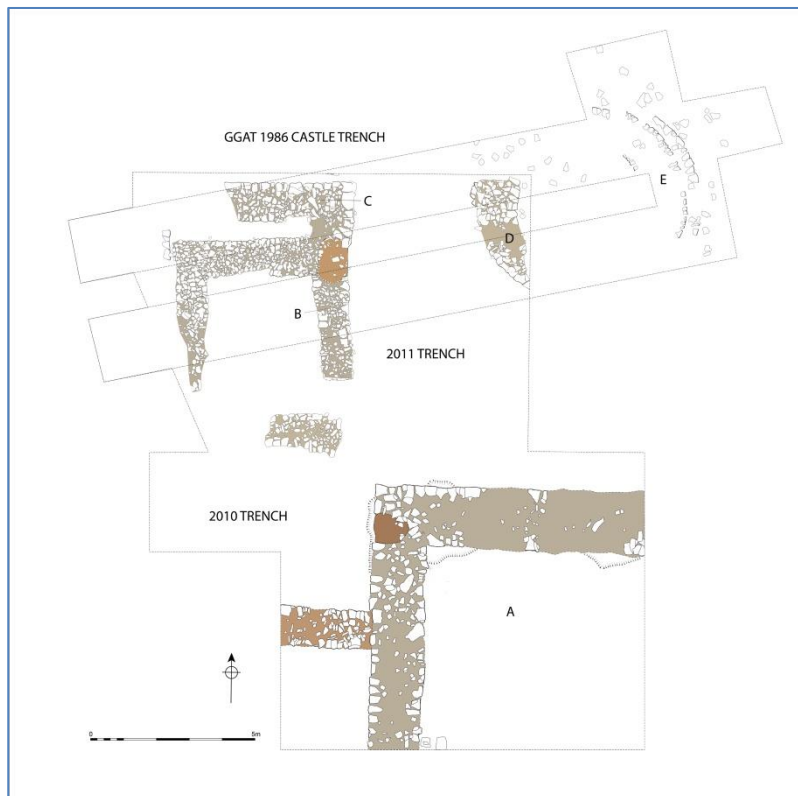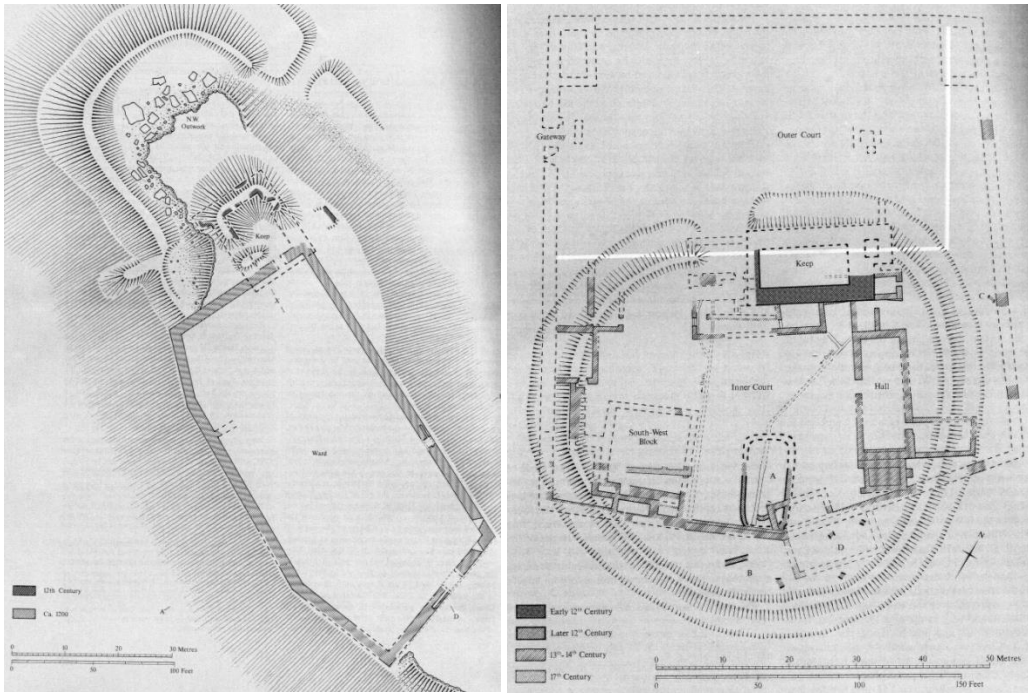
Figure 2.17 showing the site plans for Dinas Powys castle, Sully castle and the possible keep at Cosmeston,

The village and the castle are generally interpreted separately as if unrelated, but the two are directly interconnected. The manor house is the castle and the lord owns and manages the land within which the tenants live in either nucleated or dispersed homesteads. The tenants farm and provide the crops and livestock to contribute to the requirements dictated to the lord by the king. The direct relationship between these two elements of manorial settlement in South Glamorgan should not be separated but rather the two interpreted together. The ceramic evidence reflects this hierarchical relationship between the manor and settlement, providing further insight, both social and economic.

Each manor therefore is interpreted as an economic unit, self-sustaining in many ways but also dependent on other manors. Where one manor might have a mill another does not and therefore one is dependent on the other and economically linked. This may also be the case for other requirements. If a settlement is near to the coast and has an associated landing place and ready access to goods, private trade is likely to have occurred, rather than a reliance on a market or fair. An example of this is demonstrated by the manorial records from Longbridge Deverill, Wiltshire, where grain was directly traded from the manor with John Hychcok of Wells and William of Dunkerton (Farmer 1989, 8). In this example the official, central market place and system had been avoided. Archaeologically these relationships are potentially identifiable from the ceramic material with similarities between certain assemblages, representative of the links between the manorial estates.

Another significant influence on research and interpretation in South Glamorgan has been the idea of 14th-century settlement desertion. Excavation evidence has been slanted towards proving the notion of a village wiped out by the Black Death and

therefore placed into stasis as the remnants of a community. For many of the excavated village and settlement sites archaeological evidence that is indicative of continuity beyond the 14th century has not been considered or included in the interpretation. This is misleading as the majority of manorial settlements in the 14th century were still in existence in the 15th to 17th centuries and in many cases are still communities today.

As a result of favouring the model of 14th-century desertion, the archaeology of post-medieval settlement in South Glamorgan has been in many cases ignored. Our knowledge of the post-medieval archaeology of South Glamorgan has mostly been structured around standing buildings, and excavated archaeological evidence has received limited attention. There are a few post-medieval rural settlement sites which have been but even then their medieval precursors have received greater attention. A good example is the site at Gadlys Farm, Llanmaes (Marvell and Newman 1986) where, despite there being a significant post-medieval element to the settlement, the publication of the ceramic material focuses solely on the medieval pottery (Newman and Wilkinson 1997).

The limited number of excavated post-medieval sites and the preference for medieval pottery analysis has affected the way in which the later ceramics are viewed and interpreted. Few assemblages are representative of lower status households. This is in comparison to a collection of high-status assemblages from the castles at Penhow, Ogmore and the Friary at Carmarthen.

2.2.3 Ports (Figure 2.18)

South Glamorgan is a coastal region, whose economy was embedded within the trading links associated with Bristol, the head port for the Bristol Channel. There are few surviving historical documents recording medieval trade from ports in South Glamorgan, although it is known from the changes in the customs law in 1327 that Cardiff and Carmarthen were made staple ports. Although not in South Glamorgan, Carmarthen is of note as by 1353 it was the only staple port in Wales (Rees 1954, 69) highlighting the scale of trade passing up the Bristol Channel and the apparent need for an official port on the Welsh shore. It also emphasises the greater control and movement of trade at Carmarthen than at Cardiff during the medieval period.
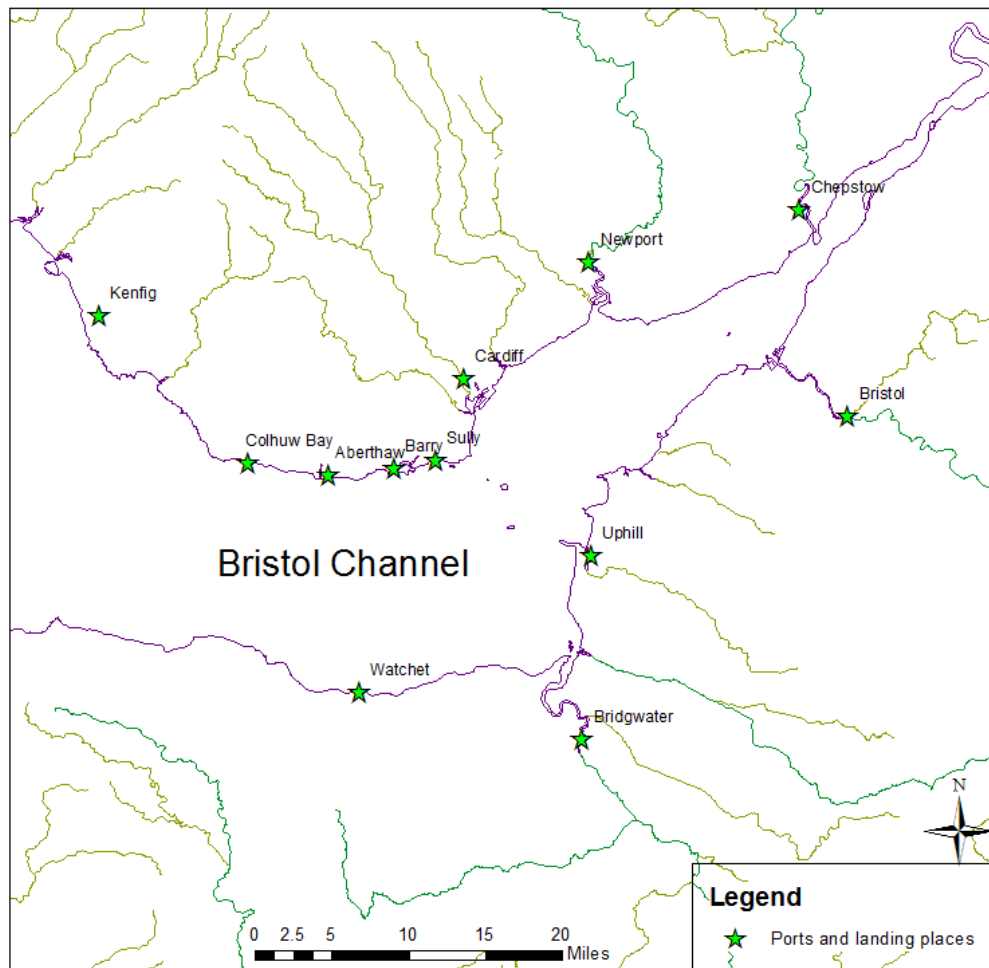
Figure 2.18 map showing the known port and landing places in the Bristol Channel in South Glamorgan and Somerset

It was only in the 15th century that the South Welsh ports were detached from Bristol and given greater official control of the movement of goods in and out of the area. The customs records for the head ports in the 16th and 17th centuries have enabled detailed studies. Chepstow, in particular, has been the focus of documentary research where details regarding the amount and range of goods entering and exiting the port as well as their origin have been identified. The port records from 1607 indicate that Chepstow had strong links to Spain, from which wool, iron and salt were imported. In

return wheat and lead were exported from Chepstow (Rees 1954, 71). This may explain the quantity of imported ceramics at Penhow which was located close to Chepstow, the ceramic material representing strong commercial links between the manor and the port.

Whilst the records of the head ports provide good evidence for trade between Bristol and Europe, local economic trading networks are not equally reported. There is evidence from the 17th century, once Cardiff was made a head port, of the movement of goods between Sully, a landing point dependant on the port of Cardiff, and Uphill, West Somerset (see Chapter 6 for further discussion). This particular connection is not noted in the earlier records but this does not mean that it did not already exist. This is where the archaeological evidence can provide the data lacking in the historical documents. Ceramic evidence emphasises the already long – established connections between the two shores of the Bristol Channel. In particular, the association with the smaller landing places and their manorial settlements.

The archaeological evidence for the associated creeks and landing places is more apparent than in the historical documentation. The lesser landing places were not being recorded due to their size and likely role within local rather than wider trading networks. Instead only long – distance trade, more economically beneficial to the crown through taxation, was being documented. There is archaeological evidence for a landing place near to Llantwit Major at Colhuw Bay for example (Davies and Williams 1991). Here there is evidence of timbers from an old mooring and there is historical reference to the landing place. This would have provided Llantwit Major with direct connections to other small landing places as well as larger ports in Somerset. However, port records do not include the bay and the trade passing through (Davies and Williams

1991, 259) and therefore, as with the landing place at Sully, when considering trade and the movement of goods in South Glamorgan, places such as these are not always included.

The larger ports were typically attached to towns, as is the case with Cardiff, Newport, Chepstow, Carmarthen and Swansea. The smaller creeks are associated with the manorial estates that governed and farmed the land on the coast. These can be seen, for example at Cogan Pill, Penarth, Sully, Barry and Llantwit Major. These manors therefore not only had access to markets in South Glamorgan at Cowbridge and Cardiff but also to those in Somerset, at Bridgwater, Watchet, Taunton and Bristol.

When discussing the evidence for economic networks for South Glamorgan, the small landing places are equally important to the local and regional trade. The manors that were directly engaged in these connections are in many ways just as central to trade as the market at Cowbridge. Whereas Cardiff and Kenfig are likely to have been engaged in wider trade, connecting South Glamorgan to the south of England, France and Spain, the creeks enabled local and regional economies. The small landing places are considered here to be equally important to the markets and fairs. Although official trade would not necessarily have been key to the success of the associated manors, hidden and therefore undocumented but archaeologically proven trade is central to local economies.

2.2.4 Markets and Fairs

Markets and fairs were a way in which greater revenue could be achieved by controlling the movement and exchange of goods and in many cases were directly associated with the ports and landing points on the Bristol Channel. The main ports

also had either an official market or a fair associated with them or both. In South

Wales, markets could be granted by the lord, a slightly different system to the one in

England where the King had the overall authority to create markets (Weeks 2008, 143).

In medieval South Glamorgan official markets are recorded at Cardiff, Cowbridge,

Kenfig and Llantwit Major and fairs at Cardiff, Llandaff, Ely Bridge, Aberthaw, Ewenny,

Cowbridge, Llangan (St Marys), and St Nicholas (Merrick 1578, in ed. James 1983, 136).

The fair at St Nicholas is a good example of the range of places and economic strategies

associated with the organisation of fairs. St Nicholas was a minor manor, situated on

the road between Cardiff and Cowbridge and therefore was well positioned to take

advantage of the main route, the Port Way (Porthway), through the Vale of Glamorgan.

It was not a town or particularly large settlement but advantage was taken of its

geographical location.

The number of known fairs and markets in South Glamorgan is notably less than that

from Gwent. In Gwent, there were twelve weekly market centres as opposed to the

seven in the whole of Glamorgan which includes Swansea. Documentary evidence

from the 15th century for the fair at Ewenny provides an insight into the organisation

that took place in the control of people attending the events:

And in the expenses of the said Coroner and his servants at 6 fairs, being within the County aforesaid, for preserving good rule in the said fairs, namely, for every of the aforesaid fairs, 4s. 9d.; for the custody of the roadway of Redshote in the time of the fair at Ewenny, 4s. 10d., by the Warrant aforesaid; nevertheless there was wont to be allowed for each of those fairs only 2s., and for the custody of the said roadway of Redshote 2s., as is contained in former Accounts, 33s. 4d.

R.O. Duchy of Lancaster Records. Ministers' Accounts. Bundle 635, No. 10334. 1492 translated in the Cardiff Records 1 (Matthews 1898).

From Ewenny, as well as the documentary evidence, there is a group of metal-detected

finds, including a Civil War hoard of armour and 128 medieval coins, pottery and other

objects found in the area believed to be the site of the fair (see appendix 2 for the

complete list of finds). Importantly, the range of coins from the site indicates that fairs

had been held at Ewenny long before the above record from 1492. The earliest coins

recorded so far from the fair site date to the reign of Henry III. These include a cut

halfpenny of Henry III, minted at Canterbury and dated to 1251-72 (see appendix 2).

The archaeological evidence for the fair at Ewenny is unique for South Glamorgan,

although similar find scatters have been identified in Somerset, for example, and have

been considered to represent fair sites (Burnett, pers comm). The variety in the type of

coins from these sites, for example at Ewenny from as far away as Dublin and Italy (see

appendix 2), illustrates the scale of trade that was being conducted.

Although there are fewer official centres for trade in South Glamorgan in comparison

to Gwent and Devon for example, it is likely that trade was occurring, as mentioned in

association with the ports, at landing places and directly between manorial estates. In

order to identify these networks, recognising the role particular settlements have to

play within the local and regional economy is essential. This further requires a better

understanding of the economic role of towns and rural settlement. Therefore, despite

the historical evidence for the networks, as identified through the port records and

transactions through manorial records, it is the archaeological material which provides

direct evidence for trade where few or no records exist.

This thesis will analyse the ceramic assemblages from medieval and post-medieval sites

from South Glamorgan concentrating interpretation on the stratigraphic and site-

specific contextual analyses. The approach taken re-considers the way in which local,

regional and European economic networks are represented by the ceramic evidence.

This in turn provides interpretation based on the archaeological evidence for the role

medieval and post-medieval settlement played in the economic networks.

The ceramic evidence is more meaningful than simply providing a relative date. It

provides evidence for daily living and work, social and economic connections and can

represent patterns of trade between household, manor and town. The analysis here

will develop ideas not only associated with the use and production of ceramics in South

Glamorgan but also provide a revised interpretation of the economic evidence for trade

and connections and the economic role of settlements in the 12th to the 17th

centuries.

Chapter 3: Vale Ware – an indicator for economic networks in South Glamorgan?

In the past, pottery specialists have been criticised by some for being too simplistic in their study of material culture, using ceramics as a dating technique rather than applying greater analysis and recognising the wider potential of the archaeological evidence (Renfrew 1977, 3-7). Despite this criticism pottery specialists are typically relied on to provide an overall and general dating framework by excavators and therefore any further interpretative work is hindered by the demands of the post-excavation process. This chapter demonstrates the importance of petrographic analysis when analysing locally produced fabrics identified on sites across Glamorgan An introduction to the previous analysis of 'Vale Ware' will emphasise the necessity for establishing a more detailed fabric series based on the identification of the mineral inclusions within the clay matrix and additional tempering, rather than relying on the fired clay colour and glazes. Identifying the range of potential mineral variants within the locally produced ceramics from South Glamorgan will provide explicit evidence for local production sites based on the geological regions. As well as hand identification, petrographic analysis will be used to support the mineral identification within the fabrics.

A more focused and detailed analysis of the fabrics local to South Glamorgan will enable a comparative study of assemblages with the aim of identifying regional trading networks supported by the evidence of the local ceramics. As previously discussed, ceramic production and consumption were apparently not typically a feature of pre-Norman material culture in the region. Therefore the new demand for ceramics in the post-Conquest period and development of local production provides clear archaeological evidence for the developing medieval manorial networks and local trade. The initial development of ceramic production and the source of the pottery tradition can be identified through the close parallels between the Ham Green kiln fabrics and forms and the locally produced ceramics. This analysis enables the development of the key themes of this thesis and the understanding of the ceramic evidence for life and economic networks in South Glamorgan.

3.1 Aims of the analysis

The paucity of detailed fabric and petrographic analysis on the local material from South Glamorgan has restricted the ability to use the ceramics to further understand economic and social networks. The absence of analysis also creates a misrepresentation of ceramic production and use in this area: the term 'Vale Ware' could be misinterpreted as pottery from one production site, whereas it was clearly the result of a regional system of production sites. This can be paralleled by the ceramic tradition known as Upper Greensand-Derived wares (Allan, Hughes and Taylor 2010). That overarching fabric name represents ceramics made in the Black Downs region of Somerset and although there are variations within the fabrics they are all recognised as being from the same geological source. With the Somerset research and the issues raised above in mind, the aims of the petrographic analysis for this thesis have been:

1. To provide better definitions of Vale Ware for identification.

2. To identify any potential variations in fabric between forms: this does not mean that it will indicate different production sites but it will identify any patterns similar to Ham Green wares.

3. To identify any fabric variations identifiable within and between sites, possibly indicating various kilns operating throughout the area as well as emphasising the scale of the economic networks.

4. To identify areas which may have shared the same sources for raw materials or kilns in order to help prove that a central pottery production site was not being used.

Two main techniques have been necessary for the fabric analysis. The initial phase used hand identification to begin to identify potential variations in the fabric of the sherds. This included low-powered microscope work. Identifying the material to sample was particularly focused on the Cosmeston assemblage as this will be used here as the type site for eastern Vale Ware, due to the size of the assemblage as well as the stratified nature of many of the contexts. In order to provided information on the range of local pottery from across South Glamorgan, the analysis of the Cosmeston Vale Ware material has been supported by analysis of assemblages from Cowbridge and Kenfig, as they represent settlement from very different locations, both contextual and geographic. One of the main difficulties with the fabric identification work was that any assemblages held by the National Museum of Wales did not allow the same detailed analysis as fresh breaks were not allowed to be made on the sherds. Therefore only a very general overview of the assemblages held within the museum could be obtained.

After the initial phase of microscope work, a pilot study for petrographic analysis was implemented as a result of the hand identifications. Sherds from Cosmeston, as well as from the more recent excavations at Cardiff Castle, and a few sherds from Rumney and Sully, were chosen. This enabled an initial assessment phase to test the theories from the hand identification stage and to identify further research.

The second phase of sampling developed from this, identifying weak areas in the initial sampling and devising a stronger strategy. In order to address the identified weaknesses, a more thorough sampling strategy was employed which included the full range of forms from a variety of stratified contexts. A key element of this second phase included the likely production site at Llandaff (Young, in progress), where the full range of forms – jugs, jars, incurved dishes, curfews, dishes and roof tiles – were all possibly being produced. By sampling the different vessels from this site, any variations in the clay matrix and tempering as a result of production techniques for the various ceramics would be identified. The Llandaff assemblage contains the only known group of wasters from South Glamorgan and they are central to answering questions regarding the production and distribution of Vale Ware.

Other samples were taken from Kenfig and a second group from Cosmeston. The Kenfig group of sherds provides a sample from west of the main study area, enabling comparisons to be made with the eastern assemblages from Cardiff and Cosmeston. This assemblage in particular will provide further evidence to identify whether ceramic production was localised or regionally centralised. Another element of the petrography associated with the assemblages from Kenfig and Cosmeston is to try and identify pre-Vale Ware local production. Both assemblages represent early Post-Conquest settlement and the development of the use of ceramics in South Glamorgan.

Identifying possible 12th-century, local ceramic production using petrography is considered possible and the sampling strategy has taken this into account.

3.2 Previous Work

Vale Ware (Vyner 1979, 1982; Price and Newman 1985; McCarthy and Brooks 1988) is the name applied to a particular type of ceramic found predominantly on sites in South Glamorgan and believed to be produced in this area. Vale Ware is found on most sites throughout South Glamorgan, as far west as Loughor in the Gower (Lewis and Vyner 1979) and as far east as Chepstow (Vince 1979). Small single farmsteads (Highlight and Merthyr Mawr), castles (Cardiff, Ogmore and Kenfig), manors (Cosmeston and Barry) and monastic sites (Ewenny Priory and Llantwit Major) all have Vale Ware found in association with the excavated medieval deposits. Vale Ware has been interpreted as if it were a very basic, ubiquitous fabric type, with jugs, incurved dishes and jars all recorded as being produced in the same quartz tempered ferruginous clay. This, however, is not the case.

The fabric was first tentatively identified at Loughor Castle (Lewis and Vyner 1979; Vyner 1993), which is situated on the western coast of the Gower peninsula, and in association with assemblages at the same time retrieved during fieldwalking at the manorial site of Wrinstone in the Vale of Glamorgan (Vyner and Wrathmell 1978), as well as at Penmaen Castle, on the east coast of the Gower peninsula (Alcock and Talbot 1966). The initial work at Loughor resulted in a fabric definition for Vale Ware as a lightly sanded fabric. The sherds are typically tempered with much fine sand. There are also ferruginous elements which appear on the surface as small brown and grey spots.

Many of the quartz particles appear stream-derived. Typically, sherds have a grey core with an orange or orange-brown surface (Lewis and Vyner 1979, 6).

Fieldwalking at Wrinstone produced an assemblage with similar sherds of pottery to those identified at Loughor (Vyner and Wrathmell 1978, 1981), and other medieval sites in the Vale of Glamorgan (Vyner 1979, 6). Further work was conducted on the fabric to define the character of the inclusions conclude that: *'Vale fabric I (VFI) is characteristically a lightly sanded fabric with numerous small rounded grains (0.5mm – 1.2mm in diameter). A related ware (VFII), in the same sandy fabric, is of a 'consistently chocolate colour'* (Vyner 1982, 32). It was only in 1983-1984, however, during the excavations of two medieval buildings at Cosmeston, that a large assemblage of 'Vale Ware' was excavated. As a result of the new volume of excavated material a re-evaluation of Vale Fabric was conducted (Price and Newman 1986), continuing to use the fired colour of the fabrics as the indicator for the different identifiable fabrics, rather than the clay and additional tempering inclusions. The absence of any detailed fabric analysis and descriptions based on mineral inclusions means that the fabrics identified by the authors were neither truly reflective of the variety of local fabrics represented in the Cosmeston assemblage nor appropriate when attempting to discuss the potential for identifying local production sites supported by the varying mineralogy of the sherds.

As well as the term Vale Ware, other ceramic reports have identified similar material, believed also to have been produced in South Glamorgan. Alan Vince, for his thesis, *The Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Severn Valley* (1987) included the identification of a locally produced fabric from South Glamorgan. It is very likely that, although not termed Vale Ware, that this fabric is in fact Vale Ware. Whilst not part of his final

thesis, included in the data were thin sections of ceramic material sampled from Chepstow, Barry and Llantwit Major. Unfortunately it is now unknown where these thin sections are being stored. There is a list of all the thin-section work conducted over 30 years in the Alan Vince archive held at the British Museum. Unfortunately I have not been able to locate the South Glamorgan thin sections although further work is being planned for the Alan Vince archive during which it is hoped they will re-appear..

Whilst the thin sections may be missing, the ceramic report for the excavations at Chepstow includes the South Glamorgan fabric, Hg, identified as probably made in the Vale of Glamorgan (Vince 1979). This fabric is described as containing common angular and sub-angular quartz and sandstone, less common clay pellets and rounded angular iron oxide and rare feldspar and tourmaline.

Another assemblage with a fabric series identified as having a number of similarities with Vale Ware is that from the 1920s excavations at Kenfig (Vince 1979). Work in 1920 was concentrated on the area around the keep and although an excavation report was published at that time, the finds were not reported on or related to the features excavated (Richard 1927). As a result the published ceramic report situates the assemblage within its geographical and historical contexts rather than stratigraphically (Francis and Lewis 1984). The report identifies a dominant local fabric type, Kenfig A, associated with glazed jugs, whose fabric description, as defined by Francis and Lewis (1984, 4), indicates that it should be generally termed Vale Ware:

- Hard sand-tempered, containing angular white quartz grains

- Fragments of sandstone

- Red clay pellets

- Some black-rimmed cavities

Within the Kenfig assemblage, as well as the jug fabric, fabric (K) (Francis and Lewis 1984) has been recognised as the same as the Loughor fabric 4 - Vale Ware (Vyner 1993). The Loughor Castle report has been used in comparison with the material from Kenfig and the parallels between fabrics are apparent not just at these two sites but from sites across Glamorgan. As mentioned in Chapter 1 this not only includes sherds identified as regional products but also sherds comparable to and recognisable as the Ham Green kiln waster fabric (Barton 1969) as well as sherds from Bath (typically micaceous clays) and the Wiltshire and Somerset areas. The locally produced ceramics identified in the Kenfig assemblage associated with the keep are regional variants of Vale Ware and, although the fabric description is based on the changes in decoration and fired colours rather than changes in mineral inclusions, it is likely that there is a range of identifiable fabrics within this assemblage.

X-ray fluorescence has also been applied to Vale Ware from Cosmeston and Kenfig (Anthony 2004). This study used Vyner's fabric identifications VF1 and VF2 (1983) and the fabric descriptions for Kenfig A and B as defined by Francis and Lewis (1984) to structure the sampling strategy for comparative analysis between eastern and western Vale ceramics (Anthony 2004). The results of the analysis identified chemical differences in the clay matrix between sherds from Kenfig and those from Cosmeston, although there were some examples of both Kenfig and Cosmeston sherds which had chemical fingerprints typical of the other site. The research illustrated the difficulties of distinguishing the ceramic material between the two sites. The ceramics from both Kenfig and Cosmeston were considered to be produced locally to the settlements and the possibility that ceramic vessels may have moved any great distance from the kiln

site to the settlement was never suggested. The general interpretation is that pottery would have been taken to market by the potter and sold directly to the consumer as ceramic vessels rather than as containers for food (Anthony 2004, 197). The use of the market ring model (Anthony 2004) supports this limited ceramic distribution and network. The results from the XRF analysis, however, suggests otherwise, as does the evidence from the petrographic analysis here (see below), with evidence for pottery staying for the most part locally but with some examples of vessels being transported some distance. Even though there are differences of opinion with regards to markets, ceramic value and methods of distribution, the data can be usefully applied here as comparative material for the petrographic analysis.

3.3 Production and diagnostic features: fabrics and form

Whilst assemblages from sites such as Barry, Kenfig and Cosmeston contain what appear to be locally produced ceramics, it is very clear that Ham Green Ware jar sherds retrieved from sites in Glamorgan have been subject to misidentification. This is also the case vice versa as the locally produced ceramics are not fully understood with regards to fabric and are consequently not always recognisable. This is due to the close similarities between the two fabrics due to the geological similarities between the area on the south side of the Bristol Channel where the Ham Green kilns were situated and the eastern Vale of Glamorgan. This will be further discussed in this chapter when considering the importance and influence of the geological zones for identifying possible local production areas. The majority of past studies of Vale Ware rely on the forms and the finished firing colours to identify both Vale Ware and Ham Green jars and this has meant that at times it is very difficult to distinguish one fabric from the other as they are so similar. Depending on the context and the site, in Monmouth, for

example, sherds of a certain type are generally identified as Ham Green (Clarke, pers comm), whereas material from the Vale of Glamorgan is generally thought to be Vale Ware. There is very little questioning of whether what is supposed to be one fabric could not in fact be the other within these regional contexts.

Although fabric and fired colour are very similar between the Ham Green and Vale Ware jars, there are diagnostic features, with regards to form and decoration, which distinguish the products of the different kilns from one another. The decoration on Ham Green jars does not appear to be emulated on Vale Ware jars. Ham Green jars have combed wavy decoration on the shoulder and rim of the vessels and can also have applied, thumbed strips of clay decoration running down the body sherds (Vince 1988, 258-259). The fabrics for Vale Ware and Ham Green jars are also different: typically the Ham Green inclusions are finer and better sorted than those seen in the Vale Ware sherds, although the local ceramics can sometimes have finer tempering. Whilst the decoration is a good indicator for the sherds to be Ham Green rather than Vale Ware, sherds which are not decorated are more difficult to identify and lead to mis-identification. It does mean that if an assemblage does not include sherds with any of the decorative features diagnostic of Ham Green jars or forms, the two fabrics can be confused.

The most diagnostic form associated with Vale Ware is the incurved dish (Sell 1984). This is a form which is likely to have been influenced by the West Country dish (Jope 1963) but is also a form regional to South Glamorgan. Incurved dishes are found on most sites, from castles to small farms. The apparent West Country influence on the incurved dishes also supports the importance of the Ham Green and Upper Greensand-

Derived kiln products, which were clearly instrumental to the development of Vale Ware.

The Somerset and Wiltshire wares were initially brought in to Glamorgan in the late 12th century in response to a demand for ceramics which could not be met in Glamorgan due to the absence of pottery production – this is best illustrated at Llantrithyd. Whether pottery production was developed as early as this in the region is still to be fully demonstrated but it is clear that by the 13th century local production was fulfilling most of the demands for ceramic material as the majority of the sherds found on archaeological sites dating to the 13th century are locally produced. There is, however, evidence for Ham Green jars still being used within the cross-channel trading networks. A pit group in Swansea and sherds from Cosmeston indicate that these ceramics were, despite local production, still being used in Glamorgan.

Unlike the identification problems between Vale Ware and Ham Green jars, due to the similarities in the red firing clays and tempering material, distinguishing between the Ham Green jugs, made from white-firing, coal measure clays (Barton 1963), and the red-firing Vale Ware jugs is an easier task. Although there are distinct differences both in terms of the additional tempering inclusions as well as the clays between the products from either side of the Bristol Channel, it is very clear that Vale Ware jugs were influenced by the traditions of Ham Green jugs: the decorative motifs and general technical attributes such as the form and application of the handles and the basal features, sagging bases and thumbing. All of these appear to lack any development over time other than the handles which are found occasionally as rod rather than strap handles. Technologically, the move to wheel-thrown vessels is not generally apparent with regards to locally produced ceramics in the Cosmeston assemblage, although the

Kenfig group has a number of fabrics identifiable as having been wheel-thrown (Francis and Lewis 1984). In some cases it appears that vessels have been wheel-finished as decoration is applied with the help of a wheel, whereas the vessel bodies are handmade. It may be that some of these vessels are assumed to be wheel-thrown as this is generally the more regularly used throwing technique in medieval Britain.

3.4 Regional and local production evidence

3.4.1 Archaeological evidence

Direct evidence for medieval ceramic production is absent from Glamorgan other than at the Bishop's palace site next to Llandaff Cathedral. In 2000, work conducted at Llandaff Cathedral School produced stratified waster material from the large ditch which in the 13th century surrounded the Bishop's Palace (Young 2005). Geophysical survey of what is now the school rose garden has produced results which have been tentatively interpreted as a kiln. Physical remains of kilns have yet to be excavated at the site, despite a number of excavations within the school's boundary. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the unexcavated rose garden is where the kilns are likely to be (Young, pers comm).

3.4.2 Geological evidence

South Glamorgan has some important and famous geological features. The cliffs at Southerndown, near Ogmore-by-Sea, are well-preserved Jurassic carboniferous limestone overlain by Lower Jurassic Sutton Stone, unique for their unconformity (Johnson and McKerrow 1995). Limestone bedrock is seen throughout the western and central Vale, changing to Mercian mudstone at Sully, returning to limestone around Cosmeston and back to Mercian mudstone in the Cardiff basin. This distinct geological

change, however, is not particularly useful for fabric identification and petrographic

analysis as the drift clays and river beds are generally exploited to produce pottery in

this area rather than the bedrock (Figure 3.19).
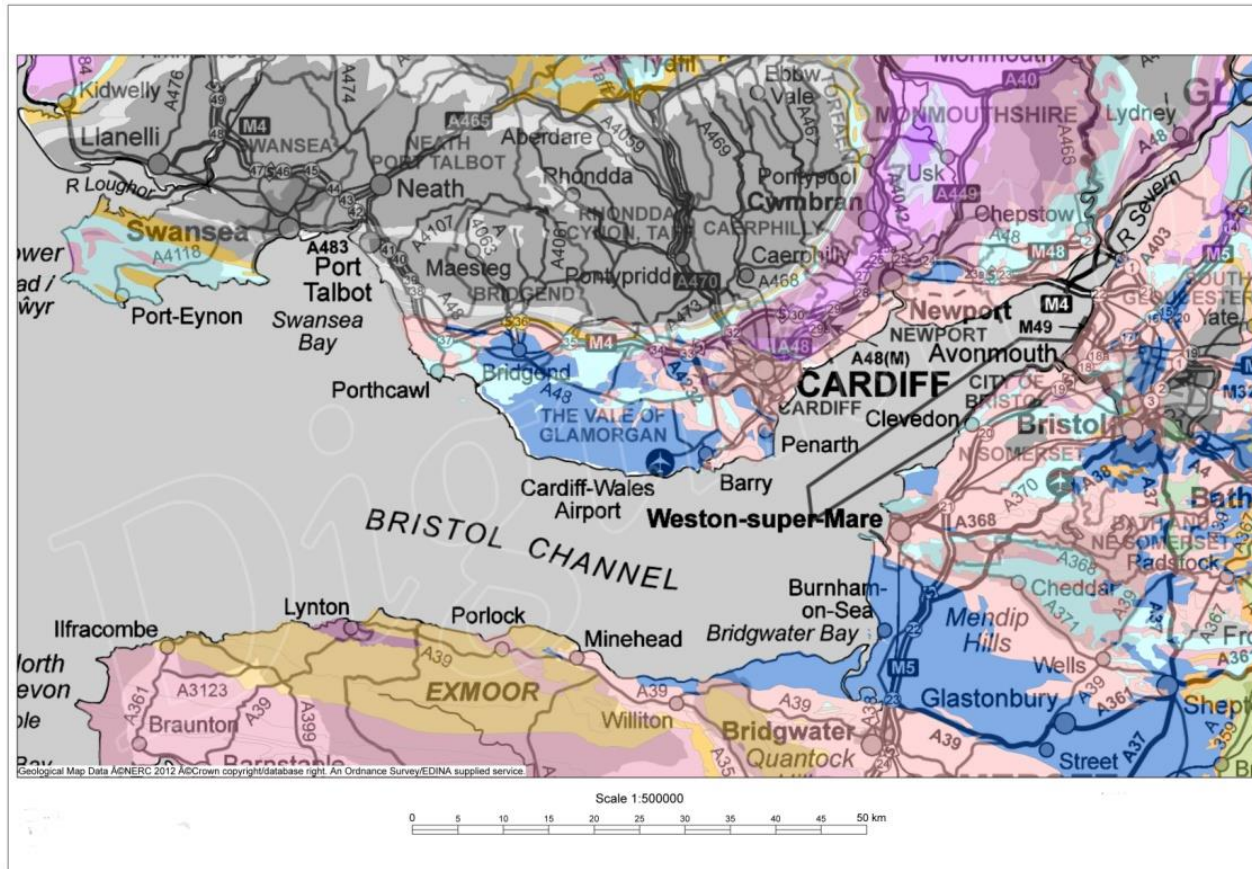
Figure 3.19 showing the bedrock geology in South Glamorgan, North Somerset and North Devon. Of note, blue is limestone and light pink is Old Red Sandstone

Studies on the drift geology in the Vale of Glamorgan have provided stratigraphic soil profiles from across the region. Crampton's studies of soils on calcareous parent material in South Wales (1963) and mineral analysis of soils from glacial gravels (1958) provide a regional cross-section for petrographic comparisons. The varying minerals associated with the drift geology could potentially both identify distinct petrographic features within the ceramic material, and thus represent a connection between production and locality. For example, the erratics associated with the Irish Sea Drift, which are apparent up to the western suburbs of Cardiff, change at this point and become 'local' in character (Crampton 1958, 18). These two different clays are useful markers, potentially identifiable in the clay body or tempering material of the ceramics. This interpretation assumes a local source for both clay and tempering materials close to the production sites. This is an alternative to using one local source and transporting the raw material some distance – as evidenced for example in Leicestershire in association with the Granodiorite outcrop used as tempering material (Carney 2010).

Research conducted on the Pleistocene deposits on the Gower (Ball 1960) has provided detailed analysis of the clay deposit – horizon 3 – which is frequently preserved not only on the Gower but also in the Vale of Glamorgan. The clay from the Gower is similar to the clays in the Cardiff basin in respect of a number of features: sub-angular quartz as the main mineral inclusion and roughly rounded dark red-brown segregation patches of iron oxides (Ball 1960, 498). Two main features of the Gower clay, however, differ from those found in the Cardiff basin: rare small, round concretionary flecks of calcite, and 'between cross polars the clay is markedly birefringent' (Ball 1960, 49). This variation could possibly provide evidence to distinguish pottery made in the two different areas.

There is a significant problem relating to the drift clays in South Glamorgan. The variations are widely sporadic with some clays from opposite ends of the area appearing to be similar whilst clays lying next to one another can be highly varied (Young, pers comm). This results in problems identifying regional production based on the clays. These variations therefore challenge the clear division provided by the comparative study between the clays from the Gower and those from the Cardiff Basin.

3.5 Hand identification and microscopic analysis of Vale Ware

3.5.1 Cosmeston

The hand identification of fabrics in the Cosmeston assemblage enabled approximately 10,000 sherds of what had been identified as Vale Ware to be studied. A Wild Heerbrugg M3Z microscope was used with a magnification range of x6.5 to x40. The sherds could be distinguished as glazed and unglazed sherds in the first instance. More detailed analysis of the material led to the division of the sherds, by fabric, into two main groups: the jug fabric and the jar and incurved dish fabric. The jug fabric (CFS17) is less densely tempered, with better sorted inclusions. The elements identifiable in this fabric are limited mostly to quartz and sandstone both in the clay matrix as well as the additional temper inclusions. Iron ore elements are also a common inclusion and in some cases the ferruginous inclusions are large and can appear to be equal to the quartz with regards to density within the fabric. The firing patterns also appear to be generally consistent. Typically, vessels have a reduced core but an oxidised internal surface, very distinct and helpful when carrying out general sorting and hand identification.

The 13th- to late 14th-century jars, incurved dishes and curfews could all be grouped under the same fabric (CFS14). Variations in density were on the whole ignored unless this factor was supported by a variation in mineral inclusions and actually did indicate a different fabric. Certain minerals were apparent in some of the sherds. For example limestone was not an obvious inclusion in the majority of the sherds and therefore when it was observed, the code VF(Limestone) (CFS15) was attributed to the sherd or group of sherds. Mica was also a clear variable with some sherds made from more micaceous clays than others. Another varying factor for the identification of fabrics was the coarseness of the inclusions. In particular, sherds from the earlier contexts of the manor area of the site at Cosmeston appeared to be coarser and less densely tempered than the sherds from later contexts. These sherds were grouped under a different fabric code (CFS06) as they appeared to be earlier vessels, generally found with the earlier Ham Green jug and Minety Ware sherds. As well as the clear difference in fabric, although using what appear to be the same local materials to the Vale Fabrics, the forms of the possible earlier vessels were similar to the early Greensand-Derived forms rather than the later typical Vale Fabric forms, with wide outflaring, rounded rims. This has supported the hypothesis that the coarser vessels are actually early local Vale Fabric and was seen as a question petrographic analysis could address.

As a result of identification and cataloguing of the Vale Ware material from Cosmeston, Vale Fabric Coarse (CFS06) and Vale Fabric Limestone (CFS15), as well as Vale Fabric Reduced and Glazed Limestone (CFS18) have been added to the general and basic fabric labels, Vale Fabric (CFS14) and Vale Fabric Reduced and Glazed (CFS17). Another difference identified, although countering all the criticism written here with regards to the final fired colour, VF pale (CFS16) has also been introduced. This particular category

was introduced as it was clear that the fabric was not a Somerset or Bristol fabric and the inclusions appeared to be similar to those associated with the Vale Ware fabrics. It was considered a possibility that clay sourcing from the western Vale or West Glamorgan could provide the answer to this difference in firing, light enough that it appears to be more of a white-firing rather than red-firing clay. The categories were broadly developed in order to begin to provide descriptions and definitions for varying local fabrics, recognisable by hand identification, and also evidence to be applied to the sampling strategy for the petrographic analysis.

3.5.2 Cowbridge

Although, due to a lack of funds, the Cowbridge assemblage was not used within the sample group for petrographic analysis the assemblage from excavations next to the Cowbridge Old Grammar School provided a comparative assemblage used to develop the fabric descriptions mentioned above. The assemblage from Cowbridge is small; however, despite this there are some variations in the Vale Ware fabrics from the site which support the interpretation of local potteries throughout South Glamorgan. The assemblages from Cowbridge will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 but the medieval horn-core-lined pit is important to the discussion here as the medieval sherds were noticeably different. They appeared to contain rounded limestone within the fabric, something that is not typical of the majority of the Vale Ware from the other sites under study here.

The glazed jug sherds in the horn-core pit were all identified as containing limestone in the fabric as well as quartz and ferruginous inclusions. The limestone was not crushed but part of the clay matrix as well as the general water worn inclusions. There are a few

sherds in this pit group which appear to be similar to the Cosmeston jug fabric but the majority are in the limestone group. A small group of jar sherds also contained limestone within the fabric. There were fewer sherds of the limestone Vale Fabric examples but the varied local fabrics found deposited in the one pit is good evidence for a range of production sites in action at the same time and contemporarily providing vessels for the town.

3.5.3 Kenfig

The third assemblage that has directly contributed to the development of the sampling strategy and questions for petrographic analysis is that from the Time Team excavations (August 2011) within the town boundary at Kenfig. The majority of the assemblage was retrieved from contexts just within the area enclosed by the large bank and ditch. As already discussed, the work conducted by Anthony (2004) provided chemical evidence for different areas of production when Kenfig and Cosmeston sherds were compared.

The Kenfig excavations from the 1920s and the later pottery report acknowledged that although the ceramics were named Kenfig fabrics, their similarity to the Vale Ware fabrics discussed by Vyner was unmistakable. This was also noted by Vince, as discussed above, and therefore the ceramic analysis of the assemblage from the trench within the town boundary is useful for continuation of study for Kenfig but also generally for the fabric analysis of Vale Ware.

The locally produced Vale Ware fabrics from the excavations in 2011 are again varied in their mineral content but, in contrast to the pit group at Cowbridge, it is instead the jar sherds which have been identified with limestone rather than the jugs. The largest

group, however, were sherds identified as an early local fabric. As with the early Cosmeston sherds, the Kenfig early fabric was also a coarse, quartz and sandstone tempered fabric. This assemblage will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 but what is important here is that there is a distinct change from the early 12th-century material to the later 13th-century ceramics within the stratigraphy of the trench. It appears as though the development from 12th-century rim forms and coarser fabrics led to the production of Vale Wares.

3.6 Petrographic analysis

The microscopic work on the Cosmeston assemblage, as well as the analysis of the assemblages from Cowbridge and Kenfig, has helped form the main questions for the petrographic analysis as mentioned above. Three main phases of sampling took place, in part due to the funds available, as well as access to material in the case of the Llandaff assemblage and also with developing the sampling strategy. In the first instance, 7 sherds were selected from the Cosmeston assemblage for thin sectioning, all from property 3; one jug rim, two jar rims and four incurved dish sherds. Although it was decided to choose only identifiable forms, there was no equal division between the sherds chosen and therefore the jug sherds were not equally represented. Included in this initial round of sampling were five sherds from Cardiff Castle, three from Sully manor and castle, and one from the site at Rumney (Table 3.4). These were included to provide comparative data to the Cosmeston thin sections as well as to begin answering the main question, whether the fabrics appeared to be from the same production area.

Sample Code	Site	Context No.	Fabric	Form
VFS1	Cardiff Castle	1038	VF1	Jar
VFS2	Cardiff Castle	1038	VF1	Jug
VFS3	Cardiff Castle	1056	VF1	Jug
VFS4	Cardiff Castle	1080	VF2	Jar/bowl
VFS5	Cardiff Castle	1081	VF2	Jar
VFS6	Sully Manor	48	VF2	Curfew
VFS7	Sully Manor	1	VF1	Jar
VFS8	Rumney Castle	144	VF2	Dish
VFS9	Sully Castle	H D	VF2	Jar
VFS10	Cosmeston	674	VF2	Jar
VFS11	Cosmeston	696	VF2	Incurved Dish
VFS12	Cosmeston	696	VF2	Incurved Dish
VFS13	Cosmeston	696	VF1	Jar
VFS14	Cosmeston	96	VF1	Jug
VFS15	Cosmeston	192	VF2	Incurved Dish
VFS16	Cosmeston	72	VF2	Incurved dish

Table 3.4 details of the first round of Cosmeston thin-section samples

The second phase of sampling focused on the Llandaff material, selecting a more equal number of jug, jar, dish and tile sherds from the main ditch deposits excavated in 2005 (Table 3.5). The Llandaff material is vital to the analysis here as it is the only waster material and therefore definite evidence for a production site in South Glamorgan.

Sample code	Context No.	Form
LC1	4009	Jar Base
LC2	4009	Jar Rim
LC3	4009	Incurved dish base
LC4	4009	Jug base
LC5	4009	Jug rim
LC6	4009	Tile
LC7	4009	Tile
LC8	3069	Jar Rim
LC9	3069	Jar Base
LC10	3069	Jug rim
LC11	3069	Jug base
LC12	3069	Jug shoulder
LC13	3069	Incurved dish base
LC14	3069	Curfew rim
LC15	3069	Tile
LC16	4010	Jar rim
LC17	4010	Handle edge

Table 3.5 showing details of the Llandaff thin-section samples

The final phase of sampling included a second round from the Cosmeston archive, this time from contexts across the site including the recently excavated manor area (Table 3.6). Stratigraphically this will enable the petrographic analysis to cover up to 200 years of local pottery production and consumption from one site in the Vale of Glamorgan. Any changes and variations seen at the site here may be related to variations seen elsewhere in the fabrics. Chronologically and functionally, the Cosmeston ceramic assemblage has a high potential for enabling the development of the research aims as it shows a wider variation in local fabrics than the other assemblages studied for this thesis.

Sample Code	Site	Area	Context No.	Fabric	Form
VFS17	61	Prop 3	72	VF (pale)	Jar
VFS18	61	Prop 3	72	VF	Jar
VFS19	61	Prop 3	72	VFRG	Jug
VFS23	61	Prop 3	96	VF (pale)	Jar
VFS24	61	Prop 3	96	VF (pale)	Jar
VFS26	61	Prop 3	96	VFRG	Jug
VFS27	61	Prop 3	96	VF (pale)	Jar
VFS28	61	Prop 3	96	VF (late)	Jar
VFS38	61	Prop 3	225	VF/HG	Jar
VFS39	61	Prop 3	226	VF/HG	Jar
VFS40	61	Prop 3	276	VFRG(L)	Jug
VFS50	61		330	VFRG	Jug
VFS52	61		330	VF (L)	Jar
VFS41	61	Prop 4	327	VF (pale)	Jar
VFS42	61		342	VF	Curfew
VFS48	61		492	VF (pale)	Jar
VFS49	61		492	VF (L)	Jar
VFS53	COS09	Castle trench	110	VF	Jar
VFS54	COS09	Castle trench	110	VF (early)	Jar
VFS61	COS09	Castle trench	135	VF (early)	Jar
VFS62	COS09	Castle trench	135	VF (early)	Jar
VFS67	COS10	Castle trench	2217	VF (early)	Jar
VFS68	COS10	Castle trench	2218	VF (early)	Jar

Table 3.6 details of the second round of Cosmeston thin-section samples

Included within the Cosmeston second round of sampling was a small group of sherds from the recent excavations within the town bank and ditch at Kenfig. The sherds not only compliment this thesis but also could provide supporting evidence for the XRF analysis in Anthony's (2004) thesis. Testing the variable minerals within the Vale Ware sherds as well as identifying whether the possible early fabric is local follows the sampling strategy set out in the second round of the Cosmeston petrographic analysis.

3.7 Petrographic results

3.7.1 Llandaff Wasters

The ceramic assemblages from the excavations at Llandaff Cathedral School are relatively large. Unfortunately they are yet to be reported on and therefore advice regarding the contextual significance of the assemblage was sought from the excavator, Dr Tim Young. Two contexts were identified as being significant, ditch fills (3069) and (4009), as the pottery is believed to represent a deposited waster dump. These are therefore considered appropriate contexts from which to sample the sherds. The full range of forms was identified for sampling: jug, jar, incurved dish and tile. This was to enable a full representation of the fabrics, as at the Ham Green kiln site different clays and tempering strategies were employed for the jugs and jars although they were being fired in the same kilns (Barton 1969), and it is clear from the microscope work that there are variations in tempering strategies in association with particular forms. For example, jugs are less densely tempered and the inclusions generally tend to be better sorted within the clay matrix.

In total 17 sherds were selected for thin-section analysis. They were chosen, as mentioned above, in association with the forms they represented and it was decided that the analysis of sherds from different points of the vessel profile would be important to identify any varying tempering within one form type. There were restrictions in association with funds available for sampling and sherds were chosen that were believed to have no display value.

3.7.1.1 Results

3.7.1.1a Fabric descriptions

LCF1:

LC1 (Figure 3.20), LC2, LC8, and LC15
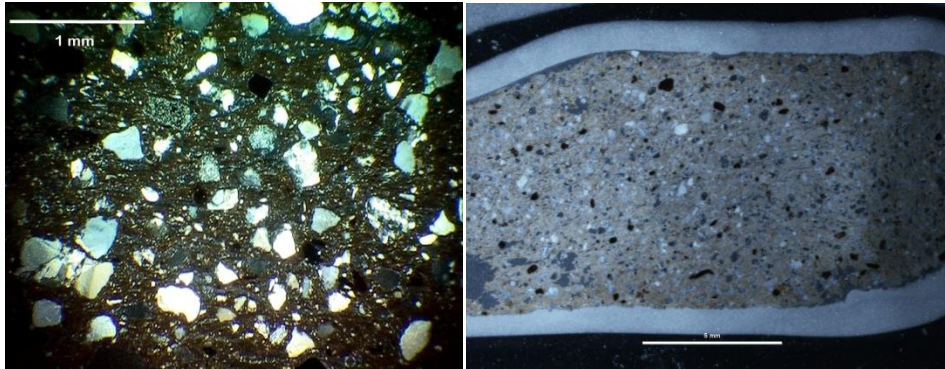
Figure 3.20 to the left, LC1 photographed under crossed polars, field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7m

Clay matrix

Grey birefringent clay with common rounded quartz and occasional iron oxides and

rare mica.

Additional Tempering

Abundant sub-rounded quartz 0.3mm-1mm, moderate sandstone, occasional iron

oxides, and rare chert. 0.5mm-1.25mm.

LCF2:

LC4 (Figure 3.21), LC5, LC6 and LC7
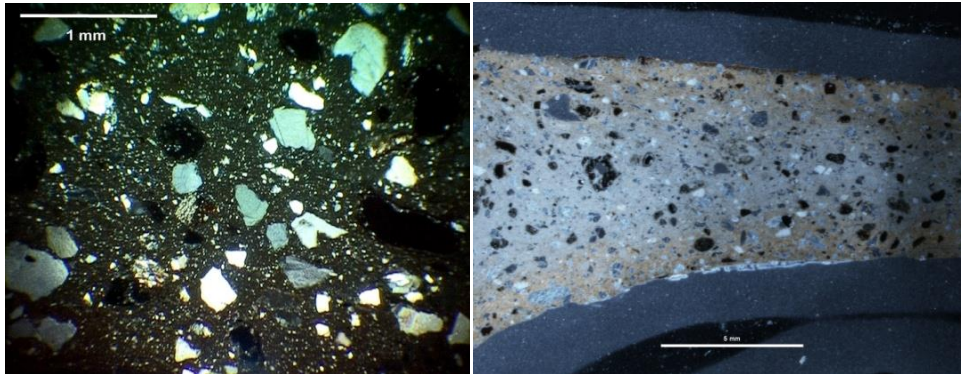
Figure 3.21 to the left, LC4 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm.

Clay Matrix

Grey and reddy brown birefringent clay with abundant quartz and iron oxides and rare

mica.

Additional Tempering

Common angular quartz, moderate angular sandstone, sub-rounded iron oxides, and

occasional chert and feldspar. All approximately 0.5mm-0.75mm in size.

LCF3:

LC9 (Figure 3.22) and LC16
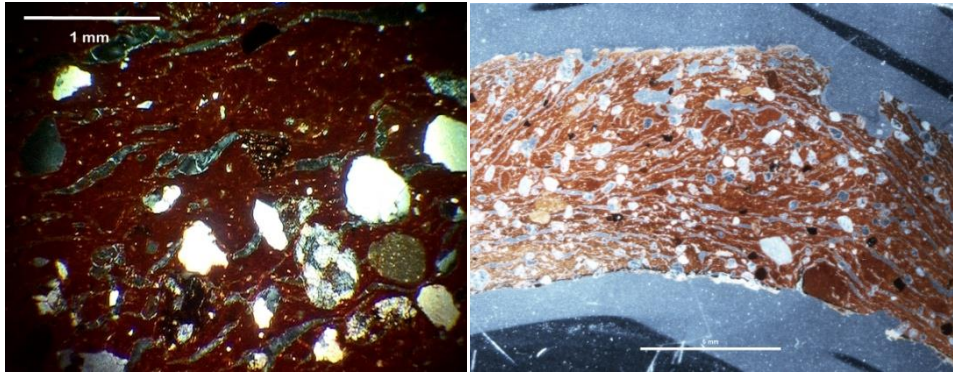
Figure 3.22 to the left, LC9 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Red birefringent clay with occasional angular quartz and iron oxides.

Additional Temper

Common sub-angular quartz, some of which is distorted, moderate sandstone,

occasional chert and iron oxides, all 0.25mm-0.75mm.

LCF4:

LC10 (Figure 3.23)
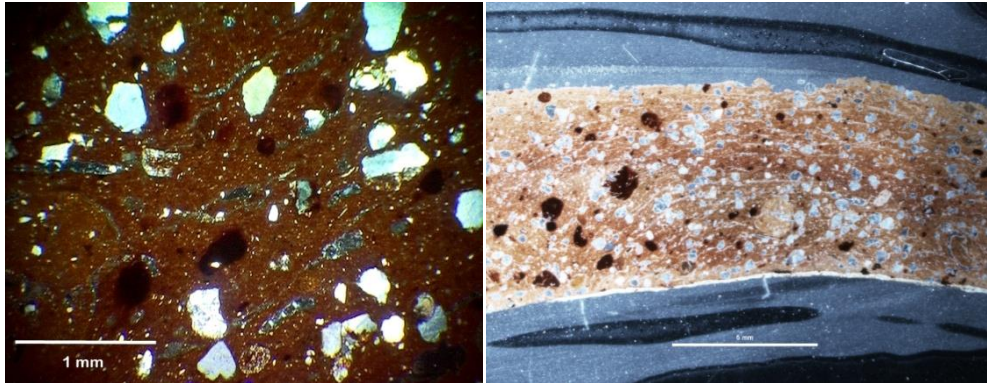
Figure 3.23 to the left, LC10 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Orangey brown birefringent clay with moderate rounded quartz and black iron oxides.

Additional Temper

Common, sub-angular quartz, some of which is distorted, sandstone and moderate

black iron oxides and occasional chert, approximately 0.25mm-0.75mm.

LCF5:

LC11 (Figure 3.24) and LC12
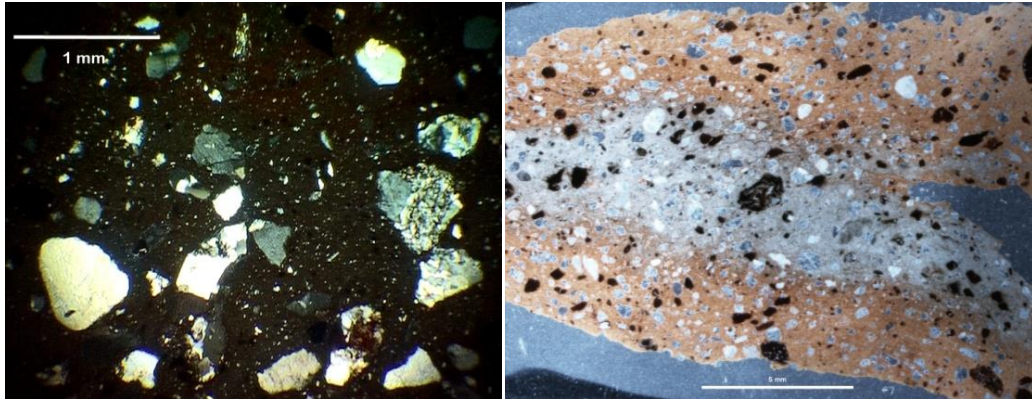
Figure 3.24 to the left, LC11 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Grey brown birefringent clay with common quartz, iron oxides and occasional mica.

Additional Temper

Common angular and sub-angular quartz and sandstone, moderate iron oxides and

occasional chert, 0.2mm-0.75mm.

LCF6:

 LC3 (Figure 3.25), LC13 and LC14
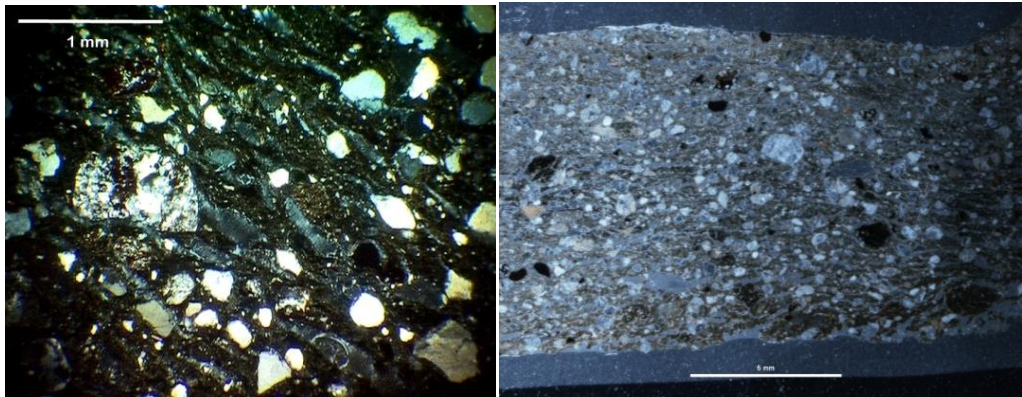
Figure 3.25 to the left, LC3 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Grey birefringent clay with common sub-rounded quartz, occasional iron oxides and

rare mica.

Additional Temper

Abundant quartz, some of which is distorted, 0.2mm-0.75mm, moderate sandstone

0.4mm-0.75mm, occasional black iron oxides 0.25mm-1mm and rare clay pellets

0.25mm-1.5mm.

LCF7:

LC17 (Figure 3.26) = VFS17

Figure 3.26 to the left, LCF2 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Greyey red, highly birefringent clay with abundant quartz, common mica and

occasional iron oxides.

Additional Temper

Common, sub-angular quartz, some of which is distorted, and sandstone and

occasional iron oxides and rare chert, ranging in size from 0.2mm-0.4mm.

3.7.1.2 Discussion

As noticed with the other assemblages, the jugs and the jars contain very different added temper. The jugs are less densely tempered and the examples from Llandaff also appear to have a higher amount of iron oxides within the fabric as well as smaller sand grains. The Llandaff sherds are generally characterised as having ill-sorted quartz and sandstone tempering. There are deformed quartz grains within the sandstone which are recognisably different to normal quartz and appear in many of the sherds from Llandaff sampled here. As a result of these inclusions it is likely that the gravels were being sourced from a riverine bank deposit. Quartz is deformed under extreme pressure and temperatures typically associated with metamorphic rocks (Young 1976). As a result, it is likely that the gravels are not associated with any local geology but instead are localised due to the deposition of glacial drift action.

There are distinct similarities in the fabrics between thin sections. The thin sections from context 4009 are all the same mineralogically. The major difference between the sherds relates to density of the additional temper and the size of the inclusions, which appears to be deliberate in association with the form of the ceramic product. In particular it appears that a decision was taken as to whether a vessel or object was going to be glazed or not. The fine fabrics are associated with glazed tiles and jugs. These have all been identified as fabric LCF2.

The handle thin section is the one thin section which is significantly different with a heavily quartz-based clay matrix and a very rounded, additional sparse tempering. It appears as a completely different fabric and is clearly made very differently to the other elements of the jug.

From the thin sections from Llandaff it is clear that we have a specific geological source being accessed and exploited. The general mineral composition of the samples is consistent throughout the seventeen represented here. Quartz is the main mineral with opaque oxides and sandstone as secondary inclusions. Because the same geological source is being exploited, rounded chert of the same size as the quartz is seen throughout all the samples. As this is a group of wasters it is reasonable to assume that these sherds were from vessels fired at the site and therefore the local drift clay and river gravels are seen in the ceramic material.

3.7.2 Cosmeston sherds

The most significant feature of most of the thin sections from Cosmeston is that they are as a standard quartz- and sandstone-tempered. Although this makes the sherds homogeneous in many ways, the variations between the sandstones provide possible insight into the range of different centres of production.

The initial phase of sampling produced very limited results. All the sherds were quartz tempered with ferruginous and sandstone inclusions, all of which could be organised into fabrics based on the varying density and size of inclusions. As a result the second phase of sampling attempted to understand the variations in the locally produced material that had become apparent after further work with the assemblage. There are a number of inclusions as tempering material that indicate different fabrics. The presence of crushed chert rather than water-worn chert as an element of the sandstone inclusion is not typical of the local drift clays in South Glamorgan. Limestone or calcareous inclusions are also not common within the tempering material in vessels from this area. The differences in the types of mica and also the density within the clay

matrix have also been identified as variants that could be used to identify different fabrics as well as the tempering inclusions, variations in the clays have also been identified which could potentially be indicators for different production sites. Micaceous clays, as well as those with high quantities as opposed to those with low quantities of quartz, are all potential variations indicative of different production sites. These can also, however, be misleading. The drift geology of the area means that variations in the natural clay deposits could occur within the same deposits. Therefore variations in the density of the quartz within the clay could just be a result of the natural variations in the clay deposit.

The Cosmeston thin-sections are very similar to those from Llandaff. They represent, for the most part, quartz, sandstone and ferruginous tempered vessels. The variants, limestone tempering and predominantly large sandstone inclusions, were noticed during hand identification and sampled in response to the need for further and more detailed examination. The potential for early fabrics, the occurrence of pale clays, the inclusion of limestone, and the problem of identifying Ham Green from Vale Ware unglazed vessels are all variants believed to be identifiable but also needed more detailed analysis.

3.7.2.1 Results

3.7.2.1 Fabric descriptions

All the fabrics are described as seen at x40 magnification.

Fab 1:

VFS17 (Figure 3.27)
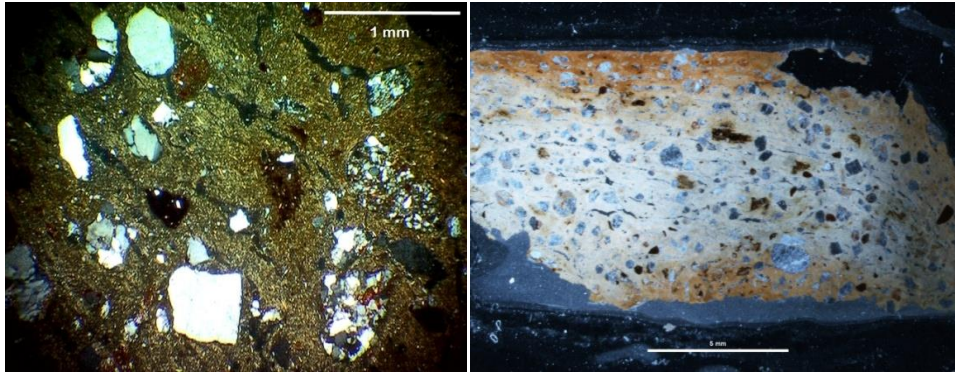
Figure 3.27 to the left, VSF17 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm.

Clay matrix

Reddish brown highly birefringent clay, with moderate quartz and mica.

Additional Temper

Abundant angular quartz and sub-rounded sandstone, common black iron oxides,, rare

feldspar and deformed quartz grains. Ranging in size from 0.25 – 0.75mm.

Fab 2:

VFS18 (Figure 3.28)
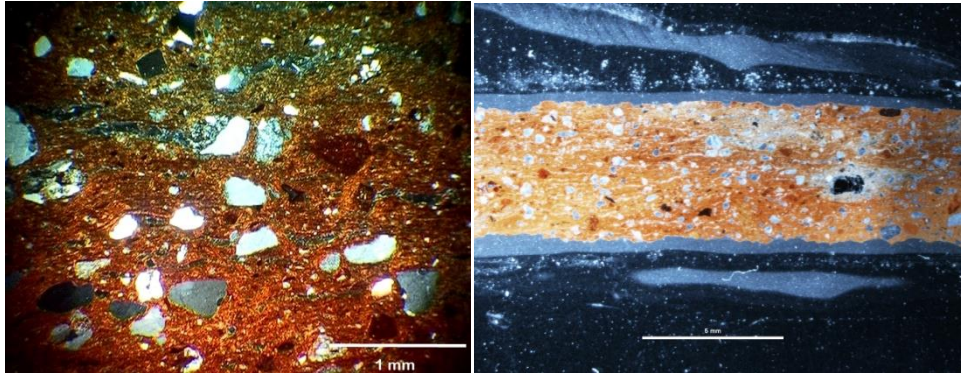
Figure 3.28 to the left, VFS18 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Browny red, highly birefringent clay with common quartz and rare mica and iron oxide

inclusions.

Additional Temper

Abundant quartz, common sandstone, and black iron oxides. Most inclusions are

approximately 0.25mm but they can be as large as 0.5mm.

Fab 3:

VFS19, VFS26 (Figure 3.29), VFS40 and VFS50
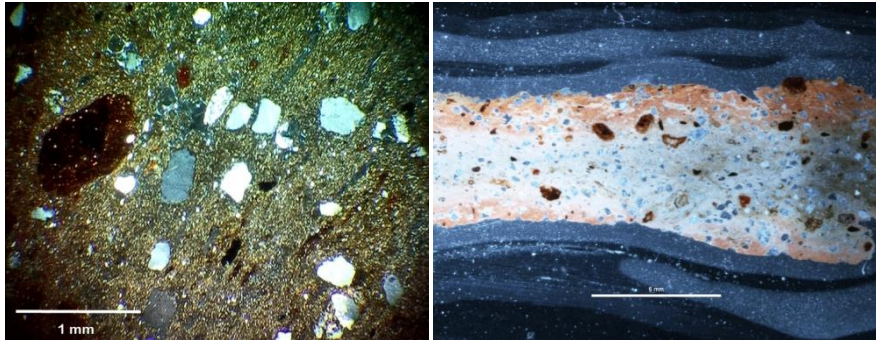
Figure 3.29 to the left, VFS26 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Greyey brown birefringent clay with abundant quartz grains, common mica and

occasional iron oxide inclusions.

Additional Temper

Common angular quartz, occasional sandstone and black iron oxides. The grains are

generally 0.25mm in size with rare larger grains 0.75mm.

Fab 4:

VFS23 (Figure 3.30)
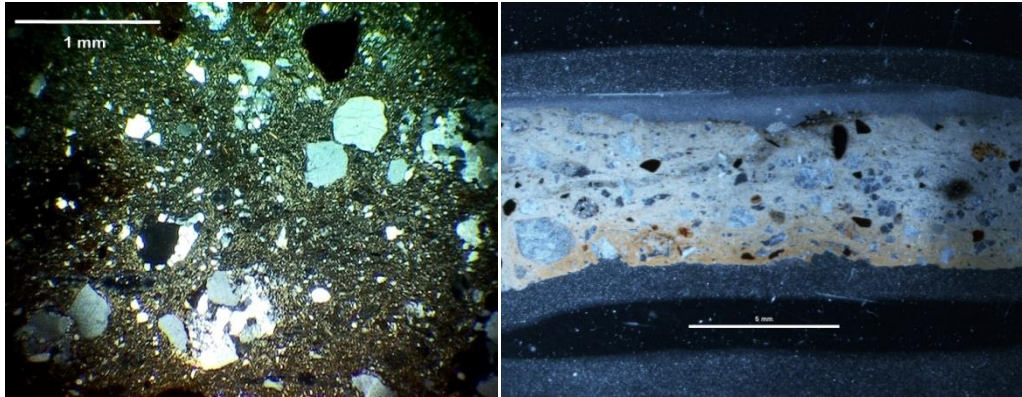
Figure 3.30 to the left, VFS23 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Greyey brown birefringent clay with abundant quartz grains, common mica and

occasional iron oxide inclusions.

Additional Temper

Abundant quartz and sandstone and common black iron oxides. Range in size from

0.25mm – 1mm.

Fab 5:

VFS24, VFS28 (Figure 3.31), VFS41 and VFS48
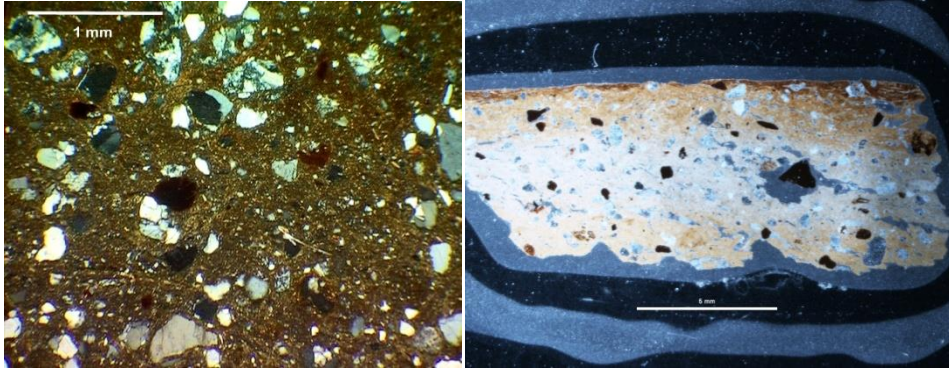
Figure 3.31 to the left, VFS28 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Reddy brown birefringent clay with occasional quartz and mica.

Additional Temper

Moderate angular quartz and sandstone with occasional iron oxide inclusions and rare

rounded chert. 0.15mm – 1mm.

Fab 6:

VFS27 (Figure 3.32), VFS52 VFS53 and VFS67
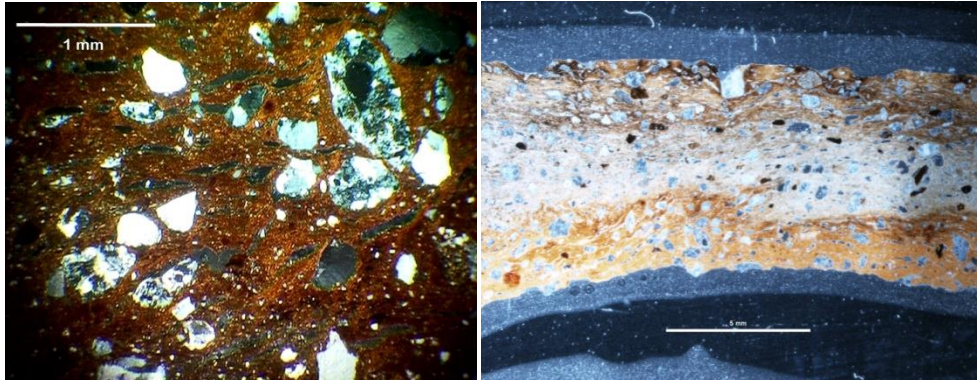
Figure 3.32 to the left, VFS27 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Browny red birefringent clay with moderate mica and quartz and occasional black iron oxide inclusions.

Additional Temper

Common angular quartz many of which are distorted grains, occasional sandstone and black iron oxide inclusions. 0.25mm-0.75mm.

Fab 7:

VFS38, VFS39 and VFS42 (Figure 3.33)
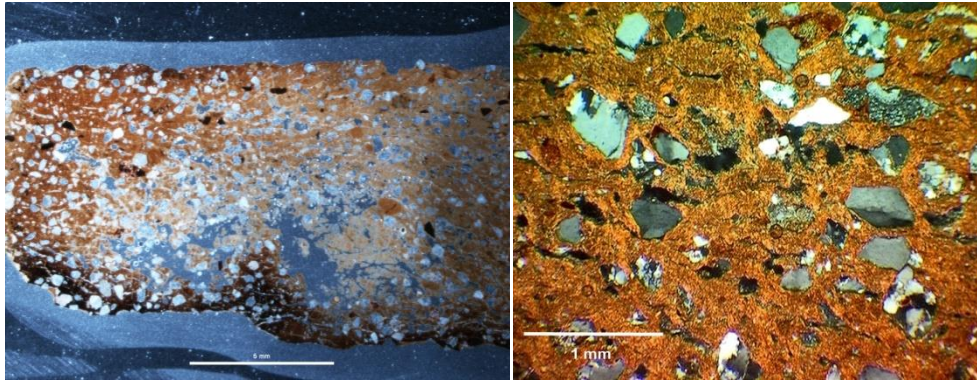
Figure 3.33 to the left, VFS42 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Orangey red clay with occasional mica and quartz grains and rare black iron oxides.

Additional Temper

Abundant angular quartz, common sandstone, black iron oxides and occasional chert.

0.15mm-0.75mm.

Fab 8:

VFS54 (Figure 3.34) and VFS62
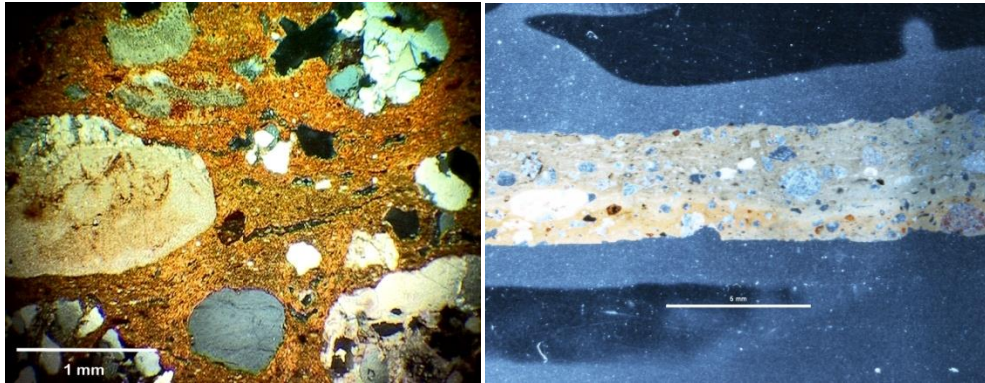
Figure 3.34 to the left, VFS26 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Greeny orangey red birefringent clay with occasional quartz, mica and iron oxides.

Additional Temper

Common angular quartz and sandstone, calcareous inclusions. Occasional angular chert

and iron oxides. 0.25mm-2.5mm.

Fab 9:

VFS49, VFS61 (Figure 3.35) and VFS68
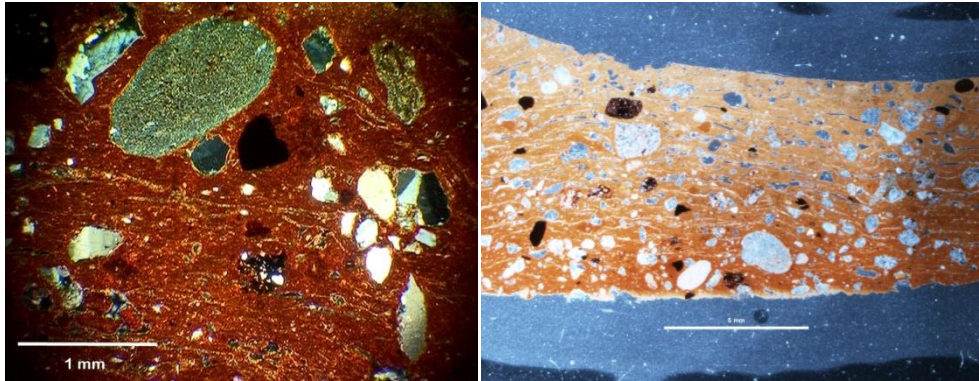
Figure 3.35 to the left, VFS61 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

Clay matrix

Red birefringent clay with occasional mica and iron oxides and rare quartz.

Additional temper

Common quartz (0.25mm-1mm), black iron oxides and sandstone (0.25mm-1.5mm)

and occasional chert (0.25mm-1.25mm).

3.7.2.2 Discussion

As mentioned above, most of the thin-sectioned sherds are similar to the Llandaff material, with quartz and sandstone as the main additional tempering inclusions. Significantly the deformed quartz grains that characterise the Llandaff samples (LCF3, LCF4, LCF6 and LCF7) are not generally seen within the sherds from Cosmeston apart from four of the samples, VFS17 (Fab 1), and VFS27, 53 and 67 (Fab 6). There is no particular pattern resulting from the initial identification and categorisation of the sherds to the thin-sections. They are all from various vessels. Under hand identification, VFS27 was considered a pale fabric, VFS53 a 'normal' Vale Ware and VFS67 as a possible early sherd. These three were grouped together specifically as they contain the distorted quartz. Therefore based simply on these results, the paler firing clay and the apparent early appearance of the sherds should not necessarily be used as features by which to create categories for separate fabrics. Despite this there appears to be some general patterns emerging from the thin sections.

3.7.2.2b Jugs

The pattern associated with jugs, identified in hand identification and in the first round of thin-sections from Cosmeston as well as the group from Llandaff (LCF 2), is repeated in this group of thin-sectioned sherds (Fab 3: VFS19, 26, 40 and 50). This is a common pattern seen throughout South Glamorgan indicating that there is a regional practice for ceramic production represented in the jugs. This provides strong evidence for a local potting tradition, a sharing of knowledge, and an indication that there was a network of potters working in South Glamorgan. Whether this involved a network of travelling potters or knowledge and skills being centred on particular production sites cannot be resolved here.

3.7.2.2c Early post-Conquest vessels

Possible early post-Conquest ceramic production in South Glamorgan has been petrographically tested by five sherds, chosen from early contexts from the manor hall area. These sherds were retrieved from stratigraphically early contexts and appear to contain coarser inclusions than the later 13th- and 14th-century sherds which are more typically recognisable as medieval Vale Ware. One of the sherds, VFS53, has been grouped in Fabric 6 with the sherds containing the distorted quartz (see above) and therefore has been separated from the early group of sherds petrologically. Two of the sherds appear to contain inclusions that are recognisably local to South Glamorgan, VFS61 and 68: namely a mix of sandstone and quartz, although the presence of crushed chert may indicate that these are in fact from somewhere in Somerset. Two of the sherds, VFS54 and 62, are identified as early by hand identification and are all distinctly different, with crushed limestone, chert and quartz in similar proportions. It is more likely that these are from imported vessels rather than local; however, this is an area which needs further research, including samples from Llantrithyd, Penmaen and Loughor. The small sample here certainly does not provide definite evidence for local early post-conquest production. Despite this, the presence of large calcareous inclusions that are not part of sandstone clusters indicates that the tempering source for these vessels is not the same as that used for the majority of the sherds sampled here. Whether these are representative of production in an area of South Glamorgan with limestone bedrock or instead non-local vessels is not a question that can be answered here.

3.7.2.2d Pale-firing clays

The second research question identified during hand identification and analysis of the assemblage was whether there was any difference petrographically between the paler clays and the darker clays. Did the clays represent a difference in local sourcing and production area and site or were they from elsewhere? White or pale-firing clays are known from Somerset as represented by the Ham Green jugs as well as from Wiltshire. The petrographic analysis of the sherds indicates that it is likely that, although the sherds are paler and appear to have been fired in a similar way to the white firing clays in the Bristol area, their inclusions are typical of South Glamorgan. Three sherds have, however, been grouped together as Fab 5 (VFS24, 41 and 48). They are heavily tempered, including both a dense background clay as well as abundant quartz and sandstone tempering. The group is also comparable to Fab 4 (VFS23), which, although having a led dense clay background than Fab 5, is still very similar in terms of the additional tempering material. The paler sherds sampled here were all retrieved from later contexts in the associated settlement and were not present in the contexts associated with the manor house. This may not only indicate a variation in supply to the different parts of the settlement but also point to a change in local production in the 14th century.

3.7.2.2e Ham Green or Vale Ware?

The final issue concerns the ability to distinguish between Ham Green and Vale Ware. The two sherds (VFS38 and 39) that were chosen to attempt to tackle this problem have been grouped petrographically with a third sherd which had been identified as a local Vale Ware jar sherd (VFS42) as Fab 7. When compared to the sherds from the initial thin-section work from Cosmeston, the group clearly represents locally produced

vessels rather than imported Ham Green material. Vince (1988) describes the latter as:

'Abundant subangular and rounded quartz and sparse sandstone fragments, chert, fine-grained micaceous sandstone and limestone. The sand is well sorted and rarely larger than 0.3mm across, except for the rare sandstone fragments up to 0.5mm'. Comparing this with the description of the sherds categorised as Fab 7 – abundant angular quartz, common sandstone, black iron oxides and occasional chert – highlights the absence of limestone in the Vale Fabric, which is the recurring difference between the two fabrics. These results imply that by the 13th century, Ham Green jars were not commonly used, certainly not at Cosmeston. Instead, local ceramics were available and being used within households. This would indicate that the contexts where Ham Green is being identified are most likely to be earlier in date, before any local potting tradition had been properly established in South Glamorgan.

3.7.3 Kenfig Sherds

Due to limitations of funding, only four sherds were submitted for thin-sectioning; however, they were all chosen to provide evidence for western local production as well as for early sherds.

Samples VFS71 and 72 are the same fabric and one that is very similar to the other local fabrics with quartz, sandstone and ferruginous tempering (Figure 3.36.).

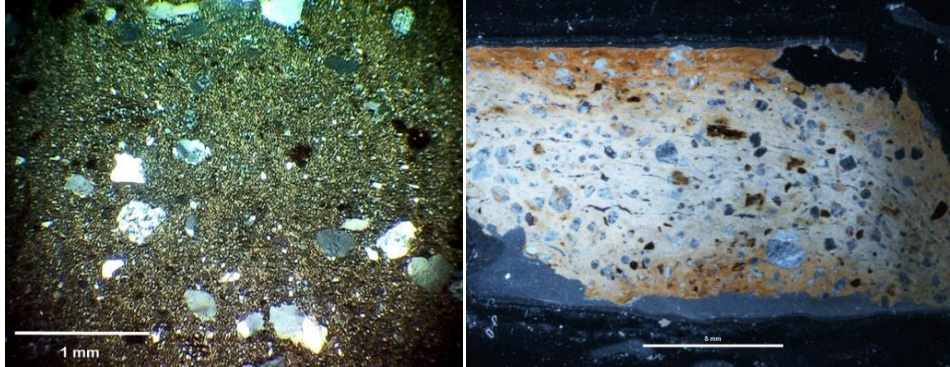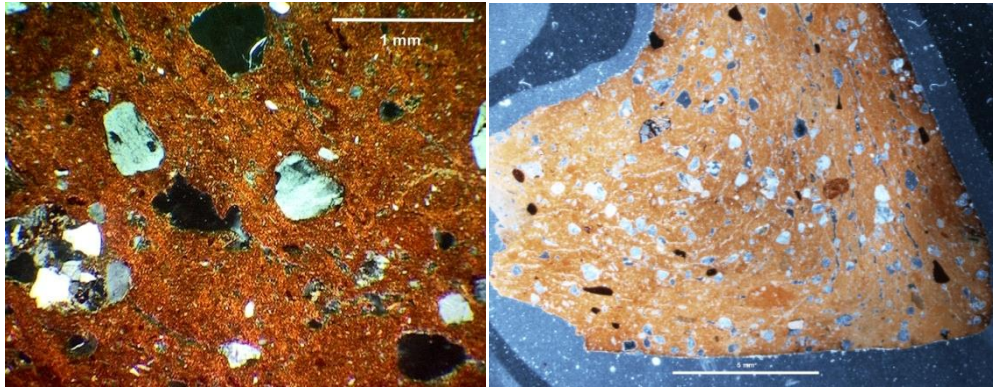**Figure 3.36 to the left, VFS71 photographed under crossed polars, field view = 4.7mm and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm**

There were also two other different fabrics apparent within this very small group of sampled sherds. The first of these, VFS73 was slightly different to the standard quartz, sandstone and ferruginous tempered sherds. Included within this fabric was chert. Although not seen in any particular density the chert can be described as an occasional inclusion (Figure 3.37).
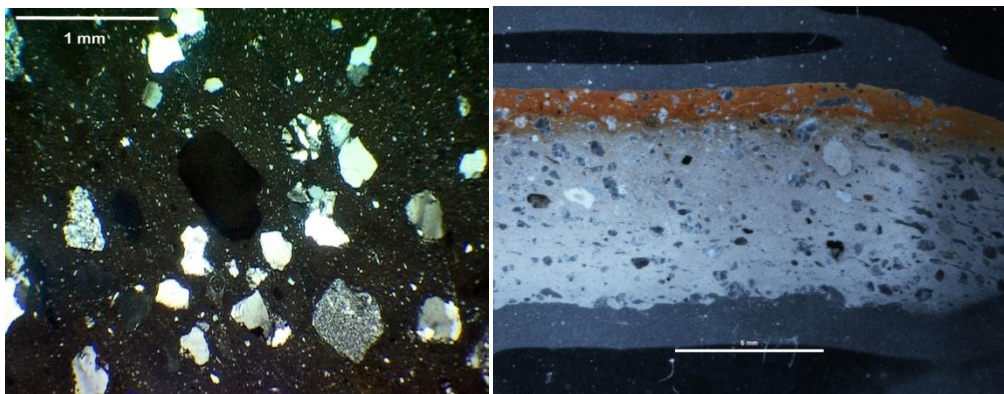
Figure 3.37 to the left, VFS73 photographed under crossed polars field view = 4.7, and to the right, part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

The third fabric (VFS77) within this small group (Figure 3.38) contains sparrite within the tempering. This calcareous inclusion could possibly indicate that the river gravels from which the material was source were local to this particular area due to the limestone bedrock.
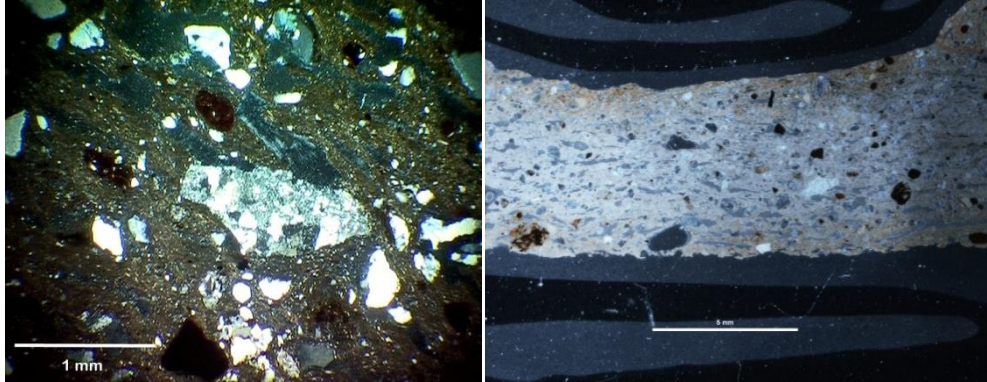
Figure 3.38 to the left, VFS77 photographed under crossed polars, field view = 4.7mm and to the right part of the thin section, field view = 17.7mm

It is notable that so few of the sherds sampled here have any limestone inclusions within the tempering, as a large part of the study area is on limestone bedrock. It would indicate that potters were choosing clays and tempering materials that do not contain abundant, or if any, limestone. It is suggested that the inclusion of limestone could imply a particular geographic area of production, and despite the few sherds with calcareous inclusions, due to the very small number of sherds sampled from the western area, this could still be a possible defining characteristic.

3.8 Conclusions

Despite the basic and minimal analysis and interpretation of the thin-sections there are clearly a number of patterns associated with sourcing material and production technique. The most significant of these is the clear conscious choice of materials in the

production of jugs despite the evidence indicating that they were being made in different kilns across the region. Although the vessels were typically handmade as late as the 14th century, this was not necessarily due to a lack of knowledge. Rather it highlights a continuation of production techniques identified from pottery produced over 150 years. This indicates shared knowledge and skills and a continuation of tradition.

The slight difference in the quartz within the Llandaff samples is the first secure evidence for localised production. This directly compares with the assemblage from Cosmeston where only three sherds also contained the deformed quartz.

Another result of the petrographic analysis is the possible identification of early, local post-Conquest pottery production. Whilst it is evidenced that the majority of the ceramic material was coming in from Somerset and Wiltshire, the two sherds VFS61 and 68 indicate that there is a potential for local production at this time. This is an unresolved issue, however, and needs to be further tested using material not only from Cosmeston and Kenfig but also other sites such as Llantrithyd and Penmaen where there is more extensive evidence for early ceramics.

The paler clays, although not represented in the same quantity as the darker firing clays, appear petrographically to be locally sourced. They also indicate that an alternative clay source was being used, one that was paler in colour. This highlights the need not to rely on the colour of the vessel and to look beyond   this and focus on the inclusions representing the tempering to provide a fabric description. By doing this here, although the sherds do group together, they are generally within the quartz, ferruginous and sandstone-tempered vessels group and only defined as different as a

result of the density of the clay matrix. Whilst they may be mistaken for Bristol-made vessels, they are in fact more likely to be local in origin.

The final question posed of this group of samples was whether any of those chosen were in fact identifiable as Ham Green and if so what were the key variables between them and the local sherds? In fact the sampled thin-sections group together within the general quartz tempered fabrics but can be sub-divided because of the inclusion of some angular chert distinct from the sandstone clusters. This may be an indicator that the sherds are Ham Green; however, they are too similar to the other sherds to identify them as such. As with the early sherds this is an area which needs to be further researched.

Chapter 4: Medieval Cosmeston – Manor and Dependent Households

The largest excavated medieval and early post-medieval ceramic assemblage from South Glamorgan is associated with the settlement at Cosmeston. Recovered in 30 years of excavation, the ceramic assemblage is for the most part well stratified. As the settlement continued beyond the 14th century, developing into a series of farmsteads during the 15th and 16th centuries, and more recently expanding once again with the programme of new house building, 900 years of settlement provides a comprehensive chronological series of archaeological deposits and in particular an important ceramic assemblage. Unlike other sites in places such as Cowbridge and Cardiff, the movement and changing form of settlement at Cosmeston has enabled large areas of land suitable for open-area excavation to be available, as later post-medieval and modern development occurred away from what was the medieval core. The resulting ceramic assemblage is one of the most comprehensive excavated regionally; it represents the developing relationship that those living in South Glamorgan had with ceramic material, from the initial importing of vessels in the late 11th to early 12th centuries, when there was little or no local ceramic production, to the subsequent development of local ceramic technology and production during the later medieval period. The post-medieval ceramics represent a return to a reliance on mostly imported vessels rather than local supply, reflecting the importance of the trade links with the ports and landing places on the southern side of the Bristol Channel.

The ceramics from Cosmeston are indicative of the economic networks apparent in South Glamorgan throughout the medieval and early post-medieval periods and analysis of the assemblage is intrinsic to understanding patterns of ceramic use and production in the region. The Cosmeston assemblage represents the full range of material typically found in South Glamorgan. This is not only due to the range of fabrics and forms found at the site but also the contexts of the assemblage: multiple households with varying economic and social status. The importance of the assemblage can be seen as relevant beyond a basic fabric - identification task. The various households (manorial hall, dairy and bakehouse), the manorial estate, and Cosmeston's regional context, are all represented ceramically. The following two chapters will use the site's multi-functional and economic role within the Lordship of Glamorgan to analyse the ceramic assemblage in association with a reinterpretation of the settlement from the 12th to the 17th century.

4.1 Backgrounds

4.1.1 Historic narrative

Cosmeston was founded as a manor, granted to the de Constantine family from which the settlement takes its name. The first known record for the settlement can be seen in the *Liber Niger*. This document recorded a return of the fees held by William, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan (1100-1147). This document does not record the holdings but instead names Earl William's vassals who held the fees (Smith 1971, 17). By using this record in conjunction with the survey of 1262 the twelve knights have been associated with settlements that were named after them. In the *Liber Niger,* Robertus de Constantino is recorded as holding one knight's fee. In the extent of 1262

the heir of Gilbert de Constantin is recorded as holding a manor at Costantinton also at one knight's fee (Nicholl 1936, 52). By the 15th century the historical documents indicate that the manor house had been abandoned although the land at Cosmeston was still held as a manorial unit (Paterson 1934). The apparent ruin of the manor house and shrinking in size of the settlement have given rise to the view that the site was abandoned. Yet the archaeological and historical evidence provide a very different narrative.

Cosmeston continues to appear in documentary sources throughout the post-medieval period and into the 18th century. Two documents from the 16th century, one from the reign of Henry VIII and the other from Elizabeth I, discuss the manor and some of the people at Cosmeston who both lived or owned the land there. Both extracts emphasise the continued occupation of the settlement. The second extract is particularly interesting: two men from Cogan steal three rolls of kersey cloth from a Margaret Thomas of Cosmeston. The possible production of cloth at Cosmeston is also supported by the finding of a glass cloth smoother, discovered in a post-medieval context.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 20 Part 1: January-July 1545

34. Sir William Herbert, a gentleman of the Privy Chamber. Lease of the lordships and manors of Costesmeston and Sully, co. Glamorgan, which belonged to Jasper late duke of Bedford; for 21 years. Westm., 7 March 36 Hen. VIII. Del. Westm., 12 March.—P.S. Pat p. 13, m. 12.

5 Eliz. July 1563.

John Thomas and Thomas David, of Cogan, labourers, for stealing three "kershors," the property of Margaret Thomas, at Coston, were sentenced to stand for three hours in the pillory at the next Cardiff market, and afterwards to be whipped.

Cosmeston represents the changes seen not only in South Glamorgan but also generally in England and South Wales with regards to land ownership in the 15th and 16th centuries. Manors were no longer held by a single lord or knight; instead many had become amalgamated and brought under control within larger lordships. Cosmeston's repeated appearance in the historical records as well as the archaeological evidence indicates its continuation as a functioning unit within the parish of Lavernock. It is a history though which, due to the research frameworks for rural settlement developed in the 1980s, was overlooked.
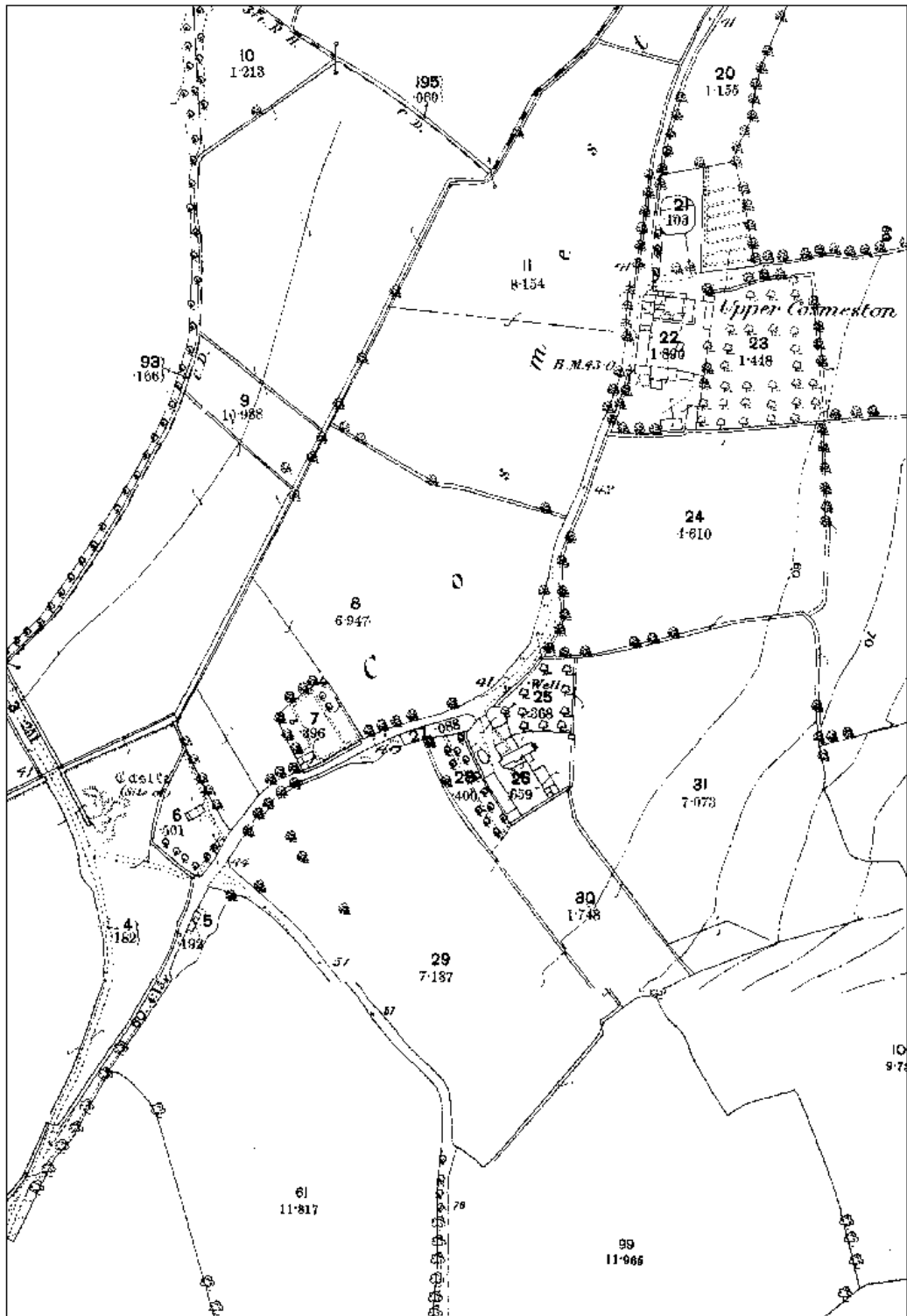
Figure 4.39 first edition OS 1:2500 map of Glamorgan (1878)

4.1.2 Archaeological and interpretative background

In 1977, the Vale of Glamorgan council planned to develop the redundant early 20th-century quarry site as a nature reserve and the land where the reconstructed village now stands was identified as suitable for a car park. The Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust was employed to investigate the area prior to development as the 1878 Ordinance Survey map indicated this to be the site of an old castle (Figure 4.39).

An initial evaluation of the site took place in 1979, and in 1982 the first of the larger trenches was opened. Very quickly it was clear that the archaeological remains were extensive (Newman and Parkhouse 1983, 1). It was decided, due to the obvious wealth of archaeology, to develop the work into a large-scale excavation, culminating in the reconstruction of the medieval buildings directly on the floor plans of the excavated walls; this response had never been done in Britain before and still in 2013 represents a unique archaeological site. The plan to develop the site as an historic visitor attraction added a new dimension to the nature reserve (Newman and Parkhouse 1983, 2). As a result, a large proportion of the area was excavated and it is the ceramic assemblages from this initial work (1979-1988) and the work conducted by Cardiff University (2008-2011) which will be focused on here.

There are two key interpretations of the settlement which have previously directed the narrative for Cosmeston. The first is based on the work conducted in the 1980s using the research framework and general interpretation of medieval rural settlement that had been developed as a result of the excavations at Wharram Percy. Cosmeston was believed to be a deserted medieval village, which had been abandoned as a result of the Black Death. This particular interpretation is not correct but has led scholars

working on South Welsh 'villages' to expect this model and develop general interpretations of settlement in the medieval period as a consequence (Kissock 1991). This has been discussed in Chapter 1.

A second problematic issue and one that has structured interpretation is the question of what type of settlement Cosmeston actually was in the medieval period. The excavations at Barry formed the structure for analysis of rural settlement in South Glamorgan in the 1980s and the initial work at Cosmeston used this framework. The 1980s excavations provided the material and within the village model, influenced interpretation that the site was a nucleated village and therefore should have an associated manor. The model is structured similarly to sites such as Wharram Percy, Raunds (Chapman 2010) and Great Linford (Mynard 1991), in the Champion Land tradition. The labelling of Cosmeston as the site of a castle would appear, however, to overinflate the nature and status of the settlement if using the Central Province model.

These two interpretations and models have major implications when looking at Cosmeston's economic role within the Vale of Glamorgan. They imply that Cosmeston would have been abandoned as a working and functioning settlement in the mid-14th century. According to such a model, economically it would have been mostly engaged in arable farming with everyone associated with the settlement living around the manor house. The first interpretation is incorrect and the second relies too heavily on the notion that arable farming was the main agricultural activity. This reflects the dominant interpretation of medieval rural settlement and the economy in South Wales, a combination of incorrect information and inappropriate models. The re-interpretation and analysis proposed here for Cosmeston is therefore important. The status and role of the settlement as a poorer neighbour to Sully, as well as the

relationships it would have had with market and fair sites close by (such as those at Cardiff and Cowbridge) are intrinsic to developing not only a deeper knowledge of the various forms of settlement in South Glamorgan but also the roles and functions these played when considered within wider economic networks existing in the region.

The total absence of interpretation and discussion of the post-medieval archaeology and ceramic evidence from the site is symptomatic of the medieval narrative developed in the 1980s and this will be remedied here. It is clear that the settlement at Cosmeston changed in both economic status and role in the 15th century and its centre shifted to Lower Cosmeston which is depicted on the Yates 1799 map (Figure 4.40) and is where the 17th-century farm still remains (RCAHMW 1988, 250 and 270). In Camden's Britannia, Cosmeston is included but Lavernock is not (Figure 4.41). Of note is the absence of Cosmeston on Speed's 1627 abridged map but it's presence on the full version (Figure 4.42).[3]

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[3] At the time of completing my corrections Cardiff University library could not find their copy of the 1970s reprint of *Wales : the second part of John Speed's atlas 'The theatre of Great Britain'*

Figure 4.40 Yates' 1799 map of Glamorgan, focused on the area around Cosmeston (Coston), Lavernock and Sully

Figure 4.41 Camden's map of South Wales which includes Cosmeston, labelled here as *Coston*. The image is from the 1695 edition, published by Edmund Gibson (1971)
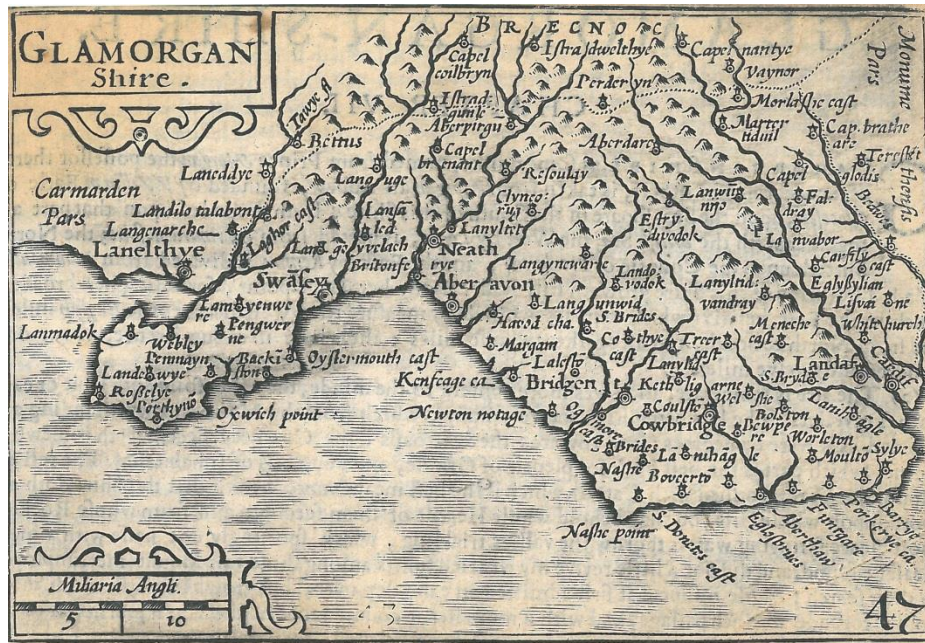
Figure 4.42 Speed's 1627 abridged map of Glamorgan which names Sully (Sylye) but not Cosmeston

Analysis of the ceramic assemblage is central to recognising the three main economic units identified in association with the medieval settlement: household, manorial estate and the eastern vale. Due to the scale of excavation, distinct households and their associated role within the manorial economy are identifiable. The only other site where similar interpretation has been possible is Barry (Thomas and Dowdell 1987); the settlement there was different with regards to the layout of the households in association with the central manorial building. The medieval houses at Barry were further away from the administrative centre and interpretation has not included the possibility of barns or multifunctional structures. The known and excavated buildings at Cosmeston, including a bakehouse and barn/dairy, have a more explicit and direct economic association with the manor.

There are very few post-medieval ceramic assemblages from any site in South Glamorgan, making the stratified evidence at Cosmeston particularly significant. Discussions of post-medieval archaeology in South Glamorgan do not typically focus on

below-ground evidence; rather standing buildings characterise the majority of the research (RCAMW 1981). Consequently little is known about the ceramics used in post-medieval South Wales as the assemblages are rarely retained (Campbell 1993). As a result little has been done on the use of ceramics in the household in South Wales of this period and this will be the focus of analysis for the assemblage here. The group from Cosmeston will be analysed and interpreted in association with the demolition of the manor house and the yard surfaces: features that characterise the archaeological evidence for this phase of the settlement's history.

This chapter and the following one (Chapters 4 and 5) will address the two phases of the settlement separately as the assemblages have very different associated issues. Despite this the assemblages are equally relevant to the overarching themes of economic networks, and of continuity and change in ceramic use in South Glamorgan. Beyond the manorial economy, Cosmeston's role within the Eastern Vale places the settlement in the wider medieval South Welsh economy.

Manors were at the heart of regional and European trade in this period: producing crops as well as rearing cattle and sheep for dairy produce, leather and wool. Cosmeston is not overtly central to the vast European network but was, along with other manors, intrinsic to the development of trading links, resulting from growing consumer demands.

By the post-medieval period it is clear from port records and historical documentation that the landing places and ports on the South Welsh coast were administratively incorporated within the port at Cardiff and its custom regulations. This included the creeks at Sully and Barry which would have been important to the provision of goods to

Cosmeston. Their connections to Watchet and Bridgwater are expressed in the documentary evidence, as well as exemplified in the ceramic assemblage. This was also discussed in Chapter 1. Applying the ceramic evidence to the analysis of the economic networks in 12th- to 17th-century South Glamorgan moves us away from complete reliance on the historical evidence, and instead emphasises the importance archaeology has in understanding the complex economic role and networks manorial estates had throughout this time.

4.2 The archaeological evidence for the manorial estate of Cosmeston

As a consequence of the two phases of excavation (1979-1986 and 2008-2011) a large proportion of the medieval settlement has been identified including the main manorial complex and the associated settlement. The post-medieval archaeology is concentrated in two areas; a demolition and midden spread overlying the manor house, and a building and yard area which includes evidence of smithing in the lower area of the site.

4.2.1 Medieval settlement

4.2.1.1 The 'castle'

The so-called castle area of the site has been the focus of archaeological excavation and geophysical survey for the Cardiff University Cosmeston Archaeology Project. The excavations from 2009 to 2011 (Figure 4.43) targeted the area marked as Cosmeston Castle on the earliest OS map from 1878. This was not the first time the area had been investigated; in 1986 GGAT placed evaluation trenches in the same area (Figure 4.45).

The evaluation trench revealed a series of robber trenches and identified a circular structure but as the purpose of the work was only to investigate rather than fully excavate the archaeology in this area, these features were not fully excavated. The excavations by the university between 2009 and 2011 were able to r investigate further the areas initially trenched by GGAT. The area immediately to the south of these trial trenches was also excavated and from that a large ceramic assemblage has been retrieved. The vessels in this area are particularly distinct from those found in the associated settlement, not just in terms of particular fabrics and forms but also in their depositional context.

The structures revealed through excavation are clearly associated with a high-status area: the main substantial manorial building, as well as the circular structure (which might either be a dovecot or an oven), and a later rectangular building, are all part of what has been identified as the manorial complex (Figure 4.45). The layout of this area can be compared with the manor at Sully which is very similar in terms of the buildings associated with the main hall. At both sites it is also evident that during the 13th century the manors were extended and developed. This would appear to coincide with the late 12th- and 13th-century economic growth witnessed in both England and Wales (Britnell 1996, 79).
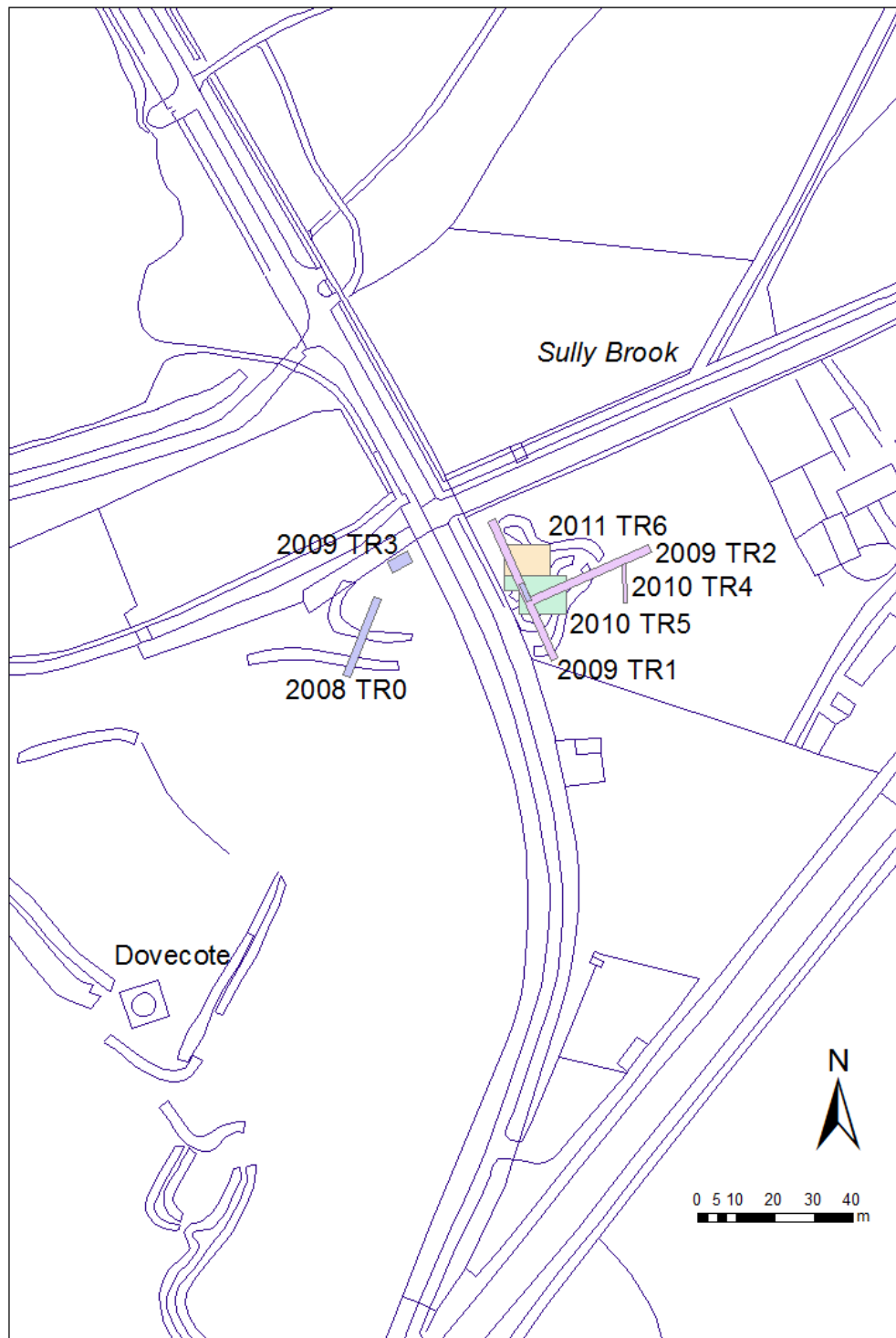
Figure 4.43 showing the Cardiff University areas of excavation from 2008-2011
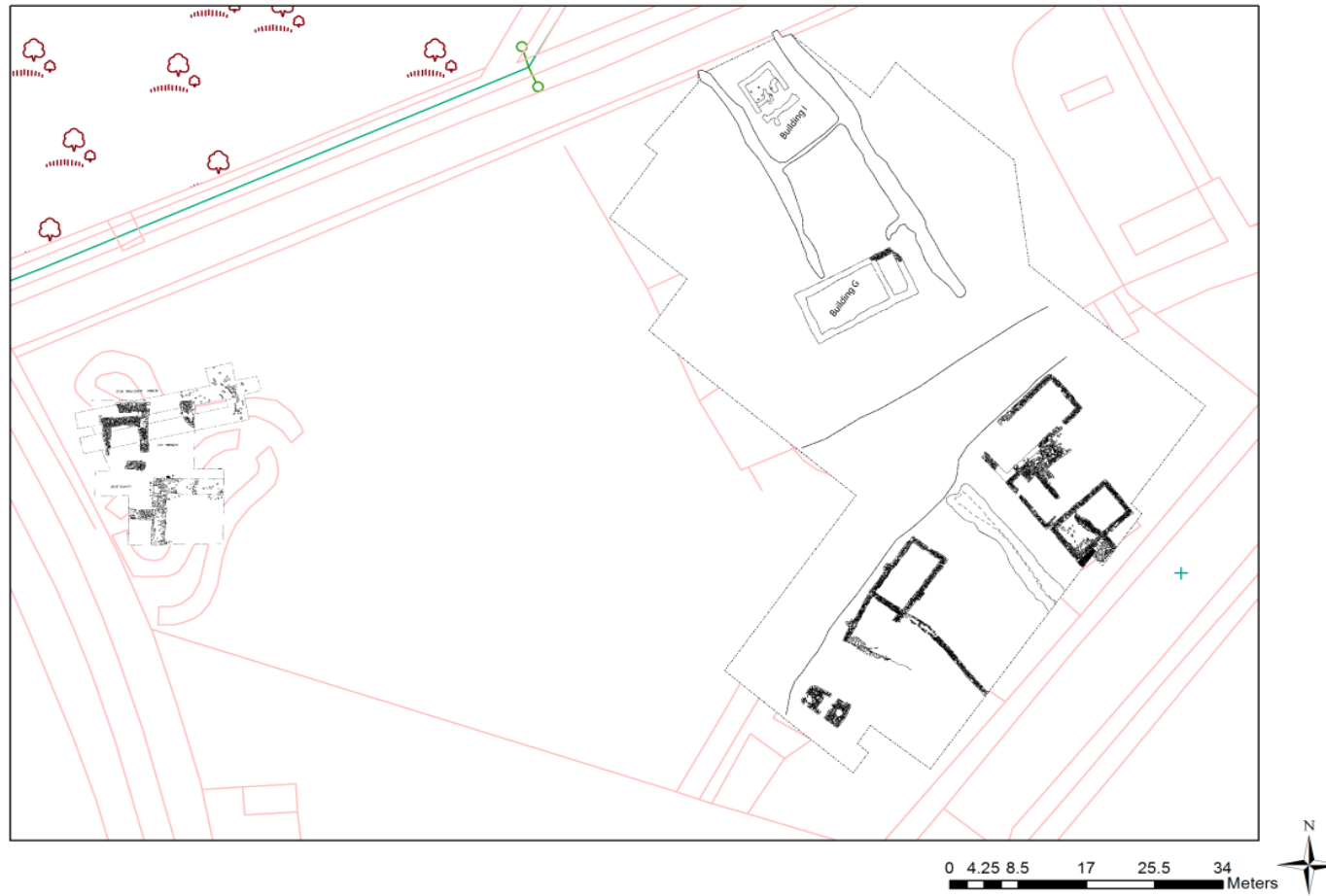
Figure 4.44 showing both the GGAT 1980s and Cardiff University 2000s areas of excavation

Unlike the associated settlement it appears that what had once been the manorial complex was completely abandoned by the late 15th – early 16th century. Later post-medieval activity is represented by demolition layers over the manorial area which have a series of later pits cutting them. A large post-medieval midden was also found situated in the north-west corner of the area at the northern end of the 2009 trench 1. These contexts, although not directly associated with a particular structure, are the rubbish deposits associated with post-medieval Cosmeston.

Very few high-status medieval sites have been excavated in South Glamorgan and those which have are problematic. Clearance at castles such as Ogmore has meant that although there is a wealth of ceramic material available for study, the associated contextual information was neither noted nor recorded. Excavations at Sully (Dowdell 1990) and Rumney (Lightfoot 1992) have produced large stratified ceramic assemblages; the archives including most of the finds, however, were destroyed in the fire at the GGAT stores. The loss of a number of large archaeological archives has meant that it has not been possible to return to the ceramic material and therefore detailed work on the local fabrics as well as identification of fabrics which were not previously known has not been possible. As well as the issues concerning fabric identification, the total number of sherds and their associated contexts is unknown and a comparative study of these (now lost) assemblages is restricted to the information from the published articles. The assemblage from the manor at Cosmeston is therefore important not only because it provides a full and comprehensive record of the material from a manorial site but, particularly in comparison with the sites at Sully and Rumney, local fabric descriptions can be further defined.
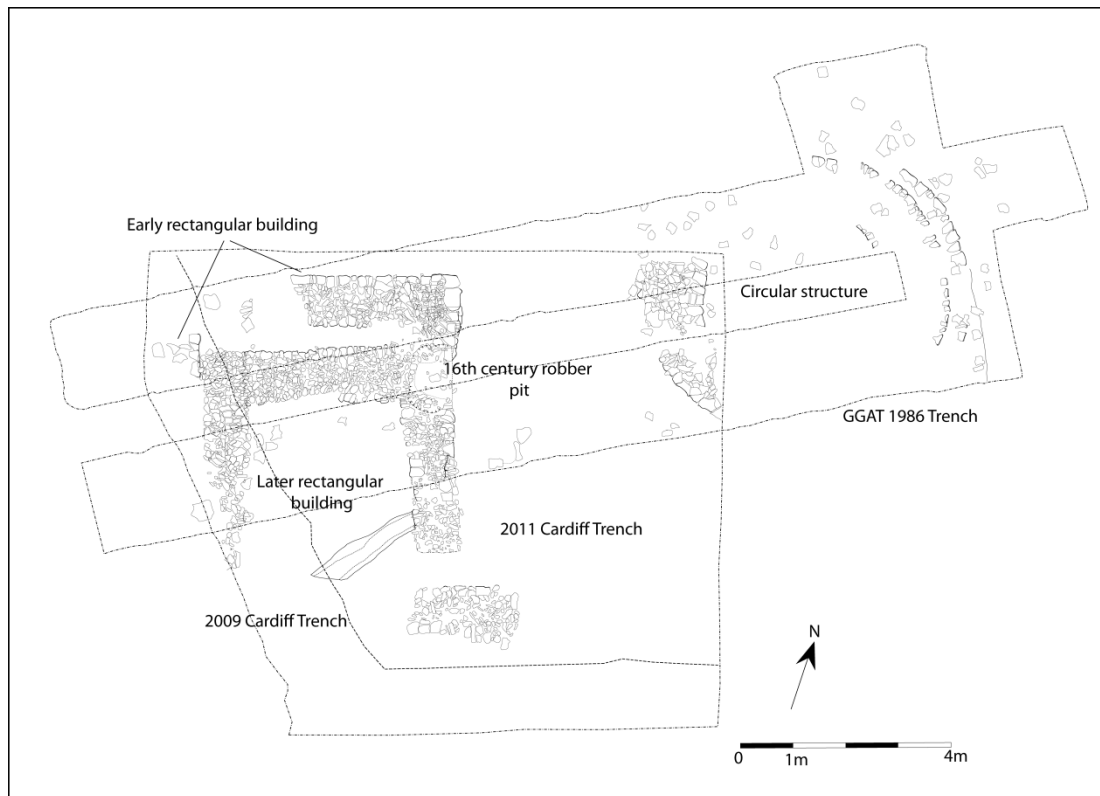
Figure 4.45 *the Cardiff University 2011 trench and the GGAT 1986 Castle evaluation trench*

4.2.1.2 The associated settlement

Excavations at Cosmeston in the settlement associated with the manor were for the most part conducted from 1983 to 1987 (Figure 4.46) followed by a further excavation in 1992 by Wessex Archaeology (Parkhouse 1993). The site has been divided into three areas: properties 3 and 4 and the lower area. Unlike many other manorial sites in South Glamorgan, archaeological excavation at Cosmeston has enabled the identification of specific activity areas. These represent the economic foci of the settlement, including the central manor house and elements of the wider estate and associated settlements. This is in contrast to Wrinstone (Vyner and Wrathmell 1978; 1981) and East Orchard (Clark 1869) in the Vale of Glamorgan, where it is the manorial records that have provided key information and have been used to trace the narratives of the two

settlements, including a list of owners, the changing land use and the tenants living there. Notwithstanding the detail provided by the written evidence, the lack of archaeological evidence to support and develop an understanding of these sites limits their interpretation. This is in contrast to Cosmeston where a more detailed recognition and spatial interpretation of the settlement enables the identification of the economic and functional role of particular areas of the settlement and therefore the manorial estate in general.
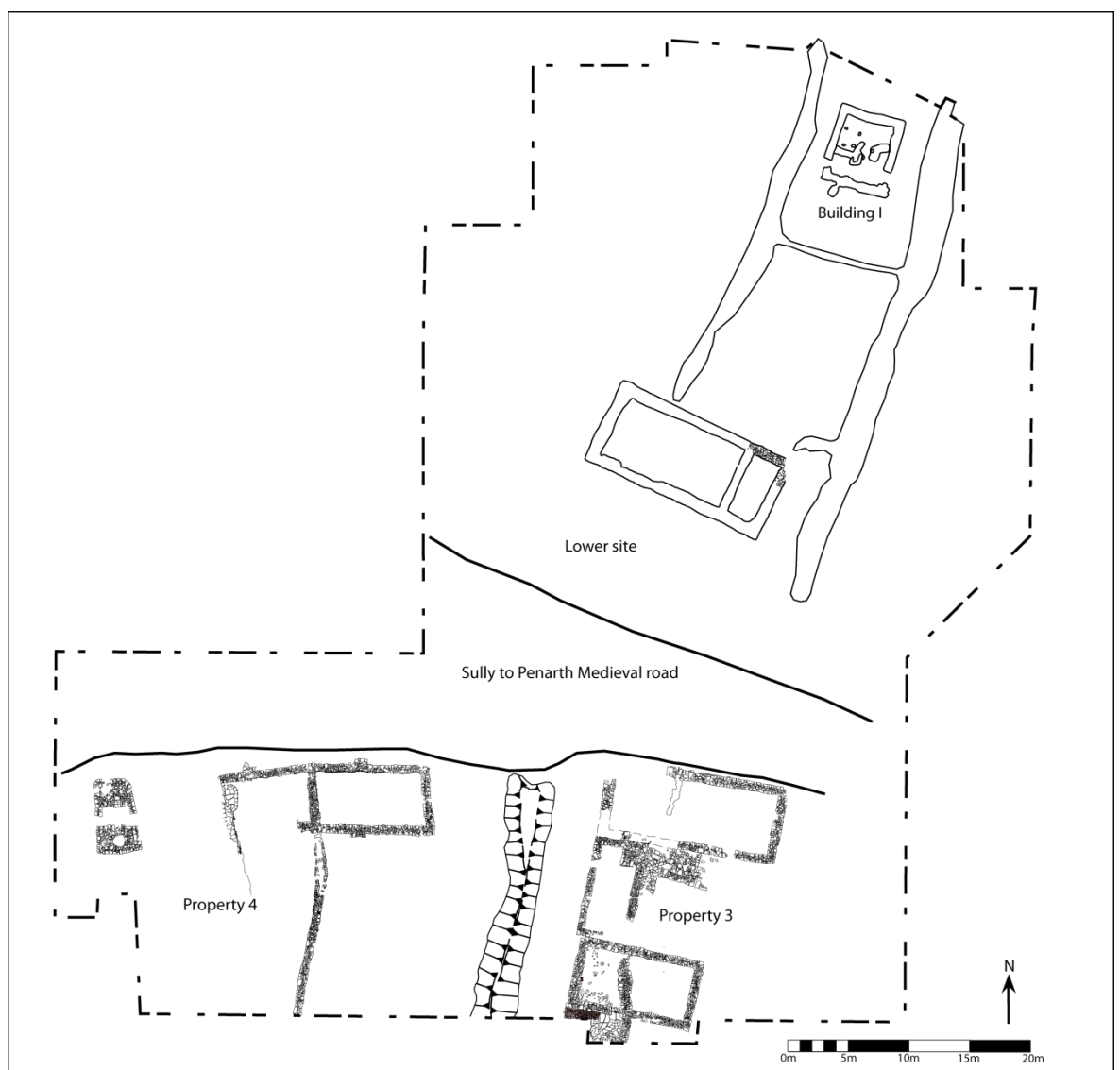
Figure 4.46 plan of the GGAT 1982-1987 excavations of the associated settlement

4.2.1.2a Property 3

Property 3 is representative of the three economic levels that embody the various economic relationships that exist within a manorial estate - the household, intra-manorial estate and the wider local networks which include other manorial estates, the towns, markets and fairs. The group of buildings in property 3 had been interpreted as comprising a house, byre and barn (Parkhouse 1984) but the ceramic evidence from this area enables a more detailed analysis of the functional role these buildings played within the manorial community (Figure 4.63). For example, dairying was one activity taking place in one of the three buildings and the archaeological evidence identifies the 'byre' as in fact a building used for milking and dairy production. Due to their proximity, it is likely that the house was directly associated with the activities related to the barn and dairy and that those living in this group of buildings were also engaged in activities directly associated with animal husbandry and dairying. As an economic unit not only would the animal husbandry have provided an occupation for those living in the buildings and therefore a livelihood, but also this role is intrinsically linked to the rest of the manor. The food produced at the dairy would have been accessed by those working and living in either the settlement or out in the dispersed houses, as well as the lord at the head of the estate. These relationships are essential to the economic role the dairy would have played for others living on the manor. The network does not finish there: the dairy directly produced for the manor and any surplus would have been available for sale, connecting the manor, and therefore the household directly to regional markets. The functional nature of this area of the site is clearly expressed in the ceramic evidence and is key to the interpretation. The range of vessels and fabrics follows a pattern seen at other sites.

4.2.1.2b Property 4

Property 4 has a distinct function to it and one which is more obvious than that of

Property 3. The excavated bakehouse (Figure 4.68 **and** Error! Reference source not

found.) and associated buildings provide ceramic evidence in this area dating from the

late 12th to the late 14th centuries and possibly into the 15th century.

Building F is the earliest structure in this property: initially a domestic building, it was

succeeded by building D which re-used and rebuilt wall **322** from building F. The

remaining upstanding walls from the later defunct building F became part of an

enclosed courtyard with the back wall **357** of the domestic building knocked down

(Error! Reference source not found.). The area initially appears to be domestic with the

building, fronting on to the main road running east-west through the settlement with

yard surfaces **696** and **700** to the rear.

The second phase encloses the bakehouse, creating a new functional area. This is

evident from the extensive yard surfaces, **342** and **575** which are seen to the rear of

building F as well the area around the bakehouse, unlike the early surfaces **696** and **700**

which are not present in the bakehouse area.

Buildings D and F have been enthusiastically interpreted by some as the first identified

semi-detached buildings in Wales. This is unfortunately not correct and in fact building

D is a later domestic building which used the eastern wall of building F; rebuilding wall

322 in order to key in wall **374** and to also realign the building was deemed necessary.

Archaeologically this was identified after careful excavation of the walls and excellent

recording.

As it is clear that building D is a later structure, the ceramics should provide a later stratigraphic series. There are twelve groups from this structure and unfortunately, as with some of the contexts from buildings E and F, the pottery is now missing although the 2007 catalogue does provide some idea of the range of ceramics within these contexts. The external yards and internal floor surfaces will be discussed as well as the foundation clay layers as they have provided particular evidence to support the later structural date for building D.

The manorial estate is recognised by many as an economic unit (Aston 1958, 61) and this definition is applied here. The site at Cosmeston is to be analysed at two levels: firstly, the manorial estate and secondly, the households that characterise the settlement.

4.2.2 Post-medieval Cosmeston

The archaeological evidence for post-medieval Cosmeston is currently represented by the large demolition layer and midden in the castle trenches, in the north-west corner of the events field (Figure 4.43), as well as a series of yards and evidence for a smithy in the Lower Area (Figure 4.46). There is a large hall building associated with medieval yard surfaces and early post-medieval surfaces, in the Lower Area of the site, but this hall building appears to have been demolished by the 17th century as a later yard overlies the robbed out walls. On the 1887 OS map there is another building to the east of the yard surfaces which is also pictured in Yates' 18th-century map of South Glamorgan. It is likely that this later building replaced the earlier house, and the yard surfaces are associated with the later house and its activities.

Evidence for the post-medieval occupation at Cosmeston demonstrates the process of 'de-manorialisation' (Bailey 2002, 17). The demolition of the manor house is significant, as many other manorial estates in the region, such as Sully (Dowdell 1990) and East Orchard (Clark 1869), retained the medieval complex that controlled the settlement. At Cosmeston it is clear that the house was no longer necessary and that although the manor as an estate unit was still owned and controlled by a succession of lords it was not organised in the same way. The absence of a central manor house at Cosmeston and of a lord in residence by the 15th century emphasises the change to the settlement's economic function and the requirements of those living there.

4.3 The ceramic assemblage

A fabric series for Glamorgan in a similar form to the Bristol Pottery Series, for example, does not exist. As a result a fabric series was developed for the Cosmeston assemblage. The fabric series is organised chronologically. This includes Roman ceramics, but in a very simplistic way, due to the small number of sherds found across the site. The latest pottery within the series is a general creamware – CFS60 – category, as sherds from 19th-century tea sets have also been found in small quantities, particularly in the later layers in the Lower Area of the site. The fabric series takes into account the work carried out on the Vale Ware from Cosmeston (see Chapter 3) which is why there is a greater level of division within the named Vale Ware fabric types. It also recognises the potential for early local production with Greensand-Derived sherds – CFS08 – clearly recorded separately from Limestone and Quartz – CFS07 and what has been termed Early Local – CFS06.

The Cosmeston assemblage can broadly be divided into three chronological groups, representing the developing relationship that those living in South Glamorgan had with ceramic material. These stages are significant to the three assemblages under analysis here. The first and earliest phase is significant as it is comparable to other early assemblages found at sites such as Llantrithyd (Charlton 1977) and Kenfig (Forward 2011). In the fabric series these are represented by codes CFS06 – CFS13. The absence of either locally made or imported ceramics from South Glamorgan between the 7th and the early 12th centuries means that when ceramics do begin to be used in this area this was both a sudden and a major change in household practices in the region. The Norman Conquest brought not only new people to the region but restructured the social and economic organisation of the land and people living in the area. At Cosmeston the early material comes for the most part from the manor house area. There are a few contexts from the associated settlement which contain similar material, but the nature of the deposition of the pottery is very different between these zones.

The second group of material, CFS14 – CFS27, is generally datable to the 13th and 14th centuries. As already discussed in the previous chapter, this is when Vale Ware is in production. The majority of the medieval pottery found from the associated settlement area is Vale Ware and it is here that the particular variations in the locally made ceramics can be seen. The thin-section analysis has provided the evidence for a greater understanding of the variations in this material and in the settlement area these are particularly defined.

The third group of material is the early post-medieval ceramics (1450 – 1700). This includes fabrics CFS27 –CFS52. These are found predominantly from the demolition

layers and a midden in the castle area, and in association with yard surfaces from the lower site. The post-medieval ceramics are significant with regards to dating as well as providing particular details associated with the continuation and development of economic networks in this later period. There is also a large collection of 18th-century material, but this is beyond the research remit of the thesis and will have to be considered at a later date.

The chapter will be divided into two parts: the medieval manorial estate and the medieval households. Each of these is identified as an economic segment and will be used to frame the ceramic analysis.

There are four questions posed here of the Cosmeston medieval assemblage:

1. How does the ceramic assemblage characterise the manorial estate with regards to the economic networks represented?

2. Is the manorial household ceramically distinct from the dairy and bakehouse households?

3. Can we identify function in association with the ceramic assemblages from the different households?

4. Are the assemblages comparable to other excavated manorial sites?

Identifying the economic networks associated with the medieval households and manorial estate are central to the first part of the analysis. Secondly, themes of continuity and change in ceramic production and trade, and the functional uses of ceramics in the household during the 15th-17th centuries, are at the heart of the analysis of the post-medieval assemblage.

4.4 The Medieval Manorial Estate

4.4.1 Initial foundation phase: 12th century

The ceramic material from the site is representative of assemblages from across the Vale of Glamorgan: the range of fabrics seen elsewhere is for the most part also present here. Unlike Cowbridge, for example, where there is a limit to the fabric variations, at Cosmeston there is at least one sherd of every fabric found at other sites in South Glamorgan.
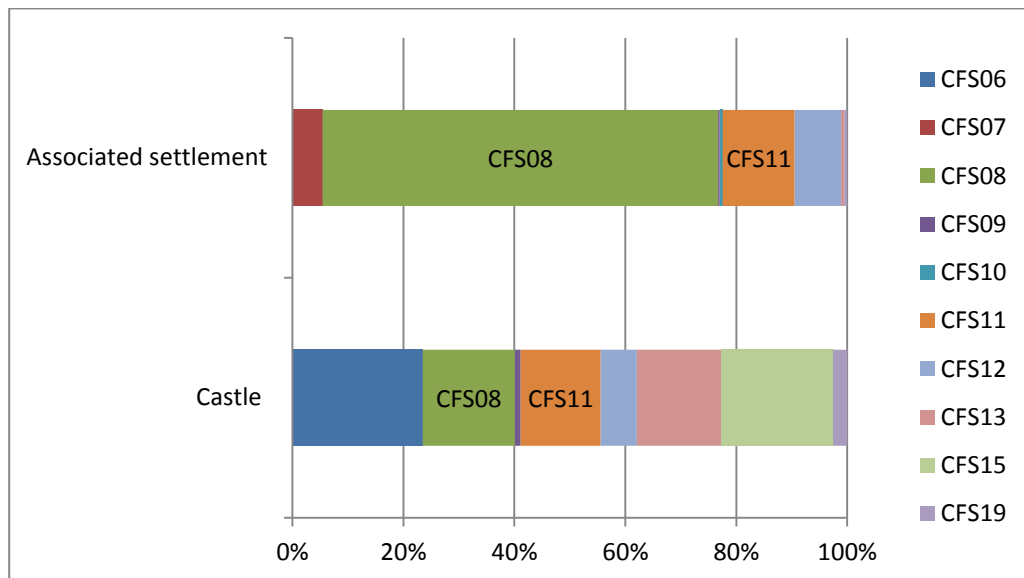
Figure 4.47 graph showing the comparative proportions of early fabrics between the manor house and associated settlement

The range of early fabrics from the site is particularly varied. Imported vessels from Somerset (CFS08,) Wiltshire (CFS09), and Bristol (CFS11 – CFS13) are all present (Figure 4.47). Cosmeston's early networks are very similar to the other earlier sites in the area: Cardiff, Kenfig and Llantrithyd all have similar assemblages with the majority of the early jugs and jars imported from across the Bristol Channel. There is, however, both at Kenfig and Cosmeston, evidence for early local pottery production. This fabric has been

discussed in full in the previous chapter on petrography but it is important to emphasise here that an earlier local fabric, preceding the production of Vale Ware, although suggested in association with the assemblage from Rumney (Vyner 1992), has not been fully investigated before now. The presence of this fabric at Cosmeston not only indicates early activity and occupation but also represents early post-Conquest economic networks and connections within the region. Here the earlier fabrics are identified as CFS06, CFS15 and CFS19. At Cosmeston, as illustrated by the chart Figure 4.47 above and graphs Figure 4.48 below, there are more early local sherds in the manorial area than in the associated settlement where few local early sherds were identified.
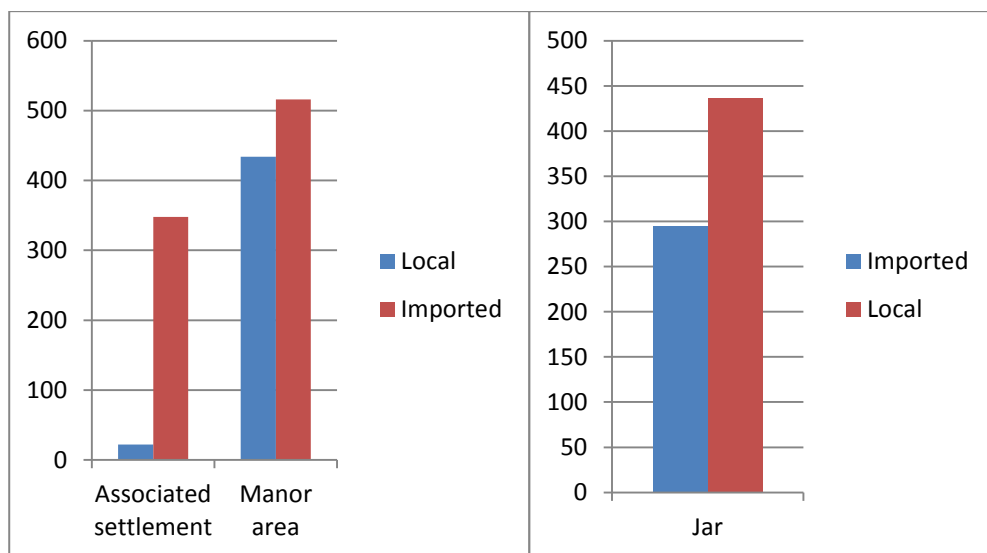
Figure 4.48 Graphs showing the number of imported and locally produced sherds in the two areas at Cosmeston.

As indicated by the pie chart below (Figure 4.49), the large majority of the early sherds are from jars and the graphs above (Figure 4.48) highlight the reliance on imported wares during the 12th and early 13th centuries. As well as the jars, included in this group are Ham Green jugs and a spouted pitcher, a West Country incurved dish and a

Minety Ware tripod pitcher. These are all typical of early groups seen elsewhere from sites such as Llantrithyd, and Kenfig, and they provide good evidence for the early settlement at Cosmeston.
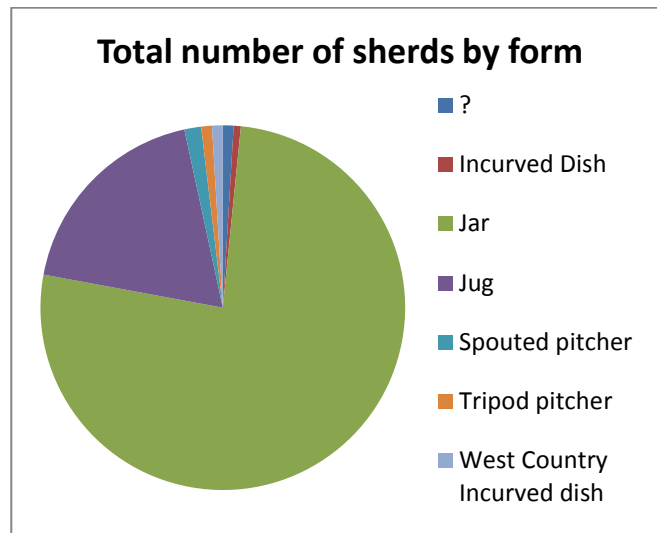
Figure 4.49 Pie chart showing the proportion of different vessel forms in the early fabrics

4.4.2 High Medieval Cosmeston: 13th – 14th centuries

Whilst the early phase of the settlement is characterised by the early non-local ceramics, the high-medieval manorial estate is ceramically very different. The majority of the sherds present are locally produced vessels and the number of non-local vessels falls dramatically. Jugs in particular are introduced to the local vessel repertoire although non-local jugs still represent a small proportion of the assemblage. As illustrated by the graph below (Figure 4.50) CFS14 and CFS17, local Vale Ware unglazed and glazed, vessels are present in far greater numbers than the remaining non-local sherds. In comparison, between the manor area and the associated settlement, though, there are more non-local sherds from the manor.
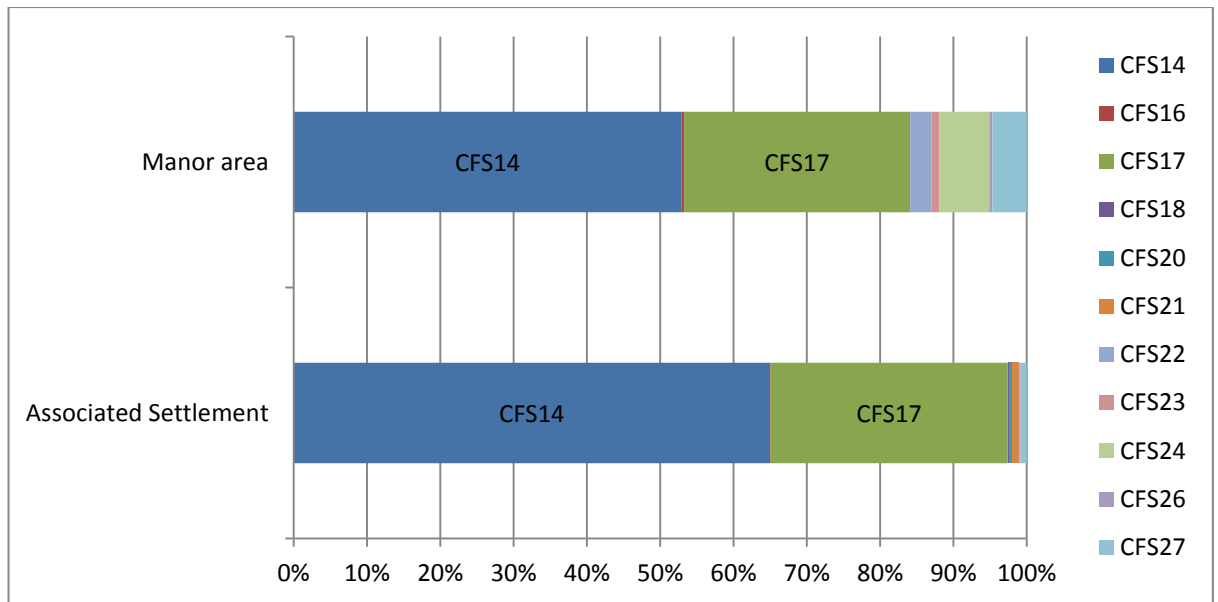
Figure 4.50 Graph showing the comparative proportions of the high medieval fabrics between the manor and the associated settlement

Demands in and the consumption of ceramic material in the mid- to late 13th and 14th centuries appear to be focused on local production. This is not only seen at Cosmeston but also at Cowbridge (see Chapter 6) and Kenfig (see Chapter 7). The manorial estate assemblage at Cosmeston is typical of the local patterns of ceramic use, with variations in local fabrics (see Chapter 3) representing the range of local kilns, rather than imports, characteristic of the assemblages. Saintonge (CFS24) and Redcliffe (CFS27) Wares are present in the assemblages and are proportionally similar to the number of imports seen at Cowbridge. This pattern is replicated at Kenfig. Despite earlier assemblages being predominantly characterised by imported wares, the High-medieval assemblages show a local system of production, a reaction to the early demand for imported wares. This is will be returned to later in this chapter.
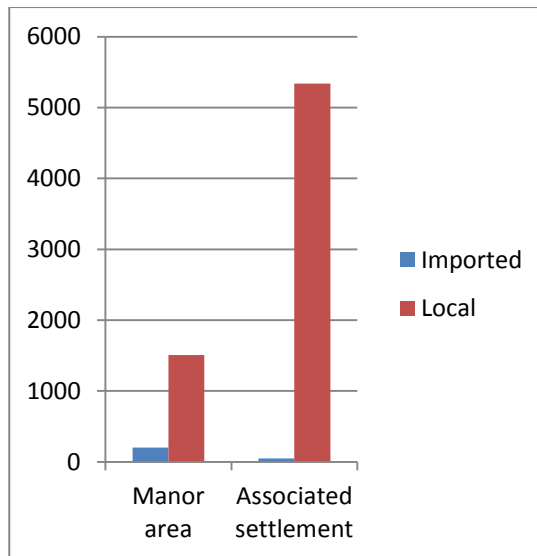
Figure 4.51 Graph showing the number of imported and locally produced sherds in the high medieval period.

The range of forms within the Cosmeston assemblage is generally wider than those seen at Cowbridge and other sites. Not only are the typical jugs and jars found within the assemblage but an aquamanile, spouted pitcher, incurved dish, costrel, cistern and curfew sherds are all represented. This is significantly wider than the suite of vessels seen in all the other assemblages under discussion here. This is likely to be primarily due to the extent of excavations seen at Cosmeston. There are, however, a few vessel forms present in many other assemblages from South Glamorgan that are not within the material from the manor area at Cosmeston. In particular curfews and cisterns are notably absent from the manor area, a pattern also identified in the town assemblages. It is not clear why, particularly with cisterns, there is an absence of sherds. It may be representative of the variations in household activities between the peasant class and the wealthier high-status elite who lived in the manor houses and towns. It does not appear to be a rural-urban divide. Cisterns are associated with brewing and whilst beer was drunk by everyone, the process of making beer would have been a centralised function associated with baking as well as an activity that was carried out within

peasant households. In towns this may have also been a centralised system of production rather than something done by each household. The functionality and role ceramics played in the daily lives of people in South Glamorgan can be discerned from the assemblages and it is clear that these were very different between manor and town. This is reflective of the economic activities associated with particular settlements, and in turn this is representative of the role these places played in the wider system of social and economic networks.

The Cosmeston manorial ceramic assemblage is distinctly different in comparison to those retrieved from towns. The range and proportion of fabrics is similar yet the forms are more varied and more representative of the daily activities carried out within a manorial estate. Ceramics could be viewed as distinctly a rural tool, associated with agricultural practices, but they also reflect a disparity between the uses of metal items such as cooking vessels within the households.

The broad range of fabrics found generally within the manorial assemblage, is useful for comparison with material from other settlements in South Glamorgan. More specifically, within the site, there is also a variation in the range of fabrics and forms directly associated with particular buildings. The identification of different households and their specific roles and functions within the settlement has not been possible at any other rural settlement in South Glamorgan. By interpreting the ceramics in more detail in association with the particular structures, a more informed analysis can be achieved and the role of pottery in the household made clearer.

4.5 The medieval rural household

The excavations at Cosmeston identified a number of different households including the manorial hall. The central manorial buildings and the associated settlement are spatially distinct, with the associated settlement to the east of the hall. The ceramic material from Cosmeston is more varied than the assemblages from the Cardiff, Cowbridge and Kenfig town groups. Analysis of the assemblage within the site, between different areas and households, has indicated that the range and variations in the ceramic fabrics and forms are spatially definable and relate to the function and status of the different manorial elements. Although the manorial estate can be analysed and interpreted as one economic unit - as historians might view it - the ceramic assemblage indicates that within this unit there were separate and distinctly defined economic groups. These groups not only define each household in terms of its social and economic status but also its contributing role and function within the manorial estate. Three households will be discussed here: the manorial hall, the bakehouse and the dairy.

4.5.1 The Manorial Hall

The ceramic evidence from this area of the site has a greater date-range than that from the associated settlement. The number of early sherds and vessels is significant, particularly in association with the stratified archaeological remains. There are greater numbers of non-local wares to local sherds in the earlier phase of the settlement, and, although non-local wares continue to be a feature of the later groups, local production appears to fulfil much of the demand for ceramic vessels. The proportions of the later vessels are similar to the assemblages from Cowbridge (see Chapter 6) and this may

reflect economic and social comparisons between the manor household and those living in towns.

There are a number of significant groups from the manorial hall area; from internal floor surfaces and the extensive demolition layer. Stratigraphically, these contexts represent the initial phase of the manorial hall through to the final demolition of the structure. These three stratigraphic groups will be focused on here as they represent the main chronological phases of the manorial household.

Internal floor surfaces

Late 12th – early 13th century contexts

The internal floor surfaces are stratigraphically indicative of the changes in the use of ceramic material from the earliest phase of the building to its demolition. The earliest floor surfaces excavated in the manorial hall are represented by contexts **2232, 2239** and **2240.** These three contexts underlay the pitched limestone floor surrounded by sand **2148 (148)** (Figure 4.52). The assemblage from these contexts is not as extensive as those from the other two groups under discussion but this is not surprising considering it was a floor surface.

Figure 4.52 showing the plan of the excavated manor house walls and internal pitched stone floor

Pitched Floor (148)

N

0   1m   4m
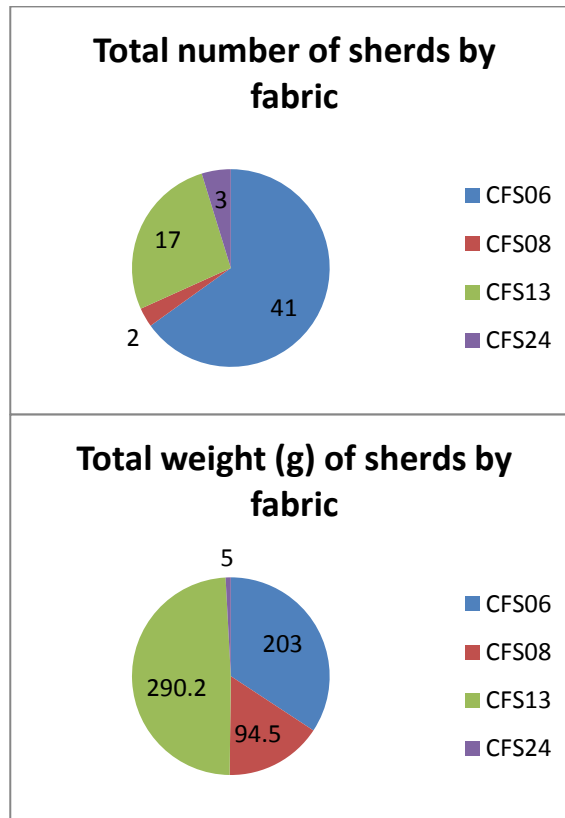
Figure 4.53 Pie charts showing the number of sherds by count and weight in the early manor floor layers

The pie charts above (Figure 4.53) show the number of sherds and the total weight by fabric. The difference between the sherd weight and count is significant. This is unlikely to be due to variations in the total weight of a single complete vessel. Rather it is clear that, for example, even though there are only two sherds of CFS08 they represent a proportionally greater percentage of a single vessel than two of the forty-one sherds of CFS06 do. The use of minimum number of vessels in the case of these contexts is possible when taking into account the rim data. Based on the number of rims present and the number of vessels they represent, there are three jars present, one in each fabric, CFS06, CFS08 and CFS13 (Table 4.7). They are all early fabrics and rather than

using the number of body sherds present, the weights are more representative of the

vessels present than the sherd count.

Context	Fabric	Form	Rim	Sherd count	Diameter	EVEs	Weight(g)	Decoration
2232	CFS06	Jar	Outflaring, rounded rim.	2	11	11	19.7	No decoration although the surfaces are smoothed.
2232	CFS13	Jar	Flat, outflaring rim, all sherds joining.	3	19	12.5	137	No decoration although both surfaces are smoothed.
2239	CFS08	Jar	Wide outflaring rim, flat on the very top.	2	21	5	94.5	Smoothed internal and external surfaces, really flaky though.

Table 4.7 showing the details of the rim sherds within contexts 2232 and 2239

Despite the early context there are three sherds from a Saintonge Ware (CFS024) jug.

Saintonge Ware is dated from the mid-13th century onwards and these three sherds

are particularly small and fragmented and likely to be intrusive particularly when

considering the ease with which small material could slip between the stones of the

overlying pitched limestone flooring.

The absence of any contemporary jug sherds is notable in these early contexts although

the whole floor area was not exposed during excavation and pockets of specific

deposits are more likely to be spread across the floor.

Latest floor surface

Early jug material – although absent in the earliest floor layers – is well represented in

the latest clay floor within the manorial building. The main late floor layer context **135**

(2135) has a large assemblage associated with it. It is the latest floor layer before the

demolition of the building and the range of ceramic material from here can be dated

from the 12th to the mid-14th centuries. The ceramic evidence indicates that whilst

the building underwent destruction, material representing the ceramic lifespan of the

structure was re-deposited as rubbish into and on to this floor. Not only does the

assemblage provide evidence for the latest activity in the building but, due to the

presence of Ham Green jugs (CFS13), also the earlier phases too.

The very mixed deposit of ceramic material may be associated with the changing uses

of the manorial building. The tower, or keep, at Penllyn, for example, was accessed

from stairs which led to the first floor of the building (RCAHMW 1991, 340). If this was

also the case for the early building at Cosmeston, then the floor layer represented by

the late clay layer could have been the lower room, only accessed from within the

building. This would therefore have most likely been a storage area. In the 13th century

when the manorial area was extended, this area may have become redundant or the

function of the space changed, which would account for the amount of broken pottery

within the surface.

The pie charts below (Figure 4.54 and Figure 4.55) illustrate the proportions of each

fabric represented in context **135** by sherd count and weight. These two measures are

both very similar, unlike the situation encountered in the early floor layer, indicating

that they both represent the relative proportions of the different fabrics. Of note is the

higher percentage of earlier fabrics (12th-early 13th century) to the later Vale Ware

(CFS14 and 17). The clay layer is the latest evidence for a floor layer apparent within

the area of the building and therefore it would be expected that the assemblage should

be characterised by Vale Ware. The early local wares and Greensand-Derived fabrics

which are indicative of early ceramic groups in South Glamorgan are particularly well

represented, with 44% of the assemblage identified as CFS06 and 18% as CFS08. Ham

Green (CFS11 – CFS13) vessels are equally significant, at 19% of the assemblage. The

majority of these are early jar fabrics and the range and number of early phase sherds

is not represented elsewhere at Cosmeston. Rather sites such as Kenfig and Llantrithyd

provide closer parallels to this early group (Charlton et al 1977; Forward forthcoming).
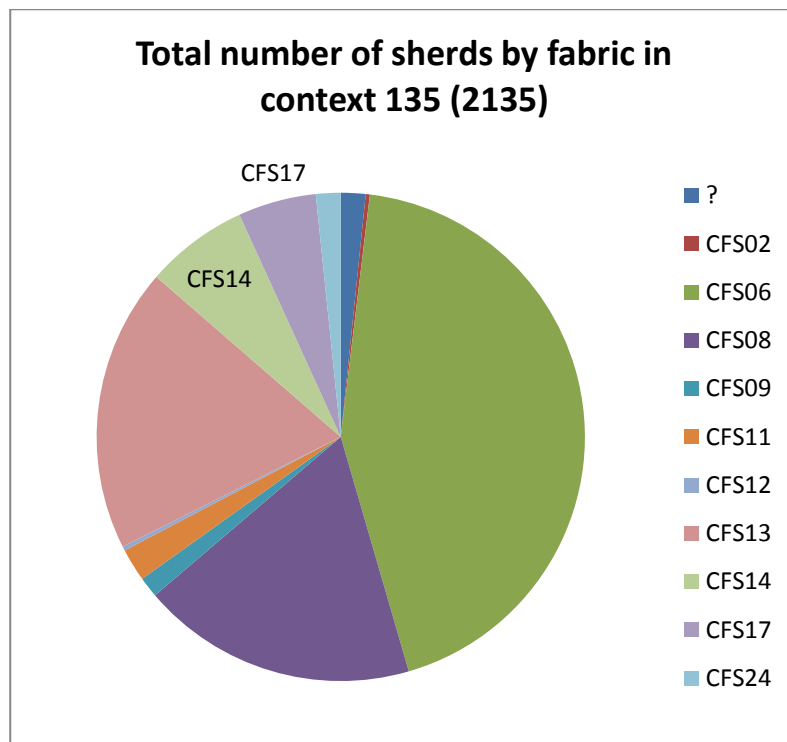
Figure 4.54 Pie chart showing the proportion of the total number of sherds, by fabric, in context 135.

Total weight of sherds by fabric in context 135 (2135)

Legend:
- ?
- CFS02
- CFS06
- CFS08
- CFS09
- CFS11
- CFS12
- CFS13
- CFS14
- CFS17
- CFS24
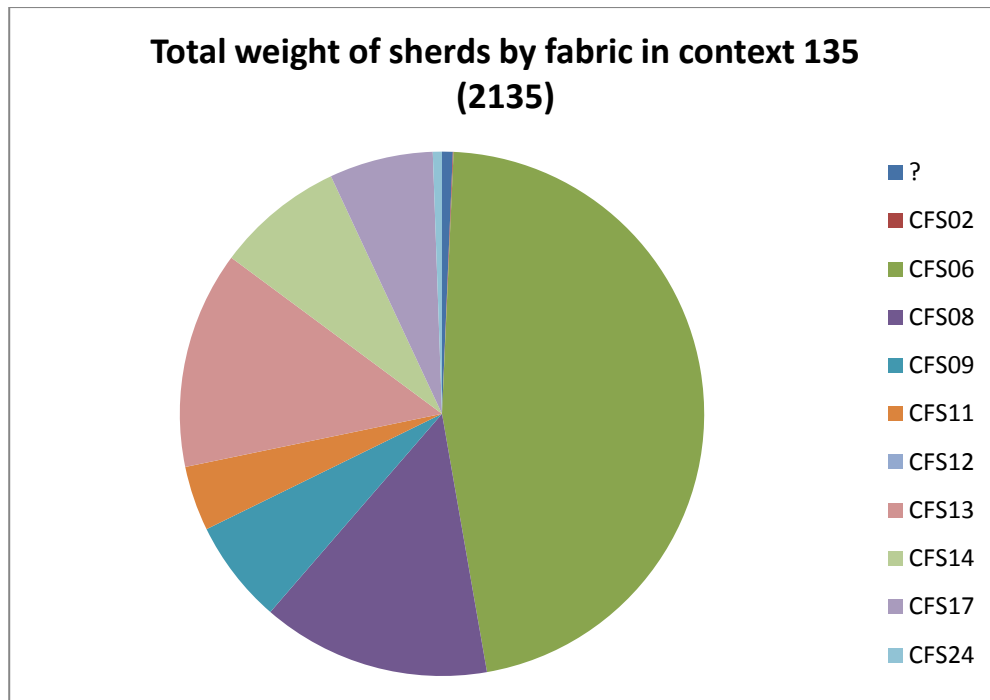
Figure 4.55 Pie chart showing the proportion of the total weight of sherds, by fabric, in context 135

As well as the early vessels there are Vale Ware and Saintonge Ware sherds within the context both of which are typical of later High-medieval groups. The later wares are more prominent within the overlying demolition layers whilst the material within the clay layer is the debris from the 12th-century occupation at the manor. The presence of the later ceramics in this early context is likely to be a result of the general movement of finds over time.

Chronologically it indicates that Cosmeston was an early settlement as can be seen from the close similarities to the assemblages from the excavations at Kenfig and Llantrithyd. The presence of Minety Ware tripod pitcher sherds (CFS09) at Rumney (Vyner 1992, 151-152) indicates this was also an early manor and likely to have had access to similar economic networks as Cosmeston. The similar range of fabrics from these sites suggests early post-Conquest networks that connected settlements throughout South Glamorgan through markets and ports at places such as Cardiff and

Kenfig. The small inlets on both sides of the Bristol Channel were clearly well connected at this early date and the continuation of these trading relationships can be seen later in the 13th century and through into the 17th century. The early fabrics are not always seen everywhere, as the assemblages from Cowbridge (Chapter 6) emphasise, and therefore the presence and the quantity of the group at Cosmeston indicates that the settlement was intrinsically linked into the local and regional early post-Conquest economic networks. These early households and manorial estates forged the relationships that the later medieval ceramic material continues to emphasise.

Demolition

The demolition of the manor house at Cosmeston was not the ending of the settlement; rather a change in ownership and occupation. Although the demolition event is apparently post-medieval in date, the rubble contains some of the more significant medieval ceramics from the site. The demolition layers overlie the entire area of the 'castle' site and in some places are recorded as over one metre deep. The main contexts associated with this period of demolition were seen in all three seasons of excavation; **115/2115, 108/2108, 2302, 2303, 2307 and 2309**. These layers represent the final destruction of the manor house and its associated buildings (see fig 4.16).

Despite the organisation of the layers into a number of different contexts, as a result of the different excavation seasons, many of the sherds join, and unlike the majority of the contexts in the settlement area, recording the minimum number of vessels is a viable method. There are many cross-fits and joins throughout the demolition layers indicating that the action was likely to have been one event. Evidence for later pitting is

apparent across this area of the site, however, and as a result, in places, later sherds have been introduced to the assemblage.

The range of fabrics from the demolition deposits is wide, with a total of 2089 sherds representing 31 different fabrics. Figure 4.56 shows the full extent of the demolition debris and in order to begin to understand the range of ceramic material deposited in this area analysis will be undertaken within two chronological groups, 'medieval' (AD1170 – 1460) and 'post-medieval' (AD1460 - 1700) - with the aim of identifying particular patterns of deposition. There are, however, some issues with regards to the 15th-century material. One of the biggest problems is that Welsh late medieval and early post-medieval pottery from the 15th century is hard to recognise. The end of the Vale Ware industry has not been definitely identified. For the most part, Vale Ware was hand-made although wheel-made forms do occasionally appear which are likely to be evidence of later production. It is possible that the change in production technique from hand-made to wheel-thrown vessels, along with a change in handles from the strap to the rod handle could be used as indicators of a later date (Ponsford, pers. comm. 2010). The transitional Vale Fabrics CFS22 and CFS23, along with fabrics such as Surrey White Ware (CFS29) and Cistercian-style wares (CFS53) are all used here to identify this transitional phase.
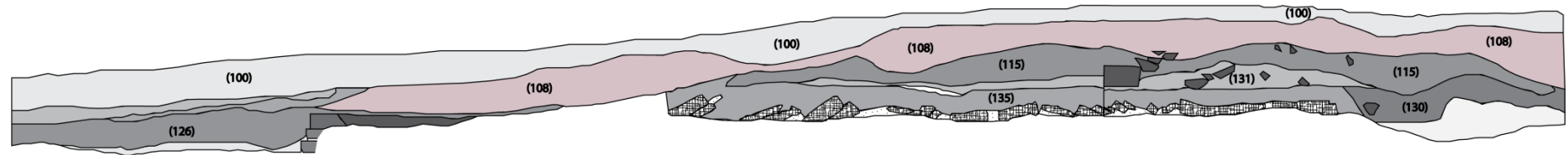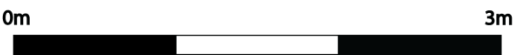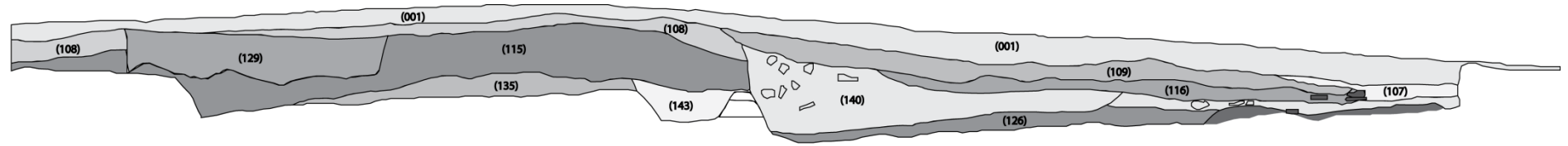
Figure 4.56 above, section 37, from the western end of trench 2, facing north and below, section 38 showing the western end of trench 2 facing south. Both sections are from the 2009 excavation and are a good illustration of the extent and depth of the demolition layers (108), (109) and (115)

Despite the problems with the 15th century, there is a broad sweep of fabrics within the demolition layer contexts; the range runs from the earliest fabrics found at the site, Greensand-Derived (CFS08) and Minety Ware (CFS09), to the Somerset and North Devon vessels which dominate the 16th- and 17th- century contexts. This study only goes as late as 1700 and as a result any contexts which appear to have a significant number of Bristol Yellow wares (CFS55) or Treacle glazed (CFS54) sherds are excluded, as these are both diagnostic of 18th-century contexts. The demolition layers have a distinct lack of these two fabrics – only 12 sherds of CFS54 and 23 of CFS55 – which would indicate that the demolition of the building was earlier than the 18th-century. An absence of Westerwald sherds in this area also indicates that these layers are likely to be pre-18th-century, as a number of sherds in this fabric have been found in the later contexts in the Lower Area of the site (see fig 4.6).

The medieval fabrics

The 12th-century fabrics seen in the earlier floor layers are also present in the demolition layers, particularly in the area over the manor house floors (contexts **108/2108** and **115/2115**). The demolition of the building thus appears to have disturbed earlier phases of the building and redeposited the material. The presence of fabric CFS08 in the Cosmeston assemblage is generally important as it is not only indicative of earlier 12th-century activity but also provides direct evidence for cross-Bristol Channel trade in the early post-Conquest period. There are only 29 sherds identified as CFS08 in **115**. One sherd in particular, a handle still attached to the rim with a small decorative motif on the top side of the handle just next to where it meets the rim, has a slightly odd form which as yet has no parallel even from Somerset but is clearly from the Greensand-Derived (CFS08) group. The remaining sherds represent 22 body sherds and 3 rim sherds, and are fairly fragmented but

certainly comparable to the material from the earlier floor layers within the main manorial building (see above). This early fabric found in association with the 16th-and 17th-century material as well as the 13th- and 14th-century ceramics clearly indicates that the demolition of the manorial complex disturbed earlier contexts where the ceramics had previously been deposited.

Unlike the floor layers already discussed, there are a number of early tableware forms (jugs and spouted pitchers, for example) in the demolition layer which make up for the absence of these in the floor layer assemblages. The Ham Green fabric which dominates the early jugs and other tablewares in this region is well represented in the demolition deposits. At least 7 vessels are represented by the rims and handles. They include a spouted pitcher, a form seen on sites in Bristol (Ponsford 1998, 149) and there is also an example from the excavations at Chepstow (Vince 1991). This early group of jugs and the spouted pitcher emphasise the reliance on the Ham Green kilns prior to the development of the Vale Ware industry, with implications for the economic networks within which these vessels were traded and acquired. The presence of these vessels within the demolition layers can be viewed in two ways. As with the cooking and storage vessels these could be seen as disturbed from earlier contexts; yet the near complete spouted pitcher and jugs suggest that they were still in use by the household at the point of demolition. This last point will be returned to.

As can be seen from the fabric chart (Figure 4.57) below it is only context **115** that has any significant number of early sherds (nearly 30%) within its assemblage, including the spouted pitcher. The ceramic material from the other demolition contexts generally consists of 13th-and 14th-century material from the medieval occupation phase. The level of abrasion on the sherds from the demolition layer is far less than on those seen in the

associated settlement and consequently there are numerous cross-fits. There are also examples of non-joining sherds that are evidently from the same vessel. The breaks are clean with very little evidence to suggest that once they had been broken they moved far from where this happened.
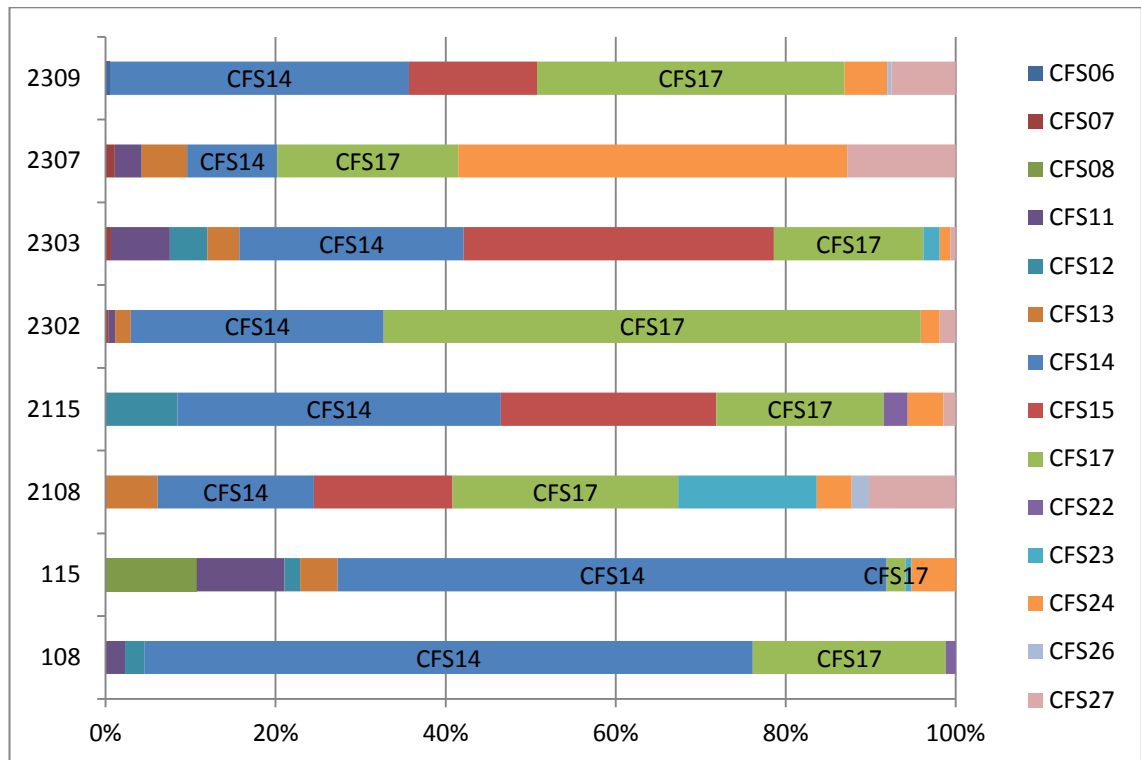
Figure 4.57 graph showing the proportions of medieval sherds, by fabric, in the demolition contexts

The later 13th-and 14th-century vessels within the demolition layers appear to be the remains of the manorial household's ceramic possessions. The variety of tablewares and the lack of functional vessels such as incurved dishes and curfews represent similar presence/absence patterns to those observed at Cowbridge (see Chapter 6). A notable difference between the Cosmeston and Cowbridge assemblages is the quantity of cooking and storage vessels. Within the demolition layers, particularly contexts **115, 108** and **2303,** the majority of the later medieval material is represented by CFS14 (Vale Ware), with jars

dominating the fabric group. It has been suggested that the wealthier households used fewer ceramic and more metal cooking and storage vessels.

Although evidence for metal vessels has been found at Cosmeston, it appears that ceramic jars were a feature of the manorial household. This may be due to its position within a rural rather than urban community, and represents a household residing permanently within the hall. It is worth noting that with regards to social hierarchy a distinction cannot be made simply on the absence or presence of storage and cooking jars.

Whereas it is apparent from the assemblage that ceramic vessels were being used in this household (Figure 4.58), the presence of only one curfew sherd is notable when compared to the numbers recorded in the associated dependent settlement. Curfews were placed next to fires within the house to control the embers at night. The one sherd from the manor assemblage could indeed be intrusive to the assemblage, particularly as no other sherds have been retrieved. This is very similar to the assemblage from Cowbridge where a total absence of curfew sherds indicates that households were not functioning in the same way as the settlement households at Cosmeston for example.

Total no of sherds by form (13th-14th century)

Legend:
- Aquamanile
- Basket
- Bowl
- Cup
- Curfew
- Dish
- Incurved Dish
- Jar
- Jug
- Various

Values shown: 11, 12, 1, 5, 1, 1, 9, 58, 355, 442
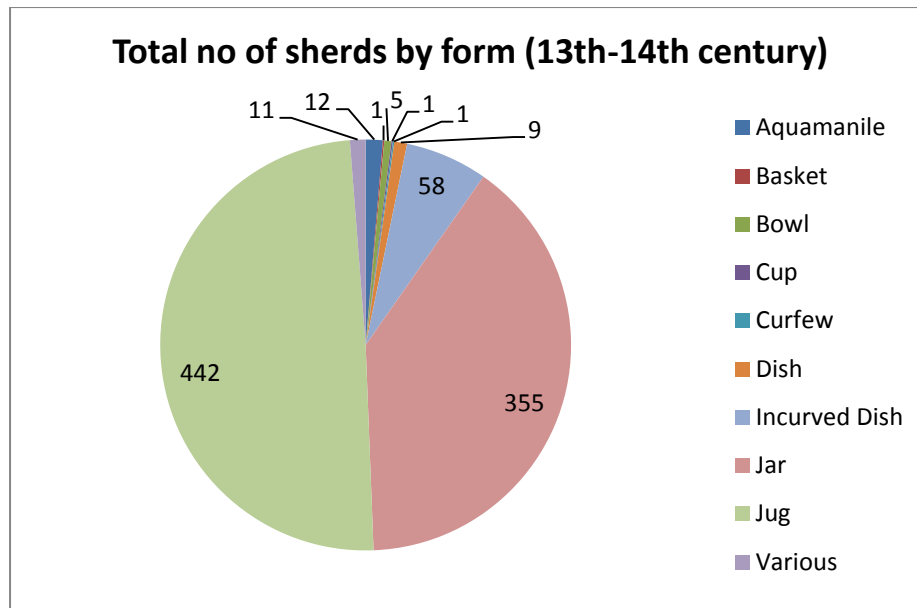
Figure 4.58 showing the percentage of sherds by form from the manor area

There is also a pattern with regard to incurved dishes: there are fewer sherds and vessels than in the associated settlement assemblage but more than the number identified at Cowbridge. Incurved dishes have been associated with dairying and this interpretation is being maintained here. Dairy products are generally considered an important part of the peasant diet in the medieval period and the absence or limited number of sherds associated with this vessel form in Cowbridge has been associated with social and economic status (Chapter 7). At Cosmeston, though, the context is a little different; although the manorial household was higher in status both economically and socially it was associated with a rural community and therefore the consumption of dairy products is likely to have been higher.

The tablewares at Cosmeston in the 13th and 14th centuries are more highly decorated than those seen from contexts associated with other households in the settlement as well as those from Cowbridge. They are more similar to the assemblage from Sully which also has a large proportion of highly decorated, higher status tablewares. There are a number

of vessels retrieved from the demolition layers which, due to the nature of the material, although not complete, were most likely broken during demolition. These vessels are associated with the manorial household and would have been for display as well as use during dining.

Figure 4.59 Vale Ware ram aquamanile from demolition layer 2303

A ram's head aquamanile produced in Vale Ware (CFS17), one of three such vessels identified from excavations in South Glamorgan, was found scattered throughout the demolition layers in the 2011 excavations (Figure 4.59). The other two vessels (one from Cardiff Castle and the other from the manorial centre at Rumney) are also made locally (CFS17). The settlements from which the vessels were retrieved are intrinsic to understanding the economic and social networks that were in action in 13th- and 14th-century South Glamorgan. The two manorial estates and the castle household at Cardiff would have been tied not only as a result of duties but also through social connections.

What one household had, if desirable, the others are likely to have acquired too. The

relationships between the settlements and patterns of influence, certainly from Cardiff

Castle to other manors, can be identified through the material culture.

Figure 4.60 showing a Ham Green spouted pitcher and jug, Redcliffe Ware sherds and a Saintonge Ware all over green-glazed parrot spouted jug and a green speckled jug, all from the demolition layers.

Cosmeston was not only part of an East Glamorgan but also a wider South Glamorgan community. The relationship between Cosmeston and the Lords of Glamorgan (as well as the other knights and lords holding manorial land, as at Rumney) is implied by the presence of the ram aquamaniles within the ceramic assemblages. The similarities in the range of local Vale Ware fabrics, and in particular the aquamaniles identified at the three sites, are material markers for local and regional connections. Whether a particular, Cardiff-centred, regional social group can be identified through the ceramic vessels and the use of particular tablewares in manorial settlements, is maybe too speculative a matter at present. An example of a possible horse and rider aquamanile was found at Llangstone, Gwent (Redknap 1991) (Figure 4.61).
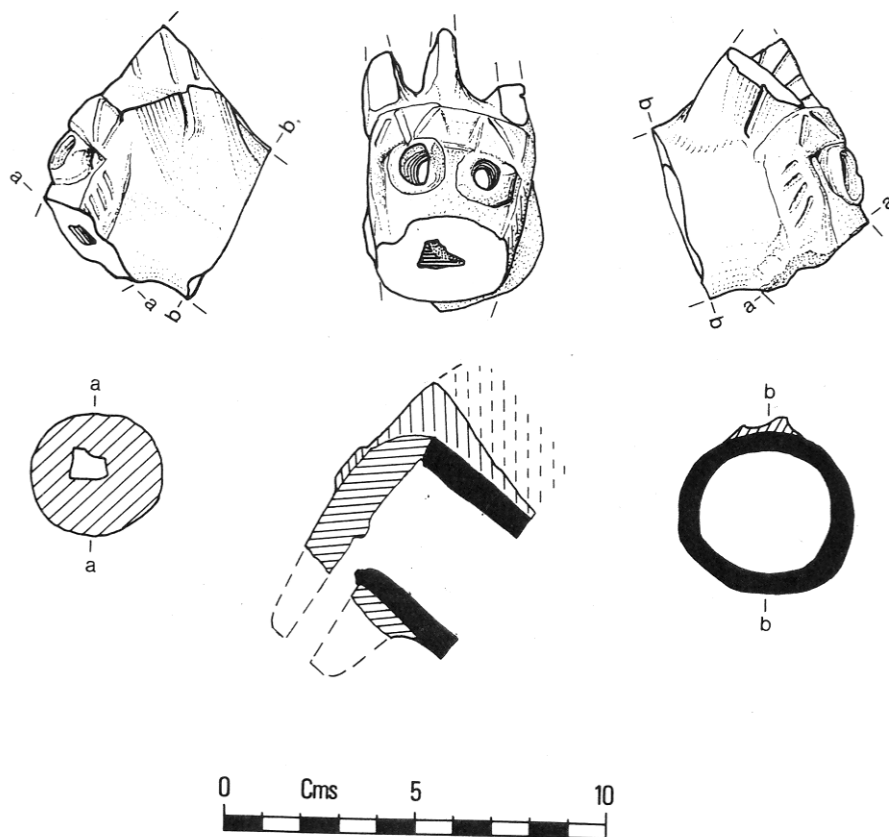
Figure 4.61 the probable horse and rider aquamanile

It is not clear whether this is a Vale Ware aquamanile. The fabric is described as a, 'hard grey sandy fabric: grey core and outer margin, light brown inner margin, with abundant fine-medium well sorted rounded quartz grains; sparse fine sandstone particles, and occasional medium grey inclusions' (Redknap 1991, 105). Geologically this could be a vessel from anywhere along the south-east Welsh coast. Due to its context it is most likely to be a locally produced vessel. To date there have been no other examples from excavation or chance find in South Glamorgan comparable to the four aquamaniles found in this eastern area. These vessels were not every-day, common household items, and are directly associated with lordly, manorial contexts.

Another group of tablewares of note are the Saintonge jug sherds (Figure 4.60). Within context **2307** there is a disparity between the number of sherds present and the actual number of vessels: 51% of the assemblage is from one Saintonge jug (43 sherds). This is in stark contrast to the 2 – 8% from the other demolition contexts (Figure 4.57). Not only is this a distinct vessel within the assemblage due to the proportionally misleading number of sherds, but comparatively there are no similarly decorated Saintonge vessels from assemblages at Exeter, Southampton, Bristol or Cardiff.

As well as the interestingly decorated vessel there are two other Saintonge all-over green-glazed jugs, the typical Saintonge product, within the Cosmeston assemblage. There are very different to the vessels from the Sully manor assemblage where Saintonge polychrome jugs are more common. The variation in the presence of the different Saintonge vessels between the two settlements is likely to be associated with their roles not only as manorial estates but also in relation to their connections to, and supplying of markets. Sully was a small landing place which later in the 16th century was incorporated into the port at Cardiff. Saintonge Ware is generally associated with the Gascon wine trade

and the presence of only one small sherd from a polychrome vessel at Cosmeston, compared with the preponderance for the vessels at Sully, is notable. As discussed in Chapter 1, Saintonge polychrome vessels are not commonly seen in assemblages from South Glamorgan but, where they have been found, are associated with high-status households. The smaller numbers of vessels are, however, associated more with the shorter length of production and this interpretation may be supported by the vessels at Cowbridge, where the few Saintonge sherds are all green-glazed examples.

The association of ceramics with particular goods, in this case wine, and the value of the contents rather than the actual vessel, is a subject that has been widely discussed (Peters and Verhaeghe 2008, 104). The difference between the use of the different Saintonge vessels at Cosmeston and Sully potentially illustrates the distribution (or decanting in this case) of wine. This not only takes into consideration the possible role of ceramics within the households but also a settlement's purpose within regional markets. The manor at Sully would likely have been in control of the small landing place and therefore the goods that were landed there. The ceramics are a reflection of this role. Cosmeston in contrast does not have a direct association with the landing place at Sully and therefore is only connected through the trading links centred at Sully.

Unofficial trading is not always visible in the historical records and archaeologically there are few sites where evidence for trading activity is obvious. There is no official market or fair at Sully and the closest and most accessible are at Cardiff. It is more than likely that unofficial trading took place at all landing places and that Sully, as the manor in control of one, would have been directly involved.

The other 13th- and 14th-century vessels in these contexts represent a notable group of locally produced tablewares. As illustrated in the table below (Table 4.8) the number of identifiable attributes and the vessels they represent can be recorded not only using sherd count and weight but also MNV.

Vessel component															
Base			Handle			Profile			Rim			Spout			Tot. SC	Tot. SW(g)
SC	SW(g)	MNV	SC	SW(g)	MNV	SC	SW(g)	MNV	SC	SW(g)	MNV	SC	SW(g)	MNV		
24	396.9	5	10	262.5	5	16	285	1	21	229.8	6	1	50.2	1	72	1224.4

Table 4.8 showing the sherd count, weight and the MNV for the CFS17 vessel components from the demolition layers.

The number of CFS17 vessels represented in this group is significant (Table 4.8). In total the MNV is 7. This total includes the 6 identified rims and the profile which has been separated from the rim group due to the presence of a handle as part of that sherd. Considering that there are also a number of other vessels represented in other fabrics, this is a notable group. All of the sherds in the table above represent jugs, and the range of decorative styles on the sherds is wider than generally seen in other local assemblages. The aquamanile is included in this group and this vessel is the most highly decorated. Other decoration in the group includes a lugged rim with pellet decoration around the circumference. The pellets have been likened to stitching that would have been seen on leather vessels. There is a range of incised decoration including ring and dot, and triangular stamps. Combed decoration is another decorative form, also seen generally in other assemblages. Applied clay decoration is particularly favoured in this group of vessels. Pads of clay applied as circles overlapping each other, and long strips of clay following the line of the vessel and glazed slightly darker (Figure 4.62) are both popular designs. These are familiar decorative motifs, and have been seen throughout South Glamorgan. Yet to have a

large group of vessels in one depositional context and with the range of styles apparent here is unusual.

The diameter of the vessel rims does not vary much, averaging at 8–10cm. Basal sherds are also very similar in size, either 16 or 19cm. As there are so few complete profiles it is not entirely clear what shape the vessels were. Examples from other sites generally appear to be narrow-necked leading to a shoulder, at which point the vessels widen out to a rounded body and were finished with a thumbed base. The height of these vessels and the volume they would have contained are both unknown.

Figure 4.62 green glazed Vale Ware jug rim with darker iron rich strips applied horizontally down the vessel

The tablewares from the demolition layer include 2 Ham Green spouted pitchers and 2 jugs, a Minety Ware tripod pitcher, an aquamanile, 1 Saintonge speckled green glazed jug, 2 Saintonge all-over green-glazed jugs, a Saintonge polychrome jug and a minimum number of 7 Vale Ware jugs (Table 4.8). There are also at least 2 Redcliffe Ware vessels, one of which has joining sherds from eight different contexts. Nineteen vessels is a large number for one household. This is a very different ceramic assemblage, and image of a household group from those of the house at Pennard on the Gower (Moorhouse 1985) and also significantly different from the other Cosmeston households. At Pennard 5 vessels were found during the excavations of a house that had been destroyed by a fire (Figure 4.67). Two of the vessels were glazed jugs; 1 was a plain glazed jug with a thumbed base and the second was a highly decorated anthropomorphic jug. The remaining three vessels were jars, one of which had rivets holding the base of the jar together (Moorhouse 1985, 7-8)

When compared with the vessels from Sully, however, there are greater similarities with regard to the range of fabrics and number of vessels. The assemblage from Rumney is similar with the aquamanile, tripod pitcher and other Vale Ware jugs, but the range is not as wide. A number of Saintonge, as well 'Bristol' type sherds are noted in the assemblage from Rumney but the generally low number of glazed sherds there led the author to hesitate when drawing any further conclusions in association with this material (Vyner 1992, 146). It may, though, be as a result of the abandonment of the manor in the 13th century. This may explain the fewer locally produced high-status jugs and other tablewares.

The ceramic assemblage from the manorial household has a number of key features which distinguish it in terms of its social and economic status. Firstly, the early ceramics are indicative of its post-Conquest foundation: Greensand-Derived Ware (CFS08), Minety Ware (CFS09) and early local fabrics (CFS06) are all clear evidence for this. They make up the

early ceramic group, typically found throughout South Glamorgan on early post-Conquest settlements. The founding of manorial estates brought not only a new political and social structure to the region but also new cultural practices and their associated material. The pottery provides distinct evidence for these changes, providing archaeologists with a physical connection to the trade, household practices and the economic and social networks that became embedded within the everyday lives of those in South Glamorgan.

Secondly, the high-medieval, high-status imported Saintonge Wares and the highly decorated local tablewares within the demolition layers are significant due to the number of vessels that appear to have been present in the household. The range of vessels, 12th-century Ham Green jugs to 14th- century local wares, suggests that the tablewares were in use or being stored over a long period of time. One possibility is that ceramics were being curated as heirlooms. This has been suggested in association with Scarborough Ware Knight jugs (Farmer and Farmer 1982, 67). The range of highly decorated jugs dating from the 12th to the 14th century from the demolition layer at Cosmeston could be interpreted in this way. The assemblage from a site at Llantarnum, Gwent, was noted as having a higher number of glazed tablewares than unglazed storage and cooking vessels (Redknap 1993, 46). The pattern can be paralleled with the balance of ceramic forms at the 12th- and 13th-century site of Hen Gastell in West Glamorgan (Wilkinson 1995). Interpretation associated with the proportions of ceramic forms from Llantarnum was not developed further due to the uncertainties of the representative nature of the assemblage, the life-trajectory of the vessels and the small number of complete vessels (Redknap 1993, 46). The assemblage from Cosmeston directly contributes to this discussion as a result of the greater complete nature of the vessels from the demolition layers. It can be tentatively proposed that the larger number of tablewares to unglazed jar forms is representative of a manorial or

higher-status household. This hypothesis will be developed further in relation to the assemblage from the associated settlement at Cosmeston and those particularly from Cowbridge.

Thirdly, the lack of curfews and the few incurved dishes throughout the entire manor assemblage is similar to the material from Cowbridge but distinctly different from the ceramics from the associated settlement at Cosmeston. Such vessels are not typical of higher status assemblages, as shown too by the group from the manors at Rumney (Vyner 1992) and Sully (Lightfoot 1990). Instead the association with peasant buildings, as evidenced at Cosmeston and Barry, is not only indicative of diet (as previously discussed) but also representative of the roles and functions of these households within manorial estates

4.5.2 Associated settlement

The associated settlement is spatially distinct from the manor house: situated to the south

and east of the hall, each group of buildings is within a defined plot. The ceramics from two

of these plots are to be discussed here as their function and associated activities are

unusually distinct: a dairy and bakehouse, central resources for the settlement.

Economically they would have primarily supplied the manor and settlement at Cosmeston

and they represent the intra-site relationships. As well as the internal supply, the

households would have also been involved in the wider requirements for peasant tenants.

The ceramics represent the households' roles and impact on both local and regional

economies and it is within this framework that the assemblages from the two sites will be

analysed.

4.5.2a Property 3: dairy and barn

Property 3 is a complex of three buildings; labelled a barn, 'byre' and house (Figure 4.63).

The three buildings are unlikely to have been constructed contemporaneously although it is

probable that they were in use as a group of structures during one phase of the property's

use. The 'barn' is the largest building in this group with two distinct spaces within the

structure. An internal drain lies in the western third of the building dividing the space. The

structure is believed to have had opposing doors, the northern door opening on to the

main road running east-west through the settlement and the southern door opening out on

to a paved yard area which is also backed on to by the 'byre'. This particular spatial

relationship between the two buildings and the yard further supports the interpretation of

the property as a group of structures associated with the keeping of cattle and dairying.

Archaeological evidence for dairies is not always clear and can be circumspect if one is only using structural evidence but ceramic material has been identified as an indicator for dairying. Sooted jugs have been specifically highlighted as evidence for dairying (Moorhouse 1987) and, regional to South Glamorgan, but similar to the Cotswolds dish, incurved dishes have been identified as a local form associated with dairying (Sell 1984). Dairy products are typically identified with a peasant rather than high-status lordly diet. As already mentioned above, there are few incurved dishes within the manorial assemblage, and as will be discussed later in association with the Cowbridge assemblages, the form is not typical of town groups either. The assemblage from Barry on the other hand is more similar to the Cosmeston settlement material, supporting the idea that the dishes were associated with peasant households and likely to be dairying vessels.

Medieval Penarth to Sully Road

Building C - The barn

Yard Area

Building B - Dairy?

Building A - House/Store

N

0m   1m   4m
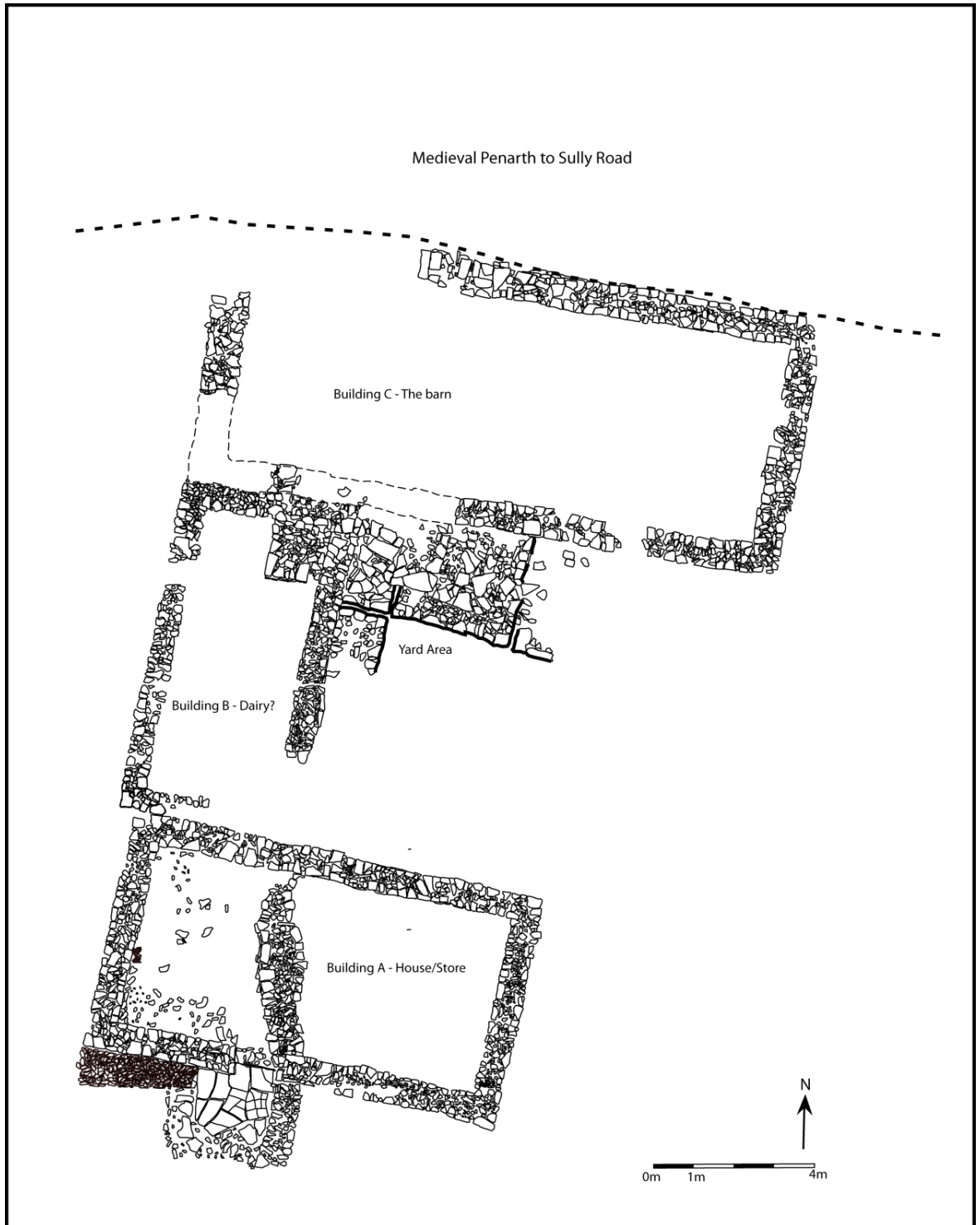
Figure 4.63 plan of property 3
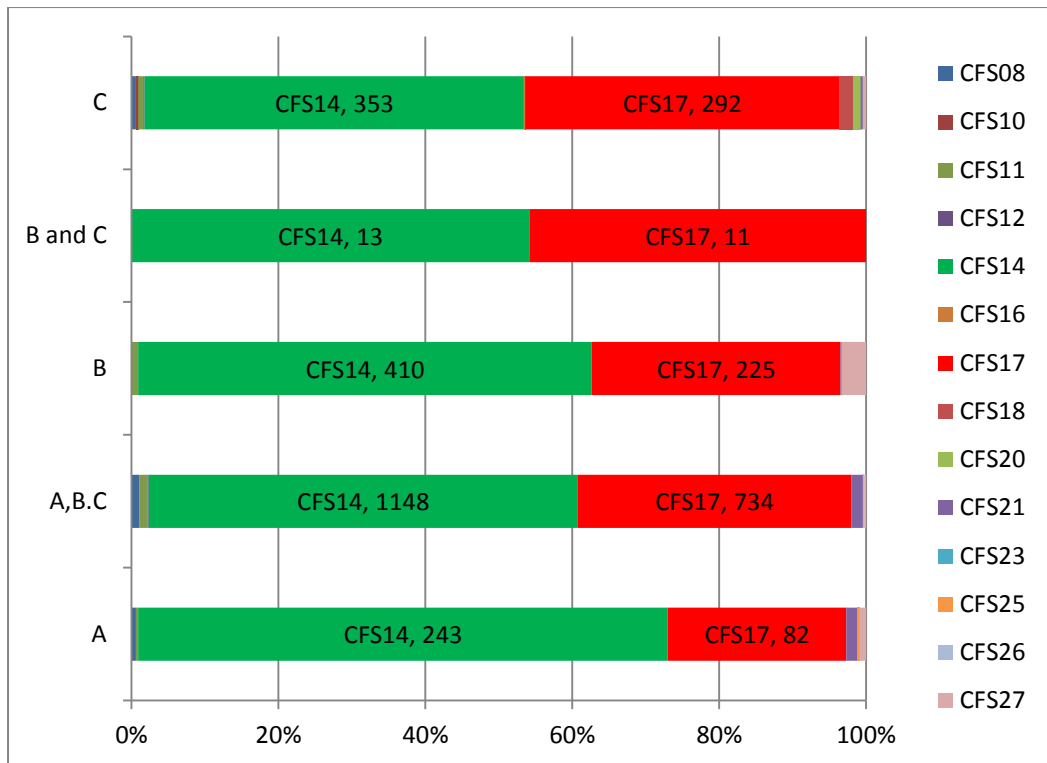
Figure 4.64 Graph showing the proportion of each medieval fabric by sherd count by building in property 3

The fabrics from property 3 are characterised by the predominance of locally made fabrics to imported wares as can be seen in Figure 4.64. The early fabrics which are representative of the manor assemblage do not appear in the same numbers in the group from property 3. It is likely, due to the few sherds as well as their fragmented nature, that when they do occur they are residual rather than indicative of early activity in this area of the site. The residuality of earlier sherds will be discussed further in association with property 4 (below). Redcliffe Ware sherds (CFS27) and Ham Green vessels (CFS11-13) are represented in equal numbers with regards to sherd count in this area of the site. The dominance of the local wares with the limited presence of the non-local wares indicates that the activity associated with the buildings is mid-13th- to 14th-century in date rather than earlier (Ponsford and Price 1979; Ponsford 1998).

Economically the two areas of the site represent a period when the manorial estate was prosperous, very likely to be when the manorial complex was extended. The associated settlement is evidence for the economic stability and prosperity of the manor during the mid-13th to 14th century, as during this period it is clear that in many ways it was not only self-sustaining but also providing goods for a wider local market.

Daily work: dairying evidence

128 incurved dish sherds were identified from property 3 (Table 4.9). Although fewer than the number from property 4, this is still much greater than the 32 retrieved from the manor excavations. This does not include sherds that have been recorded in the 'various' body sherd category as, once the fragmentation levels are particularly high, jars and incurved dishes are indistinguishable.

Sherd type	No. of sherds	Weight (g)
Base	52	663.9
Body	35	428.8
Rim	41	554.9
Total	128	1647.6

Table 4.9 showing the number of incurved dish sherds from property 3 by attribute

As can be seen from table 4.5, the incurved dish sherds are for the most part too small to provide a rim diameter or EVE, and as a result it is not possible to suggest MNVs. There are, however, a few sherds which are identifiable as a group, or sherds large enough to be counted as a single vessel.

The incurved dish sherds are from contexts associated with all three buildings of property 3. There are slightly more sherds from building B than from the other buildings. This is likely to be the result of stabilising floor layers and this was probably necessary considering the activities being carried out in this area. Cattle are heavy and surfaces would have quickly

been damaged and in need of repair. This is also likely to be why the yard area was paved

and drained and not just a clay floor as seen in property 4 and elsewhere in property 3.

Context	Building	Fabric	Base	Body	No. of sherds	Wgt (g)
67	B	CFS17	Basal sherds, none joining sherds but same vessel.		3	16.9
72	A,B.C	CFS17	2 joining basal sherds, heavily sooted on the very base of the vessel.		2	16.1
72	A,B.C	CFS17	4 basal sherds only 2 join but all the same vessel. Sooted heavily on the external surface and a calcite residue on the internal surface.		4	27.6
72	A,B.C	CFS17	2 non joining basal sherds but they are highly abraded and could have fitted together once. They are very similar to the above entry without the sooting though but with the internal residue.		2	26
72	A,B.C	CFS17	Basal sherds, none of which join but have been grouped as 1 vessel. Possibly jug base		10	68.1
72	A,B.C	CFS17	Basal sherds, none of which join but seem to be all from the same vessel, possibly a jug base due to the very reduced core and pinky internal surface.		3	34.1
89	C	CFS17		Body sherds, and possibly basal sherds, all from same vessel.	4	46.4
114	B	CFS17	Basal sherds, none joining but likely to be from the same vessel.		3	37.9
136	C	CFS17	Basal sherds, different vessels probably.		2	11.5
224	?	CFS17		Body sherds and one small basal sherd.	4	15.3
237	B	CFS17	Basal sherds.		7	38.2
238	B	CFS17	Basal sherds, probably all the same vessel.		3	18
363	?	CFS17	Basal sherd.		1	15.3

Table 4.10 Showing details of jug sherds with sooted bases

The second vessel form (jugs), but those with sooted bases in particular, believed to be

associated with dairying are also found from contexts in property 3 (Table 4.10). The jug

sherds with sooted bases are similarly deposited to the incurved dishes: in floor and yard

layers in association with buildings B and C (Figure 4.63). Notably all the sooted examples

are made in the local jug fabric (CFS17). Other jug fabrics, Redcliffe Ware (CFS27) and Ham

Green (CFS11-12), do not appear to have been used for the same function in this context.

Figure 4.65 incurved dish and sooted jug bases

The ceramic evidence has in this case, determined the analysis of the archaeological remains. The presence of both forms, incurved dishes and sooted jars, substantiate the interpretation for the main economic function or role of property 3: a late-13th- and 14th-century dairy.

Context	Building	Form	Rim	No. of sherds	EVEs	Diameter	Wgt (g)
33	?	Incurved dish	Flat, slightly incurved rim.	1	Too small		4.7
38	C	Incurved dish	Flat slightly incurved rim.	1	Too small		7
67	B	Incurved dish	Flat incurving rim and body sherds.	3	Too small		19.5
72	A,B.C	Incurved dish	Flat incurved rim.	2	Too small		20
72	A,B.C	Incurved dish	Flat incurving rim with a groove running on the top of the rim.	2	5.5	36	20.9
96	A,B.C	Incurved dish	Upright flat rim with a groove running in the very top. There is also a pre-firing hole in the side.	1	Too small		20.2
96	A,B.C	Incurved dish	Flat incurved rim.	2	5.5	40	30.6
114	B	Incurved dish	Flat incurved rims.	3	Too small		17.7
128	A	Incurved dish	Flat incurved rim.	3	Too small		5.1
128	A	Incurved dish	Complete profile of an incurved dish. Incurved flat rim.	1	5	40	79.4
145	C	Incurved dish	Flat incurved rim.	1	Too small		8.6
172	C	Incurved dish	Complete profile of an incurved dish. Incurved flat rim.	2	3	38	51.1
192	B	Incurved dish	Incurved rims.	4	Too small		27.8
201	C	Incurved dish	Roughly made rim, appears to be an incurved rim.	1	Too small		12.5
211	B	Incurved dish	Incurved rim.	1	6	36	10.2
211	B	Incurved dish	Incurved rims with extra clay on the internal surface where the rim has been worked.	2	Too small		45.5
237	B	Incurved dish	Incurved rims. Not sure how many vessels are represented.	3	Too small		8.8
237	B	Incurved dish	Complete profile of an incurved dish. Incurved flat rim.	6	7.5	34	152.5
238	B	Incurved dish	Flat, incurved rim.	2	Too small		12.8

Table 4.11 showing the details for the incurved dish rim

Daily living

The number of vessels represented in property 3 is particularly high. This is due to both the nature of the deposition of pottery in this area as hardcore for yard surfaces, and the function of the buildings. This would indicate that ceramic vessels were an important household item not only in relation to the economic role of the household – the dairy –but also in association with daily life beyond cheese and milk production. For example, 37 CFS17 jug rims have been identified as individual vessels as well as 20 handles. Included within this group is a face jug; the only example from Cosmeston. With a minimum number of 37 jugs, representing at least a hundred years of activity and occupation within property 3 this is a notably high number of individual vessels within one assemblage.

Figure 4.66 the Cosmeston face jug made in Vale Ware and found in the demolition debris of property 3

This can be compared with the medieval house at Pennard, which had been destroyed by a fire (Figure 4.67). Here the remains of the household equipment, which included two jugs and three jars, were found broken in the area of the house where they had last been used.

The two jugs – one highly decorated with a bearded man holding his face and applied pads of clay and the second a plain tall jug within thumbing at the base – were found within the house at the point of the fire. There were also three jars within the house including one with iron rivets used to mend the vessel. The three jars are varied in size: one significantly bigger than the other two. An Edward I coin was also found in association with these vessels, providing a late 13th-century date. When considering the number of vessels found within the household at Pennard, the 37 jugs represented for the period of occupation in property 3 at Cosmeston is high. It is, however, likely that of the majority these vessels are associated with the sooted bases and therefore part of the dairying equipment.
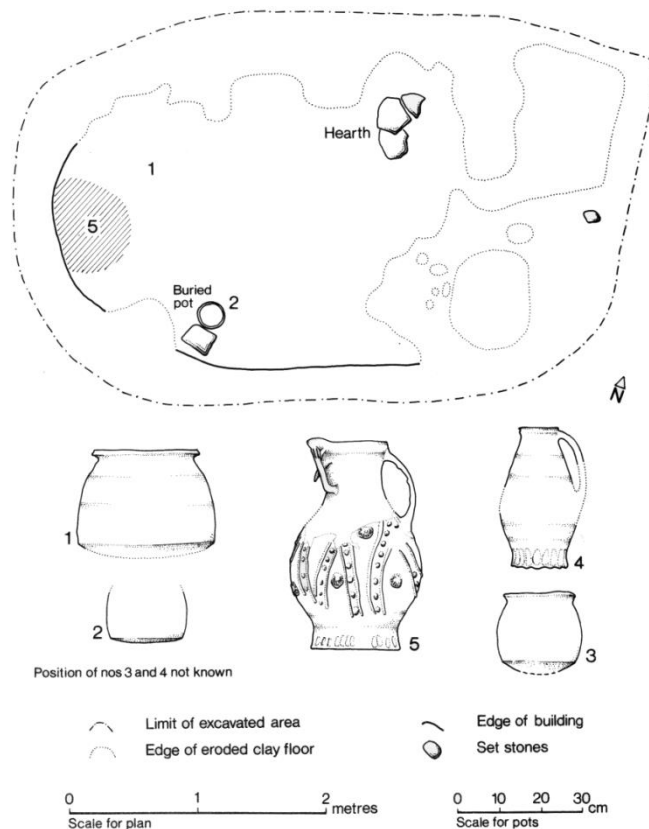
Figure 4.67 showing the excavated, burnt down medieval building at Pennard and the place each ceramic vessel was found in (Moorhouse 1985)

The number of locally made (CFS14) jars within the assemblage from property 3 is also high with 20 MNV. There are, however, problems of proportionality. Jar rims are larger than jugs and therefore a greater number of rim sherds would be expected within an assemblage. This is particularly represented by the assemblages from the yard layers **(072)** and **(096)**. These two contexts contain the greatest number of sherds in the property. They are the more fragmented groups due to the nature of the context; surfaces which had been trampled on repeatedly as the sherds are very small and abraded. Therefore, although the sherd count is particularly high for these groups, they do not necessarily represent a high number of vessels.

Another form which is apparent in this assemblage is the curfew. As already mentioned above, only one curfew sherd was identified in the manor assemblage and none are known in the Cowbridge groups. Thirty sherds have been retrieved from within property 3, most of which are rim sherds, which are distinct and identifiable from jars. The body sherds from the two forms look very similar and as a result cannot be identified. Curfews are typically large: the rim diameters recorded here vary between 500 and 560mm. Although there are 20 rim sherds from this context, the size of the vessels means that the total number of sherds that would equate to one vessel will be high. It is not clear though whether the rims sherds are from one or more vessels. The rim diameter is one possible indicator for various vessels, however as the vessels are so large, the rim diameter is likely to change at various points.

Although there is an issue with identifying the number of vessels present, it is clear that this was an item used in this household. Notably no curfews were retrieved from the house in Pennard. Whether curfews were solely used in the home rather than the dairy or if they

were used to control the fire used to heat the milk is also not clear but the vessel form is part of the household group found here.

The range of forms within property 3 and the number of vessels represented is indicative not only of the depositional practices within the settlement (using broken pottery as hardcore rather than throwing the sherds into a pit) but also the household's role and function within the manorial estate. The fabrics also provide continued and supporting evidence for 13th-and 14th-century local ceramic production and trade. Unlike the early phase of settlement in South Glamorgan local wares in the later medieval period are consistently the preferred vessel type within households.

4.5.2b Property 4- the bakery

The bakehouse, like the dairy, would have been a centralised manorial resource. Due to households relying on a central bakery to provide daily bread this would have been used by the majority of those living within the manorial estate, including those living in the more isolated households. The ceramic assemblage is not as explicitly associable with the function of the bakery as it is with the dairy; nonetheless, the associated area next to the bakehouse and building D, which is spatially separated by a boundary wall, provide direct evidence for those living and working this area.

Figure 4.68 post-excavation photograph of the bakehouse

The ceramic evidence from property 4 is predominantly medieval in date. It is apparent from both the structural and ceramic evidence that this area had been abandoned, demolished, and left to grass over by the 15th century. Due to this, the assemblage from this area is distinctly high to late medieval, dating from the 13th to the early 15th centuries, and it provides a clear indication of the ceramic material being used by those living and working in and around the bakehouse. The occupation and abandonment reflect the expansion of the manorial estate and the shrinkage associated with the 14th and 15th centuries.

In general, the assemblage is characterised by the locally produced ceramics (see table 4.6 below). The earlier fabrics (CFS07 – CFS13) are present in only small numbers. There is, however, a slight anomaly with regards to fabric CFS08. The relatively high number of Greensand-Derived sherds in the property 4 assemblage is notable as it is much greater than the number identified in property 3. The nature of rubbish disposal and redistribution of ceramic material at Cosmeston is central to this anomaly and potentially reflects the agricultural practices conducted at the settlement as manuring scatters are not common in

this area of South Glamorgan. As discussed in Chapter 1, the evidence for manuring

patterns and ridge and furrow in South Glamorgan is not extensive. Rather than spreading

pottery on the fields as part of soil improvement, it is, in the case here, being used within

the settlement for stabilising yard surfaces. This alternative use may also be used as further

evidence that the region relied more on pastoral activities than arable farming.

Fabric Code	No. of sherds	Weight (g)
CFS04	3	3.9
CFS07	20	84.6
CFS08	237	1261.3
CFS09	1	17.4
CFS11	13	111
CFS12	27	142.2
CFS13	2	45.9
CFS14	1285	8310.3
CFS16	3	21.6
CFS17	362	2658.6
CFS19	2	18.1
CFS20	5	41
CFS21	11	77.9
CFS22	4	63.2
CFS24	3	12.2
CFS26	3	7.3
CFS27	6	81.6
Total	**1987**	**12958.1**

Table 4.12 showing the number of sherds by fabric in property 4.

Another notable general pattern for this property is the higher proportion of unglazed jars

and incurved dishes to glazed jugs (Table 4.12). Whereas in other areas of the site, jugs are

seen in much higher numbers   at the manor associated with the high-status household and

in the dairy as a result of the occupational activities being carried out – in property 4 the

numbers are more like those associated with a 2-jug to 3-jar household arrangement as at

Pennard (Moorhouse 1985). The fewer jugs in this area substantiate the arguments given

for the greater numbers associated with the manorial hall and dairy: this is central to

identifying economic function and the associated occupations of the medieval households

at Cosmeston property 4.
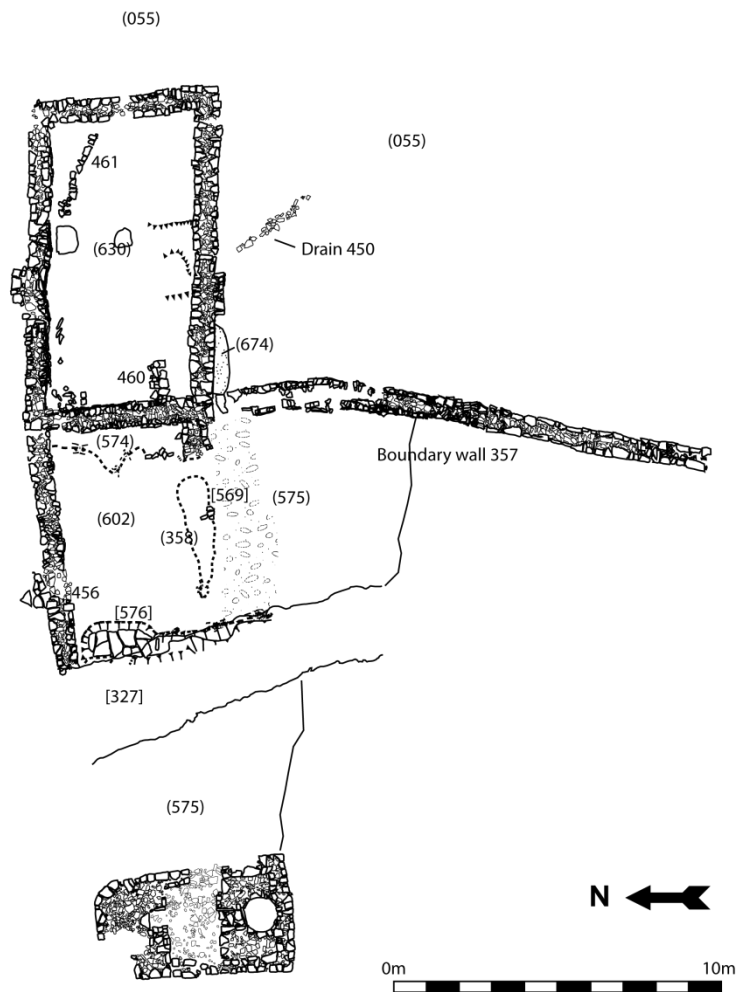
Figure 4.69 showing the latest phase of property 4

The initial building (F) was a domestic property. The ceramic assemblage and the archaeological deposits indicate that building F was not associated with a bakehouse. Instead that was a later development, the second phase of the area. The change in function of the area is a reflection of the economic development of the manor in the 13th century and this is also represented in the ceramic assemblage. The third development is contemporary with the bakehouse: the construction of building D. This was a new domestic building, probably a replacement for building F, as that had been modified and incorporated with the bakehouse into a distinct functional area. The nature of the ceramic assemblage associated with building D is very different to the

bakehouse group and the variations in deposition are key to understanding the individual function of, as well as the relationship between the two areas.

Earliest Phase – Building F

The earliest building in this area is a small domestic structure not associated with any other buildings or explicit economic function.
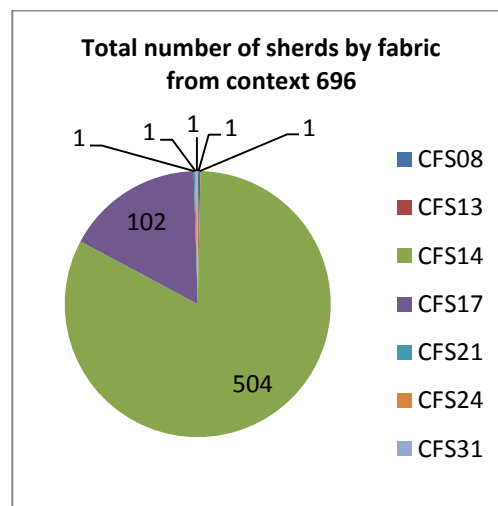
Figure 4.70 pie chart showing the different fabrics and their proportions from context 696

The ceramics from the two main contexts **696** and **787,** the external yard surface and internal floor respectively, are heavily fragmented. The fabrics in this group are dominated by local Vale Wares both glazed and unglazed forms as can be seen from the pie chart above and the table below (Figure 4.70 and Table 4.13).

Fabric	No. of sherds	Weight (g)
CFS08	1	10.8
CFS13	1	6.5
CFS14	504	4105.7
CFS17	102	849.7
CFS21	1	7.8
CFS24	1	4.3
Total	610	4984.8

Table 4.13 showing the total number and weight of sherds, by fabric, from context 696

There are a number of patterns noticeable from this group. Firstly, there are few earlier sherds within the assemblage. Ham Green jug (CFS13) and Greensand-Derived jar (CFS08) sherds are proportionally far fewer in comparison to the assemblages associated with the manorial hall and dairy: in fact there is only one of each. This supports the interpretation that the building was not built until the 13th century. This would consequently indicate that the bakehouse and its associated yard surfaces **342** and **575**, are also stratigraphically later in date as they overlie context **696**. There are also few late non-local sherds in this group with only one sherd of Redcliffe Ware (CFS24). The local ceramics, and in particular Vale Ware CFS14, are therefore central to interpretation of building F.
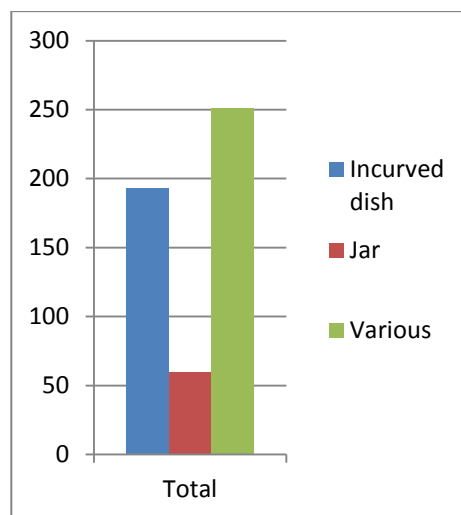
Figure 4.71 bar chart showing the number of sherds by form identified as CFS14 from context 696

The range of forms identified as Vale Ware (CFS14) is also notable (Figure 4.71). There are far more incurved dish to jar sherds than might be expected. This reflects one near-complete incurved dish that was deposited in this area. Of the 173 sherds identified as being from incurved dishes, 94 sherds are from this one vessel with many of the sherds joining. The remaining sherds are predominantly a mix of base and body sherds with

only four rim sherds. The near complete vessel, however, provides a good representation of the number of sherds, in this case broken and not particularly fragmented to make one vessel. The vessel was found in a discrete area of the context and it appears that this is where it was thrown out.

Another point of note is the higher number of incurved dish sherds to those identified in property 3. If a household's function is to be defined by the associated ceramics, the number of incurved dish sherds in this area would suggest dairying activity. However, as 54% of the sherds are from one vessel then it is clear that the sherds are indicative of either household consumption of dairy products or the use of broken ceramic vessels as hardcore on outside surfaces, as seen on all the yards at Cosmeston.

It is more likely that deposition is the reason for the high number of incurved dish sherds in this area rather than the household's occupational function. The incurved dish was found smashed into the yard surface. Deposition of waste material and the apparent absence of rubbish pits as well as a lack or limited amount of manuring on the fields in this area means that rubbish is likely to have been deposited in middens and the ceramic material, as seen in association with the sherds from building F, re-deposited from communal waste areas. This interpretation is further supported by the later surfaces associated with the bakehouse and yard area.

The bakehouse

The bakehouse is self-explanatory with regards to the function of the building and the area it is situated in. Building F was re-formed as a walled yard area, encompassing the bakehouse and defining the area of activity. The ceramic material from yard surfaces **342** and **575**, and surfaces **358** and **602** within this area, provide further evidence for

rubbish re-deposition rather than direct evidence for the activities (baking and corn drying) associated with the bakehouse (fig 4.32).
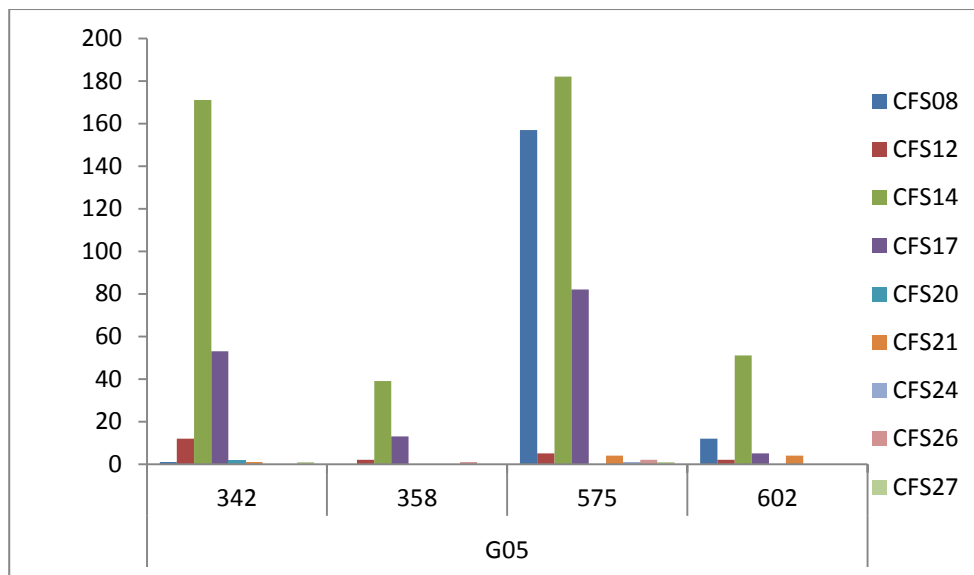
Figure 4.72 graph showing the number of sherds, by fabric in the bakehouse yard surfaces.

As discussed above, the assemblage from the earlier yard surface **696** is mostly represented by 13th- to 14th-century Vale Ware sherds. The range of fabrics from the later surface **575,** however, is slightly different and the presence of a significant number of Greensand-Derived (CFS08) sherds – 157 sherds, weighing 939.4g – is misleading. This is very likely to be directly the result of midden material; the number of CFS08 sherds and the fragmentary nature of these indicate that not only is this due to the nature of the context but it is also representative of the former context these sherds were moved from.

In general, as represented in Figure 4.72, local sherds rather than non-local dominate the ceramics from these contexts, and the majority are un-glazed (CFS14) rather than glazed (CFS17) Vale Ware vessels. This is further evidence for the dominance of locally produced vessels being used in households during the 13th and 14th centuries. The

proportional difference between glazed and non-glazed vessels is a continuation of the earlier pattern observed in association with surface **696**. A point to consider with regards to the use of midden material in the yard surfaces is whether the later local material is equally out of context as the earlier Greensand-Derived sherds. Despite the presence of the earlier material it is very likely that the local vessels are actually representative of the period in which the bakehouse was operating. This can be compared to the ceramic material from building D where it is clear from a few contexts that the ceramics are directly associated with that household.

Ceramics that can be directly associated with baking activities, making pies and stews for example, are not instantly forthcoming. The broken incurved dish next to building F could possibly be associated with the bakehouse if incurved dishes were multi-functional.

Building D

The number of sherds retrieved from building D and the surrounding yard surfaces is significantly less than from the other areas in this part of the settlement (see table below). The yard is particularly lacking in material when compared to the number of sherds retrieved from the yard surfaces associated with the bakehouse and those in property 3. The interpretation suggested here is that building D was the domestic area associated with the bakehouse. It is therefore not surprising that there is an absence of yard surfaces associated with building D in comparison to the bakehouse and the dairy as there would be no need for the same extensive hard, working yard areas. Unlike the re-deposited ceramic material identified in the yard surfaces associated with the

bakehouse, some of the pottery retrieved from this area is more likely to be the result

of the household's waste.

Context	Total
54	4
55	17
323	6
452	5
629	1
630	17
674	91
698	13
900	1
974	31
994	5
995	7
Total	198

Table 4.14 showing the number of sherds by context associated with building D

There are only two external surfaces of note associated with building D, contexts **55**

and **674**. Surface **674** is one of the few contexts in this area with a notable amount of

pottery. Context **55** has fewer sherds than in the other properties but this in itself is

important to the analysis and discussion of building D.

Context **674** has the highest number of sherds in this area. The context is situated

outside of the building at the back door: a small deposit lying next to the house and

boundary walls (Figure 4.73 and Figure 4.74).

Figure 4.73 household group including a later jug with a rod handle, and two jars

Apart from three unidentified sherds, the remaining 88 are all local sherds. Within the group two vessels are identifiable, a jug and a jar: the jug is a later Vale Ware (CFS17) example with a rod handle, and the jar, also Vale Ware (CFS14), has 65% of the rim present. All the CFS14 sherds are from jars with an absence of incurved dishes. This is likely to be directly associated with the household living and working in building D.
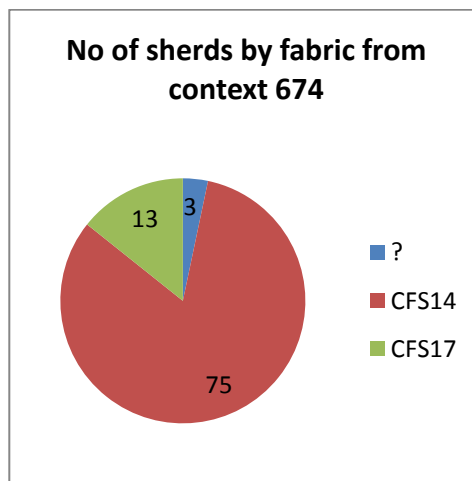
Figure 4.74 pie chart showing the number of sherds, by fabric in context 674.

Internal surface **630** and the sherds identified within this context indicate that the clay

surface is re-deposited material. The two fabrics, CFS04 and CFS08, Roman Grey Ware

and Greensand-derived sherds, clearly illustrate that the material used to make the

floor came from a deposit containing this mix of fabrics (Figure 4.75). Vale Ware sherds

however, dominate this group, providing a better indication for the date of the layer.
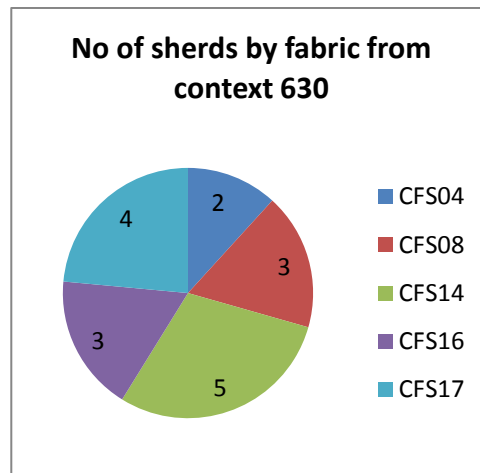
Figure 4.75 pie chart showing the proportion of fabrics from context 630.

The other context of note associated with building D is the earliest floor surface **974**. As

with context **630** this earlier floor layer also contains a few sherds of CFS08,

highlighting a consistency with regards to the re-deposition of ceramic material. The

context also contains locally produced sherds (CFS14 and CFS17) (Figure 4.76). The

fragmentary nature of these is in keeping with the ceramic material found in other

floor surfaces from the settlement area: they are generally small and abraded with few

(but mostly no) joins between sherds and so typical of re-deposited material.
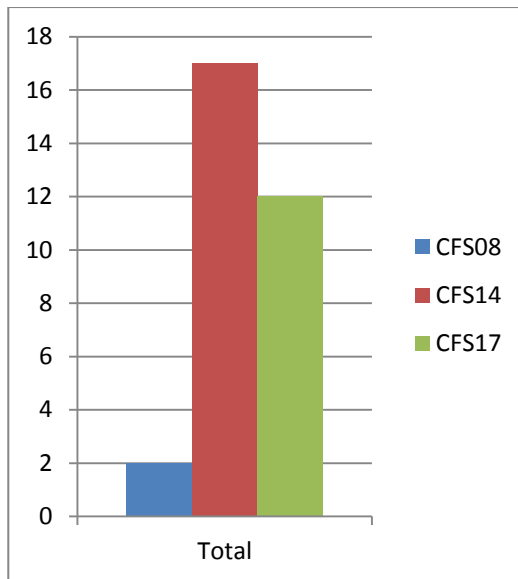
Figure 4.76 graph showing the number of sherds, by fabric, from context 974.

Deposition and daily life

The ceramic assemblage from property 4 is significantly different to the property 3 group. Although there are some similarities with regards to the yard surfaces (high sherd fragmentation and the presence of incurved dishes) the ceramics are not directly representative of the activities being carried out. For example, complete vessels, jugs and incurved dishes, would have been necessary equipment for dairying. In property 4, pottery is used and re-deposition as hardcore. It is apparent that the yard surfaces were in continual use and required consolidated surfaces and re-surfacing, exemplified by the later **342**.

Building D indicates that the space used in this area is a household rather than a communal area, such as the bakehouse yard area, but the shared wall both links and divides the two areas. The domestic nature of building D is exemplified by the absence

of the large yard surfaces. The small assemblage is also more similar to a domestic assemblage rather than representative of other activities.

Re-deposition is a significant action affecting the ceramic assemblage in property 4. If chronological and functional interpretations are to be gained from the material it is necessary to be able to recognise whether the ceramics have been re-deposited. Identifying the varying depositional patterns and their consequent association with particular buildings is vital. For example, if re-deposition was actually occurring in property 3, then the interpreted dairying activities would be inaccurate. However the isolated examples of the sooted vessels, not apparent in property 4, and the number of jugs represented does support the interpretation. Certainly property 4 does not have the same direct ceramic evidence for activity yet it does provide good archaeological evidence for the waste disposal practices within the manor. Material in contexts such as **674** is less fragmented and more likely to be the result of waste found directly associated with the household. In direct contrast to this, utilising midden material for the bakehouse yard area is an indication that ceramic material was not being used daily in the related activities, unlike the diary which required jugs and incurved dishes as vital equipment.

Regardless of the re-deposited nature of some of the assemblage, the ceramic evidence indicates that for the most part, locally produced vessels were used by those living and working in property 4. Imported vessels such as CFS11 and CFS12 are residual in the yard contexts. These sherds are more likely to represent the waste from the manor house rather than of those living in the associated settlement. The residual nature of the non-local early material is indicative not only of the chronology and

development of the manorial estate but also the varying markets people were exposed to even within the same settlement.

4.6 Medieval Cosmeston: conclusions

The households from Cosmeston, both at the manor and the associated settlement, have similar ceramic assemblages. The networks they are involved in are connected to Cardiff, Rumney, Barry and Sully as well as Cowbridge. The site assemblages are dominated by locally produced jugs and jars with incurved dishes, curfews and cisterns as specialised equipment associated with rural activities. Vale Ware jugs are a feature of most households regardless of social status, although the range of decoration varies and is more intricate on the higher status vessels from the manor house. Saintonge Ware is a dividing ceramic, an indicator of social and economic status, as indicated by the absence of these vessels in the associated peasant settlement. These vessels are also associated with the accessibility to wine, a drink less likely to be available to those in peasant households.

The re-deposition of possible midden material and the complete absence of rubbish pits is good evidence for not only the practice of waste disposal but also the re-use of that material within the settlement. As discussed in Chapter 1 the lack of evidence for manuring scatters in South Glamorgan, as indicated by fieldwalking projects at Porthkerry and Penmark (Evans 2001) and Monknash (Sherman 2010), is likely to reflect the situation surrounding Cosmeston. Instead, re-deposition occurs within the settlement in the process of creating robust yard surfaces. The surfaces are direct evidence for repeated and intense activity occurring in these areas: the dairy, where cattle and people would have been turning over the ground daily and the bakehouse,

which would have also been used daily not only for baking but also for corn drying and probably malting.

As demonstrated, using ceramic material in conjunction with the structural remains provides clear evidence for function and activity associated with particular areas and buildings. This is an area of analysis repeatedly ignored by those writing up excavated sites, and instead the ceramic material is consigned to its own separate part of the report where fabric and form are discussed in isolation from the rest of the archaeological evidence.

Ham Green A jug rim from Cosmeston
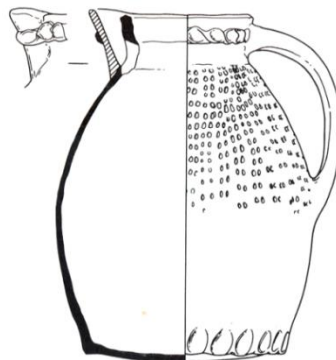
Ham Green A Jug from excavations at Ham Green, 1978 (Ponsford 1991, 93)

Figure 4.77 Ham Green A jug from a clay layer to the east of the main north-south manor wall. It can be paralleled by a published example from the Ham Green excavations.

4.6.1 Household

The three households under discussion have provided very different assemblages. The manor, with evidence for early foundation and highly decorated high status vessels (Figure 4.77) is a very different group of ceramics from those found in properties 3 and 4. The ceramics from the dairy have a distinct functional element with a high number of jugs and in particular jugs with sooted bases as well as incurved dishes. The bakehouse assemblage is however the opposite in terms of the nature of the ceramics. The material retrieved from the area emphasises the secondary use of ceramic material and its importance and relevance to the activities associated with the bakehouse. Building D, although part of the bakehouse area has a more domestic group of ceramics. This highlights the separation between community and household space.

4.6.2 Manorial Estate

The range of fabrics from Cosmeston is very typical. The early phase of the settlement is identified by non-local wares: Greensand Derived jars (CFS08), Ham Green jugs (CFS11) and Cotswolds Tripod Pitchers (CFS07). These fabrics are all also associated with other early assemblages from Llantrithyd and Kenfig. This early phase of post-Conquest occupation has been hinted at in association with other assemblages but never explicitly discussed in relation to the use and development of ceramics in South Glamorgan. Cosmeston was clearly an early settlement.

The later ceramic groups from Cosmeston, unlike the earlier fabrics, are dominated by locally produced vessels but accompanied by small quantities of Ham Green and later Redcliffe Ware jugs. Saintonge Wares only appear in contexts associated with the main manor building and are generally absent or residual in the associated settlement

households. The more complex decoration on Vale Ware tends to be associated with high-status households at Cosmeston, although the face jug came from property 3. This is not as decorative a vessel as the ram aquamanile but does highlight the use of ceramics in the household by the 13th century. This is very different to what appears to be a pre-conquest aceramic region.

4.6.3 Eastern Vale

The similarities between the assemblages from Sully, Barry and Cardiff imply that ceramic vessels were being traded within a system of regional networks. The ram aquamanile has been suggested here as an object representing a connection between the manors at Rumney and Cosmeston as well as the household at Cardiff Castle. This is in some ways an exaggerated relationship but yet these vessels were produced in a regional tradition and style, very different to aquamaniles from other regional potteries and to date only found on these three high-status sites.

As well as the aquamanile the range of vessels and fabrics present in all of these assemblages are very similar. The 13th-century shift due to the availability of locally produced vessels rather than a reliance on non-local imports from Somerset is a pattern seen on all three excavated manor sites (Sully, Rumney and Cosmeston). This further supports the interpretation that there was a local network that households were engaged in, whether centred on fairs or markets or even direct trade between the potter and the purchaser.

There is an absence of excavated evidence from manorial sites in the west of Glamorgan but the work at Penmaen (Alcock and Talbot 1966) and Loughor (Vyner 1979) both indicate that these households on the Gower were within the same early

network as the one providing Cosmeston, Kenfig and Llantrithyd with their pots. Later in the 13th century this changed and instead the Gower was likely to be within a western ceramic production area rather than reliant on an eastern industry. The vessels are, however, still very similar in terms of the type of fabric being produced as well as the range of forms as seen in the Pennard assemblage (Moorhouse 1985).

The Eastern Vale, and the economic connections between manorial estates within this region can be identified from the ceramics. Trade, centred on the markets and fairs, would have encouraged the proliferation of a local ceramic tradition. Unfortunately identifying centres of production and their association with particular markets is still not possible despite the fabric work presented here. Yet connections between markets and fairs and local production can be loosely identified through the ceramic material as demonstrated by the ability to recognise different production zones.

Medieval Cosmeston was directly connected to local, regional and European trading networks. The role of the manor is to provide centralised resources. At Cosmeston the bakehouse and dairy are representative of the manor's economy and its direct contribution to regional networks and emphasises the reliance on other manors and their resources, for example Cogan and its mill and Sully with the small landing place. The system of manors meant that although they were economic units in themselves they were also intrinsically connected to other settlements and the ceramic material directly reflects these networks and relationships.

Chapter 5: Late Medieval and Early Post-Medieval Cosmeston

The archaeological evidence for post-medieval Cosmeston is very different to that which characterises the medieval manorial hall and associated settlement. Excavations have revealed extensive post-medieval yard surfaces and rubbish deposits rather than specific structures. The ceramic evidence indicates that the site was in continuous use even after the demolition of the manor house, and the absence of buildings datable to this period is solely due to the location of the areas excavated.

Whereas deposition and context were central to interpretations of the medieval assemblage, owing to the lack of post-medieval assemblages associated with a particular household, analysis of the post-medieval material has to be conducted differently. Instead interpretation relies on the distinct changes in the use of ceramic material in the household. The 15th – 17th centuries are considered by many as an 'age of transition' and ceramic material is used in particular to identify this change. Although associating material and identifying particular households with specific structures is not possible for this period at Cosmeston, this does not mean that discussing the representation of these changes should avoided. This is one of the largest stratified early post-medieval assemblages from South Wales and is key to developing an understanding of the development of economic networks beyond the early post-medieval period.

At many of the medieval castle and settlement sites in South Glamorgan there is evidence for continued occupation beyond the 14th century and the series of devastating famines and plagues that characterise the century. Sully, Barry and Loughor Castles all show continuity and manorial settlements such as Wrinstone, East Orchard and Wenvoe are still occupied today. Cosmeston is no exception as indicated by the historical evidence; *The Account for 1437-8* provides evidence for the construction of a house near to the site of the old medieval manor hall and tower; the dovecot, whose foundations are still evident today, is also mentioned under the issues of the manor in *The Ministers Account for 1491-92* (Paterson 1934, 23-25).

Another source of historical evidence is the 1670 Hearth Tax. This was introduced by Charles II as there was a £300,000 shortfall in the King's household accounts (ed. Parkinson 1994, xiii). The system of collection in Glamorgan was not particularly successful in the first phase of the tax initiative. However the records from 1670 are more detailed (Parkinson 1994, xvii – xiv). The Cosmeston households were in the Parish of Lavernock. As the information was collected and recorded by parish we cannot identify specific Cosmeston households. Despite this, the list is similar in length to those recording the households in Penarth and Cogan but considerably shorter than the lists for both the St Nicholas and Sully households.

Joseph Robbins	3
Edward David	1
Thomas Lewis	1
Chr. Jones	2
John Yeorath	2
James Tooth	1
Joseph Robbins	1
Widd. Willey	1
John Robbin	2
Widd. Webbe	2

The persons following are discharged by legal certificatts

Phillip Bassett	1
John Thomas	1
George Stephen	2
Charles Thomas	1
Hanna Proutin widd.	1
Eliz: Ashley widd.	1
Leyson Thomas	1

(PRO E 179/224/599 and PRO E 179/375/6 in ed. Parkinson 1994, 92)

Although there is an absence of any definite archaeological evidence for the new building from 1438, it could well be the structure depicted on the first Ordnance Survey from 1878. George Yates' map of South Glamorgan (1799) also depicts a number of structures present at Cosmeston.

Figure 5.78 showing part of Yates' 1799 map of Glamorgan focusing on Cosmeston (Coston).

The archaeological remains and post-medieval ceramic evidence are consistent with the historical documentation. By the 15th century the manor house and its associated buildings had been demolished and the land levelled as indicated by the demolition deposits. A large midden lay on the edge of this area on the bank of the Sully Brook and is likely to be associated with the new 15th-century house. The area next to the structure, illustrated on the first Ordnance Survey map, is represented archaeologically by the extensive yard surfaces. The archaeological evidence provides additional evidence to the historical and cartographic information: for example Building G, a medieval building in the Lower Area of the site, appears to continue in use into the 16th century as will be shown (Figure 5.79). Post-Medieval yard surfaces initially respect the walls of the building but later mid-16th and 17th-century surfaces overlie the robbed foundations. Certainly by the time of Speed's map the building is not represented and on the first Ordnance Survey of 1878 (See Chapter 4, Figure 4.39) a

later building is associated with the area. This is also the case for properties 3 and 4 which do not appear to continue in use beyond the 15th century.

It is clear that by the 15th century, Cosmeston is a very different settlement from that of the high medieval period; this is not only indicated by the historical evidence but also archaeologically. It is no longer recognisable as the medieval manor represented by the manorial hall and associated settlement. Due to the changes in ownership, from the Costyn family to the Lord of Glamorgan, the vested interest was no longer focused or centred on the settlement, and this is exemplified by the absence of a manor house by the 15th century. This does not mean, though, that the settlement was redundant; on the contrary, the ceramic evidence is indicative of households living and working at Cosmeston and engaging in regional and long-distance trade.

5.1 Post-medieval fabrics

As discussed in Chapter 1, research on post-medieval ceramics in South Glamorgan and South Wales has focused particularly on the highly decorated and 'exotic' European imported material rather than local and general functional vessels. This has led to a good knowledge of the imported wares found in the region although it has also meant that knowledge with regards to the more 'uninteresting' vessels such as general use domestic bowls, dishes and pancheons is undeveloped. In the case of Cosmeston, the Somerset material was initially mis-identified as local coarseware, a significant oversight as Somerset ceramics dominate the assemblage, representing 16th- and 17th-century activity. The presence of the Somerset fabrics in abundance at the site and the mis-identification of post-medieval pottery generally as Ewenny Ware or local

coarseware have meant that the local pottery industry and early post-medieval use in South Glamorgan have been seriously mis-represented.

The trading networks explicitly reflected through the ceramics and associated products in the post-medieval period clearly indicate that the Bristol Channel was a hub of activity connecting larger ports such as Bristol and Barnstaple on the southern shore to Swansea, Cardiff and Chepstow on the northern shore. These large ports would have particularly enabled trade in European ceramic imports which represent the wider networks connecting the Bristol Channel ports to those on the south coast at Southampton and Exeter: gateways to the Mediterranean (Platt and Coleman-Smith 1975, 17-19; Allan 1984). This list omits the smaller ports and landing points, places such as Barry and Aberthaw in South Glamorgan and Bridgewater and Watchet in Somerset, where local trade would have been conducted. This is a very familiar list of ports as they were in operation during the medieval period and as a result it is clear that these connections changed very little with regards to local trading links from the medieval to the post-medieval period.

At the beginning of Chapter 4, four questions were posed of the medieval assemblage. Here, three questions will be asked of the post-medieval ceramic material. The first two were also applied to the medieval assemblage and question three is directed at the later material.

5. How does the ceramic assemblage characterise the changes within the settlement at Cosmeston with regards to the economic networks represented?

6. Are the assemblages comparable to other excavated manorial sites which also continue beyond the 14th century collapse?

7. The historical narrative promoted in association with the settlement is one of Late - medieval desertion. The ceramic assemblage shows this to be inaccurate. What actually was happening at Cosmeston during the 15th – 17th centuries?

5.2 Buildings G and I

The ceramic evidence from the Lower Area of the site indicates that activity continued in this area, initially with building G and the associated yard surfaces, and later as one open yard. This is in direct contrast to Property 4, which as indicated by the ceramic evidence is no longer in use by the late 14th century. Property 3 also does not appear to continue much beyond the 15th century although a Queen Anne coin (early 18th-century) has been found within the rubble layers.

Building G continues in use as evidenced by the later yard surface **432** which respects the robber trenches for the structure. Interpretation during excavation was that the building remained in use as an animal pen rather than a domestic building. The ceramic assemblage supports a non-domestic function for the building in this later period as the number of sherds and the levels of fragmentation are notably high for the type of context.

The latest contexts in the area of medieval building I are not as rich in ceramic finds as those surrounding and associated with building G. In this area of the site, which is just to the north of building G, it appears that as with property 3 it fell out of use in the 15th century. Here the late surfaces, **724** and **664** have small associated assemblages.

724 has one sherd of North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware CFS43 and sixteen sherds

from Somerset fabrics CFS31. One sherd from a late Saintonge mortar is within this

context but the remaining sherds are all medieval in date. The absence of any Bristol

tin-glazed, yellow and treacle-glazed vessels and the limited range of forms

represented by CFS31 and CFS43 would suggest that this layer is likely to be late 15th-

to early 16th-century in date. The medieval building I appears to fall out of use at an

earlier date and the later surfaces develop over the top of the demolished building.

This provides good evidence with regards to identifying the boundaries of the late yard

surfaces and the absence of structures in this area by the 16th century. It is, however,

evident from the scale of activity represented by the yard surfaces and associated

material that there were households in this area.
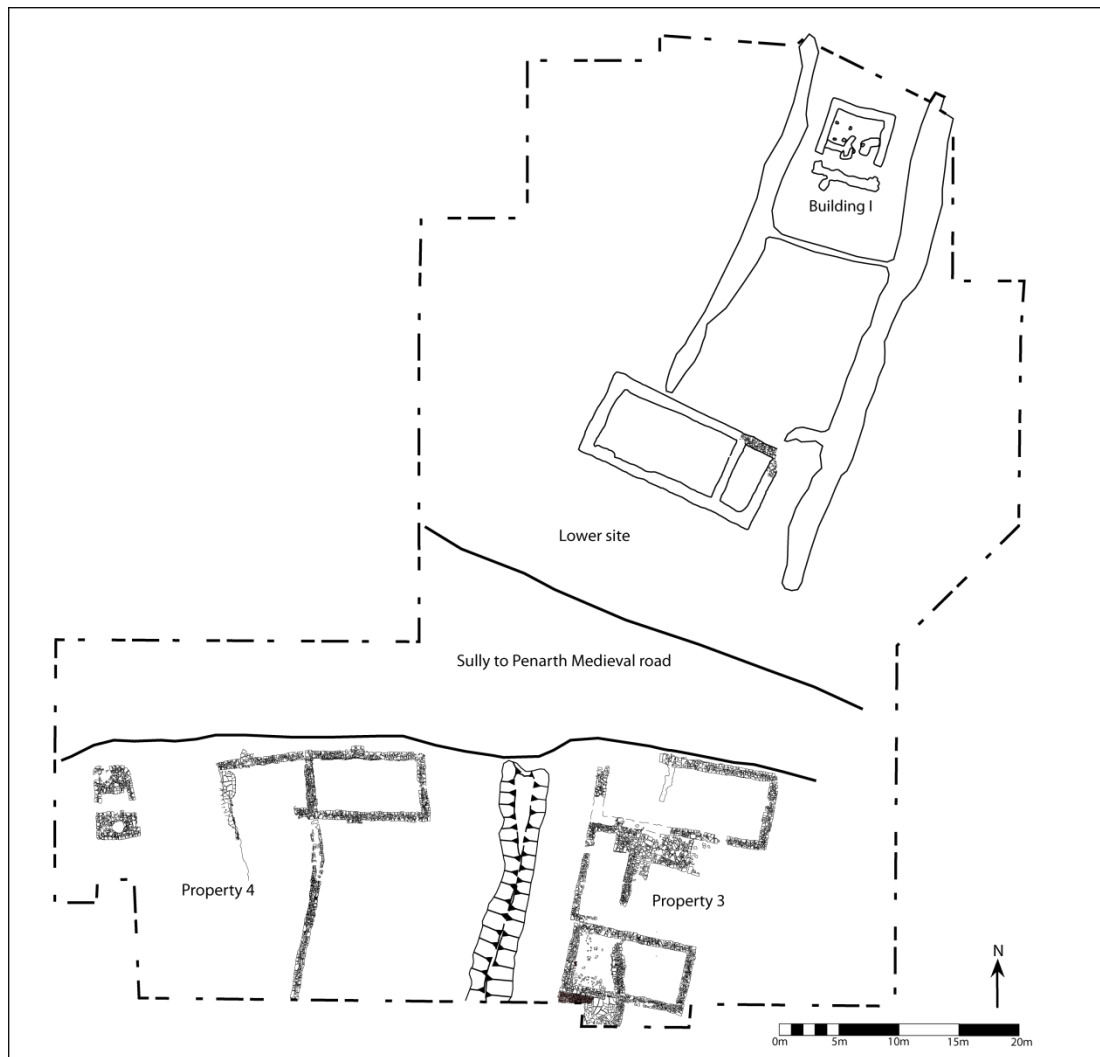
Figure 5.79 showing the 1980s area of excavation and buildings G and I in the Lower Area

5.3 Yard 432

The majority of the sherds from context **432** have been identified as Somerset fabrics (54%) although there is a large group (22%) of medieval ceramics. The range of forms is not as extensive as that in the demolition layers in the manorial area of the site, but there is still some typical post-medieval variability: jugs, bowls, dishes and cups represent the majority of the vessels with also a candlestick and chafing dish within this group. This group of forms is representative of the range of tablewares likely to be

from the 16th century rather than the utilitarian groups associated with the later 17th-century yard surfaces.

Row Labels	No. sherds	Weight (g)
?	4	109.8
Bowl	2	26
Candlestick?	1	35.9
Chafing dish?	4	27.3
Cup	5	55
Dish	25	1201.7
Jug	5	154.5
Unidentified	133	751.7
Grand Total	**179**	**2361.9**

Table 5.15 showing the number of Somerset sherds, by form in context 432

North Devon Gravel-Tempered and Gravel-Free sherds (CFS43 and CFS44) are also present in context **342** but in significantly fewer numbers than in the later contexts**.** As with the Somerset fabrics, few forms are represented: a crock, bowl, jug and dish. With regards to forms, the absence of large pancheons characteristic of the later yard surfaces (**66** and **319**) is of particular note and is likely to be associated with date. The dominance of the Somerset over the North Devon fabrics is also a good indication of the group being 16th- rather than 17th century. Both Somerset and North Devon fabrics were being produced in the 16th century but in fewer forms. The North Devon industry does not capture the ceramic market properly until the 17th century, as highlighted by the trade to North America (Allan 1999, 279). As discussed in Chapter 1, Somerset vessels were the more favoured products during the 16th century, although this does change by the 17th century. This is pattern is also reflected in the assemblage from Cosmeston. This is likely to be a result of the increase in demand for tablewares in the 16th century, for which the Somerset vessels are comparatively far more attractive. The increase in the numbers of North Devon 17th-century utilitarian forms can be attributed to the fact that they are far more useful than those produced in the

Somerset kilns. By the 17th-century other fabrics are available for the tablewares

initially provided by the Somerset potters.

Row Labels	No. sherds	Weight (g)
?	1	17.1
Bowl	1	28.1
Crock	2	192.2
Dish	6	126.5
Jug	1	12.1
Unidentified	44	442.7
Grand Total	**55**	**818.7**

Table 5.16 showing the number of North Devon sherds by form in context 432

As well as the local fabrics there are a number of notable imported vessels from this

context. Two vessels, represented by CFS24 and CFS26, both French fabrics are typical

early post-medieval forms. The large Saintonge strap handle, highly abraded with the

remnants of a yellow slip, is typical of later jugs (Hurst 1974, 227). The other vessel,

represented by a group of basal sherds and with a distinct green glaze, is likely to be a

cup. These later French imports represent a continuation of the trading links which

supplied the earlier medieval jugs.

Figure 5.80 graph showing the number of sherds by fabric in context 432
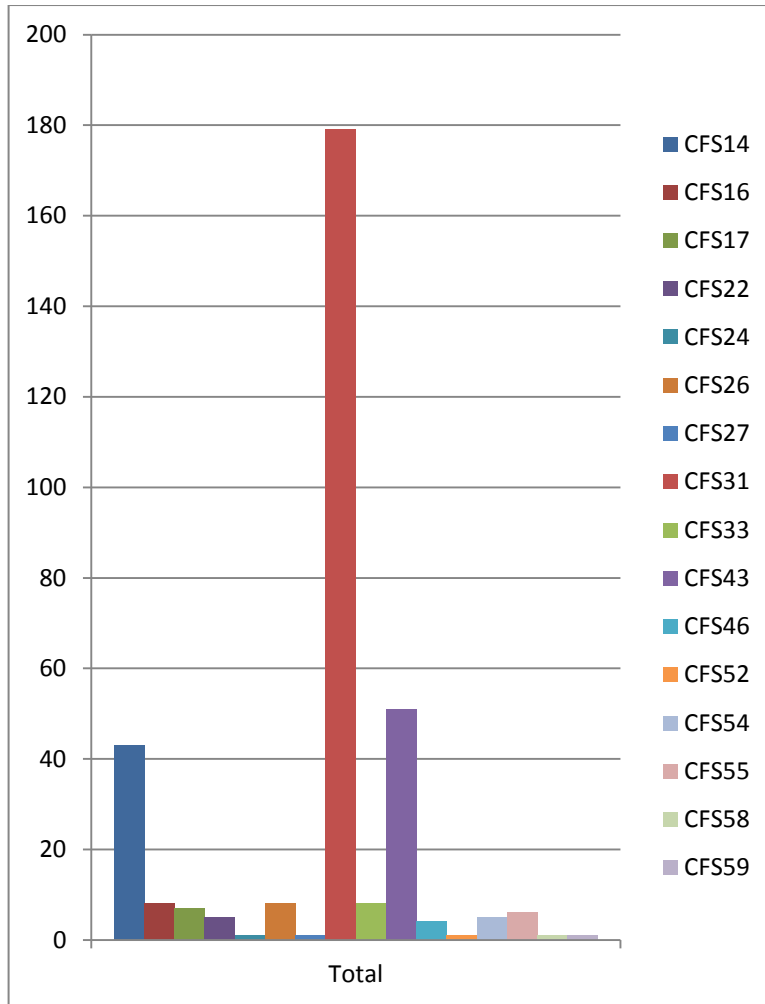
Fabric	Total No. sherds	Total Weight (g)
CFS14	43	262.8
CFS16	8	81.7
CFS17	7	54.4
CFS22	5	103.5
CFS24	1	53.7
CFS26	8	54.5
CFS27	1	2
CFS31	179	2361.9
CFS33	8	205.6
CFS43	51	807
CFS46	4	11.7
CFS52	1	4.1
CFS54	5	15.1
CFS55	6	32
CFS58	1	8.3
CFS59	1	6.3
Total	**329**	**4064.6**

Table 5.17 showing the number of sherds and weight by fabric in context 432

As well as the French ceramic vessels there are a few other notable fabrics. By the 15th century, German stoneware was being imported in greater quantities to Britain (Jennings 1981, 109; Gaimster 1997) and the assemblage at Cosmeston indicates that there was access to this market. In context **432**, a sherd from a Frechen vessel and a handle from another stoneware mug represent the growing use of ceramic cups and mugs in the household. This is also seen in the number of cups represented in Somerset fabrics as well as the French wares.

Another fabric typically associated with drinking vessels is Cistercian Ware. Although this is more commonly a Yorkshire and Midlands fabric type, local copies are apparent from kilns across Britain. A group of Cistercian-style wasters were retrieved in 1850 from beneath the floor of the kitchen at Derwent Cottage, Abergavenny (Robinson 1876; Lewis 1980), indicating that there was a local kiln making this style of vessel. The one sherd from layer **432** is typical of the general spread of Cistercian Ware at Cosmeston. As will be later discussed in relation to the demolition layers, there are few Cistercian-style vessels within the assemblage from Cosmeston but what they do importantly represent is late 15th- early 16th-century activity and the apparent development of ceramics being viewed and used as fashionable household objects.

This transitional group of fabrics provides good evidence for the nature of settlement at Cosmeston particularly in the early 16th century. This is a ceramic phase not typically focused on in this region other than when discussing oddities or interesting vessels. In this case we have good evidence for the use of ceramic material in daily life associated with a lower-status household rather than the castle sites that have seen most work associated with post-medieval ceramics. In particular, the growth in the number of ceramic drinking vessels is a pattern evident from this assemblage and serves to illustrate the changing

nature of objects in the household. This has been noted by historians and archaeologists as a general trend but here is evidenced by the ceramic assemblage.

5.5 Floor Layer 437

The latest floor layer within building G is context number **437,** a yellow clay layer. This is overlain by a later layer **434**, the 'foundation layer' for cobbled surface **066**. The floor layer is therefore the latest occupation layer within the building, contemporary with the external yard area **432**.

The assemblage from this context is relatively large, 188 sherds from the floor layer, more than typically expected from a domestic occupation layer. The majority of the sherds are medieval in date (74%) and highly fragmented and abraded. The glazed jug sherds are clearly worn with damaged glaze and post-depositional calcite residue on some of the sherds. A rod handle is within this group and as mentioned in association with a handle in property 4, rod handles are considered a later form of handle. The CFS14 sherds are also notable as they are later examples, brittle in texture and with squared outflaring rims, a form which appears in later contexts across the site. Incurved dishes are also represented within the context but only one rim and two basal sherds have been definitely identified. The nature of the group is different to others found in properties 3 and 4 but this appears to be associated with dating and these contexts may be indicative of later 14th- and 15th-century activity.

In total only 49 sherds from **437** have been identified as post-medieval (26%), the majority of which are from Somerset (7%) and Devon (10%) kilns. Bristol tin-glazed sherds are also present (6%) and are the earliest examples, stratigraphically, of this fabric from the 'Lower Area' of the site. Production of tin-glazed vessels begins in the mid-17th century at

Brislington, Bristol, in response to the growing demand for luxury ceramic items similar to those from Spain and the Low Countries. The presence of the sherds in this context is likely to be due to intrusion from the overlying surface. The importance of the fabric to Cosmeston will be discussed further in association with the group from context **427** below.

The probable intrusion of later sherds in this context is also indicated by the small number of treacle-glazed (CFS54) (2%) and yellow-ware (CFS55) (1%) sherds (Table 5.18). The treacle-glazed sherds are a particularly good indication of the 18th century as the production for the tankards is tightly dated from 1700 to1730. The low number of sherds present in these fabrics is seen here to be, as with the Brislington sherds, intrusive.

Fabric	No. sherds	Total Weight (g)
CFS14	94	796
CFS17	45	342.5
CFS31	8	34
CFS33	6	91
CFS43	14	414.8
CFS44	2	23.8
CFS45	3	52.8
CFS49	11	26.9
CFS54	3	23.5
CFS55	2	35.3
Totals	**188**	**1840.6**

Table 5.18 showing the number of sherds by fabric in context 437

The date range of the fabrics in this context is particularly broad. For example, Vale Ware (CFS14) is typically dated to the 13th century and the North Devon vessels (CFS43-45) date to the 17th and early 18th century. The dominance of medieval ceramics suggests the continuing use of pottery as a stabilising surface material, as indicated by the highly fragmentary nature and the levels of calcite residue on the sherds, both of which are a result of post-deposition conditions; they are likely to have been part of silted deposits in ditches flanking the yard surfaces being re-deposited as part of those surfaces.

5.6 Yard 427

Layer **427**, is a black loamy layer overlying the earlier consolidated yard surface **432**. The ceramic material from **427** would suggest that, although there are diagnostic early 18th-century fabrics within the assemblage (for example the treacle-glazed sherds), this is for the most part a 17th-century group (Figure 5.81).

Medieval sherds are well represented, 25% CFS14 and 10% CFS17, and as with all the other yard surfaces fragmentation is high. It is notable within this assemblage that there are 40 sherds of transitional Vale Ware (CFS22 and CFS23). This fabric is particularly important as currently there is little evidence for local ceramic production beyond the late 14th century other than in what appears to be Vale Ware variants labelled here CFS22 and CFS23.
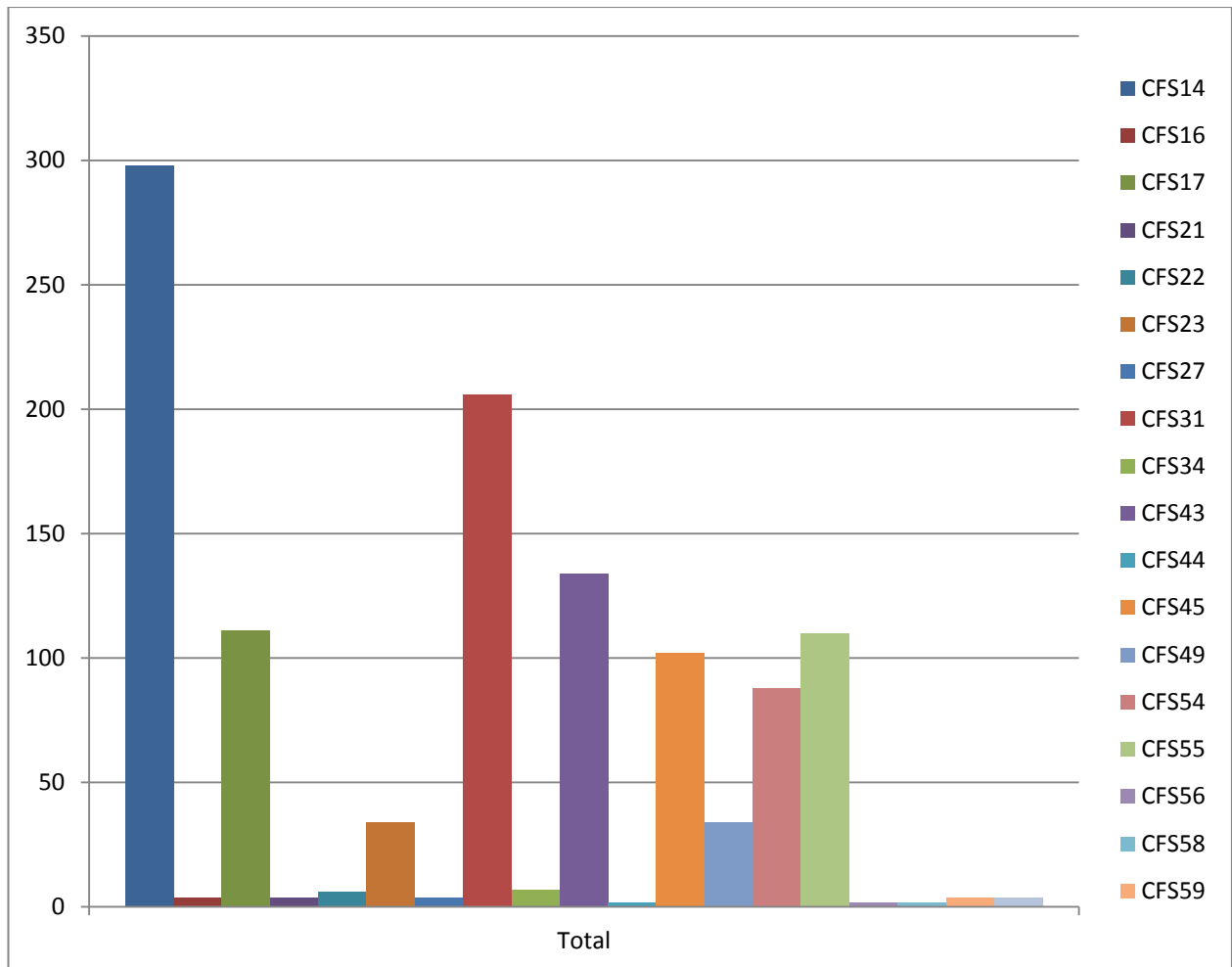
Figure 5.81 graph showing the number of sherds by fabric in context 427

These are notably different to the handmade jars, incurved dishes and jugs in the typical Vale Ware fabrics. Instead, the transitional sherds are wheel-thrown with internal green glazes, and as well as typical jug and jar forms, bowls are also part of the group. Fabrics CFS22 and CFS23 are not found in large numbers and when they have been identified they are in stratigraphically later contexts: the midden, demolition layers and later yard surfaces. There are so few locally produced transitional sherds at Cosmeston as well as generally in South Glamorgan that it is apparent that Somerset and Devon products were favoured over local pottery. By the 16th century there is no clearly defined local ceramic

material comparable to the range and scale of the products from Somerset and Devon

kilns.

Form	No. sherds
?	24
Baking pan	2
Bowl	97
Chafing dish	6
Chamber pot	6
Cistern	1
Crock	6
Cup	118
Dish	211
Jar/Dish	3
Jug	50
Pipkin	3
Porringer	15
Saucepan	4
Skillet	1
Tankard	88
Unidentifiable	100
Tall Jar	7
Ointment pot	1
Total	**743**

Table 5.19 showing the range of forms in context 427.

The variety of fabrics from **427** is important and the increase in the range of different forms

available and being used at the site by the late 16th – early 17th century is equally

significant (Table 5.19). The increase in tablewares being used within the household is

notable; as discussed in Chapter 1, by the 15th century as a result of the introduction of

stonewares, ceramic material was being used very differently within households (Gaimster

1997). Instead of purely utilitarian vessels, highly decorated tablewares such as bowls and

dishes as well as candlesticks, chafing dishes and cups were being used and displayed.

As well as the Somerset and Stoneware tablewares, in the 17th century the production of

tin-glazed vessels expanded the range of vessels available to lower status households.

Brislington ceramics were decorated with hand-painted blue motifs and are more fragile than the Somerset vessels. The small group of sherds from bowls and a jug in **427** is significant as they represent a household that, although not wealthy, was entering into the regional market for fashionable tablewares. These were not the high-status Italian or Low Country tablewares as seen in the material from excavated of wealthy merchant or aristocratic households; rather they were cheaper local alternatives (Gaimster 1999, 220).

Finer ceramics such as the tin-glazed wares were available alongside the larger local trade in mass-produced slip-glazed vessels. Somerset and North Devon vessels were the main fabric types, the everyday vessels which encouraged and therefore facilitated the interest in higher status ceramic objects. Somerset vessels represent 18% of assemblage and as with contexts **432** and **437** the range of forms present in the Somerset fabrics is wide; dishes are the most common form of vessel, followed by cups, jugs and porringers, which are present in similar numbers. This is a good representation of the range of 17th-century tableware forms generally seen in Somerset fabrics at Cosmeston. A reduced number of Somerset vessels, however, apparently a later feature of the Cosmeston assemblage. The proportion of Somerset to Devon vessels in context **427** does not weigh in favour of the Somerset products. Instead North Devon tablewares were becoming as desirable as the fine Somerset wares by the 17th-century.

The number of North Devon Sgraffito-decorated tableware sherds is particularly high, with 106 sherds representing a minimum number of eleven dishes and a jug. The range of decoration is typical of Sgraffito dishes with spirals, combed wavy lines and floral motifs. Sgraffito decoration at Exeter is dated for the most part to the late 17th century and evidence from one of the recognised kilns indicates that the production of Sgraffito ware stops around 1700 (Allan 1984, 132). The Sgraffito ware in this context is particularly clean,

with very little wear apparent on either the internal glazed or external unglazed surfaces. Similarly to the Brislington vessels, these decorated dishes would have been a cheap, local alternative to the Werra Ware vessels and other Low Country Sgraffito wares that are associated with merchant and aristocratic households (Gaimster 1999) (see Cowbridge chapter for a good comparative assemblage).

The North Devon Gravel Tempered vessels more typically represent the range of utilitarian vessels, and those found in this context include a baking pan, cistern, chamber pot, porringer, chafing dish, saucepan, tall jar and crock, as well as the usual dish and bowl sherds. These vessels would have provided the means by which to have a fully functioning 17th-century household with cooking and storage vessels and brewing equipment. In comparison to the assemblages from Cowbridge, where few North Devon vessels have been retrieved, at Cosmeston North Devon wares are a significant feature of the 17th-and early 18th-centuries assemblages: utilitarian ceramic vessels appear to be a feature of rural rather than town or urban households.

The increased numbers of North Devon vessels at Cosmeston in later 17th-century contexts corresponds with the narrative for ceramic production in North Devon (Grant). The association with rural rather than urban communities indicates that there was a market for utilitarian pottery. The stark contrast with the post-medieval assemblages from Cowbridge and Cardiff highlight this (see Chapters 6 and 7). South Wales is associated with the production of butter in the post-medieval period and it might be that the high number of pancheons is associated with this rural activity. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that Cosmeston was engaged in dairying and that the pancheons are evidence for this. The change from Somerset dishes to North Devon dishes would indicate that choice was being exercised and that the market networks in place enabled the sourcing of particular types of

pottery where function and fashion were being considered. North Devon utilitarian wares were far more suitable for the heavy duty work carried out in rural settlements and this was likely to be taken advantage of by the producers with the finer Sgraffito wares traded as an alternative to the Somerset wares. The Somerset kilns were not producing an equivalent standard of Sgraffito decorated vessels at this time.

The yard assemblages provide ceramic groups representative of the households at Cosmeston during the 16th and 17th centuries. The range of fabrics indicates that people at Cosmeston were engaged in local and regional trade centred on the Bristol Channel with little apparent change from the medieval period. Economic and social networks, the latter being key to maintaining the links, took advantage of the access the Bristol Channel enabled, and this is represented in the ceramic material and supported by the historical evidence (port records in particular).

5.7 Demolition and deposition

The changes in the layout and nature of the settlement are most clearly reflected in the manor area where there are two post-medieval depositional phases: the first, a large area of demolition from which 945 sherds from fabrics CFS31-55 were retrieved. The second feature is a large midden, context **110**, from which 1,147 sherds of post-medieval pottery were retrieved.

5.7.1 Demolition Layers and the post-medieval evidence

The demolition layers have an abundance of medieval pottery. Within the assemblage, however, there is an equally large group of post-medieval sherds, representative of the date of the destruction. A number of large pits have been identified cutting into the demolition layer and a Nuremberg jetton dating to the late 16th or early 17th century, has

been retrieved from the base of one of these pits. This is good dating evidence for the later activity in this area, post-dating the demolition phase. This is not the only jetton from Cosmeston: there are another two found in the topsoil and in context **078** from the associated settlement area. The jettons provide direct evidence, in association with the ceramics, for trading activities at Cosmeston, not just within local markets but wider European networks.

The range of fabrics from the demolition layers agrees with that identified from the yard surfaces, indicating that deposition was occurring contemporarily in both contexts at the site. Somerset fabrics dominate the demolition-layer assemblage with 59% of the post-medieval sherds identified as a Somerset fabric (Figure 5.83 and Table 5.21). North Devon wares are also well represented at 29%. In comparison to the medieval sherds, the post-medieval material is more fragmented, with a greater number of sherds recorded as unidentifiable by form although it is likely that the majority of the sherds are from dishes or bowls due to the internal glazes and the shape of the sherds. Despite the high levels of fragmentation within the demolition group there is a greater range of forms represented than from the midden deposit. Chafing dishes (Figure 5.82), a candlestick, cups, jugs and a pipkin have all been identified along with the typical dish and bowl forms (Table 5.20). This range of forms is consistent with that identified in the yard surfaces.

Form	No. of sherds	Total Weight (g)
?	8	55.3
Bowl	42	1845.1
Candlestick	2	78.6
Chafing dish	23	274.7
Cup	9	46.2
Dish	89	2062.7
Jug	16	281.2
Lid	1	36.9
Pancheon	6	216
Pipkin	2	61.6
Small jar	3	34.1
Spouted pitcher	2	140.7
Unidentified	393	2968.5
Total	**596**	**8101.6**

Table 5.20 showing the number of sherds by form represented in the Somerset fabrics in the demolition layers
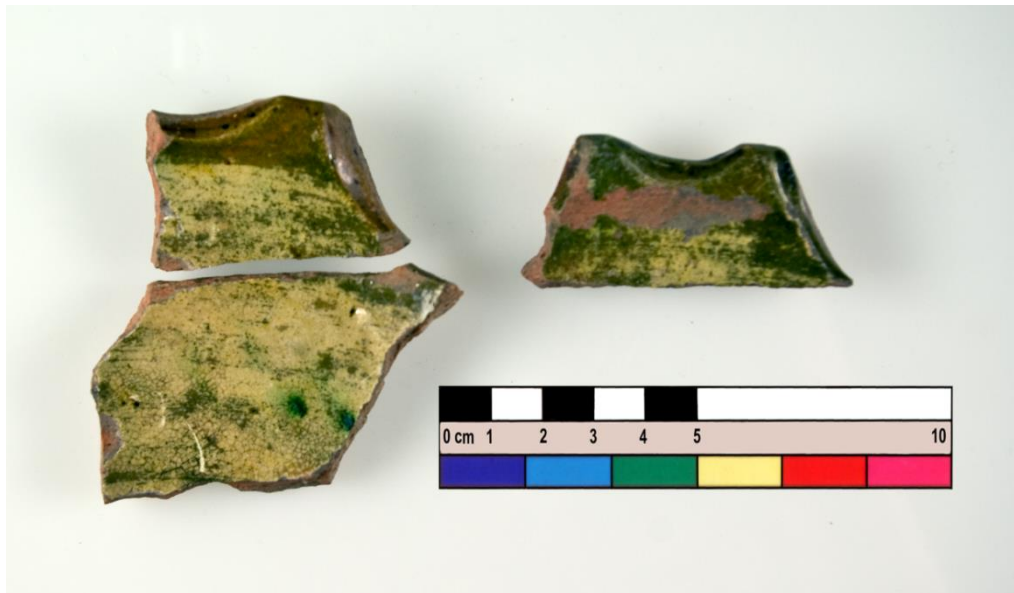
Figure 5.82 the rim from a Somerset chafing dish found in the demolition layers

North Devon wares are, as with the earlier surfaces, well represented in the demolition layer but not as prevalent as the Somerset fabrics. This would suggest that the demolition occurred in the earlier phases of the 16th century, a similar date to the creation of the earlier yard surfaces associated with building G. Whilst the number of Gravel-Tempered sherds (CFS43) is high they are associated more with dishes rather than pancheons, an indicator of earlier deposition. The presence of the Gravel-Free cups (CFS44) is notable as the finer wares are present at the site but this is the largest group of cups (Table 5.22). The small number of Sgraffito ware dishes (CFS45) in comparison to that found in yard layer **427** is also a good chronological indicator.

Figure 5.83 graph showing the number of sherds by fabric in the demolition layers
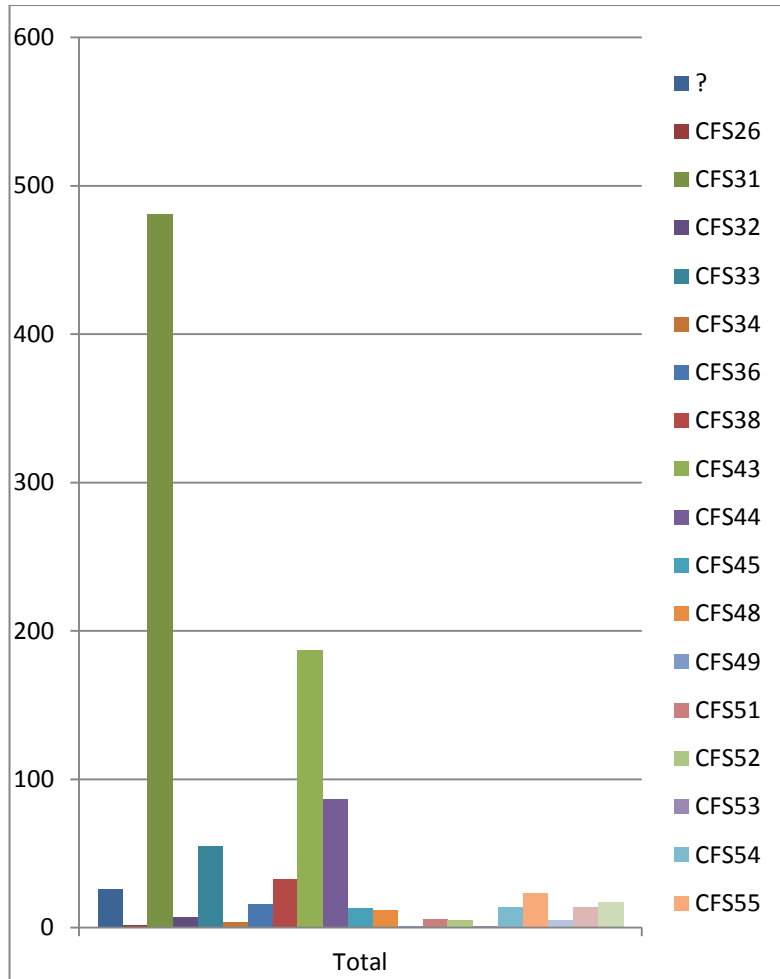
Fabrics	No. of sherds
?	26
CFS26	2
CFS31	481
CFS32	7
CFS33	55
CFS34	4
CFS36	16
CFS38	33
CFS43	187
CFS44	87
CFS45	13
CFS48	12
CFS49	1
CFS51	6
CFS52	5
CFS53	1
CFS54	14
CFS55	23
CFS59	5
CFS60	14
CFS61	17
Total	**1009**

Table 5.21 showing the number of sherds by fabric in the demolition layers

Form	CFS43	CFS44	CFS45	Total
Bowl	7	22	1	30
Cup	1	7		8
Dish	27	7	4	38
Jar	7			7
Jug	1			1
Pancheon	5			5
Small jug or cup		2		2
Various	139	49	8	196
Total	**187**	**87**	**13**	**287**

Table 5.22 showing the range of forms within the North Devon fabric series in the demolition layers

Fine tablewares are indicative of the development in ceramics in the household during the late 15th and 16th centuries and the assemblages at Cosmeston are representative of this change at the site. A group of fabrics including Cistercian (Figure 5.84) and Merida Wares as well as Frechen stonewares vessels are good indicators for the 15th and 16th centuries. These are all present in the demolition layers. Although only present in small numbers, the cumulative numbers of these fabrics across the site indicates that these vessels were being imported and traded in South Glamorgan. Included in the demolition layers is a near complete Cistercian-style lid (Figure 5.84), a handle from a Merida small vessel and other body sherds of both fabrics. Stonewares are fewer in number and only body sherds are present making it difficult to identify particular forms. Generally stonewares are associated with port towns and assemblages from Exeter, London and Norwich are particularly notable. Bristol, however, is a little different. Here fewer stoneware vessels are generally found on sites (Burchill 1992, 25) and the small numbers found at Cosmeston are likely to be directly connected to the apparent limited trade in stonewares from Bristol in this early phase.

As it is currently unclear exactly where the 15th- and 16th-century houses were situated, interpretation based on spatial deposition and the relationship with a particular household is not possible. Despite this the general range of forms indicates that, whether there is only one house or more, the ceramic material does not vary across the site at this time as was apparent in the medieval period. If ceramics were to be used as a social indicator they would imply that the manorial 'Lord and Tenants' arrangement that had structured the settlement layout in the medieval period was not apparent by the late 15th century. This is not because lordly ownership of the settlement had ceased, rather the shift to a new system of lordly control is reflected.

Figure 5.84 Cistercian 'style' lid from the demolition layers

The 17th century is, however, far better represented in the ceramic material by the Somerset vessels. Although there are a few earlier 16th-century vessels likely to be within this fabric group the majority of the forms are identifiable as slightly later. As an assemblage though it is characteristically earlier than the contexts where the North Devon Wares are the dominant fabric type. For the demolition assemblage to be earlier is important as this ties in with the historical documentation and the development of the settlement from the 15th century onwards.
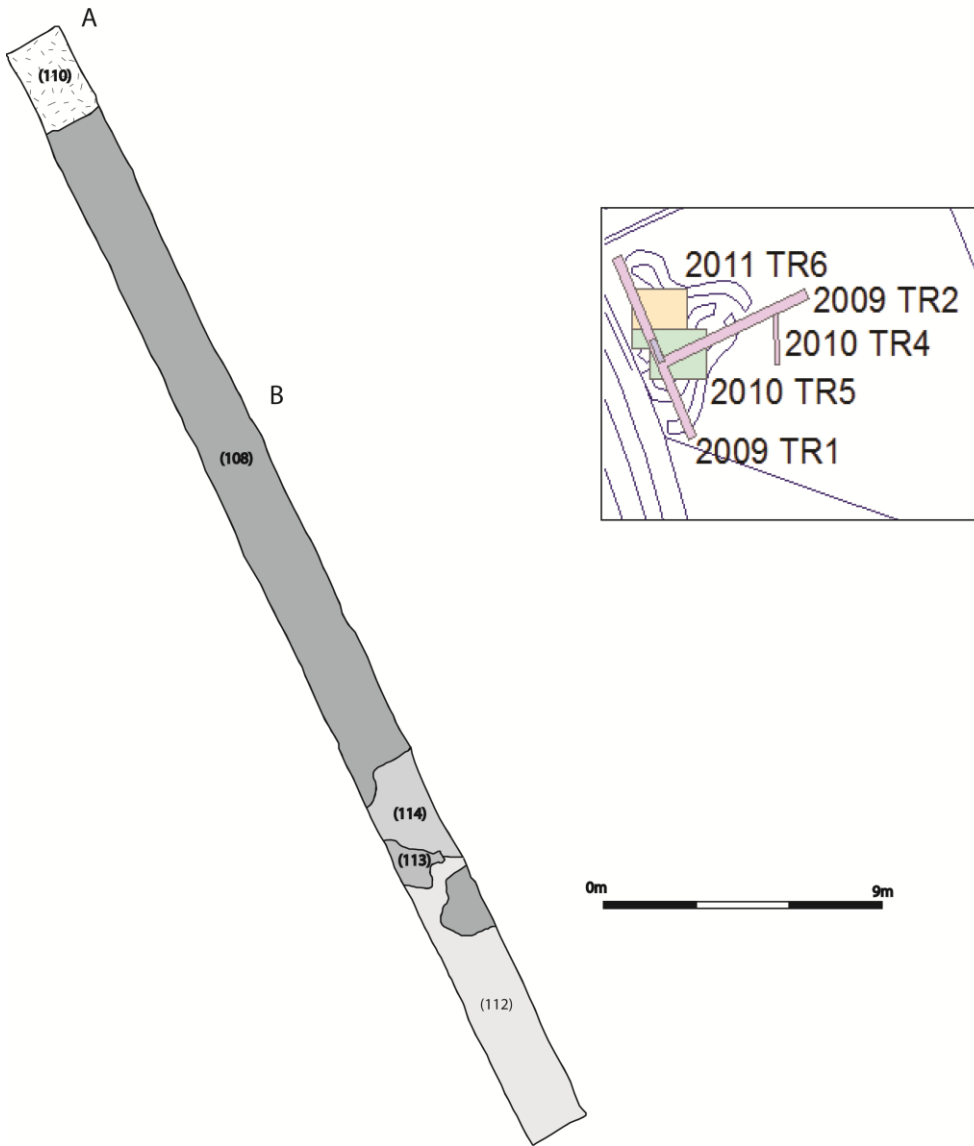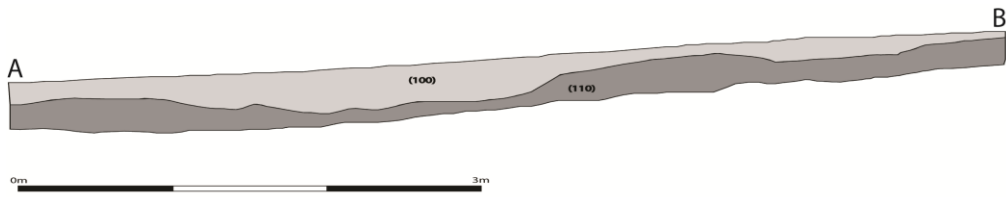
Figure 5.85 above, section no. 31 showing the northern end of trench 1 (2009) and the depth of the topsoil and midden (110) and below, the pre-excavation plan of trench 1 (2009) showing the large demolition layer (108).

5.7.2 Midden (Error! Reference source not found.)

Whereas the ceramic material from the demolition layers is earlier, the midden assemblage is more broadly representative of 17th-century pottery. As with the majority of contexts at Cosmeston, medieval sherds are still present within the assemblage although significantly fewer than elsewhere on the site (3%) (Figure 5.86). The midden is not apparently directly associated with a particular household. It is to be noted, though, that the number of sherds and the vessels represented are large and therefore either the midden is from a group of households or the function of the building or role of a household necessitated a large amount of ceramic material and produced a large amount of waste.

Somerset fabrics constitute the majority of the ceramic material in this context (75%) as can be seen from the graph above. Notably, North Devon sherds are significantly fewer in number in comparison, and the proportions of the two fabrics are typically seen here to be an indication of date. Within the Somerset fabric group bowl and dish rims are greater in number than other forms. Some of the sherds join but although there are few physical joins – 4 rim sherds are the greatest number fitting – it is clear that many of them are from the same vessel.
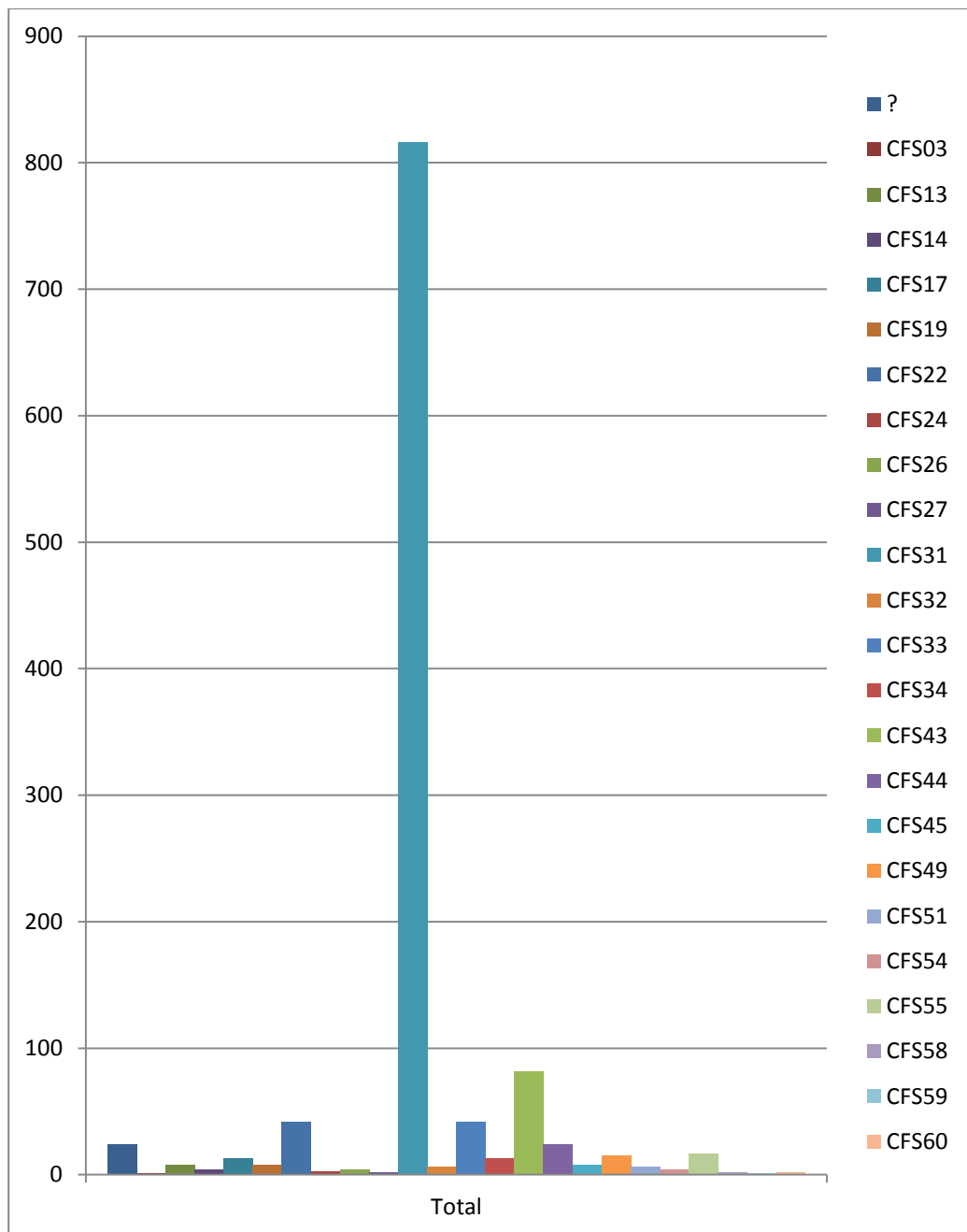
Figure 5.86 showing the number of sherds by fabric in the midden

As well as the bowls there are other forms in the assemblage; jugs are the next most prominent, with chafing dishes and porringers also represented. This is a continuation of the range of forms identified in Somerset fabrics elsewhere at Cosmeston.

The North Devon fabrics are important as they represent a shift and change in the economic networks being accessed for the acquisition of ceramic vessels in the late 17th and early 18th century. Assemblages from Cosmeston that are dominated by North Devon vessels are well represented in the 18th-century contexts associated with the later farmyards in the lower area of the site. In the midden deposit, however, although the fabric is represented it is not the dominant type and the range of forms is more restricted than the later 18th-century contexts. Unlike the CFS43 vessels in the farmyard area – many of which are large pancheons, heavily abraded and worn on the base as if they had been dragged along the floor – the vessel forms in this context are mostly associated with tablewares and in particular small bowls. The Sgraffito dishes are particularly indicative of this earlier late 17th-century phase and comparable to the group from **427**.

The fine wares within this group are very similar with regards to the type of fabrics and forms present to those from both **427** and the area of demolition: Cistercian, Merida, Bristol tin-glazed and German stonewares are all represented in the midden. These are considered the more exotic vessels in comparison to the Somerset and North Devon fine wares. The date range for these is broad from the earliest, late 15th-century Cistercian, to the later, 17th-century, Bristol tin-glazed ware, and they represent the changes and introduction of new ceramic types and forms influencing the household.

There are a number of similarities between the midden and layer **427** in terms of the fabrics represented; the local transitional fabrics as well as the earliest evidence for Brislington tin-glazed sherds are of particular note. The number of sherds of local post-medieval wares within the midden context is similar to that from **427** (40) and more than the total number from the demolition contexts (20). The number of sherds is also

equal to the North Devon Gravel-Tempered sherds (42) further indicating that the deposition is likely to be 17th-century or even earlier. The tin-glazed sherds, although likely later in date than the locally produced vessels, appear in both the midden and **427** and the presence of the sherds is likely to suggest contemporary activity with the two areas.

The midden area is unlikely to have continued much beyond the early 18th century as a rubbish area and as a result it provides a closely datable group of ceramics available for comparative analysis. The Somerset group is representative of 17th-century forms as identified in the chronological series association with the Exeter post-medieval assemblages (Allan 1984). The low number of North Devon sherds also supports a 17th-century date for the midden material as well as the low number of either intrusive or late deposits of yellow wares and treacle ware sherds from this context.

The post-medieval assemblage from Cosmeston is consistent between contexts and areas. The apparent lack of ceramic material that could be deemed to be associated with a merchant or high-status household – this would typically include Italian or Spanish tin-glazed vessels instead of the Brislington sherds or Werra Ware Sgraffito rather than North Devon Sgraffito ware – is important to emphasise as the assemblage reflects a lower status household influenced by the developing fashion for decorative ceramics. The assemblage is unique, not because it is unusual but because it is typical of what would be expected of an assemblage of its kind: a tenant farming community.

The developing use of ceramic vessels in the household is seen generally in Britain from the 16th century, accelerating in the 17th century. The rise in conspicuous consumption is seen to be directly associated with the changes in the use of space

within houses, particularly with regards to dining practices. The chafing dish is a good example of this development in association with dining, as food is being served and kept warm at the table. Accompanying these vessels are the highly decorated Somerset slipwares in the 16th and early 17th centuries, followed by North Devon Sgraffito dishes and Brislington tin-glazed ceramics in the later 17th century. The range of vessels forms in the early post-medieval household is very different to the medieval ceramics which for the most part do not indicate or represent formalised eating in the same way. Drinking cups, influenced by the introduction of stonewares, also indicate changes in dining behaviour with vessels for the individual rather than shared. This accelerated in the 18th century as demonstrated by the substantial number of treacle glazed and yellow ware drinking vessels within later assemblages at Cosmeston.

The main source of pottery is believed to have been Bristol, particularly with regards to the imported stoneware and Merida vessels. Excavated assemblages from Bristol are particularly useful, such as Narrow Quay (Good 1987) in comparison to the Cosmeston ceramics as there are clear parallels in the range of fabrics as well as the number of imported vessels represented; in Bristol Frechen stoneware, for example, as with the excavations at Cosmeston has been found on most post-medieval sites although never in large quantities, a very different pattern to that seen from excavations in Exeter or Southampton (Allan 1984; Coleman Smith 1969). Somerset wares are similarly the predominant fabric from the mid-16th to mid-17th century in Bristol, after which locally produced vessels supersede those made at kilns in places such as Wrangway and Nether Stowey. The main difference between the assemblages from Bristol and Cosmeston is the presence of the more high-status vessels amongst the standard ceramics. Even on the Bristol sites the imported Italian and Spanish wares are

considered to be 'one-offs' rather than representative of a regular and continuous supply of imported vessels (Burchill 1994, 26). Therefore, although Cosmeston had access to the full range of locally produced and more widely traded ceramics, it was not part of the elite networks which were more likely to have been directed from Bristol, through Cardiff or Swansea, and on to castle sites such as Coity and Penhow (Lewis and Evans 1982, 80 and 88), rather than small farmsteads or settlements like Cosmeston.

5.8 Medieval and post-medieval Cosmeston: changes and continuity

Cosmeston is unique in that the remains of the medieval and post-medieval settlement have survived; it is not unique, however, with regards to what should be expected of structural and material remains; it is generally representative of rural settlement and the development of communities in South Glamorgan from 1200 to1700. The ceramic assemblage from the medieval to the post-medieval period highlights the changes in the initial use of non-local ceramics in the household in the early post-conquest period (1150 – 1200) to the standardising of ceramic use and local production throughout the region in the 13th to late 14th-centuries. The next change in use came about during the mid-15th century as ceramic production appears to have mostly ended in South Glamorgan just as ceramics became more widely used as items for display as well as developed in association with dining practices. Although this change transforms the way in which ceramic material is viewed – no longer the poorer cousin of metal vessels – the lack of technological sophistication associated with local production meant that it was easier to import the desired vessels from Somerset and then North Devon.

The networks that facilitated the trade in or with ceramic material appear to have changed very little over the 500 years discussed here. Trade was conducted with the Bristol Channel at the heart of it. This would explain for the apparent lack of Monnow Valley Wares and only the occasional Malvernian vessels which dominate assemblages from Chepstow and Monmouth. Instead, South Glamorgan was part of a Bristol Channel network, connecting Bristol, Cardiff and Swansea as well as the small landing places and inlets at Sully, Aberthaw, Watchet and Bridgwater. The ceramic evidence from Cosmeston is representative of the continuation of economic networks over a period of 500 years which are in turn a continuation of existing economic networks evident from both the Iron Age and Roman periods.

Chapter 6: Cowbridge

Towns, markets and fairs in medieval Britain and the records for them are evidence of regulated trade and the development of a controlled market economy and urbanism. The growth of urbanism seen in medieval England was not matched in extent in South Glamorgan. The only town in the Vale of Glamorgan which represents this trend to control regional markets by creating a new town is Cowbridge. Despite the lack of new towns in the region, the assumption that only towns held registered markets or fairs is incorrect as illustrated by Llantwit Major (see Chapter 7). Also to exclude ports and landings as centres of trade because they were outside the regulated weekly markets, despite their payments to the lordship in the form of official port taxes, disregards a significant economic contribution to the region. Despite the official position created for Cowbridge – borough market within Llanblethian manor – this did not automatically mean that the town developed into a prosperous market centre. Variability of success in the case of small towns can be seen not just in this case but also in many examples in England (Dyer 2003). Through the analysis of the archaeological and ceramic evidence, this chapter will question the model proposed by Robinson (1981) with regards to the layout of the town, a model which has significantly influenced subsequent writing on Cowbridge (Parkhouse and Evans 1996; Spurgeon 2001). In order to understand the economic networks reflected in the ceramic assemblage, the context and deposition of the material will be discussed. Changes in the use of ceramics and consequently the economic networks apparent from the material will provide a revised narrative of the town's economic life, and of networks within South Glamorgan.
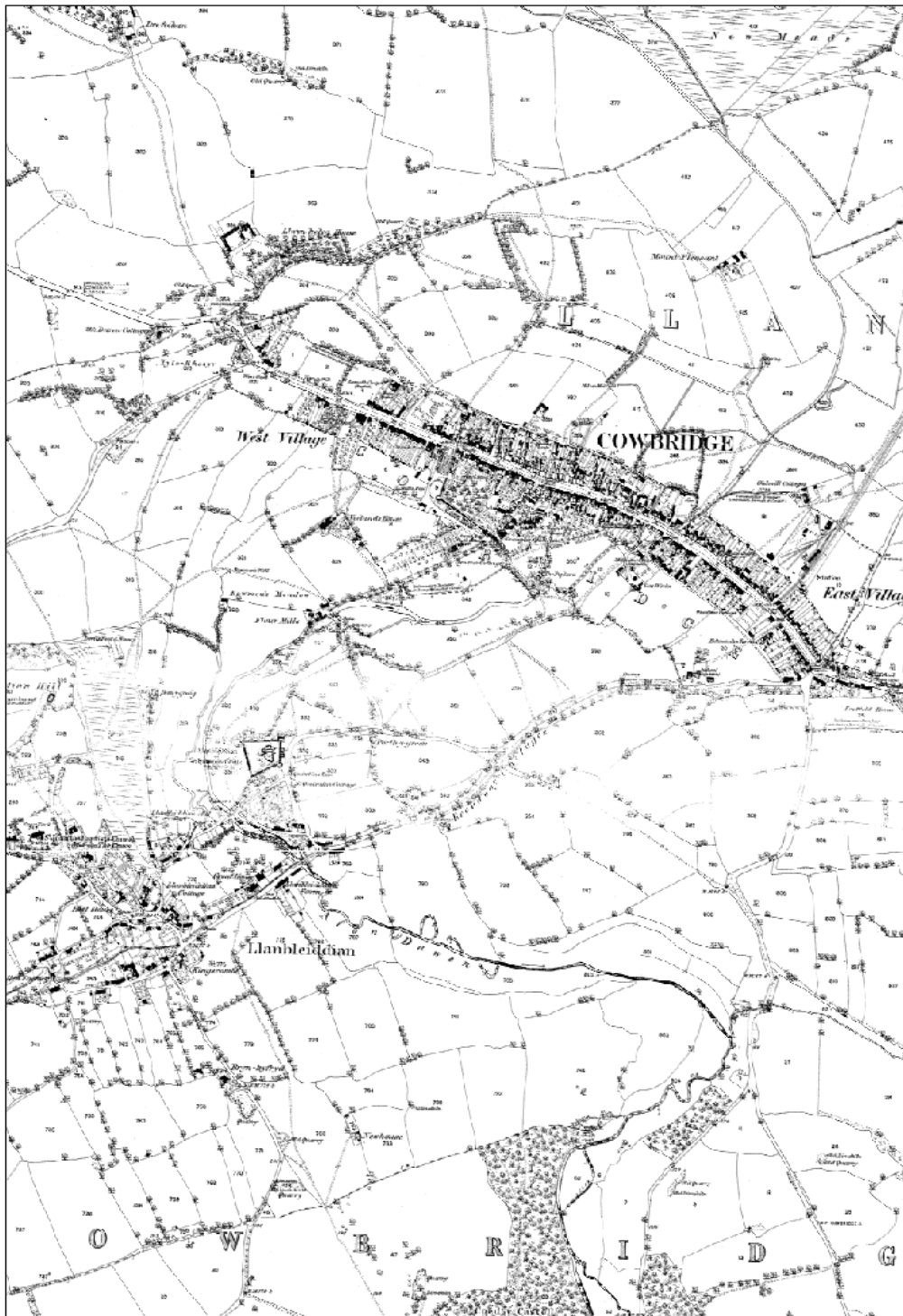
Figure 6.87 1st edition OS map 1884 showing Cowbridge and Llanblethian (Scale 1:10,560)

6.1 Town Background

Cowbridge is situated in the heart of the Vale of Glamorgan on the Portway, the old Roman road running from Cardiff to Kenfig, which, as the A48, remained the main thoroughfare through the Vale up until recently when the M4 was built. The town is placed at the point where the Portway crosses the River Thaw, strategically well situated both to control trade and to govern the central Vale (Spurgeon 2001, 177). Cowbridge has been described as one of the great medieval towns in the Vale of Glamorgan (Soulsby 1983) which is a truism as it was the only medieval borough in the Vale of Glamorgan, as well as one of the more important Welsh boroughs, in terms of its estimated population size in the 14th century (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 507; Dyer 2011, 173). This perception of importance is one which needs to be investigated if we are to consider the economic role of settlements in South Glamorgan and the networks which connected them. Archaeological and ceramic evidence from excavations in Cowbridge are pertinent to this discussion and are central to a counter-argument concerning the perceived and real roles of medieval and post-medieval Cowbridge within the economic networks of South Glamorgan.

Since the 1970s, archaeological excavations in advance of building in Cowbridge have provided physical evidence for medieval and post-medieval Cowbridge adding to the information gained from the historical records for the town. The ceramic assemblages retrieved from the excavations are particularly suitable for this study being well stratified, associated with contextual information, and from a variety of features that represent the activities and occupation of the settlement.

Cowbridge's reputation as a booming medieval and later successful post-medieval town is not particularly supported by the archaeological evidence, particularly the ceramics. Most interpretations of Cowbridge have idealised it as a thriving hub of economic activity from early post-Norman Wales (Hopkin-James 1922; Robinson 1981; Spurgeon 2001).To challenge this is not to imply that Cowbridge was never important rather, the emphasis on status and size of the town and therefore its wealth is deemed here to have been overstated when considering the settlement in terms of its function within the regional economy. Towns in medieval Marcher Wales have been viewed within a general structure of economic control driven by official markets and fairs as well as taxation through these settlements (Courtney 2007, 69-70). This applies to some extent to Cowbridge, but it is clear that the town is not as central to regional trade as previously considered. Whereas towns and urban markets were at the heart of economic life in central England, in South Wales as with the south-west of England it is more likely that the manorial estates and the rural markets played greater roles within the economic systems (Mellor 2007, 155).

6.2 Early work and the primary historical sources

Research into the town was pioneered by an early 20th-century local historian, Dr L. Hopkin-James, Vicar of the Parish of St Mary's Llanblethian, who wrote on Cowbridge and clearly held a fondness for the town (Hopkin-James 1922). Despite Hopkins-James' use of historical documents such as the *Inquisition Post-Mortem* (1314-15) compiled after Gilbert de Clare's death and the Llandaff Charters, created in the 12th century, it is his interpretation of the Ordinances of Cowbridge, likely to be 14th-century in date, and their recognised similarity to those written for Kenfig, that led Hopkins to assume

that the two towns were therefore very similar in economic importance (Hopkins-James 1922, 25). This inaccuracy and generalisation of towns in medieval Glamorgan is likely to have contributed to the notion of Cowbridge's economic importance being equal to Kenfig's, a successful and wealthy town, supported not only by markets and fairs but also by the port (see Chapter 7 for further discussion on Kenfig).

Articles relating to Cowbridge by Corbett (1889) and Clark (1883) influenced Hopkins-James's historical narrative. However, as a result of the inclusion of information from Myvyrian Archaeology (Jones, Williams and Pughe 1801), Iolo Morgannwg's re-telling of the story of South Glamorgan, much of the accuracy provided by Corbett and Clark has become distorted. This has resulted in the weaving of romanticised histories by 'Iolo Morgannwg' into the historical research, which has led to a narrative based on an idealised history, buttressed by evidence from primary historical sources to substantiate it. Hopkins-James's resulting presentation of the history is biased in favour of continual settlement at the site from the Roman foundation to the early 20th century, despite there being clear historical and archaeological evidence for the abandonment of the town following the end of the Roman Period and the re-establishment of the settlement again by Richard de Clare in the mid-13th century (James and Francis 1979, 32).

6.2.1 Medieval Cowbridge

The history presented by Hopkins-James is a narrative of long-term success. A letter to the Bishop of Llandaff in 1922, to whom the book is dedicated, expresses Hopkin-James' belief in the importance of local history to the people who live there (Hopkins-James 1922, iii-iv). It is this historical narrative and romanticised tone that has

influenced other writers such as Robinson and Soulsby, despite their disregard for Hopkins-James's narrative, both of whom have subsequently influenced more recent work on the town (Parkhouse and Evans 1996; Spurgeon 2001).

It is this narrative of continued success which, even if people disagree with the idea of continuity, has helped influence the histories written on Cowbridge. Historical sources provide a number of key dates and pieces of information associated with the beginning of Cowbridge's life as a planned and planted town, part of Richard de Clare's development of the Glamorgan lordship in the Marches (Spurgeon 2001; 178; Walker and Spurgeon 2003). The town was granted borough status in 1254 – this is relatively late in comparison to Kenfig and Cardiff both of which were founded in the 12th century or earlier – and parish status in 1296. The process of creating the borough was part of Richard de Clare's move to control the Vale of Glamorgan and the movement of goods and trade within the region (James and Francis 1979, 32). This policy included land to the north of the Vale at Llantrisant, a town also established by Richard de Clare (Griffiths 1971, 339), as well as the land in the central Vale around Llanblethian which he had won from Siward, the previous lord of Llanblethian, when the latter was outlawed and had his land confiscated (Griffiths 1971, 340 and Robinson 1981, 37). Cowbridge is comparable to many of the planted and planned towns established by lords in England and the southern Marches (Monmouthshire), particularly in terms of the motives associated with the development of these settlements: the creation of an economy controlled through markets and taxation which ultimately fed the pockets of the lords and the King.

The first fiscal reference to Cowbridge is in the 1263 Ministers Account on the death of Richard de Clare. This has been used as key evidence to trace the development and successful expansion of the town (Griffiths 1971, 340). The growth of the town has been an important theme, used by those attempting to prove that Cowbridge was economically strong. A number of factoids have been associated with the town: for example, it is supposed to have been one of the most populous boroughs of Wales in 1307, only to be rivalled by Cardiff (Spurgeon 2001, 162 and 177), with the town expanding beyond the boundary walls to accommodate demand for burgage plots which had increased to 276 in 1306 (Griffiths 1971, 340). It is important to note that, despite the number of burgage plots estimated from the rents of assize, evidence for those plots actually being inhabited and built on has not been discussed, and it is here that the archaeological and ceramic evidence can provide the details. Even if the rights associated with holding burgage plots were being accounted for, whether those who held the rights were more interested in the benefits that were associated with holding burgage in the market and town at Cowbridge than with living in the town is a key question. At the towns of Cardigan, Tenby and Carmarthen, 'burgesses of the wind' were recorded separately to those who were permanently situated in the towns. It has been suggested that all the Welsh documents recording the numbers of burgesses included the burgesses of the wind, but from the examples provided by Beresford it is more likely that this was only common in association with the south-western towns, not representative of all Welsh towns (Beresford 1967, 65 and 529). Wealth should not be measured by the number of burgages but rather by the income from the markets and fairs and revenues from associated manors (in this case Llanblethian). The revenues from the market at Llantwit Major were comparably high and it is the value of

this that appears to be crucial to understanding the economic networks associated with markets rather than towns.

6.2.2 Post-medieval Cowbridge

The late medieval fortunes of the town declined, as illustrated by the revenues from the 15th and 16th centuries (Griffiths 1971). Taxpayers' contributions in 1544 (£9 10s) were less than those of Swansea (£17 12s. 5d.), and Cardiff (£30 £13s. 7d) although greater than Neath's (£1 16s. 9d.) (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 510). The population size (estimated from the Chantry certificate in 1548) is thought to have been approximately 450 inhabitants. In comparison Swansea has been estimated as having a population of 1,000 and Cardiff was larger still with between 1,000-1,500 people (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 510). Despite this shrinkage, 16th-century Cowbridge still held its two weekly markets on Tuesdays and Saturdays and had two annual fairs at Midsummer and Holy Rood (Merrick 1578; Hopkins 1922, 48-49). Like Llantwit Major, Cowbridge maintained its economic role as a local market in the Vale of Glamorgan during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Evidence of Cowbridge's prosperity is clearly illustrated by the standing buildings which remain on the High Street today. The later narratives for the 16th and 17th centuries are dominated by the names and histories of wealthy families who held property within the town itself as well as those who owned houses in Llanblethian (James and Francis 1979, 53). It is a combination of these houses, illustrative of the wealth held at Cowbridge and the families that were involved, alongside Iolo Morgannwg's created histories of the town and the Grammar School, which have very likely contributed to

the aggrandising perceptions of medieval Cowbridge.

Archaeologically, post-medieval Cowbridge is represented by the standing buildings and excavations in the back gardens of the houses where pits, demolition layers and the backfilled town ditch have all provided evidence for later activity and trade. Although the ceramic assemblages from Cowbridge are comparatively small in relation to both Cardiff and Cosmeston the material is still important to understanding the use of ceramic material in what became a wealthy settlement in the late 16th and into the 17th centuries.

6.2.3 Topographical analysis

The manor at Llanblethian is believed to have been founded in the 12th century by the St Quintin family. In 1205 Llanblethian was held by the same family but their name also appears regularly in association with Glamorgan charters from 1102 (RCAHMW 2000, 167). In the 13th and 14th centuries Llanblethian lay within the Lordship of Tal-y-fan which also included the modern parishes of St Hilary, Welsh St Donat's, Pendoylan, Ystradowen, Llansannor and Llanhari (James and Francis 1979, 24) and Cowbridge was built by Richard de Clare within the manorial estate lands. Despite not building a castle in Cowbridge itself from which to govern, the castle at Llanblethian served as the symbol of Richard de Clare's strength within the manorial estate. By expanding the already existing castle at Llanblethian, Richard de Clare created continuity of association with the already established manor, and in a further display of his strength built a town through which he could control goods moving down from his other market domain, Llantrisant, through to the coastal ports of either Cardiff or Kenfig.

As well as its administrative importance, the church at Llanblethian was the parish church for both the manor and town until 1294 when the Church of the Holy Cross, Cowbridge (initially a chapel associated with St John's at Llanblethian), was granted parish status, which happened only once the population of Cowbridge had reached a number large enough to warrant the status (James and Francis 1979, 41-43). Despite slow beginnings the hypothesised layout of the burgage plots in Cowbridge has been relied on as evidence for the economic success of Cowbridge by the 14th century.

The most extensive research into the layout and develop of medieval and post-medieval Cowbridge has been carried out by Robinson (1981). Robinson sought to understand the space used within the town walls. He assumed that, as a total of 59s was paid in assize in 1262-63, this represented 59 tenants, each paying 1s, and therefore this would equate to 59 burgage plots. As a consequence, Robinson set out to identify the maximum possible number of burgage plots that would fill the town. This hypothesis includes plots of variable length. To the north of Westgate and High Street, these proposed plots have been estimated at 210-230 feet, while those on the south side do not exceed 180 feet (Robinson 1981, 49) (Figure 6.84). This is a method used for all towns when attempting to provide the total number of burgage plots and a possible total number of people for an estimated population (Beresford 1967).
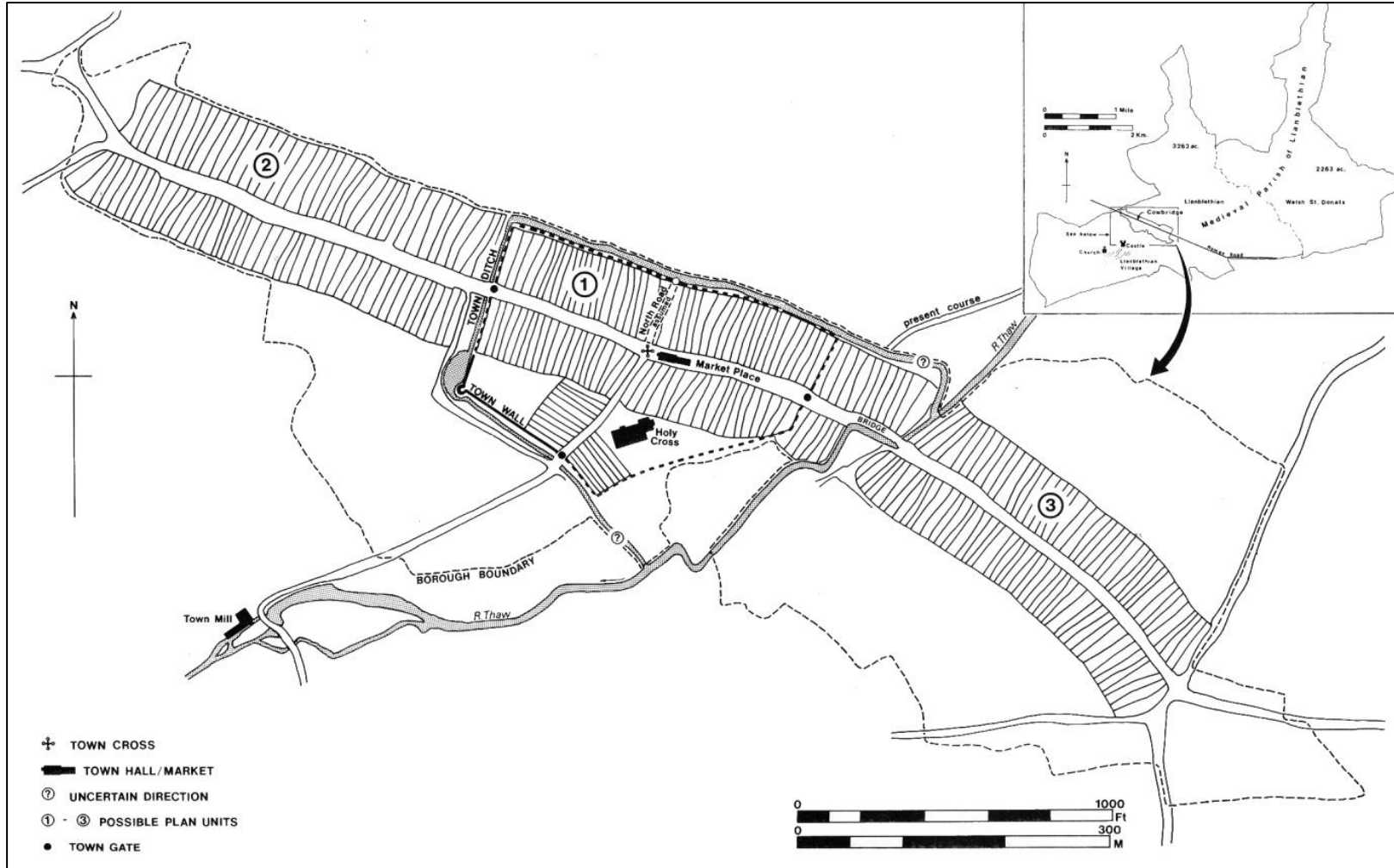
Figure 6.88 from Robinson 1981 showing the conjectural burgage plots projected on a map of Cowbridge

As well as the total rents of assize, Robinson used the tithe survey of 1841 and the first edition Ordnance Survey (1878) for Cowbridge to project the potential plots from the High Street. This is all conjectural and the rebuilding of many of the buildings and changes to the plot boundaries on the High Street in the 17th and 18th centuries (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 508) makes the proposed medieval plan based on the 1841 tithe map likely to be inaccurate. As well as within the town walls, Robinson projected the growth of the town beyond the West Gate. Since the publication of his book (Robinson 1981), a number of excavations have provided evidence for the medieval burgage plots and particularly emphasised the changing boundaries that these experienced in the post-medieval re-building of the town (Parkhouse and Evans 1993). Work outside of the town walls at the furthest end of Westgate away from the town centre can also be used as evidence to counter the growth suggested by Robinson. These sites will be analysed with regards to the ceramic assemblage as part of this case study to identify any chronological and stratigraphic evidence for the development of the medieval town.

Despite the use of the rents of assize to calculate the number of burgage plots, the late creation of Cowbridge as a parish suggests that the number of inhabitants was actually less than the number of burgage tenants. Beresford sets out evidence, using the number of recorded burgage plots, for quick growth and development of the town (1967, 554). The archaeology, however, provides a very different view, contradicting the idea of Cowbridge as a densely occupied town. Instead it appears more likely that, despite the numbers of burgage plots held, these were not all necessarily built on. Rather, Cowbridge fits into the small town category (Dyer 2003, 98).

Another point to make regarding the layout of the town relates to the town walls and gate. These have been the focus of attention and used to suggest that Cowbridge was 'a garrison town, fortified by its walls and gate and ditches, with all its burgesses armed with weapons and having defensive armour' (Hopkins-James 1922, 15). The walls have also been interpreted by some as a symbol of importance (Spurgeon 2001). The most realistic suggestion is associated with the market at Cowbridge. It has been suggested that in fact the walls and the gates provided the control for the market tolls as people entered the town (James and Francis 1979, 35). This would undermine the suggestion that is being made here that Cowbridge, although built to serve as a market centre, was not necessarily as successful as Llantwit Major. It is clear that town walls could be both symbolic of status and more purely functional: to provide some defence and control the movement of goods and people in and out of the town. However, if it were to be considered that rural markets dominated South Glamorgan as already suggested, with both Cowbridge and Llantwit Major servicing slightly different markets, this would support the idea of Cowbridge as a small rural market and not the large successful settlement inferred by many from the burgage rents (Beresford 1967 and Robinson 1981).

Whereas Robinson used the Ministers Account of 1263 to suggest the number of burgage plots, this figure (£2 – 11 – 0) is also useful in comparing the economic situation of Cowbridge with that of Llantwit Major. Llantwit Major was not a town and therefore did not have the benefit of income from burgage rents. However, in 1263 the manor collected £24 18s 5¼d in rents of assize (Matthews 1898, 245). In the same year Llanblethian raised £12 in rents of assize which includes income from the tribe-land of the Welsh. This is particularly significant as Cowbridge has been viewed as an economic tool created by de Clare not only to increase the revenues of the manor at Llanblethian, which was not

particularly wealthy (James and Francis 1979, 32), but also to control goods and people moving through the central Vale of Glamorgan along the Portway. Spurgeon identified the positioning of Cowbridge on the Portway 'to serve as the main market for the largest and richest demesne manor administered from Boverton by Llantwit Major.' (Spurgeon 2001, 177-178). Llantwit Major already had its own market and fair though, and it is likely that Cowbridge and its markets were founded in direct competition to Llantwit Major, which was already a successful rural manor and grange and one of the wealthiest in the Vale of Glamorgan.

Another topographical advantage Llantwit Major had over Cowbridge was its association with the ports at Aberthaw and Ogmore as well as its close proximity to the landing point at Colhuw Bay. Cowbridge is an inland town and although situated on the River Thaw and with the road link to Kenfig and Cardiff it was not able to take advantage of the seaborne trade in quite the same way as those settlements on or near to the coast.

Cowbridge was instrumental to the Lords of Glamorgan, directly engaging with trade in the central Vale, and the connections of the town to Llantrisant and the uplands are not to be overlooked. The position of the town on the main land route through South Glamorgan was significant for connecting the sea-bound trade with the local and regional markets; however, the over-emphasis of its success measured solely on the basis of the possible number of burgage plots owned is misleading. When considering the role that Cowbridge played as a market and its importance within local and regional networks, it is important to note that in 1296 Cowbridge earned £11 12s 10d. from burgage rents, 16s. 10½d from rent of foreign land pertaining to the borough, £4 on the price of ale and only £1 13s. 4d in tolls from markets, fairs and court (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward 1, vol3, 245)*.

Instead of considering Cowbridge as an urban market centre, a more realistic view would be of a rural inland market, one which directly connected the more recognisably urban centres of Cardiff and Kenfig as well as enabling the movement of goods from the uplands to the coast.

6.3 Cowbridge as a borough town

6.3.1 Markets and Fairs

Towns are identified as such by a number of factors: the development of craft specialisation, economic control through markets and fairs, political functions with courts and judicial procedures, nucleated settlement and borough status. The model and categories for settlements identified as towns have many loaded implications and associations which include the development of urbanism. Although it has been recognised that a number of boroughs in Monmouthshire did not display urban characteristics (Courtney 2007), discussion of Cowbridge has favoured maintaining the urban criteria (Robinson 1981; Parkhouse and Evans 1996). Central to the discussion here is the way in which Cowbridge has been interpreted and it is considered that, rather than trying to compare Cowbridge to Cardiff or Kenfig, instead the town should be considered as a rural market centre. By shifting the focus away from urban to rural centre a better understanding of the economic system within which Cowbridge existed will enable a more accurate interpretation of its economic role within the central Vale of Glamorgan.

The town became the focus of official weekly markets and annual fairs in the 13th century, first recorded within the *Inquisitions post mortem* in 1296 (Letters 2003). The tolls from the

markets and fairs, however, made very little income, as mentioned above, with only £1 13s. 4d in 1296. The Cowbridge markets and fairs were also part of the de Clare system of market 'rings' (Courtney 1994, 116). This South Glamorgan system ensured that markets did not occur on the same day, avoiding competition between different markets. This is also the case for fairs which were organised so that those selling at them were able to attend them all if need be. Fairs are directly linked to feast days and this start date for the fairs in Cowbridge would correspond with the founding of the parish in Cowbridge (The Church of the Holy Cross). At this time it was no longer a chapel of ease to the church and parish of St Mary's Llanblethian but given parish status, and therefore recognition that it had a community that was large enough to warrant a parish church. The creation of guilds and the development of craft specialisation are believed to be indicative of an urban settlement. The de Clares, however, prevented guilds from being established within their towns during their lordship (Weeks 2008, 155). Cardiff received a formal licence for its guild in 1340 (Weeks 2008, 153) and the shoemaker's guild was particularly strong. In Cowbridge not only is there no evidence for or reference to a guild during the 13th and early 14th centuries but this is also the case for later in the early post-medieval period (James and Francis 1979, 35). If craft specialisation was not particularly well represented in Cowbridge it is likely that agriculture and general trading in foodstuffs were the main market activities in the town. Cowbridge would have provided the centralised amenities required for communities, such as bakers, oven keepers, malt makers, corn sellers, taverners and butchers, all of which feature heavily in the 1610 ordinance (Hopkins-James 1922, 25-39). It is clear that Cowbridge was a central rural market representative of the local economy as it appears that it was equal or certainly similar to Llantwit Major, where, although there are mentions of shoemakers in the 16th century, there were also no such guilds and the settlement functioned as a rural market.

6.3.2 Borough farms

As discussed above, Cowbridge was situated within the manor of Llanblethian. Although the manor and the town were separate in terms of function the two were inter-connected. The land at Llanblethian was not particularly valuable and the amount of land owned and available for pasture and cultivation was low in comparison to Llantwit Major, which was one of the wealthiest settlements in the Vale of Glamorgan and sited on some of the most fertile soil in the region (James and Francis 1979, 27). This is important to note as this would have been reflected in what was provided for the town for brewing, baking and for slaughtering as well as for trading. Unlike Cardiff which had borough farms at Roath and Leckwith, both of which provided the town with large quantities of produce for supplying and trading, Cowbridge was poorer in terms of its locally supplied goods.

In the post-medieval period, with changes in land tenure, the system of agricultural production would have changed and Cowbridge would have become more valuable to local farmers who needed a central place from which to trade. The clear wealth of the town, although only held amongst a small group of local gentry in the 16th and 17th centuries, again reflects a local and agrarian economy, but one which is being explicitly displayed.

6.3.3 Archaeological Evidence

Interpretation of the historical documents and in particular the calculation of burgage plots held within the town (Beresford 1967 and Robinson 1981) has provided data with which to compare Cowbridge with other towns in Wales. This interpretation, accompanied by Hopkins-James's narrative, has meant that when excavation occurs in Cowbridge there is generally an expectation that more of the medieval town will be revealed (Robic, pers.

comm.). This regularly does not happen, however, and instead blank plots of land or even Roman archaeology is discovered rather than medieval and post-medieval settlement. Consequently the archaeological evidence for medieval and post-medieval Cowbridge is contradicting many of the interpretations formulated by Robinson (1981) and continued by Parkhouse and Evans (1996).

The following part of the chapter will revisit some of the sites dug by GGAT from 1977-1988 as well as considering the more recent excavations in the town. The archaeological evidence, and in particular the ceramic material, from the various excavations is vital to our interpretation of the settlement at, and economic networks associated with, Cowbridge. The ceramic material is also likely to provide functional evidence for particular activities occurring or not occurring in the town. For example dairying equipment, such as the incurved dish, is synonymous with cheese and buttermaking on many sites in South Glamorgan during the medieval period. Later, pancheons, tablewares and roasting dishes can also provide information on the household activities of those living and working in Cowbridge. The absence of particular forms and fabrics may also provide information on the activities conducted in the town. Using the archaeological evidence in association with the historical narrative, it is hoped that the two will support and develop our understanding of the economic role and networks Cowbridge was involved with.

As well as the ceramics, the issue of deposition and related features is central to the analysis of the pottery in this thesis. The process of creating what had once been a vessel used within the household into an object no longer of use as a vessel and depositing the material either in a pit or the transformation of the object into flooring material is significant to interpretation. The variation in the deposition of ceramic material as rubbish

in towns, manors and rural settlement is indicative of the way in which households lived and worked. Pits are a familiar feature within towns and they produce a greater proportion of the sherds retrieved during excavations. As well as the large rubbish pits, internal floors as well as external surfaces have associated ceramics. Another and possibly unique depositional context in association with medieval material from Cowbridge is the land to the north of the town walls which, despite there being no medieval or post-medieval structures or cut features, has produced a large assemblage of material retrieved from the topsoil and subsoil. Identifying fair sites similar to that discovered at Ewenny Priory is discussed in relation to this material as it is considered important to recognise the potential of these assemblages in association with general interpretations of the town, its activities and those living and trading in it. As with the previous chapter the deposition of sherds associated with particular structures will be discussed in relation to patterns of use, be those functional or relating to economic and social status. Ceramics and their spatial distribution have been discussed in association with assemblages from Southampton and Exeter, for example, but little similar analysis has been attempted in South Wales. Therefore this chapter will begin to provide analysis beyond fabric lists of the ceramics and later in comparison to assemblages from Kenfig and Cardiff which will provide discussion on the wider implications of the nature and deposition of comparative assemblages.

6.4 Cowbridge assemblages

Excavations in Cowbridge have provided well-stratified assemblages representing the town's development from a Roman small town to modern market town. In total ten assemblages will be included in the analysis here: six sites excavated between 1977-83 by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (GGAT) (Parkhouse and Evans 1996), and more recent excavations by Cardiff Archaeological Consultants (CAC), GGAT and Monmouth

Archaeology Unit (MAU). The 1977-88 ceramic assemblages have a number of problems associated with them, the most significant being that, other than the second phase of the Midland Bank excavations (Site 50) and the Bearfield excavations (Site 67) (Newman 1996, 178), the majority of the assemblages were affected by the fire at the GGAT store in 1983. This has meant that before even starting a catalogue of the ceramics, the data will not be fully representative of the material which actually came from the sites. This is particularly important with regards to the assemblage from the Hopyard Meadow site which included a large quantity of medieval pottery that was subsequently damaged in the fire (Newman 1997, 178). Although some material survived, the total or the actual quantity of ceramic material had not been quantified at the time. Nevertheless the surviving ceramics provide evidence for both the development and expansion of the town and active trading networks. The more recent excavations provide comparative material to the earlier, work and although the small scale of development has not identified the same range or extent of medieval and post-medieval archaeology this in itself is important to understanding Cowbridge, its development from medieval to post-medieval market town and its economic networks (see Table 6.23 for a list of excavated sites on Cowbridge).

HER event	Old GGAT site no.	Site name	Notes
E000881	*Site 13*	*75 High Street*	*Medieval building, also same as 77 High Street*
E001115	*Site 45*	*77 High Street*	*Medieval building, also same as 75 High Street*
	Site 47	*27 High Street*	*Pottery in the topsoil*
E000863	*Site 50*	*Midland Bank, 61 High Street*	*North-south road, bridge footings and building.*
E000885	*Site 52*	*83 High street*	*Base of the town wall, a gully and a pit.*
E001112	Site 43	Hopyard Meadow	Small farm
E000804	Site 67	Bearfield	Open area
		Church Street	*Horn core pit and medieval surface*
		34 Westgate	Roman features, no medieval
		32 Westgate	Medieval pit and ground surface
E000149		Old Post Office	Medieval pit
E003185		6 Westgate	2 frags of roof tile no other arch evidence
E003564		*Southwest tower*	*Structural evidence and some of the ditch but little or no med pot*
E003754		Bear Lane - old Oxfam	Town ditch found, no pottery apparently
E003186		New Medical Centre	No features but a small collection of medieval finds retrieved.
E003128		Porth-y-green house	No archaeological features
E003066		Larkhill, Westgate	No archaeological features
E003428		The Limes	19th-and 20th-century disturbance, no medieval material
E000150		Former British Legion building	Former course of the River Thaw

Table 6.23 listing the sites excavated in Cowbridge from the HER

The Cowbridge assemblages will be discussed within a chronological framework: medieval AD1250 – 1485 and post-medieval AD1485 – 1700. This is slightly different to the Cosmeston assemblage as that site was founded in the 12th century, whereas historical and archaeological evidence suggests that the mid-13th- century foundation date for Cowbridge is accurate and therefore the early fabrics present within the Cosmeston assemblage are absent from the town. It is apparent from the assemblages from Cowbridge that the two phases represent changes in the economic life and networks evident at the settlement, which were instigated by the changes in living and the use of material culture within the household.

The analysis of the ceramic assemblages will address and question the following key interpretations associated with Cowbridge:

- That Cowbridge was a significant town, economically equal to both Cardiff and Kenfig in the medieval period.

- Robinson's projected medieval outline for the development of the medieval town, with an extension beyond the town walls due to the demand for burgage space within the town representing the town's economic success.

- That Cowbridge's prosperity continued into the early post-medieval period.

Analysis of the ceramic material will focus on three interpretative techniques available from the assemblage: firstly, the range of fabrics present is used to indicate the economic networks Cowbridge was involved in and the success of the town as a market centre. Secondly, the functional importance of the assemblages, the forms present and the depositional context are used to identify particular attributes for Cowbridge and its role as a market town. Thirdly, the spatial and contextual deposition of the pottery is used as an indication of the size and scale of the town and its population. The assemblages will be divided into those within and those outside of the town walls. Those within the walls are (1) 50 High Street, Midland bank, (2) 75 High Street, (3) 77 High Street, (4) 83 High Street, (5) 27 High Street and (6) Church Street and outside the walls, (7) Hopyard Meadow and (8) 34 Westgate Street (Figure 6.89).
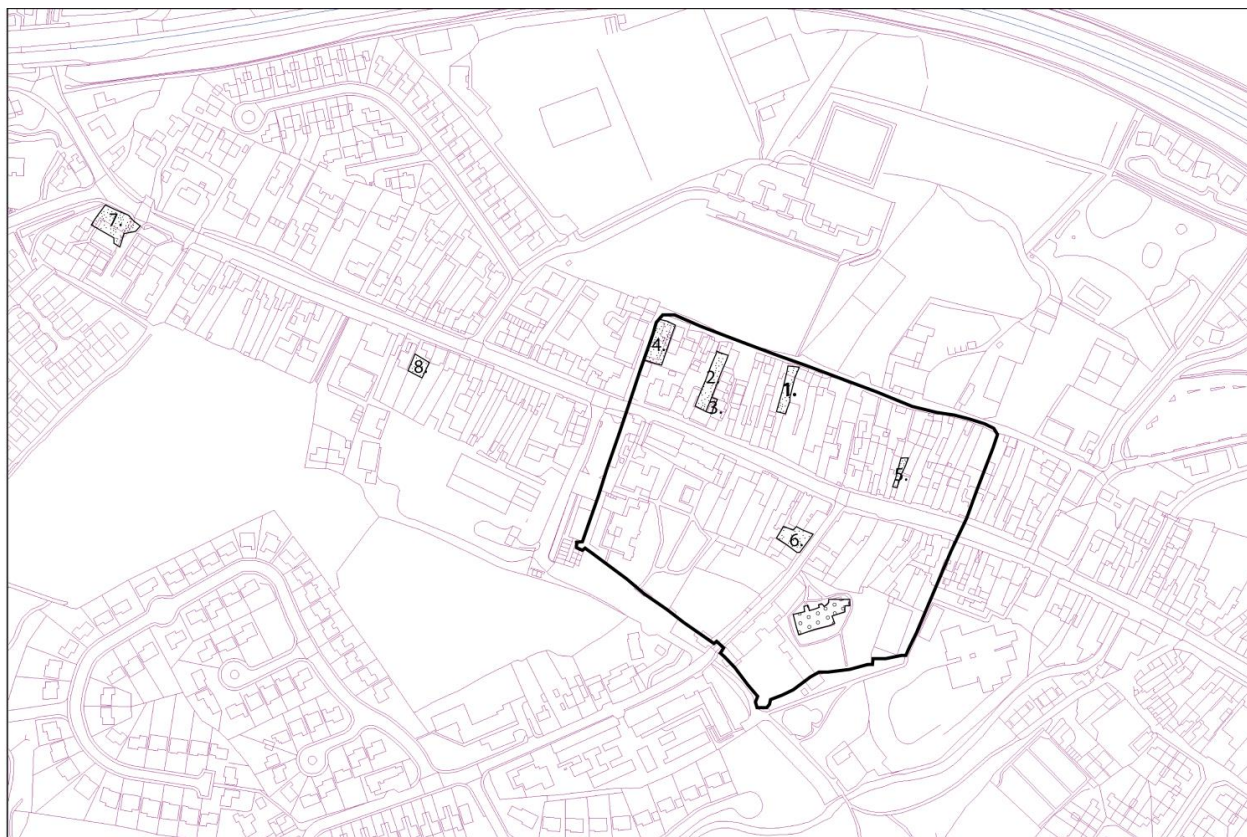
Figure 6.89 OS mastermap of Cowbridge showing the excavated sites discussed in this chapter. (1) 50 High Street, Midland bank, (2) 75 High Street, (3) 77 High Street, (4) 83 High Street, (5) 27 High Street and (6) Church Street and outside the walls, (7) Hopyard Meadow and (8) 34 Westgate Street

6.5 Medieval Cowbridge

The model provided by Robinson assumes that the town was completely divided into burgage plots, and that these were all occupied by the 14th century. The archaeological evidence, however, contradicts this interpretation although there is evidence that towards the centre of the settlement on the east-west road running through the town there were a number of buildings fronting on to the street. Six of the sites (in italics in the table above) are within the town walls, the remainder of the sites are situated beyond the periphery of the enclosed area.

6.5.1 Within the walls

The town: intra-site fabric comparisons

Site Name	Fabrics						
	CFS11	CFS12	CFS17	CFS14	CFS24	CFS27	OTHER
Church Lane	6	1	30	39	0	0	2
Sites 13 and 45	0	0	41	21	3	4	1
Site 47	0	0	28	11	0	6	0
Site 50	0	0	97	62	3	9	2
Site 52	0	0	42	40	0	2	2

Table 6.24 fabric matrix for the sites within the town walls

6.5.1a Midland Bank: Site 50 (Figure 6.89 no. 1 and Figure 6.90)

The Midland Bank site is a significant excavation, not only because of the number of medieval and post-medieval finds but also its location. The excavations identified the north entrance to the town, with a medieval bridge, spanning the town ditch (Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 95). The road surface, which was part of the north-south road through the town, and the building fronting on to this road provide good structural and material

evidence for occupation and activity in this area. The north-south road is not where it was assumed to be on the projected plan of the burgage plots created by Robinson (1981).. A later wall divided the area in the 17th century and it is this later division which is used to define the burgage plot plan (Robinson 1981; Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 96).
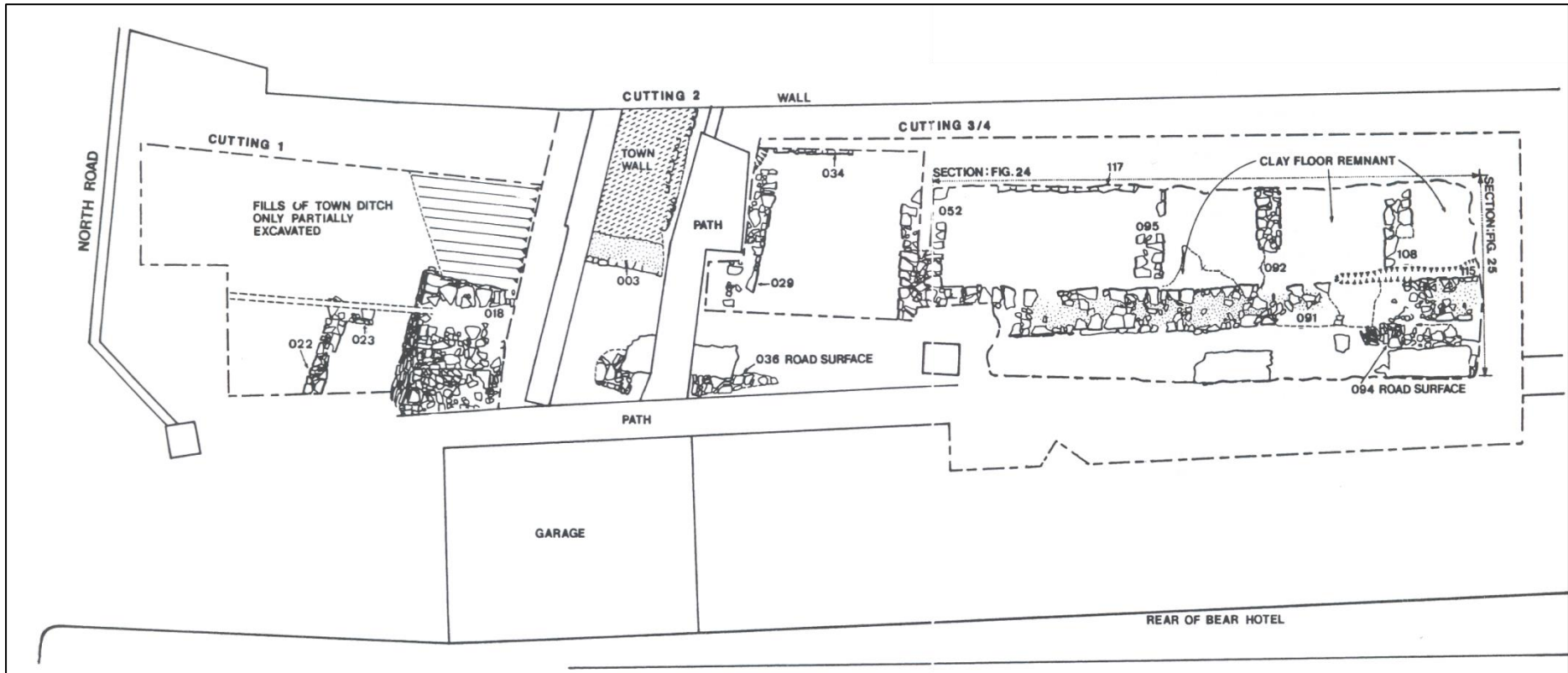
Figure 6.90 plan of the medieval excavated features at the Midland Bank Site (Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 104 and 105)

The material from the Midland Bank site is the second largest medieval assemblage from the 1980s excavations (Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 91-110). Unfortunately the material from the initial phase of work, conducted in 1981/82, was destroyed in the GGAT fire. The assemblage from the second phase does survive and it was this phase of work which included the excavation of a small section of the town ditch as well as a medieval building, road and pit. The stratigraphy in this area is particularly good, representing activity from the Roman period to the present day.

In total, 173 sherds have been identified as medieval and of this material, 92% has been identified as the local Vale Ware; this includes jars, jugs, incurved dishes and roof tile. 5% of the group was identified as the Bristol Redcliffe fabric (Dawson et al 1972; Ponsford and Price 1979, 24). As well as the imported Bristol jug sherds there are also three sherds of Saintonge ware.
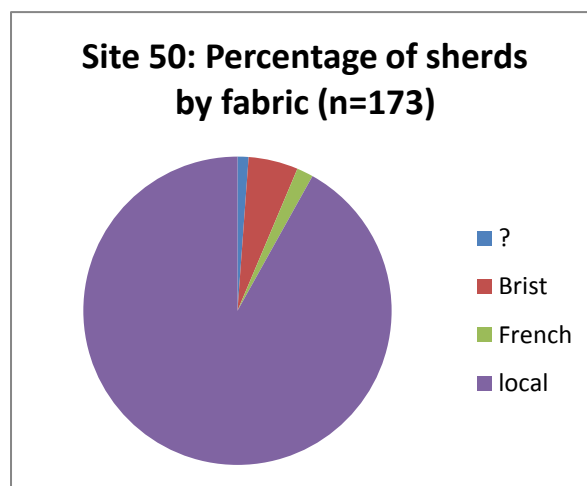
Figure 6.91 showing the proportions of local to non-local fabrics within site 50.

The ceramics are associated with a number of distinct features; a large medieval pit [138] and a stratigraphically later building which lies parallel to and adjacent to the town road

running north from the High Street to what has been assumed as the north gate

(Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 103).

6.5.1b 75 High Street, Site 13 and 77 High Street, Site 45 (Figure 6.89 no. 2 and Figure 6.92)
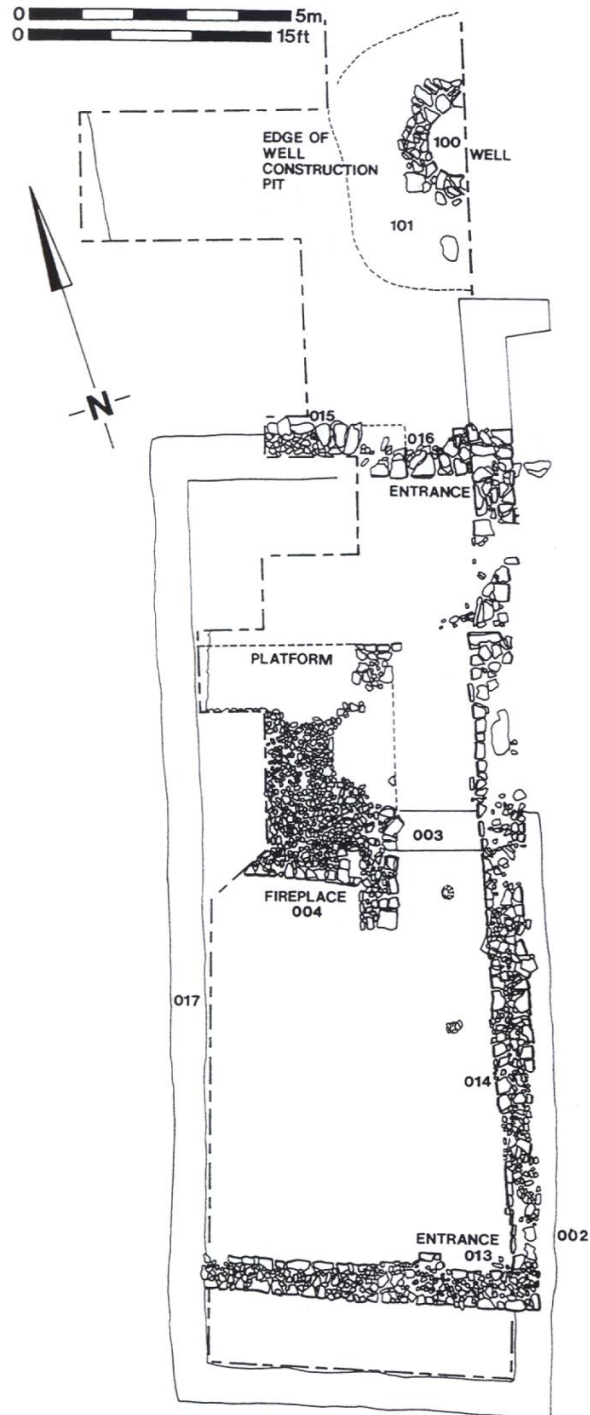
Figure 6.92 plan showing the excavated medieval features at 75 High Street (Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 88)

Despite having been excavated separately as the two sites are situated within two modern

properties, it is very likely that the area was one property in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Excavations at these two properties, as indicated by the site numbers given by GGAT, were

conducted in two phases, the first in 1977 (Site 13) and the second in 1981 (Site 45). The

work at 75 High Street in 1977 revealed the foundations of a medieval building and a well

in use from the medieval into the post-medieval periods.
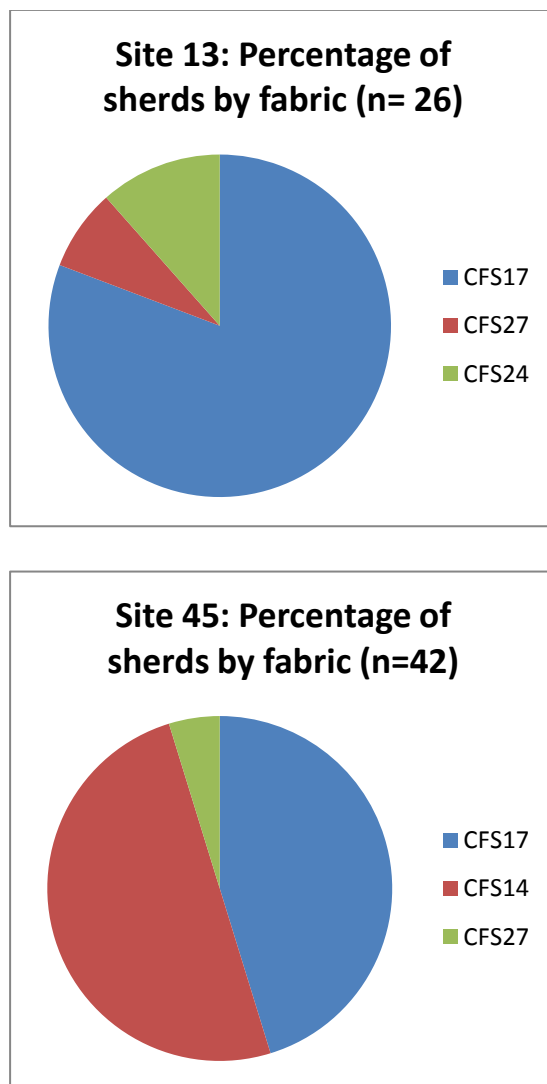
Figure 6.93 Pie charts showing the proportion of sherds by fabric from sites 13 and 45

In 1981, excavations at the neighbouring 77 High Street (Figure 6.89 no.3) revealed the

corner of a medieval building which appeared to run under the modern property boundary

into 75 High Street. This was the only medieval feature in this. In total 70 sherds of medieval pottery were retrieved from sites 13 and 45. The fabrics from these two sites are dominated by locally produced vessels with only a few sherds of imported Bristol Redcliffe and Saintonge wares in the assemblages as illustrated by fig 6.7. The building excavated within this plot will be compared with that from site 50 (above) later in this chapter as not only are they the only medieval buildings excavated within the town walls but also the deposition of the pottery sherds provides evidence for the households which would have occupied the burgage plots.

6.5.1c 83 High Street, Site 52 (Figure 6.89 no, 3)

The site at 83 High Street is on the very western edge of the town adjacent to the town wall. The excavations revealed the base of the town wall, a gully and a pit. As the trench was placed at the back of the plot, the possibility of revealing a substantial building was unlikely. The medieval pottery within the assemblage from this area of the town does provide evidence of some form of activity, whether this is just the deposition of waste - in itself important to understanding the development of the town - or evidence for gardening.

In total there are 86 sherds of pottery from the site, all of which are medieval in date. The range of fabrics is consistent with the other sites in the town and the limited presence of imported wares other than single sherds of Bristol Redcliffe and Ham Green wares continues an apparent town wide trend (Figure 6.94). The pit in particular contained a notable amount of pottery and this will enable comparative analysis with pits from other areas of the town.
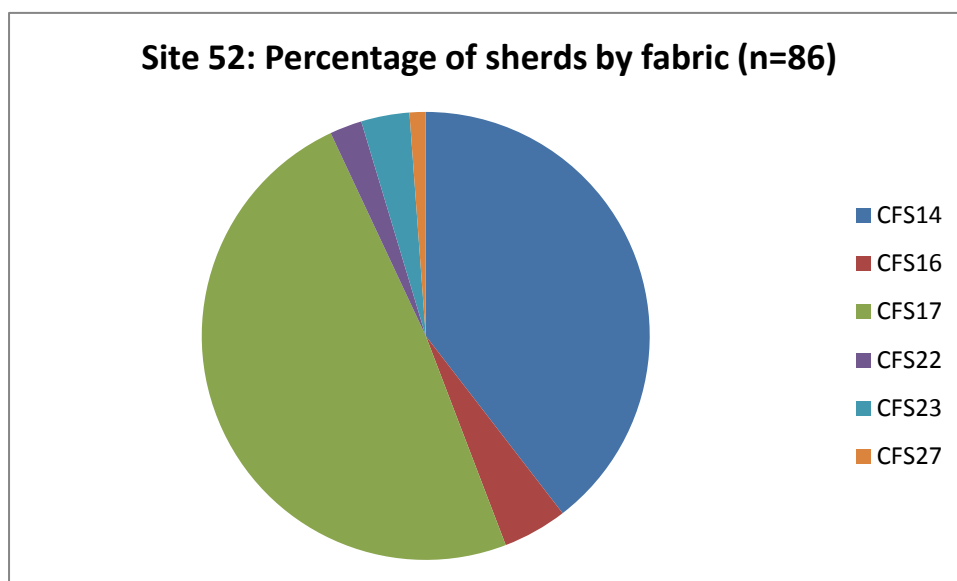
Figure 6.94 Pie chart showing the percentage of sherds by fabric from site 52

6.6.1d 27 High Street: Site 47 (Figure 6.89 no. 5)

There are no identifiable medieval features associated with the ceramic assemblage from this site, which is very similar to the excavated area at 83 High Street. The contexts other than the topsoil which have medieval pottery associated with them are earlier Roman features, where the medieval pottery is intrusive. Despite the absence of medieval features, 45 sherds of pottery were retrieved from the site, all of which are medieval in date (Figure 6.95). Again, as with the previous sites, the range of fabrics is consistent with the majority being locally produced and a small proportion imported.
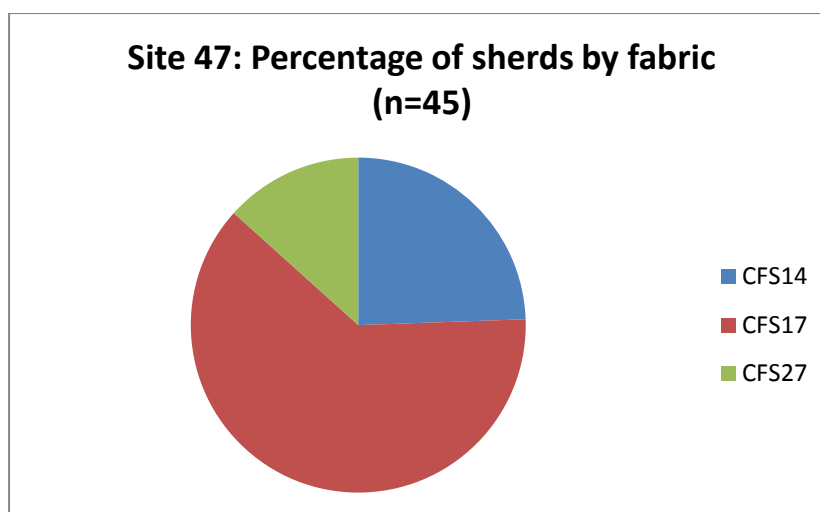
Figure 6.95 Pie chart showing the percentage of sherds by fabric from site 47

6.5.1e Church Street (Figure 6.89 no.6)

In 2005 excavations opposite the Old Grammar School to the south of the town on Church Street revealed a few discrete medieval and early post-medieval contexts, all of which have provided good comparative material to the excavations situated on the northern side of the High Street. A medieval surface and a pit lined with horn cores were excavated. Proportionally the group of ceramics is similar to the other assemblages, with the majority of the sherds locally produced and only 9% of the sherds imported (Figure 6.96). There is, however, a significant difference with regards to dating. This assemblage contains some of the earliest ceramics from Cowbridge: a Ham Green jar (5 sherds) from a surface layer and a jug sherd in the assemblage from the pit fill. Chronologically, these sherds are dated to the early to mid-13th century which must indicate the earliest known activity within the medieval town. This early date is not necessarily surprising considering the location of the site, on what would have been one of the main roads into the town (north-south). There is no apparent association with a particular building from these excavations, but it is likely that this area, behind the main High Street and close to the edge of town, would have been

either a back garden area or ideal for the more smelly occupations. This is typical of many medieval towns although activity areas are not always within the town boundaries.

Church Lane: Percentage of sherds by fabric (n=78)

Legend: CFS11, CFS12, CFS14, CFS16, CFS17, CFS18, CFS24
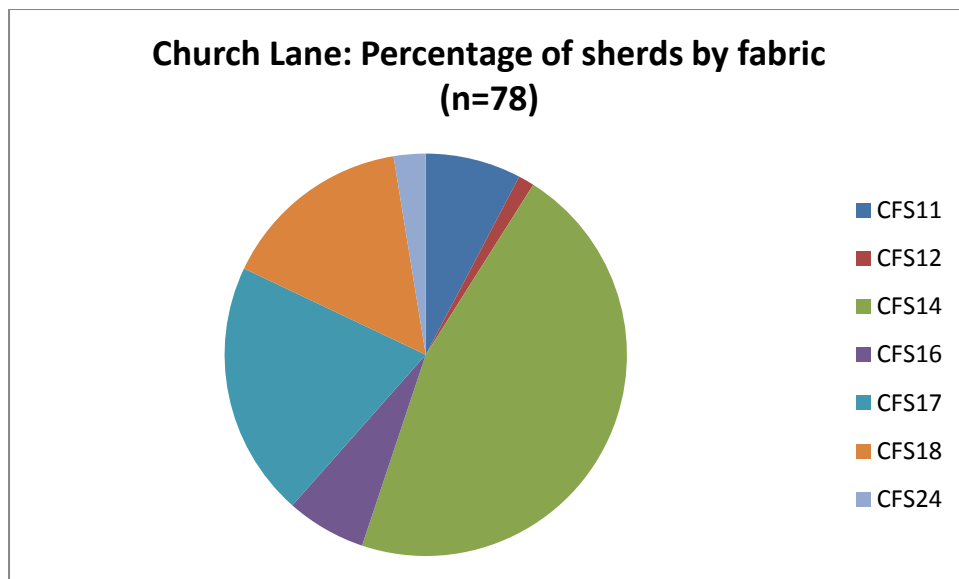
Figure 6.96 Pie chart showing the number of sherds by fabric from the Church Lane excavations

6.5.1f Discussion

A basic comparison of fabrics present from each site highlights the limited variation in the range of ceramics being used in the town: Ham Green A and B, Redcliffe and Saintonge wares appear to be the full range of medieval imported fabrics. The range of fabrics represented in the Cowbridge assemblages, compared with the ceramics from Kenfig and Cardiff (see Chapter 7) is a lot smaller and because the range of imported wares is particularly low. This is in stark contrast to the large port towns at Southampton (Brown 2002) and Exeter (Allan 1984), for example, where imports are a dominant feature of the assemblages: in assemblages from Bristol (Ponsford 1998), however, the range of imported wares is more like that from Cowbridge, and this similarity with the largest port in the Bristol channel is significant to the group of ceramics here.

Within a regional context the Cowbridge assemblage can be viewed as typical with regards to the range of fabrics, although the number of sherds, in particular the imported wares, is notably less than seen elsewhere, including Cosmeston. The assemblage associated with the horn core pit at Church Street has a more varied local assemblage, but in comparison with the other assemblages the non-local wares are represented by only a few sherds, in this case Ham Green A jar sherds. The assemblage from site 50 contains three sherds of Saintonge Ware, albeit residual in post-medieval contexts, and sites 13 and 45 have also produced three Saintonge Ware sherds. Redcliffe Ware is the most frequently represented non-local fabric, present on all of the sites (other than the slightly earlier Church Lane) and it is clear that this was an element of a household's ceramics.

Cowbridge assemblages are significantly different to those from Cosmeston and Cardiff with regards to the evidence for 12th-century settlement. As already noted, the volume of non-local and imported material in Cowbridge is significantly less than that from other sites in the region. Certainly the absence of any Greensand-Derived sherds, which are central to identifying early post-Conquest settlements in South Glamorgan, is due to the fact that Cowbridge was not actually founded until the mid-13th century and any earlier activity or settlement has yet to be identified here. The more varied assemblages at Cosmeston, for example, are associated with the manorial complex and the earlier features at the site. The only examples from Cowbridge of vessels which could indicate an early date or certainly the earliest date for the settlement are the Ham Green sherds from the site on Church Street. The presence of Ham Green jug and jar sherds in association with locally produced vessels is good evidence for 13th-century activity and this is further supported by the date

from the leather shoe in the waterlogged primary fill from site 50 (Mould 1999, 220).

The presence of Saintonge jug sherds on site 50 and sites 13 and 45 and the general presence of Bristol Redcliffe Ware sherds in each assemblage illustrate that other fabrics were being used in the town but in limited quantities. Saintonge Ware is generally associated with higher status households as seen at Cosmeston and therefore the absence and limited numbers of this fabric could be seen as surprising if the town were thought to be a wealthy market and economic centre in the medieval period. Despite the small number of imported French jugs the consistent presence of Bristol Redcliffe Ware jugs within most of the assemblage hints at a distinct household assemblage, with a non-local jug being used alongside the locally produced Vale Ware jugs. As can be seen by the graph below (Figure 6.97), three of the four households had a higher proportion of table wares to food cooking or storage vessels and most of these were local products.
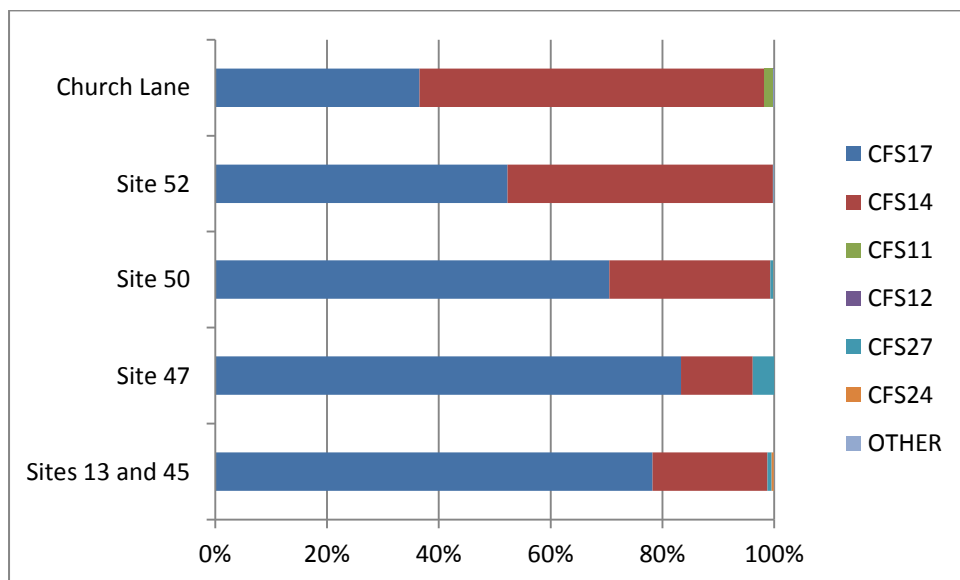
Figure 6.97 showing the percentage of sherds by fabric from each site

6.5.2 On the outside: life in the suburbs

Whilst the sites within the town walls have provided key archaeological evidence for a variety of contexts representing horn working (horn core lined pit) to rubbish dumping, outside of the town walls Robinson hypothesised that as a result of the number of rents being taken for burgage plots it was likely that the land either side of the east-west road was also developed and divided into plots. Table 6.23 lists the sites excavated in Cowbridge and the majority of the sites excavated outside of the town walls have produced little or no archaeological evidence for medieval Cowbridge. Three of the eight sites have produced features and ceramics indicating medieval occupation and activity: the Old Post Office situated on Eastgate, and, sites at house number 34 and Hopyard Meadow on the western side of the town on Westgate.
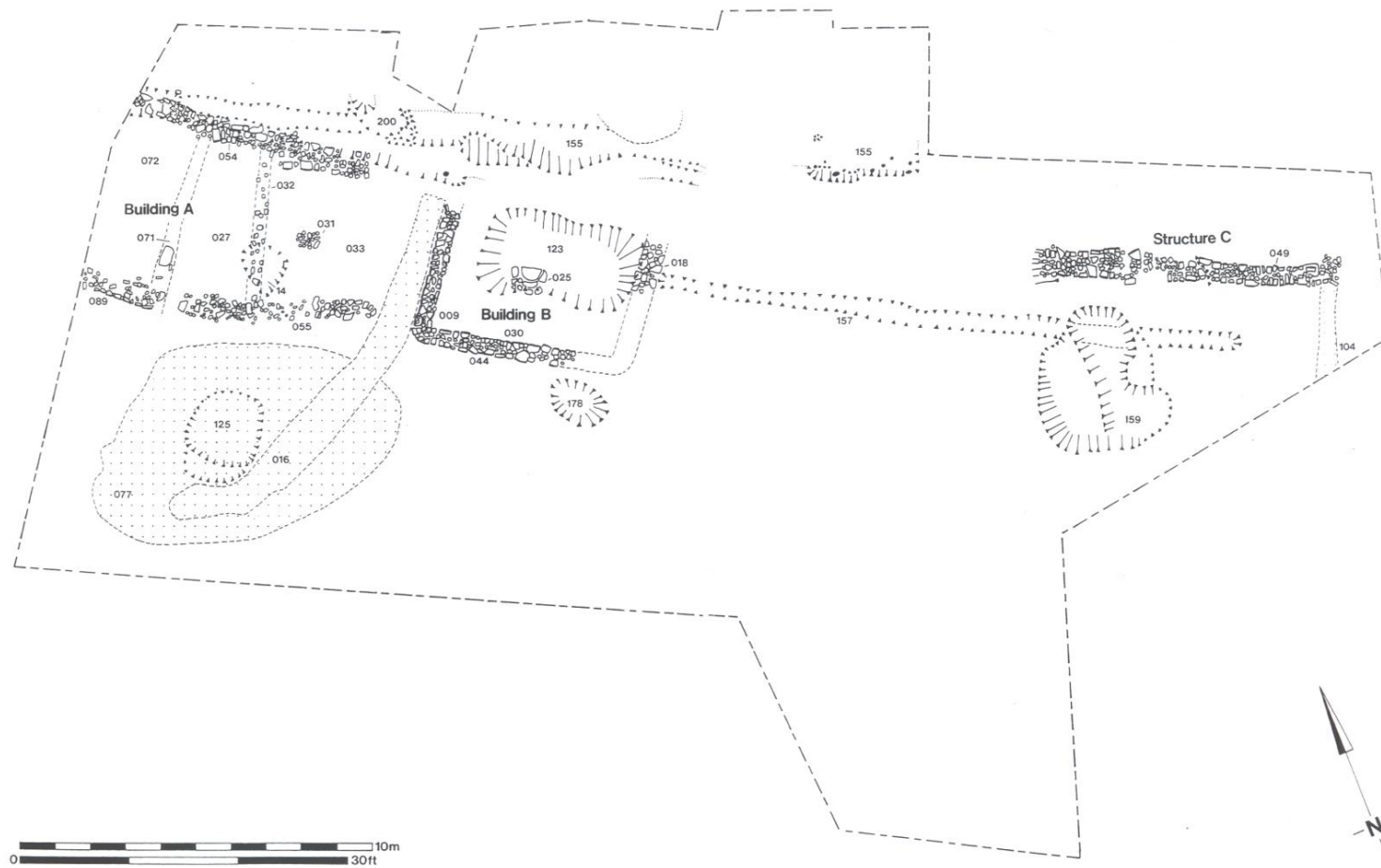
Figure 6.98 plan showing the excavated medieval features at Hopyard Meadow (Parkhouse and Evans 1996, 116 and 117)

6.5.2a Hopyard Meadow, Site 43 (Figure 6.89 no. 7 and Figure 6.98)

This is a key site when attempting to understand the development of Cowbridge,

particularly with regards to the proposed burgage expansion by Robinson. The Hopyard

Meadow site is at the furthest western end of the town, outside of the walls and

identified as just on the edge of the proposed town expansion area (Robinson 1981).

Archaeological excavations in this area revealed Roman features associated with the

general spread of Roman occupation seen throughout work in and around Cowbridge.

Important to this site though are the medieval and post-medieval features which

provide good evidence for activity and occupation in this area from the 14th to the

17th centuries.

The medieval features excavated in the large open-area trench have been identified as

three buildings associated with a system of ditches and pits or sumps. Evidence for

definite plot boundaries is absent and the buildings, despite being heavily truncated in

places (particularly structure C), potentially indicate an area of mixed activity and not

just domestic occupation. The ceramics are important not only when attempting to

understand the types of buildings in this area of the town and activities that may have

been associated with them but also in comparison to the plots in the town and those at

Cosmeston.

This assemblage has the largest group of medieval ceramics excavated from Cowbridge.

In total there are 531 sherds recorded in this group. A point to emphasise for this

assemblage is that it was one of the badly burnt groups from the warehouse fire and

therefore it is not entirely clear whether we have the complete assemblage or what

proportion of the group remains. Despite this, the remaining sherds differ from those

within the town providing a direct contrast between the sites within the town and those beyond the walls.

The fabrics within the assemblage from the Hopyard Meadow site are similar with regards to the presence and absence of particular material. There are 11non-local sherds identified within the group, 10 Redcliffe Ware sherds and a fragment of a spout from an imported Saintonge jug. This is not unusual for Cowbridge. The main difference, however, is the proportion of unglazed to glazed Vale Ware sherds: these two fabrics represent the utilitarian forms, cooking and storage jars, and the tableware jugs respectively. The assemblages from within the town walls typically have few utilitarian vessels present in comparison to tablewares but this is not the case for the Hopyard Meadow assemblage. As can be seen from the pie chart below (Figure 6.99) the proportion of utilitarian Vale Ware sherds is greater than the tablewares. This is a point which will be developed further in the following section in association with site function and household activities but with regards to fabrics, the range of Vale Fabric types, limestone and pale varieties, makes the assemblage more similar to the patterns observed at Cosmeston.
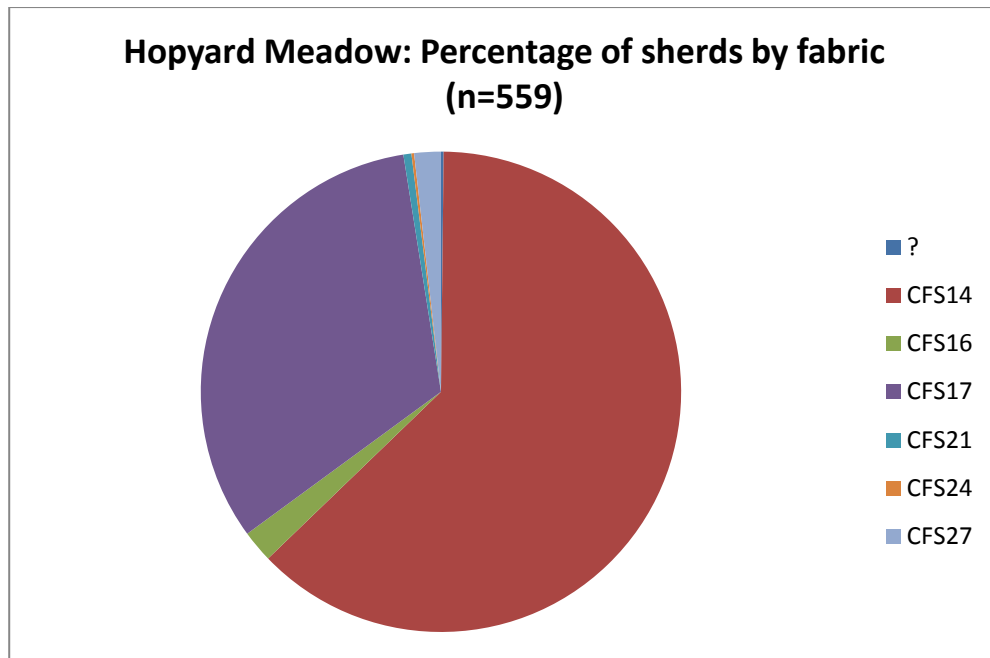
Figure 6.99 showing the number of sherds by fabric from site 43

6.5.2b 34 Westgate (Figure 6.89 no. 8)

Further towards the town walls, excavations at 34 Westgate revealed a series of

medieval soil layer and pits. The assemblage from this site is one of the smaller groups

and the numbers of sherds within the pits are lower than those seen within the town.

The excavations took place towards the rear of the modern day plot and could have

also been the back garden or yard for the medieval burgage plot.

The fabrics represented in the assemblage from 34 Westgate are once again similar to

those from within the town (Figure 6.100). Locally produced wares dominate the

assemblage with only one sherd of Bristol Redcliffe ware present. There is a

recognisable variation within the local Vale Ware category as also seen from the

Church Street site and Hopyard Meadow.

34 Westgate: Percentage of sherds by fabric (n=85)

Legend:
- CFS14
- CFS16
- CFS17
- CFS27
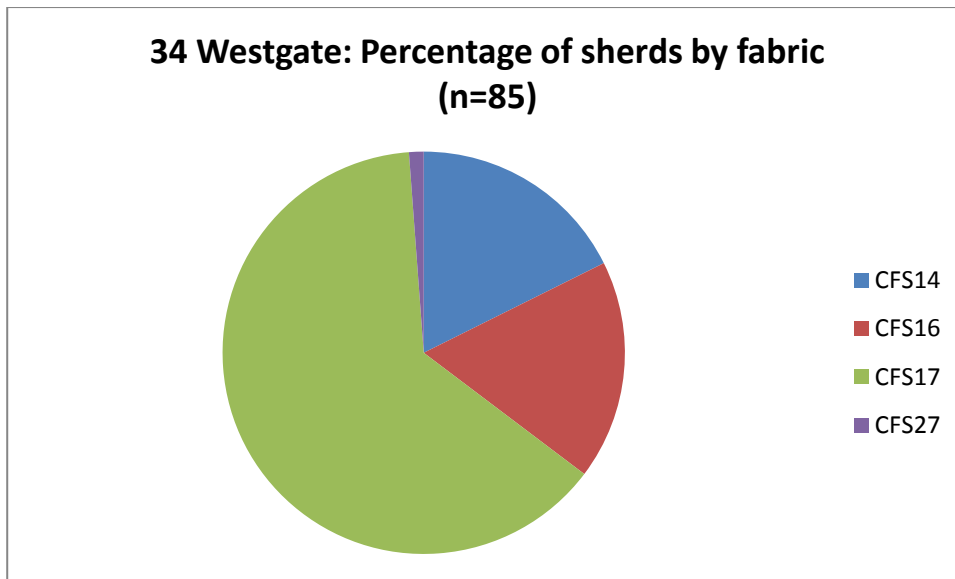
Figure 6.100 showing the percentage of the total number of sherds by fabric from 34 Westgate

If the assemblage from 34 Westgate is so similar to those from within the town it may be supposed that the pit and the ceramics represent the domestic waste of a household and therefore this may be a burgage plot. Structural evidence for a medieval building is absent, although it is quite possible that the present building fronting on to the main street could overlie an earlier structure. Interestingly though, excavations did not provide any evidence for a plot boundary and therefore it could be questioned whether there was ever a medieval building in this area of the town beyond the wall. The area could have been an open piece of land used to dump rubbish sporadically from the town. Supporting this hypothesis the neighbouring plot, 32 Westgate, was also excavated and provided no evidence for medieval activity although it did reveal a series of Roman features not apparent to the same extent at 34 Westgate.

One argument in support of the rents representing the number of burgage plots could be that although people paid for and owned land at Cowbridge, their occupancy was not actually permanent. The absence of evidence for medieval activity at 32 Westgate

and the possible presence of occupation at 34 Westgate could support this. Using the presence and absence of ceramic material to support expansion beyond the town is not entirely reliable but it is clear that the proposed layout by Robinson needs to be revised and reconsidered not only beyond the town walls but also within.

The presence and absence test for particular fabrics is useful when comparing assemblages from the three towns in South Glamorgan as well as looking at the difference between town and country. It is clear from this that Cowbridge did not have the same range of imported ceramic material within its households as those seen in excavation at Cardiff (see Chapter 7) and that even Cosmeston has a greater range represented in the assemblage associated with the manor. This affects the way in which Cowbridge should be interpreted as a market centre in the medieval period. It is clear that the ceramics and produce associated with particular imported wares are not being traded or used within Cowbridge. Whether the markets and fairs were created in competition to Cardiff and Kenfig as well as Llantwit Major is questionable. Portable wealth may not have been the main focus for trade and exchange at Cowbridge as indicated by the current lack of archaeological evidence for craft working other than the one horn core pit from Church Street. This is a theme which is central to understanding the function of the market and creation of Cowbridge as a town.

6.5.3 Households: ceramics as evidence for activities and function

The form and function of the ceramic material, and the presence/absence of the vessels, provide evidence for the economy, role and function of the household. As illustrated by the Cosmeston assemblage, the application of ceramic evidence to the

analysis of the function of a particular building or area can provide additional detail, or in some cases the only details, to support structural evidence. Households within towns would have been fully engaged in the towns' market; evidence for drapers, curriers, fellmongers and glovers are apparent from the historical records for Cardiff (Matthews 1898, 19-27). Evidence for these occupations has not, however, directly been identified through archaeological excavations to date and due to the extensive rebuilding of Cardiff in the 18th and especially the 19th centuries this evidence is likely to have been lost (see Chapter 7 for further discussion on Cardiff). For Cowbridge, though, there is no historical evidence for medieval crafts and although the horn core pit provides archaeological evidence for craft working, there are no other clear indications for any other similar activities in the town during this period.

Despite the limited evidence for particular crafts or activities (including baking and brewing), the various depositional contexts for the ceramics from the burgage plots – pits, internal building features and external surfaces (yards and roads) – provide direct evidence for the households, living and working in the town. The vessel forms identified from the assemblages in these plots have particular functions and illustrate the range of ceramic equipment being used in households during the medieval period. The presence or absence of particular forms could suggest either the function or the economic status of a household, which in turn enables a greater understanding of the town as a market centre.
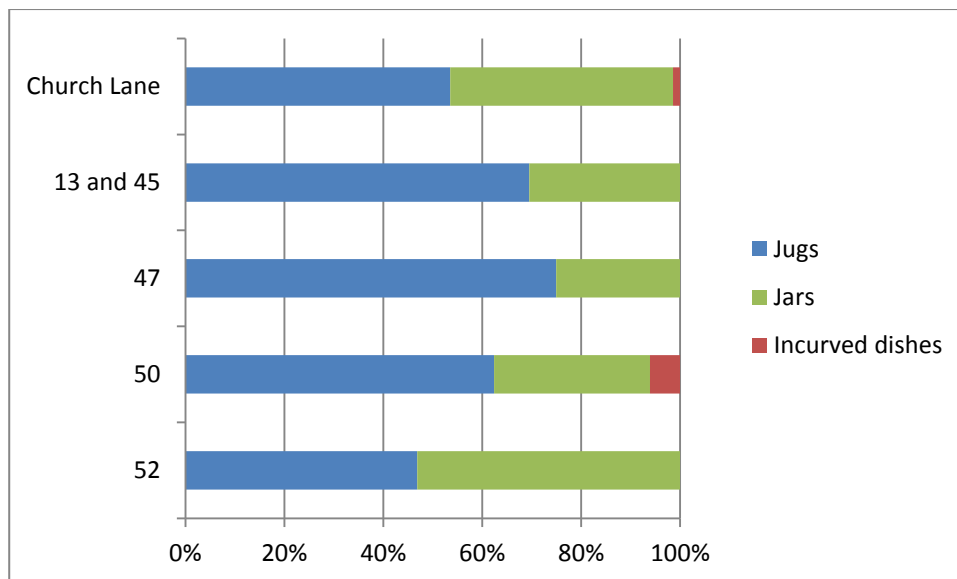
Figure 6.101 showing the proportion of forms across the town sites

The range of forms present from the sites situated within the town wall has a general associated pattern. Four of the five sites have a majority of jugs to jars represented within the ceramic groups, and incurved dish sherds, common within the Cosmeston assemblage are either absent or only present in small numbers (Figure 6.101). The range of forms and the proportions of each are very different to the assemblages from Cosmeston and Barry (see Chapters 4 and 7) but more similar to those seen in the pit groups from Cardiff (Chapter 7). The variation in the presence and absence of particular forms is very likely to be related to the functionality and the activities associated with the buildings and space as well the occupation and social status of those living and working there. A good example of this is the absence of incurved dishes on some of the sites and even when present the low number of sherds in the town assemblages would indicate a very different household, with regards to activities and functions carried out daily, to those at Cosmeston. As incurved dishes are believed to be associated with dairying there are two possible reasons for the limited number and absence of them at

these sites. The first is associated with function: those living and working within the town would not have been engaged in dairying activities within the burgage plots, therefore an absence of incurved dishes would not be surprising. Secondly, the absence or limited presence could be associated with social status: dairy products were typically eaten by peasants rather than the wealthy, particularly in the 13th century (Dyer 1988, 27) and therefore the households are likely to be of a higher social status than those in the settlements within manorial estates.

Other forms absent from the Cowbridge assemblages but seen elsewhere in South Glamorgan include curfews, cisterns, baking dishes, costrels, tripod pitchers and spouted pitchers. The absence of curfews, cisterns and baking dishes from the Cowbridge assemblages is particularly notable: all three forms have been found made in the local fabric at other sites and the absence of cisterns is especially important. Cisterns were associated with brewing and at both Cosmeston and Barry a number of spouts have been retrieved indicating that home brewing was an intrinsic part of a household's economy within manorial settlements. It would be assumed that alongside baking activities, brewing would also have been present, and that both of these would have been carried out by households in Cowbridge. To date no evidence of either brewing or baking has been retrieved, and this is surprising for a town (Weeks 2008, 154).

The proportion of jugs to jars is also notable for the town sites too. The comparative numbers of the two main vessel types, from Cowbridge, are very different from the assemblages from rural settlement sites. This may be associated with a greater use of metal vessels within the household for cooking, or a preference for wooden over ceramic vessels for storage. Equally it could imply that there was less need to store

goods than in rural settlements. A weekly market and accessibility to goods could explain a different pattern of food storage. Many of the burgage plots may also have been owned by people who lived elsewhere. The semi-permanent habitation of some of these plots rather than permanent occupation would be another reason for a reduced need for long term storage.

The general pattern of jug to jar sherds as described above is not followed by site 52. Here there are more jars represented by the sherd count than at the other sites from within the town walls. As previously discussed, this site appears to be slightly different from those at the core of the town; it does not appear to be occupied in the same way with an absence of structural evidence and instead being characterised by an extensive soil layer. The difference in proportions of vessel forms could be the result of functionality. The soil represents a gardening phase of occupation in the area, not untypical in towns, and the ceramics from this context could either be waste from a particular household or the combination of a number of burgage plots' rubbish. This could have affected the ceramics deposited in this area so create a slightly different pattern to the typical pit groups which characterise the majority of the ceramic groups from Cowbridge. Two pits have been identified to highlight the issues associated with deposition in pits at Cowbridge. In many cases the fills and their associated contexts are used to provide a count of the minimum number of vessels, such as at Exeter and Southampton for example. At Cowbridge, however, despite the pit groups containing the more complete examples of vessels, they are still more fragmented and abraded than elsewhere.

6.5.4 Pits

6.5.4a Site 50 (Midland Bank site)

The two pits under discussion here have been chosen due to their spatial significance as well as their being most appropriate to this analysis. The first is pit [138] from site 50, described above in more detail, is within a spatially defined burgage plot. The pit underlies a later building and is therefore associated with an earlier phase of occupation within the burgage plot.

Form												
	Incurved dish			**Jar**			**Jug**			**Totals**		
Sherd Type	**SC**	**W(g)**	**MNV**	**SC**	**W(g)**	**MNV**	**SC**	**W(g)**	**MNV**	**SC**	**W(g)**	**MNV**
Base				1	18.2	1	1	25.7	1	2	43.9	2
Body				8	86.9		18	200.9		26	287.8	
Rim	5	90.2	1				1	87	1	2	96.8	2
Total	**5**	**90.2**	**1**	**9**	**105.1**	**1**	**20**	**313.6**	**2**	**34**	**508.9**	**4**

Table 6.25 showing the data for the vessel forms from pit fills in site 50

The Table 6.25 contains the sherd type and forms represented in the total pit assemblage. The fabrics within this assemblage are all local apart from one body sherd which is from a Redcliffe Ware jug (Figure 6.102). There are three rim sherds in this pit assemblage, one jug and two incurved dish rims and two basal sherds; simplistically these represent three vessels. This basic attribute count does not however take into consideration vessels which may not be represented by any one of these three identifiable elements.

A good example of the inaccuracy of this method of data analysis can be illustrated by the jug sherds from this pit. In total there are 20 VFRG sherds, these include a rim and a

basal sherd. The jug rim still has the handle attached and represents 28% of the vessel with a rim diameter of 9cm. This rim, however, should not be relied on to truly represent the number of jugs within the assemblage; none of the jug body sherds join to the rim and only five of the body sherds actually join together. The other sherds are varied in finish and decoration. The range of decorative motifs – combing and applied clay strips, thumbed and darker glazed – within this small group indicate that there is likely to be more than one jug represented in the pit fill despite the number provided by the rim evidence. The disparity between body and rim sherds is also emphasised by the presence of a Redcliffe Ware body sherd. If only rim, base or handle sherds were to be relied on to calculate the minimum number of vessels this sherd would have no representation within the assemblage record.
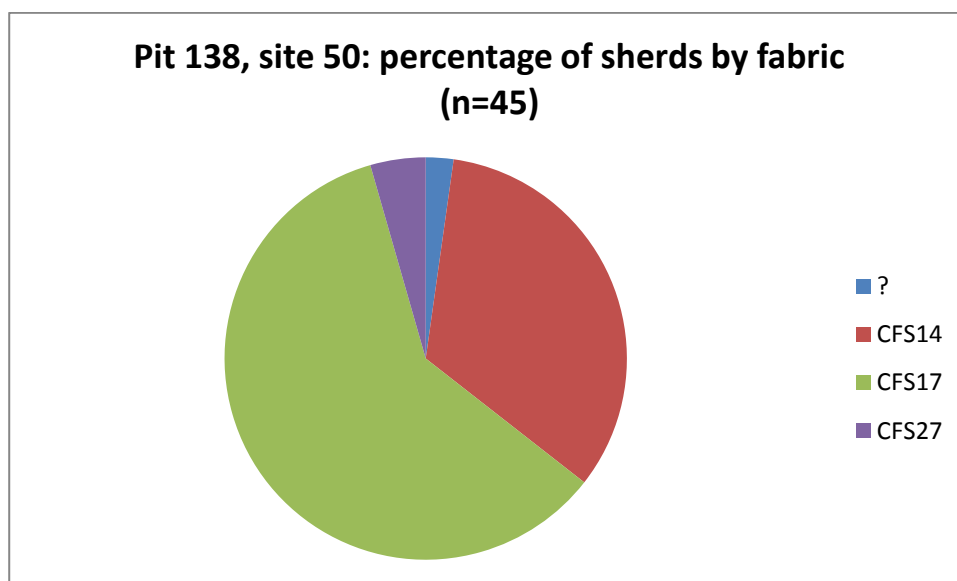
Figure 6.102 showing the percentage of sherds by fabric from pit 138.

Other than being a discussion on the use of particular analytical approaches, the assemblage from this pit is indicative of the brokenness or fragmentation of the sherds and the range of both fabrics and in particular forms typically found in Cowbridge in the

medieval period. If both the identifiable attributes and the Redcliffe sherd are taken into account, the minimum number of vessels present in this group is 5, 3 of which are jugs, a jar and an incurved dish. It is likely, as already mentioned, that there were more than the five vessels in this assemblage, but the fragmentation of the sherds limits the possibility of providing a more accurate number.

The fragmentation of the assemblage is important as it is clear from the state of the archive that the sherds deposited in the rubbish pit had actually been moved from elsewhere. The site formation process and dispersal of the ceramic material makes interpretation partially problematic. It is likely that a lot of the household rubbish created by those living and working in Cowbridge was actually deposited in the town ditch, found at the rear of this burgage plot. No excavation to date has dug far enough into the town ditch, however, to expose the medieval deposits in this feature. Therefore the pit assemblage, when compared to the others at Cowbridge appears both in terms of fabrics and forms to be typical. What cannot be ascertained is a household's total assemblage. However, it is clear that in terms of absence of forms and a higher proportion of jugs to jars that ceramic tablewares were being used at a higher frequency than cooking and storage vessels.

As a representation of a household, the ceramic assemblage from this pit could suggest that those living and working in this burgage plot were typical of a household that was wealthy enough to require tablewares in greater numbers than storage or cooking vessels but not wealthy enough to be able to rely on metal vessels rather than ceramic for tablewares. The small quantity of incurved dishes, not a common form within the town, indicates that dairy products were likely to have been consumed by members of the household. An absence of craft, brewing or baking evidence means that functions

often associated with the household are not represented. Cowbridge's role as a rural market town using the absence of craft specific evidence would support an interpretation that the town was not founded or developed to serve the same markets as Cardiff and Kenfig. Rather than compete with the successful ports and markets it is likely that de Clare founded the town as part of an alternative network to those already established. As a rural market, Cowbridge may not have had the same connections. This is reflected in the limited range of imported ceramics. Despite its well positioned place within the town, the burgage plot identified from the excavations at site 50 represents a household whose status was not equal to or higher than that residing at the Cosmeston manor house but was certainly wealthier than the small rural households.

6.5.4b Church Lane Pit

In comparison to the pit from site 50 and in direct contrast to the idea that Cowbridge was not a town with specialist craft activities, the horn core pit situated to the rear of the plot at the Church Lane site provides a slightly different depositional context indicating craft working. This is the only evidence for medieval craft working from the town to date.

Form	Jar			Jug			Totals		
Sherd type	SC	W(g)	MNV	SC	W(g)	MNV	SC	W(g)	MNV
Body	12	177.5		8	103.2		20	280.7	
Rim	1	11.4	1	3	64.6	3	4	76	4
Handle				3	450.8	3	3	450.8	3
Total	13	188.9	1	14	618.6	6	27	807.5	7

Table 6.26 showing the details for the vessel forms in the horn core pit

The forms present in the horn core pit are slightly different to those in the pit from site 50. The absence of incurved dishes is notable and the minimum number of vessels represented is greater. In particular the presence of three strap handles, each representing different vessels provides a more definite number of jugs (Table 6.26). As well as the three handles a fourth handle still connected to the rim is evidence for another vessel within this group. Although we have good evidence for the number of vessels within this group there are also some highly abraded rim sherds too small to provide a rim diameter or EVE. The range of fragmentation is illustrated by the two rim types, firstly those clearly associated with particular vessels and secondly those which could represent joining or separate sherds, and this emphasises the variability of the deposits within the pit fill. The ceramics do not appear to represent one depositional action; rather the pit fill could represent waste disposal over a period of time which includes the re-deposition of material as indicated by the highly fragmented sherds.

As presented above, there are an identifiable number of jugs in the assemblage and as with the pit at site 50 there are far more jugs than jars; one jar is represented by a rim sherd but 6 jugs are apparent from the three handles and three rims. It cannot be proved whether any of the rims and handles is associated and two of the rims have no

physical association with any of the handles. One of the handles is identifiably different as it is from a Redcliffe ware vessel whereas all the other sherds are from Vale Ware jugs. As a result a definite identification can be made for this vessel from the fabric.

Despite the higher number of jar sherds within this context, if the identifiable attributes are to be relied on, in reality there are few vessels actually represented. This is also supported by the total weight of the sherds. As previously discussed, weight can be variable depending on the vessel, with many elements affecting the total weight. Despite this, it is clear when comparing the weight of both the jugs and the jars that in this case the weight is more likely to be representative of the minimum number of vessels represented within the assemblage (212.7g for jar sherds and 657g for jug sherds).

No. of sherds by form (n=27)

Jar
Jug

Total weight of sherds by form (n=807.5g)

Jar
Jug

MNV(total n=4)

Jar
Jug
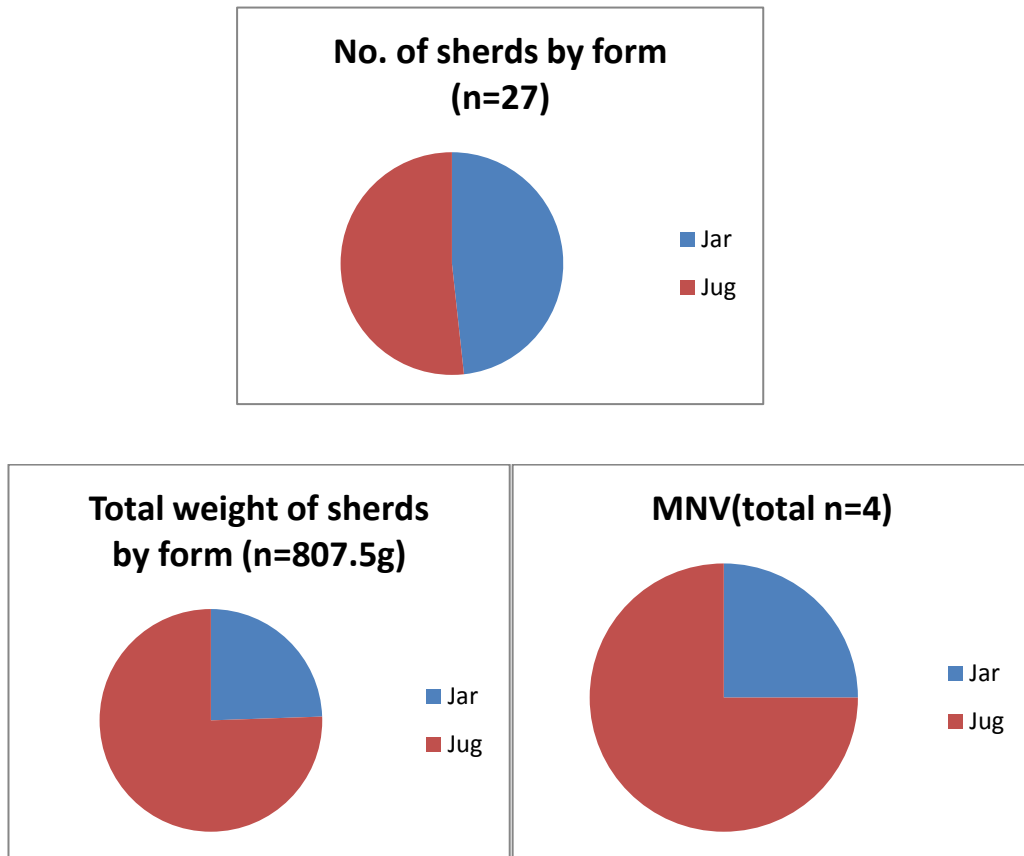
Figure 6.103 pie charts showing no. of sherds, total weight and MNVs

Despite the sherd count appearing to represent a more equal number of jugs to jars, the sherd weight and minimum number of vessel count indicate a very different pattern (Figure 6.103). Despite this, the minimum number of vessels chart does not take into account the number of body sherds, and as illustrated by the sherd of Redcliffe ware in pit 50, does not include those vessels which may not be represented by an identifiable attribute.

Even though there may be problems of vessel representation, the relationship between the total weight and number of vessels is clearly significant in this group of sherds. The assemblage from Church Lane is therefore consistent with the other assemblages with

a concentration of jugs rather than jars. This further supports interpretations concerning the medieval households in Cowbridge; a greater emphasis on the use of tablewares is significant, and the lower number of storage and cooking vessels indicates a different household assemblage to those seen in the rural communities.

It is of note that a number of metal vessel fragments have been found from the excavations at Cowbridge. With this in mind, the fewer ceramic jars with evidence of cooking – sooting and food residues – is probably the result of the use of metal vessels rather than pottery. With regards to storage, as previously discussed, the household's location within the town, with access to weekly markets, might have meant a more ready supply of food, so that the need to store food was less than in the manorial communities.

Whether the vessels deposited in the horn corn pit are representative of those directly engaged in horn working is not entirely clear. It is likely that this is the case, although the relationship of the pit with the structure fronting on to the High Street is not definite: excavations did not reveal any boundary features to suggest that the area to the rear was separate from the building at the front. If this were the case then the contents of the pit would relate to those living and working in that burgage plot, providing a relationship between household and economic activity.

6.5.4c Out of town vessel proportions – Hopyard Meadow

In order to test the method employed in the analysis of the in-town pits, the Hopyard Meadow site assemblage will be used for a comparison. It is significantly different both spatially and with regards to the features and deposition of the ceramics. As with the farmyard surfaces at Cosmeston, Hopyard Meadow has a number of extended layers

surrounding the buildings. Ditches form a large proportion of the features from which ceramics were retrieved in this area and these will be focused on to look at the forms and the numbers of vessels represented. Context 51 is the fill of a ditch and 72 medieval sherds have been recorded from the feature (Figure 6.104).
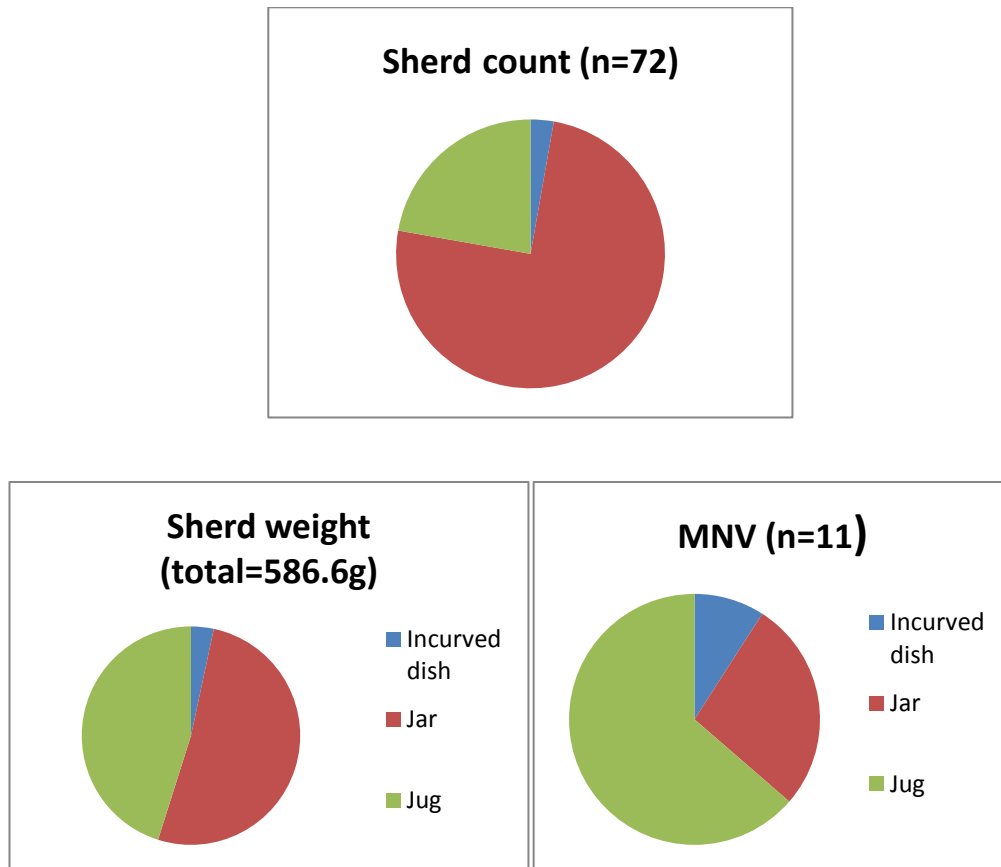
Figure 6.104 pie charts showing no. of sherds, total weight and MNVs from context 51

	Form									Total SC	Total W(g)	Total MNV
	Incurved dish			Jar			Jug					
Sherd Type	SC	W(g)	MNV	SC	W(g)	MNV	SC	W(g)	MNV			
Base							2	27.6	2	2	27.6	2
Body				51	269.9		9	113.5		60	383.4	
Handle							2	64.7	2	2	64.7	2
Rim				3	32.3	3	2	49.6	2	5	81.9	5
Profile	2	19.7	1							2	19.7	1
Spout							1	9.3	1	1	9.3	1
Total	2	19.7	1	54	302.2	3	16	264.7	7	72	586.6	11

Table 6.27 vessel forms represented by sherd count, weight and MNV in context 51

The assemblage from the ditch fill is similar in some ways to the assemblages from the Church Lane pit. The number of jar sherds, despite being greater than the jug sherds with regards to weight, is not as significantly different as seen in association with the pit assemblages. When considering the minimum number of vessels however there are more identifiable attributes associated with the jug than jar sherds and consequently there appear to be more jugs than jars represented in the assemblage. This quantification does not however take into account the number of body sherds from the ditch fill. From the basic count of the sherds there are 51 jar sherds and 9 jug sherds and they weigh 269.9g and 113.5g respectfully. My notes taken during recording mention that the jar sherds were particularly abraded and fragmented; this can be seen in the ratio of sherds to the total weight when compared with the jug total sherds and weight (table 6.5). The fragmented nature of this group does not make the data set well suited to MNV unlike the Church Lane horn core pit group.

To further test the fragmentation of the assemblage at Hopyard Meadow context 8, a layer described as post-medieval, has been identified as potentially suitable for MNV analysis. This is a particularly large group of material and although it was dated to the post-medieval period the majority of the pottery is medieval in date. In total 120 medieval sherds were identified and the largest proportion of this group were jar sherds. Unlike the assemblage from the ditch total sherd count and weight support each other. The MNV quantification, however, is the misleading element for this particular group. The high number of identifiable jug sherds means that the data appears more balanced with nearly equal numbers of jugs to jars (**Error! Reference source not found.** and Table 6.28).

Form									
	Jar			Jug			Total		
Sherd	SC	W(g)	MNV	SC	W(g)	MNV	SC	W(g)	MNV
Base	4	96.7	2	3	40.7	3	7	137.4	5
Body	66	712.2		26	221.6		92	933.8	
Handle				4	83.5	4	4	83.5	4
Rim	13	283.9	13	3	69.8	3	16	353.7	16
Spout				1	6.7	1	1	6.7	1
Total	83	1092.8	15	37	422.3	11	120	1515.1	26

Table 6.28 showing the sherd count, weight and MNV in context 8
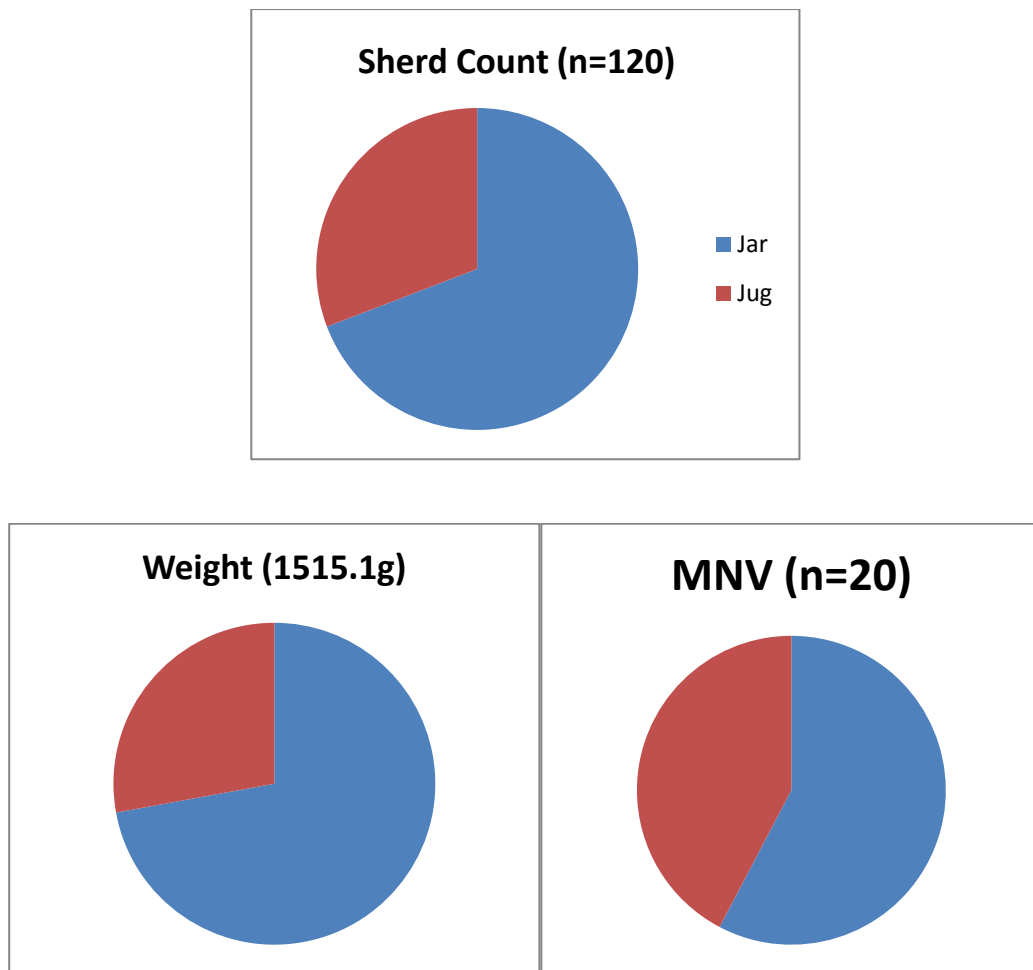
Figure 6.105 pie charts showing no. of sherds, total weight and MNV by form

Despite the functional difference between the site at Hopyard Meadow and the burgage plots within the town there appears to be a closer similarity between the town households contrasted with rural ones as represented by properties 3 and 4 at Cosmeston. This indicates that although the household was outside the town walls and clearly functioned in a way more like to the households at Cosmeston, materially and in this case ceramically the Hopyard Meadow household had more in common with the town. This is unsurprising in one regard as the household was likely to be directly associated with the town in terms of its economic and social networks and influenced by those it had regular contact with. On the other hand it is surprising that objects such

as cisterns were not present in the assemblage, and the small number of incurved dish sherds (5) is again more similar to the town groups than the rural ones.

The Hopyard Meadow assemblage is comparatively more abraded and fragmented than the assemblages from the town. This is the result of the activities apparent at the site; yards, surfaces and ditches are the main features with few discrete groups which have not been moved about or affected by abrasive actions. Functionally the household in this outer area of the town appears to be more rural; drains and ditches run between buildings with an associated sump and pit. Yet this is a homestead reliant on the town and market of Cowbridge.

From the ceramic material it is apparent that medieval Cowbridge was:

1. A rural market

2. Limited in its craft production

3. Localised with regards to economic networks as represented by the predominance of locally produced ceramics

4. Inhabited by people who were of a high enough status to be able to afford to be able to pay for a burgage plot in the town in the first instance, but not comparable in wealth to those in Kenfig or Cardiff or the manorial lords.

There are a number of general trends which appear across the town assemblages. Jugs are represented in greater numbers than jars, local ceramic vessels are the predominant ceramic type present in the household, and non-local pottery is typically Bristol Redcliffe Wares although very occasionally Saintonge jugs are also present. Incurved dishes are for the most part either absent or found in small numbers and

there is a complete absence of cisterns, curfews and other table wares such as spouted pitchers.

Analytically it is apparent that sherd count and weight, and the absence or presence of particular fabrics and forms, are the only techniques suitable for the more fragmented groups. The assemblages that are less affected by abrasion through deposition and movement, such as the pit groups, are more amenable to the use of minimum number of vessels as a quantification technique.

Medieval Cowbridge was not ceramically engaged in long distance economic networks; instead the assemblages epitomise the local and regional trade seen across all the sites being discussed here. The ceramic assemblage not only supports the interpretation that the town had not expanded to the extent Robinson suggested but that the market town was rural rather than urban in nature. It was not poor enough to fail, like many towns did in England, but certainly not wealthy enough to become as large or as strong economically as both Cardiff and Kenfig did in the 13th and 14th centuries. Its continuation into the early post-medieval period, however, is important and despite the over-exaggerations and promotion it has received by antiquarians and local historians, by the 16th century it was still a central market for what was (and still is) a prosperous rural region.

6.6 Post-medieval

As discussed in the first half of this chapter, post-medieval Cowbridge was re-built and developed in the late 16th – early 17th centuries, as shown by the standing buildings. The post-medieval ceramic assemblages, although larger in quantity than the medieval groups, are present at fewer sites. Four sites will be discussed with regards to the post-

medieval assemblages: Site 50, Sites 13 and 45 and Church Lane. All four sites are situated within the town walls. Excavations outside the walls have not produced significant post-medieval assemblages, despite the evidence for late 17th- century building in this area.

6.6.1 Fabrics

A general overview of the fabrics from the Cowbridge post-medieval assemblages is necessary. As with the Cosmeston post-medieval assemblage the 18th-century ceramics are conspicuous due to the presence of the treacle-glazed tankards and yellow wares. Although these vessels are present in the majority of the post-medieval assemblages, there are earlier, 16th-and 17th-century fabrics and vessel forms in the groups too.

Two fabrics that are commonly found in South Glamorgan, North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware and Somerset post-medieval fabrics, have a very different representation within the Cowbridge assemblage from other sites. In comparison to the nearly one thousand sherds of North Devon Wares having been catalogued from Cosmeston, the 30 sherds from the Cowbridge assemblages seems pitiful, particularly as the number of sherds and vessels of Somerset Wares is high. The Somerset fabrics are well represented within the ceramic groups. These tablewares characterise the ceramic assemblages being retrieved from sites in Cowbridge and provide significant information on the households and their apparent taste in ceramic material.

Midland bank: Site 50

The Midland Bank site, as well as producing a well-stratified medieval assemblage also has one of the more informative groups of post-medieval pottery. Two particular

features and the associated assemblages will be focused on here; the transitional garden soils, sealing the demolished medieval features, and the later pits cutting this garden soil.

Transitional post-medieval garden soils

The garden soil contexts **(66), (69)** and **(89)** represent the end and demolition of the medieval building, a period of activity which led to the creation of the garden soil. The ceramics from these layers are mixed. Contexts **(66)** and **(89)** have more equal quantities of medieval and post-medieval sherds than context **(69),** which is predominantly post-medieval.
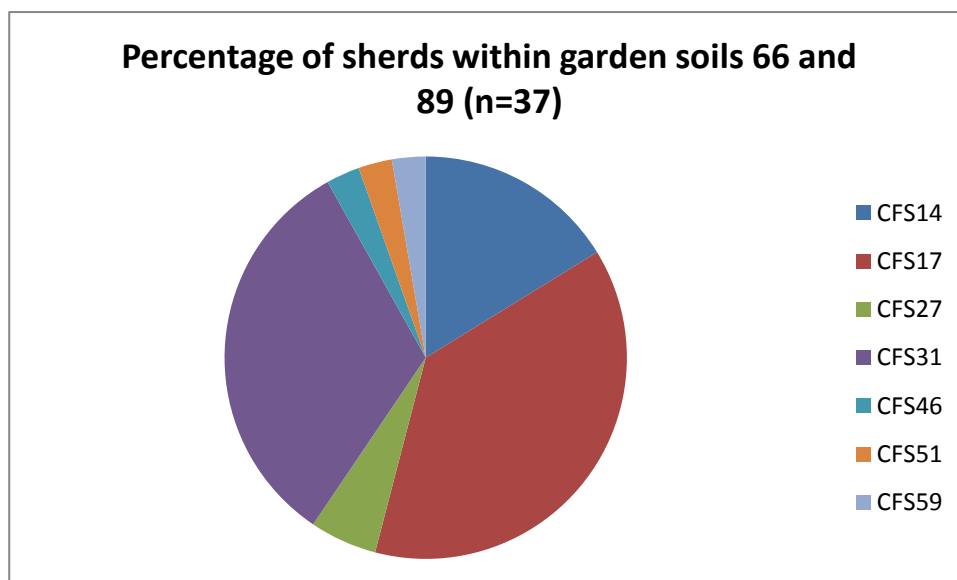
Figure 6.106 pie chart showing the percentage of sherds by fabric in garden soils 66 and 89

The pottery from these layers provides some of the only late 15th- to early 16th-century vessels from the town. The Merida Ware sherd is the only example so far from Cowbridge despite this fabric type being a common find in post-medieval deposits in both Cardiff and Cosmeston. The stoneware handle, a small, oval example from a mug

or a cup, is an early example of imported German stoneware. A sherd from a late Saintonge chafing dish also supports a late 15th-/early 16th-century date. The Somerset fabrics in this particular assemblage are some of the earliest examples from Cowbridge. The presence of a sherd from a chafing dish similar to the form illustrated in the 15th-/16th-century South Somerset Exeter type series (Allan 1984, 150) is indicative of early post-medieval activity at Cowbridge. These two garden soils are likely to be 'transitional' in date, the period from the mid-15th century into the early 16th century which is not always recognised in settlements in South Wales. The absence of treacle glazed, yellow ware and tin glazed sherds also supports this earlier post-medieval date. Context **(69)** is more varied with regards to dating evidence. The range of fabrics is greater with tin-glazed sherds, yellow wares and treacle wares dating to the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Figure 6.107). This does not mean that the context is to be rejected due to the late material as it also an assemblage with earlier fabrics and forms. The range of Somerset vessel forms is wide.
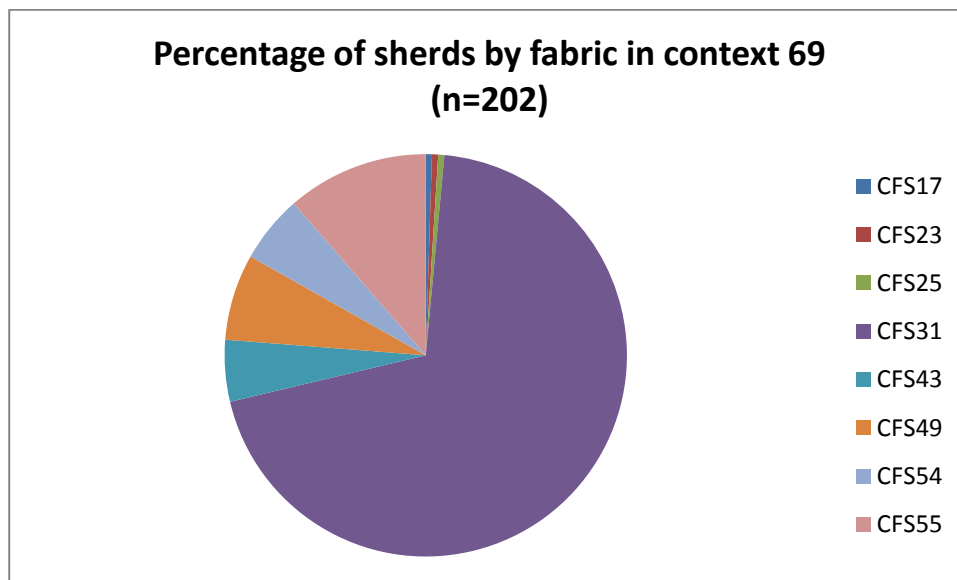
Figure 6.107 pie chart showing the percentage of sherds by fabric in context 69

The identifiable attributes were recorded and the body sherds were grouped together. The suite of vessels appears to be a typical 17th-century tableware assemblage (Table 6.29), a little later in date to the other soil layers but illustrative of the continuity of the use of tablewares in the household and what appears to be an absence of utilitarian vessels such as pancheons and large bowls. This is significant when considering household activities and economic networks and roles associated with the town.

| Form | Sherd type | | | | |
Form	Base	Body	Handle	Rim	Total
?	1				1
Bowl				1	1
Chamber pot				1	1
Cup				2	2
Dish	1			10	11
Jar				2	2
Jug		1	1		2
Lid				1	1
Pipkin			2		2
Porringer				1	1
Various		106		11	117
Total	**2**	**107**	**3**	**29**	**141**

Table 6.29 Number of Somerset sherds in context 69 by form

It is unlikely that the 18th-century vessels are intrusive in this particular context; however, it is also unlikely that the 17th-century sherds are residual. Instead the proportion of sherds represented in each fabric would suggest that the garden soil developed over a period of about 30 to 50 years to include all the material. Both contexts **(66)** and **(89)** are sealed beneath pits cutting the area whereas **(69)** does not appear to be as heavily truncated which has likely resulted in the wider range of vessels.

The forms represented in this group are important to the discussion of households and the development of ceramics in the home. All the post-medieval sherds are from table

wares: dishes, cups, porringers and chafing dishes. The range of vessel forms indicates that, as with the rest of the country, dining habits were changing and the ceramics being introduced were became popular not only in the later 17th century but also in the earlier transitional phase.

Pits (57 and 75)

The pits dug into the garden soil layers have similar assemblages to garden soil **(69)**. They appear to contain the later material with little evidence for the 16th-century vessels apparent in the earlier garden soils. There are, however, two exceptions. Cistercian style vessels, typical of late 15th-century assemblages in the Midlands (Boothroyd and Courtney 2004) are not well represented in South Glamorgan. There is, however, a sherd from a Cistercian style cup within fill **(57)**. Another exception is the cross fit with a vessel in garden soil **(66)** where the base from the before mentioned Somerset chafing dish is in this later pit. Clearly the backfilling of the pit also included material that had been initially dug out to create the feature. This highlights the movement and re-deposition of ceramic material in a small area and the need for caution when assessing each assemblage.
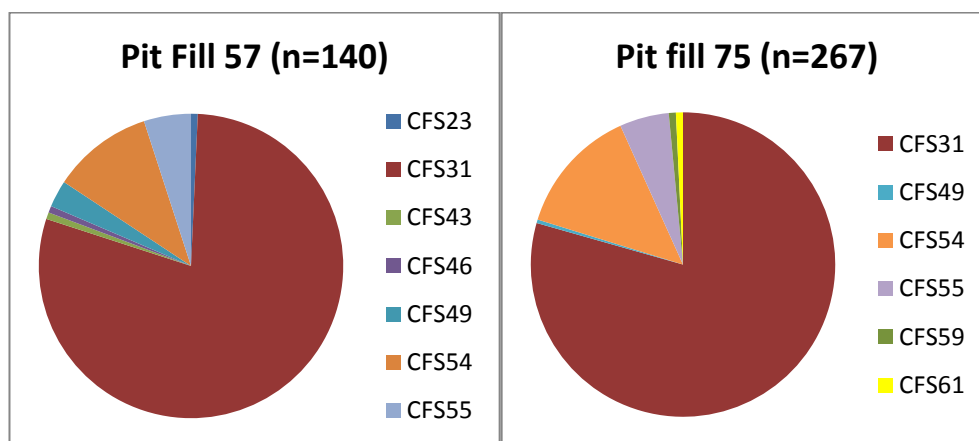
Figure 6.108 showing percentage of fabrics and the similarity between pit fills 57 and 75

Forms	No. sherds
Bowl	2
Candlestick	1
Chafing dish	1
Cup	6
Cup/porringer.	2
Dish	48
Jar	2
Jug	4
Pancheon	2
Porringer	3
Various	40
Grand Total	**111**

Table 6.30 showing the number of Somerset sherds by form in fill 57

With the depositional contexts for the Somerset chafing dish in mind, table 6.7 lists the vessels present in this pit group. The range of forms is even wider than that seen from garden soil **(69)**. There are cups, a candlestick, porringer, chafing dish, bowls and a high number of dish sherds represented solely by Somerset fabrics. Other than the 3 pancheon sherds, the remainder of the Somerset assemblage in this context, similar to the other post-medieval groups, is represented by tablewares.

Site 50 has a wide range of 16th- and 17th-century vessels. The range of forms indicates that the household was fully integrated into the dining fashions of the period and was taking advantage of the range of ceramic vessels available. The inclusions of a Saintonge chafing dish, Merida small vessel and Cistercian style cup all indicate a relatively small trading network beyond the major Somerset trade that held the market alongside the North Devon ceramics in this period. Therefore, as with the medieval ceramics, the trends apparent at all sites recur at Cowbridge but evidence for wider and more far reaching networks, with a couple of exceptions, does not appear a part of the household culture of the town.

6.6.2 Church Lane pit

As mentioned above, the post-medieval assemblages and sites excavated in Cowbridge are fewer than the medieval. Sites such as Hopyard Meadow and 32 Westgate, although having a few post-medieval sherds retrieved, do not have assemblages associated with particular features, but with the topsoil and subsoil or are intrusive in medieval contexts. The site at Church Lane is an exception to this.

One feature will be focused on here: pit **[100]**, which cuts through earlier medieval layers and is filled with diagnostic 17th-century material. Unlike the pits and garden soils discussed at site 50, the pit at Church Lane is well sealed, with no apparent disturbance. It contains a total of 40 sherds, representing a minimum number of fifteen vessels in six different fabrics (fig 6.23).
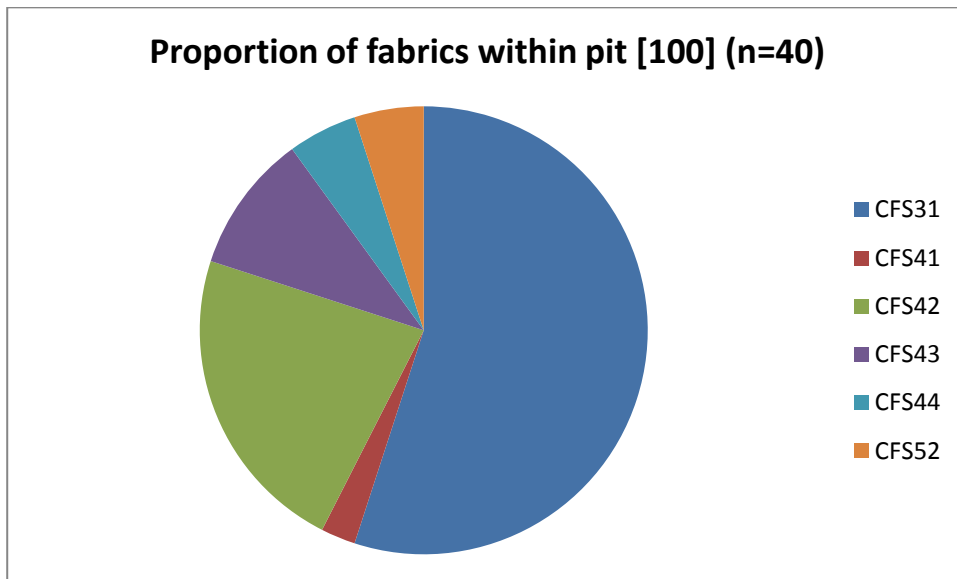
Figure 6.109 pie chart showing the percentage of fabrics in pit 100

As with the other post-medieval groups, the pit assemblage is dominated by Somerset vessels.

Forms	No. Sherds
Dish	6
Jar	8
Pipkin	2
Various	6
Jug	1
Total	**23**

Table 6.31 showing the number of Somerset forms represented in pit [100]

Unlike the other post-medieval groups the range of forms is more limited but the inclusion of dishes as well as a particular type of jug and jug handle indicate that the group is characteristic of the 17th-century (Table 6.31). The absence of 16th-century fabric types such as Saintonge chafing dishes and Merida ware as seen in the earlier garden soils at site 50 also supports a slightly later date for the pit group.

Diagnostic material further providing a 17th-century date comes from a number of other identifiable vessels from the pit fill. A Malvern Chase pipkin, a Werra Ware dish (the first to have been recognised from Wales), a Cistercian style lid with quartz sprinkles on the top and a Cistercian style straight sided tyg base are all distinct and representative of 17th century activity.

The near complete Malvern Chase pipkin is evidence for trading links between Herefordshire and Glamorgan. This is not surprising in itself as Hereford is relatively close to South Glamorgan. Ceramically though, the connections between the two areas are not well represented, either in the medieval period or in the post-medieval. The economic relationships and connections represented by ceramic material from south Glamorgan are typically with Somerset, Bristol and Devon. The Marcher area, as identified by the pottery, is a very different economic area. This particular pit does have a wider range of imported, non-local vessels than the other post-medieval contexts from Cowbridge and so the presence of the Malvern Chase pipkin is not unusual in this

particular context. As well as the pipkin there is also a rim sherd from a pancheon identified as a Malvern Chase fabric. Both the forms have been identified as recognisable examples of the products being made in the 16th to 17th centuries at the Malvern Chase kilns (Vince 1985, 48-52).

The Cistercian style material is comparable in fabric colour and glaze to the Yorkshire and East Midlands Cistercian fabrics which are so common on 15th-/17th-century sites (Boothroyd and Courtney 2004). They are less common in general in South Wales although a group of wasters from Abergavenny (Lewis 1980) as well as material from the Deerfold Forest kiln in North Herefordshire have been identified. The quartz sprinkles on the lid from this context provide a relative date as a diagnostic decorative feature, supporting a late 17th-century date. There is a comparable vessel from Montgomery castle which has applied quartz chip decoration on the body of the cup (Knight 1982, 56-57) and has been attributed to the North Herefordshire kiln. There is also a parallel quartz decorated cup from the Exeter excavations from Goldsmith Street pit group dated to 1660-1680 (Allan 1984, 190-191).

The Werra Ware sherd is of particular note as it is the only example to have been found in Wales. It has been noted that, in view of the presence of the fabric at Barnstaple and Bristol, it was surprising that the fabric had not been found north of the Bristol Channel (Hurst and Gaimster 2005). Werra Ware is not uncommon in England but also not a regular feature of assemblages. The economic networks already established with North Devon and Bristol would have enabled the vessel to be obtained either at markets in Devon and Bristol or at Cardiff and even possibly Cowbridge.

The sealed context for the pit has provided a discrete group of vessels which are significant as they illustrate the normality of the vessel groups with a higher proportion of Somerset sherds to other more exotic types of vessels from outside of the normal economic networks. This pattern is seen not just within this pit but also in the more disturbed post-medieval contexts from site 50. Even in the disturbed pit and garden soil contexts there are unique individual vessels; the Saintonge chafing dish, Raeren stoneware cup and Merida type small vessel. The unique vessels are in each case only a small proportion of the assemblages but their presence indicates the use of those vessels as indicative of special items.

The post-medieval assemblages from Cowbridge are distinctly different from that retrieved at Cosmeston and functionally represent a very different type of settlement: the Cowbridge households in the post-medieval period do not apparently reflect economic activities. Instead the ceramics provide specific evidence associated with the change in the household: the layout and use of space with increased emphasis on separate dining space. The absence of North Devon gravel-tempered utilitarian vessels such as pancheons and large dishes, jugs and cisterns indicates that people within the town were not directly involved with agricultural activities such as dairying from those particular households. This is significant in the identification of the local networks which would have been used in the distribution of ceramic material as well as in recognising the economy of a particular household or settlement. Those living in Cowbridge did not have to work directly in the agricultural community when living in the town. Instead, and this is supported by historical evidence, the rise of the urban gentry employed in business and other non-agricultural activities are signified within the ceramic assemblage.

6.7 Conclusion

At the beginning of the analysis section of this chapter, three statements were made based on the interpretations of previous studies on Cowbridge.

1. **Urban or rural market?**

From the ceramic analysis it is clear that Cowbridge, although granted borough status in the mid-13th century, was a very different town engaged in very different economic networks to those at both Cardiff and Kenfig. The ceramic evidence indicates that Cowbridge can be called a rural or small town and the centre of a localised economy rather than associated with wider regional or international networks.

The household and its economy as a representative of the town has been a central theme to this chapter. Each assemblage has been viewed as reflecting activities and habits associated with those living in particular burgage plots. There are a number of general patterns seen from the burgages within the town. The greater proportions of locally produced vessels and an abundance of jugs rather than jars and incurved dishes can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, with limited cooking and storage vessels, it could be believed that metal vessels were relied on for the preparation of food, an indication that the households were higher in status than those at Cosmeston. There is though, one significant form absent from the assemblages that would support this interpretation: curfews, vessels used to cover fires at night to keep in the heat and protect a building from stray sparks at night. Not one sherd has been found at Cowbridge, which suggests that cooking may have been something that happened elsewhere rather than in the household. Instead of supporting evidence for metal vessels, this would suggest that food preparation and cooking was an activity centred

elsewhere and not the responsibility of the household. The number of tablewares however contradicts the idea that people were not using houses to eat and drink communally but instead emphasises the importance of community and hospitality in the town.

Another focus has been associated with the functionality of the burgage plots: the economy of the household. It is clear from the archaeological and ceramic evidence that craft working was not a major element of the town's economy, with only one site, Church Lane, having evidence for horn working. As well as a lack of archaeological evidence there is no documentary evidence for guilds within the town during the medieval period. This is significant to the understanding of the economy of the town. Rather than having a market based on the production of goods, Cowbridge is likely to be have been a centre for trade in local livestock and agricultural produce. This rural community needed a central place in which to trade and Cowbridge would have fulfilled this requirement.

2. **Robinson's projected plan**

Robinson's projected plan of Cowbridge is not supported archaeologically and the use of the rents of assize to predict population and the number of burgage plots is not useful here. The town, as discussed above, does not appear to have as far as he believed and although there is evidence for some occupation near to the walls, the consistency of plot width and boundaries and inhabited plots is not visible in the archaeological record.

The ceramic assemblages from the sites within the town walls are very similar from one burgage plot to the other; a greater number of jugs to jars and a small proportion of

imported wares to the dominant local vessels. Beyond the walls, sites such as Hopyard Meadow produce slightly different assemblages: a greater representation of storage and cooking vessels yet still no curfews, while the depositional contexts have an effect on the levels of fragmentation of the ceramics.

Robinson's interpretation has been misleading in a number of ways. It has assumed that Cowbridge was larger than it really was in the medieval period and it was also founded on the belief that economically Cowbridge was equal to Cardiff and Kenfig. The ceramic material and the variations in evidence for occupation on some of the sites clearly indicate that Cowbridge was a rural market. It did not have the same elements that many of the urban markets display: craft specialism, wide economic networks and regional control over the movement and trade of goods. The town walls and castle at Llanblethian have been very good at suggesting the town to be wealthier than it really was; rather it was the de Clare wealth on display.

3. **Prosperity into the post-medieval period**

Post-medieval Cowbridge appears to prosper from the mid-16th century and this can be seen from the standing buildings today. The ceramic assemblages are representative of households engaging in the current fashions for tableware with the development of dining. The two assemblages discussed here epitomise the local networks that were in action, with a proliferation of Somerset dishes, jugs and cups. The full range, including candlesticks, chafing dishes, porringers and pipkins highlights the apparent desire to have everything that was available. What is absent, though, are the utilitarian wares: pancheons, cisterns and large jars. These do not appear in the Cowbridge post-

medieval assemblage and provide an important comparison to rural settlements such as Cosmeston where people were using utilitarian vessels as well as tablewares.

The non-local and imported vessels are of particular interest and provide an additional element to the assemblages. In particular the sherd of Werra Ware is indicative of the networks apparent between Bristol and Devon. This is the only example to have been found in Wales hitherto and those are the two places which could have supplied the household with the exotic dish.

Cowbridge was a centre for minor gentry and those who aimed to claim local political and social power and therefore the town supplied them with not only their wealth but a place to spend it too. Although this was the case, Cowbridge remained a rural market.

Cowbridge was at the heart of a local rural economic network. This is not only evident from the ceramic material but also the way in which the town developed over time. Its rural market was not there to compete with Cardiff or Kenfig; instead Llantwit Major would have proved to be the real competition. South Glamorgan was more similar to the West Country, Somerset and Devon, than it was to the Marcher area and West Midlands. The direct, long-standing economic connections emphasised by both the medieval and post-medieval ceramic evidence highlight economic and social networks between the two areas. Cowbridge was a small cog in the larger South Glamorgan wheel, directed by the ports initially at Cardiff and Kenfig and later at Aberthaw and Barry, accessing the Bristol and Barnstaple markets. Cowbridge, situated between the two ports and with access to good agricultural produce would have been directly connected to this wider network. Whether its markets and fairs traded in these goods or instead people went to other markets for their Saintonge wine and imported jug is

not entirely clear, but this particular urban market or network was not centred on

Cowbridge. Instead, the key term which connects the town here with the manorial

estates such as Cosmeston is rural market.

Chapter 7: Manor and town, comparative assemblages

As already discussed and outlined in Chapter 1, and further emphasised in the Cosmeston and Cowbridge case studies (Chapters 4-6), our understanding of the economic role that towns and manorial settlements played in South Glamorgan should not rely on models created for central England (Galloway 2007). Market rings and central place theory have been applied as models to the study of towns in England, identifying economic and social connections with the urban market at the centre, and peripheral, interconnected rural manorial settlements. The study of settlement in Gwent has similarly identified the towns as urban economic centres influencing and controlling trade (Courtney 2007; Weeks 2008). In South Glamorgan it appears that this interpretation cannot be applied to many of the towns – as exemplified by the Cowbridge case study – until at least the 16th century. Here an alternative interpretation is presented based on the ceramic evidence: that manors and granges were equally important if not more so to the economic networks in this area, and that it is only in the 16th century that towns became significant central places within the regional markets.

For comparison with the ceramic assemblages from Cowbridge and Cosmeston another six sites will be considered. Assemblages from Kenfig and Cardiff, the two other medieval South Glamorgan boroughs, will be examined and, in order to contextualise the assemblage from Cosmeston, ceramic assemblages from Barry, Sully and Rumney

will be discussed. As well as these, assemblages from Llantwit Major, a monastic grange and secular manor in the Vale of Glamorgan, will be considered (Figure 7.110). Although secular settlement has been focused on here, it is valuable to investigate Llantwit Major in order to identify whether both secular and ecclesiastical settlements were engaged within the same trading networks.
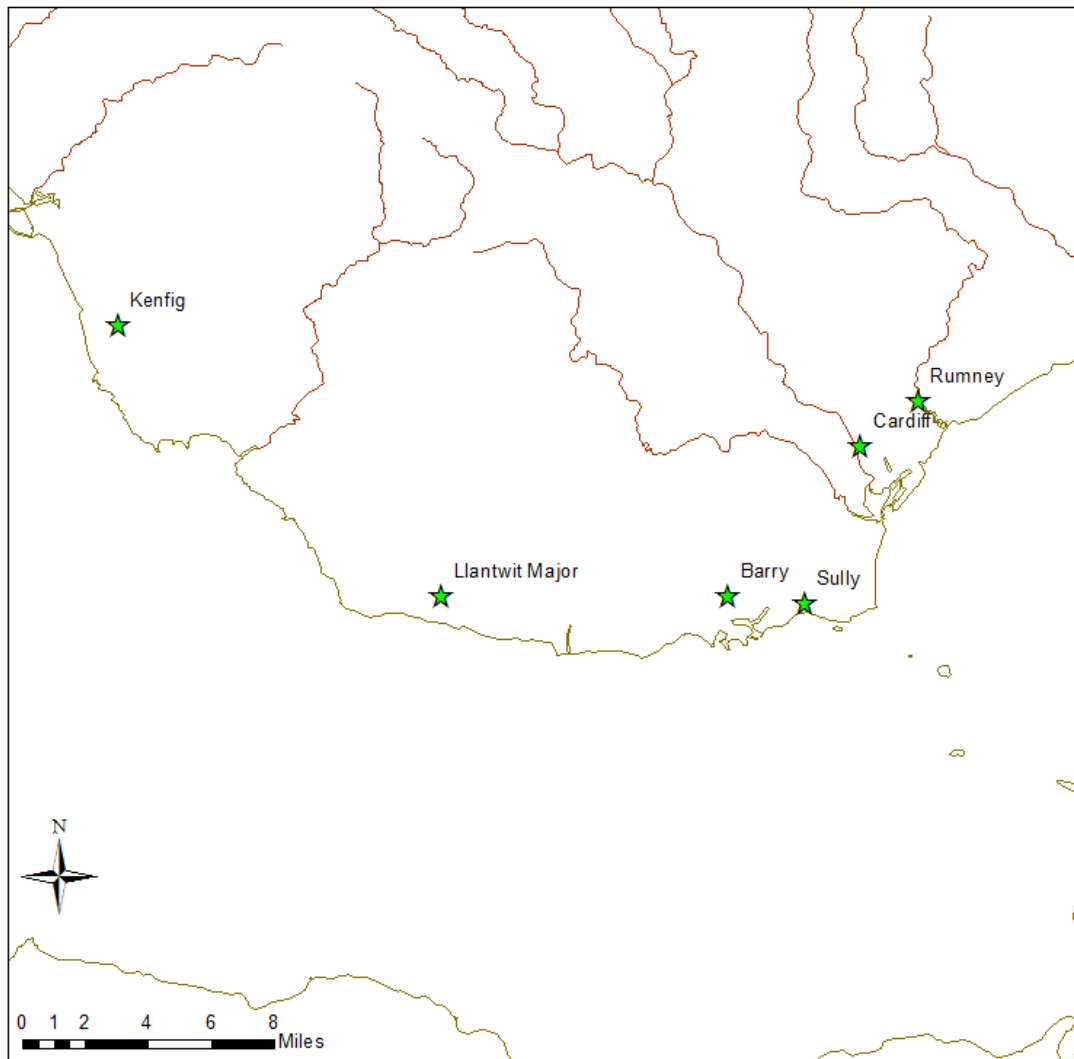
Figure 7.110 map showing where the assemblages, discussed in chapter 7, are from

7.1 Town

The town sites and the ceramic evidence focused on in this chapter – Kenfig and Cardiff – provide assemblages to compare with the detailed analysis of the material from Cowbridge. Although there are only a few stratified and contextually recorded ceramic assemblages from both Kenfig and Cardiff, the two case studies are good examples of assemblages which have explicit associated contextual information.

7.1.1 Kenfig – early post-Conquest settlement and medieval borough

Kenfig is one of three medieval borough towns in South Glamorgan. It lies in the western part of Glamorgan, strategically positioned on the coast and on the Kenfig River. The town was a port as well as an outpost with a castle defending first Norman and then English settlement. Economically it is important; the town is perfectly positioned to take advantage of seaborne trade, connecting the north shore of the Bristol Channel to Devon and Somerset, as well as enabling trade with Europe. It also links the western edge of the Vale of Glamorgan with the central Vale; connected to Cowbridge by road and to the west of Glamorgan to Swansea by sea. Kenfig was a planted town and although there is evidence for earlier activity – Roman coins and pottery as well as an early medieval brooch – the planned medieval town is the most extensive and earliest recognisable settlement on this site.

Kenfig is an unusual town; over a period of two hundred years it was gradually abandoned due to continual sand inundation which left the town, by the late 15th century, covered by sand dunes (Griffiths 1971, 354). As a result of the environmental destruction, the archaeological evidence is well stratified and sealed by the sand. There has been little intrusive activity at the site of the town other than by archaeologists

(Richard 1927 and Time Team, 2011) and consequently there is little intrusive material disturbing the archaeological remains. There has also been a series of community-led excavations (Kenfig Archaeological Society) on the edge of the town in an area where the path was destroying a medieval building and associated archaeology. The work by the Kenfig Society has not been focused on here in part due to the ceramic assemblage which, although is being sorted by the group, was not felt to be suitable for the study. The group have been sorting the ceramics with no reference to context; rather sherd form and then type are used to organise and catalogue the assemblage.

There are two ceramic assemblages from within the town boundary; the first, associated with the castle, was excavated in the 1920s and later analysed in the 1980s (Francis and Lewis 1984). There is no stratigraphic information associated with this assemblage and all that is known is that the material came from a trench next to the castle, remains of which are still visible today. The second assemblage was excavated in 2011 as part of the Time Team evaluation at the site (Forward forthcoming). The work conducted during this excavation was on the town bank and ditch as well as a number of other areas within the town boundary. These excavations have enabled a better understanding of the town, in particular the layout and the changes undertaken as a result of attack during the medieval period. This recently excavated assemblage will be discussed here.

7.1.1a The early phase

The earliest medieval ceramics from the site are associated with a phase of the town that predates the substantial town bank and ditch — still visible today despite the sand dunes – as well as a small building, built into the bank on the internal side. The majority

of the early material is from a medieval rubbish pit and destruction layers which underlie the bank and ditch. The pit contained fills densely packed with rubbish associated with occupational activity; a large amount of iron-work, as well as copper-alloy finds, were retrieved from the pit but in particular the quantity of pottery was high, 334 sherds in total. The levels of fragmentation are much lower than seen in many of the contexts at Cosmeston, Cardiff and Cowbridge, and are instead more similar to the pit deposits seen in towns such as Exeter and Southampton. For example there are recognisable individual vessels represented in the pit assemblage, something that is not typical of the other assemblages from South Glamorgan. Although the depositional contexts are different, the fabrics are the same as those in the early phases of the Cosmeston assemblage: Upper Greensand-Derived (CFS08), Ham Green A (CFS11) and Minety Ware Tripod pitcher sherds (CFS09).

The largest fabric group from the pit is represented by coarsely tempered jar sherds (240 sherds). The provenance of the pottery is not clear as it could derive from two possible regions; the sherds are either from kilns in the Blackdown Hills, Somerset – and therefore Upper Greensand-Derived fabrics – or they are locally produced vessels. The inclusions are consistent with the local geology: for example the fabric is tempered with sub-angular quartz and also contains ferruginous and sandstone inclusions. However, the coarse tempering and the rim forms (rounded deep outflaring rims) are similar to the early jar fabrics and forms identified as Upper Greensand-Derived vessels. This fabric is recognisable at a number of sites: the assemblages from Cosmeston (see Chapter 4) and Llantrithyd (Charlton et al 1977) also contain sherds of a similar fabric, as well as the pits at Womanby Street, Cardiff (Webster 1976 and below). The problems associated with the identification of definite local or non-local sherds, when South

Glamorgan and Somerset are so similar geologically, have been highlighted by the fabric work on Vale Ware (Chapter 3). The problem recurs here and only through further petrography and comparative analysis will this be resolved.

There is no evidence of pottery production prior to the Norman Conquest of South Wales and it is therefore likely that if pottery was locally made, potters would have had to move in to the region in order to meet this new demand. Early local jug or tableware production is not, however, apparent. Possibly local ceramic production is only archaeologically visible in association with jars, which explains the dominance of non-local jugs in earlier assemblages. Non-local vessels from the pit are represented by two sherds from a Cotswolds tripod pitcher (CFS09) and 73 sherds representing two Ham Green A vessels (CFS11). The presence of these fabrics and the absence of any Vale Ware or local jugs emphasises that it was necessary to import ceramic vessels into South Glamorgan in the 12th century in the absence of locally produced tablewares. This pattern of use can also be paralleled in the early contexts at Cosmeston.

7.1.1b The transitional layer

Stratigraphically there is a secure sequence in association with the pit and the later overlying layer. The layer (**116**) has a similar collection of fabrics represented: the early local fabric (or Upper Greensand-Derived) discussed above is present (51 sherds) as well as Ham Green A jug sherds (17). The assemblage from this layer also contained Vale Ware: one glazed jug sherd and 39 jar sherds all of which have limestone inclusions within the fabric. This context also contains sherds which are clearly an Upper Greensand-Derived fabric (CFS08), mineralogically similar to those found at the site in Cheddar (Allan et al 2011, 171). These sherds are more obviously fabric CFS08

due to the presence of crushed chert and limestone, minerals which do not always have to be present in this fabric type. Crushed chert is not a typical inclusion associated with ceramics made in South Glamorgan, although limestone is, and therefore the sherds cannot be associated geologically with South Glamorgan. The presence of crushed chert is therefore good evidence for these sherds to be from the Blackdowns area. Finally, the only sherd of Bath A pottery found during excavations also came from this context. Very little Bath A is represented in the assemblages selected for this thesis, although there are a few sites which have a number of vessels present in this particular fabric: St Barruc's Chapel on Barry Island (Knight 1976-78) is one of the only sites where the fabric is well represented. The Vale Ware sherds from Kenfig are consistently similar to others from the western Vale, (see below with reference to the assemblages from Llantwit Major). As well as the usual rounded quartz, sandstone and ferruginous inclusions, limestone is a normal addition to the fabric for the sherds from this area of Glamorgan. It is worth noting that within the context **(116)**, there are more jar sherds than jug sherds made in Vale Ware and that there is a greater number of imported Ham Green A sherds. Whether the proportion of certain fabrics is the result of the restricted area of excavation or associated with particular patterns of deposition in this layer is not clear, but it could be suggested that once Vale Ware, in the fabric identified by Vyner, came into production, only jars were being produced initially. This would explain why non-local jugs (Ham Green A and Minety Ware) were still favoured even though local production had developed in response to demand for ceramic vessels.

7.1.1c The Later Layers

Later layers (**117** and **118**) overlying the ceramically transitional layer **(116)** are typical in terms of 13th- and 14th-century assemblages. The groups of sherds from these contexts are predominantly locally produced, recognisable as Vale Ware and present in the three typical forms, predominantly jugs and jars but also incurved dishes. The sherds from these layers are slightly different to those from the pit group as the ability to identify a minimum number of vessels is more difficult due to the fragmented nature of the sherds. Eight vessels are represented by rim sherds in one layer **(118)** but the number of body sherds does not appear to support the rim data. The dispersed and fragmented condition of the sherds and the higher levels of abrasion indicate that the deposition of the sherds as rubbish was different to the methods of waste disposal in the earlier post-Conquest period. The later rubbish has gone through a number of phases of re-deposition, unlike those within the early pit fills.

The ceramic assemblage from the latest layer in this stratigraphic sequence overlying the pit **(106)** mostly contains Vale Ware sherds (91%). There are Ham Green A and B sherds and the presence of the later Ham Green B vessels is consistent with the stratigraphical sequence. As well as layer **(106)**, the layer overlying the top of the bank **(105)** is also later, with Ham Green B and Malvern Chase sherds present in the assemblage, both of which represent a later phase of use in this particular area. Few Malvern Chase sherds are ever identified at sites in South Glamorgan and this is unfortunate as they are useful chronological markers and they appear to enter the archaeological record in the 14th-15th centuries. When identified they provide clear evidence for the late medieval/ early post-medieval phase of occupation and activity at sites which otherwise lack the ceramics dated to this later period.

From the ceramic evidence it appears that this area of the site fell out of use approximately around the late 14th to early 15th century. This supports the historical references which record the town becoming rapidly inundated by the sand in this period. The assemblage from this trench lacks 16th- or 17th-century ceramics, and to date the excavations within the town boundary at Kenfig have not produced any ceramics later than the 14th-15th-century Malvern Chase examples.

The sequence of features in this trench is particularly useful in comparison with other assemblages from South Glamorgan: the introduction of ceramics to the region appears to be, as already discussed, a result of new demands from those settling in South Glamorgan. In response to these demands, jars are possibly, in the first instance, being made locally with jugs added later to the local ceramic repertoire.

There are two networks apparent from the ceramics from the excavations at Kenfig, the local and the regional. There is a local western network, identifiable through the tempering sources for the ceramic material which includes small rounded limestone fragments. The absence of limestone within the temper particularly in many of the sherds from Cosmeston and from the thin-sectioned ceramics from Llandaff highlights the east – west difference in fabrics. The second network is based on regional connections and is represented by the non-local Ham Green and Upper Greensand-Derived sherds, linking the coastal areas of Glamorgan to sites inland as well as to the coastal and inland areas of Somerset.

The earlier fabrics at Kenfig are consistent of those generally found on early sites throughout South Glamorgan, regardless of proximity to the coast or even it appears status. Whether ceramics could be used to distinguish Welsh from Anglo-

Norman/English households is not sufficiently shown by the archaeological evidence, but certainly those settlements which were occupied in the 12th century are identifiable due to the presence of the ceramic material.

Cross-Bristol Channel ceramic trading connections with Somerset and Devon continue throughout the medieval period and into the post-medieval with a shift in ceramic production and consumption. The assemblage from Kenfig, although unique with regards to stratigraphic survival and a clear development in the suite of ceramics in use over three hundred years, is not very different from other assemblages seen throughout South Glamorgan.

7.1.2 Cardiff – 500 years of ceramic evidence

Excavations in Cardiff have not produced deep stratified remains as seen in a number of towns in England (London, Leicester, Bristol and Southampton) and the scale of the archaeological excavations has not been as extensive. In the late 19th century, work was conducted on both the Greyfriars (completely removed in preparation for the building of Queen Street) and the Blackfriars houses (the outline of the archaeological remains at the Blackfriars site in Bute Park is marked out in bricks today) (Conway 1889; Lewis 1964-66; Evans and Wrathmell 1978). The excavations failed to produce well-stratified remains as it appears that those directing the sites were more interested in wall-chasing. Ceramic material found by gardeners digging near to the Chancery House, Blackfriars, in 1971 has been discussed (Evans and Wrathmell 1978, 12-15) but as the material is unstratified it has not been studied here. Despite the lack of archaeological material remaining from these two sites, the assemblages and archives from the excavations from the river quay area (Womanby Street and Quay Street) and

Working Street, on the edge of the medieval town, provide some evidence for medieval

and early post-medieval Cardiff.
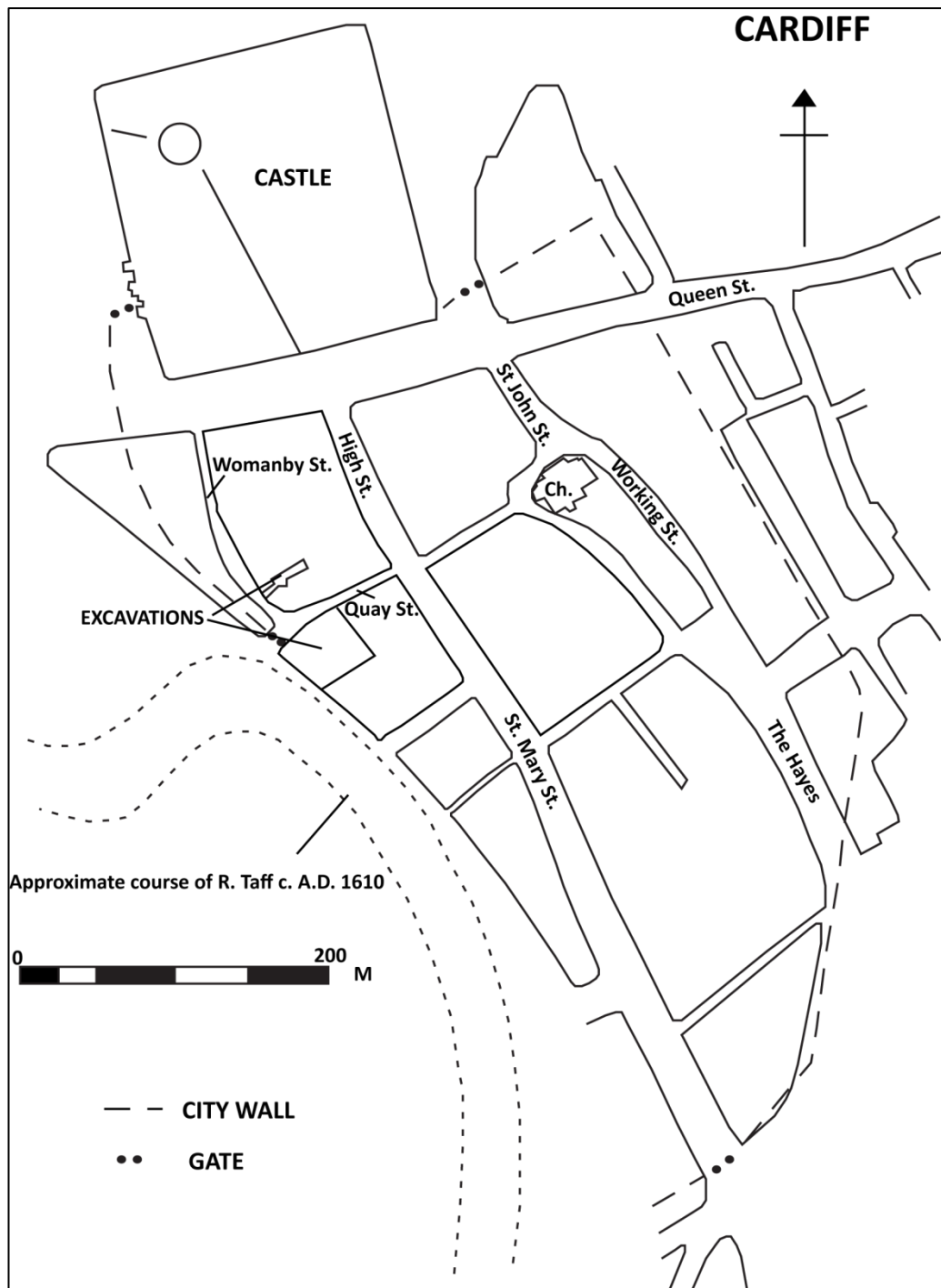
Figure 7.111 showing the Womanby and Quay Street excavations (Webster 1978)

Later development in Cardiff in the 1970s led to the excavation of a number of sites in the medieval town. Work at Cardiff Castle and sites on Womanby Street (Webster and Webster 1976), Working Street (Webster 1978) and Quay Street (Webster 1977) all produced medieval and early post-medieval archaeology (Figure 7.111). For the most part the sites are dominated by refuse pits, although there is also evidence for buildings at the site on Quay Street (Webster 1977). The work on these sites has produced stratified medieval and post-medieval ceramic remains. The archaeological evidence for post-medieval Cardiff reflects the apparently limited expansion of the town and it was only in the 19th century, as a consequence of the steel and coal industry providing Cardiff with a massive economic boost, that the town experienced wide expansion (Crouch 2006, 40). As a result of this, evidence of post-medieval ceramic material, as with the medieval assemblages, is restricted to Quay Street and Working Street where stratified 16th- and 17th-century assemblages are associated with pits and structures.

7.1.2a Medieval Cardiff

Medieval Cardiff, the centre of which is still visible today with the motte and bailey castle situated within the site of the earlier sequence of Roman forts, is not fully understood archaeologically. The medieval town is centred on St Mary's Street, an area developed in the 19th century with deep cellaring, which has subsequently not experienced the demolition and re-development seen elsewhere in the town. Excavations on Working Street (Webster 1978) revealed an area for the most part used as a rubbish area with pits littering the site rather than evidence for buildings and occupation. Very little of medieval Cardiff, as noted above, has actually been subject to archaeological investigation and the areas that have been excavated have not always

revealed what is supposed from the historical documentation. Cardiff was not a town bursting at the walls and although the land was divided into burgages not all of these were actually inhabited by those who owned them. As a result the ceramics are vital to understanding Cardiff's economic role as a town in South Wales and its relationship with other towns and manorial estates. It is clear that although it may have been a significant town for the Lords of Glamorgan, its relationship with other Welsh towns and manors, as well as its role in the Bristol Channel network, may not match a popular belief that the town was of great importance in the medieval period (Crouch 2006, 40).

The Bristol Channel was important to Cardiff as it was to Kenfig; Cardiff is a port, situated on the River Taff which flows into the Bristol Channel. Its position enabled ease of access to the other Welsh coastal towns as well as the English ports and landing points situated on the Bristol Channel. Cardiff is also connected, via the Portway, to the central Vale of Glamorgan, and this will have enabled wider trading links away from the coast. Cardiff was therefore also open to the wider Continental networks through this coastal link, with trading connections to Bristol and therefore to southern English ports such as Southampton and Exeter as well as those in France, Spain and Portugal. The ceramic assemblages from Bristol, Southampton and Exeter indicate that they were in contact with other Continental ports and this should be the case with Cardiff too.

7.1.2b Quay Street (Figure 7.112)

Quay Street is situated next to the old course of the River Taff. Due to its close proximity to the medieval port it is possible that households and traders would have acquired ceramics usually associated with high-status sites. The site is also within the medieval walls, the area where evidence for early settlement is most likely to be. The

excavations on Quay Street were limited due to problems with the neighbouring

building which required shoring, and consequently no large area was available for

excavation (Webster 1977, 94). Despite this there are a number of pits and floor layers

containing well-sealed, stratified ceramic groups. Medieval pit C7 and layer C3 were

chosen to be fully catalogued and will be discussed here. Unlike the excavated manorial

sites (Barry, Sully and Rumney), the Cardiff site assemblages discussed here have been

fully retained including their contextual information enabling deposition to be part of

the discussion.
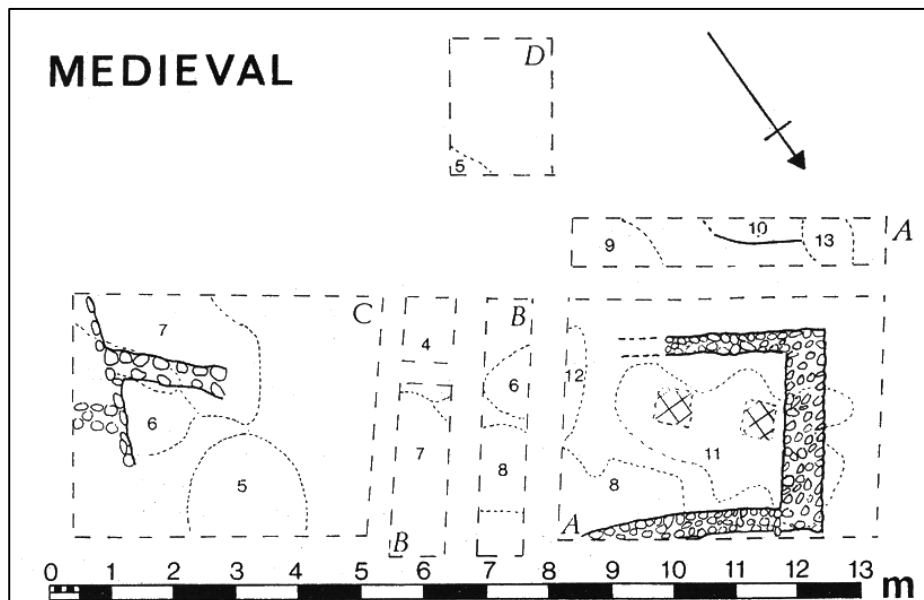
Figure 7.112 Quay Street trench (Webster 1977)

Layer C3

Excavated in 1974, Layer C3 has been identified as an occupational layer within a

medieval building (Webster 1977). This layer was sealed beneath a later post-medieval

floor surface. The range of material within the pit spans 300 years of occupation with a

small sherd from an Upper Greensand-Derived vessel (12th-century) and two intrusive

sherds from a Somerset colander and dish (16th to 17th-century) (Table 7.32). The

latest medieval material is represented by Saintonge and Vale Ware jugs which at the latest are likely to extend to the early 15th century. Whilst not representative of a household, the group is a good example of the range of material occurring in assemblages from Cardiff.

Fabric	No. sherds	Weight (g)
CFS08	1	20.1
CFS09	5	147.8
CFS11	17	349.5
CFS12	11	202.9
CFS14	38	638.5
CFS17	34	594.1
CFS19	3	138
CFS21	1	19
CFS23	1	19.8
CFS24	14	147
CFS27	7	110.8
CFS28	2	86.3
CFS31	2	18.4
Total	**136**	**2492.2**

Table 7.32 number and weight of sherds by fabric in layer C3

Pit C7

Pit C7 is similar to the pits from Cowbridge, where it is difficult to provide a minimum number of vessels. Unlike the pit at Kenfig the pottery appears to enter the pits as repeatedly re-deposited material rather than primary deposits. This results in highly fragmented assemblages, dominated by small abraded sherds in a range of fabrics that are not representative of a known number of vessels.

Rather than attempting to provide a minimum number of vessels, the more useful information lies in the standard range of fabrics. The fabrics represented in this pit are typical of early higher status assemblages from sites in South Glamorgan. Minety Ware

(CFS09) and Upper Greensand-Derived sherds (CFS08) are present in small numbers but are also accompanied by the contemporary Ham Green A and B vessels which are represented in slightly greater numbers (very similar to the early Kenfig groups). Vale Ware is, however, the dominant fabric, with unglazed jars outnumbering glazed jugs. Saintonge sherds are also present in this assemblage, consistent with the number of sherds seen elsewhere on manor sites in South Glamorgan (Table 7.33).

Fabric	Base	Body	Handle	Rim	Tile	Total sherd no.	Total weight
CFS06	1	2				3	28.9
CFS09	1	2				3	61.4
CFS11	1	18		1	1	21	288.7
CFS12	1	1		2		4	37
CFS14	5	58		8		71	714.5
CFS17	1	25				26	215.4
CFS24		5				5	10.7
CFS26		1				1	11.5
CFS27	1	4	1			6	75
Total	**11**	**116**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**140**	**1443.1**

Table 7.33 showing the number of sherds by sherd fabric and form in pit C7

The medieval ceramic assemblage from Quay Street is in general very similar to the other assemblages from Cardiff in terms of the range of fabrics and forms present. Despite its proximity to the river there is no apparent increase in imports or non-local vessels in comparison to the manorial assemblages but rather it reflects the range of material seen at those sites. This is likely to be due to the status of the household and as the castle was the dominant wealthy household in Cardiff at this time, it is most likely that if there were any exotic ceramic imports these would be found within the castle precinct.
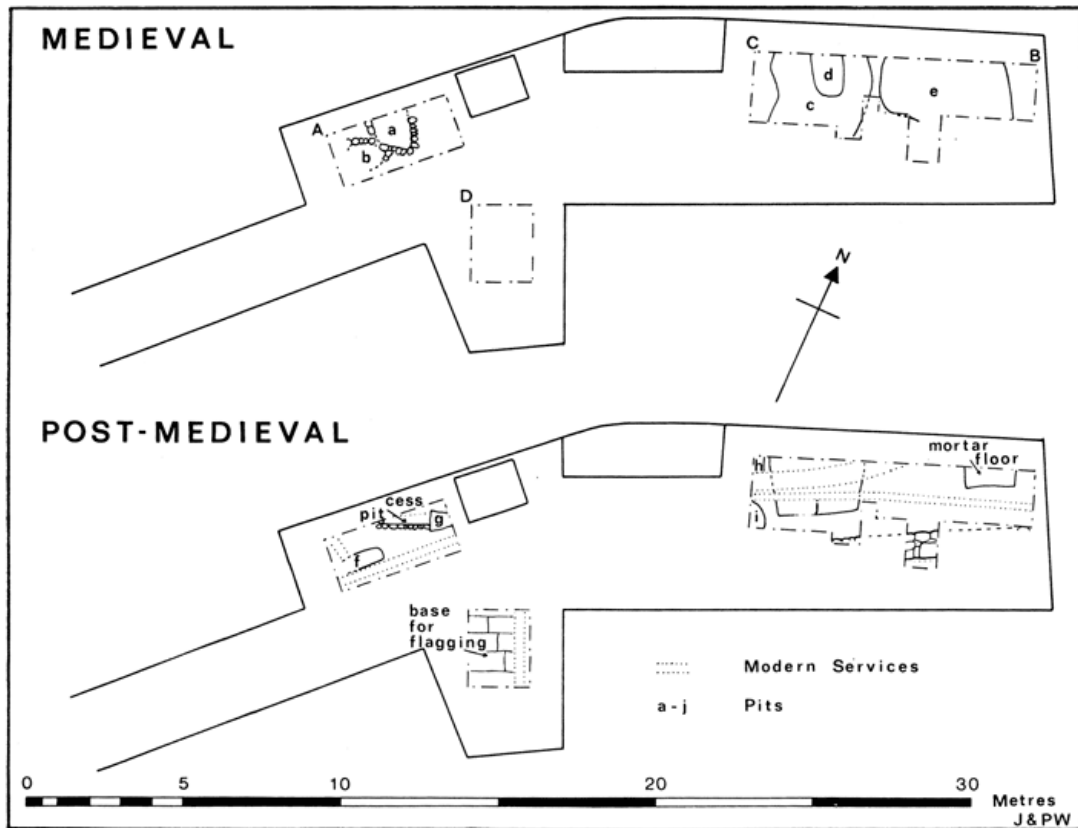
Figure 7.113 Womanby Street trenches (Webster 1974)

7.1.2c Womanby Street pit (Figure 7.113)

The excavations on Womanby Street are very close to the Quay Street site. The pit

chosen here (pit B) is very similar, in terms of the fabrics represented, to the pit group

from Quay Street.

Fabric	Base	Body	Handle	Rim	Total sherd no.
CFS06				12	12
CFS09		8			8
CFS10		1			1
CFS11	2	9	2		13
CFS14	8	24		9	41
CFS17		3			3
CFS19		3			3
CFS24		1			1
Total	**10**	**49**	**2**	**21**	**82**

Table 7.34 showing the number of sherds by fabric and form in the Womanby Street pit.

Of particular interest with regards to this pit is the early rim (CFS06): the twelve sherds are all from the same vessel. As well as other early fabrics such as Minety Ware and Ham Green jugs, as with the pit from Quay Street there are also later fabrics, Vale Ware and Saintonge Ware. The largest group is Vale Ware with notably fewer glazed Vale Ware sherds (Table 7.34). In general the pit contains a higher number of jars to jugs and the presence of an incurved dish implies similar patterns of diet to those seen elsewhere at Cowbridge and Cosmeston (Table 7.35).

Vessel Form	No. sherds
Incurved dish	7
Jar	50
Jug	17
Tripod pitcher	8
Total	**82**

Table 7.35 no of sherds by vessel form in the Womanby Street pit.

7.1.2d Working Street Pit

The excavations at Working Street produced very little archaeological evidence for domestic occupation: rather it appears that the area was used primarily for rubbish dumping. The pits in this area are varied in date. The medieval pit in area A contains a range of locally produced ceramics and imported wares but the group is particularly fragmented with few joining or large sherds. As with the other two pits from Cardiff, the Working Street pit has a wide range of fabrics within the assemblage dating from the 12th to the late 14th centuries.

Fabric	Base	Body	Handle	Rim	Total
?	1				1
CFS06		9			9
CFS09		1			1
CFS11		1			1
CFS14		8		2	10
CFS17	8	18	1		27
CFS19		6		1	7
CFS20				6	6
CFS23	4				4
CFS24		1			1
CFS26		2			2
CFS27		1			1
Total	**13**	**47**	**1**	**9**	**70**

Table 7.36 no of sherds by fabric and form in the Working Street pit.

7.1.3 Post-medieval Cardiff

Early post-medieval Cardiff is even less well understood archaeologically than medieval Cardiff. Historical records survive which indicate that the town was the head port for the region, with Sully and Barry incorporated under Cardiff's control in the 16th century (Williams 1960, 2). Cardiff also remained the main town for the Lords of Glamorgan. It is apparent, particularly from the excavations at Working Street, that the city did not expand much beyond its medieval limits, with areas such as Working Street, which was open and not built on in the medieval period, remaining so up to the 18th and 19th centuries (Webster 1978). There are a few post-medieval ceramic groups. At Quay Street, post-medieval levelling layers contain Somerset dishes as well as North Devon Sgraffito ware. Post-medieval pits are also a feature of the site on Womanby Street. Here, the fabrics are typical of the range seen at Cosmeston and Cowbridge, with Somerset wares an intrinsic part of the assemblage (Webster 1974). There is a significant difference, however, between the Womanby Street assemblage and the post-medieval material from Cowbridge: North Devon Gravel-Tempered Ware is present at Womanby Street in higher quantities than found at Cowbridge. It has been

suggested that North Devon Gravel-Tempered ware should be associated with rural settlement rather than town sites. However in this case, although it is not present in the same quantities, it is likely that its presence in Cardiff is due to the town's role as a port. There is a significant absence of Continental imported material from these excavations. In comparison with the site at Penhow (Wrathmell 1990; Wrathmell, forthcoming) and Carmarthen Greyfriars (O'Mahoney 1991) where there are a variety of high-status imported wares such as Italian and Spanish Maiolicas, and a range of 15th- and 16th-century stonewares, these fabrics have not been identified in the three Cardiff excavations under discussion here. This would indicate that although port towns and settlements are more likely to be connected to markets trading in imported ceramics, not all households would have been able to acquire them. Rather, the ceramics are evidence not just of access to contacts but also of the status of households. This further emphasises the general high-status of the Cowbridge households in comparison with the more varied social status of the households within Cardiff in the post-medieval period.

7.2 Manorial settlements

There are few comparative assemblages to that from Cosmeston from excavations at manorial sites in South Glamorgan. Excavations in the 1980s on sites within what had been the medieval manor at Barry (Dowdell and Thomas 1987) provide the closest comparable assemblage, with similar contextual and depositional patterns to those associated with properties 3 and 4 at Cosmeston. Excavations at the manorial sites of Rumney (Lightfoot 1992) and Sully (Dowdell 1990) produced assemblages which are comparable to that from the manor house at Cosmeston. There are problems with all three assemblages: the Barry archive is incomplete with only diagnostic sherds

remaining whilst the assemblages from Sully and Rumney were lost in the GGAT warehouse fire in 1983. The reports, rather than the assemblages from the three sites, are consequently relied on here for the basic fabric details, although the total sherd count and weight as well as any direct contextual information for the assemblages no longer remains. Although direct contextual associations with the pottery are no longer possible from the reports, the ceramic assemblages can be categorised by the types of site; an associated settlement at Barry and the manorial centres at Rumney and Sully. Therefore the differences between the Barry assemblage to the Rumney and Sully assemblages should reflect those seen in the different areas at Cosmeston.

There is a stark absence of post-medieval assemblages from rural sites in South Glamorgan. This is not to suggest that there was a reduction in the number of people living in the area in the 16th and 17th centuries rather; as the large number of standing buildings dating to this period scattered across the landscape suggests, the region was inhabited by a similar number of people to that in the medieval period (RCAHM 1981). Excavations at sites of this date are regularly not considered to be of equal value or importance as medieval or Roman archaeology. This has made the process of finding assemblages to provide comparative data to the ceramic material from Cosmeston difficult. It is clear that during the 16th and 17th centuries, ceramics were being used in households, not only associated with work but also as tableware and in large quantities.

7.2.1 Barry – The associated settlement (Figure 7.114)

Excavations at Barry initially began in 1962 under the auspices of the Barry and Vale Archaeological Group. Led by Howard Thomas and Gareth Dowdell (who later became

the director of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust), the work at the various

sites over 16 years, in advance of housing development, produced evidence for

medieval and early post-medieval Barry (Thomas and Dowdell 1987). Three domestic

occupational structures were revealed during excavations as well as a corn drying kiln.

The domestic structures all appear to be low-status; they are small domestic buildings

with little material evidence to suggest any explicit wealth associated with the lord or

knight of the manor.

Before discussing the ceramic and archaeological evidence, as with many manorial sites

in South Glamorgan there is a wealth (at times variable) of historical information

associated with the manor at Barry. Barry was founded in the 12th century, a sub-

manor of the lordship of Penmark (held by the Umfravilles), and valued at 1 knight's

fee. In the 13th century the adjacent parish, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry, was part of the

lordship of Dinas Powys (held by the de Somery family) and rated at 2 knights fees. The

manor at Barry also included a mill and a seaport (RCAHMW 1982, 231). The de Barri

family also held in Somerset and Devon. The seaport at Barry would have enabled ease

of travel to Somerset and Devon and therefore economic networks established through

ownership of the manors would have been significant to the Barry manorial estate and

its economy. As well as these connections through knights' fees and tenants of the

Umfravilles, the social and economic connections with Somerset were further

strengthened by marriage (Thomas and Dowdell 1987, 95). Emphasis on the

importance of the port at Barry and the relationships both social and economic with

other ports and manorial estates cannot be stressed enough when discussing economic

networks in South Glamorgan. Whilst we see little ceramic evidence for trading activity

with the Marches area – Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire – there is

no doubting the evidence for the networks represented by the ceramics from Somerset and Devon from the medieval through to the post-medieval period.

Despite the absence of a formal market at Barry, it is likely that there was unrecorded or 'hidden' trade being carried out at the port, as well as connections with nearby Cardiff and the markets and fairs on the southern coast of the Bristol Channel at places such as Minehead, Combe Martin, Ilfracombe and Barnstaple (Kowalewski 2002, 44).

The ceramic assemblage from the site has already received detailed analysis (Sell 1987) which includes the petrographic analysis of eight sherds. On revisiting the assemblage it became quickly apparent that not all the ceramic assemblage was present and therefore a detailed catalogue including the total number of sherds associated with their contexts was not possible. The purpose of using Barry as a comparative assemblage was not to use the total assemblage but to focus on building B as a comparative household, an example which, unlike the examples at Sully and Rumney and the manorial building at Cosmeston, is not high-status but instead very similar to the households represented by properties 3 and 4 at Cosmeston.
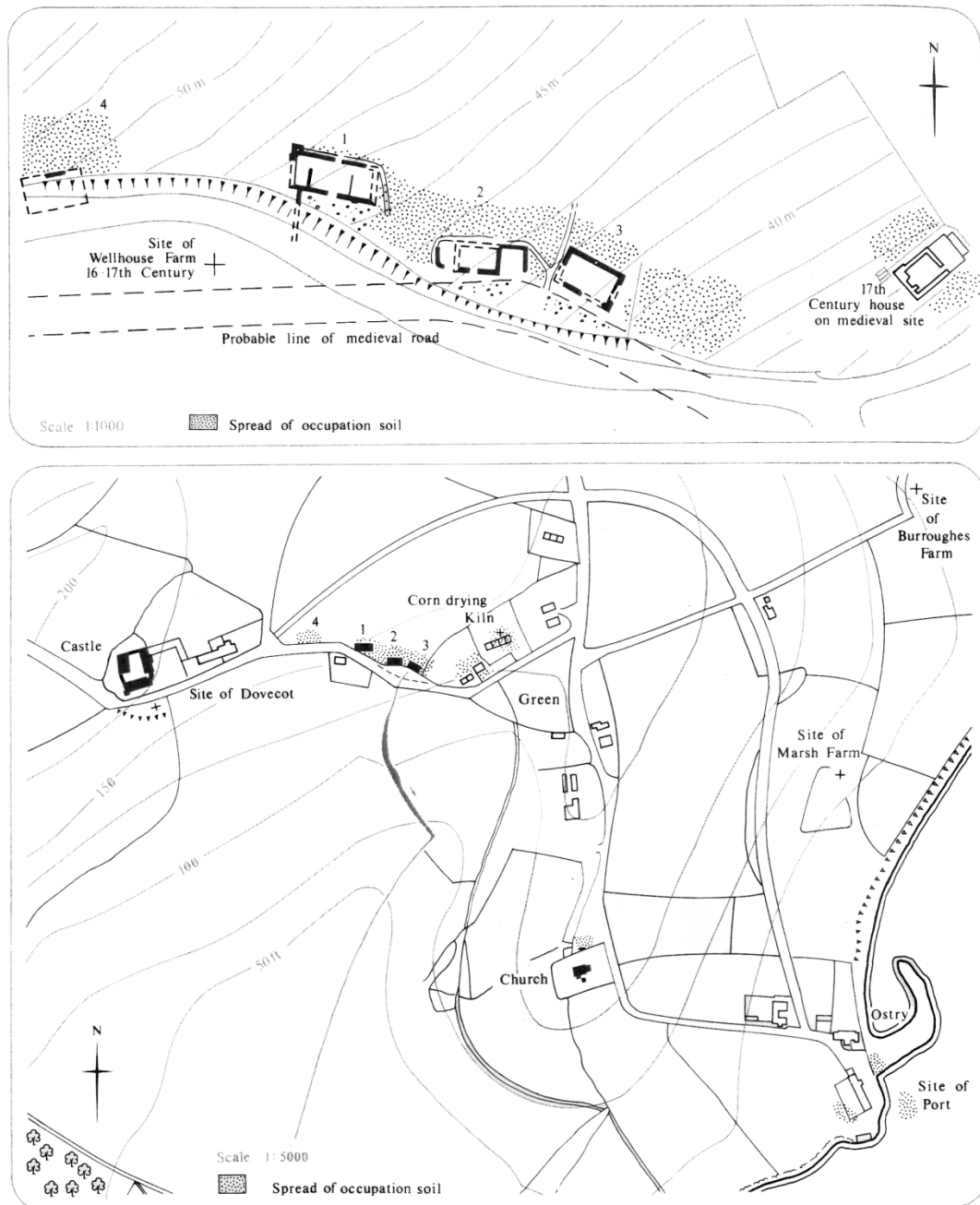
Figure 7.114 showing the excavated buildings at Barry in association with the wider settlement (RCAHMW 1982, 232)

7.2.1a The ceramic evidence

Ideally, analysis would have focused on building B (marked as building 1 on the plan),

the largest of the three domestic structures where the ceramic assemblage is

associated with a number of features which provide good stratified evidence, representing domestic activity. Instead due to the loss of the assemblages discussion is restricted to the range of fabrics identified in the report as well as the forms. There is some mention of ceramics associated with particular features and phases in the report. However contextual associations are not given for the illustrated pottery, the only material to be discussed directly in terms of form and fabric in the report.

Analysis of the ceramics (Sell 1987, 117-127) identified three main local fabrics. Petrographic analysis further supported the identification of these and this work has been discussed in association with the petrography conducted for this thesis in Chapter 3. Important to note, though, is the division between locally produced unglazed sherds that contain and do not contain limestone. This is similar to variations in the local fabrics identified in the assemblages at Cosmeston (see Chapter 3 for discussion on this). It is likely that this represents variation between production sites and therefore trading networks, moving both eastwards and westwards through South Glamorgan. This is however different for the jug fabrics. At both Cosmeston and Barry the jug fabric does not contain limestone as it does in the more westerly sites of Llantwit Major and Kenfig. This division of fabrics associated with the particular forms is representative of variations in the production and trading of ceramics. The role of these vessels within the household is also reflected in this localised jug production.

The non-local vessels represented at Barry are again very similar to those identified at Cosmeston in the associated settlement. Ham Green sherds, both glazed jugs and unglazed jars are present and typically in fewer numbers than the local fabric. There are some notably absent fabrics which would suggest a 13th-century date for the structures and occupational activity. Upper Greensand-Derived sherds, or a similar

fabric, have not been identified and neither have Minety nor Bath A vessels, all of which would indicate 12th-century activity. Another fabric not found is Saintonge Ware. Although only found as small, abraded, residual sherds in the associated settlement at Cosmeston, it is a common fabric in the manorial area there. An absence of the fabric at the Barry excavations supports the interpretation that Saintonge Ware was typically a high-status ceramic item. It would also imply that, unlike at Cosmeston, shared middens and the re-deposition of material from across the site did not occur at Barry. This is due to the distance from the houses to the manorial centre, which is very different to the more nucleated settlement pattern at Cosmeston.

Another close parallel to the assemblage at Cosmeston is the number of incurved dish sherds, which are focused in the Barry report. It is unfortunate that there is little information left to connect the incurved dish sherds to particular structures as it would have been possibly to conduct similar spatial analysis to identify function in association with a particular building. Although this is not possible the fact that so many of the sherds are within the assemblage supports interpretations centred on dairying activities, and implies lower status households.

Whilst little can be done with directly relating ceramic material to particular structures at Barry, the fabrics present and the range of forms do provide clear parallels between the lower status households at Barry and Cosmeston. Households were using similar vessels and were therefore likely to be engaged in similar economic activities. This is in direct contrast to the manorial centres at Rumney and Sully.

7.2.2 Sully and Rumney – Manorial centres

Sully and Rumney have been included as case studies for manorial centres as they are the two best excavated examples. Unfortunately both assemblages were lost in the GGAT fire and the reports do not provide any contextual information in association with the ceramics. The discussion of these two assemblages, however, is necessary as they provide good comparisons with the ceramics from the manorial building at Cosmeston and one indicative of social and economic connections between the three manorial estates. As with the site at Barry there is generally an absence of post-medieval ceramics, despite the site at Sully continuing into the early post-medieval period (Dowdell 1990). At the time of excavation it is clear that this phase of the site was of no interest to the excavator and therefore omitted from the final report. This is unfortunate as even though the manorial system, as recognised during the medieval period, had collapsed by the late 15th century, the continuity of the use of the manorial complex at Sully is significant when compared to the abandonment of the manor houses at both Cosmeston and Rumney.

7.2.2a Sully (Figure 7.115)

Sully was held by the de Sully family until the early 14th century, when Elizabeth de Sully married William de Breuse. The manor passed into the hands of John d'Avene, as he is named as the lord of Sully in 1328 and then shortly after Hugh le Despenser acquired the property from him (Paterson 1934, 20). The manor continued to be held by a number of owners between 1350 and 1700. For the most part, the Lords of Glamorgan own the land, leasing it out to various gentry. Of particular note is the passing of the lease to the Stradling family from 1558 to 1738. The manor was clearly of some value and this is likely to be associated with the landing place at Sully Bay.

Whereas there are known direct Barry family connections in both South Glamorgan and Somerset, the connection between the Sully family in South Glamorgan and those in Somerset, at Alstone Manor for example, is not direct although the families are likely to be in some way related (Dunning 2004).
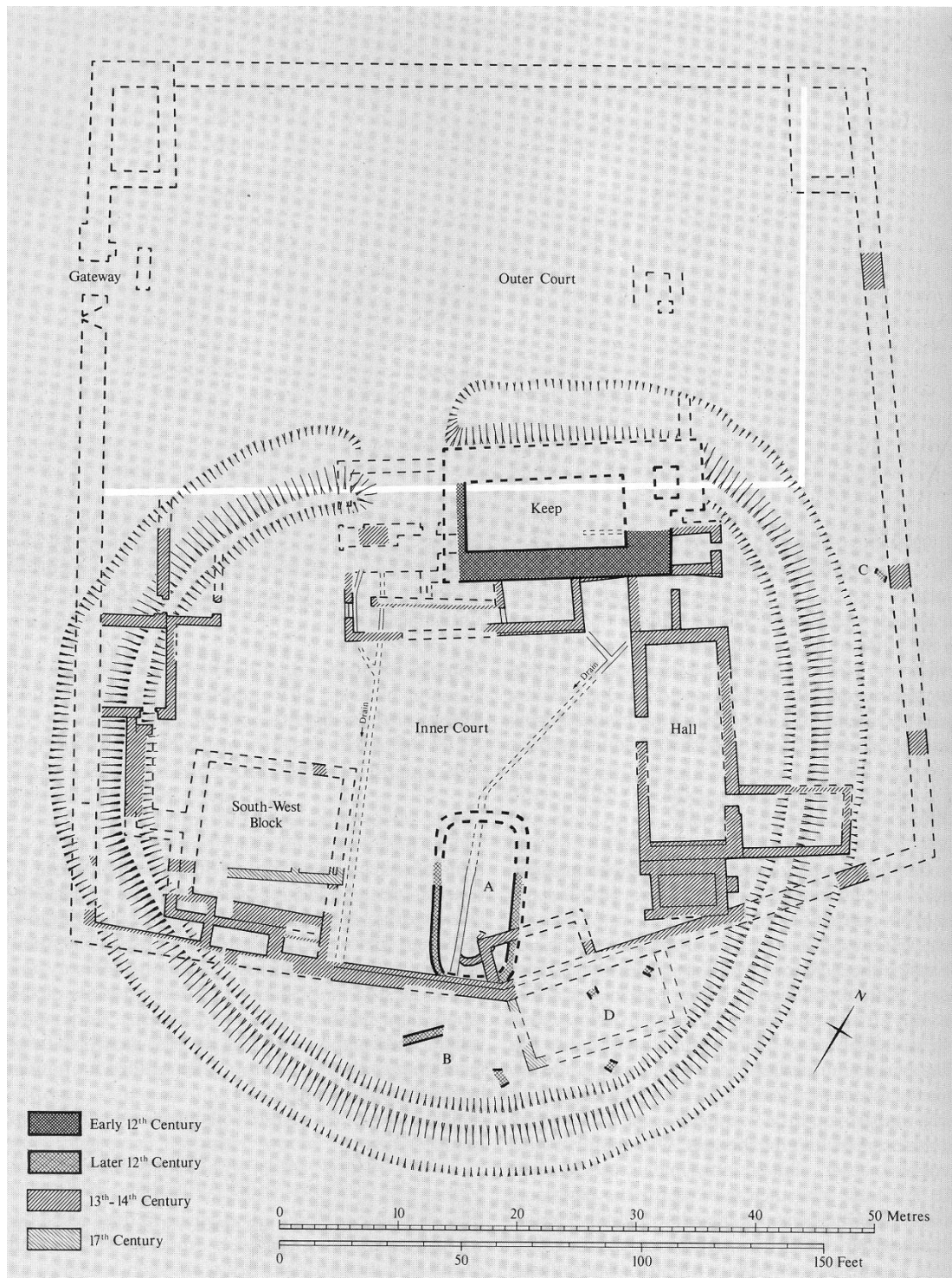
Figure 7.115 plan of the excavations at Sully (RCAHM 1991, 344)

The manor at Sully was slightly different as it included a small port or creek within its

estate. Prior to the 16th century there are no official records of shipments going in and

out of the small ports in South Wales (Williams 1960, 1). It is only once the Elizabethan administration centralised the administration of these ports under 'Head' ports, in this case Cardiff, that we have any records for trade. For example, the Port Books from 1666 record ships leaving the creek at Sully for Uphill (North Somerset), carrying for the most part cattle (P.R.O. E190/1277/7 in Williams 1960, 349). This is likely to be an already established shipping link between the two landing places and one which could have been active during the medieval period.

Therefore, when considering the ceramic material from the excavations at Sully, it is necessary to keep in mind that the manor not only had the same responsibilities and roles as other manors did in the medieval period but that it also controlled the creek and therefore had direct access to goods and people that other more wealthy manors did not.

The ceramic assemblage

The ceramic assemblage from Sully has a number of notable elements: the presence of polychrome Saintonge Ware, early Minety Ware and Ham Green jugs and jars. The early Minety Ware and Ham Green imports are representative of a high-status household established from at least the mid-12th century. The Saintonge polychrome vessels are of particular note. The assemblage from Sully is the only one under discussion here from South Glamorgan which has a higher proportion of polychrome to monochrome Saintonge vessels. It has been suggested that in general Saintonge wares are representative of coastal trade rather than status (Evans 1987). However, the absence of Saintonge Ware from the Barry excavations and its presence at Cosmeston in the associated settlement in only small fragmented and residual sherds, but well

represented in the manor area, would counter this. Instead, the distribution pattern for South Glamorgan does suggests that high status is a factor when considering the ownership of these vessels.

The division between sites which have polychrome rather than monochrome vessels may also represent coastal trade and more specifically be directly associated with those settlements which controlled or directed incoming shipments. If this is the case, then polychrome vessels may be indicative of high-status households with a connection to a small landing place or port. The interpretation that polychrome vessels represent higher status households has been discussed and disputed elsewhere (Evans 1982, 208) and dating used as a factor, rather than status, to distinguish between sites with and without polychrome vessels. Here, however, it is thought that status or certainly initial access to products or imports may be more of an issue when considering the presence or absence of Saintonge polychrome vessels on sites, as demonstrated here by the presence of these jugs at Sully.

Whilst imported wares are a feature of the assemblage at Sully, as with the Cosmeston manorial group, local wares dominate the assemblage. Here the majority of the vessels are jars but there are also a few bowls as well as possible curfew sherds and rims from incurved dishes. Again this is the same range of vessels as identified in the manorial assemblage at Cosmeston.

The two sites are particularly interesting as they are neighbouring manors and would have had access to similar goods via the main market and port at Cardiff but also the creek at Sully. Sully was the wealthier manor and with control of the landing place is likely, as discussed in association with the polychrome wares, to have had ready access

to resources only available in a limited way at Cosmeston. This implies a structured market, directed by Sully's role as not just a manor but also a small landing place. When considering the networks associated with Sully, although the nearest market would have been at Cardiff, it would have been influenced more readily by nearby Barry. Unrecorded or hidden trade would most certainly have occurred in this area and even recent Portable Antiquities Scheme finds in the Sully area have indicated a system of trade associated with the settlement, with unusual coins and other finds, similar to a fair site, found near to the manor and associated settlement (Figure 7.116 and Table 7.37).

Post-medieval Sully was not the focus of attention during the excavations despite the site continuing in use to the 16th century. Due to the brevity of the report on the post-medieval ceramics little can be discussed here. There are, however, two points which can be focused on. The first is the reference to the 'variety of local redwares represented at Sully' (Sell 1990, 359). It is apparent from the work at Cosmeston that during the 16th and 17th centuries the redwares were almost certainly Somerset Wares rather than local wares, and this emphasises the fact that Somerset post-medieval wares were found on all sites in South Glamorgan during this period.

The second point of note is the presence of a sherd of Mediterranean maiolica – likely to be 15th-century in date (Sell 1990, 359). Spanish and Italian post-medieval tablewares are found on sites in South Glamorgan but they are not common and are generally associated with assemblages from coastal higher status castle and ecclesiastical settlements. It is therefore not an entirely surprising to find the sherd at Sully although the manor is not considered to be as high-status or wealthy as the majority of the other sites typically associated with maiolica. The presence of the sherd

is supported, however, by the recent find of an Italian silver coin dating to AD 1446-1506, minted by the Bentivoglio family (Lodwick 2013). Whilst not found at the manorial site and instead next to the area known to be the associated settlement, the two finds emphasise Sully's role as a landing place, or small port. Although this has been labelled a residual sherd in the report, it is evidence for long-distance trading connections in the early post-medieval period.
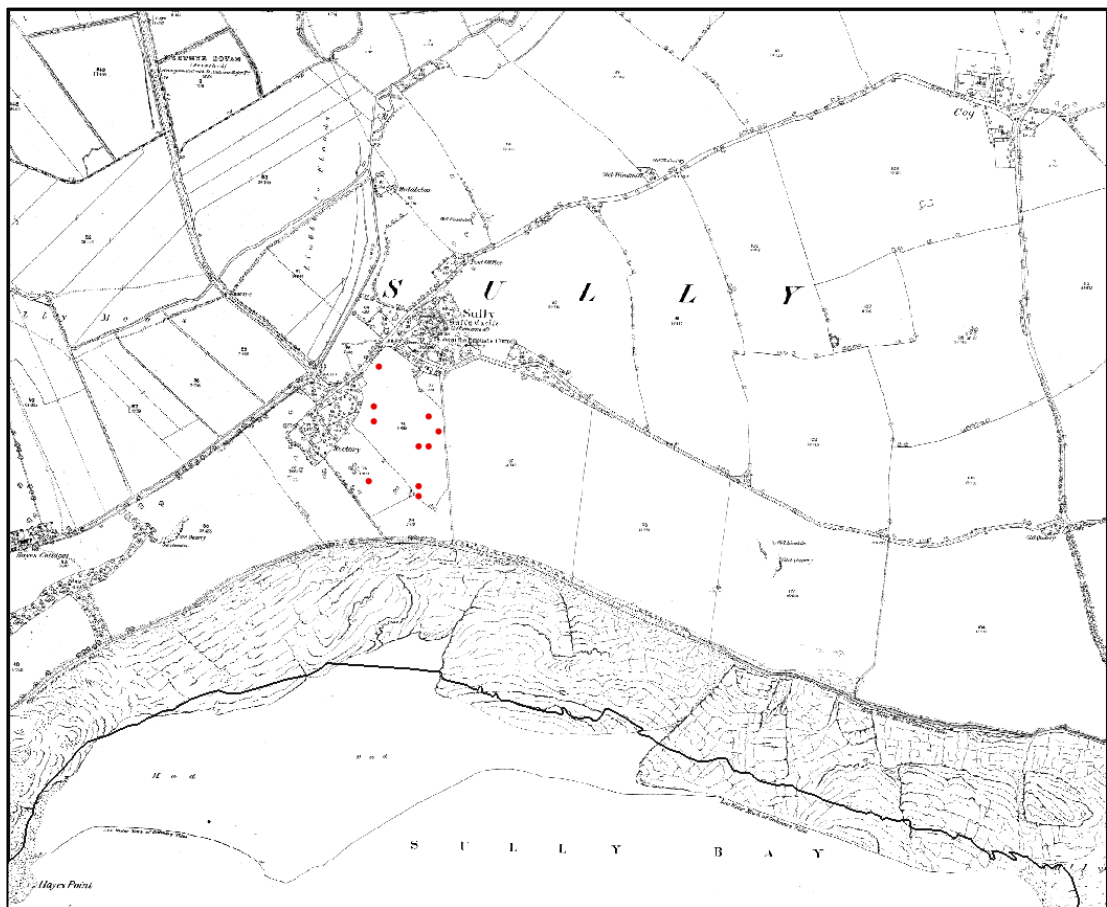
Figure 7.116 showing the metal detected (PAS) coin finds near to the manor at Sully plotted onto the 1st edition OS map 1878.

Object-ID	Find no.	Artefact	Date
	NMWPA		
1	2011.128.1	Seal Matrix	14th century
	NMWPA		
2	2011.128.2	Edward I silver coin	1272-1307
	NMWPA		
3	2011.128.3	Edward I silver coin	1272-1307
	NMWPA		
4	2011.128.4	Edward II silver penny	1307-1327
	NMWPA		
5	2011.128.5	Edward II silver penny	1307-1327
	NMWPA		
6	2011.128.6	Edward III silver halfpenny	1327-1377
	NMWPA		
7	2011.128.7	Brabant: John I silver cut halfpenny	1261-1294
	NMWPA		
8	2011.147.2	Henry III cut longcross halfpenny	1216-1272
	NMWPA		
9	2011.147.3	Brabant: John I silver halfpenny	1261-1294
	NMWPA		
10	2011.147.4	Medieval silver Italian coin. Bentivoglio family	1446-1506

Table 7.37 showing the detailed PAS information for the finds from Sully shown in the above map.

Whilst there is very little detailed information for the post-medieval sherds the brief

inclusion of them does enable general interpretations to be made. Somerset wares

were being landed on the Welsh coast and traded not only between those settlements

near to the landing places but also inland as illustrated by the assemblage at

Cowbridge. The presence of the maiolica sherd provides evidence for Sully's continued

role as a landing place for cargo.

7.2.2b Rumney (Figure 7.117)

Rumney was a manorial estate situated to the east of Cardiff, and, although on the

Monmouthshire/Glamorgan border, the ceramic assemblage and in particular the

presence of a Vale Ware ram aquamanile is significant. The site at Rumney appears to

have been destroyed by the late 13th century with the deposition of a coin hoard dated

to c AD 1288-89 (Boon 1992, 134) in the destruction deposits. As a result the ceramic assemblage is apparently 12th- to late 13th-century in date (Vyner 1992, 145).

Unlike the assemblage from Sully, the ceramics from Rumney represent an early phase of occupation with sherds from vessels which, based on the description and in comparison with the Llantrithyd assemblage, are likely to be the Upper Greensand-Derived fabric (these have been labelled as Rumney Gritted Ware and Rumney Smooth Ware in the fabric list: Vyner 1992, 145-146). Two sherds of Minety Ware from the assemblage also support a 12th-century occupation date. After the Greensand-Derived sherds, Vale Ware jars are the predominant vessel type (Vyner 1992, 144), typical of assemblages in South Glamorgan during the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is not entirely clear from the report what proportion of the assemblage was represented by glazed wares. Saintonge Ware is mentioned but details regarding whether these are monochrome or polychrome examples and the number of sherds are not provided. Jugs from Bristol are also noted but again there is no indication of the number or type of sherds present. Whereas the high number of glazed vessels from the site at Cosmeston identifies the manor area as such, the opinion that glazed wares are only found in low numbers in South Glamorgan (Vyner 1992, 146) biases interpretation of the assemblage from Rumney. The presence of the ram aquamanile is significant as it can be linked to both Cardiff Castle and Cosmeston but this vessel is only given a cursory note. As the assemblage had been mostly destroyed in the 1983 fire it is clear that full analysis was not possible for the assemblage which is unfortunate. There are still general themes that can be used to interpret the material presented in the report.

Rumney appears to be very similar to Cosmeston in terms of the type of manorial settlement, the date of foundation and the size of the site. The major difference, however, between the two sites is that Rumney became redundant and no longer necessary within the networks of control in South Glamorgan in the late 13th century. When the site was abandoned, Cosmeston was expanding in a similar manner to Sully, with extensions to the main manorial buildings and a strengthening of the manor as an economic unit. The ceramic assemblage from Rumney reflects the phase of abandonment with a complete absence of any post-medieval ceramics and also the limited range of local glazed wares which are characteristic of the assemblages from both Sully and Cosmeston.

The assemblages from Sully and Rumney indicate that they were functioning within local and regional economies. Whilst Rumney is to the east of Cardiff it is still within the same network which includes Cosmeston and the similar changes in assemblage from the early fabrics to a Vale Ware dominated 13th century emphasises this. The Sully assemblage, as well as indicating connectivity to the regional markets also hints at a more localised market, probably associated with the landing place and direct access to cargoes.
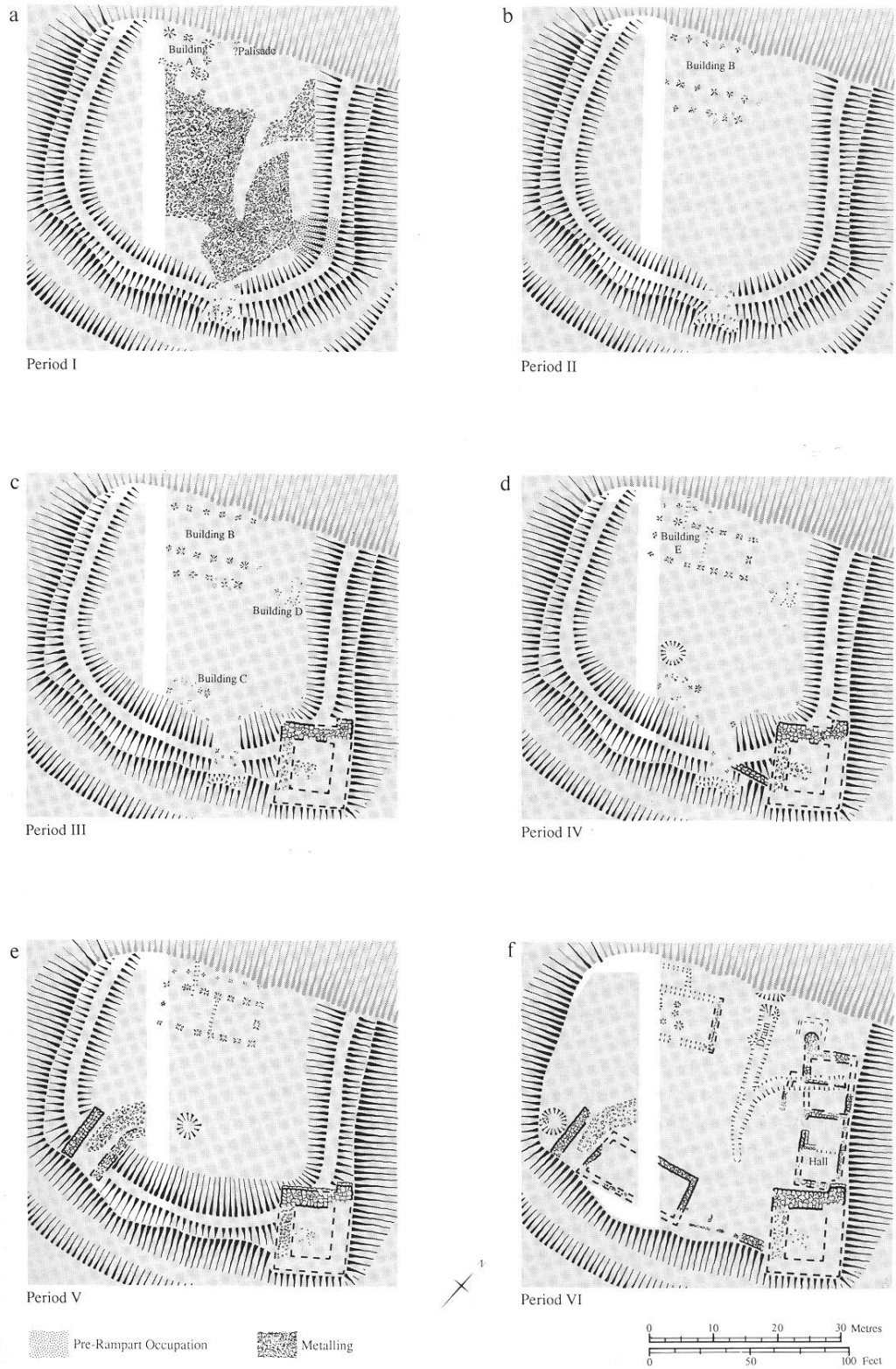
Figure 7.117 plans from the excavations at Rumney (RCAHMW 1991, 301)

What is also apparent is the distinct difference between the manorial centre assemblages and those from Barry. The Barry assemblage is significant not only because it is clearly a lower status group to those from Sully and Rumney but also there are indicators from the local Vale Ware that the settlement is connected to a different network: one that looks westwards rather than eastwards for its markets. Despite the close proximity between Sully and Barry, this westward-looking market area does appear to be identifiable from the locally produced ceramic material. Therefore not only do the assemblages represent various economic networks for the different levels of society, but also the differences identified by the geographical position of these settlements. Both of these factors affect their access to particular markets and therefore the range of ceramic material available.

7.3 Llantwit Major: the ecclesiastical evidence

Llantwit Major is archaeologically significant; excavations in and around the town by J. W. Rodger and V. E. Nash-Williams in the first half of the 20th century identified a large Roman Villa complex on the outskirts of the modern day town (Nash-Williams 1953; Hogg 1974) and work in the church of St Illtud and the Monastery Field (Rodger 1906; 1915) and the Bishop's Field (Nash-Williams 1937; 1953) targeted the centre of the medieval monastic complex. As a result of academic and antiquarian interest in the town, the area is well protected with regards to planning legislation and consequently archaeological investigation in the form of watching briefs and excavations are regularly required prior to development in the town. These excavations have produced small but informative groups of ceramics which can be studied contextually and compared to other assemblages from the town.

7.3.1 Medieval Llantwit Major

Llantwit Major is an important settlement in the Vale of Glamorgan. It was one of the wealthiest settlements in the region during the medieval and early post-medieval periods, and is situated on some of the most productive agricultural land with easy access to the landing point, Colhuw Port (Williams 1960, 1). Archaeological evidence indicates that the area has been subject to human activity for thousands of years, with a Bronze-age hoard discovered near to the church, and a Roman villa complex situated just on the outside the modern day town. There is archaeological and historical evidence for there being an early medieval monastic settlement, later brought under the control of Tewkesbury Abbey which developed the settlement into one of the largest and wealthiest granges in the region (Rees 1950, 156). It is important to emphasise the dual ownership of Llantwit Major: part held by Tewkesbury Abbey and known as West Llantwit or Abbot's Llantwit, and the other half held by the Lords of Glamorgan as the Manor at Llantwit (Rees 1950, 156; Rodger 1906, 47). The land and settlement at Llantwit Major were clearly deemed important and of considerable value to both secular and ecclesiastical powers in South Glamorgan.

The modern-day town has been referred to as the successor to a medieval town (Soulsby 1989). The evidence for labelling Llantwit Major as such is due to what has been identified as the town hall, misdated by Soulsby to the 13th century (1989, 176). The building is in fact 15th-century in date and there are historical records which provide detail of the presence of markets held at Llantwit Major during this time . Markets and ecclesiastical settlement were directly associated in medieval South Glamorgan: for example official markets were held at Ewenny, Llandaff and St Mary's as well as at Llantwit Major. Despite the presence of a market, Llantwit Major cannot

be considered a medieval town, with neither borough status nor urban institutions apparent in the medieval period (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 478). It is not surprising, however, that the modern town was mis-labelled as a medieval town as its revenues were higher than those raised at Cowbridge in 1262 (Corbett 1906, 59). The grange and manor at Llantwit Major were two of the biggest agricultural producers in the Vale of Glamorgan and it is unsurprising that a formal market and fair were created in order for the Lords of Glamorgan to control and take advantage of the wealth of the grange and manor. Although the settlement is not a town it is very clear that it would have been a central source of trade and likely to be not only a regional network centre but also due to its close proximity to the landing point at Colhuw bay also connected with wider networks.

7.3.2 Early post-medieval Llantwit Major

Llantwit Major was, as most monastic institutions, affected during the dissolution of the monasteries, with land taken from the possession of Tewkesbury Abbey and given to Edward Stradling (Corbett 1906, 56). Despite the destruction of the ecclesiastical settlement, houses built during the 16th century indicate that the secular settlement developed as a result of this. By 1570 Llantwit Major had the highest population for a village in Glamorgan (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 478). Buildings dating from the 16th century, such as Llantwit Castle or Old Place, for example, as well as the Town Hall and the Old Swan pub, all of which still stand today, represent this phase of the settlement's early post-medieval development.

Archaeological evidence for this later phase of the town is mostly represented by the standing buildings rather than excavated remains. The historical documentation, the

lay subsidy returns and the wills, provide further evidence that Llantwit Major was a wealthy village.

Even in the 16th and 17th centuries, Llantwit Major was still a large village rather than urban centre. The Stradlings, a large landowning family in Glamorgan, bought the ecclesiastical land in 1540 whilst the Earls of Pembroke owned the manor of Llantwit and Boverton (Griffiths and Brooksby, 1988, 78). The value of the land surrounding Llantwit Major enabled the settlement to grow as a result of the wealth gained through agriculture rather than from making shoes or weaving cloth (Griffiths 1989, 21) or other activities typically associated with the development of and wealth in towns.

As a consequence of an elaborated history for Llantwit Major, particularly supported by the Victorians and the developed romanticised history of South Wales, it is both misrepresented and open to incorrect interpretation in the historical narratives. Llantwit Major played an important economic role in the region and its connectivity with other settlements was through the grange and manor in the medieval period and later and this is in many cases overlooked. It is unfortunate that we have so few post-medieval assemblages but this due to many of the buildings still standing today and only as a result of house extensions and the uncovering of domestic rubbish pits will evidence for the ceramic material used by those in 16th- and 17th-century Llantwit Major become available.

7.4 Recent excavations within the modern-day town

The recent archaeological excavations are scattered around the town and were undertaken, mostly prior to small-scale development: house extensions, sewerage works, and small rebuilding projects. The work has provided 18th- and 19th-century

remains; very few have revealed medieval or post-medieval archaeology. Two small assemblages will be discussed here: the first was associated with a building extension on the western side of the town, near to the 16th-century castle, and the second is the site of the social club during its rebuilding. There are two other sites of note: the first, a site excavated by Cambrian Archaeology in 1999, situated next to the monastic church was found to have a small assemblage of medieval ceramics associated with the building excavated. Due to the problems associated with archiving in South Wales the assemblage remained with the excavator and despite efforts to see the assemblage, there has been no response to my request. The second site, which would have provided useful ceramic material, was situated at the Old Swan Inn. Excavations have in 1976 revealed the foundations for a 14th-/15th-century building, dated by 'coarsewares' (Dowdell 1976, 40). This material was very likely in the fire at the GGAT warehouse and has subsequently been lost and there is little information on the ceramics too as a full excavation report has not been published.

Due to the nature of developer-funded archaeology, small-scale excavations are more common than large open-area sites and as a result assemblages are rarely large. If retained though, over time a more representative collection of material could be available for research from a particular area. With what appears to be a habitual clearing out of archives by some archaeological units in the region, as well as the fire at the GGAT warehouse in 1983, a review of these assemblages is no longer possible and has made the collection of material for this work at times difficult.

7.4.1 Old Castle Cottage (E003616)

Old Castle Cottage stands on the western side of the settlement next to the 16th-century 'castle'. Excavations here revealed a medieval quarry pit, dated by the pottery from the fills. In total, 65 sherds were recovered and like the assemblage from the Bishop's Palace field, the range of fabrics represents a comparative assemblage to that from Kenfig rather than Cosmeston or the East Glamorgan assemblages.

The local unglazed ceramics are typical of Vale Ware with quartz, ferruginous inclusions and occasional sandstone but a key variable is limestone. The locally produced material appears to be similar to the ceramics from Cowbridge and Kenfig to judge by the limestone inclusions but different from the majority of those from Cosmeston. Some of the sherds appear to be similar to the pale firing sherds from Cosmeston, identified as possibly slightly later in date, 14th-century. In this assemblage there is also an unglazed handle, different from the typical jug handles recorded from the assemblages.

There are fewer glazed sherds represented in the assemblage and of the four sherds present only one appears to be local, whilst one is a Ham Green base and the other two sherds are Redcliffe Ware. The number of sherds is likely to be a result of depositional factors and the limited excavation of the feature rather than representative of ceramic use.

Another group of sherds from this feature are Upper Greensand-Derived fabrics and are notable for the heavily limestone tempered nature of the sherds. The ledged rim is a typical form and one sherd has incised decoration. The sherds from this fabric come from both large fills and are mixed with the later local ceramics therefore they are

residual to the context but provide clear evidence for the use of the earlier pottery in this area.

The mixed nature of the ceramic assemblage from these deposits can be seen as typical of re-deposited material but this is useful as a representation of the range of fabrics being used locally in the medieval period. The variety of fabrics is comparable to the Bishop's Palace field assemblage (see below for further detail) as well as being similar to the Kenfig assemblage. Just from this small assemblage the locally produced ceramics appear to represent a network different to that represented at Cosmeston or the East Glamorgan settlements. The imported wares, however, are very similar and this may represent a two-stage ceramic distribution network, with locally produced vessels for the most part being acquired and used in the household close to the production site as well as non-local ceramics acquired from more centralised sources (larger markets such as those at Kenfig or Cardiff).

7.4.2 Llantwit Major Social Club excavations

Excavations at the Llantwit Major Social Club revealed similar features to those found during the work at Old Castle Cottage. The site is to the south of Llantwit Major, beyond the ecclesiastical site and towards the sea. Here, the only clear archaeological feature was a medieval quarry pit which contained five sherds of medieval pottery (Robic 2007). The other contexts are later in date, 19th-century, although there are some sherds of 18th-century slip ware and from one of the layers, two sherds from two medieval glazed jugs.

The fill of the quarry pit only contained medieval pottery: three of the sherds appear to be Upper Greensand-Derived fabrics and there is one sherd of unglazed Vale Ware and

as with the local sherds from Old Castle Cottage, this sherd also contains rare rounded limestone within the temper as well as angular quartz and ferruginous inclusions. Two glazed sherds continue the pattern of local and imported glazed jugs appearing on sites across South Glamorgan; one sherd is a Ham Green body sherd with combed decoration and the other sherd is a finer version of Vale Ware with the typical mineral inclusions. These are both residual sherds in what is clearly a 19th-century layer but they are good indicators of the range of material being disposed of in the area.

These two excavations are good examples of the value of small assemblages when applied to a wider study of excavated sites and the associated ceramic material. This has already been discussed in association with the ceramic material from Cowbridge but it is important to reiterate the value of small excavations and their assemblages, particularly when the archaeological material is considered by many as being useless if from a site which seems of little significance. The archaeology from these two sites illustrates the contemporaneous use of the land surrounding the monastic site; at the centre of Llantwit Major was the grange and associated complex which included a gatehouse, living quarters and tithe barn. Surrounding the settlement and in close proximity were quarries, with material probably being extracted for use at the monastery and for building associated with secular ownership. The quarries, once redundant, were then being backfilled with material which included small amounts of ceramic material.

The two sites clearly support the patterns seen at Kenfig with earlier ceramics coming from kilns in the Blackdown Hills and locally produced Vale Ware dominating the 13th- and 14th-century contexts. There is little ceramic evidence for early post-medieval activity from the two quarry pit fills although the standing building evidence in the

town indicates that local stone was being used in the 16th and 17th centuries during the development of Llantwit Major (Griffiths and Brooksby 1988, 485). It is unfortunate that despite having the archaeological evidence for settlement in the early post-medieval period that we are missing their rubbish pits.

7.5 Bishop's Palace Field excavations (NMW 37.410) and ceramics

As well as the recent excavations on the periphery of the monastic settlement and church, the ceramics found during the work in the Bishop's Palace Field by Nash-Williams in 1935 are particularly important. Although the ceramics were only recorded by trench, this is still useful. Rather than excavating the internal occupational surfaces Nash-Williams concentrated on the discovery of the layout and plans of the grange buildings. His excavations are typical of other sites excavated at the time, using the same methodology and strategy. The ceramics excavated at Llantwit Major are labelled but it was not immediately obvious what the numbers represented. Having looked at the article written by Nash-Williams (1952) as well as going to the site notebook (now in the National Museum Wales), however, concluded that only the trenches were numbered and any contexts and their information are now unfortunately lost (see fig 7.10 for site plan). Despite this, the group of ceramics is a mix of body, rim and basal sherds, the latter being unusual as it was typical at the time for only the diagnostic sherds to be kept.

The ceramic material from the Bishop's field excavations, contextually, is only loosely relatable to the area from which it was found. It is thought that the field where the monastic grange was sited includes not only farm buildings but also residential and storage structures. Therefore the material could come from any number of structures

and contexts but despite this, the known location of the site and the trenches and the association with an ecclesiastical complex makes the assemblage of importance and use here. There are few ecclesiastical assemblages that remain from excavations in South Glamorgan; the ceramics recovered during excavations at Margam Abbey for example were discarded due to problems with storage.
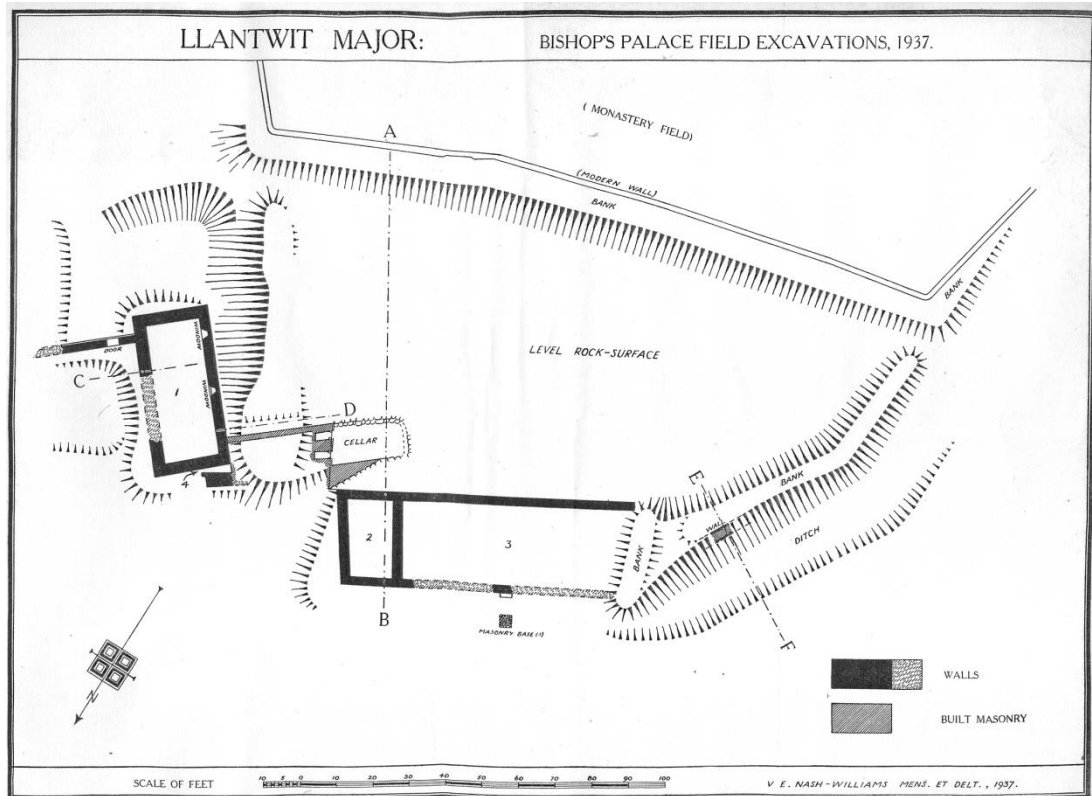
Figure 7.118 plan of the excavated and uncovered medieval buildings in the Bishop's Palace Field (Nash-Williams 1933)

7.5.1 The ceramics

The majority of the ceramics retrieved from the Bishop's Palace Field site in the archive in the National Museum were defined as Kenfig A by a previous specialist. My analysis of this material would suggest that Kenfig A should be referred to as a Vale Ware type. It is similar in production and style to other jugs produced in South Glamorgan and any

variations are associated with the local clay source (Figure 7.119). Unglazed jar sherds identified as limestone-tempered, similar to the Llantrithyd ceramics and therefore very likely to be from the Upper Greensand-Derived group, are also well represented in the assemblage. Limestone versions of Vale Ware are also present as well as one sherd identified as a possible Bristol or Ham Green fabric. (See appendix for the table of sherds and any further details.)

LLANTWIT MAJOR (GLAM.) : BISHOP'S PALACE FIELD, 1937.
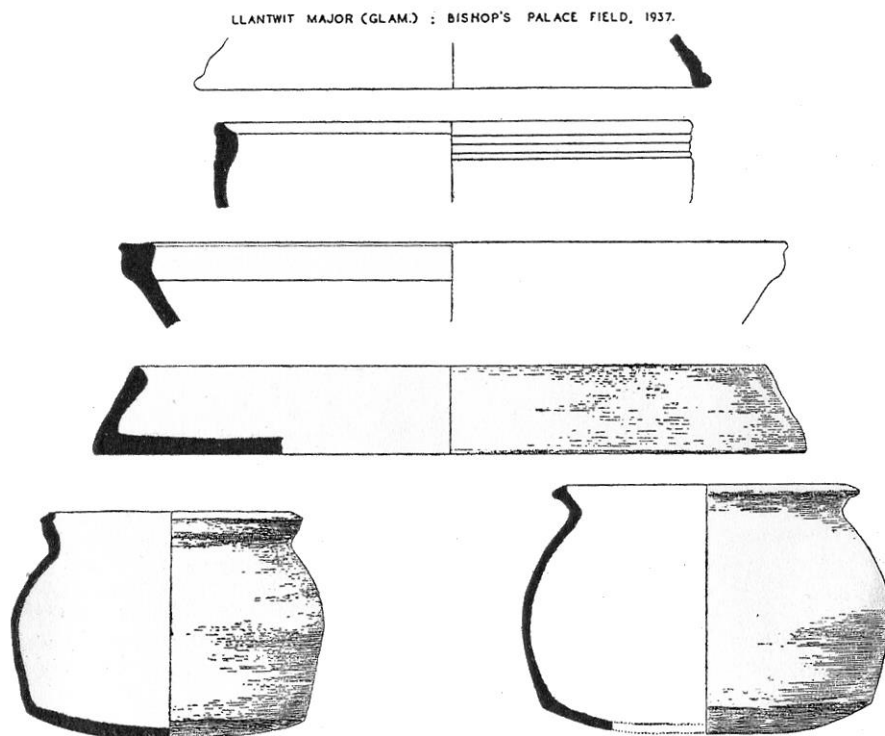
Figure 7.119 illustrating the range of locally produced vessels from the excavations in the Bishop's Palace Field (Nash-Williams 1952)

The local fabrics appear to be more similar to those from Kenfig than the examples from Barry and Cosmeston. Llantwit Major is geographically situated in the central Vale, close to Cowbridge. It is equidistant from Kenfig and Cosmeston but the ceramics appear more similar to those from the former. It is therefore likely that the pottery could represent a market ring or group, closely associated with the western Vale rather

than the eastern zone. Closer connections and relationships are represented by the ceramic evidence and suggest that the area was less associated with Cardiff and instead more closely connected with Kenfig.

When considering the networks within which manorial estates were trading, greater emphasis needs to be given to direct exchange between and within them, as formal markets may often have been bypassed (Britnell 1981, 211). The production and exchange in ceramics, be that primary or secondarily in association with another item (food, drink etc.), is likely to have had as much presence within these informal markets as at those legally recognised. Llantwit Major has its own official market and fair. It would have had access to official trading at markets and fairs held also in Cowbridge but also connections via the Bristol Channel through the Colhuw landing-place to other markets. These connections are emphasised by the presence of Saintonge Polychrome Ware within the ceramic assemblage (Figure 7.120). Its connections through the Bristol Channel were in particular most likely to be associated with unofficial trade, connecting Llantwit Major to other coastal landing places and ports.
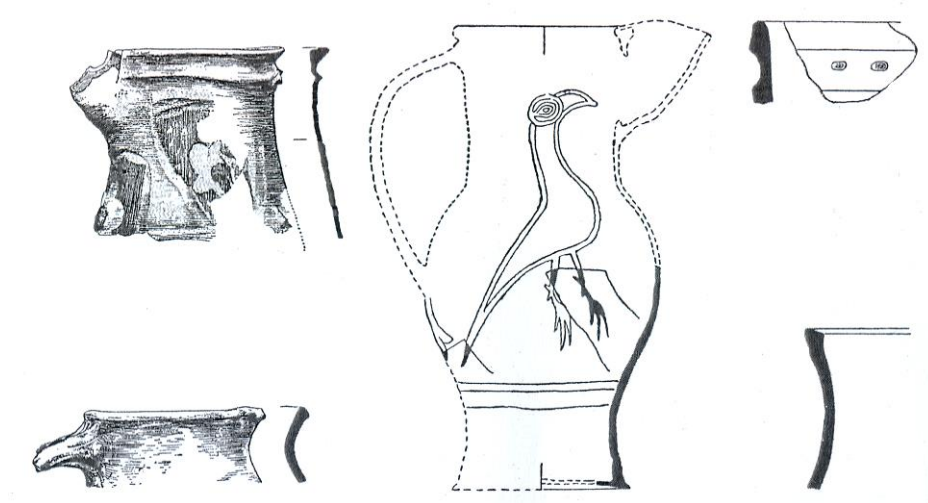
Figure 7.120 Saintonge polychrome Ware retrieved during the excavations in the Bishop's Palace field (Nash-Williams 1952)

The market at Llantwit Major would have enabled the Lord of Glamorgan to control the recorded trade passing through Llantwit Major. As mentioned previously, it was one of the wealthiest manors in the Vale of Glamorgan, and one interpretation is that Cowbridge was developed and planted in order to counter the strength and wealth of Llantwit Major. Richard de Clare, like so many other lords in England, was strategically building and creating towns in order to control the markets and goods passing between hands. Importantly for this thesis, Llantwit Major, despite not being a town, was clearly a central trading place. This supports the hypothesis proposed here that manorial centres were of greater importance to the development of trade and economic networks in South Glamorgan than towns in contrast to what is seen in Gwent and England. Urbanism was not a recognisable feature of settlements other than at Cardiff and Kenfig, but these were the seat of the Lord of Glamorgan and the stronghold of English control in the western Vale respectively. The system in South Glamorgan, despite being a marcher lordship in the medieval period, appears to have functioned within a different economic system.

Post-medieval Llantwit Major witnessed a significant change in ownership with the exclusion of the Tewkesbury Abbey. Despite this the secular control and wealth was great enough to develop the village into the wealthy settlement as seen by the building works, still evident today. Although the ceramic evidence is not available for this period of the settlement's history, it is clear that Llantwit Major's importance as an economic centre for local and regional trade continued.

7.6 Conclusions

The case studies presented here as comparative assemblages to Cosmeston and Cowbridge all concern settlements that had direct access to a port or creek. They are settlements that would have benefited economically from their direct access to the coastal trading networks.

7.6.1 Local

Local economic networks have been identified by the variations apparent within Vale Ware fabrics in the medieval period. It is still not clear where the kilns were situated or what institutions they were associated with: manorial settlement, ecclesiastical settlement, towns. What is identifiable, however, is the east-west division. Local pottery stayed for the most part within its local distribution area. It is also unclear how pottery was distributed: via fairs or markets or in association with other goods (cheese, butter, honey).

In the post-medieval period, the ceramic evidence for local networks is not as apparent as the regional connections. Here a very different system is reflected due to the regionalism of ceramic use and imports. For a more localised system to become apparent, more post-medieval assemblages are required for study.

The biggest problem for both archaeologists and historians is being able to identify the hidden trade networks. Recognising these connections in the historical sources has affected the way in which archaeological evidence is interpreted. Any direct trade between or within manors, and at ports and landing places is not identified or recorded in the port books or for the most part in the manorial records. The archaeological

evidence presented here has highlighted the importance of these networks particularly for a region which does not appear to have fully engaged with towns.

7.6.2 Regional

Regional networks are apparent through the non-local pottery; in the first instance Upper Greensand-Derived, Minety and Ham Green Ware vessels all represent the coastal trade which exists between South Glamorgan and Somerset. Later, in the 13th and 14th centuries, despite there being fewer non-local vessels, the presence of Redcliffe Ware from Bristol is evidence for the continuation of trade between the two regions. It is really in the post-medieval period that the trade in ceramic vessels is reliant on the Somerset kilns. Unfortunately, Cosmeston is the only large post-medieval assemblage which has been fully analysed in South Glamorgan and until more work is done in this area further conclusions on the distribution of particular Somerset wares will have to wait.

7.6.3 Continental

The trade with France, Spain and Portugal as well as ports such as Exeter and Southampton is particularly represented from the 13th-century onwards. The presence of Saintonge Ware at settlements is indicative of not just status but also accessibility to goods. It is this that is central to understanding connectivity and economic networks in South Glamorgan during the medieval and early post-medieval period. Centralised market places were not necessarily the impetus behind trade and exchange in the Vale of Glamorgan. Llantwit Major, for example, with both its market and connection with the Colhuw landing place would have made it central to people local to the area and possibly more so than the markets at Cowbridge.

Hidden trade is also linked to Continental trade: the 15th-century Italian coin and sherd of Maiolica from Sully emphasises this. Nowhere is it explicitly recorded that Italian ships or cargo landed at Sully, yet the material evidence suggests that there was a connection with Italian merchants.

It is apparent from the ceramic evidence from the town sites discussed that the late medieval – early post-medieval high status ceramics found in South Glamorgan are associated with manor sites rather than towns. This might be as result of the where the excavated areas are. At Kenfig, the excavations are mostly on the edge of the town and representative of the general town waste rather than associated with the castle. At Cardiff, the sites are also from within the general town area rather than the Castle too. This appears to contrast with towns in England such as Exeter and Southampton where imported high-status ceramics are found generally throughout the town and not in direct association with the castle household.

Economic networks in South Glamorgan cannot be said to be centred solely on towns, unlike the models proposed for areas of England (Galloway 2007) and Gwent (Courtney 2007). Rather, small port settlements appear to be equal with regards to the influence and movement of goods. The Bristol Channel should not be seen as a boundary between Somerset and South Glamorgan; rather it is a thoroughfare for the movement of goods and economic influence, opening up settlements to trade which may in other landlocked areas rely on a central town and market.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

In order to interpret and understand the ceramic evidence for economic networks in South Glamorgan it has been argued here that context is fundamental. As a result, the ceramic material has been used to not only discuss the range of fabrics from each site but also to enable analysis based on the spatial distribution of ceramic material within and between settlements. Rather than analysing the ceramic material in isolation from the archaeology it has been placed at the very centre of interpretations of the sites. As a result, a greater understanding of the role different settlements played in medieval and early post-medieval economic networks in South Glamorgan has been enabled.

8.1 Fabric Analysis

8.1.1 Local pots for local people[4]

The structure of local pottery production and the market system, within which vessels were distributed, particularly in the medieval period, are not particularly well understood. With evidence for pottery production, albeit limited, only apparent at Llandaff in South Glamorgan understanding whether production was focused on one area, such as with the Ham Green and Crockern Pill kilns (Barton 1963), or structured in another way is not immediately clear. The evidence from Llandaff has been interpreted (Young, pers comm) as a possible response to the demand for roof tiles in the construction of the Bishop's Palace in the 14th century. This would further support the

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[4] Thanks to Dr Jennifer Jones for the puntastic title.

premise that potters were itinerant (Clark) and that they responded to demand rather than being permanently based at one particular site. This interpretation is plausible as it appears that there are regional styles of vessel types such as the incurved dish and decorative motifs as found on Vale Ware jugs (see Chapter 3).

Despite there being a general trend in the range of forms being made and the decoration used, it is apparent from the research conducted here that production is represented by a series of localised kilns rather than a centralised source. The fabric variations are slight and not always apparent from hand identification. However, petrographic analysis has indicated that variations in the sandstones are likely to provide evidence for localised production. From the limited work done here it is clear that there are distinct variables in the Vale Wares, particularly the jars from each site. The fact that most of the sherds formed a localised fabric pattern suggests that, for the most part, Vale Ware does not travel very far from the kiln where it was fired. This would strongly imply that local ceramics were traded within localised markets. The results from the petrographic analysis indicate that pottery did not often travel even between Llandaff and Cosmeston, which are only 11km apart by road. For pottery to be acquired there would have been localised markets separate from the known official fairs and markets to enable this localised system of production and distribution to take place.

The hypothesis that in South Glamorgan local pottery was made for local people should be further investigated. As well as further petrographic analysis from a broader range of sites from across the region, clay samples and local rock samples need also to be included in a detailed survey and analysis.

8.1.2 The significance of non-local pottery

The apparent reliance on local ceramics, once production begins in South Glamorgan, completely changes the range of ceramic material found in medieval contexts. In the post-Conquest period, non-local ceramics dominate assemblages with Greensand-Derived jars, Ham Green jugs and Minety Ware tripod pitchers typically found together in 12th and early 13th century contexts. Once local production begins, the majority of the ceramic material within assemblages from sites in South Glamorgan is local. This is emphasised in particular by the Kenfig assemblage (see Chapter 7), where the stratified and well-sealed deposits provided a clear chronological development in the use of pottery in Kenfig from the 12th to the 14th century. As local ceramics became the main vessel types used in the household the Ham Green kilns stop producing pottery and instead Bristol Redcliffe Ware jugs became the most common non-local vessels found in 13th- and 14th-century contexts. However, unlike Ham Green jugs, the Redcliffe Ware vessels do not supersede Vale Ware jugs to become the dominant vessel type within any of the assemblages from sites in South Glamorgan as the local market, by this time, is supported by Vale Ware production.

In the 15th century and into the early post-medieval period, there is a reversion to the use of non-local pottery. It is not clear why there is a change and an apparent end to local ceramic production. It is not sudden as there is evidence for a small amount of local ceramics being made at this time as seen in the Cosmeston demolition layers and midden contexts. In comparison to the high quantity of Somerset Wares being used in the 16th century and North Devon vessels in the mid- to late-17th century, however, the local sherds are inferior.

The trading connections represented by the ceramics are not newly established at this point; rather they are able to develop because of the established routes across the Bristol Channel. Whereas in the 13th and 14th centuries ceramic material provides evidence for localised trade, pottery in the 15th to 17th centuries is representative of the regional trading links that existed between South Glamorgan and North Somerset and Devon.

Further work on the range of Somerset fabrics found in South Glamorgan is necessary to understanding the economic networks and relationships that existed between coastal settlements. Contribution to current research on the Somerset fabrics from assemblages from Somerset would help our understanding of the connections between different areas of the coastline. Documentary evidence, from 1666, shows that Uphill and Sully were in official direct market contact but any of the unrecorded trade could potentially be identified from the ceramic material.

8.1.3 Imported Pottery

Imported pottery is not as well represented as local and non-local ceramics. There are, however, some significant patterns associated with imported pottery, representative of the trade in the Bristol Channel. Saintonge Ware is the most common imported pottery found on sites in the 13th and 14th centuries. This is significant with regards to recognising wider trading links and the methods by which goods, and in particular luxury items, were entering South Wales. This will be further discussed in this chapter but it is of note here that with regards to distributions, Saintonge Ware is associated with high-status settlements and in particular the port at Carmarthen. Whilst Saintonge Ware has been found on sites in Cardiff it has not been discovered in the same

quantities as seen in the western ports at Haverford West and Carmarthen (Papazian and Campbell 1991). Although Cardiff was the seat of the Lords of Glamorgan, high-status goods may not have been directly traded there if the quantity of Saintonge Ware is to be used as an indicator of this. Rather, ships initially landed at Carmarthen or Bristol and later goods were transported to the other ports along the Bristol Channel.

Post-medieval imports are also low in number from sites in South Glamorgan. The lack or low number of vessels on sites in this area is emphasised by the high number of imports in the assemblages from the Greyfriars site in Carmarthen (James 1995) and the site at Penhow Castle. The typical pattern does mirror the general pattern of post-medieval imports found from sites in Bristol (Good 1987). Although there are few imported wares there is a scatter of Merida Ware from many of the sites discussed in this thesis. The limited number or absence of imported wares does represent a reduction in trade with Europe or access to high-status goods. The Italian coin and sherd of Maiolica from Sully would rather suggest that trade was being conducted but that to interpret ceramic assemblages as representative of this is misleading.

8.2 Contextualising the 12th- to 14th-century ceramic evidence for economic networks in South Glamorgan

Whilst the general distributions of ceramic material provide evidence for where vessels were found, the absence of contextual details does create limitations in analysis. Whilst we know that Vale Ware was being used across South Glamorgan, without understanding where the material was found, any interpretation associated with the structures and networks within which this material was being produced, distributed and exchanged, means that fabric lists, and general distribution patterns, as with

Papazian and Campbell (1991), is all that is really possible. By analysing the ceramics within their context, and placing importance on the interpretation and definition of the settlements from which they have been retrieved, a more complete understanding of the ceramic evidence has been achieved.

8.2.1 Intra-manorial economic networks

The ceramic material from Cosmeston has highlighted that within a single settlement the range and variety of deposition has a significant effect on the interpretation of ceramic material. This concerns not only the range of fabrics but also the potential for identifying function and status between households.

In the manor house area at Cosmeston the evidence for 12th-century activity is significant, highlighting the post-Conquest foundation of the settlement. The comparatively small quantity of early material found in the associated settlement also provides information on the development and growth of the settlement into the 13th and early 14th centuries. This supports the historical evidence for the growth of manors and the rise in population during this period.

The 13th- and early 14th-century archaeological evidence further provides a framework within which to interpret the ceramic material. The division of households emphasises the variety of functions within a manorial settlement. Excavations have provided evidence for the bakehouse and possible dairy, both of which appear to have distinct households occupied with these activities. The ceramic evidence, particularly in the case of the dairy, provides explicit archaeological material to recognise and identify varying functions. Whilst the ceramic evidence from the bakehouse is not as closely associated with the function of the area, the trampled surfaces indicate that the area

had been used extensively as a yard. When compared to the household directly next to this yard area it is clear that this had been a domestic building. Here there were no extensive trampled surfaces; rather what appears to be a grassed area behind the building and a small cluster of broken domestic pottery in the corner between the house and the dividing wall. Ceramic material, although not primary in the interpretation of the area, has enabled better supported analyses of the site.

In comparison to the associated settlement assemblage, the ceramics from the manor area are high-status vessels. This is particularly emphasised by the group of highly decorated local and non-local and imported tablewares retrieved from the manor demolition layers. This group of vessels, dating from the 12th to the 14th century –2 spouted pitchers, a ram's head aquamanile, Saintonge Ware jugs and Ham Green and Vale Ware jugs – indicates that not only did the household possess high-status vessels but that some of these vessels were older than others. For example, the near complete Ham Green B jug is a good example of a jug dating to 1145 – 1235 and another Ham Green A vessel is typically dated to 1100 – 1100. The aquamanile, however, due to it being local and the general dating of these vessels to the late -13th century, highlights the 50-year gap in date of production between it and the Ham Green A jug. Medieval Saintonge jugs are also typically dated to the late 13th and 14th centuries and this further indicates that these high-status vessels had been kept and used over a long period of time. This is very different from the smashed and crushed plain green glazed jug sherds found associated with the bakehouse, and the barn and dairy.

Within the manorial complex there was an economic network. The dairy and the bakehouse would have produced food for the manor as well as for those living in the settlement. The lord of the manor would have taken rents and dues from the tenants

and subsequently been engaged in external markets, both directly with other manors, such as Sully which had command over the landing place and access to the Bristol Channel markets, and Cogan where there is archaeological evidence for a mill. Cosmeston was within the parish of Lavernock and would, therefore, have had spiritual and economic connections with the church there.

8.2.2 Inter-manorial economic networks

Early post-Conquest South Glamorgan is generally discussed within historical narratives rather than using archaeological interpretation. In part this is likely to be a result of the lack of extensive excavation, particularly at 12th-century sites (other than at Llantrithyd). It is the assemblage from Llantrithyd that has provided guidance in the analysis of the early groups within the assemblage from Cosmeston. The assemblage from Llantrithyd contextually represents a 12th- and 13th-century household living in what has been recognised as an early form of post-Conquest settlement, the ringwork (RCAHMW 1991; Phillips 2006). Within this context the Cosmeston assemblage is recognisably early with Ham Green, Minety and Greensand-Derived Wares dominating the assemblage. This is also the case at Llantrithyd where a similar range of fabrics is also present. Other sites which have the same range of early vessels are Cardiff, Kenfig, Hen Gastell, Penmaen and Loughor. These sites (not including Cardiff) are also known historically to have early post-Conquest foundations. The ceramic material indicates that in the 12th century economic links were already forged, with ceramic vessels being distributed from production sites in Somerset and Wiltshire to settlements and households in Glamorgan and the Gower.

Ceramic evidence for inter-manorial settlement connections and networks has also been recognised between different assemblages. Whilst the local fabrics may vary slightly and indicate that even within short distances, ceramics were likely to have been produced and distributed at a very local level, the similarities emphasise social connections. These are particularly represented in the high-status ceramics. Saintonge Ware is generally distributed between lordly households as seen in the manor assemblages at Cosmeston and Sully. The Rams head aquamaniles from Cosmeston, Cardiff Castle and Rumney also suggest possible social connections and a level of influence as households might emulate fashions.

8.2.3 Towns

Understanding the role, functions and status of medieval towns in South Glamorgan has been significant to the analysis of the ceramic assemblages. Cowbridge has received particular attention as not only are there a number of well-stratified assemblages but also the spatial distribution in different burgage plots has enabled contextualised analysis. The interpretation of these assemblages has also emphasised and highlighted the importance of understanding the type of settlement the ceramic material is associated with. As a result it can now be said that in South Glamorgan in the 12th century there were only two towns, Kenfig and Cardiff. It was only in the mid-13th century that, as with many counties in England, Cowbridge was founded as a small rural town. Towns were not as central to economic networks in South Glamorgan as they were in Devon for example. Rather it appears that fairs, ports and landing places were more significant to trade.

The ceramic evidence from Kenfig provides secure dating for the early phase of settlement. The ceramics associated with contexts that are stratigraphically earlier than the addition of the large bank and ditch (to defend the town), emphasise this. The archaeological evidence from the excavated sites in Cardiff has early ceramics present within the assemblages, but they are associated with pit fills that also contain later 13th- and 14th-century pottery. The depositional contexts are completely different to those at Kenfig and, whilst the ceramic evidence proves that there was early activity at Cardiff, unlike the deposits at Cardiff it does not represent specific phases rather the rubbish of a hundred years cleared and dumped.

At Cowbridge the ceramic evidence indicates that the historically documented mid-13th- century date for the establishment of the town is probably correct. Unlike Cardiff and Kenfig, there is no evidence for earlier post-Conquest occupation. Instead, the ceramics represent a 13th- and 14th-century medieval rural town. In the cases where there is evidence within a burgage plot for a household the ceramic assemblages are similar to the manor household with little evidence for incurved dishes and cisterns. The assemblages also conform to the pattern seen at Llantarnum and Cosmeston manor with a greater number of jugs to jars. However, the Vale Ware jugs are not as highly decorated as the manorial jugs and evidence for Saintonge Ware is highly fragmentary and the number of vessels represented is low. This is more in keeping with the Llantarnum assemblage which has a similar range of decorated jugs.

In comparison to the burgages within the town, the assemblage from the small homestead on the main street outside of the town walls has an assemblage more like that found in the associated settlement at Cosmeston. The yard surfaces have a similar pattern of crushed and trampled sherds stabilising the ground. The range of fabrics is

also very similar to that seen at Cosmeston, although there are notably low numbers of incurved dish sherds which is more consistent with the pattern seen in Cowbridge.

The Cowbridge medieval assemblages are quite different to those from Kenfig and Cardiff. It was not a town in the sense of a large urban market. Rather it was a small rural town, similar to those identified by Dyer (2003). Unlike many of these small rural towns though, Cowbridge continued into the post-medieval period. This is very likely to be because it was the only small rural town in South Glamorgan in the medieval period with little other similar competition other than from Llantwit Major.

South Glamorgan was not similar to Monmouthshire or Somerset and Devon with regards to markets and fairs. It lacked the official structure. It did, however, have a two ports, Aberthaw and Barry, as well as landing places, Sully and Colhuw Bay, which, although may not have had official fairs and markets, are likely to have still been at the centre of trading systems and networks in medieval South Glamorgan.

8.2.4 Markets and Fairs

The number of official known market and fairs in South Glamorgan is low in comparison to Monmouthshire and Devon. In part this is due to the small number of towns; however, fairs in particular are not necessarily associated with towns. In South Glamorgan there are three known fairs that are not situated within towns: Ewenny, St Nicholas and St Mary Hill. These fairs are accounted for in the historical records, but archaeologically they are very difficult to identify. The issue of how a fair site would be represented in the archaeological record is very similar to the Anglo-Saxon markets in eastern England (Ulmschneider 2000). If one assumes that fair sites would likely be represented by an unusually high quantity of coins and other lost metal items such as

seals, weighing equipment and possibly vessel fragments, some sites may possibly be identifiable. Ewenny is the exception to the known fairs as a large collection of coins and other finds has been retrieved from a field adjacent to the priory church. The range of coins and also the presence of medieval sherds and other metal personal items such as a ring and dress hooks have all contributed to this interpretation.

Medieval markets are similarly difficult to recognise archaeologically. Structures such as guildhalls do represent the power of market groups. Cowbridge did not have a guildhall until the post-medieval period and this further highlights its rural nature. Kenfig, on the other hand, did have a guildhall as did Cardiff. The ceramic assemblages, as mentioned above, appear to be characteristic of the type of towns and therefore markets and economic networks. Although Llantwit Major also had a weekly market during the medieval period, it was not a town, and the limited excavation in the area has limited any possible interpretations.

8.2.5 Ports and landing places

Whilst Kenfig and Cardiff are both official medieval borough towns with fairs and markets and also ports, places such as Barry and Aberthaw are not recorded as having fairs or markets attached to them. It is more than likely that trade would have been conducted from these ports as well as the smaller landing places as illustrated at Sully. The ceramic evidence from the manor at Sully suggests that the household had access to high status goods as illustrated by the Saintonge Polychrome sherds. It is more than likely that the landing place acted as an instigator for trade. This is further supported by the metal-detected finds from the area next to the known associated settlement at Sully. Here a significant group of coins has been found dating from the early 13th

(Henry III long cross halfpenny) to the early 16th centuries (silver Italian coin of the Bentivoglio family). The list can be found in chapter 7 in Table 7.37.

The importance of the Bristol Channel to the economic networks in South Glamorgan may also be a very good explanation for Cowbridge's limited rural market. South Glamorgan would have been directly connected to the trade flowing down and up the Bristol Channel. Llantwit Major's access to the Bristol Channel networks via Colhuw Port, further emphasises the importance of the river to a successful market in South Glamorgan.

Unlike ports such as Carmarthen, Bristol, Southampton and Exeter, the range of imported wares from Cardiff is notably less wide ranging with Saintonge Wares representing the most exotic wares but in fewer numbers. Kenfig's status and role as a port is not particularly understood as very little has been done archaeologically on the site of the town. Despite this, its early foundation and range of 12th and early 13th century non-local ceramics represents its importance as a port in the post-Conquest period.

8.3 Contextualising the 15th- to 17th-century ceramic evidence for economic networks in South Glamorgan

The change in ceramics in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods can be seen not only in the growth in the range of forms being produced in the tableware category but in South Glamorgan, it is apparent that local production collapsed. It is not clear what led to this change in pottery production. The slow collapse of manorial estates may have had an effect on the ceramics market if this were the system within which pottery was produced and distributed. What is certain is that, as with the 12th

century, people looked to Somerset and the pottery kilns there to meet the demands for ceramics. This once again highlights the importance of the Bristol Channel and the close networks associated with this route.

8.3.1 Rural settlement

Rural settlement in the 15th to 17th centuries continued as the dominant settlement type in South Glamorgan. Cosmeston is a very good example of a former manor brought under the control of a larger lordship and the continuation of the settlement as a series of farmsteads. The ceramic assemblage from here represents a number of households that are using ceramic vessels in significant quantities, particularly by the mid-17th century.

The ceramic assemblage contains a large number of tablewares including chafing dishes, candlesticks, highly decorated bowls and jugs. These are all typical of the increase in the use of ceramics which were a response to the changes to households, the division of space and associations with dining and display.

In the late 15th and 16th centuries the ceramics are primarily coming from kilns in Somerset. This changes in the 17th century, however, with the growth of the North Devon pottery industry and by the late 17th century North Devon wares dominate the assemblage. Utilitarian wares, such as pancheons, dominate the assemblage and this is representative of the activities being carried out in the settlement. On the whole pancheons are associated with activities such as dairying, and this supports the port records which indicate that butter in particular was exported to places like Somerset and Devon.

This pattern of ceramic supply is replicated across South Glamorgan. A gap in this thesis is the exclusion of the assemblage from the site at Gadlys Farm, Llanmaes (Marvell and Wilkinson 1995). This was only realised too late. This site has evidence for an earlier medieval household as well as the large post-medieval ceramic assemblage. For the most part any ceramics that are clearly post-medieval with a red clay body are mistaken by a number of people as local coarsewares. In many cases, including the site at Llanmaes, the sherds are actually from Somerset vessels. Similarly to Cosmeston, a large element of this assemblage is North Devon wares. Without further examination and analysis of the assemblage little more can be interpreted here but to develop our understanding of the Somerset Wares in South Glamorgan. It is clear that the assemblage is very similar to that from Cosmeston and it is likely that the pattern of first Somerset and then later North Devon Wares will characterise the assemblage.

As well as the everyday and utilitarian Somerset and North Devon Wares, the few imports from rural sites indicate that there was access to wider markets. At Cosmeston the presence of Merida Ware is generally typical of sites in South Glamorgan. Other imported wares such as late Saintonge and Beauvais ceramics from France, vessels found in other post-medieval assemblages, indicate that poorer rural communities were emulating fashions and conforming to changes within everyday life.

The development of the tin-glazed ceramic industry in London and later in Bristol enabled poorer households to own similar objects to those seen in higher status homes. The difference was that the wealthier households were importing their tin-glazed wares from Spain, Portugal and Italy, whereas for South Glamorgan vessels were primarily available from the Brislington kiln. The demand for finewares can also be attributed to the growth of the North Devon industry. Here the sgraffito wares being

produced by the Barnstaple kilns meant that the highly decorated bowls from the Netherlands, which sat in wealthier households, were being copied and made available to everyone. This pattern of production and consumption can be seen in the late 17th century assemblage at Cosmeston where both sgraffito wares and tin-glazed vessels are increasingly predominant.

There are very few manorial or high-status post-medieval assemblages from South Glamorgan. The small collection of pottery from Sully is not fully discussed within the report but the brief mention of a sherd of Mediterranean Maiolica indicates that it is likely that the ceramics associated with the manor would have been similar to those identified at Penhow. Whilst the Penhow assemblage contained a notable amount of imported wares it is also characterised by both Malvern and Somerset vessels. Although the Malvern wares are not found in Glamorgan in any significant quantity they are equivalent to the Somerset imports.

Ceramic assemblages from rural communities provide striking evidence for economic and social networks. There are clear divisions between those who has access to high-status ceramics as seen with the assemblage and Penhow and Sully. Whilst Sully had direct links to the Bristol Channel through the landing point there, Penhow must have had direct links through the port at Newport.

8.3.2 Towns

The post-medieval ceramic evidence from towns is poorly represented in comparison to the medieval assemblages. In particular the redwares or coarsewares have not been studied in any detail and only the more unusual fabrics or those considered more important have been discussed for the most part in association with town assemblages.

Both Cardiff and Cowbridge survived beyond the 15th century, a time when many smaller towns failed particularly those in an area with high competition such as Trellech and Grosmont in Monmouthshire. Cardiff's survival was certainly due to its status as the seat of the Lords of Glamorgan as well as its access as a port to the Bristol Channel. Although it was a politically significant town it does not appear to have been a large economic centre and this interpretation is supported by the lack of growth until the 18th century. The ceramic evidence supports this with the small number of imported wares but the comparatively low number of North Devon vessels indicates that this was still a market and urban centre.

Cowbridge remained as a small, rural market town. Its survival is likely to be due to an absence of competition from any other borough towns in the area, although Llantwit Major continued to prosper. Ceramic evidence from Cowbridge would also suggest that it was limited in the range of economic networks it was involved in. As with the rural settlements, Somerset tablewares are the dominant fabrics within the assemblages from the town. There is however an important sherd of Werra Ware: the only known example from Wales. This would indicate that although the town itself did not participate in wider markets, its inhabitants did.

Although Llantwit Major is poorly represented by post-medieval ceramic assemblages, the evidence, from historical documentation and standing buildings, strongly indicates that it was a prosperous and wealthy settlement. In comparison to Cowbridge, although it too grew in the post-medieval period, the lack of direct contact with the coast did not enable the town to grow any faster or larger than Llantwit Major.

For both Cardiff and Cowbridge, the assemblages that have been part of the analysis here do not have as wide a variety or number of North Devon vessels as seen in the Cosmeston assemblage. This is a possible further indicator that North Devon Gravel Tempered pancheons and other utilitarian vessels were mostly marketed within rural communities. This would suggest that there were, as with the medieval period, differences in activities associated with towns and rural settlement. This may also indicate a degree of status associated certainly with the gravel-tempered wares. The North Devon sgraffito wares, however, are slightly different due to their function as tableware, but they too are still found in fewer numbers in towns than in the countryside.

8.4 Conclusions

The Bristol Channel is at the heart of economic networks for South Glamorgan. The river, rather than being a divisive feature, connects South Glamorgan to Somerset and to the wider European trading networks. This is not new to the medieval period but is a connection that can be seen archaeologically in the Bronze Age through axe technology (Savory 1980) into the modern period with the now redundant Ilfracombe to Swansea and Penarth to Western-Super-Mare ferry services.

Although the towns were officially central market centres, it is clear that those settlements with associated landing places or ports were equally important to trade. These small nodal points along the Bristol Channel enabled a greater movement of goods not only along the coast but also across the sea.

There is a clear divide between town and country. These differences are not always associated with social or economic status; rather the activities and functions that the

rural settlements are engaged in are emphasised by the quantity of utilitarian vessel forms, jars, pancheons and cisterns for example, throughout the 12th to the 17th centuries.

The ceramic evidence for economic networks in South Glamorgan from the 12th to the 17th century can provide information not only on the local networks and relationships between manorial estates but also the regional importance of towns, markets, fairs and landing places. The regional networks include Somerset and Devon and the links between the coastal settlements on both sides of the Bristol Channel were likely to have been stronger than with inland market centres.

There are three areas of further research that should be considered as a priority. Petrographic analysis of the early fabrics from Llantrithyd, Penmaen, Loughor, Kenfig and Cosmeston is necessary to address the issues of fabric identification. The recent research on Greensand-Derived Wares (Allan et al 2011) has provided an important point of reference that would be invaluable to understanding the fabrics that appear to be non-local from sites in 12th-century contexts. As there are identifiable variations in the Greensand-Derived Wares, by matching those found in South Glamorgan to examples from Somerset, a greater understanding of trade routes and links could be established.

Secondly, further petrographic analysis of Vale Ware from sites across the region in conjunction with a programme of analysis of clays and river gravels would provide more detailed results that could potentially begin to identify localised markets.

Thirdly, whilst this thesis has enabled the revision of medieval and early post-medieval ceramics found in South Glamorgan, there are a number of sites that have not been

included in the analysis, such as the assemblage from excavations at St Fagan's in 1978-1980, where the material is directly associated with one household and dates from the 13th to the 18th centuries. The site at Gadlys Farm, Llanmaes, also needs attention as it too is a significant post-medieval assemblage and is associated with an identifiable household. These two sites would provide further details not only on the locally produced Vale Ware but also enable further research on the post-medieval Somerset Wares. Similarly to the post-Conquest assemblages, the ability to identify the Somerset Wares more closely to their production site would help further our knowledge of the connections and relationships between the two sides of the Bristol Channel. This would also complement the recent petrographic analysis on Somerset Wares (Andersen 2012).

This thesis has significantly developed our understanding of medieval and early post-medieval settlement in South Glamorgan and the economic structures within which they operated. The ceramic assemblages have been crucial to this. By approaching the ceramic material as key to understanding the function and roles settlement played in the regional economy, we are now able to discuss settlement archaeologically rather than relying on historical interpretations to inform analysis and any further excavation work in this area will directly contribute to the conclusions presented here. This thesis provides both evidence and interpretation of 12th- to 17th-century South Glamorgan for those who want to look beyond the historical narratives and to the detailed material past.

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Appendix 1: Cosmeston fabric series

CFS01 *Oxfordshire redwares*

Hard, fine-textured fabric, sometimes with slightly laminar texture; colour varies from orange-buff to red or red-brown, often with grey core; moderate or abundant fine sub-angular red iron ore inclusions (occasionally coarser) and sparse large (up to 5mm) chalk lumps, set in micaceous matrix; smooth slip varies from orange-red to red to dark brown, the is latter more characteristic of closed forms (Tyers 1996).

CFS02 *Mortaria*

Hard, fairly fine-textured fabric; white, or cream, sometimes darker (light brownish-cream, with a pink core or with a cream to buff slip; some earlier fabrics contain abundant translucent quartz sand but most have a little red-stained quartz and occasional larger red and black inclusions; trituration grit invariably rounded translucent or transparent quartz -- pink, black, white or brown. Wheel-thrown (Tyers 1996).

CFS03 *Black burnished Ware*

Hard, granular dark grey or black fabric (occasionally with lighter grey or buff patches); abundant well-sorted translucent quartz (giving distinctive 'cod's roe' fracture) and occasional rounded shale fragments, red and black iron ores and flint, and a little white mica (Tyers 1996).

CFS04 *South Wales Grey Ware*

These vessels are a mid or silvery-grey fabric, sometimes with a darker surface coloration and containing plentiful sand-like filler (Webster 1993, 232).

CFS05 *South Gaulish Terra Sigillata*

Hard, smooth surfaced fabric with conchoidal or slightly laminar fracture; pinkish-brown typically with glossy red slip covering the entire vessel, except interior of enclosed vessels. Earliest specimens in Britain (Tiberio-Claudian) lack high gloss of classic ware and are duller in appearance. Very abundant inclusions of finely divided limestone, usually under 0.1mm in diameter but occasionally up to 0.5m, or in longer streaks; occasional fragments of rounded quartzite (up to 0.5mm diameter) in the paste and the underside of footrings (Tyers 1996).

CFS06 *Early Local*

Clay matrix: Red birefringent clay with occasional mica and iron oxides and rare quartz.

Additional Inclusions: Common quartz (0.25mm-1mm), black iron oxides and sandstone (0.25mm-1.5mm) and occasional chert (0.25mm-1.25mm). See Chapter 3, Fab 9 for images.

CFS07   *Limestone and Quartz*

Clay matrix: Greeny orangey red birefringent clay with occasional quartz, mica and iron oxides.

Additional inclusions: Common angular quartz and sandstone, calcareous inclusions. Occasional angular chert and iron oxides. 0.25mm-2.5mm. See Chapter 3, Fab 8 for images.

CFS08   *Greensand-Derived*

'Usually orange surfaces and light grey core and margins, but variation in colour is frequent. Hard smooth fabric. Abundant poorly sorted polished quartz <2mm, occasional brown and/or white chert, sometimes limestone is also present' (Gutiérrez 2008, 112).

CFS09   *Minety*

Clay matrix: Moderate specks of limestone, sparse angular quartz and rounded iron ore up to 0.2mm

Additional inclusions: Abundant angular and rounded fragments of limestone. Calcite and Oolitic limestone with a sparry matrix, angular chert or flint, burnt-out organic inclusions and shell fragments are rare. Sparse rounded quartz up to 0.4mm is found.

CFS10   *Bath A*

Light grey to black fabric with moderate quantities of rounded quartz up to 2.0mm. Sparse red iron ore, rounded limestone and rounded clay pellets. Angular white chert. The clay matrix contains abundant angular quartz and variable quantities of mica (Vince 1988, 264-265).

CFS11   *Ham Green A jugs*

Clay matrix: sparse angular quartz and white mica up to 0.1mm across.

Additional inclusions: Abundant quartz, moderate limestone sand and chert and angular to rounded clay pellets. Ham Green A fabrics have a higher proportion of clay pellets and limestone and B fabrics have more quartz (Vince 1984).

CFS12   *Ham Green B Jugs*

See above CFS11 for description.

CFS13   *Ham Green Jars*

Clay matrix: Sparse angular quartz and white mica up to 0.1mm.

Additional inclusions: Abundant subangular and rounded quartz and sparse sandstone fragments, chert, fine-grained micaceous sandstone and limestone. The sand is well sorted and rarely larger than 0.3mm across, except for the rare sandstone fragments up to 0.5mm (Vince 1988).

CFS14   *Vale Fabric*

Quartz and sandstone tempered fabric. The sandstones vary with some, for example, containing chert and others some sort of heat affected crystals. Typically handmade although occasionally wheel-thrown examples do turn up, Jars, cisterns, incurved dishes, and curfews.

CFS15   *Vale Fabric (Coarse)*

As above but the inclusions are more angular. It is more than likely that this is actually the same fabrics as CFS06, identified as early.

CFS16   *Vale Fabric (Limestone)*

As CFS14 but includes limestone within the fabric. The limestone is usually part of the sandstone rather than taken from a specific limestone source and crushed.

CFS17   *Vale Fabric Reduced and Glazed*

Quartz and sandstone tempered fabric. Similar to CFS14 but tends to be less densely tempered. Found in glazed forms, jugs and aquamaniles.

CFS18   *Vale Fabric Reduced and Glazed (Limestone)*

As CFS17 but with limestone within the matrix. Similar to the CFS16 but the glazed version.

CFS19   *Early local*

See fabric description for CFS06.

CFS20   *Vale Fabric (late)*

As CFS14 but the firing makes the clay seem more brittle.

CFS21   *Vale Fabric Pale*

Description as CFS14 but the clay is paler firing.

CFS22   *Vale Fabric (transitional)*

Well sorted rounded quartz in a relatively clean clay matrix. Similar to CFS23 but not glazed.

CFS23   *Vale Fabric Reduced and Glazed (transitional)*

Similar fabric to CFS17 but with better sorted quartz inclusions. The vessels are typically wheel-thrown and are from later forms, mostly bowls and dishes, with internal green glaze,

CFS24   *Saintonge Ware*

Fine off-white or buff fabric with abundant fine angular quartz and variable quantities of mica (Hurst et al 1976, 78; Vince 1991, 124).

CFS25   *Saintonge Ware (Late)*

As above but the forms change, with the introduction of small cups and chafing dishes (Hurst 1974, 233; Vince 1991, 124).

CFS26 *French*

Generic term used here when the fabric is clearly not Saintonge Ware but has a white, finely tempered clay body and is likely to be French in origin.

CFS27 *Bristol Redcliffe Ware*

Clay matrix: Occasional white mica fragments and rare fine angular quartz .

Additional inclusions: Rounded quartz and quartzite, mainly less than c.0.3mm but up to 1.2mm, rounded light-coloured clay pellets up to 1.0mm, rarer sandstone with a dark brown matrix, silicious sandstone (quartzite with brown inclusions), fragments of fine-grained sandstone with a silica matrix (grains up to c.0.2mm) up to 0.7mm. Small iron ore fragments c.0.2mm. Rounded, decomposed limestone up to c.0.3mm (Vince 1984)

CFS28 *Malvern Chase (Post-medieval)*

Red, hard fired fabric with rounded quartz from 0.1mm-0.7mm. Igneous rock and sandstone frags of the same size, however, the larger igneous inclusions can be up to 4.0mm. (Vince 1985, 48-52).

CFS29 *Surrey White Ware*

Whiteware with moderate rounded quartz inclusions and red iron (Brown 1999, 20).

CFS30 *Beauvais Redware*

Smooth red fabric with some quartz. Heavily glazed on both the internal and external surfaces.

CFS31 *Somerset (General)*

Orange/red firing fine clay body with varying quantities of fine rounded quartz.

CFS32 *North/East Somerset*

'Generally dull orange to reddish orange, often with a dark grey core where thicker. Occasionally reduced throughout light to mid grey. Coarse texture to matrix. Occasionally has grey pellets, occasionally haematite and occasionally fine sand' (Good 1987, 35).

CFS33 *South/West Somerset (Donyatt and Nether Stowey)*

'Variable in colour and texture. Colour varies from buff through orange and orangey-grey to grey and dark-grey. Generally has fine sand grains and often larger sand in varying quantities. Sometimes has occasional clay pellets or haematite inclusions' (Good 1987, 35)

CFS34 *Somerset Sgrafitto (Donyatt)*

As above but separated as to distinguish the highly decorated vessels from the plain glazed vessels.

CFS35 *Beauvais whiteware*

Smooth white, fine fabric with some quartz grains (Brown 1999, 30).

CFS41 *Werra Ware*

Red-brown sandy fabric with a brown lead glaze on the internal surface (Hurst et al 1986, 244).

CFS43 *North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware*

Fine matrix abundant angular quartz and quartzite filler, sometimes with black or white mica plates (Allan 1984, 148).

CFS44 *North Devon Gravel Free*

Very fine clay matrix with a few angular quartz inclusions (Allan 1984, 148).

CFS45 *North Devon Sgraffito Ware*

As North Devon Gravel Free but separated to distinguish between highly decorated and plainly glazed vessels.

CFS49 *Bristol Delftware*

Very fine white bodied earthen ware with very few inclusions. White tin-glaze and blue painted decoration.

CFS50 *Dutch Delftware*

As above. Generally earlier in date as London and Bristol production didn't begin until the late 16th century.

CFS51 *Merida-Type Ware*

Fine sandy micaeous fabric. Usually red-brown to orange-red (Hurst et al 1986, 69; Gutiérrez 2000, 74).

CFS52 *Cistercian Style*

True Cistercian Wares are made in the Midlands (Courtney 2004) but there is evidence
for Cistercian style vessels being produced in Herefordshire and possibly at
Abergavenny. They are typically highly fired cups, some of which also had lids. The
fabrics are quartz tempered and as with the Midlands Cistercian Wares they are fired
to a browny purple colour.

CFS53 *Staffordshire slipware*

Fine pinky/buff fabric with few apparent additional inclusions with slip-trailed
decoration.

CFS54 *Treacle Glazed ware*

Buff fine clay with dark brown 'treacle' glaze.

CFS55 *Bristol yellow wares*

'Yellow slipwares with combed, feathered, and other, brown-slip decoration. Generally
of Bristol manufacture with rare Staffordshire examples' BPT 100 (Ponsford 1998, 137).

CFS56 *Westerwald Stoneware*

Fine light grey fabric with blue-grey surfaces, normally decorated in blue or mauve
(Allan 1984, 148).

CFS57 *Raeren Stoneware*

Dark grey fabric, external glossy light grey or bronze-brown glaze with fine dark specs
(Allan 1984, 184).

CFS58 *Frechen Stoneware*

Dark grey fabric usually with thick mottled dark brown glaze, occasionally mottled light grey (Allan 1984, 148)

CFS59 *Other stonewares*

Stonewares that have not been identified as one of the three above. These are mostly late (18th-19th century) Bristol stonewares.

CFS60 *Creamware*

Hard fired, white bodied vessels with a plain cream glaze.

CFS61 *Modern*

Anything that is late in date, including blue and white.

Appendix 2: Finds from the Ewenny fair site

Finds recovered from the field next to the priory church

June 1983

1x breast plate

1x back plate

1x pair of wheel-lock pistols or carbines

Miscellaneous pieces of brass studded wood and/or leather

Miscellaneous pieces of Ironwork

1x silver shilling (Charles I)

12.2.84

Halfgroat, Henry VII, Canterbury, 1490-1500. Worn, clipped, double-struck in one qr.

Penny prob Henry VI (or Edw III Transitional Treaty) York.

Penny, Edward I, London Class IIId.S.1390.

Groat Henry VI, Calais, Annulet Issue 1422-27.

Penny, Prob Edward IV Irish or Durham. Worn

19.8.84

Groat, Edward IV, London, 1464-67. Slightly worn

Cut halfpenny, Henry III, Long Cross, 1247-72. Type 3c.

Penny prob Edward IV, 2nd reign, York, 1476-80.

Penny, prob Henry VI, much worn.

Penny, Edward IV, Limerick. Worn.

Penny, prob Edward IV, Irish.

Penny, York, R , quatrefoil centre, much worn.

Penny, perhaps, Edward IV, Irish. Worn and clipped.

9.9.84

Penny Henry VI, Calais, Annulet Issue, 1422-47, slightly worn and clipped.

Penny, prob Edward I, Canterbury. Class 10ff. Little wear but incomplete.

Penny prob Edward IV, Dublin. 1478-83, slightly worn and bent.

Penny, prob Edward IV, Dublin. 1473-83

Penny, prob Edward IV, Dublin. Cross and Pellets coinage, 1470-1478.

Esterling, Low Countries penny appears to be silver plated thinly on base metal not clipped. Prob late 13th-early 14th.

??? Fragments (2) of a silver coin. Unknown country of origin. Later identified as a silver denaro.

Found by Landowner

Penny, Edward I, class 10b, London, 1410. Slightly worn.

Penny, Edward I class 10c-f, or Edward II some wear.

6d William III, 1695-96, worn out.

4 Ae halfpennies, 1672-1775, indecipherable.

George III 4th Ae issue, halfpenny, 1806/7.

George V, ist issue halfpenny.

24.2.85

Halfpenny, prob Edward IV, second reign, London. 1477-80, much worn and clipped.

Penny, perhaps Edward IV, Irish. Much worn.

Cut halfpenny, prob Henry III. Type V. Worn and cracked.

31.3.85

Penny, possibly Edward IV, Irish. Much worn and clipped.

16.4.85

Penny, ?Durham. Worn, bent and clipped.

8.9.85

Penny, Edward IV, Irish, 1473-78. Worn, creased and flat in places.

22.9.85

Halfpenny, Edward IV, Bristol, 1466-69. Worn and flat in places.

Penny, Edward I, Class 10c – Edward II Class 11a, Durham, Bishop Bec.O.EDWA. Worn, flat in places.

Halfpenny, Henry V, London.

Halfgroat, Edward III, 4th coinage, Pre-Treaty Period, prob series C. 1351-52. Some wear, badly chipped and bent.

Penny ?Edward IV, Irish/Henry IV leaf pellet coinage. Durham. Some wear, flat in places, clipped and cracked.

Penny, prob Edward IV 2nd reign, York. 1465-80.

Penny, perhaps Edward IV, Irish. Silver appears somewhat base.

Penny (fragment), prob Edward IV, Irish. Only a third remains , much worn and clipped.

Cut halfpenny, Henry III, Class 6, ? 1218-1223. Silver appears somewhat base.

6.10.85

Penny, Edward I, class 10b, London, 1410. Slightly worn.

Penny, probably Edward I contemporary forgery, Blundered legends. Flat in places, slightly chipped and worn.

Penny, Henry VII, 'Sovereign' type, York. Some wear but chipped and broken in 3 pieces, also clipped.

Jan 86

1 medieval jug handle.

1 flint scraper.

1 unfinished leaf shaped arrowhead.

1 silver ring with setting, Med.

Late Med/EPM Ae double buckle

Late Med/EPM Ae locking buckle.

1 Pb cloth seal.

Silver penny, Edward III

Silver halfpenny Henry VII

Silver sixpence, Elizabeth I (1595)

Silver penny Henry III

24.8.86

Halfgroat, Henry VI, Rosette-mascle issue, Calais. 1427-30. Little wear corroded and dirty.

Penny, Edward III, 4th coinage York. Pre-treaty series. 1356-61. Bent and cracked, some wear.

Penny, Edward I, prob Class 1d/2b, Bristol. 1279-80. Wear, cracked, a little flat in places.

Halfpenny, Edward I, class 3 (IIIc, North) Bristol. Little wear.

Penny Edward III, 4th coinage, York, Pre-treaty period, series Dor E. Royal Mint, 1352-55. Slight wear, slightly clipped, pitted, and incomplete.

Cut farthing, Henry III, prob class Vb or c-type. 1251-72. Only slight wear, bent.

Cut farthing, prob Henry III, class 7. 1223-1242. Little wear.

Penny, Edward IV, 2nd reign, York, Archbishop Neville Restored. 1475-76. Worn and clipped.

Penny, Edward IV, Irish, Dublin. 1470-1478. Some wear, broken and incomplete.

Penny, unidentifiable. Possibly Irish – much clipped, chipped in two places.

Penny, unidentifiable, prob Durham.

7.9.86

Penny, Henry VI, annulet issue, Calais. 1422-27. Slightly worn and clipped.

Halfgroat, Henry VII, Canterbury. 1490-1500. Very fine, clipped.

Penny, Edward III, 4th coinage, Durham. Some wear, obv striking damage.

Penny, Edward IV, Irish. Mint uncertain, worn and clipped.

Penny, Edward I, class X ?c (ornate R). Canterbury. 1302-10. Little wear mostly flat in the reverse and flat in places.

Penny, Edward III, 4th coinage, York. Series D or E. Royal Mint. 1352-55. Much worn and bent, clipped.

Penny, prob Edward IV, Irish or Durham (2nd reign). 1471-83. Much worn, slightly clipped and cracked.

Penny, Edward I, class Ixb, Hull. Much worn and pitted and slightly clipped.

Penny, Henry V, york. 1400. Slightly worn and clipped. Flat in place, bent and incomplete.

21.9.86

Penny, Edward I, London, ?Type 10. Much worn, bent, cracked and damaged.

Penny, Edward II, Durham. Class 15. Some wear, bent, legend missing between 12 and 4 o'clock.

Halfpenny, Richard II, London, prob early or intermediate.

Cut farthing, probably Edward I or imitation. Slight wear, chipped.

12.10.86

Halfgroat, Henry VII, Canterbury. 1490-1500.

Penny, Edward I, Dublin. Slight wear.

Penny, prob Edward III, 4th coinage, York, transitional treaty period, 1361-63. Much worn, badly bent, damaged and incomplete.

Penny, prob Edward IV, 2nd reign, York, archbishop Neville. 1465-76. As 3 records down, but different dies. Much worn and clipped, broken and repaired.

Penny, indecipherable perh. Edward IV, Irish. Much clipped, worn,

Penny, York, Edward III, 4th coinage.

Penny, prob Edward IV, 2nd reign; York, archbishop Neville. 1465-76. Cross ref to above entry, different dye. Slightly worn and flat. Clipped and incomplete.

Penny, perhaps Edward IV ? Irish (Dublin). Much worn, broken and clipped.

Penny, York ?Edward III (4th coinage) 2nd reign? Much worn and clipped.

Penny, York, Edward III (4th coinage). Much worn and clipped.

Penny, Edward IV, 2nd Reign, Durham Bp. Dudley. 1476-83. Much worn, clipped and bent.

Penny, perhaps Edward III, post-Treaty; Durham. 1369-77. Much worn, clipped and chipped.

3 silver half denaros of Lorenzo Celsi, Doge of Venice, 1361-65. Some wear on all 3.

Halfpenny, William III, (3rd issue) 1700.

2.11.86

Halfgroat, Henry VIII, 1st coinage, York Archbishop Wolsey. 1514-26. Only slightly worn, slightly chipped.

Penny, Edward III, probably London. Post-Treaty period 1295097. Much worn and bent.

Penny, fragment. Slightly clipped.

Cut farthing, Henry III. Prob Class 5b/c. Only slight wear.

Penny, Edward IV, Dublin. Some wear, clipped.

2 Esterlings, fused.

16.11.86

Penny, probably Edward IV, 2nd reign, York, Archbishop Neville. 14165-76. Much worn.

21.12.86

Farthing, Edward I, Bristol. Probably Class II.

Penny, Edward I, Bristol. Probably Class IIIc.

6.9.87

Penny, Henry VI, Calais. Issue 1427-30. Slightly worn and broken.

Halfpenny, Henry VI, Calais, Annulet Issue 1422-27.

Cut halfpenny, Henry III, probably Class 5 (1251-72), Canterbury. Slight wear and broken.

13.9.87

Penny, Henry VII, 'Sovereign' type, York. Some wear, crinkled, pierced.

Penny, York ?Edward III (4th coinage). Much worn, clipped and incomplete.

Penny, perhaps Edward IV. Irish, 1470-78. Much worn, clipped and incomplete.

Penny, Edward IV, Irish. Worn, slightly clipped and flat in places.

Silver half denaro. Some wear, edge damage.

Cut farthing, Henry III or John. Probably Class 5 or , 1205-23. Robert of Canterbury. Some wear, flat in places.

Penny, Calais, probably Henry VI, 1427-35. Slightly worn with some corrosion.

3 bronze coin-weights.

20.9.87

Silver denaro of Doge Micheele Steno, 1400-13. Some ware.

Penny, London ?Edward I, type unknown.

Groat, Edward IV, 2nd Reign, London. Some wear, crinkled, edges nicked.

Penny, Edward I, Exeter, Class 9b. Slightly worn in places.

Fragment of a penny, unidentifiable. Worn, clipped, bent, incomplete and broken.

Halfgroat, Canterbury, Henry VII. 1486-1504. Some wear, clipped and crinkled.

Penny, Henry VII, 'Sovereign' type, Durham. 1494, 1501. Slightly worn, poorly struck, edges damaged, incomplete.

Penny, Edward III, 4th coinage, pre-Treaty period, series E or G, 1354-61, Durham. Some wear, slightly clipped, poorly struck.

Silver denaro. Some wear, flat in places, incomplete, edges damaged/missing.

Penny, York, perhaps Edward III, Treaty/post-Treaty period 1363-77. Much worn, slightly clipped and bent.

Penny, York, perhaps Edward III (4th coinage) Much worn, slightly clipped, edges damaged.

Penny, perhaps Edward IV, Irish. Worn out, clipped.

Penny, Edward I, Canterbury. Class uncertain. Some wear, slightly clipped, crinkled and flat in places.

Penny, 'Sovereign' type, 148901544, unidentifiable fragment.

Penny, perhaps Edward IV, Irish/Durham, Much worn, clipped, edges broken.

Penny, probably Henry III, 1223-1247. Type 7 or 8. A full round coin, some wear, week in places.

Other finds

Ae seal matrix, ?14th century.

Ae buckles, x4, medieval.

Ae cauldron fragments, including leg castings and handle.

Ae weights, x2, apothecaries and avoirdupois, prob late 15th century.

Schistone frag.

Bakestone frag.

Pottery, medieval; abundant including a face jug, meat dish, skillet handle.

Roofing material; very small quantity of glazed tile.

RB pottery, few sherds.

Barb and tanged arrowhead, also retouched flakes.

A large quantity of indeterminable metal fragments and objects. Mostly Ae and Pb but

a few Fe discarded.

8.4.88

Gold love ring. Late fifteenth century.

Appendix 3 – Cosmeston assemblage

Appendix 4 – Cowbridge assemblages

Appendix 5 – Other case studies

Please see CD over page.