

Tome: Studies in
Medieval Celtic History
and Law

IN HONOUR OF THOMAS CHARLES-EDWARDS

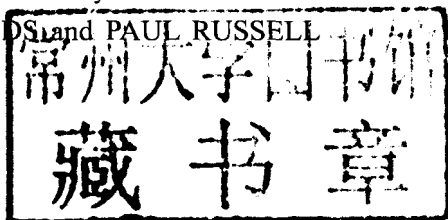


Edited by Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell

TOME
STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL
CELTIC HISTORY AND LAW
IN HONOUR OF
THOMAS CHARLES-EDWARDS

Edited by

FIONA EDMONDS and PAUL RUSSELL



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PREFACE

Fiona Edmonds and Paul Russell

The following collection of essays is offered to Thomas Charles-Edwards on the occasion of his retirement from the Jesus Chair of Celtic in the University of Oxford. Thomas has occupied this position from 1997 until 2011 and before that he was a Fellow and Tutor in History at Corpus Christi College. He has always imparted his knowledge generously, devoting much time to teaching undergraduates and supervising graduate students. Some of the contributors to this volume were supervised by Thomas; others benefited in other ways from his wisdom when they were students; and the work of all, as colleagues in the field, has been shaped by his work. Thomas's research is held in high esteem in the world of Celtic scholarship, and he is renowned for the extraordinary range of his interests and publications. No single volume could reflect the full range of his contribution (strikingly borne out in the difficulty of tracking down all his publications to date, listed in Maredudd ap Huw's contribution), and so it was decided to focus on the areas of Celtic history and law. But even within that it is notable that all the essays here can find a starting point within Thomas's own body of work.

The first half of the volume contains essays which consider historical aspects of Britain and Ireland and often also reflect his interest in archaeology and epigraphy: Sue Youngs discusses some of the Christian symbols found on hanging-bowls from post-Roman Britain; Clare Stancliffe considers aspects of Columbanus's monasticism; Catherine Swift examines the role of priests in early medieval Ireland. Several contributions focus on political or ecclesiastical organisation: David Dumville discusses the political geography of Dál Riata; Oliver Padel considers Asser's *parochia* of Exeter; Thomas Clancy covers succession, jurisdiction and politics in the Columban *familia* in the later tenth century; and Marie Therese Flanagan discusses a twelfth-century indulgence granted by an Irish bishop at Bath Priory. Thomas's archaeological and epigraphical interests are particularly to the fore in Betty O'Brien and Edel Bhreathnach's joint contribution, which examines the physical manifestation and historical context of Irish boundary *ferta* in the light of recent discoveries, and in Nancy Edwards's essay on Viking-age sculpture in north-west Wales. Nor is historiography omitted: Huw Pryce considers Gerald of Wales and his debt to Gildas in the *Descriptio Kambriae*.

Thomas's works on the legal institutions and texts of medieval Ireland and Wales are of fundamental importance. This is reflected in a group of essays which range across the Irish Sea and, indeed, further afield: Roy Flechner seeks the reasons why Patrick left Britain in the legal and political context of post-Roman Britain. Several essays explore aspects of early Irish law: Robin Chapman Stacey discusses how the law might have been learned; Fergus Kelly examines the way in which stolen property might be recovered; Bronagh Ni Chonaill considers some of the more contentious aspects of kinship; and Charlene Eska revisits the

Preface

question of marriage by purchase. Sara Roberts considers the legal triads in the Iorwerth redaction of the Welsh laws, while Wendy Davies also considers aspects of the law in Wales in a wide-ranging exploration of judicial presidency in Britain, Wales and Northern Iberia.

Irish and Welsh literature is another area in which Thomas's work has opened up new ways of thinking through his nuanced and subtle readings, which are often informed by his understanding and appreciation of historical and legal context. The final group of essays pays tribute to this. As noted above, Charlene Eska's essay considers marriage by purchase, but does so through a reconsideration of *Tochmarc Étaíne*, a text which formed the subject of an essay by Thomas. Elva Johnston picks up a number of themes addressed elsewhere in this volume in a study of power and the public world in *Longes Mac nUislenn* and, finally, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh offers a reading of a later Mongán tale *Compert Mongáin ocus Serce Duibe Lacha do Mongán*.

Given space and time we could have produced several volumes of essays in honour of Thomas, such was the eagerness of colleagues to contribute. As a result, in order to maximise the number who could contribute, we decided that we ourselves would not offer papers but that our debt to Thomas would be paid in the editing of the volume, a task made far easier by the willingness and indeed eagerness of our contributors to respect our deadlines and tolerate our editorial decisions. We are also grateful to the editorial staff at Boydell, and especially Caroline Palmer, for taking on the volume, and to Ben Russell for the line drawing on the dust jacket. We are also grateful to the various organisations who have kindly allowed images to be reproduced; full acknowledgements appear in the appropriate places.

Finally, the double significance of the title of the volume is in need of explanation. In Thomas's family the current big book in production, and there have been a few, is always known as the 'tome', often prefixed by various disparaging adjectives. The drawing on the cover is of side C of the so-called 'Pillar of Thomas' (Lower Court Farm, Margam, now in the Margam Stones Museum).¹ It shows a carved cross with the word *TO* || *ME*, with two letters either side of the shaft of the cross. *TOME* (a spelling for the Latin genitive singular *Tomae*) means 'of Thomas' and could scarcely be more appropriate as a title for this volume. The work in this volume by colleagues and students is in one sense 'of Thomas', not least because much of it arises from and is stimulated by Thomas's own work. But, of course, *TOME* could also be a dative singular, 'for Thomas', and that is indeed what this volume is, with gratitude and affection.

¹ M. Redknapp and J. M. Lewis, ed., *A Corpus of the Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, vol. 1 *South-East Wales and the English Border* (Cardiff, 2007), 445–8 (G89); V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), 168 (item 259) and Plate XXVI.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Irish and Welsh annals are referred to by the year of the entry; editorial dates are in square brackets.

- ABoyl* A. M. Freeman, ed., ‘The annals in Cotton MS. Titus A. XXV’, *Revue Celtique* 41 (1924), 301–30; 42 (1925), 283–305; 43 (1926), 358–84; 44 (1927), 336–61
- AC* Annales Cambriae: A Version: E. Phillimore, ed., ‘The Annales Cambriae and the Old-Welsh genealogies from Harleian MS. 3859’, *Y Cymmrodor*, 9 (1888), 141–83 (repr. in John Morris, *Arthurian Sources*, 6 vols (Chichester, 1995) V.13–55); A, B, and C Versions, ed. J. Williams ab Ithel, *Annales Cambriae* (London, 1860); A, B, and C Versions (682–954): ed. and transl., D. N. Dumville, *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954: Texts A–C in Parallel* (Cambridge, 2002); Paul Martin Remfry, transl., *Annales Cambriae. A translation of Harleian 3859: PRO E.164/1: Cotton Domitian, A 1: Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514 and MS Exchequer DB Neath, PRO E.164/1* (Malvern, 2007). References are by year only
- AFM* J. O’Donovan, ed. and transl., *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, 2nd edn, 7 vols (Dublin, 1856)
- ALI* W. N. Hancock, *et al.*, ed. and transl., *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1865–1901)
- ALW* A. Owen, ed. and transl., *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, (London, 1841); published in two forms, a single-volume folio and a two-volume quarto
- ARC* Dermot Gleeson and Seán Mac Airt, ed., ‘Annals of Roscrea’, *PRIA C*, 59 (1958), 145–71
- AT* W. Stokes, ed. and transl., ‘The Annals of Tigernach’, *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895) 374–419; 17 (1896), 6–33, 119–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), 9–59, 150–97, 267–303; reprinted in two vols (Felinfach, 1993)
- AU* ‘The Annals of Ulster’ (no particular edition)
- AU* W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy, ed. and transl., *Annala Uladh, Annals of Ulster*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1887–1901)
- AU²* S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill, ed. and transl., *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, Part I. Text and Translation (Dublin, 1983)
- BAR* British Archaeological Reports
- BBCS* *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
- BL* British Library

Abbreviations

ByT (Pen. 20)	T. Jones, ed., <i>Brut y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20</i> (Cardiff, 1941); translated in <i>Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Peniarth MS. 20 Version</i> (Cardiff, 1952)
ByT (RB)	T. Jones, ed. and transl., <i>Brut y Tywysogyon or The Chronicle of the Princes, Red Book of Hergest Version</i> (Cardiff, 1955)
C	G. Martínez Diez, ed., <i>Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña</i> (Cardeña/Burgos, 1998); charters cited by number
CCIH	L. Breatnach, <i>Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici</i> , Studies in Early Irish Law V (Dublin, 2005)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
Cel	J. M. Andrade Cernadas, with M. Díaz Tie and F. J. Pérez Rodríguez, ed., <i>O Tombo de Celanova: Estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. ix–xii)</i> , 2 vols (Santiago de Compostela, 1995); charters cited by number
CIH	D. A. Binchy, ed., <i>Corpus Iuris Hibernici</i> , 6 vols (Dublin, 1978)
CIIC	R. A. S. Macalister, ed., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum</i> , 2 vols (Dublin, 1945–9)
CKA	<i>Chronicle of the Kings of Alba</i> : ed. M. O. Anderson, <i>Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland</i> (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1980), 249–53
CMCS	<i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i> (vols 1–25); <i>Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies</i> (vol. 26–)
CPDR	<i>Cethri Primchenéla Dáil Riata</i> : ed. D. N. Dumville, ‘ <i>Cethri Primchenéla Dáil Riata</i> ’, <i>Scottish Gaelic Studies</i> 20 (2000), 170–91
CR	A. de Courson, ed., <i>Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon en Bretagne</i> (Paris, 1863); charters cited by number
CR A	Appendix to CR; charters cited by number
CS	W. M. Hennessy, ed., <i>Chronicum Scotorum</i> (London, 1866)
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CTh	T. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, ed., <i>Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis</i> (Berlin, 1905); C. Pharr, transl., <i>The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions</i> (Princeton, 1952)
DIL	<i>Dictionary of the Irish Language, Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials</i> , ed. E. G. Quin <i>et al.</i> (Dublin, 1913–76); compact edition (Dublin, 1983); electronic edition http://www.dil.ie/
ECMW	V. E. Nash-Williams, <i>The Early Christian Monuments of Wales</i> (Cardiff, 1950)
EIWK	T. M. Charles-Edwards, <i>Early Irish and Welsh Kinship</i> (Oxford, 1993)
Ep.	Columbanus, <i>Epistolae</i> , ed. and transl., G. S. M. Walker, <i>Sancti Columbani Opera</i> , SLH 2 (Dublin, 1957), 2–59
GEIL	F. Kelly, <i>Guide to Early Irish Law</i> , Studies in Early Irish Law III (Dublin, 1988; repr. with revised bibliography 2009)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society

Abbreviations

<i>Instr.</i>	Columbanus, <i>Instructiones</i> , ed. and transl., G. S. M. Walker, <i>Sancti Columbani Opera</i> , SLH 2 (Dublin, 1957), 60–121
<i>JRSAI</i>	<i>The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i>
Li, Lii, Liii	E. Sáez, ed., <i>Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León (775–1230)</i> , vol. 1 (775–952); E. Sáez and C. Sáez, ed., vol. 2 (953–85); J. M. Ruiz Asencio, ed., vol. 3 (986–1031) (León, 1987, 1990, 1987); charters cited by number
<i>LL</i>	J. Gwenogvryn Evans with J. Rhŷs, ed., <i>The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv</i> (Oxford, 1893); charters cited by page number of this edition, differentiating those that begin on the same page by a, b, c
<i>LMU</i>	Vernam Hull, ed. and transl., Longes Mac n-Uislenn: <i>The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu</i> (New York, 1949)
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<i>MIA</i>	S. Ó hInnse, ed. and transl., <i>Miscellaneous Irish annals, A.D. 1114–1437</i> (Dublin, 1947)
<i>NLW</i>	National Library of Wales
<i>Nov.</i>	R. Schoell and G. Kroll, ed., <i>Novellae, Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> , 3 vols (Berlin, 1877–1895), III
<i>OD</i>	J. A. Fernández Flórez and M. Herrero de la Fuente, ed., <i>Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas</i> , vol. 1 (León, 1999); charters cited by number
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 61 vols (Oxford, 2004)
<i>PL</i>	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64)
<i>PMH</i>	A. Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo and J. J. da Silva Mendes Leal, ed., <i>Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum. Diplomata et Chartae</i> , vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1867–73); charters cited by number
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>PRIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
<i>RCAHMS</i>	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
<i>RCAHMW</i>	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales
<i>Reg. Coen.</i>	Columbanus, <i>Regula Coenobialis</i> , ed. and transl. G. S. M. Walker, <i>Sancti Columbani Opera</i> , SLH 2 (Dublin, 1957), 142–69
<i>Reg. Mon.</i>	Columbanus, <i>Regula Monachorum</i> , ed. and transl. G. S. M. Walker, <i>Sancti Columbani Opera</i> , SLH 2 (Dublin, 1957), 122–43
<i>RS</i>	Rolls Series: <i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages</i>
<i>S</i>	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968) – listed by charter number
<i>Sah</i>	J. M. Mínguez Fernández, ed., <i>Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857–1230)</i> , vol. 1 (León, 1976); charters cited by number

Abbreviations

Sam	M. Lucas Álvarez, ed., <i>El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII–XII)</i> (Santiago de Compostela, 1986); charters cited by number
SC	Sources Chrésiennes
SEIL	R. Thurneysen <i>et al.</i> , ed., <i>Studies in Early Irish Law</i> (Dublin, 1936)
SH	<i>Studia Hibernica</i>
SLH	Scriptores Latini Hiberniae
SM	A. Ubieto Arteta, ed., <i>Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla</i> (Valencia, 1976); charters cited by number
Sob	P. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, ed., <i>Tumbos del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes</i> , 2 vols (Madrid, 1976); charters cited by number
T	L. Sánchez Belda, ed., <i>Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana</i> (Madrid, 1948); charters cited by number
TE	Osborn Bergin and R. I. Best, ed. and transl., ‘ <i>Tochmarc Étaíne</i> ’, <i>Ériu</i> 12 (1934–8), 137–96
THSC	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
WML	A. W. Wade-Evans, ed. and transl., <i>Welsh Medieval Law</i> (Oxford, 1909)
ZCP	<i>Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie</i>

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CLOUD-CUCKOO LAND? SOME CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS FROM POST-ROMAN BRITAIN

Susan Youngs

Christian iconography is not so plentiful in the post-Roman states of Britain that we can afford to ignore a varied and interesting range of crosses and other motifs from a period when we are otherwise heavily dependent on epigraphic evidence, a tradition that was largely peculiar to the far west and north. The problem is the source: like Dean Swift's island of Laputa, a substantial body of hanging-bowls floats above the cultural landscape of seventh-century Britain. Often labelled 'Anglo-Saxon' from their usual find-places in furnished burials in eastern England, considerable ingenuity has been expended in the past in arguing for a Germanic context for the manufacture of these distinctive vessels, despite their late Celtic decoration.¹ Most hanging-bowls are demonstrably not made for or by Germanic owners and in their ornament they bear unique witness to the pretensions, changing tastes and religion of the Celtic patrons for whom most of these luxury items were originally manufactured.² The tally of early bowls is now well over 150 and steadily rising through metal-detecting and controlled excavations,³ but is certainly an underestimate because the parts that survive best are the applied mounts, comprising suspension hooks with a decorated plate, separate appliquéés or basal plates attached to the inside or outside of the vessel. Otherwise unrecorded bowl-mounts pass through coin fairs and appear on Internet sale sites.

An attractive alternative interpretation, firmly based on shared contemporary artistic traditions and materials, principally the use of enamel and millefiori glass, is to view the enamelled bowls as imports from contemporary Ireland.⁴ But this solution is persistently complicated by the continuing lack of evidence for bowls

¹ C. Scull, 'Further Evidence from East Anglia for Enamelling on Early Saxon Metalwork', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 4 (1985), 117–24; A. Crone, *The History of a Scottish Lowland Crannog. Excavations at Buiston, Ayrshire 1989–9*, Scottish Trust for Archaeological Research Monograph 4 (Edinburgh, 2000), 157.

² S. Youngs, 'Anglo-Saxon, Irish and British Relations: Hanging-Bowls Reconsidered', in *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations before the Vikings*, ed. J. Graham-Campbell and M. Ryan, Proceedings of the British Academy 157 (London, 2009), 205–30.

³ Assembled in J. Brennan, *Hanging Bowls and their Context*, BAR British Series 220 (Oxford, 1991); R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford with S. Raven, *The Corpus of Late Celtic Hanging-Bowls* (Oxford, 2005), with information up to 1994.

⁴ Following F. Henry, 'Hanging Bowls', *JRSAI* 66 (1936), 209–46; C. Newman, 'Notes on Some Irish Hanging Bowl Escutcheons', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 5 (1990), 45–8, where the weakness of suggested Irish comparanda is apparent.

with the distinctive hanging-bowl profile and the absence of additional bowl mounts in the growing corpus of sixth- and seventh-century bronze work from Ireland.⁵

On occasion hanging-bowls appear in the archaeological record in the company of a variety of vessels made in the eastern Mediterranean and, closer to home, of bowls imported from Frankish territories.⁶ The rich burials of Sutton Hoo Mound 1 (Suffolk), Kingston Down grave 205 (Kent) and Prittlewell (Essex) have such mixed assemblages of bronze containers.⁷ In brief, my contention is that hanging-bowls too should be viewed primarily as imports, prestige items brought in from the independent territories which shared the central, western and northern parts of Britain with the Anglo-Saxon polities in the sixth and seventh centuries; and that the occasional adoption of Germanic motifs reflects proximity and the growing importance of eastern markets as well as local cultural overlap.⁸ This is a working hypothesis reached by the elimination of alternatives rather than one based on substantial positive evidence. Nothing could be further from the scholarly analyses of Thomas Charles-Edwards than to pile one hypothesis on another and it is therefore with some trepidation that I propose, first, that we do have a substantial body of fine metalwork from the indigenous peoples of Britain in the sixth and seventh centuries and, secondly, that some of these pieces bear interesting witness to their Christian belief. A small return for so much support and learning so kindly imparted.

It is uncontentious to say that hanging-bowls were luxury items made for wealthy patrons, specialised vessels in an area of the post-Imperial world largely devoid of fine pottery and where glass vessels were rare and valuable items.⁹ These fine bowls were designed to be used when suspended from three or four points, rather than to stand on a surface. Unlike handled buckets they are not easy to transport or pour from, and unlike Iron Age and later cauldrons they could not have hung over or stood next to a fire because the great majority of their suspension points were attached by lead solder, which has a low melting point. This demonstrates that, whether these hooked plates were elaborately decorated or simple shapes, these vessels were not intended to be heated. The type of red enamel used on many also discolours irreversibly if heated with oxygen present.

The ancestry of hanging-bowls is unclear and probably complex. There were small native bronze bowls in pre-Roman late Iron Age Britain and Ireland, some with single suspension loops, and it may be that shallow vessels hung in tripods from the Classical world also contributed to the design of the medieval hanging-bowl and brought with them or enhanced an existing association with ritual use.¹⁰

⁵ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'Ireland and the Hanging Bowls: A Review', in *Ireland and Insular Art, A.D. 500–1200*, ed. M. Ryan (Dublin, 1987), 30–9; Youngs, 'Anglo-Saxon, Irish and British Relations', 221–5.

⁶ P. Richards, 'Byzantine Bronze Vessels in England and Europe' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1980); M. Mango *et al.*, 'A 6th-century Mediterranean Bucket from Bromeswell Parish, Suffolk', *Antiquity* 63 no. 259 (1989), 295–311.

⁷ R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship-Burial Vol. 3* (London, 1983), chs II, X; Bruce-Mitford with Raven, *Corpus*, no. 42; Museum of London Archaeology Service [MOLAS], *The Prittlewell Prince* (London, 2004).

⁸ Youngs, 'Anglo-Saxon, Irish and British Relations', 208, 226.

⁹ E. Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports to Atlantic Britain and Ireland, AD 400–800*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 157 (York, 2007).

¹⁰ E. Fowler, 'Hanging-Bowls', in *Studies in Ancient Europe: Studies Presented to Stuart Piggott*,

Our understanding of the Roman background to the medieval hanging bowl has been clarified by Dr Noel Adams' recent work on late imperial drinking sets and military clubs, her arguments enforced by the recovery of a large British hanging-bowl in a fourth-century vessel hoard from a well in Roman London in 2007.¹¹ Changes in aristocratic display to suit more intimate surroundings are seen beyond the *limes* too, in the late- and post-Roman period, and there is unique evidence that in the historic period the northern Picts manufactured distinctive hanging-bowl mounts.¹² They were peculiar to Britain and Ireland from the fourth to the ninth centuries.

The functions and purposes of these bowls will have changed through their time above ground; they were probably used in more than one way by more than one owner before burial as an accessory vessel or cremation container. The ornament, however, will remain that created to suit the first owner. This varied widely, beginning with simple leaf-shaped plates in the sixth century; by the seventh century a variety of complex Celtic and classically derived motifs were used, many richly enamelled on complex fine bowls. Practicality was not a key consideration; the rinsing of fingers after a meal or dipping in cups for strong drink are the practices of a class with leisure and aspirations. These pieces were made for people with surplus to invest in or squander (depending on the commentator) on bards, feasts, religious observances and other luxury goods.¹³ Such people were themselves, or were close to, the rulers, kings, tyrants and judges of Gildas' day and later.¹⁴ They were also Christians, as were the rulers whose bishops refused to stand up to greet Augustine from Canterbury at their second meeting, the northern Pictish kings being the last native rulers to convert in the 560s or 570s.¹⁵

Early discussion about the function of the bowls led directly to suggestions that they were equipment seized from British churches where they had served variously as lustral basins, votive pieces or baptismal bowls for children. An interpretation as hanging lamp reflectors, *gabatae*, remains the most long-lived.¹⁶ The presence of crosses on some, and the early-ninth-century description of the gift of bowl lights in the Northumbrian poem *De Abbatibus*, supported this view: *nam plures multi cupiebant pendere caucos limpida qui tribuant quadrato lumina*

ed. J. M. Coles and D. D. A. Simpson (Leicester, 1968), 287–309; Bruce-Mitford with Raven, *Corpus*, 459–72. The idea of ritual use in a Classical tripod was developed by H. Vierck, 'Cortina Tripodis: zu Auffrängung und Gebrauch subrömischer Hängebecken aus Britannien und Irland', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 4 (1970), 8–52; an interpretation partly demolished on technical grounds by Brennan, *Hanging Bowls*, 31–3.

¹¹ N. Adams, 'Hanging Basins and the Wine-Coloured Sea: The Wider Context of Early Medieval Hanging Bowls', in *Early Medieval Art and Archaeology in the Northern World: Studies in Honour of James Graham-Campbell*, ed. A. Reynolds and L. Webster (Leiden, forthcoming), with thanks to Dr Adams for allowing me access to her paper in advance of publication; J. Hall, 'Archaeological Discovery at Drapers Gardens', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Newsletter* 122 (January 2008), 6–8.

¹² F. Hunter, *Beyond the Edge of the Empire: Caledonians, Picts and Romans* (Rosemarkie, 2007), 16: 'a personal level of interaction'; Youngs, 'Anglo-Saxon, Irish and British Relations', 209–13.

¹³ Campbell, *Continental and Mediterranean Imports*.

¹⁴ M. Winterbottom, ed. and transl., *Gildas. The Ruin of Britain and other Documents* (London, 1978), 29.

¹⁵ This is the traditional account based on Adomnán's *Vita Sancti Columbae*, but conversion may well have occurred earlier, particularly south of the Mounth, see J. E. Fraser, *From Caledonia to Pictland* (Edinburgh, 2009), 99–100, 103–5.

¹⁶ All these interpretations are fully documented and analysed in Brennan, *Hanging Bowls*, 36–41.