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CONTENTS

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FURTHER EXCAVATION & FIELDWORK AT LLANTHONY PRIORY, GWENT

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Introduction

A programme of excavation and consolidation of the remains of this Augustinian Priory was inaugurated on behalf of the Welsh Office in 1978. The results of the first season of excavations on the site of the chapels which open off the north transept of the Priory church, have already been published[1], and the reader is referred to that account for a summary of all earlier work on the Priory.

The present report is largely concerned with the excavation of another two areas of the Priory. The first of these lay once again in the church, where the whole of the north transept and part of the choir were examined; this was partly an extension of the clearance work described in the last report and partly an attempt to clarify the discoveries of an earlier excavator, Iltyd Gardner[2] — and in particular, to establish whether any trace of the earlier 12th-century foundation survived beneath the present late 12th-century buildings to the south of St. David's church[3]. These comprised a short range of outbuildings last used as cow-byres, to one end of which a stable had been added in *c.* 1908. As medieval masonry had previously been noted in them[4], they were taken into guardianship in 1972. As they were in a ruinous condition, consolidation work began in 1979, during the course of which earlier foundations on a different alignment were exposed. Subsequent survey of the buildings revealed that all of the presumed medieval work was reused, and that the standing remains comprised a short range of post-medieval farm-houses which overlay earlier monastic foundations. Excavation revealed that these were the footings of a substantial building, probably part of an Infirmary cloister opening off the south side of the present St. David's church[5] (fig. 28).

Whilst the standing buildings of the Priory are now protected by the state, much of the former precinct lies outside the area taken into guardianship, and inevitably a certain amount of damage to earthworks and building foundations is entailed in meeting the changing demands of tourism and modern farming. The remains of the rere-dorter[6] are largely covered by the public car-park; and the construction of two barns in the 1950's, together with more recent levelling have obliterated most of the remains in the fields called "The Plock" and "The Warren"[7]. Of the three fishponds, two have been filled in, and the last was partially destroyed by the construction of some badly needed public conveniences — the service trenches of which cut through another three buried buildings. Elsewhere, improved field drainage has obliterated stretches of the boundary ditch on the north side of the precinct. Accordingly, as full a record as possible was made of the earthworks in 1979, and a number of watching briefs have since been undertaken on behalf of the Welsh Office; the results of all this survey work, together with ground plans of St. David's church and the gatehouse are appended here. To complement all this work, a new search has been made of the documentation for the Priory, and the fruits of this labour are also appended.

The excavations were undertaken on behalf of the Welsh Office and the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff. The author is indebted to Mr. J. K. Knight and Dr. M. W. Thompson for their continued support and advice; to Professor M. G. Jarrett who once again gave permission for students to take part in the excavations and for university facilities to be used for post-excavation work; to all of the local land-owners for allowing access onto their land, but particularly to Mr. Matthew Knight and Mr. Trevor Passmore for all of their help and advice; to Lawrence, Les and Sue Fancourt of the Abbey Hotel for all too many kindnesses, and making life there so very pleasant; to the late Ray Smith for much useful local information; to Mr. Walter Powell and all of the Welsh Office masons for their help and advice, without which some of the work would have ground to a halt. The excavations were carried out by volunteers, often in miserable conditions. My thanks are due to all of them for their perseverance, but particularly to the following who assisted with the planning, recording and day-to-day administration: Dafydd Griffiths, Clive Herring, Chris Martin, Glen Morangie, Anne Thomas and Harley Thomas. My debt to my site assistants Ewan Campbell, Denny Edwards, Lynne Harley, Andy Robertson and John Sherriff is even greater. The subsequent watching briefs were ably assisted by Ewan Campbell, Denny Edwards, Dick Malt and Chris Ravenhill; my thanks go to all of them, but particularly to Ewan and Denny who did the lion's share of the work, and were responsible for much of the buildings survey and earthwork plans.

The finished drawings are the work of Chris Ravenhill for whose long-suffering patience I am extremely grateful. The site photographs were taken by Clive Herring, Tom Thomas or myself. My special thanks are due to Mr. John Lewis and Mr. John Hurst for their advice on the identification of objects; to Lynne Harley and Louise Mumford for their painstaking work on the conservation of the finds (both on site, and in the museum). Lastly I should like to thank my former colleagues Dr. Stuart Wrathmell and Mr. Ian Soulsby for reading and commenting on the text, and offering much useful advice; any faults which remain are entirely my own. The finds from the excavations are now in Newport Museum, with the exception of the skeletal remains which have been reburied on the site in grave 25, and covered with a decorated grave-slab.

Part One: The Excavations

THE CHURCH SITE

Excavation revealed traces of three major periods of occupation, followed by a lengthy abandonment and final collapse. Certain aspects of the interpretation of the north transept chapels, advanced in the *First Report* have now been modified in the light of the new work, but the overall interpretation of the phases still stands.

Period I comprises the remains of the church of the first priory, which was established by *c.* 1118, and which continued in use until at least the 1130's. Period II is represented by the church of the second foundation in *c.* 1175, and its subsequent ecclesiastical use into the early 14th. century. Period III began with a major programme of rebuilding probably between 1325 and 1350, which resulted in the walling off of the north transept and its chapels from the main body of the church, and the conversion of these areas to domestic use; these were to continue in this use, albeit with certain modifications, until the Dissolution, when the Priory Church was abandoned, but not dismantled. Period IV represents the gradual decay and subsequent collapse of the building.

For ease of reference, the excavation has been described in terms of the units of the standing Period II building — *viz.* the North Transept, the North Transept chapels, the Choir and the South Transept. In most of these areas, excavation stopped at the lowest floors of the Period II church; however, in the north transept a number of sections were cut through these floor levels either to clarify anomalies or to see if any evidence for earlier occupation survived — hence, the trench plan on fig. 1. In the choir, excavation was restricted to the edges on account of the extensive survival of the stone flagged Period II floor.

Excavations had previously been undertaken in the east end of the church by Iltyd Gardner, a local lawyer from Llanellen, in the years leading up to the First World War. Sadly, he did not publish a detailed trench plan, but as he described his investigations as 'slight'[8], it seems reasonable to suggest that we are likely to be dealing with a number of small trenches rather than a large clearance. His published plan of the Priory[9] together with his text suggest that his excavations included the following: a fairly broad cutting beneath the western archway of the lantern, and extending westwards into the nave[10]; an east-west trench beneath the eastern archway of the lantern[11]; another beneath its south archway, and possibly extending southwards into the south transept[12]; a small cutting in the north-east corner of the lantern to examine the north wall of the choir[13]; another in the north wall of the north transept chapel[14]; a trench through the doorway between the choir and the south transept chapels[12], and at least one more within those chapels[15]; a cutting around the north-west pilaster in the presbytery[16], and probably a number of others in the vicinity[17]. Later clearance and consolidation has removed most of the evidence of his cuttings, and it was not possible to reconstruct his trench plan through excavation.

PERIOD I (fig. 1: pls. 1-8)

Underlying the foundations of the Period II standing building (shown in dark tone on fig. 1) were the footings of a substantial stone church which lay on a slightly different alignment. Its choir was *c.* 8m. wide and was flanked by two transepts, the northern one of which measured *c.* 6.90 by at least 10.10m. Several burials can be associated with this building as they respect its footings, and some are cut through by the Period II footings. No firm evidence for any projecting transept chapels was found, and although a number of graves have been found east of the north transept, these may be part of an external cemetery rather than interments within the church. The remains of mortar floors were found in both the choir and the south transept, but not in the north transept; the reason for this anomaly is not clear, and it is possible that the Period I floors in this transept have simply become incorporated into the Period II floor.

The North Transept

The east wall (73) was probably *c.* 1.10m. wide and survived for a length of *c.* 9m.; it was composed of one or two courses of sandstone rubble bonded with pink mortar. The details of its construction have been obscured by the apparent removal of most of its east face by the massive footings (63) of the Period II church (pl. 2). Bonded into its west face at *c.* 6m. from its south end was a small buttress (92), which measured 0.60 by 1m., and projected back into the transept; its function is unknown. The south wall (39a) survived for a length of *c.* 7.10m., and was *c.* 1m. wide and stood three courses high (pl. 3); at its west end it was cut through by the Period II foundations of the north-west pier of the tower. The footings of the west wall (95) lay mostly beneath the Period II wall, but the bottom course of its east face was visible for a length of *c.* 7.65m. At the time of excavation, the only evidence for the north wall consisted of a slight divergence of the footings of the Period II wall; but subsequent erosion of the Period II plaster on this wall has revealed earlier work incorporated in the bottom courses, and it seems likely that the Period I wall lay on much the same line as its successor.

The remains of at least three graves were found within this transept. All were extended inhumations with arms folded across the waist; no trace of any coffins or shroud pins survived, and the only finds associated with these burials were probably intrusive. All were cut into natural boulder clay, and all appeared to be sealed by the Period II floor (35b). Graves 91 (pl. 5) and 79 (pl. 6) probably contained middle-aged men, and grave 64, a child of pre-pubertal age. At least two other grave cuts (94 and 103) were detected but not examined, and as most of this area was not excavated, there were probably several others.

The north transept chapels

Two burials (80 and 81) were sealed beneath the Period II chapel floors. Grave 80 clearly belongs to Period I, as the upper half of its body was covered by the footings (63) of the Period II transept wall (pl. 7). During subsequent consolidation work in the area of the chapels, several other burials were found by the Welsh Office masons beneath the Period II walls and floors.

The choir and the south transept

The remains of the north wall of the south transept (59) survived for *c.* 4.40m., and averaged 0.90m. in width; it stood to foundation height only, and was composed of sandstone rubble bonded with a pink mortar with a very high clay content. At either end it had been cut through by the massive foundations of the south-east (68) and south-west (86) piers of the Period II tower. The east wall of the transept (83) had also been heavily disturbed

Fig. 1. Period I features in the North Transept and the Choir. Unexcavated areas are shown in a light tone.

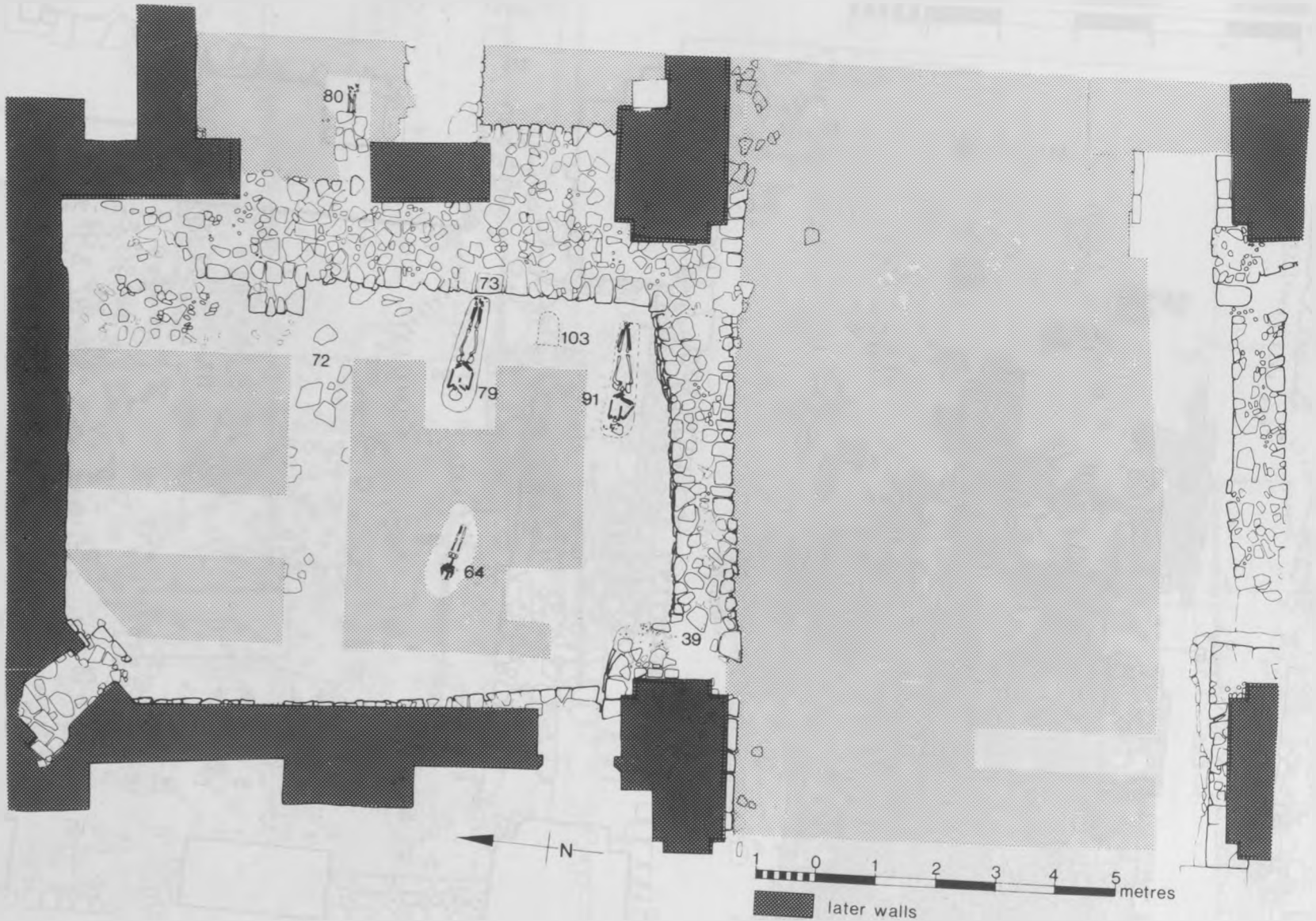


Fig. 2. The Period II church: the north transept and the western half of the choir.

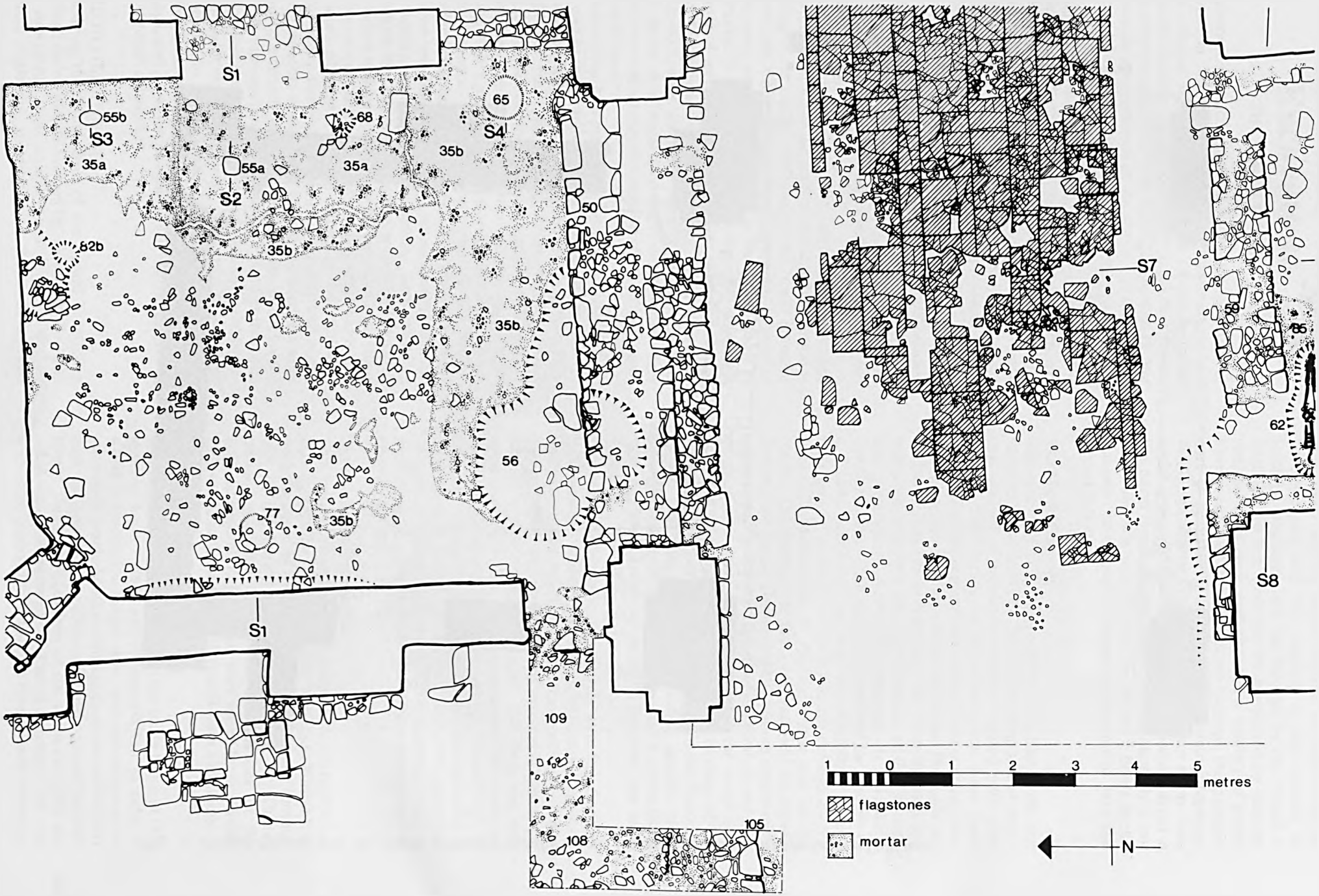
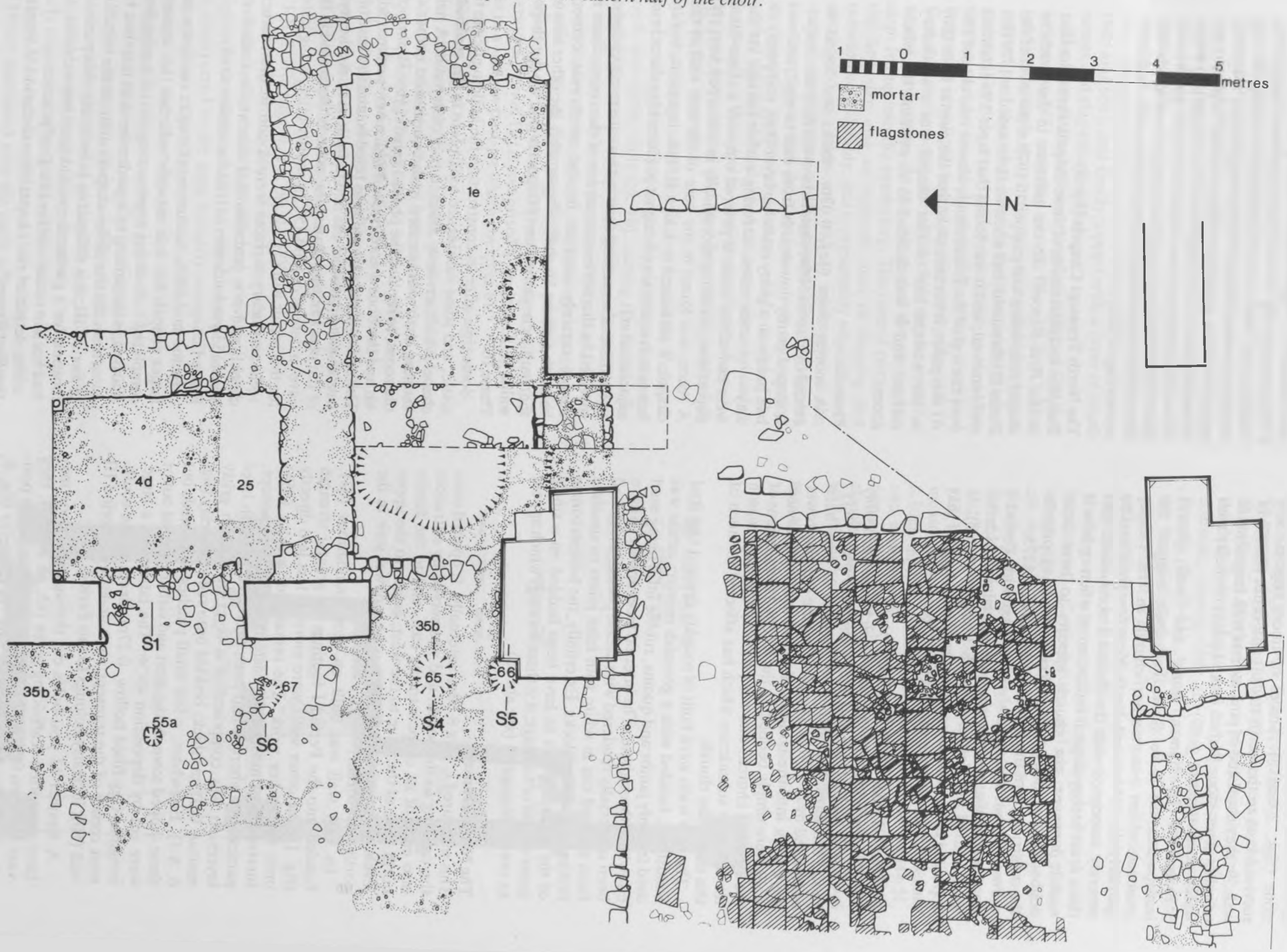


Fig. 3. The Period II church: the north transept phase I chapels and the eastern half of the choir.



by these footings, but traces of its foundation trench (101) survived in section (not illustrated), and the line of its west face is indicated by a single displaced facing stone (figs. 2 and 3). Traces of floors (fig. 6, S.7) survived both to the north (69/88) and south (85/87) of wall 59; they consisted of pink mortar with fragments of crumbly green stone laid on make-up layers of clay with water-worn stones (e.g. 89).

Fragments of human bone and wall plaster incorporated in these floors and walls suggest the presence of an even earlier church in the vicinity (possibly the 1108 foundation). Very few finds can be securely associated with the Period I occupation, and there is no archaeological indication of when or how it ended; however, the church appears to have been deliberately levelled to almost foundation level, prior to the construction of the Period II church in *c.* 1175.

Possibly, but not certainly associated with Period I was a rectangular stone setting (44) which lay outside the west wall of the Period II north transept (fig. 2). It appeared to be partially overlain by the footings of that wall, but the sequence was not very clear.

PERIOD II (figs. 2 & 3; pls. 9 & 10)

The construction of the Period II church began probably in *c.* 1175, and its east end, comprising the presbytery, choir, transepts and chapels, is thought to have been completed by *c.* 1191[18]. The piers for the crossing tower were sunk into the boulder clay, but many of the new walls were simply bedded on the levelled foundations of the Period I church; this was probably the main reason for the later subsidence which has affected so much of this end of the church.

The new walls were built of roughly dressed Old Red Sandstone, bonded with a greenish mortar; ashlar was used for only jambs and quoins, rubble infill being used elsewhere throughout. The internal faces appear to have been universally rendered with cream plaster which had been marked out in white with false joints to simulate rectangular ashlar blocks. Externally, the bottom course of the walls appears to have been bedded on a single outer course of footings; it is these footings which appear to overlie feature 44 (see above).

The North Transept

This measured *c.* 11 x 8.50m. internally. It opened onto the crossing to the south, and was served by entrances into each of its chapels to the east, and to the future north aisle of the nave to the west; access to the upper levels of the crossing tower was by a newel stair in the north-west corner.

Its east wall was built on new foundations (63), bonded into the Period I footings for greater strength (fig. 1); the other walls were more or less laid directly onto the earlier work. The remains of a floor (35b) survived over most of the eastern half of the transept, particularly where it had been protected beneath later layers. It was composed of a layer of reddish gritty mortar, 0.015m. thick, bedded onto red stony clay (fig. 6, S.1). Elsewhere, a few small patches remained, but these dipped towards the west and either petered out or were cut by depression 49/56. The latter was a large, irregular clay-filled hollow, 0.27m. deep, in the south-west corner of the transept; as it underlay a Period III wall (50), it clearly belongs to this Period.

A number of post-holes cut through this floor may have supported scaffolding poles (65, 66 and 67); they vary between 0.24 and 0.26m. in depth and have post-pipes of between 0.09 and 0.14m. in diameter (fig. 6, S.4-6). Less convincing is an irregular scoop (82b), which was *c.* 0.20m. in diameter and 0.09m. deep, but contained no packing stones. Also of this Period are posts 55b and probably 55a; these were *c.* 0.17m. deep, and measured respectively *c.* 0.20 x 0.40m., and *c.* 0.30m. square (fig. 6, S.2-3). At the west end of the transept, an oval pit (77) probably represents the remains of a small hearth for melting lead for use in the insertion of the windows (fixing window bars into the stonework, etc.). It measured *c.* 0.50 x 0.60m. and was *c.* 0.25m. deep; the clay into which it was cut was heavily burnt, and it had a compact lining of grey-white ash at its base; its fill contained a great deal of loose ash and burnt stones (fig. 6, S.1).

The North Transept Chapels (fig. 3)

The plan and dimensions of these chapels were discussed in the *First Report*[19]. In the entrance to the southern chapel excavation had stopped in 1978 at the level of the Phase III threshold, but when work resumed in 1979 this was removed, and it was found that layer 35b extended over the top of the foundations, almost into chapel 1/8. At this point, it became clear that the mortar floor (8d) in the western half of that chapel was a secondary surface, and it was decided to re-examine the whole room.

Phase Ia:

A mortar floor (1e), 0.03m. thick, was found to extend over most of the eastern two-thirds of this chapel. It sloped gently downwards from east to west, and was laid partly on a gritty make-up layer (1g), and partly on clay — in some cases, covering earlier burials. At the west end of the room it petered out over a stone-filled depression, surviving sporadically in rotten patches (1f). A recess was found in the base of the east wall of the chapel; it measured *c.* 1.12 x 0.30m. in extent, but its function is uncertain (though it presumably relates to an adjacent altar).

The base of a vaulting shaft with a square-cut chamfer survived in the north-east corner of the room; there is almost cetainly another in the north-west corner, beneath a phase 1b shaft. Presumably the other ribs of the vault were carried on springers higher up the chapel walls.

Phase Ib:

Some time after its construction the building began to settle, and some subsidence took place in the southern chapel which seriously affected part of its vault. A new vaulting shaft was inserted in the north-west corner of the room, to replace the phase 1a shaft (*First Report*, pl. 4), and the floor was relevelled with a new surface (8d). The recess in the east wall was filled in, and the base of a new rectangular altar was laid in front of it. As the style of the new vaulting shaft is the same as those used in the nave, a date of *c.* 1200-15[20] or shortly after, is suggested for this repair work.

No secondary surfaces were found in the northern chapel, and it is probable that this was less markedly affected by subsidence, as it had a smaller vault.

Phase II:

In the mid 13th. century work began on a new and larger chapel, but it is not clear whether this was ever completed[21]. A strong argument against it having been finished, is the sinking of a garderobe shaft less than 1m. away from the site of this chapel's altar, at the beginning of Period III; it is difficult to believe that this particular location for a garderobe would have been chosen, if it had been in recent use for liturgical practice.

The details of this chapel were discussed at length in the *First Report*[22].

The Choir (figs. 2 & 3)
Both Period I walls (39a and 59) in the choir were demolished to the new floor level; the evidence for deliberate demolition consists of marked concentrations of wall plaster and stone fragments in the make-up layers (60 and 61) immediately adjacent to wall 59 (fig. 6, S.7). The massive new piers for the crossing tower were cut through the Period I walls and floors, and bedded on rubble rafts. The sequence is best illustrated by the foundation trenches for the south-eastern (68) and south-western (86) piers (fig. 6, S.8): the rafts were composed of a mass of small angular stones (68c and 86c), sealed by a sloping skin of hard pink stony mortar (68b and 86b), and finally topped with a layer of small stones and clay (68a and 86a).

The floor of the choir was paved with flags of Old Red Sandstone. (47) covering an area of *c.* 10.20 x 5.40m. (pl.9); it is likely that the better paving slabs have been robbed, and that what is left is the more badly cracked paving. The slabs were bedded on a make-up of reddish mortar and brown sandy clay (61), which contained fragments of wall plaster and angular stones (fig. 6, S.7). One slab on the north side of the choir may be part of a reused grave-stone. At the east end of the paving two steps led up into the presbytery. The central portion of the first step and an adjacent area of flagging had subsided considerably; this is presumably what Gardner interpreted as a cross-wall with an inhumation in the centre[11]. Further east, odd fragments of flagging support his observation that the presbytery was once paved throughout[17]; however, no trace could be found of the robbed wall which he claimed ran across the west end of the choir[10] — though it is possible that the evidence for this was fairly slight, and may have been removed in subsequent clearance.

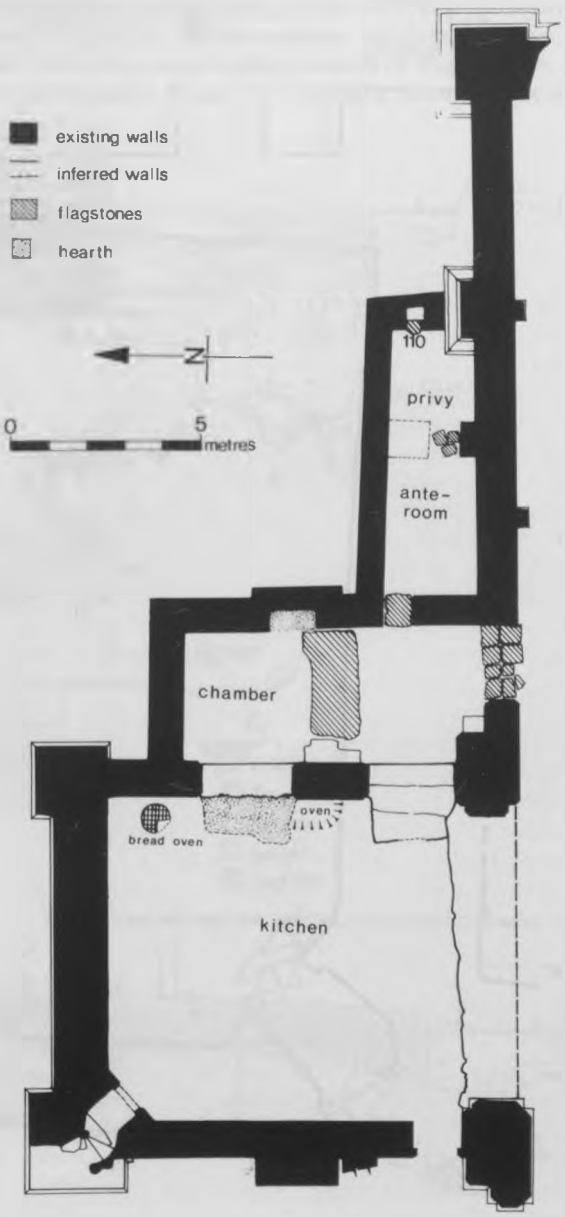
At some stage after the construction of the Period II church, the grave (62) of an old man was inserted in the south side of the choir (pl. 10), cutting the foundation trench of the south-west pier of the tower (86). This was in turn cut by a second inhumation (90); the latter lay mostly under the baulk, and one arm only was exposed in section (fig. 6, S.8). A possible post-pit (84) set mid-way along the top of wall 59 may belong to either this Period or Period III; it comprised a single packing stone set in a shallow post-pit which cut layer 61.

The Nave (fig. 2)
The foundations of the north wall (105/107) were composed of mortared slabs with a rubble core; most of its north face had been robbed in the section exposed. The make-up layer (109) of a floor was found in the north aisle, and consisted of a brown clayey soil with a scatter of mortar. Elsewhere, all traces of early floors had been completely removed by clearance work.

PERIOD IIIa (figs. 4 & 5; pls. 11-17)
At some stage in the 14th. century, the north transept was walled off from the choir, and converted from religious to domestic use. To the east a new set of rooms was constructed in the area formerly occupied by the transept floors. The interpretation of these structures, advanced in the *First Report* was coloured by the assumption that they were intended for liturgical use; they can now be seen as a set of private apartments (fig. 4). The former north transept was converted into a large kitchen, with a chamber, a passage or anteroom, and a privy with a garderobe lying beyond. Construction clearly began well after 1310 on the evidence of a worn coin sealed beneath one of the new thresholds; two coins of 1344-51 associated with the early occupation of the kitchen, suggest that these rooms were in use by the middle or later 14th. century.

The Kitchen (the North Transept) (fig. 5)
The more northerly of the two entrances to the former chapels was blocked with a poorly constructed clay-bonded wall (13). It had largely collapsed into the transept, leaving only the east face standing (*First Report*, pls. 10-11). A new floor (35a/33) was laid over the Period II surface. It consisted of a mortar surface which varied in colour from pink to a yellowish white, and survived over most of the eastern half of the transept. Cut into this floor and set against the new blocking wall was a substantial rectangular hearth (34). It measured *c.* 2.40 x 0.80m., and was composed of flags set on edge and bonded with thick red clay; it was edged on the front and sides by thin sandstone slabs set similarly on edge (pl. 11). Around the fireplace were three superimposed semi-circular spreads of charcoal and burnt material (32, 30b and 30a). The bottom layer (32) was contemporary in use with floor 35a. It measured at least 1.65 x 2.40m. in extent, and was *c.* 0.10m. thick; it contained a silver half-penny of 1344-51, and considerable quantities of small bones and plant remains. To the north set against the wall was the circular base of a bread oven (pl. 12). This consisted of a slab of coarse-grained Old Red Sandstone, *c.* 0.60m. in

Fig. 4. The 14th-century domestic apartments.



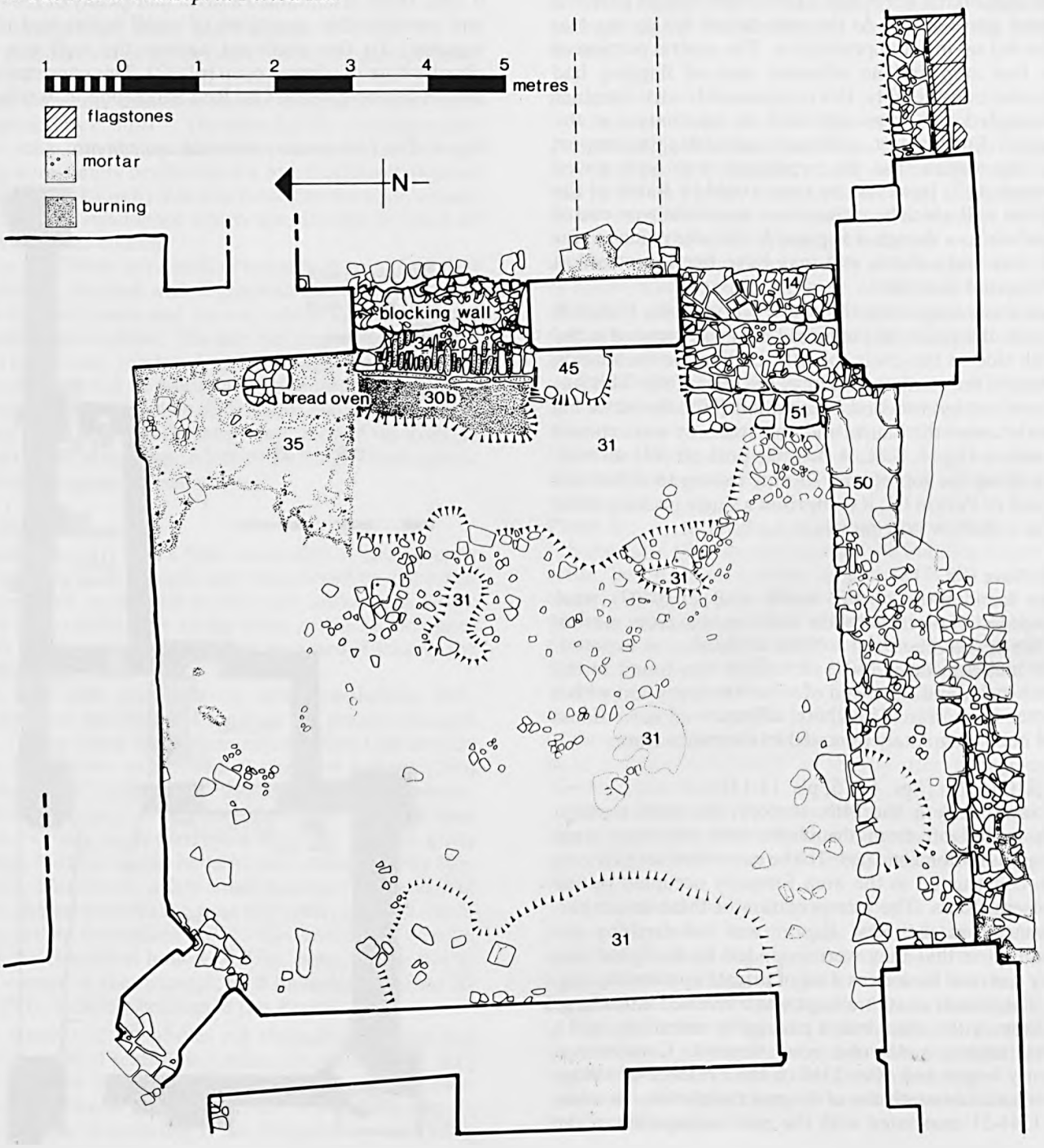
diameter, which had been fractured by the heat into a number of fragments; no trace of its clay superstructure remained. To the south of the hearth lay a second oven (45), represented by a rectangular fire-pit, edged on its north and east sides by thin slabs set on edge; it measured *c.* 0.97 x 0.75m., and had a dark brown charcoal-flecked fill.

Further south the other Period II entrance to the chapels was raised, paved with a new threshold, and then narrowed (*First Report*, pl. 8). It was approached from the west by a pair of steps (51), 2m. wide (pl. 13). The first step was 0.50m. deep, the second 0.90m. Lying on the floor next to them was a silver half-penny of 1344-51. Although the narrowing of the doorway is strictly secondary to the new threshold, it had been rendered with the same plaster used on all the other Period III walls in the area of the former chapels, and clearly belongs to this Period. One possible explanation for narrowing this entrance, is that the broad archway of the former chapel was found to be too draughty for a domestic suite, and that a narrow doorway made it possible to insert a small door or curtain.

Abutting these steps was wall 50, which blocked off the transept from the choir. Most of this wall had collapsed into the choir, and it was represented principally by its north face, which still bore traces of plaster, and by substantial quantities of rubble core. It was almost certainly clay-bonded, like all the other Period III walls of this suite of rooms. Its width is uncertain. At its east end it had been disturbed by the construction of a 19th-century grave-setting (37). Further west its rubble core appears to extend to a line of reused ashlar plinths (38), set on top of the Period I wall. It is difficult to be certain whether these are a genuine medieval feature, or a piece of Victorian nonsense; if the former, they might be the foundations for a stall in the choir.

To the west the main entrance from the church into the Kitchen was now gained from the north aisle of the nave.

Fig. 5. The North Transept in Period III.



The Chamber (the North Transept Chapels; *First Report*, fig. 8)
In the area of the former chapels, a suite of three new rooms was constructed. Their plan and dimensions were discussed in the *First Report*[23], where they were interpreted as the Phase III chapels.

Room 4 can now be seen as a chamber with a domestic fireplace set in its east wall — hence the concentration of burning in the recess. Room 1 which lay to the east was probably an anteroom or passage, and room 26 which lay beyond was a small privy with a garderobe shaft (110) set into its east end wall (fig. 7a, pl. 16). This was uncovered in 1981 when a Victorian retaining buttress was removed. It was a stone-lined rectangular shaft measuring 0.60 x 0.50m., and was at least 1.85m. deep; it was almost certainly a cess-pit, as there was no indication of any outlet into the main sewer system.

The paved threshold between the choir and room 4 (pl. 17) sealed a worn silver penny of 1310-14, which offers a *terminus post quem* for the construction of this set of apartments (in the *First Report*, it was incorrectly stated that this coin lay on, rather than beneath, the flagging). The Period IIIa occupation ended in a fire in which the suite was burnt down. The evidence for this in the Chamber is unequivocal. In the *First Report* it was suggested that this might be attributed to the Glyndŵr revolt or to baronial unrest in the 1440's; whilst this may still be the case, as the rooms were in domestic use, such a fire may equally have started accidentally.

The South Transept
No remains of this Period were found in the recent excavations; however, Gardner records traces of another wall impinging on the Period I wall, and incorporating what from his description would appear to be a recess for a statue[12]. Any trace of this structure has been removed by the sinking of massive concrete rafts in this area in the 1930's (see Period IV, below). Given the sketchy nature of his account, it is perhaps futile to speculate whether the south transept was similarly walled off in this Period, and to what use it may have been put; however, the poor quality of the construction suggests that this work is probably best assigned to this Period.

PERIOD IIIb (pl. 15)
This comprises a number of repairs to the Kitchen during the later medieval period. Though not all of them necessarily post-date the fire which destroyed the Phase III apartments, it is reasonable to suggest that some of the floor levels were contemporary with the construction and use of the Phase IV room (*First Report*, 13-14, fig. 10).

The Kitchen (North Transept) (fig. 5)
The floor was replaced or at least heavily repaired with a new surface (31). This survived differentially, and was best represented by a large area of red clay and stony make-up, *c.* 0.16m. thick, which extended over most of the eastern half of the room; to the west and south-west patches of greyish yellow mortar surviving on top of similar make-up, may be the remains of this surface, or part of the earlier floor 35b. The new floor completely

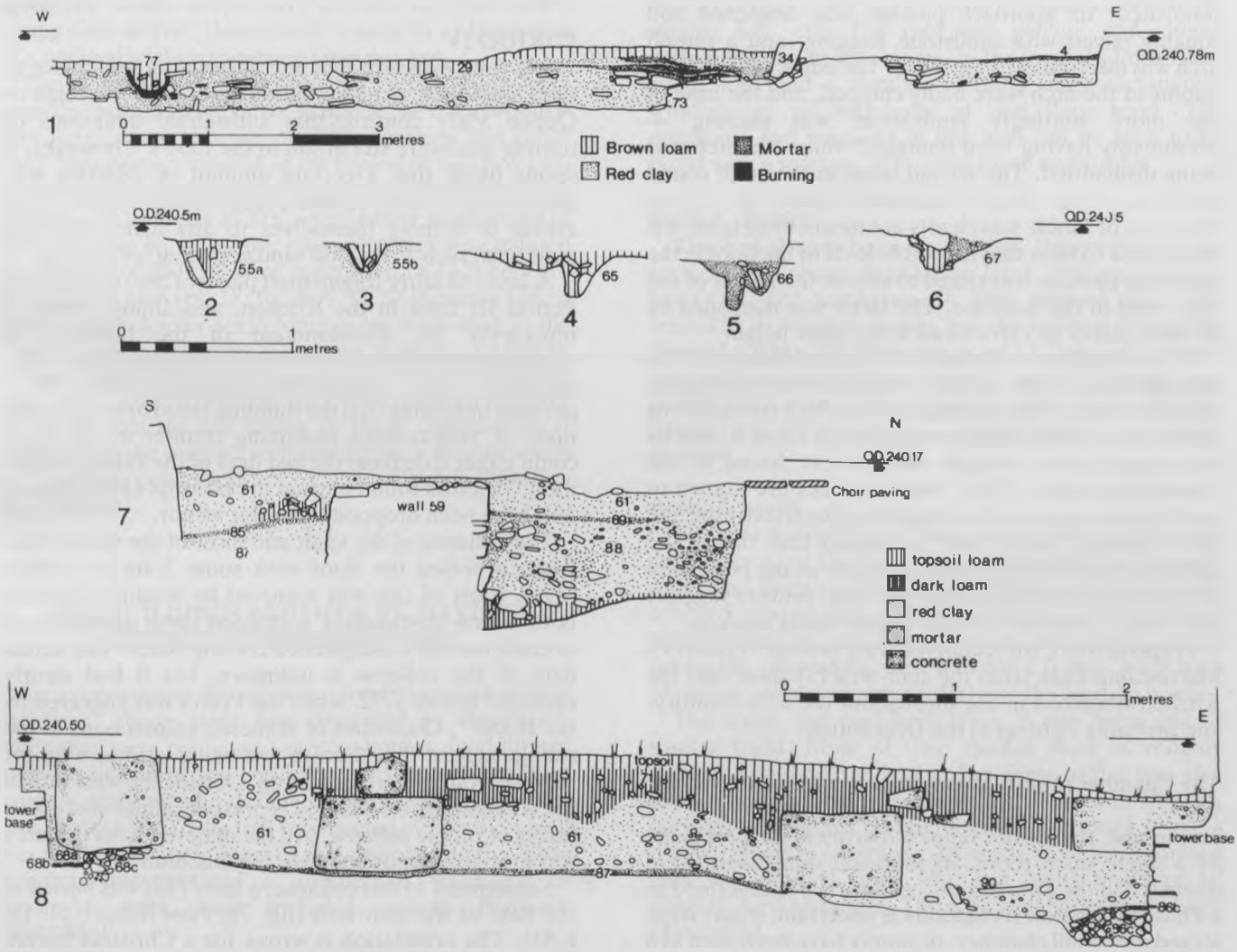
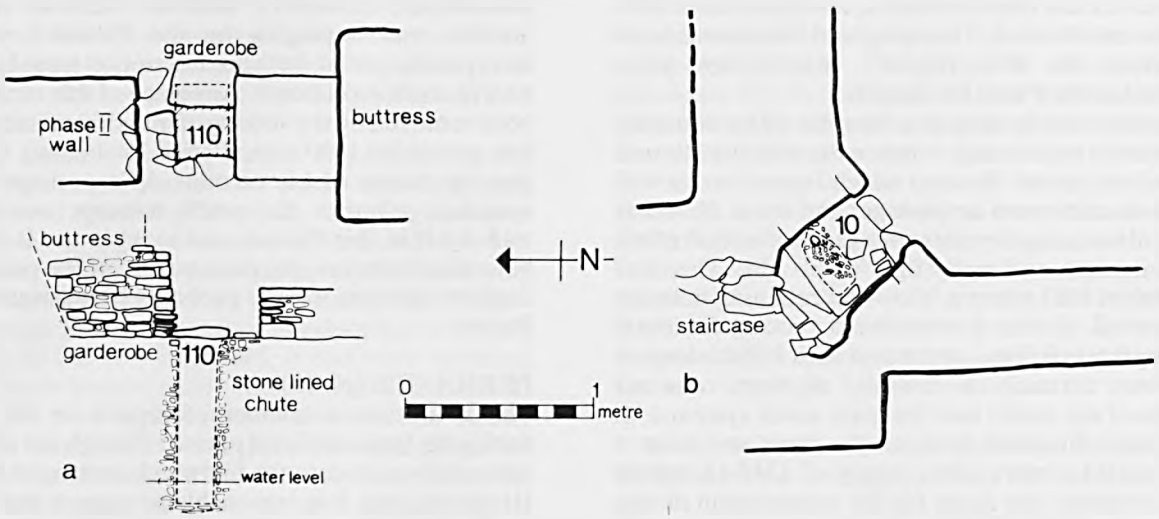


Fig. 6. The North Transept and Choir: feature sections.

Fig. 7. The Church Site: details.
A. Garderobe 110, plan and section. B. Grave 10 at base of stairwell.



covered the Period IIIa hearth (34) and its associated ashes (32), but the fireplace clearly continued in use, as two successive deposits of burnt ashy material (30b and 30a) testify. As with 32, these formed semi-circular spreads around the hearth, extending outwards 1.40 and 1.70m. respectively from the wall; they were each *c.* 0.15m. thick, and were respectively dark brown and dark grey in colour. As the original hearth was now completely buried, these argue for the existence of a chimney-hood set against the wall, marking the position of the fireplace.

At some stage during the life of the Kitchen, the newel stair in its north-west corner was substantially renovated; its approach passage was deepened and roughly paved with sandstone flagging, and a reused arch was inserted at its entrance. The edges of the ashlar quoins of the arch were badly chipped, and the base of the more southerly jamb-stone was missing — presumably having been damaged whilst the arch was being dismantled. The second stone in the jamb rested solely on a large piece of sandstone rubble (pl. 15); as this piece of rubble was clearly not meant to be seen, it is reasonable to infer that the whole level of the floor in the approach passage was raised to almost the height of the first tread in the staircase. The latter was deepened by the addition of an extra tread at the same height.

It is tempting to equate the refurbishment of the approach stair to the crossing tower with the installation of a tower clock. The evidence for the clock comprises its foliot balance arm which was found in room 8, and its two stone driving weights which were found in the Dissolution debris (29b). Similar clocks are known to have been in use in certain English cathedrals by the late 14th. century, and it will be argued that this is the probable date of the Llanthony clock, as the poor state of the Priory's finances during the 15th. century suggests that a later installation would be extremely unlikely.

Fragments of Cistercian-type ware in floor 31, and of a Martincamp flask from the stair-well (9) show that the Kitchen remained in use throughout the 15th. century, and probably right up to the Dissolution.

The Chamber (North Transept Chapel; *First Report* fig. 10)

To the east, the former suite of apartments was replaced by a single small room. Its plan and dimensions were discussed in the *First Report*[24], where it was described as a Phase IV chapel. Its function is uncertain; it may have served as a small chamber, or simply have been used as a store-room. The entrance from the choir to this room was blocked off. Further east, the Period IIIa garderobe was infilled, and a new double off-set buttress built next to it, set against the north wall of the presbytery (*First Report*, pl. 13). This implies that the presbytery's north wall was showing signs of subsidence. It seems likely that this work is contemporary with similar late medieval buttressing around the outside of the south transept (*First Report*, 8).

The final modification was the abandonment of this room, and its walling off from the Kitchen (*First Report*, pl. 15). This may not have taken place until the beginning of the 16th. century.

PERIOD IV

There is no evidence that any destruction took place at the Dissolution. Augmentation records of the reign of Queen Mary confirm that substantial quantities of roofing lead were still *in situ* in the 1550's[25]; however, it seems likely that a certain amount of pilfering was carried out by local farmers, who would not have been averse to helping themselves to any handy building materials, such as the odd sandstone flag for flooring.

A layer of fairly fragmented plaster (29b) overlay the Period III floor in the Kitchen, and almost certainly represents the abandonment of the building. It contained the bones of a number of wild birds (starlings, jackdaws, and a song-thrush in the stair-well, 9) — perhaps indicating that the building stood open for some time. A 16th-century reckoning counter in this layer could either date from the last days of the Priory, or like the 1575 jetton found outside the transept (*First Report*, 29), have been dropped by a later visitor.

The collapse of the vault and most of the walls of the Kitchen sealed the floor with some 3-4m. of rubble (29a). Most of this was removed by machine, but the bottom few centimetres contained large quantities of dressed masonry and pitched roofing slates. The actual date of the collapse is unknown, but it had clearly occurred before 1732, when the Priory was engraved by the Bucks[26]. Quantities of domestic animal bone in the rubble suggest that the site was being used as a tip for rubbish from a nearby steading. Outside the west wall of the Kitchen, layers 44a-44d represent similar successive layers of rubble collapse. All the material from this area was probably deposited after the Dissolution.

Subsequent to this collapse, a baby (10) was buried at the base of the stair-well (fig. 7b; *First Report*, pl. 16, p.33). The orientation is wrong for a Christian burial,

and it was clearly not interred whilst the stairs were in use, but had been dug down through the rubble. Accidental death can be ruled out, and the illicit circumstances of the burial suggest one of three crimes — murder, black magic, or the concealment of an illegitimate child which had died at birth; of these, the last is by far the most plausible. As the estate was owned by a succession of absentee landlords up until Landor's purchase, it would have been not impossible to conceal an unwanted birth from the authorities. Pottery from above the grave suggested a 17th or early 18th-century date for the burial.

The church continued to deteriorate and collapse throughout the 18th and early 19th. centuries. The great east window which was still standing in 1788 when it was sketched by Thomas Hearne[27], had collapsed by 1800; and in 1803 the fall of the west window was witnessed by Colt-Hoare[28]. In 1808 part of the lantern was demolished by Landor's tenants whilst he was fighting in Spain[29]; finally, in 1837, four piers of the south nave arcade collapsed[30]. This prompted the estate to take measures to consolidate what was left; accordingly, they built buttresses against the south-west corner of the crossing tower, the interior of the west front and against the double off-set buttress propping up the north wall of the presbytery. A number of iron ties were inserted, and the church, which had previously been strewn with rubble (*cf.* Wyndham's view of 1777[31]), was cleared.

A grave-setting (37) was constructed for a monumental slab on the edge of the north transept in the choir. The original location of the slab is uncertain, but it was first illustrated by Roberts in 1846[32], and it is quite likely that the construction of feature 37 dates from about this time. It was bedded on a floor of large sandstone blocks which were bonded together with a strong pink mortar; these sealed a number of fragments of a white glazed earthenware chamber-pot.

The probable extent of Gardner's excavations have been discussed above (Introduction to the Excavations). The frequent occurrence of willow-pattern and other early 20th-century rubbish in the topsoil of the choir (40) can probably be attributed to the back-filling of his trenches. In the early 1930's, an extensive programme of consolidation work on the crossing tower necessitated the sinking of four massive concrete rafts (42) beneath its southern arch (pl. 18; fig. 6, S.8). At the same time a number of holes for scaffolding poles were sunk in the choir — producing many of the gaps in the paving shown on figs. 2 and 3. The majority of these modern intrusions have been omitted from the published plans for the sake of clarity, but the full extent of these disturbances is recorded on the original architect's plan, a copy of which is in the possession of Cadw (Welsh Historic Monuments).

THE BUILDINGS SOUTH OF ST. DAVID'S CHURCH: "INFIRMARY" SITE

Prior to excavation this site was covered by a row of farm buildings. These were first described by Gardner[33], when they were being used as 'cow-houses, fowl-houses and the like, and the condition they are naturally in renders accurate and detailed investigations difficult'. The western end of the row was formed by a stable which was built in the early years of this century, but the other buildings incorporated a number of fragments of medieval work, and included certain domestic structures.

Their ruinous condition necessitated consolidation, and work began in 1978 on dismantling certain sections of the walls prior to rebuilding. During the course of this work, earlier footings were uncovered which indicated the existence of a substantial medieval building underneath. Accordingly it was decided to make a full survey of the standing remains.

The Standing Buildings (figs. 8-11)

The terrace sloped gradually downwards from east to west, and the buildings were stepped to compensate for this (fig. 8). The original ground profile between St. David's church and the terrace is harder to gauge as the land on the church side has clearly been made up (as correctly surmised by Gardner[34]) to provide a wide path into the graveyard. The height of the medieval footings found in excavation to the north of the stable suggests that there was a gradual rise at the west end of the site; further east, the slope must either have been much steeper, or a considerable amount of terracing has taken place.

The west end of the terrace (fig. 9) was formed by the early 20th-century stable (room 1). This had been butted onto a three-roomed row of cow-houses. The most westerly (room 2) measured *c.* 5.75 x 6.80m.; its east wall had already been dismantled, but the stub of its south end was clearly visible (figs 8-9). The central room (3) measured *c.* 6.20 x 6m. Both these rooms were last used as byres. The far room (4) measured *c.* 6.20 x 6.25m., and was last used as a set of calving pens.

Although a certain amount of the fabric had been removed before measured drawing work began, some details can be added from photographs taken during dismantling[35]. At the time of purchase, the terrace was two-storeyed — the upper floor forming a tall loft for storing hay, etc. The roof was gabled, and almost certainly covered with slates, in the local tradition. The south wall had a number of fairly large rectangular windows or pitching-holes at first floor level. The entrances and windows in this wall can be seen to be faced with a mixture of dressed stone and rubble.

Room 1 (stable):

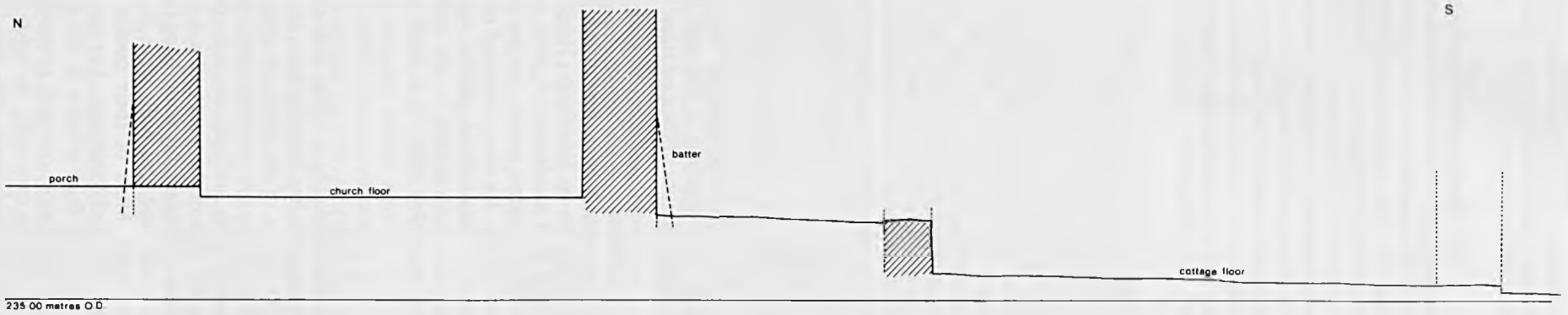
This had already been dismantled. It incorporated no earlier work above foundation level, and was built in local Old Red Sandstone. A little dressed stone was reused in its window quoins, but the rest was in roughly dressed rubble. Its floor consisted of close-laid cobble sets with a longitudinal central runnel. Access was gained by a central door in the south wall; this was flanked on either side by a fairly large rectangular window.

Room 2 (byre):

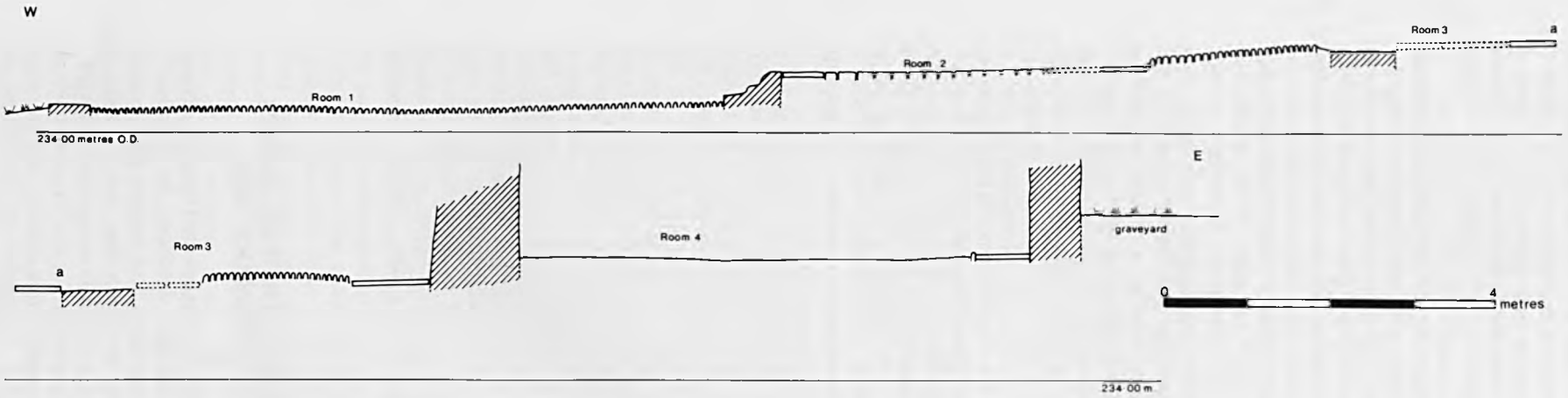
This was divided by a 1.20m. wide central north-south paved sump, on line with the main entrance in the south wall. The floor of the stalls on either side was neatly cobbled; that to the east was raised above the height of the sump (fig. 8), and bore two holes for tethering-posts. Along the edge of the west wall was a 0.60m. wide strip of paving — presumably underlying the feeding boxes.

The south and east walls were in one bond and of similar build. Most of their quoins were of roughly dressed Old Red Sandstone, but some ashlar was also used. The first-floor window in the south wall (fig. 11, bottom) was almost certainly reused; although it had a dressed chamfer externally, its inside faces incorporated only one dressed stone, the rest being made up of roughly dressed rubble. The west wall had already been dismantled.

Fig. 8. North-South and East-West profiles through the 'Infirmary' site.

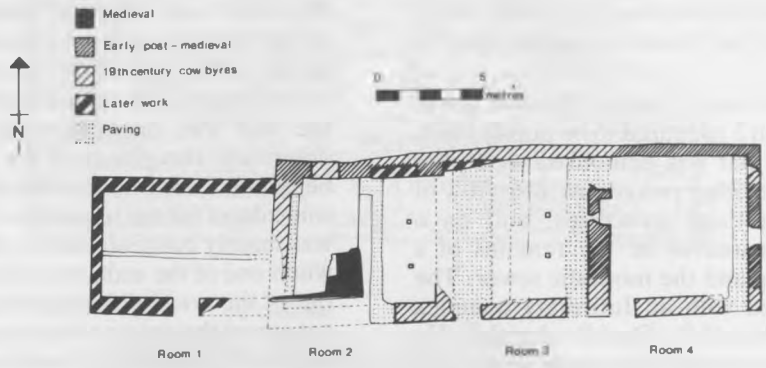


N-S Profile of 'Infirmary' and Parish Church



E-W Profile of 'Infirmary'

Fig. 9. The Standing Buildings south of St. David's church.



The north wall contained work of more than one period (fig. 10), and parts of it were clearly of greater antiquity than the other walls of this room. At its west end was a blocked doorway framed with an elaborate rounded arch; this is the one described by Gardner as being ornamented on the exterior with 'a very heavy boutel'[36]. As the level of the ground on the St. David's side of the door comes up to almost the top of the arch (fig. 10, bottom), this entrance has clearly not been in use since the path into the graveyard has been made up. Gardner's account[37] makes it clear that this level has changed little, if at all, since his day. His other work suggests that he was a thoughtful and careful recorder, and it is safe to assume that he would have asked locals if this door had been in use in living memory. It therefore seems reasonable to infer that it had been blocked off since at least the middle of the last century; moreover, Gardner himself states that he had first visited Llanthony some 55 years before (i.e. *c.* 1860), and is likely to have noticed if there had been a major piece of landscaping in front of the church, in between his visits.

To the east, this wall had clearly been rebuilt, as there was a change both in thickness and in alignment (fig. 9). It incorporated a large fireplace (fig. 10, upper middle). This was capped with parts of at least one reused arch, but several of the splays were in the wrong position; the quoins on either side used a mixture of ashlar, tufa and roughly dressed rubble. At some stage it had been blocked with drystone rubble, and some of this blocking extended under its western jamb — suggesting that the wall was in a state of disrepair at the time.

It was in this room that the masons uncovered the foundations of earlier walls and the capping of a large sewer beneath the sets of the byre floor (fig. 9); various fragments of dressed stones were also found beneath the footings of the south wall.

Room 3 (byre):

At some stage this had been subdivided by a north-south cross-wall (fig. 8, bottom), but Gardner's account describes it as a single room[38]. Access was gained by an entrance at either end of the south wall. The stalls in the western half of the room were paved with large sandstone flags. In the eastern half, they were cobbled with sandstone sets which bore the holes for two tethering-posts; they were bounded by a 1m. wide flagged feeding-passage to the east, and a central 0.60m. wide sump to the west.

The south and west walls had already been dismantled to foundation level. The north wall was poorly constructed, and comprised four sections of roughly dressed rubble infill in different builds (fig. 10, upper and lower middle); it is possible that one or two of these may represent the blocking of an earlier entrance. There was a marked change in the line of this wall (fig. 9), and at its east end it was clearly butted against the north wall of room 4 (fig. 10, lower middle).

The east wall was more obviously of some antiquity, and had clearly been built for domestic use, rather than for cattle (fig. 11, upper and lower middle). It is possible that this was formerly an external face of room 4. At its north end a raised entrance was flanked on its south side by a dressed arch of the same style and ornamentation as that in room 2. Its northern jamb may have been removed when the north wall of room 3 was butted onto room 4. This arch is almost certainly reused, as most of its responds were broken or badly chipped, and the bottom plinth was missing, and had been replaced with drystone rubble (fig. 11, lower middle: side elevation). Its re-erection clearly post-dates the medieval sewer over which it had been built: it was carried over the sewer on only two thin flags, and no provision had been made in the sewer for springing or vaulting at this point. To the south was a small square window which was faced on either side by dressed stones; as these did not match, they were probably reused. The south end of this wall has been completely rebuilt (the east face is discussed below).

Room 4 (calving pens):

Access was gained by a door at either end of the south wall, as well as through the west wall into room 3. Unlike the other rooms, this had a clay floor. At the east end a 0.60m. wide concrete walkway was edged on the west by a line of thin flagging set on edge.

The west face of the west wall has already been described (room 3, above). The central part of its east face projected into the room (fig. 9), and contained a blocked chimney (fig. 11, lower middle), flanked on either side by a stone ledge at shoulder height. To the south was a rectangular recess at the same height. The plan of this wall has been obscured by the rebuilding of its south end at the same thickness as the chimney. Gardner recorded a broad splayed window to the south[39]; unless this was at first floor level, it must have been in the rebuilt section.

The north wall was well-built in roughly dressed rubble (fig. 10, lower middle). It incorporated two rectangular recesses at *c.* 1.25m. above floor level at its east end. Further west was a blocked window. In one bond with this wall was the east end wall (fig. 11, top). This was well-built and incorporated two rectangular windows; these were edged with a mixture of chamfered dressed stone and rubble, and one was topped with a wooden sill. The more northerly window had been subsequently narrowed to a ventilator slit. The external face of this wall suggested that most of the fabric above the height of the windows had been rebuilt; the

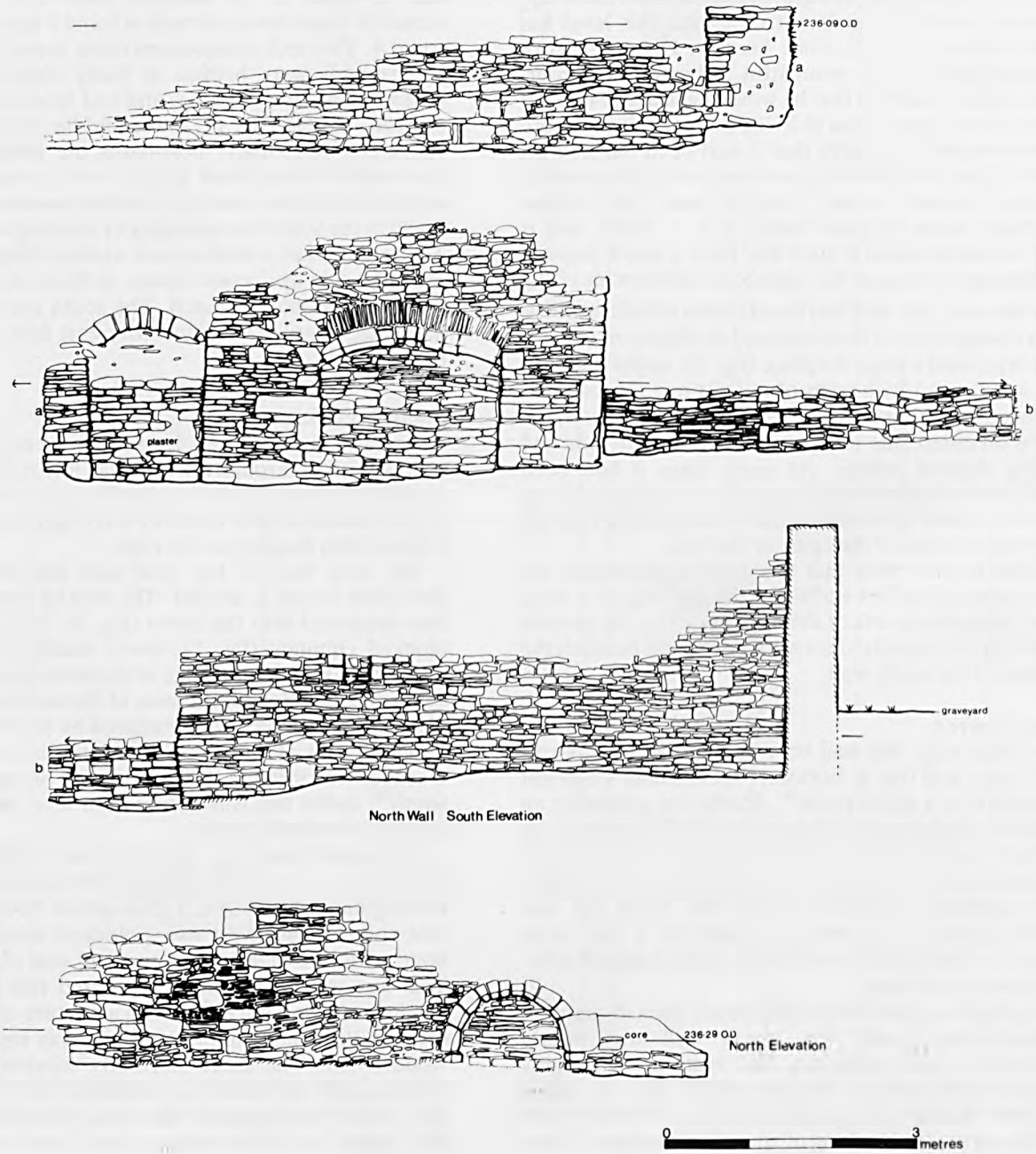
possibility therefore cannot be excluded that this room was originally single-storeyed. To the south a drystone graveyard wall had been butted onto the corner of the building. The south wall had been dismantled prior to survey.

The survey revealed traces of earlier domestic use in rooms 2 and 4 only. Room 3 appeared to be poorly built, and contained no work that was demonstrably earlier than the conversion of the other two rooms into a row of cow-houses. Underlying these structures, and on a different alignment appeared to be the remains of a substantial stone building and the monastic sewer. The identification of this area with an Infirmary complex hinges on Gardner's survey of St. David's church[40]. He recognised that the nave contained domestic work, and suggested that two secular rooms had been added to a pre-existing chancel to form an Infirmary with an Infirmary chapel to the east. This interpretation was accepted by Lovegrove[41], and slightly modified by Craster[42], who suggested that the nave formed the Infirmary Hall, rather than the Infirmary. If the church is accepted as part of an Infirmary complex, then the medieval building to the south is likely to form the west side of its cloister — perhaps its rere-dorter?

The Excavations

The north and east end walls were largely retained as property boundaries between the church's and the Welsh Office's land; the other walls of the cow-houses were dismantled to foundation level. The western half of the site was opened up as an area excavation to determine the extent of the early footings which had been uncovered by the masons, and to try to establish some dates for the sequence of standing buildings. Work was mainly concentrated on the medieval remains, and when one of the walls was found to continue northwards out of the area held in guardianship, a small trench was cut across the entrance to the graveyard to determine the northern extent of the building. As time and resources were limited, it was not possible to excavate the entire terrace in a single season, and towards the end a small

Fig. 10. Elevations of the standing buildings.
Top, Upper Middle and Lower Middle: The south elevation of the north wall of the stable and the cottages.
Bottom: Part of the north elevation of the same wall, showing the other side of the arch depicted in the upper middle elevation.



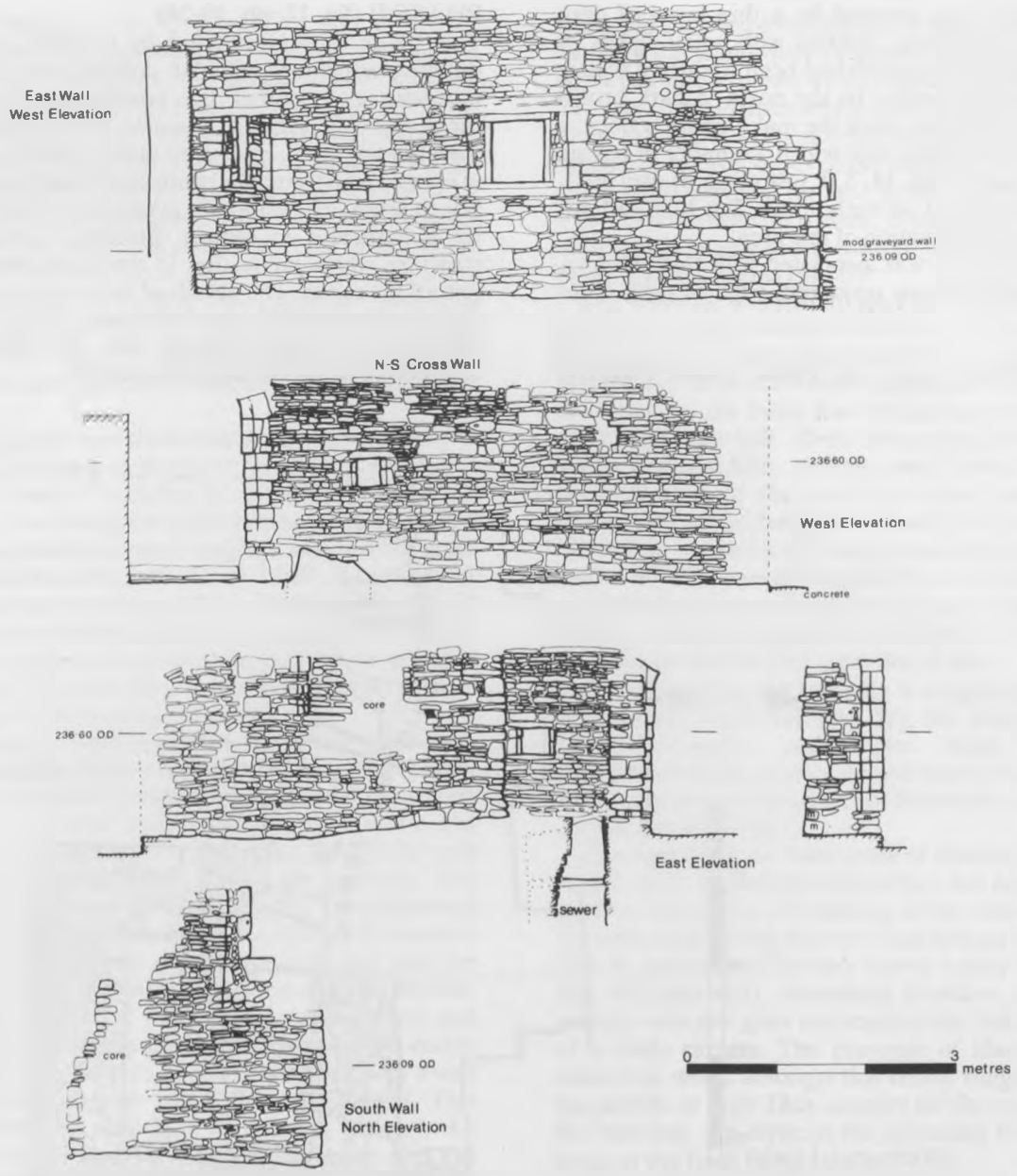


Fig. 11. Elevations of the standing buildings.
Top: the east end wall of the cottages.
Upper Middle and Lower Middle: The east and west faces of the cross-wall in the cottages.
Bottom: the north wall of the cottages (room 2).

trial cutting (shown on fig. 13) was excavated to the east to establish the likelihood of any medieval remains surviving beneath the post-medieval buildings; as noted above, the ground level rose across the terrace from west to east, and the greatest depth of medieval deposits found in this cutting was 0.20m.; moreover, much of this had been disturbed or removed by the post-medieval footings, and, on balance, it was felt that another season's work was not really justified.

Five main structural phases were found. The first two were certainly medieval and monastic. Phases III and IV were post-medieval, and at least partly residential. Phase V comprised the standing terrace of cow-houses.

THE MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS

PHASE I (fig. 12, pls. 19-20)

The earliest structure on the site measured at least 8.50 x 9.50m. (Building I), and appears to have been aligned north-south. It was not possible to establish its northern extent, as most of the building lay outside the area in guardianship, much of it covered by a Victorian school-house and the modern road.

The south wall (407), 9.50m. long and 1m. wide, survived to a height of *c.* 0.43m. in places (fig. 14, S.9), and was built in roughly dressed sandstone rubble bonded with mortar. Part of its south face had been removed by the construction of the Phase II sewer (404). At its west end was a paved entrance 1.60m. wide, which sealed a bronze thimble (fig. 19, no. 2). The western edge of this sandstone flagging appeared to be lapped under the east face of the west wall (403). The latter survived for at least 8.50m., and was *c.* 0.90m. wide, and up to 0.45m. high; it was largely composed of small sandstone rubble core, with some larger blocks as facing. Its junction at the south-west corner of the room had been disturbed by its incorporation in a wider Phase II wall; the latter was certainly clay-bonded, and this appeared to be the case with the exposed upper joints of the Phase I wall, but examination of its footings was greatly hampered by its proximity to the road to the west, the stable wall to the north and east, and by power cables and water pipes on top of the wall further north. At the south-east corner of the building, the stub of the east wall survived only two courses high; thereafter, it had been completely removed by the construction of post-medieval drains.

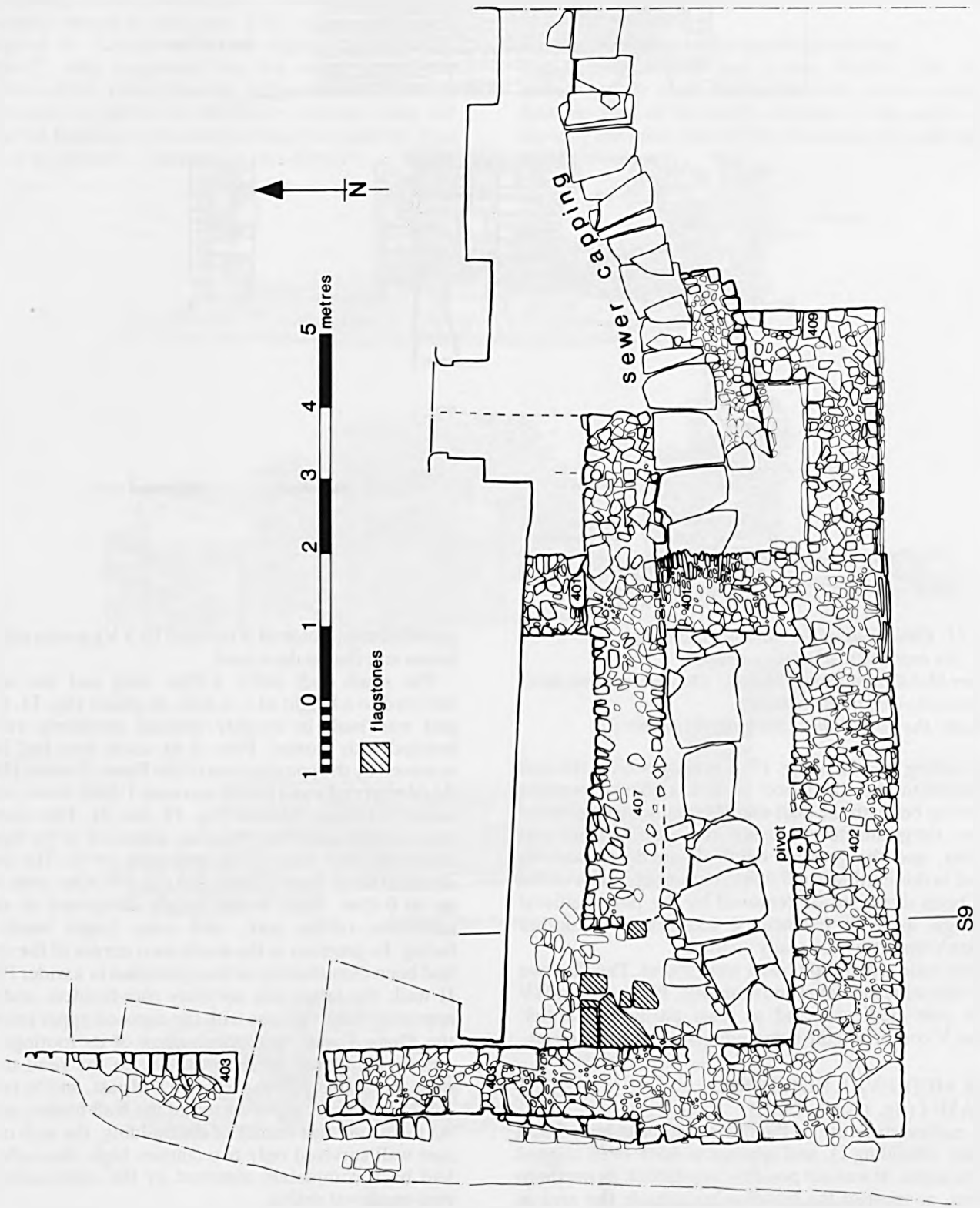
The entrance was covered by a thin layer of dark brown and black loam, flecked with small flakes of sandstone (400c), into which had been trodden a scatter of small bone fragments. To the north, a dark brown sandy layer (410c) may mark the make-up for a floor; a slight depression in this, into which a number of paving slabs had subsided (fig. 14, S.9; just north of wall 407), may mark the top of an early drain, but time did not permit further examination of this area.

Very little pottery was associated with this building, and what there is seems consistent with an early 13th-century date.

Fig. 12. Infirmary site: the Phase I and Phase II buildings.

PHASE II (fig. 12, pls. 19-24)

This phase is characterised by a fresh campaign of building associated with the construction of the main monastic sewer system. It is possible that the course of the sewer was originally planned whilst Building I was still standing, as it appears to make a deliberate change in course to go round the south end of the building; if this was the case, a decision was taken at a very early stage in its construction to replace Building I with a larger structure which lay further to the south, and enclosed part of the sewer. The details of the sewer vaulting show that its construction was intimately linked to that of Building II, which suggests that the latter is best interpreted as an Infirmary rere-dorter.



The Sewer (404):
This averaged 0.75m. in width, but varied in places from 1m. to as little as 0.20m. Its height similarly varied considerably over its length, but reached a maximum of *c.* 1.20m., and rarely fell below 0.50m. where clean. It was floored with large flat sandstone slabs, and its walls were coursed in drystone rubble. With the exception of two stretches described below, it was roofed with one or two courses of massive, flat sandstone slabs. It was fed in three places by small conduits, 0.20m. square, which were presumably for feeding water into the system to maintain a steady flow; two of these were at floor level, the third at capping level. It was fairly clean throughout, except where later intrusions had smashed through the roof.

The gradual slope of the terrace from east to west was mirrored by the drop in height of the floor of the sewer. At the west end of Building II, it turned away to the south-west, and dropped over 0.50m. in height. The bend at this point was barrel-vaulted, and at some stage had been narrowed to *c.* 0.20m. in width, by secondary work, to increase the rate of flow. The sewer continued southwards beyond the bend — presumably to empty into the river, somewhere near the mill; it was possible to trace this for some 30m. beneath the modern road, where it is now blocked by a cave-in.

To the east of Building II the sewer ran in a north-easterly direction, before branching in two. One course continued eastwards towards the rere-dorter. It is now blocked by a cave-in underneath the grave-yard, but further east, its vaulting survives in the base of the wall which now forms the south side of the car-park. The other branch (405) turned north-east (fig. 28) and passed under St. David's church, where it is blocked by another cave-in. This branch had a dry-stone corbelled vault for most of its length, and ashlar facing on one of its bends; in all other respects, it was of similar dimensions and construction to the main sewer. At a point 0.50m. inside the grounds of St. David's, it had vaulting to carry a wall — though none is now visible at ground level. This contrasts with the total lack of vaulting beneath the south wall of the nave; whether this implies that the buildings which now comprise the nave post-date the construction of the sewer, is a moot point. This branch almost certainly served the kitchen in the south range. Gardner surmised that it was fed by a channel crossing the inner cloister[43], but it is not clear from his account how far Mr. Knight and John Davies were able to crawl along it in the early years of this century.

Building II
The new structure reused and extended the west wall of Building I, and measured at least 12.10 x 11.30m. Its construction was closely linked to that of the sewer, and as the floor of the latter dropped 0.83m. in height in its course across the building, the new foundations had to be raised accordingly to compensate. This chance raising of the floor level ensured the survival of the south wall of Building I (pl. 19).

The new west wall incorporated the Phase I wall (403), and appears to have widened it by placing additional footings against its west face (pl. 20). It was extended to the south with a new clay-bonded section, *c.* 1.35m. wide and 0.45m. high, to give a total length of at least 12.10m. This new section of walling incorporated the vaulting of the sewer (pl. 21), showing that the two are contemporary. The new south wall (402) was of continuous build, but increased in width from east to west to compensate for the increasing depth of the foundations, necessitated by the sewer. It was 11.30m. long, and survived to a height of 0.48m., though varying between three and eleven courses high; it was composed of clay-bonded rubble with roughly dressed faces, and had an external batter which was particularly marked at its east end (pl. 22). It incorporated a single ashlar block at the south-east corner of the building. A return to the north (409) survived for 2m., before abutting the south wall of the sewer; thereafter, it could not be traced — presumably having been removed by the construction of post-medieval drains (pl. 27).

The building was sub-divided by a substantial north-south cross-wall (401). This is clearly secondary to Building I as it abuts either side of its south wall (407), and appears to be contemporary with the construction of the sewer, as the latter has substantial vaulting here to carry its weight (pls. 23-4); moreover, the floor of the sewer drops 0.62m. at this point, and the west or downhill face of the wall has offset foundations to compensate. The function of the 2.20m. wide eastern room thus created is uncertain; the most obvious use of such a cubicle is as a garderobe, but surprisingly, there is no indication of any break in the sewer capping at this point — though it is possible that this has been replaced, once the garderobe had gone out of use.

An entrance to the building is suggested by a pivot-stone in the south wall (fig. 12); the pivot-hole was *c.* 0.08m. diameter, and 0.03m. deep. Whilst the possibility that the stone is reused cannot be excluded, it will be noted that this is in a not dissimilar position to the entrance in Building I.

The raising of the floor level of Building II from the height of the original ground surface was achieved by the massive deposition of building debris and rubbish into the area enclosed by the new foundations (fig. 14, S.9). This is represented by dark brown loamy layers (410b, 419, 425 and 426), containing boulders, slabs, slates, pottery, window glass and most of the butchered debris of a cattle carcass. The presence of Ham Green and Saintonge wares amongst this refuse suggests a date in the middle or later 13th. century for the construction of the building. An error in the recording has resulted in some of the finds being labelled 400b.

At some stage after the construction, a 3m. diameter pit (410a) was dug through the floor. This showed only in section beneath the stable wall, and hence is omitted from the plan. It had a sticky red clay fill, and its finds included a large wooden wedge; the fine state of preservation of the latter suggests that either the clay produced near-anaerobic conditions, or more likely that this feature is of little antiquity.

South of the building, much of the area had been levelled for post-medieval farm yards, and no convincing medieval surfaces were found; medieval pottery in the dark brown loam layers (420 and 422) is probably residual. In the small cutting to the east (fig. 13), a brown loam layer (411) extending over the capping of the sewer may correspond to the make-up layers inside Building II. If this building did indeed form the west side of an Infirmary cloister, the area immediately to the east would have lain in the cloister, and apart from a cloister walk, few if any structures would be expected here.

POST-MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS
It is uncertain whether Building II survived in use until the Dissolution, but what is clear is that its eastern end at least was either robbed or dismantled to foundation level before any Phase III construction began. It seems likely that the rest of the building was levelled to the same height at this time, and a dark loam layer (400b) was spread over the former western half of Building II.

Fragments of Cistercian ware and Malvern ware cups in this layer suggest a 16th-century date for this deposition.

All of the structures from Phases III-V are on a fresh east-west alignment. As excavation was largely restricted to the western end of these structures, some details of their plan and function remain unclear. The interpretations advanced here are fairly tentative, because certain assumptions made can only be tested by further excavation.

PHASE IIIa (figs. 9 and 13)

The only certain Phase III features are two 'cross-drains' which emptied into the medieval sewer. Their similarity to their Phase IV counterparts suggests that they fulfilled a similar function within a building — possibly as byre sumps. It is largely on this that Building III is suggested.

The west wall of the new building reused the Phase II partition wall (401) as part of its footings. As this wall formed the west end wall in all the subsequent phases — albeit, with certain rebuilding, its precise width during this phase is uncertain; a 1.30m. wide scar leading off the north wall could belong to this phase or to Phase IV. The north and south walls are assumed to lie on the same line as those of Room 2 (fig. 9). The eastern extent of the room is unknown.

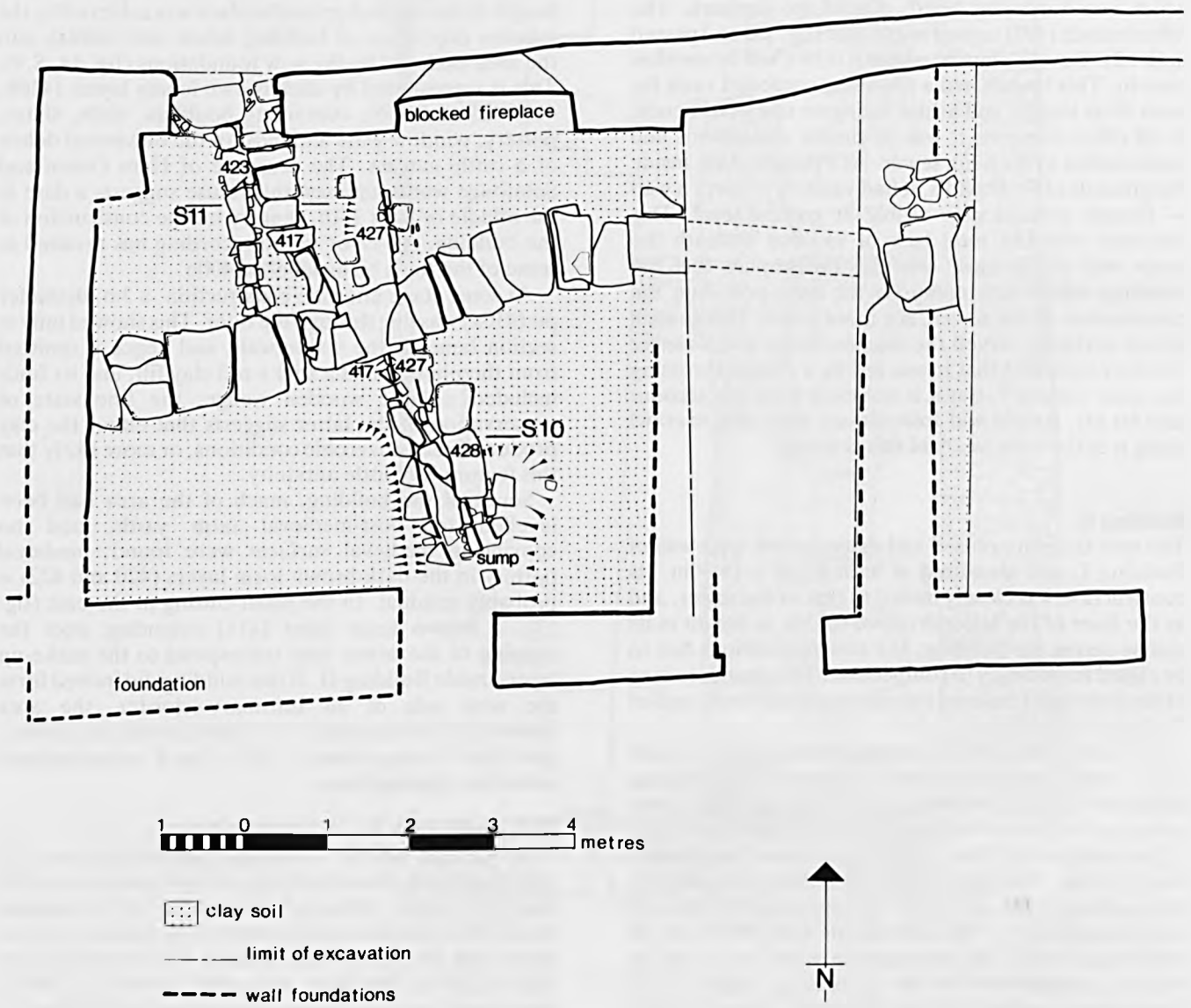
The principal feature was 'cross-drain' (427) which ran across the middle of the room, and emptied into the medieval sewer. It was *c.* 0.16m. deep, and was edged on either side by stone kerbs (fig. 14, S.10). It varied in width between 0.22 and 0.40m., and had a sticky, black, charcoal-rich loam fill. Although both of its adits into the sewer had been subsequently blocked, it had originally emptied onto a slab which traversed the inside of the sewer at about two-thirds of its height. Pottery in its fill included early post-medieval coarse wares which suggest that it was in use in the later 16th. or early 17th. centuries.

If the analogy with the Phase IV drains is pushed to the limit, it could be used to infer that the building had opposed entrances on approximately the line of the surviving entrance in the south wall of Room 2.

PHASE IIIb (fig. 13)

The southern section of drain 427 was replaced by a second drain (428) immediately to the east (fig. 14, S.10). Its construction removed part of the eastern kerb of the earlier drain. It was *c.* 0.18m. wide, and 0.12m. deep, and edged on either side by stone kerbs which in places were two courses high; it was capped with flat flagging for most of its length, and had a similar fill to 427. The northern section of 427 presumably continued in use.

Fig. 13. Infirmary Site: post-medieval features.



PHASE IVa (figs. 9 and 13, pls. 25-7)
Building III was either rebuilt or heavily repaired. A new floor consisting of a hard, red clayey loam (406b) was laid over the whole room, sealing the Phase III drains. The north wall was rebuilt and incorporated a new doorway (418), framed with a reused Romanesque arch (pl. 25); most of its responds were broken at their junction with the wall, and some of the vaulting splays had been mismatched in reassembly. It was *c.* 1.20m. wide, and paved with a number of small flagstones. It was traversed by a new drain (417) which ran obliquely across the room. It varied between 0.20 and 0.30m. in width, and was 0.14m. deep. Its base was paved with flagging (particularly noticeable in the southern half of the room), and it was edged on either side with orthostatic kerbs; it was capped for much of its length, and had a fill of dark brown clayey loam.

The reasons for building such an elaborate system of drains in this and the preceding Phases are far from clear. Their capping and small size preclude the possibility of the room being used as a byre during these Phases. Moreover, in Phase IVa there is positive evidence that this room was used as the living quarters, for a massive fireplace was built to the east of the drain, in the north wall — possibly replacing the postulated Phase III entrance. Its mantle was vaulted with the reused fragments of a medieval arch (fig. 10, upper middle). The floor ran right up to its base, and is clearly contemporary in use with it, if not in construction. Similarly, it ran up to the footings of the south and west walls, showing that they had clearly been laid by the beginning of this phase. The southern end of drain 417 suggests that the room was entered through the south wall through an entrance in much the same position as that shown in Room 2.

Pottery in the make-up of the floor would be consistent with a date in the early or mid-17th. century. The cutting to the east (fig. 13) showed that floor 406b continued into Room 3; further east the fire-place in Room 4, and the matching arch in its doorway suggest that this room is probably also best assigned to Phase IV. It is therefore possible that these formed a terrace of three cottages in this phase.

PHASE IVb (fig. 13, pls. 25-7)
The northern section of drain 417 was replaced by a new drain (423) to the west (fig. 14, S.11; pl. 26). It was more neatly made, and had all of its capping intact. It was *c.* 0.16m. wide, and edged on both sides by flat stone kerbing which was up to three courses high; it was 0.12m. deep and filled with dark brown, sticky, clayey loam. As it cut part of the paving of drain 417, it was clearly secondary. At its north end, the threshold in doorway 418 was partially repaved with a single large sandstone slab to cover it.

Although both Phase IV drains ran up to the medieval sewer, neither had an adit through the sewer wall, and they presumably functioned as soak-aways. Floor 406b was heavily burnt, suggesting that this phase terminated in a fire; the complete skeleton of a rat lying on this burning suggests that the animal was overcome with the smoke, and was unable to escape.

PHASE V (fig. 9)
This is marked by the conversion of the present terrace into cow-houses in the early 19th. century. An 0.05m. thick layer of black loam containing manure and other byre waste (406a) was laid over the Phase IV floor and drains. This formed the make-up for the stone setts and paving of the cow-houses, and contained an 1806 half-penny of George III. To the south a cobbled surface (421) was laid in the yard; fragments of 19th-century glass were trampled into the top of this.

When the stable was added in the early years of this century, a red clay make-up layer (400a) was spread across its interior, before its cobbled floor was laid. This make-up contained fragments of iron-glazed coarse wares and Victorian wine bottles. The north wall of the stable was drained by a mortared stone-lined culvert (424) on its north side. The south and west walls used part of the Phase II walls as foundations.

Fig. 14. Infirmary Site: sections.

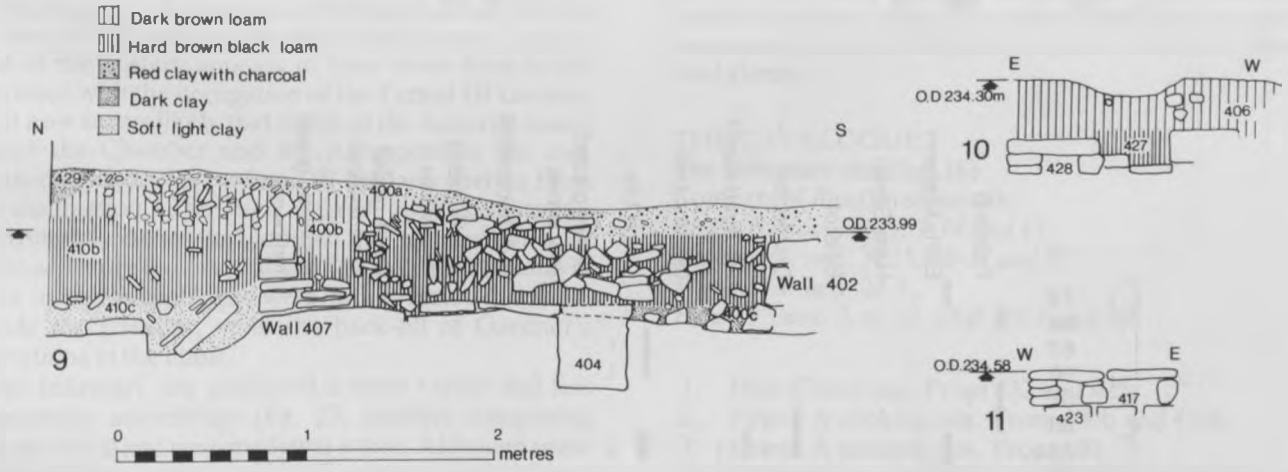
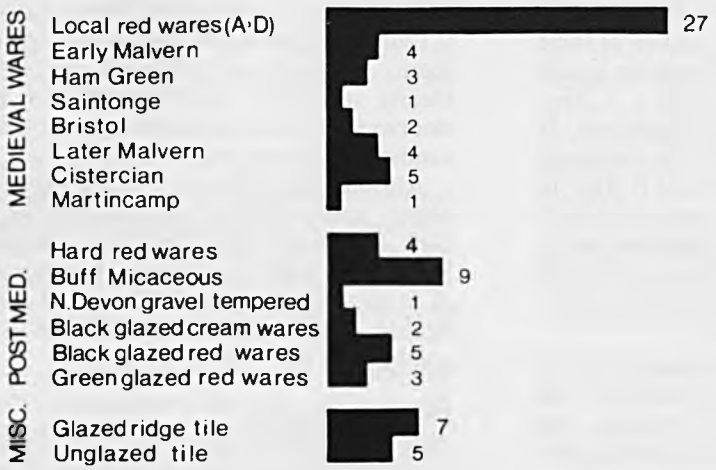
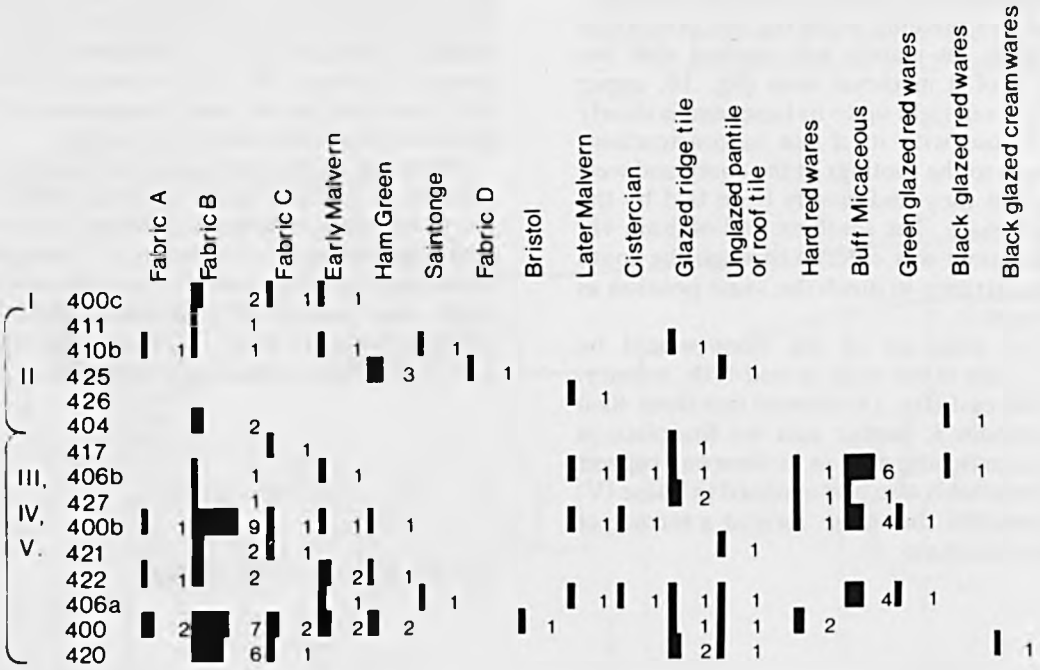


Fig. 15. Pottery histograms: the minimum number of identifiable vessels present in each fabric in the site assemblage (upper); the minimum number of vessels present in each context on the infirmary site (middle), and the church site (bottom).





THE FINDS

Coins and Jettons

Several coins were found. Identifications of nos. 1-4 were kindly supplied by Mr. G. C. Boon, and of no. 5 by Mr. J. M. Lewis both of the National Museum of Wales.

THE CHURCH SITE

Period IIIa

1. *Sealed beneath the flagging in the entrance between the choir and the Period III Chamber.* Silver penny of Edward II, Canterbury mint; class xi, struck 1310-14; much worn.
2. *From the surface of layer 35a, next to the steps (51) between the Period III Kitchen and Chamber.* Silver halfpenny of Edward III; so-called 'florin' coinage of 1344-51; Lombardic M and + saltire in one quarter of the reverse; very worn.
3. *From layer 32, in front of the fireplace.* Silver halfpenny of Edward III, London mint; 3rd. coinage, struck 1344-51. *Cf. North,* no. 1131. This coin is a trifle light at 8½ grains.

Period IV

4. *From layer 29b.* German brass reckoning-counter, made for the French market, but of a type often found in this country. About 16th. century in date. *Cf. Barnard,* 210 no. 8, with G above the mast.

Obv. VOLGUE. LA. GALLEE. DE. FRANCE. Ship, G above mast.

Rev. VIVE. LE. BON. ROY. DE. FRANCE.

THE 'INFIRMARY' SITE

Phase V

5. *From layer 406.* George III halfpenny; 4th. issue, 1806.

The Pottery

The assemblages from both sites are small, but of interest, given their proximity to kitchen areas (and in the case of the Infirmary, to a fairly specialised kitchen). Although a wide variety of imports is present, the bulk of the material is probably of local manufacture (fig. 15, upper).

The assemblage from the church site is highly fragmentary (fig. 15, bottom), but is similar in range to the much larger assemblage previously recovered from the area of the transept chapels (*First Report*, 16-20). Most of the pottery appears to have come from levels associated with the occupation of the Period III kitchen, and it now seems likely that much of the material found around the Chamber and the Anteroom to the east (particularly from layers 1 and 0) similarly derives from that occupation. The high degree of fragmentation unfortunately means that some of the stratification may not be as secure as it should be. The only post-medieval wares in the assemblages were found either in rubble outside the transept, or in the back-fill of Gardner's excavations in the choir.

The Infirmary site produced a more varied and less fragmentary assemblage (fig. 15, middle) comprising both medieval and post-medieval wares. Although some medieval pottery was found in the make-up of medieval floor levels, most was found in soil outside the building, or in post-medieval levels, where it may be either residual or redeposited from other areas of the Priory.

FABRICS

Fabric A

A range of coarse, sand-tempered cooking-pots or large unglazed storage jars. Surfaces are reddish-brown when oxidised, grey when reduced. One vessel is wheel-thrown. All are smoke-blackened.

Fabric B

A range of red ware sand-tempered jugs and jars. Fabrics and surfaces are red or orange, with occasional grey cores. Dip-glazed in green or orange-brown lead glazes. Although some vessels are wheel-made, most are coil-built. Decorative techniques include rouletting, incision, stamping, plastic ornament and the use of applied strips in darker, iron-rich clays; one vessel has an internal white slip.

Fabric C

A small number of jugs in a very soft, sandy orange fabric which has weathered badly in acid soil conditions. Dipped in speckly orange-brown glaze.

Fabric D

Represented by a single jug. Hard light grey, near vitrified fabric with sparse white grits; purplish-red surfaces, exterior glazed in a shiny dark green lead glaze. Wheel-thrown.

Malvern wares

A range of jugs, jars and cups in hard red fabrics[44].

Ham Green, Bristol types and Cistercian-type wares

For a recent discussion of these in S.E. Wales, *cf.* the pottery from the Fortress Baths, Caerleon[45].

Martincamp flasks

Imported flasks were originally discussed by John Hurst[46], who defined three main types; recent work has shown that all three were made at Martincamp, near Dieppe in N. France[47]. This example is probably an underfired type II flask — a common type-fossil of 16th-century contexts.

Flat tiles

Both sites produced a number of coarse, poorly finished unglazed tiles in orange or red fabrics. These were *c.* 150mm. thick, but fairly light; they are too fragmentary for one to be certain of their use, but they are probably thick roof tiles, rather than floor tiles. One fragment is perforated, and bears an animal foot-print (probably of a small cat[48]) from being left out in the open whilst drying.

Post-medieval wares

With the exception of the gravel-tempered ware, these were probably all produced fairly locally. The hard red wares comprise a range of unglazed earthenware jars; most of the other fabrics are represented by a range of pancheons and bowls dipped in green, brown or black lead glazes.

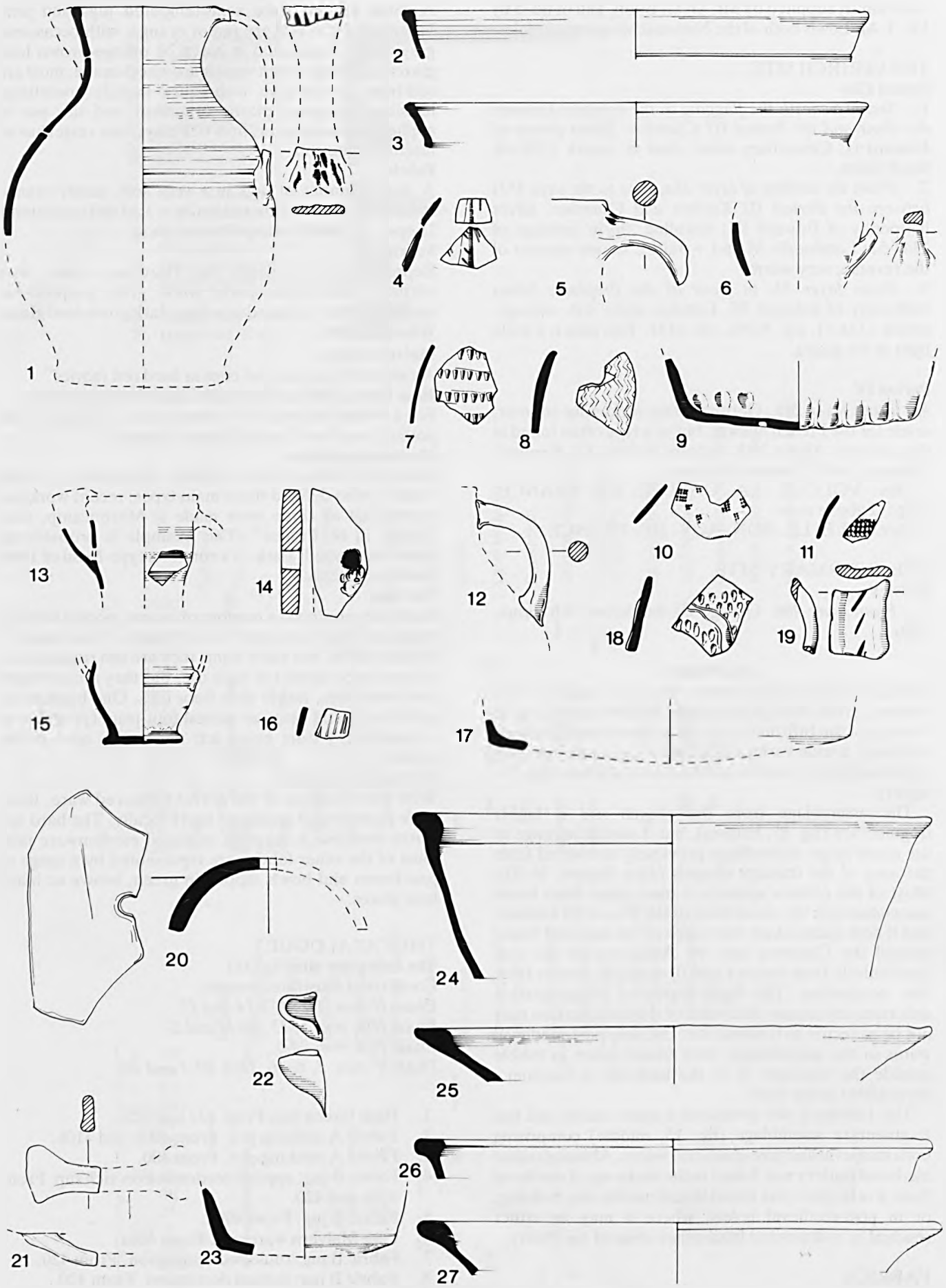
THE CATALOGUE

The Infirmary site (fig. 16)

Contexts of illustrated vessels:
Phase II: nos. 1-2, 4, 7-14 and 17.
Phase IIIa: nos. 5, 15, 20-1, and 27.
Phase IVa: nos. 24-5.
Phase V: nos. 3, 6, 16, 18-9, 22-3 and 26.

1. Ham Green jug. From 422 and 425.
2. Fabric A cooking-pot. From 400b and 410b.
3. Fabric A cooking-pot. From 400.
4. Fabric B jug; applied cordon in iron-rich slip. From 400b and 420.
5. Fabric B jug. From 400b.
6. Late Malvern ware cup. From 406a.
7. Fabric B jug; rouletted decoration. From 420.
8. Fabric B jug; incised decoration. From 420.
9. Fabric B jug; thumbed base. From 404.
10. Fabric B jug; stamped decoration. From 420.

Fig. 16. Medieval and post-medieval pottery from the infirmary site. Scale 1:4.



11. Fabric B jug; internal white slip on upper part of body; rouletted lozenge-shaped decoration. From 422.
12. Fabric B jug. From 404.
13. Saintonge mottled green glazed jug. From 406a and 410b.
14. Perforated flat unglazed tile bearing foot-print of an animal. From 420.
15. Cistercian-type ware cup. From 400b.
16. Fabric B jug; vertical finger-nail incisions. From 400.
17. Fabric A cooking-pot. From 422.
18. Fabric B jug; plastic ornament and incised decoration. From 400.
19. Fabric B jug. From 400.
20. Glazed ridge tile with a perforation for a finial. From 400b.
21. Ribbon handle from a green-glazed red ware jar. From 406b.
22. Fabric B jug; bridge spout. From 400.
23. Storage jar in hard red ware. From 400.

24-5, 27 Buff micaceous ware pancheons. From 406b.

26. Green-glazed red ware pancheon. From 406a.

Church site (fig. 17)
Contexts of illustrated vessels:
Period IIIa: nos. 28-30.
Period IIIb: nos. 31-2.
Period IV: nos. 33-6.

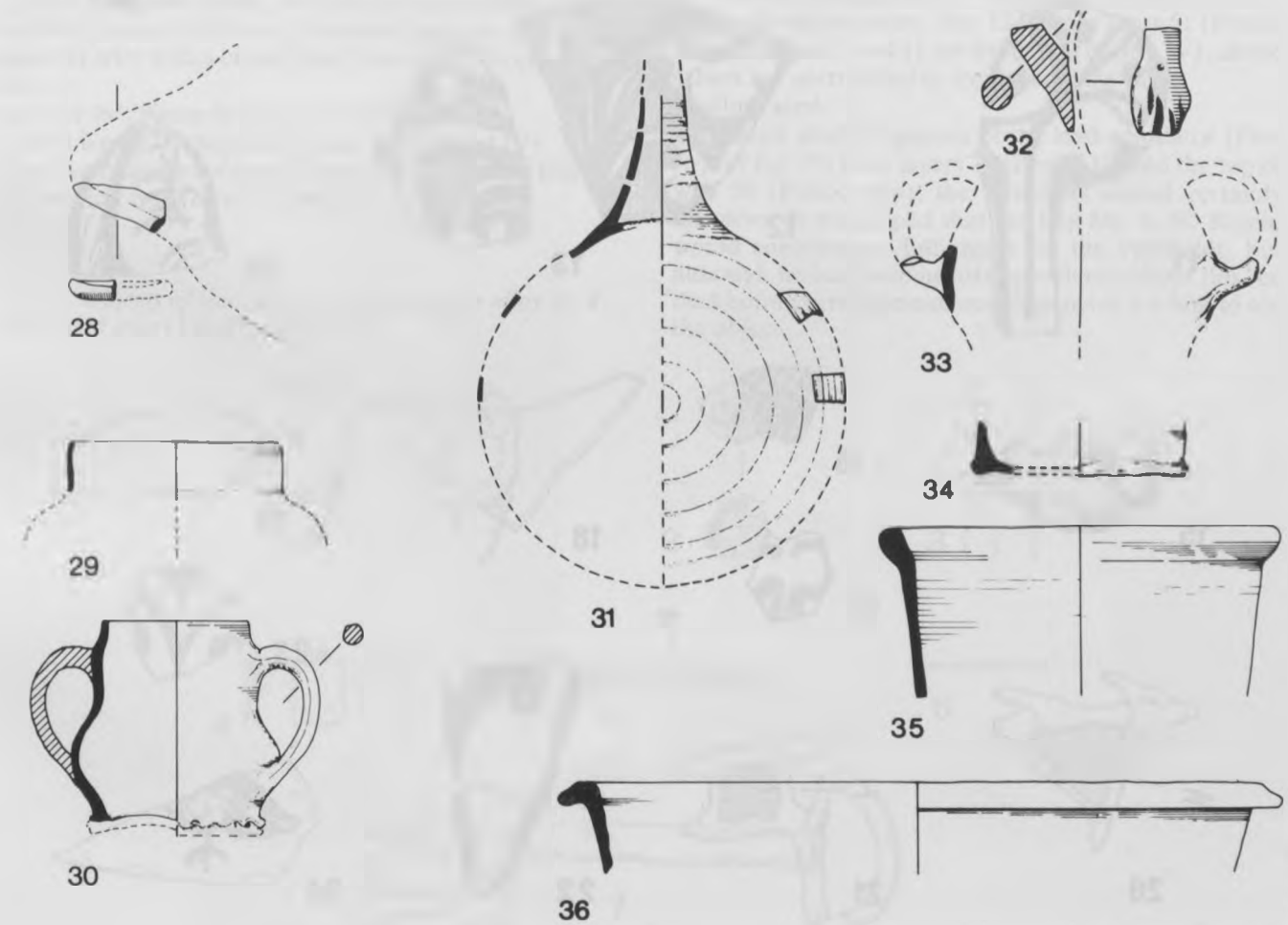
28. Fabric B fish-dish spout. From 51.
29. Cistercian-type ware cup. From 31.
30. Cistercian-type ware cup. The base was inadvertantly published in the *First Report* (fig. 15, no. 2) as a small jug. This can now be seen as intrusive in a Period II Phase II context, and has probably been disturbed by burrowing rodents from a Period IIIb context (Phase IV). From 35a.
31. Martincamp flask. From 36, 9 and 29b.
32. Bristol-type ware jug. From 9.
33. Buff micaceous ware cup. From 44b.
34. Bristol-type ware jug. From 40.
35. Buff micaceous ware jar. From 44d.
36. Brown-glazed red ware pancheon. From 0.

Fig. 17. Medieval and post-medieval pottery from the church-site. Scale 1:4.

The Window Glass

A large collection of window glass was recovered from the church, mostly from the floor levels of the Period III kitchen, and the post-Dissolution collapse; however, the fragments from the floor levels tended to be very fragmentary, and in poor condition. The bulk of the glass was undecorated, but the range of painted and stained fragments was very similar to that published in the *First Report* (21-7; the reader is referred to that account for an extended discussion of the techniques of manufacture, stylistic parallels, and problems of conservation). As before, geometrical and floral motifs abound, often with backgrounds of finely hatched lines. There are several fragments of blue and green glass, and one fragment of red-flashed glass. The plain fragments include square-shaped, rectangular and triangular quarries.

A few fragments were also found on the 'Infirmary' site, but it is difficult to be certain whether these derived from the excavated building, or have been introduced onto the site with levelling material from elsewhere in the Priory during the construction of the post-medieval cottages.



CATALOGUE

The Church Site (fig. 18)

Period II:

Fragments with floral sprays. *Cf. First Report* no. 35. Layer 35b.

Fragment of blue glass. Layer 35b.

Fragment of border decorated with roundels. *Cf. First Report* nos. 60 and 62. Layer 56.

Period IIIa:

1. Floral motif. Layer 35a.
2. Rectangular quarry of green glass. Layer 35a.
3. Floral motif on yellow glass. Layer 50.
4. Geometrical motif. Layer 50.

5-8. Floral motifs. Layer 50.

Period IIIb:

9 and 10. Geometrical and floral motifs. Layer 31.

Period IV:

11-17. Floral decoration. Layer 29b.

18 and 19. Quarries in blue glass. Layer 29b.

(Unillustrated) A fragment of red-flashed glass. Layer 29b.

20 and 21. Clear glass quarries set in triangular and square lead cames. Grave-setting 37.

22 and 23. Geometrical motifs. Layer 0.

The 'Infirmary' Site (fig. 18)

Phase IVa:

24. The lower part of the body of a bird painted on clear glass. Layer 406b.

Fig. 18. Window glass. Scale 1:2.

Objects of Copper Alloy

The range is limited, consisting mainly of a few binding strips, some personal dress trappings (e.g. belt straps and lace ends) and odd pieces of wire and broken fragments of sheet metal. (*cf. First Report*, 29-30). The wire and rod fragments may indicate a small pin making industry somewhere in the precinct, but noticeably absent from the burials are any shroud pins.

The Church Site (fig. 19)

4. Belt fastening of two butt-plates joined together by three rivets, with traces of a leather strip in between. Hook-shaped clasp at one end; perforated suspension tag on the back. From layer 57 (Period IIIa).

6. Lace end. Cf. *First Report*, fig. 28, no. 9. From layer 35a (Period IIIa); other examples from layer 31 (Period IIIb) and from the 'Infirmary' site (see below).

Unillustrated:

An 8-pointed star-shaped mount, cf. *First Report* fig. 28, no. 4. From layer 40 (Period IV).

A tapered binding strip 51mm. long, ranging in width from 4 to 9mm. From layer 61 (Period II).

A fragment of double-folded sheet measuring 40 x 8.5mm. From layer 35a (Period IIIa); a similar fragment measuring at least 57 x 7.5mm. from Layer 31 (Period IIIb). Another fragment measuring 66 x 13mm., with two central perforations, 0.75mm. in diameter and spaced 37mm. apart; from layer 31. Another two strips measuring 34 x 10mm. and 63 x 10mm., from topsoil.

A pin or rivet, 7mm. long with a circular head 4mm. in diameter; from depression 56 (Period II). Another two pins with traces of silvering: one 35mm. long and 1mm. in diameter, with a circular head 1.5mm. in diameter; the other, 30mm. long and 0.05mm. in diameter with a 1mm. diameter head. From the top of wall 50 (Period IIIa).

Three pieces of broken wire 1mm. in diameter; from depression 56 (Period II). Also in the same pit were another fragment of wire, with one end made into a loop and two pieces of thin rod. Another fragment of 1mm. diameter wire with a curved end; from layer 35a (Period IIIa).

Another two pieces from layer 57 (Period IIIa).

A short length of chain from layer 29a (Period IV).

A broken fragment of sheet from layer 35a (Period IIIa), and another from layer 40 (Period IV).

Stamped brass button with sunken central panel with two perforations; outer edge decorated with a stamped ring of indentations. Impressed legend EAMES & SON, ABERGAVENNY. From layer 40 (Period IV) — probably from the backfill of Gardner's excavations in the choir.

The 'Infirmary' Site (fig. 19)

2. A thimble decorated with a single lightly chased line at the base, and spiraling rows of punched indentations. From layer 400c (Phase I).

Unillustrated:

A lace end from sewer 404 (Phase II).

A piece of sheet from layer 406b (Phase IVa).

Objects of Lead

Quantities of lead were recovered from the site — the bulk of this consisted of roofing lead, binding strips and window cames. For a discussion of the range of sizes and shapes of these, see *First Report* 28-9, and figs. 23-4 and 26-7.

The Church Site (figs. 19 and 20)

Fig. 19:

5. T-shaped strip with broken terminal at one end; decorated with a row of raised stamped pellets. Traces of red and gold paint still adhering. From the top of wall 50 (Period IIIa).

Fig. 20:

1. Fragment of sheet with two parallel rows of perforations. From layer 32 (Period IIIa).

2. Triangular fragment of sheet with a large central perforation. Also from layer 32.

3. Rectangular plate with a large number of perforations. Possibly a drain cover? From layer 31 (Period IIIb).

4. Roundel with a rectangular slot cut through the middle, *cf. First Report* fig. 26, no. 11. From topsoil.

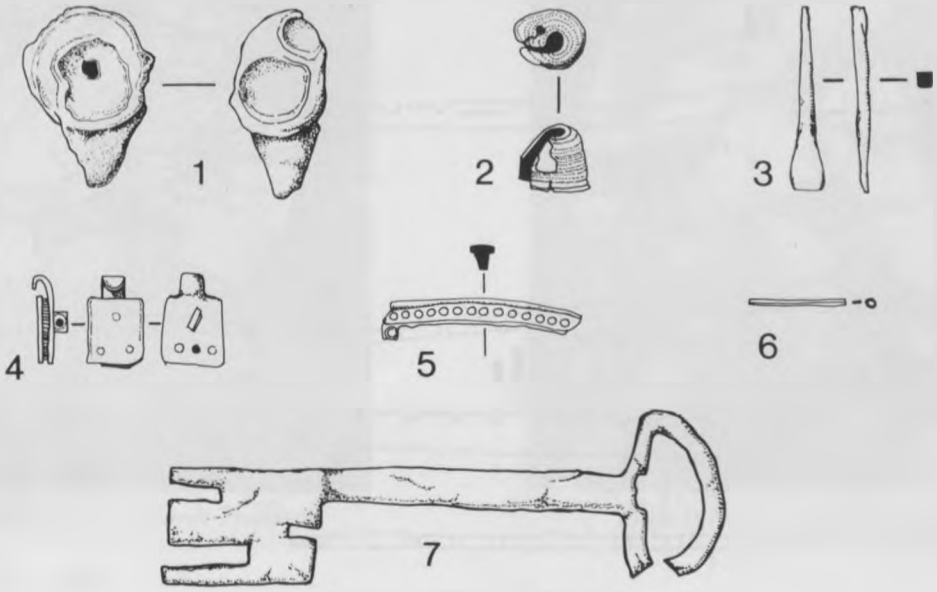
5. Sheet of binding strip. From layer 32 (Period IIIa).

6-12. Window cames. No. 12 is from layer 51 (Period IIIa), and nos. 8 and 11 are from 29a (Period IV); all the others are unstratified or from clearance work.

Unillustrated:

Two more small fragments of the lead ventilator (*First Report* fig. 27) from layers 77 (Period II) and the top of wall 50 (Period IIIa); the former is almost certainly intrusive. It was hoped that the late Mr. S. E. Rigold would contribute a full report on the ventilator, but although he had been in correspondence about this, he died before arrangements could be made for him to see the object.

Fig. 19. Objects of lead (nos. 1 and 5), copper alloy (2, 4 and 6) and iron (3 and 7). Scale 1:2.



An undecorated round token 28mm. in diameter from layer 46b (Period II).

The 'Infirmary' Site (fig. 19)

1. Plumb-bob from layer 400 (Phase V).

Unillustrated:

A length of lead water-pipe found in dismantling the standing buildings.

Fig. 20. Objects of lead and iron. Scale 1:3 (except 16a, not to scale).

Objects of Iron

The bulk of the ironwork consists of nails of varying sizes (*cf. First Report* 27-8, and fig. 26).

Fig. 19:

3. Small fine chisel blade. From the stairwell (9).
7. Key, type VII (post-medieval). Layer 44b.

Fig. 20:

13. A head of a stone-mason's hammer — probably of no great antiquity — with the wedges still in place. From clearance work in the south transept above the altar dais — possibly from the backfill of one of Gardner's trenches.

14 and 15. Window bars from layer 8a (*First Report* 28).

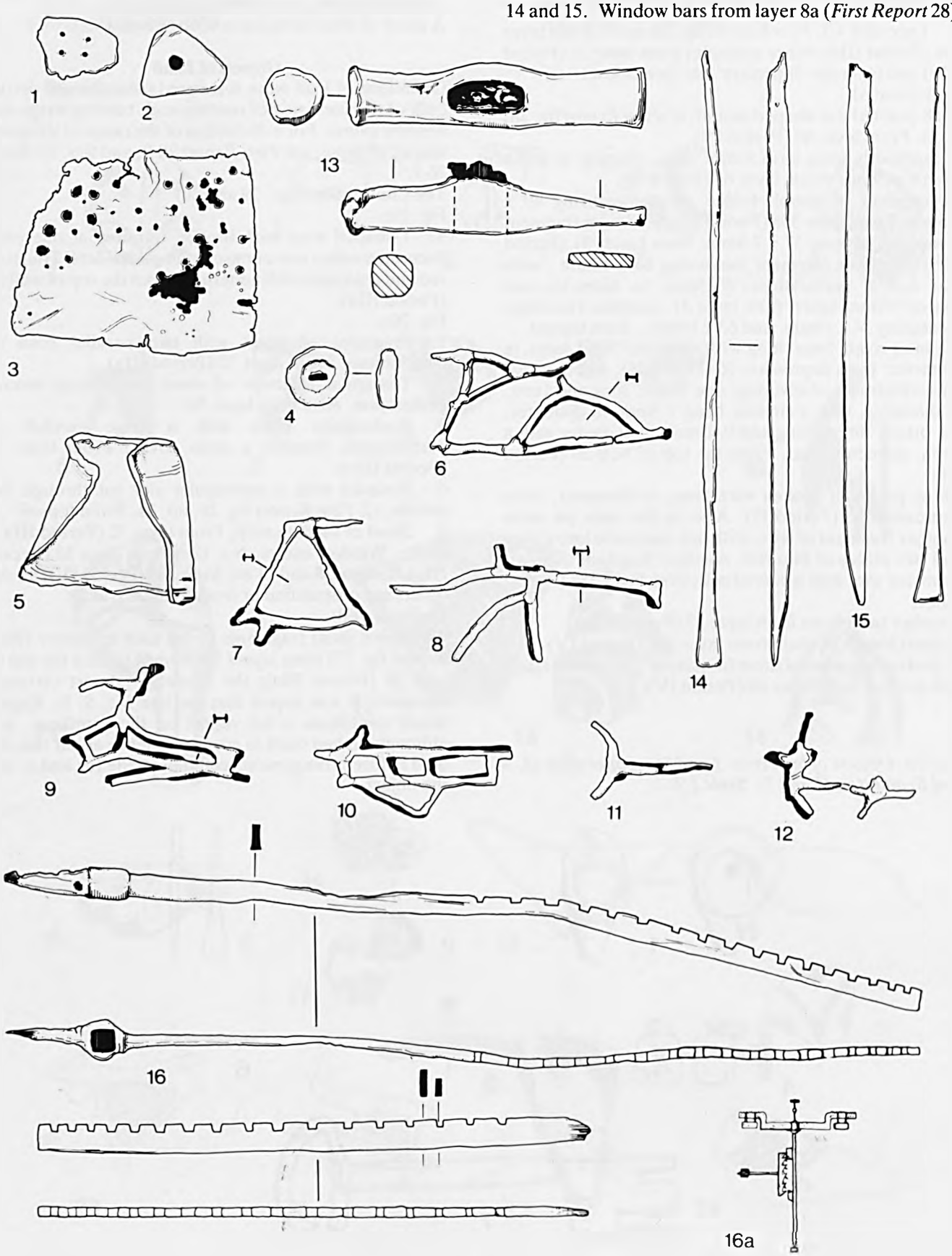


Plate 1. Period I foundations in North Transept, Viewed From south-east.

Plate 2. East wall of Period I North Transept.

Plate 3. North wall of Period I choir.

Plate 4. North wall footings of Period I North Transept.

Plate 5. Grave 91.

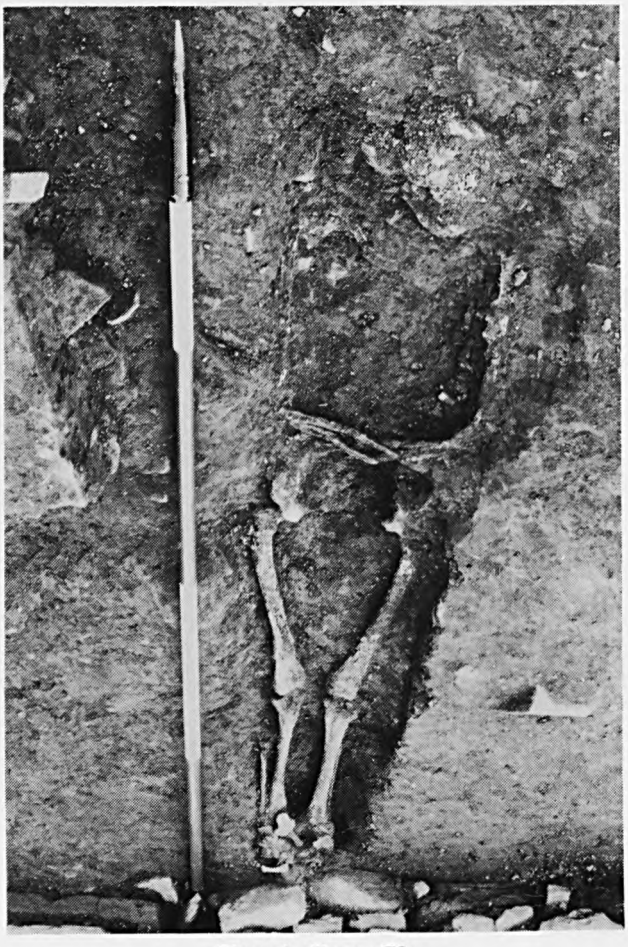


Plate 6. Grave 79.

Plate 7. Grave 80, beneath Period II footings.

Plate 8. South wall of Period I choir, cut by Period II footings.

Plate 10. Grave 62.

Plate 9. Period II choir pavement, viewed from the east

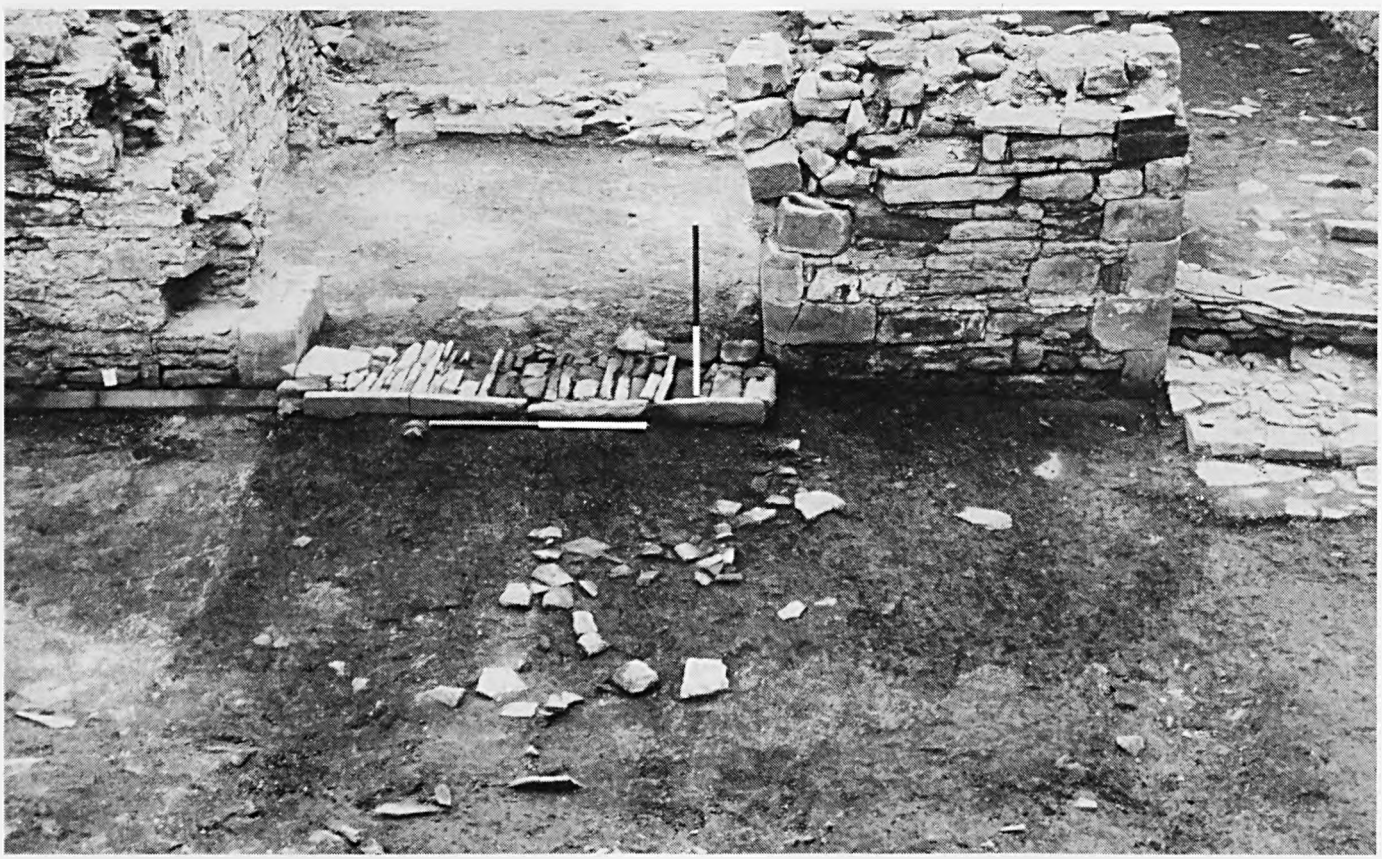


Plate 11. Period III kitchen hearth viewed from the west.

Plate 12. Period III bread-oven base viewed from the north-west.

Plate 14. Wall 50 and grave setting 37 viewed from the east.

Plate 16. Garderobe 110.

Plate 15. Period III rebuilding of the newel stair viewed from the south-east.

Plate 17. Period III threshold between the Chamber and the Choir viewed from the south.

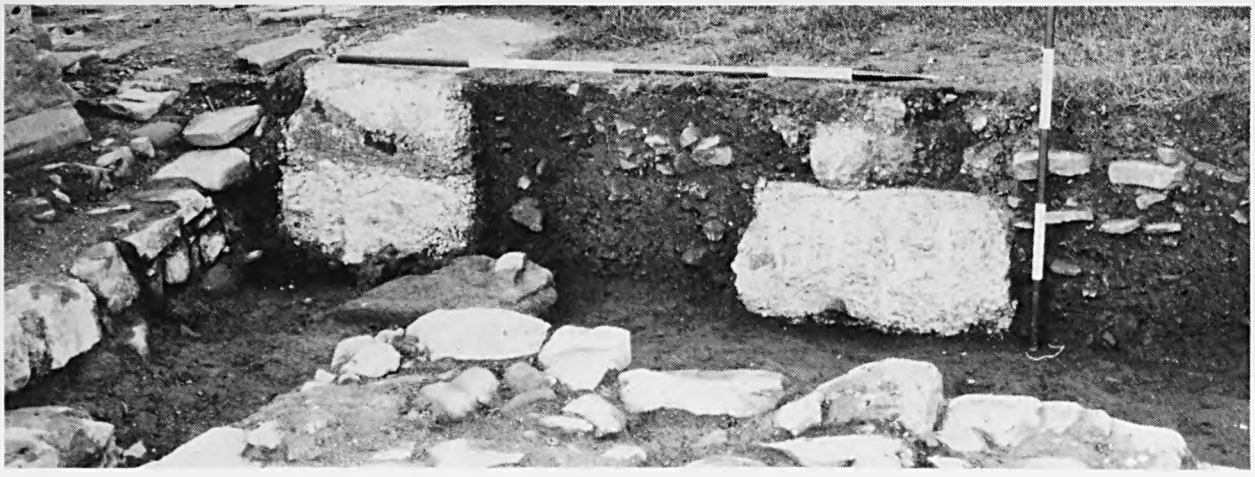


Plate 18. The 1930's concrete rafts under the crossing tower.

Plate 19. The 'Infirmary' buildings of Phases I and II viewed from the north-east.

Plate 20. West wall of 'Infirmary'.

Plate 22. South wall of Phase II 'Infirmary' showing external batter.

Plate 21. Sewer vaulting in wall 403.

Plate 23. Sewer vaulting in wall 401.

Plate 24. Lower part of vaulting in wall 401.

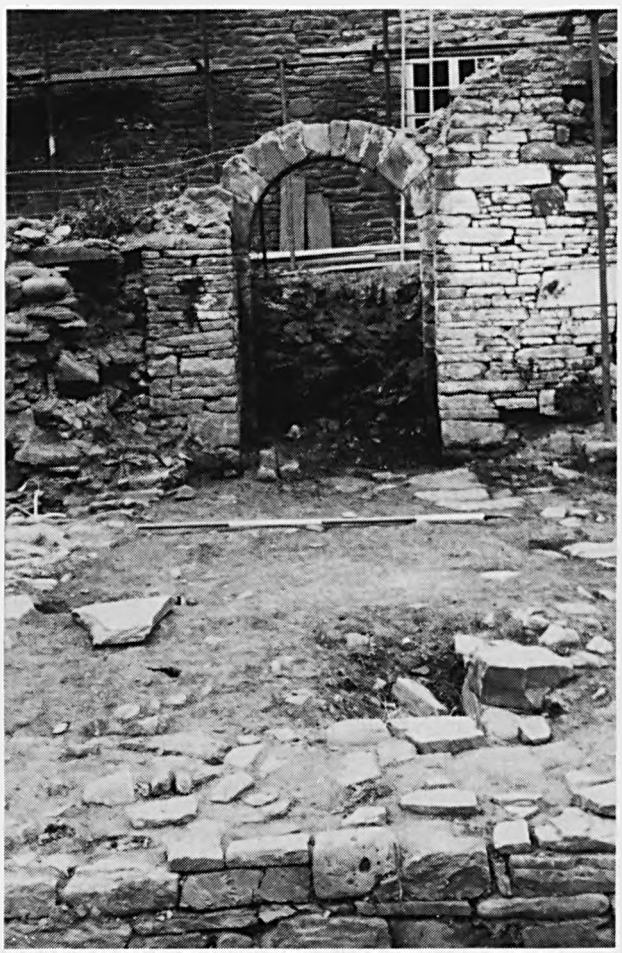


Plate 25. Doorway 418 from the south.

Plate 26. Phase IV threshold and drains 423 and 417.

Plate 27. Drains 423 and 417 from the north.

Plate 32. The Precinct bridge viewed from the east.

Plate 29. Cresset, front view (by permission of the National Museum of Wales).

Plate 30. Cresset, side view (by permission of the National Museum of Wales).

Plate 31. The Precinct from the north-west in 1948 (Copyright Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography).

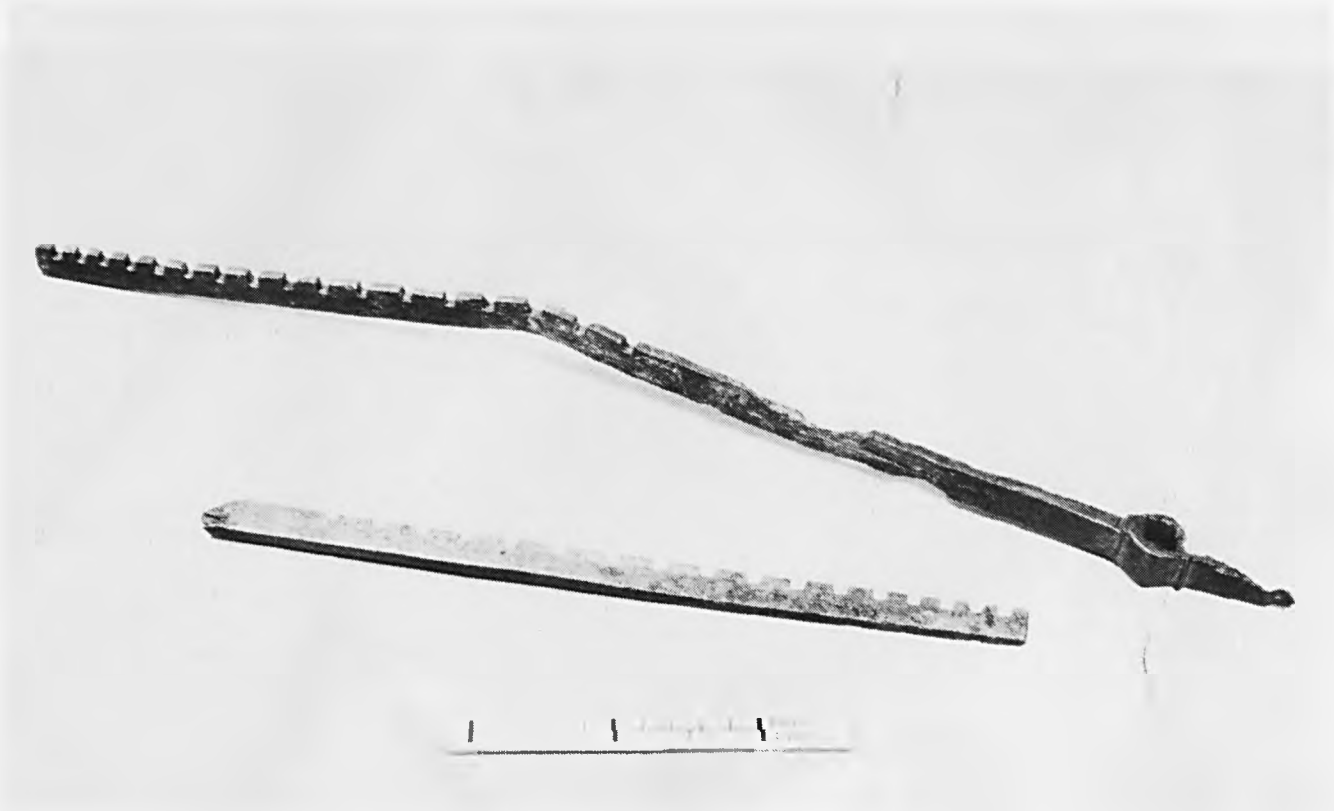


Plate 28. Clock foliot balance arm (photo Paul Jordan).

Plate 33. The Dovecot in the course of restoration.

The Clock

The balance arm and two stone counterweights of an early turret clock were found in the Dissolution layers of the Period III suite.

The arm (pl. 28; fig. 20, no. 16) is now in two fragments, but originally would have been some 90cms. long. It had a central rectangular pivot-hole, and each bar bears 17 graduated notches for the smaller balance weights (as the notches are graduated, these weights could not have been hung on two straps as was usual). From the Phase IV (Period IIIb) room opening off the Kitchen.

The two stone weights (fig. 21) would have been the main driving force for the clock. Both have been carved from local Old Red Sandstone and have been incised with deeply pecked grooves. Iron suspension rings have been leaded into their tops. Number 1 weighs 8lbs. 6oz., no. 2, 17lbs. 1oz. From layer 29b.

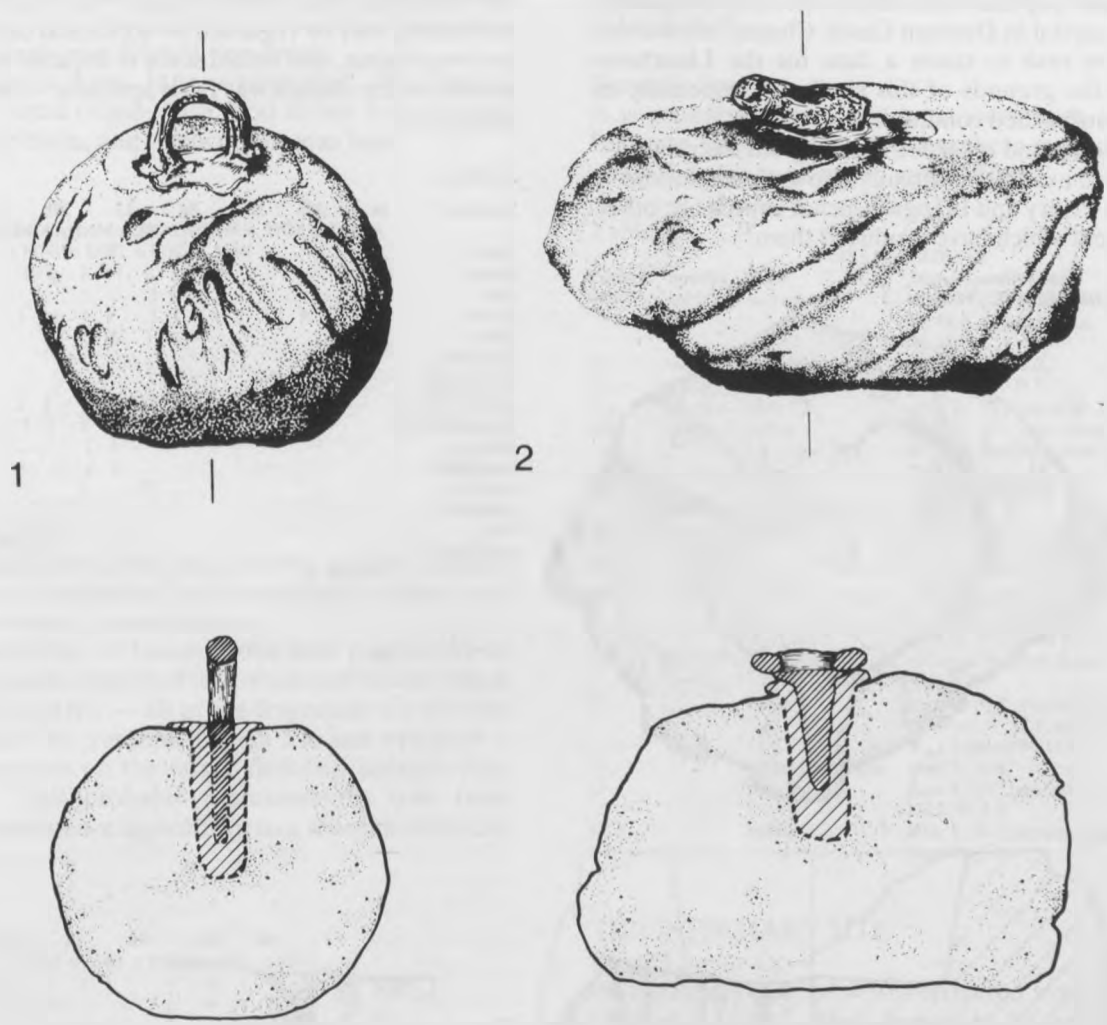
The workings of these clocks have been described at length by Peate[49], and the normal arrangement of the foliot and verge escapement is shown in fig. 20, no. 16a. The identification of the arm as a clock foliot was by Dr. J. D. Owen of the Ceredigion Museum who kindly offered the following comments:

"The Llanthony foliot is so large that it must have belonged to a tower clock, probably having no dial, but striking the hours on a large bell at the top of the building. These clocks were usually cubical in shape, and the length of the foliot was usually about the same as one side of the cube. The foliot and verge escapement was a very inefficient controller of the timekeeping compared with the pendulum which superceded it in turret clocks about 1670. Most turret clocks were converted to pendulum soon after this date, and only three turret clock foliots, all still in complete clocks, are known to exist in Britain: these are the Dover Castle clock (mid-16th. century, now in the Science Museum), the Cassiobury Park clock (early 17th. century), and a clock at Cotehele House, Cornwall (possibly early 16th. century). The Llanthony foliot is therefore only the fourth known to exist; unlike the foliots of the Dover Castle and Cassiobury clocks, which are cranked upwards, probably for compactness, the Llanthony foliot is straight.

It seems likely that the clock was taken for scrap some time after the Dissolution, and that the foliot had fallen out and was overlooked."

The stone driving weights presumably lay where they had fallen, and their position suggests that the clock would have been sited in the crossing tower.

Fig. 21. The stone counterweights of the clock. Scale 1:3.



A FRAGMENTARY STONE CRESSET

(pls. 29-30; fig. 22)
by J. M. Lewis

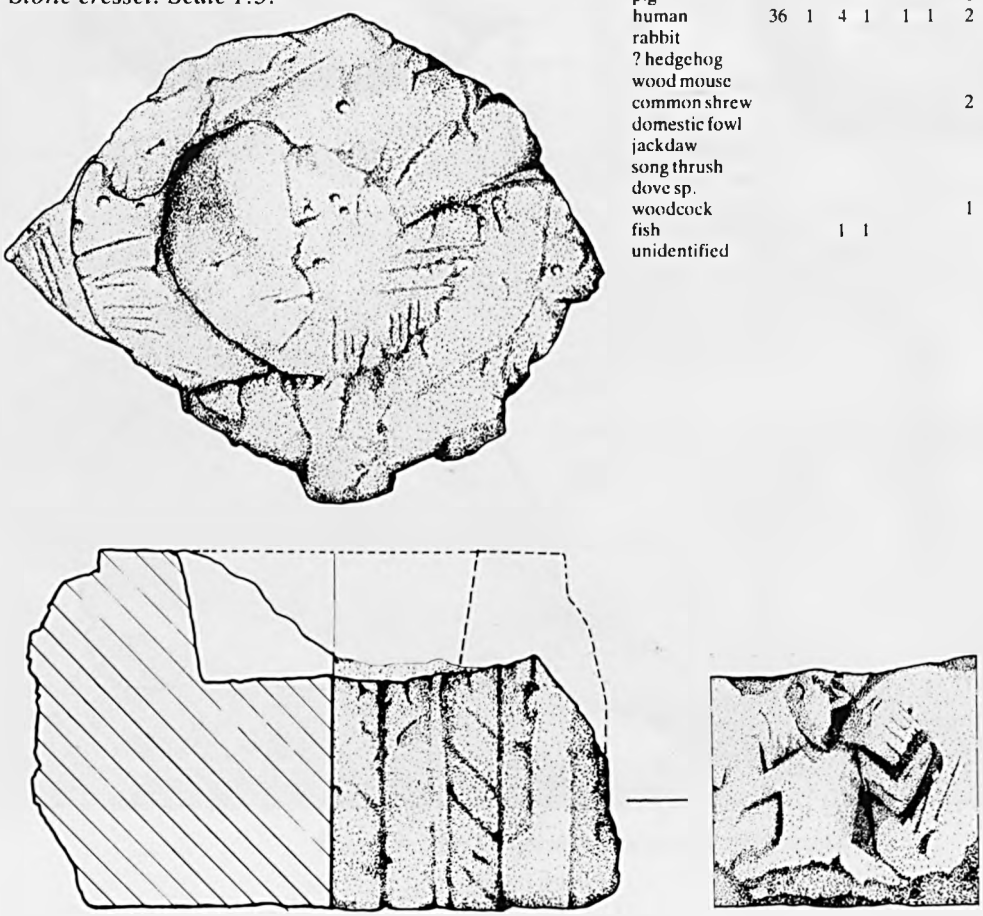
This partially dressed fragment of reddish sandstone was found near the dovecot. It measures 23cm. by 19cm., and 15.3cm. high. It appears to have been intended for a cresset, but to have been broken during manufacture.

A short section of flat-topped rim and most of the base of the bowl survive, from which it can be seen that this was intended to be about 10cm. in internal diameter, and about 5cm. deep, with a wall of up to 4cm. in thickness. The outside was never finished: one side (presumably intended to be the front) has in low relief the outline of a human figure with arms raised; the rest of the circumference is broken by a series of six flat, vertical ribs of varying width, the shaping of the last (to the right of the figure) having barely been begun. The areas between the ribs show mainly vertical dressing which seems to have been carried out with a multi-toothed chisel; the base of the bowl shows similar dressing, but that on the ribs seems to have been carried out with a single point, and is horizontal in direction. No part of the vessel seems to have reached a finished state.

Two stone cressets in the Museum of London are thought to be reused capitals[50]. An intended correspondence in design between the Llanthony vessel and a capital is suggested by the human figure, which is reminiscent of the 'Atlas figures' found on some Romanesque capitals and fonts: *cf.* the frequently illustrated capital in Durham Castle Chapel[51]. It would, however, be rash to claim a date for the Llanthony cresset on the grounds of this similarity, especially in view of its unfinished condition.

This is the second recorded cresset from the priory — a three-holed example is already known from the site[52]. Monmouth Priory and Llangwm-uchaf church are other sites in Gwent which have produced them[53].

Fig. 22. Stone cresset. Scale 1:3.



ENVIRONMENTAL REPORTS

The Animal Bones

by T. P. O'Connor

A small quantity of animal bone was submitted for identification. The bones were identified to species level where possible, and the results for each species are quantified as the number of fragments identified to that species (n) and the minimum number of individuals represented (MNI). This latter statistic was calculated from the most numerous non-reproducible skeletal component.

THE CHURCH SITE

A few small fragments of bone were recovered from Period I features, but none could be identified with certainty.

Period II

42 fragments of bone were recovered from the Period II, Phase I mortar floors (1e and 35b). The human bone was probably derived from earlier burials disturbed when the floors were laid. The bone was poorly preserved and mainly consists of fragments of long bone shaft.

The other contexts (8, 8d, 13, 39b, 50 and 56) comprise deposits sealed beneath the Period III construction levels, and represent 13th and early 14th-century activity in the Priory although not necessarily in this area. The small mammals and all the birds, except for domestic fowl and perhaps the dove and the woodcock, can be regarded as accidental deposition of the local fauna, and would seem to indicate that human activity in the church was fairly sporadic — as would be expected.

Table 1:

Species	1e		35b		8		8d		13		39b		50		56	
	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI
cattle							2	1	3	1			5	1	4	1
sheep	1	1							14	1	1	1	6	1	7	1
pig							1	1					6	2	2	1
human	36	1	4	1	1	1	2	1								
rabbit									2	2						
? hedgehog													1	1		
wood mouse													1	1		
common shrew							2	1								
domestic fowl									16	2	1	1	3	1	5	1
jackdaw									1	1			1	1		
song thrush									1	1						
dove sp.													1	1		
woodcock							1	1								
fish			1	1												
unidentified									15		1		36		15	

Period IIIa

In the first half of the 14th. century the area of the transept and its former chapels was converted to domestic use. Bone was recovered from the hearth (32; see also appendix 1) and the kitchen floor (35a).

The human bones are again probably disturbed from earlier burials, Cattle, sheep, pig, roe deer, fowl and fish are food remains. Domestic fowl and fish predominate, suggesting *ad hoc* snacks rather than full scale meals. Regrettably, the fish remains consisted mostly of fin spines and other undiagnostic fragments which could not with any degree of certainty be ascribed to one species. The presence of cattle, sheep and pig implies that the priory was exploiting a mixed farming base at this time.

Table 2:

Species	32		35a	
	n	MNI	n	MNI
cattle	8	1	2	1
sheep	9	1	10	1
pig			1	1
human			1	1
roe deer	1	1		
domestic fowl	13	2	1	1
jackdaw			1	1
finch sp.	1	1		
house sparrow			1	1
toad	14	1		
fish	3	1	3	1
unidentified	79		4	

Period IIIb and early IV

Four contexts yielded identifiable bone; layers 31 and 30a are 15th. and early 16th-century floor and hearth, respectively; layers 9 and 29b represent the Dissolution debris and early post-Dissolution decay.

These deposits have little significance. The bones indicate a mixed origin, with food debris from several species, wild birds, and reworked human bone.

Table 3:

Species	30a		31		29b		9	
	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI
cattle					8	1		
sheep			5	1	7	1		
pig	1	1	1	1				
horse					1	1		
human					4	1		
domestic fowl					3	1		
jackdaw	1	1					3	1
starling			2	1	3	1		
song thrush							1	1
rabbit							3	1
unidentified			5		12		1	

Later Period IV

Five remaining bone-bearing contexts must be lumped together as representing post-medieval collapse with some more recent contamination.

The persistence of human bone into post-medieval soils indicates the degree of disturbance of burials which must have occurred — all of the fragments are derived from without the transept. Layers 29a and 44b show a greater emphasis on the larger domestic animals than previously. This probably represents the shift from medieval subsistence agriculture to a more modern use of the land.

Table 4:

Species	29a		37		44c		44b		44	
	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI
cattle	13	1	1	1			34	1		
sheep	12	1					9	1		
pig	1	1	3	1			2	1		
roe deer							1	1		
dog	1	1								
rabbit	1	1					1	1		
human					1	1	6	1	3	1
domestic fowl	4	2					1	1		
jackdaw	1	1								
song thrush	1	1								
unidentified	7		1				42		1	

THE ANIMALS

Cattle

Only one ageable cattle jaw was found, and that was of 19th-century date. This individual was aged around two years. An examination of the limb bones from medieval contexts suggests that the majority of cattle were killed as adults over four years of age. This would indicate that the cattle were used for milking and traction rather than being raised purely for meat. The few available measurements (table 5) show the cattle to have been small by modern standards, although comparable with cattle from other medieval sites in S.W. Britain, such as Caerleon[54] and Exeter[55]. There were no pathological cattle bones and insufficient fragments to allow any survey of butchery practice.

Sheep

The sheep like the cattle were mostly adults (3 years +), although no complete jaws were recovered. Wool and milk, rather than meat, production would seem to be indicated. Fragments of rib composed a high proportion of the sheep bones, suggesting some degree of concentration on chops rather than leg joints, although the small body size would have made the sheep rather uneconomic eating.

Pigs

The pigs were small, domesticated, and predominantly immature. One jaw (of mid-14th-century date) was aged around two years, and several bones were from younger individuals.

Domestic fowl

It is probable that a few hens were kept around the Priory to provide eggs, and that these were eaten when needed, or when they had gone off lay.

Table 5:

			MEASUREMENTS
Context	Species	Bone	Measurements (mm.)
44b	cattle	metacarpal	shaft W. 25.7, distal shaft W. 41.6, distal articular W. 49.2.
56	cattle	metacarpal	proximal W. 52.8.
35a	sheep	radius	proximal W. 28.9.
29a	sheep	tibia	shaft W. 13.1, distal W. 24.0.
29b	horse	radius	shaft W. 33.1, max. distal W. 64.3, distal articular W. 55.0.
29a	dog	upper carnassial	max. length 18.1.
13	rabbit	humerus	shaft W. 4.5, max. distal W. 9.0, distal trochlear W. 4.5.
44b	rabbit	femur	max. length 77.4, medial L. 75.2, proximal W. 15.0, shaft W. 6.4, distal W. 17.9.
29a	domestic fowl	humerus	proximal W. 20.0, shaft W. 7.4.
13	"	femur	max. L. 86.0, medial L. 78.8, proximal W. 12.0, shaft W. 7.1, distal W. 17.9.
13	"	carpometacarpus	max. L. 34.6.
13	"	ulna	max. L. 63.7, shaft W. 3.7 distal W. 8.6.
13	"	radius	max. L. 58.2, proximal W. 4.5, shaft W. 3.0.

THE INFIRMARY SITE

Phase I

24 fragments of bone were recovered from the floor of building I (400c). They appear to be butchered food debris scattered across the floor and trodden in. The absence of rodents or wild birds suggests that the building was continuously occupied in this early period.

Table 6:

Species	400c	
	n	MNI
cattle	7	1
pig	4	1
unidentified	13	

Phase II

Four contexts are associated with the construction of Building II (410b, 419, 425 and 426). 410a is a later pit. Two layers outside the building (420 and 422) can probably be associated with this Phase.

Layer 426 appeared to consist of debris from the butchery of a cattle carcase, being mostly fragments of metapodials and teeth. The other contexts are food debris, with fragments of cattle rib and long-bones of sheep and pigs well represented.

Table 7:

Species	410b		419		425		426		410a		420		422	
	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI
cattle			2	1	8	1	13	1	4	1	2	1		
sheep	6	1	3	1	6	1	1	1	3	1	1	1		
pig			2	1	3	1			6	1	1	1	1	1
domestic goose	1	1												
unidentified	6		2		14		18		12		7		2	

Phases III and IV: post-medieval

Layers 400b and 427 represent the construction and use of the Phase III cottages, whilst 406b and 417 represent that of their Phase IV successors.

The cattle, sheep and pig bones are probably food debris, whereas the amphibians and the rats probably represent animals which had populated the cottages during a period of abandonment. The rat skeletons were associated with burning; if this was a fire, then they may have been overcome and unable to escape. This would explain the presence of a complete skeleton on a floor where it would be expected to have become scattered.

Table 8:

Species	400b		427		406b		417	
	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI	n	MNI
cattle	6	1	5	1	8	1	8	1
sheep	10	2	2	1	2	1	2	1
pig	4	1	1	1			3	1
domestic fowl	1	1			1	1		
brown rat					100	2		
frog/toad					1	1	30	1
unidentified	16		2		8		10	

The Animals

As at the church site, the cattle and sheep were predominantly adult. Four sheep jaws were examined; three of them aged 3 years +, the fourth about 1½ to 2 years old. Even in 19th-century contexts the cattle, sheep and pigs were of medieval size, which further suggests that the floorings in Phase V were derived from earlier material. The pigs were of domesticated size throughout and mainly immature, although one late 13th-century mandible was from an animal at least three years of age. The brown rats from 406b are interesting. This species established itself in Wales during the later part of the 18th century[56], and such a date would agree with the archaeological context.

Table 9:

MEASUREMENTS

Context	Species	Bone	Measurements (mm)
426	cattle	metatarsal	proximal W. 47.0.
406a	cattle	metatarsal	distal articular W. 48.6.
410a	sheep	radius	proximal W. 29.9.
419	sheep	metacarpal	proximal W. 20.6, shaft W. 14.3.
400	sheep	tibia	distal W. 25.9.
400b	pig	humerus	max. distal W. 33.9, distal trochlear W. 25.6.
400	pig	tibia	distal W. 26.4.
406a	domestic fowl	humerus	max. L. 61.7, prox. W. 17.3, shaft W. 5.8, distal W. 13.6.
400	domestic fowl	tibiotarsus	distal W. 14.1.

APPENDIX I: *A Flotation sample from hearth 32.*

A small amount of bone and snails was recovered. The bone was mostly unidentifiable, but produced a few fragments of *Apodemus sylvaticus* (wood mouse), an amphibian — probably *Bufo bufo* (common toad), and three bones of *Clupea harengus* (herring).

The first five species of molluscs shown in table 10 are all fairly catholic, and are abundant in moist, shady habitats of all kinds; *Hydrobia ventrosa*, however, is a species of brackish waters and estuaries, and has perhaps come onto the site mixed up with something else, such as fish or oysters.

Table 10:

MOLLUSCS

Species	MNI
Discus rotundatus	51
Oxychilus cellarius	4
Oxychilus alliarius	1
Nesovitrea hammonis	1
Vitrea crystallina	1
Hydrobia ventrosa	1

Marine Molluscan Remains

A similar assemblage to that published in the *First Report* was recovered from a number of contexts in the transept. None of this material has been processed beyond initial species identification.

THE PLANT REMAINS

by

A. Milles

A report on the plant remains extracted from one sample of Feature 32, a large semi-circular spread of black charcoal-rich material round a hearth. A coin dated between 1344 and 1351 was also found in this deposit.

Method of Extraction

The 60 litre (4 bucket) soil sample was dried thoroughly, after which the charred portion was extracted by 'bucket flotation': the sample was mixed with water and the suspended fraction poured through a stack of Endicott test sieves (sizes 5.6mm; 1.0mm; 0.5mm), and the process repeated with the addition of more water until all but the finest charcoal had been extracted. The slurry was wet-sieved for small finds.

The 3 litres of charred material caught by the sieves was then cleaned while still wet by soaking in a dilute solution of hydrochloric acid (5%) for six hours, rinsed thoroughly and allowed to dry slowly, before being sorted under the microscope.

Identification

Unfortunately, most of the identifiable plant remains were fragmented, and charring had removed the surface sculpturing, and had so distorted the grain as to make positive identification difficult[57]. It may be that the weak acid treatment so effective in cleaning the remains also removed some of the surface sculpturing used in critical identifications. Uncertain identifications are prefixed by 'cf.', and 'indeterminate' signifies that it was not possible to identify the specimens beyond generic level. Poor preservation was especially limiting in the oats and legume groups: in both cases grain size was the only criterion left. Thus while the largest oat grains fell into

the size range of *Avena sativa* and so could be assigned cautiously to that species, all smaller grains had necessarily to be left simply as '*Avena* sp.'. The legumes fall quite clearly into the 3 size ranges specified, but as no hilum or testa sculpturing survives to aid precise identification, only tentative suggestions as to genus may be made[58]. The medium sized seed of lentoid shape, although not dissimilar to *Lens culinaris,* is unlikely to be this genus as there is no evidence for it ever having been cultivated in Britain.

Table 11:

Wheats	
Triticum dicoccum (Emmer) or *T. spelta* (Spelt)	1 spikelet fork
T. aestivo-compactum (club-eared breadwheat)	1 grain
cf. *T. aestivo-compactum* (club-eared breadwheat)	6 grains
T. aestivum s.l. (cf. lax eared breadwheat)	1 rachis segment
Triticum indet. (cf. hexaploid species)	5 grain fragments
cf. *Triticum* indet.	5 grain fragments
Rye	
Secale cereale	1 rachis fragment
	1 grain
Oats	
Avena cf. *sativa*	2 grains
	4 grain fragments
Avena sp.	14 grains
	14 grain fragments
Cereals indet.	0.807g. *(= 5 whole grains)
Cereal/Gramineae	aerial culm fragment (2mm)
Large Gramineae indet.	1 seed
Legumes	
Large indet. (cf. *Pisum*)	2 fragments diameter 4-5mm
Medium indet. (Lentoids)	10 fragments diameter 1.5-3mm
Small indet. (cf. *Vicia*)	16 fragments diameter 0.75-1.5mm
Agrostemma githago (Corn-cockle)	1 seed
Rumex acetosa, sanguineus or *conglomeratus* — (Sorrell or small dock group)	1 achene
Corylus avellana (Hazel)	nutshells
Centaurea cf. *nigra* (Lesser knapweed)	1 achene
Carex sp. (Sedge)	1 nutlet
Spun fibres	3.5mm

*Some idea of the number of whole grains that the unidentifiable cereals may comprise may be reached by dividing the weight of these cereals by the mean weight of 5 whole grains.

Interpretation

Although a number of different species has been recovered, interpretation should be qualified by considering the following points: there is only one sample from which comparatively few identifiable species have been recovered; no single sample can be taken to be representative of the whole site, and each item identified may have reached this context as a result of very different chains of activities, as well as surviving destruction by fire.

Bearing the above points in mind, more positive suggestions can be made. In general terms, the total spectrum of cereals and legumes is typical of a number of medieval sites, eg. almost precisely the same range of crops was recovered from the 13th-century platform house at Cefn Graeanog in Gwynedd[59], and a similar range has been identified at sites in southern England[60]. It is likely that the main crop was breadwheat in which both the lax and club-eared forms were represented, and that the one example of spelt or emmer was probably a contaminant of the breadwheat crop. The wheat and the oats were unlikely to have been sown together as each requires different methods of processing, though it is not impossible that legumes may have been sown with breadwheat (or possibly rye) as an undercrop, and harvested separately. It is not certain whether the rye is the remains of a crop, or a contaminant of the other crops, although it is a much taller plant than either oats or breadwheat, and would be very noticeable as a weed. One other possible suggestion of husbandry practice could be indicated by the weed species, as Knapweed and Dock are perennials (unlike annuals such as Corn-cockle), and are not often found as weeds of arable except when cultivation is by ard rather than the more efficient forms of mouldboard plough[59].

The plant remains in this sample seem to comprise a waste fraction as well as a prime product fraction. The chaff, seeds and perhaps the small grain are probably the products of sieving[61], which were commonly thrown on the fire. The breadwheat grains are, however all the same size (4.5mm in length) and seem to represent prime grain. They may therefore represent a prime product — perhaps overspill from a full container. Hazelnuts may well have played a similar part in the diet as they do in households today, and these few shell remains certainly should not be taken as an indication of large-scale cultivation. All three fractions may well have been swept off the floor and then thrown on the fire.

THE HUMAN REMAINS[62]

by

M. Roberts

Four fairly complete skeletons were recovered; three were associated with the Period I Church, the other with Period II.

Period I

Feature 64:

Poorly preserved. Many bones are missing and most are fragmentary. Incomplete ossification is evident and indicates a child of pre-pubertal age. Stature at the time of death was approximately between 133cms and 143cms, (4ft 4½ins-4ft 8ins), calculated using the estimated measurement from the humerus. Sex is indeterminable owing to lack of surviving evidence. Similarly, there is no surviving evidence with respect to disease, injury or dentition.

Feature 79:

Preservation is poor, surviving bones are largely incomplete, and most lack surface detail. A male of heavy build, and stature estimated at approximately 180cms (5ft 11ins) using the tibia. Age at death at least 35 years. There is no surviving evidence of disease, injury or notable osteological features and remains of teeth are scant.

Feature 91:

The overall condition is very poor; long bones and skull are fragmentary, and several bones, notably the pelvis, are absent. Very little information is available for sexing, ageing and estimation of stature, but the remains are probably of a male in middle-age. Slight ante-mortem tooth loss is evident; all incisors and pre-molars were present in life. One (lambdoidal) Wormian bone is present.

Period II

Feature 62:

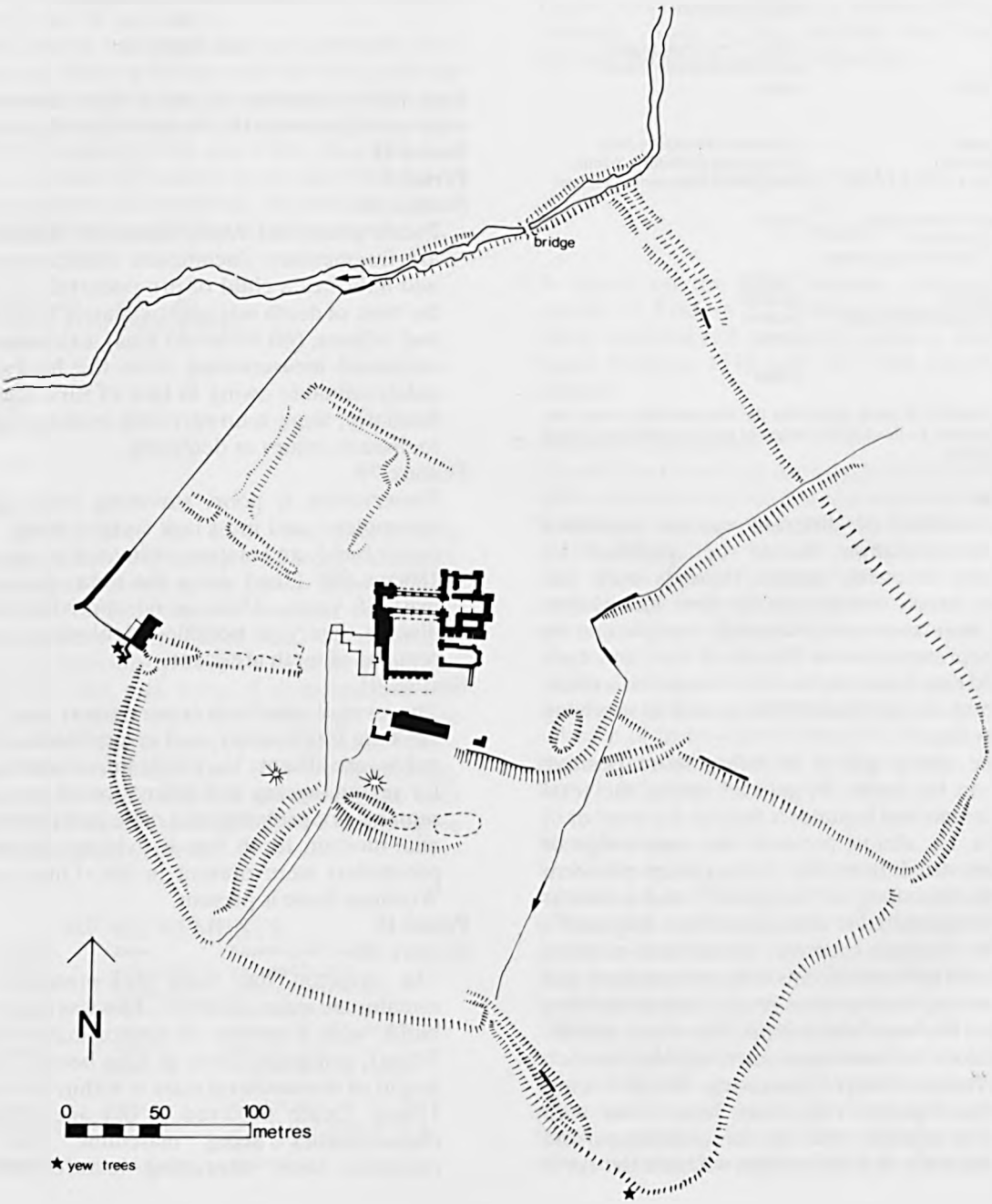
The skeleton has been well-preserved and the remains are quite complete. This was a male of gracile build, with a stature of approximately 166cm (5ft 5½ins), calculated from all long bones. The average height of the medieval male is within the range 160 to 179cm. Death occurred in old age. Despite most characteristics being masculine, this skeleton possesses some interesting features which might

indicate the opposite; it is likely that this anomaly is attributable to age. Examination of the dentition shows ante-mortem tooth loss of most upper and lower molars and upper incisors. Slight calculus has formed on the teeth, and to a medium degree on the molars, and there is one incidence of interproximal caries. Notable features of the skull are 5 (lambdoidal) Wormian bones, and one epipteric bone at the left pterion. Post-mortem perforation of the sacrum is apparent. Pathologically, there is evidence of osteo-porosis of the sacrum, of slight osteo-arthritis of the hip joint and of advanced lumbosacral osteo-arthritis. The most likely cause of this latter disorder would be constant bending of the lower back, and together with signs of well-developed gluteal muscles, this would suggest that this man was frequently engaged in heavy work in a bending position, or possibly in the carrying of loads uphill.

Part Two: Fieldwork and Survey

Although a great deal of attention had been paid by various artists and antiquaries to the architectural details of the Priory church, Iltyd Gardner was the first to describe the other buildings of the Inner Cloister, and the only one to have attempted to record the outlying buildings and earthworks of the precinct; however, his resources were limited, and he was unable to publish a plan of many of the features which he described. In his own words, "the work is but half done . . . I trust that ere long, someone with rather more funds than I have at his disposal, and with the owner's authority to dig when and where he pleases, provided he does no material damage, may take the matter up and add the flesh to the skeleton which I have constructed"[63]. Unfortunately his plea fell on deaf ears, and 60 years later many of those earthworks had disappeared unplanned — some beneath new farm buildings and a car park, others covered by modern landscaping, or cut through by drainage schemes; however, enough remains to reconstruct the main layout of the Priory.

Fig. 23. The Priory Precinct: earthworks and standing buildings.



The Earthworks (figs 23-5)

The entire precinct comprises an area of perhaps 16 ha. (fig. 23). It is bounded, certainly in part, by a stone wall 1.1m. thick which survives on the west side of the precinct to a present height of *c.* 2.4m. — although Gardner recorded it as up to 20ft. high[64] — with a small projecting turret at its south end (fig. 26, no. 2). Similar small stretches of walling are visible elsewhere in the circuit, suggesting that it was probably once walled for much of its length; however, in most places its line is now indicated either by an earthwork bank, or by a bank and ditch, up to 1.5m. deep (e.g. by the north-eastern corner). In two places natural boundaries have been utilised to complete the circuit — a deep ravine along the northern stretch, and a fairly steep dingle topped by a single bank near the south-east corner. Access over the ravine appears to have been provided by a stone bridge; this incorporates a number of ashlar blocks, and is of a noticeably different build to that constructed for Landor at Y Siârpal. Two of the four corners of the precinct appear to be marked by the planting of ancient boundary yew trees, the boles of which are *c.* 1.5m. in diameter (two smaller yews within the precinct, in the parish graveyard and immediately south of the chapter house, have been omitted from the plan as they are obviously of post-Dissolution date).

The Priory's Inner Cloister is fairly centrally sited, with the Infirmary complex, and a substantial walled Inner Court to the south, which contains a dovecot and the three fish-ponds (figs. 23-4, and pl. 31). The remainder of the precinct is divided by a series of banks and walls into two parts: a large northern enclosure which contains an outer court of barns and outbuildings, and two smaller enclosures to the south and east. These were presumably intended for grazing and folding stock, respectively — the only rig and furrow which is now visible within them on aerial photographs is demonstrably of post-medieval date (the rig is narrow and straight, and in places runs over medieval earthworks, e.g. of the outer court).

The northern enclosure

This is bounded on the east by a bank and wall running in a north-easterly direction, and on the south by the Inner Cloister, and by a line of banks and outbuildings which extend westward to the Gatehouse (figs. 24-5); the latter earthworks clearly include what Gardner described as the Inner Gatehouse[65], but although odd stretches of walling indicate a building, its form and function are unknown. To the north lie the earthworks of a substantial outer court of farm buildings (fig. 25); the south side of this court is formed by the earthwork which Gardner identified as the Great Tithe Barn[66], the banks of which survive to a maximum height of 0.6 m.

Further north access from the enclosure to the upland pastures was provided by a bridge across the ravine. This was built of coursed drystone rubble throughout, except on the quoins of the arches which incorporate some ashlar plinths (pl. 32). The vault was formed of large flat sandstone slabs laid across the gap, and topped by another seven courses of drystone rubble.

Fig. 24. The Priory Precinct: interpretative plan.

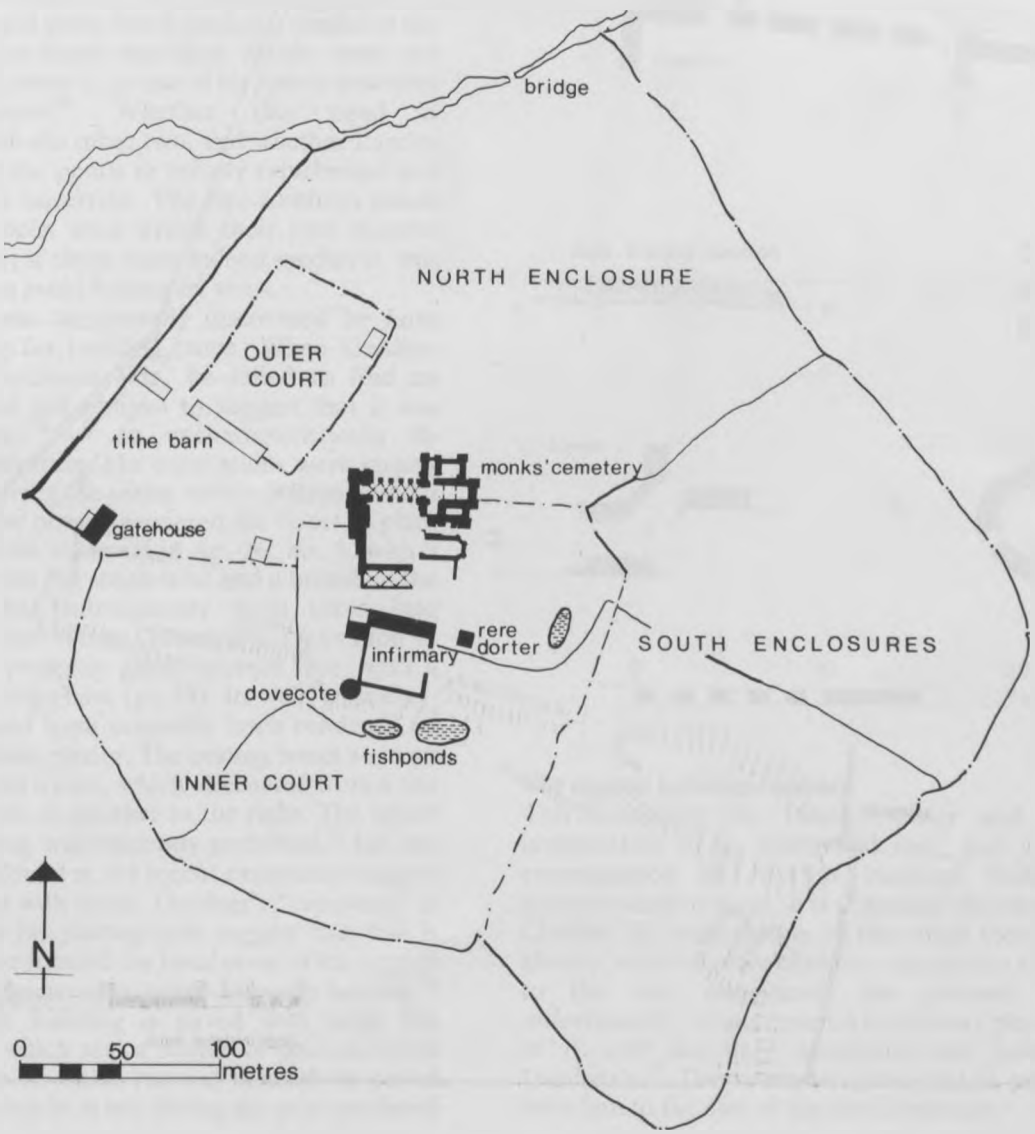
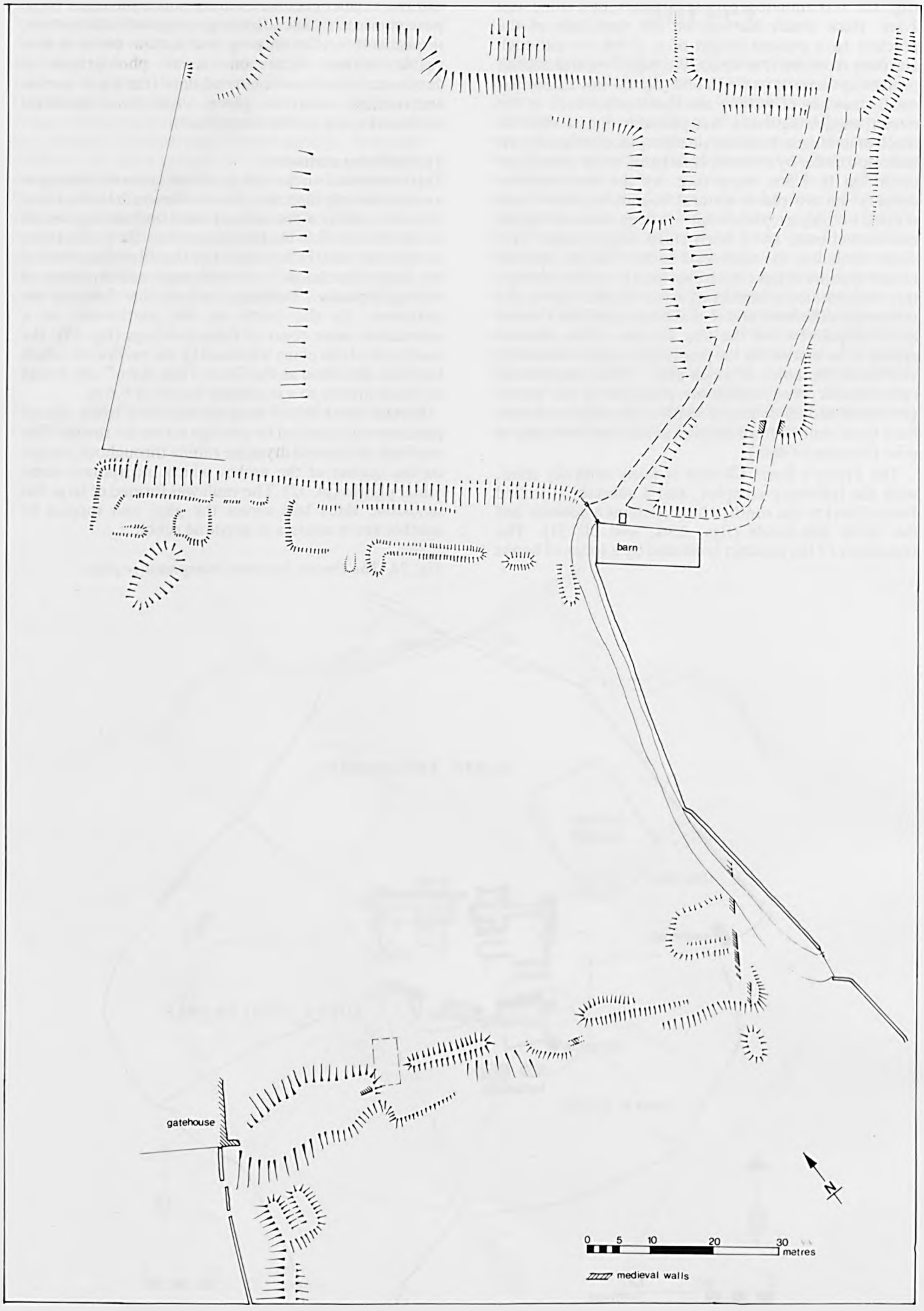


Fig. 25. The earthworks (in the Warren, and) the outer court of farm buildings in the northern enclosure.



In the post-medieval period a small brook has been diverted through the northern part of the enclosure. This may be contemporary with the drainage of this slope by a series of 0.2 m. square stone-lined land drains which lie approximately 1 chain apart; the latter are presumed to be the work of Landor.

The southern and eastern enclosures

No earthworks are now visible within either of these enclosures, although it should perhaps be stressed that these areas and the Inner Court have been the most heavily improved and landscaped within the precinct, and that some of this levelling was of sufficient antiquity for the dovecot to have been completely buried, and its location forgotten by 1907[67] (see below).

The Inner Court

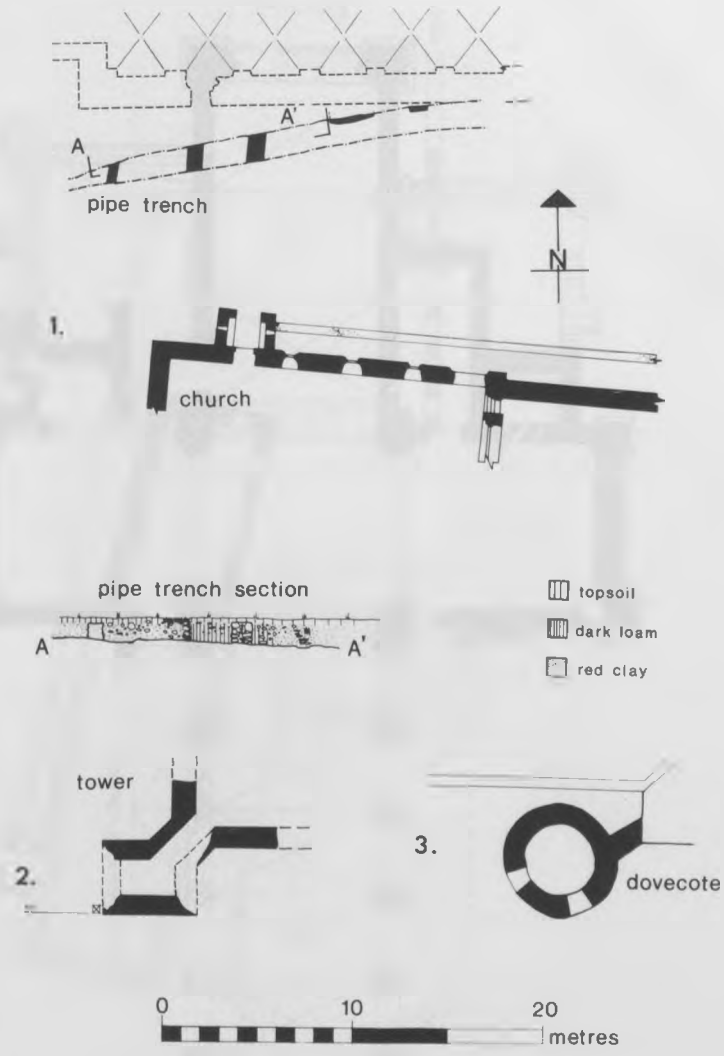
This formed a discrete unit for the provision of fish, eggs and some fresh meat for the monastic community, and was thus distinct from the outer agricultural court and its adjacent stock enclosures. It contained the dovecot and the fish-ponds, and appears to have been sub-divided into several small enclosures.

The western enclosure contains a solitary low circular mound. The central enclosure formerly contained two of the three fish-ponds, but these have now been covered by modern levelling. These have been assumed by Gardner and others to be monastic. A mid-12th-century letter to William of Wycumbe refers to the *aquae* at Llanthony Priory (though which is not altogether clear), and this has been taken by some writers to refer to the fish-ponds at Llanthony *Prima*.[68] The surviving pond lies further north, to the east of the monastic rere-dorter, and was fed by small stone-lined conduits, similar to the post-medieval land-drains described above; these are almost certainly Landor's, as one of his letters describes stocking fish-ponds[69]. Whether this pond is contemporary with the other two, and whether Landor excavated any of the ponds or merely refurbished and restocked them is uncertain. The two southern ponds appear to have been sited within their own discrete banked enclosure; if these were indeed medieval, this was presumably to avoid fouling by stock.

The dovecot was accidentally discovered by farm labourers digging for building stone. When Gardner investigated its southern side, he failed to find an external face, and felt obliged to suggest that it was 'semi-subterranean'[70] — an uncharacteristically ill-thought out observation. His excavations were largely restricted to removing the major rubble collapse, and it is now clear that he never uncovered the floor; its plan, as described by him is shown in fig. 26, no. 3, with a single entrance from the south-west and a breach in the south wall. It has subsequently been taken into guardianship by the Welsh Office, and excavation in 1979 revealed a perfectly good external face, with a small projecting offset base (pl. 33). Its walls were clay-bonded, and would have originally been rendered on both faces with white plaster. The nesting boxes were set in tiers of L-shaped roosts, which alternated from a tier pointing to the left, to another to the right. The upper part of the building was evidently corbelled,[71] but the number of slates found in the recent excavation suggest that it was capped with slates. Gardner's "cap-stone" is now missing, but his photographs suggest that this is more likely to have formed the basal pivot of the central post, as it seems dangerously heavy for a top bearing.[72] The floor of the building is paved with large flat sandstone slabs, which seal a couple of post-medieval stone-lined conduits, which run out beneath its paved entrance. It was clearly in use during the post-medieval period, as several apparently late enclosure walls were tacked onto its exterior — Gardner's "wing-walls";[73] however, the probability is that this is a medieval monastic structure which has been refurbished and continued in use, perhaps as late as the 18th. century — the paved floor and the drains being secondary features.

A number of other buildings are known to have formerly existed in the area between the dovecot and the Infirmary complex to the north; some of these were briefly described by Gardner in the field called 'The Plock'.[74] Foundations of one or two buildings were apparently uncovered, and subsequently destroyed during the construction of new barns in the 1960's — including another circular walled structure of similar size to the dovecot.[75]

Fig. 26 Watching Brief and miscellaneous details.
1. Pipe Trench and section.
2. Corner Tower in the precinct wall.
3. Dovecote plan, prior to excavations and clearance.

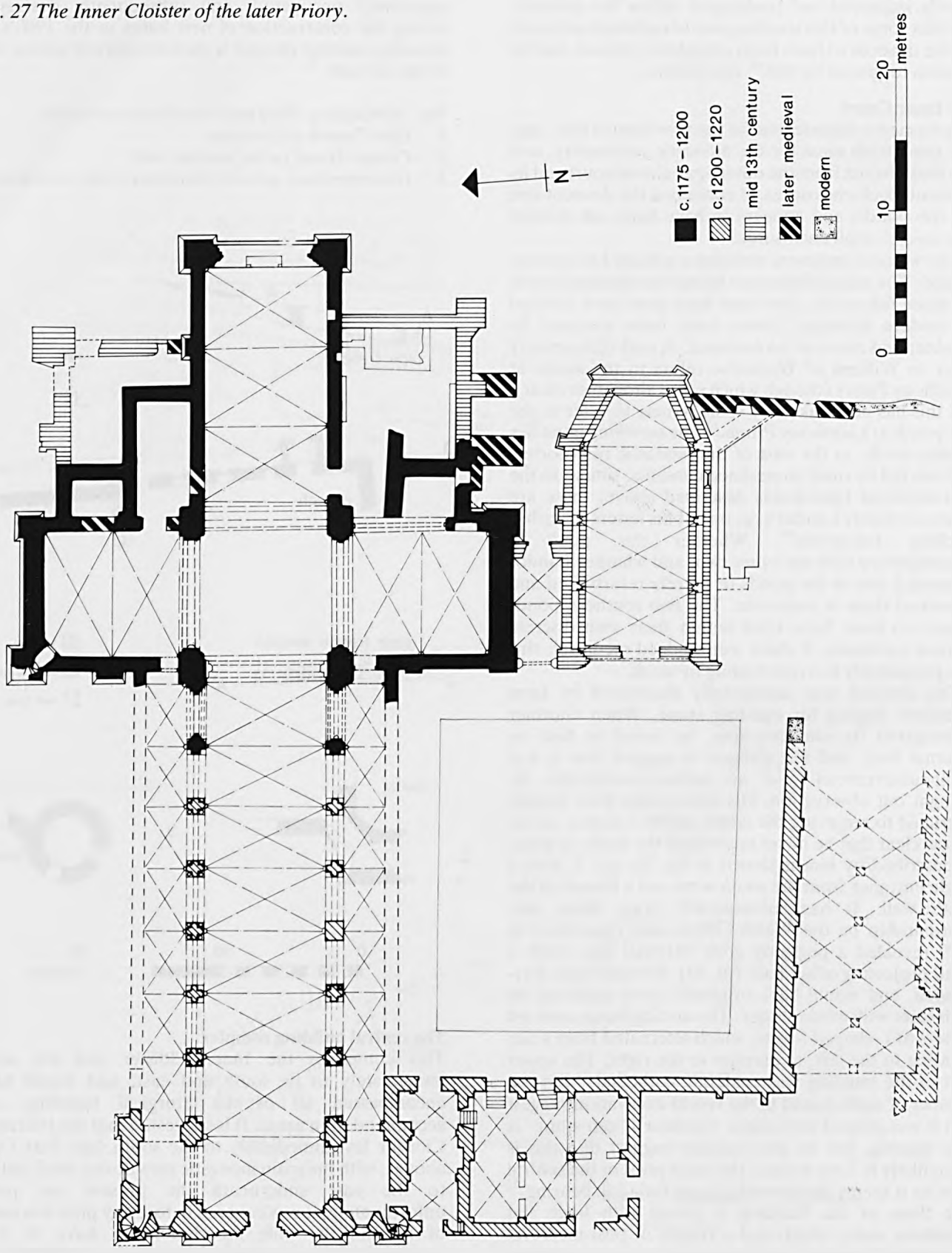


The central building complex

This comprises the Inner Cloister and the areas immediately to its south and east, and would have encompassed all of the liturgical buildings and accommodation areas. It is suggested that the Infirmary Cloister lay immediately to the south (see Part One, above), with the main monastic rere-dorter sited further to the east underneath the present car park; unfortunately, it was covered before any plan was made of it, and the only description we have of it is Gardner's.[76] The monastic graveyard is presumed to have lain to the east of the north transept.

Most of the standing buildings in this area are now in guardianship, and are considered below; however, since 1979 a number of watching briefs were undertaken to monitor the excavation of service trenches and sheep-dipping troughs. A pipe-trench between the south range of the Inner Cloister and St. David's parish church uncovered the walls of one or more north-south buildings (fig. 26, no. 1, and fig. 28); further east, it cut through the end of an undercroft beneath the modern road, lying parallel to that south of the chapter house (fig. 27; this second undercroft has been omitted from fig. 28, as its full extent is uncertain). This seems to confirm Gardner's observation that there were signs of further vaults to the south of the two which he recorded.[77] To the south of the parish church, a cutting uncovered part of a north-south enclosure wall heading towards The Plock (fig. 28, shown as late medieval).

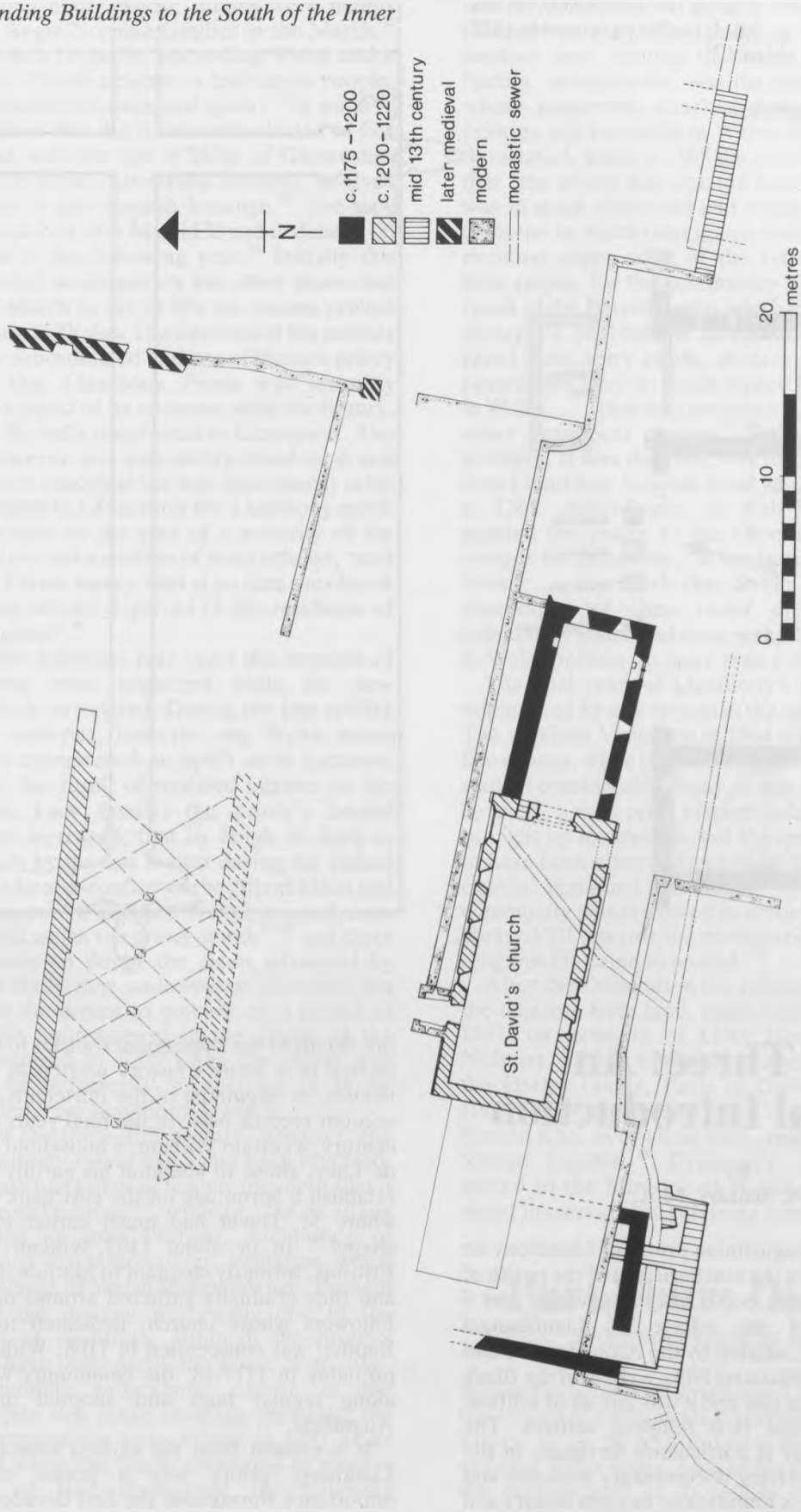
Fig. 27 The Inner Cloister of the later Priory.



Standing Buildings (figs 27-9)

Detailed architectural descriptions of all of these structures have been published by Gardner, Lovegrove and Craster,[78] and the purpose of the present report is merely to publish accurate plans of these structures in relation to the excavated remains (figs 27-8); for clarity, some of the more complex rebuildings uncovered in excavation (e.g. the Period III domestic suite in the church), and the more ephemeral walls revealed in watching briefs (e.g. fig. 26, no. 1) have been omitted from these general plans. The suggested dating for St. David's parish church is based on Lovegrove and Craster;[79] that for the rere-dorter, on Lovegrove's argument that the buildings east of the cloister were *c.* 1230+,[80] and an assumption that it was contemporary with the construction of the main sewer (see Part One, above). The Gatehouse (fig. 29) was assigned by

Fig. 28 The Standing Buildings to the South of the Inner Cloister.



Gardner to the Decorated style[81]; on the dating proposed by Pevsner for the Herefordshire churches,[82] a 14th-century date seems likely. If this is accepted, a date of *c.* 1325-1350, or possibly later for this building is suggested by what is known of the Priory's fortunes; a later 14th-century date might be suggested by the style of the double off-set buttress against the building, being paralleled by that against the exterior of the north wall of the presbytery in Period IIIb.

A previously unrecorded cross-slab was recently noted incorporated in the floor in the south-west corner of St. David's church (fig. 30). It had been reused in 1822 as a grave slab for two infants.[83]

Fig. 29 The Priory Gatehouse.

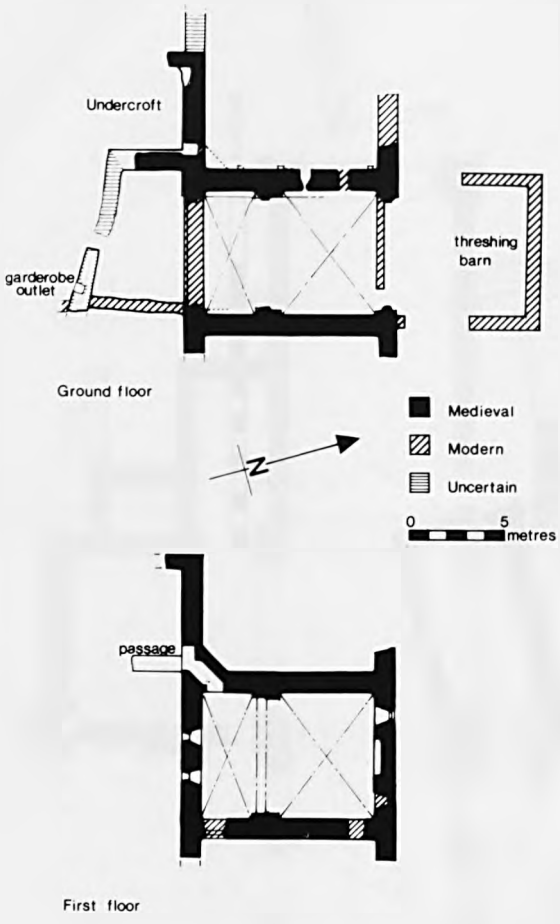
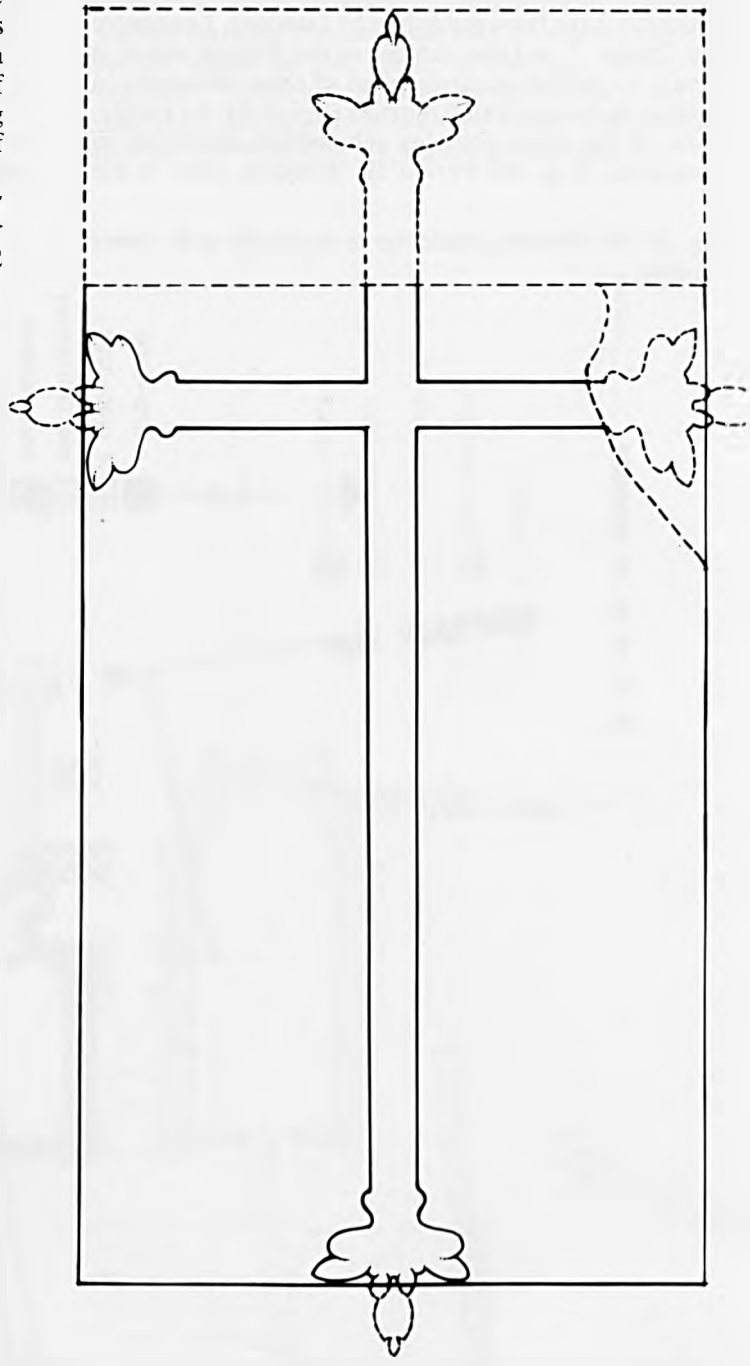


Fig. 30 Decorated Cross-Slab in St. David's Church. Scale 1:10.



Part Three: An Historical Introduction

by
Ian N. Soulsby, M.A.

The remains of the Augustinian priory of Llanthony lie in the Vale of Ewias, in the northern part of the parish of Cwm-iou, some 9 miles north of Abergavenny and 6 miles north-west of the village of Llanfihangel Crucornau.[84] The site, skirted by the Afon Honddu and overshadowed by the Hatterel Hills, a chain of the Black Mountains, is a remote one and it was this air of solitude which appealed to the first religious settlers. The historian of Llanthony is particularly fortunate in the relative wealth of surviving documentary evidence and the story of the priory's foundation, its early history and the details of the subsequent transfer to Gloucester, are recited in a monk's history written at the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth, century.[85] The account records how, in the final years of the eleventh century, a certain William, a household knight of Hugh de Lacy, chose to abandon his earthly profession and establish a hermitage on the east bank of the Honddu where St. David had much earlier erected a small chapel.[86] In or about 1103 William was joined by Ernisius, formerly chaplain to Matilda, wife of Henry I, and they gradually gathered around them a group of followers whose church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was consecrated in 1108. Within a few years, probably in 1117-18, the community was reorganized along regular lines and adopted the rule of St. Augustine.[87]

It is evident from the earliest sources that the new Llanthony priory was a house of considerable importance throughout the first decades of the twelfth

century when the community numbered as many as 40 canons.[88] Both King Henry and Hugh de Lacy granted lands to the new foundation[89] while its status is attested by the visits of both Queen Matilda and Bishop Salisbury. It was to Llanthony, that Walter of Gloucester chose to retire *c.* 1130[90] while the elevation of prior Robert de Béthune to the bishopric of Hereford in 1131 again illustrates the importance of the foundation.[91] With the death of Henry I in 1135, however, this situation underwent a radical change. As an Anglo-Norman house whose canons were mainly recruited from Anglo-Norman families in the March,[92] the priory became a target for marauding Welsh and it suffered heavily: "fixed amongst a barbarous people, the priory was plundered, once and again".[93] It was as a result of this unrest that the community elected to flee from Wales and, with the aid of Miles of Gloucester, established a new house, Llanthony *Secunda,* at Hyde on the outskirts of this English borough.[94] The new church was founded on 25th May 1136 and dedicated on September 10th of the following year.[95] Initially this move was intended as temporary but when peace was restored to the March in the 1140's the canons proved reluctant to return to Wales. The interests of the mother house were now subordinated to those of the new priory to the extent that Llanthony *Prima* was seriously neglected and stripped of its contents, with the library, relics and even the bells transferred to Gloucester. The Welsh house, however, was not entirely abandoned, and some semblance of canonical life was maintained; in his account of the move to Gloucester the Llanthony monk noted the resistance on the part of a minority of the community to leave and a number of them refused, "so it came to pass by Divine mercy, that at no time the church of Llanthony was wholly deprived of the residence of some of the religious".[96]

Throughout the following fifty years the interests of Llanthony *Prima* were neglected while the new foundation at Hyde prospered. During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, the Welsh house appears to have experienced an uplift in its fortunes. This was largely the result of renewed interest on the part of the de Lacy family; the priory's landed possessions were increased, first by Hugh de Lacy in 1171-6, and again by his son Walter during the period 1186-1205, when he also confirmed the gifts of tithes and churches in Ireland.[97] In addition Walter granted, *inter alia,* "the valley in which the priory stands",[98] and there seems little reason to doubt the claim advanced by Lovegrove that these new endowments provided the community with the means to embark on a period of rebuilding.[99] This improvement in the affairs of the house was recognised in 1205 when the priory was considered to be sufficiently prosperous as to be formally separated from Llanthony *Secunda.*

By the end of the thirteenth century, however, the fortunes of Llanthony *Prima* had again been reversed. By 1276 the priory had fallen so heavily into debt that it was taken into royal custody[101], while in 1284 its affairs were investigated by John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury during his Metropolitan Visitation which followed the collapse of Welsh Independence. Pecham concluded that the malaise was partly due to the mismanagement of resources, although the priory's debts may also have been partly the result of an over-adventurous building programme earlier in the century.[102] Despite this acute shortage of funds, the priory and its possessions were valued in 1291 at an impressive £233 while the house continued to acquire further grants of land throughout the following decade.[103]

During the first half of the fourteenth century there appears to have been another upturn in the affairs of Llanthony. In 1324, following a plea by the prior, Edward II confirmed the earlier charters together with the Irish grants[104], and the surviving fabric suggests that these acts were followed by additions to the church.[105] A further batch of early charters was confirmed in 1376 by Edmund Mortimer[106], while the Poll-tax returns of 1377-81 showed Llanthony to have been the only Welsh house to contain the minimum compliment of 13 monks.[107] Again, however, this revival proved to be only temporary and during the fifteenth century the condition of the priory sunk to another low. Among the most important contributory factors, undoubtedly, was the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr, whose supporters attacked most of the Anglo-Norman priories and boroughs in Wales. Manors and estates were devastated, while in 1405 the canons of Llanthony pleaded that "the priory was situated among the Welsh rebels and was so much destroyed and wasted by them that they had no house in which their goods could be safely kept".[108] The eventual suppression of the Glyndŵr rebellion brought little respite for the community which suffered again as a result of the Baronial wars which characterised the reign of Henry VI. In 1448 the canons were obliged yet again to plead their sorry plight, declaring that "their lands and possessions were so much wasted by the wars of Henry VI in Wales . . . that they could not support divine service and other incumbent charges".[109] The only solution to this problem, it was decided, was to reunite the Welsh house with Llanthony *Secunda* from which it had been separated in 1205. Accordingly, on 10th May 1481, Edward VI granted the priory to the Gloucester house, "because", records the preamble, "it has been wasted, destroyed and ruined . . . insomuch that divine worship and all regular observance of their order did cease".[110] Thus the community which had once ranked among the most famous in Wales became no more than a cell of its offshoot.

The final years of Llanthony's history as a priory were not marked by any revival in the quality of its religious life. The Warham Visitation of 1504 noted the presence of only five canons, while the fabric of the church was evidently in a state of considerable decay. It was ordered that the nave be covered, a new prior elected, and the number of monks brought up to strength, but the instructions do not appear to have been observed and thirty years later the number of canons remained the same.[111] Finally, in 1538, the community was dissolved in accordance with the policy of Henry VIII towards the monasteries, and four centuries of religious life came to an end.[112]

After the Dissolution the priory complex, together with the adjacent farm land, passed into private ownership. In 1547, on payment of £160, Henry VIII granted it to Nicholas Arnold whose descendants eventually sold it to the Harley family, Earls of Oxford.[113] In 1799 Edward Harley sold the remains to Colonel Sir Mark Wood of Brecon who, in or about 1807, resold Llanthony to Walter Savage Landor.[114] Eventually, in 1951, guardianship passed to the Ministry of Works (now CADW) who set about preserving the surviving fabric.

Part Four: Discussion

with contributions by Ian Soulsby

Whilst much has been written on Llanthony, most of this has tended to concentrate on architectural aspects of the Priory, or on its constitutional history, rather than to examine wider issues, such as the nature of its economy, the management of its estates or its impact on the surrounding landscape. Most of these lines of inquiry lie

outside the scope of the present report, and would undoubtedly form the basis of several papers in their own right; however, in addition to the excavated structures, there are four topics which deserve to be discussed here in the light of the recent excavations, namely, the precise nature of pre-monastic activity in the valley, the economy and diet of the monastic community, the possible identity of the individuals buried within the Priory church, and an assessment of the merits of Walter Savage Landor as a landowner.

DISCUSSION OF STRUCTURES

The Church

A major problem which faces any writer on Llanthony is that despite the wealth of the Priory's documentation, during the 430 odd years of its existence only one constructional event is recorded — the consecration of a new church in 1108. Any other building campaigns have to be dated from the surviving architectural and archaeological remains, although occasionally it is possible to refine such dating by closer examination of the Priory's fortunes to establish when such programmes are most likely to have taken place. Thus Gardner and Lovegrove were able to resolve the apparent conflict between the documentation and the architectural evidence, and to demonstrate the otherwise unrecorded complete rebuilding of the Priory in the later 12th century.

The two authorities for the early history of the Priory are Giraldus Cambrensis, whose account dates from *c.* 1188, and the Monk of Llanthony, whose chronicle dates from perhaps 1205/6. Both record that there was a ruined chapel dedicated to St. David somewhere in the vicinity (see below); however, the 1108 foundation and all the subsequent Priory churches were dedicated to St. John the Baptist — perhaps implying a change in location of at least the altar, if not the whole building. The Period I remains revealed by excavation clearly share the latter dedication, but the question remains to which pre-1175 church do they belong? Gardner, following the Monk of Llanthony's account, argued that there were two early 12th-century churches — the 1108 foundation, and a grander one built sometime after 1114.[115] Lovegrove argued that the chronology of the Monk's tale was confused, and that only one church preceded the present standing remains — a structure built 'after a homely manner', and consecrated in 1118 not 1108.[116] It must be admitted that the Period I remains are not very substantial, and it may be that too much has been made of too little evidence. Whilst some of the burials are demonstrably earlier than the standing Period II church, the structural evidence is less convincing. It could even be argued that the footings which have been interpreted here as those of the Period I church, correspond so closely to the later standing building, that they represent little more than its foundations; however, if such an interpretation is adopted, we are still left with the floor levels in the choir and the massive footings (63/73) around the east wall of the north transept, which cannot possibly relate solely to the standing building.

If the interpretation of the Period I church advanced above is accepted, then its dimensions are considerably larger than those of Merton Priory, with which Llanthony's early history was intimately linked. There, the early chancel was fairly large, measuring *c.* 10.7 m.square, but the transepts were small and narrow, measuring *c.* 9.2 x 3.1 m., and with only a single chapel opening off each.[117] Merton, like Llanthony, was a fairly prosperous foundation, heavily endowed with royal patronage, and work on the construction of its church probably began as late as 1117; given the links between the two houses and the common source of largesse, the larger size of the Llanthony church surely argues for it being slightly later. The community at Llanthony had swelled to about 40 canons when it was reorganised on regular lines in *c.* 1117-18, and adopted as an Augustinian house. If the accounts of Giraldus and the Monk are accepted, then it is likely that the little church built 'after a homely manner' in 1108, would have been too small to accommodate so large a community. It seems reasonable to accept Gardner's argument that its adoption as an Augustinian house was accompanied by the building of a new Priory church. The subsequent visits of such notables as Bishop Salisbury, Walter of Gloucester and possibly Queen Matilda attest the prestige of the new house, and this is likely to have been reflected in the size and style of its buildings.

Nothing is known of the Period I claustral buildings. It is quite likely that some of these buildings may at first have been temporary structures, perhaps in timber, which were gradually replaced by more premanent buildings as time and resources allowed. How far work had progressed by 1135 is unknown.

After 1135 conditions in the March deteriorated. The Priory was plundered twice, and the community forced to abandon the mother house and flee first to Hereford, and subsequently to Hyde in Gloucester; however, it is clear that the Priory buildings were not destroyed. In fact its library, bells and relics were still *in situ* and intact in the 1140's. Even after the transfer to Llanthony *Secunda*, part of the community remained in residence. It is possible that the Priory was never totally abandoned, and that the church and claustral buildings were still standing at the time of the rebuilding in the 1170's, albeit in a delapidated condition.

The rebuilding of the mother house was funded by a series of land grants by Hugh de Lacy and his son Walter between 1171 and 1205. Construction of the Period II church probably began *c.* 1175, and most of the east end and the crossing must have been finished by 1186, when the revenues from the Priory's extensive Irish property were diverted into the royal treasury. The seizure of these funds seems to have brought a halt to the building; their reinstatement in 1198 was immediately followed by the construction of the nave. It is this church which Giraldus described in 1188 as 'covered with lead and built of wrought stone, and considering the nature of the place not unhandsomely constructed'[118] Lovegrove has argued that this description must apply to a building without a nave;[119] however, it is likely that the rebuilding was envisaged as a series of campaigns, beginning with the dismantling and reconstruction of the east end of the church. This is a well-attested practice on many church sites — the new work being laid out around an existing chancel, and progressing steadily westwards, growing larger and higher than the existing structure, which is then dismantled. It is thus possible that the church which Giraldus saw comprised a new east end built onto a pre-existing nave. The enigmatic reference by the Monk of Llanthony[120] writing in *c.* 1205/6 to our 'plain ancient buildings' is more likely to apply to surviving Period I claustral buildings, than to the recently constructed east end of the church, to which a new nave was then being added.

Increased prosperity during the 13th century led to a major campaign of building, which included the south and west ranges of the inner cloister and an elaborate new Chapter House; as befits a house of such wealth and

importance, the new cloister was fairly large by contemporary standards, with an area of 7,569 sq. ft.[121] (782·75 sq. m.). The culmination of this campaign was probably the laying out of the Period II Phase II transept chapels, but there are good grounds for believing that the northern chapel was never completed (see Part One, above); this may explain the disparity between the entrances into these chapels from the two transepts — in the north transept the Period II Phase I entrances survive unaltered, whereas in the south transept they were replaced by a single large archway. It is certainly tempting to associate the abandonment of construction of the northern chapel, with the shortage of funds from which the Priory was suffering in the third quarter of the 13th century — culminating in its being taken into royal custody in 1276.

The early 14th century saw a revival of the Priory's fortunes, following the confirmation of early charters and Irish land grants by Edward II in 1324, and it seems likely that this is reflected in the insertion of a new east window in the presbytery; its geometric tracery is shown in a print by Thomas Hearne in 1788·[122] The date of the conversion of part of the church to domestic use is less easily fixed. It was obviously a drastic step, and shows that the community had fallen in numbers since the 13th century, and that funds for the maintenance of claustral buildings and for fresh construction work were limited; nevertheless, the new rooms which were added east of the former north transept (fig. 4) though by no means prestigious, were substantial structures and well-built (the only exceptions are the blocking walls 13 and 50). An equally intriguing problem is for whom were these rooms built? If the new kitchen was to replace the main monastic one for the next two centuries, it is difficult to believe that no attempt was made during that period to lay on a supply of running water, or drainage into the main sewer. The faunal assemblage from the hearth is more consistent with occasional use for snacks, rather than for regular use by the whole community. Both Chamber and Privy east of the Kitchen seem more suitable for use by one or two people, than a group — the cesspit shaft would not be easy to clean out regularly, and no provision seems to have been made for the removal of cess (unless an external door in the north wall of the Privy has been removed by later robbing). They obviously were not a replacement for the Infirmary, as the arrangements for hygiene clearly show; besides, as part of the Infirmary survived to be converted into a parish church after the Dissolution, it was clearly not in disrepair. It is difficult to envisage these rooms as new apartments for the Prior, as they seem to lack the necessary prestige. Although examples could be cited of Priors moving nearer to the delights of the Infirmary kitchen, it would be much harder to suggest parallels for one moving into and taking over part of his own church! One possible interpretation is that the conversion of the transept into a kitchen was a temporary 'stop-gap' measure in a period of particular difficulty (hence, the poorly-built blocking walls); the rooms to the east could be a secondary feature to provide a long-term use for a part of the church which had been secularised — perhaps providing accommodation for guests. The affects of the Black Death on the community are unknown, but even if it did not reach the priory, it must have drastically reduced the revenue from its estates for some time. A mid-14th-century date for the conversion of this part of the church would accord well with the coin evidence.

In the years between 1370 and 1400 Llanthony saw another uplift in its prosperity; early charters were renewed, whilst the association of the Prior with the Bishop of St. David's and the Archdeacon of Brecon in the administration of the collection of a subsidy in 1381 suggests a much improved status. It is probably to this period that the purchase and installation of a tower clock can be assigned. Such a clock is described by the great Welsh poet, Dafydd ap Gwilym *(floruit,* perhaps *c.* 1340-70) in his poem *Y Cloc,*[123] though whether it was actually the Llanthony clock which kept him awake is a matter for speculation. The only topographical clue in the poem is that the clock was sited in a monastery which is described as lying beside the dyke; this could be a poetic allusion to the ridge forming the border between England and Wales (Offa's Dyke is actually absent at this point). The only place-name mentioned in the poem is a town by Rheon's slope; this is usually taken to be a reference to nearby Brecon (some 20 miles away). The only thing which can be said with certainty is that Dafydd had seen and heard one in a monastery somewhere on his travels, and that this was quite possibly in Wales. Early clocks are known to have been installed in St. Paul's, London in *c.* 1280, Salisbury (1286), Glastonbury (1335), Wells (1392), and at St. Albans and several other cathedral cities by the end of the 14th century, so the suggestion that such a clock was in use in one of the leading Welsh religious houses in the late 14th century is not beyond credibility.

The extent of depravations suffered during the Glyndŵr revolt is uncertain. Some part of the Priory's possessions were attacked, but whether the destruction extended to the Priory precinct, or was confined to its numerous estates and manors is far from clear. It is tempting to ascribe the burning of the Period III suite of domestic apartments to the rebellion: the Priory would have formed a natural target for the rebels, given the Prior's known allegiance to the Crown (in 1404 the King notified his officers in Ireland not to seize the Priory's lands and possessions, as the Prior was a loyal subject.)[124]

The failure to rebuild the whole suite in the 15th century reflects the decline in the Priory's fortunes after 1405. Very little building work of this period can be identified anywhere in the precinct, apart from the heavy buttressing around much of the east end of the church — a desperate attempt to contain the gradual decay of the fabric by a series of short-term measures. Documentary support for this decline can be found in the plea of 1448 that the canons could not support divine service and other incumbent charges, and in the eventual forced merger in 1481 with its daughter house, Llanthony *Secunda.* In 1504 the Warham Visitation had to order that the nave be covered.

The 'Infirmary' site

The identification of this area with an Infirmary cloister was fist suggested by Gardner and the placing of an Infirmary complex in this position can be matched in a number of other Augustinian houses, e.g. Haughmond (Salop)[125] and Walsingham (Norfolk).[126]

The construction date of the Phase I building is uncertain. It may have been a temporary building of the *c.* 1175-86 campaign, or date from the early years of the 13th century, or even be a surviving Period I building; all that can be said is that pottery associated with its use shows that occupation continued into the 13th century. Its successor, the larger Phase II building, is probably of mid or later 13th-century date, and is perhaps best assigned to the tail-end of the building campaign which included the construction of the Inner Cloister, and which culminated in the appalling debts of 1276.

Following the dissolution, and certainly before the end of the 16th century, the Phase II building was robbed and demolished, to be replaced by at least one cottage on a new alignment; the building survey suggests that there may have been at least one other to the east. It is possible that this was contemporary with the conversion of the north range of the Infirmary cloister into St. David's parish church.

Occupation of these domestic buildings continued, with some rebuilding, well into the 18th century, when the western cottage was burnt down. The construction of the Phase V terrace of cow-houses can be ascribed either to Landor's massive investment programme between 1809 and 1813, or to the estate's subsequent attempts to recoup the colossal debts which ensued from his bankruptcy (see below). As the doors in the north side of the terrace were no longer in use, the church was able to make up the land on their side of it to create a wide path into the graveyard.

PRE-MONASTIC ACTIVITY IN THE HONDDU VALLEY

Occasional surface finds of flints on the valley slopes and the surrounding ridges[127] indicate some sort of activity in the area from the later Neolithic onwards, though whether this amounts to more than hunting is questionable. A socketed axe found near the 'Abbey'[128] may indicate forest clearance in the valley as early as the Late Bronze Age — presumably for field systems — and suggests that heavy clay soils in this area were being exploited, as well as the sandier soils in S. Herefordshire.[129] At the bottom end of the valley the hill-fort of Twyn Y Gaer (SO 294 220) appears to have been occupied from the 5th century B.C. to the beginning of the Roman occupation. A Dobunnic gold stater of Corio, reputedly from "Llanthony Abbey", could have been found in the vicinity of either Llanthony *Prima* or *Secunda*[130] — though the latter seems far more likely.

The first demonstrable indication of permanent settlement is the establishment in this part of N. Gwent and W. Herefordshire of a series of churches, mostly with dedications to *Dewi Sant* (e.g. Llandewi Nanthodni, Llandewi Skirrid, Llandewi Rhydderch, etc.[131]); the date of these foundations is uncertain, and the Dewi dedications probably reflect the influence and power of the see of St. David in the pre-conquest organisation of the church in this part of Wales,[132] rather than the travels of Dewi, himself. The main authority for the presence of a ruined pre-conquest chapel at Llanthony, and for its dedication, is Giraldus Cambrensis, who described it as 'the humble chapel of St. David, the Archbishop, which was adorned with woodland moss and wreathed about with ivy'.[133] This account was taken and embroidered in *c.* 1205/6 by the Monk of Llanthony, who added the claim that Dewi himself had lived there — viz., 'It was a poor building surrounded with moss and ivy, and covered with shrubs; it would scarce receive a man or beast; but it is celebrated in fame, and we have a sure tradition of old, that St. David did here retire from the conversation of men, and lived here a solitary life for many years'.[134] The timing of this claim that the Saint lived here is particularly interesting: it coincides with Llanthony *Prima's* petition for formal separation from its daughter house, *Secunda,* and it seems likely that it was advanced to bolster both its case and prestige *(cf.* the concentration of Rhygyfarch in his *Life of St. David,* on the Saint's activities in the South-West peninsula of Wales, at a time when the see of St. David was trying to assert its authority over the rest of Wales[135]).

The location of the chapel is uncertain. Giraldus, writing some 85 years after Hugh de Lacy's knight had come upon it, said that it stood on the very spot where the priory was later built — implying that its remains were no longer extant. Given the dislocation which followed the flight from the Priory in 1135 and the founding of its daughter house, it is questionable whether any canon at Llanthony in the 1180's (when Giraldus was writing) would have known the actual location of the original chapel. Even if he is taken literally, it could have been sited anywhere within the Priory precinct; a less literal interpretation would be that it lay close by within the Priory's possessions, which by this time included the whole valley — possible candidates might be *Henllan* (old church or enclosure), further downstream, or Capel-y-ffin with its low stone-walled *llan* and its ancient yews.[136]

At the foot of the valley lies the parish church of Llanfihangel Crucornau, mentioned in a land grant in the Llandaff charters. The grant refers to an estate which presumably included upland pasture, and has been ascribed a date of *c.* 970 A.D. by Dr. Wendy Davies.[137] If her dating is accepted, then the valley would have appeared to have supported in the mid-10th century not only the church at Llanfihangel Crucornau, but also a chapel at Llanthony and possibly also at Capel-y-ffin; this implies some sort of permanent settlement in the area — if only dispersed farmsteads on the upper slopes, with a pastoral economy. Giraldus infers that much of the valley bottom was still uncleared forests, but the evidence of the Llandaff charters suggests that the area to the south, at the foot of the valley, bordered on arable estates.

THE ECONOMY AND DIET OF THE MONASTIC COMMUNITY

The Priory's main source of income was the revenue from its extensive land holdings (see above, Part Three). Amongst the many grants of Walter de Lacy was that of the entire Honddu valley with all its appurtenances, "i.e. about 20,000 acres, much of which is moor, but much of which is excellent land",[138] it is quite clear that even with its maximum complement of 40 or so canons, the Priory would not have been able to farm the whole valley on its own, and it is reasonable to assume that it was mostly leased to tenant farmers, initially at least in return for food or stock rents and services.

Of the lands which the canons farmed themselves, the overall impression from both the documentary and archaeological evidence is that of a pastoral economy, supplemented by cash and food rents. An early illustration of this is contained in the Monk's chronicle: "these spacious mountains . . . contained fruitful pasture and rich meadows for feeding cattle"; he continues with the interesting observation that this 'made amends for the want of corn'.[139]

Pastoral Farming

Cattle

Among references which illustrate the importance of cattle breeding to the Priory, may be cited the long and drawn-out suit between Nicholas of Llanthony and the lord of Ewias castle in 1279, when livestock was appropriated from the prior's manors of Oldcastle and Redcastle and impounded in the castle;[140] the dispute was sufficiently serious to result in the death of two of the canons and the wounding of the Prior.[141] The Priors also received calves as part of the annual render from demesne tenants.[142]

In the archaeological record, cattle formed the predominant species in the midden material from the Kitchen *(First Report,* 35). The majority of the animals were killed as adults of over four years of age — suggesting that those eaten in the Priory were used for milking and traction, rather than being raised purely for beef — though others may well have been bred for sale.

Sheep

Much of the land in the grant of the valley was moorland, and it is likely that it was heavily exploited then, just as it is today, for sheep farming. They would have been kept principally for wool, secondly as a source of milk and cheese, and lastly as an incidental source of meat.[143] Sheep bones were found on the excavations in contexts of all periods; most were adults of three years or more (confirming the concentration on wool production), although one yearling was found in the Infirmary assemblage.

Pigs

Walter de Lacy granted the Priory between 1186 and 1205 'common in the wood of Mascoed for their swine'.[144] Pig bones were found both in the kitchen and in the Infirmary; the monks appear to have been eating fairly young domesticated animals. No remains of wild boar have been found.

Domestic Fowl

Chickens appear to have formed a fairly high proportion of the Priory's diet, as reflected in the faunal assemblage from the kitchen and its midden, although they are far less common in the Infirmary. The latter produced the remains of a solitary goose.

Horses

Although rare in the archaeological record (there is a single individual present in the Period IV layers in the kitchen), horses formed an important part of the Priory's economy — utilising the large tracts of grazing land. In addition to their own estates, the Prior and his canons had been granted by John FitzReginald free pasture for their horses on all his lands in Wales.[145] They were probably bred for sale as well as for personal transport.

Hunting

Deer and rabbits

It is clear from early sources that the Honddu valley was rich in deer, and venison would often have formed part of the diet. Giraldus noted "herds of wild deer feeding on the mountain summits',[146] whilst the Monk's history refers to 'the swift-footed beasts of which there were a great number'.[147] Exclusive hunting rights, together with free warren within the bounds of their lands were granted to the Priory by Walter de Lacy in 1186-1205.[148]

In the archaeological record, the remains of red, roe and fallow deer are all present in the kitchen and its midden, but absent from the Infirmary.

Doves and Wild Birds

Doves were kept in the Columbarium, and taken as required for meat — although the remains of only one was recognised in the kitchen. Wild birds would have been exploited, although the only evidence of this from the excavations is a solitary woodcock from the kitchen.

Fish

This was probably an important part of the diet. In addition to the three fish-ponds (see Part Two, above), the Priory had fishing rights in the Honddu and several other streams, which were evidently plentifully stocked; the monk's history commented on the 'great plenty of variety of fishes amongst the crystal streams'.[149] In *c.* 1200 the canons were also granted fishery rights in Llangorse Lake, and the remains of the pathway from the Priory across the mountains to Llangorse can still be seen.[150] The antiquary John Leland, writing in the 1530's, revealed that the principal fish in Llangorse were bream, although pike, trout and perch were also caught in large numbers.[151]

Fish were certainly present in substantial numbers in the refuse of the kitchen, although herring is the only species which could be identified. Other sea foods reaching the priory included large numbers of oysters and a few mussels *(First Report, 33),* but these could represent as little as one or two barrel loads.

Arable Farming

The dovecot in the home farm implies that no arable fields were held in demesne nearby — although whether the same consideration would be shown to neighbouring tenants is uncertain (pigeons and doves will eat their own bulk in corn in a day[152]); however, some staples were clearly reaching the Priory either as food rents or from outlying fields or granges. The main crop represented in the kitchen appears to have been breadwheat, although oats and legumes are also present. The presence of wheat grains and waste material in the kitchen suggests that a small quern was being used for grinding for at least part of Period III, but the possibility that a monastic mill and bakehouse formerly existed cannot be ruled out; there may well have been a medieval mill on the present mill site on the Honddu — although whether this would have been for milling flour or flax, is far from clear.

Diet also appears to have been supplemented by gathering nuts and berries.

Bee-keeping and the production of honey may have formed a food supplement and a minor part of the economy. This is suggested by the annual render of 20 lbs. of wax *(cerae)* which the canons were obliged to pay to the cathedral church of St. David's.[153] In all probability this was bees wax, which St. David's also collected from several of its manors in West Wales, representing it has been suggested, a survival of earlier food rents.[154]

Industry

Unlike its daughter house, which had a healthy iron smelting industry, there is no evidence for the Priory earning any substantial revenue from this source. It enjoyed rights of timber within its lands, and stone was certainly quarried locally, but whether these were exploited for anything other than the immediate use of the community is doubtful. Similarly, it is uncertain whether wool and leather were processed at the Priory or sold as raw staples. Any other industrial processes are likely to have been on a small scale, and intended purely for monastic use — e.g. a small smithy, a brewhouse and bakehouse, and perhaps a temporary tile kiln for making ridge tiles during a major building programme.

BURIALS

In Period I burial within the church may have been a universal practice; in the small area examined at least seven graves were detected, and others were subsequently found in consolidation work, whereas only three burials dating to either Periods II or III were found in the excavated areas of the church (graves 25, 62 and

90). This must indicate the establishment of a separate monk's cemetery outside the church, presumably east of the north transept, where occasional finds of disturbed human bones were encountered in topsoil. Any burials inside the later Priory church are likely to be those of Priors, sub-Priors or important lay persons. In addition to the graves found in the recent excavations, a plain rectangular recess for a tomb was uncovered in the east wall of the presbytery above the high altar, and there is a carved recess for a raised tomb or effigy in the east wall of the south transept.

Of the first four Priors, only Ernisius was interred at Llanthony *Prima,* although where is unknown.[155] After the separation of the two priories in 1205[156], it must be assumed that subsequent priors of the Welsh house were buried within its grounds and presumably within the church.

Two members of the aristocracy are also known to have been buried at Llanthony *Prima* — again presumably within the church. In the 1130's Walter of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford and father of Miles of Gloucester (the patron of Llanthony *Secunda),* retired to the Welsh house, and was buried there.[157] In 1230 Gilbert de Lacy, son and heir of Walter de Lacy (both benefactors to the priory), was buried *apud Lantone in Wallia.*[158]

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR AND ESTATE MANAGEMENT

Any discussion of the landscape around the Priory would be incomplete without examination of the influence upon it of its best known post-Dissolution proprietor. Landor's very impetuosity led to his own downfall. He decided to buy the Llanthony estate with the proceeds of the sale of the family estate at Tachbrook, Warwickshire, before seeing either.[159] The former comprising over 3,000 acres in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, was purchased by act of Parliament for some £10,000.[160] It was a bad investment. The estate had been owned by absentee landlords for almost a century (the Earls of Oxford had bought it from the Arnolds in 1720, and they in turn sold it to Colonel Wood in 1799), and had suffered badly from neglect and under-investment. One reflection of this is that of the properties listed in the schedule of the 1809 Act, some 75% (90% of the copyholdings) still bore Welsh names, suggesting that the basic land divisions predated the acquisition of the estate by the Earls of Oxford. A more damning statistic is that his 64 tenants paid only £1,304 6s. 6d. rent p.a. after land tax, although the estimated yearly value of the rents was £2,505 8s. 2d. after tax.[161] More than half of the difference arose from the large number of copyhold tenants (41); as the land could be taken back into possession only when the copyhold ran out; his only alternative would be to rent the land back at its true value from his own tenants.[162] R. H. Super cited the following examples of how ridiculously undervalued the copyhold rents were: John Powell paid 6s. 10d. p.a. for The Two Properties, valued at £39. 2s. 0d. p.a., Daniel Prichard and his son paid £2 p.a. for the farm of Tyn y Coed (Tŷ'n y Coed) and Vishan (Vision) valued at £82 p.a., and James Prosser paid 10s. 6d. for Rhyd-yr-ynw, a farm of over 41 acres valued at £34 p.a.[163] On the positive side Landor gained some £2,750 worth of standing timber and trees, much of which was mature, and some 101 acres of which were in his direct possession, rather than that of his tenants. Many of his more valuable leases ran from year to year, and most others had about 10 years still to run at the time of purchase, or were in the hands of fairly elderly lifehold tenants; so that if he could have managed the estate sensibly for the first ten years, it should have been fairly easy to raise the rents nearer to their estimated value — always presuming his tenants could actually afford to pay them.

On assuming control of the estate, instead of pursuing a policy of gradually raising rents as leases expired, he embarked on a programme of substantial capital expenditure, and of trying to combine farms into as large as possible units — thereby reducing the number of tenants.[164] After a century of comparative indifference towards the estate, such a sudden and far-reaching initiative was bound to meet with strong opposition from local tenants who were threatened with the loss of their livelihood. Furthermore, if not strongly anti-Welsh from the outset, he rapidly became so — which again can hardly have endeared him to the local populace. Within a year of purchase he was writing 'But if drunkenness, idleness, mischief and revenge are the principal characteristics of the savage state, what nation, I will not say in Europe, but in the world, is so singularly tattooed with them as the Welsh?'[165] and again in 1810, 'The earth contains no race of human beings so totally vile and worthless as the Welsh. I doubt whether they would allow me to make improvements. I am certain they would not allow me to enjoy them. I have expended in labour, within 3 years, £8,000 amongst them, and yet they treat me as their greatest enemy'.[166]

His first three years as landowner in many ways typify the man. He went full circle from direct personal involvement in the estate, to near neglect whilst fighting in Spain, and then back again. This period saw the building of the track from Siârpal to Cwmyoy, and over the hill to Longtown (never finished), and the initiation of a number of other improvements.[167] In December 1808 he announced his intention of spending £1,400 on Llanthony in the next year, and £500 every succeeding year for the next 10 years.[168] He spoke of planting 8,000 — 10,000 Cedars of Lebanon, and expressed hope of having some accommodation by 1810. Moreover, he intended to restore a building which he conceived to have been the original chapel of ease to the parish of Cwmyoy, and to pull down the building which was at that time being used as a chapel. Yet whilst he was away in Spain farmers were able to pull down part of the Priory church tower and rob the mouldings from one of the doorways in 1808. In the following year his own servants cut down 40 of his mature trees, and lopped others without his consent. In July 1810 he wrote 'while I was in Spain more injury was done to the abbey than I think it possible to repair . . .'[169] Much of his expenditure went on trying to build a grand house at Siârpal — a scenic, yet impractical setting, which was to cause him much heartache. A farm-house is recorded here in the 1809 survey, and it is possible that he was trying to convert this, rather than build from scratch. 'In architects I have passed from a great scoundrel to a greater, a thing I thought impossible, and have been a whole year in making a farm-house habitable. It is not half-finished and has cost already £2,000. I think seriously of filling it with chips and straw and setting fire to it. Never was anything half so ugly . . .'[170]

In 1810 he returned to the estate, and began to take a personal interest in it once more. He dismissed half of his workmen, and decided to replace the mature trees which he had lost through his servants' precipitous action. It is difficult to assess how many trees he successfully planted, as he tended to plant from seed, rather than from saplings or cuttings, and his own

calculations tend towards the optimistic; moreover, some exotic species which he tried to introduce were unsuitable, and unlikely to survive (e.g. the Cedars of Lebanon). He claims to have planted more than 70,000 oaks and 300,000 forest trees.[171] In 1811 he planted 2,000 cones of Cedars of Lebanon, calculating 100 seeds for each, but the rain and field mice left him with barely 1,000.[172] He also planted alders and sweet chestnuts . . . 'I now employ my mornings . . . hoeing my young chestnuts'[173], and was given some poplars. The building at Y Siârpal continued to be a drain on his funds: 'My house has once been taken down, and has once fallen down of its own accord. I am building it again and hope to complete it before the end of September'.[174] It comprised a drawing room, a library 18 ft square, a dining room 28 ft x 22 ft, and 14 ft high, 6 family bedrooms, and 6 for the servants; additional space was in the abbey, where he proposed to have all of his offices.[175]

He took Charles Betham as the tenant for one of his new and biggest farms, at the rent of £1 per acre, which was far higher than any of the rest of the estate was realising. Betham had no experience of farming, and yet during his first year (1812), whilst his farm-house was being rebuilt, extended his holding until his annual rent approached £1,000 p.a.; at one point, Landor even proposed that Betham leased the whole estate.[176] Landor made the mistake of being careless about his initial agreements with Betham, of being too free with waiving rent in lieu of improvements, and finally of being over-zealous with litigation. When Betham claimed expenditure on buildings and improvements in lieu of rent on Lady Day 1813, Landor sued at law, and Betham resisted in equity.[177] When Landor eventually succumbed to his creditors, Betham had still not paid a penny in rent.

Meanwhile, things were going equally badly on the rest of the estate. In 1812 floods washed away two of his bridges, whilst he was engaged in building a third at Henllan to unite two farms under a single tenant. As well as the rebuilding at Betham's house, a new one was being erected for another of his tenants.[178] Sadly, he was a poor judge of character, especially when it came to picking tenants for his principal farms; as a result, his best income on paper brought him nothing but law-suits (e.g. Tombes, the new tenant at Trodrywhene took it at 18s. per acre, but paid him nothing, eventually moonlighting on the anniversary of his lease.)

Incredibly, whilst running rapidly short of capital, Landor was still trying to expand by buying neighbouring farms to add to the estate and combine with those he already owned, e.g. Maes-y-Beran. In the case of another freehold which was owned by a Nicholas Hopkins, he first tried to take an option on it, and then attempted to pressurise the man by threatening his job as a constable. He was determined to enclose the estate's wasteland, and was furious when a general enclosure bill was rejected; consequently, in the autumn of 1812 he went to the expense of pushing a personal enclosure bill through Parliament, and it was eventually passed in May 1813.[179] By the end of 1812 he was already £1,550 in debt, and six months behind on payment of his mother's annuity. From there he proceded rapidly into bankruptcy.

He took the short-term expedient of cutting and selling his timber, and although he made attempts to replenish it, it would obviously be many years before he would reap the benefit; even this ran into more trouble, as his planting of firs on disputed land brought more litigation[180] — as also did his attempts to stop others from felling his trees and poaching on his land. In January 1813 the stonemasons working on his house and on the bridge at Henllan rebelled, and persuaded the carpenters to join them. Ironically, in August 1813 his house was finally completed, and the surveying for the enclosure of his wasteland was in progress, but he had squandered all his resources; in the October, he left Llanthony without warning, and finally fled the country in the following spring. In the five years between 1808 and 1813 he had spent nearly £70,000 on an estate with an annual income of about £1,300.

His biographers and apologists have made much of his bad luck, the unfortunate law-suits, the bad behaviour of his principal tenants (notably Betham and Tombes), and the lack of cooperation from the local community, but even with model tenants who paid the rent promptly, and even if he had managed to raise the rent to around £3,000 p.a., he would still have had enormous difficulty in recovering his massive investment in under 20-30 years, or more. As it happened, land prices and rents were to plummet at the end of the Napoleonic wars, and it is fairly certain that he would have gone bankrupt anyway. Although gifted with a surfeit of well-intentioned ideas, he seems to have had little grasp of the practicalities of estate management, nor had he the sense to employ a good estate manager. As a result, the chaos which he left behind him was to be a mill-stone around the neck of his family for the next 50 years.

His mother retained the prime claim on the estate, and placed it in the hands of his brother Charles as trustee; it was managed by Henry and Walter Landor (of Rugeley). The furnishings were sold, and by 1821 his house had been taken down to pay off some of the creditors. Nevertheless, some claims were still unsettled in 1835, when the income from the rents was only £850 — less than in 1808!; land had depreciated in value, and the rents had had to be reduced — the estimated value of the estate was now as low as £2,400.[181] In 1841 a settlement was reached resulting in the estate being encumbered by three mortgages totalling £20,400 — the interest payments alone would have consumed most of the annual income;[182] in the following year, there were still two mortgages totalling £15,000 outstanding. In 1854 a new statement of the rental was drawn up, and a solution to the financial problems of the estate worked out; by investing the £6,500 p.a. allowance for Landor's children in the estate, the mortgage in outside hands was reduced to £2,500.[183] This went some way towards ending the 40 years of neglect into which Landor's mismanagement had plunged the estate.

In archaeological terms Landor's most impressive contribution lies in his impact on the landscape. Many of his field boundaries are still in use today — earth and stone banks surmounted by quickset hedges — and his stone-lined field drains have already been mentioned (Part Two, above). Many of the mature beech trees and chestnuts above the Priory are certainly his plantings — notably the broad avenue leading up to his house at Y Siârpal, and all along the dingle; his exotic species have fared less well — none of his cedars of Lebanbon appears to have survived. Some of the farm buildings in the valley probably still incorporate his work, but his own house now lies in ruins; of his bridges, only that below Y Siârpal still remains (the other, at Henllan was washed away in 1821).

CONCLUSION

A great deal of work remains to be done on both the Priory and the archaeology of the Honddu valley. Whilst the excavations have shed light on many aspects of the Priory (particularly in the later Middle Ages), many important questions remain unresolved (particularly about the plan of the Period I priory church, and the nature and extent of its conventual buildings). Further excavation within the area of the Inner Cloister is both undesirable and unlikely to take place, now that clearance is effectively complete (the one outstanding building is that south of the chapter house, and is at present used for storage of the masons' building materials). Similarly, although excavation of the outlying buildings in the precinct could doubtless elucidate their function and dating, none of the surveyed earthworks is at present threatened, and unless some major change in land use is proposed, these should be left untouched for as long as possible. In short, the only likelihood of further excavation within the precinct is that necessitated by the threat of further development.

It is time instead to adopt less destructive lines of inquiry, and here there is an enormous amount of scope — much of it untapped. Very little fieldwork has been undertaken elsewhere in the valley; potentially this could add a great deal to our understanding of early settlement patterns and land usage for all periods (as also could place and field-name evidence). Hedgerow dating may help to sort out some of Landor's improvements from medieval and early post-medieval boundaries. Next to no work has been attempted on any of the post-medieval estate documentation, and it is possible that this could be a very profitable area of research, which could be supplemented by architectural surveys of many of the older farm buildings in the valley. Moving further afield, no attempt has yet been made to reconstruct the bounds of the Priory's estates, as has been so successfully accomplished by Dr. Butler at Maenan,[184] or by Dom. David Williams on the Cistercian estates in Gwent.[185] Similarly, very little work has been done on either the history or the archaeology of the granges of Llanthony *Prima* and *Secunda*. Lastly, at least one complete arch from the Priory has been found reused in an early 17th-century manor house at Gwernyfed,[186] some 12 miles away in S. Powys; it seems likely that further detailed study of post-medieval buildings in the vicinity (whether in N. Gwent, W. Herefordshire or S. Powys) will turn up more architectural fragments from the Priory.[187]

Monastic studies in Wales for much of this century have tended to concentrate on the Cistercians, at times to the exclusion of the other religious orders. It is to be hoped that these two reports have made a small contribution towards restoring Llanthony to its rightful place as one of the leading religious houses in Wales.

The Association would like to express its thanks to CADW — Welsh Historic Monuments for a generous grant towards the cost of the publication of this paper.

FOOTNOTES

1. Evans, D. H., 'Excavations at Llanthony Priory, Gwent, 1978', *Monmouth. Antiq.* IV (1980), 5-43; hereinafter referred to as *First Report.*
2. Gardner, Iltyd, 'Llanthony Prima', *Arch. Camb.*$_6$ XV (1915), 343-76.
3. Gardner, Iltyd, 'Llanthony Prima', *Arch. Camb.*$_6$ XVI (1916), 55-6.
4. *Ibid;* Craster, O. E., *Llanthony Priory,* H.M.S.O., 1963, 23-4.
5. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.*, 353.
6. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.*, 50-51.
7. *Ibid,* 56-7.
8. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.*, 364.
9. *Ibid,* 344.
10. 'We spent endless time and labour in searching for a cross-wall or other definite evidence west of the western arch of the crossing . . .', *ibid,* 364. 'Partially under the western arch of the lantern a line nearly 4ft. broad of mortar mixed with earth, and slight traces of wall core were found crossing the church . . . and I believe but cannot prove it to be the line of the west wall of the Canons' first church', *ibid,* 365.
11. 'Partially under and partially east of the eastern arch of the lantern was a cross-wall, the ends of which seem to have been pulled out. It had been disturbed for about 3ft. in the centre possibly for an interment; it was 2 in. thinner than the side walls of the presbytery, and I don't think it belonged to them, but it is puzzling; possibly it may have carried a screen.', *ibid,* 365.
12. 'Excavation shows that these 37 in. walls not only come right across the transitional doorways now leading from the presbytery to the north and south chapels but even right across the arches of the transepts, where very slight digging showed them well defined and perfect in character save where they had been pulled up in making the foundations of the lantern piers', *ibid,* 364. 'Both the buried side walls bend slightly to the south at about 8 ft. east of the western piers of the lantern . . .' *ibid,* 365. 'We found by excavation that the walls of the presbytery came right across the transepts, and plumb under the centre of the south transept arch there stands impinging 10 in. upon this wall another wall about 8 in. thick of single stones and mortar, much the shape of the opening for a modern fireplace 33 in. wide and 25 in. deep . . . it was filled to a fairly flat surface up to within a few inches of the top with large stones; one of them was a moulded Decorated jamb . . .; its base where resting in the wall was well above the level of the floors of the Canons' church, but well below that of the transept; we dug all around it but made no discovery.' *Ibid,* 372-3.
13. '. . . the north wall bent southwards at its eastern end in a similar and rather more marked fashion, but two-thirds of the width of this wall is under a high modern wall and bank, so that it cannot be thoroughly examined.' *Ibid,* 365.
14. 'The northern chapel . . . is distinguishable only from the scrap of wall forming part of the set-off buttress . . . and from a portion of the north wall which I excavated', *ibid,* 374.
15. 'In digging in the south chapel and elsewhere . . .', *ibid,* 367. '. . . I have proved by excavation that this chapel was . . . a longish oblong . . . and we found its stone pavement at a level of 2 ft. below the soil, just above the level of the floor of the crossing', *ibid,* 375-6.
16. 'I then dug to their footings or foundations . . . but I found, as the photographs show, that in the presbytery these rough footings, which were unusually large, and projecting into the church, were butted against and clearly built later than the walls, yet

they came up close to the present level of the floor, those of the north-west pilaster coming 16 in. above the old pavement which is there fairly complete', *ibid,* 367.

17. 'At many points scattered over the presbytery, and in all cases at the same level, i.e. 13 in. below the floor line of the great church at the crossing, we found the floor of the Norman church; this was of rather thin local red sandstone paving, and most of the better stones had been taken up, but some whole ones were left', *ibid,* 366.

18. Lovegrove, E. W., 'Llanthony Priory, Monmouthshire', *Arch. Camb.* XCIX (1946-7), 68.

19. *First Report,* 9-10, fig. 5 and pl. 1.

20. Lovegrove, *op. cit.,* 70-3.

21. *First Report,* 16.

22. *Ibid,* 11, fig. 6 and pl. 5.

23. *Ibid,* 11-13, fig. 8, and pls. 5 and 7-11.

24. *Ibid,* 13-14, fig. 10 and pls. 12 and 14.

25. British Museum (BM) Harl. Ms. 607, f. 190. Unfortunately no indication is given of the exact location of the lead. I am grateful to Mr. Chris Whittick for this reference.

26. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.,* 354.

27. Craster, *op. cit.,* 9. An engraving of this sketch by W. Byrne was published in 1796 (Gardner, 1915, *op. cit,* 358).

28. Craster, *op. cit.,* 12.

29. See Part Four, below; Super, R. H., *Walter Savage Landor: a biography,* New York, 1954, 84 and 95.

30. Craster, *op. cit.,* 12.

31. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.,* 355. The money to pay for these measures was raised by subscription from neighbouring gentlemen, not by the estate (Super, *op. cit.,* 84).

32. *First Report,* 32.

33. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.,* 55-56.

34. *Ibid,* 55.

35. Department of the Environment (D.o.E.) film, ref. A9987, taken 5th April 1978. Negatives held by D.o.E. at Hannibal House, Elephant and Castle, London S.E.1.

36. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.,* 55.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid, 56.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.,* 350-3; 1916, *op. cit.,* 51-5.

41. Lovegrove, *op. cit.,* 77.

42. Craster, *op. cit.,* 43.

43. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.,* 50.

44. Vince, A. G., 'The Medieval and Post-Medieval Ceramic Industry of the Malvern Region: the Study of a Ware and its Distribution', in Peacock, D.P.S. (ed.), *Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterisation and Trade in Roman and Later Ceramics,* London. 1977, 257-305.

45. Evans, D. H., 'The Medieval Pottery from the Fortress Baths, Caerleon', *Med. & Later Pot. in Wales 5* (1982), 9-30.

46. Hurst, J. G., 'Imported flasks', in Pirie, E. J. E. et al., 'Kirkstall Abbey Excavations 1960-64', *Publ. Thoresby Soc.* LI, no. 112 (1966), 54-9.

47. Hurst, J. G., 'Discussion of pottery', in Neal, D. S., 'Excavations at the palace of Kings Langley, Hertfordshire, 1974-6', *Med. Arch.* XXI (1977), 155-7.

48. Identification by Dr. M. A. Edington, Department of Zoology, University College, Cardiff.

49. Peate, *op. cit.,* chapter 1; see also note 123.

50. London Museum, *Medieval Catalogue,* H.M.S.O., 1954 edition, 175-6, fig. 54, nos 1 and 2.

51. Zarnecki, G., *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140,* London, 1951, pl. 9.

52. Evans, K. Jane, 'A discovery of two unusual objects in New Shoreham', *Sussex Arch. Coll. 107* (1969), 79-84. See also, *First Report,* 32 and note 72; this cresset is now in the possession of Mr. Matthew Knight, the owner of the Abbey Hotel, Llanthony. I have since noted that it was also illustrated in *Trans. Woolhope Nats. Field Club* 1890-92, 202.

53. Knight, J. K., 'A 12th-century stone lamp from Llangwm Uchaf, Mon.', *Med. Arch.* XVI (1972), 130-33.

54. O'Connor, T. P., 'The animal bones', in Zienkiewicz, D., *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon — Isca,* National Museum of Wales Monograph, forthcoming.

55. Maltby, J. M., *The Animal Bones from Exeter,* Exeter Archaeol. Rep. No. 2, University of Sheffield 1979.

56. Mathieson, C., *The Brown and the Black Rat in Wales,* National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1931, 9.

57. Identification of critical taxa were made under the guidance of Gordon Hillman, whom I should also like to thank for reading and thoughtfully commenting on this report, and for providing infectious enthusiasm at all times.

58. All specimens have been stored in separate tubes and are available for inspection at Newport Museum.

59. Hillman, G. C., 'Crop Husbandry at the medieval platform house at Cefn Graeanog in Gwynedd: reconstructions from charred remains of plants', in Kelly, R. S., 'The excavation of a Medieval Farmstead at Cefn Graeanog, Clynnog, Gwynedd', *Bull. Board of Celtic Stud.* XXIX, iv (May 1982), 901-7.

60. Green, F. J., *Medieval Plant remains from Wessex,* unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Southampton, 1979.

61. Hillman, G.C., 'Crop processing in British prehistory: reconstructions from charred remains of crops', in Mercer, R. (ed.), *Farming Practice in British Prehistory,* Edinburgh (1981), fig. 6, stages 6 & 7.

62. All estimations of stature were calculated with reference to the formula of Trotter and Gleser, *Amer. J. phys. Anthrop. 10* (1952), 463-514, and *ibid, 16* (1958), 79-123.

63. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.,* 37.

64. *Ibid,* 60.

65. *Ibid,* 61-2.

66. *Ibid,* 62.

67. Gardner, Iltyd, 'A semi-subterranean Columbarium, Llanthony', *Arch. Camb.*$_6$ *IX* (1909), 157-60.

68. Talbot, C. H., 'William of Wycumbe, fourth prior of Llanthony', *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc.* (1957), 62-9. The relevant passage occurs in a letter to William from a monk named Ralph: "Shall we ever, my lord . . . be together under that same roof of yours . . . which though not near town or sea regales your guests with banquets and you with guests.

Besides these things the eyes of the beholders are delighted both because the house has been built with walls aptly placed to produce architectural symmetry and because it is visible from afar off with its remarkable church and arcades. Furthermore it has most pleasant meadows and streams, gardens, orchards and vineyards and is filled with treasures of books and church furnishings, and there you spend your time no less with the pen than with the plough, so that it is difficult to judge whether your garden or your mind is the more cultivated." *(ibid,* 68).

Although the first paragraph is a little puzzling if it refers to Llanthony *Secunda,* the second paragraph

surely cannot refer to Llanthony *Prima* in the late 1130's or 1140's?

69. Super, *op. cit.*, 112-3.
70. Gardner, 1909, *op. cit.*, 160.
71. *Ibid*, 158-9, pls. 1 & 2.
72. *Ibid*, pl. 3.
73. *Ibid*, 160.
74. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.*, 56.
75. Inf., Mr. Sid Powell of Llanthony.
76. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.*, 50-1.
77. *Ibid*, 46.
78. Gardner, 1915 & 1916, *op. cit.;* Lovegrove, 1946-7, *op. cit.,*: Craster, 1963, *op. cit.*
79. Lovegrove, E. W., 'Llanthony Priory', *Arch Camb.* XCVII (1942-3), 227; Craster, *op. cit.*, 23-4, and plan.
80. *Ibid.*
81. Gardner, 1916, *op. cit.*, 57-60.
82. Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire,* Penguin (1963), 335.
83. An initial attempt at the inscription has been abandoned at one end of the slab, which has then been inverted, and the final inscription made. This now reads: 'Frederick Gwillim, Died 11th. Dec. 1822, aged 11 months. Ann Gwillim. Died 18th Oct. 1822, aged 6 months.'

For the general style of this sort of cross-slab, and the shape of the cross foliates, *cf.* Rodgers, J. W., 'The Stone Cross Slabs of South Wales and Monmouthshire', *Trans. Cardiff Nats. Soc.* XLIV (1911), 24-64, & pl. VIII.

84. In the spelling of place-names, I have followed the forms adopted by Elwyn Davies (ed.), *A Gazetteer of Welsh Place-Names,* Cardiff, 1975.
85. British Museum (BM), Cott. Julius D, X, ff. 31-53. Part of the manuscript has been transcribed in J. Caley et al. (eds.), *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum,* vi, 128-34 (hereinafter referred to as *Mon.Angl.),* while there is an English translation in G. Roberts, *Some Account of Llanthony Priory,* (London 1847), 47-63. Further extracts from the Llanthony chronicle appear in BM Harl. Ms. 1087, ff. 95-63b, and BM Add. Ms. 5937, f. 118.
86. BM Cott. Julius D, X, f. 33b; *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 129; Roberts, *op. cit.* 51-2; Lovegrove, 1942-3 *op. cit.,* 217-8. According to Giraldus Cambrensis, William's church was erected on the same site as St. David's chapel (J. F. Dimock (ed), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera,* (Rolls Series, 1877), vi, 37).
87. BM Cott. Julius D, X, ff. 36-38b; *Mon.Angl.,* vi,128-34; *Opera,* vi, 37-41; Roberts, *op. cit.,* 47-63; Lovegrove, 1942-3, *op. cit.,* 219.
88. *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 130; Roberts, *op. cit.,* 54.
89. BM Lansdowne, 447, f. 64; *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 136. See also W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194,* (Oxford, 1966), 183-4.
90. W. H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae,* (Rolls Series, 1863-7), i, lxxvi-vii, pp. 188-9.
91. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. C. M. London, (eds.), *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, 940-1216,* (Cambridge, 1972), 172.
92. F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349,* (Cardiff, 1977), 43.
93. BM Cott. Julius D, ii, f. 30b (Extract from the life of Robert de Béthune, Bishop of Hereford, 1131-48).
94. BM Cott. Julius D, X, f. 41b; Roberts, *op. cit.,* 57; Lovegrove, 1942-3, *op. cit.,* 222.
95. *Cart. Glouc.,* i, 16; *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 132; *Victoria County History of Gloucester,* ii, 87.
96. BM Cott. Julius D, X, ff. 41, 44-5; *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 133.
97. *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 136; Lovegrove, 1942-3, *op. cit.,* 214-5, and *ibid,* (1946-7), 70. For details of the Irish possessions see E. St. J. Brooks, (ed.), *Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima et Secunda,* Dublin, 1953.
98. Public Record Office (PRO), Ms. C115, A2, xxvi; BM Campbell, vii, 13; *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 138.
99. Lovegrove, *op. cit.,* (1942-3), 214-5; (1946-7), 70.
100. *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 139; *VCH Glouc.,* ii, 88; Roberts, *op. cit.,* 77-9.
101. *Cal.Pat.Rolls,* 1272-81, 49.
102. C.T.Martin, (ed.), *Pecham's Registrum Epistolarum,* (Rolls Series, 1882-5), ii, 800.
103. *Cal.Pat.Rolls,* 1281-92, 477; E. Owen, (ed.), *Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum,* Cymmrodorion Record Series, no. 4, (London, 1908), iii, 682-3; Cowley, *op. cit.,* 96, 263. In addition to its lands in the surrounding countryside, Llanthony *Prima* was also granted burgages within the borough of Hereford (G. T. Clark, (ed.), *Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominum de Glamorgan Pertinent,* 2nd edn., (Cardiff, 1910), iii, 1093).
104. W. Rees, (ed.) *Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales,* Board of Celtic Studies, History & Law Series, xxviii (Cardiff, 1975), 81-2; *Cal.Pat.Rolls,* 1321-4, 202, 419; *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 138.
105. Lovegrove, *op. cit.,* (1942-3), 215, 227.
106. Viz. the grants made in 1186-1205 by Walter de Lacy and his wife Margery, (BM Campbell, vii, 13).
107. G. Williams, *The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation,* revd. edn., (Cardiff, 1976), 152-3. Next came Cwm-hir with only 8 canons.
108. *Cal.Pat.Rolls,* 1405-8, 53. At this point it is necessary to correct two passages which appear in the English version of Adam of Usk's Chronicle, (E. M. Thompson, (ed.), *Chronicon Adam de Usk,* 2nd edn., London, 1904). The translations read . . . "1405 . . . the prior of Llanthony was slain by Royal forces who were rounding up rebel supporters of Owain's son Griffith" (p. 282), and again . . . "1400 . . . Death of John ap Griffith, abbot of Llanthony, who when his monastery was by accident burned to the ground, in a few years marvellously restored it from its foundations" (p. 205-6). In the Latin text, however, the monastery in question appears as *Lanterna(ne),* and the references are obviously to Llantarnam and not to Llanthony *(ibid,* 45, 103), which consistently appears as *Lantonian* in early sources, (eg. Nat. Lib. of Wales (NLW), Badminton Deeds and Docs., no. 1181). In any event the prior of Llanthony in 1400 was John Welyngton *(Cal.Pat.Rolls,* 1399-1401, 280).
109. *Ibid,* 1446-52, 116.
110. *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 139; *VCH Glouc.,* ii, 90; Roberts, *op. cit.,* 77-9.
111. Lambeth Palace, Warham Reg., ii, 227; Williams, *Welsh Church,* 389, 563.
112. *Dep. Keeper's Reg.,* viii, App. ii, 22.
113. NLW, Add. Ms. 853B (Ty Coch 39), 117.
114. NLW, Baker-Gabb Papers & Docs., 138.
115. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.,* 343.
116. Lovegrove, 1942-3, *op. cit.,* 218-20.
117. Bidder, H. F. & Westlake, H.F., 'Excavations at Merton Priory', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* XXXVIII (1930), 49-66, fig. 5.
118. Lovegrove, 1946-7, *op. cit.,* 68. See also note 86.
119. *Ibid.*
120. BM Cott. Julius D, X, f. 44.
121. Robinson, D. M., *The Geography of Augustinian*

Settlement in Medieval England and Wales, B.A.R. *80,* II (1980), 398, appendix 19.
122. See note 27.
123. Bromwich, Rachel (ed.). *Dafydd ap Gwilym: a selection of poems,* Llandysul, 1982, 110-113. For a discussion of the horological implications of the poem, see Peate, Iorwerth C., *Clock and Watch Makers in Wales,* National Museum of Wales, 1975, 2-3, and 13-14.

I should like to express my thanks to Dr. J. D. Owen of the Ceredigion Museum for the original identification of the foliot, and for an extended correspondence about the form and possible date range of the clock.

124. Craster, *op. cit.,* 10-11.
125. St. John Hope, W. H. & Brakspear, Harold, 'Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire', *Arch. J.* LXVI (1909), 281-310, pl. XV.
126. Robinson, *op. cit.,* I, 159, fig. 26.
127. E.g. part of a button scraper from the slope immediately opposite the Priory, now in the possession of Mr. Ewan Campbell.
128. Savory, H. N., *Guide Catalogue of the Bronze Age Collections,* National Museum of Wales, Cardiff (1980), fig. 26, no. 205.

It was purchased in 1920 from a shop in the High Street, Cardiff; no further details of its find spot are known.

129. cf. Stanford, S. C., *The Archaeology of the Welsh Marches,* 1980, 66-7.
130. *Ibid,* 116; Evans, J., *Ancient British Coins,* London (1864), 143.
131. Bowen, E. G., *The Settlement of the Celtic Saints in Wales,* Cardiff (1954), figs 13 & 16.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Thorpe, Lewis (ed.), *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales,* Penguin (1978), 96-7.
134. Lovegrove, 1942-3, *op. cit.,* 217.
135. Bowen, *op. cit.,* 59 ff.
136. Haslam, Richard, *The Buildings of Wales: Powys,* Penguin (1979), 307.
137. Davies, Wendy, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: studies in the Llandaff Charters,* Royal Hist. Soc. Studies in History Series No. 9, London (1978), 184, no. 240.
138. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.,* 349.
139. BM Cott. Julius D, X, f. 33.
140. Davies, J. C. (ed.), *The Welsh Assize Roll of 1277-84,* Board of Celtic Studies, Hist. & Law Ser., VII (Cardiff, 1940), 91, 184; *Cal. Inq. Misc.,* I, no. 1127.
141. *Ibid;* Craster, *op. cit.,* 9.
142. Lewis, E. A. & Davies, J. C. (eds), *Records of the Court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire,* Board of Celtic Studies Hist. & Law Ser., XIII (Cardiff, 1954), 137.
143. Ryder, M. L., 'British medieval sheep and their wool types', in Crossley, D. W. (ed), *Medieval Industry,* C. B. A. Res. Rep. No. 40 (1981), 21.
144. *Mon. Angl.,* vi, 138; BM Campbell, vii, 13.
145. Gardner, 1915, *op. cit.,* 349.
146. Dimock, *op. cit.,* (note 98), vi, 38.
147. BM Cott. Julius, D, X, f. 32b.
148. *Mon.Angl.,* vi, 138. Walter's charter was confirmed by Edmund Mortimer in 1376 (BM Campbell, vii, 13).
149. *Loc. cit.,* note 147, f. 33.
150. Roberts, *op. cit.,*32.
151. Smith, L. T. (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in Wales,* London (1906), 107.
152. Williams, Moelwyn, *The South Wales Landscape,* London (1975), 74.
153. Roberts, *op. cit.,* 34.
154. Willis-Bund, J. W. (ed.), *The Black Book of St. David's,* Cymmrodorion Record Ser. V, (London, 1902), cii, 37, 73, 97, 99 & 325.
155. Lovegrove, 1942-3, *op. cit.,* 224.
156. *Mon. Angl.,* vi, 139.
157. Hart, W. H. (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae,* Rolls Series (1863-7), i, lxxvi-vii, & 188-9.
158. Luard, H. R. (ed.), *Annales Monastici,* Rolls Series (1864-9), i, 78.
159. Super, *op. cit.,* 79.
160. *Collection of the Local and Personal Acts* II, H.M.S.O. (1932-36): 49 Geo. III, c. 98. Schedule II comprises a detailed survey and rental of the entire estate.
161. *Ibid;* Super, *op. cit.,* 114.
162. Super, *op. cit.,* 114.
163. *Ibid.*
164. *Ibid,* 114-5.
165. *Ibid,* 93-4.
166. *Ibid,* 95-6.
167. *Ibid,* 84.
168. *Ibid,* 91.
169. *Ibid,* 95.
170. *Ibid.*
171. Elwin, Malcolm, *Savage Landor,* London (1941), 139.
172. Super *op. cit.,* 101.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*
175. Tatham, *Fortnightly Review,* XCIII (February, 1910), 363.
176. Super, *op. cit.,* 115.
177. *Ibid,* 119.
178. *Ibid,* 108.
179. *Local and Personal Acts,* 53 Geo. III, c. 41.
180. Super, *op. cit.,* 120.
181. *Ibid,* 249.
182. *Ibid,* 334.
183. *Ibid,* 420.
184. Butler, L. A. S., 'The Boundaries of the abbey of Aberconway at Maenan, Gwynedd', *Arch. Camb.* CXXX (1981), 19-35.
185. Williams, David H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border,* Pontypool (1976), plans 1 and 4.
186. Haslam, *op. cit.,* 318-9. Some of the upper splays of this arch have been omitted in reassembly, and its shape has been altered by the insertion of two undressed fragments on top of the capitals to produce a squatter-looking arch more in keeping with the rest of the porch in which it now stands. The stone appears to be the same Old Red Sandstone which was used at Llanthony, and a mason's mark on one of the blocks on its upper right hand side can be paralleled at the Priory *(First Report,* fig. 31); moreover there is a strong local tradition that it was taken from Llanthony. Haslam cites a suggestion by Dr. Raleigh Radford that this could have come from Brecon Priory; I have not yet been able to trace the original publication in which this appeared, so I do not know on what grounds this may have been based, but I see no reason at the moment to doubt the local tradition. The style of the arch suggests that it probably came from the west or south range of the Inner Cloister — its shape being matched in the Slype, and the style of its orders at the west end of the church and in the west range.
187. Another arch ("early Gothic archway, probably from Llanthony Priory") has recently been recorded in the porch of a ruined farmhouse "south of Cwmyoy" (SO 304 238), *Archaeology in Wales 16* (1976), 43.

The nearest house to this grid reference is Tŷ Charles, which is actually north of Cwmyoy. I am grateful to Ewan Campbell for spotting this reference.

NOTES AND NEWS

ABERGAVENNY CASTLE: A REINTERPRETATION OF THOMAS COOKE'S PAINTING "The Castle and Mount", Caerleon, 1785

By John R. Kenyon

In the collection of Newport Museum and Art Gallery there is a photograph of a watercolour by the Newport artist Thomas Cooke entitled '"The Castle and Mount", Caerleon, Newport, Mon. 1785', and reproduced here as Pl.1[1]. It has become evident, especially after drawing the attention of Jeremy Knight to the painting that the castle depicted in the painting is not Caerleon. Although much of the architectural evidence for Caerleon Castle has disappeared, leaving only the motte together with the round mural tower by the Hanbury Arms, it is known that there is no evidence for two towers standing in close proximity to one another, the one polygonal and the other rounded.

There are however two other castles in South-east Wales which have an arrangement similar to that painted by Cooke, both with mottes behind and to the right of the towers when viewed from outside the defences. One is at Crickhowell in the old county of Brecknock (Powys), and the other is Abergavenny Castle, Gwent. Cooke's painting is unlikely to be of the former as the tower there is rectangular as opposed to polygonal, and it abuts the circular tower at the rear; there is no stretch of curtain wall between the two. However, various topographical prints almost contemporary with Cooke's painting clearly show that the castle depicted by the Newport artist is Abergavenny Castle, and put the case more precisely than modern photographs can do.

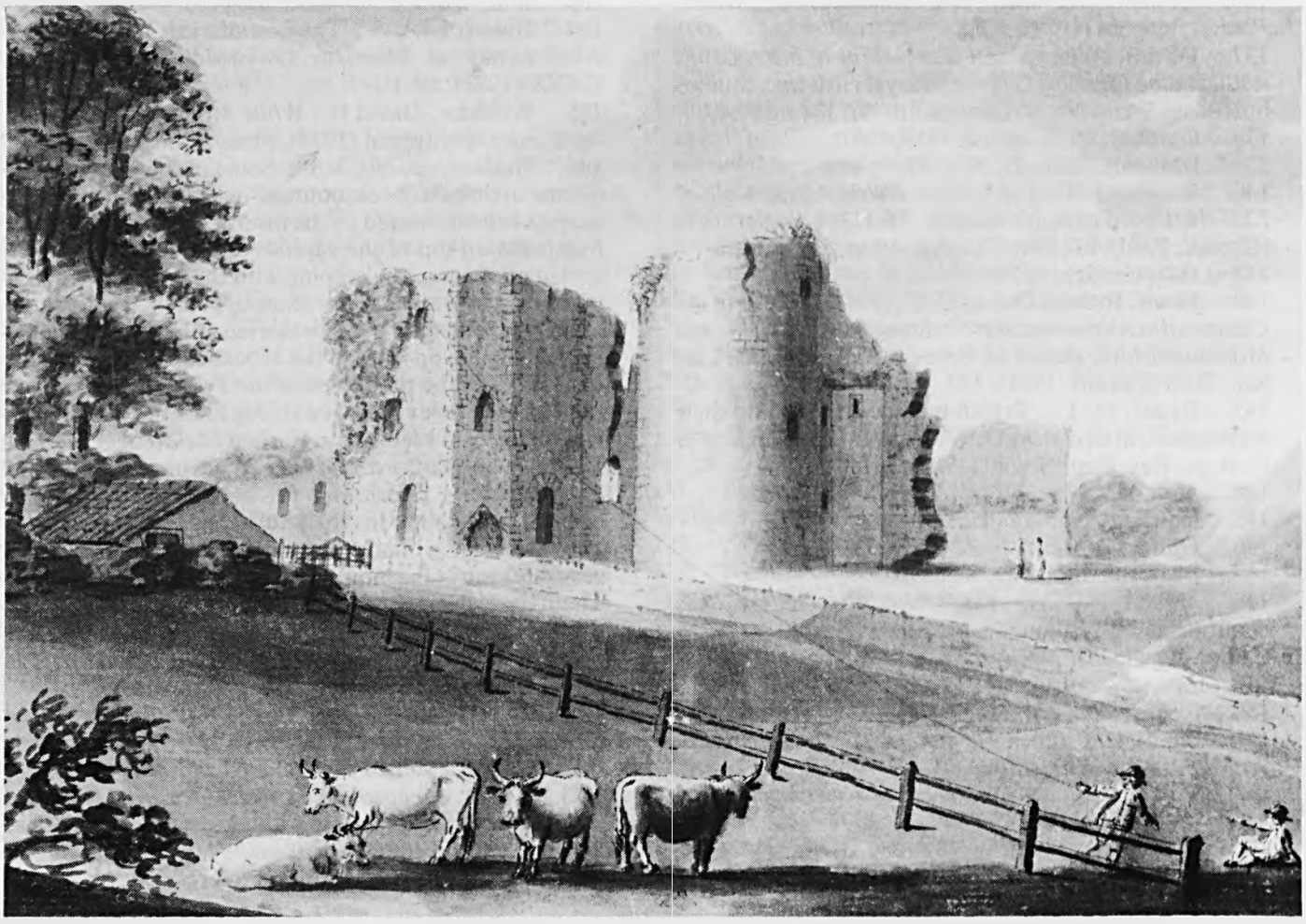
Pl.1 is a view of Abergavenny Castle by Francis Grose[2]. Although he shows the polygonal tower as rectangular, this is an error which may be excused on the basis of the distance between the artist and his subject as the chamfered sides which make the tower polygonal are quite narrow. Grose has all the elements to be found in Cooke's watercolour; the roadway with the building to the left, the towers of the castle close together, with to the right and against the rounded tower a garderobe with pent roof and small slit window, whilst to the right and slightly set back is a length of curtain wall close to the motte. The shape of this solitary piece of masonry, still standing to this day as are the two towers, and of the damaged wall leading from the garderobe are virually identical in both views.

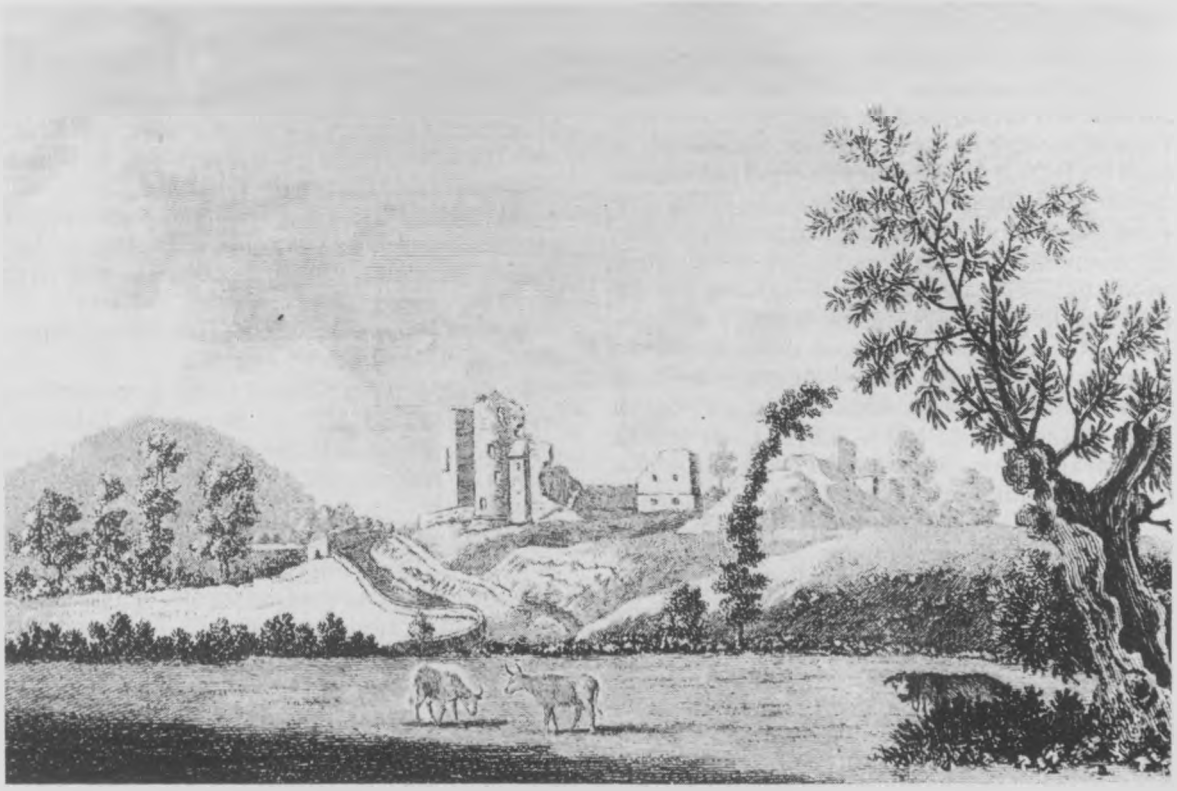
One other illustration of about the same period confirms without the slightest doubt that Cooke's painting is of the castle at Abergavenny and not Caerleon. Manby in a book published in 1802 included an illustration of the towers at Abergavenny[3]. here we see in Pl.1 the polygonal tower linked to the round tower by a short length of curtain wall, together with the garderobe with its pent roof and small window.

It is not certain why this watercolour by Cooke was originally captioned 'Caerleon', but the most probable answer lies in the fact that it is associated with three other watercolours by Cooke which are all various views of Caerleon.

FOOTNOTES

1. I am grateful to the Newport Museum and Art Gallery for allowing me to see the Cooke painting and for permission to reproduce it in these pages.
2. I am indebted to my colleague in the National Museum of Wales, Richard Brewer, for bringing this illustration to my attention, and also for his comments and those of Jeremy Knight.
3. Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, new edition, vol. 3 (London *c.* 1784/85), pl. 2 opposite p. 150.
4. G.W. Manby, *An historic and picturesque guide from Clifton, through the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan and Brecknock* (Bristol 1802), p. 124.





Captions for the plates

Pl. 1 Cooke's painting of 'Caerleon' Castle. *Newport Museum and Art Gallery*

Pl. 2 Grose's view of Abergavenny Castle. *National Museum of Wales*

Pl. 3 Manby's illustration of Abergavenny Castle. *National Museum of Wales*

A GWENT PARISH CHECK LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AND SITES

It has been felt for some time that it might be desirable to provide space for the recording of chance archaeological finds from the county on a systematic basis and in a concise format. Whilst many such finds are recorded elsewhere e.g. in the Council for British Archaeology Group 2 publication *Archaeology in Wales* or in *Monmouth Archaeology* (the journal of the Monmouth Archaeological Society), many are not and many minor finds may be felt not to merit publication in full. The following list appears (at the suggestion of several members) in the hope of initiating such a system. Recording is on a parish basis, numbered serially for each parish (with the numbering continued from year to year) and with a simple period coding e.g. P/Ne. for Prehistoric (Neolithic) EBA, MBA, LBA (Early Middle and Late Bronze age); R(oman); P(ost) R(oman); M(edieval); P(ost) M(edieval) or U(ncertain). Grid references are usually given, save in a few cases where publication might encourage trespass on private land. Some old discoveries recorded in sources which might otherwise escape notice e.g. in 19th century newspapers are also included.

Blaenavon.

1. P/MBA. *Middle Bronze Age Palstave* A photograph of the Bronze Age axe recorded by Lewis Browning (*Blaenavon, A Brief Historical Sketch* Abergavenny 1906, 90-93) appears in *Pontypool Free Press* October 19th, 1906. This shows it to have been an unlooped palstave of the "Acton Park" phase of the Middle Bronze Age of about 1400-1200 B.C..

Dixton Newton.

1. P/Ne. *Neolithic Axe* of epidotised tuff from the GroupVI Great Langdale/Scafell Pike group of axe factories. Found in excavation of a post-medieval building at English Newton Common by the Monmouthshire Archaeological Society in 1978. Petrological examination *per* Mr C.H. Houlder, R.C.A.M. (Wales). *Monmouth Archaeology* 10 (October 1982), p 1.

Mitchel Troy.

1. P/LBA. *Late Bronze Age Socketed Axe* of "Welsh" type. Found "in a wood near Troy" (probably Troypark Wood) c. 1867. Once in possession of Mr R. Everett, Gibraltar, Monmouth. *Monmouthshire Merlin* 31. August 1867.

Penhow.

1. M. The *Medieval Pottery Kiln* discovered at Penhow in 1981 has been published by Stuart Wrathmell in *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* 4 (1981), 1-7.

Rockfield.

1. R. *Sestertius of Commodus* reverse Fortune seated. Much worn, A.D. 181-92. Found some years before 1981 at Pentwyn (SO 47991501) by Mr J Marshall whilst infilling a hollow way running from the farmhouse along the ridge towards pool Farm. *Monmouth Archaeology* 10 (October 1982), 2.

Skenfrith.

1. M. *Penny of Henry II.* Short Cross Penny, Class 1b, Winchester mint GOCELM. ON. WINC. 1180-89, worn. Found near north hedge of Red Meadow, 1980. In possession Mr K. Price, The Malt House, Skenfrith. *Monmouth Archaeology* 10 October 1982, p. 3.
2. M. *Penny of Henry III* Long Cross Penny (cut halfpenny) Class IIIc. Canterbury mint GILBERT ON CAN. 1248-50. Found 1981 at Blackbrook, in plough during field walking *Monmouth Archeaology* 10, October 1982, p. 3.

Trellech.

1. R. *Hygga Farm* SO 49150345. Sherd of decorated samian ware, form Dragendorff 29. Mr G.C. Boon suggests a date of A.D. 70-79. Found in ploughing. *Monmouth Archaeology* 14 (Feb 1984), 9. Flint and iron slag in same area.

2-4. U. *Hygga Farm Iron Bloomery Sites* One bloomery site already recorded, two others have now been located:
1. SO 48020417. With scatter of Roman pottery *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 'IV, 3-4 1981-2, p 49, no 11.
2. SO 49220434. Heavy areas of slag and charcoal exposed by ploughing beside brook. Considerable slag in stream and track to Hygga partly surfaced in slag *Monmouth Archaeology* 14 (February 1984), 9.
3. SO 49890404. Deep ploughing in field corner has exposed heavy layers of iron slag. Scatter of flint flakes and blades and some pottery in area *Monmouth Archaeology* 14 (February 1984), 13.
(for other bloomery sites at Trellech see *Monmouthshire Antiquary* loc cit nos 17-21).

4. M. *Gold Coin of Edward III* "A large and beautiful gold coin of Edward III" (? Noble of 1346-77) found in ploughing a field near the village in 1867. *Monmouthshire Merlin* 31 August 1867.

Trostrey.

1. M. SO 359004. Agricultural work in early September 1984 by Mr David Morgan of Trostrey Court Farm which had affected the moated manor site of Trostrey Church was suspended at the request of A.G. Mein and excavation by members of the Association invited. Work continues. The site (J.A. Bradney *History of Monmouthshire* Vol 3 part 1, p 90 is a square flat topped mound still 2m high overlooking the Elizabethan Court Farm to which Bradney records the removal of the occupier of the manor house. Excavation has traced a substantial ashlar faced mortared stone wall edging the mound, outside which are traces of the ditch, said by Bradney to be circular. A house, with attatched smithy occupied the site c. 1650-1800 and may have been associated with an extant though ruinous barn and other nearby buildings. Medieval pottery, some re-used in the mortar of the house walls, was found. The medieval village of Trostrey Hen/Trostrey Newydd should be near the now isolated church, but some of its houses may underlie the row of 5 17th-18th century houses between the moated site and the church. The stone tiled roof of the manor house was ridged with tiles from the Gwenhelog kiln and the large amounts of pottery from the site included forms from the same kilns.

Usk

1. SO 379004. The inside toe of the south-eastern rampart of the Roman fortress was noted in September 1984 in foundation trenches for a new house on the east side of Maryport Street. Large quantities of 1st century pottery were recovered from rubbish pits associated with a timber building, the foundation slot of which was encountered in several trenches, one of which also uncovered a cremation burial in a large blackware pot. The site is bounded on its north west side by the medieval town ditch, here at its deepest point in the visible length. A.G. Mein.
2. SO 376009. Trenching by Wales Gas Board in October 1984 in Pontycarne Street, Usk verified the position of the boulder filled medieval ditch outside Little Bank House as that postulated by A.G. Mein in his recent thesis on Norman Usk. The whole circuit has now been proven by excavation. Full publication forthcoming.

General — North Devon Pottery ovens

From the 17th to the 19th century there was a substantial trade in pottery ovens made in the Barnstaple area to south Wales, Ireland and the American colonies. A recent survey by Eurwyn William ("North Devon Clay Ovens in Wales" *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* 2, 1979, 30-48) lists examples from Caerleon (National Museum of Wales); Penhow Castle (recent excavations) and Monmouth (Welsh National Folk Museum, St Fagans).
It is hoped that other examples may come to light.