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The Association is indebted for grants to CADW in respect of publication of the article on the Monmouth Excavations, and to the National Museum of Wales in respect of the appreciation of Professor Grimes.

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EXCAVATIONS IN MONMOUTH, 1973

By RON SHOESMITH

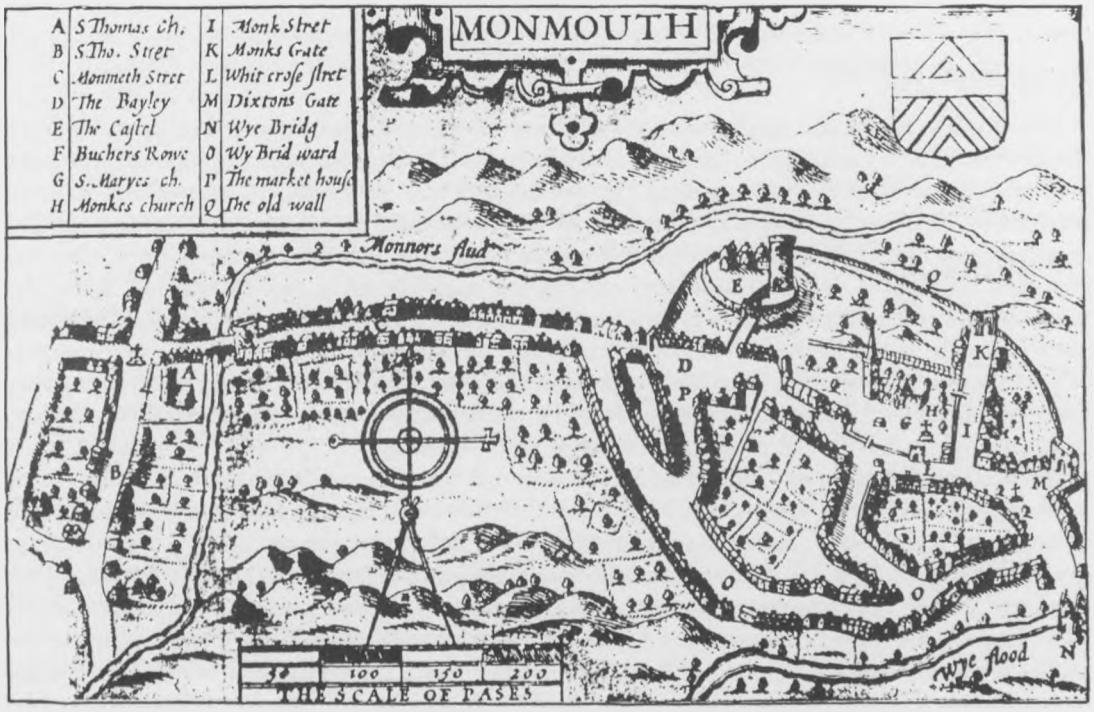


PLATE 1: SPEED'S MAP OF MONMOUTH, 1610

Introduction

This report describes two rescue excavations carried out in Monmouth during April-May 1973. The first site, adjoining Wyebridge Street in an area recently cleared of houses, was trenched in an attempt to establish the presence or otherwise of the medieval defences of the town in the area bordering on the River Wye. The second excavation, in a raised area of ground close to the medieval Dixton Gate, was designed to establish the nature of the defences across the peninsula site of Monmouth. The Wyebridge site still remains as open ground but the Dixton Road area has been levelled (1988) for redevelopment.

The excavations were undertaken by a team of archaeologists who had previously worked in Chepstow. The work was supervised by Robert (Moses) Wilson with occasional directorial visits from the author. Co-operation, assistance and interest were extended readily and graciously from many sources, but particular thanks must be rendered to the following without whose help and concern the excavations could not have been carried out:

Mr Steven Clarke, then and still the leading light in the archaeology of Monmouth; the Department of the Environment who provided the funds for the excavations and CADW (Welsh Historic Monuments) for a grant in aid of publication; Miss M. M. Archibald, who provided the coin report; the local medical centre, and the Honourable Society of Haberdashers, for permission to excavate. The finds from the excavation should eventually be lodged in the Monmouth Museum.

Background History

Monmouth lies at the confluence of the Rivers Wye and Monnow, 29km up-river from the Severn Estuary and just to the west of the Forest of Dean. This area appears to have been well populated in the Iron Age and the town itself was probably the site of the Roman settlement of Blestium. By the 8th century it was known as Abermynwy and, after the construction of Offa's Dyke, was placed firmly in Gwent. It grew in importance after the Norman Conquest and its castle and church are mentioned in the Domesday Book. Its peninsular site between the two rivers provided an excellent position for a defended town, with its castle at the highest point near to a large market place. The grid pattern of streets reflect the burghal development of the medieval town. The first surviving charter is dated 1447 and medieval Monmouth prospered as a market town, administrative centre, inland port and minor industrial centre involved in iron-working.

Two murage grants of 1297[1] and 1315[2] allowed the natural defences of the town to be strengthened by a wall around the higher part of the town, though few traces survive. The existence of a wall between the Castle and the Wye, defending the neck of the promontory, is well documented (Plate 1), but most of it had been demolished by the beginning of the 19th century[3] (Plate 2). However, apart from the position of the West Gate in Monnow Street (which may well have been associated with the castle) and the line formed by the ends of the burgage plots on the south side of Glendower Street, there seems to be little evidence for the continuation of these defences to enclose all of the higher part of the town as postulated by several writers.[4] It seems more likely that the defences were similar to those at Chepstow, depending mainly on the two rivers, the fortified bridges over each of them, and the wall across the shortest line between the two.[5] In addition to this, a defended suburb developed across the Monnow bridge—a similar settlement to St Martin's, south of the Wye Bridge in Hereford.[6]

Previous Excavations (Fig. 1)

1. During building works at Monmouth School in 1961 trenches were dug in a north-south line down the presumed slope of the river bank. Finds included 'a surprising quantity' of 3rd-4th century pottery and a 12th-late 14th century sequence of medieval pottery. The site included much iron slag suggesting furnace working in the immediate vicinity. (NGR 510127) (Talbot, E. and Evans, J. F., 'Medieval Pottery from Monmouth School', *Monm. Antiq.* II: I (1965).

2. At Whitecross Court sherds of Monnow Valley Ware were found in 1964.
(NGR 509129) (*Monmouthshire Beacon*, 21/2/1964)

3. Excavations close to Granville Street unearthed 13th century pottery between 1964 and 1966.
(NGR 511128) (*Archaeology in Wales*, 5 (1965) 40).

4. Near Beech Road, to the south of Clawdd Du, considerable amounts of 13-14th century pottery including Monnow Valley Ware were recorded during roadworks in 1966.
(NGR 507121) (Ibid. 6 (1977) 21).

5. Excavations took place in 1966 in an orchard to the north-west of the castle below the scarp slope. The castle ditch was not found, but pottery dating from the 12th century onwards was recovered above the natural clay which was about 4 ft deep.
(NGR 506129) (Ibid. 6 (1966) 21).

6. Excavations took place in 1966 on the rampart of Clawdd Du in Over Monnow. The rampart was of two phases; the earlier one sealed pottery considered to be of 12th century date, whilst the later one was dated to the mid-13th to mid-14th century.
(NGR 504122) (Ibid. 6 (1966) 21).

7. In 1968, at the corner of Priory Street and Monk Street, 13-14th century deposits were exposed which included a pit associated with medieval iron smelting. The lower levels contained some Roman pottery.
(NGR 510130) (Ibid. 8 (1968) 24-5).

8. To the north of Glendower Street sections cut prior to laying a car park in 1969 exposed a late medieval drain which sealed a 13th century sherd and a Samian fragment.
(NGR 509128) (Ibid. 9 (1969) 28).

9. At an adjacent site to No 7 near the Priory at Pitman's Court a wall and foundation trench were exposed in 1969 and found to be associated with 13-14th century pottery. There were no Roman finds.
(NGR 510130) (Ibid. 9 (1969) 29).

10. In 1969, a trench next to the Women's Club on Castle Hill exposed confused 13-15th century layers deposited on a band of red clay. The clay overlay earlier levels which, it was considered, may pre-date the castle.
(NGR 507129) (Ibid. 9 (1969) 29).

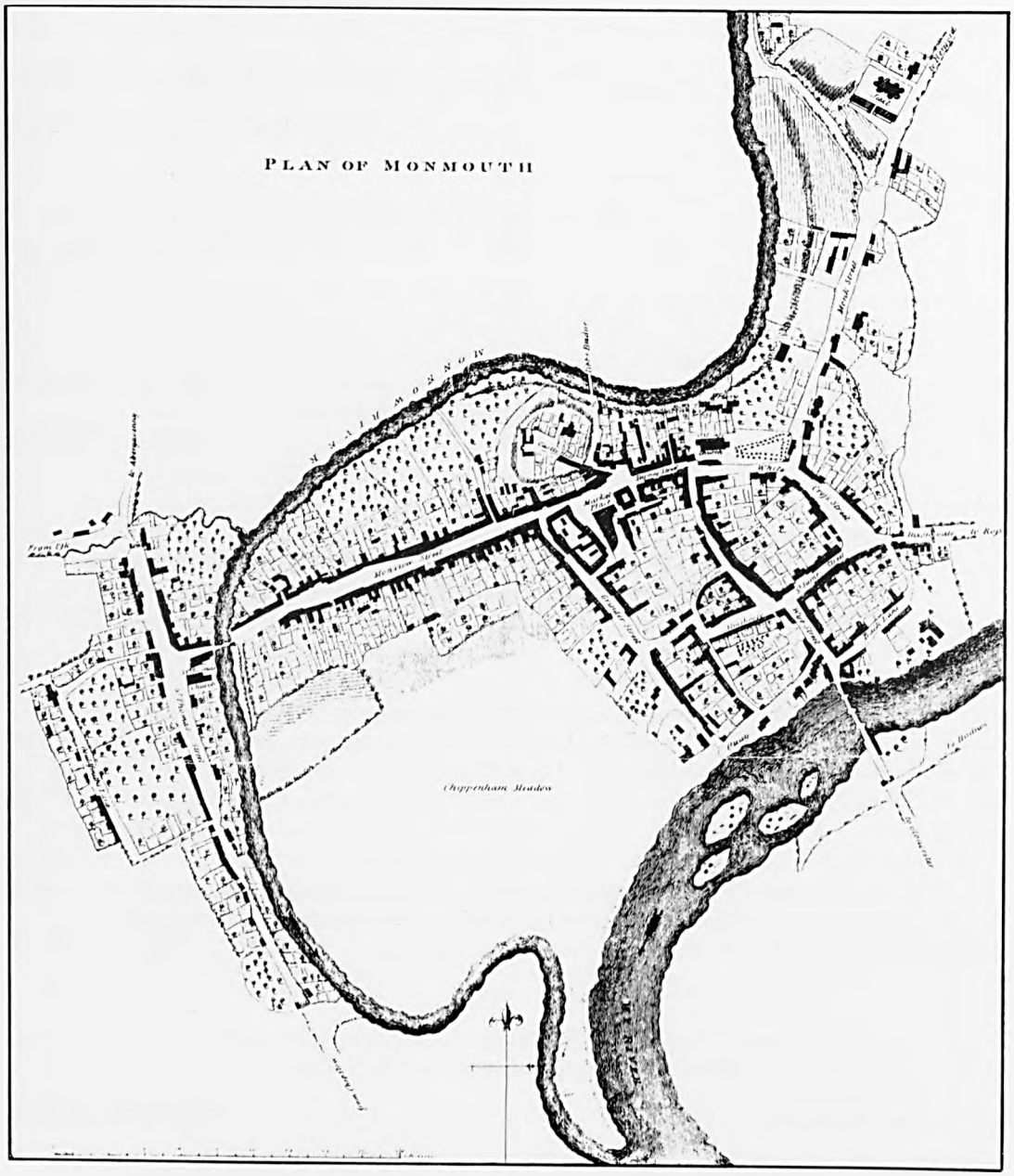


PLATE 2: COXE'S MAP OF MONMOUTH, 1801

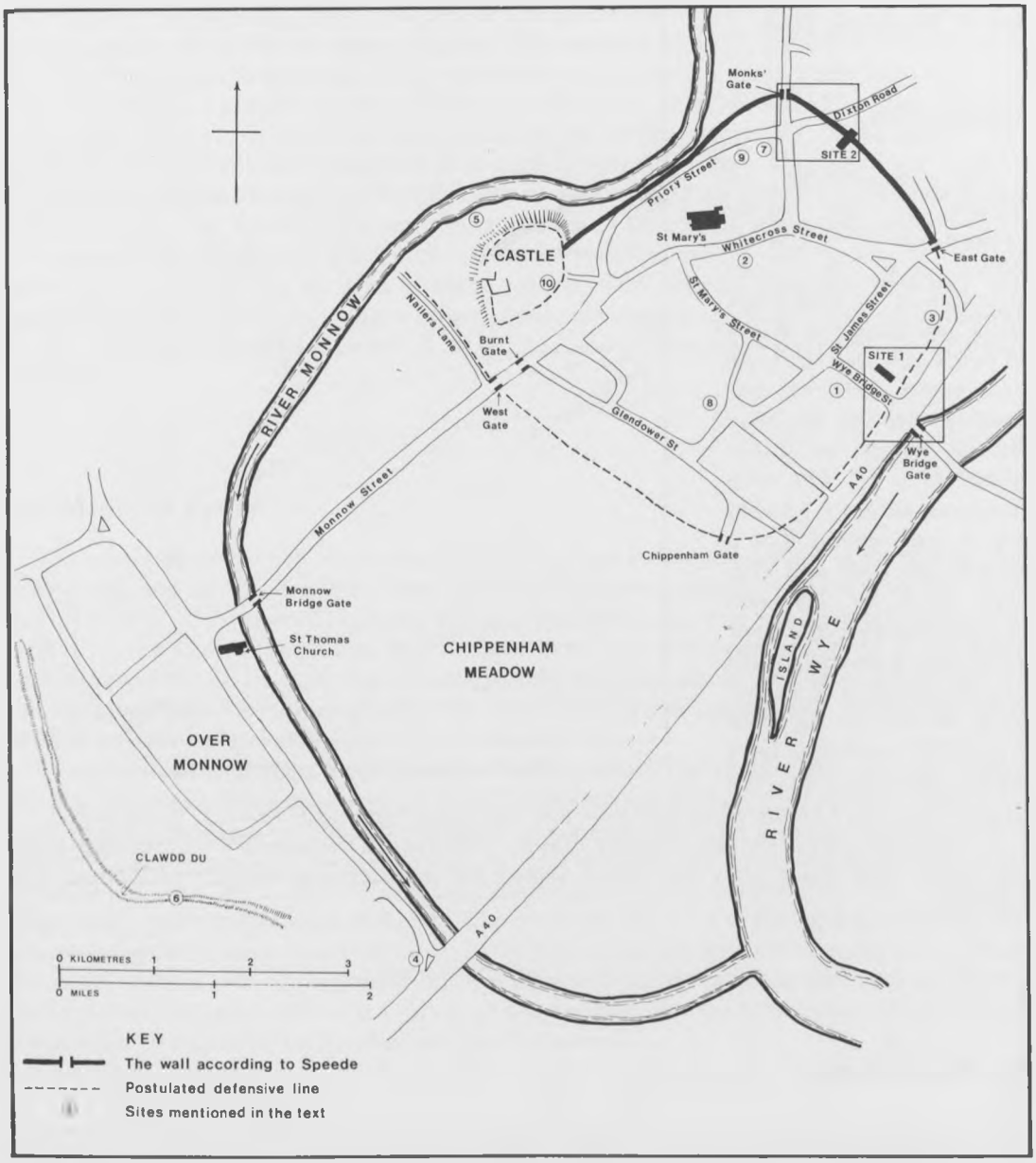


Fig 1. Monmouth, showing the postulated gate positions and defensive lines.

The Excavations

Site 1: Wyebridge Street

Introduction

The demolition of houses on the north-eastern side of Wyebridge Street and the construction of the A40 trunk road adjoining the River Wye left a cleared site in an area where medieval defences protecting the Wye Bridge could be anticipated (Fig 2). The area had been recently grassed but it was agreed that a trench, 2m wide and 22m long, could be excavated at right-angles to the river providing it was backfilled and re-turfed. The excavation started on the 10th April 1973 and lasted for 2 weeks. After deturfing, the upper levels were removed by machine and the remainder of the site was hand-dug.

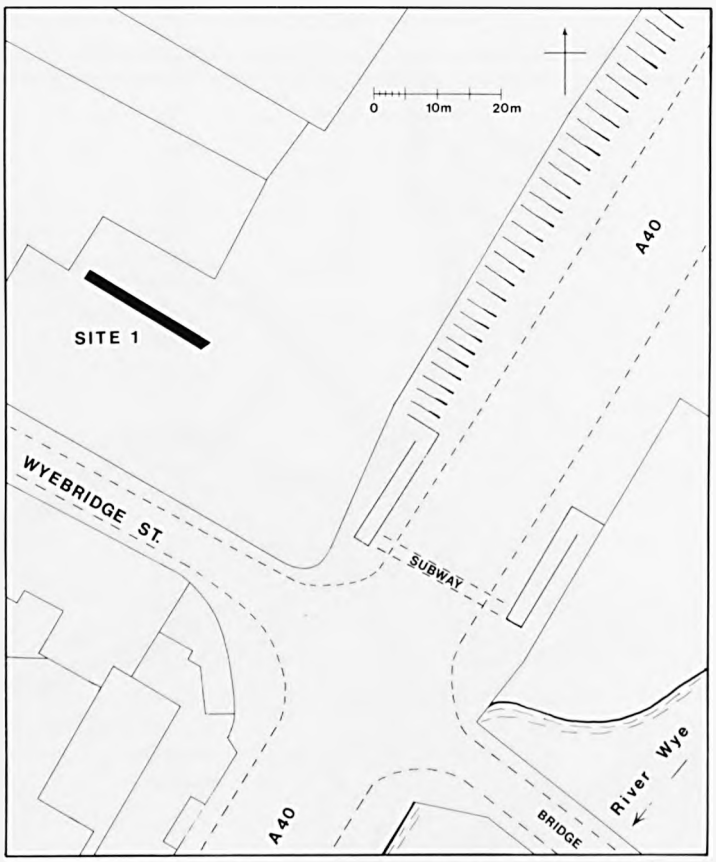


Fig. 2. Site 1: the Wyebridge Street site.

The stratigraphy of the site was very simple. Underneath the topsoil were medieval levels associated with much iron slag which sealed the fragmentary remains of Roman iron working.

The Roman Period

Within the confines of a 2m wide excavation it is difficult to establish the extent and therefore the nature of the various features which were exposed in the lower levels of the trench. Thus, should a larger area be exposed in the future, the results would doubtless be interpreted differently.

The natural deposits on the site consist of a sandy silt into which both medieval and Roman features are cut. The general depth of this natural deposit from the present ground level varies between 1.2 and 1.4m.

Much of the undisturbed natural sub-soil was overlain with a layer of charcoal (L6) which was up to 0.1m thick (Figs 3 & 4). This layer sealed several features which were cut into or laid on top of the sub-soil. These, the earliest features on the site, included a post-hole (F23), roughly square in shape and with a charcoal fill, a shallow pit (F22), which was partly stone and clay-lined and contained charcoal and some slag, a small, shallow gully F25, also filled with charcoal, and several patches of red and yellow clay, (F16, F19 & F21). The gully ran into a depression (F12) which occupied much of the south-eastern part of the trench. The main fill of this depression consisted of a dark brown soil with a high charcoal content. Within this general fill were two features which were associated with the presumed industrial use of the site. Close to the south-western side was a small, square-shaped pit (F11) containing a similar fill to F12 but with a scatter of small stones around the top. Within the main part of the fill was an area of clean red clay (F6) which, although very soft, was considered at the time of excavation to be possibly the base of a furnace. Above the charcoal of L6 were thin and patchy layers of mixed red and yellow clays (L5) containing much charcoal.

The Medieval Period

The whole of the trench above the Roman features contained a thick layer of iron slag mixed with soil and stones (L1), from within which the medieval features were cut. Two gullies (F13 & F24) were cut into the Roman levels from L1 and ran approximately east-west. F13, the southernmost one, widened and deepened as it went eastwards. It contained some slag and much charcoal. Parallel and some 3.5m to the north, F24 had a similar fill. To the east it was cut by a shallow post-medieval pit (F26). Finds suggest that these gullies were of 13th century or later date.

Two pits were probably of a similar date to the gullies. The smaller one, F5, was almost circular in cross-section and was cut some 0.7m into the undisturbed natural. The sides were slightly undercut and the fill a mixture of silt and slag. The Roman levels were very thin at this northern end of the trench and, as the few medieval sherds were found only in the topmost level of this pit, this feature could have been Roman in origin with the contamination being due to subsidence of the fill. The large pit, F3, close to the middle of the trench, was rectangular in shape and continued to the west of the section. One corner just touched the north-eastern side of the trench but the sides as a whole were almost vertical. The pit contained a dark brown soil with a very high slag content. It was excavated to a total depth of 1.6m below the ground surface but was not bottomed.

Post-Medieval Features

The post-medieval features cutting into L1 consisted of two shallow pits (F4 and F26), both oval in shape and containing soil and slag. Cut into the fill of the large medieval pit F3 was a stone-filled feature, F1, which was not fully excavated. It was assumed to be the foundation for a wall.

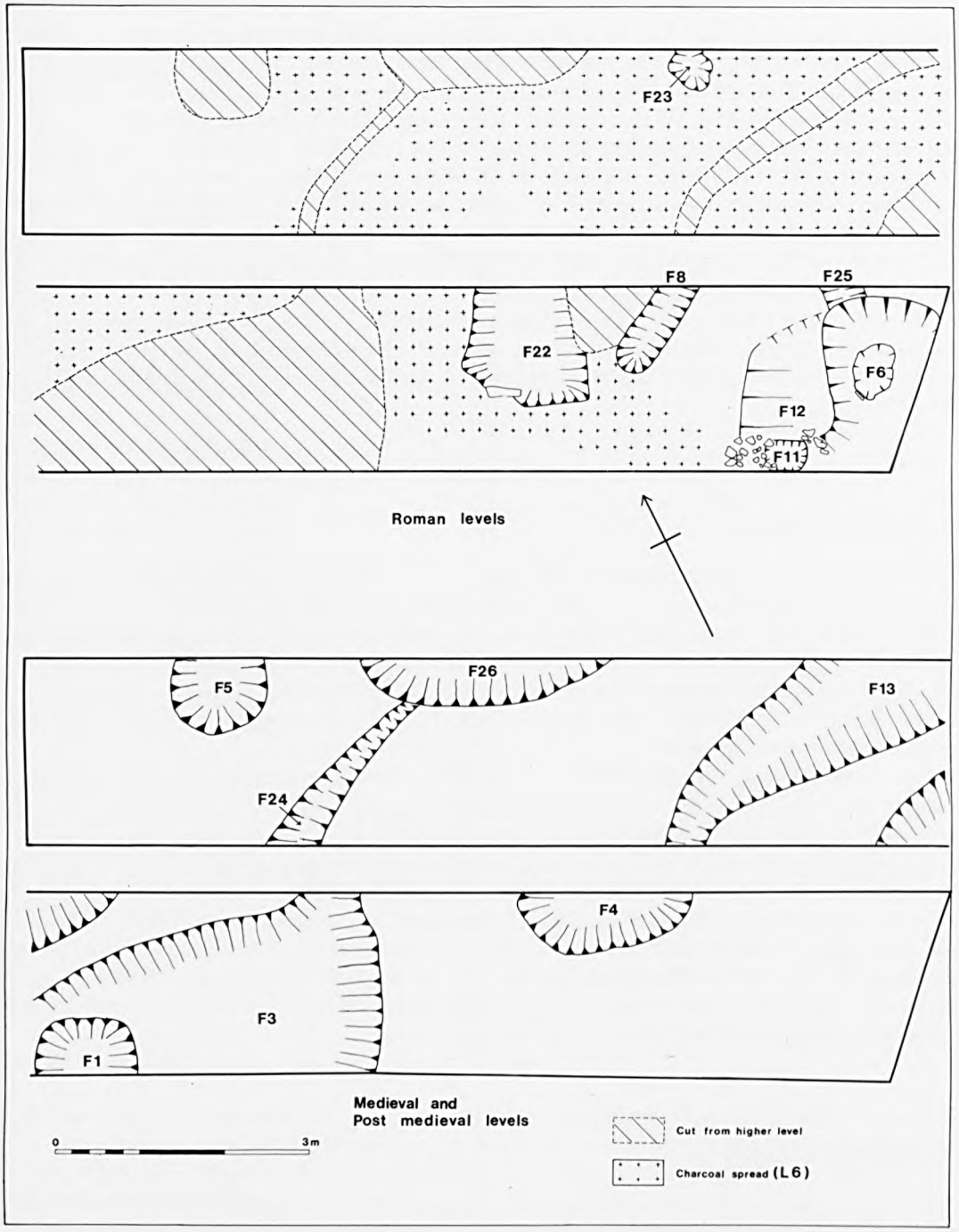


Fig. 3. Site 1: Roman, medieval and post medieval features.

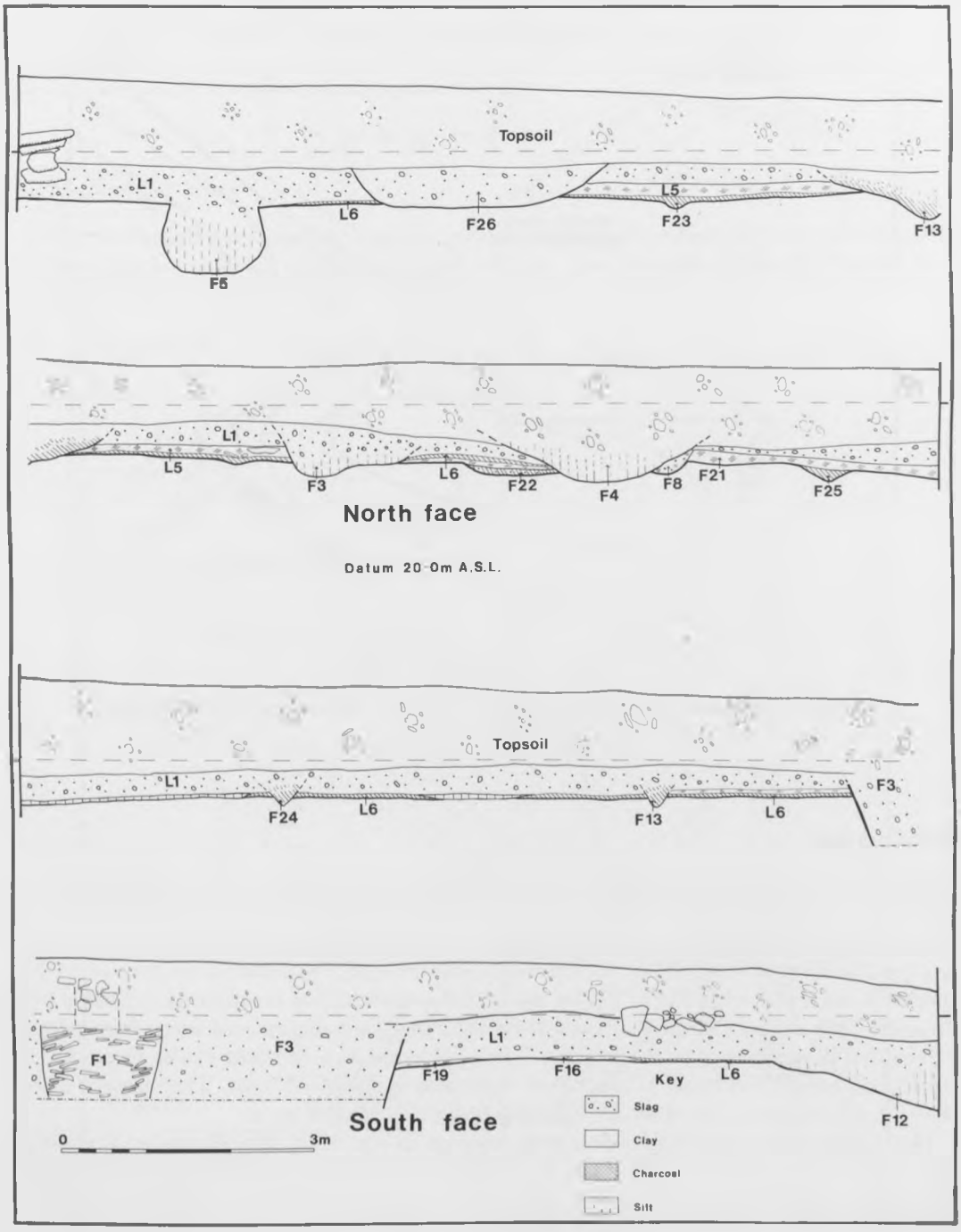


Fig. 4. Site 1: Sections of the trench.

Site 2: Dixton Road Site

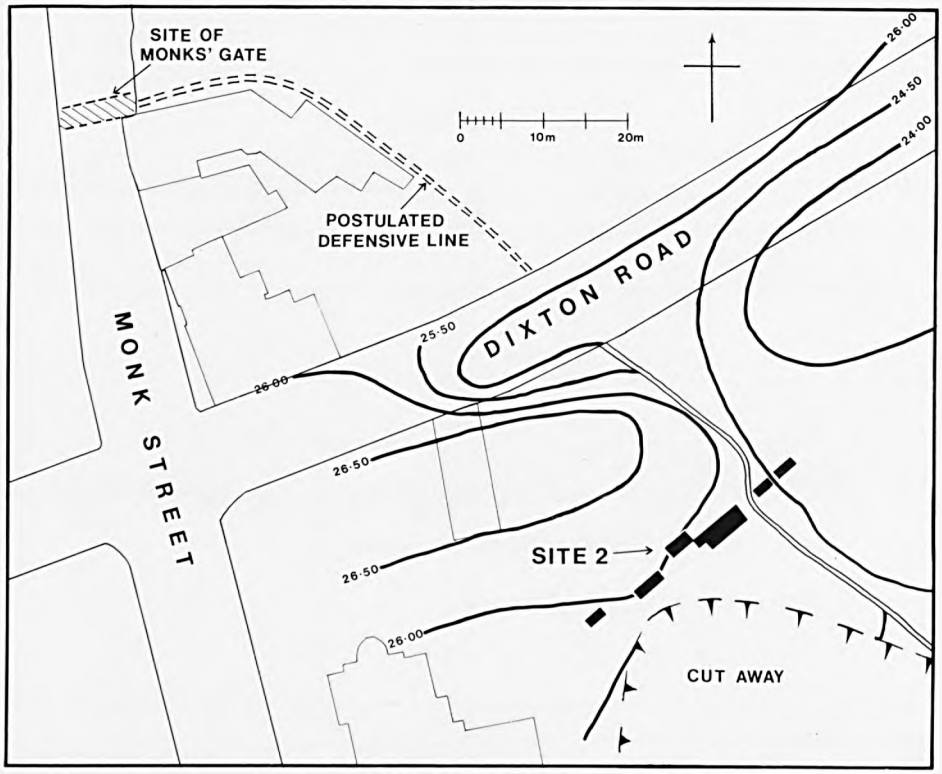


Fig. 5. Site 2: the Dixton Road site with contours at 0.5m intervals.

Introduction

Monks' Gate was in Monk Street a short distance to the north of the junction with the 19th century Priory Street and the New Dixton Road (Fig 5). Speed shows the line of the town wall curving from this gate to the Dixton or East Gate which provides the exit from the town into the Old Dixton Road (Plate 1). The approximate line of this wall in the area of the New Dixton Road is shown on Fig 5. To the south of the road the line is probably indicated by an irregular 18th century wall which ran from the road for a distance of some 50m where it terminated in a series of back gardens. The wall acted as a retainer to the ground to the south-west which was some 1.5m higher than that to the north-east. The contour survey shows this variation in level which only occurs in this limited area.

The whole of the excavation area was covered in trees and shrubs and to avoid these obstacles a series of six trenches were excavated by hand, all with a common section line. Two of the trenches were to the north-east of the wall (Fig 6: Trenches 6 and 7) and four were to the south-west (Trenches 1-4). A proposed trench 5 was not excavated. Two of the trenches (nos. 3 and 4) were to the north-west of the section line and the section drawings are shown reversed for clarity on the main section drawing (Fig 7).

The excavation commenced on the 11th April 1973 and ran continuously with the Wyebridge Street site but lasted for an additional four weeks. Although a few abraded sherds of Roman pottery were found, they were all in medieval or later layers and there was no evidence of any Roman occupation on the site.

The Medieval Period

The undisturbed natural of the site was only encountered in trenches 1 and 4. It consisted of a clean yellow sandy silt with many small pebbles. The remaining trenches could not be bottomed due to the depth of the overlying deposits.

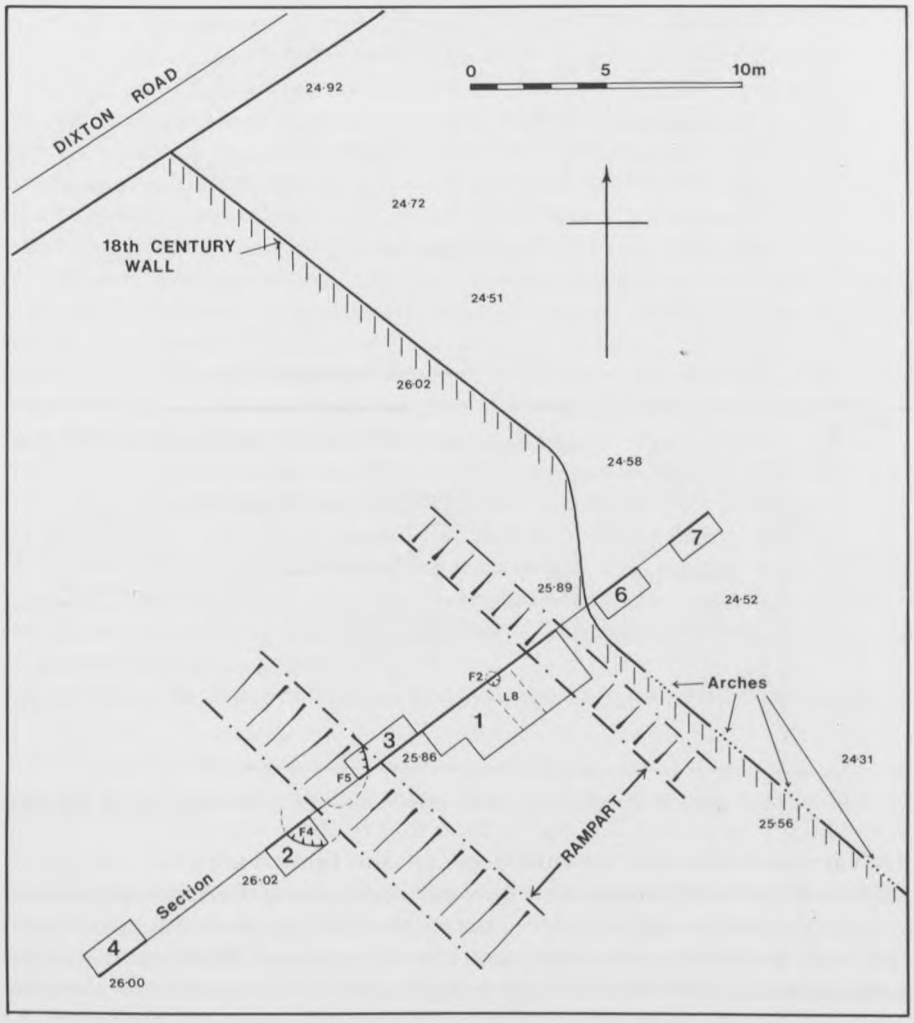


Fig. 6. Site 2: the individual trenches and 18th century walls. The spot heights are in metres A.S.L.

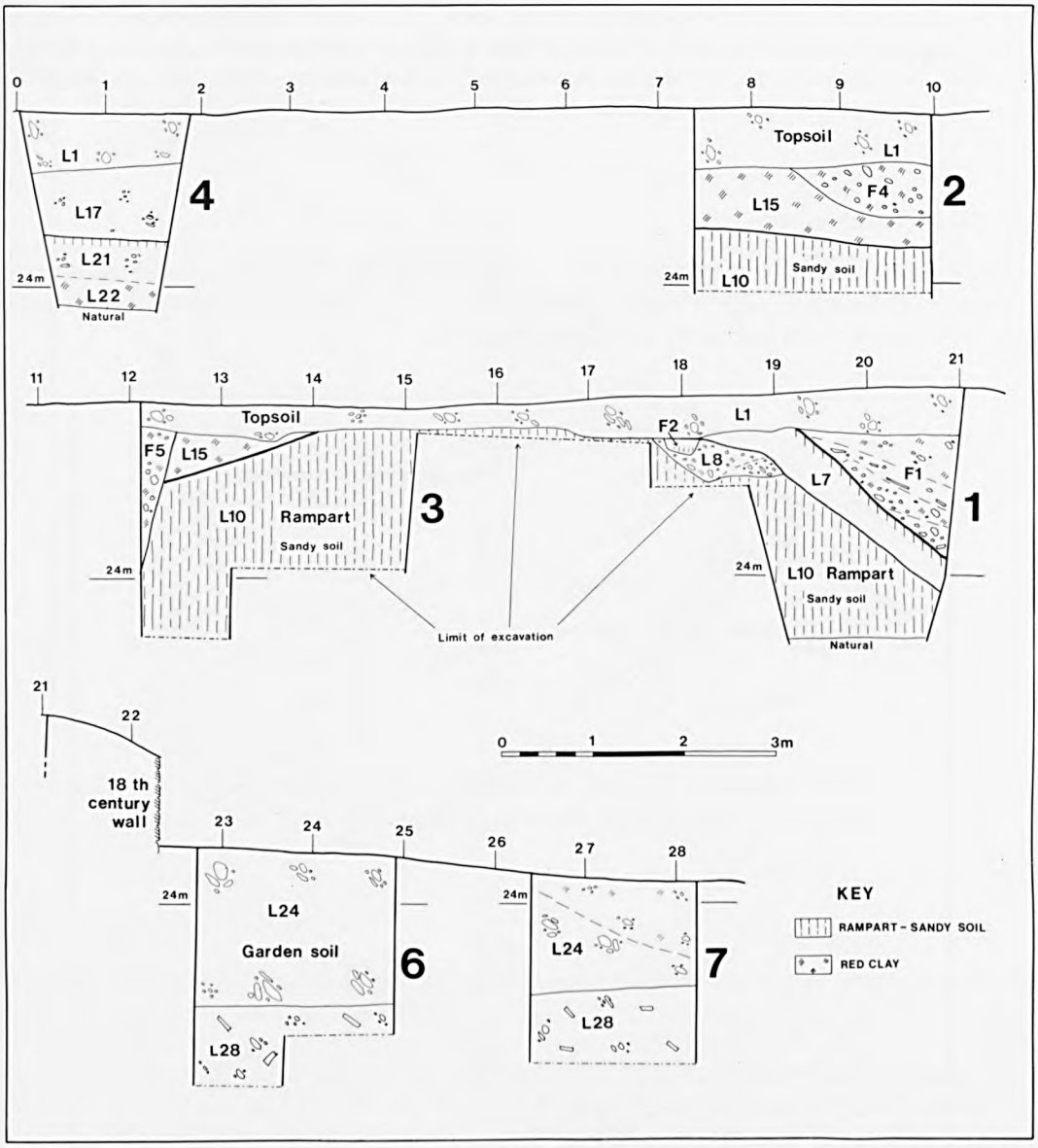


Fig. 7. Site 2: the section through the site (the sections for trenches 3 and 4 are reversed.)

The principal medieval feature identified on the site comprised an embankment (L10), running approximately at right-angles to the section line, made of redeposited natural silt. It was yellowish-orange in colour and, apart from occasional flecks of charcoal, was very clean. It was present in trenches 2, 3 and 1 (Fig 7) and was assumed to be the remains of a defensive rampart. Although the rampart material between trenches 1 and 3 was not examined, the identical nature of the layer 10 material in both trenches indicates that the

remains comprise a single period construction. The surface of this deposit sloped downwards in trenches 1 and 3 and, assuming that these slopes represent the original sides of the rampart, the following approximate dimensions can be suggested:

Total Width:	12.0m
Width at existing flat top:	6.5m
Maximum existing height:	2.5m

It is assumed that the material of which the rampart was made came from an external ditch in the area of trenches 6 and 7. It was not possible to excavate fully either of these trenches but trench 6 was not bottomed at a depth of some 1.5m below the level of the natural in trench 1.

The only features cut into the rampart material which could be of a defensive origin comprised a trench (L8), which followed the front of the crest of the rampart, and an associated small pit (F2). The trench was about 1.4m wide and survived to a depth of 0.5m below the present rampart surface. It was filled with a mixture of red clay and brown soil with some small stones. The pit, F2, had a soft brown earth fill and could have been the base of a post-hole. It is suggested that these features represent the eroded remains of a trench associated with timberwork built on top of the rampart, possibly similar to the one made of brushwood and thorn palings which was added to the rampart defence of Hereford in 1223.[7]

The front part of the embankment (in trench 1) produced two abraded sherds of Romano-British pottery which were assumed to be residual. Within the rear part, in trench 3, were two small, abraded medieval sherds. On the tail of the rampart, in trenches 3 and 4, was a layer of red clay containing a few small stones (L15). Apart from a few animal bones there were no finds and it may be that this layer, which was up to 0.7m in depth and extended at least 7m back from the rear crest, represents an addition to the defences. The only dating evidence for this clay layer was from two pits (F4 and F5), which were cut into it. Both contained a few sherds of pottery of 16th century date.

The front of the embankment was covered with a layer of brown earth (L7) which was considered to be material which had slipped down the surface of the rampart and which eventually grew a turf cover. It contained two sherds of 16th century pottery.

Trench 4, at the south-western limit of the excavation, contained two layers which were probably medieval in origin although there were no finds. The lower layer (L22), directly above the natural sub-soil, consisted of a pink sandy clay with, above it, a yellow sandy soil (L21) which may have been a turf layer.

None of the layers in trenches 6 and 7 was considered to be of medieval origin.

Post-Medieval Features

The denudation and gradual growth of the turf layer over the front of the disused defensive work has already been mentioned as have the two pits (F4 and F5) cut into the tail of the rampart.

The only post-medieval layer to be exposed below the topsoil to the rear of the embankment was L17 in trench 4 which consisted of a brown soil, becoming cleaner towards the bottom and containing pottery up to the 18th century. It doubtless represented a cultivated soil level, regularly dug over.

The fills of the two north-eastern trenches (T6 and T7) were both very similar and are assumed to represent the infilling of the defensive ditch. The lowest layer excavated (L28) consisted of a brown clayey earth with fragments of brick. Above it was L24, a thick layer of garden soil. The few finds suggest a 16th century or later date for the infilling.

Trees and bushes prevented any examination of the rear of the stone and brick wall which acted as a retainer to the upper levels of the site to the south-west. The wall included several arches to the south-east. At the time of excavation they were considered to be for drainage purposes, but it would appear more likely that they were included within the wall structure because of the soft ground in the underlying ditch fill. With this method of construction a series of pits would have sufficed for the foundation work rather than a long and deep trench.

The area between the wall and the rampart was infilled with soil, clay and stones (F1), during the 18th century.

The Finds

(The finds from both excavations were rather disappointing as they were few and, apart from a scatter of Roman pottery sherds from the lower levels of site 1, did not produce any firm dating evidence for the features excavated.)

Coins

Only one coin was found, a *semis* of Nero (54-68 A.D.). It was very worn and abraded and was unstratified on site 1.

obv. The legend here is illegible but probably reads
NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM
rev. **PONTIF MAX TRPOT IMP PP**
Roma seated

Plaster

Fragments of 17th century ceiling plaster with a relief decoration with vegetable motifs were found in the fill of F1 on site 2.

Pottery

Roman

Almost all the Roman pottery sherds came from site 1 (Wyebridge Street). Most were stratified in the early levels but there was also a scatter in the medieval and post-medieval layers and features. The stratified Roman pottery suggests a date range within the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

Site 2 (Dixton Road) only produced a couple of small abraded body sherds within the rampart material of L10. Neither of them could be closely dated.

Medieval

The medieval pottery was all very fragmentary and there were less than 200 sherds from both sites. Most medieval pottery came from site 1 and the few sherds from site 2 did not help to date the rampart and its associated features. Although there are a few rim sherds of cooking pots and a few decorated jug fragments they have not been illustrated as they do not serve to date any features of importance nor do they help with providing a pottery sequence.

Post-Medieval

Most of the post-medieval pottery came from trenches 6 and 7 on site 2 (the assumed ditch fill). There were no sherds of any importance.

Metalwork

Both sites produced fragments of iron slag and there were a couple of late, unidentifiable iron objects.

Bone

Animal bone was not well preserved on either site and only a few fragments survived in the latest contexts.

Conclusions

The excavation of site 1 (Wyebridge Street) was sufficient to demonstrate the existence of Roman iron working in the area with traces of 12th century and later occupation. The trenches excavated close to Dixton Road (site 2) demonstrated the existence of a substantial defensive rampart and ditch. Although these features could not be dated, they were apparently of the medieval period and may have pre-dated the town wall which was probably built in the late 13th or early 14th centuries. Many excavations have taken place in Monmouth since the early 1970s but most have been concerned with the development of the medieval town and little work has been done on the Roman remains and the defensive sequence. It is hoped that this report will provide a basis for further investigations into these aspects of the history of this important border borough.

NOTES

[1] *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1297, p. 307.
[2] Ibid. 1315, p. 297.
[3] Coxe, W., *A Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, London, 1801, 302.
[4] Kissack, K. E., *Medieval Monmouth*, Monmouth, 1974, 59; Delaney, C. J. and Soulsby, I., *The archaeological implications of redevelopment in the historic towns of Monmouth district*, Cardiff, 1975; Soulsby, I., *The Towns of Medieval Wales*, Chichester, 1983, 182.
[5] Shoesmith, R., *Excavations at Chepstow, 1973-4*. Arch. Camb. monograph—forthcoming.
[6] Shoesmith, R., *Excavations on and close to the defences*, Hereford City Excavations, Vol. 2., CBA Research Report 46; London, 1982, 19.
[7] Ibid. 20.

PENHOW CASTLE, GWENT: SURVEY AND EXCAVATION, 1976-9: PART ONE

By STUART WRATHMELL

The medieval hall of Penhow Castle, seen from the south, with the earlier tower behind the gatehouse on the left.

Introduction

Penhow Castle (ST 4237 9087) is located in lowland Gwent, equidistant from Chepstow to the east and Newport to the west (Fig. 1). It lies in Gwent Iscoed, that part of the county bounded on the north by the hills of Wentwood, and on the south by the Severn estuary. The surviving medieval structures, which define a small fortified enclosure, occupy the northern end of a limestone ridge. At a height of 46m (150ft) OD, they dominate a narrow pass through which runs the A48 on the line of the Roman road from Gloucester to Caerleon. During the 1970s the medieval and later buildings were the subject of an extensive restoration programme undertaken by the owner of the castle. The work provided an opportunity to record structural elements which had previously been hidden or inaccessible, and led to a new survey of the standing remains. The investigation was then extended to include a series of earthworks running southwards from the castle buildings: an outer defensive enclosure and a peasant settlement were identified. In so far as restoration threatened to destroy certain archaeological deposits, a limited amount of excavation was also necessary. Though the areas examined were relatively small, the deposits proved to be substantial: they provided not only further valuable information about the structural history of the castle, but also an assemblage of pottery and other artefacts which is of importance for south-east Wales as a whole.

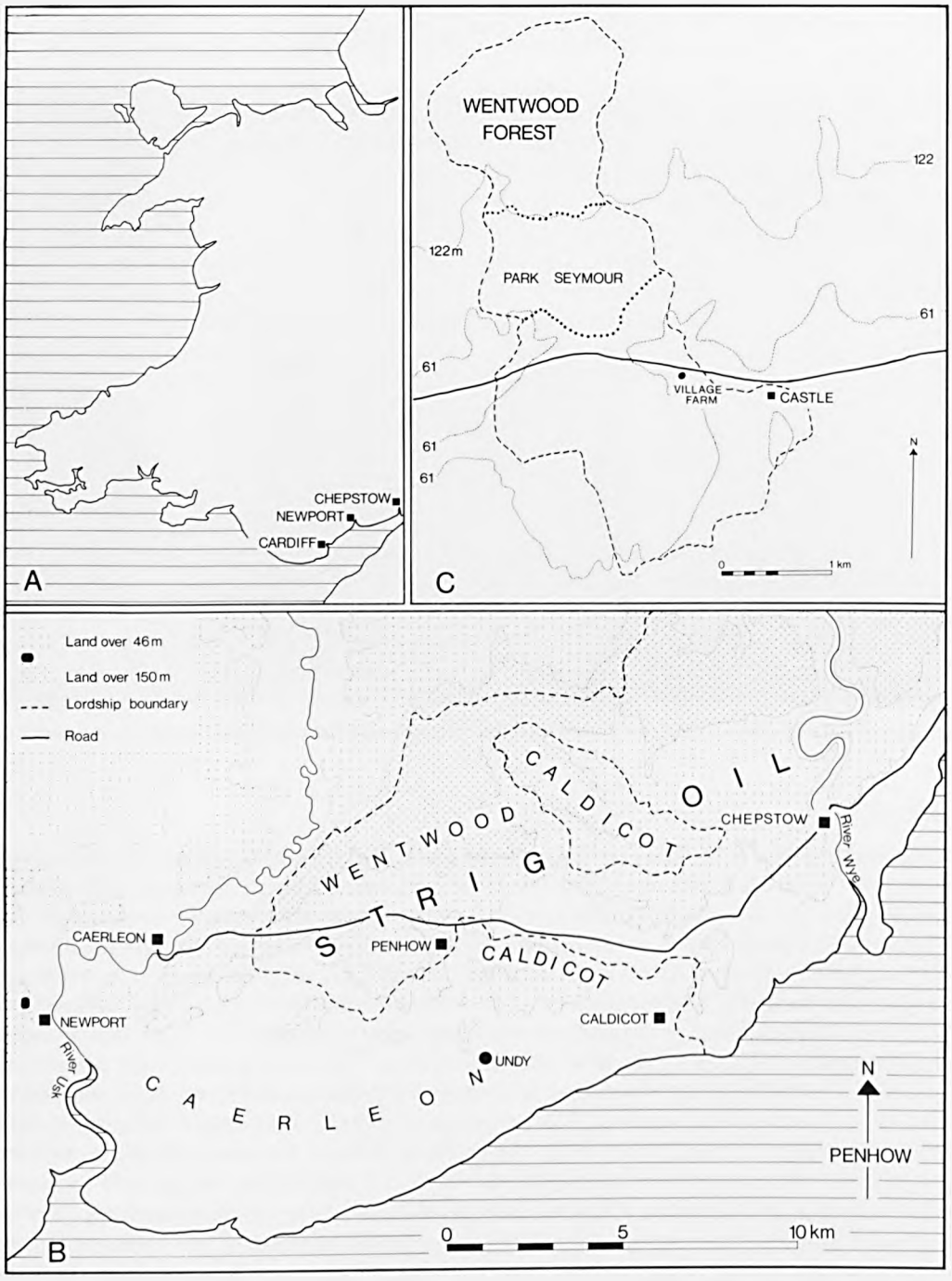


Fig. 1. Location map, showing (B) lordships in Gwent Iscoed and (C) the township of Penhow.

For ease of publication the full report has been divided into three parts: this first section deals with the documentary history of the castle, with its earthworks and standing buildings, and with the excavations in the courtyard; the others will be concerned with the ditch and its contents. For *Part One*, the principal acknowledgements are to the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff, which facilitated both survey work and initial excavation, and to the students of that Department who participated in much of that work; to the staff of a Job Creation Programme, funded by the Manpower Services Commission, who carried out the main excavations, and to Mr Stephen Weeks, owner of the castle, who encouraged and supported the investigations throughout. The illustrations which accompany this report were drawn by Howard Mason and Christopher Ravenhill; they have been prepared for publication by Chris Philo. The entire report has been read by Mr J. M. Lewis, and has benefited greatly from his comments on both form and content. Other colleagues who have provided advice on specific topics, mainly concerning artefacts, will be acknowledged more appropriately in *Part Three*.

The Castle and Fee

In the Middle Ages the territory of Gwent Iscoed was chiefly divided among three lordships: Strigoil (centred on the castle of that name at Chepstow), Caldicot and Caerleon (Fig. 1b). Penhow manor was one of a number of subinfeudated fees which occupied the western part of Strigoil, where the lordship reached towards the river Usk to encompass the forest of Wentwood, and where on the south west it adjoined the lands of Caerleon.[1] During the later 12th and early 13th centuries Caerleon, previously a Norman lordship, was in the hands of Welsh lords; and there is evidence of frequent hosilities between them and the holders of Strigoil.[2] The disintegration of Welsh Caerleon came during the first half of the 13th century, when the earls William and Gilbert Marshall embarked upon campaigns to deprive Morgan ap Hywel of his lands. Caerleon itself was seized *c.*1217, and Machen was taken by Gilbert Marshall in 1236.[3] In 1235-41 Gilbert came to an agreement with William Seymour of Penhow to disseize Morgan of his manor of Undy.[4]

The dispositions of these lordships, and the ambitions of their holders, readily provide a context for the establishment of a fortified residence at Penhow. The manor bestrode the line of the Roman road which must still, in the 12th and 13th centuries, have provided the most convenient military land route between Chepstow and Caerleon. Furthermore, the castle at Penhow commands that route at a place where it is closely confined by high ridges on both sides. The earliest direct reference to the fee of Penhow seems to be in 1306, when Roger Seymour held it of Strigoil for the service of one knight;[5] but a survey of Wentwood, made in 1270 or 1271,[6] and the agreement of 1235-41 cited above, indicate that the Seymours had held the fee for at least the previous sixty years. This is as far as direct documentation will take us, but Wakeman has shown that the Seymours probably had connections with the region in the 12th century: Bartholomew Seymour witnessed a charter in favour of the priory of Monmouth dated to 1129.[7] In addition, there is archaeological evidence to indicate that the castle site was occupied during the 12th century. It is thus possible, as Wakeman suggested,[8] that the Seymours were enfeoffed of Penhow during the first half of the 12th century.

It is, on the other hand, most unlikely that the fee was established before *c.*1115, when Henry I granted the lordship of Strigoil to Walter fitz Richard.[9] By 1086 the whole of Gwent Iscoed, and probably of Gwent Uchcoed too, had been taken by the Normans.[10] The conquered lands extended as far as the river Usk, and in places beyond it. Thirteen of the holdings recorded in Domesday are expressed in terms of carucates (including Caerwent and Caerleon, the only ones named), but only two were held of Strigoil. The remainder of the lands attached to that castle comprised three 'harduices' (Dinham, Portskewett and Llanfair Disgoed, all within a few miles of Penhow), and over fifty un-named vills, which were in the hands of *praepositi* and provided food renders.[11] These vills had clearly been unaffected economically by the conquest, save that food was now rendered to a Norman rather than a Welsh lord. Strigoil had been founded *c.*1070 by William fitz Osbern, but in 1075 it had been forfeited after the rebellion of his son Richard.[12] From 1093 it may have been in the hands of *firmarii* until granted to Walter fitz Richard; and it was Walter or his immediate successors who probably created the subinfeudations in the lordship. The three Domesday hardwicks had apparently become knights' fees by 1185.[13] Penhow itself was probably also established by then.

The Seymours remained in possession of Penhow until the early 15th century, when it passed through an heiress to the Bowles family.[14] They in turn resided at Penhow until the mid-16th century, when an heiress carried the estate to Sir George Somerset, third son of the earl of Worcester. Neither the Somersets nor their successors, the Ryvetts and Billingsleys, lived at Penhow; but in the early 17th century the castle was occupied by Roger Bathern and his son Richard who, although only tenants and stewards of the manor, seem nevertheless to have been men of some local importance. Roger was high sheriff in 1612, and Richard married a daughter of Sir Henry Billingsley. Towards the end of the 17th century the estate was owned by Thomas Lewis of St. Pierre. George Lewis, his second son, made his home at the castle during the 1690s. In 1714, after a short period in the hands of Edward and George Howell, Penhow was conveyed to the Lloyd family of Bristol. Thereafter the castle was let to tenant farmers.

The Manor and Vill

The boundary of Penhow parish was recorded in 1724 and mapped, unaltered, on the Tithe plan of 1845 (Fig. 1c.).[15] With the exception of its northern extension into Wentwood, the entrances to which were recorded in 1724, it probably marks the extent of the medieval manor. Penhow church was presumably established to serve the fee, and its close relationship with the manor is signified by its proximity to the castle. Indeed, it probably stood in the outer castle enclosure. The manor itself was composed of two parts. Immediately south of Wentwood was a park, taken out of the forest at an unknown date and held by the Seymours of the lords of Strigoil. A Chepstow rent roll of 1567 recorded that the rent hens payable for the herbage of 'Park Seymor' had been replaced by an annual rent of 15 shillings.[16] The remainder of the manor comprised the vill territory. It was called a hamlet rather than a vill in 1306, when its tenants were said to have the duty of carting timber from Wentwood to Strigoil Castle.[17] The division between vill and park seems to be represented by the 'tithing boundary' marked on the 1845 plan, which presumably delimited the area within which the tenants had collective responsibility for keeping the peace.

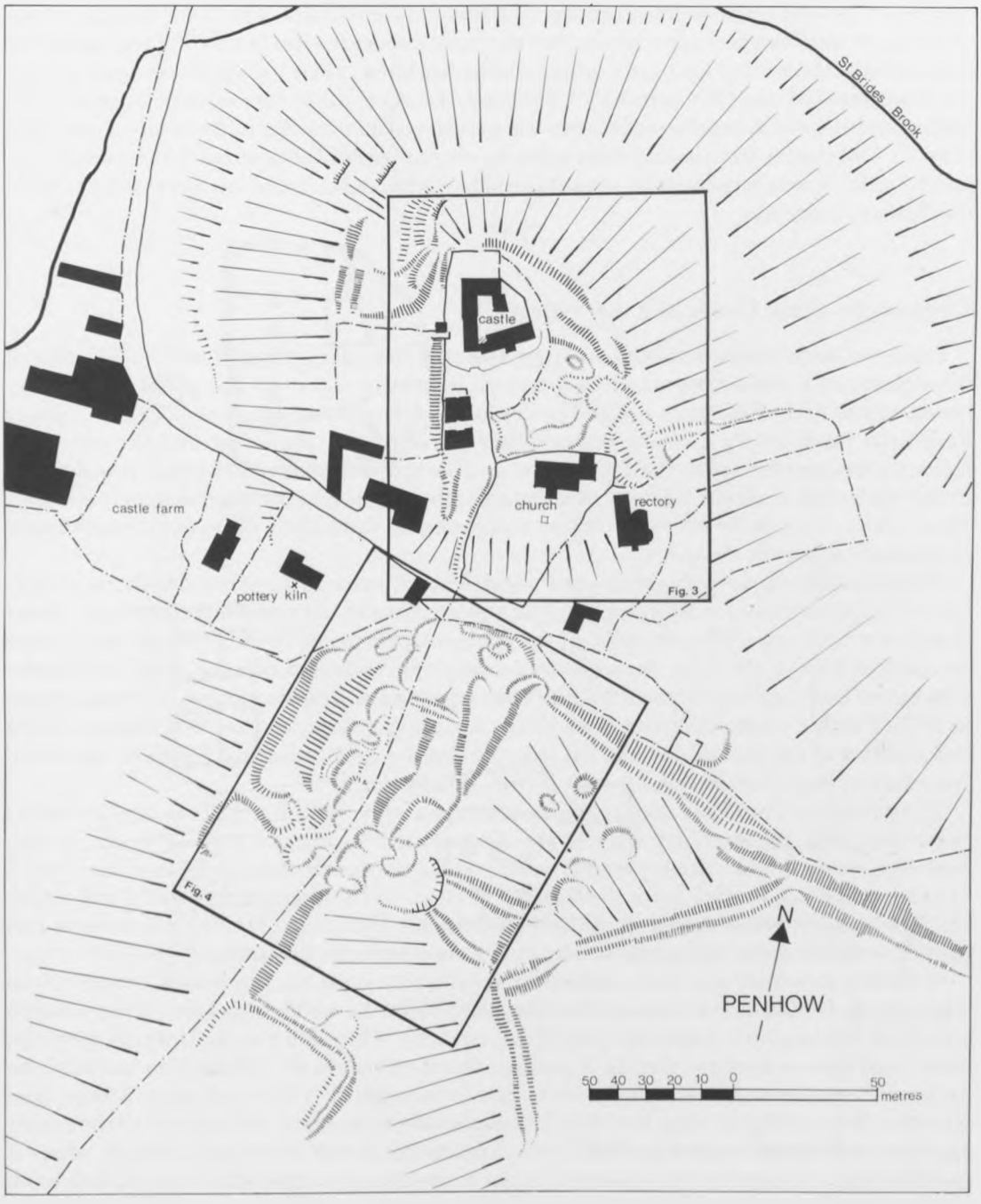


Fig. 2. Earthworks of the Castle and the nearby settlement.

The modern pattern of farming units at Penhow, one which obtained in the early 18th century,[18] is of severalty holdings containing isolated farmsteads. The castle was the centre of one farm until the present century; but the main concentration of housing was along the main road to the west of the castle, around what has been called Village Farm since at least the beginning of the 19th century.[19] It seems, however, that this pattern of settlement replaces one in which numbers of houses were clustered on the ridge to the south of the castle (Fig. 2). Only excavation would determine the chronology of occupation on this village site, and whether it was inhabited by tenant farmers, or by argicultural labourers who worked the Penhow demesne.

Earthworks of the Castle and the Village

Penhow Castle comprised both an inner and outer enclosure (Figs. 2 and 3). The first of these elements is defined by standing medieval structures as a small polygonal ward on the northern end of the limestone ridge. The contours of the ground adjacent to these buildings have been modified by 17th- or 18th-century terracing, but it is clear that the ward was formerly well-protected on the north, east and west by steep slopes running down to the meadows beside St Bride's Brook. Southwards, the ridge remains approximately level for about 150m, though the church occupies a slight knoll; thereafter, the ground rises steeply to the highest part of the ridge.

On the south side the polygonal ward was defended, as excavation has shown, by a rock-cut ditch. Beyond this are the remains of an outer enclosure. Its eastern perimeter is represented by a bank which begins close to the south-east corner of the inner ward and curves around the edge of the ridge towards the rectangular earthwork of a building. Within the area of this building fragments of walling were recorded during the cutting of a cable trench in 1978. Further south, the main bank seems to disappear beneath the 19th-century vestry and chancel of the parish church. To the east are the less substantial banks of enclosure boundaries, largely obliterated by the rectory gardens.

The perimeter bank may contain the remains of a stone wall. Excavation just beyond its north-west end, on the outer edge of the ditch, failed to produce walling *in situ*. It did, however, reveal a substantial spread of rubble on the north side of the perimeter line, as well as patches of mortar adhering to the bedrock. The excavations also uncovered a wall which crossed the ditch at this corner of the inner ward (*Part Three*, Area H); but it was not in fact aligned with the outer perimeter: it ran in a more southerly direction.

A further structure was encountered in the ditch beyond the south-west corner of the inner ward. It comprised a square building, linked to the wall which formed the western boundary of the outer enclosure (*Part Two*, Area F). This wall ran southwards from the ditch, and is now incorporated in a post-medieval terrace wall. About 10m south of the ditch, the terrace wall becomes the west side foundation of a block of outbuildings, and seems to diverge slightly from the line of its medieval predecessor. A fragment of the earlier enclosure wall was noted in a builder's trench on the south side of the outbuildings, where it had been incorporated in foundations. Its line is continued southwards by an earthen bank which now tails away beside the access road. Formerly, it may have curved eastwards to mark the south side of the enclosure. If it did so it will have presumably enclosed the medieval church. Renovations to the west side outbuildings also revealed the foundations of

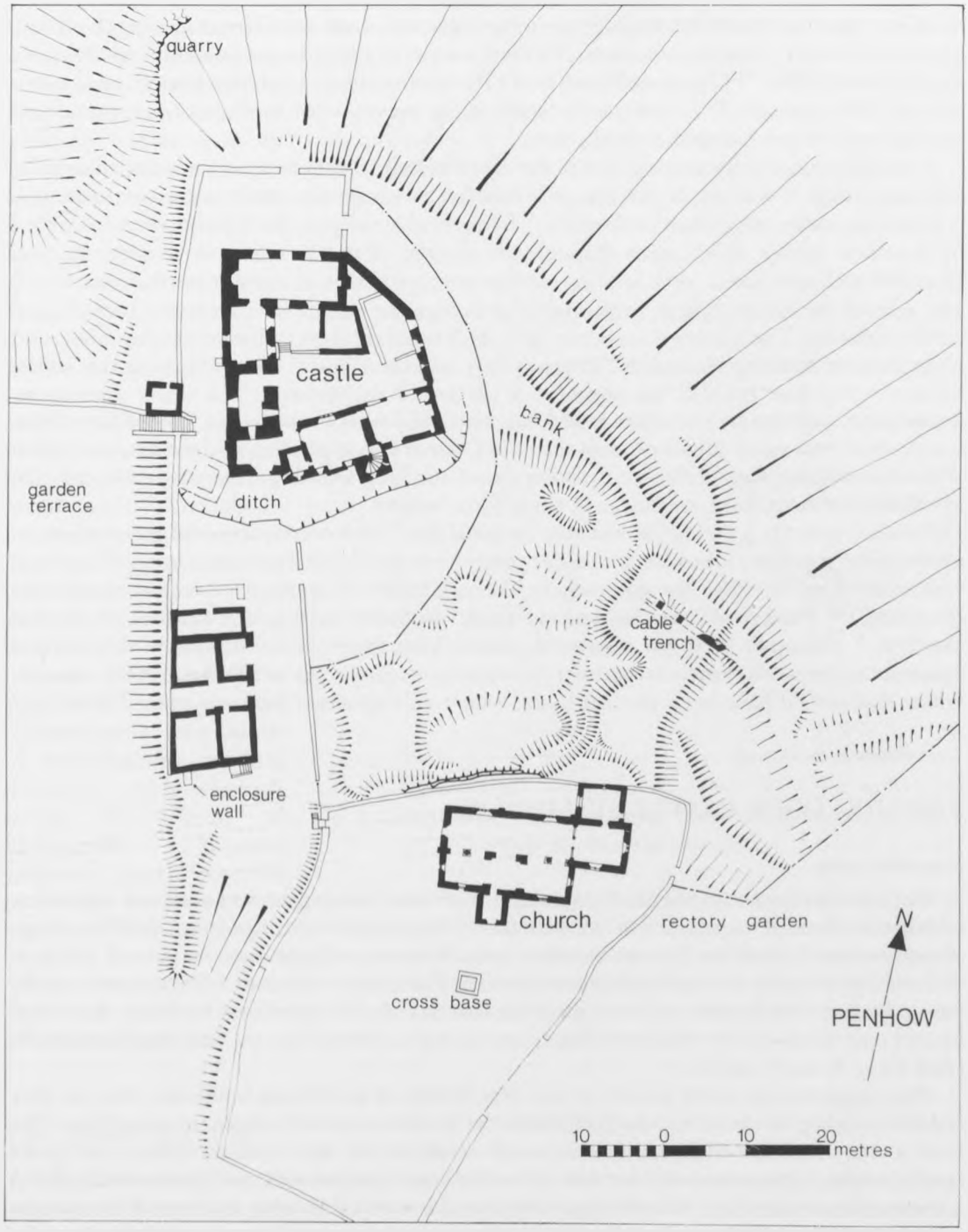


Fig. 3. Structures of the inner enclosure of the Castle and earthworks marking the outer enclosure.

an earlier structure, approximately on the same site and alignment, which may be of medieval date and probably backed on to the enclosure wall. Between this and the church lies an earthwork platform which marks the location of a building shown on Colt Hoare's illustration of 1800.[20] The church itself is of 13th-century date, but it was heavily restored in the mid-19th century.[21] It was not included in the survey work recorded here, but would undoubtedly repay detailed investigation.

A second group of earthworks lies to the south of the churchyard, on the western slope of the ridge (Figs. 2 and 4). It consists of a number of house sites and enclosures, and may represent a medieval peasant settlement. The general arrangement of structures is obscured by a double hedge which runs through the middle of the remains. A quarry, loading platform and associated track leading northwards are the most notable earthworks on the east side of the hedge. These presumably post-date the settlement, and may have erased earlier remains. The quarry is certainly later than two field banks which form part of a series of enclosures running eastwards. There is only one clear house site on the east side of the hedge: it lies just beyond the south-west corner of the quarry. The other structures, comprising perhaps five or more buildings, lie to the west of the hedge. Some have been constructed end-on to the slope, and take the form of house platforms of the kind recorded widely on sloping sites in Wales.[22] Others have the long axis aligned to the contours. On several house sites there are traces of stone foundations.

Finally, there is a medieval site just beyond the north-west corner of the settlement earthworks; a pottery kiln which now lies partly beneath Castle Farm Bungalow (Fig. 2). It was discovered in 1981 by the owners, Mr and Mrs Stevens, and was subsequently excavated.[23] Pottery was manufactured there probably in the late 12th or early 13th century.[24] Although very few medieval pottery kilns have been found in Wales, it need cause no surprise that such an industry should have grown up in this forest-edge manor, where fuel would have been plentiful, and where an important highway passed close by.

THE SURVIVING CASTLE BUILDINGS

Introduction

The inner enclosure of the castle consists of a series of residential and ancillary structures which were built at various times between the 12th and 18th centuries (Fig. 5). They range along the north, west and south sides of a small courtyard, the eastern side of which is defined by stretches of a polygonal curtain wall. Excavation beneath a 19th-century dairy formerly attached to this wall revealed the undercroft of a medieval building described below, and work on the south side ditch uncovered a drawbridge pit and other structures (*Part Two*, Areas E and F).

This chapter is devoted mainly to the description of individual buildings, but we may begin by noting two features which characterise the structural development as a whole. The first is that from the 13th century onwards construction and reconstruction took place largely within the constraints imposed by the ditch and curtain wall, and by the need to keep a central courtyard clear of buildings. Only on the south side were sections of the curtain wall demolished at various times, to allow more room for new structures, and even here the amount of outward expansion was small. The second and related characteristic is that, both

during and since the Middle Ages, the need to enlarge or modernise accommodation has been met by modification and addition, rather than by wholesale demolition and reconstruction. The result is that the buildings of Penhow offer a remarkably detailed account of the changing requirements of their occupants over a period of more than six centuries.

The buildings of the castle were described by Octavius Morgan over a century ago.[25] The following account modifies and extends his discussion, on the basis of detailed surveys made during structural alterations between 1976 and 1979. The chief obstacle to interpretation is the nature of the walling—random limestone rubble—which makes it difficult to distinguish between original and inserted openings. The two buildings here described individually, the tower and the hall, were examined and surveyed in both plan and elevation. The remaining structures were also planned, but were not subject to such detailed examination. Their dating is, therefore, liable to be modified in future work. Indeed, recent alterations have already shown the north-side block to be partly a medieval structure, rather than entirely 17th-century, as shown on Figure 5.[26]

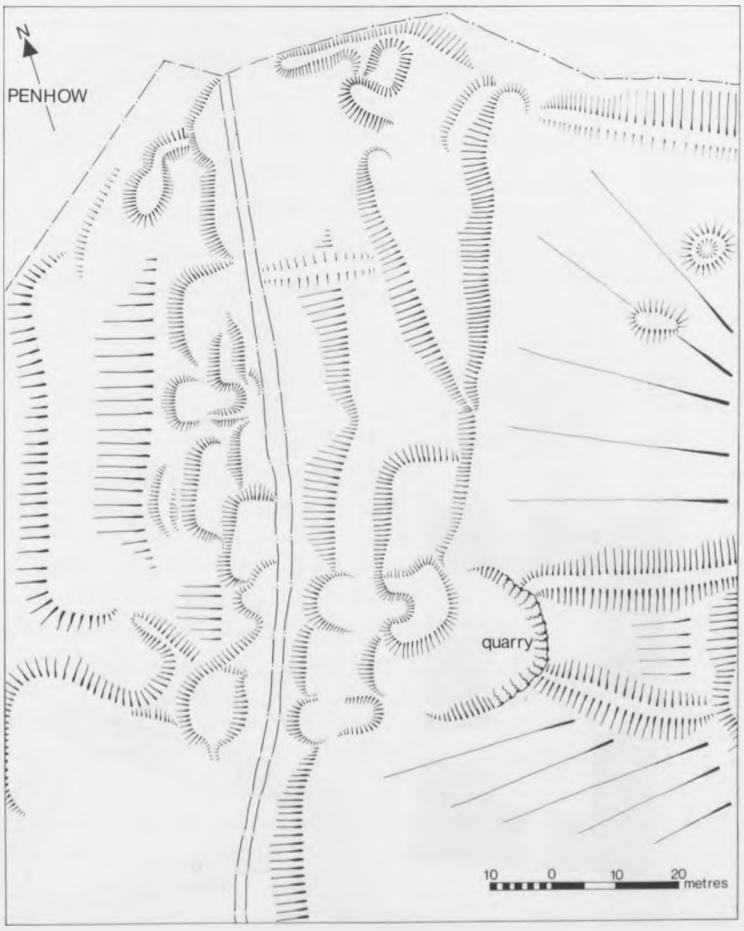


Fig. 4. Earthworks of the settlement: house platforms and terrace edges marking the enclosures.

The Tower (Figs. 5-7)

The three-storey rectangular tower on the west side of the courtyard is the earliest surviving structure. At ground floor it measures externally about 9.6m by 6.4m. The north, west and south walls are about 1.6m thick, but the east wall, which on the upper levels contains the stairs, was originally about 2m thick. There is a pronounced batter on the east

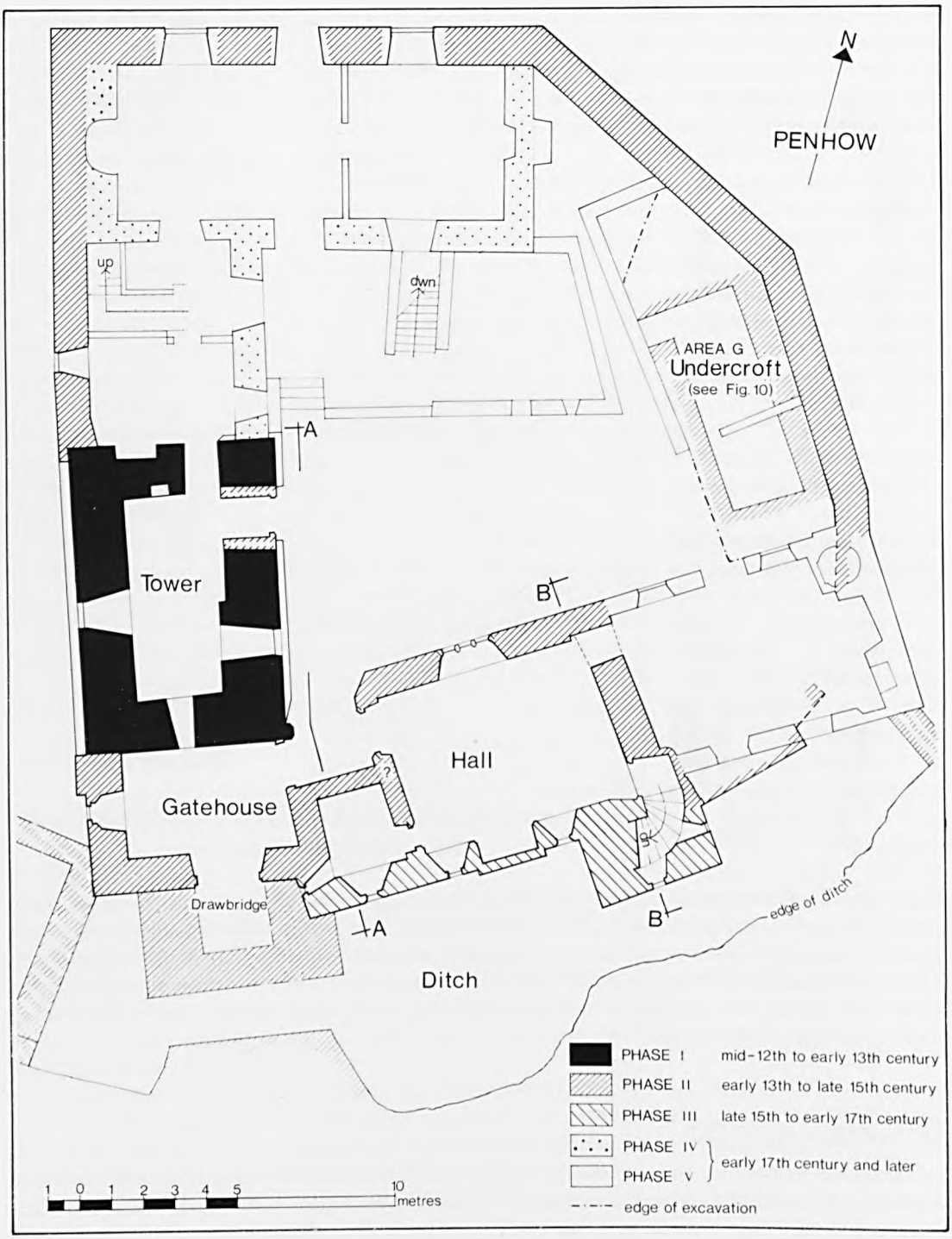


Fig. 5. Plan of surviving and excavated structures: ground floor.

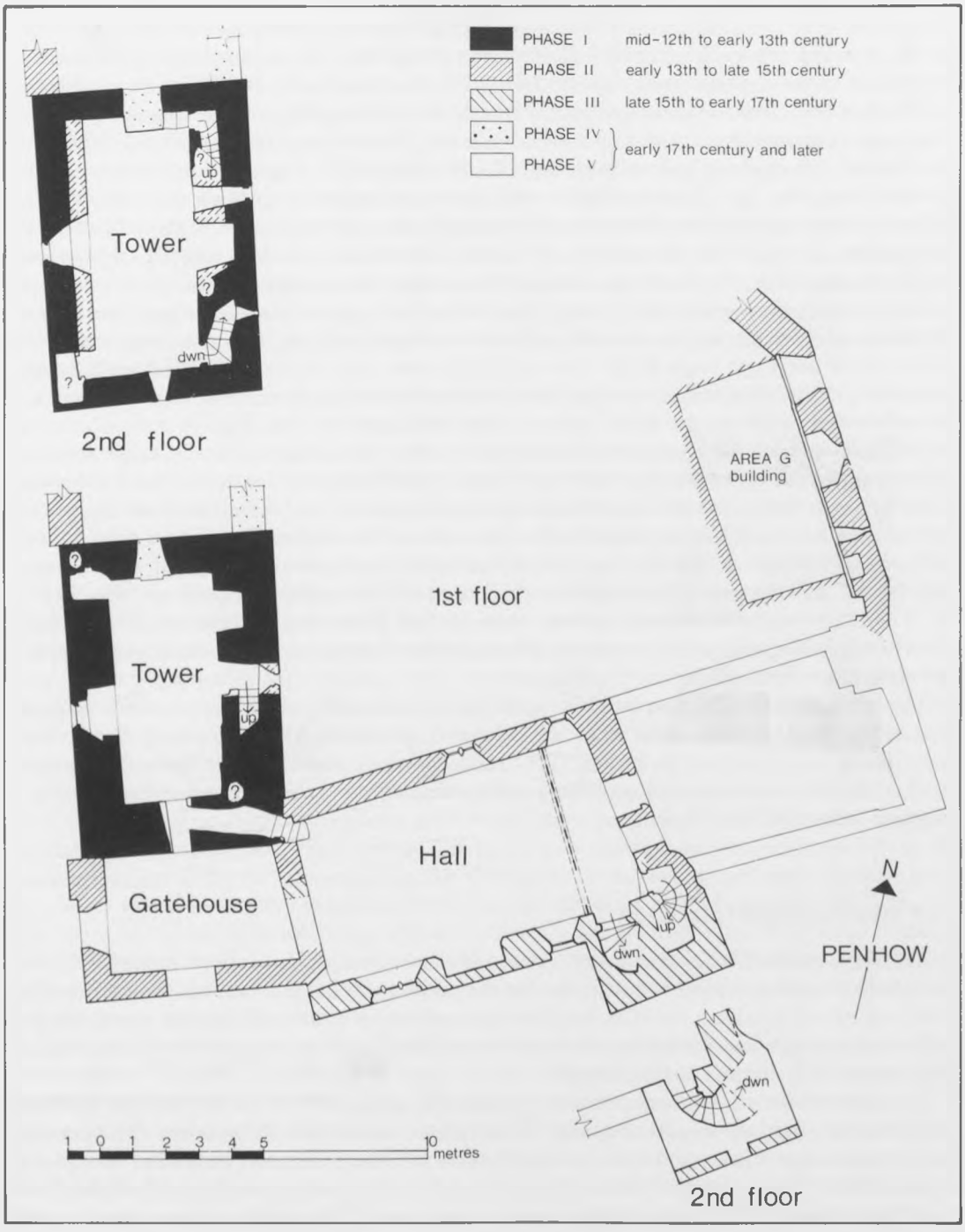


Fig. 6. Plan of surviving structures: first and second floors.

and west walls, as there was, formerly, on the north wall. None of the ground-floor openings is original: even the 13th-century doorway, with pointed arch and rounded jambs, was seen to be inserted when the interior plaster was removed. The room was undoubtedly a storeplace in the first instance, reached from the first floor only, by means of a ladder.

The first floor was the principal room. Its east wall originally contained the only external doorway, presumably reached by a wooden stair. The doorway opening was visible from the inside, although it had subsequently been reduced to a small, rectangular window (position (a), Fig. 7). The other three walls contained original, splayed window openings, although these too had later been modified, and in the east wall, north of the entrance, was an original fireplace. In the north-west corner there was a blocked recess extending to a height of about 2m. There was no dressed stonework remaining to define its entrance, and its depth was not determined. It may, however, have given access to a garderobe in the thickness of the wall: on the outer face of the wall, lower down, are two sandstone blocks which have been cut back flush with the wall; these may once have been corbels for a projecting shute. A passage-way had been inserted in the south-east corner of the room, to provide access between the tower and the later hall (position (b), Fig. 7).

On the south side of the original first-floor entrance was a flight of stairs, in the thickness of the wall, which led to the second floor (Fig. 6). Another flight of stairs led from the second floor to the battlements: this was in the thickness of the north end of the east wall. Apart from the two stretches containing these stairs, the walls of the second-floor room were initially only about half the width of those below, and they had presumably supported a simple ridged roof; subsequently they had been thickened to take battlements and a wall-walk (Fig. 6). The stairs in the north-east corner seem at first to have turned in an anti-clockwise direction, and must have led to a turret. When the battlements and wall-walk were installed, the stairs were re-shaped to serve them.

The second-floor room has window openings in each wall. A blocked recess in the south-east corner was formerly entered by a chamfered, pointed-arched doorway. The size and function of the recess are unknown. The doorway was inserted before the walls had been thickened; the awkward setting of the jambstones in the corner argues against it being an original feature of the tower.

The Medieval Hall (Figs. 5-8)

The medieval hall block has always consisted of two storeys. Initially, it contained a first-floor hall over a low undercroft, attached to the south side curtain wall. Later, the first-floor level was raised by about a metre, to allow the undercroft to be converted to a ground-floor hall. At the same time, the curtain wall was demolished, and was replaced by a new wall and stair tower built slightly further south.

The ground-floor hall measures about 5m by 7m internally. It is entered from the inner end of the dog-legged entrance passage, at the south-east corner of the tower. The doorway has a four-centred arch and hollow chamfers; it has been inserted into what must be an original wall. The north wall is certainly original, and its large rectangular window, with three ogee cinquefoil-headed lights under a hoodmould, is again an insertion. A small chamber projects from the southern half of the west wall, and a stair tower opens off the south-east corner of the room. Both are entered by four-centred arched doorways; both are

lit by simple rectangular windows with hollow chamfers and hoodmoulds. Similar windows pierce the south wall, on either side of the fireplace.

On the first floor the stair opens into a screens lobby (rather than passage), separated from the body of the hall by a timber partition. The medieval partition had gone by 1976, but its former position was attested by mortice holes in the tie beam above, and it has now been reconstructed. The stairs continued upwards, beyond the first floor, to give access to a gallery over the lobby (Fig. 8). The hall itself oversails the entrance passage and the ground-floor chamber: its north-west corner is, in fact, formed by the south-east corner of the tower (Fig. 7). The north wall contains, near its east end, one of the small rectangular hooded windows to light the north end of the lobby (Fig. 6), and towards the centre, a rectangular window with a pair of trefoil-headed lights and hoodmould. The south wall contains, from east to west: another small rectangular window; a fireplace, and a large rectangular window with three ogee, cinquefoil-headed lights and hoodmould, almost identical to the one in the ground-floor hall.

The features which mark the earlier first-floor hall, with the lower floor level and undercroft, are to be found mainly in the gable walls. Here, too, is the evidence for the southern curtain wall, to which the earlier hall was attached, and which was later largely removed. The elevation drawings (Figs 7 and 8) record stonework which was exposed during renovations, and which has now been replastered. The most obvious remains are in the east gable wall (Fig. 8), where the purlin sockets for the earlier roof (position (b)), show it to have been lower and narrower and more steeply pitched than the present one. (The present roof is modern, but it follows the line of that which covered the double-hall building.) The south-side rafters (c) had run down to the curtain wall (d).

The clearest evidence of the earlier hall level is the blocked doorway (a) with a two-centred arch. It was presumably approached, from the east, either by a staircase or from an attached building with a raised floor. The door threshold, projected on to the illustrated elevation from the other side of the wall, may in fact have been slightly lower than the hall floor level, if steps rose through the entrance.

Doorway (f) is the entrance to the later first-floor hall from the stair-tower. There is, however, evidence of an earlier turret or tower in the same position. It is indicated by a line of ragged masonry in the outer face of the stair-tower east wall, which extends higher than the former position of the curtain wall (Fig. 8). The tower or turret was probably reached from the earlier first-floor hall by means of a doorway on the south side of entrance (a). There is, here, a much more recent opening, with a wooden frame. Its upper half is without dressed-stone jambs; but there are such jambs (e) in the lower half. Furthermore, some of the north-side jambstones also serve as the south-side jambstones for doorway (a). It seems, therefore, that the lower part of this doorway is also original work.

The elevation of the west gable (Fig. 7) shows the way in which the hall block was attached to the tower. The line of the original, lower gable is less clear here than on the east end, but (c) marks the slot for the north side purlin, and (d) seems to be curtain-wall masonry. The rear-arch (e) presumably signifies an original doorway to the room over the entrance passage; its full dimensions were not determined. In the north-west corner a passage (b) was cut through the south-east corner of the tower, to link the two buildings at first-floor level. This passage was subsequently blocked, presumably when the double hall introduced, with a higher first floor.

THE STRUCTURAL PHASES (Fig. 9)

The following summary of the main structural phases of the castle depends chiefly upon the interpretation of the standing buildings, and upon the relationship of these buildings to the topography of the site and to the earthworks. At the same time, it must also take account of the structures revealed by excavation; and these are summarised here, even though the full account of discoveries is reserved for later sections of this report.

Phase I: mid-12th century to early 13th century

The first phase of occupation is defined by the tower, which is structurally earlier than the curtain wall, and therefore earlier than the other medieval buildings that depend upon it. Octavius Morgan dated the tower to the 13th century because it contains two doorways with pointed arches;[27] but we have seen that certainly, one probably both, are insertions in the structure. The Norman 'character' of the tower,[28] can then be accepted as a criterion for dating. The circumstantial evidence of the documents, outlined above, indicates that the castle and therefore the tower could have existed from the mid-12th century. This is supported by the ceramic evidence from the curtain wall foundation trench (see below).

The tower contained a first-floor hall, with store-room below and solar above. It was clearly defensible, with thick basement walls and some kind of turret. Though it is the only known structure of this phase, there were undoubtedly others of timber, perhaps arranged around a courtyard in much the same fashion as were to be those of Phase II. The courtyard excavations, so far limited to an undercroft, could not have been expected to reveal early timber structures.

The nature of the Phase I linear defences is equally problematical. It is likely that the castle ditch was dug at this time, and that it was furnished with an earth and stone bank, in the form of an annular or penannular ringwork.[29] The difficulty is that all the archaeological evidence from the rock-cut ditch relates to its use or disuse, rather than to its construction. Nevertheless, we can say that the curtain wall seems to have been set out so as to approximate to the line of a pre-existing ditch: the two do not appear to have been planned together. The exceptionally wide stretch of ditch immediately east of the (later) drawbridge may well mark the site of the primary entrance bridge; and it may signify a 'crescentic' ringwork ditch as found, for example, at Penmaen in the Gower.[30]

The strongpoint of Penmaen and of some other ringworks, both large and small, seems to have been a gate tower. At Penhow, on the other hand, and at Castle Cary, Somerset, the strongpoint was a keep or tower inside the linear defences.[31] Goodrich Castle, near Monmouth, was probably of much the same form and composition as Penhow in the 12th century;[32] but at the end of the 13th century, the curtain walls and mural towers of Goodrich came to overshadow the Norman tower, whereas the tower at Penhow remained the dominant feature of the fortification.

Phase II: early 13th century to late 15th century

The second phase of construction is defined by major improvements both to the defences and to the residential facilities. The (presumed) ringwork bank was removed and replaced by a battlemented curtain wall. On the south and east sides the wall is polygonal in plan, the

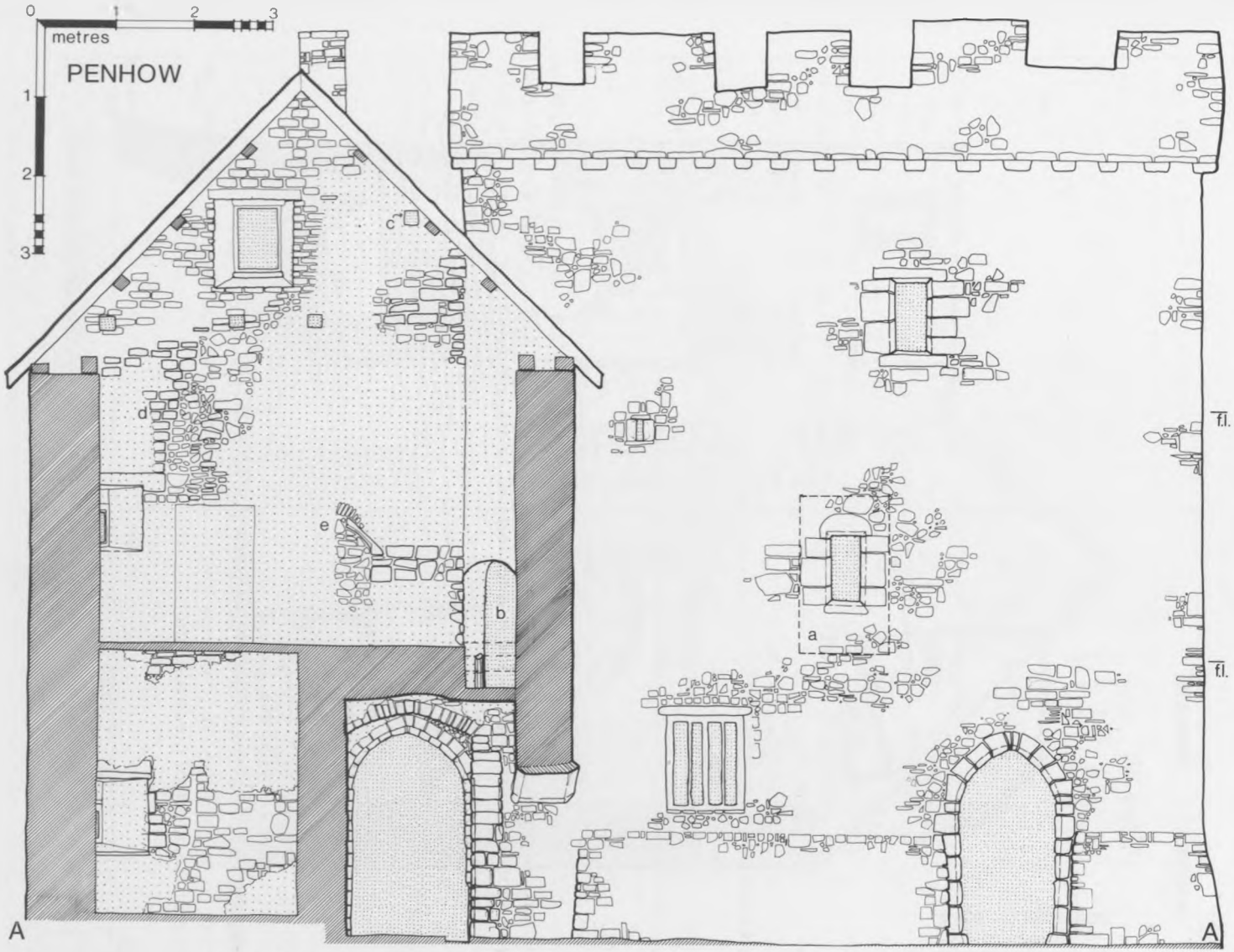


Fig. 7. External east elevation of the Tower, and internal west end elevation of the Hall.

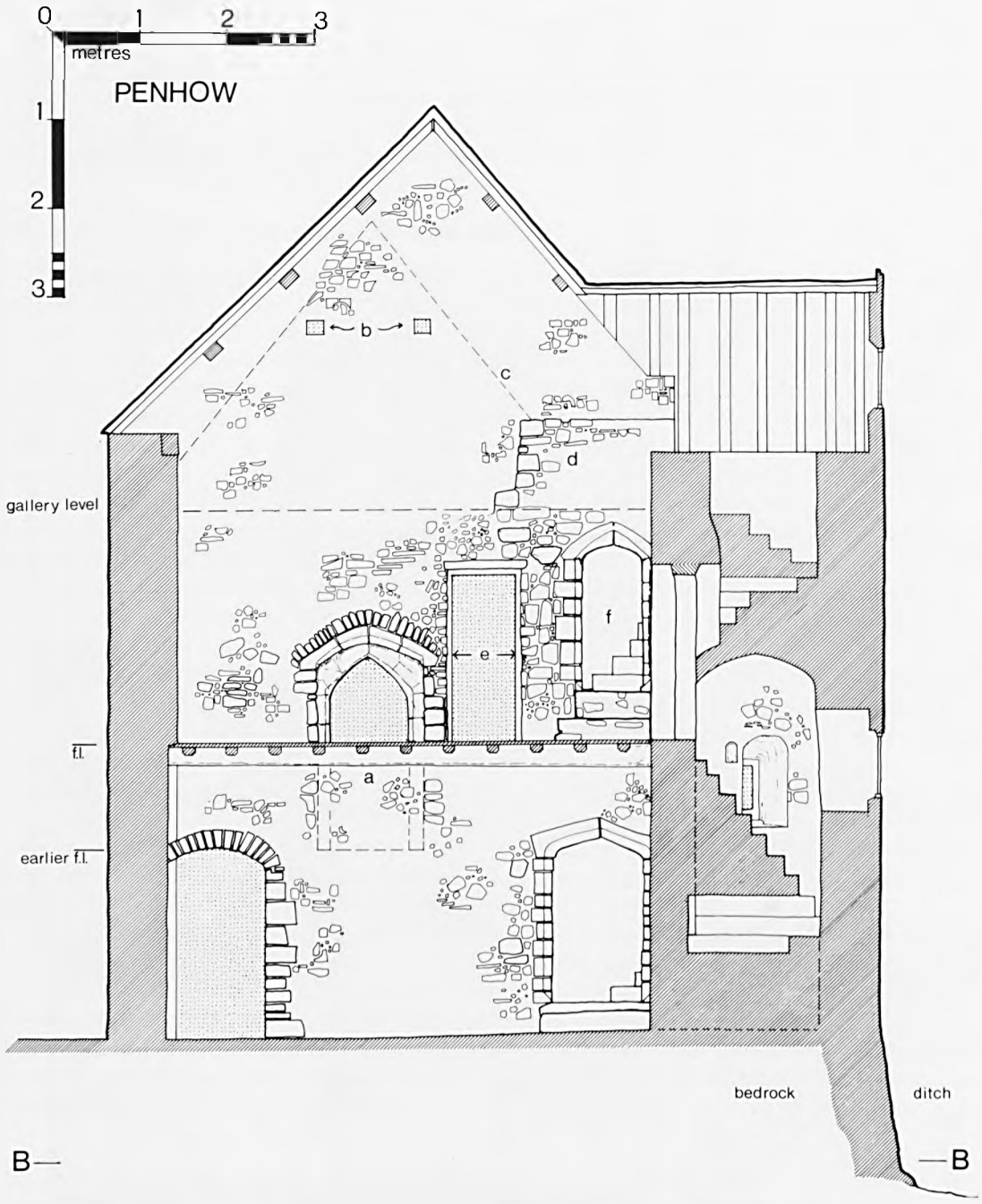


Fig. 8. Internal east end elevation of the Hall, and section through the stair tower.

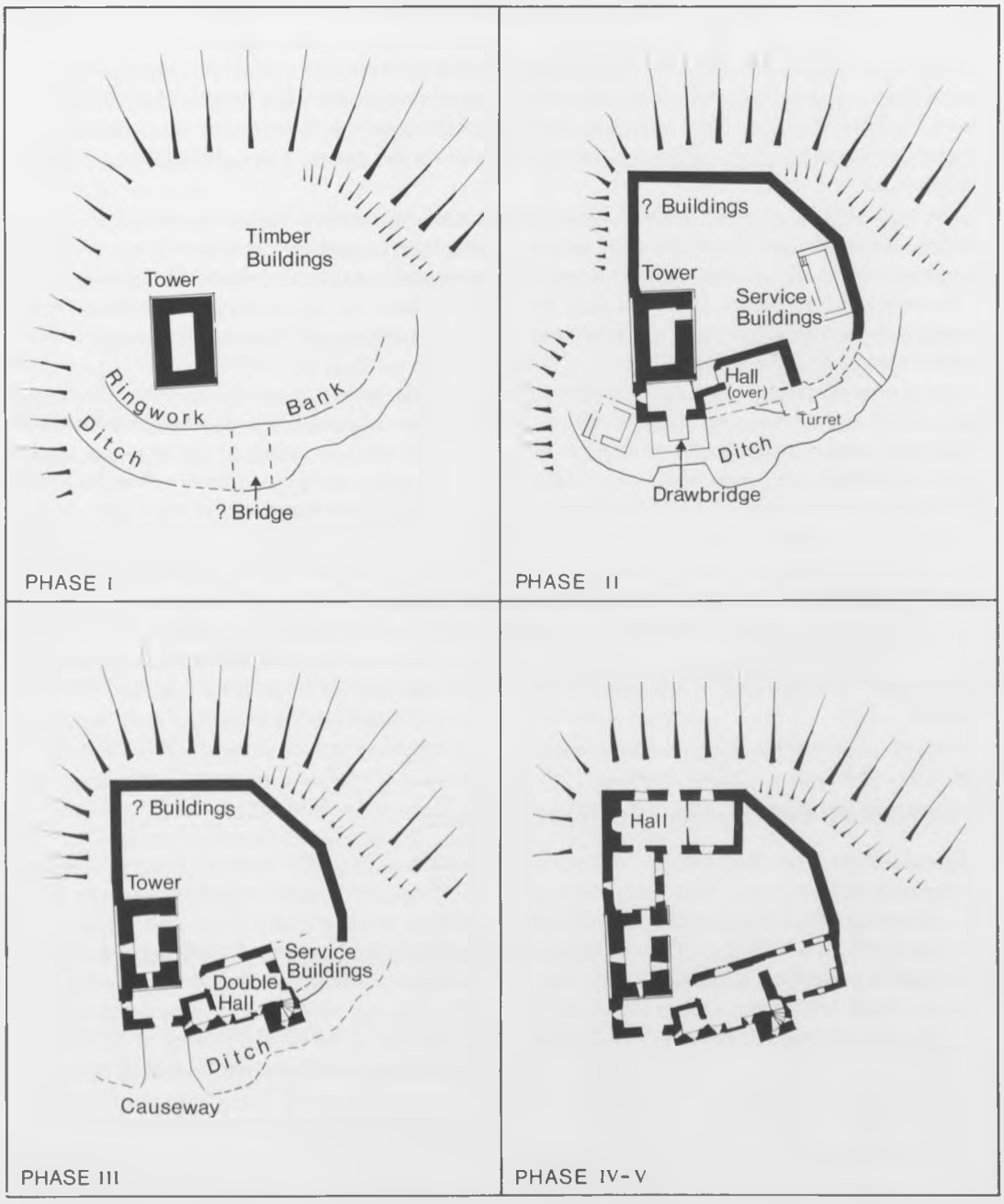


Fig. 9. Phase plans showing the structural development of the Castle as interpreted from the building analysis and excavation evidence.

result of applying straight lengths of wall to the curve of a pre-existing ditch. On the south side, a new tower or turret was built at a point where the curtain wall was joined, now or later, by the east end wall of a new hall.

Defences were augmented by the construction of a gatehouse and drawbridge at the west end of the south curtain wall. The probable form of the drawbridge is discussed in *Part Two* (Area E). The position of the gateway, in front of the south wall of the tower, created a dog-legged entrance passage. The second-floor walls of the tower were strengthened to take battlements.

The policy of increasing the strength of the circuit defences reduced the need for fortified residential buildings. The hall in the tower was replaced at some stage by a larger first-floor set against the south curtain wall. The new hall extended over an undercroft and the inner end of the entrance passage. It was linked to the first floor of the tower, now presumably a chamber, by a passage way cut through the south-east corner of the tower. It was also linked to the room above the gateway.

At the east end of the hall was a doorway which led formerly to service rooms. These may also have been set over an undercroft. Further ranges of buildings were sited against the north and east curtain walls. The east side building was demolished during the Middle Ages. Its undercroft, possibly a wine cellar, has been excavated (see below). The history of the medieval north range has been obscured by structural developments in the 17th century.

The start of the second phase has been dated to the early 13th century, largely, it must be admitted, on circumstantial grounds. The evidence is no more precise than it is for the beginning of the first phase: it takes into account the probably date range of the artefacts from the east-side undercroft, and the segmental-pointed openings with plain chamfers. Two other architectural features, the ground-floor doorway in the tower and the re-set, two light, trefoil-headed window in the first-floor hall, are probably of the early and late 14th century.

Phase III: late 15th century to early 17th century

The third structural phase saw the partial defortification of the castle in favour of greater residential convenience. The improvements were focussed upon the first-floor hall, which was converted into a full two-storey block containing both ground-floor and upper halls. The curtain wall which had formed the south side of the building was demolished, and a new south wall was erected slightly further out, on the brink of the ditch. It contains a projecting chimney stack which served fireplaces in both halls. The two rooms were also connected by a stair tower at the south-east corner, probably on the site of an earlier tower or turret. The south wall of the new stair tower was sufficiently far advanced from the building to require foundation in the bottom of the ditch.

The ground-floor hall is entered by a doorway at the north end of its west wall. At the south end of the same wall, another doorway gives access to a small chamber which overlooks the castle entrance. The services were, presumably, still beyond the east end. The conversion of the undercroft to residential use involved raising the first floor by about one metre. This, in turn, caused the phase-two services doorway in the east end to be blocked; the passage to the tower at the other end of the building was probably abandoned at the same time. The upper hall was entered from the stair by means of a screens lobby. It was furnished

with a timber ceiling, recorded some time ago by the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments but since lost.[33]

The first-floor hall was evidently the more important of the two, the lord's hall. Its dais end is lit by an elaborate window which has heraldic devices carved at each end of the label. The ground-floor hall has a similar window (but without the heraldic designs) in the centre of its north wall. It is, however, in effect an antechamber to the upper hall; with the small chamber overlooking the entrance, it was probably used by the custodian of Penhow, the manorial steward.

The insertion of large windows in what was formerly the south curtain of the castle clearly reduced the strength of Penhow. It may have been at the same time that the ditch ceased to be maintained. In the mid-16th century the bridge was replaced by a stone-revetted causeway (see *Part Two*, Area E).

The dating of the hall conversion is established by its various architectural features: the four-centred doorways with hollow chamfers and pyramid stops; the rectangular windows with hollow chamfers and labels; and, above all, the two large, three-light windows with cinquefoil ogee heads. These latter windows are similar in their tracery to the windows of the State Apartments in the Fountain Court, Raglan Castle, dated to the period *c.*1450-69.[34]

Phases IV-V: early 17th century and later

The south-side halls were ultimately replaced as the principal residential block by a ground-floor hall built against the north curtain wall. It contains a gable-end fireplace, and was originally separated from an unheated parlour by a cross-passage. Recent discoveries indicate that it was erected on the site of a medieval structure, although the character and extent of that earlier building have yet to be fully determined.

The north hall was probably built for the Batherns, the stewards of the manor in the early 17th century. Later improvements, including the insertion of large windows with brick surrounds, a brick parlour chimney and a shell hood to the main doorway on the north side, were probably the work of George Lewis around 1700.

EXCAVATIONS: THE COURTYARD (Area G)

Foundation trench of the curtain wall (G07; Figs 5, 10 and 11)

Phase II of the Castle's structural development opens with the erection of the curtain wall around the inner court. Where it was examined the wall was founded upon bedrock, along the edge of the ditch which has been assigned to Phase I. On the south side, the rock reached the level of the courtyard, and preparations for construction may have been limited to the removal of any pre-existing bank and of the topsoil, with perhaps some levelling of the rock surface below. In the north-east part of the courtyard, however, bedrock dipped sharply towards the east, and in order to provide a level footing for the wall its builders terraced horizontally into the slope. The wall was erected on the outer edge of the terrace, leaving a gap of 0.8m between the inner face of the wall and the western, vertical edge of the terrace. This

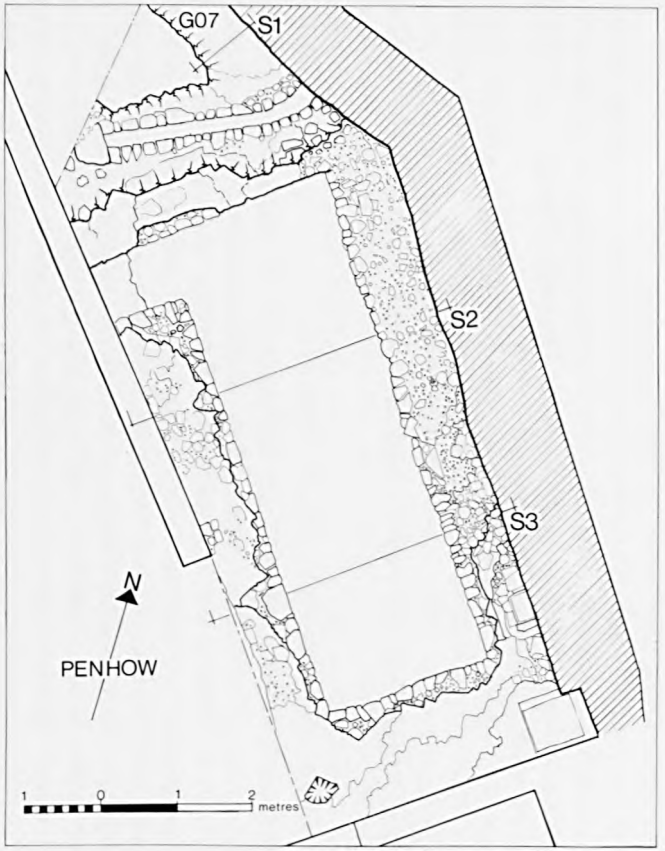


Fig. 10. The excavated Area G: plan of the curtain wall foundation trench and the undercroft.

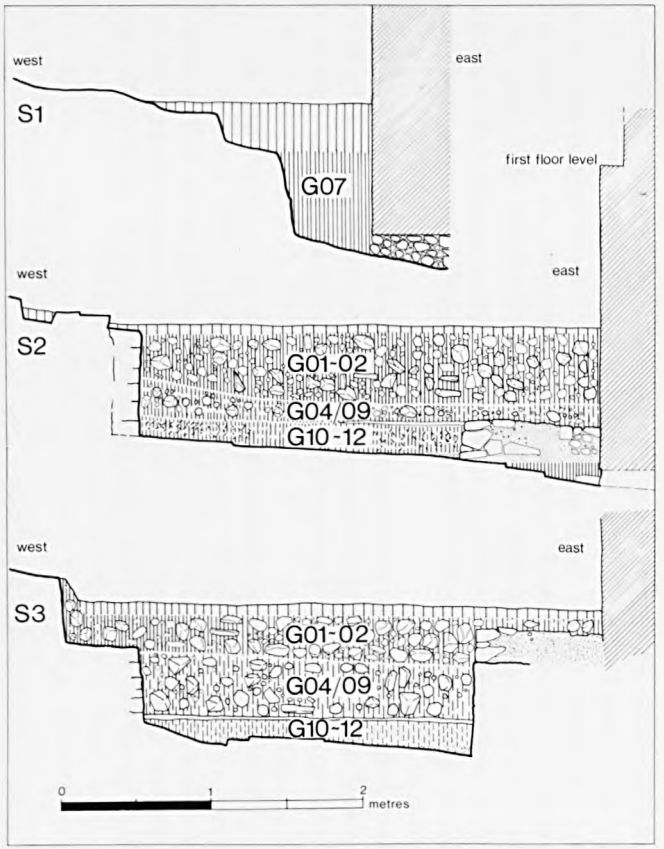


Fig. 11. The excavated Area G: sections of the curtain wall foundation trench and the undercroft.

space was presumably left to facilitate construction of the lowest courses, and the resulting trench was then filled with earth to courtyard level (Fig. 11, S1).

A length of about one metre of this trench was excavated. To the north-west it had been removed, along with surrounding bedrock, by restoration work which was undertaken before excavation commenced; but it is clear that the trench had continued at least as far as the east wall of the North Hall, for this wall overrode the trench to abut the north side curtain wall. To the south-east the trench was cut by a drain, which was stone-lined and stone-capped, and contained 18th-century pottery. Thereafter, the trench became reduced to negligible proportions beneath the east wall of Building G undercroft (see Fig. 11, S2). Beyond the undercroft bedrock reached courtyard level.

Artefacts from foundation trench G07

The excavated portion of the trench produced some animal bones and a group of pottery from which was identified a minimum number of eleven vessels (Table 1). The three pottery types into which the vessels have been divided (1A1A, 1A2A and 1B1A) were all represented in the medieval fill of the adjacent undercroft and are described below.

Fig. 12. *Vessels from the curtain-wall foundation trench fill*

1. Jar, type 1A1A; smoke-blackened (G07; no. 72).
2. Jar, type 1A1A; parts of two wheel stamps impressed on shoulder (G07; no. 59/62).
3. Jar, type 1A2A; parts of two grille stamps impressed on shoulder (G07; no. 58).
4. Jar, type 1A2A; smoke-blackened (G07; no. 75).
5. Jar, type 1B1A; at least three rouletted bands of teeth marks on shoulder (G07; no. 60).

Characteristics and date of the assemblage

These vessels comprise the earliest closed *deposit* from the site. They may, of course, be predated in *manufacture* and *use* by other vessels from the excavations: earlier sherds may have been incorporated in later contexts as residual items, or in open contexts such as the ditch silt. Nevertheless, two features of this group set it apart from the others. In the first place, it contained no sherds evidently from glazed vessels. Secondly, it included two unglazed vessels with impressed stamp decoration—the only two from the site—which may be seen to belong to Saxo-Norman traditions rather than later styles. As to the date of the group, all that can be said is that it was deposited or redeposited as refuse before or during the period when the curtain wall was being constructed, probably in the first half of the 13th century.

Building G (Figs 5, 10 and 11)

A two-storey building was attached to the most easterly stretch of curtain wall in Phase II. It was demolished during the Middle Ages, but evidence of its structural details was recovered by excavation, and by the examination of architectural features in the curtain wall. In the 19th century a dairy was erected on its site.

The lower storey of the medieval building comprised a semi-subterranean undercroft, its floor about 1.2m below courtyard level. Internally, it measured approximately 6.7m by 3m.

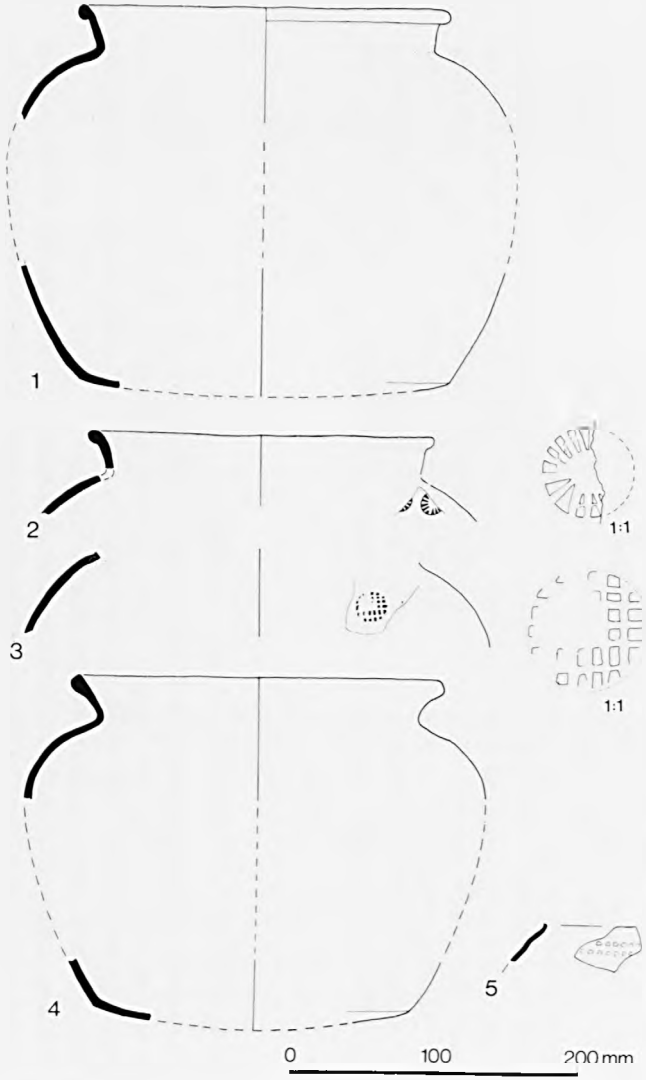


Fig. 12. Pottery vessels from the curtain wall foundation trench (Scale 1:4).

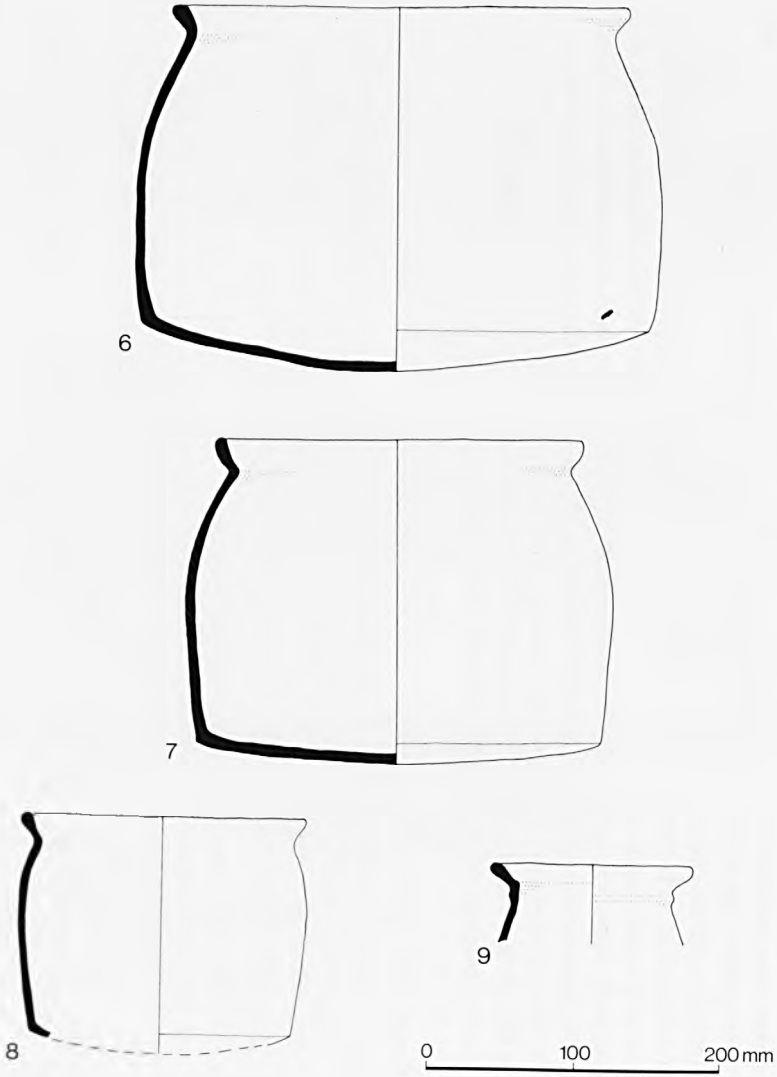


Fig. 13. Pottery vessels from Area G undercroft (Scale 1:4).

Construction of the cellar involved terracing into the sloping bedrock level with the curtain-wall foundation. On the north, west and south sides the ragged edges of rock were faced in coursed stone. The walling above had not survived. At the north end of the west side a series of rock-cut steps marked the entrance. The east side of the structure was formed by the curtain wall. In front of this was a shelf or platform of earth and rubble faced with stone. It was about 0.8m wide, and survived in places about one metre high. It is unlikely to have been a wall extending to the full height of the room, since the joists of the first floor were evidently seated in the curtain wall. The first floor of the building was approximately 2m above the cellar floor. Its former position is indicated by a ledge running along the inner face of this stretch of curtain wall: above it, the wall is about 150mm narrower than below. The wall ledge would have supported the eastern ends of the floor joists. On the other sides, the superstructure of the building may have been of timber rather than stone. Two medieval windows pierce the curtain wall (see Fig. 6). The more northerly is a narrow rectangular opening with plain chamfered surrounds and a wide internal splay. The other is a narrow light, splayed sharply downwards towards the inner face of the wall, where it extends below the ledge marking the first floor. It was evidently designed to provide light for the undercroft below that floor, in the corner farthest from the entrance.

The building is structurally secondary to the curtain wall, but this does not mean necessarily that it was erected at a significantly later date. The narrowing of the curtain wall above first-floor level indicates that the two were planned together. The function of the undercroft was presumably storage: the barrel-hoop discovered in the earliest refuse on its floor may indicate the kind of goods stored there; and the east-side platform could have supported wine casks. The room above was more probably a residence or work-place. The structure as a whole, lying beyond the lower end of the Phase II hall, may be associated with domestic services.

Pottery from building G

The fill of the undercroft was composed of three distinct deposits (Fig. 11, S2, S3). Directly upon the bedrock floor was a layer of reddish-brown soil about 0.2m thick. It contained much charcoal and plaster debris which, over most of the area, formed an irregular spread on the surface of the layer. Above this was a dump of earth, similar in colour and texture, containing large amounts of rubble. It varied in depth from 0.15 to 0.4m. The third deposit, of dark earth and rubble, contained pottery which can be assigned mainly to the 18th and 19th centuries. It filled the undercroft to courtyard level and was sealed by the dairy floor. For the purpose of the pottery discussion the lowest layer (G10-12) and the middle layer (G04, G09) have been combined, since no significant differences could be detected in the forms and fabrics of vessels found in them. Indeed, several vessels were composed of sherds from both layers. The two deposits contained a minimum number of 35 vessels of which one has been identified as Ham Greenware (code *1HGW*). The remaining types of pottery from both undercroft and curtain wall foundation trench have been defined as follows:

> *1A1A*. Unglazed jars, though two of the seven may be bowls instead. The body contains a dense scatter of quartz and other rounded grits (some brown and black), many of them between 1mm and 3mm across. The vessels are hand-built and fired to buff surfaces with light-grey cores. Basal sherds are convex, and the walls are heavily shouldered below the

neck. The jar rims are everted, and of the same thickness as the body: at the top the clay is folded out to form a flange. At least four vessels had been heated on fires. One of the five from G07 has impressed wheel stamps on the shoulder.

1A2A. Unglazed jars, though one of the 14 may have been a bowl form. The body, pitted with small voids, contains a dense scatter of quartz and other rounded inclusions, uniformly less than 0.5mm across, though with very occasional larger lumps of quartz. The jars are hand-built and fired to dark bown with red-brown surfaces. Basal sherds are convex, and the walls are heavily shouldered below the neck. Treatment of the rim is the same as for 1A1A. At least five of the vessels have been heated on fires. One, from G07, has impressed grille stamps on the shoulder.

1A3A. Unglazed vessels, of which seven are jars and one seems to be the rim of a pitcher. The body inclusions are similar to 1A2A, and the pots are hand-built. They are, however, fired to red surfaces with blue-grey reduced cores, and their shapes are different: they are not heavily shouldered, and the rims are much shorter, thickening gradually from the neck. The jars vary considerably in capacity. One has an applied thumbed vertical band running down the body from the neck.

1B1A(1). Unglazed jars, represented by five vessels. The inclusions are similar to 1A2A, though the body is more compact. They are probably hand-built and turned: there are regular horizontal lines on the upper parts of the vessels; but the lower parts are uneven, with finger indentations particularly noticeable internally at the widest part of the body and continuing down to the base. The external face of the lower body has been knife-trimmed. The vessels are fired to buff surfaces and light-grey core. All have combed, wavy-line decoration; none provides evidence for use on fires. They may therefore have been used as storage vessels.

1B1A. Unglazed vessels with body composition and firing characteristics similar to 1B1A(1), but without the combed-line decoration. One abraded sherd from G07 has rouletted teeth marks. This is the type represented by the kiln wasters from Penhow.[35]

1B1B. Glazed jugs of a fabric similar to 1B1A. They are fired to buff-orange surfaces with grey reduced cores; and they are hand-built and turned. One has combed wavy and straight horizontal lines; another has a human face applied to the rim, perhaps in imitation of Ham Green ware.

1C2A. Unglazed jars with hard-fired bodies, containing various inclusions mainly dull white ones which do not react with acid. The vessels are wheel-thrown.

Fig. 13. *Vessels from the medieval fill of Area G undercroft*

6. Jar, type 1A3A; smoke-blackened (G10; no. 4).
7. Jar, type 1A3A; smoke-blackened (G10; no. 7).
8. Jar, type 1A3A; (G10; no. 1).
9. Pitcher rim, type 1A3A; (G04; no. 26).

Fig. 14. *Vessels from the medieval fill of Area G undercroft*

10. Jar, type 1B1A(1); combed wavy lines, and fingernail marks on upper surface of rim (G11; no. 8).

11. Jar, type 1B1A(1); combed wavy lines (G04; no. 10).
12. Jar, type 1B1A; oxidised to red (G04; no. 2).
13. Jar, type 1B1A; smoke-blackened (G04, 10; no. 5).
14. Jar, type 1C2A; fully reduced, smoke-blackened (G12; no. 3).
15. Jug, type 1B1B; with applied face on rim (G09; no. 47).
16. Jug, type 1HGW; handle, and body sherds from same vessel (G04; no. 49).

Non-ceramic artefacts from building G

The medieval filling layers G04, 09, 10, 12 contained 23 iron objects, of which 14 were nail fragments. One piece of carved stonework was also recovered.

TABLE 1: AREA G POTTERY QUANTIIFICATION: MINIMUM NUMBER OF VESSELS

TYPE	G07	G04,09,10,12	G01-03	TOTAL
1 A1A	5	2	-	7
1 A2A	5	6	3	14
1 A3A	-	8	-	8
1 B1A (1)	-	5	-	5
1 B1A	1	7	3	11
1 B1B	-	3	2	5
1 C2A	-	3	1	4
1 HGW	-	1	-	1
2 SWW	-	-	1	1
2 CTW	-	-	4	4
3 GRW	-	-	31	31
3 GTW	-	-	30	30
3 YGW	-	-	19	19
3 MGW	-	-	4	4
3 DEW	-	-	10	10
3 WWW	-	-	5	5
3 (other)	-	-	3	3
4 (misc.)	-	-	Unquantified	
TOTAL	11	35	116	162

Note: The post-medieval types which form the second half of this list (codes beginning 2, 3, 4) are described in *Part Two* of this report.

Characteristics and date of the assemblage

The floor of the undercroft was undoubtedly the bedrock surface, with patches of red clay filling up irregularities. There would have been no reason first to cut down to a level surface, only then to cover it with soil and create a higher floor. All the excavated layers therefore marked the disuse rather than the use of the building. Yet some of the artefacts from the

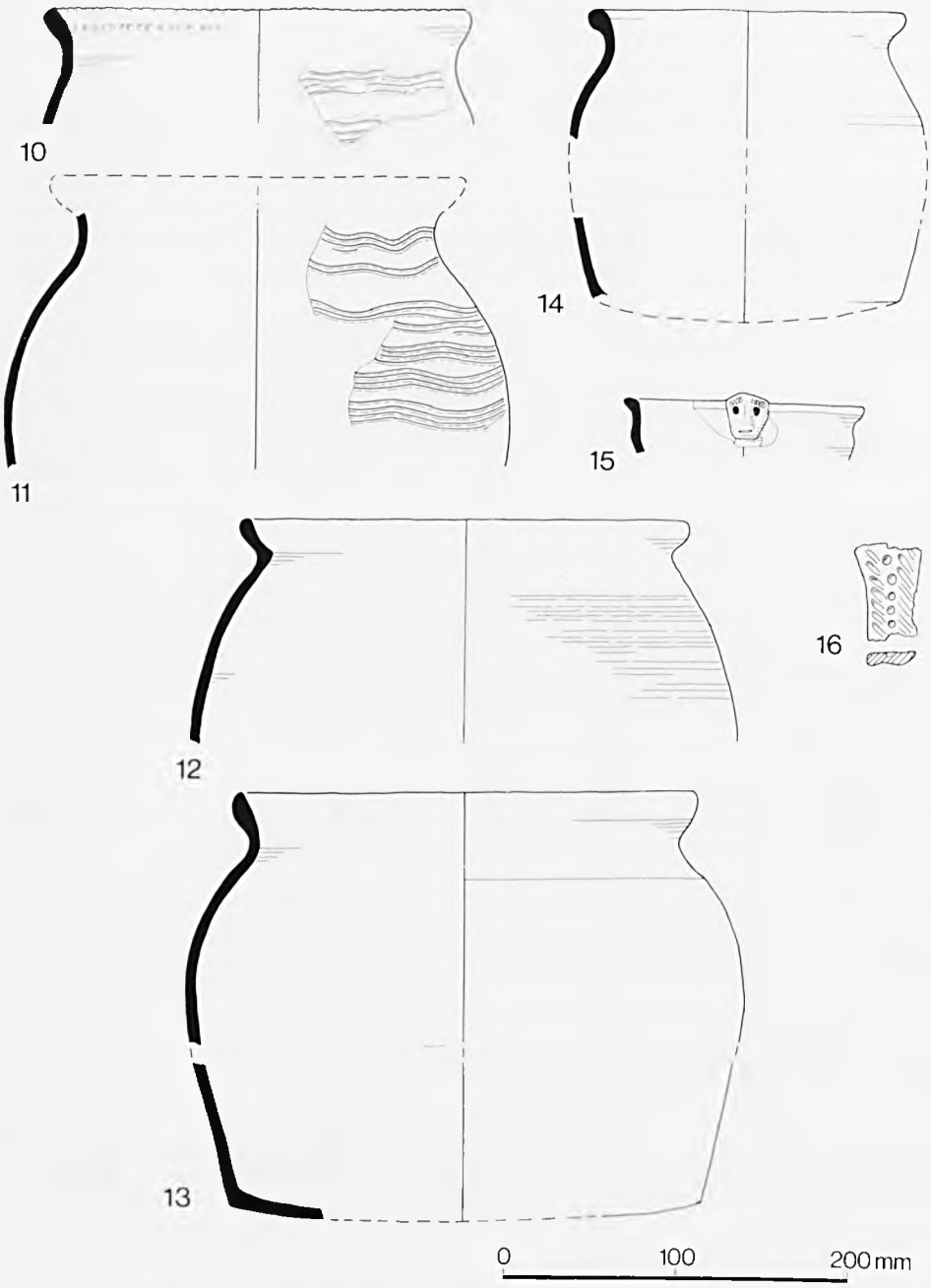


Fig. 14. Pottery vessels from Area G undercroft (Scale 1:4).

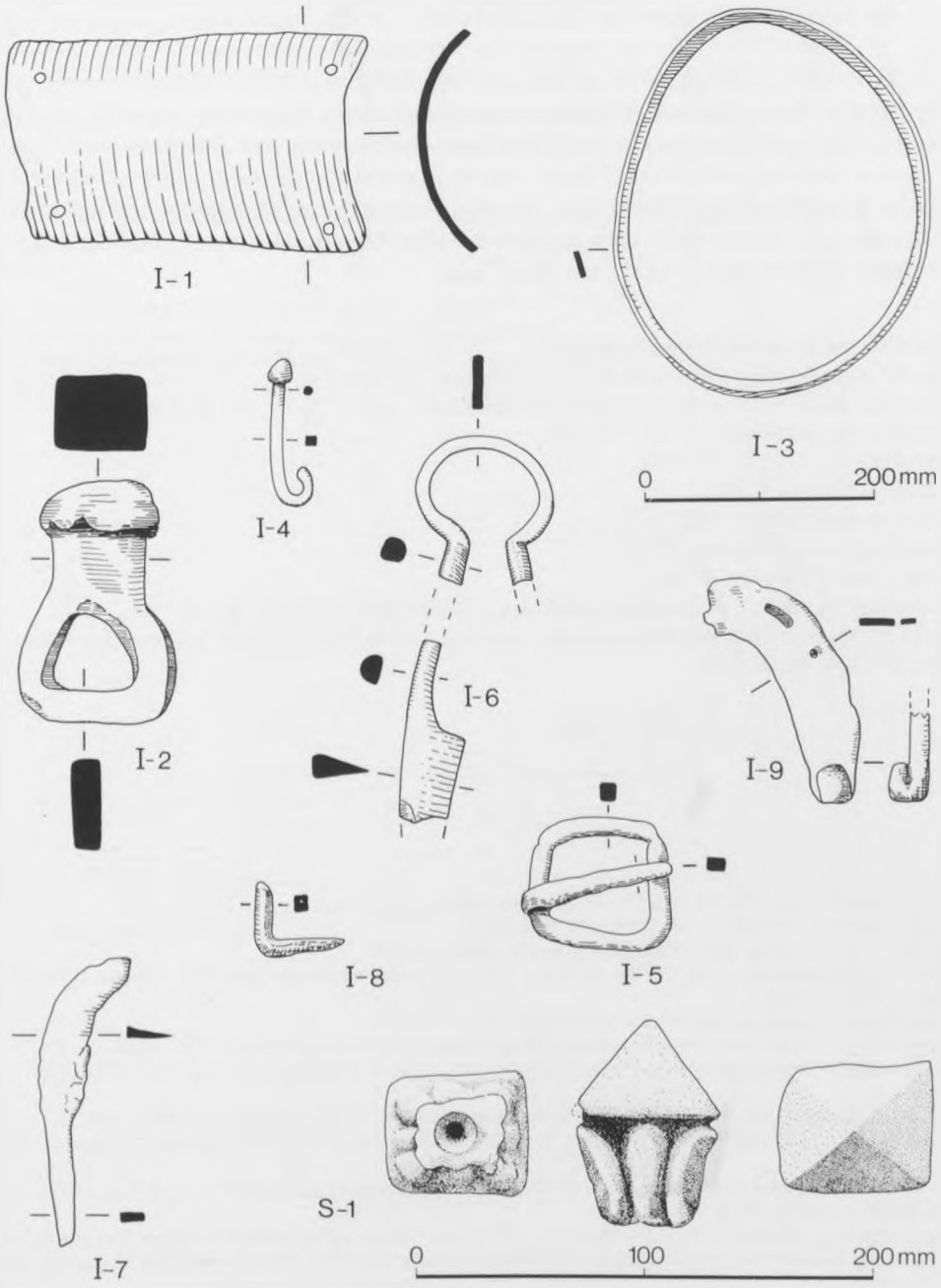


Fig. 15. Metal and stone objects from Area G undercroft (Scales 1:3, 1:6).

bottom of the fill may have been the residue of use: the ?hammer head and the barrel hoop (I-2, I-3); and some 1A3A pottery vessels (Fig. 13, nos 6-8), which survived sufficiently complete to have been broken in the undercroft, in the room above or in an adjacent building.

Though the filling took place in two stages, separated in part by a plaster spread, there is no evidence that these stages were chronologically distinct. As already noted, there was no difference in the types of pottery represented, and some vessels had sherds in both layers. No object gave a precise indication of date, but in general terms the pottery need have been deposited no later than the 14th century. Indeed, it could have been deposited before the end of the 13th century. None of the later medieval wares from the ditch was present; nor was the 'local' wheel-thrown type (1AC1; see *Part Two*).

Fig. 15. *Metal and stone objects from building G*
I-1. Curved iron binding sheet with four nail holes (G12; no. P 171).
I-2. ?Hammer head with an axe-type eye for the shaft; burred (G12; no. P 172).
I-3. Barrel hoop, canted (G.12; no. P 170).
I-4. Swivel hook (G11; no. P 197).
I-5. Buckle (G12; no. P 80).
I-6. Pair of shears (G04; nos P 29-31).
I-7. ?Reaping hook (G04; no. P 32).
I-8. Hinge pivot (G04; no. P 34).
I-9. Horseshoe fragment, with calkins and wavy outer edge (G09; no. P 33).
S-1. Decorated payamid finial of stone (tufa), with a dowel-hole in the base; presumably from a piece of furniture (G04; Stone 17).

NOTES

[1] W. Rees, *South Wales and The March 1284-1315* (Oxford, 1924), maps at end.
[2] J. Lloyd, *A History of Wales* (3rd ed., 1939), 478, 507, 545-6.
[3] *Ibid.*, 653-4, 704; T. Jones, *Brut y Tywysogion* (Cardiff, 1955), 217, 235.
[4] The document, apparently in the College of Arms, is quoted in the Wakeman Collection, Library of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. C-2, 60-61.
[5] *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, IV, no. 434, 294-6, 298.
[6] O. Morgan and T. Wakeman, *Notes on Wentwood* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiq. Ass., 1863), 37-49.
[7] O. Morgan and T. Wakeman, *Notes on Penhow Castle* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiq. Ass., 1867), 5-6.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Lloyd, *op. cit.* in note 2, 442-3; J. G. Wood 'Tintern Abbey', *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, ser. 6, 8 (1908), 349.
[10] *Domesday Book*, I, f. 162 and 185b; A. J. Taylor, 'Usk Castle and the Pipe Roll of 1185', *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 99 (1947), 251.
[11] C. S. Taylor, *An analysis of the Domesday survey of Gloucestershire* (Bristol and Gloucester Archaeol. Soc., 1889), 211-18.
[12] Lloyd, *op. cit.* in note 2, 375-6.
[13] Compare *Pipe Roll, 31 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Soc.), no. 34, 8, and *Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem*, IV, 294-6, 298.
[14] The following descent is taken from Morgan and Wakeman, *op. cit.* in note 7, 7-9 and J. Bradney, *A history of Monmouthshire*, IV, pt. 1, 192-6.
[15] Bradney, *ibid.*, IV, pt. 2, 198-9; Tithe map: Gwent Record Office D25/1959.
[16] Bradney, *ibid.*, IV, pt. 1, 10-11.
[17] *Loc. cit.* in note 5; the original (P.R.O. C133/17/13) records that Roger Seymour held three free tenements in the hamlet, but does not, of course, record the number of bond tenants.

[18] Bradney, *loc. cit.* in note 15.
[19] *Ibid.*, 200.
[20] Engraved for W. Coxe, *A Historical Tour through Monmouthshire* (1st ed., 1802).
[21] Morgan and Wakeman, *op. cit.* in note 7, 17.
[22] E.g., A Fox, 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common', *Archaeol. Cambrensis*, 94 (1939), fig. 2.
[23] S. Wrathmell, 'A medieval pottery kiln and wasters at Penhow, Gwent', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 4 (1981), 1-7.
[24] *Ibid.*, 6.
[25] O. Morgan and T. Wakeman, *Notes on Penhow Castle* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiq. Ass., 1867), 11-17.
[26] It was probably another range with a semi-subterranean undercroft.
[27] *Op cit.* in note 25, 11.
[28] Ibid.
[29] A form of castle defence discussed in D. J. Cathcart King and L. Alcock, 'Ringworks of England and Wales, *Chateau Gaillard*, III (1969), 90-127.
[30] *Ibid.*, fig. 3.
[31] *Ibid.*, 106-9.
[32] C. A. Ralegh Radford, *Goodrich Castle* (H.M.S.O., 1958), 5.
[33] Noted in P. Smith, *Houses of the Welsh Countryside* (1975), 421.
[34] M. E. Wood, *The English Medieval House* (1965), pl. 29.
[35] *Op. cit.* in note 23.

THE TINTERN ABBEY BIBLE

By DANIEL HUWS

Tintern Abbey stands as one of the magnificent ruins of medieval Cistercian monasticism. Tangible relics of the intellectual life of the abbey, the books of its library, have been far less fortunate in their survival. Until 1988 only one book was thought to have survived, but at a sale at Christie's on 7th December 1988 a second Tintern book surfaced, a thirteenth century Bible. It was bought for the National Library of Wales and is now NLW MS 22631C.

During the thirteenth century the Bible first became a popular book. This bald statement is not meant to raise questions about the place of the Bible at the heart of Christian doctrine and liturgy from the days of the early Church, simply to make a point about the history of book production. Before the thirteenth century small single-volume Bibles were unknown. Those who studied the Bible would generally have done so from large multi-volume library sets. For liturgical purposes the requisite scriptural texts were more conveniently found in missals, breviaries, psalters, lectionaries and other service books. The making of small Bibles intended for private reading was a novelty, one which was closely associated with the rise of universities. The first university was that of Paris, emerging at the end of the twelfth century. Dr Christopher de Hamel has written: 'The way that the Latin Bible was redesigned and promoted from the Paris schools was one of the most phenomenal successes in the history of book production'.[1]

Single-volume Bibles of the thirteenth century are among the commonest types of manuscripts to survive from the Middle Ages. Those in British libraries alone must number many hundreds. It is with this multitude that the Tintern Bible belongs. What is uncommon in our thirteenth-century Bibles is information about their origins and early ownership. What distinguishes NLW MS 22631C is its Tintern Abbey provenance. This is recorded by an inscription at the foot of f. 2, erased, but not erased so much as to make it illegible under ultra-violet light. Under the lamp, in script of probably the first half of the fifteenth century, one reads: *Ista biblia olim Abbathie de Tinternie*. The usual interpretation of these words would be 'This Bible used to belong to Tintern Abbey'. But antiquarian concern for recording the names of previous owners of books was not characteristic of the Middle Ages—erasure of ownership inscriptions was rather more so—so perhaps we should give *olim* in the Tintern inscription its less common connotation, 'this long time past', and take it that someone in the fifteenth century was recording that the Bible had already been at the abbey for a long time.

The only other manuscript which offers evidence of a likely association with Tintern is British Library Royal MS 14.C.vi, *Flores Historiarum*, the abridgement of Matthew Paris's *Chronica Maiora* with continuation. This manuscript, whose main portion was probably written at Hulme Abbey about 1304, includes additions relating to Tintern Abbey for the years 1305-23 which suggest that Tintern had become its home.[2] What may be more surprising than the fact that the NLW Bible is the only known manuscript with a Tintern ownership inscription, and one of only two which is attributable to Tintern at all, is the fact that it is the only known medieval Bible of Welsh monastic provenance. The only other thirteenth-century Bible from Wales is BL Additional MS 54232 from the Franciscan Friary of Llanfaes in Anglesey.

The Tintern Bible is complete and undamaged. Apart from the paper flyleaves (ff. i,ii, 340 and 341) which go with the post-medieval binding, it comprises 339 leaves measuring

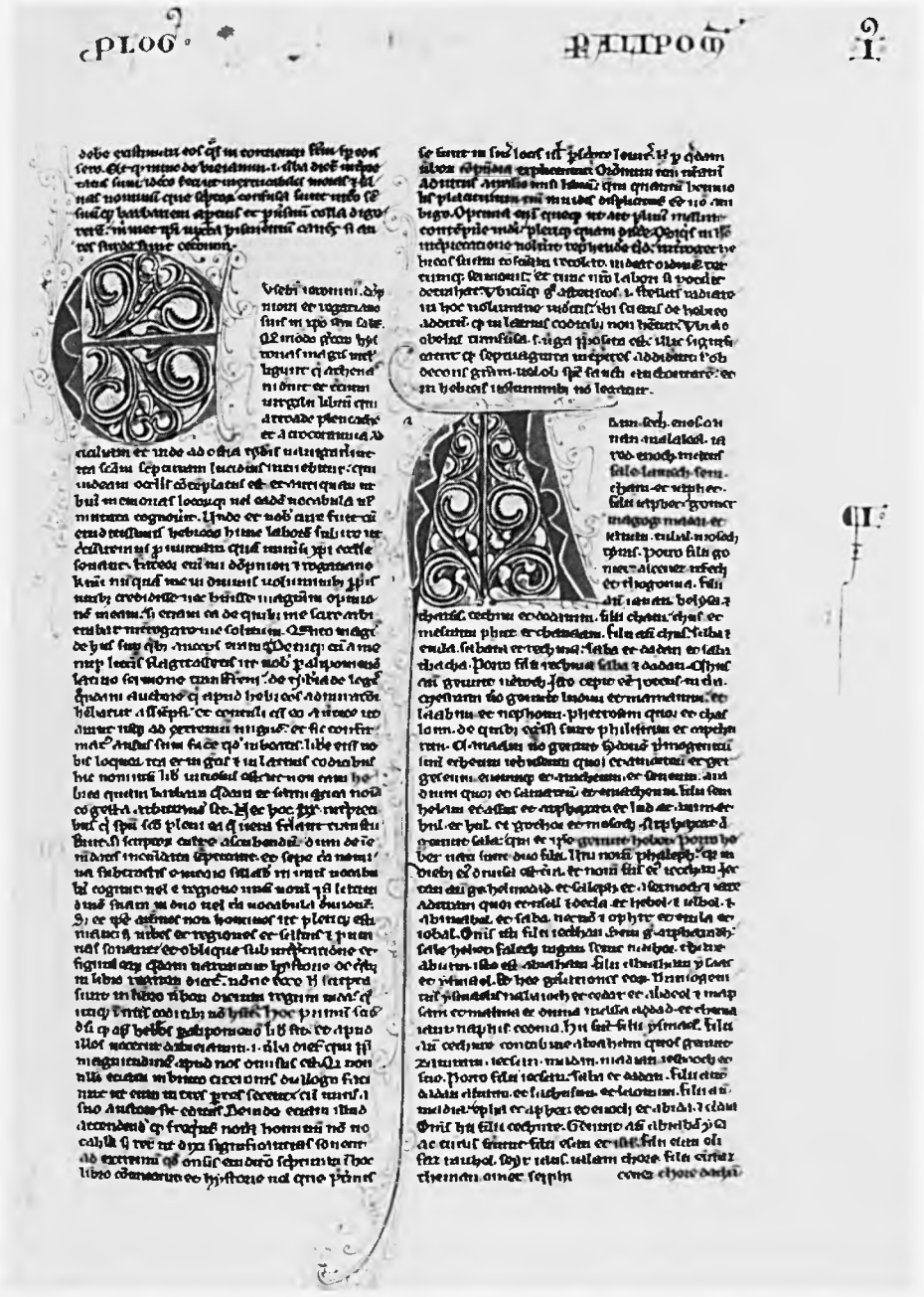


Plate 1: Tintern Abbey Bible (NLW MS 22631C), fol. 96.

235 x 170mm with written space, in two columns as was standard in these small Bibles (three for the 'Interpretation of Hebrew Names'), measuring 150 x 100mm. Bibles much smaller than this were made, some with written space no more than 90 x 60mm. One of many regular features of the Tintern Bible, characteristic of a standardized product made by practised hands, is the number of lines to the page, a constant 65, apart from the psalter which is written larger, mostly 49 lines to the page but varying 49-54.

The collation of a manuscript, the analysis of the make-up of its quires ('gatherings' or 'sections') is often revealing. The Tintern Bible, as one would expect, is more or less regular in its make-up. Its quires are of twelve leaves with the exception of quire 5, which has fourteen leaves (ff. 50-63), quire 11, which has a single leaf added at the end (f. 136), and, at the end of the book, quire 26, which is of six leaves (ff. 305-310), quire 28, which is of ten (ff. 323-332), and quire 29, again of six (ff. 333-338). Folios 1 and 339 are original parchment flyleaves. The extra bifolium in quire 5 was evidently added because either the scribe or his supervisor had decided that 1 Kings ought to begin a new quire (on f. 64) and calculated the size of the previous one accordingly. The additional leaf at the end of quire 11 was likewise to enable completion of a book within the quire, Job in this case, so that the psalms might begin in a new quire (f. 136, the added leaf, is blank apart from a third of a column of text). A new scribe takes over on f. 137 for the psalter. The short quire 26 was calculated to bring the text of the Bible to a close at the end of a quire, on f. 310. What follows in quires 27-29 is the 'Interpretation of the Hebrew Names'.

Scribes or their masters had to ensure that the leaves and quires of a book could be assembled in the right order by the binder. This they commonly did by means of a series of numbers or letters, or combination of both, which we call signatures. The makers of the Tintern Bible were not consistent in their practice. In so far as the signatures survive (being close to the foot of the page, many are cut away by the binder), we see that in quires 1-8 the first six leaves were signed on the verso of the first leaf and on the rectos of the next five: *a, b, c, d, e* and *f*: while each quire itself was distinguished by a mark of some sort (e.g. a cross, a circle, a line) above the letters. In quires 9-11, numbers (written *i, ii, iii, iiii, iiiii, iiiiii*) replace letters while the marks (such marks have been called 'ad hoc marks') persist. In quires 12-29 signatures survive rather thinly, but those which are to be seen are again the letters *a* to *f*, not here always associated with ad hoc marks. Another device to link quires was the catchword. In the Tintern Bible there is one, on f. 160v, and what may be the remains of others on ff. 13v and 75v. Possibly they were written on each quire and have, with one exception, all been cropped off by the binder.

The Bible is the work of two scribes, their script suggesting that they were active around the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The first, whom we shall call A, wrote ff. 2-136. On f. 136, at the end of Job, he registered his relief by signing off with the remark: *Explicit expliceat; ludere scriptor eat*. Folios 137 (beginning with the psalter) to 221v are written by a second scribe, B. On f. 222 scribe A resumes and continues through to the end on f. 338v. While the change-over between f. 136 and 137 corresponds to the start of a new quire, allowing for the possibility that B may have been at work before A had reached f. 136, the second change-over comes within a quire. B wrote the recto and verso of the first leaf of quire 19 and A took over in mid-sentence at the top of the recto of the second leaf; this time it is clear that the two scribes were collaborating closely.

The hand of scribe A is a fine example of the small rounded script developed from the larger textura (early 'gothic') for use in small thirteenth-century books, most notably the

Bible, a script sometimes designated 'pearl' and one which, as in the Tintern Bible, is capable of great legibility despite its small size; see Plate 1. A fondness for decorative extensions into the margin of the ascenders and descenders of letters is evident in some parts of A's text, and gives it some individuality, e.g. ff. 1, 37v, 124, and 222-38; these calligraphic extensions and some majuscule letter forms within the text show the influence of cursive business script, or 'court hand'. Scribe B writes a small version of contemporary textura, erect and cramped, one which is in consequence much less legible than A's; see Plate 2, not forgetting that elsewhere B has to fit 65 lines to the page, not 49 as here. B uses a consistently very black ink; A's is mostly dark brown.

Some small thirteenth-century Bibles were historiated. In other words, the primary initials, the large ones at the beginnings of books and prologues, would enclose miniatures of appropriate scenes. The cheapest Bibles would have only modest decorated red and blue initials. The Tintern Bible comes somewhere in between on the scale of sumptuousness. There is no historiation but the initials are of fine quality. They occupy from seven to thirteen lines of text and are parti-coloured red and blue with delicate pen-drawn tendrils of red and blue extending into the margin. The decoration of the interiors of letters is of two types. On ff. 1, 3v, 126v and 137-295 it is of fine red and blue penwork; on ff. 16v-130 and 295-311 it is of uncurling foliage, the stems coloured green, the ground touched in brown. The former type is common in contemporary manuscripts, the latter, with regard to the colours, is not. The two types are represented in Plates 2 and 1 respectively. Secondary initials, those for the openings of chapters, occupy two lines of text and are alternately in red and blue, with marginal penwork in the contrasting colour. This is standard decoration for well produced books of the time, as are the running heads giving the name of the book at the head of each page (but absent in the psalter) and the chapter numbers in the margin, all in alternate red and blue letters. Directions for the rubricator were provided by the scribe, indicating what heading or chapter number was required. The scribes of the Tintern Bible conform to common practice; their faintly written directions in plummet (the medieval equivalent of pencil) are to be seen in the margins of many pages.

We cannot pass by the craftsmen who made the Tintern Bible without asking who they may have been and where they may have worked. The hugely increased demand for Bibles and other text books in the thirteenth century undoubtedly brought about a shift of book production from monastic to secular workshops. In this century Oxford soon followed the example of Paris and became an important centre for the commercial production of books, including Bibles. One certainly cannot assume that the Tintern Bible was produced in the scriptorium of the abbey. A Cistercian origin would at least be allowed by the lack of gold or historiation: British Cistercian scriptoria seem generally to have observed the prohibition of pictorial decoration and ostentation which was laid down by the statutes of the order.[3] On the other hand, the punctuation mark known as the *flexus*, the 'seven and point', one particularly associated with Cistercian scriptoria, seems to be quite absent from our Bible. And one of the marginal glosses (see below) looks as though it might have been made by a friar. The Dominicans and the Franciscans, closely involved in the universities, had their part in the Bible trade, as both users and producers. One cannot even be sure whether the Tintern Bible may not have been written in France rather than Britain; the script and decoration of small Bibles at this date do not offer easy criteria.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the text of the Vulgate, as a result of the work of several generations of scholars at the University of Paris, had reached a point of refinement

far beyond that of previous centuries. The names of books and their division into numbered chapters had been standardized; the canon and the order of books were more or less fixed; there was a fairly unchanging set of prologues (attributed to St Jerome) to introduce the books. One does not look to the hundreds of Bibles surviving from this century in hope of finding significant textual variation.

For the practical purpose of describing thirteenth-century Bibles Dr N. R. Ker took as a standard Lambeth Palace MS 1364.[4] This manuscript represents the usual order of French Bibles of the time. The order of books in the Tintern Bible corresponds to that of Lambeth 1364; the Tintern Bible diverges in that it lacks the Prayer of Manasses and includes after Ecclesiasticus the Prayer of Solomon. In its prologues the Tintern Bible shows more variation that is usual among its contemporaries.[5] A standard feature of thirteenth-century Bibles is the appending at the end of the biblical text of the *Interpretationes Nominum Hebraicorum*, the 'Interpretation of Hebrew Names', an alphabetical list of Hebrew names in the Bible with their meanings in Latin. The Tintern Bible has this list on ff. 311-338v, beginning *Aaz apprehendens vel apprehensio.*[6]

We cannot usually tell much about the readers of a book unless they are given to the not always applauded practice of marking the margins of pages. A good number of thirteenth-century readers have left their marks in the Tintern Bible. The first of them was scribe A himself, correcting his own text, e.g. ff. 54 and 73v. Then came the contemporaries or near-contemporaries. These also make corrections to the text, they add cross-references, giving scriptural parallels, they add glosses, explaining single words or interpreting passages; they annotate in hardpoint (of bone perhaps, or metal), in plummet or in ink, the ink sometimes repeating a note first made in hardpoint or plummet. Good examples of annotation in plummet occur on ff. 80-89v (Kings) and ff. 292-293v (Paul's epistles). A thirteenth-century corrector in ink is conspicuous on ff. 20v-21v. Another—or perhaps more than one hand—is represented by the neat annotation on ff. 67v-71v, 95, 159-162, 170v, 304v-5, 307-8. Another thirteenth-century hand added on f. 1v, the flyleaf, a list showing the order of the books in the volume, 'Ordo librorum istius biblie', a sign that readers were not yet accustomed to an entirely canonical order.

Most of the substantial glosses derive from the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the standard corpus of concise biblical gloss which had been in common currency from the twelfth century. One hand glosses Baruch and Ezekiel in plummet on ff. 207v and 209. Another writing in ink with a very fine quill glosses Luke and 1 Corinthians on ff. 271 and 283v. Several substantial glosses on f. 271v on Luke 19.29 and 20.9-12, by two hands, derive also from the *Glossa Ordinaria*; but one gloss on the words *duos discipulos suos* in Luke 19.29 I have not traced: 'videlicet propterea duos ordines predicatorum, unum in circumsisionem, alterum in gentibus'. To speak, in the thirteenth century, of two preaching orders can only have been in awareness of the newly founded orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Is a friar perhaps more likely to have written this gloss than a Cistercian monk?

There are further substantial thirteenth-century glosses written on the end flyleaf, f. 339. Those on the recto are in plummet and hard to make out; three on the verso are in ink and gloss the Apocalypse. There is a reference to Haymo. The glosses evidently derive from the ninth-century Haimo of Auxerre's commentary, *Expositio in Apocalypsin.*[7] The reader who in the same century numbered in the margin of f. 20v the ten commandments in chapter 20 of Exodus is of interest in that he used arabic numberals: these only reached England around the middle of the century and their use was still rare.

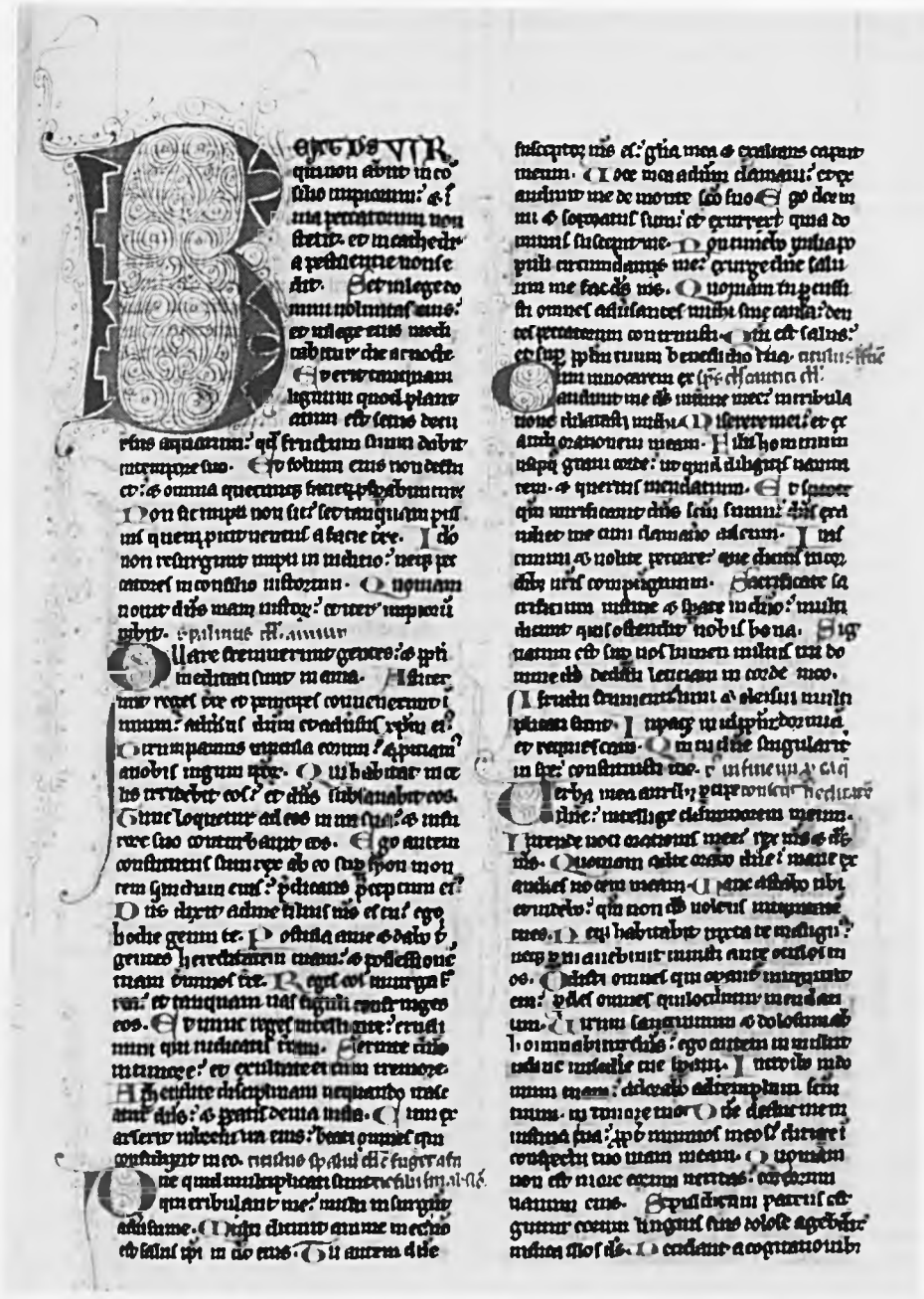


Plate 2: Tintern Abbey Bible (NLW MS 22631C), fol. 137.

A secular touch is provided by two Latin couplets written on the flyleaf, f. 1, also in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Dum poteris subici non debes dicere 'vici'
Nam quis vincatur, quis vincat, fine probatur.

Te tua sensus offer et actus ac rege gnarus
Sicque sacerdotis et regis nomen habebis.

The first of them is known from two continental manuscripts.[8] The first line of the second looks like a riddle, concealing a personal name. It has defeated me.

Tell-tale evidence of use of the manuscript by readers beyond about 1300 is relatively scant; it does not necessarily follow of course that it was less used, though one may guess that it may have been. The text from Proverbs to Isaiah, ff. 161-184, is extensively marked with signposts to its contents by a hand of around 1400, alongside earlier hands. And a fourteenth or fifteenth-century hand on f. 121 notes 'Hic caret 4 liber Esdre', noting the absence of 4 Ezra, which with 3 Ezra (a book which does occur in the Tintern Bible), often appears in medieval Bibles.

Successful erasure has obliterated part of the history of the manuscript. On the end flyleaf, f. 339v, all that can now be read of a medieval inscription, doubtless an ex libris, is the first word *Liber*. Written over this erasure and itself in turn later erased is another inscription probably a personal name, of sixteenth/seventeenth-century date. Apart from the Tintern Abbey inscription there are others, more effectively erased, on ff. 1 and 2. The earliest is probably that on f. 2 in italic script of probably the late sixteenth century which appears to be the signature of one J. P., the surname, beyond the uncertain P, illegible.

Another clue to the post-dissolution ownership of the Bible comes on f. 245v where a hand of around 1600 has scribbled 'Hic iacit Edward Johan[ne]es' (the last word uncertain). This does not take us far. Much more helpful is a note on f. 221: 'John Watkyn, sonne of Gyffard Watkyn of Watford in Northamtonshire' in a seventeenth-century hand. Giffard Watkin inherited the manor of Watford from his father William Watkin in 1597; he was a wool-dealer and married in 1608.[9] William Watkyn was the son of John Watkyn of Watford, described as yeoman, who died in 1583. William had then come into the manor of Watford (and another manor 'called Catesbies', also in Watford) which John Watkyn had acquired in 1569 from one Thomas Owen in lieu of a debt of £566. John evidently had brothers; the family must have been well established in Watford by the middle of the sixteenth century.[10] Watkin (with variant spellings) occurs sporadically as a Northamptonshire surname in pre-Dissolution times.[11] So, although Watkin is a good Monmouthshire name and the county one in which in the Middle Ages the woollen industry thrived—indeed Tintern Abbey itself had in its day been known for its wool,[12] the tempting hypothesis that the Bible came to Northamptonshire after the Dissolution, or even before it, in the care of a Gwent wool-dealer must await better evidence.

The present binding of the Bible is of the seventeenth century. It is of calf, on five bands, the covers decorated first by two concentric panels formed by double blind-tooled lines, and later, but in the same century, tooled in gold, the panels being re-defined and lozenge centre-pieces added. The binding has brass clasps and corner-pieces. The watermark of the paper flyleaves is similar to Heawood no. 589; a parchment pastedown is a manuscript fragment of around 1600 bearing quotations from Virgil. At the seventeenth-century

binding a few of the medieval marginal notes were slightly cropped, e.g. ff. 271 and 283. Of the earlier binding we can say that it had wooden boards (there are woodworm holes in ff. 1-8), that there was in the lower board a brass pin for a strp to attach to (there is a verdigris stain on f.339v) and that it appears to have been on four bands (to judge by what can be seen of earlier sewing holes). The pagination 1-101 on ff. 4-54 is perhaps of the seventeenth century.

There is little that needs to be said about the later history of the manuscript. It was sold at Sotheby's on 15 February 1858 as lot 209 in the sale of the library of Lord Alvanay (Richard Pepper Ardeb, third Baron, 1792-1857), for thirteen guineas, a price which may be compared with the £30,000 paid by the National Library in 1988. The 1858 catalogue refers to the Bible as having formerly belonged to John Crewe, esquire, of Utkinton (in Cheshire) and mentions a signature of his on a flyleaf (none is now to be seen) and that a note on the flyleaf, now f. 1, stating that 'Acts is placed after Hebrews & next before James' is in his hand. This note is in what looks a late eighteenth-century hand. Latterly, the Bible belonged to members of the Pease family.

NOTES

[1] *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), p. 110. Dr de Hamel on pp. 107-117 gives an admirable account of the developments which here are only briefly touched on.

[2] G. F. Warner & J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), ii, pp. 134-5.

[3] Anne Lawrence, 'English Cistercian manuscripts of the twelfth century' in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* edited by C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 284-297.

[4] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969-), i, pp. 96-7.

[5] Prologues are conveniently identified by their numbers in F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* (Madrid, 1940-80). Compared with Lambeth 1364, the Tintern Bible omits the prologues for 2 Chronicles, Baruch, Hosea, Habakkuk, Zephaniah and Haggai; Amos has only Stegmüller 512, Jonah has 524 and 521 not separated, Malachi has 545, Maccabees 552, 550 and 551, 1 Corinthians has 697, Acts has 633 and 640, and Apocalypse has 834, but misplaced, coming before the Catholic Epistles; Joel has a prologue not in Stegmüller ('Johel qui interpretatur domine deus siue incipiens deo uel fuit dei. Hoc eius vocabulum resonat . . . et Micheas') but occuring in a thirteenth-century Bible, probably French, now in California, see C. W. Dutschke & R. H. Rouse, *Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the Claremount Libraries* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1986), Crispin MS 1, described on pp. 9-12.

[6] A verion evidently very close to Stegmüller, op. cit. 1709.

[7] Printed in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxvii, as the work of Haimo of Halberstadt. Most of the texts attributed to Haimo of Halberstadt are now recognised to be the work of Haimo of Auxerre, see *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris, 1937-) *s n.* Of the three glosses, the first and third seem to derive from *PL* cxvii, 983-4 and 1004-6; the source in the commentary of the second, also from Haimo, I have not traced.

[8] See H. Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters* (Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, ii, Göttingen, 1963-), no. 6656.

[9] M. E. Finch, *Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640* (Northamptonshire Record Society, xix, 1956), p. 31. William Watkyn may have been the man of that name who in 1559 did business with John Isham, a Northamptonshire merchant established in London who dealt in wool and cloth, see G. D. Ramsay, *John Isham, Mercer and Merchant Adventurer* (Northamptonshire Record Society, xxi, 1962), pp. 51 and 61.

[10] For my information about John Watkyn, derived from the Watford parish register and from the Ormonde (Kilkenny) collection in the Northamptonshire Record Office, I am entirely indebted to Miss R. Watson, the County Archivist.

[11] W. P. W. Phillimore, *A Calendar of Wills relating to the Counties of Northampton and Rutland . . . 1510 to 1652* (British Record Society, Index Library, i, 1888), *s.n.*

[12] T. C. Mendenhall, *The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the XVI and XVII Centuries* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 3 and 26; D. H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), p. 120.

GWENT SEALS: I

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS and RODNEY HUDSON

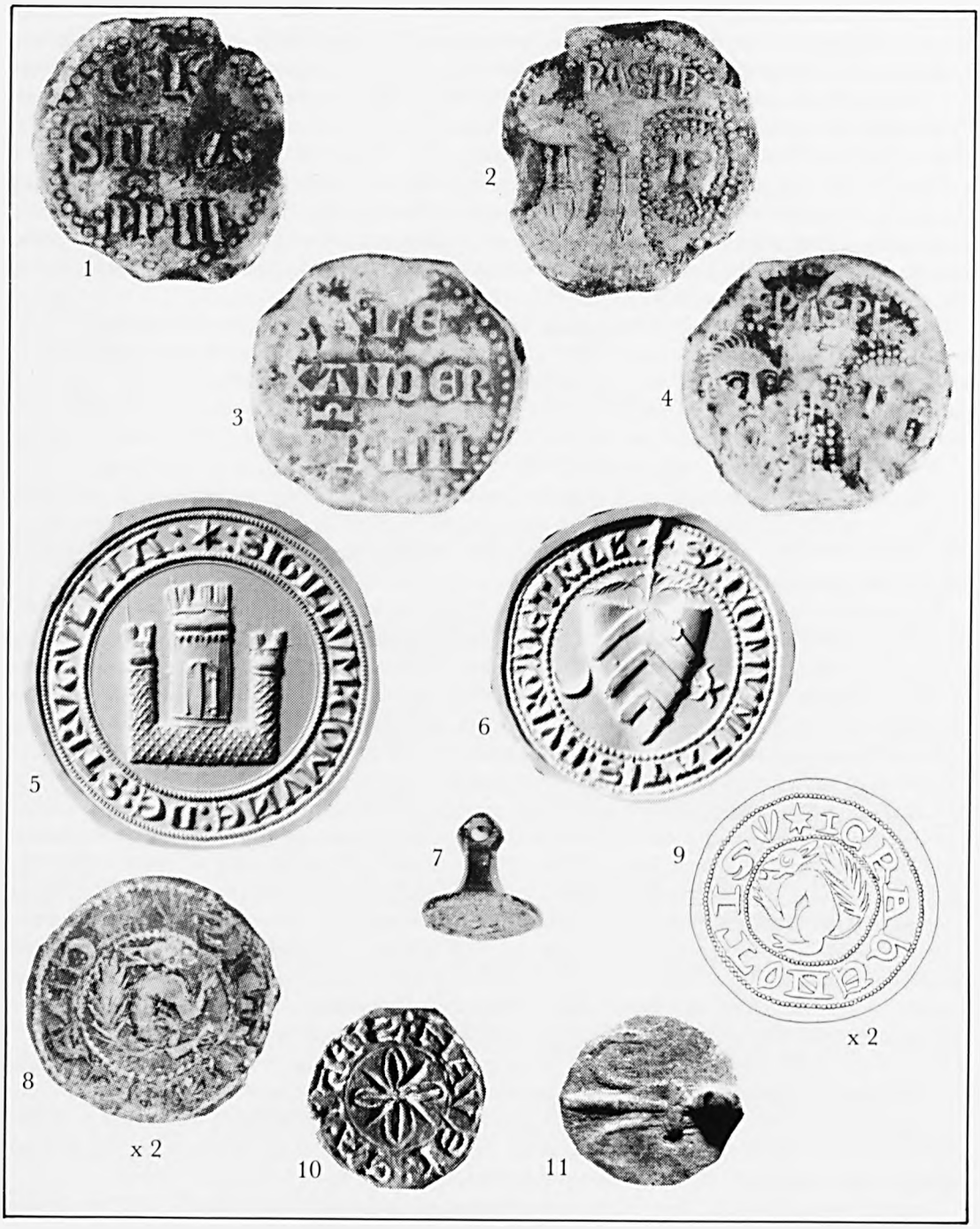
Recent excavation in Wales—as at Carmarthen Priory,[1] field investigation—at the possible site of Ewenny Fair,[2] and the explorations of metal detector enthusiasts—notably at Haverfordwest and Tenby, have resulted in the discovery of a number of seal matrices. Previously unrecorded seals connected with Gwent have also come to light, and, as space allows, will find full description in this journal.

Most Cistercian monasteries received several missives from the Holy See: bulls detailing the general common rights and privileges of the Order, confirming the possessions of a particular abbey, or lending protection to an individual house in time of difficulty. The parchment of such bulls has often perished, but in many cases the leaden papal seals (*bullae*) formerly attached have survived.

Mr K. L. Morgan of Cwmbrân, using a metal detector, discovered two such *bullae* in the autumn of 1985 close to the site of Llantarnam Abbey—a monastery founded perhaps in 1179. The inference is that they pertain to papal bulls addressed to that abbey. The first dates from the reign of Pope Celestine III (1189-98) and might well have been attached to its first major papal charter. The second is of the pontificate of Alexander IV (1254-61) and was perhaps appended to the bull issued in 1261 confirming the privilege of the Order that no monk could be summoned to a synod or other non-Cistercian ecclesiastical assembly without permission from the Holy See. As with all such *bullae* from the commencement of the twelfth century, the obverse face bears the name of the reigning pontiff, the reverse depicts the apostles Peter and Paul.[3]

Subsequent to a royal or baronial charter being issued to a new borough, and indeed frequently provided for within it, the mayor and burgesses generally engraved a common seal—like *(papal) bullae* always circular in shape,[4] Such seals are known for several Gwent medieval towns, but two have hitherto received but scant attention—their matrices are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and emanate from the collections of the eighteenth-century antiquary, Richard Rawlinson. The first matrix is the common seal of the borough of Chepstow utilising its early medieval name of Striguil, and displaying—not unnaturally, an imposing castle keep. There is no record of an early charter being granted to Chepstow, but this seal (of early-fourteenth century engraving) long predates the charter granted by the Earl of Worcester in 1524.[5] The seal has been previously ascribed to Strongoli in Calabria.[6] The second relevant civic seal at the Ashmolean is that of the former borough of Trellech, which was a sizeable market and fair town in the late thirteenth century[7] and came to have 'a mayor for its chief officer'.[8] Its decline, which commenced perhaps with the Welsh revolt of 1295, was such that by 1677 the burgesses did not have their charter renewed.[9] The seal bears three chevrons, the arms of the De Clares—Earls of Gloucester (and thereby Lords of Usk—which lordship took in Trellech) until 1314.[10] These arms assist in dating the seal. This matrix, too, has been variously and wrongly ascribed in earlier works to both Triel (Seine et Oise, France)[11] and to Trill (Devon).[12] No knowledge exists as to when Trellech received a charter, nor is there any known extant impression of this seal—but there can be little doubt that it does relate to the Gwent village—often termed 'Trillech' in the Middle Ages.

The last two seals described in this issue belonged to private individuals. The first has a device (a squirrel cracking a nut) and legend paralleled elsewhere. It is an impersonal seal, not bearing the name of its owner, and very probably was mass-produced and bought, so to


1
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x 2
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11

speak, 'off the peg' by lesser landowners and others who needed a seal for business purposes, but could not afford the costly process of having their own particular seal engraved. The last seal, a more substantial matrix, bears the name of Philip ab Ieuan. Its provenance (in the Llandegfedd area) and its apparent date make it *possible* that it belonged to Philip Ieuan who was active in a riot at Goldcliff Priory in 1321-22 and who was one of several men to take the prior captive to Usk Castle.[13]

NOTES

[1] By Mr Terrence James.
[2] By Mr Steven Sell.
[3] L. de la Marche, *Les Sceaux* (Paris, 1889) 245-6.
[4] J. H. Bloom, *English Seals* (London, 1906) 219.
[5] NLW, Badminton Manorial MSS I, 1790 (No. 11).
[6] *Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum* (1836) No. 797.
[7] I. N. Soulsby, 'Trelech: A Decayed Borough of Medieval Gwent' in *Monm. Antiq.* IV (III-IV: 1981-2) 41.
[8] *Edward Lhwyd's Parochialia*, Arch. Camb. Suppl. pt. III (London, 1911) 19.
[9] Soulsby, op. cit. 42.
[10] C. J. O. Evans, *Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1953) 90.
[11] *Catalogue of the Ashmolean Museum* (1836) No. 317.
[12] R. Rawlinson, *English Topographer* (1720) 40-1.
[13] W. Rees, *Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1975).

Catalogue

Celestine III (1191-98)

1. *Obverse* *Location*: Newport Museum.
Lead *bulla*, covered in white patina, bent (perhaps damaged by a contractor's bulldozer); circular, 36mm diameter.
Within a beaded border, the name of the pontiff:
CELE
STINVS
· **P̄P̄** · **III** · (Late Roman Capitals)
Found by Mr K. L. Morgan at NGR: 310929.
Photograph: Newport Museum.

2. *Reverse*
Within a beaded border, *dexter*: the head of St Paul (defaced), *sinister*: that of St Peter, both set within a beaded frame, and between them a tall cross pattee, on its summit a pellet; in field above, the Roman initials:
S'PA S'PE (for St Paul and St Peter)
Other Examples: British Library (Dept. of MSS), Detached Seals XXXVIII, 31; CVII, 31.
Reference: W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum* VI (London, 1900) 268 (No. 21,736).

Alexander IV (1254-61)

3. *Obverse* *Location*: Newport Museum.
Lead bulla, covered in white patina, and worn; circular, 36mm diameter.
Within a beaded border, the name of the pontiff:
ALE
XANDER
· **P̄P̄** · **IIII** · (Early Lombardic Capitals)
Found by Mr K. L. Morgan at NGR 393093.
Photograph: Newport Museum.

4. *Reverse*

Within a beaded border, and separately enclosed each within a beaded frame, *dexter*: the head of St Paul, *sinister*: that of St Peter (defaced), between them a tall cross pattée, surmounted by a pellet; in field above, the Early Lombardic initials:

S'PA S'PE

Other Examples: British Library, Detached Seals: XXXVIII, 26; CXVII, 61, 62.
Reference: Birch, op. cit., VI, 265-6 (No. 21,719).

5. **Borough of Chepstow**
Common Seal *Location:* National Museum of Wales (Dept. of Archaeology and Numismatics).

White silicon rubber, modern impression from the perhaps early 14th Century brass matrix at the Ashmolean Museum (No. 797); circular, 49mm diameter.

An imposing keep, with double turretted curtain wall; beaded borders.

*** : SIGILLVM : COMVNE : DE : STRVGVLLIA :** (Lombardic Capitals)

Another Example: Society of Antiquaries, Seal Draw D 3.
Photograph: National Museum of Wales.

6. **Borough of Trellech**
(Common Seal) *Location:* as No. 5

White silicon rubber, modern impression from the perhaps late 13th Century bronze matrix at the Ashmolean Museum (No. 317); circular, 40mm diameter.

A shield (ensigned with foliage): three chevrons, *De Clare*; between *dexter*, a crescent; *sinister*, a star of five rays; beaded borders.

+ S': COMVNITATIS : BVRG'. DE TRILL' (Lombardic Capitals)

Other examples: British Library, Detached Seals LXII, 19 and D. C. F. 340; Society of Antiquaries, Seal Drawer D 13.
Reference: Birch, op. cit. II (1892) 200 (No. 5467).
Photograph: National Museum of Wales.

Impersonal Seal

7. Bronze seal matrix of perhaps about 1270-1310, with pierced handle for attachment; found by Mr K. L. Morgan at NGR 310929 on a site being prepared for industrial development.

8. Circular face, 17mm diameter; fine, but with dark green patina.
A squirrel with a nut in its paws; beaded borders.

*** I CRAKE NOTIS** (Lombardic Captials)
('I crack nuts')

Photograph: Newport Museum.
Cf Tonnochy, A. B., *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum* (London, 1952) no. 754. Wise, P. J., *Hulton Abbey: A Century of Excavations* (Staffs Arch. Studies, Museum Arch. Soc. Report, N.S. No. 2, Stoke-on-Trent, 1985) p. 49., fig. 29.

9. *Sketch*: Newport Museum and Art Gallery.

10. **Philip ab Ieuan**
Lead matrix (Torfaen Museum, Acc. No. 772) of perhaps about 1300; circular, 25mm diameter.
A quatrefoil.

S' PHI · AP: IEVAN: (Lombardic Capitals)

Photograph: Torfaen Museum.

11. The reverse of the matrix bears a fleur-de-lys in low relief, together with a broken suspension loop.
This matrix was found by Mr R. Langley of New Inn, Pontypool, at NGR 325005, nearly 1 metre deep below the water-line in Llandegfedd Reservoir. There is a possibility that the seal was re-deposited from another part of the locality during the construction of the reservoir, and so the find-spot may not be an exact provenance.

THE DATE OF LLANTHONY PRIMA CHURCH

By JOHN RHODES

Recent writers have said that the present church of Llanthony Prima Priory (the second on the site) was probably started in about 1175, and that there is no positive evidence for its date.[1] In fact, as I shall show, there is negative evidence that it was not started before 1198, and positive evidence that it was being built in 1205-1217.

Negative evidence

1. Giraldus Cambrensis lists the priors who despoiled Llanthony Prima church, and died in misery for their despoliation, as William of Wycombe (1137-c.1150), Clement of Gloucester (c.1150-c.1174), and Roger of Norwich (c.1174-c.1189).[2] Clearly its rebuilding was not started in their priorates, i.e. not before 1189.
2. The revenues of Meath, including the tithes which are acknowledged to have paid for the rebuilding, were taken into the king's hands from 1186 to 1194 and again from 1195 to 1198.[3] So the rebuilding can scarcely have started before 1198.

Positive evidence

According to a deed of partition between Llanthony Prima and Secunda Priories, 'the obventions of the church of Duleek (co. Meath) are to go for the use of building the church of Llanthony in Wales for twelve years' (*in usus ecclesie Lanthonie in Wallia construende per duodecim annos*).[4] The deed is dated 1205 so building was expected to be completed in 1205-1217.

Discussion

If the church was started after 1198 then it is its predecessor which Giraldus Cambrensis described in 1191 as 'covered with lead sheets and built, as befits the nature of the place, with a stone floor' (*plumbeis laminis operta lapideoque tabulatu pro loci natura non indecenter exstructa*). Giraldus nevertheless reissued the same description in 1214 as applying to the new church and added that it was built of freestone (*lapidibus qui liberi vulgo dicuntur constructa*).[5] Presumably, here as elsewhere, work was interrupted by the interdict of 1208-1213,[6] so the most probable dates of building are from 1198 to 1208 and from 1213 to 1217 or later.

NOTES

[1] E. W. Lovegrove, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* xcix (1947), 68; D. H. Evans, *Monmouthshire Antiquary* v (1984), 52.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera vi. Itinerarium Kambriae* (ed. J. F. Dimock, Rolls Series 1868), lib i, cap iii, p. 39. For dates of the priorates see D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, *Heads of Religious Houses 940-1216* (1972), 172: Roger last occurs as prior in 1186-9 and his successor first occurs in 1189.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography* s.v. Walter de Lacy, sixth Baron Lacy.

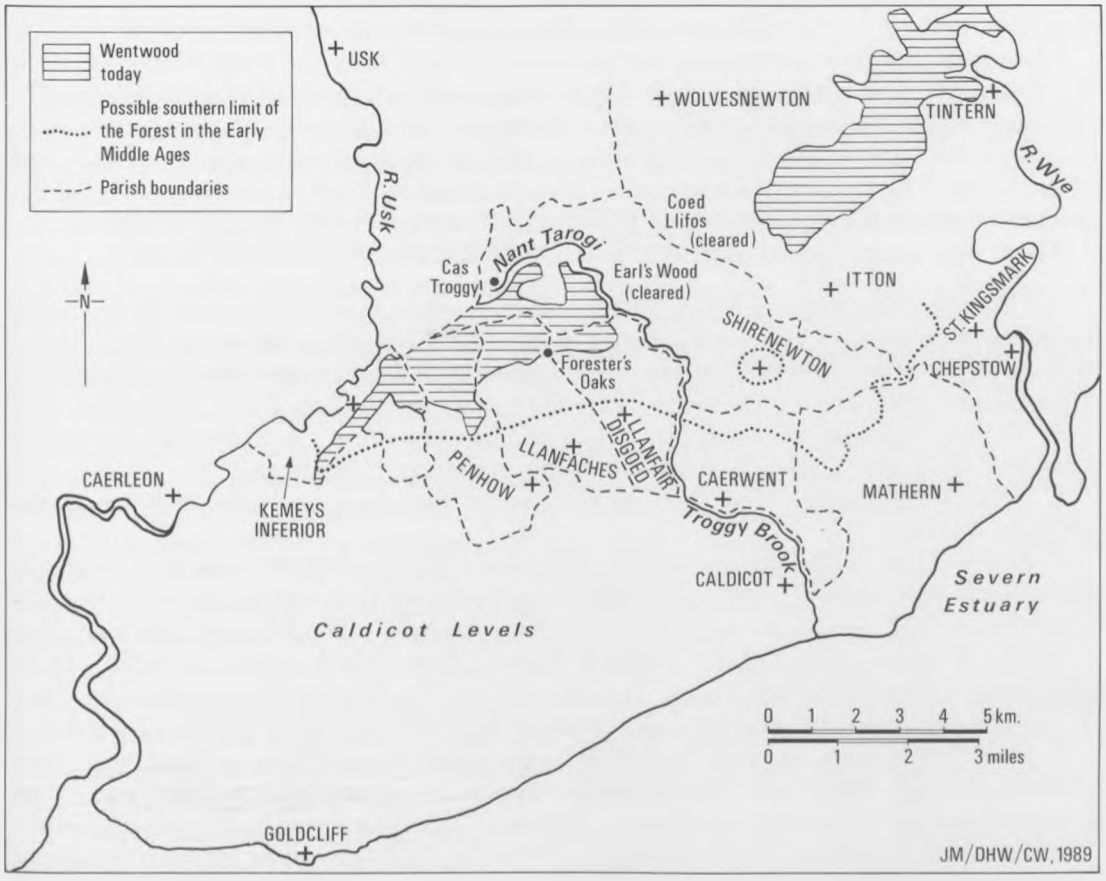
[4] F. St J. Brooks, *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda (Dublin, 1953), 211.*

[5] Giraldus Cambrensis, op cit., 37, 45. For dates of composition see the edited translation by L. Thorpe (1978), 37-9.

[6] As at Wells, see L. S. Colchester, *Wells Cathedral: a History* (Shepton Mallet, 1982).

THE SPEECH COURT OF WENTWOOD

By JULIAN MITCHELL



Map 1: The Forest of Wentwood.

The forest of Wentwood, now much diminished, once straddled the whole of the long ridge which runs from the Usk at Caerleon to the Wye at Tintern. Since it lay in the Welsh Marches it was never a royal forest, but part of the Lordship of Chepstow. As such it passed to the Somerset family, first earls, then marquesses of Worcester. In 1678 the third Marquess attempted to enclose its remaining parts, but met resistance from local gentry and commoners who claimed various rights in the forest. Nathan Rogers of Llanvaches, an active participant in the affair, gave a detailed account of subsequent developments in his *Memoirs of Monmouthshire*, published in 1708, and which I have discussed elsewhere.[1] The matter went to law. Worcester, probably because of the damage done to Raglan Castle in the Civil War, was short of documents to establish his case and complained that his witnesses were 'very ancient and not like to live much longer',[2] but a number of papers relating to the case survive in the Badminton and Tredegar papers at the National Library

of Wales. They throw valuable light on the way the forest was run in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and particularly on the workings of the Speech Court. There are three different sets of forest ordinances, extracts from proceedings going back to the early sixteenth century, and a full record of the Michaelmas Session of 1669.[3]

The accustomed times of keeping the Speech Court were May and Michaelmas. It met at the Forester's Seat under an oak in Wentwood, from which it could be adjourned to anywhere within the Lordship of Chepstow. Forester's Oaks, as the spot is now known, is on the road from Llanvair Discoed to Usk, and convenient for all those living at the western end of the forest. The eastern end had mostly been enclosed by 1669, when sixty-seven of the seventy offenders fined at the Speech Court came from west of the Troggy Brook.

There were six categories of tenant bound to do suit and service at the Court:

1. Those claiming from the Conquest: that is, the owners of the manors mentioned in the survey of Wentwood carried out for Roger Bigod, then Lord of Chepstow, in 1270.[4] There were some thirty manors involved, the exact number differing from document to document. With the exception of Wolvesnewton, they all lie to the south of the forest. Worcester held five, William Morgan of Tredegar, his chief opponent, four. A Worcester document estimates there were sixteen owners, a Morgan one suggests nineteen.[5]

2. Tenants by charter. No list of these survives: they were probably included in the category above.

3. Free tenants, 'called assarts tenants, claiming their freedom of houseboot, hayboot, ploughboot, and fireboot (wood) with herbage and primage (pasture) in the said forest and members thereof, as tenants appurtenant to their freehold'. The Morgan document lists forty-five of these, including one baronet, Eton College (which owned Goldcliff), three esquires and twenty-two gentlemen. In a very similar list, Nathan Rogers lists fifty 'Free Tenants by Prescription, that were so presented in my Time'.[6] B. 1787 lists fifty-three.

4. New Commoners 'likewise made free by the Lord or his officers in Chief there, by a grant in writing'. They were allowed only to crop trees, not to cut them down, and to use horses, not oxen, to carry the wood away. They paid a shilling a year for the privilege and a 'dymee' to the Foresters, 'dimai' being the Welsh for halfpenny. The Morgan document lists nineteen New Commoners, Nathan Rogers fourteen, B. 1788 twenty-eight. They were required to give the Foresters a dinner, a menu of which is given no less than four times in one document.[7] Held between Christmas and Shrovetide, it was to consist, in the gourmet version, of

> a good fat piece of young beef well boiled, a large leg of young pork well boiled, a double rib of fat young beef well roasted, a young fat goose well roasted, a loaf of bread of half a bushel of fine wheat flour seasonably baked, two gallons of strong stale ale well brewed and tunned, and two gallons of fresh small ale.

Any New Commoner who failed to provide the dinner forfeited his freedom in the forest.

5. Killowood men (also called killowe men and killowmen). These were only allowed 'the smaller sort of wood next the browse, (called in Welsh Vaggles) which the New Commoners leave after them', and they were only permitted to use hackerbills. A week before Christmas, on payment of either twopence or fourpence, they could have tickets from the Ranger for four seams (horse-loads) of green wood. At midsummer they were allowed dry wood,[8] There were two hundred or more such killowmen in and around the forest,

apparently still speaking Welsh—'Vaggles' is from the Welsh 'ffagl', a faggot, and the word 'killow' may derive from the Welsh 'cyll', hazels.[9]

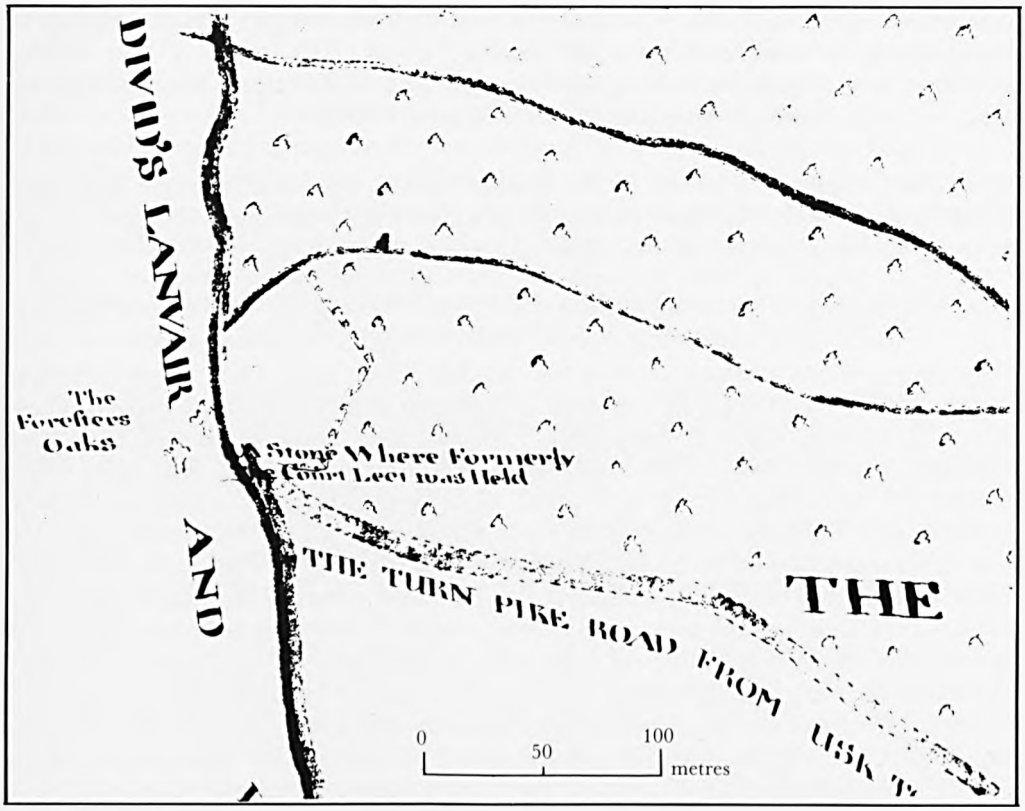
6. Quartermen, beginning at May and ending at Lammas (August 1st), and paying ten shillings for their privilege: they had been abolished by 1669.

Before the Court met it had to be duly summoned by the Steward and Chief Forester (Edward Jones) and the Ranger (George Harris). In 1668 a fortnight's notice was given. Once the Court was assembled, the Bailiff made a proclamation:

> All manner of persons that have been summoned to appear here this day; or have anything to do at this Court, draw near and give your attendance.

He then gave a return of tenants summoned, and swore his oath. The Chepstow Survey of 1584 says that the Head Forester ought not to summon more than twenty-eight freeholders to appear at the Court, and if there was a sufficient jury, absentees should not be fined; provisions apparently dropped by 1668, when defaulters were noted. The petty foresters and haywards were then sworn and made their presentment of trespasses and other misdemeanours. Then the foreman of the jury took his oath, followed by jurymen in batches of four. This was followed by an exhortation from the Rector of Caerwent, in return for which he was granted houseboot and hayboot. After him came the Steward with his charge to the jury, emphasizing the seriousness of their oath. 'Though it be too common a fault slightly to pass through this business, yet I hope better things of you', he said sternly. He then read out the various offences for which people could be brought before the Court, the foresters' presentment was made to the jury, and everyone adjourned for lunch. The Court reassembled at two o'clock, and the jury was asked if it was agreed, and what its decisions were. The assessors then took their oaths: the 1584 Survey says that the Steward appointed three or four of the freeholders to join with him 'for taxing of any amercements' and giving judgements. After any other business the Court was discharged: 'So God save the King and the Lord of this forest'.

The three lists of forest ordinances are all different, and further rules can be found in the Chepstow Survey of 1584 and the extracts from earlier Courts. The Survey states that no Caldicot men were to intercommon in Wentwood, Caldicot being a separate Lordship: this meant that the villagers of Shirenewton were excluded. Killowmen from Caerleon were not allowed the green wood at Christmas or to use oxen. The tenants of Goldcliff had to pay for their privileges with beans: twenty-three bushels of Newport measure to the earl of Worcester's officers, eight to the Head Forester, four to the Ranger, two each to three foresters, four to the beadle and one to the foresters' man. Anyone with ploughed land or a plough in Llanfihangel Rogiet or Ifton had to pay the High Forester (sic) two sheaves of wheat and three sheaves of barley: in his turn the High Forester had to pay four shillings a year to the Lord for the privilege. The 1570 Court laid down that no wood was to be moved from the forest before sunrise, and that no dogs were allowed—mastiffs, mongrels, and greyhounds being specified later. All new sawpits had to be filled in within a fortnight, and old ones by Michaelmas—the Court was meeting in August. In 1582 it was decided that henceforth it would cost twopence a year to graze a goat in the forest. Rules were also established about hedges across the Troggy brook, and who must have his oats dried at a particular mill there. An effort was made to keep down the number of killowmen: only 'ancient houses of antiquity' were to be granted 'the freedom of killow'. This suggests that



MAP 2: The Site of the Court Leet (Extract from National Library of Wales, Badminton Estate Plans, Vol. 1, surveyed by John Aram, 1763; *reproduced by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort.*)

encroachments by poor cottagers were already common. Everyone in the lordship of Chepstow was allowed pannage (grazing of swine) in Wentwood and Earlswood, and Earlswood and Wentwood tenants had reciprocity. In May 1583 people were presented for various offences against the vert—cutting lags by the butt (making staves) and hacking stakes illegally. Furthermore they were committing these misdemeanours for portsale—that is, they were auctioning the stakes and staves. This was again a problem in 1593, when people were also pannaging non-freemen's goats. The most serious matter, though, was failure to pay one's due share of the foresters' dinner: this was assessed at ten pounds. It was the 1595 Court which restricted killowmen to hackers. It further laid down that a forester could only attach someone for a misdemeanour if he was carrying his horn, and this went back to ancient time.

None of these offences, it will be noted, except bringing dogs to the forest, was to do with game, though in the most authoritative of the three lists of ordinances, destruction of game comes first, with deer, marten, hare and fox specified. It adds that tracing marten or hare in the snow is illegal. No one is to steal hawks' eyries or bees, or to crop near where hawks timber (build nests) and breed. The cockshoots are to be preserved—broad paths in the

wood along which woodcock were driven not to be shot but trapped in nets. Night hunting (i.e. poaching) was banned, as were the carrying of guns, traps and crossbows.

Blocking highways is an offence in all three lists, and the Deputy Forester could be fined for not keeping paths clear. People could be fined for leaving a mess behind after cropping to the bigness of a tub in one version, a sack in another. All goat-keepers are to be presented to the Court, presumably to pay their twopences. There was to be no surcharging (grazing more than the permitted number of cattle) and no pasturing of strangers' cows. The selling of cottages and encroachments are dealt with: rights could not be transferred. Free tenants were not allowed to cut and leave wood for killowmen: this refers to an unofficial custom that any wood left uncollected for twenty-four hours could be claimed by any other tenant.[10] Free tenants were not allowed oaks or beeches. (Nathan Rogers, often foreman of the jury, adds that it was a crime to cut down the 'venerable' holly.[11] Folk memory of this rule survives in Wentwood today.) Various other restrictions on wood-cutting are listed; for instance, it is not to be cut at night, or when the sap is up in the springtime. Brooks in the forest are not to be turned. There is to be no bribery and extortion of officers, detention of rents and profits from the Lord, and no rescue or round breach (removing of persons or goods from legal custody).

Altogether, ordinances about vert and agistment (wood and pasture) outnumber those to do with game by five to one; and the latter seem not to have been enforced at all. Only one game offence was punished at the 1669 Court, and that was fishing in Wentwood brook. Another offence was watering hemp in the same stream; another was having unringed pigs. The remaining ninety-six offences, committed by seventy different men, were all to do with wood. But how many of them were in any real sense offences? It is clear from the auctions of 1583 that people were already treating Wentwood as a basic source of supply for the local timber trade. Buchanan Sharp, the authority on royal forests in England at this period, says it is clear that people living around forests were taking what wood they wanted: 'even if they were caught, it was simpler to pay a fine than to buy wood in the first place'.[12] The English game laws were the mildest in Europe and rarely enforced: 'taking the wood or timber and paying a fine to the swanimote was easier and probably also a great deal cheaper than a warrant'.[13] The Speech Court had become little more than a medieval anachronism, a mechanism for collecting ludicrously small feudal dues. 'Offenders' included the parsons of Llanvaches and Shirenewton, a miller, a cobbler, a smith, a carpenter and two masons: the occupations of the remaining sixty-two are not given, but one at least, Philip Edwards of Llanvaches, was a substantial farmer and 'gentleman'.[14] Far and away the greatest offender in 1669 was Meredith Howell, also of Llanvaches, and like Edwards to become painfully embroiled with Worcester in 1678. (Both were imprisoned by the House of Lords.) Howell was fined twenty shillings for making eleven lags at the butt by night—clearly criminal activity—six shillings and eightpence for two more, and forty shillings for cutting and removing one great beech. His fines came to almost a third of the total raised by the Court, which may explain his keenness nine years later. Certainly he looks like the only genuine 'criminal'; though he may, perhaps, have simply been the biggest timber merchant. Llanvaches provided nineteen of the seventy offenders, a disproportionate number; there may well be a connection between this and the number of villagers involved in the later 'riots' in the forest.

Fines varied, but the basic rates were a shilling a seam for green wood, fourpence to eightpence a seam for vaggles, and a shilling a perch for tinnet—the tops of hedges and

thorns which were stuffed between stakes to mend hedges.[15] A single stake could cost a penny; but for two shillings you could get either forty or sixty; one man paid eight shillings for a hundred and twenty. A lag at the butt cost anything from two shillings to three and fourpence, perhaps depending on the size of the butt and the number of staves that could be obtained. A seam of dry wood was eightpence. The total raised in fines was nineteen pounds ten shillings and fourpence, which makes an average fine (leaving Meredith Howell aside) of just over four shillings and fivepence.

What were people getting for this trivial sum? Firewood, mainly. It has been estimated that the domestic consumption of fuel at this period probably accounted for more wood than everything else put together,[16] and the evidence of the Wentwood Speech Court would seem to bear this out. 56 seams of green wood, 6 seams and 42 sledfuls of browse, one great holly and two lags at the butt all went for firewood. In addition, five seams of vaggles and one of dry cleft wood were taken. Tinnet went to the extent of 22 seams, 8 horseloads and 31 and a half perches. There were forty-six additional lags at the butt; seven seams, one burden, and five hundred and ninety stakes; and an unspecified number of rods to make hurdles, and poles. Six beeches and three oaks were also cut. It was a Michaelmas Court, and more cutting would have gone on in winter, perhaps, yet for a large forest it was a very small amount of timber.

Nonetheless, green wood, browse, tinnet and stakes were essential supplements to the incomes of the poor and usually landless cottagers who lived on the edge of the forest: it was only 'grazing, pannage, firewood, construction timber, game to be poached and raw material for workers in wood, hides, or animal fats' which made life possible for these marginal people.[17] The deprivation of these when the forest was enclosed can only have made it even more precarious. The loss of firewood alone must have caused great hardship: the seventeenth century was colder and wetter even than the twentieth.

Nathan Rogers says 'the Poor loosing their Common make them trespass on, and ruin the Gentlemens Wood and Coppices, which is also a great Prejudice to the Publick',[18] but he was thinking less of the loss to the killowmen than of that to free tenants such as himself, which he estimated at a total of £300 a year, and to the owners of the 1270 manors whose various boots, he reckoned, were worth £350 a year. (An earlier estimate in the Tredegar papers, from which Rogers may have been working, puts this last figure at £336.)[19]

The suppression of these rights was clear gain to Worcester when he enclosed the forest. Unlike the Stuart kings, who paid compensation when they enclosed royal forests, Worcester paid no one anything.[20] Wentwood was extremely valuable: William Morgan put it at £80,000 in 1678, later Rogers suggested £50-60,000.[21] Both estimates were based on the assumption that Worcester was planning to exploit the forest as charcoal for the iron furnaces of Tintern. As monopoly supplier he would be able to charge a very high price. Tintern was producing a thousand tons or more of pig iron a year, which required two thousand loads of charcoal.[22] The yield of charcoal from wood was between a fifth and a quarter.[23] So Tintern was using between eight and ten thousand loads of wood a year. How much Worcester charged for his wood is not known; but across the Wye, in the forest of Dean, the Crown was taking advantage of its position as early as 1636 to charge ironmasters eleven shillings a cord (two loads).[24] At that rate, Worcester would have been charging Tintern approximately £2,500 a year. The Speech Court's yield of £19-10-4d is put into perspective. It is not hard to see why Worcester sent men to enclose Wentwood in April 1678.

NOTES

[1] 'Nathan Rogers and the Wentwood Case' in *The Welsh History Review* 14: 1 (1988).

[2] NLW, Tredegar Papers, T 64/113.

[3] The chief documents on which this paper is based are in the Badminton Papers of the NLW, and I am most grateful to the Duke of Beaufort for permission to read and quote from them. They are B.1787, which contains a list of forest ordinances and extracts from sixteenth century court rolls; B.1788, which contains the Chepstow Lordship survey of 1584, a copy of the 1270 survey of Wentwood Forest, a list of ordinances, and instructions on how the Speech Court was to be held; B. 1796, another list of ordinances; and B.1800, the proceedings of the Speech Court of 1669. Unless otherwise stated all references are to these four documents.

[4] Versions of this survey occur in Rogers's *Memoirs*, 117, David Williams, *The History of Monmouthshire*, London, 1796, 187-191, and J. A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire*, Vol IV, Part I, 146, where it is dated 1271.

[5] B. 1809 and T 59/27.

[6] Rogers, *Memoirs*, 118.

[7] B. 1788. Spelling has been modernised.

[8] B. 1789.

[9] *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright, Oxford, 1923, gives various meanings for 'killow', the most relevant coming from Shropshire and Montgomeryshire: to render hazels pliable by steaming them.

[10] This was the excuse used by Nathan Rogers and others to take away wood cut by Worcester's men in 1678. Rogers, *Memoirs*, 93.

[11] Rogers, *Memoirs*, 87.

[12] Buchanan Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority*, Berkeley, 1980, 136.

[13] George Hammersley, 'The Revival of The Forest Laws Under Charles I', *History*, Vol 45, 1960, 86; and 'The Crown Woods and Their Exploitation in the 16th and 17th Centuries', *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research*, Vol 30, 1957, 146.

[14] Edwards lived at Millbrook. He left money for a local charity. Gwent County Record Office D.668. 25-26; T 53/2, 67/172, Mss 97 and 169; Bradney, op. cit., Vol IV, Part II, 190.

[15] The word 'tinnet' was still in local use in 1952. Ivor Waters, *About Chepstow*, Chepstow, 1952, 88.

[16] Hammersley, 'The Crown Woods', 157.

[17] Sharp, op. cit., 5.

[18] Rogers, *Memoirs*, 118.

[19] T 59/28.

[20] Sharp, op. cit., 134-135.

[21] B. 1804, T 64/115.

[22] H. W. Paar and D. G. Tucker, 'The old wireworks and ironworks of the Angidy Valley at Tintern, Gwent', Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society, 1975, Vol. 9, no. 1, 1.

[23] Hammersley, 'The Crown Woods', 156.

[24] op. cit.

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GARDENS AT RAGLAN CASTLE

By E. H. WHITTLE

Introduction

The 16th and early 17th century gardens around Raglan Castle are a rare and interesting survival, and should be better known. This article will attempt to describe them, both in their original and present state, for their intrinsic interest and in order that Raglan Castle as a whole may be better understood. For it should be seen, during its last hundred years of occupation, as a palatial, comfortable residence rather than a military stronghold. William Camden called it a 'stately castle-like house'.[1] Raglan was 'accounted, when in its splendour, one of the fairest buildings in England'.[2] From about 1550 to 1646, the time of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Earls of Worcester, its gardens matched the buildings in sophistication and splendour.

In 1549 William Somerset (c.1527-1588) inherited the castle and became 3rd Earl of Worcester. The castle itself had been built in the previous century by two of his ancestors, William ap Thomas and his son William Herbert.[3] Although the castle was large, up-to-date and prestigious it would appear that no thought was given at this stage to embellishment with ornamental gardens. Utilitarian gardens and orchards there may well have been, but there are no records of them. An inquest of 1465 mentions a 'Fysshe Pole',[4] but it is uncertain where this was. William Somerset, however, lived in a more settled age, when Renaissance ideas were filtering through to the English court from France and ultimately Italy. The king and his wealthier courtiers set about introducing some of these ideas into their palaces and gardens. Gardens became grander, more spacious, and included elements such as terraces, fountains and statues. William Somerset was a prominent and wealthy courtier and lost no time in bringing Raglan into this modern era. He made alterations to the castle, adding, among other things, that most Tudor of rooms a long gallery, which he placed alongside the hall, over the chapel, with an oriel window overlooking the park to the northwest and the Black Mountains beyond. He also made gardens. On the northwest side of the castle, on the steep slope between it and the valley of the Wilcae Brook, great terraces were made. The topmost one was built up so that it blocked the outlet of a garderobe on the west side of the Fountain Court. Below the terraces a large lake was probably also made at this time by building a huge earthen dam across the valley to the southwest of the terraces. Another large rectangular terrace was built below the southwest side of the castle. It is known also that the fountain of the 'Fountain' Court was installed in William Somerset's lifetime: a poem called 'The Worthines of Wales', written in 1587 by Thomas Churchyard, mentions it and other features of the gardens:[5]

> The curious knots, wrought all with edged toole,
> The stately Tower, that looks ore Pond and Poole:
> The fountain trim, that runs both day and night,
> Doth yeeld in show a rare and noble sight.

The 'curious knots' were a Tudor speciality. They were patterned beds of flowers, herbs or low-growing aromatic shrubs such as santolina and germander, often of intricate interwoven design. It is not unreasonable to suppose that those mentioned in the poem were to be found on the terraces. By William Somerset's death in 1588, therefore, the gardens would appear to have been largely complete.

William's son Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester (1553-1628), was a prominent courtier in both Elizabeth I's and James I's reigns, despite his Catholic faith. Of some significance to the gardens of Raglan is the fact that among other official offices he held was the keepership of the Nonsuch Great Park. This was the great hunting park of Nonsuch Palace in Surrey, built by Henry VIII, which had gardens on a grand scale and of some sophistication. To Edward's time can be ascribed the moat walk around the moat of the 'Yellow Tower of Gwent', the summer-house overlooking the terraces and the large formal water garden or water 'parterre' at the head of the lake. The moat walk, with its statues of Roman emperors in shell niches, and the water parterre in particular were features of the utmost sophistication in their day. Only royalty and a very few wealthy courtiers aspired to such things in their gardens.

Henry, the 5th Earl and first Marquis of Worcester (1577-1646) was only to enjoy the delights of life at Raglan until the Civil War brought them to an abrupt end. However, until then, life at Raglan continued to be sumptuous and cultured. The gardens were evidently kept up. A Mr Robert Andrewes was the master of the fishponds. In 1645 the king, Charles I, visited three times, and played bowls on the Bowling Green with the Marquis and friends. When he was there from 3rd-16th July apricots were sent over from the Marquis' brother's house, Troy House, near Monmouth. The siege, surrender, and subsequent slighting of the castle in 1646 rendered Raglan uninhabitable. The Marquis' son took up residence at Badminton House, Gloucestershire, and the family never returned. The castle was left to be plundered and to decay. The gardens were abandoned, the lake was drained. But no alterations were made, no later overlay destroyed the gardens, and their layout survives, under grass and in pasture, just as it was in 1646.

The gardens in their original state

Two documents have recently come to light at Badminton House which throw more light on the original state of this important garden. The first is a map by Laurence Smythe dating from 1652.[6] (Plate 1) In the top left-hand corner is a decorated title: *'A Deplorable Mapp of Raglan Castle (the Honor and beuty of Wales) with the Parkes pastures and meadowes thereunto adjoyneing, Parcell of the Possessions of the Right Honorable the Earle of Worcester now Demolished and Destroyed by reason the late Warres of England: surveyed in February 1652 by: Laurence Smythe'*. It is a beautifully coloured map, showing water grey and garden areas green or outlined in green. The castle is shown in elevation at the top of the area it covered. The second is a Description of the castle and gardens shortly after 1646, which dates from 1674.[7] With the help of these two documents a picture of the gardens as they were just before the Civil War can be built up. The garden will be taken in the order that it is treated in the Description.

The moat walk is the first part to be described '. . . a pleasant walk set forth with several figures of the Roman Emperors in arches of divers varieties of shell work.' The map only shows this in outline. This feature was added to the gardens by the 4th Earl in the late 16th or early 17th century. It was a curving walk between the moat of the 'Yellow Tower' and the raised Bowling Green. Evenly spaced out along it were fifteen brickwork semi-circular niches decorated with patterns of shells. Statues of Roman Emperors were placed in them. A further clue as to the appearance of the niches is given by a description of them by Christopher Heath in 1819:[8] 'when I first saw them, in the year 1791, they had been so long

screened by brambles and thorns, that in the few which I could examine, the shell-work was as perfect as at the time it was executed.' He described bricks covered with mortar and cockle shells fixed in while wet, forming stars of several points enclosed in a circle, and surfaces tinged with red, blue and 'other airy colours'.

Next the Description mentions that 'Within the walls and the green adjoining . . . on the right hand was a garden plot, answerable in proportion to the Tower.' This was probably the square level area to the west of the Fountain Court, below the Bowling Green, at present occupied by CADW maintenance huts. On its northeast and southeast sides it has a raised terrace around it, and in the west corner is the stump of a brick-built summer-house. In connection with this area it is interesting to note that the 4th Earl, at Worcester House, Nonsuch, Surrey, had a square garden with a raised terrace around it, for which there is a plan by Robert Smythson, executed it is thought in 1609.[9] The raised terrace is described on the plan as 'sett with frute treese'. The square garden below it is laid out in a formal pattern 'sett with flowers'.

The Description then moves on to the fountain, '. . . pleasant marble fountain in the midst thereof (the Fountain Court), called the White Horse, continually running with a clear water.' The only clue to its appearance here is its name. However, as it was already in place by 1587, it is likely to have been of a Tudor type, with water running into a basin or basins, and with the white horse ontop of a pedestal of some kind above it or them. In fact, there are some slight clues as to its appearance from travellers' descriptions. Heath says that the capital of the pedestal on which the horse was placed was 'tolerably perfect' in about 1760, but since then had been totally demolished by the habit of breaking pieces off it to give to visitors. He describes the stone as 'black'.[10] Sir Richard Colt Hoare was given a piece when he visited in about 1790, and described the stone as smelling like antimony.

To the south of the castle was the Bowling Green, clearly shown, coloured green, on Smythe's map. On the west end 'stood a large oak with seats very pleasant for shade in summer, near which was the way by many steps and half paces down to the pleasant gardens and fair built summer-houses, on four spatious terras walls 450 foot long beneath each other, 30 foot, descending to a fishpond of many acres of land, part whereof was made into divers artificial islands and walks at the head whereof stood a fair orchard 400 foot long and 100 foot broad.' Here is described the main area of the gardens, to the northwest and southwest of the castle. A few of the steps are still visible: those to the southwest terrace, in its north corner, and a few at the eastern end of the second great terrace on the northwest side of the castle. Heath[11] says that 'At the northern termination of the path (probably the moat walk) a few remaining stones point the way to a walk below, which, on entering, has a very grand appearance . . .' The three terraces on the northwest were evidently supported by retaining walls. These, and the central projections in them, are clearly shown in the Smythe map. These central bays give an ornamental feel to the design and emphasize the Renaissance origin of the layout. The southwest terrace is also clearly shown on the Smythe map. A recent find at the castle of some stone balustrading adds the interesting possibility that the tops of the terraces were balustraded. It is simple balustrading, with arched tops and straight-sided uprights with faint mouldings in rectangular panels. There is no clue, either from the Description or the map as to the layout of the gardens on the terraces, but a general idea can be gained from descriptions of other 16th and 17th century gardens. Formal flowerbeds, in 'knots' in the 16th century, more simplified in the 17th, fruit trees, and paths were undoubted ingredients.

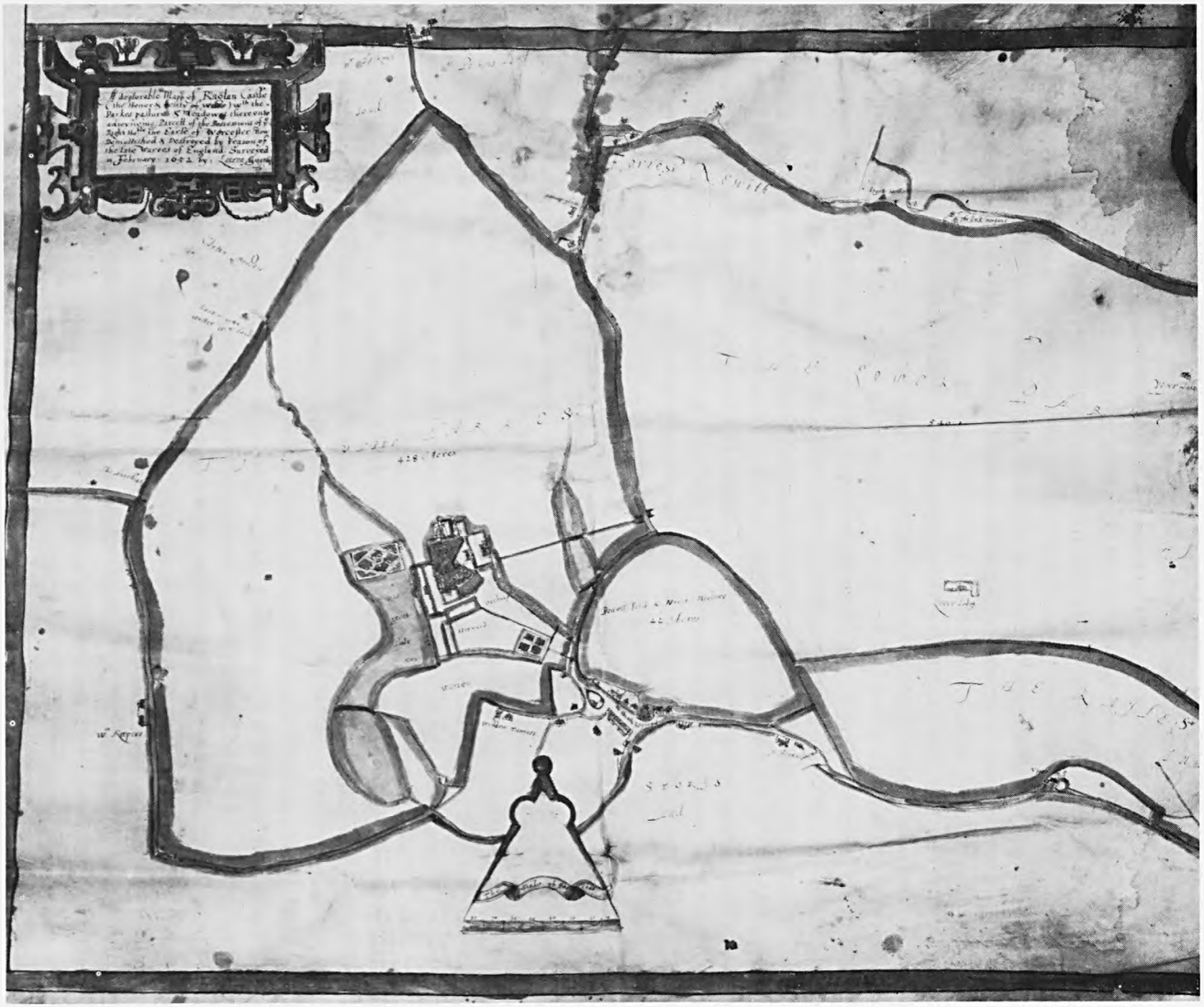


Plate I: Laurence Smythe's map of 1652 showing the castle and surrounding area. *By courtesy of the Duke of Beaufort.*

The 'fishpond of many acres of land' lay below the terraces. It was indeed large, as Smythe's map, which calls it 'the great Poole' shows. It filled the valley floor, stretching away to the west. A line across it, coloured red, on Smythe's map, may be a bridge of some kind, as other bridges on the map are shown in the same way. This would have served both a utilitarian and ornamental function. The Description notes how the local people, after the surrender of 1646, 'were set to cut the stanks of the great fish pond, where they had store of very great carps, and other large fish.' The whole ensemble, of terraces with water lapping at their base, park with great oak trees beyond, and castle behind, must have been a picturesque sight. The view from the oriel window of the long gallery would have been magnificent. The dam is clearly shown on the map below (to the southwest of) the terraces.

At the top (northeast) end of the 'great Poole' is a remarkable feature, the 'divers artificial islands and walks'. This is a rectangular area surrounded by water, and divided into diamond and triangular shapes by intersecting water channels. In the middle is some kind of feature, and another small pavilion of some kind is shown in the top right-hand corner. Stylistically this can only date from the early years of James I's reign, when a few of these formal water gardens or water parterres were made, notably by James I himself (at Theobalds), his son Prince Henry (at Richmond Palace),[12] Robert Cecil (at Hatfield),[13] and Francis Bacon (at Gorhambury).[14] The 4th Earl of Worcester, being a prominent courtier, would have been familiar with these experiments in water gardening, and embellished his lake with one of his own.

There is a further feature clearly shown on Smythe's map, to the south of the castle. It is a square area with four green squares surrounded by grey (water). A water channel starts behind the dam and runs along the west side of the hop yard into this area. The most probable explanation of this feature is that it is another formal water garden, possibly a forerunner of the more complex one at the head of the lake. Its date is uncertain, but it must certainly post-date the building of the dam.

The present state of the gardens

The gardens of Raglan Castle have survived, for the most part under turf, in their general layout. All ornament and detail has been lost. Plate II gives an overall view of most of the area covered by the gardens. (Part of the lake, dam, and square water garden are not covered.) First, the fountain, once in the middle of the Fountain Court, is missing. Only its square stone base survives to show where it once was. In the moat walk the fifteen brickwork niches are still there, with coloured plaster and some shells in discernible patterns surviving in some of them. The emperors are long since gone. The 'garden plot', probably where the CADW maintenance huts are now, remains a level area with terraces around two sides. The Bowling Green is still there, but its oak and seats have long since gone from the west end. The steps which once led down to the northwest terraces have been replaced by a gentle grass slope, but survive down to the southwest terrace. The terraces themselves, which were described as having walls 30 feet high, are now turfed over, and the walls have been replaced by steep grass banks. They may still be there beneath them. The terraces are surrounded by a retaining wall, which is broken down and dilapidated on the northwest 'lake' side. The central projections in the terraces can still be clearly seen. The steps between the terraces have gone or are obscured by the grass banks, except for a few stones poking out of the grass at the east end of the middle terrace.

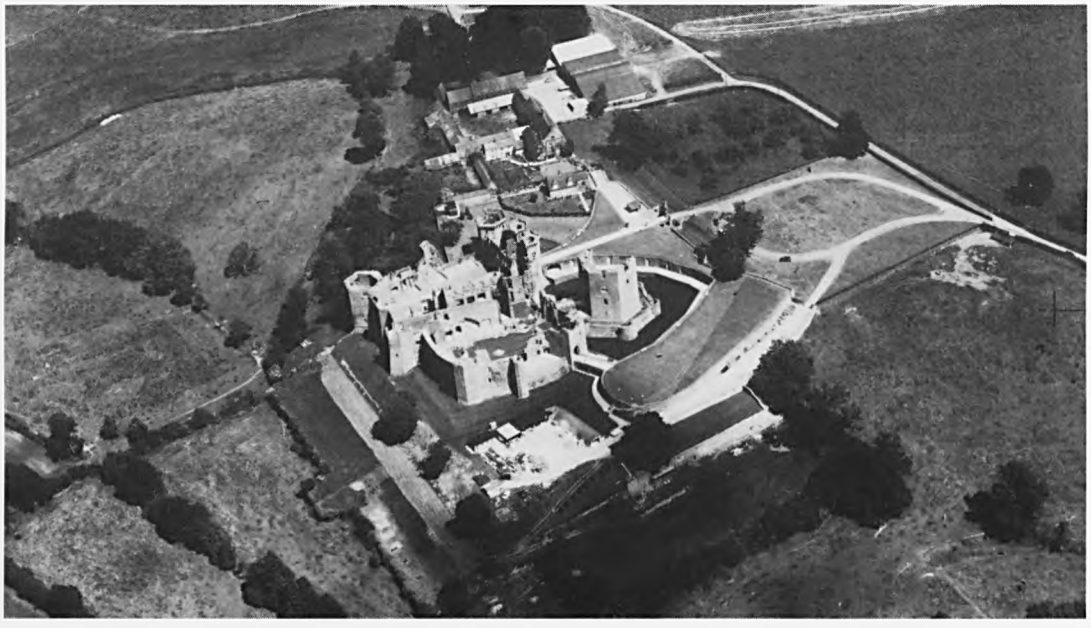


Plate II: Aerial photograph of Raglan Castle and surrounding area, taken from a westerly direction. *By courtesy of Cambridge University Aerial Photography Committee.*

Plate III: The middle terrace on the northwest side of the castle, taken from the northeast end. *Photo: author.*

The area of the 'great Poole' is now pasture fields in the valley floor. The northwest side is delineated by the hedge-line of the field beyond the brook, which now runs through the middle of what was the lake. The westward extension of the lake beyond the dam shown on the Smythe map must have been up the small gully which has recently been drained and filled with earth and stones so as to obscure the original contours. The dam survives in pasture, a massive bank now cut through by the Wilcae brook. Behind this the channel to the square water garden is clearly visible as a ditch, with a flat-topped bank on its east side. Another channel, now a boggy ditch, runs along what must have been the east side of the hopyard and finishes up also at the water garden. This feature, although now cut through the middle by the Wilcae brook, survives remarkably well, as four raised areas surrounded by wide ditches.

The water parterre at the head of the 'great Poole' also survives, as banks and boggy ditches in rough pasture. (One corner of it is in the next-door field, and has been planted with trees.) Part of its outline shows up in the aerial photograph (Plate II), on the left-hand side near the middle. On the ground the diagonal channels forming the diamond patterns can be clearly made out. (A good view of it can be had from the windows in the castle kitchen.) There is no sign of a pavilion on the southeast side.

Conclusion

There are two aspects of the gardens at Raglan Castle which make them of outstanding interest today. The first is that they ranked at the time they were made with some of the most ambitious and advanced in the country. The second is their remarkable state of preservation. The bones are still there and they are unaltered since 1646. There are very few major gardens of the 16th and early 17th century of which that can be said.[15]

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[1] Camden, W., *Britannia* (ed. E. Gibson, London, 1695).

[2] 'A Description of Ragland Castle'. In the Muniment Room (ref. 403.1.1) at Badminton House.

[3] For a general history and description of Raglan Castle see A. J. Taylor, *Raglan Castle* (1950), Welsh Office Official Handbook; J. R. Kenyon, *Raglan Castle* (1988), CADW Official Guidebook: H. Durant, *Raglan Castle* (1980); H. Durant, *The Somerset Sequence* (1976).

[4] Bradney, J., *A History of Monmouthshire*, 1911, vol. II, part I.

[5] Churchyard, T., *The Worthines of Wales*, 1587.

[6] This map was orginally housed in the Muniment Room at Badminton House. It is now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

[7] *Op. cit.* 2 *supra.*

[8] Heath, C., *Account of Raglan Castle*, 1819.

[9] The Smythson plan is reproduced in Brown, J., *The Art and Architecture of English Gardens*, 1989, no 5. (p. 32). The original is in the RIBA collection of architectural drawings.

[10] *Op. cit.* 8 *supra.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Strong, R., *The Renaissance Garden in England,* 1979, pp. 127 and 97.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 108. The design for the Dell at Hatfield is in the State Papers at the Public Record Office (ref. SP 14/67, no. 63).

[14] Strong, 127.

[15] A wider discussion of the Raglan gardens and their affinities will be found in 'The Renaissance Gardens of Raglan Castle', *Garden History* Vol. 17 no. 1 (1989), pp. 83-94, by the present author.

AN APPRENTICESHIP AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: W. F. GRIMES AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF WALES, 1926-1938

By GEORGE C. BOON

Plate 1. W. F. Grimes, 1972. By J. Hardaker. By courtesy of the Director of the Institute of Archaeology.

On Saturday, 16th November 1985, this Association offered Professor Emeritus William Francis Grimes, C.B.E., entertainment in the form of a symposium to mark his eightieth birthday on the 31st October. He died after the long decline imposed by Parkinson's disease at home in Swansea, on Christmas morning, 1988. Our thoughts have gone out to Molly, his wife.

'Peter' Grimes—a family soubriquet until Britten's opera came out in 1945—was a great archaeologist. It is gratifying to us that he was a Welshman, born at Pembroke, the son of a shipwright, and partly educated there, as also at Bedford Modern School; and that he served his apprenticeship under the formative influences of Wheeler and Fox, successively Lecturers in Archaeology at the University College of South Wales & Monmouthshire as it then was, and Keepers of Archaeology and Directors of the National Museum of Wales. It was as Assistant to Nash-Williams that he learnt his trade as a museum man, though it had

been only the kaleidoscopic changes of staff in the Department of Archaeology that had projected Nash from the same probationary grade to the Keeper's chair at the same time as his own appointment.

Obituaries have naturally concentrated on the man that Peter Grimes became—the metropolitan figure, Keeper of the London Museum, Professor of Archaeology in the University of London and Director of the Institute of Archaeology (both in Wheeler's footsteps), and Secretary, President, Vice-President and Treasurer of the Council for British Archaeology. Yet his early years in Wales were seminal. Indeed the whole inter-war period was seminal for the subject. Much that we take for granted goes back to the anvil of those years. Differences are as between stem and fruit. Thus it is very well worth looking at Grimes's apprenticeship at the National Museum.

He arrived on 1st September, 1926, a very slight, red-headed, freckled and bespectacled figure, no doubt rather intense, but not yet 21. On 23rd July he had been appointed from among at least nine applicants, bringing with him the first-class Honours degree in Latin predicted by his professor at Cardiff, W. W. Grundy, and a competence in black-and-white drawing: at one time, art had suggested itself as a career, and there had been a year's training at Bedford. This skill was particularly welcome, indeed enquired for: it is interesting that Ward, Wheeler and Fox were all gifted draughtsmen too. Wheeler and Fox, unable to act as formal references, had told Grundy of his 'great clarity of expression' and his 'scientific outlook that can see at once the crux of a problem.' These were traits which, with others as strong, were to carry him to eminence: abundant vitality—even in his seventies he would never wear a winter overcoat—but above all integrity, and independence of mind; a visitor to the Wheelerian hothouse, not a product; radical, if indeed getting to the root of affairs and declaring the consequences is radical; direct, clever, hard-working; at times therefore lonely in professional, never in personal ways. His character is well-caught by Hardaker in the portrait hanging in the Institute library, reproduced here by kind permission of his successor there, Professor John Evans. It shows him dapper, as always—he was known to appear on post-war Roman & Medieval London excavations, of which he was titular head, in morning-dress after some City function; and when in 1976 the writer was appointed Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum, the outside members of the interviewing committee all conspired to sport carnations, as he always did, to tease him. The quizzical look, mocking stuffiness, detecting pretence, is his to the life; he loved people, good talk, late nights. He was a splendid raconteur; as important, a good listener.

He was admitted Qualified Assistant Keeper in September, 1928, the year of his first marriage, and was advanced to Grade I in March, 1936. It is especially interesting to see what he did, for in later years he gained a reputation for not publishing. Andrew Selkirk, however, in perhaps the most percipient of the press obituaries (in *The Guardian*) explained that his administrative abilities (denied by Wheeler, mortified to find him selected as his successor at the Institute—a matter not unconnected, perhaps, with Grimes's celebrated critique of *Maiden Castle* as too literary and careless in the 1945 *Antiquity*) led to his being in continual demand to sit on this or that committee, council, board or commission (of which *Who's Who* provides an incomplete list), and gradually denied him the opportunity for reflection that is so necessary for correct reporting. By their nature and by his, the unwritten reports concerned important discoveries and had, he deeply felt, to bear his own imprint; furthermore, that he had to document them with his own drawings.

The purity and accuracy of his line and the economy of his shading—was it not Leonardo

who judged an artist not by his inventiveness but by the quality of his shading?—appear from the first, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1928 where he reported, jointly with Fox, on the ravaged Corston Beaker cist. Did he ever know Stukeley's remark in the preface to the *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), ''tis evident how proper engravings are to preserve the memory of things, and how much better an idea they convey to the mind than written descriptions, which often not at all, and oftner not sufficiently, explain them'? Under Grimes's hand they were not illustrations; they were replicas of the subject, of a valency equal with the originals, and an integral part: he documented thereby. He was fastidious about his own and others' drawings: in a review of *Llyn Cerrig Bach* he adversely commented on some for failing to convey the full beauty of the objects.

The young Grimes's output from 1928 onwards in *Arch. Camb.*, *Antiquity*, the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, the *Antiquaries Journal* and elsewhere is prodigious. By 1932 he was already the obvious choice to review developments in Welsh prehistory since the appearance of Wheeler's *Prehistoric & Roman Wales* only seven years before had at last shaped the disjointed and disparate results of the Principality's languid antiquarianism of earlier days. By 1936 he had 'as a piece of private enterprise' produced for the Ordnance Survey the fifth of the Period Maps, one of a projected set of ¼-inch sheets planned by O.G.S. Crawford to make a Map of Neolithic Britain. He was soon to go, invited, as Crawford's first Assistant Archaeology Officer; Fox, in recommending him, drew attention to 'his 6-inch maps, [which] after a day in the field are a model of accurate observation and record.'

Much of Grimes's expertise in the field must have been gained by early association with Fox, a master of it; and Fox, as Grimes was to remark, was strictly in the National Museum tradition which, from the time of Ward, the first Keeper of Archaeology, had recognised (as few if any other National Museums had) the importance of field-research side-by-side with the study of objects. This outward-looking attitude has ever since characterized the National Museum's Archaeology Department, which is still widely envied in that respect and would be diminished without its continual stimulus. From the first, too, there was a unique co-existence in a National Museum not only of an Art Department but, more important, of Natural Science Departments whose members looked sympathetically at archaeological problems. Links with these colleagues led Grimes, always practical and rather impatient of theoretical archaeology, to argue as early as 1932 for the petrological examination of implements to determine their sources—research begun by the South-Western Group of Museums in 1936 and from 1945 pursued by the C.B.A. under his secretaryship. Later, he was to call, in his Presidential Address to the Cambrians in 1963, for the metallurgical study of bronze implements against a background of analysis of Welsh ores, work now done by Peter Northover under the aegis of the Board of Celtic Studies.

Excavation-skills above a certain level are inborn: success rests on the interaction of eye and intellect and hand. Grimes was superb, and in 1939 was invited to undertake the delicate task of excavating the fragile objects buried in the Sutton Hoo ship. He believed that the excavator's position was central: his results, collected in highly controlled conditions, alone yielded the most exact information. The excavator's function he took to be 'the objective observations and exact recording of the manifold features of his site and of the objects found . . . He may (or may not, according to his inclination) add to it a superstructure of historic, social, economic or cultural reasoning or speculation. His duty will have been done if he has provided the material evidence in a form in which it can be fully used by others' (from his *Maiden Castle* review). In this austere creed he differed from Fox not in accuracy of

Plate 2. W. F. Grimes: the expert excavator, at Sutton Hoo, 1939. Photo: O.G.S. Crawford, by courtesy of the Editor of *Antiquity*.

observation and record, but in Fox's impulsion towards 'a glimpse of the thought and action of our Bronze Age forebears' (see his contribution to the M.M. Chadwick Memorial volume, 1950). Thus we do not find in Grimes's report on the Breach Farm barrow, dug with the support of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society and published in the 1938 *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*—the barrow which yielded the 'unsurpassed' set of thirteen flint arrowheads—any attempt to reconstruct the ritual, or to do more than plainly set out the findings. He was content that the information should be used by others, his own duty 'done'. He never wrote a general book; Daniel's invitation to contribute *Wales* to the 'Ancient Peoples & Places' series bore no fruit. It may be significant that he did not paint in watercolour or oils: black-and-white was enough; a paradox, if we look to the beauty of his work.

There is much more to an Assistant Keeper's job than fieldwork. Grimes's first task was to set in order and publish (as he did in *Y Cymmrodor*, 1930) the mass of Roman title, brick and pottery from the Twentieth Legion's works-dépôt at Holt-on-Dee, received in chaos and with scarcely any documentation in 1924. There are over 780 entries in the catalogue, which is prefaced by a careful study of the kiln-plant and equipment, and techniques such as the mode of lead-glazing pottery. There is also a schedule of over 100 Romano-British kiln-sites, an immense bibliographical labour which combined with the rest to bring him his M.A., and which Fox, in filling up his certificate for the Society of Antiquaries in 1934, described as 'the best thing he had done'. *Holt* remains an important, and was for long the chief, work on military kiln-plant, and has been reprinted.

Yet his trend was always away from Rome to prehistory; and the geatest monument of his Cardiff years is his *Guide to the Collection illustrating the Prehistory of Wales* published by the Museum in 1939. It gained him the Cambrians' G. T. Clark Memorial Prize at its first distribution in 1946; in an introductory essay of over 120 pages he sketched a picture of prehistoric Wales that was to last until brought up-to-date by H. N. Savory in 1951 under a new title which recognized its standing in the world of prehistory, though Grimes himself deprecated the change: *The Prehistory of Wales*. A new start was necessitated only later, under the pressure of renewed discovery and the dramatic results of Radiocarbon dating; and two fascicules by Savory have since appeared: the Iron Age (1976) and the Bronze Age (1980). Many of Grime's original drawings reappear in the latter; a colour-photograph of his Breach Farm arrowheads forms the frontispiece, and an appendix details the results of the metallurgical examination of implements which he wished to set afoot.

The extraordinary energy of the man shows in his application to be advanced to Assistant Keeper Grade I in March, 1936. By that date he had arranged displays on several prehistoric and Roman subjects, including coins, and also—for an Assistant Keeper is there to assist—a temporary exhibition of 16th and 17th century silver plate lent by Lord Mostyn. Behind the scenes, he had set a good many of the coin-finds from Roman Wales in order, the envelopes still carrying his distinctive, neat script; and he had prepared the original schedule of the contents of Caerleon Museum handed over by our Association to the

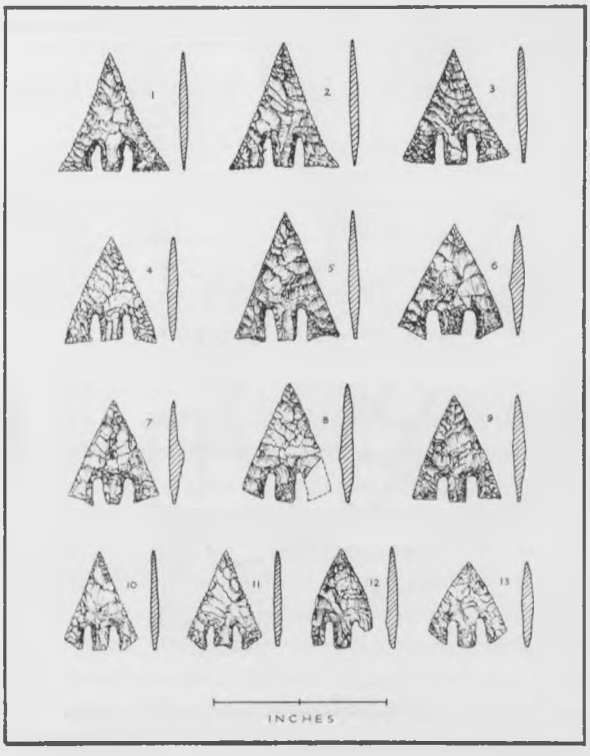

Fig. 1. The Breach Farm arrowheads. By permission of the National Museum of Wales. Drawn by W. F. Grimes.

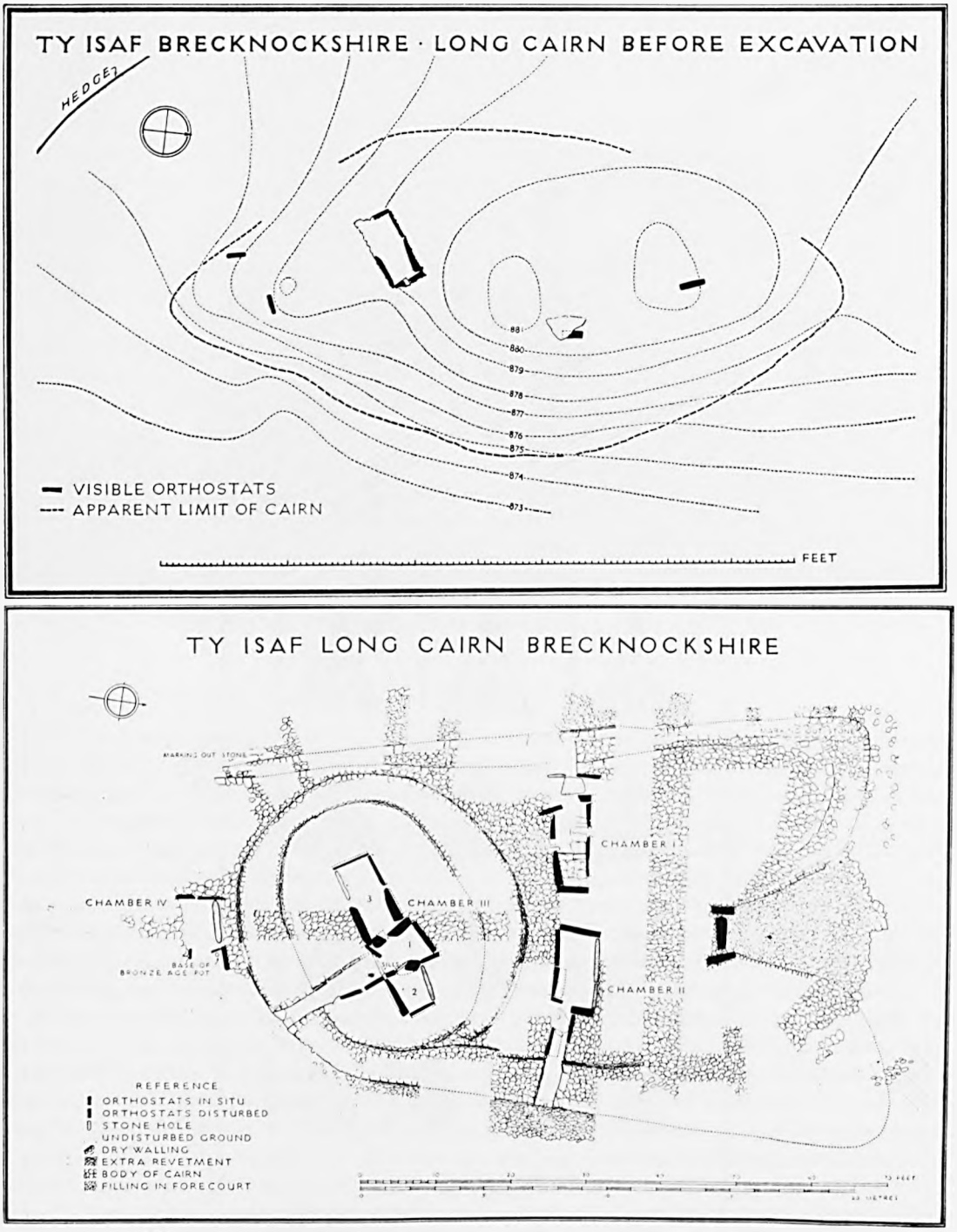

Fig. 2 A + B. Tŷ Isaf long cairn before and after excavation. Drawn by W. F. Grimes. By permission of the Editor of the Prehistoric Society's *Proceedings*.

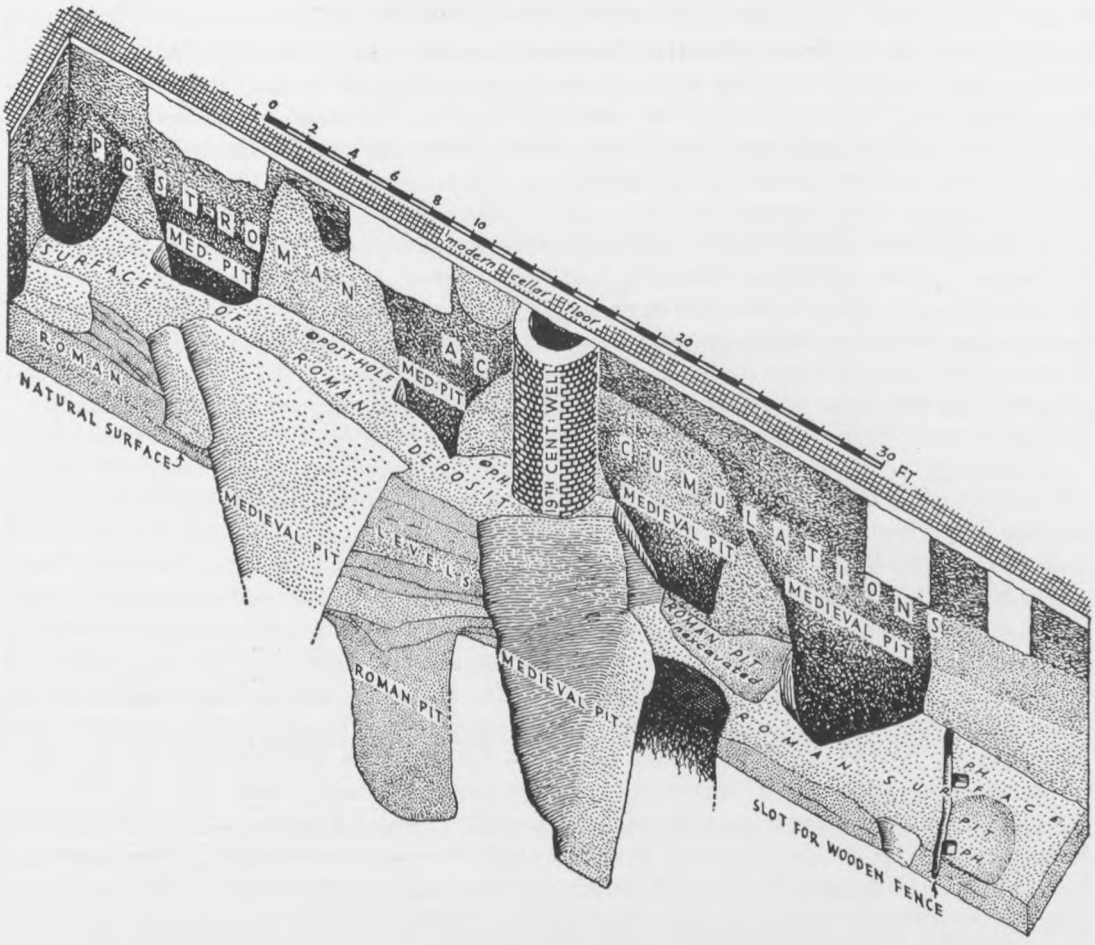

Fig. 3. A clear view of the problem: stratification in Cheapside. Drawn by W. F. Grimes. By permission of Messrs. Routledge.

National Museum of Wales in 1930. Then there were his work on Holt, and a complete examination of the prehistoric collections, which had brought a number of hitherto unrecognized and important specimens to light. It was he, too, who established the first departmental conservation-laboratory in the basement room where its modern successor is still operative.

His official fieldwork included, besides his beloved barrows Breach Farm, Ty Isaf and Pentre Isaf—the last his favourite to demonstrate how much scrupulous care could recover of a structure denuded almost away—a dug-out canoe at Llandrindod Wells, and (rather as a pressed man) Roman excavations at Caerleon on part of what turned out many years later to be the legate's palace, and at Caerwent, where he discovered, but was not allowed to excavate, the mural tower near the north-west angle, the first to be identified on the north side. We also find him surveying Llangibby Castle with D. R. Paterson, for the Cambrians' Abergavenny meeting of 1936, though a definitive account had to await Cathcart King and

Perks's *Arch. Camb.* study of twenty years later. 'Unofficial' fieldwork, as he called it, was building towards his Neolithic Period Map, and beyond that to a survey of the megalithic monuments of all of Wales, the fruits of which appeared partly in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* in 1936 and finally in the Festschrift for Fox, *Culture & Environment* (1963). His own tribute to the remarkable 'Lal' Chitty, in the volume for her (*Prehistoric Man in Wales & the West*, 1972), refers gleefully to the mishaps of a joint expedition by the indefatigable pair to trace a stone circle reputed to exist within striking-distance of Pontesbury. One rather mysterious remark in that letter of application for regrading referred to a projected study of the Beaker culture of Britain; Brittany had been visited, Holland and Germany were in prospect, and a corpus of some 500 drawings had been assembled. Possibly this project had been prompted by his being asked by the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society to report on the pottery from their excavations at Gorsey Bigbury 'henge' on Mendip; but progress was doubtless halted by the move in 1938 to Southampton and then by the war. The paper have been presented by Mrs. Grimes to the Society of Antiquaries (*MS* 897).

On leaving the Museum, he wrote to Archie Lee, the Secretary, 'It is going to be a great wrench; I wish I hadn't to go.' Feelings in such a position are always mixed. There he was, an established figure, consulted from all over the country, not yet 33, but faced with the fact that there would be no such rapid change of staff as had marked the early 'twenties. Nash was only 40, and was never likely to move; and he was of a very different temperament from Peter, a stickler for the chain of command through whom every project had to be filtered to higher authority, fair but unappreciative of his mercurial understudy. Fox, too, had set his heart on archaeology rather than administration, and willy-nilly as far as Grimes was concerned continued in a rôle which the younger man thought supererogatory and cramping: C. W. Phillips has a word on this in his memoirs. Furthermore, a year after Grimes's own appointment, Iorwerth Peate had joined the staff to look after the Folk Life material, and by 1938 had been for two years a fully-fledged Keeper in charge of his own Department, with all the status and freedom which that position brought. Even nearer the bone was the assumption by Nash-Williams and Fox that, in the absence of a draughtsman (the first was appointed only in 1956: Nash had never been able to draw well), Grimes would execute the hundreds of drawings needed for the Prehistoric Guide uncomplainingly in his own time, indeed in his own home as he would often relate, without extra pay. The business breached his sense of fairness; and thus it was that an initial delight in the job turned to a sense of frustration. It was time to go; no young man possessed of his energy and reputation could ever feel otherwise.

Sources: Mrs. Grimes; Lady Fox; Stephen Green; *Who's Who*; personal file by permission of the Director of the National Museum of Wales; his own and others' publications. conversations and recollections over many years, particularly during his retirement, when he served on the National Museum's Archaeology & Numismatics and Caerleon Museum Committees with a somewhat sardonic pleasure.

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The joint-authors, L. F. Cowley, H. A. Hyde and V. E. Nash-Williams were Grimes's colleagues in the National Museum of Wales, respectively Assistant Keeper of Zoology, Keeper of Botany and Keeper of Archaeology.