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The cover illustration is of the remains (about 1845) of the pilgrimage chapel of Llantarnam Abbey at Llanderfel (NGR: 264953) on Mynydd Maen above Cwmbrân. The artist is not known for certain. 1998 is the 900th anniversary year of the Cistercian Order to which Llantarnam Abbey (like Grace Dieu and Tintern, also in Monmouthshire) belonged. *(By courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London).*

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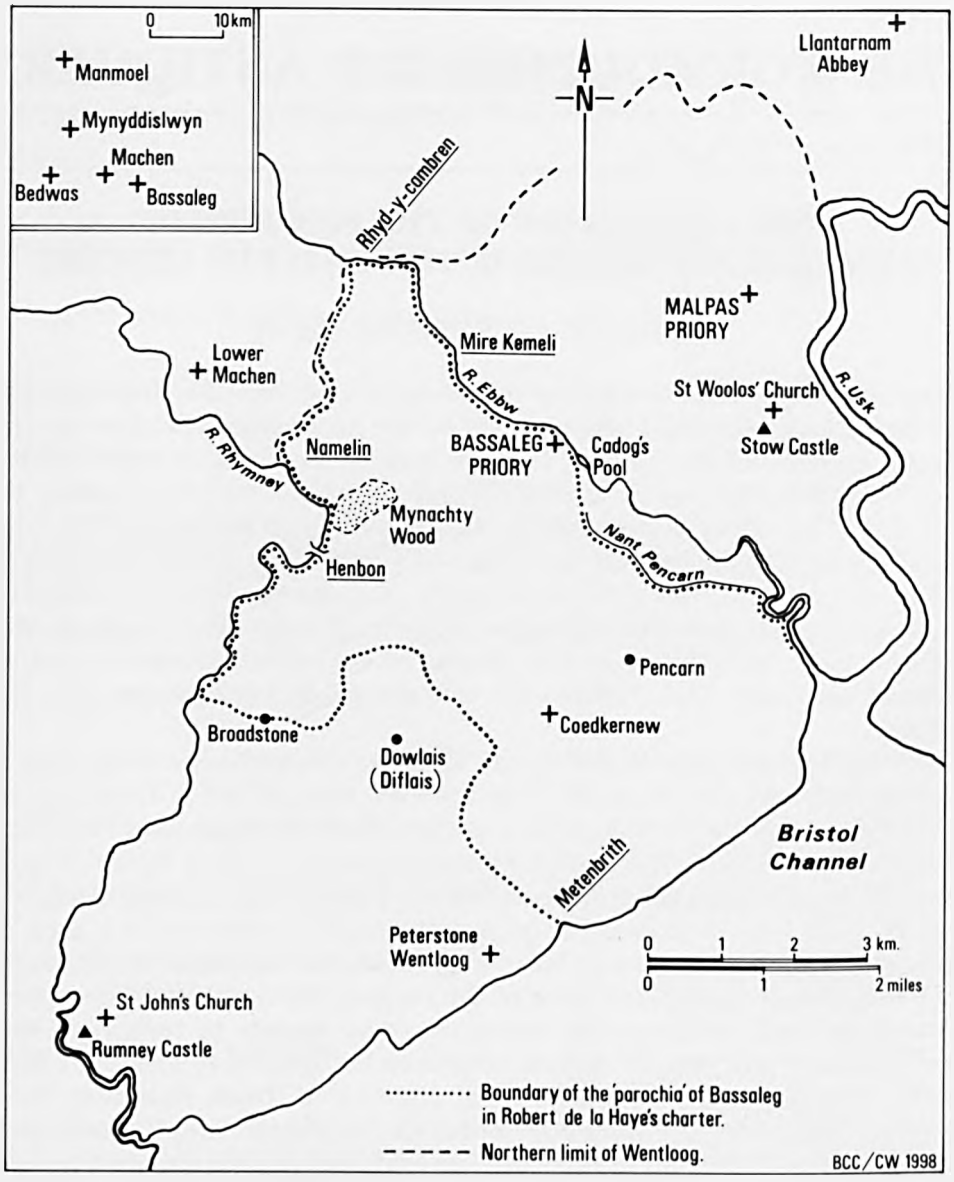
THE FOUNDATION OF THE PRIORIES OF BASSALEG AND MALPAS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

By BRUCE COPLESTONE-CROW

The priories of Bassaleg and Malpas in the cantref of Gwynllŵg were founded by Robert de la Haye between 1100 and *c.*1110. He accompanied Robert fitzHamon into south-east Wales in or about 1093 as a member of his military household, and received from him there the overlordship of the cantref of Gwynllŵg. Robert was the son of Ranulf de la Haye, of La-Haye-du-Puits on the west of the Cotentin Peninsula, who was steward to the count of Mortain on his Norman lands and sheriff of the count in his rape of Pevensey in Sussex.[1] Robert succeeded his father in both posts sometime between 1090 and 1100. The count of Mortain was also a large landholder in the county of Somerset, however, and it was probably from there that Robert set out for south-east Wales with Robert fitzHamon.

When fitzHamon came to divide the spoils of conquest in south-east Wales among his followers Robert de la Haye received the cantref of Gwynllŵg as his share, to be held by the service of four knights' fees.[2] Using as his base a motte-and-bailey castle on Stow Hill by St Gwynllyw's church (now St Woolos' Cathedral in Newport), which had probably been built by Prince William (later King William Rufus) in 1075,[3] he extended his power throughout the lowland area of the cantref, which became known as Wentloog. Relations were also established with the native Welsh of the upland area of the cantref (Machen), but these were left very much to their own devices, being required merely to recognize Norman overlordship and pay tribute. As has long been recognized it was a combination of castle, borough and monastery, or of any two of these, that was the main agent of settlement for the Normans wherever they went, and the settlement of Gwynllŵg was no exception to this rule. No borough was established in Robert's day (the founding of Newport had to wait until after Robert had surrendered his lordship of Gwynllŵg to his overlord, Robert fitzRoy, bastard son of Henry I, in about 1120), but he certainly built castles to maintain the Norman presence there and founded two monasteries. He also took steps to reform on Norman lines the canonically unsound (in Norman eyes) Welsh church, one of these steps being to confirm to Gloucester Abbey the church of St Gwynllyw, then the premier church of the cantref of Gwynllŵg, given to that house by William Rufus in 1093.[4] This church had been acquired by Rufus probably in 1075. Another



Norman-dominated English house he favoured was the abbey founded by Robert fitzHamon at Tewkesbury, to which he gave certain facilities in the manor of Roath, near Cardiff Castle, given to him by fitzHamon; namely, the mill of Roath and a fishery nearby.[5]

Robert's two largest grants to Norman-dominated religious houses in England, however, were to two Somerset houses, Glastonbury Abbey and Montacute Priory. His choice of Somerset houses as the subject of his munificence was undoubtedly

the result of the landed interests in that county of the count of Mortain, his overlord in Normandy and in Sussex. Montacute itself had in fact been founded by that count in 1102. His grant to the Benedictine house at Glastonbury resulted in the founding of a cell of that house at Bassaleg (almost certainly the site of a Welsh *clas* church that was reformed by Glastonbury as a Benedictine priory),[6] and his grant to the Cluniac house at Montacute in the founding of a cell at Malpas.

Robert de la Haye's grant to Glastonbury was made jointly with Gundreda his first wife, and runs as follows (translated from the original Latin) in the text contained in Adam of Domerham's account of the abbey:-

> Robert de la Haye, with Gundreda my wife, by permission of my lord Robert fitzHamon and Sybil his wife, for the good of our souls and of those of our ancestors and successors, give to God and St Mary's Church at Glastonbury and the congregation there the church of Bassaleg, to hold in perpetuity, free and quit from all gelds, gifts, aids...(lacuna)...in wood and in plain, in water and in all and every locality. And we also give to Glastonbury the churches (which belong) to the church at Bassaleg, with all the tithes, alms and (burial of) dead bodies belonging to the parish of Bassaleg, that is, the churches of Lower Machen (*Mahhayn*), Bedwas (*Bedewas*), Mynyddislwyn (*Menedwiscleluyn*) and Manmoel (*Mapmoil*) and the chapels of Coedkerniew (*Coittarnen*) and *Pulcrud*. And so that no dispute or scandal should arise between the parish of Bassaleg and other neighbouring parishes the bounds of the parish of Bassaleg are here given complete and in English so that the native people shall clearly understand them. (The boundary of the) parish of Bassaleg begins at *fonte Cadoci* dunwardes thurh tha ahas in ne thene mor, an es half *Pencarn*, and swa in ne theneful the sath in *Newboth*. Of [New]eboth ut in tha se and eadela ses thare sa to *Me Tenbrith* and swa up rich thurch thane mor in ne *Dufeles*, and swa to the *Brode Stone* and swa in *Remni* and swa to *Henbon* and swa to *Inweri* and swa to *Namelin* allathe montaynes of Sunlich to *Rid Cambren* and swa to *Mire Kemeli* and swa dunewardes to *Radokes Pulle*. We give them also that part of our land in the marsh within these bounds: from the way to *Merepul* as far as *Kemelin* and stretching as far as the Ebbw, itself in fact surrounding four *hammas* of land, and this land extends towards the hill [and] as far as the pool called *Kenerad*, from the pool of Kenerad it extends as far as a certain thorn tree, then leads back to a small hill and then returns to Merepul. We concede to the monks of Glastonbury that they can take in our wood as much as is necessary for building work at the churches of Glastonbury and Bassaleg, free and quit, without any claim, service or customary due; and pasturage for their pigs in our wood without pannage. (Also) a harbour with its fish and fisheries where the river Ebbw flows through that land. (They shall also have) their court fully, free and quit from all customary services, just as we...(lacuna)...and licence to assart the wood near the place called *As Domanz*, (the boundary of which is) as far as the spring called *Contra Werthin*, thence as far as *Stanhus*, thence by *Jungeta* and...(lacuna)..., thence as far as *Penbur*, thence to the Ebbw. We also concede to the monks of St Mary, Glastonbury, living at the

> church of Bassaleg that they shall have of our alms each year 20s. from the tithes of Wentloog for their clothing. We give also for their service a certain man of ours, Gwrgi son of Gwrgan by name, with his land. And if any of our men, French and English as well as Welsh, wish to grant or sell their land to God and the church at Bassaleg, or to enter the monastic life with their land, they have our licence to do so. These are the witnesses: William sheriff of Cardiff (*vicecomite Kard'*), Robert le Sor, Roger de Somery, Roger fitzJoce, Herbert de St Quentin, Laudomar [fitz]Azo; and on the part of Herelwin abbot (of Glastonbury), Guy, Samuel and Moses the monks, Alfred of Lincoln (*de Nichol*) and Robert his son, Osmund the grainger, Walter the chamberlain, Alfred butler to the abbot and many others.[7]

The charter can be dated to between the years 1100 and 1104 with a fair degree of accuracy. This is because abbot Herluin of Glastonbury, to whom the grant was made, did not become abbot until 1100 and because Robert fitzHamon, who gave his approval to the grant, departed for Normandy in 1104 and never returned. He died in 1107, so even if he did not give his approval before he left for Normandy, the charter cannot be dated any later than that year. These Bassaleg lands are probably the lands "at Wales" (*apud Walas*) valued at £10 yearly that William of Malmesbury credits abbot Herluin with obtaining.[8] However, although the grant was made before 1104 no monks were sent from Glastonbury until 1116[9] and the foundation was not a successful one, lasting for little more than a century. Grants were still being made to Bassaleg Priory in 1214/16, but soon after Michael became abbot of Glastonbury in 1235 the monks were recalled, and by 13 May 1240 abbot Michael had made over all his abbey's lands, churches and rights in Gwynllŵg to the bishop of Llandaff for an annual rent-charge of 35 marks.[11]

The use of English for the boundaries of Bassaleg's *parrochia* in this charter "so that the native people shall clearly understand them" (*ab indigenis intellegatur clariusis*) is interesting, and suggests strongly that extensive English settlement in Gwent and Glamorgan before the end of the 11th century had resulted in English being regarded by *all* the people of those counties as a natural medium of communication. When traced on the ground those boundaries effectively divide Wentloog or lowland Gwynllŵg into three areas, and in so doing provide an unexpected insight into what seems to have been the early ecclesiastical organization of that district. The area within the boundary clearly marks the limits of the *parrochia* of the old Welsh *clas* church at Bassaleg (see map), leaving to its east and west areas that seem originally to have been dependent on similar churches at Peterstone Wentloog and at St Gwynllyw's respectively. In translation the boundary reads:-

> From *Cadog's Spring* downwards through the alders into the moor on the east side of *Pencarn* and so to the stream which flows into the Ebbw. From Ebbw out into the sea and along to *Me Tenbrith* and so up straight through

> the moor to *Dowlais* and so to the *Broad Stone* and so into Rhymney and so to *Henbon* and so to *Inweri* and so to *Namelin* over the mountains of Sunlich to the ford of *Cambren* and so to the marsh of *Kemeli* and so downwards to Cadog's (*Radokes*) Pool."

Cadog's Pool or Spring may have been represented by one of two or three old meanders of the river Ebbw (now drained but visible on the 1833 first series 1" OS map) just to the south-east of Bassaleg Church. St Cadog and his mother and father (he was the son of St Gwynllyw *al.* St Woolos) were intimately involved with the waters of the Ebbw[12] so the seeking of "Cadog's Pool" among them is probably justified. The bounds then pass across a moor to the east of Pencarn and meet a stream that flows into the Ebbw. The stream meant is probably the one that passes through Tredegar Park and meets the Ebbw at NGR ST 304850. This seems to be the stream called Nant Pencarn that king Henry II had trouble crossing by a ford called Rhyd Pencarn on his invasion of Wales in 1163, according to Gerald of Wales.[13] From there the bounds go along the Ebbw to the sea shore and then along the shore to *Metenbrith*, which was probably near the modern Peterstone Gout at NGR ST 278807. *Metenbrith* is a version of *Meinbrit* (probably Welsh *maen* + *brith*, "speckled or mottled stone"), which was the location of lands in Rumney Moor given by Hywel ab Iorwerth to Bassaleg Priory *c.* 1175.[14] The stone in question (now gone) could have been a megalith similar to the one still standing by Druidstone House in Michaelstone-y-Fedw.

The bounds then go "straight through the moor" (Wentloog Level; Marshfield) along the line of Broadway Reen, which is the approximate former course of a stream called *Dufeles* or Dowlais by the Welsh. The stream gave its name to the manor of Dowlais, a manor which included Marshfield. From Dowlais they go across to the "Broad Stone", the standing stone by Druidstone House in Michaelstone-y-Fedw parish, and then into the Rhymney, which they probably met where Cefn-Llwyd Bridge is today. Following the Rhymney the bounds come to *Henbon*, which is probably Welsh *hen* + *bont*, "old bridge", which may have been on the site of the present Michaelstone Bridge (NGR ST 243855). They then go past *Inweri* to *Namelin*. 'Namelin' is probably Welsh: *nant* + *melyn* or *melin* - "mill or yellow stream", and is almost certainly the northerly of the two streams that meet the Rhymney at NGR ST 239869, since this stream marked the boundary between lowland Gwynllŵg or Wentloog and upland Gwynllŵg or Machen in medieval times. This old boundary is then followed to the vicinity of Maypole on the modern A468 road and then over the hills northwards ("the mountains of *Sunlich*"), through Coed Mawr, to meet the Ebbw by Pontymister Farm (NGR ST 247895). Near here there was a ford ("the ford of *Cambren*") on the old road between Lower Machen and Pontypool. From here the bounds clearly follow the Ebbw down past "the marsh of *Kemeli*" - the latter word perhaps representing Welsh *cemlyn*, "crooked lake or pool", which may be another lost meander of the Ebbw: there is one marked at NGR ST 264882 on the 1833 1" OS map - back to Cadog's Pool.

As reconstructed in this way the boundary for Bassaleg given in the charter divides Wentloog into three portions, each of which seems to have been dominated ecclesiastically by a Welsh *clas* church originally. The north-eastern portion included all the land north-east of the Ebbw plus a strip of land south-west of the river in the Tredegar area, and probably represents the area dependent on St Gwynllyw's church on Stow Hill, which was the site of a monastery founded by Gwynllyw, father of St Cadog, and which probably lasted until Prince William acquired that church in 1075. The middle portion was the area dominated by the church at Bassaleg, as already noted. Upland Gwynllŵg was probably always dependent ecclesiastically on this church, as is shown by the attachment of its churches of Lower Machen, Bedwas, Mynyddislwyn and Mapmoil to it in Robert and Gundreda's charter to Glastonbury Abbey and in later charters. The final, south-western portion, bounded by Bassaleg parish, the sea and the Rhymney, probably corresponded to the *parrochia* of a *clas* church or monastery at Peterstone Wentloog. This monastery was still in existence in the time of Earl William of Gloucester (1147-83), who gave it to Bristol Abbey. Stephen Rippon has noted that elements of the Roman landscape of the littoral of Gwent have survived into modern times in the vicinity of Peterstone and nowhere else on the Gwent Levels,[15] and this is probably not entirely irrelevant to the survival of a *clas* church in this remote area into the second half of the twelfth century.

What was probably an unreformed *clas* church at Peterstone Wentloog was given by Earl William of Gloucester to the Augustinian canons of Bristol Abbey sometime between 1148 and 1157. The grant may have been intended by the earl as part of the endowment for a priory-cell of the abbey at St John's church in Rumney, but if it was it never came about. His intention seems to have been to replace the "irregular" Welsh canons at Peterstone Wentloog with Augustinian canons from Bristol and move them from their remote cell on the margin between the sea and Rumney Moor to the relative safety of St John's church near his castle at Rumney.[16] The monastery was mentioned by the earl's father, Robert, at the time when he had Gwynllŵg directly under his hand, that is, between about 1120 and his death in 1147. During that period he gave to Mabel his wife land "near the monastery of St Peter of the Moor." After Earl Robert's death but before her own in 1157, and while Gwynllŵg formed part of her dower in the earl's lands, Mabel gave that land to St John the Baptist's church at Rumney as part of the process whereby she and/or her son hoped to found a monastery there:-

> Mabel, countess of Gloucester, to William fitzStephen the constable [of Newport] and her officials of Gwynllwg (*Gunlion*) and to all her barons, men and friends, Welsh, French and English, and also her Welshmen, greetings. Know that my lord Robert, earl of Gloucester, gave me sixty acres of free land in the marsh of Rumney (*Rumnia*) near the monastery of St Peter of the Moor (*iuxta monasterium sancti Petri de Mora*) and the wood towards the north that Gilbert, priest of Rumney, held of me in the time of the said earl my lord

> and that I, for the good of the souls of my lord earl Robert and of Robert fitzHamon my father, and for the good of myself and our children, grant and concede to the church of St John at Rumney the said sixty acres of land in free alms, my son William, earl of Gloucester, conceding the same free of all earthly exactions. And I will that the said [church of] St John shall hold the sixty acres of land well and in peace, free and quit, etc. Witnesses, etc.[17]

The following grant to St John's Church by two Welsh princes, Morgan and Iorwerth, leaders of the Welsh of upland Gwynllŵg, was probably made at about the same time since it follows closely the model set by countess Mabel's charter:-

> To their lord William, earl of Gloucester, and to Mabel his mother, and to all their men and friends, Morgan and Iorwerth, the sons of Owain, give greeting. We make it known to you that we have granted and conceded in free alms, quit and free of all exactions and service, forty acres on the moor of Rumney from those three hundred acres which our lord Robert, earl of Gloucester, gave us for our service on the said moor, to the church of St John the Baptist, Rumney, for the souls of ourselves, of the said earl and of our ancestors. Witnesses, etc".[18]

Earl William's own endowment for the postulated priory included 100 acres of land in Cibwr, in his lordship of Glamorgan on the other side of the Rhymney, lands at Penarth in Glamorgan, the advowson of the church of St Mellon's in Wentloog and the island of Flatholm.[19] Regarding this island, the earl had previously given to the hermits of SS Michael, Cadog and *Dolfino* on an "island in the sea off Penarth" certain lands at Llandough near Penarth (*Londohhan*). After the plans for St John's at Rumney fell through, however, probably because Bristol Abbey regarded the endowment insufficient for the maintenance of a priory-cell, Earl William granted the advowson of St John's and all its "appurtenances" to the monks the abbey had now established on Flatholm.[20] These monks may well be the former hermits, now become canons of St Augustine. If all these grants relate to a proposed priory-cell of the abbey at Rumney they must date from after the induction of the first canons at Bristol on 11 April 1148[21] and before the death of countess Mabel in 1157. After Peterstone became the property of Bristol Abbey the buildings of the suppressed *clas* or monastery became the centre of the abbey's manor of Peterstone. In 1542 the *Cathedral Valor* of Bristol described its lands in Wentloog as "the manor of Peterstone with the rectory, which extends into Peterstone, Marshfield, St Mellon's and Rumney in Wentloog, together with the rectory of Rumney in the lordship of Wentloog".[22] Eleven years before this the abbey had leased to two burgesses of Bristol the chapel and manor of St Peter of the Moor with 52 acres of demesne land and two granges, one at Marshfield and the other at St Mellon's, and with the rectory of Rumney in the lordship of *Wenthelough*.[23]

Although in the time of Earl William and afterwards the church at Peterstone was dedicated to St Peter, its original dedicatee, and perhaps the founder of the *clas* attached to it, was probably St Arthmael or Arthfael. Sir Joseph Bradney notes that at the time of the suppression of Bristol Abbey the church at Rumney had a chapel of Saint *Armagillus* attached to it, and suggests from this that the unfamiliar saint was the original dedicatee of Rumney Church.[24] An attached chapel, however, is more likely to be the church at Peterstone than a chapel within Rumney church. This is because Peterstone Church is frequently referred to as a chapelry of Rumney,[25] and because it is known to have had its origins in the centuries before the advent of the Normans in Wales. Assuming that *-magillus* is a form of *maglos*, a British word assumed to lie behind the Welsh name Mael,[26] the name *Armagillus* is probably a sixteenth century rendering of the Old Welsh name Arthmael. Bartrum has noted that this is a name used by three historical kings or princes of Glywysing and Gwent in the eighth to tenth centuries.[27] As *Artmali* or *Arthmail* it occurs as the names of laymen or clerics on ninth and eleventh century inscribed stones at Llantwit Major and Ogmore in Glamorgan and in the twelfth century *Vita Sancti Cadoci* as the name of a (probably fictitious) king who ruled lands by the River Neath in Glamorgan in the sixth century.[28]

The name is thus firmly established as one used in south-east Wales in the early medieval period. A Saint Arthmael or Armel, who had his origins in south-east Wales, is the patron of three churches in Brittany. A distillation of several late-medieval "Lives" of this saint make him a native of the cantref of Penychen in Glamorgan, who studied in an unnamed monastery in south-east Wales under an abbot *Caroncinalis*. He then left for Brittany and founded a monastery at Saint-Armel (Saint-Armel-de-Boschaux), a few miles south of Rennes (dépt. Ille-et-Vilaine), of which he became abbot. He was apparently a contemporary of king Childebert I of Paris, who reigned from 511 until his death in 558. He is not known to have had any churches in Wales dedicated to him, but in common with many of the "Letavian" saints of the littoral of south-east Wales he was celebrated in Cornwall, where he had a chapel in the church of Stratton near Bude and a church at St Erme near Truro, as well as in Brittany.[29] English or Norman settlers may have been responsible for the rededication of his *clas* church at Peterstone before the mid-twelfth century, but Arthmael must have retained a popularity among the local Welsh people that ensured the preservation of his name in association with the church for a further four hundred years.

Robert's grant to the priory Count William of Mortain had founded on his lands at Montacute in Somerset in 1102 was made somewhat later than the grant to Glastonbury, and resulted in the founding of a priory at Malpas. The foundation seems to have been made jointly with Ranulf, physician to king Henry I, who had received lands in Gwynllŵg from the king. King Henry was overlord of Gwynllŵg between the death of Robert fitzHamon in 1107, when the wardship of his heiress, Mabel, and of all her lands passed to him, and 1113 or 1114 when he married the heiress to his bastard son, Robert, and gave him all the lands

formerly held by her father. It was in the period 1107 to 1113/4, therefore, that the king gave to Ranulf lands at Mendalgief in the moors of Wentloog (now the site of Newport Docks) with Robert de la Haye's permission, and since Ranulf subsequently joined Robert in founding the priory, himself becoming one of the first monks at Malpas and willing his lands at Mendalgief to them, it was during that period also that the priory of Malpas was founded.

Robert's own charter to Montacute, giving "the town of Malpas with the church", has not survived so we do not know whether Gundreda, his first wife, joined him in this foundation as she had at Bassaleg. If she was involved the charter must date from before about 1109, since by 1111 Robert had had two children by Muriel, his second wife.[30] Nevertheless monks of Montacute were at Malpas by the time the king relinquished the overlordship of Gwynllŵg to his son in 1113 or 1114, as this charter, which records Ranulf the physician's grant to the house, attests:

> Ranulf, physician to king Henry, by permission of the king, Sir Robert de Haia consenting, grants to St Triac and the monks of Montacute at Malpas, all his land in the marsh of Mendalgief (*Mendelgif*) with his free chapel, namely, two hundred and thirty three acres of land and all his fisheries in the Ebbw as in the Usk. And should any wreck from river or sea be cast upon the aforesaid land, as it was his so shall it be theirs. The aforesaid land, with the chapel, etc., Sir Robert de Haia, then lord of Wentloog (*Gunlioc*), allowing the same, Henry king of England had given to Ranulf and his heirs and inasmuch as he has assumed their monastic habit he had constituted the said monks his heirs. Witnesses: my lord king Henry, Sir Robert de Haye, Ranulf the king's chancellor, Winebald de Ballon, etc.[31]

There is no doubt that the priory of Malpas was founded by Robert de la Haye, possibly with the assistance of the king's physician, and not by Winebald de Ballon, lord of Caerleon, as has been claimed.[32] Winebald's lands at Caerleon, which he had in succession to Thurstan fitzRolf, their Domesday Book holder, lay entirely within the commote of Edlogan and did not include Malpas, which was in Gwynllŵg. Winebald did give *terram de Cairlion* and the church of *Karion* to the priory of Montacute, the mother-house,[33] but these were probably the church of St Aaron near Caerleon and its associated lands which were in Malpas's hands in the 14th century.[34]

The present church at Malpas is largely the work of Thomas Prothero, the vicar, who rebuilt it in 1849-50 because it was roofless and in ruins. However, it may not be very different from the church Montacute Priory built there in the 12th century. It seems from drawings of the original church made in 1800 and just before it was rebuilt,[35] for instance, that all he did was to take it down and rebuild it on the same lines, using original carvings where they survived in good condition and replacing others with replicas. It is fortunate, perhaps, that Prothero was working when neo-Norman architecture was fashionable.

The identity of the dedicatee of Malpas Church in the twelfth century presents something of a problem. Ranulf the physician's charter and also one of the king's son, Robert, who was made earl of Gloucester in 1121 or 1122,[36]- say that it was dedicated to a St Triac(e), who is unknown. However, the same saint seems to be involved at the chapel on the rocky island off Beachley Point at the mouth of the Wye. His name occurs there as *Tryak* in 1290, *Tyrioc* in 1394 and *Tiriotus* (for *Tiriocus*) in 1405-07.[37] In the bishop's registers of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries the form is generally T*(h)irioc*, and William of Worcester refers in 1478 to the chapel of *Sancti Teriaci* and the rocks of *Seynt Tryacle*.[38] Later antiquaries have tried to turn this name into St Tecla or even St Twrog, but without foundation: it is more likely to be St Brioc. If the forms with "Ti"- or "Te", represent the reverential prefix "To-" (later "Ty-"), it is possible that Triac is a form of St T(y)(F)riac or Brioc. St Brioc was celebrated at another church in the Forest of Dean district, St Briavel's, and seems to have had a special connection with the Gwent area. The name is itself a diminutive of *Brigomaglos* or Brochfael, a name which appears in its full form at St Briavel's and which occurs in the royal house of Gwent in the eighth and ninth centuries.[39]

In the *Vita Sancti Briocci* or 'Life of St Brioc', written by a clerk living at Angers in the county of Anjou in the 11th century, *Sanctus Briomaglus* is made a native of Ceredigion (Cardiganshire) and the names of his parents are given as *Cerpus* and *Eldruda*.[40] *Cerpus*, however, seems to be a version of the name Cors born by three men in the 'Book of Llandaff' in eighth and ninth century contexts and also recalls Calpurnius, the name of St Patrick's father, who lived in the Severn estuary area.[41] His mother's name is clearly the Anglo-Saxon name Aetheldreda. The details of his life would therefore seem to connect him with Gwent rather than Ceredigion. He may have been one of that group of so-called Letavian saints who under the leadership of SS Cynllo, Cadfan and Tydecho, and including St Padarn, left the Gwent area (Llydaw, Letavia) for West Wales and Ceredigion in the time of Caradog Vreichvras.[42] From there he passed through Cornwall, where there is a church with his name near Wadebridge, on his way to Brittany where he founded the important monastery (later see) of Saint-Brieuc. In Ceredigion he founded a *Landa Magna* or "great church", probably at Llandyfriog, a place-name that preserves a form of his name with the hypocoristic "Ty-".

Robert de la Haye, therefore, founded two monasteries in Wentloog while he was lord of the whole cantref of Gwynllŵg. Bassaleg came first and was founded between 1100 and 1104 (or 1107 at latest). It was not a successful foundation, however, and lasted only into the second quarter of the 13th century, as has been noted. Malpas, by contrast, although founded slightly later, between 1107 and *c.* 1110, was more successful and lasted through until the Dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. When it was suppressed in 1547 this small house of a prior and two monks was valued at barely more than £15 per annum.[43]

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NOTES.

Abbreviation:
VSBG : Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae, edit. and transl., Wade-Evans, A.W. (Board of Celtic Studies; Cardiff, 1944).

1. Details of the family's Norman lands and status are given in Piolin, P. *et al.* (eds.), *Gallia Christiana*, 16 vols., Paris, 1739-70 (reprinted 1870-7) XI, 917 and *instrumenta* cols. 224-26; Delisle, L. and Berger, E. (eds.), *Receuil des Actes de Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre* (3 vols., Paris, 1916), no. 679; Loyd, L.C., *The Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families* (Leeds, 1951) 51; Green, J.A., *The Government of England Under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), 258. For their status in Sussex, see Round, J.H., 'Introduction to the Sussex Domesday', Victoria County History, *Sussex* I, 180, and Green, J.A., *English Sheriffs to 1154* (P.R.O.Handbook 24, 1990), 82.
2. Williams, A.G., *The Norman Lordship of Glamorgan: an examination of its establishment and development* (University of Wales M.Phil. thesis, 1991) 97.
3. Prince William's punitive campaign of 1075 in Gwynllŵg and Glamorgan is noted in the 12th century ' *Vita Sancti Gundleii*, cap.15, *VSBG* 189-90.
4. Hart, W.H. (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (3 vols., Rolls Series, London; 1863-67), no.509; Davies, J. Conway (ed. & trans.), *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272* (2 vols., Cardiff, 1946-8) II, L139. The grant is discussed in Brooke, C.N.L., *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Boydell Press, 1986) 52-53.
5. *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 490.
6. Lloyd, J.E., *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (London, 1911) 278.
7. Adam de Domerham: *Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus* (ed. Hearne, T., 2 vols., London, 1727) 604-07. The original charter lying behind Domerham's document has not survived but a copy of it made in the 13th century is now in Trinity College, Cambridge: MS R.5.33,106v, which is calendared by Pelteret, D.A.E., *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Boydell Press, 1990), no. 58. It does not vary in any significant details from Domerham's charter.
8. William of Malmesbury, *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* in Adam de Domerham, *op. cit.* 333.
9. Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1971) 52, give this as the actual date of foundation.
10. Patterson, R.B. (ed.) *Earldom of Gloucester Charters* (Oxford, 1973), no.4.
11. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1327-30*, 507-08; Crouch, D (ed.), *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140-1287* (South Wales Record Society, 1988) no.69.
12. See *Vita Gundleii*, caps 6 & 8 and *Vita Cadoci*, cap.54 in *VSBG*, 124-5, 176-81, where St Gwladys, wife of St Gwynllyw and mother of St Cadog, builds a chapel for "seven nuns, including virgins and chaste women" on the banks of the Ebbw by where Pont Ebbw now stands. This chapel stood to the east of the Ebbw, within the manor of Ebbw (centred on the motte-and-bailey castle at Maes-glas, now in the suburbs of Newport) as held by Laudomar fitzAzo (who rebuilt it) in the first half of the 12th century (Morgan, C.O.S., 'Some Account of the History and Descent of the Lordship Marcher or County of

Wentllwch', *Arch. Camb.* (1885) 163, and Hart, W.H. *op. cit.* no.516) and not at Bassaleg, to the west of that river, as has been suggested by Wade-Evans (*VSBG*, xii) and Knight, J.K., 'The Early Church in Gwent, II: the early medieval church', *Monm. Antiq.* IX (1993) 10. Bassaleg did, however, belong to the *familia* of St Cadog at Llancarfan in the 7th century (*VSBG*, 128-9, and Wade-Evans, A.W., 'The Llancarfan Charters', *Arch. Camb.* 1932, 154-5), even if it was not a Cadog foundation.

13. Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales* (ed. & trans. Thorpe, L., Penguin, 1978) 121-22.
14. Adam de Domerham, *op. cit.* 608-9. I am grateful to Mr Richard Morgan for advice on the Welsh place-names in this section of Robert de la Haye's charter.
15. Rippon, S., *Gwent Levels: the evolution of a wetland landscape*, (CBA Research Report, 105; 1996) 25-32, 40-45, 88.
16. Rumney Castle had probably been built by William the Conqueror in 1081 to safeguard the landward route back into England for his garrison in the new castle at Cardiff where it crosses the River Rhymney: Lightfoot, K.W.B., 'Rumney Castle: a ringwork and manorial centre in south Glamorgan, *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992) 132, 157.
17. Patterson, *op. cit.*no.167.
18. Crouch, D., 'The Slow Death of Kingship in Glamorgan: 1067-1158', *Morgannwg* 29 (1985) 41.
19. Patterson, *op. cit.* nos.14-16, 18, 19, 26, 29.
20. *Ibid.*nos.24, 170.
21. Sabin, A., 'The Foundation of the Abbey of St Augustine at Bristol', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.*, 75 (1956) 35-42.
22. Sabin, A., *Some Manorial Accounts of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol* (Bristol Record Society 22; 1960) 195.
23. Clark, G.T., *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgan pertinent*, 2 (Dowlais and Cardiff, 1890) no.433.
24. Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire* 5 (ed. Gray, M., South Wales Record Society; Cardiff-Aberystwyth, 1993) 87.
25. *Ibid.* 90, note 3.
26. Rivet, A.L.F. and Smith, C., *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (Batsford, 1979) 405. A form *Armille* is recorded in 1496 for the church of St Armel at Westminster founded by king Henry VII. Henry is thought to have brought the cult from Brittany: Baring-Gould, S. and Fisher, J., *The Lives of the British Saints* (4 vols.,Cymm. Soc., 1907-13) I, 173.
27. Bartrum, P.C., *A Classical Welsh Dictionary* (National Library of Wales, 1993) 25.
28. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments in Wales, *Glamorganshire* I, pt.3, *The Early Christian Period* (1976) nos. 926, 944; *VSBG* 65-66.
29. Baring-Gould and Fisher, op. cit. I, 170-73; Baring-Gould, S., *The Lives of the Saints* (16 vols., London, 1897-8) XVI, 264-65.
30. Dugdale, W., *Monasticon Anglicanum* (6 vols. in 8; London, 1856) III, 218 - Charter XII, which is a charter of Picot son of Colswein, to whom his sister Muriel, wife of Robert de la Haye, was heiress, dated 1111, in which he obtained confraternity with the monks of Spalding Priory for himself and Richard and Cecily, his nephew and niece. These were the children of Muriel and Robert: he left no living heirs by Gundreda.
31. Maxwell-Lyte, H. ed., *Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute, Somerset* (Somerset Record Society 8 (1894) M164.
32. *E.g.* Willis-Bund, J.W., 'The Religious Houses in South Wales After 1066', *Arch. Camb.*(1890) 13; Lloyd, J.E. *op. cit.* 444; Knowles and Hadcock, *op. cit.* 97, 100, 173.
33. Evans, J.G. and Rhys, J. (eds.), *The Book of Llan Dâv* (Oxford, 1893) 30; Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.* M11.

34. Rees, W., *Map of South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century* (Ordnance Survey, 1933), South-East Sheet.
35. The drawing of 1800 is reproduced in Bradney, *op. cit.*124, and the one made just before the church was rebuilt in Westwood, I.O., 'Malpas Church, Monmouthshire', *Arch. Camb.* (1879) 192-4, who also gives drawings of architectural details. These latter seem to be derived from the drawings Sir Stephen Glynne made in May 1849, when the church was "in the process of destruction": 'Notes on the Older Churches in the Four Welsh Dioceses', *Arch. Camb.* (1902) 92-94.
36. Patterson, *op. cit.* no.156.
37. Capes, W.W. (ed.), *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis* (Canterbury and York Society, 1909) 238-39: *...capella Sancti Tryak de Betesleye..*; Ibid. *Registrum Johannis Trefnant, Episcopi Herefordensis* (Canterbury and York Society, 1914) 178; *Calendar of Papal Registers 1405-15*, 24; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1405-0*, 378.
38. Harvey, J.H. (ed.), *William Worcestre: Itineraries* (Oxford, 1969) 76,134.
39. *Book of Llan Dâv*, op. cit. 200; Stevenson, W.H., (ed.), *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904) 66.
40. An English translation of the "Life", together with many biographical details of the saint, is given in Doble, G.H., *The Saints of Cornwall*, Pt.4: *Saints of the Newquay, Padstow and Bodmin district* (ed. Attwater, D., Oxford, 1965) 67-104.
41. *Book of Llan Dâv*, op. cit. 204, 206, 207, 212, 228; Hood, A.B.E. (ed. & trans.), *Patrick: his writings and Muirchu's Life*" (Phillimore, 1978) 41-2.
42. *VSBG* 254-55, 260-63; also Bowen, E.G., *Saints, Seaways and Settlements* (Cardiff, 1969) 70-72.
43. Bradney, *op. cit.* 122. (Many of the churches and properties of Bassaleg Priory in time passed to Llantarnam Abbey).

SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE IN THE MAN-MOEL DISTRICT OF GWENT: MONASTIC AND POST-MONASTIC EVIDENCE

By MADELEINE GRAY

The landscape of the area around Man-moel, between the Sirhywi and Ebbw valleys, is a remarkable survival from the pre-industrial landscape of Gwent. The village is set in a complex pattern of farms, each surrounded by its old enclosed fields with banks and grown-out beech hedges. Groundwork Caerphilly, the County Borough of Caerphilly (formerly Groundwork Islwyn, Islwyn Borough Council and Gwent County Council) and the Countryside Commission for Wales are now working together on a project to restore the farming landscape, re-laying hedges and re-planting decayed woodland. Research conducted as part of this project suggests that the history of settlement and land use in the area can be documented for nearly a thousand years, and that several phases of development have contributed to the present landscape. The history of the settlement at Man-moel also contributes to the study of the geography of the cult of St Cadoc, a saint whose influence was almost as pervasive and significant as that of the better-documented (and hence better-studied) St Teilo; of the ecclesiastical politics of the Norman conquest and its aftermath and of the last days of the medieval religious houses of south Wales; and to the modern debate between conservation, reclamation and sustainable development.

The first documentary reference to Man-moel is in Llifris's *Vita St Cadoci*, compiled at Llancarfan in the last years of the eleventh century.[1] Llifris recounts how Cadoc returned from Ireland with three learned disciples, Finian, Macmoil and Gnauan. The charters transcribed at the end of the *Vita* describe Cadoc's establishment of a church in Gwent for Macmoil:

> It is to be known of us that Cadog built a church for Macmoil his disciple, and secured it with a rampart (*munimine*) and built an altar in the same, that he might be entertained in it when he should go to Gwent and return thence, and he sent Macmoil to be prior therein, and procurator of all its administration. Moreover Cadog promised the rewards of heaven to all who should increase the possessions of the same church with lands or monies or alms. The witnesses of this are Cadog and his clergy, Pachan, Detiu, Boduan. Whosoever shall keep it is blessed by God, and whosoever shall break it will be cursed by the Lord. Amen.[2]

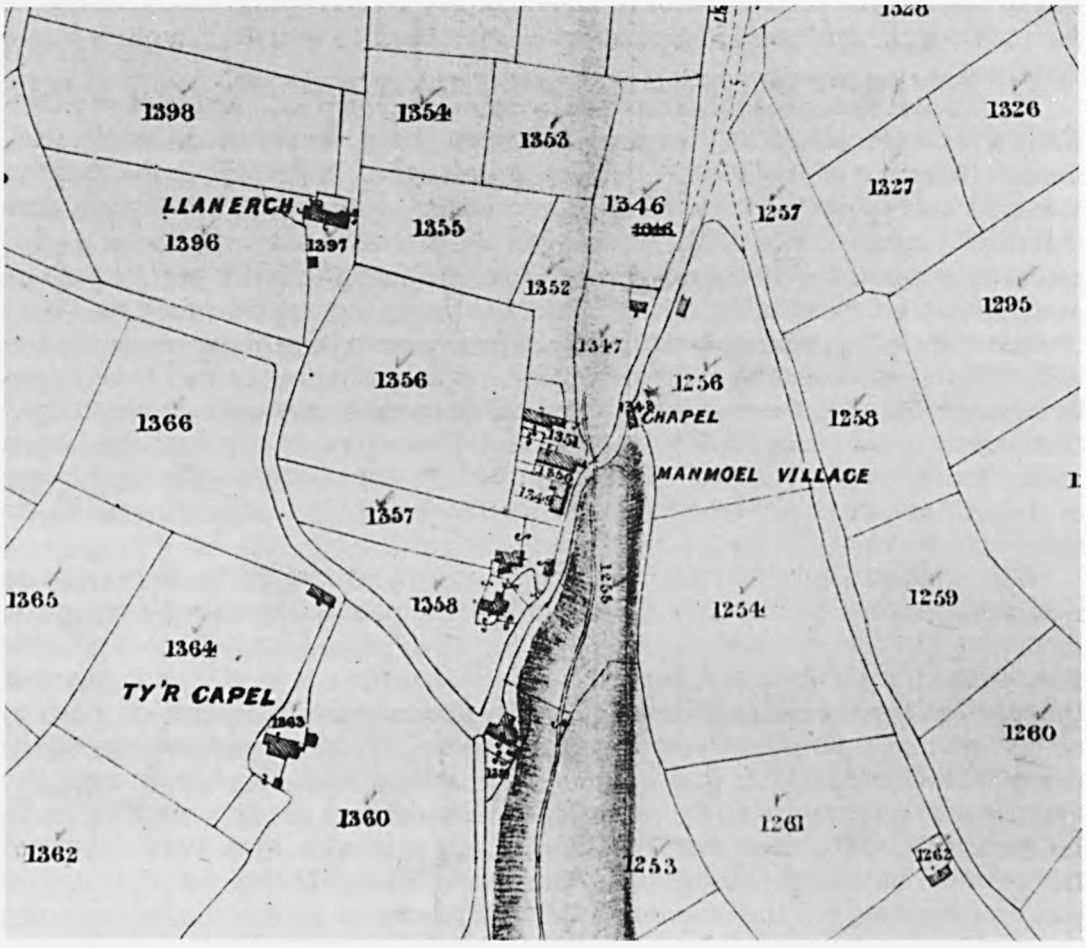
This foundation was subsequently identified with Man-moel.[3] The authenticity of the charter has not been established, and it cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for a religious settlement in the area in Cadoc's own day, still less for the details of its foundation. What it does suggest is that there was a settlement there by the time Llifris was writing, that it was traditionally associated with the

cult of Cadoc and the sphere of influence of his greater foundations, and that the name of the Irish saint Macmoil was being used to explain the place-name Man-moel.

The charter describes the church as being surrounded with a *munimen*, which Wade-Evans translates as 'rampart': the word could simply mean 'enclosure', though there is a connotation of defence or protection. According to the charter, Macmoil was made prior there and procurator of its administration. It was therefore a substantial establishment with a community of priests and a landed estate to support it. The rampart may have enclosed the inner precinct of the monastery and its church, though evidence from other sites (such as Capel Gwladus in Gelli-gaer) suggests there may have been a larger outer enclosure as well.[4] Glanville Jones has suggested these outer enclosures can in some cases be equated with the secular nucleal land called *corddlan* in medieval Welsh law.[5] Llifris also claims that Cadoc gave the church a stone altar which had been miraculously transported from Jerusalem. This further suggests the importance of the ecclesiastical establishment at Man-moel in Llifris's day, as well as its close connections with Cadoc and his other churches.[6]

A great deal of careful archaeological exploration would be necessary to establish the location and layout of the early settlement at Man-moel. Concentric field patterns have provided useful evidence in other areas,[7] but neither concentric nor rectilinear patterns can be identified at Man-moel. It is of course possible that the field systems have been too much altered by subsequent changes in settlement and land use. However, the studies of other church and secular estates referred to above suggest that it would have had at least one hamlet near the church with tenants owing food rents to the church and possibly working on its lands in return for their own holdings. There may also have been scattered farms in the hills further away.[8] The Man-moel estate probably concentrated on pastoral farming, but the tenants would have needed to grow crops for their own use and the church would also have had arable fields growing animal foodstuffs, possibly on the infield-outfield pattern found later in the area.The church was traditionally said to have been on the site of the later medieval church (the modern Ty'r Capel farm) so the original hamlet may well have been on or near the site of the present one. According to Sir Joseph Bradney, writing in the 1920s and 1930s, traces of what may have been the (medieval) churchyard wall could be seen on the west side of the house and the tenant had recently removed a 'mound' which stood in the rickyard.[9]

By the time the Normans reached south Wales, the church at Man-moel belonged to the great Welsh church at Basaleg, one of the mother churches of the kingdom of Gwynllŵg and also connected with Cadoc. The church at Basaleg was of considerable antiquity, as is suggested by the derivation of its name from the Latin *basilica*. The early medieval parish of Basaleg was an immense one, covering most of western Gwent. Its subordinate churches included Coedkernew, Machen, Bedwas, Mynyddislwyn and Man-moel (mentioned in a charter of c.



Extract from the Tithe-Map of 1845
for the Parish of Bedwellty. *The National Library of Wales.*

1100), and Henllys and Risca, churches not mentioned in the earliest sources but known from Glastonbury's fee-farm grant of the parish to the diocese of Llandaff in the thirteenth century.[10] There was at least one more church which cannot now be located, the church at *Pulcrud* in the *c.* 1100 charter.

Diane Brooks also identifies a church of St Istan, mentioned in the inquisition *post mortem* of Gilbert de Clare in 1315, as a chapelry of Basaleg. Istan was a servant of Gwynllyw.[11] The place-name Llandanglws, now the name of a farm on the ridge between Machen and Risca, may indicate another early church site and if so would be associated with the cult of St Cadoc. According to the pedigree

of St Cynawg in Jesus College MS 3, Tanglwst was a younger sister of Cadoc's mother Gwladus.[12] Llandanglws is only a mile from Machen and a little further from Risca, but it is in a typical position for an early church, on a major ridge route but sheltered by higher ground. The church at Bedwellty, which is similarly situated on the plateau between the upper Rhymney and Sirhywi valleys, is not mentioned in any document before the sixteenth century but its fabric is much older.[13] By the mid-fourteenth century, the bishops of Llandaff were claiming the tithes of Bedwellty along with those of Basaleg, Henllys and Mynyddislwyn, suggesting that Bedwellty too formed part of this huge pre-Norman parish.[14] The place-name *Henllys* suggests a focus of secular settlement, though the seat of the Caerleon dynasty in the twelfth century was further west, at Castell Maredudd near Machen. This pattern of a mother church associated with but located away from a *villa regalis* is paralleled elsewhere in Wales, and in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical geography.[15] However, Basaleg's ecclesiastical jurisdiction covered areas even further east: the church apparently held land in St Woolos,[16] and in about 1200 the Benedictine priory at Basaleg was compensated for the loss of the tithes of *Emsanternon* (or Llantarnam) when a Cistercian abbey was founded there.[17]

Gwynllyw, eponymous ruler of the kingdom of Gwynllŵg, was according to tradition Cadoc's father. According to Llifris's *Vita*, he and Cadoc's mother Gwladus founded churches at *Pencarnou* (presumably Pencarn on the Wentloog levels) and another monastery (probably the foundation which bore his name, now known as St Woolos), and placed them under Cadoc's supervision.[18] These loose federations of monastic churches, not necessarily connected administratively but recognising a common founder, are paralleled in early medieval Ireland.[19] At his death, Gwynllyw is said to have given Cadoc his lands from Ffynnon Hen to the Thaw and to have made Cadoc's foundation of Llancarfan the principal church in this part of his kingdom. Llancarfan thus claimed Basaleg and its chapelries as subordinate churches. There was a closer connection with Bedwas, as well as with Man-moel and Llandanglws: Barrwg, the dedicatory saint of Bedwas, was another of Cadoc's disciples.[20] A charter annexed to Llifris's *Life* also claimed for Cadoc rights in *Pencarnov* and Basaleg given by Gualluuir or Gualluvir.[21] This complicated history of overlapping jurisdictions and spheres of influence may be what lay behind the dispute between the Benedictine monks of Basaleg and the 'chaplain' of St Woolos over the boundaries of their respective parishes, a dispute which the bishop of Llandaff himself settled in 1146.[22]

The Benedictines had become established at Basaleg in the early twelfth century when Robert de la Hay, one of the followers of Robert Fitzhamon, conqueror of western Gwent and Glamorgan, gave the church at Basaleg and its subordinate churches, including Man-moel, to Glastonbury Abbey. This does not suggest that the Normans had penetrated into the hinterland of Gwynllŵg at that date. To judge from the incomplete list of parishes in the charter to Glastonbury, de la Hay had only the vaguest idea of what he was giving. It was

more a declaration of intent - 'When I conquer this land, you can have its churches' - with the advantage that it gave the monks of Glastonbury an incentive to pray for the success of the Norman advance.[23]

This endowment from the lands of a pre-Norman monastery presumably explains the extensive and scattered nature of the later manor of Basaleg, which included lands in St Woolos, Peterstone Wentloog, St Brides Wentloog and Risca as well as much of the parish of Basaleg.[24] Like many of the conquerors, though, de la Hay seems to have wanted to buy his salvation on the cheap, and he only gave Glastonbury the tithes of Man-moel and some of the other subordinate churches, apparently retaining the church lands for himself. The abbey of Glastonbury established a small priory at Basaleg, but by the early thirteenth century the monks had been withdrawn back to the mother house. It was after this that the abbot leased the property of the priory to the diocese of Llandaff. The lands at Man-moel were eventually reabsorbed into the lordship of Newport and formed part of the great upland manor of Machen, which covered the Rhymney, Sirhywi and Ebbw valleys.[25]

This area was not of much interest to the Normans, except for hunting, and the Welsh tenants were left pretty much to their own devices if they paid their traditional dues to the lord - dues which included honey from wild bees in the forest and young hawks. Machen remained under Welsh lords recognizing the overlordship of the de Clare lords of Newport until the late thirteenth century. The manor was not organized as a unit for accounting purposes until the early fourteenth century and was always more of an administrative concept than an organized institution of agricultural production.[26] As a result, there are no documents describing the area in detail. The inquisition *post mortem* of Joan de Clare in 1307 described it simply as *villa et patria*, with no valuation. In her son Gilbert's inquisition, seven years later, it was 'the manor of Maghay with the woods of Glynseruy, Glynrempny & Glyneboz, Diffren ebboz, 6 acres of meadow, 2 acres of pasture and £4 9s 4d rent there'.

Settlement and cultivation in the mountain zone of south Wales generally expanded during a period of better weather in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This phase ended with the deterioration of the climate in the early fourteenth century, when many upland settlements were deserted.[27] In the manor of Machen, however, the crisis seems to have been later in date and to have coincided with fighting in south Wales during the Glyndŵr uprising. In 1401/2 the manor should have been returning £13 4s to the lord, and there were no arrears. The next surviving account is from 1434/5, when the reeve was charged with only £4 2s and was in arrears with the whole sum. Payments during the rest of the century ranged from nothing to £4. A similar collapse in revenue can be found throughout the lordship and can probably be dated early in the fifteenth century: in the inquisition *post mortem* of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, in 1403, the whole of the lordship of Newport was declared to be valueless.[28] It was probably at this time that the church at Man-moel was abandoned and the hamlet may also have

been deserted: there is no evidence of a church there when documentation improves in the sixteenth century.

To judge from the surviving documentation from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, then, what emerged from this period of crisis was a changed landscape. Much of the former cultivated land had reverted to rough pasture and the remainder was farmed by the tenants of holdings scattered over the hills. These farms would have been mainly pastoral but would have needed to cultivate a few fields of grain and other crops to feed humans and animals. Transport was difficult, and communities remote from markets had to be virtually self-sufficient. The farms would also have had access to the valuable resources of timber in the woods of the Sirhywi and Ebbw valleys, which were regenerating as the area under cultivation declined.

The lands of the lordship of Newport were to the north of the Nant-y-felin. South of the stream was land belonging to the Cistercian monks of Llantarnam as part of their grange of Mynyddislwyn. Their estates in this area are not documented until 1291, but may well have been given earlier by the descendants of Hywel ab Iorwerth, the Welsh king of Caerleon, who founded Llantarnam in the 1170s. His grand-daughter Gwerfil married Maredudd Gethin, son of the Lord Rhys and heir to the kingdom of Gwynllŵg. It was probably Maredudd who built the castle at Castell Maredudd near Machen, the centre of his kingdom. The monks of Glastonbury had in effect been given the mother-church of this kingdom and were thus able to act as a bridge for the extension of Norman power into the Welsh hills through their control of the churches at Man-moel and Mynyddislwyn. The gift of land between these two churches to Llantarnam can thus be seen as a design to establish a Welsh religious community in the area as a bulwark against Anglo-Norman incursions. As a daughter house of Strata Florida, Llantarnam was unique among Cistercian houses in south-east Wales in having a Welsh foundation. The monks of Llantarnam were largely recruited from the Welsh population and were always supportive of Welsh interests.

The abbey held most of the land between the Sirhywi and the Ebbw as far as Glastonbury's other church of Mynyddislwyn. The land south of Man-moel was at first run as a grange, a consolidated block of land farmed by the lay brothers of the order. It was probably the lay brothers of Llantarnam who cleared the land around Mynydd Pen-y-fan and brought it under cultivation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The very worn-down field boundaries running across the mountain may be from this period.[29] The monks also had a mill which gave its name to the stream running through Man-moel.[30] This mill was probably on the same site as the later mill which is marked on an estate survey of 1809,[31] though it was apparently disused by then. The site of the millpond can be seen quite clearly in the middle of the modern hamlet, where it forms an area of open space below the children's playground. The lower courses of the dam are still visible.

Like the smallholders across the Nant-y-felin, the monks were forced to give up growing crops on much of this land in the fourteenth century. They also found it increasingly difficult to recruit lay brothers, partly because of the declining population. They may already have had tenants on their outlying land, and they now let out most of the rest. As far as we can see, the land was not leased but treated as a manor and let to customary tenants holding by copy of court roll. Like the tenants of Llantarnam's other manors, the customary tenants of Mynyddislwyn enjoyed generous customary rights. Their copyholds were inheritable for ever, subject only to the payment of a fixed rent and a small fixed fine. These generous customs may indicate that the earliest copyholds dated from the time the monks took over the land and reflected their relationship with the local population; they may equally well reflect the difficulty of getting tenants in the fourteenth century, though other Cistercian houses in south Wales seem to have been able to impose more restrictive tenancy conditions on land presumably let out at the same time.[32] The tenants of Mynyddislwyn grange would have been substantial peasant farmers like the tenants of the lordship of Newport, holding farms which were mainly pastoral but with enough arable land to feed the farmers and their animals. The survival of the mill into the sixteenth century is further evidence for the amount of arable farming in the area.

A survey compiled in 1570, by which time the property was in the hands of the earl of Pembroke, re-copied for a court of survey in 1583 and subsequently updated,[33] gives a detailed picture of settlement and tenancy patterns in the northern part of the grange. Unfortunately for our purposes, it is impossible to distinguish the Man-moel tenements from those in the detached portion of the manor north of Abertyswg in the Rhymney valley, and those in Man-moel north of the Nant-y-felin cannot be distinguished from the other property of the lordship of Machen in the parish of Bedwellty. The Bedwellty part of the manor or grange of Mynyddislwyn had a total of 29 leasehold and customary tenements in an area of about 50 ha, much of which would have been rough mountain pasture. Settlement seems to have been more intensive in the Man-moel area than in Nant Tyswg, but we cannot gauge just how much more intensive.

To judge from the leases, which impose the condition of maintaining the 'house and close' of the farm for terms of 99 years, farming was on the infield/outfield pattern. A small area of the best land near the house would be kept enclosed and in permanent cultivation. Poorer land could have been taken in from the pasture as needed, cultivated until it was exhausted, then returned to pasture to regenerate. The requirement to maintain the house argues that these were sturdily-built houses, probably of stone, and possibly of long-house type, since there is no mention of outbuildings.[34] The phrase does not seem to have been common form: the obligations of tenancy do vary from lease to lease, and in one case only the close is to be maintained.

Leaseholders had extensive timber rights but all had to be done with the consent of the bailiff, suggesting some degree of supervision and woodland management. If we are correct in assuming the houses were of stone, the right to collect timber for building may have been for roofing. However, even if these were long-houses, there would presumably have been a need for some sort of storage for fodder and possibly for winter shelter for pigs and even sheep. These buildings may have been constructed entirely of timber and would not be expected to last for the duration of the lease.

The survey thus depicts an area emerging from the prolonged social and economic crisis of the fifteenth century. Most of the leases date from the early years of the sixteenth century and look very much like a positive programme for tying up land which had previously been difficult to let. The very fact of the land being available for lease suggests that former copyhold tenancies had been deserted and no heir could be found to claim them. However, the farms were evidently not derelict at the time of leasing: the land was in cultivation and the farmhouses were in repair. It is unfortunately impossible to say who actually built these houses. They could have been the work of previous leaseholders or tenants at will. It is even possible that they could have been built by (or on behalf of) the monks as part of the programme of estate regeneration, though this would demand a complete rethink of our view of late medieval monastic estate management. The early sixteenth century was however a period of reconstruction for some Welsh religious houses, Llantarnam among them. Evidence of wills suggests there was rebuilding at Neath as well as Llantarnam in the early sixteenth century, and rather earlier at Tintern.[35]

The first Earl of Pembroke's acquisition of the manor in 1560 was followed by a tightening of its management and an expansion of farming and settlement. A court held on 19 August 1568 demised 62 tenements newly enclosed from the waste, mostly for terms of three lives and at a standard rent of 8d per acre plus a little extra for buildings. Some at least of these were in the Bedwellty portion of the manor, with the slopes of Mynydd Pen-y-fan being the most likely area for expansion. Settlement in the Man-moel area continued to expand in the early modern period. Estate accounts for 1730 list over 60 tenants in the Bedwellty portion of the manor. Some of these would have been in the detached fragment of the manor around Abertyswg, but this still leaves a probable 30 or 40 farms and cottages between the Nant-y-felin and Mynydd Pen-y-fan, and possibly as many again in Man-moel north of the Nant-y-felin.[36]

Nineteenth-century estate surveys and the tithe and Ordnance Survey maps suggest that the number of farms in the Man-moel area had fallen, but that the area of land under cultivation was still extensive. The tithe map probably represents the maximum extent of arable farming in the area since the middle ages. This was a golden era for farmers, the age of Victorian High Farming. By the 1870s, the expansion of European settlement westwards into the American prairie and the availability of cheap imported grain produced a severe agricultural

depression. The impact of this can already be seen in the first detailed Ordnance Survey map of the area, published in 1885 but surveyed in the 1870s. Many of the carefully-maintained hedges with pollarded standards shown on earlier surveys had been allowed to grow out, and some had been removed altogether, leaving only the low stone banks. This is largely the landscape which survives today and which the conservationists hope to preserve: but it is a landscape which dates back at least to the late medieval period and which has features from even earlier, from the Age of the Saints and the struggle for Welsh independence.

NOTES

1. For the text see Wade-Evans, A.W., ed. *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae* ... (Cardiff, 1944).
2. Wade-Evans, *VSB* 129.
3. By Wakeman (see the reference to the Wakeman MSS in Sir Joseph Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire. Volume 5:The Hundred of Newport*, ed. Gray, M. (Cardiff, 1993) p 165; *cf* Rees, *W., South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century* (Ordnance Survey, 1924). Man-moel appears as *Mapmoil* in Robert de la Hay's charter to Glastonbury in *c* 1100: see Pelteret, D.A.E.*'The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture after 1066: Glastonbury, Wales and the Normans', The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: select papers from the 1991 meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel Rosenthal (University of New York, forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Pelteret for allowing me to see a copy of this paper. The transition from *c* to *p* is characteristic of the change from Irish to Welsh. Bradney also refers to 'a record between 1101 and 1107 in which it is spoken of as *Ecclesia de Massmoil*': The Hundred of Newport p 165.
4. See also, for example, the west Wales churches in James, T. A.'Air photography of ecclesiastical sites in South Wales' in Edwards N. and Lane A., eds., *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (1992).
5. For a summary of the argument see his contribution in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales I (ii)* ed Finberg, H.P.R. (Cambridge 1972) 340-49.
6. Wade-Evans, *VSB* 49, 57-59, 129.
7. See, for example, as well as the west Wales churches referred to above, the case study of Llanelwedd/St Asaph in Jones, G., 'Churches and secular settlement in ancient Gwynedd', *Cambria* xii (1985), 33-53.
8. See, e.g., Kissock, J., 'The origins of medieval nucleated rural settlement in Glamorgan', *Morgannwg* XXXV (1991) 31-49, referring specifically to Cadoc's principal monastery at Llancarfan. See also Jones, G., 'Multiple estates and early settlement' in Sawyer, P.H., ed., *English Medieval Settlement* (London 1979); *idem*, 'Forms and patterns of medieval settlement in Welsh Wales' in Hooke, D., ed., *Medieval Villages* (Oxford, 1985).
9. Bradney, Hundred of Newport 165.
10 Davies , J. C., *Episcopal Acts relating to Welsh dioceses* ... vol II (Historical Society of the Church in Wales, nos 3 and 4) 396.
11. Brooks, D., 'The Early Christian Church in Gwent: a survey', *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, part 3 (1985-88) 7.
12. *VSB* p.319.
13. Brooks, *loc.cit.*
14. Lewis, E.A. and Davies, J. C., *Records of the Court of Augmentations* (Cardiff, 1954) 134-5, quoted in Cowley, F.G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977) 243.

15. Jones, G., 'Post-Roman Wales' in Finberg, H.P.R., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales I (ii)* (Cambridge, 1972), 308-11; Pelteret, 'The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture after 1066', quoting Davies, R.R., *Conquest, Co-existence and Change* (Oxford, 1987) 274-75, 282 and 291 and Blair, J., 'Minster churches in the landscape', *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Hooke (Oxford, 1988) 35.
16. See below, n.17. This is however a much later survey: the land in St Woolos may have been acquired by Glastonbury from a different source, and would not therefore necessarily be part of the property of the *clas*.
17. Williams. D.H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976) 82.
18. *VSB* 124.
19. See, e.g., Sharpe, R., 'The Church in Early Medieval Ireland', *Peritia* III esp 246-7; cf. Davies, W., *An Early Welsh Microcosm* (1978, London) 141-2 for the extent of Cadoc's sphere of influence.
20. Farmer, D. H. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: 3rd ed. 1992) 39; I owe this point to the Rev. John Davies, rector of Bedwas.
21 *VSB* 129.
22. Cowley, *Monastic Order* p 167.
23. Compare, for example, the division of tithes 'between Wye and Usk' between Lire (mother house of Llangiwa) and Cormeilles (mother house of Chepstow), probably by William Fitz Osbern. For a discussion of this, see Courtney, P., 'The Norman invasion of Gwent: a re-assessment', *Journal of Medieval History* XII (1986) esp 304-07.
24 Gwent R.O. D.668/2 lists the parishes and gives the bounds of the manor as the lordships or manors of Wentloog, Abercarn, Rogerstone and Dyffryn. This document is dated 1720, but manorial boundaries were normally stable, and it can be taken as an indication of the earlier extent.
25. For the text of Robert de la Hay's grant see p.3 in this journal.
26. See Reeves, A C, *Newport Lordship* 1317-1536 (University Microfilms International for Newport Museum and Art Gallery, 1979) 196-201, for the administrative history of the manor during this period.
27 See e.g., Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan Volume III: Medieval Secular Monuments Part II: Non-defensive* (Cardiff, HMSO, 1982) 17-41, for location and dating of house platforms in the Glamorgan hills.
28 Pugh, T B, *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536* (Cardiff, 1963) 151, 181: cf Reeves, *Newport Lordship* 197-8, for declining income from Machen manor in the fifteenth century.
29. For the geography and cultivation of Cistercian settlement see Williams, D.H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), *The Welsh Cistercians* (Caldey, 1984), *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff, 1990). For a similar pattern of field boundaries apparently dating back to clearance by Cistercian lay brothers see Cefn Crugwyllt, north of Margam (information from Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust) and possibly the Rhyswg ridge above Abercarn, also part of Mynyddislwyn grange.
30. Mistranscribed as Melyn Van Hoell in the *Brown Book of Usk* copy of the 1570 survey of Mynyddislwyn or Abercarn, NLW MS 17008D, which recites a lease of the mill by the monks in 1528: Bradney vol. 5, *Hundred of Newport*, p 136. The present author was responsible for mis-identifying the location of the mill in the introduction to this volume. It would in fact have been more normal for the mill to be located as near as possible to the confluence with the Sirhywi, in order to gain the maximum head of water, but in this case the convenience of lay brothers or tenants bringing corn to the mill seems to have prevailed.

31. Gwent Record Office Man/B/1/0013.
32. For details of tenancy customs on Tintern's estates see the present writer's 'The Administration of Monastic Estates in Gwent in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XXXVII (1990) 182.
33. NLW MS 17008D: Man-moel entries on pp 128-133. Abstracted in part by Bradney, *Hundred of Newport* 136-37: for a full transcript and discussion see the present writer's 'Henry, Earl of Pembroke's Survey of the Manor of Mynyddislwyn in 1570', *National Library of Wales Journal*, forthcoming.
34. Fox and Raglan (*Monmouthshire Houses* :National Museum of Wales, 1951-54; new edition, Merton Priory Press, 1994) identified the cruck-framed half-timbered hall house as the characteristic peasant house of later medieval Monmouthshire but located a zone of small stone houses in the hills to the north of the county. Their survey did not cover the western mountain zone in detail. They found a few houses in the parish of Mynyddislwyn with stone bases and upper crucks, but these were of mid-sixteenth-century date, a time when peasant houses further to the east of the county were also being rebuilt or cased in stone. The cruck-framed house with stone walls and partitions was the characteristic house of the western mountain zone by the end of the eighteenth century but we cannot read back from these later examples to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. All that can be said is that low stone walls were typical of the more substantial long houses and platform houses of the mountain zone immediately to the west in Glamorgan. (RCAHM III (ii) 27-30, 39, 41, 47, 54, 55; *cf.* 119-123 for cruck-framed peasant stone houses a little further to the west).
35. Williams (Glanmor), *Welsh Church from Comquest to Reformation* (Cardiff, 1962) 564-65; *cf.* Riden, P., ed., *Glamorgan wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1392-1571: an interim calendar* (Cardiff, 1985) 1 (will of Davy Mathew of Tortworth); Williams, D.H., *White Monks* 86.
36. Gwent Record Office Man/B/1/0013.

THE TROUBLED FOUNDATION OF GRACE DIEU ABBEY

By JULIAN HARRISON

When the abbey of Grace Dieu was suppressed in September 1536, its inhabitants are said to have numbered just the abbot (John Gruffydd), one monk and three servants, a meagre complement by any reckoning.[1] Moreover, the net income of that house immediately prior to the Dissolution was estimated at merely £19 p.a. (£26 gross): if this figure is accurate, Grace Dieu was the most poverty-stricken Cistercian abbey in England or Wales at this date (and probably, it may legitimately be argued, for some considerable time previously).[2] There is also substantial evidence to suggest that this monastery had a precarious early existence, which subject forms the basis of the present discussion.[3] It is perhaps contentious to draw a direct connection between the financial difficulties of Grace Dieu in its latter years and the troubled beginnings of that house; yet this implication cannot entirely be dismissed, because the methods used to establish that abbey provoked native hostility to it from the very outset.

No foundation charter for Grace Dieu has survived, but it is nevertheless possible to reconstruct its formative period from a number of contemporary sources, most notably the proceedings of the Cistercian General Chapter and the testimony of chronicles which were composed at the abbeys of Dore (Herefordshire) and Waverley (Surrey) respectively.[4] The earliest record of an intention to establish a new monastery is dated 1217, when John, lord of Monmouth, petitioned the General Chapter for this very purpose.[5] That assembly approved this request on condition that the possessions and movable goods which had been promised were both supplied and paid for, and instructed the abbot of Morimond (Marne) to make diligent enquiry whether John was able to fulfil his ambition. Five years later (1222) the General Chapter again made reference to this proposed foundation, and appointed the abbots of Bruern (Oxfordshire) and Bordesley (Worcestershire) to investigate the preparations made by John of Monmouth, in order to ascertain whether a convent (comprising the requisite abbot and twelve monks) might be sent to the new house from the abbey of Dore.[6] At the following General Chapter the abbot of Margam announced that his colleagues from Bruern and Bordesley had neglected their commission, for which they received the appropriate punishment (six days of light penance, restricted to bread and water for two of them), and were reminded to discharge their duty by the next Chapter.[7] However, the next mention of this episode (in 1225) shifted the blame once more, declaring that John of Monmouth had himself failed to construct the new abbey, and urging that this be done by the following year.[8]

On 24 April 1226 a group of monks sent from Dore Abbey finally colonized the new foundation, which was christened Grace Dieu.[9] Tacit royal support for

this fledgling monastery was likewise received in the same year from Henry III of England, who granted that house the hermitage of St Briavel's in the Forest of Dean, together with a small parcel of adjoining arable, meadow and woodland.[10] Nonetheless, a period of some ten years had elapsed from the earliest reference to this abbey until its eventual settlement, which delay may be apportioned variously to certain procrastinating Cistercian abbots and to the founder himself. There remains a strong suspicion that John of Monmouth had either been reluctant to perform his initial pledge or had been prevented from so doing, a scenario which is supported by the subsequent history of that house.

In 1233 the abbey of Grace Dieu was sacked by the Welsh: according to a chronicler writing at Waverley, the attackers were disgruntled because John had presumed to found his monastery on land unfairly appropriated from others.[11] It is uncertain whether the Cistercian General Chapter (or its appointed delegates) was aware of this potentially alarming obstacle to the well-being of Grace Dieu before that house was rased to the ground; after 1233 this problem could no longer be ignored. In the following year the abbots of Bruern and Kingswood (Gloucestershire) were ordered to investigate in person this foundation by John of Monmouth *'in loco litigioso'* ('in a disputed place'), to persuade him to make peace with his enemies, and to ascertain whether he originally held this land by lawful means.[12] This instruction was repeated in 1235, in which year Henry III also granted these monks twenty trees from the Forest of Dean in order to rebuild their house *'que nuper combusta fuit'* ('which had recently been burned').[13] Finally, a new petition by John to move Grace Dieu to a more acceptable location was granted by the General Chapter in 1236, to take place without further delay.[14] Consequently, the original site of this abbey (occupied for less than a decade) can no longer be positively identified.[15]

The surviving evidence leaves a tantalizing glimpse of the difficulties which arose when Grace Dieu was first founded, on land which was undoubtedly the subject of dispute. However, this picture can be further clarified by one more contemporary account, which derives from a chronicle which was possibly composed at Grace Dieu itself (Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 507 [E.4.23], fos 2r 13v).[16] This work is largely a condensed version of the *Annals of Margam* (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.2.4 [1108]), but was almost certainly prepared for a different home: every reference to Margam as *'abbatia nostra'* ('our abbey') has been purged in the Dublin copy, besides the majority of the notices of Margam having been omitted entirely.[17] The single interpolation of note to this text (compared to the *Annals of Margam*) is placed at the beginning of the entry for 1232 (fo 10r), both supplying a potential place of origin for this chronicle and illuminating this period of Welsh history.[18]

> During Lent the abbot of Grace Dieu crossed over the River Usk in company with a single monk and the deacon of Usk, in order to negotiate peace between himself and the descendants of Arthen. When they had arrived there and

were minded to arrange a settlement, the sons of Belial suddenly rose up against the man of God and treacherously seized him and his horses. One of the most wicked of their company, by name Llywelyn, loosed an arrow and wounded the monk of the said abbot in the arm. Setting off afterwards, they allowed the deacon to depart, but singing for joy and rejoicing they led away the abbot and the monk, the horses and boys, the entire day through the twists of the valleys and the gaps of the mountains until they came to the River Taff beyond the place which is called Faenor. Staying there, they detained the abbot with them for fifteen days; which period elapsing, they promised that they would allow the abbot to depart if he would leave some other monk as hostage in his place until he had arranged their peace in relation to the lord of Monmouth. When he had heard this, he was pleased, and quickly directed a message for a monk by the name of William of Strigoil. When that had been done, the sons of the Devil changed their mind, and detained the abbot and the monk who had come there as a hostage; but they released the monk who had previously been with the abbot and similarly allowed one of the boys to depart, who would lead him home. But God strengthened the spirit of the young monk who had recently arrived, who likewise encouraged his disheartened father every day. He had arrived there on a Sunday, and the Thursday following, as the abbot and the monk and his boy were debating among themselves the various ways that they could escape, the monk said, "At the end of the morning we may go out, and I," he said, "shall fill our cowls with grass and hay, and so we can cautiously leave them pretending that we were praying." And they did that, and on the Friday by such a trick they escaped from their clutches, by the working of divine mercy.

This passage fails to explain why the abbot of Grace Dieu had been forced to seek peace with these so-called descendants of Arthen;[19] but his captors are also said to have been in dispute with John of Monmouth, and presumably included those on whose land the abbey of Grace Dieu had allegedly been constructed. Such an impression is confirmed by a second notice in this chronicle for the year 1233, relating that it was these same descendants of Arthen who had burned that house to the ground.[20] Furthermore, the destruction of this abbey need not be related directly to the simultaneous uprising against the English by Llywelyn ab Iorwerth of Gwynedd and Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke, as has sometimes been supposed, though that rebellion did create an ideal opportunity to remove this symbol of colonial oppression.[21] The identity of this Arthen is unestablished: perhaps he was an authentic ancestor of the

men who had seized this abbot; alternatively, he may have been a reviled historical figure (paralleled by the other term used to describe these men, the sons of Belial, that is, the Devil).

It would therefore seem that the Cistercians who settled at Grace Dieu in 1226 were the unwitting victims of a pre-existing feud, which centred directly on the ownership of the land where their monastery stood. Although it is not known why John of Monmouth proposed to establish an abbey for monks of that Order, it is doubtful that he was motivated solely by pious intentions. Indeed, he may have used the Cistercians as pawns in an attempt to achieve English dominance in this part of South-East Wales, perhaps even with the approval of Henry III. The events which followed the foundation of Grace Dieu also suggest that insufficient care had been taken by the abbots of Morimond, Bruern and Bordesley to ensure that the status of this abbey would be legitimate.

Acknowledgement: The author and the Association are grateful to Mr Colin Williams for drawing the map which locates those places mentioned in the text.

NOTES.

1. For the progress of the Dissolution in Wales, see Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c. 1415-1642* (Oxford, 1987), 279-304, and David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, 2 vols (Caldey Island, Tenby, 1984), I, 100-32; and for the fate of Grace Dieu, Edward Owen, 'Documents relating to the dissolved monastery of Grace Dieu', in *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society Publications*, 2 (1950), 189-99.
2. Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 2nd ed., 1971), 113, 120; Williams, D.H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), 72-73. By way of comparison, the net income of Tintern was valued at the same time at £192 p.a., that of Llantarnam £71 p.a., and of the Cistercian nunnery of Llanllŷr (Cardiganshire) £57 p.a. (Knowles & Hadcock, op. cit. 113-14, 272).
3. For comparable accounts of the foundation of Insular Cistercian houses, see Meekings, C.A.F., 'The early years of Netley Abbey', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 30 (1979), 1-37; O'Conbhuidhe, C., 'The origins of Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny', *Cîteaux* 14 (1963), 293-306; and Scott, J.E., 'The origins of Dundrennan and Soulseat Abbeys', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 3rd series, 63 (1988), 35-44.
4. This period of the history of Grace Dieu has been discussed by David H. Williams, 'Grace Dieu Abbey', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 1 (1961-64), 85-106 (pp. 85-87), and *idem*, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border*, 59-61.
5. *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, ed. Canivez, J-M., 8 vols (Louvain, 1933-41) I, 481 (1217/67).
6. *Ibid.* II, 19 (1222/32).
7. *Ibid.* II, 27 (1223/21).
8. *Ibid.* II, 43 (1225/39).
9. *Annals of Dore*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* XXVII (Hanover, 1885) 527; *Annals of Waverley*, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard, H.R., 5 vols, Rolls Series (London, 1864-69), II, 302. The mother house of Grace Dieu was mistakenly given as Waverley by Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire*,

1140-1540 (New York, 1947), 33, who was followed by Knowles & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 113. This error has been corrected by Cowley, F.G., *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066- 1349* (Cardiff, 1977) 27 and n. 65.

10. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi*, ed. Hardy, T.D., 2 vols (London, 1833-44) II, 132; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, I, *A.D. 1226-1257* (London, 1903) 4; Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border*, 69.
11. *Annals of Waverley*, 312. I have not seen Garry J. Kelly, *The Monastery of Grace Dieu and its Relationship to Welsh Nationalism* (M.A. thesis, Fordham University, 1940).
12. *Statuta*, op. cit. II, 137 (1234/49).
13. *Ibid.* II, 147 (1235/36); *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III. preserved in the Public Record Office, A.D. 1234-1237* (London, 1908) 44.
14. *Statuta*, op. cit. II, 155 (1236/13).
15. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border*, 61, 67-68; *idem*, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff, 1990) 44.
16. Colker, M.L., 'The "Margam Chronicle" in a Dublin manuscript', *Haskins Society Journal*, 4 (1992) 123-48; *idem*, Trinity College Library Dublin: *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols (Aldershot, 1991), II, pp. 938 41; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Supplement to the Second Edition*, edd. Ker, N.R. and Watson, A.G., (London, 1987) 49. There is a photograph of fo 3v *apud* Bernard Meehan, 'The manuscript collection of James Ussher', in *Treasures of the Library: Trinity College Dublin*, ed. Fox, P. (Dublin, 1986) 97-110 (p. 100).
17. *Annals of Margam*, in *Annales Monastici*, op. cit. I, 1-40. For a recent study of this chronicle, see Patterson, R.B., 'The author of the "Margam Annals": early thirteenth century Margam Abbey's compleat scribe', *Anglo Norman Studies* 14 (1991), 197-210.
18. Edited by Colker, 'The "Margam Chronicle" in a Dublin manuscript', 132-33.
19. For a separate attempt to identify this Arthen, see *ibid.*, 132, n. 49.
20. Edited *ibid.*, 138.
21. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border*, 59-60.

ABERGAVENNY LORDSHIP IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: THE *VALOR* OF 1499/1500

By ANTHONY HOPKINS

When Henry Tudor came to the throne in August 1485 he inherited from Richard III the possession of the lordship of Abergavenny even though George Nevill, son and heir of Edward Nevill and Elizabeth Beauchamp, was allowed the title 'lord of Abergavenny'.[1] That Henry VII was indeed possessed of the lordship of Abergavenny from the start of his reign is confirmed by his grants, on 11 October, 1485, of the office of receiver to Richard Moton and the offices of steward, constable and porter to John Moton.[2] A few months later, on 9 February, 1486, the king appointed Adam Thomas to the offices of garden-keeper and hayward in the same lordship during the minority of Edward, Earl of Warwick.[3] But less than a month after this, on 2 March, Abergavenny was part of the extensive estates granted by Henry to his uncle, Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, with succession to his heirs male.[4]

The grant was Jasper's reward for his support of Henry whom he had protected and advised during his exile. In thus rewarding his uncle Henry made Jasper the most powerful figure in south Wales.[5] When Jasper died in 1495, the king was determined that no-one outside the royal household was to be allowed to exercise so much power again and the reversion of most of Jasper Tudor's lands was settled on his great-nephew, Henry, Duke of York (the future Henry VIII) who was four years old.[6] That this included Abergavenny is suggested by a *valor* for the lordship drawn up during the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VII, which survives among the archives of Westminster Abbey. It records money paid to the receiver-general of the duke of York at Westminster - a clear signal that the lordship is held on behalf of the future king.

The *valor*, which is translated below, is referenced Westminster Abbey Muniment 4087. It is not dated by calendar year but a note on the dorse states it to be in the fifteenth year of the reign of Henry VII (1499-1500). The payment to the receiver-general is said to have been on 24 January of this regnal year which runs from August to August. The *valor* must have been compiled after this date, therefore, which would place its completion in the calendar year 1500.

It is not certain how or when the *valor* entered the Abbey muniments but it may well have strayed from the royal exchequer whose archives were kept in the nearby chapter house, just downstairs from the Abbey's muniments, from the 1530s until the nineteenth century.[7]

A *valor* was an auditor's report on the lord's revenues. Surveys of this kind were especially useful to lords whose possessions were great and scattered. The auditor's *valor* was a summary, a digest of information contained in the receiver's account.[8]

The Abergavenny *valor* has four elements. Income, naturally enough, is followed by expenditure, the balance between the two being the clear value of the lordship. The statement of this net value is the *valor*'s third stage; the fourth is an account of the receiver's payments and of money yet to be received.

The statement of income is based upon the receiver's account (unfortunately not extant). As receiver for that year, William Herbert would have had the responsibility for the financial administration of the lordship. His account would have been the balance sheet of the lordship and would have included the accounts presented by each subordinate official as well as a statement of his own direct payments and receipts. The details that would have been recorded in the receiver's account are lacking in the *valor* which merely records total sums received from rents and farms and perquisites of court, arrears from the previous year being treated as income. Income is totalled at £345 5s 5d.

Out of its revenues, the lordship had various expenses to meet. Chief among these were the wages due to the officers running the lordship on behalf of the lord. The body of officers recorded in the *valor* offers a valuable insight into the structure of seigneurial administration in the late medieval period: Abergavenny in the later fifteenth century could boast a steward, a master-sergeant, a constable, a porter, receiver, auditor, exchequer and court clerk and a hayward and garden-keeper. The prominence of the Herbert family is inescapable, and particularly conspicuous in the administration is Walter Herbert who is steward, master-sergeant and (so the *valor* later tells us) beadle in the current year and had been receiver in 1496-97.[9] Other administrative expenses were incurred in keeping the exchequer (in the castle), paying auditing officials, and in holding courts presided over by the steward. The courts were presumably held in the castle at Abergavenny which building is itself the object of expenditure, repairs to various rooms being costed along with the enclosure of adjoining meadow. The final draw upon the lordship's coffers is the wages of officials serving in 1496-97, evidently paid by the receiver without written authorization. Transporting the money for these payments was itself an expense since it had to come from the receiver general at Westminster. This adds 30s to total deductions amounting to £99 3s 2½d.

The balance of income minus expenditure is £246 2s 2½d. This, therefore, is the value of the lordship. But the picture is incomplete at this stage as the *valor*'s most revealing final phase makes clear. Having valued the lordship, the auditor records the sum paid to the receiver-general, the chief financial officer of the lord. Only £200 of the stated value of the lordship is actually delivered. The sum of 66s 8d is committed to an annuity, and a further £42 15s 6½d remains uncollected from tenants and the receiver's subordinate officials ('ministers'), who are, therefore, detained within the castle pending payment.[10] These debts are the responsibility of the ministers accounting to the receiver, and may even have been written off - certainly the receiver himself is not made liable for them, the *valor* concluding with the statement that he is in surplus and owes nothing.

The *valor* consists of two membranes sewn together end to end. It has been translated below from the original Latin.

Westminster Abbey Muniment 4087.

Received of William Herbert for the fifteenth year

Lordship of Abergavenny with members

valued this year as appears in the account of William Herbert, esquire, that is for arrears for the preceding year £43 6d and for rents and farms this year £274 9s

£317 9s 6d

and in perquisites of court and of the hundreds held there this year as appears in the aforesaid account

£27 15s 11d

total value with arrears £345 5s 5d

of which arrears for the preceding year are £43 6d and issues for this year are £302 4s 11d

whereof in a certain annual pension [payable to] the prior and convent of Abergavenny per annum

£10

and in fees and wages of officers there per annum namely Walter Harbert, knight, steward, £20 and master-sergeant, 9s; Richard Harbert, constable, 9s and porter of the castle, £4 11s; William Harbert, receiver there, 14s; John Gounter, auditor, 100s; William Barry, exchequer and court clerk, 106s 2d; Adam Thomas, hayward (*messoris*) and keeper of the garden, 30s 4d; and in payment to the clerk auditing and writing the accounts as fully appears in the aforesaid account, 20s

£54 10d

and in keeping the exchequer there, 26s 2d with the expenses of the officials at the time of the audit as appears in the aforesaid account, 35s 2d

61s 4d

and in the steward's expenses in holding 11 great courts there, 110s and 12 hundreds [courts], 40s as in the aforesaid account

£7 10s

and in certain repairs made there this year, that is in rebuilding one room called the chapelchambre, £7 3s 4d with sand and tiles 12s; in various other places within the castle there and in enclosing one meadow there called castlemede, 13s 4d as fully appears in the aforesaid account

£8 8s 8d

and in transporting the king's money paid out below by the receiver-general this year

40s

and in money respited to the use of Walter Harbert, knight, lately receiver of this lordship in respect of certain money paid by him to various officials feed above and their wages in the twelfth year of the present king and in the account of the receiver himself for the same year allowed in default of warrant: namely, master-sergeant for the whole lordship, 27s 3½d; porter of the castle there, £4 11s; receiver, £6 13s 4d; hayward and garden-keeper, 30s 9d provided that warranty is sought on behalf of the lord king for allowance then to be given

£14 2s 4½d

[M2] total of the aforesaid reprises £99 3s 2½d

and the net value (*et valet ultra*) with £28 18s 1½d in arrears for the preceding year is £246 2s 2½d, thence:

annuity

in a certain annuity paid to Robert Conysby alias Cony granted him by Letters Patent of the king as appears fully in the aforesaid account

66s 8d

money paid to the receiver-general

and in money paid to John Heron, receiver-general of the duke of York, 24 January in the fifteenth year of the present king at Westminster together with payment in arrears for the preceding year as appears in the aforesaid account

£200

and there remains in the hands of tenants and ministers

£42 15s 6½d

respecting which:

Walter Harbert, knight, beadle of the lordship there for part farm of the office of master-seargent at 26s 8d per annum namely for 3 preceding years and this year

106s 8d

[right hand margin]
whereupon he petitions to be discharged because the money that he owes has been unlawfully distrained

Adam Thomas, hayward there, for farm of various demesne meadows and pastures in hand or in arrears for year twelve of the present king with 13s 4d for maidenmede which he claims by colour of the said office of hayward for the same year

£4 17s 4d

the same Adam, hayward there for rent of the said meadow called maidenmede at 13s 4d per annum namely for 2 years preceding and this year in arrears

40s

[right hand margin beside these two entries]
against which the same Adam declares himself to have a bill seeking attachment for £6 14s 9d

the abovesaid Walter Harbert, knight, occupying lands and tenements lately purchased from William Gr' at 26s 8d per annum namely for 3 years preceding and this year

106s 8d

the heirs of David ap Trahiron, outlawed, namely for farm of lands and tenements of the same heirs at 11s 8d per annum namely for 3 years preceding and this year

45s 4d

John ap Ho' Sayer, 60s 1d, Phm ap Jankyn, 100s, and Meuric ap Dd ap Jor' 100s for penalty for the same wrongdoing in the year before last

£13 1d

[right hand margin]
for which they remain within the castle of Bergevenny in the custody of the janitor

John ap Jeuan Vachan, 33s 6d, Ho' ap Dd ap Jeuan Bastard, 26s 8d, Phm ap Jeuan ap Ho', 16s, Jankyn ap Jeuan ap Gli', 32s, Morgan ap Ph' Lln, 16s, Adam Thomas and Thomas Wolf £4 10s 5d and Meredeth ap Ho' ap John, 22s 6½d, for their arrears for this year

£11 17s 1½d

[right hand margin]
for which the same ministers remain also within the aforesaid castle

William Harbert, esquire, receiver there this fifteenth year - nothing because he withdraws in surplus 37s 8d

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NOTES.

1. Gwent Record Office, Man/A/2/336, 'Report on whether the Dignity of Abergavenny *sit conjuncta feodo*; with succession of the barons of Abergavenny 1066 to 1767', unpag.
2. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1485-1494*, 20.
3. *Ibid.* 56.
4. *Ibid.* 64.
5. Pugh, T.B., 'The Ending of the Middle Ages, 1485-1536', *Glamorgan County History* III (1973) 555; Griffiths, R.A., 'Wales and the Marches' in Chrimes, S.B., Ross, C.D., and Griffiths, R.A., (eds.) *Fifteenth Century England 1399-1509* (1995 edn.) 163.
6. Pugh, 'Middle Ages' p.558.
7. I am grateful to Dr. Richard Mortimer, Keeper of the Muniments of Westminster Abbey, for this information; See also *Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office* I (1963) 1.
8. Pugh, T.B., (ed.), *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536: Select Documents* (Cardiff 1963) 154-157.
9. For the career of Walter Herbert see Kent, G.H.R., *The Estates of the Herbert Family in the mid -Fifteenth Century*, University of Keele Ph. D. (1973).
10. This practice was not unique to Abergavenny. The Castle prison was similarly used to detain defaulters in the Stafford Lordship of Newport in the Fifteenth Century. See Pugh, *Marcher Lordships*, 158.

GWENT SEALS: VIII

It is a pleasure to be able to record more seal matrices which have been found in Gwent. Impressions made from these matrices are held in the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, and are listed in the Welsh Supplement to Volume 2 of the Museum's *Catalogue of Seals*, shortly to be published. The first described here (that of Adam of Harudona) is an impressive seal whose device alludes to the owner's occupation. Such allusive seals are comparatively rare. The seal was perhaps, as doubtless many other seals found in Monmouthshire, lost by their owner whilst on a journey. However, the seal of William de Lake, also described below, derives from a member of a well-attested local family. It has been suggested, less certainly, that the motif of a bird is suggestive of the wildlife frequently associated with lakes. Both seal matrices are remarkably well preserved.

This is a suitable place to record the gratitude of the National Museum and of this Association to those who kindly bring seal finds to their attention. Our knowledge of seals, their distribution and their characteristics, has been much enhanced in this way in recent years, and not least here in Gwent.

By JEREMY P. DAVIS

Seals found in the Parish of St Arvan's.

1. Seal of ADAM OF HARUDONA, Draper.

Material: Copper alloy
Weight: 11.09 gm.
Shape: Pointed oval.
Dimensions: 31 x 20 mm.

Found: at St Arvan's on 12-05-96.
NGR: ST 5157 9645.

Date: late 13th to early 14th Century.

Device: a man in contemporary woollen costume, holding a yardstick before him.

Legend: ⋆ **S' ADE DE HARVDONA DRAPARI** (in Lombardic Capitals)

A pointed oval matrix with a longitudinal ridge on the reverse perforated for suspension, the loop no longer being intact due to damage or corrosion. The place of origin remains obscure: relatively local candidates include Harvington (Hereford and Worcester) and Hardington (Somerset).

scale 3:1 The Seal of Adam de Harvdona

2. Seal of WILLIAM DE LACU.

Material: Copper alloy.
Weight: 3.52 gm.
Shape: Shield-like.
Dimensions: 16 x 15 mm.

Found: at St Arvan's on 10-05-96.
NGR: ST 5145 9630.

Date: Late 13th Century.

Device: A bird, facing right, grasping a shoot; 4 pellets in the field.

Legend: ✠ **S' WILŁI : DE : LACV** (Lombardic Capitals)

A small shield-shaped matrix with a perforated ridge for suspension on the reverse. The find-spot of this matrix, some 300 yards from St Arvan's church, and at the focus of the Manor of St Arvan's, makes it highly probable that the owner was the William de Lacu mentioned as Lord of the Manor in the Wentwood survey of 1270 (*Notes on Wentwood, etc,* by Octavius Morgan and Thomas Wakeman, Monm. and Caerleon Antiq, Assocn.; Mullock, Newport, 1863) or at the very least one of his close kin. By 1307 the manor was held by a quarter of a knight's fee by Leysan ap Morgan (*inquisitio post mortem* of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk), suggesting a likely date of usage for the matrix of the latter half of the thirteenth century.

3. The Seal of 'I.S.'

*Material:*Silver.
Weight: 1.7 gm.
Shape: Circular.
Dimension (of face): 10 mm. diam.

Found: at St Arvan's on 11-10-95.
NGR: ST 515 964.

Date: Late 16th to 17th Century.

Device: The initials **'I S'** overlying a simple plant design; the whole within a beaded border.

A somewhat unusual silver matrix with a hollow cylindrical stem designed to accept a wooden or ivory handle, held by two small nails - the holes for which remain. The matrix was constructed of two pieces: the engraved circular base, and the stem - a cylinder formed from a rolled sheet of silver, to which it was soldered.

scale 3:1 The Seal of William de Lacy

scale 3:1 The Seal of 'I S'

Seals found in the Parish of Mathern

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

Both the seals described here were found in 1997 by Mr R. Johns, and were brought into the National Museum for examination by Mr K Evans, who has earlier reported seal finds from Mathern - as that of Gruffydd Maredudd found in 1988. Dr J.P. Davis, who contributed the foregoing section, described six seal matrices in this journal in 1995.

The seals are reproduced at actual size. We are grateful to the National Museum of Wales for providing the plates.

4. Seal of DAVID AP DAVID.

Material: Lead.
Shape: Circular.
Dimension: 30 mm. diam.
Date: Early-Mid-13th Century.
Found: at ST 51 92 (towards Chepstow).

Device: A floral pattern, formed by (?) four converging headsof corn.

Legend: **+ S' DAVID : FIL : DAVI :** (inscribed in Early Lombardic Capitals).

5. Seal of GRUFFYDD AB ARTH(UR).

Material: Lead.
Shape: Circular.
Dimension: 25 mm. diam.
Date: Mid-Late 13th Century.
*Found:*at ST 52 91.

Device: A star of eight points.

Legend: *** S' GR'FF · AP · ARTh'** (Lombardic Capitals).

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CLAY PIPE PRODUCTION SITE AT CAERLEON

By CRAIG CESSFORD

Abstract.
Documentary and archaeological evidence demonstrates early eighteenth century clay pipe production at Caerleon. This is the best evidence for eighteenth century clay pipe production in south Wales and indicates the presence of a number of different pipemakers working in both Bristol and Broseley pipe traditions.

Introduction.
Between 1983 and 1995 a series of watching briefs and small scale excavations were undertaken in advance of construction work in and around the Roman Legionary Museum Caerleon [ST 339905] on behalf of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales [Figs 1 and 2]. These excavations uncovered structural and artifactual evidence associated with an early eighteenth century clay pipe kiln previously identified from documentary sources. This is the earliest firmly identified clay pipe production site in south Wales and one of only a few eighteenth century sites with both archaeological and documentary evidence.

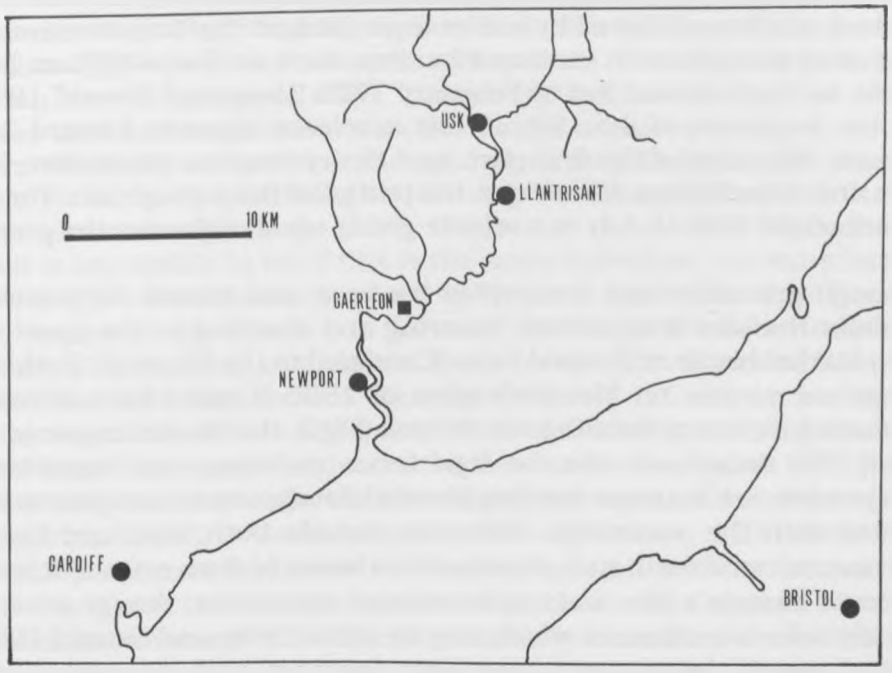

Fig. 1. Location Map

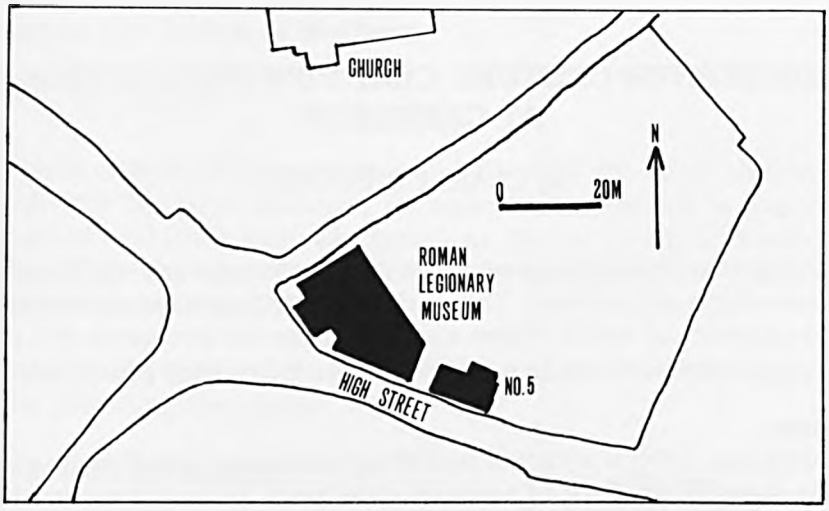

Fig. 2. Location Plan

Documentary evidence.

The main documentary evidence for clay pipe production are a Lease and Release of the 19th and 20th of July 1732 now in Gwent County Records Office, Cwmbrân [D43.272 and D43.273]. The second of these was identified and published by Jeremy Knight (1980, 78), but he does not mention the earlier lease and there seems to have been some confusion and conflation of the two separate documents. The pattern of a lease followed by a release on the next day is quite common and is found at other eighteenth century kiln sites, such as that of William Heath in Brentford on the 2nd and 3rd of February 1735 (Laws and Oswald 1981, 17). The earlier document of the 19th of July is a lease between Edward Jones of Llantrisant, the party of the first part, and Henry Hughes, pipemaker, his wife Blanche and John Philips, fellmonger, the parties of the second part. The second document of the 20th of July is a release giving up all rights on the property to Hughes.

Although primarily legal documents the lease and release do provide some detail about the site. It is located "mearing and abutting to the street leading from the Market house of the said town [Caerleon] to the Church". Both of these buildings are shown on Morrice's plan of 1800 (Coxe 1801) allowing the approximate location of the site to be defined [Fig 3, the Market house is no.3 on the plan]. The documents use the legal terms *messuage* and *appurtenances*. *Messuage* refers to a house or dwelling place whilst *appurtenances* means features associated with the *messuage*, this can include both land and buildings. *Appurtenances* can refer to such structures as barns or dove-cotes so it is feasible that it could include a kiln and any associated structures, though other leases specifically refer to outhouses which may be kilns (Laws and Oswald 1981, 17). The boundaries of the property are mainly described with reference to various surrounding gardens and part of the property itself is described as a garden.

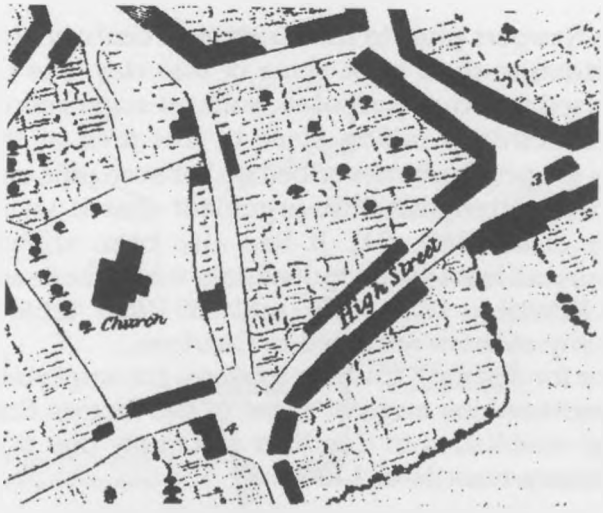

Fig. 3. Part of Plan of 1801 (Morrice).

This suggests a relatively open area with few buildings, an impression confirmed by the plan of 1801. The site was purchased from Edward Jones for the sum of thirty seven pounds. This figure is comparable with other recorded prices for rural kilns, for example a pipehouse in Cumbria was valued at twenty three pounds and ten shillings in 1698 and thirty pounds and three shillings in 1713 (Weatherhill and Edwards 1971, 168-69). As well as pipemaking the site was being used by John Philips a fellmonger or dealer in skins and hides, particularly sheepskins. Kilns produced substantial amounts of waste and pollution and were often located alongside other "unsavoury" industries (Tatman 1994, 11-12) so the sites co-occupation with a fellmonger is unsurprising.

Other documentary sources, though not directly linked to the site, add to our understanding of pipemaking at Caerleon. The Parish Records for St. Cadoc's Caerleon record the death of a Henry Hughes on the 24th of September 1746, though it is impossible to tell if this is the same individual. An entry for the 3rd of October 1741 records the baptism of Thomas, son of Thomas Ciscoll. The entry is very poorly preserved but Thomas Ciscoll appears to be described as a pipemaker. J.H. Dawson in a classic study on the Port Books of Newport and Caerleon (Dawson 1932) records the important role of Caerleon in the tobacco trade. During six months in 1656 over 560 hundredweight of Virginian tobacco was sent from Bristol and Caerleon as well as six boxes of pipes (*Ibid*, Appendix 1). Additionally the Bristol Port books record the export of two tons of tobacco pipe clay from Bristol to Caerleon on the 4th of February 1700 (*Ibid*, 40). This documentary evidence led Dawson to the conclusion that "from the quantities of tobacco ... it is safe to hazard an opinion that in or near Caerleon were at least one tobacco manufactory" (*Ibid*, 23). More recently it has been shown that seventy nine tons of tobacco pipe clay were sent from Barnstaple in Devon to Newport between 1678 and 1694 (Grant and Jemett 1985, table 5). There is no evidence

for pipemaking in Newport prior to the nineteenth century and it is possible that the ultimate destination of at least some of this clay was Caerleon. This clay could have been used for other purposes, such as sugar refining, but there is no evidence for these activities taking place in this area at the time. In several instances the clay is specifically described as 'tobacco pipe clay' rather than just pipe clay which may strengthen the argument that it was intended for pipe production (Price *et al* 1980, 64). It has also been shown that during the seventeenth century at least three individuals from Caerleon were apprenticed to pipemakers in Bristol in 1624, 1680 and 1691(*Ibid*, table 2), though there is no evidence that any of them returned to Caerleon.

The evidence for a strong trade in tobacco, the importation of clay and the pipemaking apprenticeships suggest some of the factors that may have led to pipemaking being established in Caerleon and imply that it may well be earlier than the documentary records of 1732.

Archaeology.

The first work on the site was undertaken in 1983 by David Zienkiewicz in advance of the extension of the Roman Legionary Museum [CMG 83]. The primary interest of the excavations were the underlying Roman deposits (Zienkiewicz 1993), but a watching brief took place while the Post-Medieval deposits were removed by machine. Various eighteenth century features associated with the pipemaking activity were recorded and over a hundred complete pipe bowls and some pieces of kiln muffle were retained (Zienkiewicz 1983). In 1992 further work was undertaken by Mr Zienkiewicz prior to the construction of a car parking area to the north of the Roman Legionary Museum [CMG 92]. No structures associated with the pipemaking site were discovered but some pipe bowls were recovered.

During February and March 1995 a watching brief and small scale excavations were undertaken by the author in the area between the Roman Legionary Museum and No.5 High Street and to the north of No.5 High Street in advance of the conversion of No.5 High Street into a visitor centre [C5-95]. As no Roman deposits were threatened by this development it was possible to devote more attention to the Post-Medieval deposits than had been possible during earlier work. A number of features were carefully excavated and recorded and large quantities of clay pipes and pottery were recovered. The archaeological investigations have been development driven and have concentrated on the area covered by the Roman Legionary Museum and No.5 High Street plus their immediate surroundings. Much of the property covered by the lease of 1732 lies outside this area to the north and east, and further relevant structures and artefacts probably survive here. Examinations in 1995 revealed that large quantities of clay pipe stems were visible in all areas of exposed topsoil in the garden of the Roman Legionary Museum.

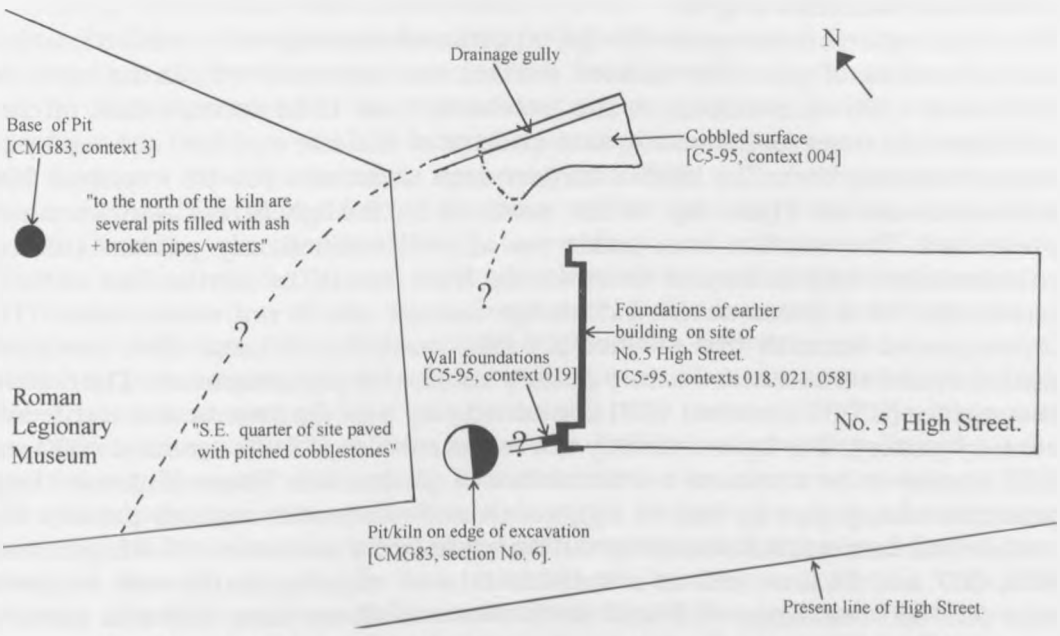

Fig. 4. Tentative plan of features excavated or noted 1983 to 1995.

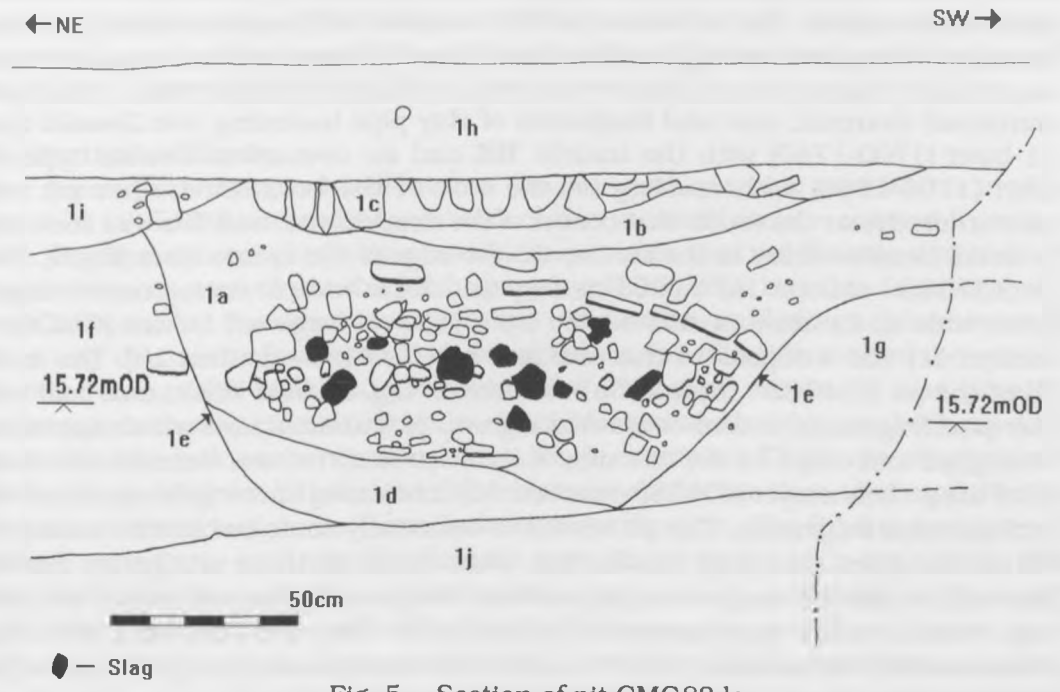

Fig. 5. Section of pit CMG83 1e.

Structural Remains [Fig 4].

The main features associated with the pipe manufacturing were a cobbled surface and a number of pits. The cobbled surface was encountered during both the 1983 and 1995 excavations. A site notebook from 1983 records that pitched cobblestones covered the south-east quarter of the site and had ash and pipe stems overlying them. In 1995 a further area of cobbles [C5-95 - context 004] was encountered. These lay to the north of No.5 High Street and were well preserved. The surface was made up of well worn firmly packed pitched cobblestones which sloped downwards from south to north. The cobbles terminated in a linear cobbled drainage feature which ran east to west. The layers sealed beneath this surface [C5-95 - contexts 053 and 056] contained sixteenth and seventeenth century pottery but no clay pipe fragments. The cobbles themselves [C5-95 - context 004] contained clay pipe fragments and eighteenth century pottery. The layers directly above the cobbles [C5-95 - contexts 003 and 051] appear to be a natural accumulation of garden soil. These contained large amounts of clay pipe as well as eighteenth and nineteenth century pottery. The cobbled surface was subsequently cut by a number of postholes [C5-95 - contexts 005, 007 and 043] as well as a substantial wall running south-west to north-east [C5-95 - contexts 016 and 046]. None of these later features need be associated with the phase of pipemaking on the site.

During the 1983 excavations a number of pits were encountered. To the north of the cobbled area were several pits which were filled with ash and broken pipes and wasters. One of these [CMG83 - context 003] was recorded in detail because it was deep enough to penetrate Roman deposits. The base of the pit was 0.6m in diameter and filled with a grey brown gritty friable loam. This loam contained charcoal, coal and fragments of clay pipe including one Oswald type 21 bowl [1700-1740] with the initials **HE** and an unmarked Oswald type 21 bowl [1700-1740] with spalling on the side of the bowl. One other pit was encountered near the south-east corner of the excavations, and this was recorded in detail because it lay in the section on the edge of the excavations [Fig 5]. The pit [CMG83 - context 1e] was 0.9m deep and 2.1m wide at its top narrowing to 0.9m wide at its base. It was sealed by a layer of large set stones [CMG83 - context 1c] and a deposit of charcoal and ash [CMG83 - context 1b]. The main fill of the pit [CMG83 - context 1a] contained slag, burned brick, charcoal and clay pipe fragments. It also contained a group of flattish stones which appear to be aligned and could be the remains of a collapsed structure. Beneath the main fill of the pit was a layer [CMG83 - context 1d] containing burning debris, charcoal and clay pipe fragments. This pit seems to be broadly comparable with examples found on other clay pipe production sites such as those at Oyster Street, Portsmouth, which were of roughly similar shape and size and contained grey ash, broken and reject pipes and kiln debris (Fox and Barton 1986, 73). Unfortunately the records from the 1983 excavations do not allow any of the surviving pipe bowls to be associated with this pit.

During 1995 some wall foundations [C5-95 - context 019] running north-west from the north-west corner of No.5 High Street parallel to the eighteenth century line of the street were uncovered. Stratigraphically these foundations may be contemporary with the pipemaking activity, but only a very short length was exposed. The lease of 1732 talks of '*messuage* or enclosure' and it is possible that these are the remains of an enclosing boundary wall. An examination was made of No.5 High Street and while none of the standing remains seem to be earlier than the nineteenth century, some deep and substantial foundations [C5-95 - contexts 018, 021 and 058] probably belong to the eighteenth century.

The interpretation of the site is hindered by the hurried and fragmentary nature of its investigation. The cobbled surface can be interpreted as a yard or workshop area leading off from No.5 High Street. The exact role of No.5 High Street is unclear and while it is presumably the *messuage* of the lease and provided accommodation it may also have fulfilled other roles linked to the pipemaking. The pits to the north of the cobbled area are presumably rubbish pits into which pipemaking waste was dumped, though this may not have been their original function. The pit in the south-east corner of the site is less easy to interpret. It may also simply be a rubbish pit, but it could be the collapsed remains of a kiln or other structure associated with the pipemaking. Given the paucity of evidence it would be unwise to assume that it was a kiln, and it should perhaps be interpreted as a rubbish pit into which the remains of a kiln were deposited. The remains tell us very little about the kiln itself, although they do indicate that in common with most clay pipe kilns of the time it was made of brick rather than stone, and that it used both wood and coal as fuel (Oswald 1975, 20; Tatman 1994, 13-15).

Artifactual evidence.

The surest archaeological indicator of the presence of a clay pipe kiln is muffle (Oswald 1975, 20) and eight fragments of this material were recovered from the site. On densely occupied urban sites it is possible that muffle was disposed of some distance away from the kiln (Crossley 1990, 282) but this is unlikely to have happened at Caerleon. Unfortunately none of the muffle fragments recovered have any diagnostic features which would allow the identification of the overall form of the muffle and kiln. The pieces of clay pipe recovered also provide information about pipemaking at Caerleon. Many of the bowl types, both marked and unmarked, are only represented by single examples. These are simply stray finds of imports from Bristol and Broseley typical of other Post-Medieval sites in Monmouthshire and do not represent local production. The fifteen examples of Bristol style pipes belonging to Oswald type 22 [1730-80] with the initials **HH** [Fig 6.3] are of the correct date and can be assigned to Henry Hughes. The most common mark from the site with thirty nine examples is **HE** on Bristol type pipes belonging to Oswald group 21 [1700-1740] [Fig 6.2] and whilst this cannot be related to any known individual the quantities make it certain that these

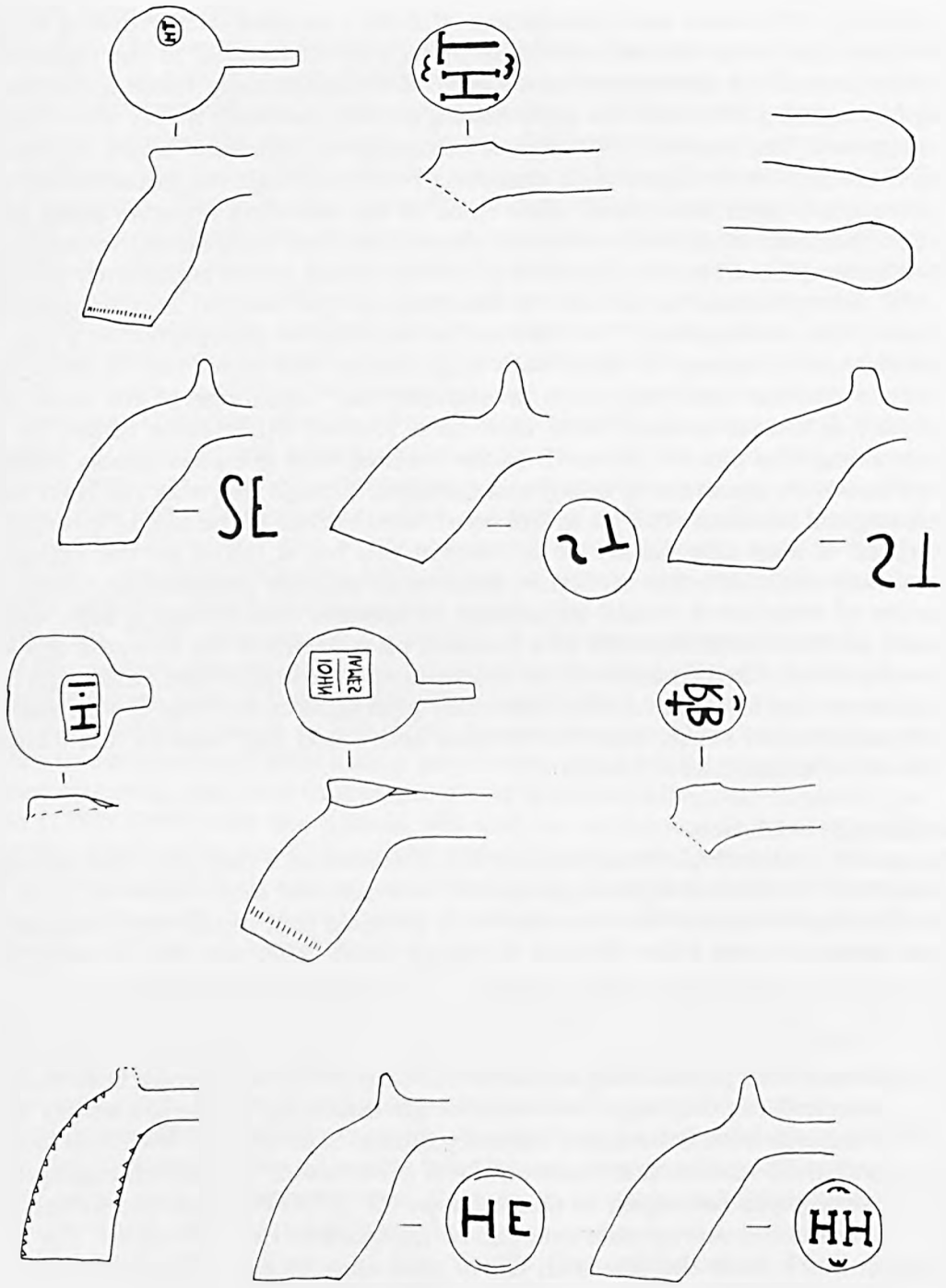

Fig. 6. Marked clay pipes and wig curlers.

were produced on site. The other makers mark that may be associated with the site is **ST** which was not found during the 1983 and 1992 excavations but was the most common from the 1995 excavations with six examples. It occurs in two different forms on Bristol style pipes of Oswald groups 21 [1700-40] and 22 [1730-80] [Fig 6.8-6.9] and may represent a different phase of production on the site.

Unmarked bowls belonging to Broseley type 5 [1680-1720] and Oswald type 21 [1700-1740] occur in some quantities and may have been produced on the site. This is partially confirmed by the relatively high number of instances of misfiring, which are usually only found in such quantities on kiln sites as these would normally have been discarded [pers.comm. Dr Allan Peacey]. Broseley type 5 pipes produced in Shropshire are almost always marked and usually milled and burnished. As the examples from the site display none of these characteristics this strongly suggests that they are of local, or at least non-Broseley, production [pers.comm. Dr David Higgins].This pattern of the presence of a number of different makers plus the production of unmarked pipes is known from a number of kiln sites, and is usually taken to indicate rented premises occupied by a series of successive tenants (Thompson, Grew and Schofield 1984, 32). It is also possible that hair curlers [Fig 6.12-6.13] were produced at the kiln as a minor sideline. It has been argued that these were produced locally (Radcliffe and Knight 1973, 101) and the Parish Records mention the death of Philip Kenvyv, Perewigmaker, on the eighth of November 1767. Small numbers of hair curlers, however, occur on many sites and may simply indicate that the inhabitants were re-curling old wigs (Thompson, Grew and Scofield 1984, 112-14).

All of the products of the kiln are typical of either Broseley or Bristol types and show no signs of local innovations or developments. It is likely that the site was occupied by a succession of pipemakers trained at Broseley and Bristol during the first half of the eighteenth century. The exact order in which the pipemakers worked is unclear although the production of unmarked Broseley type 5 pipes may well be the earliest phase of activity. None of the pipemakers can be identified apart from Henry Hughes. Broseley type 5 pipes stamped with the names **GEO/HVG/HES** [George Hughes] and **JOS/HVG/HES** [Joseph Hughes] seem to have been produced in Monmouthshire (Knight 1980, 78-79; Radcliffe and Knight 1973, 99) and it is possible that Henry Hughes is related to these individuals, especially as the family unit was important in pipemaking (Tatman 1994, 78-80). There is also a pipemaker, Joseph Hughes, who was working at Much Wenlock in 1729 who may belong to the same family [pers.comm. Dr David Higgins]. Thomas Hughes, the son of a Bristol mariner of the same name, was apprenticed to the Bristol pipemakers Francis and Elienor Edwards on the 2nd of September 1685 (Price et al 1979), given that Henry Hughes was producing Bristol style pipes it is possible that he was related to Thomas Hughes.

None of the products of this kiln have been identified at other sites in Caerleon (Lewis 1966, 115-16; Markell 1988; archives of Roman Legionary

Museum). Eighteenth century rural pipemakers normally only exported within a twenty five mile radius of the kiln site (Oak-Rind 1980) but excavations at towns within this radius such as Usk (Markell 1994) have not produced any pipes from the Caerleon kiln. The port of Caerleon seems to have primarily served small agricultural communities in a rural hinterland (Smith 1979, 27). Given the lack of fieldwork on eighteenth century rural sites it is possible that this is why no pipes produced at Caerleon have been discovered elsewhere. The cost of a pipe was dependent upon stem length and finishing techniques such as burnishing, milling and trimming (Higgins 1995, 47). What evidence there is suggests that the products of the Caerleon kiln were very basic with no special finishing and were probably aimed at the lower end of the market.

Conclusion.

Although the nature of the investigations on the site make it difficult to produce definite conclusions it does provide considerable information. The site can certainly be linked with Henry Hughes who is known through the Lease and Release of 1732. The site seems to have been used by a series of pipemakers working in either the Broseley or Bristol traditions during the first half of the eighteenth century and possibly the latter part of the seventeenth century although the market for their products cannot as yet be identified.

FINDS REPORT.

Muffle.

Eight muffle fragments weighing a total of 1.5kg were recovered from the 1983 excavations but there is no information concerning their original location. One possibility is that they are the pieces labelled slag in the section of pit CMG 1e [Fig 5]. The muffle fragments do not display any important diagnostic features. One piece may have come from a buttress and another has traces of a curve suggesting that it comes from a shelf or a door opening. Muffle consists of fired pipe clay strengthened with parallel groups of pipe stems and these pieces conform with the known patterns of muffle materials and construction. Muffle generally formed a large cylindrical container within the kiln serving the dual functions of protecting the pipes from flue gases and providing support for the pipes within the chamber [For a fuller discussion of muffle see Peacey 1996].

Clay Pipes [Fig 6].

The majority of the clay pipe assemblage from the site is unstratified but some came from an eighteenth century pit [CMG83 - 003]. During the 1983 excavations in general only complete bowls seem to have been retained whereas all pieces from the 1992 and 1995 excavations were kept. The clay pipe material consists of a total of 142 complete bowls, 130 bowl fragments, 82 heels and spurs, 1,705 stem fragments and 2 wig curler fragments. Most of the material is of early eighteenth century date, although there is some seventeenth and nineteenth century material, with the bulk of the pipe bowls belonging to the period *c.*1680-1750.

Makers Marks.

Oak Leaves — One example with stylised oak leaves on front and rear of bowl. Nineteenth century form. Similar example from Usk [Fig 6.1].

HE — Relief, on right side of bowl within a circular cartouche. Occurs on Bristol style bowls belonging to Oswald type 21 [1700-1740]. 39 examples plus 4 other probable examples. Mainly unstratified but one example came from pit CMG83 003 and one came from accumulation C5-95 051 directly above cobbled surface 004. The example from pit CMG83 003 is misfired. Initials cannot be identified with any known maker. No examples known from other sites [Fig 6.2].

HH — Relief, on right side of bowl with scrolls above and below letters and within circular cartouche. Occurs on Bristol style bowls belonging to Oswald type 33 [1730-80]. 15 examples. Mainly unstratified but one example from accumulation C5-95 003 directly above cobbled surface 004. One example has not had its spur trimmed. These pipes can confidently be identified with Henry Hughes known working at Caerleon in July 1732 and who may have died there in 1746. No other information about his career. At least three Bristol makers of this period had the initials HH but none of them used marks of this type [pers. comm. R. Jackson]. No examples known from other sites [Fig 6.3].

IH — Relief, on base of flared heel with tail in rectangular box. 1 example, unstratified. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Similar example from Roman Gates Caerleon, various possible Broseley makers [Fig 6.4].

IOHN/IAMES — Relief, on base of heel in rectangular box. Broseley type 5 [1680-1720]. 1 example, unstratified. John James of Broseley [1680-1720]. This example is either underfired or a waster [Fig 6.5]

RB — Relief, on base of heel with dagger and heart motif. Bowl type unidentifiable. 1 example, from accumulation C5-95 051 directly above cobbled surface 004. Richard Berriman of Bristol [1619-1652]. Known from many other sites in south Wales including both Fortress Baths and Roman Gates sites in Caerleon [Fig 6.6].

SE — Relief, on right side of bowl with letter S reversed. Occurs on an Oswald type 20 bowl [1690-1730]. 1 example, unstratified. Cannot be identified with any known maker, no other examples known [Fig 6.7].

ST — Relief, on right side of bowl. Occurs both with circular cartouche on Bristol style pipe belonging to Oswald group 21 [1700-40], 1 example, or without cartouche on Bristol style pipe belonging to Oswald group 22 [1730-80], 2 examples. 2 other examples with cartouche from unidentifiable bowl fragments plus 1 fragment with just letter S and 1 fragment with just letter T. Initials cannot be identified with any known maker, no other examples known [Fig 6.8-6.9].

TH — Relief, on base of heel. 1 example with small letters within a circle on the base of Broseley type 5 bowl [1680-1720], milled rim. This example has been accidentally glazed by either misfiring or overfiring. Also known from Roman Gates Caerleon, Cowbridge and Monmouth. Possibly Thomas Hartshorne of Broseley [1690-1720] [Fig 6.10].

TH — Relief, on base of heel. 1 example with comb above and below letters on circular heel. From accumulation C5-95 051 directly above cobbles 004. [Fig 6.11]

Unmarked Bowls.
There are a large number of unmarked bowls.

Broseley 2a	[1660-1680]	1 example.
Broseley 5	[1680-1720]	20 examples. Three examples show signs of spalling and two are underfired. Spalling results in a rough indentation on the side of the bowl and is caused by thermal shock during firing.
Oswald 6	[1660-1680]	1 example, milled rim.
Oswald 21	[1720-1740]	52 examples. One example from pit 003 from 1983 excavations shows signs of spalling. Several other examples are misfired, including one example with a flattened oval bowl mouth caused by overstacking during firing, or do not have their spurs trimmed.
Oswald 23	[1730-1780]	3 examples.

Stems.
The quantity of pipe stems and their relative abundance compared to other material such as pottery supports the identification of the site as a pipemaking kiln (Cessford 1997). As stem material is over represented in comparison to bowls this suggests that a substantial amount of material was being deposited elsewhere (ibid).

Hair curlers.
Two ends of *bigoudis* or hair curlers (le Chemaint 1982) were recovered. Both are of eighteenth century type. One was recovered from accumulation C5-95 051 above cobbled surface 004 [Fig 6.12-6.13].

Pottery
Very little of the Post-Medieval pottery came from stratified contexts so only selected groups from the 1995 excavations, which are of importance to the dating of the pipemaking activity on the site, are listed. The pottery from the site is generally typical of Welsh sites of this period (Campbell 1993).

Context 003 — Accumulation above cobbled surface 004. Mainly eighteenth and nineteenth century material.

Context 004 — Cobbled surface. Mainly eighteenth century including local stoneware [late C18], tin glazed earthenware's [C18], slipwares [C18] and five joining pieces of a brown dipped rim tankard [late C18].

Context 051 Accumulation above cobbled surface 004. Mainly eighteenth century material.

Context 053 Beneath cobbled surface 004. Mainly late sixteenth or seventeenth century including Cistercian ware [C16], local red wares [C17] and the handle of a Medieval Aquamaline.

Context 056 Beneath cobbled surface 004. Base of chaffing dish [late C16 or C17].

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Thanks are due to Mr Richard Brewer [National Museums and Galleries of Wales] who arranged the 1995 excavations, Dr Mark Redknap [National Museums and Galleries of Wales] who looked at the pottery and Dr Allan Peacey who examined the muffle material. Thanks also to Dr Peter Guest and all the staff of the Roman Legionary Museum Caerleon, the staff of Gwent County Records Office, Mr Reg Jackson, Mr Jeremy Knight [Cadw] and Dr David Higgins. The site archives of all three excavations are deposited in the Roman Legionary Museum Caerleon.

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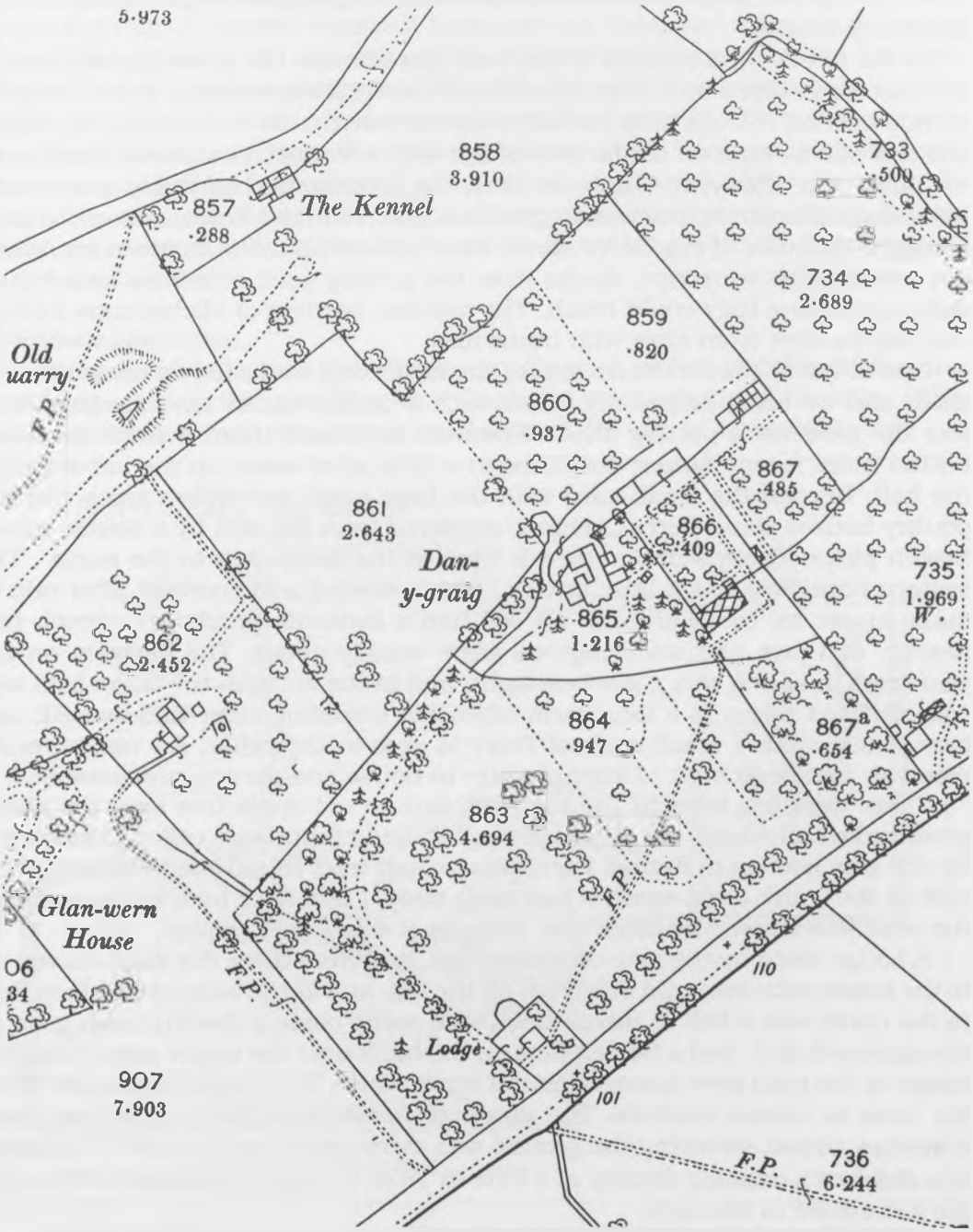
THE GROUNDS OF DAN-Y-GRAIG, CHRISTCHURCH, NEWPORT

By MARGERY PROBYN

Dan-y-Graig in the parish of Christchurch in the north-east of Newport, was formerly part of the Lawrence Estate. The house was built between 1842 and 1850, and occupied by John Lawrence who, in 1856, began his famous Mastership of the Llangibby hounds. In 1860 John Lawrence moved to reside at Crick House, and by 1866 Tom Llewelyn Brewer, J.P. was living at Dan-y-Graig. Soon after his widow died in 1913, my family (Colborne) came there to find a Victorian garden and many fine trees, some of which still stand. My dear Father was to live there until 1945, but in the early 1960s the bulldozers moved into the Parkland to create a housing estate, so most of those trees are only a memory. The house (now a nursing home) still stands, although much altered, at about 200 ft. high, facing south, and from it the grounds sloped gently down to the Newport-Chepstow road. It was sheltered from the north by steep fields which led to Kennel Farm and the ridge road to the old church of Christchurch.

On the sloping lawn in front of the house was a Wellingtonia which gave shade for tea in the garden, a Cedar of Lebanon, a copper beech, a lime tree with its mistletoe bough, a weeping wych elm, a Portugese laurel, a pillar-shaped box where long-tailed tits once built their beautiful nest, and a large holly bush. The shabby old Monkey-puzzle was cut down, and my sister and I pulled the branches away to the nuttery to make a fort. Near the Cedar was a round ornamental pond with stone walls and a rocky island in the centre where ferns grew. No longer holding water it was fun for a child to go down the steps and walk round between the walls and the island. Several Myrtle bushes edged the upper drive, and in only one winter can I remember that they were cut down with the frost, as too, the Magnolia Grandifloria on the house. Perhaps that was the winter I found a Red-Wing in trouble on the drive, and brought it in to the warmth of the house in a basket of hay, but it died. A Hedge divided the lawn from the parkland, and part was removed to give access to the two new grass tennis courts, when they were laid below.

From the lawn a path led through the laurel hedge to the walled garden which sloped gently to the South and had little box hedges along the gravel paths. There were greengage trees and plums, peach and nectarine on the walls, but the most rewarding was the apricot with masses of fruit. A Morella cherry was on the north-facing wall near the steps leading to the site of an old vinery. The walled trench for hot-water pipes was still there, and it seemed an adventure to walk along the top of the wall. Nearby there were two arched doorways, one leading to a small garden of black currants, old fruit trees and a "monthly" rose bush, and the other to the far garden with old apple and pear trees and a Victoria plum. Against the wall was the locked apple house, with fireplace for use in



Extract from the 25" Ordnance Survey Map (1883 edn.).

(National Library of Wales).

frost, the layered shelves held the Blenheim Orange apples kept for Christmas, and many others.

In the north-west corners of the main garden was the green-house, heated with hot water pipes by the fire outside and partly sheltered by a Holm Oak with its tiny acorns. A huge tank outside took the water from the roofs of the stable and cow sheds, built on the far side of the wall; a wonderful wisteria flowed over the tank, year after year. When we there, the greenhouse had many arum lilies, primulas, calceolarias, cinerarias, gloxinias, and red and yellow tomatoes; outside amongst the rows of raspberry canes were some with white raspberries. When the gooseberries were ripe, ducks from the poultry yard somehow found their way to eat those they could reach. The autumn borders of Michaelmas Daisies and Asters were often alive with butterflies.

One of the sheds on the far side of the north wall was used by us as a wood-shed, and we often helped my father with a double-ended saw. Another shed was the gardener's potting shed. When we first went there, I think he made button-holes for my father; one stood in a little jar of water on the hat-stand in the hall. Beyond the small yard with the little pond and willow trees and the poultry houses was a Perry Orchard, sheltered from the east by a double row of Scotch pines. There were fine beech trees in the hedge-row to the north . The eastern boundary was a little stream, which swelled and tumbled after rain to make music for those around; an owl had a favourite perch on a beech tree nearby, and jays and wood-pigeons were usually about. The blossom on the pear trees in spring was a glorious sight, and in the autumn the fallen fruit was collected and taken to a local farm when the travelling cider-mill arrived; and later, back came a small cask of Perry to rest in the cellar. An underground reservoir had been built to supply water to house and garden presumably.

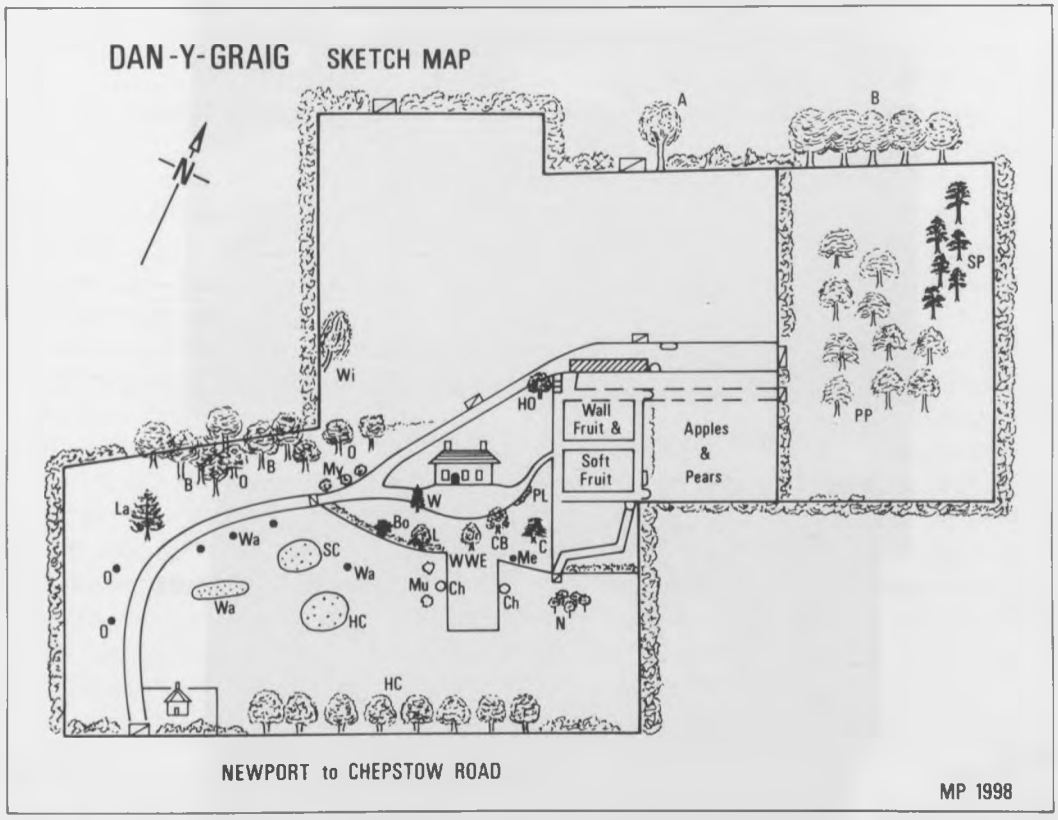
There were few trees in the top field, but an old apple tree near the sheds produced small round, red apples in August, and I think were called Quarenden. By the gate leading to Kennel Farm was an ash tree; round the base and into a cleft in the trunk a red squirrel had been busy, I was once told. In the hedge to the west was a splendid large tree, perhaps it was a grey poplar.

A Lodge stood by the gate on to the road, and from there the drive curved up to the house with some old oak trees on the left, and at the base of the steep field to the north was a belt of mixed trees with many oaks; a flowing larch grew at the approach to it, and a Scotch pine on the bank near the upper gate. Along the hedge by the road were horse-chestnut trees, which drew boys from far off Pill in the town to collect conkers. The group of horse-chestnuts in mid-field with branches almost sweeping the ground was memorable, and formed a backdrop to a children's dancing display at a Fête in 1920 in aid of the church of St John the Evangelist in Maindee.

Near here I once found a Bee Orchid and Quaking grass, they usually grow where there is lime in the soil; across the valley at Ladyhill there is limestone, but on our side it was red marl. From Ladyhill Wood in a year or two in the

1920s a nightingale sang to the joy of my mother and sister who went out to listen. A group of Spanish chestnut trees gave us nuts, and a few single walnut trees with large nuts. An attractive group of smaller walnut trees had Bannuts, I think. Two or three mulberry trees fruited well, and sheets were laid down to collect the delicious fruit. My sister and I fed the leaves to silk-worms we were given by a friend, and from their golden silk we made book markers tied with blue ribbon. Medlars from a small tree were much enjoyed after ripening in the cellar. The blossom of two white-heart cherry trees was a joy in spring, but the birds took most of the fruit. Was the hawfinch found tangled in the tennis netting one of the culprits?

Acknowledgements.
The author wishes to thank the Borough Librarian of Newport for information regarding some dates, and Mrs Vera Cook for photographs of the fête. Other dates were taken from Sir Joseph Bradney's, *A History of Monmouthshire.*



A: Ash, **B:** Beech, **Bo:** Box, **C:** Cedar, **CB:** Copper Beech, **Ch:** Cherry, **HC:** Horse Chestnut, **HO:** Holm Oak, **L:** Lime, **La:** Larch, **Me:** Medlar, **Mu:** Mulberry, **My:** Myrtle, **N:** Nuttery, **O:** Oak, **PP:** Perry Pear, **PL:** Portugal Laurel, **SC:** Spanish Chestnut, **SP:** Scots Pine, **W:** Wellingtonia, **Wa:** Walnut, **WWE:** Weeping Wych Elm, **Wi:** Willow,

Plate 1: The Walled Garden (about 1928).

Plate 2: Spring in the Park (about 1932).

Plate 3: West end of the Park (about 1932).

Plate 4: In front of the Horse Chestnut trees: the pastoral play, "Fly-Away Land" (22 July, 1920).

Plate 5: In front of the Copper Beech and Cedar of Lebanon: Mr and Mrs G.F. Colborne (21 April, 1934).

Plate 6: The Far Garden, with Mr Probert (gardener) and Mr Coward (under-gardener) (1922).

Plate 7: The Walled Garden, looking towards the greenhouse, stable and shed.

ADDENDA TO THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

John Edward Lee.
Since our Secretary, Mrs Gwenllian Jones, wrote her article, a hitherto unknown portrait of Mr Lee has come to light in the National Library of Wales. It is reproduced on the facing page.The source is NLW, Cambrian Archaeological Association, Photo Album XI, f. 22v (No. 127).

Octavius Morgan.
A brass commemorating his life was recorded by Sir Joseph Bradney on the west wall of the Crindau chapel in St Woolos' Church (as it then was) in Newport. This tells of his birth as taking place in Ealing, and gives his arms:

Quarterly, 1. and 4. (Or) a gryphon segreant (Sable) MORGAN, 2. and 3. (Or) on a chevron between 3 roses (Azure) as many thistles slipped of the field, GOULD.

[Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire* 5 (*The Hundred of Newport*) 59 (edited by Madeleine Gray; Aberystwyth-Cardiff, 1993)].

The Editor hopes that next year his coat of arms will adorn the front cover of this journal. This year's illustration, of Llanderfel Chapel, comes from a collection of drawings held by the Society of Antiquaries, which were (some believe) commissioned by Octavius Morgan. (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* I [1846] 467).

Publications of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and its Predecessors, by Eric J. Wiles.

Mr Wiles has recorded one additional title:
Morgan (Octavius) NOTICE of a TESSELATED PAVEMENT DISCOVERED in the CHURCHYARD, CAERLEON. 9 pp., 1 folding lithographic plate of the pavement (with some details coloured red), together with an ESSAY on MAZES and LABYRINTHS, by the Rev. Edward Trollope, *reprinted* from the *Archaeological Journal*, No. 59 (1858); continuously paginated with the former work, pp. 10-25 + 15 illustrations of mazes on 7 plates. Mullock, Newport; printed for the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, 1866.

After its discovery in 1865 the mosaic was uncovered early in the following year, when it became apparent that its principal feature was a Cretan labyrinth. It was then carefully taken up, and relaid in the basement of the Association's Museum in Caerleon where it remained on display until the Museum was rebuilt. Since the new building opened in 1987 it has occupied a prime position in the main exhibition area.

John Edward Lee (1808-87)

(Reproduced by permission of the Editor of the Cambrian Archaeological Association).
(Plate: National Library of Wales).

THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER.

By Gwenllian V. Jones

The High Table at the 150th Anniversary Dinner.

(*Clockwise:* Mrs Gwenllian V. Jones (Secretary), Dr David Jones, Mrs Annie Burns, Mr Jeremy K. Knight (Chairman), Dr John Hughes (Cambrian Archaeological Association), Mr David Morgan Evans (Society of Antiquaries), Sir Richard Hanbury Tenison (Lord Lieutenant), Mr Ian Burge (President), Mrs June Burge, Lord Fitzroy Raglan (whose father served for many years, first as our Chairman and then as President), Rev. Dr David H. Williams (Editor). *(Plate - Mr Richard Brewer).*

A Dinner to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Association was enjoyed by seventy members and guests on 28 October, 1997, at The Priory, Caerleon, the home of the first Secretary, John Edward Lee, where the Association was founded on that same date in 1847. Lord Raglan unveiled a commemorative plaque in the porch of The Priory before the Dinner. Other guests included Sir Richard Hanbury Tenison, Lord Lieutenant of the County, Mr David Morgan Evans, General Secretary of, and representing, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and Dr John Hughes, Secretary of, and representing, the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

Our guests spoke of the history of the Association and its place in the antiquarian movement, and of their pleasure in being present at the celebration. The present Secretary, myself, read the minutes of the 1847 inaugural meeting of the Association; there were no dissentients to that record! The guests were introduced by the President, Mr Ian Burge, and the loyal toast was proposed by the Lord Lieutenant.

SPEECH AT THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY DINNER

By LORD RAGLAN.

Lord Raglan *(far right)* unveils the Plaque

(South Wales Argus) *(Photo - Pendre Sims)*

It is an honour that you should have asked me to perform this ceremony this evening. Of my qualifications for the task I am not sure. I am rapidly approaching an age of antiquity myself, of course, but have never been an active antiquary like my father was. It was through him, though, that I was brought up with an enjoyment of antiquarianism and archaeology, and several of my earliest recollections are of being taken to the museum here and to the amphitheatre, and of visiting Dr Nash-Williams at one of his Roman digs.

I marvel at how much some people manage to do during their lives, and especially the eminent Victorians. We know what Northcote Parkinson said about work expanding to fit the time available to do it in; but John Edward Lee appears to be one of those who managed to expand his time to fit the work he wished to do. How did he get through it all? No telephone, no car, no typewriter, no copying machine.

I should also like to know what he, Octavius Morgan and his other colleagues would have looked like without their whiskers. Perhaps they looked just like us, for it is remarkable what a different haircut will do to someone. But nothing changes a person's countenance so much as a change in expression, and these men wore an air of gravity and purpose which commands our respect. They might not have felt at ease in our less formal society.

I have been reading the latest volume of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, which is extraordinarily interesting. Mr R.J. Silvester notes how antiquarian associations burgeoned in the 1830s and '40s, and that Stuart Piggott thought their formation seemed to occur in Anglican areas rather than where Nonconformism prevailed. No reason is suggested as to why it should be so, and it may be more than a matter of coincidence. I have an idea, however, that our modern fascination with other ages, a rare thing in the 18th Century, began to increase in proportion to a less certain belief in an afterlife; that as a consequence we like to look back in order to see ourselves as part of a continuum, gaining a view of our place in time through working out a diary, as it were, of human existence, and by this means extending by association the length of our mere three score years and ten, or whatever it may prove to be.

What we can discover of the past is, however, severely limited if like earlier historians we confine the evidence to documents, for we soon run up against a lack of them. Because of the documentation of Greece and Rome which had been preserved, these historians tended to think that civilisation began there, after which there was a void in which very little happened, and then history started again in the early Middle Ages. It is intriguing to observe what a strong influence this view still has with political movements which base their existence on a certain interpretation of history but which started before the 19th Century.

Though the founding of Caerleon's antiquarian association was inspired in the first place by a desire to discover more about the Romans, it soon increased its scope, reflecting the new widespread interest in archaeology, which seldom provides documents. Through the skilled and imaginative interpretation of sites and artefacts it has not only filled in many large historical gaps but has revealed details of ways of life and even whole civilisations which had vanished as if they had never existed.

Its impact on our knowledge of history has therefore been profound. Through archaeology we are continually obtaining a fuller and rounder picture of where we came from and how we arrived at where we are, and it is one which is easier to relate to than the image which prevailed before the time when the Association was founded by this remarkable man whom we are commemorating this evening. For 150 years since then, whether digging through the ground or through documents, the Association has continued to make an informed and scholarly contribution to this sum of knowledge. That it will continue to flourish one can have no doubt at all, and I wish it very well.

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES, 1997

Day Outing: May 31st, to Wroxeter and Attingham Park, Shropshire.
On a sunny spring day we visited Wroxeter, the Roman city of *Viroconium*, the fourth largest in Roman Britain, which now lies mostly under peaceful fields in the Shropshire countryside. Our guide, Dr Roger White, Director of the Wroxeter Hinterland Project, spoke of the latest research at the site. Aerial reconnaissance and a comprehensive magnometry survey have recovered the plans of many of the streets and buildings, particularly in areas thought to have been uninhabited in the Roman period. We visited the public baths and a section of the ramparts, as well as the churches at Silchester and St. Iata at Asham, both of which retain extensive areas of Saxon masonry. After lunch, we visited Attingham Park, a splendid neo-classical mansion, given to the National Trust by the eighth Lord Berwick, where we enjoyed its elegant Regency interiors and walks through the deer park and woodlands and along the river.

Evening Visits.
All visits this year were well attended and most enjoyable. We visited Newport Transporter Bridge on a cold, damp evening in May, with members of the Cardiff Archaeological Society. The weather did not dampen the enthusiasm of those brave folk who walked over the bridge high above our heads. We visited the engine house and were allowed to operate the transporter, which shuttled to and fro across the river many times in the thickening mist before we finally left. At Longtown, Mr Jeremy Knight took us around the 12th Century castle, built by the Lord of the Welsh Marches, Walter de Lacy, to defend the English borderlands against Welsh raiders and to protect the 'colony' of Ewyas Lacy, later Longtown. We then went on to Clodock church, with its fine original gallery and box pews. At Chepstow we explored the lower half of the town with Eric Wiles, ably assisted by Keith Underwood and Linda Waters, taking in the castle, riverside areas - formerly the site of shipyards and warehouses, almshouses, courtyards, the parish church and much more. We look forward to completing the Chepstow Trail another year. Our final visit was to St Woolos Cathedral in Newport, where the Captain of the Bells took us up the tower. Martin Culliford completed a most enjoyable evening with a historical tour of the Cathedral.

Annual General Meeting: March 22nd, 1997.
After the business meeting, held at the Endowed School, Caerleon, the Hon. John Thorneycroft spoke to a most appreciative audience on "Windsor Castle - Out of the Ashes". Particularly interesting was the way the castle had been altered over the centuries, the additions and changes only coming to light after the fire and during the re-building.

150th Anniversary Joint Conference of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and the Cambrian Archaeological Association: September 26th-28th, 1997.

This highly successful conference took place at The Hill, Abergavenny, on the theme: "Border Country - Recent Research on the History and Archaeology of the Welsh Marches". It attracted a large number of members of both Associations. Two full days of visits to sites in the area, by car, coach and minibus, took us to many gems of the local countryside. On Saturday morning, Mr. Louis Hurley gave a talk on Crickhowell, which was followed by a walk around the town, to see the castle and many other buildings of historical and architectural interest. By the time we arrived at Crickhowell church for coffee, the group had grown to almost one hundred people! Before lunch, we visited Llangattock church, where we saw the first few of the Brute family tombstones of the weekend, which generated much interest and discussion. (The Brutes were a family of stonemasons who, over several generations, produced very distinctive tombstones). After lunch, we visited Llanvihangel Cwmddu church to see the Early Christian inscribed stone, Pen-y-Gaer Roman auxiliary fort and Castell Blaenllynfi.

On Sunday morning, we visited the beautiful churches at Patrishow and Cwmyoy, where we found some more Brute tombstones, and walked around Pentwyn hillfort with Alan Probert as our guide. In the afternoon, we visited Llanthony Priory and church and the monastery at Capel-y-Ffin, finishing with tea at the nearby youth hostel.

These visits were complemented by three excellent evening lectures - Bob Silvester on "The Churches of the Southern Marches", Elizabeth Pitman on "The Brute Family and their Gravestones", and Dr Alex Gibson on "Prehistoric Discoveries in the Radnor Valley". We are indebted to Keith Mascetti of the Cambrians and Jeremy Knight, our Chairman, for arranging such a successful and enjoyable conference.

G.V.J.

REVIEW

The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution. Edited by Geraint H. Jenkins. 23.4 x 15.5 cm., xiv + 455 pp., 3 maps, 8 pp. figs. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press; 1997). ISBN: 0-7083-1418-X. £15-95.

This long-needed book is the first volume of a projected series on The Social History of the Welsh Language, the product of collaboration between scholars at the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth, the constituent institutions of the University of Wales, and learned bodies elsewhere. There are 12 essays, all but one mostly relating to the period after 1536 and prior to 1800. Some of the essays have little, if anything, to say about Monmouthshire - either because they deal with the effects of Tudor legislation on Wales, and, in particular, the activity of the Courts of Great Sessions - from which the county was excluded, or since they relate to fervent Welsh cultural activity - never a marked feature of Gwent in the period. Others give considerable insight into the changing linguistic composition of the shire which foreshadowed the very Anglicised county that Monmouthshire is today. The whole volume is a very detailed and extremely scholarly approach to its subject-matter which augurs well for those which will in time succeed it. Perhaps the sadness for some is the need to publish it in English rather than in Welsh!

Basic to our understanding of past linguistic patterns (as in the early Middle Ages) is the study of place-names. One of the valuable maps in this volume depicts a concentration of non-Celtic place-names in Monmouthshire (before 1715) chiefly in the south-east and north-east of the county. They suggest the primacy of Welsh throughout Monmouthshire before Saxon and Norman settlers took hold of those border regions, when ancient Celtic names as Trelech and Cwmcarfan (Cwmcarvan) found themselves cheek by jowl with those of places like Wonastow and Itton. A useful distribution study would also be that of field-names, which would give a like picture several centuries on. Aram's 1777 Plan of Sudbrook village (on the shores of the Bristol Channel)[1] contrasts vividly with a Tredegar 1784 survey of Penrhiw-y-Darran Farm in mountainous Mynyddislwyn.[2] In the former the field-names are wholly English (save possibly for 'The Peddans'); in the latter they are entirely Welsh (save for 'The Wood' and 'Coal-Pit').

In his *Introduction* Professor Geraint Jenkins notes that by the fifteenth century 'Welsh was not considered an appropriate language for use in documents, statutes and government'. There was, for example, as the use of Latin began to give way to the vernacular, a growing tendency to draw up wills and the like, not in Welsh, but in English. The same might be said of Welsh seals. Where in early modern times a legend or motto was not inscribed in Latin it was largely so in English. Only one notable exception springs to mind, the mid-seventeenth century

seal of the Games (*al.* James) family of Breconshire with its motto: *AR DDYW DY GYD COTH GAMES* ('All things depend on God. Remember Games').[3]

The essay by Dr Llinos Beverley Smith, 'The Welsh Language before 1536', has unfortunately hardly any reference to medieval Monmouthshire, but that is not the author's fault. It reflects a lack of primary research in the field locally, and points the way for future scholarship. Elsewhere in Wales, Dr Beverley Smith refers rightly to 'the elevated status' of Welsh at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida in the late-twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. The same was true at Whitland Abbey. A reforming abbot of Savigny, Stephen Lexington, on visitation in 1228 at Tracton Abbey in Ireland (founded from Whitland four years before) said that some monks of Whitland were more concerned that those of Tracton spoke Welsh, 'than that they do the will of God and the Order'. When, three hundred years later (about 1538), the travelling antiquary, John Leland, visited Whitland, one of the community told him 'a meri tale' and spoke to him in Welsh. When he called at Strata Florida a monk showed his bilingual skills by telling Leland 'for a certainty, that Newport in Kemeysland is called Tredraith in Welsh'. Dr Beverley Smith says of much of medieval Wales that the Welsh language had 'a capacity to express contemporary technical concepts'. It was in this vein perhaps that the Welsh scribe drawing up in Latin an arbitration deed at Llandinam in Powys about 1216, felt it necessary to point out that the twenty-four arbitrators were 'in our language called *dadferwyr*'.[4] A like reference, much earlier - in a Latin charter at the opening of the twelfth century, shows the early Anglicisation of at least part of coastal Gwent. It gives the bounds of the parish of Basaleg in English, 'so that the native people shall clearly understand them'.[5]

In a chapter jointly written by three contributors (Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Eryn M. White), it is suggested that there may have been a resurgence of Welsh in the late-sixteenth century, particularly in some of the towns, and not least at Abergavenny. This led some of its citizens to send their boys to be educated in England. Amongst those exiles (as William P. Griffith points out) was David Baker, (the later celebrated Catholic apologist, Father Augustine Baker). Sent to Christ's Hospital, London, at the tender age of eleven, he 'became so proficient in English that he forgot his Welsh'. The book reveals Abergavenny as remaining staunchly Welsh for decades to come, and, although its parish church ceased to have a monthly Welsh service after 1771, when the traveller Richard Warner made his 'Walk through Wales' in 1797 he was impressed by the amount of Welsh spoken in Abergavenny. It formed a fruitful base for the Cymreigyddion Society founded in the town in 1833.

Newport was always much more bilingual, and the Welsh spoken there was less pure. Whilst the vicar of St Woolos (in 1771) said that English was commonly spoken in the town though the people mostly understood Welsh, John Byng (later 5th Viscount Torrington) said that (in 1787) he heard 'as much Welsh spoken as English' in Newport. The vicar himself did not understand Welsh, so he appointed a Welsh-speaking curate for Betws chapel (now close to the estate

of that name) where, he said, most of the inhabitants did not understand English. As for those Newportonians who wanted a Welsh service they had to have recourse to Basaleg Church, whilst when a Welsh sermon was preached in St Woolos many of the congregation left before the preacher commenced! The Welshness of the towns was not reflected in Anglican worship in either Abergavenny or Newport. However, there was enough Welshness in Newport for it to have its own Cymreigyddion Society, addressed in 1838 by our former President, Octavius Morgan. In passing, one must note that as a great deal of the evidence in the relevant chapters of this book comes from episcopal visitation returns, and is useful as a general guide, it in part reflects the attitudes of the Anglican gentry. The latter generally preferred to use the English tongue, as a mid-seventeenth Gwent cleric bemoaned. Lady Llanover's encouragement of the native language lay in the distant future.

By the mid-eighteenth century it is clear that the inroads made by the English tongue meant that whilst the mountainous west of Gwent was still very much Welsh-speaking, the east of the county was not, and in between - in the Usk valley (with offshoots - as at Llanvetherine) - lay a bilingual zone. Another useful map portrays this clearly. It was a pattern which meant that in many churches in central Monmouthshire English and Welsh services alternated, or the language employed might be decided upon at the last minute taking into account the composition of the assembled congregation. The inability of many to understand both Welsh and English was also reflected by the need which the English-speaking George Whitefield had of being supported in his preaching in Monmouthshire, in 1739, by the Welshman, Howell Harris.[6] When the county election took place in 1771, both Valentine Morris of Piercefield and John Morgan of Tredegar felt it necessary to publish bilingual election addresses.

Another map portrays the distribution of the circulating schools of Gruffydd Jones (1738-61) and of Madame Bevan (1762-77). Those of the former gave instruction largely (though not always in Welsh) and covered (as would be expected at this date) mostly west and central Monmouthshire; those of the latter were chiefly in the Usk valley and eastern Gwent, and taught mostly in English. Indeed, the vicar and parishioners of Llangwm (in 1747) petitioned Gruffydd Jones for an English-medium school since 'the Welch language is but very seldom used here. English is their Mother Tongue'. A contrary attitude to the pluralist vicar of Llanvetherine who, not familiar with Welsh, installed there (in 1763) a curate who was, and himself remained in his other benefice in far-removed Hampshire.

Another possible line of linguistic research might conceivably be a survey of all Monmouthshire gravestones, for it would indicate the value the people placed on the Welsh language at quite late dates, if only in their hearts. Again there are problems. It was said (by Joseph Bradney) that the parish of Trefethin had bilingual services in 1798, but reverted to only Welsh services by 1817. This was possible since the would-be English worshippers for a time attended services in a private chapel attached to Pontypool Park, and then subscribed (about 1819)

to the building, as an English-medium church, of St James', Pontypool. Despite the apparent Welshness of Trefethin all the funerary monuments of the church listed by Bradney are in English - perhaps a sign of the predilections of the gentry. In its churchyard the few gravestones surviving of the period (as in 1754, 1777 and 1791), are in English - though Bradney did record one with a verse inscribed in Welsh.[7]

If there is one inconsistency in this fine compilation it comes in occasional differences of standard in the rendering of place-names. For example, Llanmartin (as most of us in Gwent know it) is referred to (correctly) as Llanfarthin, but Abergavenny (happily for many in Monmouthshire) is not referred to as Y Fenni. The very word 'Llanmartin' is, of course, one of those in the county which show an admixture of two elements: the Celtic 'llan' and a Norman-beloved saint, Martin. The same is true of Llanthomas (correctly Llantomas) in the south of the parish of Mitchell Troy. They both lie in the eastern half of the former county and reflect the coming of the Normans to Gwent.

David H. Williams

NOTES.

1. Gwent County Record Office (Cwmbrân), St Pierre MS D.501/1332.
2. NLW (Map Room) Tredegar MS 974.
3. NLW (MSS Dept.) Badminton Deeds II, 10744; cf. *Brycheiniog* XI, 25. I am indebted to Ann Selwood of the Dept. of Printed Books at the National Library for this reference.
4. Thomas, G.C.G., *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell* (National Library, Aberystwyth, 1997) 204 (No. 64).
5. Coplestone-Crow, B., 'The Foundation of the Priories of Bassaleg and Malpas', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* XIV (1998) 4.
6. *Cf.* Evans, C.J.O., *Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1953) 158.
7. Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire* I : Pt. 2, *The Hundred of Abergavenny* (1906) 442, 450.