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The cover illustration is of the Gate-house of Tintern Abbey, from the water-colour by J. Nichols (1822). *By kind permission of Mr. John Wait.*

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A COPPER FLAT AXE FROM GOETRE.

By ADAM GWILT¹

(with metallurgical analysis by J.P. Northover)²

During February 1997, a small copper flat axe was found by Mr. K. Evans of Cwmbrân, whilst metal detecting near Goetre, Goetre Fawr (NGR: SO 32200620). The axe was a single find in sloping ground, at the edge of a grassed field. The axe was buried within clay, at a depth of about 25 cm. below the ground surface. The artefact was brought into the National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff for identification and recording. The axe has now been acquired for the national collection (NMW 97.42H).

Description (Fig. 1).

This small and undecorated flat axe belongs to the later 3rd millenium BC(cal) and is of Grootown/Milton Moss type.³ The axe has slightly concave sides which diverge gently towards the slightly expanded blade end.⁴ The butt is slightly rounded (though irregularly curved) in plan, and is thin and tapering in section. The surface is largely covered by a green carbonate deposit. The dimensions of the axe are as follows: length 103 mm., blade width 63 mm., butt width 30 mm., maximum thickness 11 mm. The artefact weighs 322.9 gm.

Metallurgical Analysis

(by J.P. Northover).

Fe	Co	Ni	Cu	Zn	As	Sb	Sn	Ag	Bi	Pb	Au	S
0.02	0.00	0.00	99.67	0.00	0.09	0.05	0.00	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.00

Analysis of the flat axe indicates that the metal is copper rather than bronze. The composition of this particular axe is low in impurities, with small amounts of arsenic, antimony and silver. These three impurities are characteristic of almost all Irish copper metalwork of this period and of the majority of the copper axes in Wales,⁵ their common presence perhaps suggesting a connection. The very low level of impurities in the copper could be the result of repeated recycling or mixing with much purer copper.

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² Research Fellow in Materials Science Based Archaeology, Department of Materials, University of Oxford.

³ Schmidt, P.K. and Burgess, C.B., 'The Axes of Scotland and Northern England', *Prähistorische Bronzefunde IX (7)*, (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagbuchhandlung; 1981).

⁴ The slight curvature of the sides also gives the axe an affinity with Schmidt and Burgess's Ballybeg/Roseisle type.

⁵ See Northover, J.P., 'The earliest metal-working in Southern Britain', In A. Hauptmann and T. H. Rehren (eds.) *The Beginnings of Metallurgy; Proceedings of a conference held in Bochum, April 1995*, (Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau Museum; forthcoming).



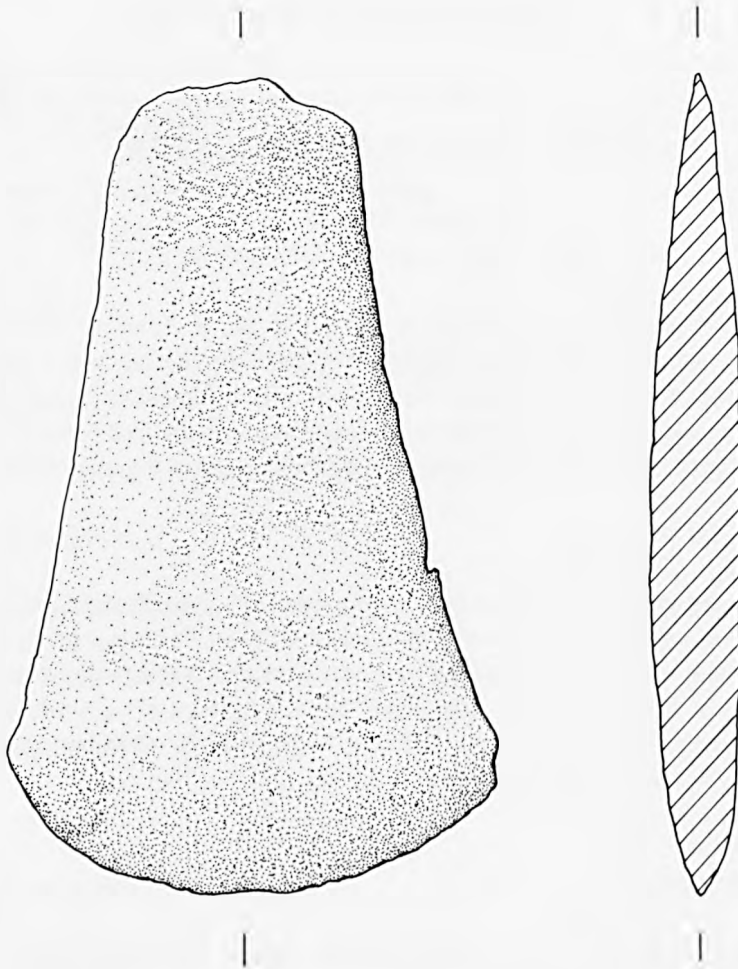


Fig. 1. The Goetre flat axe (scale 1:1)

Discussion.

Copper axes of Growtown/Milton Moss type may be attributed to Period 1 or 2 of the British Bronze Age, dating to between 2400 and 2100BC.⁶ They belong to the earliest phase of copper metalworking in Britain and Ireland, and are also contemporary with the early use of Beaker vessels. This can now be termed the Metal-Using Neolithic, which immediately preceded the Early Bronze Age proper. There are no copper artefacts in Britain, to date, from contexts which have been radiocarbon dated to before 2500BC(cal). It is now also clear that bronze took over from copper as the dominant metal used for axe production during the 22nd century BC,⁷ giving the above date range for this developed copper axe type.

⁶ Needham, S., 'Chronology and Periodisation in the British Bronze Age', *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (1996) 121-140.

⁷ *Ibid.* 130.

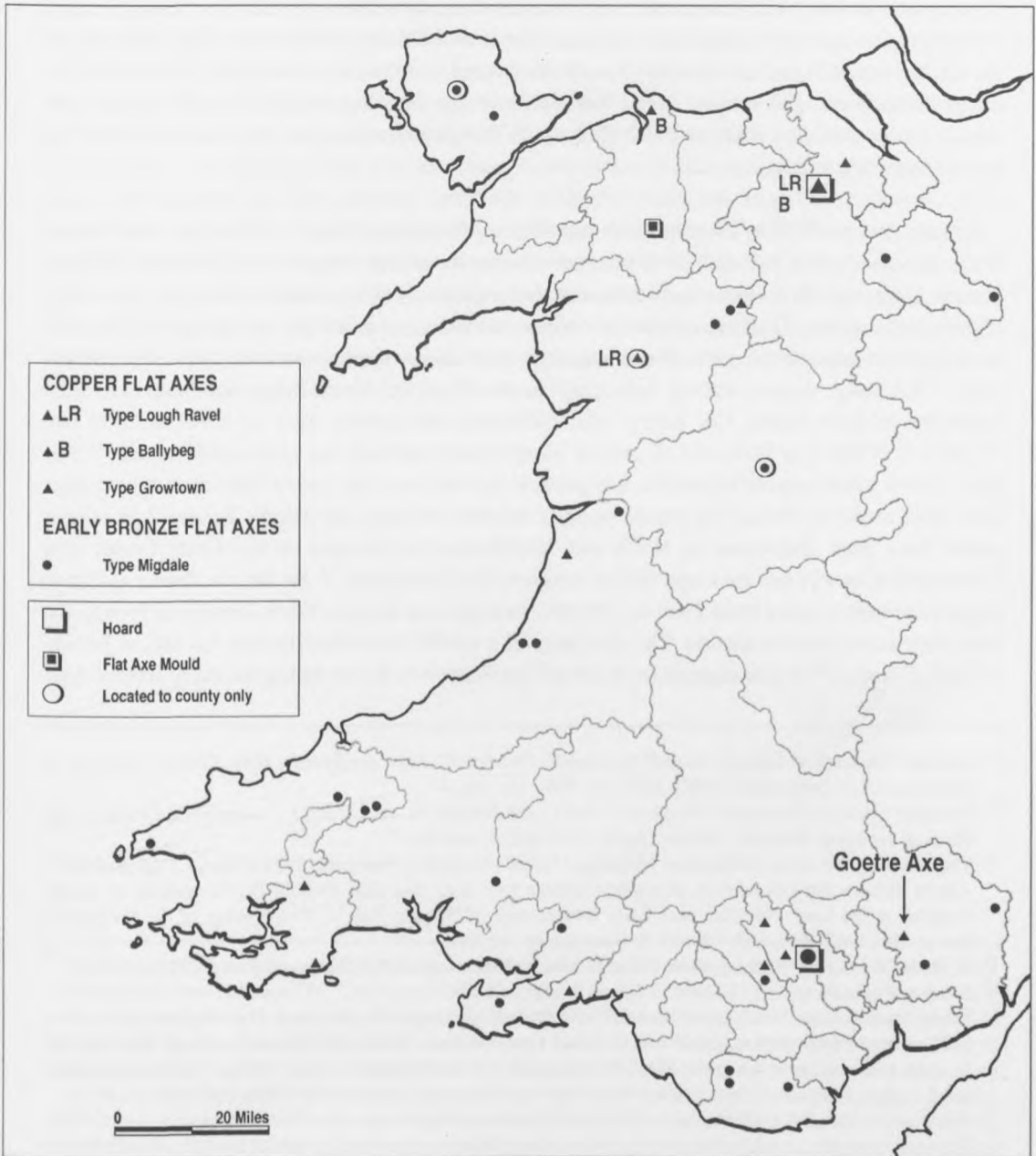


Fig. 2. The distribution of copper flat axes (c. 2500-2100BCcal) and early bronze flat axes (c. 2200-1900BCcal) in Wales.

This is the fifth flat axe find from Monmouthshire and Newport, there being two other single chance finds at Usk,⁸ and Monmouth,⁹ and a hoard of two from Newport. Both of the single finds are bronze flat axes of Migdale type, dating to between 2200 and 1900BC(cal), and belonging to the Early Bronze Age. The Newport hoard, discovered in 1864, is one of three known flat axe hoards from Wales, and consists of two Early Bronze Age Developed Aylesford type bronze axes, which date to between 2000 and 1800BC(cal).¹⁰ The Goetre axe is thus the earliest of the five known from this region.

It is not yet possible to identify, with any degree of certainty, where copper axes were made: south-western Irish (Cork and Kerry) copper sources have been suggested, on the basis of their arsenic-antimony-silver impurity pattern and the presence of many mined geological sources of copper in the region. The large number of copper axes discovered in Cork and Kerry, including six hoards, has reinforced the view of this region as one where copper production took place at this time.¹¹ Recently, copper mining belonging to the Final or Metal-Using Neolithic has been identified at Ross Island, Co. Kerry, with calibrated radiocarbon dates of between 2500 and 2150BC.¹² Whilst it is likely that all axes of Lough Ravel and Ballybeg type found in Wales¹³ (see Fig. 2) were manufactured in Ireland, it is possible that the later thin butted Grown town type copper axes were made in Wales.¹⁴ In recent years, a number of Early and Middle Bronze Age copper mines have been discovered in North and Mid-Wales, for example on the Great Orme, near Llandudno (Conwy) and on Copa Hill, Cwmystwyth (Ceredigion).¹⁵ So far, the dating evidence suggests mining activity from 1900 to 1200 BC, beginning at the time when Developed bronze flat axes were in use and circulation. The discovery of a mould for a Migdale type flat axe, at Betws-y-Coed (Conwy),¹⁶ is also suggestive of flat axe production in Wales during the Early Bronze Age.

⁸ National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff (Accession Number 95.34) - see Savory, H.N., *Guide Catalogue of the Bronze Age Collections* (1980) 100 (No. 106), and Fig. 17.

⁹ Newport Museum (Accession Number 71.265) - see Barnett, C. & Knight, J., 'Unpublished Bronze Age Finds in Newport Museum', *Monm. Antiq.* IV (1980) 3, and Fig.

¹⁰ These are housed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Accession Numbers: 1927.2368-9). I am grateful to Alison Roberts for information provided on these two axes. See also Britton, D., 'Traditions of Metal-working in the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age of Britain: Part 1', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 29 (1963) 312, and Schmidt & Burgess, *op. cit.* 61.

¹¹ O'Brien, W., *Mount Gabriel, Bronze Age Mining in Ireland*, (Galway University Press, 1994).

¹² See Needham, S., *op. cit.* 125, and O'Brien, W., *op. cit.* 230.

¹³ These comprise: the Moel Arthur hoard (Flintshire) of two Lough Ravel type and one Ballybeg axes (now in Manchester Museum), a single Lough Ravel type axe from Merionethshire and a single Ballybeg axe from Deganwy (Conwy). For the Moel Arthur hoard, see Forde-Johnston, H., 'A Hoard of Flat Axes from Moel Arthur, Flintshire', *Trans. Flintshire Historical Society* 21 (1964) 99-100 and Plate.

¹⁴ Needham's chronology allows for the British production of copper flat axes. See Needham, S., *op. cit.* 126. However, note the recent, and possibly contradicting evidence of mineralogical ore analysis at a number of Welsh Bronze Age mines, presented in Ixer, R. & Budd, P., 'The Mineralogy of Bronze Age Copper Ores from the British Isles: Implications for the Composition of Early Metalwork', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 17 (1998; Pt. 1) 15-41. This suggests that the copper, from the Welsh sources researched, would not have produced the arsenic, antimony and silver impurities evidenced within many copper axes.

¹⁵ See Dutton, A. & Fasham, P.J., 'Prehistoric copper mining on the Great Orme, Llandudno, Gwynedd', *Proc. Prehistoric Society* 60 (1994) 245-286, and articles in Crew, P. and Crew, S. (eds.) *Early Mining in the British Isles*, Occasional Paper, Plas Tan y Bwlch (1990).

¹⁶ See Williams, H., 'A Flat Celt Mould from the Lledr Valley', *Arch. Camb.* Seventh Series, Vol 4 (1924) 212-3, and Britton, D., *op. cit.* 321 and Fig 8.

This author is aware of sixty-six flat axe finds, at the present date, from Wales. These comprise fifteen copper axes, twenty-six early bronze axes (see Fig. 2), nineteen Developed bronze types and six unclassified flat axes. This is a small number by comparison with the numerous finds in Ireland and Scotland.¹⁷ Most discoveries of flat axes have been as single chance finds. However, there are three known Welsh flat axe hoards, which were all chance finds.¹⁸ Only one flat axe has been found in a stratified context during an archaeological excavation, at Breach Farm, Llanbleddian (Vale of Glamorgan),¹⁹ whilst fifteen flat axes have been found by metal detectorists during the last twenty years. Included amongst these are two new finds of Grown/Milton Moss type copper flat axes from Cilsanws (Merthyr Tydfil) and Gelligaer Common (Merthyr Tydfil),²⁰ which are good parallels for the Goetre flat axe. Grown type axes have been found in north, west and south Wales, in common with the later Migdale type axes, however their absence in central and eastern Wales is worthy of note. A wider survey of the artefactual, settlement and burial evidence of the Late Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age in Wales is required, before the significance of early metal artefact use and deposition can be fully appreciated.²¹

¹⁷ Harbison (1969) records over 2000 flat axes in Ireland, and Schmidt & Burgess (1981) record 295 flat axes in Scotland. See Harbison, P., 'The Axes of the Early Bronze Age in Ireland', *Prähistorische Bronzefunde IX(1)*, (München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung; 1969), and Schmidt & Burgess (1981) *op. cit.*

¹⁸ These are the Moel Arthur (Flintshire) hoard (Note 13 above), the Newport (Newport) hoard (Note 10 above) and the Brithdir (Pont Caradog) hoard (Caerphilly). The latter hoard is made up of three early bronze Migdale type flat axes and one Developed Aylesford type flat axe (Northover pers comm.) See also Britton, *op. cit.* 312), and Needham in Needham et al, *British Bronze Age Metalwork; A1-6 Early Bronze Age Hoards*, British Museum Publications (1985) p. iii. I am also grateful to Alan West at The British Museum for information concerning three axes in the Brithdir hoard (Accession numbers WG1800-2), which are now housed in The British Museum. The fourth axe from this hoard is housed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Accession Number 1927.2370).

¹⁹ See Grimes, W.F., 'A Barrow on Breach Farm, Llanbleddian, Glamorgan', *Proc. of the Prehistoric Society*, New Series, 4 (1938) 107-121.

²⁰ Both have been recorded at the National Museum & Gallery Cardiff (Record Nos. BA 93.2 and 93.5), but have yet to be published.

²¹ See Burrow, S., *Wales at the end of the Stone Age* (with accompanying catalogue of the Mesolithic and Neolithic collections), National Museums & Galleries of Wales publication (forthcoming).

THE EXCAVATION OF A MEDIEVAL TRACKWAY AND STONE STRUCTURES AT UNDY.

By RICHARD BROWN

Summary.

The Oxford Archaeological Unit (OAU) carried out a watching brief and subsequent excavation during March 1995 at land adjacent to Church Road, Undy. There is a moated enclosure immediately to the south of the site, and the excavation revealed evidence of a medieval trackway, stone structures and ditches that are associated with this monument.

Introduction.

The village of Undy is approximately 16 km to the east of Newport, in the county of Gwent (Fig 1). The excavations were located in a field 0.5 km. to the north-east of the main nucleus of the village, at NGR: ST 439874. The Magor to Caldicot road, the B4245, forms the northern boundary of the site and the western boundary is formed by Church Road. To the east and south-east of the site lie the banks and ditches of a moated enclosure of medieval date (Scheduled Ancient Monument MM 198; PRN 455g).

The archaeological investigations were undertaken in advance of a housing development at the site, on behalf of Tarmac Homes, Bristol and West Ltd., and in fulfilment of an archaeological condition placed upon planning consent by Monmouth Borough Council (original planning application: A38143). A brief for the archaeological works was set by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (GGAT), archaeological advisers to the Council.

Previous archaeological investigations undertaken by GGAT at the site of the proposed development had located remains likely to be associated with the medieval moated enclosure.¹ The OAU excavation was designed to recover further information about the structures already identified, and to record others that might exist, in advance of building works. In turn, it was hoped that this would enhance understanding of the moated enclosure itself.

Archaeological and Historical Background.

The nucleated village of Undy lies on the edge of the Caldicot Level, one of a number of areas of very fertile reclaimed wetland along the Severn Estuary, known collectively as the Severn Levels. During the medieval period the village lay within the lordship of Caerleon.² After a period of over a hundred years of Norman domination, it is clear that by the late-twelfth century the lordship of Caerleon had returned to Welsh hands, and Undy is one of the manors known to have been held by

¹ The results of the work are reported in Page, N. A. and Maylan, C. N., 'Excavations at Elm Farm, Undy, February 1993' (unpublished Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Report No 93/013; 1993) and Page, N. A., 'Archaeological Field Evaluation, East of Church Road, Undy, November 1993' (unpublished Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Report No 93/078; 1993).

² The short account of the medieval history of the manor given here has drawn on the following sources: Bradney, J. A., *A History of Monmouthshire: The Hundred of Caldicot*, Vol.4, Part 2, (London, 1932); Perry, M., *The Historic Village of Undy*, (1980, 2nd edition 1994; privately published); Courtney, P., 'The Rural Landscape of Eastern and Lower Gwent', c 1070-1750 (unpublished PhD thesis; University of Wales, Cardiff; 1984).

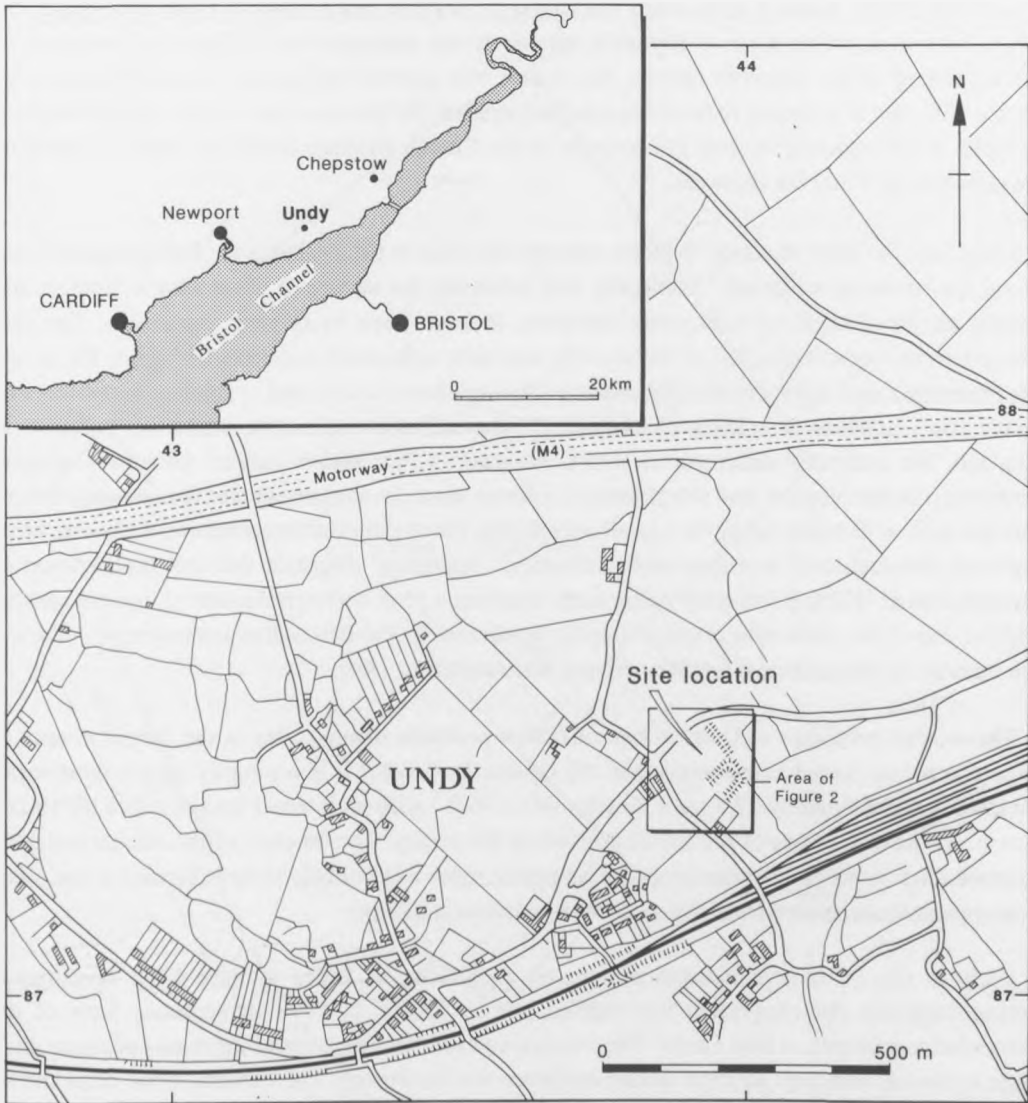


Figure 1: Undy; Site location.

Iorwerth ap Hywel. On his death Undy passed with the lordship to his son Morgan ap Hywel. During the first half of the thirteenth century, Welsh Caerleon disintegrated under a sustained campaign by the Anglo-Norman earls William and Gilbert Marshall to deprive Morgan of his territories. About 1217, Caerleon itself was seized. During the period from 1235 to 1241, Gilbert Marshall joined forces with his Anglo-Norman neighbour William de St Maur (Seymour), based at Penhow, to dispossess Morgan of his manor of Undy and divide the revenues between them.

By the later thirteenth century there were two manors at Undy, the larger of them held by the Seymour family as a knight's fee. This was probably the manor associated with the moat (*pers. comm.* P. Courtney). The earliest record of a house at Undy is found in the 1271 Survey of

Wentwood Forest, where it is recorded that Roger de St Maur had a house in Undy and Magor. Sir Roger later changed his name to Seymour, and his estates descended to the Dukes of Somerset. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manor was granted to Charles, Earl of Worcester by Henry VIII, and it is known to have been in the hands of Sir Thomas Lewis of the Van at his death in 1595. It subsequently became the property of the Crown. Bradney noted that there had been no resident lord in Undy for centuries.

Undy, like the great majority of Welsh moated sites, lies in the lowlands bordering England, and along the southern sea-board.³ Politically and culturally the setting of these sites is English and almost all are known, or reasonably assumed, to have been in English ownership. The rare exceptions belonged to anglicised Welsh lords who were influential in the English court. The moats are generally small and rectilinear, typically enclosing under an acre, and occupying accessible and fertile land. External complexes of embanked fishponds and enclosures, which are common in England, are currently unknown in Wales, although a few Welsh moated sites have simpler outworks. Archaeological and documentary sources agree in suggesting that the construction of moated sites in England began in a small way during the twelfth century, reaching a peak between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries.⁴ Spurgeon⁵ suggests that the proliferation of moated sites in Wales is probably rather later, reaching a peak between the later thirteenth century and the end of the fourteenth century, roughly bracketted by the Edwardian settlement of 1284 and the immensely destructive Glyndŵr uprising that erupted in 1400.

The moated enclosure at Undy is one of fifteen probable moated sites in the former county of Monmouthshire, largely concentrated in the eastern lowlands.⁶ It is a roughly square monument, measuring approximately 27.4 m. x 20.1 m. (90 x 66 ft.) with an internal area of 0.098 ha. (0.241 acres), and as such is one of the smallest moats in the county. The function of its unusual extended external ditch is not fully understood, but Spurgeon notes it is unlikely to have formed a leat, since it is apparently separated from the moat by a counterscarp bank.

Undy is one of only a handful of moated enclosures in Wales to have been investigated archaeologically. An excavation was carried out by GGAT in 1992 immediately west of the scheduled monument, at Elm Farm.⁷ The western and southern sections of the main enclosure ditch were recorded, although no clear dating evidence was recovered. The external ditch of unknown function was investigated, and shown to extend around the southern side of the enclosure and continue westwards towards Church Road. The excavators suggested that this ditch might form part of a land boundary post-dating the construction of the main enclosure. A previously unknown external ditch was found to the west of the monument, aligned on its north-west corner, which had had the remains of a stone-walled structure set into it once it was partially backfilled. The purpose of these features was not apparent.

³ Information about moated sites in Wales is derived principally from Spurgeon, C. J., 'Moated Sites in Wales', in F. A. Aberg and A. E. Brown (eds.), *Medieval Moated Sites in North-West Europe*, BAR Int. Ser. 121 (1981), esp. 37, 57-8, and figs 2.14-2.15.

⁴ Le Patourel, H. E. Jean, 'Documentary Evidence', in F.A. Aberg (ed.) *Medieval Moated Sites*, Council for Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. No. 17 (1978), 27.

⁵ Spurgeon, *op. cit.* note 3, 53.

⁶ Spurgeon, *op. cit.* note 3, 37, 57-8.

⁷ Page and Maylan, *op. cit.* note 1.

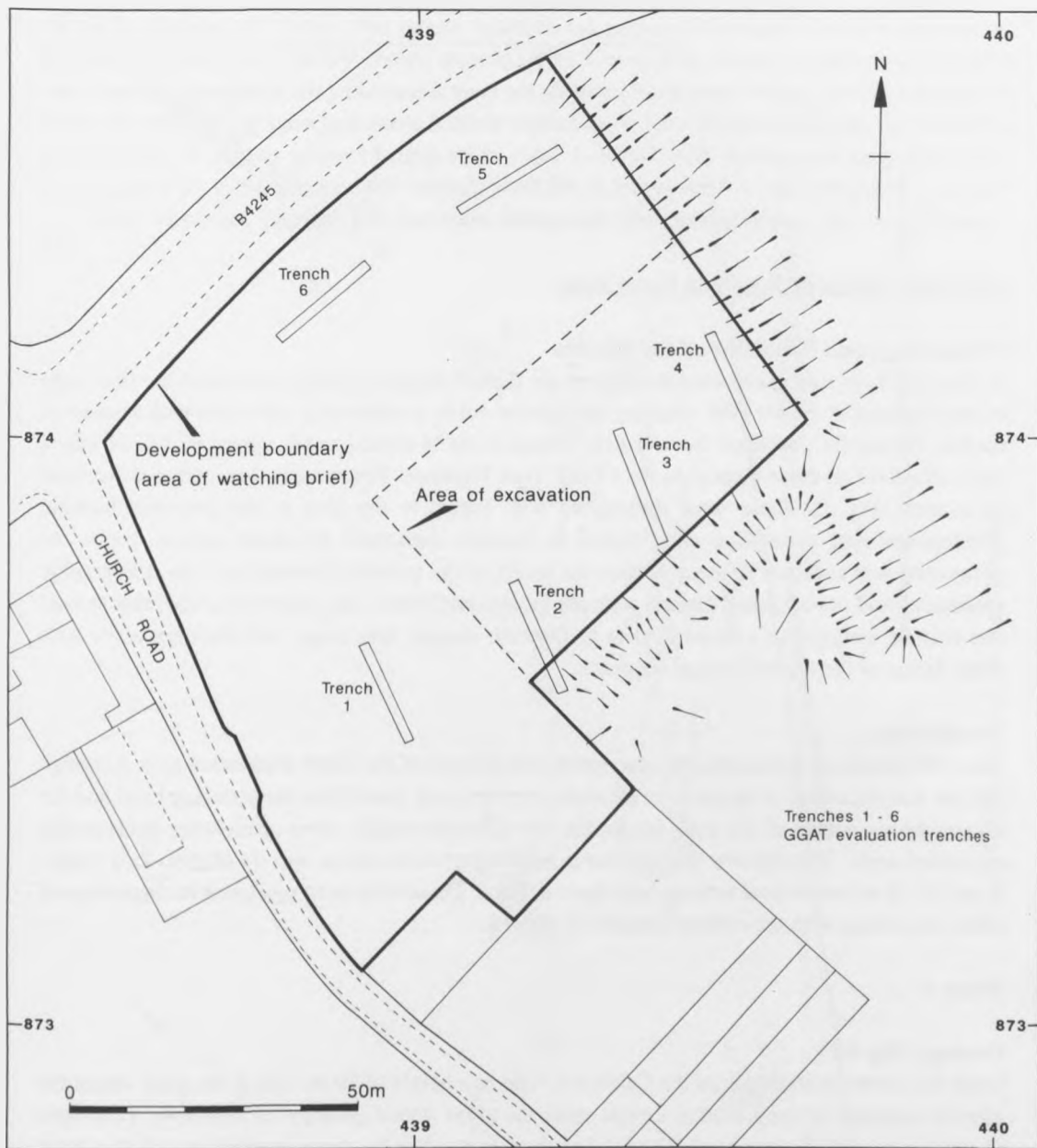


Figure 2: Undy, Location of GGAT trial trenches and OAU excavation.

Subsequently, GGAT carried out an evaluation of the area to the north and north-west of the monument, where the proposed building development was to take place.⁸ The position of the six GGAT trial trenches is shown on Figure 2 of the present report. Within Trial Trench 2, part of a stone structure was located immediately outside the bank surrounding the moat, and a second stone structure was partially revealed some 10 m. further north. A stone wall running parallel to the north side of the moat was seen in Trial Trench 3, and a stone spread forming an area of hard standing was seen at the north end of Trial Trench 4. All these features were considered by the excavators to be medieval in date, contemporary with the moated enclosure, and probably associated with it.

1995 OAU Watching Brief and Excavation:

Methodology and Reliability of the Results.

A watching brief was maintained throughout the topsoil stripping which constituted the first stage of development of the site. The stripping was carried out by a mechanical excavator with a toothless bucket. During the course of the stripping, several areas of stone spreads appeared, two of which were identified as those located in the GGAT Trial Trenches. Seven areas were targeted for hand excavation (Fig 3). These were determined with regard to the plan of the proposed housing development and excavation was limited to features threatened by direct impact. Since the excavation was confined to areas outside the limits of the scheduled monument, the stratigraphic sequence could not be linked directly with the moated enclosure. The pottery (see Courtney below) can only be assigned to a broad twelfth to fifteenth century date range, and does not assist with close dating of the archaeological sequence.

Description.

The following is an archaeological description and phasing of the whole excavation area. Although the site was excavated in seven separate areas, the structural plans from the watching brief and the homogeneous nature of the soils across the site allowed reliable cross-referencing between the excavated areas. The deposits and structures have been broken down into six phases. Two stages, A and B, of archaeological activity have been defined. These have been presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest contexts at the site.

Phase 1.

Geology (Fig 4).

Undy lies on the inland edge of the Caldicot Levels at a height of 10 m. OD, at the point where the alluvial deposits of the Caldicot Levels meet the solid inland geology of limestone, Dolomitic Conglomerate and Keuper Marl. The solid geology is overlain by a varying thickness of clay, loam subsoils and topsoil. The natural geology was seen only in the south of the site (Fig 4, section 3). The earliest deposit revealed was a green-grey clay-silt with manganese staining (158) which was overlain by an orange-brown sandy silt with manganese staining (130). Neither layer contained finds or inclusions. The character of the deposits suggest that layer 158 was a consequence of alluviation whereas layer 130 seemed, by its sandier nature, to be a deposit that had accumulated after the reclamation of the land.

⁸ Page, *op. cit.* note 1.

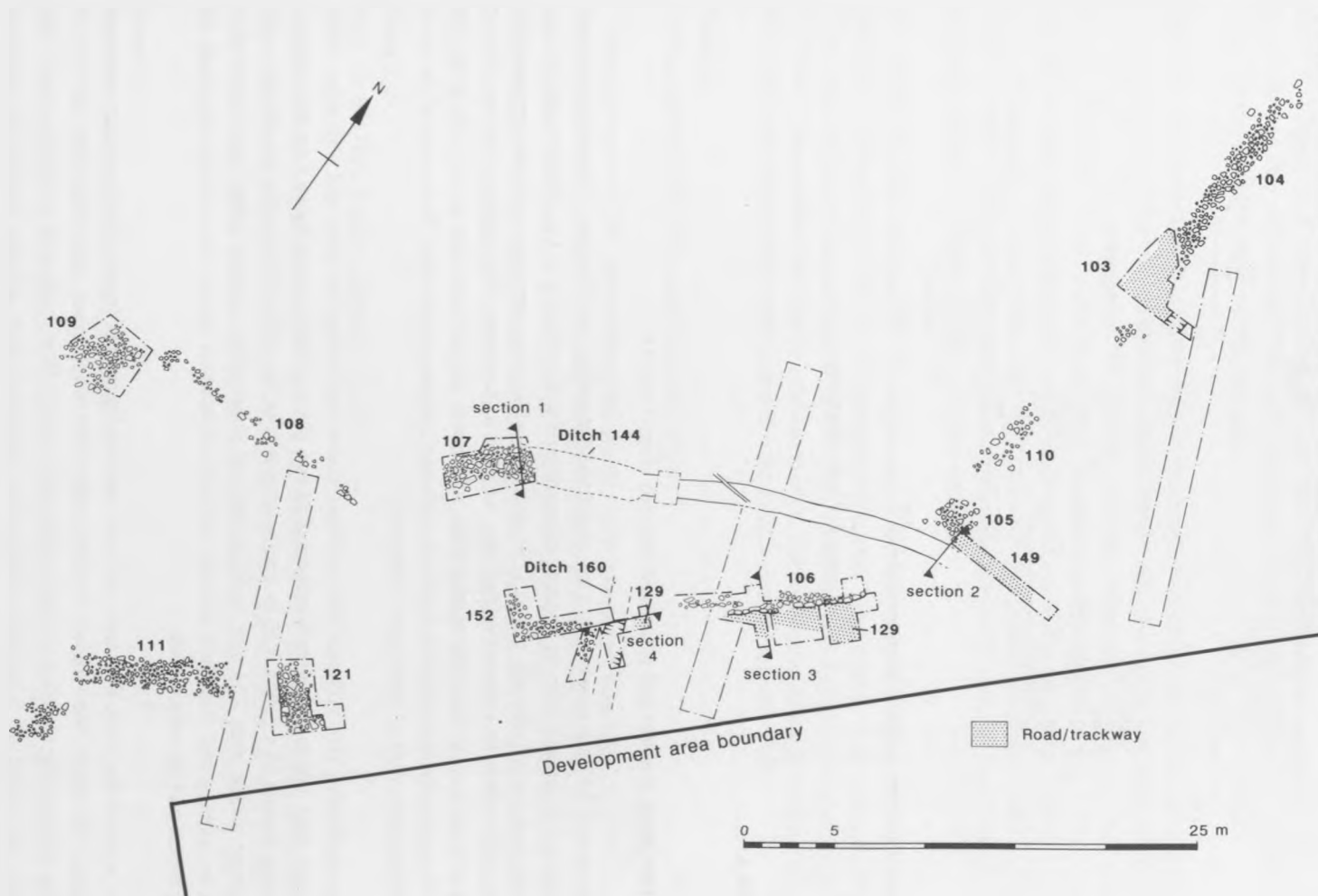


Figure 3: Undy, Plan of excavated features.

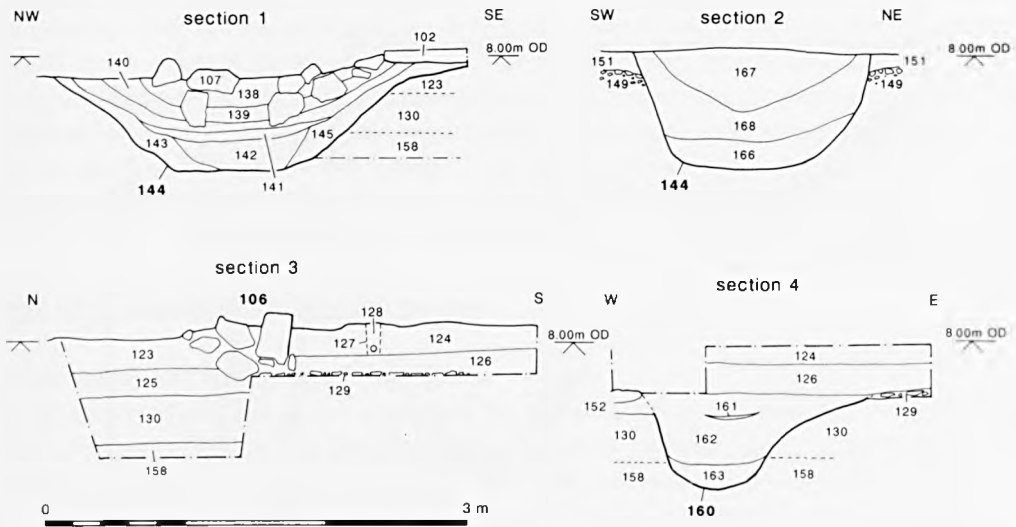


Figure 4: Undy: Sections.

STAGE A.

Phase 2.

Early structures, features and associated deposits (Figs 3 and 4)

The silt deposit 130 was overlain by a layer of limestone rubble (103, 149 and 129) which consisted of limestone fragments with an average dimension of 0.10 x 0.05 x 0.2 m. These were set in a tenacious dark brown clay-silt matrix (150 and 153) which may represent a bonding material for the limestone rubble or a ground surface into which it had slumped. The limestone deposit formed a road or track-way, at least four metres wide, which was aligned east-west in the south of the site where it apparently respected the medieval enclosure's northern boundary. To the east of the site it turned to a north-west to south-east alignment.

A stone wall (104, 110, 105 and 106) had been constructed along the north and west edge of the road/track-way. The wall generally consisted of two skins of large, rough-hewn limestone blocks, measuring from 0.55 x 0.30 x 0.20 m. for the largest to 0.20 x 0.10 x 0.10 m. for the smallest, with a limestone rubble core. The true width of the wall is uncertain because it had been disturbed in places by robbing and elsewhere existed only as a demolition spread. At no point were both the facing stones and the core visible.

To the west of the track-way and wall was another limestone deposit (152) with an east-west alignment. The stones were mainly rounded, with a few rough-hewn, and a maximum size of 0.35 x 0.20 x 0.10 m. The structure was one course thick and 2.30 m. wide with no facing stones. This structure was apparently a partially robbed crude foundation layer, possibly a surviving portion of a farm building associated with the moated enclosure.

Between the structure (152) and the road or track-way (149), in the central southern area of the site, was ditch 160. This feature was 1.10 m. wide, aligned north, north-east - south, south-west and filled by a sequence of clay-silts (163, 162 and 161). The stone structure and track-way extended to its edge and then discontinued. The ditch appeared to cut the track-way but it is possible that the ditch represented a boundary for the structures.

The soils were excavated to a lesser depth in the south-west of the site. In this area the earliest deposits identified were two similar dark reddish-brown silty clay layers with manganese staining (137 and 136). A limestone spread (121 and 111) was laid or slumped into deposit 136. Excavation revealed this to be a one course thick, crude foundation which measured 6 x 1.90 m. and was aligned east-west before turning into a north-south spread measuring 4 x 1.50 m.. The structure was similar to structure 152 and may also represent a farm building associated with the moated enclosure. Two horseshoes dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries were recovered from limestone spread 121 (Finds reference 122; see below).

The earliest deposits identified in the north-west of the site were two layers of yellowy-brown sandy silt (133 overlain by 132). A wall foundation (structure 108), 0.80 m. wide and approximately 15 m. long, overlay or slumped into layer 132. The foundation - of a single course of rough-hewn limestone - was coarsely faced on the south-west edge. The foundation was aligned from the south-east to the north-west where it terminated in a demolition spread (structure 109).

Phase 3.

Deposits accumulated over early structures (Fig 4)

Abutting stone wall 106, and overlying the top fill (161) of ditch 160, were layers 126, 125 and 151 which were all tenacious dark brown clay silts with occasional manganese staining. It is probable that these contexts form one layer that accumulated through seasonal flooding. This was covered by a light reddish-brown clay silt (123, 120 and 124) which had the appearance of a disturbed ploughsoil.

STAGE B.

Phase 4.

Ditch cut 144 (figs 3 and 4, sections 1 and 2)

A ditch (144) cut layers 123, 120, 151 and 124 and track-way 149. It was a curvilinear feature with a maximum width of 2.90 m. and a depth of 0.80 m. The ditch was aligned north-east to south-west in the central area of the site but had turned to a north-west to south-east alignment in the south-east area of the site.

Phase 5.

The fills of ditch 144 (Fig 3, sections 1 and 2)

Ditch 144 was filled by a sequence of gradually accumulated silt clays and clay silts with varying inclusions of charcoal and limestone fragments. A roughly rectangular spread of rough-hewn limestone (107) overlay and slumped into the uppermost fill (138). This was one course thick with

no clear faces and no bonding, and extended over an area of 4.70 x 3 m. in plan. This deposit appeared to be purposefully dumped, perhaps as a causeway over the already partially infilled ditch.

Phase 6.

Modern services and test pit disturbance

Deposits 120, 123 and 124 were cut by a ceramic water pipe (119, 118) and a land drain (146, 147) which in turn was cut by an iron water pipe (127, 128). A stone spread initially thought to be archaeologically significant, was found upon excavation to be a recently dug and infilled test pit.

A friable mid red brown clay silt (102) overlay all other contexts and this in turn was covered by a loose dark brown silty-loam topsoil (101). Many of the finds were retrieved while cleaning layer 102 away from the various structures. These were given additional finds reference numbers recording their distribution in relation to the underlying features. Both context numbers appear in the medieval pottery table.

Finds Reports.

THE POTTERY (By Paul Courtney).

Medieval Pottery (Table 1).

This assemblage is comparable with a small assemblage excavated by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust from Undy.⁹ It has been divided into two groups: cooking pots (A) which correspond to fabric A1 below, and a more amorphous group of jug sherds (B). Relatively few jug sherds were recovered from either site. The smallness of the assemblages from both sites makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions and the apparent infrequency of jugs may just reflect the friability of the cooking pots. Only a broad date range between the late-twelfth and the late-fifteenth century (when Malvern wares predominate) can be suggested for the medieval pot. The Undy pottery confirms a general picture of relatively localised pottery production in South Gwent in the later medieval period. The cooking pot fabrics (A) are distinct from petrologically similar fabrics utilising Old Red Sandstone derived clays.¹⁰ A kiln (or possibly kilns) with a very localised distribution seems likely.

⁹ Courtney, P. 'The Pottery', in Page and Maylan *op. cit.* note 1

¹⁰ Examples are found at the following sites: for Chepstow, see Vince A. G., 'The Medieval Pottery' in Shoesmith R., *Excavations at Chepstow 1973-1974*, Cambrian Arch. Assoc. Monograph 4 (1991), 93-139; for Caerleon, see Evans D. H., 'The Medieval Pottery from the Fortress Baths, Caerleon', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* 5 (1982) 9-30; for Penhow kiln and castle, see Wrathmell S., 'A Medieval Kiln and Wasters at Penhow, Gwent', *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales* 4 (1981), 1-7, and Wrathmell S., 'Penhow Castle, Gwent: Survey and Excavation, 1976-79: Part 1', *Monm. Antiquary* VI (1990), 17-45; for Langstone, see Courtney P., 'The Pottery' in Blockley K., 'Excavations at Langstone Court, Gwent', *Archaeology in Wales* 35 (1995); for Newport, see Courtney P., 'Medieval Pottery from the National Westminster Bank, Newport', (formerly the National Provincial Bank) *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales*, 9 (1986-87) 16-22.

Table 1

Context	Fabric	Sherds	weight (g)	Eves	Phase (Stage)	Subsoil 102 Finds
113 (FR)	B	1	5	-	6 (-)	113
114 (FR)	A	3	17	-	6 (-)	108
115 (FR)	A	77	1155	0.06	6 (-)	107
117 (FR)	A	1	5	-	6 (-)	109
138	A	13	24	-	4 (B)	-
139	A	3	42	-	4 (B)	-
159 (FR)	A	1	26	-	6 (-)	152
164	A	1	105	-	4 (b)	-

Key FR: Finds Reference number.

Fabric A. Sandy micaceous coarse wares. Cooking pots/jars, in soft to hard fabrics often oxidised on exterior. The wares are often friable and some sherds are tiny in size. Rough, weathered surfaces are common. Inclusions include abundant, ill-sorted, rounded to angular quartz up to 1 mm. or sometimes 2 mm. (though mostly under 0.5 mm.), fine muscovite mica plates and red iron minerals with a few sandstone fragments. The amount of coarser tempering is very variable.

Fabric B. A single brown glazed body sherd from a jug in a harder fabric, context 113, with rounded quartz up to 0.3 mm., fine muscovite and iron inclusions. This could be from anywhere in the Gwent region.

Post-Medieval Pottery (Phase 6).

Context 102 (subsoil). One highly abraded medieval sherd in fine sandy micaceous fabric (reduced), possibly from a jug. One body sherd (a recent break) from a lead glazed post-medieval Local Red earthenware (LRE) vessel, 16th to 18th century. One rimsherd (?bowl) in yellow-glazed buff ware from the 19th century. Two flat-ware sherds in developed white wares dating to the 19th century or later.

Context 116 (reference number for finds found in 102 around structure 106). One sherd from an internally lead glazed LRE (Local Red earthenware) vessel, probably the base from a bowl, dating from the 16th to the 18th century. Post-medieval LRE fabrics contain quartz and muscovite.

Romano-British Pottery (Table 2).

Fabric X. A hard sandy, predominantly reduced fabric with moderate rounded quartz to 0.5 mm., fine muscovite mica and occasional iron inclusions. This seems to predominate in phases 2-3 and most sherds are weathered. These are probably Romano-British and residual.

Fabric Y. A single highly fired body sherd (reduced with oxidised core), very hard with fine quartz and muscovite inclusions, from context 117. The form and date is uncertain but it is perhaps from a Romano-British jar.

Fabric Z. A Romano-British jug handle (two joining sherds) in soft red fabric with few inclusions from context 117.

Table 2

Context	Fabric	Sherds	weight (g)	Eves	Phase (Stage)
103	X	2	4	-	7 (2)
117	X	2	12	-	7 (5)
117	Y	1	4	-	7 (5)
117	Z	2		-	7 (5)
126	X	1	3	-	3
136	X	1	8	-	2
150	X	1	1	-	2
164	X	1	5	-	4

OTHER FINDS.

Only two identifiable iron objects were recovered, both from context 122 (wall foundation 121). Both were horseshoes with narrow webs showing the lobate profile and lozenge-shaped countersunk holes typical of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. (Identification by Leigh Allen, OAU.) A small collection of eight fragments of animal bone was also recovered, of which four could be identified to species and anatomical part. The species represented comprised horses and cows. No butchery marks or burning were observed. (Identifications by Nicola Scott, OAU.)

THE SOIL SAMPLE ANALYSIS (By Mark Robinson).

A single sample, from context 164, the uppermost fill of ditch 144, was processed for charred plant remains. Artefacts, bone and snail shell were absent from the flot and residues. The charred remains were medium to comminuted wood charcoal, from oak (*Quercus*) in the vast majority.

Discussion and Interpretation (Fig. 5)

During the first identified stage of activity, Stage A, a road or track-way with an adjoining wall was constructed, entering the excavation area from the north and terminating towards the centre of the scheduled monument's north side, at the intersection with ditch 160. The spatial arrangement suggests an access route into the enclosure. This raises some doubt as to whether the earthwork that now forms the north side of the scheduled monument could have been an original component of the enclosure. The route of the track-way would have passed directly through the line of the earthwork, and would have required the infilling of the ditch and a cutting through the bank at this point. This could suggest that the earthwork is in fact a later feature.

The existence and the position of the track-way suggests that the enclosure was a focus of activity, although the nature of this activity remains unknown. While it is possible that the moat enclosed domestic structures, even a house, its comparatively small size suggests that these could never have been very extensive. Spurgeon notes that the average size of Welsh moated sites is about half an acre, and suggests that the very smallest sites, of less than one tenth of an acre, would not have held houses. There is evidence to suggest that two very small Welsh moats may have enclosed dovecotes. Other small moats, by analogy with evidence from Germany, may have enclosed

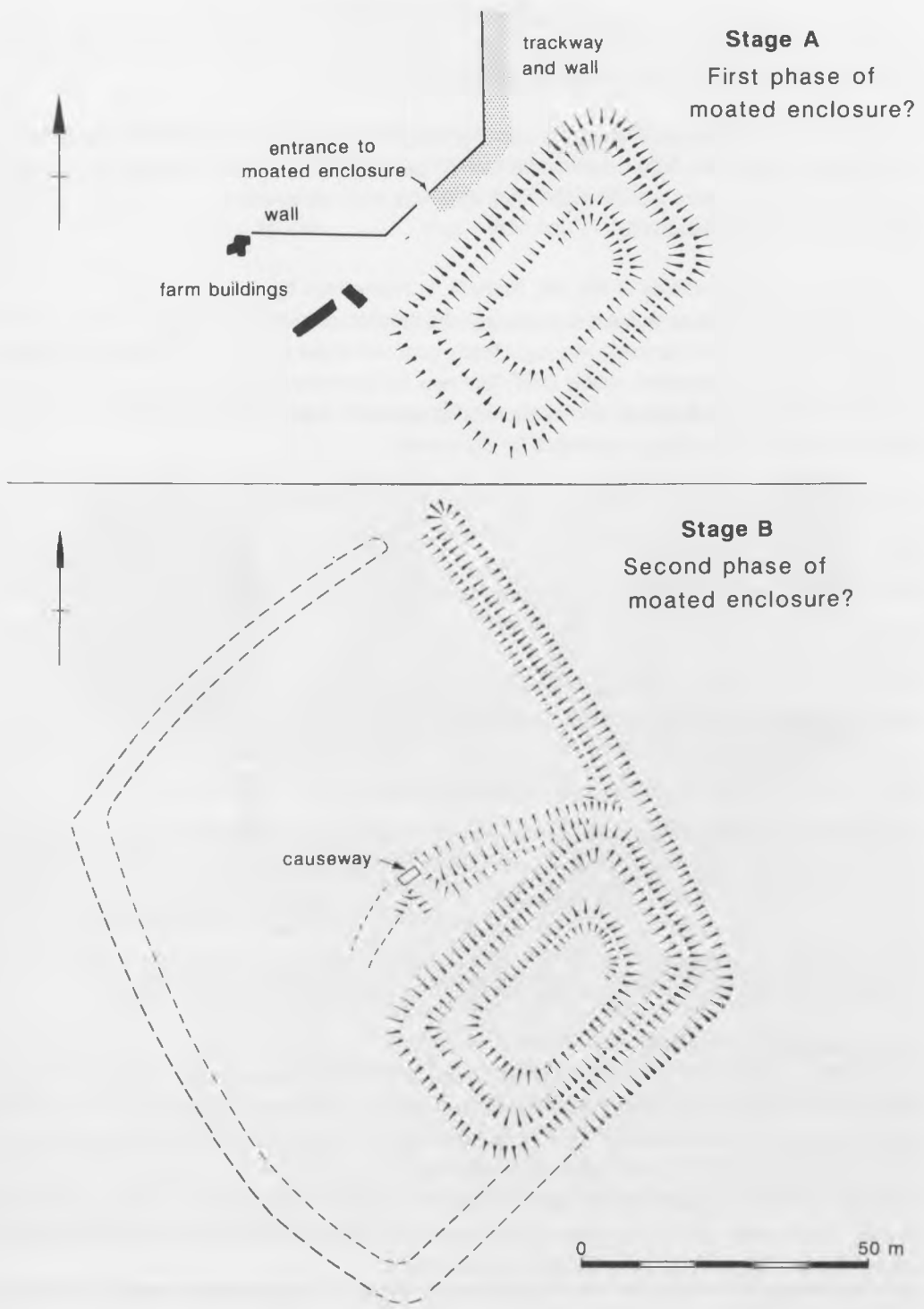


Figure 5: Undy, Possible interpretations of excavated features.

granaries.¹¹ The cumulative evidence from excavations to date at Undy would not be inconsistent with such an interpretation, suggesting defences around a small, but important, site that may have been reworked on two or three separate occasions.

From the few excavated analogies, it is arguable that the remnants of structures 121 and 111, and also the stone structures found during the GGAT excavations, represent coarse farm/livestock outbuildings or enclosures which might have been cob wall constructions on limestone plinths, contemporary with the track-way.

The second stage of activity at the site, Stage B, is represented by curvilinear ditch 144, which cut through the former road or track-way close to the monument itself. This suggests an increasing emphasis on defence, and the track-way had clearly gone out of use by this time. The ditch had been partially infilled with limestone rubble (107) that may have acted as a causeway. It is possible that the earthworks forming the north side of the moated site were contemporary with ditch 144 but no physical relationship has been established by excavation.

No further information regarding the date of the Undy moat or the associated external structures has been obtained from the present campaign of excavation. The pottery recovered can suggest only a broad medieval dating, between the late-twelfth century and the late-fifteenth century. However, the evidence from Undy suggests that the site may be broadly comparable with the moated site at Hen Gwrt, in the north of the county, which has been the subject of excavations.¹² At Hen Gwrt, a period of primary occupation was dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, and a moat was dug in the early-fourteenth century. Activity at the site ceased in the fifteenth century. Although the sequence at Undy has not been dated, it is clear that a primary phase of activity when the moated site had been relatively accessible was followed by a period in which defensive needs may have prevailed, leading to the digging of further ditches. As at Hen Gwrt, the medieval activity may have continued into the fifteenth century.

The excavation of part of the main enclosure ditch undertaken by GGAT showed that the primary fill of the excavated section contained Roman pottery exclusively while later fills had a mixture of Roman and medieval pottery. It is impossible to draw firm conclusions from this, but a notable quantity of Roman pottery was also recovered in the OAU excavations. The recent discovery of a Roman Bathstone sarcophagus at Vinegar Hill in Undy¹³ adds to the increasing evidence for a Romano-British presence in the area, and this might be clarified by further excavation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

The watching brief and excavation, and the preparation of this report, was funded by Tarmac Homes, Bristol and West Limited, and OAU would like to acknowledge their support, and that of their consultant Dr. Peter Wardle. Thanks are also due to the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust for their assistance in many aspects of this project, and to Dr. Paul Courtney for advice and information; OAU is grateful to both for allowing us access to unpublished information relating to the site. The illustrations for the present report have been drawn by Lesley Collett (OAU) and the text was edited for publication by Kate Atherton (OAU).

¹¹ *Op. cit.* note 3, 45-6.

¹² Craster O. E., and Lewis J. M., 'Hen Gwrt Moated Site, Llantilio Crossenny, Monmouthshire', *Arch. Camb.* (CXII, 1963), 159-83.

¹³ *Newport News*, Tuesday, November 12, 1996.

GWENT SEALS: IX.

By JEREMY P. DAVIS

A Seal from Mathern.

Material: Copper alloy.

Weight: 8.86 gm.

Dimensions (of face): 21 x 16 mm.

Shape: oval.

Found: in parish of Mathern, Monm. on 19-04-98.

NGR: ST 5215 9102.

Date: first half of 14th Century.

Device: Saint Catherine, standing, holding her wheel in her left hand, and a sword of martyrdom (point down) in her right.

Legend: SC'A KATERINA ORA PRO ME

(Lombardic Capitals).



A matrix of conical form with, somewhat unusually, an oval (as opposed to round) face. At the apex of the cone, which is six-sided, is a trefoil loop for suspension, no longer intact. This is a finely engraved example of a personal (but almost certainly non-attributable) seal matrix of religious association, of a type widely used by minor landowners and lesser clergy during the later Middle Ages. The legend translates as: 'Holy Catherine, pray for me'.

According to tradition, Catherine was a Romano-Egyptian of noble birth, possessed of great beauty and wisdom and an early Christian convert, who received her martyrdom at the hands of the Roman emperor Maxentius, whose advances she spurned. Furious at her repeated refusals, Maxentius ordered her tied to four spinning spiked wheels that would tear her apart. A great flame from the heavens burned the wheels, their hot fragments killing her executioners. Maxentius subsequently had Catherine beheaded. The well-known Catherine Wheel became her symbol. She was one of the most popular Christian saints in the later Middle Ages, and was the patron saint of young girls, students, clergy, philosophers, and craftsmen whose work centred on the wheel, for example spinners, wheelwrights and millers.

A number of seal matrices from the general vicinity of Mathern have now been described in this journal (Vols. XI: Gwent Seals VII, and XIV: Gwent Seals VIII), and elsewhere (*Catalogue of Seals in the National Museum of Wales* I, W 358 and W 431; II, W 511, 526 and 529). Some of these matrices may have been mislaid by visitors to the bishop of Llandaff's palace at Mathern.

A Seal from Llantarnam.

Material: Copper alloy

Weight: 7.73 gm.

Dimensions: c. 35 x 22 mm. (when entire).

Shape: pointed oval.

Found: near Llantarnam Abbey, Monm. in 1997.

NGR: ST 305926.

Date: first half of the 14th Century.

Device: The Blessed Virgin Mary, crowned and seated, with her Child on her right knee, on a throne within a pillared and canopied (church-like) niche; below which, under a trefoiled arch, a diminutive figure at prayer. In her left hand, she holds an uncertain object, possibly an orb or book.

Legend (largely illegible): ? VRG St....RIA....RIH

(Lombardic Capitals)



This once impressive matrix, now unfortunately somewhat damaged and corroded, is the fourth found in the vicinity of the one-time Cistercian abbey of Llantarnam to be described in this journal (Vols. VI: Gwent Seals I; X: Gwent Seals VI; XI: Gwent Seals VII). It was recovered, using a metal-detector, from spoil disturbed by pipe-laying operations some half-mile south-west of the abbey site, by Mr. Malcolm Davies of Newport.

The device was extremely popular and is frequently associated with seals of ecclesiastical origin, reflecting perhaps the large number of foundations to St. Mary, of which Llantarnam, in common with almost all Cistercian abbeys was one. The proximity of the find-spot of the matrix to the abbey would imply its loss by an individual associated with the abbey, or a visitor to the monastery, the device suggesting the former as a distinct possibility. The legend, while indistinct, may commence, when extrapolated: 'VIRGO SANCTA MARIA', but any definite attribution is lost.

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

The Seal of Monmouth Railway Company.

Material: Red wax, en placard.

Shape/Dimensions: Oval, 39 x 33 mm.

Examples: NLW, Badminton Deeds (Group 2) 12945-12954: all impressed, on 29 August 1811, to share certificates purchased by the duke of Beaufort.

Device: A shield: (Azure) three chevrons (or), a fess (gules) overall.



(National Library of Wales).

Legend: THE · SEAL · OF · THE · MONMOUTH · RAILWAY · COMPANY (Modern Caps.)

The same device (reminiscent of the arms of the De Clares – for long earls of Gloucester and lords of much of eastern Monmouthshire), with ornamental surround, is employed on the seals of: The Ross and Monmouth Railway Company (as on: 21 January 1869: NLW, Badminton Deeds (Group 2) 10511; and of The Wye Valley Railway Company (1875). Gloucestershire Record Office D 2700 QC 6/1).

The Seal of the Golden Valley Railway Company.

Material: Red wax, en placard.

Shape/Dimensions: Circular, 50 mm.

Examples: NLW, Badminton Deeds (Group 2) 12955 (of 5 April 1888) and 12956 (of 8 April 1889).

Device: A steam train, of at least seven carriages, travelling through the countryside, under the light of the rising sun. Uncertain lettering in field *dexter*.



(National Library of Wales).

Legend: GOLDEN · VALLEY · RAILWAY · COMPANY (Modern Caps.)

For these Companies, see: Shirehampton W.J.P., *Monmouth Railways : A Historical Survey* (Monmouth and District Field Club and Antiquarian Society: *Memorials of Monmouth* 6 [1955]).

ROGERSTONE GRANGE, ST. ARVAN'S.¹

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

Where-ever possible, Cistercian monks in the early Middle Ages organised their lands into a number of easily managed, consolidated farms entitled 'granges'.² Those of Tintern Abbey mostly lay astride the lower Wye valley and down to the shores of the Severn estuary. On Ordnance Survey maps still occur place-names like 'Trelech Grange' and 'Woolaston Grange', and, not least, Rogerstone Grange – sometimes called in more modern times: Chepstow Grange or St. Arvan's Grange. Unlike its initial properties (given at the monastery's foundation in 1131), Rogerstone Grange came relatively late into the abbey's possession. It first appears as 'the grange of Rogerstone' in a confirmatory charter issued by William Marshal, 4th Earl of Pembroke (and lord of Striguil/Chepstow) in 1223.³ This reference may be to the grant he made to Tintern, after his mother (Countess Isabel's) death in 1220, of 'land by Rogerstone'⁴ – or it may refer to an extension of a grange already held. Certainly, his brother Walter (the 7th earl; 1241-45) gave further property there to the abbey: 'All the upland of Rogerstone which lies between the brook called Sevarne by the Fair Oak and the covert of the forest, right up to the road which leads from St. Arvan's, and so round to the said brook'.⁵ Both grants were on condition that the monks: 'kept up a light perpetually burning' before the tomb of their mother in the abbey church'.

The property was not virgin territory; a settlement already lay here, named "Roger's-town" after perhaps either Roger de Clare, nephew of Walter de Clare, the abbey's founder, or else after his son, Roger de Clare, 3rd Earl of Hertford (*d.* 1173).⁶ Be that as it may, the abbey inherited a hamlet on lands already partly developed, though the monks will undoubtedly have extended its cultivable area. Despite the late date of the grant, as the new farm was worked directly by the monks no tithe was payable by them,⁷ and so - as time passed - an extra-parochial area of 497 acres emerged.⁸ The student of this grange is assisted by an Aram survey of 1763⁹ - which largely repeats field-names listed in a deed of 1670,¹⁰ as well as by the early modern mapping of the Ordnance and Geological Surveys.

The Cistercians had a discerning eye when gauging the soil potential of a prospective property.¹¹ At Rogerstone they were fortunate in that the grange boundaries encompassed three principal geological outcrops. In the north lay the Tintern Sandstone (of the Old Red Sandstone Series) affording somewhat steeply sloping relief. At its southern boundary, the St. Arvan's Fault brought this into sharp juxtaposition with the Lower Limestone Shale of the Carboniferous Series. Relief became more gentle, but, more importantly, this rock was less pervious, more water retentive, and so at this boundary were excavated the mill and fish ponds of the monastic farm.

¹ NGR: ST-506966.

² Williams D.H., *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster, 1998) 276.

³ Bradney J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire* : II : 2 (*Hundred of Trellech*; London, 1913) 257.

⁴ *Cal. Charter Rolls* III (1307) 104.

⁵ *Ibid.* 104. (Fair Oak lies at NGR: ST-513996, well to the north of the modern grange boundary).

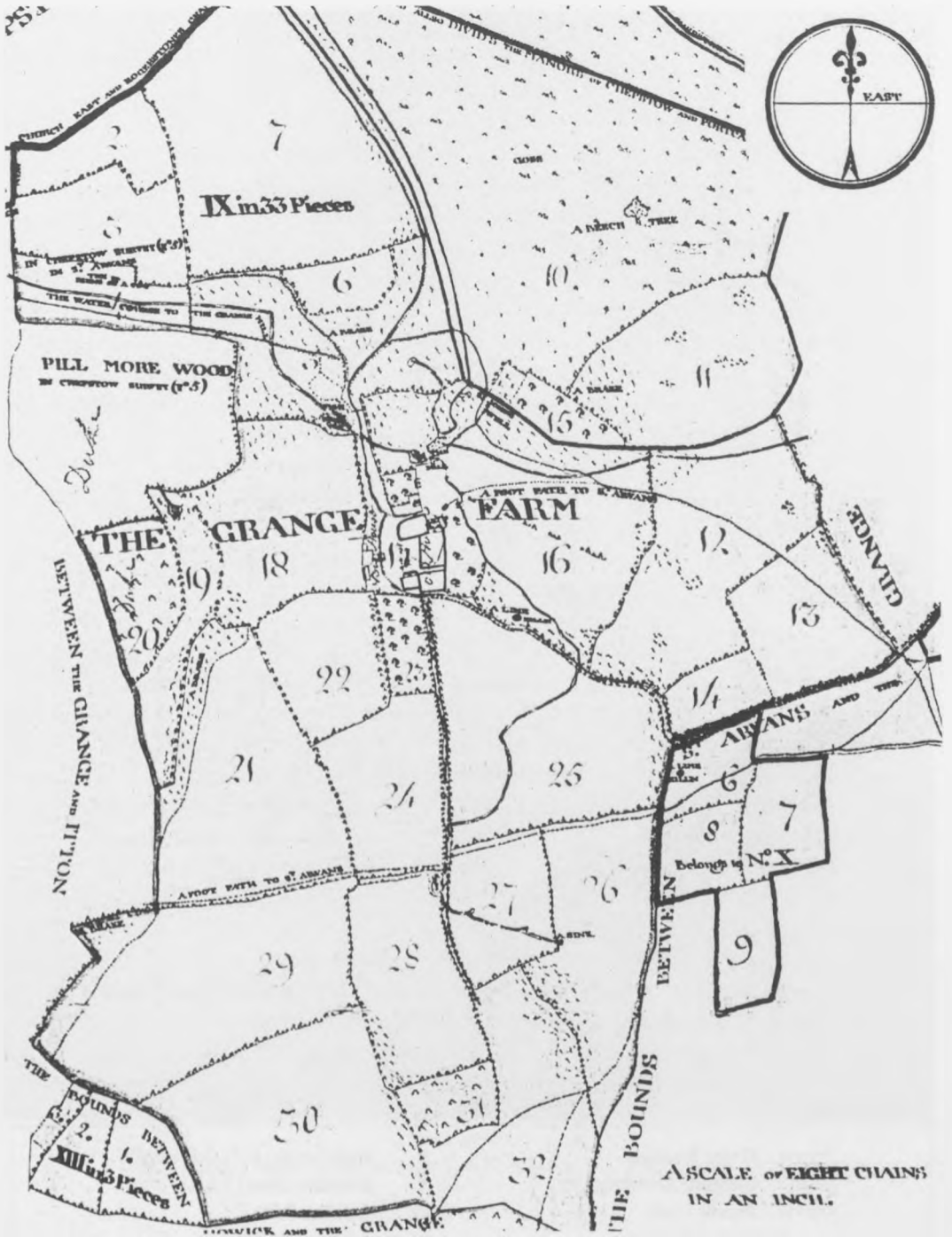
⁶ Bradney J.A., *op. cit.* IV : 1 (*Hundred of Caldicot*; London, 1929) 41.

⁷ Williams D.H. *op. cit.* 268-69.

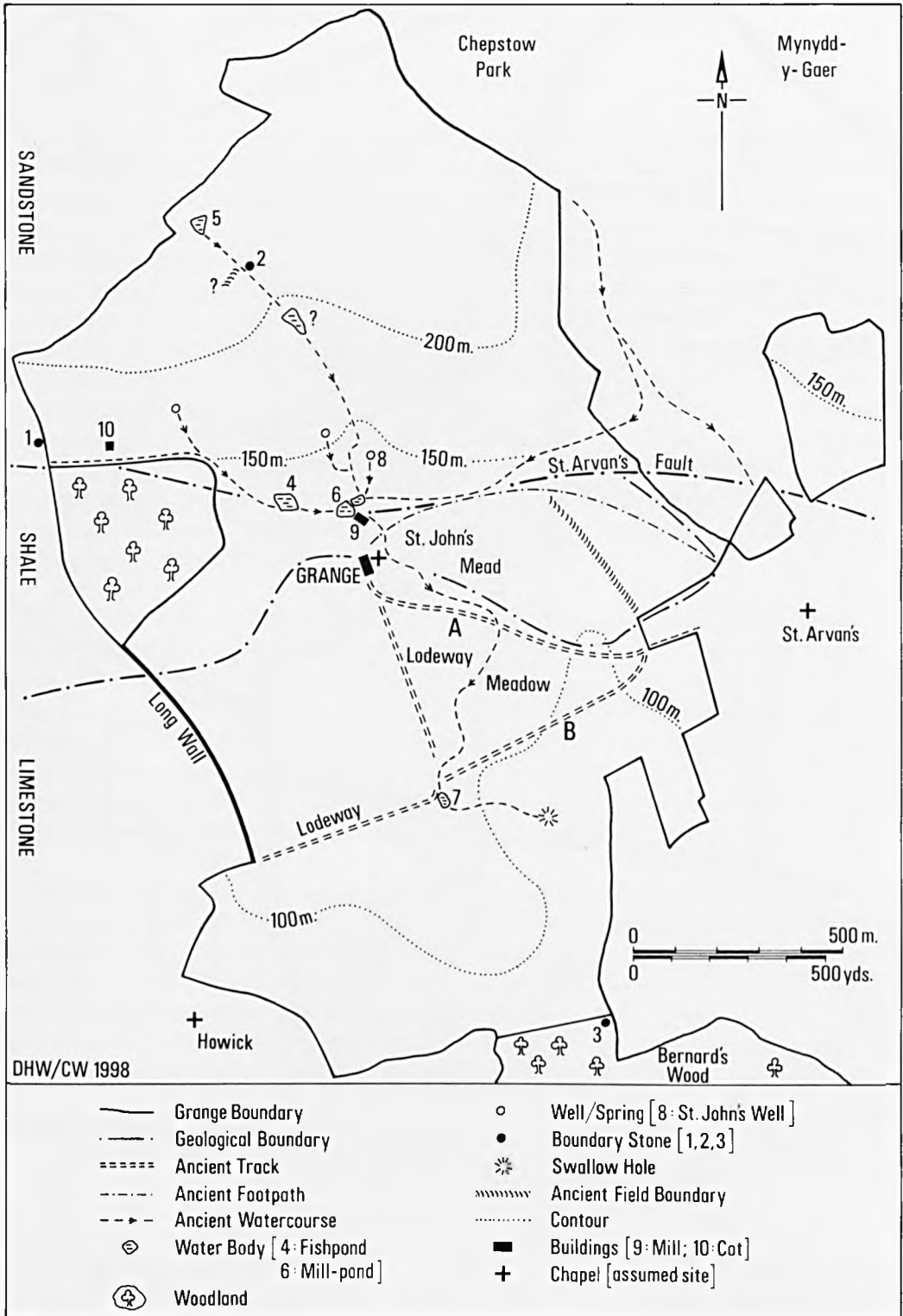
⁸ Cf. Williams D.H., *The Welsh Cistercians* (Caldey, 1984) II, 241-42.

¹⁰ NLW, Badminton Deeds (Group 2) 12542.

¹¹ Williams D.H. 1984, *op. cit.* II, 225.



Badminton Plans, Vol. 2 (No. 2).
(John Aram survey of 1763).





Aerial View of the Grange. (4-11-1946)

RAF Photo.

The relatively narrow outcrop of shale gave way further south to Carboniferous Limestone – first dolomite, then oolite.¹² This zone had the advantage of naturally limed soils, and ‘lime kilns’ are marked on early modern maps at two sites.¹³ It is an area pitted by ‘sinks’ or ‘swallow holes’ – one or two yet visible, others recorded in the past¹⁴ now infilled – either artificially or naturally. At least one former stream course (taking away the mill-leaf water) can be observed from aerial photography and the Aram survey. A description (of 1819) mentions: ‘The springs and subterranean river running for a mile under St. Arvan’s Farm and Piercefield Park’.¹⁵ Such saw recently a caver in considerable difficulties.

At some stage, boundary stones marked the grange limits. Early Ordnance Survey maps record three: one on the western border (No. 1 on plan)¹⁶, and one in the far south (3).¹⁷ The supposed ‘Ancient Stone’ (2)¹⁸ in the north is not at the present limit of the grange, possibly suggesting reclamation of land and extension northwards from the original boundary. The footings of the western stone survive, but there is no certain remnant of that in the north, whilst the most southerly has completely vanished. For quite a distance (at least 600 metres/640 yds.) a substantial banked wall formed the western boundary. Known as the ‘Long Wall’, this (by 1763) imparted its name to the adjacent field and copse lying immediately east.

At the heart of any grange were sufficient buildings for the needs of the *conversi* (lay-brethren) and servants working on the farm – refectory, dorter, store-houses, and the like. Nothing is known, nor recorded, of any of these structures at Rogerstone. Frequently, they included edifices erected in timber, and remaining so throughout their monastic ownership. The principal buildings might well, quite early on, been replaced in stone – as perhaps the living quarters and the barn. The grange had plenty of timber – both for fuel and construction purposes. The age of some of its copses is unknown, but to the immediate south (and in the hands of the monks) was Bernard’s Wood and what is now called ‘Barnets Wood. (The great charter of 1223 refers to: ‘The grange of Rogerstone, Bernardswood, Bernatties ..’).¹⁹ The western portion came to be called ‘Prior’s Grove’ – not ‘Briers Grove’ as suggested by the Ordnance Survey plans. Hywel ap Thomas was the monks’ ‘keeper’ of Bernard’s Wood in 1435,²⁰ and (in 1388) and timber was sought there to help build a new byre at the abbey’s Merthyr Gerain Grange.²¹

Many granges by the mid-thirteenth century also possessed a chapel where the Eucharist could be offered, and the deceased buried.²² The traditional site of the chapel at Rogerstone lay immediately east of the present farm buildings. The field adjacent was long known as St. John’s Mead, and the well formerly a little distance north was called St. John’s Well. Grange chapels, like

¹² Geological Survey, Sheet (Chepstow – Solid and Drift) 250 (1962).

¹³ NGR: ST-507965 and 511963.

¹⁴ 507967 (see: Bradney J.A. *op. cit.* IV : 1 (*Hundred of Caldicot*) 41; 511960 (1763 Aram survey).

¹⁵ Waters, I., *Chepstow Miscellany* (Chepstow, 1958) 56

¹⁶ NGR: ST-499969.

¹⁷ NGR: ST-512956.

¹⁸ NGR: ST-504973.

¹⁹ Bradney J.A. *op. cit.* II : 2 (*Hundred of Trellech*) 257.

²⁰ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1576.

²¹ *Ibid.* Badminton Manorial 1571 m. 1r (transcribed in Williams D.H., ‘Tintern Abbey, Its Economic History’, *Monm. Antiq.* II : 1 (1965) 21.

²² Williams D.H. 1998, *op. cit.* 286-87.

other churches, frequently had their own dedication, and, in this instance, it was seemingly to St. John. Local tradition tells how the chapel disappeared over-night, into the St. Arvan's Fault!²³ This is unlikely. More probably a swallow-hole opened up - an occurrence even to-day - and disturbed its foundations, leading to its eventual decay and demolition. (Strangely enough, the field termed 'Fifteen Acres' on the 1763 plan is on a later plan (of 1842) connected with the new water-works named 'Saint Foin Field').²⁴

Access to the grange was by means of track-ways which may well have been cobbled or paved.²⁵ The monks endeavoured to see their road-ways were kept in good order; traffic by carts would be difficult otherwise. This concern was well evidenced in the court rolls and reeves' accounts for the abbey's manor of Porthcaseg - which had oversight of the secular inhabitants at Rogerstone. One tenant was presented at the manorial court (in 1440) for not repairing his portion of: 'The way between St. Arvan's and Rogerstone'²⁶ (Route A on the plan). Several were fined (in 1444) for not maintaining their portion of: 'The lodeway leading from St. Arvan's towards Itton'²⁷ (Route B). The latter route lent its name to the adjacent meadow.

Farming on the grange in the Middle Ages was largely arable. In order of importance in this connexion, Rogerstone was the second of Tintern's eight granges in Gwent. The papal survey, the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 credits the abbey with four carucates (anywhere from about 320 to 400 acres) of cultivable land at Rogerstone, but only fifteen acres of meadow. (Quite the reverse from the monastery's Moor Grange on the Caldicot Levels with only two carucates of arable but fifty acres of meadow).²⁸ In 1302, seven plough-teams worked the land. Pasture for their oxen was granted by Earl Roger Bigod (1302) in nearby Mynydd-y-Gaer.²⁹ This grant is perhaps to be equated with the grazing rights for sixty oxen noted in: 'a park with deer' - in the *Inquisitio Post Mortem* - when Bigod died a few years later.³⁰ Every grange in medieval times, however specialised, had to practise a mixed economy to some extent. Hence, the note of the abbey's shepherd at Rogerstone. In 1412, he was Richard Blyth and received a 20d. stipend.³¹ Aram's plan marks the ruins of a cot (No. 10 on the Plan).

The significance of the grange for cultivation necessitated a water-mill. On record in 1291, it was only demolished - on safety grounds - in the early 1970s. It gave its name (in 1670) to the adjacent Mill Mead, while an associated parcel of land - called 'the Ditch' was estimated at one acre in extent.³² It was a reminder that with a relatively small catchment area water had to be led to the mill-ponds from several sources. The principal leats derived from springs in the west and by diversion from a south-flowing stream to the east of the grange. The western leat also served to

²³ Information of Mrs Edmunds.

²⁴ Gwent Record Office, Monmouthshire Quarter Sessions: P and Br. 73.

²⁵ As the monastery's Stony Way leading from the abbey to Porthcaseg: Williams D.H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool 1976) 133-34., also: 'Cistercian Roads and Route-Ways', *Tarmac Papers* 2 (1998) 231-244.

²⁶ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1657, m. 3d.

²⁷ *Ibid.* m. 6r.

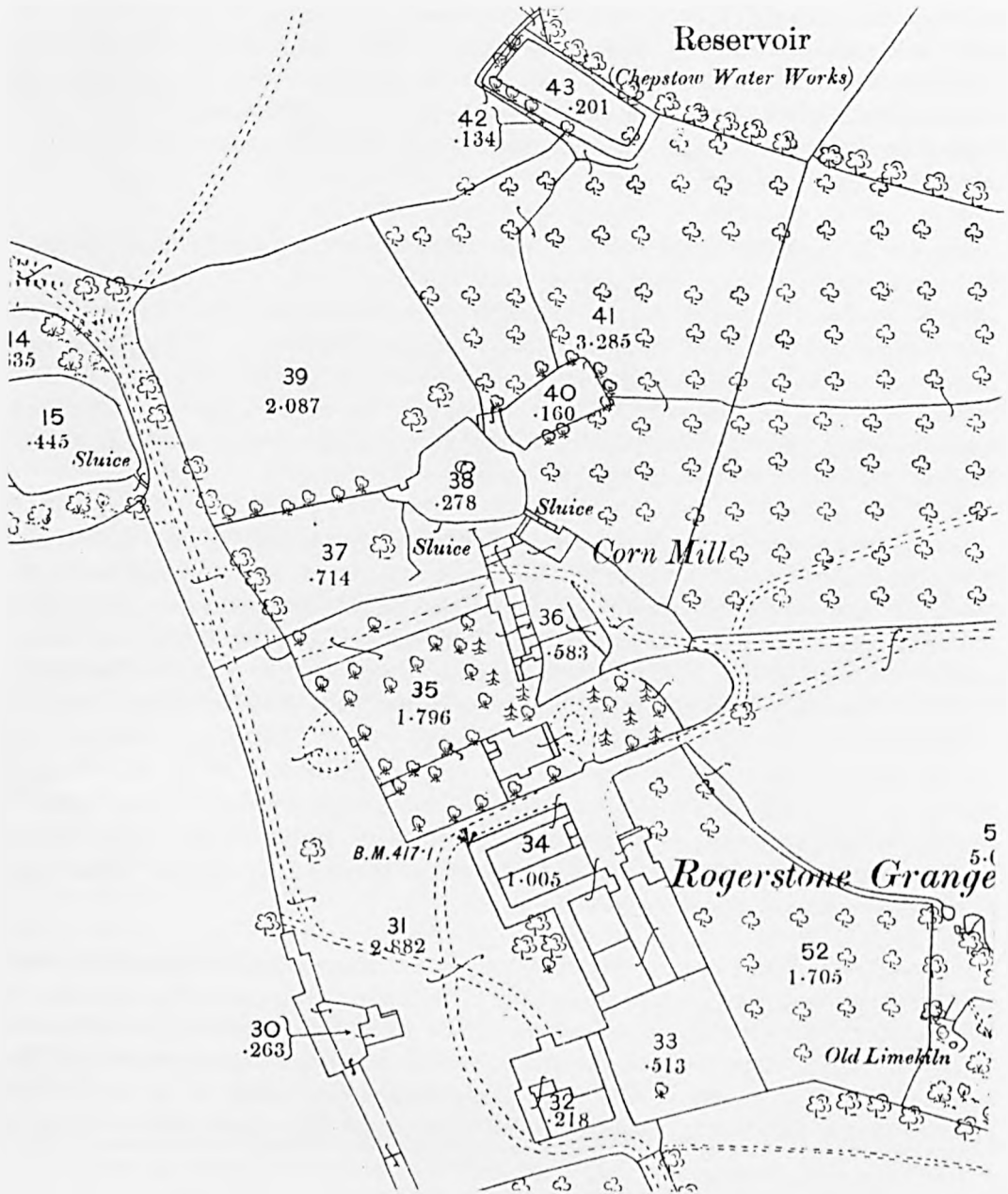
²⁸ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicolai IV* (London, 1802) 282b.

²⁹ Wood J.G., *Tintern Abbey: Charters and Other documents* (Newport, Monm. Reference MS.) 2399 (67).

³⁰ *Cal. Inquisitiones Post Mortem IV* (Edw. I) 294.

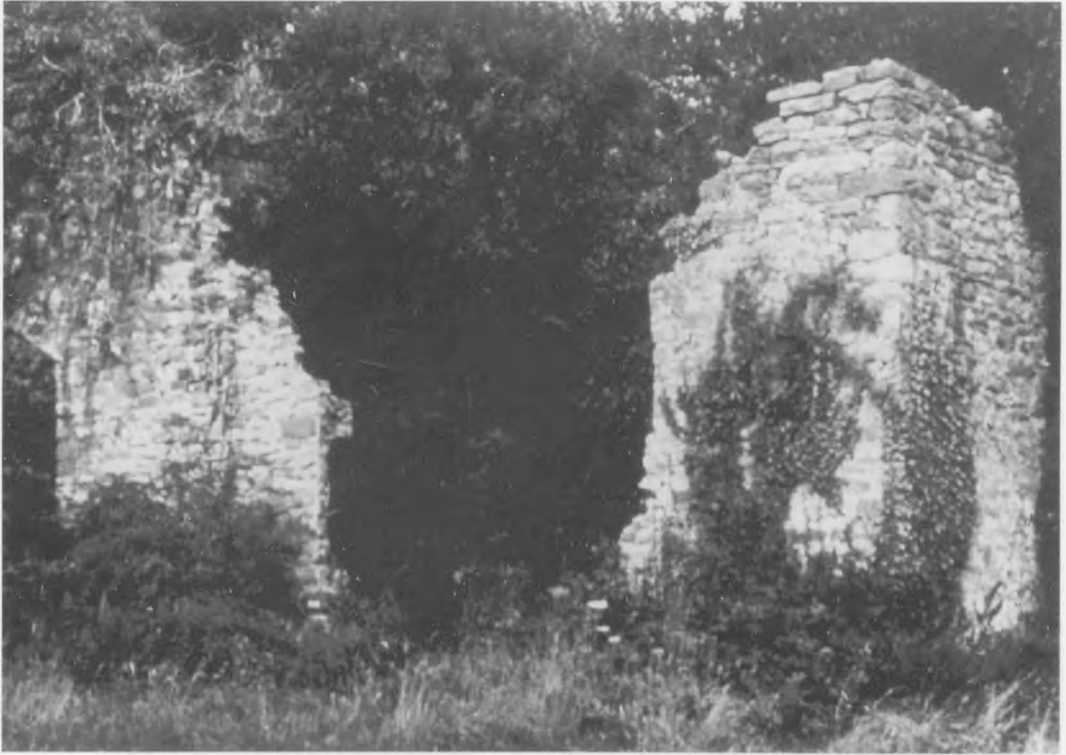
³¹ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1575, m. 1.

³² NLW, Badminton Deed (Group 2) 12542.



Map on the Scale of 25" to One Mile.

Ordnance Survey (First Edition)



The Grange Mill (as it stood in the 1960s)

replenish the fish-pond (No. 4 on Plan) *en route*. (Another fish-pond was sited in Bernard's Wood at NGR: 514949]. A 'trough' to store water (No. 5 on Plan)³³ was excavated at the northern boundary of the grange, and – down the steeper slope here - supplied fairly rapidly flowing water to the mill-ponds, collecting on the way supplies from Pin Well.³⁴ Yet another source was St. John's Well itself; Chepstow Water Works now occupies its site. (Another pond site – which may have supplied water from the west – stands outside the grange boundary at NGR 499965).

Such evidence as there is suggests that the grange remained a viable unit throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, and was never broken up nor parcelled out on a permanent basis. With associated lands extending into Howick (82 acres) and St. Arvan's parishes (137 acres), it totalled 717 acres in 1763 – of these 336 were arable and 140 consisted of coppice wood. At the time of the royal valuation of 1535 the grange was only one of two still directly controlled by the abbey *via* a bailiff. Indeed, it and Moor Grange had been 'restored to the abbot's own use'.³⁵ The remainder had been demised in their entirety. There were tenants occupying holdings within the grange – one (as early as 1269) was Walter who owed yearly two boon-works by way of labour service.³⁶ Some of the

³³ NGR: ST-502974.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 505969.

³⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (London, 1810-34) IV, 370.

³⁶ Cowley F.G.C., *Monastic Order in South Wales* (Cardiff, 1977) 239 (n. 54), after NLW, Badminton Manorial 1640.

holdings may have been peripheral. One held land ‘next to Bernard’s Wood’ (1393),³⁷ another ‘between Rogerstone and the Park’ (1412),³⁸ yet a third at ‘the end of the Lodeway’ (1444).³⁹

There were at least five new entries into holdings by tenants in 1393.⁴⁰ This, taken with the relatively small number of servants – only £1 allocated for their wages in 1394,⁴¹ suggests that by then the demesne land worked directly on behalf of the abbey may have been quite small. On the other hand, the very rare presentment of a tenant of Rogerstone at the manorial court suggests otherwise. Kind rents of corn were valued at £7 in 1535.⁴² The degree of tenancy was probably still considerable, but the phrase: ‘restored to the abbot’s own.use’, suggests a greater monastic involvement towards the end of the abbey’s life. Rogerstone lay very much in the Welsh border. This is reflected in the names of its known servants and tenants. Hywel ap Thomas (woodward) is balanced by Richard Blyth (shepherd). The majority of tenants’ names (but few are on record) were of Welsh derivation – as Griffin ab Ieuan⁴³ and John Gruffydd⁴⁴ (in 1393), but against them can be set: ‘Eichard Wantage’ (1393)⁴⁵ and, a mongrel name: Hywel Forest (1412).⁴⁶

The later, post-monastic, history of the grange deserves separate consideration. Granted by the Crown on 10 March 1537 to the earl of Worcester,⁴⁷ knightly members of the Somerset and Curre families have resided here. When (in 1648) the Worcester estates were seized, the grange together with ‘its woods and coppices’ was valued at £200.⁴⁸ The nineteenth and early-twentieth century saw considerable adaptation to the drainage pattern with the advent of the Chepstow Water Works, as well as the laying of a new road. It is good to record that the now owners, Mr. and Mrs. Edmunds – who have been very helpful to the present writer – take a great interest in its history.

(The author is much indebted to Mr. Colin Williams, formerly Senior Assistant in the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics at the National Museum of Wales for the fine draughtsmanship in the Plan which accompanies this article).

³⁷ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1572, m. 4.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 1574.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 1572, m. 6r.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1572, m. 4r-d.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1572, m. 3. (A few servants are mentioned by name on m. 1).

⁴² *Valor Ecclesiasticus* op. cit. IV, 370.

⁴³ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1572, m. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* m. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* m. 4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1574.

⁴⁷ Bradney J.A. op. cit. IV : 1 (*Hundred of Caldicot*) 41.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* II : 1 (*Hundred of Raglan*: London, 1914) 21.



The Long Wall



Remnants of Boundary Stone No. 1.



? Remnant of Boundary Stone No. 2.



The Lodeway (alongside the fence).



Site of Pond 5.

ST JULIAN'S HOUSE, NEWPORT: THE INVENTORY OF 1602-03.

By GRAHAM C.G. THOMAS

When the Reverend William Coxe visited Monmouthshire in 1798 to gather material for his monumental *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, he found St Julian's House in a pitiful state. He describes the dilapidation thus¹:

'The building, now converted into a farm house, has been lately much reduced from the original size, part of the South front has been modernised, part remains in its former state, and the whole presents a motley combination, which at the same expence, might have preserved the venerable appearance of the old mansion and the comforts of a modern house. The ancient gothic porch, which still forms the entrance, is likely to be soon destroyed, according to the plan adopted in the present alterations. The North front, which has been permitted to retain its antique appearance, is a picturesque object, backed by a wooded eminence, and overhanging the abrupt banks of the Usk. The inside has some remains of former magnificance particularly in the staircase, and several gothic doorways. Two apartments retain their ancient dimension, but were about to be converted into small rooms; the lower apartment was 36 feet in length, 20 broad and 17 high; the upper 45 by 20 and of the same height; against the wall are the remains of slender pillars of the gothic style.'

Coxe goes on to describe the nearby chapel of St Julian's, then used as a barn:

'... on the south wall are the remains of an arched entrance which is now filled up; the east and west windows may be traced, and a small gothic doorway to the west still remains in its original state.'

The two engravings of the north and south fronts of the house, which Coxe includes in his work, show the extent of the dilapidation. The house was rebuilt in the late nineteenth century and a photograph of the south front with its central porch and the restored buildings on either side of it, creeper-clad and slate-roofed, before it finally fell overnight to property developers, is reproduced in Thomas Lloyd, *The Lost Houses of Wales*².

St Julian's House, once the centre of a sizeable estate, stood on the south bank of the River Usk at grid reference ST 324899 in the parish of Christchurch. The site, now mostly built upon, lies within the borough of Newport. The house was probably built at the end of the fifteenth century by Sir George Herbert, third son of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, and remained in the direct male line for three subsequent generations, through his son Sir Walter Herbert (will dated 1550, proved 27 February 1550/1), his grandson William Herbert (will dated 13 January 1566/7, proved 7 February 1566/7), and his great-grandson Sir William Herbert (died 4 march 1593). Each served their county as high sheriff, Walter in 1542, William in 1553 and 1564, and Sir William in 1580, and both William Herbert and his son Sir William also served as Members of Parliament, the former from 1555 to 1557 and the latter from 1584 to 1587. Sir William acquired a large estate in Ireland centred on Castleisland, co. Kerry, as part of the Elizabethan plantation of Munster; here his actions alienated him from his fellow planters who regarded him as pompous and irascible. He died in 1593 leaving an only surviving daughter, Mary, then aged 14 years 1 month and 14 days.

¹ Coxe, W., *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* 1 (London, 1801)103-14.

² Lloyd, T., *The Lost Houses of Wales: a Survey of County Houses in Wales demolished since c.1900* (London, 1986; 2nd. Edn. 1989) 101.

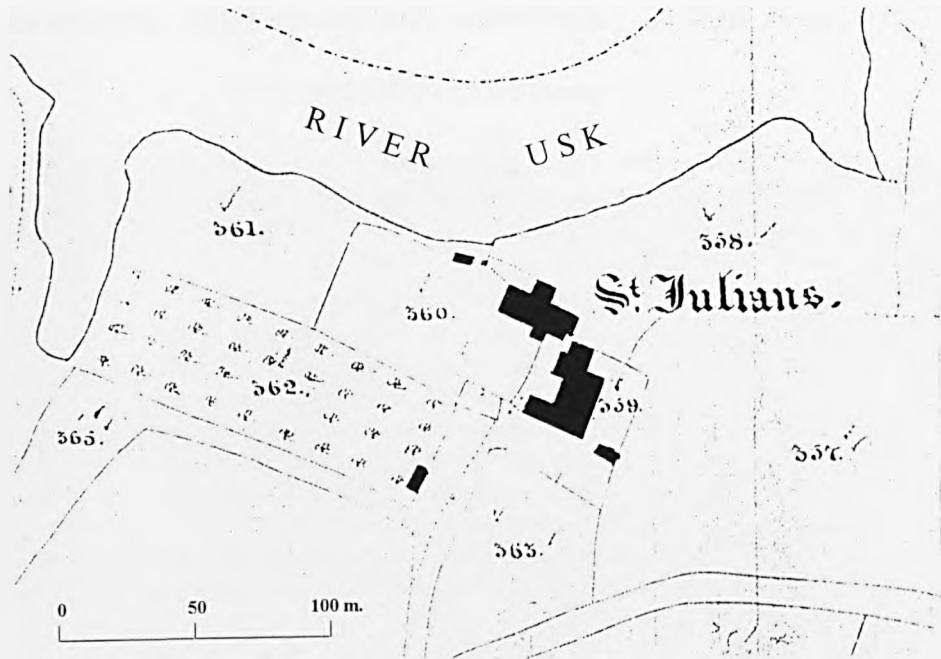


Fig. 1: The Location of Saint Julian's House.
(from the parish of Christchurch tithe-map, 1840).

(National Library of Wales)

According to the terms of his will, she was only to marry someone bearing the surname Herbert, and in 1598, she married the poet, scholar, and diplomat Edward Herbert, later created Baron Herbert of Castle Island in Ireland in 1624 and Baron Herbert of Chirbury in 1629. He died in 1648 and St Julian's continued in the possession of his descendants for two subsequent generations, firstly to his son Richard, second Baron Herbert (died 1655) and then to his grandson Edward, third Baron Herbert (died 1678), who seems to have been the last of the Herberts to have maintained the house as a residence, although his widow continued living there with her fourth husband, Isaac George, a sea captain. She died in January 1717/18 and he in 1727, after whose death the house became a farmhouse. The ownership passed to the third baron's brother Henry, fourth Baron Herbert, who died without issue in 1691 and the title became extinct. The property passed to the son of the first Baron Herbert's brother Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels. He, another Henry, was created first Lord Herbert of Chirbury (of the second creation), and died in 1709. He was succeeded by his son Henry, second Lord Herbert, who died without issue in 1738. The property then passed to Henry Arthur Herbert, grandson of Florence Herbert, sister of the third and fourth Baron Herberts of the first creation. He was created first Lord Herbert of Chirbury of the fourth creation and later first earl of Powis. He died in 1772 having previously sold St Julian's to Charles Van of Llanwern. Later owners included Sir Robert Salusbury of Llanwern, bart., who held it in the right of his wife Catharine, daughter of Charles Van; Robert Hunter of Kew Green, Surrey; Henry Charles Fitzroy Somerset, eighth duke of Beaufort, who sold it about 1880 to Joseph Firbank, railway contractor³.

³ For a history of the house and the estate, see Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire from the Coming of the Normans into Wales down to the Present Time*. Vol. 4: Pt. 2, *The Hundred of Caldicot* (London, 1932) 294-301.



R.H. del.

ST JULIENS.

W.B. del.



R.H. del.

BACK VIEW OF ST JULIANS.

W.B. del.

Fig 2: Views of Saint Julian's House
(from Coxe, *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, 1801).

(National Library of Wales)

Something of the former grandeur of the house can be gathered from a detailed inventory of its contents taken in 1602 and 1603 and now preserved among the Powis Castle Estate Archives deposited in the National Library of Wales in 1982-3⁴. From this document it is possible to build up a picture of the separate rooms: the stags heads nailed to a screen in the hall; the pictures of Sir William Herbert and his lady in the great chamber and another portrait of him in the white chamber; the colours of the curtains in some of the rooms, blue and red silk in the great chamber, green say in the chamber above the parlour, and red and yellow say in the red chamber; the chairs decorated with elaborate needlework, red and black taffita, green cloth embroidered with black velvet and green twist and fringe; the cushions of red and black, of blue and green, of red, green, yellow and white; the beds with their hangings, such as the testern and valence of 'cloth of gould' in my lady's chamber; the Turkey carpets and Irish rugs; the other fabrics stored away in various chests, the taffitas, silks, says, darnixes, and chamelets. Then there are the objects of a more practical nature, the napkins of coarse Holland clothe, of flax with blue work marked with 'W.H.', and the contents of the kitchen, dairyhouse, milkhouse, larder, wine cellar, and various storerooms, including cooking and serving utensils of brass, pewter, iron, earthenware and glass such ewers, fruit and salad dishes, hampers, platters, and pottingers.

Among the glass utensils are found 'glasses and demises for the Phillosoffers stone'. This recalls Lord Edward Herbert's comment about his father-in-law, Sir William Herbert⁵:

'He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, insomuch, that he writ an Exposition upon the Revelations which is printed⁶; though some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study'.

Sir William, it seems, took a house at Mortlake in 1581 in order to study astrology and alchemy with Dr John Dee, and Mary Herbert, then aged three, used to play with Dee's son Arthur⁷.

It is unfortunate that Sir William's other pursuit of reading is not represented in the inventory. The nearest we get to his books is 'one lowe square bvrđ' at the entry by the study. Evidence for other pastimes include a box for the game of shuffleboard and a set of chessmen.

The chapel seems to have been no longer used for divine worship but used as a storeroom, although its contents included an old service book and a standing desk for a Bible.

However, it is sobering to remember that among all this sumptuousness and highliving, the house itself would appear to have been rat-ridden if the story about the rat-poison is to be believed⁸. Sir William Herbert, it seems, would not keep cats to kill the rats and resorted to the use of rat-poison which he put on his book shelves. One day, his two sons came into his study, saw the poison and, mistaking it for sweets, ate some of it with fatal results.

⁴ NLW, Powis Castle Estate Archives, 1982-83 Deposit, tin box '4'.

⁵ Lee, S.L. (edit.), *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury* (London, 1886) 40.

⁶ Harbert, W., *Letter written by a True Christian Catholike to a Romaine Pretended Catholike wherein the 12. 13 and 14 Chapter of the Reuelations are Expounded* (London; J. Windet, 1586). See *STC Books* 1475-1640, Nos. 12752-53.

⁷ Halliwell, J.O. (edit.), *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, and the Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts ...* (London: Camden Society, 1842) 3, 10, 13-14.

⁸ Bradney, J.A. *loc. cit.*



Powis Castle,
The Powis
Collection

Fig. 3: Portrait of Sir William Herbert (d. 1593).

(The National Trust)

The inventory of 1602-3 was found among the contents of a tin chest which, together with other similar chests and wooden crates crammed full of papers and documents regarded as no longer relevant to the present-day management of the estate, had been assigned to the attic of the estate office at Powis Castle. It was designated *in situ* "tin box '4'" by the two members of the Department of Manuscripts and Records who had gone to Powis Castle in 1982 to supervise the transference of an extensive archive of estate documents to the National Library of Wales. The inventory was taken while Lord Edward Herbert held the St Julian's estate in the right of his wife. It records the removal of much of the contents of the house either to Herbert's house in London or to his main home at Montgomery Castle. Two of the items sent to London were pictures of his parents-in-law, Sir William Herbert and his wife Florence. A picture of Sir William Herbert, presumably one that came from St Julian's, still hangs in Powis Castle; that of his lady has not been identified. The picture, the inventory and the rest of the estate muniments of the Herberts of Chirbury would have been transferred to Powis Castle when the two estates were combined with the marriage of Henry Arthur Herbert of the Chirbury branch of the family to Barbara, the heiress of the Powis Castle branch in 1751.

And of the
some of the
a° 1602

An Inwentorie of the household stuffe

In the hall

- In primis a square boord in the upper end of the hall
- Item a side boord with ij° short benches to the same belonging
- Item a long boord with a long bench and a box for the hall boord
- Item iij° horsemen staves and three fowling mts in the upper end
- Item a stool in the lower end of the hall
- Item a pair of busse cast in the hall
- Item ij° stange haddes pulled to the steeple in the hall

In the parlour

- In primis a few Gwynnes bowe of red and blacke
- Item a few targett with 4 armes and peices in the same place
- Item in the closet with in the parlour, a cupboard to open with key
- Item a long and fine to the closet door and to the little parlour
- Item a cupboard

In the great chamber

- Item a Gwynnes bowe of small mott bow
- Item iij° fine targett
- Item a timber war pitt for the long boord
- Item a timber war pitt for the side boord and mts for the cupboard
- Item a shaw of wattle or Gwynnes bowe or the Gwynnes form
- Item a horse busse / bolt of Gwynnes bowe and mott bow
- Item two other busse / bolts of wattle and mott bow
- Item ij° fine timber busse for the same room
- Item a pair of long cast in the parlour with stange and fine stange
- Item a picture of the wall and a picture of the wall in the parlour
- Item a picture of the wall in the parlour
- Item a picture of the wall in the parlour
- Item a picture of the wall in the parlour

a picture of
the wall in
the parlour

- In the chamber above the hall
- Item a few fine robes of fine cloth belonging to the same room
- Item a picture

Fig. 4: Folio 1 of the Inventory (Trustees of the Powis Castle Estate). (National Library, Powis Castle 1982-83 Deposit).

Apud S^t Jullian
x^{mo} Die Aprillis
A^o 1602

An Inventorie of the Houshold Stuffe

In the Hall

In primis a squar bvrđ in the vpper end of the hall

- Item a side bvrđ wth ij^o shorte benches to the sam belonging
- Item a long bvrđ wth a long bench and a box for shuflebvrd
- Item iiij^{or} horsmen staves and thrie Iavelings in the vpper end
- Item a Cvburđ in the lower end of the hall
- Item a pair of bigg Cast Anndiers
- Item ij^o staggs heddes nailed to the skrien in the hall

In the Parlor

In primis a fair Drawing bvrđ of wallnvt trie

- Item a fair targett wth armes and poises in the sam place
- Item in the Closset wthin the parlor a Cuburđ to open wth leves
- Item a lock and kaie to the Closset dore and the lick [*sic*] to the parlor dore
- Item a Cuburđ

In the great Chamber

- Item a drawing bvrđ of wallnvt trie
- Item nine loinct stoles
- Item a turkie Carpett for the long bvrđ
- Item a turkie Carpett for the side bvrđ and another for the Cuburđ
- Item a Chair of watched Damask wth tawnie fring
- Item a lowe Cushin stole of tawnie velvet enbroydred wth twist
- Item two other Cusshin stoles of redd and yeloe stuff
- Item six turkie Cushins for the sam rvme
- Item a pair of long Iren Anndiers wth tangs and fire shovell
- Item a pictur of S^t Williams and another of his Ladie wth it
- Item iiij^{or} pices of fayre lardge Ares belonging to the sam rom
- Item a lock and kaie to the great Chamber dore
- Item a side bvrđ and a Cuburđ
- Item Curtein of blywe and red silke in the sam rome [*in the margin*]

In the Chamber over the Parlor

In primis five pices of fair ares belonging to the sam roome

- Item a Cuburđ
- Item one file bed wth one fetherbed, a boulster and two pilloes
- Item ij fustian blankeds and a whit rhugg
- Item a standing bed wth a doble bed, one boulster and ij pilloes and a thinn spaynis blanked and yeloe quilt of silk to the same
- Item one Chair of taffita redd and black
- Item a Chair of grien Cloth enbroydred wth black velvet and grien twist and grien frindg
- Item ij^o turkie Cushins and a Carpet of stript stuff for the Cubvrđ
- Item ij Drawing Curteins of grien saye for the windoes
- Item a pair of Anndiers wth topps of Copper and a fier shovell
- Item a lowe Cushin stole enbroydred wth black velvet

- Item ij pictures hanging in the sam Chamber
- Item in the Closset a pallet viz a fetherbed, a boulster, a pair of wedmol blanketts, a rhugg and an ares cvvering
- Item in the sam rvme a Clozestyle wth the appurtenance
- Item a Chair of black velvet enbroydred wth sillver and twisted fring

In the whit Chamber

In primis five pices of fair areas

- Item iij^{or} Curteins of Changeable taffita redd and yeloe [*deleted*]
- Item ij^o featherbeddes, ij^o boulsters, one wedmol [*changed from spanys*] blanked and a quilt of red taffita w^{ch} lost his Culo^f
- Item a spruce squar bvrđ wth a frame
- Item a Cubvrd
- Item one grien Cloth Chair enbroydred wth black velvet and grien twist wth grien fringe
- Item thrie Ioinct stoles
- Item one lowe Cusshin stole of grien whyte and blywe
- Item the pictur of S^t William

In the garet Chamber

- Item a standinge bed wth a featherbed and a boulster
- Item ij pilloes, on wedmol blanked and whit rhugg
- Item a Cuburd wth a Carpett of stript stuff
- Item on pallet viz one featherbed, on boulster and one ares Covering
- Item one Chair of red Cloth enbroydred wth yeloe twist
- Item one pair of Anndiers

In the red Chamber

In primis six pices of ould ares [and a spare pice *deleted*]

- Item two standing beddes one wth a testerne and valence of Saten of bridges black yeloe and white
- Item ij Curteins of Changeable silk, the other standing bedd w^{ch} hath a testerne of red Cloth and redd frindg
- Item five Curteins of red and yeloe say
- item ij fetherbedds, two boulsters and ij Irish rhugs
- Item a Cuburt wth a Carpet of grien Cloth
- Item one tymber Chair
- Item one pair of Anndiers
- Item in the Clossett a lowe bedstead, a flogbed, a boulster wth a Coverled of blak and yeloe

In the matted Chamber

In primis a standinge bed

- Item on cote of plat and an ould Corslet
- Item a down bedd and a boulster and ij^o pilloes of feathers
- Item a Cubvrd
- Item on buff saddle
- Item ij docks for great horses
- Item a fiele bed beinge asunder
- Item raines for a womans brydle

In my ladies Chamber

In primis five pices of ould ares, thrie of one sort and two of another sort
 Item on testerne of Cloth of gould and valence to the sam
 Item a fiel bedd, sam wth frindg of red and yeloe silk and iiij^{or} Curteins
 Item a down bed and a boulster and one wedmol blanked wanting wth a hellinge of darnix
 Item a squar bvrde
 Item a desk vpon a frame wth boxes
 Item a tymber Chair wth black leather
 Item on Cushin stole of needlework, red, blywe and grien
 Item one other Cushin stole of Cloth redd and black
 Item on other squar bvrde
 Item on pallet viz on featherbed and a boulster
 Item two lowe Joint stoles plaine
 Item ij spruce Cheasts and Som venic? waights
 Item in the Clossett wthin my ladies Chamber one featherbed & a boulster

In the Nurserie

Item a standing bed wth a fetherbed and two boulsters
 Item six plat Candlesticks
 Item on grien Chair
 Item a warming pann
 Item a warming pann
 Item thrie ould tangs and a Cubvrde
 Item Chests [*sic*]

In the litle Closset

Item on spruce Chest
 Item an ould trunk
 Item ij boxes

In the entrie by the studie

Item on lowe squar bvrde

In the Chappell

In primis six pices of darnix blywe and yeloe [*deleted*]
 Item on square bvrde wth a stript Carbett
 Item ij short benches for long Cusshins
 Item on ould seruice book
 Item a longe Cusshin of black satten ould
 Item a hearse
 Item a standing desk for a bible
 item a skrien broken of twiggs
 Item iiij^{or} needle worke Cusshins, red, grien, yeloe and white
 Item ij ould ares Cusshins
 Item ij Musketts
 Item a sprince Chest

In the Styllinge Chamber

- Item a standing bed wth testerne Curteins and valence torne to pices of blywe and yeloe say
- Item a fetherbed and a boulster one whit rugg and Covered of red and yeloe lome work
- Item a Cuburd
- Item five pices of ould hangings of darnix [*deleted*; in my la: chamber *added above*]
- Item a tymber Chair wth leather
- Item a pair of Anndiers
- Item in the Inner Chamber a feather bed and a boulster
- Item a lock and kaie to the Chamber dore
- Item a trunk

In Nicolas Chamber

- Item on standinge bed
- Item paynted Clothers for the same
- Item an old Cusshin of neadle work

In John Cookes Chamber

- Item on truckle bedd
- Item another trucle bedd broken

In the flusshin Chamber

- Item on trucklebedd
- Item thrie featherbedds and thrie boulsters
- Item on Whit Covered
- Item another Covered of redd and grien
- Item a leather Chaire
- Item an ould broken Canapie of grien say
- Item two tymber Chaires vnfinisht
- Item in the Coggloft next the flushin Chamber
- Item Certain roules of matts

In the litle Chamber belowe

- Item one lowe bedstead

In the larder

- Item a Crosse sawe for a frie mazon
- Item a litle squar bvrđ vpon a fram
- Item in the maides Chamber ij^o lowe beddsteads
- Item ij^o emtie Casks to Carie fish in alive

In the butrie

- Item ij^o longe bvrđ Clothers of Course diaper [*deleted*]
- Item a squar bvrđ Cloth and a Cubvrđ Cloth of the sam [*deleted*]
- Item thrie long bvrđ Clothes of handmade Cloth [*deleted*]
- Item iij^{or} table Clothes for the vpper bvrđ in the hall
- Item thrie side bvrđ Clothers of a bredth and a half

Item iiiij^{or} Cubvrd Clothes and trie towells
 Item on Course Cloth for the longest bvrđ in the hall
 Item six hall bvrđ Clothes and on od in the Cheast
 Item one spruce bvrđ Cloth [*deleted*]
 Item ij^o dozen of Course table Napkins [*deleted*]
 Item ij dozen of ould Napkins lacking five [*deleted*]
 Item one dozen and 3 napkins of Course diaper napkins [*deleted*]
 Item ij^o ould diaper napkin[s] and one damask diaper Napkin [*deleted*]
 Item ane earthen bazen and ewer [*deleted*]
 Item whit earthen botle [*deleted*]
 Item ij dozen of trenchers [*deleted*]
 Item on longe side borde and a Cuburd of lathes overhed
 Item on ould Dansk Chest to keap lynen
 Item one bynn wth two lydds to open
 Item a broken trencher basked
 item ij^o joint stoles and ij twigg hampers
 Item a forme to hold potts
 Item thrie Peuter potts for beare [*deleted*; in the storhouse *added*]

In the Inner rome

Item iiiij^{or} shelves and a fram for barill
 Item a hoxed wthout a hedd
 Item a newe gutter of ledd
 Item the decaed Clock that was in the hall

In the Inner Storhouse

Item thrie brasse Candlestick and a brasse bazen
 Item iiiij^{or} linkes, two wax Candlesticks, another brasse Candlestick
 Item a bazen and ewer of Peuter and a bazen and ewer of glasse

In the Midle Storhouse

Item two bourds, a Coffe and a bench
 Item j hatchill, one Iron bound Cheste
 Item one Dansk Cheast and a trunk
 Item another trunk or sumpter w^t certen ould records in
 Item a hamper of twigs wth Certen bottoms of hempen yarne

In the wine seller

Item five hoxheds
 Item a pipe wthout a hed
 Item a hoxed wthout a hed
 Item a Coffe to hould Candles
 Item one ould larr and a lesser larr
 Item on earthen vineger botle
 Item in the bere sellere two stalls to hould barills

In the kitchine

In primis on great brasse pott

- Item 3 [*changed from five*] other brasen potts, 2 [*changed from thrie*] posnetts and an Iron skillett
- Item ij skilletts and a brasse chafer
- Item a baking pann
- item ij^o broken grediers
- Item ij^o potthangers
- Item a skymer of brasse and a Mvstard Mille
- Item j pair of Iron racks
- Item one brandier and two fierdoggs
- Item ij^o mising knyves, ij^o Choping knives
- Item iiij^{or} bigg broches, ij^o litle broches, and an Iron forck
- Item thrie dripping panns
- Item iiij^{or} burds vpon trestles
- Item a fiershovell and tongs, and an Iron ring
- Item one Caldron of brasse

In the Dairiehouse

- Item five tubbs and five paells broken
- Item on fate, thrie barills
- Item j burd and ij benches
- Item iiij^o brasse panns

In the mylk house

- Item thrie bvrds vpon trestles

In the Storehouse beneath the gardcine

- Item a bedstead
- Item one truckle bedd
- Item a squar table, a Cuburd and a Chair
- Item fortie shott for Cast pices
- Item ij pices and ij^o Iarrs
- Item six field stoles
- Item the side of a field bedd broken
- Item ij tables
- Item a Chiese Cratch
- Item iiij^{or} planks to hould Chiese
- Item a sowe of Cast Iron

In the larder house

- Item vij Iron barrs for frieston windoes
- Item five pices of waine Iron
- Item a levell
- Item an ould hed of a forest bill
- Item ij ould locks and a horned bolt
- Item toe mattocks, one ax, iiij^{or} Casments for windoes
- Item a pikax and a prying Iron
- Item iiij^{or} Poudring tubbes and a barill

Item half a peck of mvstard seed
 Item certein waights of led
 Item a salting trowe
 Item a hearen save to keap meat from flies
 Item ij bourds wth ij hanging selves
 Item on other shelve and iiij^{or} lose planks

The grien Cheast of the garet Chamber in the Nurserie

Item a long Cussin of black velvet enbroydred broken
 Item five Courteins of whit and blywe taffitta, ij wanting som parte
 Item a quilt of grien taffita
 Item ij pices of grien saye loose
 Item a black velvet hearse wth black silk fring

In the black Iron bound Cheast in the Chappell

In primus a long bvrđ Carpet of needlework
 Item a Cuburt Carpet of Needlework
 Item on ash Culor teastern and valence of shamlet
 Item on ould silk Curteine
 Item thrie arys Carpets
 Item the outfyd of six turkie Cusshins
 Item eight pices great and small of blywe and yeloe darnix
 Item iiij^{or} Courteins of red and grien saie
 Item xv^{len} needlework Cusshins
 Item xiiij^{en} yards of needlweork border
 Item vj yards of redd silk fringe
 Item iiij^{or} gilt bosses
 Item an ould longe Cushin of needlework
 Item iiij^c Chamlet Couteins
 Item j valence of red Cloth enbroydered wth yeloe and blywe

In another Iron bound Cheast late in the Chapell nowe in the Nurserie

Item iiij^{or} Carpetts of grien Cloth
 Item one longe bvrđ Carpet of Course lomework stuff
 Item thrie Paintath o Curteince

In the Sprynse Cheast in the Chappell

Item xiiij^{en} turkie Cushins
 Item j Needle work Cushin

In the Iner storhouse in Peuter

Item ij voyders or great platers ij^o plates
 Item a deape bazen
 Item xij brode platers
 Item xij^c deepe platers som thing lesse
 Item xix^{en} platers leasser then theother
 Item xiiij^{en} Pottingers lesse then the last
 Item ij^c dozen and a half of diep podingers

- Item xiiij^{en} Podingers of a basser sorte
- Item ij^o dozen of leasser Podingers
- Item xiiij^{en} frute dishes
- Item a half dozen of bigg salet dishes
- Item xj^{en} leasser salet dishes
- Item xij salet dishes of another sort
- Item half a dozen of small frute dishes
- Item xv^{en} plates
- Item iij dozen of Saucers wanting on
- Item ix potech dishes wthout ears
- Item half a dozen of eard poretech dishes
- Item a Colender
- Item ij^e plates of brasse
- Item iiij^{or} ould platers
- Item on ould Chamb^f pott
- Item on peuter pint and a salt seller
- Item eight Candlesticks and ij^o broken Candlestick
- Item a peuter tinn
- Item ij peuter panns for Close stoles
- Item ij spanis basketts one vpon the topp of theother
- Item on ould brasen pott wth a Cover and a litle brasen pott
- Item iiij^{or} brasse Candlesticks
- Item ij massling Candlesticks for tappers
- Item j massling rhing to put vnder the sam
- Item iij Peuter potts for beare
- Item an earthen bazen and ewer
- Item iij whit earthen botles
- Item on presse or Cuburt of wanchgot
- Item j longe table standing vpon trestles
- Item a box of wainskott tymber
- Item ij^o stills, ij spring whiles
- Item a box and ij^o voyding knives
- Item ij^o warming panns
- Item ij Pictures
- Item j toasting forck of Iron
- Item iiij^{or} links
- Item ij^o ould Cheast
- Item a desk for a glasse
- Item a sett of Chest men
- Item a twist for sak
- Item iij boxes wth fruet trenchers
- Item glasses and demises for the Phillosoffers stone
- Item j brasse bazen
- Item iiij^{or} dozen of trenchors
- Item j Coffyn of peuter for a Custard

A note of such Naperie that ar in the black Chest wth thrie locks in the Nurserie

In primis nyne fringed Napkins

- Item eight diaper Napkins wthout aine work
- Item half a dozen of diaperr Napkins wth thrie strippes
- Item eight small diapere Napkins wth thrie strippes
- Item five small diapere Napkins wthout worke

Item eight fine flaxen Napkins wth blywe worke marked wth .W.H.
 Item half a dozen of Course Holand Napkins wrought wth blywe
 Item xj holand Napkins wrought wth blywe
 Item six damask Napkins
 Item x^{en} small Course napkins wrought wth blywe
 Item six small Course napkins wrought wth blywe
 Item x^{en} Napkins of fyne and Course ould flaxen hempe
 Item ix^{en} small Callicoe Napkins wthout anie work
 Item five pair of fine Holand sheates
 Item one fyne Callicoe sheate
 Item ij pair of Course flaxen sheates
 Item one pair of fine Callico shietes
 Item ij^o pair of fyne flaxen shietes
 Item eight lardge Course Holand table Clothes
 Item one lardge table Cloth of Callicoe
 Item one lardge table Cloth of fine flaxen
 Item five small table Clothes of fine Callicoe
 Item thrie lardge diaper table Clothes
 Item on lardge Damask diapere table Clothe
 Item iij^{or} Holand table Clothes for square tables
 Item six fine flaxen table Cloths for a squar table
 Item thrie fine Holland table Cloths for a small squar table
 Item a squar burd Cloth of Callicoe
 Item iij^c fine Callicoe Cuburd Cloths
 Item two Holand fine Cuburd Cloths
 Item thrie fine flaxen Cuburd Cloths
 Item thrie diapere towells
 Item five fine Holand towells
 Item thrie flaxen towells
 Item thrie fringed towells
 Item iij^{or} flaxen towells
 Item thrie wrought fine Callico Pilloberes
 Item five fine Holand pilloberes
 Item an ould Holand pillobere torne
 Item iij ould turkie Carpetts
 Item a floggbed and a boulster
 Item j Chest wth Chest men
 Item red Irish rhug

In the flasked in the Nurserie

Item two Course table Cloths
 Item a pair of Course flaxen shietes
 Item thrie pair of hurden flaxen shietes
 Item thrie ould Holand shietes torne
 Item two pair of Hemppen Hurden shiets
 Item thrie pair of ould torne Course shietes
 Item a pair of flaxen ould torne shietes

In the Dansk cheast in the Nurserie

In primis five Courteince of red and yeloe saie and valence of the sam
 Item five Courteince of blywe and yeloe say wth a testerne and valenc

Item four grien Curteince and frindge
 Item five red Curteince
 Item five yeloe Curteince and testerne and valence of the same
 Item a back for a Chair of stamell Cloth embroydred wth yeloe Crule
 Item a back of a Chair of tawnie Cloth embroydred wth yeloe Crule
 Item ij^o longe Cushins of white and redd Carell fringed
 Item a Cover for a Cushin of an ould Cape of diverse Culors
 Item an ould beringe Cloth of silke
 Item a litle pice of grien saye
 Item ij^o pair of velvet pantables and a pair of black shoes
 Item thrie pair of gilt suppatoes
 Item a pice of stript taffitta of diverse Culors
 Item six Cusshins for windoes of gilt lether

In the Nurserie

Item ix^{en} pices of grien Hangings of wedmol
 Item vij^{en} pices of blywe and redd ould hangings of wedmole

In the Spryris Cheast in the Midle storhouse

Item tenn pair of fine Holand shietes
 Item one pair of finer Holand shietes
 Item ij^o pair of fine flaxen shietes
 Item one Holand table Cloth
 Item ij^o flaxen table Clothes
 Item a Course table Cloth
 Item on Holand shiete
 Item a pair of torne flaxen shiets
 Item a fine strayner

Anno Domini 1603 the fift daie of December

In primis of burdclothes 33

Item of sheets eight paire & a sheet
 Item eight Cuburdclothes
 Item xvj^{en} towells
 Item ix pilloberes
 Item forone pair of sheets to sett about the pack out of the flasked in the nurserie
 Item xv^{teen} needle woork Cooshins taked out of the Iron bound chest in the chapel
 Item nyne fringed Napkins
 Item eight diaper napkins wthout aine woork
 Item a half a doossene diaper Napkins wth three stripes
 Item eight small diaper napkins wth three stripes
 Item sixe small napkins wthout woork
 Item eight fine flaxen napkins wth blew marked
 Item half a dozen Course Holand napkins wrought wth blewe
 Item ij Holond napkins wrought wth blew
 Item six Damask napkins
 Item x^{ten} small Course napkins wrought with blew
 Item six small Course napkins wroght withe blew
 Item x napkins of course & ould flaxen henge
 Item ix small Callicoe napkins wthout work

All those lynnings aboue written were taken out of the Iron bound Chest wth the thrie locks in the nurserie

Item fourteen paire and a half of sheets
 Item three table clothes
 Item one strayner

These linings followethe were taken out of the spriris chest in the midle storehouse Deliuered vnto the hands of William John Rosser such lyni[n]gs aboue named that was in St Julians to be sent vp to Mountgomery

Richard ap Risse Reseved [of] the handes of Edward Whittingam a flocke bed and a bovlster

1603

Memorandum for svch things that ar sente to lonndon

Item in primvs a pictvr of S^r Williames with a silcke cvrten that was over my ladyes pictvre and a large cvrten of saye for a window and a covrse sheate taken out of the wisket in the nvrserie and a fine flaxen sheatte taken ovt of the blacke chest with three lockes on in the nvrserie and a fine holand bordercloth with a breadeth and halfe taken ovt of the Dansk chest in the nvrserie and sente to london the xxixth of october 1602. ther is thre Tvrckie carpetes taken ovt of the great chamber and sent vnto Mvngvmry ther was stolne ovt of the nvrssery and ovt of the Ieren bovnd chest halfe the pease of velvet and all the fringe that was abovte hit and thre shettes and two toveles and more I do not yet misse.

the first day of desember sent to Mongomerie

Item of shetes eight paire and a sheate
 Item of bordeclothes xxxiij
 Item of Cvbardclothes viij
 Item of Toweles xvj
 Item of pillowbeares ix
 Item ovt of the flasket of sheates ij
 Item fringed napkines ix
 Item diaper napkines without worke viij
 Item diaper napkines with thre stripes vj
 Item small diaper napkines twith thre stripes viij
 Item smale [*sic*] napkines without worcke v
 Item fine flaxen with blew worcke viij
 Item covrse holand napkines wrovght with blew vj
 Item holand napkines wrovghte with blew xj
 Item Damaske napkines vj
 Item smale [*sic*] covrse napkines wrovghte with blew x
 Item smale [*sic*] covrse napkines wrovght with blew vj
 Item covrse and ovlid flaxone napkines x
 Item small callicoe napkines without worcke ix

All those lynnanes above written weare taken ovt of the Iron bovnd chest with the three lockes on in the nvrserie

Item holand shettes of paires xiiij
 Item tabel clothes iij
 Item strainer j

These linanes above written were taken ovt of the sprvse chest in the nvrserie

Item nidel worcke cashinges xv
 Item border of nidel worck yarde xiiij

- Item nidel worcke carpet j
- Item nidel worcke cabard carpet j
- Item a nidel worcke window cashine j

Thes were taken ovt of the Iern bovnd chest in the chapel

- Item sheates of payeres ix
- Item tabel clothes ij

Thes were taken ovt of the flasket in the nvrserie the xxvijth of desember

the sixth of Ianniwarie sente to Mongomrie

- Item a fetherbed bovlster and two pilloves, a spanish blanket taken ovt of the greate chamber
- Item a silcke qvilt taken ovt of the greane Irne bovnd cheste in the nvrserie
- Item a greane hanginge taken ovt of the nvrserie
- Item vj dozen of pevter great and smale [*sic*] sent to Mongomrie

The vth of febrywarie ovt of the great Chamber

- Item on silcke qvilt and on payre of fvstians blanketetes and on Irish Rvgge

Ovt of the Innar Rome

- Item on arres Coverin on Ires Rvgge on payre of wedmol blanketetes

Ovt of S^r Williams Chamber

- Item on fether bed, on bovlster, on silke qvilt, on wedmole blanket

Ovt of my ladies Chamber

- Item on darnixt Coveringe, on wedmol blanket

Ovt of the Innar Rome

- Item on fetherbed, on bovlster

Ovt of the garret Chamber

- Item on fetherbed, on bovlster, two pilloves, on Irish Rvge, on wedmol blanket

Ovt of the Red Chamber

- Item ij fetherbedes, ij bolvsters, ij Irish Rvges

Ovt of the flvshinge Chamber

- Item on white coveringe, on covering of red and greane

Ovt of the stilling Chamber

- Item on covering of Red and yollow

Ovt of the Inner Rome

Item on fetherbed, on bovlster

Ovt of the nvrserie

Item ij fetherbedes, ij bolvlsters [*sic*]

Ovt of the midel storehovse

Item xxiiij yardes of wedmol

Ovt of the inar storhovse

Item vj dozen of pevter and ij voyders and ij pye plates

Ovt of Jhon Cokes Chamber

Item on darnixt Coverin

Sent to Mongomerie the xviiijth of februaryarie

Ovt of the garret chamber

Item on fetherbed, on bolster

Ovt of the stillinge Chamber

Item on fetherbed, on bovlster and on rvgge, five cvrtenes of white and ble[w]

Ovt of the flvshinge Chamber

Item two fetherbedes, two bovlsteres

Ovt of my ladies Chamber

Item on stesterne [*sic*] of clothe of govld and valenes to the same fringed with red and yollov silcke
and iiij cvrtens, on of them tome and mvch wanting

Item two peassis of ovld arris

Ovt of the danske cheste in the nvrserie

Item five cvrtenes of blyve and yollow saye and testerne and vallens to the same

Item five cvrtens of yollow with testerne and vallenes to the same

Ovt of the blacke irne bovnd chest in the nvrserie

Item thre greane carpetes

Ovt of the midel storhovse

Item on red rvgg

Ovt of the loge

Item on rvgge

Ovt of the Inar storhovse

Item vj candelstickes whearof two ar greate brase candelstickes.

Acknowledgements

The author and the Association are grateful to the Trustees of the Powis Estate for permission to publish the Inventory together with a photographic copy (provided by the National Library of Wales) of an extract from it, as also to the National Trust for permission to reproduce the portrait of Sir William Herbert and to Miss Melanie Blake of the Courtauld Institute of Art for arranging the plate thereof.

GLOSSARY

andier (alternative form of *andiron*): a firelog, an appliance for use on a hearth to support logs.

bering (*bearing*) *cloth*: a child's christening robe.

brandier (alternative form of *brandiron*): usually a gridiron, but name sometimes applied to other utensils.

broch: a large jug.

carell: a fabric.

chafer: a vessel for heating water, a saucepan.

coffyn (*coffin*): a container.

cratch: a rack.

crule: ?curl.

damask: a silk figured fabric originally made in Damascus, its characteristic appearance is created by the contrast of the figured weft weave and the warp weave.

Dansk (*Danske* or *Danzig*) *chest*: a spruce chest made in Danzig during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

darnix (*darnex*): a coarse fabric originally made in the Flemish town of Dornick (Tourney), used for curtains and table coverings.

diaper: a linen fabric woven with a small and simple pattern mostly diamond-shaped and formed by the different directions of the thread.

dock: a piece of leather harness or the crupper of a saddle.

ewer: a pitcher with a large spout used for bringing water for washing the hands.

file (*field*) *bed*: a bed with a tent-shaped canopy for travelling or military use.

flasket: a long shallow basket.

fustian: a coarse fabric made of cotton and flax.

gredier: a gridiron.

hatchill (*hatchel*): a tool for combing cotton and flax.

helling (*heling*): a covering.

Holland: an unbleached, plain-weave fabric.

hurden (*harden*, *herden*): a coarse fabric made from the hards of flax or hemp.

massling (masling): a kind of brass.

pallet: a straw-stuffed mattress.

pantable (an alternative form of pantofle): a slipper.

Phillosoffers (Philosopher's) stone: the elusive substance sought by alchemists which would turn base metals into gold.

pillowbere (pillow beer): a pillowcase.

poise: a weight.

posnet: a small metal vessel with a handle and three feet for boiling water.

pottinger: a metal, earthenware or wooden vessel.

saye (say): a silk fabric used for hangings.

shamlet (chamlet, camlet): a fabric originally made of silk and camel's hair.

shuffleboard (alternative form of shovel-board): a game similar to shove halfpenny.

skillet: a cooking vessel usually of brass or copper with three or four feet and a long handle. used for boiling liquids.

stamell (stammel): a coarse woollen cloth usually red in colour.

standing bed: a free-standing bed with a headboard only.

sumpter: a pack or saddle bag.

suppatoes (possibly a form of supeters): foot armour.

taffita (taffeta): a plain delicately-woven fabric usually silk.

testerne (an alternative form of tester): a flat wooden canopy over a bedstead.

trencher: a square wooden plate.

truckle bed (an alternative form of trundle bed): a low bed running on truckles or castors which could be pushed under a normal sized bed.

Turkie (Turkey) carpet: carpets from the Anatolian uplands which had long been imported into Europe under the name of Turkey carpets and which were used for covering tables and walls.

valance (vallance): a length of gathered or pleated material usually used to conceal some unsightly framework or space, especially on a bed.

voyder (voider): a large dish for collecting the scraps of food left on the table.

voyding (voiding) knife: a large, broad-bladed, flat knife used to scrape the scraps from the table.

watched (watchet): light-blue or a cloth of this colour.

wedmol (an alternative form of wedmor and wadmal): a coarse woollen cloth.

ECCLESIASTICAL PROBLEMS IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

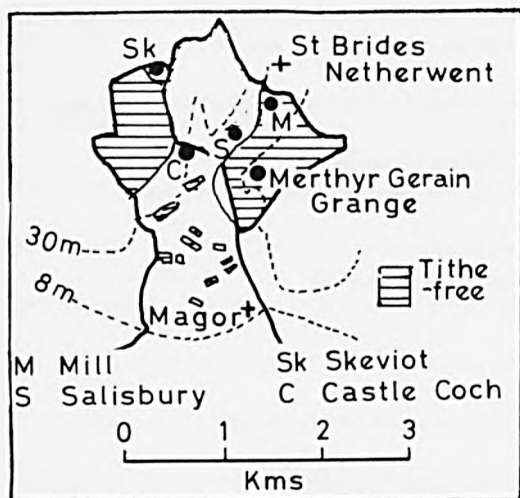
The Dedication of Cwmcarnfan (*Cwmcarnfan*) Church.

Sir Joseph Bradney (1913) suggests that St. Clement was the patron saint of Cwmcarnfan church,¹ and that this dedication was the result of Anglo-Norman influence – presumably replacing an earlier dedication. In his valuable guide, *Monmouthshire*, C.J.O. Evans (1953) lists St Catwg (Cadog) as patron.² The same division of opinion is reflected in more recent works: Guy (1980) suggesting St Cadog³, but Salter (1991) preferring St. Clement.⁴

However, shortly before she died - in 1477 – Johann vergh Jenkin ab Hova, wife of Philip Robert of Cwmcarnfan, in making her will (5-03-1477) desired to be buried ‘in the chapel of St Wenefrede of Cwmcarnfan’, and left an offering ‘for the service of the altar there’.⁵ Does this relate to another ecclesiastical edifice in that area (Cwmcarnfan formed part of the parish of Mitchel Troy), or to a chapel within Cwmcarnfan church? The parish registers (1597) later make it clear that the family of Trefaldu had their own chapel within Cwmcarnfan church. In that year Thomas William Edmunds of Trefaldu desired to be buried: ‘In my parish church of Cwmcarnfan within my chapel there’.⁶

Or does Joanna’s request tell us the true dedication of Cwmcarnfan church itself – to St Winefride?

Salisbury Church.



Three deeds amongst the Badminton collection in the National Library make mention of “Thomas, rector of Salisbury” (in February, May and July 1373).⁷ Earlier (December 1372) comes mention of: “Thomas, rector of Merthyrgerain”.⁸ This suggests that Merthyrgerain and Salisbury churches were one and the same, a view endorsed by the evidence given in a dispute of 1602 when a branch of the Scudamore family who had settled for some years at Salisbury laid claim to the advowson and tithes of the parish of Merthyr-gerain, and it was stated that ‘the hamlet of Salisbury’ lay within the former parish of Merthyr-gerain.⁹

¹ Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire II : 2 (Hundred of Trellech*; London, 1913) 191-92.

² Cardiff (1953) 277.

³ Guy, J.R. and Smith, E.B., *Ancient Gwent Churches* (2nd edn., Risca, 1980) 20.

⁴ Salter, M., *The Old Parish Churches of Gwent, Glamorgan and Gower* (Malvern, 1991) 17.

⁵ NLW, Badminton Deed (Group 2) 1686.

⁶ Bradney J.A. *op. cit.* 191.

⁷ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1652, mm. 2r, 2d, 3r.

⁸ *Ibid.* m. 1.

⁹ PRO, E 134/44-45 Eliz./Mich. 31.

Long before this, Merthyr-gerain parish (1546) had been ‘consolidated’ with that of Magor: the two churches were said to be: ‘less than a mile’ apart.¹⁰ By about 1565 Merthyr-gerain ‘church and church-yard were fallen down’; used then as a barn, that, too, was badly dilapidated by about 1587.¹¹ The site was later said (1724) to be: ‘utterly unknown’.¹² Probably sited on Salisbury rather than grange land, the reference to ‘less than a mile’ might assist in locating it.

The Parish of St Margaret.

A Badminton deed of 1602 makes mention of: ‘The parishes of Llansoy, Llanishen, Llanfihangel-tor-y-Mynydd, and St. Margaret, in the lordship of Kilvethin’.¹³ ‘Kilvethin’ has been cited as an *alias* for Trelech Grange,¹⁴ and in this connexion perhaps relates to the lands previously held by Tintern Abbey in those parishes. But with what can ‘the parish of St. Margaret’ be identified? Six years later (1608) there was demised to “John Hywel, *St. Margaret’s*, a holding on the stream called Ffynnon Orthgerdy and the way leading to Monmouth from (Trelech) grange”.¹⁵ William Rees names this stream as Nant Gortherchryd,¹⁶ and the land leased lay obviously in the north-west of the grange, not far from Llanishen. Was ‘the parish of St. Margaret’, in fact, the extra-parochial area of Trelech Grange, and the chapel there itself dedicated (under Anglo-Norman influence) to her?

¹⁰ PRO, E 112/63, No. 384.

¹¹ PRO, E 134/44-45 Eliz./Mich. 31.

¹² Ecton, J., *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* (edit. Browne Willis, 1754) 657. For more detail of this church, see: Williams, D.H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976) 133-34, 145 (n. 151).

¹³ NLW, Badminton Manorial 1704, m. 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1704, m. 3 (reputedly of 25 October 45 Eliz. I; but there was no such date) and m. 4 (of 1574) – in both cases added in a slightly later hand; also 2090, m 1 (of 1709).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 2511.

¹⁶ Rees, W., (Map of) *South Wales and the Border in the Fourteenth Century* (SE Sheet; Ordnance Survey, 1932).

TINTERN ABBEY AND THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

By JEREMY K. KNIGHT¹

A Lecture given to the Association on October 10th 1998, at the Anchor Hotel, Tintern.

By the summer of 1535 the monks of Tintern probably knew that the end of their monastic life was very close. There had been many rumours and much royal activity, and elsewhere abbots were making favourable leases of monastic property to friends, or were concealing other assets that they hoped might be recovered after the storm. Henry VIII had ordered a survey and valuation of monastic property, and in 1536 all houses worth less than £200 p.a. were dissolved, the greater houses suffering the same fate in 1539. The abbot of Tintern received a fair pension but his monks only small one-off payments. The lead of the abbey roofs was later melted down on site, and the bells were stripped from the church and sold to the earl of Worcester. The silver plate (almost 500 oz.) was catalogued, weighed and presumably sent to the royal treasury.

Fortunately, there was no large town close by that could use the ruins as a quarry, and any ideas people might have had in this respect were thwarted by the quick grant of the abbey to Henry Somerset, second earl of Worcester, who claimed all building materials as his own.² For a long time the ruins of Tintern must have stood as an uncomfortable reminder of the recent past, like ruined churches of our own day in Coventry, Dresden or Kosovo. The old religious hatreds continued, and as late as 1679 Roman Catholic priests were executed in Archenfield, Cardiff and Usk. The time had not yet come when Tintern could be seen as a picturesque monument to a safely romantic past. The events of 1688 ended any hope that a Catholic James II might restore royal absolutism and – with the failure of the Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1745 – the Catholic past ceased to a threat to Georgian England.

Fashions were changing, not least in landscapes. The formal gardens of the late-seventeenth century – with their boxwood hedges and raked paths – were regarded not only as old-fashioned and ugly, but were associated in some people's minds with the royal absolutism of Versailles – where the French nobility were reduced to decorative courtiers. In Britain, on the other hand, if a gentleman's house was his castle, his estate was a small kingdom – where men such as Lancelot Brown ('Capability Brown', 1715-83) sought to create new tastes moulding hills, woodland and water, into vistas which reflected the status and the political independence of the English land-owning class. Gardens such as Stourhead in Wiltshire (the work of Henry Hoare, grandfather of Sir Richard Colt Hoare), or Piercefield Park (the home of Colonel Valentine Morris – here in Monmouthshire) were much admired and visited. (As a matter of interest, fallen broken stone from Tintern was used in 1802 to strengthen the new encircling wall at Piercefield).³

By the second half of the eighteenth century, tourists armed with the Revd. William Gilpin's: *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales* (London, 1782) were sailing down

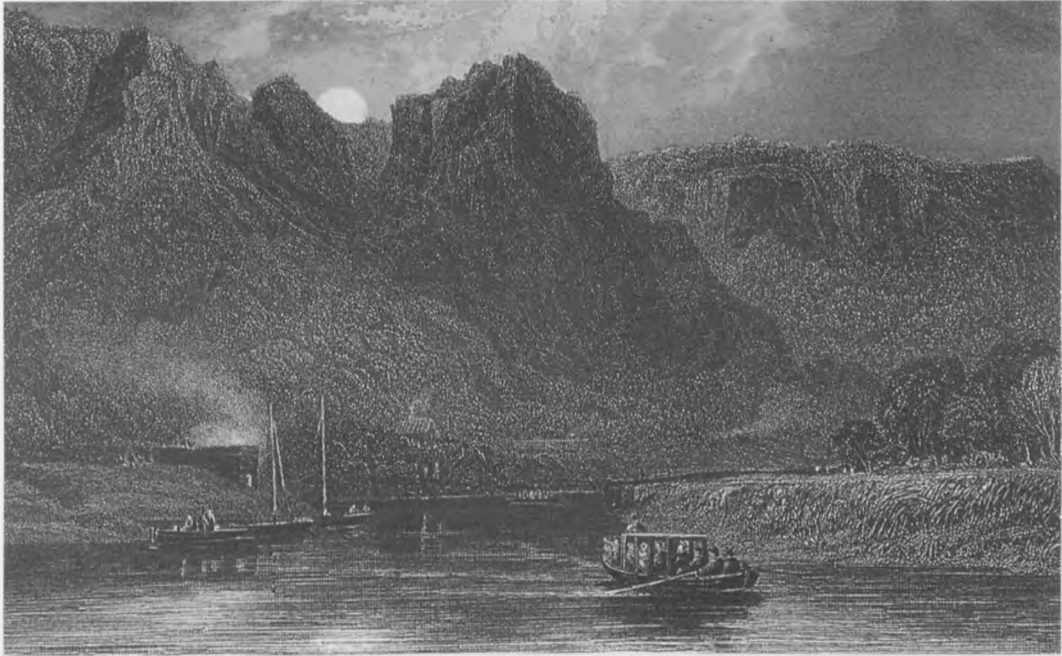
¹ Cf. Knight, J.K., *Tintern and the Romantic Movement* (H.M.S.O. 1977) - now out of print.

² Courtney, P. and Gray, M., 'Tintern after the Dissolution', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 38 (1991) 145.

³ Taylor, J., *Tintern Abbey and its Founders* (London, 1869) 68-69.

the Wye from Ross to Chepstow in boats with awnings to protect their passengers against the sun, tables for dining on, and hampers of food and drink supplied by the inn-keepers of Ross and Monmouth. The publicans even escorted tourists to their boats: 'so that the ear is not pained with the coarseness of language too frequently heard from the navigators of public rivers'.⁴ Gilpin's book contained rules by which the correctness and beauty of a view could be judged – guidelines for recognising the romantic and the picturesque.⁵ The 'picturesque' meaning, as Gilpin himself said: 'Such objects as are capable of being illustrated in painting'.⁶

Gilpin thought that the ruins of Tintern Abbey might even be improved and made more picturesque by a little demolition:



An early tourist boat on the River Wye.

(From an engraving by Wm. Radcliffe, 1796-1855; in Roscoe, T., 'Wanderings and Excursions', 1837).

(National Museum and Gallery of Wales; Courtesy of Mr. John Kenyon)

'Though the parts are beautiful, the whole is ill shaped A number of gable ends hurt the eye with their regularity A mallet judiciously used (but who durst use it?) might be of service in fracturing some of them, particularly those of the cross-aisles, which are not only disagreeable in themselves, but confound the perspective'.⁷

This rather self-conscious art, where style mattered far more than content (and modern parallels are not hard to find) was to change. There are a great many books of Tours at this time, and very

⁴ Kissack, K., 'Monmouth and the Wye Tour', *Severn and Wye Review* I (1972) 27.

⁵ As on pp. 1-2, 18. (His journey was made in 1770).

⁶ Gilpin, W., *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (London, 1792) 3.

⁷ Gilpin (1782) *op. cit.*) 32-33.

good reading they make too: *Tours by a Gentleman*, *Tours by a Clergyman*, even *Tours by a Lady*, but I want to concentrate on four visitors to Tintern – a land-owner and amateur artist, a clergyman, a painter and a poet.

First, the land-owner. In 1785, Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stourhead – whose wife, Hester, had died two years after their marriage – began a series of travels in Europe in an attempt to alleviate his grief, but the French Revolutionary Wars made travel difficult. He soon discovered, however, that North Wales or the Wye Valley made an acceptable substitute for Switzerland or the Rhine. Here he is at Tintern in August 1797:

‘Tintern Abbey is no longer decked with the fine woods which surrounded it some years ago and almost concealed it ... The four arches which supported the tower are uncommonly grand, as are those of all the windows, one of them beautifully overhung with ivy In some parts, I think the ivy conceals too much of the building as none of the architecture or stonework can be distinguished. The many shabby cottages which surround the abbey diminish much from the grand appearance which it would assume if they were removed The old ferryman with his bottle nose, 70 years old, remembers when the ivy was constantly cut and carried away ... To burn and to feed to cattle in winter. He says that the clearing of the rubbish cost the Duke of Beaufort £150. I wish he had completed the improvement by removing the cottages and orchards round the building’.⁸

In the following August, Colt Hoare was at home at Stourhead with a friend, Archdeacon William Coxe. They had just returned from a tour of Wiltshire, and now decided - on the spur of the moment - to go for an autumn tour in Monmouthshire. They set off on 20th August – as the anniversary of Colt Hoare’s wife’s death drew near. There followed two further tours, and the sequel (published in 1801) was the book we all know, Coxe’s: *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*. In it Coxe wrote:

‘The first appearance of the celebrated remains of the abbey church did not equal my expectations, as they are half concealed by mean buildings, and the triangular shape of the gables has a formal appearance After passing a miserable row of cottages, and forcing our way through a crowd of importunate beggars, we stopped to examine the rich architecture of the west front, but the door being suddenly opened, the inside perspective of the church called forth an instantaneous burst of admiration, and filled me with delight, such as I scarcely before experienced on a similar occasion. The eye passes rapidly along a line of elegant gothic pillars, and fixes itself on the splendid relics of the eastern window, the grand termination of the choir.’⁹

Colt Hoare reflected:

‘Thursday 6th September. I spent the morning at Tinterne these elegant and wonderful remains of Gothic architecture and monkish grandeur. No ruin I have seen in England has so striking effect on the mind and senses as that of Tinterne, when the door first opens and presents the whole extent of this most beautiful Gothic aisle, overhung with ivy in the most picturesque manner and terminated by the magnificent eastern window So much for the interior There are many objections to the exterior. The situation is naturally fine on the banks of a rapid river, which here is of good color, backed by a hill covered with hanging wood and coppice. But it is so surrounded by ragged cottages and orchards that

⁸ Thompson, M.W., *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England* (Alan Sutton, 1983) 83.

⁹ Coxe, W., *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London, 1801) 352.

half its height is completely hidden by them. But the principal deformity arises from the four pointed roofs (*gables*) which rise from the building in a very unpicturesque form, and make the want of a tower much to be regretted'.¹⁰

My third visitor first saw Tintern in June 1792, at the age of 17. His name was Joseph Mallord Turner, and he was there again in 1795 and 1798, filling his sketch books with pencil drawings from which patrons could order finished water-colours, worked up from the raw materials in the sketch-books. One sketch-book contains a scribbled pencil note of an order from Sir Richard Colt Hoare for some paintings of Salisbury Cathedral, and there were frequent similar orders over the next few years. Turner, though, soon moved on to views of Scotland and Switzerland, and to the seascapes and treatments of light characteristic of his later years. There are some wonderful water-colours of Tintern from Turner's early years,¹¹ but he soon moved on beyond the detailed topographical drawings which Colt Hoare had commissioned.

My last visitor is associated with Tintern Abbey, not least by foreign tourists, rather in the way that Sherlock Holmes is linked with Baker Street, or Dylan Thomas with Laugharne. On 28 July 1798, just a month before Coxe and Colt Hoare's first joint tour of Monmouthshire, a twenty-eight year old poet and his sister walked from Chepstow to Tintern. After several days walking, they returned to Bristol on a small boat on the 13 August. The return journey saw the composition of a poem entitled: *Lines Written a few Miles above Tintern Abbey*:



Tourists approach Tintern on horse-back, a (?) begging woman with child sits by the way.

(From an engraving by Henry Gastineau, 1791-1876)

(National Library of Wales).

¹⁰ Thompson, M.W. *op. cit.* 100-01.

¹¹ Tate Gallery, Turner Bequest.

'Five years have passed; five summers with the length
 Of five long winters. And again I hear
 These waters, rolling from their mountain springs
 With a soft inland murmur. Once again
 Do I behold those steep and lofty cliffs
 Which on a wild secluded scene impress
 Thoughts of more deep seclusion
 Once again I see
 These hedge rows, hardly hedge rows, little lines
 Of sportive wood run wild: these pastoral farms
 Green to the very door: and wreaths of smoke
 Sent up in silence from among the trees.'

William Wordsworth (for that was his name) had first visited Tintern in 1793. Three years before that, he had lived for some time in France – in a love affair with the early days of the French Revolution, and with a French girl, Annette Vallon, who bore him a daughter.

'Bliss was it in those days to be alive, But to be young was veriest heaven.'

Wordsworth nearly threw in his lot with the Girondists, or moderate revolutionaries, but returned to England. Most of his friends perished in the Terror under Robespierre, and a critic has noted that the figure of a deserted wife appears frequently in his poems. It was in this frame of mind that he first visited Tintern. By the time of his second visit he and his sister had re-established contact with Annette and the child, and he was settled with Coleridge and his sister in Somerset. He was about to publish: *Lyrical Ballads* – another 200th anniversary this year.

Notice the title of his poem: *Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey*. It contains no reference to the abbey, which was already a tourist attraction where visitors were pestered by importunate beggars and would-be guides. If you read Wordsworth's: *Guide through the district of the Lakes (1810)*,¹² you will find out what he thought of such places (though it did contain an "Itinerary of the Lakes for the use of Tourists". Those lines, however, which I read earlier are an unmistakable picture of the Monmouthshire countryside, and it is that, rather than the ruins of Tintern, which Wordsworth described precisely two centuries ago.

¹² Ed. W. Moelwyn Merchant (Rupert Hart Davis, London, 1951).

ADDENDA TO PREVIOUS ISSUES.

Publications of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and its Predecessors.

Our late and esteemed treasurer, Mr. Eric J. Wiles, made a substantial contribution to this journal when he published the fruits of his researches in **Vol. XIII (1997)** with a Supplement in **Vol. XIV (1998)**.

Yet another publication, seemingly sponsored by the Association, was:

Gabriel J.R. (Hon. Curator of Caerleon Museum). **CAERLEON – ITS STORY AND ANTIQUITIES** (Printed by Joyce, Newport, in 1926). This (on the back cover) also lists (incompletely) the past publications of the Association, and also directs would-be members as to whom to apply. Mr. Gabriel's list appears to include a work not actually published by the Association but perhaps sold at the Museum. It was:

CHURCH PLATE IN THE DIOCESE OF LLANDAFF: presumably referring to the work by G.E. Halliday, *Llandaff Church Plate* (London, 1901), where the author acknowledges that he was 'greatly indebted' to a prominent member of the Association, Mr. F.J. Mitchell of Llanfrechfa Grange: 'for the very valuable notes and general information he has given respecting the Monmouthshire plate ... these notes were made about ten years ago'.

Mr. Gabriel's List also refers to:

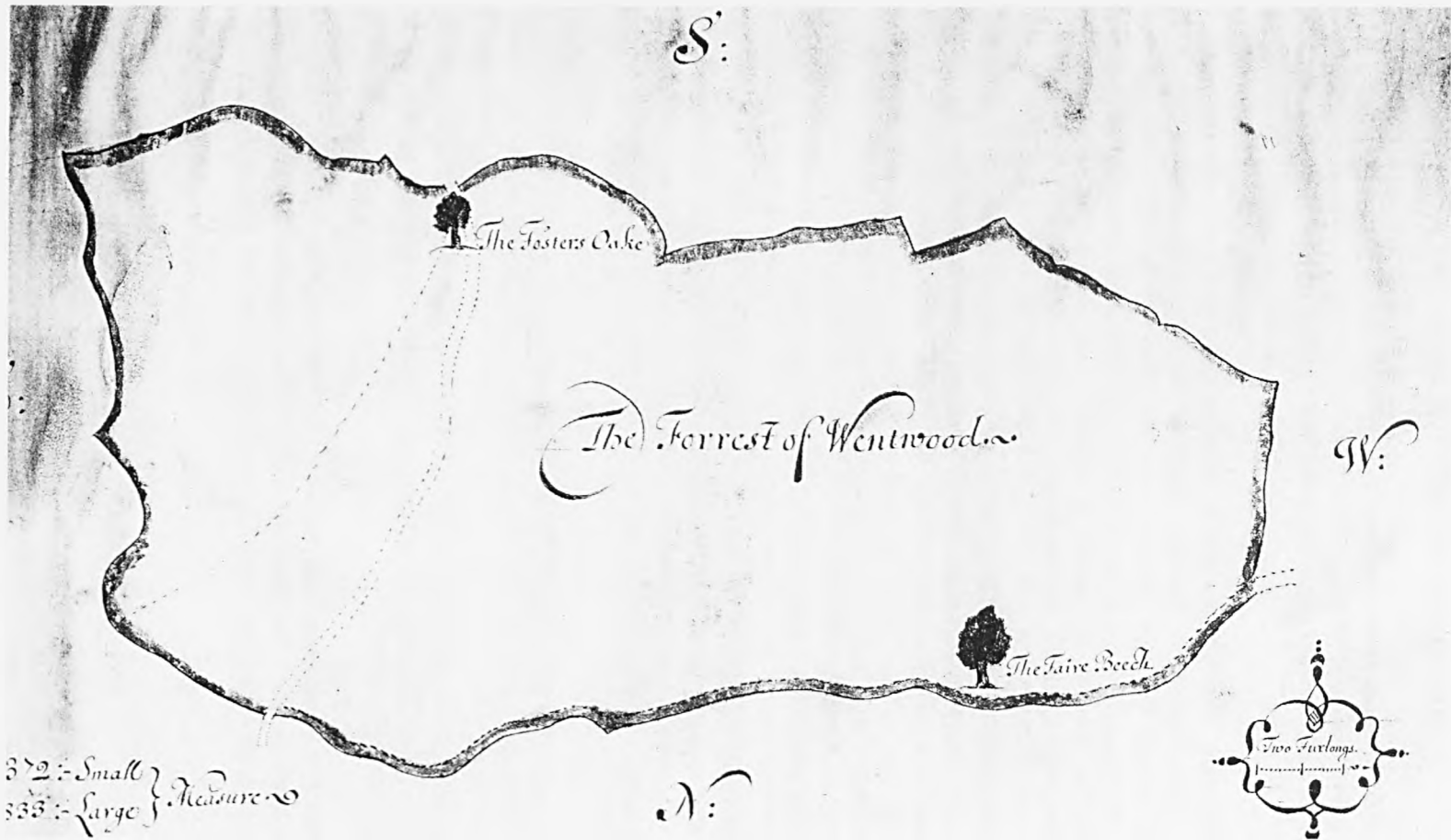
CAERWENT EXCAVATIONS – REPORTS, 1899-1910 (single copies).

The card-index of the Library of the National Museum attributes yet another work to the association, but it seems far more likely that perhaps it derived from its library: J.R.Price, *A Description of the Roman aesselated pavement found in Bucklersbury: with an observation on analogous discoveries* (Westminster; Nicholas, 1870). I am grateful to Mr. John Kenyon for this reference.

Vol. 2 (Part 1: 1965) p. 28: NLW, Badminton MS 1021/1 (of 1694), makes it clear that the Stony Way was: 'The highway leading to Chepstow from the parish of Chapel Hill'.

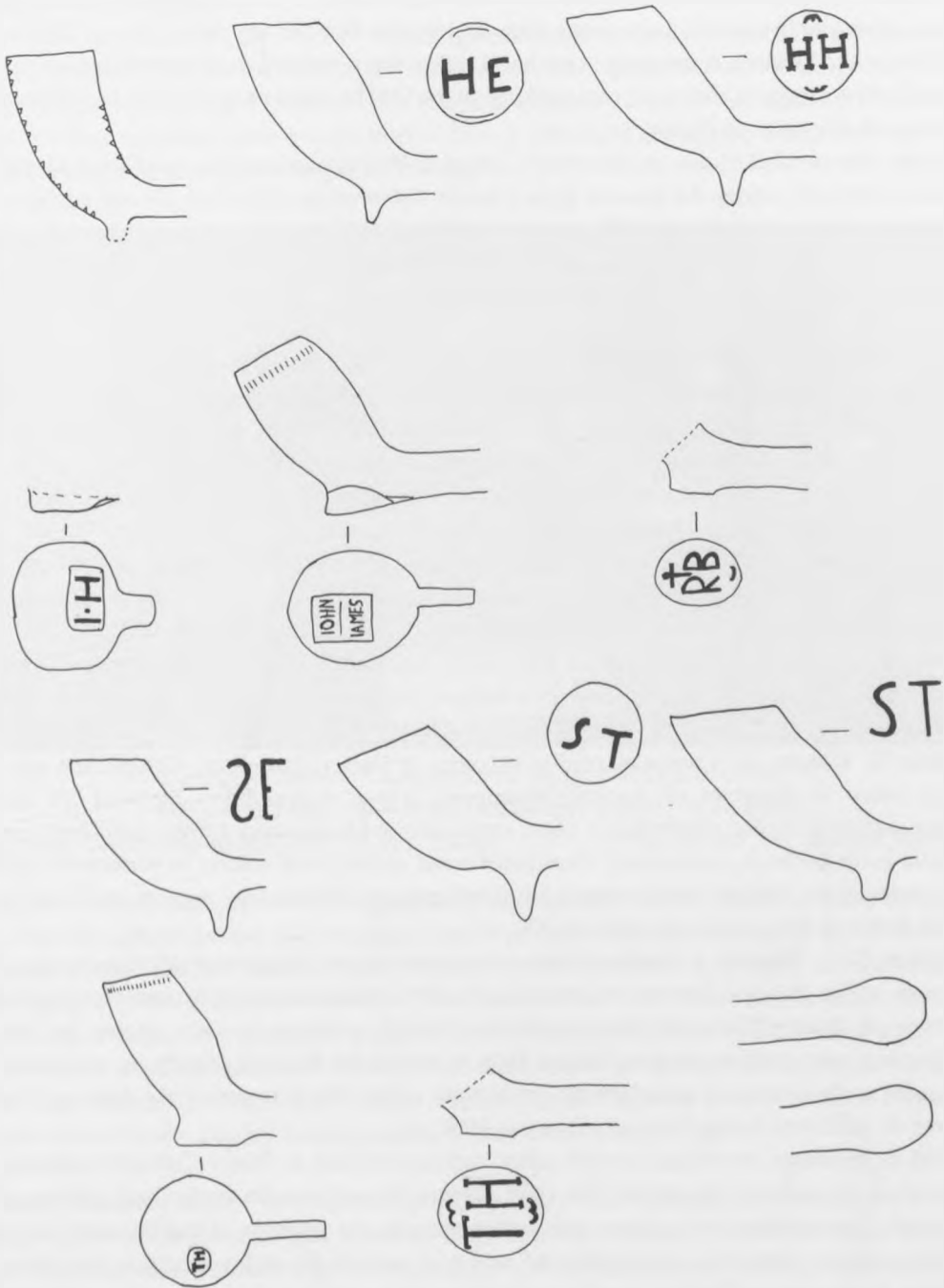
Vol. VI (1990): In this volume Mr. Julian Mitchell wrote on: 'The Speech Court of Wentwood'. We reproduce in this number: 'The Measure (*of Wentwood*) Taken by Charles Mudd' in 1678. (NLW, Badminton Deed [Group 2] 9857).

Vol. XIV (1998): It is a matter of great regret to the Editor that one of the figures accompanying Mr. Craig Cessford's account : 'An Eighteenth Century Clay Production Site' at Caerleon, was printed upside down and in reversed image. The correct view is published in this issue.



The Measure (of Wentwood) Taken by Charles Mudd, 1678.

(National Library of Wales)



18th Century Caerleon: Marked clay pipes and wig curlers

(Craig Cessford)

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS.

Richard Brown has worked for the Oxford Archaeological Unit as an excavator for thirteen years. He has supervised numerous excavations, including work at Glastonbury Abbey, Dover, HM Tower of London and Reading. A specialist in medieval archaeology, Richard Brown has recently returned to the United Kingdom after two years working on the OAU's major excavation of the Carolingian Chateau de Mayenne, in France.

Annette Burton read history at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, was City Archivist of Chester (1984-87; editing the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*), County Archivist of Northumberland (1987-93), and Glamorgan Archivist (1993-96). In retirement she researches various aspects of the history of her native Monmouthshire, and she is an extra-mural lecturer for Cardiff University, running classes in eastern Monmouthshire. She has written a history of the parish of Llanishen.

Jeremy P. Davis is a native of Tregaron and a graduate of the Welsh National School of Medicine, and has been a general practitioner in Pontypool since 1984. His interest in archaeology and numismatics stems from childhood, and in metal-detecting since the 1980s. He has made significant finds – not least of seals (as readers of this journal know). A member of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust and the Gwent Metal Detecting Club, he is Chairman of the South Wales Federation of Metal Detecting Clubs.

Adam Gwilt has, since 1997, been the Later Prehistorian in the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics at the National Museum and Gallery, Cardiff, with responsibility for the Bronze and Iron Age collections. Having previously been a research student based at the University of Durham, he is currently engaged in research into Bronze age metalwork deposition and Iron Age enamels and ceramics, and is also now writing up a doctoral thesis on the Iron Age societies of Eastern England.

Jeremy K. Knight, our Chairman, read archaeology at University College, Cardiff, and was for thirty years an Inspector of Ancient Monuments whose responsibility included his native Monmouthshire. He has undertaken a major excavation at Montgomery Castle, published several official guide-books to monuments, contributed some seventy-five articles to periodicals, edited this journal from 1980-88, and written a forthcoming book: *Archaeology, Society and Religion in Early Medieval Western Europe AD 235-700*.

Graham G.C. Thomas, a Senior Assistant Archivist in the Department of Manuscripts and Records at the National Library of Wales since 1974, graduated in 1964 from the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff, with an honours degree in Welsh, undertaking post-graduate study in Ireland. Prior to joining the National Library, he was Assistant Librarian in the University of Liverpool. He recently edited: *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell*, published by the National Library in 1997.

David H. Williams, our Editor, studied (after National Service) at Trinity College, Cambridge – specialising in historical geography. His chief interests lie in Cistercian studies and sigillography. Currently, he continues to list those seals which come to the attention of the National Museum (where once he worked), is cataloguing the medieval seals in the archives held by the National Library, is recording all European medieval Cistercian seals, and is revising his earlier publications relating to the Welsh Cistercians.

OBITUARY.

E.J.T. Wiles, 1929-98.

Eric Wiles, our Treasurer, died on 12th March 1998, after a prolonged illness. His wise counsel and financial acumen contributed much to the affairs of the Association, and it was largely due to Eric that our recent conference on the Civil War was such a success financially as well as in other ways. Eric, a native of Ludlow, took over his uncle's farm at Thornwell and farmed it for over forty years until the land was developed recently for housing.



Caerleon: The 150th Anniversary Dinner; 28th October 1997.

Mr. Eric and Mrs. Olive Wiles (*seated left*) with Mr. W.H. Baker (formerly County Records Officer) and Mrs. Baker. (*Photograph: Mr. Richard Brewer.*)

Eric was a book collector and bibliographer of considerable calibre, attending book sales and auctions throughout Britain, and possessed what is probably the finest private library of books on Monmouthshire and the Marches since William Haines. Members will recall the authoritative bibliography of the Association which Eric contributed to our 150th Anniversary number. Eric and Olive also collected the remarkable postcards of W.A.E. Call of Chepstow and Monmouth, which constitute an important records of buildings and architecture, and became authorities on his work. Eric was Chairman (1991-93) and President (1995-97) of the Chepstow Society, and also Chairman of the Gwent Family History Society and the Gwent Local History Council.

Eric's memorial service in Chepstow parish church on 23rd March was attended by a large congregation of Chepstow people, members of the farming community, and of the many societies with which he was associated. Our own Association was well represented, and his genial figure will be much missed at our meetings. Our deepest sympathies go out to Olive, and to their children, Sarah and Peter.

J.K.K.

OUTINGS AND EXCURSIONS, 1998.

1998 was a busy year for the Association, with five well-supported evening visits and two important anniversaries.

Evening Visits.

The first meeting of the season was held jointly with Cardiff Archaeological Society, when we were shown the site of the Roman fort at Gelligaer and heard its history from Richard Brewer, Keeper of Archaeology and Numismatics at the National Museum and Gallery in Cardiff. We caused a great deal of interest among the farm animals as we traversed the fields covered by the fort. Later, Chris Jones-Jenkins showed us the cairn fields and medieval house platforms on Gelligaer Common, framed by a memorable sunset over the distant hills. A large group of members gathered in Caerleon for a walk around the medieval town, often overlooked in favour of the more famous Roman sites, led by Jeremy Knight, our Chairman, whose encyclopaedic knowledge made for a fascinating evening. Geoff Mein and his team have been excavating for many years at the site in Trostrey, beside the church. He gave us a comprehensive account of its long history and occupation, stretching back into prehistory, accompanied by many helpful reconstruction drawings, before conducting us around the site.

At Llanvihangel Court, we were welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. David Johnson, the present owners and members of the Association. Over twenty years ago we visited this splendid Elizabethan house at the invitation of Colonel and Mrs. Hopkinson, Mrs. Johnson's parents. This year again, we were delighted by the lovely house and its contents, still very much a family home. The evening ended with a glass of wine on the terrace and a visit, in the dying light, to the magnificent barn behind the house. We finished the season with a visit to Oxford House Industrial History Museum, where Tony Jukes and several members of the society showed us enthusiastically around their most impressive collection of artefacts and exhibits covering the industrial history of the area, as well as the complete contents of a chemist's shop found walled up in Cardiff's Tiger Bay some years ago.

Spring Outing:

We travelled to Wiltshire for a special anniversary in June. Our first stop was the magnificent church at Edington, built in 1351-61 by William of Edington, Bishop of Winchester. One of its rich collection of medieval tomb monuments was of particular interest to us, being that of Sir Edward Lewis of the Van, near Caerphilly, and his wife, Lady Anne Beauchamp, erected in 1630. John Owen, a member of the Association, spoke very eloquently on the history of the Lewis family. After lunch in the little village of Hindon, we visited Old Wardour Castle under the expert guidance of Brian Davison, formerly an Inspector of Ancient monuments with English Heritage, who brought the castle to life for us. Built around 1390, it is a rare example of a late medieval castle, built for comfort and lavish entertainment. Badly damaged in the Civil War, it remained, with a Gothick summer-house and an eighteenth-century grotto, a feature of the landscape of the later Wardour Castle.

At Bemerton, near Salisbury, we celebrated an important anniversary – Archdeacon Coxe, the rector of this tiny church from 1788 until his death in 1828, set out two hundred years ago with Colte Hoare of Stourhead to visit Monmouthshire, a visit which culminated in 1801 in the

publication of: *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*. Our Chairman, Jeremy Knight, paid tribute to Coxe and Hoare. A short thanksgiving service was held, in which the poet George Herbert, rector until his death in 1633, was also remembered. After an ample cream tea at King John's Hunting Lodge at Lacock, we journeyed happily home.

Day School: "Tintern Abbey and the Cistercians".

An excellent Day School based at the Anchor Hotel, Tintern – itself part of the water-gate complex of the monastery – to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the foundation of the Cistercian Order, was attended by nearly seventy people. The meeting was chaired by our Editor, the Revd. Dr. David H. Williams, whose life's work: *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, has recently been published. Mr. Jeremy Knight, our Chairman, spoke on the visits of Coxe and Colt Hoare, Wordsworth and others to Tintern; (the full text of his lecture is published elsewhere in this number). Dr. David Robinson of CADW spoke of the magnificent fourteenth-century *pulpitum* screen designed by William Joy for the abbey church¹, and later showed us the ongoing reconstruction from fragments (*illustrated below*) located in the abbey, as well as its actual site.



Fig. 1: Fragments of the pulpitum screen.

After lunch, Mrs. Elizabeth Townley guided us around the site of Woolaston Grange in Gloucestershire, one of Tintern's most lucrative Border possessions, where we saw enormous barns, the sites of the monastic fish-ponds and of the fisheries and medieval quay on the foreshore. Sadly, a large lake of very smelly mud on the track prevented those without wellingtons from making it to the foreshore.

In November, at a very informal gathering, Mr. Jeremy Knight, Chairman of the Association, presented Mr. Miguel Santiago, of the Priory Hotel, Caerleon, with a copy of the 1998 *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, containing an account and photographs of the 150th Anniversary Dinner held there in October 1997, in appreciation of all his help in making the occasion such a memorable success.

G.V.J.

¹ Recently described in *The Antiquaries Jnl.* 78 (1998) 177-268.



Fig. 2: A cobbled surface (of some antiquity) at Woolaston Grange.

Plate: C.O. Jones-Jenkins.



Fig. 3: The site of the medieval grange harbour.

Plate: A Member of the Association.

REVIEWS

The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain : Far from the Concourse of Men. Edited by David Robinson, with contributions from Janet Burton, Nicola Coldstream, Glyn Coppack, Richard Fawcett and David Robinson. 223 pp. Illustrated (mostly with colour plates) throughout. 262 x 219 mm. (London, B.T. Batsford Ltd., with English Heritage, Historic Scotland and Cadw : Welsh Historic Monuments; 1998). ISBN: 0 7134 8392 X. £25.

Any minor criticisms proffered in this review must not be allowed to detract from what is an extremely fine and long overdue catalogue of all the medieval Cistercian abbeys of England, Scotland and Wales. No less than three lay in Monmouthshire – Grace Dieu, Llantarnam and Tintern. Nunneries are excluded – save for a brief general assessment (p. 28). The volume is profusely illustrated with extremely pleasing photographs, including some aerial surveys – which so frequently depict plainly what can only be guessed at on the ground. Its modest price suggests the book will find a ready sale. There is also an American edition, supported by Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

In her learned introductory chapter: ‘The Cistercian Adventure’, Janet Burton includes a worthwhile map (p. 12) – not easy to devise – showing the abbeys of the Order in Europe by date of foundation. The oldest clearly lay mainly in the heartland of Burgundy, the newest mostly in the Low Countries. Noteworthy is the almost complete absence of Cistercian monasteries from the then Moslem stronghold of Moorish southern Spain, and from the Orthodox Church bastion of the Balkans. Another valuable map (p. 23) shows the derivation of the eighty-six British abbeys (not counting Ireland), but omits the Welsh foundation at Trawscoed. Short-lived it may have been, but for a generation it was a full-blooded conventual abbacy. Yet another striking map (p. 33) shows vividly the considerably varying values of the abbeys of England and Wales at the time of Henry VIII’s great survey in 1535. It would be apposite to have a similar map based on Pope Nicholas IV’s assessment of 1291, in order to see how the two sets of values compare.

Nicola Coldstream deals with: ‘The Cistercians as Builders’, rightly reminding the reader that the earliest buildings were wooden structures, and of the sentimental value attached to those timbers when replaced by stone. In her essay, she draws attention to the frequent similarities in lay-out exhibited between certain abbeys, especially those which adopted the so-called ‘Bernardine plan’. She also emphasises external input, especially in Wales where: ‘In almost every instance the stylistic influences are English’. When describing the several phases of building and re-building, Dr. Coldstream in effect reminds us that - for much of the early Middle Ages - most Cistercian monks lived cheek-by-jowl with a building site. In reproducing the fine ground-plan of Fountains (p. 43) locating as it does its guest-halls, she implicitly points to the frequent need for greater exploration of ancillary monastic buildings – as bake-house and brew-house. Included in this section (p. 46) is a fine balloon-photograph of Byland Abbey.

The Gazetteer, which occupies the bulk of the book, has been compiled by Glyn Coppack (of English Heritage), Richard Fawcett (of Historic Scotland) – who takes within his compass several English abbeys, and David Robinson (of Cadw) – who likewise has not restricted himself to the Welsh monasteries. A symbol by the name of each monastery in the list of Contents (p. 3) indicates

the relevant author-ship. They describe as fully as space allows the history and architecture of each house, including the results of recent research – as Stuart Harrison’s reconstruction of the great rose window in the west facade at Byland (p. 81). The many fine photographs include master-pieces like the presbytery at Dore (p. 103) and an aerial view of the earth-works at Revesby (p. 159). In the broad margins of each page is given helpful information regarding accessibility to the public (including all relevant National Grid Numbers). There is also a site plan of each abbey, with a note of the years of its foundation and dissolution, and, very importantly, a bibliography. Such a fine gazeteer makes the volume one to be highly recommended to a readership well beyond scholars of monastic history.

It seems almost churlish to suggest minor short-comings (and they are minor) in so significant a work, but that is a reviewer’s task! Worthwhile potential illustrations not portrayed include: the photogenic precinct wall of Sweetheart (although noted on p. 183); the great barn – if that is what it was – at Boxley (described on p. 74), and one of several possible aerial views of Strata Marcella (perhaps more telling than the Abbey Meadow depicted on p. 179). Quite clearly, minor detail cannot always find a space in a comprehensive volume such as this, but your reviewer wonders what has happened to the three heads shown by the Buck brothers (1742) as sculpted on the nave piers at Cymer – but no longer so (p. 98) ! Buckland is listed as being: ‘In the care of the National Trust’ (p. 76). Imagine the chagrin of your reviewer when he visited it this August past, only to find it closed on Thursdays. In winter-time this would be understandable, but not in the height of summer. That, and the route-march members of the Cambrian Archaeological Association had to endure at Fountains - that same month - to reach the abbey ruins, makes the present writer wonder if the National Trust is an appropriate body to take charge of a Cistercian site? Lastly, to the note of Calder being situated ‘in the grounds of a private house’ (p. 84), might be added (if still applicable) the assertion of *The Whitehaven News* (24 September 1992) that its ruins are now open to the public, together with ‘a small museum and picnic area’.

David H. Williams

The Folklore of (old) Monmouthshire. By Roy Palmer. 307 pp. Illustrated throughout. 231 x 154 mm. (Logaston Press, Woonton, Almeley, Herefordshire; 1998). ISBN: 1 873827 40 7. £12-95.

In his latest book, Roy Palmer has extended his interest in folklore from counties which are undisputedly English (Warwickshire, Hereford and Worcester, Gloucestershire, etc.) to ‘old’ Monmouthshire, one of the shires created by the Act of Union in 1536, but abolished in 1974 and replaced by the county of Gwent.

Writing in a deceptively-easy style, he introduces his readers to a wide range of subjects, which include Saints and Soldiers, Sickness and Health, Life and Death, Work and Play. In short, Roy Palmer’s book is a cornucopia of folklore, traditions, old-wives’ tales and social history.

Readers often tend to skip or skim through introductions to books. In the case of *The Folklore of (old) Monmouthshire*, this would be a mistake, firstly because Roy Palmer attempts to decide whether ‘old’ Monmouthshire was English or Welsh. Despite Monmouthshire’s anomalous position after 1536 – it was attached to the Oxford judicial circuit – Roy Palmer tends to support the poet,

Islwyn, writing in Welsh, who considered Monmouthshire to be part of Wales. He also apologises for his 'impertinence' as an Englishman in writing about a Welsh county. Since he has obviously had expert advice and guidance in his treatment of Welsh personal and place-names (which he acknowledges), this apology is unnecessary. However, the Welsh spelling of place-names may come as a shock to anyone accustomed to the glorious muddle of English and Welsh that characterised place-names during the four and a half centuries of Monmouthshire's existence.

In his introduction, Roy Palmer also provides the key to the scope of his book. A dictionary definition of folklore is: 'the traditional beliefs and stories of a people', but Roy Palmer quotes John Rhys, author of *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (1901), who wrote that: 'one of the folklorist's greatest difficulties is that of drawing the line between story and history'. Roy Palmer's book contains both. He is an excellent story-teller but he is, perhaps, on less sure ground with facts that can be checked. The latest round of local government reorganisation in Wales, which replaced the county of Gwent with four (five if Caerphilly is counted) smaller authorities, including the new Monmouthshire, took effect on 1 April 1996 *not* 1997. Whilst this can be dismissed as a typographical error, his assumption that there was no church at Llanishen before 1854, the year that Llanishen Church was rebuilt, is incorrect. Llanishen may have been a Celtic monastic site, and its church and parish are documented from the twelfth century onwards. There is even a water-colour illustration of the 'old' church in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London at Burlington House. Similarly, the Norman church at Sudbrook has not been 'swallowed by the sea', because part of the area lost by erosion was made good when debris from the Severn Tunnel was dumped there, during the tunnel's construction in 1873-86.

These are possibly cavils compared with the depth of knowledge that Roy Palmer displays, together with his enthusiasm for his subject. His Bibliography is impressively lengthy, although the reader has to deduce the source or sources of particular items of information from the text. The text also makes clear Monmouthshire's debt to earlier collectors of folklore: 'The Old Prophet' - Edmund Jones of Aberystwith in the eighteenth century, and the Revd. T.A. Davies, Vicar of Llanishen for fifty years from 1898. Both as a collector of folklore during his travels in Gwent and in writing about it, Roy Palmer has himself followed a tradition. He has blended knowledge, experience, reading, research and field-work to produce a memorable account of 'old' Monmouthshire's special characteristics.

Annette Burton