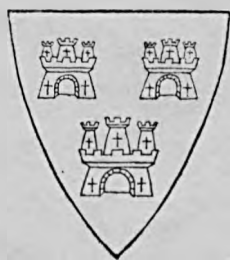


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# THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE MONMOUTHSHIRE & CAERLEON ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION



*Edited by* CEFNI BARNETT

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# THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

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VOL. I. PART 4.

1964

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## GRACE DIEU ABBEY

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

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No visible trace remains today of this small and relatively unimportant Cistercian house which stood, for most of its history, near the Troddi brook, some three miles west of Monmouth. But it is commemorated in the name of the extra-parochial division of Parc Grace Dieu (some 388 acres in extent), which Bradney noted as being a hamlet "with a separate assessment for the poor, but without either church or graveyard."<sup>1</sup> (Its extra-parochial status derives of course from its former monastic ownership, making it independent in large measure of the local bishop). It is called *Parc* Grace Dieu today (or, more loosely, Parkers Dew) because of the deer park which secular owners had here in post-dissolution times, and which is shewn on old county maps immediately to the south-west of the house.

### Name

Its founder, John of Monmouth, of whom more later, gave it the name *de Gratia Dei*<sup>2</sup> (literally, 'of the Grace of God'), but it has been suggested that it may have been known by other names,<sup>3</sup> and Tanner incorrectly gives it the alternative titles of Trody, Newham, and Stow<sup>4</sup>. It is worth noting that two other abbeys of the order bore the name *Gratia Dei*—both were in France, and both had been founded several decades before their Monmouthshire cousin<sup>5</sup>. The actual dedication of the abbey church of Grace Dieu was, like that of all Cistercian churches, to the Blessed Virgin Mary<sup>6</sup>.

### Foundation

"It has to be remembered that the siting of a Cistercian house was a rather complicated operation, involving a number of interested parties; first, there had to be an invitation to settle, with the approval of the local diocesan, and then, if the General Chapter of the Order (*which met annually, usually at Citeaux*) agreed, the ground had to be inspected and the actual site selected"<sup>7</sup>. So it was that in 1217, on formally receiving the wish of John, Lord of Monmouth, to build a monastery for their Order, the Chapter General instructed the abbot of Morimund (France) to send "discreet men to diligently enquire" as to the possessions which John would give the new community<sup>8</sup>. Five years later (1222) authority was given to the abbots of Bruern

(Oxon.) and Bordesley (Worcs.) to send monks from the nearby Herefordshire abbey of Dore (itself a daughter house of Morimund) to colonise the new house, when all necessary preparations had been completed<sup>9</sup>. These probably included the royal grant mentioned later of property near St. Briavel's where John of Monmouth was Constable of the Castle until about 1224<sup>10</sup>.

Eventually, on the 24th April, 1226, the vigil of the feast of St. Mark, monks of Dore settled at Grace Dieu<sup>11</sup>. Other dates, 1225<sup>12</sup> and 1229<sup>13</sup>, have also been ascribed for its foundation. The former perhaps gives us the date of completion of the first buildings, but the latter is clearly wrong as several references to Grace Dieu occur in documents of 1226 and 1227. (What it is important to note is that Dore was Grace Dieu's mother-house, and not Waverley—as has been stated in some standard Cistercian and monastic works, and I must acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. F. G. Cowley for drawing my attention to this important piece of information. The exercise by Dore's abbots of their consequent right of visitation of Grace Dieu will be apparent later).

### Early History

Like Tintern, Grace Dieu came under English influence and patronage, and only seven years after its foundation, in the autumn of 1233, it was burnt by the Welsh in the joint uprising of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth and Richard Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, against Henry III, it being claimed by the Welsh that the abbey had been built on land rightfully theirs and wrested from them by John of Monmouth<sup>14</sup>. This sacking of the monastery is especially well documented, for example in the *Annals of Waverley*<sup>15</sup>—"the abbey of Gratia Dei was completely overthrown in such a way as can be described. Now there is corn, where once stood Troy (Ovid, *Heroid*, i. 53)," and in the *Annales Cambriae*<sup>16</sup>, Llywelyn is said to have "reduced the *villam* of Album Monasterium to ashes," but this may well relate to Oswestry, also burnt in that year. At any rate the total destruction of the house has resulted in our present difficulty of tracing its first site. But the fire was only the worst of the early trials the monks had to endure; they also had to suffer the attacks of local men of Gwent who stole their corn<sup>17</sup>.

The following year, 1234, the General Chapter sent as its delegates the Abbots of Bruern (Oxon.), and Kingswood (Glos.), to visit Grace Dieu, and "to advise and induce the founder either to make peace with his enemies or to give the monks a more suitable place where they can live without damage"<sup>18</sup>. Whether the abbots immediately fulfilled their mission, or were unsuccessful in so doing, is not certain since again in the next year, 1235, they were given the same instructions<sup>19</sup>. In that year, too, the king granted to the monks of Grace Dieu twenty trees from his Forest of Dean to help in the rebuilding of their monastery<sup>20</sup>, and in 1236, John of Monmouth having found another site, the Chapter General charged the Abbot of Buildwas to instruct him to transfer the monks there without delay<sup>21</sup>. This appears to have been done that same year<sup>22</sup>. Later the king made two further grants of timber to the house, four oaks from Grosmont Forest in 1240<sup>23</sup>, and two from Seinfrenny Wood, (probably near Skenfrith), in 1253<sup>24</sup>.

In the year of reconstruction of the abbey, 1236, the king named Abbot John of Grace Dieu as one of the arbitrators who were to meet in Low Week at Montgomery to receive compensations from Llywelyn for his incursions<sup>25</sup>. (Also, in November of the same year, mention is



made of "brother John, sometime abbot of Grace Dieu" who was sent with Hubert Hose to Gascony to conduct business there on behalf of the king<sup>26</sup>. It is possible however that this brother John may have been the abbot of Grace Dieu in Charènte Inférieure<sup>27</sup>. Little is then heard of the monastery for some forty years, save for mention of disputes with other British houses of the Cistercian Order. One quarrel with Tintern, the cause of which is unknown, dragged on for at least four years<sup>28</sup>.

### A Third Site

By 1276 the abbey had sustained fresh trouble, possibly in the renewed border violence of that year, though this did not affect S.E. Wales very much, and another change of site is suggested, though not definitely proven. In this year the Chapter General instructed the Abbots of Neath and Thame to "inspect the place to which the nobleman, Haymo, count of Champagne, brother of the king of England, intends to transfer the Abbey of Grace Dieu"<sup>29</sup>. This reference was undoubtedly to Edmund Crouchback; one of his several titles at this time was Count of Champagne. He was also now Lord of Monmouth. What the result of his assistance was we do not know, but in 1280 the trouble had either not been resolved or had broken out anew, for the abbots of Tintern and Thame were then ordered "to go personally to Grace Dieu and enquire carefully as to the causes of the ruin of the house," and to ascertain the value of its capital and property<sup>30</sup>.

It may be that because of these renewed difficulties the monks were dispersed for a while, and that Warin, the abbot, received hospitality at the Oxfordshire Cistercian house of Thame. Its abbot, Richard Bartone, had, as we have seen, twice been ordered to visit Grace Dieu, and a fairly close relationship appears to have sprung up between the two men. At any rate in April, 1281, (the year following Bartone's second mission to Monmouthshire) the two abbots were both present at the election of William de Gisors as superior at Beaulieu<sup>31</sup>, and a few months later, in August, Warin acted for Bartone in a dispute with Oseney Abbey over the foundation of a new monastery at Rewley. He was described then in the Chartulary of Thame as "the lord Warinus, abbot of Grace Dieu, *our procurator*"<sup>32</sup>, as if staying, and occupying a dignified position, in that house. Later (1283) Richard Bartone became abbot of Rewley, seemingly succeeded there in turn by Warin who (*circa* 1286) appears to have governed the new house for a year or so<sup>33</sup>.

Five years later, in 1291, the Crouchback was again a benefactor to Grace Dieu, granting the abbey the advowson of the church of Skenfrith, "in frank almoin, for the souls of king Henry his father, and of Queen Eleanor his mother"<sup>34</sup>. But the difficulties of the monastery long continued and again later (1361) mention is made of "the present depressed state of the abbey by various adversities"<sup>35</sup>. Glanmor Williams has suggested that this was the result of plague<sup>36</sup>. Grace Dieu was to remain a relatively small and unimportant house, very largely because of these early troubles, but also probably because its late foundation deprived it of the impetus which monasteries like Tintern had possessed, in the heyday of the Cistercian reform and colonisation a century before.

As we have seen border warfare, and possibly other causes, accounted for bringing about one, and perhaps two, early changes in the siting of the abbey. Such changes were not unusual

in the early history of British Cistercian monasteries, though more commonly they were effected under peaceful conditions<sup>37</sup>. But they leave us with a problem. Where exactly was the monastery built in 1226, and again in 1236? The original site must remain a very obscure matter, because of the then total destruction of the house, and the absence of any contemporaneous documentary evidence. The only possible clues are in the reference mentioned before (in the Annals of Waverley) to Troy, which might have been a monastic allusion to the Trothy brook<sup>38</sup>, and a reference to Whitecastle in 1234 as ‘castrum de Albo Monasterio’<sup>39</sup>—here the monks had property even at the dissolution. 1234 was the year after the burning of the house, and times were troubled; could it be that the monks took temporary refuge in a nearby stronghold such as Whitecastle, and that for this reason the Chapter-General was so immediately insistent on their being transferred to a new building? This latter, effected in 1236, was probably very near the final site of *circa* 1276–80, as there is mention in accounts at the time of dissolution, of ‘the old abbey’ in close proximity to Grace Dieu itself. If there was no actual change of site in 1276–80, then the reference to the ‘old abbey’ would be to the first site. The matter is considered again later<sup>40</sup>.

### Later History

Not so much is heard of Grace Dieu in the 14th and 15th centuries. The former opened with the abbot involved in a legal action concerning property (1306)<sup>41</sup>, saw Duke Henry of Lancaster grant the monastery a chapel at Monmouth Castle as a chantry (1356/7)<sup>42</sup>, and closed with Abbot Holand of Dore seeking brief refuge when assaulted at his own house by men of Ewyas Harold (1397). But they followed the unfortunate man here, stealing his possessions, and carrying him away captive<sup>43</sup>. The turn of the century saw our Abbot ratifying the election of John Bryde to the abbacy of Waverley (1400)<sup>44</sup>, attending Convocation in St. Paul’s (1408)<sup>45</sup>, and a Council of the Province of Canterbury (1417)<sup>46</sup>.

Ten years later, in 1427, it was again the turn of Grace Dieu to suffer misfortune, this time the result of the “ill-governance of Richard Moyne of Morgan, and his adherents.” (Moyne was presumably abbot now of Grace Dieu). The Abbot of Dore was therefore instructed to visit Grace Dieu, and the Steward of Monmouth Castle was commanded to “go with *and aid* him”<sup>47</sup>. Further evidence of the Abbot of Dore as visitor comes in 1496 (see Appx. IV, No. 2) and 1534<sup>48</sup>.

Little else is heard of the monastery save for brief references to financial matters, ordinations, and individual monks. These last included Nicholas de Stanton who (1351) was detained in Rome “by the difficulties and toil of the journey”<sup>49</sup>; Philip ap Thomas, who studied (*circa* 1397) theology and canon law at an Italian university<sup>50</sup>; Robert Ady (*alias* Newent) who, with papal dispensation was instituted as perpetual vicar of Puriton (Somerset) in 1460<sup>51</sup>, and Richard Rotter who (in 1518) was said to be “an apostate monk of Grasduw,” celebrating mass, and having a chantry, in St. Briavel’s church<sup>52</sup>.

The dissolution came in 1536 (Sept. 3rd)<sup>53</sup>, the value of the house being less than £200 p.a. More than one source records the community as then consisting of only two monks<sup>54</sup>; the last Abbot, John Griffith, received a payment of £15–10–0<sup>55</sup>, and was granted (Feb. 4th, 1537) an

annual pension of £4 out of the confiscated monastic revenues.<sup>56</sup> One monk received 13/4d, and 28/4d was paid to three servants<sup>57</sup>. At the time of dissolution the monastery maintained certain pensioners and corrodians as was customary. The interesting rights of two corrodians are detailed in Appendix IV (No. 3). One pensioner was John Owen, the bailiff of Stowe, who had received an annuity of £2 in 1535, but he died in 1537<sup>58</sup>. As late as 1553 former servants continued to receive a total of £4-10-0<sup>59</sup>.

Two former abbots were also being maintained by the house; John Rowthwelle (who had been granted a pension of £8 in 1533), and Thomas Perpin (£3-6-8 in 1534)<sup>60</sup>. Perpin appears to have been disallowed his pension (now stated as £3-13-4) when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was compiled in 1535<sup>61</sup>, and in 1539 it had been in arrears, but these were made up to him<sup>62</sup>. There is no mention of Rowthwelle's after 1539<sup>63</sup>, but Perpin continued to receive a pension (of £4) as late as 1553<sup>64</sup>. The rapid change-over of abbots in the latter years of the house is hard to understand (see Appendix I); it may suggest either dismissals because of corruption (*cf.* the case of nearby Monmouth Priory), or acts of fraud to ensure a substantial pension when the awaited day of dissolution came (*cf.* the case of the last abbot of Llantarnam)<sup>65</sup>.

Shortly after its suppression, *Leland* recorded "Grace of Dew, an Abbay of White Monkes standing in a Wood and having a Rille running by it. Veri good pastures be about this place"<sup>66</sup>. By this time the monastery will have been stripped of its valuables, as was usual. No lead however appears to have still remained on the roof of the church and other buildings at the time of dissolution<sup>67</sup>, but three bells, valued at £5-10-0 (and weighing some 5½ cwt.) were taken to Monmouth (two of them at a cost of 6/8d)<sup>68</sup>, and held there for the king by William ap Gwilym. Later they were bought by John Coore, a London grocer, and taken to Bristol by David Fortune, who received 5/1d for this service<sup>69</sup>. 12 ozs. of gilt plate were also accounted for, while for a few years after the suppression at least, Charles Herbert of Troy held a cope formerly belonging to the monastery, and valued at 13/4d<sup>70</sup>.

The site of the monastery and its adjacent property and granges was leased to Dr. John Vaughan<sup>71</sup>, a Visitor concerned in the suppression of certain local monastic houses, but in 1545 ownership passed to Sir Thomas Herbert of Wonastow and a William Brett<sup>72</sup>. Land at Penrhos was given in 1553 to Sir Francis Russell, and in the same year Stowe Grange, near St. Briavel's, another important and valuable possession of Grace Dieu was granted to Thomas Carpenter<sup>73</sup>. In 1555, Thomas Herbert also received lands formerly the property of Grace Dieu, in Skenfrith, Monmouth town, Whitecastle, and Penrhos<sup>74</sup>.

The stone of the monastery, which had a gatehouse, was probably used to build the lodge of Parc Grace Dieu, to which the now Sir Thomas Herbert refers in his will of 1588, mentioning also his 'two feather beds' there<sup>75</sup>. The abbey church, probably never very substantial, seems to have disappeared relatively quickly as no remains of it were noted in a very comprehensive early eighteenth century list of churches and chapels of the Llandaff diocese—a list which included buildings, ruined and unruined alike<sup>76</sup>. Much more recently, buried on the borders of Parc Grace Dieu, have been found gold coins ranging in date from the reign of Edward IV (1461-83)

down to 1536–7, and it has been conjectured that they may have been hidden there at the time of dissolution<sup>77</sup>. (There is too in existence a sacred sculpture found in the grounds of the Pant, once a property of the abbey)<sup>78</sup>.

Another memorial of the monastery remains in the name of the nearby bridge over the Troddi, called the Abbey Bridge today, and known as far back as 1664 as ‘ Pont-y-fynachlog ’ (‘ the bridge of the monastery ’)<sup>79</sup>. It may have been the same as the ‘ new bridge by Grace Dieu park ’ referred to by Lady Lucy Herbert in her will of 1603<sup>80</sup>, which in its turn may have replaced the Longbridge mentioned in the 1537 deed of lease to Dr. Vaughan<sup>81</sup>. The cemetery is said to have lain between a cottage near the bridge and the road.<sup>82</sup> Local tradition has the name of Parlour Farm as deriving from it, being originally a place on the bounds of their demesne where the monks met visitors, rather than at the monastery itself; and that the front door of Middle Hendre farm came from the abbey<sup>83</sup>.

### The Final Site

“ Of Grace Dieu in Monmouthshire, no trace remains, and even the exact site, though marked approximately on the Ordnance Survey map, is not known with certainty ”<sup>84</sup>. We have already noted the difficulty of knowing exactly where the first site of the abbey lay. To a lesser extent this is true even of the final foundation.

The 6in. Ordnance Survey map places it in a field to the *east* of the Troddi stream, and the site marked on the map is scheduled by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works as an Ancient Monument. “ The configuration of the ground at that spot gives every indication of the existence, at one time, of quite a considerable building here ”<sup>85</sup>, and Coxe, in his day, noted some “ extremely insignificant ” remains there<sup>86</sup>. It is however just possible that the remains are those of one of the abbey’s granges, and in passing one might note that Bradney, and Prof. William Rees<sup>87</sup> have both placed the site to the *west* of the stream (though the topography there is much less helpful), and Leland, who wrote very shortly after the dissolution specifically noted “ Grace Dieu of Trody ripa *dextra* ”<sup>88</sup>. The main difficulty with the site to the east of the stream is that it lies outside the extra-parochial division of Parc Grace Dieu, but on the other hand this may well be itself a clue to one of the earlier sites of the abbey. The problem of the site is not a new one; it interested Thomas Wakeman a century ago (see Appendix IV, No. 4).

### Property and Economic History

Grace Dieu, while never a great land-owning house, did receive several grants of property and various rights from the date of foundation onwards. Some were by royal gift. In 1226 (though it has been suggested that it was earlier) Henry III gave the monks two carucates of arable, 10 acres of meadow, and six acres of woodland, at the Hermitage of St. Briavel’s in the Forest of Dean, on condition that three monks were maintained there to sing divine service daily for his soul and the souls of his ancestors<sup>89</sup>. This valuable property became one of their *granges*, as Cistercian farms were called, and later still was known as their Manor of Stowe, and apparently held with the usual rights of manorial lords<sup>90</sup>. In addition the monks had common of pasture in St. Briavel’s<sup>91</sup>, and in 1270 had a stud of horses in the Forest<sup>92</sup>, where also they had rights of housebote and heybote<sup>93</sup>.

In 1227 the same monarch also granted Grace Dieu on payment of £120<sup>94</sup> the wood "which is called Penyard Regis," and this called at first the Hermitage of Penyard<sup>95</sup> (it seems likely that some monks may have lived here<sup>96</sup>), was later known as their Manor of Penyard. Here the monks immediately followed the example of their brethren of Flaxley and Tintern in smelting iron ore. The king had allowed them to mine "as much ore as necessary" for two itinerant forges which they had at Penyard<sup>97</sup>. They also had permission to assart (clear) the woodland, which at once provided them with timber for charcoal for smelting the ore, and with further land for cultivation<sup>98</sup>. This activity was however shortlived, for in 1267 the monks leased out Penyard Manor to Joan de Knovile for £300 cash, and an annual nominal rent of one pound of cummin<sup>99</sup>. It was in effect a sale<sup>100</sup>, and later (1337) they forfeited by act of quitclaim all their rights at Penyard to Sir John Inge, previously their tenant.<sup>101</sup> (Much earlier, in 1246, the monks had sold 36 acres of land in the nearby parish of Hope Mansell to the Abbey of Gloucester; this brought them 15 marks of silver<sup>102</sup>. Both sales probably reflect the early difficulties of the house).

Further land in Herefordshire was given to the abbey in 1328 by Richard Talbot (this was in Linton)<sup>103</sup>, and then in 1334 James de Baysham and John de Rosteleye granted it two houses, four carucates of arable, twelve acres of meadow, twenty acres of pasture, and twelve of wood in Colrugge and Aston providing two monks were appointed "to celebrate divine service daily in the abbey for the souls of the grantors, their ancestors, and heirs"<sup>104</sup>. Nothing more is heard of this property.

The year 1338 brought them another royal gift when Edward III granted the monastery 36 acres of wasteland at Wygget (Wyegate) and Langeford "contiguous to the manse and convent of the abbot at Stowe," it having been found (1337) that the land was three leagues from the cover of the Forest, and that no damage would result to the king<sup>105</sup>. This land cost the monks 9/- per year (3d per acre). Evidence of their agricultural activity is indicated in the further provision that they "may enclose with a small dyke and low hedge and bring back to cultivation the said waste"<sup>106</sup>. This enclosure was a necessary protection against the intrusion of forest animals, of which at this time the wild boar was common and there were also wolves<sup>107</sup>.

Somewhat later the monks appear to have suffered from officers of St. Briavel's Castle, so far as their rights of housebote and heybote in the Forest were concerned<sup>108</sup>, and then in 1361 the community requested the king to allow them to transfer the chantry obligation from Stowe to the Abbey at Grace Dieu, inasmuch as the common land in the Forest at St. Briavel's had been largely assarted, and the demesne lands of the grange had been "trodden down and consumed by the king's deer."

In consideration of these facts, and the "present depressed state of the abbey" their petition was granted, but command was made that "each new abbot, as soon as he becomes superior shall go to the custodian or constable of our castle at St. Briavel's, and in his presence affirm by a corporal oath that the same abbot and convent do find and maintain two monks . . . for the express purpose" of the chantry obligation<sup>109</sup>. In the reign of Richard II the service of chantry was withdrawn, an inquisition of 1398 finding that "for ten years last past the abbey have withdrawn these services and concealed the premises"<sup>110</sup>. Consequently St. Briavelstowe,



as it was then termed, was granted to a John Holton, but it later reverted to the abbey<sup>111</sup>. In 1486 Abbot Dorston leased out the fields at Wyegate, and in 1488 the entire grange of Stowe together with the adjacent lands of Paternoster and Perocke was demised for 99 years<sup>112</sup>. Before this period expired however the abbey was dissolved and the property disposed of as previously described.

The dates at which lands in Monmouthshire were granted to the community are very largely unknown. Perhaps this is partly due to the fact that during the reign of James I deeds relating to the former monastery and its property were stolen<sup>113</sup>. (One might note here that the documents leasing out the Stowe properties in 1486-8 have unfortunately been lost in this present century). However as several of their granges (Penrhos, Wyesham, and Treurgan) were in their

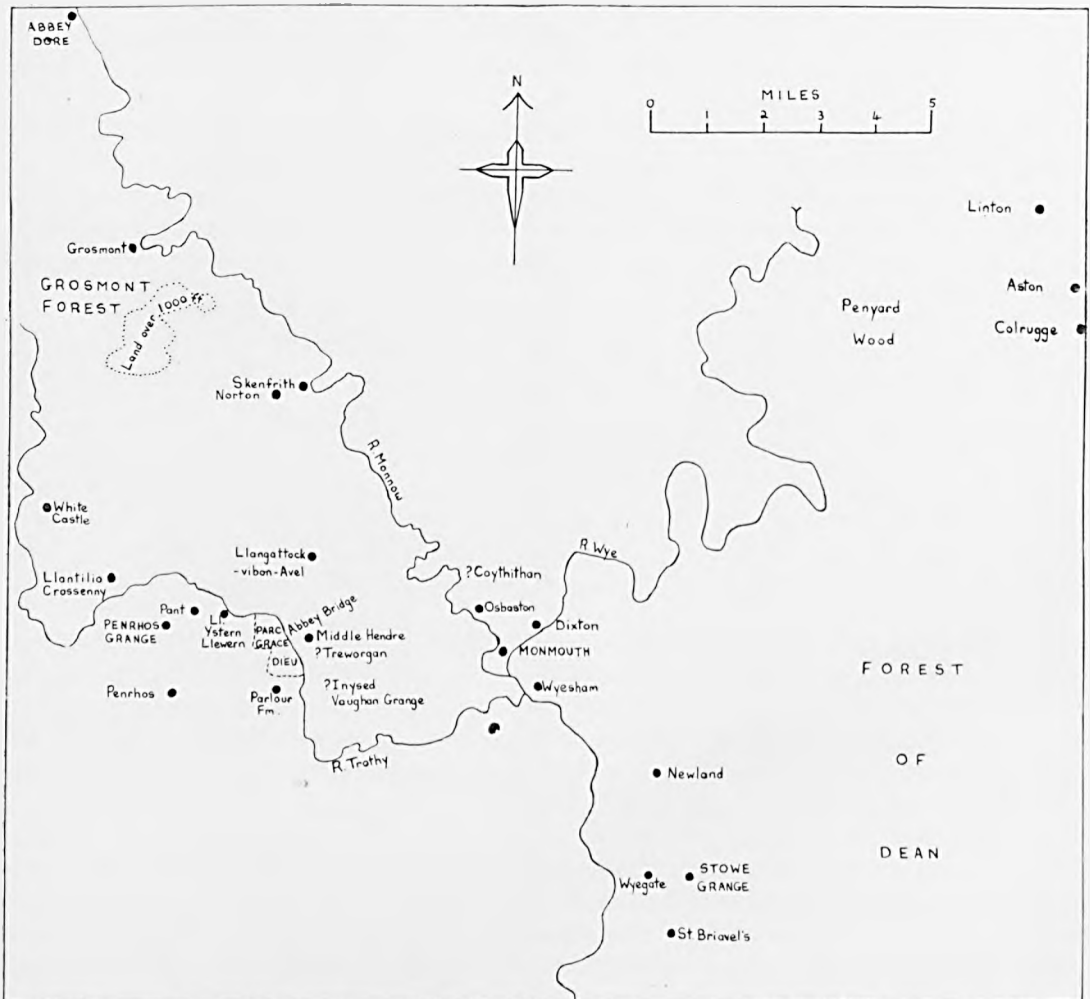


FIG. 1. GRACE DIEU: SOME LOCALITIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT.

Based upon 1" O.S. map; 6" O.S. map, 1st edn., 1882; William Rees' "South Wales and the Border in the 14th Century." *With the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.*

hands by 1291<sup>114</sup>, and all within a few miles radius of Grace Dieu, it seems likely that they at least were either gifts from John of Monmouth at the time of foundation, or from Edmund Crouchback later that century.

Locating these Monmouthshire properties is none too easy. But from oblique references, and one direct piece of evidence, it seems very likely that the present division of Parc Grace Dieu was the mediaeval parish of Treurgan and contained the grange of the same name, (if not, *vide supra*, one or other of the actual abbey sites)<sup>115</sup>. Inysed Vaughan Grange lay in the parish of Llangattock-vibon-Avel. at the Hendre<sup>116</sup>. Penrhos Grange is fortunately still commemorated in the name of a farm and a wood, while a well-defined old track runs directly from it to Parc Grace Dieu<sup>117</sup>. In Penrhos parish they had much other land which formed part of their manor of Treurgan<sup>118</sup>. Other granges were Coyd Dethan (probably the same as Coythithan, near Monmouth, where the Crouchback gave Grace Dieu 100 acres of land (by 1273), the grant occasioning a dispute at the time with Monmouth Priory over the tithes issuing from it);<sup>119</sup> Coldgrange or le Cole Grange, probably in Llangattock parish<sup>120</sup>, Crugronen<sup>121</sup> (? at Onen in Llanvihangel), and south of Monmouth (described in 1291 as Wyesham<sup>122</sup>, and in 1536 as 'toward Newland')<sup>123</sup>.

Lands, and other properties, were also held in Skenfrith parish (near the Monnow bridge<sup>124</sup>, and at Norton)<sup>125</sup>, in Llantilio Crossenny (at Whitecastle<sup>126</sup>, and the Pant<sup>127</sup>—which farm runs today with Penrhos Grange), in Llangattock (at Creze, ? Crwys<sup>128</sup>), at Dixton (the old Beaulieu<sup>129</sup>), and in Monmouth town, where rent was paid to the value of 11/4d<sup>130</sup>. Much of their property was leased out well before the dissolution<sup>131</sup>—some mention of this has already been made.

Timber and stone were of course both important commodities in the Middle Ages, and in the immediate area the monastery possessed several substantial woods at the dissolution. They were—Mylnewood (20 acres in extent), New Park (10 acres), Prior's Wood—near the abbey—(4 acres), Grange Than (? Ysgubor-lan in Penrhos, 12 acres), and Peresgraunge and Moncks Wood (40 acres together)<sup>132</sup>. The abbot had *circa* 1300 a quarry for stone<sup>133</sup>, and in 1535 owned land by Penrhos Quarry<sup>134</sup>. There are today several small limestone quarries in the area, and it was at one of these that the gold coins previously referred to were found. Finally tithes were another source of wealth. Grace Dieu had that issuing from Penrhos Grange and leased the tithes of Treurgan from Llandaff Cathedral Chapter<sup>135</sup>. It was also possessed of the tithes of Skenfrith—this was worth £2-13-4<sup>136</sup>, and an indication of its content comes in 1542-3 when some of it was stolen from the lessee. The amount taken was valued at 25/- (i.e. about half the total), and consisted of 1 horseload of wheat, 6 horse and 1 wagon load of barley, 1 load of beans, and 3½ loads of oats<sup>137</sup>.

Cistercian monks were pioneers in agriculture, in industry, and in trade. Grace Dieu played a part in all three, albeit on a very small scale. Mention of its agricultural activities, and of early iron smelting, have in part been made. It remains only to note that they had a corn mill near the monastery<sup>138</sup>, and another probably at Stowe<sup>139</sup>, and, in 1291, fourteen cows and twenty-two sheep<sup>140</sup>. But these last figures were probably an underestimate for about the same time

Flemish and Italian wool-merchants' lists record the monastery as providing an annual yield of five 26-stone sacks of wool<sup>141</sup>. It may be that the monks at first took an interest in cloth making, for they owned a fulling mill at Osbaston near Monmouth<sup>142</sup>, and here also they had a workshop (*fabricam*)<sup>143</sup>.

The income of the house was never great as the tables in Appendix III will show. When assessed for various tenths granted, on temporalities in the Hereford diocese, Grace Dieu's contribution was generally about one-third that of Tintern. Sometimes it was exempted, sometimes it failed to pay, or was in arrears<sup>144</sup>. Failure to pay was the cause of excommunication of the abbot in 1335<sup>145</sup>. In an assessment of the year 1400 of all the Cistercian houses in Wales for the support of scholars of their order at Oxford, the contribution to be made by Grace Dieu was fixed at only one-quarter that levied upon Tintern<sup>146</sup>; another in 1521, for payment to the Chapter General, saw Grace Dieu assessed at one-eighth of Tintern's value<sup>147</sup>. The following year Grace Dieu was omitted from the list of abbeys taxed to defray the Crown expenses in the French war<sup>148</sup>. In 1467/8 the Abbot himself had been one of the collectors of annual fees payable to the Receiver General in the Lordship of Abergavenny, but he made no return<sup>149a</sup>.



(a)



(b)

FIG. 2. (a) SEAL OF ABBEY OF GRACE DIEU (after William Cox: *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, 1801).

(b) SEAL OF JOHN, Abbot of Grace Dieu, A.D. 1530-5 in Hereford Cathedral Archive.

(By permission of the Dean and Chapter)

So, for lack of any other information, must close this short account of an intriguing monastery—the more interesting because it has left us no visible remains to admire. But this article could not have been written so fully without the kind assistance of several people, and I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them. It was a great encouragement that all scholars to whom I wrote were extremely helpful and co-operative. I have to thank Prof. William Rees who read and criticised my first draft, and Prof. Glanmor Williams and Dr.

R. A. Donkin who perused the final typescript. I am much indebted to Mr. Keith Kissack of Dixton, Monmouth, Mr. F. G. Cowley of the University Library, Cardiff, Dr. C. H. Talbot of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London, Mr. M. P. Watkins, solicitor of Monmouth, Mr. N. T. Fryer of Christ's Hospital, Horsham, Dr. L. A. S. Butler of the Ancient Monuments Commission, Aberystwyth, Col. Harding Rolls of Rockfield, Capt. E. G. Prior, Agent, The Hendre, Monmouth, and Mr. W. H. Baker, Archivist, all of whom, in greater or lesser measure, drew my attention to various important references and sources of information. My thanks also go to Miss E. Scroggs of Bishopsteignton, Devon, and Miss O'Farrell of Highgate, who have been responsible for much palaeographic work. Translations of Crown-copyright material in the Public Record Office appear by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Last, but far from least, I would acknowledge the interest shewn by the Editor, Mr. Cefni Barnett, and thank him for his ready willingness in arranging the drawing of the seal and of the map. (*I should point out that the map was prepared before it became clear that Treurgan (Treworgan) = Parc Grace Dieu.*)

Since I prepared the main body of my article, Dr. C. H. Talbot has very kindly forwarded to me his transcript of a manuscript (*B.Mus.Royal MS.12E xiv.fol.23*) describing the outcome of a chapter meeting at Grace Dieu on July 11th, 1351, under the chairmanship of the Abbot of Dore, assisted by the Abbot of Llantarnam.

The document is of considerable interest. It explicitly mentions Grace Dieu as being the daughter-house of Abbey Dore (thus giving further evidence of a point made earlier), and adds to our list the name of Roger of Chepstow as Abbot of Grace Dieu in 1351. But the larger part of the text is concerned with the wish of Abbot Roger to resign, and the (very adequate) provision consequently made for him. In doing so it gives us further signs of internal and external troubles suffered by the house in the mid-14th Century.

Roger, in the presence of his convent, placed in detail before the visiting abbots, but "not without bitter sorrow in his heart," "the several misfortunes of his monastery, the ill-will of the world, and the pressure put on him by his neighbours." He begged to be instantly relieved of his post, and his resignation was accepted.

The Visitors provided that for the duration of his life he should have "his own chamber with one or more servants as he chooses," and "an annual pension of £20 in equal portions at the feast of blessed Mary, and of St. Martin in the autumn." If the abbot was in residence then Roger was to sit at his (the Abbot's) table, but if the abbot was absent then "let him be provided with bread, drink, meat and fish (raw or cooked according to his wishes), as much as for two or three monks." He was to take place immediately after the abbot, he was to be free from all observances of the cloister, speaking everywhere and regularly without having to seek permission, and if he wished he could "weekly summon one monk to give him solace, by a sign previously made."

## Appendix 1

## ABBOTS OF GRACE DIEU

<i>Ruling in:</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1236	John	149
? 1240	Walter	150
1246	Roger	151
before 1256	? Gilbert de Lacy	152
1267	William	153
1281	Warin	154
before 1304	A . . . . .	155
1337	Walter	156
1350	Robert	157
before 1387	John Wysbeche	158
1427	Richard Moyne	159
1447	Richard Clifford	160
1473	John	161
1486-8	Richard Dorston	162
1515-7	Stephen Grene	163
1530-1	John Ryldos(Byldos)	164
?	John Rowthwelle	165
1533	William Ipsley	166
?	Thomas Perpin	167
1534-6	John Griffith	168

## Appendix 2

## ORDINATIONS

Many of Grace Dieu's monks were probably ordained by the diocesan bishop of Llandaff; unfortunately the records of such were destroyed in the war by enemy action, and it is therefore only possible to record the names of those who received their Orders in the Hereford Diocese. The sources are the several volumes of the *Canterbury and York Society* (1910-21) containing transcriptions of the Hereford Bishops' Registers. The ordinations took place variously at the Cathedral, Bromyard, and other churches of that diocese. Those marked \* took place in Monmouth Priory Church. Many secular clergy were ordained "on the title" of Grace Dieu, but were not religious of the house. The ordination lists do not always distinguish between the two unfortunately.

<i>Name</i>	<i>O.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>
Wm. Driffield	SD	1330	Apl. 7	9	113
Simon de Driffield	D	1331	Mar. 16	9	119
Richard ' in the lone de Wychepol '	D	1347	Mar. 18	S 8	466
Phillip Wylly of	SD	1362	Dec. 23	14	88
Skenfrith	D	1363	Feb. 22	14	89
" " "	P	1363	Mar. 9	14	91
John of Kent	SD	1366	Apl. 4	M 14	100
" " "	D	1366	May 29	M 14	101
" " "	P	1366	Dec. 19	M 14	106
Philip de	SD	1366	Apl. 4	M 14	100
Kingstone	D	1366	May 29	M 14	101
" " "	P	1366	Dec. 19	M 14	106
John ap Philip	SD	1381	Mar. 22	18	149
ap David	D	1382	Apl. 5	18	150
William Winborn	D	1396	May 27	M 20	216
William Clerc	SD	1408	Apl. 14	S 21	137
" "	D	1408	June 9	M 21	138
" "	P	1408	Sep. 27	21	140
Wm. ap Jevan David	D	1408	June 9	M 21	139
Hugh Cresenny	P	1412	Apl. 2	S 21	153
Roger Milleward	D	1413	Mar. 3	S 21	158
" "	P	1414	June 2	21	159
David ap Thomas	SD	1424	Dec. 23	23	297
" " "	D	1425	Mar. 3	23	297
Wm. ap David ap	D	1433	Mar. 7	S 23	313
Gwillim	P	1433	Apl. 11	S 23	314
Richard ap John	D	1438	Mar. 30	23	329
" " "	P	1438	Apl. 10	23	329
Geoffrey Roger	SD	1460	Dec. 30	25	146
" "	D	1461	Feb. 28	25	147
" "	P	1461	Sitientes Sat.	25	147
John Williams	D	1464	Easter Eve	25	154
" "	P	1464	May 16	25	154
David ap David	P	1471	Sept. 21	25	167
ap Meuric					
John Moris	D	1484	Mar. 13	26	170

<i>Name</i>	<i>O.</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Vol.</i>	<i>Page</i>	
Wm. Yonge	D	1484	Mar. 13	26	170	
Stephen Vaughan	P	1484	Mar. 13	26	170	
Thomas John	P	1484	Mar. 13	26	170	
John ap Phelpot	SD	1488	Ember Sat. Sept.	26	175	
„ „ „	P	1489	Sept. 19	26	177	
Phillip ap Gwilym	P	1490	June 5	26	179	
David ap John	D	1506	Mar. 7	27	244	
Thomas Morys	SD	1509	Sept. 22	M 27	253	The
„ „	P	1510	Sept. 21	M 27	254	majority
Philip Rogers	SD	1511	Mar. 15	27	254	of these
„ „	D	1511	June 14	* 27	255	were very
„ „	P	1512	June 5	27	257	probably
Thomas Hughes	D	1511	May 6	27	255	seculars,
„ „	P	1511	June 14	* 27	255	ordained
Reginald Cocke	SD	1517	Apl. 11	28	304	to the title
or Coke	D	1517	June 6	28	305	of the
Hugh ap Richard	SD	1520	Apl. 7	28	309	monastery
Robert Phelpotts	D	1521	May 25	28	311	
Thomas Hughes	P	1522	Apl. 19	28	313	
Edmund Johns	SD	1524	Feb. 22	28	316	
„ „	D	1524	Mar. 9	28	317	
„ „	P	1525	Apl. 1	28	319	
David ap Howell	SD	1524	Mar. 9	28	316	
Robert Hyett	D	1531	Mar. 25	* 28	328	
Thomas Willin	D	1533	June 7	28	330	

M – Monk      S – Secular (title) (Those unmarked are uncertain)

O – Order      SD – Subdeacon      D – Deacon      P – Priest

Vol. 8 = Registrum John de Trillek (1344–61 : 1910).

Vol. 9 = Registrum Thome de Charlton (1327–44 : 1913).

Vol. 14 = Registrum Ludowici de Charlton (1361–70 : 1914).

Vol. 18 = Registrum Johannis de Gilbert (1375–89 : 1915).

Vol. 20 = Registrum Johannis Trefnant (1389–1404 : 1916).

Vol. 21 = Registrum Roberti Mascall (1404–16 : 1917).

Vol. 22 = Registrum Edmundi Lacy (1417–22 : 1918).

Vol. 23 = Registrum Thome Spofford (1422–48 : 1919).

Vol. 25 = Registrum Ricardi Beauchamp et aliis (1449–74 : 1919).

Vol. 26 = Registrum Thomas Myllyng (1474–92 : 1920).

Vol. 27 = Registrum Ricardi Mayew (1504–16 : 1921).

Vol. 28 = Registrum Caroli Bothe (1516–35 : 1921).

(1447 Mar. 9 in St. Cuthbert's Church, Wells.

SD. David William *ad titulum*). (*Somerset Rec. Soc. l.482*).

### Appendix 3 INCOME AND PROPERTY

(This is a summary only; for fuller details see the authorities quoted).

1291 – *Taxatio Eccl. P. Nicholai* (1802 *Edn*)

			£	s.	d.
p.172	At <i>Stowe</i>	Grange – 1 caruc. land		13	4
		Fixed rents	2	0	0
		Paternoster – 2 caruc.		10	0
		Colkescete – 1 caruc.	2	0	0
p.174b		3 cows		4	6
p.172	At <i>Wyesham</i>	Grange – pasture		6	8
		fixed rents		5	4
		fulling mill, nr. Monmouth, “used to be rented for £6 – 13 – 4” now only worth:—	2	0	0
		workshop		8	0
p.281	At <i>Penrhos</i>	4 acres land	2	0	0
		hay		2	0
	At <i>Wrganestr’</i>	4 acres	2	13	0
	(? <i>Treurgan</i> )	hay	2	2	0
	<i>Other land</i>	3 caruc. (at <i>Coychyan</i> and <i>Gilgrinne</i> )	1	13	4
p.284b		11 cows		16	6
		22 sheep		10	0
			£17	19	8

#### *Temporalia* of Grace Dieu (*tenths* bracketed)

##### HEREFORD DIOCESE

	1291 <sup>169</sup>			1419 <sup>170</sup>		
temporalities	£8	3	4 (16/4)	£8	3	4 (16/4)
movables		4	6 ( 5½)		4	6 ( 5½)

##### LLANDAFF DIOCESE (date not specified)<sup>171</sup>

temporalities	£8	11	4	and Skenfrith church ..	£13	6	8
movables		1	6	6			

(These figures are obviously based on the 1291 *Taxatio*).

#### TENTHS, OR OTHER SUBSIDY, ASSESSED FOR PAYMENT TO THE KING (Heref. dio. only)

T:tenths

S:subsidy	1335(T) <sup>172</sup>	1384(S) <sup>173</sup>	1489(T) <sup>174</sup>	1505(S) <sup>175</sup>	1527(T) <sup>176</sup>
<i>Grace Dieu</i>	16-4½	8-4½	16-9½	8-0	16-9½

(The steady value of these figures is of interest).



## CISTERCIAN SUBSIDIES

	1400 <sup>177</sup> (for their Scholars at Oxford)	1521 <sup>178</sup> (for the Chapter General)
<i>Grace Dieu</i>	13/4	3/4
<i>Tintern</i>	53/4	26/8

1535 – *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1810–34 edn.) (Vol.IV. p.361)

fixed rents	£12	0	0
tithes – Skenfrith	2	13	4
„ Treurgan	1	0	0
„ Trewill		8	0
„ fulling mill	1	0	0
„ demesne lands	9	0	0
	£26	1	4

*total deductions* = £6 17 0

*net income* = £19 4 4

MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS 1535–6<sup>179</sup>

<i>Demesne lands</i>	£12	1	4
<i>Skenfrith: tithes</i>	2	13	4
lands, etc.		7	10
<i>Stowe: grange and lands</i>	5	6	7
<i>Lordship of Monmouth:</i> fulling-mill, nr. Monmouth, with dovecot and orchard	2	16	8
several granges, or portions of: le Cole Grange, a grange near Newland, Coed Dethan (? Coythithan), Crugonen, Inysed Vaughan	3	5	8
other lands, and property	3	6	3
<i>Whitecastle</i>		18	4
<i>Penrhos</i> (incl. portion of grange at £1 – 3 – 4)	6	2	8
	£36	18	8

(A similar list for 1536/7 occurs in the *Monasticon*, V p.686,  
and a few 1555 values in *Cal. Patent Rolls* (1555) p.184).

**Appendix 4****FURTHER DOCUMENTS RELATING TO GRACE DIEU ABBEY****1. P.R.O. Ancient Petitions 2462** (early 14th cent.)

“To the King, from poor Chaplains of the Abbot and Convent of Grace Dieu: as two monks of the house sang (Mass) for the King and his ancestors in the Free Chapel of St. Briavel’s, two monks used to have housebote and heybote and enough fuel in the Forest of Dean as of old without being disturbed by Officers of the castle of St. Briavel’s, may orders be given to the said Officers that the said two monks, for maintenance of the profits of the Chapel, be allowed to have what they have hitherto had in the said Forest.”

**(on reverse)**

Let there be a writ to the Constables of St. Briavel’s Castle that an enquiry be made concerning the Convent in the petition, and if it be found that the said monks had the said estovers, that it be allowed to them to have them henceforward as they were accustomed to have.

**2. P.R.O. Exch. Eccles. Documents, E 135/18/6** (abbreviated)

Brother Marmaduke, abbot of Fountains, reformator of the Cistercian Order in England, Wales, and Ireland, to Richard, abbot of Dore. Greeting, and Command humbly to obey his superior.

You know that we, for the reform of our order, and the increasing irregularities in the same, have decided to fix the day and place where we and other fathers of our religion can meet together, after the feast of the Purification soon to come, to discuss and take counsel upon the difficult business of our order, and to commend that which can be to the praise of God and the advantage and honour of our religion.

For the present therefore, we inhibit you, under penalty of excommunication and of sentence of deposition, from visiting, correcting, punishing, or ordering the monastery of Grace Dieu, or persons of the same, whether in capital or in goods, until the time fixed by us, unless you receive other express command from us.

Given in our monastery at Fountains on the morrow of All Saints, A.D.1496.

**3. Grant of a Corrody** (abbreviated from **P.R.O. L.R.6/152/2** of 1537–8).

*Indenture* made 1st August 1534 between John Griffith, abbot of Grace Dieu and the convent of the same, and Howell ap John ap Ieuan and Margaret his wife of the parish of Llangattock-vibon-Avel.

*Witnesseth* that the said abbot and convent giveth and granteth unto the said Howell and Margaret for a certain sum of money beforehand paid, and their attorney, for term of their natural lifetime, first, every week half a trugg of wheat and half a trugg of oaten malt, and a quarter of beef against Christmas, and a pig, lawful to make bacon of, (or else 2/4d sterling), against St. Martintide, and further, sufficient finding for 2 kine winter and summer, and also an house with their kine, and also wood for their fire, sufficiently winter and summer, at a reasonable place assigned, to have and to fetch without let or interruption, and also finding of an horse

for to do their business winter and summer, and the west end of the gate house at the said abbey to inhabit and dwell therein, and also the underplace of the said east end of that same gatehouse, and if (they) happen to repair the west end the said abbot and convent upon their own proper cost and charge do cause all such stones needful and necessary to repair the same to be conveyed and carried unto that place, and further giveth and granteth a garden place belonging to the same gatehouse and also an apple tree by the gardenside, and also granteth them to breed certain hens and pullets, and a pig, more or less, keeping the abbey, and lands thereunto appertaining, harmless as much as they can for the trespass thereof, and to hold all and singly the aforesaid premises above rehearsed and granted.

(N.B.: “and note that the quarter of Wales contains 28 heaped truggs; and it makes 2 quarters, 2 bushels and two parts of a bushel heaped according to the measure of London ” —*vide* p.95 in *S. Wales and Monmouth Record Society*. Publ. 2. (1950) (Ministers’ Accounts, Lordship of Abergavenny, 1256/7).

#### 4. The Site of Grace Dieu

(a) *In Newport and Monmouthshire Archives*

*T. Wakeman to J. E. Rolls, Esq.*

Graig, 15 June, 1858.

“ My Dear Sir,

. . . I have been looking over my notes on Parc Gras Dieu—is it certain that the Abbey stood on the site or near the present farm house and homestead? I can find nothing positive on the subject—may it not have stood near the bridge and the traditionary Old Chapel been in fact the monastery itself—Cummins’ account of the existence of vaults there, would, if a fact, rather lead to this conclusion, for vaults in small chapels were by no means common.”

(b) “ *Antiquarian Excursions*,” *T. Wakeman*, (1860), pp.53-4.

“ Not a vestige of this Abbey remains; it, however, stood just beyond the bridge over the Trothy, on the left hand of the road, where tombstones and foundations of buildings have been found quite recently, but are now turfed over. The last remains of the Monastic buildings, a large barn, on the opposite side of the road, was taken down within these few years.”

#### REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been employed:

Chart.	–	Calendar of Charter Rolls.
Close	–	Calendar of Close Rolls.
Fine	–	Calendar of Fine Rolls.
Pat.	–	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
Papal	–	Calendar of Papal Registers
Statuta	–	Statuta Capit. Ord. Cist. (ed. J. Canivez, Louvain, 1933-41).
Bradney	–	History of Monmouthshire (Bradney, J.(Sir). 1907).

<sup>1</sup> *Bradney* ii.Pt.I. pp. 75, 122. *Ord. Survey*, “ Book of Reference to Plan of Parc Grace Dieu ” (1882).

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series 1869), vol. ii (*Waverleia*) p.302.

<sup>3</sup> *Manrique, A.* “ *Cisterciensium Annalium* ” (Lyons, 1659) iv. 325.

<sup>4</sup> In his *Notitia Monastica* (Tanner, T. 1787), where *Trody* from a mis-reading of J. Leland’s *Itinerary* (1769 edn. iv. 90), *Newham* confused with a Devonshire house of that name, *Stow* from a mis-translation of the Latin in *Fine*, 12 Edw. III (1338) p.65.

<sup>5</sup> vide *Manrique*, op.cit. iv. 325.

<sup>6</sup> *Chart.* 11 Hen. III p.4.

<sup>7</sup> R. A. Donkin, "Cistercian Order in Mediaeval England," (in *Trans. Inst. Brit. Geog.* 1963 (No. 33) p.182.

<sup>8</sup> *Statuta*, vol. i. 1217 Stat. 67.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* ii 1222. Stat. 32.

<sup>10</sup> *Trans. Bristol and Glouces. Arch. Soc.* xx 72. See also editor's footnote in same *Trans.* vi 82, suggesting that Henry III by charter dated as early as 9 Feb. 1224/5 granted St. Briavel's Hermitage to the monks.

<sup>11</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* xxvii 527 (*Annales Dorensis*); cf. Janauschek, L. "Originum Cisterciensium" (Vienna, 1877) p.229; *Annales Monastici*, op.cit. ii 302; *Manrique*, op.cit. iv 325. *Cotton MS.* B.M.Vesp. A.v.f. 40; O'Sullivan, J. F. "Cistercian Settlement in Wales" (*Fordham Univ. Studies*, New York 1947) p.34.

<sup>12</sup> e.g.: kalendars in C. de Visch, "Bibl. Script. Ord. Cist." (Douai 1649), and Miraeus, "Chronicon Cist. Ord." (Cologne 1614).

<sup>13</sup> Dugdale, W. "Monasticon Anglicanum" (1846 edn.) vol. V. p.686. (It is worth noting that Grace Dieu is omitted from the kalendar in Jongelin's "Notitia abb. Ord. Cist." (Cologne, 1640).

<sup>14</sup> *Annales Monastici*, op.cit. ii 312.

<sup>15</sup> *ibid.* ii 312.

<sup>16</sup> *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Series, 1860), p.79.

<sup>17</sup> *Close*, 18 Hen. III (1234), p.445.

<sup>18</sup> *Statuta*. ii 1234 Stat. 49.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.* ii 1235 Stat. 36.

<sup>20</sup> *Close*, 19 Hen. III (1235), p.44.

<sup>21</sup> *Statuta*. ii 1236 Stat. 13.

<sup>22</sup> *Annales Monastici*, op.cit. ii 317.

<sup>23</sup> *Close*, 24 Hen. III (1240), p.185.

<sup>24</sup> *Close*, 38 Hen. III (1253), p.11.

<sup>25</sup> *Close*, 20 Hen. III (1236), p.343.

<sup>26</sup> *Pat.* 21 Hen. III (1236/7) pp.169, 192, 201.

<sup>27</sup> *Pat.* 27 Hen. III (1243), p.185.

<sup>28</sup> *Statuta* ii 1252 Stat. 31.

<sup>29</sup> *Statuta* iii 1276 Stat. 62.

<sup>30</sup> *Statuta* iii 1280 Stat. 29.

<sup>31</sup> *Annales Monastici*, op.cit. vol. iv (*Wigornia*), p.479.

<sup>32</sup> *Oxford Historical Society*, vol. XC (*Chart. Oseney Abbey*, H. E. Salter 1929), pp.453, 455-8, cf. *Oxfordshire Record Society* vol. 26 (1948), pp. 33-36 (*Thame Cartulary*, H. E. Salter). I am indebted to Dr. C. H. Talbot for drawing my attention to Abbot Warin.

<sup>33</sup> *Victoria County History of Oxford* (1907) ii 83.

<sup>34</sup> *Pat.* 12 Edw. I (1291), p.451.

<sup>35</sup> *Pat.* 35 Edw. III (1361), p.11.

<sup>36</sup> Glanmor Williams, "Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation." (1962), p.153.

<sup>37</sup> Donkin, R. A., "Site Changes of Medieval Cist. Monasteries" in *Geography*, vol. 44 pt.iv (Nov. 1959), p.251 et seq.

<sup>38</sup> Suggestion kindly communicated by Dr. L. A. S. Butler.

<sup>39</sup> *Pat.* 18 Hen. III (1234), p.58.

<sup>40</sup> Ministers' Accounts 1535/6 in E. Owen, "Documents relating to . . . Grace Dieu," (S. Wales and Monmouth Record Society: Misc. 2, 1950), p.191.

<sup>41</sup> *Year Books*, vol. 31 (33/35 Edw. I Pleas Mich. Term 1306), p.330.

<sup>42</sup> Hobson Matthews, *Monmouth Records*, 13 p.155 (in Monmouth Local History Centre), and *P.R.O.* DL 29/594/9506. I am indebted to Mr. Keith Kissack for his ready help concerning these and other references.

<sup>43</sup> *Pat.* 21 Rich. II (1398), p. 362.

<sup>44</sup> *Dugdale*, op.cit. V.p.240. (I am indebted to the Diocesan Registrar of Winchester, Mr. G. H. Gardner, for arranging a photograph for me of the entry in the original Bishops' Register).

<sup>45</sup> *Canterbury and York Society* vol. 21 (*Reg. R. Mascall*), p.65.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.* vol. 22 (*Reg. E. Lacy*), p.7.

<sup>47</sup> Hobson Matthews, *Monmouth Records* (Pt. II para. 81, 82) after *P.R.O.D.* L. Misc Bks fo. 58, 59d. (Later reclassification has not allowed me to trace the present P.R.O. reference).

- 48 P.R.O. *Exch. Eccles. Documents*, E 135/18/6; L.R. 6/152/1.
- 49-50 *Papal* iii. 385, v.151.
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- 52 *Hockaday Abstracts* (Gloucester Public Library) No. 328.
- 53 P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/1.
- 54 e.g. Leland, J. "Collectanea" (2nd edn. 1770), vol. i.p.104, and *Glanmor Williams*, op.cit., p.560.
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- 57 P.R.O. L.R.6/152/1.
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- 59 Browne Willis, "History of Abbies" (1718) ii. 142.
- 60 *Glanmor Williams*, op.cit. p.383. P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/1.
- 61 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1821 edn.) IV. p.361.
- 62 P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/3.
- 63 cf. P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/3 and P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/4.
- 64 *Browne Willis*, op.cit. ii. 142.
- 65 see p.110 of this issue.
- 66 in his *Itinerary* (Oxford, 1769 edn.) v.13. Unfortunately he mistakes Usk for Monmouth, thus: "It (Grace Dieu) standeth bytwixt Wisk and Raglande iii Miles from Cairwisk and iiii from Raglande."
- 67 P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/1.
- 68 P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/1. See also *Arch. Camb.* 1896. 264.
- 69 E. T. Davies, "Ecclesiastical History of Monmouthshire" (1953) p.137.
- 70 P.R.O. L.R. 6/152/1.
- 71 *Letters and Papers*, op.cit. vol. 13. Pt. 1. p.576. *S. Wales Record Soc.* op.cit. p.196.
- 72 *Letters and Papers*, 37 Henry VIII (1545) vol. 20.i.665 (no. 1335.36).
- 73 *Pat.* 7 Edw. VI (1553) p.76 and *Pat.* 1 (Philip and) Mary (1554) p.162. For later leases of the Stowe property, see Allen, W. T. (Rev.) in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Soc.* ix (1884-5) p.90.
- 74 *Pat.* 2/3 Ph. and Mary (1555) p.184.
- 75 *Bradney* vol. 2. Pt. 1. p.122-.
- 76 J. Ecton, "Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum" (ed. Browne Willis, 1754).
- 77 *Monmouthshire Antiquary* vol. 1 Pt. 2 (1962) p.40 1.
- 78 Now the property of Col. Harding-Rolls, of Rockfield.
- 79 *Bradney*, vol. 2 pt. 1. pp.122 et seq.
- 80 *ibid.*
- 81 *S. Wales . . . Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. p.196.
- 82 *Bradney*, vol. 2. pt.1. pp.122 et seq.
- 83 kindly communicated by Mr. M. P. Watkins of Monmouth.
- 84 "A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology," *Cambr. Arch. Assoc.* (1949) p.147—kind information of Dr. L. A. S. Butler.
- 85 kind communication of Capt. E. G. Prior, Agent, The Hendre, Monmouth.
- 86 Coxe, "Tour through Monmouthshire" (1804), p.237. (A meadow on the west bank was, in 1834, known as Little Chapel Meadow: *Map of Park Grace Dieu Estate*, Rolls Family Papers, Monm. and Newport Record Office).
- 87 Wm. Rees, "S. Wales and Border in XIV C." (S.E. Sheet) (1933).
- 88 *Itinerary*, op.cit. iv 90.
- 89 *Rot. Litt. Claus.* 10 Hen. III (1226), ii.132. *Chart.* 11 Hen. III (1227) p.4. See also editor's footnote in *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* vi (1881-3), p.82, suggesting that charter was dated 9 Feb. 1224-5, and *Soc. of Antiq., Wakeman MSS.* (790 26, p.183).
- 90 P.R.O. C 66/869.
- 91 *Pat.* 35 Edw. III (1361) p.11.
- 92 Bazeley, M. L., in *Trans. Bris. and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* vol. 33 (1910), p.250.
- 93 P.R.O. *Ancient Petitions* 2462.
- 94 *Pipe Roll* 14 Henry III (Pipe Roll Soc. 1927) p.218. It took the monks a little time to pay.
- 95 *Rot. Litt. Claus.* ii 170.
- 96 *Rot. Hundredorum* i 176b.

- 97 *Rot. Litt. Claus.* ii 183, 185.  
 98 *ibid.* ii 183.  
 99 *Chart.* 13 Edw. I (1285) p.304. *Pat.* 10 Edw. III (1336) p.334. *Rot. Hund.* i 176b.  
 100 *Rot. Hund.* i 176b.  
 101 *Chart.* II Edw. III (1337), p.390.  
 102 *Duncumb, J.* "History of County of Hereford" vol. 2 (1812) (addn) p.369  
 103 *Pat.* 2 Edw. III (1328), p.307.  
 104 *Pat.* 8 Edw. III (1334), p.523.  
 105 *Hockaday Abstract*, op.cit. 328. *Glos. I.P.M.* vol. V p.268, and  
 106 *Fine* 12 Edw. III (1338) p.65.  
 107 *Close*, 8 Edw. I vol. ii (1280), p.8.  
 108 *P.R.O. Ancient Petition* 2462.  
 109 *Pat.* 35 Edw. III (1361), p.11; *Dugdale*, op.cit. V 685b.  
 110 *Glos. I.P.M.* vi 208-9.  
 111 *Allen, W.T.* op.cit. p.89.  
 112 *Hist. MSS Comm.* 15th Rep. vol. iv 183, 185-6. *Hockaday Abstr.* op.cit. 328. (*Allen, W.T.* op.cit. lists property as consisting at dissolution of Stowe Grange, Stowe Meadow, two fields at Wyegate, meadows at Longfield and Castlefield, house and lands at Wetherfield, and unnamed lands).  
 113 *Star Chamber Proceedings* (Hist. and Law Series, op.cit. No. 1) p.193.  
 114 see Appendix III.  
 115 e.g. p.198 in *S. Wales . . . Mon. Rec. Soc.* op.cit., *Augmentations*, op. cit. p.141, *Letters and Papers*, op. cit. 37 Hen. 8 (1545) vol. 20 Pt. I, p.665, but explicit reference is to be found in the parish registers of Llanfihangel-ystern-llewern in 1832-3 to Thomas Cummins and his wife 'of Park Gras Dieu of the Hamlet of Treworgan.' I am indebted to Mr. N. T. Fryer of Christ's Hospital, Horsham, who has supplied this information. Compare also Soc. of Antiq., Wakeman MSS. (790 26 p.183).  
 116 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. pp.192, 196. *Letters and Papers*, op.cit. Hen. 8. vol. 20 (1545), p.665.  
 117 information of Mr. N. T. Fryer.  
 118 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. p.198.  
 119 *P.R.O. Anc. Deeds.* E.40 A.14282. Bounds of the Coythithan land are given :—"beginning at the head of Radleye, extending by highway to head of Badeput and so going down by another way leading south to land which was of Yagon and so from highway next land of said Yagon to land which was of Yrthan ap Heliot, and so by land of Alan to stream called Lindenebroc, and afterwards going up by same stream to Willeleget, and then down by metes to stream leading to stream called Nanteseys called Englissemensbroc, and afterwards going up by same stream 54 perches and then straight to first bound at top of Radeleye."  
 120 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Society*, op.cit. p.190. *Nat. Libr. Wales*, Milborne Family Papers, no. 89.  
 121 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. p.191.  
 122 *Taxatio Eccl. P. Nicholai* (1802 edn) p.172.  
 123 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. p.190.  
 124 *Pat.* 2 and 3 Mary (1555) p.184.  
 125 *Bradney* vol. 2 pt. I. p.65.  
 126 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* p.192.  
 127 *Bradney*, vol. 2 pt. I. p.122 et seq.  
 128 *Milborne Family Papers*, op.cit. no. 89.  
 129 *Bradney*, vol. 2 pt. I. p.23.  
 130 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. p.191. Hobson Matthews, *Monmouth Records*, op.cit. vol. 13. p.166.  
 131 *Pat.* 2/3 Mary (1555) p.184.  
 132 Major leases have been mentioned. Others are noted in E. Owen's work, that of "Tere Myneth" (p.192) dates from at least 1473 (*Milborne Family Papers*, no. 4876).  
 133 *Letters and Papers*, op.cit. 37 Hen. VIII (1545), vol. 20 pt. I p.665 no. 1335(36).  
 134 *Year Books*, vol. 31 (33/35 Edw. I Pleas Mich. Term 1306), p.330.  
 135 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Society*, op.cit. p.193.  
 136 see Appendix III, and *Augmentations*, op.cit. pp.137, 140, 141. (The Skenfrith tithes were leased in 1516 to Thos. Colyns and Philip Johns for 60 years, on a payment of 4 marks per annum).  
 137 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, see Appendix III.  
 138 *Augmentations*, op.cit. p.177.  
 139 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.*, op.cit. p.196.  
 140 *Hockaday Abstracts*, op.cit. 328.

- 140 *Taxatio*, see Appx. III.
- 141 e.g. Pegolotti, F. B. " *La Pratica della Mercatura* " (ed. A. Evans, Camb. Mass. 1936), where " La Graziadio, la buona marchi 16, e la moiana marchi 10, e i locchi marchi 7½ il sacco, ed annone da 5 sacca per anno."
- 142 *P.R.O.* Anc. Deed, E 40. A.14282-4, and see Appx. III.
- 143 *Taxatio*, 1291 – see Appx. III.
- 144 e.g. *Cant. and York Society*, xviii p.83, xxviii p.192.
- 145 *Cant. and York Soc.* ix p.57.
- 146 Fowler, R. C. " *Cistercian Scholars at Oxford* " (Eng. Hist. Review 23 (1908), pp.84-5.
- 147 *Glanmor Williams*, op.cit. p.370.
- 148 *Cistercian Settlement in Wales*, op.cit. p.34.
- 149a *Badminton MS* (Nat. Libr. Wales) 1502.
- 149 *Close*, 20 Hen. III (1236) p.343. *Pat.* 21 Hen. III (1236-7) pp.169, 192, 201.
- 150 *Jesus College MS* 131 (in Bodleian Libr. Oxon) – it has however been suggested (by Thos. Wakeman) that this document was forged.
- 151 Duncumb, J. " *History of County of Hereford*," vol. 2 (1812) p.369 (addn).
- 152 *B.M.Add.Ch.*40796(2). Inspection of this document, which is a recital in 1256 of earlier charters and witnesses, does suggest that Gilbert de Lacy and the Abbot may have been different people.
- 153 *Pat.* 10 Edw. III (1336), p.334.
- 154 as Ref. 32.
- 155 as Ref. 133.
- 156 *Pat.* 11 Edw. III (1337) p.390.
- 157 *Papal* iii (9 Clem. VI) p.385.
- 158 *Glanmor Williams*, op.cit. p.208. (Later Abbot of Tintern).
- 159 as Ref. 47.
- 160 *Milborne Family Papers* (N.L.W.) no. 89.
- 161 *ibid.* no. 4876.
- 162 as Ref. 112.
- 163 *Augmentations*, op.cit. p.137, and *S. Wales and Mon. Record Soc.* op.cit. 194.
- 164 *Augmentations*, op.cit. p.141, and *Bradney*, who gives Byldos.
- 165 *LR.* 6/152/1.
- 166 *ibid.*
- 167 *ibid.*
- 168 , and *Augmentations*, op.cit. p.140, *Letters and Papers*, op.cit. 30 Hen. VIII vol. 13 pt. 1. p.576.
- 169 *Cant. and York* iiii 1002/3.
- 170 *Cant. and York Soc.* xxii 71.
- 171 G. T. Clark, " *Cartae de Glamorgan* " (1891) iiii 500, 502.
- 172-6 *Cant. and York Soc.* ix 57, xviii 83, xxvi 121, xxvii 64, xviii 192, respectively.
- 177 as Ref. 146.
- 178 as Ref. 147.
- 179 *S. Wales and Mon. Record Society*, op.cit. pp.189-195.

## CISTERCIAN ABBOTS IN MEDIEVAL GWENT

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

The dearth of information available makes it impossible to draw up complete lists of the abbots who ruled our three houses of Tintern, Llantarnam, and Grace Dieu. Further, it is often only possible to date one or two years, and not the whole period, of a particular abbacy.

The appended notes are intended to make fuller mention of some of the abbots, where this has seemed desirable. No list has been included for Grace Dieu Abbey, as this is to be found on p.96 in this issue.

### I. ABBOTS OF TINTERN

<i>Ruling in:</i>	<i>Name:</i>	<i>Footnote:</i>	<i>Reference:</i>
<i>circa</i> ? 1150 or 1176	E . . . . .		1
1153-7	Henry	1	2
-1188	William	2	3
1188-	Vido	2	3
1232-45	Ralph	3	4
1253	J . . . . .		5
1267-77	John	4	6
1294	Ralph		7
1305-19	Hugh de Wyke	5	8
1320-27	Walter of Hereford	6	9
1330-32	Roger de Camme	7	10
1333	Walter		11
1340-42	Gilbert		12
1349-75	John ( <i>possibly more than one</i> )		13
1387-1407	John Wysbech (Westbych)	8	14
1411	John		15
1413-37	John Cherville ( <i>alias</i> Charville, Charfeld, and ? Chapfield)	9	16
1438-40	Robert Acton		17
1441-55	John de Tynterne		18
1456-59	Thomas Munemothe		19
1460-86	Thomas Colston		20
1487-92	William Kere		21
1493-1506	Henry Newland	10	22
1513-17	Thomas Morton	11	23
1521-37	Richard Wyche	12	24



## 2. ABBOTS OF LLANTARNAM (or CAERLEON)

<i>Ruling in :</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Footnote :</i>	<i>Reference :</i>
c. 1205	Walter		25a
1227	Kenweryc		25b
mid-14th Cent.	David		25c
-1383	John	13	26
-1400	John ap Gruffydd	14	27
1400-05	John ap Howell	15	28
1431-62	Stephen	16	29
1465	William Nunam		30
1476	John		31
1507-32	Morgan	17	32
1535-36	Jasper ap Roger	18	33

**Abbots of Tintern**

1. *Henry* was, in the early days of Stephen's reign, a member of a robber band, but, troubled by his conscience, he visited the anchorite, St. Wulfric of Haselbury (Somerset), who converted him. Moved to repentance he took the Cistercian habit, rising to the abbacy of Tintern by 1153. Shortly after 1157 he became abbot of Waverley, where he died (1182). He frequently visited Wulfric for advice. On one such occasion, when Tintern was well in debt, the hermit predicted that matters would improve. Almost immediately Wulfric's words bore fruit, for when Henry reached Bristol in order to re-embark for Tintern, he received 24 marks from a man who desired to give his goods to the poor. *John of Ford* said that Abbot Henry imitated Wulfric in reciting the whole Psalter, once by day and once by night, and that he was conspicuous at the altar for the abundance of his tears. In his day he visited both the Pope, and St. Bernard<sup>34</sup>.

2. *William*, dismissed by visitators of Cistercian Order. Succeeded by *Vido*, abbot then of Kingswood (a monastery earlier colonised by Tintern), and previously Prior of Waverley<sup>35</sup>.

3. *Ralph*, by 1234 had loaned money to Eleanora, third daughter of King John<sup>36</sup>. Probably the same Abbot Ralph who later became Abbot of Dunkeswell (1245), and then (1252) eleventh Abbot of Waverley. He was said to be "a man gifted in no small way with sobriety of habits, and the splendour of wisdom"<sup>37</sup>.

4. *John*; it was stated in 1277 that he "had not been able for a long time to come to the Chapter General (*usually held at Citeaux*) on account of illness." Instructed to resign if he could not attend the next chapter<sup>38</sup>.

5. *Hugh de Wyke*, sued by men of his manor of Acle (co. Norfolk) who complained (1306) that he demanded of them 'many customs and services other than they ought to do,' but the men lost their case<sup>39</sup>, (which is often wrongly dated in published works as 1346). Abbot Hugh died in London (1319), and was buried at Stratford, Mx., probably at the Cistercian monastery there<sup>40</sup>.

6. *Walter*, gave sanctuary for a day or two in mid-October 1326 to Edward II<sup>41</sup>. Like several later abbots he had previously been cellarer at Tintern<sup>42</sup>. The Prior of L'Aumone was present at his installation, shewing a continuing connection between Tintern, and its mother-house<sup>43</sup>.

7. *Roger de Camme*, raised several weirs on the Wye by five or six feet, thereby impeding navigation on the river<sup>44</sup>.

8. *John de Wysbech*, previously abbot of Grace Dieu. He was excommunicated by the bishop of Llandaff in 1390 (23 July) for unspecified 'offences, contumacies, and rebellions'<sup>45</sup>.

9. *John Cherville* was a monk of Tintern by 1388, and therefore for some fifty years<sup>46</sup>.

10. *Henry Newland*, gave the church house and green to Woollaston parish, (co. Glos.), in 1501<sup>47</sup>.

11. *Thomas Morton*, visitor, with the Abbot of Ford, at Kingswood Abbey in April, 1517, but obstructed in his duties by rioters<sup>48</sup>.

12. *Richard Wyche*, last Abbot. He appears to have originally been a monk of Whalley (co. Lancs.), and obtained the B.D. degree of Oxford in 1521, the year in which he became abbot at Tintern<sup>49</sup>. In early September, 1534, he was summoned by Cromwell, sending the following letter in reply:

"Pleasing your good worship to understand that I have received your letter this Saturday, at nine of the clock before noon, by one Robert Helyatte, servant to John Wynter of Bristol, at which time your worship willed me to repair to the court to attend your pleasure. Had your letter come to my hands on Friday I would not have failed to come with all celerity to wait your pleasure. Praying your goodness and benignity for the honour of this high feast of our blessed Lady to respite me till Monday, at what day I shall repair to your good worship to know your further pleasure. Thus Jesu have you all way in his keeping. Given at Tintern this Saturday at nine of the clock.

Your continual bedesman,  
Rycharde, Abbat of Tynterne"<sup>50</sup>.

Abbot Wyche received a pension of £23 p.a. at the dissolution (1536/7);<sup>51</sup> was troubled by an ex-monk circa 1538–40 regarding property and financial matters concerned with the dissolved house<sup>52</sup>. (This monk was John Gethin, who after Tintern's dissolution appears to have resided at Kingswood until its slightly later suppression)<sup>53</sup>. Abbot Wyche appears later to have been outlawed<sup>54</sup>.

**Abbots of Llantarnam** (known in its earlier history as the Abbey of Caerleon).

13. *John*, had been abbot apparently for some time<sup>55</sup>.

14. *John ap Gruffydd*, described by Adam of Usk as 'that man of grace,' restored the monastery after it had suffered damage in an accidental fire (circa 1398)<sup>56</sup>.

15. *John ap Howell*, devoted to the Welsh cause, died in an attack on Usk Castle (1405) when the Welsh forces were defeated. He was previously Prior at Llantarnam, and Adam of Usk, who records his death, describes him as 'a man of the highest prudence'<sup>57</sup>. Joannes de Fordun (who incidentally calls him John Powal, and mistakes his order) describes how "the abbot in person heard confessions before the attack and gave absolution, continually shouting, and not ceasing

earnestly to speak, while the forces were being made ready for the battle. In this cause the abbot was perturbed by nothing, but was only zealous for the liberty of his country and people”<sup>58</sup>. He may have been the same John ap Howell who was ordained in 1366<sup>59</sup>.

16. *Stephen*, was blessed as abbot on Dec. 22nd 1431, by the bishop of Hereford, but he made his profession of faith to the bishop of Llandaff<sup>60</sup>. He may have been Stephen Went who was ordained in 1426<sup>61</sup>, and if so was probably a relatively young abbot when elected, and therefore the same Stephen ruling in 1462<sup>62</sup>.

17. *Morgan*, was left the farm of “the King’s Park by the town of Usk, in South Wales, called the Old Park,” in 1532, by Morgan Jones of Roxford (Hertfordingbury), Herts, on condition that he “shall find my son John” and “honestly intreat” the boy “as well in his learning and bringing up in virtue as in necessary clothing”<sup>63</sup>.

18. *Jasper ap Roger*, last Abbot. Received a pension of £15 p.a. at the dissolution (1536)<sup>64</sup>. Very shortly afterwards a commission was appointed to examine as to “certain alleged fraudulent leases made by the late abbot of Llantarnam to the prejudice of the demise granted by the King to John Parker . . . and to expel the lessees”<sup>65</sup>.

#### REFERENCES

The following abbreviations have been employed:

Chart	–	Cal. Charter Rolls.
Close	–	Cal. Close Rolls.
Pat.	–	Cal. Patent Rolls.
L.P.	–	Letters and Papers (Foreign and Domestic) – Henry VIII.
Badm.	–	Catalogue of the Badminton MSS (preserved in the Nat. Libr. Wales).

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale, W. “*Monasticon Anglicanum*” (1846 edn.) V. p.426. (There was an Abbot William of Quarr in 1150, and William I of Cîteaux ruled, circa 1176).

<sup>2</sup> W. J. Millor and H. E. Butler, “*Letters of John of Salisbury*,” vol. i 263, and *Somerset Record Society*, vol. 47 (1933), pp. xxxiv et seq. (in *Wulfric of Haselbury*, Dom M. Bell).

<sup>3</sup> *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series, 1869) vol. ii (*Waverleia*) pp. 242, 245.

<sup>4</sup> *Pat.* 18 Hen. III (1234), p.56. *Waverleia*, op.cit. 336, 345.

<sup>5</sup> B. M. *Harl. MS.* 75.D.11.

<sup>6</sup> *Waverleia*, op.cit. 387. *Chart.* 13 Edw. I (1285), p.304. *Close*, 54 Hen. III (1270) p.285. Canivez, J. (ed.) “*Statuta Capit. Gen. Ord. Cist.*” (Louvain, 1933-41) iii 1277. *Stat.* 43.

<sup>7</sup> J. G. Wood MSS (Newport Public Library), “*Tintern, Striguil, and Forest of Dean.*” Papers and Documents ii 150 (after Berkeley Chart. 459).

<sup>8</sup> *Flores Historiam*, (Luard, H. R. ed. 1890) iii 328, 343. *Pat.* 34 Edw. I (1306), p.434.

<sup>9</sup> *Flores Hist.* op.cit. iii 344. *Pat.* 1 Edw. III (1327) p.64.

<sup>10</sup> *Pat.* 4 Edw. III (1330) p.19. *Close.* 5 Edw. III (1331) p.370. *Inq. Misc.* ii 339.

<sup>11</sup> *Pat.* 7 Edw. III (1333), p.397.

<sup>12</sup> *Badm.* 1645. *Close* 14 Edw. III (1340), p.492.

<sup>13</sup> *Badm.* 1646–53. *Close* 8 Rich. II (1385), p.638.

<sup>14</sup> *Badm.* 1571, 1654–56. B.M. *Add. MSS.* 7488. *Tintern Abbey* (H. Brakspear and M. Evans, HMSO 1910), p.74.

<sup>15</sup> *Pat.* 12 Hen. IV (1411), p.284.

<sup>16</sup> *Cal. Papal Registers (Letters)*, vi 175. Univ. of Wales (Bd. of Celtic Studies). *Hist. and Law S. No.* 20 pp.12, 57, 66. (T. B. Pugh, “*Marcher Lordships of South Wales* 1963). *Close* 1 Hen. VI (1422), p.54. *Badm.* 1657 m.1.

<sup>17</sup> *Badm.* 1657 mm. 2–4.

<sup>18</sup> *Badm.* 1657 mm. 4d – 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Badm.* 1657 mm. 13d – 14. *Statuta*, op.cit. iv 1456. *Stat.* 71. *N.R.S.* (Norwich Rec. Office) 13715.

<sup>20</sup> *Badm.* 1657 mm. 14d – 17d. *Badm.* 14473 – 8. *Pat.* 2 Edw. IV (1462), p.229. *Close* 2 and 3 Edw. IV (1462–3) pp.150, 187. *Cal. Papal Reg.* xii 703.

- 21 *Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vol. 1 Pt. III (1963) p.25. *Badm.* 14479.
- 22 *ibid.* i Pt. III (1963) p.25. Rudder, S. " *History of Gloucestershire* " (1779) p.845. *Badm.* 1658 and 14482.
- 23 *Badm.* 1659. *Monasticon*, op.cit. V. p.272. *N.R.S.* 11139. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* vol. 62 p.57. *L.P.* ii Pt. 2 (1515-8) p.1021 (No. 3173).
- 24 *Badm.* 1660 - 3. *Hist. and Law Series*, op.cit. vol. 3. p.221. (E. A. Lewis, " *Early Chancery Proceedings concerning Wales*, 1937). *L.P.* iv Pt. 1 (1524-6), p.58, xii Pt. 1 (1537), p.350, xiii (1538) p.575. *B.M. Cott. MSS.* xxi 41 a. *Monasticon*, op.cit. V. 274.
- 25a G. T. Clark, *Cartae Glamorgan*, (1910 edn.) vi, pp.2334-5. (The document bearing Walter's name is of the period c. 1193-1218).
- 25b G. V. Price, *Valle Crucis Abbey* (1952), pp.239-41.
- 25c *Records of the Court of Augmentations*, E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies, (*Hist. and Law S.* op.cit. No. 13. 1954), p.135.
- 26 *Close* 7 Rich. II (1383), p.343.
- 27 *Chronicle of Adam of Usk* (E. M. Thompson, London 1904) pp.45, 205.
- 28 *ibid.* pp.45, 103, 206, 282.
- 29 *Cant. and York Soc.* vol. 23 (Reg. Thome Spofford), pp.300, 310. *Pat.* 2 Edw. IV (1462), p.229.
- 30 *Arch. Cambrensis*, New Series iii 70.
- 31 *Marcher Lordships*, op.cit. p.28.
- 32 *Close* 23 Hen. VII (1507-8), p.325 (No. 872). *L.P.* iv Pt. 3 (1529-30), p.2701. *P. C. C. Thower* (Somerset House) 21.
- 33 *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, IV 365. *L.P.* xiii Pt. 1 (1538), p.575.
- 34 *Somerset Record Society*, op.cit. vol. 47 p.xxxiv et seq.
- 35 *Waverleia*, op.cit. 242, 245.
- 36 *Pat.* 18 Hen. III (1234), p.56. Rymer's ' *Foedera* ' i. 34.
- 37 *Waverleia*, op.cit. 336, 345.
- 38 *Statuta*, op.cit. iii 1277. Stat. 43.
- 39 *Year Books* 33/35 Edw. I Pleas Mich. Term. 1306. pp.309/311, cf. *Pat.* 20 Edw. III (1346) pp.162-3.
- 40 *Flores Hist.* op.cit. iii 343.
- 41 *Close* 20 Edw. II p.619. *Pat.* 20 Edw. II pp.325, 327, 332, 336.
- 42 *Flores Hist.* op.cit. iii 344.
- 43 *Tintern Abbey*, op.cit. p.72.
- 44 *Close* 5 Edw. III (1331) p.370. *Inq. Misc.* ii. 339.
- 45 Glanmor Williams, " *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation* " (1962), p.208.
- 46 *Badminton MS.* 1571.
- 47 *History of Gloucestershire*, op.cit. 845.
- 48 *L.P.* ii Pt. 2 (1515-8) p.1021 (No. 3173).
- 49 *Oxford Hist. Soc.* New Series I (1939) p.49. (W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter, " *Early History of St. John's College*, Oxford).
- 50 *P.R.O. S.P. Hen. VIII* 1/85. No. 1133.
- 51 *L.P.* xiii Pt. 1 (1538) p.575 (No. 1520).
- 52 *Augmentations*, op.cit. p.137. *Early Chanc. Proc.* op.cit. p.221.
- 53 *L.P.* xiii (1538) Pt. II p.583. *Trans. Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.* xlix. p.64.
- 54 *Augmentations*, op.cit. p.133.
- 55 *Close* 7 Rich. II (1383) p.343.
- 56 *Adam of Usk*, op.cit. 45, 205.
- 57 *ibid.* pp.45, 103, 206, 282.
- 58 *Scoti-chronicon* (ed. W. Bowen 1759) ii. p.457.
- 59 *Cant. and York Soc.* vol. 14 (Reg. Ludowici de Charlton) p.100.
- 60 *Cant. and York Soc.* vol. 23 (Reg. Thome Spofford) p.310.
- 61 *ibid.* p.300.
- 62 *Pat.* 2 Edw. IV (1462) p.229.
- 63 *Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*, op.cit. p.392, and *P. C. C. Thower* (Somerset House) 21.
- 64 *P.R.O. LR* 6/152/1. *L.P.* xiii Pt. 1 (1538) p.575.
- 65 *L.P.* xi (1536) p.572 (No. 1430 ii).

## A BEAKER CIST AT BEACHLEY

By CEFNI BARNETT,  
*with a comment by H. N. SAVORY.*

During March, 1964, the digging of a cesspit for a new bungalow at Beachley (Glos.) brought to light a stone cist. What subsequently happened to it will disillusion those who cherish the belief that we live in an enlightened age in which the general public has acquired through mass media an awareness of the principles and methods of archaeology. It is a depressing fact that several days elapsed before it apparently dawned on someone that the discovery might have some archaeological significance. In the meantime, the workmen who had found the cist smashed through the capstone, reducing it to fragments in the process, an exercise which must have involved considerable effort for the slab must have measured over 5ft. by 3ft. and was at least 8ins. thick. One of the large side slabs next received attention and was also destroyed; it was only when a skeleton was found inside the cist that the matter was reported to the local police. The skeleton was removed from the tomb without skill or care and despatched for examination by a pathologist who declared, according to a newspaper report, that it was "over 100 years old."

Thus, when I arrived on the scene about a week later (at the request of Mr. J. N. Taylor, Curator of Gloucester Museum, who had eventually been notified of the find), the cist was empty and I was concerned that grave goods which might have accompanied the burial had been destroyed or lost. In the circumstances my task was limited to clearing the area around the cist, noting its details, and searching patiently through two large spoil-heaps in the hope of finding beaker fragments. It was unfortunate that the weather at this time was about the worst experienced in the winter of 1963-4, and icy gale-force winds accompanied by driving sleet and snow on an open unprotected peninsula made for conditions that were none too pleasant. I am all the more grateful therefore to my sole helper on the expedition, Mr. Walter Lucas, of Newport Museum, for his enthusiastic support and his stoic refusal to be intimidated by the elements. To Dr. H. N. Savory I am greatly indebted for advice readily given and for providing the comment (p.115) on the significance of the find.

The cist was discovered on the piece of land within the oval formed by the main Tutshill-Beachley road on one side and a loop-road on the other, some 500 yards south of Buttington Farm and 750 yards south of the point where the main road cuts through Offa's Dyke (National Grid Reference ST.548923). It was oblong, aligned north-south with an internal length, at floor level, of 3ft. 5in. and a width of 2ft. 2in. (Pl. 1). It appeared that the capstone had not been more than about a foot below the surface of the ground and there was no trace of a mound. The cist was not paved and rested directly on the excavated surface, consisting mainly of river gravel with some clay. Three sides were made up of solid blocks of dressed Carboniferous Limestone of local origin. The slab on the east (long) side tapered slightly from south to north and measured 4ft. 2in. in length, 2ft. at the widest point, and 8in. thick. It leaned inwards some 6in. out of perpendicular, resting against the two end slabs (Pl. 2). As we have seen, the slab on the west side had been destroyed, but a surviving fragment indicated similar dimensions and that it also had canted

inwards slightly. The orthostat at the north end, an irregular square of about 1ft. 9in. by 2ft., rested on two thin slabs of stone which at first appeared to be horizontally placed. Further examination, supported by photographs taken at the time (Pl. 2 especially), showed that the base of the orthostat was below the level of the edges of packing stones; in other words, the packing stones were tilted, though not at a very acute angle, wedging the orthostat in its socket. In contrast, as if the supply of Carboniferous Limestone had become exhausted, the south end was made up of several thin slabs of shaly sandstone which had been forced apart, probably as the result of pressure from the capstone and water getting into cracks at the top, freezing and enlarging the split. Boulders were wedged into each corner to support the slabs and slivers of sandstone and pebbles were used as packing behind each stone.

The skeletal remains from the cist were deposited in the Newport Museum by Tutshill police shortly after my visit to the site. These have been kindly examined by Mr. L. F. Cowley, of the National Museum of Wales, whose report appears in Appendix, p.116. The skeleton was that of a youth of about 19 years of age, 5ft. 8½in. in height. The brachycephalic skull has a cephalic index of 81.8 and this degree of broadness, together with the marked brow-ridges, is



PLATE I.

THE BEAKER CIST AT BEACHLEY, FACING EAST



PLATE 2.

THE BEACHLEY BEAKER CIST FROM ABOVE, FACING NORTH



typical of the skulls normally associated with beakers and characteristic of the 'Beaker Folk.' An interesting feature noted by Mr. Cowley was that the frontal bones were not united, a condition known as metopism and found only in about 8% Europeans.

Such was the haste with which the skeleton was removed from the cist that no one seems to have noted its position, but it is certain that a body of 5ft. 8½in. confined in a space measuring 3ft. 5in. by 2ft. 2in. must have been doubled up in the embryo-like posture characteristic of Beaker burials.

As mentioned above, the spoil-heaps were searched minutely for traces of pottery, but without success. All we discovered were additional fragments of human bone and a sprinkling of wood-ash. The workmen concerned were closely questioned as to whether they had observed anything accompanying the skeleton and on this point at least they were positive: there was nothing, an assurance that I accepted, especially after examination of the spoil-heaps.

Despite its poverty-stricken character, the Beachley Beaker burial remains an important discovery, albeit an enigmatic one in the absence of datable material. Hitherto, no Beaker burials have been recorded as having been found in Monmouthshire or West Gloucestershire and this area has long been recognised as a sort of Beaker no-man's land. Dr. R. G. Absalom has informed me, however, that in 1947 or 1948 he visited a building site adjacent to the road leading from Caerwent to Caldicot (National Grid Reference ST.476894) on which had been discovered what appeared to be a Beaker cist. Unfortunately, the contents—including the skeleton—had been dispersed and lost, but Dr. Absalom noted that there was no sign of a mound. It is conceivable that Beaker cists along the Severn shore in Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire, like several in the Cotswolds on one side and south Wales on the other, were not covered by barrows. Their discovery therefore is very much a matter of chance, as in the case of the Beachley burial which would have been missed altogether had the workmen chosen to dig the cesspit a few feet one way or the other. Only time—and probably a long time at that—and further chance finds will clarify this phase in the archaeology of Monmouthshire and Gloucestershire.

\* \* \* \*

There is no doubt that the cist which Mr. Barnett recorded under such difficulties was a 'Beaker' burial, even though in this case, as in so many others, there does not, in fact, appear to have been an accompanying Beaker. In dimensions and structure the cist is quite typical: one should note, in particular, the manner in which the long side slabs are canted slightly inwards towards the top so as to be locked against the end slabs by the weight of the capstone, as in the recently examined Beaker cists at Groeswen, Caerphilly (Glam.) (*Trans. Cardiff Nat. Soc.*, LXXX (1948-50) p. 39) and Brymbo (Denb.) (*Bull. Board of Celtic Studies*, XVIII (1959), p. 192). The Tutshill cist resembles the Brymbo cist in being unpaved, whereas the Groeswen cist had paving slabs. W. E. Griffiths gives a list of Beaker cists in Wales without pottery (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1957, p. 90), to which should now be added a cist (as yet unpublished) found recently on the northern outskirts of Brecon while building the new Grammar School, as well as others in Carmarthenshire previously recorded (*Carmarthen Antiquary*, III (1960), p. 53). The apparent



absence of a mound is another significant feature, observed also at Groeswen, Brymbo, Brecon and at various earlier published sites. The high proportion of such sites in Wales is a warning to those who attach too much importance to statistical analysis of Beaker distributions as at present known: the apparent gaps in such distributions, as at present known, may be filled, elsewhere as well as in Monmouthshire, by hidden sites whose mounds never existed or have been destroyed in areas which have long been heavily cultivated.

It is no surprise to find the well-known Monmouthshire gap (*Culture and Environment: Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox*, pp. 35-41, Figs. 8-9) partially filled by records of Beaker cists at Tutshill and Caldicot. These sites lie near the mouth of the Wye, which was no doubt the route by which Beaker settlers reached previously known areas of Beaker settlement in Herefordshire and Brecknock. It is to be hoped that one day actual Beakers will be found in the Chepstow area: they may help us with the typological problems presented by our Black Mountains vessels.

H. N. SAVORY.

## Appendix

### Human (Beaker) Remains from Beachley, Near Chepstow

The remains consisted of an incomplete skeleton, namely some broken long-bones and an incomplete skull.

The remains of the skull consisted of a partially restored calvarium; there were no facial bones, no teeth, and no lower-jaw. It was possible to measure the skull for length and breadth but not for height. The length and breadth measurements gave a cephalic index of 81.8, which indicated that the skull was markedly brachycephalic. Since the height could not be ascertained it was not possible to estimate the cranial capacity.

One feature worth mentioning is that the frontal bones were still not united. This condition known as metopism is found only in about 8% Europeans.

Of the rest of the skeleton only one bone, a femur, was completely reconstructed; all other bones were incomplete and it was not possible to reconstruct any of them.

The femur was of the right side and gave a maximum length of 495mm. and an oblique length of 493mm. An estimate of stature, using this bone, gave a height of 5ft. 8½in. The head of the femur had a diameter of 50mm; this denotes a male. The platymeric index of the upper portion of the shaft was 81; this index does not, therefore, indicate any flattening of the femur. The epiphyses of this bone indicated an individual of about 19 years of age.

A partially reconstructed tibia showed flattening, presumably due to muscular activity, and gave a platycnemic index of 68.8. The distal extremity of this bone showed a facet caused by squatting.

The rest of the skeleton called for no special comment.

Lionel Cowley.

## A PALSTAVE FROM CHEPSTOW

### with some observations on the earliest palstaves of the British Isles.

By C. B. BURGESS

The small collection of Bronze Age implements preserved in the Newport (Mon.) Museum includes a Middle Bronze Age palstave from Chepstow (Fig. 1,a). This specimen appears never to have been published, but is of sufficient interest to merit some detailed comment<sup>1</sup>. Information relating to its discovery is slight and vague; the accessions register of the Newport Museum lists it as having been received into the Museum in 1913 (acc. no. 13.12/3), and records that it was 'excavated at Chepstow.' A label accompanying the piece describes it as having been found at Chepstow Castle (N.G.R. ST 534942), and this provenance is quoted in the British Association Card Catalogue of bronze implements at Oxford, but nothing further is known.

This is a typologically primitive, unlooped palstave, rather heavy and clumsy in form. It is noticeably broad and lacks any medial waisting, the sides continuing to diverge below the stop into a moderately expanded blade. This is strongly bevelled, with a cutting edge that has been slightly filed in modern times. The flanges are thick, rising from a rather rounded septum floor, and short flanges also extend below the stop. A crude and poorly defined median rib extends between these from the underside of the stop, which is of the usual palstave 'ledge' type. There are no signs of 'blowholes' at the junction of stop and septum, a casting fault common among the Middle Bronze Age palstaves of Wales and the Marches. From this point of view the implement shows competent workmanship, even if the design is somewhat clumsy. The casting seams at the sides have been completely removed, and their lines are marked by long, irregular depressions and pittings, the result, perhaps, of differential corrosion. The sides of the implement are strongly ridged or 'nicked' below the level of the stop. It is a worn specimen, the dark, almost black, patina being rough, striated and chipped. Where this has flaked away, as at the end of the butt, a dull dirty green is exposed. The bevelled blade is worn comparatively smooth, its colour being a mottle of gold, dark brown and black. The condition of the sides is much better than that of the faces, smooth, predominantly black in colour, with gold showing through where wear has been greatest. Parts of the implement, including the sides, have a lustrous appearance, the remains, perhaps, of a coating of wax or varnish. A deep crack, probably ancient, practically encircles the lower part of the blade, but does not extend on to that side of the specimen which is illustrated in Fig. 1a. The length of the piece is 6in. (153mm.), and it measures 2½in. (64mm.) across the cutting edge.

### DISCUSSION

The Chepstow implement belongs to a group of early, ribbed palstaves which the writer has considered briefly elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. He has distinguished two primary and contemporary palstave groups in the British Isles, their forms sharing the same typologically primitive features, and differing mainly in the type of ornament employed. The larger group, the 'shield pattern' palstaves, has already been considered in some detail<sup>3</sup>. The Chepstow palstave belongs to the smaller, median rib group, other examples of which are illustrated in Fig. 1 for the purposes of comparison. The form of these two groups contrasts strongly with that of the low-flanged and

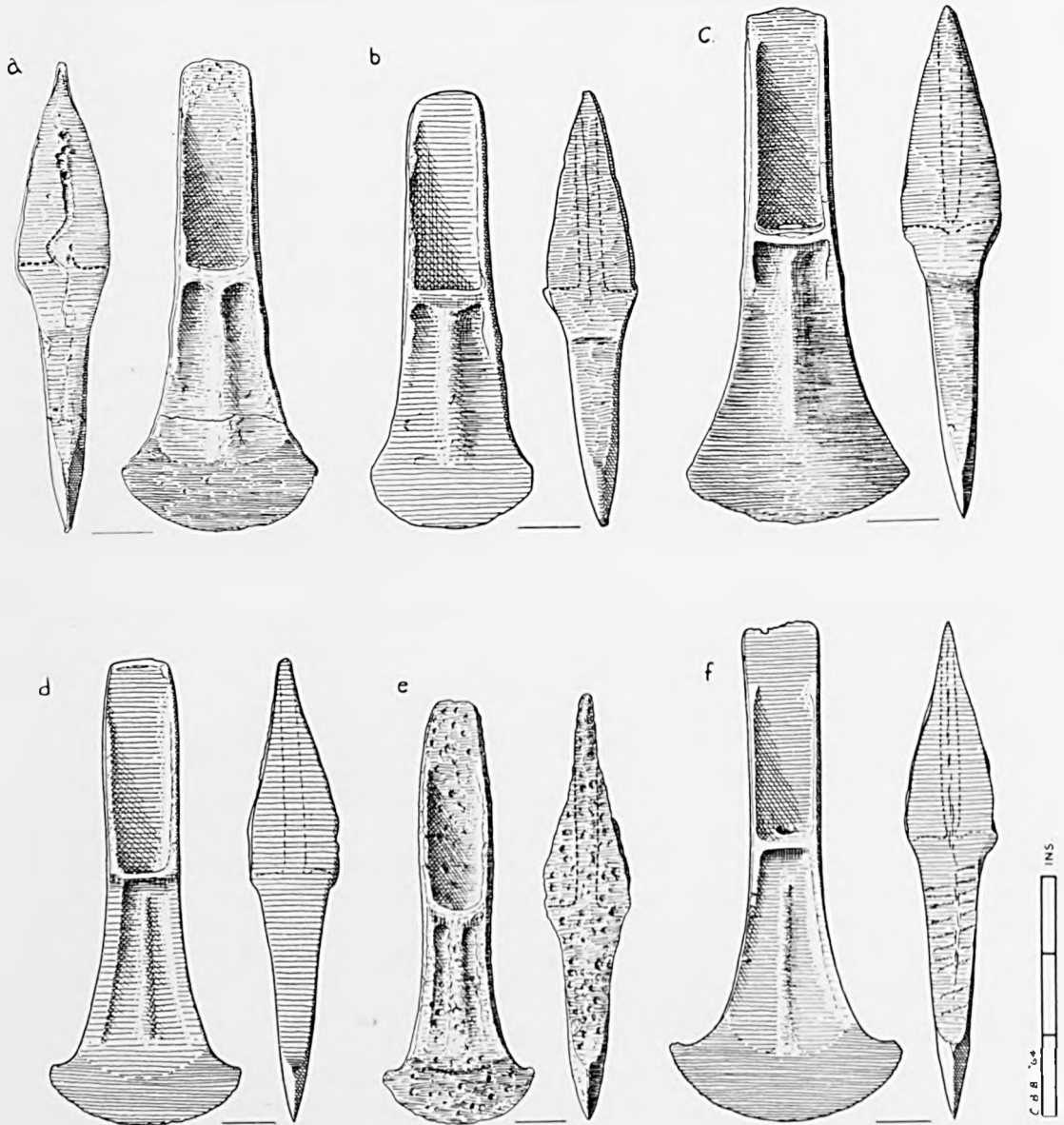


FIG. 1. EARLY RIBBED (Group II) PALSTAVES FROM:—*a*. Chepstow, Mon. (Newport Museum); *b*. St. Fagans, Glam. (Nat. Mus. of Wales); *c*. Llanfedw, Glam. (Nat. Mus. of Wales); *d*. Liswerry, Mon. (Nat. Mus. of Wales); *e*. Nevern, Pembs. (Nat. Mus. of Wales); *f*. Llangwyllog, Ang. (Brit. Mus.).

south western palstaves<sup>4</sup> which were entirely dominant in southern Britain by Middle Bronze Age (MBA) 2<sup>5</sup>. Miss M. A. Smith grouped all these forms into a 'Middle Bronze Age type' of palstave, with low-flanged and south western sub-types, to which she appears to have assigned our early 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves<sup>6</sup>. Only subsequently has it become clear that the 'Middle Bronze Age type' is not as homogeneous a grouping as was thought, but that a clear distinction should be made between an earlier ('shield-pattern' and ribbed) and a later (low-flanged and south western) group<sup>7</sup>. Such important differences are involved as to make it vital to consider in detail the typologically primitive features which distinguish the 'shield pattern' and ribbed implements from low-flanged and south western palstaves proper. They can be dealt with under the following headings:—

### **Form**

The form is consistently heavier, clumsier and altogether less sophisticated than that of low-flanged and south western palstaves. The broad shape is an important distinguishing feature. Some of these 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves are as broad as flat axes, and this characteristic, together with gently concave sides and simple blade expansion, give a form which comes closer than that of any other palstave type to the form of Early Bronze Age flat and flanged axes.

### **Loop**

A loop is never present. This total absence is surely significant when one considers that low-flanged and south western palstaves are frequently looped, and later types almost invariably looped.

### **Blade**

The blade is broad, as with low-flanged and south western palstaves, but is a completely different shape. Low flanged and south western palstaves have a distinctive triangular or 'crinoline outline' blade<sup>8</sup>, slightly expanded at the most, and the cutting edge is usually fairly straight. In contrast the blade of our 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves is of simple shape, much more strongly expanded, with crescentic cutting edge.

### **Flanges**

The flanges are often thick. Whereas on other palstave types they are generally confined to the upper part of the implement, a characteristic of our ribbed palstaves is that they extend below the stop. At the same time, the 'shield' of the 'shield pattern' palstaves is frequently formed in part by curved extensions of the flanges below the stop. Such extended flanges suggest further links with Early Bronze Age axe types, in this case with the developed flanged axes that were the immediate predecessors of palstaves in these islands.

### **Ridged, shouldered or 'nicked' sides**

Shouldered or ridged ('nicked') sides are typical. This feature can be seen first on a few Arreton-type flanged axes of EBA 2<sup>9</sup>, probably copied from the 'nicks' of contemporary 'nicked-flanged' axes of the north west European Sögel Culture<sup>10</sup>. While it is almost invariably found on our 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves, it is comparatively rare on low-flanged and south western implements, and thereafter seems to have disappeared completely.

The 'shield pattern' is sometimes found on low-flanged and south western palstaves, but appears not to have been used on later types. The median rib, in contrast, is a common device on all palstave types. It is thus important to distinguish palstaves of the primary 'shield pattern' and ribbed groups from implements of other groups which may possess the same ornament. Many primitive features proclaim their typological primacy, in some instances clearly reflecting a proximity to flat and flanged axe forerunners. That this was also a chronological primacy is clear from the evidence of association. This, as the writer has already pointed out, places both the 'shield pattern' and the ribbed groups firmly in MBA 1<sup>11</sup>. Examples of both occur in north west European Ilsmoor hoards of early Montelius II<sup>12</sup>, a phase corresponding broadly with the MBA 1 of the British Isles. Sometimes 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves occur together in these hoards, as in the find from Rülów, Stargard, north Germany<sup>13</sup>. Associations in Britain are very rare, and only dateable by reference to this Continental evidence. They seem restricted to the few hoards of the Acton Park Complex of north Wales and the northern Marches<sup>14</sup>, where again they sometimes occur together, as in the hoards from Acton Park (Denbs.) itself<sup>15</sup>, and Coed Llan, Llanfyllin (Mont.)<sup>16</sup>.

The writer has recently undertaken a research tour of museums in north west France which has provided much confirmatory dating evidence<sup>17</sup>. Examples of both the 'shield pattern' and ribbed groups occur in hoards of the Tréboul phase of the Breton Middle Bronze Age<sup>18</sup>. The common axe type of these hoards is still the flanged axe, including some specimens very similar to the Arreton flanged axes of the British EBA 2. Palstaves of any type are rare. There are other reflections of the Early Bronze Age, such as the crutch-headed pin in the Treboul hoard<sup>19</sup>. This find contains 'shield pattern' palstaves which would be perfectly at home in the series from Wales and the Marches. Ribbed palstaves, like our Chepstow example, have been found in at least two Tréboul hoards, those from Kergadiou, Finistère, and Morgat, Finistère<sup>20</sup>. A related hoard from St. Brelade, Jersey<sup>21</sup>, includes both a 'shield pattern' and a ribbed palstave. The Tréboul phase of the Breton Middle Bronze Age would seem to correspond closely with the British MBA 1, and, indeed, Monsieur Briard has dated it to 1400 – 1200 BC.<sup>22</sup>

The British-type palstaves found in these Continental hoards of phases corresponding to MBA 1, from Baltic lands to the Bay of Biscay, are always of our 'shield pattern' and ribbed groups<sup>23</sup>. As in Britain so on the Continent, the low-flanged / south western form does not seem to be attested until subsequent periods. Conversely, 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves of the primary groups are very rare in these later contexts, which provides further, if somewhat negative, confirmation of their date. One would expect some overlap with the succeeding low-flanged and south western palstaves, hence rare associations such as that from Burley, Hants.<sup>24</sup>, which consists of a single 'shield pattern' palstave of the primary group and a series of early-looking, low-flanged palstaves. They seem to be absent, however, from the vast number of 'ornament horizon'<sup>25</sup> and related hoards which were characteristic of southern Britain in MBA 2–3, and which have low-flanged and south western palstaves as their diagnostic axe types. There are even later associations, such as the very broad 'shield pattern' palstave in the 'carp's tongue' hoard of LBA 2–3 from Forty Acre Brickfield, Worthing, Sussex<sup>26</sup>, but these are obviously scrap survivals.

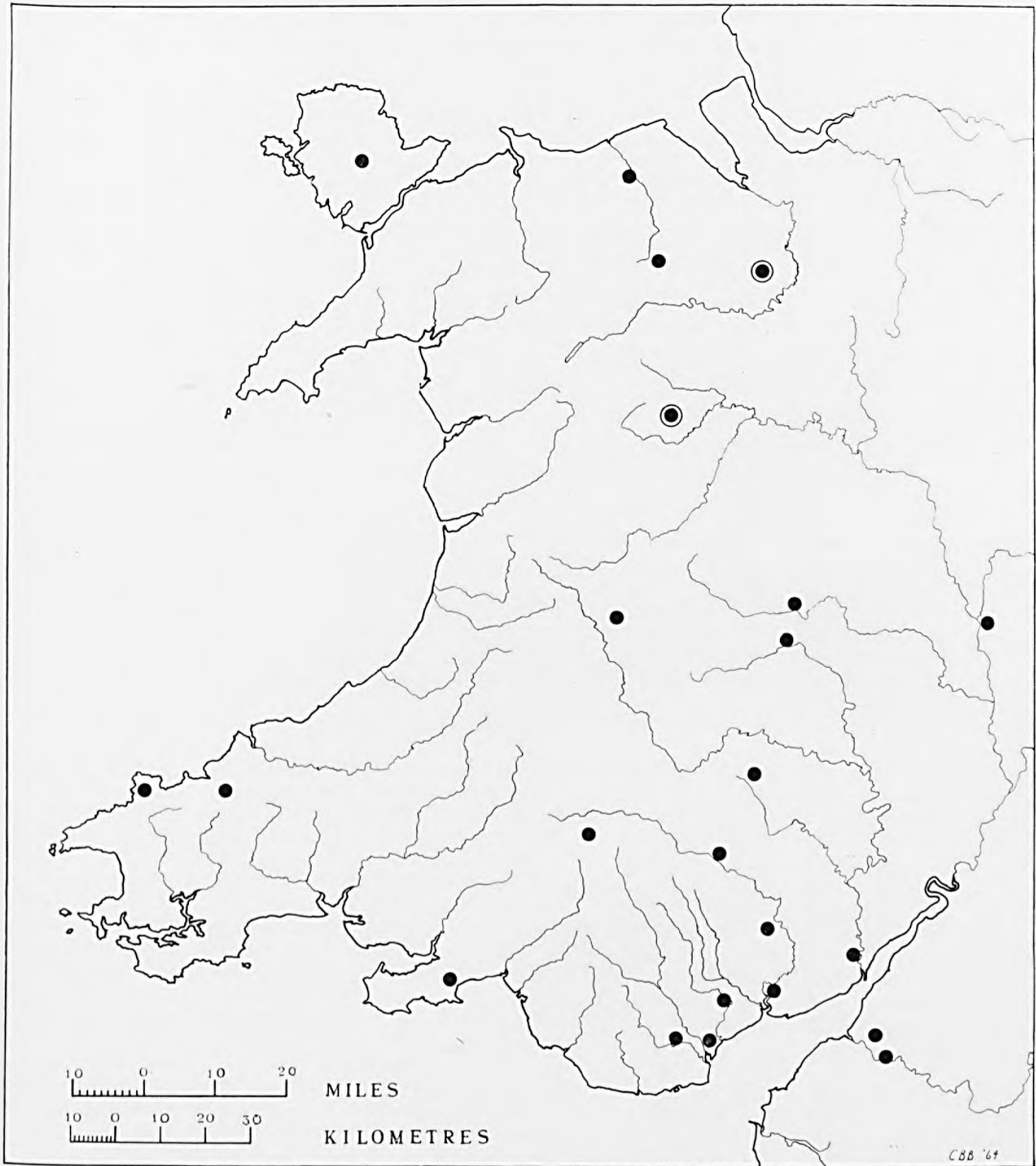


FIG. 2. EARLY RIBBED (Group II) PALSTAVES IN WALES AND THE MARCHES (hoards encircled)

A small number of very early-looking ribbed palstaves is characterised by a more slender form than that of the typical Chepstow implement, though undoubtedly they should be included in the primary group of ribbed palstaves. These examples (Figs. 1, d, e, f.) also lack side ridges, their stop is as close to a bar-stop as a palstave ledge-stop. Of all palstaves these are closest to and bar-stop and other developed flanged axes. Some of them possess hammered ornament on their sides (Fig. 1, f.) which is strongly reminiscent of some Early Bronze Age flanged axe-ornament. Monmouthshire has also yielded an example of this type, from Liswerry (Fig. 1d)<sup>27</sup>, and there is another implement of the Chepstow form from Glascoed, Usk<sup>28</sup>, so that altogether three of these early ribbed palstaves have been found in the county. This is a reflection of the national distribution pattern of the group. Whereas 'shield pattern' palstaves are widely distributed in the British Isles, early ribbed implements are rare in most regions, and seem to occur more frequently in Wales and the Marches than elsewhere. Here at least 26 examples have been found (Appendix). The distribution for Wales was plotted by Savory<sup>29</sup>, and an expanded map, taking in the Marches, is published here (Fig. 2). It shows a concentration of the group in the south of the region, particularly the south east. This pattern is all the more interesting when one considers that the bulk of the contemporary 'shield pattern' palstaves, and indeed the mass of Acton Park metalwork, has come from the north of the region<sup>30</sup>. The distribution pattern of the two groups is thus mutually exclusive in part at least, and it becomes clear that the ribbed palstaves were not so much a phenomenon of the largely northern Acton Park Complex as of a parallel metalworking tradition in south Wales and the lower Severn basin. It is a distribution pattern which foreshadows very closely that of ribbed socketed axes in the region some seven centuries later, when the south Welsh ribbed axe was supreme in the Bristol Channel and lower Severn lands, and other ribbed axes equally dominant in north Wales<sup>31</sup>.

## NOTES

*ABBREVIATIONS:* Arch. – *Archaeologia*; Arch. Camb. – *Archaeologia Cambrensis*; Arch. J. – *Archaeological Journal*; Ash. Mus. – *Ashmolean Museum*; B.B.C.S. – *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*; B.M. – *British Museum*; B.R.G.K. – *Bericht der Römisch-germanischen Kommission*; Bull. Soc. Jers. – *Bulletin Société Jersiaise*; Flints. Hist. Soc. Pub. – *Flintshire Historical Society Publications*; Inv. Arch. – *Inventaria Archaeologica*; Mon. Ant. – *Monmouthshire Antiquary*; Mont. Coll. – *Montgomeryshire Collections*; Nat. Mus. Wales – *National Museum of Wales, Cardiff*; P.C.A.S. – *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society*; P.O.W. – W. F. Grimes, *The Prehistory of Wales* (1951); P.P.S. – *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*; P. R. Denbs. – E. Davies, *Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Denbighshire* (1929); P. R. Flints. – E. Davies, *Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Flintshire* (1949); P.U.B.S.S. – *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society*; T.B.G.A.S. – *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*; T.L.A.P. – *Travaux du Laboratoire d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire de la Faculté des Sciences de Rennes*; Trans. Rads. Soc. – *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*; T.W.A.S. – *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*; T.W.C. – *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*.

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Cefni Barnett of the Newport Museum for information about this piece, and for permission to examine and draw it. I am also grateful to the authorities of the British Museum and National Museum of Wales for permission to include drawings of implements in their collection in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, *Trans. Rads. Soc.*, XXXII (1962), 18–19 and *Flints. Hist. Soc. Pub.*, XX (1962), 92–95.

<sup>3</sup> Burgess, loc. cit., *Flints. Hist. Soc. Pub.* It must be emphasized that palstaves exhibiting a multitude of variations on the simple 'shield' pattern have to be included in this 'shield pattern' group; examples referred to in this paper may have embellished 'shield' ornament, or, on the other hand, merely a crude hollow below the stop. See Burgess, *ibid.*, n. 2, p.92.

<sup>4</sup> M. A. Smith, *P.P.S.*, XXV (1959), 167–8.

<sup>5</sup> Use is made in this paper of the Scheme for the British Bronze Age proposed by Professor C. F. C. Hawkes to the C.B.A. Bronze Age Conference, London, December, 1960. The divisions with which this paper is mainly concerned are:—

Early Bronze Age 1	— c. 1650/1600 – 1550/1500 B.C.
EBA 2	— c. 1550/1500 – 1400
Middle Bronze Age 1	— c. 1400 – 1200
MBA 2	— c. 1200 – 1050/1000
MBA 3	— c. 1050/1000 – 950/900

See also Burgess, *Mon. Ant.*, I, pt. 2 (1962), n.13, p.9. For the position of low-flanged and south western palstaves in the British Middle Bronze Age, see M. A. Smith, 'Some Somerset hoards and their place in the Bronze Age of southern Britain,' *P.P.S.*, XXV (1959), 144–87, *passim*, in conjunction with Hawkes, *op.cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Smith, *op.cit.*, 167–68, and also 186–87, where she includes hoards containing only our 'shield pattern' and ribbed palstaves (e.g. Coed Llan and Acton Park) in her lists of hoards containing low-flanged and south western palstaves.

<sup>7</sup> While no formal classification of British palstave types has been published, Miss Smith's revolutionary study (*op.cit.*) has for the first time brought order to the subject. She has isolated all the principal British palstave groups with the exception of the early 'shield pattern' and ribbed implements discussed in the present paper. Adding these to Miss Smith's divisions, it becomes apparent that the mass of British palstaves fall into six major groups; early 'shield pattern' (Group I), early ribbed (Group II), low-flanged (Group III), south western (Group IV), 'transitional' (Group V), and 'late' (Group VI). The parallel Irish palstave series is made up of a range of types that are, for the most part, completely different from the British ones. Miss Smith was surely mistaken in her assertion (*op.cit.*, 171) that the true palstave is only known in Ireland in a late form.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *op.cit.*, 167, after T. Lethbridge, *P.C.A.S.*, XXXIX (1938–9), 93.

<sup>9</sup> D. Britton, *P.P.S.*, XXIX (1963), 284–86, for Arretton axes. As seen on an axe of this group in the Westbury-on-Trym (Glos.) hoard, Britton, *op.cit.*, 287, Fig. 18d.

<sup>10</sup> E. Sprockhoff, 'Niedersachsens Bedeutung für die Bronzezeit Europas,' *B.R.G.K.*, 31 (1941) II Teil, 1–138, *passim*, with map. See also J. Coles, *P.C.A.S.*, LVI-LVII (1963–4), 7.

<sup>11</sup> Burgess, *loc. cit.*, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> J. J. Butler, *Palaeohistoria*, VIII (1961), 117–21, Fig. 56.

<sup>13</sup> Sprockhoff, *op.cit.* n. 10, Taf. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Burgess, *loc. cit.* n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> E. Davies, *The Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Denbighshire*, (1929), 50.

<sup>16</sup> *Arch. Camb.* (1877), 209.

<sup>17</sup> This tour was undertaken with the assistance of a grant from the Research Fund of the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the appropriate University authorities.

<sup>18</sup> For the Tréboul hoard see J. Briard, *T.L.A.P.* (1956–58), 34–35, 19 plates.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, no. 36.

<sup>20</sup> I am most grateful to Professor P. R. Giot of the Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Générale et de Préhistoire, Rennes, for permission to examine the Tréboul, Kergadiou, and Morgat hoards, and other material, in the Musée Préhistorique Finistérien at Saint-Guérol-Pennmarch, Finistère, and for many kindnesses. I am also most grateful to Professor Giot, and to Monsieur J. Briard of the Laboratoire, for much helpful discussion on the French material.

<sup>21</sup> *Bull. Soc. Jers.*, VIII (1917), 386–89, fig.

<sup>22</sup> Briard, *op.cit.* n.18, 34.

<sup>23</sup> Though these Continental examples need not have been manufactured in, and imported from, Britain, hence 'British-type.' Indeed there is some evidence that some at least of these Continental specimens were made locally, and in some regions, such as Normandy, they appear to have been in common use in this early phase of the Middle Bronze Age.

<sup>24</sup> In the British Museum.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> *Inv. Arch.*, GB. VI (1958), 37 (2), no. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Arch. Camb.* (1930), 415–16, fig.

<sup>28</sup> *Arch. Camb.* (1940), 83, fig.

<sup>29</sup> *Arch. Camb.* (1958), Fig. 10, Map 4, p.60.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Burgess, *Mon. Ant.*, I, pt. III (1963), 20–22; also in a lecture to the Prehistoric Society, 'Aspects of the Bronze Age in Wales and the Marches,' London, January, 1964.



## Appendix

## List of early ribbed (Group II) palstaves from Wales and the Marches

## ANGLESEY

\* Cerrig Dwddy, Llangwyllog: *Arch. J.* (1870), 163, Pl.X:3: B.M.

## BRECONSHIRE

Brychgoed, Sennybridge: *B.B.C.S.* (1955), 210: Brecon Mus.

Near the Wern, Crickhowell: *Arch. Camb.* (1905), 259, fig.: Brecon Mus.

## DENBIGHSHIRE

Pwll-calloed Farm, Craig Adwy Wynt, Llanfair: *P. R. Denbs.*, 220-21: Private Coll.?

Acton Park Hoard: *P. R. Denbs.*, 50: Nat. Mus. Wales.

## FLINTSHIRE

\* St. Asaph area?: *P. R. Flints.*, 330-32, fig. 145: Private Coll.?

## GLAMORGAN

Bridge Farm, Llanfedw: *P.O.W.*, 175, fig. 59/9: Nat. Mus. Wales.

In River Ely, St. Fagans: *P.O.W.*, 176, fig. 59/10: Nat. Mus. Wales.

Clyne Wood, Swansea: Royal Institution, Swansea.

\* Cardiff: sold at Sotheby's, lot 272, 14-12-1925 (information from the Brit. Ass. Catalogue of bronze implements, Oxford): Private Coll.?

## GLOUCESTERSHIRE

\* South Cerney, near Cirencester: *Arch.* (1792), 132, Pl.X/2: Private Coll.?

\* Fairford: B.M.

\* Bath Street, Bristol Bridge, Bristol: *T.B.G.A.S.*, XXVII, 329, Pl.II/1: Ash. Mus.

\* Westbury-on-Trym: *P.U.B.S.S.* (1944-6), 173, Fig. 5/2: Bristol Mus.

## HEREFORDSHIRE

Leintwardine area: Ludlow Mus.

Between Urishay and Pucha Farm, Peterchurch: *T.W.C.* (1924), 150; (1933-35), 57:

Hereford Mus.

Haven Farm, Deerfold, Aymestrey: Hereford Mus.

## MONMOUTHSHIRE

\* Liswerry, Newport: *Arch. Camb.* (1930), 415-16, fig.: Nat. Mus. Wales.

Ordnance Works, Glascoed, Usk: *Arch. Camb.* (1940), 83, fig.: Nat. Mus. Wales, at present on loan to Abergavenny Mus.

Chepstow Castle: present paper: Newport Mus.

## MONTGOMERYSHIRE

Coed Llan Hoard, Llanfyllin: *Arch. Camb.* (1877), 209: Chester Mus.

## PEMBROKESHIRE

\* Probably Carn Segan, near Fishguard: Tenby Mus.

\* Nevern, near Pentre Ifan Cromlech: *Arch. Camb.* (1947), 285-86, fig.

## RADNORSHIRE

St. Harmon (Ward in *Mont. Coll.*, 1934, describes as being from Glansevern, Mont., but St. Harmon on authority of Miss L. F. Chitty): Welshpool Mus.

## WORCESTERSHIRE

Hartlebury, Astley: *T.W.A.S.* (1957), 18: Private Coll.?

Beoley, near Redditch: *T.W.A.S.* (1957), 18: Birmingham Mus.

Those marked with an asterisk are of the Liswerry type.

## THE EXCAVATION OF A MOUND AT BETTWS NEWYDD

By JEREMY K. KNIGHT

Three and a half miles north of Usk, in the parish of Bettws Newydd, the modern road from Llancayo to Clytha Park, which probably represents the approximate line of the Roman road from Usk to Abergavenny, is overlooked to the west by a low flat-topped mound now crowned by a prominent clump of beech trees (behind the Black Bear Inn, Grid Reference SO.359061). The mound stands on the eastern brow of a ridge of glacial boulder clay and sand. To the east and south the ground falls steeply away, the slopes below being pitted with old sand workings, but to the west the level top of the ridge continues.

The mound top is almost perfectly circular and is slightly under fifty feet in diameter. Before excavation the mound appeared to be set platform-wise on the slope overlooking the road and the modern village. Down-slope its height was about six feet, but on the up-hill side its apparent height was no more than three feet. Around its base, particularly on the north, there appeared to be traces of a silted-up ditch fifteen feet wide. The flat top suggested a castle mound, but its slight height, particularly on the up-hill side, deprived it of defensive value and it seemed to represent a type in which the castle mound had become little more than an elevated circular house platform. In order to find out more of its nature a trial excavation was carried out by the writer in the summer of 1963.

At the start of the excavation the flat top was divided into quadrants and the north-east and south-west quadrants stripped. It soon became obvious that the present summit had never been occupied, for immediately below the thin layer of humus appeared the rough surface of the redeposited boulder clay of which the mound was comprised, with no trace of occupation or of any level on which occupation could have taken place. The areas excavated were carefully searched for post holes, both at the time of excavation and later, when a convenient rain shower made conditions for their finding ideal. None were found. It was possible that the mound was unfinished or had been truncated in the past, removing all traces of occupation, and to test these possibilities sections were cut across the apparent ditch to the north and to the west.

Much to the surprise of the excavators, natural boulder clay appeared at a depth of one to two feet throughout the length of the northern section, whilst to the west a lynchet-like build-up of soil and stones was found to mask much of the side of the mound. When natural soil—here a loose sand—was reached the true height of the mound was seen to be about six feet, but again there was no ditch. Examination of the northern section showed that here a slight cultivated bank had been built concentric to the mound in recent times and the area between the bank and the mound had silted up to a dished profile similar to that of a silted up ditch, the cultivation bank then appearing as a counter-scarp bank. The mound therefore was unditched. Its artificial character was, however, clearly demonstrated, for the junction of the base of the mound with the natural undisturbed boulder clay, was clearly visible.

Excavation had shown that we were not dealing with a castle mound, but although its artificial character had been proved, no direct evidence had been found for its date and purpose. It was clearly not a spoil heap for it was circular and now appeared to be fairly regular in height.

As there was no ditch, the considerable bulk of heavy boulder clay of which it was comprised had been brought from elsewhere, not dug out from around its base and the mound had therefore been deliberately built at some period in this somewhat laborious manner. A landscape mound is unlikely in this area with no large house in sight and therefore it is fairly certain that the mound is not of recent origin. Its circular form, the absence of a ditch, and its crest siting combine to suggest that it is a large Bronze Age round barrow. The clump of beech trees on its top appear to have been deliberately planted and the mound may well have been altered and given its flat top when this was done. The excavation of a large untouched round barrow was outside the scope of the limited excavation envisaged, and for this reason the body of the mound was not sectioned.

My grateful thanks are due to Major A. H. Bull, M.B.E., J.P., the owner of the site, and to his tenant, Mr. T. Jones, for permission to excavate; to Major J. D. Berrington for his help and kind interest; to Mr. D. L. Jones for help in arranging the excavation, and to the hard working volunteers.

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## OBITUARY

### LORD RAGLAN, PRESIDENT 1943-1964

By the death on September 14th, 1964 of Lord Raglan the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association lost its President and Monmouthshire a fine friend.

The extensive obituary notices which appeared in the British Press, and at even greater length in the American Press, acknowledged the fact that he was a national figure, but it is in the county of Monmouth that his passing will be mostly deeply felt. His family had for generations resided in the county, and it was to Cefn tilla that Lord Raglan returned to spend the last half of his long and active life.

In Monmouthshire he participated in the activities of many organisations and touched life at many points, but without doubt the subjects which are the concern of our Association were nearest to his heart. He was an acknowledged authority on vernacular architecture, as witness the three volumes on *Monmouthshire Houses* of which he was co-author with Sir Cyril Fox. His love for and understanding of our countryside was clearly evident.

In Lord Raglan our Association was fortunate in having a President who was rather more than a figure-head. He attended our field days and annual general meetings whenever possible and many are the pleasant memories. We recall in particular the occasion when he presided over a gathering at which Lady Raglan gave her delightful talk on "green men."

To Lady Raglan and to her family our sympathy goes forth in true sincerity. Their loss will be clearly mirrored in our own. Our greatest tribute will be to promote the interests of the Association in a manner worthy of our late President.

E.R.H.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### NEOLITHIC AXE-HEADS FROM MONMOUTHSHIRE

1. When digging in his garden at 3, Stepfield, Croesyceiliog, in the spring of 1960, Mr. Ken Stevens found a small Neolithic flint axe-head in a layer of sandy soil at a depth of about 2½ feet. Mr. Stevens had only recently taken occupation of the house, one of an estate newly constructed by Cwmbran Development Corporation, and the garden had not therefore previously been cultivated as such. The site occupies rising ground, some 200 yards east of Afon Llwyd (National Grid Reference ST.301968).

The blade of the axe only is polished, the remainder is flaked. It has a pointed oval section and the tip of the butt is missing. Small as axe-heads go, its present length is 83mm. with a width of 45mm. at the blade and a maximum thickness of 22mm. The flint ranges from greyish brown on one side to a darker shade of brown on the other, probably due to long contact with the soil.

Mr. Stevens has presented the axe to Newport Museum.

2. A very nice polished axe-head was found in 1960 by Mr. W. T. Lewis, Upper Prescoed Farm, Llanbadoc, near Usk, in one of his fields, about 400 yards south of the farm (National Grid Reference ST.349994). The ground at this point slopes down to the Dowlais Brook which meanders down a valley eastwards to the river Usk. A little under a mile to the west is the valley of the Sor which travels southwards to join the Usk above Caerleon.

The axe, of creamy-grey flint, is well shaped with thick oval section slightly flattened on the sides. The butt was originally rounded but is now chipped, a conchoidal fracture indicating that it was damaged by blows in antiquity. The surface is finely polished, marred only by some flaking. The overall length is 170mm., with a width of 64mm. at the blade and a maximum thickness of 45mm.

Mr. Lewis has deposited the axe in Newport Museum.

3. In 1963, Mr. John Gwillim, Winston Court Farm, Llanvetherine, near Abergavenny, found a stone axe-head on the west bank of the Full Brook, Llanvetherine (National Grid Reference SO.366184) and has presented it to Newport Museum. About a mile south of the spot where Mr. Gwillim found the axe, the Full Brook joins the two other streams to form the river Troddi which eventually debouches into the Wye just below Monmouth.

The axe has not yet been petrologically examined but I am informed by Dr. R. G. Absalom that it is of quartzite. It is grey on one side and mottled grey-dark brown on the other, due to staining by the soil. There are several rusty scratch marks on both sides which indicate that the axe had been disturbed and turned over several times by a plough or other tool before it was eventually rescued by Mr. Gwillim. It is polished and smooth to the touch and is oval in section with one side slightly flattened and the other rounded. Overall length is 146mm., width 61mm. and a maximum thickness of 37mm.

These axe-heads represent important additions to the distribution map of such finds in South-east Wales. The flint axes from Croesyceiliog and Llanbadoc in particular reinforce the view expressed by both Dr. H. N. Savory<sup>1</sup> and Professor R. J. C. Atkinson<sup>2</sup> that the Usk valley was one of the principal routes to the Brecknockshire long cairn area and beyond. Only in the last decade or so has the distributional pattern of stray finds of stone axes in this area assumed a more positive form; a hoard of three axes found at Summerhill, Maindee, Newport<sup>3</sup>, about 1906, took on a new significance with the discovery in 1950 of another hoard of two axes at Allt-yr-Yn<sup>4</sup> and another lone flint axe on the Gaer housing estate in 1952<sup>5</sup>. The occurrence of small hoards in the vicinity of Newport might indicate, as Atkinson has commented, that Uskmouth was a port of entry for Neolithic settlers or traders coming from Wessex across the Bristol Channel. The Croesyceiliog and Llanbadoc axes now take us further up the valley. The Llanvetherine axe might possibly represent another route of penetration up the Wye Valley.

Cefni Barnett.

The developing distributional pattern above described is further strengthened by two recent finds which have been presented to the National Museum. The first, from St. Brides Netherwent, Magor, has already been published.<sup>6</sup> It is a small plump axe-head made of preselite, the 'blue-stone' from the Prescelly Hills of Pembrokeshire, so famous for its use at Stonehenge: it is the first axe-head of this material so far confirmed from Wales and Monmouthshire. The other, so far unpublished, is a polished, thin-butted axe-head with pointed-oval section, found at a depth of 1ft. under a hedge immediately south of the Raglan–Chepstow road at New Star, Llanfihangel-tor-y-mynydd (National Grid Reference SO.466020). The overall length is 140mm., the width at the blade 63mm., and the width at the butt 45mm. The sides have been slightly flattened. Petrological examination of this implement, by Professor F. W. Shotton at Birmingham, has shown that it is Graig Lwyd stone (Group VII) from North Wales.

Though it still cannot be said that Neolithic axe-heads are abundant in Monmouthshire, some remarks about the results of petrological study are perhaps permissible. As might be expected, the main source of implements was the outer Bristol Channel area—Cornwall (Mynyddislwyn) or Pembrokeshire (Allt-yr-Yn, Llanddewi Rhydderch, St. Brides Netherwent)—but it seems that part of the stream of North Wales implements which flowed through Denbighshire and down the Severn was deflected down the Wye valley into east Monmouthshire (Chepstow, Llanfihangel-tor-y-mynydd).

H. N. Savory.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, CI, pp.166–7.

<sup>2</sup> *The Cardiff Region*, 1960, p.77.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, XCIX, pp.288–290.

<sup>4</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, CI, pp.166–7.

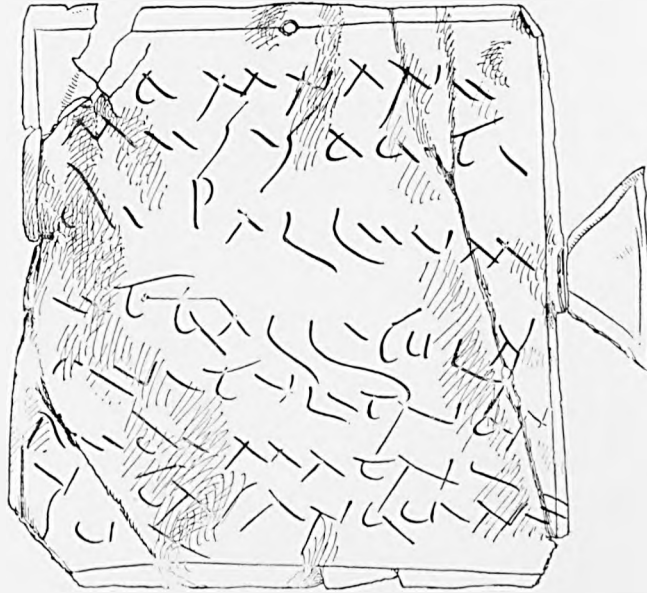
<sup>5</sup> *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XVI, p.49.

<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XIX, IV (1962), pp.335 et seqn.

## THE CAERLEON CURSE

Buried in a wartime volume of the *Wiener Jahreshfte* (XXXV, 1943, 99 ff.) is an illuminating and definitive study of the Roman curse, written on a thin sheet of lead about three inches square, which was found in the debris filling the north half of the arena of the Amphitheatre at Caerleon (*Archaeologia* LXXVIII, 1928, 120, 158–9, fig. 12). Volume I of the collected papers of the Austrian scholar, Rudolf Egger, has now made this information more widely available (*Römische Antike und frühes Christentum*, 1962, 281–3).

As originally studied by Collingwood, the inscription seemed to run *DOMNA NII/ MIISIS DO TI/BI PALLIHM/ IIT GALLICVLAS/ QVI TVLIT NON/ RIHDIMAT N./ . . . . SANGVINII/ SVA*. The sense of this was improved when A.Oxé read *NI/ V(I) TA* for the letters found illegible by Collingwood (*Germania* XV, 1931, 16–19): the letters can be seen on the accurate transcription published, *loc.cit.*, and reproduced by V. E. Nash-Williams (*Catalogue of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire*, 1935, 42, pl. 20) who, with Collingwood's approval, translates: 'Lady Vengeance, I give thee this cloak and these boots; let the man who deposited them not withdraw them except at the cost of his life-blood.' The curse was regarded as a wish on the part of one gladiator that another may not come back alive to withdraw his clothes, which are offered to Nemesis as a reward. The translation strains the sense, such as it is, and Egger found that the last two words, misread, stood on the transcription as *SANGVINIII SVI*, i.e., with *II* as a normal Roman cursive form of *E*, *sanguinei sui*. This gave a true indication of the purport of the text, since *sanguineus*, in common with *roseus*, *aureus*, *igneus*, etc., is one of the terms applied to a horse's colour—we might translate, 'red chestnut.' *Sui* accordingly relates to the owner, driver or rider of the horse. The appropriate translation therefore reads: 'Lady Nemesis, I give thee cloak and boots; let (the man) who wore them not get them back unless his red chestnut perishes.'



THE CAERLEON CURSE *Courtesy of the National Museum of Wales*

Egger continues by saying that the mention of the horse suggests that we are dealing with one of the mounted *venatores* who hunted beasts in the arena, or an *essedarius* (charioteer—'in Britain, the home of this type of fighter, a likely suggestion'); or, finally, an *eques* (one of the horsemen attached to the legion). We might further speculate that the last suggestion is perhaps the least probable, because of the finding-place of the curse actually in the Amphitheatre; and that the second does not seem very likely in view of the small size of the arena (184 by 136½ ft.), where it would have been difficult to run chariot-races satisfactorily. On the other hand, there would have been an ample supply of wild beasts from the hinterland of Roman Wales. Thus, the one competitor stole a rival's cloak and boots, and devoted them to Nemesis, with the aim of eliminating the unfortunate red chestnut. Egger finally points out that cloak and boots, in this context, are precisely parallel to the familiar items of hair or nail-clippings which, in witchcraft of all ages, stand as proxy for the person accursed; and he quotes a parallel from Lucian where two girls are advised to obtain cloak, shoes, hair, &c. of the young man whose love they hope to win.

As has been remarked before, curses of this general type are not uncommon in amphitheatres. The shrine of Nemesis has not been identified at Caerleon. At Carnuntum, it lay just outside the main west entrance of the legionary amphitheatre. Perhaps, at Caerleon, it may lie adjacent to the main north entrance *F*, where there is much unexcavated ground between the structure proper and the Broadway.

G. C. Boon.

### THE PROVENANCE OF A NEOLITHIC AXE-HEAD: A CORRECTION

In 1952, through the good offices of Mr. Jeremy Knight, then quite a young lad, the Newport Museum and Art Gallery came into possession of a Neolithic axe-head which was reported as having been found in the garden of a house in Lodge Road, Caerleon, some 200

yards west of the Training College. Dr. H. N. Savory described it (*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XVI, p.49) as "a well-shaped implement, with ground but only slightly polished surface, made of greenstone perhaps of Pembrokeshire origin, with pointed butt and plump oval section."

I remembered that shortly after he had deposited the axe in the Museum Mr. Knight expressed some doubt about its provenance, but in checking through the Museum records recently I found that I had most remissly omitted to make a note of this fact at the time. The story, as Mr. Knight remembers it, was that the occupier of the house in Lodge Road handed him the axe and stated that it had been dug up in his garden by his son, then serving in the army. When, some time later, the son returned from abroad, he informed Mr. Knight that he had found the axe-head not in Caerleon but under the floor of a shed in Christchurch, "along with rusty nails and the like." Presumably the implement had originally been found by the unknown owner of the shed, but where precisely we shall, alas, probably never know. It might well have been in the vicinity of Christchurch, but the absence of more positive information means, I'm afraid, one dot less on the distribution maps.

Cefni Barnett.

### CAERLEON 1909: A CORRECTION

There is an error of measurement due to faulty scaling in pp.55-6 of *Mon. Antiq.*, 1, 3 (1963). The section line AB falls 40 feet not 20 feet northwest of the corner of the fortress wall, and so lies beyond the two additional cracks mentioned in p.55. The correct measurements suggest that the evident rebacking was even more extensive than previously believed.

G. C. Boon.

### FROM OTHER JOURNALS

**Medieval.** A most useful and valuable work published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Vol. CXII, 1963, is a preliminary list of early castles in Wales and the Marches which has been prepared by Messrs. A. H. A. Hogg and D. J. C. King. As the authors point out, the Norman invasions of Wales are well documented but no map or list has been published which shows the complete distribution of castles built at that time. This is one of the major gaps in the documentation of field antiquities in Wales and this study by Hogg and King is designed to fill this gap sufficiently to provide a background to detailed local studies. The following Monmouthshire castles appear in the list: Abergavenny; Pen-y-Clawdd motte; Castle Arnold; Bwlch Trewen, the Moat; St. Mary's Yard Mound; Goytre Wood motte; Twyn y Cregen (excavated, see *Arch. Camb.* 1936, p.247); Twyn Bell, Llanbadoc; Usk; White Castle; Wern-y-Cwrt; Grosmont; Coed-y-Mount, Penrhos; Raglan; Newhouse 'Camp'; Newcastle; Treacastle; Dingestow; Skenfrith; Mill Wood Mound; Tump Terret; Monmouth; Dixton Mound; Twyn Tudur; Rumney; Castell Meredydd, Machen; Cae Castell, St. Mellons; Twyn Barlwm; Wentloog; Rogerstone; Castell Glas; Panteg Rectory; Newport; Graig Wood motte; Caerleon motte; 'Bowling Green,' Llangibby; Langstone Court Mound; Kemeys Inferior motte; Castle Farm, Bishton; Beiliau, Llangwm; Caerwent motte; Dinham; Caldicot; The Berries; Ballam Moor and Chepstow Castle. Castell Trögy is given as a late site. Rejected sites are: Bettws Newydd mound (excavated by Mr. Jeremy Knight: see his report in this issue); Pant-y-Colin, Cae Tumpyn ring, Rhiwderyn, and surprisingly perhaps, Caer Licyn.

In the same volume of *Arch. Camb.*, Messrs. O. E. Craster and J. M. Lewis report on their investigations of Hen Gwrt moated site at Llantilio Crossenny, which was handed over to the guardianship of the Office of Works by the late Sir Henry Mather Jackson, Bart., in 1941. It was accepted, we are informed, because of the rarity of such sites in Wales and Monmouthshire and partly because of the traditional association of the site with Dafydd Gam. It is not possible to summarise the history of the site here; we can but recommend that members read this very interesting account in full.

## REPORTS OF MEETINGS AND FIELD DAYS

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1964

The 117th Annual General Meeting of the Association was held on 8th February, 1964, at the Beaufort Hotel, Raglan. Sixty-five members were present. The President, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., was in the Chair.

The Minutes of the 116th Annual General Meeting were read and adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer's report, which showed that the Association had a credit balance of £152 7s. 4d., was adopted.

The resignation of Mr. E. I. P. Bowen, F.S.A., from the Chairmanship of the Association was received with regret. The President referred to the long years of service that Mr. Bowen had devoted to the Association, twenty-one of them as Chairman. It was resolved that the Association's appreciation of that service be placed on record.

Col. E. R. Hill, D.S.O., D.L., J.P., M.A., was unanimously elected Chairman of the Association. Col. Hill assured members that he would do all in his power to maintain the traditions of the Association and to render any service he could.

The resignation of Mrs. Horatia Durant from the Committee of the Association on the grounds of ill-health was also received with regret. Col. W. L. C. Phillips, T.D., was elected to fill the vacancy thus created.

Twenty new members were elected and three resignations were received.

It was resolved that a donation of five guineas be made to the Restoration Fund of Kilpeck Church on behalf of the Association.

The arrangements for the following Field Days for 1964 were approved: 9th May to Michaelston-y-Fedw Church, Castell Coch and Caerphilly Castle; 3rd September to Clytha, Bettws Newydd Church and St. Mary's Church, Usk (both dates provisional).

Following the business meeting, Mr. Morgan Rees, M.A., Keeper in the Department of Industry at the National Museum of Wales, delivered a lecture, illustrated by colour-slides, on "Industrial Archaeology." The President expressed thanks to the speaker.

## SPRING FIELD DAY, 9TH MAY, 1964

Travelling by coach and in cars, members first visited *Michaelston-y-Fedw Church*. The speaker was Mrs. L. E. Hollings, M.A.

Michaelston-y-Fedw, said the speaker, is a small hamlet with a population of just over 300, set in a beautiful part of Monmouthshire and wholly rural in outlook. It is, however, a village with almost no recorded history, despite the Roman road on its southern border and the fact that branches of two great families—the Kemeys and the Morgans—lived in the vicinity for over 800 years.

Norman origin has sometimes been claimed for the Kemeys family but this is doubted since earlier known members of the family had Welsh Christian names and the surname may be derived from the Welsh *Cemaes*. There were several branches of the family in various parts of Monmouthshire, but when they first came to Cefn Mably is not known: they were certainly established there by the 14th Century.

In 1403, Owen Glyndwr came to South Wales and the destruction he wrought was so complete that a chronicler was moved to write: "The lordship of Wentloog and the Manor of Machen being of no value because all is burnt, destroyed, wasted and annihilated by Owen and his company." When alterations were made to the church at the end of the last century signs of fire on a building of this period were found.



Michaelston-y-Fedw Church is dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels.\* In the 1254 Norwich Taxation the Church was worth four marks and £5 in *Taxatio Ecclesiasticus* of 1291. The church was very much restored by the Tynte family at the end of the last century. The pre-Reformation altar stone with five crosses cut in was found in the churchyard and restored. There is a faint cinnaber fresco on plaster around the north window in the Sanctuary which may be dedicated to St. Medwy (Fedw). The font is in two parts and probably foreign.

The Kemeys vault was rediscovered about five years ago when the floor had to be repaired. The presence of the vault had surprisingly been forgotten, even though the Kemeys pew occupied that part of the church. It contains seven lead coffins of the 17th and 18th centuries and a child's coffin of the early 19th century.

\* The dedication might belong to the 10th or 11th century when the cult of the Archangel (Llanfihangel) became popular in Wales. Michaelston-y-Fedw might have originally meant Michaelston *in* the parish of Llanfedw, which is across the river Rhymney to the north-west, near Ruperra Castle, and of course in Glamorgan. According to the *Lives of the British Saints*, Medwy belongs, with Elfan, Dyfan and Ffagen, to the group of persons who figure in the Lucius legend. According to the legend, he was a messenger for Lleurwg (Lucius) to Pope Eleutherius, and was made a bishop in Rome, and was subsequently bishop of Llanfedwy in Glamorgan, of which he was patron.—Editor.

CAERPHILLY CASTLE was next visited. Here the speaker was Mr. J. M. Lewis, M.A. of the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Buildings and Public Works.

The first castle at Caerphilly consisted of a motte built within the defences of the Roman fort that lay to the north-west of the existing castle.

Earl Gilbert de Clare's castle was begun in 1271 on a low spur of gravel between a stream and a marsh. The centre of the site is occupied by the Inner and Outer Wards, which in themselves constitute a formidable castle of concentric plan. To the east was built the great Eastern Front, the purpose of which was to defend the castle from the east, and also to dam the waters of the marsh and stream, so that the Inner and Outer Wards were completely surrounded by water. To the west was built a Hornwork, which seems to have been an addition to the defensive scheme as originally conceived, and was probably never finished.

Under Hugh le Despenser the living and domestic quarters were enlarged, and the Great Hall rebuilt and embellished probably for the entertainment of Edward II. During the Civil War a defensive battery with outworks was built to the north-west of the site, occupying much of the area of the Roman fort and early castle, and partially destroying them.

Mr. Lewis also addressed the gathering at CASTELL COCH.

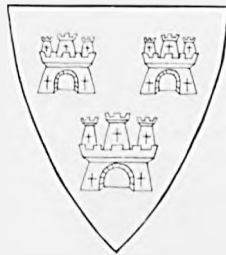
Castell Coch, he said, was a small 13th century castle built to command the narrow gorge of the Taff, and the approach to Cardiff from the north. Its scanty remains were restored in the 1870's for the 3rd Marquess of Bute by the architect William Burges, who had already been employed in the restoration of Cardiff Castle. In plan the building follows the medieval layout, but it is chiefly remarkable for its rich and curious decoration and furniture, which represent Burges's individual vision of the medieval world, and are a striking example of Victorian imaginative decoration.

*NOTE: The autumn excursion which had been arranged for 17th September was postponed at short notice because of the death of the President, Lord Raglan, whose funeral took place on that day. The programme for this excursion will now be carried forward to 1965. An Appreciation of Lord Raglan appears on p.126 of this journal.*

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# THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

*PROCEEDINGS*  
*OF THE*  
*MONMOUTHSHIRE & CAERLEON*  
*ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION*



*Edited by* CEFNI BARNETT

Vol. I (1961-4)

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