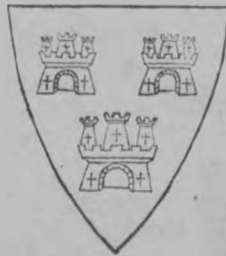


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THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

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Edited by CEFNI BARNETT

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TINTERN ABBEY ITS ECONOMIC HISTORY

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

Introduction

The Cistercians, or white monks, grew out of the Benedictine Order in France, towards the close of the eleventh century, and owed much in their early development to an Englishman, Stephen Harding, sometime a monk of Sherborne, in Dorset. The early ideals of their order were ones of simplicity in life and in worship, of prayer combined with manual labour, and of the renunciation of many of the usual ecclesiastical sources of wealth—manors, mills, serfs, tithes, etc.¹ But their ideals were in certain respects shortlived—especially the last, as many royal and noble benefactors showered gifts upon them. The concept of manual labour also soon devolved, possibly out of sheer necessity, onto an army of lay brothers, the *conversi*, of whom more will be said later. The white monks however became proficient landlords in many parts of Europe, skilled often in agriculture and wool-production, taking part in iron-smelting and trade, and even sometimes owning their own ships.

They proved an important influence and were much sought after by those who, for a mixture of spiritual and political motives, would establish religious houses. More Cistercians for example, were pressed to settle in Wales at the turn of the twelfth century by native princes; Cistercians accompanied the Teutonic Knights in their medieval expansion into Eastern Europe, and Cistercians were associated with medieval drainage schemes on the Rhine Delta. They were to be found also as far north as Bergen in Norway, (to the south of which was a house colonised by Fountains).

Of their Welsh houses, Tintern was by the Dissolution the wealthiest, though it had not always been so. Nor did it compare with some English monasteries, as John Russell wrote in the 15th Century:—

“ Also the Abbote of Westmystere,
the hiest of this land,
The Abbot of Tynterne the poorest
y indeirstande,
They ar bothe abbots of name
and not lyke of fame to fande,
Yet Tynterne with Westmystere
shalle nowher sitte ne stande.”²

Much of Tintern's property was very definitely English, lying as it did across the Wye in Gloucestershire, while indeed its richest possession was to be found much further afield, in Norfolk—the manor of Acle. This brief study will largely appertain however only to the monastic property which lay in Gwent. I am presently publishing elsewhere a general account of the Cistercians in Wales³, and this article seeks therefore to give more elaborate detail of one Welsh house in particular. In doing so one has drawn heavily upon the extant monastic accounts preserved among the Badminton deeds in the National Library of Wales, and the property of the Duke of Beaufort. At the outset therefore I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to His Grace for allowing me access to these important manuscripts.

I also place on record my thanks to Dr. C. H. Talbot and Miss E. S. Scroggs who transcribed the accounts for Merthyrgeryn Grange. The other transcriptions are largely, and all translations from the Latin entirely, mine own, and so I alone take responsibility for any inaccuracy of rendering in conveying the meaning of the medieval tongue into modern English. As last year, so also now, I would thank sincerely the Editor, whose interest in my work has been a great and continuing encouragement and help.

Possessions, Rights, and Incomes

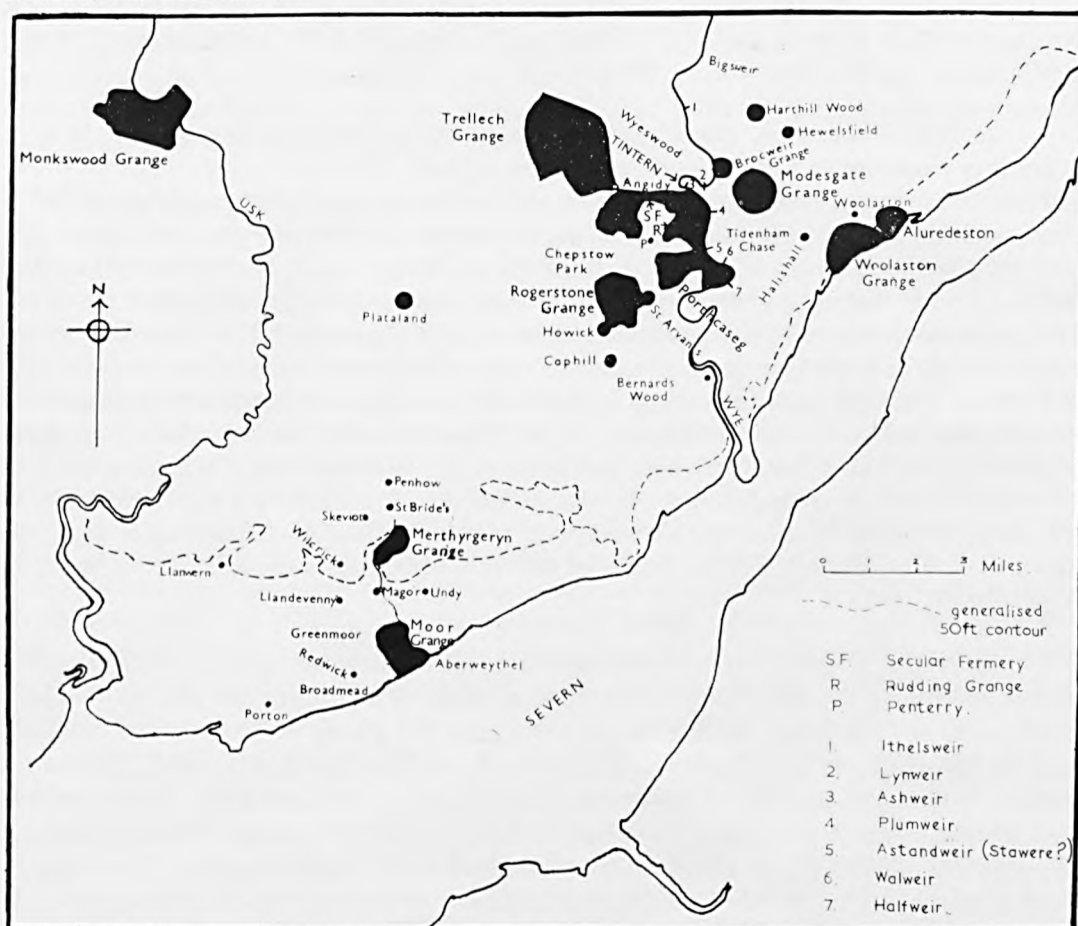
Tintern had about a dozen farms (worked originally by the conversi, and called *granges*—a term which will find fuller mention later). Of these eight lay in Gwent—Moor, Merthyrgeryn, Rogerstone, Porthcaseg, Rudding, Secular Firmary, Trellech, and Monkswood, and three, Brocweir, Modesgate, and Woollaston, were across the Wye in Gloucestershire. So far as can be ascertained most of these were in its hands by 1150 or so, if not well before. (The abbey itself was founded in 1131, and the gifts of Porthcaseg, Penterry, Modesgate, and Wilcrick were settled upon it then by the founder, Walter de Clare). Merthyrgeryn (obtained in 1133–48) was in place of land earlier owned at Wilcrick, and Woollaston (granted 1148+) in place of property at Penterry. Monkswood and Rogerstone were the last, being granted by William Marshal the younger in 1223–4. Rogerstone was given in order that the monks maintained a lamp at the tomb in the abbey of his mother, the Countess Isabel of Pembroke, who had died four years previously.

The monastery was also seised of the manors of Hewelsfield (from 1266, though it did not enjoy it uninterruptedly), of Aluredeston, also in Gloucestershire, and granted in 1302 by Roger Bigod, (though it may have had some land there earlier), in exchange for the Gwent property of Plataland (the monastery retaining some possessions there), and of Acle in Norfolk—mentioned previously as the abbey's most valuable possession, and also granted by Bigod in 1302⁴. (Only four years later its tenants took their new lord, the Abbot, to court, for exacting undue services from them, but they lost their case)⁵. Bigod (5th Earl of Norfolk) was certainly held in remembrance at the monastery, as a study of the 1535 pre-Dissolution *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (see *Appx. I. No. 2*) will shew; there he is even described, albeit wrongly, as being the house's founder, though he did of course have much to do with the late thirteenth century rebuilding of the abbey church.

By and large then, the major properties granted to Tintern before about 1225 were worked, at first at any rate, upon the grange system; those received later were held as manors.



The significance of this distinction will become clearer later. But apart from its leading possessions, lesser properties were from time to time granted to the house, or the size of some of the more important was extended. Bigod, for example, gave the monks 13½ acres at Penterry, and confirmed gifts by Bartholomew de Mora totalling over 120 acres of arable land in Porton and Magor, together with 60 acres of moor at Magor, and 40 of alder wood in Llanwern. Walter de Clare, the founder, had given over 90 acres at Skeviot, Magor; Queen Adelice (the spouse of Henry I) gave land in Aylburton (Glos.), and Maud Level of Trellech was later to give the monks 60 acres of arable in Coitgarth. Extension of existing properties were carried out, for example, by Walter Marshal (in 1242-6) who added 40 acres of *munedam* (undulating land as distinct from the level moor) at Merthyrgeryn, and by Roger Bigod who gave a further 28 acres at Modesgate. Other lands were held in Cophill, St. Wormet's, St. Arvan's, Howick, Landreston, Lancaut, and elsewhere⁶.



MAP 1. MONASTIC LANDS AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT (after William Rees, Cyril Hart and Ordnance Survey). NOTE: Some of the boundaries are unknown and are therefore of necessity diagrammatic. Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller, H.M. Stationery Office. Crown Copyright reserved.

Towards the close of the 13th Century, the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (see *Appx. I. No. 1*) gives a broad picture of the abbey's lands, (though of course the important Gloucestershire and Norfolk properties were yet to come). Quite how accurate was the *Taxatio* is a matter for debate, but we can draw three conclusions I think from its figures. Firstly, it shews us that at this time (1291) the three most valuable properties of the monastery were in close proximity to the abbey itself. They were Triket (this included the Angidy valley area), Rudding and Rogerstone Granges. Secondly, the *Taxatio* credits the abbey with $24\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land (and a further 108 acres), and 165 acres of pasture and meadow (other than waste—which may have been considerable); this would of course not include grazing rights elsewhere. Thirdly, the figures for Merthyrgeryn and Hardstreet (location uncertain but called a grange in 1301) throw some light on the local size of the *carucate*, (i.e., a measure of plough-land). Its size varied, probably both in time and in place. By the monetary values given one carucate at Merthyrgeryn appears to have been equivalent to 80 acres; that at Hardstreet to 96. (Elsewhere it was sometimes much larger; ideally it was possibly equivalent to 100 acres)⁷.

On their property the monks had substantial feudal rights and one wonders to what extent they made use of Roger Bigod's concession to them of "gallows, and judgement of life and limbs." They were to hold their land "with soc and sac and tol and them and infangenethf"; they and their men were to be free of all secular exactions and summons, and "from toll, pontage, pannage, passage, tallage, blodwyte, flithwyte, hengwite, and flemenswite"; the abbey and its property was to be without the forest of Wentwood and "without regard of the forest, so that the monks may do in their woods and waters what they will."⁸ The courts held on the abbot's behalf dealt with property transactions, and offences committed. Thus the court rolls of Porthcaseg in 1262 make mention of Brebelof who had taken a wife without permission, of Cadwen who had committed fornication, and of William who had beaten the son of Richard *le ruder*. In 1340/1 an unfortunate villein had offended by "making and saying abusive words to (or about) the lord abbot and monks." In 1407 no less than 33 villeins were fined a total of 8/3d (3d. each) for default of court, and six were made to pay a total of 3/- for trespass in the lord's wood, a frequent offence⁹. Further details of the types of business transacted will be found in Appendices III and IV.

Apart from property various other rights accrued to the house, some of which regarding pasture and fishing will find mention later. Here we might note William Marshal the younger's grant (1224) of "all things needful for the abbey, and the grange of Trellech, and stone for building and other needs in the forest of Wyewood—as they have had hitherto"; Gilbert, a younger brother and 6th Earl (of Pembroke, 1234–42) gave them about 1240 "both shoulders from all deer taken in the park of Trellech for the use of sick brethren dwelling in the house," and "for their tannery (*by the Angidy brook*) all the bark of all the lower forest of Went from the wood felled there whether sold or given, to be held by rendering yearly 2d for each load." In that part of Wentwood granted them in 1301 they could also hunt for venison and had free warren while on the shores of Moor and Woollaston they had the sometimes profitable right of being able to claim wreck of sea¹⁰.

The monastic enjoyment of their property was on occasion interfered with, though in this respect Tintern seems to have suffered much less than most of the Welsh houses. Only two occasions of any great strain have gone on record; the first was in the revolt (1233–4) of one of their benefactors, Richard Marshal, against the King, and which saw the burning of Grace Dieu. Then because of damage sustained Tintern was allowed to graze forty horses in the royal forest of Dean together with their foals of the third year¹¹. The king also instructed John of Monmouth, one of his Gwent protagonists, that the monks should not suffer any damage so long as they did not receive Earl Richard, or other of the king's enemies¹². Later, in 1407, the Glyndŵr rebellion meant that "the greater part of the abbey and the country of the diocese of Llandaff were wasted by the present rebellion of the Welsh"¹³.

Friction could also arise between the monks and neighbouring land-owners; Tintern's chief difficulty in this respect was its close proximity to the Forest of Dean, but its several troubles there lie without the scope of this essay. Within Gwent disputes arose on occasion, as for example with William Derneford *junior*, but here, in 1244, William and the abbot reached amicable agreement about the division of Landrest wood (St. Pierre), whereby the abbot was to hold that part of it lying west of an old dyke¹⁴.

As the years passed more and more of the monastic lands were leased out—a topic which will engage us again later—so that by the dissolution the sources of income were four-fold: (i) the revenues from the leased granges—only two were still in the abbot's hands in 1535; (see the *Valor*, Appx. I. No. 2) Trellech for example, had been leased out in 1522/3 for a £5 rent; (ii) fixed rents from the manorial and other lands, (note that Acle Manor alone accounted for 1/5th of the gross income of the monastery); (iii) tithes of appropriated parishes such as Magor and Redwick, (but by far more valuable were those of Lydd, co. Kent, the ownership of which passed to Tintern from an Italian monastery in the early 15th Century)¹⁵; and (iv) direct sales. The *Valor* only mentions the sale of timber, but the *Taxatio* gives also the sale of honey. From other sources we know that the several granges gained some income from the sale of stock, corn, and vegetables (witness the cellarer's roll described later, and the Merthyrgeryn accounts (*Appx. II*)). Of course a hidden source of income was the direct supply of corn and meat to the abbey from its demesne lands, and from some tenants who paid in kind. In 1387–8, for example, 10 pigs were killed at Merthyrgeryn and sent to the abbey; its last tenant, William Herbert, owed the abbot 110 qts. of grain for farm of the grange at the time of the dissolution¹⁶, while amongst the various officials of Tintern listed by the *Valor* is "Thomas Sodbury, grain receiver at the monastery."

Against the income must be set the many expenses of the house. The *Valor* gives a long list of these, but others were incurred in its history which find no mention there. The lord abbot for example very frequently had, earlier in the monastery's life, to travel to the annual Chapter-General of the Order at Cîteaux; he was responsible for visiting his daughter-house of Kingswood (near Bristol and founded in 1138), and presumably that of de Voto in Ireland (settled in 1200) as well. He was, too, often engaged on the business of the king, though presumably he received expenses and perhaps payment for these services; Dore's abbot on like occasions certainly rendered an account. The cellarer also had frequent occasion to travel, of which more later. Then

of course there were taxes to be paid in the form of tenths and subsidies to pope and king, and very often money had to be sent to Cîteaux as well, while Abbot Ralph (1232–45) had loaned money to Eleanora, 3rd daughter of king John¹⁷.

One of the more interesting burdens the monastery had to shoulder was that of *corrodies*, the support within the house of three groups of people, “retired superiors, superannuated servants, and layfolk who had purchased annuities and board and lodging as an insurance against old age”¹⁸. The Valor makes some mention of these, so do the *Records of the Court of Augmentations*¹⁹, but they were a responsibility which long preceded the dissolution. Tintern too, as other houses, had frequently, perhaps constantly, to support various people sent to it by the monarch—usually, but not always, retiring members of the royal household. Edward I sent one Geoffrey de Lastressen to Tintern in 1304²⁰, and Edward II in 1314 ordered the convent “to receive one of the king’s servants into their house for life”²¹. A little later (1319) the same sovereign sent there William de Bromfeld, a monk of Holm Cultram Abbey, Cumberland, when the possessions and goods of that house had been “wasted by the Scotch rebels”²². Then in 1412 we hear of John Wolde, “sergeant of the king’s chamber” going to Tintern, “to such maintenance as Walter Archier, deceased, had in that house”²³.

Cultivation

A prerequisite to agriculture was the preparation of the land. It was also an early ideal of the Cistercians that their houses were to be situated well away from centres of population. Much of the properties granted to them were therefore still largely untouched; they were still woodland, waste, or marsh. The former had to be cleared, (the medieval term for this was *assarting*), the latter drained. There is some evidence of the part played by Tintern in Monmouthshire and the Border in this respect.

The monastery had specific permission by charter to make assarts (clearings) on the lands granted to it²⁴, and it is probable that the monks of this house cleared the parish of Newchurch when (prior to 1302) it was their manor of Plataland²⁵. In 1282 they were fined £112 – 10 – 0 for clearing 200 acres of disputed forest land at Woollaston (Glos.) without permission²⁶, and in 1291 the Taxatio records one of their properties as “grangia de Assarto”²⁷ (probably Ridding Grange held with the vill of Porthcaseg), and notes that here coppice wood still brought them 5/- annually, while the sale of underwood on another grange gave them 13/4. There is also mention of assarts by their tenants in such of the contemporaneous accounts which are extant; land for example was still being brought under cultivation at Porthcaseg in 1263 (see Appx. IV. No. 1) and in 1392–3²⁸. In 1535, the sale of timber brought an annual income of £5²⁹.

But the clearance of woodland was not only the result of the extension of arable land, it also followed from the need for building material and for fuel. Tintern had very considerable rights in this respect in Wentwood (as at Wyewood) from its foundation onwards³⁰, while explicit reference is made in the 1387/8 Merthyrgeryn accounts of the Abbot’s servants “seeking in Wyewood and Bernardswode for dye woods for the new byre,” and a later cellarer’s roll (1411/2) records payments made to men for felling timber, and for carrying wood to the abbey kitchen. Robert Smyth received 8d. for wood felling and his servant, William, 6/3d, for over

eight weeks work in "making wheels and other things." Its woods had officials appointed as keepers; John de Aure was the abbot's woodward at Harthill (in St. Briavel's, Glos.) in the late 13th century; about 1340 Howel Melior was said to have badly kept the abbot's wood at Kynemot (Mon.) when he was bailiff there, and in 1434/5 Howell ap Thomas was the keeper of Bernardswood (near Rogerstone Grange). Tintern had another need for timber—for the upkeep of its weirs, and for making charcoal for its iron forges. In Tidenham Chase it could take underwood for burning, and for making hedges and enclosures³¹.

The Cistercians very commonly enclosed their reclaimed land, and in this connexion Tintern had permission to fence off certain lands in Wentwood granted to it (instead of unlimited pasture rights) in 1301³², and they used stone walls to enclose property at Merthyrgeryn³³. But at their Moor Grange, situated on the damp and periodically inundated coastal marshes, they had a different problem. Here they were given permission (from at least about 1245) so that "about the boundary of their land and grange in the moor of Magor they may make a ditch at their will, and in the ditch they may do what they will, and the water-courses within and without they may order as they see fit." Further, on their behalf, the keeper and tenants of nearby Aberweythel Mill were ordered to ensure that the local land was kept well drained, and to maintain the cut and sluice giving outlet to the Bristol Channel³⁴. Mention of repairing the watercourses pertaining to pasture land comes in the court rolls of Moor for 1493 (see *Appx. III*)³⁵.

The earlier lands granted to the monks were commonly worked by the lay brethren, the *conversi* (large numbers of whom in England and Wales, as elsewhere, were attracted to the monastic life in the early days of the order), and they lived on the series of farms or granges; these last were supposed to be within a day's journey of the abbey, the cellarer therefore being able to keep control of them.

There is no direct mention of *conversi* on the granges of Tintern, as there is but scant documentary evidence for that house's early history, but their presence on the abbey's farms was implied in 1217, when the monastery was rebuked for allowing women to live near, and even work on, the granges³⁶. For various reasons the 14th century saw the end of the *conversi* system and so more and more land was leased out; the Valor shews the extent of this at the dissolution, so do other of the Appendices. Rents were sometimes paid in kind (as has been mentioned above), or by services, e.g., the carting of corn noted in the Merthyrgeryn accounts (*Appx. II*). Some demesne land however was retained; as in the late fourteenth century at Merthyrgeryn—and worked by hired labour under a paid bailiff.

The *granges* have left their mark to this day in Gwent; the names of Trellech Grange, Rogerstone Grange, Upper and Lower Granges (probably Merthyrgeryn and Moor respectively) in Magor, on the maps of the Ordnance Survey, are abiding witnesses to the system³⁷. But the influence of the abbey in aiding medieval agricultural development was not limited always to its own property; on at least one occasion in the earlier 13th century, its monks "assisted with their ploughs" in the cultivation of the lands of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, at Trellech and Usk," at his request, and not of any duty"³⁸.

The *cellarer* who had overall control of the abbey lands, (though aided later by a lay steward), was a very important monastic official, and at least six of Tintern's abbots were promoted to their position directly, or almost directly, from that office; they were Walter of Hereford, John of Tintern, Thomas Monmouth, William Kere, Henry Newland, and Thomas Morton³⁹. The Badminton records include two cellarer's rolls; the most important, that for 1411/2, makes mention of the then cellarer, John Morris, paying visits not only to Chepstow and going for "court" days to Porthcaseg and Woollaston (staying there occasionally) with the clerk, but travelling also to Acle and Bristol. The journey to Acle, somewhat afield, took place in the better weather of June, and involved a party of three horses and expenses of over two pounds. The roll is also of interest as it reveals the name of Richard Blythe as keeper of Rogerstone Grange in that year, and makes mention of the repairing of the cloister roof at the abbey as well as of property at Woollaston⁴⁰.

A very good picture of a Cistercian grange is that for Merthyrgeryn, as given in the accounts for 1387-9 (see *Appx. II*). An earlier source (for 1303, see *Appx. IV. No. 2*) tells us that Merthyrgeryn had a mill; these later accounts mention the garden, the pigsty, the old byre and the new, the cow house, the sheep cote, the hen house, the stable, and the granary. Most of these outbuildings were receiving attention, a chamber was being made in one byre for the keeper of oxen to lie there, and candles were bought for his use in winter-time; a new byre was being constructed. The granary comes in for mention since the governor had spent sixpence on food for men who had caught a thief, and held him by night.

There were a few fulltime servants now, under the direction of a bailiff; the days of the *conversi* were numbered. Many other labourers were hired as occasion demanded, but their wages were not high, usually only a penny or two per day. Food was frequently bought for them, including beer, 'lest they go from the field to their own.' There was a considerable production of wheat, barley, oats and vegetables; most of this apparently for the monks' own use, but some being sold 'as extra.' The economy was mixed, and the authority of the bailiff appears to have extended south-westwards to the coastal pastures of Llandevenny and Broadmead. So we read of much mowing of hay and of the killing of sheep and pigs.

Much of the land was leased out; only the demesne was worked directly. The net profit was at most a few pounds per year, but of course the abbey derived most benefit from the return in kind—the ten pigs, for example, which were killed and sent to the monastery. Much of the income of the grange came from the rents for leased pasture and other property; proceeds from sales were comparatively insignificant. Most of the expenses consisted of labour charges, but there were more interesting miscellaneous ones, such as the purchase of salt for the bailiff and servants, and the payment of one man for clearing of rubbish the way leading to St. Bride's. Agriculturally, perhaps, one of the most significant was the 1/8d. given to those who were spreading out manure.

Evidence of grain production comes also from the possession of water-mills for grinding, though these were used by the monastic tenants and other neighbouring farmers as well, (and so were an important source of revenue). Tintern's monks were given a mill at Tidenham, "the Sondmulle," about 1245, with permission to "grind what they wish"⁴¹, and from at least 1224

until 1536 they had a mill on the Angidy brook, which stream they owned, and in the former year the grantor, William the younger, 4th Earl of Pembroke, promised them the right of grinding the corn belonging to him and his men in the immediate neighbourhood⁴². Other mills were owned at Woollaston (1224), at Rogerstone Grange (1291) and Merthyrgeryn (1303), while a mill of theirs in Dean Forest was said in the late 13th century to harbour poachers⁴³. Doubtless Tintern had others which have gone unrecorded. (Remains of a subsequent mill are still to be seen at Rogerstone).

Pastoralism

The keeping of animals was at least as important to the white monks in Wales as was cultivation, partly because they were a necessary adjunct of the times, horses for draught, cattle for meat and milk and so on, but also because they were a source of profit, and here it was the wool trade which was early important.

Tintern had considerable areas of suitable pastureland and meadow; this is indicated in the charters of the house, "quittance of feeding and pannage through all the donor's forests of Wales" (given by the founder, and confirmed by his successors, but exchanged by Bigod who in place of common in Wentwood gave them part of the Forest instead); "pasture for their young animals in the land of Trellech"; "full common for all its beasts in the forest of Wentwood, and in Greenmoor, after the first mowing or reaping"; "free access to their meadows," "common with 60 oxen in Chepstow Park," and from Bigod, "pasture in our park of Mynyddy-gaer for the oxen of their seven ploughs belonging to their Rogerstone Grange." All these rights accrued to it in the 12th and 13th centuries⁴⁴; how long after they were enjoyed is less certain.

The importance of pasture is reflected too in the 1291 Taxatio, (52 acres of Broadmead, 50 at Moor, 30 at Llandevenny and so on, as well as unknown quantities of waste pasture, and later extensions made), and in the grange accounts and court rolls (*see the Appendices*) where meadow finds frequent mention. About 1/5th, for example, of the income of Merthyrgeryn grange in 1387/8 came from the lease, or sale, of pasture and stock. Hay making also finds mention in the accounts, as does (1388/9) the sale of 5 *crosses* of fodder. A significant point I think to be borne in mind is that while the economy of all the granges will have of necessity been to some extent mixed, it is clear from the Taxatio that arable farming dominated in the upland granges such as Trellech, Rudding, and Rogerstone while in the coastal Moor and the scattered marshland properties pastoralism assumed much greater importance. With the later acquisition of Woollaston this distinction will probably have become even clearer. Here, in its system of widespread granges, lay the great weight of Cistercian agricultural economy: the ability to differentiate. Other Welsh houses where there is clear evidence of the organisation of its granges in this way were Whitland and Strata Florida⁴⁵.

So far as Tintern was concerned sheep-rearing led the way. (In this connexion we might conveniently note in passing that as well as the sheep-cote of which there is documentary evidence at Merthyrgeryn, the name 'sheepcot' or something akin to it is marked on the large scale maps on former monastic lands at Modesgate and Trellech Granges). But it is to two written sources,

compiled towards the close of the 13th century, that we turn for such statistical information as there is. The first, the *Taxatio* (not wholly reliable as the rounded numbers suggest), ascribes to Tintern 2,264 sheep and 1,000 ewes; the second, an Italian list of wool-producing monasteries⁴⁶, credits our house with producing (presumably for export) 15 sacks of wool a year. (Each sack contained 26 stones). What however is most striking is that Tintern's best wool, while much less in *quantity* than that of the important Yorkshire houses of Fountains (76 sacks) and Rievaulx (60 sacks), was much better in *quality*, fetching as it did the highest price of English monastic wool at the time, 28 marks per sack. Her only equals in this respect were Dore, and the nunnery of Stanfield in Lindsey. None however was her superior. Some of the wool may have, at least in the earlier days of the house, formed the raw material for Tintern's fulling mill on the Angidy brook.

Apart from sheep, cattle, horses and pigs were other animals kept. Tintern had (1291, according to the *Taxatio*, and probably an underestimate) some 100 cows; in 1307 it enjoyed common with 60 oxen in Chepstow Park⁴⁷. The cattle were probably kept largely for its own use, and the hides perhaps early supplied its tannery with raw material. The tannery, worth £2 in 1291, and granted, as we have seen, a cheap supply of bark, was by the Angidy brook, and its successor may be seen in the property referred to in the 1535 *Valor* as *La Tanhouse*.

There were occasional sales of stock, as described in the Merthyrgeryn accounts, and in the cellarer's roll of 1411/12⁴⁸ there is mention of the sale of calves at 1/8 or 1/10 apiece (two having been raised at Woollaston, and two at Rudding, Granges), and of a couple of cows at 10/- each. Merthyrgeryn controlled one or two byres, and in 1387-9 a new one was being built. In the old a chamber was being made for the drover to lie; in both years covered by the account candles were bought for the supervision of the oxen at night. This grange also had a vaccary and piggery as noted before.

Finally, we find frequent references to the possession of horses; not of course surprisingly. They were needed for draught purposes, and as a means of travel. The abbot frequently had cause to be journeying, so did the cellarer. On his one recorded journey to Acle in Norfolk, as we have already seen, it was with a party of three horses. The monastery and each grange will have had its stable; so in 1535 the *Valor* records the stipend of the Keeper of the Horses; in 1387-8 the Merthyrgeryn accounts noted the roofing of its stable. In 1234, as mentioned before, royal permission was gained for the keeping of 40 mares with their foals in the Forest of Dean⁴⁹. Lastly, we might note the payment of 5d by the cellarer to Robert Smyth in 1411/12 for healing two of Tintern's horses which had fallen sick.⁵⁰

Fishing

Cistercians never ate flesh-meat, at least in the early days of the order. Fish was therefore a very important source of fresh food, and Tintern was fortunate in its situation by the salmon waters of the Wye. Here the abbey was early granted three weirs, Plumweir, Staweir, and Alf (iards)weir; these were later exchanged (1148+) for a share of Walweir, Halfweir, and Badingsweir, but by 1224 Plumweir once again appears to have belonged to the house. Tintern was also granted a pool (*pullam*) in the Wye (c.1200), half of Ashweir and timber to maintain it (circa 1246),

and later a moiety of Britheksweir (?Bigswear), with the fishery there (probably a reward for hospitality to Edward II in his last days), but without the right to claim Forest timber for its upkeep (1326)⁵¹. It also received Ithelsweir in 1330⁵². The granting of a weir by Edward II to Tintern, led the Warden of the Forest to complain in 1341 that it had reduced the ferm of the forest by 25/-⁵³.

The monks also had permission to fish up to the middle of the Severn opposite their land at Moor Grange and Woollaston, and to make weirs in the Severn at Aluredeston⁵⁴. One Severn fishery was called Tinternespulle⁵⁵. They could also build half a weir in the Usk at Monkwood, and 'make pools' there⁵⁶. All this gave a ready supply of fresh food to the abbey, and perhaps there was some for sale. At least on one occasion (in 1262) the monastery sent some to its daughter house at Kingswood, that abbey's accounts recording the payment of 3d. "to a young man of Tintern who brought salmon"⁵⁷.

Apparently Tintern's fisheries were used by a number of men on the Gloucestershire side of the Wye, who paid rent for the privilege either in money, or with corn, or with stock. They were the cause of the abbot and convent finding it necessary to complain in 1323 to the bishop of Hereford that "many debtors of the convent, in the Forest Deanery, have, since the death of brother John de Walwere, guardian of the fisheries of the convent, repudiated their debts. The bishop therefore instructs the dean of the Forest to warn the debtors on Sundays and Festivals in the churches, that on pain of excommunication they should pay what is owing"⁵⁸.

On more than one occasion Tintern's weirs were a cause of friction. By 1330 Abbot de Camme had caused several weirs in the Wye to be raised, some by six feet, some by five. In the former category were Brithekesweir, Ithelsweir, and Ashweir; in the latter, Walweir, Plumweir, Staweir, Badingsweir, and Brocweir. "The raising of the weirs obstructed certain openings that always used to stand open in all the weirs aforesaid to the depth of the water, to the disturbance of men with boats and ships wishing to pass by the said water." Some of these were in passage, laden with wines and victuals, for the Earl of Lancaster's castle at Monmouth. The earl complained to the king, but when (circa 1331) the bailiff and steward of St. Briavel's Castle were sent to lower the weirs, they were assaulted by two or three of the monks and their men. Execution of the order was stayed temporarily, and the position was the same in 1334, after which no more is heard of the dispute⁵⁹.

Later in the century it was said of another abbot that at Ithelsweir, "he catches and destroys young salmon in defiance of the king and against the terms of the statute"⁶⁰. Much later, in the early 16th century, the boot was on the other foot, and it was the turn of Tintern to complain when the Earl of Worcester "sent his servants to interrupt their enjoyment of the fishing weirs in the Wye"⁶¹. Shortly afterwards at the dissolution Tintern still held Plumweir, Ashweir, Ithelsweir, and Walweir⁶², and paid £6 to servants maintaining the fisheries⁶³. It leased Bigswear to Thomas ap Powell (at £1 p.a.; unpaid for nine years), and itself had paid 52/- rent for a weir which was now "totally thrown down." It remains to note that the Ordnance Survey still mark a Piscatory near Tintern, and Beattie described its remains in 1844⁶⁴.

Other Economic Activities

Less is known of other aspects of the monastic economy, but there were two facets which must find mention here, iron smelting and trade. The working of minerals and metals was a feature of several of the Welsh Cistercian houses, and iron smelting too was a Cistercian industry in Yorkshire. It was, for sometime at least, important to Tintern, which had two forges, one at least being at St. Briavel's, and in its hands by 1143. The monastery was still smelting iron in 1268, when a commission reported that "the abbot and convent have always had a mine in the said forest (*Dean*) to supply their own smithy, without payment"⁶⁵. It is a tempting possibility, though there is no actual evidence, that the iron working which arose both at Tintern itself, and on its former grange at Monkwood, shortly after the dissolution, continued a pre-existing monastic tradition.

As regarding trade, the first feature of note is that Tintern (like Margam, Neath, and other houses) had its own boats and the abbey could easily be reached by vessels (up to 70 tons it has been estimated) plying on the Wye. Remains of Tintern's water-gate are still to be seen, and we might note that in 1258 Tintern acted as a warehouse for seven days for wine in transit to Monmouth Castle, (a storage charge of 2d per day was made). In 1267/8 a ship belonging to the monastery, and in passage on the Wye, was seized and plundered by men of Bristol⁶⁶. Later, in about 1453, William of Worcester noted in his *Itinerary* a ship or ships from the abbey lying in Bristol harbour⁶⁷. Bristol was very important to the monks. They were free from toll there (from the reign of Henry III, and until at least 1456); they owned several properties there at different times—a messuage in Redcliffe Street, the merchants' quarter in 1242, two shops in 1312, a tenement called *Hillary Palmarina* in 1511/12, and at the time of dissolution a "plot of void ground in Fisher's Lane, in the parish of St. Leonard, abutting upon the parish church on the east"⁶⁸. The abbot was a member of the Staple⁶⁹, and local trade was assisted by the right of free passage for the monks, their men, and their goods on the Beachley–Aust ferry. (Other towns where houses were owned were Monmouth (one), and Chepstow (several)⁷⁰.

There seems little doubt, apart from the evidence of Pegolotti's list quoted before, that Tintern traded wool abroad, certainly in the 13th century. Henry I instructed his officials at Southampton, Hastings, Dover, Dieppe, and Harfleur, that no toll, passage, or other custom was to be levied on Tintern's goods and horses⁷¹. In a 1272 list of wool merchants engaging in trade with Flanders, a monk of Tintern, Thomas de Haneworth, is included⁷². This information is very shortly afterwards reiterated (1276) in the Hundred Rolls⁷³. In the 14th century comes evidence of contact with Italian merchants, for financial reasons anyway, the abbot acknowledging, and paying, in 1340 a debt incurred by the monastery of £174 to Michael Simonetti de Lucca, and in 1395 money was sent on Tintern's behalf by merchants of the house of Lucca to the abbey de Gloria (Anagni, Italy)⁷⁴.

So much for what I have termed the economic history of Tintern abbey. It is not by any means as complete as one would like to see it, and one is very conscious of its inadequacy. But that is inevitable, as relevant sources of information are few. What is worse is that without doubt the period when the white monks were most active was the 12th and early 13th centuries

—so far as woodland clearance, the conversi and cultivation, wool production, and the like were concerned—and it is precisely for this time that no records exist. But from what we do know we can be pretty certain that what Wordsworth wrote of the Cistercians in general was as true on Tintern's lands as elsewhere:—

“ Where'er they rise, the sylvan waste retires,
And aery harvests crown the fertile lea ”⁷⁵.

REFERENCES

(to the general body of the text)

Abbreviations:

Charter	=	Calendar of Charter Rolls
Close	=	Calendar of Close Rolls
Patent	=	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Badm.	=	Badminton MSS (N.L.W.)
N.P.L.	=	Newport (Mon.) Reference Library.

NOTES

¹ Dom D. Knowles, “ *The Monastic Order in England* ” (1963), pp.210-211.

² 51 in H. Brakspear and M. Evans, “ *Tintern Abbey*,” (1910).

³ due to appear in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1965.

⁴ *Charter* iii (1300-26) pp.31, 88-9, 96-100, 103-6; *Patent* 1280 p.404; *Rotuli Hundredorum* i 176, *Cal. Inq. P.M.* i 235; J. G. Wood, “ *Tintern Abbey and Lordship of Striguil* ” (1904), p.10.

⁵ *Mon. Antiquary* (1964) p.108.

⁶ *Charter*, op.cit. pp.88, 97-100, 103-5; *Inq. P.M.* iii 247; Dugdale, W. “ *Monasticon Anglicanum* ” (1846 edn.) v. p.268.

⁷ C. T. Martin, “ *Record Interpreter* ” (1910), p.210; J. G. Wood MSS (N.P.L.), “ *Tintern Abbey, Charters and other Documents*,” p.65 (2397).

⁸ *Charter*, op.cit. p.98; J. G. Wood MSS, op.cit. p.67 (2399).

N.B.:— *soc and sac* – jurisdiction of a manorial lord.

tol and them – right to buy and sell (i.e.: to hold a market), and to determine ownership of goods, within their estates.

infangenethef – right to judge a thief taken on their land.

pontage – toll for passing over a bridge.

pannage – payment for feeding swine in the lord's wood.

passage – toll on crossing a river.

tallage – taxes generally

blodwyte – fine for shedding of blood

flithwyte – fine for violence in public

hengwite – fine for wrongful hanging of a thief.

flemenswite – fine for harbouring or maintaining fugitives.

⁹ Badm. 1639, 1645, 1656.

¹⁰ *Charter*, op.cit. pp.98-9, 103-6; Dugdale, Wm. “ *Monasticon Anglicanum* ” (1846 edn.) v. p.267. J. G. Wood, “ *Tintern Abbey and Lordship of Striguil* ” (1904) p.10.

¹¹ *Close* 1234 p.538, *Patent* 1234 p.74.

¹² *ibid* p.364.

¹³ *Patent* 1407 p.378.

¹⁴ *Campbell Charters* v.7 (in pp.623-4).

¹⁵ E. A. Lewis, “ *Early Chancery Proceedings concerning Wales* ” (1937) p.221. *Patent* 1442 pp.85-6, *Close* 1385 p.638.

- 16 J. G. Wood MSS (N.P.L.), "*Chepstow, Tintern . . . Documents and Papers*," p.891.
- 17 *P.R.O. E.* 101/311/11 and 17. (For details of Tintern's assessments for tenths, etc. see *Mon. Antiq.* (1964) pp.99-100); Patent 1234 p.56, Rymer's *Foedera* i. 34.
- 18 Glanmor Williams, "*Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation*," pp.383-4.
- 19 by E. A. Lewis and J. C. Davies (1954) pp.128, 130, 133, 137.
- 20 *Close* 1304 p.208.
- 21 *Close* 1314 p.192.
- 22 *Close* 1319 p.208.
- 23 *Close* 1412 p.363.
- 24 as in J. G. Wood MSS '*Tintern Abbey*' (N.P.L.) 15,40., and Charter, op.cit. p.106.
- 25 E. J. Searle, MSS Notes on Monmouthshire.
- 26 *Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* xxxiii (1910) p.258 (in M. L. Bazeley, "*The Forest of Dean*").
- 27 See Appx. I No. 1. Cf. Badm. 1512 and Dugdale, op.cit. v. 268.
- 28 Badm. 1572.
- 29 See Appx. I No. 2.
- 30 J. G. Wood MSS, op.cit. 14, *Charter* 1307 p.104, *Close* 1231 p.517.
- 31 Badm. 1571, 1575, 1576, 1645. *Charter* 1307 p.104; Dugdale, op.cit. v. 269.
- 32 *Charter*, op.cit. pp.105-6.
- 33 Badm. 1571, cf. Appx. II.
- 34 *Charter* op.cit. pp.104-5.
- 35 Badm. 14482.
- 36 J. Canivez, "*Statuta Capit. Ord. Cist*" (Louvain, 1933-41), i. p.472 (1217/30).
- 37 N. Grid References: 491017, 506966, 427884, 428856 respectively.
- 38 *Charter* 1307 pp.103-4.
- 39 *Monmouthshire Antiquary* (1964) p.109, Badm. 1657, 1658, 14475, 14482.
- 40 Badm. 1575. (The other is Badm. 1576 and is for 1434-5).
- 41 *Charter* 1307 p.104.
- 42 Dugdale, W. "*Monasticon Anglicanum*" (1846 edn.) v. pp.268, 273; Badm. 1658. (It was called the Angidy-mill at the dissolution).
- 43 Dugdale, W. op.cit. v. pp.267, M. L. Bazeley, op.cit. pp.250, 255-7, and Appx. I No. 1, Appx. IV No. 2 of this article.
- 44 *Inquisitions post mortem* iv. p.294, *Charter* op.cit. pp.104-6, 96-98.
- 45 Glanmor Williams, op.cit. p. 359, J. G. Wood MSS (N.P.L.), "*Chepstow, Tintern, etc. . . .*", p.67 (2399). D. H. Williams, "*The Cistercians in Wales*," (due to appear in *Arch. Camb.* 1965).
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- 47 *Inq.P.M.* iv 294.
- 48 Badm. 1575.
- 49 *Close* 1234 p.538, Patent 1234 p.74.
- 50 Badm. 1575.
- 51 Patent 1326 p.332, *Close* 1336 p.578, *Charter* op.cit. pp.96-8, 104, Dugdale, W. op.cit. v. p.268,
- 52 Campbell Charters iii. 10 (p.622).
- 53 *Close* 1341 p.153, Patent 1341 p.191, *Fine* 1341 p.230.
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- 56 Dugdale op.cit. v. 269.
- 57 *Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* xxii (1899), p.216 (in V. R. Perkins, "*Kingswood Monastery*").
- 58 *Canterbury and York Society (Reg. Ade de Orleton)* v. (1908) pp.256-7.
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- 61 Glanmor Williams op.cit. p.405.
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- 63 see Appx. I No. 2; J. G. Wood MSS (N.P.L.), " *Chepstow Lordship and Tintern Abbey after the Dissolution* " p.1486, and " *Chepstow, Tintern . . . Documents and Papers,* " p.890.
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- 71 Charter, op.cit. p.88.
- 72 Patent 1272 p.703.
- 73 *Rot. Hund.* i. 176.
- 74 Close 1340 p.492, B.M. *Add. MS.* 7488.
- 75 in his *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* (No. III Cistercian Monastery, lines 13-14).

Appendix I

No. 1 *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1291)

TINTERN ABBEY

Spiritualities (Hereford dio.)

	<i>taxed at:</i>	<i>tenth =</i>
Church of Woolaston	£20 0 0	2 0 0
portion of the vicar in the same <i>non-valet</i>	4 0 0	
p.161 b portion in the church of Tidenham	3 6 8	6 8
<i>in Llandaff diocese: temporalities</i>		

STOCK

	£	s.	d.
p.284 b 100 cows	7	10	0
2,264 sheep	37	14	8
1,000 ewes	25	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£70	4	8
	<hr/>		

LANDS AND RENTS			
p.282 b	<i>Rudding Grange:</i>	3 carucates land	3 0 0
		4 acres meadow	2 0
		coppice wood p.a.	5 0
		fixed rents	1 2 0
		pleas and perquisites	6 8
		weir and fishery (Wye)	1 16 0
		waste pasture	4 2
	<i>Rogerstone Grange:</i>	4 carucates land	4 0 0
		15 acres meadow	7 6
		garden and curtilage	1 6
		mill p.a.	15 0
		waste pasture	10 0
	<i>Merthyrgeryn Grange:</i>	2½ carucates land	2 10 0
		19 acres land	4 9
	in <i>St. Bride's</i> parish:	30 acres land	7 6
		fixed rents	5 0
	in <i>Magor</i> parish:	rents	3 0
	in <i>Undy</i> parish:	rents	13 4
		19 acres land	3 2
		14 acres meadow	7 0
	<i>Moor Grange:</i>	2 carucates land	3 0 0
		50 acres meadow	1 5 0
	<i>Broadmead:</i>	52 acres meadow	1 6 0
		fixed rents	10 0
	<i>Monkswood Grange:</i>	3 carucates land	1 0 0
	<i>Trellech Grange:</i>	6 carucates land	2 0 0
	<i>Plataland:</i>	3 carucates land	1 0 0
	<i>Hardstreet:</i>	1 carucate land	1 4 0
		24 acres land	6 0
	<i>Chepstow town:</i>	fixed rents	4 5
	<i>Triket:</i>	1 fulling mill	6 8
	(west of the monastery?)	fixed rents	12 0
		mill	1 10 0
		1½ weirs p.a.	2 0 0
		sale of underwood	13 4
		dues from pannage	6 8
		court perquisites	13 4
		honey sold	5 0
		tannery	2 0 0
	<i>Penhow:</i>	16 acres land	8 0
	<i>Usk:</i>	fixed rents	1 4
	from <i>William of Hereford:</i>	fixed rents	
		of a certain grange	6
	from <i>John of Stonsouwe</i>	for a certain grange	1 8
	<i>Llandevely:</i>	30 acres pasture	7 6
		TOTAL:	£38 5 0
p.281 b	The Prior of Goldcliff receives from the Abbot of Tintern for land in the parish of Magor by fixed rent		5 0

No. 2 Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535)

(page 370 et seq.)

Revenue

Annual Receipts	£	s.	d.
<i>Acle</i> (Norfolk); revenue from the demesne land, and manor of <i>Acle</i> , let to farm –	50	0	0
<i>Woollaston Grange</i> (Glos.); let to farm; receipts from corn	22	0	0
<i>Rogerstone Grange</i> (Mon.); restored to Abbot's own use; from corn –	7	0	0
<i>Rudding Grange</i> (Mon.); let to farm; from corn –	7	0	0
<i>Moor Grange</i> (Mon.); restored to Abbot's own use, from corn –	6	0	0
<i>Trellech Grange</i> (Mon.); let to divers tenants –	8	16	10½
<i>Modesgate Grange</i> (Glos.); let in the hand of a farmer –	6	0	0
<i>Merthyrgeryn Grange</i> (Mon.); let to farm; from corn –	6	0	0
<i>Brocweir Grange</i> (Glos.); let to divers tenants –	5	16	8
<i>Monkswood Grange</i> (Mon.); let to farm –	2	13	4
<i>Secular Farmer Grange</i> (Mon.); let to farm –		13	4
<i>Alverdeston Manor</i> (Glos.); let to farm –	3	10	0
<i>Demesne lands</i> , near the monastery, let to divers tenants –	3	6	8
<i>Le Tanhouse</i> , farm near the monastery, let to farm –	2	13	4
	£131	10	2½

Assigned Rents and Court Perquisites

at Woolaston, Alverdeston, and Halishall	25	12	8
at Magor	24	14	4
at Porthcaseg	9	0	0
at Striguil	1	0	0
at Hewelsfield (rents only)	3	10	0
in Bristol town (rents only)		10	0
from Flaxley Abbey (rents only)		10	0
	£64	17	0

Sale of wood:

£5 0 0

Tithes and oblations

Tithes of corn at Lydd (co. Kent)	29	6	8
Tithes of corn at Magor and Redwick	14	10	0
Tithes of corn at Woollaston and Alvington	7	6	8
Private tithes ¹ at Easter at the monastery	2	0	0
Lammas tithes (lesser and land tithes) with each oblation and spiritual fruits	2	0	0
	£55	42	4

TOTAL RECEIPTS — £256 11 6½

Expenses

	£	s.	d.
Annual rents allowed			
to the king for a quarry in Wyeswood		2	0
to the king for a holding in the town of Trellech		2	6
to the lord of Striguil for a fishery in the Wye	2	12	0
to the same lord for land at Halishall		9	0
to the same lord for land called the Rood		10	0
to the same lord for land in the moor of Magor		2	0
to the monastery of Malmesbury for land called Modes Gatesponne, etc.	1	6	8
to the heir of Walter Herbert, knight		2	0
to the heir of William Herbert of Troy, knight		2	0
to William Phelpot for a meadow called the Pantrymead	1	0	0
to the heir of John Worwood		1	3
to the heir of Maurice Lenny			1
	<u>£6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>

Annual Fees

to the Earl of Worcester, steward at Acle	2	0	0
to Thomas Clere, esquire, bailiff there	3	0	0
to Edmund Turner, auditor there	2	0	0
to John Marrick, receiver there and at Lydd	6	10	0
to Charles Herbert, esquire, steward at the monastery	3	0	0
to Hugh ap Thomas, bailiff there	3	0	0
to Richard Goldsmith, auditor there	2	0	0
to Thomas Sodbury, grain receiver at the monastery	3	0	0
to John Gough, bailiff at Woollaston	1	6	8
to John Hentland, bailiff at Alverdeston and Halishall	1	6	8
to David Blethin, bailiff at Magor	1	13	4
to Thomas Williams, bailiff at Monkwood		13	4
to William Kirpe, bailiff at Hewelsfield		13	4
to Lawrence ap Glyn, bailiff at Trellech Grange		13	4
to Thomas Richard, bailiff in Striguil		6	8
to Thomas Herbert, coroner (<i>fee was cancelled since no cause could be shewn</i>)	1	6	8
	<u>£31</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8³</u>

Perpetual Pensions

to the vicar of Woollaston	2	0	0
to the vicar of Magor	2	0	0
to the vicar of Halvergate (Norfolk)	2	0	0
to the prior of Llanthony for the tithes of the chapel of Alvington	2	2	0
to the prioress of Carrow (<i>Norwich</i>) for the tithes of the church of Halvergate	1	10	0
to the prior of Sheen (<i>Surrey</i>) for the tithes of the church of Tidenham	1	0	0
to the prior of Goldcliff for the tithes of the church of Porton		5	0
	<u>£10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>0</u>

Corrodies from the Original Foundation	£	s.	d.
annual corrody of the porter of the monastery	5	0	0
like corrody of the launderer of the monastery	4	0	0
like corrody of the clerk of the monastery	4	10	0
like corrody of the keeper of the ferry ⁴	4	0	0

£17 10 0

(disallowed by statute then)

Annual Alms by Custom from the Original Foundation			
distribution of corn at the monastery	2	6	8
distribution of corn at Woollaston	2	13	4
distribution of corn at Acle	2	6	8
distribution of corn at Lydd	1	6	8
distribution of alms on Maundy Thursday at the monastery	1	10	0
distribution of alms five times a year at the monastery for the soul of the founder, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and the souls of his ancestors; on the feasts of the Nativity ⁵ , Purification ⁶ , on Palm Sunday, and on the feasts of the Assumption ⁷ , and All Saints ⁸	4	3	4
distribution of alms on St. Nicholas' Day ⁹ , for the anniversary of the said Roger Bigod	1	0	0

£15 6 8

Annual Stipends

for clothes for the monks	28	0	0
for the six servants of the abbot	12	0	0
for the servants in the fishery	6	0	0
for the servants in the monastery kitchen	4	0	0
stipend of the tailor	1	6	8
stipend of the barber	1	6	8
stipend of the keeper of the horses	1	6	8
stipend of the wood cutter	1	6	8

£54 6 8¹⁰

Annual Procurations

for the bishop of Hereford for (?on) visitation	1	4	5½
likewise to the bishop of Llandaff on visitation		3	4
in annual procuration for Lydd church		13	4
in bread, wine, wax, and oil, for the use of the monastery church	8	0	0

£10 0 1½

£ 13 4

TOTAL OF ALL DEDUCTIONS— £64 10 2

£145 7 7½

BALANCE = £110 3 11 (£256 11 6½ — 145 7 7½)

NET = £192 1 4½ (£256 11 6½ — £64 10 2)

(tenth = 19 4 1¾)

TOTAL NET VALUE with TENTH aforesaid = £258 5 10½¹¹

(tenth — 25 16 6¾)

N.B.:—The expenses printed in italics were those not allowed, when calculating the tenth payable to the Crown; (see A. Savine in P. Vinogradoff, ‘*Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*,’ (1909), i. 4.)

NOTES

¹ tithes paid to others than the holders of the living, (see J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, “*Medieval Latin Word List*” (1934) p.121.

² an error of 1/- here on the part of the Valor.

³ an error (leaving aside the cancelled payment) of 4d.

⁴ that across the Wye at Tintern itself.

⁵ Christmas Day.

⁶ Candlemas, Feb. 2nd.

⁷ Aug. 15th.

⁸ Nov. 1st.

⁹ Dec. 6th.

¹⁰ should be £55 6 8.

¹¹ how the compilers arrived at the figures in this last line is a mystery to me.

Appendix II

MERTHYRGERYN GRANGE

No. 1 Synopsis of Bailiff's Account for 1387-8

(from Badminton MS 1571)

Bailiff: William Walter

Abbot: John Wysbech

A. RECEIPTS

Arrears:	£3	3	8½	
Rents:	3	18	11 ¹	
Sales:	2	0	8 ²	
External Receipts:	8	2	2 ³	
Court Pleas and Perquisites:	19	1		(4 courts held there this year)
	<hr/>			
	£18	4	6½	

(1) *Rents* included £1 14 8d. for pasture and meadow (4/- worth of it at Llandevenny), 2/- for land in the field (*campo*) of Magor, 6d. from the vicar of Magor for the rectory by Magor cemetery, 1/- for a cottage *by the bridge*, and 1/- for crofts on the upland (*super munedam*). Nothing was gained from 11 acres of meadow because the grange-keeper (*grangiarius*) had it by convention.

(2) Proceeds from *Sales* included:

Meadow (7 acres)	12/2d.	Pulse (7 bushels)	2/2d.	} much of this sold " <i>as extra.</i> "
"	3/6d.	Barley (1qt. 3 bushels)	3/6d.	
Pasture (assessed for 5 cows)	5/-	Corn (1 bushel)	8d.	
Ox (1)	10/-			

(The sale of the carcass of a dead ox brought 1/- only).

(Meadow fetched 1/8 or 1/10 per acre. 4 acres were sold to the bailiff himself).

(3) Chiefly rents in Hardstreet (£2 16 2d) and Cranesmoor (£1 17 8d), and of demesne land "demised this year" (£2 16 4d), but also including tithes of meadow sold at Newland (9/-) and Frogmead (3/-).

B. RENTS FOREGONE 9/2d.

These being often in part payment for services rendered, e.g. in carting the lord's corn to (*or at*) Moor (? Moor Grange). This was worth 6/8d.

C. EXPENSES	£11 0 0½d. (largely wages)	£	s.	d.
<i>Stipends:</i> bailiff and servants		3	1	4
<i>Cultivation:</i> seedtime ploughing, and food for the men			4	8
hoeing of the demesne corn in year (without food)			12	9
reaping, binding, and stacking the demesne corn		3	11	9
labour (incl. women) in threshing over 30 qts. of corn (11 of this for seed) and 33 qts. of barley		1	2	11
baking (<i>furnandi</i>) corn (1 qt. 4 bushels)				6
3 sieves bought				8
leather bought to mend flails				4
<i>Horses:</i> cost of iron, repairing, and fitting of horseshoes		6	8	
labour (and food) in roofing stable		2	5	
<i>Sheep and Pigs:</i> killing 10 pigs to be sent to abbey				10
castrating 13 two-year old sheep				4
repairing the wall around the gate of the sheepcote				8
<i>Cattle:</i> repair of the north and south walls of Tham byre		12	9	
cheese for the men				3
construction of a chamber in the byre for the drover to lie there				10
candles for the keeper of oxen in winter				4
felling timber for the byre				7
meat for men building the new byre		1	4	
nails bought				10
key (<i>or clasp</i>) for byre door				2
3 trees to make planks for byre doors (? carriage)				2
sawing the timber		3	0	
expenses of men seeking dyewoods in Wyewood for the new byre		2	6	
and men seeking wood in Bernardswood		2	6	
<i>Meadowland:</i> mowing 5 acres at Broadmead, and hay stacking at Tham				3
payment of men for turning over the said hay, and in stacking more				10
<i>Walls:</i> to Grono Hope in repairing the stone wall in the lower part of Helydyng				6
to Grono and Jenkin Hope in repairing the garden wall (1 day's work)				6
(<i>See also</i> under cattle and sheep).				
<i>Timber</i> —see under cattle.				
<i>Miscellaneous:</i> salt (3½ bushels) for bailiff and servants		2	7	
bread and beer for the abbot		1	0	
to one man for clearing of rubbish the way leading to St. Bride's				1½
part payment to Madoc ap Ever(?)		2	0	
one rope				6
oblation to Stephen Hope				2
to servants seeking (? branches/turf) in the field on festival days				3
		<hr/>		
		£11	0	0½

N.B.:—The number of days spent on several jobs is not mentioned. The total number of man-days actually recorded is 35½, and the total payment for these was 7/2d; making an average wage of a little under 2½ per day. By and large relatively unskilled tasks, e.g. threshing, brought 2d per day, but more skilled work, e.g. repairing the byre walls was worth 3d. per day.

D. PARDONS £2 10 6d. (e.g.: in pardon made by the lord to Margaret, wife of John Hoskyn, of a certain penalty incurred upon her, and charged, £1 0 0.)

TOTAL Receipts	=	£18 4 6½
TOTAL of all Expenses and Allowances	=	£13 9 8½
.. Net Profit	=	£ 4 14 10

(The bailiff then records that of this only 5/9d. is left, due to various other payments made, amongst which were 15/- to Griffin and Ieuan Hope for work around the byre, 9/- to William Walter (the bailiff) himself for collecting various rents (e.g. of Hardstreet), while 3/4d of his rent was allowed to John Trewyn for carriage of corn at Moor (*apud moram*). Work on a drain cost 1/4d, 3 spades were bought for 1/3d, and a new chisel cost 4d).

No 2 Synopsis of Bailiff's Account for 1388-9
(from Badminton MS 1571)

Bailiff: Thomas Carpenter

Abbot: John Wysbech

A. RECEIPTS

<i>Arrears</i>	£4 10 10	(cancelled)
Rents	3 12 0 ¹	
Sales	2 9 2 ²	
External Receipts	5 3 8 ³	
Court Pleas, Perquisites	7 7	(3 courts held there this year)
	<u>£11 12 5</u>	

(1) *Rents* included £1 11 8 for meadowland (including some at Brocland), and 2/- for meadow sold at Llandevenny. 9/5d was foregone in respect of carriage of demesne corn. Other details were largely similar to the preceding year.

(2) Proceeds from *Sales* included:

Pigs (3)	7/6d	Corn (4 bushels)	2/-
Piglets (3)	5/-	Barley (4 bushels)	1/4d
		Oats (3 qts. 4 bushels)	5/10d
Pasture at Broadmead (2 acres of it — 3/8d)	10/-	Pulse (2 qts. 7 bushels)	5/5d
Straw	1/4d	Ash trees (3)	5/-
Fodder (7 crosses)	5d	? Onions	4d

(3) included £4 8 0 from the vicar of Magor for 1 tallage.

B. EXPENSES £11 15 10½ (Wages, unless indicated to the contrary).

	£	s.	d.
<i>Stipends:</i> bailiff and servants	2	2	6
<i>Cultivations</i> ploughing and harrowing	12	8	
spreading manure	1	8	
food bought "for the servants, ploughmen, and other workers at the time of sowing corn, so that they do not go from the field to their own food, and be not impeded" (i.e. in their work)		8	
mending of iron ploughs	4	6	
grease bought, greasing wagons and ploughs, stacking corn	9	2	
one wayn rope bought		7	
18 harrow teeth of new iron (1/6d), and 18 of old (7d) bought	2	1	
124 men hired for 1 day in hoeing/weeding the lord's corn	17	0	
weeding oats	2	2½	
reaping, binding, and stacking corn in the field <i>per i tallia contra Richard Ewyas</i> , and stacking in autumn	3	19	9
threshing 9 qts. of corn, 6 of it for seed	2	7½	
winnowing 106 qts. 3 bushels of corn	3	4	
4 sieves bought		4½	
threshing (? oats)	5	10	
accompanying the lord's wagons	3	0	
food bought by the governor (<i>preceptor</i>) of the Granary for the men who caught a thief, and held him at night		6	
1 pair of boxes and 2 pairs of gloves (<i>cirotecarum</i>) for preserving onions		6	
<i>Horses:</i> 3 halters bought; <i>losteleges</i> bought		11	
iron for horseshoes, ploughs, and other needs	5	8	
shoing one horse and one mare	1	6½	
2 ropes and 2 shafts bought for the horses drawing the demesne corn		2	
<i>Cattle:</i> work on western part of new byre	2	0	
.....bought for same	10	0	
carriage of same (2 days with 6 horses)	1	0	
150 board-nails bought for new byre	1	1	
thatching same, and <i>hen house</i>	3	4	
thatching cow house		4	
servant to help thatcher	2	3	
women collecting straw	1	5	
making plaster		6	
candles for the supervision of the oxen at night		5	
<i>beer bought at noon for men working on new byre, 4d, tending of oxen on the estate, and on the hilly land, 9d</i>			cancelled

	£	s.	d.
<i>Pigs</i> : two <i>twistes</i> (? hinges) bought for the piggery			2
killing 1 pig, carrying it to abbey, castrating 2 others			4
<i>Meadowland</i> : mowing 6½ acres	4	6	
tedding, turning, and stacking hay	2	4	
<i>Miscellaneous</i> : mending a wheel			2
mending 1 (? copper) plate and pot			4
to Madoc the carpenter			4
to Wrono for work in the wood			3
toll paid			4
to Wm. Bird, part wages (1d), oblations to 2 servants at Christmas			3
expenses of bailiff at Chepstow (3), his refreshment in Striguil (1d)			4
to Thomas Cam for work at Llanwern (<i>Lanwaryn</i>)	2	6	
salt bought (2½ bushels)	1	9½	
oat meal bought (1 peck)			3
cheese bought			11
1 lock and key bought			4
parchment for court rolls			2
remission of an amercement			3
salary, and food for, a tax assessor	1	3	

TOTAL Expenses = £11 15 10½*

TOTAL Receipts = £11 12 5

∴ Net Loss = £ 3 5½

N.B.: many more details of wages and days worked are given, and, partly because of a cheap rush job one day, this year the average was a little under 1½d per day. But also a wider variety of wages is recorded, e.g. 1d per day for ploughing (perhaps a relatively short day), 1½d for spreading manure, 2d for harrowing, 3d for greasing carts and ploughs; and 4d for making (? hay) stacks in the autumn.

* £11 16 4½ by my reckoning; possibly since it is not clear whether one or two other items were cancelled or not.

Appendix III

MOOR GRANGE 1493

(ex N. L. W. Badminton MS.14482)

recto

- Moor¹ The court of William Kere, abbot of Tintern, lord there, held on March 4th in the eighth year of the reign of king Henry, the seventh after the conquest², in the presence of John Adam, holding the place (*locum tenens*) for George Herbert, knight, Seneschall (*steward*) there, and Henry Newland³, cellarer there.
- Attachment of the reapers, 6/3d Attachment of the reapers for tresspass with cattle in Broadmead⁴; whose names are shown by the issues of the court made in that respect, and the bailiff delivers the further fee and pledges the reapers.
- in mercy, 7/- Philip Wilkins in mercy of the lord for not repairing his tenement. And it stands against next time.
- in mercy, 7/- John Melyn places himself in the pleasure of the lord, because he has not repaired his tenement during the day⁵ which was given to him; as Philip above.
- issue over one year old, 2/- The bailiff presents one foal, coloured *valow*, aged of the second year, placing 2/- resulting from issue at the feast of St. David in the 6th year of Henry 7th⁶, and now more than a year old; because it has been proclaimed through one year and a day.
- in mercy, 12d Amice Bath in mercy of the lord for not repairing her barn (*orrio*). And it stands against next time.
- day given Amice Bath has day to repair her tenement with one barn between now and the feast of the Nativity of the Lord⁷; after giving her present penalty of 5/- to the lord.
- day given John Melyn has day to repair his tenement lying close to the cemetery of Redwick⁸ between now and the feast of All Saints⁹ next, under penalty to the lord and (his) successors of 7/-
- in mercy, 3d Germain Gent in mercy of the lord because he did not come to give assistance to the lord when he was called.
- fine, 2 capons Jorum Ceys (? *Sey's*) gives the lord by fine two capons¹⁰ for entry payment into 12 acres of pasture lying next to Tadmead¹¹ and called Burdimesmead. Holding to himself and to Gwenllian his wife to the end of their life or else to the one of them living the longer. Rendering therefrom an annual payment to the lord and his successors of 12/- at the term of Lammas Day¹² which is called *Advinculam* however. And he is to repair the water course belonging to the same pasture. And 6/8d in the name of relief when it falls due. And against this he is accepted henceforth as tenant. And he makes fealty to the lord.

- in mercy, 3d Thomas Smith in mercy of the lord for leave to agree with John Vaughan in a plea of trespass.
- fine, two capons Howel ap John of Llandevenny¹³, surrenders into the hands of the lord one tenement with three gardens and 18 acres with three measures (*verendells*) of pasture lying in the northern part of Greenmoor¹⁴, and called Berland, as Howel ap John of Llandevenny (gave) therefrom nothing when due by heriot or by relief since he was excused by the lord. And afterwards came the said Howel ap John of Llandevenny and gave the lord by fine two capons for entry payment therefrom. Holding (it) to himself and to Matilda his wife, and to Jenkin, son of the said Matilda, to the end of their life, or else to the one of them living the longer. Rendering therefrom an annual payment to the lord and his successors of 18/8d at the term of Hockday¹⁵ and at the feast of St. Michael¹⁶ by equal portions. And he makes suit of court by reason of simony. And 6/8d by relief when it falls due. And he is to make good all repairs of the said pasture and the hedges (*le heyys*) belonging. And he is not to transfer their property without the lord's leave under pain of forfeiture. And he has livery therein. And . . . (*faded*) . . .

Account	{ Total of this court, other than the 4 capons aforesaid	} £1 3 9
---------	---	----------

dorse

- Moor The court of the lord, Henry Newland, abbot of Tintern, held there on . . . (*torn*) . . . October in the 9th year of the reign of king Henry¹⁷, the seventh after the Conquest, in the presence of (?) John ap John ap (?) Glyn holding the place for George Herbert, knight, Seneschal there, and . . . (*torn*) . . . Earl, then cellarer.
- in mercy In mercy are present(ed) John Ady, Thomas Watts, Wylock Harding, Richard Ady, (*faded*) . . . Walter, Jenkin Harding, George Harding, John Squire, William Bateman, Jenkin Velt, John Watts, Philip Watts, Thomas Morris, John Taylor, George Hoblawear, John Wrono, Philip West, Thomas West, Ambrose (?) Coke, (*faded*) Bole of Goldcliff, John Wrono, Philip Harding, Andrew Heyne, Richard . . . (*faded*) . . ., each one of them in mercy of the lord as it is made clear against them (*prout patet super capites eorum*) that they have trespassed in Broadmead.
- in mercy, 3d Jorum Philpot (?) in mercy of the lord because he has not come (to arrange?) for the repair of his dyke at (?) Erlese. And it is commanded . . . (*unfinished*) . . .
- fine, 2/- Germain Robyns gives the lord by fine 2/- for entry payment in 4 acres of pasture which lately was in the tenure of Philip Tapper lying in length between the land of Robert Forster on the northern side and the land of Thomas Morgan, knight, on the southern side, and in breadth between the land of the said Thomas Morgan on the eastern side and the land of William Lewis on the western side. Holding to himself, to Alice his wife, and . . . (*no name given*) . . . son, the late John Robyns, to the end of their life or else to the one

of them living the longer. Rendering therefrom an annual payment to the lord and his successors of 4/- at Lammas Day which is called St. Peter's Chains, (making) suit of court by reason of simony and relief when it falls due. And he shall not transfer, etc. *ut supra*.

Account { Total of this court,
apart from the said reapers } 2/3d

NOTES

- ¹ *O.S. N.G.R.* – 428856.
- ² 1492–3.
- ³ became Abbot very shortly after this court was held. (Abbot 1493–1506 at least).
- ⁴ *O.S. N.G.R.* = 404838.
- ⁵ meaning here a *period* of time (often some months) for the job to be completed.
- ⁶ March 1st, 1491.
- ⁷ Dec. 25th.
- ⁸ *O.S. N.G.R.* = 412841.
- ⁹ Nov. 1st, 1493.
- ¹⁰ type of fish.
- ¹¹ location unknown.
- ¹² Aug. 1st. Formerly the feast of St. Peter's Chains, hence *Advinculam*.
- ¹³ *O.S. N.G.R.* = 412869.
- ¹⁴ around 395859 (*O.S. N.G.R.*) (N.B. Part of Greemoor is now swallowed up by the Spencer Works).
- ¹⁵ Tuesday after Low Sunday
- ¹⁶ Sept. 29th.
- ¹⁷ 1493–1494.

Appendix IV

THE MANOR OF PORTHCASEG

No. 1 ex N. L. W. Badminton MS 1639

The court of Porthcaseg¹ held on the Tuesday after Easter, in the year of our Lord, 1263.

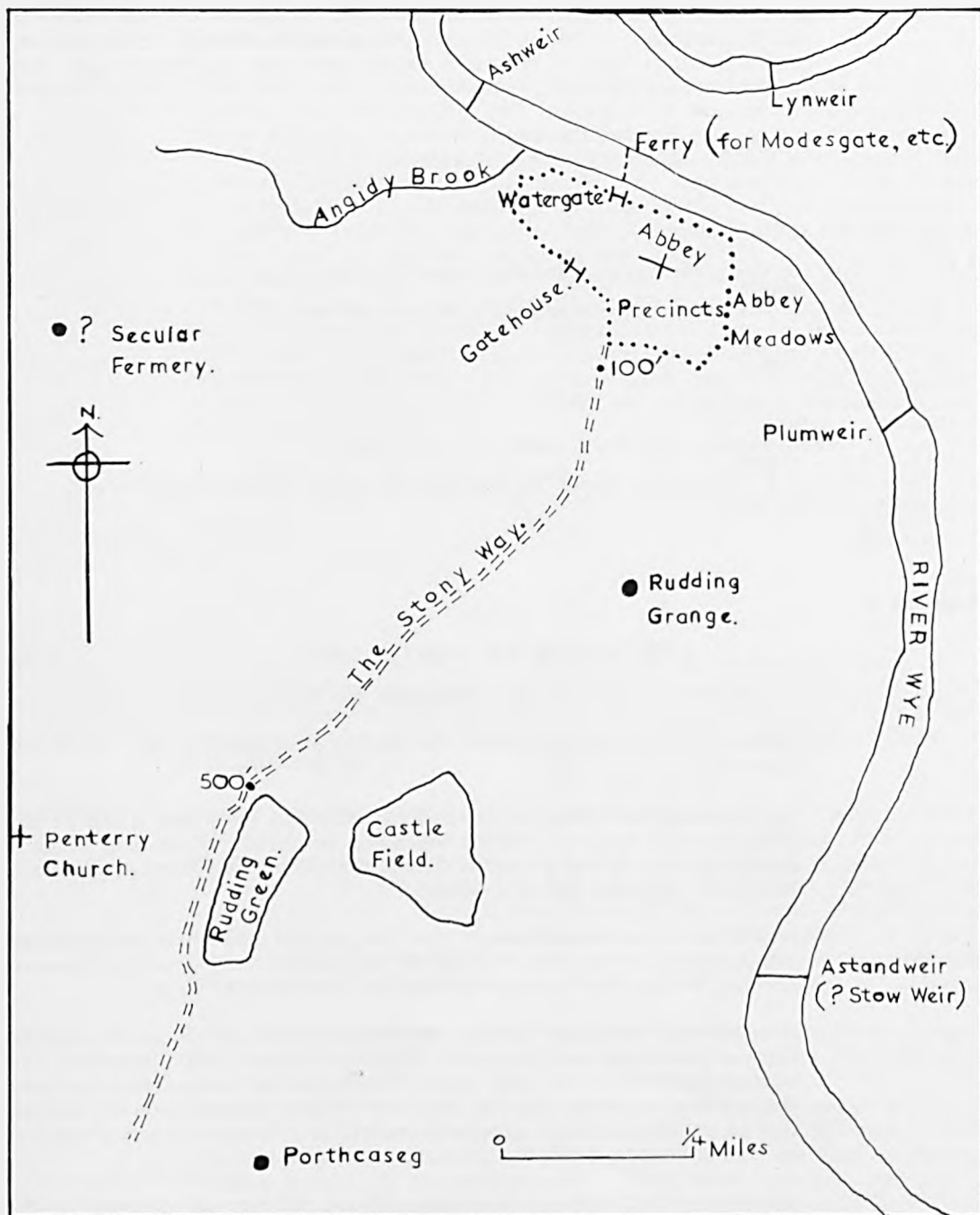
Philip ab Averam finds pledges that he will build the house which he has allowed to fall into ruin, and he will make satisfaction of the debt which is charged to him by the grange of Trellech² from his next harvest. Pledges—Blethin ab Ithel and Adam ab Ithel.

2/-,
placed in
rental

Nawar takes a certain measure of land lying against land which he has cleared without leave, and he gives 2/-, and one halfpenny annually from the increased revenue, and he finds pledges in Bevan ab Cradoc and Eynon.

It is ordered that John Mason³ be distrained through his goods (*catalla*) because he inflicted such injury on the lord Richard of St. Briavel's⁴; and because the boys of the same John entered into the house which the same Richard had under his custody, and inflicted such injuries upon his servant, that he left his service on account of fear of them, because he was afraid that he would bleed to death. Similar testimonies were given.

Blethin ab Ithel finds pledges concerning the payment of one mark to the cellarer⁵ by the feast of St. Michael⁶ next following: pledges—John Weaver⁷ and Ady Cam.



MAP 2. BASED UPON BADMINTON PAPERS, 'Porthcaseg Manor Survey' (1763), 'Tintern Abbey' (O. E. Craster) and Ordnance Survey Map.
 With the sanction of the Controller, H.M. Stationery Office, Crown Copyright reserved.

12d John ab Ithel gives 12d for the keeping of the court, having it from some land which John Weaver, Blethin ab Ithel, and David ab Ithel hold, of which land, he says, part belongs to him by right.

John ab Ithel, plaintiff, and John Weaver, Blethin ab Ithel, defendants, will have taken love-day⁸ at Trellech Grange on the Wednesday after Pentecost, and bind themselves over six pledges chosen by the parties, that if it is not possible through the same to agree, the dispute would again be referred to the court.

Absent John Mason—made fine
 Wrenn Mason—excused (*condonatur*)
 Adam le May—
 David ab Ithel—excused.

NOTES

¹ O.S. N.G.R. = 524981 (Precise date was 10th April, 1263).

² O.S. N.G.R. = 492017.

³ John Cementarius.

⁴ O.S. N.G.R. = 559046.

⁵ the monastic official having oversight of the abbey's possessions.

⁶ September 29th.

John Textor.

⁸ *Love-days* were days fixed for settling differences by umpire, without having recourse to law or violence.

No. 2 ex N. L. W. Badminton MS. 1641

(extracts only)

The court of Porthcaseg held on the Thursday next after the Feast of St. Teilo¹ the bishop in the 31st year of the reign of king Edward².

in mercy The free tenants above the wood, attached for many defaults, come and say that after the prohibition none paid simony, and concerning this they are to be at law next time, and it is commanded that attachment be set against them.

in mercy John, the son of Alice Ball, places himself in mercy because he struck John Ball, the reeve of the lord; pledges—William Ball and John Swyt.

in mercy Walter Little places himself in mercy, because he has withdrawn himself from the lord's land, and droves upon the free land at Braciand to the detriment of the lord's right. Pledges—Nicholas Miller and Bronig Miller.

command made It is commanded of the said Walter that he makes amends to Walter de Benderville against next time and that he be here with letters of the agreement between them after he has made satisfaction.

Phillip Coteman and his pledges, namely William Raglan and Nicholas Hopper, in mercy because the lord has not been made satisfaction by the said Philip concerning one deed (*carta*) which he pledged to him. Afterwards he came and gave up the deed in full court here.

2/- fine

Nicholas Hathol gives the lord 2/- for entry dues into a tenement which was of Alice Derneford, whose daughter he has taken as wife, and is by the tenement of Felix (?) Wylock, and he will give by the year 8d. making suit, heriot, and relief; and he has made fealty, and will hold of the lord annually by fine.

John Symons, renter of the mill of Merthyrgeryn³, in mercy for bad keeping of the same mill, from whence he pledged John Ball, three bushels, Adam (?) Ball, four bushels, William Ball, half a bushel.

David King places himself in mercy because he cut a bridle in the wood of the lord. Pledges—Madoc ap Wyn and David Pors.

John Page gives the lord 1/- for the tenement which formerly he held of the lord in the town of Magor; for which tenement he rendered per year 1d and from henceforth he will give 2d per year making suit twice in the year, and he will build one house against the feast of St. Michael. Pledges—Adam Ball and John Brixfard.

Robert Heyne pledges to Amice Harlof four crosses of hay against Lammas Day⁴. Pledges—Henry the *Dressor* and William of Raglan, Henry *le ray*, Philip of Landereston.

NOTES

¹ February 9th.² 1302-3.³ O.S. N.G.R. = 427884.⁴ August 1st.

No. 3 ex N. L. W. Badminton MS. 1572
(Bailiff's and Reeve's Accounts)

Year.....	1392-3	1393-4	1395-6
Bailiff.....		Adam ap Grono (?Griffin)	
Reeve.....	Adam Baze		Adam Baugh (= Baze)
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<i>Arrears</i> of preceding year	5 1 4½	2 8 4¾	4 0 10¾
<i>Fixed Rents</i> —of Porthcaseg from tenants of St. Arvan's ¹	2 16 5	2 13 4¼	2 13 4¾
" " " Landreston ²	13 1	1 0 7½	1 0 7½
" " " Howick ³	1 9 9½	1 9 7½	1 9 7
" " " St. Wormet's ⁴	6 6	1 1 4	1 1 4
" " " Penterry ⁵	19 8	19 8	19 8
" " " Penterry ⁵	4 10¾	7 3½	7 3
increased rent of house of John ap Henry	—	—	4
	6 0 4½	7 11 10¼	7 12 2¼

New rents (largely life leases), includes lease of some of the demesne land at Rogerstone⁶, by Bernardswood, and at Cophill⁷ and Pencrek⁸. There is mention of land at Hensot and Castlefield of "the park," and the "new park," of the piggery, and of the stream of Grelescurley

	2 16 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	Nil	Nil
<i>Rent</i> of demesne land at Cophill	(included in new rents as 1st year of these)	1 0 0	1 0 0
TOTAL RECEIPTS AND ARREARS—	13 17 11	11 0 3	12 13 1
<i>Allowance</i> for defective rents, (e.g. "and for the messuage sometime of Nicholas Madoc, 3d ") and (of 3/6d) to the reeve for his services	1 4 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	9 4	
<i>Cash Allowances</i> , to Walter Maddeley, monk (and cellarer in 1393-4) <i>per i tallia</i>	5 6 0	5 10 8	Too
to same, and Abbot, in respect of arrears.....	4 6 4	Nil	Faded
TOTAL EXPENSES AND ALLOWANCES —	10 16 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 0 0	to
∴ NET PROFIT —	3 1 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 0 3	Transcribe

NOTES

¹ 6" O.S. Map. Sheet ST 59 NW. N.G. Ref. = 517965.

² apparently in St. Pierre parish.

³ ST 59 NW. 502955.

⁴ Location unknown.

⁵ ST 59 NW. 522997.

⁶ ditto. 506966.

⁷ ST 59 SW. 508947.

⁸ Location unknown (Pencrek, Hensot - but a field traditionally called Castle Field lies south of an old camp near Porthcaseg) (See Map No. II).

No. 4 ex N. L. W. Badminton MS. 1658

- Porthcaseg The court of the lord, Henry Newland, abbot of Tintern, held there on the Tuesday next after the feast of St. Paul¹ in the 21st year of the reign of king Henry, the seventh after the conquest²; in the presence of Philip Huntley (in the place of William Herbert of Troy, Esquire, then Seneschal there), and of Thomas Morton³, cellarer (*at that time*).
- In mercy, 6d David Wilcock in mercy of the lord for leave to agree with William Spicer in a plea of debt.

Fine £1 13 4d John Whitmyll gives the lord by fine, £1 13 4 for entry payment in one messuage with three curtilages adjacent, and one parcel of land lying between the brook of Angidy⁴ and the water course of the mill there which lately was in the tenure of Agnes Butler and in one grove of wood against the close⁵ of Thomas Taylor and lately in the tenure of the said Agnes; Holding (them) to himself and to Agnes his wife and . . . (*no name given*) . . . their son to the end of their life, or else to the one of them living the longer. Rendering therefrom an annual payment for the said messuage, and for the said parcel of land, 12d, and for the said grove of wood, 12d at the term of Hockday⁶ and at the feast of St. Michael⁷ by equal portions. And he makes suit of court by reason of simony and heriot when it shall fall due for the said messuage, and relief for the said grove. And it will be well lawful for them to sell bread, wine, and other merchandise within the said messuage without charge by the lord or his successors, saving only 6d in each year by amercement for security of assise if the keeper of some other holding. And he is not to transfer their property to anyone without leave of the lord being granted to him, under pain of forfeiture (? law). And upon this he is accepted henceforth as tenant. And he makes fealty to the lord.

Fine £1 6 8 John Marsh gives the lord by fine £1 6 8 for entry payment into one tenement called the Hill with one close adjacent lately in the tenure of Janet ap Howell and in one other parcel of land called the Conygarth and extending in length from the one side by the way which leads from the abbey towards Ruding Green⁸ which is called the Stony Way⁹, and from the other side by the wood called Chapelhill¹⁰ or Wood. Holding (it) to himself and to Agnes his wife to the end of their life, *etc.* Successively rendering therefrom an annual payment of 2/6d *ut supra*. And he makes suit of court by reason of simony, and heriot when it shall fall due. And he shall not transfer their property, *ut supra* . . .

NOTES

¹ January 25th.

² 1506.

³ later Abbot, (certainly in 1513-17).

⁴ belonged to the monastery. It enters the Wye at Tintern.

⁵ probably an enclosed field, or clearing in the forest.

⁶ the Tuesday after Low Sunday.

⁷ Sept. 29th.

⁸ 'Ruding' is perpetuated in Redding's Farm. O.S.6" Map. Sheet ST. 59 N.W. (Rudding means an 'assart or clearing': hence this is probably the 'grangia de Assarto' of 1291; information of Mr. F. G. Cowley). (N.G.R. = 532993).

⁹ an interesting path (steep in places) which runs up towards Porthcalseg from behind the Beaufort Hotel at Tintern. In parts it is cobbled, and in parts seemingly excavated in solid rock.

¹⁰ in the parish of Abbey Tintern.

ST. KYNEMARK'S PRIORY, CHEPSTOW

An Interim Report on the Excavations from 1962-65

By L. A. S. BUTLER

Introduction

The site of St. Kynemark's Priory lies on the crest of the ridge at Crossway Green, one mile north of Chepstow on the road to Monmouth. Although the site adjoining St. Kingsmark Farm (National Grid Reference: ST 526942) had received occasional mention from local topographers, there was no previous record of any substantial masonry remains and nothing was visible on the ground. However the garden boundary wall of the farmhouse had been considered to be medieval and was marked accordingly on the Ordnance Survey sheets until 1920-5 when the farmhouse and its garden wall were demolished. In 1962 a proposal was made to develop the fields around the priory's presumed site as a private housing estate. The Ministry of Public Building and Works conducted excavations to discover the nature of the remains and to clarify the monastic plan. The first trial excavation in 1962 was conducted by Mr. O. E. Craster, F.S.A., and subsequent work occupying a total of eight weeks during 1963-5 was directed by the writer.

History (Figure 1)

The name St. Kynemark is used throughout this account. This is one of a wide variety of spellings used by medieval writers and has been given currency on the Ordnance Survey maps. The original Welsh name was Cynfarch or Cynmarch and the local post-medieval English version is Kinmark or more usually Kingsmark.

The recorded history of St. Kynemark's Priory is scanty, mainly due to the small scale of the house and the strictly local nature of its possessions, and partly also due to the destruction of the medieval records of Llandaff diocese in which the monastery would have received regular mention. A pre-Conquest existence is indicated by the record in *The Book of Landav* that Athruis, the king of Gwent, gave the church of St. Cynmarch to the see of Llandaff early in the seventh century. The neighbouring church of St. Arvans was claimed by Llandaff as the result of a mid-tenth century gift, while Porthcaseg was a possession of Llandaff as early as the sixth century. These three churches and the land around Llancinmarch were confirmed to Llandaff in a papal bull of 1128. This bull may have confirmed possessions actually held by Llandaff. It is more likely that St. Kynemark's enjoyed an independent existence and was able to resist Llandaff's claims to absorb it completely into episcopal hands during the twelfth century.

Certainly in 1415 the prior William Henning was able to produce, as his title to the land which the priory held in the lordship of Chepstow, a grant of confirmation issued by Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke and lord of Chepstow (1234-41). This grant suggests an independent existence early in the 13th century; this suggestion gains support from the appearance of the prior in company with the abbot of Tintern and the prior of Chepstow as a juror in a forest court of 1270 and by the assessment made of the priory's lands in 1291. This tax assessment

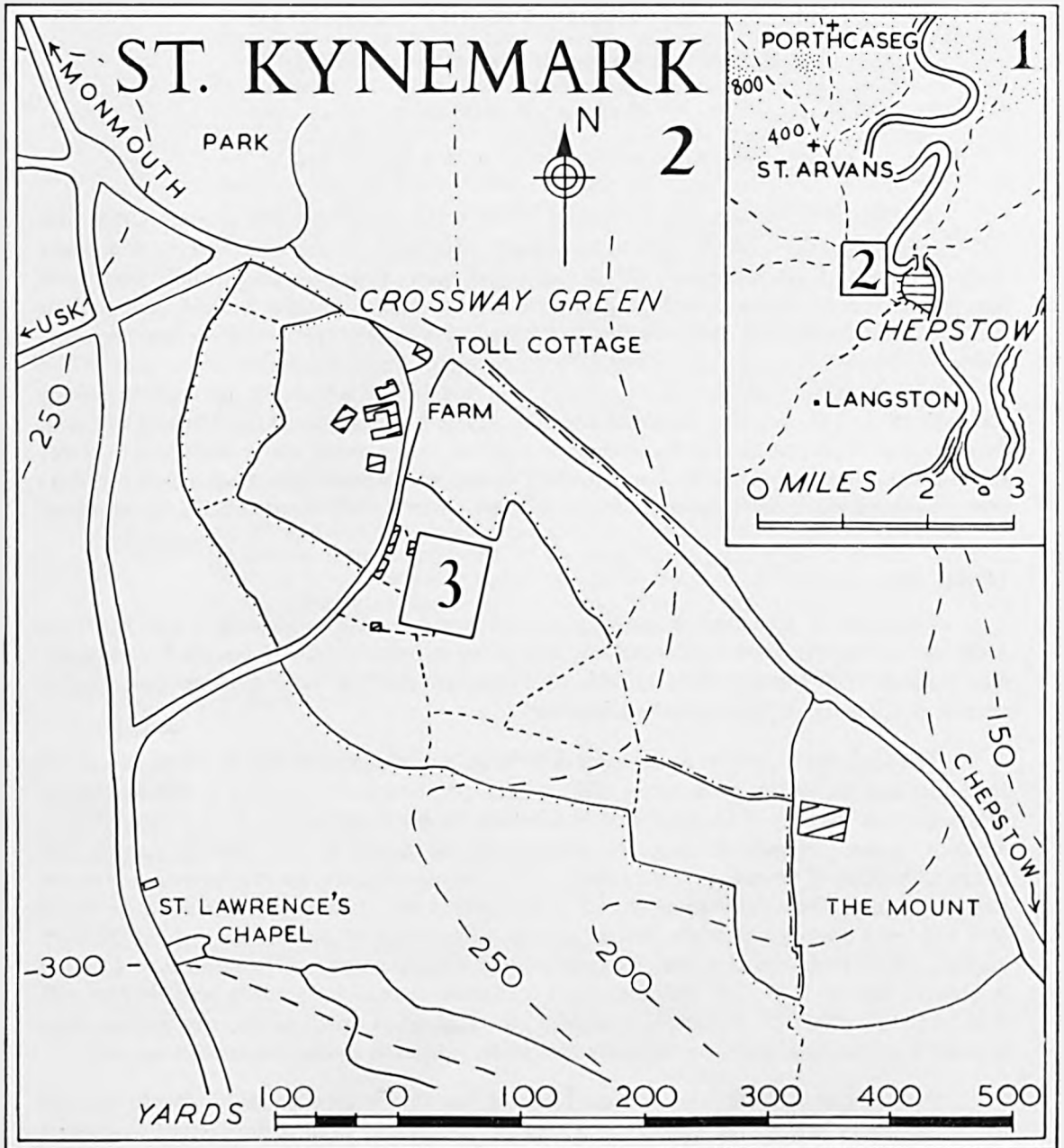


FIG. 1. LOCATION OF ST. KYNEMARK'S

shows the small scale of the priory which held lands and rents in Chepstow, Langston (in Mathern) and St. Kynemarks, and held the rectories of three churches, St. Kynemarks, St. Arvans and Porthcaseg.

In the fourteenth century there are few references to the priory. It held land of the lordship of Chepstow; it presented one of its number to the Bishop of Hereford for ordination; a miscreant member wished to be reconciled to his order. This last deed of 1355 gives the title of the house as the priory of St. John the Baptist near St. Kynemark and the order was of Augustinian canons. Many houses of Celtic foundation adopted the rule of St. Augustine when the Norman reformers wished to bring the existing monasteries within the Latin Church.

The deed of 1415 already mentioned is the principal reference in the fifteenth century. The monastery was probably represented at the general Chapters of the Augustinian Order under the garbled name 'Pikene' and late in the century a pension due from St. Kynemark's to the priory of St. Augustine's, Bristol was in arrears. A little more is known of the sixteenth-century history, since details remain of the lease of a weir-house on the Wye and of the lease of a house in Chepstow; this latter deed was sealed in the chapter house of the priory with the priory seal remaining on the deed. The last known prior, John Pinnock, was probably holding that office as a sinecure in plurality with the titular bishopric of Syene while he acted as suffragan bishop at Hereford and Salisbury until his death in 1537. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* prepared two years earlier makes it clear that the priory had not enlarged its possessions since 1291, but relied for its main source of revenue on the meadows and arable land around St. Kynemarks.

The monastic lands did not pass immediately into the hands of the Earls of Worcester (later created Dukes of Beaufort), but this family had acquired them by the 17th century. The lands of the priory may well have remained intact since the parish of St. Kynemark's occupied only 17 acres, comprising the three fields west of Kingsmark Lane and the six fields east of the lane sloping down to the dry valley of the Deans Fields. On Figure 1 the parish boundary is marked by a dotted line round these fields, while the boundary between Chepstow and St. Arvans parishes is marked by alternate dot and dash. Presumably a house on the site of St. Kingsmark Farm had been built by 1642 when Walter Hutten had his daughter baptised at St. Kilmarks. The farmhouse which was demolished in about 1920 was a structure of late 17th – early 18th century date. The farm buildings which remained standing until 1965 included a large barn of mid-18th century date containing re-used material and a small byre with two circular pillars which could have come from a medieval building.

Fuller details of the priory's history are given in the writer's 'The Augustinian Priory of St. Kinmark near Chepstow' to be published in the next *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*.

The Excavation (Figure 2)

The trial excavation in 1962 was concerned with discovering whether sufficient medieval remains survived to justify a full-scale excavation. Two trenches dug across the boundary wall to the east of the site showed that the eastern corner had been robbed out, but a trench fortunately placed across Building 4 uncovered substantial wall footings, a stone-lined drain and a burial.

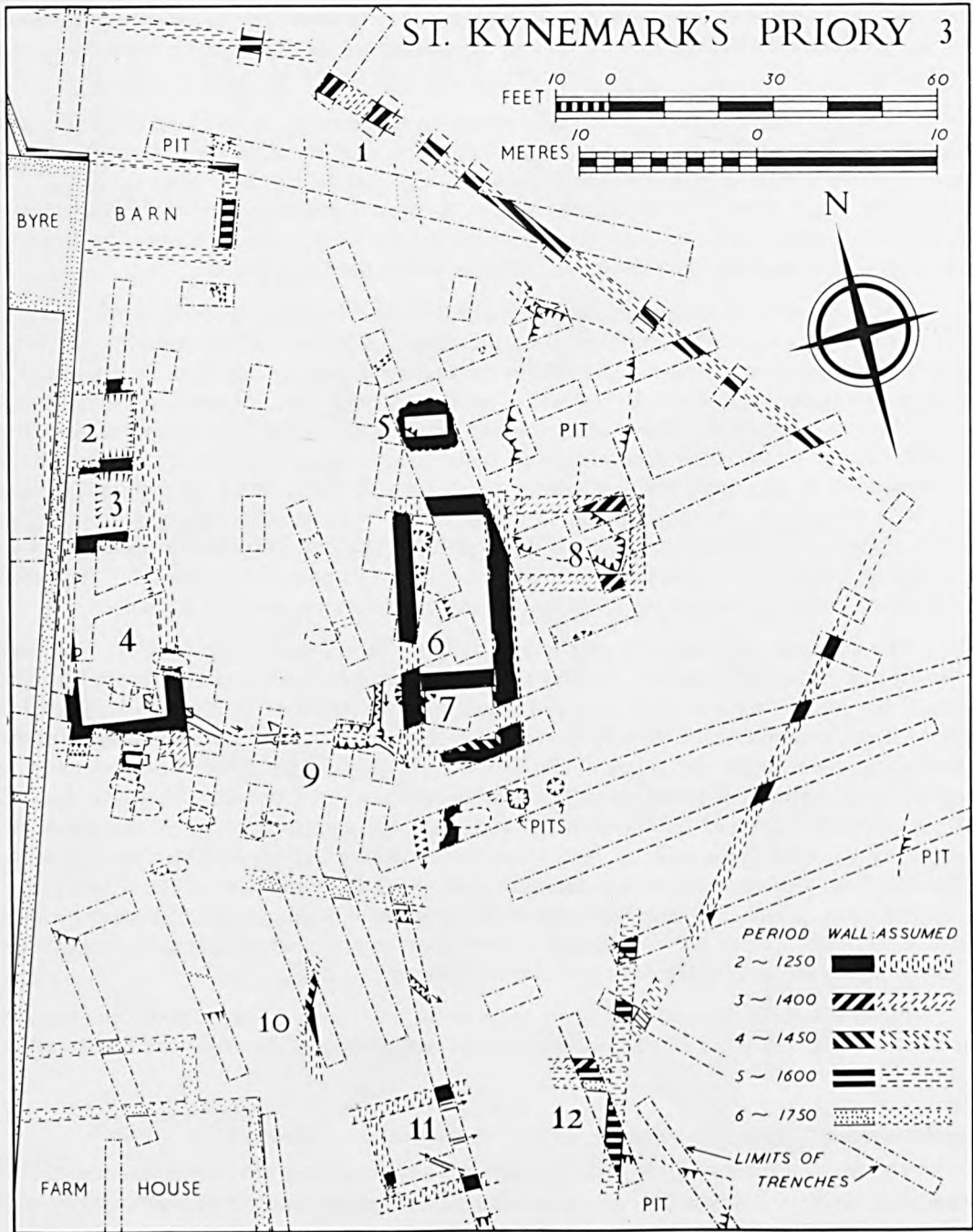


FIG. 2. ST. KYNEMARK'S PRIORY: PLAN OF EXCAVATION

The fortnight's excavation in 1963 was concerned with examining Building 4 and Area 9 east of this. A second building 6/7 was encountered but not fully examined. During a three-week period in 1964 the area of the east range (buildings 5–8) was thoroughly considered and a start made to the south (building 10). The final three-week period of excavation was concerned with examining the southern area (buildings 10–12) and establishing the northern limits (Area 1). The use of a mechanical digger in the final week enabled a large area to be examined rapidly and this trenching confirmed that the monastic remains lay within the limits already excavated manually.

The underlying rock is Carboniferous Limestone and over the north-western quarter of the site this rock lies close to the surface with a soil cover of less than 6 inches. The thickness of soil increases to the east and the south where the ground slopes with a gentle fall to The Mount and with a steeper inclination to the dry valley of the Deans. Within 100 yards from the southern margin of Figure 2 the rock, at a depth of 5 feet, gives way to a bed of stiff blue-grey clay and this fact must have determined the area of the settlement.

Throughout the following account the description is given by periods, but these must be regarded as provisional. Until the work of relating the pottery and other finds recovered during the excavation to the structures and to the various occupation and destruction layers is completed, there can be no certainty in this account.

PERIOD 1 (pre 1250)

Only two features were likely to precede the main structure: these were a ditch at the south-west corner of Building 4 and a deeper ditch just south of a modern east-west wall running between area 9 and building 10. Both these contained pottery in their primary filling which could be late 12th or early 13th century in date. Pottery of a similar character was recovered from the eastern corner of the monastic precinct. There were no structures which could be securely associated with these ditches, although the first period of Building 10 was a roughly constructed wall unlike any others on the site. Some narrow rock gullies may have held timber sleeper beams and the earliest burials could have been of this period.

Evidence of still earlier occupation in the area was provided by a piece of plain Samian ware and a coin of Constantine. The coin had been dropped during Period 2 and the Samian may also have been brought to the site: two fragments of Romano-British character were noted from a demolished hedge bank in the adjacent field. The most likely source of this Roman material is a station not yet closely located on the eastern bank of the Wye at the crossing upon the road between Gloucester and Caerwent.

PERIOD 2 (*circa* 1250)

This is the main period of occupation in the priory's existence. It seems likely that the buildings were two long ranges aligned north-south 40 feet apart with a courtyard between them and a kitchen area some distance away to the south. The evidence lacks precision for three

reasons: only where the wall foundations had been sunk deeply into the underlying rock could structures be detected; quarrying and robbing to feed limekilns known to have been situated in the field north of the site would have removed all walls surviving above ground level; stone robbing to build St. Kingsmark Farm and the nearby Crossways Farm have even removed some of the rock-sunk foundations. A priory building might easily disappear without trace unless it was provided with rock-cut foundations, rock-sunk undercrofts or walls spanning earlier quarry pits. An example of this is the room in the east range between rooms 5 and 6; its east and west walls have gone completely with no evidence even of robbing trenches. In similar fashion the building south of room 7 is lost with only two stones remaining where its east wall crossed one of the pits. In dealing with such evidence it is far from certain that the full extent of the east and west ranges has been found, but it can be stated firmly that the south range was no more than 60 feet long and was probably less than this.

The *west range* at this period consisted of at least three rooms (2, 3 and 4) with an internal width of 16 feet. Room 2 (12 feet north-south) and Room 3 (11 feet long) each had 4 foot deep pits within them presumably to act as an undercroft because their rock floors had remained clean at the earliest stage of this period. Room 4 (31 feet long) had a sunk rock-cut floor with the bottom courses of the walls revetting the rock face. At distances of 13 feet and 26 feet from the south wall were large flat stones set close to the west wall. These might have functioned as the bases for cruck trusses in a timber-framed structure, yet this seems unlikely when crucks could have been placed within the thickness of the wall and when stone was abundant as building material. The south wall of Room 4 marked the southern limit of this range because its angles were served by a drainage gully which cut into an earlier ditch filling.

The *east range* had at least three rooms in line (5, 6 and 7). The most northerly (5) was the foundation for a passage rather than a separate room because its internal dimensions were only 8 feet by 4 feet (north-south). A passage in this position would indicate a range continuing northwards, but the rock ran close to the surface and no foundations survived. Similarly a room 10 feet wide must have been situated between rooms 5 and 6. Moving south rooms 6 and 7 may be considered as one unit (total length 41 feet by 13 feet), but the division wall between them was erected at this period. The rooms had a rock-sunk floor with the bottom courses of the inner wall faces revetting the rock. The west wall was carried over three pits on relieving arches. The function of these pits was not obvious; their filling indicated that they were not rubbish pits and a probable explanation is that they were water-filled garderobe pits which were regularly cleaned out. The range continued southwards crossing another similar pit against and partly under the east wall. Here the rock was close to the surface and the central floor area had not been deepened.

Both these ranges had been served by external drains, cut into the rock and covered with stone slabs. One running east-west took water from the south-eastern angle of the west range; the other ran north-south alongside the east range and was presumably served by feeders such as that at the south-west angle of Room 7. This drain system emptied into a rubble-filled soak-away pit. It is the presence of other drains of similar construction which hint at the existence of buildings whose walls have been robbed without trace. Such drains are the one leading into the pit or undercroft north of the Barn, the gully emptying into the north-west corner of the

quarry pit east of room 5, and the two well-made stone-lined drains running south from Room 7 and south-eastwards to the east of Building 10.

Of the *south range* one building (11) revealed an elaborate provision of internal drains. Here the rock was at a greater depth and the bottom courses of the building were free-standing walls. Its eastern limits were not excavated nor is it known whether the blocked doorway at the south-west angle was an external opening or whether it passed through an internal division. Little can be said about the footings of Building 10 which were not encountered in adjacent trenches. Insufficient was found of the south range to confirm that this was a domestic quarter as the concentration of coarse pottery might suggest.

The south-eastern stretch of the *boundary wall* appeared to be of this main period; the division between the priory precinct within this wall and the field outside it could still be detected on the surface by a slight difference in ground level. This boundary wall remained in use around the farmhouse garden until both the farmhouse and its garden wall were demolished *circa* 1920.

The evidence for the date of occupation was given by the presence of imported polychrome and Western French mottled green glazed wares in the occupation layers of the two ranges. A silver penny of Edward I or II was also found, but not in close association with a building or occupation layer. The character and appearance of these priory buildings could be gained from the destruction material within them and in the quarry pit close to the east range. The walls had apparently been carried up in stone throughout; there was no clear evidence for half-timbered work. The outer faces had been lime-washed; the inner faces were colour washed, first in pink, then in white with an imitation stone pattern picked out in red lines and a trailing leaf pattern added in green. The roofs were covered with sandstone slates quarried locally from the Gloucestershire side of the Wye and the roof ridges were crowned with a wide variety of crested and patterned tiles in green and orange. The rock floors had been made smooth by layers of sand mixed with soil (and presumably covered with rushes). There was no evidence of dressed stone for door or window details, but this would be eagerly sought by stone robbers. One fragment of sculpture could have been part of a statue.

The material for building these ranges must have come from the nearby quarry pits; one, 6 ft. deep, was dug immediately east of the east range; another as much as 8 ft. deep was sunk just south of the south range; a third pit, 5 ft. deep, was placed south-east of Building 12 while a fourth pit of which the limits and depth were not traced was situated east of the boundary wall.

PERIOD 3 (*circa* 1400)

The main period of occupation was brought to an end by an episode of destruction. This was especially clear in the filling of Rooms 6 and 7 in the East Range, but also left its mark in the West Range which was reconstructed at this time. The quarry pit under Room 8 was newly opened to provide material for constructing that room and the floor make-up was entirely destruction debris from the adjacent range. This fill included wall-plaster, roof-tile, window glass and a little pottery. Room 8 was 22 feet long by 11½ feet wide; the side walls, which revetted

the rock as was the usual practice, had their foundation course set on the debris infilling the quarry. A short stretch of the north wall was the only part of the priory which retained the wall core standing above the medieval ground level. In contrast the east wall had been completely robbed.

There was evidence of burning on the floor of Room 4 and also in the centre of the courtyard; this latter burning might be the final destruction at the Dissolution. In this period some reconstruction was undertaken south of Room 4, but this area had been disturbed by stone robbing. It is possible that the earliest building in Area 12 represents an extension of the south range. Similarly the building in Area 1 may indicate that an attempt was made to complete the elongated courtyard by closing the northern side. There is a strong possibility that the Pit north of the Barn and the depression in the trench north of the Byre also point to the position of totally robbed mediaeval buildings.

PERIOD 4 (*circa* 1450)

This next stage must be seen as modifying the original buildings and adapting them to a reduced community. In the west range Room 4 remained in use but where its foundations had been weakened by the stone-lined drain an external buttress was added. There was also a stone footing which could have been a stair base. However since the cemetery was situated nearby, this room may have served for a time as a chapel and this footing therefore have been an altar base. This is a reasonable suggestion since Area 9 was filled with burials. Initially these were laid in orderly rows but then later burials cut into the earlier ones and even the drains were used as ready made coffins. Subsequently the east wall of Building 4 and the wall south of Room 7 were cut by burials, suggesting an abandonment of these buildings. Only one burial received the dignity of a stone-lined grave, but no personal belongings had accompanied the burial.

The alteration in the east range involved the remodelling of Room 7 which was diminished in size, while the alteration of the south range replaced Building 10 by a wall (and presumably a room) on a different alignment and the opening in the west wall of Room 11 was blocked. It was probably at this period that the north-eastern boundary of the monastic precinct was built but this may be a post-Dissolution wall connected with an early period of the farmhouse.

PERIOD 5 (*circa* 1600)

The walls assigned to this period are those not obviously connected with the priory; these include the sheds of Building 12 to the south of the site and the barn on the north-west. The wall beyond the barn and the later byre was probably the farm boundary. Room 7 remained in use at this period and received a capping of discarded roofing slates mortared on top of dwarf walls. The first period of the farmhouse should lie within the seventeenth century and after a fire the house was rebuilt on a larger scale early in the eighteenth century.

PERIOD 6 (*circa* 1750)

The alterations made to the farmhouse and farmbuildings in the last two hundred years could be traced by archaeological methods and the conclusions could be tested against the

evidence of successive estate maps and Ordnance Survey sheets. There was surprisingly little pottery or other discarded material dating from the farmhouse period within the area examined.

Interpretation

The monastic plan of St. Kynemark's does not conform to the normal pattern of buildings set around a cloister. It would be best to look for parallels among the minor monastic sites such as Craswall and Penmon rather than to expect buildings on the scale of the Augustinian houses of Llanthony and Haverfordwest. Within the limits imposed by the imprecise nature of the remains, the west range may be seen as store houses, the east range as the main offices of the priory, namely refectory with dormitory over and a chapter-house to the east, and the south range as the kitchens and brewhouse despite the absence of ovens. This division of functions is based on the character and frequency of the pottery within and around these three ranges.

The absence of a church is puzzling; the cemetery was usually within the cloister or else around the eastern end of the church. The documentary evidence may provide the explanation. In the 12th and 13th centuries the church was claimed by Llandaff to be the property of the chapter, although by 1291 it was served by the community of St. Kynemark's. The late mediaeval title of the monastery was " St. John's near St. Kynemark's " which could imply that the monastic precinct was separate from the church. If the church had been part of the monastery, then the title " the monastery of St. John and St. Kynemark " would have been used. The excavated cemetery is, therefore, the monastic one and a second cemetery may be expected actually around the church. This last building has yet to be located but may lie outside the parish of St. Kynemark's at Crossway Green.

Conclusion

This interim account will be followed by a detailed excavation report. For this reason all references have been excluded, but acknowledgment must be made of the assistance given by Mr. C. Bigham, the previous owner of the land, and by Mr. P. J. Moriarty, the present owner. The fullest historical account is contained in Sir J. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, IV, p.42.

Summary

The priory of St. Kynemark comprised of three ranges situated around an elongated courtyard and did not form a recognised claustral plan. The archaeological evidence indicated that the main period of building and occupation was in the 13th and 14th centuries. After an episode of destruction occupation continued throughout the 15th century on a reduced scale. A post-mediaeval farmhouse occupied the southern part of the priory area and extensive stone robbing for this farm and neighbouring structures removed all surface remains.

THE EARLIEST SAMIAN BOWL FROM WALES

By GEORGE C. BOON

A swan among the geese of Flavian pottery from Caerleon, this bowl (fig. 1) is of Dragendorff's form 30, a cylindrical bowl on a base-ring, 11.5 cm. high and 13.5 cm. wide. Only half the base and ten other shards survive, but they are enough to show the decoration. Elegant in style, minute and careful in workmanship, this vase may be classed at once among the products of the *période de splendeur* of the Rutenian potteries of Condatomagus, at La Graufesenque on the little alluvial plain at the confluence of the Tarn and the Dourbie near the town of Millau (Aveyron). The ware is light pink, with rare specks of the lime inseparable from the clays derived from the Jurassic uplands pierced by the gorges of the Tarn and its tributary, despite the long process of sedimentation which is thought to have been standard in the preparation of the primary material. The gloss is brownish-red and thin. Neither it nor the ware is very hard, and unsuitable methods of storage many years ago have unfortunately brought this fact to our notice.

The decoration is moulded: that is to say, the desired combination of decorative elements was impressed on the interior of a mould, which was then fired to become a porous terra-cotta. Clay for the vessel was pressed into this mould and drawn up above the rim. Since the mould was in one piece, the undercut base-ring had to be applied later; both it, the rim, and the interior of the vessel were finished by template, while the bowl was turned on the wheel. When the vessel was dry, it was dipped into a watery mixture of the same clay as was used for the body, drawn off the sedimentation-bath at a moment when all the finest constituent particles were still in suspension; and like most bowls, ours shows traces of the potter's finger-tips around the base-ring. The very fine particles, mainly siliceous but including a good proportion of the natural iron oxide (in the form Fe_2O_3) tended to align themselves parallel with the walls of the vessel, and upon firing at 900° to 950°C. formed a semi-vitrified gloss in the presence of certain alkaline matter. Modern research, particularly that of the Laboratoire de Céramologie at Valence, under the superintendence of M. André Blanc, is at present throwing much light on these questions¹.

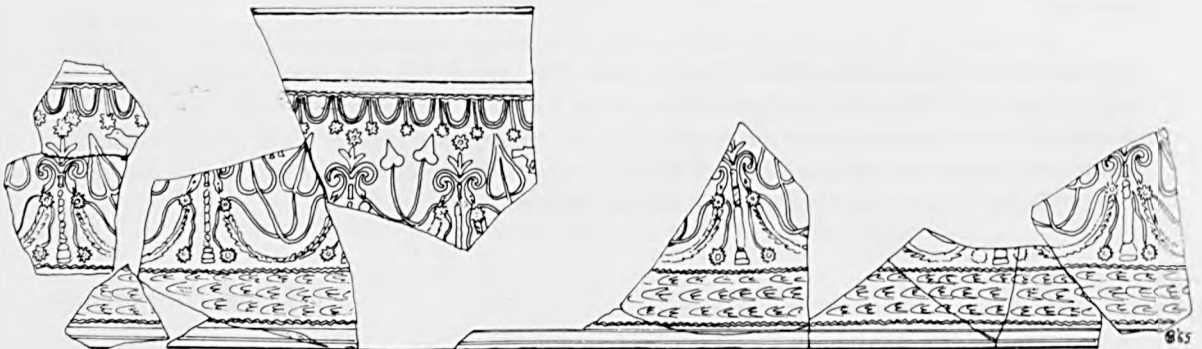


FIG. 1. SAMIAN BOWL (Form 30) in the Caerleon Museum Collection (National Museum of Wales). Scale 1/2

The decoration—general

The main frieze consists of twelve vertical columns, to the volutes of which semi-circular festoons are attached. Above each festoon there is a pair of upward-pointing leaves with crossed stems. Ten compartments are preserved to some extent, and in nine of them there would have been a small bird perched between the leaves, facing alternately left and right. In the tenth compartment—which measurement shows was not duplicated—the leaves are smaller, there was no bird, and (since the columns are closer) the festoon was not so deep. It is argued here that the small space between the festoon and the basal wreath carried the name of the artist who made the mould.

An early, pre-Flavian date has been claimed for this bowl. In justification, we may firstly consider the décor in general and, after touching upon certain criteria relevant to the detection of individual style in samian-ware, we must secondly study the individual motifs used and their particular combination here.

The Dr.30 bowl does not appear to have been made by the red-gloss potters of Arrezzo (Tuscany) and other Italic centres, whose wares the samian potters of Gaul set out to imitate so successfully. On the other hand, its earliest decorative treatment is firmly founded on Italic models. A very good example of this is a bowl from Mainz included by the great Felix Oswald in his last paper 'Arretine and early south Gaulish Potters'², and another is a Silchester bowl dating about A.D. 35–45³. The comparison extends also to other early forms of decorated bowls which do not concern us here. By about A.D. 75, a great change in style is observable⁴: the field now tends very strongly to multiple subdivision into crowded panels, and the execution is often heavy and frequently crude. In these later bowls, very much more often than not, the ovolo border at the top of the moulded zone is sealed off from the main frieze by a wavy line, so that the presence or absence of this makes a useful rule-of-thumb to permit us to distinguish Flavian and pre-Flavian work⁵. Our bowl does not have such a line; instead, there is one above the ovolo—blurred and damaged, as was so often the case, in the finishing of the bowl.

The thirty years or so between the styles which we have mentioned—roughly, the reigns of Claudius and Nero—saw the inevitable development of Flavian characteristics. The work of Masclus (about A.D. 45–65) is especially interesting: we see an increasing use of simple floriated geometric designs and an increasing dependence on panelled schemes⁶. But the panels are not often subdivided laterally, as is frequently the case in Flavian work, and the designs are in general less fussy and compressed than was customary later. The Usk bowl of Martialis⁷ is also a case in point. A contemporary of Masclus, Martialis was already producing work showing a loss of contact with the canons of Augustan taste which, simplified as they may have been in the rustic ateliers of Gaul, had hitherto dominated provincial *terra sigillata*. Our present bowl is stylistically still very much the offspring of the Augustan style⁸.

Individual style: nothing more difficult to assess, and no case more complex than moulded samian. A particular choice of decorative elements, arranged in a particular way: so much is obvious, and this is what the specialist seeks to isolate. It is when a given style is ascribed to a particular potter that difficulties arise: we are in possession of many hundreds of the names of

samian potters, and many of them are known as makers of moulded ware, because their names appear on bowls. It is very important to differentiate between these names: who was the potter?—naturally, the maker of the pot; but behind him stands the maker of the mould, and behind him, the maker of the decorative elements—matrix-punches (*poînçons-matrices*) imprinted in the

mould. All three could be, and sometimes demonstrably were, different individuals, whose working relationship is obscure. It is swiftly borne upon the student, for example, who consults Oswald's *Index of Figure Types*, Knorr's two volumes on south Gaulish ware (1919, 1952⁹), or Stanfield & Simpson's *Central Gaulish Potters*, or Ricken & Fischer's *Rheinzabern Bilderschusseln*, that many types and details were used by more than one potter, sometimes by many: the same motifs occur on bowls bearing the names of different potters. With regard to moulds, Hermet drew attention¹⁰ to a number of shards in his collection from La Graufesenque, evidently from the same moulds, but bearing the stamps of different potters; and the same thing is known in the case of central Gaulish export-ware of the early second century¹¹. Where is individual style here?

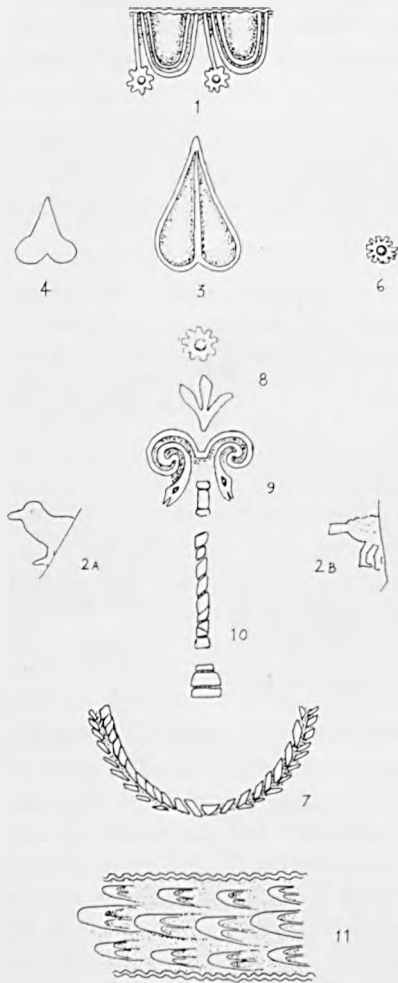


FIG. 2. Decorative elements of the samian bowl shown in FIG. 1. Scale 1/1.

There is only one answer to this problem. There is a fundamental difference between the stamps of potters impressed on the *bowls*, and the stamps—or sometimes the written signatures—appearing in moulded relief on the outside of the bowls, because they were impressed or written upon the *moulds*. These are the only names that can be associated with the mould-making process, during which the decorative style was brought into being. In many cases these mould-names must be those of the actual designers, although other contingencies are obviously possible. That there was, in some cases, a close link between mould-maker and potter is sufficiently demonstrated by the occurrence of the same names both in the moulded zone, or below it, and in the interior of the bowl¹². In some instances, however, the names are different¹³.

It is clear from this brief discussion that the only names that can be associated with a given style are those associated with the mould and not merely with the bowl. The bowl-makers' or potters' stamps fulfil an important but secondary rôle. They may demonstrate, for example, the extent of a given mould-maker's custom, most certainly when identical bowls bear different potters' names. More importantly, from the present point of view, they occur very much more commonly than mould-makers' names and, even if the decorative details associated with them cannot strictly be ascribed to these various potters—as was done in the past, notably before the publication of Hermet's masterpiece in 1934¹⁴—they can help to define the particular periods at which these details were in vogue.

Thus, the procedure followed by the specialist confronted by a bowl such as ours is to consult the standard works of reference applicable^{9,14} where—or in the widely-scattered primary literature of excavation-reports—the component motifs, and perhaps significantly similar arrangements of them, can be identified in other instances. In this process it will gradually become clear that the vessel is to be assigned to such-and-such a date, because of the general consistency of date among the close parallels. This dating is obtained from the occurrence of shards in stratified levels or on sites where the overall limits of occupation are known, such as certain of the forts of Roman Germany¹⁵.

The decoration—detail (fig 2)

1. **Ovolo** This is not known on bowls with mould-stamp or even with internal, potter's stamp. Form 30 is never so stamped; although the carinated bowl (Form 29) frequently bore a potter's name on its basal interior, the 30 was presumably too deep in proportion to its width for similar stamping, and rim-band stamps are not known in south Gaul. Slightly conical and pointed, with double border and long tongue terminating in a large rosette of eight points (one obliterated by the tongue), the ovolo is a fairly common one and appears on various bowls of obviously early type: *Knorr* 1919, 65, fig. 30 (Mainz); Taf. 95D (= *Knorr* 1952, Taf. 5M) (Basel), both 30s, and on the beautiful example of this form from Sandy, Beds. (H. B. Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. R. Pot.* (1908), pl. 26, M.401). It is also known on the bell-shaped crater, Form 11: *Antiq. Journ.* XXV (1945), 50, fig. 2, burnt in the Boudiccan sack of London, A.D.61, and on some 30s from London (*Archaeologia* LXXVIII (1928), 93, no. 61, 95, nos. 67, 69). At Claudian *Hofheim* (Taf. 26, 2; 27, 11) there are other examples. Form 29 also has it: a very rare use of the motif, on the lower frieze, of a London bowl (with shards from the same mould from Bregenz and Hüfingen: *Knorr* 1952, Taf. 5LJK) having other elements associated with bowls bearing the internal stamp of the potter Aquitanus (about A.D.35–60). To end this list, which is far from exhaustive, mention may be made of a Richborough 30 (*Report III* (1932), pl.24, 6, 8). This, again of early style, has a curious, small and broad cordate leaf which is matched on a mould-stamped shard of Volus (*Knorr* 1952, Taf. 63F from Hofheim: our fig. 3f). Reference has already been made to the absence of a wavy line below the ovolo, and its chronological significance.

2. **Birds** There are two sorts, facing left and right, but in no case is the impression complete. Oswald's *Index* shows numerous birds, but a comparison of size and shape suggests that these are his nos. 2262 (left) and 2226 (right). These birds appear on the mould-signed work of Masclus (*Knorr* 1919, Taf. 98A, from Rottweil) and on bowls internally stamped by early potters such as Licinus (*Knorr* 1919, Taf. 45B, from Mainz) and Senicio (*Hermet*, pl. 118, 21). Not to multiply parallels unnecessarily, we may close with mention of a *Hofheim* shard (Taf. 27, 8) for a definitely Claudian date, and with one later occurrence, on a bowl stamped by the Flavian potter OF CEN (*Knorr* 1919, Taf. 22B, Vechten).
3. **Large Leaves** *Knorr* 1919, 19, fig. 9, shows a large variety of simple leaves found on south Gaulish bowls, some closely similar in shape to ours, but all differing in relative length and breadth from it. The only leaf which corresponds exactly to ours is one used on a bowl with the internal stamp of Daribitus (about A.D. 40–65); but it is also known on the mould-signed work of Masclus (Richborough: *Report IV* (1949), pl. 75, 11) and on the mould-stamped work of Volus (Colchester: *Knorr* 1952, Taf. 63G = Oswald & Pryce, *Introd. to Terra Sigillata* (1920), pl. 26, 5, and our fig. 3d).
4. **Small Leaves** *Knorr*'s same figure again offers us several types of small acuminate leaf. Ours has large basal lobes and somewhat narrow tip; it appears on the 29 bowl stamped by Albinus (about A.D. 25–50) from Bregenz (*Knorr* 1919, Taf. 1B). Similar leaves appear later (e.g. Taf. 55G) but these do not have the sharp angle between the tip and basal lobes which is detectable on our impressions despite the rubbed nature of the shard.
5. **Crossed Stems** These are not shown in the figure, because they were hand-drawn with a point in the mould. Crossed stems are, in general, an early feature. They appear on the Form 11 from Roanne (our fig. 3a is based on *Knorr* 1952, Taf. 63B, corrected by reference to Vertet's excellent photograph in *Gallia XX* (1962), 356, fig. 5, which brings out several important details—*Knorr* evidently never saw the vessel—but is nevertheless not, in these corrections, to be scaled). This bowl, according to Vertet, dates around A.D. 40. There are many other instances of crossed stems, e.g. *Hermet*, pl. 41, 18–19; 57, 11, 14; 58, 18–24; nearly all seem to be early as at *Hofheim* (Taf. 27, 7, 8, 10). Two stratified British examples, pre-Flavian, are at Richborough (*Report III*, pl. 23, 5) and Colchester (*Camulodunum*, pl. 33, 5C). In the Flavian period, the device is rare, and when it occurs, has lost the graceful appearance of earlier intertwinings. There is one example in the famous crate of lamps and samian from Pompeii (Atkinson, *Journ. Roman Studies* 1914, pl. 5, 23) which is assigned to shortly before the catastrophe of August, A.D. 79.
6. **Rosettes** The small rosette used as festoon-terminals and in the basal spandrels at the tip of the stems has twelve points, of which two are shorter than the rest, and two more are almost conjoined. Like the larger rosette used in the ovolo and also, it would seem, more deeply impressed as the tip of the flower above the volutes, it

has a central ring. It is not among the rosettes published by Knorr (1919, 23, fig. 11) but appears to be that on the Roanne bowl mentioned under (5) above. The shape, number of rays, and centre all agree as far as can be discerned through the medium of the half-tone screen of Vertet's reproduction. It reappears on another Form 29 bowl (Wiesbaden: Knorr 1919, Taf. 45A, detail 30) with the potter's name Licinus. This is interesting because there is a link between Volus and Licinus, as shown by the Colchester vessel (Knorr 1952, Taf. 63E, our fig. 3e) which has VOLUS as mould-stamp and LICINUS F within. What is probably the same rosette also occurs on other Volus pieces in Knorr's plate, one here copied as fig. 3f.

7. **Festoons** Like leaves and rosettes, festoons need very careful examination. There are numerous varieties, and the double type here shown is especially common in early work: e.g. *Hofheim*, Taf. 27, 2, 6, 7, 10, 18, 21. The detail of this festoon (which parts to left and right on either side of the centre) is somewhat coarse and is close to, if not identical with, one used by Masclus (Knorr 1919, Taf. 52, detail 16).
8. **Flowers** The flower is composed of a rosette surmounting a triple leaf used as stem and leaves. An exactly similar flower appears on the Roanne bowl with the moulded signature of VOLUS (see under (5) above and our fig. 3a). The rosette in one instance partly obliterates one of the ovolo terminals, which goes to show that the ovolo was imprinted first on the mould. Likewise, it may be added for convenience here, the volute was impressed after the pair of large leaves to its right in one of the compartments. This seems to show that the main elements (columns, festoons, leaf-pairs) were impressed first and the details then added.
9. **Volutes** These are very interesting. The *poinçon* was carefully made, and it can be seen, upon close inspection, that the volutes terminate in tiny animal-heads. Here again, the Roanne crater displays exactly this motif, capped, moreover, by the flower. This is a stylistic indication of some importance. Knorr has the motif (though unfortunately deprived of it by his source for his illustration of the Roanne bowl): on a Form 29 internally stamped OF LICINIANA from Mainz (Knorr 1919 Taf. 45B) and on a Form 29 from Neuss stamped internally DARRA FE (Taf. 32, detail 4). See also a Mainz 30 (Knorr 1952, Taf. 70G). A London bowl recorded by Stanfield (Form 30: *Antiq. Journ.* X (1930), 123, fig. 5X) is another early instance as is the *Hofheim* Dr. 30 (Taf. 27, 21); in all cases the motif is used in a position similar to that in our own bowl. Reversed, the volute appears on the *Hofheim* Dr. 30 (Taf. 26, 4). Lastly, Knorr (1952, Taf. 34D) shows an August 29 fragment with the volute used sideways in the upper frieze, Knorr 1919, Taf. 46C, stamped internally by Licinus, is also relevant because it shows geese in the same position holding the ends of festoons. The long and sinuous necks of the geese may possibly have suggested the zoömorphic formalisation of the volute. Vertet draws attention (*Gallia* XX, 356–7) to the evolution of the design in the work of Germanus (e.g. *Hermet*, pl. 101, 37, 38) into a creature in its own fantastic right.
10. **Columns** Between the volute and the column proper there appears to be a tiny linking motif in the form of an astragalus. It is not clear, but becomes more so by comparison,

once more, with the Roanne bowl, which shows the same feature. Probably the somewhat coarsely-worked spirally-fluted column is also the same in both cases, but if so, the base must have been impressed by a different punch: cf. the Colchester Volus fragment, copied here from Knorr as our fig. 3e.

11. **Basal Wreath** This is composed of three rows of leaf-tips, emphasis being given to the central row. The punch took the form of a complete leaf, which was impressed at a slight angle. Basal wreaths are very uncommon on Form 30, the decorated frieze of which was in nearly all south Gaulish cases terminated by a wavy line. An early 30 from Richborough (*Report III*, pl. 25, 2, mould-stamped LUPI and dated archaeologically about A.D. 40–60) has a simpler kind of wreath. A wreath of the same general type as that here present occurs on a London 29 shown by Knorr (1952, Taf. 5 JKL) and somewhat similar wreaths are known on Form 11 (Taf. 79D). See also *Hermet*, pls. 69, 12; 70, 5, 7; 77, 4, 6, 8, for other, mainly early, examples on Form 30, 2 *Hofheim* Taf. 23, 3 for a Form 29 stamped internally OF PASSIEN.

Decoration—ensemble

From the foregoing remarks, the early date of our vessel has been amply demonstrated from general stylistic considerations and from an analysis of the details employed. It may be recalled that (1) the large cordate leaves (2) the flowers (3) the volutes (4) part of the columns and (5) the twelve-rayed rosettes are all present on the mould-stamped work of Volus; and the particular combination of flower-capped volute has been noted as a stylistic criterion of importance. Now this designer had another trait, viz. to include his name-stamp among the decorative elements. His usage, which in five out of the six known cases¹⁶ (copied in our fig. 3 from Knorr 1952, Taf. 63) was to contrive a space for the stamp, contrasts markedly with that of Masclus and other potters, who wrote their names, or impressed their stamps, wherever they happened to fit, Masclus being especially untidy in this respect:

- 3a (Knorr's 63B), Form 11, Roanne: the name overrides the festoon—this appears clearly in Vertet's photograph (*Gallia XX*, 356)—and is not centred in the compartment.
- 3b (Knorr's 63C), Form 29, Vindonissa: there is a wider space between two of the gadroons in the lower frieze.
- 3c (Knorr's 63D), Form 29, Paris: the beaded stem issuing from one of the gadroons in the lower frieze has been omitted.
- 3d (Knorr's 63G), Form 29, Colchester: a leaf and bud in a compartment of the lower frieze have been bent back in a particularly elegant way in order to provide room for the stamp.
- 3e (Knorr's 63E), Form 29, Colchester: there is an arcade in the lower zone, of which one compartment is narrower than the rest, and therefore has a shallower arch above; space is thus contrived between this arch and the delimiting bead-row which is almost touched by the remainder of the arches.
- 3f (Knorr's 63F), Form 29, Hofheim: as restored by us to show another arcade in the lower zone, where the omission of some small finial-motif in the spandrel also makes room for the stamp.

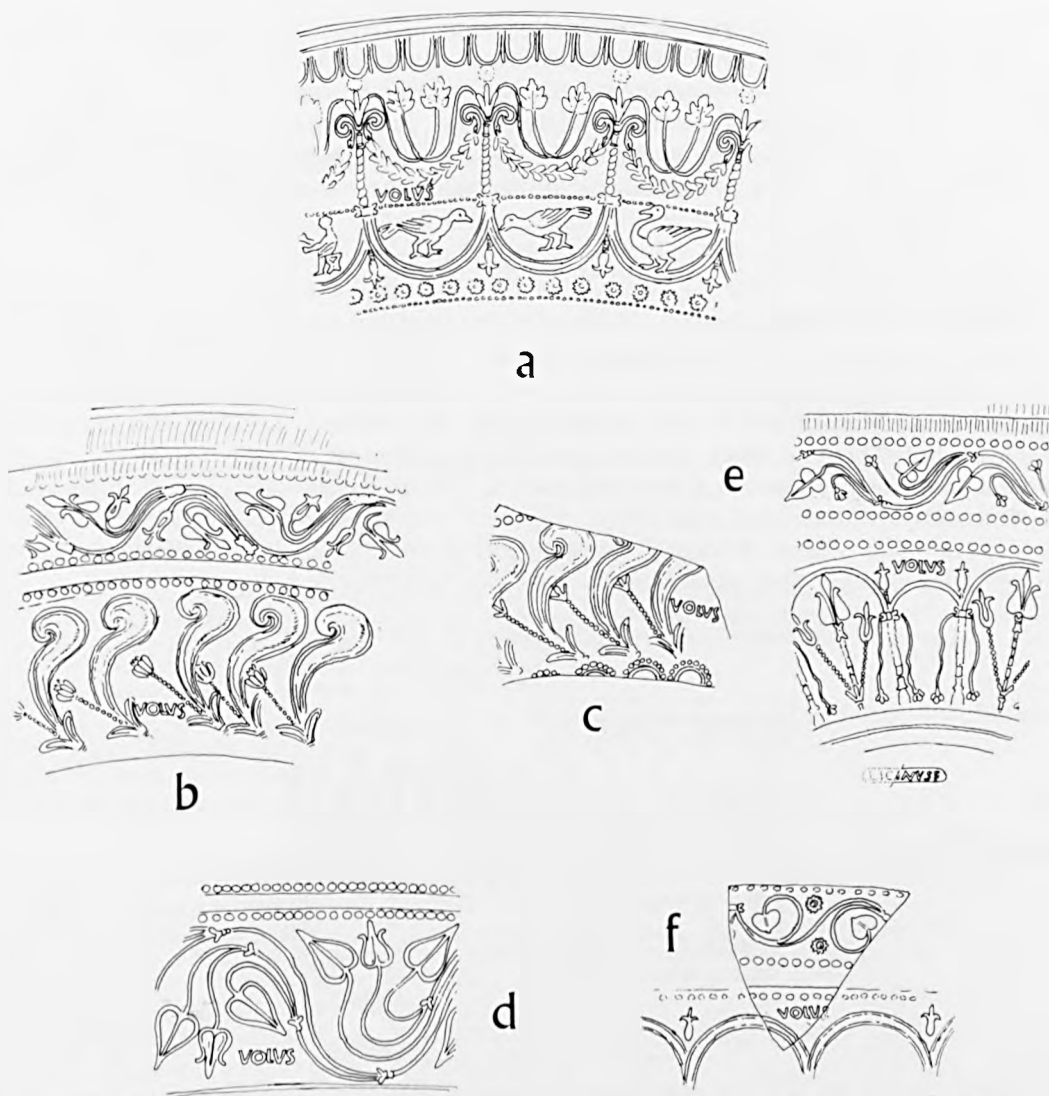


FIG. 3. MOULD STAMPED BOWLS BY VOLUS of La Graufesenque. Form II(a), Form 29 (b.—f.).
 After Knorr 1952, with additions. Scale: 1/2

As already pointed out, our bowl too displays a narrow compartment, carefully designed to provide space between the festoon and the basal wreath. In view of this unique stylistic parallel with our fig. 3e, supported as it is by the other considerations noted previously, there can be very little doubt that, did we but have the small shard that is missing here, it would prove to bear the name VOLUS; and in fig. 4 this name, which measures exactly 14 by 4.5 mm.¹⁶, has been restored to show how precisely it fits the space allotted.

I conclude, therefore, that our bowl is by Volus of La Graufesenque, and that it was accordingly made between A.D. 35 and 55. The date cannot be far removed from that of the Roanne crater, assigned by Vertet to about A.D. 40 (“*à la fin du règne de Tibère, ou au début de celui de Claude*”)¹⁸, because of the flower/volute parallel; but on the whole it may possibly be a little later, because of the style of the ovolo and the existence of the basal wreath. Whilst definitely Claudian, the date of the bowl may lie nearer the middle of the reign, say about A.D. 50 at the latest.

Provenance

The date proposed is a good quarter-of-a-century earlier than the legionary occupation of Caerleon; it is, however, to Caerleon that the bowl is assigned. In addition to the normal accession-number of the National Museum of Wales, 31.78, which covers the entire contents of our Society's former Museum at Caerleon, the shards bear the number C.634. This refers to a catalogue made in 1923 but no details survive regarding the provenance of our bowl—an exceedingly vexatious matter, since one shard bears the stain of a small pasted label long since detached. But ‘C’ stands for ‘Caerleon,’ and various fragments with C-number can be identified in the plates of Lee's *Isca Silurum*. Evidently, the cataloguer of 1923 (V. E. Nash-Williams) was under the impression that our bowl came from the legionary base. Was he correct?

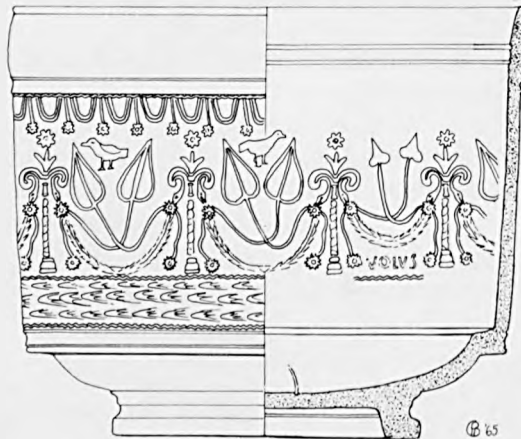


FIG. 4. Samian bowl in the Caerleon Museum collection restored, showing profile and decorative scheme completed with the addition of the mould-maker's stamp as in the text.

This is not merely earlier than the foundation of legionary *Isca*: it is also by far the earliest samian vessel recorded from a site which otherwise produces only the occasional shard of Neronian date from its earliest levels, stratigraphically embedded in the mass of normal Flavian material which those levels produce. It would be quite possible for the Volus bowl to be a 'survival.' But other possibilities exist, once it is accepted that the shards could have been found elsewhere and at some remote date confused with normal Caerleon material. It may be taken as

certain that the vessel came from the Society's catchment area: it may then have come either from the Society's 1855 excavations at Caerwent, or from the Berrington excavations at Usk; much less probably from elsewhere. Caerwent, a Flavian foundation as its excavated material has abundantly proved, can probably be ruled out at once. But Usk, a Claudian site¹⁹, is another question. The mystery of the forty large boxes of pottery despatched to Caerleon in 1893-5 has never been solved. In my Usk paper I stated, and here repeat, that there could never have been room for the display or storage of such a large quantity of material in the little Caerleon Museum. But some, including the better pieces such as this, could very well have been selected for display only to become mixed with Caerleon pottery at some remote date between 1893-5 and 1923. A case in point is a shard from a bowl published by Dr. Simpson, (*Arch. Camb.* 1963, 67, fig. 14, 3-4)—Usk—which is marked C 506.

There the matter must be left.

NOTES

¹ A. Blanc, 'Les techniques utilisées dans les grands ateliers de potiers de l'antiquité,' *Revue archéologique de l'Est* XV (1964), 268-89; 'La terre sigillée gallo-romaine. Quelques observations faites au Laboratoire de Valence,' *Revue archéologique du Centre* IV (1965), 21-30.

² *Journ. Roman Stud.* XLVI (1956), 110, fig. 17, 18.

³ T. May, *The Pottery found at Silchester* (1916), pl.2, 10.

⁴ See in general the plates of R. Knorr, *Die verzierte Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe von Rottweil* (1907) and *Sudgalische Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe von Rottweil* (1912) for the typical Flavian samian styles of the mid-seventies. Form 30s are not so common now as earlier. See also F. Oswald and T. Davies Pryce, *Introduction to Terra Sigillata* (1920) pls. 8, 9, contrasting with pl. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.147, 149.

⁶ Knorr 1952, Taf. 36B, is a good case in point; see also Oswald & Pryce, *op.cit.*, pl. 8, 2 and 9, 4; *Richborough IV* (1949), pl. 75, 11, &c. &c.

⁷ G. C. Boon, *Monm. Antiq.* I, 2 (1962), 29, fig. 1.

⁸ For Italian festoons, see e.g. A. Oxé, *Arretinische Reliefgefässe vom Rhein* (1933), Taf. 34 (*Gn. Atei Chresti*) or G. H. Chase, *Cat. The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* (1908), pl. 4 (*M. Peren. Tigrani*).

⁹ R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts* (1919); *Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe des ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen* (1952) cited in the present text as Knorr 1919 and Knorr 1952.

¹⁰ Eight pairs of names: F. Hermet, *La Graufesenque* (1934), 276-7, pl. 106.

¹¹ The bowl shown by J. A. Stanfield & Grace Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters* (1958), pl. 27, 324, with the stamp MEDETLM is from the same mould as a bowl recorded by J.-R. Terrisse: 'Bref aperçu sur les Styles des Potiers des Martres de Veyre,' *Revue archéologique du Centre* II, 4 (1963), 285: DONNAUCI.

¹² E.g. Knorr 1952, Taf. 25 ABD, Frontinus; Taf. 40A, Meddillus.

¹³ E.g. Knorr 1952, Taf. 63E - our fig. 3c - VOLUS/(LIC)INVS F.

¹⁴ *La Graufesenque*. See note 10.

¹⁵ Particularly Hofheim (A.D. 40-51 (earth fort); Hofheim II, A.D. 74-83) in the present context. See E. Ritterling, 'Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim-i-T.', *Annalen d. Vereins f. nassauische Altertumskunde u. Geschichtsforschung* XL (1912), cited as *Hofheim*.

¹⁶ Seven. By the kindness of Mr. G. B. Rogers and Dr. Grace Simpson, I am enabled to add a Dr. 29 from Autun: *Mém. Soc. Edienne* III (1874) pl. 11, 399. A lower zone with leaf-scroll design of style similar to our fig. 3d. (but 'new' ciliate leaves). The stamp is not quite so neatly allowed for.

¹⁷ J. Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (1904), I, 303, no. 203.

¹⁸ *Gallia*, XX (1962), 358.

¹⁹ G. C. Boon, 'Remarks on Roman Usk,' *Monm. Antiq.* I, see note 7.

DIE LINKED COUNTERFEITS FROM CAERWENT AND CAERLEON

By GEORGE C. BOON

One of the pleasantest things about large assemblages of excavated material from the great sites of Roman Britain is that there is always something new to find in them and to say about them. Among the Caerwent coins in Newport Museum, there is a *dupondius* of the Emperor Nerva (A.D. 96-98) which is not only betrayed as a forgery by a peculiar coarseness of style, but which recalls immediately another *dupondius* of like type from the Prysg Field barracks of the legionary fortress of Caerleon. A careful comparison of these two coins shows that the die used to strike the obverses was the same:

- Fig. 1** 1. IMP NERVA CAES AUG PM TR P II COS III PP (11.55 g.) (*Caerwent*)
2. IMP NERVA CAES AUG PM TR[P II COS] III [PP (11.30 g.) (*Caerleon*)

'The Emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, High Priest, in his second Tribunician Power [A.D. 97], Consul thrice, Father of his Country.' The imperial head, radiate-crowned—the mark of the *dupondius*—to right is, however, that of Trajan (fig. 2). The identity of the dies can be established by the comparison of the relative placing of the various letters of the inscription and the details of the configuration of the head. The Caerleon coin is not so spread as the Caerwent specimen, but the weights are close.

When we turn to the reverse, we find that the design is the same, but that the dies were different:

- Fig. 1** 1. SPQR ORTIM[O RRINCIPI] SC *retrograde* (*Caerwent*)
2. SPQR OR]TIMO RRINCIPI SC *retrograde* (*Caerleon*)



FIG. 1. FORGED DUPONDII OF NERVA. 1. Caerwent, 2. Caerleon, Prysg Field 3. Caerleon (School Field.) Scale 1/1

This is a barbarous version of the well-known Trajanic reverse legend *SPQR Optimo Principi*, 'Senate and People of Rome to their Best of Princes' which was used with a great variety of different designs from about A.D. 104 to 111. The engraver has managed to cut it from left to right on his dies, both of them, so that it reads from right to left on the resultant coins. He was also illiterate enough to mistake P's for R's and to cut the final P with a large basal serif similar to that frequently found in hand-written inscriptions. The rendering of the figure of Hope (*Spes*) with a flower in her upraised hand—brandished in the case of the Caerleon coin like a javelin—is also somewhat crude, and on the whole the workmanship of the reverse is inferior to that of the obverse, on which a good deal of care was lavished. Different letter-forms (again the P, on the obverse given a very open loop) suggest that a different artist was involved. The differences between the two reverse dies are fairly obvious; the clearest consists in the position of the S of SC.

At this juncture, a third coin, from Caerleon, may be introduced. It is stylistically very similar and again is a *dupondius*.

Fig. 1 3. IMP [NERVA CAES A]UG PM TRP COS I [IPP (10.67 g.) (Caerleon)



FIG. 2. OBVERSES OF ORTHODOX DUPONDII OF NERVA (1) Trajan-early (2) and Trajan-later, *SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI* type (3). National Museum of Wales. Scale 1/1

The head is once more markedly like that of Trajan, lacking as it does Nerva's most distinctive, prominent and aquiline nose (fig. 2). It was produced from a different obverse die, as is shown by the inscription: although still of Nerva, it refers to the previous year, since there is no numeral with the *Tr(ibunicia) P(otestate)*. Unfortunately, the reverse of this coin, which would have been struck by the upper, hand-held die, shows no detail. Insufficient force was exerted to drive the metal up into the concavities of the engraving of the die. The most that can be said is that the reverse does not appear to have been a '*Spes*' one.

So much for the coins. It is not of any great significance that our first two, die-linked, should have been found at places so near and so closely connected as Caerwent and Caerleon. The little group points to small-scale forgery in the region, possibly at Caerleon.

Forgery was endemic in the Roman imperial coinage. At times, the numbers of counterfeits easily surpassed the numbers of orthodox coins. At other times, they contributed only a minute proportion to the total in circulation. It is evident that different combinations of circumstance affected the position at different times. The main point to grasp is that coined metal was

and is more valuable than uncoined: all other explanations are ancillary to this. In the Roman period, the relative value of silver and the brass used for *sestertii* and *dupondii* was about 24:1. Uncoined, the ratio was probably twice to four times higher in favour of silver¹. The forger thus preyed upon the artificially high tariff accorded to the genuine coin. Furthermore, it will generally be found that any given series of Roman forgeries has a mean weight rather lower than the mean weight of the orthodox denomination in question, although the heaviest coins of the forged series may overlap the weight-range of the genuine series. In our case, the *dupondius* of Trajan, at an average of 13.19 g., is about 2 g. heavier than its copies.

The metal of our little group is good, and is almost certainly the same yellow brass that was employed for the orthodox coins (*orichalcum*). The source, presumably, was old coins melted down. If their original number equalled X *dupondii*, the number manufactured would have been $X+n$, and the forger's profit would lie in these extra coins.

The present imitations are not in a very common class². Probably, at a time when there were plentiful supplies of coins, manufacture was hardly worth the trouble; metal, weight, and workmanship would all have to be reasonably good if forgeries were to be accepted into circulation. That ours did pass muster is shown by the fact that they are worn.

The date of the copies must be after about A.D. 104, when the reverse type was introduced. The question is: how much later? Here, we can only return to the curious incompatibility of the obverse legend and head, and of both with the reverse type, for a new head of Trajan—more idealised and with more shoulder showing—had been designed for the *S P Q R Optimo Principi* coinage and appears on nearly all its numerous and extensive varieties³. The correct obverse legend for the early type of portrait reproduced by our copies begins IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN—and only somewhat rarely is the order of NERVA and CAES reversed. The correct obverse legend for the *S P Q R Optimo Principi* coinage is expressed in the dative case, conformably with the reverse inscription: IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AUG GER DAC PM TR P COS V PP 'To the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus, High Priest, Holder of Tribunicial Power, Consul for the fifth time, Father of his Country.' How long would it have been before such niceties could have become blurred? How long before a modern forger (supposing always that he could be interested in a profit from halfpence) could have united a George V obverse legend with a 'ship' reverse of the type first introduced in 1937? This is unanswerable: it could have happened at once, before the new type had become widely known; or a lapse of some years might have been involved.

Looking at this problem from the other end of the telescope: forgeries of this type are not likely to have been perpetrated substantially later, because those of the Antonine series are mostly cast, and cast coins did not require such a good alloy⁴, and more profit could be extracted from them because they were also very much easier to make. Many of the Antonine forgeries⁵ were probably produced in the early third century rather than before, because there was then (A.D. 197 to 209) an almost complete cessation in the issues of the senatorial mint⁶, and a shortage of small change must have been as attractive an opportunity to the counterfeiter as ever before. Forgeries made somewhat later in the third century (c. 230–250?) were also cast, and are

distinctively small, light, and thoroughly unattractive. Although utilising, as prototype, the occasional early second- or even first-century original, the forgers were now principally interested in *asses* rather than *dupondii* or *sestertii*⁷, and the products in no way resemble those under discussion⁸. By this date, the counterfeiter would have regarded our little group as a thorough waste of time and good metal: why make dies when a clay mould will do?

On these grounds, we may be fairly certain that our copies belong to the second century. Site-series then begin to show an increasing dominance of the largest token denomination, the *sestertius*⁹. In the coins found at Caerleon 1954–1963, for example, there are 6.5 *asses* and *dupondii* to every *sestertius* in the Flavian series, but by Antonine times the proportion has changed to 5:6. No doubt, this deficiency was largely made up by the large numbers of earlier *aes* still in circulation; but if, as seems not improbable, there was a remanent imbalance, the forger would see in it an outlet for his skill. By the reign of Aurelius (A.D. 161–80), we may be sure that no inkling remained in the popular mind of the numismatic niceties described above, and if the present writer had to choose a date for these forgeries, it would be somewhere about the third quarter of the century. But the speculative character of this result will be obvious to the reader.



FIG. 3. REVERSE OF A DUPONDIIUS OF TRAJAN (BMCRE III, No. 895) Scale 1:1

NOTES

¹ S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 A.D.* (1958), 236–7.

² Others, C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1937), pl. IV, 1, 2, 4, 5.

³ See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins R. Emp.* III (1936), pls., *passim*. Pl. 35, 1 shows the earlier bust on *SPQR Optimo Principi*.

⁴ The normal Roman casting-alloy was lead-high: R. F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology* (1962), 54–5. Analysis has shown that the case is the same with coins.

⁵ E.g. from Caerleon amphitheatre: *Archaeologia LXXVIII* (1928), 202, no. 96 is an example, published as orthodox. *Ibid.*, 197, no. 40, is a light-weight cast copy of the type mentioned later in this paragraph. It is one of eight duplicates from the same mould: one is at Caerwent (Newport Museum).

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins R. Emp.* V (1950), xxii.

⁷ In Pannonia, where similar copies are known, the *sestertius* was the favoured denomination for copying. Orthodox *sestertii* of the period were common there.

⁸ G. C. Boon. 'Light-weights & Limesfalsa,' *Num. Chron.* forthcoming.

⁹ The system was: 16 *asses* = 8 *dupondii* = 4 *sestertii* = 1 *denarius*. The SC on the back of the *aes* coins, standing for *Senatus Consulto*, 'struck by Order of the Senate' shows that they were issued under the authority of the Senate of Rome and not under that of the Emperor. They were not apparently covered by any form of legislation relating to counterfeiting: on this point, see P. Grierson in R. A. G. Carson & C. H. V. Sutherland (edd.), *Essays in R. Coinage pres. to Harold Mattingly* (1956), 240–61, as the only good account. It is also disputed whether 16 *asses* were ever interchangeable for a *denarius* directly, as in the market-place of Venta Silurum, for example. The intermediacy of a moneychanger, who would charge for his services, may have been required if a customer did not have the exact sum in *aes* or in silver, according to the pricing of particular goods: see S. Bolin, *op.cit.* in note 1, 327–45.

MEDIEVAL POTTERY FROM MONMOUTH SCHOOL

The main purpose of this paper is to place on record the finds of medieval pottery from excavations carried out in the grounds of Monmouth School in 1961. The Roman pottery from the same site will be dealt with separately later.

*The catalogue of pottery has been prepared by ERIC TALBOT of the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff. The introductory account of the excavations is based on an article by J. F. EVANS, a former pupil of Monmouth School, which first appeared in Presenting Monmouthshire, the Journal of the Monmouthshire Local History Council.**

In the course of earth-moving operations within the grounds of Monmouth School during July 1961, several pieces of Romano-British pottery came to light. Subsequent investigations led to the sinking of a sounding trench in the vicinity, which in turn yielded a surprising quantity of third-fourth century pottery, mostly coarse ware, but also including several fragments of Samian which proved to be of second to third century date. The ground which yielded most of these finds was until recently the garden of the School House, originally the Headmaster's house.

The opportunity was seized of excavating within the area of the original garden before the site was paved and lost to investigation. Four pits were dug, each ten feet by four feet, in a line from north to south down what must at one time have been the slope of the river bank. The whole project was carried out by boys of the school, without whose enthusiasm the opportunity would have been irretrievably lost.

The excavation revealed a series of badly disturbed strata descending to a depth of over ten feet, composed of waste material from medieval forges; the debris of several eighteenth-century buildings, probably small and of a temporary nature; and a considerable surface layer of made-up soil, increasing in depth in the direction of the river. The variation in the depth of this soil probably represents a comparatively modern attempt to level off the area for use as a garden and a playground. So disturbed was the stratification that it yielded little information, the only undisturbed features being an uneven hard-pan surface upon the natural clay and a small, roughly oval pit, four feet by five and a half feet and a little over three and a half feet in depth, sunk into the natural soil.

Undoubtedly the surface of the natural clay owes its extreme hardness to the layer of cinders and slag that had been trodden into it during medieval times. Evidence obtained from the relatively undisturbed pit seemed to indicate the presence of several forges on the site. It contained a considerable quantity of iron slag and working-floor debris, intermixed with which were several charred fragments of thirteenth-century pottery. It was suggested that the pit was dug for the disposal of hot slag from the furnaces. Despite the disturbance of the site certain conclusions can be drawn from the excavation as a whole. The strata produced a sequence of pottery from the twelfth to the late fourteenth century, together with a small quantity of Roman pottery of the third and fourth centuries and a coin of Constantine the Great. Since none of these finds were discovered in other than disturbed layers they follow no chronological order and are of little use

* No. 14 (Autumn 1962). We are indebted to Mr. Graham Beeston, M.B.E., M.A., the Editor of that journal, for permission to make these extracts, and also to Mr. A. L. Sockett, M.A., who supervised the excavation.

as positive evidence for the sequence of occupation in medieval times. It is almost certain however that the site was in continual use from the late twelfth century to the early fourteenth, after which date it ceased to be industrial.

The key to the considerable local disturbance probably lies in the iron industry itself. The first reference to the working of iron in Monmouth is in a deed of about 1082 by which Withenoc, Lord of Monmouth, after becoming a monk, transferred property in the town, together with tithes.

“ of land of iron
of mills, and also the mill
of Milebroc (? Mallybrook) ”

A more direct reference to the medieval iron industry in the Monmouth area comes in a document, some time after 1166, recording a business deal between one Baderon of Monmouth (c. 1125 – 1176) and Monmouth Priory:

“ Be it known that I have given and granted to the prior and monks of Monmouth, in exchange for Hodenac (Hadnock), three forges valued at twenty shillings each, in my town of Monmouth on the banks of the Wye which with the iron made there shall be free of all toll ”

Monmouth was ideally placed as a centre for the medieval iron industry of the Forest of Dean, being not only the town of greatest importance in the area but also situated on the banks of the Wye which formed the only means of bulk transport to the port of Chepstow and elsewhere. Monmouth itself became the home of several forges at an early period and continued to be so until the nineteenth century when the importance of the Forest of Dean iron industry gradually declined as supplies of ore dwindled.

* * *

CATALOGUE OF POTTERY

1 - 8 Glazed wares (fig. 1)

1. Lower end of a tubular spout in a dark grey quartz and shell gritted fabric; yellowish green glaze (internal traces too). Grits occur on surfaces resulting in pitting internally. The tall tubular type is not, as far as I know, found in our area—the few occurrences of a cylindrical form of spout are of the squatter type¹. Parallels for this tall form can be found from Lismahon, Co. Down² and from Kirkcudbright Castle³. The latter site is dated c. 1288–1307.
2. Rim and upper body in a grey fabric with black grits up to 6 mm.; buff surfaces and a dark mottled green glaze. Applied finger or thumb-impressed band beneath rim. Later XIII – XIV⁴.
3. Upper body sherd in a dark grey fabric, off-white interior, light yellowish green glaze; calcite and black grits av. 1mm. Lightly impressed wavy comb decoration.

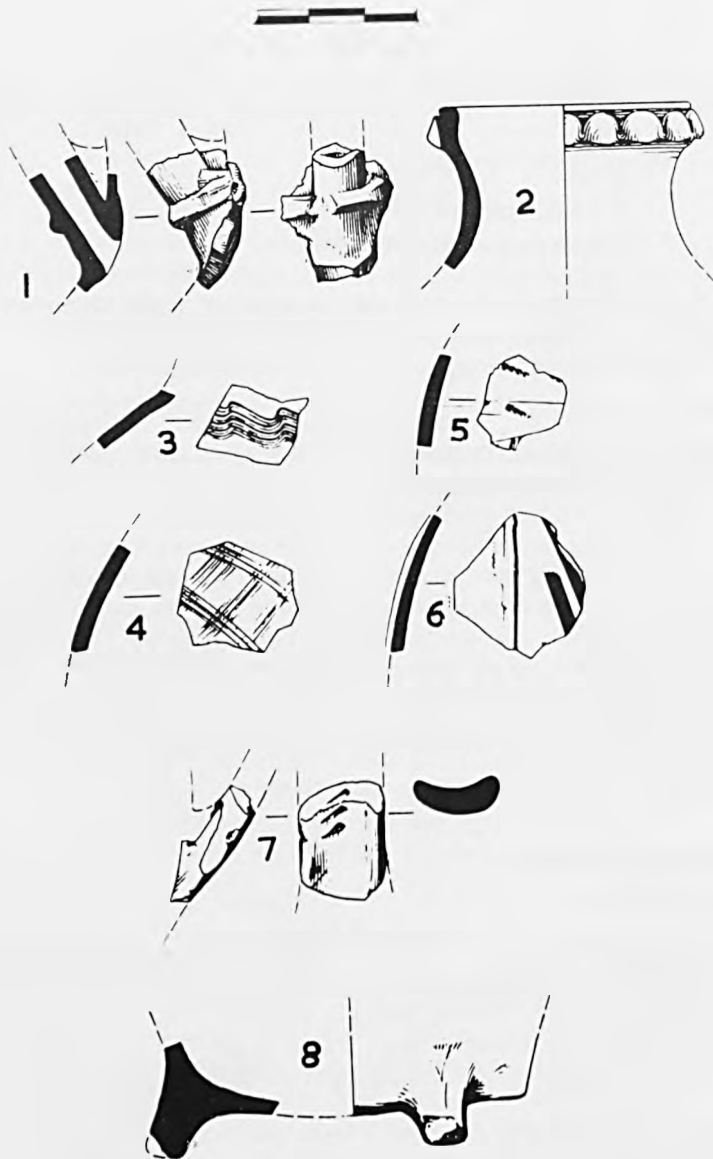


FIG. 1. MONMOUTH SCHOOL POTTERY, glazed wares.

4. Body sherd in a medium blue-grey fabric, buff interior, light yellowish brown glaze; quartz (?) grits up to 2mm. The cross comb decoration is a feature of Ham Green wares⁵.
 5. Body sherd in a light blue-grey fabric, medium green glaze; a few quartz grits av. 1mm. Decoration consists of linearly arranged square depressions in groups of four.
 6. Body sherd in an off-white fabric, dark grey interior, light brownish green glaze; minute shell inclusions. Applied vertical strip and combed decoration—perhaps Ham Green.
 7. Base of a handle in a very light grey fabric, light green glaze with brownish patches; minute shell inclusions.
 8. Leg of a tripod (?) pitcher in a hard off-white fabric fired orange; dark to light brown external glaze, greenish brown internal glaze. Quality of ware and glaze suggests a post-medieval date.
- 9 - 20 Unglazed wares; Nos. 9 - 17 Rim sherds, (fig. 2)**
9. Medium grey fabric, light buff interior, light buff to black exterior; quartz grits up to 4mm. Diam. 13in.
 10. Light grey fabric, light grey interior (surfaces heavily gritted), light grey to black (soot?) exterior; quartz grits up to 4mm. Diam. 10in.
 11. Blue-grey fabric, orange to buff surfaces, external brown wash (?); grits av. 1mm. Diam. 10in.
 12. Dark grey fabric, light grey exterior becoming black internally; quartz grits av. 1mm. Thumbled decoration beneath rim. Diam. 12in.
 13. Dark grey fabric, black to reddish brown surfaces with black accretions on inside of rim; quartz grits up to 4.5 mm. Diam. 11in.
 14. Medium blue-grey fabric, buff through light grey to black surfaces; quartz grits up to 4 mm. Diam. 12½in.
 15. Dark grey fabric, buff interior turning black over rim; quartz grits up to 2 mm. Inturned rim—fingering on exterior also. Cf. Lydney⁶, but in our example the internal shoulder is much more pronounced. Diam. 9¾in.
 16. Dark grey fabric, dark grey interior turning to buff on rim; quartz grits up to 5 mm. Diam. 8¼in.
 17. Dark grey fabric, reddish brown exterior, black interior (heavily gritted—quartz up to 5 mm.).
 18. Base frag. in a dark grey fabric, dark grey to black surfaces; quartz grits up to 2 mm. Angle suggests it may be one of Jope's XII cooking pots⁷.
 19. Body sherd (upper) in a fine hard medium grey fabric, medium grey surfaces. The wavy comb decoration is a relatively common decorative feature, especially on early medieval wares. Probably Ham Green origin (see work quoted note 5. p 112, fig. 7, 1).
 20. Basal and lower body sherd in a light grey fabric, medium blue-grey interior, black exterior; quartz grits up to 3 mm. Applied vertical strip can be paralleled at Skenfrith (unpublished) in a XIII context.

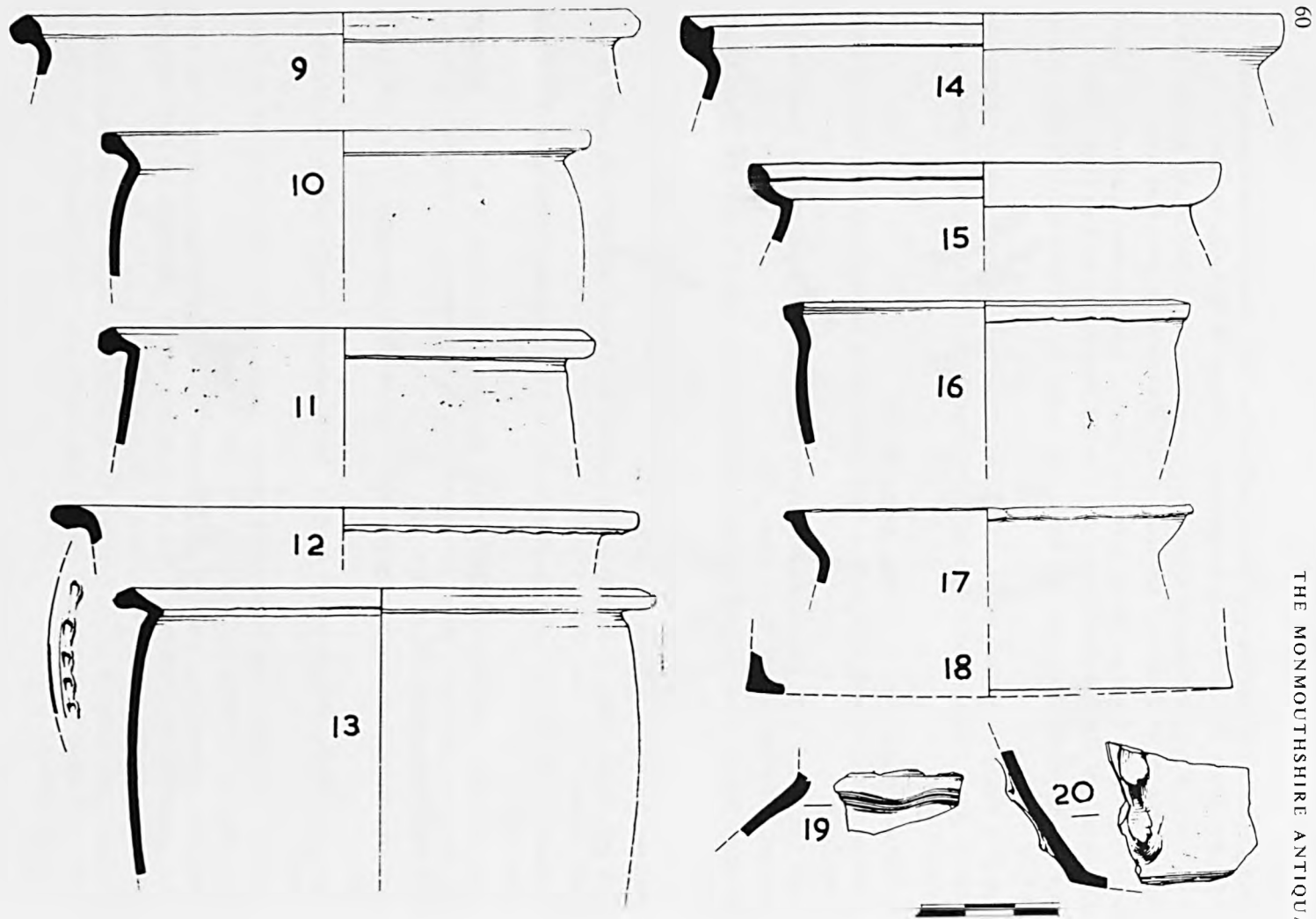


FIG. 2. MONMOUTH SCHOOL POTTERY; unglazed ware

DISCUSSION

I am indebted to Mr. J. G. Hurst for supplying me with drawings of the pottery. The bulk of the pottery illustrated probably falls within a XIII dating, but a few sherds may be of XII date (e.g. No. 18)—at the other extreme No. 8 is either late or post-medieval.

There were three further sherds (not drawn for this article) bearing complex rouletting—a form of decoration limited to Monmouthshire and a few sites in neighbouring counties⁸. Vessels bearing this decoration are provisionally dated c. 1250 - 1350.

NOTES

¹ Bledisloe, Glos., Llandough and Penmaen, Glam., unpublished; Lydney (see n. 6 below), 258, fig. 7, 19.

² Waterman, D. M., 'Excavations at Lismahon, Co. Down,' *Med. Arch.* III (1959), 158, fig. 58, 4.

³ Dunning, G. C., Hodges, A. W. M., Jope, E. M., 'Kirkcudbright Castle, Its Pottery and Ironwork,' *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* XCI (1957-8), 126, fig. 4, 12.

⁴ Pie crust ornament discussed in: Waterman, D. M. *op.cit.*, 158-60. This decorative form has distribution in Ulster, Bristol Channel area, and N.E. England.

⁵ Barton, K. J., 'A Medieval Pottery Kiln at Ham Green, Bristol,' *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* 82 (1963), 99, fig. 2. The kiln seems to have been in production c.1200-1300. Wares have a distribution in S. Wales and the Lower Severn area.

⁶ Casey, D. A., 'Lydney Castle,' *Ant. J.* XI (1931), 257, fig. 6.

⁷ Jope, E. M., 'The Regional Cultures of Medieval Britain,' in Foster I. Ll. and Alcock L. (ed.), *Culture and Environment* (1963) 330, fig. 64.

⁸ Discussed with reference to White Castle examples in Hurst, J. G., 'White Castle and the Dating of Medieval Pottery,' *Med. Arch.* VI - VII (1962-3), 153-5. It is hoped to publish these and other sherds bearing complex rouletting shortly.

NOTES AND NEWS

CISTERCIAN ABBOTS IN MEDIEVAL GWENT

Addenda to the lists published in *Monmouthshire Antiquary* I, iv, 1964:

ABBOTS OF LLANTARNAM (CAERLEON)

in:

1279 Anian¹

ABBOTS OF GRACE DIEU

1344 Roger of Chepstow²

David H. Williams

¹ J. C. Davies, "The Welsh Assize Roll, 1277-84," 301.

² B. M. *Royal MS 12E XIV* fol. 23 (The circumstances of his resignation were described in the last issue of this journal, p.95).

GRACE DIEU ABBEY: ADDENDA

Due to an error in the Calendar of Charter Rolls, I omitted from my account of the above monastery the rather important facts that when the monarch gave Grace Dieu in free gift "the land called Penyard Regis," "the said land was to be disafforested" (hitherto having been part of the royal preserve of the Forest of Dean, now, legally, Penyard was to be without it and thus the monks had freedom as to the use of the land granted to them), and they could "enclose the said land with a hedge and a ditch and dispose of it at their will"; (as indicated on page 00 this had important agricultural bearings).

(See Calendar of Charter Rolls vol. i (1226-57) p.3, and the *Corrigenda* in the same volume, page xiv).

It seems very likely that Abbot John Wysbeche, Richard Clifford, and Richard Dorston, were originally monks of the mother-house of Dore, and that Abbot William Ipsley was earlier a monk of Flaxley Abbey. (It is also just possible that Abbot John John Griffith, was previously Abbot of Margam).

(*Canterbury and York Society, (Hereford Bishops Registers)*, vol. viii. pp. 612, 629, xviii, 148, 152, 176. xx. 205, xxv. 157, 163, xxviii. 305, 309, 318).

David H. Williams

ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY KILNS AT CALDICOT: AN INTERIM REPORT

Rescue excavations, promoted jointly by Newport Museum and the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works, were carried out at Caldicot in the Autumn of 1965 following the discovery of a quantity of Romano-British coarse pottery on the site of a new housing estate. The site (National Grid Reference ST. 4787), on a localised deposit of Triassic gravel and sand, is about 2 miles south-east of Caerwent and about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north-west of a presumed Roman *villa* site (ST. 483874) observed and photographed from the air by Dr. J. K. S. St. Joseph (*Antiquity*, XXXV, 1961, p. 273). Five pottery kilns were revealed during the excavations, one reasonably complete, two which had only recently been "scalped" by mechanical scrapers, and just slight vestiges of another two.

Of kiln I only some six inches of the base remained, but it was evident that it must have approximated in size and type to kiln II, which was virtually intact. This was of the normal updraught type, consisting of a kidney-shaped stokehole pit, with firing step, and a short flue or fire-tunnel, with clay roof, sloping down to the combustion chamber or furnace.



The chamber was circular in plan, basin-shaped, 5 ft. 6 ins. in diameter at the top, sunk to a depth of 2 ft. in the sandy gravel and lined inside with clay. A central oval pillar of gravel, daubed with clay, had supported the oven floor which had collapsed, leaving only traces adhering to the sides of the pit. Impressions of human fingers were clearly visible where the constructors of the kiln had drawn their hands across the clay daub of the pillar. The chamber was filled with a glutinous mixture of clay, ash and a considerable quantity of pottery. Several of the pots were complete or only slightly damaged, but most of them were 'wasters', that is, pots which had been distorted or damaged in firing. It was evident that they had been carelessly thrown into the pit after the oven floor had collapsed and the kiln abandoned. The flue, reinforced with sandstone blocks and broken pieces of pottery, was choked with ash and charcoal, and analysis of the charcoal by Dr. Brian Seddon, of the National Museum of Wales, has shown that Ash and Alder were used as furnace fuel in proportion of 6 to 1 respectively.

Kiln III, like kiln I, had been scooped away by a machine, leaving only about two-thirds circumference of the base. Kilns IV and V had been ploughed away, leaving only parallel shadows in the ground which at first deceived the excavator into thinking that they were timber structures!

Generally speaking, the pottery from all the kilns is of late 3rd century date and though well formed is extremely coarse and gritty in texture and, on experiment, very porous. Certain other features brought to light by more recent trenching by the building contractors will be investigated in the spring of 1966. It is hoped that something will turn up which will give a more precise dating to the site. Present indications are that the kilns operated contemporaneously.

Cefni Barnett

FROM OTHER JOURNALS

Roman Caerleon is given prominence in the 1964 volume (CLIII) of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. Mr. George Boon contributes reports on three small excavations carried out there under his direction between 1957 and 1960. The first involved the examination of the remains of part of the barrack buildings in the School Field, and Mr. Boon concludes that these were the quarters of the first cohort. In June, 1957, work in High Street revealed a building of substantial construction, with a long structural history. Originally of timber, the building, as befitting its situation alongside the *via praetoria*, was replaced by stone fairly early, c. 100-10, and after repair in the early third century remained in occupation down to the later decades of the fourth. Mr. Boon's third report concerns his investigations in a small orchard of The Priory which revealed the partial plan of four Roman buildings, two on either side of a minor street about 15 ft. wide at right angles to the *via principalis*. The character of the buildings was not established within the narrow space available, but there were signs of metallurgical activity in one of the buildings in the third century.

Mr. Jeremy Knight reports on another small excavation at Caerleon, for which he was responsible, in 1957. This involved a small area just outside the north-west front of the Roman legionary fortress, facing on to Cold Bath Road. The structural remains were few, being confined to a lightly metalled first century road, running at right angles to the fortress defences, and a hut floor of the same date set back from this road to the north-east. An unexpected find was a leaf-shaped flint arrow-head of common Neolithic type from the silting of a post-Roman stream bed.

Finally, in the same issue, Dr. Michael Jarrett reconstructs the history of Legio II Augusta in Britain, a subject relevant to any discussion of the fortress at Caerleon.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS AND FIELD DAYS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1965

The 118th Annual General Meeting of the Association was held on 6th February, 1965, at the Beaufort Arms Hotel, Raglan. Seventy-five members were present.

The Chairman, Col. E. R. Hill, D.S.O., referred to the great loss sustained by the Association by the death of its President, Lord Raglan, and asked members to stand in silence.

Colonel Hill proposed, and Colonel R. C. L. Thomas seconded, that Mr. E. I. P. Bowen, M.A., F.S.A., be elected President of the Association. The proposal was accepted with acclamation and Mr. Bowen then took the Chair.

The Minutes of the 117th Annual General Meeting were read and adopted.

The Hon. Treasurer's report showed that the Association had a credit balance of £250 8 11d. The Hon. Editor pointed out that this favourable balance had been achieved with the aid of two grants and that much of that sum was already committed to the cost of producing the forthcoming number of the Proceedings. He warned members of the possibility that grants towards the cost of printing the Proceedings might not continue indefinitely and that in the near future serious consideration would have to be given to an increase in the annual subscription to ensure the continuity of the journal. The Hon. Treasurer's report was adopted.

The Committee was re-elected *en bloc* and twelve new members were elected.

The arrangements for the following Field Days for 1965 were approved:

15th May to Clytha Castle, Bettws Newydd Church and St. Mary's Priory Church, Usk;
11th September to Deerhurst Church and another place to be arranged

Following the business meeting, Mr. D. J. Cathcart King, M.C., LL.M., F.S.A., delivered a lecture, illustrated with slides, on "The Norman Conquest and the Building of Castles in South Wales." He was warmly thanked by the President.

SPRING FIELD DAY, 15TH MAY, 1965

A large number of members met at Bettws Newydd Church. Mr. Cefni Barnett was the speaker.

Mr. John Thorneycroft indicated the features of the house at Clytha. It was, he said, the only house of its type in the county, its architecture being derived from several sources, notably 18th century Baroque. It was built in 1830 by William Jones (a family later to be known as Herbert), some 100 yards further from the turnpike road than the original house, which was demolished. The house is now the property of the National Trust. Several members accompanied Mr. Thorneycroft to the folly castle, built also by William Jones in 1790 "for the purpose of relieving a mind sincerely afflicted by the loss of a most excellent wife."

Mr. E. Derrett Sage was the speaker at St. Mary's Priory Church, Usk, after which many members took advantage of Mr. R. H. J. Humphries' invitation to visit Usk Castle, which is no longer open to the public.

AUTUMN FIELD DAY, 11TH SEPTEMBER, 1965

Some fifty members travelled to Deerhurst on one of the rare fine days of this summer. The party was met by the Vicar, the Rev. Hugh Maclean, who described Deerhurst as one of the finest Saxon churches in England, comprising three distinct building periods. The monastery, as it then was, probably reached its apogee in 804 when it owned some 30,000 acres of land. Later, in 1440, it became a cell of Tewkesbury and, at the Dissolution, the parish church.

After lunch, members were welcomed by Sir Anselm and Lady Guise at Elmore Court, near Gloucester, an Elizabethan house, with Stuart and Georgian additions.

