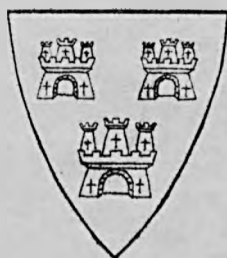


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Edited by CEFNI BARNETT

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ABBEY DORE

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS

Introduction

I make no apology for contributing to this journal an account of a religious house which lay outside the county. I feel justified in so doing on several grounds; firstly, because of Dore's close proximity to Gwent (it is only three miles north of Llangua), it is frequently visited by Monmouthshire folk, and has achieved new fame with the annual Music Festival; secondly, it was the mother house of Grace Dieu, the abbey which stood three miles west of Monmouth; thirdly, since Dore itself owned several properties in the county, in the Grosmont and Skenfrith areas chiefly, and lastly as it was on more than one occasion actually described as being 'in Wales.'¹

My account relates solely to the medieval abbey and its life; it ends therefore at the Dissolution. The later history of the remains of the monastic church, its restoration by the first Viscount Scudamore, and so on, find a full treatment elsewhere, notably in the account by Mr. F. C. Morgan which is obtainable at the Church, and in any event lie outside the scope of this journal. Nor do I pretend this article to be exhaustive; further research may well in time produce many new facts, and considerations both of time and space have made certain omissions or condensations necessary.

At the outset I would acknowledge my indebtedness for references and information to the librarians of Hereford Cathedral (Canon J. M. Irvine, Mr. F. C. Morgan, and Miss P. E. Morgan). To the Editor, Mr. Cefni Barnett, go my thanks for waiting for an article unduly delayed by pressure of other work, and for arranging the drawing of the map. A friend, Mr Thomas Shearer, kindly typed the lengthy ordination lists, and also co-operated in some Latin translations. The final typescript has been read by two lovers of the Abbey Church, the Vicar, the Revd. D. P. Richards, and Prebendary A. L. Moir of Hereford. The photograph of manuscript excerpts from the Annals of Dore, is reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and the seals by permission of the Public Record Office and the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral respectively.

Foundation and Remains

"In 1147, was begun the abbey of Dore." So runs a medieval chronicle to which I shall refer later², (it was also the year of foundation of Margam Abbey). Dore's early patron was Robert, son of Harold of Ewyas, and grandson of Ralph, earl of Ewyas³. In this year he brought to the Golden Valley of Herefordshire white monks (Cistercians) from the French Abbey of

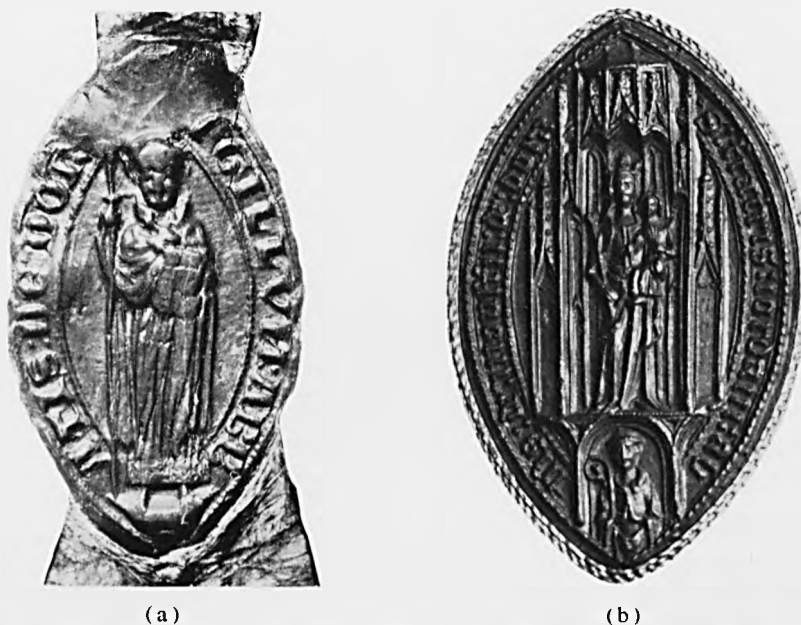
Morimond, a monastery which was one of Citeaux's "Elder Daughters." Morimond had in its turn a number of daughter houses, referred to by one author as Morimond and her Empire; Dore was the nineteenth of these in chronological order, and the only filiation of Morimond in England and Wales⁴. Like all Cistercian houses it was exempt from visitation by the bishop of the diocese in which it lay⁵.

The monastic buildings date from 1180, and a twenty days indulgence was granted in 1260 by the bishop of Hereford (Peter d'Aquablanca) to those who contributed to the building of "the sumptuous church of Dore"⁶. It was eventually consecrated by St. Thomas Cantilupe (bishop of Hereford, 1275–82), a ceremony undertaken by him at some personal risk, as at that time the bishop of St. David's and the Welsh claimed Dore for the Menevian See, and the Welsh assembled a show of military force to deter Cantilupe⁷. As I have said above, it is not my intention here to describe the monastic buildings, but in passing we might note that some thirteen altar sites are identifiable⁸, (one of the altars was dedicated to St. Edmund the Confessor)⁹, the church had a steeple¹⁰, and its plan was similar to that of the mother house of Morimond¹¹.

Apart from the present visible remains of the structure, mention should be made here of (i) *effigies* — two at the sides of the presbytery are said to be of Robert of Ewyas, and Roger de Clifford (who finds mention later), and on a pillar of the north wall of the presbytery is a diminutive effigy of a bishop in episcopal Mass vestments, a heart burial — that of John de Breton, bishop of Hereford, who was buried at Dore in 1275¹². (Somewhat earlier, 1260, one Margaret granted her heart to Dore, giving 15 marks for expenses)¹³. More interesting perhaps was a wooden effigy of heart of oak. It was to be seen in the south aisle as late as 1727, but had gone by 1803 (possibly by 1769)¹⁴. Happily a sketch of it made about 1716 survives (*Illust MSS*, iii. p.228), in Hereford City Reference Library. It has been conjectured that it was of Cadogan of Bangor. (ii) an old *stone altar slab*, measuring 12 ft. by 4 ft. was found about the time of Restoration in a farm house in the Golden Valley, (where it had been used as a salting stone), and was replaced in the church, where it now forms the mensa of the high altar; its five consecration crosses are still quite visible¹⁵; (iii) *seals* (Plate 1) — fragments of seals of Dore, used when drawing up various deeds and documents are preserved in the British Museum, Public Record Office and Hereford Cathedral¹⁶.

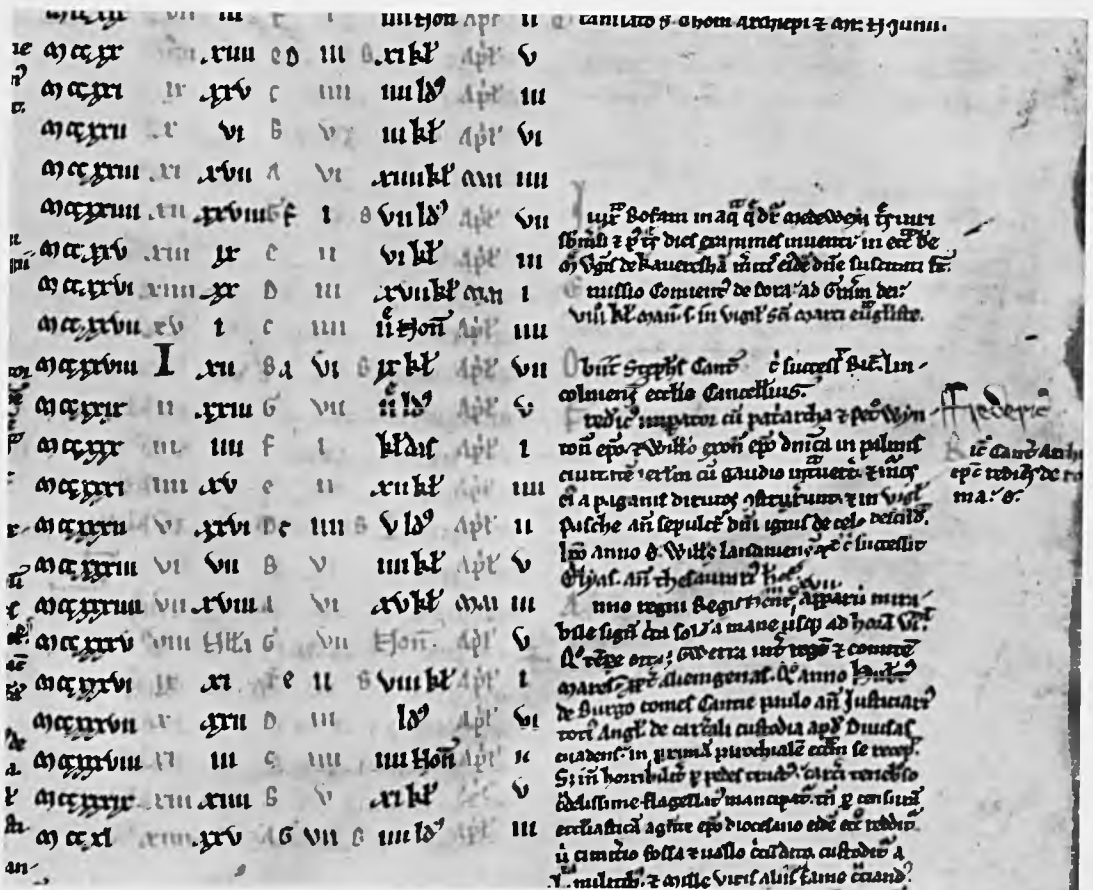
Other monastic remains generally include books and writings. These fall into two groups. Firstly, the *books* which were once contained in the monastic library, but are now generally scattered throughout the realm; those which can be proved to have belonged to Dore are listed in Appendix V. Of these one (now housed in the British Museum)¹⁷, is extremely important as it contains, almost as an afterthought at the end, the Annals of Dore, (to which I am grateful to Mr. F. G. Cowley of the University Library, Cardiff, for first drawing my attention), and to which I refer more fully later. Another book, now held in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, bears the usual *ex libris* inscription, "The book of the monks of St. Mary of Valley Dore," but adds, "let him who deceitfully takes it be anathema." Another, in the library of Exeter, Oxford, dealing with the Cistercian Rule, has 14th century additions which tell of monks of Dore being involved in disputes in nearby Ewyas Harold in 1312, and of Dore itself being subject to "injuries and violence" in 1371¹⁸.





PL. 1. SEALS OF ABBEY DORE : (a) Abbot William, late 13th century (*Public Record Office*) ;
 (b) Abbot Jordan, 1398-1403 (*Hereford Cathedral Archives.*).

Secondly, the *writings* which emanated from the house. Adam II, abbot in the very early thirteenth century possibly wrote a bible in verse, and a treatise entitled *Rudimenta Musices*, as well as a lost reply to the attacks mentioned later, on the monastery and himself, by Giraldus Cambrensis, together with satires against Simon Ashe, canon of Hereford and advocate and friend of Giraldus¹⁹. Cadogan of Bangor (in retirement at Dore from 1236-41), and Richard Straddell (abbot from 1305-46) were noted writers; fuller mention of their work, some of it still extant in manuscript form, occurs in Appendix III. But perhaps most interesting are the *Annals of Dore* (see the same Appendix), a chronicle which has additions relating to the monastery up to 1362 (Plate 2). The wording would make it appear that it was written in the house, perhaps in the late thirteenth Century, with additions made in the mid-14th. Other remains are of course *burials* (known ones are listed in Appendix IV): often these were accompanied by gifts of lands or money, as will become evident in the text.



Pl. 2. Fragment of Annals of Dore. (British Museum Copyright.)

The First Two Hundred Years (1147-1346)

We can conveniently observe the general history of the house in two parts. The earlier period starting at the foundation in 1147, reaches its climax, and conveniently ends, with the death of Abbot Straddell, almost precisely two hundred years later. His was probably the most notable abbacy of the entire life of the monastery; it was a sort of watershed, and things were never quite the same after his passing.

But in fact we know hardly anything of Dore's history in the 12th Century, a feature not surprising for records for that period are scanty, but also extremely unfortunate, for this was the very time when Dore, in common with many other Cistercian houses, was most active in the development of its spiritual and economic life. Indeed the first date of any significance is 1198 when start the attacks of Giraldus Cambrensis on the monastery and its abbots²⁰.

Giraldus, who was Archdeacon of St. David's, wrote profusely and his works contain much criticism of Abbey Dore at the turn of the 12th Century, but his attacks were directed not only at Dore, but against the Cistercians in general. Nor must they be too readily accepted, for in the first instance Giraldus was an embittered man, about this time having failed to secure the vacant bishopric of St. David's; one of the other unsuccessful contenders who had opposed him was Adam I, abbot of Dore. Further, it is clear that much of Giraldus's writing is based on hearsay and local rumour, probably of a much exaggerated kind. His hostility to the Cistercians in general is shewn also by his quoting an apparently contemporaneous proverb, "they are bad neighbours, just like the white monks." We must remember too that there is lost to us Abbot Adam's reply to the attacks.

The monks of Dore are accused in Giraldus's *Speculum Ecclesie*, not only of faring sumptuously every day, but also of giving the tonsure and hood to two rich ladies (thereby obtaining their wealth); one of them Giraldus asserted was the mother of John, Lord of Monmouth (and founder of Dore's daughter house of Grace Dieu). She was "solemnly hooded and made into a monk (*monachata*) not without giving scandal; (the monks) making a firm promise of the gate of heaven opening to her soul." More than this, they are also said to have carried off the dying, by "corrupt persuasion," to the monastery from nearby Ewyas Harold and Bacton in "wheeled carriages (*rhedis*) and other vehicles," often with great hardship and causing them to die before their time.

Adam II, who Giraldus mentions as having left the Cluniac Order for the Cistercian, comes in for faint praise, both on this account, and because "he himself was modest in a mediocre way." But he criticises him for falling not only into the vice of ambition, but also into greed and intoxication, for while he tried to avoid the latter faults, the bad influence of the monks and brothers prevailed upon him. (All this at a time when drink had been recently a problem in more than one Welsh Cistercian house).

But for Adam I, his predecessor, there is no word of praise. He is accused of buying part of Trivel Wood from Richard I, for 300 marks, under false pretences, saying that it was wild and rough and offered secure refuge to the Welshmen and robbers. (For a time possibly stripped of this possession it was confirmed to them in 1216 and 1227)²¹. It is probably their work at Trivel which also caused Giraldus to attack the monks for "changing an oak wood into a wheat field" (an interesting note of contemporaneous assarting). Other charges levelled against Adam I include degrading the status of Trawscoed (Breconshire), previously he says a conventual abbacy, assigned to the saying of divine office, into a grange. (Trawscoed originally was probably a chantry cell of the abbey, as was Llanvair Kilgedin in north Monmouthshire, where there is written evidence that monks were attached to say Mass for the dead). But there is other evidence that Dore was given land in Cantrefselyf to build an abbey for "the increase of the Cistercian Order."²² Adam is also accused of making a knight, Gilbert, drunk, and then affixing his seal to a document granting them a large fertile cultivated property which he said was very near them (at Bacton), and which they had long desired. Having obtained the document they further agitated "corrupt public officials" until they assumed the property.

Independent evidence of this period comes from the statutes of the Chapter General of the Cistercians held annually, usually at Cîteaux. In 1199, abbot Adam had not attended the Chapter and “until he presented himself at Cîteaux was to remain outside the abbatial stall, and to fast on bread and water every Friday.” 1203, saw the abbot involved in a dispute with the merchant men of William de Braose, in 1204, brother Henry, sometime sub-prior of the mother house of Morimond was staying at Dore without the permission of the Chapter, and somewhat later (1217) Dore, in common with Tintern, was admonished for using three or four part tones, instead of the plain Cistercian chant²³. (Perhaps this was the influence of Adam’s *Rudimenta Musices*?).

In 1226, on the 24th of April, Dore colonised its first daughter house, at Grace Dieu, three miles west of Monmouth. I have described this foundation in more detail in a previous issue of the *Monmouthshire Antiquary* (1964). Suffice it to note here that its establishment gave the abbey of Dore four things; first, responsibility, the abbot was automatically Visitor of the new house, and record of his acting as such occurs in 1351, 1427, 1496, and 1534²⁴; second, a place of brief refuge — as for abbot Holand in his troubles in 1397; third, a place of preferment, at least three of its monks, John Wysebech, Richard Clifford, and Richard Dorston, rising in time to the abbacy of Grace Dieu; and, fourth, a subject apparently for oppression (*circa* 1496), at a time when Dore itself was in difficulties²⁵.

Ten years after Grace Dieu’s foundation, a bishop retired to spend the last years of his life as a monk at Dore. He was Cadogan, sometime abbot of Whitland (1203–15), and latterly for over twenty years bishop of Bangor (1215–36). In 1236, he transferred to the monastery all his goods, books, and horses, and made his profession to the abbot, now Stephen of Worcester. Five years later (1241), he died, and was buried at Dore. While bishop of Bangor, apart from caring for his diocese (on one occasion he sent a ship to Ireland to obtain corn for his poor), he wrote several prayers and theological works, more fully detailed in Appendix III²⁶.

Little more is heard of the house until about 1260, with the appeal in that year, already referred to, for funds for the building of the new church. The next few years were not easy. The convent was engaged in divers disputes with Alan de Arderne (1262), the Master of the Hospital at Dinmore (1263), the Dean and Chapter of Hereford (1263, and for a little time beforehand), and the vicar of Holme Lacy (1267), while in 1262 Dore had suffered “vexation and many injuries contrary to the tenor of its privileges.” At this period it had for some reason as ‘conservators’ of its rights, the archdeacon of Brecon, and the abbots of Llantarnam and Grace Dieu²⁷. Then, a little later, in 1265, the king had to restrain his ministers “from charging with their writs the house of Dore, which has suffered more than other religious houses by the late disturbance (? *the de Montfort rebellion*) and other expenses (*stated in 1266 as due to the frequent visits of the king’s justices and other officials*), whether by dining, lodging, or exacting anything unduly, as they cannot maintain their accustomed alms, or the granges and other places of the house”²⁸. Dore was also said at this time to lack in temporalities²⁹.

Of the several disputes listed above, I have only studied one in any detail — that with the Dean and Chapter of Hereford, and this has not been an easy task, because two of three documents³⁰ (themselves now scattered) are of an incomplete nature; one being a series of

answers, to a lost set of questions. But it does appear that by 1256 the monastery had leased the manor of Holme Lacy (*Hamme*) from the chapter, and it caused them no small trouble. The burgesses of Hereford appeared to make a grant to the holders of the manor (who in turn distributed corn in the city), but because of the Marchland disturbances in the dispute between the King and the Barons they were about 1263 unable to do so. The canons agreed to pay the abbot instead, and the convent was to receive 40 loads of corn from the prior of Craswall, but before an agreement made in Easter week of that year could be effected, the bishop and several of the canons were held captive for a time, and the manor of Holme Lacy was taken. It was only redeemed by the abbey, on the intervention of Richard de Clifford, and on payment of a fine of £42. The manor became so burdensome to the abbey that at one stage the abbot offered the farm of it back to the chapter.

Further troubles came in 1264 when (in July) a servant of Humphrey de Bohun came to Holme with many others, searched the place, and stole 27/- in silver, and a horse worth 40/-, apart from doing other unspecified damage, and about the same time Richard de Clifford sought the corn of Holme for the use of the barons and himself. At Michaelmas in the same year, eight canons came with armed force, carried off the keys of the farm, and also were said to have done much damage. The keeper of the grange was a lay-brother, Walter de Caple, who himself was accused at about this time, of going to a neighbouring farm, and there stealing butter and cheese, and abducting thirteen beef cattle.

The last great event of the thirteenth century was the founding of a second daughter house. This was the work of Prince Edward (later Edward I) in return for safety after a shipwreck at sea. He had also been held in captivity in Hereford (during the dispute between the King and the Barons), and whilst there was ministered to by monks of Dore³¹. This probably influenced him for when free (1265) he set about the foundation of the new house, and the next year the Chapter General in bidding the abbots of Buildwas and Flaxley to inspect the proposed site, commanded that it be 'the daughter of Dore'³².

Monks from Dore eventually settled at Dernehale, Cheshire, in 1273, and when king, Edward transferred them to Vale Royal (1281). Here they set about building a new abbey, completed in 1330; one of the masons involved (in 1285) was a John de Dore, possibly a lay-brother of the mother house with building experience (Dore's new abbey church having just been consecrated). Here at Vale Royal, as at Grace Dieu, the abbot of Dore paid frequent visits as Visitor. The best documented examples are those of 1329, 1330, and 1508-9. In the former year, abbot Straddell of Dore came to an agreement as to visitation expenses with the abbot of Vale Royal; the Visitor was to receive 33/4, his chaplain 3/4, and each attendant 1/-³³.

The latter part of this century also saw in 1266 the petition of the countess of Salisbury to the Chapter-General that a lay-brother of Dore be assigned to her, and this was agreed to "so long as he is appointed to worthy tasks"³⁴. In January, 1273, abbot Henry travelled on the king's behalf with the abbot of Haughmond (Salop) to the Ford of Montgomery to receive the fealty of Llywelyn ap Griffin, prince of Wales. Despite their journey Llywelyn did not put in an appearance³⁵. In 1284, abbot William of Hereford acted as an executor of the will of Roger

Clifford (he, leaving his body to be buried at Dore by that of his son, and “with his body his war-horse trappings or thirty marks.” Also he gave the monks because of his burial there “all the land which they have by gift of William of Ewyas, about which I have sometimes vexed them”)³⁶. In this same year a dispute arose as to in which diocese Dore lay. The bishop of Hereford (*Cantilupe*) protested at the appointment of the abbots of Neath and Strata Marcella (on the instigation of the bishop of St. David’s) to investigate this matter. The Chapter General reputedly decided that the abbot should obey who was *de facto* diocesan. Who this was is not made clear, but one authority has it that recourse to law decided the question in the bishop of Hereford’s favour³⁷.

The first two hundred years concluded with the remarkable abbacy of Richard Straddell (1305–46). The full list of his known activities occurs in Appendix I. Suffice it to repeat here that during his abbacy he wrote several theological works and many sermons, gained a doctorate of theology at Oxford, and was often in the king’s service, Edward III making mention in this respect of “his great labours,” and finding him “always prompt in doing his things.”³⁸ Amongst his many engagements were a visitation in Ireland (1321—at the king’s request to the chapter-general), to see that the Cistercian houses there received not only Irish religious, but “all who wished without exception”³⁹; a visit to Scotland in the company of the archbishop of York to treat for peace between English and Scots (1327)⁴⁰, preaching at Vale Royal on the completion of the new abbey there (1330)⁴¹, and visits to France for negotiations with the French king (1330, 1334, 1335). In 1334 the purpose of his visit, in the company of the archbishop of Canterbury, was “to treat of all questions in dispute regarding the Duchy of Aquitaine, and to arrange for a meeting between the two kings to treat more fully of their crusade to the Holy Land.” On his last journey Straddell was allowed to take abroad “the silver vessels used in his household,” and for both the 1334 and 1335 trips we have some details of his movements and expenses, (*transcribed in Appendix III no. 4*); he was allowed his passage and £2 per day in France and 30/- in England, and the two journeys occupied a total of seven months, inclusive of reporting back to the British sovereign⁴².

Two highlights at the abbey during the reign of Straddell are noted by the chronicler in the Annals of the house.⁴³ First, in 1318, there occurred “the manifestation of a miracle in this place, by virtue of the venerable matron Matilda de Bohun, who lies before the high altar.” Unfortunately, no further details are given. The lady in question appears to still have been alive in 1312. (Sometime too miraculous happenings at Dore, and at its grange at Trawscoed, are alleged in a 14th century manuscript still extant. Both concerned laybrethren (*conversi*), whose mouths the Sacrament would not enter, on account of their unabsolved sins). Second, in 1321, Dore received a visit from William de Grandison, who brought with him a relic of the holy cross, and presented it to the monastery in return for a favour done him by abbot Straddell. His wife, Sybil, also came here; she had papal indult to visit three times a year Dore and Flaxley Abbeys, founded by her ancestors, and there to cause divine service to be celebrated for her elder sons. Later, both William and Sybil were buried at Dore, and the abbot was an executor of his will (1338)⁴⁴.

Unfortunately Straddell’s abbacy came to an end at a time when the monastery had suffered by the wars between the English and the Welsh⁴⁵, but the abbot’s fame lived on, and even

after the dissolution when John Leland came this way, he met an elderly man, then in his late sixties and resident in Hereford; this was Thomas Cleubery (abbot of Dore from 1516 to 1523), and Leland wrote "he told me much about Straddell"⁴⁶.

1346 to the Dissolution

The last two hundred years shew Dore in a very different, and indeed in a declining, light. Periods of apparent quiet, or at any rate of absence of information, are punctuated by unhappy disturbances at the monastery of one kind or another. This was the period too, as will be noted again later, when Dore was frequently unable, or unwilling, to pay its subsidies or tenths to pope or king. We must however bear in mind, that for Dore we have no continuous records, and that while we read of the incidents which follow, in between there may well have been long periods of calm and spiritual profit. Monasteries are human institutions, and like any other such can have periods for the better or for the worse.

In 1371, the abbey had been subject to "injuries and violence" from an unnamed source, but the concluding five years of the fourteenth century were perhaps some of the worst in the whole history of the house, for in 1396-8 not only did two monks contend as to which was the rightful abbot of the house (there is unfortunately no official record of the blessing of either), but also the monks of the abbey, and their properties, were subject to armed raids and depredations from without.

The ruling abbot about 1395 was John Holand, who had been made sub-deacon in 1351, and was now a man of perhaps around sixty-five. About this time he was dispossessed of the abbacy by a monk of St. Mary Graces (near the Tower of London), Jordan Bykeleswade, with the help of armed force. Holand was however restored by the Holy See, yet dispossessed a second time by Bykeleswade. Approximately in the summer of 1396, a chapter general of the Cistercians held at St. Mary Graces confirmed Bykeleswade as abbot, but the king gave protection to Holand as the true abbot (Sept. 1396). The matter seems to have dragged on, with possibly both men trying to rule the properties. At any rate two years later, in July 1398, Holand appealed against a presumably adverse judgement of the bishop of Hereford (who was acting as sub-delegate of two papal delegates), "in a cause between Jordan Bykeleswade, plaintiff, and the said abbot of Dore, defendant, touching the resignation of the said abbot." This is all we know of the matter, and from 1398 onwards Jordan was certainly in effective control⁴⁷.

How the dispute arose is nowhere made clear; it could be that Holand's resignation was forced, or under pressure, and that he later tried to retract it. Holand was certainly in troubles and under pressures from various groups. In the winter of 1396-7 he appears to have visited London, perhaps on this matter, for he is recorded as having been assaulted at Fulham. Then, probably about a year later, "John and Thomas Skidmore (*Scudamore*) and others came armed to the abbey, assaulted the abbot at Dore, chased him from his abbey, threatened him and his monks and servants with death, took away 8 horses, 30 oxen and 30 cows, valued at £100, found there and at Grace Dieu (*the daughter house, where the abbot seemingly tried to take refuge*), also the common seal of the abbey, £20 of his money, and other goods and chattels to the value

of 1,000 marks, charters and muniments found at Dore and Grace Dieu, and seized Thomas Baker *alias* Thomas de Bergeveny, his fellow monks, and four of his servants, and led them to the castle of Ewyas Harold in Wales, and there imprisoned them." The Scudamores were patrons of Dore; it could be that they were trying to force Holand to resign quietly, and give place to Bykeleswade⁴⁸.

But there is no proof of this, and even if it were so, Jordan Bykeleswade also suffered in precisely those same three years, finding it necessary in the late summer or early autumn of 1398 to send a petition⁴⁹ to the king seeking redress for various wrongs done to him and the abbey by John and Gruffydd ap Henry, by Thomas de la Hay, and John Oldcastle. Their depredations to the buildings and lands of Dore (both in the Golden Valley and in Breconshire) Jordan estimated to have caused damage to the extent of over £600. He listed ten items of complaint, telling for example how John ap Henry came in June 1397 to Morehampton "with a great multitude of archers"; the next month killing thirty beef cattle there. At divers times they "entered all the lands and holdings in Cantrefselyf," "took the whole manor of Trawscoed by force," stole ninety-four "great oaks of the best" from Trivel and elsewhere, and also raided Godway Grange. The oaks were usually valued at 10/- each, but on one occasion each was said to be worth £1. The abbot also noted that it was difficult even for himself to approach the abbey either to perform divine Service, or to attend to its business.

The tenth and last complaint shews, if it be true and not exaggerated, the suffering certain of the community underwent. The abbot in his petition relates how in mid-July 1398, Gruffydd and Thomas ap Henry came with armed force to the abbey, seized three monks they found there, Richard Clifford, David Oswestry, and Richard Madley (*the latter was by far the eldest, he was priested in 1365*), and took them a few miles north to Snodhill. Here they were imprisoned at the castle "with strong irons," "bound with cords and chains of iron to the trees, and crucified, their heads tied with cords." After three days they took them thence to the manor of Urishay imprisoning them there in a cellar (*cepps*) for six days. Richard Clifford then paid a fine for ransom, and after making promises to be obedient was apparently released. Richard Madley and David Oswestry however were to suffer further. They were taken to the abbey's Welsh Grange at Gwenddwr, and there "tied with cords and hung by the feet, their heads hanging to the ground," at intervals for another three days and nights.

No more is heard of the trouble and Jordan's abbacy itself probably came to an end in 1403. In February of that year he, with others, was dismissed from Parliament (though the king saw no reason why)⁵⁰; in October he had been indicted of a felony and was under arrest⁵¹. Hardly had his successor, Richard Grisby, taken over, when trouble came from the Welshry in the time of Glyndwr's revolt. In May 1405, the same year in which the abbot of Llantarnam was killed, the abbot of Dore had to be granted royal permission "to treat with the rebels in South Wales for the safety of the abbey, which is situated near them, and is in great peril of destruction and burning"⁵².

Grisby's abbacy is the one of which we know most in the whole of the fifteenth century, and perhaps marked a more settled period for the monastery. Grisby travelled abroad, at least twice, to Citeaux for the Chapter-General, in 1410 and 1411; in both cases in the month of

August. In the first year he went with two monks and six servants on horseback, in the latter he was allowed to travel (permission probably being necessary because of the war with France) via London, Dover, or Sandwich, "with two fellow monks, five servants, eight horses, and other their harness"⁵³. During his abbacy the monarch made a gift to the house of various vestments and altar furnishings—"one vestment *drapp dor blank raiez*, one chasuble, two tunicles, three albs, three amices, two stoles, three *phanons*, three altar cloths, one frontal *ove tuail* and three *cappes dune suyt*"⁵⁴.

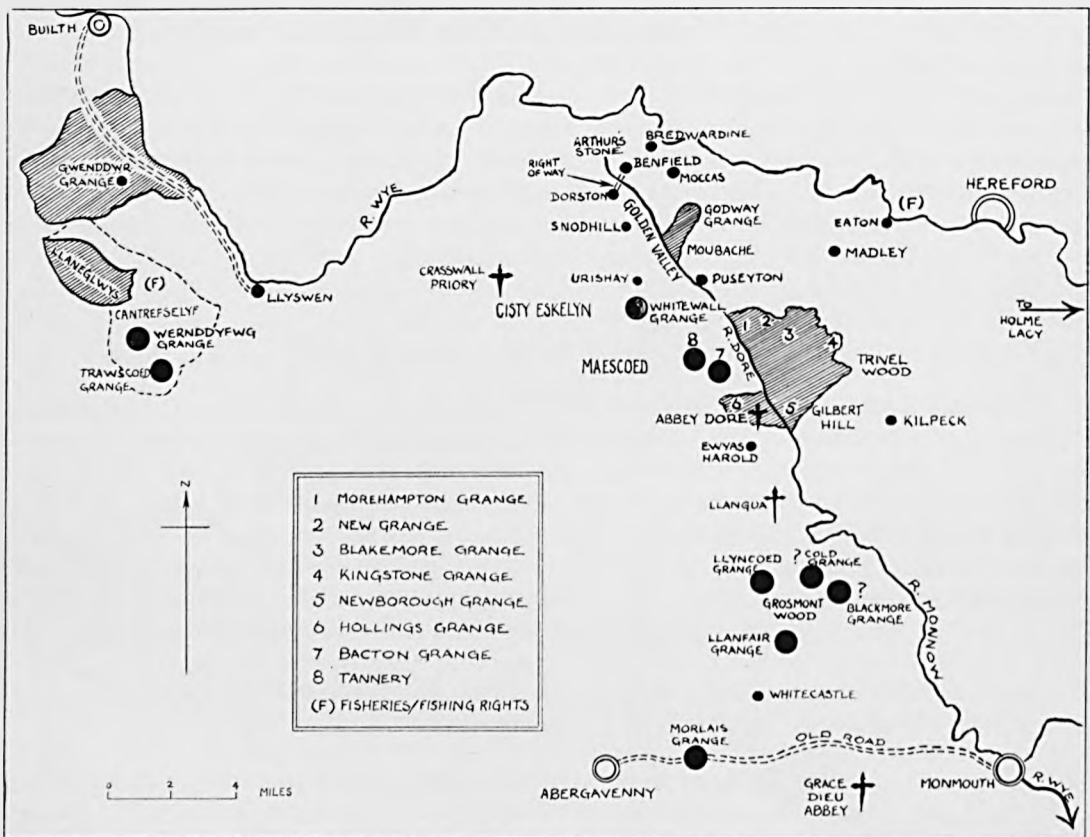
Unfortunately, the remainder of the century was punctuated by further troubles. The monastery had to receive royal protection in 1453, and was committed to the care of Sirs Ralph Botiller and Walter Scull, and others, because it was "oppressed by sons of iniquity, injuring the abbey by intrusions and entries and taking and distraining of goods and chattels without just cause and by spoliations, depredations, abductions and carryings away"⁵⁵. No more is heard of the matter, but in 1470-1 occurred yet another dispute and contention for the abbacy. Elected in 1441 had been Richard Rochester; he was ordained in 1418, and by now must have been a man of about seventy-five. He appears to have been temporarily ousted at this time by one Robert Ford. The latter was not however allowed to remain in his ill-gained position, the Chapter General in 1471 ruling that "being sufficiently informed of the assaults and divers torments on the lord Richard Rochester, abbot of Dore, and of the unlawful promotion of brother Robert Ford to the dignity of Abbot of that same place, confirms, ratifies, and approves, . . . the deprivation of the selfsame Robert Ford, and the restoration of the aforesaid Richard Rochester to the dignity of abbot, and enjoins upon brother Robert, under pain of sentence of excommunication that he shall not hereafter disturb, hinder, or annoy, the said abbot"⁵⁶.

Another Richard towards the close of the century was said to be the cause of Dore being "greatly in ruin and decay." This was due to the "inordinate rule and governance" in his day, and also "by grants and letters passed then against due order and form"⁵⁷. In 1496 the energetic Reformer of the Cistercian Order in England, Marmaduke Huby, abbot of Fountains, had to restrain abbot Richard from interfering in any way at the daughter house of Grace Dieu in Monmouthshire. There is a clear hint that he had been doing so in the strongly termed letter which Marmaduke sent to Richard, ". . . For the present therefore, we inhibit you, under penalty of excommunication and of sentence of deposition, from visiting, correcting, punishing, or ordering the monastery of Grace Dieu, or persons of the same, whether in capital or in goods." It seems possible that Richard was deposed, for Huby was responsible for admitting his successor, John Longdone, to the abbacy, by about 1501⁵⁸.

Even less is heard of the monastery in the last few decades of its life. In 1528 it was ordered to take some of the household of the Princess's servants—much earlier (1330) in consideration of Straddell's labours and expenses in the royal service, Dore had been exempted from providing "pensions, corrodies, or sustenances"⁵⁹. Certain correspondence of the last abbots has been preserved, and is reproduced in Appendix III no. 3. Of the last abbots Thomas Cleubery was certainly the most interesting figure. He ruled from 1516 to 1523, and although Dugdale wrongly has him as dying in 1529, he was in fact still in receipt of a pension as late as 1554, when it was said of him, that he was originally a monk of the house, and that he "hath lived continually on the same dwelling in the city of Hereford. Not married and of honest and religious

conversation. 71 years old." Earlier however (1526) he had been granted, not only his pension (of £16-13-4), but also three chambers in the monastery, with a chapel adjacent, sufficient food and drink, a servant, fuel, candles, grazing for two horses, and so on. A typical corrody. (See also Appendix III, m. 17d, p. 98). Cleubery it was whom Leland met, and recorded as being "versed in antiquity, not ignorant, he told me much about Straddell"⁶⁰.

The dissolution came in September, 1536, the value of the house being under £200. The last abbot was John Redborn, and there were 8 other monks still resident. Redborn was granted a pension of £13 per annum, and was still in receipt of this in 1553. Other payments being made by the Crown as late as 1546 included a stipend of £2-8-0 to Thomas Philip, curate at Dore, and Thomas Baskerville, £6-13-4, for keeping custody of the monastic possessions⁶¹.



Chief Properties of Dore and Places mentioned in the Text. (Based largely upon W. Rees, "South Wales and the Border in the XIV Century").

Property and Income

The landed possessions of the house⁶² consisted of the site and immediate demesne (with its two watermills, orchard, etc.), some seventeen granges (as Cistercian farms were called), of which nine were in the Golden Valley (Morehampton, New, Newborough, Blakemore,

Kingstone, Hollings, Bacton, Whitewall, and Godway)—and one has only to visit this area to appreciate its fertility and potentiality; one, Benfield, was nearer the Wye; four were in north Monmouthshire (Llyncoed or Campston, Cold, Llanfair, and Morlais), and three were in Breconshire (Gwenddwr, Wernddyfwg and Trawscoed). It adopted the manorial system on its lands in Dore town, and in Cantrefselyf; it was early on said to be seised of a manor of Benitrou (in the Golden Valley), which I have failed to locate, and it also leased the manor of Albrighton (Salop) for at least thirty years on from 1327, and, as we have seen, for a while that of Holme Lacy. Most of its major properties had been settled on it by the early thirteenth century, and some well before, and were confirmed in 1233 by Henry III. Notable benefactors at various times were the lords of Ewyas, the Scudamores, the Cliffords, the de Lacy's, and the Baskervilles, but there were several others⁶³.

The lands in the Golden Valley made for 55% of the gross value of the house at the dissolution, and over 60% of the income deriving from landed property⁶⁴, yet the map shews us clearly that no less than five or six of the Herefordshire granges could be fitted into the area occupied by that Breconshire property of which Gwenddwr Grange was the centre. The latter of course was largely mountain land in the Eppynt Range, of little use save for sheep pasture. Likewise Cold Grange, on Grosmont Hill, in north Monmouthshire, was a poor property and a small one, it occupied but some 70 acres⁶⁵. A few other granges call for further especial mention. Morehampton by the Dore river was particularly important for pasture and hay⁶⁶, Trawscoed and Llanfair were apparently chantries as well as granges, something of the former we have already noted; in the last case, Llanfair was a hermitage prior to its gift to the monks, and in the old chapel chantry masses were said seemingly right up to the dissolution⁶⁷. Occasionally we can catch interesting details of the properties, at Trawscoed for example there was "a great house called the Sheepecote"⁶⁸, while in Gwenddwr one tenement was called Broad Wendor, and one in Cantrefselyf, Llanertli, while Morlais Grange stood upon the old road from Abergavenny to Monmouth⁶⁹.

Apart from the granges there were other important properties of which note should be made. Coveted amongst these was part of Trivel Wood, bought originally perhaps of Richard I (as mentioned before), confirmed by king John (for 200 marks) in 1216, and again by Henry III in 1227. But the grant brought disputes in its wake, and as the monastic lands here abutted on those of John of Monmouth, a perambulation was held in 1251 to determine the mutual boundary. Then in 1265, and 1275, we learn that the monks suffered 'vexation' in their enjoyment of the Wood⁷⁰. The monks liked to extend their existing properties by buying up land, or leasing it, or obtaining it as a gift, from neighbouring landowners. A clear example of this is to be seen in the pasture of Benfield (known later only as a grange); this pasture, near Bredwardine, was at first (*circa* 1224-9) to be divided between the abbot (who could enclose his part), while the remainder was to be common of pasture jointly for the abbot and other interested parties, but later in the thirteenth century, several of the latter gave to Dore their rights and lands in Benfield⁷¹.

Much the same happened in Grosmont Hill, when in 1249/50 the monks leased land outside their own granges, which had previously been cultivated but had gone waste, from the Steward of the fee of the Three Castles⁷². Again, about 1318, Dore extended its lands at Morlais, and in 1332-3 at Godway, and in Bredwardine⁷³. Once again in our studies of these lands we come

across interesting minutiae. In Trivel Wood we learn of a stream known as the Horsebrook, and in Benfield of 'the Summer Way,' of 'Arthur's Stone,' and of the Ferryman of Bredwardine. It was near the latter village too that we read in the late thirteenth century of Roger de Evereus leaving his body for burial at Dore, and with it more land at Huggeslegh⁷⁴.

Houses belonging to Dore included a number of tenements in Dore 'town'—in part probably a small settlement which developed near the monastery, but also a term referring to the immediate area. We have knowledge of some 30 of these, but there may have been others occupied rent free by monastic servants⁷⁵. Somewhat far afield Dore owned at divers times a messuage in Oxfordshire (or Oxford), and part of a tenement in Bristol—like those there of other monastic houses, it may once have assisted in the development of trade⁷⁶. Hereford however was more important. Here the abbey had several houses at various times. One, for example, in Barton Street, seven in King Street (from 1265 on), and still in its ownership at the Dissolution were two in Wyebridge Street 'in the parish of St. Nicholas,' and one in the parish of St. Andrew. In Hereford, too, Dore leased another tenement in St. Nicholas parish from St. Guthlac's Priory (from at least 1436 on)⁷⁷, and they had also been granted by Adam Seys (*undated*) "a piece of land in Hereford that they may have a hostel there when they come to Hereford"⁷⁸. They also owned a burgage in the Castle Street in Ewyas Harold⁷⁹.

The sources of income accruing to a Cistercian house were threefold; (i) *revenues* from leased granges and other properties. Especially towards the Dissolution much monastic land was farmed out in this way, and by 1535 Dore had very little land left under its immediate control. Quite how long major properties had been leased out is in Dore's case somewhat uncertain; the earliest mention is of the demise of Cold Grange in 1471, then followed Godway in 1501, Llyncoed in 1507, and Benfield in 1511. None of these however were very lucrative possessions; the total income from them amounting yearly to only £5-10-0. The more valuable granges were leased (so far as it is possible to trace) much later; Morehampton Grange (for £15-6-8) in 1527, Kingstone Grange (for £6-13-4) in 1529, Blakemore Grange, with a separate parcel, in 1530 (for a total of £3-6-8), and Morlais Grange (for £3-0-0) in 1534. There was in fact a spate of leases made in the few years immediately prior to the dissolution the reasons for which have led to some debate⁸⁰. Small properties had long been demised, and of course the tenements referred to above, were also another source of income, a messuage in Whitecastle had been leased in 1331, and one in Wyebridge Street in 1355, while the abbey's seven houses in the mid-thirteenth century in King Street, can hardly all have been for their own use. Conditions were often laid down requiring repairs to be done, or certain houses to be erected on leased land (see Appx. III 7b). In one case (late 15th C) the value of a tenement had been so improved by the lessee, that abbot Philip evicted him, as the holding was now worth more than the 5/- rent p.a. originally charged. The case led to litigation⁸¹.

(ii) *tithes and income from appropriated parishes*; i.e. spiritualities which formed nearly a quarter of the abbey's gross value in 1535. Dore at one time or another gained several of these, and its more valuable churches were at some distance from the abbey. In 1535, for example, Wigtoft church (Lincs) was worth £10-0-0 to Dore per annum. It first obtained this church about 1330, and was allowed to fully appropriate it in 1331; this was confirmed in 1345, Dore "having suffered by the wars between the English and the Welsh," and it was then said to be

worth £30⁸². Albrighton (Salop) was appropriated by Dore in 1327 (on condition of requiems being chanted in the abbey for the grantor, John la Ware, and his ancestors); a perpetual vicar was, as normal in such cases, appointed to minister to the spiritual needs of the people. Its value then was 8 marks, and it was precisely the same at the dissolution two centuries later (£6-13-4)⁸³. Gwenddwr Church (Breconshire) was worth £5 per annum, together with the tithes of Trawscoed and Llaneglwys⁸⁴. Avenbury (Heref.) was received about 1319, and together with the chapel of Pinchencombe, was worth £2, while Duntisborn (Glos.), with the chapel of Pentebury, was valued at 13/4d. The two latter were the gift of John le Rous, for whose soul much later (1446) divine service was still performed in the abbey, at the altar of St. Edmund the Confessor⁸⁵. (Again, rectories were often leased out). Solitary mention, unrepeated, comes in 1351-2, of the appropriation of Shifnal church (Salop), and the abbey also had the advowsons of Bacton and Lugwardine⁸⁶. (iii) *sales*—we have little knowledge of these, though in the cases of wool and of timber, there is mention later.

These sources of revenue do not take into account *hidden income*, in the form of occasional gifts and bequests, and, much more important (in earlier days at least, and then probably in large quantities) of agricultural produce from the granges to the mother house. Even at the dissolution the abbey's immediate demesne probably supplied the surviving monks with part of their needs, but at this time the extant accounts for the last year of the house's life shew that a considerable sum of money had been received by the last abbot towards the sustenance of the community, out of the income of the leased granges (See Appx. III 7b).

Despite its varied revenue, Dore however was never exceedingly rich; its gross value in 1535 was but £118, and in 1291 it had been some £94⁸⁷. For two-thirds of its recorded history there are periodic references to its financial difficulties. In 1273, for example, it was 'deficient in temporalities,' and the abbot of Morimond, its mother house, was bidden to visit it; in 1295, it owed over £100 to Earl Edmund of Cornwall, and in 1340 Straddell acknowledged a debt of £150 to Edward Frankys of Bristol⁸⁸. When subsidies for pope or king were levied there were a number of occasions when Dore was in arrears, or had to be excused because of "impoverishment." In 1358-9 its goods were ordered to be levied in distraint, in 1423 and again in 1425 the abbot was threatened with excommunication for non-payment of a papal procuration, and so on at intervals to 1517⁸⁹.

The dissolution saw the monastic lands demised or sold to laity; by 1545, the site, certain demesne lands, and Gilbert's Hill Wood had passed to John Scudamore, Llanfair to Anthony Foster, Morlais to James Gunter, Morehampton to Stephen ap Harry, Whitewall to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple, and Llyncoed to John Cokkes, to mention a few. Little trace of the medieval buildings unfortunately now remains; what there is includes some remains of Llanfair Chapel, the site of St. Noye's Chapel, Skenfrith, and some work at Cold Grange⁹⁰. Mostly the former grange buildings have been entirely rebuilt; Kingstone Grange, for example, is now centred around a delightful timbered and panelled E-shape Elizabethan house.

Economic Activity

A jealously guarded commodity in the Middle Ages was timber, for despite its relative abundance it was in considerable demand, and while in their earlier days the monks of Dore

received several rights of cutting timber, there is some evidence that by the end of their history they were careful conservators of their own woods.

Hand in hand with grants of land went lumbering rights in order to construct buildings, and to enclose newly cleared land. In Breconshire (1241) Dore's monks were able to "take in the wood which they require for the granges of Trawscoed and Wernddyfwg, for building, for fuel, and for making hedges"⁹¹. In north Monmouthshire (1232/3) "for making their buildings in the grange of Llyncoed they may take all that is really necessary in the view of the foresters, in Grosmont Forest, and dead wood for fuel"⁹². They could also take building timber in Mascoed. Occasionally there were greater or lesser periodic grants, part of Trivel Wood has already been referred to, there was also in 1251 a gift of ten oaks from Seinfrenny Wood on Grosmont Hill⁹³.

That care was taken of their property in this respect comes in (i) the lease in 1529 of Kingstone Grange by the abbey to Thomas Baskerville, when the latter was allowed housebote and heybote in the abbot's wood at Dore, but he was not to cut "the great oak, or the elm or the *polle* wood"⁹⁴, and (ii) in the 1540/1 description of Gilbert's Hill, a wood the monks owned to the east of the abbey. It was valued then at £80, and was closed with a hedge containing 120 acres, whereof 13 acres be of 50 years growing, and the residue of an hundred years growing and above"⁹⁵. (For the record we might note that there was a wood also at Morehampton, and at Llanfair, Llanfair Wood (10 acres in 1545), and Llanfair Grove (6)⁹⁶. Doubtless, others have gone unrecorded. One or two pounds was obtained in the last year of the abbey by the sale of wood from certain properties⁹⁷.

Woodland clearance, together with the enclosure and cultivation of assarted land, was the basis of much of the Cistercians' agricultural activity. Time and time again this crops up in contemporary references to Dore. We have already noted Giraldus's attack that the monks had changed "an oak wood into a wheat field." When king John confirmed part of Trivel Wood to the abbey he also deforested it (a legal term, which meant that the monks had freedom of action therein), but he also gave them specific permission to assart it, and in 1254, Henry III allowed them to make clearings (*trencheias*) in their woods, "with all haste"⁹⁸. (The reason for this is not stated, unless a quick clearance was felt to be of help in making it less easy for rebels to hide during the then current disturbances).

Early on (twelfth century) when granted Oxmead (near Dore) they "could build a dyke around it and plough it"; similarly land at Bacton they could "dyke, enclose, and treat at their pleasure," and in 1241 Walter de Clifford allowed them to "till, assart, enclose, and deal with at their pleasure," lands he had newly granted the monks at Gwenddwr and Llaneglwys⁹⁹. When much later (1529) Baskerville leased Kingstone Grange, he, in turn was bidden to maintain all hedges and dykes¹⁰⁰. Of the actual type of cultivation on Dore's granges we know, alas, hardly anything. Arable however was certainly important—there were 420 acres of it at the dissolution on the immediate demesnes of the monastery¹⁰¹.

But as with all Cistercian houses, cultivation and pastoralism walked hand in hand, and it is of the latter, that in the case of Dore, we know most. It had as its basis, not only much suitable land on all its granges (163 acres of pasture and meadow were reckoned in the im-

mediate demesne alone), but also wide pasture rights outside their own lands, in Cantrefselyf, 'about Dulas' for 200 sheep, in Cisty and Eskelin, in Bredwardine, near Moccas, on Grosmont Hill, in the lands of the earls of Ewyas (in 12th century at any rate), and near Wilmerton, in Kingstone, Linhale and Maubach¹⁰². There was also pannage for pigs in Maescoed¹⁰³. Pastoralism was also assisted by the privileges of "free ingress and egress in Cisty," and near Moccas, Linhale and Maubach, and "free entry and passage in Cantrefselyf" (1241)¹⁰⁴, and by rights of way, in Llaneglwys (early 13th cent.), "by the way above the Wye, going from Llyswen to Builth," and (1271) "that footpath which leads from Nanteglwys to Gwenddwr"; nearer home the monks enjoyed a right of way from the "lower part of the old road of Dorston to Arthur's Stone in the upland of Benfield." At an unspecified date, Llywelyn ap Wylm ap Walter of Went gave them "a way across his land"¹⁰⁵.

Widespread pasture rights however also brought in their wake several disputes. In 1209, for example, after arbitration by several Welsh abbots, the monks of Strata Florida agreed in future not to trouble those of Dore in their enjoyment of their rights and properties in Cantrefselyf¹⁰⁶; then, in 1279-80, there was a like dispute with the canons of Llanthony Prima¹⁰⁷. But it was not only the monks of Strata Florida who interfered with Dore in Cantrefselyf, and the troubles there were to continue for some time. Rights of pasture and lands there had first been granted to Dore by Walter Clifford (the first) about 1170, but the exact nature of these rights came under dispute in the thirteenth century. In 1240 Griffith Vachan, bailiff of Walter Clifford (the third), and others, committed "trespasses, violences, and grievances" upon the men and lands of Cantrefselyf. Before the prior and subprior of Monmouth they acknowledged their faults and promised not to repeat them, and about this time David, prince of Wales, told the Vachans that Dore "having been much troubled by felonious persons he has taken it under his protection," and the bishop of St. David's took under his wing those lands of the abbey which lay within his diocese. But this was not the end of the matter. In 1251 Dore settled another dispute with several Welshmen regarding the right of pasture on Cantrefselyf, and in 1252 it was necessary to reach an agreement with Walter Clifford (the third) himself. This is indicated in an amplified confirmatory charter in 1253. The abbey was now the happier, and felt the stronger in the matter, apparently, for in 1264 the abbot and convent notified certain clerics and other local personages "that having established their rights in the land of Cantrefselyf they will proceed to excommunicate the same if they meddle with the affairs of the cantref"¹⁰⁸.

The upshot of pastoralism was much wool production. Dore's wool was in the late thirteenth century (in company with that of Tintern) the highest priced monastic wool in England, and Pegolotti recorded its output for export each year as being 16 sacks; its best wool being valued at 28 marks per sack¹⁰⁹. About this time too, according to the *Taxatio* (a not altogether reliable witness) the abbey had a total of nearly 3,000 sheep (1760 in England, 980 in Wales). (There were also some 54 cows, a surprisingly small total when one remembers a grant only in 1280 to the monastery by Madoc ap Hywel Gwr of forty)¹¹⁰.

Wool was the basis of its early trade, and may account for the abbey's disputes with the merchant men of William de Braose in 1203/4, with the count of Boulogne in 1211, and with two burgesses of St. Omer in 1212¹¹¹. In 1216 the house sent seven cartloads of wool to Windsor¹¹², and in 1275, when the abbot of Dore's newly founded daughter house at Dernhale (later to

become Vale Royal) was selling wool to a merchant of Cambrai, it was ordered to be "as good wool as the better crop of Dore, to be weighed by the weight of Dore"¹¹³. The only other direct mention of trade by the abbey that we have is the bringing of four cartloads of salt to the monastery from Worcester in 1233¹¹⁴, but it may be seen in the holding of part of a tenement in Bristol, and implied in Richard I's quittance for the monks of "toll, passage, and pontage, on entering the realm of England"¹¹⁵.

(Since writing the foregoing I have come across an agreement sealed in London in 1270, whereby for the five years 1272-6 two merchants of Douai (Jacob de Landath and Simon Brokel) could buy all the medium grade wool and better locks of Dore (P.R.O.E. 326/B.9234).

Unfortunately little is known of the house's other activities. It possessed at least two or three watermills, maybe four (John allowing them in 1216 to enlarge and raise a mill-pond they had in Trivel Wood), and adjacent to one of their mills (at Puseyton) was a (*bibulco*)¹¹⁶. It also had one or two tanneries¹¹⁷. The monks had rights of free warren in their demesne at Trivel and Kingstone Grange (1250)¹¹⁸, and fisheries, or fishing rights, in the Wye at Eaton (granted in the twelfth century by Robert, second earl of Ewyas), and at Benfield (given by 1227 by Walter Clifford). In Cantrefselyf too, Walter de Clifford gave them the tithes of the fish of all his own fisheries and nets¹¹⁹. How long these privileges were enjoyed is not recorded. Other occasional rights included that of taking clay in Kilpeck (1248), and of marl, gravel, and slate, near Moccas (1272), together with a stone quarry in that vicinity¹²⁰.

Conclusion

In other words Dore practised many of the forms of economy typical of the medieval Cistercians. Some of her property, that in the Golden Valley, as its name implies, was rich and fertile, but the complete lack of extant cellarer's and grange accounts, which gave us last year a detailed insight into agricultural life at Tintern, leave us so far as Dore is concerned with a wholly incomplete picture. All we can do is to gather scraps together, and this leaves a very untidy effect.

Our knowledge of the conventual history is however as we have seen much fuller, but even here there also is a great dearth of information, so that (as with many other houses) the histories we write can be often little more than the histories of their abbots. I hope that the picture I have painted in the foregoing pages will not leave too gloomy an impression of the monastery of Dore. One should remember four things; firstly, that the attacks of Giraldus were those of a man with a chip on his shoulder, and not always based on firsthand knowledge; secondly, there were great abbacies, such as Straddell's; thirdly, there must have been something about Dore which attracted a man like Cadogan of Bangor to settle there in his old age; fourthly, it is often only when a bad patch comes in a monastery that we hear much about it, in between times, there may well have been long periods of great spiritual life—and it must be remembered, that in medieval monasteries, as in modern ones, it is possible for a number of saintly monks to live, despite poor or unsuitable superiors; and, then, lastly, for much of its history, Dore, in common with other Marchland houses, was affected by troubles not of its own making—the wars in the Border country. Until much more evidence comes to light a complete and balanced history of the house can never be written.

Appendix I

ABBOTS OF DORE

(a) Chronological List

<i>No.</i>	<i>Ruling in:</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Variants</i>
	1198–	Adam I	
	1226	Adam II	
? 4	1230	Godfrey	
? 5	1236–53	Stephen of Worcester	
? 6	– 1257	Reginald	
? 7	1257–73	Henry (? <i>King</i>) ¹²⁸	
? 8	1274– ? 93	William of Hereford	? 9 – 1279–81
? 10	1293–8	Hugh Cromus	<i>William Wroth</i> ¹³⁷
? 11	1298– ? 1305	John of Grosmont	
? 12	1305–46	Richard de Stradell (<i>alias de Madeley</i>)	
? 13	1346–62	Robert Wroth	1347 <i>Roger</i> ²¹⁴
? 14	1362– ? 84	John	1351 <i>Richard</i> ²¹⁵
	1385–	Richard	1361 <i>John elected</i> ²¹⁶
	1396–8	John Holand	
	1396–1403	Jordan Bykeleswade	
	1405–13	Richard Grisby	
	1435	Richard	
	1441–71	Richard Rowchester (<i>alias Rochester</i>)	1453 <i>John</i> ¹⁹³
	1471	Robert Ford (<i>usurper</i>)	
	1478–85	Philip de Llywelyn	1484 <i>Philip Morgan</i> ²¹⁷
	1496	Richard	
	1501–16	John Longdone	
	1516– ? 23	Thomas Cleubery	
	1523–27 (? 28)	John Glynn	
	1529–36	John Redborn (<i>last abbot</i>)	

(The variants are largely probably scribe's errors, with the exception of William Wroth, who was described as 'prelate of Dore,' and was possibly no more than a titular abbot, though accounted by the chronicler (*see later*) as ninth superior of the house. I have found no evidence to back a statement that Ynry Frych was ever abbot of Dore)¹²¹.

(b) Biographical Notes

1198– *Adam I* { a full treatment is given in the text; 1199—abbot had not gone to General
–1226 *Adam II* { Chapter; *same year* was to investigate with others a dispute between
monasteries of Cymmer and Aberconway; 1203–4, involved in dispute with
merchant men of William de Braose; 1206, with others, abbot was to investigate dispute between
Basingwerk and Strata Marcella; 1211, quarrel with count of Boulogne; 1212, like with burgesses
of St. Omer; 1214–6, with others, abbot investigates disputes between Beaulieu and Stanley
Abbeys.

1217, abbots of Dore and Bordesley to inquire personally into irregularities on Tintern's
granges; 1225, with others, judges dispute between Cwmhir and Strata Marcella¹²².

1226 A is abbot¹²³; Dore settles Grace Dieu.

1230 *Godfrey* is abbot¹²⁴.

1236–53 *Stephen of Worcester*: 1236, professes Cadogan of Bangor¹²⁵; 1239, abbot in dispute with Tintern; 1243, to judge, with others, dispute between Margam and Calder; 1244, like, between Margam and Llantarnam; 1252, like, between Stanley and Beaulieu¹²⁶.

– 1257 *Reginald*: 1255, like, between Odorney (Ireland) and Tintern¹²⁷.

1257–73 *Henry*: 1262–4, an examiner in case between Dean and Chapter of Hereford and the Dominicans, re latter building a friary near Hereford, but *pro temp* delegates his papal authority to the precentor of Dore and prior of Striguil¹²⁸; 1265, gains pardon for Nicholas Caterine of Cheltenham for the death of Walter le Marescal of that town¹²⁹; 1270, with another, to dismiss the abbot of Bordesley¹³⁰; 1272, involved in dispute with bishop of St. David's¹³¹; *same year*, to go with abbot of Tintern personally to Llantarnam and “inquire diligently of the said house, and ordain and dispose as seems best”¹³²; 1273, *January*, went to the Ford of Montgomery to receive fealty of Llywelyn ap Griffin, but latter did not appear. *Died* Nov. 20th, same year¹³³.

1274–? 93 *William of Hereford*; elected Jan. 1st, 1274, dies March 12th, 1296¹³⁴. 1277, with others, to judge dispute between Thame and Stanley; 1277 and 1281, absent from General Chapter¹³⁵; *latter year*, abbot is cleared of receiving Adam ap Ithel, an outlaw, at Morehampton Grange¹³⁶, and *William Wroth*, said to be 9th abbot of house, ‘prelate of Dore,’ and ‘a man of gracious nature,’ dies and is buried at L'Arrivour (dep. Aube, France)¹³⁷.

1293–8 *Hugh Cromus*; blessed as abbot Aug. 6th (*Transfiguration*), 1294, in Bosbury Chapel (by bp. of Hereford). Dies 1312¹³⁸.

1298–? 1305 *John of Grosmont*: blessed as abbot June 11th (*St. Barnabas*) in Bosbury Chapel. Dies 1310¹³⁹.

1302, is forbidden under pain of severe punishment to make a subsidy to the abbot of Citeaux, or to collect from other abbots for this purpose¹⁴⁰.

1305–46 *Richard de Straddell* (alias *de Madeley*); Blessed as abbot July 7th, 1305. Dies 29th July 1347¹⁴¹. A theologian and writer, and often in the king's service. 1312, he commences study of theology at Oxford, gaining a doctorate eventually¹⁴²; 1315, accepts the resignation of John de Hoo from the abbacy of Vale Royal¹⁴³; 1316, preaches at funeral of Bishop Swinfield in Hereford Cathedral¹⁴⁴; 1320, *Feb. 9th* present at election and installation of Walter de Hereford as abbot of Tintern¹⁴⁵; *same year*, assists bp. of Hereford in reform of Abergavenny Priory, and was to induct Richard de Bromwich as prior in place of Fulcon Gastard¹⁴⁶; *same year (October)*, arbitrates in a dispute involving the abbot of Vale Royal¹⁴⁷; 1321 (*spring*), carries a verbal message from Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex to Edward II¹⁴⁸; *same year*, sent with abbot of Margam by chapter general on visitation of Irish Cistercian houses¹⁴⁹; *same year, October 6th*, at his abbey, receives relic of the Holy Cross from William de Grandison¹⁵⁰; 1322–7, is a commissioner in disputes between John de Ros and Dean and Chapter of Hereford, and also given papal mandate to see bp. of Worcester receives tithes of Shinfield after his translation from Hereford¹⁵¹; 1323–4, judges a tithe dispute between abbeys of Sallay and Whalley¹⁵²; 1327 (? *early summer*) goes to Scotland with abp. of York and bp. of Coventry and Lichfield to treat for peace between English and Scotch¹⁵³; *same year (Nov.)* receives papal mandate to bring about restoration of the temporalities of the see of Hereford which had lost value¹⁵⁴; 1328, with abbots of Hailes and Thame, removes Welsh monks from Strata Marcella¹⁵⁵; 1329, acts at a *love-day* at Vale Royal Abbey, in a dispute involving one of its monks¹⁵⁶; *same year, (May)* is sub-collector of a tenth in diocese of Hereford¹⁵⁷; *same year*, agrees with abbot of Vale Royal as to his visitation expenses¹⁵⁸; 1330 (*Feb.*) going to Aquitaine on king's business (on a journey apparently postponed a month or two); because of his labours and expenses abbey exempted from providing corrodies, etc., and allowed to acquire land not held in chief to the value of £20¹⁵⁹; *same year, Aug. 15th (Assumption)*, celebrates mass and preaches at Vale Royal on completion of new abbey there, and “making a sermon to the people touching the Blessed Virgin, refreshed them most devoutly in his accustomed way with food of special nourishment”¹⁶⁰; *same year*,

November, attended Parliament at Westminster, and 1331, was to receive £20 from bailiffs of Hereford, out of ferm of town, towards expenses thus incurred¹⁶¹; 1331, a collector of a king's tenth in diocese of Hereford¹⁶²; *same year, August*, going via Dover to Chapter General at Cîteaux¹⁶³; from *Oct. 10th, 1334 to Feb. 6th, 1335*, is on king's service in France with abp. of Canterbury and Sir Wm. de Clynton, and likewise from *July 12th, to October 1335*, with bp. of Norwich¹⁶⁴; *same year, (October)*, with abbot of Bordesley and prior of Flaxley, to administer Flaxley Abbey during pleasure¹⁶⁵; 1338 (*Febr.*), is an executor of the will of William de Grandison¹⁶⁶; 1340, owes £140 to Everard Frankys of Bristol¹⁶⁷; debt was paid; *same year*, was appointed surveyor and receiver in Hereford for the ninth of all lambs and fleeces to the king, for two years¹⁶⁸; 1342–4, mandate, with others, concerning appointment to a canonry of Hereford¹⁶⁹; 1344, to send a monk back to his own monastery¹⁷⁰; 1346, summoned to Convocation¹⁷¹.

1346–62 *Robert Wroth*: blessed as abbot Nov. 12th, 1346, in Ledbury Church. Only priested in 1352. Dies 22nd June 1362¹⁷². (The phrase '*Robert Wroth me fecit*' is engraven in a pillar in the north transept; Wroths' in the 15th Century were a Kentchurch family)¹⁷³.

1362– ? 84 *John*: blessed Christmas Eve, 1363, in bishop's chapel, Whitbourne¹⁷⁴; 1370 and 1373 receives the attorneys of the prior of Llanthony Prima¹⁷⁵.

1385– *Richard*: blessed Jan. 6th (*Epiphany*), 1385, in Whitbourne chapel¹⁷⁶. 1386 and 1388 was a collector for king's tenth in Hereford diocese¹⁷⁷.

1396–8 *John Holand*: Made sub-deacon in 1351¹⁷⁸. The subject of several misfortunes, and eventual loss of position, as detailed in text.

1396 – 1403 *Jordan Bykeleswade*: ousts Holand from abbacy (see text), and (1398) petitions king re armed raids on monastery and its lands. 1400, abbot was to take the fealty of William de Beauchamp¹⁷⁹; 1403 (*Febr.*) with others, dismissed from Parliament, though the king saw no reason why; *same year, October*, indicted of felony, and under arrest¹⁸⁰.

1405–13 *Richard Grisby*: 1406, with abbot of Holmcoltram confirms election of William, abbot of Furness¹⁸¹; 1408, summoned to Convocation¹⁸²; 1410 (*August*) travels to Cîteaux for Chapter General having letters of exchange for £40 from Philip de Albertis, merchant of Florence¹⁸³; *same year*, receives attorneys of prior of Llanthony Prima¹⁸⁴; 1411 (*July 31*), with abbot of Stanford, Mx. passed sentence on two monks of St. Mary Graces concerning apostasy and conspiracy¹⁸⁵; *same year, (August)* letters of exchange for 40 marks received from Alexander de Albertis, a Lombard, on travelling to Cîteaux, and was allowed to go via London, Dover, or Sandwich¹⁸⁶; *same year*, directed by Chapter-General to go with abbot of Beaulieu to Oxford and visit and reform the Cistercian house of studies there¹⁸⁷; 1413 (*March 3rd*), with Griffin ap Harry, given the keeping of Craswall Priory for duration of war with France¹⁸⁸; *same year*, with abbot of Rievaulx was to reform Beaulieu¹⁸⁹; *same year*, collector of a king's tenth (like in 1417 and 1426)¹⁹⁰.

1417, to attend Convocation; 1427, ordered to visit Grace Dieu on account of ill-governance there¹⁹¹.

1435 *Richard* (? the same)¹⁹².

1441–71 *Richard Rochester* (alias *Rowchester*); (though note that name of John as abbot occurs in 1453)¹⁹³. Priested 1418; blessed as abbot Dec. 21 (*St. Thomas*) 1441 at Sugwas¹⁹⁴. 1458, with bps. of Ely and Exeter was to enquire re misdoings of a Dublin cleric¹⁹⁵; 1468, collector of a king's tenth¹⁹⁶; 1471, had been temporarily ousted from abbacy by Robert Ford but ordered to be restored (see text).

1478–85 *Philip de Llwelyn* (alias *Morgan*), blessed as abbot May 30th, 1478, at Whitbourne¹⁹⁷; 1485, is summoned to Convocation¹⁹⁸.

1492, collector of a king's tenth¹⁹⁹.

1496— *Richard*: said to be cause of Dore being at end of 15th Century “greatly in ruin and decay”²⁰⁰.

1501–16 *John Longdone*; who resigns by Aug. 1516. He was admitted to abbacy by Marmaduke Huby, abbot of Fountains and Reformer of the Order in England and Wales²⁰¹; 1505, collector in diocese of Hereford for king’s aid²⁰²; 1508–9, visitates at Vale Royal²⁰³; 1512, (Febr. 6th) to attend Convocation in St. Paul’s, (like in 1514 and 1515), 1512–1513, collector of a king’s subsidy²⁰⁴. (*Sometime* he wrote an extant letter to John Hyde, sub-dean of Hereford)²⁰⁵.

1516–? 23 *Thomas Cleubery*: elected by Aug. 29, 1516. Originally a monk of the house, he resigned as abbot by 1523²⁰⁶, and in 1526 (Feb. 11th) received a corrody and pension out of the profits of the monastery. He was still alive in 1554, and then resident in Hereford²⁰⁷. (Either he or his successor received an extant letter from Anthony, abbot of Hailes (1515–27)²⁰⁸.

1523–27(?28) *John Glyn*, blessed March 22nd, 1526 at Whitbourne. 1523, summoned to Convocation; 1525, collector of a king’s subsidy²⁰⁹.

1529–36 *John Redborn*, blessed March 24th, 1529 in Cathedral. Last abbot; pension of £13 p.a. Still alive in 1553²¹⁰. 1529 (*Nov.*), 1533, and 1536 (*June* 3) summoned to Convocation; 1531–4, collector of a king’s subsidy in Hereford archdeaconry²¹¹. *Sometime* receives an extant letter from one Thomas Havard²¹². 1534 (Dec. 10) assists at chapter at Grace Dieu which granted a pension to Thomas Perpin, sometime abbot there²¹³.

Appendix II

ORDINATIONS

The published ordination lists of the Hereford diocese make mention of (i) the ordination of monks, (ii) ordinations of seculars ordained to the title of the monastery, and who probably acted as chaplains (and there are also a few entries in this respect relating to Dore in the episcopal registers of St. David’s), and (iii) ordinations where it is not clear whether the recipient of the sacrament was a monk or a secular. The following summary makes mention only of (i).

To economise on space, what would otherwise have been a very lengthy list, has been abbreviated by giving only the highest order mentioned for a particular monk. Anyone requiring fuller information is invited to write to the author, or consult the Hereford Bishops’ Registers (published by the Canterbury and York Society), searching the entries two or three years previous to the date listed below.

It will be noted that amongst the surnames occur several local placenames, and those of three other Cistercian houses.

Abbreviations:—	A — Acolyte	D — Deacon
	SD — Subdeacon	P — Priest
TR —	Registrum Johannis de Trillek	(1344–61); vol. 8 (1911–12)*
LC —	Registrum Ludowici de Charlton	(1361–70); vol. 14 (1914)*
JG —	Registrum Johannis de Gilbert	(1375–89); vol. 18 (1915)*
JT —	Registrum Johannis Trefnant	(1394–1404); vol. 20 (1916)*
RM —	Registrum Roberti Mascall	(1404–16); vol. 21 (1917)*
EL —	Registrum Edwardi Lacy	(1417–22); vol. 22 (1918)*
TS —	Registrum Thome Spofford	(1422–48); vol. 23 (1919)*
RB —	Registrum Ricardi Beauchamp	(1449–50); vol. 25 (1919)*
Reg B.—	Registrum Reginaldi Boulers	(1450–1453); vol. 25 (1919)*
JS —	Registrum Johannis Stanbury	(1453–74); vol. 25 (1919)*
TM —	Registrum Thomas Myllyng	(1474–92); vol. 26 (1920)*
R.My —	Registrum Ricardi Mayew	(1504–16); vol. 27 (1921)*
CB —	Registrum Caroli Bothe	(1516–35); vol. 28 (1921)*

* Canterbury and York Society.

<i>Alberton, Richard</i>	P 1484	<i>TM</i> 170
<i>Amberley, Richard</i>	D 1488	<i>TM</i> 174
<i>Aula, Thomas de</i>	SD 1368	<i>LC</i> 117
<i>Bergevenny, Thomas (alias Baker)</i>	SD 1386	<i>JG</i> 176
<i>Brekenok, Thomas</i>	SD 1386	<i>JG</i> 176
<i>Bristowe, Thomas</i>	D 1532	<i>CB</i> 330
<i>Brugge, Richard de</i>	D 1364	<i>LC</i> 92
<i>Buildwas, Thomas</i>	P 1466	<i>JS</i> 157
<i>Burford, Richard</i>	P 1526	<i>CB</i> 320
<i>Burton, John (alias Barton)</i>	P 1523	<i>CB</i> 314
<i>Copeland, Richard</i>	D 1412	<i>RM</i> 152
<i>Clifford, Richard</i>	P 1393	<i>JT</i> 205
(? <i>Abbot of Grace Dieu in 1447</i>)		
<i>Dean, Richard</i>	D 1532	<i>CB</i> 329
<i>Deane, Thomas</i>	D 1513	<i>R.My.</i> 262
<i>Doffeld, William (alias Doffyle)</i>	P 1386	<i>J.G.</i> 173
<i>Dore, John</i>	P 1440	<i>T.S.</i> 333
<i>Dore, William</i>	D 1486	<i>T.M.</i> 173
<i>Dorstone, Richard</i>	P 1469	<i>J.S.</i> 163
(<i>Abbot of Grace Dieu in 1486-8</i>)		
<i>Dorstone, Robert de</i>	P 1368	<i>L.C.</i> 117
<i>Etone, Thomas</i>	P 1458	<i>J.S.</i> 144
<i>Ewyas, Walter</i>	P 1351	<i>T.R.</i> 556
<i>Frompton, Roger de</i>	D 1364	<i>L.C.</i> 92
<i>Furnes, William (? Furness)</i>	P 1435	<i>T.S.</i> 318
<i>Gethyn, John</i>	A1450	<i>RB</i> 14
<i>Gunter, Thomas</i>	P 1450	<i>RB</i> 14
<i>Hartilbury, John</i>	P 1511	<i>R.My.</i> 256
<i>Hatheway, Thomas</i>	P 1427	<i>TS</i> 303
<i>Herdewyk, Richard</i>	D 1392	<i>JT</i> 203
<i>Hereford, John of</i>	P 1358	<i>TR</i> 622
<i>Hereford, John (alias Hafod)</i>	P 1393	<i>JT</i> 205
<i>Hereford, Nicholas</i>	P 1438	<i>TS</i> 330
<i>Hereford, Robert</i>	P 1426	<i>TS</i> 300
<i>Hereford, Thomas (alias Herford)</i>	P 1446	<i>TS</i> 346
<i>Hereford, Thomas</i>	P 1489	<i>TM</i> 177
<i>Hereford, Walter</i>	SD 1455	<i>JS</i> 139
<i>Holand, John</i>	SD 1368	<i>LC</i> 117
(<i>Abbot of Dore in 1396-8</i>)		
<i>Hyland, William</i>	D 1504	<i>R.My.</i> 237
<i>Ireland, John of</i>	P 1351	<i>TR</i> 556
<i>Kent, William of</i>	P 1418	<i>EL</i> 104
<i>London, William</i>	P 1424	<i>TS</i> 297
<i>Lydney, James</i>	SD 1512	<i>R.My.</i> 259
<i>Maddeleye, Richard de</i>	P 1365	<i>LC</i> 97
(<i>alias Madelegh; still a monk in 1398</i>)		
<i>Merbury, William</i>	D 1532	<i>CB</i> 329
<i>Monmouth, John</i>	P 1438	<i>TS</i> 330
<i>Monytone, Lawrence</i>	SD 1368	<i>LC</i> 117
<i>Morgan, David ap</i>	P 1367	<i>LC</i> 109
<i>Morgan, Philip (? Abbot, c. 1484)</i>	P 1458	<i>JS</i> 144
<i>Morgan, William</i>	P 1367	<i>LC</i> 109

<i>Morse, William</i>	SD 1486	TM 172
<i>Oswastre, David</i>	SD 1386	JG 176
<i>Owydor, Philip</i>	SD 1345	TR 416
<i>Paunteleye, Thomas</i>	A 1367	LC 108
<i>Pershore, Richard</i>	D 1486	TM 173
<i>Pershore, Thomas</i>	P 1446	TS 346
<i>Philip, John</i>	A 1450	RB 14
<i>Pickburne, Christopher</i>	SD 1486	TM 173
<i>Ross, Thomas</i>	D 1479	TM 161
<i>Ross, William</i>	P 1484	TM 170
<i>Rogers, Thomas</i>	P 1461	JS 148
<i>Rowchester, Richard</i>	P 1418	EL 104
(alias <i>Rochester</i> , and of <i>Kent</i>)		
(Abbot of <i>Dore</i> 1441–71)		
<i>Ryll, Thomas</i>	A 1433	TS 314
<i>Ryseby, William</i>	D 1456	JS 141
<i>Stokley, Thomas</i>	P 1469	JS 163
<i>Swynesheved, Richard</i>	P 1353	TR 606
<i>Thornebar, Edmund</i>	SD 1443	TS 340
<i>Walker, Robert</i>	SD 1424	TS 297
<i>Waltham, Thomas</i>	P 1413	RM 158
<i>Westbury, Ralph</i>	D 1527	CB 323
<i>Whitlonde, Matthew</i>	P 1451	Reg.B. 21
<i>Wroth, Richard</i>	P 1368	LC 117
<i>Wroth, Robert</i>	P 1352	TR 576
(Abbot of <i>Dore</i> in 1346–62)		
<i>Wygtoft, William de</i>	P 1358	TR 622
<i>Wisbache, Nicholas</i>	P 1384	JG 162
<i>Wysebache, John</i> (alias <i>Wosebache</i>)	P 1382	JG 152
<i>Wysebech, John de</i>	D 1360	TR 629
(one of the two foregoing was <i>Abbot of Grace Dieu</i> before 1387, and <i>Abbot of Tintern</i> from 1387 – 1407)		
<i>Wythe, Thomas</i>	A 1433	TS 314
<i>York, Thomas</i>	P 1461	JS 149

Appendix III

DOCUMENTS

1. The Annals of Dore

In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* (xxvii) pp. 514 – 531, are printed the *Annales Dorenses*. This work is a transcript of the concluding portion of *BM Egerton MS 3088*, where an untitled chronicle, seemingly emanating from Dore itself, makes references to the abbey in a late 13th century hand, with additions of the 14th Century. The extracts I include here are literal translations, and are those which specifically refer to the abbey, although there is much other valuable historical information contained in the work.

- 1147 This year was begun the abbey of Dore.
- 1226 The sending of a convent from Dore to Grace Dieu on the 24th April, to wit, on the vigil of St. Mark, the Evangelist.
- 1257 On April 1st died Reginald, 6th abbot of Dore.
- 1273 On November 20th died Henry, the 7th abbot.
- 1274 On January 1st, William of Hereford was elected abbot.
- „ On January 25th, a convent was sent to Dernhale.
- 1281 Abbot William (9th) Wroth died, of gracious nature, prelate of Dore, he was buried at L'Arrivour.
- 1296 On the 12th March died William of Hereford, sometime 10th abbot of Valley Dore.
- 1310 John of Grosmont died, sometime 11th abbot of this house.
- 1312 Hugh Cromus died, sometime 12th abbot of this house.
- „ In this year, on the 12th of April, master Richard de Straddel, lord and abbot of the house of Dore, of the Cistercian order, in the diocese of Hereford, began theology at Oxford, not only with honour, but right worthily, with the help of God, and the support of the clergy.
- 1318 In this year shewed God his hand, namely in the manifestation of a miracle in this place by the virtue of a holy virgin, which grace indeed he gave to the venerable matron, Matilda Burnel, who lies before the high altar.
- 1321 On October 6th, and then a Tuesday, came to Dore the lord W(illiam) de Grandison and bringing with him a portion of the wood of the holy cross, very beautifully adorned with gold and precious stones; on the morrow, in honour of the Holy Trinity, and on account of a grace and favour of the lord Richard de Straddel, abbot of the said house, (namely a debt that was owed to him), he handed it over to the monastery, cancelling his obligation, (and) being completely pardoned by the said lord abbot Richard.
- 1347 On the 29th July died master Richard de Straddel, a distinguished doctor of sacred theology and 12th abbot of this house.
- 1362 On 22nd June died Robert Wroth, 13th abbot of this house.

(There are definite inaccuracies in this otherwise helpful chronicle. It can be clearly shewn, for example, that the enumeration of the abbots is open to question; there is for instance more definite evidence elsewhere to shew that Hugh Cromus preceded John of Grosmont as abbot and not vice versa. The Annals give clear proof that some abbots resigned, or were dismissed before their natural deaths).

For a description of the whole of BM *Egerton MS* 3088, see *Isis* xxvii (Nov. 1937).

2. Writings

(a) *Cadogan of Bangor*, probably wrote whilst bishop of Bangor, rather than in his closing years as a monk of Dore. His known works include a Book of Homilies called "A Looking Glass for Christians," a penitential, several prayers, and commentaries (on Genesis chapter 1, on the Eucharist, and on St. Bernard) and tracts (on the Blessed Virgin Mary and on the 4th verse of the 79th Psalm). A comprehensive account of Cadogan, with lengthy transcriptions of his works has been given by C. H. Talbot in "*Citeaux in de Nederlanden*," ix. 1958), and from which by his kind permission I have translated the following brief extract:²¹⁸

from the tract on the Blessed Virgin Mary:

“ She went up into the hill country of Juda with haste,
entered into the house of Zacharias,
and saluted Elizabeth.

She went up out of Nazareth,
together with Joseph,
unto Bethlehem.

She went up into the Temple of the Lord,
together with Joseph,
that she might place her Child.
in the presence of the Lord.

She went up out of Egypt,
together with Joseph,
into the land of Israel.

She went up to Jerusalem, that she might pray
together with Joseph,
after the custom of the feast.

She went up again to Jerusalem,
together with Joseph,
that she might seek the child Jesus.

She went up at length into Heaven,
to take her place by her blessed Son:

‘ upon thy right hand did stand the queen ’ (Ps. 45/10)

The first ascension, was to visit and to minister,
The second, to beget, and to obey,
The third, to present her Son, and to offer a pair of turtledoves, and two young pigeons.
The fourth, to keep vigil, and to make her dwelling,
The fifth, to pray,
The sixth, to seek her Child, and to find Him,
The seventh, to have joy, and to reign.”

(b) *Richard de Straddell*. Apart from his administrative and royal duties already referred to, abbot Straddell was an author and preacher, composing commentaries on the Gospels, a paraphrase of the Lord’s Prayer, various homilies and sermons, some of them upon the angelic salutation, ‘ Hail Mary, full of Grace,’ and some of them still extant. Seventeen of his sermons which have come down to us are based upon texts from the prophet Daniel, and one, a sermon on St. Benedict (Father of the Benedictines, in turn the parent body of the Cistercians) has been fully transcribed (by Dr. C. H. Talbot)²¹⁹.

I could not do better here than quote Dr. Talbot’s words, “ Both the content and construction of Straddell’s sermons give evidence of his scholastic training. He quotes without any appearance of pretentious learning the writings of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Anselm, St. Bernard, St. John Damascene, Denys the Pseudo-Areopagite, Hugh of Saint Victor, and, apparently, Aristotle. His sermons are constructed on a strictly logical plan, rigidly and slavishly carried out to the last detail. There are divisions and subdivisions, each one carefully numbered, each one receiving its limited share of scriptural texts, each one hammered home by a rhythmical and rhyming phrase. For this reason they must have been very easy to grasp and to remember, and perhaps this affords us a clue to his great popularity as a preacher.”

That ‘ *Of St. Benedict* ’ referred to, is based on the text from the Song of the Three Holy Children (*in the Apocrypha*, verse 34): ‘ *Blessed art thou in the firmament of heaven.*’ The basis of the sermon comes in the first sentences, “ These are the words of the children walking in the

midst of the furnace. Indeed, we read that king Nebuchadnezzar sent them to burn in the fire of the furnace, but the angel of the Lord descended and saved them unscathed. Through the furnace we can appreciate three things: present unhappiness, into which the devil, as the proud king, sends the human race by his deception, and inflames the seven senses, procuring our sevenfold vices. But God sends his angel into the furnace, that is the man Benedict, who extinguishes the flame by the doctrine of his word, and by the example of his life turns its midst into a gushing fount of dew, so that, walking in it unhurt, and prizing highly our glorified father, now with God, we say: "Blessed art thou in the firmament of heaven."

The sermon is developed along these lines, and concludes with rhythmical and rhyming phrases, which are difficult to preserve when rendered into English:

<i>Blessed art thou—</i>	The war with vices most strongly undertaking, The profit out of virtues most fully gaining, The furthest from unlawful things most devoutly withdrawing.
<i>In the firmament—</i>	Most sure in the protection of God, Most secure in the abundance of grace, Most splendid in the excellence of glory.
<i>Of Heaven—</i>	For which thou scornest earthly things, For which thou lovest virtuous things, In which thou hopest for eternal things.

3. Letters

(a) *from Abbot John Longdone*

(*P.R.O.* SP 1/231.f.24, and *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. I. pt. i.p.6).

The condition of this letter from John Longdone to Mr. John Hyde, sub-dean of Hereford, does not allow of a full transcription, but the abbot thanks the cleric for his kindness, asks him to send half a pound of saffron for which he will pay 5/-, and to help his servant to borrow a ferret for three days.

(b) *to an Abbot of Dore from Anthony, abbot of Hailes (c. 1515-27)*²²⁰. (*P.R.O.* SP 1/240.f.223)

Reverend father in God, all due commendation supposed. In my heartiest manner I have me commended unto your fatherhood with especial thanks for your lovely letter, and also the pound of saffron which I received of the bringer hereof. And further as touching the duty which by your promise by your hand subscribed ye should have content unto me before this, I have desired Robert Coolle to receive it of you, insomuch as there is certain debts of my behalf due to pay unto the said Robert Coolle, and so he intendeth to be in hand with you therefore by process of the law shortly, except ye content it in the mean season. And moreover to hear of your trouble should be no pleasure unto me as both I and whoever.....you by.....unto it.....power.

Anthony, abbot of Hayles.

(c) *to an Abbot of Dore (? the last) from Thomas Havard.* (*P.R.O.* SP 1/240.f.224)

My lord, I recommend me unto your lordship, thanking you alway of your great kindness that ye have shewed to me alway. Howbeit as yet it is not my fortune to deserve it, according to my mind, but I trust, my lord, if God gave me life to deserve part of it. Howbeit I cannot serve all. My lord, I sent to your lordship five sacks beseeching your lordship to send me in every sack four bushels, and I trust my lord when your lordship and I meet that we shall not vary over a reckoning, my lord. John Hyere, your bedeman is gone to London, and for them that cometh I beseech your lordship to haste them forth, as for why, they be well attest they cannot get owt. No more to you at this time, but God preserve you and send you all your heart's desire.

By your servant,
Thomas Havard.

4. Accounts of Abbot Straddell

(a) *P.R.O.* E 101/311/11

The itemised account of the Abbot of Dore of his receipts and expenses (?) necessarily incurred going on the business of the king to the French parts in the month of October in the eighth year (*i.e.* 8 *Edward III* – 1334).

Receipts The same renders account of £80 received from merchants of the Society of Bardi of Florence paid to him in cash in the name of the king against his expenses when going on the business of the king to the aforesaid parts, whence they have letters of quittance of the said abbot, as he says. And of £5 received from Richard de Fereby, keeper of the king's Wardrobe, by way of the payment requested, for his aforesaid expenses in the month of February in the aforesaid year.

Total: £85

Expenses The same accounts in his pledge from the 10th day of October in the abovementioned year on which day he began his journey from Dore in the county of Hereford towards the aforesaid parts going to Dover and there remaining until the 21st day of the same month, for eleven days — £16-10-0, taking 30/- a day in England by writ of the king. And in the pledge of the abbot himself, from the 22nd day of October going on the other side to Paris, staying there until the 22nd day of the month of December next following, and returning from there to Whitsand (*Pas de Calais*) and crossing from Whitsand to the monastery on the 2nd day of January, for 73 days, every day accounted, £146, taking per day £2 in the parts across the sea by the aforesaid writ. And in the pledge of the same abbot going to Roxburgh to the king of England to inform the king himself on his negotiations in the aforesaid parts, staying there, and returning to York by the king's command, on the 6th day of February in the 9th year, for 35 days, every day accounted, taking per day £1-10-0 by the aforesaid writ, £52-10-0.

Total: £215-0-0.

And he has a deficit of £130.

(ii) *P.R.O.* E.101/311/17

The particular account of the Abbot of Dore sent on the business of the king of England to the king of France in the month of July in the ninth year (faded) the king of France at his manor in Poitou, Saint Maxentius.

The same accounts of £40 received on about the 14th day of July against his expenses in going to the aforesaid parts.

The same accounts in his pledge lasting (?) from the 12th day of July in the 9th year which day he arrived at York journeying on the business aforesaid until the 20th day of August next following which day he crossed the sea from Dover to Whitsand, for 40 days . . . (*torn*) . . . and staying in London and at Dover awaiting letters of safe conduct from the king of France, £60, taking per day . . . (*torn*) . . . by royal writ. And in the pledge of the same abbot from the 21st day of the month of August going to the king of France then . . . (*torn*) . . . at his manor in Poitou, Saint Maxentius, staying there and returning until the 18th day of the month of September on which day he crossed from Whitsand to Dover, returning, for 29 days, every day accounted, £58, taking per day in the parts across the sea 40/- by the aforesaid writ. And in the pledge of the same abbot in going from Dover to the king of England staying at Berwick, and staying there to inform the king and his advisers about the negotiations of the king in this part from the 18th day of the month of September to the 15th day of October next following, for 27 days, £40-10-0, taking per day in England 30/- by the aforesaid writ.

5. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1291)p.159b *Hereford diocese — Spiritualities*

	<i>taxation</i>	<i>tenth</i>
church of Bacton	£3 - 0 - 0	0 - 6 - 0

p.172 *same diocese — Temporalities*

	£	s.	d.
a total of 42 carucates of land each worth	10	0	0
from fixed rents in city of Hereford	6	0	0
from annual rents in town of Kingstone	7	6	0
from the lord of Kilpeck	3	0	0
from the mill (? there)	2	0	0
from Mordekeston	6	0	0
from John Ragoun	4	0	0
from Hollings	1	0	0
from Erlingham	2	0	0
from Bredwardine	1	0	0
from 2 mills which are both worth per year	1	8	0
from the tannery grange of the chapel	6	0	0
from four loads of hay, each worth	1	3	0
at Kingstone 3 loads of hay, each worth	1	3	0
at Morehampton 40 loads of hay, each worth	1	3	0
at Benefield 2 loads of hay, each worth	1	3	0

Total =	£27	1	1
Tenth =	£2	14	1¼

p.174 40 cows
1760 sheep

3	0	0
35	13	4

Total =	£38	13	4
Tenth =	£3	17	4

p.274 *archdeaconry of Brechon*
temporalities worth

Total =	£69	6	6
Tenth =	£6	18	7½

p.278 *diocese Llandaff*
tenths of tithes of Marth²²¹
(i.e. open parts of Grosmont Forest)

£6	13	4
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p.283 at Llyncoed 3 carucates land each worth
of meadow there
at Langwer 2 carucates each worth
at Hulle ½ carucate
at Morlais 1 carucate
of meadow there

13	4
2	0
13	4
6	8
13	4
3	0

Total =	£4	11	8
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p.284b 14 cows, each worth
980 sheep

1	6
18	16

Total =	£19	17	8
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Tenth =	£2	8	5½
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Total Tax =	£24	9	4
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6. **Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535)**

<i>Temporalities:</i>	£	s.	d.
The mansion or house of the said abbey, with the demesne land, per year	10	0	0
fixed rents in the valley of Dore, and elsewhere in the county of Hereford	55	6	8
perquisites of court there		6	8
fixed rents in lordships of Ewyas Harold, Ewyas Lacy, Whitecastle, and the march of Wales, per year		9	18 8
fixed rents in Gwenddwr and Troscoit within the lordship of Cantrefselyf . . . per year		16	0 0
perquisites of court there		3	4
		<hr/>	
		91	15 4
		<hr/>	

<i>Spiritualities:</i>			
rectory of Avenbury: gross value by the scrutiny and examination of the commissioners . . .		2	0 0
rectory of Duntisborn, <i>ditto</i>		13	4
rectory of Wigtoft, <i>ditto</i>		10	0 0
rectory of Albrighton, <i>ditto</i>		6	13 4
rectory of Gwenddwr, <i>ditto</i>		5	0 0
chapel of Dore		2	0 0
		<hr/>	
		26	6 8
		<hr/>	
<i>Gross Value =</i>		118	2 0

<i>Deductions:</i>			
<i>temporalities:</i> fee of Thomas Baskerville, Esq. steward of Dore		3	6 8
fee of John ap Watkin, bailiff there		1	10 0
fee of Richard Warncombe ²²² , auditor there		1	0 0
fee of Robert ap Glynn, steward of Gwenddwr		1	13 4
fee of Thomas Turner, bailiff there			13 4
in distribution to the poor on Maundy Thursday, namely in money 13/4d, and in bread 4 quarters worth £1 2 8		1	16 0
part rents (?) namely to the prior of Llanthony 5/-, to the prior of Abergavenny 16/8, and to the lord of Ewyas Harold 2/6d		1	4 2
		<hr/>	
		11	3 6
		<hr/>	

<i>spiritualities:</i> pensions, namely to the choristers of the cathedral church of Hereford 6/8, to the bishop of Lincoln £3 6 8		3	13 4
augmentation of the church of Gwenddwr		2	0 0
		<hr/>	
		5	13 4
		<hr/>	
<i>total deductions =</i>		£16	16 10

Thus there is a clear yearly value of	£101	5	2
tenth part =	£10	2	6½

7. The Properties in more Detail

(a) *the demesne lands* (as in 1540–1) (W. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v.557)
(leased to John Scudamore, Esquire)

	£	s.	d.
420 acres arable land	4	0	0
22½ acres pasture called Bactons Home	5	6	8
12 acres pasture called Oxlease	2	3	8
6 acres pasture called Colverhouse	1	0	0
2½ acres pasture called the Barn Close	0	6	8
6 acres pasture called Sexton's Close	1	0	0
3 acres pasture called the Mill Close (and now sowed with barley)		10	0
Orchard there, 5 acres	1	0	0
20 acres pasture, called the Home Sheep House, now converted to arable land	2	0	0
18 acres pasture enclosed in Gilbert's Hill Wood, with the herbage of the wood	1	6	8
4 acres pasture called Philip Gwyn's land		6	8
8 acres pasture called the Langet	2	0	0
4½ acres pasture called the Colt Lease	1	0	0
one house and close, behind the old barn		3	4
56½ acres of meadow (one called the Long Moore, 22 acres = £8 0 0; another was the Havard)	16	13	4
one watermill	4	0	0
	<hr/>		
<i>total</i> =	£43	0	0
	<hr/>		

also "over this, the part of the demesne in several occupation of Thomas ap Richard" (but no value given), and "one several wood there called Gilbert's Hill, closed with a hedge, containing 120 acres, whereof 13 acres be of fifty years growing, and the residue of one hundred years growing and above, valued to our judgements and estimation 13/4d the acre"

£80 0 0

(b) *the lands in general* (as in 1535–6; i.e. Mich.–Mich. covering last year of monastery's life (dissolved Sept. 1536).

P.R.O. *S.C.6/Henry VIII/7319* (a summary only, to indicate property, and some points of interest).

m.8r Morehampton Grange

farm of grange: £15 6 8. Grange had been leased (Oct. 13th, 1527) by abbot John, and the convent, to Thomas Baskerville, esq. and his assigns, "with all ye pastures, meadows, leasows (*rough pastures*), all other appurtenances and commodities, two rough closes, and a meadow lying between *drenthlane du*²²³ and ye said grange, with all manner of tithes, waifs, and strays, fishing, hawking, and pannage with all other profits and royalties thereto belonging, suit of court only excepted" for 99 years, for an annual payment of £15 6 8 (payable in two equal portions at the Annunciation and at Michaelmas), but within five years Baskerville "shall build or cause to be builded anew, a barn, an ox house, a kitchen, a day house, and all other houses necessary" at his own cost, the convent however remitting 40/- of the rent to assist, sufficient timber from the monastic wood also being granted. If the rent was behind for more than one month the abbot and convent could enter the grange and distrain, and "the distress so taken to

drive, carry away and withhold," until rent was fully paid. If rent was two or more months overdue, and there was insufficient distress, then the abbot and his successors could re-enter the grange and expel Baskerville and his successors.

m.9r Kingston Grange

Leased in similar terms for £6 13 4 per year to Thomas Baskerville on Oct. 24th, 1529 for term of 69 years, John Redborne being abbot. Lessee was also to make suite of the court and mill of the abbot at Dore, and heriot "that is to say, ye best beast after the decease of any of them dying as tenants of the premises. And further it is agreed between the said parties that if any servant or maid of the said Thomas Baskerville or his assigns, or any stranger having goods of their own, should die within the precinct of the said grange, then the said abbot and convent and their successors shall have their heriot of any such persons so dying there, that is to say his best goods." The lessee was also to build "a dwelling house, a barn, and other cottages meet and convenient"; he was "to repair, maintain and sustain all manner of hedges and dykes within the precinct of the said grange"; and he could have sufficient housebote and heybote out of the abbot's wood at Dore, but he was not to cut 'the grete oke,' elm, or 'polle wood.'

m.10r

Morlais Grange: leased for £3 0 0 to Thomas ap Morgan, Esq. on Jan. 20th, 1534 for 99 years.

Llyncoed Grange: leased for £2 0 0 to Roger ap David on 15th October 1507 (90 years).

Llanfair Chapel or Grange: leased for 34/4d to Thomas Baskerville and others on 4 November 1529 for 53 years. Here "religious priests celebrate divine service for the souls of all benefactors and founders of the chapel and for the souls of all the faithful departed." Lease reserved to the abbot ?*anibus* called Herens House (*herenshawys*) there.²²⁴

Blakemore Grange: leased for £2 11 8 to Richard ap Henry, on 20th October 1530, for 99 years. Some pasture here was called the Bushy *Agotshypper*. Also lease of another parcel of this grange for 15/- to Morgan ap Richard.

Godway Grange: leased for £1 13 4 to Thomas ap Philip, on 29th July 1501 for 90 years.

Benfield Grange: leased to Simon Greynton for £1 10 0 for 80 years on 4th September, 1511.

m.10d

Whitewall Grange: leased for £1 6 8 to Henry Tyler (life-lease).

Bacton Grange: leased to Lawrence ap Harry for 15/10d, (life-lease).

Hollings Grange: leased to David Wyth(e) for £1 0 0, (life-lease).

Cold Grange (on Severenny Hill); leased for 6/8d to John ap Jankyn ap Hopkyn on May 1st, 1471 (101 yr. lease ? : this was the 65th year).

New Grange: leased to John Walter (?) for £2 13 4 for 99 years on Jan. 6th, 1533.

Newborough Grange (in the town of Dore): leased for £1 13 4 to Madoc ap Henry (? life lease).

Total: £20 19 2.

m.11r

(This begins with notes (similar ones occur after most of the properties) as to expenditure; in this case part rents totalled 19/2d — 16/8 to lord of Abergavenny out of Morlais Grange, and 2/6 to the king out of Bacton Grange, (formerly this sum was due to Abergavenny Priory); 2/- was paid to the scribe who drew up the account, while John Scudamore, coroner there, received an allowance of £2 11 6.

The late abbot had received the remaining £17 2 6d for the sustenance of the community).

m.11d — m.12d

Town of Dore: £14 15 4 from 25 tenements with lands appertaining. A typical lease was one of 1526 giving housebote and heybote, but lessee making suit of court and mill, and paying for pannage of pigs. Lessees sometimes specified to bear with repairs. A tenement was essentially a holding, probably usually with a dwelling, but occasionally houses were specified; thus, in a lease of 1501, there was demised a "certain tenement namely Oxhey with houses, pastures, etc." Another tenement, leased in 1527, was in Trivel Wood by a stream called the Horse Brook, and had an open space (*placea*) and a garden adjacent to it. There is mention of other lands and buildings in Trivel, and also of one parcel of pasture (not precisely located) 'under Pixty, or Sowre Green.'

m.13r

foreign bailiff in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire:

fixed rents: 1/6 for . . . and certain land in Skenfrith

holdings at will: 16/8 from 1 watermill in Dore (parcel of demesne of monastery); 8d from rent of a certain burgage in Ewyas Harold, sited in the Castle Street; 1/- for land in Hoton.

farm of temporalities: 39/- from tenements in town of Dore (5 all told, one of them next to the Sheephouse, and holding with it a garden, orchard, and closes, including Ellers Close, which was 'against the stream of the water of Dore'); 21/10d from 3 tenements in city of Hereford (two in Wyebridge Street), one in parish of St. Andrew; 6 other tenements, and three parcels of land in Cefnbach, Dore town, and Ewyas Lacy, were worth 34/6; 3/- from farm of 40 acres of land in parish of Madley; 13/4 from a meadow and pasture (the Homemead) in Wyllersley.

total: £6 13 6

m.14r

farm of spiritualities: 13/4 from farm of all tithes pertaining to the abbot and convent in Skenfrith and Grosmont extending in length from the house of Thomas ap Philpot to the house of Richard ap Hywel ap David, and in breadth from the house by the mill (?) to the summit of Severenny Hill. Demised for 80 years in 1528; £1/13/4 from one parcel of tithes of sheaves of corn, and hay, in Cefnbach in Dore; 8/- from another parcel; £2 10 0 from all other tithes; 13/4 for farm of the church of Duntisborn (Salop).

total: £5 18 0

sale of wood: 16/8

m.14d

site of monastery, with demesne, pastures, meadows, etc. £14 11 4

m.15r—16r Gwenddwr, Trawscoed and Llaneglwys

in Gwenddwr: £11 4 4 from 45 tenements with lands appertaining; (N.B.: the value of these is only about half that of the tenements of the Golden Valley). Of the leases 37 were life-leases only. Of leases where detail is given, one dated in 1504 (for 80 years) mentions making suit of court, paying for pannage of pigs, and a heriot on decease, but the lessees may have housebote and heybote. Another lessee could take underwood, and held his property with two mills, (were these fulling mills?—it is not easy to know what to make of "duobus molis pert. ad grangia et ab fullers (sic)"). It was not lawful for the lessee to sub-let the said house and two mills without leave. Place-names mentioned are those of tenements called Broad Wendor and Llanertli; the lessee of the former was to bear necessary repairs, and to make suit of court 'in the manor of Cantrefhelyf of the said monks.'

m.16r

£4 17 2 for 8 tenements (6 were life-leases), at *Trawscoed*.

£1 6 8 for 3 tenements on life-leases in *Llaneglwys*.

£5 6 8 from farm “ of all and singular tithes of sheaves of Gwenddwr with Trawscoed and Llaneglwys”.

m.17r

rectory of Avenbury: £5 6 8 from lease of rectory, together with a barn called the Abbot’s Barn, all tithes, pasture, etc. (Note is made, of payment of £3 to vicar of Avenbury, and of 6/8 out of profits of Avenbury to choristers of Hereford Cathedral.)

m.17d

rectory of Albrighton: £6 13 4 from lease of rectory, tithes, etc. Then note is made that out of this income part of the pension of a former abbot Thomas Cleubery, is paid, and the relevant indenture is quoted:

“ To all Christian faithful to whom the present writings come, from John Glyn, abbot of Dore, perpetual health in the Lord. Know you that we, the abbot and convent, with unanimous assent, and with Leyshon, abbot of Neath, and Galfridus, abbot of Conway assenting, for the maintenance and support of the lord Thomas Cleubery, late abbot of Dore, by this present writing concede to the aforesaid lord Thomas, to Richard Warncombe, mayor of Hereford, Thomas Gibbons²²⁵, of the same, William Longford of Ludlow, and Richard Bury of London, lawyer, an annual pension of £16 13 4 sterling, receiving it for the use of the said Thomas, out of all the manors and lands of the monastery in the county of Hereford, and the border of Wales, the manor of Wigtoft and of Albrighton, during the natural life of the said Thomas and three chambers with the chapel adjacent, situated on the north side of the monastery, together with food and drink meet and sufficient for the said Thomas, with a servant to minister to him, with sufficient fuel for burning, with candles, and with a piece of pasture for grazing two horses, with sufficient loads of hay and fodder, without interruption, (and) with free ingress and egress for them.” The pension was to be paid in three instalments yearly, 5 marks on June 24th (*Nativity of St. John the Baptist*), £10 on July 25th (*St. James’s Day*), and 5 marks on February 2nd (*Candlemas*). £40 was also to be paid “ for the use of Thomas Cleubery within 40 days.” The indenture is dated Feb. 11th, 1526; Cleubery had resigned by 1523 when Glyn succeeded, and the £40 obviously represents therefore three years back payment.

m.18r

rectory of Wigtoft, co. Lincs: leased for £13 6 8. Out of this a pension of £2 6 8 was paid to the bishop of Lincoln, and again a note is appended of use of some of the income towards Cleubery’s pension.

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Abbreviations employed:

AC	=	Archaeologia Cambrensis
BM	=	British Museum
Charter	=	Calendar of Charter Rolls
Close	=	Calendar of Close Rolls
CY	=	Canterbury and York Society
Fine	=	Calendar of Fine Rolls
HCA	=	Hereford Cathedral Archives
MA	=	Monmouthshire Antiquary
Monasticon	=	Dugdale, W. " <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> " (1846 edn)
PRO	=	Public Record Office
S	=	J. Canivez, " <i>Statuta Capitulum Ordinis Cisterciensis</i> ," (Louvain, 1933-41)
Woolhope	=	Trans. Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club

- ¹ Bristol Record Soc. ix 254-5, Leland, J. "*Itinerary*" (Centaur Press, 1964), iii 49, Patent 1351, pp.118, 188.
² and see Appendix 3(1) of this article.
³ Morgan, F. C. "*Abbey Dore*" (1965), p.3, Monasticon v.555b.
⁴ Eydoux, H. P. "*L'Eglise abbatiale de Morimond*," in *Analecta S. Ord. Cisterciensis* (XIV) 1958, p.13.
⁵ *CY Reg. Ric. de Swinfield* (1909) p.356, *Reg. J. de Trillek* (1910), p.252.
⁶ Morgan, F. C. op.cit. p.3, Blashill, T. "*Abbeydore*" in Woolhope (1883), p.7.
⁷ *CY Reg. Thome de Cantilupe* (1907), p.xxxiv, Morgan, F. C. op.cit. p.3, Sledmere, E. "*Abbey Dore*" (1914), p.22.
⁸ Paul, R. W. "*Abbey Dore*" (in Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc. xxvii) p.121.
⁹ Close 1446, p.443.
¹⁰ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII vol. 15 (1540), p.179 (436/89).
¹¹ H. P. Eydoux, op.cit. pp.32, 32.n.4, and map.
¹² Morgan, F. C. op.cit. p.6, AC 1927, pp.271-2, Br. and Glos. Arch. Soc. xxvii 33, and '*The Reliquary*' for January, 1903.
¹³ Sledmere, E. op.cit. p.60.
¹⁴ Marshall, A. "*Wooden Monumental Effigies in Herefordshire*," (in Woolhope, 1920), pp.189-197.
¹⁵ Everard Green, "*Dore Abbey Church*" (in *Downside Review* - 1899), p.258.
¹⁶ Sledmere, E. op.cit. p.60.
¹⁷ BM *Egerton MS* 3088.
¹⁸ see Appendix V for precise details of titles, etc. In Exeter Coll. MS.1, see folios 75-78.
¹⁹ Gibson, Matthew "*Churches of Door, Home Lacy, and Hempsted*" (1727), p.16, Cat. Br. Hist. iii 31, C. H. Talbot, "*Cadogan of Bangor*" (in *Citeaux in de Nederlanden* ix 1958), p.19.
²⁰ in his *Speculum Ecclesie*, (Rolls Series) i 104, iv 186, 192-3, 200-214, and his *De Rebus a se Gestis* (i 95), see also Sledmere, E. op.cit. pp.12-15.
²¹ Monasticon, v.553, Charter, 1227 p.2.
²² Monasticon, v.555b.
²³ S.i.239 (1199/33), 294 (1203/49), 300 (1204/25), 302 (1204/30), 472 (1217/31).
²⁴ MA(1964) pp.86, 88, 95, 101.
²⁵ MA(1964) p.101, (1965) p.62, and see later in this article.
²⁶ C. H. Talbot, op.cit. pp.22-3, Brown Willis, "*History of Abbies*" (1719), appx. iv 86, *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Series 1860) p.325.
²⁷ PRO.E.135/6/7-11, 135/19/7, 135/21/5, 135/24/3-4 and 13. (The latter refer to other disputes not mentioned in this article). PRO.SC 1 XLVII 48.
²⁸ Patent, 1265 p.429, 1266 p.660.
²⁹ S, iii 118 (1273/13).
³⁰ PRO.E.135/6/9, BM. *Nero. C.III f.* 193, Nat. Libr. Wales, *Milborne Family MS* 1992. See also p.23 in Preb. A. L. Moir's "*Bishops of Hereford*" (1964), kindly sent to me by the author.
³¹ Lancs. and Cheshire Rec. Soc. lxxviii (1914) pp.2-5.

- 32 S.iii 42-43 (1266/35).
- 33 PRO.E.135/3/16, Lancs, and Chesh. Rec. Soc. op.cit. pp.6, 16, 31, 85, 191, Fine 1285 p. 220, C. H. Talbot, "Richard Straddell" (in Downside Review, Jan. 1943) p.15.
- 34 S.iii 40 (1266/19).
- 35 Close 1272 p.2, Patent 1272 p.1, Rymer, T. "Foedera" i.pt.2. p.499.
- 36 Monasticon v. 555b, J. W. Willis-Bund (Episc. Reg. Diocese of Worcester), *Reg. Bishop Godfrey Giffard* (1902) ii.283.
- 37 CY Reg. Ric. de Swinfield (1909) pp.58, 61, Sledmere, E. op.cit. 22.
- 38 Patent 1330 p.513, Close 1335 p.370.
- 39 Close 1321 p.367.
- 40 C. H. Talbot, "Richard Straddell" op.cit. 13-14, Patent 1327 p.95.
- 41 Lanc. and Chesh. Rec. Soc. op.cit. p.6.
- 42 Patent 1329 pp.464, 484, C. H. Talbot, op.cit. 16, Patent 1334 pp.30-1, 1335 pp.152, 157, Close 1335 pp.370-1, 430, 443-4, 506, 518, and see Appendix III (4) of this issue for his accounts.
- 43 See Appendix III(1).
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- 62 See map of this article, and Appendix III, 5, 6 and 7.
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- 91 Charter 1241, p.261, *Monasticon* v. 556.
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- 93 Patent 1251 p.465, HCA 3239.
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- 95 Appx. III 7a.
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- 110 See Appx. III 5 of this issue, and *Cat. Anc. Deeds* i B.36.
- 111 S.i.294 (1203/49), 300-1 (1204/25), 388 (1211/46), 401 (1212/55).
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- 113 Close 1275 p.254.
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- 115 See before, and Charter 1265 p.55, 1327, p.14, *Cat. Anc. Deeds* v. 3.
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- 117 See *Taxatio* in Appx. III 5, and the map.
- 118 Charter 1250 p.347.
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- 120 *Cat. Anc. Deeds* i 339, Sledmere, E. op.cit. 22.
- 121 A.C. 1874/33.
- 122 S.i.239 (1199/33), 273 (1199/22), 294 (1203/49), 300 (1204/25), 321 (1206/31), 388 (1211/46), 401-2 (1212/55), 425 (1214/40), 443 (1215/41), 460 (1216/53), 472 (1217/30), ii. 41 (1225/31). P.R.O. E. 210/D. 9456.
- 123 A.C. 1888/208-9.

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- ¹²⁵ see before, and for dates – *Monasticon* v. 555., *Index BM Charters and Rolls* (1912) ii. p. 199., *Charter* 1241 p.260.
- ¹²⁶ S.ii.209 (1239/34), 269 (1243/53), 287 (1244/61), 382 (1252/29).
- ¹²⁷ *Annals of Dore* (Appx. III. 1) for dates; S.ii.414 (1255/21).
- ¹²⁸ Appx. III(1) for dates, and also *Index BM Charters and Rolls*, *ibid.* ii.199. For surname of *King* see *Cat. Anc. Deeds* iv 329, see also HCA 2205, 2207–9.
- ¹²⁹ Patent 1265, p.431.
- ¹³⁰ S.iii.89 (1270/46).
- ¹³¹ S.iii.110 (1272/30).
- ¹³² S.iii.111 (1272/34).
- ¹³³ Close 1272 p.2, Patent 1272 p.1, Rymer, T. *Foedera* i. pt. 2. p.499. See Appx. III(1) for date of death.
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- ¹³⁵ S.iii.169 (1277/31), 172 (1277/52), 173 (1277/68), 214 (1281/62).
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- ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ *Flores Historiarum* iii 344.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Reg. Ade de Orleton* (CY – 1908) pp. 155, 193.
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- ¹⁴⁸ Close 1321 p.367.
- ¹⁴⁹ Close 1321 p.404.
- ¹⁵⁰ see Appx. III(1) of this article.
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- ¹⁵⁴ *Cal. Papal Reg.* ii 280.
- ¹⁵⁵ Close 1328, p.410, 1330 p.150.
- ¹⁵⁶ *Lancs. and Chesh. Rec. Soc. op.cit.* p.185.
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- ¹⁵⁹ Patent 1329, pp.464, 484.
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- ¹⁶⁶ Close 1338, p.302.
- ¹⁶⁷ Close 1340, p.641.
- ¹⁶⁸ Patent 1340, p.26.
- ¹⁶⁹ HCA 2838.
- ¹⁷⁰ S.iii.483 (1344/22).
- ¹⁷¹ *CY Reg. J. de Trillek* (1910), p.287, see Appx. III(1) for death.
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- ¹⁷³ Bradney, *op.cit.* ii p.340, Sledmere, E. *op.cit.* p.18.
- ¹⁷⁴ *CY Reg. L. de Charlton* (1914) pp.10–11.
- ¹⁷⁵ Patent 1370 p.398, 1373 p.337.
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 213 *PRO. LR* 6/152/1.
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 215 *BM Royal MS.* 12E xiv fol. 23r.
 216 Sledmere, E. *op.cit.* p.82.
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 218 See also Leland, J. *op.cit.* p.251, and his *Itinerary*, *op.cit.* v. 178, Blashill, T. *op.cit.* p.9.
 219 in *Downside Review*, Jan. 1943, pp.18-20.
 220 V.C.H. *Glos.* ii 99.
 221 Wakeman, *op.cit.*
 222 Mayor of Hereford in 1525-6, as described in Appx. III 7b.
 223 at Blackbush, about 1 mile north of the abbey (Gibson, M. *op.cit.* p.12).
 224 cf. D.10.669. County Record Office, Newport, Mon., kind information of Mr. W. H. Baker.
 225 Gibbons succeeded Warncombe as Mayor in Sept. 1526; kind information of the Town Clerk, and the Assistant County Archivist, Hereford.
 226 Leland, "*Itinerary*," *op.cit.* v. 177-8.
 227 Appx. III(1).
 228 *Br. and Glos. Arch.* xxvii p.33.
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POST-ROMAN FINDS FROM THE CAERLEON FORTRESS BATHS EXCAVATION

By J. M. LEWIS

This paper describes the post-Roman finds from the three seasons of excavation on the Caerleon fortress baths carried out by Mr. G. C. Boon from 1964 to 1966. Their publication in this journal has been considered worthwhile as a representative sample of the post-Roman finds from the area of the legionary fortress, a subject that inevitably tends to become overshadowed by the richness and importance of Roman finds from the site. Yet Caerleon has had a continuous life throughout medieval times, and down to the present.

Most of the finds came from the top soil, and were not associated with any structural features. The exception was the group of finds associated with a medieval well or pit and the area immediately surrounding it. This was situated adjacent to the eighth pier from the south-east end in the north-east arcade of the *basilica* (see Plate 1). The digging of this well had removed part of the face of the pier. This had been made good, and the other sides faced with rubble masonry, forming a shaft about 3 ft. square. It seems to have been narrower than this at the mouth, as the best preserved section shows the highest courses corbelled across the corner (see



PLATE 1. CAERLEON FORTRESS BATHS: MEDIEVAL WELL OR PIT

photograph). Round the shaft was an associated floor level made up of a hard, stoney surface. The well was excavated to a depth of 4 ft. The lower filling was of clay, and had every appearance of being deliberate. Finds from this and an upper earthy filling, and also those from the surrounding floor, have been identified in the list. On the grounds of these finds, the filling can be dated to the late 13th or early 14th century.

Insofar as any general comment is possible, it may be said that the finds illustrate very much the pattern of trade and industrial contacts that one would have expected. It will be seen that the medieval pottery draws heavily on Bristol and West Country influences, showing the results of direct trade across the Channel as well as local imitation. One or two of the cooking pots however have West Midland affinities implying that local trade was not exclusively south-orientated. Foreign imports are restricted to pottery from south-west France.

Post-medieval pottery is drawn from a wider area: north Devon, Staffordshire, Nottingham. The foreign imports are of Rhenish stoneware, though direct trade with Atlantic Europe had not stopped. An interesting comment on local trade in the 17th and 18th centuries is offered by the clay pipes. There is a well-marked differentiation between the pipes from the garden of the Bull Inn, High St., and those from no. 3 Cross St., once the Plough and Harrow Inn. The Cross St. pipes are probably all of Bristol manufacture, with a date range of c. 1630-1720. The High St. site on the other hand produced a high proportion of Broseley pipes of c. 1660-1730. This shows that neighbouring ale-houses were getting their pipes from different and competing sources. It also gives the impression of Broseley pipe-makers breaking into a Bristol-dominated market in the latter half of the 18th century.

The season of finding has been indicated in the List immediately after the serial number.

They are as follows:

- 1964 = Finds occurring in the top-soil during the 1964 excavation. Finds from the area of the medieval well (further excavated in 1965) have been listed '1964 W.'
- 1965 = Finds from the 1965 season, which came mainly from the well area. These have been listed '1965 W' (for *well area*), and '1965 WF' (for *well filling*).
- 1966 = Finds occurring in the top-soil and robber trenches during the excavation of the *natio* of the fortress baths in the garden of the Bull Inn, High St. (listed '1966 HS'), or its south-east end in the garden of no. 3, Cross St. (listed '1966 XS').

SMALL FINDS (fig. 1)

1. Leaden sealing, coin and counters. Mr. G. C. Boon contributes the following note:

LEADEN SEALING

This sealing was found in topsoil on the fortress baths site, 1964. It is 2.15 cm. in diameter, and was possibly made by inserting a round plug of lead about 15 mm. in diameter through a hole cut in the overlapping ends of a leather strap around a bale of wool, hides, or other merchandise; the sealing is slightly wedge-shaped in section and was therefore impressed by a hinged die. Both sides bear designs of an official character.



FIG. 1.

The *obverse* shows the seated figure of a king, in armour, holding a sword upright in the right hand, and clasping a shield bearing the quartered arms of England and France with the left. The legend reads (HEN)RI CVSREX. There is a capital *H* between the legs of the throne, which appears to be without a back. The *reverse* shows a similar shield of arms, crowned, within a tressure of arcs. The impression is poor and little can be made of the legend; an *E* is certain in second place and the remaining indications are consistent with a repetition of the obverse inscription.

One is naturally drawn towards comparisons with the coinage in forming an impression of the date of the sealing. Nobles and their halves, for example of Henry IV (1399–1413), display a half-length figure of the king in armour, with sword and shield, but he stands in a ship. The contemporary quarter-noble displays a shield of the quartered arms of England and France within a tressure of arcs, but the shield is not crowned. For a seated figure of the king, we may turn to the sovereigns of Henry VII (1485–1509) and Henry VIII (1509–1547), but the king, in these cases, wears robes, and holds orb and sceptre. At the same time, the armoured figure of the king is retained in the traditional ship design of the ryal of Henry VII. The crown-of-the-rose of Henry VIII displays a large crowned shield very like that of our specimen but without the tressure of arcs.

Whilst it is difficult to be precise about the date of the sealing, it seems most likely that it belongs to the time of Henry VII or VIII rather than to that of Henry IV, V or VI; and if one studies the configuration of the king's face, one is led to the tentative conclusion that it is Henry VII that is intended rather than his son.

COINS

The fortress baths excavations produced from topsoil or robbers' fill (a) a penny of Henry V (1413–1422) and (b) two Nuremberg reckoning-counters, both pierced, one of armorial type (uncertain) and one of 'ship' type.

G.C.B.

2. 1964. Bronze double-looped strap-end buckle, cf. *London Museum Medieval Catalogue*, Pl. LXXV, No. 5. ? 15th century.
3. 1964. Bronze double-looped buckle, cf. *London Mus. Med. Cat.*, Pl. LXXVII, No. 8. 15th century or later.
4. 1964. Bronze object. ? Part of dagger chape, 14th–15th century.
5. 1966 XS. Brass candle-holder. Single sheet of metal folded over to form a cone; flattened and broken off at the bottom. 18th–19th century.
6. 1966 XS. Brass candle-holder with screw stem. 18th–19th century.

MEDIEVAL GLAZED POTTERY (fig. 2)

Face Jug

1. 1964; 1965 WF. Thin, light-grey ware, fired buff. Applied bridge-spout in the form of a human head: the face is moulded from a single piece of clay, with the nose and chin pulled out to a point; the eyes consist of applied pellets of dark clay with central perforations; the ears are deep thumb impressions. Round the forehead is a line of deep impressions made with a point of rectangular section, probably representing a crown. The rim was surrounded by round applied pellets of clay. The arms consist of slivers of clay attached at the shoulders by deep thumb impressions. Below the neck of the vessel is a curvilinear pattern in dark trailed-slip consisting of circles each with a cross bar, probably representing brooches. This pattern was probably repeated all round the upper part of the vessel. The outside, and the upper part of the inside, has a yellow-green glaze, the slip pattern showing through as a dark green or brown. Late 13th – early 14th century.

Face jugs occur widely in Britain, but in sufficient concentration in the Bristol Channel area to suggest a local tradition and source of manufacture. Examples are already known in Monmouthshire from White Castle¹ and Hen Gwrt². Further west, they are known from Cardiff³, while a head showing a very close similarity in style to our example has recently been excavated at Sully Castle, Glam. In Bristol examples are known from the Castle well⁴ and the Back Hall site⁵. The Hen Gwrt and Sully examples show such close similarities to ours that all three probably came from the same hand.

Brooch designs on face jugs have a wide distribution, being found e.g. at the Burley Hill kiln, Derbs.⁶, Dover⁷, Kirkcudbright Castle (dated 1288–1308)⁸, as well as at Bristol Castle well⁹, but oftener as an applied moulded patch than in a trailed slip pattern. However, as curvilinear slip patterns are a commonplace on local face jugs (cf. White Castle and Hen Gwrt), the Caerleon jug represents a version of a widespread motif in a local style.

Tripod Pitchers

Sherds of identical fabric: dark grey ware speckled white by fine rounded stone grits; fired off-white to buff inside, and with a thin yellow-green glaze outside; the outer surface is rough to the touch, the inner surface pitted through loss of grits.

2. & 3. 1964 and 1966 HS. Base angle sherds of tripod pitchers.
4. 1966 HS. Body sherd with combed decoration consisting of parallel bands of wavy lines with oblique bands of combing between them.
5. 1966 HS. Body sherd decorated with combed bands of straight, horizontal lines, with short oblique strokes between. Opaque yellow-green glaze.

Tripod pitchers are a West Country type, found notably in Oxford, Bristol and Gloucester¹⁰. They range in date from the last half of the 12th well into the 13th century. Parallels to our comb-decorated vessels are those from Hullasey, Glos.¹¹ Gloucester¹², Frampton on Severn¹³, Pithay¹⁴ and Baldwin St., Bristol¹⁵. The combed decoration on these vessels links them with the cooking pots from Selsley Common, Glos., once dated by circumstantial and coin evidence to the mid 13th century¹⁶, but now thought to extend into the late 13th or early 14th century¹⁷, as similar vessels (including tripod pitchers) are associated with imported French polychrome pottery in a pit at the Baldwin Street site.

Ham Green Jugs

A group of jug sherds of hard grey ware, slightly porous in fracture, having a green glaze with minute surface pitting, probably from the Ham Green kiln near Bristol¹⁸.

6. 1965. Body sherd corrugated at the neck, with incised horizontal lines below.
7. & 8. 1964 and 1965. Strap-handles with herring-bone slashing.

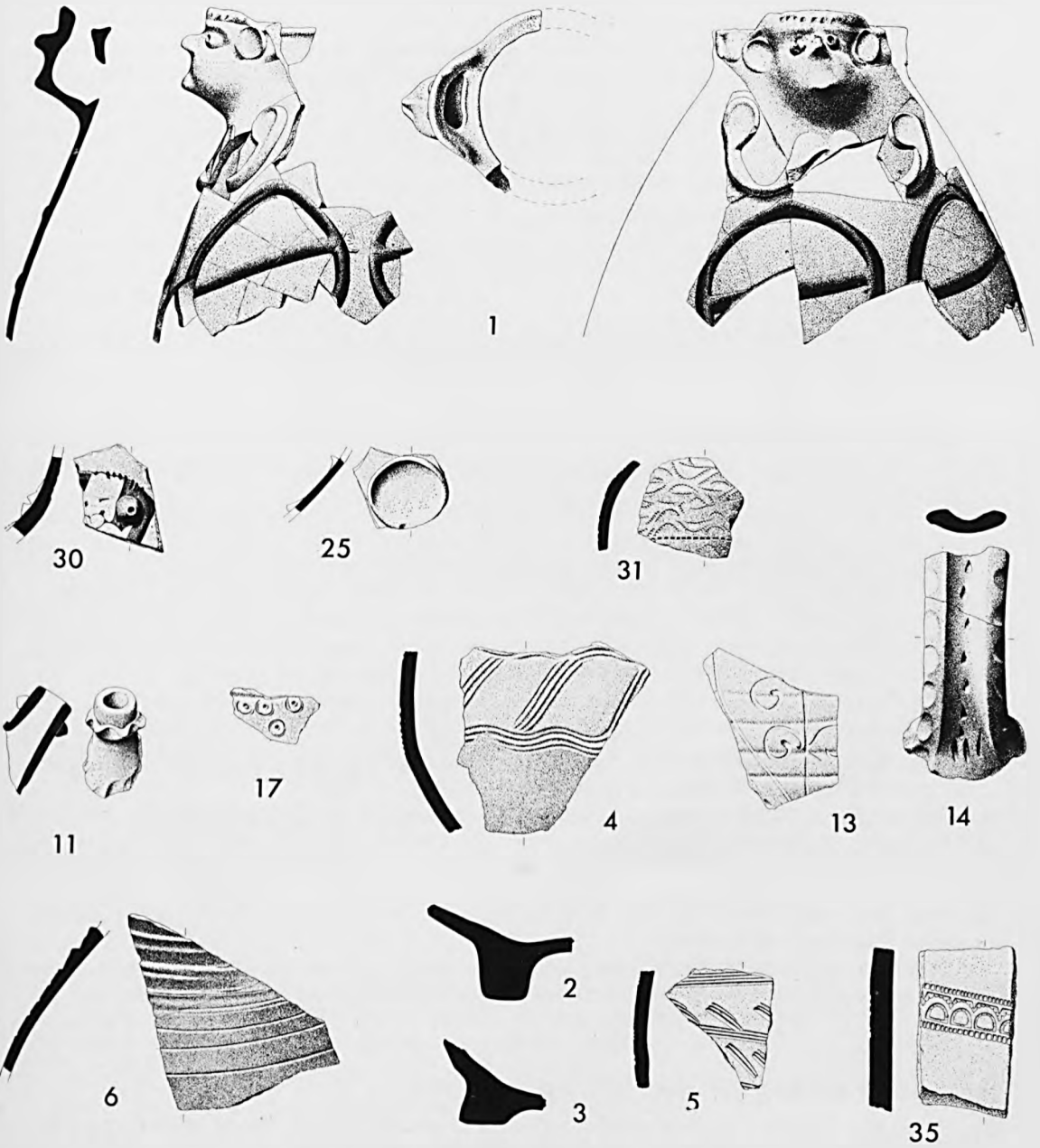


FIG. 2. CAERLEON: MEDIEVAL GLAZED POTTERY

9. 1966 XS. Sherd with vertical incisions at the junction of rim and handle.
10. 1966 HS. Rim sherd, square in section, its outer edge decorated with a roller-stamped lozenge pattern. Opaque yellow-green glaze.
Roller stamped lozenges are common at the kiln site, but are a form of decoration by no means confined to Ham Green pots (cf. Lydney Castle¹⁹ and Baldwin St., Bristol)²⁰. This rim form is not characteristic of Ham Green, and it may not belong to this kiln.
11. 1964. Short tubular spout decorated with a frill. Probably Ham Green, though such spouts are not represented at the kiln site. Frilled jug *necks* are certainly a Bristol-South Wales characteristic in the 13th – 14th century²¹.
12. 1964. Base angle sherd with frilled edge.

Jugs in hard red ware

A group of sherds in a hard red-surfaced ware with a grey core. Smooth orange-green glaze, slightly iridescent in places, but thin, so that patches of unglazed red surface break through. The ware is fine and well-fired, and the vessels smooth and well-finished. Judging by no. 13, it may be a local ware drawing on the Ham Green tradition of decoration. Probably early 14th century.

13. 1965 W. Body sherd with slightly corrugated surface, decorated with an incised stem-and-foilage pattern.
Plant forms in applied strips over horizontal grooving is a typical Ham Green decoration (cf. the well-known jug from Bristol²²). It is a form of decoration derived from the Midlands, where it can be seen on some notable jugs from Leicester and Coventry²³. These do not have horizontal grooving, so the probability is that the sherd under discussion represents a derivation *via* Ham Green, with incised lines replacing the applied strips of the original.
14. 1964. Strap handle with thumbled edges and triangular impressions down the middle. A similar handle from Bristol²⁴ was associated with imported French pottery.
15. 1964. Strap handle with raised edges and lenticular impressions down the middle.
16. 1965. Plain strap handle with raised edges.
17. 1964. Body sherd with random dot-and-circle decoration. This is a typical west country decoration found in Wiltshire, Somerset and Bristol²⁵.
18. 1964. Rim sherd with double grooving below the rim, and an internal bevel.
- 19 – 20. 1965 and 1966 HS. Rims similar to no. 18.
21. 1966. Pinched-out spout.
22. 1966. Base angle sherd; the base is quite flat, and the side of the vessel splayed slightly; green glaze *inside* and out.
23. 1964; 1965 WF. Body sherds, two with applied strips of iron-rich clay fired to a darker colour than the rest of the pot; another sherd has incised horizontal double lines.

Jug sherds of fine dark-grey ware, fired buff

24. 1966. Strap handle with three parallel incised lines down the back. Bright apple-green glaze.
25. 1964. Body sherd with plain circular applied patch, dished in the centre. cf. sherds from Pithay²⁶ and on a Ham Green jug from Back Hall, Bristol²⁷.
26. 1965. Body sherd with three short parallel slashes.

Imported pottery from S.W. France

Imported pottery of the late 13th and early 14th century associated with the wine trade with south-west France, has a wide distribution in Britain. (For the classic statement on the subject see Dunning in *Archaeologia* LXXXIII (1933), p.93-138).

27. 1965 WF. Three body sherds of fine white ware, with speckled green glaze.
28. 1964. Strap handle in fine white ware with green spotted glaze one side thickened by folding under, producing an S-shaped section. cf. Baldwin St., Bristol²⁸.
29. 1964. Plain strap handle in fine grey-white ware, good light-green glaze.
30. 1965 ('filling of robber trench along Fortress Bath frontage') Body sherd of fine white ware with black slip decoration representing a stylised human face, the eye consisting of an applied pellet with a central hole, the hair represented by short vertical strokes. Typical green spotted glaze.

Face decoration in applied slip seems to be rare, but not unknown on these wares. cf. a recently published sherd from Saintes, Charente Maritime²⁹.

Miscellaneous

31. 1964. Body sherd of fine-gritted grey ware, fired buff and glazed green outside, decorated with a roller-stamped pattern of notched lines forming a series of interlocking curves and straight lines.
 'Complex rouletting,' of which this is a typical example, is known from the west Midlands, Monmouthshire and South Wales³⁰, but no close parallels for this sherd are known.
32. 1965. Fragment of small handle, consisting of two cylinders of clay twisted together; hard grey ware, green-brown glaze.
 'Twisted rope' handles are part of an early West Country tradition, with a probable ancestry in the Saxo-Norman wares of eastern England. The strap handles of a group of tripod pitchers from Oxford, dated c.1200, have twisted rods of clay inserted along their backs³¹, but they also occur independantly as small handles on similar vessels³². A plaited handle occurs at Baldwin St³³.
33. 1964. Rim, neck and shoulder sherds of a jug, including the top of a strap handle with four vertical slashes. Reddish brown ware with dark grey core; very weathered, but with fragmentary remains of yellow green glaze. Rough surface. Very poorly made.
34. 1964 WF. (with no. 35). Small body sherd of thin buff ware, yellow glaze.
35. 1964 WF; 1965 WF; 1966 HS. Ridge tile sherds with a single line of complex rouletting running obliquely across the tile; good green glaze. The pattern consists of 'arcading' outlined in notched lines. There is an unpublished ridge tile from Caerleon³⁴ with an overall pattern of complex rouletting in vertical stripes consisting of a leaf-and-tendrill design comparable to that on local glazed jugs, (see note under no. 31 above).
36. 1966 HS. Triangular 'tooth' detached from a roof crest. Grey ware fired red, patchy yellow-green glaze. Stabbed along bottom edge, and into front edge.
37. 1964. Body and handle sherd of small vessel. Orange ware, yellow glaze speckled green.
38. 1965. Body sherd of hard grey ware with horizontal incised lines irregularly spaced. Thin brown-red glaze on outside, with patches of thicker green.

MEDIEVAL COOKING POTS (fig. 3)

The wares show some variation in surface appearance: nos. 1 – 4 and no. 9 are gritty wares with grey core and pink-buff surface, minutely pimpled; nos. 5 – 7 are smoother and harder; nos. 8 – 10 are thinner, have larger grits and are fired orange-buff inside. Examination of freshly fractured surfaces under x10 magnification suggests however that these variations are due more to accidents of manufacture and firing than to essential differences in fabric, which seems basically the same, including rounded calcite grits, minute mica specks, as well as small fragments of sandstone and coal. It is reasonable to suppose that they are all of local manufacture.

Considered stylistically, the most numerous group (nos. 1 – 7) has simple everted rims, the more carefully fashioned having their flat edges slightly thickened on the inside (nos. 3, 6, 7 and 10), the plainer ones slightly concave. No. 2 has a pronounced bulge on the outside of the rim and is thinner at the edge; the same can be seen in no. 12.

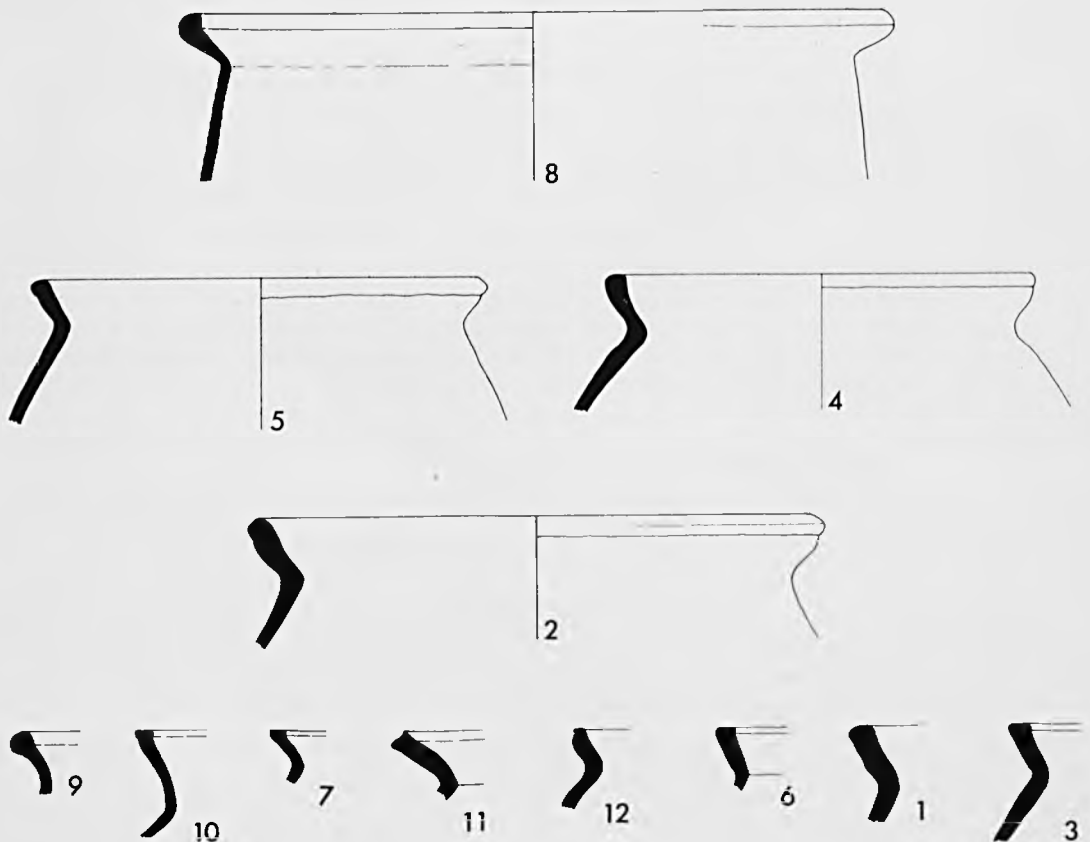


FIG. 3. CAERLEON: MEDIEVAL COOKING POTS

The thickness of the ware, combined with the simplicity of the rim forms might suggest a 12th century or even earlier date for nos. 1 – 5, cf. some 11th and early 12th century cooking pots from Winchester³⁵, an early rim from Mary-le-Port St., Bristol³⁶ and some of the Ogmores forms³⁷. It will be noticed, however, that no. 1 was found on the floor level surrounding the well, which otherwise produced only sherds of the late 13th – early 14th century. This association, while not conclusive, points to the possibility that these pots may be a local 13th century type.

We are on surer grounds with no. 18, which belongs to the 13th century West Midland tradition, with sharply everted rims and infolded edges cf. White Castle³⁸, Grosmont³⁹, Roushill, Shrewsbury⁴⁰.

1. 1964 W (' medieval floor level at north end of trench ') Thick gritty ware, pink-buff surface, grey core; fine pimply surface. Simple everted rim, flat topped and slightly concave. Also two body sherds of the same fabric.
2. 1965. Rim sherd of similar fabric. Simple everted rim with flat top; outside bulges slightly, edge thinner.
3. 1966 XS. Rim sherd of similar fabric. Simple straight everted rim, slightly thickened at edge.
4. 1965. Rim sherd of similar ware. Simple everted rim, slightly concave.
5. 1964. Rim sherd of hard ginger-brown ware with grey core. Smoother surface than nos. 1 – 4.
6. 1964. Rim sherd of similar ware. Simple everted rim with flat top, slightly thickened on inside edge.
7. 1965. Similar ware and rim form to no. 6.
8. 1964. Rim sherd of gritty grey ware, fired orange-buff on the inside. Straight, inward sloping sides; sharply everted rim with marked thickening towards edge, which is folded inwards.
9. 1965. Similar ware to nos. 1 – 4. Curved, everted rim, beaded at edge, which is folded outwards.
10. 1965. Similar ware to no. 8. Thin everted rim delicately clubbed at the edge.
11. 1965. Hard, grey, gritty ware. Sharply everted rim, with squared edge, slightly hollowed. Irregularity caused by finger impressions in angle between rim and body.
12. 1966 HS. Hard dark grey gritty ware. Everted rim with bulge on the outside and narrow edge cf. no. 2.

POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY (fig. 4)

1. 1966 XS. Body sherd of thin red ware, dark brown glaze, white trailed slip decoration consisting of a double circle filled with dots. Probably made at Bristol⁴¹. Late 17th – 18th century.
2. 1966 XS. Rim sherd of posset-pot in thin, buff ware with dark brown slip decoration; clear glaze producing creamy-yellow surface. Same date and provenance as no. 1.
3. 1966 XS. Rim and handle sherd of tyg, reddish-grey ware, dark glaze.
4. 1966 HS. Rim sherd of handled platter in red ware with white slip on upper surface and handle, *sgraffito* decoration of fruit or berries round the rim, yellow glaze. Typical of the *sgraffito* ware made in the Barnstaple–Bideford area of North Devon⁴². 17th – 18th century.
5. 1966 XS. Body sherd of same fabric as no. 4.

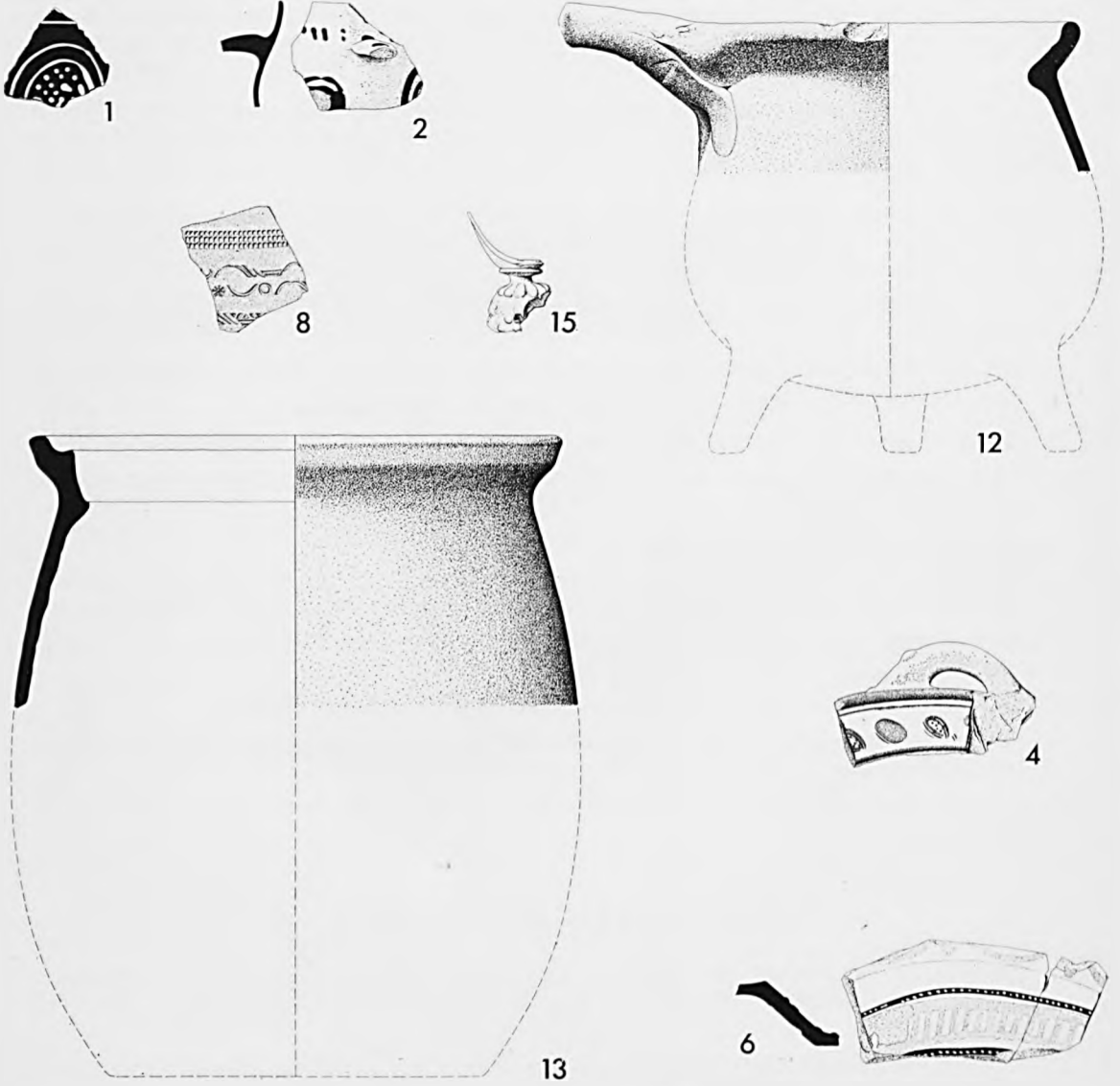


FIG. 4. CAERLEON: POST-MEDIEVAL POTTERY

6. 1966 HS. Rim of platter in pink-buff ware. White slip on upper surface, which is decorated with slip patterns, including a ladder pattern in light brown, and black line with white dots. Clear glaze producing yellow finish. Probably Staffordshire. Late 17th – early 18th century.
7. 1966 HS. Fragment of white earthenware bowl, 1780–1800. (Identification by Mr. R. L. Charles, National Museum of Wales).
8. 1966 XS. Sherd of grey stoneware with brown ‘metallic’ glaze outside and clear glaze inside. Contrasting bands of rouletted decoration. Nottingham stoneware. 18th century.
9. 1966 HS. Body sherd of brown salt-glazed stoneware (bellarmine) with embossed shield of arms: *quarterly four lions rampant per fess four escallops*. Imported German stoneware. Late 17th – early 18th century.
10. 1966 XS. Rim and handle sherd of tankard in grey stoneware. Moulded cordons with blue stripe; blue leaf or petal design outlined in incised lines. Imported German (Westerwald) stoneware. 17th century.
11. 1966 HS. Body sherd of off-white stoneware with circular moulded flower design filled with blue. Cf. no. 10.
12. 1964. Rim and handle sherd of pipkin, the handle not at right angles to the rim. Grey-pink gravel-tempered ware, treacly mottled green-brown glaze inside. North Devon, cf. no. 4. 17th century.
13. 1964. Storage jar in same ware as no. 12. Glazed inside below the rim, with stripe of glaze spilled down the outside. Cf. Watkins *op. cit.* p.45, fig. 25.
14. 1964. Rim and handle sherd of pipkin. Red ware, dull olive-green glaze. Handle strengthened by median rib. Probably 17th century.
15. 1966. Wine-glass stem. ? English 1570–1635, cf. Haynes, *Glass through the Ages* Pl. 53d; Thorpe, *English Glass* p.128. (Identification by Mr. R. L. Charles).
16. 1966 XS. Neck of glass medicine bottle. 18th century.

CLAY PIPES⁴³ (fig. 5)

- 1, 2. 1964. Type 4a. 1620–50.
3. 1964. Type 4c. 1630–70. Stamped RB on the heel with a dagger between the initials. cf. *TBGAS* nos. 100–3. Possibly Richard Berriman (Burman) of Bristol, *fl.* 1639 (see *JBAA* list).
4. 1964. Imperfect stamp with same initials as no. 3 but not as well executed.
5. 1966 XS. Type 4c. Stamped TG on the heel, with a fleur-de-lis between the initials. Possibly Thomas Grigg (Gregg) of Bristol. *fl.* 1630 (see *JBAA* list).
- 6, 7, 8. 1966 XS; 1966 XS; 1966 HS. Type 4c.
9. 1966 XS. Type 5b 1640–70. Stamped RB on heel. Possibly Richard Berrimen of Bristol, as no. 3.
10. 1966 XS. Type 6a 1650–90.
- 11, 12. 1966 XS. Type 6a. Stamped WC in a circle with notched inner edge. Incised line round top of bowl. cf. *TBGAS* no. 43. Probably William Chearington of Bristol (freeman 1660).
13. 1966 XS. Type 7a. 1670–1710. Stamped RN on the heel, surrounded by a ring of dots. Probably Richard Nunney of Bristol cf. *TBGAS*.

14. 1966 XS. Type 8b. 1680–1720. Stamped FR on heel. Possibly Francis Russel the younger of Bristol (*fl.* 1698).
15. 1964. Broseley type 3. 1660–1700. Small round embossed stamp (illegible).
16. 1966 HS. Broseley type 5. 1670–1730. Square stamp on heel: EDW/ARD/PARY.
17. 1966 HS. Broseley type 5. Square stamp on heel: THO/MAS/LEGG *cf.* *TSANHS*, Pl. III, 199. Thomas Legg of Broseley. *fl.* 1653–1719 (see *JBAA* list).
18. 1966 HS. Fragment of stem stamped with a square stamp: IOHN/HARTS/HORNE *cf.* *TSANHS*, Pl. III, 141. John Hartshorne of Broseley, 1644–88 (see *JBAA* list).
19. 1966 HS. 19th century. Possibly Thomas Griffiths of Bristol. *fl.* 1856 (see *JBAA* list).
20. 1966 HS. Fragment of stem with a circular stamp, probably consisting of an S surrounded by a laurel crown.

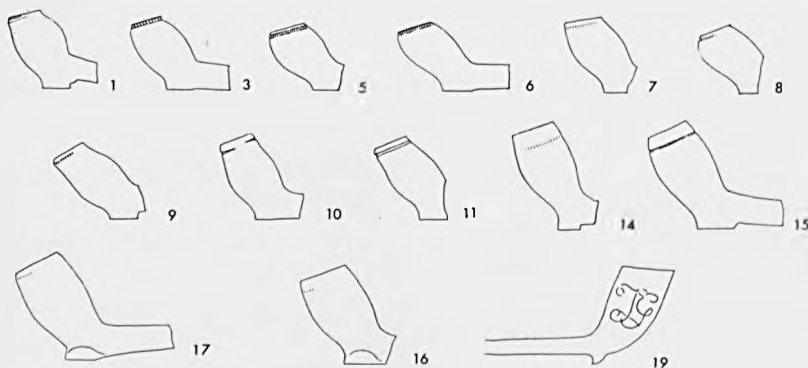


FIG. 5. CAERLEON: CLAY PIPES

ADDENDUM

The 'gravel-tempered' wares of north Devon (fig. 4, nos. 4, 12 and 13) were exported extensively to colonial North America (*op. cit.* note 42). Apropos these contacts, Mr. G. C. Boon has brought to my notice a brass book-clasp (fig. 6) found in topsoil S.W. of the Roman fortress in 1954, on which he contributes the following note:

Brass book-clasp, 12.8 by 3.8 cm., attached by means of two small iron pins, one through the centre dot-and-circle motif at the enlarged end, the other about 1 cm. to the right of the transverse hatching. Of mid 17th century date: *cf.* a specimen from Mathews Manor, Virginia (*Antiques* Dec. 1966, p.834, fig. 3).

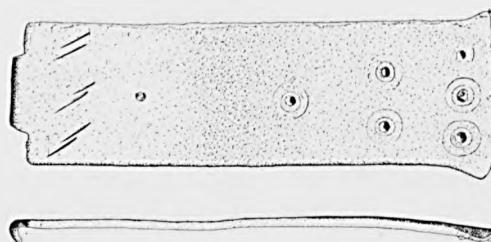


FIG. 6. CAERLEON: 17TH CENTURY BOOK-CLASP

NOTES

- ¹ *Antiq. J.* XV(1935), p.323, fig. 1, I and Pl. L.
- ² *Arch. Camb.* CXII(1963), p.175, fig. 5, 1.
- ³ National Museum of Wales. Accession no. 97.186.
- ⁴ *Trans Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXXVIII (1959), p.173, fig. 2, 7.
- ⁵ *ibid.* LXXIX(1960), p.263, fig. 6, 11 and 12.
- ⁶ Jewitt, *Ceramic Art of Great Britain* I, fig. 271.
- ⁷ *Arch. Cantiana* LXIV(1951), p.147, fig. 12, 30.
- ⁸ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* XCI(1960), p.126, fig. 4, 13.
- ⁹ *loc. cit.* note 4.
- ¹⁰ *Antiq. J.* XX(1940), p.103ff.
- ¹¹ *ibid.* p.110.
- ¹² *ibid.* p.109, fig. 4.
- ¹³ *Trans Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXVIII(1949), p.38, fig. 5, 2.
- ¹⁴ *ibid.* XLVIII(1926), p.251ff.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.* LXXIX(1960), p.239.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.* LXVIII(1949), p.23ff and p.41.
- ¹⁷ *Med. Arch.* VI-VII (1962-3), p.139.
- ¹⁸ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXXXII(1963), pp.95-126.
- ¹⁹ *Antiq. J.* XI(1931), p.260, fig. 9, 22.
- ²⁰ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXXIX(1960), p.237, fig. 10, 1.
- ²¹ *Med. Arch.* III(1959), p.159, fig. 59.
- ²² Rackham, *Medieval English Pottery*, Pl. 1; *op.cit.* note 18, p.106, fig. 6, 4.
- ²³ Kenyon, *Jewry Wall, Leicester*, p.236, figs. 69, 71 and 73.
- ²⁴ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXXIX(1960), p.240, fig. 11, 24.
- ²⁵ *P. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* XCVI(1951), p.140.
- ²⁶ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* XLVIII(1926), p.251ff, Pl. XIII.
- ²⁷ *ibid.* LXXIX(1960), p.276, fig. 8, 11.
- ²⁸ *ibid.* p.243, fig. 12.
- ²⁹ *Arch. J.* CXX(1963), p.210, fig. 4, 9.
- ³⁰ *Med. Arch.* VI-VII(1962-3), p.153, fig. 53.
- ³¹ *Oxoniensia* XV(1950), pp.47-50, fig. 16, 3-5.
- ³² cf. pitcher from Oriel College (*Antiq. J.* XXXIX(1959), p.260, fig. 17.
- ³³ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXXIX(1960), p.241, fig. 11, 37.
- ³⁴ In National Museum of Wales, from Gollledge's Field excavations 1931-3.
- ³⁵ Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations 1949-60*, I, fig. 29, 12-14; fig. 37, 1; fig. 28, 2.
- ³⁶ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LX(1951), p.42, fig. 1, 5.
- ³⁷ *Antiq. J.* XV(1935), p.332, fig. 5, 36-37.
- ³⁸ *ibid.* p.331, fig. 4.
- ³⁹ *ibid.* p.332, fig. 5, 32.
- ⁴⁰ *Med. Arch.* V(1961), p.190, fig. 49, 18.
- ⁴¹ *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* LXXX(1961), p.164ff.
- ⁴² Watkins, *North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th century* (Paper 13, U.S. Nat. Mus. Bulletin 225, 1960).
- ⁴³ Papers referred to in this section:
Arch. News Letter III, 10(1951), p.153ff. (for type classification).
Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc. XXIII(1960), p.40ff. (for list of makers).
Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc. XLV(1923), p.165ff. (Bristol).
Trans. Shrops. Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc. III, vii(1907), p.100ff. (Broseley).

(I should like to acknowledge the help given by the following in the compilation of this paper: Mr. G. C. Boon in reporting on the leaden sealing and the coins; Mr. R. L. Charles in identifying items of earthenware and glass; Mr. Colin Williams in drawing figs. 1, 2 and 4).

NOTES

A SPANISH "OLIVE-JAR" FROM CAERLEON

Among the material from the Caerleon Museum now in the National Museum of Wales is the small, amphora-like vessel illustrated in the accompanying figure 1. It has a barely decipherable mark in black ink that probably reads: TOWN Coll. There is no item either in Lee's *Isca Silurum* (1862) or in the *Catalogue of Exhibits in Caerleon Museum* (Monmouthshire Antiquarian Society, 1909) with which it can be identified. Nevertheless it arrived in Cardiff with the Caerleon Museum material, so that a Monmouthshire provenance seems indicated. Nor, as will be seen, is this improbable.

The vessel is 42.8 cms (17 inches) high and has a capacity of about 2.5 litres (about 4½ pts.). It is made of a hard, thick ware, fired light buff with patches of pink. On its side, at its widest point, it bears a short vertical stroke, presumably a figure 1, in a light-grey oil-paint. It was evidently made in three sections: rather more than half way down there is a marked irregularity where the conical base has been united with the upper section, while the sharp undercutting of the mouth indicates that it has been attached as a separate ring.

The amphora shape indicates that it must be descended from an ancient pottery tradition originating in the eastern Mediterranean, and spread originally by Greek colonists throughout the area. It is in fact a "Spanish olive-jar," a type used from the 16th until well into the 19th century for exporting olive-oil, olives in brine, and wine. Such vessels are therefore especially common and widely distributed in the Caribbean islands and on the mainland sea-coasts from



FIG. 1. SPANISH OLIVE-JAR

Florida to Venezuela, where their large numbers have led to their being put to multifarious secondary uses, among others as water carriers, roof finials, and for the filling above vaults, for which their lightness and strength compared with other building materials are admirably suited. They are also a common imported type in northern Europe, with a coastal distribution extending from Rotterdam up into Scandinavia. In Britain they have a coastal distribution extending up both the east and west coasts. In Wales, another complete vessel is known from near Tenby, but there are probably more to be found.

They have been the subject of a careful typological study in the Caribbean¹. The Caerleon example seems to belong to Mr. Goggin's "Late Style, Type D," which he dates 1780 to 1850 and after, but its "ring-mouth" is characteristic of his "Middle Style" (1580-1800). A date c. 1800 would on these grounds seem to be appropriate.

Its possible arrival in Monmouthshire about this time would not be surprising. The late 18th century saw a marked increase in Chepstow's wine trade with Portugal, some 46,000 gallons being imported in 1792 compared with a mere 2,000 fifty years earlier². Whether Portuguese "olive-jars" would display any essential difference from Spanish ones is very unlikely: originally they seem to have been made round Seville and Cadiz, but it is not difficult to imagine the manufacture of such a basic and essential container spreading along the Atlantic coast of Iberia as the demands of the export trade dictated.

Chepstow vintners continued to flourish until the 1860's, so vessels of this type might not have qualified as antiquities in time for *Isca Silurum*. Lee might even have been familiar with such vessels in use; only the archaeology remains to satisfy us.

J. M. LEWIS.

¹ John M. Goggin, The Spanish olive-jar: an introductory study (in *Papers in Caribbean Archaeology*. Yale Univ. Publications in Anthropology No. 62 (1960).

² cf. Ivor Waters, The Wine Trade of the Port of Chepstow (*Presenting Monmouthshire*. Journal of the Mon. Local Hist. Council No. 16 (1963)).

ANOTHER DIE-LINKED COUNTERFEIT

Another of the series described in *Monm. Antiq.* II, 1, 52-5 has been recognised among the coins from Ffrith, Flintshire in the National Museum of Wales (E. Davies, *Prehistoric and Roman Remains of Flint.*, 1949, 235, no. 3, wrongly described). The new specimen is an obverse and reverse duplicate of no. 3 in my paper, but is in much better condition, wt. 13.40 g. The reverse type is [LIB]ERTAS AVG.

G. C. BOON.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS AND FIELD DAYS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, 1966

The 116th Annual General Meeting of the Association was held on January 28th, at the Beaufort Hotel, Raglan. Seventy-five Members attended. Mr. E. I. P. Bowen presided.

The Minutes of the 115th Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Treasurer reported that the Association's current account had a favourable balance of £183-5-5d. Two grants had been received during the year towards the cost of publishing the journal, one of £100 from Newport Corporation, and another of £75 from the Welsh Church Act Fund administered by Monmouthshire County Council. Members were reminded that there was no guarantee of indefinite support from these sources and that with printing costs constantly rising the future of the journal was by no means assured. It was proposed, and unanimously agreed, that the Association's annual subscription be increased to £1 as from January 1st, 1967.

Field days for the coming season were provisionally arranged as follows:

May 14th to Kentchurch Court and Skenfrith, and September 17th to Tinkinswood burial chamber, churches in the Vale of Glamorgan, and Fonmon Castle. Detailed arrangements were left to the Hon. Secretary.

Following the business meeting, a talk, illustrated with slides, was given by Mr. K. Hyett, resident agent of Associated Bridge Builders, on "The Building of the Severn Bridge." Thanks were expressed to the speaker by the Chairman, Col. E. R. Hill.

SPRING FIELD DAY, MAY 14TH, 1966

Seventy Members were met by Commander Lucas-Scudamore at Kentchurch. After a short introductory talk, during which the Nash additions to the original border fortress house were indicated, members were taken on a tour of the house. Notable features were the Grinling Gibbons carvings, mostly from Holme Lacy, and some fine pictures and china. Lunch was taken in the grounds of the house.

At Church Farm, Garway, members were shown the enormous 14th century pigeon cote by Lt.-Commander Astley Jones, and afterwards proceeded to the church where the Vicar, the Rev. H. Brooksbank, traced its history, including its periods as a church of the Knights Templar and as a border fortress.

At Skenfrith the church was visited, and then the castle, where Mr. Jeremy Knight described recent excavations.

AUTUMN FIELD DAY, 17TH SEPTEMBER, 1966

The first visit on this day was to the Tinkinswood long cairn, near St. Nicholas, where Mr. J. M. Lewis addressed a large group of Members. He indicated that the monument belongs to the 'Cotswold-Severn' group, like most of the better preserved long cairns of south-east Wales, and would now be dated in the early part of the third millennium B.C.

Following luncheon, which was taken on the site, the party moved on to the church of St. Cadoc at Llancafán where Mr. Cefni Barnett described the features and discussed the importance of the site in early Christian times. From Llancafán, Members proceeded to the site of another great Celtic monastery of the 6th century, the church of St. Illtyd at Llantwit Major. Here they were met again by Mr. J. M. Lewis, of the National Museum of Wales, who described the fascinating and complex features of this medieval building.

At Fonmon Castle, Members were welcomed by Sir Hugo Boothby, Bart, who gave a brief account of the castle, after which they wandered freely through the house to view architectural features and the outstanding collections of pictures and documents. Well-informed guides, stationed in each room, added considerably to the value and interest of the visit.

