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# THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

## PROCEEDINGS of the MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION



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## OBITUARIES

### Mrs J.V.L. Leslie, 1905-1987

THERE IS no lane, no house, no church, no ancient place in Monmouthshire nor for many miles around that does not bring us memories of Judy Leslie. She was born on St. Valentine's Day, 1905, at Llanyrafon outside Newport; her father, of Bristol origin, being a farmer and horse-breeder. Her mother, a Laybourne, came from an extensive local family also settled in Monmouthshire from England. As we heard at her memorial service at Raglan, in the heart of that part of the county which she particularly loved, and which we associate particularly with her, she was a woman of many interests. A supporter of all field sports, she had enjoyed riding to hounds in her younger days, and took up beagling later; the story of her engrossment in *Horse and Hound* when supposed unconscious after crashing her car, merely awaiting assistance, is one of many legends.

Few of us who were admitted to the friendship of that very strong — forthright, independent — character understood that Judy had faced, indeed outfaced, difficulties and disappointments beyond, perhaps, the average affliction. She was twice married, as it turned out on neither occasion happily; on the second, she and her husband - who predeceased her by only a few months; like many such couples, fondness remained -settled at Bettws near Newport again, where they had a small farm. That ended during the war; and in 1947 she went to America and worked for a time at Colonial Williamsburg in the first years of the expansion of that remarkable foundation. On her return, she bought the small, inconvenient Rhiwlas Cottage near Raglan, and undaunted by discomforts and inadequacies enjoyed entertaining her many friends. In 1982 she went to live at Dingestow, and there picked up anew threads of an active community life, with a part in many local organisations right up to her death on November 17th last year: the chief of them, perhaps, was the Conservative Association, a political affiliation which she bore as boldly as she was wont to display a not always involuntary, sometimes shattering, stammer which in late years might well have been varied by the rattling and banging of an aluminium stick if things at an Antiquarian meeting were not moving on at a due canter.

She possessed a very considerable courage. Lameness and pain resulting from a broken knee never really left her in the last two years. This was all too plain, hide it as she might try to do, on the last excursions which she organised for our enjoyment. The photograph shows her at Painswick, on the very last (September 26th, 1987). Were we her especial delight? We seemed to be; she had the gift to make it seem so, and indeed it probably was so. She was elected to our Committee



in April, 1955 and within three years had taken on the Secretaryship (February 20th, 1958). She retained this position and discharged it with great talent and considerable industry until, with the candour that was her own, she announced that she was no longer capable; the change was effective in its entirety only from the 1987 Annual General Meeting.

She remained responsible for excursions. These were her delight, and she derived strength and comfort from the success of each one. There was the meticulous choice of venue, building on Committee suggestions; and of course there had to be a house, where indeed some out-of-the-way and remarkable choices were made, especially in Wiltshire and Somerset. Her alarm over numbers for the coach, in case the astonishingly modest cost would have to be surcharged, was never justified, and the weather seemed always to be Judy's. These successes were not casual. There was at least one precise and exacting reconnaissance covering every aspect, and with the members in mind; there were the speakers to find. She gave us thus many happy days, and enjoyed them herself too, for she had a connoisseur's grasp of architecture and contents -partly out of knowledge, and more out of a gift of knowing what was harmonious and fitting. Our recollections are perhaps chiefly centred on these excursions, and that would be her wish.

*Sheila Thorneycroft and George C. Boon*



**Cefni Barnett, F.S.A., F.M.A.,  
1919-1987**

Cefni Barnett died at home on September 19th-20th, within a twelvemonth of losing Pegi; they had been inseparable. He joined our Association after coming to Newport in 1949, was joint Secretary in 1954-6 and 1957, remaining on the Committee until his death; he became Chairman in 1982. His great achievement was the creation, in 1961 — and not without opposition from the President, Lord Raglan, who did not at first believe that it could be successful — of our journal *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*. The first three volumes were produced with the vital help of our late committee-member and owner of the Griffin Press, Pontypool, Lt. Col. Llewellyn Hughes. The first, with its 140 pages of Monmouthshire archaeology and history, all of it first-hand material, stilled all doubts as to the appropriateness of the venture.

Cefni was from 1958 our representative on the Court of Governors of the National Museum of Wales, in succession to J.R. Gabriel, and from 1975 was nominated by the Court to the Museum's Council, a position which allowed him to play a considerable part in the Museum's affairs. He also sat for many years on the Association's nominees. He played too, an important part in the life of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, which I have detailed more fully in my obituary notice in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, giving up his Chairmanship of their Committee at the Annual General Meeting at Hereford only last summer.

His background was unusual. His father was a Llangejni watchmaker and optician, and he was named after the little river Cefni that winds about the Angelsey town; he never used Evan, his first name. On a second marriage, his father settled in Carmarthen, and there Cefni was born on August 11th, 1919. Times were hard, and there was a large family. Reading Cefni's earliest contributions to the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society's *Transactions* in 1936-7, one recognises the promise of a boy who had been obliged to leave school at 14; and fortunately that promise had been recognised and brought out by that eccentric but kind old man, George Erye Evans, so that Cefni found himself installed as Custos at the Quay St. museum in 1933. Returning to Carmarthen a family man after service in the Welch Regiment, it was clear to him that better had to be sought; Newport offered a Deputy Directorship in 1949, and he was destined to succeed the cruelly-ailing Gregory Absolom as Director (January 1st, 1958). He took early retirement in April 1981, after irksome changes had been made in the wake of local government reorganisation of 1974. Newport has him to thank for creating the fine museum in John Frost Square, with its excellent art gallery — an interest which he developed while at Newport was in contemporary painting and applied art, of which he himself formed a small private collection. In 1974, too, with all potential, Tredegar House — the best house of its



date in Wales — was added to his responsibilities, enlarged as they were by his National Museum interests and also (for Newport is the Janus of Welsh cities, looking to England as well as to Wales) by commitments to the South-Western Federation of Museums, of which he was at one time President.

These were years of great change in museums, but there was time for archaeology, and friendship, family and enjoyment. His warm character and his commonsense will long be missed. He leaves a daughter resident in South Carolina, and granddaughters. The photograph shows him introducing Sir David Mackworth at the soiree held for the Association at the new Legionary Museum, Caerleon, on the occasion of the unveiling of the plaque we erected in honour of John Edward Lee, founder of the Association and the museum (June 3rd, 1987).

*George C. Boon*

# THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN GWENT

by Diane Brook

The history of the Christian church in Wales in the period before the coming of the Normans has long been a popular subject for study. Although much of the materials is of late date or doubtful origin, lists of place-names and dedications, and studies of saints' lives and pedigrees are numerous. On the other hand, the archaeology of the pre-Norman church in Wales includes only a handful of excavated churches and cemeteries and the corpus of several hundred Early Christian monuments, our main source of information. As Gwent is rich in the historical sources noted but extremely poor in Early Christian monuments, our picture of the pre-Norman church in the county is presently based almost entirely on the historical material. The aim of this article is to take a fresh look at the historical sources, in particular the new analysis of the charter material in the *Book of Llandaff* or *Liber Landavensis* (*LL* hereafter), and to offer new archaeological information based on recent research by the writer, which together may form a basis for further work on difficult period.

## The Historical Sources

The first task in a survey of the early church sites in the county is to compile a list of all pre-Reformation churches and chapels. Many sites of the later medieval period had or may have had origins in the pre-Norman period. The list has been compiled from a number of published and a few unpublished sources (See Table 1). No doubt a few extinct chapelries have been overlooked but the list must cover the great majority of medieval places of worship, numbering some 193 sites, including some doubtful instances, and excluding medieval friaries. The normal method of ascribing a pre-Norman date to such sites has been to classify place-name types and dedications into pre-Norman and later groups. Although a very useful approach, some of the evidence is of late date and doubtful origin, hence sweeping generalisations based on this sort of evidence alone are to be avoided.

There is only one mention of Christianity in Gwent in a document of undoubted early pre-Norman provenance. Gildas, writing in the first half of the sixth century, described the martyrdom in Roman times of Julius and Aaron at 'Legionem urbis'. This is probably to be identified with Caerleon although it could also be Chester.<sup>1</sup> There are a number of saints' lives and saints' pedigrees which deal with Gwent sites, but these were all composed in the early Norman period. Although of value in identifying pre-Norman foundations, they are difficult sources, and are not to be used as primary evidence for places, people, and customs of the sixth and seventh centuries, the traditional date of the 'Age of the Saints'.

The great exception to these caveats is *LL*, an early twelfth-century compilation of saints' lives and land charters. Once used extensively as good evidence for pre-Norman places, place-names, and dedications, it came to be viewed wholly as a forgery of the early Norman period, the early material in it too garbled to be used with any confidence. This has now been reversed by the studies of Prof. Wendy Davies. With her extensive knowledge of the form and language of land charters from late Roman times to the later medieval period, she has stripped away the twelfth-century additions to the *LL* charters. The remaining evidence she has dated in two ways. Kings and bishops, whose names appear in most of the charters, are also largely known from other sources, such as pedigrees, the Welsh Annals, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The charters were roughly dated and put into sequence using these names, a sequence bearing no relationship to their present order in *LL*. Prof. Davies then analysed the lists of witnesses appended to nearly every charter and found that these too formed a sequence. Names formed groups which were added to and subtracted from in a sequence which confirmed the charter dating by kings and bishops. Clearly, as a man or men in the groups aged and died, they disappeared from the lists, and those who appeared occasionally and then regularly were young men beginning their careers. This witness sequence is completely masked by the twelfth-century arrangement of the charters, and is the best evidence that these are genuine early documents copied and added to by Norman scribes.<sup>2</sup>

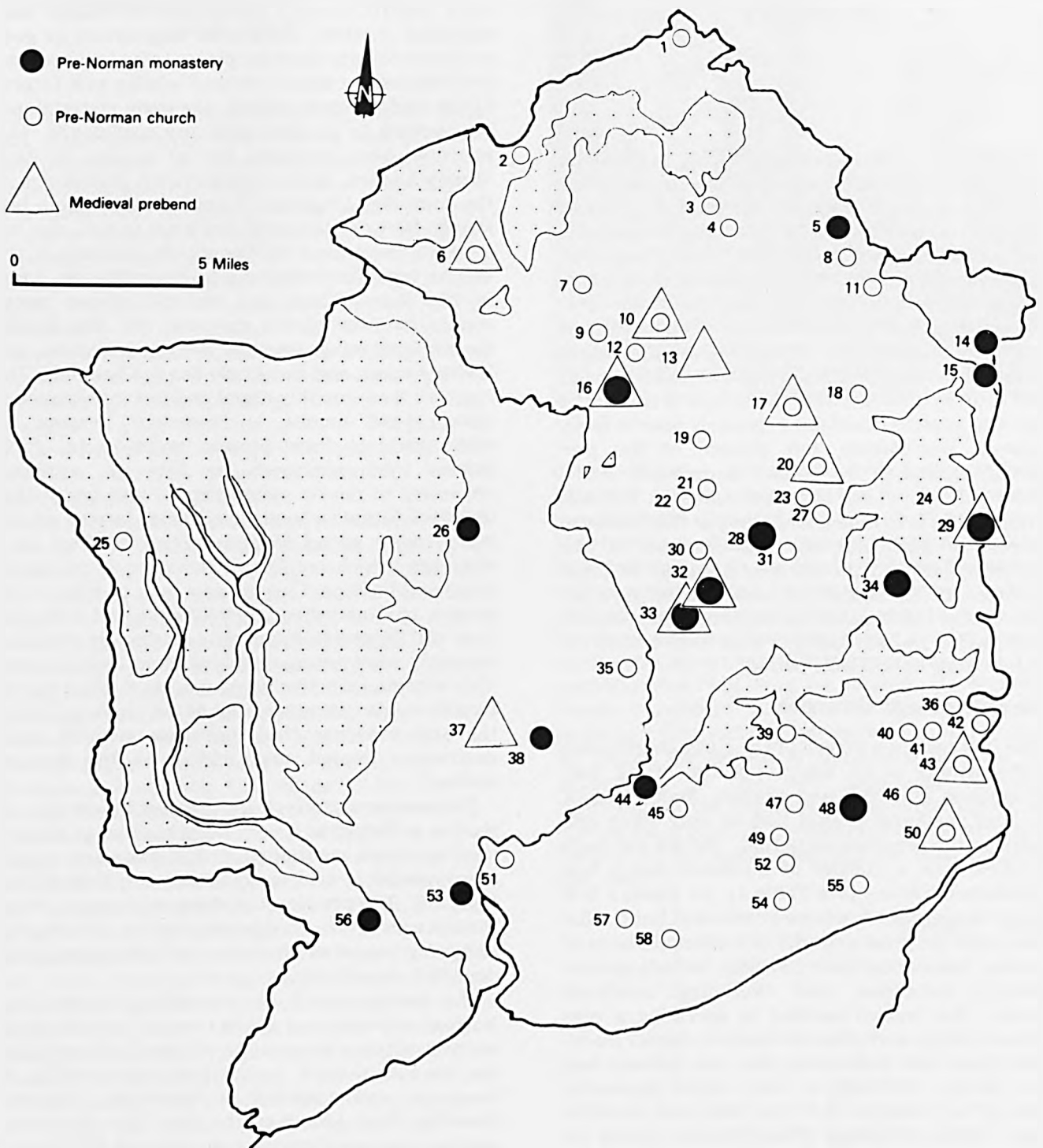
This new analysis is of the greatest importance to studies in Gwent as a very large number of sites in the county are mentioned, and in some areas nearly every medieval ecclesiastical site is included (See Figure 1). The pre-Norman status of many of these sites is also given, numbering twelve monasteries and forty-one other churches, including those with doubtful identifications.

The listings in *LL* do not include every pre-Norman ecclesiastical site in Gwent. Early Norman sources which also name pre-Norman foundations are the *Vita Cadoci*, mentioning a land holding in Caerleon, and churches at Mamhilad, Pencarn, Bassaleg, and Llandegveth; the *Vita Gundleii*, naming the pre-Norman monastery at St. Woolos (Eglwys Gwynllyw) in Newport; the *Vita Tatheii*, confirming the monastic site at Caerwent listed in *LL* and naming the church at Llanvaches; the *Vita Kebii*, naming the site at Llangibby; and the *Vita David*, the church at Raglan.<sup>3</sup>

## Place-Names

Other sites may be identified from place-name elements and dedications. Place-name elements repeated in early Gwent ecclesiastical names are *llan*, *merthyr*, *eglwys*, *bettws*, and *cil*. *Capel* occurs once.

It is clear that *llan*, originally meaning an enclosure, and later sacred enclosure and church, is one of the earliest elements in Welsh ecclesiastical



**Figure 1: Historical Sites**

- |                           |                |                          |                            |
|---------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Llangiwa               | 16. Llanarth   | 31. Llangynog            | 46. Pwll Meurig            |
| 2. Llanfihangel Crucorney | 17. Dingestow  | 32. Llangwm Uchaf        | 47. Llanvaches             |
| 3. Llanllwyd              | 18. Wonastow   | 33. Llangwm Isaf         | 48. Caerwent               |
| 4. Llanfannar             | 19. Raglan     | 34. Trelleck Grange      | 49. St. Bride's Netherwent |
| 5. St. Maughan's          | 20. Llangoven  | 35. Llangibby            | 50. Mathern                |
| 6. Llantilio Pertholay    | 21. Llanerddil | 36. St. Arvan's          | 51. St. Julian's           |
| 7. Llanvetherine          | 22. Llandenny  | 37. Llanddewi Fach       | 52. Merthyr Gereint        |
| 8. Llandipallai           | 23. Llanwinney | 38. Llandegveth          | 53. St. Woolas             |
| 9. Llanvapley             | 24. Trelleck   | 39. Llanfihangel Lichrit | 54. Llanfihangel Roggiet   |
| 10. Llantilio Crossenny   | 25. Mamhole    | 40. Itton                | 55. Caldicot               |
| 11. Rockfield             | 26. Mamhilad   | 41. Howick               | 56. Bassaleg               |
| 12. Llwyn Deri            | 27. Llanhishen | 42. Penterry             | 57. Llanwern               |
| 13. Penrhos               | 28. Llansoy    | 43. St. Kinmark's        | 58. Bishton                |
| 14. Dixton Newton         | 29. Llandogo   | 44. Kemeys Inferior      |                            |
| 15. Monmouth              | 30. Gwernesney | 45. Llanbedr             |                            |



place-names. The earliest dated charters in *LL*, of the late sixth century, contain *llan* names, but it is also certain that *llan* was still used in Norman times e.g. Llanthomas in Mitchell Troy parish. Further, modern river and local names originally formed in *Glan* have mutated to *Lan*, and then been regularised to *Llan*, creating apparent ecclesiastical names where none exist. Consequently each sample must be subjected to historical analysis. Names in *llan* existence by the thirteenth century and followed by a Welsh personal name or topographical element are almost certainly of pre-Norman origin.<sup>4</sup>

Merthyr is an element of undoubted pre-Norman origin. *LL* charters mention ten, all by c.950 A.D. Many have later lost the merthyr element, usually replaced by *llan* or dropped altogether. Llandegveth, Merthyr Tecmed as early as c.750, was named in *llan* by 1254. Dingestow was ecclesia Dingad in the ninth century, and Merthyr dingad in 1119, but Giraldus called it Llandingat in the twelfth, and it was Dingestow by 1610. Mathern is a corrupted form of Merthyr Tewdrig, and *llan* had replaced eighth-century merthyr at Llanvaches by 1254. The church at Merthyr Gerein(t) declined and passed out of use before the end of the medieval period. As a group, virtually every merthyr-named place in Wales that can still be identified has some special feature, either historical or archaeological.<sup>5</sup> This confers some importance on the few sites with such names without other special features.

The term originates with Latin *martyrium*, a special Christian burial place, not necessarily that of a martyr in the modern sense. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was assumed that this was the case, and martyrdom stories are told about Merthyr Maches, whose relics were claimed by Caerwent, in the *Vita Tatheï*, and about Merthyr Tewdrig (Matharn), in the *Vita Cadoci*.<sup>6</sup>

The distribution of the merthyr place-names in Wales is strikingly south-eastern, with a few outliers in Anglesey and Dyfed. It is tempting to ascribe this to the survival of late Roman Christianity, but the coincidence of Merthir Jun et Aaron near Caerleon and Gildas' account is the only known evidence of such a link. On the other hand, the nine Cornish sites named in merther the Cornish equivalent of Welsh merthyr, all lie near the southern tip of Cornwall, presumably the least Romanised part of that area.<sup>7</sup> The one excavated site, Merthyr Uny, was found to date no earlier than the tenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Eglwys, from Latin *ecclesia*, meaning church, is used in *LL* for several sites now named in *llan*, and may have been merely a descriptive term, as it seems to have been easily replaced by other elements. It may also be represented in English by place-names now beginning 'Saint', such as St. Bride's Netherwent, probably the *Eccluis Saint Breit* of *LL*, and Egglis Guunlui of the *Vita Cadoci*, now St. Woolos, Newport. It is also used in modern Welsh for places probably originally named in English, such as the Welsh 'Eglwys Newydd ar y Cefn' (New Church on the Ridge) for Newchurch.

Beddws derives from the Middle Saxon term,

*bedehus*.<sup>9</sup> It appears as a place-name element in Gwent and Glamorgan at sites subsidiary to known early sites, such as Bettws Newydd to Llanarth, Bettws to Newport St. Woolos, and Bettws in Llantilio Pertholey parish. It cannot be clearly demonstrated to be a term only of Norman and later date, but it is probably later than the sites in existence by the seventh century. Bradney suggests that Bettws Newydd was a foundation of Aeddán in the later twelfth century but cites no early evidence for this.<sup>10</sup>

Place-names in *cil* are not certainly ecclesiastical or pre-Norman. The term means a retreat or corner in Welsh, and is not cognate with Irish *cill* from Latin *cella*.<sup>11</sup> Early instances from *LL* include five ecclesiastical sites, three in western Wales and two in Herefordshire, but the majority, some nine other names, appear as secular place-names, all but one in the boundary clauses of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>12</sup>

The *cil* ecclesiastical place-names of Gwent found in medieval sources are not certainly dateable to the pre-Norman period. Of the eight such places, six are possessions of medieval abbeys; *Cil-lonydd*, *Kilgoygan* (now *Llanfihangel Pontymoel*), and *Kil-sant* (now *Pentre-bach*) belonging to *Llantarnam*; *Llanfair Kilgedin* and *Llanfair Cilgoed* to *Abbey Dore*; and *Kilvethin* (*Trelleck Grange manor*) to *Tintern*.<sup>13</sup> *Cilfeigan* is mentioned in an Inquisition of 1296, in the *Llanbadoc* area, and may not be an ecclesiastical site.<sup>14</sup> *Kilgwrrwg* is probably the same site as the villa *Guroc* or *Cumcerruc* of *LL*, but is first mentioned with its *Kil*-prefix in 1254. From this evidence and that from *LL*, it appears that the names originated in the pre-Norman and possibly also the Norman period as secular place-names, sometimes applied to ecclesiastical sites, as are other topographical place-name types such as *Pen*(head), e.g. *Penallt*, and *Aber*(-river mouth), e.g. *Abergavenny*. This is confirmed by the combination of *cil* names with names in *llan* such as *Lann degui cilpedec* (*Kilpeck*), *Lann michagel cil luch* (*Gillow*), and *Lann teliau kil retin* (*Llandeilo Cilrhedyn*) in *LL*. In medieval and modern Gwent instances are *Llanfair Kilgedin*, earlier *Kilgedin*; and *Llanfihangel Kilgoygan*, earlier *Kilgoyan*, later *Llanfihangel Pontymoel*.

There is one instance of the term *capel* in Gwent, at *Capel Newydd* in *Llanover* parish. Its combination with *newydd* (new) suggests that it is not an early site. Evidence from Glamorgan confirms that this is a comparatively recent term in local ecclesiastical place-names, as *Capel Gwladys* in 1610 is *Eglwys Wladis* at all earlier dates. *Capel Brithdir* is not evidenced before 1610 although the site is undoubtedly older.<sup>15</sup>

*Bassaleg* is a unique place-name in Wales, although paralleled by names in Ireland. Ifor Williams analysed the derivation, discounting the suggestion of a Norman backformation from a *St. Basil*, and claimed that the most likely origin is from Latin *basilica*.<sup>16</sup> If this is indeed the case, taking the facts that the site stands beside a Roman road, and was major pre-Norman monastery, the origins of

the site could conceivably relate to late Roman Christianity in the area.

## Dedications

Dedications as a source of pre-Norman evidence are fraught with difficulties. Many dedications were not recorded until comparatively modern times, as late as the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. By those dates antiquarian speculation was often included as fact. Interest in grouped dedications caused some personal names included in place-names to be 'regularised' to include them in the distributions of the major saints' foundations. A Gwent example is Llanhilleth, first recorded in 1566 as dedicated to Hyledd forwyn (Hyledd the virgin), but later included with others as a dedication to Iltyd. Other recent dedications do not correspond to the personal name elements in the place-name. An example is the present dedication of Llanhennock to St. John the Baptist, when one would expect a dedication to a St. 'Hennock' (Henwg). Occasionally there is documentary evidence of such changes, as at the two Llangwm churches. *LL* gives the four saints of Llangwm as Mirgint, Cinficc, Huii, and Eruen, but recent sources give the two churches as dedicated to Sts. Jerome and John. When the place-name includes a personal name, a guess at the earlier dedication can be made, but when the place-name is topographical, as at Coedkernew, and the dedication of recent type, all Saints in this case, no useful speculation can be made about the medieval or pre-Norman dedication.

From the place-names with personal name elements, and the early recorded dedications from *LL*, the saint's lives, and medieval documents, one can isolate groups of churches with the same dedication. These have long been thought to indicate the travels of the saint himself or the possessions of his monastery. The likelihood of the dedications indicating the activities of the saint himself seem small, but they probably do represent early monastic sites and their possessions, as they form distinct regional groups around the known monasteries connected with the particular saint. By the twelfth century it is clear that the ecclesiastical authorities were claiming churches named for and dedicated to a particular saint. Llandaff, making a case for being Teilo's house in *LL*, claimed the Llantilio churches of Gwent and the former monastic site at Llanarth, dedicated to Teilo. The new analysis of the *LL* charters does support the early date of such grouped place-names and dedications. The major saints' church dedications or their place-names occur by the seventh century.

Michael is also a repeated dedication but appears only in *LL* charters of the eighth century or later, while Brigid appears from the tenth century. While Peter and Mary have been taken to be Norman introductions, there are pre-Norman charters in *LL* naming Llanbedr and Llanmeiri.

Some pre-Norman dedications or place-names with personal name elements are unique. One study suggested that a quarter of all ecclesiastical place-names in Wales with personal name elements, or

dedications, were unique.<sup>17</sup> Some of these sites are probably named for an individual, not strictly a saint, or necessarily even a cleric. The explanation may lie in the origin of these sites as proprietary churches. On the continent, the proprietary church was a common form of church building and endowment, from late Roman times until the ninth to eleventh centuries. In these cases, a landowner built and endowed a church, and chose its priest. The local bishop then agreed to consecrate the church and priest and received some of its revenues. In some continental cases the landowner's name was applied to the church, and it eventually became 'dedicated' to him. There is a single documented example in Wales and the Border, from *LL*, at Garway, in Herefordshire, originally Lann Guorboe, where the king installed the first priest, named Guoruoe, in the early seventh century.<sup>18</sup> This type of endowment was open to a number of abuses and was curtailed by Carolingian law in the ninth century in France. There is some evidence that this was so in Wales as well, although it continued in other parts of Europe until the eleventh century.<sup>19</sup> Some Gwent examples of unique dedications at sites not known to be monasteries are Coven (Llangoven); Hyledd (Llanhilleth); Gwytherin (Llanvetherine); Mable (Llanvapley); Lowel (Llanllowel); Badoc or Padoc (Llandbradoc).

The dedications of the merthyr place-names are all unique within the group in Wales, and further suggests that these are special burial places.

## Estates

There is a possibility that some continuity from Roman times to early post-Roman times could be discerned in the early charters in *LL*. Wendy Davies has shown that late Roman settlement and the early estates in *LL* correspond in general location, but precise correlations are lacking.<sup>20</sup> At present, it is perhaps best seen as continued settlement on useful sites, such as river valleys and crossings and on good agricultural land, rather than the continuation of Roman estates. In no case in Gwent is there an *LL* estate which has the remains of a Roman villa or major civil settlement within it, with the possible exception of Chepstow, although new archaeological evidence may eventually alter this picture. The location of the estates themselves tells us little about the early church. Although it is claimed that some boundaries can be identified<sup>21</sup> it is virtually impossible to follow any single boundary throughout its course. It is not always clear in which direction the boundary runs, even where a named river can be identified, while roads, minor streams, ridges and heights can refer to almost any area in Gwent, and the particular feature of importance in the tenth or eleventh century, the date of the boundary clauses, can rarely be identified with certainty. Boundaries occasionally coincide in part with the recent parish boundaries, but as the latter also largely follow natural features, this may be of little significance. Unless evidence filling the long gap between the two sets of boundaries can be produced, continuity is only a speculation.

## The Archaeological Evidence

In comparison with the richness in historical material, Gwent is poor in early ecclesiastical archaeology. There are no known standing or excavated pre-Norman churches in the county. The Early Christian monuments are found at only three or four sites; two or three from early ecclesiastical sites, at Caerleon and St. Arvans, and possibly one from Caerwent, and one from Bulmore, which may have had an early chapel.<sup>22</sup> All the certain stones are of the late free-standing type, Nash Williams' Class III, dated to the ninth to eleventh centuries. The Caerwent stone was a 'deeply incised cross' in the churchyard, and it is not clear if it survives among several cross-marked stones now inside the church. Simple cross slabs, Nash-Williams' Class II, are usually dated to the seventh to ninth centuries, but are rarely closely dateable. There are no examples of Class I stones in Gwent, the group of fifth to seventh century date, and often clearly of Irish inspiration. This early group is also lacking in the Vale of Glamorgan, as is Class II. This may reflect the eastern limits of the Irish settlements of western Wales in the early post-Roman period.

Roman Christianity is little in evidence in Gwent. Although the fourth-century Roman Empire was nominally Christian, and there is excellent evidence of Christianity at certain sites in England, such as York, and Dorchester, Dorset, Wales has almost no such materials. Apart from Gildas' account of the martyrs, probably at Caerleon, in Roman times, there is only a Chi-Rho graffito on a pewter bowl from Caerwent.<sup>23</sup> A Roman Christian church identified at Caerwent by Nash-Williams has been discounted as an eighteenth century farm building, while another building in the town has been suggested but evidence has not yet been presented.<sup>24</sup> A silver spoon with Chi-Rho monogram in the National Museum of Wales, supposedly from Monmouthshire, has been shown to be a nineteenth century copy of a find from Staffordshire.<sup>25</sup>

Pre-Norman ecclesiastical sites have produced no pre-Norman artefacts other than the Early Christian monuments. There is a stone lamp in a late pre-Norman style, from the monastic site at Llangwm, dated to the twelfth century.<sup>26</sup>

Burials offer a new avenue of research, little studied until recent years, when carbon 14 dating has allowed broad dates to be applied to bone samples. This can provide dates for graves without grave goods, which are, of course, typical of most Christian burials. Although the dating is far from precise, the dates for a group of samples should be accurate to within two centuries. As the post-Roman, pre-Norman period is seven centuries long, dates markedly in the middle centuries of the period virtually must be dated to the 'Dark Ages'. Carbon dating was applied to five samples from post-Roman graves outside the east gate at Caerwent and produced dates ranging from the fifth to the eighth centuries. Two graves from a large group of burials around St. Tatheus' church and along the main east-west road north of it within the town have dates in the sixth and seventh centuries,

showing that the two cemeteries were in use at least in part at the same time. An isolated burial near the north gate at Caerleon, and not from the present churchyard, was dated to the eighth century.<sup>27</sup> It appears from this limited evidence that churchyard burial was not the only acceptable rite in early pre-Norman Gwent. As yet, burials from early ecclesiastical sites other than St. Tatheus', Caerwent, have not been excavated and dated.

One other approach to the study of early ecclesiastical sites is to analyse the form of the churchyard or ecclesiastical enclosure. For some years, Prof. Charles Thomas has promulgated the view that curvilinear churchyards and monastic enclosures indicate pre-Norman foundations. He suggests both native pagan and invading Irish origins for this phenomenon in the British areas of the Celtic West.<sup>28</sup> Excavation reports make it clear that such boundaries were being built as late as the twelfth century.<sup>29</sup> The distribution and significance of these enclosures is presently being tested in a number of areas. Work in Cumbria shows that some 12 per cent of major churches of the twelfth century have, or had in the nineteenth century, curvilinear enclosures.<sup>30</sup> Work in Cornwall is still in progress.<sup>31</sup> The writer has made a study of enclosure forms in Glamorgan within the medieval diocese of Llandaff, from the Neath Valley eastward, and presents here a preliminary analysis for Gwent. The parishes formerly in the diocese of St. David's, Llanthony, Cwmyoy, and Oldcastle, have been excluded. It should be noted that the evidence for enclosure form in Gwent comes from fieldwork, air photographs, and nineteenth-century maps, all quite modern sources, and is not primary evidence of pre-Norman date. This survey is based on the first edition Ordnance Survey 6" maps, of 1886-87, and a study of a 1971 air photograph series.<sup>32</sup> About one third of the sites were visited. Further work on documentary sources, early maps, and in the field may alter some conclusions, particularly about individual sites.

Of the 193 identified as probably being of pre-Reformation date, only some 129 sites have or had enclosures which are recorded on recent maps. Thus, the results can only reflect the distributions of types of about two-thirds of the sites in the county. As it is impossible to recover the original numbers of the different enclosure types in existence even at the end of the medieval period, all conclusions based on present evidence must be considered necessarily tentative.

The definition of curvilinear form is not easy to make precise. Some sites have enclosures that are clearly circular or oval or nearly so, with only the smallest of irregularities. Other sites have curved sections of boundary, with some corners and some straight lengths. These can be classed as partly curved and may have been more regularly curvilinear in the past, although this is by no means certain. Yet other sites are polygonal; these may have been changed from more rounded boundaries, or, may have been originally laid out as polygonal. Others are greatly irregular, probably as a result of



changes caused by shifts in settlement next to the church; recent encroachments by buildings into regular churchyard boundaries were often noted during fieldwork in Glamorgan and Gwent. A final group is the quadrangular enclosures, some forming trapeziums or parallelograms, others regular rectangles or squares. It is not possible to illustrate large numbers of enclosure forms in a short article such as this, and reference should be made to the O.S. maps.

The results of the preliminary survey can be seen in Table 2 and Figure 2. The proportions of largely curved sites, fourteen, and partly curved, twenty-six, at 30 per cent of the total surviving enclosures, is moderately high. The distribution of the curved sites is not especially localised, although there is a concentration in eastern-central Gwent. Twenty-seven of the forty curved and part-curved sites of pre-Reformation date are clearly of pre-Norman foundation, increasing to thirty-one with the inclusion of probable pre-Norman sites. Thus about two-thirds to three-quarters of the curved sites are pre-Norman. Llandegveth, Llanarth, St. Maughans, Llandogo, Llangwm, and Llansoy are monastic sites, while Coedkernew and Risca were probably possessions of the pre-Norman monastery at Bassaleg, as they were in the early Norman period. A small number of almost certain Norman foundations also have curved yard boundaries, at Wolvesnewton, Shirenewton, and Grosmont. Thus, curvilinear enclosures probably indicate pre-Norman origin in Gwent in a majority of cases, but not exclusively.

It is also clear that some pre-Norman sites have quadrangular enclosures and these forms are not necessarily only of Norman origin. The proportions of pre-Norman sites with irregular and polygonal boundaries, and with quadrangular, is about 50 per cent in each category. This is what would be expected by chance, and suggests that these forms are not useful in deciding the foundation date of the sites. Only the curvilinear group falls well away from 50 per cent, with some 66-75 per cent of curvilinear sites being at probable pre-Norman sites, which suggests that it is significant indication of pre-Norman origin for ecclesiastical sites in Gwent.

A feature of a number of curvilinear yards visited is an earth-banked, hedge-topped boundary, or one with a stone wall on one or more sides and an earth bank on the remaining sides. This feature is absent from the Vale of Glamorgan, where virtually all the sites have stone-walled boundaries. Whether or not this is merely a regional feature is not yet clear, but the early status of some of the earth-banked sites suggests that the feature may be an early one in Gwent, and possibly connected with the making of curvilinear enclosures. Coedkernew, Llandegveth, Llanddewi Fach, and Llangewview have fully earth-backed enclosures, with only very short lengths of stone-walling at a few of the sites, to carry gates, or, in one case, along the boundary with a modern house. Partial earth-banking occurs at Gwernesney, Llansoy, Mamhilad, and Bishton. The neighbouring sites of most of these are known to have stone-

walled yards, but further fieldwork is needed to complete the distribution.

Outlying enclosures around church sites are of especial interest as they may be the remains of large monastic enclosures of the type seen in Ireland. Two possible examples have been found in Gwent. The first is at Llanarth where air photographs show a ploughed-out field boundary south of the churchyard. There seem to be ditches making a large rectangular area contiguous with the present churchyard, but they could relate to the farm south of the church and not have an ecclesiastical origin. The second is pear-drop shaped enclosure of the farm and church at Trelleck Grange. This follows the contours around the site. Both of the sites are early monasteries and might repay further investigation.

Other features of possible pre-Norman origin are raised levels within the churchyard, and a large area enclosed by the boundary. The former has been suggested as indicating an early site as a result of centuries of burial loosening the soil and raising the level. Excavation evidence often does not confirm this and shows rather that many sites have been deliberately levelled and thus raised, burials making only a partial or minor contribution to the increase in soil depth.<sup>34</sup> The term *podum* for monastery does suggest that natural raised sites or deliberately levelled and raised sites were preferred.<sup>35</sup> Miraculous levelling and descriptions of raised sites also occur in a number of saints' lives. Thus the feature may be significant in some cases.<sup>36</sup>

Large enclosure areas are typical of the great Irish pre-Norman monasteries. They are also found in the Vale of Glamorgan where two of the four known pre-Norman monasteries have enclosures notably larger than the average in that area.<sup>37</sup> The precise measurement of sites has not yet been studied in Gwent but a general observation is that there do not seem to be large enclosures at the early monastic sites.

## Discussion

The archaeological evidence collected is of interest in itself, but is of much greater interest when combined with the historical evidence. The use of carefully dated place-names, dedications, and records of early status, with the new archaeological evidence, can provide a list of sites with a number of special features, and groups of sites with types of features in common.

One of the most interesting general groups to come out of this analysis is that composed of the medieval prebends of Llandaff Cathedral, properties providing revenue for the Cathedral officers, listed in the church taxation of 1254.<sup>38</sup> The sites are mostly either pre-Norman monasteries or their dependents, or churches otherwise noted in *LL* (see Figure 1). Many also have curvilinear churchyards. It would thus appear that a number of the pre-Norman episcopal properties, claimed in *LL*, passed to the Norman diocese of Llandaff. The motive for the compilation of *LL* was certainly to retain as many early properties as possible for the new Nor-

man diocese, in which it seems to have been partly successful. This contrasts with the fate of the great pre-Norman monasteries in Glamorgan which were donated by the Norman conquerors as granges to their own foundations in England and France.

The pre-Norman monasteries in Gwent largely have curvilinear or partly curved enclosures, as so some of their dependent churches. Each are has special features and will be discussed in turn. (For detailed historical references see Table 1.)

In central-northern Gwent there is a group of sites focussed on Llanarth, a monastery dedicated to Teilo; it has a partly curved enclosure, and was a later prebend. Its chapelry at Bettws Newydd has a partly curved, partly earth-banked enclosure. The Teilo churches related to Llanarth at Llantilio Pertholey and Llantilio Crossenny are both mentioned in *LL* and are later prebends. Penrhos, although dedicated to Cadog, was a chapelry of Llantilio Crossenny in 1291, and a prebend in 1254. These parishes no doubt together formed the paruchia or area of influence and possession of the pre-Norman monastery at Llanarth. Three other sites in the area, Llanvetherine, Llanvapley, and Llanfihangel Crucorney, appear in *LL*. Llanvethrine has a largely curved enclosure.

In north-east Gwent lies another cluster of sites. Dingestow is listed in *LL* in c.872, named in merthyr in the early twelfth-century papal bulls, and was a prebend in 1254. The site has a largely curved enclosure. Llangattock Vibon Avel had a partly curved yard on nineteenth-century maps. Its several dependent chapels in the Norman period may reflect some importance in the pre-Norman. To the west is Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern, a site with a largely curved enclosure.

East of Llangattock Vibon Avel lies St. Maughans, an early monastery with a partly curved churchyard boundary and raised level. The site declined to become a chapelry of Llangattock Vibon Avel in the Norman period. Rockfield, Monmouth, and Dixton Newton appear in *LL*, the latter two as monasteries.

The eastern central area of Gwent is rich in important sites. The two churches of Llangwm were no doubt a pair of monastic churches. Both are mentioned in *LL* and both survived as prebends. The enclosure at Llangwm Uchaf is partly curved, although this may be determined by the course of the stream south of the churchyard.

Llansoy is another monastic site in *LL*, and has a partly curved, partly earth-banked enclosure. West of it is Llandenny, mentioned in *LL*, with a partly curved enclosure and raised yard. Another *LL* site nearby is Llanerthill, now decayed. Gwernesney, possibly an *LL* site, has a partly curved yard with the curved portion earth-banked; the other sides have been walled. South of Gwernesney is Llangeview, a site with no recorded early special status, but having a classic pre-Norman llan place-name with the same personal name element as the dedications recorded for Bishton in early sources. The church stands on a mound within the churchyard, which is enclosed by a fully curvilinear,

completely earth-banked boundary. Medieval pottery was found by the writer to the south and east of the churchyard, suggesting a possible deserted medieval village at the site.<sup>39</sup> To the north of these sites is Llanishen, mentioned in *LL*, as is probably the subsidiary site at Llanwinney.<sup>40</sup> Nearby is Llangovan, an *LL* charter site and later prebend, with a partly curved enclosure.

Further to the east are Trelleck, Trelleck Grange, and Llandogo, all mentioned in *LL*. The later two are both monastic sites. Trelleck Grange has the possible oval outer enclosure noted above. Llandogo became a prebend and has a partly curved enclosure. Prof. Davies has suggested that it was not strictly a monastery but an episcopal house, organised much as were the monasteries but with a bishop at its head.<sup>41</sup>

Mamhilad in western Gwent is mentioned as a monastic site (*Mammelliat locus*) belonging to Cadog's monastery at Llancafan in Glamorgan. The site has a partly curved enclosure, earth-banked except on the side along the road. There is a fall in the ground within the churchyard which may mark an earlier boundary line; it is undated but earlier than the tithe plan of the mid-nineteenth century. The church stands on the higher level. The Welsh lords of Caerleon apparently had some claim to the site or area.<sup>42</sup> A connection between secular lordships and high status religious sites occurs in several places; the medieval relationships of the two spheres are outside the scope of this study but are worthy of further research.

Llandegveth and Llanddewi Fach in central-western Gwent are of particular interest. Llandegveth is an early monastery, and was originally named in merthyr. It survived as a free chapel in the later medieval period.<sup>43</sup> The constructed church stands in a circular, earth-banked churchyard, raised about two metres above the surrounding land. Bradney records that a burial was found in the side wall of the church when it was taken down and rebuilt in the nineteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In 1548, chantry certificates list the site as having land for a priest and to pay for 'light before the Sepulchre'.<sup>45</sup> This may have been for an image of Christ's sepulchre, but may have been for the relics of Tegfedd, if that is what the burial found represents. The cult of relics is a feature of Christianity in the whole of the Celtic West<sup>46</sup>; claims to founder's remains occur in Gwent at Newport St. Woolos, and Caerwent (Tatheus and Machuta Llanfaches).<sup>47</sup>

Llanddewi Fach is a small, completely isolated church standing in an earth-banked, partly curved churchyard. It was listed as a prebend in 1254. The importance of the other sites in the group of prebends has been discussed above, and it is probable that Llanddewi Fach was also a pre-Norman site of some importance. The prebendal sites in the medieval diocese of Llandaff which are not known to have had early special status cluster around known major churches in Glamorgan, near Llanblethian and Llandaff, while in Gwent, most are known monasteries or their dependencies. It

thus seems probable that Llanddewi Fach is a former dependent church of the monastery at Llandegveth; it was a chapelry of that church in the modern period.

Bassaleg was clearly the major church for the Wentlloog (Gwynllwg) area of Gwent, on its western border with Glamorgan. Early Norman documents list several chapels covering most of the area. Of them, Coedkernew stands out as having a raised, earth-banked, nearly circular churchyard. It may be the church of Pencarn, mentioned in the life of Cadog.

St. Woolos, Gwynllyw's monastery, stands on an oval hilltop, but little is known of possible early daughter churches. Bettws may be pre-Norman, but Malpas is almost certainly a new Norman foundation.

Caerleon produced one of the rare Early Christian monuments in the county, dug up within the churchyard in the last century.<sup>48</sup> The church's dedication to Cadoc documented in the sixteenth century is confirmed as early by a seventh-century land charter appended to the *Vita Cadoci*. The site, lying within the Roman fort area as does St. Tatheus' in the Roman town at Caerwent, raises questions about the continuity of use of Roman sites in the early post-Roman period in the area. It may be that town life decayed completely, leaving the sites free for use for new building and for burials, but it may represent the reverse, and demonstrate that a population, now Christian, remained and built suitable places of worship at their settlements, even if reduced in size from Roman times.

In lower Gwent, Llanwern has a largely curved enclosure, and may be a site in *LL*, while the neighbouring church at Bishton, an early episcopal property, formerly Llanadwaladr, has a partly earth-banked yard. Further east, Llanvaches was clearly an important church, formerly with a merthyr place-name, and probably having relics, claimed by Caerwent in the *Vita Tatheii*. Caerwent itself was the site of a major monastery. Finds of burials outside the present churchyard show that the cemetery area was once considerably larger, perhaps indicating a large monastic enclosure.<sup>49</sup> Artifacts of the post-Roman period from various sites in the town make it clear that the post-Roman archaeology of Caerwent is of the greatest importance to understanding the period in Gwent.<sup>50</sup>

Mathern was also an important site in the pre-Norman period, if later status is indicative. It had a merthyr place-name c.900, Merthyr Tewdrig, and was a reputed royal martyrdom site.<sup>51</sup> The papal bulls of 1119, 1127, and 1128 in *LL* list the 'churches of merthyr tewdrig'. Pairs of churches usually indicate monastic sites; Llangwm appears with both its churches in these lists. Mathern was a thirteenth-century prebend and later had a palace of the bishops of Llandaff near the church. The signs all point to a pre-Norman monastery at the site.

St. Kinmarks near Chepstow, partly excavated by L. Butler<sup>52</sup> is also probably an early monastic site. The precise location of the early church and any

enclosure it may have had are lost. But, the site appears in *LL* with a number of other dependent churches in other areas in a rather garbled charter, but with the implication that it was a major church. Further, it became a house of Augustinian canons, the only one in the Norman diocese of Llandaff. In other parts of Wales it was typical for pre-Norman monasteries to continue as such establishments.<sup>53</sup> St. Kinmarks was a prebend in 1254. St. Arvans is another major church. It has a partly curved enclosure and one of the rare Early Christian monuments of Gwent, found reused in the building during restoration in the last century.<sup>54</sup>

In the Wentwood area, there is an interesting pattern of new church foundation, probably of Norman date. There are three large parishes with place-names all containing the element 'new': Wolvesnewton, Shirenewton, and Newchurch. These parishes enclose the small parish of Kilgwrrwg. The small isolated church of Kilgwrrwg stands in a partly curved enclosure, with possible earthworks to the south visible on an air photograph. It may be the villa Guroc or Cumcerruc mentioned in *LL*, c.722 A.D.

## Conclusion

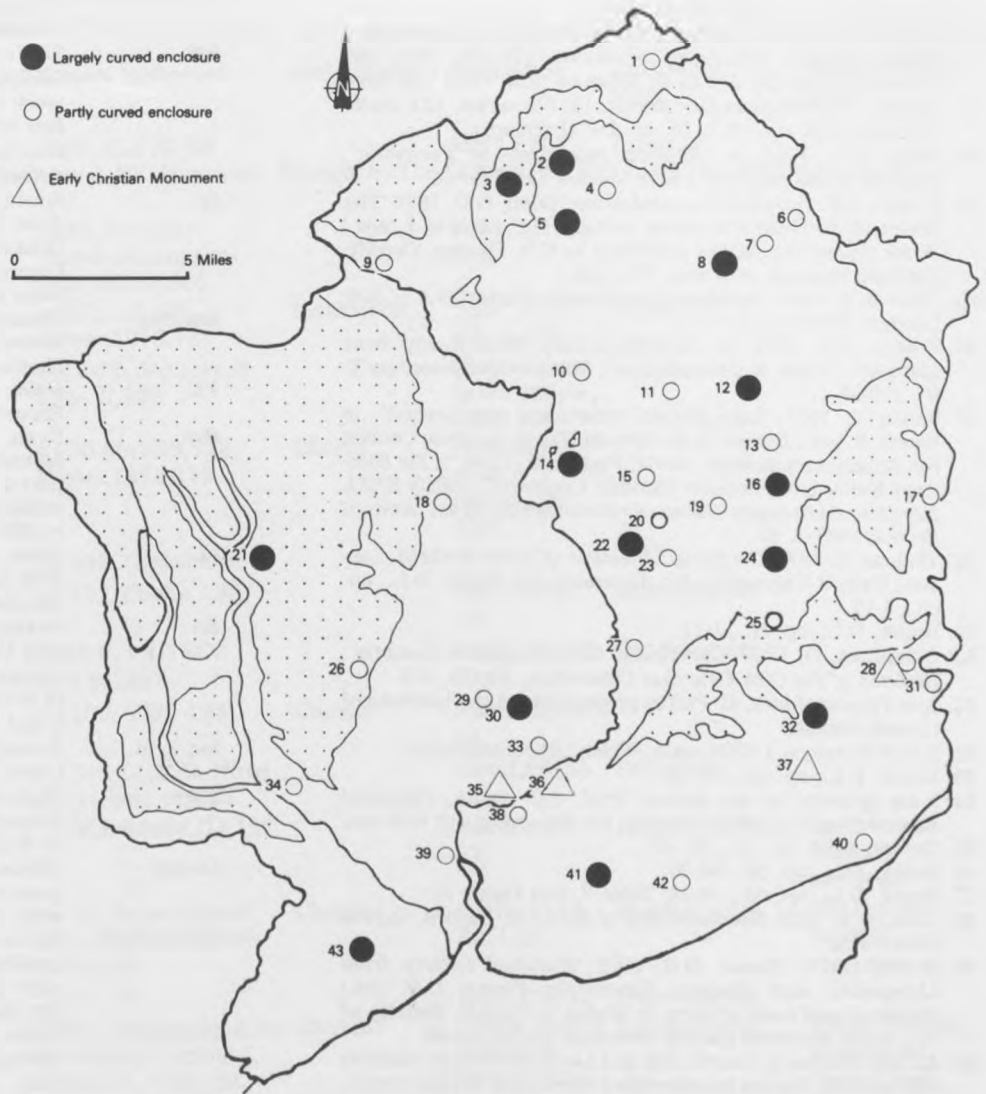
The combination of archaeological and historical evidence provides strong evidence for important pre-Norman churches in Gwent, especially in the east and north of the county. The large number of monasteries seems surprising, and it is possible that further work might distinguish some chronological differences between the sites nearest each other. Opportunities to investigate burials, and churchyard or enclosure boundary types and materials through excavation should not be ignored. A great deal remains to be learned of the early church in Gwent which may be recovered through archaeological research.

The study of the pre-Norman church is of importance in the wider field of early settlement studies and non-ecclesiastical archaeology and history of the period. Pre-Norman archaeological research in Wales is greatly hampered by the lack of pottery from the seventh century until the Norman period, the lack of a native coinage, and the rarity of metalwork. Settlement sites other than the few excavated hill-top sites are almost unknown. The relationship of churches and settlements in the period is also not known, although the Welsh laws describe churches in township and at the King's court.<sup>55</sup> The location of the churches must have had some relationship with those using the sites at the time of their foundation. It is certainly possible that the elusive pre-Norman settlements largely lie around the early churches, below later medieval material. As yet there has been little excavation of medieval village sites in south-east Wales, and the work that has been done has by chance been concentrated at sites almost certainly of Norman foundation. All the sites mentioned in this discussion would be worthy of investigation for both their secular and religious archaeology. The study of the early church in Gwent offers great

Figure 2:

Archaeological Evidence

1. Grosmont
2. Llangatock Lingoed
3. St. Michael's, Skyrryd
4. Llanfair Cilgoed
5. Llanvetherine
6. St. Maughan's
7. Llangatock Vibon Avel
8. Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern
9. Llanwenarth
10. Llanarth
11. Tregare
12. Dingestow
13. Llangoven
14. Bettws Newydd
15. Llandenny
16. Llanishen
17. Llandogo
18. Mamhilad
19. Lansoy
20. Gwernesney
21. Llanhilleth
22. Llangeview
23. Llangwm Uchaf
24. Wolvesnewton
25. Kilgwrrwg
26. Llandderfel
27. Llantrisant
28. St. Arvan's
29. Llanddewi Fach
30. Llandegveth
31. Penterry
32. Shirenewton
33. Llanhennock
34. Risca
35. Caerleon
36. Bulmore
37. Caerwent
38. Christchurch
39. St. Woolas', Newport
40. Portskewett
41. Llanwern
42. Magor
43. Coedkernew



possibilities for new evidence for much of pre-Norman life in Gwent, a place and time still largely unexplored.

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**TABLE 1 Historical References and Archaeological Notes**  
(Arranged by nineteenth century parishes, chapelries indented)

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Abergavenny (Chapels: Holy Rood, <i>PW</i> , St John the Baptist, <i>PW</i> , Hardwick, Warngoch, The late listings only). (Aberystroth	SO 301141 SO 202079	1087, <i>K &amp; H</i> , 58 1535, formerly chapel of Llanwenarth, <i>VE</i> , IV, 356		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 52 Peter, c.1566, <i>Rep</i>	Irregular	
Bassaleg	ST 278871	c.1072, <i>LL</i> , 272, Davies, 1978, 137	Monastery	'Basil', 1146, <i>EA</i> , L.100	Polygonal	
St Istan	Unknown	1314-15, <i>Inq.p.m.</i> 8 <i>Edw. II</i> , 538		(Istan servant to Gwynllyw, <i>VSB</i> , 86)		
Pencarn	Unknown, may be Coedkernew	c.650-60, <i>VSB</i> , 128; Davies, 1978, 119	Church	(Gladus built church in Pencarnov, <i>VSB</i> , 124)		
Pulcrud	Unknown	c.1102, <i>Cartae</i> , I, 38				
Bedwas	ST 172892	c.1102, <i>Cartae</i> , I, 38		Barrwg, <i>PW</i> , 54	Quadrangular	
Bedwellty	SO 166004	1535-6, PRO SC6 Hen 8/2497		Sanan, c.1566 <i>Rep</i>	Quadrangular	
Mamhole (Ty'r Capel)	SO 178033	c.1100, <i>VSB</i> , 128	Church	Macmoil, <i>PW</i> , 54		
Bettws	ST 289902	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 329, Novo Burgo cum capella		David, <i>PW</i> , 55	Polygonal	
Bettws Newydd	SO 363058	1188, Bradney, II, i, 111		Aeddau, <i>PW</i> , 52	Largely curved	Partly earth banked enclosure
Bishton	ST 386874	c.710; Lann Catgualatyr, <i>LL</i> , 180, Davies, 1978, 138	Church	Cyviv, 1119, <i>EA</i> , L.27	Quadrangular	Partly earth banked enclosure
Bryngwyn	SO 391094	1254, <i>VN</i>		Peter, <i>PW</i> , 52	Quadrangular	
Caerleon	ST 339906	1254, <i>VN</i> ; also land by 'Civitatem Legionis', c.650-95, <i>VSB</i> , 128, Davies, 1978, 119	Church?	Cadoc, 1547-8 PRO SC6 Edw VI/309	Quadrangular	Early Christian monument, <i>Arch.Camb.</i> , II, 3rd series, 1856, 311
(Chapels: Penrhos, O.S. 2" map, and Gwynnoge Chapel, 1548, <i>CR</i> , II, 308.)						
Caerwent	ST 468905	c.950-1075, <i>LL</i> , 218 Davies, 1978, 136	Monastery	Tatheus, c.1060, <i>LL</i> , 269, Davies, 1979, 129	Quadrangular	Early Christian monuments, Mathew, 1909; 'In the churchyard. . . a deeply incised cross.'
Dewstow	ST 466889	1148-83; St David of Caldecote, this site? <i>EA</i> , L.179; ecclesia de Deustowe, c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 322, 1086?, St Dewin's, Bradney, IV, i, 121		David, 1148-83?, <i>EA</i> , L.179		Three burials found 1899 by farm, Bradney, IV, i, 121
Caldicot	ST 484887	c.895, ecclesia Castell Conscuit, <i>LL</i> , 235, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Mary, 1148-83, <i>EA</i> , L.177	Irregular	
Chapel Hill	ST 531999	1506, Williams, 1976, 134		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 55	Polygonal	
Chepstow	ST 536939	1071, <i>K &amp; H</i> , 62		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 60	Irregular	
St Kinmark's	ST 526943 approx.	c.625, Lann Cinmarch, ecclesia Cynmarchi, <i>LL</i> , 165, Davies, 1978, 137	Church possibly monastery, prebend	Cinmarch, c.625, <i>LL</i> , 165		Partly excavated, Butler, forthcoming
Christchurch	ST 346894	1113, church of Holy Trinity <i>Monasticon</i> , VI, 1022		Holy Trinity, 1113, <i>Monasticon</i> , VI, 1022	Partly curved	
St Julian's	ST 325898	c.864, Merthir Iun et Aaron, Territorium Sanctorum Martirum Iulii et Aaron, <i>LL</i> , 225 Davies, 1978, 181	Church	Julius and Aaron c.864, <i>LL</i> , 225		

TABLE 1 Contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
St Alban's	ST 361912	1495, Bradney, IV,ii, 305, 1200, mentioned with Julius & Aaron <i>Cal.Ch.Rolls</i> ,II,362				
(Aaron Pwl-pan	Unknown	1291, <i>Taxatio PW</i> ,55)				
Coedkernew	ST 355876 ST 276835	c.1102, <i>Cartae</i> ,I,38; may be Pencarnov - see Bassaleg		All Saints, <i>PW</i> , 54	Largely curved	Fully earth banked enclosure
Cwmcarvan	SO 477074	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 321		Michael, <i>PW</i> , 62 or Clement, Bradney,II,ii, 191	Polygonal	
Dingestow	SO 457014	c.872, <i>LL</i> ,227,Davies, 1978,137; merthir dincat. <i>EA</i> , L.27	Church, prebend	Dingad,c.872, <i>LL</i> ,227	Largely curved	
Dinham	ST 479922	c.1348, <i>LL</i> ,322; ecclesia de Dynan				
Dixton Newton	SO 519135	c.735, <i>LL</i> , 183,230 Davies, 1978,136 Henlann Titiuc, Lann Tidiuc	Monastery	Titiuc, c.735 <i>LL</i> ,183,230	Quadrangular	
The Garth	SO 523132	1186, <i>Cal.Doc.France</i> , 404				
(Glascoed	SO 332020	1535, <i>VE</i> ,IV,365, Tithing of corn		Michael, Davies,1953,32	Quadrangular	
Goldcliff	ST 365832	1113, <i>K &amp; H</i> , 67		Mary Magdalene, 1113, <i>Monasticon</i> , VI,1022	Quadrangular	
Chapel Farm?	ST 350849	1245, <i>EA</i> ,L.432; church of Portrevestun				
Goytre	SO 324053	c.1348, <i>LL</i> ,321		Peter, c.1566 <i>Rep</i>	Polygonal	
Grace Dieu	SO 448127	1226, Williams, 1976,59				
Grosmont	SO 405244	1254, <i>VN</i>		Nicholas, <i>PW</i> ,52	Partly curved	
Gwernesney	SO 415018	1254, <i>VN</i> ; may be Lanngverntivauc,c.970, <i>LL</i> , 240, Davies,1978, 137	Church?	Michael, <i>PW</i> , 60	Partly curved	Partly earth banked
Henllys	ST 267911	1230-40, <i>EA</i> , L.396		Peter, <i>PW</i> ,54	Quadrangular	
Howick	ST 503956 approx.	c.660, <i>LL</i> ,143,Davies, 1978,137, ecclesia Guriud?;c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 323, Sco Wormeto?	Church?			
Ifton	ST 465879	c.1348, <i>LL</i> ,322				
Itton	ST 493953	c.860, <i>LL</i> ,171,Davies 1978,137, if Lann Dinuil	Church?	Deiniol,c.860, <i>LL</i> ,171	Polygonal	
Kemeys Commander	SO 349048	1254, <i>VN</i>		All Saints, <i>PW</i> ,60	Quadrangular	
Kemeys Inferior	ST 381927	c.950, <i>LL</i> ,221,Davies, 1978,136, 'Lann Mihacgel', <i>LL</i> ,261	Monastery	Michael, c.950, <i>LL</i> , 221	Irregular	
Henrhiw	ST 396915	1119, <i>EA</i> ,L.27		St John the Baptist in the Wilderness, <i>PW</i> ,57		
Kilgwrrwg	ST 463985	1254, <i>VN</i> ; may be villa Guroc of <i>LL</i> ,179, c.722,Davies, 1979,110			Partly curved	
Langstone	ST 370899	1230-40, <i>EA</i> ,L.386			Quadrangular	
Cat's Ash	ST 371907	1536, Bradney, IV,iii, 205, suggested as the		Cirig, <i>PW</i> ,58		

TABLE 1 contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Llanbedr	ST 387911,	Villa Cathouen of <i>LL</i> , 198 c.1045, <i>LL</i> , 261, Davies 1978, 137	Church?	Peter, <i>LL</i> , 261		
Llanarth	SO 375108	c.600, <i>LL</i> , 121, 123, Davies, 1978, 134	Monastery, prebend	Teilo, c.600, <i>LL</i> , 121, 123	Partly curved	Enclosure south of churchyard?
(Clytha	SO 371093	1535, <i>VE</i> , IV, 372 (place-name only)		Aeddan, <i>PW</i> , 52		
Llanbadoc	SO 376001	1254, <i>VN</i>			Polygonal	
Llandewi Fach	ST 332958	1254, <i>VN</i>	Prebend	David, <i>VN</i>	Partly curved	Fully earth banked enclosure
Llandewi Rhydderch	SO 349129	1254, <i>VN</i>		David, <i>VN</i>	Polygonal	
Llandewi Skyrryd (St Michael	SO 342170 SO 331183	1254, <i>VN</i> 1610, <i>Sp</i> , possible chapel symbol on Skiridvawre hill)		David, <i>VN</i> Michael, <i>PW</i> , 53	Quadrangular Largely curved	
Llandegveth	ST 338957	c.750, <i>LL</i> , 119, Davies, 1978, 136, Merthir tecmad	Monastery	Tegvedd, c.750, <i>LL</i> , 199	Largely curved	Fully earth banked enclosure, raised level
Llandenny	SO 415039	c.785, <i>LL</i> , 208, Davies, 1978, 137, ecclesia de Mathenni	Church		Partly curved	
Llanerthill	SO 431045	c.685, <i>LL</i> , 159, Davies, 1978, 138	Church?	Eurddil, c.685, <i>LL</i> , 159		
Llandogo	SO 527042	c.625, <i>LL</i> , 156, Davies, 1978, 135	Monastery, prebend	Enniaun, and Oudocui, c.625, <i>LL</i> , 156	Partly curved	
Llanelen	SO 303109	1254, <i>VN</i>		Elen, 1254, <i>VN</i>	Polygonal	
Llanfair Discoed	ST 446924	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 322		Mary, c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 322	Polygonal	
Llanfair Kilgedin	SO 355087	1254, <i>VN</i>		Mary, c.1566 <i>Rep</i>	Irregular	
(Llanfair Grange	SO 333072	1610, <i>Sp</i> , Llanvajer, possibly 1535-6, PRO SC6 Hen 8/7319)		Mary, 1610, <i>Sp</i>		
Llanfihangel (Roggiet)	ST 452878	c.905, <i>LL</i> , 233, Davies, 1979, 123	Church	Michael, c.905, <i>LL</i> , 233	Quadrangular	
Llanfihangel Crucorney	SO 325206	c.970, <i>LL</i> , 240, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Michael, c.970, <i>LL</i> , 240	Quadrangular	
Penbiddle	SO 340223, approx.	Bradney, I, ii, 224, supposed early chapel				
(Staunton Chapel	SO 310214, approx.	1610, <i>Sp</i> , Stanton Chap.)				
(Bettws Chapel	SO 30 18?	1610, <i>Sp</i> )				
Llanfihangel Llantarnam	ST 306932	c.1566, <i>Rep</i> ; also poetic reference to St Michael's belonging to Llantarnam Abbey, Williams, 1976, 86		Michael, c.1566, <i>Rep</i>	Irregular	
(St Dials	ST 285953	O.S. 2" map)		Dial, <i>PW</i> , 62		
(Chapels of Llantarnam Abbey which may be early, Chapel Farm, Bryngwyn; Gelli-las, St Bridget; Abercarn, Chapel Farm; and Pentre-bach, formerly Kilsant, Williams, 1976, 81, 78.)						
Cil-lonydd	ST 228973	1291, Williams, 1976, 89				
Llandderfel	ST 263953	1535, Capella Sti Dervalli, <i>VE</i> , IV, 365 1535-6, Llandarvell, PRO SC6, Hen 8/2497		Derval, <i>VE</i> , IV, 365	Partly curved	
Llanfihangel Nigh Usk	SO 346093	1254, <i>VN</i>		Michael, 1254, <i>VN</i>	Irregular	

TABLE 1 contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Llanfihangel Pontymoill	SO 302012	1254, VN, ecclesia de Kilgoigan, c.1566, 11, ll. V'el gilgoyen, (Llan) , <i>Rep</i>		Michael, c.1566, <i>Rep</i>	Quadrangular	
Llanfihangel Tor-y-mynydd	SO 465018	1254, VN		Michael, 1254, VN	Quadrangular	
Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern	SO 434139	1254?, VN, Ecclesia de Sancti Michaelis, Deanery of Bergavenny; 1291, <i>Taxatio</i> , Llanvyhangel Estelweon		Michael, 1254?, VN	Largely curved	
Llanfoist	SO 287133	1254, VN			Polygonal	
Llanfrechfa	ST 321936	1535, VE, IV, 377, Lanwrewa		All Saints, PW, 62, n2	Quadrangular	
Llangattock Lingoed	SO 362201	1254, VN		Cadog, 1254 VN	Largely curved	
Llangattock Nigh Usk	SO 330096	1254, VN		Cadog, 1254, VN	Quadrangular	
Llangattock Vibon Avel	SO 457157	1186, EA, L.203		Cadog, 1186 EA, L.203	Partly curved	
St Thomas of Panrox	Unknown	1186, EA, L.203		Thomas, 1186 EA, L.203		
St Thomas of Newcastle	?SO 447173	1186, EA, L.203		Thomas, 1186 EA, L.203		
Llanfannar	SO 431169	c.970, LL, 240, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Menoro?, 1254, VN		
Llanllwyd	SO 419203	c.970, LL, 240, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Liwite, 1186, EA, L.203		
Llangeview	SO 397007	1254?, VN, ecclesia de Langiwen		Cyfiw, c.1566 <i>Rep</i>	Largely curved	Fully earth banked enclosure
Llangibby	ST 374967	c.1100?, VSB, 238; Lankepi, Lankebi		Cybi, c.1100? VSB, 238	Quadrangular	
Llangoven	SO 457055	c.775, LL, 206, Davies, 1978, 137, Mamouric, Lannuuien	Church, prebend	Coven, c.775, LL, 206	Partly curved	
(Llanlawrence)	?SO 453057	1622, Bradney, II, ii, 200, 'message called Llanlawrence')				
Llangua	SO 389257	c.872, LL, 216, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Culan, c.872, LL, 216	Irregular	
Llangwm Isaf	SO 434005	1119, EA, L.27; the vill of lann cum, with the churches; also c.1075, Villa Gunnuc in Guarthaf Cum, LL, 274, Davies, 1979, 129; 1291, <i>Taxatio</i> , Ecclesia de Warkecom	Monastery, prebend	See Llangwm Uchaf	Polygonal	
Llangwm Uchaf	SO 428006	c.860, LL, 173, Davies, 1978, 136	Monastery, prebend	Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui, and Eruen, c.1075, LL, 274	Partly curved	
Llanhennock	ST 354927	1491, Gw.R.O., St Pierre collection, D501.549		St John the Baptist, PW, 61	Partly curved	
Llanhilleth	SO 218020	1535-6, Llanheleth, PRO SC6 Hen 8/2497		Hyledd, c.1566, <i>Rep</i>	Largely curved	
Llanishen	SO 475033	c.970, LL, 240, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Nisien, c.970, LL, 240	Largely curved	
Llanvair	SO 466042	1295, Bradney, II, ii, 244		Mary, 1295, Bradney, II, ii, 244		
Llanwinney	SO 464047, approx.	c.970?, LL, 240, Davies, 1978, 137, if Lann Gunnhoill; c.1566,	Church?			

TABLE 1 contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Llanllowel	ST 394985	ll.wnell (Wynell), <i>Rep</i> 1254, VN		Llowel,1254, VN	Irregular	
Llanmartin	ST 395894	1254, VN		Martin, 1254, VN	Polygonal	
Llandavaud	ST 407904	1119?, <i>EA</i> , L.27, the vill of St Tyvauc with the church; 1610, <i>Sp</i> , Llandeivaigo		Tavaud, <i>PW</i> ,58		
Llanover	SO 318095	1285, <i>Cal. Close Rolls</i> , 366		Movor,1285, <i>Cal. Close Rolls</i> , 366	Irregular	
(Capel Newydd Llansaintffraed	SO 270277 SO 357103	1610, <i>Sp</i> c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 321		Bridget, c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 321	Quadrangular ) Quadrangular	
Llansoy	SO 443024	c.725, <i>LL</i> ,187,Davies, 1978,136	Monastery	Tysoy,c.725, <i>LL</i> ,187	Partly curved	Partly earth banked enclosure
Llangynog	SO 455014	c.1005, <i>LL</i> ,251,Davies, 1979,126,Henlenic Cinauc	Church	Cynog,c.1005, <i>LL</i> ,251		
Llantilio Crossenny	SO 398149	c.600, <i>LL</i> ,123,Davies, 1979,95	Church, prebend	Teilo,c.600, <i>LL</i> ,123	Quadrangular	
Llanfair Cilgoed	SO 393194	c.1566, <i>Rep</i>		Mary,c.1566 <i>Rep</i>	Partly curved	
Llantilio Pertholay	SO 312164	c.600, <i>LL</i> ,122,Davies, 1978,138	Church, prebend	Teilo,c.600, <i>LL</i> ,122	Quadrangular	
(Bettws Llantrisant	ST 27 19? ST 392969	1610, <i>Sp</i> 1254, VN		The Three Saints, <i>PW</i> ,61; Peter,Paul, John, <i>PW</i> ,61, n4; David,Pad- arn, Teilo, Bradney	Partly curved	
(Bertholau	ST 393948	1610, <i>Sp</i> ,Marthelley Chap)				
Llanvaches	ST 434917	c.775, <i>LL</i> ,211,Davies, 1978,137,Merthir Maches	Church	Maches, c.775, <i>LL</i> ,211	Quadrangular	
Llanvapley	SO 367142	c.860, <i>LL</i> ,171,Davies, 1978,137,ecclesia Mable	Church	Mable, c.860, <i>LL</i> ,171	Irregular	
Lann Tituill	SO 383130	c.970, <i>LL</i> ,240,Davies, 1978,137	Church	Tituill, c.970, <i>LL</i> ,240		
Llanvetherine	SO 364172	c.876, <i>LL</i> ,228,Davies, 1978,137	Church	Gueithirin, c.876, <i>LL</i> ,228	Largely curved	
Llanwenarth	SO 276148	1254, VN		Waynardo, 1254, VN	Partly curved	
Llanwern	ST 371878	c.970?, <i>LL</i> ,240,Davies, 1978,137	Church	Tivauc?,	Largely curved	
Machen	ST 227881	c.1102, <i>Cartae</i> , I,38		Michael, <i>PW</i> ,54	Irregular	
Magor	ST 425870	1239, <i>EA</i> , L.381		St Leonard, 1239, <i>EA</i> , L.381	Partly curved	
Merthyr Gereint	ST 427885	c.905 or later, <i>LL</i> , 233,bounds, Davies, 1979,123	Church	Gereint, c.905+, <i>LL</i> , 233		
Llandevenny Lower Grange	ST 411873 ST 428855	1291, <i>Taxatio</i> 1291,Williams,1976, 121				
Malpas	ST 303902	1122, <i>K &amp; H</i> ,98		Mary, <i>PW</i> ,54	Quadrangular	



TABLE 1 contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Mamhilad	SO 305035	c.1100?, <i>VSB</i> , 110, Mammelliat locus	Monastery		Partly curved	Largely earth banked enclosure, fall in ground within churchyard
Marshfield	ST 263826	early 12th century?, <i>LL</i> , 190, title and bounds only, no church mentioned; 1254, <i>VN</i> , ecclesia de Merisfield			Quadrangular	
(Castleton Chapel Mathern	ST 252834 ST 523908	O.S. 25" map) c.620, <i>LL</i> , 141, Davies, 1978, 137, Merthir Teudiric; 1119, <i>EA</i> , the vill of Merthir Teudiric with the churches	Church, possibly monastery; prebend	Teudiric, c.620, <i>LL</i> , 141	Irregular	
(Crick	ST 493903	1535, <i>VE</i> , IV, 373, Trikke				
(St Tewdric Pwl Meurig	ST 529924 ST 518924, approx.	c.1566, <i>Rep</i> ) c.970, <i>LL</i> , 240, Davies, 1978, 137, Lann Mihacgel i Pull; also c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 323, ecclesia de Pulmeuric	Church	Michael, c.970, <i>LL</i> , 240		
Runston	ST 495916	1245-53, <i>EA</i> , L.458		Keyna; Cagle Jarvis and Webster, 1978, 639	Polygonal (map of 1772) in Cagle et al.	
Michaelston-y-fedw	ST 241846	1254, <i>VN</i>		Michael, 1254, <i>VN</i>	Polygonal	
Mitchell Troy	SO 493104	1230-40?, <i>EA</i> , L.393 the church of St John of Troy		Michael, 1610, <i>Sp</i>	Polygonal	
(Llanthomas	SO 468068	1622, Bradney, II, ii, 186)		Thomas, <i>PW</i> , 62		
Monkswood	SO 354033	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 328, fratres de Everbechyn				
Monmouth	SO 509129	c.733, <i>LL</i> , 175, 186, Davies, 1978, 136, Aper Myngui	Monastery	Mary, c.910 <i>LL</i> , 231	Irregular	
St Thomas	?SO 505125	1186, <i>Cal.Doc.France</i> , 404		Thomas, 1186, <i>Cal.Doc.France</i> , 404		
St Dials	SO 501115	1186, <i>Cal.Doc.France</i> , 404, St Duellus		Duellus, 1186, <i>Cal.Doc.France</i> , 404		
Mounton	ST 513929?	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 323, ecclesia Sco Audoen		Audoen, c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 323	Polygonal	
Mynyddislwyn	ST 193939	c.1102, <i>Cartae</i> , I, 38		Teudur ap Howel, c.1566 <i>Rep</i>	Quadrangular	
Nash	ST 344837	1113, <i>Monasticon</i> , VI, 1022		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 56	Quadrangular	
Newchurch	ST 454975	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 319, 322			Quadrangular	
Newport, St Woolos	ST 308876	c.1100?, <i>VSB</i> , 90, Egglis Guunliu	Monastery	Gwynllyw, c.1100?, <i>VSB</i> , 90	Partly curved	
(St Lawrence Panteg	Unknown ST 311991	1535, <i>VE</i> , IV, 363) 1254, <i>VN</i>		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 62	Quadrangular	
Penallt	SO 523107	1254, <i>VN</i>			Quadrangular	
St Denis	Unknown	1306-7, chapel of Landynassan, <i>Inq.p.m.</i> Vol IV, Edw. I, 326? ?vill of tynasan with church, 1119, <i>EA</i> , L.27		Denis, 1594, Bradney, II, ii, 160; Possibly 1565-6, PRO SC6 E1. I/1475		

TABLE 1 contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Penhow	ST 425908	1254, VN		St John Baptist, PW, 59	Irregular	
Penrhos	SO 417117	1254, VN	Prebend	Cadog, 1254, VN	Polygonal	
Penterry	ST 535957, approx.	c.955, LL, 218, Davies, 1978, 137, Lann Bedeui	Church	Bedeui, c.955, LL, 218	Partly curved	
Pen-y-clawdd	SO 453079	c.1348, LL, 321		Martin, PW, 61; Michael; Richards, 1968, 13	Quadrangular	
Peterstone Wentlloog	ST 268801	1291, <i>Taxatio</i>		Peter, 1291 <i>Taxatio</i>	Irregular	
Portskewett Sudbrook	ST 498882 ST 506874	1254, VN 1254, VN		Mary, PW, 60 Holy Trinity, 1610, Sp	Partly curved	
Raglan	SO 414077	c.1100?, VSB, 154	Church	David, VSB, 154	Quadrangular	
Redwick	ST 413842	1270, Bradney, IV, ii, 236		Michael, 1545 Bradney, IV, ii, 236; Thomas, PW, 59	Polygonal	
Risca	ST 237912	1230-40, EA, L.396		Peter, PW, 54	Partly curved	
Rockfield	SO 482148	c.970, LL, 240, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Guoronoi, c.970, LL, 240 also St Kiniephant of Rokevill, 1186, EA, L.203	Irregular	
Roggiet	ST 456876	1254, VN		Hilary, 1527, Bradney, IV, ii, 266	Irregular	
Rumney	ST 214792	1153-83, EA, L.184		St Augustine PW, 55	Quadrangular	
Shirenewton	ST 478935	1254, VN		St Thomas the Martyr, PW, 60	Largely curved	
Llanmihangel Llechrhyd	ST 43 96?	c.980, LL, 244, Davies, 1978, 138	Church?	Michael, c.980, LL, 244		
Skenfrith	SO 450204	1206-7, EA, L.270		Brigid? 1230-40, EA, L.393; Cynwraidd, PW, 54	Quadrangular	
St Noyes Chapel	SO 433206	1360-69, Williams, 1976, 36; Llannoyth, 1610, Sp		Noyes, 1360-69, Williams, 1976, 36		
(St Fraed's St Arvan's	SO 464204 ST 516965	O.S. 2" map) c.955, LL, 218, Davies, 1978, 137	Church	Jarmen & Febric, c.955 LL, 218	Partly curved	Early Christian monument <i>Antiq. Journal</i> , XIX, (1939) 150-52
(St Lawrence	ST 524935	PW, 60		Lawrence,) PW, 60		
Rogerstone Grange	ST 506966	1291, Williams, 1976, 121				
St Bride's Netherwent	ST 428896	c.895, LL, 235, Davies, 1978, 137, Davies identifies with Caldicot but is likely to be this site	Church	Brigid, c.895 LL, 235	Polygonal	
St Bride's Wentlloog	ST 293824	1230-40, EA, L.396		Brigid, 1230-40, EA, L.396	Irregular	
St Maughan's	SO 462172	c.860, LL, 74, 171, Davies, 1978, 136	Monastery	Mocha, c.860, LL, 74, 171	Partly curved	

TABLE 1 contd.

Site	NGR	Earliest Reference	Early Status	Dedication	Enclosure form	Archaeological notes
Lann Tipallai	Unknown	c.860?, <i>LL</i> , 171, doubtful charter, Davies, 1979, 106	Church	Tipallai, c.860? <i>LL</i> , 171		
St Mellon's	ST 228814	1254, <i>VN</i>		Melanus, 1254, <i>VN</i>	Irregular	
St Pierre	ST 515905	1254, <i>VN</i>		Peter, 1254, <i>VN</i>	Quadrangular	
Tintern Parva	SO 529509	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 322		Michael, <i>PW</i> , 60	Polygonal	
Tredunnoch	ST 379948	1254, <i>VN</i> ; also place-name in <i>VSB</i> , 72, c.1100?		Andrew, <i>PW</i> , 62	Quadrangular	
Tregare	SO 417103	1285, <i>Cal. Close Rolls</i> , 366		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 52	Partly curved	
Trelleck	SO 501055	c.755, <i>LL</i> , 199, Davies, 1978, 137, Trilecc Lann Mainvon	Church	Nicholas, <i>PW</i> , 62	Quadrangular	
Trelleck Grange	SO 492017	c.960, <i>LL</i> , 217, Davies, 1978, 136; 1522, 'the grange of Kilvethin', Williams, 1976, 112	Monastery		Quadrangular	Possibly out-lying enclosure
Trevethin	SO 284021	1254, <i>VN</i>		Cadog, c.1566	Irregular	
Trostrey	SO 359044	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 321		David, <i>PW</i> , 62	Quadrangular	
Undy	ST 439869	1254, <i>VN</i> , grant probably pre-1236, <i>Cal. Ch. Rolls</i> , II, 360		(Gwndi), <i>PW</i> , 60	Quadrangular	
Usk	SO 378008	1236, <i>K &amp; H</i> , 220		Mary, <i>PW</i> , 62	Irregular	
Whitson	ST 381835	c.1348, <i>LL</i> , 32			Quadrangular	
Wilcrick	ST 409879	1254, <i>VN</i>			Quadrangular	
Wolvesnewton	ST 454998	1254, <i>VN</i>		St Thomas the Martyr, <i>PW</i> , 62	Largely curved	
Wonastow	SO 486107	c.750, <i>LL</i> , 201, Davies	Church	Gunguarui, c.750, <i>LL</i> , 201	Quadrangular	

## TABLE 2 ENCLOSURE FORMS

<b>Largely Curved</b>	Magor	Chepstow	Llanfihangel Crucorney
Bettws Newydd	Mamhilad	Kemeys Inferior	Llanfihangel Pontymoil
Coedkernew	Newport St Woolos	Llanfair Kilgedin	Llanfihangel Tor-y-Mynydd
Dingestow	Penterry	Llanfihangel Llantarnam	Llanfrechfa
Llandegveth	Portskewett	Llanfihangel Nigh Usk	Llangattock Nigh Usk
Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern	Risca	Llangua	Llangibby
Llangattock Lingoed	St Arvan's	Llanllowel	Capel Newydd (Llanover parish)
Llangeview	St Maughan's	Llanover	Llansaintffraed
Llanhilleth	Tregare	Llanvaply	Llantilio Crossenny
Llanishen	<b>Polygonal</b>	Machen	Llantilio Pertholay
Llanvetherine	Bassaleg	Mathern	Llanvaches
Llanwern	Bettws	Monmouth	Malpas
Shirenewton	Chapel Hill'	Penhow	Marshfield
Wolvesnewton	Cwmcarvan	Peterston Wentlloog	Mynyddislywn
St Michael's, Skyrryd	Goytre	Rockfield	Nash
(Llanddewi Skyrryd parish)	Itton	Roggiet	Newchurch
<b>Partly Curved</b>	Llanbadoc	St Bride's Wentlloog	Panteg
Christchurch	Llanddewi Rhydderch	St Mellon's	Penallt
Grosmont	Llanelen	Trevethin	Pen-y-Clawdd
Gwernesney	Llanfoist	Usk	Raglan
Kilgwrrwg	Llanfair Discoed	<b>Quadrangular</b>	Rumney
Llanarth	Llangwm Isaf	Bedwas	Skenfrith
Llanddewi Fach	Llanmartin	Bedwellty	St Pierre
Llandenny	Runston (Mathern parish)	Bishton	Tredunnoch
Llandderfel	Michaelston-y-fedw	Bryngwyn	Trelleck
Llandogo	Mitchell Troy	Caerleon	Trelleck Grange
Llangattock Vibon Avel	Monkswood	Caerwent	Trostrey
Llangoven	Mounton	Dixton Newton	Undy
Llangwm Uchaf	Penrhos	Glascoed	Whitson
Llanhennock	Redwick	Goldcliff	Wilcrick
Llansoy	St Bride's Netherwent	Henllys	Wonastow
Llanfair Cilgoed	Tintern Parva	Kemeys Commander	
(Llantilio Crossenny parish)	<b>Irregular</b>	Langstone	
Llantrisant	Abergavenny	Llanddewi Skyrryd	
Llanwenarth	Caldicot	Llanfihangel (near Roggiet)	

## CONCEALMENT OF CROWN LANDS IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY GWENT

by *Madeleine Gray*

Since Dr Christopher Kitching's pioneering survey of the concealment and rediscovery of Crown lands in the later sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> historians of the Crown's estate in the early modern period have had to take account of the fact that the Crown was surprisingly ignorant about the extent and nature of parts of that estate. However, the implications of that ignorance have still to be worked out on a detailed and local scale. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Crown held several marcher lordships in Gwent, and these were added to in the first half of the century by the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham in 1521 and the dissolution of religious houses and chantries in the 1530s and 1540s. After Elizabeth's accession, the Crown made no substantial acquisition of land in the county outside the Duchy of Lancaster. In the absence of new property therefore, if Elizabeth wished to raise money or reward her servants she was forced further to deplete her reserves or to turn to the ferreting-out of lands which should have come into Crown hands long ago but which had been concealed.

Concealment is a problem inherent in slack administration and poor record-keeping or a failure to appreciate the use of records. The Tudors were constantly struggling to recover ancient feudal rights and exploit dues and services which had been neglected or forgotten,<sup>2</sup> while the religious houses themselves suffered loss of income from the concealment of their property.<sup>3</sup> However, the great transfer of ecclesiastical property in the sixteenth century gave unrivalled scope for such activities. The process by which these properties were dispersed, since it involved exchanges as well as gifts and sales, could also lead to concealment. In 1551 Sir William Herbert, later first Earl of Pembroke, bought at a fair price virtually all of the property of the chantries in Caerleon, Newport and Usk.<sup>4</sup> Two years later, he returned much of this and some other property to the Crown by a complicated series of transaction whereby Roger Williams of Llangybi granted property to Herbert (now Earl of Pembroke) in exchange for some of the Caerleon and Usk chantry land. Pembroke added more property of his own (some apparently bought for the purpose of the exchange) and exchanged it with the Crown, then granted some of the property he had received in exchange to Williams. The earl also succeeded (perhaps inadvertently) in granting the property of Capel Gwenog, a free chapel in Caerleon, to both Williams and the Crown. The complexity of the exchange, the inadequate descriptions of some of the properties involved and the devious and at times dishonest dealings of both Pembroke and Williams made this transaction the subject of several disputes. No less than six grants have been found of concealed land involved in the exchange,<sup>6</sup> as well as two legal cases arising directly out of it,<sup>7</sup> a lengthy dispute over the identity of the Newport

chantry land in the early seventeenth century<sup>8</sup> and one grant (or possibly two) in confirmation of a defective title, itself an aspect of the problem of concealment.<sup>9</sup>

Given the scale of the Henrician and Edwardian transfers of ecclesiastical property and the speed with which surveys of the property were carried out, some degree of inaccuracy was inevitable. It is impossible in many cases to be certain whether undervaluation or omissions were deliberate, and who was responsible for such concealments as were made. The process of accounting for the first few years' income corrected many mistakes,<sup>10</sup> and the Crown's officials continued to nag at the problem. On several occasions between 1548 and 1581 the bailiffs and surveyors of Skenfrith attempted to regain possession of land which they claimed as part of the Chapel of St Noe and the service of the Virgin in Skenfrith.<sup>11</sup> Roger Davy's great survey of chantry and other lands in South Wales in 1561/62 discovered three concealments in Monmouthshire, one of property of Llanwenarth chantry which had been undervalued in its sale in 1548, another of land of the same chantry worth 10s yearly and not included in the sale, and the third of a sum of money left to find a chantry priest in Llangatwg near Usk. The purchaser's heir agreed to make up the full price of the first land in Llanwenarth but it was impossible to reclaim arrears of rent on the other land there, the tenant being 'very poore, worth nothing', and the inquisition in Llangatwg was subsequently set aside as insufficient in law.<sup>12</sup> The manor of Radur near Usk, formerly the property of the French hospital of St Inglevert, was at one time described by the Crown as concealed property,<sup>13</sup> but title to this was never proved.

Some Crown lessees also took private action to reclaim property,<sup>14</sup> but there was little large-scale concealment-hunting until Mary's reign. Kitching finds the inspiration for its development in the great scrutiny of accounts by Berners, Mildmay and Wiseman, begun in 1555, but this was only one of a series of debt-collecting commissions from 1545. It is perhaps more likely that concealment-hunting became popular when other sources of Crown grants ran dry. This may explain why 'one of the great sports of 'Elizabeth England'<sup>15</sup> never really caught on in Monmouthshire, where the Crown still had plenty of small parcels of land for sale in 1603. However, Monmouthshire property featured in one of the first of the long series of grants of concealed property. In July 1558 Sir George Howard, master of the Queen's horse, in consideration of his 'good, true and faithful services' was given concealed land to the annual value of £22.8s. 6d. in total of 15 counties including 13½ acres and two burgages in Usk given for the maintenance of a perpetual mass and light there.<sup>16</sup> Five years later, a grant to William Morgan and John Morris on behalf of several intending purchasers included a concealed chapel in Monmouth town valued at 6d. yearly and seven acres in Caerleon formerly of the Chantry of the Virgin there and valued at 14s. Some of the Caerleon property was mentioned in *Valor*

*Ecclesiasticus*, but had since been concealed. It came to light through the information of Thomas William Watkin, who had at first asked for a lease without fine as his reward but now wished to purchase the property.<sup>17</sup> Here an informer is seen acting independently and for himself; later in the century informers acted mainly through the agents of Crown grantees and rarely appear in the records. Some informers were prepared to accept leases, even with fines, as their reward. Watkin Herbert received a lease without fine of the concealed tithes of salmon in the Wye in 1573<sup>18</sup> but in 1596 Walter Williams was obliged to pay an admittedly reduced fine of 13s. 4d. for a lease of concealed property in Llanbadoc and Wolvesnewton arising out of the Earl of Pembroke's exchange.<sup>19</sup>

Information as to concealed lands was not always accurate and where accurate might not be fruitful. The property of Capel Gwenog in Caerleon, which the Earl of Pembroke had granted to both Roger Williams and the Crown in 1553, was subsequently claimed as concealed. The chapel and some of its land was sold to a royal servant, William Grice, in 1563, in a grant which also included further lands formerly of the Chantry of the Virgin in Caerleon and property in another 24 English and Welsh counties.<sup>20</sup> Much of this was sold the following year by Grice and his partner, Anthony Foster of Cumnor, to Bartholomew Brokesby of London,<sup>21</sup> which presumably indicates there was no informer or tenant anxious to buy the land. In 1588, however, a dispute over the ownership of Capel Gwenog produced two conflicting titles, both going back before 1563 and neither mentioning the grant to Grice and Foster or the Earl of Pembroke's exchange.<sup>22</sup> The residue of the chapel's property was eventually sold in 1612 to Francis Morris and Francis Phillips, agents for one of the great seventeenth century land-purchasing syndicates.<sup>23</sup> It was included in the property sold by them to Roger William's heir the following year,<sup>24</sup> but the grant does not state what (if anything) was paid for the property in dispute. Walter Jones's lease of the rectory of Newchurch, which he claimed had been concealed by disguising the impropriation as a fixed pension payable to Chepstow priory, resulted in a lengthy enquiry which confirmed the Earl of Worcester's ownership of the rectory.<sup>25</sup> An exchequer inquisition held at Llantrisant in January 1567 produced evidence of 5s. worth of land in several small parcels concealed out of Llanthony-juxta-Gloucestre's manor of Llantrisant, but no grants or increased payments to the Crown resulted from this.<sup>26</sup> Inquisitions made by the Sheriff under a writ dated 12 February 1567 to enquire into all concealments since 1558 resulted only in a lengthy description of the Earl of Pembroke's title to the lordship of Usk, Caerleon, Trelech and Newport.<sup>27</sup>

The January 1567 inquisition was probably held in response to specific information, since it dealt with such a small area, but the name of the informer is not known. The concealed lands of Dinmore in Christchurch which were granted to

Hugh Counsell on 4 February 1570 may have been discovered by George Herbert of St Julians, since he purchased them from Counsell tow days later.<sup>28</sup> The 1584 enquiry at the suit of Sir James Croft may also have been inspired by informers, since the Monmouthshire property reported was all in Newport and Monmouth, but only the grant to Croft's agents, Anothony Collins of London and Henry Mapleton of York, survives.<sup>29</sup> Croft's patent initially permitted him to approach alleged owners of concealed land and compound with them for their arrears, arranging for the payment of future rents to the Crown, but where the tenant refused to pay (as had presumably happened in the case of all the Newport and Monmouth property) he was empowered to compound with others for title to the land.<sup>30</sup>

The use of informers to recover Crown rights and to implement economic and other legislation was a standard if unfortunate Tudor practice. The uncertainty of their operations and the insecurity this created, and the almost infinite possibilities for corrupt behaviour, created disrespect for the laws as well as for those who enforced them.<sup>31</sup> Ultimately they were not even very successful. Some concealment-hunters seem to have managed without them, and to have operated by suing out from the Exchequer or the Duchy of Lancaster special commissions of enquiry to trawl for concealments through a wide area. Even when acting on information the patentee would need a warrant permitting him to search for concealed lands and would bear all the costs of the enterprise. This did not deter prospective searchers, even when they were required to purchase or take grants in fee farm of the properties they discovered, and by the end of the 1560s licences to seek out concealments had become a well-established reward for services.<sup>32</sup> One general enquiry at the suit of Sir John Perrott in 1573 produced at least 30 parcels of supposedly concealed land in Monmouthshire worth a little over £2 yearly.<sup>33</sup> Some of this, however, was not concealed at all. The land given to maintain a priest in Grosmont had already been sold,<sup>34</sup> and the profits of the rectories of Rockfield, Wonastow, Welsh Bicknor and Tregaer were declared to be less than the Crown was already receiving from them.<sup>35</sup> Perrott's agents were granted about half the property mentioned in the return,<sup>36</sup> and a few shillings' worth was added by John Farnham in 1577 to a grant which also included some unconcealed property,<sup>37</sup> leaving nearly half the findings unsold and of no apparent profit to the Crown.<sup>38</sup>

John Farnham's own inquisition in 1577 dealt with only one group of properties and may well have been based on previous information. The little priory of St Kynemarks, already decayed by the 1530's, had been assessed in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* at £8.4s. 8d. but was never formally dissolved. Its property remained concealed until 1577, when Farnham's inquisition valued it at only 13 s. 3d.<sup>39</sup> It was granted to him at a fee farm rent of £1.6s. 10d.<sup>40</sup> and he sold it to Thomas Somerset,<sup>41</sup> whose brother,



the Earl of Worcester, may have provided the original information since his name appears on the particulars of the grant.<sup>42</sup> The decrease in value may be due partly to decay, but is more credibly explained as a case of concealment from the concealment-hunter.

The hunt for concealed lands inevitably led to ill-feeling and may have stirred up old resentments about the Dissolution even when the property involved had genuinely been concealed. Government awareness of this is reflected in repeated proclamations and Exchequer orders,<sup>43</sup> but these were evaded or ignored by petitioners anxious for patents and a government equally anxious to reward its servant at no immediate cost itself. Particular grievance was felt when the Crown's patentees attacked the lands of ecclesiastical and educational institutions on the grounds that their title to lands granted them by the Crown was inadequate.<sup>44</sup> Edward Dyer's grant in fee farm of the site, precinct and tithes of Goldcliff Priory<sup>45</sup> looks at first like a blunder based on a misreading of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, where the property of Goldcliff is described separately under the diocese of Llandaff.<sup>46</sup> Much concealed property had in fact been recorded in one of the Crown surveys:<sup>47</sup> one of the accusations against the concealment-hunter Mompesson in 1621 was that all he and his agents had done was 'the taking of copies of old Records'.<sup>48</sup> But a closer reading of the original grant of Goldcliff's lands to Eton College in 1467<sup>49</sup> shows that the site, precinct and tithes were not specifically granted therein. Dyer's agent, William Tipper, was already notorious for the lengths to which he would go to find technical concealments.<sup>50</sup> The claim to Goldcliff's tithes, however, was ultimately fruitless and the rent of £11.10s to the Crown was never paid. Unfortunately, nothing survives in the records of Eton College to indicate how seriously it was taken.

The practice of claiming as concealments lands held by a technically defective title appears to have begun with the more vulnerable ecclesiastical estates but soon spread to attack the estates of laymen. A proclamation of 14 January 1600 acknowledged that many landowners 'have been of late years greatly vexed, sued and put to intolerable charges by colour of letters patent which are found for the most part to be void in law'<sup>51</sup> and a commission was established to compound for defective titles. This type of concealment-hunting does not seem to have affected Monmouthshire until 1610, when William Rawlins and George Milborne, heirs by marriage of much of the property of Grace Dieu Abbey, received a new grant of their estates for £100.10s.<sup>52</sup> In December 1613 Charles Williams of Llanybi received a similar grant of his manor of Usk and the rectory of Llandenni, both late of Usk Priory, for £43.8s.<sup>53</sup> A grant in May 1610 of the rectory of Trostre to Anthony Gooch and Thomas Parker as agents for a syndicate<sup>54</sup> may also be explained as a grant of a defective title, as Trostre had originally been granted to the Earl of Pembroke in the same much disputed exchange as Usk and Llandenni.<sup>55</sup>

Doubt may have been cast on Rawlins and Milborne's title to the lands of Grace Dieu because the estate has passed through the female line, though the original grant had been in fee simple.<sup>56</sup> A more determined attempt to seek out lands granted in tail male which should have reverted to the Crown was made in 1613 when an inquisition was held into lands granted to the Earl of Worcester, John Parker and William Morgan and into the tenure of the manor of Llanfair.<sup>57</sup> As with many such inquisitions, it seems to have produced no information which the Crown or its grantees could use.

The unpopularity of concealment-hunting produced further attempts at restriction by the Crown, but it was not until 1624 that Parliament succeeded in dealing with the matter by a statute which prohibited the detection of defective titles over 60 years old.<sup>58</sup> Kitching suggests that even greater profits were made by those who persevered in tracking down concealments in the seventeenth century, but only a little was added to the total in Monmouthshire.<sup>59</sup>

In the period 1558-1603, the efforts of private concealment-hunters had added land valued at a total of about £11.13.6d to the Crown's estate, most of it in small parcels suitable only for immediate alienation. Of this total, £3.3s.6d. (27%) came from the religious houses and about £7 (60%) from the chantries: the remaining £1.10s. (13%) was the former property of Roger Williams. The secular property of the Crown produced no other concealments in the sixteenth century, though the land in St. Brides Wentloog found in the early seventeenth century was probably part of the Lordship of Newport. Concealment-hunting was thus the least profitable as well as the most unpopular of the means by which the Crown sought to augment its estates in Monmouthshire in the sixteenth century. It continued to be encouraged because the initial losses were borne by the patentees and such profits as there were came direct to the Crown, but the resulting unrest among both the tenants of concealed land and the disenchanting searchers who saw their scanty profits eaten away by clerical, legal and administrative expenses made it ultimately more expensive to the Crown in terms of lost popularity and respect than the financial gains could possibly justify.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. 'The quest for concealed lands in the reign of Elizabeth I', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. xxiv (1974), 63-78.
2. Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London, 1958), esp. pp. 6-57; *idem*, 'The revival of feudalism in early Tudor England', *History* n.s. xxxvii (1952), 131-45, and 'The profits of fiscal feudalism, 1541-1602', *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. viii (1955-56), 53-61.
3. See, e.g., M.C. Rosenfeld, 'The disposal of the property of London monastic houses, with a special study of Holy Trinity, Aldgate' (London Ph. D. thesis, 1961) p.67.
4. Public Record Office E.318/1686, C.66/833 mm.18-19; all references are to documents in the Public Record Office unless otherwise stated.
5. C.54/492 no.11; National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW)

- Llangibby Castle MSS C.885; PRO E.318/1862-63, E.305/4/16, C.66/858 mm.23-25, C.54/486 no.1
6. E.310/36/222/7, E.311/39/177; C.66/1967 no.2; C.66/999 mm.38-44; C.66/1944; E.318/2445, C.66/993 mm.28-31;
  7. C.3/227 78; C.54/731 no.14.
  8. E.A. Lewis and J. Conway Davies, eds.' *Records of the court of Augmentations relating to Wales and Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1953).
  9. NLW Llangibby Castle MSS B.1849, C.66/1849 m.18.
  10. E.g SC6/Hen. VIII/7322, 7323, 1539-40, for discovery of 2 burgages, a meadow and St Davy's chapel, all late of Monmouth priory, total value £1.2s 2d., as well as the general increase in values in the Ministers' Accounts over VE.
  11. DL3/52/R4; DL3/53/R3, DL1/188/T9.
  12. LR2/233 f.37; LR1/ f.215.
  13. C.1/1426/28.
  14. E.g E.321/2/39, Morgan Wolfe's claim that the last prior of Chepstow had retained documents and thus concealed property from the King and his lessee the complainant.
  15. Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London, 1958), p.34.
  16. C.66/939 mm.11-14.
  17. E.318/2445; C.66/993 mm.28-31.
  18. E.310/221/5; E.309/15 Eliz./24 no.12.
  19. E.310/222/7; E.311/39/177.
  20. C.66/999 mm.38-44.
  21. C.54/666 no.89.
  22. C.3/227/78.
  23. C.66/1944, whole roll.
  24. NLW Llangibby Castle A1273, recital.
  25. E.112/29/4, E.134/19 Eliz./Trin.3.
  26. E.178/7272.
  27. NLW Bute 174 box 93.
  28. C.66/1063 m.4; C.54/828 m.10.
  29. E.178/1515, 2 May 1584; C.66/1263 m.6, 19 July 1585.
  30. Kitching, *art.cit* p.68.
  31. G.R. Elton, 'Informing for profit: a sidelight on Tudor methods law-enforcing', *CHJ* xi (1953-55). 149-67; Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979), pp.148-151.
  32. Kitching, *art.cit*, p.68.
  33. E.178/2894: the beginning of the Monmouthshire enquiry missing, some remaining entries are badly faded and some properties are not valued, so these figures are minimum approximations only.
  34. C.66/825 m.23, 18 Aug. 1549.
  35. SC6/Hen. VIII/7319.
  36. C.66/1125 mm.9-33.
  37. C.66/1158 mm.44-48.
  38. No rents for the remaining property can be identified in SC6.
  39. E.178/1509.
  40. C.66/1158 mm.44-48.
  41. NLW Badminton 52, answer.
  42. LR1/231 f.26.
  43. Kitching, *art.cit*. pp. 70-71, 73-74.
  44. Felicity Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes* (Cambridge 1980) pp. 232-33.
  45. C.66/1382 m.33.
  46. *Valor Ecclesiastical* iv. 375.
  47. E.g. St Kynmark's Priory; land in Shirenewton (DL 38/1/7, C.66/1158 mm.44-48) and Caerleon (*Valor Ecclesiastical* iv. 377), cf. Olive Coleman, 'What Figures: some thoughts on the use of information by medieval governments' in D.C. Coleman and A.H. John, eds, *Trade, government and economy in pre-industrial England: essays presented to F.J. Fisher* (London, 1976).
  48. Quoted in D.Ll. Thomas, 'The administration of Crown land in Lincolnshire under Elizabeth I' (London Ph. D. thesis, 1979) p.116.
  49. *Calendar of the patent Rolls: Edward IV. 1467-1477* p.48.
  50. Kitching, *art.cit*. p.72.
  51. P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven 1969), iii. 203.
  52. C.66/1864 no.6.
  53. NLW Llangibby Castle B.1849.
  54. C.66/1849 m. 18.
  55. C.66/858 mm. 23-25.
  56. *Letters and Papers xx* (i) 1335(36).
  57. E.178/5141.
  58. *Statutes of the Realm* iv (ii) pp. 1210-11.
  59. 6s.d. worth of land in St Bride's Wentloog (E.178/3967); land worth 26s. and tithes on about 40 acres and a large wood belonging to Monmouth rectory (DL 44/990).

## ST MARY'S, MONMOUTH: THE BUILDING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHURCH

by Andor Gomme

Among the numerous architectural drawings connected with the recasting of Badminton House in the early mid-eighteenth century are a number of church designs, some of which certainly relate - and others may do - to proposals for the rebuilding of the church which nestles into the south-east corner of the house, a rebuilding which finally took place in 1782-4.<sup>1</sup> But seven of them, which I previously took to be proposals for Badminton, can now be shown to be drafts for the rebuilding of St Mary's, Monmouth in 1736-7. They are in the hand of Francis Smith, whose authorship of the church has perviously only been attested by Thomas Wakeman, who in 1862 referred to St Mary's as 'by one Smith of Warwick'.<sup>2</sup>

Smith had been working on the reconstruction of Badminton since 1729 (after his death in 1738 his work there was continued by his son). It was therefore perhaps almost a matter of course that this highly-respected architect and master-builder should have been turned to for designs for a church in a town in which the Beauforts had so large an interest and to the rebuilding of which they contributed so handsomely. The medieval St Mary's was in a bad way by 1732 when a brief described it as 'very ruinous and decayed': 'part ..... is already fallen down, and ..... that part which remains now standing, is so small, that it is not sufficient to contain half the inhabitants of the said Parish, and is also so ruinous in the foundation, walls, and roof thereof, that the whole must be taken down and rebuilt, notwithstanding the constant care and expence which the parishioners have been at.'<sup>3</sup> Constant care and expense were often found insufficient to maintain churches in the eighteenth century: now the parishioners took care to attach an estimate of £4,497 for a new building, which was very likely drawn up ambitiously high in the hope of soliciting generous contributions. Since Francis Smith was well known and admired for his economical building, it can hardly relate to the executed design for which articles of agreement were signed on 3rd March 1736.<sup>4</sup> The surviving drawings enable us to see how this design was worked out, though none corresponds in every detail with the church as it was built: doubtless the contract drawings were used on site and worn out in the process. Those which still exist are as follows:<sup>5</sup>

12.5 Lateral section of an arcaded church.

12.6 Lateral section of a church with straight enablature. (Both of these are outline drawings in pencil; the remainder are in wash.)

12.7 (Fig 1) Lateral section closely similar to 12.6. This shows the east end with a single round-headed window above panels doubtless intended for the Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer; the aisles end in blank walls pierced only by very plain doors. The nave extends some way beyond them,

apparently with a narrow flat east wall between concave quadrants. Tuscan columns stand on pedestals which raise their bases above the pews; they carry an enriched entablature moulded cornice, flat ceiling and a very shallow king-post roof over the nave with lean-tos over the aisles continuing the pitch - all hidden from view by a substantial parapet.

12.8 (Fig 2) Longitudinal section of the eastern half of the church shown in 12.7. This confirms the moulding of the entablature and shows that the sanctuary is one bay deep: the dotted vertical lines presumably indicate the start of the quadrants. The cut-away shows that behind the entablature a series of longitudinal rectangular 'trusses' tied together the architrave beam immediately over the tops of the columns and the structural beam a few feet above which carried the main roof trusses. Longitudinal trusses of this kind were introduced by James Gibbs into churches (including All Saints', Derby), in which the roof trusses need to be closer together than the columns in the church below, and so every other truss has to be supported by longitudinal trussing with a central vertical prop in each bay. At Monmouth, however, the small scale evidently enabled the builders to do without the intermediate roof trusses (at least, this drawing does not show them); and so, unless the carpenter simply misunderstood the function of Gibbs's device - not likely in view of Smith's long association with him - the longitudinal trussing seems intended only to guarantee longitudinal stability by making each bay independently rigid.<sup>6</sup>

12.9 (Fig 3) Lateral section and east elevation of design similar to that in 12.7 and 12.8, and of identical dimensions.<sup>7</sup> The variants are round-headed windows above the aisle doors; no entablature but a coved ceiling with a moulded bead at the junction of the coving and the flat; a much steeper king-post roof over the nave; and alternative systems for those over the aisles, one with lean-tos and parapet as in 12.7, the other with independent ridges over the king posts. The elevation shows a hipped end to the nave roof above a pediment within the entablature and on top of a projection some little way beyond the quadrant walls. The three round-headed windows all have prominent architraves and impost, with keyblocks to those in the aisles: these form a single composition with the doors below, which have characteristic lugged architraves; the sill of the nave window is carried on brackets. It is hard to understand why the variant with independent aisle roofs was considered at all: it would hardly have been in keeping with the classical body of the church particularly when one notes the return aisle roofs sketched in above the parapet in the elevational drawing, and would have led to major difficulties in draining the internal gutters.

12.10 (Fig 4) A south elevation corresponding in dimensions and design to the section in 12.9, with a projecting east end confirming the east elevation. To the west is a gothic tower and spire closely corresponding to those of the medieval St Mary's,

though the eastern buttresses have been removed and the windows are shown with simple Y-tracery of eighteenth century character. The south wall of the nave is a scaled-down version of the elevations of the Smith church at Burton-upon-Trent, (Fig 5) with five round-headed windows just like those in 12.9, carried on sill brackets. The hipped roof shows very prominently and marks off the church as almost totally independent of the steeple. No aisle roofs are visible; so this drawing incorporates the lean-to variant. Sketched in on the same sheet is an outline of a variant of the east elevation in 12.9, (Fig 6) with a Venetian window at the end of the nave which, to accommodate it, is therefore shown flat, without the quadrants.

12.11 (Fig 7) Variants of the south elevation on 12.10 (including the gothic steeple) and the east on 12.9. These have no visible roof, quoins at all the angles and projecting breasts or aprons carrying the lines of the (now enriched) window architraves down to the ground. These elevations may be understood to correspond to the sections on 12.7 and 12.8, though one would expect the ridge of the roof to show marginally above the parapet.

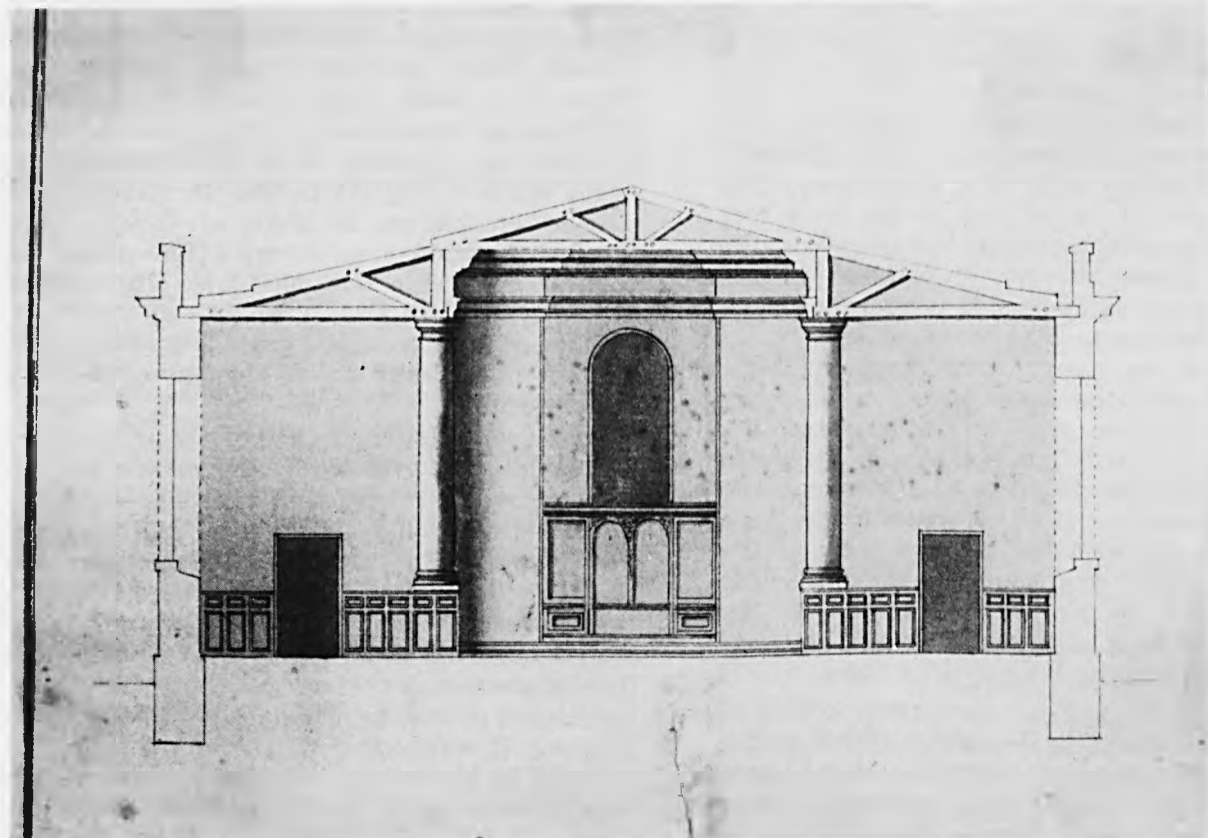
12.5 isn't beyond question in Francis Smith's hand. But it is in the same hand as 12.6, and the similarity between 12.6 and 12.7 (which, like all the rest, were certainly drawn by Smith) makes his authorship sure. It suggests that at one point he was proposing a church like the five that his elder brother had built in the Midlands between 1712 and 1724, at least two of which Francis had to finish after his brother's death.<sup>8</sup> He himself was not a great builder of churches: apart from Monmouth the only new churches that he is known to have been involved with on his own account are All Saints', Derby (to a design by Gibbs), St Botolph's, Sibson, Leicestershire (rebuilt to Smith's design by Thomas Moor) and All Saint's, Gainsborough. Sibson is a small village church without aisles; Gainsborough by contrast, a church of considerable grandeur and ambition, is on the same scale as Derby but has very tall Corinthian columns with straight entablature in place of Gibbs's Doric arcades. (Its atmosphere is very different from the compact homeliness that must have characterized St. Mary's). Smith also, however, supervised the building of St Nicholas', Alcester, Warwickshire by Edward and Thomas Woodward; and to them we shall return.

At all events the Tuscan design was preferred for Monmouth; and to judge by the presence of the medieval steeple in both surviving south elevations, it was always intended that, as at Derby and Gainsborough, this should remain and the new church be built on to it. The appearance of Smith's St Mary's as built can be fairly closely reconstructed with the help of a small engraving of the south side from a nineteenth century guidebook (Fig 8) and the interior photograph previously published by Mr Kissack.<sup>9</sup> It was essentially the church shown in 12.9 and 12.10 with the flattened east end and the Venetian window of the 12.10 sketch substituted for the bolder and narrower projection; the east

buttresses of the tower were allowed to remain, and the junction between it and the nave must have been awkward. The simple meeting-house character of the exterior, with its plain elevations and prominent hipped roof, was carried on inside: the Tuscan order is the simplest of all, and at Monmouth it carried only the most elementary of architraves below the coving which ended at the top in a bead precisely as shown in the section in 12.9. (The mouldings of the bases and capitals were simplified in execution, and it looks as if the columns were reduced in height, though not in girth.) The wainscoted pews, which conceal the pedestals of the columns, again correspond exactly with this drawing, and the only certain difference is at the east end, where the Venetian window and flat wall are clear to see.<sup>10</sup> The steeper roof was preferred, presumably because it allowed for stronger king-post trusses, though it gave a rather rustic Noah's Ark appearance to the exterior: undoubtedly the design shown in 12.11 is architecturally the more accomplished and stands better with the steeple.<sup>11</sup> The spire was rebuilt, sometime before 1743, by Nathaniel Wilkinson of Worcester, well-known as a 'spire-mender'. Instead of a conventional finial Wilkinson put a Corinthian capital at the apex<sup>12</sup> as he did later at St Andrew's, Worcester, where a replica is still in place. The Monmouth capital, removed during Street's rebuilding, has survived in a garden in Monk Street.

The designing of St Mary's cannot have taxed Smith severely. But it is an interesting question whether it taxed him at all. In 1730, as already noted, Edward and Thomas Woodward, master-masons of Chipping Campden, rebuilt the parish church at Alcester. They were to work throughout

'under the advise direction and Government...of Mr Francis Smith so as to do alter or amend anything of the said worke which hee shall think fitt to have done or altered.'<sup>13</sup> The exterior of the church is gothick, and details which survived extensive re-gothicizing in 1870-1 relate to subsequent work by Edward Woodward and to no known work of Smith's (whose only recorded piece of independent gothic was the reconstruction of the west window of Hereford Cathedral in 1736). It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the design of Alcester church (Fig 9) was due to the Woodwards, however one may wonder at the precociousness of two provincial masons several years ahead of Kent's first architectural gothic at Esher Lodge. The interior of Alcester church, however, is classical; and until it was given a new east end and the pews were removed (so revealing the unfashioned pedestals of the columns) must have looked remarkably like St Mary's, Monmouth. The columns are taller and slenderer, and intriguingly their base and capital mouldings are identical to those in the Monmouth drawings (12.7-9) which, as has been said, were modified in execution: there is likewise no entablature, and the treatment of the ceiling is virtually identical, though the bead between the cove and the flat is smaller in section. Then in 1732-4 the Woodwards rebuilt St John the Baptist, Gloucester in a wholly classical idiom; and here we know they provided the designs.<sup>14</sup> The one exposed side elevation — in truth not very distinctive follows, though now without a parapet, window architraves or sill brackets, the same plain lines as at Monmouth; the fairly elaborate east end has a Venetian window beneath a pediment; and the same Tuscan order is used inside, without



(Fig. 1)

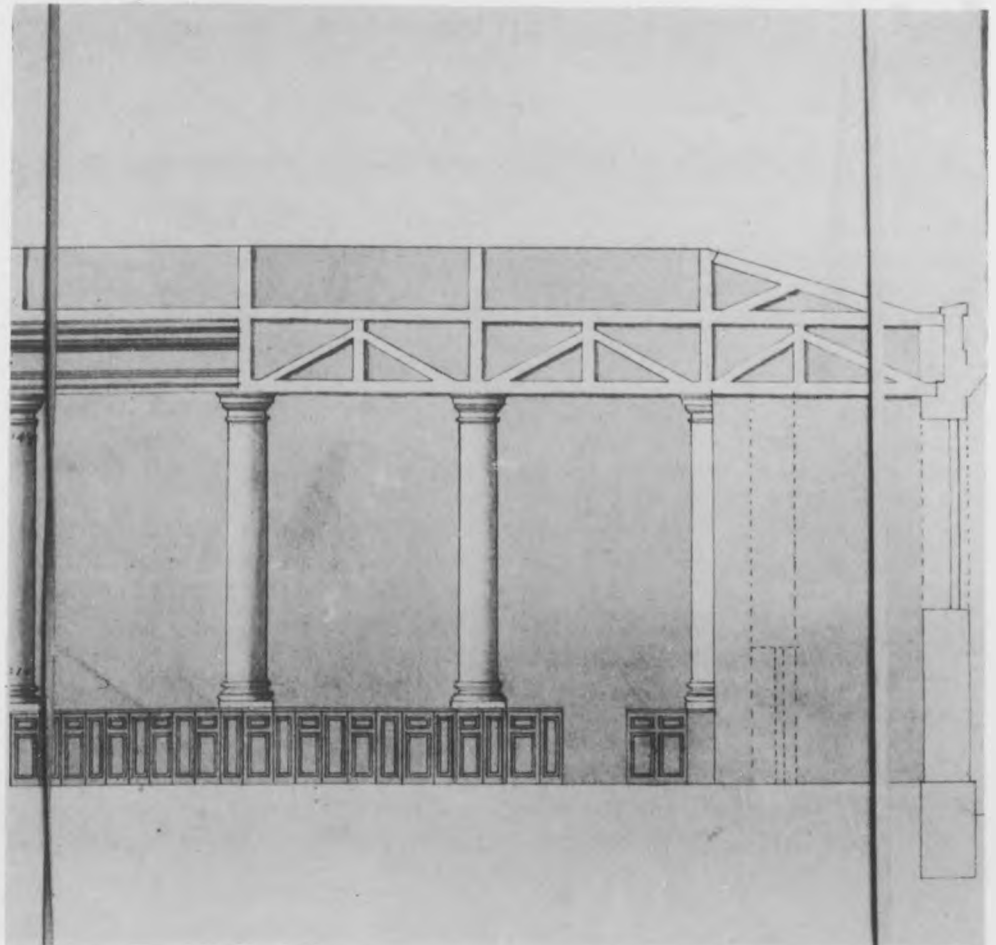
entablature and with a coved ceiling.

Essentially, therefore, one design - varying a little in proportion and small detail - did for the interiors of all three churches. So: was Smith, in drawing up plans for Monmouth and no doubt pressed for time among multifarious commissions, simply borrowing at least the coved-ceiling alternative from the Woodwards? Or had he in fact designed at least the interior of Alcester, and did he then take it out of his own drawer for Monmouth - in which case it is the Woodwards who partially copied a Smith design for their church at Gloucester? There seems no way now of knowing; provincial architects and master-builders helped themselves liberally to other men's designs - indeed Gibbs makes plain that a principle intention behind the publication of his *Book of Architecture* was to help those 'concerned in Building, especially in the remote parts of the Country, where little or no assistance for Designs can be procured'. Tuscan colonnades abound in provincial churches in the first half of the eighteenth century and are no-one's private architectural property.

And who actually built Monmouth church? Since Smith owed most of his by this time considerable wealth to his work as a master-builder he normally designed for his own firm to build; but not always, as the evidence of Sibson demonstrates, and perhaps especially not in the case of churches with

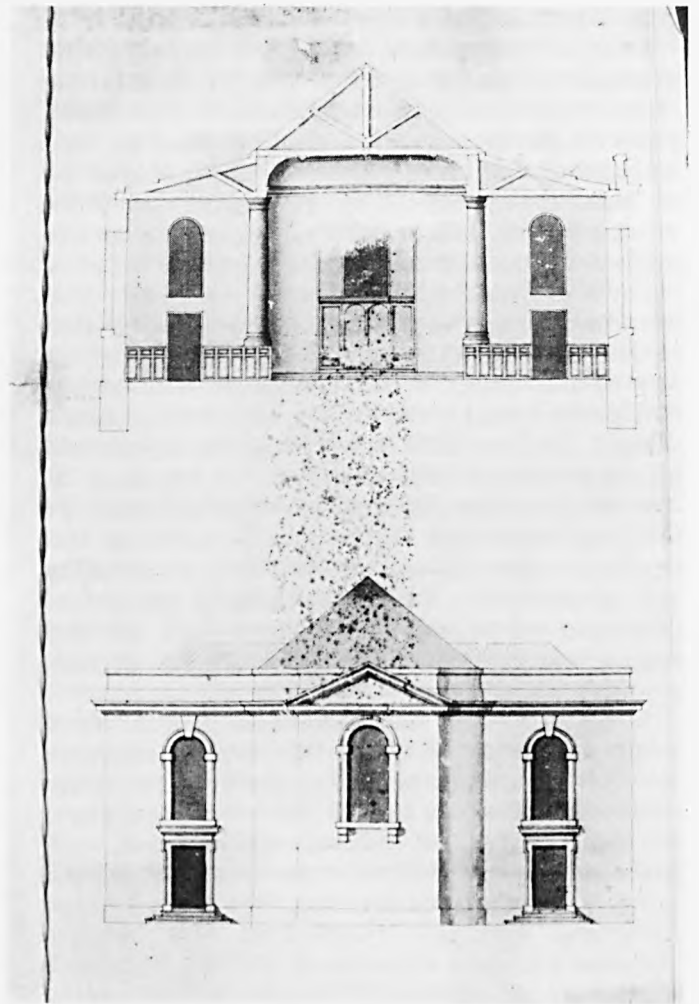
their inevitable slow-moving committees. By 1736 he was certainly feeling his age, and in that year was moreover engaged in at least eleven other building contracts in many parts of the country: it was one thing to draw up some simple plans at the Duke's request during one of his visits to Badminton, another to supervise a further building programme likely to occupy a year or more in a town a long way distant from his main activities. Now the writer in the *Monmouthshire Gazette* refers to 'articles of agreement with the builders' - not 'builder' - which implies at least two people involved on that side of the contract. Smith regularly signed for himself in the singular (even his architect son, by this time fully engaged in the firm's business, only signing as a witness); but the Woodward brothers, for example, signed as a partnership. And in fact they were in South Wales at this period, reconstructing the nave of Llandaff Cathedral to the designs of John Wood (does this bear on Wood's having produced a design for Monmouth?) and repairing the bishop's palace at Mathern, near Chepstow. It is hard to resist the speculation that it was they who built St Mary's; and if this were the case, its design might have been worked up by Smith and the Woodwards in concert from one with which they were both necessarily familiar.

(Fig. 2)

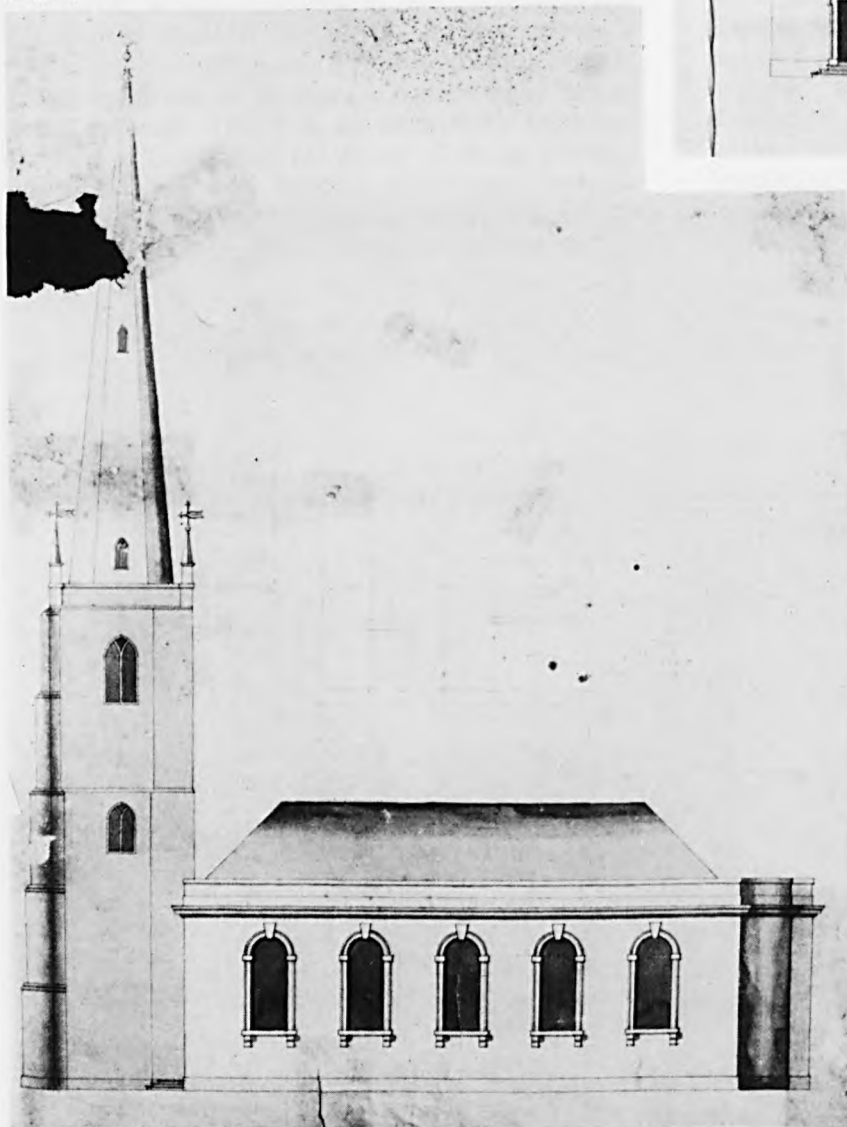


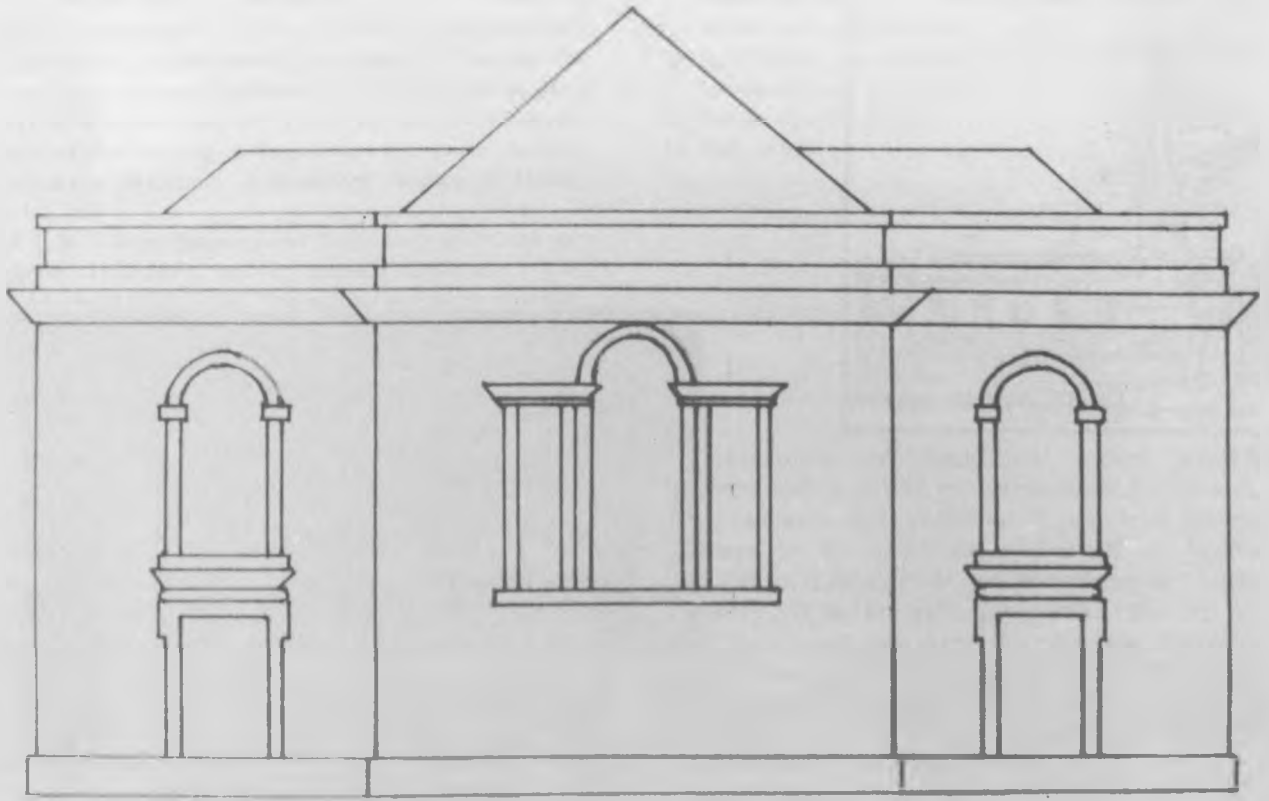


(Fig. 3)

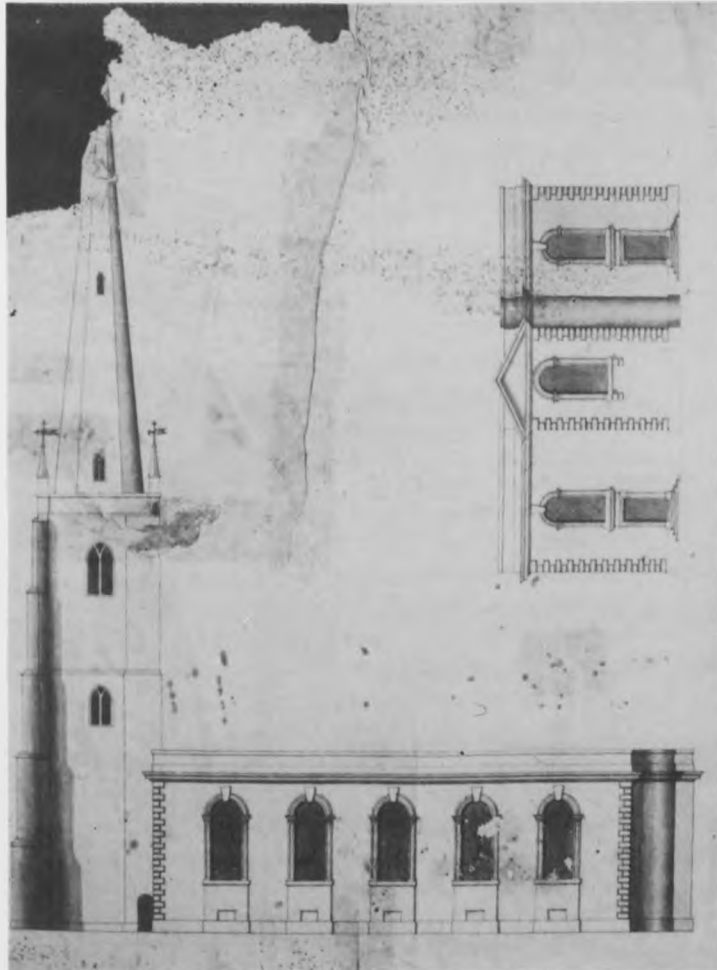


(Fig. 4)





(Fig. 5)



(Fig. 6)



(Fig. 7)

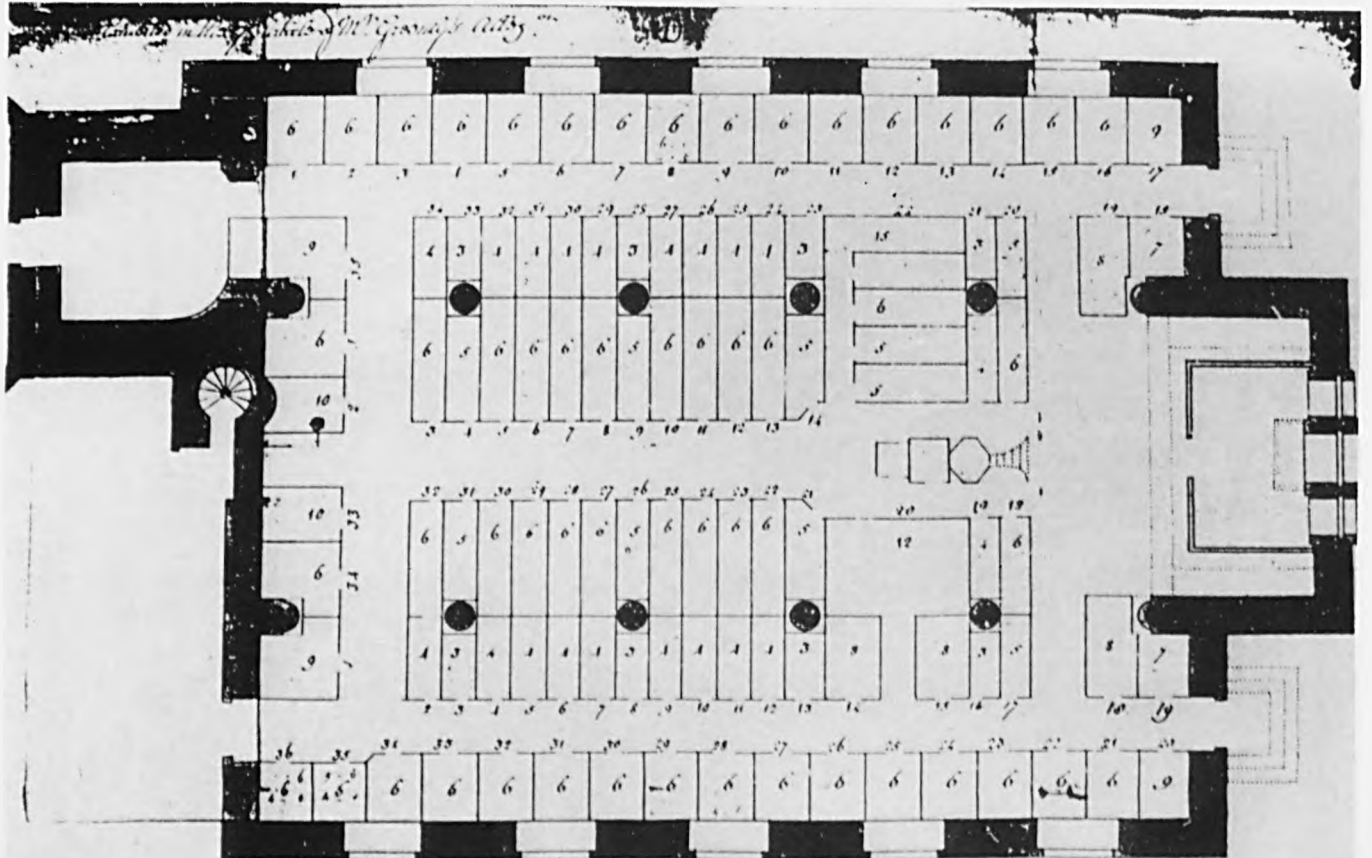


(Fig. 8)

(Fig. 9)



(Fig. 10)



The Body of the Church is 26' long & 62' broad from Outside to Outside  
 The Chancel is 11' Deep & 21' Wide on the Outside the Wall is 15' Deep & 24' broad on the Inside  
 The Church & Chancel is 97' long on the Outside and 91' on the Inside.

1. The drawings are in the collection of the Duke of Beaufort (whose permission to reproduce them I very gratefully acknowledge), together with a provisional finding list. The church drawings are numbered 12.1-16; those particularly referred to in this paper are 12.5-11. For the most recent account of the building of Badminton, see Andor Gomme, 'Badminton Revisited', *Architectural History* 27 (1984), pp.163-182.
2. See H.M. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, p.753, quoting *Collectanea Archaeologica* i(1862), p.285. The parish records are now lost.
3. The brief is dated 12th December 1732. See 'Nooks and Corners of Monmouth: the Church of St Mary' (*Monmouthshire Gazette*, 1st January 1851), quoted in part in Keith Kissack, *Monmouth: the Making of a County Town* (1975), q.v. for a description of the subsequent rebuilding of all except the steeple.
4. *Monmouthshire Gazette*, art. cit. Large overestimates for church restoration or rebuilding were not uncommon in the eighteenth century and almost made on the old principle of asking for twice as much as you expect to get. Mr Kissack reports (op. cit. p.111) that a design was submitted by John Wood, and conceivably the estimate could be related to that. It compares with William Smith's estimate of £3,820 for the larger St Alkmunds, Whitchurch (Shropshire) - tower, furnishing and all - and with an overall cost of about £5,000 for Gibbs and Francis Smith's much more splendid All Saints', Derby. Unfortunately, though the *Gazette* writer tells us that he had the articles before him on his table, he neglected to quote from them except for a clause on the re-use of old stone and woodwork which especially scandalized him: 'it is agreed if the stone of the old church be not sufficient to bring up all the foundations of the walls and columns, and to face the outside of the walls, and to fill up the cavities, &c, then the parish shall find the remainder. And also old wainscot, if that of the old church be not sufficient for working in the woodwork, more is to be found.'
5. The numbers are those in the finding list: see above note 1.
6. I am most grateful to David Yeomans for help in analyzing the roof designs for St Mary's.
7. Damage to the drawing obscures the top of the central east window, but we can be sure that it was exactly that in 12.7
8. The five are St Alkmund's Whitchurch, 1712-13; St Mary's, 1717-21; St Modwen's, Burton-upon-Trent, 1719-26; St Giles, Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1720-21; and St Peter-at-Arches, Lincoln, 1720-24. The first and third remain largely unaltered; the second and fourth have been destroyed; the Lincoln church has been rebuilt to an amended design on a new site as St Giles's.
9. Op. cit., p1.12a G.E. Street's rebuilding of 1881-2 got rid of all the interior and the roof but apparently reworked or re-used some of Smith's outer walls.  
A plan, drawn up in connexion with a pewing dispute in the 1740s and now in the Public Record Office (DEL 2/1), shows that the tower stood at the west end of the north aisle, not in the centre of the west front. (Fig.10)
10. In the photograph the east ends of the aisles are obscured by galleries inserted in 1824; so one cannot say which of the variant forms was chosen.
11. Dr Yeomans observes that a queen post truss would have been better suited to the shallow roof but was used so infrequently in the early eighteenth century that carpenters may

have been unfamiliar with its technique. For wide spans Gibbs regularly used a king-post truss with two - or at St Martin's-in-the-fields - four supplementary but structurally ambiguous vertical struts.

12. See William Cole, British Library, Add. MS 5811 f.100, cited by Kissack, op. cit., p.320, n.3.
13. Colvin, op. cit., p.914.
14. Ibid., p.915.

## FOR THE RECORD

David Williams

### Llangynog Church (NGR: SO455014)

Continuing our occasional series concerning former ecclesiastical establishments in Gwent, we turn our attention to the small parish of Llangynog granted by Kings Rhodri and Gruffydd to Bishop Bleddri of Llandaff about the close of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> It lay immediately north of the Pill Brook, and its boundaries were described as being from: 'the influx of the Gunnic to the Pill, following Gunnic upwards to the clay pit, from the clay pit to the ridge of the hill, the boundary of the land of Llangunhoil,<sup>2</sup> following the ridge of the hill towards the west, along to the Pill, following the Pill downwards to the Gunnic where it began.'

The limits as evidenced by the tithe map (figure 2),<sup>3</sup> were marked where necessary by wych elms and boundary stones. An earlier map (of 1765) depicted the western two-thirds of the parish, shows that in the century preceding the survey for the delayed tithe map (of 1867) there were several changes in the field pattern of the parish. Nos. 8 and 9 on the tithe map had previously constituted one whole unit known as 'Gunnog's Piece'; (No. 18, incidentally, was 'Gunnog's Meadow'). Nos. 15, 16 and 17 were also formerly one field, but No. 5 had previously been two pieces. A track, too, had disappeared by 1867; it led formerly from the north, cutting through the eastern end of the coppice (No. 3) to meet the lane connecting Cwrt-y-brychan to Llangynog Farm; it altered course to serve the old building east of the smaller coppice (No. 11).



(Fig. 1)

(Sketch of ca 1850: Society of Antiquaries)

Little is known of the parish. By later Tudor times, it was generally referred to in conjunction with the neighbouring parish of Llanfihangel-tor-y-mynydd: 'the parished of Llangenocke and Llanvyhagell' (1549)<sup>5</sup>. Occasional references, however, still set it in isolation: 'the parish and fee of Llangonock' (1535)<sup>6</sup>. It was a manor in the medieval lordship of Usk<sup>7</sup>.

St. Cynog, to whom the church was dedicated, may not have been the Cynog commonly honoured in Wales, but a local man, a nephew of Brychan, of Cwrt-y-brychan, not far distant (NGR : SO449015)<sup>8</sup>. The church building was probably much dilapidated by the early eighteenth century, and it finds no mention (surprisingly) in Ecton's valuation (1786 edn.)<sup>9</sup>. Substantial remains were portrayed in a



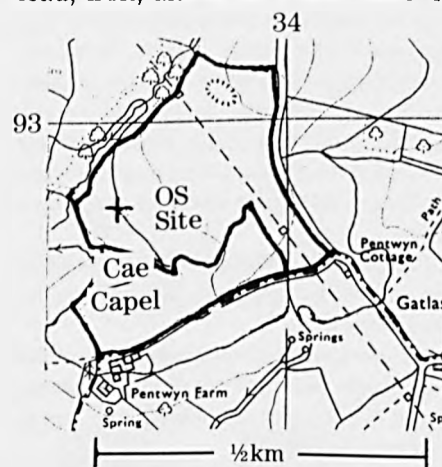
(Fig. 2)

water-colour of about 1850<sup>10</sup>, (Fig. 1) but when Wakeman wrote, at much the same time, the church was used for agricultural purpose<sup>11</sup>. Bradney was able to note the existence of the chancel arch, the west wall, and part of the south wall, but by World War II even these portions had completely vanished. The drawing of ca. 1850 shows several tombstones. David ap Philip Powell of nearby Lan-pill (NGR : SO460007) who owned land here in the sixteenth century was buried in the church. Bradney noted in the chancel a gravestone commemorating Edward Nicholas of Trelleck Grange (*d.* 1684), High Sheriff of Monmouthshire only a year before his death, to which stone was added later the name of one of his family, Henry Nicholas of Crumbland (*d.* 1818). In 1671 Nicholas was also buried here<sup>12</sup>. Quinnell (in 1957) plotted the position of two tombstones lying flat in a pastured field, they were dated 1683 and 1763<sup>13</sup>.

1. J. Bradney, *Hist. of Monmouthshire* Vol. II, pt.2 (.....), p.235; cf Wendy Davies, *Llandaff Charters* (1978), p.126.
2. There was a well of St. Gwynhael in nearby Wolvesnewton (1924 : NLW. *Badminton Deeds* I, 1024).
3. National Library of Wales.
4. NLW. *Badminton Estate Plans* (consulted by kind permission of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, K.G.) Vol.4 (*Manor of Usk*), Plan No. 6.
5. NLW. *Badminton Deeds* I, 1551, cf, I. 1365, 1545. (Wakeman surprisingly noted Llangynog as held formerly by lease form Jesus College, Oxford, and as being united to Llanddewi Fach).
6. NLW. *Badminton Deeds* I, 1545.
7. Bradney, op. cit. p.235.
8. W.J. Rees, *Lives of Cambro-British Saints* (1853), pp. 606n-7n.
9. *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum*.
10. Society of Antiquaries of London.
11. Wakeman MSS, *Society of Antiquaries*, 790:26, pp. 61-2.
12. Bradney, op. cit. p.235.
13. Ordnance Survey Field Card.

## Capel Gwenog NGR ST 337928

Nothing remains, and even the exact site is uncertain, of this former chantry chapel. It lay 'in the angle between the Sor and the Afron', and thus stood in the parish of Llangatwg-iuxta-Caerleon'. The tithe map of that parish gives a clue to its location, naming as it does, 'Cae Capel'<sup>2</sup>. This perhaps comprised the seven acres known to have pertained to the chapel, and formerly consisting of Maes Elan and Cae'r Llwyn<sup>3</sup>. There is more than one saint to whom its dedication can be attributed; perhaps Gwynnog, son of Gildas (as at Llanwonno, Mid-Glam.), or perhaps Gweno, son of Brychan (as at Wonastwo, a few miles north)<sup>4</sup>. Apart from a note that the tithes of the chapelry pertained to, or were leased by, Llantarnam Abbey<sup>6</sup>, the chapel only finds mention in historical records after the Reformation. In the Chantry Certificates of 1548, there was described as being at : 'Karlyon - a little chapel, covered with slate, called the chapel of Gwynnog, with lands and tenements towards the finding of a pries to say Mass in the said chapel'<sup>7</sup>. A survey (in 1550) was to enquire as to 'what glass, lead, iron, and timber and stone' remained there<sup>7</sup>.



Ordnance  
Survey  
Map  
Capel  
Gwenog

(Fig. 2)

Three years later, Earl William of Pembroke granted 'Chapel Gwenog' to Roger Williams of Usk, in exchange for other lands; it may have still been in use, and provision was to be made for the 'stipendiary lately celebrating in the chapel' (1553)<sup>9</sup>. A decade late, however, services may have



ceased, for a report by Bishop Kitchin of Llandaff, referred to it in the past tense: 'Caerleon had a chapel called Capel Gwenog without the town' (1563)<sup>10</sup>. In 1612 it was one of many properties granted to a pair of contractors, presumably with a view to its demolition<sup>11</sup>. When Hoare wrote, in about 1806, he described the chapel as being 'in ruins'<sup>12</sup>. Today, as Quinnell noted in 1953, the site is 'under grass', and no traces of the chapel have been found<sup>13</sup>.

My present absence from Gwent, has necessitated my troubling Mr G.C. Boon, Mr J.K. Knight, and Mr J.M.Lewis, for various points of information in the preparation of the foregoing accounts, and I am very grateful to them for their helpfulness. I am indebted to Mr. Donald Moore for putting me on the track of the Victorian sketch of Llangynog Church, and to Mr. John Hopkins, Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries, for producing the relevant volume.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Arch. Camb. 1848, pp. 341-2.
2. National library of Wales.
3. PRO. E 310/6/10.
4. S.M. Harris, *Kalendar, etc* in Jnl. Hist. Soc, Church in Wales, III (1953), p.37.
5. *Cambro-British Saints*, op. cit. p.606n.
6. PRO. SC 6 (Hen VIII) 2497.
7. *Cardiff Records*, II. p.203.
8. PRO. E 310/6/10.
9. NLW *Llangibby* MS C. 885.
10. Cardiff Records, IV. p.12.
11. PRO. SP 39/2, No. 19.
12. Quoted in Arch. Camb. 1848, pp. 341-2.
13. Ordnance Survey Field Card.

## PARISH CHECK LIST OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AND SITES -2.

(Numbering continuous from last issue)

### Cwmcarnfan

1. PM Pottery from a *Post-Medieval Kiln Site* at Upper Trefaldu Farm (SO. 463087) has been published by H.O. Thomas in *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales 3* (1980)35-37.

### Dixton Newton

2. P/B.A. *Barbed and Tanged Arrowhead* of flint in silt washed from field at SO. 517152 in 1983. *Monmouth Archaeology* 14 (Febraury 1984), 4.

### Gwehelog

1. P.M. The pottery from the *Post Medieval Kiln* in the outworks of the Iron Age hillfort of Camp Wood, Gwehelog and the associated earthworks have been published by Richard Hughes and Stuart Wrathmell in *Medieval and Later Pottery in Wales 3* (1980), 21-34. (SO. 379036).

### Llanfihangel Llantarnam

1. M. Several years work on the site of *Llantarnam Abbey* (ST 312929) concluded in 1983. The east end and the south transept of the Cistercian Abbey were identified along with other conventual buildings and the site of

the chapter house, most underlying the present convent. The monastic gatehouse and its boundary ditch were partially excavated together with extensive late 18th century farm buildings overlying post-dissolution and monastic occupation. A large number of monastic burials, disturbed by building activities in the convent courtyard, were excavated as completely as circumstances permitted and two were excavated adjacent to the so-called 'Tithe Barn' which itself must now be dated to the mid 18th century stabling forming part of the Morgan/Bluett mansion west of the present buildings was established. Report in preparation (A.G. Mein).

2. M. Work was also carried out on the adjacent *Deserted Medieval Village* (932) in conjunction with the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, the site being now planned and rescue excavation carried out during the construction of flood alleviation ponds. Interim report in the Trust's Annual Report.

### Llanishen

1. P/Ne. *Oblique single barbed arrowhead* of flint found at Great Crumbland Farm by Mrs K. Buckland. *Monmouth Archaeology II* (May 1983), II. Further fieldwork has revealed a scatter of flint flakes, blades and lumps, some worked-*ibid* 14 (February 1984), 15.

### (Llantrisant Fawr)

1. P. *Greensand chert flake* c 7 ins long by 2.5 broad (maximum), probably an artefact but not retouched. Found by Mr. R.T. Stride in ploughing his Pentine Lands farm at ST. 408984. Presented to National Museum of Wales October 1984.
2. P. *Triangular flake* from the edge of a core of brown flint. Find spot as last. Field walking is planned.

### Penallt

1. P/Ne. *Leaf shaped flint arrowhead* found by Mr Phillip Parkinson at Common Farm SO 51400898. *Monmouth Archaeology II* (May 1983), 10.

### Rockfield

2. P/Ne. *Single barbed oblique arrowhead* and flint scatter at SO 47631669/47751675. *Monmouth Archaeology II* (May 1983), 9.

### Trellech

5. P/Ne. Hygga Farm *leaf shaped flint arrowhead* found by Carol Millington at SO 4895039. Flint scatter nearby at 49330384. *Monmouth Archaeology II* (May 1983), 7.



6. M. Massive and compact *Bed of Iron Slag* in field east of Virtuous Well at SO 50440508 found by Mr Bowen of Cross Hands Farm whilst digging pool. Twenty metres of fused slag and furnace debris exposed, associated with a glazed body sherd of a medieval jug. *Monmouth Archaeology* II (May 1983), 11-12.

## From other journals

Mr G.C. Boon has published a newly found Roman glass cup with relief-cut decoration and a Greek inscription from Caerwent in *Journal of Glass Studies* 27 (1985), 11-17. It matches a similar vessel found at Caerwent in 1855 and published in this journal *Monmouthshire Antiquary* III, 2(1972-3), 22. Only two others are known. The new vessel was found by Mr Richard Brewer in his excavation of the courtyard house in Insula I (this journal IV 3-4 (1981-2) 52-4), in a context of c. A.D. 300. The inscription reads, in translation 'Mayest thou live well' - a salutation used in Roman drinking parties and perhaps also (with a changed meaning) in Christian ceremonies.

The surviving plank of the boat found during the construction of Newport docks in the 19th century (and preserved in Newport Museum) has been the subject of a fresh study by Gillian Hutchinson in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 13 part 1 (1984), 27-32. The boat is dated to the tenth century A.D. by a radiocarbon determination.

The excavation of the 18th century iron furnace in the Angidy Valley near Tintern has been published by John Picken - 'Excavations at Abbey Tintern Furnace' *Historical Metallurgy* 17, no 1, (1983), 4-11.

## THE LLANTHONY GLASS AND THE LLANTHONY ARMS

The collection of fragments of red painted grisaille from Llanthony Priory<sup>1</sup>, whilst helping us to picture the appearance of the church in the late middle ages, is for the most part too incomplete to show the overall pattern and design of decoration. It may be possible however to suggest, with due caution, that a few of the fragments from the south transept may have belonged to a representation of the arms of the Priory.

The arms of Llanthony consisted of a vertically divided red and white shield bearing three golden oak branches and a chevron with a rose between two pinks - in heraldic terms *Per pale argent and gules on a chevron argent between three oak branches proper fructed and stemmed or a rose between two pinks proper*. The prevailing red and white would lend itself well to being shown in red painted grisaille glass, perhaps with a little of the golden-yellow stain of characteristic of late

medieval glass. The arms are said to appear in the glass of the Lord Mayor's chapel at Bristol, at Bromsberrow church north of Newent in Gloucester Cathedral<sup>2</sup>. These presumably relate to Llanthony Secunda at Gloucester rather than to the mother house. Among the Llanthony fragments it may be possible to recognise some fragments of the oak branches; the centre of a rose and the stem of a pink. Other pieces belong to a formal border with chevrons and refoils.

J.K.Knight

### FOOTNOTES

1. *Monmouthshire Antiquary* IV (1980) fig 25, p. 27.
2. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1846, 236.

## EXCAVATIONS AT TROSTREY CASTLE, NR USK

### A summary 1984-88

Work by members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association has continued, winter and summer, since September 1984. Aided greatly since for two years by MSC/Community Programme sponsored by Monmouth District Council, results have far-exceeded all expectations.

Perched on a cliff-top, about two miles north-east of Usk town, the flat-topped tump illustrated by Bradney<sup>1</sup> looks to the west over the River Usk and eastwards over the fertile valley, in which lies Trostrey Court Farm, to the wooded Gwehelog redge beyond. By kind permission of Mr. David Morgan of Trostrey Court, excavation has spread northwards from the 'castle' tump up the slope west of Trostrey Church, whilst field walking, supplemented by aerial photography, has covered the country around the site and across Mr. Alan Scott's Little Trostrey Farm to the north.

This work has shown that occupation (or at least exploitation) of the Trostrey Court valley continued from the Mesolithic through the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in the shape of flint-working at seven sites

Settled farming commenced in the Late Bronze Age with scrub clearance and the ploughing and muck-spreading for three years of an area near the cliff-edge. This area was then abandoned in favour of what became a field a few yards downslope where the soil cover was deeper. The south-west corner of the field has been identified by its negative lynchet. Flint waste and LBA sherds were recovered from the plough, or ard, marks while the point of a flint sickle or knife came from the buried field surface. Co-incidentally a smithing hoard of the same date was recovered in 1987 by a metal detecting enthusiast from a spot some 400 metres to the north-east<sup>2</sup>.

Alongside the Bronze Age field, and separated from the cliff-edge only by the post holes of a double staked fence, was a wooden round-house some 9m in diameter with its porch doorway to the east. Of double concentric post hole construction this house was succeeded by another of similar size

and dimensions with a raised sleeping area, demarked by a wattle wall. Neither of these houses can be dated but they were associated with a very few LBA sherds and flint fragments.

Overlaying both the earlier houses was another round hut of quite different construction, being of the ring-groove variety with double skinned wattle walls. No finds could be associated with this hut but a Carbon 14 date was obtained of  $910 \pm 60$  a d uncalibrated. (CAR.1110). Another hut of somewhat similar construction has been found in the last week (w/e 12/6/88) some yards to the north.

Roman sherds of the second century have been recovered from the original land surface under the "castle" where there are associated with settings of stake holes, small posts, a cobbled area and civil engineering in the form of land fill levelling. In addition sherds, mainly of Caerleon black-burnished ware, were carted onto the site in the 13th century, presumably from the old quarry to the north. Similar pottery was discovered in 1948 in the field where the round houses are under excavation. The extensive views from this site, down the main valley signal station and a possible Roman origin for the line of the massive early-medieval ditch round the "castle". The road past Trostrey Court is the assumed Roman road Usk to Abergavenny via Clytha.

Medieval occupation of the castle site commenced with the construction of a palisaded ring-work enclosing a cellared hall-house, a gate-house and other buildings, all of timber on dwarf footing walls, presumably associated with the pottery of the late 11th or very early 12th century recovered from the garde robe attached to the hall. An outer bailey had its north ditch on the line of the southern edge of the Bronze Age field. Part of that field was reused and muck-spread with material coming, it is assumed, from the garde-robe.

After some years of dereliction, for which Carbon 14 dates are awaited 'the site was levelled with imported fill and a massive stone curtain wall was built; from pottery in the re-cut ditch this work can be dated to soon after c.1225. The walled area, only

about 25 by 30. was approached by a fixed bridge over the ditch, and contained buildings differently orientated to those of the Norman lay-out, although the massively rebuilt garderobe remained on the same alignment. Glazed and with decoration floor-tiles and carved stone-work the internal buildings disappeared when the whole structure was quarried, in about 1585, for the construction of Trostrey Court.

A small stone house with a separate kitchen was built before the Civil War and was occupied until about 1790. The last occupant doubled as blacksmith and brewer, living in squalor. A fine grain roasting or drying kiln, with a nearby pit, presumably for malting the grain, was built in the old outer bailey soon after c.1750, while the cellar of the Norman hall-house was altered and brought back into use. A corner of the defensive ditch became a pond.

All was gone by Archdeacon Coxe's visit in 1799.

A.G.Mein

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire* Vol.3 (pt.1)(1921), 90.
2. Dr. H.N.Savory is thanked for his identification of the Late Bronze Age pottery; Dr. Stephen Green, keeper of Archaeology and Numismatics at the National Museum of Wales for his views on the first few flints and Mr. Robert Trett, Curator of Newport Museum and Art Gallery for information about the smithing hoard and general assistance and advice. A number of finds from Trostrey are already on view in the Newport Museum by courtesy of Mr. David Morgan.
3. The finds in 1948 were made by Mr. Richard Kay of the Woolhope Naturalist Field Club whilst surveying Trostrey Church. He has kindly supplied copies of his field sketches and notes; the pottery was taken to Newport Museum but cannot now be traced.
4. The Cambrian Archaeological Association is thanked for their grant of the cost of one of these C14 dates and Monmouth District Council and the MSC for the other two.
5. For this date see Mein and Olding, *Dafydd Benwyn and a date for Trostrey Court* in *Gwent Local History*, summer 1988 forthcoming.



*The Revd. William Coleman Williams, 2-5); shown here standing on a column-base in the M.A.Cantab. (1855-1933), Vicar of Caerwent from 1909 until his death. A principal in the affair of the Bones of S. Tatheus (Mon. Antiq. iv. 3-4 (1981-2), V.E.Nash-Williams, 1923. (Photo: NMW).*

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